

ΙΟΥΛΙΑ ΒΟΚΟΤΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, Η Επιγραφή του Χολομώντα
IOULIA VOKOTOPOULOU, The Holomondas Inscription

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MICHAEL ZHRNT, Hadrians Wirken in Makedonien

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NEW DOCUMENTS FROM THE SANCTUARY OF HERAKLES KYNAGIDAS AT BEROIA

The new documents published here¹ are inscribed on a thick marble slab discovered at Beroia in the summer of 1980; its dimensions are: Height 1.17 m, width 0.505-0.508 m, thickness 0.14-0.16 m (Fig. 1-3). The stone was found reused as part of the cover of a shaft grave of late Roman date, but there can be little doubt that it originally stood in the sanctuary of Herakles Kynagidas, which is known from a number of inscriptions from Beroia. This is evident from the two inscriptions recording dedications made by manumitted slaves to Herakles Kynagidas. But the most interesting text engraved on the stone is a public document, a royal letter (of which unfortunately only the final lines are preserved) followed by a list of names. The proximity of the sanctuary to the finding spot is suggested by the fact that another marble slab of almost identical dimensions containing a list of the priests of Herakles Kynagidas was also found reused in the cover of the same late Roman grave².

The upper part of the rectangular slab is unevenly broken and there is a small cavity for a metal clamp in the middle of the top side (Fig. 3α). Evidently another slab, which contained the beginning of the inscription, was placed on top of it. The left-hand side is flat and smooth, while the right-hand side has been worked with a toothed chisel and bears a concave moulding along its entire length (Fig. 2-3). These technical features suggest that the slab was not free-standing, but part of a building (probably the revetment of an anta or an orthostate), which stood in the sanctuary of Herakles Kynagidas. It is tempting to suppose that this was a temple, but a different kind of building (e.g. a stoa), or even a non-architectural structure (e.g. a monumental base) is equally possible. The royal letter and the list of names inscribed on the front of the slab belong to the period in which it was standing as part of the original structure. The same is probably true of the first two manumission records inscribed below the first text. A possible change of position or reuse is suggested by the fact that the last manumission record is inscribed along the right hand-side (Fig. 3β); but the nature of this document shows that the stone was still in the same sanctuary. The final use of the slab was part of the cover of the late Roman grave, where it was found. The reworking of the surface with the claw-chisel and a pointed tool on a band of ±12 cm at the bottom of the slab may be connected to its last use.

The script of the royal letter indicates a date in the second half of the third century BC. The letters do not show decorative forms; they are generally elegant, if somewhat elongated. The ends of straight bars are adorned with small apices. The alpha invariably has a straight (never a curved or broken) horizontal bar. Round letters are generally smaller than the rest. On the whole the lettering is comparable to that of a decree of Thessalonike dated to the seventh year of Antigonos Doson (Fig. 6)³. The letter forms of the manumission records point to a considerably later period; they are probably late Hellenistic (see below, p. 25-26).

A. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

Royal letter and name list (Fig. 4-5).

Height of the letters: 0.5-1.5 cm; distance between the lines: 0.5-0.7 cm.

- [- -]ν καὶ τὸν [- -]
 [- -]σιν πάντες τ[- -]
 [- -]μεν καὶ ἐγ Δῆλου κα[ταπλεῖν κατὰ τὸ δυ?]-
 νατόν· ἐπι[κ]εχώρηκα δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἡγεμόσι τοῖς
 5 [σ]υ<ν>αγωνισαμένοις, ὅταν καταλύσωσι τῆ[ν]
 στρατείαν, ἀτέλειαν τῶν πολιτικῶν λειτο[υρ]-
 [γ]ῶν. περὶ <δ>ὲ τούτων καὶ κοινή μὲν γέγραφα πρὸς
 Βοττεάτας καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς <δ>ὲ καθ' ἰδίαν ἔκρινον ἐπ[ι]-
 στεῖλαι. ν ἔτους ν ζ' ν Γορπιαίου ν ιζ'. vacat
 10 Πολεμαῖος Ἀρπάλου, Τιμοκλῆς Καλλίππου, Ἴππο-
 στρατος Καλλίππου, Παισανίας Νικάνορος, Ἀντήνων
 Σωσιμένου, Νικάνωρ Νικάνορος, Νικάνωρ Ἀλεξάνδρου,
 Εὐφρων Ἀριστολάου, Ἀντίπατρος <Δ>ημοφίλου, Εὐθύ-
 νους Ἀλεξάνδρου, Ἀντίγονος Φοινικίλου, Ἡλιό<δ>ωρος
 15 Ἀγάνορος, Ἀγάθων Λυγκέως, Ἄρμενος Ἀδαίου, Εὐδη[?]-
 λης Μαχάτου, Βότριχος Νικαίχμου, Ἀριστογέν[ης]
 Ἑρμῶνος, Ζωῖλος Ἀλεξάνδρου, Παράμονος Δ[η(νελ α)μο]-
 στρατου, ν Ἀλκιμος Παραμόνου, Φιλόξενος Νικ[- -],
 Φιλόξενος Τευτίου, Μένανδρος Ἀντιγόνου],
 20 Νικόλαος Νικοδήμου, Σωγένης Ἑρμο[.....]
 Νικάνωρ Λικκύρου(?), Νικάνωρ Ἀντιγόνου, [.....]
 χος Σωσθένου, Λυσιπόλις Κλισιμάχου, Ξενοφ[- -] Ποσει[- -],
 Διονύσιος Δερκυλίδου, Μείδων Με[- -],
 Γλαυκίας Εὐβιότη[ου], Ἀ]θαῖος Ἀκίστου,
 25 Μελέαγρος Φιλίπ[που], Ἐ]πιτέλης Μενάνδρου[υ],
 Νικάνδρος Εὐδίκου, Νικόλαος Περίτου, Φίλων
 Παραμόνου, Μελέαγρος Μαχάτου, Ἐπίνικος
 Νικίου, Μένανδρος Παισανίου, Μένανδρος

- Πύρρου, Ἀ<δ>αῖος Βεττάλου, Σταπόλε[μ]ος Ἀμύντου,
 30 Τιμοκράτης Δεινίου, Ὀρέστης Ἀμύν[τ]ου, Ἡγή-
 σανδρος Εἰκα<δ>ίωνος, Παράμονος Μενάνδρου,
 Δήμαρχος <Δ>ιαγόρου, Νικάνωρ Ἀδαίου, Σωγ[έ]νης
 [Ἀ]ριστάρχου, Ἀριστοκλῆς Μικίωνος, Φίλιππος Ζω-
 35 πύριωνος, Νικάνδρος Ποιμάχου, Δίφιλος Ἐπικρ[ά]-
 του, Παρμενίων Μενάνδρου, Ἀντίγονος Μενεκ[ρά(νελ ρί)]-
 του, Βάλακρος Λαμέδοντος, vacat
 Ἀλκίμαχος Μαχάτου. vacat

2: The first letter, which is only partially preserved, may equally well be an ε. 3: The supplement at the end of the line is far from certain; it serves as an indication of the probable context. 5: The exact reading of the stone is .ΥΜΑΓΩΝΙΣΑΜΕΝΟΙΣ. 15: It is impossible to determine with certainty whether or not a syllable is missing at the end of the line. 17: The name Ζωῖλος Ἀλεξάνδρου is written on top of a *rasura*. 18: The most likely supplement at the end of the line is Νικ[ίου]; but a somewhat longer name (e.g. Νικ[ολάου]) cannot be ruled out, since the script is sometimes condensed near the right border (as in 31). 22: The name Ξενοφ[-] Ποσει[-] is written on top of a *rasura* in replacement of a much shorter name; the cutter had to engrave it in two lines, which he squeezed into the space of one. 7, 8, 13, 14, 29, 31, 32: The cutter has often omitted to engrave the lower horizontal stroke of Δ, which was probably rendered in colour; the inscription has twice ΛΕ for ΔΕ, also ΛΗΜΟΦΙΛΟΥ for ΔΗΜΟΦΙΛΟΥ, ΛΙΑΓΟΡΟΥ for ΔΙΑΓΟΡΟΥ, ΗΛΙΟΛΩΡΟΣ for ΗΛΙΟΔΩΡΟΣ, ΑΛΛΑΙΟΥ for ΑΔΑΙΟΥ, ΕΙΚΑΛΙΩΝΟΣ for ΕΙΚΑΔΙΩΝΟΣ, ΛΙΑΓΟΡΟΥ for ΔΙΑΓΟΡΟΥ. For the same reason the otherwise unknown personal name Λικκύρου in 21 may also be read as <Δ>ικκύρου or perhaps <Α>ικκύρου, which are likewise unattested names; furthermore [Ἀ]θαῖος in 24 may alternatively be restored as [Εὐ]θαῖος, although the small size of the gap makes this a less satisfactory solution.

Manumission records

I. On the front (Fig. 7).

- a. Height of the letters: ±1 cm; distance between the lines: 1-1.5 cm.

Δημήτριος, Παρμενίδης, Εὐφράντα, Ζωῖς, Παραμόνα,
 Ὄνησιμος, Ἐπικλησις, Εὐφροσύνη, Ἀφροδισία, Βίθυσ,
 Ἀθηναῖς ἀπελευθερωθέντες ὑπὸ Κρίτωνος τοῦ Εὐτυχιδου
 Ἡρα[...]κλῆ Κυναγίδα σκύφον οὗ ὀλκή εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ δραχ(μαί) φ'.

- b. Height of the letters: 1.2 cm; distance between the lines: ±1 cm.

Ἴταλία ἀπελευθερωθεῖσα ὑπὸ Νικά-
 νορος τοῦ Λυσιμάχου σκύφον οὗ ὀλκή
 δραχ(μαί) ν'.

4: There is a *rasura* in the middle of the word Ἡρακλῆ, probably due to a self-correction by the cutter.

II. On the right side (Fig. 8).

Height of the letters: 1-1.3 cm; distance between the lines: ±1 cm.

