

KALLIPPA AND BEROIA*

Beroia, situated in the South-West of Bottia (Bottiaia), was one of the largest and most important cities of Macedonia in both the Hellenistic and Roman periods. C. F. Edson argued that the Antigonid royal house originated from Beroia.¹ An epigram in honour of Philip V (221–179 B. C.), written by one of his courtiers, the poet Samos, which referred to the king as “the stock of the Beroian lord of Emathia” (... ῥίζα Βεροιαίου κράντορος Ἡμαθίας),² provided one of the strongest supports for Edson’s theory. He also pointed out that among the Macedonian φίλοι of the last Antigonid king Perseus (179–168 B. C.), natives of Beroia prevailed. For instance, Hippias, Pantauchos and Midon (all born in Beroia) were referred to by Polybius and Livy as “first of the friends” of Perseus.³ In addition, Edson drew specific attention to the fact that in 288 B. C. Pyrrhos, in conquering Beroia, brought about demoralization and desertion among the army of Demetrios

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1) C. F. Edson, *The Antigonids, Heracles and Beroea*, HSCPh 45, 1934, 213–246; cf. F. Papazoglou, *Les villes de Macédoine à l’époque romaine*, Paris 1988, 141; A. B. Tataki, *Ancient Beroea. Prosopography and Society*, Athens 1988, 420, 433; L. Gounaropoulou / M. B. Hatzopoulos, *Ἐπιγραφές Κάτω Μακεδονίας I. Ἐπιγραφές Βεροίας*, Athens 1998 (= EKM I), p. 37; L. Brocas-Deflassieux, *Béroia, cité de Macédoine: étude de topographie antique*, Verria 1999, 19, 23, 66; P. Paschidis, *The Interpenetration of Civic Elites and Court Elite in Macedonia*, in: A. M. Guimier-Sorbets / M. B. Hatzopoulos / Y. Morizot (eds), *Rois, cités, necropoles. Institutions, rites et monuments en Macédoine*, Athens 2006, 261–262 (with some reservations); Yu. N. Kuzmin, *The Macedonian Aristocratic Family of Harpaloi-Polemaioi from Beroea*, in: A. Mehl / A. Makhlayuk / O. Gabelko (eds), *Ruthenia Classica Aetatis Novae. A Collection of Works by Russian Scholars in Ancient Greek and Roman History*, Stuttgart 2013, 123–124.

2) Anth. Pal. 6.116. Emathia is a common poetic reference standing for Macedonia as a whole (cf. Anth. Pal. 6.114; 7.238, 247).

3) E. g. Polyb. 29.3.3; Liv. 42.39.7; 44.45.2.

Poliorketes.⁴ There is even more proof of Antigonid attention to Beroia: epigraphic evidence indicates that stoas were dedicated to the goddess Athena by Philip V in this city.⁵

Beroia is extremely rich in epigraphic material, particularly for the Roman period, but there are also many inscriptions of the Hellenistic epoch (a comparison of available material from other Macedonian cities, even Pella and Thessalonike, makes this clear). It is for the aristocracy of Beroia under the Antigonids that there exists unique material of epigraphic and literary sources.

The greatest number of references in the sources and, consequently, greatest importance for both the public life of their native city and in the administration of the Antigonid kingdom belong to two Beroian noble families, the so-called Harpaloi-Polemaioi together with the Balakroi-Pantauchoi.⁶ The Harpaloi-Polemaioi provide the only known example of a noble family in Beroia, as well as in the whole of Macedonia, attested both under the kings and in Roman times.⁷ It is particularly remarkable that this family did not lose its importance in the social life of its native city even after the Roman conquest of Macedonia.

Epigraphic sources in the 3rd century B.C. – first third of 2nd century B.C. attest one more prominent Beroian family. The representatives of it had the names Hippostratos and Kallippos.

