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Marsyas of Pella and Phrygia

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Abstract: There is a lot of uncertainty about the attribution of fragments to either Marsyas of Pella or Marsyas of Philippi. This paper challenges the traditional attribution of *BNJ* 135–136 F 4 (mentioning Midas' chariot with the Gordian knot) to Marsyas of Philippi and argues in favor of the identification of Marsyas of Pella as the author. For ideological and propagandistic reasons, it would fit well into Marysas of Pella's account of the roots of Argead rule in his first book. By referring to Midas, Marsyas would have been able to link his half-brother Antigonus as the contemporary governor of Phrygia not only with the legendary Phrygian king and his legacy, but also with a Macedonian *logos* attested by Herodotus, creating a connection between Midas and the foundation of Argead rule. According to this *logos*, there existed old kinship relations between Macedonians and Phrygians who used to dwell at the foot of Mt. Bermium and were called Briges. This tradition was of propagandistic value and could have served to increase the ideological value of Antigonus' satrapy and main base in the rivalry with the other Diadochs.

Keywords: Marsyas of Pella, Antigonus Monophthalmus, Phrygia, Gordium, Midas, Argead Foundation Myths, Herodotus, Briges.

A scholiast on Euripides' *Hippolytos* refers to the Gordian Knot:

> τοῖς Φρυξὶ λόγιον ἐδόθη ἐκεῖνον βασιλεύσειν τῆς Ἀσίας, ὃς ἂν τῆς ἀπήνης λύσηι τὸν δεσμὸν τῆς κομισάσης Μίδαν εἰς Φρυγίαν .... λέγεται δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον διαλῦσαι... Μαρσύας δὲ ὁ νεώτερος ἐν τῆι πρώτηι τῶν Μακεδον<ικ>ῶν Ἱστοριῶν φησιν οὕτως· "τῆς δὲ ἁμάξης λέγεται τὸν ζυγὸν τῶι ῥυμῶι προσδεδέσθαι κλήματι ἀμπελίνωι."
>
> An oracle was given to the Phrygians that the man who would untie the knot of the chariot that brought Midas to Phrygia would be king of Asia … It is said that Alexander untied it… Marsyas the Younger in the first book of the *Makedonika* says as follows: "it is said that the yoke of the wagon had been fastened to the pole with a vine branch."[1]

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[1] Marsyas, BNJ 135–136 F 4 (= Schol. Eur. Hippol. 671).

Since Marsyas of Philippi is believed to have focused on mythology[2] and since he is sometimes called the Younger (ὁ νεώτερος) by ancient authors in order to distinguish him from "the elder" (ὁ πρεσβύτερος) Marsyas of Pella,[3] F 4 was attributed by Jacoby to Marsyas of Philippi.[4] Most scholars follow him.[5] An exception is Tarn who stated briefly, without any further explanation, that the fragment derives from Marsyas of Pella.[6] This is mostly regarded as an erroneous statement.[7] However, there are reasons why Tarn may have been right. This paper argues that given the complex political meaning of the story of the Gordian knot and the socio-political context of Marsyas of Pella's literary activity, F 4 is likely to be assigned to him. It was probably written from an Antigonid perspective.

In general, there is much uncertainty about the attribution of fragments to either Marsyas of Pella, son of Periander, or Marsyas of Philippi, son of Critophemus. The two namesakes who both wrote *Makedonika* are listed jointly in *FGrH* and *BNJ* as numbers 135–136.[8] The main source on their life and work, the *Suda*, has its flaws: the information that Marsyas of Pella was a former schoolmaster and also wrote *Attika* in twelve books and an *Education of Alexander* has been rejected by most scholars.[9] The situation is additionally complicated by the *Suda*'s claim that there was a third namesake, Marsyas of Tabae, called Marsyas the Younger (ὁ νεώτερος).[10] This has been rejected by Waldemar Heckel who argues that the works attributed to Marsyas of Tabae, *Archaiologia* and *Mythika*, are in fact those of Marsyas of Philippi.[11]

Later authors may occasionally have confused the two writers named Marsyas since they were both from Macedonian cities and both authors of *Makedonika*. The problem becomes particularly clear when ancient writers speak about "Marsyas the Macedonian" as their source, leaving it to us to decide to which Marsyas they are referring.[12] In consequence, it is far from certain that Marsyas the Younger is *always* to identify with Marsyas of Philippi or that the traditional attribution of fragments to him is correct.

