

THE
HELLENISTIC
SETTLEMENTS

IN THE EAST FROM
ARMENIA
AND
MESOPOTAMIA
TO
BACTRIA
AND
INDIA



GETZEL M. COHEN



In honor of beloved Virgil-

“O degli altri poeti onore e lume ...”

-Dante, Inferno

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The Hellenistic Settlements in the East from Armenia and Mesopotamia to Bactria and India

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Getzel M. Cohen



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In honor of my children and my grandchildren
“Haec sunt ornamenta mea”

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Preface

This is the third and final volume of my study of the Hellenistic settlements. It might be useful to discuss briefly the term “settlement” in the title of the present volume as well as the earlier volumes. The dictionary definition for “settlement” is quite broad. *Webster’s Third New International Dictionary*, for example, includes “occupation by settlers” (with a cross-reference to “colonization”), “a colony newly established: a place or region newly settled,” “a small village in a sparsely settled region,” “an area set apart in eastern countries for the residence of foreigners,” “a community formed by a member of a religious body or faith.” Under the definitions for “colony” the dictionary gives, for example, “a settlement made in a hostile, newly conquered, or unstable country by the parent state (the Roman colonies in Gaul),” “a settlement in a new territory enjoying a degree of autonomy or semi-responsible government without severing ties with the parent state and without attaining the more free status of a dominion,” “a group of persons united by a common characteristic or interest living in a limited section surrounded by others not so united (the American colony in Paris) (New York City’s Syrian colony) . . . ; *also*: the section or quarter occupied by such a group.” In short, the modern term “settlement” has multiple meanings and applications.

In this volume—as in previous volumes—I have taken note of places for which there is evidence for the presence or the possible presence of Greeks or Macedonians. In some places—such as SELEUKEIA on the Tigris—the settlement grew to be organized with many of the accoutrements of a *polis*. In others—such as URUK—there clearly were Greeks living at the site. On the other hand, whether or not there was actually an organized colony of Greeks at the site has been the subject of ongoing debate. In other instances—such as BISITUN—the extant evidence reflects the presence of Greeks and/or Macedonians but does not indicate whether there was actually a functioning or organized settlement there. At still other places—such as KANGAVAR or KARAFTO—the available evidence reflects or *may* reflect the presence of Greeks and/or Macedonians. Again, we do not know if there ever was a functioning colony at or near the site. A further example: Greek toponyms may very well

suggest the presence of a settlement of Greeks. But if—as is the case with BYZANTION—the toponym is our sole extant evidence, one may wonder if it simply represents the distortion of a native name. It would seem to me, therefore, that—based on the possibility that these places either were or became or might have become organized and functioning Greek or Macedonian settlements—they merit inclusion in the present volume.

A citation such as “SELEUKEIA on the Tigris” indicates a cross-reference. Note that I also use this format for references to entries that appear in the first and second volumes as well as in this one.

I have attached a set of sketch maps that I hope will assist the reader in identifying the (probable) sites of the various settlements. In addition I would call the reader’s attention to the maps and plans cited in the notes to the various entries in this volume, as well as to the maps in the *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World* (Princeton, N.J., 2000).

I generally follow the same guidelines for transliteration that I set out in the prefaces to the first and second volumes.

I am very grateful to the many friends and colleagues who have graciously offered assistance, criticism, and advice. Among these I would mention Paul Bernard, Brian Bosworth, Glen Bowersock, Kevin Butcher, Olivier Callot, Dana Clark, Susan Downey, Justine Gaborit, Mark Geller, Christian Habicht, Lise Hannestad, Amir Harrak, Olga Hart, Frank Holt, Mischa Hooker, Oliver Hoover, Arthur Houghton, Antonio Invernizzi, Benjamin Isaac, Steven Kaufman, Paul Kosmin, Brian Krit, Pierre Leriche, Georges Le Rider, Jeffrey Lerner, Rachel Mairs, Laurianne Martinez-Sève, Kristina Neumann, Daniel Potts, Kent Rigsby, Jonathan Rosen, R. J. van der Spek, and the anonymous readers for the University of California Press. I am especially grateful to Georges Rougement for generously sending me a copy of the manuscript of his important *Inscriptions grecques d’Iran et d’Asie centrale (IGIAC)* while it was still in press. Finally, I also want to call particular attention to the great debt I—and all scholars—owe to the works of W. W. Tarn and Peter M. Fraser. Of course I alone am responsible for any errors in the present work.

I am grateful to Bill Nelson for his preparation of the maps. I also want to thank the editorial staff at the University of California Press as well as Marian Rogers for their help in converting manuscript to finished product.

Once again, it is my great pleasure to acknowledge the generous support of the Classics Fund of the University of Cincinnati, which Louise Taft Semple established in memory of her father, Charles Phelps Taft.

Much of this book was written in the Classics Library of the University

of Cincinnati and at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton. I am very grateful to the staff of both these libraries for their continuing and gracious assistance.

I end this volume with the words of W. S. Gilbert (and the music of Arthur Sullivan) ringing in my ears:

The night has been long—ditto, ditto my song—And
thank goodness they're both of them over!

*Cincinnati, Ohio
December 2011*

The Sources

MESOPOTAMIA

Greek and Latin Literary Sources. The literary sources for the study of the Hellenistic settlements in Mesopotamia include what I would call the traditional Greek and Latin literary sources—notice, for example, in Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Isidore of Charax, Pliny the Elder, Plutarch, Ammianus Marcellinus, as well as Stephanos of Byzantium, early Christian travelers, and various Byzantine chroniclers.¹

Numismatic Evidence. There is evidence for minting activity at a number of places in Mesopotamia: for example, KARRHAI, EDESSA, NISIBIS, SELEUKEIA on the Tigris, and URUK. In addition, quasi-municipal coins were produced at ANTIOCH on the Kallirhoe (EDESSA) and ANTIOCH in Mygdonia (Nisibis).

Archaeological Evidence. Archaeological evidence from Hellenistic Mesopotamia is quite spotty. At APAMEIA in northern Mesopotamia, rescue excavation has revealed the outline of the city wall and demonstrated that the town was laid out on a north-south orthogonal grid.² The only site in Hellenistic Mesopotamia that has been systematically excavated is SELEUKEIA on the Tigris, and even that has been quite spotty. The University of Michigan and, more recently, the University of Turin have excavated there. The site is quite large, however, and excavation has been conducted only in selected parts of the city. Furthermore, it is important to bear in mind that archaeologists reached down to the Hellenistic level in only some of the excavated areas. At BABYLON, the earliest remains of a Greek theater date from the early Hellenistic period. In addition, Greek pottery, terracottas, and glass pastes, as well as Rhodian and Thasian amphora handles, have been found at Babylon. And in the Persian Gulf, excavation by Danish and, subsequently, French teams has revealed the existence of a previously

unknown Hellenistic presence on the island of Failaka/IKAROS. The remains of imported pottery found at these and other sites provide evidence for trade relations with the Aegean basin. At the same time, the remains of locally produced ceramic wares have been variously interpreted as reflecting strong Greek influence resulting from the settlement patterns of the Greeks (Hannestad) or from the spread of “Hellenistic tastes of the palate” (Potts). In either case, however, the driving force (the arrival of Greeks in these areas) and the result (the adoption of Greek forms) were the same.³

In addition, I would call attention to four other sources of information for Hellenistic Mesopotamia, which I list here in rough chronological order: (a) cuneiform documents, (b) seals and sealings, (c) the Babylonian Talmud,⁴ (d) the Syriac chronicles.⁵ The geographic focus of these varies somewhat. The cuneiform tablets as well as the seals and sealings are found in Babylonia (i.e., southern Mesopotamia) and provide information for that region. The Syriac chronicles give some information about northern Mesopotamia, while the Babylonian Talmud provides bits of information about towns and regions in both northern and southern Mesopotamia.

Cuneiform Documents. Babylonian culture in general and the use of cuneiform in particular were severely affected by the arrival of the Macedonians and Greeks following Alexander’s conquest.⁶ In 1931 M. San Nicolo remarked that more than 7,000 cuneiform documents dealing with juridical and administrative matters from the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. were then known, but only around 150 were attested for the third and second centuries.⁷ Discoveries since that time have increased these overall numbers but have not significantly changed the disparity in the number of documents between the earlier and later periods. This disparity is a clear reflection of the fact that following the conquest of Alexander a major change in record keeping and writing took place: clay tablets were replaced by papyri and parchment; Akkadian was replaced by Aramaic and Greek. The replacement of clay tablets by papyri and parchment was—for the historian of antiquity—unfortunate; while some of the relatively few tablets from Hellenistic Babylonia have survived, none of the far more numerous papyri and parchment from that area have. All that survives of the latter are the bullae that enclosed them. Finally, in the second century B.C. we find Greek script being used to transcribe Akkadian texts.⁸ The last datable cuneiform that has survived is the text of an astronomical diary from 75 A.D. However, it is possible that cuneiform was still being

sporadically used as late as the second or possibly even the third century A.D.⁹

Many of the surviving cuneiform tablets are from URUK. By contrast, at SELEUKEIA on the Tigris, where over 30,000 sealings have been discovered (see below), only one cuneiform tablet has thus far been published. Found in situ (though the text was written at Kutha), it is dated to 225/4 B.C.¹⁰ The cuneiform documents found at URUK deal primarily with a few types of business transactions, such as bills of sale.¹¹ As such, they are important sources of information about economic life and administration in Hellenistic Babylonia.¹² And a cuneiform text from an archive in URUK has provided the only attestation to date for a previously unknown settlement, ANTIOCH on the Ishtar Canal.¹³

In addition to the many individual cuneiform tablets recording, for example, letters, business documents, religious and literary texts, we may—somewhat arbitrarily—distinguish at least two broad categories of cuneiform texts: astronomical diaries and chronicles.¹⁴ The astronomical diaries are collections of cuneiform texts from Babylonia in which astronomical data and political events were recorded.¹⁵ The oldest extant texts date to 652/1 B.C., the most recent to 61/0 B.C. The astronomical diaries were monthly reports, filled with daily entries as observations were made.¹⁶ A typical entry would normally contain information relating to the following topics: (a) the moon, (b) planets, (c) solstices, equinoxes, and Sirius phenomena, (d) meteors, comets, etc., (e) weather, (f) the prices of commodities (actually, the purchasing power of the shekel in relation to five basic foodstuffs as well as wool), (g) the river level, and (h) historical events.¹⁷ The sections dealing with historical events are quite uneven. In the texts one frequently encounters the word *alteme*, “I heard.” And this quite accurately reflects the situation. As A.J. Sachs and H. Hunger note, the compilers of the diaries lived in Babylon and for their historical information relied on whomever or whatever they happened to hear. For the student of Hellenistic settlements the diaries and other cuneiform texts offer at least two delightful gifts: evidence for a previously unknown foundation—SELEUKEIA on the Euphrates (Babylonia)—and much interesting information about Hellenistic BABYLON and (to a lesser extent) SELEUKEIA on the Tigris.

Babylonian chronicles (i.e., chronographic texts) are essentially a subset of Mesopotamian historiography.¹⁸ The extant Babylonian chronicles focus especially on the second half of the second millennium and the first millennium down to the first century B.C.¹⁹ As A. K. Grayson points out, the documents are related from the perspective of typology, source

material, outlook, and phraseology. They represent “the highest achievement of Babylonian historians with regard to the writing of history in a reliable and objective manner.”²⁰ The texts as preserved are fragmentary; nevertheless, enough remains to indicate that if they had been completely preserved we would have a continuous native history of Babylonia from the eighth to the third century B.C.

Seals, Sealings, and Bullae. Seals were used throughout the ancient Greek world and the Near East to attest the authenticity or integrity of an attached document or object.²¹ In Hellenistic Babylonia, as elsewhere, seals were widely used to identify owners and the object or documents with which they were associated and to prevent unwarranted access to a document or container to which they were attached. The impressions made by the seals are commonly referred to as “sealings.” The sealings were made on clay or bitumen objects, most frequently on bullae or on single clay seals that were attached directly to leather, parchment, or papyrus documents. Examples of these have been found at SELEUKEIA, BABYLON, URUK, and Nippur; however, it is only at Seleukeia that these have been found in a controlled archaeological context.²² It is important to bear in mind that the documents—which were written on perishable materials—have not survived. Only the bullae, the seals, and the document sealings have survived.

“Bulla” refers to a clay envelope that was stamped by one or more seals and wrapped around a papyrus or parchment document (the term “bulla” is used somewhat incorrectly, since the Mesopotamian object that is conventionally described by modern scholars as a “bulla” has nothing in common with Roman bullae). As R. H. McDowell explains, “The written sheet was rolled or folded and tied around several times with a cord. A thick strip of clay or bitumen was then pressed over the cord to encircle the document completely. Rostovtzeff has aptly compared this form to a napkin ring.²³ While the material was still soft, seals were impressed on its outer surface. A bulla as we find it, separated from its document, is, then, a spheroidal lump with a large tube-like hole through the center. The outer face is composed of a series of facets, each bearing a seal impression. The inner surface of the ring shows a series of grooves left by the now disintegrated cord. Since many of the bullae have survived only as fragments, it is largely the presence of these grooves that enables one to distinguish a bulla fragment from a flat appended sealing. The size of a bulla was dependent upon two factors, the diameter of the rolled or folded document and the number of seals whose impressions were required.”

With the passage of time the papyrus or parchment documents that were enclosed by the bullae disintegrated or were destroyed; all that remains today are the (fragments of the) bullae. At SELEUKEIA, URUK, and Nippur the extant bullae—as well as the clay impressions—date from the early part of the third century B.C. to the middle of the second.

Rostovtzeff pointed out that the bulla was a compromise between the Babylonian and Greek systems of sealing documents. He noted that “the Babylonian system is represented by the cuneiform tablets of the Hellenistic period found . . . [in] Babylonia. . . . The seals of the contracting parties and of the witnesses were impressed into the wet clay of the tablet itself.”²⁴ On the other hand, the Greeks normally wrote on papyrus or parchment. Under the Greek system, a document written on papyrus or parchment was sealed with single clay lumps on which the seals of the contracting parties and the witnesses were impressed.

The bullae normally have one or more impressions on them. In many instances at Seleucid URUK the impressions on the bullae and single clay seals were made by the same type of seals that were impressed on cuneiform tablets.²⁵ Bullae with one or two sealings, for example, were probably documents drawn up by an individual that required a notary. Bullae with four or more sealings—the majority of those found at SELEUKEIA—normally enclosed documents that required witnesses. We can distinguish two broad categories of seal impressions: those made with the seals of private persons and those made with official seals. Some of the latter bear inscriptions mentioning a particular office or registration, while others refer to various taxes. Furthermore, the impressions on the bullae are often similar to the types—monarchs, deities, mythological figures, and symbols—found on Seleucid coins.²⁶

The discoveries of the bullae and single clay seals have provided useful and dated information about both the social and economic history of Hellenistic Babylonia and the history of its art. For example, they have shed important light on the method of registering business documents under the Seleucids.²⁷ By extension, of course, we can learn something of the nature of business transactions in these regions. In addition, many of the bullae provide information about taxation in Babylonia under the Seleucids. Finally, as Rostovtzeff has noted, the bullae “give us a glimpse into the Seleucid archives of Babylonia [and] . . . furnish us with a set of official seals well dated, which corresponds to another set of objects—the coins.”²⁸

Archaeological excavation has uncovered, among other objects, both bullae and terra-cotta figurines at Seleukeia.²⁹ Interestingly, the figurines

date from both the Seleucid and the Parthian periods; the bullae, on the other hand, date only from the Seleucid. No Parthian sealings have yet been found. The evidence is admittedly negative, but nevertheless potentially significant: it undoubtedly reflects the difference between the Seleucid and the Parthian approaches to administration and bureaucracy.

Finally, for the historian of art the study of the motifs found on the seals and bullae as well as the style of carving can also be rewarding; it is, however, a very complex exercise.³⁰ Generally speaking, scholars have been able to distinguish Greek and Oriental iconography; within the latter category—which is much smaller than the former—it is possible to distinguish Babylonian and Achaemenid types.³¹ It is interesting and instructive to try to trace the nature and extent of these influences in the extant impressions. On the other hand, it is doubtful whether one can draw any definitive conclusions about the ethnic background and composition of the population of a particular city based solely on the typology of the extant seals and bullae of that city.³²

The study of the bullae and sealings may throw some light on the Hellenization of Babylonia. It is interesting to note that at the beginning of the Seleucid hegemony in Babylonia cuneiform tablets were still the accepted method for maintaining records. By the beginning of the second century B.C. these tablets were being supplanted by papyri and parchment. Furthermore, a large number of names and motifs on the bullae and single clay seals were Greek. The Hellenizing tendency is quite clear. What is less clear is the extent to which this tendency spread among the native population.³³

Greek Inscriptions. A clay tablet from the Parthian period and inscribed in Greek has been discovered at BABYLON.³⁴ The inscription is a list of ephebes and *neoi*. Undoubtedly the tablet was inscribed by persons of Graeco-Macedonian descent. Clay tablets were, of course, the common writing material in southern Mesopotamia. Irrespective of whether the inscriber was driven by choice or necessity, the tablet offers a rather nice example of the adoption of a native practice by the descendants of the colonists.³⁵ In addition, other Greek inscriptions provide information regarding such places as SELEUKEIA on the Tigris, IKAROS, ANTIOCH in Persis, and URUK as well as BABYLON.

BACTRIA AND INDIA

Our knowledge of the Graeco-Macedonian settlements in Hellenistic Bactria is, of course, a function of the available evidence.³⁶ And here it is useful to distinguish between the evidence available for the foundations attributed to Alexander and that for those attributed to the various Graeco-Bactrian dynasts. For the former, we have the lists in the various recensions of the *Alexander Romance* and its derivatives, as well as in Stephanos.³⁷ In addition, we have the information available in the major narrative accounts of Alexander's life, namely Diodorus Siculus, Plutarch, Appian, Curtius Rufus, and Justin. For the latter, the surviving literary evidence is quite spotty.³⁸ Essentially, it is confined to observations and passages in a few authors—for example, Strabo, Pliny, and Justin—rather than occurring in a continuous narrative. Furthermore, when these authors do provide information about Bactria and adjacent regions, their focus is usually on the dynasts rather than on the settlements.

There is extensive numismatic evidence emanating from Hellenistic Bactria.³⁹ And this evidence is of the utmost importance and utility in reconstructing the history of Hellenistic Bactria and the adjoining regions. On the other hand, it is of only modest utility for the historian trying to give an account of the settlements there. In this connection we may note that it has been suggested that there were mints at, for example, AĪ KHANOUM and (possibly) ALEXANDREIA in Aria.

Archaeological excavation has demonstrated the existence of previously unknown Greek settlements at KAMPYR TEPE (Pandocheion?) in Uzbekistan and AĪ KHANOUM in Afghanistan.⁴⁰ Furthermore, ceramic evidence from AĪ Khanoum provides evidence for contact between Bactria and the Mediterranean world throughout the Hellenistic period.⁴¹ We may note, for example, the presence of Dionysiac motifs on objects found in Bactria and Sogdiana.⁴² The archaeological evidence for contacts between Bactria and regions farther west is supported by other sources. Thus, we may recall the well-known request sent by the Mauryan king Bindusara (c. 298–272 B.C.) to the Seleucid king Antiochos I (281–261 B.C.) asking the latter to send him Greek wine, figs, and a Greek philosopher! (Athen. 14.652f–653a). And elsewhere I have mentioned the dispatch of elephants by a Bactrian satrap to Antiochos I in 274/3 B.C.⁴³

Greek inscriptions have been found at various places in Bactria, especially at AĪ KHANOUM.⁴⁴ The inscriptions are on stone, on vases, and, occasionally, on parchment. P. Bernard called attention to the relative paucity of inscriptions on stone in a city like AĪ KHANOUM, which had, nevertheless, yielded so much other evidence of its Greek heritage and culture. This paucity is particularly noticeable in comparison with other

cities of the Seleucid Near East, such as Susa.⁴⁵ Bernard noted the practically total absence of public documents on stone recording, for example, letters between the king and the local authorities, or local administrative decisions. In particular, he called attention to the absence of dedications of honorific statues and decrees in honor of benefactors. Of course, as he noted, there is at least one major example of a public benefaction: the erection of the gymnasium at Ai Khanoum. But the general absence is noticeable. Setting aside the possibility that this was simply a function of chance, he suggested that the spirit of euergetism that one frequently encounters in other parts of the Seleucid empire was generally not present in Bactria—a function, perhaps, of the relatively small number of colonists in the region. Of course, it is also true, as Narain has observed, that the Greek settlers in Bactria were never able to establish a monolithic, dynastic state there as, for example, the Seleucids or the Ptolemies did in the regions under their control.⁴⁶ In any event, the general paucity of Greek inscriptions is puzzling, especially when it is contrasted with the number and high quality of the coins that were minted by the Greeks in Bactria. But whether this reflects the relatively small population of settlers, the nature of central governmental control (or absence, thereof), or chance is—as Bernard noted—impossible to say.

Finally, some Aramaic inscriptions have also been discovered in Bactria.⁴⁷

Regarding Chinese sources, D. D. Leslie and K. H. J. Gardiner observed: “Authenticity and dating of western classical sources are reasonably (but by no means finally) established, and the identification of most of the place-names accepted. As these sources deal with far away places they grow less and less reliable and by the time we get to China their knowledge is slight indeed. The same is true in reverse for the Chinese sources. Authenticity and dates have been queried, and the identifications of place-names in Central Asia and even more so in western Asia are still the subject of considerable debate . . . with no real consensus to be seen.”⁴⁸ F. Thierry also discussed the difficulties and challenges of translating, understanding, and interpreting the Chinese sources.⁴⁹ The difficulties are manifold. Thierry noted, for example: “Il est évident que des passages des textes chinois ont été corrompus par les compilateurs et par les éditeurs, mais aussi par les auteurs eux-mêmes qui n’ont pas compris les documents originaux et qui les ont interprétés” (435). “La question des noms propres, des ethnonymes et des toponymes n’est pas le moindre des dangers des textes chinois” (437). “Enfin, dans certains cas, les auteurs chinois n’ont

pas transcript, mais traduit le nom du pays ou du personnage” (439). “L’usage des idéogrammes chinois fondés sur une phonétique particulière, étrangère à celle des langues ouralo-altaïques ou indo-européennes, pour transcrire les mots xiongnu, yuezhi-kouchans sogdiens ou wusun, conduit à la nécessité d’une interprétation des suites de caractères formant des noms, des toponymes ou des ethnonymes; l’interprétation du traducteur ou du lecteur doit tenir compte de l’évolution de la langue chinoise, les caractères n’ayant généralement plus, de nos jours, la même prononciation que sous les Han. La confusion entre des caractères interchangeables ou graphiquement proches et l’usage de caractères différents mais de prononciation identiques ou similaire dans l’antiquité, mais aujourd’hui distincts, combinés avec des erreurs de copistes ou des erreurs d’éditeurs, peut conduire à des graphies aux sonorités très éloignées de tout nom connu ou probable” (442-43). For these reasons—and in the present stage of our knowledge—the Chinese sources should be used, with caution, primarily for illustrative rather than probative purposes.

1. In general for the literary sources see Cohen, *Settlements in Europe* 4-8. For the literary sources relating to the Middle Euphrates see Gaborit and Leriche in *Geographica Historica* 167-200; Gaborit, *Géographie historique* 167-98. For the sources relating to the Persian Gulf area see Teixidor in *Materialien* 289-94.

2. In general for the archaeological evidence for the Middle Euphrates see Gaborit, *Géographie historique* 299-379.

3. See, for example, L. Hannestad, *Ikaros* 2:1 84; Potts, *Mesopotamian Civilization* 296-300; P. Monsieur, R. Boucharlat, and E. Haerinck, *IrAnt* 46 (2011) 180.

4. See Cohen, *Settlements in Syria* 9-10 and literature cited there.

5. See Cohen, *Settlements in Syria* 8-9.

6. See especially www.livius.org/cg-cm/chronicles/chron00.html; Van der Spek, *Reallexikon* s.v. “Seleukiden, Seleukidenreich” (bibliography, pp. 382-83).

7. *Beiträge zur Rechtsgeschichte im Bereiche der keilschriftlichen Rechtsquellen* (Oslo, 1931) 132.

8. On the “Graeco-Babyloniaca” texts see E. Sollberger, *Iraq* 24 (1962)

63–72; M. J. Geller, *ZA* 73 (1983) 114–20; id., *ZA* 87 (1997) 43–95; id. in *Babylon: Focus mesopotamischer Geschichte* 377–83; J. A. Black and S. Sherwin-White, *Iraq* 46 (1984) 131–40; Oelsner in *Materialen* 239–44.

9. See especially Geller, *ZA* 87 (1997) 43–64; contra: A. Westenholz, *ZA* 97 (2007) 262–313, especially 292–309. On the limited nature of Hellenization in Babylonia and the persistence of Babylonian culture, see, for example, Oelsner in *Ideologies* 183–96.

10. L. T. Doty, *Mesopotamia* 13–14 (1978) 91–98; Invernizzi in *Ancient Archives* 311–12.

11. See Doty, *CA* 151f., 308f.; M. W. Stolper, *ZA* 79 (1989) 80ff.; Sherwin-White and Kuhrt, *Samarkhand* 153f.; Oelsner in *Archives* 101–12.

12. Doty, *CA* 31ff.; G. J. P. McEwen, *Texts from Hellenistic Babylonia in the Ashmolean Museum* (Oxford, 1982); S. Sherwin-White, *JNES* 42 (1983) 265–70.

13. Doty, *CA* 194–96; S. Sherwin-White, *JNES* 42 (1983) 266.

14. Of course, other cuneiform documents provide historical information concerning, for example, Alexander, the successors of Alexander, and the Seleucid rulers. (See, for example, A. J. Sachs and D. J. Wiseman, *Iraq* 16 [1954] 202–11; Grayson, *ABC* pp. 24ff., pp. 115ff.; R. J. van der Spek, *Ach. Hist.* 13 [2003] 289–346; livius.org/cg-cm/chronicles/chron00.html; J. Lending, livius.org/di-dn/diaries/astronomical_diaries.html.) The information from these documents frequently allows a more precise dating of certain historical events. For example, the duration of Seleukos Nikator's expedition to Europe and the date of his death in August/September 281 B.C. have been more accurately fixed as a result of the cuneiform evidence (Sachs and Wiseman, *Iraq* 16 [1954] 205–6; Sherwin-White, *JNES* 42 [1983] 266f.). For Seleukos's final expedition, see also the cuneiform *ABC* 12 (and commentary by Grayson, *ABC* p. 27) = *BCHP* 9 (and commentary by R. J. van der Spek) = *CM* 33.

15. See A. J. Sachs and H. Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries*; and livius.org/di-dn/diaries/astronomical_diaries.html.

16. See especially Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries* 1:11–38; R. J. van der Spek, *BiOr* 50 (1993) 91–101; id., *AfO* 44/45 (1997/1998) 167–75; R. J. van der Spek and C.A Mandemakers, *BiOr* 60 (2003) 521; M. J. Geller, *BSOAS* 53 (1990) 1–7; J. Lending, "Astronomical Diaries" in livius.org/di-dn/diaries/astronomical_diaries.html; Heller, *Das Babylonien* 81–87. See also P. Bernard, *BCH* 114 (1990) 513–41.

17. For a study of Babylonian prices see Slotsky, *Bourse of Babylon*; P.

Vargyas, *A History of Babylonian Prices in the First Millenium B.C.*, vol. 1, *Prices of the Basic Commodities* (Heidelberg, 2001); and the review of Van der Spek and Mandemakers, *BiOr* 60 (2003) 521–38 (bibliography, pp. 533–34).

18. For Babylonian chronicles see especially Grayson, *ABC* pp. 1–28. For further discussion and the secondary literature dealing with Babylonian chronicles see http://www.livius.org/cg-cm/chronicles/chron_literature.html.

19. Grayson, *ABC* 1–13; I. Finkel and R. J. van der Spek, *Babylonian Chronicles of the Hellenistic Period* (= *BCHP*), in <http://www.livius/Mesopotamia>; and J. Lending, <http://www.livius.org/cg-cm/chronicles/chron00.html>. See also (earlier) S. Smith, *BHT*.

20. *ABC* p. 8.

21. In general see M. Rostovtzeff, *YCS* 3 (1932) 5–91; Aymard, *Etudes* 178–81 (= *REA* 40 [1938] 5–9); Wallenfels, *Uruk* 1–5; id. in *Archives* 113–29 (URUK); Naster in *Essays Thompson* 215–19 (URUK); Invernizzi in *Arabie orientale* 27–30; id. in *Ancient Archives* 302–20; Oelsner in *Archives* 101–12 (BABYLON); Mollo in *Sceaux d' Orient* 89–107 (SELEUKEIA on the Tigris).

22. Sealings of the kind found in Babylonia have thus far not been found in excavations in northern Mesopotamia; see Invernizzi in *Ancient Archives* 309. In 1932, Rostovtzeff observed that not one bulla had been found at DOURA EUROPOS (*YCS* 3 [1932] 17 and n. 14). He also noted that “no clay medallions with seal-impressions were found at Dura and ... no one of the parchments and papyri found at Dura shows any traces of ever having been sealed.” Note, however, *P. Dura* 28, a parchment that was found in February 1933 that contains a Syriac deed of sale dated to 243 A.D.; it has a seal with an image that has been identified as that of Gordian III. In a personal communication Pierre Leriche, who has excavated at Doura Europos since 1986, informs me that during the Franco-Syrian excavations “on n’a pas trouvé d’empreinte de sceaux” there.

23. *SIOS* 2, referring to Rostovtzeff, *YCS* 3 (1932) 24.

24. *YCS* 3 (1932) 23f.

25. Rostovtzeff, *YCS* 3 (1932) 9, 18. Rostovtzeff, *YCS* 3 (1932) 9, 18.

26. See Rostovtzeff, *YCS* 3 (1932) 26–48 (catalogue) and 3–25, 49–91; McDowell, *SIOS* 36–126 (catalogue), 25–35, 127–208. For the sealings found at SELEUKEIA on the Tigris, see that entry, n. 12.

27. Rostovtzeff, *YCS* 3 (1932) 72–91.

28. YCS 3 (1932) 25; and A. Invernizzi, AAAS 21 (1971) 105f.
29. For bullae found at Seleukeia see SELEUKEIA on the Tigris and n. 12; on the terracotta figurines, see that entry, n. 25.
30. McDowell, *SIOS* 209–20; A. Invernizzi, AAAS 21 (1971) 105f.; and id. in *Arabie orientale* 28f.; for illustrations of bullae and sealings, see, for example, Rostovtzeff, YCS 3 (1932) pls. following p. 114; McDowell, *SIOS*, pls. at end; Invernizzi in *Ach. Hist.* 8:357.
31. Invernizzi in *Ach. Hist.* 8:353ff.
32. See SELEUKEIA on the Tigris, n. 12.
33. Cf. Rostovtzeff, YCS (1932) 90–91; and Sherwin-White and Kuhrt, *Samarkhand* 149.
34. B. Haussoullier, *Klio* 9 (1909) 352–53 = *SEG* 7:39 = *I. Estremo Oriente* 107; see also Sherwin-White and Kuhrt, *Samarkhand* 157.
35. For the absence or paucity of stone or marble in the Middle East and the challenge this presented to the Greeks wishing to inscribe something see Haussoullier, *Klio* 9 (1909) 11.
36. See, for example, Krit্ত, *Bactria*; Holt, *Thundering Zeus* 48–60, 67–86.
37. For the foundations attributed to Alexander one should consult in particular Fraser, *Cities*; and Billerbeck's edition of Stephanos, as well as Droysen, *Hist.* 2:748–54; Berve, *Alexanderreich* 1:291–301; Tarn, *Alexander* 2:232–59; and below, pp. 35–38, 339.
38. See, for example, Holt, *Thundering Zeus* 55–60.
39. See, for example, Bopearachchi, *SNG ANS* 9; id., *Monnaies gréco-bactriennes*; id. in *De l'Indus* 81–108, 129–68; and id. in *Greek Archaeology* 109–26; Krit্ত, *Bactria*; Holt, *Thundering Zeus* 67–125; Cribb in *Afghanistan ancien carrefour* 207–26; and bibliographies in each of these.
40. For archaeology in central Asia see, for example, Allchin and Hammond, *Archaeology of Afghanistan*; Ball and Gardin, *Gazetteer Afghanistan*; V. A. Gaibov, G. A. Koshelenko, G. V. Trebeleva, *Parthica* 12 (2010) 107–16; Mairs, *Hellenistic Far East* (central Asia and India).
41. See, for example, Gardin in *De l'Indus aux Balkans* 447–60; id. in *Akten XIII Kong.* 187–93. See also Ball and Gardin, *Gazetteer Afghanistan* passim; Gardin, *Prospections* 3: passim; and B. Brentjes, *Das Alttertum* 27 (1981) 133–46.
42. See, for example, Abdullaev in *Afghanistan ancien carrefour* 227–57.

43. P. 20.

44. For collections of inscriptions see, for example, Canali De Rossi, *I. Estremo Oriente*; Merkelbach and Stauber, *Steinepigramme*; Coloru, *Da Alessandro* 287–93; Merkelbach and Stauber, *Euphrat*; and Rougement, *IGIAC*. In general, see the useful overview with bibliographic references by Bernard in *Greek Archaeology* 75–108; see also Rapin in *De l'Indus aux Balkans* 375–76; and Rougement in *Afghanistan ancien carrefour* 127–36.

45. In *Greek Archaeology* 92–93.

46. Narain, *CAH*² 8:415.

47. See, for example, C. Rapin, *BCH* (1983) 347, no. 28.

48. *T'oung Pao* 68.4–5 (1982) 264.

49. In *Afghanistan ancien carrefour* 421–539, especially 421–46. For similar concerns, see also Fraser, *Cities* 232–34.

An Overview

ARMENIA

Media Atropatene and Armenia were located on the northwest border of the Iranian plateau. Both regions were under Achaemenid control and, hence, will have nominally passed to Alexander after the Macedonian king conquered the Persian Empire.¹ Nevertheless, there is no firm evidence that Alexander founded any settlement in Armenia. Although Appian claimed (*Syr.* 55) that Armenia was one of the territories under Seleukos I Nikator's rule, there is no general agreement as to its status.² In any event, the only settlement that can be attributed to a Seleucid monarch with any degree of probability is EPIPHANEIA on the Tigris.

MESOPOTAMIA AND THE GULF REGION

In many respects Hellenistic northern Mesopotamia represents an extension of Syria. Just as Macedonian regional names were transferred to Syria, so an area of northern Mesopotamia was renamed "Mygdonia," a reflection of the strong Macedonian presence in the region (Strabo 16.1.23).³ By contrast, there is no area in southern Mesopotamia or in regions beyond the Tigris that was given a Macedonian regional name.⁴ Furthermore, the minting of quasi-municipal coinage, which is found under Antiochos IV Epiphanes and later in southeastern Anatolia, northern Syria, and Phoenicia, is also found in northern Mesopotamia (at EDESSA/ANTIOCH on the Kallirhoe and ANTIOCH in Mygdonia).⁵ This represents the farthest point east for the minting of these types of coin.⁶ The contrast with southern Mesopotamia and regions farther east is noteworthy. There certainly were Seleucid foundations in these areas. Furthermore, we do find evidence for royal Seleucid mints at various cities (e.g., SELEUKEIA on the Tigris, SELEUKEIA on the Eulaios, Persepolis, EKBATANA, and HEKATOMPYLOS). Nevertheless, there is no extant evidence that any town or settlement there minted any kind of local bronze coinage. As O. Mørholm observed, this coin type "did not penetrate into

the East.”⁷

In 1927 M. Rostovtzeff observed that “the centre of the Seleucid Empire was made up of the former kingdoms of Babylonia and Assyria” and that the intense colonization of Syria, Mesopotamia, and Parapotamia was “intended to transform the kernel of their kingdom into a new Macedonia.”⁸ In the latter part of the twentieth century the centrality of Mesopotamia for the Seleucids was reemphasized by, among others, Susan Sherwin-White and Amélie Kuhrt as well as Pierre Briant.⁹ They focused on the Middle Eastern context. In the introduction to their book, *From Samarkhand to Sardis*, Sherwin-White and Kuhrt commented: “The title of this book expresses our firmly held view that the Seleucid empire was an eastern empire centered in the middle east, particularly the ‘Fertile Crescent’, i.e., Mesopotamia and north Syria and western Iran. These areas formed . . . the core of the Seleucid kings’ huge realm. From this perspective, Asia Minor in the west and Central Asia in the east constituted the outer frontiers of the kingdom, as had been the case for the Achaemenids.”¹⁰ And Briant pointed out: “Seleucus chose to set up the centre of his power in Babylonia, thus clearly declaring . . . that his priorities were not located on the Mediterranean. This represents an indisputable continuity with the Achaemenid period.”¹¹ While there has been much discussion about Sherwin-White and Kuhrt’s book and its conclusions, the fundamental thesis about the importance and centrality of the area of the Fertile Crescent for the Seleucid realm is especially noteworthy.¹² And in this context, Mesopotamia—whether as a “new Macedonia” or as the heart of a new “eastern empire”—will have taken pride of place.

Strabo described northern Mesopotamia as “quite fertile” (16.1.23), but it was southern Mesopotamia—that is, Babylonia—that, according to Strabo, was a particularly rich agricultural area and quite populous (16.1.14, 15.3.5). Trade was also a significant revenue source for Mesopotamia. Mesopotamia, after all, was a crossroads between the Mediterranean and the Iranian plateau as well as the Persian Gulf. Not surprisingly, important transit routes—both east-west and north-south—crisscrossed the region.¹³ But here a caveat is in order: we have relatively little direct literary information about travel routes in and through Mesopotamia during the Hellenistic period. If the direct literary evidence for Hellenistic routes in this region is sparse, we can look backward and forward to try to get some idea of the situation as it existed both before and after. Of course in doing so we must remain aware that over time—because of, for example, a changed geopolitical environment or new

trading patterns—the routes themselves could change. Let us first review briefly the evidence for trade routes to and through Mesopotamia in the periods before and after the Hellenistic age.

There is cuneiform evidence from the second and first millennia B.C. for trade routes in Mesopotamia.¹⁴ In this connection, A. L. Oppenheim has suggested that the embarkation point for Euphrates river traffic originating on the Mediterranean coast was Emar in the second millennium and possibly Carchemish during the first.¹⁵ In the neo-Assyrian period a road ran west from Nisibis to Gozan and Karrhai and then on to Arpad in north Syria. Another road ran south from Nisibis along the Khabour River and joined the road along the Euphrates to Babylon.¹⁶ We also have some information about the Persian Royal Road system. The exact route of the great Persian Royal Road from Sardis to Susa is still unclear. Depending on whether one adheres to the “northern route” or the “southern route” hypothesis, the road will apparently have crossed the Euphrates either at SAMOSATA or (the later) SELEUKEIA on the Euphrates/Zeugma.¹⁷ In addition to the great road, there were, of course, other routes. For example, an Aramaic document provides information about an itinerary that encompassed travel from Arbela to Damascus.¹⁸

Strabo, who lived in the latter part of the first century B.C./early first century A.D., described a route from Syria to Seleukeia and Babylon that crossed the Euphrates near ANTHEMOUSIAS.¹⁹ From the Parthian period we get information for transit routes from Isidore of Charax, who apparently lived in the early first century A.D. He described a caravan route that ran southward from Zeugma to ANTHEMOUSIAS, ALAGMA, and ICHNAI and then down along the Euphrates to Seleukeia on the Tigris.²⁰ In the later Roman period we find evidence in, among others, Ptolemy, the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, and the Geographer of Ravenna.²¹ The sum total of these various sources indicates the existence of an extensive network of land and riverine (in particular, the Euphrates) routes throughout Mesopotamia both before and after and presumably, therefore, during the Hellenistic period.

In the fifth and fourth centuries the major crossing of the Euphrates for routes originating on the Mediterranean coast was apparently at Thapsakos (the precise location of which is still a matter of discussion).²² From there caravan routes proceeded eastward across Mesopotamia to the Tigris or southward on (or along) the Euphrates to Babylon. Herodotus (1.185, 194), for example, mentions the transport of jars of Phoenician wine—among other products—down the Euphrates (though he does not specifically mention Thapsakos).²³

In 437/6 B.C. the Athenian Diotimos sailed to Cilicia on his way to Susa. From Cilicia he apparently traveled overland to the Euphrates, sailed downstream on the Euphrates, and then proceeded on to Susa.²⁴ Thapsakos is where Cyrus the Younger and the 10,000 Greek mercenaries crossed the Euphrates in 401 B.C. on their way to Babylon.²⁵ In 396, when Conon wanted to have an audience with the Persian king, he traveled overland from Cilicia to Thapsakos and then proceeded by boat down the Euphrates to Babylon (Diod. 14.81.4). When Alexander was pursuing Darius he crossed the Euphrates at Thapsakos and then continued eastward to Arbela (Arr. 3.7.1). And in 324 B.C., when the Macedonian king wanted boats brought from Phoenicia to Babylon, he had them broken up and transported overland to Thapsakos. They were then reassembled and sailed downstream on the Euphrates to Babylon (Arr. 7.19.3). In the Hellenistic period, SELEUKEIA on the Euphrates/Zeugma emerged as an important city and apparently supplanted Thapsakos as the primary crossing.²⁶ A useful source in this regard is Polybius, who records Antiochos III's pursuit of Molon in 221 B.C. The king crossed the Euphrates—apparently at Seleukeia—and then marched eastward to ANTIOCH in Mygdonia (Polyb. 5.43, 51). Coming down to the first century B.C., we also know that in his pursuit of the Parthians, Crassus crossed the Euphrates at Zeugma (Plutarch *Crassus* 19).

If there is little direct literary evidence for Hellenistic roads, we can deduce the existence of certain routes by plotting out the locations of the various settlements. For example, a glance at a map confirms the existence of a string of settlements—EDESSA/ANTIOCH on the Kallirhoe, KARRHAI, NIKEPHORION, and ANTIOCH in Mygdonia—running eastward toward the Tigris from SELEUKEIA on the Euphrates/Zeugma. On both banks of the Euphrates (that is, in both Syria and Mesopotamia) we find a series of settlements beginning with SAMOSATA in the north and ending with SELEUKEIA on the Tigris. And various settlements east and south of Seleukeia connected it with the overland routes eastward to Susiana and beyond or southward, to the Persian Gulf.

While we distinguish between Syria and Mesopotamia, it is useful to bear in mind that in antiquity “Syria” could be used in a larger sense to designate an area that included regions east of the Euphrates. Strabo (16.1.1-2), for example, mentioned that historically the name “Syria” included Babylonia. And Stephanos (s.v.) said that EDESSA and ANTHEMOUSIAS—which were, of course, located in Mesopotamia—were located in Syria.²⁷

Seleucid policy in (northern) Mesopotamia was quite similar to that encountered in Syria—namely, fill the region with Graeco-Macedonian

settlers and settlements. As Rostovtzeff observed, “Syria and Mesopotamia were to be made a second Macedonia, but a Macedonia of cities and fortresses, not of tribes and villages.”²⁸ And like Syria, Mesopotamia was filled by Seleukos I with settlements that in most cases took their names from Greece and Macedonia (App. Syr. 57).

We may briefly review the history of Mesopotamia after the death of Alexander. Here it is useful to bear in mind that Mesopotamia, “the land between the rivers,” was really two extensive regions: the northern part, ancient Assyria; and the southern, Babylonia.²⁹

After the conference at Triparadeisos in Syria in 321 B.C., Amphimachos received Mesopotamia; and Seleukos, Babylonia.³⁰ The former was an ally of Eumenes of Cardia.³¹ The death of Eumenes after his defeat at the battle of Gabiene at the hands of Antigonos Monophthalmos in 316/5 B.C. significantly changed the geopolitical situation in Mesopotamia.³² After the battle, Antigonos seized Babylonia from Seleukos; he then appointed Peithon son of Agenor satrap of Babylonia and possibly Mesopotamia as well.³³ Northern Mesopotamia remained under the hegemony of Antigonos, but Babylonia returned to Seleukos after he recaptured it in a daring raid in 312 B.C.³⁴ Antigonos continued to fight in Babylonia until c. 308, when, defeated by Seleukos, he retired from the region and left it under the control of the latter.³⁵ From this point until the battle of Ipsos the region was apparently divided: although the boundary between the two cannot be precisely determined, it would appear that Antigonos controlled northern Mesopotamia, and Seleukos, the southern part.³⁶

It is worth noting that despite the fact that Antigonos controlled northern Mesopotamia beginning in 316 B.C., he maintained his primary residence at Kelainai in Phrygia for many years, and that when he did found a major new settlement—ANTIGONEIA—he chose to locate it in northern Syria.³⁷ Furthermore, there is no unequivocal evidence he founded any settlements in Mesopotamia. The only possible claimant—KARRHAI—is disputed. Some scholars attribute it to Antigonos; others, to Alexander. All the other settlements founded by Antigonos—with the possible exception of EUROPOS Rhagai in Media (also a doubtful attribution)—were located either in northern Syria or in Asia Minor.³⁸ The contrast with Seleukos could not be stronger.

Before the battle of Ipsos in 301 B.C., Seleukos’s empire was centered in Babylonia. Up to this time, Babylonia, in fact, was the westernmost point of his kingdom. After Ipsos, Seleukos came into control of, among other areas, northern Mesopotamia and northern Syria. Now, for the first time, he had access to the Mediterranean. As is well known, he immediately

embarked on a major settlement founding program in northern Syria.³⁹ But, as I have mentioned, he also focused a great deal of attention on northern Mesopotamia as well as other regions farther east, a point emphasized by Appian (*Syr.* 57). At the same time that he was filling northern Syria with settlements, he was doing the same in northern Mesopotamia. Whereas northern Syria was sparsely populated and little developed in the years before Alexander, Babylonia was home to an ancient and highly developed urban civilization. It will not be surprising, therefore, that the major Hellenistic settlement of the region—SELEUKEIA on the Tigris—was founded at the expense of a nearby city, BABYLON . The importance of Babylonia in the Hellenistic period becomes clear if we consider the role its chief city played under Alexander the Great and, later, under the Seleucids.⁴⁰ It was at Babylon that Alexander spent his last year(s), organizing his realm and planning future enterprises.⁴¹ Of course, it is also not insignificant that he died there. The centrality of Babylonia for control of the Near East continued under Seleukos I. He, of course, began his political career as the governor of Babylonia in 321 B.C., lost control of it to Antigonos in 315, and then regained control in 312.⁴² Babylon and Babylonia, which had remained loyal to Seleukos during his struggles with Antigonos, would now serve as the core of his expanding empire.⁴³

Babylon was a key historical and commercial focal point of the ancient Near East. It was located at the place where the Tigris and Euphrates are closest together and where one of the routes connecting Mesopotamia with the Iranian plateau opens up.⁴⁴ It will not be surprising, therefore, that over time a number of cities—for example, BABYLON, SELEUKEIA on the Tigris, KTESIPHON, Vologesias, Veh-Ardashir, and finally, Baghdad—were established in this general area. Seleukos made SELEUKEIA on the Tigris—ultimately the successor city of Babylon—the eastern capital of his kingdom. Cuneiform documents of the Seleucid period describe Seleukeia as the “city of kingship,” a clear indication of its importance. Seleukeia on the Tigris was the great terminus for trade with central Asia, India, and Arabia. Its importance as a commercial center is also to be seen in the very active mint that was established there. The Indian trade brought goods to Seleukeia via both the Persian Gulf and a land route through the Iranian plateau. Of course, these roads also provided the means for military communication between parts of the empire. The importance of Babylonia as a vital trade link between east and west can be seen, for example, in the cuneiform *Astronomical Diaries* (1:345, no. 273B Rev. 31), which records how the Babylonian satrap served as an intermediary for elephants sent from Bactria to the king fighting in Syria in 274/3 B.C.⁴⁵ G.

Le Rider called attention to the increase in Seleukeian bronzes at Susa during the reign of Antiochos III and suggested that this reflected the new commercial realities created by the Seleucid king's presence in these regions in 205–204 B.C.⁴⁶ He correctly attributed the increase in Seleukeian bronzes at Susa to the presence of Seleukeian merchants there and saw this as a reflection of Susa's role as an important market for goods coming from Arabia and India.

Moving northward from Seleukeia, a major trade route ran north on and along the Euphrates to SELEUKEIA/Zeugma and thence overland across Syria to the Mediterranean coast. I have already mentioned that settlements such as those at NIKEPHORION (Raqqah), ANTHEMOUSIAS, and APAMEIA on the east bank and DOURA EUROPOS, AMPHIPOLIS [?], JEBEL KHALID, and SELEUKEIA/Zeugma on the west bank protected these roads and the crossings to Syria.⁴⁷ Finally, the fact that a number of Seleukeians are found taking part in agonistic contests at various places in the Greek world suggests that they (or others) also engaged in commercial enterprises with the Mediterranean and Aegean worlds.⁴⁸

I would also mention the Persian Gulf. As is well known, in 325 B.C. Alexander ordered Nearchos to sail from the mouth of the Indus River along the coast of Gedrosia to the Persian Gulf (Arr. 7.20.9–10). From Arrian and Strabo we learn that in 324/3 B.C. Alexander sent out three small expeditions to explore the Arabian coast and that he planned to colonize the coastal region and the offshore islands because he thought the area would become as prosperous as Phoenicia.⁴⁹ And as is also well known, at the end of his great *anabasis* to the eastern regions of his empire, Antiochos III visited the Persian Gulf area, and in particular the Arabian city of Gerrha.⁵⁰ There was apparently a third expedition in the Gulf, this one under Antiochos IV Epiphanes (Pliny *NH* 6.147, 152).⁵¹

The interest of Alexander and the Seleucids in the Persian Gulf is reflected by, among other things, the presence of a number of settlements in and around the Gulf: the extant evidence indicates the presence of settlements at the head of the Gulf (ALEXANDREIA/ANTIOCH/Spasinou Charax), on the Iranian shore (ANTIOCH in Persis), and in the Gulf itself (the island of IKAROS). The exact location of SELEUKEIA on the Erythraean Sea is still not known.

