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# The Regnal Years of Antigonos Gonatas

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**ABSTRACT** Although the decline of Demetrios I Poliorketes' rule and the succession by his son Antigonos II Gonatas are well known in principle, inconsistencies in the ancient sources have so far obscured the dynastic chronology. However, difficulties can be overcome, if an inclusive count is applied persistently and if the Armenian version of Eusebios' *Chronicle* (Porphyry *FGH / BNJ* 260 F 3), is preferred over the Greek version: the former ascribes Gonatas 43 regnal years, the latter 44. It can be shown that the latter is part of a tradition implying that Gonatas died in 239/38 instead of 240/39 BC. As a result, Demetrios I began his final campaign in Asia Minor in 286 or 285, was captured in spring 284, and died in 283/82 BC, whence Gonatas began counting his regnal years. The latter died in 239 BC, probably in the later summer, yielding the throne to his son Demetrios II.

**KEYWORDS** Antigonos II Gonatas, Demetrios I Poliorketes, Demetrios II, Antigonids, *asylia* and Asklepieia of Kos, regnal years, Olympiad years, Porphyry, Eusebios, Plutarch.

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## I. INTRODUCTION

Thanks to the combined evidence of Plutarch's *Life of Demetrios* and Porphyry's *Chronography*, which is preserved in a shortened version in Eusebios' fragmentary *Chronicle* (*FGH / BNJ* 260 F 3)<sup>1</sup>, the approximate stages of the decline of the rule of Demetrios I Poliorketes and the staggered succession of his son Antigonos II Gonatas have always been known to a certain extent. Despite some uncertainty regarding the chronology, the timeline established by William Tarn and Mortimer Chambers was the standard until most recently: escaping the joint attacks by Pyrrhos and Lysimachos in Macedon in 288 BC, Demetrios I reorganized his forces in central Greece before launching an attack on Karia in the next or over-next year; he was arrested by Seleukos I Nikator in 286 or 285 and died in captivity in 284 or 283 BC. Gonatas had been in control of the central-Greek and Aegean remnants of the kingdom since Demetrios had turned east, but he had himself hailed king only when news of his father's passing reached him in 284 or 283 BC. Moreover, the same Porphyry-Eusebios account reports the death of Gonatas and the succession of Demetrios II in the first year of the 135th Olympiad (240/39 BC). So far runs a fair account of the traditional sequence of events<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Quoted below, section II.

<sup>2</sup> I here list the most relevant dates as provided in some standard works or recent scholarly accounts:

The uncertainty about Gonatas' first regnal is mirrored by the fact that the Armenian version of the *Chronicle* numbers the total as 43, whereas the Greek specifies it as 44. Since some level of imprecision thus appeared unavoidable, it appeared futile to consider in more detail the possible implication of the use of Olympiad years, which started in the course of July, and of the Macedonian year, whose first month normally fell into September / October. Scholars hence believed to have three choices all of which yielded nearly the same result:

- a) Gonatas became king in *ca.* 284, counted his regnal years (exclusively) as of the next calendar year starting in 283 and died in his 44th year that began in 240 BC.
- b) Gonatas became king in *ca.* 283, counted his regnal years (exclusively) as of the next calendar year starting in 282 and died in his 43th year that began in 240 BC.
- c) Gonatas became king in *ca.* 283, counted his regnal years immediately (inclusively) and died in his 44th year that began in 240 BC.

Any of these reconstructions could easily integrate the epigraphic evidence from Kos. Among the many documents that recognize the *asylia* or the penteteric games both dedicated to Asklepios<sup>3</sup>, there was one undated letter ascribed to Antigonos Gonatas

