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“THE SOUNDS OF SILENCE”: A NEW WIFE FOR KASSANDROS SON OF ANTIPATROS

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Olga Palagia has recently published a brilliant new interpretation of the grave monument of a certain Adea, daughter of Kynnana and Kassandros.¹ Not only has she presented art-historical arguments for the significance and dating of the artifact, but she has postulated a new bride for Kassandros son of Antipatros, the later king of the Macedonians. The prosopographic and genealogical arguments of Palagia’s paper are fascinating and, if correct, they would revolutionize our picture of both the Argead royal house and the politics of Successors in general and Kassandros in particular. I have no expertise in the fields of archaeology and art history, and must leave the problems of iconography and its significance, as well as the difficult task of dating, to others. I do have some concerns about the likelihood that the father of the deceased girl was the later Macedonian king.

§1. Carved in stone

The grave relief, showing four anthropomorphic figures and a herm, is surmounted by the inscription ΑΔΕΑ ΚΑΣΣΑΝΔΡΟΥ (“Adea daughter of Kassandros”) and is itself located above an inscription which reads (*SEG* 24 [1969] 503):

Γνωθι τὸν Ἀδείας ὑπ’ ἐμοὶ τάφον, ἦν ἔτ’ ἄωρον
παρθένον ἐγ νούσου δεινὸς ἔμαρψε Αἰδης·
ματρὶ δὲ κῆδος αἰεὶ μέγα Κυννάναι, ἣ μιν ἔτικτε,
καὶ μέγα Κασσάνδρῳ πατρὶ λιποῦσα ἔθανεν.

¹ Palagia 2008. I thank Sabine Müller for her thoughtful comments on this paper.

Know that beneath me is the tomb of Hadeia [sic]. Terrible Hades seized her after an illness while she was still a virgin, not ready for marriage. She died, leaving in great and everlasting mourning her mother Cynnana, who bore her, and her father Cassander.²

Palagia argues that the young woman, who died a virgin (*parthenos*) before reaching marriageable age and is identified as Adea, the daughter of Kynnana and Kassandros, is in all likelihood a member of both the Argead royal family and that of Antipatros the regent. In Palagia's opinion, Kassandros married a daughter of the famous Kynnana (Kynnane/Kynna, daughter of Philip II and Audata) and Amyntas Perdikka. She would thus have been a second child of that couple, though Palagia does not indicate whether she would place her birth before or after that of Adea (later married to Philip III Arrhidaios and known officially as Eurydike). The second child's original name is uncertain: she may have been named Kynnana at birth or else she received that name later in life to honor her mother, who had been killed in 322 or 321 by Alketas, the brother of Perdikkas (Polyaenus, *Strat.* 8.60; *Arr. Succ.* 1.23).³ Kassandros, we are told, sought to strengthen his bid for power (initially against Polyperchon, whom Antipatros had appointed *epimeletes* or *epitropos* of the "kings" on his deathbed) by marrying this daughter of Amyntas IV.

§2. Problematic Literary Evidence

The existence of a second child of Kynnana and Amyntas Perdikka is unrecorded, as we shall note once again in section 3 (*Sounds of Silence*). But Polyaenus,⁴ our most complete source for the life of Kynnana and Adea-Eurydike (basing his account on Duris of Samos)⁵ states that the latter was her only daughter by Amyntas (μία ἔχουσα θυγατέρα ἐξ Ἀμύντου Εὐρυδίκην). The date of the marriage is, of course, far from certain. Philip II married Audata, perhaps a daughter of the Illyrian king, Bardylis (Satyrus *ap.* Athen. 13.557c),⁶ very soon

² The translation is from Palagia's publication.

³ The chronological problems are a matter of endless debate. See the convenient summary of "high" and "low" chronologies by Pat Wheatley in Yardley–Wheatley–Heckel 2012, 8–22.

⁴ All references to Polyaenus are to 8.60.

⁵ See Heckel 1983–84.