Pliny provides additional information. Thus, he mentions two small ports or stations on the Iranian coast of the Persian Gulf—PORTUS MACEDONUM and the ALTARS OF ALEXANDER (*NH* 6.110).⁵² Pliny also mentions ARETHOUSA, LARISA, and CHALKIS in Arabia. In this connection, J.-F. Salles has suggested that the Seleucids maintained a

permanent fleet in the Persian Gulf and that settlements/garrisons or ports were established on the coast at various points to service the vessels. Arethousa, Larisa, and Chalkis would fall in this category. But, as Salles admitted, the suggestion will probably remain unverifiable.⁵³ There is, however, an additional problem regarding these three settlements: it is not clear whether Pliny erred in placing them in Arabia rather than in Syria.⁵⁴

If there is no firm evidence for Greek settlement on the Arabian coast, there are (scattered) material remains from a number of sites in eastern Arabia that provide some evidence for ties between the region and the rest of the Greek world: for example, at Mleiha on the Omani peninsula a few Rhodian stamped amphora handles (second century B.C.) have been found.⁵⁵ At BAHRAIN, archaeologists have found evidence for Greeks and Babylonians. Among other things, they have found four Greek inscriptions as well as a potsherd and a gourd with Greek writing on each. The Greek inscriptions include a dedication of a temple made on behalf of King Hyspaosines and Queen Thalassia by the “strategos of Tylos and the Islands” to the Dioskouroi Saviors and a fragmentary tombstone inscription probably dating to the second half of the second century B.C. that honors a *kybernetes* with the Babylonian name Abidistaras. Another fragmentary funerary inscription that is dated by the Seleucid era to 118/7 B.C. honors someone with the Semitic name Auidisaros who is identified as an “Alexandreian.” A funerary jar (?) that contains an Aramaic inscription mentioning the Babylonian god Nabu and that may date to the fourth or third century B.C. has also been found.⁵⁶ The most important commercial center in eastern Arabia during the Hellenistic period was Gerrha.⁵⁷ In the Aegean basin there is epigraphic evidence for a merchant from Gerrha at Delos in the mid-second century B.C.⁵⁸ At Thaj (the probable site of Gerrha) sherds of Greek black-glazed pottery and a stamped amphora handle have been found.⁵⁹ A significant number of coins—mainly dating to the latter half of the third century B.C.—have been found (practically all picked up as surface finds) in northeastern Arabia. Many have the legend ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ and south Arabian letters on the reverse. Some of these were modeled after Alexander coinage—that is, with the head of Herakles on the obverse, Zeus seated in his throne on the reverse. Others have on the obverse diademed portraits that resemble various Seleucid rulers: for example, Seleukos I, Antiochos I, or Antiochos III.⁶⁰ The interpretation of these coins in the larger historical context has been the subject of an interesting discussion. Mørkholm noted that the coins were minted on the Attic standard and suggested this indicates that trade from eastern Arabia was primarily oriented toward the Seleucid empire. Furthermore, he

suggested that the fact these “Arabian Alexanders” have been found on Failaka, at Susa (SELEUKEIA on the Eulaios), in northern Syria, and at Gordion in central Asia Minor demonstrates the route(s) on which the trade was being conducted. M. Huth and D. T. Potts disagreed. They suggested that the appearance of these coins in Syria and Phrygia simply reflects the movement of Antiochos III’s troops into Asia Minor after his expedition to the Persian Gulf area.⁶¹

ASSYRIA AND APOLLONIATIS

Apolloniatis (formerly called Sittakene), which Strabo describes as “extensive and fertile,”⁶² introduces a unique problem for the historian interested in the Hellenistic settlements in the Near East: the need to distinguish the Graeco-Macedonian settlements founded by Alexander and his successors from the colonies of Greeks and others that owed their origins to the population transfers carried out by the Persians, particularly in the early part of the fifth century B.C. At that time—especially under Darius and Xerxes—population transfer as a punitive measure was a standard policy of the Achaemenids.⁶³ Essentially, this policy resulted in Greeks and others being exiled to the interior and especially to the far eastern and southern regions of the Persian Empire.⁶⁴ It brought Barcaeans from Libya to Bactria (Hdt. 4.204), Paeonians to Asia (Hdt. 5.12), Milesians and others to the Red Sea basin (Hdt. 3.39, 6.20; Ctesias *Persika* 688 F14[43]) and Bactria (Branchidae: table of contents to Diodorus book 17 and Curt. Rufus 7.5.28–35, on which see Altheim-Stiehl, *Geschichte* 158–59; P. Bernard, *Aï Khanoum* 4:123–25), Eretrians from Euboea to Susiana (Hdt. 6.119; *Pal. Anth.* 7:259), Media (Philostratus *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* 1.24.2 = *Pal. Anth.* 7:256), and/or Gordyene in northern Mesopotamia (Strabo 16.1.25), Boeotians to Sittakene/Apolloniatis (Diod. 17.110.4–5), and Carians to the right bank of the Tigris, opposite Sittakene (Arr. 3.8.5; see also Diod. 17.110.3–4 and 19.12.1), as well as to Bactria (Strabo 11.11.4).⁶⁵

As a result, when Alexander and his successors came to these various regions in and adjacent to Mesopotamia as well as those farther east, they encountered the descendants of those Greeks who had been sent there by the Persians two hundred or more years before and who still remained identifiably Greek. Thus, in describing some of the Boeotians in Sittakene, Diodorus noted: “There dwells here down to our time [i.e., latter half of the first century B.C.] a settlement of Boeotians who were moved in the time of Xerxes’ campaign, but still have not forgotten their ancestral

customs. They are bilingual and speak like the natives in one language, while in the other they preserve most of the Greek vocabulary, and they maintain some Greek customs” (17.110.4–5, trans. Welles).

This raises an interesting problem for the historian of the Hellenistic Near East: there are a number of settlements in Mesopotamia and Apolloniatis that are described by Isidore of Charax in the first century A.D. as *poleis hellenides*.⁶⁶ How many of these were settlements of Greeks that were established during the Hellenistic age, and how many were vestiges of the Achaemenid policy of population transfer? In some cases the paucity of the evidence does not allow us decide. As a result, in the absence of other extant information about these towns, we must consider the possibility that in some cases their “Hellenic character” reflected the forced settlement of Greeks by the Persians in the fifth century rather than the settlement practice of either Alexander or the Seleucids.

We actually find relatively more settlements in this region—for example, ANTIOCH, APOLLONIA, ARTEMITA, and CHALA—than in the most areas of the Iranian plateau on the other side of the Zagros Mountains. None were apparently of any great importance.⁶⁷

THE IRANIAN PLATEAU

In any discussion of the Hellenistic Near East, it immediately becomes clear that once we cross the Tigris and move east the environment begins to change in a number of ways. I have already mentioned that the minting of quasi-municipal coinage, which is found in southeastern Anatolia, northern Syria, and Phoenicia, as well as northern Mesopotamia, is not attested in southern Mesopotamia, Iran, or any other point farther east. The territory east of the Tigris that Seleukos Nikator initially controlled was immense. The farther east beyond the Tigris that the Greeks and Macedonians went the fewer there were of them and the more difficult it was for them to come over from the Greek mainland. Furthermore, the Iranian plateau and central Asia encompass a vast area.⁶⁸ One thinks, incidentally, of the colonial French in the great stretches of what they called the “pays d’en haut” of North America during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—that is, the land upriver from Montreal or, roughly, western Ontario, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin.⁶⁹ French explorers, hunters, and traders roamed over this region. The names of numerous towns and cities in this regions (and beyond) recall their presence: for example, Presque Isle (Pennsylvania), Belpre—originally, Belle Prairie—(Ohio), Detroit and Sault Ste. Marie (Michigan), Terre

Haute, French Lick, and Versailles (Indiana), La Salle (Illinois), Eau Claire and Marquette (Wisconsin), and so on. But in most cases the toponyms are all that remain as witnesses of the French presence. Why is this? There are, of course, many reasons and numerous explanations. Most of the French operating in these regions were traders and hunters, not settlers. Furthermore, the French colonial officials never followed a cohesive policy to encourage settlement of this area. Their apparent avoidance of a clearly articulated settlement policy may also reflect, among other things, a harsh demographic fact: there were not enough Frenchmen available (or willing) to settle this vast area.

Like the French in North America, there were not enough Graeco-Macedonian settlers to fill the vast stretches of the Iranian plateau and central Asia.⁷⁰ A glance at a map of the Iranian plateau makes clear both the extraordinarily large area under consideration and the relative paucity of Hellenistic settlements in most parts of it. The contrast with Syria is quite striking. Furthermore, climate and geography will have made this region much less attractive to Greeks and Macedonians than, for example, Syria and Phoenicia. By comparison with the moderate Mediterranean climate of Syria and Phoenicia, the continental climate of the Iranian plateau and central Asia is harsh: hot, dry summers and cold winters.⁷¹ Furthermore, the Iranian plateau is mostly rocky and dry; it has two salt deserts in the center and is surrounded by mountain ranges that extend well into much of central Asia.⁷²

In addition, we should bear in mind the geopolitical context.⁷³ In recent years scholars have correctly reemphasized the importance of Mesopotamia and especially Babylonia in the Seleucid realm.⁷⁴ Nevertheless, we should not forget that in 300 B.C., immediately after his conquest of northern Syria, Seleukos made the conscious decision to establish four major settlements there, including the foundation that was destined to become the capital of his kingdom, ANTIOCH near Daphne. Despite the establishment of Antiochos I in SELEUKEIA on the Tigris as coruler, the net effect of that decision focused Seleucid attention westward and undoubtedly weakened Seleucid authority beyond the Tigris, namely, in Iran and especially points farther east. One thinks of Edmund Burke's observation in his "Speech on Conciliation with America," which he delivered on March 22, 1775: "The last cause of this disobedient spirit in the [American] colonies is hardly less powerful than the rest, as it is not merely moral, but laid deep in the natural constitution of things. Three thousand miles of ocean lie between you and them. No contrivance can prevent the effect of this distance in weakening government. Seas roll, and months pass, between the order and the execution; and the want of a

speedy explanation of a single point is enough to defeat a whole system. . . . In large bodies, the circulation of power must be less vigorous at the extremities. Nature has said it. The Turk cannot govern Egypt, and Arabia, and Kurdistan, as he governs Thrace; nor has he the same dominion in Crimea and Algiers which he has at Brusa and Smyrna. . . . The Sultan gets such obedience as he can. He governs with a loose rein, that he may govern at all; and the whole of the force and vigour of his authority in his centre is derived from a prudent relaxation in all his borders. Spain, in her provinces, is perhaps not so well obeyed as you are in yours. This is the immutable condition, the eternal law, of extensive and detached empire.” What affected the Turkish sultan doubtless affected the Seleucid kings as well.

At least two other factors increased the difficulty of controlling the regions beyond the Tigris in the course of the third century B.C.: the restlessness and unhappiness of the Greeks in central Asia (on which, see below), the continuing warfare between the Seleucids and the Ptolemies—the so-called Syrian Wars—and the intermittent outbreaks of internecine warfare such as the “War of the Brothers.” Not surprisingly, various Macedonian generals in these eastern areas took advantage of these preoccupations in order to separate themselves and their fiefdoms from central Seleucid control (Strabo 11.11.1, 15.1.3).⁷⁵ It was only at the very end of the third century that a Seleucid monarch—Antiochos III—attempted to reassert royal control over these areas. Antiochos was successful, if only briefly. Soon after his defeat at Magnesia in 190 B.C. the Seleucids permanently lost control of large areas in the east—Bactria and the adjacent regions. Most of Iran remained under Seleucid hegemony during the first half of the second century B.C. In Media, it will be recalled, Antiochos IV Epiphanes refounded Ekbatana as an EPIPHANEIA. Nevertheless, the combined pressure of a native uprising under Epiphanes in Elymais followed by Parthian incursions in Elymais and Media further weakened the royal presence there until, finally, in 129 B.C. the Seleucids permanently lost control of all their territory beyond the Euphrates.

E. Bickerman has correctly pointed out that we probably know less about the native Iranians under Hellenistic rule than we do about the indigenous inhabitants of, for example, Babylonia, Syria, or Phoenicia: contemporary records were written on perishable materials (e.g., leather, wood, and papyrus); furthermore, very few Greek inscriptions have thus far been found.⁷⁶ There are a number of monuments, bas-reliefs, and statues that recall the Graeco-Macedonian presence in these areas, but a memorial or monument does not necessarily indicate the existence of a Hellenistic settlement. The reception of the Hellenistic Greeks in the

region of the Iranian plateau also presents a rather well-defined contrast with areas farther to the west. Thus, E. Yarshater has observed that the impact of the Greeks “produced in Iran a result differing from that in Syria, Asia Minor, and Egypt. Hellenism in these countries had a full flowering and spread a new form of culture; in Iran it remained only an influence—albeit a strong one. In other words, Iran did not lose its basic identity and did not abandon its own cultural traits, embodied above all in its religion. It soon attempted to pull away from the West. . . . Hellenism, which had been superimposed on latent national tendencies, was cast off in a movement initiated by the Parthians and carried out by the Sasanians.”⁷⁷ This is not to deny any Greek influence in the region. Quite the contrary. Thus, when the Parthians came to power they struck coins patterned after Seleucid models, complete with Greek legends. Furthermore, it useful to bear in mind that the Seleucid dynasty itself was half-Iranian in origin: Seleukos I Nikator had married Apama, the daughter of the Bactrian Spitamenes (Arr. 7.4.6). Thus, their son, Antiochos I Soter, was half-Iranian. But all these examples reflect the upper and ruling classes. The extent of the influence on the general population remains doubtful. In this context we may recall W. W. Tarn’s observation that the Greek and Macedonian settlers generally remained in the settlements and did not go out into the countryside.⁷⁸

I have already alluded to some of the factors that will have discouraged heavy colonization on the Iranian plateau. Nevertheless, there was a relatively strong concentration of Hellenistic settlements in northwestern (and, to a lesser degree, northeastern) Iran.⁷⁹ This is especially noticeable in Media and the adjacent regions. The importance of Media to the Seleucids was noted by Strabo, who called them “the kings of Syria and Media” (11.9.2). Polybius observed that Media was “the most notable principality in Asia, both in the extent of its territory and the number and excellence of the men and also of the horses it produces. It supplies nearly the whole of Asia with these animals, the royal stud farms being entrusted to the Medes owing to the excellence of the pastures” (10.27.1-2, trans. Paton).⁸⁰ Not surprisingly, the region—both the frontier and the interior—was heavily settled by Alexander and his successors. Polybius observed (10.27.3-4) that Alexander the Great established a ring of “Greek cities”—except EKBATANA—around Media to protect it from neighboring barbarians (presumably he placed Ekbatana in a separate category because, as he notes [10.27.5], it had been the royal residence of the Medes). Interestingly, the mint mark of coins produced at Ekbatana was the forepart of a feeding horse.⁸¹ F. W. Walbank suggested that these settlements were needed in order to secure what would become “the central province of the Seleucid realm.”⁸² Strabo said (11.9.1) that

Herakleia and APAMEIA were located in the vicinity of RHAGAI. Strabo also said (11.13.6) that among the Greek cities in Media that were founded by the Macedonians were LAODIKEIA, APAMEIA, the [city] near RHAGAI (καὶ ἄλλαι Ἰνδοὶ Ἰνδοὶ Ἰνδοὶ), and Rhagai itself. We do not know the exact location of many of these settlements. Nevertheless, it is likely that many would have been located along the route from Syria to China.⁸³

Hyrkania was located around the southeast corner of the Caspian Sea. Although no Hellenistic settlement is definitely attested for this region, Polybius does describe Sirynx (10.31.6) as the capital or royal residence (βασίλειον) of Hyrcania. He also says that some Greeks lived there (10.31.11). An inscription found in the region of ancient Hyrcania records a sacral manumission that dates to the third century B.C.⁸⁴ The document provides evidence for a cult and sanctuary of Sarapis to whom the manumitted slave was dedicated on behalf of King Antiochos I Soter and his wife, Stratonike. Thus, the inscription indicates the presence of Greeks at a relatively early period in this area. Whether it also reflects the presence of a Greek colony, as Sherwin-White suggested, is less certain.⁸⁵

Farther east—that is, in Parthia—there is evidence for at least five settlements—SOTEIRA, KALLIOPE, CHARIS, HEKATOMPYLOS, and ACHAIA—that Appian says were founded by Seleukos I Nikator (Syr. 57).⁸⁶ Aside from some information concerning Hekatompylos, little is known about any of the other foundations. In any event, the rise of the Arsacids and their assumption of control of Parthia (and Hyrcania) in the period after the mid-third century B.C. effectively ended the Seleucid presence there.⁸⁷

In the southwest, in Susiana, Elymais, and Persis there were also a number of Seleucid settlements. In fact, one of the most important Hellenistic (re)foundations of the Iranian plateau was SELEUKEIA on the Eulaios, the former Susa.⁸⁸ Strabo (15.3.11) emphasized the extensive cultivation of grain in that region. He asserted that “Susis abounds so exceedingly in grain that both barley and wheat regularly produce one hundredfold, and sometimes even two hundred” (trans. Jones). Potts has expressed great skepticism regarding these claims. He noted that Strabo’s “account of the phenomenal yields achieved for wheat and barley crops strains all credulity.” He also doubted Strabo’s claim that it was the Macedonians who introduced viticulture there, since, as he pointed out, it is known that grapes were cultivated and wine manufactured in neighboring southern Mesopotamia from early times.⁸⁹ On the other hand, Diodorus (19.13.6) mentions that when they were in Susiana in c. 318/7 B.C. Eumenes and his men consumed rice, sesame, and dates, which grew in

abundance in the region. Strabo also refers to the cultivation of rice there (16.1.18), but Potts cautioned that it is difficult to know whether Strabo was referring to conditions in his day (first century B.C./first century A.D.) or the late fourth century B.C., when Eumenes would have been marching through. Strabo also mentioned that liquid asphalt or naphtha was found in Susis (16.1.15). Finally, Le Rider has pointed out that the horse or the head of a horse on various bronze coins from Susa suggests that horse breeding was carried on there.⁹⁰ Susa was the site of a royal mint and, particularly after Antiochos III's eastern campaign, a major commercial center for trade with the Persian Gulf region.

I have discussed above the settlements along the Iranian littoral of the Persian Gulf.⁹¹

BACTRIA

It has long been noted that with the exception of ALEXANDROPOLIS in Thrace, ALEXANDREIA near Egypt, the Macedonian settlement at SAMAREIA, and ALEXANDREIA/Spasinou Charax, all the settlements that can arguably be claimed to have been founded by Alexander the Great were located in central Asia—that is, well east of the Tigris.⁹² ALEXANDROPOLIS in Thrace was, of course, a foundation of Alexander's youth, established after a rebellion in the region. The military settlement at SAMAREIA was founded in response to a rebellion by the Samaritans. The other two settlements—both of which were called Alexandreia—were apparently established primarily for commercial and political rather than strategic or security reasons. ALEXANDREIA/Spasinou Charax at the head of the Persian Gulf provided an outlet for maritime trade with India. Similarly, ALEXANDREIA near Egypt provided access to the Mediterranean and served as a commercial transit point for goods traveling up and down the Nile from and to the Red Sea coast.

In Bactria and the adjacent regions, Alexander the Great faced threats both from without and from within.⁹³ His concern with anchoring a Macedonian presence in this region both for security purposes and as a safeguard against nomadic tribes on the steppes to the north can be seen in the Alexandreias he allegedly founded there.⁹⁴ It is important to bear in mind that in Bactria and the adjacent regions Alexander and his successors faced a unique challenge that had not manifested itself elsewhere in the Middle East: resistance and opposition from the Greek settlers. Diodorus twice refers to this: he says that when a rumor spread that Alexander had died, "the Greeks who had been settled in Bactria and Sogdiana, who had

long borne unhappily their sojourn among peoples of another race and now received word that the king had died of his wounds, revolted against the Macedonians” (17.99.5, trans. Welles).⁹⁵ He also says that, subsequently, “the Greeks who had been settled by Alexander in the upper satrapies, as they were called, although they longed for the Greek customs and manners of life and were cast away in the most distant part of the kingdom, yet submitted while the king was alive through fear; but when he was dead they rose in revolt” (18.7.1, trans. Geer).⁹⁶ I might add, incidentally, that there is no evidence for the same level of dissatisfaction among, for example, the Greeks who had been settled in Mesopotamia or Syria.

As regards the native population, there are, of course, examples of opposition to Macedonian rule: consider what happened at SAMAREIA. But this was apparently the exception. There was native resistance to Macedonian *conquest*; one thinks, for example, of the resistance of the inhabitants of Tyre and Gaza. But, as far as we know, there was no organized or prolonged resistance to Macedonian *rule* in Syria or Mesopotamia in the early Hellenistic period. In short, it would appear that the newly established Macedonian presence in the Middle East was generally accepted without extensive or prolonged native opposition. It is worth noting that in these same regions we do not find evidence for a program of organized settlement foundings by Alexander.

The situation in central Asia was quite different. There, Alexander faced fierce and prolonged resistance to Macedonian conquest and, subsequently, to Macedonian rule. To use a term that was widely (mis)used during the Vietnam War, the “pacification” of central Asia was far more challenging than anything Alexander had faced anywhere else. In short, the king’s task in central Asia was quite complex: he had to deal with opposition and resistance from settlers and natives as well as with various external threats. Furthermore, as Alexander advanced farther and farther east into central Asia, he was soon approaching the frontiers of the (former) Achaemenid empire, frontiers that would essentially form the border of his own empire. These geopolitical challenges may help explain Alexander’s decisions to establish settlements at various places in the region. Whether the settlements were a reaction to or a cause of native opposition and resistance may be debated.

Alexandreias

The literature on Alexander and on the number and purpose of his foundations is quite extensive.⁹⁷ The number of foundations attributed to

Alexander reached a peak with Plutarch's claim of seventy (*De Alex. Fort.* 328E) and then declined rapidly, leveling off at approximately twelve. Stephanos attributed twenty foundations to the Macedonian king (s.vv. "Alexandreia," "Boos Kephalai," and "Boukephaleia") plus another two or three (s.vv. "Dion" and "Euporia") that are clearly unhistorical.⁹⁸ The ? recension of the Greek *Alexander Romance* ascribed thirteen foundations to Alexander but listed only nine. The ? and Γ recensions of the Greek *Romance* recorded twelve settlements attributed to the Macedonian king, as did the *Chronicon Paschale* 321 (CSHB 4.1), the *Excerpta Latina Barbari* 34b (ed. Schoene [Appendix 6 in *Eusebi Chroniconum* vol. 1), and Julius Valerius (3.60 [1445–1450], ed. Rosellini). In other versions of the *Romance*, the number varied only slightly, if at all: for example, the Armenian, Syriac [thirteen?], and Ethiopic mentioned twelve; the *Analecta Syriaca* referred to thirteen; the Hebrew also recorded thirteen, while the Arabic geographer Yakut recorded fifteen in the *Mu'jam al-Buldân* (*Geographical Dictionary*) and sixteen in the *Mushtarik* (*Dictionary of Geographical Homonyms*).⁹⁹ Lists of foundations attributed to Alexander are also found in the Perso-Arabic (Iranian) literature: for example, in al-Tabari (839–923 A.D.), al-Dinawari (ninth century A.D.), Hamza al-Isfahani (884–c. 961 A.D.), and Qudama ibn Ja'far (d. 948 A.D.).¹⁰⁰ Al-Tabari says the Macedonian king built twelve cities, all named Alexandreia; he then gives their names.¹⁰¹ Al-Dinawari says Alexander built twelve cities, but names only seven.¹⁰² Hamza records a tradition that Alexander founded twelve cities in Iran—all of them called Alexandreia—but he then mentions only eleven.¹⁰³ Qudama ascribes nine cities to the Macedonian king.¹⁰⁴ The Pahlavi *Provincial Capitals of Eranshahr* (ed. Markwart) does not include a list but does provide a number of attributions (12, 53).¹⁰⁵ Finally, the Christian Egyptian physician Eutychios (Sa' îd ibn al-Batrîq, 877–940 A.D.) says that Alexander "built thirteen cities in the East and the West . . . and he built Alexandria in Egypt." Unfortunately, he does not name the cities—other than ALEXANDREIA near Egypt—that he attributed to Alexander.¹⁰⁶ The foundations included in these various *Romance* and *Romance* tradition lists are not uniform, nor can definite identifications be made in every case.¹⁰⁷

Other ancient authors focused on Alexander's activity in particular regions. Thus, Strabo (11.11.4) says Alexander founded eight *poleis* in Bactria and Sogdiana; Justin (12.5.3) says he founded twelve (seven, according to another manuscript) there. Curtius Rufus (7.10.15–16) claimed Alexander chose six sites for foundations in Margiana.¹⁰⁸

Whatever the exact number, there is general agreement among most

scholars that the total number of settlements that can be attributed to Alexander with any degree of certainty is less than Plutarch's seventy.¹⁰⁹ V. Tcherikover came up with a figure of approximately thirty-four—as he noted, roughly half Plutarch's number.¹¹⁰ However, he considered many in his list to be questionable or doubtful.

TCHERIKOVER

1. Alexandropolis in Thrace
2. Gaza
3. Alexandreia near Egypt
4. Alexandreia on the Caucasus
5. Alexandreia on the Tanais
6. Nikaia in India
7. Boukephala
8. Arigaion
9. Alexandreia on the Akhesines
10. Alexandreia on the Indus and Akhesines
11. Alexandreia Sogdiana
12. Xylenopolis
13. Barke
14. Arbis-Alexander's Harbor
15. Alexandreia Rhambakia
16. Alexandreia on the Pallakottas
17. Alexandreia Charax

"ZWEIFELHAFTE"

1. Alexandreia on the Latmos
2. Samareia
3. Alexandreia in Assyria
4. Alexandreia in Parthia
5. Alexandreia in Aria
6. Alexandreia in Arachosia

7. Alexandreia in Sakastane
8. Prophthasia
9. Another city in the Caucasus (Kadrusi)
10. Alexandreia in Bactria
11. Alexandreia on the Oxus
12. Alexandreia Soriana
13. Alexandreia in Carmania

“NICHT ZU ENDE GEFÜHRTE GRÜNDUNGEN”

1. Ilion
2. Taxila
3. The capital city of the Musikanoi
4. Patala

Tarn claimed that thirteen settlements could be definitely attributed to Alexander.¹¹¹

TARN

1. Alexandreia near Egypt
2. Alexander in Aria
3. Alexandreia in Arachosia
4. Alexandreia in Margiana
5. Alexandreia on the Oxus
6. Alexandreia Eschate
7. Alexandreia in Susiana
8. Alexandreia Prophthasia
9. Alexandreia-Bactra
10. Alexandreia of the Caucasus
11. Alexandreia Boukephala
12. Alexandreia Iomousa
13. Alexandreia in Makrene

P. M. Fraser believed eight settlements could definitely be attributed to Alexander. (At the end of his *Cities of Alexander the Great* Fraser concluded that he could attribute only six foundations to Alexander. Elsewhere, however, he indicated that he believed two other cities—Alexandreia in Arachosia and Alexandreia in Parapamisadai—could be considered authentic.)¹¹²

FRASER

1. Alexandreia near Egypt
2. Alexandreia in Aria
3. Alexandreia Eschate
4. Alexandreia in Susiana
5. Alexandreia Boukephala
6. Alexandreia among the Oreitai (Rhambakia)
7. Alexandreia in Arachosia
8. Alexandreia in Parapamisadai

In an article evaluating (and reacting to) the works of Tarn and Fraser, N. G. L. Hammond suggested that one should not dismiss Plutarch's number out of hand and speculated that the total of Alexander's foundations might, in fact, have been around seventy.¹¹³ Hammond, however, did not provide a list of the settlements that he believed were founded by the king.

A further problem is the difficulty of identifying the various Alexandreias. In antiquity (and later) some of these Alexandreias were referred to by different identifying tag lines or epithets. It is quite possible that different authors, undoubtedly reflecting different local traditions, might have been referring to the same Alexandreia by different epithets. The resulting confusion presents significant challenges for the scholar. To give one example: it has been suggested that ALEXANDREIA OXEIANA should be identified with ALEXANDREIA NEAR BAKTRA (Fraser), ALEXANDREIA IN SOGDIANA (Tarn), or the settlement at AĪ KHANOUM or Termez (Bernard).¹¹⁴

Finally, it is sobering to note that we do not definitely know the exact location of any Alexandreia or any other alleged Hellenistic settlement in Bactria. In fact, the only settlement in Bactria that can be definitely located is the one at AĪ Khanoum; but in that case we do not know its ancient name!¹¹⁵

The Seleucids in the East

The history of the Seleucid empire is the story of the continuing loss over time of lands at a distance—both west and east—from northern Syria. In the east, these territories were all on the periphery of the empire, stretching in a broad arc from Armenia and Media Atropatene (modern Azerbaijan) to northwest of the Iranian plateau to Bactria (roughly, modern Uzbekistan and northern Afghanistan) and India (southern Afghanistan and Pakistan) in the southeast. Just as the British in the nineteenth century, the Russians in the twentieth century, and the Americans and their allies in the early twenty-first century, so the Seleucids in antiquity had difficulty controlling this region.

Despite the fact that the founder of the dynasty, Seleukos I Nikator, had married a Bactrian woman, Apama, the daughter of Spitamenes (Arr. 7.4.6), the Seleucids found it difficult to hold on to their possessions in central Asia. Already at the end of the fourth century B.C. the Seleucids were losing territory in the east that they had inherited from Alexander. As a result of his war (305–303 B.C.) and subsequent treaty with Chandragupta, Seleukos ceded territory to the Indian king on terms of intermarriage and the receipt of five hundred elephants.¹¹⁶ The precise extent of the territory ceded by Seleukos is not clear. A “maximalist” view claims that Seleukos yielded a large part of the territory west and north of the Indus, including Arachosia, Gedrosia, Parapamisadai, and possibly even Aria as far as Herat. Among other things, the discovery at Kandahar—which was located in the center of Arachosia—of two inscriptions recording a Greek translation of the edicts of the Mauryan emperor Asoka provides support for the maximalist view.¹¹⁷ A “minimalist” view argues that the territory ceded to Chandragupta was essentially limited to the Indus valley and neighboring regions; in other words, it did not include Arachosia.¹¹⁸ In any event, it would appear that once the treaty with Chandragupta was formalized, Seleucid rule over the eastern territories still under their control (temporarily) stabilized; the Seleucids then maintained control of these areas until the middle of the third century B.C.¹¹⁹

The situation drastically changed in the course of the third quarter of the century (i.e., from c. 250 to c. 220 B.C.) . This was a period of disintegration and collapse all along the eastern (and western) frontier regions of the empire. Of course, it is during this very period that the Seleucids faced serious challenges elsewhere, both inside and beyond the borders of their empire: dynastic disputes on the one hand and chronic warfare with the Ptolemies on the other. It will not be surprising,

therefore, to see various centrifugal pressures exploding at this time. In some cases circumstances in these regions reflected the pressures and aspirations of native dynasts and people; in other cases they were the result of adventurous and opportunistic Graeco-Macedonian governors establishing their own independent fiefdoms. But whatever the circumstances, the net result for the Seleucid monarchs was the same: these territories slipped away from Seleucid control. I have already mentioned the rise of the Parthian dynasty and the loss of Parthia and Hyrcania in the period after the mid-third century B.C., which took place in the northeastern part of the Iranian plateau. About the same time, in the eastern region, Diodotos, the Seleucid “governor of the thousand cities of Bactria” (Justin 41.4), removed himself from Seleucid control.¹²⁰ By the latter part of the third century B.C. Bactria had been consolidated under the authority of Euthydemos. The treaty he signed with Antiochos III in 206 B.C. gave him a free hand over this region.¹²¹

Settlements Founded by the Seleucids and/or the Graeco-Bactrian Kings

The Seleucid presence in central Asia is reflected in the names of various settlements: for example, ANTIOCH in Margiana, the refounded ALEXANDREIA, and ANTIOCH in Scythia, possibly a refounded ALEXANDREIA. Another Seleucid foundation, probably in Aria, was SOTEIRA.¹²² The relatively few Seleucid foundations in the region are, undoubtedly, a reflection of the short and tenuous nature of Seleucid rule there. They also reflect strategic priorities: a glance at a map indicates quite clearly that Seleukos I and Antiochos I focused most of their settlement founding activity on the central and western regions of their vast empire rather than on the eastern periphery. One sees the result of this rather clearly if one considers Appian’s enumeration of the settlements founded by Seleukos I (*Syr.* 57). Appian says that as a result of this activity, Syria and the “barbarous regions of upper Asia” were filled with towns bearing Greek and Macedonian names. He then proceeds to give a list of town names in Syria and Parthia. In addition he mentions one settlement in India (ALEXANDROPOLIS), one in Scythia (ALEXANDRESCHATA), one in Mesopotamia (NIKEPHORION), and one in Armenia (NIKOPOLIS). Notably absent from Appian’s list are settlements in central Asia (except for SOTEIRA, KALLIOPE, CHARIS, HEKATOMPYLOS, and ACHAIA in Parthia). Fraser provided another explanation for the relative absence of evidence for Seleucid settlements in the region: he suggested that the lists of Alexandreas in the various recensions of the *Alexander Romance* and in

Stephanos were derived from a lost *Liber de Urbibus Alexandri* that was composed in ALEXANDREIA near Egypt during the third century B.C.—that is, while it was still under Ptolemaic rule. He further suggested that the *Liber de Urbibus Alexandri* served a propaganda purpose in the struggle between the Seleucids and the Ptolemies by attributing to Alexander settlements that, in fact, had been established by the Seleucids.¹²³ Thus, he mentions ALEXANDREIA in Margiana (ANTIOCH in Margiana), ALEXANDREIA ΠΡΟΣΠΕΡΣΑΣ (ANTIOCH in Persis), ALEXANDREIA on the Tigris River (SELEUKEIA on the Tigris), ALEXANDREIA near Babylon (SELEUKEIA near the Hedyphon?), ALEXANDREIA ΕΠΙ ΣΟΥΣΟΙΣ (SELEUKEIA on the Eulaios), ALEXANDREIA in Scythia (ANTIOCH in Scythia), and ALEXANDREIA in Mesopotamia (ANTIOCH in Mygdonia).¹²⁴ Other settlements, such as DEMETRIAS in Arachosia as well as EUKRATIDEIA, would have been founded by Graeco-Bactrian dynasts. There are, in addition, other settlements with Greek toponyms about which rather little is known and which cannot, therefore, be ascribed with certainty to any particular monarch or dynasty. Despite that, we can, at the very least, see them as further proof of a Greek presence in the region.

INDIA

In the context of Hellenistic history the toponymic term “India” is used, somewhat arbitrarily, to refer to an area that essentially encompasses modern-day Pakistan and southern Afghanistan—namely, the area roughly between the Hindu Kush and the Indus/Hyphasis River valleys.¹²⁵ During the Hellenistic period both history and geography conspired to keep this region far removed from Greek lands and areas of intensive Greek habitation. The area had been traversed by Alexander, and then briefly came under the control of Seleukos I Nikator. However, as I have mentioned, already at the end of the fourth century B.C. Seleukos I was forced to cede the region to the Mauryan Chandragupta. Subsequently, the loss of Parthia and Hyrcania to the Parthian dynasty in the period after the mid-third century B.C., and the ascent of Bactria around the same time, effectively removed these regions from Seleucid control and thus further removed northwest India from regular overland contact with the rest of the Seleucid empire.¹²⁶ As for Mauryan rule, it lasted until the early second century B.C., when it was overthrown by Pushyamitra. The collapse of the Mauryan dynasty essentially created a vacuum into which the Graeco-Bactrians moved. By invading India and establishing power there they effectively extended—at this relatively late date in the Hellenistic

period—a Greek presence into India.

As is the case for Bactria, the number of likely Hellenistic settlements whose exact location can be fixed is disappointingly small. For example, scholars have not been able to identify the precise site of any of the *Alexandreias* that were located in India. In a number of other instances—for example, *BOUKEPHALA* and *NIKAIA*—the sources point to a likely general area; nevertheless, it has not yet been possible to fix their exact site. In still other instances, where we can identify the location of a particular town—for example, *PUSHKALAVATI* and *TAXILA*—we cannot definitely affirm that this had been the site of a Hellenistic foundation.

As with Bactria, the extant literary sources provide only a fragmentary account of the history of the region when it was under Greek hegemony. Most of the kings and subkings are known to us only through coins that have survived. But even if the numismatic evidence does not allow a complete reconstruction of the history of the region, it does—by its very abundance and high quality—call attention to the region’s wealth.

1. See, for example, Herzfeld, *Empire* 313–17; Musti in *CAH*² 7:183–84; Sullivan, *Royalty* 96–105, 280–91, et passim; Schottky, *Media* 76–231; Sherwin-White and Kuhrt, *Samarkhand* 190–97; P. Bernard, *Topoi Supplément* 1 (1997) 181–85; Mittag, *Antiochos* 296–98 et passim; and M.-L. Chaumont, *Syria* 70 (1993) 431–41; R. H. Hewsen, *REArm* 13 (1979) 77–97 (on Armenian historical geography). On the alleged Thessalian origins of Armenia see Strabo 11.14.12–14 (“There is an ancient story of the Armenian race to this effect: that Armenus of Armenum, a Thessalian city . . . accompanied Jason into Armenia; and Cyrsilus the Pharsalian and Medius the Larisaeon, who accompanied Alexander, say that Armenia was named after him. . . . They say that the clothing of the Armenians is Thessalian. . . . I have already discussed Medeia in my account of the Medes; and therefore, from all this it is supposed that both the Medes and the Armenians are in a way kinsmen to the Thessalians and the descendants of Jason and Medeia”; trans. Jones); and P. Bernard in *Topoi Supplement* 1 (1997) 131–216.

2. See Mehl, *Seleukos* 296 n. 33 (“Völlig unklar ist die Situation bezüglich Armenien”); Brodersen, *Komment* 123; Schmitt, *Antiochos* 37–38; Schottky, *Media* 92–94; Bernard, *Topoi Supplement* 1 (1997) 183, suggested that Armenia might have come under the control of Seleukos I in

281 after the battle of Korupedion.

3. On Mygdonia in Mesopotamia see, for example, Bousdroukis, *Recherches* 40–47. ANTHEMOUSIAS and BATNAI were the names of both a settlement and the region around it in northern Mesopotamia. See those entries.

4. Strabo does say that Gordyene east of the Tigris was named for Gordys the son of Triptolemos who migrated and settled there (7.1.25, 7.2.5; see also 16.1.24). But here we are in the realm of mythological origins; see also the scholiast to Lycophron (ed. Scheer) 1443. On Gordyene see E. Herzfeld, *Memnon* 1 (1907) 121–22.

5. See Mørkholm, *Antiochus* 125–26; id., *INC Rome* 2:63–67.

6. Of course the absence of these mints in the regions beyond northern Mesopotamia may also reflect the swiftly declining Seleucid control after the mid-second century B.C.

7. Mørkholm, *Antiochus* 126.

8. In *CAH* 7:155–56 and *SEHHW* 478, where he described Syria and northern Mesopotamia as “the centre of his [i.e., Seleukos’s] power and the seat of his great capitals.”

9. See, for example, Sherwin-White in *Hellenism* 16–18 and below; Briant in *Religion* 47. Cf. Bickerman, who remarked—citing Strabo 11.9.2—that “Iran and Syria were two heartlands of the Seleucid Empire” (in *La Persia* [1966] 108).

10. *Samarkhand* 1, 91; see, earlier, *Ach. Hist.* 8: 311.

11. In *Religion* 47; see also Sherwin-White and Kuhrt, *Samarkhand* 36–39 on the importance of Hellenistic Babylonia—“the core of the empire”; see also Van der Spek in *Roi et économie* 304; and Kuhrt (in *Hellenistic Kingship* 41–54), who emphasized the presence of the Seleucids in Babylonia. For the opposite view see, for example, P. Lévêque, who earlier remarked: “Son vrai centre est la Syrie . . . Séleucos est un Grec et il veut faire de sa conquête un Etat grec, donc méditerranéen” (*Le monde hellénistique* [Paris, 1969] 42).

12. See also the discussion in the various articles published in *Topoi* 4/2 (1994); and L. Martinez-Sève, *Dialogues d’histoire ancienne, Supplément* 5: 92–93.

13. Rostovtzeff, *SEHHW* 78–79; Cary, *Geographic Background* 183 n. 1.

14. See, for example, A. Goetze, *JCS* 7 (1953) 51–72; id., *JCS* 18 (1964) 114–19; W. W. Hallo, *JCS* 18 (1964) 57–88; A. L. Oppenheim, *JCS* 21

(1969) 238-54.

15. On Emar see A. Finet in *The Land of Israel: Crossroads of Civilizations*, ed. E. Lipinski (Leuven, 1985) 27-38.

16. Kessler, *Untersuchungen* 228-29; Graf in *Ach. Hist.* 8:180.

17. See, for example, Syme, *Anatolica* 3-23; Graf in *Ach. Hist.* 8:180-81; Briant, *Empire perse* 369-373.

18. *DAE* 67 = *ArD* 6; see Graf in *Ach. Hist.* 8:181; Briant, *Empire perse* 371.

19. 16.1.27; on this road see Dillemann, *Mésopotamie* 133, 177.

20. See W. H. Schoff, *Parthian Stations by Isidore of Charax* (Philadelphia, 1914); *FGrH* 781; M.-L. Chaumont, *Syria* 61 (1984) 63-107; Gawlikowski in *GHPO* 76-98.

21. See especially Dillemann, *Mésopotamie* 132-92.

22. See, for example, M. Gawlikowski, *Iraq* 58 (1996) 123-33; Briant in *Ach. Hist.* 6:77-79. It is probable that Ps.-Scylax (*Periplus* 102 = *GGM* 1:77) meant the Orontes when he referred to the Thapsakos River; see Müller's discussion and Grainger, *Seleukid Syria* 17. If this is so, it would reflect the fact that the Orontes River valley was the beginning of the caravan route to the Euphrates crossing at Thapsakos.

23. See also Briant in *Ach. Hist.* 6:77.

24. Strabo 1.3.1; see A. B. Breebart, *Mnemosyne* 20 (1967) 422-31; Briant in *Ach. Hist.* 6:78-79.

25. Xen. *Anab.* 1.4.11-17. On the itinerary of the 10,000 see, for example, Manfredi, *La strada* 95-149; F. Joannès, *Pallas* 43 (1995) 173-200; Lee, *A Greek Army* 18-42.

26. See Strabo, who refers to the "old Zeugma" at Thapsakos (16.1.21-23).

27. See Honigmann, *RE* s.v. "Syria," esp. 1718; Dyer, *Dict. Geog.* s.v. "Syria." See also J. Markwart (*REArm* [1966] 311): "Ammien, comme Strabon, entend par Assyrie, non pas un territoire déterminé, mais l'ensemble, de Babylonie et d'Assyrie, au-delà de la frontière romaine, c'est-à-dire y compris la région de l'Euphrate (cf. liv. 23, ch. 2, 7, 3, 1, liv. 24, l.1)." On the origins and history of the terms "Syria" and "Assyria" see J. A. Tvedtnes, *JNES* 40 (1981) 139-40; and R. N. Frye, *JNES* 51 (1992) 281-85.

28. *CAH* 7:184. For Hellenistic settlements on the banks of the Euphrates see, for example, Gaborit, *Géographie historique* 107-10.

29. Note that a number of the ancient writers did not include Babylonia in Mesopotamia; see, for example, Strabo 16.1.21; Ptol. 5.18.1.
30. Diod. 18.39.6, 19.27.4. For Babylonia from the late Achaemenid period to 301 B.C. see, for example, Kuhrt and Sherwin-White in *Ach. Hist.* 8:311–27. For the half century after the death of Alexander see especially Bosworth, *Legacy* esp. 1–64.
31. E. M. Anson, *Eumenes of Cardia* 158, 164; Bosworth, *Legacy* 113.
32. On the battle of Gabiene see, for example, Bosworth, *Legacy* 147–57 et passim; Billows, *Antigonos* 101–3, 317–18, et passim; and Anson, *Eumenes* 184–88 et passim.
33. Billows, *Antigonos* 415.
34. For the date see Bosworth, *Legacy* 219–25; cf. Billows, *Antigonos* 134 n. 67 (311 B.C.).
35. For Antigonos's campaign in Babylonia in 310–c. 308 B.C. see, for example, Mehl, *Seleukos* 129–34; P. Wheatley, *JNES* 61 (2002) 39–47; Schober, *Untersuchungen* 106–39; Boiy, *Babylon* 125–37; Capdetrey, *Pouvoir* 42. For the decade c. 319–309 B.C. see also *BCHP* 3 (“Diadochi Chronicle”) = *ABC* 10 and Van der Spek's commentary.
36. Billows, *Antigonos* 146–47; see also P. Bernard, *BCH* 114 (1990) 531; id., *Topoi Supplément* 1 (1997) 185–86 n. 181; see further EDESSA, n. 2.
37. Briant in *Religion* 47; Billows, *Antigonos* 48.
38. Billows, *Antigonos* 292–305; and Bernard, *Topoi Supplément* 1 (1997) 185 n. 181.
39. Cohen, *Settlements in Syria* 21–28.
40. See, for example, P. Clancier, *Topoi* 15 (2007) 41–46; Capdetrey, *Pouvoir* 25–38. For Hellenistic Babylonia see also www.livius.org/cg-cm/chronicles/chron00.html and www.onderzoekinformatie.nl/en/oi/nod/onderzoek/OND1297087/.
41. Arr. 7.8.21, 7.19.3–4; see also Högemann, *Alexander* 48–52 et passim; Boiy, *Babylon* 104–17.
42. Boiy, *Babylon* 125–34.
43. Scharrer in *West und Ost* 95–128.
44. See, for example, Joannès, *Age of Empires* 10–11; Boiy, *Babylon* passim; P. Clancier, *Topoi* 15 (2007) 21–74.
45. P. Bernard, *BCH* 114 (1990) 532–36; Kuhrt and Sherwin-White in *Ach. Hist.* 8:321. Bactria and, possibly, elephants (the latter is restored)

are also mentioned in *BCHP*₇ [= *ABC* 13A] Obv. 14 (“Antiochus and India Chronicle”). Finally, *BCHP* 9 Rev. 8 (“End of Seleucus Chronicle”) also mentions Bactria. For the Seleucids in Babylonia see, especially, Van der Spek, *Reallexikon* s.vv. “Seleukiden, Seleukidenreich.”

46. Le Rider, *Suse* 446–49; id. in *Sociétés et compagnies* 121–27. See also C. P. Jones, *Tyche* 7 (1992) 128; and Teixidor in *Materialien* 292.

47. Rostovtzeff, *Caravan Cities* 25, 95; id., *SEHWW* 457–61.

48. In the Aegean basin itself there is evidence attesting the presence of individuals from the Near East. For example, an inscription from the island of Andros in the Aegean, dated palaeographically to the third century B.C. (*IG* XII.5715 = *I. Estremo Oriente* 99), records a decree that honors a certain Dromon, son of Phanodemos, a Babylonian; see Appendix X. Other public documents from Delos and Delphi mention persons from Antioch and Laodikeia (presumably the Syrian cities), Sidon, Tyre, Beirut (*I. Delos* 2598) and Seleukeia on the Tigris (*I. Delos* 2429 and 2445; see also Klee, *Gymnischen Agone* 16 [Kos]). A Delphic *proxenos* decree honored Asklepiades, a Phoenician (*SGDI* 2589), while documents from Delos refer to Theokritos (*IG* XI.4 591.3) and Xenodemos (*IG* XI.4 633.3–4), both Syrians, as well as Hyspasinus/Hyspaisinos, a Bactrian (*I. Delos* 442.B.108, 1432.AaII.27).

A number of individuals from SELEUKEIA on the Tigris are found taking part in agonistic contests or resident in various places in the Greek world—e.g., Athens (C. Habicht and S. V. Tracy, *Hesperia* 60 [1991] 188, col. I.6 [170/69 B.C.]), Lebedeia in Boeotia (S. N. Koumanoudes, *Archaiologikon Deltion* 26 [1971] 36 [second/first century B.C.]), Rhodes (C. P. Jones, *Tyche* 7 [1992] 124, l. A.18 [second/first century B.C.]), and Olympia (Eusebius *Chron.* I [ed Schoene, 1875] 212 [100 B.C.]). The Panathenaic victor lists from Hellenistic Athens include, for example, individuals from as far away as ANTIOCH near Daphne, LAODIKEIA by the Sea, LAODIKEIA in Phoenicia, ANTIOCH in Mygdonia (Nisibis), and SELEUKEIA on the Tigris, as well as persons from ANTIOCH on the Kydnos and ANTIOCH on the Pyramos in eastern Asia Minor. There is epigraphic evidence for a merchant from Gerrha in Arabia at Delos in the mid-second century B.C.; see *I. Delos* 1439 Abc II.24, 1442 A.82, B.58; 1444 Aa.45, 51; 1449 Aab II.28–29, 61; 1450 A.119; see also C. Robin, *Semitica* 24 (1974) 95. Further evidence for commercial relations between the Aegean basin on the one hand and southern Mesopotamia, Susiana, the Persian Gulf, and Arabia on the other is provided by Rhodian amphora handles found at, among other places, SELEUKEIA on the Tigris, BABYLON, SELEUKEIA on the Eulaios (Susa), IKAROS in the Persian Gulf, and Thaj in Arabia (C.

Börker, *BaM* 7 [1974] 31–49). S. M. Sherwin-White (*Ancient Cos* [Göttingen, 1978] 246, 370–71) called attention to a fragmentary inscription from Kos recording a dedication of Kasmaios son of Abdaios, which she suggested might provide evidence for another merchant from Gerra. Note, however, that E. Eissfeldt, *Kleine Schriften* [Tübingen, 1963] 2: 310 read Kasmaios's ethnic as ΓΕΡ[ΑΣΗΝΟΣ]. In other words, Eissfeldt believed the reference was to Gerasa in Trans-Jordan; followed by H. Seyrig, *Syria* (1965) 26 n. 2, who, nevertheless, mentioned the objection of J. T. Milik, who observed that “Kasmaios son of Abdaios” was an unlikely name for someone from Gerasa at this date. Milik preferred restoring ΓΕΡ[ΠΑΙΟΣ], i.e., for one of the towns named Gerra.

49. Arr. *Anab.* 7.19.3–20.10 and *Ind.* 43.8; Strabo 16.1.11, 16.4.27. See also H. Schiwiek, *BJ* 162 (1962) 36–97; C. Roueché and S. M. Sherwin-White, *Chiron* 15 (1985) 6–7; Högemann, *Alexander* 80–111; G. W. Bowersock, *Gnomon* 59 (1987) 508–11; Potts, *Arabian Gulf* 2:4–6; Martinez-Sève in *Seleucids* 56–63.

50. Polyb. 13.9.4–5. On this expedition see, for example, Schmitt, *Antiochos* 49; Salles in *Hellenism* 96; Boucharlat and Mouton in *Arabia Antiqua* 277; Teixidor in *Materialien* 292–93.

51. See ALEXANDREIA/ANTIOCH/Spasinou Charax, n. 15. The historical setting of this third expedition has been the subject of much discussion, based as it is on two problematic references in Pliny. At *NH* 6.147 Pliny mentions an expedition that Antiochos IV Epiphanes allegedly dispatched to explore the coast of Arabia (“We will now describe the coast from Charax onward which was first explored for [King] Epiphanes”; trans. Rackham; cf. *NH* 6.138–39). At *NH* 6.152 Pliny says that “the governor of Mesene appointed by King Antiochus, Numenius, here won a battle against the Persians with his fleet” (trans. Rackham). There are problems with both these passages: (a) Antiochos IV Epiphanes was not the first Seleucid king to explore the Persian Gulf; (b) Pliny does not specify which King Antiochos appointed Numenius. As Roueché and Sherwin-White noted (*Chiron* 15 [1985] 9 and n. 21), the attested Greek explorations of the Gulf are (1) Alexander's explorers, (2) the expedition of Antiochos III, and (3) the military expedition of Numenius. Roueché and Sherwin-White concluded that Pliny's attribution of the expedition of Numenius to Epiphanes resulted from his confusing Antiochos IV with Antiochos III. On the other hand, Mørkholm (*Antiochos* 169; see also Mittag, *Antiochos IV* 302) suggested that Antiochos Epiphanes did, in fact, explore the Gulf and that Pliny erred only in claiming that Epiphanes' expedition was the first. Finally, in a forthcoming article, P. J. Kosmin has called attention to the

fragmentary *Astronomical Diary* for 164 B.C., which mentions “Antiochos the k[ing . . .] from the cities o[f . . .] who went along the seashore” (*Astronomical Diaries* 2:497, no. 164 Obv. C13-14 [trans. Kosmin]; see also D. Gera and W. Horowitz, *JAOS* 117 [1997] 243-49). This would appear to confirm the information in Pliny *NH* 6.147. For other discussions see Mørkholm *Antiochus* 169 n. 14; and ALEXANDREIA/ANTIOCH/Spasinou Charax, n. 15.

In connection with these allusions to Seleucid naval activity in the Gulf, we may note there has been some discussion as to whether the Seleucids maintained a (permanent) fleet in the Gulf. Salles claimed there was such a “naval presence” (in *Hellenism* 97 and *Topoi* 4 [1994] 607); Hannestad—pointing to the scanty nature of the material remains to support such a theory—questioned this (in *ΕΛΛΗΝΙΣΜΟΣ* 55). However, the discovery in 1997 and subsequent publication in 2002 of the dedication made on Bahrain by Kephisidoros suggest the Seleucids probably did maintain a permanent fleet in the Persian Gulf; see below, p. 116; and BAHRAIN.

52. See Tarn (*GBI*² 481-85), who suggested there was a Seleucid settlement around the Strait of Hormuz. Note, however, Salles, who correctly observed (in *Hellenism* 80) that although this is a plausible suggestion it is thus far unsupported by any archaeological evidence. In addition, I would mention ALEXANDREIA in Carmania and ZETIS, which may have been located on the Iranian coast of the Strait of Hormuz or just beyond it. Finally, we may search for ARTEMITA, TRAPEZOUS, and KARRHAI in the Persian Gulf area. Unfortunately, we do not know the exact location of any of these settlements.

53. In *Hellenism* 75-109.

54. For the problem relating to the location of these last three settlements see ARETHOUSA (in southern Mesopotamia and the Persian Gulf).

