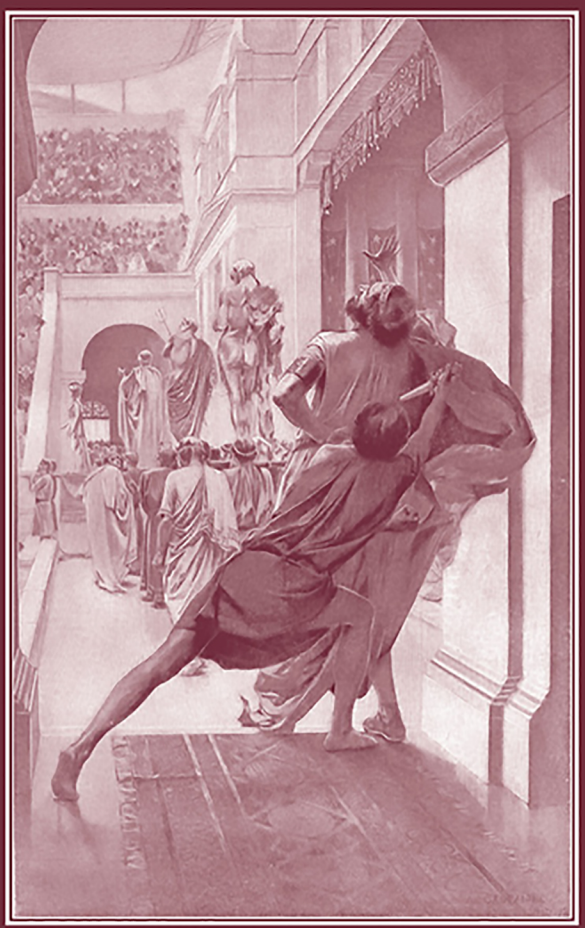
KING AND COURT IN ANCIENT MACEDONIA

Rivalry, Treason and Conspiracy



Elizabeth Carney

King and Court in Ancient Macedonia

Rivalry, Treason and Conspiracy

Elizabeth Donnelly Carney

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The Classical Press of Wales, an independent venture, was founded in 1993, initially to support the work of classicists and ancient historians in Wales and their collaborators from further afield. More recently it has published work initiated by scholars internationally. While retaining a special loyalty to Wales and the Celtic countries, the Press welcomes scholarly contributions from all parts of the world.

The symbol of the Press is the Red Kite. This bird, once widespread in Britain, was reduced by 1905 to some five individuals confined to a small area known as 'The Desert of Wales' – the upper Tywi valley. Geneticists report that the stock was saved from terminal inbreeding by the arrival of one stray female bird from Germany. After much careful protection, the Red Kite now thrives – in Wales and beyond.

For Emma,
even though she wasn't around for the first ones

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INTRODUCTION

This is a collection of previously published articles of mine, articles that appeared over a nearly thirty year period, between 1980 and 2009, each followed by a brief essay updating bibliography and generally reconsidering the issues raised in the individual article. I have created a common notation and bibliography for the collection but, apart from this standardization of notation and spelling, correction of typos, and occasional superficial additions for clarification, I have not substantially changed the original text of these articles. As the title indicates, this collection focuses on Macedonian monarchy and the Macedonian elite.

Though I am very grateful to Anton Powell for giving me the opportunity to create this collection (and for his advice along the way), putting this compilation of past work together has proved a more complicated, interesting, and occasionally dispiriting task than, before I began, I would have guessed. Certainly, reconsideration of the topics of these articles has made me very conscious of how much academic work, mine and that of others, is the product of specific personal and intellectual moments.

The earliest articles included here, revised cuts from my 1975 dissertation on Alexander the Great and the Macedonian Aristocracy, were written before I had a computer and yet (thanks to the hard work of the Clemson history department staff) these texts became computerized; it was eerie (as in an alternate version of the past) to see a manuscript created on a typewriter reemerge in Microsoft Word and yet at the same time hard to resist changing things. The reappearance of those early texts proved oddly compelling but also a touch disorienting. I found myself recalling dinners with friends, and then my husband, and later my daughter as well, celebrating the publication of each article (which article was it that marked my first sighting of arugula on a South Carolina menu?).

Naturally, these publications enabled my progress from instructor to assistant professor, to associate, to professor, and finally to a named chair. As I reread these articles and rethought the issues they raised, I reflected on the nature of an academic career, at least as I experienced it in the U.S. in this past generation, and how the need to publish quickly in order to acquire tenure and promotion colored what I said and how much I revised to please an individual reader. These days, I'm often the reader who calls the tune (I see the wisdom of choosing people who have published on the

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same topic as the readers of a manuscript submitted for publication – what else to do – but I do worry about the effect of the dead hand of the past, including my own aging hand.) I did not find it easy to publish work that disagreed with received opinion and, different though current received opinion may be, I suspect that untenured scholars currently attempting major publication feel much the same.

It mattered that I am a woman, the first woman in my history department to be offered a tenure track job (1973) and for a number of years the only woman in the Anglophone world regularly publishing on the political history of ancient Macedonia. Because this collection focuses on the Macedonian court and its dynamics, most articles included deal only briefly or peripherally with royal women, though a great deal of my other work has examined the role of royal women in Argead and Hellenistic monarchy. In many respects, however, my work on royal women has shaped and colored my understanding of Macedonian monarchy and court politics and the reverse. Like many female classicists of my generation, I became interested in the "new" study of the role of women in the ancient world. Then, when I began to examine Olympias' career, I discovered an entire category of people and activities that had either been ignored or, more often, trivialized. Being the only woman in the room (often literally, apart from, perhaps, the ghost of Grace Harriet Macurdy),[1] whether that room was the site of a department meeting or an academic conference, occasionally turned out to be an advantage, but more often was the reverse. But the academic world of the seventies is long gone. Now I have a host of female colleagues and many more women work in various aspects of Greek and Macedonian political history, though political history (for all periods and cultures) remains a more masculine field of endeavor than many others.

As I began to publish, Ernst Badian reigned supreme in scholarship about a field still understood as "Alexander history."[2] True, his demolition of W. W. Tarn's implausibly noble king, the man who never had sex with anyone he shouldn't and didn't kill anyone at all, unless they deserved it, the fellow who conquered the world to generate universal brotherhood,[3] had commenced in 1958,[4] but such was Tarn's impact on both scholarly and popular culture, particularly in the English-speaking world, that it was well into the 1980s before Tarn's country gentleman disappeared from encyclopedias and western civilization texts. Badian's well-written and well-argued articles made compelling reading, primarily, I think, because they understood power (and Alexander) as sinister. Some time passed before I consciously realized that the problem with Badian's view was that he usually found only Alexander sinister and paranoid; his Alexander

conspired constantly but Badian did not really believe that much of anyone else did. Waldemar Heckel's work recognized this phenomenon sooner than others (I include myself) did.[5] I interpret the Macedonian elite as generally conspiratorial; this is a view that allows them agency as well as Alexander and recognizes what certainly seems to have been a widespread not simply royal interest in "whacking" as a way to resolve political problems.

In a way, experiencing a world in which, for a time, Hitler threatened to reign supreme, enabled Badian to see that Tarn's emperor had no clothes, but at the same time, it inspired a tendency in him to find parallels to the dictator where there were none. Hitler's "reign of terror" was in many respects unique. Historical writing has suffered from the insistence on parallels when really no one was very like Hitler (not even Stalin). A. B. Bosworth's works of political history, though painting a picture of Alexander that is nearly as sinister as that of Badian, focused on Alexander's painful impact on the peoples he encountered on campaign,[6] whereas Badian was primarily, though hardly exclusively, interested in internal Macedonian political dynamics. Of course, not everyone found Badian's view compelling; N. G. L. Hammond[7] and R. Lane Fox[8] produced a series of books and articles which preserved a more heroic, if less air-brushed Alexander and, in Hammond's case, an implausibly tidy version of how Macedonian monarchy worked.

