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ARCHAGATHOS SON OF AGATHOCLES,  
EPISTATES OF LIBYA

Some two decades ago P. M. Fraser published a white marble plaque, found in Alexandria, containing an inscription of the early third century B.C. This text records the dedication of a temenos to Sarapis and Isis by a Ptolemaic official and his wife<sup>1</sup>. Fraser accorded the inscription a detailed commentary, which led to the conclusion that the document was not remarkable in most features. This view was sharply challenged in 1965 by Luigi Moretti, who proposed identifications for this official and his wife, persons who on his view were of royal descent, and put forth some speculations about the implications of the inscription for the political history of the first quarter of the third century<sup>2</sup>. Neither of these studies, in my view, provides correct answers to many of the questions they raise, and other questions are not asked. A further justification for a re-examination of the inscription is the publication in 1970 of an Oxyrhynchus papyrus which may have some bearing on the problem.

1. The inscription

Fraser describes the inscription as "handsome", but neither his description nor the photograph given in his publication provides any real sense of the strikingly fine appearance of the stone and its lettering, now on display in the Greco-Roman Museum of Alexandria. It is a first-class piece of work and can have belonged only to a monument of some significance. The text is as follows:

Ἵπὲρ Βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου  
τοῦ Πτολεμαίου καὶ Βερενίκης  
Σωτήρων Ἀρχάγαθος Ἀγαθο-  
4 κλέους ὁ ἐπιστάτης τῆς Λιβύ-  
ης καὶ ἡ γυνὴ νῦν Στρατονίκη  
Σαράπιδι Ἰσιδι τὸ τέμενος

<sup>1</sup> P. M. Fraser, *BSAAlex* 41 (1956) 49–55, photograph on p. 49. Text reprinted as SEG XVIII 333. The place of finding was outside the Ptolemaic perimeter of the city, according to Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (Oxford 1972) I, 271, where he discusses the shrine in the context of similar dedications in or near Alexandria.

<sup>2</sup> L. Moretti, *RivFC* 93 (1965) 173–179. J. and L. Robert, *Bull. épig.* 1966, 113, summarize Moretti's hypotheses without judgment.

Fraser raises first the question of the date of the dedication. He takes the titu-  
lature of the first part as his guide: the king is Ptolemy II Philadelphos, appearing  
here without his second wife, Arsinoe II. Since Arsinoe consistently appears in  
inscriptions of the years in which she was queen, the possible dates are narrowed  
to between the accession of Philadelphos (283) and his marriage to his sister  
(between 279 and 274<sup>3</sup>) or to the period after Arsinoe's death in 270. Fraser elimi-  
nates the second possibility on the grounds that the reference to the king's  
parents as Σωτῆρες rather than Θεοὶ Σωτῆρες reflects practice of the early part of  
the reign rather than the later. More recently Fraser has backed away from this  
conclusion, which he no longer regards as certain, but the date still is probable<sup>4</sup>.

It is worth noting here that in his thorough examination of shrines of Sarapis  
in Alexandria Fraser can cite only two besides that of Archagathos and Strato-  
nike that date before the time of Ptolemy III; one of these cannot be dated more  
precisely than that (nor is the name of its dedicant that of someone otherwise  
known to us), but the other is the shrine dedicated to Isis and Anoubis at Canopus  
by the famous admiral Kallikrates. Fraser comments, "Though the dedication  
is not to Sarapis, but to Isis and Anubis, we can hardly doubt that it was either  
made in the temple of Sarapis at Canopus or was in some way connected with it,  
and that Isis and Anubis received the dedications as his σύνναοι Θεοὶ"<sup>5</sup>. The one  
peer of the dedication of Archagathos and Stratonike, then, is that of one of the  
most powerful men of the Ptolemaic kingdom in the reign of Philadelphos.

## 2. Archagathos son of Agathocles

Fraser remarked of this dedicant that he was otherwise unknown, but no  
further comment<sup>6</sup>. Moretti argued that the conjunction of these two names sug-  
gested at once the family of the Syracusan tyrant and king, who had one known  
son named Archagathos, who died several years before his father<sup>7</sup>. But we know  
that Agathocles had two further children by his third wife, Theoxena. Justin  
(23. 2. 6ff.), in the only surviving reference in ancient literature to this woman, tells  
us that Agathocles, on his deathbed in 289, sent her, with her *duos parvulos*,  
back to Egypt, from which he had received her. There is a lengthy description of  
the scene, which we will consider later.

It has generally been considered that to have been given in marriage to Aga-  
thocles, Theoxena must have been part of the family of Ptolemy I. Justin remarks  
that she was sent back *cum omni pecunia et familia regalique instrumento*,

<sup>3</sup> There is not adequate evidence to choose a year within this span; for a summary of the prob-  
lem see Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria II*, 367 n. 228.

<sup>4</sup> *Ptolemaic Alexandria II*, 367—8 n. 229.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 270—272 (quotation from 272).

<sup>6</sup> Fraser (n. 1, above) 51.

<sup>7</sup> Moretti (n. 2, above) 177—178; the first Archagathos himself had a son Archagathos, who  
was killed in 289. Since Archagathos I had died in 307, it would not be remarkable if Agathocles  
after 300 named another son with this name.

which points in the same direction<sup>8</sup>. The usual assumption is that since we know a fair amount about the children of Ptolemy, Theoxena was another child of Berenike by her first marriage to a Macedonian named Philip<sup>9</sup>. She would thus be a sister of Magas, governor of the Cyrenaica for Ptolemy Soter, later its king, and of Antigone, who was married to Pyrrhos. It seems likely to me that this identification is correct, but proof is lacking.

