

# • LYSIMACHUS •

A STUDY IN EARLY HELLENISTIC KINGSHIP



HELEN S. LUND

ROUTLEDGE



# LYSIMACHUS



# LYSIMACHUS

A study in early Hellenistic kingship

*Helen S. Lund*



London and New York

First published 1992  
by Routledge  
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon, OX14 4RN

Simultaneously published in the USA and Canada  
by Routledge

a division of Routledge, Taylor & Francis  
270 Madison Ave, New York NY 10016

Transferred to Digital Printing 2006

© 1992 Helen S. Lund

Typeset in 10/12pt Garamond by  
Witwell Ltd, Southport

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilized in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

*British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data*  
Lund, Helen S.

Lysimachus: Study in Early Hellenistic Kingship  
I. Title  
938

*Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data*  
Lund, Helen S. (Helen Sarah)

Lysimachus: a study in early Hellenistic kingship/Helen S. Lund.  
p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

1. Lysimachus, King of Thrace, c. 361–281 BC.
2. Greece—History—Macedonian Hegemony, 323–281 BC.
3. Macedonia—History—Diadochi, 323–276 BC. 4. Thrace—Kings and rulers—Biography.

I. Title

DF235.48.L97L86 1992  
938'.08'092—dc20

[B]

92–2796

CIP

ISBN 0–415–07061–9

Front Cover illustration: Head of Lysimachus, currently in The Selçuk Museum, Turkey. Photograph reproduced courtesy of Richard Stoneman.

#### Publisher's Note

The publisher has gone to great lengths to ensure the quality of this reprint but points out that some imperfections in the original may be apparent

For my father



# CONTENTS

<i>Acknowledgements</i>	viii
<i>Abbreviations</i>	ix
<i>Maps</i>	
I Thrace and the West Pontic coast in the fourth century BC	xiii
II Western Asia Minor in the time of Lysimachus	xiv
1 THE ROAD TO BABYLON: FAMILY BACKGROUND, EARLY CAREER AND 'CHARACTER'	1
2 THRACE AND PONTUS	19
3 THE ACQUISITION OF EMPIRE: AMBITION, ENMITY AND ALLIANCE	51
4 AFTER IPSUS: THE EMPIRE EXTENDED	80
5 GOVERNOR OF THE GREEKS	107
6 KINGSHIP, CULT AND COURT	153
7 SCHEMING WOMEN AND SENILE DECAY? THE LAST DAYS OF LYSIMACHUS	184
<i>Appendix I</i>	
Lysimachus and the problem of Prienean autonomy	207
<i>Notes</i>	209
<i>Bibliography</i>	261
<i>Index</i>	276

# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Since this book started life as a doctoral thesis, I would like to thank, first of all, my supervisors, Mrs Amélie Kuhrt and Professor Michael Crawford, for their invaluable advice, constructive criticism, help and encouragement; also Dr Susan Sherwin-White, whose teaching first inspired my interest in the Diadoch period; for their help with specific problems, my thanks go to Dr M. J. Price, Dr Zosia Archibald and Dr Tom Blagg. Finally I must say thank you to James Lund and Hilary Marsh for their interest, support and practical assistance over the past five years.

# ABBREVIATIONS

## PERIODICALS

<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>A. J. Phil.</i>	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
<i>ANSM</i>	<i>American Numismatic Society: Museum Notes</i>
<i>Ath. Mitt.</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Institutes Athenische Abteilung</i>
<i>BCH</i>	<i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</i>
<i>CQ</i>	<i>Classical Quarterly</i>
<i>CR</i>	<i>Classical Review</i>
<i>CRAI</i>	<i>Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres</i>
<i>CSCA</i>	<i>California Studies in Classical Antiquity</i>
<i>GRBS</i>	<i>Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies</i>
<i>HSCP</i>	<i>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</i>
<i>JEA</i>	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>
<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
<i>JNFA</i>	<i>Journal of Numismatics and Fine Art</i>
<i>JOAI</i>	<i>Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes</i>
<i>JRS</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
<i>Mus. Helv.</i>	<i>Museum Helveticum</i>
<i>Num. Chron.</i>	<i>Numismatic Chronicle</i>
<i>PCPS</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society</i>
<i>REA</i>	<i>Revue des Etudes Anciennes</i>
<i>REG</i>	<i>Revue des Etudes Grecques</i>

LYSIMACHUS

<i>Rev. Phil.</i>	<i>Revue de Philologie</i>
<i>Rhein. Mus.</i>	<i>Rheinische Museum für Philologie</i>
<i>Riv. Fil.</i>	<i>Rivista di Filologia</i>
SCIV	<i>Studii si Cercetari de Istorie Veche</i>
<i>Symbol. Osl.</i>	<i>Symbolae Osloenses</i>
TAPhA	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association</i>
YAYLA	<i>3rd Report of Northern Society for Anatolian Archaeology</i>
ZPE	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>

COLLECTIONS OF INSCRIPTIONS

BMI	<i>British Museum Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions</i> vols I (Attica) and III (Priene, Iasos and Ephesus) (ed. E. Hicks)
GHI	<i>A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions</i> (ed. M. N. Tod)
IGBR	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria Repertae</i> 4 vols (ed. G. Mihailov)
IG II <sup>2</sup>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> vol. II, pt. 1 (Inscriptiones Atticae Aetatis quae est inter Euclidis Annum et Augusti Tempore) (ed. U. Koehler)
IG XII	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> vol. XII Supplementum (Inscriptiones Graecae Insularum Maris Aegaei praeter Delum) (ed. F. Hiller von Gaetringen)
<i>I. Milet.</i>	<i>Das Delphinion in Milet</i> Pt. II <i>Die Inschriften.</i> (ed. A. Rehm)
<i>Inscr. Claz.</i>	<i>Die Inschriften von Erythrai und Klazomenai</i> (eds H. Engelmann and R. Merkelbach)
<i>Inscr. Eph.</i>	<i>Die Inschriften von Ephesos</i> (vols XIV and XV of <i>Inschriften Griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien</i> ) (ed. C. Borker, C. and R. Merkelbach)
<i>Inscr. Eryth.</i>	<i>Die Inschriften von Erythrai und Klazomenai</i> (vol. I of <i>Inschriften Griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien</i> ) (ed. H. Engelmann and R. Merkelbach)
<i>Inscr. Iasos</i>	<i>Die Inschriften von Iasos</i> (vol. XXVIII,