A tremendous increase in information about Macedonia has enabled scholars not only to understand Alexander's Macedonian context, but also to engage in Macedonian history, not simply Alexander history. Hammond's multi-volume histories of Macedonia, with their consistent concern with material as well as political history, played a central role in this development.[9] Until 1977, nonetheless, Macedonian archaeology was underfunded and remained little known and was often ignored by political historians who continued to concentrate on Alexander. In November of 1977 M. Andronikos, excavating the Great Tumulus at Vergina, uncovered two tombs (and the next year a third), tombs he soon announced were royal and one of which (Tomb II), by late November of 1977, he pronounced to be that of Philip II, father of Alexander the Great. It would be difficult to overestimate the impact of his discoveries on the study of ancient Macedonia, archaeology in Greece, and modern politics in the Balkans.[10] The Vergina finds, further publicized by an exhibit, including many objects from the tombs and elsewhere in Macedonia, that toured internationally,[11] generated both popular and scholarly discussion,[12] and an immense surge in archaeological work everywhere in Greek Macedonia. Tourism to Macedonia increased significantly. After Yugoslavia fragmented and the Former Yugolav Republic of Macedonia came into existence, the

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material from the Vergina tombs, particularly the "Vergina star" that appeared on several items in the tombs, became part of nationalist political strife between Greece and FYROM.

Almost from the start, some scholars did not accept Andronikos' conclusion that Philip II had been interred in the main chamber of Tomb II and preferred, if they accepted Andronikos' conclusion that Tombs I, II and III were royal, to understand the male in the main chamber as Philip Arrhidaeus III (Philip II's son and Alexander's half-brother) and the woman interred in the antechamber of Tomb II as Adea Eurydice (wife of Philip Arrhidaeus and granddaughter of Philip II). Though the controversy has endured and produced a bibliography of vast length and Byzantine argumentation (see Hatzopoulos 2008 and Borza and Palagia 2007 for overviews of the dispute, with opposing conclusions), the basis for both these identifications has changed over time. (See further discussions in chapters four and five and the afterword of each.)

A number of factors have contributed to the persistence of the controversy. Four different scholars or sets of scholars (Xirotiris and Langenscheidt 1981; Musgrave and Musgrave *et al.* 1985, 1991, 2010; Bartsiokas 2000; Antikas 2014a, 2014b) have examined the bones of the male (and some of them also examined those of the woman in the antechamber, as well as the remains in Tombs I and III). These examinations have produced general agreement on the age of the male in Tomb II but disagreement about whether or not the bones offer conclusive evidence for Philip's eye injury.

New findings have altered some initial arguments, if not their conclusions. Those who believed that Philip II was the occupant initially assumed that Cleopatra, his last married wife, had accompanied him to the afterlife, but subsequently came to prefer Meda, his penultimate wife. In 2014, returning to a suggestion of Hammond's, Antikas argued that the woman in the tomb was the daughter of a Scythian king, primarily because he concluded that this woman was nearly ten years older than previous estimates of her age at death. Also in 2014, Antikas announced that, in Tomb I at Vergina, he had found the remains of five more individuals, in addition to the three individuals previously recognized. The excavation of the "Tomb of Amphipolis" began in August of 2014 and, because the tumulus in which it was inserted was considerably larger than the Great Tumulus at Vergina, the new tomb has complicated consideration of what might be considered distinctively royal in Macedonian burials. (See further discussion and references in chapters four and five and their afterwords.)

The dispute about the identity of those buried in Tomb II at Vergina literally compelled political historians to engage with material evidence

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from ancient Macedonia, if only in the context of argument about the identity of the dead. This engagement has had consequences. Despite the fact that, almost from the start, some scholars did not accept Andronikos' belief that Philip II was the occupant of tomb II at Vergina, the discovery of the tombs generated much greater attention for Philip II and his role in transforming Macedonian monarchy.[13] Hammond, who had argued not long before the discovery of the tombs, that Vergina was ancient Aegae, the older capital of Macedonia,[14] had, as we have seen, built a foundation in material history for understanding ancient Macedonia. Borza's history of Argead Macedonia[15] not only paid more attention to Philip than to Alexander, but included a long chapter on the material culture of Macedonia that consistently attempted to put Macedonia's political history in the context of its material culture. As a result of these developments, by the end of the 1970s I had begun to think of myself as a Macedonian historian, not as an Alexander historian. I found myself less and less interested in Alexander himself and more and more intrigued by the culture and monarchic institutions that had produced him.

Despite the continuing accumulation of vast amounts of archaeological information, Zosia Archibald recently complained that historians of Macedonia do not pay enough attention to relevant material culture evidenced from archaeology.[16] She's probably right. Miller Collet, Palagia, Barr-Sharrar, Saatsoglou-Paliadeli, Cohen, Schultz, Franks,[17] art historians and archaeologists, have all produced work relevant to political history. Archibald herself, Nicgorski, and Castor[18] have employed Macedonian objects, largely jewelry, to reach conclusions about Macedonia of interest to political historians.

The reasons why the majority of political historians have paid relatively little attention to material history are many. The bitter controversy about identity of the occupants of the royal tombs has frightened people off and left them without a clear chronological context that would help in any effort they might make to employ a broader field of evidence; Archibald is comfortable with "long-term cultural patterns"[19] whereas political historians can be less so. The long delay in full publication of much of the material from the Vergina tombs (and other Macedonian archaeological material, despite the now comparatively rapid appearance of annual reports on archaeological work in Macedonia and Thrace)[20] certainly contributes. Archaeological publication from sites around Macedonia appears in Greek and far fewer ancient historians have good modern Greek than archaeologists. Access, despite the vast improvements the electronic world has brought, to these journals is not easy. No universal system of numbering has developed for Macedonian-type tombs.

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Since the 1970s, the ethnicity of Macedonians ancient and modern has increasingly been contested, sometimes in ways that play into how we read political history and material culture. It is not simply a question of whether Athenians thought the Macedonians were Greeks or barbarians or whether the Macedonians thought of themselves as Greek (the answer to both questions is probably sometimes yes, sometimes no). I find Jonathan Hall's views particularly persuasive in this area.[21] Nor is it just a problem about language; little of ancient Macedonian survives, but it appears to be a Greek dialect, albeit with non-Greek elements.[22] Language, however, is simply one possible ingredient in the construction of ethnic identity.

Just as problematic as these abstract issues is the problem of how to talk about Macedonians and the culture in relation to other Greek and non-Greek cultures. For instance, the most important monarch of Macedonia before Philip II was surely Alexander I, known since at least the second century AD as "Alexander Philhellene."[23] Can one be philhellenic if one is Hellenic? Perhaps,[24] but more worrisome is how to refer to the policy of Argead kings that involved the importation of intellectuals and artists from elsewhere in the Greek world. Are those kings "Hellenizers"? Often, but not always, the usage really signifies that they are Atticizers. Our students have problems with the idea that Athenians are Greeks but not all Greeks are Athenians, but they aren't the only ones. The world described in the Homeric poems was of vital importance to Macedonian culture, particularly that of the kings and the elite and yet, somehow, Homericizing is rarely understood as an aspect of Hellenizing but rather as a different category entirely. The observant reader will note that I often speak of "southern Greece" in a way that includes Athens, though from a physical geographic point of view, it is located in central Greece. I prefer this region-specific terminology because it looks at the peninsula, at least politically, from the point of view of Macedonians. Moreover, there are times when ancient Macedonian ways seem simply a subset of broader Greek patterns and other times when they seem distinctive or more similar to the practices of peoples to their north.

When I first started reading scholarship about Macedonia and Alexander, scholars spoke of "orientals" in Alexander's army or government or of his "orientalizing" policy.[25] Nobody, especially not post Edward Said, uses that term anymore, one that used to refer to adoption (by Philip II, Alexander, the Successors) of some aspects of non-Greek (usually Persian or Egyptian) customs, often ones connected with the tradition of monarchy in these regions. Lane Fox's early work[26] paid new attention to the intersection of Macedonian and Near-Eastern culture. Pierre Briant, who began his career examining matters Macedonian,[27] has played a large role in our vastly

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expanded knowledge of the Persian Empire and the survival of many of its practices (and peoples) long after the empire's political demise.[28] Thanks to his efforts and those of many other scholars,[29] we now have a better understanding of the traditions and symbols of Persian monarchy (and its implementation of aspects of much earlier monarchies in the region).

