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PTOLEMY "THE SON" RECONSIDERED: ARE THERE TOO MANY PTOLEMIES?

aus: Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik 131 (2000) 83–92

PTOLEMY "THE SON" RECONSIDERED: ARE THERE TOO MANY PTOLEMIES?[1]

In his recent article, "Ptolemaios der Sohn", Werner Huß (1998: 229-250) has made a detailed study of the evidence relating to Ptolemy "the Son", asking the vexed question: "Wer war dieser 'Sohn'?" All that is certain about this "Son" is that he was the co-regent of Ptolemy II Philadelphus from 268/67, when his name first appeared in the preamble to a documentary papyrus (*P. Sorb.* inv. 2440),[2] until it was omitted from such preambles after April/May 259 (*P. Cair. Zen.* 59003) after he had rebelled against his father (Trog. *Prol.* 26). By uniting the available papyrological, inscriptional and historical evidence relating to Ptolemy "the Son" and combining the various Ptolemies who appear in these sources,[3] Huß has made a reconstruction of "the Son's" career that he himself concedes is by no means certain (1998: 229). However, he has reached a number of conclusions as to the identity of Ptolemy "the Son", and in the following discussion an alternative view will be offered.

Ptolemy II Philadelphus' first marriage was to Arsinoë I, the daughter of Lysimachus, the king of Macedon and Thrace, shortly after Philadelphus was named as Ptolemy I's co-regent and successor in c.285 (Beloch 1925: 130; Macurdy 1932: 110; Burstein 1982: 209). This was a diplomatic marriage, which reaffirmed the alliance made in 300/299 between Ptolemy I and Lysimachus, against Seleucus and Demetrius I Poliorcetes in their ongoing struggle for power and territory (Green 1990: 88-89, 104).[4] Arsinoë I was later implicated in a plot against Philadelphus, and was repudiated and exiled to Koptos (Schol. Theocr. 17.128; Fraser 1972: I.347, 369; Bevan 1927: 59).[5] It is not known when she was sent away to Koptos, but it was prior to both the Great Procession (275/4) and Philadelphus' marriage to his sister Arsinoë II, the *terminus ante quem* for which is provided by the Pithom Stele (274/3) (Sethe *Urk.* II 81-105 [*Cairo* CG 22183]), and was perhaps as early as 280/79 (Fraser 1972: I.347, 369).

These events are related, along with the names of Philadelphus' children, in the Scholiast on Theocritus (17.128):

> Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ Φιλαδέλφῳ συνῴκει πρότερον Ἀρσινόη ἡ Λυσιμάχου, ἀφ' ἧς καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐγέννησε, Πτολεμαῖον καὶ Λυσίμαχον καὶ Βερενίκην. ἐπιβουλεύουσαν δὲ ταύτην εὑρὼν καὶ σὺν αὐτῇ Ἀμύνταν καὶ Χρύσιππον τὸν Ῥόδιον ἰατρόν, τούτους μὲν ἀνεῖλεν, αὐτὴν δὲ ἐξέπεμψεν εἰς Κοπτὸν τῆς Θηβαΐδος καὶ τὴν οἰκείαν ἀδελφὴν Ἀρσινόην ἔγημε καὶ

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[1] A version of this paper was presented at the 21st Conference of the Australian Society for Classical Studies held at University of Queensland, 6-10 July, 1998.

[2] This papyrus is to be published by Hélène Cadell, but the presence of Ptolemy "the Son" in the preamble of the document is noted in Cadell (1998: 3) The preambles to the documentary papyri in which Ptolemy "the Son" appears are along the following lines: "In the reign of Ptolemy (II Philadelphus), son of Ptolemy (I Soter), and his son Ptolemy." The appellation "the Son" has been given to Ptolemy by modern scholars to differentiate him from the other Ptolemies.

[3] These are the Ptolemy mentioned in relation to Egypt, who is Philadelphus' co-regent (*P. Sorb.* inv. 2440 etc.), and the Ptolemies mentioned in relation to Miletus (*I. Milit.* III 139, l. 1-10 = Welles 1934: no. 14, 71 ff.), Methymna (*IG* XII Suppl. 115, ll. 3-12), Ephesus (Athen. 13.593 a-b), Asia Minor (Trog. *Prol.* 26), Andros (*P. Haun.* 6) and Labraunda (*I. Labr.* I 3, ll. 3-6).

[4] Their first alliance had resulted in the marriage of Philadelphus' elder sister Arsinoë II, then sixteen, to the sixty-one year old Lysimachus (Plut. *Demetr.* 31.3; Paus. 1.10.3; Burstein 1982: 198).