A recently published Oxyrhynchus papyrus preserves a genealogy on which two names are preserved: Theoxena, described as daughter τῆς καὶ Ἀγαθολέου<sup>10</sup>. The mother whose name is lost above and to the left, above the diagonal line, must have been the Theoxena who was sent back to Egypt in 289; we know now that one of the two *parvuli* was named after the mother. This daughter in turn had a son named Agathocles, as well as another child whose name is lost. A strong tendency to preserve the names from Agathocles' side as well as the Ptolemaic side is evident. The papyrus records that "Ptolemy II caught her [Theoxena the younger] bringing to him false [accusations] against the ... and banished her to the Thebaid"<sup>11</sup>.

The editor, E. Lobel, remarks "Why then is there no left-hand branch descending from <Θεοξένα>, whom we know from Justin to have had two children?" The answer is that one can see perfectly plainly on Plate III that the line leading to <Θεοξένα>, if continued to a length equal to that used in the next generation, takes us to a point from which a diagonal line in the other direction would not cross the extant papyrus at any place; and the diagonal placement of the line ensures that there was another child. This child must have been a boy. This follows not from the *parvulos* (since the word means "small child", not specifically masculine), but from the consistent use of the masculine forms through the rest of Justin's account, showing that at least one child must have been male<sup>12</sup>.

It has generally been agreed that *parvulos* in 289 indicates a marriage ca. 300 B.C., perhaps slightly later, and this seems reasonable. Theoxena's children

<sup>8</sup> Fritz Geyer, RE 5A, 2 (1934) 2255–6, makes the case very clearly, quoting also the other authorities who have discussed the subject.

<sup>9</sup> Most recently, J. Seibert, Historische Beiträge zu den dynastischen Verbindungen in hellenistischer Zeit, Historia Einzelschr. 10 (Wiesbaden 1967) 73–4, points out that Theoxena's parents and the date of the marriage are in fact uncertain (although this is true only if one seeks exactitude), but he seems not to have been able to formulate a consistent position himself: on p. 104 he calls her „wahrscheinlich eine Tochter Ptolemaios I.“, but on p. 130 a „Stieftochter“.

<sup>10</sup> P. Oxy. XXXVII 2821. Lobel remarks on the curious fact that the genealogy seems to be constructed according to the mother, and that Theoxena the younger's husband is not named.

<sup>11</sup> Lobel's comment, "I do not know whether exile to Upper Egypt is a form of punishment recorded elsewhere", is curious in light of the fact that Arsinoe I, the first wife of Ptolemy II, was banished to Coptos (in the Thebaid) for plotting probably not far different in time from this incident — a significant parallel that will be developed later.

<sup>12</sup> Lobel: "Whether *duos parvulos* must mean two small boys or could mean a small boy and a small girl I must leave to better Latinists to tell me." Lewis and Short say plainly that the meaning is "a child", and in any case one of each sex would in the plural be designated by the masculine plural.

would thus have reached maturity in the late 280's or early 270's. Was our Archagathos the other child? In favor of the identification are (1) the strong tendency in the family of Agathocles to use a few Agatho- names repeatedly; (2) the knowledge that the other child was male; (3) the fact that Theoxena's boy would have come of age in just the period of our dedication; (4) the position that Archagathos holds; (5) the quality of the dedication, which bespeaks a person of high standing; (6) the fact that the name Archagathos is much commoner in Sicily than elsewhere, so that one would in any case look first for a Sicilian origin for the man<sup>13</sup>.

### 3. Epistates

We must now turn to the position held by Archagathos in order to clarify point 4 above. His title is  $\delta$  ἐπιστάτης τῆς Λιβύης. Fraser raised the question of which Libya was meant: the Cyrenaica or the "Egyptian nome of that name, adjoining the Delta on the west, which was known simply as Λιβύη"<sup>14</sup>. Fraser decided for the latter for two reasons, one of historical circumstances, the other a matter of forms of Ptolemaic administration. We will take the second of these first. Fraser asserts that "though we know of ἐπιστάται in the Ptolemaic provincial administration, the term is used exclusively of temporary officials sent to (Cycladic) towns, and not of provincial governors".

There are in fact two of these officials known, one on Thera, the other on Keos, both at the time of the Chremonidean War<sup>15</sup>. Both were sent by Patroklos, Ptolemaic commander in that war. But there is no evidence to support the statement that they were temporary officials. Apollodotos, the epistates on Thera, was sent with five dikastai to settle the disturbed internal affairs of the island, but he is not one of the dikastai and his position is distinguished from theirs. They are temporary judges whose functions are well-known from a large number of similar inscriptions from other cities. Apollodotos, on the other hand, may well have been on Thera for much longer, directing its use as a Ptolemaic base in the Chremonidean War.

On Keos, Hieron son of Timokrates, a Syracusan, who is called τεταγμένος ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέα Πτολεμαῖον, came to the island with Patroklos and was appointed by him καθεστηκώς ἐπιστάτης ἐν Ἀρσινόῃ. He was honored by Karthaia in the inscription which mentions him for his general good-will toward the city and for his help to one afflicted Karthaian citizen in particular. The praises are not like those accorded to temporary judges and suggest rather a resident official over a period of time. Arsinoe (Koresia) was a Ptolemaic naval base for some time; it

<sup>13</sup> From indices to IG and SEG I note seven from Sicily and (aside from our man) eight from everywhere else. I doubt that a more thorough survey would alter much.

<sup>14</sup> Fraser (n. 1, above) 51.

<sup>15</sup> OGIS 44 for Thera, IG XII 5 1061 for Keos. I discuss their functions in more detail in my 'Administration of the Ptolemaic Possessions outside Egypt' (Leiden 1976) 124, 142.

must have had a commandant; and it is hard to see who Hieron was if not that commandant.