At the start of the long list of ἡγεμόνες, attached to the letter of the king Antigonos III Doson (229–221 B.C.) to Botteatai⁸ and

4) Plut. Demetr. 44.5–11; id. Pyrrh. 11.3–14; cf. Edson (n. 1 above) 236–246.

5) EKM I 17.

6) On the families of the Harpaloi-Polemaioi and the Balakroi-Pantauchoi from Beroia, see e.g. Tataki (n. 1 above) 116–117, 132–133, 245–246, 421–423; D. A. Hardy / I. Touratsoglou, The Harpalos Decree at Beroia, *Tekmeria* 3, 1997, 50–53; A. B. Tataki, New Elements for the Society of Beroea, in: *Ancient Macedonia VI/2*, Thessaloniki 1999, 1116–1117; Paschidis (n. 1 above) 259–261; Kuzmin (n. 1 above) 123–132; id., Пантaвх, сын Балакра из Берои, и его семья, *VDI* 3, 2010, 135–140.

7) EKM I 2 L. 60; cf. Hardy / Touratsoglou (n. 6 above) 51–52; Kuzmin (n. 1 above) 127–128.

8) Bottia (Bottiaia) was one of the four large military and administrative districts of the Macedonian kingdom, to which, among some other cities, Beroia belonged (M. B. Hatzopoulos, *Macedonian Institutions under the Kings I*, Athens

citizens of Beroia (August of 223 B. C.), are found the names of Timokles, son of Kallippos (I),⁹ and Hippostratos, son of Kallippos (I), (the first person in the list is Polemaios, son of Harpalos, a member of the Harpaloi-Polemaioi family). It is probable that Timokles and Hippostratos were brothers belonging to the family of so-called Hippostratoi-Kallippoi.¹⁰

Several decades later one of the officials, who proposed for approval by the assembly of Beroia the famous Gymnasiarchal Law (νόμος γυμνασιαρχικός), was Kallippos (II), son of Hippostratos.¹¹ This Kallippos is most probably to be regarded as the son of the commander in the army of Antigonos Doson (Hippostratos, son of Kallippos [I]) mentioned above.¹² M. B. Hatzopoulos thinks that Kallippos (II), son of Hippostratos, was a πολιτάρχης, one of the main city magistrates.¹³ There used to be a view that he could have been an official related to administration of a gymnasium.¹⁴

1996, 231–260). See, however, the critical study of P. O. Juhel, *Un fantôme de l'histoire hellénistique: le "district" macédonien*, GRBS 54/4, 2011, 579–612, who argues that there is no compelling evidence to show that Macedonia was divided into administrative districts. The new inscriptions from Perrhaebia, however, explicitly demonstrate that three cities of this region (Pythion, Azoros, Doliche) were organized in a κοινὸν under the Antigonids (A. Tziafalias / B. Helly, *Inscriptions de la Tripolis Perrhébie. Lettres royales de Démétrios II et Antigone Dôsôn*, *Studi ellenistici* 24, 2010, 104–105, 113–114).

9) EKM I 4 L. 11–12. The name of the king in the inscription does not survive, only the date – Ἔτους Ζ Γορπιάου ΙΖ. The editors, however, point out that the document, with its lettering form dating to the second half of the 3rd century B. C., is to be dated to the 7th year of the reign of Antigonos III Doson and is connected with the Kleomenic War (229–222 B. C.): V. Allamani-Souri / E. Voutiras, *New Documents from the Sanctuary of Herakles Kynagidas at Beroia*, in: E. Voutiras (ed.), *Inscriptions of Macedonia. Third International Symposium on Macedonia, Thessaloniki 1996*, 16–19; cf. Gounaropoulou / Hatzopoulos (n. 1 above) 97; SEG XLVI 729; Tziafalias / Helly (n. 8 above) 106–107. Recently B. Helly, one of those who edited Antigonos Doson's letters from Perrhaebia, has suggested that his letter to Beroia should be dated not to 223 but 222 B. C. (Tziafalias / Helly [n. 8 above] 95–96, 106–112). This interesting proposal, based on an attempted general revision of the chronology of Doson's reign (from 230/29–222/21 B. C. to 229/28–221/0 B. C.), has, however, provoked strong doubt (cf. Bull. Épigr. 2011 no. 399).