[5] A stele (Sethe *Urk.* II 55-69 = *Cairo* CG 70031) discovered at Koptos by Flinders Petrie (1896: 20-21, pl. XX) recorded the career of the chief-steward of Arsinoë I, which indicates that she continued to live on there for some time (Mahaffy 1895: 137 and n. 2; Bevan 1927: 59). Although Quaegebeur (1978: 249) has proposed that this stele actually belongs to Arsinoë II, the absence of her titles and cartouche mitigates against this (Traunecker 1992: § 256). Arsinoë I's political usefulness would have ended with the death of Lysimachus at the battle of Corupedium in Lydia in February 281. But she was still the mother of Philadelphus' children and had been his queen, which perhaps explains her survival (Macurdy 1932: 110-111), since her alleged co-conspirators were not so fortunate and were executed (Schol. Theocr. 17.128; Diog. Laert. 7.186).

εἰσεποιήσατο αὐτῇ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς προτέρας Ἀρσινόης γενηθέντας αὐτῷ παῖδας· αὐτὴ γὰρ ἡ Φιλάδελφος ἄτεκνος ἀπέθανεν.

The statements of the Scholiast on Theocritus and Pausanias (1.7.3) that the marriage of Philadelphus and Arsinoë II was a childless union, rules out the theory that Ptolemy "the Son" was the son of Arsinoë II and Philadelphus, which has been suggested by a number of scholars (e.g. Volkmann 1959: col. 1667). There is also the fact that Arsinoë II, who was born in 316, was nearing the end of her child-bearing years by the time of her marriage, if she had not already reached them (Parkin 1992: 123; Burstein 1982: 198). As well as this, any son of theirs would have been in his mid-teens at the most when Ptolemy "the Son" is recorded on the inscription from Miletus (c.262/1; *I. Milet.* 139 ll. 8-9 [Welles 1974: no. 14, 71 ff.]) where he is in the company of the Ptolemaic admiral Callicrates and "other friends", and is writing back reports, which would seem to indicate he was an adult (Burstein 1982: 206).[6] He is also shown as an adult on the Mendes Stele (Year 21 of Philadelphus' reign = 264/3), where he is depicted wearing the pharaoh's war crown (Derchain 1985: 35-36; *Cairo* CG 22181), which suggests that he was playing an active role in court life and later in military affairs.[7] Quite apart from this, it seems unlikely that Philadelphus would have made a child co-regent in 267, when Ptolemy "the Son" first appears. If it is thought that Philadelphus appointed a co-regent to relieve him of some of his duties, which is also given as one of the reasons for his marriage to Arsinoë II (Macurdy 1935: 118-119) a child would have been a burden rather than a help.[8]

The Scholiast on Theocritus (17.128) gives Philadelphus only three children, one of whom became his successor, Ptolemy III Euergetes. It would therefore be logical to assume that the future Euergetes was Ptolemy "the Son", but why would he have been designated as co-regent in 267 (*P. Sorb.* inv. 2440) only to be removed from this position in 259 (*P. Cair. Zen.* 59003)? It is true that a long co-regency was not as useful to the Ptolemies as it was to the Seleucids, whose vast empire necessitated this (Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993: 24-25), and that Euergetes may have accepted his father taking away his co-regency in 259 due to the fact that it was unnecessary in the Ptolemaic empire, but this seems only a remote possibility.[9] That Euergetes did not date his reign from the beginning of his co-regency is further evidence that he was not Ptolemy "the Son" (Welles 1974: 76), and confirmation comes from Pompeius Trogus (*Prol.* 26), who supplies the reason for Ptolemy "the Son's" downfall, when he records that *in Asia*