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- 1) Demetrios I's expulsion from Macedon in 288 (ADAMS 2010, 219) or 288/87 (WILL 1979, 94).
  - 2) His invasion of Asia Minor in 287 (CHAMBERS 1954b, 387: *ca.* summer, after the failed siege of Athens, with further sources; BURASELIS 1982, 95: end of 287; GEHRKE 2008, 42) or 286 BC (WILL 1979, 95; WHEATLEY 2012); cf. TOYE 2011 on Porphyry, *BNJ* 260 F 3.12: "Antigonos II first assumed the title of king in the second year of the 123rd Olympiad in either 288/7 BC (Macedonian calendar) or 287/6 BC (Attic calendar), which was the year after his father Demetrios I had been driven off the throne of Macedon and set off on his expedition to conquer Asia".
  - 3) His capture in 286 (WILL 1979, 95; WALBANK 1984, *Chron. Table*; GABBERT 1997, vii; KOSMETATOU 2012) or 285 BC (CHAMBERS 1954b, 387: *ca.* mid-285; GEHRKE 2008, 42; WHEATLEY 2012).
  - 4) His death and Gonatas' succession in 284/83 (TARN 1913 [1969], 112 n. 3; CHAMBERS 1954b, 387) or 283 (WILL 1979, 95; BURASELIS 1982, 108; WALBANK 1984, *Chron. Table*; ERRINGTON 1990, 154; KOSMETATOU 2012) or 282 BC (WHEATLEY 2012).
  - 5) The beginning of Gonatas' first rule in Macedon in 277 (WALBANK 1984, *Chron. Table*; ADAMS 2010, 219), or 276 BC (WILL 1979, 210; ERRINGTON 2008, 79; GEHRKE 2008, 42; cf. KOSMETATOU 2012: he "spent the decade of 286-276 BC in search of a kingdom"); cf. TOYE 2011 on Porph. *BNJ* 260 F 3.12: "Antigonos II ascended the Macedonian throne around a decade later in the first year of the 126th Olympiad in either 277/6 BC or 276/5 BC... Yet also around 280/79 Antigonos made an attempt to possess Macedon, but was thwarted by Ptolemy Keraunos [see above]. Perhaps some ancient sources dated Antigonos' reign over Macedon beginning with this first unsuccessful effort to ascend the throne". LANDUCCI 2021 dates the Galatian victory to 277 and the accession to the throne to 276/75 BC.
  - 6) The beginning of Gonatas' second rule over Macedon in 272 BC (WILL 1979, 213; GEHRKE 2008, 43; ADAMS 2010, 220; KOSMETATOU 2012).
  - 7) The death of Gonatas and succession of Demetrios II in 240/39 (CHAMBERS 1954a, 386-387 with n. 6; WILL 1979, 337; WALBANK 1984, *Chron. Table*; ERRINGTON 1990, 173; 2008, 94; KUZMIN 2019, 78) or 239 BC (BURASELIS 1982, 108; GABBERT 1997, vii; ERRINGTON 2008, 79; ADAMS 2010, 222; KOSMETATOU 2012; KUZMIN 2019, 64-66).
  - 8) The death of Demetrios II in spring 229 (CHAMBERS 1954b, 386f. with n. 6; KUZMIN 2019, 78 with references) or 229/28 BC (WALBANK 1984, *Chron. Table*); cf. TOYE 2011 on Porph. *BNJ* 260 F 3.12: "His death occurred in the first year of the 135th Olympiad in either 241/0 BC or 240/39 BC".
- Not yet accessible to me is WHEATLEY-DUNN 2020, with chronological table on 449-451.

<sup>3</sup> Klaffenbach in HERZOG-KLAFFENBACH 1952; RIGSBY 1996, 107-153; RIGSBY-HALLOF 2001; BOSNAKIS-HALLOF 2003, 228-245; RIGSBY 2004; HALLOF 2010 [= *IG* XII 4.1.208-245 = *PHI* 349778-349816: each listed inscription comprises one to five individual documents or fragments thereof]. Cf.

and a decree passed by the Amphipolitai on 19 Gorpaios (July/August) in Antigonos' 41st regnal year<sup>4</sup>. In fact, the latter *psephisma* provides the narrowest chronological indication among the whole dossier, and based on the traditional Antigonid chronology unfolded above, it was dated to early August (243/) 242 BC<sup>5</sup>. A recent epigraphic discovery includes a second dated document from Macedon: the decree of the Beroians on behalf of the Koians was issued on 2 Gorpaios in the same 41st year<sup>6</sup>.

