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WALDEMAR HECKEL

Polyxena, the Mother of Alexander the Great

Πολλὰ δ' ὡς ἔοικε τῶν ὀνομάτων ἀποκρύπτουσιν αἱ παρωνυμῖαι. τὴν γοῦν Ἀλεξάνδρου μητέρα Πολυξένην εἶτα Μυρτάλην Ὀλυμπιάδα τε καὶ Στρατονίκην κληθῆναι λέγουσι (Plut. Mor. 401A–B).

It was not uncommon for the women of royal or aristocratic families in Epeiros, Macedonia or the Hellenistic kingdoms to assume nicknames (παρωνυμῖαι) when they married or on other significant occasions. A most interesting example of this practice is the case of the mother of Alexander the Great, known to posterity by her adopted name, Olympias, rather than by the one she received at birth. This, at least, is the point of Plutarch's remark (above). Having related just previously that the prostitute Phryne had originally borne the name Mnesarete,¹ Plutarch goes on to point out that nicknames often obscured the real names of individuals. «Indeed, they say that Polyxena, the mother of Alexander, was later called Myrtale, Olympias and Stratonike.»

It is a straight-forward passage, and one that provides valuable information about the life and family of Philip II's Molossian bride. But it has been, for the most part, ignored or misinterpreted by modern scholars. A few examples suffice: «Olympias, als Kind Myrtale gehiessen ...» (R. SCHNEIDER²); «die berühmte Mutter Al[exander]s, als Mädchen vielleicht Myrtale genannt (Justin. IX, 7, 13; vgl. Plut. de Pyth. or. 14 p.401 A, der auch Polyxeina und Stratonike als ihre Mädchennamen angibt)» (H. BERVE³); «Als Kind soll sie die Namen Myrtale, Polyxeina und Stratonike getragen haben» (H. STRASBURGER, RE 18 [1939] 178 s.v. Olympias [5]). The italics in the above passages are mine; for, as I intend to show, Stratonike was not one of her «Mädchennamen», nor have modern scholars recognised that each of the four names applies to a specific time in the woman's life. Even G. MACURDY is vague («It is stated that the name given to Olympias in childhood was Myrtale, and the names Polyxene

¹ Cf. Aristogeiton ap. Athen. 13, 591E.

² R. SCHNEIDER, Olympia, Die Mutter Alexanders des Grossen, Zwickau 1885, 2, quoting Justin 9, 7, 13: *novissime gladium illum, quo rex percussus est, Apollini sub nomine Myrtales consecravit: hoc enim nomen ante Olympiadis parvulae fuit.* SCHNEIDER does not cite Plut. Mor. 401A–B. W. TRITSCH, Olympias, Die Mutter Alexanders des Großen, Frankfurt 1936, is of little use.

³ H. BERVE, Das Alexanderreich auf prosopographischer Grundlage, vol. 2, Munich 1926, 283, no. 581, s.v. Ὀλυμπιάς.

and Stratonice are also mentioned as hers.»⁴), though she does go on to explain the significance of one name, Olympias (see below). I should like to suggest historical contexts for each name.

(a) *Polyxena*

Plutarch's evidence is incontrovertible: the mother of Alexander was originally called Polyxena.⁵ The name was clearly part of the Aiakid family propaganda of the late fifth and early fourth centuries B.C.; this boasted for the Molossian royal house descent from Achilles through his son Neoptolemos. The latter's connexions with Epeiros were early indeed, and Achilles himself was worshipped at Dodona under the local cult-name Aspetos.⁶ But it is a matter of dispute when the Molossian kings first developed a genealogy that made Neoptolemos, or his son, their ancestor. Certainly this must have been one of the first steps in the hellenisation of Epeiros.⁷ The shrine of Zeus Dodonaïos and its priestesses had long been regarded as Greek, and it would be surprising if the royal house had not sought to link itself with Neoptolemos, whom tradition associated with Dodona and the kingship of Molossia.⁸ Yet, we cannot be sure if Pindar, a *proxenos* of the Molossoi, celebrated the pedigree of the Aiakidai during (apparently) the reign of King Admetos (ca. 480 B.C.).⁹ Some twenty years earlier, Alexander Philhellene of Macedon had gained admittance to the Olympic games by evincing his Greek (or, more precisely, Temenid) ancestry, and it may be that the Molossians, aided by Pindar, were now making similar claims.¹⁰