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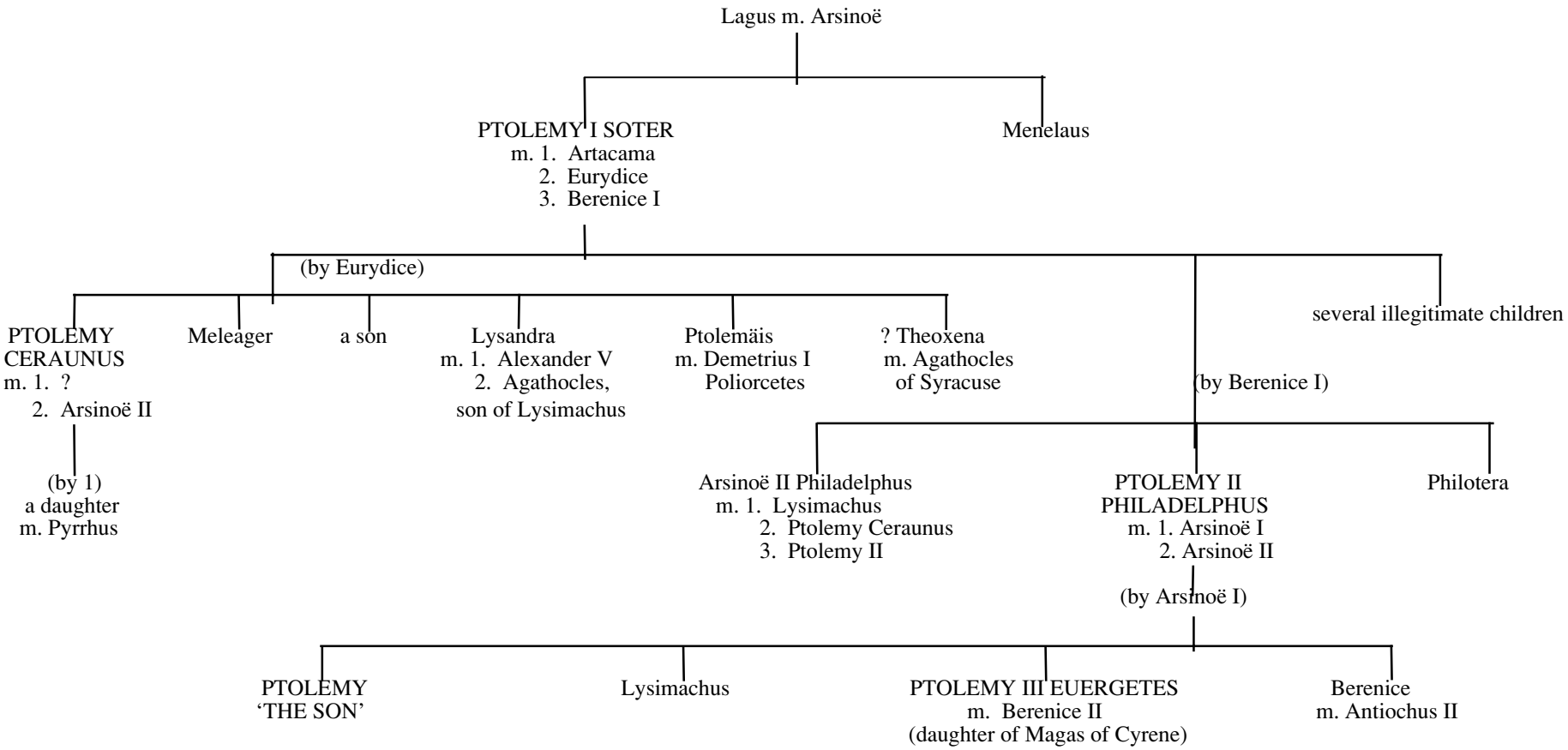
[6] Bevan suggests that he may have been sent "to visit the dominions" despite his young age (1927: 387), while Crampa (1969: 100-101) believes he was learning military skills from Callicrates and "other experienced commanders", which seems a reasonable suggestion.

[7] The wearing of this crown may also have been significant, since it was used as a symbol of coronation and legitimate succession in the Pharaonic period (Davis 1982: 75-76).

[8] The Chremonidean War, which began in the same year, has been suggested as a reason for Philadelphus' appointment of a co-regent (Will 1979: 222).

[9] Mahaffy's (1895: 155, n.1; 195, n.1) hypothesis was that Ptolemy "the Son", who was the future heir, Euergetes, had gone off to become king of Cyrene. This would be an excellent suggestion if it were not for the fact that the death of Magas has now been dated to 250 (Chamoux 1956: 31; Will 1979: 145, 243-244). Magas, the king of Cyrene, was the son of Philadelphus' mother, Berenice, by her first husband, Philip (Paus. 1.7.1). He had originally been sent there as governor in c. 300 by Ptolemy I and stayed on to become king (Paus. 1.7.1; Chamoux 1956: 18-21). Cyrene's importance lay in its strategic position on Egypt's western flank and in its rich agricultural land (Fraser 1972: I.151-152). It had been Ptolemy I's first territorial acquisition (322) after he became satrap of Egypt in 323 (Arr. *Succ.* frr. 17, 18; Diod. Sic. 18.19-21), and Philadelphus' plan was to return it to Ptolemaic control with the marriage of the Euergetes and Magas' daughter Berenice (Will 1979: 145), but this plan was frustrated by the death of Magas, when Berenice's mother, Apame, the daughter of Antiochus I, decided to keep Cyrene as an independent state and instead offered her daughter's hand to Demetrius the Fair, the half-brother of Antigonus Gonatas, and the son of Philadelphus' half-sister Ptolemäis (Justin 26.3.3-4; Bevan 1927: 73-74). This marriage ended in disaster for Demetrius the Fair, who was said to have been assassinated because of his affair with the widowed Apame (Justin 26.3.3-8). Euergetes and Berenice were eventually married in 246, either shortly before or after the death of Philadelphus. Mahaffy (1895: 195-196) also suggested that he may have become prince of Kush, in line with pharaonic practice, but he could find no epigraphic evidence in support of this theory, and although Euergetes was said by Diodorus Siculus (3.18.4) to have been passionately fond of hunting elephants in this area, it is doubtful that he occupied his time doing this from 259 until he became co-regent shortly before his father's death in 246.

