

## On the Representation and Self-representation of the Argead Rulers (before Alexander the Great): the Title *Basileus*

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**Abstract.** *In this article, the author considers the use of the title basileus in relation to the Macedonian monarchs before Alexander the Great. He shows that the evidence we have does not prove the point that the Argeads ruling prior to the reign of Philip II bore the formal title basileus. As to Philip, it is not ruled out that some epigraphic documents attest the employment of the title basileus under him. Nevertheless, none of them can be regarded as irrefutable proof in the relation, and therefore it has to be recognized that at the present the question of Philip's use of the official title basileus remains open.*

**Rezumat.** *Autorul consideră că termenul de basileus a fost folosit pentru monarhii macedoneni înainte de Alexandru cel Mare. El demonstrează că evidența pe care o avem la dispoziție nu arată că Argeazii care au domnit înainte de Filip al II-lea au împrumutat titlul formal de basileus. În ceea ce-l privește pe Filip, nu este exclus ca anumite documente epigrafice să ateste folosirea titlului de basileus. Cu toate acestea, utilizarea acestui titlu sub Filip al II-lea rămâne încă o chestiune deschisă.*

**Keywords:** Macedonia, kingship, title *basileus*, Argeads, Philip II.

### Introduction

One of the principal issues that modern historians addressing to the title *basileus* in connection with the Argead Macedonian monarchs<sup>2</sup> have tried to clear up is when these monarchs began for the first time to use it with a fully official value. While the use of the formal title *basileus* by Alexander the Great (and his immediate successors) is not in doubt in

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<sup>2</sup> See e.g. AYMARD 1948, 232–263; 1950, 61–97; ERRINGTON 1974, 20–37; GOUKOWSKY 1978, 182; GRIFFITH 1979, 387–389; LE ROY 1980, 57–61; HAMMOND 1988, 382–391; 1990, 167–175; 1994, 385–387; BADIAN 1989, 64–70; 1993, 131–139; 1994, 388–390; 1996, 11–12; BOSWORTH 1993, 420; HATZOPOULOS 1995, 171–176; CARNEY 1995, 370–371; BORZA 1999, 12–15; ARENA 1999, 77–98; 2003, 49–82; 2004–2005, 211–226; 2007, 293–326; 2011, 135–170; 2013, 48–79; ANSON 2009, 279–280; 2013, 20; KING 2010, 375; LANE FOX 2011, 359–360; MUCCIOLI 2013, 38–39; GREENWALT 2015, 338; MÜLLER 2016, 26–27, 326.

scholarship<sup>3</sup>, its employment in Macedonia in the earlier period remains the subject of controversy. In the present article, I intend to turn to this issue once more and hence to ascertain—as far as the extant evidence permits—whether the Argeads ruling before Alexander bore the formal title *basileus*, or its use was just his radical innovation. In addition, I believe that both my conclusions and the overview of evidence I give below (which is most complete for the time being, to my knowledge) can be useful to those who will subsequently try to contribute to our knowledge of the issue under consideration here in general or of one of its aspects in particular.

## Evidence and its interpretation

### *Before Philip II*

#### Epigraphic evidence

Among those few inscriptions that refer to the Argead rulers before Philip II, there is not a single stone where one of them is recorded with the title *basileus*. In these inscriptions, they are referred to by name alone, in some cases with patronymic: a series of Athenian decrees concerning Methone, where Perdiccas II is mentioned, 430/29–424/3<sup>4</sup> (IG I<sup>3</sup> 61. ll. 18, 27, 47–48, 50 = Syll.<sup>3</sup> 75; Tod 61; ML 65)<sup>5</sup>; alliance between Perdiccas II and Athens, ca. 435–ca. 413 (IG I<sup>3</sup> 89. ll. 9, 15–16, 25, [26], 35, 38, [40–42], 43, [55], 56, [57], 60)<sup>6</sup>; Athenian decree in honour of Archelaus, 407/6 (RO II 188. ll. [25], [33] = IG I<sup>3</sup> 117; Tod 91; ML 91); alliance between Amyntas III and the Chalcidians, 390s–380s (RO I 12. ll. 1–2, 5–6, 8, 13, 20, 25, [26] = Syll.<sup>3</sup> 135; Tod 111; Hatz. 1)<sup>7</sup>; alliance between Amyntas III and Athens, 375–373 (Tod 129. ll. 2, [5–6], 14, [20], 21 = IG II<sup>2</sup> 102; Syll.<sup>3</sup> 157); list of *theorodokoi* from Epidauros, where Perdiccas III is recorded, 360–359 (IG IV 1<sup>2</sup> 94b. l. 9 = PERLMAN 2000, 177–179 [E.1])<sup>8</sup>.

