The Athenian-Makedonian marriage to be discussed below dates from the third century A.D., but the contacts between the Athenians and the Makedones, or their kings, extend to at least the reign of Alexander I, who was a πρόξεινος, ευεργέτης and φίλος of Athens at the time of the Persian Wars. Perdikkas II and other Makedones concluded a treaty with Athens in perhaps 423/2 B.C., as did Amyntas III at 375-373 B.C. However, Athens’ relations with Makedon became complex with Philip II and his son Alexander, and the complexity grew during the Diadochoi and after. According to Athenaios (III 122a), the frequent interaction between the Athenians and the Makedones brought about the makedonization of Athenian writers: μακεδονίζοντας τ’ οϊδα πολλούς των 'Αττικών διά τήν επιμιξίαν, which must suggest a deeper influence than the mere usage of Makedonian words.

* This is an expanded version of an earlier manuscript written in August 1990.


2. Borza (note 1 above) 132-160, and 295: IG I² 89.

3. IG II² 102 = ZPE 81 (1990) 156. Borza (note 1 above) 180-197. In IG II² 110 = SEG 33 (1983 = 1986), No. 80 of 363/2 B.C., Menelaos Pelagon is honored by the Athenians for his services in the war against the Chalkidians and Amphipolis.

4. Cf., for example, [Demosthenes’] polemics against Philip II for destroying Greek cities and introducing barbarians (not Makedones) into them, in the appended [decree] in De Corona, 182 (see Appendix below, under B). In any case, Demosthenes was concerned about the enslavement of Greek cities by Philip II (Third Olynthic, 20).

5. A. J. Heisserer, Alexander the Great and the Greeks. The Epigraphical Evidence (Norman, Oklahoma 1980) 3-26 (Athens). In 311/10 B.C., it appears, Roxane, Alexander’s wife, made various offerings to Athena Polias, as recorded in IG II² 1492, lines 46-63.


7. Cf. R. A. Crossland in CAH III (1)² (1982) 847. Athenaios mentions therein Περσικά ὄνοματα in the ancient Greek writers, but this distinction is not associated with the μακεδονιζοντες Athenian writers. Appendix below, under A.
Nonetheless, the Athenians sided with the Romans in their wars against Philip V and his son Perseus. Of course, this was due to the conflicting interests of Athens and Makedon and to the Athenians’ perception of δημοκρατία and αυτονομία καὶ ἐλευθερία. On the other hand, Athenian contacts with Makedon continued into the (Roman) Imperial period, as indicated by the Athenian sculptor Demetrios (below), Aurelius Krates, son of Ptolemaios, a Δασσαρήτιος, whom the Athenians honored with a statue on the Acropolis, and the marriage discussed below.

This brief survey of Athenian-Makedonian relations may suffice as an introduction to the study’s theme which is the marriage of an Athenian lady to a gentleman from Makedon. The marriage took place, as noted above, at about the first decade of the third century A.D. From the Athenian side the marriage involves the great family of the Claudii Leonides VII and Lysiades VI of the deme Melite, which this writer has already studied, with its then known marriage connections. The gentleman from Makedon is Honoratianos Polycharmos who appears to have traced his lineage, as shown below, to Alexander (the Great).

His daughter Honoratiane Polycharmis (ἡ καί Φαιναρέτη) identifies herself in IG II² 3679 as a descendant of daduchs, Perikles and Konon and Alexander from the side of the Makedones. In this inscription from Eleusis, she honors her daughter Junia Themistokleia (II) as an ἀφ’ ἐστίας, while her full name, as given above, is found in IG II² 3710 (again from Eleusis), where she herself is honored as an ἀφ’ ἐστίας. Her initiation, therefore, antedates her daughter’s, and the dates would be at about the second decade and the fourth/fifth decades of the third century A.D. respectively. With the available evidence, only relative dates can be obtained.

In IG I² 3710 Honoratiane Polycharmis ή καί Phainarete is identified as the daughter of Honoratianos Polycharmos and Claudia Themistokleia.

