

AN ATHENIAN-MAKEDONIAN MARRIAGE OF ALEXANDER'S  
LINE\*

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, εὐεργέτης and φίλος of Athens at the time of the Persian Wars<sup>1</sup>. Perdikkas II and other Makedones concluded a treaty with Athens in perhaps 423/2 B.C.<sup>2</sup>, as did Amyntas III at 375-373 B.C.<sup>3</sup>. However, Athens' relations with Makedon became complex with Philip II<sup>4</sup> and his son Alexander<sup>5</sup>, and the complexity grew during the Diadochoi and after<sup>6</sup>. According to Athenaios (III 122a), the frequent interaction between the Athenians and the Makedones brought about the makedonization of Athenian writers: μακεδονίζοντας τ' οἶδα πολλοὺς τῶν Ἀττικῶν διὰ τὴν ἐπιμιξίαν, which must suggest a deeper influence than the mere usage of Makedonian words<sup>7</sup>.

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

1. Herodotos VIII.136 and 143. For recent views of Alexander I, cf. E. N. Borza, *In the Shadow of Olympus: The Emergence of Macedon* (Princeton 1990) 98-131, and R. Scaife, *Hermes* 117 (1989) 129-137.

2. Borza (note 1 above) 132-160, and 295: *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 89.

3. *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 102 = *ZPE* 81 (1990) 156. Borza (note 1 above) 180-197. In *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 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* II<sup>2</sup> 1492, lines 46-63.

6. See T. Leslie Shear, Jr., *Kallias of Sphettos and the Revolt of Athens in 286 B.C. Hesp.*, Suppl. 17 (Princeton 1978), and M. J. Osborne, *ZPE* 78 (1989) 239.

7. Cf. R. A. Crossland in *CAH* III (1)<sup>2</sup> (1982) 847. Athenaios mentions therein Περσικά ὀνόματα in the ancient Greek writers, but this distinction is not associated with the μακεδονίζοντες Athenian writers. Appendix below, under A.

Nonetheless, the Athenians sided with the Romans in their wars against Philip V and his son Perseus<sup>8</sup>. Of course, this was due to the conflicting interests of Athens and Makedon and to the Athenians' perception of δημοκρατία and αὐτονομία καὶ ἐλευθερία<sup>9</sup>. 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<sup>10</sup>, 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<sup>11</sup>. 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 καὶ Phainarete) identifies herself in *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 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 ἄφ' ἑστίας<sup>12</sup>, while her full name, as given above, is found in *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 3710 (again from Eleusis), where she herself is honored as an ἄφ' ἑστίας. 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<sup>13</sup>. With the available evidence, only relative dates can be obtained.

In *IG* I<sup>2</sup> 3710 Honoratiane Polycharmis ἡ καὶ 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* II<sup>2</sup> 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).

10. *Ziva Antika* 20 (1970) 160 = *Μακεδονικά* 14 (1974) 225.

11. *BCH* 92 (1968) 504, No. 33, and 506, No. 39 [493-518, stemmata]; cf. also 'Αρχ. Ἐφημ. 1974, χρονικά, 3. Demetrios Poliorketes married the Athenian Eurydike who was Μιλτιάδου ἀπόγονος τοῦ παλαιοῦ (Plut., *Demetrios* XIV.1).

12. *BCH* (note 11 above), 507, No. 50; K. Clinton, "The Sacred Officials of the Eleusinian Mysteries", *TAPhS* 64 (3) (Philadelphia 1974) 112, No. 52.

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 Philippos. Claudius Philippos was the father of Claudia Themistokleia (I) and served as archon eponymos in about A.D. 193/4-194/5, when daduch<sup>14</sup>. Claudius (or Aelius) Praxagoras (II) served as daduch just before Claudius Philippos<sup>15</sup> and was the father of the latter's mother, Aelia Philiste who had married Claudius Demonstratos II<sup>16</sup>. Another daughter of Claudius Philippos by the name of Claudia Menandra (II) married into the great family of the Kas(s)ianoι of the deme Steiria<sup>17</sup>. She married Kasianos Apollonios, and her son was named Kasianos Philippos, probably after his maternal grandfather, the daduch Claudius Philippos<sup>18</sup>.