10) Cf. Allamani-Souri / Voutiras (n. 9 above) 24.

11) EKM I 1a L. 4–5, 18.

12) Cf. Ph. L. Gauthier / M. B. Hatzopoulos, *La loi gymnasiarchique de Beroia*, Athens 1993, 40–41; Hatzopoulos (n. 8 above) 138; Allamani-Souri / Voutiras (n. 9 above) 24–25; Tatakis (n. 6 above) 1117–1118.

13) Gauthier / Hatzopoulos (n. 12 above) 43; cf. Paschidis (n. 1 above) 261.

14) Tatakis (n. 1 above) 424–425.

One way or another, the important role of Kallippos (II) in the public life of Beroia is certain.

It was also held that Kallippos (II), son of Hippostratos, was one and the same as Callippus, admiral (*praefectus classis*) of king Perseus.¹⁵ This identification is one of the reasons why Hatzopoulos dated the Gymnasiarchal Law of Beroia to the end of the Antigonid era. For Kallippos (II), son of Hippostratos, if indeed he was one of Perseus' admirals, would surely have been one of those deported to Italy on destruction of the Macedonian monarchy by the Romans;¹⁶ he could hardly have remained in Beroia after 167 B.C.¹⁷

That close ties of kinship existed between Hippostratos, son of Kallippos (I) (223 B.C.),¹⁸ and Kallippos (II), son of Hippostratos (first third of the 2nd century B.C.),¹⁹ is certain. However, identifying the latter with the admiral of Perseus, whose name is quoted by Livy without a patronymic and place of birth, may not be so sure.²⁰ P. Paschidis, admitting the possibility of such identification, certainly noted that the name Kallippos was a rare one in Macedonia.²¹ In the kingdom of the Antigonids, apart from the two Kallippoi (grandfather and grandson) from Beroia and admiral Kallippos, the inscription from Amphipolis, dated to the first third of 2nd century B.C.,

15) Liv. 44.28.1. See Gauthier / Hatzopoulos (n. 12 above) 41; Hatzopoulos (n. 8 above) 138; Paschidis (n. 1 above) 261.

16) Livy reports that in 167 B.C., by a decision of L. Aemilius Paullus and the Senate's commission on Macedonian affairs, the representatives of the former king's administration and military command with children over 15 years old were to be deported to Italy or risk execution (Liv. 45.32.3–6). On deportation of the Macedonian military and political elite to Italy by the Romans in 167 B.C. see N. G. L. Hammond / F. W. Walbank, *A History of Macedonia III*, Oxford 1988, 566; N. G. L. Hammond, *The Macedonian State. Origins, Institutions and History*, Oxford 1989, 381; R. M. Errington, *A History of Macedonia*, Berkeley / Los Angeles / London 1990, 216; Yu. N. Kuzmin, *Macedonia carta: депортация македонской военно-политической элиты в Италию в 167 г. до н.э.*, *Studia historica* 11, Moscow 2011, 119–130.

17) Gauthier / Hatzopoulos (n. 12 above) 41. In early 168 B.C. Kallippos and Antenor commanded the king's fleet in the Aegean sea (Liv. 44.28.1). After the battle of Pydna (June 168 B.C.) Antenor, who at the time was with his fleet near Chios, went to Kassandreia (Liv. 45.10.1), where he likely submitted his ships to the Romans (Kallippos is not mentioned in this connection).

18) EKM I 4.

19) EKM I 1.

20) Cf. Tataki (n. 1 above) 425.

