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## ANTIGONOS "MONOPHTHALMOS": SOME PARTICULARS IN THE INTERPRETATION OF THE NICKNAME\*

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In blessed memory of Albert Brian Bosworth, (21.03.1942 – 22.12.2014), an exceptional student of the era of Alexander the Great and the Diadochs

The meaning of the nickname of Antigonos I Monophthalmos (One-Eyed) (306-301; all dates - BC) seems fairly obvious at first sight, but on a closer look it turns out to have rather curious nuances which seem to be omitted by the modern scholarship. Its connection to Antigonos' becoming physically impaired due to a severe wound during the siege of Perinthos by the army of Philip II in 340 is beyond doubt. Plutarch writes, that Antigenes<sup>1</sup> One-Eyed

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Evidently, a mistake of Plutarch himself or in the manuscript: Antigonos the One-Eyed is confused with another Alexander's commander, Antigenes (and the sources say nothing about his physical deficiencies for there were none). During the events described here by Plutarch Antigonos

(Ἀντίγενης ὁ Ἐτερόφθαλμος) did make use of Alexander's generosity towards his attendants and recalls his history. "Antigenes... was a splendid soldier, and while he was still a young man and Philip was besieging Perinthus, though a bolt from a catapult smote him in the eye, he would not consent to have the bolt taken out nor give up fighting until he had repelled the enemy and shut them up within their walls".<sup>2</sup> As Ἐτερόφθαλμος he is seen also in other sources,<sup>3</sup> and at once even in comparison with others historical characters.<sup>4</sup> In all of those messages, unlike the story told in Plutarch's *Alexandros*, this word refers to the very physical feature and not the nickname *per se*. It is as Monophthalmos that Antigonos became known to historians, despite the fact that such references to him are not very numerous,<sup>5</sup> and the epithet is much more widely used in the modern historiography rather than by ancient authors.<sup>6</sup>

However, it is very important that one more name is registered for Antigonos I: an extremely offensive, derisive appellative of 'Cyclops' ( $\delta K \delta \kappa \lambda \delta \psi$ ). Plutarch writes comprehensively on this topic and relates the mention with the sophist Theocritos of Chios;<sup>7</sup> and the same events, albeit in a slightly different context, are told in another paragraph from *Moralia*,<sup>8</sup> despite the biographer does not resort here to the word 'Cyclops'.<sup>9</sup>

All these sources have been studied well,<sup>10</sup> and the conclusions the researchers arrive at coincide in the main thing: Theocritos, a person of independent

<sup>10</sup> More on these episodes and their place in the system of interrelations between the kings and poets of the early Hellenistic period: Teodorsson 1990, 380–382; Billows 1990, 386; Franco 1991, 453–454; Weber, 1998–1999, 150–153; esp. 158–162.

was in Asia Minor, not in the court of Alexander. For a detailed analysis of discrepancies in the sources and review of preceding literature, see: Billows 1990, 27–29; Heckel 2006, 30–31.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Plut. *Alex.* 70. 3; transl by B. Perrin.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Plut. Mor. 11b; 633c; Ael. Var. Hist. XII. 43 - see below, n. 9 for more detail.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Plut. *Sert.* 1: here he is put in one line with other one-eyed men of state (Philip II of Macedon, Hannibal, Sertorius) to whom the Chaeronean writer gives, at least in this paragraph, a good mark.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Hieronym. F. 34 = Ps.-Luc. *Macrob*. 11, 13; Polyb. V. 67. 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> See, for instance, the title of this important monograph: Müller 1973.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Plut. Mor. 11b. In general on this philosopher: Laqueur 1934, 2025–2027; Franco 1991, 445–458.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Plut. *Mor.* 633c; cf. also Macrob. *Sat.* VII. 3. 12