55. R. Boucharlat, *RA* (1989) 216-17; id. in *Golf-Archäologie* 289; Boucharlat and Mouton in *Arabia Antiqua* 279-80; Boucharlat and Mouton in *Materialien* 224; Teixidor in *Materialien* 293.

56. P.-L. Gatier, P. Lombard, and K. al-Sindi, *AAE* 13 (2002) 223-31; J. Marcillet-Jaubert, *Syria* 67 (1990) 665-73; Herling and Salles in *Materialien* 161-82; Teixidor in *Materialien* 292; Potts, *Arabian Gulf* 2:103-24; Salles in *Hellenism* 81; see also BAHRAIN. Note, on the other hand, Boucharlat, who earlier emphasized the paucity of Greek finds at Qal’at al-Bahrain (in *Bahrain* 440). For similar cautionary notes see, for example, Salles in *Hellenism* 86-87 and in *Arabie Orientale* 161; see also Garlan in *Trade and Famine* 37, 40. This caution should now be balanced

against the more recent discovery of the Greek inscriptions mentioned above.

57. In general, see Sprenger, *Geographie Arabiens* 135–37; Tkac, *RE Suppl.* VII, s.v. “Gerrha”; Högemann, *Alexander* 89–94; and Potts, *Arabian Gulf* 2:85–97.

58. See above.

59. Potts in *Arabie Orientale* 119; T. G. Bibby, *Preliminary Survey in East Arabia 1968* (Copenhagen, 1973) 16; A. Jamme and V. Grace, *Studi Semitici* 23 (1966) 83; C. Börker, *BaM* 7 (1974) 45. For the likely identification of Thaj as the site of Gerrha see Potts, *Arabian Gulf* 2:85–88; see also the popular article by R. Covington, *Saudi Aramco World* (March/April 2011) 32–33. It is possible that there was a mint at Thaj (Potts, *Pre-Islamic Coinage* p. 13).

60. See, for example, O. Mørholm, *Kuml* (1960) 203–4; id., *Kuml* (1972) 195–202; C. Robin, *Semitica* 24 (1974) 84–125; Potts, *Pre-Islamic Coinage* pp. 13–14, 17, and, for example, nos. 43–74 and 485–88; id., *Pre-Islamic Coinage, Supplement* nos. 8–48; *Coinage of the Caravan Kingdoms* 42–49, nos. 104–14. See also C. J. Howgego and D. T. Potts, *AAE* 3 (1992) 183–89.

61. *AJN* 14 (2002) 77–78.

62. Strabo 11.13.6, 15.3.12, 16.1.17, on which see, for example, Biffi, *Strabone* 130. On Apolloniatis/Sittakene see, for example, Manfredi, *La strada* 149–58.

63. On population transfer in the ancient Near East see G. M. Cohen in *Egypt and the Hellenistic World*, ed. E. van ‘t Dack (Leuven, 1981) 64–66. See also B. Oded, *Mass Deportations and Deportees in the Assyrian Empire* (Wiesbaden, 1970); the articles “Exile, Assyrian” (A. Malamat) and “Exile, Babylonian” (B. Porten) in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*; Altheim-Stiehl, *Geschichte* 158–61; Briant, *L’Asie centrale* 97; id., *Empire perse* 446–47.

64. Ancient table of contents to Diodorus book 17: “How the Branchidae, who of old had been settled by the Persians on the borders of their kingdom . . . ” (trans. Welles); Ael. *Varia Hist.* 6.14: “Darius . . . dispatched them [i.e., plotters against him] in various directions, sending some to the Indian frontier, others to the Scythian” (trans. Wilson).

65. See also Briant, *L’Asie centrale* 97; and Rougemont, *IGIAC* 206 n. 733.

66. See Appendix IX.

67. KTESIPHON was, of course, a very important urban center. On the

other hand, it is not clear whether it was a Hellenistic foundation.

68. On the Iranian plateau see, for example, Meyer, *EB*¹¹ s.v. "Iran"; Frye, *Heritage* 1-14; Christensen, *Iranshahr* 117-35; on the term "Iran" see Frye, *Heritage* 2-3. For the historical geography of the Iranian plateau see especially Frye, *Iran* 1-20 (review of ancient and modern sources on pp. 1-5); for the history of the region under Alexander and the Seleucids see pp. 137-75. See also Bickerman in *La Persia* (1966) 87-117; id. in *CHIr* 3(1): 3-20; Christensen, *Iranshahr* 59-63, 135-41; Wiesehöfer, *Jahrhunderte* 23-139 (bibliography, pp. 144-67); id. in *Age of the Parthians* 37-49; Capdetrey, *Pouvoir* 28-30, 38-43, 76-81, 101-4, 267-71.

69. On the "pays d'en haut" see R. White, *The Middle Ground* (Cambridge, 1991) X-XI.

70. Cf. the Theraian colonization of Libya. According to Herodotus (4.153) the total founding population fit into two pentekonters.

71. See, for example, Christensen, *Iranshahr* 117.

72. See, for example, Meyer, *EB*¹¹ s.v. "Iran"; Frye, *Heritage* 1-14.

73. See especially Bickerman in *CHIr* 3(1): 4-7.

74. See above, pp. 14-15.

75. See, for example, Capdetrey, *Pouvoir* 252-54.

76. Bickerman in *CHIr* 3(1): 3.

77. In *CHIr* 3(1): xxiv-xxvii. Cf. the minimal Hellenization in Babylonia (Oelsner in *Ideologies* 183-96).

78. *HC*³ 162.

79. On Hellenistic settlements in the region of the Iranian plateau see, for example, Christensen, *Iranshahr* 135-141; Frye, *Iran* 152-63.

80. For the fame of Media as a center for horse raising see also Polyb. 5.44.1 and Strabo 11.13.7. Herodotus (7.40) had also noted the fame of the Nisaian horses, as did Arrian (7.13.1). The latter, however, observed that by Alexander's time the herd had been significantly reduced, the victim of depredation by robbers. See also, for example, Mannert, *Geographie* 5.2:169-70; Newell, *ESM* pp. 167-68; Aperghis, *Economy* 63. Cf. LARISA and APAMEIA on the Axios in northern Syria.

81. See, for example, *ESM* 428, 433-56, etc.; and *Seleucid Mints* 200-217, 409-17, 419-20 etc.

82. *Comment.* 2:232; Tarn, *GBI*² 8-9. Walbank also followed Tarn's suggestion that these were military settlements rather than full cities.

83. Aperghis, *Economy* 42; Shipley, *Greek World* 281.

84. L. Robert, *Hellenica* (1960) 85–91 = *SEG* 20:325 = *I. Estremo Oriente* 280 = *Euphrat* 312 = *IGIAC* 76.

85. *Samarkhand* 82.

86. For the geographic limits of Parthia—roughly, northeastern Iran and southwestern Turkmenistan—see P. Bernard, *Topoi* 4 (1994) 481–90 and map on p. 482.

87. The chronology of the secession of Parthia and Bactria from Seleucid control is much disputed. Essentially there are two schools of thought: a “high” chronology that places the secession in the decade of the 240s, at the end of the reign of Antiochos II Theos; and a “low” chronology that places it in the early 230s, under the reign of Seleukos II Kallinikos. For the “high” chronology see, for example, Tarn, *GBI*² 80; E. Bickerman, *Berytus* 8 (1944) 79–83; Holt, *Thundering Zeus* 55–60; and Capdetrey, *Pouvoir* 124–30; for the “low” chronology see, for example, J. Wolski, *Bulletin internationale de l’Académie polonaises des sciences et lettres Supplement* 5 (Cracow, 1947) 13–55; id., *Berytus* 12 (1956–1957) 35–52; id., *Seleucids* 43–56; Schmitt, *Antiochos* 64–66, 70–76; Will, *Histoire politique*² 1:301–8; Bivar in *CHIr* 3(1): 28–29; P. Bernard, *Topoi* 4 (1994) 481–502; Lerner, *Seleucid Decline* 11–31. In general, see the discussion of Musti in *CAH*² 7.1:213, 219–20: “Even if it began under Antiochus II . . . the secession of Bactria and Parthyene took place over a period of years, and that was apparently the period stretching from the last years of Antiochus II to the period of the wars between Seleucus II and Antiochus Hierax.” But, irrespective of the preferred chronological sequence, it is clear that effective and continuous Seleucid control of the region did not extend beyond the 230s. Sherwin-White (*Samarkhand* 84–89) has argued—unconvincingly—that these regions remained under Seleucid control throughout the third century B.C. and did not come under permanent Parthian rule until the early second century B.C.; contra: see especially Bernard, *Topoi* 4 (1994) 481–90.

88. On Susa and Susiana during the Hellenistic period see especially Le Rider, *Suse* 255–96; and Capdetrey, *Pouvoir* 364–67. See also Frye, *Iran* 271–75 (Persis and Elymais); and Potts, *Elam* 354–410 (Elymais).

89. Potts, *Elam* 358; id., *Mesopotamian Civilization* 67–70, 148–50.

90. *Suse* 271 and nos. 47, 52, 64, 78–79, etc.

91. See p. 23.

92. See, for example, Tarn, *Alexander* 2:233. See also Appendix II. Narain’s suggestion (*Indo-Greeks* 2–3) that there were settlements of Greeks that predated the arrival of Alexander has met with mixed

reception; see also J. Wolski, *Klio* 38 (1960) 111; and A. Simonetta, *East and West* 9 (1958) 154–55. On the other hand, cf. Bernard, *Aï Khanoum* 4:23: “Il s’agit [i.e., pre-Alexandrine colonies of Greeks in central Asia] là d’une pure théorie qui repose essentiellement sur une utilisation abusive de l’épisode du massacre des Branchides et une lecture trop hâtive des sources anciennes qui y font une allusion”; followed by Coloru, *Da Alessandro* 123–24. See also Rougemont, *IGIAC* 206 n. 733. On the Achaemenid punitive deportation of Greeks to Bactria and other distant regions of the Persian Empire see above, pp. 25–26.

93. On Hellenistic Bactria see, in general, P. Briant in *L’archéologie de la Bactriane ancienne* (Paris, 1985) 241–51; Leriche in *After Alexander* 121–53; Capdetrey, *Pouvoir* 38–44, 76–82, 367–69, et passim; L. Martinez-Sève, *Chiron* 40 (2010) 1–27; and Coloru, *Da Alessandro*; see also the various illustrated articles in *DA* 247 (October 1999) and *De l’Indus* (exhibition catalogue); and Cambon in *Afghanistan une histoire* 29–35. For the Persian satrapies in this region and in India see, for example, Herzfeld, *Empire* 322–38, 346–47; Briant, *Empire perse* 764–78.

94. For the Persian policy of transplanting Greeks and others to Bactria see above, pp. 25–26.

95. Curtius Rufus (9.7.1) claims that the revolt was the result of fear of punishment rather than hostility to Alexander. In this regard we may also recall Herodotus’s account of the Theraian colonization of Libya (4.153–59). There the colonists attempted to return home because of difficult economic conditions.

96. On the revolt see Koshelenko, *Grecheskij Polis* 181–221; Bernard, *Aï Khanoum* 4:127–28; Coloru, *Da Alessandro* 130–34; and Rougemont, *IGIAC* 203 n. 706. On the “upper satrapies” see, for example, Diod. 20.47.5; App. Syr. 57; Strabo 15.2.1, as well as Musti in *CAH*² 7.1:211; Capdetrey, *Pouvoir* 38–43; Coloru, *Da Alessandro* 134–38.

97. See, for example, Droysen, *Hist.* 2:670–700; Berve, *Alexanderreich* 1:291–301; Tarn, *Alexander* 2:232–59; Fraser, *Cities*; Bosworth, *Conquest* 245–50; N. G. L. Hammond, *GRBS* 39 (1998) 243–69; Seibert, *Alexander* 179–83; Heckel and Yardley, *Alexander the Great* 303–10.

98. Fraser, *Cities* 1–2. On the list of Alexandreias in Stephanos see also M. Billerbeck in her edition of Stephanos; Rapin in *Afghanistan ancien carrefour* 147 n. 24.

99. Fraser, *Cities* 54–55; the lists are identical except for the absence of BOUKEPHALA from the list in the *Mu’jam*.

100. See especially the important discussion in Fraser, *Cities* 47–64;

see also Christensen, *Iran* 50–83.

101. German translation in Nöldeke, *Beiträge* 47.

102. German translation in Nöldeke, *Beiträge* 42.

103. *Sini Mulûk al-'Ard w'al-Anbîyâ* 40, trans. Pourshariati in *Indo-Grecs* 124 (“Alexandria: Amongst the stories that story-tellers have concocted is that Alexander constructed 12 cities in Iran and called all of them Alexandria. These are said to have included cities in Isfahân, Herât, Marv, Samarqand, Sughd, Babylon and Meysân and four cities in the Sawâd of Iraq. But this news is not trustworthy for Alexander was a destroyer and not a constructor”); on Hamza see also Pourshariati’s article in *Indo-Grecs* 111–23.

104. For a French translation of the relevant passages see M. J. de Goeje, *Kitâb al-Masâlik wa'l-Mamâlik . . . et Excerpta e Kitâb al-Kharâdj auctore Kodâma ibn Dja'Far*, BGA 6 (repr., Leiden, 1967) 206–7. On Qudama see, for example, Fraser, *Cities* 56 and n. 27. On the date of Qudama’s death see Heck, *Islamic Civilization* 23–24.

105. On the *Provincial Capitals of Eranshahr* see Markwart, *Provincial Capitals*.

106. *Annales* 280 in *PG* 111:971. See also Fraser, *Cities* 50–51 and nn. 9–10. On Eutychios see, for example, Griffith, *ODB* s.v. “Eutychios of Alexandria.”

107. For a stemma of the western and Oriental traditions of the *Romance* see Fraser, *Cities* 207.

108. See also N. G. L. Hammond, *GRBS* 39 (1998) 247–48.

109. See, for example, Cohen, *Settlements in Europe* 420–23 regarding foundations in Asia Minor that have been attributed to the Macedonian king; contra: Hammond, *GRBS* 39 (1998) 258–62.

110. *HS* 145–46.

111. *Alexander* 2:234.

112. *Cities* 201, 140, 172, 176, 199.

113. *GRBS* 39 (1998) 243–69.

114. On the problem of identifying the various Alexandreias in the East see, for example, Fraser, *Cities*; Rapin in *Afghanistan ancien carrefour* 143–64.

115. Archaeological excavation has prompted Bernard to suggest that there may have been a Hellenistic settlement at MARAKANDA.

116. Eratosthenes in Strabo 15.2.9 = Berger, *Fragmente* IIIB 23,

15.1.10 = *Fragmente* IIIB 6. See also Plut. *Alex.* 62; App. *Syr.* 55; Justin 15.4.

117. See, for example, J. Filliozat, *Epigraphica Indica* 34 (1961–1962) 7; P. Bernard, *Aï Khanoum* 4:85–95 and earlier bibliography in n. 3; id. in *Greek Archaeology* 94–103; *SEG* 52:1521; *I. Estremo Oriente* 291, 292; *Euphrat* 201; *IGIAC* 83 and pp. 168–69 for bibliography. On the political relations between the Mauryan dynasty and the Seleucids see, for example, P. H. L. Eggermont, *Persica* 2 (1965–1966) 56–66.

118. See, for example, Daffina, *L'immigrazione* 31–34; Fraser, *Afghan Studies* 2 (1979) 12 and n. 15; Schober, *Untersuchungen* 156–83; and earlier bibliography in Bernard, *Aï Khanoum* 4:86 n. 4.

119. In general, see Tarn, *GBI*² 70–128; Narain, *The Indo-Greeks*; id. in *CAH*² 8:388–421; Schober, *Untersuchungen* 155–60; Holt, *Thundering Zeus* 126–30.

120. On the chronological question(s) relating to the loss of Parthia and Bactria see, for example, Musti in *CAH*² 7.1:213–16, 219–20; P. Bernard, *Topoi* 4 (1994) 477–80; Holt, *Thundering Zeus* 58–59; and above.

121. Polyb. 11.39.1–10; see, for example, Schmitt, *Antiochos* 65–66; Walbank, *Comment.* 2:312–13; Schober, *Untersuchungen* 181; Holt, *Thundering Zeus* 128–30.

122. See, for example, Dani and Bernard in *Civilizations* 2:88–97.

123. Fraser, *Cities* 42–43; G. Reger, *BMCR* (1997) 527–28.

124. *Cities* 31–33, 240–43.

125. The scholarship on the Greeks in India is quite extensive. In addition to items cited in the various entries see, for example, Eggermont in *Aus dem Osten* 74–83; articles in G. Pollett, ed., *India and the Ancient World* (Leuven, 1987) and in J.-C. Carrière et al., eds., *Inde Grèce ancienne* (Paris, 1995); Capdetrey, *Pouvoir* 43–50; Parker, *Roman India* 11–120; and the literature cited in each.

126. See above, p. 31 n. 87; and P. H. L. Eggermont, *Persica* 2 (1965–1966) 56–58.

I

ARMENIA

ARSAMOSATA

Polybius (8.23[25]) provides our earliest extant evidence for Arsamosata in western Armenia (Sophene). According to him Antiochos III encamped before Armosata (*sic*), which was located near the “Fair Plain,” between the Euphrates and the Tigris. Polybius also says that Xerxes was the king of the city.¹ This Xerxes is probably the son of Arsames, who may have been the founder of Arsamosata.² Pliny (*NH* 6.26) said it was one of the important cities of Greater Armenia, and Tacitus (*Ann.* 15.10) described it as a fortress. Ptolemy (5.13.19) said it was located in the region between the Euphrates and the Tigris. T. A. Sinclair has located Arsamosata at the site of Haraba (now partially covered by the lake created by the Keban Dam).³

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In general see Baumgartner, *RE* s.v. “Arsamosata”; Tcherikover, *HS* 82; Walbank, *Comment.* 2:99; H. E. Hewsen, *REArm* 16 (1982) 136; Schottky, *Media* 105, 175–77; id., *BNP* s.v. “Arsames 4”; Burchard and Treidler, *BNP* s.v. “Arsamosata.”

1. For a version of the **toponym** similar to that found in Polybius see *Not. Episcop.* 1.950 (Ἀρμουσάτων, ed. Parthey). The (probably more correct) toponymic form Arsamosata is found in Tacitus (*Ann.* 15.10.3), Pliny (*NH* 6.26), and Ptolemy (5.13.19). See also Geog. Rav. 2.12.7 (p. 23, “Arsamotasa,” ed. Schnetz) and 2.13.18 (p. 25, “Arsamosatim”).

2. For **Arsames** see, for example, Schottky, *Media* 100–116, 234–35, 242, et passim; and Schmitt, *Antiochos* 37–38; ARSAMEIA on the Euphrates; and ARSAMEIA on the Nymphaios.

For Arsames as the possible **founder** of Arsamosata see, for example, Walbank, *Comment.* 2:99 (citing Beloch, *GG*² 4.2:361 and Holleaux, *Études* 5:321–22; as far as I can see, however, the latter does not make this claim) and Schottky (*Media* 105–6 and *BNP* s.v. “Arsames 4”), who suggested that this Arsames also founded ARSAMEIA on the Euphrates and ARSAMEIA on the Nymphaios in Commagene. Cf. M.-L. Chaumont in *Arméniens* 94 (“Il est permis de supposer que ce nom typiquement perse d’Arsamès [Archama] a été commun à plusieurs membres de la dynastie de Sophène. C’est l’un d’entre eux qui aura été le fondateur de la ville d’Archamachat, l’Arsamosate des auteurs grecs . . . sur l’Arsanias.”).

3. On the **location** see Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey* 3:112–15 (sketch map and plan on pp. 109, 114). Earlier, J. G. C. Anderson (*JHS* 17 [1897] 25 and map in *CAH* 10 opposite p. 255) and Le Strange (*Caliphate* 116 and map opposite p. 87) located Arsamosata at Shamshat/Shimshat. See also Walbank, *Comment.* 2:99; and Hewsen, *REArm* 16 (1982) 137.

ARTAXATA

According to Strabo (11.14.6) Artaxata was founded by Hannibal for King Artaxias. Strabo adds that the city was also called Artaxiasata and was located on the Araxes River. He describes it as “a beautiful settlement and the royal residence (*basileion*) of the country. It is situated on a peninsula-like elbow of land and its walls have the river as protection all around them, except at the isthmus, which is enclosed by a trench and a palisade” (trans. Jones). Plutarch (*Lucullus* 31) gives essentially the same information, namely, that Hannibal suggested to Artaxas (*sic*) that he build a city, and that the king agreed and thereupon asked Hannibal to oversee the building of the city. Plutarch also mentions that it was the royal residence (*basileion*) of Tigranes.¹

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In general see James, *Dict. Geog.* s.v. “Artaxata”; Baumgartner, *RE* s.v. “Artaxata”; Tcherikover, *HS* 82; Treidler, *KP* s.v. “Artaxata”; Manandian, *Armenia* 110, map on p. 111, et passim; Burchard and Treidler, *BNP* s.v. “Artaxata”; R. H. Hewsen, *REArm* 16 (1982) 125–26 (on Ptol. 5.13.12 and 8.19.10; Ptolemy mentions Artaxata among the towns of Armenia).

For the results of excavation at Artaxata see Invernizzi, *Ai piedi dell’Ararat* (bibliography, pp. XIX–XVI, and introductory essay by Invernizzi, pp. XIX–XXIX).

1. With regard to **the relationship of Hannibal and Artaxias** and the credit due each, one might consider ALEXANDREIA near Egypt: Alexander the Great is credited with founding the city, but it is clear that in the initial stages it was Kleomenes and others who actually built it. The Macedonian king was too busy rushing off elsewhere to oversee the day-to-day building of the new settlement.

ARTEMITA

Ptolemy twice mentions an Artemita in Armenia (5.13.21, 8.19.13). These are the only extant ancient attestations for Artemita. M.-L. Chaumont has suggested it was located on the southeastern shore of Lake Van at the site of the town of Edremit.¹ The toponym Artemita is also found in Greece; this suggests that Artemita in Armenia might have been a Hellenistic foundation.²

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In general see Baumgartner, *RE* s.v. “Artemita 2”; R. H. Hewsen, *REArm* 16 (1982) 140; M.-L. Chaumont, *Syria* 70 (1993) 436–39.

1. For the suggested **location** see Chaumont, *Syria* 70 (1993) 437–39 and map on p. 433. For Artamet in the later Armenian sources see Chaumont, pp. 437–38.

2. The **toponym Artemita** was the name of an island (part of the Echinades archipelago) off the southwest coast of Acarnania. Due to silting, it (and other small islands) became attached to the mainland; see Strabo 1.3.18; Pliny *NH* 4.5; Stephanos, s.v. “Artemita”; and Hirschfeld, *RE* s.v. “Artemita 4”; Strauch, *BNP* s.v. “Echinades”; Radt, *Kommentar* 5:166.

EPIPHANEIA ON THE TIGRIS

Stephanos (s.v. “Epiphaneia 4”) is our sole extant source for an Epiphaneia on the Tigris. He adds that it had been called “Arkesikerta” and that it had been founded by Arkesios. A number of sources mention that Antiochos IV Epiphanes conducted a campaign against the Armenian king Artaxias probably in 165 B.C.¹ Furthermore, the loss of the eastern Seleucid territories as a result of the defeat of Antiochos VII Sidetes in 129 B.C. at the hands of the Parthians makes it clear that—if Epiphaneia was a Seleucid settlement—it would have been founded before that date. The confluence of these facts suggests, therefore, that the founder was Antiochos IV.

M.-L. Chaumont suggested one of two possible locations for Epiphaneia: Egil or Diyarbakir (modern AMIDA), both in southeastern Turkey.²

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In general see Droysen, *Hist.* 2:747; Weissbach, *RE* s.v. “Epiphaneia 6”;

Meyer, *Ursprung* 2:140; Tcherikover, *HS* 82; Mørkholm, *Antiochus* 116–17; Grainger, *Prospopography* 718; Mittag, *Antiochos IV* 203–4, 208; M.-L. Chaumont, *Syria* 70 (1993) 434–36; Fraser, *Terminology* 373.

1. For **Antiochos's campaign in Armenia**: Diod. 31.17a; App. *Syr.* 45, 66; Porph. *FGrH* 260 F38 and 56; see also Strabo 11.14.5 (Artaxias). In addition, see Mørkholm, *Antiochus* 166–67; Schottky, *Media* 192–95; Brodersen, *Komment.* 65.

2. For the **location** of Epiphaneia see the map in Chaumont, *Syria* 70 (1993) 433. Note that in his enumeration of settlements founded by Seleukos I Nikator, Ps.-Dionysius of Tel Mahre mentioned AMIDA on the Tigris River. Assuming that this information is correct, one could further suggest that the settlement was subsequently renamed by Antiochos IV; cf. EDESSA/ANTIOCH on the Kallirhoe. But this is highly speculative, and I would not press it.

NICEA NIALIA

The only extant source for Nicea Nialia is the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (XI.1).¹ Undoubtedly, as J.-G. Droysen suggested, the reference is to a Nikaia, and “Nialia” could be emended to “Paralia.” M.-L. Chaumont speculated that the reference could be to a Nikaia or a Nikopolis. We do not know the exact location. K. Miller suggested it was located southeast of Lake Urmia, in the vicinity of Sindschid or Sainkala.² We should need additional information to affirm that the toponym recorded in the *Tabula Peutingeriana* reflects the (earlier) presence of a Hellenistic settlement.

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In general see Droysen, *Hist.* 2:747; Miller, *Itineraria* 782; J. Markwart, *REArm* 3 (1966) 313; Tcherikover, *HS* 83; M.-L. Chaumont, *Syria* 70 (1993) 441.

1. Chaumont also suggested that Nicea Nialia should be identified with Nicanicio in the Geog. Rav. 2.11.16 (ed. Schnetz). Note, however, that the *Tab. Peut.* (XI.1) distinguishes Naucanio (identical with Nicanicio recorded by the Geog. Rav.?) and Nicea Nialia (see also Markwart, *REArm* 3 [1966] 313; and Chaumont, *Syria* 70 [1993] 440 n. 41).

2. On the suggested **location** southeast of Lake Urmia see Miller, *Itineraria* 782 and 783–84 (map), followed by Tcherikover, *HS* 83, and Chaumont, *Syria* 70 (1993) 441 and map on p. 433.

NIKOPOLIS

In his enumeration of settlements founded by Seleukos I, Appian (*Syr.* 57) included a Nikopolis in Armenia (ἐν Ἀρμενία τῇ ἀγχοτάτῳ μάλιστα Καππαδοκίας). In fact, Appian elsewhere (*Mith.* 105, 115) ascribed the foundation to Pompey. Other ancient sources—for example, Strabo (12.328), Cassius Dio (36.50.3), and Orosius (6.4.7)—also attributed the founding to Pompey.¹ We may, therefore, assume that at *Syrica* 57 Appian erred.²

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In general see Droysen, *Hist.* 2:748; Tcherikover, *HS* 84, 166; Sturm, *RE* s.v. “Nikopolis 8”; Brodersen, *Komment.* 162; Orth, *Diadochenzeit* 129–30.

1. Jones (*CERP*² 244, 452) dismissed the possibility that Alexander founded a NIKOPOLIS in northern Syria to commemorate his victory over Darius at Issos (see evidence and discussion in that entry). He admitted that Appian’s description of Nicopolis as ἐν Ἀρμενία τῇ ἀγχοτάτῳ μάλιστα Καππαδοκίας (*Syr.* 57) was “odd,” but suggested that it was “intelligible if it be remembered that Commagene was at that date part of Armenia.” Jones was therefore willing to accept Appian’s statement as evidence that Seleukos founded Nikopolis east of the Amanos Mountains in honor of one of his own victories. Olshausen (*KP* s.v. “Nikopolis 6”) raised the possibility that the place had been founded by Seleukos (“originally under another name?”) and then rebuilt by Pompey.

2. On the occasional **errors in Appian’s list** see Cohen, *Settlements in Syria* 3.

PHILADELPHIA

The *Tabula Peutingeriana* (X.5) records a “Filadelfia” on the road between Artaxata and Ekbatana. This is the only extant source for the settlement. We do not definitely know who was the founder. Three possibilities have been proposed: the Seleucid Demetrios II Theos Philadelphos Nikator, the Parthian Arsakes II, or Artabanos I.¹

The location is not definitely known.²

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In general see Droysen, *Hist.* 2:748; Tcherikover, *HS* 83; M.-L. Chaumont, *Syrie* 70 (1993) 440.

1. Droysen suggested that the founder was the Seleucid **Demetrios II Theos Philadelphos Nikator**; followed by Chaumont, *Syria* 70 (1993) 440. Demetrios led a military expedition to the East in 140 B.C. (*I Macc.* 14.1 says the objective was Media. Josephus, *AJ* 13.184, says he went to Mesopotamia, planning to take control of it and Babylon and thereby get control of the upper satrapies. His plan was to make war on Arsakes and overcome the Parthians. Porphyry, *FGrH* 260.32 [16], says he marched against Arsakes to Babylon and the upper regions.) But the short duration of the expedition and his defeat (and capture by the Parthians) make one wonder if he had the time or opportunity to found a settlement in Armenia during the campaign. As for his epithets we may note that he is called “Nikator” or “Nikanor” in the literary evidence (e.g., Joseph. *AJ* 13.120 and Porph. *FGrH* 260.32 [16]). The epithet Philadelphos Nikator or (more frequently) Theos Philadelphos Nikator is found on coins (see, for example, *Hunter. Coll.* 3:67–70, nos. 1–16, 21–22; *SNG Spaer* 1598–1611, 1614–29, 1632–33, 1637–46, 1652) and in a fragmentary inscription from New Paphos (*SEG* 13:585.2–3; and T. B. Mitford, *OA* 1 [1953] 146 n. 33). See also Brodersen, *Komment.* 216.

Miller believed the settlement was founded by Arsakes II (*Itineraria* 781: “erbaut von Arsacus II Philadelphus”); however, I am not aware of any coins of Arsakes II with the single epithet Philadelphos. Tcherikover tentatively suggested Artabanos I (*HS* 83). For coins of Artabanos I with the epithet Philadelphos see, for example, Head, *HN2* 819; *BMC Parthia* 21, nos. 4, 11[?]; Sellwood, *Parthia*² 58, 62, nos. 20, 22; Shore, *Parthian Coins* 98, nos. 59, 63–64.

Note that Chaumont objected that the Arsacids did not normally give Greek names to the cities in their kingdom (*Syria* 70 [1993] 440).

2. **Location.** Miller believed the settlement was located north of Lake Urmia in northwestern Iran, between the cities of Khoi and Marand (*Itineraria* 781 and 783–84 [map]; see also the map in Matheson, *Persia*² 77). Manandian also placed it on the north shore of Lake Urmia, between Khoi and Tasvich (*Armenia* 110, 113, and map on p. 111); Kiessling (*RE* s.v. “Filadelfia”) remarked simply that it was in Media Atropatene. In general see Chaumont, *Syria* 70 (1993) 440.

TIGRANOKERTA

In his account of Tigranes II, Strabo remarks (11.14.15) that the king filled

Tigranokerta with people gathered from twelve “Greek cities” that he ravaged (ἔρημωθεισῶν). Elsewhere (12.2.9) Strabo says that after Tigranes overran Cappadocia, he forced the inhabitants—including the inhabitants of Mazaka—to migrate to Mesopotamia; furthermore, he adds that the Armenian king populated Tigranokerta with these people. Plutarch (*Luc.* 21.4, 26.1, 29.2) also refers to Tigranes’s removal and resettlement of “Greeks” from Cilicia and Cappadocia to Tigranokerta and mentions Soloi in Cilicia among the cities that Tigranes had devastated (*Pomp.* 28). Finally, Appian (*Mith.* 67) says that Tigranes named the city after himself and that the total number of people transplanted from Cappadocia to Armenia was approximately 300,000; he also informs us that Tigranes founded Tigranokerta at the site where he had first assumed the diadem of Armenia.¹ This suggests that Tigranokerta was founded at the site of an older, Assyrian town.²

There is no agreement regarding the location of Tigranokerta. According to M.-L. Chaumont, “Les auteurs anciens (grecs, latins, arméniens) nous livrent explicitement ou accessoirement maints renseignements concernant la situation géographique de la fondation de Tigraane, renseignements qui ne sont pas en parfaite conformité les uns avec les autres.”³

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In general see Droysen, *Hist.* 2:747; Lehmann-Haupt, *RE* s.v. “Tigranokert”; Tcherikover, *HS* 83; Dillemann, *Mésopotamie* 245–72; Manandian, *Armenia* 58–63 et passim; Sullivan, *Royalty* 100–102; Sherwin-White, *OCD*³ s.v. “Tigranes (1) II” and “Tigranocerta”; Biffi, *Strabone* 164–65; M.-L. Chaumont, *REArm* 16 (1982) 89–110; id., *REArm* 21 (1988–1989) 233–49; Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey* 3:361–63; id., *REArm* 25 (1994–1995) 183–254; and id., *REArm* 26 (1996–1997) 51–117.

1. For **other ancient Greek and Latin sources that mention Tigranokerta** see, for example, Strabo 11.12.4, 16.1.23; Pliny *NH* 6.26; Tac. *Ann.* 15.4; App. *Mith.* 84–86; Plut. *Luc.* 25.3–29.4; Ptol. 5.13.22 (on which see R. H. Hewsen, *REArm* 16 [1982] 141–42); Eutropius 6.9.1; *Tab. Peut.* X.3 (“Triganocarten”). On the evidence of the Armenian *Buzandaran Patmut’iwnk’* (fifth century A.D.), which, according to Sinclair, favors Arzan as the site of Tigranokerta see, for example, *REArm* 25 (1994–1995) 189–93.

2. For the **suggestion that Tigranokerta was founded at the site of an older, Assyrian town** see, for example, Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien*

einst und jetzt 1:396–98 (followed by Tcherikover, *HS* 84); and Sinclair, *REArm* 25 (1994–1995) 214–15; id., *REArm* 26 (1996–1997) 94–95.

3. For the **location** see, for example, Sinclair, *REArm* 25 (1994–1995) 183–254 (east of the Tigris basin at Arzan); Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien einst und jetzt* 1:395–98; id., *RE* s.v. “Tigranokert” (at the site of Silvan = Martyropolis); Dillemann, *Mésopotamie* 252–53 (Tell Ermen = Kiziltepe). For the various locations that have been suggested as the site of Tigranokerta and the advocates for each see, for example, Lehmann-Haupt, *RE* s.v. “Tigranokert”; B. W. Henderson, *JP* 28 (1903) 99–121; Dillemann, *Mésopotamie* 247–62; Syme in *Roman Anatolia* 61–70; Chaumont, *REArm* 16 (1982) 89–109; Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey* 3:361–63; id., *REArm* 25 (1994–1995) 183–254 and map 2 on p. 188; id., *REArm* 26 (1996–1997) 51–117.

II

NORTHERN MESOPOTAMIA

ALAGMA

Before ICHNAI and NIKEPHORION Isidore of Charax (1) mentions Alagma and says it was a fortress and a royal station. Tcherikover incorrectly recorded the toponym as “Agalma.”¹ Following on this misreading, he noted that the word is Greek, but questioned whether we are dealing here with a city.

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In general see Fraenkel, *RE* s.v. “Alagma”; Tcherikover, *HS* 85–86.

1. The texts of both Müller (*GGM* 1:246) and Jacoby (*FGrH* 781) have “Alagma.”

ALEXANDREIA IN MESOPOTAMIA

The Armenian version of the *Alexander Romance* includes an “Alexandria of Mesopotamia” (285, trans. Wolohojian) in the list of settlements it ascribes to the Macedonian king. This, incidentally, is the only attestation in the *Romance* tradition for this settlement.¹ Can we identify this settlement?

Pliny (*NH* 6.42)—who occasionally jumbles his information—refers to both an *Alexandreia* and an *Antioch* (which he specifies was *Nisibis*) in *Mygdonia*.² Of course, *Mygdonia* was in northern Mesopotamia. P. M. Fraser, who did not refer to Pliny, *NH* 6.41–42 in his brief discussion, has suggested that the *Alexandreia* of Mesopotamia mentioned in the Armenian list corresponds to the third *Antioch* in *Stephanos*’s enumeration of cities of that name.³ *Stephanos* (s.v.) describes the latter as Μεσοποταμίας, Μυγδονία καλουμένη ἥτις πρὸς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων Νάσιβις καλεῖται . . . ἥτις [καὶ] Νέσιβις λέγεται καὶ Νίσιβις. If this identification is correct and if the information about *Alexandreia* is reliable, it would indicate that there was an *Alexandreia* in *Mygdonia*. It would, of course, also strengthen the view that *ANTIOCH* in *Mygdonia* was previously founded as an *Alexandreia*.⁴

Fraser, however, would remove *Pliny*’s *Alexandreia* from *Mygdonia* and locate it in either *Adiabene* or *Assyria*.⁵

In general see Droysen, *Hist.* 2:669–70; Tcherikover, *HS* 96; Tarn, *Alexander* 2:239 and n. 5; M.-L. Chaumont, *IrAnt* 17 (1982) 151–53; Fraser, *Cities* 33.

1. In the **list of settlements attributed to Alexander** at the end of the *Alexander Romance* the Armenian version has Alexandria of Scythia followed by Alexandria of Mesopotamia, Alexandria on the Dklat' (the Armenian name for the Tigris) River, and Alexandria of Babylon. The A recension (ed. Kroll) has Alexandria in Scythia followed by Alexandria on the Tigris River, and Alexandria in Babylonia. On the importance and reliability of the Armenian version of the *Alexander Romance* see, for example, Wolohojian, *Romance* 3–5; and Jouanno, *Roman* 7.

2. Pliny *NH* 6.41–42 (trans. Rackham): “Adiabene, where the land of the Assyrians begins; the part of Adibene nearest to Syria is Arbilitis, where Alexander conquered Darius. The Macedonians have given to the whole of Adiabene the name of Mygdonia. . . . Its towns are Alexandria and Antiochia.” For **errors in Pliny’s geographic discussions** see, for example, *NH* 5.108, where he mistakenly inserted a list of Phrygian localities into his enumeration of Carian cities, and *NH* 6.159, where he erroneously inserted a comment about some Syrian cities in the middle of his description of Arabia; see further EUMENEIA in Caria; LARISA Sizara; Jones, *CERP*² 504; and Fraser, *Cities* 93–96. See also ANTIOCH Arabis and ARETHOUSA (in southern Mesopotamia and the Persian Gulf).

3. Fraser, *Cities* 33.

4. Another possible—weak—**reference to Alexander founding or naming a settlement in the area of Nisibis** is Malalas (16.10, *CFHB* 35.327). He recounts a story (probably apocryphal) of how Alexander named a *chorion* DORA. Dara/Dora, which was subsequently refounded as Anastasiopolis by Anastasios I in the early sixth century A.D., was located approximately 30 km northeast of Nisibis. However, Malalas’s information is insufficient for definitely positing an Alexandrian foundation near Nisibis.

5. See ALEXANDREIA Arbela.

ALEXANDREIA IN MYGDONIA

See ALEXANDREIA in Mesopotamia.

AMIDA

In his enumeration of settlements founded by Seleukos I Nikator, Ps.-Dionysius of Tel Mahre mentions Amida on the Tigris River.¹ I am not aware of any other extant evidence to corroborate this information. In the early fourth century A.D. Constantius fortified the site and wanted it to be renamed after himself (Amm. 18.9.1).² Amida was located north of the Tur 'Abdin at the site of the modern Diyarbakir.³

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In general see Baumgartner, *RE* s.v. "Amida"; Gabriel, *Turquie orientale* 85-205; Oates, *Northern Iraq* 103-5; Pollard, *Roman Syria* 288-90.

1. *Incerti Auctoris Chronicon Pseudo Dionysianum vulgo Dictum* I, p. 47 (trans. J.-B. Chabot, *CSCO* 121, *Scriptores Syri* III.1 *Versio* 37 [p. 47]). Note that Synkellos (ed. Mosshammer, p. 331) omits this information. Cf. Germanikeia/Mar'ash, which both Michael the Syrian (5.4 [74], trans. Chabot) and Bar Hebraeus (37, trans. Wallis Budge) included in lists of settlements attributed to Seleukos I Nikator. Michael the Syrian and Bar Hebraeus are the only extant sources I am aware of who made this attribution.

2. See Millar, *Near East* 209; Pollard, *Roman Syria* 288-90.

3. On Amida see Mango in Bell, *Tur 'Abdin* 105; Mango, *ODB* s.v. "Amida"; Millar, *Near East* 209. For the city and its monuments under Muslim rule see M. van Berchem and J. Strzygowski, *Amida* (Heidelberg, 1910); description of the site and plan on pp. 7-12. On the city wall see D. van Berchem, *Syria* 31 (1954) 262-67. In general on Diyarbakir see Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey* 3:164-96.

For the **location** see map at the end of Bell, *Tur 'Abdin*.

ANTHEMOUSIAS CHARAX SIDOU

According to Isidore of Charax (1), Charax Sidou was called ὑπὸ δὲ Ἑλλήνων Ἀνθεμουσιάς πόλις and was located 8 *schoinoi* (c. 44 km) from APAMEIA on the Euphrates. Tacitus remarked (*Ann.* 6.41) that Anthemousias, along with NIKEPHORION and other cities, was founded by Macedonians and had a Greek name. Stephanos (s.v. "Anthemous") described Anthemous as a *polis* of Macedonia and Syria (*sic*).¹ Anthemous was the name of both a region and a town in Macedonia, after which the Mesopotamian town was obviously named.² Interestingly, in Mesopotamia

“Anthemousias” was also used to refer to both the city and the region.³ Thus, Ammianus (14.3.3) says that the town of Batnai, which he describes as an important mercantile center, was earlier founded by a band of Macedonians in (the region of) Anthemousias. In fact, the identity of Batnai and Anthemousias is widely accepted. The Syrian Christians of the early sixth century A.D. called the town Batnai Sarugi or Batnai in Sarugo, namely, the modern Suruç in southeastern Turkey.⁴

A bronze of Antiochos I with the letters ANΘ as a mint mark may have been minted (at Edessa?) for Anthemousias. Coinage also survives from the reign of Caracalla.⁵

Anthemousias/Charax Sidou was renamed Marcopolis. Precisely when this happened is not known; J. Teixidor has suggested it took place sometime after 213 A.D.⁶

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In general see Mannert, *Geographie* 5.2:290–91; Fraenkel, *RE* s.vv. “Anthemusia,” “Batnai”; Streck, *RE Suppl.* I, s.vv. “Anthemusia,” “Batnai”; G. F. Hill, *BMC Arabia, etc.* lxxxvii; K. Regling, *Klio* 1 (1901) 450–54; Dussaud, *Topographie* 480; Tcherikover, *HS* 85; Biffi, *Strabone* 169; Bousdroukis, *Recherches* 76–108.

1. **A number of variant forms are attested for the toponym;** thus, Anthemousias (Strabo 16.1.27; Tac. *Ann.* 6.41); Anthemusius (Festus *Brev.* 20 [ed. Eadie]); Anthem(o)usia (Pliny *NH* 5.86; Eutropius 8.3; Ptol. 5.18.4; Amm. 14.3.3; *CIL* VI.1377.17 = Dessau, *ILS* 1098, second century A.D.); Anthem(o)us (Pliny *NH* 6.118; Stephanos, s.v. “Anthemous”); see also Regling, *Klio* 1 (1901) 453.

2. For **Anthemous in Macedonia** see, for example, Hirschfeld, *RE* s.v. “Anthemus”; Papazoglou, *Villes* 202–3; and Bousdroukis, *Recherches* 76.

3. There is no agreement regarding the significance of the terms **“Anthemous,” “Anthemousia,” and “Anthemousias.”** According to Regling, Anthemousia referred to the region, while Anthemousias referred to the city (*Klio* 1 [1901] 453–54). Jones’s (*CERP*² 442 n. 4) claim that Anthemous was probably the name of the city and Anthemousias the name of the district is probably overstated. Syme observed (*Anatolica* 107) that “strictly speaking, Anthemus was the city (otherwise Batnae), Anthemousia the region, but the usage was lax.” Bousdroukis (*Recherches* 76–77) claimed that—especially in the Roman period sources—the name of the town appeared as “Anthemousia” while the name of the region was “Anthemousias.” It would appear, based on the extant evidence, that

“Anthemous” referred only to the city. On the other hand, it is not clear in a number of instances whether “Anthemousias” referred to the city or the region: thus, for example, Strabo 16.1.27 (cf., however—also in 16.1.27—where Strabo specifically calls Anthemousias a τόπος); Eutropius 8.3; and Festus *Brev.* 20, ed. Eadie (Eutropius’s and Festus’s description of Anthemousias [“magnam/optimam Persidis regionem”] is most probably an error; undoubtedly it refers to Babylonia, which follows in their enumeration; see Dillemann, *Mésopotamie* 285). For the use of Anthemousias to describe the region see, for example, Ptol. 5.18.4; Amm. 14.3.3; Arr. *Parth.* frag. 55; and *CIL* VI.1377.17 (= Dessau, *ILS* 1098.9–10, second century A.D.). At Cassius Dio 68.21 I believe the term refers to the city (Sporakes is described as the φύλαρχος of Anthemousias; cf. Arrian [*Parth.* frag. 42], who says that Abgar, the king of EDESSA at the time of Trajan, was Ὀσροήνης χώρας δυνάστης and was known as a *phylarches* because his districts were called *phylai*; on φύλαρχος meaning “sheik” see A. R. Bellinger and C. B. Welles, *YCS* 5 [1935] 134 n. 51). On the other hand, Dillemann (*Mésopotamie* 102) understands this to refer to the region. Interestingly, Batnai (which was probably identical with Anthemousias; see below, n. 4), was also used for both the region as well as the city; see Isidore of Charax 1; and Syme, *Anatolia* 107 n. 96.

In general see the discussions of Fraenkel, Streck, Regling, and Bousdroukis cited above.

4. The ancient evidence for the **location** of Anthemousias suggests a (relative) proximity to the Euphrates. Thus, Ammianus (14.3.3) says Anthemousias was close to the Euphrates (“ab Euphrate flumine brevi spatio disparatur”). Strabo (16.1.27) describes it as a place (τόπος) in Mesopotamia near which one could cross the Euphrates (ἡ μὲν οὖν διάβασις τοῦ Εὐφφράτου κατὰ τὴν Ἀνθεμουσίαν ἐστίν). For the **identification of Batnai and Anthemousias and thence with Suruç** see, for example, Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 1:283–85; Ritter, *Erdkunde* 10:1118, 11:249; Chesney, *Expedition* 1:114; Müller in *GGM* 1:245–46; James, *Dict. Geog.* s.v. “Batnae”; Regling, *Klio* 1 (1901) 451–55; Streck, *RE Suppl.* I, s.v. “Anthemousia”; Fraenkel, *RE* s.v. “Batnai”; Dussaud, *Topographie* 480; Syme, *Anatolica* 107 n. 96; Gawlikowski in *GHPO* 81; T. Gnoli, *Med. Ant.* 2 (1999) 341–44; and Sartre, *Alexandre* 645 and n. 43, as well as other scholars cited in Bousdroukis, *Recherches* 78 and n. 16. For the identification of Batnai with Suruç in the Syriac texts see Assameni, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 1:290, 2:321–22 (cf. Abbeloos, *De Vita et Scriptis Sancti Jacobi* 313). A major argument for the identification of Batnai and Anthemousias is the following: Isidore says the distance between APAMEIA and Anthemousias is 8 *schoinoi*. According to

Gawlikowski (in *GHPO* 81), the distance as the crow flies between the Euphrates opposite Belkis (the site of ancient SELEUKEIA/Zeugma) and Suruç is 45 km. Chesney—who also equated Batnai with Suruç—estimated the distance from the Euphrates at Birecik (MAKEDONOUPLIS) to Suruç to be 23 miles (= c. 37 km) (*Expedition* 1:111, 114 and map I; Müller in *GGM* 1:246; and map in Dillemann, *Mésopotamie* 178). Cf. Bousdroukis (*Recherches* 79–95), who has argued that Anthemousias and Batnai were distinct towns that were, however, very close to each other. Among other things, Bousdroukis claims (79, 88) that Isidore (1) distinguished between the towns of Anthemousias and Batnai. In fact Isidore says Χάραξ Σίδου, ὑπὸ δὲ Ἑλλήνων Ἀνθεμουσιὰς πόλις. One may well question whether Batnai is the name of a town (as Bousdroukis suggests) or—more probably—the name of the region in which Koraia was located. On the other hand—in support of Bousdroukis—we may note that Stephanos mentioned both Anthemous and Batnai (s.vv.). Amir Harrak informs me that in Yakut, 1:447–48 (Yāqūt al-Hamawī, Shahab al-Dīn, *Muʿjam al-buldan* [Beirut, 1986]), “Batnan is ‘the name of the valley between Manbij and Aleppo’ so slightly south of Saroug, unlike the Syriac references which associate it with Saroug. Yakut highlights Batnan as a region.”

At *NH* 5.86 Pliny mentions Anthemusia and NIKEPHORION in Mesopotamia; at 6.118–19 he says that southeast of the Sitrae is the town of Azochis and nearby (“mox in campestribus oppida”) are the towns of DIOSPAGE, POLYTELIA, STRATON IKEIA, and Anthemous. He then says that in the vicinity of the Euphrates was Nikephorion. The latter passage is problematic and may simply reflect, as Tcherikover (*HS* 85) and Dillemann (*Mésopotamie* 101) have suggested, carelessness on the part of Pliny. On confusion in Pliny see ALEXANDREIA in Mesopotamia, n. 2.

5. The **royal bronze with the letters ANΘ** (Houghton and Lorber, *Seleucid Coins* 1.1:136, no. 361.1): Houghton and Lorber called attention to a similar coin—head of Athena in crested Corinthian helmet on the obverse, trophy and ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ and the letters ΕΔΕ on the reverse—from Edessa (*Seleucid Coins* 1.1: no. 361.2; and *WSM* 797). Newell interpreted the letters ΕΔΕ as a mint mark representing the name of Edessa. Houghton and Lorber pointed out that the letters ANΘ were in the same position on *Seleucid Coins* no. 361.1 as ΕΔΕ on *WSM* no. 797. Hence, they suggested that Edessa, which was the more important of the two towns, may have minted the coin for Anthemousias.

For the **coinage** see, for example, *BMC Arabia, etc.* 81, nos. 1–2. The coins have either the toponym (ΑΝΘΕΜΟΥΣΙΑ) or the ethnic (ΑΝΘΕΜΟΥΣΙΩΝ).

6. The **identification of Anthemousias/Charax Sidou with**

Marcopolis was demonstrated by U. Monneret de Villard (*Rendiconti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche* 6 [1951] 81–82), who noted that Kaioumas, the bishop of Marcopolis who attended the Council of Chalcedon in 451 (ACO 2:1.1, p. 59; 2:2, p. 100[296]; 3:1, p. 32; 3:2, pp. 142 and 76) was recorded in the Syriac list of attendees as Qaiuma from Haikla de-Sida (F. Schulthess, “Die syrischen Kanones der Synoden von Nicaea bis Chalcedon,” *Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* [1908] 115, l. 42). (For the comparative use of the evidence of Greek, Latin, and Syriac episcopal lists to identify settlements cf., for example, HERAKLEIA Arka in Phoenicia and MAKEDONO UPOLIS in northern Mesopotamia.)

Further support for the identification of Charax Sidou/Anthemousias with Marcopolis was provided by two Syriac texts on parchment that were part of a group of documents dated to the mid-third century A.D. found in the region of the Middle Euphrates (for the initial announcement of this discovery see D. Feissel and J. Gascou, *CRAI* [1989] 535–61). Both texts mention a certain Worod son of Nisharyahab. The first text—dated to 240 A.D.—was written at Haikla-Karka-de-Sida la Neuve. The second text—dated to 242 A.D.—was written at Marcopolis TR [Thera?] (J. Teixidor, *ZPE* 76 [1989] 219–22 and *CRAI* [1990] 146–56; Drijvers and Healey, *Old Syriac Inscriptions* 237–42 and 243–48; see also D. Feissel and J. Gascou, *JS* [1995] 65–119; and T. Gnoli, *Med. Ant.* 2 [1999] 341–44).

