

# 1

## *Dramatis Personae*

Prosopography is the academic study of social networks. Essentially, prosopographers attempt to trace the web of connections between figures across sources in order to explain and contextualise their actions. As Waldemar Heckel (2016, 2021) has recently demonstrated, such work is pivotal to understanding and, above all, navigating, the personality-driven world of Alexander the Great and his Successors as portrayed in the ancient sources. For this reason, we begin this book with a prosopography, a *dramatis personae*, if you will, so that readers can make their way through what the sources report about the confusing cast of characters who inhabit the world of Alexander's Successors. The entries are organised alphabetically, by name of historical figure, for ease of use. Family trees are located at the end of this chapter.

For those wishing to delve further into these characters, Heckel (2021) is the place to start for sources and bibliography. The modern biographies of the main figures also offer useful analysis and bibliographies. Alexander: Cartledge (2004) and Anson (2013); Antigonos: Billows (1990) and Champion (2014); Antipater and his family: Grainger (2019); Demetrios: Wheatley and Dunn (2020); Eumenes: Anson (2004); Lysimachos: Lund (2002); Olympias: Carney (2006); Ptolemy: Worthington (2016) and Anson (2023); Pyrrhos: Champion (2009); Seleukos: Grainger (1990).

## 1.1 Adea (Eurydike) (c. 335–316 BCE)

### 1.1.1.a Military Training by Her Mother Kynnane

#### Douris, *FGrH* 76 F52 = Athenaeus 13.560F

Douris of Samos says that the first war between two women was the one between Olympias and Eurydike. In it, Olympias marched out very much like a Bacchic celebrant to the accompaniment of drums, while Eurydike was armed in the Macedonian manner, having been trained by Kynnane the Illyrian in matters pertaining to war.

#### Polyaenus, *Strategems* 8.69

With Amyntas Kynnane had an only daughter named Eurydike, to whom she gave a military education and instructed her in the art of war.

### 1.1.1.b Marriage to Philip III Arrhidaios (322/321 BCE)

#### Arrian, *Successors* 1.23

Kynnane brought her daughter Adea, who was later renamed Eurydike, to be [Philip] Arrhidaios' wife, a thing which happened later, by Perdikkas' doing, in order to stop the strife in the army, which flared up after death of Kynnane and developed into great trouble.

### 1.1.1.c Suicide and Death (316 BCE)

#### Diodorus 19.11.5–7

Olympias decided that Eurydike was worthy of a worse form of punishment [than her husband Philip Arrhidaios] because she had been openly declaring that the kingdom belonged to her rather than to Olympias. [6] Consequently, Olympias sent to her a sword, a noose, and some hemlock, and ordered her to use whichever of these she chose as a way to kill herself. (The former high rank of her victim did not dissuade her, nor was she moved to pity by the thought that death comes to all. [7] This is why, when she herself met with a similar fate, she experienced a death that was worthy of her cruelty.) And so, Eurydike, in the presence of the attendant, prayed that gifts like these might come Olympias' way. Then, after she had prepared the body of her husband for burial, cleansing its wounds as well as circumstances permitted, she ended her life by hanging herself with her girdle. She did not weep for her own fate nor was she crushed by the weight of her misfortunes.

## 1.2 Alexander the Great (356–323 BCE)<sup>1</sup>

### 1.2.1.a Appearance and Character

#### Plutarch, *Alexander* 4.1–7

Alexander's physical features are best depicted in those statues of him made by Lysippos, the only artist by whom Alexander felt he should be sculpted. [2] As a

<sup>1</sup> For the death of Alexander, see Chapter 7.

matter of fact, the features which most of the Successors and Alexander's friends later tried to affect have been accurately caught by the artist: the angle of the neck, slightly inclined to the left, and the languishing glance of the eyes. [3] Apelles, however, in painting him wielding the thunderbolt, failed to capture his complexion, making it too dark and swarthy. In fact, Alexander was fair-skinned, they say, but his pale coloration became ruddy, in the chest area particularly but also in the face. [4] I have read in the Memoirs of Aristoxenos that an agreeable odour emanated from his skin and that his breath and whole physique had a fragrance that pervaded his clothes. [5] This was possibly the result of his temperament, which was hot and fiery, for in Theophrastos' view fragrance is a result of the action of heat on the moist humours. [6] This is why the arid and very hot tracts of the world produce spices in the greatest number and of the best quality—the sun draws off the moisture, the corrupting agent, as it were, that lies on the surface of bodies. [7] In Alexander's case it would seem that it was the heat of his temperament that made him fond of drink and quick-tempered.

### Plutarch, *Alexander* 7.1

Philip could see that Alexander had an inflexible nature that resisted coercion but could be easily led by reason to what needed to be done.

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#### 1.2.1.b Assessment and Impact

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### Plutarch, *On the Fortune and Virtue of Alexander the Great* 328c–329d

But if you consider the effects of Alexander's instruction, you will see that he educated the Hyrkanians to contract marriages, taught the Arachosians to till the soil, and persuaded the Sogdians to support their parents, not to kill them, and the Persians to respect their mothers, not to marry them. Most admirable philosophy, which induced the Indians to worship Greek gods, and the Scythians to bury their dead and not to eat them! We admire the power of Karneades,<sup>2</sup> who caused Klitomachos, formerly called Hasdrubal and a Carthaginian by birth, to adopt Greek ways. We admire the character of Zeno, who persuaded Diogenes the Babylonian to turn to philosophy. Yet when Alexander was taming Asia, Homer became widely read, and the children of the Persians, of the Susianians and the Gedrosians sang the tragedies of Euripides and Sophocles. And Socrates was condemned by the sycophants in Athens for introducing new deities, while thanks to Alexander Bactria and the Caucasus worshipped the gods of the Greeks. Plato drew up in writing one ideal constitution but could not persuade anyone to adopt it because of its severity, while Alexander founded over 70 cities among barbarian tribes, sprinkled Greek institutions all over Asia, and so overcame its wild and savage manner of living. Few of us read Plato's *Laws*, but the laws of Alexander<sup>3</sup> have been and are still used by millions of men. Those who were subdued by Alexander are more fortunate than those who escaped him, for the latter had no one to rescue them from

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<sup>2</sup> A philosopher of the second century BCE, head of the Academy in Athens.

<sup>3</sup> There are no 'laws of Alexander'.

their wretched life, while the victorious Alexander compelled the former to enjoy a better existence ... Alexander's victims would not have been civilised if they had not been defeated. Egypt would not have had its Alexandria, nor Mesopotamia its Seleukia, nor Sogdiana its Prophthasia, nor India its Bucephalia, nor the Caucasus (the Hindu-Kush) a Greek city nearby; [1329] their foundation extinguished barbarism, and custom changed the worse into better. If, therefore, philosophers take the greatest pride in taming and correcting the fierce and untutored elements of men's character, and if Alexander has been shown to have changed the brutish customs of countless nations, then it would be justifiable to regard him as a very great philosopher.

Furthermore, the much-admired *Republic* of Zeno, the founder of the Stoic school, is built around one guiding principle: we should not live in separate cities and demes, each using its own rules of justice, but we should consider all men to be fellow demesmen and citizens, with one common life and order for all, like a flock feeding together in a common pasture. This Zeno wrote, conjuring up as it were a dream or an image of a well-ordered and philosophic constitution, but it was Alexander who turned this idea into reality. For he did not follow the advice of Aristotle and treat the Greeks as a leader would but the barbarians as a master, nor did he show care for the Greeks as friends and kinsmen, while treating the others as animals or plants; this would have filled his realm with many wars and exiles and festering unrest. Rather, believing that he had come as a god-sent governor and mediator of the whole world, he overcame by arms those he could not bring over by persuasion and brought men together from all over the world, mixing together, as it were, in a loving-cup their lives, customs, marriages, and ways of living. He instructed all men to consider the inhabited world to be their native land, and his camp to be their acropolis and their defence, while they should regard as kinsmen all good men, and the wicked as strangers. The difference between Greeks and barbarians was not a matter of cloak or shield, or of a scimitar or Median dress. What distinguished Greekness was excellence, while wickedness was the mark of the barbarian; clothing, food, marriage, and way of life they should all regard as common, being blended together by ties of blood and the bearing of children.

### 1.3 Alexander IV (c. 323/322–310/309 BCE)

#### 1.3.1.a Birth and Accession

##### Arrian, *Successors* 1.1, 8

Arrian also wrote *The Events after Alexander*, in 10 books, in which he discussed the dissension in the army and the proclamation of [Philip] Arrhidaios, whom Philinna the Thessalian bore to Philip the father of Alexander, and in addition to him Alexander, whom Rhoxane was about to bear to Alexander. ... [8] At this time, Rhoxane went into labour and bore a son, and the newborn was declared king by the army.

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 1.3.1.b Murder (310/309 BCE)
 

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**Diodorus 19.105.2**

Now Cassander could see that Alexander, the son of Rhoxane, was growing up and that the idea was spreading throughout Macedonia that the boy should be released from custody and given his father's kingdom. In fear of his own life, Cassander instructed Glaukias, who commanded the boy's guard, to murder Rhoxane and the king and hide their bodies and keep the whole thing secret.

**1.4 Alketas (c. 355–319 BCE)**


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 1.4.1.a Birth and Family
 

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**Arrian, *Successors* 1.21**

Meanwhile, Iolaos and Archias came from Macedonia to Perdikkas, bringing with them Antipater's daughter Nikaia to be his wife. But Olympias the mother of Alexander wrote to him offering him the hand of her daughter Kleopatra. Eumenes of Cardia advised him to take Kleopatra, but the advice of Perdikkas' brother, Alketas, inclined towards Nikaia; and the latter prevailed.

**Diodorus 18.29.2**

Perdikkas also sent with Eumenes enough of high-ranking officers, of whom the most senior were his brother Alketas and Neoptolemos, and he ordered them to obey Eumenes in all things because of his skill as general and his unwavering loyalty.

**Justin 13.6.15**

Eumenes was assigned Perdikkas' brother, Alketas, and Neoptolemos, along with their armies to assist him [in holding his territory in Asia Minor].

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 1.4.1.b Honoured by the Ephesians (322/321 BCE)
 

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***Inscripfen von Ephesos* 1435.1–4**

To Kleitos and Alketas. [2] Since they are zealous towards the temple and the city, it is resolved [by the council and the people] [3] that they shall be citizens in equal and like manner. And these rights shall also be granted to their descendants. And [4] they [shall be allotted] to a tribe and a thousand.

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 1.4.1.c Suicide (319 BCE)
 

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**Diodorus 18.46.7**

When the elders [of Termessos] saw that Alketas had been left alone, they selected the most trustworthy enslaved people and those of the citizens of fighting age

who had not sided with him, and attempted to seize him while the young men were still away. They could not take him alive, however, because he had killed himself so as not to fall into enemy hands. They put his body on a bier, covered with a coarse cloak, and carried it out through the gates and delivered it to Antigonos.

## 1.5 Amastris (c. 340–284 BCE)

### 1.5.1.a Marriage and Family

#### Arrian, *Anabasis* 7.4.4–5

Alexander held weddings at Susa for himself and his Companions. ... [5] To Craterus he gave Amastris, daughter of Oxyathres.

#### Memnon, *FGrH* 434 F1.4.3–4

But for Dionysios (of Herakleia Pontika) his affairs were changed in every way for the better. [4] The most decisive influence on his fortunate state was his second marriage. For he married Amastris; she was a daughter of Oxyathres. He was the brother of Darius, whom Alexander had killed and whose daughter Stateira he took as his wife. Thus, the wives were cousins to each other, and also had something of a remarkable affection for each other, which the circumstance that they were brought up together had implanted in them. But Alexander, when he was married to Stateira, joined this Amastris in marriage to Craterus (this man was one of those most loved by him). When Alexander had departed from among men Craterus inclined towards Phila, the daughter of Antipater and, after he had left her, Amastris, with his consent, was given in marriage to Dionysios.

#### Memnon, *FGrH* 434 F1.4.8

Amastris had three children with Dionysios, Klearchos, Oxathres, and a daughter who had the same name as her mother.

#### Memnon, *FGrH* 434 F1.4.9

Lysimachos once more had charge of the affairs of Herakleia and of the children [of Dionysios and Amastris] and he even made Amastris his wife. In the beginning he loved her exceedingly but, when trouble befell him, he left her in Herakleia while he himself was engaged in pressing matters.

### 1.5.1.b Rule of Herakleia

#### Diodorus 20.109.6–7

Lysimachos was well supplied from Herakleia because he had made a marriage alliance with the city [7] by taking Amastris, as his wife. Amastris was the daughter of Oxyathres, niece of King Darius III and former wife of Craterus—as arranged by Alexander—and at this time the ruler of the city.

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 1.5.1.c Founding the City of Amastris
 

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**Strabo 12.3.10**

After the Parthenios River one comes to Amastris, a city named after the woman who founded it. It is situated on a peninsula and has harbours on either side of the isthmus. Amastris was the wife of Dionysios the tyrant of Herakleia and the daughter of Oxyathres, the brother of the Darius whom Alexander fought. Amastris formed the city out of four settlements, Sesamos and Kytoron and Kromna (which Homer mentions in his catalogue of the Paphlagonian ships)<sup>4</sup> and, fourth, Tieion. But this last, however, soon revolted from the united city, but the other three remained together, and, of these three, Sesamos is called the acropolis of Amastris.

**Memnon, *FGrH* 434 F1.4.9**

When she had arrived there [i.e., Herakleia] she founded Amastris and united people together to make of it one city.

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 1.5.1.d Murder (284 BCE)
 

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**Memnon, *FGrH* 434 F1.5.2**

Klearchos together with his brother, on being appointed successors in the rule, proved, as far as gentleness and goodness towards their subjects were concerned, to be greatly inferior to their father and they lapsed into an unlawful and most abominable deed; for they brought it about by a terrible device and by villainy that their mother, who had not wronged them to any great degree, drowned at sea after she had boarded a ship.