21) Paschidis (n. 1 above) 261 n. 68.

records just one more person of that name, Kallippos, son of Menandros, one of the ἐμπορίου ἐπιμεληταί.²²

The Hippostratoi-Kallippoi, though prominent in Beroia, seem not to have belonged to the Macedonian leading families under Perseus (such as the families of Hippias, Pantauchos, Midon and Harpalos, as well as some other φίλοι of the last Antigonid king). After the Roman conquest of Macedonia the Hippostratoi-Kallippoi are probably not to be traced to Beroia,²³ yet in connection with this family one interesting topic requires further consideration.

Speaking about the start of the career of Andriskos (Philip VI or Pseudo-Philip) and his claims to the throne of Macedonia,²⁴ Diodorus mentions a certain Kallippa, the former concubine (παλλακίς) of king Perseus. Later she lived with a certain Athenaios of Pergamon.²⁵ The identification of Athenaios as a member of the

22) SEG XLVI 720 (cf. LGPN IV s.v. Κάλλιπος [5]). Hatzopoulos' rejection (n. 8 above, 138) of any identification between Kallippos from Amphipolis and the admiral of Perseus is accepted here.

23) It is most probable that the Gymnasiarchal Law, the approval of which was initiated, among others, by Kallippos (II), son of Hippostratos, dates from the end of the rule of the Antigonids rather than the 'Republican' period (167–149 B.C.): Gauthier / Hatzopoulos (n. 12 above) 35–41; Hatzopoulos (n. 8 above) 134–138; id., *Quaestiones Macedonicae: lois, décrets et épistates dans les cités macédoniennes*, *Tekmeria* 8, 2003, 31–36. The dating of this important epigraphic text has long been a matter of discussion (most recent comments are summarized in SEG LIV 602; LV 677 bis).

24) On Andriskos see U. Wilcken, *Andriskos* (4), *RE I*, 1894, 2141–2143; G. Cardinali, *Lo Pseudo-Filippo*, *RFIC* 39, 1911, 1–20; P. A. MacKay, *Studies in the History of Republican Macedonia, 168–146 B.C.*, PhD Diss. Univ. of California, Berkeley 1965, 66–84; J. M. Helliesen, *Andriscus and the Revolt of the Macedonians, 149–148 B.C.*, in: *Ancient Macedonia IV*, Thessaloniki 1986, 307–314; W. Z. Rubinsohn, *Macedonian Resistance to Roman Occupation in the Second Half of the Second Century B.C.*, in: T. Yuge / M. Doi (eds), *Forms of Control and Subordination in Antiquity*, Leiden etc. 1988, 145–146; K. Rosen, *Andriskos. Milesische Geschichten und makedonische Geschichte*, in: W. Will (ed.), *Alexander der Große. Eine Welteroberung und ihr Hintergrund*, Bonn 1998, 117–130.

25) *Diod.* 32.15.5–6: ἔχων δὲ συνεργὸν Νικόλαόν τινα ψάλτην, Μακεδόνα τὸ γένος, ἐπέθετο παρ' αὐτοῦ παλλακίδα γεγεννημένην Περσεῶς τοῦ βασιλέως ὄνομα Καλλίππαν συνοικεῖν Ἀθηναίῳ τῷ Περγαμηνῷ. πρὸς ταύτην οὖν διεληθὼν, καὶ τραγωδήσας τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πρὸς Περσεῶ σγγένειαν, εὐπόρησε παρ' αὐτῆς ἐφόδια καὶ στολὴν βασιλικὴν καὶ διάδημα καὶ δύο παῖδας πρὸς τὰς χρείας εὐθέτους· ἦκουσε

Attalid dynasty, the youngest of the four sons of the king Attalos I (241–197 B.C.),²⁶ should not be doubted (see below)²⁷ despite the popularity of the name Athenaios in Pergamon (see LGPN Va s.v. Ἀθηναίος).

