

The Last Marriage and the Death of Lysimachus

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THE DOWNFALL AND DEATH of Lysimachus (ca. 361/351–281, king 305–281) directly followed the execution of his eldest son and heir apparent, Agathocles. The latter must have had significant backing, both popular and at court, because “Lysimachus had appointed him successor to the throne and through him won many victories in war.” The murder of Agathocles, therefore, resulted in Lysimachus’ loss of support, precipitating his defeat by Seleucus in the battle of Corupedium. This marked the end of the so-called period of the Successors.¹ Ancient and modern authors alike claim that the reason for the murder of Agathocles was that Lysimachus’ youngest wife, the ambitious Arsinoe, wished to have her own son named as his father’s successor. However, while Arsinoe must have had this desire for quite some time, what still remains a mystery is why Lysimachus suddenly decided to execute his eldest son (trusted, experienced, and popular), which quickly proved fatal for his kingdom and for himself. The significance of this event along with various contradictions, both chronological and in the details, found in the sources merits a reconsideration of the evidence.

¹ Just. 17.1.1–4, transl. J. C. Yardley. For Lysimachus’ loss of support, namely among the people and in the army, which was a direct result of his murder of Agathocles and became the reason for Lysimachus’ defeat by Seleucus in 281: e.g., Memnon *FGrHist* 434 F 5.7; Polyæn. 8.57; and, in general, H. S. Lund, *Lysimachus. A Study in Early Hellenistic Kingship* (London/New York 1992) 200–204.

I

Lysimachus is known to have had three wives:² Nicaea, whom he married after the death of her previous husband Perdicas in 321 but before the death of her father Antipater in 319, and with whom he fathered Agathocles;³ Amastris, daughter of Oxyartes and first the wife of Craterus and then the widow of Dionysius of Heraclea Pontica, who became Lysimachus' wife ca. 302, in connection with the final assault of other Successors on Antigonos and the partition of his kingdom;⁴ and, finally, Arsinoe, a daughter of Ptolemy I, who had three sons by Lysimachus.⁵ Agathocles also was married to a daughter of Ptolemy, Lysandra, which brings up the first of the problems: Plutarch's words have usually been taken to mean

² He also fathered a son, Alexander, from an Odrysian woman, who has been held by some as his "wife": e.g., F. Landucci Gattinoni, *Lisimaco di Tracia* (Milan 1992) 122; D. Ogden, *Polygamy, Prostitutes and Death: the Hellenistic Dynasties* (London 1999) 57–59 ("probably married c. 300 or before"). But only two ancient texts mention this Alexander, both in connection with his flight from the court of Lysimachus in the wake of Agathocles' murder in 283 (for this date see n.44 below): Pausanias refers to "an Odrysian woman" (1.10.4, ἐξ Ὀδρυσιᾶδος γυναῖκός), whereas Appian (*Syr.* 64) makes no mention of her at all. Lysimachus had many children by various women: e.g., Just. 17.2.1 with H. Heinen, *Untersuchungen zur hellenistischen Geschichte des 3. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (*Historia Einzelschr.* 20 [1972]) 35–36; cf. Diod. 12.21.1–2. The "Odrysian woman," whose name we do not even know, did not have to be his wife. Hence the status of this woman has been questioned: e.g., J. Seibert, *Historische Beiträge zu den dynastischen Verbindungen in hellenistischer Zeit* (*Historia Einzelschr.* 10 [1967]) 95–96 with n.14.

³ Strab. 12.4.7. This date: e.g., G. M. Cohen, "The Marriage of Lysimachus and Nicaea," *Historia* 22 (1973) 354–356. For Nicaea as the mother of Agathocles: e.g., U. Wilcken, "Agathokles (18)," *RE* 1 (1893) 757; E. Will, *Histoire politique du monde hellénistique* I (Nancy 1966) 86; Seibert, *Verbindungen* 80 n.28; E. Badian, "Agathokles," *NPauI* 1 (1996) 239; Ogden, *Polygamy* xiii, 57.

⁴ Diod. 20.109.7; Memnon F 4.10. This date: e.g., U. Wilcken, "Amastris (7)," *RE* 1 (1894) 1750; Seibert, *Verbindungen* 93; S. M. Burstein, *Outpost of Hellenism: The Emergence of Heraclea on the Black Sea* (Berkeley/Los Angeles 1976) 81; E. Badian, "Amastris," *NPauI* 1 (1996) 573–574, and "Klearchos (4)," *NPauI* 6 (1999) 501; Ogden, *Polygamy* 58; H.-L. Fernoux, *Notables et élites des cités de Bithynie* (Lyon 2004) 30 ("hiver 302/301").

