

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

KLEOPATRA OR EURYDIKE?

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ARRIAN, IN A PASSAGE that appears to derive from Ptolemy,¹ relates that Alexander's companions, Nearchos, Harpalos, Laomedon, Erigyios, and Ptolemy himself, were driven into exile *ἐπειδὴ Εὐρυδίκην γυναῖκα ἡγάγετο Φίλιππος*, 'Ολυμπιάδα δὲ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου μητέρα ἡτίμασε (3.6.5). The banishment is dated more precisely by Plutarch (*Alex.* 10.1–4), who makes it a consequence of the Pixodaros-affair and thus after Alexander's return from "exile;" but the wife in question, Philip's last, is known to all other writers who treat the matter as Kleopatra, the niece of Attalos.²

Possibly this is another of Arrian's errors, for there are examples of incorrect names: Amyntas, son of Andromenes, is wrongly called the son of Philippos (3.11.9);³ Arrian 7.4.4 says that Alexander married the eldest daughter of Dareios III, Barsine, whom the other sources call Stateira; and there are others, such as the variant *patronymika* given to Leonnatos in four different passages of Arrian (*Anab.* 3.5.5 Ὀνάσου; 6.28.4 Ἀντίου; *Succ.* 1a.2 Ἀνθους; *Ind.* 18.3 Εὐνου). And, if Arrian is in error in this instance, then the name ought merely to be corrected to Κλεοπάτραν. But the confusion of Barsine and Stateira is ascribable to Aristoboulos, whom Arrian is quoting (*FGrHist* 139 F 52).⁴ Similarly, Leonnatos' *patronymika*

A version of this note formed the introduction to a paper entitled "The Family of Kleopatra-Eurydike," presented to the Classical Association of the Pacific Northwest in April, 1977, in Moscow, Idaho. H. Berve, *Das Alexanderreich auf prosopographischer Grundlage* 2 (Munich 1926), E. Kornemann, *Die Alexander Geschichte des Königs Ptolemaios 1. von Aegypten* (Berlin and Leipzig 1935) and G. Macurdy, *Hellenistic Queens: A Study of Woman-Power in Macedonia, Seleucid Syria, and Ptolemaic Egypt* (Baltimore 1932) will be referred to by author's name. I thank the Journal's referees for their helpful suggestions.

¹Kornemann is probably correct to maintain (129 with n. 84, against H. Strasburger, *Ptolemaios und Alexander* [Leipzig 1934] 34) that Ptolemy himself is the source for this account. Ptolemy's must certainly be the (deliberately?) misleading suggestion that he became *somatophylax* very soon after his return from exile (3.6.6). On this see my "The *Somatophylakes* of Alexander the Great: Some Thoughts," *Historia* 27 (1978) 225f. Also suggestive of Ptolemy is the rather sympathetic treatment of his comrade Harpalos.

²Satyros *ap.* Athen. 13.557d (= *FHG* 3, fr. 5); Diod. 16.93.9; 17.2.3; Plut. *Alex.* 9.6–7; 10.7; Athen. 13.560c; Paus. 8.7.7; Justin 9.5.8–9; 9.7.12; Ps.-Kall. 1.20–21; Jul. Val. 1.13. The relationship is confused: Diod. 17.2.3, Justin 9.5.8–9, and Jul. Val. 1.13 make Attalos Kleopatra's brother; according to Diod. 16.93.9, he was her nephew.

³See A. B. Bosworth, "Errors in Arrian," *CQ* 26 (1976) 125.

⁴Aristoboulos may have confused her with the daughter of Artabazos; see Berve, nos 206, 722. F. Schachermeyr, *Alexander in Babylon und die Reichsordnung nach seinem*

are not the result of carelessness on Arrian's part; for a different source appears to underlie each passage referred to.⁵ In this case, we have every reason to believe that Arrian recorded precisely what Ptolemy wrote, and that Ptolemy called Kleopatra Eurydike because her name was Eurydike as well as Kleopatra. So much is straightforward enough.

I question, however, the accepted interpretation of her compound name: that the girl's maiden-name was Eurydike, but that it was changed at marriage to Kleopatra. This was suggested by R. Schneider, and it has won the support of subsequent scholars through H. Berve, E. Kornemann, and J. R. Hamilton.⁶ It does have in its favour the fact that all other sources know her as Kleopatra. But I am inclined to believe that quite the reverse is true, that Philip changed her name from Kleopatra to Eurydike when he married her in 337 B.C.

"Eurydike" shows signs of developing into a dynastic name; as Grace Macurdy easily recognised, it was a name that was assumed "on a significant occasion, such as becoming queen" (24). A Eurydike was the wife of Amyntas III; we do not know if she held the name already or if she took it at the time of her marriage.⁷ But it is certain that she became the recognised queen of Macedon, though Amyntas' former wife, Gygaia, had borne him three sons (Arrhidaios, Menelaos, Archelaos).⁸ The same name was given by Philip II, son of Eurydike and Amyntas, to Audata the Illyrian, the first wife of his reign (Arr. *Succ.* 1.22; J. Kaerst, *RE* 6.1 [1907] 1326, no. 15); he may have married Phila the Elimiot before 359. On Audata's name-change Macurdy remarks: "The fact that the Illyrian princess took the name Eurydike, which had a tendency to become dynastic like the name Cleopatra in Egypt, indicates that she may from

Tode (Vienna 1970) 22, thinks her name was originally Barsine, but that she took the "royal name" Stateira when she married.