Instead of regarding this as a confirmation of the traditional chronology, its first editors Dimitris Bosnakis and Klaus Hallof suggest moving up by one year Koan diplomacy on behalf of Asklepios. In the present context, we can ignore the newly-found letter by the “king of the Bithynians”, which is dated to the 39th year of an uncertain Bithynian era, because it would be compatible with either the higher or the lower Antigonid chronology<sup>7</sup>. Bosnakis and Hallof rightly criticize Tarn, Chambers and their followers for basing Gonatas' regnal years on a non-inclusive count (i.e. starting year 1 with the calendar year *after* the assumption of the diadem)<sup>8</sup>. But they fail to observe that Chamber's chronological framework suffers from similar arithmetic inaccuracies throughout and that these same shortcomings effectively neutralize each other, at least in some regards. What is more, a revision of the relevant evidence that applies an inclusive count persistently will lead to a much more precise and consistent Antigonid chronology.

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WELLES 1934 [1974], n<sup>os</sup> 25-28. See also *IG XII* 4.1.282-289 on further rules concerning the Asklepieia; KNÄPPER 2018, 277-289 for inscriptions published or augmented after the edition of RIGSBY 1996; BOSNAKIS-HALLOF 2018, 153-155, n<sup>o</sup> 44 for a new fragment of the decree that established the games, to be connected with *IG XII* 4.1.289.

<sup>4</sup> Gonatas: *IG XII* 4.1.208 = *PHI* 349778 = RIGSBY 1996, n<sup>o</sup> 10: *Letter of unknown king* (Antigonos Gonatas?); cf. HABICHT 2007, 134, 136; KNÄPPER 2018, 99. WELLES 1934 [1974], 27 still thought of Ptolemy III; BOSNAKIS-HALLOF 2003, 244f. remain agnostic.

Amphipolitai: *IG XII* 4.1.220 II 18-34 = *PHI* 349790 = RIGSBY 1996, n<sup>o</sup> 26, ll. 19f.: βασιλεύοντος Ἀντιγόνου ἔτους ἐνὸς καὶ τεσσαρακοστοῦ, ἐπιστάτου Ξενί- | ου τοῦ Ὀργέως, ἐφ' ἱερέως Λυσιμάχου· ψηφίσματα Γορπιαίου ἐνάτηι ἐπὶ δέκα.

<sup>5</sup> Klaffenbach in HERZOG-KLAFFENBACH 1952, 20; CHAMBERS 1954a, 173; 1954b, 389: “it is to be assumed that the embassy executed its entire circuit within a single summer”; RIGSBY 1996, 107-109; 2004, 9 and 11 (dating the beginning of the Cretan tour to September 242 BC). One or more of them are followed by, e.g., BURASELIS 1982, 133; WALBANK 1984, 228; HAMMOND-WALBANK 1988, 581-583; RIGSBY-HALLOF 2001, 333 and 343; BOSNAKIS-HALLOF 2003, 40; BURASELIS 2004, 15; HABICHT 2007, 133; ERRINGTON 2008, 104; MICHELS 2009, 56; CARLSSON 2010, 210; HALLOF 2010; RAYNOR 2016, 253; BOSNAKIS-HALLOF 2018, 153; COŞKUN 2018, 228; 251f.; KNÄPPER 2018, 87f.; DANA 2021, 145; COJOCARU 2021, 1. Somewhat inconsistent is WILL 1979, 261 (243/42 BC for the 41st year of Gonatas) and 293 (ca. 240 for the letter of Ziaelas: *IG XII* 4.1.209 = *PHI* 349779 = RIGSBY 1996, n<sup>o</sup> 11 = MICHELS 2009, 57f.). KUZMIN 2019, 71f. (with n. 76) is undecided between 243 and 242 BC.

<sup>6</sup> BOSNAKIS-HALLOF 2020, 291 n<sup>o</sup> 45 A III, ll. 26f.

<sup>7</sup> BOSNAKIS-HALLOF 2020, 293 n<sup>o</sup> 45 B III, ll. 68, 74f. Their date of the Bithynian era start in 282/81 BC aligns with earlier assumptions that were based on the evidence from the 60s to 40s BC (VITUCCI 1953, 17f.; STUMPF 1991, 56-74; LESCHHORN 1993, 191-197; MAREK 1993, 21-24; cf. BOSNAKIS-HALLOF 2020, 318-320), but is likewise compatible with an era start in 281/80 BC, which is indeed the better solution in light of the Antigonid evidence; see COŞKUN 2021 for a full discussion.

<sup>8</sup> BOSNAKIS-HALLOF 2020, 316-320, esp. 319, on the new chronology: “dementsprechend das gesamte Asylieurkunden-Dossier in den Herbst 243, die Abhaltung der ersten panhellenischen Asklepieia in den Mai 242 zu datieren”. For a similar chronology, they might have referred to HATZOPOULOS 1996, I 139-143.