For the date of the renaming of Anthemousias as Marcopolis see Teixidor, *CRAI* (1990) 156.

ANTIOCH ARABIS

Pliny (*NH* 6.117) mentions Antiochia Arabis, which he says was founded by Nikanor when he was governor of Mesopotamia (“item in Arabum gente qui Orroei vocantur et Mandani/Mardani Antiochiam quae a praefecto Mesopotamiae Nicanore condita Arabs [or Arabis/Arabes] vocatur”). This is all that is definitely known regarding this settlement. It is not clear whether Antioch Arabis is a separate settlement or identifiable with one of the two already-known Antiochs in northern Mesopotamia (ANTIOCH in Mygdonia, ANTIOCH on the Kallirhoe/EDESSA), with some other unknown settlement, or, less probably, with NIKEPHORION Constantina/Constantia.¹ Furthermore, given Pliny’s occasional tendency to repeat geographic information, it is unlikely—unless new evidence appears—that a definitive identification can be made.

In general see Fraenkel, *RE* s.v. “Antiocheia 9”; Rostovtzeff, *Kondakov Institute* (1938) 103-4; Dillemann, *Mésopotamie* 78; Bousdroukis, *Recherches* 30, 50-55; ALEXANDREIA in Mesopotamia, n. 2; ANTIOCH in Mygdonia; and NIKEPHORION Constantina/Constantia, n. 4.

1. Regarding the **identification of Antioch Arabis**: at one point (*NH* 5.86) Pliny quite specifically says EDESSA/ANTIOCH on the Kallirhoe was in Arabia. At another point (*NH* 6.42) he mentions that ANTIOCH Nisibis was in Mygdonia. Hence it might be argued that Pliny was thinking of the former city. However, Theophylact Simocatta (5.3.2, ed. de Boor and Wirth) refers to Nisibis as τῆς Ἀραβίας. Pliny’s additional note, that the tribes to which Antioch belonged were the Orroei and the Mardani, confirms that Edessa and Nisibis were both considered to be in Arabia (see Bousdroukis, *Recherches* 50-53). As a result, Rostovtzeff has reasonably suggested that Arabis might have been one of the names of one of the Antiochs of Mesopotamia—either Antioch on the Kallirhoe/Edessa (which Pliny mentions at *NH* 5.86) or Antioch in Mygdonia (which he mentions at *NH* 6.42). In short, Rostovtzeff has suggested (*Kondakov Institute* [1938] 104) that Pliny had “probably confused two Antiochs, both in Arabia, both founded by Seleucus and both, perhaps creations of Nicanor.” See also Newell, *WSM* 66 n. 68. Grainger hesitated between Edessa and Nisibis, though he ultimately opted for the latter (*Seleukos* 96). Bousdroukis vacillated. At one point (*Recherches* 30) he (tentatively) preferred identifying Antioch Arabis with Nisibis (“sans qu’on puisse décider de façon définitive sur l’identité de cette Antioche”). At another (*Recherches* 52-53) he expressed a preference for EDESSA.

Dillemann’s suggestion that Antioch Arabis was one of the ancient names of Viranshehir is not convincing (*Mésopotamie* 78); see further NIKEPHORION Constantina/Constantia.

ANTIOCH IN MYGDONIA

Nisibis in Mygdonia was an old, native city where a Hellenistic settlement was established. It is not clear, however, who the founder was. There are at least two pieces of evidence—both problematic—that can be brought to bear on this question.

An inscription found at Rome says Nikator founded the settlement at Nisibis: πόλιν παρ’ ἱρήν, ἣν ἔδειμε Νικάτωρ | ἐλαιόθηλον ἀμφὶ Μυγδόνοϛ νᾶμα.¹ Note, however, that there is no mention of the actual name of the

settlement. As for the founder, Mommsen suggested emending Νικάτωρ to Νικάνωρ.²

Pliny (*NH* 6.117) says: “item in Arabum gente qui Orroei vocantur et Mandani/Mardani Antiochiam quae a praefecto Mesopotamiae Nicanore condita Arabs/Arabia vocatur.” Unfortunately, we cannot definitely identify either the Nikanor³ or the Antioch⁴ mentioned by Pliny. It is quite possible that the Nikanor in question was the Seleucid official who also founded DOURA EUROPOS. In the years before the battle of Ipsos in 301 B.C., Babylonia formed the heartland of Seleukos’s empire. Thus, the founding of EDESSA in 302 B.C.—and possibly DOURA EUROPOS and Antioch in Mygdonia around the same time—would have provided an important defensive barrier in the north, if the region was already under Seleucid control.⁵

It is unclear whether there was a royal mint at Nisibis in the early third century B.C. E. T. Newell tentatively raised the possibility that there might have been a mint there as early as the reign of Seleukos I Nikator. On the other hand, A. Houghton and C. Lorber claimed that no major mint could be identified at Nisibis until the reign of Seleukos II. The mint was then active under Antiochos III. There is no extant royal coinage under Antiochos IV Epiphanes. However, during his reign the city issued quasimunicipal coins with the ethnic ANTIOXEΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΜΥΓΔΟΝΙΑΙ. Following this, royal minting continued: Demetrios I produced coins there. In addition, Timarchos (during his revolt against Demetrios, c. 162–160 B.C.), as well as Alexander Balas and Demetrios II, may also have minted coins at Nisibis.⁶ The appearance of the Dioskouroi on some of the coins of Nisibis provides evidence for the importance of these divinities there.⁷

The ethnic ANTIOXEΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΜΥΓΔΟΝΙΑΙ on the quasi-municipal coinage has prompted the suggestion that Antiochos Epiphanes refounded—or renamed—the city. However, O. Mørkholm correctly noted that the appearance of these coins provides only the *terminus ante quem* for the foundation or refoundation and not the precise date for that event.⁸ Nevertheless, in the case of Antioch in Mygdonia we may have some additional evidence. According to Julian (*Or.* 2.62B), the city was named for “*King Antiochos*” (italics mine). This information excludes Seleukos Nikator as the person who gave the city its name, because his father, Antiochos, was not a king. It does leave open the possibility that a later Seleucid king—quite possibly Epiphanes—named it for himself or for his father. It is quite possible, therefore, that—as happened at EDESSA—Seleukos founded a colony at Nisibis and Antiochos renamed/refounded it.

The only other extant information about Hellenistic Antioch is given by

Polybius (5.51.1), who says that during his pursuit of Molon, Antiochos III stopped at “Antioch in Mygdonia” for forty days; this happened in 221 B.C. We do not know if Polybius was using the toponym retrospectively or if the town had that name in 221. If the latter, then obviously Epiphanes would be excluded as the founder. In later times we know that the city was called Antioch by the Greeks but Nisibis by the natives.⁹

The city was variously known as Ἀντιόχεια ἡ ἐν Μυγδονίᾳ (Polyb. 5.51.1); Ἀντιόχεια ἡ ἐν τῇ Μυγδονίᾳ (Strabo 16.1.23); Ἀντιόχεια Μυγδονική (Plut. *Luc.* 32.3); Ἀντιόχεια τῆς Μυγδονίας (Theophylact Simocatta 3.6.1; Theodoret *Hist. Eccl.* 755 [PG 82:917]); ἡ πρὸς τῷ Μυγδονίῳ Ἀντιόχεια (Ioannes Lydus *De Mag.* 3.34); and Ἀντιόχεια ἡ Ἐπιμυγδονία (Joseph. *AJ* 20.68). Plutarch says the barbarians called it Νίσιβις and the Greeks called it Ἀντιόχεια Μυγδονική (*Luc.* 32.4). Among the victors of the Panathenaia in 166/5 B.C. was Menodoros the son of Artemidoros, an Ἀντιοχεὺς ἀπὸ Μυγδονί(ας).¹⁰

Nisibis was located at the foot of Mt. Masios (Tur ‘Abdin), on the Mygdonios (modern Jaghjaghah) River at the site of modern Nusaybin.¹¹

* * * *

In general see Tcherikover, *HS* 89f.; J. Sturm, *RE* s.v. “Nisibis 1”; Markwart, *Provincial Capitals* 62, 64; Honigmann and Bosworth, *EI* s.v. “Nashibin”; Orth, *Diadochenzeit* 130; M. Mango in Bell, *Tur ‘Abdin* 142; Bousdroukis, *Recherches* 30–34; A. Primo, *AClass* 80 (2011) 179–84.

1. For the **inscription found at Rome** see *CIG* 6856.5–6 = *IG* 14:1374 = *IGUR* 3.1151 = *I. Estremo Oriente* 3 = *Euphrat* 505.

2. For the **suggested emendation of Νικάτωρ to Νικάνωρ** see Mommsen in Kaibel, *Epigr.* 549; and Rostovtzeff, *Kondakov Institute* (1938) 104 (“corrected perhaps correctly into Νικάνωρ”). The emendation makes sense. We may note Rostovtzeff’s observation that Nikanor was a rather common name (102–3). We may also note that Isidore of Charax (1) referred to DOURA EUROPOS as “a polis of Nikanor.” Furthermore, the use of Νικάτωρ in *CIG* 6856—if it is being used as the epithet for Seleukos I—is certainly problematic. Normally one would expect the king’s name, rather than just the epithet alone, as here. On the principle of *lectio difficilior*, therefore, I would be inclined to (reluctantly) accept the reading as it appears on the stone. The extant information relating to NIKATOR IS in Cyrrhестice/ northern Mesopotamia, NIKATOR in Assyria, and *NIKATOROPOLIS in Babylonia does not provide any further assistance for resolving this difficulty.

SOTEIRA in Aria or Parthia provides an example of a settlement whose toponym may possibly have been derived from the founder's epithet. On the other hand, the toponym may relate to a sacrifice in commemoration or hope of deliverance from danger or sickness, or for a festival in the commemoration of same; see Appendix VIII.

3. Four possibilities emerge in the attempt to identify the **Nikanor** mentioned by Pliny: (a) Nikanor I was the general of Antigonos I Monophthalmos, satrap of Cappadocia; (b) Nikanor II was an officer of Demetrios I Poliorketes whom we encounter after the battle of Ipsos in 301 B.C.; (c) Nikanor III was a nephew of Seleukos who, Malalas (8.10, *CFHB* 35.150) says, was given control of all of Asia (along with his brother, Nikomedes) by the king; (d) Nikanor was simply an error for Nikator, i.e., for Seleukos. See further DOURA EUROPOS, n. 6.

Rostovtzeff (*Kondakov Institute* [1938] 103–4) suggested that Nikanor III probably founded Doura Europos before 294 or 292, when Antiochos was put in charge of the eastern satrapies. He also noted that Seleukos's founding of EDESSA in c. 302 B.C. suggests a similar date for Nisibis; see also Jones, *CERP*² 216–18. Contra: Tarn (*GBI*² 7 n. 3), who identified the founder as Nikanor I and denied that Antioch Arabis = Nisibis. See also Grainger (*Seleukos* 96ff.), who was bothered by the “multiplication of Nikanors.” He noted that Appian says Nikanor I was killed in 311 B.C. (*Syr.* 57). However, observing that Appian is not always reliable, Grainger suggested that Appian might have been wrong—hence Nikanor did not die in 311 B.C. but in fact lived on. Grainger then constructed two possible scenarios with Nikanor founding Doura Europos and Antioch Nisibis as an employee of (a) Antigonos or (b) Seleukos. Neither the basis for the reconstruction (an error by Appian) nor the possible scenarios are convincing. Finally, P. Bernard has focused on Antigonos (in *Topoi Supplément* 1 [1997] 185–86 n. 181). He remarked: “On a tendance à l'oublier, car la plupart de ces fondations [i.e., in northern Mesopotamia] ne sont pas identifiables, soit qu'elles aient été immédiatement rebaptisées par Séleucos à son nom ou à ceux de ses parents et de sa femme . . . soit qu'elles aient porté des noms empruntés aux villes de la Macédoine, qui empêchent de reconnaître si leur fondateur est Antigone ou un Séleucide. Les sources anciennes ont cependant gardé le souvenir de deux d'entre elles, Doura-Europos et Nisibe (ou Édesse) qu'aurait fondées Nicanor, general d'Antigone.” Finally, A. Primo has suggested (*AClass* 80 [2011] 181) that Nikanor should be identified with Seleukos Nikator himself, who would thus have been the real founder of both DOURA EUROPOS and Antioch in Mygdonia.

4. On **ANTIOCH Arabis** see also ALEXANDREIA in Mesopotamia.

5. Rostovtzeff, *Kondakov Institute* (1938) 104. On the other hand, Bousdroukis hesitated between claiming an Antigonid or a Seleucid origin for the settlement (*Recherches* 31–32 and n. 22). In fact, it is difficult to delineate clearly the exact frontier between land under Antigonid and that under Seleucid control in northern Mesopotamia before 301 B.C.; see pp. 18–19.

6. For the **royal mint** at Nisibis see Newell, *WSM* pp. 56–78, nos. 803–77 (*nota bene* that Newell [*ESM* p. 418] considered the possibility of assigning nos. 875–877 to Susa; Mørkholm [*RN* (1965) 45 n. 1] preferred a western mint); see also Le Rider, *Suse* 25 n. 7. In *Seleucid Coins* 1.1:427–28, 429–30 Houghton and Lorber reattributed to an “Uncertain Mint 68” in northern Mesopotamia many of the coins of Antiochos III that Newell had assigned to Nisibis. However, in *Seleucid Coins* 2.1:692 they pointed to a new tetradrachm variety (no. Ad224) that seemed to provide a “bridge between Nisibis and Uncertain Mint 68” and, hence, appeared to vindicate Newell’s original classification. Houghton and Lorber suggested that no major mint was opened at Nisibis until the reign of Seleukos II (*Seleucid Coins* 1.1:271), though Houghton earlier allowed that Antiochos II might have struck a single bronze issue at the end of his reign (*CSE* p. 91); see *Seleucid Coins* 1.1: nos. 748–60; and *CSE* 895–908, 910–11.

For coins of Seleukos IV that Mørkholm claimed had been minted at Nisibis see *RN* (1965) 44–50, nos. 1–13; see also P. Strauss, *RN* (1971) 112, nos. 20–21. Note, however, that Houghton, Lorber, and Hoover (*Seleucid Coins* 2.1:20–21) reattributed these coins to Damascus. For coins of Antiochos IV see Le Rider, *Suse* 410 n. 10. For the possibility that Timarchos may have minted coins at Antioch in Mygdonia see Le Rider, *Suse* 332.

For the **quasi-municipal coinage** see, for example, *RdS* 602; *Hunter. Coll.* 3:52, no. 79; *BMC Seleucid Kings* 42, nos. 86ff.; *CSE* 909; *CSE* 2 371–72; *Seleucid Coins* 2.1:100–101 and nos. 1502–4.

7. For the **Dioskouroi** on coins see, for example, *WSM* nos. 806–11, 815–17, 827; and Newell, *WSM* 66 n. 68.

8. For Mørkholm’s discussion of **Antiochos IV Epiphanes’ foundations** see *Antiochos* 115–18.

9. For the **persistence of the native name** see, for example, Josephus *AJ* 20.68; Pliny *NH* 6.42; Plut. *Luc.* 32.3; Julian *Or.* 2.62B; Stephanos s.v. “Antiocheia 3”; Theodoret *Eccl. Hist.* 755, 905 (*PG* 82:917, 1077); see also Theophylact Simocatta 3.6.1.

10. Josephus (*AJ* 20.68) says: Νίσιβις δέ ἐστὶν ὄνομα τῆ γῆ, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ πρότερον Μακεδόνες ἐκτίσαντο πόλιν Ἀντιόχειαν, ἣν Ἐπιμυγδονίαν προσηγόρευσαν. This passage is somewhat problematic for

two reasons. First, Josephus describes Antioch as Ἐπιμυγδονίαν. If the reference is to the Mygdonios River we should have expected the masculine noun with πρὸς rather than the feminine (cf. Ioannes Lydus *De Mag.* 3.34, τὴν πρὸς τῷ Μυγδονίῳ Ἀντιόχειαν; and Menander frag. 60 = *FHG* 4:261). If the reference is to the district we should have expected the preposition ἐν rather than ἐπί. Second, Josephus's description of Nisibis as a district is the only such explicit—and extant—reference and has been questioned by modern authorities (see, for example, L. H. Feldman, note b to *AJ* 20.88 in the Loeb edition, p. 36; see also Sturm, *RE* s.v. “Nisibis,” 729). Note, however, that districts were often named for the central city: e.g., ANTHEMOUSIAS, ANTIOCH near Daphne, and APAMEIA on the Axios; see Cohen, *Settlements in Syria* 98. For the victor at the Panathenaia of 166/5 B.C. see S. V. Tracy and C. Habicht, *Hesperia* 60 (1991) 188, col. II.25 (= *SEG* 41:115). In general see Fraser, *Terminology* 329–30.

Fraser (*Terminology* 330) called attention to an inscription in honor of Μάρκον Ἀτίλιον Μά[γνον], an Ἀντιοχέα ἀ[πὸ Εὐφράτου] (*FD* III[1] 199; he is also mentioned as a native of the city by Eunapius, *Vita Sophistarum* 497, ed. Giangrande: ΜΑΓΝΟΣ. Οὗτος ἐκ μὲν Ἀντιοχείας ἦν γεγονώς, τῆς(000) ὑπὲρ τὸν Εὐφράτην, ἦν νῦν Νίσιβιν(000) ὀνομάζουσιν) and a coin with the legend ANTIOXEΩΝ ΠΙ[ΟΣ] ΕΥΦΡΑΤΗΝ (*BMC Galatia*, etc. 113, no. 1 [Fraser gave the legend as Ἀντιοχέων τῶν πρὸς Εὐφράτου]; see also Mionnet, *Description* 5:111, no. 4; *Hunter. Coll.* 3:124–25, nos. 1–4 = *SNG XII Hunterian* 2622–25 = Butcher, *Roman Syria* 466, nos. 1–2). He identified these with Antioch in Mygdonia. But the latter is not on (or near) the Euphrates. We may note that the *Vita Sophistarum* describes this particular Antioch as ὑπὲρ τὸν Εὐφράτην, i.e., “above, beyond, over” the Euphrates, not as ἐπί or πρὸς. Clearly, if the reading Ἀντιοχέα ἀ[πὸ Εὐφράτου] were correct, then the Antioch mentioned in *FD* III[1] 199 and the Antioch/Nisibis in *Vita Sophistarum* 497 would be identical. In this instance, however, it would appear that Fraser overlooked the article by Georges Daux, *BCH* 83 [1959] 492–94. The latter noted that two newly discovered fragments of *FD* III[1] 199 indicate that the second line of the inscription should be read as Ἀντιοχέα ἀπὸ Δάφνης], and observed: “La restitution Ἀντιοχέα ἀπὸ Δάφνης me para paraît assurée”; see also Daux, *BCH* 102 (1978) 610; and D. Mulliez, *BCH* 112 (1988) 376.

11. On the **location** of Nisibis at the foot of Mount Masios see Strabo 11.12.4, 11.14.2, 16.1.23; and Stephanos s.v. “Masion”; for its location on the Mygdonios River see Dillemann, *Mésopotamie* 51–53 (variant spellings) et passim; Bell, *Tur Abdin* map at end; Olshausen, *BNP* s.v.

“Mygdonia 3”; see also, for example, Julian Or. 1.27B, 2.62B-C; Ioannes Lydus *De Mag.* 3.34; Theodoret *Eccl. Hist.* 905 (= *PG* 82:1077); Menander frag. 60 (= *FGH* 4:261); and Weissbach, *RE* s.v. “Mygdonius.” Petrus Patricius incorrectly placed it on the Tigris River (frag. 14 in *FHG* 4:189 = *CSHB* 10:134); see also Stephanos s.v. “Nisibis”; Michael the Syrian *Chron.* Append. 5.2 (= J.-B. Chabot, ed., *Chronique de Michel le Syrien* [Paris, 1905; repr., Brussels, 1963] 3:506).

In general on the location and site see, for example, Sturm, *RE* s.v. “Nisibis,” 714f.; Honigmann and Bosworth, *EI* s.v. “Nasibin”; Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey* 3:343–44.

APAMEIA ON THE EUPHRATES

According to Pliny (*NH* 5.86, 6.119), Apameia was built by Seleukos I Nikator on the banks of the Euphrates on an alluvial plain opposite the site of SELEUKEIA on the Euphrates/Zeugma. Isidore of Charax (1), who mentions that Apameia was across the Euphrates from Zeugma, refers to it as a *polis*.¹ It is not clear whether Isidore’s characterization of Apameia as a *polis* reflects the situation in his day (i.e., the early first century A.D.) or that of an earlier period. In fact, P. Leriche and J. Gaborit noted the relative absence of the remains of civic or religious monumental structures. They also pointed to the evidence for an extensive fire—which accompanied the end of the city—around the walls of Apameia. This probably happened, they suggested, during one of the military confrontations between the Parthians and the Romans. Since the archaeological evidence indicates that by the early first century B.C. the town had apparently become deserted, Leriche and Gaborit suggested that Isidore’s description of Apameia as a *polis* might have resulted from his use of a source that dated to an earlier period, specifically, the second century B.C. (see below).²

Apameia was located at the site of the Turkish Tilmusa Hüyük (Keskince).³ As a result of the building of the Birecik Dam it is now under water. In the course of rescue excavations before the completion of the dam archaeologists were able to reveal the outline of the city wall and demonstrate that the town was laid out on a north-south orthogonal grid in which the blocks were 105 × 38 m.⁴ The excavators dated both the wall and the city plan to the Hellenistic period. The excavators were also able to identify the site of the necropolis.⁵ On the other hand, the absence of an acropolis is noteworthy.⁶

In general see Tcherikover, *HS* 84; Dillemann, *Mésopotamie* 100, 169; Wagner, *Seleukeia* 71–84; M.-L. Chaumont, *Syria* 61 (1984) 74–75; J. Gaborit and G. Poccardi, *Med. Ant.* 3 (2000) 98–100; C. Abadie-Reynal in *L' Orient méditerranéen* (Nantes) 354–73; P. Leriche and J. Gaborit in *L' Orient méditerranéen* (Nantes) 376–81; Gaborit, *Géographie historique* 472–73.

For the results of fieldwork at Apameia see A. Desreumaux, J. Gaborit, and J.-S. Caillou, *CRAI* (1999) 75–105; C. Abadie-Reynal et al., *Anatolia Antiqua* 6 (1998) 397–406.

1. On the **mention of Apameia in Isidore of Charax** see M.-L. Chaumont, *Syria* 61 (1984) 74–75. Stephanos also mentions Apameia (s.v.) and describes it as τῆς Περσαίας, Ἐδέσσης πρὸς ἄρκτους. The mention of τῆς Περσαίας is a problem and has not yet been convincingly resolved. Kennedy (in *Zeugma* 156, 159) translated it as “of the territory of Persa.” He also called attention to Capersana, which is mentioned by Ammianus (18.8.1), and Caphrena, which is noted by Pliny (*NH* 6.119), and speculated that Capersana might be a conflation of Capher Persa(na). Earlier, Droysen (*Hist.* 740) suggested τῆς Περσαίας was corrupt; Dussaud (*Topographie* 459) had suggested that the toponym Capersana was Caphrena *déformée*. The suggestion that Apameia should be identified with Caphrena (Streck, *RE* Suppl. I s.v. “Apameia”; Kahrstedt, *Artabanos III* 72) is not convincing. As Chaumont noted (*Syria* 61 [1984] 75), Pliny (*NH* 6.119) distinguishes between Zeugma, Apameia, and Caphrena.

On Capersana and Caphrena see also Streck, *RE* Suppl. I s.vv. “Apameia,” “Caphrena” and “Capersane”; Chapot, *Frontière* 274–75; Dillemann, *Mésopotamie* 169 and n. 3; De Jonge, *Comment. on Ammianus XVIII* 252–53; Wagner, *Seleukeia* 74 n. 16

2. A. Desreumaux et al., *CRAI* (1999) 83–84, 105; Leriche and Gaborit in *L' Orient méditerranéen* (Nantes) 379–81. With the apparent desertion of the settlement by the end of the first century B.C. we may note—by way of comparison—that the settlement at JEBEL KHALID was apparently abandoned when Seleucid rule in the region ended. On the other hand, SELEUKEIA/Zeugma and DOURA EUROPOS flourished long after the collapse of Seleucid rule.

For the subsequent reoccupation of the site and the archaeological remains at the site—acropolis, city wall, necropolis—dating from the Imperial period, see Wagner, *Seleukeia* 74–83; Leriche and Gaborit in *L' Orient méditerranéen* (Nantes) 381; Gaborit and Poccardi, *Med. Ant.* 3 (2000) 99, 103–7.

3. On the **location** of Apameia see Wagner, *Seleukeia* 70ff., map II and photographs (pls. 3 and 4) at end; Desreumaux et al., *CRAI* (1999) 75–78; see also SELEUKEIA on the Euphrates /Zeugma.

Wagner called attention (*Seleukeia* 76, 82–84; see also Chaumont, *Syria* 61 [1984] 74) to Bronze Age ceramic finds that suggest Apameia was a refounded native village. *Nota bene*, however, that no post-Bronze Age archaeological evidence has been found to indicate continuous habitation at the site prior to the Hellenistic period (J. G. Fuesanta et al., *KST* 23.1 [2002] 136; Abadie-Reynal in *L'Orient méditerranéen* [Nantes] 357–58).

4. For the **plan of the town and the fortification walls** see, for example Desreumaux et al., *CRAI* (1999) 79–82 (plan on p. 80); Leriche and Gaborit in *L'Orient méditerranéen* (Nantes) 378–79. For the **city blocks** see Desreumaux et al., *CRAI* (1999) 83 (105 × 38 m); Leriche and Gaborit in *L'Orient méditerranéen* (Nantes) 379–80 (107 × 38 m). Cf., for example, the city blocks at ANTIOCH near Daphne (112 × 58 m), LAODIKEIA by the Sea (112 × 57 m), APAMEIA on the Axios (c. 107 × 54 m), and ALEXANDREIA near Egypt, n. 13.

5. For the **necropolis** see Wagner, *Seleukeia* 79–82; A. Desreumaux et al., *CRAI* (1999) 84–103; G. Algaze, *Anatolica* 20 (1994) 20.

6. Abadie-Reynal (in *L'Orient méditerranéen* [Nantes] 358) suggested that despite the absence of a citadel, the river and the fortification walls would have played a role in protecting the settlement. Leriche and Gaborit (in *L'Orient méditerranéen* [Nantes] 378) suggested that SELEUKEIA/Zeugma served as an acropolis for Apameia.

DARA/DORA

Evagrius (*Hist. Eccl.* 3.37) says that Dara was so named because Alexander the Great defeated Darius there. According to Malalas (16.10, *CFHB* 35.327; see also *Chronicon Paschale* 609, *CSHB* 4.1), the name Dora in Mesopotamia was given to it by Alexander because he struck Darius with a sword (*dorati*) and captured him at this place (*chorion*).¹ In any event, the attribution to Alexander is more fanciful than plausible. One thinks of the charming — but unconvincing—etymology of PARAITONION. Dara/Dora was renamed Anastasiopolis and fortified by Anastasios I in 505–507 A.D.² It was located approximately 26 kilometers northwest of Nisibis (ANTIOCH in Mygdonia).

* * * *

1. Droysen (*Hist.* 2:669) and M. Whitby (*The Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius Scholasticus* [Liverpool, 2000] 182 n. 142) correctly dismissed both etymologies (i.e., Dara and Dora).

2. For similar accounts of **Anastasios's activity** in other late authors see also, for example, Procop. *Pers.* 1.10.9; *Etym. Magnum* s.v. "Daras"; Evagrius *Hist. Eccl.* 3.37 (ed. Bidez and Parmentier); Theophanes *Chron.* 150 (ed. De Boor); John of Nikiu 89.32 (trans. Charles); Theodore Anagnostes 558 (ed. Hansen).

On Dara see Mango, *ODB* s.v. "Dara" and references cited there; for the **location** see map in B. Croke and J. Crow, *JRS* 73 (1983) 149.

DIOSPAGE

According to Pliny (*NH* 6.118–19), southeast of the Sitrae was the town of Azochis and nearby ("mox in campestribus oppida") were the towns of Diospage, POLYTELEIA, STRATONIKEIA, and ANTHEMOUS.¹ We know nothing else about this town.² The name, at least, suggests a Greek or Macedonian settlement.

* * * *

In general see Tcherikover, *HS* 85; and Dillemann, *Mésopotamie* 100f.

1. See further STRATONIKEIA in Mesopotamia and ANTHEMOUSIAS.

2. Markwart suggested that Diospage was Ras el 'Aïn (*Südarmerien* 427; *ain* in Arabic means "spring" or "sources," and *pege/paga* means "stream" or "source" in Greek). This is a reasonable suggestion, but speculative.

EDESSA/ANTIOCH ON THE KALLIRHOE

According to Stephanos (s.v. "Edessa"), Edessa was a city of Syria that was named for the Macedonian city "because of the flow/rush of the waters."¹ It was established by Seleukos I Nikator, who was possibly refounding the native town of Adme.² At some later point, probably under Antiochos IV Epiphanes, it was renamed Antioch on the Kallirhoe.³ Kallirhoe was undoubtedly a reference to the Skirtos (Daisan) River, which flowed through the city, as well as to the two pools in the city that, like the pond at HIERAPOLIS Bambyke, contained the sacred fish.⁴ In the later, Syriac

texts the city name was usually given as Orhay (the modern name Urfa is derived from this).⁵

The *Chronicon Anonymum ad Annum Christi 1234 Pertinens* (p. 107; 84, trans. Chabot) tells the charming—if unlikely—story that Seleukos named the city after his oldest daughter and gave it to her as a dowry. The same chronicle (pp. 105–6) provides an idealized account of the building of Edessa; according to the account, Seleukos built a strong and high wall with towers, one of which still existed in the author’s time. There were also fortified citadels at the four corners of the city. The author also mentions palaces, temples, and markets and a water supply system.⁶

Strabo’s claim (16.1.27) that Bambyke was known both as HIERAPOLIS and as Edessa is probably incorrect; in any event, there is no other extant evidence providing unequivocal support for this equation.⁷

E. T. Newell suggested that Antiochos I Soter minted bronze coins at Edessa. Under Antiochos IV Epiphanes the city minted quasi-municipal coinage with a portrait of the king on the obverse and the ethnic ANTIOXEΩN TΩN EΠI KAAΛIΠOHI on the reverse.⁸ We have no explicit information regarding the organization of Hellenistic Edessa.⁹ The city streets were laid out on north-south, east-west axes. According to Stephanos (s.v. “Edessa”) the ethnic was both Ἐδεσσηνός (according to the *egchorioi*) and Ἐδεσσαῖος (which was the ethnic παρὰ δὲ τοῖς πλείοσι [τῶν ἀρχαίων], i.e., of the Macedonian city).¹⁰

The founding of the kingdom of Edessa in 132–131 B.C. marked the effective end of Seleucid rule in Edessa.¹¹ Despite the collapse of Seleucid rule the names Seleukos and, less so, Antiochos, remained popular at Edessa.¹² The primary gods of Edessa were Nebo (who was identified with Apollo) and Bel; in addition, Atargatis was one of the important divinities worshipped there.¹³

Edessa was located 85 kilometers east of SELEUKEIA/Zeugma and 45 kilometers southeast of SAMOSATA at modern Urfa.¹⁴

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In general see E. Sachau, *Reise* 189–92; Duval, *Edesse* 3–24; Meyer, *RE* s.v. “Edessa”; Tcherikover, *HS* 88; Markwart, *Provincial Capitals* 62–65; Hayes, *Edesse* 16; Gabriel, *Turquie orientale* 277–86; Kirsten, *RAC* s.v. “Edessa”; Segal, *Edessa* 5f., 46ff. et passim; id., *PECS* s.v. “Antioch by the Callirhoe”; H. J. W. Drijvers, *ANRW* 2.8 (1977) 863–69; Brodersen, *Komment.* 152; Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey* 4:2–28; P. Bernard, *Topoi* 5

(1995) 388–93; Orth, *Diadochenzeit* 117–18; Ross, *Roman Edessa* 6–9; Bousdroukis, *Recherches* 48–75.

For the Syriac and Arabic sources relating to Edessa see A. Harrak, *JNES* 51 (1992) 209 n. 2.

1. Herodian described Edessa as an *apoikia* of the Macedonian city (*Katholike Prosodia* 11 in A. Lentz, *Grammatici Graeci*, vol. 3, *Herodiani Technici Reliquae* [Leipzig, 1867] 1:268). According to a fragment of the *Chronicle* of Jacob of Edessa (p. 281, ed. E. W. Brooks, *CSCO Scriptorum Syri III.4 Versio, Chronica Minora* [211]), soldiers of Alexander the Great from Edessa in Macedonia founded Mesopotamian Edessa and named it for the Macedonian city; see also Jacob of Edessa in Michael the Syrian (77 = 1:119) and 639 (3:278, trans. Chabot) who said that the Macedonians named the city after the name of their own city in Macedonia (see also Bousdroukis, *Recherches* 74 n. 145). On Jacob of Edessa as a chronicler see A. Harrak in *Studies on Jacob of Edessa* 43–64. For Seleukos I Nikator as founder see below, n. 2. On the **water at Macedonian and Mesopotamian Edessa** see Papazoglou, *Villes* 128 and n. 20; Bernard, *Topoi* 5 (1995) 392 n. 89; Bousdroukis, *Recherches* 55–56.

Stephanos's reference to Edessa's location in Syria is not necessarily an error. Although the eastern boundary of Syria in the Graeco-Roman period was normally understood to be the Euphrates, the term could be used in a wider sense to include adjacent areas beyond the Euphrates. Thus, Stephanos also included Anthemous in Syria; see also, for example, Strabo 16.1.1–2; *Chronicon Anonymum ad Annum Christi 1234 Pertinens* I, p. 112 (trans. Chabot, *CSCO Scriptorum Syri III.14 Versio* [88–89]); and Honigmann, *RE* s.v. "Syria," esp. 1718f.

2. For **Seleukos I Nikator as the founder** see Appian *Syr.* 57 (see below, n. 7); Agapius of Membij *Univ. Hist.* I.2, p. 237 (*PO* XI p. 109, ed. A. Vasiliev); Isidore *Etym.* 15.1.14–5; Eusebius *Chron.* p. 199 (ed. Karst); Hieronymus *Chron.* p. 127 (ed. R. Helm²); Synkellos 520 (ed. Mosshammer, p. 330); Kedrenos P166, XXXIV, I 292; Malalas 18.15, *CFHB* 35.345; Ps.-Dionysius of Tel Mahre *Incerti Auctoris Chronicon Pseudo-Dionysianum vulgo Dictum* p. 47 (ed. Chabot, *CSCO* 121, *Scriptores Syri III.1 Versio* [37]); *Chronicum Anonymum* p. 35 (ed. Guidi, *CSCO Scriptorum Syri III.4 Versio, Chronica Minora* [29]); *Chronicum Maroniticum* p. 44 (ed. and trans. Brooks and Chabot, *CSCO Scriptorum Syri III.4 Versio, Chronica Minora* [38]); Jacob of Edessa in Michael the Syrian 639 (= *Chronique de Michel le Syrien* 3:278, trans. Chabot); *Chronicon Anonymum ad Annum Christi 846 Pertinens* p. 167 (trans. Chabot, *CSCO Scriptorum Syri III Versio* [130]); *Chronicon Anonymum ad Annum Christi 1234 Pertinens* I, pp. 105–7 (trans. Chabot, *CSCO*

Scriptores Syri III.14 *Versio* [83–84]); and a Syriac chronicle published by Guidi (T. Nöldeke, ed., *SAWW* 128.9 [1893] 41). See also Markwart, *Südarmenien* 337–38.

As for the **date of the founding**, it is often claimed that Seleukos did this in 303–302 B.C.; see, for example, Meyer, *RE* s.v. “Edessa 2,” 1933; see also Kirsten, *RAC* s.v. “Edessa,” 553; and Segal, *Edessa* 5. The basis for this is Eusebius *Chron.* p. 199 (ed. Karst) and Hieronymus *Chron.* p. 127 (ed. Helm²), who attributed the building of ANTIOCH, LAODIKEIA, SELEUKEIA, APAMEIA, EDESSA, BEROIA, and PELLA to Seleukos and placed this note under *ann. Abr.* 1715, i.e., 303–302 B.C. (Ps.-Dionysius of Tel Mahre [see above] placed this in *ann. Abr.* 1712). Eusebius and Hieronymus then added the comment that Seleukos built Antioch in the twelfth year of his reign (also Synkellos; see above). In fact Seleukos cannot have built Laodikeia, Seleukeia, Apameia, Pella, or Beroia in 303 or 302; as was the case for Antioch, he did not come into possession of the territory in which they were located until after the battle of Ipsos in 301 B.C. As for Edessa, it is not clear whether Seleukos’s territory in Mesopotamia extended as far north as this area in 303/2 B.C. or whether it was still under Antigonos’s rule or influence at the time (see, for example, Brodersen, *Komment.* 122; Billows, *Antigonos* 240–42 and map 5; Sherwin-White and Kuhrt, *Samarkhand* 11. Mehl, *Seleukos* 210, suggested that [northern] Mesopotamia came under Seleukos’s rule after Ipsos). For the suggestion that Edessa might have first been founded as an Antigonid settlement before passing to Seleucid control see P. Bernard in *Topoi Supplément* 1 (1997) 185–86 n. 181; and ANTIOCH in Mygdonia, n. 3.

Adme, which is attested in various Assyrian and Babylonian texts, was near Harran (see A. Harrak, *JNES* 51 [1992] 212–13). The occurrence of Adme in these texts and the absence of pre-Hellenistic evidence for the name Orhay has prompted the reasonable—though *ex silentio*—suggestion that Adme was, in fact, the ancient name of Edessa (see, for example, M. Astour, *JAOS* 109 [1989] 687; Harrak, *ZA* 81 [1991] 148; id., *JNES* [1992] 209–14; Bousdroukis, *Recherches* 48).

3. Both Malalas’s observations (18.15, *CFHB* 35.345) that Seleukos first called the settlement Antioch and that the name was later changed to Edessa and Pliny’s comment (*NH* 5.86) that Edessa was previously called Antioch on the Kallirhoe are probably erroneous; the sequence was surely the reverse. At *NH* 6.117 Pliny says: “item in Arabum gente qui Orroei vocantur et Man/rdani Antiochiam quae a praefecto Mesopotamiae Nicanore condita Arabs [Arabia] vocatur.” Unfortunately, as I have noted elsewhere, we cannot definitely identify either the Nikanor or

the Antioch mentioned by Pliny; see further ANTIOCH Arabis and ANTIOCH in Mygdonia, nn. 2 and 3. Hence, we ought not to speculate further about the possibility that Nikanor might have founded Edessa.

After saying that Seleukos I founded Edessa, Malalas (18.15, *CFHB* 35.345) adds that Seleukos named the city Ἀντιόχεια ἡ μιξοβάρβαρος. Meyer dismissed Malalas's comment (*RE* s.v. "Edessa") as "worthless." Nevertheless, one should recall that Kedrenos (P166, *CSHB* 34.I: 292) and Synkellos (520, ed. Mosshammer, p. 330) remarked that Seleukos settled Jews along with Greeks in Edessa (as well as in the other settlements they attributed to him: LAODIKEIA, SELEUKEIA, APAMEIA, BEROIA, PELLA, and BABYLON); see also Josephus *AJ* 18.372. In this connection P. Bernard (*Topoi* 5 [1995] 392 n. 88) suggested that μιξοβάρβαρος reflected the cultural situation in Edessa. He noted, for example, that Syriac quickly replaced Greek and that Greek inscriptions are rare. In fact, Greek inscriptions are relatively rare in practically all of the Hellenistic settlements in Mesopotamia. Note also Jacob of Edessa (in Michael the Syrian 77 = *Chronique de Michel le Syrien* 1:119, trans. Chabot), who described the population there as "Syro-Macedonians" (cf. the woman of Tyre in Mark 7:26, who is called a "Greek, a Syro-Phoenician by birth").

4. For **the pools and the sacred fish** see Meyer, *RE* s.v. "Edessa," 1935f.; Segal, *Edessa* 6, 55; and Drijvers, *Edessa* 79f. In the late fourth century A.D. Egeria/Etheria referred to the "fontes piscibus pleni" at Edessa (*Itinerarium Egeriae/Peregrinatio Aetheriae* 19.7 [ed. Weber, 1994]). Presumably these pools were the same ones that earlier contained the sacred fish. On the Skirtos River see Weissbach, *RE* s.v. "Skirtos 2."

5. For the **native name Orhay** see Meyer, *RE* s.v. "Edessa 2"; Markwart, *Provincial Capitals* 62; Segal, *Edessa* 1–7 and n. 1; A. Luther, *Klio* 81 (1999) 446–48; Bousdroukis, *Recherches* 54 and n. 36.

6. With the **story of the naming of Edessa for Seleukos's eldest daughter** compare, for example, the equally unlikely story about THYATEIRA in Lydia. The latter, according to Stephanos (s.v. "Thyateira"), was named by Seleukos for his daughter (Θυγάτερρα)! On the other hand, we should bear in mind Appian's observation (*Syr.* 57) that Seleukos I Nikator named settlements he founded for his father, his mother, himself, and his wives. As for the **Syriac account of the building of Edessa**, we may compare it with the Syriac account of the founding of KARKA de BETH SELOK as well as the Arabic accounts of the founding of ANTIOCH near Daphne and of ALEXANDREIA near Egypt.

7. **Appian** (*Syr.* 57) included Edessa in the list of settlements he attributed to Seleukos I Nikator. Most scholars have assumed Appian was referring to Edessa/Antioch on the Kallirhoe (e.g., Meyer, *RE* s.v.

“Edessa,” 1933; Kirsten, *RAC* s.v. “Edessa” 553; Syme, *Anatolica* 107–8). Brodersen, however, claimed that Appian meant an Edessa west of the Euphrates (*Komment.* 152). According to Strabo (16.1.27), Bambyke was also called Hierapolis and Edessa. It has generally been assumed, however, that Strabo was mistaken when he equated Hierapolis with Edessa (see HIERAPOLIS Bambyke, n. 12). Brodersen, on the other hand, suggested that Strabo was not in error. Calling attention to the fact that Hierapolis Bambyke does not appear in Appian’s list, Brodersen claimed that, as with PELLA, we have an example of the coexistence of a “Macedonian” and an “official” name.

At *Syr.* 57 Appian says that “in Syria and among the upper barbarian regions of Upper Asia many of the towns bear Greek and Macedonian names . . . such as Berrhoia, Edessa, Perinthus, Maronea, Callipolis, Achaia, Pella, Oropus, Amphipolis, Arethusa, Astacus, Tegea, Chalcis, Larissa, Heraea, Apollonia; in Parthia also Sotera, Calliope, Charis, Hekatompylos, Achaia; in India, Alexandropolis; in Scythia Alexandreschata . . .” (trans. White). Thus, the settlements Appian mentions were located in two general regions, Syria and the “upper barbarian regions above it.” It is clear that Appian considered Syria to encompass the territory from the Euphrates to the Mediterranean (*Syr.* 50; cf. *Mith.* 106). What is less clear is whether, as Brodersen apparently assumed, all the cities mentioned in the first group—Beroia to Apollonia—were in Syria. In any event, the location of a number of these foundations is unknown.

8. For **coins minted by Antiochos I** see, for example, *WSM* nos. 797–801 (letters ΕΔΕ on the reverse of *WSM* no. 797; see further ANTHEMOUSIAS, n. 5); and *CSE* 891–93. Le Rider and Olcay (*RN* [1989] 40 and n. 24) suggested that a silver tetradrachm found at Tell Halaf might have been produced at a temporary mint in Osrhoene (where Tell Halaf is located); hence, they speculated that the coinage could possibly have come from Karrhai or Edessa; see also Houghton and Lorber, *Seleucid Coins* 1.1: no. 583. For the **quasi-municipal coinage minted under Antiochos IV** see, for example, *Hunter. Coll.* 3:52–53, nos. 80–87; *RdS* 603ff.; *BMC Seleucid Kings* 41, nos. 74–80; *SNG (Cop) Syria, Seleucid Kings* 222; *CSE* 894; *CSE* 2 369–70; *Seleucid Coins* 2.1:99 and nos. 1499–1501.

For **coins minted under Parthian and Roman hegemony** see, for example, *Hunter. Coll.* 3:305–15, nos. 1–83; *BMC Arabia, etc.* 91–118, nos. 1–172; and Babelon, *Mélanges* 2:209–96. On coins of the Imperial period, a common type is the widely attested figure of the city goddess with the river god swimming at her feet (e.g., *BMC Arabia, etc.* 99, no. 55); cf., for example, ANTIOCH near Daphne, n. 11.

9. A contract of sale from Edessa and dated to 243 A.D. (A. R. Bellinger and C. B. Welles, *YCS* 5 [1935] 95–154, esp. 96–98 and 124ff.), though written in Syriac, is very much of “Greek character” (118). Among other things, it refers to Aurelius Hafsai as the archon of the twelfth tribe. Nevertheless, the terms probably referred to the Arab clan and the head of the clan rather than to the Greek political apparatus (132ff.). Thus, according to Arrian (*Parth. frag.* 42 = *Suda* s.v. “Phylarches” = *FGrH* 156 F171), Abgar, the king of Edessa at the time of Trajan, was known as a *phylarches* because his districts were called *phylai* (ξυμβάλλει τῷ Τραιανῷ περὶ Αὐγάρου, ὃς ἦν Ὀσροήνης χώρας δυνάστης, οὔσπερ φυλάρχας ὀνομάζουσιν οἱ ἐκείνη, ὅτι καὶ τὰ χωρία αὐτῶν φυλαὶ ὀνομάζονται). On the other hand, two of the Edessan officials mentioned in the prescript are called *strategoï*, an obvious recollection of Greek titlature.

10. For the possibility of the **ethnic** Ἐδεσση[νός] referring to Macedonian Edessa on a fragment of an inscription see P. Petsas, *Makedonika* 9 (1969) 176; and J. Robert and L. Robert, *BE* (1970) no. 362. See also Fraser, *Terminology* 332. However, in a private communication Kent Rigsby suggests the more likely reading is ἐξ Ἐδέσση[ς], as in *IG* XII.9 1135.

11. For the **founding of the kingdom of Edessa** see, for example, Ps.-Dionysios of Tel Mahre *Chronicon* p. 50 (40, ed. Chabot); and Jacob of Edessa (in Michael the Syrian [77 = 1:119, trans. Chabot]); see also Gutschmid, *Osroëne* 3–10 (the king list in Dionysios); Duval, *Edesse* 20–31; Babelon, *Mélanges* 2:213–16; Kirten, *RAC* s.v. “Edessa” 554f.; Segal, *Edessa* 16.

12. On the **appearance of the names Seleukos and Antiochos in later generations at Edessa** see, for example, Bellinger and Welles, *YCS* 5 (1935) 96; and Segal, *Edessa* 16f., 28 n. 4, and 42 n. 3.

13. For **Nebo and Bel** see, for example, Jacob of Sarug, *The Fall of the Idols* (p. 131 in P. Martin, *ZDMG* 29 [1875] 107–47, French translation on 130–44); see also Drijvers, *Edessa* 4 off.; and A. Bounni, *LIMC* s.v. “Nabu.”

For **Atargatis** at Edessa see, for example, *The Doctrine of Addai, the Apostle*, 24 and note c (ed. G. Phillips), which explicitly connects the worship of Atargatis at Edessa with the great goddess of HIERAPOLIS Bambyke; see also Drijvers, *Edessa* 76ff. According to Drijvers, the worship of Hierapolitan Atargatis at Edessa was so strong that Strabo (erroneously; see above and HIERAPOLIS Bambyke, n. 12) identified Edessa and Hierapolis (ἡΒαμβύκη, ἦν καὶ Ἐδεσσαν καὶ Ἱερὰν πόλιν καλοῦσιν, ἐν ἧ τιμῶσι τιν Συρίαν Θεὸν τὴν Ἀταργάτιν, 16.1.27).

14. For the **location and site of Edessa** see, for example, Segal,

Edessa 5ff. (map, plans, and photographs at end). For the location of Edessa on various overland routes see K. Regling, *Klio* 1 (1901) 1-34.

ICHNAI

According to Isidore of Charax (1), Ichnai was located between ALAGMA and NIKEPHORION. Isidore describes it as a “Greek *polis*” and a Μακεδόνων κτίσμα located on the Balicha (Balikh) River. The toponym Ichnai is found in both Thessaly and Macedonia.¹ Presumably Mesopotamian Ichnai was named for one of the Macedonian towns. In 54 B.C. Crassus defeated the Parthian governor Silakes at Ichnai (Cass. Dio 40.12.2).² We do not know the precise location of Ichnai.³

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In general see Weissbach, *RE* s.v. “Ichnai 2”; Tcherikover, *HS* 86; Kessler, *BNP* s.v. “Ichnae”; Bousdroukis, *Recherches* 111-18.

1. On **Thessalian and Macedonian Ichnai** see Strabo 9.5.14 and Herodotus 7.123. On Macedonian Ichnai see also Papazoglou, *Villes* 154-56; and Bousdroukis, *Recherches* 109-11.

2. On **Crassus’s operations in Mesopotamia** see, for example, A. Garzetti, *Athenaeum* 22-23 (1944-45) 40-45; and B. A. Marshall, *Crassus* 151.

3. The **attempt to equate Ichnai with modern Chnez** (see, for example, Kiepert, *FOA Karte V*, p. 5 (7); K. Regling, *Klio* 1 [1901] 465 n. 3; Weissbach, *RE* s.v. “Ichnai 2”; Garzetti, *Athenaeum* 22-23 [1944-45] 40) has not met with general acceptance; see, for example, Dillemann, *Mésopotamie* 183 n. 3; Kessler, *BNP* s.v. “Ichnae.”

Bousdroukis has suggested that Ichnai might have been located at the site of Tell as-Saman (which is near Chnez) on the upper Balikh River (*Recherches* 113-18 and map 3). For Tell as-Saman see, for example, P. M. M. G. Akkermans, *Villages in the Steppe* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1993) 149 (“one of the largest mounds in the Balikh valley”). The *Gazetteer to the Barrington Atlas* notes “Ichnae = Tell al-Sadde(?)” without further comment; see map 89, B4.

KALLINIKON

According to the *Chronicon Paschale* (330, *CSHB* 4.1), Seleukos II Kallinikos (246–226/5 B.C.) founded the town of Kallinikon in the first year of the 134th Olympiad, i.e., 244 B.C. The same attribution is given by Bar Hebraeus (*Chronography* 38, trans. Wallis Budge), who dated the founding to the reign of Ptolemy III Euergetes (246–221 B.C.), by the Syriac *Chronicon Maroniticum* (40 [47]) and by Michael the Syrian (5.6 [78]). The last says: “Seleukos Kallinikos built cities on the banks of the Euphrates, he called one after his own name, Kallinikon, and another Carchis (i.e., KIRKESION)” (trans. Chabot). On the other hand Libanius (*Ep.* 21.5, ed. Förster), who refers to Kallinikon as a *stathmos* near the Euphrates, says the town was named to honor the Sophist Kallinikos of Petra, who lived in the third century A.D. and was murdered there.¹ Ammianus (23.3.7), who described Kallinikon as well fortified, also noted its importance as a commercial center.

It is not clear whether or not Kallinikon was simply the renamed NIKEPHORION (Raqqah) or was a separate town.² In 1926 Tcherikover observed that the problem of Nikephorion-Kallinikon was insoluble but expressed the hope that archaeological or numismatic discoveries could some day throw further light on the question. No such evidence has yet appeared.

In the mid-fifth century a.d. Kallinikon was briefly renamed Leontopolis.³

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In general see Droysen, *Hist.* 2:742f.; Chapot, *Frontière* 288f.; Tcherikover, *HS* 86f.; Weidner, *RE* s.v. “Nikephorion 2”; Ulbert in *Archéologie* 291–92.