⁶ Her father's name is not given, and it is often assumed that she was the daughter of Bardylis (Heckel 2006, 100). Carney 2000, 57–8 is more cautious; Ellis 1976, 47: "probably the niece or daughter of Bardylis"; Hammond 1994, 27: "a daughter or granddaughter of Bardylis, who was in his nineties." For the details of her life see Berve 1926, 229 no. 456 and Heckel 2006, 100.

after his Illyrian victory in 358 (Diod. 16.4; cf. Front. *Strat.* 2.3.2). The only attested child of this union, Kynnana, was born in 357 and may have married Amyntas Perdikka as early as 344/3. But it is generally assumed that the marriage belonged to the last year or two of Philip II’s life;⁷ for this is how we must take the remark that Kynnana lost her husband soon after the marriage (γημαμένην δὲ Ἀμύντα τῷ Περδίκκου ταχέως τοῦτον ἀποβαλοῦσα). We know that Amyntas was executed on Alexander’s orders very soon after Philip’s death and that, during the Illyrian campaign of 336/5, Alexander offered the hand of his half-sister to Langaros, king of the Agrianes.⁸ There would thus be very little time for the birth of a second child; nor is it likely that Kynnana would have taken Adea to Asia with her and left the slightly younger daughter at home.⁹

On one other point, there is contradictory – or, at least, problematic – evidence. Palagia suggests that “[a] dynastic marriage arranged by Antipater for his son, Cassander, with the queen’s sister is perfectly plausible.”¹⁰ Not only would it be difficult to understand Antipatros’ decision to confer the office of *epimeletes*

⁷ Greenwalt 1988, 96 notes that “most brides of the late Argead court were a few years older than their southern counterparts.” If there is any truth to the story that Kynnana fought against the Illyrians, this must have occurred in the army of her father, before her marriage and at an age when she was physically able to participate in battle (Polyaenus, *Strat.* 8.60: καὶ Ἰλλυριοῖς παρατασσομένην τὴν βασιλεύουσαν αὐτῶν καιρίαν ἐς τὸν ἀνχένα πλῆξασα κατέβαλε); cf. Carney 2000, 69 (who also dates the marriage to “probably between 338 and 336”): “Cynnane’s mother taught her to be a warrior, and she fought in Philip’s campaigns against the Illyrians.” (That she managed in the course of the battle to find a female opponent – and a royal one at that – to slay defies credulity and smacks of sensationalism.) An early date for the wedding might be supported by Philip’s difficult Illyrian campaign (normally dated to 344/3, but fixed by Hatzopoulos 2005, 51 to 345 BC), if we believe that Illyrian opinion might be swayed by elevated status for Philip’s half-Illyrian daughter, or perhaps after Philip’s blinding at Methone, which may have induced him to make additional provisions for his succession.

⁸ I do not wish to discuss the vexed question of Amyntas’ involvement in a conspiracy against Alexander that found support in Boiotia (on this see Ellis 1971; Prandi 1998, and 2013, 12–13; Worthington 2003). I am, however, reluctant to accept the cynical view of Green 1973, 141 that the offer was made when she was “still Amyntas’ wife: a nice touch of macabre humour”; cf. also the objections of Prandi 1998, 94 n.23. Nor do I understand Worthington’s remark (2003, 81) that “to say that Cynnana was a widow when Alexander was in the Balkans is distorting the text too much”; it is, after all, the obvious interpretation, and I see no evidence in this period of a wife being removed from her living husband against his wishes. Instead, the view that Alexander promised Kynnana in marriage because she would soon be a widow is a far greater distortion of the text’s meaning. In part, the solution depends on whether the participle ἀποβαλοῦσα means “rejecting” (thus Lane Fox 2011, 32) or “losing” (see *LSJ* s.v. ἀποβάλλω for both meanings). In either case, however, there is good reason to assume that the marriage took place in 337 or 336.

⁹ As far as the girl’s name is concerned, renaming after marriage is certainly possible. Although we are often ignorant of the names of wives and their daughters, what evidence we have does not support the view that, in the royal and aristocratic families of Macedon at this time, daughters are named after their mothers at birth.

¹⁰ Palagia 2008, 205.

on Polyperchon (and thus relegate his son to the lower rank of *chiliarchos*), if such a marriage existed, but it appears to be at odds with Antipatros' dynastic policies in the years that followed Alexander's death. We know that the ambitions of Kynnana (Palagia's "Cynnana I") were not looked upon with favor by Antipatros: Polyaeus tells us that he attempted unsuccessfully to prevent her departure for Asia by blocking her crossing of the Strymon (ἐτόλμησεν αὐτὴ διαβῆναι τὸν Στρυμόνα, Ἀντιπάτρου δὲ κωλύοντος βιασαμένη τὸν). For, in fact, Antipatros was attempting to secure the cooperation of Alexander's leading marshals by a network of marriages with his own daughters.¹¹

§3. The Sounds of Silence

Arguments *e silentio* are regularly disparaged and often dismissed as desperate.¹² But there are times – and this is one such occasion – when the combined effect of the arguments from silence is deafening.