There is no reason to assume that the epistates in an overseas Ptolemaic possession cannot be a permanent official, then, but the way is not therefore clear to seeing Archagathos as such an official. First, the overseas epistates governed a city, not a territory, in the two cases known: Apollodotos in Thera, Hieron in Arsinoe (Koresia). Second, the two attested instances both come from the same military campaign and were appointed by the same commander; nowhere else do we find the term. It would therefore be most prudent to see the term as a product of its circumstances and to avoid extending it either in time or in space. In short, extant usage does not forbid taking Libya to be a foreign possession, nor encourage it.

Fraser therefore takes the title to belong to the domestic administration and sees the office as being that of epistates of the nome. Relying on a study of nome officials by E. Van 't Dack<sup>16</sup>, he emphasizes a distinction between epistates of the nome and epistates of the police of the nome. But Fraser has not observed the geographical perspective given by Van 't Dack: « l'épistate, peu connu hors de la Haute-Égypte et non mentionné dans l'aperçu général [that Van 't Dack has given of the nome officials]. » Epistatai in Lower Egypt are known mainly at the village level and in some cases with authority over a large area such as a toparchy<sup>17</sup>. No less important (and not discussed by Van 't Dack) is a chronological perspective: all nome epistatai whose titles are securely attested fall after 145 B.C., and even possible examples are absent from the third century<sup>18</sup>. We are thus at a very great distance in time (and bureaucratic development) from the Egypt of

<sup>16</sup> *Aegyptus* 29 (1949) 3—44; the remarks about the epistates are on pp. 39—43.

<sup>17</sup> One person listed by Peremans and Van 't Dack (*Pros. Ptol.* I 377), Dioskourides, might appear to contradict both this generalization and that below about the chronological distribution of epistatai. This person is stated in the prosopography to have been epistates of the Themistes division of the Arsinoite Nome in the years 223—218. The sources for this man all come from the *Enteuxeis*, in which the strategos is asked or is going to write to him in order to command investigation of a complaint. It is evident that the position of this functionary is analogous to that of the village epistates (cf. O. Guéraud's illuminating discussion of their role in the petition process, *P. Enteux.* pp. xlii-xlvii), to whom the strategos is to write in a myriad of other documents. In only one case is his title well-preserved, and there it reads *τεταγμένωι ἐν τῇ Θεμιστοῦ μερίδι*. It seems that he in fact occupies a position quite the same as that of the village epistates, except that he operates in a larger context. He is therefore to be seen as a local variant on the type of the village epistates rather than as a prototype of the nome epistates.

<sup>18</sup> Van 't Dack (n. 16, above) cites BGU VI 1242 to illustrate the epistates of the nome in the Oxyrhynchite Nome at an uncertain date (third-second century, according to the editors). The context is the address of a circular letter from contractors of two taxes: they list in this order the epistates, *oikonomos*, *topogrammateis*, *komogrammateis*, chiefs of police, and police. The uncertainty of which official is meant and the distance of time and space from other evidence for the office makes it difficult to offer any meaningful conclusion, and Van 't Dack himself cites this as almost an anomaly.

the early third century. The bulk of the evidence is large enough that accident of preservation may be discounted here.

One further point of dissociation of Archagathos from the nome epistates may be urged. These men are subordinate officials; they may hold court rank in the later period (as who of importance did not?), but they are by no means the highest officials in their jurisdictions, being clearly subordinate to the strategos. Archagathos, on the other hand, is a man of importance; as Fraser says, "the dedicant and his wife are members of the Greek administrative class, typical adherents of the cult of Sarapis"<sup>19</sup>. One who would dedicate a temenos to Sarapis and Isis, in the name of his sovereign, in the outskirts of the capital city of Alexandria, with an inscription of strikingly fine workmanship, can hardly be seen as a minor bureaucrat. We must assume that Archagathos had substantial resources at his disposal.

Archagathos, then, cannot be the epistates of the nome of Libya in the sense that Fraser would have, in the way that men were to be epistatai of nomes in the south of Egypt a century and a half later. And yet we have no warrant from our knowledge of the foreign administration for taking him to be a member of any category known to it. It is clear that the effort to classify him in terms of known categories is a failure. But is this not what we would expect? We are here in very early Ptolemaic times, in a period when no aspect of the administration of the empire had reached yet a steady state. Experimentation, adaptation to local circumstances, variety were the key characteristics of the period of Soter, and they lasted well into the next reign on our available evidence. The quasi-systematic view of Ptolemaic administration is (above all for this period) at variance with our evidence<sup>20</sup>.

#### 4. Of Libya

At this point we may do well to examine the word Libya itself for contemporary meaning. It is evident that the variety of usage in antiquity makes it difficult to be certain and specific about its sense here. A few examples from non-technical and technical (insofar as such things exist) sources will suffice.

Pliny (N.H. 5.1) remarks that the Greeks call Africa Libya, and that it is bounded by Egypt. Strabo (17.1.30, 806), on the other hand, says that all of the west side of the Nile is called Libya, while all on the east is Arabia. This meaning seems to have been in use in the Ptolemaic bureaucracy in the second century: we find the phrase *Μεμόνεια τῆς Λιβύης τοῦ Περὶ Θήβας* or *Λιβύη τοῦ Παδουρίου* or *τοῦ Κοκκίτου* in papyri<sup>21</sup>. Less formal usage in Ptolemaic texts is by no means uniform. Three inscriptions point up this fact: I. Métriques 3, in which Sosibios the Magnesian refers to

<sup>19</sup> Ptolemaic Alexandria I, 271. Fraser's remarks in this section make it clear that upper administration is meant.

<sup>20</sup> In connection with this it is interesting that Archagathos gives his title, for Ptolemaic officials in this period when making such dedications hardly ever give such information; hence much of the difficulty in discerning the lines of the administration.