In addition, the traditional approach to distinguish Marsyas of Philippi from Marsyas of Pella on the premise that the former was a mythographer with limited interest in political and military events and that the latter wrote a "sober" history without any mythical

[2] Müller 1846, 44; Heckel 1980, 448, 451–452; Anson 2004, 20; Howe 2018.

[3] Marsyas, *BNJ* 135–136 T 1 (= Suda s.v. Μαρσύας Περιάνδρου Πελλαῖος μ 227 Adler).

[4] Jacoby 1927, 480–484; Jacoby 1930, 483.

[5] Mederer 1936, 10, note 4; Fredricksmeyer 1961, 162; Heckel 1980, 448–449; Prandi 1985, 91–92; Munn 2008, 112; Gilhaus 2017, 204; Howe 2018.

[6] Tarn 1948, 263, note 1. Hammond 1991, 501, 505 seems to imply it when he identifies Marsyas of Pella as the source of Trogus-Justin's book 7.1.1–7.4.2 including the account on the foundation of Argead rule by Caranus who expelled Midas and seized Edessa (on its location see Hatzopoulos 2020, 8–11). However, nevertheless he follows Jacoby's attribution of F 4 to Marsyas of Philippi.

[7] Cf. Fredricksmeyer 1961, 162; Heckel 1980, 449, note 23; Munn 2008, 112.

[8] Marsyas, *BNJ* 135–136 F 10–25. Gilhaus 2017, 206–209; Howe 2018. However, F 11 on the death of Alexander II is attributed by most scholars to Marsyas of Pella. Cf. Heckel 1980, 454; Müller 2016, 222.

[9] Berve 1926, 247; Pearson 1960, 253–254; Heckel 1980, 445; Howe 2018; Pownall 2020, 336.

[10] Marsyas, *BNJ* 135–136 T 2 (= Suda s.v. Μαρσύας Περιάνδρου Πελλαῖος μ 227 Adler).

[11] Heckel 1980, 450–451. In this, he is followed by Anson 2014, 17; Howe 2018.

[12] Marsyas, *BNJ* 135–136 T 4 (= Plin. *HN* 1.12.13); Marsyas, *BNJ* 135–136 F 16 (= Didym. *Demosth*. 12.43) (Harding).

elements is problematic.[13] The idea that "sober" or "straight" historiography excluded mythical elements is not tenable; it reflects a modern view that cannot be applied to ancient literature. Ancient authors did not draw a line between mythical and "sober" history.

Marsyas of Pella was a younger half-brother of Antigonus Monophthalmus with whom he shared the same mother.[14] Marsyas wrote *Makedonika* in ten books from the earliest Argead rulers to Alexander's return to Syria from Egypt in 331.[15] It is unclear if Marsyas intended to end his work at this stage of the campaign or if he died before he could finish it.[16] Since in 306 BC, Marsyas appeared as one of the naval commanders at the battle of Salamis under his nephew Demetrius Poliorcetes, it is likely that he had also participated in Alexander's Asian campaign.[17] Thus, he was likely one of the writers who were both warriors under Alexander and historiographers such as Ptolemy or Marsyas' fellow historiographers at his brother's court, Medius of Larisa (who also participated in the battle of Salamis), and Nearchus.[18] The date of Marsyas' work is controversial.[19] He might have started to write early after Alexander's death or seen the propagandistic value of *Makedonika* later on, when his brother and nephew had been the first of the Successors to adapt the title of *basileus*.

Given Marsyas' siding with his family at Salamis, it seems plausible that he lived at Antigonus' satrapal court in Phrygia. Marsyas may have accompanied Alexander to Egypt, joined Antigonus at Celenae after his return in 331 and started to compose his *Makedonika* there.[20] Together with Nearchus, Medius, and Hieronymus of Cardia, Marsyas formed part of a literary circle Antigonus established, apparently taking pains to influence his own public image and the perception of his role in Macedonian history. To this end, he used the means of patronage of writers.[21] Interestingly, in the case of Marsyas, Nearchus, and Medius, Antigonus patronized especially naval officers. Per-

[13] Müller 1846, 44; Heckel 1980, 448, 451–452; Howe 2018.