[- - -]. |
 [- -]ΕΝΝΙ
 [- -]Ἡρακ-
 λεῖ Κυναγι-
 5 δαι σκύφον
 οὗ ὀγκή
 δραχ(μαί) v v'.

... and to sail back from Delos as soon as possible (?). Furthermore, I have granted to the officers who fought under my command, as soon as they are discharged from their⁴ military duty, exemption from civil liturgies. Concerning these matters I have written a common letter to the Botteatai, but I also decided to address you in particular. In the seventh year, on the seventeenth day of Gorpaios.

[List containing the names of 60 men.]

I a. Demetrios, Parmenides, Euphranta, Zois, Paramona, Onesimos, Epiklesis, Euphrosyne, Aphrodisia, Beithys, Athenais having been freed by Kriton son of Eutychides (dedicated) to Herakles Kynagidas a skyphos whose total weight⁵ is 550 drachmas.

I b. Italia having been freed by Nikanor son of Lysimachos (dedicated) a skyphos whose weight is 50 drachmas.

II. ... (dedicated) to Herakles Kynagidas a skyphos whose weight is 50 drachmas.

B. COMMENTARY

The royal letter and the list of names

Unfortunately only the final lines of the royal letter are preserved. The surviving portion, however, leaves no doubt as to the nature of this document. It is a letter addressed to the city of Beroia by a king. The language shows a number of features typical of the style of Hellenistic royal chanceries. One of the most noticeable is the use of the verb ἐπιχωρῶ in the sense of "to grant a privilege", which is often attested in Hellenistic documents⁶. The verb συγχωρῶ may also be used in a similar way⁷. On the other hand, the perfect tense denoting an action already completed at the time of the letter is characteristic of epistolary style, since in ancient correspondence the standpoint in time was generally assumed to be that of the recipient⁸. This also helps explain the use of the imperfect in l. 8, where the decision to dispatch the letter is announced (ἔκρινον

ἐπι[σ]τεῖλαι), where a modern reader would expect the present tense. The imperfect is preferred to the aorist or perfect probably in order to indicate that the action denoted by the verb is simultaneous with that of the writing the letter, which is expressed in the perfect tense: γέγραφα. There is an exact parallel for this sequence of tenses in a letter of Attalos II to his cousin Athenaios son of Sosander⁹, where the decision to confirm the priesthood of Athenaios' son of the same name (which had already been taken when the letter was written) is expressed in the perfect tense (l. 14f.: κεκρίκαμεγ ... διαμε<ί>ναι ... Ἀθηναί[ωι] τῷ νίῳ αὐτοῦ τὴν ἱερωσ[ύ]ν[η]ν), whereas the decision to write to him is expressed in the imperfect (l. 20: ἔκρινον ἐπι[σ]τεῖλαι σοι)¹⁰.

The document is dated by day, month and regnal year: ἔτους ζ' Γορπιαίου ιζ'. Gorpaios is the eleventh month of the Macedonian calendar. Since the Macedonian year began in all likelihood in early autumn – late September or early October (in principle around the equinox, although irregularities could be considerable)¹¹ – the seventeenth day of Gorpaios would not have been very far removed from mid-August. The letter was therefore written and despatched in late summer, a time of year perfectly suitable for announcing the forthcoming end of a campaign and the subsequent release of officers (ἡγεμόνες), and probably also of soldiers¹², from military duty (ὅταν καταλύσωσι τῆ[ν] στρατείαν¹³), since the end of the campaigning season was approaching.

In spite of the indication of the year, month and day at the end of the royal letter, its date cannot be determined at first sight, because the name of the king has not survived. His identity has to be deduced from the content of the inscription. Our analysis of the letter forms has shown that the document belongs in all probability to the second half of the third cent. BC. During this period three kings reigned in Macedonia: Demetrios II, Antigonos Doseon and Philip V, all of whom are potential candidates, since each of them remained on the throne for more than seven years. One must therefore proceed by exclusion, the main criterion being the possibility of relating the situation that transpires from the provisions of this letter to events that are known to have taken place in the seventh year of the reign of one of these kings. The reference to an impending demobilisation of army officers suggests that a large-scale military operation, which was still in progress at the time of writing, was due to end soon. The considerable importance of this campaign is underlined by the king's decision to reward the senior officers who participated with an exemption from civil liturgies (ἀτέλειαν τῶν πολιτικῶν λειτο[υ]ργ[ί]ων)¹⁴. This was an important privilege, which Macedonian kings granted for exceptional services. One may recall that Alexander the Great exempted the parents and sons of those who fell at the battle of Granicus from taxes and personal liturgies¹⁵. The decision to grant this particular privilege proves by itself that the officers concerned are not mercenaries, but commanders of a citizen army (see n. 29 below). It is safe to infer that the campaign had been an unusually long and strenuous one, causing the con-

scripts not only hardship, but also considerable financial losses. A military operation on such a scale by a king of Macedonia can hardly have gone unrecorded and one may reasonably expect to find some mention of it in written sources.

Demetrios II can hardly be the author of our letter, since no major military event can plausibly be dated to the seventh year of his reign¹⁶. Turning to the warrior king Philip V, we find that a campaign is in fact mentioned in a letter he sent to Larissa late in the seventh year of his reign¹⁷. It is very probable that the operation was conducted in that same summer, but we have no indication as to its scope or its importance, for it cannot be certainly identified with any of the campaigns recorded by ancient historians. The main difficulty lies in the uncertainty regarding the starting point for the counting of Philip's regnal years, since we do not know the exact date of his accession to the throne¹⁸. According to the most plausible calculation, starting at 222/21 BC, his seventh year would have been 216/15¹⁹. This means that the campaign mentioned in the letter to Larissa should probably be identified with an attack on Corcyra — an event of limited importance and uncertain results²⁰. If, on the other hand, we consider 221/20 as Philip's first regnal year, the month of Gorpaios in his seventh year would have fallen in the summer of 214 BC. At that time he conducted an apparently unsuccessful expedition against Apollonia on the Adriatic coast²¹, which ended abruptly when the Roman fleet intervened. Even if one disregards its unfortunate conclusion, this short campaign can hardly have strained Philip's troops in a way that would justify an exceptional reward. It is therefore clear that, according to the available evidence, no military event of major importance can be dated to the seventh year of Philip's reign.

The situation is quite different in the case of Antigonos Doson, since his seventh regnal year is 224/3 BC²², the year before the battle of Sellasia. The events of late summer 223 provide a very satisfactory background for the decisions announced in the royal letter. We know that Antigonos spent the whole campaigning season of 223 in the Peloponnese (as he had done in the previous year), waging war against Kleomenes of Sparta²³. He had started this important campaign as an ally of the Achaean league at the behest of its leader Aratos. Beside Polybios, who is our main source²⁴, we have the account of Plutarch (probably based on Phylarchos²⁵) providing information on the size of the Macedonian contingent that took part in the campaign, which must have been impressive: Antigonos' army consisted of 20,000 infantry and 1,300 cavalry. These are obviously rounded figures, but they appear to be reliable on the whole, and they have never been challenged. There can be little doubt that this was the most important military action undertaken by a king of Macedonia since the early reign of Antigonos Gonatas. In a recent account N. G. L. Hammond duly stressed the historical significance of Doson's expedition to the Peloponnese: "During the fifty-five years which had passed since the first invasion of the Gauls Macedonia had been slow to recover and this was the first time that a Macedonian field army

had taken the offensive in Greece since the reign of Demetrios I"²⁶.

The lack of a decisive outcome despite the size of the contingent and the considerable efforts of Antigonos to force Kleomenes into an open battle probably led to widespread discontent among the Macedonian troops, who had already spent the winter of 224/23 in the Peloponnese and were understandably unwilling to stay away from their homes for much longer. The king must have realised that the situation was potentially dangerous for the morale of his troops and might jeopardise the outcome of the campaign. This would explain why Antigonos decided to demobilise the conscripts and send them back to Macedonia, while he himself stayed with the mercenaries in winter quarters in the Peloponnese²⁷. His concern for the morale of the Macedonians, who formed the major part of his army, was all the more justifiable, as the enemy, King Kleomenes of Sparta, had not yet been defeated. Indeed he was still strong and able to inflict considerable damage, as his surprise attack on Megalopolis following the departure of the Macedonian army served to prove²⁸.

The Macedonian soldiers who had been kept away from their homes for almost a year and a half clearly deserved some compensation. Although service in the army was an obligation for all citizens, especially those belonging to the wealthier classes²⁹, such a reward would enhance the soldiers' loyalty to the king and ensure their readiness to serve him in the future³⁰. In view of the importance of the military operation under way, the privilege accorded by the royal letter is perfectly understandable: exemption from civil liturgies, which were a form of taxation of the richest citizens (see n. 14 above), would indeed be a reasonable compensation for commanding officers who had participated in a long and strenuous campaign. The measure is furthermore a clear indication that in the Macedonian army superior officers were recruited from among the wealthiest citizens.

We may now turn to examining the surviving part of the royal letter in detail. It is not possible to determine the extent of the missing text. Of the preserved lines the first two are desperately lacunary. It is reasonable to infer from the adjective πάντες that it concerned the whole army under the king's command. The announcement of the impending demobilisation was probably followed by the expression of the king's appreciation of the soldiers who had fought under his command and the bestowal of rewards and privileges. One would also expect at least some allusion to the campaign itself. In this respect the mention of Delos is intriguing. It is well known that Delos had maintained close ties to the Antigonids throughout the third cent. BC, as the numerous inscriptions commemorating royal dedications attest³¹. Antigonos' campaign in the Peloponnese may have been supported by naval operations³². Alternatively, Delos may have played a significant role in supplying the army with food because of its importance as a center of the wheat trade³³. That the island was in some way connected with Doson's campaign in the Peloponnese is also sug-

gested by the fact that the king erected a dedication there after his victory at Sellasia, of which the inscribed base has survived³⁴.