At the same time, one of the listed inscriptions (heavily damaged) can attract attention, namely an alliance between Perdiccas II and the Athenians. It is noteworthy that the word

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<sup>3</sup> On the use of the title *basileus* by Alexander the Great, see in detail KHOLOD 2020, forthcoming.

<sup>4</sup> All dates are BC/BCE.

<sup>5</sup> For the dating of these decrees, apart from the commentaries on them in the indicated editions, see HAMMOND 1979a, 124–125; ROISMAN 2010, 148–149.

<sup>6</sup> This alliance has been dated variously in scholarship. A useful summary of the relevant views, accompanying the arguments in favour of ca. 423: BORZA 1992, 153. n. 56; his arguments: 153–155, 295. Likewise, now see particularly MÜLLER 2017, 192–196 (with further literature).

<sup>7</sup> Tod and Hatzopoulos (in their commentaries on the inscription) as well as a number of other scholars relate this alliance to ca. 393. I follow Rhodes and Osborne (commentary) who are more cautious in its dating. Thus too: ROISMAN 2010, 159. Cf. BORZA 1992, 182–183.

<sup>8</sup> For the date of this inscription, now see PERLMAN 2000, 69–70.

*basileus* occurs in it, however, is employed to describe a group of local kinglets from Upper Macedonia, being formally at this time—albeit not all of them actually—dependent on Perdiccas as his vassals (IG I<sup>3</sup> 89. l. 35: τὸς βασιλέας τὸς [μ]ετὰ Περδ[ίκκο]; l. 69: [... Δέ]ρδας, βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος, Δε[... βασ]ιλεύ[ς]). Of course it cannot be ruled out that in some lost portion of the inscription Perdiccas was referred to as *basileus* too. Nevertheless, more probably, the word *basileus* is used here not as these kinglets' formal title (it is hardly possible that they officially bore it) but merely as a synonym for “ruler”. Perhaps the appearance of such a description of them in the treaty was partly caused by the Athenian wish to flatter the kinglets—Perdiccas' persistent headaches—a bit. But most likely, this happened first of all for a purely practical reason: to make it clear to every reader of the text that these obscure persons—in contrast to Perdiccas barely known to the overwhelming majority in Athens—are also rulers of certain lands<sup>9</sup>. (It appears that one can find an analogue to this case in an Athenian decree in honour of Hebrzyzelmis, an obscure Odrysian ruler, 386/5<sup>10</sup>: in the document, he is also called *basileus*<sup>11</sup>, contrary to the usual practice in Athens to describe the Thracian rulers in epigraphic documents by name only, sometimes with patronymic and/or ethnic<sup>12</sup>.)

#### Numismatic evidence

The title *basileus* does not appear on the coins issued under Philip's predecessors on the Macedonian throne. All that their legends contain is the names of monarchs, in full or abbreviated form<sup>13</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> On the reign of Perdiccas II in general and his relationship both with Athens and the kinglets of Upper Macedonia in particular, see e.g. HAMMOND 1979a, 115–136; BORZA 1992, 132–160; ROISMAN 2010, 146–154; and recently MÜLLER 2016, 141–163; 2017.

<sup>10</sup> Tod 117 = IG II<sup>2</sup> 31. For the relatively new interpretation of this decree, including some ideas concerning Hebrzyzelmis' reign, see KELLOGG 2007 (2004–2005), 58–71. In addition, on him, see ARCHIBALD 1998, 219; ZAHRT 2015, 44.

<sup>11</sup> Tod 117. ll. 5–6, 22–23.

<sup>12</sup> See, in particular, alliance between Athens and Berisades, Amadocus, and Cersebleptes, Odrysian rulers, 357 (RO I 47. ll. 5–6, 8–10, 14–15, 18, 20 = IG II<sup>2</sup> 126; Syll.<sup>3</sup> 195; Tod 151); alliance between Athens and Cetriporis, Odrysian ruler, Lyypeus, Paeonian ruler, and Grabus, Grabaeonian/Illyrian ruler, 356/5 (RO I 53. ll. 2, 9, 11, 15, [27], [29], 39–41, [43], [45], 46 = IG II<sup>2</sup> 127; Syll.<sup>3</sup> 196; Tod 157); Athenian decree in honour of the Odrysian Rhebulas, in which his father Seuthes and his brother Cotys (perhaps II and I respectively) are referred to by name only, 330 (IG II/III<sup>3</sup> 1.2 351. l. 1; Tod 193). On Rhebulas, see recently DELEV 2015, 53. Furthermore, it should be pointed out that the title *basileus* is absent both in another inscription mentioning, in all probability, the same Hebrzyzelmis, found in Adrianopolis/Edirne (LAMPUSIADIS 1897, 154; see also MDAI(A) 1897, 475), and in the legends of his coins (HEAD 1911, 284; YURUKOVA 1992, 56–60, 231–234 [nos. 44–48]).

