

## *Archein and/or Archesthai:*

### *Exploring the Vocabulary of Female Power*

**Dr. Alex McAuley**  
School of History, Archaeology, and Religion  
Cardiff University

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Aristotle Pol book 3 1277'20 (1277a)

ἀλλὰ μὴν ἐπαινεῖται γε τὸ δύνασθαι ἄρχειν καὶ ἄρχεσθαι, καὶ πολίτου δοκεῖ που ἡ ἀρετὴ εἶναι τὸ δύνασθαι καὶ ἄρχειν καὶ ἄρχεσθαι καλῶς

*Another point is that we praise the ability to rule and to be ruled, and it is doubtless held that the goodness of a citizen consists in ability both to rule and to be ruled well*

ἄρχειν: present active infinitive  
ἄρχεσθαι: present passive infinitive

*'If the new dynasties came to require the title as a sign of respect, they probably got the idea from the cities and thought it fit nicely with their aspirations. The traditional language of the polis provided a lexicon for new monarchical power and dominance.'*

Ramsey 2021: 189.

## The Routledge Companion to Women and Monarchy in the Ancient Mediterranean World



Edited by Elizabeth D. Carney and Sabine Müller

# THE PROGRAMME

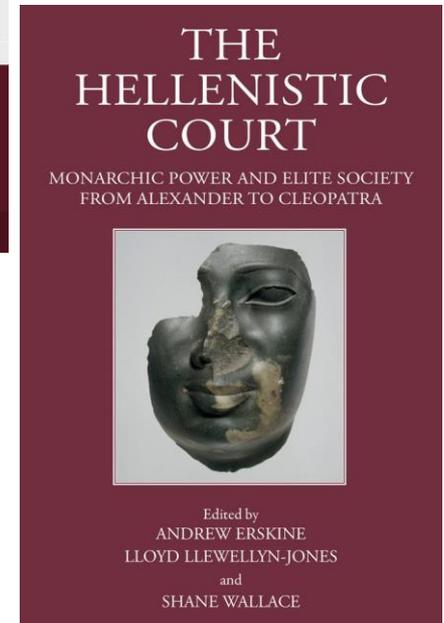
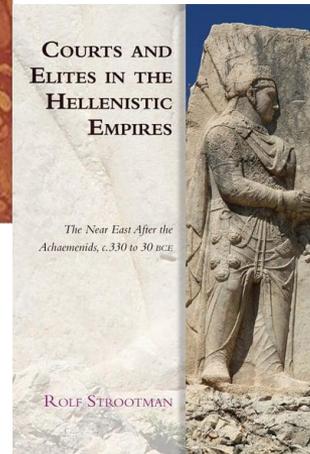
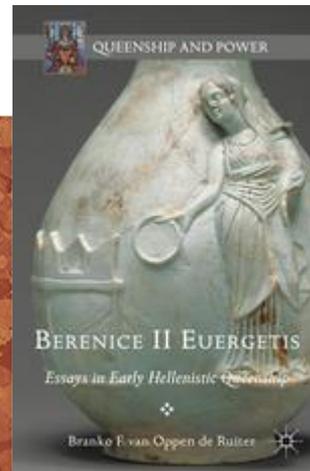
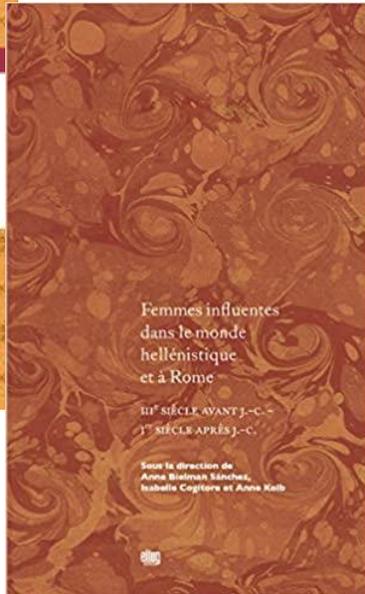
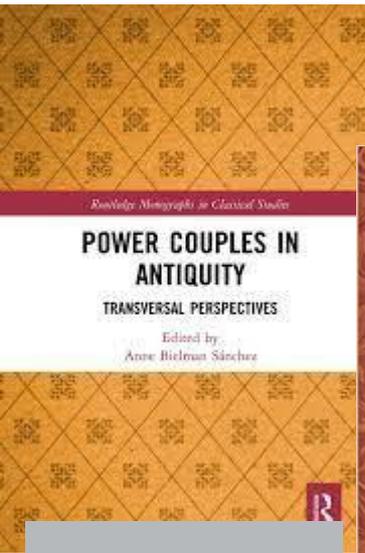
**I. Methodological comments**