**1.6 Antigonos Monophthalmos (382–301 BCE)**


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 1.6.1.a Nickname
 

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**Aelian, *Varia Historia* 12.43**

Antigonos, son of Philip, who had but one eye, whence surnamed Monophthalmos ('One-Eyed').

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 1.6.1.b Physical Appearance and Character
 

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**Plutarch, *Demetrius* 19.4, 28.8**

Antigonos was now almost 80, and his great size and weight prohibited him from fighting even more than his age. Consequently, he left fighting to his son. ... [28.8] Most of the time Antigonos was in a good mood, of noble bearing, with a voice loud, and an expressive face. In fact, he used to crack jokes in the heat of battle, to show his lack of concern and his contempt for his adversary.

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<sup>4</sup> *Iliad* 2.853–885.

**Plutarch, *Sertorius* 1.9**

One could say that Sertorius was more faithful to his friends than Antigonos.

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 1.6.1.c Family and Relationships
 

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**Plutarch, *Demetrius* 2.1**

Antigonos had two sons with Stratonike the daughter of Korrhagos, one of whom he named Demetrios, after his brother, and the other Philip, after his father—so the majority of authors attest. Yet some say that Demetrios was not the son, but the nephew of Antigonos, because Demetrios' father had died when the boy was very young and his mother immediately married Antigonos. Consequently, Demetrios was considered to be Antigonos' son [by marriage].

**Athenenaeus 13.578a–b**

Antigonos had a mistress named Demo, with whom he had a son named Alkyoneos.<sup>5</sup>

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 1.6.1.d Governorships
 

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**Justin 13.4.14**

[After Alexander's death], Greater Phrygia [was given] to Antigonos, son of Philip.

**Curtius 10.10.2**

Antigonos was instructed to take charge of Lykia, Pamphylia, and Greater Phrygia.

**Diodorus 18.3.1**

To Antigonos Perdikkas gave Pamphylia, Lykia, and what is called Great Phrygia.

**Arrian, *Successors* 1.6**

Antigonos ruled Pamphylia, Lykia, and Great Phrygia.

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 1.6.1.e Honoured by Priene (c. 334/333–306/305 BCE)
 

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***A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions* 186.5–15**

Let Antigonos, son of Philip, a Macedonian, [6] since he is a benefactor and well-disposed [7] towards the city of Priene, be given [8] rights of *proxenia* and citizenship, [9] the right to own land and a house, the freedom from taxes for all [10] that is part of his property except land, [11] freedom of trade in war and [12] in peace in total security even without a formal treaty, [13] the right to intervene before the magistrates and to the assembly of [14] the people of Priene first after dealing with sacred things; these rights be granted [15] to him and his descendants.

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<sup>5</sup> This may refer to Antigonos Gonatas instead, cf. Ogden (2023: 173, 242).

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 1.6.1.f Death (301 BCE)
 

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**Hieronimos of Cardia, *FGrH* 154 F8 = [Lucian], *Macrobii* 11**

Antigonos Monophthalmos, the son of Philip and the king of the Macedonians, died in Phrygia in battle against Seleukos and Lysimachos at the age of 81, having suffered many wounds, as his fellow campaigner Hieronymos records.

**Justin 15.4.22**

The allies all united their forces and a battle was fought in which Antigonos was killed and his son, Demetrios, put to flight.

**Diodorus 21.1.2**

King Antigonos rose from humble beginnings to high power and became the most powerful king of his time. But he was not content with the gifts Fortune gave him and so attempted steal to the kingdoms of all the other [Successors]. And in this way, he lost his own kingdom and his life as well.

**1.7 Antipater (c. 400–319 BCE)**


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 1.7.1.a Biography
 

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***Suda*, A 2703**

Son of Iolaos, from the city of Palioura in Macedonia, general of Philip, then of Alexander, and successor to the kingship. A student of Aristotle. He left a compilation of letters in two books and a history, *The Illyrian Deeds of Perdikkas*. And he served as guardian to the son of Alexander known as Herakles. He alone of the Successors did not choose to call Alexander a god, judging this impious. He lived 77 years and left a son and successor, Cassander, the man who killed Alexander's mother Olympias. [It is said] that when the Athenians surrendered Athens to Antipater the Macedonian, the demagogues, having urged the Athenians to revolt, were afraid that they would lay the blame upon them and fled. The Athenians condemned them to death in their absence. Among them were Demosthenes the orator and Hyperides and Himeraios, [Demades] having proposed the motion for death. For he had become in no respect more moderate in his opinion, since there cannot even be any change in a nature conjoined with wickedness. The injunction of law, as it does not completely hold [that nature] in check, is overcome by it, as is the force opposing it in its various inclinations. Neither by fear is over-confidence deflected, nor is a constraining shame sufficient to persuade it into subjection to the law.

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 1.7.1.b Regent for Alexander in Europe
 

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**Diodorus 17.17.5**

The number of soldiers left behind in Europe, who were under Antipater's command, totalled 12,000 infantry and 15,000 cavalry.

### Diodorus 17.118.1–2

Antipater had been left by Alexander as his governor of Europe, and these authors state that he had been at odds with the king's mother, Olympias. They claim that Antipater at first ignored her because Alexander paid no attention to the slurs she made against him, but that later, as the bad blood between the two kept on growing, the king wanted to gratify his mother in every regard to show his respect for the gods. Antipater then supposedly gave numerous hints of his estrangement from Alexander. In addition, the killing of Parmenion and Philotas filled Alexander's friends with dread, and Antipater at that point used the services of his own son, who was Alexander's wine steward, to give the king a deadly poison to drink. [2] After the death, according to this account, Antipater had supreme power in Europe, and later his son succeeded him on the throne, so that most writers did not dare include the poisoning in their works. But, the account goes on, Cassander was clearly shown by his own conduct to have been opposed to the cause of Alexander: he murdered Olympias and cast out her body unburied, and was strongly committed to rebuilding Thebes, which had been destroyed by Alexander.

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#### 1.7.1.c Agis' Revolt (331 BCE)

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### Justin 12.1.4–11

In the meantime, the king received dispatches from Antipater in Macedonia containing news of the war against the Spartan king, Agis, in Greece, and of the war fought by Alexander, king of Epeiros, in Italy, and also of the operations of his governor Zopyrion in Scythia. [5] The tidings inspired mixed emotions in him, but his elation on learning of the deaths of his two royal rivals outweighed his distress at the loss of the army with Zopyrion. [6] For after Alexander's departure virtually the whole of Greece had rushed to arms to seize the opportunity of recovering independence, [7] following the lead of the Spartans who had been alone in repudiating the peace of Philip and Alexander and in rejecting their conditions. The leader of this campaign was Agis, king of Sparta. [8] Antipater concentrated his forces and put down the insurrection right at its outbreak, [9] though there were heavy casualties on both sides. [10] When King Agis saw his forces take to their heels he discharged his bodyguard—to show himself second to Alexander only in luck, not in courage—and wrought such havoc amongst his enemies that, at times, he drove back whole companies of men. [11] He was finally overcome by their superior numbers, but in glory he defeated them all.

### Plutarch, *Agesilaus* 15.4

... Alexander even added a joke when he was told of the war waged by Antipater against Agis. 'Men', he said, 'it appears that while we were in the process of vanquishing Darius, there was a battle of mice over there in Arcadia.'

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 1.7.1.d Suspected of Poisoning Alexander
 

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**Plutarch, *Alexander* 77.3**

Those who maintain that Aristotle advised Antipater on the deed, and that it was he who was entirely responsible for providing the poison, say that their account comes from one Hagnothemis who purportedly heard it from King Antigonos.

**Quintus Curtius Rufus 10.10.14–19**

Many believed Alexander's death was due to poison, administered to him by a son of Antipater called Iolaos, one of Alexander's attendants. It is true that Alexander had often been heard to remark that Antipater had regal aspirations, that his powers exceeded those of a general, that he was conceited after his famous Spartan victory, and that he claimed as his due all the things that Alexander had granted him. [15] There is also a belief current that Craterus had been sent with a group of veterans to murder Antipater. [16] Now it is well known that the poison produced in Macedonia has the power to consume even iron, and that only an ass's hoof is resistant to the fluid. [17] (They give the name 'Styx' to the source from which this deadly venom comes.) This, it was believed, was brought by Cassander, passed on to his brother Iolaos, and by him slipped into the king's final drink. [18] Whatever credence such stories gained, they were soon scotched by the power of the people defamed by the gossip. For Antipater usurped the throne of Macedon and of Greece as well, [19] and he was succeeded by his son, after the murder of all who were even distantly related to Alexander.

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 1.7.1.e Governor of Europe After Alexander's Death
 

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**Justin 13.4.5**

When the matter of the succession settled Antipater was made governor of Macedonia and Greece.

**Arrian, *Successors*. 1.3, 1.7**

Antipater was [assigned by Perdikkas to be] *strategos* of Europe.

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 1.7.1.f Death (319 BCE)
 

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**Diodorus 18.48.4**

While already on his deathbed, Antipater appointed Polyperchon guardian of the kings and general with full powers—Polyperchon was nearly the oldest member of Alexander's expedition, and was respected by the Macedonians. His son Cassander he appointed 'chiliarch' and second in authority.

## 1.8 Apama (c. 340–299 BCE)

### 1.8.1.a Family and Marriage

**Arrian, *Anabasis* 7.4.6**

To Seleukos was given the daughter of Spitamenes the Bactrian.

**Plutarch, *Demetrius* 31.5**

Seleukos already a son named Antiochos, by Apama, a Persian woman.

**John Malalas 8.198**

Seleukos had two daughters with Apama, who were called Apama and Laodike.

## 1.9 Arsinoë (c. 316/315–270 BCE)

### 1.9.1.a Marriages and Children

**Justin 17.1.4–6 (Lysimachos)**

A short while afterwards Lysimachos developed for his own son, Agathokles, such hatred as was abnormal not just in a father but in any human being, and he had him poisoned by his stepmother, Arsinoë, although Lysimachos had appointed him successor to the throne and although Agathokles had provided him with many victories in war. [5] For Lysimachos this was the first step towards disaster, the beginning of his impending ruin. [6] For the murder was followed by the massacre of the most prominent citizens, who thus paid the price for expressing sorrow over the young man's killing.

**Justin 17.2.6–8; 24.2.1–3.9 (Ptolemy Keraunos)**

Ptolemy Keraunos, eager to exploit amongst the people the memory of his father, Ptolemy the Great, and to gain favour for having avenged Lysimachos, at first determined to win over Lysimachos' sons. [7] He therefore asked for the hand in marriage of Arsinoë, who was his own sister and their mother, promising to adopt the boys. [8] The reasoning behind this was that once he had taken their father's place the boys would not venture to work against him, either out of respect for their mother or because he was, nominally, their father. ... [24.2.1] External threats thus removed, Ptolemy now turned his impious and villainous thoughts towards domestic crimes, and hatched against his own sister Arsinoë a plot for depriving her sons of their lives and Arsinoë herself of her control of the city of Kassandreia. [2] His first scheme was to feign love for his sister and request her hand in marriage, for he had no means of getting to the sister's sons, whose throne he had seized, other than by affecting friendly relations with her. [3] But his sister recognised Ptolemy's criminal intent, [4] and when she refused to believe him he sent word that he wished to share his throne with her sons, and that in going to war with them his intention had not been to wrest the kingdom from them but merely to acquire the ability to make this gift to them. [5] He told her to send a witness to his oath in the matter, saying that he would, in the man's presence, bind himself with any pledges she wished before their ancestral gods. [6] Arsinoë did not know what

to do; she was afraid of being duped by perjury if she sent someone, and of provoking her brother's insane cruelty if she did not. [7] She was more afraid for her children than for herself, and thought she would protect them by her marriage to him; so she sent Dion, one of her friends. [8] Ptolemy took him to the holy temple of Jupiter which the Macedonians had venerated from days of old. There he grasped the altar with his hands and, touching the very statues and cushioned seats of the gods, used bizarre and extravagant oaths to swear [9] that it was in total sincerity that he sought the hand of his sister, that he would name her his queen, that he would not insult her by taking another wife or recognising children other than hers as his sons. [10] Arsinoë was filled with hope and delivered from her fear. She talked with her brother face to face, and his expression and dotting eyes promised as much good faith as did his oath, whereupon she agreed to marry her brother despite the loudly voiced objection of her son Ptolemy that treachery was afoot. [3.1] The wedding was celebrated with great pomp and universal rejoicing. [2] Ptolemy also summoned the army to an assembly where he set a diadem on his sister's head and addressed her as queen. [3] On being given this title Arsinoë was beside herself with joy, believing that she had recovered what she had lost with the death of her previous husband, Lysimachos, and she ventured to invite her spouse to her own city of Kassandreia—the city which, because of Ptolemy's lust for it, had occasioned the plot. [4] Arsinoë preceded her husband and declared the day of his arrival a holiday for the whole city, ordering that houses, temples, and everything else be decorated and altars and sacrificial victims set in place in all quarters. [5] She also sent her sons to meet Ptolemy wearing garlands—Lysimachos who was 16, and Philip who was 3 years his junior, both of them strikingly good looking. [6] To conceal his treachery, Ptolemy hugged them enthusiastically, too eagerly for the affection to be real, and for a long time showered kisses on them. [7] When he reached the gate, he ordered the citadel seized and the boys killed. These ran to their mother for protection and were butchered in her arms while Arsinoë kissed them [8] and all the while cried aloud, asking what dreadful crime she had committed either by the marriage or by her subsequent actions. Many times she offered herself to the assassins in place of her sons; often she took the boys' bodies in her arms to shield them with her own, trying to deflect to herself the blows aimed at her children. [9] Eventually, denied even the right to bury her sons, she was dragged off from the city attended by two enslaved people, her clothes torn and her hair dishevelled. She went into exile on Samothrace, her misery all the more intense for not having been permitted to die with her sons.

**Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 1.7.1 (Ptolemy II)**

Ptolemy Philadelphus fell in love with Arsinoë—his full sister—and married her, thus violating Macedonian custom but following that of his Egyptian subjects.

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1.9.1.b Rule

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**Memnon, *FGrH* 434 F1.5.4–5**

When Lysimachos returned to his own kingdom, he held Amastris in high esteem, and he marvelled at her character and how she had strengthened her realm in

size, greatness and strength, lauding also Herakleia and giving a share of the praise to Tios and Amastris, which she assembled as an eponymous city. By speaking in this way, he aroused in Arsinoë the desire to become mistress of those places that he praised. And she kept demanding to have that which she desired. At first, Lysimachos considered it a cherished gift and would not let go of it; but in time he yielded to her entreaties. For Arsinoë was clever at circumventing issues, and old age had now made Lysimachos easy to handle.

[5] Therefore, when Arsinoë received the rule over Herakleia, she sent Herakleides of Kyme, a man well disposed towards her but otherwise brusque and ruthless in the skill and swiftness with which he carried out his designs. He, on his arrival in Herakleia, conducted affairs in general with great care, and he brought charges against many of the citizens, punishing no fewer than he charged. Thus, they lost again the prosperity which had scarcely shown itself.

### 1.10 Artakama (c. 350 BCE–?)

#### 1.10.1.a Family

##### Diodorus 16.52.4

Eleven sons and ten daughters were born for Artabazus by the sister of Mentor and Memnon.

#### 1.10.1.b Marriage (324 BCE)

##### Arrian, *Anabasis* 7.4.6

To Ptolemy ... the daughter of Artabazos, Artakama [was given in marriage].

##### Plutarch, *Eumenes* 1.7

Barsine the daughter of Artabazus ... had two sisters. Of these Alexander gave one, Apama,<sup>6</sup> to Ptolemy [in marriage].

### 1.11 Berenike (c. 340–275 BCE)

#### 1.11.1.a Marriage and Children with Philip 'the Macedonian'

##### Pausanias 1.7.1

Berenike bore Malas to Philip, a Macedonian of low birth and no reputation.

##### Plutarch, *Pyrrhus* 4.7

Pyrrhos was selected from among many young princes as a husband for Antigone, one of the daughters of Berenike, whom she had with Philip before her marriage with Ptolemy.

<sup>6</sup> Plutarch mistakenly calls Artakama 'Apama'. See Heckel (2021: 105).

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 1.11.1.b Marriage and Children with Ptolemy
 

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Pausanias 1.6.8

Although Ptolemy was married to Eurydike, the daughter of Antipater, and had children, he fell in love with Berenike, whom Antipater had sent along with Eurydike to Egypt. Enamoured of this woman, he had children by her and, when his end was near, he left as king of Egypt the Ptolemy after whom the Athenians name their tribe, who was born to Berenike and not the daughter of Antipater.

## 1.12 Cassander (c. 355–297 BCE)

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 1.12.1.a Family
 

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Justin 13.4.18

Cassander [was] the son of Antipater.

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 1.12.1.b Relationship with Alexander
 

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Plutarch, *Alexander* 74.2–6

His fears centred mostly on Antipater and his sons. One of these, Iolaos, was his chief wine steward. The other was Cassander, who, recently arrived in Babylon, had seen some barbarians performing *proskynesis* and, being brought up in traditional Greek fashion and never having beheld such sight before, burst into uncontrollable laughter. [3] Alexander was furious. With both hands he grasped him violently by the hair and beat his head against the wall. [4] On another occasion Cassander wanted to counter charges made by some accusers of Antipater, but Alexander cut him short. ‘What?’ he asked, ‘Do you mean to say that men would come all this way when they have suffered no wrongdoing, just to make false accusations?’ [5] Cassander’s reply was that the very fact of their coming a long way from what could disprove their claims was itself an indication that the accusations were false. Alexander laughed and said: ‘Yes, such are the sophisms of Aristotle’s students that serve both sides of the debate, but you will regret it if it becomes clear that you have done the slightest harm to these men.’ [6] They say that fear of the king became so intense and deeply rooted in Cassander’s heart that he still felt it even many years later when he was now on the throne of Macedon and master of Greece. He was ambling around Delphi and looking at the statues when the sculpted figure of Alexander came into view. He was gripped with sudden terror, which made his body tremble and shake. The sight made his head swim, and only with difficulty did he pull himself together.

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 1.12.1.c Marriage
 

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See §1.34 Thessalonike

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 1.12.1.d Death (297 BCE)
 

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**Justin 15.4.24**

Cassander died and his son Philip succeeded him.

**1.13 Craterus (c. 370–321 BCE)**


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 1.13.1.a Family
 

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**Arrian, *Indica* 18.5**

Craterus [was] the son of Alexander.<sup>7</sup>

**Strabo 15.1.35**

There also was published a letter of Craterus to his mother Aristopatra, which recounts many other strange things and agrees with no one else—especially in claiming that Alexander conquered as far as the Ganges River.

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 1.13.1.b Friendship with Alexander
 

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**Plutarch, *Alexander* 47.9–10**

Alexander could see that, amongst his greatest friends, Hephaestion accepted his changes and was prepared to go along with them himself, whereas Craterus remained true to his own traditions. He therefore employed Hephaestion for his dealings with the barbarians, and Craterus for those with the Greeks and Macedonians. [10] And, in general, he showed great affection to the former, and great respect to the latter, for he believed—and always said—that Hephaestion loved Alexander, but Craterus loved the king.

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 1.13.1.c Marriage and Children
 

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See §1.5 Amastris and §1.26 Phila

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 1.13.1.d Guardian of Alexander IV
 

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**Justin 13.2.14**

It was decided that they should await the birth of Rhoxane's child. In the event of a male issue, they appointed as guardians of the child Leonnatos, Perdikkas, Craterus, and Antipater, and immediately took an oath of allegiance to them.

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<sup>7</sup> An otherwise unknown Alexander from Orestis in Macedonia.

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 1.13.1.e Control the Royal Treasury
 

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**Justin 13.4.5**

Matters thus settled, Antipater was made governor of Macedonia and Greece, Craterus was given charge of the royal treasury, and Meleager and Perdikkas were to look after the camp, the army, and the campaign.

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 1.13.1.f Death (321 BCE)
 

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**Nepos, *Eumenes* 4.1–4**

Eumenes and Craterus fought for a greater part of a day in a fierce struggle, in which Craterus fell, the leader of the enemy, as well as Neoptolemos, who was second in command. [2] With the latter Eumenes fought hand to hand. When the two had grappled and had fallen from their horses to the ground, it could easily be seen that they were personal enemies, and that their contest was one of the spirit even more than of body; for they could not be separated until one of the two had been killed. From his opponent Eumenes suffered several wounds, but he did not on that account leave the field, but attacked the enemy with renewed vigour. [3] Then, after the cavalry had been routed, their leader Craterus killed and many prisoners taken besides, including men of very high rank, the enemy's infantry was decoyed into a position from which it could not escape without the consent of Eumenes, and sued for a truce. Having obtained it, they did not keep faith, but returned as soon as possible to Antipater. [4] Eumenes tried to cure Craterus, who had been carried off the field still living; when that proved impossible, bearing in mind the high position of the deceased and their former friendship (for the two had been intimate during the lifetime of Alexander) he gave him a funeral with great ceremony and sent his ashes to his wife and children in Macedonia.

**Diodorus 18.30.5**

After both leaders had placed their cavalry on the wings and had led them far forward of the infantry, Craterus charged with his best men. He fought well, but his horse stumbled, and he fell to the ground. He was trampled to death ingloriously, unrecognised in the confusion and dense press of the charge.

**1.14 Demetrios Poliorketes 'the Besieger' (337–282 BCE)**


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 1.14.1.a Family and Appearance
 

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**Plutarch, *Demetrius* 2.1–3**

Antigonos had two sons by Stratonike, the daughter of Korrhagos, called the one after his brother Demetrios, and the other after his father, Philip, so most historians report. Others, however, say that Demetrios was not the son of Antigonos, but his nephew—his father died and left him an infant and his mother married Antigonos. On account of this, Demetrios was considered Antigonos' son. ... [2] Demetrios, though tall, was not as tall as his father Antigonos. And yet he was so

handsome and his face was so unique that no sculptor or painter could make his likeness. His face was a mixture of grace and dignity and was at the same time both friendly and stern—it combined the unconquerable and eager air of youth with the nobleness of a hero and a king. [3] He had this same mix in his behaviour, which inspired, somehow all at once, both pleasure and awe. When at leisure, he was a most agreeable companion. His dinner parties had every type of entertainment. He was of all the royals the most refined. And yet, when work was to be done, none could equal his energy, his attention to detail, or his decisiveness. Here, he recalled Dionysos the most out of all the gods—he was not only vicious in war, but also knew how to make peace and enjoy its joys and delights.

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#### 1.14.1.b Marriages and Children

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See §1.26 for his marriage to Phila, daughter of Antipater, with whom he had a son, Antigonos Gonatas.

##### **Plutarch, *Demetrius* 46.5 (Ptolemais)**

Demetrius married Ptolemais with the consent of Eurydike [her mother].

##### **Plutarch, *Pyrrhus* 10.7 (Lanassa)**

Lanassa was incensed with Pyrrhos because he paid more attention to his barbarian wives than to her. So, she left him and went to Corcyra. There, since she wanted to marry a king, she reached out to Demetrius, thinking that he, of all the kings, was the most eager to marry. Consequently, Demetrius sailed to Corcyra, married Lanassa, and left a garrison in the city.

#### 1.14.1.c Girlfriends

##### **Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 13.577c–d, 578a, 593a**

Was not Demetrius Poliorketes truly in love with Lamia the flute-player, with whom he had a daughter named Phila? ... He was also in love with Leaina, and she was also an Athenian courtesan. And he loved a great many other women besides. ... [578a] Demetrius Poliorketes, besides the women who have already been mentioned, had a mistress named Mania. ... [593a] And Demetrius the king, the last of all Alexander's Successors, had a mistress named Myrrhina, a Samian courtesan. In every respect but giving her the crown, she was his partner in the kingdom, so Nicolaus of Damascus reports.

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#### 1.14.1.d Death

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##### **Plutarch, *Demetrius* 52.5**

Demetrius, after three years' imprisonment in the Chersonesos, became ill due to idleness and excess. He died at the age of 54.

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## 1.15 Eumenes (c. 362–316/315 BCE)

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### 1.15.1.a Biography

#### Nepos, *Eumenes*. 1.1–6

Eumenes of Cardia. If this man's merit had been attended by equal good fortune, he would not, it is true, have turned out greater (for we measure a man's greatness by his merit and not by his fortune), but he would have been much more famous and even more honoured. [2] For his lifetime fell in the period when the Macedonians were at the height of their power, and living as he did in their country, it was greatly to his disadvantage that he was a native of a foreign state; for he lacked nothing except noble descent from a Macedonian family. [3] He was of the highest rank in his own country, yet the Macedonians were indignant that he was sometimes preferred to them; but they were obliged to put up with it, since he excelled them all in diligence, in watchfulness, and in endurance, as well as in skill and mental alertness. [4] Eumenes, when very young, became the friend of Philip II, son of Amyntas, and soon grew very intimate with the king, being conspicuous even in his youth for his high character. [5] Therefore, Philip kept him nearby, in the capacity of secretary, a position much more highly honoured among the Greeks than with the Romans. With us, indeed, scribes are considered hired servants, as in fact they are. In Greece, however, no one serves in such a position unless he is from a respectable family and has proved his trustworthiness and ability, since he is an important official and privy to all his boss's plans. [6] This position of friendship with Philip Eumenes held for seven years. When Philip was assassinated, he held the same rank with Alexander for 13 years. In the later years, Eumenes commanded one of the two corps of cavalry known as 'The Band of Comrades'. Moreover, he was always asked for his advice by both kings and given a share in all their affairs.

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### 1.15.1.b Marriage

#### Arrian, *Anabasis* 7.4.6

Eumenes the king's secretary [married] Artonis, the daughter of Artabazos.

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### 1.15.1.c Governorship

#### Appian, *The Syrian Wars* 53

Eumenes [was] the satrap of Cappadocia.

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### 1.15.1.d Murder (316/315 BCE)<sup>8</sup>

#### Appian, *The Syrian Wars* 53

Antigonos was the satrap of Phrygia, Lykia, and Pamphylia. When he was left as overseer of all Asia by Antipater, who crossed back into Europe, he besieged

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<sup>8</sup> See also Chapter 10.

Eumenes, the satrap of Cappadocia, who had been declared an enemy of the Macedonians. But Eumenes escaped him and gained control of Media for himself. Nevertheless, Antigonos captured and killed Eumenes.

### 1.16 Eurydike (c. 335–285 BCE)

#### 1.16.1.a Marriage

##### Pausanias 1.6.8

Although Ptolemy was married to Eurydike, the daughter of Antipater, and had children, he fell in love with Berenike, whom Antipater had sent along with Eurydike to Egypt.

#### 1.16.1.b Children

##### Appian, *The Syrian Wars* 62.330

Keraunos was the son of Ptolemy Soter and Eurydike the daughter of Antipater.

##### Plutarch, *Demetrius* 46.5

Eurydike, a sister of Phila, met Demetrios at Miletus. She brought with her one of her daughters with Ptolemy, Ptolemais, who had been betrothed to Demetrios before this, through the agency of Seleukos. Demetrios married Ptolemais now.<sup>9</sup> Eurydike gave the bride away.

##### Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 1.9.6

Lysimachos gave in marriage to Agathokles Lysandra, the daughter of Ptolemy, son of Lagos, and Eurydike.

##### Porphyry of Tyre, *FGrH* 260 F3 9

Alexander [son of Cassander] took as a wife Lysandra daughter of Ptolemy.

#### 1.16.1.c Festival in Her Honour

##### Polyaenus, *Stratagems* 6.7.2

Apollodoros of Kassandreia also established the Eurydikaia, a feast in commemoration of Eurydike, who had restored their freedom to the citizens of Kassandreia.

<sup>9</sup> 287/286 BCE.

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## 1.17 Herakles (c. 327–309 BCE)

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### 1.17.1.a Family

#### Justin 11.10.2–3

Alexander began to fall in love with the prisoner Barsine because of her beauty. [3] Later, he had a son with her whom he named Herakles.

#### Plutarch, *Eumenes* 1.7

Barsine the daughter of Artabazos, the first woman whom Alexander met in Asia, bore him a son named Herakles.

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### 1.17.1.b Murder (309 BCE)<sup>10</sup>

#### Diodorus 20.20.1, 28.1–2

Meanwhile, Polyperchon, was in the Peloponnesus, nursing a grudge against Cassander. He had for a long time desired the leadership of the Macedonians. Consequently, he summoned from Pergamon Barsine's son Herakles, the son of Alexander, who was currently being reared in Pergamon. Herakles was about 17 years old. ... [28.1] Then, Polyperchon, with a large army he had assembled, returned to his father's kingdom with Herakles, the son of Alexander and Barsine. But when he was in camp at Stymphaion, Cassander arrived with his army. The camps were near each other, and since the Macedonians were not unhappy at the restoration of the king, Cassander became afraid that they would desert to Herakles, for the Macedonians were fickle by nature. So, he sent an embassy to Polyperchon and [2] tried to get him to understand that, once restored, the king would be under the control of others, not Polyperchon. But, he continued, if Polyperchon joined with him and killed the young man, he would immediately recover the territory that had been granted to him throughout Macedonia. Then, he would be given an army and appointed general in the Peloponnese. Finally, he would be an equal partner in everything in Cassander's realm, honoured above all others. And so, he won Polyperchon over by many great promises, made a secret pact with him, and convinced him to murder the king.

#### Justin 15.2.3

Then, to remove the possibility that Alexander's son, Herakles, who had passed his fourteenth birthday, be invited to occupy the throne of Macedonia because of the prestige of his late father's name, Cassander ordered that he and his mother Barsine be secretly killed and their bodies buried without ceremony lest their violent deaths come to light if a funeral were held.

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<sup>10</sup> See also §7.16.

## 1.18 Kleopatra (c. 355–308 BCE)<sup>11</sup>

### 1.18.1.a Marriages and Family

#### Diodorus 20.37.3

Because Kleopatra's lineage was so distinguished, Cassander and Lysimachos, as well as Antigonos and Ptolemy and in general all the leaders who were most important after Alexander's death, sought her hand in marriage. Each of them hoped that the Macedonians would follow them because of this marriage, and so they wanted an alliance with the royal house in order thus to gain supreme power.

#### Plutarch, *Eumenes* 3.9 (Leonnatos)

Leonnatos showed Eumenes some letters from Kleopatra in which she invited him to come to Pella and promised to marry him.

#### Justin 13.6.4 (Perdikkas)

Perdikkas turned his thoughts to marriage with Kleopatra, sister of Alexander the Great and former wife of the other Alexander, a match to which Olympias, her mother, voiced no objection.

#### Arrian, *Successors* 1.26 (Perdikkas)

Eumenes brought gifts from Perdikkas to Kleopatra, who was in Sardis, and he told her that Perdikkas was going to send Nikaia away and marry her instead.

#### Diodorus 20.37.1 (Ptolemy)

Kleopatra quarrelled with Antigonos and, since she leaned towards choosing Ptolemy as a husband, she set out from Sardis in order to sail to him.

### 1.18.1.b Governor of Lydia

#### Arrian, *Successors* 25.2

When Menander the satrap of Lydia learned of Antigonos' arrival and Asander's departure to him, Perdikkas [...] around Craterus [...] and was angry with Perdikkas because he had transferred his satrapy to Kleopatra and ordered that the army obey him and that he [Menandros] be subordinate to Kleopatra.

### 1.18.1.c Murder

#### Diodorus 20.37.5–6

The governor of Sardis had orders from Antigonos to keep an eye on Kleopatra and so prevented her departure [to Ptolemy]. Later, as commanded by Antigonos, he had her murdered by some women. [6] But Antigonos, not wanting the blame

<sup>11</sup> See also Chapter 7 and Chapter 10.

to fall on him, punished the women for having plotted against her and made sure she was buried in royal fashion. In this way, Kleopatra, who had been fought over by the most important leaders of the day, met her end before she was able to marry.

### 1.19 Kynnane (c. 357–323/322 BCE)

#### 1.19.1.a Family and Marriage

##### Arrian, *Successors* 1.22

Kynnane's father was Philip—also the father of Alexander—and her mother was Eurydike. She was the wife of Amyntas, whom Alexander killed pre-emptively when he crossed over into Asia. This man was the son of Perdikkas, and Perdikkas himself was the brother of Philip—so that the murdered Amyntas was Alexander's cousin.

#### 1.19.1.b Military Career

##### Polyaenus, *Strategems* 8.60

Philip's daughter Kynnane used to undergo military training, lead armies, and face enemies in battle. When she faced the Illyrians, Kynnane brought down their queen with a precise blow to the neck—she then killed large numbers of Illyrians as they fled. She married Amyntas son of Perdikkas, but he died not long afterwards. Since she could not face the prospect of taking a second husband, she invested in the one child she had with Amyntas, Eurydike, and trained her as she had been trained. When Alexander died in Babylon and the Successors were fighting over the empire, Kynnane risked crossing the Strymon to enter the fray. Antipater tried to stop her, but she overpowered the forces blocking her way and crossed the river. Then, defeating those opposed to her, she crossed the Hellespont, for she wished to join up with the Macedonian army. Alketas confronted her with his forces, but when the Macedonians recognised the daughter of Philip and the sister of Alexander, they were ashamed by their actions and refused to fight. Kynnane rebuked Alketas for his disloyalty, and was not daunted by either the number of his men or his war machines and gear. So, she faced a bloody death nobly, preferring to lose her life rather than see the line of Philip driven from the throne.

#### 1.19.1.c Death (323/322 BCE)

##### Arrian, *Successors* 1.22

Then there occurred the death of Kynnane, which was brought about by Perdikkas and his brother Alketas.

## 1.20 Lysimachos (c. 360–281 BCE)

### 1.20.1.a Family<sup>12</sup>

Arrian, *Successors* 1.2

Lysimachos [was] the son of Agathokles.

### 1.20.1.b With Alexander

Aelian, *Varia Historia* 12.16

Alexander hated Lysimachos because he was an excellent general.

### Justin 15.3.1–16

Lysimachos had been born into a distinguished Macedonian family, but all his pedigree paled before the visible instances of his moral worth; [2] for this was so exceptional in him that in greatness of spirit he transcended theoretical philosophy, as he also surpassed all the conquerors of the East in his reputation for physical strength. [3] The following episode illustrates his character: Alexander the Great was infuriated with the philosopher Kallisthenes' opposition to the use of the Persian method of salutation and had falsely alleged that Kallisthenes was party to a conspiracy that was afoot against him. [4] Brutally mutilating all his limbs and cutting off his ears, nose, and lips, Alexander reduced him to a hideous and pitiful spectacle, [5] and he also had him carried around shut up in a cage with a dog, to intimidate the others. [6] Lysimachos, who had been a student of Kallisthenes and used to taking advice from him on moral issues, felt pity for this great man who was being punished not for a crime but for speaking his mind, and gave him poison to relieve his sufferings. [7] So incensed was Alexander that he had Lysimachos thrown to a ferocious lion. [8] However, when the lion, enraged at the sight of his victim, leapt at him, Lysimachos wrapped his hand in his cloak, plunged it into the lion's mouth and killed the beast by ripping out its tongue. [9] When this was reported to the king, his admiration led him to overlook the offence, and his affection for Lysimachos increased on account of the unshakable courage which he had shown. [10] Furthermore, Lysimachos accepted with magnanimity the king's humiliation of him, as though it came from a father. [11] Eventually, the memory of the incident passed completely from his mind and, later on, in India, when the king was in pursuit of some enemy stragglers and became separated from his troop of attendants because his horse was so fast, it was Lysimachos alone who accompanied him on the journey through the huge sand-dunes. [12] Before this Lysimachos' brother, Philip, had wished to perform

<sup>12</sup> For further references to Lysimachos' father Agathokles, see Appian, *The Syrian Wars* 64.339; Arrian, *Anabasis* 6.28.4; Arrian, *Indica* 18.3; Strabo 13.4.1; Porphyry of Tyre, *FGrH* 260 F3.8; Theopompus, *FGrH* 115 F81; Justin 15.3.1; and Pausanias 1.9.3.

the same service, but he had died in the king's arms. [13] Now, however, as Alexander dismounted, he accidentally wounded Lysimachos on the forehead with the tip of his spear, so seriously that the only way of staunching the flow of blood was by the king taking his diadem from his own head and putting it on Lysimachos' in order to close up the wound. [14] This was the first omen that royal authority was to come to Lysimachos. [15] But after the death of Alexander, when the provinces were being divided amongst his successors, it was Lysimachos who was assigned the fiercest tribes on the assumption that he was the bravest of them all. [16] So far, by universal agreement, did he excel the others in courage.

**Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 1.9.5**

Lysimachos was a Macedonian by birth and one of Alexander's bodyguards. Alexander, in a fit of rage, once locked him in a cage with a lion. Afterwards, when he saw that Lysimachos had overpowered the lion, Alexander always treated him with respect and valued him as much as the other commanders.

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1.20.1.c Governorship

**Pausanias 1.9.5**

After the death of Alexander, Lysimachos ruled those Thracians who are neighbours of the Macedonians, the ones whom Alexander and before him Philip had ruled.

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1.20.1.d Student of the Indian Philosopher Kalanos

**Arrian, *Anabasis* 7.3.4**

Before Kalanos climbed on his funeral pyre he gave his horse to Lysimachos, one of his students.

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1.20.1.e Marriages

See §§1.22, 1.5, and 1.9

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1.20.1.f Death (281 BCE)

**Appian, *The Syrian Wars* 64**

Lysimachos reigned nearly 40 years—including those where he was governor—and he did reign with difficulty and trouble. He died in battle, while still commanding his army, at the age of 70. ... Lysimachos' dog guarded his body lying on the ground for a long time, and kept it unharmed by birds or beasts until Thorax of Pharsalia found and buried it.

## 1.21 Neoptolemos (c. 355–321 BCE)

### 1.21.1.a Governorship

Dexippos, *FGrH* 100 F8.6

†Armenia went to †Neoptolemos.

### 1.21.1.b Honoured by the Ephesians (322/321 BCE)

*Inscriptionen von Ephesos* 1431.1–4

To Neoptolemos of Macedonia, the son of Billeas. Since he is zealous towards the people [2] and those of the citizens whom he meets, it is resolved by the council and the people [3] that he shall be a citizen in equal and like manner: and these rights shall also be granted to his descendants. He was allotted [4] to the Ephesos [tribe] and the Boreus thousand.

### 1.21.1.c Famous Equestrian Portrait

Pliny, *Natural History* 35.96

Apelles also painted Neoptolemos on horseback fighting against the Persians.

### 1.21.1.d Death (c. 321 BCE)

Arrian, *Successors* 1.27

Neoptolemos fell, the victim of the right hand of Eumenes the secretary, though he was a military man and renowned in war.

Justin 13.8.8

Neoptolemos met Eumenes in single combat and, after a long struggle in which each man inflicted wounds on the other, eventually fell, defeated.

Diodorus 18.31.1–5

On the left, where Neoptolemos faced Eumenes, there was a great display of ambitious rivalry as the leaders strove against each other. [2] As soon as they recognised each other by their horses and other insignia, they engaged and they made the victory hinge on the outcome of that face-to-face combat. First, they fought with sword, but then the duel became strange and most extraordinary because they were so carried away by their anger and their mutual hatred that they let the reins fall from their left hands and wrestled each other. As a result of this, their horses ran out from under them, carried by their own momentum, and the men fell to the ground. [3] The suddenness and force of the fall made it difficult for both to stand, especially since they were hampered by their armour. Eumenes rose up first and struck Neoptolemos in the back of the knee. [4] This caused a severe wound

and his legs gave way. Neoptolemos lay on the ground, prevented by his wound from getting up. Yet his courage overcame the weakness of his body, and, resting on his knees, wounded his opponent three times on the arm and the thighs. [5] But none of these was fatal. With his wounds still fresh, Eumenes struck Neoptolemos in the neck with a second blow and killed him.

## 1.22 Nikaia (c. 335–302 BCE)

### 1.22.1.a Family

#### Strabo 12.4.7

Nikaia was the daughter of Antipater.

### 1.22.1.b Marriages

#### Justin 13.6.5–6 (Perdikkas)

First, however, he wished to use the pretext of family alliance to ensnare Antipater. [6] He therefore pretended that he wished to marry the latter's daughter, his object being to facilitate thereby the acquisition of fresh drafts of recruits from Macedonia.

#### Arrian, *Successors* 1.21

Iolaos and Archias came from Macedonia to Perdikkas, bringing with them Antipater's daughter Nikaia to be his wife.