Figure 1: Genealogy of the Ptolemies



filius Ptolemaei regis socio Timarcho desciverit a patre.[10] Philadelphus could be quite ruthless with rebellious relatives. He had executed two of his brothers early in his reign (Paus. 1.7.1), so it is unlikely that Ptolemy "the Son" would have merely lost his co-regency and spent the rest of his father's reign quietly in Alexandria after reconciling with his father. Family sentiments did not save Seleucus, the disaffected eldest son and co-regent of Antiochus I (282-261), from being put to death by his father in 266 (Trog. *Prol*. 26; Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993: 127), and there is no reason to believe that Philadelphus would have behaved any differently.

Philadelphus' "reconciliation" with his half-brothers Ptolemy Ceraunus (Justin 17.2.9) and Magas (Justin 26.3.2) has been used to advance the case that Philadelphus could have reconciled with the rebellious "Son" after the events of 259 (Seibert 1974: 207; Huß 1998: 243). Neither of these examples is particularly convincing. Justin (17.2.9) says that it was Ptolemy Ceraunus who wrote to seek the cooperation of Philadelphus, and put aside any resentment he had over losing the throne of Egypt to his younger half-brother, but he says nothing of Philadelphus' view on this matter. Philadelphus would have had to deal with Ceraunus on a diplomatic level, since he had replaced Lysimachus as King of Macedon and Thrace, but there is no way of knowing his feelings on Ceraunus' claims that he no longer bore any resentment at losing Egypt.[11] The quarrel between Magas, the King of Cyrene, and Philadelphus was a long-term one, which began early in Philadelphus' reign and was only resolved shortly before Magas' death (c.250; Justin 26.3.2).[12]

It has been suggested that Ptolemy "the Son" was the illegitimate son of Philadelphus (Crampa 1969: 99-100; Hazzard 1995: 30). However, this seems highly unlikely, since, as noted above, Philadelphus had himself been involved in a struggle for the throne with his older half-brother Ptolemy Ceraunus and had gone to great lengths to advertise his legitimacy as ruler of Egypt (Hazzard 1987: 150), and to establish dynastic continuity through his marriage to his sister Arsinoë II (Carney 1987: 428-437). Such efforts would have been negated by creating an unstable situation where an illegitimate son was given the throne ahead of a legitimate heir, and it is difficult to see what reasons he could have had for doing such a thing. Crampa (1969: 100) puts this down to the fact that Philadelphus was a "wilful and headstrong man", a characterisation which is not really supported by what is known of Philadelphus' career. If anything Philadelphus, having experienced the results of his father's polygamous marriages, had ensured that his legitimate heir had no rival claimants to the throne through his marriage to Arsinoë II and his decision to remain unmarried upon her death (Carney 1987: 429-435).

An unstable situation could also be created by making an adopted son heir and in the opinion of Huß (1998: 237-248), Philadelphus did just this in adopting Arsinoë II's eldest son by Lysimachus.[13] According to this theory, after Ptolemy Lysimachou made an unsuccessful attempt to regain the throne of Macedon,[14] which was taken by Antigonus II Gonatas, he went to join his mother in Egypt and was

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[10] Timarchus is known from several other sources (Polyaen. 5.23; Front. 3.2.11; App. *Syr*. 65). He became tyrant of Miletus after the revolt of Ptolemy "the Son", but was expelled from the city sometime during the reign of Antiochus II (261-246; *OGIS* 226; Walbank 1988: 590).

[11] Ceraunus had a "mad-dog" reputation among the ancient sources (Lund 1992: 192). This is reflected in his surname, Ceraunus ("Thunderbolt"), which was given to him because of his "recklessness" (Paus. 10.19.7). His recklessness appears to be very much in evidence in his dealings with the invasion of Macedon by the Gauls in 280, which resulted in his death (Justin 24.4.8-5.6).

[12] The timing of Magas' break from Philadelphus is by no means certain, but it could have been as early as 283/2, since Pausanias (1.7.1) links his revolt with the execution of two of Philadelphus' half-brothers, or after the death of their mother, Berenice (?279/75), at which time Magas would have no maternal protection against a brother who seemingly had no concern for fraternal bonds. Magas led an attack on Egypt in c.275 (Paus. 1.7.1-3; Polyaen. II.28.1-2), but after this he was apparently able to lead a fairly tranquil existence in Cyrene until his death in 250 (Chamoux 1956: 31).

