

THE ETHNIC ORIGINS OF THE FRIENDS OF THE ANTIGONID KINGS OF MACEDON

Polybius (8.9.6–10.11) reports that Theopompus said that Philip of Macedon encouraged men of dubious character from all over Greece and the barbarian world to come to Macedon and become his *hetairoi*.¹ As part of his refutation of Theopompus' claims, Polybius says that after the death of Alexander these men showed their worth by dividing up most of the known world among themselves. However, Alexander's *hetairoi* and successors were not drawn from most of the world, but were largely Macedonian in origin.

Berve lists a possible thirteen out of sixty-one *hetairoi* of Alexander as being of Greek origin.² Only one of the remainder was a Persian, so there are forty-seven Macedonians; in other words, 77 per cent were Macedonians and 21 per cent Greek. However, Greeks were prominent in peripheral roles, such as the chancellery and as engineers,³ but had limited command roles. The limitation on the careers of Nearchus the Cretan and Eumenes of Cardia are signs of the predominance of Macedonians at Alexander's court.⁴ Lysimachus has been seen as an example of a Greek succeeding in Macedonian service, as his father Agathocles is said to have been a Thessalian *penestes*,⁵ but it seems unlikely that the man who drove Pyrrhus of Epirus out of Macedon by a whispering campaign on his non-Macedonian origin (Plut. *Pyrrh.* 12.10), was not Macedonian himself.

In fact, we find Macedonians commanding Greek troops, Thracians, and even the navy, which would have been largely manned by Greeks.⁶ Within Macedon itself, the contingents from Upper Macedon seem to have been commanded largely by Upper Macedonians.⁷ In the time of Alexander, the Macedonian origin of their commanders was important for Macedonian troops, and Macedonians were jealous of other groups winning command positions of any sort.

Theopompus may not have been describing those companions who held command positions, as Polybius thought, though we should note Theopompus' hostility towards Philip here.⁸ Polybius' error can be explained as a result of anachronism. In his own

¹ The Polybius passage, *FGrH* 115 F 225a, overlaps with F 225b (= Ath. 6.260d ff.). Cf. F 224 = Ath. 4.166f ff., for similar sentiments.

² H. Berve, *Das Alexanderreich auf prosopographischer Grundlage* (Munich, 1926), 31. On the nature of royal friends, see G. Herman, 'The "friends" of the early Hellenistic rulers: servants or officials?', *Talanta* 12/13 (1980/81), 103ff., 112.

³ Berve (n. 2), 43, 157.

⁴ W. Heckel, *The Marshals of Alexander's Empire* (London and New York, 1992), 206, 28; P. A. Brunt, *Arrian II: The Anabasis of Alexander* (Cambridge, MA, 1983), 444; Berve (n. 2), 43. On Macedonian hostility to Eumenes of Cardia: Plut. *Eumenes* 3, 18, 20; Diod. 19.60.3.

⁵ Theopompus *FGrH* 115 F 81 says this of an Agathocles, the name of Lysimachus' father. H. S. Lund, *Lysimachus* (London, 1992), 2 accepts that Lysimachus' father had been Thessalian in origin, but not a *penestes*. Irwin L. Merker, 'Lysimachus, Thessalian or Macedonian?', *Chiron* 9 (1979), 31–36 rejects the view that Lysimachus was Thessalian. A. B. Tataki, *Macedonians Abroad* (Athens, 1998), 156 describes him as a Macedonian from Pella and makes no mention of a Thessalian origin.

⁶ Berve (n. 2), 141, 139, 159.

⁷ Berve (n. 2), 114ff.; Heckel (n. 4), 58; Brunt (n. 4), vol. 1, xliii. M. B. Hatzopoulos, *Macedonian Institutions under the Kings* 1 (Athens, 1996), 481–2.

⁸ W. R. Connor, *Theopompus and Fifth Century Athens* (Cambridge, MA, 1968), 15.

time, foreigners were employed in high-ranking positions in Macedonian service more often than in Alexander's time. This was true, not only in the eastern kingdoms, where the royal friends were predominantly Greeks or Macedonians,⁹ but also in Macedon itself. The title *philos* replaces the older *hetairos* in Hellenistic times, but the two groups have similar roles.¹⁰

Down to the battle of Ipsus in 301 B.C. Macedonians were the most prominent group of royal servants in the kingdom of Antigonos Monophthalmus, which did not include Macedon itself. Billows lists 128 probable royal friends in his Appendix Three, of whom thirty-one are Macedonians, making 24 per cent of the total. Overall, there are forty-three Greeks, making 34 per cent, but these are drawn from a wide area. Twelve come from the Greek mainland, and the same number from Asia Minor (amounting to 9 per cent each), ten from the islands, six from the Greek cities in Thrace, two from Cyrene, and there is one Cypriot. The governing class in Antigonos' kingdom were thus largely foreigners in the lands he ruled (compared with seven identifiable orientals—only 5.5 per cent of the total), with a large number of Greeks supplementing the Macedonian élite.¹¹

In order to examine the ethnic origins of the friends of the Antigonid kings of Macedon, to show that the role played by Greeks was closer to that found in the kingdom of Antigonos I and other Hellenistic monarchies than the one under Alexander the Great, I will look at all those who are identified in the sources as friends or advisers of the kings, those who held military commands or governed provinces or cities or served as royal ambassadors. I will not look at intellectuals, unless, like Hieronymus of Cardia or the Stoic philosopher Persaeus, they also served in one of the capacities listed above. Ordinary soldiers, such as the Illyrian Zopyrus, who cut off the head of Pyrrhus of Epirus (Plut. *Pyrrh.* 34.5), will also be excluded.

Demetrius I's rule after the battle of Ipsus included Macedon rather briefly (from 294 to 288) and was not directed towards the interests of Macedon itself.¹² Nevertheless, the ethnic origins of Demetrius' friends should be considered in this context, to see how the question of origin relates to later Antigonid practice. Some of his most important assistants were his own relatives. Pyrrhus of Epirus, his brother-in-law and an exile at the time of Ipsus, falls into this category. He served briefly as Demetrius' governor of the cities of the Peloponnese (Plut. *Pyrrh.* 4, cf. *Demetr.* 31.2), before being sent as a hostage to Ptolemy and passing out of Demetrius' orbit.