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> See also Ael. *Var. Hist.* 12.43, where it is told that "Antigonos, the son of Philip, one-eyed and hence dubbed Cyclops (ὁ καὶ ἐτερόφθαλμος καὶ ἐκ τοῦτου Κύκλοψ προσαγορευθείς), used to live from what he earned with his hands (αὐτουργὸς ἦν)". Such a notion made among various examples of 'zero to hero' meteorical political careers is laden with an explicitly pejorative and almost certainly biased meaning (there are no certain data as to the family line of Antigonos, but his noble ancestry seems most probable: Billows 1990, 15–17). It is quite likely that it has a relation to that same unhappy sophist Theocritos, for judging by the context of the stories of Plutarch and Macrobius, Theocritos had fallen out of grace with Antigonos (relatively) long before the death of the former, and the 'talks' between him and the king's envoy, ex-officer and then the chief cook (ἀρχμάγειρος) Eutropion as to the possibility of a personal meeting went on quite long, thus, the philosopher had opportunities enough and to make many jokes about the king, some of which could survive in the tradition.

character and sharp wit, had a long lasting animosity with Antigonos, which was (among other things?) caused by his taunts at the king's injury. Antigonos was especially enraged and offended by the comparison with a Cyclops.<sup>11</sup> This was the last nail in the coffin of the king's patience and he ordered that the intemperate-tongued sophist be killed.

All things considered, it was Theocritos who 'invented' this nickname, extremely offensive for Antigonos, or at least made the expressions used by those Greeks and Macedonians, who didn't feel affection for the king, known far and wide (and very bright and imaginative at that he was!). It is likely that for some nicknames of the Hellenistic rulers, including the names that became widely known, 'individual' authorship might be admitted; thus, P. Nadig made a brilliant demonstration of the fact that the derogatory appellation (Φύσκων/Gutbucket) was given to Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II by a prominent philologist Aristarchos of Samothrace, who had to leave Alexandria because of prosecution from the king.<sup>12</sup> It is not out of the question therefore that the sophist from Chios 'threw into circulation' the name of Monophthalmos in his witticisms against Antigonos, which became quite in use, but once again be it remembered that instead of this word Plutarch uses the ordinary ἑτερόφθαλμος in his stories. The case of murdering Theorritos that characterizes Antigonos in the most unfavorable light probably did become rather known among the contemporaries, since the stories both of Plutarch and Macrobius are guite detailed.

We think that it is extremely important to emphasize the substantial difference in the meaning of the two words translated equally into today's lan-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> D. Campbell thinks that Antigonos could have been enraged by the nickname 'Cyclops' because of the connotations of drunkenness and debauchery of these mythological creatures (Campbell 2009, 20). In this context we are to remember the extremely loathsome titular character from the Euripides's satire drama 'Cyclops'; moreover, in the Theocritos' taunts at Eutropion the cook one can clearly see the allusions to the drama in question: Euripides uses the term "Atδov µάγειρος to refer to none other but Cyclops (*Cyclops* 397). Antigonos himself, nevertheless, as the sources indicate, was of quite reserved character and living habits (Teodorsson 1990; Billows 1990, 9–12), and the explanations of the king's wrath and rage given by Plutarch (namely, Theocritos' mockery of his injury) has more weight. Cf. details of Antigonos' depiction by the famous painter Apelles, who attempted to hide the king's physical defect: Plin. *NH*. 25.90; on the problems of Antigonos' iconography see Smith 1988, 9–10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Nadig 2007, 67. Cf. Plutarch's story of Demetrios I, who became known in history as Poliorcetes having received the ironic nickname 'Myth' from a Demochares of Soli for his love affair with the hetaera Lamia of Athens; the reason for the nickname was that "the fable always has its Lamia, and so had he" (Plut. *Demetr.* 27. 2 – transl. by J. Dryden; cf. Plut. *Comp. Demetr. et. Ant.* 3). In this case it is not important that the biographer had probably mistaken the certain Demochares of Soli (an unknown from other sources comic poet? – Andrei, Scuderi et al. 1989, 190, n. 186) for the Athenian Demochares of the demos of Leuconoe (by the way, Demosthenes' nephew: Manni 1953, 29; see on him: Swoboda 1901, 2863–2867; Billows 1990, 337–339), despite Ogden 1999, 248 accepts Demochares of Soli without comment. Demetrios' epithet 'Myth', however, did not likely become widely spread.