⁴ G. MACURDY, *Hellenistic Queens: A Study of Woman-Power in Macedonia, Seleucid Syria and Ptolemaic Egypt* (The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Archaeology, no. 14), Baltimore 1932, 23.

⁵ The name should be included in N. G. L. HAMMOND'S «Onomastikon Epirotikon» (Epirus: The Geography, the Ancient Remains, the History and the Topography of Epirus and Adjacent Areas, Oxford 1967) 812, where the masculine Πολύξενος occurs (cf. SGDI 1352).

⁶ On the literary tradition see esp. HAMMOND (n. 5 above) 365 ff.; for Aspetos, Plut. Pyrrhos 1, 3. For such local names for great heroes cf. Hesych. s. v. Ἑρωτος Ἡρακλῆς παρὰ Μακεδόσων, see also O. HOFFMANN, *Die Makedonen: ihre Sprache und ihr Volkstum*, Göttingen 1906, 93.

⁷ So G. N. CROSS, *Epirus: A Study in Greek Constitutional Development*, Cambridge 1932, 9: «... from the first the 'hellenism' of the dynasty furthered the hellenisation of the people ...»

⁸ See HAMMOND, *Epirus* 367–373; cf. also CROSS (n. 7 above) 100–102, «Appendix I: The Descendants of Achilles.»

⁹ This is accepted by HAMMOND and CROSS but rejected by J. PERRET, *Néoptolème et les Molosses*, REA 48, 1946, 5–28, esp. 8–11, and, most recently, L. WOODBURY, *Neoptolemus at Delphi*: *Nem.* 7. 30 ff., *Phoenix* 33, 1979, 95–133.

¹⁰ *Hdt.* 5, 22; see N. G. L. HAMMOND and G. T. GRIFFITH, *A History of Macedonia II: 550–336 B.C.*, Oxford 1979, 1–14. WOODBURY (n. 9 above) 121–123 believes that the Ἀχαιὸς ἀνὴρ of Pindar, *Nem.* 7, 64, is not the Molossian king (Admetos?) but Neoptolemos himself, and that (i) the connexion between Neoptolemos and the Molossian royal house was not made until ca 425 B.C. (the production of Euripides' *Andromache*); (ii) during the next century (480–380 B.C.) the Molossian kings continued to have non-Greek (non-mythical) names; (iii) «Thucydides (2. 80. 5–6) bluntly calls the Molossians 'barbarians'» (122); and (iv) the Molossians were not

But all this is beside the point. It is certain that some fifty years later Tharyps (Tharypas or Arybbas), the legitimate, but underaged, king, was taken to Athens to be educated, where, for reasons thought to be politically advantageous to the Athenians, Euripides honoured his lineage in the *Andromache*.¹¹ The Molossian royal house was traced to the son of Neoptolemos and Andromache, whose name – and this is almost certainly a fiction for the sake of creating an eponym – was given in the *dramatis personae* as Molossos.¹²