[14] Marsyas, *BNJ* 135–136 T 1 (= Suda s.v. Μαρσύας Περιάνδρου Πελλαῖος μ 227 Adler); Plut. *Mor*. 182c. On Marsyas in general see Berve 1926, 247–248; Jacoby 1927, 480–484; Pearson 1960, 253–254; Heckel 1980; Billows 1990, 399–400; Baynham 2003, 7; Anson 2004, 8, note 50; Heckel 2006, 156; Kegerreis 2015; Müller 2016, 46; Gilhaus 2017, 201–202; Howe 2018; Pownall 2020, 336; Wheatley – Dunn 2020, 10, 12.

[15] Marsyas, *BNJ* 135–136 T 1 (= Suda s.v. Μαρσύας Περιάνδρου Πελλαῖος μ 227 Adler). Cf. Pearson 1960, 253.

[16] Unfinished: Berve 1926, 247; Hammond 1981, 3. Heckel 2006, 156 seems to tend to an intentional end.

[17] Marsyas, *BNJ* 135–136 T 3 (= Diod. 20.50.4). Cf. Pearson 1960, 254; Billows 1990, 399–400; Pownall 2020, 336; Wheatley – Dunn 2020, 152, n. 30. On the historical background of the battle see Wheatley 2001; Anson 2014, 155–157; Wheatley – Dunn 2020, 151–156.

[18] Medius of Larisa, *BNJ* 129 T (= Diod. 20.50.3). Cf. Pearson 1960, 68–70; Billows 1990, 400–401; Heckel 2006, 158; Meeus 2017.

[19] Heckel 1980, 448 argues for some time after 294 BC.

[20] Heckel 2016, 80.

[21] Billows 1990, 312; Weber 1995, 294–295; Bucciantini 2015, 153; Pownall 2020, 336. On Hieronymus see Hornblower 1981; Bosworth 2002, 169–209. He went into Antigonus' services in 316, after the death of his former patron Eumenes: Diod. 19.44.3. On Nearchus see Wirth 1988; Bucciantini 2015. Nearchus went into Antigonus' service in 317 BC, cf. Wheatley – Heckel 2011, 100; Bucciantini 2015, 27–28, 153.

haps it was a convenient by-product that thus, he could also emphasize the aspect of his sea power by cultural patronage.

Unfortunately, very little is known about Antigonus' court at Celenae.[22] One can only guess that it may have been an inspiring place for the assembled intellectuals. While we lack information to determine the scope and focus of Medius' work of which only one fragment has survived,[23] the writings of the other historiographers who were concerned with different subjects of Macedonian history seem to have complemented each other. Hieronymus of Cardia focused on the contemporary history of the Successors, Nearchus wrote about his own naval expedition in the context of Alexander's Indian campaign, and Marsyas' work was devoted to the Argead past. Given these different core themes, there may have been not so much literary rivalry, competition, and vitriol but a productive, creative coexistence.

Literary patronage was reciprocal; Antigonus will have expected some profit regarding his public image from sponsoring historiography. In this context, it may be notable that Marsyas is believed to have dealt in particular with the achievements of Philip II.[24] Such a focus might of course be explained by the historical importance of this era of Macedonia's rise, leading to an increase of sources and knowledge. But also it may be no coincidence that Antigonus started his career under Philip; thus, it was a crucial time for him with regard to his own rise.[25]

In sum, since Marsyas' own career suggests an Antigonid perspective of his *Makedonika*,[26] Phrygia as Antigonus' base of power will have been of some relevance to Marsyas' work. Appointed in 333 BC and, after Alexander's death, confirmed in Babylon and Triparadisus, Antigonus controlled Greater Phrygia until he died in 301.[27] At the beginning of his government, he passed the crucial test proving his military excellence when he defeated a Persian counter-attack in Anatolia (after the battle of Issus) in three battles.[28] He kept in check this central satrapy that controlled the lines of communication in Asia Minor and between Europe and Asia Minor. In addition to Phrygia's political and

[22] Weber 1995, 292.

[23] Medius of Larisa, *BNJ* 129 F 1 (= Strab. 11.14.12–15). The fragment is concerned with kinship ties between Thessaly and Armenia. Cf. Pearson 1960, 68–70; Zambrini 2007, 215–216; Meeus 2017.