<sup>13</sup> On the Macedonian royal coinage in this period, see HEAD 1911, 218–222; GAEBLER 1935, 148–162; RAYMOND 1953; PRICE 1974, 9–10, 18–21.

## Literary evidence

The situation is different for our literary tradition. The word *basileus* for describing the status of these Macedonian rulers is used by Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon, i.e. by our main historians of the period before Philip. Isocrates also employs the word *basileus* in relation to one of the Macedonian monarchs in those speeches that were composed prior to Philip's accession to the throne.

In connection with the Argeads the term *basileus* occurs in Herodotus only one time: he uses it (together with the word στρατηγός) to describe Alexander I, when the latter came to the Greeks on the eve of the battle of Plataea (IX. 44. 1: Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Ἀμύντεω, στρατηγός τε ἔων καὶ βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων). In other cases Herodotus, when he speaks about the Macedonian rulers, shows some diversity. In his account on the visit of the Persian embassy to Macedonia, Alexander claims that his father Amyntas is Μακεδόνων ὕπαρχος (V. 20. 3), while in the story about the coming of Alexander to Athens, dispatched by Mardonius there, the Spartan envoys state that Alexander is τύραννος (VIII. 142. 5). In turn, the power that Perdiccas I established in Macedonia, Herodotus calls τυραννίς (VIII. 137. 1) and a little further — ἀρχή (VIII. 139). In addition, he describes as *basileus* a ruler from Upper Macedonia who initially hired this Perdiccas and his two brothers to herd livestock (VIII. 137. 2–3, 5–138. 1). In contrast to the “Father of history”, Thucydides is consistent. In order to describe the Macedonian monarchs, he employs only the term *basileus*<sup>14</sup>. Furthermore, their power in Macedonia Thucydides calls βασιλεία (II. 95. 2) and then writes that Alexander, father of Perdiccas II, and his ancestors, the Temenidae, “were kings” (ἐβασίλευσαν) there (II. 99. 3). Besides, it should be pointed out that he refers to the kinglets of Upper Macedonia, considered formally the Argead house's vassals, as *basileis* too<sup>15</sup>. As to Xenophon, in his *Greek History* he speaks about the representatives of the ruling dynasty of Macedonia only in connection with Amyntas III. In one passage, Xenophon calls Amyntas *basileus* (V. 2. 12: Ἀμύντας ὁ Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς) and slightly later describes his power as ἀρχή (V. 2. 38). Likewise, he refers to the kinglet Dardas of Elimeia as ἄρχων (Ibid.). Lastly, when Isocrates twice mentions Amyntas III, he also uses the word *basileus* (Paneg. 126; Archid. 46: Ἀμύντας ὁ Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς), adding in the last case that after the restoration of his authority over Macedonia Amyntas “being king” (βασιλεύων) died at an advanced age<sup>16</sup>.

<sup>14</sup> Perdiccas II: Thuc. I. 57. 2; II. 29. 7 (Περδίκκας ὁ Ἀλεξάνδρου, Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς); II. 95. 1 (Μακεδονίας βασιλεὺς); cf. II. 99. 6. Archelaus: II. 100. 2 (Ἀρχέλαος ὁ Περδίκκου υἱὸς βασιλεὺς). Rulers before Archelaus: Ibid. (βασιλῆς).

<sup>15</sup> Such kinglets in general: Thuc. II. 99. 2. Antiochus of Orestis: II. 80. 6. Arrhabaeus of Lynceus: IV. 79. 2; 83. 1.

<sup>16</sup> In addition, it is relevant to note in the context that Plato, in contrast to the above-indicated ancient authors, does not use the word *basileus* in connection with the Macedonian rulers. Plato describes Archelaus one time as τύραννος (Alc. II. 141d) and twice as ἄρχων (Theag. 124d; Gorg. 470d), while this ruler's power in Macedonia he calls ἀρχή (Gorg. 471a–d). Likewise, when Plato speaks about Perdiccas III's power, he employs the term μοναρχία (Epist. 5. 322a).