We may return to the beginning, to the grave relief. Although the mother and father of the deceased girl are named, neither is identified as an individual of any note. Only the names and their peculiar combination attract interest.¹³ The mother is not identified as a member of the Argead house, although, according to Palagia's proposal, she was not only the granddaughter of both Perdikkas III and Philip II, successive rulers of Macedon, but also the sister of the recently deceased queen, Adea-Eurydike.¹⁴ Nor is Kassandros identified in any way. Palagia remarks: "Cassander did not assume the royal title until 306/5, hence the lack of title in the epigram. He was, however, ruler of Macedon since the death of Olympias in 316, and it should not be surprising if he had his daughter represented in the company of Macedonia personified."¹⁵ In this period of intense

¹¹ For the complexity of these dealings see Seibert 1967 and Ogden 1999, 53–4. The old regent's ambitions could easily be undermined by the prospect of a marriage with an Argead princess (see also Carney 2000, 129–30).

¹² See recently the comments of Meeus 2013, 88: "Although it is universally recognized that the argument from silence is a logical fallacy, and most agree that it cannot therefore be used in a historical argument, one often encounters it." Now, I agree that by itself the argument from silence *proves* nothing, but in conjunction with other evidence it must at least be considered, especially when the counterargument is based on a similar form of silence.

¹³ This is, in fact, Palagia's starting point: "But the combination of all three names, Cassander, Cynnana, and Adea is striking and seems to point to Macedonian royalty" (2008, 204).

¹⁴ For the importance of pedigree on funeral inscriptions see the Archidike epigram quoted by Thucydides 6.59.3 and the anonymous epigram of Olympias (Plut. *Mor.* 747f–748a); cf. Justin 12.16.3; similar is the medieval epitaph of the empress Matilda. See Yardley–Heckel 1997, 294, and Diod. 19.51.6, discussed below.

¹⁵ Palagia 2008, 206.

political rivalry (when most politicians resorted to more than imagery), the subtlety of the grave relief and its location in Beroea (see further below) are difficult to comprehend.

The birthdate of Adea II (as well as the year of her death) is further complicated by Palagia’s conjecture about Kassandros’ eldest son. “The fact that Philip IV succeeded unopposed and there was no triple partition of the kingdom suggests that he was older than his brothers and therefore possibly by a different mother. If he was Kynnana II’s son, he could have been over 20 at his father’s death.”¹⁶ But again there is no mention of Philip IV’s maternal ancestry in the histories of the Diadochoi, and one wonders why the couple did not name their son Perdikkas or Amyntas.¹⁷ Pausanias (8.7.7) states that “the sons of Kassandros were born to Thessalonike the daughter of Philip” (Κασσάνδρῳ δὲ οἱ παῖδες ἐκ Θεσσαλονίκης γεγόνασι τῆς Φιλίππου) and, although we cannot be certain that he was not thinking merely of Antipatros and Alexandros, there is no compelling reason to exclude Philip IV.

Philip, in the scenario proposed by Palagia, would probably have been born before Adea II, whose birth must be dated to no earlier than late 317. Since she was more than an infant at the time of her death – it would be pointless to describe her as “still a virgin, not ready for marriage”¹⁸ if she were in the first years of her life – and the grave stele speaks of her mother as still living, Kynnana II would have been alive and the recent mother of two children when Kassandros married Thessalonike in 316/15. The status of Kynnana II, and her alleged production of a male heir, makes Kassandros’ decision to marry a second Argead princess more difficult to explain, particularly if (as it seems) Thessalonike was between twenty-five and thirty years old at the time.¹⁹ And, although we have numerous examples of kings with multiple wives, we know of no one who aspired to the Macedonian throne marrying more than one daughter of the previous king.²⁰ Furthermore, we have no evidence of amphimetric strife. Palagia explains

¹⁶ Palagia 2008, 207.

¹⁷ When an individual contracted an advantageous marriage, the first child was often named after the maternal grandfather. See, for example, Pyrrhos’ first son, Ptolemaios (Plut. *Pyrr.* 6.1).