[24] Cf. Heckel 1980, 462; Billows 1990, 399; Heckel 2006, 156; Gilhaus 2017, 202; Pownall 2020, 336. While he was a contemporary and thus better informed, Marsyas was less reliable for early periods (e.g., his figure for the length of Perdiccas II's regnal years seems to be incorrect: F 15, see Müller 2017a, 99–103). On the attribution of F 15 to Marsyas of Pella see: Heckel 1980, 453; Howe 2018.

[25] Cf. Billows 2020, 89. He is reported to have lost his eye during the siege of Perinthus in 341/30 BC (Plut. *Alex*. 70.3).

[26] Heckel 2006, 156; Pownall 2020, 336–337 supposing that he may have validated Demetrios' own claims to both Greece and Makedonia.

[27] Appointment: Arr. *Anab*. 1.29.3. Cf. Engels 1980, 36; Hammond 1981, 88; Anson 1988, 471; Bosworth 1988, 52; Heckel 2006, 32–33; Wheatley – Heckel 2011, 98; Billows 2020, 90; King 2017, 153–154; Wheatley – Dunn 2020, 11–12. Curt. 4.1.35, however, calls him *praetor Lydiae*. It is controversial if this was an error (*praetor Phrygiae*, see Heckel 2006, 32) or intended to refer to the former territorial influence of Lydia over Phrygia (Briant 1973, 63–66; Anson 1988, 474; Billows 1990, 43–44). On the administration of Phrygia see: Jacobs 1994, 52–53, 134–135. Antigonus' confirmation in Babylon: Curt. 10.10.2; Diod. 18.3.1; App. *Syr*. 53; Arr. *Succ*. 1.6. Triparadisus: Diod. 18.50.1. Cf. Jacobs 1994, 41; Bosworth 2002, 16–17, 90–92; Heckel 2006, 34; Wheatley – Heckel 2011, 99.

[28] Curt. 4.1.34–35. Cf. Engels 1980, 37; Anson 1988, 471; Heckel 2006, 33; Billows 2020, 90.

military importance to Antigonus, it became the new home of his family. He sent for his wife Stratonice and their children to join him, and raised his sons there, giving Demetrius the chance to learn how to command a fleet.[29] Apparently, the location of Antigonus' satrapy also provided Marsyas, who had grown up at Pella, with the chance to train himself in naval warfare. Hence, Marysas may have imagined his brother's territory as a political, ideological, and symbolic space where past, present, and Antigonid future met. His literary Phrygia may have provided Antigonus' claims with a legitimizing value.

The central factors of legitimization of a Diadoch were military skills and success, participation in Alexander's wars, personal virtues, divine protection, and predestination to rule (interpreted as proved by their achievements), connections to the Argead house, wealth, euergetism, respect of Macedonian traditions,[30] and, according to Brian Bosworth, "regal mystique."[31]

Antigonus had proven his military excellence under both Philip II and Alexander as well as against his rival Successors.[32] He had also shown his diplomatic skills, cleverness, and insight into human nature, for example in 334 when he won over Priene and arranged terms favorable to both sides.[33] Apparently, he also knew how to come to terms with the local elites in Asia Minor: after the three sharp battles in 333, there is little evidence of hostilities on either side.[34] In addition, in his conflict with Cassander, Antigonus skillfully posed as the protector of Macedonian custom and the Argead family (when he criticized Cassander's treatment of Olympias, Roxane, Alexander IV, and Thessalonice) and as the champion of the *eleutheria* of the Greeks.[35] As for personal virtues, the anecdotes about Antigonus' happy family life and particularly about the special closeness between him and his son Demetrius and their mutual trust in each other may have originated from their own political self-fashioning as an invincible team and as virtuous defenders of familial harmony and unity.[36] Such stories transported the message that Antigonus' house guaranteed peace, wealth, and a good life for the inhabitants of his realm.

As for the link with the Argeads and the "regal mystique," thus elements of symbolic capital, Phrygia and the myths associated with it provided sufficient connecting factors.[37] An erudite author such as Marsyas could use Phrygia as a starting point to provide Antigonus with (1) claims to the heritage of the legendary Phrygian king Midas, (2) associations with the foundation of Argead rule, homeland, and founder figures, and (3) the succession to Alexander. All these legitimizing elements were intertwined; the crucial connecting factor uniting them was the Gordian knot.

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[29] Cf. Heckel 2006, 33; Wheatley – Dunn 2020, 11.