It is surely no coincidence that Aiakid names begin to be found in the Molossian royal family, although they do not completely dominate in the first two generations after Tharyps. The son was known as Alketas, but his sons were Arybbas and Neoptolemos, the first known Epeirot king of that name. And it is with him that the use of mythical names becomes practice at the Molossian Court. Neoptolemos himself married a princess of the Chaonian house, which revered as its ancestor the son of Andromache and Helenos, son of Priam. Hence Olympias could boast descent from both Helenos and Achilles.¹³ And it is no surprise to find the three children of Neo-

included in the so-called ‘Congress Decree’ (Plut. Perikles 17; cf. Cross 14). In answer to point (i), even if we adopt the translation of Μολοσσία δ’ ἐμβασιλευεν ὀλίγον χρόνον ἅπαρ γένος αἰεὶ φέρεν τοῦτο ὁ γέρας (Nem. 7,38–40) given by H. LLOYD-JONES («And he ruled briefly in Molossia; but the race ever honours him for that royalty.» JHS 93, 1973, 131), it is clear that the *genos* that honours him must be the Molossians themselves or, more likely, the royal family (cf. LLOYD-JONES: «... the epinikion alludes to the claim of the fifth-century kings of Molossia to be descended from Neoptolemos,» op. cit. 132). Furthermore, on point (ii), there is only one known king of the Molossians before Tharyps (and his regent Sabylinthos), the Greek Admetos, of whom WOODBURY is suspicious (122–123, with no new arguments, only an impressive list of scholars who are, for the most part, uncommitted). Points (iii) and (iv) are scarcely worth considering, since the Macedonians provide a cogent argument against WOODBURY’s view: in the second century after Alexander Philhellene, Demosthenes was still ‘bluntly calling Philip II a barbarian’; and the Macedonians too were excluded from Perikles’ ‘Congress Decree’.

¹¹ Eur. *Andromache* 1243 ff. Justin 17, 3, 11: *Athenas quoque erudiendi gratia missus*. Cf. Thuc. 2, 80, 6: Μολοσσοῦς δὲ ἦγε καὶ Ἀτιντᾶνας Σαβύλινθος ἐπίτροπος ὦν Θάρυπος τοῦ βασιλέως ἔτι παιδὸς ὄντος ... For Tharyps see also Plut. Phyrros 1, 4; he must be identical with the Tharypas of Xen. *Anab.* 2, 6, 28, who was rumoured to have been a lover of Menon of Pharsalos (αὐτὸς δὲ παιδικὰ εἶχε Θαρῦπαν ἀγένειος ὦν γενειῶντα). This not only suits the chronology but also gives, as far as I know, the earliest indication of a bond between their families; for in the last quarter of the fourth century Aiakides, son of Arybbas and Troas, married Phthia, daughter of another Pharsalian Menon (Plut. Phyrros 1, 6; for Menon cf. Plut. Phokion 25, 5; Diod. 18, 38,5–6). See also R. G. KENT, *A History of Thessaly from the earliest times to the accession of Philip V. of Macedonia*, Lancaster, Pa., 1904, 20–21.

For the political background to Euripides’ play see D. S. ROBERTSON, *Euripides and Tharyps*, CR 37, 1923, 58–60; P. T. STEVENS, *Euripides, Andromache*, Oxford 1971, 11–21; cf. Cross 10–13; HAMMOND, *Epirus 505–508*. IG II² 226 (Tod 173) honours Arybbas, his father (Alketas) and his grand-father (Tharyps). This inscription will also account for the goodwill of the Athenian *demos* towards Olympias: Diod. 18, 65, 1–2; Plut. Demetrios 22, 1–2; Mor. 799 E.

¹² Cross 102.

¹³ Tzetzes ad Lycophr. 1439 = Theopompos, FGrHist 115 F 355; see MACURDY, *Hellenistic Queens* (n. 4) 22–23.

ptolemos and his Chaonian bride named Troas, Alexandros and Polyxena (our Olympias). Troas requires no explanation. Alexandros and Polyxena were children of Priam, the brother and sister of Helenos. But what makes Polyxena all the more attractive, and supports Plutarch's claim that this was the first of Olympias' names, is that she was traditionally a love of Achilles, the one who was sacrificed at his tomb.¹⁴