8. For example, Livy XXXI.xliv. 6-7; XLI.xxiii.1; and XLIII.vi.1-3.
9. IG II² 43 = SEG 35 (1985 = 1988), No. 56, lines 9-10, of 378/7 B.C. (referring to, the Lakedaimonians, but pertinent to the Makedones, too), and 418, line 55, of 318/7 B.C. (Appendix below, under B).
11. BCH 92 (1968) 504, No. 33, and 506, No. 39 [493-518, stemmata]; cf. also ’Αγξ. ’Εφημ. 1974, χρονικά, 3. Demetrios Poliorketes married the Athenian Eurydike who was Μιλτιάδου ἄπογονος τοῦ παλαιοῦ (Plut., Demetrios XIV.1).
13. BCH (note 11 above) 500, No. 25; Clinton (note 12 above) 112, No. 50.
and as an ἀπόγονος of the daduchs Claudii Praxagoras and Philippo. Claudius
Philippus was the father of Claudia Themistoklea (I) and served as archon
eponymos in about A.D. 193/4-194/5, when daduch14. Claudius (or Aelius)
Praxagoras (II) served as daduch just before Claudius Philippus15 and was
the father of the latter's mother, Aelia Philiste who had married Claudius
Demostratos II16. Another daughter of Claudius Philippus by the name of
Claudia Menandra (II) married into the great family of the Kas(s)ianoi of
the deme Steiria17. She married Kasianos Apollonios, and her son was named
Kasianos Philippus, probably after his maternal grandfather, the daduch
Claudius Philippus18.

At any rate, it was not known how Honoratiane Polycharmis καὶ Phai-
narete traced her lineage to Alexander on the side of the Makedones. Ho­
wever, this was illuminated recently (24-VII-90) through an entry in Argyro
B. Tataki, Ancient Beroea: Prosopography and Society (Μελετήματα 8, Athens
1988), p. 239, No. 977: Ὄνωρατιανός Πολύχαρμος, 3rd cent. A.D. At Beroea
Honoratianos Polycharmos honored his father Aelius Potamon, and the
inscription was first published by Otto Walter in Archäologischer Anzeiger
57 (1942), p. 178, No. 16: κατά τὸ δόξαν τοῖς / κρατίστοις συνέδροις / Ὄνω­
ρατιανός Πολύχαρμος Αἰλίου Πο/τάμωνος τοῦ πατρός / τὰ πάντα ἀνδρός
ἄριστον καὶ κοσμίου / τὸν ἀνδριάντα ἀνέστησεν, with a photograph on p.
182, Fig. 4619. In the second-third centuries A.D., the sculptor Δη­
μήτριος Ποτάμωνος Ἀθηναῖος was active in Elimeia20, but it does not seem that
Aelius Potamon and Potamon (Athenaios) can be equated.

14. BCH (note 11 above) 500, No. 24 (Cl. Themistoklea I), and 512-513, No. 105 (ex-
cise IG II2 1806); S. Follet, Athènes au IIe et au IIIe siècle: études prosopographiques et

15. BCH (note 11 above) 511-512, No. 96; Follet (note 14 above) 278 and 281. He is
also mentioned in the letters of Marcus Aurelius in SEG 29 (1979 = 1982).
No. 127, Pl. II, lines 1, 35, 41, 44 and 50 (= W. Ameling, Herodes Atticus, II (Hildesheim
1983) 182-205, No. 189); and as prytanis in J. S. Traill, Hesp. 47 (1978) 319, No. 36, line 9, of A.D. 181/2

16. BCH (note 11 above) 498, No. 8. His archonship is dated to A.D. 180/1 by Traill
(note 15 above) 330.

17. BCH (note 11 above) 507, No. 43.

18. As reported by J. M. Camp, The Athenian Agora (London 1986) 196. For the writer's
other comments on the family of Steiria, see Φιλία Ἐπη εἰς Γ. Ε. Μυλωνᾶ (Athens 1989)
263, under Line 38.