Phila, daughter of Antipater and Demetrius' first wife, acted as his ambassador to explain to her brother Cassander Demetrius' expulsion of another brother, Pleistarchus, from Cilicia (Plut. *Demetr.* 32.4). His eldest son, Antigonos Gonatas, defeated the Boeotians in 292, although the capture of Thebes was left to Demetrius himself (Plut. *Demetr.* 32.4).¹³ Antigonos was also left in charge of Greece when

G. Herman, *Ritualised Friendship in the Greek City* (Cambridge, 1987), 154 describes the comment as 'venomous', but cites contemporary parallels in n. 101. On the different viewpoints of Theopompus and Polybius, see Herman (n. 2), 125.

⁹ C. Habicht, 'Die herrschende Gesellschaft in den hellenistischen Monarchien', *Vierteiljahrsschrift für Sozial und Wirtschaft Geschichte* 45 (1958), 5; Herman (n. 2), 113. In Egypt, locals were under-represented in honorific positions at court: L. Mooren, *La hiérarchie du cour ptolémaïque* (Louvain, 1977), 207. E. Bickerman, *Institutions des Séleucides* (Paris, 1938), 48 says the kings appointed whoever they wished as friends, but does not discuss their ethnic origin.

¹⁰ Herman (n. 8), 13, cf. 8 and 106.

¹¹ R. A. Billows, *Antigonos the One-eyed* (Berkeley, 1990), 265 and Appendix Three.

¹² C. Wehrli, *Antigone et Demetrios* (Geneva, 1968), 221.

¹³ See Wehrli (n. 12), 175. P. Perdrizet, 'Inscriptions d'Acraephiae', *BCH* 25 (1900), 70 has the funeral epitaph of a Boeotian leader killed in this battle.

Demetrius became king of Macedon in 294 (Plut. *Demetr.* 44.4) and was in control of Demetrius' Greek possessions when his father had been captured by Seleucus (Plut. *Demetr.* 51.1–2).

Demetrius left a certain Diodorus in charge of Ephesus after Ipsus. This Diodorus had been in Demetrius' service during the Greek campaign of 304–301.¹⁴ However, Diodorus decided to betray Demetrius, but the king learnt of this, and disguising himself on the ship of one Nicanor, returned to Ephesus and prevented its betrayal (Polyaenus 4.7.4). Neither man is ascribed to an ethnic origin, but Tataki concludes that Diodorus was a Macedonian,¹⁵ as she does for Nicanor, which is a common Macedonian name, though not exclusively so.¹⁶ Therefore Nicanor should also be identified as a Macedonian.

Philocles of Sidon probably continued as Demetrius' admiral in the years after Ipsus, although he is not directly attested in this period.¹⁷ Hieronymus of Cardia, better known as a historian, was appointed governor of Boeotia in the 290s.¹⁸ The best of Demetrius' generals, Pantauchus, was given an independent command in Aetolia during the war against Pyrrhus, but was defeated and killed in single combat by him (Plut. *Pyrrh.* 7.4–9, cf. *Demetr.* 41). His service for a king of Macedon and the fact that his name is a common Macedonian one and that later members of his family seem to be known, make a strong case for Pantauchus being a Macedonian.¹⁹

Oxythemis was sent as ambassador to Agathocles in Syracuse (Diod. 21.15 and 16). He is twice mentioned as an important friend of Demetrius by Athenaeus (6.253A and 14.614F), both times with two other, otherwise unknown friends.²⁰ Oxythemis himself is shown by inscriptional evidence to have been a Thessalian from Larissa (*Syll.*³ 343).²¹

Andragathus betrayed Amphipolis to Lysimachus, but himself fell victim to Lysimachus' treachery (Polyaenus 4.12.2). Andragathus must have been Demetrius' governor or general at Amphipolis before the betrayal, which probably came after Demetrius' cause was lost.²² When Demetrius was trapped by Seleucus' army, a certain *hetairos* of his, Sosigenes by name, tried to organize the king's escape, but was unsuccessful (Plut. *Demetr.* 49.7). We have no indication of his nationality²³ and the use of the term *hetairos*, normal for Alexander, rather than *philos*, normally used in the case of the successors²⁴ (and used by Plutarch in this passage for other, unnamed friends), is unexplained.

¹⁴ Billows (n. 11), 380, no. 30.

¹⁵ Tataki (n. 5), 299. Tataki argues (25, 354, 362, 439) that men in Macedonian service, whose ethnic identity is unknown, are to be identified as Macedonians.

¹⁶ Tataki (n. 5), 380–4 lists twenty-eight Nicanors, in contrast with fifteen in J. Kirchner, *Prosopographica Attica*. On the name Nicanor, see also A. B. Bosworth 'A new Macedonian prince', *CQ* 44 (1994), 59. This Nicanor is Tataki no. 3, on p. 380. Cf. P. Schoch, 'Nikanor (14)', *RE* 18 (1936), 270.

¹⁷ J. Seibert 'Philokles, Sohn des Apollodorus, König der Sidonier', *Historia* 19 (1970), 337–51. For the use of a Greek name by a non-Greek, see Billows (n. 11), 306, n. 32.

¹⁸ Plut. *Demetr.* 39.4; cf. Paus. 1.9.8; W. W. Tarn *Antigonos Gonatas* (Oxford, 1913), 245.

¹⁹ Tataki (n. 5), 398. Cf. Tarn (n. 18), 50.

²⁰ Bourichos and Ademanus at 253a; Peucestas and Menalaus at 614f. Tataki (n. 5) does not list the first pair, but calls the second pair Macedonians at 406 and 368 respectively.

²¹ See Billows (n. 11), 414. Oxythemis was killed by Antigonos Gonatas after insulting the mother of his son Halcyoneus: Ath. 13.578a.

²² Lund (n. 5), 100. Andragathus is not listed by Tataki (n. 5).

²³ Sosigenes is not listed in Tataki (n. 5).

²⁴ See n. 10 above.

Demetrius I had left a certain Heracleides in command of the Peiraeus when he went to Lydia (Polyaenus 5.7[1]), but we do not know what his origins were.²⁵ If he is the same man as the Heracleides honoured by the Athenians before Ipsus in *IG II*² 1492, 106 and 116, who was a friend of Demetrius, he was an Erythraean. One of his subordinates, a Carian named Hierocles, who helped him entrap the Athenians (Polyaenus, loc. cit.), seems to be the same man as the later governor of the Peiraeus under Antigonos Gonatas. The Antigonids may have continued to use the same men as representatives at Athens over long periods.