⁵See Hoffmann, *Die Makedonen: ihre Sprache und ihr Volkstum* (Göttingen 1906) 170; Berve, no. 466. *Anab.* 6.28.4 = *FGH Hist* 139 F 51 (Aristoboulos): *Ind.* 18.3 = 133 F 1 (Nearchos); *Anab.* 3.5.5, very likely from Ptolemy, so Kornemann 128, 137, 252, and Strasburger (above, note 1) 34; *Succ.* 1a.2, possibly Hieronymos or Douris (but see the comments of Bosworth, "The Death of Alexander the Great: Rumour and Propaganda," *CQ* 21 [1971] 130 ff.).

⁶R. Schneider, *Olympias, die Mutter Alexanders des Grossen* (Zwickau 1886) 18, 1; cited by Berve 213. The work is inaccessible to me. Cf. Kornemann 129, n. 83; Hamilton, *Plutarch, Alexander: A Commentary* (Oxford 1969) 24; also Schachermeyr (above, note 4). But W. W. Tarn, *Alexander the Great* 2 (Cambridge 1948) 262, n.1, thinks Arrian is in error.

⁷She was the daughter of Sirrhas or Irrhas, an Illyrian chieftain, and the daughter of Arrhabaios, king of the Lynkestians; see Macurdy 17, with n.19; cf. Bosworth, "Philip II and Upper Macedonia," *CQ* 21 (1971) 99.

⁸Justin 7.4.5; cf. J. R. Ellis, "The Step-Brothers of Philip II," *Historia* 22 (1973) 350-354, esp. 351.

the time of her marriage have been regarded as queen of Macedon until Philip found an alliance with the Molossians of greater advantage than one with Bardylis" (25). It did not help that Audata-Eurydike produced no male heir, but only a daughter, Kynnane (Berve, no. 456; Arr. *Succ.* 1.22-23; Polyainos 8.60). And it was the daughter of Kynnane by Amyntas Perdikka, Adea or Hadea (Berve, no. 23), who took the name Eurydike when she married the mentally deficient Arrhidaios.⁹ He himself underwent a similar change of name, becoming Philip III, the king in name, while Adea-Eurydike became the first true Macedonian queen in almost a generation.

What then of Olympias, Philip's most dominant wife, who did not take the name? Why was she not re-named Eurydike either at marriage or on the occasion of her son's birth? The answer must lie in the fact that "Eurydike" was only gradually developing into a dynastic name and its use had not yet become a fixed practice. When Philip gave the name to Audata, he may have done so in honour of his mother, or perhaps in emulation of his father. But Philip was inclined to experiment with names for their propagandist value: Macurdy (23-24) suggests that Olympias, who was originally called Myrtale, took the former name only after Philip's Olympic victory of 356, which coincided with Alexander's birth (Plut. *Alex.* 3.8); two children, Thessalonike and Europe, were named to celebrate Philip's accomplishments in Greece. But in 337 Philip revived the name Eurydike for the young Kleopatra. Audata-Eurydike may have been dead by this time or, at least, no longer at the Court; Olympias, however, had become queen, *de facto*, by producing the only acceptable male heir, Arrhidaios having given indications of his mental affliction at an early age.¹⁰ Kleopatra's position is significant, therefore, since Philip's plans for her were the cause of turmoil at the Court and, eventually, of his own death. She was of noble, Lower Macedonian, descent, and when Philip re-named her Eurydike he marked her out as the foremost of his wives, a true Macedonian queen of true Macedonian stock. Ptolemy, who was a Macedonian of high rank and who was probably present at the wedding, knew this and recorded it without explanation, which he doubtless felt was unnecessary.

Kleopatra-Eurydike remains somewhat obscure, however, for she did not live long, nor did she produce the male heir for whom Attalos prayed.¹¹ Scholars have, I think quite rightly, seen in Attalos' prayer for a legitimate heir the source of Alexander's feelings of insecurity and the political

⁹Arr. *Succ.* 1.23: ἤγε δὲ ἡ Κυνάνη Ἀδεάν τὴν αὐτῆς θυγατέρα, ἥτις ὕστερον Εὐρυδίκην μετωνομάσθη, τῷ Ἀρριδαίῳ εἰς γυναῖκα. See also Berve no. 781 for Philip Arrhidaios.

¹⁰Plut. *Alex.* 77.8 claims that Olympias gave the boy mind-destroying drugs.

¹¹Satyros, *ap.* Athen. 13.557d; Justin 9.7.3; Plut. *Alex.* 9.7 ff.

purpose of Philip's marriage to the girl. But Olympias' position, which had hitherto been secure despite Philip's other wives, is spelled out more clearly by Arrian-Ptolemy: Philip married Kleopatra and re-named her Eurydike (which signified her position), and thereby he "dishonoured Olympias" (*'Ολυμπιάδα δὲ τὴν 'Αλεξάνδρου μητέρα ἡτίμασε*, 3.6.5).

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