At any rate, it was not known how Honoratiane Polycharmis ἡ καὶ Phainarete traced her lineage to Alexander on the side of the Makedones. However, 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: Ὀνωρατιανὸς 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: κατὰ τὸ δόξαν τοῖς / κρατίστοις συνέδροις / Ὀνωρατιανὸς Πολύχαρμος Αἰλίου Ποτάμωνος τοῦ πατρὸς / τὰ πάντα ἀνδρὸς ἀρίστου καὶ κοσμίῳ / τὸν ἀνδριάντα ἀνέστησεν, with a photograph on p. 182, Fig. 46<sup>19</sup>. In the second-third centuries A.D., the sculptor Δημήτριος Ποτάμωνος Ἀθηναῖος was active in Elimeia<sup>20</sup>, but it does not seem that Aelius Potamon and Potamon (Athenaios) can be equated.

14. *BCH* (note 11 above) 500, No. 24 (Cl. Themistokleia I), and 512-513, No. 105 (excise IG II<sup>2</sup> 1806); S. Follet, *Athènes au IIe et au IIIe siècle: études prosopographiques et chronologiques* (Paris 1976) 279-280.

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 (but cf. *RFIC* 112 [1984] 183, under 179/80).

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 Φίλια Ἐπη εἰς Γ. Ε. Μυλωνᾶν (Athens 1989) 263, under Line 38.

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

20. Th. Rizakis - G. Touratsoglou, *Ἐπιγραφές Ἀνω Μακεδονίας*, I (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 ἀνὴρ ἄριστος 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<sup>21</sup>. 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)<sup>22</sup>. 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<sup>2</sup> 3679 and 3710 no demotic, or ethnic, is recorded. This is also true of Claudia Themistokleia (I) and the daduchs Claudii Praxagoras (II) and Philippos in *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 3710. However, Honoratianos Polycharmos reappears undoubtedly in *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2217, line 3, as Ὀνε(ρατιανὸς) Πολύχαρμος<sup>23</sup>. *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 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 Αὐρ(ήλιοι) therein<sup>24</sup>. Thus, *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 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 Ὀνωρατιανὸς Ἀθηνίων ephebe-agonothete, in *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2242, line 38, of A.D. 240/1, who may be a son of Claudia Themistokleia (I) and Honoratianos Polycharmos<sup>25</sup>. Honoratianos Athenion's *ephebeia* places his birth at about A.D. 222/3, and he may have been younger than Honoratian Polycharmis ἡ καὶ Phainarete, 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<sup>26</sup>, and his daughter's claim of descent

21. Perhaps from Aigai, 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, *op. cit.*, after note 18 in main text); for parallels, see *Ἑλληνικά* 29 (1976) 254-256, under H3.

22. *BCH* (note 11 above) 497, No. 1.

23. *Ibid.*, 511, No. 93, and 517, No. 145.

24. The writer has a photograph of this fragmentary text. For the Aurelii in the prytany catalogues, see the writer's comments in *AncW* 4 (1981) 12-14, with *addenda* to offprints.

25. *BCH* (note 11 above) 517, No. 143.

26. The claim of descent from Alexander is probably genuine, but the evidence is lacking

from Alexander is not the first one. Much earlier (192 B.C.), as Livy writes<sup>27</sup>, an Alexandros of Megalopolis claimed descent from Alexander and accordingly had named his two sons Alexandros and Philippos. Appian also reports the story of Alexandros of Megalopolis<sup>28</sup>. Alexandros is honored by the Delians in *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, No. 576 (*IG* XI (4), No. 750), lines 3-4: ... Ἀλέξανδρος Φιλίππου, ἀπόγονος ὦν βασιλέως Ἀλεξάνδρου / ... (*in. s. II a.*). He also had a daughter named Apama who married King Amyntas of the Athamans<sup>29</sup>. In any case, a parallel to the claims herein is Neoptolemos of Pydna who called himself an Aiakid and descendant of Olympias<sup>30</sup>. These intermarriages and claims of descent from famous men testify to the close unity of the Greek world, with an echo reaching back to Homer<sup>31</sup>.

