

ON ATTALOS AND ATALANTE

οἱ δ' οὖν Μακεδόνες πυθόμενοι τὰ περὶ τὸν Εὐμένη κατέγνωσαν αὐτοῦ θάνατον καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἐπιφανῶν ἀνδρῶν πεντήκοντα, ἐν οἷς ἦν καὶ Ἀλκέτας ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ Περδίκκου. ἀπέκτειναν δὲ καὶ τῶν φίλων τοῦ Περδίκκου τοὺς μάλιστα πιστοτάτους καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτοῦ Ἀταλάντην, ἣν ἦν γεγαμηκῶς Ἀτταλος ὁ τοῦ στόλου τὴν ἡγεμονίαν παρειληφώς (Diod. 18.37.2).

Among the most prominent supporters of Perdikkas, son of Orontes, were his brother Alketas and Attalos, son of Andromenes, their brother-in-law.¹ That the latter was an unwavering supporter of Perdikkas has not been challenged, nor that his career was advanced by the prestige of the 'chiliarchos' at the time of Alexander's death.² Crucial to the discussion of the career of Attalos, therefore, is the date of his marriage to Atalante, for which we have only the ambiguous testimony of Diodoros (above).³ And, while modern scholars claim that the marriage cannot be dated, they have had a tendency to assume that it was contracted during Alexander's lifetime.⁴ There is, however, a case to be made for a later date, one that will give us cause to reconsider Attalos' role in the last years of Alexander's reign and in the struggle for power that followed the King's death.

Those who favour an early date for Attalos' union with Atalante find support in the testimony of Diodoros (16.94.4), who says that the *somatophylakes* Perdikkas, Leonnatos, and Attalos pursued and killed Pausanias, the assassin of Philip II. Typical is the comment of C. Bradford Welles: 'Pausanias was from Orestis, and so were two of his slayers, while Attalus was Perdikkas's brother-in-law.'⁵ But we cannot be sure that Diodoros is speaking of the son of Andromenes — though there is a strong possibility — nor does it necessarily follow, once this

¹ For details see H. Berve, *Das Alexanderreich auf prosopographischer Grundlage*, vol. 2, Munich, 1926 (henceforth Berve 2), nos. 45, 181, 627, s.vv. Ἀλκέτας, Ἀτταλος, Περδίκκας. Cf. also J. Kaerst, *RE* i (1894) 1514–15, s.v. 'Alketas' (5); *RE* ii (1896) 2158, s.v. 'Attalos' (5); F. Geyer, *RE* xix.1 (1937), 604–14, s.v. 'Perdikkas' (4).

² Note particularly Berve 2.93 '[Attalos] blieb im Hoflage Al.s, wo seine Stellung durch das hohe Ansehen, welches nach Hephaistions Tode Perdikkas, sein Schwager . . . vor allen anderen genoss, sich anscheinend hob.'

³ See Berve 2.90, no. 177, s.v. Ἀταλάντη; cf. Kaerst, *RE* ii (1896), 1894–5, s.v. 'Atalante' (5); also O. Hoffman, *Die Makedonen: ihre Sprache und ihr Volkstum* (Göttingen, 1906), p.157 n.60.

⁴ Thus we have C. Bradford Welles (*Alexander and the Hellenistic World*, Toronto, 1970, p.15) implying, and P. Green (*Alexander of Macedon*, Harmondsworth, 1974, 108) stating, that he was Perdikkas' brother-in-law at the time of Philip's death

(336). E. Badian, 'The Death of Parmenio', *TAPA* 91 (1960), 335, suspects that the relationship between Perdikkas and Attalos may have influenced the trial of the sons of Andromenes, after the Philotas affair; I have myself echoed these suspicions in 'Amyntas, Son of Andromenes', *GRBS* 16 (1975), 393 n.5.

⁵ Welles, *Diodorus of Sicily*, vol. 8, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass., 1963), p.101 n.2. Leonnatos was in fact not Orestid, as Welles (following Berve 2.232, no. 466, s.v. Λεοννάτος) suggests, but rather Lynkestian, through his relationship to Eurydike, the mother of Philip II, so F. Geyer, *RE* xii.2 (1925), 2035, and *Makedonien bis zur Thronbesteigung Philipps II.* (Munich and Berlin, 1930), p.83; cf. also R. Lane Fox, *Alexander the Great* (London, 1973), p.505. As for Attalos, his identity is far from certain. For the problem of these *somatophylakes* see my 'The *Somatophylakes* of Alexander the Great: Some Thoughts', in *Historia* 27 (1978), 224–8.