*The Reign of Philip II*

## Epigraphic evidence

In the inscriptions uncontroversially dated to Philip's reign, he does not appear with the title *basileus* but is referred to by name alone: alliance between Philip and the Chalcidians, 357/6 (RO I 50. ll. 3, [9], 11–12 = Tod 158; Hatz. 2); alliance between Athens and Thracian, Paeonian, and Illyrian rulers, 356/5 (RO I 53. ll. 41, 43–44 = Syll.<sup>3</sup> 196; Tod 157); Athenian decree concerning Acanthus and Dium, ca. 350 (IG II/III<sup>3</sup> 1,2 388. l. 13); arrow points and sling bullets from Olynthus, 348 (ROBINSON 1941, 383 [nos. 1907–1911], 431–433 [nos. 2228–2241])<sup>17</sup>; Athenian decree concerning the Olynthian refugees, 348/7 (Tod 166. ll. [5], [15] = IG II/III<sup>3</sup> 1,2 503); Delphian lists of the Amphictionic *hieromnemes* and *tamiai* (CID II 36. col. I. l. 23 [343/2]; col. II. ll. 13, 35 [342/1] = FD III 5 14; CID II 43. ll. 16, 41 [340/39] = FD III 5 22; CID II 44. l. 5 [339/8] = FD III 5 21; CID II 74. col. I. ll. 31, 43; col. II. l. 22 [337/6] = FD III 5 47); Athenian variant of the oath sworn by the Greek states participating in the Corinthian League, 338/7<sup>18</sup> (IG II/III<sup>3</sup> 1,2 318. ll. [5], 11 = Syll.<sup>3</sup> 260; Tod 177; RO I 76)<sup>19</sup>; Athenian decree in honour of a certain friend at Philip's court, 337/6 (IG II/III<sup>3</sup> 1,2 322. ll. 13, 15 = Syll.<sup>3</sup> 262; Tod 181).

Philip is attested without such a title also in a number of epigraphic documents belonging to a slightly later date: Alexander's settlement concerning Philippi, 335–330 (VATIN 1984, A. l. [9], B. l. 10 = MISSITZIS 1985; Hatz. 6)<sup>20</sup>; list of sales from Philippi, second half of the fourth century (Hatz. 83. ll. 1, 6 = SEG 38 658); land grant of Cassander to Perdicas son of Coenus, ca. 306–297 (Hatz. 20. ll. 9–10 = Syll.<sup>3</sup> 332).

On the date of the so called inscription from Olevni, where the title *basileus* is used along with Philip's name (IG X 2,2 1: ll. 14–15 = Hatz. 5), there is no consensus among modern

<sup>17</sup> A number of sling bullets bearing the name of Philip (without the title *basileus*) have been found in other places as well. For them, see AVRAM, CHIRIAC, MATEI 2013, 235.

<sup>18</sup> The idea of WORTHINGTON (2008a, 213–223) that the first fragment of this inscription refers to the bilateral treaty between Philip and Athens which concluded their war right after the battle of Chaeronea in 338, is interesting, but, in my view, unconvincing. On this peace (the so called Demades' Peace), see now in detail KHOLOD 2013, 495–507 (with further bibliography).

<sup>19</sup> Although the word βασιλεία is preserved in line 11 ([τ]ῆν βασιλείαν [τ]ῆν Φιλίππου καὶ τῶν ἐκγόνων), this proves nothing, since Philip himself is mentioned here without the title *basileus*. In all likelihood, as Borza believes (1999, 12), the word βασιλεία in this line “means ... the «rule» or «authority» of Philip over his land”. On that, see also BOSWORTH 1993, 420. n. 5; BADIAN 1996, 12; RO I 76 (commentary).

<sup>20</sup> Because this inscription is poorly preserved, scholars propose divergent interpretations of the document (as well as various restorations of its damaged parts). Detailed bibliography: Hatz. 6 (commentary). Also, there is no unified position on the exact date of the inscription. See e.g. VATIN 1984, 262 (“late 335”); MISSITZIS 1985, 13–14 (“before the Persian campaign”); HAMMOND 1988, 383 (“the winter of 335/4”); 1990, 173 (“May or so of 335”) (cf. 1994, 386–387); BADIAN 1989, 67–68; 1993, 137–138; 1994, 389. n. 1 (“not earlier than ca. 330”); HATZOPOULOS 1997, 50–51 (“between January and May of 330”); cf. Hatz. 6 (“330”).