[13] Her two younger sons, Lysimachus and Philip were murdered by her half-brother Ptolemy Ceraunus (Justin 17.2.4-8), whom she had married after Lysimachus' death (Justin 17.2.4-7; 24.2-3).

[14] The sources for Ptolemy Lysimachou, are: Justin 17.2; 24.2-3; Trog. *Prol*. 24; Euseb. I.235; and the Delian inscriptions published by Durrbach (Holleaux 1921: 195-197). See also Heinen (1972: 3-94) for detailed discussion of this period.

adopted by Philadelphus. This view has been held by scholars such as Tarn (1926: 160-161),[15] who saw the influence of Arsinoë II behind the decision.[16] It was subsequently rejected when it was discovered that this Ptolemy had become a dynast in Lycia (Holleaux 1942: 365-404; Segré 1938: 181-208; Roos 1950: 54-63); Wörrle 1978: 218-225).[17] Ptolemy Lysimachou is recorded in an inscription at Telmessus in Lycia (Segré 1938: 183), dated to c.258 (Wörrle 1978: 218; Kobes 1996: 147).[18] This indicates that he was either a Ptolemaic official or had a large estate in the area (Segré 1938: 181-208; Billows 1995: 101). Another inscription dated to 240/239 shows that he was put in charge of Telmessus by Euergetes (*OGIS* 55 = Austin 1981: no. 271; Holleaux 1921: 183-197; Segré 1938: 181-208; Wörrle 1978: 218-225),[19] and his descendants ruled there into the second century (Holleaux 1968: 365-404; Roos 1950: 60-63). He also issued coins, which show that he remained loyal to Lysimachus' memory (Hill 1933: 229-230).

Huß (1998: 242-244) has now linked Ptolemy Lysimachou with the activities of the Ptolemy, "a son of King Philadelphus", from Athenaeus (13.593a-b), who was murdered by Thracian mercenaries at Ephesus; the Ptolemy ἐπίκλην ᾽Ανδρομάχου who appears in a fragmentary papyrus, *P. Haun.* 6,[20] which also has him being murdered by mutineers at Ephesus; and Ptolemy, "the brother of the King (sc. Ptolemy III Euergetes)", mentioned in a letter of the Carian dynast Olympichus, which has been dated to the time of the Third Syrian War (246/5; Crampa *Labraunda* III.1, no. 3; Piejko 1990: 135).[21] Since it would be something of a coincidence if two different Ptolemies had been murdered in similar circumstances at Ephesus, it can reasonably be assumed that these Ptolemies are the same person (Walbank 1988: 588). Inscriptional evidence shows that Ephesus was a Ptolemaic possession between 266/5 and 259/8, when it became a Seleucid dependency, but it was returned to Egypt at time of the Third Syrian War (246-241; Bagnall 1976: 169-170). Since this war is the context in which both Ptolemy Andromachou and the Ptolemy of *Labraunda* III.1, no. 3 appear, so it is likely that they are one in the same person, a Ptolemaic official in the service of Euergetes (Walbank 1988: 592).

The Ptolemy of the Third Syrian War was seen as an illegitimate son of Philadelphus and a concubine by Buraselis (1982: 128-133 and n. 95), who considered his name, Πτολεμαῖος ἐπίκλην ᾽Ανδρομάχου, in *P. Haun.* 6 as implying that he was the "so-called" son of Andromachus, while actually being the son of Philadelphus (Momigliano 1950: 109; Walbank 1988: 588). An illegitimate child is not out of the question given the number of mistresses Philadelphus is credited with (*FGrH* 2B 234 F4; *Pros. Ptol.* 14713-19; 14726-29; 14732-33). The name of one of Philadelphus' mistresses, Bilistiche (*Pros. Ptol.* VI.14717),[22] appears as the *kanephoros* of 251, when it is recorded alongside that of Πτολεμαῖος τοῦ

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[15] Tarn (1926: 160) was, however, assuming that *I. Milet.* III 139 was dated to 275, and at this time Philadelphus could not have had a son old enough to play a part in the administration of the empire.

[16] The power of Arsinoë II over her husband/brother Philadelphus has been greatly exaggerated in the past by scholars such as Tarn (e.g. 1926: 161) and Bevan (1927: 60-61). For a more moderate view of her influence see Burstein 1982: 197-212.

[17] On Ptolemy Lysimachou as a dynast see: Billows (1995: 100-104) and Kobes (1996: 58-63).

[18] On the question of the identity of the Ptolemy Lysimachou at Telmessus, see: Holleaux (1921: 183-197; Segré (1938: 181-208); Bagnall (1976: 106-109) and Wörrle (1978: 218-225).