⁵ Paus. 1.10.2–3 (see next note); Plut. *Demetr.* 31.3; Memnon F 4.9.

that Lysimachus married Arsinoe at the same time as Agathocles married Lysandra, whereas Pausanias mentions that when Lysimachus married Arsinoe, Agathocles and Lysandra already had children.⁶

The marriage between Lysimachus and Arsinoe has generally been dated to the turn of the third century,⁷ because, according to Justin, Arsinoe's two younger sons from Lysimachus were sixteen and thirteen at the death of their father in 281.⁸ Thus the eldest son, Ptolemy,⁹ would have been at least seventeen. We also know that after the death of Lysimachus, this Ptolemy refused to accompany his mother and younger brothers to Arsinoe's next husband (and half-brother), Ptolemy Ceraunus, arguing that Ceraunus' offer was a trap, which it

⁶ Plut. *Demetr.* 31.3; Paus. 1.10.2–3: “When however Demetrius crossed over into Asia and made war on Seleucus, the alliance between Pyrrhus and Lysimachus lasted only as long as Demetrius continued hostilities; when Demetrius submitted to Seleucus, the friendship between Lysimachus and Pyrrhus was broken, and when war broke out Lysimachus fought against Antigonos son of Demetrius and against Pyrrhus himself, had much the better of the struggle, conquered Macedonia and forced Pyrrhus to retreat to Epirus. Love is wont to bring many calamities upon men. Lysimachus, although by this time of mature age and considered happy in respect of his children, and although Agathocles had children by Lysandra, nevertheless married (ἔγημεν) Lysandra's sister Arsinoe” (transl. W. H. S. Jones).

⁷ R. Pietschmann, “Arsinoë II.,” *RE* 2 (1895) 1282 (299 or 298); J. G. Droysen, *Geschichte des Hellenismus*² II (Basel 1952) 366–367; B. Niese, *Geschichte der griechischen und makedonischen Staaten* I (Gotha 1893) 354; K. J. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte* III.1 (Strassburg 1904) 220–221; K. Scherling, “Lysandra,” *RE* 13 (1927) 2501; F. Geyer, “Lysimachos,” *RE* 14 (1928) 29 (299 or 298); H. Bengtson, *Griechische Geschichte* (Munich 1950) 361; H. Volkmann, “Ptolemaios I. Soter,” *RE* 23 (1959) 1625 (299); Seibert, *Verbindungen* 74 (300–299); G. Longega, *Arsinoe II* (Rome 1968) 18–19, 26, 38, 127 (ca. 300); Burstein, *Outpost* 82 and S. M. Burstein, “Arsinoe II Philadelphos. A Revisionist View,” in W. L. Adams and E. N. Borza (eds.), *Philip II, Alexander the Great and the Macedonian Heritage* (Washington 1982) 197–212, at 198; Lund, *Lysimachus* 185; Landucci Gattinoni, *Lisimaco* 166 (ca. 300–299); D. J. Thompson, “Arsinoë (RE 26) II Philadelphus,” *OCD*³ (1996) 177; W. Ameling, “Arsinoë II.,” *NPau* 2 (1996) 38 (300–299); E. Badian, “Lysimachos,” *NPau* 7 (1998) 606 (soon after the battle of Ipsus).

⁸ Just. 24.3.5. See esp. Heinen, *Untersuchungen* 9–10.

⁹ On Ptolemy as the eldest of the three sons: e.g., Pietschmann, *RE* 2 (1895) 1282; H. Volkmann, “Ptolemaios (13),” *RE* 23 (1959) 1596.

was. Ceraunus had the two younger sons of Arsinoe killed on the spot.¹⁰ Ptolemy, son of Lysimachus, therefore, should have reached adulthood by 281, and probably several years earlier than that. His dedication of a statue of Arsinoe in the name of Lysimachus has been dated to the period between 284 and 281, for the very reason that Ptolemy was already considered to be an adult before 281.¹¹

It follows, therefore, that Agathocles and Lysandra should have married either at the turn of the third century as well (if we follow Plutarch's view that the two marriages occurred simultaneously) or at an even earlier date (if we accept the information of Pausanias that Agathocles already had children by Lysandra at the time his father married Arsinoe). But here, too, a problem emerges. Ancient authors provide the marriage of Agathocles and Lysandra with three datings. The first possibility, according to Pausanias (1.9.6–7), is that Agathocles and Lysandra were married before or in 302, because their marriage took place after the campaign of Lysimachus against the Getae (in which Agathocles was captured and released), and before Lysimachus crossed to Asia Minor, where he started what would become the last assault of the Successors on Antigonos, which culminated in the latter's defeat and death in 301. The second date puts the marriage of Agathocles with Lysandra in the early 290s. In the words of Plutarch, this marriage, which was soon followed by the marriage of Seleucus and Stratonice, occurred shortly after the battle of Ipsus. Justin says that after the battle of Ipsus, "Seleucus allied to Demetrius and Ptolemy to Lysimachus" and that Cassander died soon afterwards (297).¹² Then again, the campaign of Lysimachus against the Getae has also been dated to ca. 293–292,¹³ which

¹⁰ Just. 24.2.10, 24.3.7–8.