#### Diodorus 18.23.2 (Perdikkas)

Since he did not wish as yet to reveal his plan [to marry Kleopatra], Perdikkas married Nikaia to gain the support of her father Antipater.

#### Strabo 12.4.7 (Lysimachos)

[The city of] Nikaia was first founded by Antigonos, the son of Philip, who called it Antigonos, and then by Lysimachos, who changed its name to Nikaia, after his wife.

#### Stephen of Byzantium, *s.v.* Nikaia (Lysimachos)

Nikaia [the city] was named after Nikaia the wife of Lysimachos.

## 1.23 Olympias (c. 375–316 BCE)

### 1.23.1.a Family

#### Theopompos, *FGrH* 115 F355

Olympias traced her line all the way back to Pyrrhos son of Achilles and Helenos son of Priam, according to Theopompos and Pyranders.

**Justin 7.6.10–11**

Philip married Olympias, daughter of Neoptolemos, king of the Molossians; [11] the match was arranged by Arybbas, king of the Molossians, who was the girl's cousin and guardian and was married to her sister, Troas.

**Athenaeus 13.557c**

Philip took possession of the Molossian kingdom by marrying Olympias, by whom he had Alexander and Kleopatra.

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 1.23.1.b Character
 

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**Plutarch, *Alexander* 9.5–7**

But the malaise that reigned in the women's quarters because of Philip's marriages and love affairs in some way infected the realm, and the domestic upsets occasioned numerous reproaches and bitter antagonisms. (These were further exacerbated by the bad nature of Olympias, a jealous and resentful woman, who would spur Alexander to anger.) [6] A very clear case of this phenomenon was provided by Attalus at the wedding of Kleopatra, a young woman whom Philip was marrying—for he was in love with the girl, despite his age. [7] Attalos was Kleopatra's uncle, and becoming tipsy during the drinking he invited the Macedonians to beg the gods that from Philip and Kleopatra a successor to the throne should be born who was legitimate.

**Justin 9.7.1–2**

It was also believed that Pausanias had been suborned by Olympias, mother of Alexander, and that Alexander himself was not unaware of the plot to murder his father. [2] For Olympias was thought to have felt no less resentment over her repudiation and the fact that Kleopatra had been preferred to her than Pausanias felt over his sexual abuse.

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 1.23.1.c Murder (316 BCE)<sup>13</sup>


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**Justin 14.6.1–12**

Olympias' rule in its turn was not a long one. Acting more like a woman than a monarch she resorted to wholesale slaughter of the nobility and turned the support she had gained into hatred. [2] Thus, when she had news of Cassander's arrival, she mistrusted the Macedonians and withdrew to the city of Pydna with her daughter-in-law, Rhoxane, and her grandson, Herakles. [3] She was accompanied on the journey by Deidamia, daughter of King Aeacides, by her stepdaughter Thessalonike, who herself enjoyed some distinction because of the name of her father Philip, and by numerous other ladies from the nobility, a group that was more distinguished than capable. [4] When this news was brought to Cassander, he came to Pydna at a swift pace and laid siege to the city. [5] Feeling the pressure of starvation and military force, and weary of the long siege, Olympias struck a bargain for her life and surrendered to the victor. [6] Cassander, however, summoned

<sup>13</sup> See also Chapter 7.

the people to a meeting to ascertain what they wanted done with Olympias, and he bribed relatives of men who had been put to death by her to put on mourning and denounce the woman's atrocities. [7] Roused to anger by these people and with no thought for her former royal dignity, the Macedonians decreed that she be executed, [8] ignoring the fact that it was her son and her husband who had not only guaranteed their security amongst their neighbours, but had also enabled them to acquire great wealth and worldwide domination. [9] When Olympias saw armed men approaching her, intent on carrying out the sentence, she went to meet them of her own accord dressed in her royal attire and leaning on two maid-servants. [10] The sight of this astonished the assassins, who reflected on her erstwhile majesty and on the names of all the kings that she brought to mind; they came to a halt [11] and finally men were sent by Cassander to run her through. She did not run from the sword, nor from their blows, nor did she scream like a woman. She faced death like a courageous man, upholding the glorious reputation of her ancient family; you could see Alexander even in his mother's death. [12] It is said that as she was dying, she arranged her hair and covered her legs with her dress so that there would be nothing undignified in her bodily appearance.

### 1.24 Peithon (c. 355–315 BCE)

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#### 1.24.1.a Family

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##### *Arrian, Anabasis 6.28.4*

Peithon son of Krateuas, from Eordaia.

##### *Arrian, Indica 18.6*

Peithon son of Krateuas, from Alkomenai.<sup>14</sup>

##### *Arrian, Successors 1.2*

Peithon [was the] son of Krateuas.

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#### 1.24.1.b Bodyguard Under Alexander

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##### *Arrian, Anabasis 6.28.4*

Peithon, son of Krateuas, from Eordaia, was [appointed] the eighth [Bodyguard].

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#### 1.24.1.c Murder (315 BCE)

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##### *Diodorus 19.46.1–4*

When Antigonos, who was wintering in Media, heard that Peithon was winning the support of many of the soldiers in their winter quarters by promises and gifts and that he planned to revolt, he concealed his own intentions and pretended not to believe those who were making the accusations. He rebuked them in front of

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<sup>14</sup> A community in Eordaia, Macedonia.

witnesses for trying to break up their friendship and had a rumour spread that he was about to leave Peithon as general of the Upper Satrapies<sup>15</sup> with an army large enough to protect them. [2] He even wrote to Peithon, asking him to come as soon as possible, so that they could discuss the necessary arrangements in person, after which he could then quickly go down the coast. Antigonos came up with this plan because he wished to prevent Peithon from suspecting the truth—he wanted to persuade him to come within reach on the pretext that he was about to be given the satrapies when Antigonos left. For it was not easy to arrest a man by force who had been promoted by Alexander because of his abilities, who at that very time was satrap of Media, and who was popular with the entire army. [3] Peithon, who was wintering in the most distant parts of Media, had already enlisted a large number of men who had promised to join his revolt, but when his friends wrote to him about Antigonos' plans and hinted at his great prospects, he was deceived by empty expectations and came to Antigonos. [4] Antigonos formally accused him and easily won a conviction from the members of his council. He then had him executed at once.

**Polyaenus, *Stratagems* 4.6.14**

When Antigonos heard that Peithon, the governor of Media, had raised a mercenary army and was planning to revolt, Antigonos could not believe it. He responded to those who told him in the following way, 'I do not believe this about Peithon because I was going to give him five thousand Macedonian hoplites and a thousand Thracians, to protect his district.' Peithon found out what Antigonos had said and decided to trust him. Consequently, he went to Antigonos to get the promised troops, but when Antigonos brought Peithon before the Macedonians, he accused him of disloyalty and ordered him to be executed.

**1.25 Perdikkas (c. 355–321/320 BCE)**

————— 1.25.1.a Family —————

**Arrian, *Anabasis* 3.11.9**

Perdikkas [was] the son of Orontes.

————— 1.25.1.b Close Friend of Alexander —————

**Plutarch, *Alexander* 15.4–5**

When Alexander had finally distributed all of the crown property, Perdikkas asked him, 'Your Majesty, what are you leaving for yourself?' When the king answered, 'My hopes', Perdikkas replied, 'So be it, then, we who accompany you will share those as well.' [5] Then he declined the possessions which had been allotted to him, and some of the other friends of Alexander did the same.

<sup>15</sup> I.e., the Eastern provinces of Alexander's empire.

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 1.25.1.c Marriage<sup>16</sup>


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**Arrian, *Anabasis* 7.4.5**

To Perdikkas Alexander gave the daughter of Atropates, satrap of Media.

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 1.25.1.d Regent After Alexander's Death
 

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**Quintus Curtius Rufus 10.5.4–6**

He bade his friends draw near since, by now, even his voice had started to fail, and then he took his ring from his finger and handed it to Perdikkas. He also gave instructions that they should have his body transported to Ammon. [5] When they asked him to whom he bequeathed his kingdom, he answered, 'To the best man', but added that he could already foresee great funeral games for himself provided by that issue. [6] When Perdikkas further asked when he wished divine honours paid to him, he said he wanted them when they themselves were happy. These were Alexander's last words; he died moments later.

**Justin 12.15.12**

On the sixth day Alexander's voice failed. He removed his ring and handed it to Perdikkas, a gesture which quelled the growing dissension amongst his friends.

**Diodorus 18.4.1–3**

Craterus had written instructions which the king had given him to carry out, but after Alexander's death the Successors decided against putting these plans into effect. [2] For in the *Hypomnemata* of the king, Perdikkas found orders for the completion of Hephaestion's pyre, which called for heavy expenditure, and for all his other designs, which, numerous and grandiose, required an inordinate outlay of money. He therefore decided it was expedient to leave them unfulfilled. [3] But not to appear to have diminished Alexander's prestige on his own authority, he brought the proposal concerning these matters before the common council of the Macedonians.

**Plutarch, *Alexander* 77.7**

For it was Perdikkas who exercised the greatest authority immediately after Alexander's death, trailing around with him Arrhidaios as a sort of puppet representative of the monarchy.

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 1.25.1.e Death (320/321 BCE)
 

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**Diodorus 18.36.4–5**

[After the battle of Camel Fortress]<sup>17</sup> many of the officers met and denounced Perdikkas, and all the phalanx of the infantry, now disgusted with him, made

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<sup>16</sup> See §1.22 above for Perdikkas' negotiations to marry Nikaia.

<sup>17</sup> See §9.4.

clear their own position with shouted threats. [5] The officers were the first to revolt. There were about a hundred of them, the most experienced was Peithon, the man who had put down the Greek rebellion, a man second to none of the Companions of Alexander in courage and accomplishments. Then some the cavalry also joined the rebellion and went to the tent of Perdikkas and stabbed him to death.

## 1.26 Phila (c. 355–288/287 BCE)

### 1.26.1.a Character

#### Diodorus 19.59.4–5

Phila seems to have been an exceptionally intelligent woman. For example, when there was unrest in the army, she would neutralise the trouble-makers by dealing with each individual in a manner appropriate to his case. She would pay for the marriages of the sisters and daughters of the poor at her own expense, and she would rescue those who had been falsely accused. [5] It is even said that her father Antipater, who is considered to have been the wisest of the rulers of his own time, used to consult with Phila about the most important matters when she was still a child.

### 1.26.1.b Marriages

#### Photius, *Bibliotheca* 166 (Balakros)

The Balakros, who writes to his wife, named Phila, daughter of Antipater.

#### Diodorus 18.18.7 (Craterus)

When Antipater had returned to Macedonia, he gave Craterus suitable honours and gifts, including his eldest daughter Phila in marriage, and he helped him to prepare for his return to Asia.

#### Memnon, *FGrH* 434 F1 4.4 (Craterus)

When Alexander had departed from among men Craterus inclined towards Phila, the daughter of Antipater.

#### Plutarch, *Demetrius* 14.2–4 (Demetrius)

Of all his wives, Demetrius was most respectful to Phila, both because she was the daughter of Antipater and because she had been married to Craterus, who, of all the Successors of Alexander, had the most respect among the Macedonians. [3] Demetrius was very young when his father persuaded him to marry Phila, though she was not his age but older. Because Demetrius did not to pursue the match, Antigonos is said to have repeated to him this verse of Euripides: 'When fortune provides, we yield to marriage against the will of nature.' [4] But he added 'marriage' in the place of 'service'. Still, the respect which Demetrius paid Phila

and his other wives was so small but that he publicly entertained many mistresses, both enslaved women and those who were free-born, and was more infamous for this than any other royals of his time.

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1.26.1.c Children

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*Fouilles de Delphes* 3.4.137, lines 3–4 (with Craterus)

He who placed this here [i.e., the Lion Monument at Delphi]<sup>18</sup> here was Craterus, his orphaned child, fulfilling every promise for his father [Craterus].

**Plutarch, *Demetrius* 37.4 (with Demetrios)**

Demetrios had married Antipater's daughter Phila and had a son by her (i.e., Antigonos Gonatas) to succeed him in the throne.

**Plutarch, *Demetrius* 53.8 (with Demetrios)**

Demetrios left behind him several children: Antigonos and Stratonike, whom he had with his wife Phila.

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1.26.1.d Suicide (288/287 BCE)

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**Plutarch, *Demetrius* 45.1**

Demetrios had now lost his power and fled to Kassandreia, where his wife Phila was. Full of grief she could not bear to see Demetrios brought so low, now only a regular person<sup>19</sup> and an exile. And so, she despaired and railing against the fact that fortune had brought more adversity than prosperity, she took poison and ended her life.

**1.27 Philip III Arrhidaios (c. 357–317 BCE)**

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1.27.1.a Family<sup>20</sup>

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**Athenaeus 13.557c**

Philip had children by two Thessalian women: one was Nikesipolis of Pherai, who gave him a daughter named Thessalonike and the other was Philinna of Larissa, with whom he had Arrhidaios.

**Athenaeus 13.577f–578a**

Ptolemaios the son of Agesarchis, in his History of Philopator, [578a] provides a list of the mistresses of the different kings and he say, 'Philip the Macedonian raised up Philinna, the dancing woman, with whom he had Arrhidaios.'

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<sup>18</sup> See Dunn and Wheatley (2012) for discussion.

<sup>19</sup> I.e., no longer a king.

<sup>20</sup> For his marriage to Adea Eurydike, see §1.1, above.

**Porphyry of Tyre, *FGrH* 260 F3**

Arrhidaios [son] of Philip and Philinna of Thessaly, whom the Macedonians called Philip out of concern for Philip's family, and installed as king after Alexander, although he was [born] of another woman, and they knew him to be a mindless man—he inherited his kingdom, as we have said, in the second year of the 114th Olympiad (c. 323 BCE).