[19] This inscription has caused Huß (1998: 248) to date the death of Ptolemy "the Son" at Ephesus to after the spring of 239.

[20] With *P. Haun.* 6 the Ptolemy "the Son" question becomes entangled in the controversy surrounding the battle of Andros. The evidence for this battle comes from Pompeius Trogus (Prol. 27) and Plutarch (*Pelop.* 2), and suggests that it was a victory for Antigonus Gonatas against a Ptolemaic fleet under the command of either Sophron (Momigliano 1950: 108) or Opron (Oikonomides 1984b: 151-152). For a discussion of this battle see Walbank (1988: 587-595).

[21] On this letter see Kobes (1995: 1-6), who has shown that Ptolemy "the Brother of the King" was not a Seleucid official, as suggested by Crampa (1969: 114-120).

[22] The Macedonian Bilistiche, received cult honours (Plut. *Mor.*753 E-F) and won two chariot victories at the Olympic Games in 268 and 264 (*P.Oxy.* XVII 2082 = *FGrH* 257a F6; Paus. 5.8.11). She was also the subject of a poem by Sotades of Maroneia (*Suda* s.v. Σωτάδης) and as Cameron (1990: 301) says, "her relationship with the king was not kept discreetly in

'Ανδρομάχου, who held the priesthood of Alexander and the Theoi Adelphoi in Year 35 of Philadelphus' reign (251; *P. Cair. Zen.* II 59289; *P. dem. Zen.* 6B; Buraselis 1982: 133). While this may not be the famous Bilistiche, but a girl named after her,[23] those given these roles were a part of the court circle, and therefore it is difficult not to identify Ptolemy Andromachou with the Ptolemy ἐπίκλην 'Ανδρομάχου of *P. Haun.* 6 (Fraser 1950: 117-118).[24]

P. Haun. 6, l.7 records that prior to his part in the battle of Andros, Ptolemy Andromachou captured the Thracian city of Ainos, and other cities in the area, with Euergetes claiming Thrace amongst his conquests in the Adulis inscription (*OGIS* 54). It is the connection between Ptolemy Andromachou, Ainos,[25] Thrace, Ephesus and Andros that Huß (1998: 243) regards as significant, saying: "gewinnt man den Eindruck, daß Ptolemaios wieder wie in der Zeit vor 259 einen umfassenden Oberbefehl über den kleinasiatisch-ägäischen Raum innehatte." Huß (1998: 238) conjectures that the reason behind Philadelphus' original adoption of Ptolemy Lysimachou as his co-regent was an attempt "in den Augen der Öffentlichkeit als präsentablen Kandidaten für die Besetzung des makedonischen Throns erscheinen zu lassen." The plan then was to use the northern Aegean as a stepping stone to Macedon. However, when the Chremonidean War ended with Antigonus Gonatas still on the throne, Ptolemy "the Son" realised that he would lose his co-regency and revolted (Huß 1998: 238).[26] Even if Philadelphus had no intention of Ptolemy Lysimachou ever becoming King of Egypt, as Huß suggests (1998: 238), this was a dangerous plan, since he had placed an ambitious man, who was only eleven years his junior,[27] in a position of power and if anything had happened to Philadelphus during their co-regency, this man would have been the next king, thus dispossessing Philadelphus' own children. This theory also fails to consider that Philadelphus would not have foreseen a problem in trying to remove him from power, if his plan to recover Macedon failed.

While this is a very plausible reason for the revolt of Ptolemy "the Son", if this line is followed it also seems odd that Philadelphus would "unadopt" Ptolemy Lysimachou, reconcile with him, and then leave him in Asia Minor, where he could conceivably cause more trouble. It is true that Ptolemy Lysimachou is first recorded in an inscription at Telmessus dated to c.258 (Segré 1938: 183; Wörrle 1978: 218; Kobes 1996: 147), but there is no way of knowing when he actually arrived there, and the reconciliation would have had to have occurred very soon after the revolt for him to have established himself in Telmessus to the extent that he is being mentioned in a decree honouring a certain Leimon son of Antipatros, who is said to be a φίλος of Ptolemy Lysimachou (c. 258; Segré 1938: 183).

Given that neither Athenaeus (13.593 a-b) nor *P. Haun.* 6 say that their "Ptolemies" ever revolted from Philadelphus (Walbank 1988: 592), there is also a problem in associating them with the rebellious

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the background," and nor was Philadelphus' relationship with his illegitimate son, Ptolemy, if this theory is accepted, since he is called the Buraselis wonders if Bilistiche was in fact the mother of Ptolemy Andromachou (1982: 133, n. 95).

[23] This is Edgar's original opinion; see his intro. to *P. Cair. Zen.* II 59289. It is not unknown for courtiers to name their daughters after the king's favourites (e.g. Polyb. 15.31).