The first addressees of the royal letter are “the Botteatai”, but copies were also sent to the cities of the territory of Bottiaia (which is the lowland region east of Mount Bermion, west of the river Axios and north of the river Haliakmon and the Pierian Mountains³⁵), one of which was Beroia (περὶ δὲ τούτων καὶ κοινῆι μὲν γέγραφα πρὸς | Βοττεάτας καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς δ<ἐ> καθ’ ἰδίαν ἔκρινον ἐπι[ι]-στείλαι). The expression κοινῆι μὲν ... καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς δ<ἐ> καθ’ ἰδίαν³⁶ suggests that the Botteatai were an organised body, perhaps a sort of federal assembly (κοινόν), whose members were the cities of Bottiaia. This appears to be the first attestation of such a regional institution in Macedonia under the Antigonids and one can only speculate as to its form or function within the kingdom³⁷. A passing remark by Polybios makes it likely that large regional entities like Bottiaia, Amphaxitis and Upper Macedonia were in some way involved in the recruitment process³⁸. It is very tempting to associate this testimony with the fact that the king announces the demobilisation of the troops not (as one might expect) to the Macedonians as a whole (κοινὸν τῶν Μακεδόνων), but rather to more restricted regional bodies like “the Botteatai” and to the cities that constituted them. The existence of such bodies under the Antigonids lends support to M. Hatzopoulos’ hypothesis that Macedonia was already divided into large administrative districts before the creation of the four μερίδες after Perseus’ defeat at Pydna and the end of royal rule³⁹.

Although the royal letter and the list of names are parts of the same inscription, their relationship to each other is not immediately evident, for the content of the letter (of which only the end has survived) remains largely unknown. Since the addressee was (beside “the Botteatai”) the city of Beroia, which had set up an inscribed copy of it in a prominent public sanctuary, it is likely that the inscription also contained an official document of the city related to the letter – probably a decree voted in compliance with its provisions. The fact that an almost identical slab containing the list of the priests of Herakles Kynagidas was in all probability part of the same building or structure (see p. 11 above) allows us to advance the hypothesis that the sanctuary of Herakles Kynagidas at Beroia served as a sort of archive for important city documents, as did the temple of Athena at Priene and the temple of the Mother of the Gods at Sardis⁴⁰. The choice of this particular sanctuary for the public display of official texts was perhaps determined by the traditional links of the Macedonian kings (both Temenids and Antigonids) with Herakles. It is possible that the close ties between Beroia and the Antigonids also played a role⁴¹.

There is no reason, other than proximity, to suppose that the list following the royal letter contains the names of the officers who, according to its last phrase (the only part of the document that is fully preserved), received the privilege of exemption from civic liturgies as a reward for taking part in Doso-

campaign in the Peloponnese⁴². The text of the letter, as far as it is preserved, does not support this hypothesis, for one would expect a statement to the effect that the names of the officers were appended to it (ὡν τὰ ὀνόματα ὑποτίθεται or some similar formula). The list is therefore independent at least of this provision and probably of the letter as a whole. Furthermore it is impossible to concede that the men on the list were all commanding officers (ἡγεμόνες) of the Macedonian army. Since there is no indication of provenance, one may safely assume that they were all citizens of Beroia and it is of course out of the question that this city, which was not one of the largest in Macedonia, could have contributed by itself as many as 60 commanders – more than the expeditionary force of Antigonos Doson (which, as we have seen, numbered 20,000 foot soldiers and 1,300 cavalrymen) could use. Even though it is not always used in a clearly defined technical sense, the term ἡγεμών⁴³ generally designates an officer commanding an important army unit called ἡγεμονία, therefore a senior commander⁴⁴. One should probably distinguish between the general military usage of the word, which did not have to be very precise, and a more specific, technical usage designating the official rank of certain officers⁴⁵. As far as the more precise usage of the term ἡγεμών is concerned, it has been plausibly suggested that it was applied in the Antigonid and perhaps also in the Ptolemaic army to the χιλίαρχος, the commander of a 1,000-strong infantry battalion⁴⁶. If this was the case, the exemption from civic liturgies granted to the ἡγεμόνες who had fought with him concerned a small group of senior commanders. This seems consistent with importance of the privilege, which had the additional advantage of not being limited in time. The ἡγεμόνες occupied important positions in the armies of the *diadochoi*, as is evident from a passage of Polybios describing the battle of Raphia between Antiochos III and Ptolemy IV, where they are mentioned next to the φίλοι, the kings’ closest collaborators⁴⁷.

It is very likely that the 60 men whose names appear in the list beneath the royal letter represent the entire contingent from Beroia in Antigonos Doson’s campaign against Kleomenes of Sparta. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that they are all citizens of Beroia. Another argument in favour of this view is their number, which represents an average age class in a city with the size of Beroia and is therefore consistent with the size of the contingent it would have been able to offer without resorting to large-scale mobilization. We have comparable numbers for Boiotia: the enrollment lists from the city of Thespiiai, which was probably more or less equal in population and territory to Beroia⁴⁸, show that the average number of ephebes in the third cent. BC was between 66 and 69⁴⁹. It is reasonable to assume that each Macedonian city contributed to Antigonos Doson’s army a contingent that was roughly equal to a class of ephebes. This would mean that no large-scale mobilization (of which there is no mention in our sources) was necessary for the campaign.

There is a plausible explanation why a list of the names of all Beroians who

took part in Antigonos Doso's expedition to the Peloponnese in 225-23 BC should follow the king's letter announcing the demobilization of the conscripts and the rewards for some or all of them: The city had every reason to be satisfied with this announcement and it is reasonable to assume that it decided (probably in accordance with the king's wish) to honour its soldiers who had participated in the campaign by means of an honorary decree which prescribed, among other privileges, that their names should be engraved in stone and set up in a public place. One would expect this decree to precede the royal letter in compliance with which it had been voted. The list of names would, of course, have to be appended.

The names are not listed alphabetically. It is therefore very probable that the order in which they appear is hierarchical. The first names would be those of the most prominent and the richest citizens, who served as officers or cavalrymen. This appears indeed to be the case, since the first name, Polemaios son of Harpalos, is that of the father of a friend of King Perseus; the following names are those of two brothers who also belonged to a prominent family, since the son of the second was probably one of the three members of the commission that drafted the gymnasiarchal law of Beroia some fifty or sixty years later (see p. 22-24 below).

The personal names

1. General remarks

The list following the royal letter contains the names of sixty men, presumably citizens of Beroia and probably relatively young (certainly over 18 and hardly older than 30), who had participated in a military campaign. If one takes into account the patronymics along with the names, it becomes evident that a total of 119 Beroians of the third cent. BC are recorded in the new inscription⁵⁰. They belong to two distinct generations, one born in the first half of the century, the other around the middle or even somewhat later. The total number of different names corresponding to these 119 persons is 87, since 15 of them appear more than once, bringing the number of multiple occurrences of names to 32⁵¹. With the exception of one name (Teutios), which is Illyrian, all others are regularly formed Greek names, some of which appear to have been particularly widespread in Macedonia.

No special comment is necessary for the 33 names already attested in Beroia⁵². It is, however, useful to point out that in most cases their appearance on this inscription is the earliest testimony we have for the presence of many of them in this Macedonian city. On the other hand 45 names appear for the first time in Beroia, thus considerably enriching its prosopography for the third cent. BC⁵³. Nine names that cannot be read or restored with absolute certainty have not been included in either category.

2. Rare personal names

Of the 45 new names twelve are particularly interesting or problematic so as to justify a short comment:

Ἀκίστος (1. 24: [Ἀ]ξαῖος Ἀκίστου).

The name appears to be unique, but it is probably no more than a dialectical form of the well-known name Ἀκεστος.

Βέτταλος (1. 29: Ἀ<δ>αῖος Βεττάλου).

This name appears to be a hapax. It is difficult to put forward a convincing proposal concerning its etymology⁵⁴.

Ἄρμενος (1. 15: Ἄρμενος Ἀδαίου).

A rare name occurring for the first time in Macedonia. It is derived from ἄρμενος, ἄρμένη, which is the aorist participle of the verb ἄραρισκω. The duplication of the ν, though unattested in this case, is not an uncommon feature⁵⁵. An Ἄρμενος Παμβωτάδης is already attested⁵⁶; a woman named Ἄρμένα appears in an inscription from Gonnoi⁵⁷.

Δερκυλίδας (1. 23: Διονύσιος Δερκυλίδου).

This rare personal name, formed from the stem of δέρκομαι (which is present for example in Δράκων, Δόρκων, Δερξίας, Δερκυλῆς) was hitherto unattested in Macedonia⁵⁸. The best known bearer of the name was a Spartan general of the beginning of the fourth cent. BC⁵⁹.

Εἰκαδίων (1. 30-31: Ἠγήσανδρος Εἰκαδίωνος).

A well known Greek personal name, attested here for the first time in Macedonia. The spelling ἴκαδίων appears to have been more common⁶⁰.

Κλισίμαχος (1. 29: Λυσίπολις Κλισίμαχου).

A composite name (κλίνειν+μάχη), already recorded and discussed by Bechtel⁶¹. This appears to be the first instance in which the first syllable is spelled with iota instead of ει.

Νίκαιχος (1. 16: Βότριχος Νικαίχμου).

A rare composite name derived from νίκη and αἰχημή⁶².

Ποίμαχος (1. 34: Νίκανδρος Ποιμάχου).

A very rare name composed from the dialectical preposition ποί and μάχη⁶³. Α. Ποίμαχος Ἠπειρώ[της] appears in a Hellenistic inscription from Amathous on Cyprus⁶⁴.

Σταπόλεμος (1. 29: Σταπόλεμ[μ]ος Ἀμύντου).

This is obviously a syncopated form of the name Στασιπόλεμος. A close analogy for this phenomenon is provided by the name Σταμένης⁶⁵, which is

clearly the syncopated form of the more common Στασιμένης. Α Σταπόλεμος Ἀδύμου appears on a Hellenistic grave stele from the vicinity of Neos Marmaras, north of Torone in Chalkidike⁶⁶.