1. For the **Chronicon Maroniticum** see E. W. Brooks and J. B. Chabot, *Chronica Minora* II (*CSCO* 4, *Scriptores Syri* IV). For other **literary references** to Kallinikon see, for example, Procop. *Arc.* 3.31, *Pers.* 2.21.30, *Aed.* 2.7; Zosimus 3.13; Theophylact Simocatta 3.17 (ed. de Boor and Wirth); Theodoret *Hist. Rel.* 1276 (*PG* 82:1472); *The Chronicle of Zuqnin* (trans. Harrak), e.g., pp. 51, 114, 165, 192, 194, 195, 231, 233, and Harrak’s note.

2. Droysen (*Hist.* 2:742f.) distinguished Kallinikon from Nikephorion. Chapot (*Frontière* 288f.) suggested they were identical; see also Weidner, *RE* s.v. “Nikephorion 2”; Brodersen, *Komment.* 162; and Ulbert in *Archéologie* 291. Tcherikover noted (*HS* 87) that the argument for identifying the two cities was based on the fact that (a) Nikephorion is not

mentioned in the literature after the third century A.D., and (b) Kallinikon is not mentioned before the third century A.D. Hence it could be claimed that Nikephorion was simply renamed Kallinikon. However, as Droysen pointed out, the argument is *ex silentio*. Furthermore, although both cities are mentioned in connection with the Euphrates (Libanius [*Ep.* 21.5, ed. Förster] refers to Kallinikon as “near the Euphrates,” *περὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην*; Isidore describes Nikephorion as “by the Euphrates,” *παρ’ Εὐφράτην*; Pliny [*NH* 6.119] places it “in vicinia Euphratis”; the *Chronicle of Zuqnîn* 165 [trans. Harrak] says that “Hishâm the Caliph built a bridge over the Euphrates opposite Callinicum”), this does not demonstrate the two cities were identical. After all, it could simply mean there were two cities—Kallinikon and Nikephorion—that were on/near the Euphrates.

Droysen also called attention to coinage from the reigns of Gordian and Gallienus with the legend ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΙΩΝ (Mionnet, *Supplément* 8:414f., nos. 72–73). He pointed out that the existence of coinage of Nikephorion from the time of Gallienus—when the Sophist Kallinikos was supposedly alive—demonstrated that the two cities were distinct (on Kallinikos see A. Stein, *Hermes* 58 [1923] 448–56). *Nota bene*, however, that the attribution of the coinage to the settlement at Raqqah has not been confirmed and is highly doubtful (see ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΙΩΝ, n. 4). On the danger of citing the evidence of coins attested only in Mionnet see ΚΑΡΡΗΑΙ, n. 2.

In favor of a separate identity for Nikephorion and Kallinikon are the different traditions regarding the founder of each town. For Nikephorion the tradition recorded either Alexander (Pliny *NH* 6.119) or Seleukos Nikator (Appian *Syr.* 57). For Kallinikon the *Chronicon Paschale* specified Seleukos II Kallinikos. One, of course, might suspect the *Chronicon* of *ex post facto* reasoning in assigning the settlement to Kallinikos. One should note, however, that Bar Hebraeus (*Chron.* 38) also placed it in the period of Kallinikos’s reign. On the other hand, Bar Hebraeus equated Kallinikon with Raqqah. Musil also believed the two towns were separate and that Nikephorion was destroyed as a town in the third century a.d., remaining only as a suburb of Kallinikon. In support of this he noted the following (*Middle Euphrates* 327): “the Arabic writers, especially the poets of the era before the Abbassides, . . . mention two towns of the name ar-Rakkatan, calling one the ‘black’ or ‘burnt’, the other the ‘white’ ar-Rakka. The white town of ar-Rakka they call also by the name Callinicus, from which I conclude that the ‘black’ or ‘burnt’ town was ancient Nicephorium.”

I have noted elsewhere (ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΙΩΝ Contantina/Constantia) that Ouranios (in Stephanos, s.v. “Nikephorion”) equated Nikephorion with Constantina (the modern Viranshehir) and that Hierokles (714.2, 715.1)

and George of Cyprus (894, 897; see H. Gelzer's comment in his edition, p. 153) distinguished Constantina from Kallinikon but located both in Osrhoene. In short, there were two different cities named Nikephorion: a southern one in Mesopotamia (modern Raqqah) near the Euphrates and a northern one in Mygdonia (Constantina) on the Edessa-Nisibis road at modern Viranshehir. Kallinikon cannot be equated with the northern Nikephorion. Whether it can be equated with the southern city remains unclear.

3. For the **renaming of Kallinikon as Leontopolis** see, for example, Hierokles 715.1; George of Cyprus 897; *Chronica Edessenum* LXX (CSCO *Scriptores Syri Versio* III.4, p. 8, trans. Guidi); Chapot, *Frontière* 288 n. 5; Honigmann, *RE* s.v. "Leontopolis 6."

KARRHAI

From Diodorus (19.91.1) we learn that in 312 B.C. there were Macedonians settled in Karrhai.¹ It is not clear whether Alexander or Antigonos I Monophthalmos had settled them.² Antigonos may have minted Alexander coinage at Karrhai. Coins continued to be produced under Seleukos I Nikator.³ In 65 B.C. the inhabitants of Karrhai, whom Cassius Dio (37.5.5) described as Μακεδόνων τε ἄποικοι ὄντες καὶ ἐνταῦθά που οἰκοῦντες, gave assistance to Pompey's general, L. Afranius.⁴ Dio's Greek, incidentally, appears to suggest that in the first century B.C. there were Macedonians living both in Karrhai and in the surrounding region. Karrhai was located south of Urfa (EDESSA) at modern (and ancient) Harran.⁵

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In general see Weissbach, *RE* s.v. "Karrai"; Tcherikover, *HS* 89; Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey* 4:29-43; Billows, *Antigonos* 295-96.

1. *Nota bene* that the text of Diodorus reads ἐπεὶ δὲ (sc. Seleukos) προάγων κατῶντησεν εἰς Μεσοποταμίαν, τῶν ἐν Κάραις κατῶκισμένων Μακεδόνων. Diodorus was certainly referring to Karrhai in Mesopotamia rather than Karai or the villages of the Karai in Babylonia (Diod. 17.110.3, 19.12.1; Weissbach, *RE* s.v. "Karaï"; see also Bosworth, *Legacy* 231-33 against J. K. Winnicki, *AS* 20 [1989] 77-78).

2. For **Alexander as founder** see Berve, *Alexanderreich* 1:296, 2:669; for **Antigonos**, see Billows, *Antigonos* 295f.

Some coins of Caracalla from Karrhai bear the legend COL(onia)

MET(ropolis) ANTONINIANA AUR(elia) ALEX (andriana) (e.g., Eckhel, *Doctrina* 1.3:508; Cohen, *Médailles Imperiales*² 4:239, no. 926; *BMC Arabia, etc.* 85, nos. 16–70), a reflection of Caracalla’s veneration of the Macedonian king (Herodian 4.8.1). See also, for example, Levick in *Hommages à Marcel Renard* 2:426–46 (but cf. A. Johnston, *Historia* 32 [1983] 58–76); Espinosa in *Alejandro Magno* 37–51. The question is whether the ALEX(andriana) on the coinage of Karrhai refers to a personal name or a toponym; i.e., should it be understood to refer to Alexander or to Alexandria? Some scholars have suggested that the reference is to Alexander; thus, Leschhorn and Franke, *Lexikon AGM* 1:321.

On the other hand, we may consider the evidence from ALEXANDREIA Troas. Mionnet claimed that a coin from that city (*Supplément* 5:529, no. 214) had the legend COL. AUR. ANTONINIANA. ALEX. On the basis of this coin B. Levick remarked (in *Hommages à Marcel Renard* 2:431) that during Caracalla’s reign Alexandria Troas took the titles Aurelia Antoniniana and Alexandria. However, if the reading is correct it is apparently a *hapax*: it is the only example I could find of this particular legend on the coinage of Alexandria Troas; note, in this connection, A. Johnston, who remarked that Mionnet “appears to have . . . invented ANTONINIANA” (*Historia* [1983] 65 n. 16; see also her salutary warning [60]: “The early numismatic catalogues . . . tend to be inaccurate. It is extremely unwise to use Mionnet [published 1807–37] and Eckhel [published (1792–98)] without checking the volumes of the British Museum Catalogue and the *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum*”). The usual legend—that incorporated ALEX—from the reign of Caracalla is COL ALEX AUG TRO (and occasionally, COL ALEX AUG) and variants thereof (e.g., *SNG [von A]* 1462–65, 1471–74, 7559–60, 7562–63, 7575). The presence of these legends prompted Bellinger (*Troy: The Coins* [Princeton, N.J., 1961] 118) to conclude that the name Alexandria was conferred on the *colony* by Caracalla (*italics mine*), probably during his visit in 214 A.D. (the Hellenistic *settlement*, of course, had been renamed Alexandria by Lysimachos). If that is the case, it raises the possibility that at Karrhai, COL. MET. ANTONINIANA AUR. ALEX. on the coinage reflects the fact that the name Alexandria was conferred on or assumed by the colony there. This would reflect the municipal claim (or conceit) that its origins went back to the Macedonian king, a claim that is also found at other Hellenistic settlements in the early third century a.d.; see, for example, discussion and references in OTROUS, n. 2; CAPITOLIAS; GERASA, nn. 2 and 3; SELEUKEIA Abila n. 2.

3. For the **coinage** see, for example, *WSM* 4 off., nos. 1–14 (Antigonos?), 766–82 (Seleukos I); *CSE* 887–88 (Seleukos I); Houghton

and Lorber, *Seleucid Coins* 1.1: 27–29 and nos. 39–47. The appearance of fish on *WSM* nos. 12–14 may be related to the sacred fish of Atargatis; on which see *HIERAPOLIS* Bambyke.

G. Le Rider and N. Olcay, *RN* (1988) 47, nos. 180–87 (see also Price, *Alexander and Philip* nos. 3796, 3803, 3805), also tentatively assigned eight Alexander coins from a hoard buried in 317 or early 316 B.C. to Karrhai (discussion on 50–53). They suggested these particular coins were minted c. 320–317 B.C. and preceded *WSM* 4 off., nos. 1–14 by a decade. The hoard was found at Akçakale, which is on the Turkish-Syrian frontier, 50 km south of Karrhai. Le Rider and Olcay noted (50 and n. 10) that in antiquity Akçakale, which was on the road from Karrhai to *NIKEPHORION*, was probably located in the territory of the former.

There is **no extant coinage that can definitely be attributed to the mint at Karrhai under Antiochos I**; coins that Newell had attributed to Karrhai under Antiochos I (nos. 783–802) have been reassigned. Thus, Waggoner reattributed *WSM* nos. 780–83 to *SELEUKEIA* on the Tigris (*ANS MN* 15 [1969] 24–25); Kritt reassigned *WSM* nos. 784–88 (= *Seleucid Coins* 1.1: nos. 469–72) to *AĪ KHANOUM* (*Bactria* 48–51); Houghton and Lorber reattributed *WSM* nos. 789–96 to Coele Syria under Antiochos III (*Seleucid Coins* 1.1:27 and nos. 1089–92).

4. Dio uses the same term, ἄπικοι, elsewhere (40.13.1) to describe the Greeks and Macedonians in Mesopotamia who welcomed M. Licinius Crassus in 54/3 B.C. (τῶν γὰρ Μακεδόνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν συστρατευσάντων σφίσιν Ἑλλήνων ἄπικοι πολλοί . . .). See also *NIKEPHORION*.

5. **Location.** Karrhai was located at the site of modern Harran, approximately 40 km southwest of *EDESSA*; see Bernard in *Topoi Supplément* 1 (1997) 186 n. 181. On Harran see, for example, Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey* 4:29–43.

KIRKESION

Both Bar Hebraeus (*Chronography* 38, trans. Wallis Budge) and Michael the Syrian (5.6 [78]) claimed that Seleukos II Kallinikos founded Kirkesion. There are no other extant sources supporting this claim. Kirkesion was located in Mesopotamia at al-Baseira, where the Khabur River flows into the Euphrates.¹

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In general see Weissbach, *RE* s.v. “Kirkesion”; Musil, *Middle Euphrates* 334–37; Wiesehöfer, *EIr* s.v. “Circesium”; J.-Y. Monchambert, *Ktema* 24 (1999) 236 (map on 235).

1. For the **location** see, for example, *TAVO* 19.

MAKEDONOUPOLIS

The evidence for Makedonoupolis is late. The Greek and Latin lists of those attending the Council of Nikaia mention a Mareas of Makedonoupolis. The Syriac lists refer to a Mareas of Birtha.¹ The Latin list for the Council of Chalcedon records a Daniel of Makedonoupolis; Michael the Syrian records a Daniel of Birtha in the Syriac list.² In each case we are undoubtedly dealing with one and the same person and, therefore, the same town. The toponym obviously suggests a connection with or a recollection of Macedon. Birtha was located at modern Birecik.³

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In general see Gelzer in *Festschrift Kiepert* 59–60; Cumont, *Ét. syr.* 145–47; Tcherikover, *HS* 84–85; Dussaud, *Topographie* 449.

1. For **Mareas (Marius) of Makedonoupolis** in the Greek and Latin lists of the Council of Nikaia see *Patr. Nicaen. Nom.* p. 64 (XI.81: Greek), pp. 22–23 (IX.81, 82; XI.77, 80: Latin); for Mar(e)as of Birtha in the Syriac lists see *Patr. Nicaen. Nom.* p. 103 (IX.81); and Cumont, *Ét. syr.* 145. For Birtha see also *The Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite* 91 (p. 71, trans./ed. Wright).

2. For **Daniel of Makedonoupolis/Daniel of Birtha** at the Council of Chalcedon see Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum* 7:403; Michael the Syrian 2:62 (trans. Chabot), XVI.113; and Cumont, *Ét. syr.* 147. Cf. the identification of HERAKLEIA in Phoenicia with Arka and ANTHEMOUSIAS Charax Sidou with Marcopolis.

3. For the **location** see Cumont, *Ét. syr.* 144–47. The Syriac chronicle of Joshua (507 A.D.) describes Birtha as “situated beside us on the River Euphrates” (*The Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite* 91 [p. 71, ed./trans. Wright]). Wright noted that this description suggested the identification of Birtha and Birecik. The identification of Birtha and Birecik was securely made by Cumont on the basis of the discovery of a Syriac inscription in the fortress of Birecik dated to 6 A.D. that contained the epitaph of Zarbian, the “commandant of Birtha” (M. A. Kugener, *Rivista degli studi orientali* 1

[1908] 587–94). See also Kennedy in *Zeugma* 54.

Ammianus (20.7.17) mentions a “Virta” in Mesopotamia that he describes as a very old fortress built by Alexander the Macedonian. Cumont reasonably suggested (*Ét. syr.* 146f.) that this city was in fact the BIRTHA that was renamed Makedonoupolis. The Virta of Ammianus is the κάστρον Βίρθας mentioned by George of Cyprus (937; and H. Gelzer’s note in his edition, p. 164). Prior to Cumont, Birecik was believed to be the site of SELEUKEIA on the Euphrates/Zeugma. On Birecik in the Achaemenid period see Fuensanta and Charvat in Briant and Boucharlat, *L’archéologie de l’empire achéménide* 151–58. For the location of Seleukeia at the site of modern Belkis (10 km from Birecik) see SELEUKEIA on the Euphrates, n. 7.

On “birtha” (stronghold) see, for example, PCZ 59003.3,13 (= CPJ 1), ἐν Βίρται τῆς Ἀμμανίτιδος; and E. Will, *Syria* 64 (1987) 253f.

NIKATORIS

According to Stephanos (s.v. “Nikatoris”), who is our sole source of information, Nikatoris was a πόλις Συρίας πρὸς τῇ Εὐρώπῳ, κτίσμα Σελεύκου τοῦ Νικάτορος. He also adds that the ethnic was Νικατορίτης. It is not clear whether this settlement was located east or west of the Euphrates. R. Dussaud speculated that AMPHIPOLIS, which he located on the east bank of the Euphrates, was renamed Nikatoris by Seleukos.¹

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In general see Droysen, *Hist.* 2:728; Tcherikover, *HS* 55; Honigmann, “Hist. Topog.” 20, no. 326; Fraser, *Terminology* 359.

1. For the **suggestion that Seleukos Nikator refounded Amphipolis as Nikatoris** see Dussaud, *Topographie* 461; and Jones, *CERP*² 216. Tcherikover (*HS* 55) placed Nikatoris—without comment—in eastern Syria. See also NIKATORIS in *Cyrrhestice*.

Note that Fraser (*Terminology* 359) claimed that Stephanos s.v. “Nikatoris” referred to DOURA EUROPOS. In support, he cited Stephanos, s.v. “Doura”: πόλις Μεσοποταμίας, ὡς Πολύβιος πέμπτη. Polybius 5.48.16 says that Molon “occupied Parapotamia as far as the town of Europus and Mesopotamia as far as Dura” (trans. Paton). As Walbank noted (*Comment.* 1:579), this Doura should be identified with the town on the east bank of the Tigris (cf. Polyb. 5.52.2; and Ammianus 25.6.9). See also J. den Boeft

et al. in *Comment. on Ammianus* 25.6.9. The exact location of Doura on the Tigris is not known.

NIKEPHORION CONSTANTINA/CONSTANTIA

In addition to NIKEPHORION near the Euphrates (at modern Raqqah), there was another Nikephorion in Mesopotamia. The latter was located farther north, at some distance from the Euphrates. Our only unequivocal source for this settlement is Ouranios (in Stephanos, s.v. "Nikephorion"), who remarked that Nikephorion was also renamed Constantina and that it was περὶ "Ἐδεσσαν.¹ (The *Suda* s.v. "Nikephorion" repeats the information in Stephanos but refers to the settlement as "Constantia.") The Syriac name for Constantina was Tela. In this connection G. W. Bowersock pointed to a previously unnoticed passage in the Syriac life of Rabula of Edessa that confirms Ouranios's testimony. There Tela is described as "the victorious city of great renown."² We may therefore accept the identification of Nikephorion-Constantina-Tela on the Edessa-Nisibis road. It is generally agreed that the town was located at modern Viranshehir.³ The toponym suggests that Nikephorion quite possibly originated as a Hellenistic settlement that was founded by Seleukos I Nikator.⁴

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In general see Mannert, *Geographie* 5.2:286–88; Droysen, *Hist.* 2:689; Dillemann, *Mésopotamie* 254–55; Bowersock, *Late Antiquity* 128–34; and NIKEPHORION (Raqqah); Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey* 4:191–93; Biffi, *Strabone* 165.

1. Strabo (16.1.23) refers to a Nikephorion, which he locates in Mygdonia. It is generally agreed that Mygdonia was the region of northeast Mesopotamia. Nevertheless, in Strabo's narrative the extent of the territory of Mygdonia is problematic. He says it reached west and southwest to the Euphrates at Zeugma and Thapsakos and north to include Tigranokerta, a far larger area than normally believed. This has prompted the suggestion that Strabo was misinformed (see further Weissbach, *RE* s.v. "Mygdonia 5"). Whether or not Strabo was mistaken in his description of the extent of Mygdonian territory, we may note the cities he assigned to this region: Chordiraza, Sinnaka, Nikephorion, Antioch Nisibis, Tigranokerta, and Karrhai (see also 11.14.2). Antioch, Tigranokerta, and Karrhai were considerably removed from the Euphrates. The same was

certainly true for the location of Sinnaka (see K. Regling, *Klio* 1 [1901] 458; id., *Klio* 7 [1907] 390; Marshall, *Crassus* 159f.). The location of Chodiraza is not known. In any event, we may note the following: (a) the fact that—where known—these cities were located at a considerable distance from the Euphrates leaves open the possibility that the Nikephorion included by Strabo with this group was likewise far from the Euphrates; (b) Viranshehir—the site of Constantina-Tela—is located near Edessa, between Antioch/Nisibis and Karrhai. It is possible, therefore, that the Nikephorion mentioned by Strabo was the northern one.

Hierokles (714.2, 715.1) and George of Cyprus (894, 897; see H. Gelzer's comment. in his edition, p. 153) distinguished Constantina from Kallinikon and placed both towns in Osrhoene. Neither, incidentally, mentioned Nikephorion. Obviously if Nikephorion was renamed Constantina it could not have been previously renamed KALLINIKON. We are therefore faced with the following possibilities: (a) Ouranios erred in equating Nikephorion with Constantina, or (b) there were two different cities named Nikephorion: a southern one in Mesopotamia on the Euphrates mentioned by Pliny (modern Raqqah) and a northern one in Mygdonia east of Edessa that is (possibly) also recorded by Strabo (Constantina). I believe that Ouranios was not in error (for Ouranios's reliability see Bowersock, *Late Antiquity* 128), and that there were two cities named Nikephorion, and Ouranios was referring to the northern town.

2. In 1797 K. Mannert called attention to the Ouranios passage in Stephanos; he raised the possibility that there had been a second Nikephorion in Mesopotamia and suggested the **identification of Nikephorion with Constantina/Constantia** (*Geographie* 5.2:287–88). Mannert was followed by Droysen (*Hist.* 2:669). Dillemann mentioned the Ouranios fragment and also raised the possibility that there were two Nikephorions in Mesopotamia (*Mésopotamie* 255). M. M. Mango noted—without further comment or reference—the identification (in Bell, *Tur 'Abdin* 154). In 1997 Bowersock also called attention to the Ouranios passage and by reference to the passage in the Syriac life of Rabula of Edessa convincingly confirmed the Nikephorion-Constantina connection (*Late Antiquity* 128–34).

On **Constantina/Constantia** see, for example, M. M. Mango in Bell, *Tur 'Abdin* 154; Mango, *ODB* s.v. "Constantina"; Pollard, *Roman Syria* 291.

See further, Markwart, *Südarmenien* 428.

3. For **Tela** see Bowersock, *Late Antiquity* 132. For the probable **location of Nikephorion-Constantina-Tela** at Viranshehir see Millar, *Near*

East 209 (“Constantia or Constantina, may well be Viranshehir”). See also Mango in Bell, *Tur ‘Abdin* 154; Mango, *ODB* s.v. “Constantina”; and Pollard (*Roman Syria* 291), who accepted the identification without reservation.

4. **Founder.** Bowersock has reasonably suggested that Seleukos I Nikator may have founded Nikephorion Constantina (*Late Antiquity* 131). Earlier, Rostovtzeff remarked (*Kondakov Institute* [1938] 104) that Seleukos I Nikator’s founding of EDESSA in 302 B.C. as well as his possible founding of DOURA EUROPOS and ANTIOCH in Mygdonia around the same time provided an important northern bulwark that protected the Babylonian heart of his empire. If he founded Nikephorion as well this would have further strengthened the protective wall around Babylonia; but this is speculation. Note, too, that the date of Seleukos’s acquisition of northern Mesopotamia—before or after Ipsos—is not definitely known; see further EDESSA, n. 2.

The suggestion of Dillemann that *Anti och Arabis* (Pliny *NH* 6.117) was one of the ancient names for Viranshehir is not convincing (*Mésopotamie* 78).

NIKEPHORION (RAQQAH)

There are two traditions regarding the founder of Nikephorion.¹ Pliny (*NH* 6.119) says Alexander ordered it founded because of the advantageous location; Isidore of Charax, who described it as a “Greek *polis*,” also ascribed it to Alexander. On the other hand, Appian (*Syr.* 57) included it in the list of foundations he attributed to Seleukos I Nikator.² According to Tacitus (*Ann.* 6.41), Nikephorion—along with ANTHEMOUSIAS and other cities—was founded by Macedonians and had a Greek name. Cassius Dio says (40.13.1) that when M. Licinius Crassus was preparing for his campaign against the Parthians Nikephorion was one of the “Greek *poleis*” that supported him.³ According to Dio, many of the Greek and Macedonian colonists in the region regarded the Romans as “philhellenes.” Coinage with the legend ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΙΩΝ survives from the reigns of Gordian and Gallienus; however, the attribution of the coins to the Mesopotamian city is doubtful.⁴ It is also not clear whether Nikephorion was renamed Kallinikon in the third century A.D.⁵

The ruins at Raqqah on the east bank of the Euphrates have been identified with Nikephorion. Note, however, J. Gaborit’s sober observation: “L’insuccès dans la localisation de Nicephorion nous paraît être le point le plus regrettable. . . . Alors que les sources indiquent clairement que cette fondation se trouve à la confluence du Balikh et de l’Euphrate, aucune

prospection, aucune fouille dans cette région n'a permis de détecter l'existence de cette fondation."⁶

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In general see Mannert, *Geographie* 5.2:286–88; Ritter, *Erdkunde* 10:1125–49; Droysen, *Hist.* 2:742–43; Kiepert, *FOA Karte V*, p. 5 (7); Chapot, *Frontière* 288f.; Herzfeld in Sarre and Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise* 1:156–61; Tcherikover, *HS* 86; Weidner, *RE* s.v. “Nikephorion 2”; Musil, *Middle Euphrates* 227–29, 325–31; Berve, *Alexanderreich* 1:292; Tarn, *Alexander* 2:248; Toueir in *DAI 1829–1979* 210–14; Brodersen, *Komment.* 162; Ulbert in *Archéologie* 291–92; M. al-Khalaf and K. Kohlmeyer, *DaM* 2 (1985) 133–62; Biffi, *Strabone* 165.

1. For **other literary references** to Nikephorion see, for example, Pliny *NH* 5.86; Ptolemy 5.18.6; Florus 1.46 (3.11.4); and Fronto *Ep. ad Verum* 2.24 (p. 131, ed. Van den Hout²). For the Nikephorion mentioned by Strabo 16.1.23 see NIKEPHORION Constantina/Constantia.

2. **Founder.** Berve, *Alexanderreich* 1:292, preferred Alexander; see also Droysen, *Hist.* 2:668, 742f.; and Herzfeld in Sarre and Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise* 1:145. Tarn, *Alexander* 2:248, objected to Alexander as founder because (a) there is no attestation for the term *νικηφόρος* being applied to or used by Alexander (Tarn, however, does note the term is found in the *Alexander Romance* [2.21.3, 3.17.33, 3.26.3, ed. Kroll]), and (b) the form of the toponym belongs to a group of names—like DOKIMEION—of settlements named for an official, and no officer of Alexander with that name is known. Both of these objections are reasonable, though it should be noted they are both *ex silentio*. In any event, Tarn referred to Appian and suggested the town was a Seleucid settlement. See also Tcherikover (*HS* 86), who noted (a) that before Gaugamela Alexander would not have settled soldiers needed for the forthcoming battle, (b) in the short time it took to get from Tyre to Thapsakos the king would not have had the time or opportunity to found a colony, and (c) toponyms with *νίκη* were normally given to settlements near the battlefields where the victory took place. Tcherikover could not bring such objections against Seleukos; hence he suggested the Seleucid king founded it and named it for some military victory; see also Honigmann, *RE* s.v. “Thapsakos,” 1274. Tcherikover’s objections are quite subjective and based on probability rather than fact. In fact there is no compelling historical context that allows the definite ascription of Nikephorion to either king (Brodersen, *Komment.* 162). Furthermore, it is

worth recalling that some of the ascriptions in Appian's list are questionable (see further Cohen, *Settlements in Syria* 3). Nevertheless, it would appear that Seleukos is the more probable candidate; see also Grainger, *Seleukos* 99–100.

3. According to Florus 1.46, **Crassus** was at Nikephorion when an embassy from Orodes came to him; see further A. Garzetti, *Athenaeum* (1944) 4 of.; Marshall, *Crassus* 153.

4. For the **coinage** see, for example, Mionnet, *Supplément* 8:414f., nos. 72–73; and Hill, *BMC Arabia, etc.* p. cix on Nikephorion: “Vaillant has attributed to this place, the modern Raqqa, coins of Gordian (*rev.* Zeus seated holding Nike and scepter) and Gallienus (*rev.* female figure holding phiale and cornucopiae) on which he reads the inscription ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΙΩΝ. His attributions have not been confirmed.” Regarding this coinage, Kevin Butcher has supplied the following information: “Certainly I have never come across any coins purporting to come from Nikephorion, and I very much doubt that any exist. The reference to Mionnet suggested that the coins in question are likely to have been either in the Paris collection or quoted from very much older catalogues (or both). I had a look in J-F Vaillant's *Numismata imperatorum, Augustarum et Caesarum, a populis, Romanae ditionis, Graece loquentibus*, 3rd edition, Paris, 1700, and sure enough, the coins of Gordian and Gallienus are listed there. The Gordian is on p. 154, the reference being a certain V. Valchner (not listed in his index of collectors); the Gallienus is on p. 182, in the collection of Jos. Felice (secretary to a cardinal in Rome). The coins must be misidentified coins of other cities, but the types (a seated Jupiter for Gordian and a standing female figure for Gallienus) do not permit me to guess which ones. In his alphabetical summary of mints Vaillant ascribes only coins of Gordian to Nikephorion (p. 202), evidently having forgotten the Gallienus.”

5. See KALLINIKON, n. 2.

6. **Location.** Pliny (*NH* 5.86, 6.119) places Nikephorion in Mesopotamia, “in vicinia Euphratis”; Isidore of Charax (1) locates it downstream from Zeugma on the Euphrates. On Raqqa see Musil, *Middle Euphrates* 91, 228–20, 325–27, and map at end. For a map and plan of the site see al-Khalaf and Kohlmeyer, *DaM* 2 (1985) opposite 134 and 136; see also Chapot, *Frontière* 289; Kiepert, *FOA Karte V* and p. 7; and Gaborit, *Géographie historique* 507. For Islamic Rakkah see M. Meinecke, *MDOG* 128 (1996) 157–72.

POLYTELEIA

Pliny (*NH* 6.118–19), who is our only source, says that southeast of the Sitrae was the town of Azochis and nearby (“mox in campestribus oppida”) were the towns of DIOSPAGE, Polyteleia, STRATONIKEIA, and ANTHEMOUS. Polyteleia was apparently located in Mesopotamia; precisely where we do not know.¹ The name, at least, suggests a Greek or Macedonian settlement.

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In general see Tcherikover, *HS* 85; Treidler, *RE* s.v. “Polyteleia”; and Dillemann, *Mésopotamie* 100f.

1. See further STRATONIKEIA in Mesopotamia and ANTHEMOUSIAS. Markwart’s suggestion (*Südarmenien* 428) that Polyteleia was the Greek reinterpretation of the native toponym, Tella (later Viranshehir), is not convincing. On the multinamed Viranshehir (Nikephorion, Constantina, Antoninopolis, Maximianopolis, Tella) see NIKEPHORION Constantina; Mango in Bell, *Tur ‘Abdin* 154; Mango, *ODB* s.v. “Constantina.”

SELOK

E. Honigmann called attention to a spring called Selok southeast of KARRHAI.¹ The name is evocative. It recalls, for example, KARKA de BETH SELOK. Nevertheless, we would obviously need more information before suggesting there had been a Hellenistic settlement (a Seleukeia?) at or near the site of the spring.

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1. Honigmann, *RE* s.v. “Seleukeia 14.” For the **location** see *PGM* 57 (1911) II, map 18.

STRATONIKEIA

According to Pliny (*NH* 6.118–19), southeast of the Sitrae was the town of Azochis and nearby (“mox in campestribus oppida”) were the towns of DIOSPAGE, POLYTELEIA, Stratonikeia, and ANTHEMOUS[IAS]. Pliny, then says that in the vicinity of the Euphrates was NIKEPHORION. In his description Pliny was apparently swinging around from beyond the Tigris

westward toward the Euphrates (Anthemousias was probably located at or quite near the Euphrates; Nikephorion was on it). It would appear, therefore, that Diospage, Polyteleia, and Stratonikeia were located in Mesopotamia. We do not know the exact location.¹ The founder is, likewise, not definitely known; most probably it was Seleukos I Nikator or his son, Antiochos.²

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In general see Tcherikover, *HS* 85.

1. In his enumeration of the settlements founded by Seleukos I Nikator, Appian (*Syr.* 57) mentions one Stratonikeia (see Brodersen, *Komment.* 149f.). Four settlements of that name are known in Asia Minor and Asia from the extant evidence. Two—STRATONIKEIA in Caria and Lydia—were probably founded by Antiochos I. Both Strabo (14.2.25) and Stephanos (s.v. “Stratonikeia”) refer to a STRATONIKEIA near the Tauros and describe it as a small town (πολίχνιον). This particular city has not yet been firmly located. The Tauros Mountains, it is true, extended eastward to the region north of ARSAMEIA and AMIDA. In fact, Stephanos specified that ANTIOCH near the Tauros was in Commagene. Presumably the Stratonikeia mentioned by Pliny was also a small town. Nevertheless, it would undoubtedly be stretching belief to expect that a Stratonikeia in Mesopotamia—even northern Mesopotamia—could be described as “near the Tauros.”

2. Stratonike I, the daughter of Demetrios I Poliorketes, was the wife of Seleukos I Nikator and later of his son, Antiochos I. She and the latter were, in turn, the parents of Antiochos II and Stratonike II. In short, the list of **possible founders** includes Seleukos I and Antiochos I and II. The two most likely candidates are Seleukos I or Antiochos I. Seleukos married Stratonike I soon after the battle of Ipsos in 301 B.C. and subsequently gave her to his son as his wife (probably in 293 B.C.; see Mehl, *Seleukos* 230). If Seleukos founded it, presumably he will have done this between 301 and 293 B.C. At the same time Seleukos gave Stratonike to his son in marriage he also gave him control of the eastern half of the empire (Plut. *Demet.* 38: διέγνωνκε τῶν ἄνω πάντων τόπων Ἀντίοχον ἀποδειῖξαι βασιλέα; on the marriage of Antiochos and Stratonike see also App. *Syr.* 59–61; Lucian, *Syr. D.* 17–18; Synkellos 330 (ed. Mosshammer). See also Beloch, *GG*² IV.1 219f.; Seibert, *Verbindungen* 50f.). This certainly raises the possibility that Antiochos I founded the settlement in honor of his new wife.

ZENODOTION

According to Stephanos (s.v.), Zenodotion was a *polis* of Osrhoene, near NIKEPHORION. Plutarch (*Crass.* 17) says the Greeks called the city Zenodotia. Plutarch's comment suggests (a) the natives called it by another (unknown) name, and (b) the settlement was founded at/next to a native town. Cassius Dio (40.13.2) considered Zenodotion to be one of the Greek and Macedonian colonies in the region. Alone of these cities it resisted the arrival of M. Licinius Crassus in 53 B.C. W. W. Tarn has suggested that, like DOKIMEION in Phrygia, the foundation was named for the officer who settled it.¹ This is possible; but whether the individual was an official attached to Alexander or, more probably, Antigonos or one of the Seleucids, we do not know. Stephanos gives the ethnic as Ζηνοδότιος, Ζηνοδοτιεύς, and Ζηνοδοτηνός. We do not know the exact location.

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In general see Droysen, *Hist.* 2.743; Kiepert, *FOA Karte V*, p. 5 (7); Tcherikover, *HS* 87; Treidler, *RE* s.v. "Zenodotion."

1. Tarn, *Alexander* 2:248.

III

ASSYRIA AND APOLLONIATIS/SITTAKENE

ALEXANDREIA ARBELA

In 1840 H. C. Rawlinson called attention to a passage in Theophylact Simocatta (5.7.10-11, ed. de Boor and Wirth) that mentions "Alexandriana," which "had obtained its name from the actions of Alexander of Macedon, for the son of Philip had gone there with his Macedonian force and Greek allies, razed a very strong fortress, and slaughtered the barbarians in it" (trans. Whitby and Whitby).¹ In this connection Rawlinson recorded two local traditions: (a) that the fort of Arbela had been built by Alexander, and (b) that it had been built by Darius. Following on the former tradition, J.-G. Droysen also called attention to Theophanes (*Chron.* 266, ed. de Boor), who refers to Alexandrina, and suggested that Alexander founded an Alexandria near Arbela after the battle of Gaugamela.²

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In general see Droysen, *Hist.* 2:668-69; M.-L. Chaumont, *IrAnt* 17 (1982) 151-53.

1. Rawlinson, *JRGS* 10 (1840) 72; see also V. Minorsky, *BSOAS* 10 (1944) 244.

2. Droysen, *Hist.* 2:668-69; see also Dillemann, *Mésopotamie* 160 and n. 3; Mango and Scott, *Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor* 390 n. 3; and Whitby and Whitby, *History of Theophylact Simocatta* 142 n. 3.

In his table of Alexander foundations Fraser (*Cities* 240) lists an Alexandria "Assyriae 14." He cites Pliny (without a specific reference). I have not been able to find this citation or any other specific reference by Pliny to an Alexandria in Assyria. However, I would call attention to Pliny *NH* 6.41-42: "Adiabene, where the land of the Assyrians begins; the part of Adiabene nearest to Syria is Arbilitis, where Alexander conquered Darius. The Macedonians have given to the whole of Adiabene the name of Mygdonia. . . . Its towns are Alexandria and Antiochia" (trans. Rackham). It is possible that Fraser was thinking of this passage. And, of course, Arbela can be described as being located in Assyria. Note, however, that this particular passage is problematic; see further, ALEXANDREIA in Mesopotamia and n. 2.

ALEXANDREIA IN ASS YRIA

See ALEXANDREIA Arbela.

ANTIOCH

Pliny (*NH* 6.132) mentions an Antioch that was west of SITTAKE. He adds that it was located between the Tigris and Tornadotos rivers. J.-G. Droysen suggested that the Tornadotos River should be identified with the Tornas River mentioned by Theophanes (*Chron.* 320, ed. de Boor) and that Antioch might have replaced Opis.¹ E. Herzfeld suggested it might have been founded by Antiochos I.² H. Seyrig's tentative attribution of a coin with the legend [AN] TIOX[EΩN] to Antioch in Sittakene is not convincing.³

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In general see Droysen, *Hist.* 2:746; E. Herzfeld, *Memnon* 1 (1907) 140; Tcherikover, *HS* 97; Chaumont, *IrAnt* 17 (1982) 169.

1. On the **Tornas River** (probably the modern Diyala [Kurdish: Sirwan]), which empties into the Tigris below Baghdad see E. Herzfeld in Sarre and Herzfeld, *Archaeologische Reise* 2:88; and Markwart, *Provincial Capitals* 59. See also Mango and Scott, *Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor* 455–56 n. 12.

2. Herzfeld, *Memnon* 1 (1907) 140.

3. H. Seyrig, *RN* (1955) 90, no. 28 and pp. 109–11; contra: Chaumont, *IrAnt* 17 (1982) 169.

APAMEIA

Pliny (*NH* 6.132) is our sole extant source for Apameia in Sittakene. He says that Antiochos founded it and named it for his mother. Pliny would be referring to Antiochos I Soter. Pliny also says that the town was surrounded by the Tigris and was intersected by the Archous.

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In general see Droysen, *Hist.* 2:745; Fraser, *Terminology* 340.

APOLLONIA

Stephanos (s.v. "Apollonia 25"; see also Ptol. 6.1.6) records an Apollonia that was located between Babylon and Susa. This Apollonia would be in Apolloniatis/Sittakene. We do not know the precise location.¹

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In general see d'Anville, *Tigre* 108; Forbiger, *Handbuch* 2:613–14; Fraenkel, *RE* s.v. "Apollonia 27"; Herzfeld, *Memnon* 1 (1907) 126; Tcherikover, *HS* 97; P. Pédech, *REA* 60 (1958) 72; M.-L. Chaumont, *IrAnt* 17 (1982) 168–69.

1. For the **location** cf. Strabo (16.1.17), who describes Sittakene (= Apolloniatis: Strabo 15.3.12) as being between Babylon and Persis. Suggestions about the location include the following: near Baradan or Kara Tepe (Ritter, *Erdkunde* 9:513), Baradan Tepe (Herzfeld in Sarre and Herzfeld, *Archaeologische Reise* 2:83; see also Pédech, *REA* 60 [1958] 72 and map opp. p. 68), the left bank of the Diyala (Chaumont, *IrAnt* 17 [1982] 169). In general, see the discussions of Herzfeld (in Sarre and Herzfeld, *Archaeologische Reise* 2:83; and *Memnon* 1 [1907] 126), Pédech, and Chaumont (*IrAnt* 17 [1982] 168–69).

Tcherikover (*HS* 97) claimed that the Apollonia mentioned by Polybius (5.51.1–8) also refers to this settlement; see also Chaumont, *IrAnt* 17 (1982) 168. However, this is not certain. It would appear, in fact, that Polybius is referring there to the region of Apolloniatis rather than the city of Apollonia (5.51.8 and 5.44.6: τὴν Ἀπολλωνιάτιν χώραν and 5.43.8: τῆς Ἀπολλωνιάτιδος χώρας, understanding *chora*, "country," in contrast to "town," *polis* [LSJ] s.v. *chora*); on the other hand, at 5.52.3 Polybius specifically mentions [the city of] Ἀπολλωνία). Isidore of Charax (2) mentions the region Apolloniatis and the Greek city of ARTEMITA that was located there; note that he does not mention Apollonia. Perhaps, as Chaumont suggested, this reflected the fact that by that time it had significantly declined in importance (*IrAnt* 17 [1982] 169).

Appian (*Syr.* 57) records an Apollonia among the foundations of Seleukos I Nikator in "Syria and the Upper Satrapies." Fraenkel (*RE* s.v. "Apollonia 27," followed by Walbank, *Comment.* 1:574) suggested that the Apollonia recorded by Appian was the settlement in Apolloniatis. Brodersen was disinclined to place the Apollonia mentioned by Appian in Apolloniatis because—according to Brodersen—the other settlements he recorded at *Syr.* 57 were located in northeast Syria (*Komment.* 157). This is not convincing.

Appian specifically says that he is recording the settlements of both Syria *and* the Upper Satrapies (italics mine); see APOLLONIA in northern Syria.

Chaumont's suggestion that Apollonia was the refounded SITTAKE (*IrAnt* 17 [1982] 168) awaits the discovery of supporting evidence.

ARTEMITA

Isidore of Charax (2) described Artemita as a *polis Hellenis* in the district of Apolloniatis. He added that the Silla River flowed through the town and that in his time ("now") the town was called Chalaras (i.e., by its native name). Isidore also said it was 15 *schoinoi* from Seleukeia. We do not know the exact location. We may search for Artemita in an area approximately 90 kilometers north or northeast of SELEUKEIA at a site on the Diyala River.¹ Pliny (*NH* 6.117) placed it along with Seleukeia and Laodikeia in Mesopotamia. Strabo offered apparently contradictory information regarding the location. At 11.11.7, citing Apollodorus (who was from Artemita), he said it was in Babylonia.² In another passage (16.1.17) he described it as a "noteworthy city" and said it was 500 stades east of Seleukeia (i.e., Seleukeia on the Tigris) in Sittakene. He then explained that Sittakene lay between Babylon and Susis.

It is not clear whether Artemita was a Hellenistic refoundation or whether the Greeks in the town were descended from the Greeks transplanted to this area by Xerxes (Diod. 17.110.4-5).³

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In general see d'Anville, *Tigre* 108 ; Droysen, *Hist.* 2:746; Kiepert, *FOA Karte V*, p. 7 (9); Forbiger, *Handbuch* 2:614; Fraenkel, *RE* s.v. "Artemita 1"; Herzfeld, *Memnon* 1 (1907) 125-26; Tcherikover, *HS* 97; Herzfeld in Sarre and Herzfeld, *Archaeologische Reise* 2:77-78; M.-L. Chaumont, *IrAnt* 17 (1982) 170-72; Biffi, *Strabone* 155; Radt, *Kommentar* 8:271.

1. Various identifications have been proposed for the **location** of Artemita: e.g., **Dastagerd-i Khusrau** (e.g., A. Christensen, *Iran* 454-55; Dillemann, *Mésopotamie* p. XXV; Chaumont, *IrAnt* 17 [1982] 172); for a description of the remains at the site see Herzfeld in Sarre and Herzfeld, *Archaeologische Reise* 2:76-78; and Christensen, *Iran* 455); **Shahrbaran** (Mannert, *Geographie* 5.2:458; Vaux, *Dict. Geog.* s.v. "Artemita"; Miller, *Itineraria* 743); **Qasr-i Shirin** (Ritter, *Erdkunde* 8:115); **region of**

Baqubah (Droysen, *Hist* 2:691; Herzfeld in Sarre and Herzfeld, *Archaologische Reise* 2:76–78, especially 78 n. 2; Streck, *RE Suppl.* I s.v. “Artemita”; F. Lasserre, ed., *Strabon Geographie Tome VIII [Livre XI]* [Paris, 1975] 149). See maps at the end of Christensen, *Iran*; pl. XXV in Dillemann, *Mésopotamie*; and Adams, *Baghdad*, fig. 1.

2. For other **literary references to Artemita** see, for example, Ptol. 6.1.6 (in Assyria); Geog. Rav. 2.11 (ed. Schnetz, “Artemida”; in Assyria); *Tab. Peut.* XI.1 (see Miller, *Itineraria* 743). On the toponym see ARTEMITA in Armenia, n. 1.

3. For **Xerxes’ transplanting Greeks to this region** see also CHALA and SITTAKE; and pp. 25–26.

ATOUSIA

See NATOUNIA.

BETH NIK ATOR /NIK ATOR STATION

See Nikator in Assyria.

CHALA

Isidore of Charax (5) describes Chala in the district of Chalonitis as a *polis Hellenis*.¹ If Isidore’s description is meant to indicate (among other things) the presence of Greeks in the town, it is not clear whether they were the descendants of Hellenistic settlers or—as is more likely—of Boeotians who had been brought to the region by Xerxes (Diod. 17.110.4–5).² Isidore also says the town was located 5 *schoinoi* from the mountain called Zagros that separated Chalonitis from Media.

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In general see Forbiger, *Handbuch* 2:614; Baumstark, *RE* s.v. “Chala”; Tcherikover, *HS* 97; Chaumont, *IrAnt* 17 (1982) 166–67.

1. On the term ***polis Hellenis*** see Appendix IX.

2. For the **Boeotians** in the region see also SITTAKE.

DEMETRIAS

According to Strabo (16.1.4) the city of Demetrias was located near Arbela. Stephanos repeated Strabo's information but added that it was in Persis (s.v. "Demetrias 3"). The latter claim is incorrect; Arbela is well north of Persis.¹ We do not know the exact location of Demetrias. Suggestions have included the site of Altin Köprü on the Little Zab River, Kirkuk, Baba Gurgur a few kilometers north of Kirkuk, and Arbela or close to it.²

Presumably, Demetrias would have been founded by the Seleucid king Demetrios I or II.³

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In general see Forbiger, *Handbuch* 2:615; Droysen, *Hist.* 2:747; Fraenkel, *RE* s.v. "Demetrias 4"; G. F. Hill, *BMC Arabia, etc.* cxix; E. Herzfeld, *Memnon* 1 (1907) 128; Tcherikover, *HS* 96; M.-L. Chaumont, *IrAnt* 17 (1982) 153-55; Fraser, *Terminology* 351.

1. A number of early catalogues mentioned a **bronze coin** with the legend [ΔΗ]ΜΗΤΡΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΩΙ ΤΙΓΡΕΙ and tripod on the reverse, bust of Tyche on the obverse; see, for example, Head, *HN2* 817; Mionnet, *Supplément* 8:398, no. 47 (ΜΗΤΡΕΙΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΩΙ ΤΙΓΡΕΙ); and *BMC Arabia, etc.* cxix. (Hill observed that the proper form of the ethnic would be [ΔΗ]ΜΗΤΡΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΩΙ ΤΙΓΡΕΙ.) Hill also commented that the coin could no longer be traced but noted its similarity to coins of SELEUKEIA on the Tigris and suggested that the first word could be read as [ΣΕ]ΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ. In fact, Le Rider (*Suse* 154) found a coin of the same type in the Cabinet de Paris and confirmed that the correct reading is [ΣΕ]ΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ.

2. **Location.** Altin Köprü (on the Arbela-Babylon road) on the Little Zab River (K. Müller and F. Dübner, eds., *Strabonis Geographica* [Paris, 1853] 2:790); Kirkuk (d'Anville, *Tigre* 107-8); Baba Gurgur, a few kilometers north of Kirkuk (Hoffmann, *Auszüge* 273); Arbela or close to it (Chaumont, *IrAnt* 17 [1982] 154).

3. For the **funder** see Chaumont, *IrAnt* 17 (1982) 154.

DIADOCHOU POLIS

Stephanos (s.v. "Diadochou") says that Diadochou was a Persian city not far from Ktesiphon. This is all that is known about the settlement.

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In general see Tcherikover, *HS* 97.

KARKA DE BETH SEL OK

The Syriac *Chronicle of Karka de Beth Selok*, which dates to the sixth or seventh century A.D, says that Seleukos founded Antioch in Syria, Seleukeia in Syria, Seleukeia in Pisidia, Selik (Seleukeia) in Beth Aramaye, and the city of Karka of Beth Selok.¹ According to the *Chronicle*, Karka de Beth Selok (present-day Kirkuk in northeastern Iraq) was originally founded by an Assyrian king (Sardana) and subsequently developed by Seleukos.² The *Chronicle* provides the following information regarding Seleukos and Karka de Beth Selok: Seleukos transformed the old city wall, which had been built by Sardana on a hill, and built a new, higher wall outside the old wall. He added seventy-two towers to the walls.³ He also built two gates; near the northwest gate he built a stone statue. In the center of the city Seleukos built a royal palace. He enlarged the city, covered it with palaces and streets, and, in general, made it splendid. He divided it into seventy-two streets. He brought five well-known families from Istarh and settled them in the city along with other people brought from various other places. He gave these five families land and vines. He did not impose a poll tax on Karka. Twelve of the streets were given names from trades or professions. In memory of the original founder, Sardana, Seleukos built a watchtower near the palace and placed it inside the fortress. This tower was—and is still—called Sarabvay.

The *Chronicle's* description of Seleukos's alleged activity at Karka de Beth Selok is quite imaginative.⁴ In any event, the refounding of Kirkuk by Seleukos is not mentioned in any other extant Greek or Syriac text.⁵

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In general see Droysen, *Hist.* 2:746–47; Khayyath, *Syri Orientales* 150; Hoffmann, *Auszüge* 43–60 (German translation of the *Chronicle*) and 267–73; Marquart, *Eranshahr* 21–22; Herzfeld in Sarre and Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise* 2:88; Honigmann, *RE* s.v. “Seleukeia 14”; Tcherikover, *HS* 97; Obermeyer, *Die Landschaft Babylonien* 140–41; P. Peeters, *AB* 43 (1925) 270–71, 303–4; J. M. Fiey, *AB* 82 (1964) 189–94; id., *Assyrie* 3: passim; Pigulevskaja, *Villes* 39–47 (on pp. 46–47 she

provides a French translation of the relevant section of the *Chronicle*); Oppenheimer, *BabJ* 220; M.-L. Chaumont, *IrAnt* 17 (1982) 157–61; id., *Christianisation* 38–41; Morony, *Iraq* 562; Harrak, *Acts of Mar Mari* 27 n. 63.

1. Pigulevskaja, *Villes* 46–47.

2. On the **original founder** see Hoffmann, *Auszüge* 43; Pigulevskaja, *Villes* 46; and Fiey, *AB* 82 (1964) 191–93. For the **location** see, for example, *TAVO* 19.

3. Cf. the **seventy-two elders**, who, according to the *Letter of Aristeas* 50 translated the Old Testament into Greek. For other occurrences of the number seventy-two in Jewish, Christian, and Moslem religious traditions see wikipedia.org/wiki/72.

4. Compare the **founding and refounding narratives** regarding, for example, EDESSA/ANTIOCH on the Kallirhoe, ALEXANDREIA near Egypt, and ANTIOCH near Daphne.

5. Pliny (*NH* 6.117) mentions three settlements—Seleukeia, LAODIKEIA, and ARTEMITA—among the towns of Mesopotamia. The passage is problematic. The location of the first two towns is not known. On the other hand, Artemita was most probably located east of the Tigris, i.e., beyond Mesopotamia. If—as is likely—Pliny is grouping these three towns geographically, this raises the possibility that Seleukeia and Laodikeia were also located in that area. This would therefore suggest that Pliny erred in placing them in Mesopotamia. If that is the case, then it may be that the Seleukeia recorded at *NH* 6.117 could be identified with Karka de Beth Selok. See further Honigmann, *RE* s.v. “Seleukeia 14”; and Tcherikover, *HS* 97. On errors in Pliny see ARETHOUSA in the Gulf region.