**II. Royal women in epigraphic sources**

**III. Royal women in literary sources**

**IV. Conclusions: All roads lead to Pergamon**

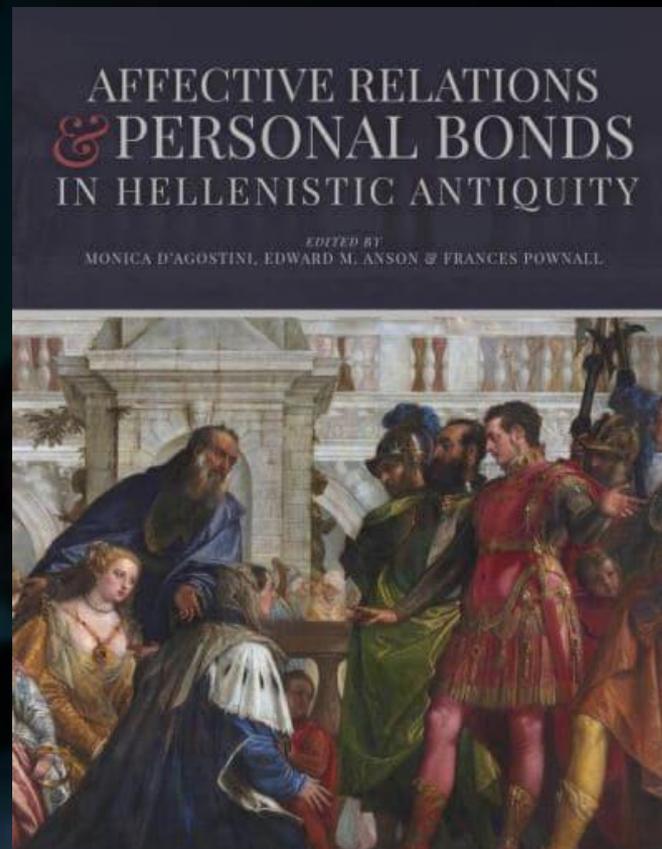
# Comment I: From Queens to 'Queenship'



## Comment I: Institutions vs Personal Bonds

Although the courts of Philip and Alexander operated necessarily on a much larger scale than the *oikos* of the Classical Greek *polis*, the basic structure was the same.

-Anson, D'Agostini, and Pownall 2021: 4

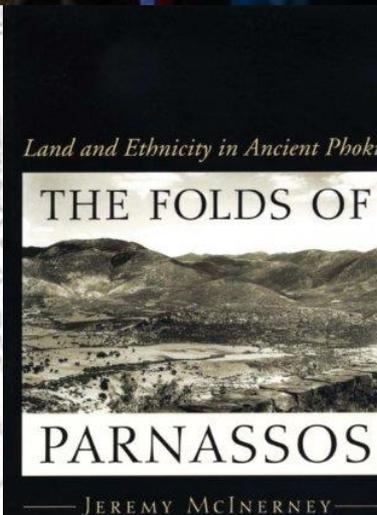
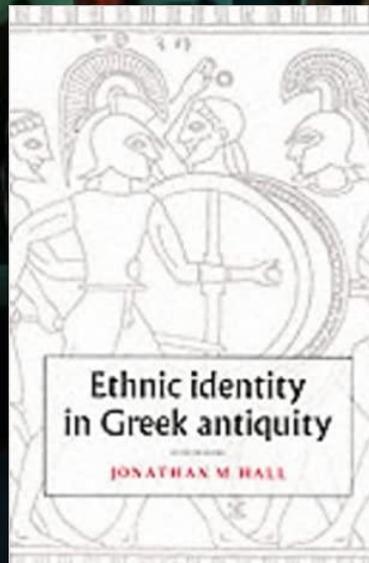


## Comment II: Terminology

Ethnicity = Identity = Culture = ???

Power = Influence = Agency = ???

'The same but different'



ETHNICITY AND  
CULTURE IN  
LATE ANTIQUITY



edited by  
Stephen Mitchell  
and  
Geoffrey Greatrex

## Comment III: The riddle of the sources

*To Ariarathes king of Cappadocia, he sent Antiochis, and to Eumenes king of Pergamum, his last remaining daughter.*

**Ἀντιοχίδα** δ' ἔπεμπεν Ἀριαράθη τῷ Καππαδοκῶν βασιλεῖ, καὶ **τὴν ἔτι λοιπὴν** Εὐμένει τῷ Περγάμου βασιλεῖ  
App. Syr. 5

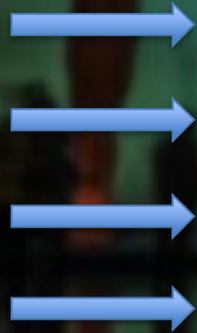
*either because she was afraid for having murdered his father, or because she had a manic loathing for all people*

εἴτε δείσασα περὶ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς δολοφονήσεως, εἴτε καὶ **μανιώδει πρὸς πάντας μίσει**  
App. Syr 69.