From Diodorus' account it is not quite clear whether Kallippa became the wife of Athenaios or simply his concubine (... συνουκεῖν Ἀθηναίῳ τῷ Περγαμηνῷ).²⁸ It should be noted that Diodorus does not call Kallippa the γυνή of Athenaios, yet he clearly designates her status under Perseus as a παλλακίς. However, the phraseology of Diodorus makes it not improbable that Kallippa in fact became the wife of Athenaios.²⁹

δ' αὐτῆς ὅτι καὶ Τήρης ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Θρακῶν ἔχει γυναῖκα Φιλίππου τοῦ βασιλευκότος θυγατέρα. ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων τῶν ἀφορμῶν μετεωρισθεὶς προήγεν εἰς Θράκην ("Having as his accomplice [Andriskos] a certain harpist named Nikolaos, a Macedonian by birth, he learned from him that a woman called Kallippa, who had been a concubine of king Perseus, was now the wife of Athenaios of Pergamon. Accordingly he made his way to her, and pouring out his tragic tale of kinship to Perseus procured from her funds for his travels, a regal costume, a diadem, and two slaves suited to his needs. From her he heard, moreover, that Teres, a king of the Thracians, was married to a daughter of the late king Philip. Encouraged by this support he went to Thrace" – transl. by F. R. Walton, Diodorus Siculus, Library of History XI, Fragments of Books 21–32, Cambr. / Mass. 1957, with some corrections). It should be noted that not Diodorus' original text but an abbreviated extract of his narrative about Andriskos was preserved in the Constantinian *Excerpta*. The story about a meeting of Kallippa and Andriskos was placed in the section "Excerpta de Insidiis".

26) Of the three older brothers of Athenaios (Eumenes, Attalos and Phil-etairos) the first two became kings (Eumenes II and Attalos II). On Athenaios see e.g. U. Wilcken, Athenaios (12), RE II, 1896, 2024; J. Hopp, Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der letzten Attaliden, Munich 1977, 30.

27) Cf. Cardinali (n.24 above) 12 n.2; Hopp (n.26 above) 93–94 n.187; E. Kosmetatou, The Attalids of Pergamon, in: A. Erskine (ed.), A Companion to the Hellenistic World, Oxford 2003, 164; D. Ogden, How to Marry a Courtesan in the Macedonian Courts, in: A. Erskine / L. Llewellyn Jones (eds), Creating a Hellenistic World, Swansea 2010, 235. Some scholars have called Athenaios simply a citizen of Pergamon without giving reasons for their doubts as to his relationship to the Attalid dynasty (e.g. B. Niese, Geschichte der griechischen und makedonischen Staaten seit der Schlacht bei Chaeroneia III, Gotha 1903, 332 n.3; P. V. M. Benecke, The Fall of the Macedonian Monarchy, in: CAH VIII, 1930, 276; cf. LGPN Va s.v. Ἀθηναίος [116]).

28) D. Ogden thinks Kallippa really was the wife of Athenaios (D. Ogden, Polygamy, Prostitutes and Death. The Hellenistic Dynasties, London / Swansea 1999, 231, 239, 241; id. [n.27 above] 235; cf. P. Loman, Mobility of Hellenistic Women, PhD Diss. Univ. of Nottingham 2004, 97).

29) Cf. Diodorus' terminology as to the matrimonial policy of some of the Successors (Diod. 18.18.7; 18.23.1; 19.59.3).

It is not known when Kallippa had a relationship with Perseus. It could have been before the marriage of the last Antigonid to the Seleucid princess Laodike (ca 178–177 B.C.), or during this marriage, or both.³⁰ Most probably, Kallippa was a woman of Macedonian origin.³¹