¹⁸ See *LSJ* s.v. ἄωρος (A) 1.

¹⁹ For her age at marriage see Carney 2000, 155; Greenwalt 1988, 94; cf. Berve 1926, 2.179; Macurdy 1932, 52–3. Carney 155: “That her father arranged no marriage for her but did so for his other two daughters suggests that she was not old enough to marry during Philip’s reign. ... Thessalonike is likely to have been born toward the end of the 340s.” I would not, however, rule out a birthdate of c.346/5.

²⁰ Palagia 2008, 207 mentions Alexander’s marriages to Stateira and Parysatis, but he was king and consolidating his position in Asia, and they were, at any rate, the daughters of two different Persian kings (i.e. not even half-sisters). Dareios I, admittedly, married two daughters of Kyros the Great, but of these Artystone was a virgin and her sister, Atossa, had been the wife of both Kambyzes and “Smerdis” (and thus a case of levirate marriage). It appears too that Kassandros’

this, in part, by removing Kynnana II (and presumably her children) to Beroea.²¹ But why, at this early point, favor Thessalonike over Kynnana II, whose pedigree was arguably more impressive?

Diodorus 19.52.1 makes it clear that Kassandros' regal aspirations were furthered by his marriage to Thessalonike:

Κάσανδρος δέ, κατὰ νοῦν αὐτῷ τῶν πραγμάτων προχωρούντων, περιελάμβανε ταῖς ἐλπίσι τὴν Μακεδόνων βασιλείαν. διὸ καὶ Θεσσαλονικὴν ἔγημε, τὴν Φιλίππου μὲν θυγατέρα Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ ἀδελφὴν ὁμοπάτριον, σπεύδων οἰκεῖον αὐτὸν ἀποδεῖξαι τῆς βασιλικῆς συγγενείας.

"Kassandros, since his affairs had proceeded according to plan, began to aspire to the Macedonian kingship. For this reason, he married Thessalonike, who was both the daughter of Philip and the sister of Alexander on the father's side, *hastening to establish for himself a connection with the royal family*" [emphasis added].

Even if Kassandros believed that a union with a daughter of Philip was preferable to one with a granddaughter, the connection with the royal family would already have been established by the marriage to Kynnana II. And that connection would certainly have been strengthened by the birth of Philip (according to Palagia's theory).²² An earlier attempt at forging a link with the Argead house, if Diodorus 20.37.4 is to be taken literally, involved a marriage proposal to Kleopatra, the sister of Alexander the Great and widow of Alexander of Epirus. Such an offer is unlikely to have been made after 316.²³

courtship of Kleopatra (if there is any truth to the story) preceded his decision to marry Thessalonike (Seibert 1967, 19, 21).

²¹ Palagia 2008, 208: "As for Beroea, if Cassander practiced polygamy, he may not have wished to keep all his wives under one roof or even in one city." But why Beroea? He might have housed one wife and her offspring in Aegae, Pella, Pydna, Dium (and, especially in the case of Thessalonike, the city that he founded in her name).

²² If Kassandros did, indeed, consider Thessalonike a more prestigious bride than Kynnana II, one wonders at the very thing that Palagia adduces in support of her view that Philip IV was Kynnana's son: the lack of "a triple partition of the kingdom" (207). The failure to contest Philip's accession is even more difficult to understand when one considers that his physical ailment (on which see Carney 1999, 214) must have been obvious at the time of Kassandros' death; and nevertheless a wife relegated to Beroea was able to see her son elevated to the kingship over the claims of those of a more powerful rival. Furthermore, Carney 1999, 211 n.14 suggests that Philip was born in 316 and "they [i.e. Antipatros and Alexandros] could have been born in 215 and 214 [*sic*]" (that is, 315 and 314: the dates are clearly misprinted); but Carney clearly believes that Thessalonike was much younger than thirty and thus more easily capable of bearing three children in successive years (2000, 155).

²³ διὰ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν οὖν τοῦ γένους οἱ περὶ Κάσανδρον καὶ Λυσίμαχον, ἔτι δὲ Ἀντίγονον καὶ Πτολεμαῖον καὶ καθόλου πάντες οἱ μετὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτὴν ἀξιολογώτατοι τῶν ἡγεμόνων ταύτην [sc. Κλεοπάτραν] ἐμνήστευον. See Seibert 1967, 19, 21.