Τεύτιος (1. 19: Φιλόξενος Τευτίου).

A well known Illyrian personal name⁶⁷.

Φοινικίλος (1. 14: Ἀντίγονος Φοινικίλου).

Although this name apparently occurs here for the first time, it is correctly formed from Φοινίξ with the relatively rare ending -ίλος⁶⁸. Names derived from the same root are well attested, e.g. Φοινικίδης⁶⁹ and Φοινικοκλήης or Φοινικλήης⁷⁰.

3. Names occurring more than once

We have already pointed out that 15⁷¹ names appear more than once on the list. They are (in order of frequency): Νικάνωρ (7 occurrences), Μένανδρος (6), Παράμονος (5), Ἀντίγονος (4), Ἀδαῖος (4), Μαχάτας (3), Ἀλέξανδρος (3), Παυσανίας (2), Φιλόξενος (2), Νικόλαος (2), Σωγένης (2), Μιλέαγρος (2), Φίλιππος (2), Ἀμύντας (2), Νίκανδρος (2). Most of these names are already attested in Beroia, where they appear to have been common; in fact the following nine are present in table V (frequent names) of Tatakis's prosopography: Ἀδαῖος, Ἀλέξανδρος, Ἀμύντας, Ἀντίγονος, Μένανδρος, Νίκανδρος, Νικάνωρ, Παράμονος, Φίλιππος.

4. Suggested identifications.

The three persons whose names appear first on the list are almost certainly related to prominent citizens of Beroia known from other sources.

There can be little doubt that Polemaios son of Harpalos, with whom the list begins, is the father of Harpalos Polemaïou, one of the ἱερομνήμονες sent to Delphi by King Perseus in 178 BC⁷². He appears to have been an important figure at Perseus' court enjoying the personal confidence of the king, for he was a leading member of the embassy sent to Rome in 172 BC, on the eve of the third Macedonian war⁷³.

Next on the list are two brothers, Timokles and Hippostratos, sons of Kallippos. The latter is probably the father of Κάλλιππος Ἴπποστράτου, the man who, together with Ἀσκληπιάδης Ἡρᾶ and the gymnasiarch Ζώπυρος Ἀμύντου, drafted the gymnasiarchal law of Beroia⁷⁴.

The second identification, if it is correct, may serve as an indication for the dating of the gymnasiarchal law, which has been much debated. The most important question in this discussion is whether this text belongs to the time of the monarchy or to the period following its abolition after the crushing defeat suffered by Perseus at Pydna. One of the consequences of the earlier dating would

be to attribute the introduction of the politarchs into the Macedonian cities definitively to the royal period, thus ending a century-old controversy⁷⁵.

Unfortunately, it is difficult to be positive. For if in 223 BC (the year to which the royal letter belongs) Hippostratos son of Kallippos was a young man drafted in order to participate in a military campaign (therefore at least 20 and probably not more than 30 years old⁷⁶), it is possible to place the birth of his son Kallippos in the period between 225 and 205 BC. This would make him a mature man of between 37 and 57 years at the time of the battle of Pydna (168 BC). He could have been active in public life both before and after this turning point in the history of the Macedonian state. We do not know, however, whether he or any other member of his family was connected to the royal court as was Harpalos, the son of his father's fellow-soldier Polemaios, which would make his involvement in public life unlikely after the defeat of Perseus⁷⁷. His participation in the drafting of a law for his native city is an indication that he was a respected person, active in local rather than national politics. On the basis of this prosopographical argument the gymnasiarchal law can be dated to the first half of the second century BC. A date later than ca. 150 BC appears quite unlikely, for Kallippos would have been too old by that time⁷⁸; the same applies to a date before ca. 180 BC, when Kallippos would have been too young to be involved in an activity requiring political experience such as the drafting of a law. The evidence of the new inscription, helpful though it is in setting an approximate date for the gymnasiarchal law of Beroia, does not provide an answer to the crucial question of whether it is earlier or later than the end of the Macedonian kingdom; the arguments put forward by the tenants of either thesis retain their value⁷⁹.

It would be extremely risky to postulate that the Orestes Amyntou mentioned in l. 30 of our inscription was in some way related to the gymnasiarch Zopyros son of Amyntas, known from the gymnasiarchal law, on the basis of their common patronymic, for Amyntas is a very common name in Macedonia.

In l. 14 we encounter a Zoilos son of Alexandros. The same name is recorded on a grave stele from Beroia attributed to the second cent. BC⁸⁰. It is very tempting to identify the two as the same person, even though the identification is not entirely certain: the dating of the inscription, which is now lost, to the second cent. BC is rather vague and the names Zoilos and Alexandros are quite common in Beroia.

Finally on l. 23 we find a man named Meidon, whose patronymic cannot be restored with any degree of confidence. A *Midon Beroeaeus*⁸¹ is mentioned by Livius, 42, 58, 7, as an important figure in the court of Perseus who played an important role in the third Macedonian war. One cannot rule out a genealogical relationship between the two persons. This is suggested by the fact that the name is relatively rare, at least in Macedonia, and by the frequency with which, in relatively small societies, important positions in public life tend to be held by

members of a small number families⁸². The chronological distance separating the two makes an identification practically impossible: The Meidon of our inscription, who was at least 20 years old in 223 BC, could hardly have taken an active part in the third Macedonian war, between 171 and 168 BC, at the age of at least 70-75 years; his son, however, could. We might therefore restore the patronymic as Με[ίδωνος], but it should be stressed that the identification remains entirely hypothetical. A more positive gain concerns the correct spelling of the first syllable of the name. Hitherto scholars have hesitated between η and ι⁸³. Our inscription shows that it was written with ει.

It is not possible to relate any of the other names in the catalogue to Beroians known from other inscriptions or texts. The fact that some of the persons mentioned in the list have the same patronymics does not necessarily imply that they are brothers⁸⁴, unless of course their names appear together, as in the case of Τιμοκλής Καλλιππου and Ἰππόστρατος Καλλιππου. One should be especially cautious, since most of these patronymics are common names (e.g. Alexandros, Antigonos, Nikanor, Menandros).

The manumission records

The manumission records are engraved on the stone below the royal letter and on the right side of the slab. The difference in the letter forms indicates that the texts are not contemporary.

The first record (text Ia) contains the names of eleven persons with no other indication, such as father's name or origin, as is usual for persons of servile status. They were all freed by the same master, one Kriton, son of Eutychydes and made a common dedication in the sanctuary of Herakles Kynagidas following their manumission⁸⁵. Their offering was a skyphos, probably of silver, weighing 550 drachmas — the equivalent of about 2,200-2,400 grams, assuming that the drachmas are Attic ones weighing approximately 4.36 grams⁸⁶. It is evident that the manumitted slaves paid an equal contribution of 50 drachmas each, amounting to 1/11 of the total price of the votive offering (550:11=50). This appears to be the meaning of the expression εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ in l. 4.

The second text (Ib) records the manumission by Nikanor, son of Lysimachos, of a slave named Italia, who also dedicates a skyphos weighing 50 drachmas in the same sanctuary.

A similar votive offering, of exactly the same weight, is recorded in the third text (IIa), part of which is legible on the right side of the slab. The weight of the vase indicates that it was dedicated by a single manumitted slave.

One is inevitably led to connect the offerings mentioned in these manumission records with the second of the two letters addressed to one Harpalos (possibly a royal *epistates*) in Beroia, in the 36th year of the reign of Antigonos Gonatas by his son and heir, the later King Demetrios II⁸⁷. According to this text a

change is to be introduced regarding the dedications to the sanctuary of Herakles Kynagidas: it is stipulated that the manumitted slaves should offer *skyphoi* to the god instead of *phialai*⁸⁸. This regulation appears to have been upheld for a long period of time, as is evident from the fact that in all manumission records from this sanctuary (which must be posterior to the letter of Demetrios) the offerings mentioned are exclusively *skyphoi*⁸⁹.

The fact that in all three manumissions each slave pays, either individually or as part of a group, the same sum, i.e. 50 silver *drachmai*⁹⁰, suggests that the amount was fixed by the sanctuary of Herakles Kynagidas, which appears to have played a key role in the procedure of manumission. This particular form of dedication may therefore be regarded as a sort of payment to the sanctuary in exchange for its services. It could have been the equivalent of the fee for the official recording and the publication of the manumission act⁹¹.

Similar regulations are found in a particular category of Athenian manumission records known as '*catalogi paterarum argentearum*'⁹². These inscriptions attest the obligation on the part of the manumitted slave to dedicate to the treasury of Athena a *phiale* weighing 100 drachmae after the favourable outcome of a legal procedure known as *δίκη ἀποστασίου*. Köhler plausibly identified these votive offerings with the *φιάλαι ἐξελευθερικαί* mentioned in an account of the treasury of Athena⁹³. It is therefore tempting to call the vases dedicated by the manumitted slaves to Herakles Kynagidas in Beroia *σκύφοι ἐξελευθερικοί*, since the same adjective probably applied to the *phialai* dedicated in this sanctuary prior to the ruling of Demetrios II. It is not clear whether the change in the shape of the vases offered to the god was due merely to practical considerations or to some other reason.

It is therefore very probable that the dedication by manumitted slaves of *skyphoi* or *phialai* in the sanctuary of Herakles Kynagidas was not a religious practice in the usual sense, but rather a legal obligation, which was subject to regulation by the royal administration.

Unfortunately, these short texts (which are not manumission documents but rather records of manumissions) do not provide information on the actual manumission procedure, for instance on special conditions or clauses, or even on the time of the dedication. It is, however, evident that the sanctuary of Herakles Kynagidas in Beroia was actively involved in the manumission of slaves⁹⁴; it probably provided "the religious warranty for the validity of the act", which would explain why "the inscriptions recording these acts were placed within its precinct" as Andronikos had maintained in 1950⁹⁵.