scholars: part of them are inclined to consider this *basileus* to be Philip V<sup>21</sup>. Again, there is no certainty about the restoration of the name of Philip in the text of Amphissa's dedication in Delphi (IG IX 1 775. ll. [1–2] = DAUX 1949, 258–260: [Ἀμ]φισσεῖς Φ[ίλιππον Ἀμύντα] | βασιλέα)<sup>22</sup> and, consequently, about the attribution of the document to the respective period. The same can be said also on an inscription from Mygdonia concerning the demarcation of borders between various cities, at the beginning of which the word βασιλεία has survived (Hatz. 4. ll. [1–2]: [Ἐπὶ τῆς Φιλίππου] βασιλείας τοῦ Ἀμύντου) = SEG 40 542)<sup>23</sup>. Besides, 338/7 as the date for an Athenian decree moved by Archedicus, where the phrase “the friends of the *basileus* and of Antipater” occurs (IG II/III<sup>3</sup> 1,2 484. ll. 3–4: τῶν τ[ο]ῦ βασιλέως φίλων καὶ Ἀντιπάτ[ρ]ου = SEG 42 91)<sup>24</sup>, seems to me doubtful. More likely, this decree is related to a later time, perhaps to 322, shortly after the battle of Crannon, and if so, the mentioned *basileus* is Philip III Arrhidaeus (it is possible that until that point either Alexander IV was not also proclaimed *basileus* or such news was not still known in Athens)<sup>25</sup>. In turn, there is no unanimity in scholarship on the identification of “the *basileus*” recorded in a very fragmentary Athenian decree proposed by Demades in 337/6 (IG II/III<sup>3</sup> 1,2 326. l. 20: τὸν βασιλέα): while some modern historians hold that this is Philip<sup>26</sup>, others argue that the inscription refers either to the Persian king<sup>27</sup> or to the Athenian official<sup>28</sup>. In any case, it is evident that this question cannot be solved definitively because of the document's very bad condition.

On the other hand, we have two copies of an inscription (now lost) from Lebadea, recording the prescriptions for consulting the oracle of Trophonius, supplemented by a list of names of visitors, where, if its text is restored correctly, Amyntas son of Perdiccas III (and nephew of Philip)<sup>29</sup> is called *basileus* (IG VII 3055. ll. 7–8: Ἀ[μ]ύντα[ς] Π[ερ]δίκ[κ]α

<sup>21</sup> More recently PAPAZOGLU 1998, 89–100; ARENA 2003, 49–82 (both articles contain detailed bibliography). The arguments of these scholars seem persuasive to me. Cf. IG X 2,2 1 (commentary). That this is Philip II, is most actively argued by Hatzopoulos. See e.g. HATZOPOULOS 1982, 21–42, and especially 1995, 163–185. See recently also LANE FOX 2011, 359.

<sup>22</sup> On this inscription, see also ARENA 2004–2005, 211–226; 2007, 293–326.

<sup>23</sup> Furthermore, the word order in the proposed restoration of these lines makes me somewhat doubtful. Though cf. I.Mylasa 5: ll. 1–2 (353/2).

<sup>24</sup> For such a date, see TRACY 1993, 249–251.

<sup>25</sup> BOSWORTH 1993, 420–427. Cf. HABICHT 1993, 255. n. 12; BADIAN 1994, 389–390; ARENA 1999, 85–87; IG II/III<sup>3</sup> 1,2 484 (commentary).

<sup>26</sup> See e.g. SCHWEIGERT 1940, 326; SCHWENK 1985, 32; CARGILL 1995, 15, 43. n. 1.

<sup>27</sup> ARENA 2002, 309–325. I admit that Arena's identification is possibly correct, but I do not agree with him that this decree was relevant (at least directly) to the military operations waged by the Macedonian advance-guard in Asia Minor from the spring of 336. On these operations, see now in detail KHOLOD 2018, 407–446. If Arena is right about the identification, it is more likely that the Persian king was mentioned in the decree in some other connection.

<sup>28</sup> HUMPHREYS 2004, 82. n. 12, 123. n. 41.