By far the greatest difficulty relates to Kassandros’ burial of Philip III Arrhidaios, Adea-Eurydike and Kynnana I.²⁴

μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα βασιλικῶς ἤδη διεξάγων τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν
Εὐρυδίκην μὲν καὶ Φίλιππον τοὺς βασιλεῖς, ἔτι δὲ καὶ Κύνναν, ἣν
ἀνεῖλεν Ἀλκέτας, ἔθαπεν ἐν Αἰγαιαῖς, καθάπερ ἔθος ἦν τοῖς
βασιλεῦσι. τιμήσας δὲ τοὺς τετελευτηκότας ἐπιταφίοις ἀγῶσι²⁵

“Next, already conducting the affairs of the kingdom in regal fashion, he buried the rulers, Eurydike and Philip, as well as Kynna, whom Alketas had killed, in Aegae, as was customary for kings. Having honored the dead with funeral games....”

There is not a word about Kassandros’ own family relationship to the deceased royals. No comment that he was giving funeral honors to his wife’s sister and his own mother-in-law. Even if we were to assume that Kassandros was by nature a modest man and not inclined towards self-promotion²⁶ – something that is contradicted by Diod. 19.52.1 – it remains to explain the silence of the historians themselves. Diodorus (and thus probably his source) made a point, only one page earlier of noting the ancestry of Olympias, whose death had been arranged by Kassandros. She is described as follows:

Ὀλυμπιάς μὲν οὖν, μέγιστον τῶν καθ’ αὐτὴν ἐσχηκυῖα ἀξίωμα καὶ
γεγεννημένη θυγάτηρ μὲν Νεοπτολέμου τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν
Ἡπειρωτῶν, ἀδελφὴ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ στρατεύσαντος εἰς
Ἰταλίαν, ἔτι δὲ γυνὴ μὲν Φιλίππου τοῦ πλεῖστον ἰσχύσαντο τὴν πρὸ
αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην δυναστευσάντων, μήτηρ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου

²⁴ Palagia and Borza present one of the most detailed and emphatic cases for the identity of Tomb II at Vergina as that of Philip II and Adea-Eurydike.

²⁵ Diod. 19.52.5.

²⁶ Plut. *Demetr.* 18.4, claiming that Kassandros did not use the title (Κάσσανδρος δέ, τῶν ἄλλων βασιλέα καὶ γραφόντων καὶ καλούντων, αὐτὸς ὥσπερ πρότερον εἰώθει τὰς ἐπιστολάς ἔγραψε) does not support this view, since Plutarch refers to the manner in which Kassandros styled himself *in letters*. That he used the title in Macedon is clear from *Syll.*³ 332 = Hatzopoulos 1996, II 43–5 no. 20 (a land grant to Perdikkas son of Koinos), in which he appears as βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Κάσσανδρος (for full discussion see Errington 1974). I note also that in this inscription the ancestry of Perdikkas is carefully spelled out – though, admittedly, this is a different type of document. On the matter of Kassandros’ failure to make any significant use of his alleged relationship with Kynnana II, I would add the comments of Sabine Müller, who writes to me: “Es kam mir auch immer sehr seltsam vor, dass diese angebliche Tochter keinerlei Spuren in Kassanders Selbstdarstellung hinterlassen haben soll, denn ansonsten ging er mit der Namensgebung seiner Kinder programmatisch ja sehr offensiv vor und baute auch gerade seine Frau mit eponymer Städtebenennung sehr ein. Da dies etwas auch Lysimachos und Ptolemaios ebenso wie Demetrios mit ihren Töchtern machten (eponyme Stadtbenennungen; sie treten als Stifterinnen auf) wundert es mich, dass Kassander das mit seiner ‘Tochter’ nicht auch gemacht habe.”

τοῦ πλεῖστα καὶ κάλλιστα κατεργασμένου τοιαύτης καταστροφῆς ἔτυχε.²⁷

“Such was the end of Olympias, who had attained to the highest dignity of the women of her day, having been daughter of Neoptolemus, king of the Epirotes, sister of the Alexander who made a campaign into Italy, and also wife of Philip, who was the mightiest of all who down to his time had ruled in Europe, and mother of Alexander, whose deeds were the greatest and most glorious” (R.M. Geer tr.).