**Justin 9.8.2**

Philip had a son, Arrhidaios, with a dancer from Larissa.

**Justin 13.2.11**

Arrhidaios was purportedly the son of a prostitute from Larissa.

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1.27.1.b Mental/Physical Illness

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**Plutarch, *Alexander* 77.7–8**

For it was Perdikkas who immediately found himself in the position of greatest power, towing Arrhidaios behind him almost as a mute representative of the monarchy. Arrhidaios was the child of Philip by Philinna, a woman of no distinction and of common birth, and he was of impaired mental faculties because of a physical disorder, but not one that struck him from natural causes or was congenital. [8] They say, rather, that when he was a boy the character that shone through was refined and not lacking in nobility, but that he was later disabled by drugs given him by Olympias and that this was how his mind was destroyed.

**Appian, *The Syrian Wars* 52**

After the Persians, Alexander became king of the Syrians, and of all the peoples he saw. When Alexander died, he left two sons—one very young and the other not yet born. The Macedonians, longing for Philip's line, chose Arrhidaios, the brother of Alexander, as their king as long as Alexander's sons were underage (for they guarded even the pregnant wife), even though he was considered to be feeble-minded.

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1.27.1.c Accession

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**Quintus Curtius Rufus 10.7.2**

[Meleager addresses the officers in Babylon:] 'you are forgetting Philip's son, Arrhidaios, brother of our late king Alexander; recently he accompanied the king in performing our religious ceremonies and now he is his sole heir.'

***Heidelberg Epitome* 1**

Alexander's courtiers were at odds over the question of the throne, and it was arranged that the king would be Arrhidaios (later also named Philip), the half-brother of Alexander on his father's side. He was to rule until Alexander's son

reached the appropriate age. However, since Arrhidaios was mentally afflicted, and epileptic to boot, Perdikkas was chosen as a trustee and caretaker of the affairs of court.

**Justin 13.2.4–8, 11; 3.1**

Thus, they assembled under arms at the palace to settle the present situation. [5] Perdikkas proposed that they await the birth of the child of Rhoxane, who was then eight months pregnant by Alexander; if her child were a boy, he should be made his father's heir. [6] Meleager declared that they should not delay their decision through doubt as to what would be born; they should not await the birth of kings when they could have recourse to some already born. [7] If they wanted a boy there was at Pergamon a son of Alexander by Barsine, Herakles by name; [8] if they preferred a young man, they had in the camp Alexander's brother Arrhidaios, a courteous fellow and a very acceptable choice for all, not only in his own right but also on account of his father Philip. ... [2.11] Ptolemy rejected Arrhidaios' claim to the throne, not only because of his low birth on his mother's side—he was purportedly the son of a prostitute from Larissa—but also because of the serious disability from which he suffered, which might mean a regent holding the real power while he was king in name only. ... [3.1] ... the infantry was furious at being left no say in the matter, so they declared Alexander's brother Arrhidaios king, appointed guards for him from amongst their own number and issued orders that he be addressed by his father's name, Philip.

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1.27.1.d As a Puppet of Others

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**Plutarch, *On the Fortune of Alexander* 2.5 = *Moralia* 337d–e**

But who could have made a great man of Arrhidaios? He was no different from a child when Meleager set him on Alexander's throne, except that his baby clothes were royal purple. Meleager did well, though, to show in a matter of days how men can be kings by their merits and how they can also be kings by pure chance. For to succeed a man who was a real champion on the throne Meleager brought in an actor, or (to put it more accurately) a mute diadem, so to speak, passed across the stage of the inhabited world.

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1.27.1.e Murder (317 BCE)<sup>21</sup>

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**Justin 14.5.9–10**

When Olympias, mother of King Alexander, was coming from Epeiros to Macedonia in the company of Aiakides, king of the Molossians, Eurydike and King Arrhidaios attempted to bar her way into the country. [10] The Macedonians, who were

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<sup>21</sup> See also Chapter 7.

roused either by the memory of her husband or the greatness of her son, and by the humiliation caused by the act, transferred their allegiance to Olympias, on whose orders both Eurydike and the king were executed. Arrhidaios had held the throne for six years after the death of Alexander.

**Diodorus 19.11.4–5**

Olympias captured the king and queen and took the kingdom without a fight. But she did not use her good luck appropriately: first, she cruelly imprisoned Eurydike and her husband Philip by walling them up in a small space and giving them only enough food to survive through a very small opening. [5] This continued for many days, but the Macedonians began to pity the captives and turn against her. As a result, she ordered some Thracians to stab Philip to death—he had been king for six years and four months.

**1.28 Polyperchon (394–303 BCE)**

————— 1.28.1.a Family —————

**Arrian, *Anabasis* 2.12.2**

Polyperchon [was] the son of Simmias.

————— 1.28.1.b Governorship —————

**Justin 13.6.9**

Craterus and Antipater supported Antigonos, making peace with the Athenians and appointing Polyperchon governor of Greece and Macedonia.

————— 1.28.1.c Guardian of the Kings Alexander IV and  
Philip III Arrhidaios —————

**Diodorus 18.47.4**

When Antigonos arrived at Kretopolis, Aristodemos of Miletus told him that Antipater had died, and that the supreme command and the guardianship of the kings had fallen to Polyperchon the Macedonian.

**Diodorus 18.49.4**

After Polyperchon had assumed the guardianship of the kings and had consulted with his friends, he summoned Olympias, asking her to care for Alexander's son, who was still a child, and to live in Macedonia as queen.

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## 1.29 Ptolemy (367/366–283/282 BCE)

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### 1.29.1.a Biography

[Lucian], *The Long-Livers* 12

Ptolemy, son of Lagos, the most fortunate of the kings of his day, ruled over Egypt, and at the age of 84, two years before his death, abdicated in favour of his son Ptolemy, called Philadelphus.

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### 1.29.1.b Bodyguard to Alexander

Arrian, *Anabasis* 6.28.4

Bodyguards of Alexander: Leonnatos son of Antreas, Hephaestion son of Amyntor, Lysimachos son of Agathokles, Aristonoos son of Pisiaos, Ptolemy son of Lagos, Peithon son of Krateuas and Peukestas.

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### 1.29.1.c Marriages and Children

See §§1.10 Artakama, 1.11 Berenike, 1.16 Eurydike, 1.33 Thais

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### 1.29.1.d Author of the History of Alexander's Campaigns

Arrian, *Anabasis* preface 2

In my opinion, Ptolemy and Aristoboulos are more trustworthy in their narrative, in the case of Aristoboulos because he campaigned with King Alexander and in the case of Ptolemy because he not only campaigned with Alexander, but also was a king himself and would have found it more shameful than anyone else to lie.

## 1.30 Pyrrhos (319/318–272 BCE)

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### 1.30.1.a Family and Accession

Justin 17.3.9–22

Subsequently the crown descended in regular succession to Tharybas. [10] He was not yet of age and was the last survivor of a noble line, and his welfare and education were accordingly all the more important to the entire population, which therefore appointed guardians for him. [11] He was also sent to Athens for schooling, and the more he surpassed his ancestors in learning, the more he won the approval of his people. [12] He was the first to create a legal system, a senate, annual magistracies, and a regular constitution, [13] so that, while the colony may have been founded by Pyrrhus, its civilised life was established by Tharybas.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> The lineage of Tharybas was outlined by Euripides in *Andromache* 1243ff.

[14] His son was Neoptolemos, who became the father of Olympias, the mother of Alexander the Great, and of the Alexander [15] who succeeded him on the throne of Epeiros and who died amongst the Bruttii after fighting a war in Italy. [16] After his death, Alexander was succeeded by his brother Aiakides<sup>23</sup> whose incessant military clashes with the Macedonians exhausted the people and made him unpopular with his fellow citizens. [17] He was therefore driven into exile, leaving on the throne his son, Pyrrhos, who was a mere infant, just two years old. [18] Because his father was so hated by the people, the child was also sought by them to be put to death, but he was spirited away and taken to the Illyrians, [19] where his upbringing was entrusted to Beroa, wife of King Glaukias, herself of Aeacid descent.<sup>24</sup> [20] Glaukias was either moved to pity by the boy's circumstances or won over by his infant charms; at all events the king long protected him against Cassander, king of Macedon (who added threats of war to his demands for his return), to the point of adopting the child to help keep him safe. [21] This had a profound effect on the Epirotes, whose hatred softened to pity. When Pyrrhos was 11 years old, they recalled him to the throne, and he was given guardians who were to look after his kingdom until he reached manhood. [22] Then, as a young man, he fought many wars, and his successes brought him such a great reputation that he alone seemed capable of defending the people of Tarentum against the Romans.

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### 1.30.1.b Character and Appearance

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#### Plutarch, *Pyrrhus* 3.6–9; 8.3–4, 7–8

Pyrrhos' face was more terrifying than noble, for he did not have many teeth—his upper jaw was one continuous bone, on which the usual intervals between the teeth were indicated by slight depressions. [7] He could also heal: people afflicted by illness of the spleen believed that he could cure them. He sacrificed a white rooster, and, while the patient lay flat on his back, Pyrrhos would press gently with his right foot against the spleen. [8] And he healed anyone who asked, rich or poor, it did not matter. As payment, Pyrrhos accepted the rooster, after he had sacrificed it. [9] In addition to this, that the big toe of his right foot had a godly aspect—even after his body had burned on the pyre, this toe was untouched and unharmed by the fire. ... [8.3] Pyrrhos' knowledge and ability in war and leadership is shown in the books he wrote on these subjects. [4] It is said also that Antigonos, when asked who was the best general, answered, 'Pyrrhos, if he lives to be old'... . [7] Pyrrhos was always studying and meditating upon this one subject, regarding it as the most noble type of scholarship—the other subjects he considered unworthy of his time. For example, he was asked at a drinking party whether he thought Python or Kaphisias was the better flute player. He replied that Polyperchon was a good general, implying that a king should only study and

<sup>23</sup> Aeacides was the son of Arrybas, Neoptolemos' brother, and thus a cousin of Alexander I of Epeiros.

<sup>24</sup> That is, belonging to the royal family of the Molossi, who traced their descent from Aeakos, through Peleus, Achilles, and Neoptolemos.

understand military matters. [8] He was kind towards his friends, had a mild disposition, but could be eager and impetuous in returning favours.

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1.30.1.c Pet Eagle

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**Aelian, *Nature of Animals* 2.40**

Eagles are full of affection towards their keepers: consider the eagle that belonged to Pyrrhos, which, when its master died, would no longer eat and died as well.

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1.30.1.d Marriages

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**Plutarch, *Pyrrhus* 4.7 (Antigone)**

[Pyrrhos married] Antigone, one of the daughters of Berenike, whom she had with Philip before her marriage with Ptolemy.

**Plutarch, *Pyrrhus* 9.2 (Daughter of Autoleon)**

He married a daughter of Autoleon, king of the Paeonians.

**Plutarch, *Pyrrhus* 9.2 (Birkenna)**

He married Birkenna, daughter of Bardyllis the Illyrian.

**Plutarch, *Pyrrhus* 9.2 (Lanassa)**

He married Lanassa daughter of Agathokles of Syracuse, who brought him as her dowry the city of Corcyra, which had been captured by Agathokles.

**Justin 17.2.15 (Daughter of Ptolemy Keraunos)**

Ptolemy granted Pyrrhos 15,000 infantry, 4,000 cavalry, and 50 elephants, but for a limited term of two years. [15] In return for this, Pyrrhos married Ptolemy's daughter.

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1.30.1.e Children

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**Plutarch, *Pyrrhus* 6.1**

Pyrrhos named his infant son with Antigone Ptolemy to honour Berenike and Ptolemy.

**Justin 28.1.1**

After losing her husband Alexander, who was also her full brother, Olympias, daughter of Pyrrhos, king of Epeiros, assumed the guardianship of Pyrrhos and Ptolemy, the sons she had with him, as well as the management of the kingdom.

**Plutarch, *Pyrrhus* 9.2**

With Antigone Pyrrhos had a son named Ptolemy, with Lanassa a son named Alexander, and with Birkenna, Helenos, his youngest son.

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 1.30.1.f Death (272 BCE)
 

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**Polyaenus, *Stratagems* 8.68**

Pyrrhos, king of Epeiros, was invited by Aristeos the Argive to invade Argos. While the Argive army assembled in the marketplace, the women attacked Pyrrhos' men from the rooftops with stones and bricks and forced them to retreat. Pyrrhos himself was killed in this attack by a blow from a brick that hit his head. Because they had killed Pyrrhos, that most warlike of kings, the Argive women gained everlasting fame.

**1.31 Rhoxane (c. 340–310 BCE)**


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 1.31.1.a Marriage to Alexander (328/327 BCE)
 

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**Plutarch, *Alexander* 47.7–8**

And then there was the matter of Rhoxane. His actions were motivated by passion—he had noted her beautiful and comely looks when he saw her participating in a dance during the after-dinner drinking—but the situation was not disadvantageous to what he had in prospect. [8] The barbarians were heartened by the partnership this marriage represented, and they were very fond of Alexander because he showed exceptional self-control and would not presume to touch the only woman who captured his heart unless the law permitted it.

***Metz Epitome* 28–31**

Alexander then devoted himself to pressing ahead with the journey he had begun towards Gazabes, during which he met a certain satrap named Chorienes with whom he formed an alliance. Chorienes entertained Alexander at his house and introduced as dancers at the banquet his own unmarried daughters along with the unmarried daughters of his friends. [29] Amongst them was the daughter of Oxyartes, Rhoxane, who was the most beautiful of all. Enchanted by the sight of her and fired with lust, Alexander asked who she was and who her father was, to discover that she was the daughter of Oxyartes, also a guest at the dinner. He took his cup, made a prayer to the gods and then proceeded to declare that many people often found that many things happen contrary to their expectations, that many kings had sons by captives [30] or sent daughters to foreign nations to get married, using such a bond to ratify alliances. 'So', he continued, 'I do not consider the Macedonians your betters in terms of race and no more would I consider you unworthy of intermarriage with us, even if you had sought alliance with us after a defeat. I am going to make such a match, and I shall ensure that the rest of the Macedonians follow my example.' [31] After these words of exhortation from Alexander, each of his friends took away a girl as his bride, to the great delight of Oxyartes and the other barbarians.