Of the twelve friends of Demetrius I known from his reign after the battle of Ipsus, seven were Macedonians, making 58 per cent of the total and four (33 per cent) were Greeks. The percentage of Macedonians is markedly lower than that found for Alexander, but higher than for Antigonos. Since the bases for these lists were not precisely comparable, we should not put too much weight on these figures, but there is a clear difference to be seen.

Antigonos Gonatas also used his kinsmen as officers. His governor of the Peloponnese had been his elder half-brother Craterus (Trog. *Prol.* 26; Plut. *De frat. amor.* 15.486A)²⁶ and after him, Craterus' son Alexander held a similar position.²⁷ Antigonos' son Halcyoneus was serving as an officer in the campaign against Pyrrhus at Argos (Plut. *Pyrrh.* 34.7–10) and his death in battle is also recorded (Plut. *Mor.* 119C–D; Ael. *VH* 3.5). Halcyoneus probably had an important career under Antigonos, but the details are lost.²⁸ Antigonos' son and successor, Demetrius, won a battle in Boeotia (Justin 26.11.11), but as Demetrius was twelve or thirteen at the time,²⁹ he was probably only nominally in command. These kinsmen were the most important Macedonians employed by Antigonos in high command.

When Antigonos recovered Corinth, he placed Persaeus the philosopher in charge.³⁰ Persaeus was a native of Citium, who had been recommended to Antigonos by his fellow Stoic and Citian, Zeno (Diog. Laert. 8.36, cf. 8.9). Two other officers are mentioned at Corinth: Archelaus the general and Theophrastus. We are not told whether these men were Macedonians, Greeks, or something else, but they seem to have been subordinate to Persaeus,³¹ even though he was a Hellenized Phoenician. Tataki lists both of them as Macedonians³²—this seems probable for Archelaus, bearing the name of an earlier Macedonian king, but doubtful for Theophrastus.

Antigonos Gonatas' governor of the Peiraeus, Hierocles, attested by Diogenes Laertius (2.127 and 4.39), seems to be the same man as the Carian who helped his father's commander Heracleides entrap the Athenians who tried to capture

²⁵ C. Habicht, *Athens from Alexander to Antony* (Cambridge, MA and London, 1997), 124–5. Tataki (n. 5), 231 identifies him as a Macedonian.

²⁶ For Craterus' sphere of operation, cf. Plut. *De mul. virt.* 15, 253a, cf. 250f; Frontin. *Str.* 3.6.7; Tarn (n. 18), 195. Tataki (n. 5), does not list Craterus, but lists his father, also called Craterus, at 205.

²⁷ Who subsequently revolted and took Corinth out of Antigonid control. Trog. *Prol.* 26; *IG II*² 774; Plut. *Arat.* 17.2; Suda s.v. *Εὐφορίων* calls him 'king of Euboea'; cf. Habicht (n. 25), 162. Alexander son of Craterus is not listed in Tataki (n. 5).

²⁸ Antigonos gave money to celebrate Halcyoneus' birthday, Diog. Laert. 4.4, cf. 5.65. Cf. Tarn (n. 18), 395; Kroll, 'Halkyoneus (I)', *RE* 7 (1910), 2273; Tataki (n. 5), 233.

²⁹ Tarn (n. 18), 304.

³⁰ Paus. 2.8.4, 7.8.3; Polyaenus 6.4.5; Plut. *Arat.* 23.5.

³¹ J. J. Gabbert, *Antigonos II Gonatas* (London, 1997), 36. Tataki (n. 5), 269 and 327 lists them as Macedonians.

³² Tataki (n. 5) 289 and 327. She argues that men in Macedonian service without ethnics should be taken as Macedonians—see n. 10 above.

Munychia.³³ He was followed by an Athenian citizen, Heraclitus son of Asclepiades of Athmonon (*Syll.*³ 454, cf. 401).³⁴

Another general of Antigonos was Ameinias, described as 'the arch-pirate'³⁵ when he helped Antigonos capture Cassandreia (Polyaenus 4.6.18). Plutarch *Pyrrhus* 29.11 calls him Ameinias the Phocian, when Antigonos sent him to help Sparta against Pyrrhus in 272.³⁶ Antigonos Gonatas seems to have used non-Macedonians as his officers on an even greater scale than his grandson Philip V, perhaps because he was uncertain of the Macedonian army's loyalty.³⁷ Of the ten known royal servants of Antigonos Gonatas, five (50 per cent) were Macedonian (mostly royal relatives), while there were two each (20 per cent) for Greeks and for those of eastern origin.

Very little is known of Demetrius II's friends. His governor of the Peiraeus was Diogenes, whose origin is uncertain. He demanded the surrender of Corinth after the battle of Phylace (Plut. *Arat.* 54.2), and agreed to hand over the Peiraeus in 229, provided his troops received their back-pay (Paus. 2.8.6; Plut. *Arat.* 34.6). *IG* II² 3474 shows us that Diogenes was an Athenian citizen after the liberation of Athens in 229, and was married to a Boutiad, but this could have happened after he abandoned the Antigonids.³⁸ If he was an Athenian by origin, like his predecessor Heraclitus, the Antigonids would have made a policy of appointing Athenian citizens to control Athens in the later stages of their occupation.

Plutarch *Aratus* 34.2 tells us about Demetrius' general Bithys, but gives no clue about his nationality.³⁹ Polybius (20.5.12) tells us that Antigonos Doson had appointed Brachylles son of Neon, the Theban, as his governor of Sparta. Demetrius of Pharos is listed as a commander among the allied troops at Sellasia, and one of the two officers placed by the king in charge of attacking Euia in that battle (Polyb. 2.65.4 and 66.5, cf. 3.16.3). However, he seems to have been a personal ally of Antigonos rather than a Macedonian officer or a member of the Hellenic Symmarchy.⁴⁰

Polybius 4.87.6ff. also gives us a list of the officers Antigonos left as guardians for his stepson and heir, Philip V. These were Apelles in the administration, Leontius in command of the *peltasts*, Megaleas in the chancery, Taurion in charge of the Peloponnese, and Alexander of the bodyguard.⁴¹ This Alexander is almost certainly

³³ Habicht (n. 25), 162. Tarn (n. 18), 205.

³⁴ Habicht (n. 25), 162. Tarn (n. 18), 307.

³⁵ Which may have been an honorable title, Tarn (n. 18), 88.