19. The photograph shows damage of the monument below the text.

20. Th. Rizakis - G. Touratsoglou, Ἑπεταρχαῖς Ἀνω Μακεδονίας, 1 (Athens 1985),
No. 72 (Mouseion of Kozane).
The text from Beroea is brief; but since Aelius Potamon is honored by his son Honoratianos Polycharmos through a decree of the σύνεδροι of the provincial synhedrion and is called ἄνήρ ἀριστος καὶ κόσμιος, it is safe to conclude that both father and son hailed from an aristocratic family of Beroea, or of some other town in the vicinity\(^{21}\). Their aristocratic standing is also confirmed by the fact that Honoratianos Polycharmos contracted a marriage with the well known family of the deme Melite (above) and his daughter and granddaughter were initiated ἀφ’ ἑστίας at Eleusis (above), although the initiation could be due to his marriage to Claudia Themistokleia (I) and to the unknown father of his granddaughter Junia Themistokleia (II)\(^{22}\). Eventually Honoratianos Polycharmos may have taken up residence in Athens, presumably in the deme Melite of the tribe Kekropis, but this is not entirely definite, since in \(IG \ II^2\) 3679 and 3710 no demotic, or ethnic, is recorded. This is also true of Claudia Themistokleia (I) and the daduchs Claudii Praxagoras (II) and Philippus in \(IG \ II^2\) 3710. However, Honoratianos Polycharmos reappears undoubtedly in \(IG \ II^2\) 2217, line 3, as Όνερατιανός Πολύχαρμος\(^{23}\). \(IG \ II^2\) 2217 has been included among the ephebic texts, but it must be a prytany catalogue of about A.D. 212/3 or later, as indicated by the thirteen Αὐρήλιοι therein\(^{24}\). Thus, \(IG \ II^2\) 2217 lends support to the view that Honoratianos Polycharmos must have also become an Athenian when he married Claudia Themistokleia (I), if not earlier. There is also Όνωρατιανός Άθηνίων ephebe-agonothete, in \(IG \ II^2\) 2242, line 38, of A.D. 240/1, who may be a son of Claudia Themistokleia (I) and Honoratianos Polycharmos\(^{25}\). Honoratianos Athenion’s ephebeia places his birth at about A.D. 222/3, and he may have been younger than Honoratiane Polycharmus ἧ καὶ Φαιναρετε, if she is his sister, as the names Honoratianos-Honoratiane suggest.

As to how Honoratianos Polycharmos may have traced his lineage to Alexander, it is not possible to say\(^{26}\), and his daughter’s claim of descent

\(^{21}\) Perhaps from Aigaiai, the old capital of Makedon (Appendix below, under C). It should be observed that the name Honoratianos is used as a nomen, though the father is an Aelius (cf. Tataki, \textit{op. cit.}, after note 18 in main text); for parallels, see \textit{Ελληνικά} 29 (1976) 254-256, under H3.

\(^{22}\) \textit{BCH} (note 11 above) 497, No. 1.

\(^{23}\) \textit{Ibid.}, 511, No. 93, and 517, No. 145.

\(^{24}\) The writer has a photograph of this fragmentary text. For the Aurellii in the prytany catalogues, see the writer’s comments in \textit{AncW} 4 (1981) 12-14, with addenda to offprints.

\(^{25}\) \textit{BCH} (note 11 above) 517, No. 143.

\(^{26}\) The claim of descent from Alexander is probably genuine, but the evidence is lacking.
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from Alexander is not the first one. Much earlier (192 B.C.), as Livy writes27, an Alexandros of Megalopolis claimed descent from Alexander and accordingly had named his two sons Alexandros and Philosophos. Appian also reports the story of Alexandros of Megalopolis28. Alexandros is honored by the Delians in Syll.3, No. 576 (IG XI (4), No. 750), lines 3-4: ... 'Αλέξανδρος Φιλίππου, ἀπόγονος ὑπὸ βασιλέως 'Αλεξάνδρου ... (in. s. II a.). He also had a daughter named Apama who married King Amynander of the Athamanes29. In any case, a parallel to the claims herein is Neoptolemos of Pydna who called himself an Aiakid and descendant of Olympias30. These intermarriages and claims of descent from famous men testify to the close unity of the Greek world, with an echo reaching back to Homer31.

As mentioned above, Honoratiane Polycharmis καὶ Phainarete also claimed descent from Perikles and Konon, but this interesting claim is not pursued here. It suffices to say that the daughter of Claudia Menandra (II) and Kasianos Apollonios (above) called herself the twenty-first descendant from Perikles32, and the claim must come from the mother's side, to wit, Claudia Menandra II's. This would be also true for Honoratiane Polycharmis καὶ Phainarete, namely, her claim of descent from Perikles (and Konon, too) comes from her mother's, Claudia Themistokleia I's, side. This is supported by IG II² 3610, line 7, where a member of the family of Melite is called to trace it. The claim may not necessarily go directly to Alexander himself, but to the Argead royal house in general, or to a Makedonian noble related to the royal house, unless the claim is made because Honoratianos Polycharmos was a Makedon.

27. XXXV.xlvii.5; cf. also XXXVI.viii.3, xiii.7, and xiv.3-4. The last reference echoes the claim of descent from Alexander, and King Philip V's from the Argead royal house (cf. the Greek Anthology's two epigrams in the LoebCL, I, Nos. 114 and 115; and note 29 below). Cf. also Polybios V. 10.9-10, for Philip V and his συγγένεια with Philip and Alexander; R. A. Billows, Antigonos the One-Eyed, etc. (Berkeley 1990) 15.