identification has been made, that their association at this time means that they were already related. Whether Perdikkas played any part six years later in securing the acquittal of the sons of Andromenes, of whom the eldest, Amyntas, was implicated in the so-called 'conspiracy of Philotas' by the testimony of Dimnos and Nikomachos,⁶ while the youngest (?), Polemon, fled the camp after Philotas' arrest, remains a mystery.⁷

A review of Attalos' career proves helpful.⁸ After their acquittal in the trial that followed the arrest of Philotas, there is no further mention of the sons of Andromenes in the accounts of the next two years, apart from Arrian's brief notice that Amyntas was killed during the siege of a small town shortly after his exoneration (3.27.3). Of Polemon and Simmias we hear nothing more during Alexander's lifetime, though the former reappears in the history of the Successors.⁹ But Simmias, who commanded Amyntas' *taxis* at Gaugamela while his brother was on a recruiting mission in Macedonia, was very likely the second oldest and the logical successor to Amyntas' post.¹⁰ He vanishes from our records completely. Two years after the family's brief disgrace at Phrada, Attalos is found at the head of Amyntas' battalion.¹¹ The curious fact that Attalos alone attained high office after 330 B.C. might appear to argue for the influence of Perdikkas. Again the argument turns upon whether Attalos and Perdikkas were already brothers-in-law at this time.

But Perdikkas is not the only individual who could have intervened on behalf of the sons of Andromenes, if, in fact, anyone did. Berve (following Hoffmann)¹² may be correct to assume that Polyperchon, son of Simmias, and Andromenes (both of Tymphaian origin) were related; if this is so, then Polyperchon may have supported the latter's sons at the time of the *Philotasprozess*. Simmias probably died, or perhaps left the army, while Polemon's youth and disgraceful flight from Alexander's camp will account for his failure to reach higher office before 323.

As for Attalos, he is first mentioned as leader of an infantry battalion in Baktria in 328; here he appears with Krateros, Gorgias, Polyperchon, and Meleagros. In the following spring, he campaigned in Sogdiana with Krateros, Polyperchon, and Alketas, where he received by letter the news of the Pages' conspiracy in Baktria.¹³ In the next two years he is mentioned once more in the company of Alketas (Perdikkas' brother), but more often in association with

⁶ Curt. 6.7.15; 6.11.37–38. See my discussion, *GRBS* 16 (1975), 393 n.5, and 394–5, following Badian's suggestion, *TAPA* 91 (1960), 334 n.30.

⁷ See Berve 2.322, no. 644, s.v. Πολέμων; for his flight Arr. 3.27.2–3; Curt. 7.1.10; 7.2.1.

⁸ Berve 2.92–3, no. 181, s.v. Ἀτταλος. Berve must be wrong, however, to identify the Attalos of Curt. 8.13.21 with the son of Andromenes. This Attalos, described by Curtius as 'aequalem sibi [sc. Alexandro] et haud disparem habitu oris et corporis', is not the famous taxiarch (cf. the mistaken identification of H. Bardon in his Budé text, *Quinte-Curce: Histoires*, vol. 2, p.366 n.2). Apart from the fact that it is historically impossible that Attalos, the taxiarch, remained in camp disguised as Alexander (as R.

Schubert, 'Die Porus-Schlacht', *Rb. Mus.* 56 (1901), 467–8, recognized), the description of him by Epit. Metz 58 as 'Attalum quendam' suggests that this was a certain person who looked like Alexander and happened to be called Attalos.

⁹ For his mission see Diod. 17.49.1; Curt. 4.6.30; his absence from Gaugamela, Curt. 4.13.28 and Arr. 3.11.9 (with a textual corruption, see A. B. Bosworth, 'Errors in Arrian', *CQ* N.S. 26 (1976), 125).

¹⁰ See Berve 2.353–4, no. 704, s.v. Συμμίας, who does not comment on his mysterious disappearance.

¹¹ Arr. 4.16.1.

¹² Berve 2.325–6, no. 654, s.v. Πολυπέρχων; Hoffmann, op. cit. (n.3), p.156 n.59.

¹³ Arr. 4.22.1; for the news of the Pages' conspiracy, Plut. *Alex.* 55.6.