ABBREVIATIONS

	1 of <i>Inscriptionen Griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien</i> (ed. W. Blümer)
<i>Inscr. Ilion</i>	<i>Die Inscriptionen von Ilion</i> (vol. III of <i>Inscriptionen Griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien</i> ) (ed. P. Frisch)
<i>Inscr. Lampsakos</i>	<i>Die Inscriptionen von Lampsakos</i> (vol. VI of <i>Inscriptionen Griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien</i> ). (ed. P. Frisch)
<i>Inscr. Tralles.</i>	<i>Die Inscriptionen von Tralleis und Nysa</i> (vol. XXXVI, 1 of <i>Inscriptionen Griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien</i> ) (ed. F. B. Poljakov)
<i>I.Perg.</i>	<i>Pergamon: Altertümer von Pergamon viii. Die Inscriptionen</i> (ed. M. Fraenkel <i>et al.</i> )
<i>I.Priene</i>	<i>Inscriptionen von Priene</i> (ed. F. Hiller von Gaetringen)
<i>ISE</i>	<i>Iscrizione Storiche Ellenistiche</i> 2 vols (ed. I. Moretti)
<i>OGIS</i>	<i>Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae</i> (ed. W. Dittenberger)
<i>RC</i>	<i>Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period</i> (C. B. Welles)
<i>RIJG</i>	<i>Recueil des Inscriptions Juridiques Grecques</i> (ed. R. Dareste, B. Haussoullier and Th. Reinach)
<i>SEG</i>	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i> (eds various)
<i>Syll<sup>3</sup></i>	<i>Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> , 3rd edn (ed. W. Dittenberger)
<i>Titul. Lyc.</i>	<i>Tituli Lyciae linguis Graecis et Latinis conscripti</i> (vol. II of <i>Tituli Asiae Minoris</i> ) (ed. E. Kalinka)

COLLECTIONS OF LITERARY FRAGMENTS, ETC.

<i>ABC</i>	<i>Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles</i> (ed. A. K. Grayson)
<i>FHG</i>	<i>Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum</i> (ed. C. Müller)
<i>FGrH</i>	<i>Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker</i> (ed. F. Jacoby)
<i>LBAT</i>	<i>Late Babylonian Astronomical and Related</i>

LYSIMACHUS

*Texts* (ed. A. J. Sachs)

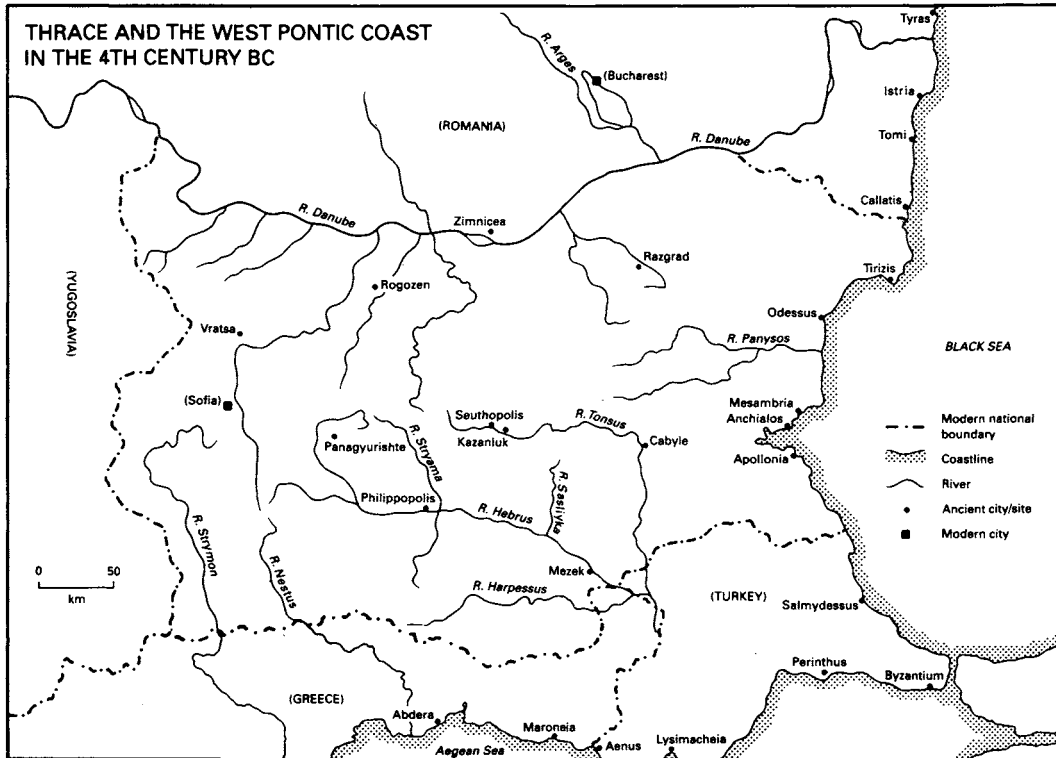
PAPYRI

*P.Oxy.*      *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (Egypt Exploration  
Society) (eds various)

OTHER

*PW*      *Pauly's Realencyclopaedie der Classischen  
Altertumwissenschaft* (ed. G. Wissowa)

# THRACE AND THE WEST PONTIC COAST IN THE 4TH CENTURY BC



# WESTERN ASIA MINOR IN THE TIME OF LYSIMACHUS



# THE ROAD TO BABYLON

## Family background, early career and 'character'

On 10 June 323 BC Alexander the Great lay dead in Babylon. Among the Companions mourning at his bedside was Lysimachus, son of Agathocles.<sup>1</sup> When the regent Perdiccas redistributed the empire's satrapies after Alexander's death, Lysimachus received the territory of Thrace. By 284 BC he ruled an empire embracing Thrace, the West Pontic coast, Macedonia, Thessaly, most of Anatolia, Heracleia Pontica and its Paphlagonian realm. His power had reached its zenith.