[30] Weber 1995, 282–285; Bosworth 2002, 255–257, 268, 274; Müller 2011a.

[31] Bosworth 2002, 278.

[32] Heckel 1992, 50–56; Syme 1995, 196: "the great Antigonus, demonstrating the virtuoso in his mastery of higher strategy and of Anatolian geography" against Eumenes (195–198). Cf. Heckel 2016, 177–179.

[33] *IG*³ 278. Cf. Heckel 2006, 32.

[34] Anson 1988, 472.

[35] Diod. 19.61.1–4; *OGIS* 5. Cf. Simpson 1959; Anson 2014, 133–134, 149; Wheatley – Dunn 2020, 113–114.

[36] Plut. *Demetr*. 3,1–3; 18.1. Cf. Müller 2017b, 127–129.

[37] On the myths of Midas associated with Celenae (Hdt. 7.26) see Kienlin – Summerer – Ivantchik 2013, 222.

Viewed from a military perspective, there was nothing particularly legendary about Alexander's stay at Gordium. He probably took the old military road from Celenae, a halting place for armies,[38] to Gordium where he and a part of the army wintered.[39] As usual when local elites cooperated, Alexander made a goodwill gesture, visited the temple of the local main deity, called Zeus Basileus by the Greek writers, offered sacrifices, and paid attention to the local attraction, the wagon of Midas, a dedication to the deity.[40] It was the job of Callisthenes to provide the event with a legendary and heroic touch to the end of idealizing Alexander. He is supposed to have been the first to tell the story about Alexander untying the knot and thus confirming the oracle that anyone undoing it would be the ruler of Asia.[41]

Marsyas will have been familiar with Callisthenes' work. He and Callisthenes will also have been aware that a Greek and Macedonian audience was likely to associate the story about the Gordian knot, inextricably linked with Midas, with an element of the Argead foundation myths.[42] According to Herodotus, Perdiccas I initially settled with his two brothers in the rose-growing "Gardens of Midas" at the foot of Mount Bermion, the core of his expanding realm.[43] Herodotos also cites a Macedonian *logos* stating that the Phrygians, Midas' people, formerly lived in Macedonia and were called Βρίγες before the Macedonians expelled them.[44]

While there were revisions of the Argead foundation myth, Midas was present in the version predominant in the 4th century BC, Marsyas' times: a new founder figure called

[38] Hdt. 7.27; Xen. *Anab*. 1.2.7–9. Cf. Kienlin – Summerer – Ivantchik 2013, 221–222. It is a funny coincidence that Marsyas of Pella bore the same name as the river that run through Celenae, the capital of Antigonus' satrapy.

[39] Wirth 1993, 44. Gordium was surrounded by enough agricultural and water resources to provide sufficient supply for the troops, cf. Engels 1980, 37.

[40] Arr. *Anab*. 2.3.2–7; Curt. 3.1.11–18; Plut. *Alex*. 18.1–2; Just. 11.7.5–16 (the wagon of Midas' father Gordias). Cf. Müller 2019, 221–222. On the historical bearers of the name Midas see Berndt-Ersöz 2008, 1–29.

[41] Cf. Mederer 1936, 9–14 (interpreting the wagon as another *omphalos* since Gordium could have been regarded as the centre of the earth); Pearson 1960, 253–254; Prandi 1985, 88, 91–93, 106; Wirth 1993, 63. Rule over Asia: Arr. *Anab*. 2.3.6–7; Curt. 3.1.16; Just. 11.7.5; Plut. *Alex*. 18.1–2 (exaggeration: rule over the *oikoumene*; cf. Hamilton 1969, 46–47). It is supposed that the version showing a clever Alexander removing the pin around which the knot was tied (Aristobulus, *BNJ* 139 F 7a–b) was the original one (Tarn 1948, 262–263; Fredricksmeyer 1961, 160), not the variant which has Alexander cutting the knot with his sword (Curt. 3.1.16–18; Just. 11.7.15–16). It is controversial if the story about the wagon, the knot, and the oracle had a Phrygian core (Fredricksmeyer 1961, 160; Roller 1984, 256, 259; Munn 2008, 109. *Contra*: Prandi 1985, 92–93, 106). It is also debated if the oracle first pertained only to Phrygia (Mederer 1936, 14; Bosworth 1980, 186) and/or to a Phrygian ruler (Roller 1984, 258, note 10).