28. Appendix below, under D.

29. The name Apama connects Alexandros of Megalopolis with the Seleucids, as Seleucus I's wife was named Amapa (cf. comment of Livy's translator in the LoebCL). The Seleucids and the Ptolemies considered themselves descendants of Herakles, and consequently Argeads; cf. J. Bousquet, REG 101 (1988) 14, lines 40-42, and 15, lines 47-49 and 75-76; F. W. Walbank, ZPE 76 (1989) 185.

30. C. Edson, "The Tomb of Olympias", Hesp. 18 (1949) 84-95; the fragmentary epigram on 92, No. 3, may date from after A.D. 161, if line 8 were to be read as Μ(αρκος) Αύρ. 'Τ[ - - ]. Appendix below, under E.

31. For example, the marriage of Helen's and Menelaos' daughter, Hermione, to Achilles' son (Lakonia-Phthia), at the beginning of Bk. IV of the Odyssey, and the claim by some to be scions of gods (Menesthios: Iliad XVI, lines 173-176).

32. Camp (note 18 above); and BCH (note 11 above) 494, and 508, No. 54 (for Konon).
έννεακαιδέκατο[ν ἀπὸ Περικλέους καὶ Κόνωνος], as restored by the writer\textsuperscript{33}. In any event, the claim of descent from Konon is not exclusive to the family of Melite. Another Athenian family of the beginning of the third century A.D. claimed descent from Konon, and Kallimachos, too\textsuperscript{34}.

\textsuperscript{33} BCH (note 11 above) 494, note 1; cf. also IG II\textsuperscript{2} 3546, lines 5-6: τὴν ἀπὸ Περικλέους, in honor of an hierophantid, daughter of Perikles ex Oiou (ca. A.D. 100). Perhaps the descent from Perikles in the family of Melite is traceable to the family of Oion through marriage.

\textsuperscript{34} IG II\textsuperscript{2} 3688, lines 13-14 (\textit{init. s. III p.}); Follet (note 14 above) 545 (index). Appendix below, under F.
APPENDIX

A (note 7 above). E. N. Borza has devoted a chapter on the origin of the Makedones (note 1 above, 77-97); however, the Makedones' personal names do not imply Hellenization, but a Hellenic origin (cf. Borza herein, 91-92, note 29). A. B. Tataki has collected the Makedones' names which are overwhelmingly Greek in her prosopography of Beroea (note 21 above) and in prosopographies still to be published.

According to Hesiod (Const. Porphyrogennetos, de Them. II, P 22), the Makedones were already in the Pieria-Olympos area in the early part of the Bronze Age, together with their relatives the Magnetes who later moved to the Peneios-Pelion area and sent a contingent to Troy from there. The Makedones must be part of Herodotos' Makednoi (I. 56) who later acquired the name Dorians. Herodotos relates that a nameless 'Ελληνικόν ἔθνος moved from Phthiotis (time of Deukalion) to Histiaiotis under Ossa and Olympos (time of Doros) and from there to Pindos (time of the Cadmeians). In Pindos the nameless Greek ethnos acquired the name Μακεδνόν (ἔθνος). From Pindos the Makednon ethnós (or part of it) moved to Dryopis and hence to the Peloponnese, where it now adopted the name Δωρικόν (ἔθνος). However, the name Makednon ethnós was not abandoned entirely, as shown by Herodotos again (VIII. 43), when the Sikyonians, Epidaurians and Troizenians are called Δωρικόν τε καὶ Μακεδνόν ἔθνος, ἐξ Ἐρινεοῦ τε καὶ Πίνδου καὶ τῆς Δρυοπίδος ὑστατὰ ὀρμηθέντες. Consequently, it is erroneous to refer to the Makedones as Dorians, when the Dorians were first called Makednoi. Cf. M. B. Sakellariou's discussion of the Makednoi in Between Memory and Oblivion (Μελετήματα 12, Athens 1990) 223-235, 253 and 254.

B (note 9 above). IG II2 418 comments on the Lamian War, or the 'Ελληνικός πόλεμος in the language of the Athenians who initiated the war. Cf. E. Badian, Greeks and Macedonians [publication's full title in E. N. Borza (note 1 above) 302], 51 note 78 [33-51]; and a remark on 46, note 21, concerning Thukydides and the Makedones. Thukydides does not include the Makedones among the barbarians, as also observed by St. Casson, Mace-
Elias Kapetanopoulos

donia, Thrace and Illyria (Oxford 1926) 158. Even Demosthenes draws a distinction between Makedones and βάρβαροι, On the False Embassy, 327: οἱ μὲν δὸνες 'Αμφικτύονες φεύγουσι ..., ..., οἱ δ' οὐποτ' ... γενόμενοι Μακε- δόνες καὶ βάρβαροι, νῦν 'Αμφικτύονες εἰναι βιάζονται.