Probably in the following year his greatest enemy Demetrius Poliorcetes, taken prisoner by Seleucus, king of Syria, in 286 BC, drank himself to death, an ignominious end for one who had worn the diadem and been hailed by the Athenians as the only true god.<sup>2</sup> If, however, immortality is conferred through fame, then Lysimachus lost his last battle against Demetrius, whose exploits and excesses are preserved for us in the biography of Plutarch. There is no comparable record of Lysimachus' life.

Information, from literature, on Lysimachus' career is restricted to scattered notices in the narratives of the Alexander and Diadoch historians, themselves mostly preserved in the works of later historians and epitomators. Then there are Plutarch's biographies of Lysimachus' more favoured contemporaries, the work of geographers and travel writers like Strabo and Pausanias, chroniclers like Porphyry of Tyre. Finally, a string of anecdotes survives in the writings of Athenaeus, Diogenes Laertius, the moralising works of Plutarch, Seneca and other Roman writers. Some of these may go back to contemporary authors like Duris or Cleitarchus.<sup>3</sup>

Both the passage of time and the possibility of bias in the sources used by these late writers lead to distortions and some conflict of evidence. The literary evidence on Lysimachus is fragmentary and often suspect. This, together with the fact that written history is

essentially interpretation rather than 'fact', makes it improbable that an examination of this material will lead us to the 'real' Lysimachus. All that can be attempted is to discern the various traditions that developed about him and the motives that inspired them. If major themes emerge which cannot be attributed to a single source tradition, then this is the closest one can get to a 'true' portrait.

What then do the literary sources say about his background, his career before and after 323 BC, his relationship with Alexander and his personal character?

### FAMILY BACKGROUND

Though Pausanias and Justin describe Lysimachus as Macedonian by birth, the patronymic 'son of Agathocles' used by Arrian, and Porphyry's description of him as 'Thessalus', have led to his father being identified as the Thessalian whom Theopompus describes as an intimate friend of Philip II. Less flatteringly, he is also dubbed a *penestes* (serf) who owed his position to *kolakeia* (flattery). Evidence for Theopompus' consistent hostility to Philip and his circle, however, suggests that this should be taken with a pinch of salt. It is, moreover, a favourite trick of the literary sources to label as 'parasites' men whom the epigraphic evidence shows as generals and diplomats of considerable importance.<sup>4</sup> As Theopompus himself admits, Agathocles shared in Philip's councils and was sent by him to 'deal with the Perrhaebi and take charge of affairs in that area'.

Since Arrian, in the *Indika*, names Lysimachus among the trierarchs from Pella in Macedonia, the simplest solution to the problem is to assume that Agathocles was rewarded for his services with estates at Pella. Presumably the family was swiftly assimilated into Macedonian society, with Agathocles' sons growing up with the status of Macedonians. Both Lysimachus and his brothers enjoyed a prominent position in Alexander's circle; this fits well with the picture of their father as a favourite at the Argead court. The arguments put forward by Merker, challenging both the idea of Lysimachus' Thessalian origin and his connection with Theopompus' 'parasite', do not seem to be conclusive.<sup>5</sup>

If Lysimachus' forebears were Greek, there is little suggestion that this proved a millstone round his neck; the anti-Greek prejudice apparently encountered by Eumenes of Cardia is conspicuous by its absence. On the contrary, c. 285 BC Lysimachus, at war with Pyrrhus over Macedon, 'contrived to subvert Pyrrhus' principal supporters . . .

## THE ROAD TO BABYLON

reproaching them for having chosen as their master a man who was a foreigner'.<sup>6</sup>

Born some time between 361 BC and 351 BC, and therefore roughly contemporary with Alexander, Lysimachus was probably Agathocles' second son. His elder brother Alcimachus was already active as a diplomat and administrator in the first years of Alexander's rule. Honoured, perhaps, with *proxenia* at Athens in a decree of 336 BC, two years later he turns up in charge of an army, empowered by Alexander to 'liberate' the cities of Ionia and Aeolis.<sup>7</sup>

Agathocles, it seems, was rich in sons. Lysimachus had at least two other brothers. Autodicus' link with Lysimachus is assured by the king's later dedication of a statue of his sister-in-law Adaea. He looked set to follow in Lysimachus' footsteps, with promotion to the Bodyguard at Triparadeisus in 321 BC. Philip, Agathocles' remaining son, is known only for his dramatic death in Alexander's arms, exhausted by an attempt to keep pace, on foot, with a cavalry pursuit of Sogdian rebels, and by the fight that followed. Both Justin and Curtius tell the tale: for Curtius, devotion to Alexander inspired Philip's persistence in this gruelling feat, despite Lysimachus' attempts to dissuade him; as Justin tells it, it was his elder brother whom Philip was trying to emulate. If the circumstances of Philip's death are accepted as historical, then of the two, Curtius' version is preferable; certainly his presentation of Lysimachus, as one who clearly did not think 'the world well lost for love', even Alexander's, contrasted with Philip's romantic idealism, is quite consistent with other evidence which presents him as a hard-headed pragmatist. Justin's account is rendered suspect by its context – a passage devoted to extravagant praise of Lysimachus. It is, moreover, uncannily similar to a story in Appian where Lysimachus' powers of endurance are stressed as a preface to the famous legend of Alexander staunching Lysimachus' wound with his diadem.<sup>8</sup> This suggests that its source is propaganda post-dating Lysimachus' achievement of kingship, c. 305–4 BC.