As mentioned above, Honoratiane Polycharmis ἡ 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 Perikles<sup>32</sup>, and the claim must come from the mother's side, to wit, Claudia Menandra II's. This would be also true for Honoratiane Polycharmis ἡ 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* II<sup>2</sup> 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 Apama (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(ἄρκος) Ἀῦρ. \*T[- -]. 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 (Menesthiros: *Iliad* XVI, lines 173-176).

32. Camp (note 18 above); and *BCH* (note 11 above) 494, and 508, No. 54 (for Konon).

ἐννεακαιδέκατο[ν ἀπὸ Περικλέους καὶ Κόνωνος], as restored by the writer<sup>33</sup>. 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<sup>34</sup>.

33. *BCH* (note 11 above) 494, note 1; cf. also *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 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.

34. *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 3688, lines 13-14 (*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. Porphyrogenetos, *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 Ἑλληνικὸν 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 Μακεδνὸν (ἔθνος). From Pindos the *Makednon ethnos* (or part of it) moved to Dryopis and hence to the Peloponnese, where it now adopted the name Δωρικόν (ἔθνος). However, the name *Makednon ethnos* was not abandoned entirely, as shown by Herodotos again (VIII. 43), when the Sikyonians, Epidaurians and Troizenians are called Δωρικόν τε καὶ Μακεδνὸν ἔθνος, ἐξ Ἑρινεοῦ τε καὶ Πίνδου καὶ τῆς Δρυοπίδος ὕστατα 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* II<sup>2</sup> 418 comments on the Lamian War, or the Ἑλληνικὸς 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-*

*donia, Thrace and Illyria* (Oxford 1926) 158. Even Demosthenes draws a distinction between Makedones and βάρβαροι, *On the False Embassy*, 327: οἱ μὲν ὄντες Ἀμφικτύονες φεύγουσι ..., ..., οἱ δ' οὐποτ' ... γενόμενοι Μακεδόνες καὶ βάρβαροι, νῦν Ἀμφικτύονες εἶναι 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 αἰξ. Another name for Aigaiai was Μηλοβότειρα, according to St. Byz., s.v. Αἰγαῖ [and cf. *ibid.*, s.v. Πέλλα: Βουνόμεια-Βούννομος]. Cf. also the oracle in N. G. L. Hammond and G. T. Griffith, *A History of Macedonia*, II (Oxford 1979) 8: Βουτηῖς 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 (ἐτεραπεύετο). Appian further states that Philippos, who brought Apama to King Amyntander, ruled Athamania for a time and that Antiochos III encouraged him to seek the throne (ἀρχή) 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 Megalopolitan and Ammon, cf. also Plut., *Alexander* III.1; the Megalopolitans 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: Ἀλέξανδρος/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 =



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 Μακεδόνοιο τοῦ Αἰακοῦ [some would emend this to Αἰ- (όλ)ου]. An older name of Makedon(ia), besides Emathia, was Πηλιδόνη (same *scholion*, as above), which may point to Πηλεΐδης, Achilles' father. It is interesting to note here a similarity in the second part of Μακεδονία and Πηλιδόνη (could Πηλιδόνη be from Πήλιον instead?). See below, under F.

F (note 34 above). Cf. also *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 3643, lines 8-9: τὸν ἀπὸ Κό/[ωνος?], 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 Φλαοῦιον Ἡράκλειτον], who might be identical with the prytanis Φλ. Ἡράκλειτος (Παιανιεὺς) 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 II<sup>2</sup>* 3802, lines 6-7 = Follet (herein) 250. See above, under E.