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Studies

ANCIENT HISTORY

AN ANALYSIS OF ANTHOLOGIA PALATINA XVI, 6

Abstract: In this article presented and analyzed is an epigram from the Greek or Palatine Anthology collection (Anth. Pal. XVI, 6), that reports for a booty, won by Philip V of Macedon in result of a military campaign. This booty had belonged to Ciroadas, his children and their territory, called Odryas. The content of the text and the opinions expressed for its interpretation are carefully considered. It is pointed out, that the relation of this epigram with the history of Thrace and the Thracians is predetermined by the definition of the Macedonian king as 'lord of Europe'; in Antiquity the Thracian lands were invariably included under this geographical name. Exposed are the problems in identifying the two names, Ciroadas and Odryas, as well as these related with placing the information of the epigram in historical context. It is concluded that a relation between Odryas and the Odryssians is possible but cannot be considered as proven in the absence of other data than their common root. This makes it difficult to interpret the epigram. The opinion expressed in historiography for dating the dedication to the end of the 3rd century BC is adopted and an attempt for refinement is proposed: the Macedonian king had the greatest reason to be called 'lord of Europe' after the conquest of the Thracian coast to the Hellespont in 200 BC.

Keywords: *Balkan history; Hellenistic age; Philip V of Macedon; Thrace; ancient epigram*

Jordan ILIEV

National Centre for Information and Documentation,
Sofia
jordan_iliev@hotmail.com

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INTRODUCTION

The researchers of the ancient Balkan history often are forced to extract information from laconic and ambiguous sources. A very good illustration of this observation is an epigram included in the collection called Greek or Palatine Anthology.¹ It is the work of an anonymous author² and provides information unknown through other sources. Reflections and interpretations on its content are expressed by experts in classics and ancient history;³ however, the nature of this document provides opportunities not only for asking new questions, but also for finding some suggestions about the Thracian policy of Philip V of Macedon (221 – 179 BC). This is a sufficient excuse for proposing a new analysis in the following lines.

¹ Anth. Pal. XVI, 6.

² The epigram is attributed to Alceus of Messena, to Antipater of Sidon, and to the Macedonian court poet Samos; in any case, the question of the authorship of the epigram remains open, see WALBANK 1942, 144-145; BECKBY 1965, 551 with references.

³ MOMIGLIANO 1942, 56-57; WALBANK 1942, 137-145; EDSON 1948, 117-118; ROBERT/ROBERT 1980, 412-413; MOMIGLIANO 1984, 435-436; BRINGMANN/STEUBEN 1995, 71, 385-386; PRESUTTI 2012, 49-56; PANOVSKI 2014, 290-291.

THE EPIGRAM AND ITS CONTENT

It is an epigram in six lines known through a manuscript in Biblioteca Marciana, stored under signature Gr. Z. 481 (= 863), f. 82r and dated to 1299 – 1301 AD.⁴ The text reads as follows:⁵

Κοίρανος Εὐρώπας, ὁ καὶ εἰν ἅλι καὶ κατὰ χέρσον
τόσσον ἄναξ θνατῶν, Ζεὺς ὅσον ἀθανάτων,
εἰνοδίᾳ τὰ λάφυρα κατὰ θρασέος Κιροάδα,

καὶ τέκνων, καὶ ὅλας γὰς ἔθετ' Ὀδριάδος,
υἱὸς εὐμμελία Δαματρίου· ἂ δὲ Φιλίππου
δόξα πάλιν θεῶν ἄγχι βέβακε θρόνων.

“The souverain lord of Europe, who by sea and land is as much the King of mortals as Zeus of immortals, the son of Demetrius, wielder of the strong spear, dedicated to Enodia this booty won from bold Ciroadas, his children, and all the land Odryas. Once more has the glory of Philip mounted near to the thrones of the gods.”