## Comment III: The *eidolon* and the *gyne*

Εἶδωλον

'phantom'  
'image'



Γυνή

(Historical)  
'woman'

## II. Epigraphic Sources

**Decree of Miletus I Didyma 480 = Austin 51 299/298 BC**

ἐπειδὴ Ἀπά[μη ἢ βα]-

5 σίλισσα πρότερόν τε **πολλὴν εὖνοιαν καὶ προ[θυμίαν]**

**παρείχετο** περὶ Μιλησίων τοὺς στρατευομένου[ς σὺν]

[τ]ῷ βασιλεῖ Σελεύκῳ καὶ νῦν παραγενομέν[ων τῶμ]

[π]ρεσβευτῶν, οὓς μετεπέμψατο Σέλευκος [διαλεξόμενος]

[π]ερὶ τῆς οἰκοδομίας τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ ἐν Διδύμ[οις, οὐ τὴν]

**10 τυχοῦσαν σπουδὴν ἐποιε[ῖ]το**

that Apama,<sup>2</sup> wife of King Seleucus, should be honoured, resolved by the council and the people: since Queen Apama / **has previously displayed all goodwill and [zeal]** for those Milesians who served in the army [with] King Seleucus,<sup>3</sup> and now when [the] ambassadors came [into her presence], whom [King] Seleucus had summoned [from us], **she [manifested] no ordinary devotion** regarding the temple at Didyma

Cf Ramsey 2016: 88-97)

**Austin 198 = Ma 1999: 26, Laodike III to Iasos in Caria  
196/195 BCE. Ll. 11-15**

ἀθεσιν ἀγαγεῖν, προαιρουμένη δὴ καὶ ἐγὼ ἀκόλου-  
θα πράσειν τῇ σπουδῇ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκτενεῖται καὶ διὰ  
τοῦτο καταθέσθαι τινὰ εὐεργεσίαν μὲν εἰς τοὺς  
ἀσθενοῦντας τῶν πολιτῶν, εὐχρηστίαν δὲ κοι-  
νὴν τῶι σύμπαντι δήμῳ, γεγράφεικα Στρουθί-

and since it is my policy to act in accordance **with his zeal and eagerness** and because of this **to confer a benefaction on those citizens** who are destitute, which would be of **general advantage / to the entire people**, I have written to Strouthion, the financial...

**Austin 247 C = RC 65-67, OGIS 331 II-IV**

King Attalus (III) to the council and people of Pergamum, 14 greetings; since Queen Stratonice my mother, 15 **the most pious of all women** and one who showed the greatest affection towards my father and towards myself, displayed

piety to all the gods<sup>16</sup> and in particular to Zeus Sabazius, whom she introduced as an ancestral god<sup>17</sup> /

Greek text:

βασιλεὺς Ἄτταλος Περγαμηνῶν τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμῳι χαίρειν· ἐπεὶ βασ[ί]-  
λισσα Στρατονίκη ἡ μήτηρ μου, εὐσεβεστάτη μέγ γενομένη πασῶμ, φιλο-  
στοργοτάτη δὲ διαφερόντως πρὸς τε τὸμ πατέρα μου καὶ πρὸς ἐμέ,  
πρὸς ἅπαντας μὲν τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσεβῶς προσηνέχθη, μάλιστα δὲ  
πρὸς τὸν Δία τὸν Σαβάζιον, πατροπαράδοτον αὐτὸν κομίσασα εἰς  
50 τὴμ πατρίδα ἡμῶν,

## Berenike II and Euergesia

OGIS 65: καὶ βασιλίσης Βερενίκης τῆς γυναικὸς 5 καὶ ἀδελφῆς τοῦ βασιλέως, **θεῶν Εὐεργετῶν**

OGIS 86: τῶν ἐκ Πτολεμαίου καὶ Βερενίκης **θεῶν Εὐεργετῶν,**

SEG 19.1596b: βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου καὶ βασιλίσης Βερενίκης **θεῶν Εὐεργετῶν**

SEG 36.1218: all references of Ptolemy III and Berenike II in the first person plural

See also SEG 38.1476; 39.1426; 39.1596, Syll. 463.