This in turn has led to a host of readings of Macedonian culture and kingship as profoundly influenced by Persian culture, particularly in the reigns of Philip II and Alexander.[30] Our extant sources understand Alexander to have Persianized and the Macedonians not to have liked it, but Kienast[31] was the first to argue that Philip II in a very general way recreated his court on an Achaemenid model. It's undeniable that Macedonians and Persians had a long history of contact: Macedonia had once been part of the Persian Empire – Alexander I fought on the Persian side in the Persian War – and there were personal and diplomatic contacts of many sorts (at least one royal daughter married a Persian and elite Persians spent lengthy exiles in Philip's court) and Macedonian material culture certainly includes objects that imitate Persian models. This shared history means that dating the adoption of Persian custom is difficult because influence was continuous if, perhaps, more intense at some periods than others and greeted at some times and by some groups with more hostility than at others. More worrying is the assumption – central to Kienast's arguments – that similarity of custom or practice demonstrates influence. Similarity demonstrates only similarity,[32] though Persian monarchy was an obvious model for an ambitious Macedonian king to follow.[33]

But even if one agrees that Macedonian kings knowingly began to do certain things because Persians did them, neither Alexander nor Philip nor any of the Successors wholesale traded off their own customs for those of the other culture; they apparently picked and chose some features and not others.[34] We cannot always tell if they understood the meaning in Persian culture of what they were borrowing. As has now been widely recognized, Macedonia borrowed from many cultures around the Aegean and the result was an eclectic civilization.[35]

Alexander, of course, destroyed the Persian Empire. He and the Successors dealt with many people who had been important in running the Achaemenid enterprise, but as the centuries passed, less and less was known of what it had been like. By the time most of our surviving sources on the reigns of Philip and Alexander wrote, the empire had been gone for five centuries. Consequently, Roman era authors may have misunderstood customs and actions that would have been far more comprehensible to fourth- and third-century Macedonians, and our sources may also have been more inclined to understand events in terms of the

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hackneyed Greek-versus-barbarian stereotypes than were fourth century Macedonians and more inclined to interpret them in the context of Roman issues, experiences, and conflicts.[36]

Until recently people did not think much about the Roman (mostly imperial, Diodorus apart) date of our major narrative sources for Philip's and Alexander's era. Everyone who wrote about the period knew these narratives had been composed during the Empire, but despite work on Roman views of Alexander, scholars largely ignored uncomfortable questions about how Roman experience and culture might have shaped the image of Alexander, Philip, and the Macedonians which generally is preserved in extant accounts. There was even less recognition of the possible effect of Greek high (and low) culture during the period, generally referred to as the Second Sophistic. Many of my older articles, for instance, simply sort "Greek" versus "Roman" sources, yet Plutarch was not Greek in the same way Demosthenes or Aristotle was Greek. It's not just that Plutarch was Roman too, but that the Second Sophistic generated a sense of Hellenic culture and values that was quite different from, and sometimes at odds with, those of the late Classical and early Hellenistic period, especially as Macedonians experienced it.[37] Tarn loved Plutarch and Arrian and no wonder; there is much about their mindset that resembles late Victorian values, particularly in matters sexual. Once one recognizes how much of written material about Alexander is in some sense a Roman construct, what is one to do?

D. Spencer, author of *The Roman Alexander: Reading a Cultural Myth*,[38] is, after all a Roman historian, so her constructed Alexander is a Roman one, on the very good grounds that the sources are as I've described them. But what if, as I am, one is interested in Macedonian and Greek culture? I'm not just worrying about the old-fashioned notion that we can recover what "really" happened in ways other than fairly literal and basic, but also about the understanding of "Alexander" as a Roman construct that tends to privilege Roman over Greek or Macedonian or even Asian constructs. I'll give an example. Mary Beard, in her review, suggests that Alexander's extreme grief over Hephaestion, the hugely expensive funeral pyre he had built for him, and his heroization of him might have been a creation of Arrian (7.14.1–10), using Hadrian's grief over Antinous and his deification of him as a model, rather than the reverse. But Diodorus (117.110.8), Plutarch (*Alex.* 72.1–4), and Justin (12.12.11–12) all give accounts of Alexander's profound grief and expensive funerary commemoration for Hephaestion, and Diodorus' version (though short, it mentions the intensity of his grief and the magnificence of the funeral) can hardly be modeled on Hadrian. This construction, whose ever it is, predates Hadrian.

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Moreover, if Kottaridi is right about the astonishingly elaborate funeral pyre houses created for Tomb II at Vergina and the "Eurydice" tomb, then some material confirmation exists that elite Macedonians might have done something like this.[39]

What we have in these various texts may or may not bear a resemblance to the funeral preparations Alexander actually made, but it appears to be a Hellenistic construct, possibly then further altered by various later Roman authors. Alexander's behavior, varying with accounts, clearly recalls, as long been recognized, that of Achilles at the death of Patroclus (*Il.* 23.35–286). Indeed, his behavior on a number of occasions, as reported in multiple sources, appeared to imitate the behavior of his supposed ancestor. The many ways in which elite and royal Macedonian funerary customs mimic, one might almost say slavishly, those described by Homer (see also *Il.* 24.782–804) suggests that the funerary behavior of Alexander may have had an "author" earlier than the Roman period, namely Alexander himself,[40] a view that does not deny subsequent modulation in narrative by authors of the Roman era.[41]

Insisting on interpreting our textual Alexander as a Roman creation not only privileges Roman culture over Graeco-Macedonian, it also privileges text over actor and seems to deny that Philip II or Alexander (or other figures of importance such as Olympias or Antipater) any agency at all and certainly fails to recognize their own self construction,[42] something for which there is contemporary evidence (e.g. the Philippeum),[43] confirmed and duplicated by assorted Hellenistic kings. Philip and Alexander themselves were the first texts.

Indeed, particularly since the turn of the twenty first century, an understanding has developed of Argead and Hellenistic monarchy as staged by kings and other members of their families who in effect played (or constructed) "themselves" via images and structures,[44] rituals, costumes, procession and significant public behavior and gestures. Philip II, as Spawforth realized, was an "impresario of monarchy."[45] Excavators now believe that the theater and palace at Aegae/Vergina were built as a complex[46] by Philip II who died in a procession entering that theater (Diodorus 16.92.5–93.3). Scholars from many disciplines have commented on the general theatricality of Macedonian culture,[47] as demonstrated by its physical remains, including its tombs and palaces often displaying illusionistic facades, stage sets for ceremony and ritual.[48] If the current excavators are right, the palace at Aegae (which they now understand as space intended largely for public actions and entertainment, for royal display and not a building used for domestic space)[49] was itself a stage set (and its façade much resembled the palace backdrop of theaters),

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constructed by Philip II (or Cassander if you prefer the traditional later date) on which he played the role of king.

Our extant texts provide us with descriptions of behavior that sound melodramatic and theatrical but rather than being simply constructs of our sources (which they surely are in part), they may also and perhaps primarily have been scenes consciously created by the main actors, under the influence of Homer or tragedy. How would, for instance, Olympias, knowingly facing her death, have acted? I consider it possible that she played the tragic queen just as she was becoming one, as did Adea Eurydice, and Arsinoë II.[50]

None of this, of course, vitiates the truth that our surviving literary texts about actors Macedonian are the end result of an unknowable series of accretions (often from sources we don't know about) and deletions; the story of Philip II and Alexander and their entourages was from the beginning a kind of interactive Romance (one of the many reasons why I've never wanted to compose a "biography" of Alexander). Traditional *Quellenforschung* is too linear to analyze the kinds of phenomenon I have been discussing. While I swear a solemn oath never again to say "as Arrian reports" or "as Plutarch reveals" but, instead, to listen for the Roman resonances in our Roman-era sources, I believe that we should also pay attention to the assorted other agendas that shaped these same sources.

Plutarch and Arrian were contemporaries with some shared values, but considerably different ones as well and certainly they wrote to different purposes. Moreover, with Plutarch anyway, one can tell that at times that the genre in which he writes or the purpose of a particular piece changes the image of Alexander and others that he constructs. Thus Olympias is bad, bad and always interfering in Plutarch's life of Alexander, but in the *Moralia*, she is far more likeable and easy going.[51] Even more striking is a story Plutarch tells a number of times in which Alexander is to be admired for instructing his father in correct kingly behavior (and Philip clearly to be condemned) but in one case Plutarch reverses the roles of father and son and Philip is in the right and instructing his son.[52] Which one is the Roman Alexander, or for that matter, Plutarch's Alexander or Philip? How much did versions of the Romance affect our conventional literary sources?

Perhaps the most vexing aspect of our need to listen to the Roman character of our sources is the question of political influence, particularly influence of a fairly literal sort, like the example Beard imagined regarding Hadrian and Antinous. Most often, the issue is whether the character, actions, and policy of the emperor at the time the author wrote has shaped the portrait of Alexander or Macedonian monarchy or army behavior.[53] Such readings can move easily from the subtle and convincing to the

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reductive, transforming the narratives of Curtius or Arrian as a kind of "roman à clef" in which Alexander is Tiberius or Domitian or whoever.[54] On the other hand, that Arrian or Curtius sometimes overtly understand the behavior of the Macedonian army on the basis of what they have seen or read about the Roman army or interpret what is correct or not for a king to do or say on the basis of what Roman emperors do or say, seems to me interesting – unless one assumes there could be a narrative without a point of view – and sometimes useful, but only if I can be confident that I have a rough sense of what that point of view is.