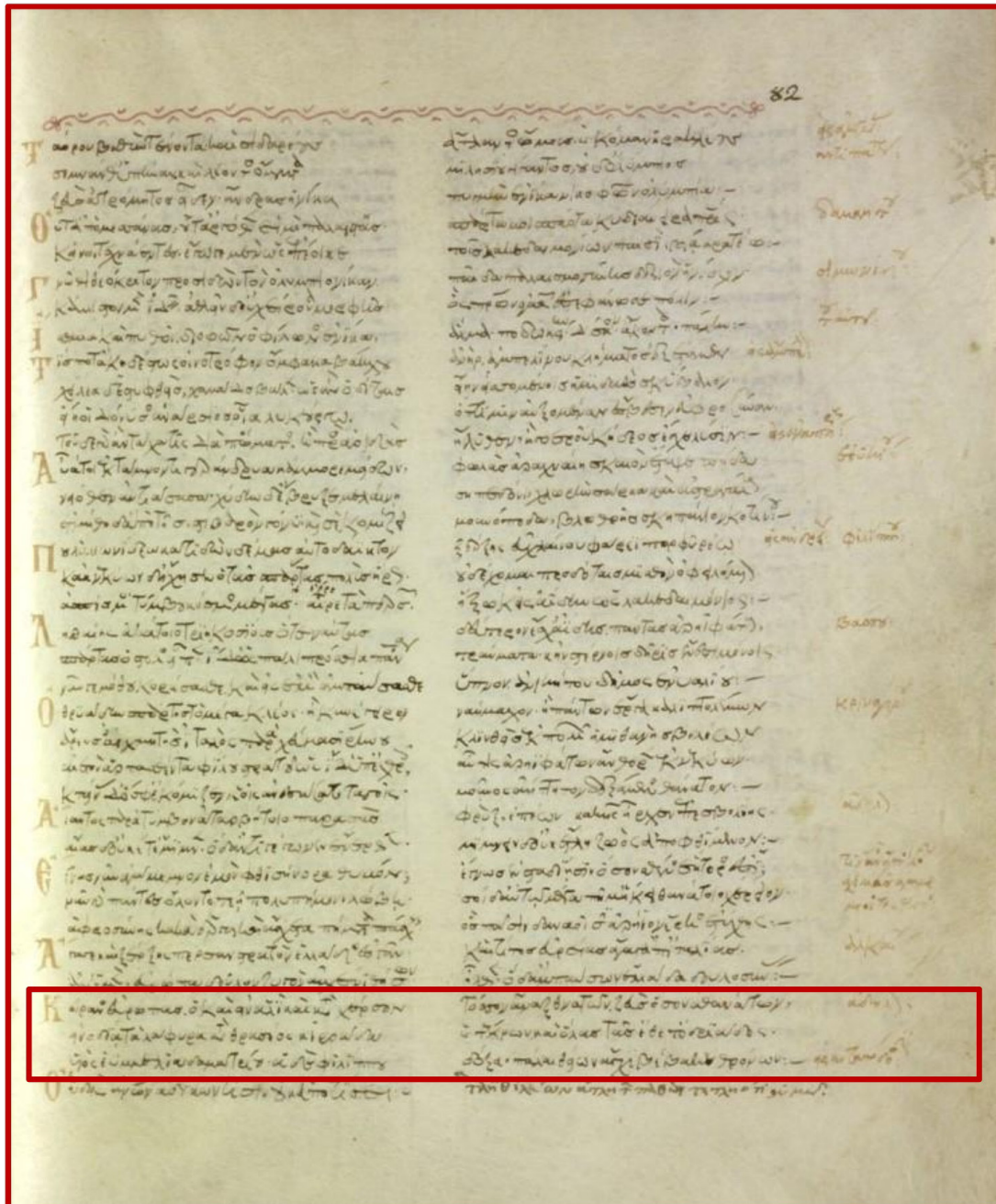


Fig. 1. The epigram according to the manuscript in Biblioteca nazionale Marciana – Gr. Z. 481 (=863), f. 82r. (Image Source: Public Domain/Biblioteca Marciana)⁶.

⁴ LAUXTERMANN 2009, 43-44.

⁵ For a consultation on the reading of line 4 the author is obliged to Assoc. Prof. Georgi Mitrev (University of Plovdiv).

⁶ See the original image at Internet Culturale: cataloghi e collezioni digitali delle biblioteche Italiane <https://www.internetculturale.it/jcms/iccviewer/iccviewer?id=oai%3A193.206.197.121%3A18%3AVE0049%3AC-STOR.240.10191&mode=all&teca=marciana> [accessed 05.11.2021].