## II. THE MAIN SOURCE FOR GONATAS' BIOGRAPHIC DATES: PORPHYRY-EUSEBIOS

As mentioned above, our most detailed source for the chronology of Gonatas' rule comes from the fragments of Porphyry's *Chronicle* that detail the succession of the kings of Macedon after Alexander. The relevant sections provide several Olympiad years, which will form the basis of a solid timetable, although we should not forget that Macedonian kings obviously counted their regnal years following the domestic Macedonian calendar. Porphyry's text has survived in the Armenian translation of Eusebios' *Chronographia*, which I here quote in David Toye's English translation of Felix Jacoby's German translation<sup>9</sup>:

“(6) For the sons of Kassandros, the years of their reigns were numbered from the fourth year of the 120th Olympiad until the third year of the 121st Olympiad; and for Demetrios' reign (sc. the reign of Demetrios I in Macedon proper), six years from the fourth year of the 121st Olympiad (293/92 BC) until first year of the 123rd Olympiad (288/87 BC).

(7) Pyrrhos ...

(8) ... Lysimachos ...

(9) Immediately after Seleukos' victory, Ptolemy, who was named Keraunos or Thunderbolt, the son of Lagos and Eurydike, the daughter of Antipater, murdered him, who had been his benefactor when he had come to him as an exile; and Ptolemy himself ruled over the Macedonians. When he gave battle to the Galatians, he was killed after he had ruled for one year and five months, so that the time of his reign would be recorded from the fourth year of the 124th Olympiad (281/80 BC) to the fifth month of the first year of the 125th Olympiad (280/79 BC).

(10) Meleager, Ptolemy's brother, ... Antipater, Kassandros' nephew, (the “Etesian”) ... Sosthenes ...

(11) And the Macedonians would be without a ruler, because the followers of Antipater, Ptolemy, and Arrhidaios<sup>10</sup>, were competing for control, but there was not anyone to be appointed to manage their affairs. From the reign of Ptolemy (Keraunos) to the end of this period of anarchy is from the fourth year of the 124th Olympiad (281/80 BC) to the 126th Olympiad (276/75 BC) –six years<sup>11</sup>. Therein one finds Ptolemy Keraunos with a reign of one year and five months, Meleager, with two months, Antipater with 45 days, Sosthenes with two years, and the remaining time being recorded without a ruler.

(12) When Antipater was plotting to seize the state, Antigonos (II), the son of Demetrios the City-Besieger and Phila, the daughter of Antipater, became the master of the kingdom. He was named Gonatas as he happened to be raised in Gonnos in Thessaly. Around 43 (or 44) years would be numbered to him. He had already been king before; the Macedonians had made him their king for a total of 10 years. He had been hailed as king in the second year of the 123rd Olympiad (287/86 BC), but by the Macedonians in the first year of the 126th Olympiad (276/75 BC). He was the one who subjugated the Greeks with a strong hand. He lived altogether for 83 years and he died in the first year of the 135th Olympiad (240/39 BC).

<sup>9</sup> Porph. *Chron. FGH / BNJ* 260 F 3 = Eus. *Chron.* 109.8-113.32. Comments in brackets and bold print are mine.

<sup>10</sup> The identity of this Arrhidaios is uncertain and does not matter for our concern, but see TOYE 2011 *ad locum* for discussion.

<sup>11</sup> TOYE 2011 *ad locum* has further detail to report on these numbers, but concludes anyways that the count, while being inclusive, nearly stretches over six full years.

(13) His son Demetrios succeeded him and he seized all of Libya and made himself master of Kyrene<sup>12</sup>. Demetrios renewed entirely the monarchical dominion of his father; and he ruled for 10 years. ...”

### III. THE END OF DEMETRIOS I AND THE BEGINNING OF GONATAS' KINGSHIP

It is immediately obvious that Porphyry drew on heterogeneous sources, meaning that the totals he provides are (at least in part) deriving from a diverse literary tradition and not from either a single consistent source or from a calculation based on the absolute year dates given in the extant narrative itself. This becomes apparent in § 11, which is dedicated to the Macedonian anarchy after the death of Lysimachos in 281 BC: the author drew on most detailed information, which he integrated into a chronologically consistent narrative, even though he was not able to specify every single timeslot within those six years. External information from Babylon provides a welcome confirmation of the precision for at least part of the dates<sup>13</sup>. The same section of the *Chronographia* also reveals that Porphyry's standard was to apply an inclusive count: the period of anarchy falls into six Olympiad years, so that he gives the total as “six years”.