**Quintus Curtius Rufus 8.4.21–26**

After this Alexander entered the country governed by the illustrious satrap, Oxyartes. Oxyartes placed himself under the king's authority and protection, whereupon Alexander restored his position to him and demanded only that two

of Oxyartes' three sons join him on his campaigns. [22] In fact, the satrap also committed to him the son who was being left behind with himself. Oxyartes had arranged a banquet of typical barbaric extravagance, at which he entertained the king. [23] While he conducted the festivities with warm geniality, Oxyartes had 30 young noblewomen brought in, one of whom was his own daughter Rhoxane, a woman of remarkable physical beauty with a dignified bearing rarely found in barbarians. [24] Though she was one of a number chosen for their beauty, she nonetheless attracted everybody's attention, especially that of the king, whose control over his appetites was weakening amid the indulgences of Fortune, against whom mankind is insufficiently armed. [25] So it was that the man who had looked with what were merely paternal feelings on the wife and two unmarried daughters of Darius—and with these none but Rhoxane could be compared in looks—now fell in love with a young girl, of humble pedigree in comparison with royalty, and did so with such abandon as to make a statement that intermarriage of Persians and Macedonians would serve to consolidate his empire, that only thus could the conquered lose their shame and the conquerors their pride. [26] Achilles, he said, from whom he traced his descent, had also shared his bed with a captive. Her people should not think they were being done any wrong—he was willing to enter into a lawful marriage with Rhoxane.

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1.31.1.b Removes the Other Persian Wives of Alexander

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**Plutarch, *Alexander* 77.6**

Rhoxane was now pregnant, and because of this had great respect among the Macedonians. Despite this, however, she was jealous of Stateira, and so tricked Stateira into coming to her by means of a duplicitous letter. When she arrived, Rhoxane killed her, along with her sister [Barsine], and threw their bodies into a well, and filled it in with soil. Perdikkas was party to the whole affair and her willing conspirator.

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1.31.1.c Murder<sup>25</sup>

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**Justin 15.2.4–5**

Cassander's crime in killing first the king (Philip III Arrhidaios), then the queen mother, Olympias, and Alexander's son (Herakles) was somehow insufficient, [5] for he also went on to murder in the same treacherous manner Alexander's other son (Alexander IV) along with the mother, Rhoxane, evidently thinking that by crime alone could he attain his goal, the throne of Macedonia.

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<sup>25</sup> See Chapter 7.

### 1.32 Seleukos (c. 358–281 BCE)

#### 1.32.1.a Character and Family<sup>26</sup>

##### *Appian, The Syrian Wars 57*

Seleukos had a broad and powerful frame, and when a wild bull broke its bonds during one of Alexander's sacrifices Seleukos alone held his ground and restrained him with nothing but his bare hands; hence his statues are ornamented with horns.

##### *Justin 15.4.2–9*

Seleukos was renowned for his valour, and his birth was wondrous. [3] His mother was Laodike, wife of Antiochos who had been a distinguished general under Philip. She dreamed that she had conceived after sleeping with Apollo, [4] that when she was pregnant she had received from the god, as a present for having slept with him, a ring with a stone on which an anchor was carved, with instructions to give this to the son she was to bear. [5] Two things made this dream remarkable. The first was a ring that was found in the bed the following day bearing that very motif, and the second a birthmark in the shape of an anchor on the infant's thigh. [6] Laodike gave this ring to Seleukos when he went off with Alexander the Great on the Persian campaign, having told him the story of his birth. [7] After Alexander's death Seleukos gained control of the East, and he founded a city in which he immortalised the memory of his double conception [8] by naming the city Antioch after his human father and also consecrating to Apollo the adjacent fields. [9] The emblem of his birth persisted in the succeeding generations, since his sons and grandsons had an anchor on the thigh as a natural sign of their ancestry.

##### *Arrian, Successors 1.2*

Seleukos [was the] son of Antiochos.

#### 1.32.1.b Career Under Alexander

##### *Arrian, Anabasis 5.16.3*

[At the Hydaspes] command of the infantry phalanx was assigned to Seleukos.

#### 1.32.1.c Relationship with Alexander

##### *Aelian, Varia Historia 12.16*

Alexander hated Seleukos because he was courageous.

<sup>26</sup> For his marriage to Apama and children with her, see §1.8, above.

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 1.32.1.d Governorship
 

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*Liber de Morte Testamentumque Alexandri Magni* 117

Babylon and Babylonian territory adjoining to it I [Alexander] put under the command of Seleukos who was my squire.

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 1.32.1.e Murder (281 BCE)
 

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*Appian, The Syrian Wars* 62–63

Seleukos had 72 satrapies under his control—so extensive was the territory he ruled. He handed the majority over to his son, while he ruled only those from the sea to the Euphrates. He waged a final war against Lysimachos over Hellespontine Phrygia, and he defeated Lysimachos who fell in the battle. He himself crossed the Hellespont, and he was killed as he marched on Lysimacheia. It was Ptolemy, a member of his entourage, who killed him, the one they called Keraunos. Keraunos was the son of Ptolemy Soter and Eurydike the daughter of Antipater. When he was driven out of Egypt by fear—for Ptolemy intended to give his kingdom to a younger son—Seleukos received him as the unfortunate son of a friend, and thus he cared for and took with him everywhere his own murderer. [63] Seleukos died in this way at the age of 73. He had been king for 42 years.

*Nepos, On Kings* 3.4

Seleukos was treacherously killed by Ptolemy Keraunos, whom he had entertained, when he was expelled by his father from Alexandria, and stood in need of assistance from others.

*Justin* 17.2.4–5

Some seven months later he was trapped and killed by Ptolemy, whose sister had been Lysimachos' wife,<sup>27</sup> [5] and along with his life he lost the kingdom of Macedonia which he had wrested from Lysimachos.

**1.33 Thais (c. 355–300 BCE)**


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 1.33.1.a Marriage and Family
 

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*Athenaeus* 13.574d–e

Kleitarchus speaks of Thais as having been the reason that the palace of Persepolis burned down. And this Thais, after the death of Alexander, married Ptolemy, who became the first king of Egypt, and she bore him sons, Leontiskos and Lagos, and a daughter named Eireni, who was married to Eunostos, the king of Soli, a town of Cyprus.

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<sup>27</sup> Ptolemy Keraunos. Arsinoë (§1.9 above) was actually Ptolemy's half-sister, and Keraunos had lost his position as crown prince of Egypt to Arsinoë's full brother Philadelphus.

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 1.33.1.b Burning of Persepolis
 

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**Plutarch, *Alexander* 38.1–8**

It transpired after this that, when Alexander was about to march against Darius, he put himself at the disposal of his companions for some drunken amusement, the kind of party at which women participated in the carousing, coming on a *komos* to join their lovers.<sup>28</sup> [2] Amongst these women the best known was Thais, an Athenian who was mistress of Ptolemy, the future king. She was partly paying Alexander elegant compliments and partly teasing him, but in her tipsy state she was eventually induced to make a statement that suited the character of her native state, but was too grand for her personal situation. [3] She said that she was that day receiving payment for all her hardships in her wanderings over Asia, basking in pleasure as she was now in the haughty palace of Persian kings. [4] But, she said, it would be even more pleasurable to go on a *komos* and torch the house of Xerxes (who burned down Athens), personally lighting the fire as King Alexander looked on. In this way, she added, word might spread amongst men that the women with Alexander inflicted greater punishment on the Persians on behalf of the Greeks than had all those famous admirals and generals of his. [5] At these words there were noisy cries of applause from the Companions, who competed with each other in urging on the king; and he, complying, jumped up and led the procession, wearing his wreath and carrying a torch. [6] The rest of them followed in a noisy *komos* and stood around the palace, while those other Macedonians who saw what was happening also came running up joyfully with torches. [7] These men were hoping that burning and destroying the palace were indications of Alexander's mind being set on affairs back home and of an intention not to remain abroad.

[8] Some authors say that this was how events unfolded, others that the deed was premeditated, but there is agreement that Alexander quickly regretted what he had done and ordered the fire extinguished.

**1.34 Thessalonike (c. 346–397 BCE)**


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 1.34.1.a Family
 

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**Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 13.557c**

Since he wanted to placate the Thessalians, Philip married two Thessalian women. One, Nikesipolis of Pherai, bore him a daughter named Thessalonike.

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<sup>28</sup> The *komos* was a regular feature of Greek (and subsequently Roman) social life and literature. After a dinner party, young men would sometimes take to the streets, still wearing the garland that they wore at the dinner and carrying a torch to light their way. In a noisy group, they would make for the house of a mistress or a favourite young man, or sometimes another dinner party (like Alkibiades in Plato's *Symposium*). The disreputable nature of the scene here is underlined by the fact that it is women who are on the *komos* coming to their lovers. Alexander's subsequent use of garland and torch in this passage is also to be explained by this Greek custom.

1.34.1.b Marriage to Cassander (316 BCE)

**Porphyry of Tyre, *FGrH* F3.4**

After the deaths of Alexander's family Cassander married Thessalonike [daughter] of Philip.

*Heidelberg Epitome 2*

Cassander married Thessalonike the sister of Alexander the Great, who later founded the city of Thessalonike.

1.34.1.c Murder by Her Son Antipater

**Plutarch, *Demetrius* 36.1**

After the death of Cassander, his eldest son Philip had a short reign over the Macedonians—he died soon after his father. The two remaining brothers were always fighting and scheming. One of them, Antipater, [even] killed his mother Thessalonike.

**Plutarch, *Pyrrhus* 6.3**

The elder of Cassander's sons, Antipater, killed his mother Thessalonike and drove out his brother Alexander.

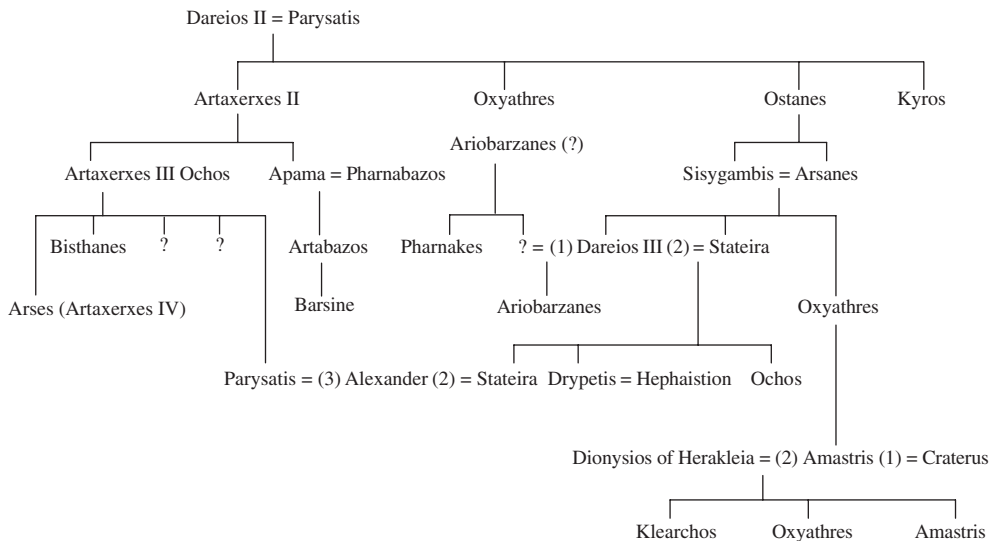
**Pausanias 9.7.3**

Antipater, the next son [of Cassander], murdered his mother Thessalonike, the daughter of Philip, son of Amyntas, and of Nikesipolis, because she supported [his brother] Alexander, the youngest of Cassander's sons.

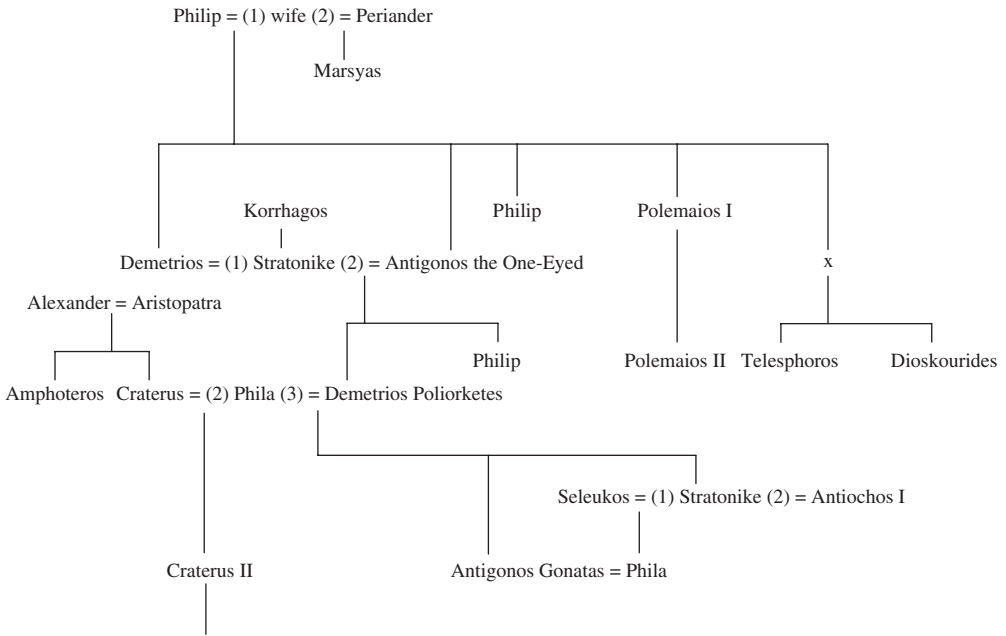
**Porphyry of Tyre, *FGrH* F3.5**

Antipater killed his mother Thessalonike who supported the young man Alexander.