[42] In his *Praxeis Alexandrou*, Callisthenes frequently adapted and reworked Herodotean themes. Cf. Müller 2011b, 129–130.

[43] Hdt. 8.139.2–3. Cf. Fredricksmeyer 1961, 161; Baladié 1989, 268; Vasilev 2016, 36; Hatzopoulos 2020, 12, 14, 62; Müller 2020, 237. On the source value of the foundation story see Greenwalt 1986; Hatzopoulos 2003; Vasilev 2012.

[44] Hdt. 7.73. It is also mentioned by Lycoph. *Alex*. 1397–1408 and in addition by Conon (*ap*. Phot. *Bibl*. 186.130b.25–131a.3; cf. Brown 2002, 51–56) and Nicander (*ap*. Ath. 15.683b). Cf. Huxley 1959, 97; Fredricksmeyer 1961, 160–161; Roller 1983, 303; Baladié 1989, 237, note 3, 267–268; Borza 1990, 64–65, 74; Drews 1993, 11, 15; Vassileva 2007, 776–777; Vasilev 2015, 149–150; Manoledakis 2016, 50–51. However, the Phrygians–Briges are also identified as Thracians: Strab. 7.3.2; 7 F 25 (= 7 F 14a Radt).

Caranus, a predessor of Perdiccas I,[45] was credited with the expulsion of Midas from Macedonia.[46] Marsyas' contemporaries, Callisthenes and Theopompus, both locate the "Gardens of Midas" at the foot of Mount Bermion in Macedonia.[47] Thus, it was a lively topic in their times.[48]

In scholarly debate, there are different interpretations of the tradition of Phrygian Midas in Macedonia. On the one hand, the story of the Phrygian migration is often regarded as authentic,[49] in particular in the context of archaeological or linguistic comparative approaches.[50] On the other hand, the story is interpreted as a piece of Argead propaganda that served to connect the early Argeads with the Homeric heroes by crediting them with a fight against (migrated) Phrygians or to push back the founding date of Argead rule for the sake of a more ancient heritage.[51] As a compromise, it is supposed that the *logos* about the Phrygian migration triggered the idea of placing Midas in Macedonia and integrating him into the Argead foundation myth.[52]

In any case, it is important that Marsyas, his contemporaries and audience,[53] familiar with Herodotus and the Macedonian *logos, believed* that Phrygians once had settled in Macedonia (and Thrace) and then moved back to Asia Minor.[54] In consequence, in the mind of Marsyas' erudite Macedonian and Greek contemporaries, Phrygia and its legendary king Midas, also known for rich offerings to Delphic Apollo,[55] provided a

[45] Just. 7.2.1; Satyros, *BNJ* 631 F 1; Diod. 7 F 15.

[46] Just. 7.1.11–12. Cf. Fredricksmeyer 1961, 161; Greenwalt 1985, 46, note 11; Vassileva 2007, 775; Zaccaria 2016, 67; Müller 2020, 240.

[47] Callisth., *BNJ* 124 F 54; Theopomp., *BNJ* 115 F 74 b. They both call him the "Phrygian" Midas. Cf. Fredricksmeyer 1961, 161; Prandi 1985, 91; Zaccaria 2016, 59, 64–65. Notably, Callisthenes stated that Midas' wealth came from the mines at Mount Bermium—thus, he owed his power partly to ressources Callisthenes' audience would have assigned to the Macedonians. In consequence, when Alexander occupied Phrygia and Midas' capital, he reversed history in a kind of payback.

[48] Munn 2008, 114.

[49] Geyer 1930, 20, 24, 26; Hammond – Griffith 1972, 412; Borza 1990, 64–65; van de Mieroop 2007, 211; Manoledakis 2016, 66–72; King 2017, 11; Rose 2021, 30, 70.

[50] On the archaeological approach (comparisons between Phrygian and Thracian and Macedonian culture) see Petrova 1998; Georgieva 1998 (burial rites); Vassileva 1998; Vassileva 2001, 51–61; Manoledakis 2016, 55–59. On the linguistic hypothesis that there were Phrygian-Macedonian links, see Papazoglou 1977; Brixhe 1994; Hatzopoulos 2000, 101; Brixhe 2008; Janko 2015, 17, 19; Manoledakis 2016, 63–65; Hatzopoulos 2020, 77–79. *Contra*: Drews 1993, 26; Crespo 2012.