The practice of adopting such names did not end here, but it grew even more popular: Troas married her uncle Arybbas and produced Aiakides, who in turn fathered another Troas, Pyrrhos and Deidameia (also a love of Achilles, and the mother of Pyrrhos-Neoptolemos).¹⁵ Thereafter we find in the Molossian royal family the names Pyrrhos, Neoptolemos, Deidameia, Helenos, Alexandros, even Andromache.¹⁶

(b) *Myrtale*

Some scholars have mistakenly assumed that Myrtale was the original name of Olympias, because they misinterpreted or failed to notice Plutarch's evidence and because Justin 9, 7, 13 says that as a *parvula* she bore the name Myrtale. But, if we concede that Olympias was originally named Polyxena, then we must find an appropriate context for the adoption of the second name, Myrtale. These women did not change their names indiscriminately, whenever it suited their whims, but rather on significant occasions: betrothals, marriages or in connexion with some important event or achievement. One wife of Philip of Macedon, Audata the Illyrian, took the name Eurydike when she married him, and quite possibly Kleopatra did so as well; Audata-Eurydike's grand-daughter, Hadea, took the name when she married Philip-Arrhidaios (Arr. Succ. 1, 23).¹⁷ Others were named for special events: Thessalonike, commemorating Philip's final settlement of Thessaly; Europa, for that man's conquest of Greece; and Kadmeia, Olympia's grand-daughter, so named because her birth coincided with Alexander the Great's destruction of Thebes.¹⁸ Kratesipolis, the daughter-in-law of Polyperchon, was perhaps so called because she reduced Sikyon at the head of her own army (see further below). So, too, I believe that the explanation of the

¹⁴ Eur. *Troiades* 260 ff.; T. W. ALLEN, *Homeri Opera*, vol. 5, Oxford 1912, 108.

¹⁵ See Justin 7, 6, 11 for Troas: ... *Arybba, rege Molossorum, qui sororem Olympiadis Troada in matrimonio habebat* ... For such uncle-niece marriages see also Justin 9, 7, 7; 13, 6, 4; Diod. 16, 91, 4; Livy 8, 24, 17 (Kleopatra and Alexandros of Epeiros); Arr. Succ. 1, 23 (Hadea-Eurydike and Philip-Arrhidaios). For the descendants of Troas and Arybbas: Plut. *Pyrrhos* 1, 5–7.

¹⁶ *Pyrrhos* (Polyainos 8, 52; Polyb. 7, 4); *Deidameia* (Polyainos 8, 52); *Neoptolemos* (Plut. *Pyrrhos* 5); *Helenos* (Plut. *Pyrrhos* 9, 3; 33, 1; 34, 10–11); *Alexandros* (Athen. 3, 73 B; Plut. *Pyrrhos* 9, 3; Front. *Strat.* 3, 4, 5); *Andromache* (IG IV² 122, 60; SIG² 803, 60).

¹⁷ See my: *Kleopatra or Eurydike?*, *Phoenix* 32, 1978, 155–158.

¹⁸ *Kleopatra* and *Alexandros of Epeiros* were married in the summer of 336 B.C. (the occasion of Philip II's death), and *Alexandros* departed in 334 for Italy, where he died. Since he had two children, *Kadmeia* and *Neoptolemos* (Plut. *Pyrrhos* 5; cf. HAMMOND, *Epirus* 560 n. 1, against CROSS 106–107), it is likely that *Kadmeia* was born first (in 335) and named for her uncle's victory in Central Greece.

name Myrtale is to be found in connexion with Olympias' (or, rather, Polyxena's) betrothal to Philip of Macedon.