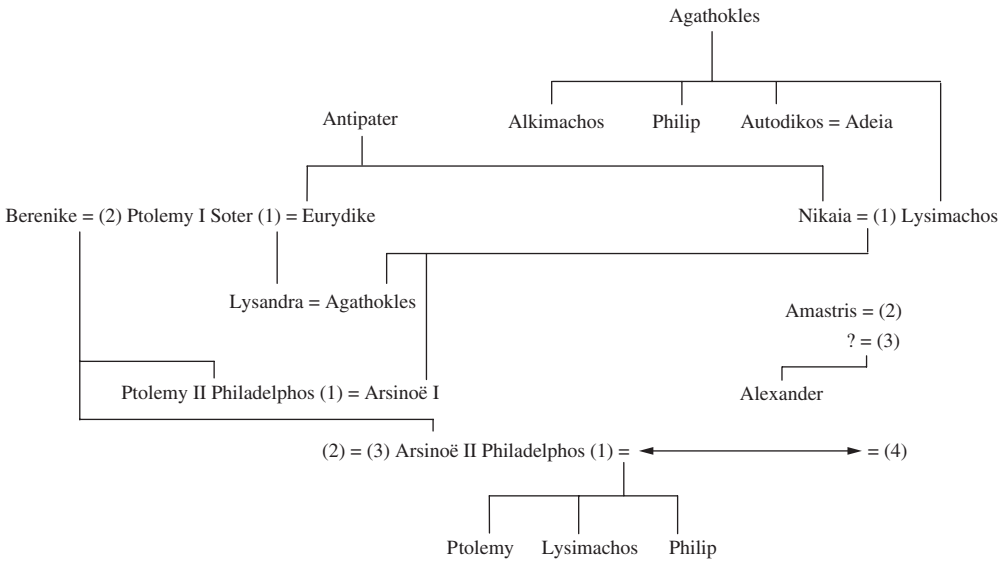
**Figures 1.1–1.8**



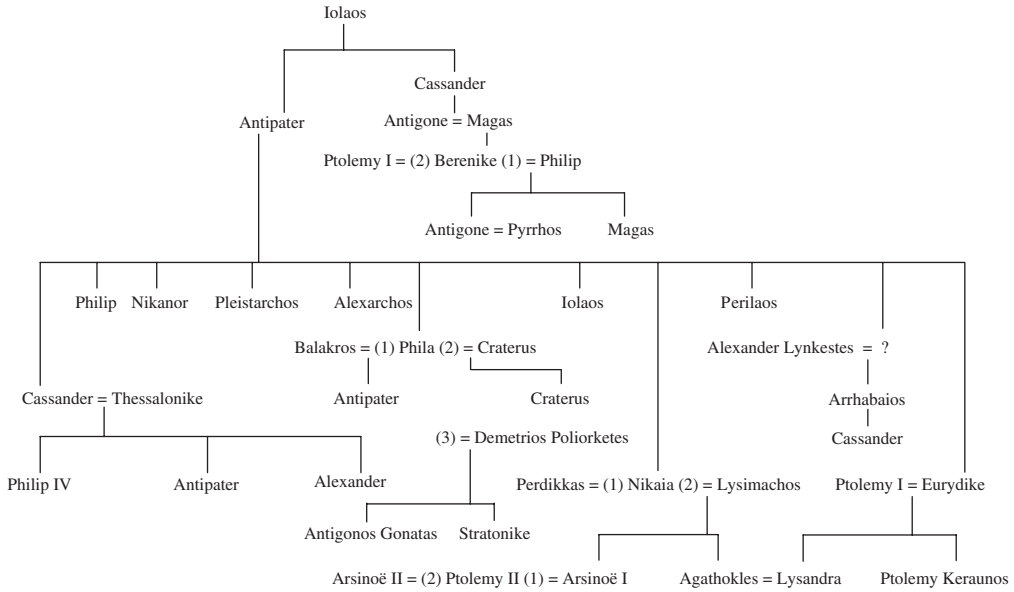
**Figure 1.1** The Achaemenids



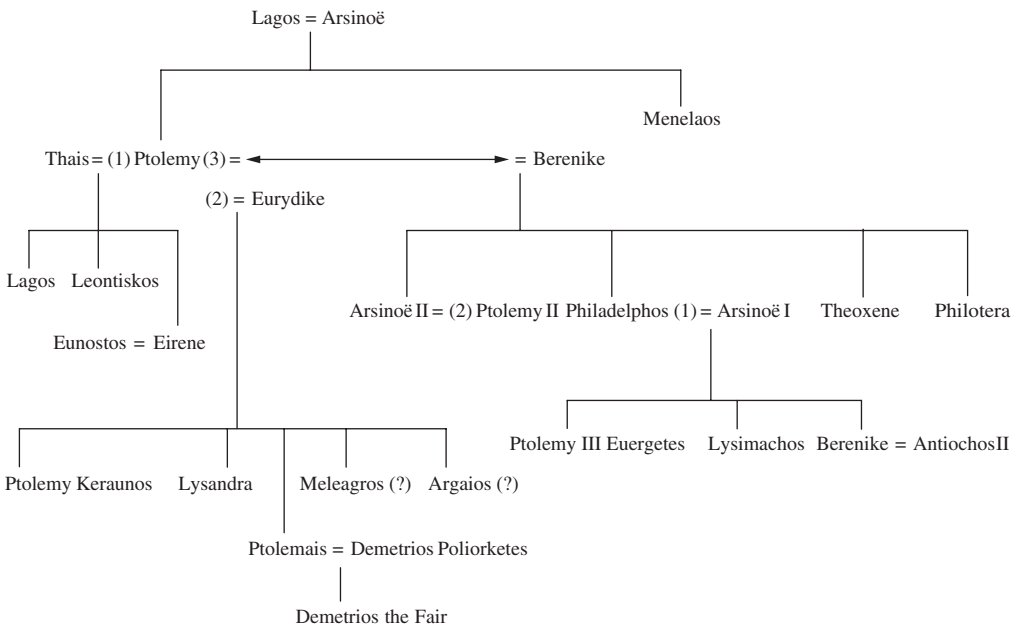
**Figure 1.2** The family of Antigonos



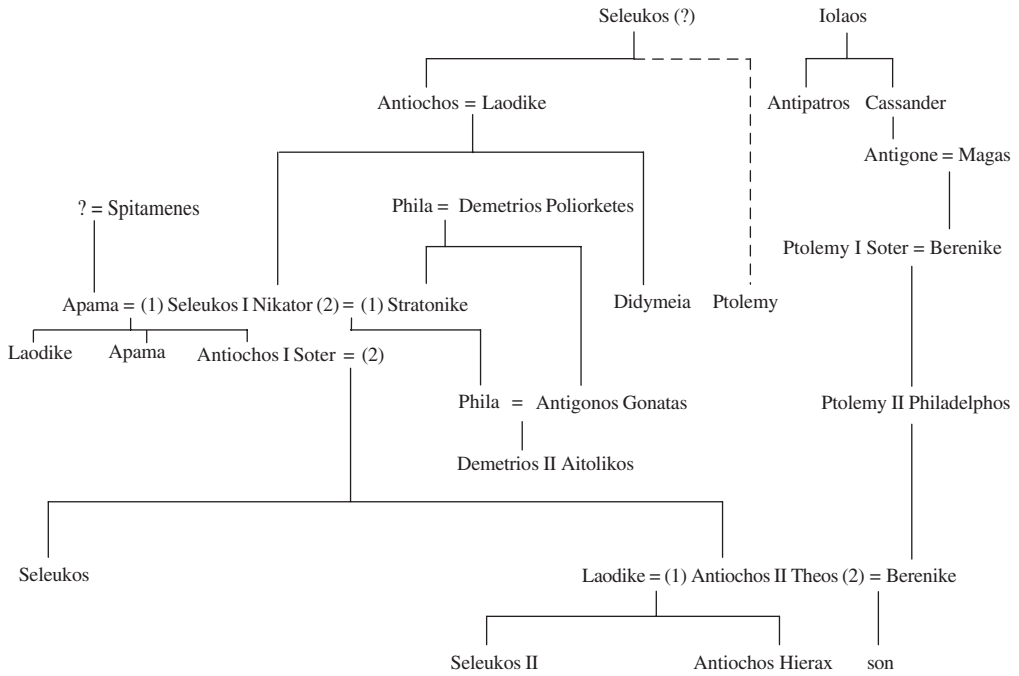
**Figure 1.3** The house of Agathokles



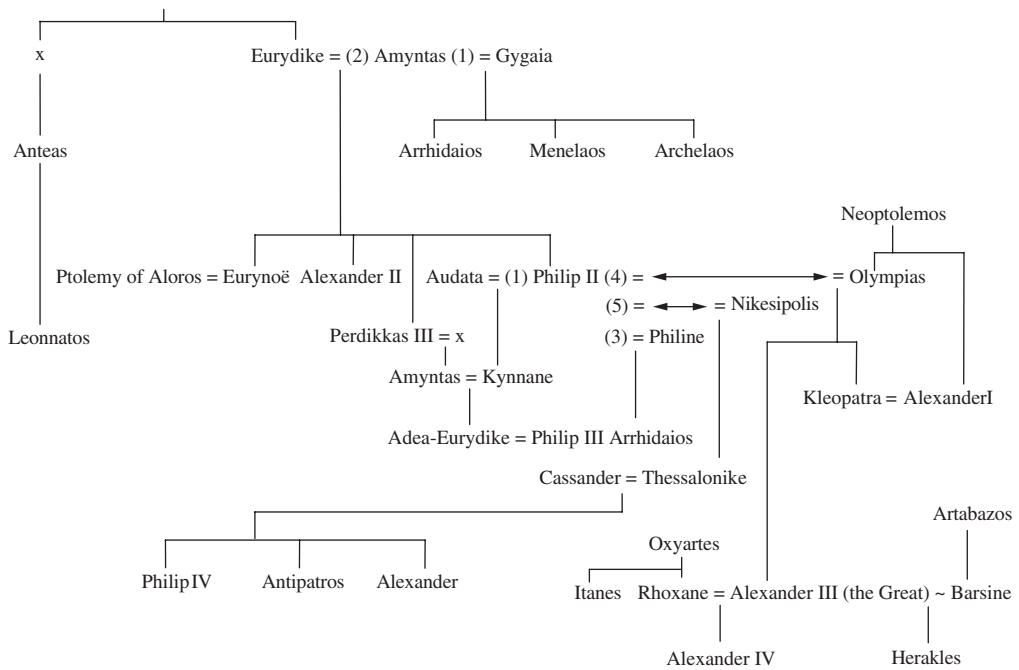
**Figure 1.4** The house of Antipater



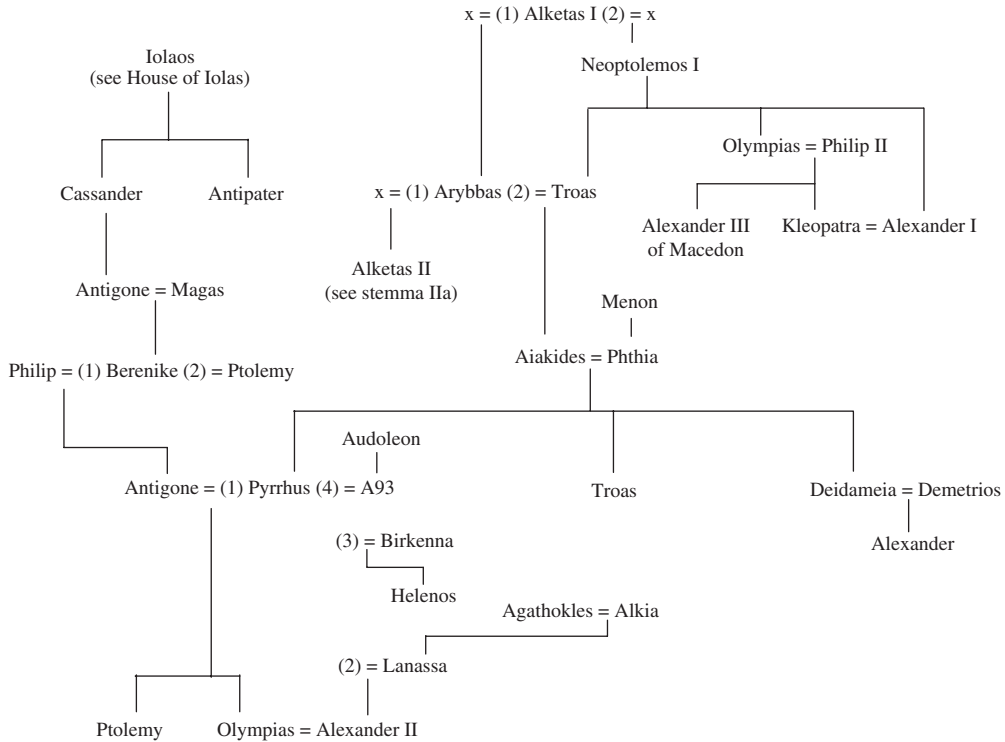
**Figure 1.5** The house of Ptolemy



**Figure 1.6** The house of Seleukos



**Figure 1.7** The Macedonian royal house



**Figure 1.8** The Molossian royal house

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