Krateros, Koinos, Polyperchon, and Meleagros, the tradition-conscious (*altmakedonisch gesinnt*) leaders of the phalanx.¹⁴ In 325 B.C. he accompanied Krateros, Meleagros, Antigenes, and Polyperchon westward to Karmania via Arachosia and Drangiana.¹⁵

A clue to the nature of Attalos' relations with Perdikkas can, I believe, be found in the testimony of Justin, who appears to have combined two primary sources, Kleitarchos and Hieronymos of Kardia.¹⁶ Shortly after Alexander's death, dissension arose between the leaders of the cavalry and the phalanx over the matter of the succession: the cavalry officers, notably Perdikkas, favoured the as-yet-unborn son of Rhoxane — he would, of course, require a regent — the phalanx opted for the mentally deficient Arrhidaios, whom they were already hailing as King, under the title Philip III.¹⁷ There is a consistent tradition that Meleagros, a *taxis*-commander throughout Alexander's reign and the most important of the remaining leaders of the infantry, supported Arrhidaios' cause most vehemently.¹⁸ Justin, however, adds an interesting detail: he says (13.3.2) that the supporters of Perdikkas sent Meleagros and a certain Attalos to the infantry in order to win them over, but that these men took up the cause of the phalanx instead ('legatos ad mitigandos eorum animos duos ex proceribus, Attalum et Meleagrum mittunt, qui potentiam ex vulgi adulatione quaerentes omissa legatione militibus consentiunt'). Justin (13.3.7) goes on to say that this Attalos sent men to murder Perdikkas ('Attalus ad interficiendum Perdikkam, ducem partis alterius mittit [percussores]'), but that these men lacked the resolve to carry out their mission.

Justin's Attalos (apparently unknown to Berve¹⁹) must certainly be the son of Andromenes, as the phrase *ex proceribus* implies; also, as a phalanx-commander like Meleagros himself, he would be a logical candidate for such an embassy. But his role in the events of 323 has, unfortunately, been coloured by the preconception that Attalos was already Perdikkas' relative and staunch supporter. Thus G. Wirth supposes that Attalos' name was included in this passage for dramatic effect.²⁰ F. Schachermeyr believes that Attalos, son of Andromenes, was in fact sent to the phalanx, but that Justin suffered a *lapsus memoriae* and ascribed to him actions taken by Meleagros alone.²¹ Attalos, he argues, would

¹⁴ With Alketas, Arr. 4.27.5; with Koinos, Arr. 4.24.1; Meleagros, Arr. 4.16.1; 5.12.1; 6.17.3 Krateros, Arr. 4.16.1 (implied by 4.17.1); 4.22.1; 5.12.1; 6.17.3; Polyperchon Arr. 4.16.1; 4.22.1; implied by Justin 12.10.1 (to be taken with Arr. 6.17.3, cf. Bosworth, *CQ* N.S. 26 (1976), 129, n.65). For their opposition to Alexander's policies see Plut. *Alex.* 47.9–10 (Krateros); Curt. 8.5.22 ff. (Polyperchon); Curt. 8.13.17–18 (Meleagros); and Curt. 9.3.3–16; 9.3.20; Arr. 5.27.2–28.1 (Koinos). *Altmakedonisch gesinnt*: the expression is Schachermeyr's.

¹⁵ Arr. 6.17.3. For Polyperchon see Justin 12.10.1; see also n.14 above.

¹⁶ See R. Schubert, *Die Quellen zur Geschichte der Diadochenzeit* (Leipzig, 1914), p.115; F. Schachermeyr, *Alexander in Babylon und die Reichsordnung nach seinem Tode* (Vienna, 1970), pp. 120 ff.

¹⁷ The fullest account is given by Curt. 10.7.1ff.; see also Justin 13.2.6ff.; Diod. 18.2–4; Arr. *Succ.* 1. For modern views see Schachermeyr, op. cit. n.16 above, R. M. Errington, 'From Babylon to Triparadeisos: 323–320 B.C.', *JHS* 90 (1970), 49–77; G. Wirth, 'Zur Politik des Perdikkas 323', *Helikon* 7 (1967), 281–322; for a survey of the extensive bibliography on the succession see J. Seibert, *Alexander der Grosse (Erträge der Forschung)* (Darmstadt, 1972), pp.175–7. See also Berve 2.385–6, no. 781, s.v. Φίλιππος Ἀρριδαῖος.

¹⁸ Berve 2.249–50, no. 494, s.v. Μελέαγρος. For references see n.17 above.

¹⁹ Berve 2.92–3 does not go beyond Alexander's death in his discussion of Attalos.

²⁰ Wirth, *Helikon* 7 (1967), 291 n.37.