## Kleopatra Thea Eueteria

**SEG 19.904, Ptolemais-Ake, 130-129 BC.  
See also Seleucid Coins 2.2258.**

ὕπε<ρ> βασιλέως μεγάλου Ἀντιό[χου] Σω[τῆρος(?)]  
Εὐεργέτου Καλλινίκου τοῦ ἐγ βασιλέ[ως]  
[Δημητρ]ίου Σωτῆρος μεγίστου καὶ **βασιλίσσης**  
**[Κλεοπά]τ[ρ]ας Θεᾶς {ξ.ς} Εὐετηρίας [καὶ]** τῶν παιδίων

On Eueteria:

Plato, *Sym.* 188A: balanced mixture of the elements to produce *eueterian* and *hygieian*

See also Aristotle, *Pol.* 5.1306b, NE 1098b, Demosthenes 10.49 and 69.

## Thea as Tyche



### III. Literary sources

#### Women as passive figures (*archesthai*) = Good

*To Ariarathes king of Cappadocia, he sent Antiochis, and to Eumenes king of Pergamum, his last remaining daughter.*

**Ἀντιοχίδα** δ' ἔπεμπεν Ἀριαράθῃ τῷ Καππαδοκῶν βασιλεῖ, καὶ **τὴν ἔτι λοιπὴν** Εὐμένει τῷ Περγάμου βασιλεῖ  
App. Syr. 5

#### Women as active figures (*archein*) = dangerous

*either because she was afraid for having murdered his father, or because she had a manic loathing for all people*

εἴτε δέισασα περὶ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς δολοφονήσεως, εἴτε καὶ **μανιώδει πρὸς πάντας μίσει**  
App. Syr 69.

## Women in the broader context

**Appian, *Syriaka*:** Succession of good or bad kings, each impact the kingdom (*oikos*).

Weakened kingdom = female influence (Παρά δὲ τὴν ἀναρχίαν Syr. 68)

**Diodorus:** Conduct of women as symptomatic of society/household

Bad: Thais at 17.72; Good: Lucretia at 10.21.  
Perils of marriage: 12.14.2-4

**Plutarch:** Vit. Dem. 14 on Phila, Vit. Ant. 25 on Cleopatra

## IV. All roads lead to Pergamon



# The Epigraphic Apollonis

**Austin2 240a = OGIS 308, Hierapolis c.167-159 BC.**

ll. 5:

[κ]αὶ πρέπουσαν ἐν ἀνθρώποις **ἀπόδειξιν τῆς ἰδίας ἀρετ[ῆ]ς**

after displaying in a glorious and fitting way among men her own virtue,

ll. 10-13

and so having displayed in her life everything that relates [to honour] and glory, she has lived a distinguished and fitting life

**κεχρημένη [τ]ο[ῖ]ς [πρὸς τ]ε[ιμ]ῆν καὶ δόξα[ν] ἀνήκουσιν  
καλὴν καὶ πρέπουσαν πεποίηται** διὸ καὶ πᾶσι[ν] ἐν τῷ βίῳ τὴν  
διαγω[γὴν] τοῦ βίου

# The Literary Apollonis

## Polybius 22.20.1-8

ὅτι Ἀπολλωνίς, ἡ Ἀττάλου τοῦ πατρὸς Εὐμένους τοῦ βασιλέως γαμετή, Κυζικηνή ἦν, γυνὴ διὰ πλείους αἰτίας ἀξία μνήμης καὶ παρασημασίας. [2] καὶ γὰρ ὅτι δημότις ὑπάρχουσα βασίλισσα ἐγεγόνει καὶ ταύτην διεφύλαξε τὴν ὑπεροχὴν μέχρι τῆς τελευταίας, οὐχ ἑταιρικὴν προσφερομένη πιθανότητα, σωφρονικὴν δὲ καὶ πολιτικὴν σεμνότητα καὶ καλοκαγαθίαν, δικαία τυγχάνειν τῆς ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ μνήμης ἐστίν

Apollonias, the wife of Attalus, father of King Eumenes, was a woman of Kyzikos, and a woman who for many reasons is worthy of memory and praise. Her claims upon a favourable recollection are that, though born a citizen, she became a queen, and protected that pre-eminence to the end of her life, not exhibiting the persuasiveness of a courtesan, but by always exhibiting the gravity and excellence of a woman strict in her life and courteous in her demeanour.

## Closing thoughts

ἄρχεσθαι = passive



ἄρχειν = active



Εἶδωλον

'phantom'  
'image'



Γυνή

(Historical)  
'woman'

**Diolch yn fawr iawn / thank you!**

**[mcauleya1@cardiff.ac.uk](mailto:mcauleya1@cardiff.ac.uk)**