³⁶ Gabbert (n. 31), 36 suggests he had held some significant position at Corinth between Craterus and his son Alexander, but he could equally have accompanied Antigonos south to deal with Pyrrhus. Tarn (n. 18), 272, n. 38 argues that Antigonos would not have withdrawn troops from Corinth in the face of Pyrrhus' invasion of the Peloponnese.

³⁷ Gabbert (n. 31), 89. For Antigonos' problems in making himself ruler of Macedon, see J. L. O'Neil, 'The creation of new dynasties after the death of Alexander the Great', *Prudentia* 32 (2000), 134.

³⁸ Habicht (n. 25), 173 describes him as probably an Athenian citizen from the outset, S. Le Bohec *Antigone Dôsôn: roi de Macédoine* (Nancy, 1993), 265 thinks he was probably an Athenian in origin. However, Gabbert, (n. 31), 38; W. S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens* (London, 1911), 201; and Tataki (n. 5), 298 think he was given citizenship after the liberation. Tataki lists him as a Macedonian.

³⁹ Tataki (n. 5), 281 lists him as Macedonian, on the principle that those without *ethnika* are Macedonian (cf. n. 15 above). The name Bithys is known in Macedonia, and a soldier whose name is lost but was the son of Bithys, and from Thessalonice, was a mercenary of Attalus I at Lilaia in Phocis (Tataki [n. 5], 189). He may be the son—or other kin—of Demetrius II's general, but this cannot be certain.

⁴⁰ F. W. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybios* 1 (Oxford, 1957), 275.

⁴¹ For the meaning of *therapeia*, see S. Le Bohec 'L'entourage royal à la cour des Antigonids' in *Le système palatiale en orient, en grèce et à Rome* (Strasbourg, 1987), 319.

the Alexander son of Acmetus who fought under Antigonus Doson at Sellasia (Polyb. 2.66.5).⁴²

Polybius does not tell us the origins of these men, but since the first three opposed Philip's pro-Achaean policies in the interests of the Macedonian landowners,⁴³ they were clearly Macedonians. Taurion was not linked to Apelles in this 'conspiracy', but his quarrel with Apelles was over influence,⁴⁴ and he also pursued a policy of Macedonian imperialism, as can be seen from the allegations in Polybius (8.12.2) that he poisoned the elder Aratus.⁴⁵ Taurion can be seen to have come from the same background. Antigonus Doson seems to have relied on Greeks in Greece itself, but to have kept key positions for Macedonians.

The friends of Demetrius II and Antigonus Doson are the least well-documented group. Of the eight names surviving, five (that is, 62 per cent) were definitely Macedonian.

For the reign of Philip V, Polybius (5.12.5) reports that his two most influential advisers were Aratus of Sicyon and Demetrius of Pharos.⁴⁶ Both of these men were Greeks, not Macedonians. At 9.23.9 Polybius adds two Macedonians to this pair. Taurion the commander of the Peloponnese, was, like Demetrius, a bad influence on Philip, while Chrysogonus, like Aratus, was an influence for good. Taurion is mentioned commanding troops in the Peloponnese (Polyb. 5.27.4 and 92.7) and Chrysogonus did the same in Thessaly and Macedon (Polyb. 5.17.5 and 97.4). As Chrysogonus' son Samus was Philip's *syntrophos*, and later apparently an influential adviser himself,⁴⁷ and Chrysogonus is recorded as coming from Edessa,⁴⁸ he can be seen to have come from a Macedonian noble family.

Our Achaean-based sources seem to have exaggerated the influence of Aratus, and may have done the same for Demetrius of Pharos.⁴⁹ Moreover Aratus and Demetrius might be thought to have acted as advisers to Philip, rather than as his commanders. Aratus acted as the prosecutor in the trial of Megaleas (Polyb. 5.16.6), while Demetrius was the only person to whom Philip showed the news of the Roman defeat at Trasimene (Polyb. 5.101.7). Both advised Philip when he was considering occupying Messene in 214 (Polyb. 7.11.6; Plut. *Arat.* 50, 5; Strabo 8.4.8).⁵⁰ In fact, both men are

⁴² Alexander was son of Admetos from Arkynia, Tataki (n. 5), 71; S. Le Bohec, 'Les *philoi* des Rois Antigonids', *REG* 94 (1985), 103, no. 2; Le Bohec (n. 38), 291. Tataki (n. 5), 25, 354, 362, 439, identifies the others on the principle that those without *ethnika* are Macedonians, see n. 15 above. C. Erhardt, 'Macedonian benefactors at Larissa', *ZPE* 31 (1978), 223 identifies this Alexander on the list of Larisaean benefactors, but C. Habicht, 'Makedonen in Larisa?', *Chiron* 13 (1983), 83-4 believes the man was a Larisaean with the same name.

⁴³ F. W. Walbank, *Philip V of Macedon* (Cambridge, 1940), 44. R. M. Errington 'Philip V, Aratus and the "conspiracy of Apelles"', *Historia* 15 (1967), 22.

⁴⁴ Cf. Polyb. 4.87.1; Errington (n. 43), 22.

⁴⁵ As Walbank (n. 43), 79 says, this is dubious, but Taurion must have been seen as hostile to Achaea for such a story to gain credence.

⁴⁶ Le Bohec (n. 42), 96 argues that Aratus was not a *philos* of Philip V, since he was not regularly at court. But when he was with Philip V, Aratus fulfilled the functions of a *philos*, as we shall see below.

⁴⁷ Chrysogonus' goodwill to Philip: Polyb. 7.11.6; Samus at Thermum: Polyb. 5.9.4; Samus one of the advisors executed by Philip: Polyb. 23.10.9. Cf. Geffcken, 'Samos (2)', *RE* 1A (1920), 2161-2; Tataki (n. 5), 105.

⁴⁸ See K. I. Galles 'Χρυσόγονος ἐξ Ἐδέεσσος', *Archaiia Makedonia* II (Thessalonike, 1977), 34 and Tataki (n. 5), 105.

⁴⁹ Errington (n. 43), 21, 27; cf. Walbank (n. 43), 79.