[24] Although Huß (1998: 242-244) does not favour this view, since he does not consider there is a connection between Ptolemy Andromachou and Ptolemy ἐπίκλην 'Ανδρομάχου. The nickname Andromachus could mean "fighter at Andros" (Maas, *A Year's Work in Classical Studies*, 1939-45, p. 2, qtd in Momigliano 1950: 112), and this may have been given as a surname to the "son of Andromachus" due to the irony inherent in his name, since the battle of Andros was a loss for the Ptolemaic fleet (Pomp. Trog. Prol. 27; Plut. *Pelop.* 2). A touch of irony is also present in the surname Etesias given to Antipater, a pretender to the throne of Macedon, who found refuge in the court of Philadelphus (*P. Cair. Zen.* I.59019). His reign in Macedon lasted only forty-five days, the length of the etesian winds (Hammond and Walbank 1988: 253-254). But Buraselis (1982: 129) rejects the idea that Ptolemy Andromachou would be given "ein Spottname" for his defeat at Andros.

[25] There is inscriptional evidence to show that Ainos became a part of the Ptolemaic empire in the form of a decree mentioning Euergetes, Berenice II, their children and a priest of their cult (*Asylieurkunden* 8; Bagnall 1976: 160).

[26] This is not a new idea, with Tarn (1928: 711), for example, saying: "He realized that with Egypt's failure against Antigonus his chances of the crown of Macedonia were over … but he thought that Lysimachus' son might still have prospects in Ionia."

[27] Heinen (1972: 10) estimates that Ptolemy Lysimachou was born c.298, while Philadelphus was born in 309 (Marmor Parium *FGrH* 239 B19).

"Son" or with Ptolemy Lysimachou. Therefore Ptolemy "the Son" was most probably the son of Arsinoë I (Bevan 1927: 66-67; Burstein 1982: 206), rather than a character composed of the various Ptolemies who clutter the history of this period. The length of time his parents were co-habiting (285-280/79?) meant that they could have had another child (Bevan 1927: 66-67, 386-387; Derchain 1985: 35-36),[28] which would mean that Euergetes had had an older brother, as it can be assumed that Ptolemy "the Son" was Philadelphus' eldest son. It would also seem logical that rather than naming his first two sons Ptolemy, Philadelphus called his second son Lysimachus, after his maternal grandfather (von Stern 1915: 432), due to the importance of the alliance between the two powers at this time. Indeed Lysimachus himself had named his first son by Arsinoë II, Ptolemy, in honour of their alliance.[29]

If Lysimachus was the second born son, why did Euergetes and not Lysimachus inherit the throne? Does not the fact that Euergetes took precedence mean that he did not have an older full-brother as Beloch (1927: 183 n. 15) suggested? Euergetes' brother Lysimachus (*Pros. Ptol.* 14531),[30] is notable for his absence from the historical record and he only appears in Polybius (15.25) as a victim of Ptolemy IV Philopator (222-204), who had among his victims his more popular brother, Magas and his mother, Berenice, who was said to have favoured Magas (Plut. *Cleom.* 33; Polyb. 5.34, 36; 15.25). Although Lysimachus may have served his brother in some capacity he was obviously no threat to him, since he was able to live through his reign without incident.[31] His father Philadelphus had removed any perceived threat to his rule by executing two of his own brothers (Paus. 1.7.1; Bevan 1927: 53), and as noted above, Euergetes' son and heir Philopator had killed off a number of family members. In this case it is likely that Lysimachus was simply unsuited to take the throne for some unknown reason, and that Euergetes was chosen ahead of his brother.

That the Scholiast on Theocritus (17.128) mentions only three legitimate children of Philadelphus, can be explained by the fact that Ptolemy "the Son" would have suffered *damnatio memoriae* after the revolt. This could explain why so little information has survived concerning Philadelphus' rebellious son and co-regent. Why Philadelphus' son and heir would have revolted against his father can also be explained by the situation that existed in Asia Minor with the start of the Second Syrian War (259-253) against Antiochus II Theos (261-246).[32] Ephesus was recaptured by the Seleucids at the start of the war, and there was a sea battle off the city in which the Ptolemaic fleet was defeated (Polyaen. 5.18; Berthold 1984: 89-90).[33] It is possible that Philadelphus may have wanted Ptolemy "the Son" to hand over his

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[28] Pestman (1967: 16, 222) includes Ptolemy "the Son" in his genealogical chart of the Ptolemaic dynasty as Philadelphus' eldest son, but he places a question mark over him.