## ALEXANDER'S COMPANION

At first sight, evidence for Lysimachus' career with Alexander, limited as it is, falls into two main categories. Some references hinge mainly on his relationship with Alexander; since these may well be the product of literary traditions with specific motives for presenting both Lysimachus and Alexander in a certain light, their value for an

assessment of character is clearly questionable. Others seem only to underline his prominence as a member of the social and military élite, but even these cannot always be taken at face value. Ever since Ptolemy's historiographic halo became tarnished,<sup>9</sup> it has been recognised that information in the Alexander Histories on his future Successors must be seen in the light of the propaganda which they later circulated. Another source of distortion for the events of Alexander's life-time is the apologetic tradition embedded in Ptolemy and Aristobulus, Arrian's main sources, once regarded as above suspicion.

The various titles by which Lysimachus is described give some indication of his role on Alexander's military staff. There is, however, surprisingly little information as to how, when and why he achieved this position. Arrian, using Aristobulus, names him among the seven *somatophylakes* of Alexander. The term has two meanings in Arrian, designating both the King's Footguard and the small group of officers who formed Alexander's personal staff; Lysimachus' aristocratic background and the context in which the terms are used make it clear that both *somatophylax* and the synonyms used by Porphyry and Arrian, *doruphoros* and *hypaspistes*, refer to his membership of the latter body. Reaching its maximum number of eight with Peucestas' promotion in 325 bc, the Bodyguard included such luminaries as Hephaestion, Perdicas and Ptolemy. Membership implied service at Alexander's side, with men appointed to commands in another theatre of war, or to a governorship being replaced.<sup>10</sup>

Glimpses of the Bodyguard in action are disappointingly rare. Arrian's account of the army split over the Succession in 323 bc places them among 'the cavalry', with Lysimachus standing in the second rank, after the *megistoi*, Ptolemy, Perdicas and Leonnatus. Lysimachus' presence at Alexander's side in pursuit of the Sogdian rebels in 328 bc might suggest that the Bodyguard normally served with Alexander in the field. Perdicas and Hephaestion, however, seem to have held major cavalry commands concurrently with membership. Ptolemy's leadership of Alexander's crack corps – the hypaspists, Agrianes and archers – on a special mission during the siege of Sangala supports the view that in practice the Bodyguard had a fairly flexible role in Alexander's army. Since Lysimachus is singled out among those wounded at Sangala, it is possible that he took part in Ptolemy's mission which certainly seems to have borne the brunt of the fighting. Since, however, his name is listed under the total number wounded in the whole operation this cannot be regarded as certain.<sup>11</sup>

Evidently a member by 326 BC, the date when Lysimachus joined the Bodyguard is unknown. Since his promotion is not mentioned, Heckel suggests he was a member from the start of the Asian campaign, perhaps even appointed by Philip. Though Agathocles' position at court would probably favour his sons' promotion, this idea perhaps lays too much stress on 'aristocratic affiliations'. Entry to a body whose prestige is reflected by the key positions taken by its members after 323 BC, and which implied service close to Alexander's person, must surely have been determined primarily on ability. A simpler explanation may be that Ptolemy, writing an Alexander-centred history,<sup>12</sup> while naturally concerned to record his own achievements, was not quite so scrupulous about recording each and every promotion as it occurred during the campaign.

This raises the question as to whether Lysimachus' relatively infrequent appearance in the Alexander Histories can be ascribed to Ptolemy deliberately obscuring the achievements of a rival Successor. Though others may have found themselves victims of the Lagid eraser, Lysimachus probably did not. Though he is, for example, omitted from the group of notables whose brides at the Susa weddings of 324 BC are named, this is not Ptolemy's work – Arrian cites Aristobulus as his source at the beginning of the passage.<sup>13</sup>

On the contrary, Ptolemy is the source for the very occasions when Lysimachus is singled out. Lysimachus squeezes into the first boat making the hazardous crossing of the Hydaspes – with Alexander, Ptolemy, Perdikkas and Seleucus. This seems almost too good to be true, although the suspicion that Ptolemy later inserted himself and his fellow Successors into suitably prominent positions may be lessened by Perdikkas' inclusion. Lysimachus' wound at Sangala has already been mentioned.<sup>14</sup> There seems no good reason to doubt the historicity of this event. The complete omission of Lysimachus from Diodorus' book on Alexander, probably drawn largely from Cleitarchus, lends support for Ptolemy's innocence. Unless one assumes that Cleitarchus – admittedly pro-Ptolemaic<sup>15</sup> – expunged Ptolemy's rivals even more thoroughly than Ptolemy did himself, it must be accepted that Lysimachus only reached military prominence in the latter years of the expedition, during the Indian campaign.

Socially, his membership of the close circle around Alexander is suggested by his presence at Medeios' fatal dinner party in Babylon. Though the details given in the *Liber de Morte Testamentumque Alexandri* are unreliable as the product of later propaganda,<sup>16</sup> the author carefully excludes Lysimachus from the supposed poisoners of

## LYSIMACHUS

Alexander, rather than simply denying his presence there; this may suggest that his attendance was a known fact. The historicity of his part in restraining Alexander in the famous quarrel with Cleitus, along with Leonnatus, Ptolemy and Perdiccas, might be questioned. Does Curtius' account reflect the Bodyguard's own apologia, fabricated to exculpate Alexander? In Arrian, whose source is generally seen as Ptolemy, Alexander is likewise restrained by companions, but they remain anonymous. Though possibly Curtius added the names to flesh out his account, the sensational treatment of the whole episode and the emphasis on the inebriation of all concerned suggests a source like Cleitarchus. This tends to reduce the likelihood of apologia. Whether Arrian's account derives directly from Ptolemy may also be doubted – the emphasis on heavy drinking and Alexander's non-Greek excesses hardly fits an apologetic source. As proof of Lysimachus' prominence at court, it hardly matters whether the story is fabricated or not. What is important is that the apologists clearly regarded him as a plausible candidate among those restraining the enraged king.<sup>17</sup>

## IMAGES OF LYSIMACHUS

### Lysimachus the Lion-tamer

One of the most striking of several images of Lysimachus which emerge from the literary evidence, this presentation is interesting for its focus on his relationship with Alexander. Its source is a group of stories which centre on a confrontation with a lion. The details vary – in some cases Alexander orders Lysimachus to be thrown to or shut up with the beast; the Roman moralisers, composing their treatises on *Clementia* or *Ira*, snapped this story up, as an illustration of the corrupting effects of power and the excesses of tyrants. Justin's version is the fullest; apparently following his source, Trogus, verbatim,<sup>18</sup> he connects the episode with the death of Callisthenes. Lysimachus, the philosopher's disciple, intervenes to put Callisthenes, brutally tortured by the bloodthirsty Alexander, out of his misery; thus he turns the tyrant's rage upon himself, leading to the famous meeting with the lion.