[51] Homeric associations (cf. Strab. 12.8.7): Vassileva 2007, 779; Munn 2008, 116–117. On Phrygians in the Trojan Catalogue see Huxley 1956, 24–25; Huxley 1959, 95; Drews 1993, 15 (Priam's allies); Manoledakis 2016, 51, 66. On the possible historical background of these associations see Rose 2021, 69–70. Ancient founding date: Badian 1982, 34–35. Mederer 1936, 13 takes it for a Macedonian folktale. Cf. Roller 1983, 303. In any case, the association with Midas, renowned for his proverbial wealth, symbolized the fertility of the realm chosen by the Temenid founder figure. Vasilev 2016, 37 thinks that the tradition may derive from the Argead court.

[52] Vassileva 1997, 13–14.

[53] Down to Ipsus, Macedonians and Greeks were the most prominent group of supporters at his court, cf. Weber 1995, 293; O'Neil 2003, 511.

[54] Drews 1993, 19–20; Sorabella 2007, 242; Munn 2008, 115. It was thus a story about kinship. In ancient diplomacy and propaganda, references to kinship ties were a common tool, cf. Chaniotis 2005, 106, 108–109; Gazzano 2019, 61. See also Patterson 2010, 90 on Alexander and Aspendus as an example for the use of kinship ties.

[55] Hdt. 1.14.2: the first foreigner who made a dedication there. Cf. Huxley 1959, 95; Roller 1983, 301.

link with the foundation of Argead rule.[56] Just as Perdiccas I had occupied Midas' former territory and just as Caranus had expelled Midas, their descendant Alexander had conquered contemporary Phrygia and Antigonus (as his successor) had consolidated the conquest and established his own rule.[57] Hence, the myths associated with Antigonus' realm provided him with a legitimizing link to the Argeads. He did not need to claim any blood ties to the Macedonian dynasty; the link was created on the base of ideas of territory, rule, and succession.

Notably, Marsyas mentioned that the yoke of the wagon had been fastened to the pole with a vine branch.[58] According to the dominant version, the knot was made of cornel bark.[59] The particular element of the vine branch triggers associations with Dionysus and refers to another central aspect of the Midas theme in Greek and Macedonian memory: his capture of Dionysus' follower Silenus whom Midas caught in his sleep.[60] This capture of Silenus, an old story in itself,[61] is located by Herodotus and Theopompus in the "Gardens of Midas" in Macedonia.[62] Theopompus stresses the association of Silenus with wisdom: he has Midas interrogate the satyr who tells him about about the existence of a utopic place called Meropis, surrounded by the *okeanos*.[63] Silenus' wisdom is also highlighted in Plato's *Symposion* when Alcibiades compares Socrates to a Silenus figure.[64] In a fragment of Aristotle's *Eudamus or On the Soul,* the theme of the wise satyr is also present: Midas forces the captured Silenus to reveal to him what is best for mankind and Silenus answers that it was best not to come into being at all.[65]

According to a hypothesis by Jean Sorabella, the famous Barbarini Faun showed the sleeping Silenus just before his capture by Midas. Sorabella supposes that the sculpture was commissioned by a Hellenistic king who wanted to be cast into the role of a latter-

[56] Borza 1990, 81, note 8; Munn 2008, 112.

[57] In this context, it is interesting that Spencer (2005, 124, note 10) states that Alexander's march from Pamphylia to Gordium was treated as a prefiguration of Antigonus' campaign in Diod. 18.41–44 (ascribed to Hieronymus of Cardia). Cf. Syme 1995, 195–198.

[58] Munn (2008, 137, note 28) thinks that the term ἁρμάξης for the wagon is an indication that the scholiast did not paraphrase Marsyas when he explained the history of the cart. However, the word ἁρμάμαξα is already used by Herodotus (7.41; 7.70) for a Persian carriage and ἅρμα, describing a Persian war-chariot, is used by Ar. *Pers*. 190; Eur. *Alc*. 483; Eur. *Hipp*. 111. Marsyas will have known the term. On the Persian war-chariot in Grekk literary sources see: Manning 2021, 269–278.

[59] Plut. *Alex*. 18.1.

[60] Theopomp., *BNJ* 115 F 75 a–b. Cf. Hubbard 1975; Usher 2002, 207.

[61] Hubbard 1975, 55.