Our sources say that Philip met her when both were initiated into the cult of the Kabeiroi on Samothrake. Olympias was then very young and an orphan: λέγεται δὲ Φίλιππος ἐν Σαμοθράκῃ τῇ Ὀλυμπιάδι συμμηθεῖς, αὐτὸς τε μειράκιον ὦν ἔτι κάκεινης παιδὸς ὄρφανῆς γονέων, ἐρασθῆναι καὶ τὸν γάμον οὕτως ἀρμόσαι, πείσας τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτῆς Ἀρύββαν (Plut. Alex. 2,2); λέγεταιί ποτε καὶ Ὀλυμπιάδα τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς Ἀλεξάνδρου τόκοις εὐδαίμονα, ὀργιάζουσαν τὰ Καβείρων ἐν Σαμοθράκῃ μυστήρια, ἰδεῖν κατὰ τὴν τελετὴν τὸν Φίλιππον (ἦν δὲ ὑπηνήτης ἔτι), ἰδοῦσάν τε ἐρασθῆναι τοῦ νεανίσκου καὶ ὁμολογῆσαι τὸν γάμον, προτέλειά τε ποιησαμένην τοῦ γαμηλίου πυρὸς τὰ μυστήρια (Himerius ap. Phot. p.367 A, ed. BEKKER). From these passages it is clear that (a) Olympias was still a παῖς (= *parvula*) when she met Philip for the first time; (b) the mysteries of Samothrake provided the setting for their betrothal; and (c) the celebration of the mysteries acted as the introductory rites (προτέλεια) of the wedding-ceremony.¹⁹

Olympias' fanatical devotion to the orgiastic mysteries was almost proverbial, even providing Justin (Pompeius Trogus) with a motive for Philip's estrangement from the women.²⁰ But, while we may doubt that it ever formed the basis of a serious charge of adultery, there is no reason to disbelieve her fondness for snakes or her avid devotion to barbaric cults.²¹ Indeed, Plutarch (Alex. 2, 9) tells us that the women of Macedonia and Thrake were all initiated into Orphic and Dionysiac rites, though Olympias outstripped them in her enthusiasm (ἡ δ' Ὀλυμπιάς μᾶλλον ἐτέρων ζηλώσασα τὰς κατοχάς, καὶ τοὺς ἐνθουσιασμοὺς ἐξάγουσα βαρβαρώτερον).²² To Alexander in Asia she sent the cook Pelnigas, skilled in Bakchic and other rites: οὗτος γὰρ οἶδε τὰ ἱερά σου τὰ πατρῶα πάντα ὄν τρόπον θύεται καὶ τὰ Ἀργαδικὰ καὶ τὰ Βακχι-

¹⁹ For Philip on Samothrake cf. also Curt. 8, 1, 26.

²⁰ Justin 9, 5, 9: *propter stupri suspicionem*; 11, 11, 3: *namque mater eius Olympias confessa viro suo Philippo fuerat, Alexandrum non ex eo se, sed ex serpente ingentis magnitudinis concepisse*. Similar tales were told of Nikoteleia, mother of Aristomenes, and Aristodama, mother of Aratos, both of whom were visited by a god in the form of a snake (Paus. 4, 14, 7).

²¹ Olympias was still at the Court – in fact, Alexander was at the wedding-feast – when Philip married Kleopatra-Eurydike, which rules out any possibility of Olympias' divorce. It is rather a misunderstanding of Attalos' prayer for legitimate heirs that gave rise to any talk of Alexander's illegitimacy. Attalos was clearly distinguishing between children of Macedonian and Epeiroi women. See A. B. BOSWORTH, Philip II and Upper Macedonia, CQ n.s. 21, 1971, 102. On the foolishness of the charge that Olympias committed adultery with a serpent see also Lukian, Alex. 7 and Gellius, NA 6, 1, 1. Cf. also Olympias' witty reply to Alexander («Stop accusing me before Hera») in Plut. Alex. 3, 4; Gellius, NA 13, 4, 1–3. For Olympias' snakes Plut. Alex. 2, 9, 3, 2.

²² In general see A. HENRICHs, Greek Maenadism from Olympias to Messalina, HSPH 82, 1978, 121–160; H. JEANMAIRE, Dionysos: Histoire du culte de Bacchus, Paris 1970, 404; R. SCHNEIDER (n. 1) 7. The mistress of Philotas, Antigone, was captured on Samothrake where she had presumably gone to take part in the mysteries; see Plut. Alex. 48, 4; Mor. 339 D–F; BERVE (n. 3) vol. 2, 42 no. 86.