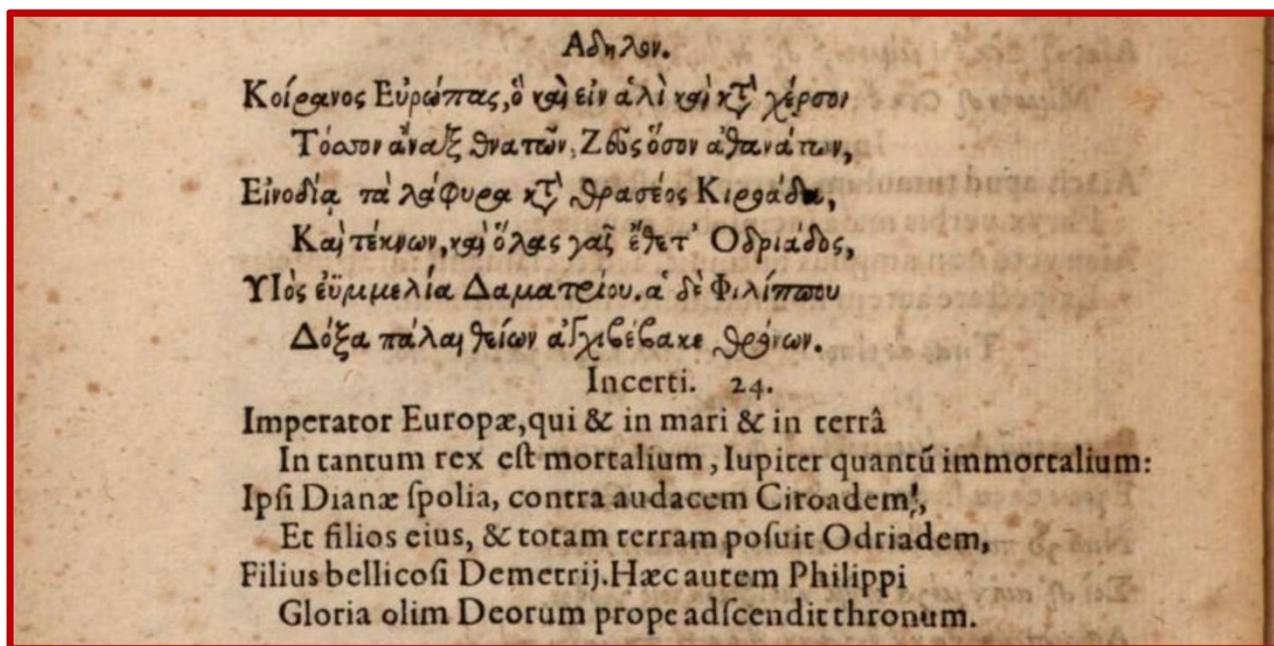


Fig. 2. The epigram according to the edition with a Latin translation of Eilhardt Lubinus from 1604 (Image Source: Public Domain/ Google Books)⁷.

As early as the 17th century was made a change to the manuscript text: in the fourth row ‘τᾶς’ was transformed into ‘γᾶς’ (Figure 2). This modification has been adopted in all modern editions and there are no objections to it.

Alphonsus Hecker has published (mid-nineteenth century) a collection of critical commentaries on epigrams from the Anthology. In his work he proposed three corrections to the text, which are very important for its interpretation.⁸ They are the only attempts for clarification of the ancient text; subsequent publishers complied in whole or in part with these emendations. Other possibilities for reading the epigram are not known.

First of all, Hecker changed the addressee of the dedication in the third row to: εἰνοδία τὰ λάφυρ’ Ἐκάτᾳ, i.e. ‘dedicated to Hekate, the patron of the roads’. The correction is due to the searching for a convincing explanation for κατὰ, but a long time ago attention was paid to the fact that even only Enodia also stands well in the context of the content.⁹

In the fourth row – καὶ ὅλας γᾶς ἔθετ’ Ὀδριάδος – is proposed a replacement of Odryas (Ὀδριάδος) with the Odryssians (Ὀδρυσίδος). In this way, the text has become more comprehensible form to the modern researchers: ‘and the whole land of the Odryssians (καὶ ὅλας γᾶς ἔθετ’ Ὀδρυσίδος)’, because the noun Ὀδρία, Ὀδριάδος is not found anywhere else in ancient literature. It does, however, sound close to the ethnonym Odryssians (Ὀδρύσαι), well attested in Antiquity; obviously, this was the reason for the adjustment.¹⁰

⁷ See the original image at Google Books, <https://books.google.bg/books?id=5GLLhzcOKkC> [accessed 05.11.2021].

⁸ HECKER 1852, 76.