How credible is this story? Clearly it emanates from a tradition which aims to present Alexander, particularly in his latter years, as the archetypal megalomaniac tyrant. Though it would be naïve to deny that Alexander, or his Successors, ever treated their subordinates

with brutality, the existence of similar stories directed against monarchs, including Lysimachus himself, might suggest that certain themes – such as the caging of men with or like beasts – came to form a stock-in-trade for the literary treatment of autocrats.<sup>19</sup> The historicity of the individual incident therefore becomes questionable. Nor is it necessarily proven by Plutarch's tale of Lysimachus regaling Demetrius' envoys with the story of Alexander's wrath. Lysimachus may have boasted of a lion-killing, but such unguarded denigration of Alexander before the envoys of his greatest enemy is hardly consistent with his well-attested concern to display veneration for Alexander.<sup>20</sup>

The sensational details, particularly in Justin, where Lysimachus thrusts his hand into the lion's mouth and tears out its tongue, and the emphasis on Alexander's anger in several sources, suggests Cleitarchus, popular among Roman readers in the late Republic and early Empire, as a possible source. Alternatively, the theme of a public spectacle involving men pitted against beasts, which seems to owe more to Roman gladiatorial shows than to anything in Greek life, may have originated in the Roman period. Neither Arrian nor Diodorus include the story: Curtius rejects it as a *fabula*.<sup>21</sup>

Though the likelihood that Alexander was responsible for hurling Lysimachus to the lion seems slim, it is probable that some version of a 'lion story', with Alexander as witness to Lysimachus' heroic feat, was current in the latter's life-time. Justin's version occurs in the context of an encomium where Lysimachus is praised for his *virtus* and the *magnitudo* of his *animus*. The stress here on his pre-eminence over his fellow Diadochs contrasts strikingly with the judgement of Arrian and Diodorus that Lysimachus was a figure of secondary importance. Almost certainly this encomium was composed in Lysimachus' life-time; the incentive for such a work after his death, with no heir left to promote it, does not seem strong.<sup>22</sup>

Justin's treatment of the lion episode emphasises Lysimachus' intimacy with Alexander. Duly impressed by Lysimachus' courage in handling the lion, Alexander consequently considers him *carior*; the comparative implies a previous affection. A similar stress in Pausanias' account on the respect and honour accorded Lysimachus by Alexander may suggest a common source. The same positive motifs occur also in Curtius' account of a lion hunt at Bazaira, an event which Curtius, significantly, sees as the core of truth underlying the later legend of Lysimachus in the Lion's Den. Here Lysimachus comes into conflict with Alexander for aiming at a lion which the king feels is his

rightful prize. Interestingly, Alexander here seeks to emulate Lysimachus' own exploit – the single-handed killing of a lion in Syria which almost lost him his life. Despite the theme of competition, this story is favourable to Lysimachus without being overtly hostile to Alexander, who may be guilty of impetuosity but not of *ira*; he is, moreover, praised for his speedy dispatch of the lion. Suggesting by its tone a rivalry for excellence between men on equal and intimate terms, this passage is consistent with what else is known regarding Lysimachus' public stance towards Alexander.<sup>23</sup> It is likely, then, that more than one version of a 'lion story' circulated in the Diadoch period, probably emanating from Lysimachus' own court; the anti-tyrant twist, which in some versions makes the contest a punishment inflicted by Alexander, may have been added later.

Is there any historical basis for this legend of Lysimachus the Lion-killer? Though the survival of similar stories about Craterus and Perdicas raises the suspicion that this image is merely the product of heroic propaganda, its most likely historical context is the Syrian hunt mentioned by Curtius. This has been identified with a hunt at Sidon in 332 BC; the historicity of this event may gain support from the depiction of a lion hunt on the Sidonian sarcophagus thought to belong to Alexander's protégé King Abdalonymus.<sup>24</sup>

The value of the lion-taming episode, then, lies in its revelation of a literary tradition which aimed to emphasise both Lysimachus' heroic strength and courage and a relationship with Alexander of equality and sufficient intimacy to allow rivalry and even the occasional dispute. Neither Lysimachus' abilities nor his friendship with Alexander are in doubt, but the encomiastic stance of Justin's source makes it likely that these features are exaggerated.

### Philosopher-king

The link that Justin makes between Lysimachus and Callisthenes, presenting the future king as the philosopher's devoted pupil, taking moral inspiration from his master's 'excellence', is merely one part of a tradition which suggests that philosophy had a major influence in his life. This is made explicit in the encomiast's summing up of Lysimachus' character – *ut animi magnitudine philosophiam ipsam . . . vicerit*.<sup>25</sup>

Justin's evidence alone is not sufficient for credence in 'Lysimachus the philosopher'. Goukowsky argues that Trogus' source wished to present Lysimachus as the philosopher-king idealised in Hellenistic

kingship theory, identifying that source as Onesicritus. The identification is supported both by Onesicritus' description of Alexander as a 'philosopher in arms', and an anecdote in Plutarch which shows Onesicritus established at the Thracian court, reading his History to Lysimachus.<sup>26</sup> In the context, then, of an encomium composed by Lysimachus' own court historian, Justin's assertion of a link between the two men is untrustworthy.