<sup>29</sup> Another opinion identifies this Amyntas as Amyntas II (the Little) who ruled in Macedonia over a brief time in the late 390s and whose patronymic is unknown (perhaps his father was a certain Perdiccas): ERRINGTON 1974, 26;

[Μα]κεδόνων βασιλεύ[ς] = SEG 44 414; 48 571)<sup>30</sup>. Despite disagreement among scholars on the exact date of this document<sup>31</sup>, it appears that it was engraved either in the period of Philip's reign or soon after his assassination (but prior to the spring of 335, as by that time Amyntas had been already executed<sup>32</sup>): even if one admits that Amyntas after the death of his father in 360/59 was ruler of Macedonia over a short period and Philip acted then as regent (Just. VII. 5. 9)<sup>33</sup>, his pilgrimage to the oracle of Trophonius as a boy, and possibly a small boy<sup>34</sup>, seems highly unlikely<sup>35</sup> (at least it is quite unclear for me what answers Amyntas at this age could seek from the oracle). However, the difficulty with such a dating<sup>36</sup> is that Amyntas, irrespective of whether or not he occupied the Macedonian throne once, could not officially bear the title *basileus*, when Philip and Alexander were ruling in Macedonia. Therefore it is credible that the Lebedeans inscribed the word *basileus* in the document not as a formal title but simply as a descriptive definition in order to emphasize to later visitors—to whom this Amyntas might have been unknown—his high status as one of the main representatives of the Argead house<sup>37</sup>. In turn, several roof-tiles with the words βασιλέως Φιλίππου were discovered during a series of excavations of a Hellenistic city on the Hill of St. Panteleimon above Florina<sup>38</sup>, which were dated to the reign of Philip II, like some finds (walling and pottery) that

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similarly ANSON 2009, 276–277. Nevertheless, see ERRINGTON 1990, 28, 269. n. 6, where he has changed his earlier position, this time believing that the father of Amyntas II was Archelaus. I am inclined to hold that Amyntas II was a son of Menelaus. Thus, in particular, HAMMOND 1979a, 168–169; BORZA 1992, 178; MARCH 1995, 279. It is hence most probable that the Lebedean inscription is irrelevant to his reign.

<sup>30</sup> On the history of the inscription and its restoration, see ELLIS 1971, 16–17.

<sup>31</sup> See e.g. LANE FOX 2011, 340 (“360/59”); HAMMOND 1979b, 651; 1989, 137. n. 1 (“359–357”); GRIFFITH 1979, 703–704 (“346–339”); ELLIS 1971, 18–21 (“336–335”).

<sup>32</sup> Arr. Anab. I. 5. 4 implies that Cynnane, Amyntas' wife, already was a widow by this spring, because Alexander offered her then as bride to Langarus, ruler of the Agrianes (HECKEL 2006, 23 [no. 1]).

<sup>33</sup> In addition, see Satyr. *FGrH* 161 F5 ap. Athen. XIII. 557b. The reign of Amyntas son of Perdiccas III is controversial. Most scholars now reject his reign, arguing that Philip ascended the throne immediately and never acted as regent (see e.g. ELLIS 1971, 15–16, 21–22; GRIFFITH 1979, 208–209, 702–704; BORZA 1992, 200–201; 1999, 52–53; WORTHINGTON 2008b, 21–22; ANSON 2009, 276–286; LANE FOX 2011, 339–340; cf. HATZOPOULOS 1986, 280–281). However, for a contrary view, see HAMMOND 1979b, 651; 1989, 137; TRONSON 1984, 120–121. Cf. ERRINGTON 1990, 37, 271. n. 9.

<sup>34</sup> On his age then, see ELLIS 1971, 18.

<sup>35</sup> GRIFFITH 1979, 703. Nevertheless, see LANE FOX 2011, 340, who dates this visit of Amyntas to 360/59, to the moment of Perdiccas' death (hence, in his view, the Lebedeans wrongly anticipating the outcome of events in Macedonia described Amyntas as *basileus*). Cf. ERRINGTON 1974, 26.

<sup>36</sup> I place the inscription in the period between ca. 346 and the winter of 336/5. Indeed, while the first half of the 350s was, I think, barely suitable for Amyntas' pilgrimage because of his young age, in the years 355–346 (i.e. during the Third Sacred War) northern Boeotia, as Griffith rightly noticed, was a dangerous region for visitors. See GRIFFITH 1979, 703.

<sup>37</sup> ERRINGTON 1974, 28. Cf. GRIFFITH 1979, 703.

<sup>38</sup> Eight roof-tiles with the name of Philip were found there in the early 1930s and three in 1982.

imply the existence of this city already at his time<sup>39</sup>. Nevertheless, the published material of the excavations leaves me unconvinced<sup>40</sup> that these roof-tiles belong to Philip's age and not to a later time, e.g. to the reign of Philip V. Lastly, we possess an inscription from Thasos with the text [β]ασιλέως Φιλί[ππου] σωτήρος (HAMON 2015–2016, 117)<sup>41</sup>, engraved probably on an altar, which some scholars, judging from its letter forms, relate to the second half of the fourth century and thereby connect with Philip II, perhaps with his local cult<sup>42</sup>. But the following circumstance is a matter of concern in the case: we have no piece of evidence for the existence of Philip's official cult in his lifetime, which does not give rise to doubts in scholarship<sup>43</sup>. Taking this into account, it seems that the inscription needs further consideration. At any rate, even if the inscription was indeed engraved during the reign of Philip II and related to his unofficial local private cult, the word *basileus* here does not necessarily reflect Philip's formal title but perhaps was used simply as a synonym for "ruler"; absolute accuracy was not demanded at the private level.