²¹ Schachermeyr, *Alexander in Babylon* (n.16 above), p.125.

not have instigated the murder of his own brother-in-law; Justin must be in error. Schachermeyr concludes that Justin made the mistake 'da [er] bei Trogus wohl kaum vermerkt fand, dass Attalos ein Schwager des Perdikkas gewesen sei . . .'.²² The argument is fallacious. Did Justin also suffer a *lapsus memoriae* when he said that both Attalos and Meleagros betrayed the Perdikkas cause, encouraged by the adulation of the mob? Meleagros is singled out by all the sources because he was the most important of these legates sent to the infantry, and because he was liquidated by Perdikkas on account of his intrigues and his 'treason'. Now, as it happens, it does not matter terribly much whether Attalos or Meleagros instigated the attempted assassination, though, if it was the former, we should have virtual proof that he was not yet married to Perdikkas' sister. What does matter is that both Attalos and Meleagros were actively supporting the cause of the conservative phalanx, which is exactly what we should expect. And it is totally wrong to argue that Attalos *could not* have acted in opposition to Perdikkas because he was his brother-in-law. We know only as much as Diodoros tells us (18.37.2): that, at the time of her death in 321 B.C. Perdikkas' sister, Atalante, was Attalos' wife. Knowledge of this union has, however, seriously hampered our interpretation of Attalos' part in the succession-struggle.

I raise one further question before offering a re-evaluation of the evidence: why was Atalante present in her brother's camp when he campaigned against Ptolemy in Egypt? Certainly it was not a Macedonian custom to bring sisters along on campaign. And it would be difficult to imagine that Attalos summoned her from Macedonia to the main theatre of the war in order that he might see the wife from whom he had been separated for some ten to fourteen years. Koinos, we may be sure, did not bring Parmenion's daughter on the expenditure with him: she remained at home, raising their son Perdikkas.²³ There is only one plausible reason for Atalante's presence: she had only recently been summoned to Asia by Perdikkas in order that she might marry Attalos. It was a political union, much like (though on a smaller scale) the marriage alliances that Perdikkas himself sought by bringing to Asia Minor Nikaia and Kleopatra.²⁴ Atalante's marriage to Attalos concluded an earlier agreement between Perdikkas and the son of Andromenes.

When Alexander died, the most prominent leaders of the phalanx (Krateros and Polyperchon, along with Gorgias and White Kleitos) were absent in Kilikia; Koinos had died shortly after he espoused the cause of the infantry at the Hyphasis. The remaining taxiarchs included Meleagros, Philotas, Attalos, and Alketas. To judge from the hostility of the phalanx towards Perdikkas, Alketas' influence cannot be regarded as significant, and, when Perdikkas and his supporters were forced to withdraw from Babylon, Alketas could scarcely have remained behind. There is no reason to suppose that the other three favoured Perdikkas' policy; Meleagros certainly did not, while Philotas remained faithful to Krateros and

²² Ibid.

²³ For Koinos' marriage to Parmenion's daughter see Curt. 6.9.30, supported by Arr. 1.24.1; 1.29.4. See also W. Dittenberger, *Syll.*³ 332, where the son, Perdikkas, is named, and Berve 2.215–18, no. 439, s.v. Κοῖνος, and 312–13, no. 626, s.v. Περδίκκας.

²⁴ Diod. 18.23; Justin 13.6.4–7; Arr. *Succ.* 1.21, 26. See also J. Seibert, *Historische*

Beiträge zu den dynastischen Verbindungen in hellenistischer Zeit (Historia Einzelschriften, Heft 10) (Wiesbaden, 1967), pp. 13–16, 19–24, and P. Briant, *Antigone le Borgne: Les Débuts de sa carrière et les problèmes de l'assemblée macédonienne (Centre de Recherches d'Histoire Ancienne, vol. 10)* (Paris, 1973), pp. 145 ff.

was later deposed from the satrapy of Kilikia by Perdikkas.²⁵ Attalos, son of Andromenes, belonged to this conservative faction as well: he had been a friend of the other Philotas, Parmenion's son, and was in the late stages of the campaign associated with those taxiarchs who opposed Alexander's *Verschmelzungs-politik*.²⁶ These men put up a united front against Perdikkas, who attempted to preserve the unity of the empire and Alexander's policy of fusion. Attalos, by virtue of his family connections and his leadership of the conservative *pezhetairoi*, very likely shared the sentiments of the common soldiery, whom Meleagros had incited. Only in 321 B.C. does he appear as a supporter of Perdikkas, together with his brother Polemon.²⁷