κα, ὅσα τε Ὀλυμπιάς προϋέται οὗτος οἶδεν (Athen. 14,659F).²³ And even late in her life, according to Duris of Samos (ap. Athen. 13, 560F = FGrHist 76 F 52), who doubtless over-dramatises the episode, Olympias led her army to war in Bakchic fashion (ἐν ᾧ τὴν μὲν [sc. Ὀλυμπιάδα] βακχικώτερον μετὰ τυμπάνων προελθεῖν). In short, her life-history reveals an obsession with orgiastic cult (often wrongly equated with lax sexual morals) from her tender years until the year of her death.²⁴

In many basic elements the cults of Dionysos, Orpheus, Demeter and the Kabeiroi have a striking similarity.²⁵ But perhaps the most obvious of the trappings of these cults is the use of garlands or wreaths of ivy or myrtle. Myrtle was especially common where fertility-rites were concerned. Hence it was also famous for its associations with Aphrodite and as a euphemism for both male and female genitalia.²⁶ In the case of Olympias and Samothrake it is of particular interest, if we accept that the initiation into the mysteries formed the *proteleia* of her marriage-rites (her betrothal to Philip II): «brides wore myrtle for what was to come on the wedding night, and afterwards ...»²⁷ I suggest that the young Polyxena now took the appropriate (derivative) name Myrtale either as a part of her initiation into the mysteries or – what I find more attractive – as the name connected with her betrothal and marriage.²⁸

(c) *Olympias*

Of the two remaining names, one has already been explained satisfactorily by G. MACURDY, the other seems entirely obvious. First Olympias. Tradition recorded that on the very day that Philip of Macedon captured Potidaia he received three messages: his general, Parmenion, had conquered the Illyrians; his horses had been victorious at the Olympic games; his wife had given birth to a son. The synchronism of these events, like the story that the temple of Artemis at Ephesos was destroyed by fire on Alexan-

²³ A. M. ZUMETIKOS, *De Alexandri Olympiadisque Epistularum fontibus et reliquiis*, Berlin 1904, 140–141. For Pelignas, BERVE (n. 3), vol. 2, 312, no. 625.

²⁴ On this point see MACURDY, *Hellenistic Queens* 23.

²⁵ See particularly C. KERÉNYI, *Eleusis: Archetypal Image of Mother and Daughter*, London 1967, 154–155; also G. MYLONAS, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries*, Princeton 1969, *passim*; L. R. FARNELL, *The Cults of the Greek States*, vol. 3, Oxford 1907, 29 ff.

²⁶ See Photios s.v. μύρτον and LSJ s.vv. μύρρινον, μύρτον. Cf. also Plut. *Mor.* 268E for «Venus Myrtia» Hence prostitutes were commonly called Myrrhine (Athen. 13, 567F. 590C. 593A; cf. Plut. *Mor.* 849D), Myrtion (Lukian p. 281–283; Athen. 13, 576F) and Myrtale (Lukian p. 319–322), though this does not preclude the use of the name by women of the middle and upper class (cf. KIRCHNER, PA 10480–10489 s.v. Μυρρίνη; 10492–10493 s.v. Μυρτάλη; cf. J. and L. ROBERT, *Bull. epigr.* 1969, no. 432 [p. 199]); cf. Myrto (Athen. 13, 555F). Similarly the name Phila belonged to prostitutes (Athen. 13, 587E. 590D) and aristocratic women (Athen. 6, 255C; Diod. 18, 18, 7; 19, 59, 3–6; Plut. *Demetr.* *passim*).

²⁷ GEOFFREY GRIGSON, *The Goddess of Love*, London 1976, 195.