When writing about Macedonian mutiny, I was intrigued by an article by R. W. Messer published after World War I, in 1920, about Roman mutinies in which the author revealed that he had begun to rethink Roman mutiny in 1914 as World War I commenced (apparently leading him to read texts again in the light of his contemporary experience). He deduced that mutiny in the Roman army was widespread, contrary to "modern" belief in the perfection of Roman discipline, paralleling this "myth" about an ancient army to the destruction of the myth about the perfection of discipline in armies of his own day, presumably because of the many mutinies on the Western Front.[55] So often with ancient authors, we lack exactly this sort of specific chronological information and so can't tell which emperor and which political scenario our authors might be channeling or, for that matter, trying hard to avoid.

Traditionally, the Alexander Romance in its many western and eastern versions, was not taken seriously as a source for the reign of Alexander or that of Philip (with exceptions being made for particular incidents), though its origins go back to a period soon after Alexander's death and some versions clearly incorporate knowledge relevant to the monarchies of Egypt and Asia. Our conventional sources inevitably had encountered the Romance in various forms but scholars have rarely faced up to how much the Romance may have influenced our "respectable" literary sources. Once one has read a number of anecdotes about Alexander, Philip, or Macedonians generally in Plutarch's essays or in Athenaeus, one's confidence in the existence of a great distinction between the Romance and the other narratives begins to erode. To some degree, we have privileged writing considered in recent generations a production of "high culture" over that we saw as "low", and have consequently overlooked the interactions of various literary traditions.[56] The collection of essays edited by Stoneman, Erickson, and Netton on the Romance in the East is a sign that the role of the Romance has begun to change, but much more work will doubtless be done.[57]

If the recognition that our literary sources about Macedonia should

always be read with the era of their production in mind has both illuminated but complicated thinking about power and its institutions in Macedonia, the growing interest among Hellenistic historians in court studies, a sub-discipline that has its beginnings, though hardly all its development, in the work of Norbert Elias on court life and style in early modern Europe, has proved a less complicated blessing, though it too has its problems or limitations.[58] Unlike most theoretical approaches, this one's origins in the study of a particular place and time can produce over-universalist statements; monarchies are not all alike and not always similar, though they often are. Taking the court studies approach has the great advantage of understanding monarchy as collective enterprise, if one usually dominated by the king, with "negotiation of power" functioning as a useful and to me reasonable catch phrase.[59] In many ways, this interpretation meshes easily with the way political historians had begun to understand Macedonian monarchy as absolute in the abstract, but in practice limited by the actions of others at court and in the dynasty.[60] Court studies is also an approach that helps to explain the role of royal women at various Macedonian courts and how integral were activities such as drinking and hunting to the workings of a court and why conspiracies tended to develop. While Argead and Hellenistic courts were hardly identical enterprises, and certainly not at all periods, papers I hear or read using a court studies approach, but looking at other monarchies, often are helpfully suggestive. Conferences hosted or co-hosted by the two current centers or institutes for the study of the Hellenistic World – University of Edinburgh's "Hellenistic Court" in February of 2011 and University of Waterloo (along with McGill University) "Seleucid Royal Women" in February of 2013 – have proved stimulating, as much because of approaches I hear and reject in terms of Macedonian history as for ones that seem more applicable. There are limits – I cannot but think you'll find an inner and outer court if you assume they are there to be found – but, at the same time, it is a helpful way to think about familiar material, articulated in our sources in a particularist way.

Despite the publication of a series of attacks against it, it seems to me that the field with which this collection deals has changed considerably. James Davidson's famous, often hilarious, and outrageously partisan 2001 review (nominally) of A.B. Bosworth's and E. J. Baynham's collection of articles, *Alexander the Great in Fact and Fiction*, portrayed what he termed "Alexanderland scholarship" as completely traditional, mired in *Quellenforschung*, and generally sunk in pedestrian, non post-modern worries about what really happened. Davidson wanted the objects of his condemnation to pay more attention to the intersection of sexuality and

politics at court.[61] In 2011 Beard[62] reviewed six "Alexander" books (though only two were literally about Alexander) she considered part of the "Alexander industry," argued that more attention needed to be paid to the Roman date of most of the sources on Alexander, and concluded that Davidson's views remained valid. In 2014 Hugh Bowden, reviewing a wide range of books, embraced Davidson's "Alexanderland" terminology, this time faulting the supposed field for not paying enough attention to the Near Eastern aspect of Alexander's reign and to Near Eastern sources and to the eastern and western versions of the Alexander Romance.

What is that field these reviewers excoriated? Is it an academic field at all? As Bowden conceded,[63] publishers seem ever willing to produce books on Alexander, but is the study of one man's career a valid construct for an entire academic area, however popular books of virtually any sort on Alexander remain? As I have already observed, I no longer think of myself as an Alexander historian; today I describe myself as a historian of ancient Macedonia and that, increasingly, is how many people think who write about the impact of Macedonia, its kings and elite, its material culture. (Though Brill published a handbook on Alexander in 2003,[64] Blackwell in 2010[65] and Brill in 2011 came[66] out with handbooks on ancient Macedonia.) It's not an accident that surprisingly few "biographies" of Alexander have been written by people who regularly publish work about Macedonian history.

One could argue that the reviewers revived a dead horse in order to beat it. Intriguingly, the very topics or areas whose absence each reviewer noted had already begun to be examined more seriously by the time the reviews appeared. Daniel Ogden's book on royal polygamy (1999) and his (2011) *Alexander the Great: Myth, Genesis and Sexuality*[67] deal with sexuality and its manipulation and construction, in the context of ancient Macedonia. The first of these books was published (in Britain), before Davidson's review, as was (in the U.S.) my own *Women in Monarchy*.[68] Spencer published her monograph on the Roman qualities of Alexander sources in 2002,[69] whereas Beard's review did not appear until 2011. Sabine Müller's *Alexander, Makedonien und Persien* appeared in 2014,[70] the same year as Bowden's review. In monographs, collections, and articles, the Alexander Romance has already begun to receive a great deal of attention,[71] though Beard ignored the Romance and Davidson looked down his nose at it. The reviewers shared a similar desire to "bash" a field they had, to some degree, themselves constructed or at least defined, but as work began to appear dealing with topics previously not treated or not often treated, the next reviewer moved on to a new sin of supposed omission.

There's still plenty of traditional political scholarship out there; Davidson, Beard and Bowden are right about that. They do, however, seem

to assume that work they consider traditional somehow happens at the expense of subfields they prefer. It is more useful to think about layers of analysis and a multitude of approaches. Certainly, we should not be apologetic about analyzing the power structure and dynamic of a place that changed the course of history (cultural, political, material, intellectual) of the Mediterranean and western Asia. One of my undergraduates once wrote a paper with the wonderful title, "The *Sarissa*, How Big Was it?". As I remember, he, not unlike Davidson and Beard, made fun of the scholarship he had read, but in the end, he also engaged with the question, silly and trivial though it sounds and to some degree is, because he understood (as Beard refused to) that the size of that particular thing and the ability to manipulate it, made a tremendous amount of difference. People died in vast numbers, democracies and empires fell, partly because of the Macedonians' ability to employ the *sarissa* (as well as a number of other military techniques and technologies). Later more people died when wielding the *sarissa* was not enough to defeat the Romans in 168 BC. Recently, inside a looted tomb of earlier date, excavators at Vergina found "fifteen horses, several dogs, a dozen of adults, several infants and toddlers,"[72] all likely slaughtered and tossed in the abandoned tomb in the aftermath of Roman victory. For them the rise and fall of the *sarissa* – and of the military and political machine that employed it – made all the difference.