[62] Hdt. 8.138.2; Theopomp., *BNJ* 115 F 74b. Cf. Fredricksmeyer 1961, 162; Hubbard 1975, 55; Roller 1983, 303, 308; Zaccaria 2016, 64–65.

[63] Theopomp., *BNJ* 115 F 75c and F 75e. Cf. Vassileva 2007, 775 (ascribing a major role to Theopompus in the shaping of the stories about Silenus in Macedonia); Zaccaria 2016, 52–65.

[64] Plat. *Symp*. 215a4–222b7. See Hubbard 1975, 56; Usher 2002, 205 arguing that the encounter between Midas and Silenus was a kind of literary set piece.

[65] Aristot. F 44 Rose (= F 65 Gigon) (= [Plut.] *Mor*. 115b–e). Cf. Hubbard 1975, 55–56. Davies 2004, 682–683 identifies Silenus as a helper figure of folktale who imparts wisdom to the hero.

day Midas: rich, powerful, and interested in wisdom.[66] He identifies Antigonus as one of the potential candidates.[67]

In the literary tradition, Alexander was associated with the capture of a satyr in the context of the siege of Tyre in 332 BC: Chares of Mytilene reports that Alexander dreamt of a satyr who mocked him from a distance and escaped each time when he tried to catch him. But after a lot of running around, he let Alexander catch him. After he had woken up, Alexander interrogated the seers. According to their interpretation, the word *satyros* had to be split in two parts and was meant to foretell his future success to Alexander: 'σὴ (γενήσεται) Τύρος—Tyre (will be) yours.'[68]

Apparently, Midas and the captured satyr were popular themes among Marsyas' contemporaries and provided the writers with literary set pieces. Theopompus and Aristotle were associated with Philip's court (and Marsyas may have been educated by the latter together with Alexander) while Chares and Callisthenes worked at Alexander's traveling court that Marsyas may at least formed part of until 331. In consequence, his reference to Midas, including the hint to Silenus, reflected the taste of his time.

As for the political value of the reference: probably writing in Phrygia, his brother's power base, it made perfect sense for Marsyas to insert a reference to Midas and the Gordian knot in the first book of his *Makedonika*. Thereby, he established a link between Antigonus' territory and the foundation of Argead rule, emphasizing the legitimacy of his brother's and nephew's claims to be Alexander's (true) successors and to the rule over the Argead homeland (and the whole Argead empire). Referring to the Midas figure in the Macedonian cultural memory, Marsyas could emphasize Phrygia's ideological value and support his brother and nephew who had to compete with Cassander who controlled the Macedonian heartland and with Ptolemy who could claim to rule the ideological core of the Macedonian world since he had robbed Alexander's body on its way to Aigai and, adapting the duty of the legitimate successor to lay the dead ruler to rest, buried it in Egypt.[69]

Conclusions

In all likelihood, Marsyas of Pella wrote his *Makedonika* in accordance with Antigonid interests supporting the claims of Antigonus and Demetrius. As a legitimizing piece of propaganda, Marsyas may have referred to the tradition linking Midas of Phrygia with the foundation of Argead rule. This *logos* may have served to highlight the ideological importance of Phrygia as Antigonus' and Demetrius' power base and their claims to be

[66] Sorabella 2007, 232–245. On the associations with Midas see: Roller 1983, 302, 308; Sorabella 2007, 241–242. As for the proverbial wealth, Usher (2002, 211) and Berndt-Ersöz (2008, 5, note 25) point at the similarities between the legends of Midas and Croesus. Interestingly, Briant (1973, 106–107) adduces Sen. *De ira* 3.22.4–5 in which a certain Antigonus says that he was pleased to have Silenus in his camp to Antigonus' siege of Celenae. However, the description of the certain Antigonus contradicts the information that Antigonus was tall (Plut. *Demetr*. 2.2).

[67] Sorabella 2007, 242. However, he prefers Antiochus IV.

[68] Chares of Mytilene, *BNJ* 125 F 7 (= Plut. *Alex*. 24). On the siege of Tyre cf. Müller 2019, 117–122.

[69] Curt. 10.10.20; Diod. 18.28.3; Paus. 1.6.3.

successors of Alexander and Argead rule since it involved an old link between the Argead founder-figure(s) and rule over Phrygia. In consequence, it is plausible that F 4 has to be attributed to Marsyas of Pella.

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