guages – 'the One-Eyed one',  $\dot{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon\rho\delta\phi\theta\alpha\lambda\mu\sigma\zeta$  and  $\mu\sigma\delta\phi\theta\alpha\lambda\mu\sigma\zeta$ ,<sup>13</sup> registered in less known sources, not obvious even to some of the ancient authors<sup>14</sup> and fully ignored by modern researchers.<sup>15</sup> Several examples are highly illustrative and worth mentioning here. 1) "Heterophthalmos and monophthalmos have a difference (between one another – *author*). A heterophthalmos is someone who lost an eve in an accident, and a monophthalmos has one eve like a Cyclops" (έτερόφθαλμος καὶ μονόφθαλμος διαφέρει. ἑτερόφθαλμος μὲν γὰρ κατὰ περίπτωσιν πηρωθείς τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν, μονόφθαλμος δὲ ὁ μόνον ὀφθαλμὸν ἔχων ὡς ὁ Κύκλοψ).<sup>16</sup> 2) "A heterophthalmos is one who lost an eye like Philip (sic! - author; see below). A monophthalmos has only one eve from birth, like Cyclops do" (Έτερόφθαλμος ό ἀφηρημένος τὸν ἕτερον τῶν όφθαλμῶν, ὡς ὁ Φίλιππος. μονόφθαλμος δὲ ὁ ἐκ γενετῆς ἕνα ἔχων ὀφθαλμὸν, ὡς oi Κύκλοπες).<sup>17</sup> 3) "Monophthalmos: a tribe of people with only one eye. Those who have one eye gouged out are called heterophthalmos ( $\mu ov \phi \phi \alpha \lambda \mu o \zeta \tilde{\epsilon} \theta v o \zeta \tau \iota$ άνθρώπων ἕνα ὀφθαλμὸν ἔχων. τοὺς γὰρ τὸν ἕτερον ἐκκοπέντας ὀφθαλμὸν Έτεροφθάλμους καλοῦσιν).18

These data allow the suggestion that initially the word  $\dot{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon\rho\phi\varphi\theta\alpha\lambda\mu\sigma\zeta$  was related to Antigonos after the injury and stayed with him all life long, whether or not as a nickname, but semantically quite neutral (and maybe even implying in an indirect way his bravery during the assault of Perinthos and being wounded). However, if the severe and unfair atrocity against Theocritos (and the poet's words addressed to the king) became widely known, it could have been that after and due to it Antigonos could receive the far more widely known appellation that

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> This word is used mainly in late, including christian, sources, as TLG shows.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> It is interesting that the lexicographer Hesychios, for example, considering all his erudition, disregards this difference (s. v. ἑτερόφθαλμος· μονόφθαλμος). See, nevertheless, more nuanced definition: ἑτερόφθαλμον 'Αττικοί, μονόφθαλμον "Ελληνες (Moeris Attic. *Lex. Att.* s. v. ἑτερόφθαλμον); cf. Vocum Atticarum collect. F. 69.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Despite the fact that it is registered in the dictionary *LSJ* (s. v. ἑτερόφθαλμος) with a reference to Ammonius (see below, n. 16). E.g., in the very beginning of the passage on Antigonos F. Muccioli tells that he had been known in the tradition as Monophthalmos and Cyclops respectively, but he completely ignores the difference of the notions ἑτερόφθαλμος and μονόφθαλμος, without mentioning the former at all (Muccioli 2013, 68).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Ammon. *De adfin. vocab. different.* P. 197; cf. Ptolem. Gramm. De *differ. vocabul.* P. 391; Thomas Magister. *Ecloga nom. et verb. Atticorum.* Epsilon. P. 194.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Ael. Herod. et Ps.-Herod. Philetairos. 279. Considering this paragraph it is difficult to agree with F. Muccioli's opinion on perception of 'possible monophthalmy' of Philip II by his contemporaries with respective assessments of his personality and politics (Muccioli 2013, 68–69); see more below.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Lex. Segueriana. *Glossae rhet.* 280. Apart from a 'tribe' with the tell-tale name of Monophthalms the same characteristic is often given, beside the Cyclopes, to the mythical Arimaspes (e. g. Paus. I. 24. 6; Eustath. *Comm. in Dion. Perieg.* 31; Schol. in Aeschyl. Promet. VI. 801a; Pollux. *Onomast.* II. 62); see on them Wernicke 1895; Gorbunova 1997.