A glance at articles, monographs, and collections published over the last twenty years paints a far more complex picture of work on Macedonia than our reviewers noticed, much of it in areas they ignored because these publications were not centered on Alexander and certainly not on Alexander alone. In 1998, E. Voutiras had produced a fascinating discussion of a curse tablet found at Pella and what it might tell us about the role of magic there; in 2007 Ogden discussed the possible role of witches and magic at the court of Philip II.[73] M. B. Hatzopoulos, employing his vast knowledge of Macedonian epigraphy, has produced a number of important works focused on the *longue durée*, rather than on Alexander or a narrative of Macedonian history at a given period.[74] The volumes of *Archaia Makedonia/ Ancient Macedonia*, the work of a series of international conferences, always contained a mix of art history, archaeology, political and cultural history and other fields as well and did not focus on Alexander. Ada Cohen has employed material and traditional art history in her study of the Alexander Mosaic and of art in the era of Alexander, as well as a host of "post-modern" theories to read the culture of ancient Macedonia from its material as well as its literary remains.[75] Franks has done much the same with the frieze on tomb II at Vergina.[76] None of the reviewers seems

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interested in the Balkan context of Macedonian culture, but that is an important aspect of the analysis of a number of scholars, including Franks herself, Archibald, and Greenwalt, and many others.[77]

As my remarks have indicated, in the time I have been working on Macedonian topics, the way we read our sources, written and material, documentary and literary, has changed immensely, and so have the questions and responses (if not exactly answers) we discover in them. We already knew we should not put our faith in speeches in historical narratives and now we know that not much more faith, at least of a fundamentalist sort, should be placed in the narratives themselves or in excavated objects and buildings without informative inscriptions, themselves after all constructed to serve someone's purposes. I doubt that anyone will any longer think of classical scholarship as an act of retrieval, of uncovering and removing all that dust, in order to reveal something unvarnished and yet absolute. Among other things, another generation of scholars is likely to conclude that we should save the dust, that the dust is the issue.

Notes

[1] Macurdy 1932.

[2] Badian 2012 is a posthumous collection of his most important publications on Alexander.

[3] Tarn 1948a and 1948b encapsulate his views.

[4] Badian 1958 and another article originally published in 1958, republished as Badian 1964 (both articles now appear in Badian 2012) constituted the beginning of the demolition.

[5] Heckel 1992 and 2006 are his most important general works, but Heckel 1977 exemplifies this approach.

[6] Bosworth 1988a and 1996b.

[7] Hammond 1981, 1988, 1997.

[8] Lane Fox 1973, 1977 are the important works.

[9] Hammond 1972; Hammond and Griffith 1979; Hammond and Walbank 1988.

[10] Andronikos 1977, 1984 are important; for lengthier bibliography, see Hatzopoulos 2008 and Borza and Palagia 2007.

[11] Yalouris *et al.* 1983. Other exhibits followed: Pandermalis 2004; Kottaridi 2011d; Descamps-Lequime and Charatzopoulou 2011.

[12] Adams and Borza 1982 and Barr Sharrar and Borza 1982 are both collections on Macedonian political history and culture as well as on the royal tombs, both projects arising from conferences held at two of the places the exhibit toured.

[13] Cawkwell 1978, Hatzopoulos and Loukopoulos 1980, Wirth 1985; Hammond 1994b, Corvisier 2002; Worthington 2008.

[14] Hammond 1970, 64–67, though the article was delivered orally in Thessaloniki in 1968.

[15] Borza 1990, see also Borza 1999.

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[16] Archibald 2010-11, 86.

[17] To give just a few examples: Miller Collet 1973, 1993, 1996; Palagia 1998, 2000, 2008, 2010; Barr-Sharrar 2008; Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 2000, 2001, 2007, 2011; Cohen 1997, 2010; Schultz 2007, 2009; Franks 2012.

[18] Archibald 2005, 212; Nicgorski 2005; Castor 2008.

[19] Archibald 2010–11, 86.

[20] Το Αρχαιολογικό Έργο στη Μακεδονία και τη Θράκη (*AEMTH*).

[21] Hall 2001.

[22] See Engels 2010, Asirvatham 2010, Hatzopoulos 2011a and 2011b.

[23] Hammond 1972, 101 n. 3.

[24] Borza 1990, 113 notes that most people given the epithet were non-Greeks, but suggestions about why he was given the epithet do not necessarily exclude the perception of him as a Hellene (see Hammond 1972, 101; Sprawski 2010, 143).

[25] E.g. Badian 1965a.

[26] Lane Fox 1973.

[27] Briant 1973 and 1974

[28] Among many works, 1979, 1994, 1999.

[29] E.g. Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993.

[30] See recent discussion and bibliography in Briant 2009a and 2009b and Olbrycht 2010.

[31] Kienast 1973.

[32] Cohen 2010, 109–110 doubts that external influence is always the answer to similarity.

[33] Spawforth 2007, 92.

[34] Coppola 2010, 148.

[35] Rolley 2006, 314; Cohen 2010, 290; Franks 2012, 3.

[36] Spawforth 2007, 88; Weber 2009; Howe and Müller 2012, 26–27; Spawforth 2012, 199, 206. See Bowden 2013 for a Roman reading of the *proskynesis* debate preserved (or constructed) in our sources.

[37] See Asirvatham 2001, 2005, 2008, 2010a and 2010b.

[38] Spencer 2002.

[39] Kottaridi 1999, 2002, 78–81; Guimier-Sorbet and Morizot 2005, 197.

[40] See Carney 2000c, 273–85; Müller 2006, for recent discussions and references.

[41] See, for instance, Mossman 1988, especially 83–84, on Plutarch's use of tragic and Homeric coloring to build his portrait of Alexander.

[42] Cohen 2010, 41 deduces that Alexander had a "deep understanding of life as theater".

[43] See Carney article in this volume and Schultz 2007.

[44] Ajootian 2003 and Schultz 2007, 222–25 (see nn. 45 and 47 below for further references) understand the Philippeum as a theater of sorts. Schultz (p. 224) describes the royal images as "heroic or divine actors".

[45] Von Hesberg 1999; Spawforth 2007a, 91. See Spawforth 2007a, Chaniotis 1997, Kuttner 1999; Carney 2011, 95–96.

[46] Kottaridi 2011, 303.

[47] See discussion in Cohen 2010, 41; Carney 2010, 43–44.

[48] Guimier-Sorbets and Morizot 2007, 119–24, speaking specifically of tombs.

[49] Kottaridi 2011, 328–29.

[50] Carney 2011, 50; 2013, 62.

[51] Carney 2006, 132-135. See discussion in Koulakotis 2008, 79 n. 18, of similar difference in depiction based on genre in Arrian.

[52] Plut. *Mor.* 67f, 179b, 334d, 634c-d but *Per.* 1.5. As with Plutarch's treatment of Olympias, it may be significant that the first four versions come from an essay, the last from a life.

[53] Howe and Müller 2012, 33–37 discuss examples of similarities between narratives of Roman mutinies and the Hyphasis event.

[54] See Carney 2001, 66–70, on Curtius' narrative of events after the death of Alexander and to what degree it is a Roman construct.

[55] Messer 1920, 159.

[56] See further the essays in Whitmarsh 2013.

[57] Bowden 2014, 44–45 makes this point forcefully. See Stoneman, Erickson and Netton 2012.

[58] Herman 1997; Weber 1997; Spawforth 2007; Strootman 2007; Weber 2009; Ma 2011; Mitchell and Melville 2013; see also Paspalas 2005.

[59] Heckel 2003b, 197; Spawforth 2007, 86; Mitchell and Melville 2013, 16–17.

[60] Some early examples: Heckel 1977; Wirth 1985; Borza 1990.

[61] Davidson 2001, 7–10.

[62] Beard 2011, 1–6.

[63] Bowden 2014, 146.

[64] Roisman 2003b.

[65] Roisman and Worthington 2010.

[66] Lane Fox 2011b.

[67] Ogden 1999, 2011.

[68] Carney 2000a.

[69] Spencer 2002.

[70] Müller 2014.

[71] See for instance Stoneman, Erickson and Netton 2012.

[72] Kottaridi 2013.

[73] Voutiras 1998; Ogden 2007.

[74] Hatzopoulos 1994 and 1996 are important examples.

[75] Cohen 1997, 2010.

[76] Franks 2012.

[77] See, for instance, Greenwalt 1993 and 1997, Archibald 2005 and 2012.

PERMISSIONS

The author and publisher of this volume thank the editors and authorities of the following publications for permission to reprint the original articles which, updated, now form the main chapters of the present book.