⁹ WALBANK 1942, 144, not. 5; ROBERT/ROBERT 1980, 412. The cult of Enodia is defined as popular in Macedonia and had a specific relationship with the kings, see MARI 2011, 461. About the essence of the goddess and her monuments from Thrace see JOHNSTON 2013, 208-209, 213-215. See also MITREV 2002, 217-219.

¹⁰ In an Italian translation of the epigram another solution has been proposed: ‘... e di tutta l’Odrisia ...’, see PRESUTTI 2012, 50.

In the sixth row, Hecker replaced ‘πάλαι’ with ‘πάλιν’.¹¹ This change has been adopted in the contemporary editions. No objections are known.

PROBLEMS OF INTERPRETATION

Placing the epigram in a historical context stems from finding satisfactory answers to a number of questions, related to the date of the dedication, the explanation of the names and the realities mentioned, as well as of their relationship. Assumptions have been made about locating the possible sanctuary, where the dedication was made,¹² but this is not of particular importance for the historical interpretation of the text.

The epigram informs for some booty, that was won (maybe after a military victory) by Philip V. It is specified that the whole of this booty was taken from a ruler (the title is a modern addition), called Ciroadas (Κιροάδας), his children and his subjugated land, called Odryas. The identification of the two names, Ciroadas and Odryas, causes significant difficulties, because any additional details for them are not provided and they are not known from other sources.

The name Ciroadas is not found anywhere else in the ancient tradition.¹³ Wilhelm Tomaschek proposed an interpretation, according to which the name was a nickname of Amadocus III; the same author believed that instead of the form attested, Cotyadas (Κοτυάδας) should be expected, clearly in an effort to explain the name from Cotys.¹⁴ Dimiter Detschew, following Tomaschek, also explained it

¹¹ HECKER 1852, 76.

¹² WALBANK 1942, 139; ROBERT/ROBERT 1980, 412-413; BRINGMANN/STEUBEN 1995, 385.

¹³ An interesting solution was proposed in the 16th century by Vincent Obsopoeus: in his annotations of the Greek epigrams he inserted a note, explaining the origin of the name by the Persian royal name Cyrus (OPSOPOEUS 1540, 21 – ‘Ciroadem uolunt rege Persarum fuisse nonnulli’).

¹⁴ TOMASCHEK 1980, II, 2, 49 – ‘Κιροάδας, Beiname des Amadokos III., AP. XVI 6; man erwartet Κοτυάδας’.

as a nickname of Amadocus III.¹⁵ No arguments are given in support of these assumptions. It seems that the main reason for proposing this hypothesis was the information of Titus Livy about the victory of Philip V over some Thracians, which were led by one Amadocus in 184 BC.¹⁶

In the current state of the studies, the reading of Ciroadas as a name, given by the author of the epigram is more sensible. It may be based on a nickname, translation from foreign language or other characteristic of the personage; this remains unclear, because the root is unknown in the Thracian language remains. The suffix ‘-αδας’ (‘-αδης’)¹⁷ indicates the formation of the name according to the norms of the Ancient Greek language and there are no grounds to assume a Thracian origin, which, of course, does not preclude the possibility to be used for designation of a Thracian ruler.¹⁸

All the land Odryas, over which Ciroadas and his children ruled, is also unknown from other sources. The name is not included among the Thracian language remains;¹⁹ it appears to have been perceived as an error and has therefore not been analyzed by the researchers of the Thracian language. In any case, such a decision raises objections and reasons for its Thracian origin can be indicated. Hecker replaced it by the tribal name Odryssians, but in the area of possible decisions for explanation three more realities with the same rare root can be listed: the River Odrysses (Ὀδρύσης, with variant ὀρύμιος in some manuscripts), mentioned by Strabo;²⁰ the settlement of Odryssa (Ὀδρυσσα), known from a short message of Stephanus of Byzantium and of a small number of coins;²¹ and the castle Odriodzo (Ὀδρίοζο), mentioned by Procopius of Caesarea.²² The three names were formed by one and the same appellative, that once existed in the language of the Thracian tribes.²³ From the same comes also the name Odryas. In view of the facts listed, it can be summarized that the name is probably of Thracian origin, but its identification (in the absence of direct grounds) with the land of the Odryssians is incorrect. Rather, it is a distinct area with unclear localization. Relation with the Odryssians is possible, but cannot be proven without any other evidence than the name itself.