Obermeyer suggested that the Aqra di-Seliquum mentioned in the Babylonian Talmud (*Makkot* 10a) is identical with Karka de Beth Selok (*Die Landschaft Babylonien* 141); see also Oppenheimer, *BabJ* 220.

For Karka de Beth Selok in other Syriac texts see, for example, S. E. Assemanus, *Acta Sanctorum Martyrum* 1:227 [“Beth-Seleucia”] = Lagrange, *Actes des Martyrs d’Orient* 32 and 82 [“Beth-Séleucie”]; *Chronik von Arbela* (trans. Kawerau) nos. 8, 11, 15 (= *Chronik von Arbela* [trans. Sachau] pp. 61, 71, 82 = Schulz, *Die Charakene* 195); A. Christensen, *Iran* 82; Nau, *Martyrologe* 24; C. Jullien in *L’empire Sassanide* 156; id. in *Indo-Grecs* 92.

KTESIPHON

The earliest mention of Ktesiphon in the extant evidence is in Polybius, who

says that in 221 B.C. Molon encamped there (5.45.4).¹ Strabo, who lived in the last part of the first century B.C./early first century A.D., equivocated in his description of Ktesiphon. First he described it as a large κώμη (16.1.16) that the Parthian kings used as their winter residence. Then he remarked that because of the Parthian power Ktesiphon was a *polis* rather than a *komē*. He noted that the population was quite large, that the Parthians had undertaken a building program in the city, and that it was a commercial center. In the last half of the first century A.D. Josephus (*AJ* 18.377) mentioned that the Parthian “baggage” (ἀποσκευή) was stored at Ktesiphon and described it as a πόλις Ἑλληνίς. Josephus’s use of this phrase however, is quite loose; for example, he uses this same expression to describe Gaza, Gadara, and Hippos in Palestine (*BJ* 2.97).²

The homonym Ktesiphon is, in fact, Greek; it is attested, for example, as the name of an Athenian politician of the fourth century B.C. (*Dem.* 18.54). However, it is not clear whether the toponym of the Babylonian city was taken from the Greek world or resulted from the Hellenization of an Oriental place-name.³ There is no extant evidence that specifically indicates Ktesiphon was a Hellenistic foundation.

Ktesiphon was located on the east bank of the Tigris, opposite SELEUKEIA on the Tigris.⁴

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In general see Herzfeld in Sarre and Herzfeld, *Archaologische Reise* 2:46 – 49, 58–60; Tcherikover, *HS* 90–91; Streck, *RE Suppl.* IV, s.v. “Ktesiphon,” 1102–9; Honigmann, *RE Suppl.* IV, s.v. “Ktesiphon,” 1109–19; J. H. Schmidt, *Syria* 15 (1934) 1–23; F. Altheim, *Niedergang der Alten Welt* (Frankfurt, 1952) 2:158–59; Ziegler, *KP* s.v. “Ktesiphon”; J. M. Fiey, *OS* (1967) 398; id., *Sumer* 23 (1967) 9–11; Oppenheimer, *BabJ* 198–207; Biffi, *Strabone* 153–54; Radt, *Kommentar* 8:269.

1. For **references to Ktesiphon in the Greek and Latin sources** see Streck, *RE Suppl.* IV, s.v. “Ktesiphon,” 1102; **for references in the rabbinic sources** see Oppenheimer, *BabJ* 198–99; **for references in the Arabic sources** see S. A. el Ali, *Mesopotamia* 3–4 (1968–1969) 417–39.

Ammianus’s notice (23.6.23) that the Parthian king Vardanes I (c. 39–45 A.D.) founded (“instituit”) Ktesiphon, and that Pacorus (77–109 A.D.) added settlers, fortified it, and gave it a Greek name, is generally believed to be historically unreliable. On the identification of Pacorus see *Comment. on Ammianus XXIII* 157; and Honigmann, *RE Suppl.* IV, s.v. “Ktesiphon,” 1110. 2. On the expression *polis Hellenis* see Appendix IX.

3. Regarding the **toponym Ktesiphon**, Streck (*RE Suppl.* IV, s.v. "Ktesiphon," 1104) argued against a Greek origin for the name; on the other hand, Honigmann (*RE Suppl.* IV, s.v. "Ktesiphon," 1109) has claimed it was Greek. See also Oppenheimer, *BabJ* 201.

4. For the **location and site of Ktesiphon** see, for example, Honigmann, *RE Suppl.* IV, s.v. "Ktesiphon," 1118–19; J. M. Fiey, *Sumer* 23 (1967) 9–11; Oppenheimer, *BabJ* 201.

LAODIKEIA

Pliny (*NH* 6.117) mentions Laodikeia along with Seleukeia and ARTEMITA among the cities of Mesopotamia.¹ We know nothing more about this settlement.

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In general see Droysen, *Hist.* 2:746; Tcherikover, *HS* 97.

1. On **difficulties relating to Pliny NH 6.117** see KARKA DE BETH SELOK, n. 5.

NATOUNIA OR NAT OUNISA ROKERTA

The only extant evidence for this settlement is numismatic. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, catalogues mentioned a bronze coin in the British Museum collection with the legend ΑΤΟΥΣΙΕΩΝ Τ. ΠΙΡΟΣ Τ. ΚΑΠΡΟ.¹ The settlement name was therefore given as Atousia. However, E. S. G. Robinson observed that the reading of the ethnic was not certain. Following on this, Hill suggested as other possible readings for the toponym either ΑΤΟΥΜΙΑ or ΝΑΤΟΥΜΙΑ.²

The subsequent publication of three more coins in the *Cabinet de Medailles*, on one of which was the legend ΝΑΤΟΥΝΙΣΑΡΟΚΕΡΤΩΝ and on a second an abbreviated version, indicated that the toponym was probably either Natounia or Natounisarokerta. It also indicated that the London example should be read as ΝΑΤΟΥΝΙΕΩΝ (and, hence, that the toponym was Natounia).³ In addition, J. T. Milik deciphered the name Natounia in an inscription on the pedestal of a statue found at the site of ancient Hatra (al-Hadr, southwest of Mosul), and demonstrated that it represents the Iranian name for Adiabene.⁴

Some indication of the location of this settlement is given by the mention of the Kapros River on the British Museum coin. The Kapros is the modern Little Zab River, which empties into the Tigris south of Arbela.⁵

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In general see Wissowa, *RE* s.v. "Atusia"; G. F. Hill, *BMC Arabia, etc.* cxviii-cxix; Tcherikover, *HS* 96-97; H. Seyrig, *RN* (1955) 104-5; G. Le Rider, *RN* (1959-1960) 30-32; J. T. Milik, *RN* (1962) 51-58; J. Teixidor, *Berytus* 17 (1967-1968) 1; M. Raschke, *ANRW* 2.9.2 (1978) 818; M.-L. Chaumont, *IrAnt* 17 (1982) 155-57; id., *Christianisation* 39, 49; O. Hoover, *SNR* 88 (2009) 161-68.

1. For the **coin with the legend read as** ΑΤΟΥΣΙΕΩΝ see, for example, Mionnet, *Supplement* 8:390, no. 8; Head, *HN2* 817; *BMC Arabia, etc.* 147.

2. Hill, *BMC Arabia, etc.* cxviii-cxix.

3. For the **coins with the legend** ΝΑΤΟΥΝΙΣΑΠΟΚΕΡΤΩΝ see Seyrig, *RN* (1955) 104-5; Le Rider, *RN* (1959-1960) 30-32; Milik, *RN* (1962) 51-58; Hoover, *SNR* (2009) 162.

4. For the **statue found at Hatra** see A. Coquet, *Syria* 29 (1952) 101; Milik, *RN* (1962) 51-58; and Teixidor, *Berytus* 17 (1967-1968) 1. The inscription reads (in part): . . . *mlk' ntw'n' sry'* . . . (i.e., "king of natunesharenian").

5. For a **map** see, for example, *TAVO* 19.

NIKATOR

E. Honigmann, following E. Herzfeld, called attention to the fact that the Ravenna Geographer (67.2, p. 22, ed. Schnetz) records a Balictanor between Ctesiphontem/Etessipontem (= Ktesiphon) and Artemida (= Artemita).¹ Honigmann equated Balictanor with the Beth Nikator/Nikator station mentioned in various Syriac sources as well as in the Syriac chronicles: e.g., *Chronicle of Karka de Beth Selok* ("Beth Nikator Awana") and the *Chronik von Arbela*.²

The location is not definitely known.³

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In general see Droysen, *Hist.* 2:747; Labourt, *Christianisme* 20 n. 6; E.

Herzfeld, *Memnon* 1 (1907) 128; id. in Sarre and Herzfeld, *Archaologische Reise* 2:77 n. 1; Hoffmann, *Auszüge* 41 n. 343; Honigmann, *RE Suppl.* IV, s.v. “Ktesiphon,” 1109; Chaumont, *IrAnt* 17 (1982) 162–63; id., *Christianisation* 167.

1. Honigmann, *RE Suppl.* IV, s.v. “Ktesiphon,” 1109; Herzfeld in Sarre and Herzfeld, *Archaologische Reise* 2:77 and n. 1.

2. For **Beth Nikator/Nikator station** in the Syriac sources see, for example, J. S. Assemanus, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 1:189 (“Beth Nikator Awana”); S. E. Assemanus, *Acta Sanctorum Martyrum* 1:227 (“Beth-Nictoris”) = Lagrange, *Actes des Martyrs d’Orient* 32 (“Beth Nictor”) and 81–82 (“Nicatora”); *Catalogue of the Martyrs of Beth Garmai* (MS. Vat. Syr. 161 [N.V.], cited in Chaumont, *Christianisation* 167); references in Labourt, *Christianisme* 20 n. 6; and *Annuaire historique pour l’Annee 1844 publie par la Societe de l’histoire de France* (Paris, 1843), “Liste alphabétique des Évêchés de la Chrétienté: Anciens et Modernes” (based on earlier lists drawn up by Lemaire in 1620 and Fabricius in 1731) 181, which records a “Beth-Nicatoris, év chaldéen, en Perse”; *Acta Sanctorum Novembris* IV (Brussels, 1925) 429 (“Passio Saporis episcopi Nicatorii”).

For the *Chronicle of Karka de Beth Selok* see Hoffmann, *Auszüge* 48 and 277; for the *Chronicle of Arbela* see Sachau, *Chronik von Arbela* 61 (= Kawerau, *Chronik von Arbela* no. 8 = Schuol, *Die Charakene* 195). For Nikator station in the Paikuli inscription (last decade of the third century A.D.) see W. B. Henning, *BSOAS* 14 (1952) 501–22, especially 519–21.

3. Hoffmann considered the **location** to be unknown (*Auszüge* 277); Henning suggested it was at the site of the modern Binkudrah—which he claimed continues the ancient name, Beth Nikator—at the confluence of the Diyala and Hulwan rivers (*BSOAS* 14 [1952] 521–22).

Hoffmann (*Auszüge* 41 n. 343; see also M.-L. Chaumont, *IrAnt* 17 [1982] 163) suggested that Qatrabbul—known from the Islamic period—in Babylonia was an ancient *Nikatoropolis (the Greek toponym is nowhere attested in the extant sources). If I understand him correctly, Hoffmann differentiated between this *Nikatoropolis and Beth Nikator. Sachau followed Hoffmann’s identification of *Nikatoropolis with Qatrabbul and equated these with Beth Nikator (*Chronik von Arbela* 51). Henning found the identification Qatrabbul = *Nikatoropolis attractive but correctly objected that Beth Nikator was located east of the Tigris in Beth Garmai while Qatrabbul is located west of the Tigris in the heart of Beth Aramaye (*BSOAS* 14 [1952] 521 and n. 4). Finally, I have mentioned that in a number of sources the full name is given as Beth Nikator Awana. G. Le Strange (*Caliphate* 50) located Awana near ‘Ukbara to the west of the present Tigris River. J. M. Fiey did not endorse the association of Beth

Nikator and Awana unequivocally but considered it probable (*Oriens Christianus Novus* 65–66).

SELOK NEAR KARKA JUDDAN

The tenth-century Syriac dictionary of Bar Bahlul mentions “Selok, a village near Karka Juddan.”¹ M.-L. Chaumont noted that the Sassanid Bahram II (276–293) spent his childhood at Karka Juddan. This suggested, according to Chaumont, that during the mid-third century A.D. there was a royal residence there. And this could have been a Sassanid refoundation of an older Seleukeia.² The location of Karka Juddan is not definitely known.³ Furthermore, the reading “Juddan” is not certain. J. M. Fiey proposed “Karka Gilan”; note, however, that a town of this name is nowhere attested. Chaumont suggested “Karka Ledan” or, preferably, “Karka d-Ledan”; the latter is a town near Susa.⁴

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In general see Hoffmann, *Auszüge* 275–76; Honigmann, *RE* s.v. “Seleukeia 14”; M.-L. Chaumont, *IrAnt* 17 (1982) 161–62; id., *Christianisation* 103–5.

1. R. Duval, *Lexicon Syriacum Hassano bar Bahlul* (Paris, 1901) 2:1352 (Syriac).

2. Chaumont, *IrAnt* 17 (1982) 161–62.

3. Hoffmann suggested the **location** was in the neighborhood of Khanaqin, which is on the Alwand River, a tributary of the Diyala River (*Auszüge* 275–76; see map I facing Fiey, *Assyrie* 3:16; and Schmitt, *Antiochos* map 3 on p. 300); see also Honigmann, *RE* s.v. “Seleukeia 14”; Fiey, *Assyrie* 3:71–74; and Chaumont, *IrAnt* 17 (1982) 161.

4. Fiey, *Assyrie* 3:72; Chaumont, *Christianisation* 104–5.

SITTAKE

In his description of the district of Sittakene, Pliny (*NH* 6.132) says that its city is Sittake, which he describes as being “of Greek origin” (“oppidum eius Sittace Graecorum”). However, this was not a Hellenistic settlement. Xenophon visited it with the expeditionary force in 401 B.C. He mentioned that it was a large city at the time and that it was located ¹⁵ stades from

the Tigris (*Anab.* 2.4.13). In fact, Diodorus says (17.110.4) that in Sittakene there was a settlement of Boeotians who had been moved at the time of Xerxes' campaign. He adds that at the time of Alexander they were bilingual and still practiced various Greek customs.¹ In their preliminary edition of the Babylonian chronicle *ABC* 13, I. Finkel and R. J. van der Spek proposed reading "Si]ttake, a renowned city" (= *BCHP* 10, rev. 6).

Ptolemy mentions it (6.1.6) as being southeast of ARTEMITA on the road to Susa, and Stephanos (s.v. "Sittake") described it as a *polis Persikē*.

M.-L. Chaumont suggested that Sittake was refounded as APOLLONIA; we should need further evidence in order to affirm this suggestion.²

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In general see Droysen, *Hist.* 2:746; Forbiger, *Handbuch* 2:614; Weissbach, *RE* s.v. "Sittake."

1. For the **Persian policy of transplanting peoples** to various parts of Apolloniatis, Susiana, and the Red Sea basin see pp. 25–26. See also TANAGRA.

2. M.-L. Chaumont, *IrAnt* 17 (1982) 168.

IV

SOUTHERN MESOPOTAMIA AND THE PERSIAN GULF

ALEXANDREIA/ANTIOCH/SPASINOU CHARAX

According to Arrian, Alexander was active in the area of the Shatt al-'Arab in 324 and again in 323 B.C. In 324 he sailed down the Eulaios to the mouths of the Tigris (7.7.2). Arrian does not mention any foundation in connection with this trip.

The following year, in 323, Alexander sailed 800 stades down the Euphrates to the Pallakopas (7.21.7; see also Curtius Rufus 10.4.3); thence he sailed "by it, to the lakes toward Arabia" (κατ' αὐτὸν καταπλεῖ ἔς τὰς λίμνας ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀράβων γῆν).¹ There (ἔνθα), Arrian tells us, Alexander found a suitable spot, built and fortified a city, and populated it with Greek mercenaries, volunteers, and those unfit for active service because of age or wounds. Although Arrian does not give the name of the foundation we may assume it was "Alexandreia."²

According to Pliny (*NH* 6.138–39), Alexander the Great founded a settlement on elevated ground at the confluence of the Tigris and Eulaios rivers. The king populated the new foundation both with settlers from the royal city of Durine, which was then destroyed, and with invalided soldiers.³ He gave orders that the foundation be called "Alexandreia" and that a quarter ("pagus"), called Pella after his birthplace, be assigned to the Macedonians.⁴ At some time after that the town was destroyed by the rivers; subsequently it was rebuilt by Antiochos, the "fifth king" ("quintus regum"), who named it "Antioch" for himself.⁵ Although the identity of this Antiochos is not definitely known, it is most likely that Pliny meant Antiochus IV Epiphanes. It is possible that Alexandreia/Antioch/Spasinou Charax was the capital of the satrapy of the Erythraean Sea. Furthermore, it may have been the site of a Seleucid mint that was active from the beginning of the reign of Antiochos IV (175 B.C.) to the first reign of Demetrios II (146–139 B.C.).⁶ Later, the town was damaged once again and restored by Hypsaosines/Spaosines son of Sagdodonacus, who (re)named it after himself. Henceforward, the settlement was known as Spasinou Charax.⁷ Pliny describes Hypsaosines as king of the neighboring Arabs and denies the claim of Juba that Hypsaosines was a "satrap" of Antiochos. In fact, it is quite probable that both Pliny and Juba were correct: that Hypsaosines was first a satrap of Antiochos and later a king. When this renaming took place is not entirely clear. It would appear, however, that Hypsaosines first minted coins sometime before 141 B.C.; on the other hand, the earliest extant dated coins, apparently minted at Spasinou Charax, are from 124/3 B.C. (which was the year of Hypsaosines' death

(*Astronomical Diaries* 3:123 A Obv.18: June 7, 124 B.C.).⁸ Both Pliny (*NH* 6.136) and Ptolemy (6.3.3) mention that the region around Charax—called Characene—derived its name from the city. The fact that Hypsaios was probably the satrap of the region that later became his kingdom suggests the latter was coterminous with the former.⁹

The exact location of Alexandria/Spasinou Charax is not known. The continuing changes in the topography of the region, a phenomenon Pliny already noted (*NH* 6.140), render it particularly difficult to find the exact site. The shoreline was continuously moving outward. When Alexandria was founded it was, according to Pliny (*NH* 6.139–40), a little over a mile from the sea. By the latter half of the first century A.D. Pliny records that sedimentation had pushed out the shoreline to a distance of 120 miles! The most likely suggestion places Alexandria/Spasinou Charax at Khorramshahr or north of that at the modern Jebel Khayâbir.¹⁰

To summarize: Arrian (7.21.7) mentions an unnamed foundation built by Alexander south of the Pallakopas canal; Pliny (*NH* 6.138–39) talks about an Alexandria between the Eulaios and the Tigris. Are they identical? P. M. Fraser remarked that Arrian's information regarding Alexander's unnamed settlement points to a location farther west than the region of Khorramshahr.¹¹ If that is correct and if Alexandria/Spasinou Charax is correctly located in (the region of) Khorramshahr, then we cannot identify the unnamed settlement described by Arrian and the Alexandria mentioned by Pliny.¹²

It has been suggested that the decision to found Alexandria and to refound it later as an Antioch resulted in large part from mercantile considerations.¹³ Alexander wanted the settlement to serve as a port for Babylon and thus as a conduit for trade with the Persian Gulf and the newly conquered India. Later, it is argued, Antiochos III made an expedition to Gerrha—an independent city in the lower Persian Gulf that was a major transshipping point for the Indian and Arabian trade with the Seleucid realm as well as the Ptolemaic kingdom—in 205 B.C. (Polyb.13.9.4–5) in order to divert some of this trade to Seleucid ports.¹⁴ Subsequently Antiochos IV refounded Alexandria as an Antioch for much the same reason. Furthermore, the presence of a Seleucid fleet in the Persian Gulf would have protected these routes.¹⁵ Despite this—plausible—reconstruction, it is well to bear in mind that there is no extant evidence to indicate the degree of Alexandria/Antioch's commercial importance while under Seleucid tutelage. In fact it is only in the first and second centuries A.D. that we find evidence indicating that Charax—and Forât farther downstream— were important transshipment points for goods traveling to

and from both the Nabataeans and Palmyra.¹⁶

The *Alexander Romance* and other late sources mention—among other Alexander foundations—ALEXANDREIA on the Tigris and ALEXANDREIA near Babylon. The majority of scholars identify Alexandria/Spasinou Charax with the former.¹⁷

* * * *

In general see Saint-Martin, *Recherches* 118–19; Droysen, *Hist.* 2:688–89; Weissbach, *RE* s.vv. “Charax,” “Charakene,” and “Mesene”; Andreas, *RE* s.v. “Alexandria 13”; Sturm, *RE* s.v. “Pallakontas”; Tcherikover, *HS* 94 – 95; A. R. Bellinger, *YCS* 8 (1942) 53–67; S. A. Nodelman, *Berytus* 13 (1960) 83–86; Le Rider, *Suse* 40, 258–59, et passim; J. Hansman, *IrAnt* 7 (1967) 21–58; Oppenheimer, *BabJ* 250–53; Bosworth, *Conquest* 170; Potts, *Arabian Gulf* 2:7–8; id. in *Araby the Blest* 137–38; id. in *Early Roman Empire* 94–95; id., *Mesopotamian Civilization* 287; Högemann, *Alexander* 150; Fraser, *Cities* 168 – 69; Schuol, *Die Charakene* 260–75, 283, and maps at end; Jullien in *L’empire Sassanide* 157.

1. An “**Al[exandria]**” in southern Mesopotamia or the Persian Gulf region was one of the cities that recognized the festival of Artemis Leukophryene that was established by Magnesia on the Maeander, probably in 205 B.C. (*I. Mag.* 61.107 = *OGIS* 233 = Rigsby, *Asyria* no. 111 = *I. Estremo Oriente* 252 = *Euphrat* 306 = *IGIAC* 53).

E. Albrechtsen’s attempt (*Kuml* [1958] 182f., 189) to identify this foundation with IKARO S is not convincing. As C. Roueché and S. M. Sherwin-White note (*Chiron* 15 [1985] 8), according to Arrian’s narrative, Alexander’s voyage ended “at the lakes”; there is no indication that Alexander sailed into the Gulf. The argument is *ex silentio*, but strong nevertheless.

On the **problem of identifying the Eulaios** see, for example, Bosworth in *Festschrift Wirth* 553–57 (“The identification of the Eulaeus involves one of the most stubborn problems of nomenclature in Alexander scholarship”); J. Hansman, *IrAnt* 7 (1967) 21–58; and Potts, *BAI* 13 (1999) 27–44.

2. See **[ALEXANDREIA] near the Pallakopas** and below, n. 17. Finally, I would also mention the Persian Gulf. As is well known, in 325 B.C. Alexander ordered Nearchos to sail from the mouth of the Indus River along the coast to the Persian Gulf (Arr. 7.20.9–10). From Arrian and Strabo we learn that in 324/3 B.C. Alexander sent out three small expeditions to explore the Arabian coast and that he planned to colonize

the coastal region and the offshore islands because he thought it would become as prosperous as Phoenicia (Arr. *Anab.* 7.19.3–20.10 and *Ind.* 43.8; Strabo 16.1.11, 4.27. See also Roueché and Sherwin-White, *Chiron* 15 [1985] 6–7; Högemann, *Alexander* 80–111; Bowersock, *Gnomon* 59 [1987] 508–11; Potts, *Arabian Gulf* 2:4–6).

3. Pliny *NH* 6.138: “Conditum est primum ab Alexandro Magno colonis ex urbe regia Durine quae tum interiit deductis militumque inutilibus ibi relictis.” In a note to his translation in the Loeb edition Rackham suggested that an alternative translation could be “those settlers being invalided soldiers who had been left at Durine.” On **Durine** see Weissbach, *RE* s.v. “Durine”; and Andreas, *RE* s.v. “Alexandreaia 13,” 1391–92.

4. Andreas (*RE* s.v. “Alexandreaia 13,” 1392) suggested that the name **Pella** resulted from the Hellenizing of the native toponym Pillat(u); cf. PELLA/BERENIKE in southern Syria. Among the foundations that the Perso-Arabic writer Hamza al-Isfahani attributed to the Macedonian king is an Alexandria in Meysan (i.e., Mesene; *Sini muluk* 40, trans. Pourshariati in *Indo-Grecs* 124). Presumably, the reference is to this Alexandria.

5. The **identity of “Antiochus quintus regum”**: Saint-Martin (*Recherches* 136–43) suggested that Pliny meant the fifth king of the Seleucid dynasty rather than the fifth Antiochos; omitting Seleukos III, whose reign was short and unimportant, Saint-Martin hypothesized the king in question was Antiochos III. It is more likely, however, that the king was Antiochos IV Epiphanes, who, it has been argued, was really the fifth Seleucid monarch of that name (see, for example, Holleaux, *Et.* 3:255 n. 1; Bellinger, *YCS* [1942] 53; Nodelman, *Berytus* [1960] 85 n. 20; Morkholm, *Antiochus* 168; D. Gera and W. Horowitz, *JAOS* 117 [1997] 245–46). Scholars have arrived at this computation by adding to the traditional list of kings named Antiochos (a) Antiochos Hierax (Bouché-Leclercq, *Seleucides* 166 n. 2), (b) the son of Antiochos III, who was coruler with his father in 210–209 to his death in 193 B.C. (e.g., Tcherikover, *HS* 95; Altheim, *Weltgeschichte* 2:46; Morkholm, *Antiochus* 168), or (c) a son of Seleukos IV (e.g., Tarn, *GBI*² 185).

We may also note a series of coins of “King Antiochos” minted at Antioch bearing the portrait of a young boy on the obverse (see Morkholm, *ANS MN* 11 [1966] 64–67). A. Aymard concluded (*Historia* 2 [1953/4] 49ff., followed by Le Rider, *INC Rome* 1:78) that the young boy on the coins was the son of Antiochos IV. On the other hand, E. R. Bevan (*Seleucus* 2:126 n. 1; *CAH* 8:713–14), E. T. Newell (*ANS NNM* 73 [1936] 11–12), M. Zambelli (*RFIC* 38 [1960] 363–89), and Morkholm (*ANS MN* 11 [1966] 63–74) have argued that the boy is the son of Seleukos IV. If—as is likely—

the boy on the coinage is the son of Seleukos IV, this would lend weight to the identification of Antiochos IV as “Antiochos quintus regum.”

Finally, it may be noted that in his discussion of Charax, the Persian Gulf, and Arabia (*NH* 6.138–62) Pliny mentions Antiochos (139 [twice], 152) and Epiphanes (147). Morkholm (*Antiochus* 168) has reasonably suggested that in all these passages Pliny was referring to Antiochos Epiphanes. In general, see the useful discussion and summary of Le Rider, *Suse* 304 n. 2. G. F. Del Monte has suggested (*Testi* 91–94) that the “Antioch” mentioned in the cuneiform diary for 150 B.C. (*Astronomical Diaries* 3:85, no. 149 Rev. 3.9) refers to Antioch/Spasinou Charax; see R. J. van der Spek, *AfO* 44–45 (1997–1998) 169 n. 12.

6. The hypothesis that there was a **Seleucid mint at Alexandreia/Antioch** is based on the following argument: in describing the events of 221 B.C. Polybius mentions Pythiades, the eparch of the Erythraean Sea (ἑπαρχὸν . . . τὸν τῆς Ἐρυθραίας θαλάττης, 5.46.7). In discussing the events of the following year he records the appointment of Tychon as *strategos* of the Erythraean Sea region (στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν θάλατταν τόπους, 5.54.12; cf. 5.48.13). While the precise boundaries of this province are still not known, it appears that it was coterminous with the region called Mesene and later, Characene (on the satrapy of the Erythraean Sea consult, for example, Schmitt, *Antiochos* 34; Bowersock in *Arabie préislamique* 159–68; Potts, *Arabian Gulf* 2:18–19). If the identification of the province of the Erythraean Sea is correct, it is probable that its capital was Alexandreia/Antioch. If it was the capital or main city of the satrapy it is quite possible that there was a mint there. In this connection we may note (a) Newell’s observation (*ESM* 255) that in the Seleucid East there was apparently one mint in each satrapy and (b) when Hyspaosines refounded Alexandreia/Antioch as Spasinou Charax he apparently established a mint there (see below). Morkholm (*Acta Arch.* 36 [1965] 152–56; id., *ANS MN* 16 [1970] 38–44) identified a group of coins that he suggested formed a distinctive series: all have characteristics (including die position, obverse border, portrait heads, reverse type, reverse border, honorific titles, moneyers’ marks) that reflect an eastern origin; furthermore, some demonstrate characteristics similar to those of issues from SELEUKEIA on the Tigris and SELEUKEIA on the Eulaios. Having dismissed other mints in the East (e.g., ANTIOCH in Mygdonia, ANTIOCH/EDESSA, SELEUKEIA on the Tigris, SELEUKEIA on the Eulaios) as the possible home for these coins, Morkholm suggested—by process of elimination—there was a Seleucid mint at Alexandreia/Antioch and that it was in operation from the beginning of the reign of Antiochos IV to the first reign of Demetrios II. On the mint at Alexandreia/Antioch and

the other coins attributed to it see, for example, G. Le Rider, *RN* (1965) 36–43; Morkholm, *Acta Arch.* 36 (1965) 152–56; id., *ANS MN* 16 (1970) 31–38; P. Strauss, *RN* (1971) 135–36; Houghton, *CSE* nos. 1084–1102; Houghton, Lorber, and Hoover, *Seleucid Coins* 2.1:189 and nos. 1706–7, 1806.

In addition, we may note that the discovery of some coins by the Danish excavators on the island Failaka (IKARO S) prompted Morkholm (*Kuml* [1979] 233–34) to suggest that Antiochos III had established a mint at Alexandria/Antioch when he was there and that this mint produced the following bronzes after 204 B.C.: (a) portrait of Antiochos III on the obverse, Nike with wreath standing on the prow of a ship, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ANTIOXOY on the reverse (three specimens); (b) bearded head (Zeus?) facing right with diadem on the obverse, standing Apollo facing left, right hand outstretched, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ANTIOXOY on the reverse (one specimen). On the other hand, O. Callot (in *Arabia Antiqua* 271) tentatively attributed these coins to a mint at IKARO S.

7. For the **toponym Spasinou Charax** see, for example, Joseph. *AJ* 1.145, 20.22, 34; *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* 35; Cass. Dio 68.28.4; Stephanos s.v. “Spasinou Charax.” The Greek word *cavrax* means “a stake, palisade or palisaded camp” (LSJ s.v.); see, for example, Bellinger, *YCS* (1942) 53 and n. 4; Hansman, *IrAnt* 7 (1967) 24. On the other hand, it is possible that in this particular toponym *cavrax* is simply a Hellenized form of the Aramaic *karka* (city); see, for example, Andreas, *RE* s.v. “Alexandria 13,” 1392–93; Obermeyer, *Die Landschaft Babylonien* 91, 203; Jean and Hoftijzer, *Dictionnaire des inscriptions* p. 127, s.v. “Krk”; Oppenheimer, *BabJ* 250; W. Eilers, *SBAW* (1982) 36–37; Potts in *Araby the Blest* 138 and n. 11.

8. On **the mint of Hyspaosines at Spasinou Charax** see Bellinger, *YCS* 8 (1942) 56–67; Nodelman, *Berytus* (1960) 90; Le Rider, *Suse* 251, 382, 387, etc. The earliest extant coins of Hyspaosines do not antedate 146 B.C. and can possibly be dated to between 141 and 139 B.C. (Bellinger *YCS* 8 [1942] 61–62); they imitate on the reverse the Pallas type found on coins that Demetrios II minted at SELEUKEIA on the Tigris when he controlled the city, i.e., between 141 and 139 B.C. For the earliest extant dated tetradrachms of Hyspaosines (124/3 B.C.) see E. Babelon, *Mélanges* 3:225; cf. *BMC Arabia, etc.* cx cvi (125/4 B.C.); Nodelman, *Berytus* 13 (1960) 90. For a tetradrachm of 121/0 B.C. see Bellinger, *NC* (1944) 58f.; Le Rider, *Suse* 382; Nodelman, 90. On Characene coinage see also Babelon, *JIAN* 1 (1898) 381–404.

The demonstration that Charax was the site of Hyspaosines’ mint is essentially based on the following argument: in 124/3 B.C. tetradrachms of

the Parthian Artabanos were minted at SELEUKEIA on the Tigris (*BMC Parthia* p. 20, nos. 1-2; Nodelman, *Berytus* 13 [1960] 90; on the date 124/3 rather than 125/4 B.C. as given by Hill in *BMC Parthia* see Bellinger, *YCS* 8 [1942] 56 n. 19; and Nodelman, 90 n. 51). Bellinger has pointed out (60) that a comparison of these tetradrachms with the tetradrachms of Hyspaosines bearing the same date “make[s] it clear” that the latter coins were minted not at Seleukeia but at Charax and that all subsequent Characene coins were minted there; see also Nodelman, 91.

9. If, as is probable, Hyspaosines was both satrap under Antiochos and later king, it is possible his kingdom—**Characene**—initially encompassed the same territory as the satrapy. On Characene see, for example, Weissbach, *RE* s.v. “Charakene”; Nodelman, *Berytus* 13 (1960) 83-84 and the bibliography on p. 120; Hansman, *IrAnt* 7 (1967) 21-27. On the likelihood that the terms “Characene” and “Mesene” were both used to designate essentially the same area see Weissbach, *RE* s.v. “Mesene,” 1082-83; Bellinger, *YCS* 8 (1942) 55; Nodelman, 84; G. Le Rider, *RN* (1965) 36; Oppenheimer, *BabJ* 32-35, 250; Gyselen, *La géographie administrative* 76-77; and APAMEIA in Mesene.

10. J. Hansman (*IrAnt* 7 [1967] 36-58 and map on p. 35; *Iran* 22 [1984] 161-66 and map on p. 163; *GJ* 144 [1978] 54-55 and map on p. 53), who did extensive research in the area, has suggested that the **location of Alexandreia/Spasinou Charax** might have been north of Khorramshahr at the modern Jebel Khayâbir (followed by Fraser, *Alexandreia* 169 and n. 121). Among other things, Hansman noted that at the site there “were the considerable remains of long, dyke like embankments arranged in an essentially rectangular pattern, which is what one would expect for a city of Hellenistic foundation” (*IrAnt* 7 [1967] 38-39). He also ascertained (*IrAnt* 7 [1967] 42; see also *Iran* 16 [1978] 156) that Jebel Khayâbir was also called Naisân by the local villagers; the latter name is undoubtedly a modification of “Maisân,” the early Islamic name for Charax. On the other hand, many other scholars have suggested Alexandreia/Antioch was located at or near the present Khorramshahr (Mohammerah): for example, Andreas, *RE* s.v. “Alexandreia 13”; Tcherikover, *HS* 95; E. Herzfeld, *AMI* 4 (1931-1932) 38; Le Rider, *Suse* 259. M. Streck/[M. Morony] (*EI* s.v. “Maysân”) and R. Ghirshman (*RA* [1959] 71) prefer a site slightly to the north. Cf. A. Maricq (in E. Honigmann and A. Maricq, *Res Gestae Divi Saporis* [Brussels, 1953] 25-26), who thought it was located east of the present Abadan, on the estuary of the Karun River.

Nota bene Weissbach (*RE* s.v. “Mesene,” 1083-84), who referred to Andreas’s comment (*RE* s.v. “Alexandreia 13,” 1395): “Die Lage von A[lexandreia-Antioch]-Charax in dem jetzigen Satt el ‘Arabgebiet ohne

eingehende Lokaluntersuchung genauer fixieren zu wollen, erscheint zurzeit aussichtslos." In general see J. Hansman, *IrAnt* 7 (1967) 21-22 and **maps** (pp. 29, 35); and Le Rider, *Suse* 259 and n. 3.

11. *Cities* 169 and n. 121.

12. See Potts (*Arabian Gulf* 1:7-8), who also distinguished the settlement mentioned by Arrian (7.21.7) and Curtius Rufus (10.4.3) from Alexandria/Spasinou Charax, which he, along with others, identified with ALEXANDREIA on the Tigris; see the latter entry, n. 4; [ALEXANDREIA] near the Pallakopas; and below, n. 17. 13. For the **mercantile importance of Alexandria/Antioch** see, for example, Nodelman, *Berytus* 13 (1960) 85; Hansman, *IrAnt* 7 (1967) 21-27; Oppenheimer, *BabJ* 249-50; Potts in *Early Roman Empire* 94-95 (elsewhere [*Arabian Gulf* 2:8] Potts also suggested the foundation served as a defensive bulwark against Arab incursions).

14. For **Seleucid relations with Gerrha** see, for example, Tarn, *GBI*² 213 - 14; Rostovtzeff, *SEHHW* 458; Salles in *Hellenism* 96. Strabo (16.3.3; cf. Polyb. 13.9) noted the commercial importance of Gerrha. The site of Gerrha is not precisely known. Most probably it was at Thaj; on this problem see the discussions in, for example, G. Bibby, *Looking for Dilmun* (New York, 1969) 307-28; N. St. J. Groom, *Atlal* 6 (1982) 97-108; D. T. Potts, *PSAS* 14 (1984) 87-91; W. E. James in Altheim and Stiehl, *Araber* 5.2:36ff.; Burstein, *Agatharchides* 149 n. 1. For a summary of views on the location and discussion of the problem see Potts, *Arabian Gulf* 2:85-88 (who also suggested it was at Thaj).

15. In the past the argument for the permanent presence of a **Seleucid fleet in the Persian Gulf** was largely circumstantial but, nevertheless, strong (see, for example, Rostovtzeff, *SEHHW* 458; Salles in *Hellenism* 97; Potts, *Arabian Gulf* 2:10-14). It was based on essentially two points: (a) Antiochos III's expedition to Gerrha (Polyb. 13.9.2-5) required a fleet, which must have been readily available; (b) the expedition of Numenios in the Gulf (Pliny *NH* 6.152) indicates the presence of a fleet at the time. Note, however, that the date of the latter expedition is unclear: Pliny identifies Numenios as a satrap of Mesene appointed by "King Antiochus." It is not known which Antiochos this was. Most scholars focused on either Antiochos III (so, for example, Tarn, *GBI*² 214; Ed. Will, *REG* 75 [1962] 104 n. 59; Schmitt, *Antiochos* 49; Walbank, *Comment.* 2:422) or Antiochos IV (so, for example, Meyer, *Ursprung* 2:218 n. 2; Altheim, *Weltgeschichte* 2:45; Teixidor in *Materialien* 293), though Antiochos I (C. Roueché and S. M. Sherwin-White, *Chiron* 15 [1985] 9) and Antiochos VII (Saint-Martin, *Recherches* 134) have also been suggested; in general, see Bengtson, *Strategie* 2:156 and n. 1; Le Rider, *Suse* 303 and n. 5; Roueché and

Sherwin-White, *Chiron* 15 (1985) 8–9; Potts, *Arabian Gulf* 2:12–13, 178.

To the discussion we may add two points. First, in a forthcoming article in *JHS*, P. Kosmin has noted the mention of Antiochos in the fragmentary *Astronomical Diary* for 164 B.C. (“Antiochos the k[ing . . .] from the cities o[f . . .] who went along the seashore,” (*Astronomical Diaries* 2:497, no. 164 Obv. C13–14 [trans. Kosmin]; see also D. Gera and W. Horowitz, *JAOS* 117 [1997] 243–49); this would appear to confirm the statement of Pliny *NH* 6.147 that “Epiphanes” dispatched an expedition to explore the coast of Arabia. This, of course, would add weight to the identification of the “Epiphanes” mentioned by Pliny as Antiochos IV Epiphanes. Second, the discovery in 1997 and subsequent publication in 2002 of the dedication made on Bahrain by Kephisidoros suggests the Seleucids probably did maintain a permanent fleet in the Persian Gulf; see above, p. 23; and BAHRAIN.

16. For **trade between Charax and Palmyra and the Nabataeans and through the Persian Gulf** in the first and second centuries A.D. see, for example, Tarn, *GBI*² 61; J. Teixidor, *Mesopotamia* (1987) 191–92; id. in *Materialien* 293–94; H. M. Bin Seray, *Aram* 8 (1996) 15–32; Schuol, *Die Charakene* 380–87, 412–15.

17. For the **identification of Alexandreia/Spasinou Charax with ALEXANDREIA on the Tigris** see the latter entry, n. 4. A number of scholars have also suggested identifying ALEXANDREIA/Spasinou Charax with [ALEXANDREIA] near the Pallakopas as well as equating it with Alexandreia on the Tigris; see the latter entry, n. 4. Note, however, Fraser’s cautionary observation that the identification of ALEXANDREIA on the Tigris with [ALEXANDREIA] near the Pallakopas is not attested in any extant ancient or Byzantine source (*Cities* 168 n. 120).

Tarn identified Alexandreia/Spasinou Charax with ALEXANDREIA in Susiana (*Alexander* 2:241, 243; followed by Fraser, *Cities* 240, no. 13; see also ALEXANDREIA ΕΠΙ ΣΥΣΟΙΣ, n. 3). However, the toponym Alexandreia in Susiana is apparently a modern designation. I have not found it in any ancient or Byzantine source.

In a private communication G. W. Bowersock has suggested identifying Alexandreia/Spasinou Charax with ALEXANDREIA near Babylon.

ALEXANDREIA NEAR BABYLON

The *Alexander Romance* and many of its derivatives, as well as the *Chronicon Paschale*, Yakut, and the *Cyranides*, mention Alexandreia near Babylon and refer to Alexander as its founder.¹ The location and possible

identification of this settlement remain problematic; suggested identifications include SELEUKEIA ὑπὸ Περσῶν, ALEXANDREIA/Spasinou Charax, or SELEUKEIA near the Hedyphon.²

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In general see Droysen, *Hist.* 2:689; Tcherikover, *HS* 93; Tarn, *Alexander* 2:238, 43; Högemann, *Alexander* 150; Fraser, *Cities* 32.

1. For **Alexandreia near Babylon** see the *Alexander Romance*: Ἀλεξάνδρειαν τὴν ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνος (A and B); Ἀλεξάνδρου τὴν ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνα (Γ); Ἀλεξάνδρειαν τὴν ἐν Βαβυλῶνι (C; see Parthe ed. of Γ); “Alexandreia (which is) near/of Babylon, etc.” (e.g., Syriac, ed. Wallis Budge, pp. 142, 161; and Lagarde, *Analecta Syriaca* 207; Armenian, ed. Wolohojian, p. 159; Ethiopic, ed. Wallis Budge, p. 352; Hebrew, ed. Kazis, p. 158); see also the *Chronicon Paschale* (321, *CSHB* 4.1), Yakut (Fraser, *Cities* 55, “in Babylon”), Hamza al-Isfahani (*Sini muluk* 40, trans. Pourshariati in *Indo-Grecs* 124), and the *Cyranides* (prologue, p. 16, ed. Kaimakis).

2. In the **Cyranides** (prologue, p. 16) we read: ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἄλλην ἔφη θεάσασθαι πόλιν πρὸ δεκαεπτὰ τῆς Σελευκίας schoiniῶν ἦν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς ὑποστρέφων κατέστρεψε καὶ ἔκτισεν ἑτέραν Σελεύκειαν ὑπὸ Περσῶν κειμένην ὡς εἶναι περσογενῆ. καλεῖται δὲ πρώτη Ἀλεξάνδρεια ἢ πρὸς Βαβυλῶνα (“He said that he had seen yet another city, 17 *schoinia* away from Seleukeia, which Alexander the king of the Macedonians destroyed on his return, and he founded another Seleukeia, which was situated/ [established?] ὑπὸ Περσῶν, as much as it is [?] of Persian origin. And it was first called Alexandria near Babylon”). The passage is difficult to understand fully (see Fraser in an addendum to *Cities* 244: “Such delusive and confused statements illustrate once more the virtual impossibility of deciding positively whether or not the Seleucids named cities after Alexander. One can only say that there is as yet no trustworthy evidence that they did so”). The passage appears to provide the following information: (a) after seeing Seleukeia on the Tigris Harpocraton saw another city 17 *schoinoi* from Seleukeia, (b) this city Alexander the Great had destroyed, (c) Alexander then built another Seleukeia ὑπὸ Περσῶν, (d) [Seleukeia] was first called “Alexandreia near Babylon.” In short, we are concerned with a city located c. 750 stades from Seleukeia on the Tigris that was destroyed by Alexander. We have no precise information about which city this might have been. In a private communication G. W. Bowersock has pointed out that, according to Pliny

(NH 6.138), Alexander the Great founded ALEXANDREIA (the later Antioch and Charax Spasinou) partly with settlers brought from the royal city of Durine, which was then destroyed, and that the *Cyranides* passage appears to be referring to it. The next part of the passage is quite problematic. As Bowersock noted, it is most unlikely that Alexander would have founded a city called “Seleukeia.” That toponym would have been given to a settlement founded by Seleukos or one of his successors, not by Alexander. One might read this passage as indicating that Alexander founded a city that later became another Seleukeia, but this would be quite strained. Because of the difficulty in the text of the prologue of the *Cyranides*, Bowersock has suggested that Σελεύκειαν after ἑτέραν is wrong. As an alternative reading he has suggested that (a) ἑτέραν <πόλιν>, (b) the name “Spasinou Charax,” or (c) simply “Charax” was once in Harpocration’s text.

It is useful to recall David Bain’s cautionary remark (*ICS* 20 [1995] 169) that the present text of the *Cyranides* is “a compilation of a compilation and it is therefore somewhat hazardous to make regularising emendations based upon observation of linguistic usage within the work. In addition, the *Cyranides* is the kind of text which copyists felt free to tamper with by adding recipes and rephrasing existing ones.” The sequence in the composition of the *Cyranides* as we now have it was probably as follows: Harpocration composed a work entitled *Cyranis*. A compiler then used this work and, among other things, wrote his own prologue. Subsequently, another compiler combined the work of Harpocration and the first compiler; he also wrote his own prologue, using extracts from the two earlier prologues (see, for example. D. Kaimakis, *Die Kyraniden* [Meisenheim am Glan, 1976] 2–3; K. Alpers, *Vestigia Bibliae: Jahrbuch des Deutschen Bibel- Archivs Hamburg* 6 [1984] 17–20; Jori, *BNP* s.v. “Cyranides”). Perhaps this may explain—or excuse—the awkwardness in this sentence from the prologue: Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς ὑποστρέφων κατέστρεψε καὶ ἔκτισεν ἑτέραν Σελεύκειαν ὑπὸ Περσῶν κειμένην ὡς εἶναι περσογενῆ. καλεῖται δὲ πρώτη Ἀλεξάνδρεια ἢ πρὸς Βαβυλῶνα. There is another apparent difficulty with this passage: if we retain the reading Σελεύκειαν ὑπὸ Περσῶν κειμένην ὡς εἶναι περσογενῆ. καλεῖται δὲ πρώτη Ἀλεξάνδρεια ἢ πρὸς Βαβυλῶνα, one may ask how a city could be both near Babylon and ὑπὸ Περσῶν. After all, the Iranian plateau was more than 100 km east of the Tigris River. Note, however, that Antioch under Libanos (*App. Syr.* 57) was probably the same city as ANTIOCH near Daphne, and that city was c. 200 km north of the Libanos chain. This, however, is a desperate solution with which I am not comfortable.

Harpocraton characterizes Σελεύκεια as ὑπὸ Περσῶν κειμένην (for the expression cf., for example, Ἀλεξάνδρεια ἢ κατ' Αἴγυπτον κειμένην in the *Chronicon Paschale* [321, *CSHB* 4.1]) with the explanatory remark ὡς εἶναι περσογενῆ. Normally, the epithet attached to the name of a newly founded Hellenistic city is related to some nearby geographic feature in order to distinguish it from other like-named cities (see Le Rider, *Suse* 410–11). In this case, Harpocraton comments that Seleukeia was περσογενῆ. As far as I know, the word is a *hapax*. In any event, it does not make sense to be called Σελεύκεια ὑπὸ Περσῶν κειμένην, if the reason for that epithet is the Persian origin of the population rather than its location. In this context, what could be the meaning of ὑπό?

In toponymic expressions ὑπό often means “under” in the sense of “at the foot of/near a mountain” or some other area: for example, in the literary evidence PRO USA in Bithynia appears as ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν Ἀσιανὸν Ὀλυμπον (Memnon *FGrH* 434 F28.6) and *sub Olympio* (Pliny *NH* 5.148); elsewhere, however, it is also found as Προῦσα δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ Ὀλύμπῳ (Strabo 12.4.3), παρὰ τὸ ὄρος τὸν Ὀλυμπον (Nikeph. Greg., *Hist. Byz.* 2.7 [*CSHB* 38:44]). Cf. ANTIOCH under Libanos (Ἀντιόχεια ἢ ὑπὸ τῷ Λιβάνῳ, App. *Syr.* 57); CHALKIS under Libanos (Χαλκίς ἢ ὑπὸ τῷ Λιβάνῳ, Joseph. *AJ* 14.126, *BJ* 1.9.2); PHILETAIREIA by Ida (Φιλεταίρεια ἢ ὑπὸ τὴν [Ἴδην, *I. Perg.* 13.20–21, 55; see also Xen. *Anab.* 7.4.5). In the examples I have found, the preposition governs either the accusative or the dative. On the other hand, in the *Cyranides* the preposition governs the genitive in the expression Σελεύκεια ὑπὸ Περσῶν. Nevertheless, the fact that the phrase is followed by κειμένην suggests that here, too, the preposition is being used to express proximity. Therefore we may translate this as “Seleukeia located under/ near Persis,” i.e., the Iranian plateau. If this is so, then it would appear the explanation for the epithet given in the *Cyranides* is incorrect: the epithet reflected the location of Seleukeia, not its origin or population. Assuming, therefore, that this Seleukeia was located under/near Persis, we should probably search for it on the east bank of the Tigris, toward the Iranian plateau. But this is speculation.

At the very least, therefore, the passage in the *Cyranides* provides evidence for the existence of Alexandreia near Babylon (about which we already knew) and for a previously unattested settlement, Seleukeia ὑπὸ Περσῶν. The legitimacy of the attestation for this Seleukeia is, of course, dependent on the source and the text tradition for that source. Hence, we should need further corroborative information before definitely asserting the discovery of another Seleucid foundation and its descent from Alexandreia near Babylon.

As I have mentioned, Alexandreia near/in Babylon is also recorded in

the *Alexander Romance*, the *Chronicon Paschale*, and Yakut. In fact, the A recension of the *Alexander Romance* distinguishes between (a) Ἀλεξάνδρεια ἢ ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνος, (b) Ἀλεξάνδρεια ἢ ἐπὶ τοῦ Τίγριδος ποταμοῦ, and (c) Ἀλεξάνδρεια ἢ πρὸς Πέρσας. The *Chronicon Paschale* mentions Ἀλεξάνδρεια ἢ ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνος and Ἀλεξάνδρεια ἢ ἐπὶ Πέρσας. Can we further identify these cities?

(a) Ἀλεξάνδρεια ἢ ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνος. Bowersock has suggested that it can be equated with ALEXANDREIA/Spasinou Charax. In support of this suggestion is the fact that, according to Harpocration, Alexander destroyed one city, then built another. Bowersock correctly pointed out that the founding history of this city largely parallels that of ALEXANDREIA/ Spasinou Charax. On the other hand, Högemann (*Alexander* 150; see also 101, 191) believed, without further elaboration, that Alexandria near Babylon was the name of the settlement established by Alexander south of the Pallakopas; on this foundation see further [ALEXANDREIA] near the Pallakopas and ALEXANDREIA/Spasinou Charax. Fraser (*Cities* 32 - 33; see also 244) remarked that Ἀλεξάνδρεια ἢ ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνος was “too vague to be identified,” but suggested that it might have corresponded to SELEUKEIA near the Hedyphon.

(b) Ἀλεξάνδρεια ἢ ἐπὶ τοῦ Τίγριδος ποταμοῦ. A number of scholars (Tarn, *Alexander* 2:234, 236, 243 [who also referred to Alexandria on the Tigris as ALEXANDREIA in Susiana]; see also Kroll’s note to the A recension [p. 146]; Andreas, *RE* s.v. “Alexandria 13” 1390; Berve, *Alexanderreich* 1:295; S. A. Nodelman, *Berytus* 13 [1960] 85; and J. Hansman, *IrAnt* 7 [1967] 21) have suggested that ALEXANDREIA on the Tigris River is identical with ALEXANDREIA/Spasinou Charax. In support of this is the fact that Pliny (*NH* 6.138–39) specifically says that Alexander the Great founded a settlement at the confluence of the Tigris and Eulaios rivers that he called “Alexandria” (the later Spasinou Charax).