#### Numismatic evidence

As in the case of the Macedonian rulers before Philip, the title *basileus* is absent on all types of his coins. Most of their legends contain only his name (ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ), sometimes in abbreviated form<sup>44</sup>.

#### Literary evidence

We have a number of mentions of Philip and other Argead rulers as *basileis*, made by his contemporaries. In those speeches of Demosthenes that are considered authentic, Philip is referred to as *basileus* one time (VI. 20), and three times he is presented in such capacity

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<sup>39</sup> The earlier publication of such roof-tiles: BAKALAKIS 1934 (1935), 104–113; see also GUARDUCCI 1970, 500. Besides, for the later excavations at the site, see LILIBAKI-AKAMATI, AKAMATIS 1990 (1993), 68–73.

<sup>40</sup> In contrast to LANE FOX 2011, 343, 359.

<sup>41</sup> On this inscription, see also HOLTZMANN 1975, 292; 1976, 792; HATZOPOULOS, LOUKOPOULOU 1989, 47. n. 5; BÉ 2002 284 (Hatzopoulos).

<sup>42</sup> HAMON 2015–2016, 118 (with indication of those scholars who are of such an opinion). Suk Fong Jim is also inclined to relate this inscription to the period of Philip II. At the same time, she argues—in my view convincingly—that a number of other known dedications similarly addressed to a "*basileus* Philip" should be connected not with Philip II, as Hatzopoulos and some historians believe, but with Philip V. See SUK FONG JIM 2017, 429–443 (with references to Hatzopoulos' relevant works and further literature). So too: KUZ'MIN 2016b, 369–372.

<sup>43</sup> On the question of Philip's deification, see, in particular, HABICHT 1970, 12–16, 245; BAYNHAM 1994, 35–43; BADIAN 1996, 13–17; WORTHINGTON 2008b, 228–233; MARI 2008, 232–242; KUZ'MIN 2016a, 125–132; in addition, see KHOLOD 2016, 497–498. n. 7.

<sup>44</sup> For Philip's coinage, see HEAD 1911, 222–224; GAEBLER 1935, 162–168; PRICE 1974, 21–23; and now in more detail LE RIDER 1977; 1996; in addition, see FLAMENT 2010, 77–123.



together with his ancestors (to whom the orator compares him) (I. 9: οὐδείς πω βασιλεὺς γέγονεν Μακεδονίας; II. 15: μηδεὶς πώποτ' ἄλλος Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς; VI. 20: πάντες οἱ πρότερον Μακεδονίας βασιλεῖς; cf. [VII]. 11; [XI]. 11). Additionally, Demosthenes speaks about Perdiccas II (confusing him with Alexander I) as “being king” (βασιλεύων) in Macedonia at the time of the Persian invasion (XXIII. 200; cf. [XI]. 16; [XIII]. 24). In turn, Aristotle in the *Politics*—a large part of which was written most probably in Philip’s lifetime<sup>45</sup>—refers to the Macedonian rulers in general as *basileis* (V. 8. 5. 1310b: βασιλεῖς <...> Μακεδόνων). Besides, in the story about the death of Archelaus, he describes a kinglet of Elimeia as *basileus* too (V. 8. 10. 1311b). Isocrates in his letters to Philip does not designate Philip as *basileus* at all (in contrast to Amyntas in his earlier works; see above) but refers to him by name alone. At the same time, when Isocrates speaks about Philip’s and his ancestors’ power in Macedonia, he makes use of a group of cognates: βασιλεία (Phil. 1. 19, 105, 107–108; 2. 24; 3. 5), βασιλεύω (Phil. 1. 67, 154), βασιλικῶς (Phil. 1. 154), βασιλικός (Phil. 2. 3). Furthermore, it is worth pointing out that in one passage, where Isocrates records the activities of Perdiccas I, the word βασιλεία is employed as a synonym to the words ἀρχή, μοναρχία, and δυναστεία used by him there as well (Phil. 1. 105–108.)<sup>46</sup>.