⁵⁰ Aratus' influence declined from this time: F. W. Walbank, *Aratos of Sicyon* (Cambridge, 1933), 154-5.

also found commanding troops for Philip: Aratus commanded the phalanx when Lycurgus tried to block Philip's return through Laconia in 218 (Polyb. 5.23.7), while Demetrius was leading Macedonian troops in a sneak attack on Messene when he died (Paus. 4.29.2⁵¹). They may not have been Philip's regular army commanders, but he did use both men in that capacity.⁵²

After the deaths of these two men, Polybius tells us at 13.4 that Heracleides of Tarentum was a major influence on Philip, again for the bad.⁵³ Heracleides had been exiled from his home city, after betraying both Tarentum to the Romans and the Romans to Hannibal. Heracleides played an active role in Philip's service, for example in the partially successful attempt to burn the Rhodian shipyards (Polyb. 13.5.4–5; Polyaeus 5.7[2]). We may note Philip's use of exiles as his advisers. Such men did not have an independent powerbase and were reliant on royal favour for their influence.⁵⁴

Dicaearchus the Aetolian, whom Philip placed in charge of a pirate fleet to ravage the Aegean and the Propontus, is another Greek in a prominent position in Philip's affairs, but he did not stay in Philip's service and died in Egypt with Scopas in 197 (Polyb. 18.54.8–11).

Philocles and Apelles were prominent at Philip's court towards the end of the reign. The two men were sent as ambassadors to Rome on the mission which doomed prince Demetrius (Livy 40.20.3, 54.9). Philocles may be the same man who had been Philip's general,⁵⁵ with him in Caria (Polyb. 16.24.7) and, as his prefect of Chalcis, attacking Athens before the outbreak of the Second Macedonian War (Livy 31.16.2, 26.6) and surrendering Argos to Nabis in 197 (Livy 32.38.1–9). No indication of Philocles' and Apelles' nationality is given in the sources, so it seems likely, but cannot be certain, that they were Macedonians.⁵⁶

Another prominent figure in Philip's regime, late in his reign, was Didas, the governor of Paeonia. The prince Demetrius tried to enlist his support for an escape to Rome, but Didas betrayed him to his father and assassinated him in 180 on Philip's orders (Livy 40.21–4). We learn from Livy (42.51.6) that Didas was himself a Paeonian. Just as Alexander (and no doubt Philip II) found it desirable to use Upper Macedonians to govern their compatriots, Philip V used a Paeonian to govern his Paeonian subjects.⁵⁷

The man who ousted Philocles and Apelles from Philip's favour, Antigonus son of Echecrates, was certainly a Macedonian, since his father was Antigonus Doson's brother (Livy 40.54.4–9). He was absent from the court at the time of Philip's death on an embassy to the Bastarnae (Livy 40.57.3) and was executed by Perseus as a potential rival for the throne (Livy 40.58.9).⁵⁸

⁵¹ While Pausanias has Demetrius confused with Philip's son of the same name, this episode is clearly the attack on Messene in Polyb. 3.19.11—Walbank (n. 40), 331.

⁵² On Demetrius' career as a royal friend, see Le Bohec (n. 42), 107, no. 7.

⁵³ Polybius' account of Heracleides is clearly prejudiced against him: F.W. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius 2* (Oxford, 1967), 418. On his career with Philip, see Le Bohec (n. 42), 108, no. 8.

⁵⁴ Le Bohec (n. 44), 323. Cf. Habicht (n. 9), 9, Teles, *On Exile* 23h.

⁵⁵ But we cannot be certain of this: Walbank (n. 43), 236, n. 1. Tataki (n. 5), 452 accepts the identification.

⁵⁶ See Tataki (n. 5), 254, 452; Le Bohec (n. 42), 106, no. 5 and 111, no. 13; E. Olshausen, *Prosopographie der hellenistischen Königsgesandten* (Louvain, 1974), 87, no. 87 and 135, no. 101.

⁵⁷ Tataki (n. 5), 208; Le Bohec (n. 42), 108, no. 8. The name has parallels in Thracian: R. Katicic, *Ancient Languages of the Balkans* (The Hague, 1976), 152. Paeonia was a recent acquisition of the Antigonids: Le Bohec (n. 38), 183–4.

⁵⁸ See Le Bohec (n. 42), 105, no. 4 and Olshausen (n. 56), 118, no. 86 on the identities of the

The most influential friends at Philip V's court were thus a mixture of Macedonians and Greeks, with some individuals whose origin is not stated, but who were probably Macedonians. Philip's reliance on foreign favourites, who did not have a Macedonian power-base, may be a sign of weakness on his part.⁵⁹ A similar pattern is found in the origins of Philip's lesser-ranking officers. We do not have the wealth of detail for the reign of Philip V that we have for Alexander the Great, but a few names have survived.

In 219, during the Social War, Philip appointed as his *epimeletes* of Triphylia, Ladicus the Acarnanian (Polyb. 4.80.15). Philip left a general named Perseus in command of Tempe in 209. In spite of his name he is not necessarily a connection of Philip's or even a Macedonian.⁶⁰ The general who captured Thasos for Philip in 202 was Metrodorus⁶¹ (Polyb. 15.24.2), while at the battle of Chios in 201 Philip's nauarch Democrates, son of Philip, was killed (Polyb. 16.3.6). Polybius gives the origins of neither man; they were probably, but not certainly, Macedonians.⁶² In 200, Philip's prefect at Chalcis was another Acarnanian, Sopater (Livy 31.23.1) and in 197 his prefect in Caria, Dinocrates, is found commanding Macedonian troops (Livy 33.18.6 and 9).

In 200, Philip V's general Nicanor was ravaging Attica as far as the Academy, when the Romans delivered an ultimatum to him for Philip to leave Athens alone (Polyb. 26.27.1).⁶³ He is probably the same man as Philip's general Nicanor at Cynoscephalae, who was nicknamed 'the elephant'.⁶⁴ The name is a common one in Macedon, but not exclusively Macedonian. Nicanor should be considered to have been a Macedonian.

After Cynoscephalae, Philip despatched three ambassadors—Demosthenes, Cycliadas, and Limnaeus—to Flamininus (Polyb. 18.34.4). Polybius gives no indication of their nationality, but we can show that one of them is a Greek. Cycliadas was a former general of the Achaean League, who had been banished when the Achaeans joined the Romans.⁶⁵ In this case, Polybius assumes his readers will recognize the name of an Achaean, and the absence of an ethnic identity cannot be taken as evidence that we have a Macedonian.