¹¹ The dedication: L. Robert, *BCH* 57 (1933) 485–491 (= *Opera minora selecta* I 171–177), who dated the birth of this Ptolemy to the early third century, which is close to the traditionally accepted date for the marriage of Lysimachus and Arsinoe (488 with n.1). This dating: P. Roussel and R. Flacelière, *Bull.épigr.* 1936, p.364.

¹² Plut. *Demetr.* 30–31, cf. Just. 15.4.24.

¹³ E.g., Niese, *Geschichte* I 367–368 (292); Beloch, *Geschichte* III.1 232 (292); Bengtson, *Geschichte* 363 (292); Will, *CAH²* VII.1 (1984) 105 (293); Lund,

means that if Lysimachus married Agathocles to Lysandra after the Getic campaign, this marriage should not have taken place earlier than 293–292.¹⁴ We, therefore, appear to face two sets of contradictions in the sources. The first is between Plutarch, who puts the marriages of Lysimachus and Agathocles together, and Pausanias, who says that Agathocles and Lysandra already had children when Lysimachus married Arsinoe.¹⁵ The second contradiction is related and concerns the date of the marriage of Agathocles and Lysandra: before 302–301, in the early 290s, or after 293–292.

Two major attempts have been made to solve these contradictions. One proposes two marriages of Agathocles, in the early and late 290s, respectively.¹⁶ No less a scholar than Benedict Niese suggested that Agathocles married two women with the name Lysandra, so that when he married the second one at the same time as his father married Arsinoe, Agathocles already had children by the other Lysandra.¹⁷ But the problems with this theory are, first, that we have absolutely no evidence about two marriages for Agathocles; second, it was Lysandra, the daughter of Ptolemy, who, along with her children, ran away from the court of Lysimachus after the murder of her husband; and, finally, those who share this opinion will have to date the marriage of Lysimachus and Arsinoe to the late 300s as well, because they follow Plutarch's statement that the father and son married at the same time.¹⁸

Lysimachus 45; Landucci Gattinoni, *Lisimaco* 182–183 (in the period between the first and the second campaign of Demetrius against Thebes, i.e. from 293 to 291); I. von Bredow, "Getai," *NPauy* 4 (1998) 1026 (292).

¹⁴ E.g., Wilcken, *RE* 1 (1893) 757: after the campaign of Lysimachus against the Getae.

¹⁵ Here Droysen stopped: *Geschichte* II 367 n.2. He clearly marked the problem but made no attempt to solve it.

¹⁶ Scherling, *RE* 13 (1927) 2501–2502 with criticism; so also Volkmann, *RE* 23 (1959) 1625 (both with bibliography).

¹⁷ Niese, *Geschichte* I 354; so also Geyer, *RE* 14 (1928) 29.

¹⁸ E.g., Niese, *Geschichte* I 354 n.2; Beloch, *Geschichte* III.1 221 (with nn.2–3). Cf. Seibert, *Verbindungen* 74 (with n.15), on dating the marriage of Lysimachus and Arsinoe to 300–299 ("sicher ist die Datierung keineswegs. Sie beruht auf der relativen Chronologie des Plutarch, Demetrius 31ff.") and 95

The other attempt proposes two campaigns of Lysimachus against the Getae, first before 302 and then again in the latter half of the 290s.¹⁹ In addition to the information of Pausanias, our knowledge about Lysimachus' warfare against the Getae derives from the accounts by Diodorus²⁰ and Memnon.²¹ When all three excerpts are put together, the marriage of Agathocles to Lysandra appears to have followed either his capture by the Getae or the campaign of Lysimachus against the Getae in the late 290s. But these events were not necessarily concurrent,²² and the accounts of Pausanias and Diodorus (as we know from the Constantinian excerpts) leave open the possibility that the capture of Agathocles could have occurred at another time. And Memnon, who came from

n.8, who, however, had to accept (75 n.16) that the marriage between Agathocles and Lysandra happened later than that of Lysimachus and Arsinoe.