Quite plausibly, Lysimachus did have some intellectual interests. Arrian describes him as a pupil of the Indian sophist Calanus; the philosophers Hipparchia, Crates and the 'atheist' Theodorus were entertained at his court; Pliny makes a fleeting reference to his interest in botany. Is this enough to make Lysimachus a philosophizing? Royal entertainment of philosophers need not prove a burning passion for their art. Intellectuals clearly formed part of the desirable trappings of the Hellenistic monarch's entourage and Ptolemy I, in particular, is shown fervently and not always successfully courting learned men.<sup>27</sup> The best evidence for a real interest in philosophy on Lysimachus' part is the connection with Calanus, since Arrian's source seems to be quite independent of the panegyric tradition found in Justin; the details of Calanus' death in Arrian are quite distinct from those in Plutarch, who clearly is using Onesicritus and Chares. Arrian's source may be Ptolemy, prominent in the episode, the pro-Ptolemaic Cleitarchus or even Duris.<sup>28</sup>

Against this, however, two pieces of evidence explicitly refute the idea of Lysimachus the sage. Firstly, Carystius of Pergamum refers to Lysimachus' expulsion of philosophers from his kingdom. Second, Justin's picture of Lysimachus as Callisthenes' pupil clashes with Plutarch's reference to hostility between the philosopher and 'men like Lysimachus and Hagnon' who objected to his pose as an opponent of tyranny. The value of Carystius' evidence is hard to assess; though the extant fragments of his work hardly inspire confidence,<sup>29</sup> it should be remembered that they are preserved out of context, in Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistae*; Athenaeus' selection may create an unbalanced picture of Carystius' writings. Plutarch's evidence is more important; his source is probably Chares, an eyewitness for events at Alexander's court and generally considered reliable. Berve wished to argue that 'Lysimachus' here designates not the future Diadoch, but Alexander's tutor. Plutarch, however, conveys a picture of court faction with Alexander's tough Macedonian friends ganging up against the previously obsequious Callisthenes, striking fashionable philosophical poses. In this context, the tutor, a timid and

## LYSIMACHUS

elderly man, seems a far less likely associate for Hagnon, best known for his silver-studded boots and other flashy accessories, than our hero. The fact that 'Lysimachus' here is given no title is no argument in favour of the tutor; in the *Alexander*, Plutarch twice designates the tutor by title ('the Acarnanian', 'the Pedagogue') and once refers to 'King Lysimachus' for an incident after 305–4 BC; the fourth reference to 'Lysimachus' is the one in question.<sup>30</sup>

On balance, while philosophic interests on Lysimachus' part cannot be entirely rejected, there are strong reasons to suppose that Justin's emphasis on philosophy as a guiding force in his life is at least exaggerated.

### The ruthless tyrant

Certainly, if character is reflected in action, accounts of Lysimachus' career after 323 BC reveal a man whose character is far from that of the intellectual. Though clearly capable, when necessary, of subtlety and cunning,<sup>31</sup> the personality which emerges is tough, pragmatic and ruthless.

For example, Lysimachus exchanges his beloved and politically useful wife, Amastris, for the still more useful Arsinoe. This is unexceptional for the period, but the sequel shows how thoroughly he had imbibed the philosophy that sentiment must always come second to political advantage. Fifteen years later, he finds it convenient to rekindle the ashes of his love for Amastris, supposedly the victim of matricide, taking up the avenger's sword against his stepsons to seize the valuable city of Heracleia Pontica. His son-in-law Antipater is dispatched when he objects to Lysimachus ceding his Macedonian inheritance to Demetrius in a time-buying manoeuvre; his wife Eurydice, Lysimachus' own daughter, is imprisoned. Lysimachus gains Paeonia through a pretended restoration of King Audoleon's heir Ariston; the commander who betrays Amphipolis to Lysimachus loses not only his promised reward but also his life. A courtier, Telesphorus, who unwisely cracks a joke at Arsinoe's expense, finds himself caged like an animal and horribly mutilated into the bargain. Potentially rebellious allies, the Autariatae, are massacred in their thousands; Lysimachus offers a considerable financial incentive to Seleucus to dispose of the conveniently captive Demetrius Poliorcetes; finally he orders the execution of his eldest son Agathocles.<sup>32</sup>

Some of these episodes are certainly worth taking seriously. Memnon's account of events at Heracleia is based on the contempo-

rary historian Nymphis. Though the latter's reputed impartiality is probably overstated, there seems little reason to doubt his account here. Exploitation of dynastic struggle by a stronger power is a familiar theme, and Nymphis' record of the initially positive reaction in Heracleia to Lysimachus' rule diminishes the likelihood of distortion. Justin and Porphyry describe Lysimachus' murder of Antipater in very similar terms, suggesting a common source clearly independent of that used by Justin for the encomium of XV.3; there is no attempt to justify or exculpate Lysimachus. Though Diodorus confuses the issue, making Demetrius responsible for Antipater's death, it is difficult to reconcile this version with the general narrative of events of 294 BC.<sup>33</sup>

Assessment of the three stories told by Polyaeus is more difficult. No sources are cited and the book's stratagem framework means that incidents are presented out of their historical context. The loss of Diodorus' narrative for the years after 301 BC, and with it a possible 'control' for the Amphipolis and Paeonia episodes, exacerbates the problem. None of the stories is implausible in itself. The exploitation and discarding of protégés is paralleled by Lysimachus' and Demetrius' treatment of Cassander's heirs and by Polyperchon's use of Alexander's bastard son Heracles in 309 BC. Similarly the use and subsequent disposal of traitors is not uncommon. Pirates who aided Lysimachus' recapture of Ephesus c. 286 BC were then given a speedy departure 'since they had proved untrustworthy to their friends in Ephesus'. Whether or not moral standards were thus tardily recalled seems to have depended on the circumstances and interest of those involved; among the 'traitors' who flourished under their new masters are Docimus, the city founder, and Lysimachus' own *gazophylax* Philetaerus. The context for the Autariataean massacre is probably an incident in 302 BC recorded by Diodorus; while Polyaeus' source seems to have greatly increased the numbers involved and added a massacre where Diodorus, presumably using Hieronymus, records simply a desertion to Antigonos, wholesale killing of rebellious troops as a punishment or an attempt to prevent defection is not unheard of in this period.<sup>34</sup>