However, Livy (32.32.9) describes this embassy as two leading Macedonians and an Achaean exile, Cycliadas, so it seems that Polybius expected his readers to recognize the famous Achaean, and realize that the two other men, without identification, were Macedonians.⁶⁶ The name Limnaeus is a common one in Macedon, but is not confined to Macedonians,⁶⁷ which supports the identification of Limnaeus as a Macedonian.

various Antigonus at this time. Erhardt (n. 42), 223 reads his name on a list of benefactors of the Thessalian city, but Habicht (n. 42), 23 reads the name as Antiochus. Nothing is known of the father Echeocrates except for his name: Le Bohec (n. 38), 83–4. See also Tataki (n. 5), 246–7.

⁵⁹ Walbank (n. 43), 251–2. Errington (n. 43), 36.

⁶⁰ Walbank (n. 43), 86, n. 1. This Perseus is not listed in Tataki (n. 5).

⁶¹ He may be the Metrodorus Stratonos Makedon honoured by the Milesians in 228/7, but the name is quite common: Walbank (n. 53), 479. Tataki (n. 5), 373 accepts the identification.

⁶² See Tataki (n. 5), 25, etc. (see n. 15) for the proposition that people in Macedonian service, whose ethnic identities are not known, are to be identified as Macedonians, and 296 for evidence that Democrates was a Macedonian.

⁶³ This is more likely to be an earlier invasion of Attica than that of Philocles mentioned at Livy 31.16.2—see Walbank (n. 53), 537.

⁶⁴ Polyb. 28.24.2; Livy 33.8.8. P. Schoch, 'Nikanor (15 and 16)', *RE* 17 (1936), 270, Walbank (n. 53), 552; Tataki (n. 5), 382. On the name Nicanor, see n. 16 above.

⁶⁵ Walbank (n. 53), 549.

⁶⁶ On the general principle, see n. 15 above; for these men, see Tataki (n. 5), 291, 525 and Olshausen (n. 56), 123, no. 90 and 130, no. 98.

⁶⁷ Tataki (n. 5), 525; cf. Olshausen (n. 56), 140.

An earlier ambassador of Philip's, Perdikkas, sent to Crete to support the Teian claim to *asylia*, is identified as a Teian in the inscriptions of two Cretan cities, Arkades and Hierapytna. Holleaux argued from Perdikkas' name that he was a Macedonian, given Teian citizenship as a reward for his services, but any such vote would have taken place before the passing of the Cretan decrees in honour of Teios, so it seems probable that he was a Teian citizen at the outset.⁶⁸

Three more officers of Philip's outside Macedon are known, none of whom are identified by ethnics. Xenon was prefect of Telum in Athamania at time of the revolt in 189 (Livy 38.1.10). In 184 Philip's governor of the Thracian coast was one Onomastus, and a royal friend, Cassander, who was living in Maronea, was used to set up the massacre there (Polyb. 22.13.3ff.; Livy 39.34.2). These men are likely to have been Macedonians, but it cannot be certain.⁶⁹

We do have the names of a few of Philip's army commanders at Cynoscephalae (Polyb. 18.22.2). The Thessalian cavalry were commanded by Heracleides of Gyrton⁷⁰—a Thessalian in command of Thessalians, unlike the position in Alexander's time. The other known officers have no ethnic identification, but are probably Macedonians. Leon commanded the Macedonian cavalry and Athenagoras commanded the mercenaries, apart from the Thracians. The left wing was commanded by a Nicanor, who we saw above was probably a Macedonian.⁷¹ Philip V seems to have used outsiders as his army commanders less than he did as senior advisers, but even there he was less reliant on Macedonians than Alexander had been.

Thirty-one of Philip V's friends have been identified. Of these nineteen, some 61 per cent, were Macedonian, while nine, that is 29 per cent, can be identified as Greeks. The proportion of Macedonians is somewhat higher than for Demetrius I and Antigonos Gonatas, but is nowhere near the 77 per cent seen in the case of Alexander.

Macedonians are found rather more prominently in the reign of Perseus. Livy 42.51 gives a list of Perseus' commanders in 171 early in the Third Macedonian War, at the battle of Callinicum. Most of them are identified by Macedonian hometowns. The phalanx was commanded by Hippias of Beroea,⁷² the agema by Leonnatus and Thrasippus. The name Leonnatus is a common one in Macedon, though also found elsewhere, and the two men are Euiestae, citizens of a small town in Upper Macedonia.⁷³ Antiphilus of Edessa led the *caetrati*.⁷⁴ Didas, himself a Paeonian, commanded the Paeonians and other northerners,⁷⁵ while Asclepiodorus from Heraclea in Sintis commanded the Gauls and other mercenaries.⁷⁶ Only two Greeks are listed, both

⁶⁸ *IC* I.v.52.25–6 (Arkades) and I.xiv.1.24–5 (Hierapytna). M. Holleaux, *Études d'Épigraphie et d'Histoire Grecques* (Paris, 1952), 4.184ff. Cf. Olshausen (n. 56), 99, no. 130. Tataki (n. 5), 404 lists Perdikkas as a Macedonian.

⁶⁹ For Onomastus, see Tataki (n. 5), 393; Le Bohec (n. 42), 109–10, no. 11; Cassander, Tataki (n. 5), 338; F. W. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius* 3 (Oxford, 1979), 197 thinks he was *strategos* of Thrace; S. Le Bohec 'Les epistates des rois Antigonides', *Ktema* 11 (1986), 284 argues that Cassander was not *epistates* at Maronea, since he did not live there regularly. Hatzopoulos (n. 7), 383ff. has shown that the *epistatai* were local magistrates, not royal officers.

⁷⁰ A small town in Pelasgiotis: Strabo 9.5.20 (441), cf. Stählin, 'Gyrton', *RE* 7 (1902), 2101.

⁷¹ See n. 64 above.

⁷² Tataki (n. 5), 78; Le Bohec (n. 42), 114, no. 17; Olshausen (n. 56), 153, no. 113.

⁷³ Tataki (n. 5), 109; on the name Leonnatus, *ibid.* 515; the ethnicon Euiestae, Hatzopoulos (n. 7), 99.

⁷⁴ See Tataki (n. 5), 102.

⁷⁵ Didas had been governor of Paeonia under Philip V and had assassinated his son Demetrius—see n. 57 above.