¹⁹ E.g., Geyer, *RE* 14 (1928) 29; cf. Badian, *NPau* 7 (1998) 606.

²⁰ Diod. 21.11–21.12.1–2: “The Thracians captured Agathocles, the king's son, but sent him home with gifts, partly to prepare for themselves a refuge against the surprises of Fortune, partly in the hope of recovering through this act of humanity that part of their territory which Lysimachus had seized. For they no longer hoped to be able to prevail in the war, since almost all the most powerful kings were now in agreement, and were in military alliance one with another. When the army of Lysimachus was hard pressed for food, and his friends kept advising him to save himself as best he could and not to hope for safety in the encampment, he replied to them that it was not honourable to provide a disgraceful safety for himself by abandoning his army and his friends. Dromichaetes, the king of the Thracians, having given King Lysimachus every mark of welcome, having kissed him, and even called him ‘Father’, then brought him and his children to a city called Helis” (transl. F. R. Walton).

²¹ Memnon F 5.1: “Clearchus had now reached adult age, and became ruler of the city; he fought in many wars, sometimes as an ally of others, and sometimes resisting attacks against himself. In one of these wars, he went as an ally of Lysimachus against the Getae, and was captured along with him. Lysimachus was released from captivity, and later secured Clearchus' release as well” (transl. A. Smith).

²² So also, e.g., Lund, *Lysimachus* 46 with further bibliography, supporting the idea of the “first Getic war” prior to 302–301; P. Delev, “Lysimachus, the Getae, and Archaeology,” *CQ* 50 (2000) 384–401, at 388 n.19, who also adhered to this idea, although offering different dates (at 390–392).

Heraclea Pontica and relied on the local historical tradition preserved by Nymphis (a witness to these events),²³ states that Lysimachus' campaign against the Getae did not involve the capture of Agathocles, but of Clearchus, one of the two sons of Amastris by Dionysius. The majority opinion, therefore, has connected Lysimachus' campaign against the Getae in the late 290s with the capture of Clearchus.²⁴

The solution, however, appears to be an easy one. Lysandra is known to have married Alexander, one of Cassander's sons, in 297–296,²⁵ and there is no evidence that this marriage came to an end before Alexander's death in 294.²⁶ For this reason, Agathocles could only have married Lysandra after that time and, indeed, after the Getic campaign of Lysimachus in the late 290s.²⁷ The evidence on Lysandra's marriage to Alexander makes it possible to agree with those who say that Plutarch simply blundered when he said that Lysimachus and Agathocles married two daughters of Ptolemy I at the same time.²⁸ But the evidence of Pausanias (n.6 above) appears to be similarly questionable; in particular, he makes the following statements which contradict evidence found elsewhere: (i) That Agathocles already had children by Lysandra when Lysimachus married Arsinoe. If Lysimachus married Arsinoe at the

²³ See esp. A. Laqueur, "Nymphis," *RE* 17.2 (1937) 1613 (on the different tenor of the two works, even though Memnon was deriving the factual material from Nymphis), with P. Desideri, "Studi di storiografia eracleota," *SCO* 16 (1967) 366–416, at 378–382, 388–413; also K. S. Sacks, "Nymphis," *OCD*³ 1055, and K. Meister, "Nymphis," *NPau* 8 (2000) 1073 (ca. 310–after 246).

²⁴ E.g., Burstein, *Outpost* 84 (292); Lund, *Lysimachus* 180 ("the Getic expedition in 292–1"); Badian, *NPau* 6 (1999) 501 (292).

²⁵ Porphyry *FGrHist* 260 F 3(5); Syncell. *Ecl.chron.* p.505 (Dind.) = p.320 (Mosshammer).

²⁶ Plut. *Demetr.* 36.6. See Landucci Gattinoni, *Lisimaco* 175–176.

²⁷ Niese, *Geschichte* I 354 n.2; Beloch, *Geschichte* III.1 230; Bengtson, *Geschichte* 362; W. Ameling, "Lysandra," *NPau* 7 (1998) 595; R. A. Hazzard, *Imagination of a Monarchy: Studies in Ptolemaic Propaganda* (Toronto 2000) 181 (ca. 293); W. Huss, *Ägypten in hellenistischer Zeit* (Munich 2001) 210 n.178.

²⁸ Seibert, *Verbindungen* 75 n.16; Landucci Gattinoni, *Lisimaco* 165–166 and n.237 with bibliography; Ogden, *Polygamy* 65 n.76.

turn of the third century, whereas Agathocles married Lysandra in the late 290s, how could the latter couple have had children before the former couple? (ii) That Lysimachus was king of Macedonia by the time he married Arsinoe, even though he is known to have established himself as the ruler of Macedonia only in 285.²⁹ Was Pausanias also mistaken or was he giving his own interpretation of the evidence?