²⁸ For the derivative names see W. PAPE and G. BENSELER, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*, vol. 2, Braunschweig 1911 (repr. Graz 1959), 960–961. 963–964.

der's birthday, is suspect.²⁹ Alexander was born on the sixth day of the Macedonian month Loios (about July 20) and the Olympic games were probably held in late August of 356.³⁰ Nevertheless, Philip was apparently so taken by this summer of successes that, as MACURDY suggests, he commemorated his Olympic triumph by renaming his queen Olympias: a victory at Olympia and an heir.³¹

(d) *Stratonike*

Stratonike, as noted above, has been regarded by those who have cared to comment on it as one of Olympias' maiden-names. This seems unlikely. In the first place, Plutarch (Mor. 401A–B) places Stratonike last in a series of names that appear to be in chronological order. Secondly, it does not seem to me at all likely that Olympias had three maiden-names before she married in her mid-to-late teens, or that she took a name that (a) has no tradition in the family's nomenclature (indeed it is Macedonian rather than Epeiros) and (b) cannot be explained in terms of any known event in her life before 357 B.C.³² Thirdly, there is one appropriate (and, as I think, obvious) context for the name, one that suits Plutarch's sequence.

In 317/6 B.C. Olympias had been entrusted by Polyperchon, the regent, with the care of her grandson Alexander IV (Alexander's son by Rhoxane). Supported by her nephew Aiakides, she led an army to Euia in Macedonia, where she was opposed by Hadea-Eurydike and an army made up of the pro-Kassandros faction. A sober account of the proceedings is found in Diodoros (19, 11; cf. Justin 14, 5, 1–2. 9–10), but Duris of Samos (ap. Athen. 13, 560F) depicted it as a war of women: «The first war of two women was between Olympias and Eurydike.»³³ By virtue of her reputation and importance as the widow of Philip II and the mother of Alexander the Great, Olympias induced many of Eurydike's followers to desert, and she won an overwhelming victory. Now she took her fourth and last name, to commemorate the victory that was implicit in the name Stratonike. Some years later the wife of Polyperchon's son, Alexandros, would adopt the name Kratesipolis («City-conqueror»), after taking the city of Sikyon at the head of her late husband's army.³⁴ By that name she

²⁹ Plut. Alex. 3, 8; cf. Justin 12, 16, 6; according to Plut. Mor. 105A–B Philip prayed for some moderate misfortune to off-set this streak of good luck.

³⁰ J. R. HAMILTON, *Plutarch, Alexander: A Commentary*, Oxford 1969, 7.

³¹ MACURDY, *Hellenistic Queens* 24: «The name Olympias appears for the first time as a proper name as a name of this queen, and it is probable that the former Myrtale or Stratonice or Polyxene was now called by this name of good omen for herself and her son.»

³² For Stratonike see PAPE-BENSELER (n. 28) 1446; the name occurs in the Macedonian royal house (Thuc. 2, 101, 6; a sister of Perdikkas II).

³³ I do not see why N. G. L. HAMMOND, *GRBS* 19, 1978, 336, thinks that the Eurydike of the Duris-fragment is Audata, Hadea's grandmother.

³⁴ So HOFFMANN, *Die Makedonen* (n. 6) 219: «Ihr Geburtsname wäre dann hinter diesem Beinamen ganz zurückgetreten.» G. MACURDY, *The Political Activities and the Name of Kratesipolis*, *AJPh* 50, 1929, 273 ff., argues that the name was common in the north and was the woman's

became famous. But Olympias died in 316 and the name Stratonike with her. She has been remembered by the name that she held for the longest time and in the most important years of her life.³⁵

original name. But nicknames did not necessarily have to be unusual names (as Plutarch shows), and it must seem somewhat surprising that a woman who captured the city of Sikyon just happened to be named Kratesipolis.

³⁵ I thank my colleague BARRY BALDWIN for several helpful criticisms; I am also grateful to W. J. SLATER for his suggestions concerning Pindar and IG.