There remains the Telesphorus story, elaborated by Seneca with much emphasis on the mutilation and *fames et squalor et inlucies corporis*, and concluding with a neat moral twist – he who inflicted the punishment as much resembled a beast as his unfortunate victim. Found only in the Roman moralising tradition, it is typical of the anecdotal evidence for life at the Diadochs' courts. Found mainly in

Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistai* and the Roman moralisers, much of this evidence must be treated with caution, since the likelihood of anti-monarchic propaganda is strong. The repetition of certain themes, or actual stories, with reference to several individuals – autocratic rulers seem particularly prone to such treatment – suggests the build-up of a certain 'convention', which diminishes the value of such stories for the assessment of an individual. The Telesphorus story is a case in point; its similarity to the tales of cruelty attributed to Alexander and in particular its repetition in Plutarch, in a completely different context with another protagonist, tend to reduce its credibility.<sup>35</sup>

### The joker

On a lighter note, jests and verbal repartee are a recurrent theme in anecdotes showing Lysimachus among his intimates at court. The king mocks gently at Onesicritus' wilder flights of fancy, asking wryly, when Onesicritus comes to the story of Alexander and the Amazon, 'And where was I then?' His sneers at Demetrius' enslavement to his mistress, the appropriately named Lamia, are not so gentle. He enjoys a joke with his friend Philippides and indulges in rough horseplay with his 'parasite' Bithys, stuffing a wooden scorpion down his front and getting stung in return by a request for a talent! He endures abuse at the hands of Ptolemy's court jester Sotades, but loses his sense of humour when Demetrius' toadies dub him *gazophylax*; these treasury officials were traditionally eunuchs.<sup>36</sup>

Lysimachus is not alone in attracting stories which involve jesting and repartee. Other monarchs – notably Philip II and Antigonus the One-Eyed – also joke and are the butt of jokes. Demetrius the Besieger is likewise known for his ready wit. Certain tales – notably one which might be called 'The Parasite's Request' – where a king resists or submits to a request for money, are repeated sufficiently often to raise the suspicion of a 'conventional story'.<sup>37</sup>

Other stories relating to Lysimachus have no exact parallel; their value as evidence for an individual character trait may gain support from the fact that while the Antigonids likewise feature as men of wit, stories of this kind are less frequently attached to Ptolemy I, while Seleucus and Cassander seemingly attract none at all. This might be explained by the chance survival of evidence and associated factors. Plutarch's choice of Demetrius as a subject for biography tends to favour the survival of Antigonid anecdotes. Both Plutarch and Athenaeus, it seems, drew heavily on Duris of Samos and his brother

Lynceus, a frequent guest at royal symposia. The brothers' residence in Athens under Antigonid rule might also explain a preponderance of anecdotes centred on the Antigonids and, by extension, their great enemy Lysimachus.<sup>38</sup>

This solution, however, is only partial. Since Duris probably wrote also on Seleucid affairs, then if Seleucus I had attracted 'joke' anecdotes, these should have been available to our sources. As for Cassander, he had effectively preceded Lysimachus as the great bugbear of the Antigonids. One might therefore expect him to be the butt of similar stories, at least for the period between 307 BC and his death in 297 BC.<sup>39</sup>

In conclusion, while some of the stories may be 'conventional', in the sense of their indiscriminate application to several individuals, others seemingly are not. Though the authors of such anecdotes, like all good dinner party raconteurs, may well have improved on their material, there seems no good reason to reject outright the idea that Lysimachus was a man who enjoyed an engagement of wits as much as one with weapons.

### LYSIMACHUS, HIERONYMUS AND DURIS

Before embarking on an analysis of Lysimachus' career after Alexander's death, it is worth considering briefly one last aspect of his image in literature, namely the thesis that the major contemporary source for the period, Hieronymus of Cardia, was hostile to Lysimachus, while Duris of Samos was his apologist.<sup>40</sup>

The source for Hieronymus' supposed hostility to Lysimachus is Pausanias; though the context of this statement has provoked a sceptical reaction among modern scholars as to its reliability,<sup>41</sup> it is worth looking at the relevant sources to ascertain whether this accusation is in any sense justified. If negative bias does exist, what form does it take – omission, understatement or deliberate distortion?

Examination of the literary sources for Hieronymean hostility to Lysimachus is complicated by a number of factors. First, since Hieronymus' account focuses on events in which he was personally involved and on the figures of his patrons, Eumenes and the Antigonids, events like Lysimachus' Thracian campaigns are likely to suffer. Second, Diodorus must have compressed his sources to fit the scale of a universal history; his complete omission of Antigonus' war with Seleucus after 311 BC, known from the Babylonian Chronicle series, strikingly illustrates the distortion that can arise from

epitomising.<sup>42</sup> Then there is the loss of Diodorus' narrative, except for a handful of fragments, for the period after 301 BC, the very moment when Lysimachus embarks upon his programme of imperial expansion. Finding Hieronymus in Plutarch, our main source for that period, is complicated by the biographer's method of drawing on stories which clearly come from several sources, within one chapter. Though blatantly 'pro-Antigonid' passages are generally ascribed to Hieronymus, with Duris responsible for those rather less flattering to Demetrius, some grey areas remain. Other factors also add to the difficulty of a neat source analysis. It is probable that Hieronymus himself was critical of one side of Demetrius' character. Then there is the question as to how far moralising passages on the greed for power, the destructiveness of ambition, etc. represent Plutarch's own contribution.<sup>43</sup>