II

Much depends on how ancient, and modern, authors interpret the meaning of “marriage.” It was the habit of Hellenistic rulers to keep their wives at court. This was the case in Lysimachus’ own court at Sardis,³⁰ and we see the same situation at the court of Ptolemy in Alexandria, where Pyrrhus singled out Berenice from other “wives of Ptolemy” at the turn of the third century.³¹ Other wives, therefore, did not necessarily leave when their husband arranged a new marriage. This observation means that there is no reason to accept a priori the established view that once Lysimachus married Arsinoe ca. 300, his earlier marriage to Amastris ended and she left his court for Heraclea Pontica at once.³² In fact, the evidence we have suggests that Amastris did not return to Heraclea Pontica until long after Lysimachus married Arsinoe ca. 300.

First, it was at some point in time after Amastris’ marriage to Lysimachus that her two sons, Clearchus and Oxathres, “were established as rulers of the city in succession to their father,” who died ca. 306–305. Memnon (F 5.2–3) shows that they did

²⁹ E.g., Beloch, *Geschichte* III.1 249 (285 or 284); Will, *Histoire* 1:84; Lund, *Lysimachus* 185; A. B. Bosworth, “Lysimachus,” *OCD*³ (1996) 902.

³⁰ On the polygamy of Lysimachus: Landucci Gattinoni, *Lisimaco* 123; Ogden, *Polygamy* 57.

³¹ Plut. *Pyrrh.* 4.4. Cf. the many wives of Demetrius: Plut. *Demetr.* 14.1–2. For discussion of royal polygamy at that time see esp. Ogden, *Polygamy* 57. The example was clearly set by Philip II and his son.

³² This dating: e.g., Longega, *Arsinoe* 36 (Amastris “repudiated” by Lysimachus when he married Arsinoe); Burstein, *Outpost* 83–85; Lund, *Lysimachus* 88 (he was then “obliged to renounce Amastris”); Landucci Gattinoni, *Lisimaco* 123; E. D. Carney, “Arsinoë before she was Philadelphus,” *Ancient History Bulletin* 8 (1994) 124; Fernoux, *Notables* 30.

not arrange the murder of Amastris until after Lysimachus had come to control Macedonia, which was in or after 285. For this reason, it is possible to date the death of Amastris to 285 or 284.³³ Why did the two brothers wait so long to arrange the death of Amastris, if they (or, at least, Clearchus) succeeded Dionysius either immediately after he died ca. 306–305, or in the 290s?³⁴ Another question that necessarily arises is why Clearchus participated in the Getic campaign of Lysimachus in the late 290s, and even still enjoyed Lysimachus’ “friendship” (that is, a political arrangement) and “fatherly love” (even if pretended) in the 280s (Memnon F 5.2–3) if Amastris had been “repudiated,” as some scholars have termed it, around 300.

The answer to both questions lies in the fact that once Amastris married Lysimachus and moved to Sardis, Clearchus became the ruler of Heraclea Pontica. It was in this position that he participated in the Getic campaign of Lysimachus in the late 290s.³⁵ The return of Amastris upset his standing. Although she allegedly distanced herself from the rule of her two sons, according to Memnon, and even could have relocated to a different city,³⁶ Memnon also says that after Amastris died,

³³ Burstein, *Outpost* 85, 93 (284 or “possibly even in 285”) and in Adams and Borza, *Philip* 199, 209; Badian, *NPauuly* 1 (1996) 574 and 7 (1998) 607, who dated Lysimachus’ murder of the brothers to 284 by putting it after his takeover of Macedonia. Cf. Pietschmann, *RE* 2 (1895) 1282 (death of Amastris in 289); Desideri, *SCO* 16 (1967) 397, 401 (Lysimachus had Clearchus and Oxathres murdered in 289, thus putting the death of Amastris in that year or earlier); further bibliography in A. Bittner, *Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft in Herakleia Pontike* (Bonn 1998) 46 n.293.

³⁴ Memnon F 5.1 (n.21 above): Clearchus “became ruler of the city” (Heraclea) quite some time before he participated in the Getic campaign of Lysimachus in the late 290s.

³⁵ Memnon F 5.1. Bittner, *Herakleia* 48, refers to him at that time as “Klearchos II.”