## Conclusion

Thus, as can be seen from the given overview of sources, there is no reliable evidence that the Argead rulers before Philip II bore the formal title *basileus*. Unfortunately, the epigraphic material from Macedonia itself is absent. But the extant inscriptions, whose provenance is external to the country, and coins (the best available evidence in the connection) do not confirm this absolutely; they describe the Macedonian monarchs by name alone. In turn, reliance on our literary evidence in the case, it seems, cannot be considered strong: it is obvious that the above-named Greek authors are mainly inconsistent when describing the authority and position of the Argead rulers, and it appears that all of them use the term *basileus* not as a formal title of the Macedonian monarchs but merely as a synonym for “ruler” (at least it is significant that they also describe those rulers who officially never bore or normally did not bear the title *basileus*, for example the Thracian ones<sup>47</sup>, in the same way).

<sup>45</sup> On the date, see, in particular, DOVATUR 1965, 87–91; SCHÜTRUMPF 1991a, 128–134; 1991b, 95–108, 117–118; 1996, 178–185; 2005, 155–170 (with further literature).

<sup>46</sup> This has been justly noticed by BORZA 1999, 13. n. 14.

<sup>47</sup> One of the illustrations in this connection is as follows: Xenophon refers to the Paphlagonian Otys as *basileus* (Hell. IV. 1. 2; cf. IV. 1. 4), although there is no doubt that this petty ruler never bore, at least officially, the respective title. As to the Thracian rulers, they, judging from the extant epigraphic and numismatic evidence, usually did not describe themselves as *basileis*. The only exception known to me is Getas, a very obscure Edonian ruler (ca. 480s–460s): the title *basileus* is struck on his coins (HEAD 1911, 201; GAEBLER 1935, 144; PRICE 1974, 8; YURUKOVA 1992, 23–25, 217 [no. 19]; cf. ARCHIBALD 1998, 106; VASSILEVA 2015, 325). For the case of Hebryzelmis, see above.

The situation with Philip may, however, be different. Although it seems impossible to regard, like in the case of the earlier Argeads, the literary sources as reliable evidence of the use of the formal title *basileus* in Macedonia during his reign, we have a number of inscriptions that might support this. Nevertheless, none of them can be considered irrefutable proof in the relation. Therefore at the present the question of Philip's use of the official title *basileus* remains open.

We can only speculate on why the Macedonian monarchs ignored such a title (it seems evident that its omission in those known documents which were composed with the monarchs' participation, was at least approved by the rulers themselves, if not occurred, as in the coin legends, due to them.) In this connection, the following words of Badian perhaps deserve attention: "But they were not legitimate Greek kings, like those at Sparta, and so they may have preferred to avoid a title that would seem invidious to Greeks <...> and would set them apart from Greek aristocrats, among whom they wanted Greeks to count them"<sup>48</sup>. Indeed, it is plausible that the principal reason was the Macedonian rulers' concern for the creation and maintenance of a right image of themselves in the Greek world: since the overwhelming majority of Greek society, except a group of intellectuals in the fourth century,<sup>49</sup> were prejudiced against any king and even regarded kingship as a mark of the uncivilized and barbarian,<sup>50</sup> it appears to have been natural for the Macedonian monarchs to avoid the title *basileus* at the official level in order not to be alien in the eyes of the Greeks.<sup>51</sup> And if the formal title *basileus* indeed began to be occasionally used by Philip, one may suppose that it was because he already did not need, at least in some matters, to adapt to the Greeks' tastes as much as his ancestors; his deeds forced the Greeks to take him seriously and very often treat him even respectfully.

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<sup>48</sup> BADIAN 1996, 12; cf. GRIFFITH 1979, 388–389.

<sup>49</sup> For them, see, in particular, FROLOV 1974, 401–434; and more recently BARCELÓ 1993, 246–284.

<sup>50</sup> The classical expression of such a view: Isoc. Phil. 1. 107–108. Isocrates' statement that monarchy is the typical sort of rule for barbarians, is essential in this passage. And although the orator praises the Greek Perdiccas (I), Philip's ancestor, for establishing his royal power over the Macedonians, the very fact that the Argeads were monarchs, i.e. exercised so a sort of rule that was considered unacceptable for the Greek world, could not but tarnish them to some degree. Additionally, one should remember that many Greeks, unlike Isocrates, doubted the Greek origin of the Argead house (on this, see e.g. BORZA 1992, 80–84).

<sup>51</sup> Though it does not follow from this that one or another Macedonian monarch would not answer, if someone called him *basileus*. It appears that unofficially, in daily life, the Macedonian rulers could well be called not only by mere names but also—at least sometimes—*basileis*.

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