The situation is different for the account of the regnal years of Gonatas (§ 12): while also detailed and taken from a variety of sources, Porphyry fails in fully integrating the pieces of information. The first problem we should concern ourselves with is not the fact that the Armenian and Greek versions differ in specifying the total of “counted” regnal years as 43 and 44 respectively; we shall return to this question of textual transmission below. For now, it is more important to notice that neither total of regnal years is compatible with either the year in which Gonatas is said to have been acclaimed king (287/86 BC) or the year in which he first seized the throne of Macedon (276/75 BC). As already observed by Tarn and Chambers, the official count at the court of Gonatas started only after the death of his father<sup>14</sup>.

This detail escaped Porphyry or at least Eusebios, although we should still appreciate the diligence of Porphyry's scholarship, or at least the reliability of most figures that Eusebios adduces. The specific formulation for the regnal year count, at least in the available translation, seems to imply an awareness of the discrepancy. Both ancient scholars would have known that differences between an effective and a counted timespan were not unusual, whether for ideological or calendaric reasons<sup>15</sup>. Likewise, the fragmentary account maintained the information that Gonatas had ruled for a decade before his arrival in Macedon. This figure must derive from a written source, since an

<sup>12</sup> The account conflates Demetrios Kalos (the ‘Fair’), the brother of Gonatas, who briefly ruled Libya with Apama and her daughter Berenike, and Demetrios II, but this does not affect the present chronological discussion.

<sup>13</sup> The *Babylonian King List* (obv. ll. 6-8, ed., e.g., DEL MONTE 1997, 208f.) dates the murder of Seleukos I to the 6th month (Ululu) of his 25th regnal year, which, counted from 305/4 BC (Babylonian style), yields ca. August/September 281 BC. Porphyry *Chron. FGH / BNJ* 260 F 3.9, 11 implies that Keraunos began his rule in the first month of the Olympiad year 124.4, hence July/August 281 BC.

<sup>14</sup> TARN 1913 [1969], 112 n. 3 and 434 n. 6, and CHAMBERS 1954b, 387; cf. BURASELIS 1982, 151f.: “Aus dynastischem Kontinuitätsgefühl und seiner auch sonst bezeugten Loyalität gegenüber seinem Vater, hat Antigonos erst von dessen / Tod (283) an die Jahre seines eigenen Königtums zählen lassen, woran auch die spätere Gewinnung des makedonischen Throns... nichts änderte”; also see HAMMOND-WALBANK 1988, 582; RIGSBY 1996, 107 n. 6.

<sup>15</sup> Compare, e.g., the experiments with the satrapal, regnal and era years during the rule of Seleukos I, on which see KOSMIN 2018, 26-30. For the construed and at times experimental nature of the Seleukid, Mithradatid and Prusiad time counts, see COŞKUN 2022.

inclusive count of the calendar years would have yielded thirteen, if we calculate on the basis of the explicit Olympiad year in which Demetrios fled from Macedon in 288/87 BC (§ 9). However, further down in his account, Porphyry tells us that Gonatas' "kingship" (or rather rule, as we must correct him here, if we take the lower number of regnal years as a more reliable indicator of his status) began in 287/86 BC (§ 12). But not even this year yields a match, since Porphyry dates Gonatas' first seizure of the Macedonian throne to 276/75 BC, hence a timespan of twelve years, if counted inclusively. We are left with a couple of options here:

- a) The decade of early rule before counting regnal years (§ 12) may be a rounded or simply an inaccurate figure, and thus useless for our attempt to further specify the chronology. I hesitate to accept this.
- b) The formulation (at least of the translated version) allows for the possibility that the original wording emphasized the completeness of the ten years, which would then allow for an exclusive count: ten full years plus a few days (or weeks) of the preceding and the following years. This remains a remote possibility.
- c) If, however, we prefer to view the duration of ten years as correct, then we must count back (inclusively) from Gonatas' conquest of Macedon in 276/75 (§ 12), which will result in 285/84 BC as the beginning of his effective rule. In this case, "the second year of the 123rd Olympiad (287/86 BC)" would pertain to a different event that might have been understood as the right occasion for Gonatas' status upgrade. However, the importance of the year 287/86 BC should be connected with a piece of information in Plutarch, namely that "he left back his son in charge of Greece, while he himself aided Macedon and first attacked Lysimachos" (my own translation)<sup>16</sup>. Considering that Gonatas had been born in 322/21 BC (Porphyry, *FGH / BNJ* 260 F 3.12), he was certainly mature enough for this role at the time. There is a further implication of this appointment: we need not expect a further status change before Demetrios embarked on his Athenian (*ca.* 287 or 286) or Anatolian (286 or 285 BC) campaigns. The next stage was the arrest of his father in the Amanos mountains in east Kilikia, most likely in spring 284 BC, as the chronology of his campaign should suggest<sup>17</sup>.

Although some uncertainty remains, I suggest that any solution should emphasize the significance of the year 285/84 BC. This is not only pointed to by the count of ten (calendar) years, as shown above, but further implied by an additional piece of information that Plutarch provides (*Demetrios* 52.3): he states that Demetrios died in his third year of captivity (ἔτος τρίτον)<sup>18</sup>. This would lead us to 283/82 BC (counting

<sup>16</sup> Plut. *Demetr.* 45.2: "ὁ δὲ τὸν μὲν υἱὸν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος κατέλιπεν, αὐτὸς δὲ βοηθῶν Μακεδονίᾳ πρῶτον ὤρμησεν ἐπὶ Λυσιμάχων". My own translation.

<sup>17</sup> Plut. *Demetr.* 44-50 provides the most detailed outline of Demetrios' later itinerary or military campaigns: 44.1-45.1 (Macedon); 45.1 (Kassandraia, Greece); 45.3 (Thebes); 46.1f. (Athens); 46.2 (Asia, with plan to conquer Karia and Lydia); 46.3 (Miletos); 46.4 (Sardeis; escape to Phrygia); 46.5 (Lykos river; plan to invade Armenia and Media); 47 (Tarsos until autumn); 48.1-3 (fighting in Kilikia by or through the winter); 48.3-4 (after 40 days of sickness, Demetrios crossed the Amanos and plundered in Kyrrestika, perhaps in the spring?); 49 (return to Kilikia); 49-50 surrender to Seleukos; 50.4 arrest in Kilikia and captivity in Syrian Chersonesos; 52 (death).

<sup>18</sup> Plutarch is quite precise here, since he uses the ordinal number, which requires an inclusive interpretation. This is ignored in the Loeb translation by Perrin (PERRIN 1920), obviously to narrow down the chronological gap that I have outlined above: "So, then, Demetrius, after an imprisonment of three

inclusively) for the year in which Gonatas officially assumed the diadem, the same year that we have calculated as his first regnal year based on the total of 43 years (with the Armenian version of the *Chronography*), in combination with Porphyry's Olympiad year for the death of Gonatas (240/39 BC).

#### IV. THE DEATH OF GONATAS AND THE CHRONOLOGY OF DEMETRIOS II'S RULE

I have so far avoided to draw on the Koan evidence, lest to get entangled in circularity. The chronology that I have set out here is largely in line with the traditional reconstruction that identifies Antigonos Gonatas' 41st regnal year as 243/42 BC; the month Gorpiaios in which the decrees of the Amphipolitans and Beroians were passed thus equals July/August 242 BC. However, the new chronology proposed by Bosnakis and Hallof could have insisted on the Greek tradition of Porphyry's *Chronography*, which ascribes 44 rather than 43 regnal years to Gonatas. (That they do not do so might be due to the fact that Tarn's and Chamber's inaccurate count drew on 44 instead of 43 years.) If admitted, this would indeed push up the years of Demetrios I's capture (286/85 BC) and death (284/83 BC), and would require us to translate Gonatas' 41st regnal year as 244/43 BC accordingly. In fact, there is further external evidence that seems to be supporting this higher chronology: Pseudo-Lukian (*Makrobioi* 11) also specifies the total of the regnal years as 44<sup>19</sup>.