<sup>21</sup> UPZ II 175a.8, 41; b.2; c.4; 196.9, 10, 28, 53.

himself as τὸ πρὶν ἐγὼ ναίων Λιβύης πέδον, which Bernand thinks to mean the Cyrenaica; I. Métr. 39, where on the contrary the term Libya seems to refer to the Fayum, where the person was buried; and I. Métr. 65, in which the ἐπεὶ γῆ Λιβύης in which the dead person is buried is seemingly that of Alexandria.

Nor is official usage monolithic. One type we have already seen. Libya means the nome where it is mentioned in the Revenue Laws, whose form dates from 259. It is thus assigned a quota for production of oil like any other nome<sup>22</sup>. In the Adoulis inscription of the early part of Euergetes' reign, the third Ptolemy recounts that he received from his father Egypt, Libya, Cyprus, Syria, and other possessions<sup>23</sup>. Nowhere else does he mention the Cyrenaica in this inscription, and it is therefore assumed that the Libya referred to is the Cyrenaica. Henri Gauthier, on the other hand, took this reference to pertain to the nome of Libya; he does not mention other discussions, and it is not certain that he was aware of other interpretations<sup>24</sup>.

It is curious, to be sure, that Euergetes should speak of the Cyrenaica as inherited from his father, for it was in fact through his own marriage to Berenike, the daughter of Philadelphos' half-brother Magas, that the third Ptolemy was able to reunite the Cyrenaica with the Ptolemaic kingdom. There are three possible conclusions to be drawn: first, that Euergetes means the coast from Egypt to the Cyrenaica by "Libya" — that is, he means the "nome", and that he does not consider it part of Egypt; second, that he does mean the Cyrenaica, and he is therefore either glossing over the dynastic means of recovering the province that his father did not own (after the 270's at least) or else maintaining a paternal claim to Cyrene as a possession that never rightfully left the crown; or third, that he is being deliberately ambiguous in what he means, that the beholder is meant to be impressed by the royal power but not to inquire too far into its exact limits. The historical problems that this brings us to are wide, and some aspects will be treated in sections 6 and following.

##### 5. Stratonike his wife

Of Stratonike, Fraser remarked only that "the inclusion of the wife is very common in such dedications"<sup>25</sup>. Moretti challenged this assertion, stating that he could not find one of that period where an official and his wife dedicated a sanctuary together<sup>26</sup>. Fraser, in reply, cited a number of inscriptions where a man and his wife (and sometimes children) dedicated a sanctuary or a part thereof, concluding "I do not believe that the fact that the dedicant here held office

<sup>22</sup> P. Rev. 31.4; 40.14; 61. 6, 12.

<sup>23</sup> OGIS 54. For the standard view of the significance of Libya here, see Dittenberger's note.

<sup>24</sup> H. Gauthier, *Les nomes d'Égypte d'Hérodote jusqu' à la conquête arabe*, Mémoires présentées à l'Institut d'Égypte 25 (Cairo 1935) 37—38. Gauthier collects much information on the nome of Libya which I need not repeat.

<sup>25</sup> Fraser (n. 1, above) 54.

<sup>26</sup> Moretti (n. 2, above) 177 and n. 2.



justifies or requires a special explanation"<sup>27</sup>. This may be so, but again Fraser neglects the chronological distribution of the inscriptions he cites: only one of five predates 140 B.C., and that one is of the reign of Ptolemy III<sup>28</sup>. As I have noted, the appearance of the official title is in itself unusual, and for this period the appearance of the wife is almost equally so.

Moretti proceeds from the perception of an unusual feature to a very bold hypothesis: Stratonike is to be identified as a daughter of Demetrius Poliorcetes, by his marriage with Deidameia, a person otherwise unattested. Moretti's argument for the existence of such a person relies on OGIS 14 (IG XIV 727), a Roman copy of a statue of Arsinoe II (after a Hellenistic original). Its text is

Βασίλισσαν Ἀρσινόην βασιλέως  
Πτολεμαίου καὶ βασιλίσσης Βερενίκης  
Στρατονίκη βασιλέως Δημητρίου

The date, according to Moretti, must be 280–278, since Arsinoe is called Queen but neither Lysimachos nor Ptolemy II is mentioned as her husband (one would not expect her brief marriage with Ptolemy Keraunos to leave such a reminder)<sup>29</sup>.

This argument seems to me incorrect. There is no reason at all why Arsinoe's husband must be mentioned. Surely the correct parallel for this text is OGIS 27:

Βασ[ί]λισσαν Ἀ[ρσινόην βα]σιλέως  
Πτολεμαίου [καὶ βασιλίσσης] Βερενίκης  
Καλλικράτης [Βοΐσκου] Σάμιος  
Δι' Ὀ[λυμπίωι]

No one will doubt that this text, accompanied at Olympia by one under a statue of Arsinoe's husband Ptolemy II, was erected in the lifetime, and reign as Queen in Egypt, of Arsinoe II, that is between 279–274 and 270. The same is surely true of OGIS 14.

This dating does not, however, affect the question of the identification of Stratonike daughter of King Demetrius. As Moretti points out, Demetrius' known daughter of that name was successively married to Seleucus I and Antiochus I, the latter of whom was at war with Ptolemy II through most of the decade between 280 and 270. It is difficult to imagine the circumstances in this period when she would have caused to be erected a statue of Arsinoe. And again, the omission of her title of Queen would be curious. The argument for the existence

<sup>27</sup> Ptolemaic Alexandria II, 427 n. 676.

<sup>28</sup> The texts cited are OGIS 64 (Euergetes I), where an Alexandrian and his wife, with no office stated, appear; SB III 6252, 6253, 6309, 6310, three of which come from the reign of the second Euergetes, one from 67 B.C. Fraser ignored Moretti's remark about the date.