Bearing these difficulties in mind, a detailed examination of Diodorus, the fragments of Arrian's *Successors*, and those passages in Plutarch likely to derive from Hieronymus<sup>44</sup> prompts the following conclusions. Hieronymus may certainly be guilty of understatement in his treatment of Lysimachus. For example, the founding of Lysimacheia, one of Lysimachus' major achievements and an important expression of his claim to kingship, is passed over in one sentence. The tone throughout is dry and factual; Lysimachus' exploits are not described in detail or made heroic in any way, while he himself remains very much a two-dimensional figure. There are some negative statements; for example, in the context of the Rhodian siege in 305–4 BC Lysimachus is described unflatteringly as 'secondary in reputation'; his victory against Seuthes in 323 BC is described as 'uncertain'; Lysimachus admits that he miscalculated in embarking upon the Getic campaign; Seleucus' fear and distrust of Lysimachus in 286 BC are stressed. An assessment of the historical situation, based on other evidence, suggests, however, that such statements represent no more than the truth. Hieronymus does, moreover, fail to exploit heaven-sent opportunities for hostility; Lysimacheia's foundation, for instance, does not prompt the bitter outpouring on the fate of Cardia which Pausanias' remarks might lead us to expect; similarly, though a spokesman for the Antigonid 'liberators', Hieronymus fails to seize the chance to attack Lysimachus afforded by Demetrius' recovery of Ephesus from him in 302 BC and its 'restoration to its former status'.<sup>45</sup>

On the positive side, Lysimachus' successful crushing of the Pontic cities' revolt is covered in some detail, as are the victories, both military and diplomatic, of his campaign in 302 BC against the

Antigonids; the effect of these successes on Antigonus are made clear. On two occasions, moreover, Lysimachus receives direct praise; Cassander's practice of calling on him for aid is ascribed not only to Lysimachus' territorial proximity but also to his *arete*. Threatened with capture by the Getae c. 292 BC, Lysimachus nobly rejects the advice of his *philoi* to abandon his men and save himself. Unless one assumes the sudden intrusion of another source into Diodorus' narrative, it seems reasonable to suppose that Hieronymus was fair-minded enough to admit the undoubted qualities of a man whom he personally disliked, just as Lysimachus himself reputedly admired the ships built by his great enemy Demetrius.<sup>46</sup>

What of the claim that Lysimachus had in Duris an apologist who was not above outright falsification of events to put his patron in a better light? The two main arguments for Duris as Lysimachus' creature are Lysimachus' toleration of Duris' tyranny in Samos and Duris' consistent hostility to Demetrius, Lysimachus' great foe. The claim that Duris falsified events rests on one incident: Lysimachus' defeat at Amphipolis in 287 BC, recorded by Pausanias, supposedly using Hieronymus, but omitted by Plutarch, whose source is assumed to be Duris.<sup>47</sup>

Arguments against each of these theses may be summarised briefly as follows.<sup>48</sup> The idea that Duris thanked Lysimachus for 'supporting' his tyranny with a glowing literary profile is undermined by the probability that Duris' family likewise ruled Samos under the Antigonids.<sup>49</sup> If Duris was hostile to one set of 'protectors', why should he be any more positive towards their successor?

Indeed, if one looks for praise of Lysimachus in Duris, it is not easily found. Evidence is generally ascribed to Duris on the basis of certain 'hallmarks', reflecting his preference for a 'tragic' style of history, his stress on *mimesis* (dramatic representation) and *hedone* (entertainment value). These include: an emphasis on costume and disguise, use of quotations from tragedy and images and similes from the theatre, an emphasis on the luxury and decadence of kings. Since Diodorus probably did not use Duris for his books on the Diadochs, most of the evidence comes from Plutarch. Shipley cites two pieces of evidence: the presentation of Lysimachus as a wit in chapter 25 of the *Demetrius*, and a touching story of Lysimachus' dog hurling itself onto his funeral pyre. Though the aim of the second tale might perhaps be sympathetic, the fidelity of animals – Alexander's horse, Xanthippus' dog – is a well-known literary theme. To cite the *gazophylax* story as a positive treatment of Lysimachus is most

curious. In a slanging match between the two kings, Lysimachus' sneer at Demetrius' mistress Lamia is parried by Demetrius' insult to Lysimachus' wife. The preceding passage, where Demetrius' *philoï* toast Lysimachus as 'the treasurer' (*gazophylax*), is ascribed to Phylarchus, but may well derive ultimately from Duris. Here Lysimachus is not only dubbed a eunuch, but unlike the other kings who are similarly insulted, he is unable to laugh it off. If Phylarchus also drew on Duris for the other anecdotes which cast Lysimachus in a distinctly unflattering light, then the idea of Duris as Lysimachus' spokesman becomes increasingly doubtful. Returning to Duris himself, Lysimachus escapes neither the general criticism of arrogance directed at Alexander's Successors once they become kings nor the judgement that the kings who followed Alexander were only poor imitations of their master.<sup>50</sup>

Duris' hostility to Demetrius and in particular to his supporters in Athens need not reflect his position on Lysimachus' payroll. Rather it may be ascribed to his belonging to Samos' ruling family in the last years of the fourth century BC, when the Antigonid 'protectorate' seems to have implied close supervision of the island. A history of troubled Athenian/Samian relations may also have played its part; an Athenian cleruchy for over forty years, Samos was restored to the Samians by Alexander's Exiles Decree of 324 BC. Perdicas upheld the exiles' cause after Alexander's death, but Polyperchon's brief regency revived the threat of renewed Athenian control. Like any self-respecting Samian, Duris may have feared that Stratocles and his faction might prevail upon their Antigonid patrons to give Samos back to Athens.<sup>51</sup>

As for the Amphipolis incident, faith in Pausanias as a superior source is misplaced. Relying on sources which are often no more than *logoi*, Pausanias' digression on Lysimachus is rife with error and shows little regard for chronology. Plutarch's source is unlikely to be undiluted Duris (the pro-Pyrrhan tone of much of this section suggests an Epirote source such as Proxenus of Thebes), nor need his omission of the Amphipolis defeat reflect apologia. While Lysimachus may well have been worsted at Amphipolis, perhaps in a clash with the garrison commander Andragathus, it seems unlikely that he and Demetrius met face to face; the rapid loss of morale among Demetrius' army with the news of Pyrrhus' capture of Beroia is hardly consistent with a recent victory on the scale that Pausanias suggests.<sup>52</sup> Plutarch's focus in this chapter is on Demetrius' dramatic loss of Macedon. If Demetrius was not involved in Lysimachus' early