³⁶ She then allegedly moved to Amastris: e.g., Wilcken, *RE* 1 (1894) 1750; Burstein, *Outpost* 83; cf. doubts in Badian, *NPauuly* 1 (1996) 574; Bittner, *Herakleia* 45. See Memnon F 4.9–10. She founded Amastris after returning from Sardis: Strab. 12.3.10. The coins of the city do not allow us to establish the exact date of its foundation, but they carry the legend Ἀμάστριος βασιλίσσης, which shows that, on returning from Lysimachus’ court at Sardis, she indeed claimed control over the entire kingdom of her late husband: F. Imhoof-Blumer, *Porträtköpfe auf antiken Münzen* (Leipzig

Lysimachus “arrived at Heraclea as if to approve the succession” (F 5.2–3). His words indicate that after Amastris returned from Sardis, she put herself in charge of the kingdom, thus dislodging Clearchus and his brother from power.³⁷ The same conclusion follows from references to her as “queen” on the coins and from her foundation of the city of Amastris. Her interference in the affairs of the state, which caused her sons to murder her, should have come about not long before she was murdered, thus suggesting that she did not arrive back from Sardis until the mid-280s. Lysimachus punished the two brothers immediately after the death of Amastris, because he came “as if to approve the succession [of Clearchus].” Memnon also indicates that by that time Lysimachus had already become the king of Macedonia, which happened in 285.

Second, those who assert that Amastris left Sardis for Heraclea in connection with the marriage of Lysimachus to Arsinoe ca. 300 have put forward the traditional vision of Arsinoe as manipulative and power-hungry, which was shared by some ancient authors as well.³⁸ Using these qualities, Arsinoe prevailed on Lysimachus to have his eldest son murdered.³⁹ This opinion could well be correct. However, if Lysimachus and Arsinoe were married ca. 300, why did Arsinoe suddenly succeed in bringing Lysimachus over to her side only in the mid-280s? There does not seem to be any valid reason to argue that

1885) 25 (among “Tyrants of Heraclea in Bithynia”); Head, *Historia numorum*² (London 1911) 505–506. Also, even if she did not move to Amastris (and we only have her coins from there: e.g., Bittner, *Herakleia* 159–160), its foundation testifies to her prominent role in the life of the kingdom after her divorce from Lysimachus.

³⁷ Cf. Burstein, *Outpost* 83–85: Amastris divided the “administration of her realm,” by allowing Clearchus and Oxathres to govern Heraclea and Cierus “under her authority”; Badian, *NPauuly* 1 (1996) 574 (her two sons “regierten unter ihrer Oberherrschaft”), and Bittner, *Herakleia* 45 with n.289, though they all dated Amastris’ return from Sardis to ca. 300.

³⁸ E.g., Pietschmann, *RE* 2 (1895) 1282 (“eine äusserst energische, herrschsüchtige Frau”); Longega, *Arsinoe* 36, 54 (“la cupidigia di ottenere il massimo potere”), 129, with further such references in Hazzard, *Imagination* 81. See n.52 below.

³⁹ E.g., Longega, *Arsinoe* 44–46 (with bibliography); Heinen, *Untersuchungen* 6–7; Carney, *Ancient History Bulletin* 8 (1994) 125–126.

Arsinoe was “the dominant woman” at Lysimachus’ court from the moment she arrived there or at any time before the murder of Agathocles.⁴⁰ The only such argument has been that Lysimachus refounded Ephesus and renamed it Arsinoe after his new wife.⁴¹ But he could have been honoring his own daughter Arsinoe, just as he had honored his other daughter Eurydice, by refounding the city of Smyrna and renaming it after her.⁴² Another city, Antigonea, was refounded and renamed by Lysimachus, in honor of his first wife Nicaea (Strab. 12.4.7), some time after 301, which further indicates that Arsinoe did not dominate Lysimachus’ court when she was married to him. Something must have happened in the mid-280s, which both raised Arsinoe to the dominant position at the court of Lysimachus and sent Amastris back home.

Finally, Justin (17.1.1–4) informs us that

the areas of the Hellespont and the Chersonese were struck by an earthquake, but the worst devastation overtook the city of Lysimacheia (founded twenty-two years earlier by King Lysimachus), which was totally destroyed. This was an omen which predicted a grim future for Lysimachus and his descendants, and ruin for his kingdom along with the destruction of the afflicted areas. Nor would these portents remain unfulfilled: a short while afterwards Lysimachus developed for his own son Agathocles a

⁴⁰ This view: e.g., Carney, *Ancient History Bulletin* 8 (1994) 124. Pace Burstein, in Adams and Borza, *Philip* 198–199.