hinted not only at the injury but at the truly 'cyclopean' cruelty and tyrannical inclinations<sup>19</sup>: Monophthalmos (= the One-Eyed One, like a Cyclops<sup>20</sup>). It is quite curious that the materials of the TLG corpus do not give us evidence of any one-eyed significant historical figure, except Antigonos, to be ambiguously honored with the name of Monophthalmos!<sup>21</sup> We mustn't be baffled by the fact that Antigonos is presented as Monophthalmos in the texts of Pseudo-Lucian ascending to Hieronymus of Cardia – a writer known for his devotion to the house of Antigonos.<sup>22</sup> One does not have to think the nickname was contained in the text of Hieronymus himself, because these extracts from the *Long-Livers* are in all probability not direct citations but rather use the numbers important for the author and taken from the work of the Cardian historian: it could have been added by Pseudo-Lucian himself.<sup>23</sup>

In this connection one needs to mention a hypothesis according to which the name 'Cyclops' could have been applied also to Philip II, who lost an eye during the siege of Methone in 355/354: it was developed by A. Swift Riginos<sup>24</sup> based on an in-depth research of the information given in the sources<sup>25</sup> and still has supporters today (see above, note 16). Nevertheless, this standpoint is hard to agree with, since it is essentially built on an *argumentum ex silentio*. Thus the mention of rage the Macedonian king succumbed to after the injury when anyone spoke in his presence of a Cyclops or an eye in general<sup>26</sup> may be readily explained by common reasons: never mention a rope in the house of a man who has been hanged; as it seems, Philip's wrath could be evoked even without direct identification of king with Cyclops. At the same time, the tradition has no recol-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Examples of the image of Cyclops being attached to cruel and autocratic rulers: Vanotti 2003, 44–52; Anello 2006, 71–85. Another case of negative connotations of this word (with the allusion on the personage of Aristophanes' "Birds"): Suda s. v. Ὁπούντιος: οὖτος ἐσυκοφαντεῖτο ὡς πονηρὸς καὶ μονόφθαλμος.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Despite the Greek representations of the Cyclops' appearance were rather contradictory; see, e. g.: Eitrem 1922, 2328–2347; Page 1955, 14–16; Heubeck, Hoekstra 1990, 20; Tuchefeu-Meynier 1997, VIII, 1, 1012–1019; VIII, 2, 665–675, pl. 1–67.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> There is only one exclusion: emperor Julianos met in Tarsos εὐδαίμονά τινα μονόφθαλμον ἰερέα 'Ασκληπιοῦ διὰ τὴν τυφλότητα αἰσχυνόμενον (Joann. Antioch. *Hist*. F. 178. 2).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> See, for example, on Hieronymos' attitude to the Antigonid dynasty Hornblower 2001, 11–15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Cf. the opinion of P. Van Nuffelen: "Most authors, even when their works are fragmentary, do show up a consistent general pattern that can be attributed to their author. Deviations from the pattern can then, in all likelihood, be attributed to the later author quoting the fragment" (Van Nuffelen 2009, 95).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Swift Riginos 1994, 106–114, esp. 109–111.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Duris *FGrHist* 76 F 36; Marsyas *FGrHist* 135–136 F 17; Didym. In Dem. Col. XII. 43–64 and others (see list of *testimonia*: Swift Riginos 1994, 106).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Demetr. De eloc. 293: Φίλιππος μέν διὰ τὸ ἐτερόφθαλμος (sic! – author) εἶναι ὡργίζετο, εἴ τις ὀνομάσειεν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ Κύκλοπα ἢ ὀφθαλμὸν ὅλως. This surely doesn't mean that Philip had the nickname "The Eye"?!

lections of this nickname of Philip; but it is difficult to doubt that if it had actually existed (or had been widely known), it would have been surely used, for instance, by Demosthenes, who was quite prolific in his invectives against the king of Macedon,<sup>27</sup> or by someone else from his political opponents.<sup>28</sup> The absence of this sobriquet (at least in the written tradition), and this is of importance, is confirmed by the terminological analysis given above. Therefore we can suggest that there may have shaped a semantic field of 'cyclopean' allusions to Philip's appearance (and, probably, his character and morals?), but we cannot make assertions about the existence of such a nickname that would have been more or less directly associated with the king; that apparently was not the case with Antigonos I.