But about Kynnana and her relationship to Kassandros Diodorus says nothing.²⁸ Since it clearly suited Kassandros to honor members of the royal family – and particularly the opponents of Olympias and her grandson (both of whom were put to death) – it would have been even more effective to point to his kinship by marriage (had this existed) with an act of both public and individual piety.²⁹ Furthermore, the tombs themselves, if the excavations at Vergina have revealed the final resting place of Philip III Arrhidaios and Adea-Eurydike, pose problems. Would not Adea-Eurydike and Kynnana I have received special treatment from their brother-in-law and son-in-law respectively? But compelling evidence for Kynnana’s tomb is hard to find,³⁰ and Adea-Eurydike, if she is the occupant of the antechamber of Tomb II, appears to have been placed there as afterthought.³¹

²⁷ Diod. 19.51.6.

²⁸ Nor is there any comment in Athen. 4.155a, citing Diyllus of Athens (*FGrH* 73 F1): Διῶλος δ’ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐν τῇ ἐνάτῃ τῶν ἱστοριῶν φησιν ὡς Κάσανδρος ἐκ Βοιωτίας ἐπανιών καὶ θάψας τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τὴν βασίλισσαν ἐν Αἰγαίαις καὶ μετ’ αὐτῶν τὴν Κύνναν τὴν Εὐρυδίκης μητέρα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τιμήσας οἷς προσήκει καὶ μονομαχίας ἀγῶνας ἔθηκεν, εἰς ὃν κατέβησαν τέσσαρες τῶν στρατιωτῶν. On the basis of the form of the name (on which see Heckel 1983–84) and the details preserved, it appears that Diyllus was Diodorus’ source, and hence it is less likely that his failure to comment on Kassandros’ relationship with the deceased is merely an oversight.

²⁹ Compare Alexander’s concern for the burial of his father, Philip: Diod. 17.2.1; Justin 11.2.1.

³⁰ Lane Fox 2011, 1–34 does not believe that any descendant of Perdikkas III was buried in the so-called Royal Tombs of Vergina (Tombs I–III), and he asserts that “Tomb IV as not built in 316/15 and is not Kynna’s tomb” (28). Borza and Palagia 2007, who provide detailed arguments for identifying Tomb II as that of Philip III and Adea-Eurydike, are curiously silent about Kynnana’s final resting place, although this is clearly a matter of some importance.

³¹ In conversation, Professor Palagia expressed to me the view that the antechamber was not a later addition and that it is in no way inferior to the room occupied by the male occupant. The age of the female, determined by a study of the skeletal remains, appears to have been about 25. Whether this supports the view of Borza and Palagia (2007, 106) depends upon the accuracy of the osteological study (or, indeed, its interpretation, see Lane Fox 2011, 21) and the date of Kynnana I’s marriage to Amyntas Perdikka.

§4. The less-than-glamorous Truth

Palagia’s identification of Kynnana II as a member of the Argead royal house was based primarily on the (admittedly unusual) combination of the names Kynnana, Adea and Kassandros. The art-historical arguments show that a fourth-century date for the grave inscription and thus the death of the young Adea cannot be ruled out. But the historical arguments clearly militate against the identification of these individuals with members of the family of Philip II and Antipatros. It is more likely that the parents of the deceased girl were members of the Beroean elite and that the mother was in all probability Kynnana, the daughter of Epigenes (Tataki 1988 no. 781). The family appears to have belonged to the first half of the third century BC.³²

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³² See Tataki 1988, 85 (no. 26), 210 (nos. 780, 781), 432–3. There were certainly members of important Macedonian families attested in Beroea. Tataki’s work has, I believe, given strong support to Edson’s view (1934) that the Antigonids had strong connections with the town (see Tataki 1988, 420). Professor Palagia’s argument, like that of Oikonomides 1987 (which links Philip and Iolaos of *IG* II² 561 with the sons of Antipatros), looks attractive at first sight but does not stand up to scrutiny.

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Abstract

Olga Palagia has recently published a new interpretation of the grave monument of a certain Adea, daughter of Kynnana and Kassandros. Not only has she presented art-historical arguments for the significance and dating of the artifact, but she has postulated a new bride for Kassandros son of Antipatros, the later king of the Macedonians. But the historical arguments militate against the identification of these individuals with members of the family of Philip II and Antipatros. It is more likely that the parents of the deceased girl were members of the Beroean elite and that the mother was in all probability Kynnana, the daughter of Epigenes. The family appears to have belonged to the first half of the third century BC.