<sup>29</sup> G. Longega, *Arsinoe II* (Rome 1968) 79–83, discusses the dating at length, arguing for 279–277 as the probable occasion; but her argumentation is characteristically unconvincing.

of a Stratonike daughter of King Demetrius other than the Seleucid queen has much plausibility.

But this is quite something else than the identification of such a woman as the co-dedicant of the Alexandrian text we are considering. We have no information about where the original of OGIS 14 was placed. Moretti suggests that this child would have been captured by Ptolemy in 294 when he retook Salamis from Demetrius, capturing his opponent's mother and children<sup>30</sup>. But Plutarch specifically tells us that the family members captured there were sent back to Demetrius with rich gifts, and in the face of that plain statement speculation to the contrary is vain<sup>31</sup>.

Moretti points for corroboration to Alexandros, son of Demetrius by Deidameia, who according to Plutarch (Dem. 53) lived out his life in Egypt. But it is much more likely, as several scholars have suggested, that he was sent when very young along with his uncle Pyrrhus, as a hostage to Alexandria in ca. 299/8<sup>32</sup>. More will be made of this point later. At any rate, if Alexandros had a sister named Stratonike who also lived in Egypt (and whom Plutarch does not mention), it is very likely that her occasion of coming to Egypt would have been at much the same time. Deidameia was dead by 298, and Demetrius newly affianced to Ptolemy Soter's daughter Ptolemais. Any children of this marriage to Deidameia would therefore have been born between 301 and 298, and would be much the same generation as Theoxena's children by Agathocles.

A better and more intriguing case for Stratonike, daughter of Demetrius, hostage in Egypt, wife of Archagathos, can be made than Moretti has made. But the one difficulty is substantial: with Archagathos we know that such a child existed, whereas with Stratonike we cannot be sure; only the interpretation of OGIS 14 suggests that this was so, and that text has many problems. The evidence is less than firm, although I do not think Moretti's identification deserves the scorn of Fraser and Longega<sup>33</sup>. In the sections that follow I will attempt to

<sup>30</sup> Plut. Dem. 35.5 is the evidence for the imminence of capture. He does not say which children were in Salamis.

<sup>31</sup> Dem. 38.1. I do not see how Claude Wehrli, *Antigone et Démétrios* (Geneva 1968) takes the two passages of Plutarch I have cited to indicate the capture specifically of two sons, Alexandros (by Deidameia) and Korabos (by Eurydike; the name is printed by most editors as Korragos). See below on the problem of Alexandros.

<sup>32</sup> The suggestion goes back to E. W. Webster, *CPh* 17 (1922) 357—358, who cited an Alexandros, a wealthy person living in Alexandria as a hostage and mentioned in P. Lond. Inv. 2087 (a Zenon papyrus of the middle of the third century). M. Rostovtzeff, *A Large Estate in Egypt* (Madison 1922) 20—21, had suggested that he might be a son of King Lysimachus and his Odrysian wife. Webster pointed instead to Plut. Dem. 53 and suggested the identification with that person. P. Lévêque, *Pyrrhos*, *Bibl. Éc. Fr. Athènes et Rome* 185 (Paris 1957) 107 n. 6, calls the idea "séduisant" but not provable, which is correct. Wehrli (n. 31, above) 161 n. 66, mentions the suggestion without judging it. On Pyrrhos' stay in Alexandria see below.

<sup>33</sup> Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria II*, 427 n. 676: "these identifications seem to me wholly in the air." Longega, *Arsinoe II*, 79 n. 40: "non condivido la pur suggestiva ipotesi del Moretti ..."

provide a context in the political history of 300—270 into which such personages could be placed; it must be made clear now that while this political context is at least defined in outline and supported by the sources, the possible place in it for these two people is much less secure. I suggest that it provides some circumstantial support for Moretti's identifications, but it falls short of demonstrating them to be true.

#### 6. Dynastic Ties, 300—297

It is not a question here of retelling the history of this period, nor of cataloguing the dynastic marriages in detail; rather, I hope to point out certain interconnections of events that bear on our problem. The years after Ipsos saw a realignment of the major powers, with their common enemy, Antigonos, dead and the power of his son much reduced. The squabble between Ptolemy and Seleucus over Coele-Syria was as much an expression as a cause of this rearrangement. Ptolemy married off his daughter by Berenike, Arsinoe (the future Philadelphos) to Lysimachus, and perhaps also another daughter to Lysimachus' son Agathocles<sup>34</sup>. Seleucus, in turn, married the young daughter of Demetrius Poliorcetes, Stratonike. Almost certainly from the same few years is the marriage of Theoxena and Agathocles of Syracuse, as we have seen. One further marriage that may be mentioned is that of Lysandra, daughter of Ptolemy and Eurydike, to Alexander the son of Cassander.

One other action of Ptolemy that is pertinent to our inquiry falls also in this period, I think, the sending of Berenike's son (by her first husband Philip) Magas to the Cyrenaica to repress a revolt there and to become the governor of the region<sup>35</sup>. Here we have a second child of Berenike's first marriage active in Ptolemy's western interests.

The alliance of Seleucus and Demetrius seems to have led to an attack by Demetrius on Ptolemaic possessions in Syria, the coastal cities of which were still held by Demetrius<sup>36</sup>. Further trouble at this point was avoided by a settlement whereby Ptolemy betrothed his daughter Ptolemais (by Eurydike) to Demetrius (298), with Demetrius sending to Alexandria the brother of his wife Deidameia

<sup>34</sup> The source for this is Plut., Dem. 31, who does not give a name for the daughter. Pausanias (1.10.3) says that Agathocles was married to Lysandra. The only Lysandra we know was married at this time to Alexander son of Cassander. Hence speculation: see the concise statement of E. Bevan, *History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty* (London 1927) 36 n. 2, who does not decide. J. Seibert, *Historische Beiträge*, 75 n. 16, thinks that Plutarch is wrong about the date and that the marriage with Agathocles falls later, after the death of Alexander. There is thus only one Lysandra. This seems to me much the most probable solution.