There is one more point to remember. It is impossible to provide an exact date of the discord between Antigonos and Theocritos, as well as of the latter's death, but, judging by the mention of Antigonos's kingly status by Plutarch, this event took place after 306, when Antigonos took the diadem.<sup>29</sup> Therefore, the new appellation with its explicitly negative connotations must have been applied to Antigonos just a few years before his death in 301, but the memory of it lived strong enough in the tradition. Probably, this became possible not only thanks to word of mouth and public opinion, but in no smaller degree as a result of the effort of other Diadochs, his adversaries, for whom it was an advantage to tarnish the image of their enemy.<sup>30</sup>

 $<sup>^{27}</sup>$  See some examples (no repetitions; by the moment of those speeches Philip had already lost an eye): II. 5 – Philip resorts to deceit; II. 18 – Philip is ambitious without measure; he loves intemperance in daily life, carousing and lewd dances; II. 19 – he gathers every human rag-tag around himself; II. 20 – Philip is a mad-brain; 3.16 – Philip is an enemy (cf. VIII. 3), barbarian and is worthy of the evilest curse; III. 18 – he enslaves Greek cities; IV. 34 – Philip robs and takes Greek seamen prisoners; VI. 25 – he is the enemy of freedom and the adversary of law; VIII. 60 – Philip wants to eliminate the Athenian state; IX. 26 – in the most atrocious way Philip devastates the Greek cities and (IX. 27) imposes tyranny; his greed knows no limit; IX. 31 – even he is a barbarian not from a country that could be named with respect, but a lowly Macedonian, a citizen of the country where you couldn't buy a decent slave; IX. 32 – Philip is extremely impudent (cf. IX. 2) etc. In this context one should remember a stinging offence 'Margites' spoken by the orator to young Alexander of Macedon (Aeschin. III. 160; Plut. *Dem.* 23). It is also illustrative that Demosthenes mentions especially Philip losing an eye together with his other injuries (XVIII. 67), but does so in a way somewhat favourable for the now deceased enemy emphasizing his inexhaustible energy.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Philip was also severely blamed by another his contemporary, the historian Theopompos (*FGrHist* 115 F 27 = Polyb. VIII. 11. 1–3; 110 = Suda s. v. Πονηρόπολις; 224 = Athen. IV. 62 p. 166f–167c; 225b = Athen. VI. 77. p. 260d–261a etc.). Especially important is F 225a = Polyb. VIII. 11. 5–13, where Theopompos likens Philip's courtiers to Centaurs and Laestrigons for their depravity and debauchery, but nevertheless doesn't mention Cyclopes in this context! On Theopompos' attitude to Philip at all see: Connor 1967.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> The main ancient sources for this are Plut. *Demetr.* 17. 2; Diod. XX. 53. 1–2; Just. XV. 2. 10; for complete list and discussion: Wheatley 2001, 151–156.

 $<sup>^{30}</sup>$  Cf. again Muccioli 2013, 68–69 – with indications to other examples of the image of Cyclops being identified with cruel and unfair rulers in the political propaganda from 4-th cent. (how-

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ever, without accent on the chronological aspect of the events). In general, on 'bickering' between the Diadochs on the personalities and kingly decency of one another see: Plut. *Demetr.* 25.

## Abstract

The article is concerned with the analyses of the unofficial epithets of Antigonos I, who is known first of all as Monophthalmos – the One-Eyed (Hieronym. F. 34 = Ps.-Luc. *Macrob.* 11, 13; Polyb. V.67.7). According to the author's point of view, Antigonos initially was surnamed 'Eτερόφθαλμος after heavy injury deprived him of the eye during the siege of Perinthos in 340 BC. But after the improper story with the organizing by king (at some moment after 306 BC) of the murder of his enemy, philosopher Theocritos of Chios, who named Antigonos with scoffing alias 'The Cyclops' (Plut. *Mor.* 11b; 633c; Ael. *Var. Hist.* XII. 43; cf. Macrob. *Sat.* VII. 3. 12), he received new nickname Movóφθαλμος, which, unlike of semantically neutral 'Ετερόφθαλμος, is connected in many sources namely with the Cyclopes and was applied to no one-eyed historical persons for the exception of Antigonos I.