[29] Although this may not been the case with Philadelphus, who seems not to have had a good relationship with his father-in-law, which is evidenced by the fact that Lysimachus took his rival Ptolemy Ceraunus (Paus. 1.9.7), while Philadelphus did not make any attempt to aid Lysimachus in his war against Seleucus (Heinen 1972: 74; Grainger 1990: 180-181). Philadelphus had met Lysimachus in Alexandria, perhaps on the occasion of his marriage to Lysimachus' daughter, Arsinoë I, when the poet Sotades made tasteless jokes at the expense of them both (Athen. 16.620f), so he did have the opportunity to discuss the situation regarding Ceraunus with his father-in-law, and this could have been behind their falling out rather than Sotades' jokes (Heinen 1972: 74, n.282).

[30] Lysimachus was once thought to have been *strategos* on the island of Cyprus at the time of the Third Syrian War (246-241), but as Bagnall (1976: 42-44) has pointed out there is no evidence to show this. A stele from Thebes led Mahaffy (1895: 137, n.2) to conclude that Lysimachus had been *strategos* there in Year 7 of Euergetes' reign, and had lived with his mother, Arsinoë I. However, the inscription (*Insc. Cat. Cairo, Demot. Denkmäler* i. 31137; Krall 1881: 366; Mahaffy 1895: 137, n.2) cannot be securely dated and may be from the later Ptolemaic period (Otto and Bengtson 1938: 17, 102 n. 5; Holleaux 1968: 385 n. 1; Walbank 1967: 481).

[31] Hellenistic monarchs were quick to rid themselves of any threat to their thrones. Plutarch (*Demetr.* 3) commented on the fact that the Antigonids were unusual in this respect, since they did not regularly murder their relatives.

[32] As noted above, it is not unknown for a designated heir to become alienated from his father to point of revolt, as evidenced by the case of Antiochus I's son, Seleucus, who was executed (Trog. *Prol.* 26).

[33] Oikonomides (1984a: 148-150) has linked these events with the other available evidence to place the death of Ptolemy "the Son" at Ephesus, however the basis of his argument is the fragmentary *P. Bouriant* 6, the restoration of which is speculative (Walbank 1988: 588).

command in Asia Minor, in whatever form it took, to abler hands at a time of crisis, which resulted in the revolt of his co-regent. This revolt cannot have helped Philadelphus' strategic planning and by the end of this war losses included Miletus, which was initially taken by the tyrant Timarchus, who is said to have been an ally of Ptolemy "the Son" in his rebellion (Trog. *Prol.* 26).

Having gone through the alternatives, we can see that the solidarity of the Ptolemaic dynasty would not have been helped by the adoption of Ptolemy Lysimachou.[34] It is therefore difficult to see why Philadelphus would have made him his co-regent in place of his own son. We have also seen that the most likely identification of Ptolemy "the Son" is as the eldest son of Philadelphus and Arsinoë I. If this is the case then Ptolemy III Euergetes cannot have been Philadelphus' original choice as heir. However he proved a worthy successor to his father, and perhaps took the throne ahead of his brother Lysimachus.

Possible Chronology

c.285	Marriage of Ptolemy II Philadelphus and Arsinoë I
c.275	Marriage of Philadelphus and Arsinoë II
270	Death of Arsinoë II
268/7	Beginning of the Chremonidean War
267	Ptolemy "the Son" first appears as co-regent (*P. Sorb.* inv. 2440)
264/3	Ptolemy "the Son" recorded on the Mendes Stele (*Cairo* CG 22181)
262/1	Ptolemy "the Son" visits Miletus (*I. Milet.* 139.1-15 [Welles *RC* 14])
259/8	Beginning of the Second Syrian War (259-253)
	Recapture of Ephesus by Antiochus II (Frontinus 3.9.10)
	Subsequent defence against Egyptian attack (Polyaenus 5.18)
	Revolt of Ptolemy "the Son" (Trog. *Prol.* 26)
	Ptolemy "the Son" removed from preambles (*P. Rev.* col. 1). Last papyrus bearing his name April/May 259 (*P. Cair. Zen.* 59003)
246	Death of Philadelphus/accession of Ptolemy III Euergetes (29 Jan.)
	Third Syrian War (246-241)
246/5	Ptolemy "the brother of the King (sc. Ptolemy III)" and Sophron mentioned in an inscription (Crampa *Labraunda* III.1, no. 3)
	Ptolemy Andromachus fights at Andros (*P. Haun.* 6)
	Antigonus Gonatas defeats Sophron (or Opron) at Andros (Trog. *Prol.* 27)
?	Ptolemy Andromachus killed by mutineers at Ephesus (*P. Haun.* 6)
	Ptolemy, "a son of King Philadelphus", killed by Thracian mercenaries (Athen. 13.593a-b)

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[34] See below for a possible chronology of this period, and see Figure 1 for a genealogy of the Ptolemaic dynasty, which includes Ptolemy "the Son".

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