The booty, that Philip V won from Ciroadas, his children and the whole Odryas, was dedicated to Enodia, which is certainly not accidental. This goddess – as her name shows – was worshiped as patron of roads and crossroads.²⁴ So, a possible and logical explanation is, that after the victory was achieved, Philip V established control over an

important road or crossroad. Insofar as the Macedonian king was honored as sovereign lord of Europe, it is permissible to think whether the road in question did not linked Europe to Asia.

The logic of the content, in particular the highlighted power over Europe with the formula ‘by land and sea’ and the comparison with Zeus indicates – as Frank Walbank pointed out²⁵ – for a date before the end of the Second Macedonian War (200 – 197 BC). The explanation of the possible date is derived from the text itself: even for such a traditional formula of praise, it was not considered permissible for the reported circumstances to differ seriously from the real situation.²⁶ Therefore, the Battle of Cynoscephalae (197 BC) was designated as *terminus ante quem* of the dedication. After this date, it became impossible to talk about any maritime power of the Macedonian king, because, under the terms of the peace treaty with Rome, its fleet was limited to only a few vessels.²⁷

With the arguments listed above, the relation of the epigram with the campaign of Philip V against Odryssians, Bessians and Dentheletians in 183 BC,²⁸ adopted by the first commentators, is rejected and an earlier collision is sought.²⁹ Frank Walbank suggested, that such a collision may have occurred in 204 BC, from when are dated some unclear events, described in the 13th book of Polybius.³⁰ Survived fragments of this book included three geographical sites in Thrace (Adrane, Plane of Ares, Kabyle) and a Thracian ethnonym (Digerrri).³¹ Their mention is explained by Benedikt Niese with a march of the Macedonian king in the lands of the Thracians.³² The idea of such a march is now universally accepted in historiography.³³ The assumption for a relation of the epigram to the fragments of Polybius appears to have been pre-suggested solely because of the lack of sufficient information on Philip V’s military actions in the Thracian lands. No arguments other than the appropriate date are given, allowing some conformity between what was reported in the epigram and the real situation in the Eastern Mediterranean. However, it should not be missed the fact, that there are no direct grounds for relation of the realities in Polybius with these in the epigram. Something more, Niese

²⁵ WALBANK 1942, 137.

²⁶ WALBANK 1942, 137 – ‘even a traditional formula must not be too patently contradicted by the real situation’. See also the more recent study of JONES 2014, 136-151, where the formula’s strong relationship with reality has been confirmed.

²⁷ WALBANK 2014, 179.

²⁸ Polyb. 23.8; Liv. 39.53.12-14. Maybe Hecker had in mind this march, but Polybius is misquoted by him, see HECKER 1852, 76.

²⁹ The interpretation was proposed in the first half of the 19th century by Theodor Bergk; later was further developed by Arnaldo Momigliano (MOMIGLIANO 1942, 56-57 = MOMIGLIANO 1984, 435-436) and Frank Walbank (WALBANK 1942, 144). The last two articles also quote another opinion, according to which the purpose of the epigram was to raise the morale of the Macedonians in the last years of Philip V’s reign, but this is identified as unlikely.

³⁰ WALBANK 1942, 138. In more recent times, Walbank’s idea is being challenged (unreasonably) by Klaus Bringmann and Hans von Steuben, who support a dating to 183 B.C.; then Philip V campaigned against the Odryssians, see BRINGMANN/STEBUBEN 1995, 385. Such an argument is unfounded, because the information reached to us about the Thracian affairs of Philip V is not in full form and there have certainly been operations, which have remained out of the attention of the ancient authors.

³¹ Polyb. 13, fr. 10.7-10.

³² NIESE 1899, 571.

³³ DANOV 1979, 75; DELEV 2017, 38.

¹⁵ DETSCHEW 1957, 247.

¹⁶ Liv. 39.35.4.

¹⁷ See in most detail at DUPLOUY 2010, 307-344; the suffix also had a comical and iambic use, see MIGUÉLEZ CAVERO 2015, 295-301.

¹⁸ Ciroadas is marked as ‘chieftain of the Thracian Odryssae’ by WALBANK 1942, 137; considered is also as Odryssian king by Hermann Beckby (BECKBY 1965, 551 – ‘Kiroadas: König der Odrysen (thrakischer Stamm)’).

¹⁹ Dimiter Detschew certainly knew the epigram and included in his compendium only the name Ciroadas, but not Odryas; see DETSCHEW 1957, 247.

²⁰ Strab. 12.3.22. DETSCHEW 1957, 338-339.