For the dating of the manumission records we can only rely on the letter forms and on the position of the texts on the stone. A superficial examination might suggest that the first text is later than the other two, since it contains some cursive letter forms, e.g. the lunate sigma or the double-curved omega, which are relative latecomers to the epigraphic script; another late feature is Π with

equal vertical strokes. But it is difficult to advocate a reversal of the normal succession of manumission records on the stone on the basis of these observations, since these "late" letter forms are in fact already attested in Hellenistic inscriptions⁹⁶. On the whole, the writing of the first manumission record should be earlier than that of an inscription from Eordaia in Upper Macedonia dated between 57 and 55 BC⁹⁷, which shows comparable letter forms. We may therefore date it to the latter part of the second or the beginning of the first century BC. The second manumission record was probably engraved not much later than the first. It seems reasonable to date it to the first cent. BC, probably in the first half. The third text is evidently later than the other two, not only because of the writing, but also because it is engraved on one of the narrow sides of the slab, on a surface that has been reworked with a rough tool. The inscription is therefore probably posterior to a repair of the building to which the slab belonged, as a result of which this side became visible. A date in the second half of the first cent. BC or the first half of the first cent. AD seems most likely on account of the letter forms.

The names of the twelve manumitted men and women are not entirely typical slave names. Some of them do, however, imply the status of their bearers and provide some information about them. According to the classification introduced by Lambertz at the beginning of this century, we can distinguish the following categories⁹⁸: The names Ἀθηναίς and Ἰταλία indicate the origin of the persons bearing them⁹⁹; Ἀφροδισία and Δημήτριος are theophoric names¹⁰⁰; Εὐφράντα, Εὐφροσύνη, Ὀνήσιμος and Ζωίς derive from abstract nouns denoting positive values¹⁰¹. Finally, the name Ἐπικτησις indicates servile status¹⁰².

Five of these names are already attested in Beroia, albeit in later times¹⁰³, with the exception of Δημήτριος, which appears as early as the third century BC¹⁰⁴. The slave names hitherto unattested in Beroia are more or less common and do not call for special commentary. They are of Greek origin, except for Βεῖθυσ, which is Thracian¹⁰⁵.

VICTORIA ALLAMANI-SOURI - EMMANUEL VOUTIRAS

NOTES

1. This study is the product of the close collaboration of both authors, who examined the stone and established the text together. The work on the commentary was done separately. The parts concerning the discovery, the letter forms and the prosopography, as also the comments on the manumission records, were written by Victoria Allamani-Souri; the historical remarks on the royal letter and the list of names form the essential part of the contribution of Emmanuel Voutiras. It should be stressed, however, that the conclusions were reached in full agreement and both authors endorse them. The drawings in Fig. 2 and 3 are the work of the architect Athena Goumagia. The photographs in Fig. 1, 4 and 5 are reproduced by courtesy of the Center for Greek and Roman Antiquity (K.E.P.A.) of the National Foundation for Scientific Research at Athens (E.I.E.). The photograph of Fig. 6 is reproduced by courtesy of the Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki. The authors wish to thank Prof. Christian Habicht, Dr. Dieter Hennig and Prof. Fanoula Papazoglou for their helpful suggestions; they assume full responsibility for all remaining errors and inconsistencies.

Special abbreviations:

Allamani	V. Allamani-Souri, "Ἡρακλῆς Κυναγίδας και κυνηγοί. Νέα επιγραφικά στοιχεία από τη Βέροια", <i>Ancient Macedonia V.1</i> (1992) 77-107.
Bechtel, <i>Personennamen</i>	F. Bechtel, <i>Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit</i> , Halle 1917.
Hammond-Walbank	N. G. L. Hammond - F. W. Walbank, <i>A History of Macedonia</i> . III, 336-167 BC, Oxford 1988.
Le Bohec	S. Le Bohec, <i>Antigone Dôsôn, roi de Macédoine</i> , Nancy 1993.
Tataki	A. Tataki, <i>Ancient Beroea. Prosopography and Society (Meletemata 8)</i> , 1988).
Welles	C. B. Welles, <i>Royal Correspondence of the Hellenistic Period</i> , New Haven 1934.

2. Allamani 77-79.

3. *IG X 2*, 1, no. 2.

4. This is an attempt to render the article (τῆ[v] στρατείας), which indicates that reference is made to a specific campaign.

5. The expression εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ indicates that the skyphos in question is a collective dedication by several (in this case eleven) individuals for the same purpose.

6. See Welles, index; *BullÉpigr.* 1939, 400 p. 509; B. Virgilio, *StCLO* 32 (1982) 105-106. An almost identical expression (ἀτελείας ἐπικεχωρημένης) occurs in a decree from Proussa ad Olym-pum, which has been studied by M. Holleaux, *Études d'épigraphie et d'histoire grecques*, II, 73-125, I. 21.

7. Several parallels from inscriptions of Hellenistic date have been collected by W. Dittenberger, *OGIS* 266, note 2.

8. On the frequent use of the perfect and the pluperfect in Hellenistic royal correspondence, see Welles, p. lxx-lxxi; cf. F. Papazoglou, *Klio* 52 (1970) 311.

9. *OGIS* 331; Welles 65.

10. Welles, p. lxx, appears not to be fully aware of the significance of this temporal distinction. In his opinion "the decision to confirm Athenaeus in his priesthood was more general than the decision to write the letter", a rather unlikely interpretation.

11. F. K. Ginzel, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie* III, Leipzig 1914, 1-17; F. Kubitschek, *Grundriss der antiken Zeitrechnung* (HdA I 7, 1928) 143-48; 151; E. Grzybek, *Du calendrier macédonien au calendrier ptolémaïque. Problèmes de chronologie hellénistique*, Basel 1990, 53-60. On the months of the Macedonian calendar see W. Baege, *De Macedonum sacris*, Halle 1913, 220-28; J. Kalléris, *Les anciens Macédoniens* II 1, Athens 1976², 554-72 with further references.

12. The word πάντες in line 2 suggests that the letter concerned the whole army, of which the high-ranking officers, mentioned in a separate clause introduced with δὲ καὶ, were a part; see p. 17.

13. The context shows that the word *στρατεία* is used here in the sense of "military duty" as e.g. in Arist., *Ath. Pol.* 26,1 (στρατεία ἀπὸ καταλόγου); cf. *IPriene*, 4. On this meaning of the word see M. Rostovtzeff, *REA* 33 (1931) 17; Chr. Habicht, *Klio* 52 (1970) 141; Virgilio, *op. cit.* (n. 6 above) 134; Ph. Gauthier, *Chiron* 21 (1991) 55f. The expression *καταλείν τὴν στρατείαν* is therefore equivalent to *καταλείν τριηραρχίαν, καταλείν ἀσκήσιν* (s. *LSJ* s. v. *καταλύω* 2f, 3a). The use of the article indicates that the officers had been called for military duty in connection with a specific campaign. Cf. Diod. XVII 109, 1 (ἀπέλυσε τῆς στρατείας) and XVIII 4, 1 (τῶν ἀπολυθέντων τῆς στρατείας), on the release of 10.000 veterans by Alexander the Great in 323 BC; a somewhat different interpretation of these passages, based on the assumption that ἡ στρατεία is "the campaign", has been proposed by N. G. L. Hammond, *JHS* 109 (1989) 65 n. 47.

14. Civil liturgies (along with military ones) were a duty of wealthy citizens in Greek city-states as well as in Hellenistic kingdoms; they were a common practice well into Roman imperial times. Exemption from such liturgies meant considerable financial advantage and was therefore an important privilege; see *IG* II² 1140, 1147 and, for the later period, *PCol.* 6, *Apokrimata* 36-38 (Preisigke, *SB* 6, 9526, Text f); *POxy.* 9, 1204, 14-22. The expression ἀτέλεια τῶν πολιτικῶν λειτουργιῶν is already attested in Demosth. 20,18.

15. Arr., *Anab.* I 16, 5: γονεῦσι δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ παισὶ τῶν τε κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἀτέλειαν ἔδωκε καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἢ τῷ σώματι λειτουργία ἢ κατὰ τὰς κτήσεις ἐκάστων εἰσφοραί. That exemption from liturgies was a form of recompense for exceptional military deeds is evident from Alexander's speech at Opis, Arr., *Anab.* VII 10, 4: ὅστις δὲ δὴ καὶ ἀπέθανεν, εὐκλεῆς μὲν αὐτῷ ἡ τελευτὴ ἐγένετο, περιφανῆς δὲ ὁ τάφος, χαλκαὶ δὲ αἱ εἰκόνες τῶν πλείστων οἴκοι ἐστᾶσιν, οἱ γονεῖς δ' ἐντιμοὶ εἰσι λειτουργίας τε ζυμπάσης καὶ εἰσφορᾶς ἀπηλλαγμένοι. Cf. Bosworth, *A Commentary on Arrian I-III*, Oxford 1980, 126.

16. Plut., *Arat.* 34, 2, records a battle in which Demetrius' general Bithys defeated Aratos περὶ Φυλακίαν. This battle has been generally assigned to 233/2 BC, which is the eighth year of Demetrius' reign; but the date is not certain. See Walbank in Hammond-Walbank, 331-32. In any case, there is no indication that this was an important campaign.

17. *Syll.*³ 543.

18. On the calculation of Philip's regnal years see Chr. Habicht, *Ancient Macedonia I* (1970) 274f. with n. 3.

19. Since the Macedonian year began on 1 Dios (see n. 11 above), a king's first year was reckoned as the period between his predecessor's death and the next 1 Dios. As Antigonos Doson appears to have died before the autumn of 221, the count of Philip's regnal years probably started in 222/21 BC (cf. F. W. Walbank, *Philip V*, Oxford 1940, 295-96; *idem* in Hammond-Walbank, 362; Habicht, *loc. cit.*). If the death of Antigonos occurred later than 1 Dios, the starting point would be 221/20.