⁷⁶ See Tataki (n. 5), 111.

exiles, who commanded small groups of their fellow-countrymen, Leonidas the Spartan and Lycon the Achaean.⁷⁷

Some chapters later, at 42.58.7–10, Livy names some further commanders of Perseus. Midon⁷⁸ of Beroea commanded the left wing, Meno of Antigonea the royal horse, and Patrocles, also from Antigonea, commanded the *auxilia*.⁷⁹ The slingers were commanded by Ion⁸⁰ of Thessalonice and Artemon the Dolopian. Artemon may seem to be an exception to the predominance of Macedonians, but as the Dolopians were probably under Macedonian control from the Syrian War,⁸¹ he may be commanding his fellow citizens.

After Pydna, three of Perseus' principal friends surrendered Beroea to the Romans: Hippias, Midon, and Pantauchus (Livy 44.45.1). The two first are known to be Macedonians (and citizens of Beroea), while Pantauchus is the son of Balacrus, both attested in Perseus' service elsewhere and with good Macedonian names.⁸² All of Perseus' senior friends seem to have been Macedonian, in contrast to his father's use of Greeks as well as Macedonians at this level.

At a lower level, some Greeks do appear, like the commanders of the small Greek contingents, Leonidas and Lycon. But the two representatives of King Perseus to the Delphic Amphictyony in 178, Harpalus and Simonides, were both from Beroea (*Syll.*³ 636).⁸³ Perseus' ambassador to the Romans in 179, Harpalus, who took an aggressive stance (Livy 42.14.2) is probably the same man, and so a Macedonian.⁸⁴ Of his next ambassadors, Solon and Hippias (Polyb. 27.6.1), Hippias is almost certainly the Beroean mentioned above, rather than the exiled Boeotian pro-Macedonian general, and so a Macedonian.⁸⁵ Solon, if he is a kinsman of the Phaneas son of Solon who was *thearodocus* at Klita around 178, will be another Macedonian.⁸⁶

However, the ethnicity of many of Perseus' ambassadors is less certain. He sent Antenor and Philip to Rhodes (Polyb. 27.4.3) and Diophanes to Antiochus IV (Polyb. 27.7.15). Antenor is probably to be identified with the Macedonian admiral in the Aegean (Livy 44.28–9) and with Antenor son of Neoptolemus of Beroea, and so a Macedonian.⁸⁷ Pantauchus son of Balacrus and Midon of Beroea (Polyb. 27.8.5) are both well-known Macedonians, and Antenor was sent to Rhodes again to ransom those captured with Diophanes (Polyb. 27.14.1–2). In 169, Perseus sent two ambassadors to Genthius: Pleuratus, an exiled Illyrian, and the Macedonian Adaeus (Polyb. 28.8.1; Livy 43.19.13).

⁷⁷ These troops were probably mercenaries: Piero Meloni, *Perseo e la fine della monarchia Macedone* (Rome, 1953), 219, n. 1.

⁷⁸ The MSS of Polybius (27.8.5) call him Medon; Plut. *Aem.* 16.2 gives Milon. Livy 44.45.1 calls him Midon again. See Le Bohec (n. 42), 114, no. 18, Olshausen (n. 56), 159, no. 118, Meloni (n. 77), 361, n. 3. Cf. Tataki (n. 5), 90.

⁷⁹ For both men, see Tataki (n. 5), 63.

⁸⁰ The name Ion is restored from Livy 45.6.9, where Ion of Thessalonice surrendered the royal children to the Romans. See Diehl, 'Ion (9)', *RE* 9 (1916), 1860 and Tataki (n. 5), 183.

⁸¹ Walbank (n. 43), 219.

⁸² Polyb. 28.8.5. Cf. Walbank (n. 69), 365; Tataki (n. 5), 513ff.

⁸³ Olshausen (n. 56), 153, no. 113.

⁸⁴ Sundwall, 'Harpalus (3)', *RE* 7 (1920), 2401; Meloni (n. 77), 159; Tataki (n. 5), 76.

⁸⁵ Polyb. 22.4.12, 27.1.11 and 2.3; see Le Bohec (n. 42), 114; Olshausen (n. 56), 156, no. 115. Meloni (n. 77), 208 identifies him with the exiled Boeotian. Walbank (n. 69), 299, thinks we may have three different Hippiases, with the ambassador being the *princeps amicorum*.

⁸⁶ Tataki (n. 5), 115; Olshausen (n. 56), 165, no. 124. For the date, see G. Daux 'Listes delphiques de Théarodoques', *REG* 62 (1949), 21.

⁸⁷ Walbank (n. 69), 297; Tataki (n. 5), 243–4; Olshausen (n. 56), 144, no. 106.

Perseus' hostages to Genthius, Limnaeus son of Polemocrates and Balacrus son of Pantauchus (Polyb. 29.4.6), are clearly of noble Macedonian birth, both from their names,⁸⁸ and their function as hostages. Metrodorus, who led another embassy to Rhodes (Polyb. 29.4.7, cf. 11.1) seems to be the Rhodian who had come earlier to Perseus,⁸⁹ and so a Greek. Herophon, ambassador to Eumenes, is of unknown nationality,⁹⁰ while Perseus' final ambassador to Antiochus IV, Telemnastus the Cretan, is definitely a Greek (Polyb. 29.4.7).⁹¹

Perseus does seem to have used Greeks as well as Macedonians, as his *philoï*, but on a lesser scale than his father had done. His primary use of Macedonians is shown by the Romans' decree of exile against all those Macedonians who had served the kings in whatever capacity (Livy 45.32.3–6). Of the twenty-eight names identified as Perseus' friends, twenty were Macedonians, some 71 per cent (the highest proportion for any Antigonid king), while only five (18 per cent) were Greeks, and they were to be found only in less important positions.

Perseus' lesser use of Greeks may be partly due to the loss of the Antigonids' possessions in Greece after the proclamation of Greek freedom by Flamininus, but it also suggests he was more willing to rely on his fellow Macedonians than his father had been.

The Antigonids used Greeks as their friends more than Alexander, and presumably Philip II, had done, but the extent to which this was done varied from one king to the next. After Ipsus, Demetrius I used a narrow majority (58 per cent) of Macedonians as his officials. Antigonus Gonatas is known to have used few Macedonians as his friends, 50 per cent of his known servants, and his kinsmen make up the majority of those known. Demetrius II's reign has left only two names of friends, while Antigonus Doson seems to have favoured Macedonians in key positions, while using more Greeks in Greece itself. Philip V used Greeks and Macedonians in both senior and more junior positions, with known Macedonians making up 61 per cent of the total. Perseus, by whose time the Antigonid possessions in Greece were largely lost, tended to use Macedonians in key positions, reaching a total of 71 per cent of his officers, but he did use Greeks in lesser positions. His practice is the closest to that of Alexander the Great, but is still below the 77 per cent seen under that king.