(c) Ἀλεξάνδρεια ἢ πρὸς Πέρσας. Tarn claimed (*Alexander* 2:244) that the toponym as preserved was corrupt; that it in fact was Alexandria πρὸς Παρσίου (or Πάρσους), Alexandria of, or near, the Parsii (or Parsi)—that is, Alexandria-Ghazni. He noted that “the Parsii were members of the Massagetae confederacy and were sometimes called Massagetae by later writers; the Alexandria εἰς (or *apud*) Μασσαγέτας which occurs several times in later versions of the Romance has nothing to do with the Caspian steppes but is Alexandria of the Parsii again.” The Syriac (ed. Wallis Budge, p. 161) and Ethiopic (ed. Wallis Budge, p. 352) versions of the *Romance*, and the *Chronicon Paschale* (321, *CSHB* 4.1), all include Alexandria near Persis/Persia in their list of cities. On the other hand, the city is absent from the Armenian version (which preserves the most

accurate of the oldest manuscript tradition of the *Romance*), the *Historia de Preliis Alexandri Magni* (recension J2 [ed. Hilka] and J3 [ed. Steffens]), and the Hebrew version. Furthermore, in B, Γ, and R as well as in the *Chronicon Paschale* we find both *Alexandreia ἡ πρὸς Πέρσας* and *ἡ ἐπὶ Μεσσαγαγέες/Μασσαγέτας* (and variants thereof). If these latter sources are reliable then we have an attestation for the existence of both *Alexandreia* near Persis and *Alexandreia* near the Massagetae. The latter could be equated with Ghazni; the former could therefore retain its identification as *Alexandreia* near Persis, rather than near the Parsii. Note, however, that generally the historical information in recensions B and Γ is not as reliable as that found in A (which, in fact, mentions *Alexandreia* near Persis but does not refer to *Alexandreia* near the Massagetae).

Thus, we have the following possibilities:

- a. *Alexandreia* near Babylon = *Seleukeia ὑπὸ Περσῶν* (*Cyranides*)
- b. *Alexandreia* near Babylon = *ALEXANDREIA/Spasinou Charax* (Bowersock)
- c. *Alexandreia* near Babylon = *SELEUKEIA* near the Hedyphon (Fraser)
- d. *Alexandreia* near Babylon = [*ALEXANDREIA*] near the Pallakopas (Högemann)
- e. *Alexandreia* on the Tigris River = *ALEXANDREIA/Spasinou Charax* (Kroll, Andreas, Berve, Tarn, Nodelman, Hansman, Potts)

[*ALEXANDREIA*] NEAR THE PALLAKOPAS

Both Arrian and Curtius Rufus describe how Alexander entered “Arabia” and founded a settlement there:

For these reasons he sailed to the Pallacopas and down it to the lakes in the direction of Arabia. There, having seen a good site, he built and fortified a city and settled in it some of the Greek mercenaries, volunteers and men unfit for service through age or wounds. (Arr. 7.21.7, trans. Brunt)

After this a longing seized the king to sail over the river Pallacopas to the lands of the Arabians; having arrived there and having discovered a suitable site for founding a city, he settled in it those of the Greeks who were disabled by age or by wounds, as well as any who had remained behind of their own volition. (Curtius Rufus 10.4.3, trans.

Rolfe)¹

We do not know the name of this settlement. Presumably it was called “Alexandreia,” but this is only a conjecture.² Whether it can be identified with a particular Alexandreia is also the subject of speculation. A number of possibilities have been offered: ALEXANDREIA/Spasinou Charax, ALEXANDREIA on the Tigris, or—less probably—ALEXANDREIA near Babylon.³ In fact, a number of scholars have suggested the equation [Alexandreia] near the Pallakopas = Alexandreia on the Tigris = Alexandreia/ Spasinou Charax.⁴ We do not know the exact location of [Alexandreia] near the Pallakopas.⁵

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1. See also Strabo 16.1.11. On the **Pallakopas** see also App. *BC* 2.153 (“Pallakotas” river) and Pliny *NH* 6.118 (“Pallaconta” river); see further B. Meissner, “Pallacotas,” *MVAG* (1896) 1–13; J. Sturm, *RE* s.v. “Pallakontas”; Potts, *Arabian Gulf* 2:7 n. 24; Retsö, *Arabs* 406 and nn. 105–7; Schuol, *Die Charakene* 129, 262.

2. Droysen, *Hist.* 2:689; Tcherikover, *HS* 93; Potts, *Arabian Gulf* 2:7.

3. For the **identification of [Alexandreia] near the Pallakopas with (a) ALEXANDREIA/Spasinou Charax**, see Fraser, *Cities* 72 n. 33, 168–69 and nn. 120, 121; and ALEXANDREIA on the Tigris, n. 4; **(b) ALEXANDREIA on the Tigris**, see that entry, n. 4; **(c) Alexandreia near Babylon**, see Högemann, *Alexander* 150.

4. For the **suggested equation [Alexandreia] near the Pallakopas = Alexandreia on the Tigris = Alexandreia/Spasinou Charax** see ALEXANDREIA on the Tigris, n. 4.

5. Most of the suggestions regarding the **location of [Alexandreia] near the Pallakopas** have focused on the right bank of the Euphrates south of Babylon near (a) Najaf (see Högemann, *Alexander* 150 n. 6; for Najaf see Oppenheimer, *BabJ* 37, 447–49), (b) Kufa (Ritter, *Erdkunde* 10:43), or (c) Hira (Tcherikover, *HS* 93). For the location of these towns see Oppenheimer, *BabJ* map 1 at end. Tcherikover also raised the possibility that the Parthian Volagesias (which was located on the Tigris) might have been the site. J.-F. Salles tentatively raised the possibility—if I understand him correctly—that the ARETHOUSA mentioned by Pliny (*NH* 6.159), which Salles located west of the Euphrates between Nasiriyah and Basra, “*may be reflected in the foundation of an unnamed city ‘near the lakes, in the direction of Arabia’ by Alexander himself*” (in *Hellenism* 100

and n. 32, citing Arr. 7.21.7). E. Albrechtsen (*Kuml* [1958] 188–89) suggested that Appian might have been referring to the settlement on Failaka. In general see Potts, *Arabian Gulf* 2:7–8; and Schuol, *Die Charakene* 129.

ALEXANDREIA ON THE TIGRIS

There is no evidence for the toponym *Alexandreia* on the Tigris in the extant ancient sources. Pliny (*NH* 6.138–39) does mention an *Alexandreia* (the later *Charax Spasinou*) that he says was located between the Tigris and Eulaios rivers. However, the actual toponym is found only in the *Romance* tradition.

Recensions A, B, and Γ of the *Alexander Romance* record an *Alexandreia ἡ ἐπὶ τοῦ Τίγριδος ποταμοῦ*. The Armenian version mentions *Alexandreia on the Dklat'* (the Armenian name for the Tigris) River (285, trans. Wolohojian). There are also references to an *Alexandreia* in/on (the) Cyprus (River) in various sources. Thus, we find *ἡ ἐπὶ Κρηπίδος ποταμοῦ* in recensions B and Γ of the *Romance* (but not in A, which is generally considered the best recension). Stephanos (s.v. “*Alexandreia* 9”) records an *Ἀλεξάνδρεια ἐν Κύπρω*; similarly, we find “*super Cypridum fluuium*” in the *Excerpta Latina Barbari* (34b.7, ed. Schoene) and *τὴν περὶ Κύπριδος ποταμόν* in the *Chronicon Paschale* (321, *CSHB* 4.1). The identification of *Alexandreia* on the Tigris and *Alexandreia* in/on (the) Cyprus (River) is problematic and has prompted a number of solutions:

(a) W. W. Tarn identified *Alexandreia ἐπὶ τοῦ Τίγριδος ποταμοῦ* with *Alexandreia ἐπὶ Κύπριδος ποταμοῦ* and claimed it is simply *Alexandreia* at the mouth of the Tigris, *Τίγριδος* having been corrupted into *Κύπριδος*. In turn, he said this was *Alexandreia* in Susiana, which he identified with *ALEXANDREIA/Spasinou Charax*.¹

(b) J.-G. Droysen attempted to identify *Alexandreia* in Cyprus with a medieval *Alexandreia* located at the west end of the island;² he claimed that he found evidence for it in T. Porcacchi, *Isole piu famose del mondo* (Venice, 1576) 145 and map. He also suggested that the founder was Pasikrates of Soloi, whose son accompanied Alexander. By analogy, Droysen cited *ALEXANDREIA* by Latmos, which he claimed was founded by the Carian queen Ada. Note, however, that the ascription of the founding of the latter settlement to Ada is possible, but not definite.

(c) P. M. Fraser believed that *Alexandreia* in Cyprus was “imaginary.” He pointed out that although *Alexandreia* in Cyprus is not mentioned in recension A, it “occurs both in the *Excerpta [Latina Barbari]* and in the

Paschal Chronicle, thus deriving from the earliest stratum of the *Romance* as well as in Stephanus.” He considered their occurrence to be of early Ptolemaic origin and dismissed any “attempt to ‘make sense of them’, to ‘identify them on the ground’ . . . [as] wasted effort.” As for Alexandria on the Tigris, he remarked that it “corresponds” with SELEUKEIA on the Tigris.³

A number of scholars have suggested identifying Alexandria on the Tigris with ALEXANDREIA/Spasinou Charax and further equating it with [ALEXANDREIA] near the Pallakopas.⁴

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1. See Tarn, *Alexander* 2:235–36, 241, 243.

2. Droysen, *Hist.* 2:693.

3. Fraser, *Alexander* 27 and n. 56; 43–44. See also [ALEXANDREIA] near Babylon and ALEXANDREIA/Spasinou Charax.

4. For the **identification of Alexandria on the Tigris with ALEXANDREIA/ Spasinou Charax** see, for example, Saint-Martin (*Recherches* 144, 149); Andreas (*RE* s.v. “Alexandria 13,” 1390); Berve (*Alexanderreich* 1:295); Kroll (*Historia Alexandri Magni* 146 n. 6); S. A. Nodelman (*Berytus* 13 [1960] 84–85); J. Hansman (*IrAnt* 7 [1967] 21); Potts, *Arabian Gulf* 2:8; id., *Mesopotamian Civilization* 287; Schuol, *Die Charakene* 262. Andreas, Nodelman, Hansman, and Potts also equated it with [ALEXANDREIA] near the Pallakopas. Note, however, Fraser’s cautionary observation that the identification of ALEXANDREIA on the Tigris with [ALEXANDREIA] near the Pallakopas is not attested in any extant ancient or Byzantine source (*Cities* 168 n. 120). In this connection we may also note that in his description of Mesopotamia Pliny (*NH* 6.118) mentions the Pallaconta River.

J. Retsö has suggested (*Arabs* 405–6) that the Pallaconta could be identical with the Pallakopas. The Pallakopas ran parallel to and west of the Euphrates from north of Babylon to the Persian Gulf (see Potts, *Arabian Gulf* 2:7; and Retsö, *Arabs* 406). If the Pallaconta is identical with the Pallakopas then ALEXANDREIA on the Tigris cannot be identified with ALEXANDREIA near the Pallakopas because the Pallaconta was located west of Babylon.

ALEXANDROU NESOS ARAKIA

See Elymais, Susiana, Persis, and Carmania.

ALTARS OF ALEXANDER

See Elymais, Susiana, Persis, and Carmania.

ANTIOCH IN PERSIS

See Elymais, Susiana, Persis, and Carmania.

ANTIOCH ON THE ISHTAR CANAL

A cuneiform text from Uruk, dated to March 270 B.C., records a contract that mentions an "Antiochia on the Ishtar Canal" near URUK.¹ This Antioch is nowhere else attested in the extant Greek and Latin sources. Noting that the Ishtar Canal was the main waterway of Uruk in the Seleucid period, S. Downey has suggested this Antioch was near Uruk.² L. T. Doty has conjectured that some of the Greeks mentioned in the cuneiform documents of Uruk were, in fact, citizens of Antioch on the Ishtar.³ R. J. van der Spek, on the other hand, suggested that Antioch on the Ishtar Canal was, in fact, the renamed Uruk.⁴

We do not know whether the founder was Seleukos I or Antiochos I.

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1. See Doty, *CA* p. 194, l. 20 and commentary, pp. 195–96; S. M. Sherwin-White, *JNES* 42 (1983) 266 (note that in *Samarkhand* 155 Sherwin-White and Kuhrt remarked that its location was unknown); Potts, *Mesopotamian Civilization* 291.

2. Downey, *Architecture* 47.

3. Doty, *CA* 158, 193–96.

4. R. J. van der Spek, *BiOr* 37 (1980) 254; id. in *Hellenism* 73.

APAMEIA IN MESENE

References to an Apameia (or to possibly two Apameias) in southern

Mesopotamia are found in Greek and Latin as well as cuneiform, rabbinic, and Arabic sources.

Pliny gives the following information. At *NH* 6.129 he says the Tigris flows around Apameia, which he describes as being in Mesene. At *NH* 6.132 he says that Antiochos founded Apameia and named it for his mother; this would be Antiochos I. Pliny adds that Apameia was surrounded by the Tigris and that the Archous intersected it. Here he describes it as being in Sittakene.¹ At *NH* 6.146 he says it was ruled by the king of the Charakenoi and was located at the confluence of the overflow (“restagnatio”) of the Euphrates with the Tigris. Stephanos (s.v. “Apameia 2”) mentions Apameia in the land of Mesene.² He says that the Tigris flowed around it and in fact split there, the right branch being called the Sellas, the left called the Tigris (Ἀπάμεια . . . ἔστι καὶ ἄλλη ἐν τῇ Μεσηνῶν γῆ “τῷ Πίγρητι (Τίγριδι), περιεχομένη, ἐν ἣ σχίζεται ὁ Πίγρης (Τίγρης) ποταμός, καὶ ἐν μὲν τῇ δεξιᾷ μοίρᾳ περιέρχεται ποταμὸς Σέλλας, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀριστερᾷ Πίγρης, ὁμώνυμος τῷ μεγάλῳ”). This city is undoubtedly identical with the Apameia mentioned by Pliny, with APAMEIA near the Seleias that recognized the festival of Artemis Leukophryene established by Magnesia on the Maeander c. 205 B.C., and with Apameia on the Silhu mentioned in a cuneiform document of 141/0 B.C. as having been captured and burned.³

The Babylonian Talmud (*Kiddushin* 71b), the redaction of which dates to the third to fifth century A.D., refers to two Apameias—¹ parsang (c. 4 1/2 km) apart—on the lower Tigris and says that the boundary between Babylonia and Mesene passed between Upper and Lower Apameia. It also specifies that a local dialect, known as Mesenean, was spoken in Lower Apameia. Furthermore, the Arabic geographers—who date to the thirteenth - fourteenth century A.D.—indicate that the border separating Babylonia and Mesene passed near two Apameias and possibly between them.⁴

The problem of identifying and locating this Apameia (or these Apameias) is very complex. In the first place, the evidence bearing on this question spans a period of more than 1,000 years. Furthermore, the precise borders of Mesene (where both Pliny and Stephanos place Apameia) are not clearly known. Finally, it is possible that in the course of time the Tigris and Euphrates rivers changed their course(s) and/or that in the Sassanid period—according to the Talmud—there were two neighboring towns named Apameia. Whether this was also the case during the Hellenistic period is not known. Many scholars have understood the various sources to suggest that there were two Apameias in the southern Mesopotamia. On the other hand, J. Saint-Martin, H. H. Schaeder, G. Le

Rider, and A. Oppenheimer understood these same sources to indicate there was only one Apameia there.⁵ If, as is likely, there was only one Apameia in the region, it was probably located on the east bank of the Tigris River, near Kut al-Imara, where the Tigris currently divides into two streams.⁶

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In general see Saint-Martin, *Recherches* passim; Schwartz in *I. Magnesia* pp. 171–73; Tcherikover, *HS* 93–94; Le Rider, *Suse* 259–60; Oppenheimer, *BabJ* 29–35, 250; Schuol, *Charakene* 183–84, 186–87, 281, et passim; Fraser, *Terminology* 339.

1. For **other Greek and Latin literary references to Apameia** see, for example, Ammianus 23.6.23 (“Apamia . . . Mesene cognominata”); Ptolemy (5.17.6), who noted that the Tigris and the Royal River joined below the town; *Etym. Magnum*, s.v. “Assyria.” See also Schuol, *Die Charakene* 138, 146.

2. The precise **borders of Mesene** are not known. Four designations are attested: (a) the eparchy/region of the Red Sea, (b) Mesene, (c) Charakene, (d) the territory ruled by Hyaspaosines. See Weissbach, *RE* s.v. “Mesene,” 1082f.; A. R. Bellinger, *YCS* 8 (1942) 55; S. A. Nodelman, *Berytus* 13 (1960) 84; G. Le Rider, *RN* (1965) 36; Oppenheimer, *BabJ* 32–35, 250; P. Bernard, *JS* (1990) 28–32; Schuol, *Die Charakene* 280–84; and ALEXANDREIA/ANTIOCH/Spasinou Charax, n. 9. Nodelman (84, following Weissbach; see also Rider, *Suse* 259 n. 8; and Schuol, *Die Charakene* 276) has reasonably suggested that Mesene and Charakene referred to the same area, the former having a primarily geographic and ethnic, the latter, a political, significance.

For Mesene in the second century A.D. see Bowersock in *Arabie préislamique* 159–68.

3. For **Apameia near the Seleias** see *I. Magnesia* 61.103–4 = *OGIS* 233 = Rigsby, *Asyilia* no. 111 = *I. Estremo Oriente* 252^E = *Euphrat* 306 = *IGIAC* 53 (Ἀπαμεῦσιν τοῖς [π]ρὸς τῷ Σελεύϊαι); and Schwartz in *I. Magnesia* pp. 171 – 73, who identified the Apameia near the Seleias recorded in *I. Magnesia* 61.103–4 with the Apameia mentioned by Pliny and the Apameia in Mesene mentioned by Stephanos; followed by Dittenberger, *OGIS* 233 n. 45. Fraser observed (*Terminology* 339) that the identification of Stephanos’s Σέλλα with the Σέλεια of *I. Magnesia* 61 “seems certain,” but that identification of the river is not certain. On **Apameia on the Silhu** mentioned in the cuneiform document see

Astronomical Diaries 3:140 Obv. 35–36 (= Del Monte, *Testi* 105 – 7) as well as A. T. Olmstead, *CP* 32 (1937) 13; Le Rider, *Suse* 355–56; R. J. van der Spek, *AfO* 44–45 (1997–1998) 171; Schuol, *Die Charakene* 271 and n. 439.

4. For the **Apameia(s)** in *TB Kiddushin* 71b and in the Arabic sources see, for example, Saint-Martin, *Recherches* 99–100, 105; M. J. de Goeje, *ZDMG* 39 (1885) 3; Streck, *Die alte Landschaft* 1:305–6; H. H. Schaeder, *Der Islam* 14 (1925) 15–16; Obermeyer, *Die Landschaft Babylonien* 86–88; Oppenheimer, *BabJ* 29–35; Schuol, *Die Charakene* 186–87.

5. **Two Apameias:** see, for example, de Goeje, Streck, Schaeder, and Obermeyer cited above, n. 4; as well as Fischer in the Müller edition of Ptolemy, p. 1007; Droysen, *Hist.* 2:745; Schwartz in *I. Magnesia* pp. 171 – 73; Tcherikover, *HS* 93–94. The Arabic sources refer to, among other places, Famiya, Zurfamiya (or Zurfaniya), and Fam as-Silh in southern Mesopotamia (see, for example, Yakut, s.vv. “Famiya” and “Silh”; and Oppenheimer, *BabJ* 32 and nn. 14–15; Abu al-Fida, *Geography* [*Takwin al-Buldan*], “Syria” 263, trans. Guyard 2.2:39). While there is no universal agreement on the identification of the second Apameia in the Arabic sources (with, for example, Zurfamiya [or Zurfaniya] or Fam as-Silh), it is generally agreed that Famiya may be identified with (one) Apameia; in general, see Oppenheimer *BabJ* 32–33.

One Apameia: see, for example, Saint-Martin, *Recherches* 80, 98–99; H. H. Schaeder, *Der Islam* 14 (1925) 15–16; Le Rider, *Suse* 260 n. 2. Le Rider has sensibly noted (following the earlier observations of Saint-Martin) that the location of Apameia in the frontier region of Mesene and Sittakene explains how it could have been described as being in one or the other of these two regions. Consequently, he suggested that there was only one Apameia in this region. He was followed by Oppenheimer (*BabJ* 32). If the information in *TB Kiddushin* 71b about the two Apameias is correct, then we may suggest that by the Sassanid period Apameia had become two towns on the frontier region between Babylonia and Mesene. By way of modern parallels to the two Apameias adjacent/very close to each other one thinks, for example, of the adjacent cities of Kansas City (Kansas and Missouri) and Sault Ste. Marie (Ontario and Michigan) in North America, as well as Nogales (Arizona and Mexico). Finally, I would mention Derby Line, Vermont. The international boundary between the United States and Canada (and, hence, between the province of Québec and the state of Vermont) runs through the town and in some cases through individual homes!

6. For the probable **location** of Apameia near Kut al-Imara see Le Rider, *Suse* 260; Oppenheimer, *BabJ* 31; Schuol, *Die Charakene* 281. For

maps of the region see, for example, Oppenheimer, *BabJ* at end; Le Rider, *Suse* 256; and Schuol, *Die Charakene* at end.

APAMEIA NEAR THE SELEIAS

See APAMEIA in Mesene.

APOLLONIA

Stephanos (s.v. "Apollonia 14") mentions an Apollonia in Mesopotamia. We know nothing else about this settlement.

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In general see Tcherikover, *HS* 95.

ARETHOUSA

In the middle of his description of Arabia, Pliny (*NH* 6.159) says: "fuerunt et Graeca oppida Arethusa, Larisa, Chalcis, deleta variis bellis." The passage is problematic. It is not clear whether Pliny is, in fact, describing settlements in Arabia or whether he mistakenly inserted a comment about like-named Syrian cities in his discussion of Arabia.¹ Assuming Pliny was not mistaken, the exact location of these settlements in Arabia remains unclear.²

* * * *

In general see Tcherikover, *HS* 81; Potts, *Arabian Gulf* 16–17; Capdetrey, *Pouvoir* 365 n. 186.

1. Already in the nineteenth century and extending into the mid-twentieth century a number of **scholars questioned Pliny's attribution of these towns to Arabia**. Thus, Droysen, citing H. Kiepert (*Hist.* 2:770); A. Forbiger (*Handbuch der Alten Geographie*² [Hamburg, 1877] 2:656, note y); O. Blau (*ZDMG* 25 [1871] 549 n. 9); E. Honigmann (*Byz.-neugr. Jahr.* 6 [1927–1928] 210; and *RE* s.v. "Sizara"); L. Robert (*VAM*² 154). As is well known, errors and confusion in Pliny's geographic enumerations are

not uncommon. Cf., for example, *NH* 5.108, where Pliny mistakenly inserted a list of Phrygian localities into his enumeration of Carian cities; see L. Robert, *VAM*² 151 – 60; and *EUMENEIA* in Caria.

Tarn (*GBI*² 66 n. 2; see earlier *JEA* 15 [1929] 11) noted and dismissed Robert's concern ("L. Robert . . . makes Larisa, Chalcis and Arethusa on the Persian Gulf in Pliny VI, 160 duplicates of the towns of the same name in North Syria which are scattered through Pliny V, 81–2. I fear that I cannot agree. Pliny makes strange blunders and has strange duplicates . . . but in this case his source knew certain things about these three towns in Arabia which he summarises as *deleta variis bellis*; and that does not apply to the towns in Syria. A duplicate implies a confusion behind it, and he could hardly confuse the well-known North Syria with peninsular Arabia."). Following Tarn, various other scholars have accepted the information in Pliny as referring to Arabia; see, for example, M. Meuleau (in *Rise of Rome* 267); P. Högemann (*Alexander* 151); J.-F. Salles (in *Hellenism* 100); D. T. Potts (*Arabian Gulf* 2:16–17). Surprisingly none of them mentions the objections raised by Kiepert, Droysen, Forbiger, Blau, Honigmann, and Robert.

2. Suggestions regarding the **possible location** of these settlements include the lower Tigris (Wissmann, *RE Suppl.* XI, s.v. "Zamareni," col. 1335) or the Arabian coast (Tarn, *JEA* [1929] 11; id., *GBI*² 11; Salles in *Hellenism* 102 [on p. 100 Salles tentatively raised the possibility that Arethusa was located west of the Euphrates, between Nasiriyah and Basra; see further (*ALEXANDREIA*) near the Pallokopas, n. 5]; see also Glaser, *Skizze* 157).

ARTEMITA

W. W. Tarn has suggested that Artemita on the eastern side of the Persian Gulf, which is mentioned by Ptolemy (5.19.7), was founded by settlers from Artemita in Assyria.¹ We should need additional information before confirming the origin and status of this town. In any event, its exact location is not known.

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1. Tarn, *GBI*² 12, 66. See also Potts, *Arabian Gulf* 2:17; and Müller, *RE* s.v. "Artemita 3."

BABYLON

There is strong evidence for the presence of Greeks at Babylon from the early Hellenistic period: (a) Alexander the Great established a garrison there (Arr. 3.16.3-4; Curt. Rufus 5.1.43; also Diod. 17.64.5), as did Antigonos Monophthalmos and Seleukos I Nikator (Diod. 19.91.3; 100.6-7; Plut, *Demet.* 7.2; *BCHP* 3 Obv.34-37). (b) An ostrakon dated palaeographically to the first half of the third century B.C. records a payment by a military unit that was probably posted to the Seleucid garrison. (c) The earliest remains of a Greek theater date from the early Hellenistic period. (d) Under Alexander the Great the mint at Babylon was very productive. It continued to be active under Seleukos I Nikator but had ceased production by the end of the first quarter of the third century B.C., to be replaced by the mint at Seleukeia on the Tigris.¹ The evidence for the activity of the mint at Babylon may be seen as a reflection of the history of the city during the early Hellenistic period. According to Pausanias (1.16.3), when Seleukos I Nikator founded Seleukeia on the Tigris he transferred to it Babylonian settlers (*συνοίκους*). Pausanias adds that Seleukos left standing the city walls and the temple of Bel at Babylon and allowed “the Chaldaeans to dwell around it.” Cuneiform documents provide additional information. A fragmentary cuneiform chronicle (*BCHP* 5, Rev. 6-9, “Antiochus and Sin Chronicle”) says: “That month Antiochus, the crown [prince], settled [the Mace]donians, as many as there were in Babylon, [whom king Alexander?] | [into Babylon] had forced to enter, from Babylon [into Seleucia] | [.. ..] × [.. ..] | [which is o]n the Tigris . . . [.. ..] × [.. ..]” (trans. Finkel and Van der Spek).² Additional evidence reflecting a Greek presence in Babylon during the Hellenistic period includes Greek pottery, terra-cotta figurines, and glass pastes found there. Rhodian and Thasian amphora handles with Greek names inscribed on them that were found at Babylon provide evidence for trade with Greece and the Aegean basin.³

It would appear that under Antiochos IV Epiphanes an attempt was made to introduce Greek colonists into Babylon. A cuneiform chronicle (*BCHP* 14) dated to 163/2 B.C. mentions that Greeks were being settled in Babylon under Antiochos IV Epiphanes.⁴ Among other things, the chronicle refers to “the Greeks, as they are called, the *p[olitai]* . . . who anoint with oil just like the *pol[itai]* who are in Seleucia, the royal city.” Presumably this is a reference to activities in the gymnasium. Furthermore, the term, *pu-li-te-e / pu-li-ta-nu* [= *politai*] is often found in cuneiform documents from Babylon after 172 B.C.⁵ From the Parthian period we have evidence for a gymnasiarch as well as ephebes, *neoi*, and an agora.⁶ Finally, a

fragmentary cuneiform text published by R. J. van der Spek dated to the 130s B.C. mentions the *pe-li-ga-na-a-n*[*u* [= *peliganes*] (in an “incomprehensible context”). The term, of course, refers to the members of the Macedonian council.⁷ Van der Spek has also suggested that “house of observation” as translated by Sachs and Hunger in cuneiform texts should be translated as “theater.” In a number of these documents—dating from 162 to 82 B.C.— the reference to “theater” is combined with mention of a letter being read publicly (e.g., *Astronomical Diaries* 3:279, no. 124B Rev. 17 [125 B.C.]: “That day the letter of the king, which was written to the governor [*pa-hat e.ki* (= *epistates*)] of Babylon and the *politai* who are in Babylon, was read in the theater as follows . . . ”).⁸ Van der Spek therefore suggested that the theater was the meeting place of the *politai* when they were addressed by the kings or the governors. In this connection we may note that A. Mallwitz, who excavated the site, suggested that the theater was rebuilt in the mid-second century B.C.⁹

Two other pieces of evidence may be mentioned: (a) a decree of Andros, dated palaeographically to the second half of the third century B.C., that honors a certain Dromon son of Phanodemos, a Βαβυλώνιος; (b) an inscription of uncertain provenience dated (l. 3) to Seleucid era 146, i.e., 167/6 B.C. by the Seleucid/Macedonian calendar, 166/5 according to the Babylonian, by a certain Philippos (possibly the later regent of Antiochos V?), which records a dedication that reads, in part: Βασιλεύοντος Ἀντιόχου θεοῦ Ἐπιφανοῦς | σωτήρος τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ κτίσ[του καὶ εὐεργέτου] | τῆς πόλεως; further on, it specifically mentions the dedication to θεῶι Ἐπιφαν[εῖ] (*OGIS* 253 = *I. Estremo Oriente* 103 = *Euphrat* 509). Unfortunately, the inscription cannot definitely be ascribed to the city of Babylon.¹⁰

As for religious life in the Greek community, Van der Spek has noted in a private communication that “it is strange there is no evidence of religious life in the Greek community: no Greek temple is excavated or mentioned in any text. This may of course be due to the chance of preservation and excavation, but it may also be that the temple of Bel was considered to be a temple for the Greeks also. We know that officials presented offering[s] in the temple. R. Sciandra (forthcoming) has found evidence in *Astronomical Diaries* 3:271, no. 124A Rev. 21 that a Greek was appointed šatammu of Esagila in 125 B.C.” On the other hand, M. J. H. Linssen has concluded that there is no indication of Greek influence on Babylonian cult practice.¹¹ It is not clear from the cuneiform evidence whether or not there was a civic ruler cult at Babylon and, if there was, what its exact nature might have been.¹²

We may ask two questions: Was Babylon ever refounded as a Greek *polis*, and when? Was a Graeco-Macedonian colony ever established there, and when? G. J. P. McEwan has argued that Babylon, and URUK, were *poleis* “in the Greek sense.” He noted that (a) (in the cuneiform evidence) the term “Babylonian” was used to designate the citizens, and (b) the “assembly of Esagila” was the equivalent of an assembly.¹³ Neither point is convincing. Tcherikover brought forth two pieces of evidence in support of his contention that Babylon was refounded as a Hellenistic settlement under Antiochos IV Epiphanes: the theater and the dedicatory inscription (*OGIS* 253 = *I. Estremo Oriente* 103); however, as I have mentioned, the provenience of the inscription is not definitely known.¹⁴ Hence, the inscription cannot definitely be ascribed to Babylon. Finally, it is important to remember that the remains of the theater as well as the ostrakon indicate a Greek presence at Babylon already in the third century B.C., long before Antiochos IV.

In short, the evidence for Greeks at Hellenistic Babylon is strong and compelling. In the third century B.C. there was apparently a Seleucid garrison. Furthermore, the evidence for *politai*, *peliganes*, ephebes, *neoi*, and a gymnasiarch in the late second century B.C. indicates that at the time there probably was some sort of organized Greek community at Babylon. What its precise nature, organization, and name (if any) might have been, we do not know. At the very least, I would note that in the past most scholars (including the author) have generally dismissed the various settlements attributed to Antiochos IV Epiphanes as really nothing more than cosmetic name changes. On the other hand, in the case of Babylon, it would appear that the Seleucid king did establish a settlement of some sort.

The cuneiform documents provide evidence for discord and conflict between the Babylonians and the *politai*.¹⁵

Strabo (16.1.16), writing in the late first century B.C./early first century A.D., said that Seleukeia had replaced Babylon as the “metropolis of Assyria.” Diodorus Siculus, who was more or less a contemporary of Strabo, said that “of Babylon itself but a small part is inhabited at this time, and most of the area within its walls is given over to agriculture” (2.9.9, trans. Oldfather). By the mid-first century A.D. Pliny described Babylon (hyperbolically?) as “deserted” (*NH* 6.122). Nevertheless, in the Hellenistic period and well beyond, Babylon continued to function as an important Babylonian religious and cultural center.¹⁶

The extant astronomical diaries of the Parthian period (continuing up to 61 B.C.) give increasingly more detailed historical information about the communal life of the *politai* in Babylon.¹⁷

In general see Tcherikover, *HS* 92; Pigulevskaja, *Villes* 33–38; Sherwin-White in *Hellenism* 18–21; Oelsner in *Materialien* 124ff.; Sherwin-White and Kuhrt, *Samarkhand* 155–61; Orth, *Diadochenzeit* 112–14; Van der Spek, *Grondbezit* 55–78; id. in *Studies Veenhof* 445–56; id. in *Hellenism* 60–70; id. in *Ethnicity* 393–408; and id. in *La transition* 261–307; Kuhrt in *Hellenistic Kingship* 46–49; Potts, *Mesopotamian Civilization* 279–84; Boiy, *Babylon* esp. 93–225; Szelényi-Graziotto in *Hellenismus* 171–94; Potts in *Babylon: Wissenskultur* 239 – 51; Heller, *Das Babylonien* 355–443.

For the results of the archaeological excavation at Babylon see Wetzel, Schmidt, and Mallwitz, *Das Babylon* (with previous literature). See also Downey, *Architecture* 7–14; G. Bergamini, *Mesopotamia* 12 (1977) 111–52; id., *Mesopotamia* 23 (1988) 5–17; id., *Mesopotamia* 25 (1990) 5–12; Hauser in *Babylon: Focus mesopotamischer Geschichte* 207–39 (Parthian period).

1. For the **ostrakon**: S. Sherwin-White, *ZPE* (1982) 54–64 (earlier bibliography and editions cited on p. 54); **Greek theater**: Koldewey, *Das wieder erstehende Babylon* 293–99; Mallwitz in *Das Babylon* 3–16; and Van der Spek in *Studies Veenhof* 445–56; id. in *Ethnicity* 407, no. 9; Potts in *Babylon: Wissenskultur* 239–51; Michel in *Theatra et spectacula* 153–69; and below, nn. 8–9. For a fragmentary Greek inscription on an alabaster plaque found in rubble south of the theater that includes the word τὸ θέατρο[ν---] καὶ σκη[νῆς] and mentions a certain Διοσκουρί[δης---] see E. Schmidt in *Das Babylon* 49–50 = *I. Estremo Oriente* 112 (first or second century A.D.); Van der Spek in *Studies Veenhof* 446. Note, however, Potts in *Babylon: Wissenskultur* 245: “Schmidt adduced parallels of 1st and 2nd century A.D. date for individual letter forms, but this is now considered entirely unsound and highly spurious [Ch. Habicht, pers. comm.].” On the **mint at Babylon** see, for example, Newell, *ESM* 99–106, nos. 261–82; N. M. Waggoner, “The Alexander Mint at Babylon” (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1968); Houghton, *CSE* 93; Price, *Alexander and Philip* 451ff.; Houghton and Lorber, *Seleucid Coins* 1:39–50, nos. 81–108; *CSE* 2:33–55.

A cuneiform text dated to 173/2 B.C. (the so-called Lehmann text: C. F. Lehmann, *ZA* 7 [1892] 328–34; Van der Spek, *Grondbezit* 241–48, no. 11) may allude to Babylonian land that had been expropriated by Antiochos I (for Greek colonists?) and returned to the Babylonians by Antiochos II; see also Sarkisian in *Ancient Mesopotamia* 321–23; Van der Spek in *De Agricultura* 66–67; id. in *Ethnicity* 396.

2. For the **fragmentary cuneiform chronicle** describing the transfer of “[Mace]donians” from Babylon to Seleukeia by Antiochos I see *BCHP* 5

Rev. 6–9 (= ABC 11) with Van der Spek’s commentary (http://www.livius.org/cg-cm/chronicles/bchp-antiochus_sin/antiochus_sin_02.html, pp. 4–5); this may be a reference to population transfer. In any event, it is not clear whether the reference is to Seleukeia on the Tigris or to some other settlement in Babylonia; see further, Sherwin-White, *JNES* 42 (1983) 266.

A **cuneiform astronomical diary** (Smith, *BHT* 156, l. 17 = *Astronomical Diaries* 1:345–47, no. 273B Rev. 34–36) mentions that in 274 B.C. “Year 37 (kings) Antiochus and Seleucus, month XII, the 9th, the satrap of Babylonia and the appointees of the king, who had gone before the king to Sardis in year 36, returned to Seleucia, the royal city which is on the Tigris. Their message (written on a) leather (scroll) came to the citizens of Babylon. The 12th day, the citizens of Babylon went out to Seleucia” (trans. Sachs and Hunger). Previously this had been understood to indicate the transfer of Babylonians to Seleukeia. See, for example, McDowell, *SIOS* 203–6; Sarkisian in *Ancient Mesopotamia* 314–17; S. Sherwin-White, *JNES* 42 (1983) 266 (note, however, her caution that “there is no means of knowing whether this was to Seleucia-Tigris . . . or to one of the other new Seleucid settlements in Babylonia”); P. Bernard, *BCH* 114 (1990) 536–39; Boiy, *Babylon* 141–43. However, Van der Spek has argued—following Hunger’s edition—that the text deals with the sending of an embassy on Babylonian members of the Temple Council, three days after messages of the king from Sardis arrived (*BiOr* 50 [1993] 97–98; and commentary on *BCHP* 5 Rev. 6–11). Van der Spek has suggested that, after the removal of the Greeks and Macedonians to Seleukeia under Seleukos I, Babylon remained an essentially Babylonian city until Antiochos IV Epiphanes undertook a policy of settling Greeks in the city (*Grondbezit* 68–78; and commentary on *BCHP* 5.6–11).

3. For **Greek pottery**: Dübner in *Babylon* 51–57, nos. 53–73 (c. fourth century B.C.) and 82–92 (“Hellenistic”). **Terra-cottas**: Koldewey, *Das wieder erstehende Babylon* 271–79; Klengel-Brandt in *Arabia Antiqua* 183–99; Karvonen-Kannas, *Figurines* 21–33 and figurines in the catalogue listed in n. 95 (e.g., Aphrodite, Eros, Eros and Psyche, Athena, Herakles, Apollo); and S. M. Langin-Hooper, *OJA* 26 (2007) 145–65. **Greek glass pastes**: Mallwitz in *Das Babylon* 42–43, nos. 102–34. **Amphora handles with Greek names**: Dübner in *Das Babylon* 57–58, nos. 93–98 (Rhodian), no. 99 (Thasian); and C. Börker, *BaM* 7 (1974) 41–42.

For **Greek cultural life in Babylon** see R. J. van der Spek, *Lampas* 38 (2005) 198–213.

4. For the **introduction of Greeks into Babylon under Antiochos IV Epiphanes** cf. Van der Spek in *Ethnicity* 403–4, no. 5.2–6 (= *BCHP* 14, “Greek Community Chronicle”): “The so-called Greeks the *p[olitai]* who in

the past at the command of King Antiochus (IV) [had entered] Baby[lon] and who anoint with oil just like the *pol[itai]* who are in Seleucia, the royal city on the Tigris and the King's Canal . . . ” .

5. A cuneiform text (*BCHP* 13, 172/1 B.C.) mentions “the *politai*,” as does *BCHP* 14. See also R. J. van der Spek, *AfO* 44-45 (1997-1998) 170. The cuneiform *Astronomical Diaries* 3:97, no. 144 Obv. 37 (145 B.C.) mentions “the citizens who were in Babylon and Seleucia.” For another occurrence of *politai* in a cuneiform diary of Parthian date see B. van der Spek, “Arsacid Diary on Politai,” in livius.org/cg-cm/chronicles/bchp-arsacid-politai/arsacid_politai.html, l. 9.

6. **Ephebes**, *neoi*, and a **gymnasiarch**: B. Haussoullier, *Klio* 9 (1909) 352-63 = *SEG* 7:39 = Oppenheimer, *BabJ* 57, 111/10 B.C. [or 110/9 B.C.?]. A large building on the south side of the theater was interpreted by Mallwitz as a palaestra (in *Das Babylon* 16-17). However, this interpretation has not been generally accepted; see, for example, G. E. Kirk, *Iraq* 2 (1935) 223 - 331; and Downey, *Architecture* 14. **Agora**: Diod. 34/5.21. A **weight** found at Hilla near Babylon, dated to 55 B.C., bears the name of Theodosios son of Andromachos, the *agoranomos*; the weight may come from Babylon (McDowell, *SIOS* 146, 256-58; and Oppenheimer, *BabJ* 58-59).

7. For the **peliganes** see *BCHP* 18B Obv. 3 (in *La transition* 284-87); and Van der Spek in *Ethnicity* 398. As Van der Spek has noted, **peliganaan[u]** mentioned in *BCHP* 18 is apparently a Babylonianized version of the Macedonian word *peliganes* (in *La transition* 288). Polybius (5.54.10) mentions the presence of *adeiganes* at SELEUKEIA on the Tigris. It is quite probable, as P. Roussel has suggested (*Syria* 23 [1942-43] 21-32, esp. 31-32), that *adeiganes* should be corrected to *peliganes*. The latter term, which refers to a Macedonian bouleutic organization, is found in a decree of LAODIKEIA by the Sea dated to 174 B.C. (*IGLS* 1261). Presumably, therefore, the *adeiganes* were members of a council at Seleukeia.

8. For “house of observation” as translated by Sachs and Hunger and “theater” by Van der Spek (in *Studies Veenhof* 445-56) see, e.g., *Astronomical Diaries* 3:31, no. 161A₁₊₂ Obv. 25; 3:135, no. 140A Rev. 6; 3:231, no. 132D₂ Rev. 15; 3:279, no. 124B Rev. 17; 3:327, no. 118A Rev. 19; 3:455, no. 87C Rev. 30; 3:479, no. 82B Obv. 21. In addition, Van der Spek suggested that another possible reference to a theater could be seen in 3:265, no. 124A Obv. 7. Finally, he pointed to 3:431, no. 93A Rev. 25, which mentions “[Letters of the king which] were . . . read in the house of deliberation (*bit milki*),” and suggested that this was the deliberative venue for the Babylonian political community (Van der

Spek in *Ethnicity* 401). For the “house of observation”/“theater” as an assembly place where news proclamations were read out see also Potts in *Babylon: Wissenskultur* 247–51; and Michel in *Theatra et spectacula* 159–66.

Sachs and Hunger translated *pa-hat E.KI* as “governor”; Van der Spek translated it as *epistates* and understood it to refer to the head of the Greek community that was introduced by Antiochos IV Epiphanes (in *Ethnicity* 400); see Del Monte, *Testi* 38–39, 76–77, 86–87, and 96–97. In the latter’s reconstruction, the Greek community was led by the the governor (*pahatu*), the Babylonian community by the *šatammu*, and the “slaves of the king” by the governor (*šaknu*) of the king. Note that Van der Spek suggested that the *pahatu* = the *epistates* (*Grondbezit* 64–65; and *Orientalia* 69 [2000] 433 in his review of Del Monte’s book). It is indeed noteworthy that the *pahat Babili* and the *pulite (politai)* are almost always mentioned together. Furthermore, references to the *politai* and the *pahat* are found only from the second century B.C. onward (i.e., late Seleucid and early Parthian periods). In general on the *pahat Babili* and the *politai* (who are in Babylon) see Boiy, *Babylon* 204–8.

9. For the **rebuilding of the theater in the mid-second century B.C.** see Mallwitz in *Das Babylon* 20; Van der Spek in *Ethnicity* 396; id. in *Studies Veenhof* 446; Potts in *Babylon: Wissenskultur* 240–45.

10. For the **decree of Andros** see *IG XII.5* 715 = *I. Estremo Oriente* 99. For the **expression “Babylonian”** see *SELEUKEIA* on the Tigris; and Appendix X.

Van der Spek (in *Hellenism* 67–68) observed that in line 8 of the **dedicatory inscription (OGIS 253)**—which is dated to Seleucid era 146 (l. 3)—mention was also made of the Seleucid era 144 (= 169/8 B.C.). He then suggested that this might be connected with a Babylonian astronomical diary for the year 169/8 B.C. (*Astronomical Diaries* 2:471, no.168 Obv. A14 – 15): “That month (= month V, August 18–September 15, 169 BC) I heard as follows: King Antiochus entered victoriously into the cities of Egypt. The *politai* [established] a *pompe* and a ritual (?) according to a Greek design” (trans. Van der Spek, *BiOr* 50 [1993] 100). A number of interpretations of this passage have been offered: (a) Van der Spek suggested that the diary was referring to a *pompe* that took place in Babylon rather than to the famous *pompe* that was held in 166 B.C. at Daphne (Polyb. 30.25; Diod. 31.16.1). According to Van der Spek, the text referred to “an activity of the Greek population in favour of Antiochus, the founder of their community.” (b) D. Gera and W. Horowitz (*JAOS* 117 [1997] 240–43) followed Van der Spek. They also suggested that the Babylonian diary referred to a local *pompe* celebrated in Babylon in 169 in

honor of Antiochos's victorious campaign in Egypt. Like Van der Spek, Gera and Horowitz believed the local *pompe* should not be identified with the festival at Daphne in 166 B.C. (c) Finally, M. J. Geller (*BSOAS* 54 [1991] 1-2) suggested that the Babylonian diary was indeed referring to the festival held at Daphne, but that the festival took place in 169 B.C., not in 166 B.C. Cf. Van der Spek (*BiOr* [1993] 100), who still preferred 166 as the date of the festival at Daphne. In general see also Mittag, *Antiochos IV* 282-83 n. 1.

11. Linssen, *Cults* 168: "The Babylonian cults practiced in the temples of Uruk and Babylon in the Hellenistic period are, as far as we can see in the sources, not different from those in the pre-Hellenistic times. All the evidence clearly shows that the Babylonians held on to their old Babylonian traditions. The pantheon referred to in both religious and secular texts is entirely Babylonian. The terminology used for cultic activities or the cult participants is not different from pre-Hellenistic times. Even the Macedonian rulership took part in the Babylonian cults; they did not attempt to change the cults but themselves adapted to Babylonian customs."

12. On the possibility that there was a **civic ruler cult at Babylon** see, for example, S. M. Sherwin-White, *JHS* 103 (1983) 156-59; Szelényi-Graziotto in *Hellenismus* 188-90; R. J. van der Spek, *BiOr* 42 (1985) 100-101; id., *BiOr* 50 (1993) 557-61; id., *BSOAS* 57 (1993) 367-68 ("It is quite conceivable that the Greek civic ruler cult, practiced in Greek cities, was in one way or another introduced into Babylonian cities and incorporated with Babylonian traditions. . . . I still hold that a kind of Babylonian variant of the Greek civic ruler cult could have existed, especially in view of the fact that all the evidence is late, from Seleucus III or later"); Linssen, *Cults* 124-28 ("As far as Uruk is concerned . . . the possibility of a *local* ruler cult for Seleucid kings during the second century B.C. cannot be excluded. . . . For Hellenistic Babylon we have attempted to show that the cuneiform sources possibly contain references to a royal cult. . . . The evidence from [Grayson, *ABC*] chronicle 13b suggests that a local cult in Babylon may have been practiced at least from the time of Seleucus III on"). See especially *ABC* 13b.7-8 (p. 283, "Chronicle Concerning Seleucus III"): ". . . to Bel (Lord), Beltia (Mistress), and the great gods and for the ritual of Seleucus, the king and his sons . . ." (trans. Grayson); and discussions of this text in sources cited above.

On the distinction between civic ruler cult and state dynastic cult (the modern terminology varies slightly with each usage) see, for example, Bickerman, *IS* 236-57; Walbank in *CAH*² 7.1:87-99; Sherwin-White and Kuhrt, *Samarkhand* 116-17, 202-10; see also Pirngruber in

Interkulturalitat 533–49.

13. For **the (unlikely) view that Babylon and Uruk became poleis** see McEwan, *Hellenistic Babylonia* 157f.; contra: A. J. Brinkman, *JCS* 35 (1983) 236–37; and Van der Spek in *Hellenism* 61; Potts, *Mesopotamian Civilization* 279–84, 291–92; and URUK, n. 6. On the limited Hellenization of Babylonian culture see, for example, Oelsner in *Ideologies* 183–96.

For **the claim that Babylon was refounded as a Hellenistic settlement under Antiochos IV** see, for example, Tcherikover, *HS* 92; Rostovtzeff, *CAH* 7:188; Tarn, *GBI*² 187–88; Morkholm, *Antiochus* 117f.; Oelsner in *Materialien* 125; and Van der Spek in *Hellenism* 66–70. Despite her correct misgivings about the definite attribution of *OGIS* 253 to Babylon, Sherwin-White (*Samarkhand* 157f.; *ZPE* 47 [1982] 65–66) has suggested—on the basis of the evidence for a theater, gymnasium, and agora—that there was a Greek community at Babylon that was organized as a *polis*; however, she notes correctly that there is no direct evidence for this.

On the other hand, T. Boiy (*Babylon* 204–9) called attention to *Astronomical Diaries* 2:331, no. 187A Rev. 9–10: “a crown of 1 thousand shekels of gold they presented to king Antiochus. That day, the governor of Babylon [. . . .] *pah[at] E.ki* | [. . . .] *.go*]ld they presented to king Antiochus” (trans. Sachs and Hunger). Boiy assumed that the *politai* were mentioned in the lacuna next to the preserved *pahat E.KI*. He suggested, therefore, that the Greek community was already instituted under Antiochos III. Finally, R. Sciandra has argued that the Greek community gradually became the most important community in relation to the government (in *Compte rendu de la 54e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale—Wurzburg 1988* (forthcoming)).

14. See Sherwin-White, *ZPE* 47 (1982) 65–66.

15. For the **discord and conflict between the Babylonians and the politai** see, for example, *Astronomical Diaries* 3:27, no. 162 Rev. 11–13 (163 B.C.); *BCHP* 14 (163/2 B.C.); *Astronomical Diaries* 3:278, no. 124B Rev. 17 (124 B.C.); 3:503, no. 77B Rev. 15–16 (77 B.C.); and Van der Spek in *Ethnicity* 399–400.

16. For **Babylon continuing as a religious and cultural center in the Hellenistic period and beyond** (until the mid-third century A.D.) see, for example, Sarkisian in *Ancient Mesopotamia* 312–35; J. Oelsner, *ZA* 61 (1971) 159–70; id., *Klio* 60 (1978) 101–16; id., *Klio* 63 (1981) 39–44; Sherwin-White, *ZPE* 47 (1982) 63 and n. 44; M. J. Geller, *ZA* 87 (1997) 43–95; R. J. van der Spek, *AfO* 44–45 (1997–1998) 174; Potts, *Mesopotamian Civilization* 279–84, esp. p. 282 and references cited there; Boiy, *Babylon* 78, 135–66; Szelényi- Graziotto in *Hellenismus* 171–94; cf.

A. Westenholz, *ZA* 97 (2007) 262–313, especially 292–309.

17. For additional references to a **pahatu** see, for example, *Astronomical Diaries* 3:249, no. 129A2 Obv. 16–19 (130 B.C.); and 3:488, 77A Obv. 26–27 (78 B.C.). For additional references to **politai** (in addition to those mentioned above) see also, for example, *BCHP* 18A Obv. 6 (in *La transition* 284–87; 130s B.C.); *BCHP* 19 (Parthian date); and references cited in Boiy, *Babylon* 204.