20. See Hammond in Hammond-Walbank 395.

21. Plut., *Arat.* 51,1; Liv. XXIV 11,3. On this presumably unplanned surprise attack see Hammond in Hammond-Walbank, 395-96; the assertion that this is the campaign mentioned in Philip's second letter to Larissa (*Syll.*³ 543) is far from certain, since the seventh year of Philip's reign was most probably 216/15 BC (see nn. 18 and 19 above).

22. On the calculation of the regnal years of Antigonos Doson see C. F. Edson, *HSCP* 48 (1937) 175f.; cf. C. T. H. R. Ehrhardt, *Studies in the Reigns of Demetrius II and Antigonos Doson* (Diss. State University of N. Y. at Buffalo, 1975) 140-44 and M. Hatzopoulos in W. L. Adams & E. N. Borza (eds.), *Philip II, Alexander the Great and the Macedonian Heritage*, Washington, D.C. 1982, 42 with n. 96. Le Bohec, 113-33, esp. 129-33 (une nouvelle proposition), also considers that Antigonos counted his regnal years from 230/29 BC. The new royal letter from Beroia is the second document from Macedonia dated to the seventh year of Antigonos Doson's reign after the decree from Thessalonike, *IG* X 2, 1, no. 23 (cf. Le Bohec, 218).

23. For a recent detailed account see Le Bohec, 367-413; on the campaign of the year 223 BC see 405-10.

24. Polyb., II 55.

25. Plut., *Arat.* 43-45. On Phylarchos as the main source of Plutarch's biography of Aratos see F. W. Walbank, "Polybius and Macedonia", *Ancient Macedonia I* (1970) 294 with further references in n. 20.

26. N. G. L. Hammond, *The Macedonian State: The Origins, Institutions and History*, Oxford 1989, 325.

27. Polyb., II 54, 13-14: παραλαβὼν δὲ (Ἀντίγονος) ταύτας τὰς πόλεις (Ἡραῖαν καὶ Τέλφουσαν), ἐθέλοντὴν προσχωρησάντων τῶν κατοικούντων, οὕτως ᾗδη συνάπτουτος τοῦ χειμῶνος παρῆν εἰς Αἰγίον πρὸς τὴν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν σύνοδον, καὶ τοὺς μὲν Μακεδόνας ἐπ' οἴκου διαφῆκε πάντας εἰς τὴν χερσαίαν, αὐτὸς δὲ τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς διελέγετο καὶ συνδιανοεῖτο περὶ τῶν ἐνεστώτων. That Antigonos retained only the mercenaries is evident from II 55, 1: κατὰ δὲ τοὺς καιροὺς τούτους συνθεωρῶν ὁ Κλεομένης τὰς μὲν δυνάμεις διαφειμένας, τὸν δὲ Ἀντίγονον μετὰ τῶν μισθοφόρων ἐν Αἰγίῳ διατρίβοντα καὶ τριῶν ἡμερῶν δρόμον ἀφεστῶτα τῆς Μεγάλης πόλεως, κτλ.

28. Polyb., II 55,1.

29. On the nature of the Macedonian army, which, even in Hellenistic times, consisted mainly of στρατιῶται πολιτικοί, see Hammond, *op. cit.* (n. 26 above) 382-83; this system is adequately described by E. Van 't Dack, *Ptolemaica Selecta (Studia Hellenistica 29, 1988)* 6-7: "Dans l'antiquité, par exemple à Rome, où à l'apogée de la république le sentiment national et l'esprit communautaire étaient vivaces, le service militaire — du moins pour les classes possédantes — faisait partie de leurs droits (*jura*) ou plutôt de leurs obligations civiles (*munera*). Une situation analogue a dû exister en Macédoine."

30. The loyalty of the troops was essential to the kings of Macedonia, who relied largely on citizen armies. Antigonos Doson was without doubt very sensitive in this respect, since he had experienced a mutiny a few years earlier, between 228 and 225 BC (*Iust.*, 28, 3, 11-16); see Le Bohec, 248-53.

31. F. Durrbach, *Choix d'inscriptions de Délos*, Paris 1922, 41-44, 58-64, 67-68, 71-74 (nos. 35-36, 47-49, 51, 55-56); K. Bringmann and H. v. Steuben, *Schenkungen hellenistischer Herrscher an griechische Städte und Heiligtümer, Teil I. Zeugnisse und Kommentare*, Berlin 1995, 189-204 (KNr. 126-42).

32. Antigonos Doson had a fleet which played an important part in the balance of power in the Aegean. On the policy of the Antigonids in the Aegean see F. W. Walbank, "Sea Power and the Antigonids", in: *Philip II, Alexander the Great and the Macedonian Heritage* (see n. 19) 224-25; R. Étienne, *Témis II (BEFAR 236bis, 1990)* 98-99; G. Reger, *Historia* 43 (1994) 54-55.

33. On the importance of Delos to the Antigonids in connection with the wheat trade see Durrbach, *op. cit.*, 59-60 no. 48; L. Casson, *TAPA* (1954) 175; C. Vial, *Délos indépendante (BCH Suppl. 10, 1984)* 339-46; cf. Le Bohec, 89.

34. The most recent account of this much discussed dedication is provided by W. Ameling in: Bringmann and H. v. Steuben, *op. cit.* (n. 31 above) 196-98 (KNr. 135).

35. See Παπαζογίου, 124-58.

36. An exact parallel is provided by a letter of Eumenes II of Pergamon to the κοινὸν τῶν Ἰώνων found in Miletos (Welles no. 52, 17-19): ἐν πολλοῖς φανερά | ποίησιν τὰς ὑπὲρ τούτων ἀποδείξεις κοινή τε | καὶ κατ' ἴδιον πρὸς ἐκάστην τῶν πόλεων εὐνοικῶς διακείμενος.

37. On the problem of Macedonian assemblies see the recent study of N. G. L. Hammond, "The *koine* of Epirus and Macedonia", *ICS* 16 (1991) 183-92. On the possible meaning of the word κοινὸν in Hellenistic Macedonia in expressions such as κοινὸν Μακεδόνων see recently J. Tréheux, *REA* 87 (1987) 42-43 and Le Bohec, 239-47 (with references to earlier studies), who rightly point out that the use of these terms does not necessarily imply the existence of an organised league.

38. Polyb., V 97, 4: Χρυσόγονον μὲν ἐξαπέστειλε (sc. Φίλιππος) κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐπισυνάξοντα τοὺς ἄνω Μακεδόνας, αὐτὸς δὲ παραλαβὼν τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Βοθτίας καὶ τῆς Ἀμφαξίτιδος ἦκεν ἔχων εἰς Ἐδεσσαν. See H. Berve, *Das Alexanderreich auf prosopographischer Grundlage I*, Munich 1926, 223 and J. Kaerst, *Geschichte des Hellenismus I*² (1926) 193-94 n. 4; cf. U. Kahrstedt, *Hermes* 81 (1953) 109.

39. M. Hatzopoulos and L. Loukopoulou, *Morrylos, cité de Crestonie* (Μελετήματα 7, 1989) 24-25; this view is discussed by Le Bohec, 256, whose cautious conclusion should be reviewed in the light of the new inscription.

40. S. Sherwin-White, "Ancient archives: the edict of Alexander to Priene, a reappraisal", *JHS* 105 (1985) 69-89; Ph. Gauthier, *Nouvelles inscriptions de Sardes II*, Geneva 1989, 53-58 and 135-38, pl. X-XIV, with a tentative reconstruction.

41. C. Edson, *HSCPh* 45 (1934) 226-32; *idem*, *HSCPh* 51 (1940) 125-26. Cf. Allamani, 98-100; M. B. Hatzopoulos, *Cultes et rites de passage en Macédoine* (Μελετήματα 19, 1994) 102-11.

42. M. Hatzopoulos in: Ph. Gauthier and M. B. Hatzopoulos, *La loi gymnasiarchoïque de Béroia* (Μελετήματα 16, 1993) 40, states that the list contains the names of Macedonian officers and that it is part of the royal letter. This is an interpretation that goes well beyond what can be read on the stone.

43. On the uncertainties regarding the precise meaning of the word ἡγεμών see P. Ducrey, *BCH* 94 (1970) 649-50; B. Bar-Kochva, *The Seleucid Army*, Cambridge 1976, 91-93; B. Virgilio, *op. cit.* (n. 6 above) 120-21.

44. The organisation of Hellenistic armies has recently been studied by Van 't Dack, *op. cit.* (n. 29 above) 47-64. The evidence collected there shows that the term ἡγεμών was not used to designate junior officers. That ἡγεμόνες could be used as a general term for senior commanders is evident from Polyainos, *Stratag.* IV 8, 2, where Antigènes and Teutamos, who head the ἀργυράσπιδες and are called στρατηγοί, sit among the ἡγεμόνες of the Macedonian army in the war council.

45. Cf. Le Bohec, 300.

46. Bar-Kochva, *op. cit.* (n. 43 above) 92; cf. Le Bohec, 300.

47. Polyb., V 83, 1-2: Τοῦτον δὲ τὸν τρόπον τῶν δυνάμεων ἐκτεταγμένων ἐπιπαρήσαν οἱ βασιλεῖς ἀμφοτέροι κατὰ πρόσωπον τὰς αὐτῶν τάξεις παρακαλοῦντες ἅμα τοῖς ἡγεμόσι καὶ φίλοις. Cf. Polyainos, *Stratag.* IV 8, 2 (see n. 44 above). The importance of the ἡγεμόνες in the Hellenistic armies and their relationship to the person of the king is also stressed in testimonies of a more personal nature. In a funerary epigram a Cretan mercenary in the Ptolemaic army boasts that the king himself appointed him a commanding officer (Peek, *GV* 1076):

Πραξήγορας δ' ὄνομ' ἔσχον ἐπικλεές, ὃν πρὶν ἐπ' ἀνδρῶν
θήκατο Λαγίδας κοίρανος ἡγεμόνα.