Athenaios, since he was one of the commanders of the contingent from Pergamon, participated in the Third Macedonian War,³² including the battle of Pydna. Athenaios' involvement in the battle of Pydna is proved by the Athenian decree in honour of Kalliphanes, son of Kalliphanes, approved in the summer of 168 B.C. shortly after the "victory of the Romans in Macedonia".³³ The Attalid prince also accompanied L. Aemilius Paullus on his journey across Greece in 168 or 167 B.C.³⁴ The relationship between Athenaios and Kallippa could have begun at this time, shortly after Perseus' surrender and the fall of the Antigonid monarchy. There are no grounds therefore to doubt the accuracy of Diodorus' information about Kallippa and her relationships with Perseus, and later with Athenaios.³⁵

30) Laodike was the daughter of Seleukos IV (187–175 B.C.). On the marriage of Perseus and Laodike see Syll.³ 639; Polyb. 25.4.8–10; Liv. 42.12.3; App. Mac. 11.2; Ch. Saatsoglou-Paliadeli, Queenly appearances at Vergina-Aegae: Old and New Epigraphic and Literary Evidence, AA 3, 2000, 387, 389–392 (cf. SEG L 652); see also J. Seibert, Historische Beiträge zu den dynastischen Verbindungen in hellenistischer Zeit, Wiesbaden 1967, 43–44; Ogden (n. 28 above) 187–188; E. D. Carney, Women and Monarchy in Macedonia, Norman (Oklahoma) 2000, 195–197.

31) Kallippa, the subject of this study, is not included in the prosopographic handbook of A. B. Tataki on the "Macedonians abroad" (A. B. Tataki, Macedonians Abroad: a Contribution to the Prosopography of Ancient Macedonia, Athens 1998), because Diodorus mentions Kallippa's name without providing any ethnicity. In the fourth (Macedonia, Thrace, Northern Shores of the Black Sea) and fifth (Va – Coastal Asia Minor, Pontos to Ionia) volumes of the LGPN the name Καλλιππα(-η) is not included (it is attested only in vols. I–III of the LGPN).

32) Liv. 42.55.7–8; 42.56.5.

33) SEG XXV 118 = ISE I 35 L. 12–16: ἐπειδὴ Καλλιφάνης Φυλάσιος στρατευόμενος μετὰ Ῥωμαίων καὶ [τ]οῦ βασιλέως Εἰ[ϋ]μένους ἀδελφῶν Ἀττάλου καὶ Ἀθηναίου κτλ. Cf. B. D. Meritt, Greek Inscriptions, Hesperia 5/3, 1936, 430; E. V. Hansen, The Attalids of Pergamon, Ithaca / New York / London 1971, 119 n. 157; Hopp (n. 26 above) 30 n. 76.

34) Liv. 45.27.6.

35) Although K. Rosen (n. 24 above, 119–121) had doubts as to the accuracy of the historical tradition on the birth and the life of Andriskos prior to his invasion to Macedonia, one may admit that for the story about Kallippa Diodorus used the *Histories* of Polybius as a source (as the fragments suggest: a considerable part of

The fact that Romans were not much interested in Perseus' ex-concubine³⁶ can be seen paralleled in the fate of queen Laodike, wife of the last Macedonian king, who returned to the Seleucid kingdom after the abolition of Antigonid monarchy.³⁷

According to Diodorus, ca 150–149 B.C. a certain Macedonian by the name of Nikolaos, a friend of Andriskos, who claimed the Macedonian throne, probably arranged a meeting for him with Kallippa (clearly in the territory of the Attalid Kingdom³⁸). She gave Andriskos a regal costume and the diadem, some money as well as two slaves.³⁹ The importance of this act – approval of his desire to reign, in fact – is evident, but the background to it remains unknown, for Diodorus is the only author who preserves some information about Kallippa and her relationship with Andriskos.

It is also probable that Kallippa recommended Andriskos to apply for help to Teres, one of the Thracian rulers, who was married to the sister of Perseus, and that Andriskos followed her advice.⁴⁰ It was from Thrace, and with support of the local dynasts that Andriskos made his invasion of Macedonia.⁴¹

book 36 was dedicated to Andriskos; cf. F. W. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius III*, Oxford 1979, 651, 668–670). On Diodorus' use of Polybius in book 32, which includes the story of Kallippa, see F. W. Walbank, *Polybius*, Berkeley 1972, 179. On Polybius as the source of Diodorus in general see e. g. R. Drews, *Diodorus and his Sources*, *AJPh* 83/4, 1962, 384–385.