<sup>35</sup> This is a controversial question; I follow the account of F. Chamoux, *Rev. hist.* 216 (1956) 18ff., who gives complete references and a convincing argument.

<sup>36</sup> See the discussion of Cl. Wehrli, *Antigone et Démétrios*, 159—160, of Eusebius' account, according to which Demetrius attacked Samaria in 297/6. Wehrli thinks that this belongs instead to 299/8, before the betrothal of Demetrius and Ptolemais.

(who had just died), Pyrrhus of Epirus<sup>37</sup>. For whatever reason, Pyrrhus soon moved from being a hostage for Demetrius to being an ally of Ptolemy (and particularly a friend of Berenike, according to Plutarch, Pyrrhus 4). The result was his marriage to yet another child of Berenike's first marriage, Antigone, and his return to Epirus<sup>38</sup>. It is not too much to say, even at this point, that Ptolemy was placing the children of Berenike (by whatever marriage) in important positions in his dynastic network, those of Eurydike receiving much less significant niches<sup>39</sup>. This situation was to develop into a factor of great importance in what followed.

#### 7. The Developments of 290—279

The years between 297 and 290, eventful as they were, brought little change to the Ptolemaic dynastic situation, except that Lysandra probably married Agathocles, the son of Lysimachus, after the death of her husband Alexander in 293. But with 290 and the years following we come to a substantial realignment, the development of which has a number of puzzles. The main problem is the change in the positions of Berenike and Eurydike at the Ptolemaic court. Beloch argued that Berenike was made Queen in or about 290, but we do not have documentary evidence that this was so<sup>40</sup>. What is certain is that there was a decisive move by Ptolemy against the position of Eurydike and her children, especially the possibility of Ptolemy Keraunos' succeeding to the throne. We cannot assign dates to any of the events of these five years, except that by 286 Eurydike had left Egypt, probably with all of her children (certainly Ptolemais), and had taken refuge with Demetrius, to whom Ptolemais was married forthwith. Ptolemy II became co-regent in 285, and one may suppose that the decision to make him the successor predates this by at least a year<sup>41</sup>.

<sup>37</sup> See Wehrli, 160—1, citing the exposition of A. Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire des Séleucides* (Paris 1913) I, 36. See above on the likelihood that Alexandros the son of Demetrius was also a hostage on this occasion.

<sup>38</sup> On the shift of allegiance of Pyrrhus see Wehrli, 166, and P. Lévêque, *Pyrrhos*, 111—112.

<sup>39</sup> It is true that we do not know when Eurydike's children were born; Bevan, *Ptolemaic Dynasty*, 52, favors a date before 316 (presumed marriage with Berenike) for the birth of all of Eurydike's children, but he admits the possibility that Ptolemy continued to have children by both concurrently, and it seems likely that this was in fact so. Ptolemais might therefore have been born rather late, and the failure to complete the marriage with Demetrius until years later may simply be a matter of her age.

<sup>40</sup> *Griechische Geschichte*<sup>2</sup> (Berlin—Leipzig 1927) IV, 2, 181. His arguments are that Plut. Pyrrh. 4 refers to Berenike as the most powerful of Ptolemy's wives, hence by implication not in a totally commanding position as Queen; and that when Demetrius of Phaleron (who came to Egypt in 294) tried to persuade Ptolemy I to keep Ptolemy Keraunos as his heir, this presupposes the continued existence of a balance of power between the two women. Beloch was certainly right that a balance (if not quite equal) existed until about 290, but we have no way of knowing if naming as Queen was the expression of its upsetting.

<sup>41</sup> The hypotheses are various and not very useful. P. Lévêque (*Pyrrhos*, 188) seems to put the marriage of Ptolemy and Berenike in 288, which is rather curious. It is odd that Soter's decision

The other aspect of the realignment in this period concerns the west. About 290, Demetrius married the daughter of Agathocles of Syracuse, Lanassa, and there seems to have been a shift in Agathocles' policy against his earlier Ptolemaic ties<sup>42</sup>. Within a year, Theoxena was, as we have seen, on the way back to Egypt. Droysen suggested that the return of Theoxena was linked to the shift in Agathocles' general policy, a suggestion that has met with some approval and rather more disapprobation<sup>43</sup>. I think Droysen is almost certainly right, and one may well suspect a connection between the two parts of the dynastic situation. Eurydike is now aligned with Demetrius and Agathocles, while Berenike's family is now at home only in Egypt and (what is soon to have great consequences) in Thrace, where Arsinoe is still with the aged Lysimachus. The favor for Berenike's family implicit earlier, as I have argued, is now explicit and becomes the organizing principle of dynastic politics.

There is a further manifestation of the alliance between Ptolemy I and Lysimachus in the marriage of the latter's daughter Arsinoe to Ptolemy II, at a date which cannot be determined<sup>44</sup>. A completion of the alignment outlined above came about when Arsinoe (the daughter of Ptolemy) persuaded her husband that his son Agathocles was plotting against him. Agathocles, it will be remembered, was married to one of the daughters of Ptolemy I and Eurydike. Ancient and modern vilification of Arsinoe for her actions has been practically unanimous, but we do not know the truth of the matter. At any rate, Agathocles was executed and Lysandra fled to her mother. Our information is not good, but it is likely that when Demetrius fell into Seleucus' hands in 285 his entourage either

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for Philadelphos as his successor has encountered widespread suspicion as the act of an enile man dominated by his better-loved wife, even while it is admitted that the decision was carried out with great skill and that Philadelphos in fact was the better choice! Cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire des Lagides* (Paris 1903) I, 93—101, and Bevan, *Ptolemaic Dynasty*, 53—54. On the contrary, it seems to me that the decision is the last act of a long-time preference exercised in the dynastic complication of Ptolemy's life and reveals only Ptolemy's usual shrewdness.