But there is another problem to account for, before a final decision can be made. Porphyry (§ 12) dates the death of Gonatas and hence the succession of Demetrios II to 240/39 BC. He adds (§ 13) that Demetrios II ruled for ten years. This timeframe is confirmed by Polybios, who also reveals that Demetrios II died around the same time the first Roman-Illyrian War began (2.44.1-2), namely in early spring 229 BC<sup>20</sup>. It should be obvious, however, that the period from 240/39 to 230/29 BC comprised not ten, but eleven years, at least if counted inclusively. Is there a way to reconcile these discrepancies?

The best solution I see is that the Polybian tradition (on which also Porphyry drew for the ten-year duration of Demetrios II's rule) actually dated the death of Gonatas and the ensuing succession to 239/38 BC. This would explain both the 44 years assigned to Gonatas (§ 12) and the ten years given to Demetrios (§ 13), each number counted inclusively. We can only speculate how this variation came about in the ancient

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years in the Syrian Chersonese, through inactivity and surfeit of food and wine, fell sick and died, in the fifty-fifth year of his life". In a footnote (*ad locum*), Perrin comments: "From 386 to 383 BC".

<sup>19</sup> See above, nn. 2, 5 and 8 for references; also BURASELIS 1982, 108: "Obendrein dauerte ja bekanntlich das Königtum des Gonatas von 283 bis 239 (= 44 Jahre) und seine Regierung in Makedonien von 276 bis 239 (= 37 Jahre)".

<sup>20</sup> For references to Demetrios II, see above, n. 2. There was no official co-rule before 239, despite distinguishing him with the marriage of Stratonike, the sister of Antiochos II (*pace* GABELKO-KUZMIN 2020, who regard her as his daughter), in the 250s and his leading some operations in the 240s; see ERRINGTON 1990, 171-173 (with 288 n. 42 against co-rule) and GABBERT 1997, 56-60. I only mention in passing that KUZMIN 2019, 64-66 claims two alternative regnal year counts for Demetrios II, one starting in 239 BC, the other in ca. 256 BC, the *terminus ad quem* for which Kuzmin surmises official co-rule with Gonatas (thus already WILL 1979, 344). But this view is based on attributing a manumission document (*EKM* 1.*Beroia* [=GOUNAROPOULOU-HATZOPOULOS 1998] 45, ll. 2-3: βασιλεύοντος Δημητρίου ἑβδόμου καὶ εἰκοστοῦ ἔτους, μηνὸς Περιτίου κτλ.) to Demetrios II. Since this is conflicting with the entire remaining evidence (unfolded by Kuzmin himself), we should rather identify the king with Demetrios I, whose regnal count thus seems to have begun with his effective co-rule with his father sometime in the 310s BC.

historiographic tradition, but the most likely cause is a confusion between Macedonian and Olympiad year counts. If, for instance, Gonatas died in the late summer of 239 BC, this would still have fallen into the Macedonian year 240/39 BC, and thus yielded the total of 43 regnal years, as counted at the royal court of Pella; but to Greek historiographers who applied an Olympiad chronology, the death of Gonatas would have occurred in 239/38 BC, resulting in the aforesaid 44 and ten regnal years respectively.

## V. EPILOGUE

It remains impossible to decide where exactly in the composition and transmission of Antigonid dynastic chronography such confusions happened or perhaps deliberate adaptations were made that might have been accurate in their original context, but misleading in the compiled context of Porphyry or fragmentary account of Eusebios. Be this as it may, we should regardless infer with a high level of confidence that the official succession from Demetrios I to Antigonos Gonatas occurred in 283/82 BC (both Macedonian and Olympiad). Moreover, we have the choice between accepting the 43-year count in combination with the Macedonian year 240/39 BC for the passing of Gonatas and the alternative 44-year-calculation, which depends on 239/38 BC being the Olympiad year for the succession of Demetrios II<sup>21</sup>. Either way, Gonatas' 41st regnal year equals 243/42. The Koan *theoroi* hence visited the Greek cities through summer 242 BC.

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<sup>21</sup> An earlier attempt (reported and rejected by WILL 1979, 354, but cf. TOYE 2011 on Porph. *BNJ* 260 F 3.11-12) tried to overcome the problems by dating Demetrios II's rule to Athenian archon years 241/40-231/30 BC, which only increases the confusion. Alternative chronographical traditions such as by Jerome are even more confused and faulty; see the references and discussion by Toye.



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