36) Cf. D. Miron, *Transmitters and Representatives of Power: Royal Women in Ancient Macedonia*, *AS* 30, 2000, 48 (“in Roman republican ideology, wives were not as valuable as representatives of their husbands”).

37) Laodike in uncertain circumstances came back to Syria and later probably was married to her brother Demetrios I Soter (162–150 B.C.) (Ogden [n. 28 above] 147; Carney [n. 30 above] 196–197; O. D. Hoover, *A Dedication to Aphrodite Epekoos for Demetrios I Soter and his Family*, *ZPE* 131, 2000, 106–110; Miron [n. 36 above] 47–48). The doubts of J. Helliesen, *A Note on Laodice Number Twenty*, *CJ* 75/4, 1980, 295–298, regarding Laodike's return to Syria and her marriage now seems to be unfounded.

38) Earlier Diodorus had written of Andriskos' stay at Miletos (Diod. 32.15.3), which was under Attalid control at that time.

39) Diod. 32.15.4–5.

40) Diod. 32.15.5.

41) Diod. 32.15.6–7; *Zon.* 9.28.

D. Ogden even supposed that Kallippa was the mother of a pretender to the throne of Macedonia (whether or not Andriskos was of royal origin is a matter for a separate discussion, most probably he was not an Antigonid).⁴² Ogden also suggested that Kallippa was a courtesan (i. e. ἑταῖρα),⁴³ but this supposition has no basis save a rather unlikely concept of the author on the extraordinary role of ἑταῖραι in the Hellenistic courts, specifically in Antigonid Macedonia.⁴⁴

Kallippa, in meeting Andriskos, was clearly acting as a private person,⁴⁵ since restoration of Macedonian monarchy was not in

42) It is notable that the historical tradition claims that Andriskos was the son of Perseus and his concubine (e. g. Liv. Per. 49: ... *ex paelice*). However, Diodorus gives no apparent basis for thinking that Andriskos, in applying to Kallippa for assistance, considered her as his mother (or that she had recognized him as her son). It is possible that the most serious argument against the view of a royal origin for Andriskos is connected to the following circumstances. The Seleucid king Demetrios I Soter handed Andriskos over to the Romans (shortly before that, ca 151 B.C., in Antioch Andriskos had declared his Antigonid origin and his claims to the throne of Macedonia). The Romans obviously did not believe that he could be a real Antigonid. In compliance with the senatorial decision (which implies that an investigation had been carried out) Andriskos was to settle in some Italian city, from where he fled to Miletos (Diod. 31.40a; 32.15.1). This testifies to a lack of proper control, especially in view of the conditions under which Perseus was kept in Alba Fucens (Diod. 31.9.1–5; Plut. Aem. 37.1–3; cf. P. Meloni, *Perseo e la fine della monarchia macedone*, Rome 1953, 438). On different versions of Andriskos' return from Italy see e. g. Walbank, *Commentary* (n. 35 above) 668; Rubinsohn (n. 24 above) 154 n. 66, 69. Some scholars think that Andriskos could have been liberated ca 150 B.C. together with Greek detainees who had been interned to Italy in 167 B.C. (e. g. G. De Sanctis, *Storia dei Romani IV/3*, Florence 1964, 122), but this seems unlikely. Cf. Diodorus and, especially, Livy on the secret flight of Andriskos: ὁ δὲ μετὰ τινα χρόνον διαδράς ἀπήρεν εἰς Μίλητον (Diod. 32.15.1); *clam profugisset* (Liv. Per. 49).