48. On the territory of Beroia in Hellenistic times see Tataki, 41-46.

49. On the enrollment lists of the Boiotian cities see the cautious account of D. Hennig, "Die Militärkataloge als Quelle zur Entwicklung der Einwohnerzahlen der boiotischen Städte", in: *La Béotie antique, Lyon - Saint-Étienne* 1983, Paris 1985, 333-42 (on the lists of Thespias see 335-36 and the conclusions, 340-42).

50. Not, as one might think, 120, because the two sons of Kallippos share the same patronym.

51. On the more common names see, p. 22.

52. They are: Ἀγάθων, Ἀδαῖος, Ἀλέξανδρος, Ἀλκίμος, Ἀμύντας, Ἀντήνωρ, Ἀντίγονος, Ἀντίπατρος, Ἀρπαλος, Βάλακρος, Γλαυκίας, Διούσιος, Ἐπικράτης, Εὐβίσιος, Ζωῖλος, Ἰππύστρατος, Κάλλιππος, Λυγκεύς, Μείδων, Μένανδρος, Νίκανδρος, Νικόλαος, Ὀρέστης, Παράμονος, Παρμενίων, Περίτας, Πολεμαῖος, Πύρρος, Σωγένης, Φίλιππος, Φιλόξενος, Φίλων.

53. They are: Ἀγάνωρ, Ἀκιστος, Ἀλκίμαχος, Ἀρίσταρχος, Ἀριστογένης, Ἀριστοκλῆς, Ἀριστόλαος, Ἀρμεννος, Βέτταλος, Βότριχος, Δεινίας, Δερκυλίδας, Δήμαρχος, Δημόφιλος, Διαγόρας, Δίφιλος, Εἰκαδίων, Ἐπίνικος, Ἐπιτέλης, Ἐρμων, Εὐδίκος, Εὐθύνονος, Εὐφρων, Ζωπυρίων, Ἠγήσανδρος, Ἠλιόδωρος, Κλισίμαχος, Λαμέδων, Λυσιπόλις, Μαχάτας, Μελέαγρος, Μενεκράτης, Μικίων, Νίκαχος, Νίκας, Νικόδημος, Πασσανίας, Ποίμαχος, Σταπόλεμος, Σωσιμένης, Σωσθένης, Τεύτιος, Τιμοκλῆς, Τιμοκράτης, Φοινικίλος. All are correctly formed Greek names. Some of them are attested elsewhere in Macedonia, but for the first time in Beroia: Ἀριστογένης, Δεινίας, Δήμαρχος, Διαγόρας, Εὐφρων, Ἠγήσανδρος, Μελέαγρος, Μικίων, Νίκας, Νικόδημος, Σωσθένης, Τιμοκράτης.

54. It may or may not be related to Βάτταλος, on which see O. Masson, *REG* 83 (1970) 360-61 (= *Onomastica graeca selecta* I, 115-16).

55. O. Masson, "Géminations expressives dans l'anthroponymie grecque", *BSL* 81 (1986) 228-29 (= *Onomastica graeca selecta* II, 560-61). There seems to be no exact parallel for -εuv.

56. Bechtel, *Personennamen*, 74.

57. B. Helly, *Gonnoi II. Les inscriptions*, Amsterdam 1973, 216 no. 222. There is also mention of a friend of Jason named Armenos, whose origin was from the Thessalian town of Armenion or Ormenion.

58. Cf. O. Masson, *RPh* 1984, 101 (= *Onomastica graeca selecta* II, 453).

59. Xen., *Hell.* III 1, 8ff.; see Bechtel, *Personennamen*, 120.

60. See Bechtel, *Personennamen*, 521, for personal names of similar derivation.

61. Bechtel, *Personennamen*, 250.

62. For the formation of the name see Bechtel, *Personennamen*, 31 (names ending in -αχμος) and 331 (names beginning with Νικ-).

63. Bechtel, *Personennamen*, 374, collects names of similar derivation.

64. O. Masson, *RepDeptAntCyprus* 6 (1972) 199-203; cf. *BullÉpigr.* 1973, 504.

65. Arr., *Anab.* IV 18, 3. On personal names composed with Στασ- see O. Masson, *QuadArchLib* 12 (1987) 287 (= *Onomastica graeca selecta* II, 615).

66. D. Feissel and M. Sève, *BCH* 112 (1988) 466 no. 25, who identify the name as Macedonian; cf. *BullÉpigr.* 1989, 465 [M. Hatzopoulos].

67. C. de Simone, "L'elemento non greco nelle iscrizioni di Durazzo ed Apollonia", in P. Cabanes (ed.), *Grecs et Illyriens dans les inscriptions en langue grecque d'Épidamne-Dyrrachion et d'Apollonia d'Illyrie. Actes de la table ronde internationale, Clermont-Ferrand, 19-21 oct. 1989*, Paris 1994, 64-65; O. Masson, "Encore les noms grecs et les noms illyriens à Apollonie et à Dyrrhachion", in Cabanes (ed.), *op. cit.*, 79 with n. 12.

68. E. Locker, *Glotta* 22 (1934) 61; M. Leumann, *Glotta* 32 (1953) 218.

69. Bechtel, *Personennamen*, 547.

70. Bechtel, *Personennamen*, 455; *IG* II² 1635A fr.; *IDélos* 98a54.

71. Excluding Κάλλιππος, which occurs twice merely because it is the common patronym of two brothers.

72. *Syll.*³ 636, 5; Tataki, 116-17 no. 230.

73. Further suggestions by Tataki concerning the relationship between this person and other Harpaloi from Beroia — even with Polemaios, the nephew of Antigonos Monophthalmos — still await confirmation.

74. One cannot rule out the possibility that the Hippostratos in our inscription belonged to another branch of the same family; but, on balance, this is not very probable.

75. This is the opinion of Hatzopoulos, *op. cit.* (n. 42 above) 37-41. On the Macedonian politicians see the recent account of G. H. R. Horsley, *The Book of Acts in its First Century Setting. Volume 2: The Book of Acts in its Greco-Roman Setting*, Carlisle 1994, 419-31.

76. The drafting age was probably between 20 and 30 years, since 20 appears to be the age of majority in Macedonia (see S. Le Bohec, "Remarques sur l'âge de majorité chez les rois de Macédoine", *Ancient Macedonia* V 2 [1993] 779-88) and gymnasia were open to men below 30 (see Hatzopoulos and Gauthier, *op. cit.* [n. 42 above] 77).

77. Hatzopoulos, *op. cit.* (n. 42 above) 40-41, assumes that Kallippos was one of the "friends" of Perseus, but there is no evidence to support this hypothesis. His prominent position in the list is probably an indication of wealth and high social standing, but does not necessarily suggest that the family had close links with the royal court. We do not even know if Kallippos and Harpalos were the same age; a difference of up to 10 years cannot be ruled out.

78. The age limit for political activity is, of course, no more than a rough estimate. Yet a case like that of Sophokles, who played an active role in Athenian political life at the age of 80, should be treated as exceptional.

79. See Hatzopoulos, *loc. cit.* (n. 75 above), whose own conclusion that the gymnasiarchal law of Beroia should be dated to the period before 168 BC is not beyond doubt.
80. A. M. Woodward, "Inscriptions from Beroea in Macedonia", *BSA* 18 (1911-12) 152 no. 13; Tataki, 512 no. 161.
81. Tataki, 229 no. 901.
82. Tataki, 424f.
83. S. Le Bohec, "Les 'Philoï' des Antogonides", *REG* 98 (1985) 114.
84. This is the case of Παισανίας Νικάνορος (l. 11) and Νικάνωρ Νικάνορος (l. 12), Νικάνωρ Ἀλεξάνδρου (l. 12), Εὐθύνοος Ἀλεξάνδρου (l. 13-14) and Ζώϊλος Ἀλεξάνδρου (l. 17), Μένανδρος Ἀντιγόνου (l. 19) and Νικάνωρ Ἀντιγόνου (l. 21), Εὐδη[?]λης Μαχάτου (l. 15-16), Μελέαγρος Μαχάτου (l. 27) and Ἀλκίμαχος Μαχάτου (l. 37), [Ε]πιτέλης Μενάνδρου (l. 25), Παράμοιος Μενάνδρου (l. 31) and Παρμενίων Μενάνδρου (l. 35), Ἀλκιμος Παραμόνου, (l. 18) and Φίλων Παραμόνου (l. 26-27), Ἀρμενος Ἀδαίου (l. 15) and Νικάνωρ Ἀδαίου (l. 32).
85. The same expression is used to describe the offering (σκύφον οὐ ὄλκῃ δραχμαί ...) occurs in another inscription from Beroia containing a list of dedications of vases to Asklepios. See V. Allamani-Souri, "Ἀπόλλωνι, Ἀσκληπιῶ, Ὑγίειᾳ. Επιγραφικὴ μαρτυρία γιὰ τὸ Ἀσκληπιεῖο τῆς Βέροιας", *ADelt* 39 (1984) *Μελέτες* [1990] 205ff., esp. 215-17, with further references.
86. E. Babelon, *Traité des monnaies grecques et romaines*, Paris 1901, 406; F. Hültsch, *Griechische Metrologie*, Graz 1971², 135.
87. A. M. Woodward, *op. cit.* (n. 80 above) 133-39 no. 1; J. M. R. Cormack, *BSA* 46 (1939-40) 15; M. B. Hatzopoulos, *Cultes et rites de passage en Macédoine (Μελετήματα* 19, 1995) 103.
88. The revised text published by Hatzopoulos, *loc. cit.* reads (l. 12-13): ἀνατιθέτωσαν (scil. οἱ ἀπελευθερούμενοι) ἀντὶ | τῶν φιαλῶν κέρατα [κ]αὶ σκύφους.
89. Allamani-Souri, *op. cit.* (n. 85 above) 224, whose cautiousness is due to the chronological difference between the two texts.
90. In Thessalian manumissions the slaves pay a fee of 15 staters at the time of their manumission: *BCH* 11 (1887) 346ff.
91. Cf. M. Andronikos, *Ἀρχαῖαι ἐπιγραφαὶ Βεροίας*, Thessaloniki 1950, 22.
92. M. N. Tod, "Some unpublished 'catalogi paterarum argenteorum'", *BSA* 8 (1901-2) 197ff.; W. H. D. Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings*, Cambridge 1902, 234; M. I. Finley, *Studies in Land and Credit in Ancient Athens*, New Brunswick 1952, 104-105; D. M. Lewis, "Attic manumissions" *Hesperia* 28 (1959) 208ff. with further references.
93. Tod, *op. cit.*, 199.
94. V. Allamani-Souri, 85. A dedication of a φιαλίσκος by a manumitted slave to the same god is recorded in a lost inscription from Elimeia: Th. Rizakis and J. Touratsoglou, *Επιγραφές Ἄνω Μακεδονίας*, Athens 1985, 30 and 45.
95. Andronikos, *op. cit.* (n. 91 above) 22.
96. On cursive letter forms in Hellenistic inscriptions see M. Guarducci, *Epigrafia greca I*, Rome 1967, 377; J. Bousquet, *BCH* 80 (1956) 26 with n. 2. A Π similar to that of our inscription appears in an inscription from Beroia dated to 128 BC: Woodward, *op. cit.* (n. 80 above) 144 no. 3.
97. Rizakis-Touratsoglou, *op. cit.* (n. 94 above) 115.
98. M. Lambertz, *Die griechischen Sklavennamen*, Wien 1907; see further O. Masson, "Les noms des esclaves dans la Grèce antique", in: *Actes du colloque sur l'esclavage* 1971 (Paris 1973) 9ff., who refers to the classification of Lambertz.
99. Masson, *op. cit.*, 13 no. III.
100. Masson, *op. cit.*, 14 no. VII.
101. Masson, *op. cit.*, 14-15 nos. IX A and X.
102. Masson, *op. cit.*, 14 no. IX.
103. Ἀφροδεῖσῖα, Δημήτριος, Ὀνήσιμος, Παραμόνα, Παρμενίδης.
104. Allamani, 225.
105. Cf. J. Touratsoglou, "Anthroponymie thrace de la Macédoine occidentale", *Pulvudeva* 2 (1977) 2 no. 4.