⁴¹ Refoundation of Ephesus as Arsinoe: Strabo 14.1.21. This interpretation: e.g. D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* (Princeton 1950) 76, 888 n.90, 291 n.13 (294 B.C.); O. Mørkholm, *Early Hellenistic Coinage* (Cambridge/New York 1991) 93; G. M. Cohen, *The Hellenistic Settlements in Europe, the Islands, and Asia Minor* (Berkeley/Los Angeles 1995) 177–180; P. Scherrer, “Ephesos,” *NPauy* 3 (1997) 1081.

⁴² Strab. 14.1.21, with Burstein, in Adams and Borza, *Philip* 198–199 (who connected the new name of Ephesus with that of Lysimachus’ daughter). For Lysimachus refounding Smyrna and renaming it Eurydice for another daughter, see e.g. Mørkholm, *Early Hellenistic Coinage* 93; Burstein; Cohen, *Hellenistic Settlements* 180–183 (with extensive references to sources and bibliography). K. J. Rigsby, “Agathopolis and Doulopolis,” *EpigrAnat* 38 (2005) 109–115, at 111 (with n.14), has recently proposed, however, that Lysimachus could have renamed Smyrna for his mother, whose name is nowhere attested.

hatred that was abnormal not just in a father but in any human being, and had him poisoned by his stepmother, Arsinoe, although Lysimachus had appointed him successor to the throne and through him won many victories in war.

Because Lysimacheia was founded in 309(–308), the earthquake that marked the beginning of Lysimachus’ downfall would have occurred in 287(–286).⁴³ Lysimachus’ downfall, therefore, was provoked by some event that took place between this earthquake and the murder of Agathocles in 283,⁴⁴ which caused the fatal break between the king and his son.

The demise of Agathocles has so far received two explanations: either the machinations of Arsinoe or Agathocles’ own actions, which may have amounted to conspiracy.⁴⁵ Neither of these explanations is convincing on its own. The first makes one wonder why Arsinoe succeeded only fifteen years after her marriage to Lysimachus. And as for the second, if Agathocles had already been acknowledged as Lysimachus’ successor, why did he have to form a conspiracy against his father? If he did, his succession must have been threatened by something that still needs to be clarified. We see several developments at the court of Lysimachus in the mid-280s: Arsinoe acquired the predominant position; Amastris left, only to be murdered by her sons soon afterwards; and the break took place between Lysimachus and his eldest son, which resulted in the execution of Agathocles. The questions are why did all this happen, and why did it happen at this time?⁴⁶

The major political event that occurred at that juncture was Ptolemy I’s proclamation in 285 of his son as his co-ruler and successor.⁴⁷ The mother of Ptolemy (II) and Arsinoe was Bere-

⁴³ The foundation: Marmor Parium *FGrHist* 239.B F 19; Diod. 20.29.1; cf. Will, *Histoire* I 82; I. von Bredow, “Lysimacheia (1),” *NPauly* 7 (1998) 603. The earthquake: Heinen, *Untersuchungen* 17.

⁴⁴ This date: Wilcken, *RE* 1 (1893) 757 (284); Longega, *Arsinoe* 44–46; Heinen, *Untersuchungen* 17–20 (283–282); Bosworth, *OCD*³ 902 (283). Cf. W. Ameling, *Gnomon* 63 (1991) 111.

⁴⁵ See Landucci Gattinoni, *Lisimaco* 211–214 (with bibliography).

⁴⁶ Cf. Lund, *Lysimachus* 198: “the mysterious happenings at Lysimachus’ court in the last years of his reign.”

⁴⁷ Paus. 1.6.8; Porphyry F 2(2). See Beloch, *Geschichte* III.1 227–228;

nice, whereas Lysandra was born to Ptolemy I by Eurydice.⁴⁸ Once Ptolemy I made his final decision about who would succeed him, and Berenice thus became the mother of the dynastic line, the whole situation changed not only for the court in Alexandria, but at Lysimachus' court in Sardis as well. Arsinoe was now the sister to the future ruler of Egypt, whereas the line of Eurydice had no political importance at all. If Agathocles came to power, he would have had no family connections to the mighty Ptolemaic dynasty. In fact, by being married to a daughter of Ptolemy I by another wife, Agathocles was destined to incur animosity at the court of Ptolemy II, which threatened to deprive the Lysimachean dynasty of its most important, if not its only available, ally.⁴⁹ Lysimachus, therefore, had to make adjustments. He married his own daughter Arsinoe to Ptolemy II⁵⁰ and "transferred his affection" (Memnon F 4.9–10) to Arsinoe, the daughter of Ptolemy I and Berenice. In political terms, Memnon's elegant expression meant that Arsinoe was now to be the mother of the dynastic line at the court of Lysimachus. We can trust the information of Memnon, who both witnessed the event and relied on sources from Heraclea Pontica that had close contacts with the royal court in Sardis at that time. Pausanias, four centuries later, misinterpreted the situation by presenting this rearrangement as having been caused by Lysimachus' "marriage" to Arsinoe, which it was not: the two alleged contradictions in the text of Pausanias, noted above, only reflected, therefore, the