43) Ogden (n. 28 above) 192, 239; id. (n. 27 above) 235; cf. Loman (n. 28 above) 97.

44) Ogden (n. 28 above) 191–192, 232. Ogden's idea of a special position (higher than "normal") of royal concubines and ἑταῖραι at the Antigonid court is doubtful. For criticism of Ogden's conception as a whole, see I. A. Ladynin / O. L. Gabelko / Yu. N. Kuzmin, *Новая концепция династической истории эпохи эллинизма? Размышления по поводу монографии Д. Огдена*, *Ancient World and Archaeology* 13, Saratov 2009, 120–148.

45) Cf. Hopp (n. 26 above) 94 n. 188. In private correspondence Prof. Dr. Oleg Klimov has suggested that Kallippa could not have acted secretly and that Athenaios and his brother king Attalos II knew of her contacts with Andriskos. This is quite plausible, but possible scenarios for events related to the meeting of Kallippa and Andriskos or relations of Kallippa and Athenaios can hardly be any-

accord with Attalid interests. Indeed some time later the fleet of Pergamon participated in the war of the Romans against Andriskos, who had conquered Macedonia for a short time.⁴⁶

It is quite plausible that Kallippa, who bore a name rare for Macedonia (not attested in feminine form in the LGPN IV), and who was, during her lifetime, connected with representatives of two royal dynasties, the Antigonids and the Attalids, was descended from the prominent family of the Hippostratoi-Kallipoi from Beroia.⁴⁷ If this supposition is correct, there appears yet another argument in favour of C. F. Edson's theory of a close connection between the Antigonid royal house and Beroia and even the possible descent of the Antigonids from this city. If Kallippa did indeed belong to a family from Beroia, she may well have been the daughter of Hippostratos, a commander in the army of Antigonos III Doston, and the sister of Kallippos (II), one of those who initiated the approval of the Gymnasiarchal Law of Beroia.

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thing but speculation (e. g. Kosmetatou [n. 27 above] 164: "Attalid intrigue and the quest for larger territory, rather than true love, may have been the motive behind the marriage of Eumenes' youngest brother Athenaios to Kallippa, former mistress of Perseus, the last king of Macedon. The Pergamene king had been especially interested in Thrace – his ambitions may have included parts of Macedonia as well – and he had noticed that his brother Athenaios, one of Pergamon's most competent diplomats, had been a particular favourite with the Romans").

46) Strabo 13.4.2; Zon. 9.28; cf. Cardinali (n. 24 above) 17; MacKay (n. 24 above) 79–80; Hopp (n. 26 above) 95; Kosmetatou (n. 27 above) 165.

47) Kallippos/Kallippa cf. Agathokles/Agathokleia, Pantauchos/Pantauchis, Ptolemaios/Ptolemais etc. It should be noted that J. M. Helliesen already paid attention to the name of Perseus' concubine (Helliesen [n. 24 above] 313–314: "Her name may be significant; one of Perseus' admirals was named Callippus"). Yet Helliesen made only that brief statement. Moreover, as it was shown above, admiral Kallippos is unlikely to have ties to the noble family of the Hippostratoi-Kallipoi from Beroia.

The Family of the Hipprostratoi-Kallippoi from Beroia

<i>Name</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Sources</i>
Κάλλιπος (I)	3 rd century B. C.	EKM I 4 L. 11–12
Ἰππόστρατος Καλλίππου (I)	7 th year of Antigonos III Doson's reign, 223 B. C.	EKM I 4 L. 11–12
Τιμοκλῆς Καλλίππου (I)	7 th year of Antigonos III Doson's reign, 223 B. C.	EKM I 4 L. 11
Κάλλιπος (II) Ἰπποστράτου	First third of 2 nd century B. C.	EKM I 1 L. 4–5, 18; Liv. 44.28.1 (?)
Καλλίππα (Ἰπποστράτου?)	Middle of 2 nd century B. C.	Diod. 32.15.4–5