We are told that, not long after the rift occurred between the cavalry and the infantry, Perdikkas effected a reconciliation. The cavalry had cut off the grain-supply to the city, and the infantry was not of one mind as to which course of action to take: should the matter be decided by arms or diplomacy? Suspicion prevailed, and the ill will of the troops soon turned against Meleagros, whom they held primarily responsible for their predicament.²⁸ The negotiations were carried out by Pasas the Thessalian, Amissos of Megalopolis, and Perilaos,²⁹ but we are not told who the peace-makers among the infantry were. Meleagros was given, for the moment, the rank of *hyparchos* — in essence, he was Perdikkas' lieutenant —, but he was soon liquidated without much opposition.³⁰ I suggest therefore that the key to Perdikkas' success in achieving this reconciliation, and in eliminating the troublesome Meleagros, was his ability to win the support of Attalos, who doubtless had a considerable following in the phalanx.³¹

In order to seal this political alliance, Perdikkas offered his sister, Atalante, to Attalos as wife. She was summoned some time later and arrived in Asia in order to complete the arrangement and consummate the marriage. When Attalos was sent out with the fleet, she remained with her brother and, ultimately, shared his

²⁵ Justin 13.6.16: 'Cilicia Philotae adempta Philoxeno datur'; cf. Arr. *Succ.* fr. 24.8–12; see also Berve 2.397–8, no. 804, s.v. Φιλότας. He must be identical with the taxiarch, Berve no. 803.

²⁶ See n.14 above.

²⁷ Arr. *Succ.* fr. 24.1 ff.; cf. *Succ.* 1.25, where Polemon alone is mentioned. See Badian, 'A King's Notebooks', *HSCP* 72 (1967), 189 n.34.

²⁸ Curt. 10.8.5 says that the soldiers were angry with Meleagros because he instigated the attempted murder of Perdikkas. This would argue against Justin's (13.3.7) claim that Attalos was responsible, but it does not alter the fundamental fact that Attalos was nevertheless a supporter of the phalanx against the leaders of the cavalry. B. Niese, *Geschichte der griechischen und makedonischen Staaten seit der Schlacht bei Chaeroneia* (Gotha, 1893), is probably wrong to believe that Attalos instigated the murder, but he does draw attention to the fact that 'Attalos mit Meleagros eng verbunden war und sicherlich neben ihm ein hohes Amt

bekleidete' (1.194 n.1). Attalos may well have read the changing mood of the army and exploited this bad feeling towards Meleagros. For the mood of the army see Curt. 10.8.9; for their deliberation on a course of action 10.8.12. Curt. 10.8.12 surely exaggerates the conditions in Babylon ('itaque inopia primum, deinde fames esse coepit'), after only a brief siege by the cavalry.

²⁹ Berve 2.25, 306–7, 317, nos. 53, 608, 630, s.vv. Amissos, Πάσας, Πέριλλος.

³⁰ For Meleagros' death see Diod. 18.4.7; Arr. *Succ.* Ia.4; Justin 13.4.7–8; Curt. 10.9.7–21, esp. 20–1.

³¹ According to Plut. *Eum.* 3.1, it was Eumenes who proved particularly effective in reconciling the feuding factions, and, as a Greek, he may have acted as an impartial go-between (though he clearly favoured the cause of the cavalry; Arr. *Succ.* Ia.2 names him as one of the leading cavalry-officers). Perhaps it was through Eumenes that Perdikkas won the support of Attalos.

fate.³² For Attalos, the choice of this alliance was a costly miscalculation; the union with Atalante bound him to a losing cause. After an unsuccessful attempt to rally Perdikkas' disenchanted veterans,³³ he combined forces with Alketas against Antigonos. Unsuccessful in the field, Alketas committed suicide; Attalos, who fell into Antigonos' hands, perished in the fortress in which he was confined.³⁴

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³² Diod. 18.37.2. She was murdered by Perdikkas' political enemies. For Attalos and the fleet see Briant (n.24), pp. 212–13.

³³ For this episode see Arr. *Succ.* 1.33, 39; cf. also Diod. 18.37.3–4. R. M. Errington, *JHS* 90 (1970), 67 n.131, and Briant (n.24), p.278 n.6, rightly identify the Attalos of

Arr. *Succ.* 1.33 as the son of Andromenes, against Berve 2.95, no. 184, s.v. 'Ἀτταλος.

³⁴ The defeat of Alketas and Attalos by Antigonos: Diod. 18.44 ff.; 18.50.1. Alketas' death: Diod. 18.46.7; Justin 15.1.1; Attalos' death: Diod. 19.16.