Chapter 1 "Women and *Basileia*: Legitimacy and Female Political Action in Macedonia", *Classical Journal* 90 (1995), 367–91.
Chapter 2 "Macedonians and Mutiny: Discipline and Indiscipline in the Army of Philip and Alexander", *Classical Philology* 91 (1996), 19–44.
Chapter 3 "The Philippeum, Women, and the Formation of a Dynastic Image", in Heckel, W., Tritle, L. and Wheatley, P. (eds) *Alexander's Empire: Formulation to Decay*, Regina Books, Claremont, CA, 27–70 (2007).
Chapter 4 "Tomb I at Vergina and the Meaning of the Great Tumulus as an Historical Monument", *Archaeological News* 17 (1992), 1–10.
Chapter 5 "Were the Tombs under the Great Tumulus at Vergina Royal?", *Archaeological News* 26 (2001), 33–44.
Chapter 6 "Alexander the Lyncestian: The Disloyal Opposition", *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 20 (1980), 23–33.
Chapter 7 "The Death of Clitus", *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 22 (1981), 149–60.
Chapter 8 "Regicide in Macedonia", *Parola del Passato* 211 (1983), 260–72.
Chapter 9 "The Politics of Polygamy: Olympias, Alexander, and the Murder of Philip", *Historia* 41 (1992), 169–89.
Chapter 10 "Elite Education and High Culture in Macedonia", in Heckel, W. and Tritle, L. (eds), *Crossroads of History: The Age of Alexander*, Regina Books, Claremont, CA, 47–63 (2003).
Chapter 11 "The Role of the *Basilikoi Paides* at the Argead Court", in Howe, T. and Reames, J. (eds) *Macedonian Legacies: Studies on Ancient Macedonian History and Culture in honor of Eugene N. Borza*, Regina Books, Claremont CA, 145–64 (2009).
Chapter 12 "Symposia and the Macedonian Elite: The Unmixed Life", *Syllecta Classica* 18 (2007), 129–80.
Chapter 13 2002 "Hunting and the Macedonian Elite", in Ogden, D. (ed.) *The Hellenistic World*, Classical Press of Wales, Swansea and London, 59–80 (2002).

PART I

ARGEAD MONARCHY: IMAGE AND PRACTICE

1

WOMEN AND *BASILEIA*: LEGITIMACY AND FEMALE POLITICAL ACTION IN MACEDONIA

This is a chapter which attempts to define the role of royal women in Macedonian βασιλεία/*basileia (*monarchy or dominion), primarily in the Argead period, and does so, in part, by examining the nature of Macedonian monarchy itself. I argue that ancient Greek and modem western cultural prejudices which link legitimate political action to the holding of office rather than to membership in a royal clan have distorted our understanding of Macedonian monarchy. We have failed to recognize its essence, the persistent domination of a royal clan, made possible by the persistent acceptance of that domination by many elements in the unruly yet dynamic society that was ancient Macedonia.

This initial failure has precipitated a second misapprehension. Although the prominence of royal women in Macedonia has often been noted, nonetheless a presumption has remained that this prominence was essentially accidental, that the wives, sisters, and daughters of the Argead kings of Macedonia were not really part of Macedonian monarchy, that public or even political action on their part was not simply peripheral to the monarchy but actually apart from it,[1] that royal women (other than those possible few who may have held some office)[2] were automatically excluded from legitimate political action, and that such action constituted interference in matters not legitimately women's concern. The truth is more complex. In fact, in Macedonia, the acceptability of political acts by royal women varied considerably, depending in part on circumstance but even more on the point of view of the person or group judging.

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In support of these views, I shall first examine the nature of monarchy in Macedonia, arguing that it was understood primarily as the domination of a clan rather than as an office held by an individual, at least until the end of the Argead period. Next, I shall consider the role of women in *basileia*, arguing that they were considered part of it because they were part of the clan. If so, we cannot automatically judge political action by royal women as illegitimate or as mere interference simply on the basis of whether or not they held office. In an attempt to develop a more contextual standard for judging the legitimacy of political actions of royal women, I examine the sources in order to see what sorts of political or at least public actions are considered acceptable or even praised, and what sorts of action criticized and why.

The nature of *basileia* in Macedonia: the rule of the clan

Virtually all would agree not only that monarchy was the central institution of Macedonia but also that *something* placed limitations on the powers of the monarch. Tremendous disagreement exists, however, about the origin of these limitations. Some scholars – the "constitutionalists" – find the origin of these limits on royal power in the nature of Macedonian monarchy itself, which they see as circumscribed both by traditions so well-defined as to have the force of law and by the assembly, which they believe to have shared power with the king. Others, myself among them, conceive of the Macedonian monarchy as an autocracy, but one whose real power was often limited by circumstance, most typically by the pressure of various groups within the Macedonian elite.[3]

If we are to justify excluding royal women from legitimate political power and action because they did not ordinarily hold office, then we must demonstrate that office-holding constituted the way in which power was understood and allotted in Macedonian society. (For the purposes of this discussion, I shall define an office as a position with a fixed title and a clearly delineated or at least implied job description.) Granted the disagreement about the essential nature of the Macedonian monarchy, such a demonstration of the identification of office with clearly defined powers, duties, and limitations cannot be sustained for most of the Argead period; it is even less defensible for the troubled period of Argead decline and ultimate demise. A number of factors indicate the difficulties inherent in understanding Argead monarchy as an office.[4]

The history of Macedonia prior to the reign of Philip II was frequently chaotic and intermittently violent; rival branches of the royal family fought over generations for the throne, often involving foreign powers in support of their claims. Invasions and even royal exile were commonplaces of

Macedonian political life. Regicide was frequently attempted and was sometimes successful. Virtually every succession to the throne was contested; one Argead seemed to be able to supplant another with comparative ease. No clear pattern for succession to the throne developed; one Argead was apparently as good as another, so long as he was able to defeat the others. Even in the more stable reigns of Philip and his son, many of these patterns persisted.[5] In the light of such long-standing political practices, it is difficult to assert that the emphasis in Macedonian monarchy was primarily on the individual ruler; his identity was too subject to change.

On the other hand, despite all the violent intrigue and confusion, one aspect of Macedonian monarchy remained stable for many centuries: the perpetuation of the Argead dynasty on the throne. As far as we know, only Argeads ruled Macedonia from the historical beginnings of kingdom (7th century BC) until the death of the last male in the direct line, Alexander IV (c. 309). The death of an individual Argead was commonplace and does not seem to have precipitated long-lasting trouble, but the death of the Argead clan certainly did.[6] The Antipatrids were unable to retain control of the throne Cassander had, in effect seized,[7] and a generation of anarchy followed before the Antigonids managed to reestablish order, partly by manipulating nostalgia for the Argeads.[8] Thus the weight of centuries of Macedonian history argues against an understanding of kingship as an office held by an individual and in favor of an understanding of Macedonian monarchy as the possession of a clan.

Other signs also point in this direction. Only in the reign of Alexander the Great, the last Argead to rule in his own right and even then not consistently, did the king begin to use a title. Typically the kings designated themselves by a personal name and a patronymic.[9] The existence of a title and the conceptualization of kingship as an office are not identical issues, but the absence of a regularly used title suggests that the king's power was determined not by title or office but rather by his position as the dominant Argead.[10] It is probably significant that when the Successors of Alexander began to call themselves and each other βασιλεύς/*basileus* (king), it was still so undefined, so personal a term that it was tied neither to the rule of a specific people nor to a specific area, as the career of Poliorcetes demonstrates. The Successors would transform being *basileus* into an office, but that is not where it began.

Another sign that the kingship was not seen as an office with well-defined powers is the kind of situation, distressingly messy and undefined by modem standards, which tended to develop in Macedonia whenever the king himself was not personally present for a considerable period. It has proved virtually impossible to clarify the distribution of power on these

occasions. Such a circumstance would appear to suggest not only that kingship was not yet conceived in terms of defined powers but that the task of those who stood in for the king is even less likely to have been seen in such terms. For instance, when Philip II was out of Macedonia on campaign when Alexander was only about sixteen, contemporary evidence suggests that both Alexander and Antipater had some power and authority during the king's absence.[11] If this were the sole example, one might attribute the seemingly anomalous situation to Philip's desire to indicate his son's position while nonetheless providing a more mature back-up for his yet inexperienced heir.

But the same explanation cannot apply to another example of this same phenomenon: the situation that developed during Alexander the Great's long absence. Diodorus (17.118.1) reports that Alexander left Antipater as στρατηγός/*stratēgos* (commander) of Europe. Diodorus' diction may preserve Macedonian usage, or it may simply constitute Diodorus' understanding of Antipater's main tasks, which, like *stratēgoi* generally in the Hellenic world, were predominantly but not exclusively military; certainly he elsewhere (17.17.5) refers to Antipater's ἡγεμονία/*hēgemonia* in speaking of what appear to be the same duties. Arrian's language is rather different (1.11.3): he reports that when Alexander marched to the Hellespont, he entrusted to Antipater matters Macedonian and Greek. This passage, which refers to no office but rather to a sphere of interest or duty, probably gives us a clearer sense of Antipater's rather undefined role.