C (note 21 above). In an epigram by Antipatros of Thessalonike [A. S. F. Gow & D. L. Page, The Greek Anthology: The Garland of Philip, I (Cambridge 1968) 50, LXII], there is found the name Αἰγανέα which may stand for Aigaiai and may explain the latter's nomenclature, even though associated with the αἴξ. Another name for Aigaiai was Μηλοβότειρα, according to St. Byz., s.v. Αἰγαί [and cf. ibid., s.v. Πέλλα: Βουνόμεια-Βούνομος]. Cf. also the oracle in N. G. L. Hammond and G. T. Griffith, A History of Macedonia, II (Oxford 1979) 8: Βουτήξις πολύμηλος.

D (note 28 above). Appian (XI. 13) identifies Alexandros as a Makedon raised at Megalopolis and a citizen of that city and observes that the claim of descent from Alexander (the Great) was Alexandros' invention (έτερα-τεύετο). Appian further states that Philippos, who brought Apama to King Aymander, ruled Athamania for a time and that Antiochos III encouraged him to seek the throne (δραχή) of the Makedones. At the end, however, Philippos simply became the Romans' prisoner (XI. 13 and 17).

Pausanias mentions a house at Megalopolis for Alexander the son of Philip, with a statue of Ammon beside it, and adds that the house was privately owned in his time (VIII. 32.1); in the previous sections he made reference to a stoa named after Philip II (30.6 and 31.9). For Philip II, a Megapolitan and Ammon, cf. also Plut., Alexander III.1; the Megapolitans had been benefited by Philip II [Polybios, II.48.2-3; cf. also 66.7 and 68.1-2]. W. M. Calder III has discussed Alexander's House (Pausanias 8.32.1) in GRBS 23 (1982) 281-287, and Alexandros of Megalopolis may be mentioned in yet another Delian inscription, IG XI(4), No. 1072: 'Αλέξανδρος/Φιλίππου.

Athenaios, through Euphantos, reports that Kallikrates, Ptolemy III's flatterer, had Odysseus' image engraved in his seal and had named his children Telegonos and Antikleia (VI 251d). In view of this last exemplum, it may be that the house at Megalopolis had been built for Alexandros rather than for Alexander, as one would conclude with Pausanias (above).

E (note 30 above). There is also Alkimachos who was a descendant of Olympias [Mouseion of Dion = D. Pandermalis, Dion (Athens 1989) 34, No. 71]. For such descents, cf. also the epigram in SEG 26 (1976-1977 =
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1979), No. 645, where Eustathia is identified as hailing from the γένος of Aiakides (Demetrias in Thessaly, fin. s. IV p.), and L. Moretti, *Iscr. stor. ellen.*, I (Firenze 1967), No. 38, line 2: Αἰάκου ἐκ γενεᾶς (Argos: 321-311 B.C.). In one of the mythological associations, Makedon, the eponymos of the Makedones, is said to be the son of Aiakos, which suggests a relation of the Makedones with Achilles (*scholion* to Dionysios Periegetes, line 427: ... Μακεδονία ἀπὸ Μακεδόνος τοῦ Αἰακοῦ [some would emend this to Αἰ- (όλ)ου]. An older name of Makedon(ia), besides Emathia, was Πηλιδόνεια (same *scholion*, as above), which may point to Πηλεύς, Achilles' father. It is interesting to note here a similarity in the second part of Μακεδονία and Πηλιδόνεια (could Πηλι-*Β6 from Πήλιον instead?). See below, under F.

F (note 34 above). Cf. also *IG* II² 3643, lines 8-9: τὸν ἀπὸ Κό/[νος?], or perhaps Κό/[δρου?], from the middle of the 3rd cent. A.D. (writer). Two examples from outside of Attica to be cited here are *Inscr. v. Olympia*, Nos. 456, lines 4-5: τοῦ ἀπὸ / Ὀξύλου (A.D. 156/7), and 466, lines 4-5: τὸν ἀπὸ / Φειδίου [= Τίτον Φιλοσούν · Ηράκλειτον], who might be identical with the prytanis Φλ. 'Ηράκλειτος (Παιανεύς) of B. D. Meritt and J. S. Traill, *Agora* XV (Princeton 1974), No. 364, line 9, of A.D. 162/3; see also S. Follet (note 14 above) 183. Lastly, cf. also *IG* II² 3802, lines 6-7 = Follet (herein) 250. See above, under E.