Bengtson, *Geschichte* 366; H. Volkmann, "Ptolemaios II. Philadelphos," *RE* 23.2 (1959) 1645–1646 (with bibliography); A. E. Samuel, *Ptolemaic Chronology* (Munich 1962) 25; Mørkholm, *Early Hellenistic Coinage* 190; G. Hölbl, *Geschichte des Ptolemäerreiches* (Darmstadt 1994) 35 (285–284); Huss, *Ägypten* 228, 249 (285–284).

⁴⁸ Cf. Wilcken, *RE* 1 (1893) 757: by Berenice (great men also make mistakes!).

⁴⁹ For their alliance see 138 above (e.g., Just. 15.4.24).

⁵⁰ Paus. 1.7.3; schol. Theocrit. 17.128–130. See Niese, *Geschichte* I 389; Seibert, *Verbindungen* 78 n.24 (with bibliography); Thompson, *OCD*³ 177 ("perhaps in 285"); Ameling, *NPau* 2 (1996) 38, and "Ptolemaios II. Philadelphos," *NPau* 10 (2001) 534 (285–281); Ogden, *Polygamy* 58–59 (285 or 283); Hölbl, *Geschichte* 35.

change in Arsinoe's status at the court of Lysimachus. She was now the queen. This is how an inscription from the Arsinoeum in Samothrace, which has been dated to the period 287 to 281, refers to her.⁵¹ We now can date this inscription to 285–281.

Conclusion

The events that have puzzled scholars observing the Lysimachean court in the latter half of the 280s were consequences of the change of Arsinoe's status at that court, which itself resulted from the proclamation in 285, naming her brother, Ptolemy (II), as the successor to his father. One consequence was the departure of Amastris to the kingdom of her previous husband, where she soon found her death. Another was the adjustment of the royal succession by Lysimachus, which led predictably to conflict with his eldest son. As the mother of the dynastic line, Arsinoe now expected her son to succeed his father. Her interests thus coincided with those of Lysimachus: Agathocles stood in the way of both of them. Among others, Porphyry says that, having established himself as ruler of Macedonia, Lysimachus dispensed with Agathocles, after being persuaded by Arsinoe.⁵² It could well be that Agathocles indeed became involved in a conspiracy against his father:⁵³ having been deprived of the succession, he did not have much to lose. It is tempting to connect the dedication of Arsinoe's statue by her son Ptolemy, in the name of Lysimachus, with her power struggle against Agathocles, thus putting this inscription either shortly before or shortly after the murder of Agathocles.

This interpretation of what happened at the court of Lysimachus in the mid-280s also casts a new light on the image of

⁵¹ *OGIS* 15 = *IG XII.8* 227, with P. M. Fraser, *Samothrace II: Inscriptions on Stone* (New York 1960) no. 10 (assigned "very probably to the years 287–281, when Lysimachus was King of Macedon," p.50), followed by G. Roux, "The History of the Rotunda of Arsinoe," in *Samothrace VII* (Princeton 1992) 231–239. Cf. Hazzard, *Imagination* 83, who interpreted this text as suggesting "a prominent role for Arsinoe during the 280s when the king had declared her his queen."

⁵² Porphyry F 3(8). See also Paus. 1.10.4, ὁ Λυσίμαχος ἀνελεῖν τὸν Ἀγαθοκλέα Ἀρσινόη παρήκε; Trog. *Prol.* 17, *Lysimachus occiso filio Agathocle per novercam Arsinoën bellum cum rege Seleuco habuit.*

⁵³ As implied by Strab. 13.4.1–2. See n.45 above.

Arsinoe herself. Even if she succeeded in removing Agathocles, thus paving the way to royal power for her own son, the success of Arsinoe was entirely preconditioned by Lysimachus' change of the line of inheritance. Cutting Agathocles off from the succession was, in the end, Lysimachus' decision. Therefore, Arsinoe's influence on Lysimachus and his politics should not be overestimated. Like many female members of Hellenistic royalty, Arsinoe must have been good at promoting her interests, but her success can hardly be explained in the traditional way, that is to say, only by a strong-willed and powerful personality.⁵⁴

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⁵⁴ But see critical discussions by Lund, *Lysimachus* 186–191, and Hazzard, *Imagination* 96–99.