Despite this vague evidence, traditional scholarship assumed that Antipater had sole authority within Macedonia, although even a cursory examination of the evidence (e.g., Plut. *Alex*. 68.3) should make it clear that this, especially as Alexander's absence lengthened, was not the case at all.[12] In fact, Alexander had left the powers and responsibilities of his mother and sister as undefined as those of Antipater. Not surprisingly, Arrian (7.12. 6–7) reports that both Antipater and Olympias felt that the other failed to recognize his or her limits. When the quarrel between the women of Alexander's family and Antipater became heated, Alexander, rather than settling the matter himself, refused to intervene, preferring to allow the confusion and strife to continue, as it did.[13]

The situation after Alexander's death would seem particularly appropriate for the development of a clear definition of the office of substitute kingship – there were two incompetent heirs, one never likely to be competent and the other, an infant, eighteen years away, at best, from competency – but such a development did not occur. While it is true that no Macedonian sources for this period survive and that many of the extant

sources dealing with the period were written by non-Macedonians at a much later time and are likely to have been affected by later and non-Macedonian political views and presuppositions, nonetheless, the absence in our sources of any consistent terminology to refer to the position of those who at one time or another stand in for the king is striking and significant. Attempts have been made to rationalize the confusing use of abstract nouns like προστασία/*prostasia* (leadership, protection), ἐπιμέλεια/*epimeleia* (commission, charge), ἐπιτροπεία/*epitropeia* (guardianship) or related terms referring to individuals (e.g., προστάτης/*prostatēs,* leader, ruler, protector; ἐπιμελητής/*epimelētēs*, manager, or ἐπίτροπος/*epitropos,* steward, guardian) applied to those who stood in place of the king,[14] but they founder on the profound inconsistency of the sources themselves. The need of the sources to flesh these terms out with adjectives or explanatory objects is in itself suggestive.[15] Too often scholars have taken a very general term and attempted to give it a more specific meaning than its usage can justify.[16]

Arguments based on the assumption that passages which employ the verbs related to the abstract nouns mentioned above refer to an office, or even to the noun, are especially unpersuasive, just as, in English, it would be wrong to assume that those who "preside" are always "presidents". Significantly, while we shall find (see below) that royal women are frequently associated with βασιλεία/*basileia* (dominion, monarchy, kingdom, rule), the only passage in which the verb form βασιλεύω refers to an Argead woman involves the alleged statement by Alexander that Macedonians will not tolerate such action (Plut. *Alex*. 68.3).[17] Arguments based on analogies to Epirote practice are also inappropriate.[18]

"Constitutionalist" scholars, recognizing that an individual seems to exercise real power or influence, tend to assume that such power is tied to a specific and well-defined office and then try to find an appropriate office to allot to that person. Hammond, for instance, recognizing, as others had not, the real power and prestige which Olympias and her daughter possessed during the reign of Alexander, something for which there is considerable evidence, all but invented an office (something for which there is no evidence) in order to explain what needs no explanation. This insistence on making power synonymous with office does violence to the confusing and complex picture of power relationships preserved in our sources and imposes on a people not inclined to tidy and consistent political practices an implausibly rigid order completely alien to a society fundamentally pragmatic and situational in its approach to problem solving.

Moreover, the inconsistency of our sources, the use of several "generic" terms rather than the consistent use of one, is unsurprising in the light of previous Macedonian political experience. Prior to the death of Alexander

the Great, instances involving a person who held power in the place of the king for any length of time are very rare. Typically, what we might term a "regency" simply constitutes a brief transition period allowing the person acting as king to become king in fact.[19]

More important, what really mattered in the period of the Successors was not descent or legitimacy at all, whether defined by office or not, but brute force in the shape of military success (*Suda* s.v. *basileia*), as is amply confirmed by the careers of many of the Successors. In practice, authority simply accompanied victory and could in turn generate legitimacy.[20]

Early in the period, it is true, authority which derived from membership in the Argead clan did sometimes temporarily prevail. For instance, the troops' anger at the murder of Philip's daughter Cynnane forced Perdiccas to allow the marriage of her daughter to the king Philip Arrhidaeus (*FGrH* 156 F 9.22–23). Her authority was certainly not defined by office: Perdiccas had been recognized as a regent of sorts, but Cynnane had no status other than that derived from her birth. When Macedonian troops saw Olympias, mother of Alexander and wife of Philip II, they abandoned Philip Arrhidaeus and his wife for her. Although many believe that Olympias actually held an "office" at this period, or perhaps even two (*prostasia* and/or *epimeleia*), Diodorus says nothing of office-holding in explaining the army's behavior, but rather he attributes it to Olympias' ἀξίωμα/*axiōma* (reputation) and the memory of her son's deeds (19.11.2). Nicanor, commander of Munychia, promised to restore Munychia and Piraeus to Athens on Olympias' request, again, not because of any office she was about to hold but because he believed she was about to reacquire the ἀποδοχή/*apodochē* (acceptance, approbation) and τιμή/*timē* (esteem, dignity) she had in her son's reign (Diod. 18.65.1). She was, in short, to reacquire the status she derived from being mother of a king. It is worth noting that Olympias herself is reported to have doubted the legitimacy of the *epitropoi*, seeing the "office" as simply a cloak for personal ambition (Diod. 18.58.3). The violent deaths of all the surviving members of Alexander's clan speak, however, to the ultimate victory of force, even over the authority of royal blood.

Some movement toward seeing kingship as an office may have begun during the anarchy after Demetrius Poliorcetes' departure from Macedonia and may have solidified in some degree as the Antigonids took over for good. The cultural shock engendered by the final collapse of the Argead dynasty and the anarchy it precipitated may well have created a growing perception of monarchy as an office to be held, exactly because dominion and dynasty, after a period in which they had been disassociated,[21] had to be consciously reunited and their relationship, in the process, somewhat

rationalized. The monarchy had been so closely associated with the only royal family Macedonia had ever known that dynasty superseded office in thinking about monarchy.[22] When that was no longer possible, Macedonians were more able to see kingship in a more abstract way, in terms of an office that anyone or any one family, if appropriately recognized, might hold. It is no accident that the festival called *Basileia* seems to date to this period.[23]

Thus, rather than viewing Macedonian monarchy, at least in the Argead period, as an office held by an individual, one should see that *basileia* belonged to the Argead clan, that Macedonian monarchy was for long simply the rule of this clan through the person of its most powerful member, as was situationally determined. Although early Macedonian history was often troubled and confusing, no one ever seems to have ruled who was not an Argead and the dismay and disorientation that the end of the dynasty caused are certainly signs of the importance of the idea of δυναστεία/*dunasteia* (lordship, power) of the clan.

Women and *basileia*

Having concluded that Macedonian monarchy was long perceived not as a succession of office-holders but as the rule of a clan and that the conceptualization of any position that an individual held as something so defined as an office was only beginning to develop in Argead times, we can return to the role of women in Macedonian political life. I suggest that all members of the clan were seen as part of the *basileia,* including women who were Argeads by blood or marriage.[24]

The evidence is considerable. Several passages in our sources state this idea directly by explicitly associating women with *basileia* and several more imply it. Passages which seem to deny women a role in *basileia* are not only partisan, but actually tend to support the inclusion of women in *basileia*. A once-striking public monument confirms it, as does the participation of royal women in dynastic crises. Only the power of our own cultural prejudices as well as those of our Greek sources has prevented us from recognizing the role of women in *basileia*.

According to Plutarch, Alexander, when told that his sister Cleopatra is having an affair, rather than criticizing his sister, observes that she ought to have some enjoyment out of her *basileia* (*Mor.* 818b–c). Whatever the literal truth of this tale (see below), its conceptualization of Cleopatra's role is surely significant. (It is possible that the *basileia* referred to is in Epirus rather than Macedonia, but the anecdote seems to imply a Macedonian context.) In his life of Alexander (9.3), Plutarch complains that the disorders in Philip's household generated many quarrels and disagreements

because his marriages and affairs in effect spread the "disease" of the women's quarters to the *basileia*. That Macedonian political life was permeable by female influence was a circumstance obviously distressing to a Greek used to the extreme separation of the worlds of women and men, to the association of women with private life and of men with public matters.[25] Diodorus (19.11.5), considering the different deaths that Olympias allotted to Philip Arrhidaeus and to his wife Adea Eurydice (herself an Argead), explains that Olympias considered Adea Eurydice worthy of greater punishment because the young woman kept saying that *basileia* belonged more to her than to Olympias. The false letter Eumenes created in order to improve his own insecure standing included the assertion that Olympias, with her grandson, had taken over *basileia* in Macedonia (Diod. 19.23.2), an assertion obviously intended to please and reassure his troops.[26]

If women were indeed part of *basileia*, how then are we to account for statements in ancient sources which seem to deny this, sources which characterize political action by royal women as interference? For instance, Plutarch (*Alex.* 39.7) reports that while Alexander sent his mother many gifts, he would not allow her to meddle or interfere or to countermand his military orders, and that when she objected, he simply put up with her difficult character. Alexander, however, proved (see below) considerably more tolerant of Olympias' "interference" in Antipater's activities. In fact, Plutarch concludes this section with a story which says that Alexander paid more attention to his mother's dissatisfaction with Antipater than to the complaints of Antipater about her. This passage seems to say that, on the one hand, Alexander certainly did not consider his mother his equal and squelched any efforts of hers to act in matters under his control but that, on the other hand, her opinion mattered more to him than did that of Antipater. He does not seem to have minded if she "interfered" in Antipater's affairs.