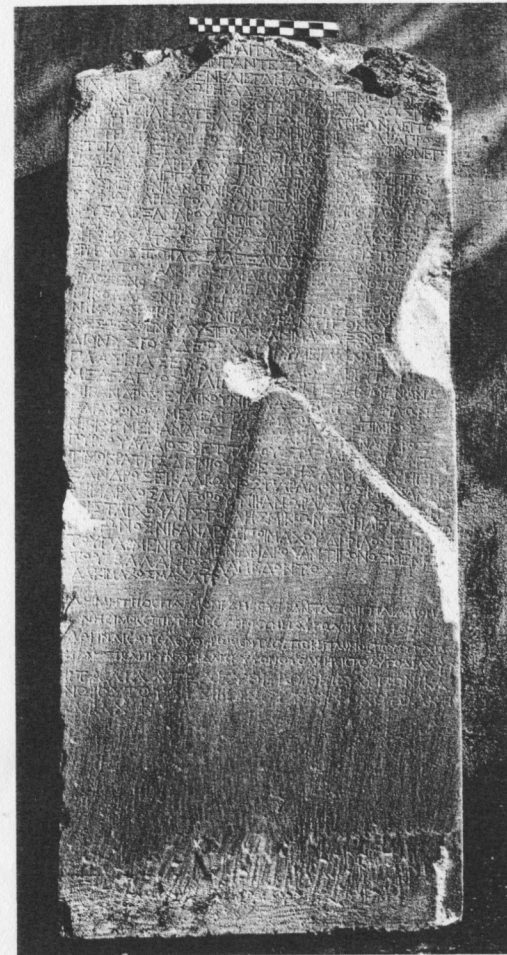
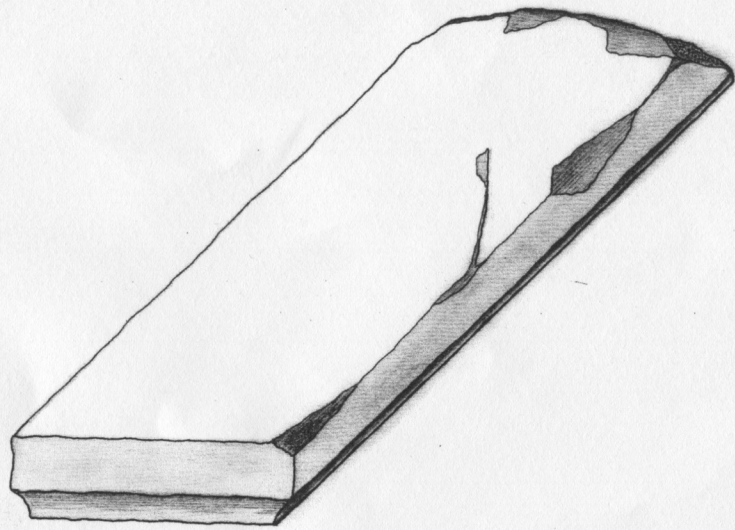
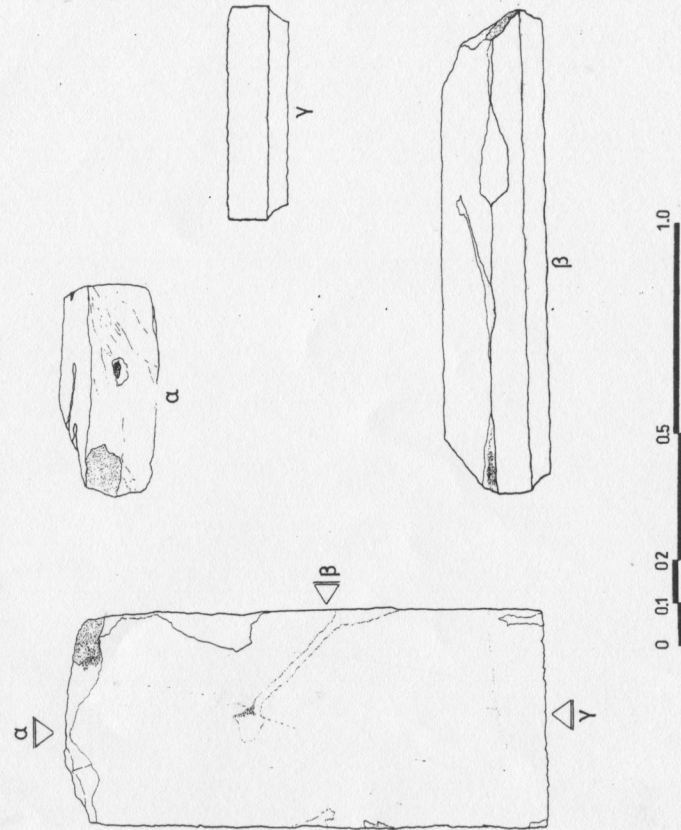


Fig. 1. Inscribed marble slab from Beroia, front.



0 0.1 0.2 0.5 1.0

Fig. 2. Inscribed marble slab from Beroia, perspective drawing.



0 0.1 0.2 0.5 1.0

Fig. 3. Inscribed marble slab from Beroia, drawings of the front and three lateral sides.

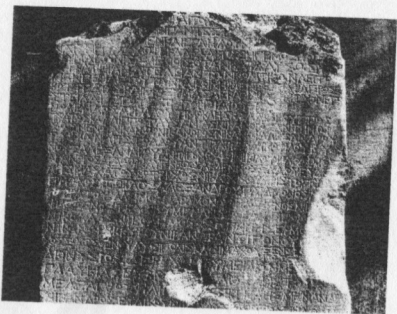


Fig. 4. Inscribed marble slab from Beroia, upper part of the front side.

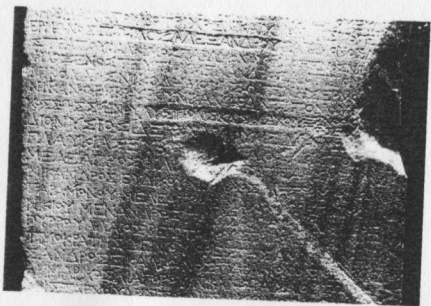


Fig. 5. Inscribed marble slab from Beroia, middle part of the front side.

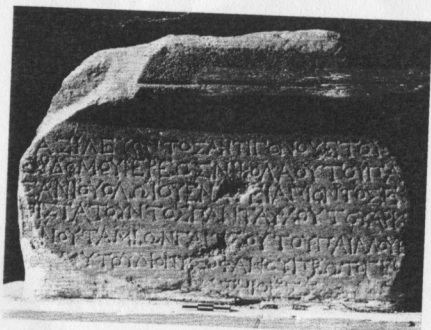


Fig. 6. Decree of Thessaloniki dated in the seventh year of Antigonos Doson.



Fig. 7. Inscribed marble slab from Beroia, lower part of the front side.

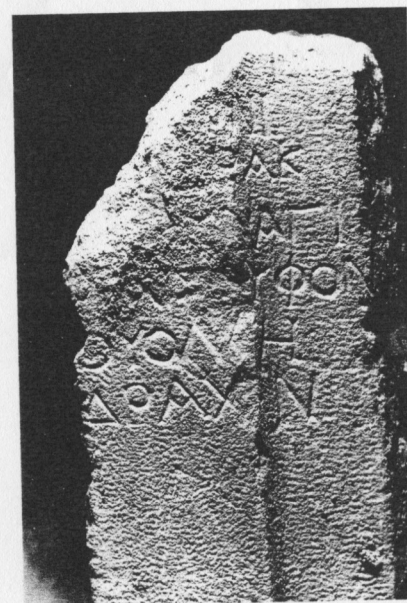


Fig. 8. Inscribed marble slab from Beroia, detail of the right side with the inscription.