These differences may be partly due to the limitations of our information. We are better informed on the Greek administration of the first Antigonids and on Macedon under Perseus, but there do seem to be basic policy differences as well. Antigonus Gonatas and Philip V liked to use men who did not have power-bases of their own in Macedon, while Antigonus Doson and Perseus seem to have relied more on the national spirit of the Macedonians.⁹²

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⁸⁸ See Tataki (n. 5), 513, 518; Olshausen (n. 56), 162.

⁸⁹ Livy 44.28.10. See Meloni (n. 77), 346. He is not to be identified with Philip's general of the same name: Olshausen (n. 56), 161, no. 120.

⁹⁰ Tataki (n. 5) lists him as a Macedonian; Walbank (n. 69), 365 says he is 'unknown'. Cf. Olshausen (n. 56), 154–5, no. 114.

⁹¹ See Olshausen (n. 56), 167 for his career.

⁹² I would like to thank Professor F. W. Walbank, and Professor C. Collard and the anonymous reader for *Classical Quarterly* for their helpful comments on earlier versions of this paper. Any errors that remain are my own.

APPENDIX: SUMMARY OF INDIVIDUALS DISCUSSED

Name	Ethnic (M) = Macedonian	Highest duty
<i>Demetrius I</i>		
Andragathus	(?) Macedonian	commander, Amphipolis
Antigonus	Macedonian (son)	governor, Greece
Diodorus	(?) Macedonian	governor, Ephesus
Heracleides	(?) Erythrae	governor, Piraeus
Hieronimus	Cardia	governor, Boeotia
Nicanor	(?) Macedonian	commander c. 300
Oxythemis	Larissa	ambassador to Sicily
Pantauchus	Macedonian	general in Aetolia
Phila	Macedonian (wife)	ambassador to Cassander
Philokles	Sidon	admiral
Pyrrhus	Epirus (kin)	governor of Greece
Sosigenes	(?) Macedonian	<i>hetairos</i>
<i>Antigonus Gonatas</i>		
Alexander	Macedonian (kin)	governor, Corinth
Ameinias	Phocian	general
Archelaus	(?) Macedonian	general, Corinth
Craterus	Macedonian (kin)	governor, Corinth
Demetrius	Macedonian (son)	general
Halcyoneus	Macedonian (son)	commander
Heraclitus	Athenian	governor, Piraeus
Hierocles	Carian	governor, Piraeus
Persaeus	Citium	governor, Corinth
Theophrastus	unknown	officer, Corinth
<i>Demetrius II</i>		
Bithys	(?) Macedonian	general
Diogenes	(?) Athenian	governor, Piraeus
<i>Antigonus Doson</i>		
Alexander	Arcynia (M)	general at Sellasia
Apelles	(?) Macedonian	chancellor
Brachylles	Theban	governor, Sparta
Demetrius	Pharos	mercenary commander
Leontius	(?) Macedonian	general, peltasts
Taurion	(?) Macedonian	governor, Corinth
<i>Philip V</i>		
Alexander	Arcynia (M)	general
Antigonus	Macedonian (kin)	adviser
Apelles	(?) Macedonian	chancellor
Apelles	(?) Macedonian	ambassador to Rome
Aratus	Achaean	ally and adviser
Athenagoras	(?) Macedonian	commander
Cassander	(?) Macedonian	governor, Thrace
Chrysogonus	Edessa (M)	adviser, general
Cycliadas	Achaean exile	ambassador
Democrates	(?) Macedonian	admiral, 201
Demetrius	Pharos	adviser, general
Demosthenes	Macedonian	ambassador
Dicaearchus	Aetolian	commander, pirate fleet
Didas	Paeonian	governor, Paeonia

Dinocrates	(?) Macedonian	governor, Caria
Heracleides	Tarentum, exile	adviser
Heracleides	Gyrton, Thessaly	commander, Thessalians 197
Ladicus	Acarnanian	governor, Triphylia
Leon	(?) Macedonian	commander, cavalry 197
Leontius	(?) Macedonian	general, peltasts
Limnaeus	Macedonian	ambassador, hostage
Metrodorus	Macedonian	general, Thasos 202
Nicanor	(?) Macedonian	general, 200 and 197
Onomastus	(?) Macedonian	governor in Thrace
Perdiccas	(?) Teos	ambassador to Crete
Perseus	(?) Macedonian	general, Tempe 209
Philocles	(?) Macedonian	general
Samus	Edessa (M)	adviser
Sopater	Acarnanian	governor, Chalcis
Taurion	(?) Macedonian	governor, Corinth
Xenon	unknown	governor, Athamania

Perseus

Adaeus	Macedonian	ambassador
Antenor	Beroea (M)	admiral
Antiphilus	Edessa (M)	general, peltasts 171
Artemon	Dolopian	commander, slingers 171
Asclepiodorus	Heracleia (M)	general, mercenaries 171
Balacrus	Macedonian	hostage
Didas	Paeonian	governor, Paeonia
Diophanes	(?) Macedonian	ambassador to Antiochus IV
Harpalus	Beroea (M)	ambassador to Rome
Hierophon	unknown	ambassador to Eumenes
Hippias	Beroea (M)	general, phalanx 171
Ion	Thessalonice (M)	commander, slingers 171
Leonidas	Spartan exile	commander, Spartans
Leonnatus	Euiestes (M)	general, agema 171
Limnaeus	Macedonian	ambassador, hostage
Lycon	Achaean exile	commander, Achaeans
Meno	Antigonea (M)	commander, royal horse 171
Metrodorus	Rhodian	ambassador, Rhodes
Midon	Beroea (M)	general, left wing 171
Pantauchus	Macedonian	adviser, hostage
Patrocles	Antigonea (M)	commander, auxiliaries
Philip	unknown	ambassador to Rhodes
Pleuratus	Illyrian exile	ambassador to Illyria
Polemocrates	Macedonian	hostage
Simonides	Beroea (M)	amphictyon
Solon	(?) Macedonian	ambassador to Rome
Telemnastus	Cretan	ambassador to Antiochos IV
Thrasippus	Euiestes (M)	general, agema 171