Diodorus describes Adea Eurydice as interfering in many matters shortly before the settlement at Triparadisus (18.39.2). One must always consider the context of such statements. In this case, Hieronymus, Diodorus' presumed source, is clearly supportive of the *epitropoi* and their ultimate patrons, Antipater and Antigonus. Actions similar to those which Diodorus/Hieronymus treats positively in reference to Phila (see below) are treated negatively when Adea Eurydice is involved.

A passage in Arrian (7.12.6–7) referring to Olympias has a similar context: Antipater complains to Alexander about his mother's stubbornness, sharpness and interference. Olympias, in turn, complains that Antipater had an inflated sense of himself because of his reputation

and flattery and because he forgot that Alexander had appointed him to his position (is this an implied reference to the fact that she was not appointed to hers?), believing that he himself was worthy to be first among other Macedonians and Greeks. One might conclude that Olympias thought Antipater was interfering in *basileia*. Arrian, although clearly more sympathetic to Antipater than to Olympias and inclined to put as positive an interpretation on circumstances as he can, nonetheless reports that Olympias' words were gaining weight with Alexander (a lacuna follows). Thus, we know that Antipater believed that Olympias was interfering, but it rather looks as though Alexander did not share his view.

Incidents in Antipater's career other than his notorious quarrels with Olympias[27] seem to suggest that he in particular was generally opposed to political action by women. When he came to Asia and met Alexander's sister Cleopatra, the former would-be bride of Perdiccas and friend to Eumenes, despite her comparative political discretion – she sent Eumenes away to avoid a confrontation between them and a possible battle – Antipater scolded her publicly for her support of these two (*FGrH* 156 F11.40). Yet since Perdiccas was at least as legitimate an *epitropos* at the time Cleopatra was friendly to him as Antipater ever was (arguably more so), and since Cleopatra had vied with his own daughter Nicaea for a marriage alliance with Perdiccas, it is difficult to see this as anything other than a partisan encounter rather than as evidence that Antipater opposed female political action.

The same judgment should apply to a similar confrontation between Antipater and Adea Eurydice. Shortly after the events Diodorus describes as "interference" on the latter's part, Antipater turned up and with the help of Antigonus, despite considerable support for Adea Eurydice among Macedonian troops, was somehow able to silence her (*FGrH* 156 F 9.33; Diod. 18.39.2–4). Here again, Antipater's treatment of Eurydice has everything to do with his own interests. Similarly, his supposed death-bed caution against the rule of Macedonia by a woman (Diod. 19.11.9) – almost certainly a fiction – if it is to be taken seriously, should also be seen as a partisan statement, particularly focused on his long-time Argead enemy, Olympias.

That these passages derive from partisanship rather than from general opinion about the appropriateness of political action by women becomes obvious when one compares them to Hieronymus' praise (in Diodorus 19.59.4–6) of Antipater's daughter Phila for political skills such as her ability to soothe camp trouble-makers, apparently by promises of reward, for freeing from danger those falsely accused, and for having special intelligence. When, in this same passage (19.59.5), we learn that Antipater

is said to have consulted Phila about affairs of state, even before her first marriage, it becomes obvious that Antipater was not opposed to political action by women, but to political action by women who were his enemies.

Thus, those passages which appear to consider political action by royal women illegitimate interference prove, upon analysis, rather to demonstrate that such actions might be attacked as illegitimate by political enemies, but that similar actions by women in the same camp would not be considered illegitimate. Moreover, the diction of those passages which in translation seems to imply that royal women interfered in political matters, that is to say that they involved themselves in matters in which they should have had no part, actually suggests that they went too far or did too much in matters in which they did have a concern; similar terminology is applied to Alexander himself. The diction of these passages, while hostile in a partisan way, actually supports an understanding of women as part of monarchy.[28]

A structure which stood at Olympia, the Philippeum, was once visible confirmation that royal women were seen as part of *basileia* by the kings themselves. Pausanias' description of the monument (5.20.9–10) has left much about the date and purpose of the building subject to disagreement, despite subsequent excavation.[29] Nonetheless, it seems certain that the circular structure housed five statues: those of Philip and Alexander and Philip's father Amyntas, but also those of Philip's mother Eurydice and his wife Olympias. Interpretations of its purpose vary,[30] but Philip seems to have conceived of the building in the period immediately after his great victory at Chaeronea, although his son may have supervised its completion.[31] The inclusion of the two statues of royal women – public statues of women were as yet rare – must have been startling to southern Greeks,[32] the more so in that the images, like the statues of the male Argeads, were chryselephantine.

Since only cult statues were made of this sumptuous material, these statues were somewhat similar to Octavian's assumption of the title "Augustus," and constitute part of the sometimes subtle flirtation with divine monarchy which characterized the reigns of both Philip and Alexander.[33] I want to stress that the material of the female statues implies that this flirtation extended to the women of the Argead clan as well and might be taken to confirm Curtius' (9.6.26; 10.5.30) assertions that Alexander intended to deify his mother after her death. The period after Alexander's death would, in fact, see the first cults to royal women. Women received cult for the same reason Philip and Alexander included them in the monument: they were part of *basileia*.

We know of a number of occasions of dynastic crisis, some already referred to, in which royal women involved themselves in affairs of state

and met with, if not universal approval, acceptance and support from various elements within Macedonian society. One tradition has Philip's widowed mother Eurydice attempting to gain non-Macedonian support for the succession of her sons (Aesch. 2.27–29). Cynnane acted at the cost of her life to bring about her daughter's marriage to Philip Arrhidaeus and the army forced the Macedonian generals to make the marriage happen (Arrian *FGrH* 156 F 9.22–23). Polyperchon asked Olympias to return to supervise matters during her grandson's minority (Diod. 18.49.5, 57.2, 18.65.1). In practice, royal women functioned as the reserve troops of the dynasty, ready to be called into active service when no male adult Argeads were available.

If, then, royal women were somehow part of *basileia*, what did this mean? Being part of the *basileia* certainly did not mean that women ruled Macedonia (e.g. Plut. *Alex.* 68.3) in the ordinary course of matters, but rather that they were part of the dynasty which ruled, as their presence in the Philippeum indicates. In stable times, being part of *basileia* might entail little observable public action for a royal woman (yet a probable readiness and preparedness to act),[34] but in uncertain times, particularly when the succession was in jeopardy, their role in the dynasty could and did bring them into prominence and political action. The prolonged absence of the head of the dynasty might have the same effect. This situation recurs so often in the course of the fourth century that it constitutes the norm in certain dynastic circumstances. This noted, one would need compelling evidence indeed to term such action "interference." Royal women occasionally played critical roles in Macedonian history not by chance, but because, as members of the dynasty, in the absence of capable males, they could act for the dynasty. Argead women were, in effect, royal understudies who had to be ready, at a moment's notice, to undertake, however temporarily, starring roles, center stage.

Why, then, if women were seen as part, if usually a subsidiary part, of monarchy in Macedonia, have we come to see them as outsiders who interfere in royal affairs? The answer lies in two different cultures' understanding of monarchy and power. None of the surviving ancient sources is Macedonian; all are either Greek or derived from Greek sources and thus centered in the *polis* culture of southern Greece, where power, after the archaic period, was indeed defined by office rather than clan, and the power of clan or dynasty was feared, seen as subversive and reactionary.[35] Not infrequently it is the greater role allotted women in societies where clan and dynasty matter that is specifically criticized (e.g. Plat. *Laws* 3.694a–(696a), as we have seen in Plutarch's passage about Philip's court.