<sup>42</sup> For these events, see Wehrli, *Antigone*, 177, and Lévêque, *Pyrrhos*, 139, who sees Agathocles' renunciation of an Egyptian alliance as the cause of Lanassa's leaving Pyrrhos, the friend of Ptolemy.

<sup>43</sup> Droysen, *Geschichte des Hellenismus*<sup>2</sup> (Basel 1952, repr.) II, 398—9, n. 188, who points out that Agathocles did not want to involve Theoxena's children in the succession to his position in Sicily. B. Niese, *Geschichte der griechischen und makedonischen Staaten* (Gotha 1893) I, 370 n. 4, rejected this idea, remarking that Justin's narrative alleges instead as a motivation a fear for the safety of the children and shows Agathocles as bewailing their exile from his power. F. Geyer, *RE* 5A. 2 (1934) 2255—6, follows Niese in rejecting Droysen's conclusion. P. Lévêque, *Pyrrhos*, 139 and n. 5, agrees that the renunciation of an Egyptian alliance is the critical event for Agathocles in this period, which seems to me an unassailable conclusion. One need not be persuaded by the highly melodramatic account of Justin.

<sup>44</sup> Volkmann, *RE* 23.2 (1959) 1646 places the marriage about 285, citing evidence and other opinions. The impossibility of dating Arsinoe II's marriage to her brother deprives us of a terminus for the birth of Arsinoe I's three children, but Volkmann's date seems reasonable to me. It cannot have been much earlier, since Ptolemy II was born in 308 and would have been only 20 in 288.

remained with him in his luxurious captivity or, perhaps more likely, joined the court of Seleucus. To this group Lysandra was now joined. The bloody events of the next few years led to Arsinoe's flight first to Samothrace (279) and then to Egypt.

#### 8. Arsinoe in Egypt, 279—270

At this point the political situation inside the Ptolemaic court was a place of greatest complexity and trouble. We are far from being able to discern all of what happened, nor can we put a date on most of the events<sup>45</sup>. Arsinoe the daughter of Lysimachus (I) was accused of plotting, and she was exiled to Coptos in the Thebaid. Her two accomplices, Amyntas and a Rhodian doctor named Chrysippos, were executed<sup>46</sup>. Such is the official version. Ptolemy II then married Arsinoe his sister (II), who ruled with him until her death in 270. Bouché-Leclercq suggested that the object of the plot (assuming its reality) was not Ptolemy but Arsinoe II, which is an attractive suggestion<sup>47</sup>.

During the second half of the decade one has the defection of Magas with the Cyrenaica, his marriage to Apama (a daughter of Antiochus I and Stratonike), and the first Syrian War (about 274—271). It is not easy to put these in their proper order; but it is probable that the war between Magas and Philadelphos, during which Magas came near to invading Egypt only to be called back by a revolt at home, fell shortly before the outbreak of hostilities between Ptolemy and Antiochus; but the marriage with Apama seems to predate the attack on Egypt, and no doubt the three events are closely connected in time and in planning<sup>48</sup>. There is some epigraphical evidence that in the early part of Philadelphos' reign the Cyrenaica was still loyal under Magas, even after the marriage of Ptolemy and Arsinoe II, but the tie need not have survived that marriage by very much<sup>49</sup>.

<sup>45</sup> See n. 3, above, on the problem of the marriage of Arsinoe II and Ptolemy II, which is the crux.

<sup>46</sup> See the accounts of Bouché-Leclercq (next note) and E. Bevan, *Ptolemaic Dynasty*, 59—60. The sources are the scholiast to Theocritus (17. 128) and a hieroglyphic stele found at Coptos.

<sup>47</sup> *Hist. des Lagides* I, 162, with n. 2.