²¹ Steph. Byz., s.v. Ὀδρυσσα. It is interesting to note the date of the mentioned coins to the time of Philip V and their common motifs with the Macedonian coinage, see LOZANOV 2017, 523-535 with references.

²² Proc., De Aedif. 4.4. DETSCHEW 1957, 336; YANAKIEVA 2018, 42.

²³ YANAKIEVA 2009, 101-102.

²⁴ VILLANUEVA 2016, 64 sq. with literature.

did not consider his suggested march to be directed against the Odryssians; according to him the Macedonian king allied with them.³⁴

The review of the opinions expressed shows, that the epigram was associated with three different campaigns of Philip V against the Thracians, respectively of 204, 184 and 183 BC. It is only in the first years that the Macedonian king had any grounds to claim the title of 'sovereign lord of Europe' and its authority to be regarded as similar to that of Zeus 'by land and sea'.

In the years after 204 BC and before the beginning of the Second Macedonian War (200 – 197 BC), Philip V undertake at least two more campaigns in Thrace: in 202 BC he annexed Lysimachia, Perinthos, Chalcedon and finally Thasos.³⁵ In 200 BC, from the end of May to the beginning of August, he has extended his subjected territories to the Hellespont,³⁶ consistently conquering the other Hellenistic cities in Southern Thrace.³⁷ It is permissible to think that there were other operations of Philip V in Thrace, but at present this can only be assumed, without it being possible to be proved. Such an assumption is highly likely, inasmuch as Ciroadas and Odryas are not recognized in the available ancient evidences about the actions of the Macedonian king.

In the context of the campaigns in 202 and 200 BC, no reaction of the Thracians from the hinterland of the listed cities has been reported. Hence their neutralization by military or diplomatic means may be presumed. In the current state of the studies, it is not possible to determine which of the two happened. The epigram could testify for a military solution. At the same time, without sufficient chronological details Diodorus, presenting the circumstances surrounding the outbreak of the Uprising of Pseudo-Philip (Andriscus), noted, that 'ἦκουσε δ' αὐτῆς ὅτι καὶ Τήρης ὁ βασιεὺς τῶν Θρακῶν ἔχει γυναῖκα Φιλίππου τοῦ βασιλευκότος θυγατέρα / Teres, the Thracian king, was married to a daughter of the once reigned king Philip'.³⁸ This announcement is undoubtedly an indication of diplomatic contacts, although with an unclear date;³⁹ this is a possible explanation of Philip V's strong positions in Thrace, clearly documented through the Second Macedonian war (200 – 197 BC).⁴⁰

CONCLUSION

The analysis of the epigram carried out in this work provides some guidance on its interpretation and for placing its information in a historical context. It should be summarized that the relation of the epigram with the history of Thrace and the Thracians is assumed by the perception of Philip V as 'sovereign lord of Europe' and from the presence of Odryas, whose root appears to be of Thracian origin. Nothing more is known about this name and its

³⁴ NIESE 1899, 571 – "Es scheint, dass er sich mit den Odrysen verbündete, den diese sind seitdem Freunde Makedoniens".

³⁵ DANOV 1979, 78; DELEV 2017, 39.

³⁶ Liv. 31.15.11.

³⁷ Liv. 31.16.2-6.

³⁸ Diod. 32.15.5.

³⁹ It is believed that this marriage happened before 179 BC; see TODOROV 1998, 30-32, where the information about this Thracian king is summarized.

⁴⁰ ILIEV 2020, 109-121.

positioning on the map. It may indeed have been related to the Odryssians, but for such an assumption there is no other data than the common root of the two names.

The designation of Philip V as 'sovereign lord of Europe' indicates for some degree of established control over the Thracian lands, at least on the territories, located in neighborhood of the Hellenistic cities along the Aegean coast from the valley of Mesta River to the Hellespont. Only after the conquest of these lands, i.e. after the summer of 200 BC, there were the greatest reasons for the Macedonian king to be called 'sovereign lord of Europe', and its power to resemble that of Zeus 'by land and sea'.

In any case, it is impossible to claim that Philip V really was sovereign lord of Thrace. This is evidenced by his own words in a dialogue about Lysimachia, delivered by Polybius and Titus Livy; from them it becomes clear that not long after the withdrawal of the Macedonian garrison from the city, it was conquered by the Thracians.⁴¹ The same thing happened later with Philippopolis: the king left a garrison, but not long after his withdrawal, the garrison was expelled by the Odryssians.⁴²

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⁴¹ ILIEV 2020, 113-114.

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