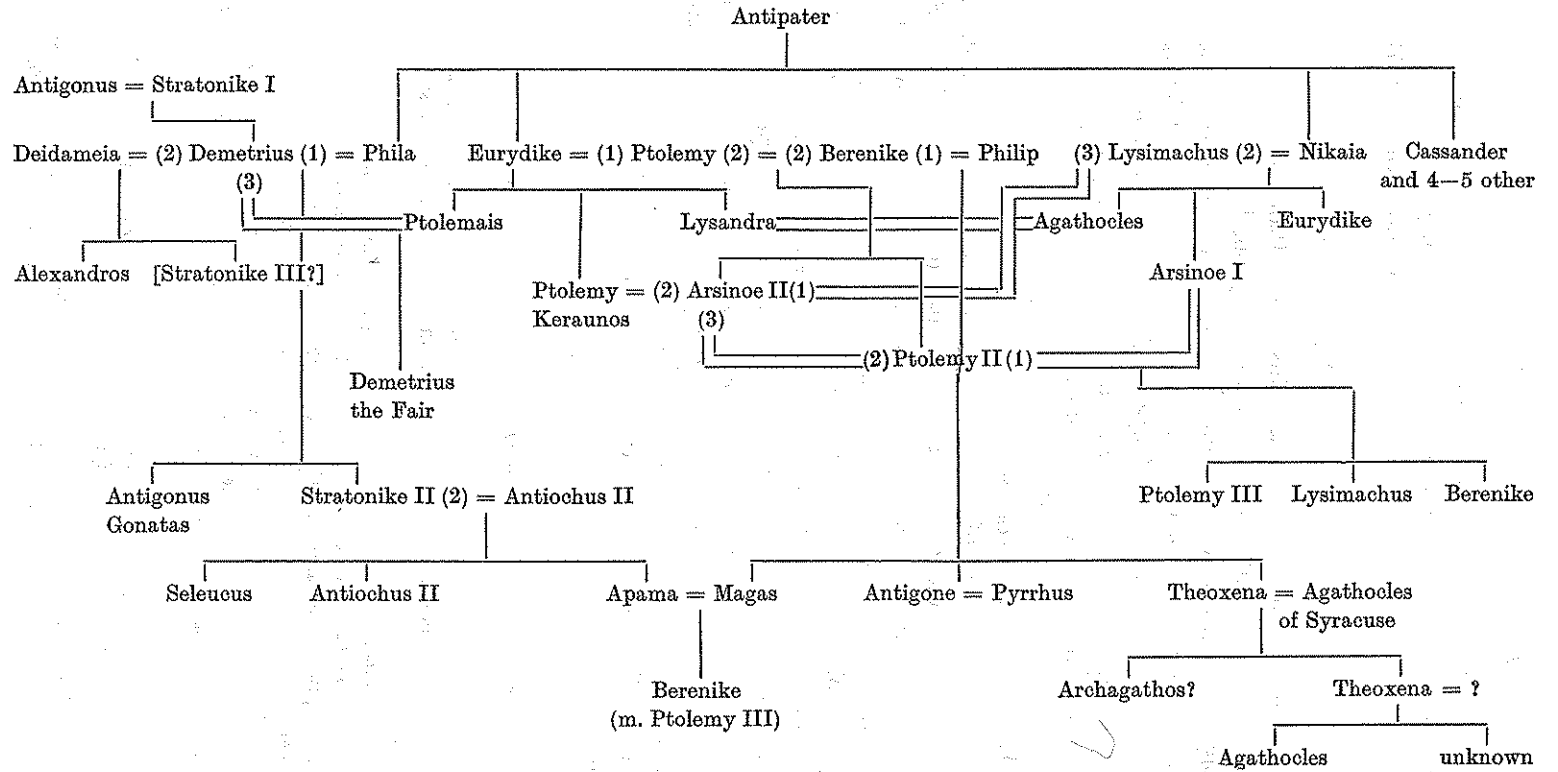
<sup>48</sup> See the arguments of E. Will, *Histoire politique du monde hellénistique* (Nancy 1966) I, 125—130, esp. 126—127, with citation of the evidence and the main bibliography.

<sup>49</sup> Two inscriptions come into question. OGIS 22, reread by Fraser, *BSAAlex.* 41 (1956) 50 n. 2, is the dedication of a statue of Ptolemy II in Cyrene by one Ariston son of Lysiphanes. Fraser's altered text offers a formula for the king and his parents identical with that in Archagathos' inscription, and thus probably before the marriage with Arsinoe (since she is not mentioned). OGIS 33 is the inscription to a statue of Arsinoe II:

Βασίλισσαν Ἀρσινόην Θεάν [Φιλάδελφον]  
τὴν Πτολεμαίου καὶ Βερενίκης [Θεῶν Σωτῆρων]  
ἡ πόλις

Dittenberger, following Strack, considered this text to belong to a period after the reconciliation of Philadelphos and Magas (unknown date, probably in the 250's). But the formula is that of a

SIMPLIFIED STEMMA OF MAJOR ROYAL FAMILIES, 320-270



Magas' subsequent history need not concern us here in any detail: he took the title of king eventually and carried on foreign relations in various directions, retaining his independence until the last. Toward the end of his life he affianced his daughter Berenike to the son of Ptolemy II, thus preparing the way for a reuniting of the kingdom, an event resisted (with disastrous results for herself) by Apama, whose antipathy to Ptolemaic rule is understandable.

Given the close proximity of the marriage of Ptolemy II to his sister and the revolt of Magas, together with his Seleucid alliance, one must ask if the exile of the younger Theoxena, daughter of Magas' (presumed) sister, about which the Oxyrhynchus genealogy informs us, has some connection with these dynastic happenings. The charge is unfortunately not very specific (false charges), but the text is damaged. The exile parallels exactly that of Arsinoe I, and Theoxena the younger would certainly have been old enough (early 20's) to be involved in such political machinations. The evidence is only circumstantial, but a connection seems to me probable.

#### 10. Conclusion

Archagathos son of Agathocles, if he is anything but a totally unknown private person, was the brother of the exiled Theoxena. The speculative foundation of all of this seems to me to preclude a definitive statement of his position in these dynastic troubles. It is at least interesting to find him entitled epistates of Libya, a title full of ambiguity for us (and perhaps for contemporaries), at a time when his uncle Magas was governor of the Cyrenaica but still in all likelihood loyal.

We must end on that note of uncertainty. If the position of Archagathos and his wife<sup>50</sup> has not been fully elucidated (and some of Moretti's conclusions brought into doubt), it has, I think, been established that with this inscription and the Oxyrhynchus papyrus we stand on the edges of the major dynastic alliances and struggles of the early third century. These persons did not stand at center stage, but they belong (like Alexandros son of Demetrios) to the periphery of the nobility, barely represented in our sources but no doubt active and significant in their time.

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living sovereign, and I do not see how we can avoid putting it in Arsinoe's lifetime; it probably belongs to her reign in Egypt. We therefore must assume at least a short time between the marriage and Magas' secession.

<sup>50</sup> It may be worth pointing out that another Stratonike is known in the Alexandria of Ptolemy II other than the hypothetical daughter of Demetrius: Ptolemy had a mistress named Stratonike, for whom a large mausoleum was built near the city at Eleusis: Athenaeus 13.576e—f. Speculation would surely be fruitless.