BAHRAIN

A Greek inscription discovered in the Shakourha necropolis at the north end of the island of Bahrain near Qal’at al-Bahrain, made by Kephisodoros, “*strategos* of Tylos and the Islands,” contains a dedication of a temple (*naos*) to the Dioskouroi Saviors on behalf of King Hypsaosines and Queen Thalassia.¹ P.-L. Gatier et al. dated the text to 140–124 B.C., that is, to the early days of the Characene kingdom. P. J. Kosmin suggested that the inscription may serve as evidence for the existence of a “Greek-speaking garrison settlement of soldiers, administrators and support staff on Bahrain in addition to Kephisodoros.” In this connection Kosmin called attention to other evidence for the presence of Greeks and Babylonians on Bahrain.² He also noted that city V of Qal’at al-Bahrain was apparently a Hellenistic port-settlement and that, among other things, a coin hoard dated to the mid-third century B.C. had been found there. In addition, he pointed out that the ceramic profile—for example, fish plate, eggshell ware, a nearly intact example of green glazed *lagynos*, and a fluted, hemispherical bowl that is an imitation of a *terra sigillata* bowl—paralleled that of Hellenistic Failaka (IKARO S).³ But, as he correctly observed, the evidence the Kephisodoros inscription provides relates to the reign of Hypsaosines, that is, to the period of Characene—rather than Seleucid—control of Tylos (i.e., Bahrain) and the islands. Nevertheless, Kosmin reasonably speculated that there may have been a “Seleucid station” at the north of the island of Bahrain, at Qal’at al-Bahrain.

He noted that “since we hear nowhere of Hypsaosines’ expansion into the [Persian] Gulf and evidence abounds for his busy involvement against Parthian aggression on the mainland, it is almost certain that Kephisodoros’ title and administrative district are a continuation of an earlier Seleucid command.” Kosmin also called attention to the evidence for the economic stability of the region in the third and second centuries B.C. and suggested that the expeditions of Antiochos III and Numenius in the Persian Gulf indicate the permanent presence of a Seleucid fleet there.

Furthermore, the history of the region—to the extent that we know it—likewise raises the possibility that the community attested by the Kephisodoros inscription originated under Seleucid hegemony. In short, Kosmin has convincingly suggested there was a settlement on Bahrain that was similar—on a smaller scale—to the settlement on the island of IKAROS.⁴

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In general see P.-L. Gatier, P. Lombard, and K. al-Sindi, *AAE* 13 (2002) 223–26; L. Martinez-Sève in *Seleucids* 62; P. J. Kosmin (forthcoming) in *JHS*.

1. In addition to the dedication made by Kephisodoros, three other Greek inscriptions (all fragmentary) have thus far been discovered on the island of Bahrain; see Gatier et al., *AAE* 13 (2002) 226–31. One of these inscriptions (*AAE* [2002] 226–29)—which was also found in the Shakourha necropolis—is a burial stele of Auidisaros son of Auidisaros (the reading is not clear), who was apparently an Alexandreian (l. 3: Ἀλεξανδρεῦ [ς]). Assuming the reading is correct, we do not know which *Alexandreia* is meant. One thinks immediately of *ALEXANDREIA/ANTIOCH/Spasinou Charax*, but this is only conjectural. We may note, too, that the inscription is dated by the Seleucid Era, i.e., year 195. This would be 118/117 B.C., i.e., somewhat after the death of Hyspaosines in 124 B.C. For a map of Bahrain see Potts, *Arabian Gulf* 2:104.

2. Kosmin (forthcoming); and above, pp. 22–24 and n. 100, p. 105, n. 1; Potts, *Arabian Gulf* 2:103–11.

3. On **city V of Qal’at al-Bahrain** see R. Boucharlat and J.-F. Salles, *PSAS* 11 (1981) 75; Salles in *Hellenism* 81; Potts, *Arabian Gulf* 2: 103–11. For the **coin hoard** see Potts, *Arabian Gulf* 2:121–24.

4. Kosmin also suggested that Anaxarchos, who is mentioned in the “Ikadion inscription” as being in charge of the administration of IKAROS, was the “strategos of Tylos and the Islands” during the reign of Antiochos III.

CHALKIS

See ARETHOUSA in the Gulf region.

IKAROS

According to Arrian (7.20.4) it was Alexander the Great who gave the toponym Ikaros to one of the islands in the Persian Gulf, naming it after Ikaros (Ikaria) in the Aegean. Strabo tells us (16.3.2) that Androstheneis, Alexander's admiral, mentioned Ikaros in the Persian Gulf and noted that there was a temple of Apollo and an oracle of (Artemis) Tauropolos on the island. Interestingly, although we find references to the Persian Gulf island of Ikaros in these and other authors of the post-Hellenistic period, there is no mention in the extant literary sources of a Greek presence on the island.

In 1948 W. W. Tarn called attention to the presence of a shrine of Artemis Tauropolos on Ikaria in the Aegean (Strabo 14.1.19) and suggested that colonists from there must have settled on the Persian Gulf island. He speculated further that the settlers would have brought the worship of Tauropolos with them, would have named the island after their Aegean home, and that this could have happened under Alexander or one of the early Seleucids.¹ In fact, evidence for a Greek presence on the island of Failaka, which is located near the head of the Persian Gulf, approximately 20 kilometers northeast of Kuwait City, came about only as a result of archaeological excavation. The identification of Ikaros with Failaka, which was long suspected, was confirmed by the discovery in 1960 on Failaka of the Ikadion inscription that records (a) a letter from Ikadion to Anaxarchos concerning Ikaros and (b) a cover letter from Anaxarchos to the inhabitants of Ikaros.²

Evidence for a Graeco-Macedonian presence in the Hellenistic period on Ikaros has thus far been found at four separate sites in the southwest area of the island: (a) Tell Khazneh, (b) the B6 or "seaside shrine," (c) a large building referred to as the "terracotta workshop" (F4), and (d) "the fortress" (F5).³ The area of Failaka yielding evidence for a Graeco-Macedonian presence is roughly triangular in shape; it stretches c. 275 meters along the seashore (from the terra-cotta workshop to the seaside shrine), then northward c. 150 meters to the fortress, and an additional c. 500 meters beyond to Tell Khazneh.

There was a sanctuary at Tell Khazneh that predated the arrival of the Greeks.⁴ The oldest Greek inscription thus far discovered on Failaka may have been found here (its exact provenience is not definitely known). It is dated palaeographically to the late fourth/early third century B.C. and bears a dedication to Zeus Soter, Poseidon, and Artemis Soteira that was made by "Soteles the Athenian and the soldiers" (Σωτέλ[ης] Ἀθηναῖο[ς] καὶ οἱ στρα[τιῶται]/[τευσάμενοι] or [τευόμενοι]).⁵ If the dedication was, in fact,

found at Tell Khazneh we would now have two inscriptions from there: a sherd bearing a fragmentary inscription and dated palaeographically to the second half of the third century B.C. was (also) found at Tell Khazneh. It commemorated a sacrifice that was performed by some people. The third line reads:—]τέλου ἡγεμόνος. The term ἡγεμών, of course, has many connotations. In the present context, however, one is reminded of the various examples of dedications and honorific decrees made by soldiers and their *hegemones*.⁶ In addition, a small coin hoard was found at Tell Khazneh.⁷ The hoard, which is dated to c. 285, contained twenty-seven tetradrachms, twenty-six of Alexander type and one of Seleukos I Nikator, and included coins from as far away as Greece, Asia Minor, Phoenicia, and Syria as well as Babylonia, Susiana, and Media. In that respect, it is much more diverse than the two hoards found in the fortress (see below).

The B6 or “seaside shrine,” so called from the quadrant where it is located, was east of the fortress on the seaside.⁸ The wide antechamber and small *naos* recall the Iranian temple plan. The discovery of a fragmentary dedication to Artemis on an altar prompted some scholars to refer to the B6 shrine as the “Artemis shrine.” Coins of Antiochos III, Seleukos IV, and Antiochos IV have also been found there.⁹ It has been dated to the first half of the second century B.C.

The other building complex outside the fortress walls was the “terracotta workshop,” so called from the discovery there of fourteen molds and three figurines.¹⁰ Based on the style of the molds and the discovery of a coin of Alexander type from Susa, founding of the complex has been dated to around the end of the fourth/beginning of the third century B.C., i.e., approximately contemporary with the founding of the fortress. The latest extant mold is dated to the end of the second century B.C.

The most important area/structure thus far discovered is a square, walled enclosure, measuring approximately 60 meters on each side. It is commonly referred to as the “fortress” or the “sacred enclosure.”¹¹ Numismatic evidence (bronze coins in the name of Alexander and some coins of Seleukos I dated to c. 310–300 B.C.) and ceramic evidence (two pieces of Attic black-glazed bowls probably dated to the first half of the third century B.C.) have been cited in support of the argument that the fortress was probably founded in the first half of the third century B.C. Furthermore, L. Hannestad has argued that the date of the fortress and temple A (see below) is strongly connected with the Ikadion inscription, which most—though not all—scholars would date to the middle of the third century B.C.¹² Within the fortress, excavators have found the remains of two temples, designated A and B. The former is contemporary with the

construction of the original fortress. It is a typical Greek temple with two columns *in antis* with Ionic capitals and pediment decorated with *acroteria*. The column bases, on the other hand, were of traditional Achaemenid design.¹³ A fragmentary votive inscription was also found on the threshold of temple A.¹⁴ Although at first the fortress was apparently not intended for habitation, settlers subsequently began to take up residence within its walls. These houses were not built or planned in any organized fashion.¹⁵ Two small coin hoards were found by the Danish excavators in the fortress, one discovered in 1960, the other in 1961. Both were apparently buried c. 210–200 B.C. Among the coins in the hoards and in stray finds were so-called Arabian Alexander coins: tetradrachms with head of Herakles on the obverse, seated “Zeus” on the reverse, as well as ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ/ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ (or other misspellings of “Alexander,” which indicate that the engraver did not know Greek) and the south Arabian letter *shin* (for the sun god “Shamas” or “Shams”) in a horizontal position or “Abyatha” (a local ruler of northeast Arabia who apparently reigned c. 230—220 B.C.).¹⁶ The discovery of these “Arabian Alexanders” has prompted the suggestion that in the latter part of the third century the fortress apparently came under native rule. Archaeological evidence indicates that during the same period the fortress was reinforced and then destroyed. The most likely historical reconstruction, therefore, suggests a period of native control of the fortress that terminated when Antiochos III reasserted Seleucid rule over the area at the end of his anabasis in the East, that is, c. 205/4 B.C. The destruction of the fortress may have come about as a result of the (successful) Seleucid attempt to recapture it.¹⁷ At the end of the third/beginning of the second century, namely, after the reassertion of Seleucid control, the fortress underwent significant improvement and expansion.¹⁸ In addition to the two hoards found in the fortress, other single finds of coins included bronzes of Antiochos III, Seleukos IV, and Antiochos IV from SELEUKEIA on the Tigris, Susa, and possibly ALEXANDREIA/ANTIOCH/Spasinou Charax as well.¹⁹ It is not clear whether there was actually a local mint on Failaka.²⁰

Evidence for trade with the Aegean basin is furnished, for example, by the discovery of Attic black-glazed pottery dated to c. 285–250 B.C. and stamped Rhodian amphora handles dated to c. 225–220 B.C. There is also extensive ceramic evidence for trade with Near Eastern regions. In addition, lamps of both “Greek” and “Mesopotamian” type have been discovered in the fortress.²¹ Thus far three fragmentary inscriptions have been discovered in the fortress: (a) a (second) dedication, dated palaeographically to the third century B.C., by Soteles the Athenian, this one

to Poseidon *Asphaleios*; (b) a fragmentary inscription on an ostrakon that also mentions *Soteles*; and (c) the *Ikadion* inscription.²² The extremely fragmentary nature of the latter inscription and the poor state of preservation render it particularly difficult to reconstruct and interpret. Let us first consider the date. A number of possible readings have been proposed for the date in line 44: (a) $\theta\xi'$ (Seleucid Era 69 = 243 B.C.), (b) $\alpha\omicron'$ or $\delta\omicron'$ (S.E. 71 or S.E. 74 = 241/0 B.C. or 238/7 B.C.), (c) $\omicron\gamma'$ or $\omicron\epsilon'$ (S.E. 73 = 239/8 B.C. or S.E. 75 = 237/6 B.C.), (d) $\theta\rho'$ (S.E. 109 = 203/2 B.C.).²³ In short, a date either in the middle or at the end of the third century B.C. appears possible. We may briefly attempt to note the main points of *Ikadion's* letter as follows: the ancestors of the king wanted to move the sanctuary of *Soteira*, but for some reason it was not done. *Ikadion* has now done this; he has also established a gymnastic *agon*. Next, *Ikadion* discusses questions relating to the *neokoroi* and others living on the island. Property rights, tax exemption, and various commercial questions are also discussed.

Religion clearly played a significant role in life on the island.²⁴ To date, excavators have uncovered evidence for four sanctuaries. Interestingly, religion is the only feature of the island mentioned by the ancient writers when they discuss the island in the pre-Hellenistic period. Furthermore, all the extant inscriptions have some reference to a divinity or some aspect of religious life. The literary sources emphasize the importance of the worship of *Artemis*—occasionally with *Apollo*. The *Soteles* inscriptions record dedications to *Artemis Soteira*, *Zeus Soter*, and *Poseidon*. The description of *Poseidon* in the second inscription as *asphaleios* points to his importance to the sailors on *Ikaros*. The *Ikadion* inscription mentions “the sanctuary of the *Soteira*” and “*Soter*”; at the seaside shrine an altar was found with “*Artemis*” inscribed in paint on it. The worship of *Herakles* on *Ikaros* is attested by the discovery of votive offerings—stone sculptures and a terra-cotta statuette—of the god. The discovery of a *Papposilenos* undoubtedly reflects the existence of a *Dionysos* cult. In addition, fragments of a statue may provide evidence for the worship of *Pan*. Finally, the discovery of the head of a girl wearing a broad *stephane* suggests this was actually *Aphrodite*.²⁵ Incidentally, another votive offering type—the horse and rider—bears a rider wearing a cap that has been identified as the Macedonian *kausia*. Interestingly, nearly 80 percent of the figurines found by the excavators were discovered in domestic rather than religious contexts: this undoubtedly reflects a strong focus on household worship.²⁶

To date, the skeletons of twelve males from the Hellenistic period have been discovered on *Failaka*. The individuals were buried in the ruins of a Bronze Age building.²⁷

The extant evidence indicates the presence of a garrison of Greek soldiers. The precise nature of the settlement on Ikaros is not yet known.²⁸

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In general see Cohen, *Seleucid Colonies* 42–44; C. Roueché and S. Sherwin-White, *Chiron* 15 (1985) 1–39; Hannestad in *ΕΛΛ ΗΝΙΣΜΟΣ* 41–55; id. in *Arabie Orientale* 59–65; Potts, *Arabian Gulf* 2:154–96; Callot in *Arabie préislamique* 127–43; id. in *Arabia Antiqua* 257–73; J.-F. Salles, *CRAI* (1985) 573–93; id., *Topoi* 2 (1992) 224–26; id. in *Arabia Antiqua* 223–55; R. Boucharlat and J.-F. Salles, *PSAS* 11 (1981) 73–74; Gachet and Salles in *Materialien* 59–85; Howard-Carter, *OEANE* s.v. “Failaka”; Orth, *Diadochenzeit* 122; Martinez-Sève in *Seleucids* 59–61.

The modern literature on Falaika is quite extensive; for a bibliographic review see, for example, Salles in *FFF* 1983 9–19; J. Gachet and Salles in *Materialien* 80–85; Calvet and Salles in *FFF* 1986–1988 11–22. For the ancient literature see Calvet in *FFF* 1983 21–29.

For the results of the excavations see especially the publications of the Danish (*Ikaros* volumes) and the French excavations (*FFF* volumes). See also *L’île de Failaka*.

1. Tarn, *Alexander* 2:382 n. 2; see also Jeppesen in *Ikaros* 3:78 (apparently unaware of Tarn’s earlier suggestion). Salles’s suggestion that Ikaros was discovered by Nearchos (*CRAI* [1985] 579; and in *FFF* 1984–1985 131) has not met with wide acceptance; see, for example, Roueché and Sherwin-White, *Chiron* 15 (1985) 6; Potts, *Arabian Gulf* 2:180.

The **origin of the name Ikaros for the Persian Gulf island** has been the occasion of some debate. Discussion centers around (a) the Aegean island Ikaros/Ikaria, (b) Agarum/Akarum, (c) Ekara. I have already discussed “Ikaros/Ikaria” above. “Agarum/Akarum” has been read in cuneiform inscriptions on a number of seals (Glassner in *FFF* 1983 pp. 32–34, nos. 3 and 6; see also pp. 47–48) and the fragment of a vase (*FFF* 1983 p. 40, no. 32). Glassner suggested that this toponym might have been the name of the island of Failaka before the arrival of the Greeks but denied any connection between it and the name—Ikaros—given to the island by the Greeks (in *FFF* 1983 47–48). Ekara has been read in a cuneiform inscription on a bronze vase (*FFF* 1983 pp. 46–47, no. 46). It was also read by J. Teixidor (in *Arabie préislamique* 169–71 [“the lord of Ekara Nabu”]; followed by Potts, *Arabian Gulf* 2:180) in the second line of a fragmentary and difficult Aramaic inscription found at Tell Kahzneh on Failaka that was published by M. Szyner in *FFF* 1984–1985 273–80.

During the Hellenistic period, Nabu (Nebo) was identified with Apollo (whose worship on the island is mentioned by Strabo; note, however, J. Gachet and J.-F. Salles, *Mesopotamia* 25 [1990] 210-15, who observed that all the extant evidence for this identification is post-Seleucid). Based on his reading, Teixidor rejected Arrian's suggestion that the island was named for Ikaros in the Aegean, and suggested rather that the name was derived from Ekara, the name of the well-known temple at Bahrain (cf. P. Bernard, *Topoi* 5 [1995] 393-97, esp. n. 93, who preferred Agarum/Akarum rather than Ekara as the origin for Ikaros, because the former was a toponym. Bernard was also understandably reluctant to deny—as did Teixidor—any connection with the Aegean island). In support of this suggestion Teixidor called attention to the fact that Ptolemy (6.7.47) referred to the island as Ikara (actually, Ptolemy called it "Ichara"). However, Teixidor's reading of the Aramaic inscription has not won wide acceptance. For example, J. Naveh read the first two lines as "STNY may be remembered before Bel of Ikaros" (*BASOR* 297 [1995] 1-2), and E. Puech read line 2 as "Bel of Akkad/of Ekara, Marduk lord of . . ." (*Transeuphratene* 16 [1998] 31-34).

2. For a review of **the various suggestions about the identification of Ikaros** see Potts, *Arabian Gulf* 2:181-83. For the inscription recording the letter from Ikadion to Anaxarchos see below, nn. 22-23.

There is also extensive archaeological evidence for **habitation on the island of Failaka during the Bronze Age**; see, for example, Howard-Carter, *OEANE* s.v. "Failaka" and bibliography cited there; Y. Calvet, A. Caubet, and J.-F. Salles, *PSAS* 15 (1985) 12-15; *Failaka/Dilmun: The Second Millenium Settlements*, vols. 1 (P. Kjaerum) and 2 (F. Hojland) (Aarhus, 1983; Aarhus and Kuwait, 1987); Calvet in *FFF* 1983 51-72; Calvet and Pic in *FFF* 1984 - 1985 13-87; Calvet and Pic in *FFF* 1986-1988 103-22; and other articles in *FFF* 1986-1988 123-66; Calvet in *L'île de Failaka* 41-49. For **objects with cuneiform inscriptions** found on Failaka see Glassner in *FFF* 1983 31 - 50; id. in *FFF* 1986-1988 123-24 (mainly palaeo-Babylonian and middle Babylonian). For an inscribed stone slab from the neo-Babylonian period of Nebuchadnezzar II found on Failaka see A. J. Ferrara, *JCS* 27 (1975) 231 - 32; and Glassner (in *FFF* 1983 49-50), who cautions that the presence of the name "ne signifie en rien que le roi ait dominé d'une quelconque maniere l'île ou la région."

3. On **the four sites on Ikaros currently yielding evidence for a Greek presence in the Hellenistic period** see, for example, Callot in *Arabie préislamique* 128 and map (fig. 1) on p. 129; see also map (fig. 2) in *FFF* 1984 - 1985 9.

4. The conclusion that there was a **sanctuary at Tell Khazneh** is based primarily on the fact that more than 280 terra-cotta figurines or fragments of figurines were found at the site. The chronological span of the figurines ranges from the Achaemenid to the early Hellenistic period; see further J.-F. Salles, *CRAI* (1985) 586–90; id. in *FFF 1984–1985* 143–200 and 178; M. Amandry and O. Callot, *RN* (1988) 65; Potts, *Arabian Gulf* 1:329–30. Amandry and Callot commented that this conclusion regarding a sanctuary at Tell Khazneh is confirmed by the discovery there of the sherd with the evidence for a dedication and the dedicatory inscription of Soteles (see below, n. 5). Note, however, that the provenience of the latter is not definitely known.

Arrian (7.20.3) recorded that there was a shrine of Artemis on Ikaros in 323 B.C. It is unlikely, however, that the sanctuary at Tell Khazneh can be tied to that shrine. Most of the figurines thus far uncovered at Tell Khazneh indicate worship of a male, rather than a female, deity; see Salles in *FFF 1984–1985* 178; and Potts (*Arabian Gulf* 1:330, 349), who called attention to cuneiform and Aramaic evidence for a second temple on Failaka during the time of Nebuchadnezzar.

5. For **the dedication by Soteles and the soldiers to Zeus, Poseidon, and Artemis** see M. N. Tod, *JHS* 63 (1943) 112–13 (*editio princeps*); *SEG* 12:556; C. Picard, *RA* (1961) 64; Roueché and Sherwin-White, *Chiron* 15 (1985) 4–10; Marcillet-Jaubert in *FFF 1986–1988* 194–95; F. Piejko, *C&M* 39 (1988) 89–92; *SEG* 38:1547; *Steinepigramme* 4:456, no. 22/91/01; *I. Estremo Oriente* 416; and *Euphrat* 606; see also Potts, *Arabian Gulf* 2:183–86. The restoration “Soteles the Athenian” rather than “Soteles the son of Athenaios” is confirmed by the discovery in the fortress of another dedication by Soteles; see below, n. 22. The find spot of the dedication is not definitely known; see further Salles in *FFF 1984–1985* 133–35; Potts, *Arabian Gulf* 2:183–86.

If Soteles and the soldiers who set up the dedications were taking part in a military expedition in the Persian Gulf, we do not know which one it might have been. From the available evidence we know of a number of expeditions in the Gulf: (a) that of Alexander’s admiral, Nearchos, in 325–324 B.C. (e.g., Arr. *Anab.* 7.19.3–20; *Ind.* 43.8); (b) three small, exploratory expeditions dispatched by Alexander in 324/3 B.C. (e.g., Arr. *Anab.* 7.20.3–6, 7–8); (c) Antiochos III’s expedition to Gerrha in 205 B.C. (Polyb. 13.9.4–5); or, (d) possibly, that of Antiochos IV (Pliny *NH* 6.147, 152; on the difficulty relating to these passages see ALEXANDREIA/ANTIOCH/Spasinou Charax; and pp. 22 and n. 100, 116 and n. 15). E. Albrechtsen (*Kuml* [1958] 188–89) suggested—unconvincingly—that the settlement founded by Alexander the Great that is

described by Arrian (*Anab.* 7.21.7) was, in fact, the settlement on Failaka; see further [ALEXANDREIA] near the Pallakopas.

The form of the dedication is quite similar to other **dedications by garrison troops and military colonists**; see below, n. 6.

For a **very fragmentary dedication to Artemis** that is dated palaeographically to the second/first century B.C. see Caubet and Salles in *FFF 1983* 137-38.

6. For **the sherd found at Tell Khazneh** see Marcillet-Jaubert in *FFF 1984-1985* 265-67 (= *I. Estremo Oriente* 417 = *Euphrat* 607); cf. Potts, *Arabian Gulf* 2:194. For examples of **dedications and honorific decrees made by soldiers and their hegemones** see, for example, *OGIS* 211 (THYATEIRA, third century B.C.); *SB* 1:1104 (Hierakonpolis, time of Ptolemy II); *IG* IV² 765 (Aegina, Attalos I); *OGIS* 266.20 (PERGAMON, Eumenes I); and *SEG* 7:4.4 (Susa/SELEUKEIA on the Eulaios, third/second century B.C.); see also *OGIS* 229.103 (PALAIMAGNESIA, c. 241 B.C.).

As for Ἰτέλου, Marcillet-Jaubert (in *FFF 1984-1985* 267) has noted that it would be “hazardous to identify the name ending in . . . telos as Soteles . . . the dedicant of the religious inscription” (n.b. that the latter inscription is dated palaeographically to late fourth/early third century B.C.); see, however, n. 22 below.

7. For **the coin hoard found at Tell Khazneh** see Callot in *FFF 1984-1985*, 291; M. Amandry and O. Callot, *RN* (1988) 64-74; and Potts, *Arabian Gulf* 2:173-74, 177-78; Gachet and Salles in *Materialien* 76; G. Le Rider, *RN* (1989) 249; Callot, Gachet-Bizollon, and Salles in *L'île de Failaka* 86-89. For a consolidated list of Alexander and Seleucid issues attested on Failaka see Potts in *Caravan Kingdoms* 71-72.

8. For the **seaside shrine** see A. Caubet and J.-F. Salles, *CRAI* (1985) 582-86; Caubet and Salles in *FFF 1983* 73-156; Salles in *Hellenism* 84; Callot in *Arabie préislamique* 138-39; Potts, *Arabian Gulf* 2:164f.; Gachet and Salles in *Materialien* 62-64. On the “Iranian” character of the shrine see Ghirshman, *Terrasses sacrées: L'Iran du Sud-Ouest* 1:187-89; Salles, *CRAI* (1985) 584; Connelly in *Arabie préislamique* 158 n. 60.

9. For **the fragmentary dedication to Artemis, which is painted in red** and is tentatively dated to the end of the second/beginning of the first century B.C. see Caubet and Salles (using copies made by Y. Calvet and J. Marcillet-Jaubert) in *FFF 1983* 137-38 (= *I. Estremo Oriente* 419 = *Euphrat* 609): ὑπὲρ | Θεοκύδρου σωτηρίας | [.]σ[.]θε[.]α[.]ς | Ἀρτέμιδ[ι]. For the **coins found there** see Callot in *FFF 1984-1985* 156-67; Salles in *FFF 1984-1985* 183; and Potts in *Caravan Kingdoms* 71-72.

10. On the **“terracotta workshop”** see A. Roussell, *Kuml* (1958) 191-

200; cf. Salles (in *FFF* 1983 13), who expressed reservations as to whether this was a terra-cotta workshop. For the molds and figurines discovered there see Mathiesen in *Ikaros* 1:15-93; see also Potts, *Arabian Gulf* 2:165f.; Gachet and Salles in *Materialien* 61-62. For the dating of the workshop see Mathiesen in *Ikaros* 1:51f., 73; Gachet and Salles in *Materialien* 62.

11. On **the fortress** see, for example, K. Jeppesen, *Kuml* (1960) 188 - 91; id. in *Ikaros* 1:9-11, 3:7-81; Hannestad in *Arabie orientale* 59-65; Salles, *CRAI* (1988) 574-79; Gachet and Salles in *Materialien* 64-75; Potts, *Arabian Gulf* 2:155-64; Hannestad, *Topoi* 4 (1994) 587-95; Callot in *Golf-Archäologie* 121-32.

12. On **the numismatic evidence for dating the founding of the fortress** to the first half of the third century B.C. see O. Morkholm, *Kuml* (1960) 207; O. Callot, J. Gachet, and J.-F. Salles, *PSAS* 17 (1987) 37; Gachet and Salles in *Materialien* 66. Morkholm also called attention (*Kuml* [1979] 233) to two coins dated to c. 336-300 B.C. For the **ceramic evidence** see Hannestad, *Topoi* 4 (1994) 590; id. in *Ikaros* 2.2, nos. 427, 430. In a private note L. Hannestad remarked: "The question of the date of the fortress and temple A (undoubtedly built at the same time) is strongly connected of course with the inscription stele. That the stele and the erection of temple A are connected may of course be questioned. The Danes (and the French) including myself have supposed that the stele stood in front of temple A not least since its width corresponds to that of the ante of the temple. There are indications that this was not its original position, since its base does not fit the width of the stele" (see also Hannestad, *Topoi* 4 [1994] 588-90). For **the suggested dating of the fortress to the first half of the third century B.C.** see, for example, Jeppesen in *Ikaros* 3:76; Gachet in *FFF* 1986-1988 167; Hannestad in *Ikaros* 2.1:77; id., *Topoi* 4 (1994) 587-94. On the date of the Ikadion inscription see below, n. 23.

13. For **the temples in the fortress** see, for example, Jeppesen, *Kuml* (1960) 188-91; id. in *Ikaros* 1:9-11, 3:24-79; id. in *Akten XIII Kong.* 324 - 25; Hannestad in *Arabie orientale* 61-64; Callot in *Arabie préislamique* 132; Colledge in *Hellenism* 148; Potts, *Arabian Gulf* 2:157-61; Gachet and Salles in *Materialien* 64. On the column bases of temple A see also Connelly in *Arabie préislamique* 158 n. 60.

After the destruction at the end of the third century B.C. temple B was not rebuilt. The building of shrine B6 (see above) outside the walls of the fortress, and its more Oriental character, prompted Callot (in *Arabia Antiqua* 269) to suggest that the native and the Greek populations lived separately.

14. For **the fragmentary votive inscription found on the threshold of temple A** see K. Jeppesen, *Kuml* (1960) 186, 193; id. in *Ikaros* 3:116–18; Roueché and Sherwin-White, *Chiron* 15 (1985) 10–12; see also *SEG* 35:1478 = *I. Estremo Oriente* 420 = *Euphrat* 608. Roueché and Sherwin-White suggested that it should be dated palaeographically to the same period as the Ikadion inscription, which they dated on the basis of letter forms to the late third/ early second century B.C. (*Chiron* [1985] 19; and below, n. 23).

Two differing readings of the inscription have been offered. According to Jeppesen, the text should be read as το | οἱ ἐξ Ἴν[δου] | ἰδρύσαν[το] | τὸν βωμ[όν]. According to Roueché and Sherwin-White the text should be read as το[ῖς θεοῖς] | οἱ ἐξ Ἰκά[ρου] | ἰδρύσαν[το] | τὸν βωμ[όν]. The expression οἱ ἐξ Ἴν[δου] or οἱ ἐξ Ἰκά[ρου] recalls the formulae οἱ ἐκ, οἱ ἐν, and οἱ περί, which were frequently used to describe communities of military colonists—often Macedonians—in Hellenistic Lydia; see, for example, Roueché and Sherwin-White, *Chiron* 15 (1985) 12; and Cohen, *Settlements in Europe* (e.g., ADRO UTA, AGATHEIRA, AKRASOS, -ALEIA, DO IDY E, -ESPOURA, KOBEDY LE, LASNEDD A, LYENDO S, MAGNESIA, THYATEIRA). In connection with the reading οἱ ἐξ Ἰκά[ρου] Roueché and Sherwin-White noted the absence of the ethnic *Makedones* or any other ethnic and suggested this was consistent with the designation οἱ ἐν Ἰκάρῳ οἰκηταί, which the Seleucid official Anaxarchos used when he wrote to the community (*Chiron* 15 [1985] 12; and *SEG* 35:1476.1. The editors of *SEG* 35:1478 commented—citing Roueché and Sherwin-White—that “οἱ ἐξ Ἰκάρου constituted the civilian community/settlement at Ikaros”; see also *SEG* 38:1548.

Two comments: (a) Two other fragmentary dedications found at Ikaros were apparently made by soldiers; see above and nn. 5 and 6; (b) Jeppesen rightly objected that the restoration οἱ ἐξ Ἰκά[ρου] is problematic because we would thus have people living on Ikaros and setting up an altar there apparently describing themselves as “those from Ikaros”; as an explanation — if the reading is to be accepted—Jeppesen suggested that the altar was set up by colonists from the homonymous island in the Aegean in gratitude for their safe arrival at the Persian Gulf island.

A potsherd with a fragmentary graffito—NIKA—was also found in F5 (Jeppesen in *Ikaros* 3:118). As Jeppesen observed, this could be read as, for example, NIKA[ΓΟΡΑΣ] or NIKA[ΤΩΡ].

15. For the evidence of **habitation within the fortress** see, for example, Hannestad in *Arabie orientale* 64; Gauchet and Salles in *Materialien* 64; Callot in *Golf-Archäologie* 124–25.

16. For **the two hoards found in the fortress** see Morkholm, *Kuml*

(1960) 199–207; id., *Kuml* (1979) 219–35; Hannestad in *Arabie orientale* 64–65; Callot in *Arabie préislamique* 134 and n. 17; id. in *Golf-Archaeologie* 126; Gachet and Salles in *Materialien* 66; G. Le Rider, *RN* (1989) 250; *Coinage of the Caravan Kingdoms* 104–5. For a consolidated list of Alexander and Seleucid issues attested on Failaka see Potts in *Caravan Kingdoms* 71–72. The dating of the two hoards to the late third century B.C. is based on the presence in each of well-preserved coins—i.e., coins that had not had extensive circulation or use—of Antiochos III; this would suggest, according to Morkholm, a date for the burial of the hoards to c. 210–200 B.C.

For **the “Arabian Alexanders”** see, for example, O. Morkholm, *Kuml* (1960) 207; id., *Kuml* (1979); C. Robin, *Semitica* 24 (1974) 86–99; Callot in *FFF 1986–1988* 221–40; id. in *Arabia Antiqua* 258–59; id. in *Caravan Kingdoms* 383–97, esp. 384–87; Gachet and Salles in *Materialien* 66; Hannestad in *Arabie orientale* 64–65; and Arnold-Biucchi in *Mnemata Waggoner* 99–115. Sixteen “Arabian Alexanders” (tetradrachms) with a horizontal *shin* have been found in the two hoards in the fortress on Failaka. An additional specimen was found on the surface (Morkholm, *Kuml* [1960] 205–6; id., *Kuml* [1979] 230, 232). A few other examples (found at Gordion and in public collections in Paris and Copenhagen) are also known (see Callot in *Arabia Antiqua* 258 n. 7; id. in *FFF 1986–1988* 227; Arnold-Biucchi in *Mnemata Waggoner* 104). See also Callot in *FFF 1986–1988* 222–26; Callot, Gachet-Bizollon, Salles in *L’île de Failaka* 90–91. As to where these coins might have been minted, see below, n. 20.

We should distinguish coins with a horizontal *shin* from those with a vertical *shin* (or, occasionally, “Shamas” or “Shams”); see, for example Morkholm, *Kuml* (1972) 195–201 (a hoard found at Qala’at al-Bahrain). The latter have been attributed to a mint at either Bahrain or Gerrha (Thaj?); see further Callot in *FFF 1986–1988* 221–40 (followed by Arnold-Biucchi in *Mnemata Waggoner* 103–4, 113–14). In addition to the tetradrachms with a horizontal *shin* found at Failaka, obols with a horizontal *shin* have also been found at Jebel Kenzan in northeast Arabia (Potts, *Pre-Islamic Coinage* 33, nos. 53–56; id., *Pre-Islamic Coinage, Supplement* 14, nos. 12–13). For other coins with *shin* (or, occasionally, “Shamas” or “Shams”) found in the northeastern Arabian peninsula see also C. Robin, *Semitica* 24 (1974) 83–126; Potts, *Pre-Islamic Coinage* 30–36, nos. 46–74; id., *Pre-Islamic Coinage, Supplement* 13–19, nos. 8–35; *Coinage of the Caravan Kingdoms* 106–14.

For the geographical distribution of the coinage of **Abyatha** (Failaka as well as the Mektepini hoard, Gordion, an unspecified Syrian provenience, Thaj, Jebel Kenzan, and Mleiha) see Arnold-Biucchi in *Mnemata Waggoner*

105–6; Potts, *Pre-Islamic Coinage* 18–19, nos. 1–3; id., *Pre-Islamic Coinage, Supplement* 9–11, nos. 1–5 and 6–7(?); M. Huth and D. Potts, *AJN* 14 (2002) 77–78; Callot, Gachet-Bizollon, Salles in *L'île de Failaka* 92; Potts in *Caravan Kingdoms* 76.

For an overview of the hoard evidence see Arnold-Biucchi in *Mnemata Waggoner* 111.

17. For the evidence for **the reinforcement and subsequent destruction at the fortress** see, for example, Callot in *Golf-Archäologie* 125–27. J.-F. Salles suggested (in *Arabia Antiqua* 235–36) that the assertion of native control over the fortress on Ikaros may have been a part of the anti-Seleucid reaction throughout Babylonia and Susiana that came about as a result of the revolt of Molon in 222 B.C.

18. For **the improvement and enlargement of the fortress in the late third/early second century B.C.** see Callot in *Golf-Archäologie* 127–30.

19. For the **single finds of coins** see Morkholm, *Kuml* (1979) 232–34.

20. **Mørkholm apparently did not believe there had been a mint at Ikaros.** He suggested the “Arabian Alexander” coins (see above, n. 16) found in the two hoards in the fortress (*Kuml* [1960] 206; *Kuml* [1979] 231–34) were minted at Gerrha and that the bronze coins of Antiochos III found among the stray finds ([a] Antiochos III on the obverse, Victory standing on the prow of a boat on the reverse; [b] head of Poseidon on the obverse, standing Apollo on the reverse—whose only known provenience is Failaka) were minted at ANTIOCH/Spasinou Charax. Potts also denied there is any evidence that coins were minted on Failaka during the Hellenistic period (*Arabian Gulf* 2:173).

For **the suggestion that there was a mint at Ikaros** see Callot in *FFF 1986 – 1988* 237; id. in *Arabia Antiqua* 258–59, 271–73; followed by Houghton and Lorber, *Seleucid Coins* 1.1:435–36, nos. 1147–51; see also Arnold-Biucchi in *Mnemata Waggoner* 114. Callot (in *Arabia Antiqua* 258–59, 271–73) tentatively attributed to a mint at Ikaros the “Arabian Alexanders” that Morkholm had attributed to Gerrha, as well as the bronze coins of Antiochos that Morkholm had attributed to ANTIOCH/Spasinou Charax. The “Arabian Alexanders” would have been minted in the latter part of the third century B.C., and the bronzes of Antiochos III (as well as those of Seleukos IV and Antiochos IV) would have been struck after the mint at Ikaros began operation c. 205–200 B.C., i.e., after the fortress was returned to Seleucid hegemony. Among other things, Callot called attention to the appearance of Poseidon on certain coins and pointed out (a) the connection to the sea, (b) the dedications to Poseidon already found on the island that attest the importance of the god to the

soldiers and sailors there. Callot also noted (in *Arabia Antiqua* 273) that the decline of the Seleucid presence on Failaka in the first half of the second century B.C. can be seen in the number of coins found on Failaka: twenty-eight are definitely attributable to Antiochos III, but only six can be assigned to Seleukos IV, and seven to Antiochos IV.

21. For **the Attic black-glazed pottery and the Rhodian amphora handles** see C. Börker, *BaM* 7 (1974) 41; Hannestad, *Ikaros* 2.1: 71–72, 77; id. in *EAA HΝΙΣΜΟΣ* 49–50; Potts, *Arabian Gulf* 2:167f.; Gachet and Salles in *Materialien* 73. For the **Near Eastern ceramics** see, for example, Hannestad in *Ikaros* 2.1: 71; Potts, *Arabian Gulf* 2:167; Gachet and Salles in *Materialien* 73. For **lamps** discovered in the fortress see Hannestad in *Ikaros* 2.1: 73–74.

22. For **Soteles' dedication to Poseidon Asphaleios** see Marcillet-Jaubert in *FFF 1986–1988* 193–94 ([Σωτ]έλης | [Ἀθη]ναῖος κτλ.) = *Steinepigramme* 4:456, no. 22/91/01 = *I. Estremo Oriente* 418 = *Euphrat* 605 = *L'île de Failaka* 72–73 = *SEG* 55:1590.

For **the fragmentary inscription on an ostrakon that mentions Soteles** (Σωτέλης Ἀ[θηναῖος] | Διονύσιος[---] | [Ἀ]γάθαρχος[---]) see P.-L. Gatier, *AAE* 18 (2007) 75–79 (= *L'île de Failaka* 74 = *SEG* 55:1590). Based on the stratigraphy Gatier dated it to the second half of the third century B.C. In all, therefore, four inscriptions have thus far been unearthed on Failaka that mention Soteles: the two recorded here, which were found in the fortress; a third (find place unknown) recording a dedication to Zeus Soter, Poseidon, and Artemis Soteira (see above, n. 5); and a fourth fragmentary inscription on a sherd found at Tell Khazneh, the third line of which reads:—]τέλου ἡγεμόνος. The first word has been restored by Merkelbach and Stauber (*Steinepigramme* 4:456, no. 22/91/01) as Σω]τέλου; followed by Canali de Rossi (*I. Estremo Oriente* 417) and accepted by Callot (*AAE* [2007] 78). Note, however, that Marcillet-Jaubert had cautioned against this restoration (above, n. 6). As Gatier has suggested, we are most probably dealing with the members of a garrison whose *hegemon* was Soteles.

For **the Ikadion inscription** (text and discussion) see, for example, K. Jeppesen, *Kuml* (1960) 194–98; id. in *Ikaros* 3:82–122; *SEG* 20:411; *SEG* 35:1476; *I. Estremo Oriente* 422–23; *Euphrat* 604; F. Altheim and R. Stiehl, *Klio* 46 (1965) 273–81; Roueché and Sherwin-White, *Chiron* 15 (1985) 1–39; F. Piejko, *C&M* 39 (1988) 94–116; see also J. Robert and L. Robert, *BE* (1961) 819; Robert and Robert, *BE* (1967) 651; Cohen, *Seleucid Colonies* 42 – 44; and Potts, *Arabian Gulf* 2:187–89.

23. The **date of the Ikadion inscription**. The suggested readings 243 B.C. (Piejko, *C&M* 39 [1988] 96, 114–16) and 241/0, 239/8, 238/7, or

237/6 B.C. (Jeppesen, *Kuml* [1960] 196; id. in *Ikaros* 3:83–84) would place the correspondence within the reign of Seleukos II; in favor of this is the fact that, according to Hieronymus, an Ikadion is known to have been a supporter of Seleukos II and Laodike and a *princeps Antiochiae* (*Comment. in Dan.* 11.6). Furthermore, Piejko thought Ikadion was governor of the satrapy of the Erythraean Sea at the time he corresponded with Anaxarchos; Jeppesen, on the other hand, suggested that Ikadion was satrap of Susiana. In a personal communication, Lise Hannestad notes that a date in the middle of the third century fits much better with the extant archaeological evidence, which points to the first half or the middle of the third century B.C. (see above, n. 12). Roueché and Sherwin-White's suggested date of 203/2 B.C. (*Chiron* 15 [1985] 17–19) would place the correspondence during the reign of Antiochos III. In support of this later date is the fact that Antiochos III was quite active in the Persian Gulf at that time (see further, p. 22); note, however, that J. Marcillet-Jaubert did not find their arguments fully convincing (see Calvet and Salles in *FFF 1986–1988* 19). Altheim and Stiehl's restoration (*Klio* 46 [1965] 280) of the year ρμε' in l. 6 (S.E. 145 = 167/6 B.C.) is not convincing; see Cohen, *Seleucid Colonies* 42–43.

Potts (*Arabian Gulf* 2:187–93) provides a useful summary of the major interpretations of the Ikadion inscription.

24. For **religious life on Ikaros** see, for example, Salles in *Hellenism* 107 – 8; Connelly in *FFF 1986–1988* 210–18.

25. While **the worship of Apollo on Ikaros is mentioned in the literary sources, it is not found in any of the extant inscriptions**; see J. Gachet and J.-F. Salles, *Mesopotamia* 25 (1990) 205–7. For **the worship of Artemis on Ikaros in the literary sources** see Strabo 14.1.19; Arr. 7.203–6; Ael. NA 11.9; Dion. Perieg. 608–11. Poseidon is mentioned in the “Soteles” dedications (above, nn. 5, 22). For **the worship of Poseidon on Ikaros** see Gachet and Salles, *Mesopotamia* 25 (1990) 193–205. For **the worship of Herakles** see especially Connelly in *Arabie préislamique* 151–55; id. in *FFF 1986–1988* 210–12; id. in *Coroplast's Art* 98–99. The Herakles sculptures and terra-cotta statuette found at Ikaros are quite similar to those found throughout the Near East. The sculptures (*Arabie préislamique* 151–52) are of the Oriental Herakles type, similar to those found, for example, at DO URA-EURO POS and MASJID-I SULAIMAN; the terra-cotta figurine (*Arabie préislamique* 152–55; *FFF 1986–1988* 210–12) is of the Greek-style Herakles, similar to those found, for example, at SELEUKEIA on the Tigris and SELEUKEIA on the Eulaios (Susa). For the **Papposilenos** see Connelly in *FFF 1986–1988* 212–14. Finally, the discovery of fragments of what appear to be shaggy

legs and a smooth trunk prompted Connelly to suggest—tentatively—the possible representation of the god **Pan** (*FFF 1986-1988* 215). Connelly called attention to the role of Pan as a god of intervention in combat and noted the appropriateness of finding evidence for his worship in the fortress of Ikaros. For **Aphrodite** see Connelly in *FFF 1986-1988* 215-16. In general, the hybrid character of the votive offerings is characteristic of many of the architectural forms found on the island; see further Salles in *Hellenism* 85-86; Colledge in *Hellenism* 146-48; and Connelly in *Arabie préislamique* 158 n. 60. Connelly also called attention (in *Coroplast's Art* 99-100) to a figurine of an Oriental king and of a female statuette of the Tanagra type (figs. 92 and 93) and noted how the head of the female and male figures were made from the same mold. The fact that two figures made from the same mold were found close to each other suggests the place of manufacture was nearby. As Connelly notes, this certainly is a clear reflection of the economy and enterprise of the local manufacturer! In general for the terra-cotta figurines found on Failaka see Hannestad in *Arabie orientale* 65; and Connelly in *Coroplast's Art* 98-100.

For the discovery of a **stone statue of a dolphin and the possible cultic associations** see Gachet and Salles, *Mesopotamia* 25 (1990) 193-215.

26. For **the horse and the rider wearing the kausia** see Mathiesen in *Ikaros* 1: 21-22, no. 25, figs. 6-7; Salles in *FFF 1986* 154, no. 2; Connelly in *Arabie préislamique* 150; id. in *Coroplast's Art* 98. At Susa (SELEUKEIA on the Eulaios) and MASJID-I SULAIMAN one also finds examples of the rider wearing a *kausia*; in these instances the rider is mounted (Connelly in *Arabie préislamique* 150; and Ghirshman, *Terrasses sacrées: L'Iran du Sud-Ouest* 2: pls. CXI,1-3, CXII,1; id., *Persian Art* 104, fig. 118). Significantly, a double-headed horse has also been unearthed in the fortress on Ikaros; see, for example, Mathiesen in *Ikaros* 1:21, 32, no. 36, fig. 9; and Connelly in *Coroplast's Art* 98.

In a series of articles B. M. Kingsley (*AJA* 85 [1981] 39-46; *AJA* 88 [1984] 66-68; *Afghanistan Journal* 8 [1981] 90-93; *Cl. Ant.* 10 [1991] 59-85) suggested the **kausia** was Indian—rather than Macedonian—in origin. Kingsley claimed that it was adopted by Alexander and his army after their sojourn in northwest India in 327/6 B.C. and thence brought back to the West where it was quickly and widely adopted. Contra: the convincing argument of E. A. Fredricksmeyer (*TAPA* 116 [1986] 215-27; and in I. Worthington, *Ventures into Greek History* [Oxford, 1994] 135-58) who has demonstrated its Macedonian origin. For the *kausia* in late Ptolemaic Egypt see T. Spawforth in *Greeks on Greekness* 5-6.

27. For the **skeletons that date to the Hellenistic period** see G. J.

R. Maat, H. A. Lonnee, and H. J. W. Noordhuizen (in *FFF 1986-1988* 85-102), who noted that one skeleton was that of an elderly man, while the other eleven were of men between the ages of twenty and forty. The osteological results and the archaeological date suggested “impromptu internments . . . of men dying and being buried alone or together before their natural time” (95-96). “It was concluded they represent non-civilian, military internments. This fitted in very well with the current . . . image of the island as an outlook with fortress for the Seleucid armies” (98-99). Maat et al. also noted that some of the skeletons showed evidence of injuries resulting from violent traumas (94-97). Radiocarbon dating suggests a date of c. 180 B.C. (95).

28. On **the nature of the settlement on Ikaros** see, for example, Cohen, *Seleucid Colonies* 44; Roueché and Sherwin-White, *Chiron* 15 (1985) 31; Salles in *Hellenism* 106; id., *Topoi* 2 (1992) 224-25. In this connection Roueché and Sherwin-White and Salles noted (a) the lack of civic structure evident in the inscription: Anaxarchos addresses the inhabitants collectively rather than a board of magistrates or some other legislative body; (b) the inhabitants do not possess the hallmark of a *polis*—an ethnic; (c) the size of the settlement at F5—60 meters square—is quite small; (d) excavation to date has not yet revealed any public building. Salles suggested it was either a garrison or a *katoikia* (*Topoi* 2 [1992] 224).

KARRHAI

In his enumeration of cities, Stephanos (s.v. “Karrhai) mentions Karrhai, which he describes as a *polis* near the Persian Gulf (πρὸς τῆ Ἐρυθρᾷ θαλάσση). Neither the identity nor the location of this settlement is secure. W. W. Tarn suggested it was founded by settlers from KARR HAI in northern Mesopotamia.¹ Alternately, it has been suggested—with greater likelihood—that “Carrhae” was a corruption of “Gerrha”; following on that, D. T. Potts noted that Pliny’s description of Carrhae in Arabia as an emporium for aromatics (*NH* 12.79-80) rendered it likely that Gerrha and Carrhae were one and the same.²

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1. Tarn, *GBI*² 1²; Potts, *Arabian Gulf* 2:17.

2. For the **possible identification of Gerrha and Carrhae** see, for

example, Sprenger, *Geographie Arabiens* 135–36; Tkac, *RE* s.v. “Gerrha (2)”; Walbank, *Comment.* 2:422; Potts, *Arabian Gulf* 2:17.

LARISA

See ARETHOUSA in the Gulf region.

NEAPOLIS ON THE EUPHRATES

Isidore of Charax (1) is our sole extant source of information for the existence of Neapolis on the Euphrates. He also indicates that it was 9 *schoinoi* via the “Narmalchan” from SELEUKEIA on the Tigris. R. J. van der Spek suggested that it might be identified with SELEUKEIA on the Euphrates (Babylonia).¹

* * * *

In general see Tcherikover, *HS* 92; and SELEUKEIA on the Euphrates (Babylonia), n. 3.

1. R. J. van der Spek, http://www.livius.org/cg-cm/chronicles/bchpdynastic/dynastic_01.html (commentary on *BCHP* 10, p. 3).

*NIKATOROPOLIS

G. Hoffmann suggested that Qatrabbul—known from the Islamic period—in Babylonia was an ancient *Nikatoropolis (the Greek toponym is nowhere attested in the extant sources). E. Sachau followed Hoffmann and posited the following identification: Beth Nikator = *Nikatoropolis = Qatrabbul.¹ However, W. B. Henning correctly objected that Beth Nikator was located in Beth Garmai, while Qatrabbul is located in the heart of Beth Arameye.²

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In general see NIKATOR in Assyria, n. 3.

1. Hoffmann, *Auszüge* 41 n. 343, followed by Sachau, *Chronik von Arbela* 21; and M.-L. Chaumont, *IrAnt* 17 (1982) 163.

2. W. B. Henning, *BSOAS* 14 (1952) 521.

PORTUS MACE DONUM

See Elymais, Susiana, Persis, and Carmania as well as ARBIS and BARKE in India.

SELEUKEIA ON THE ERYTHRAEAN SEA

See Elymais, Susiana, Persis, and Carmania.

SELEUKEIA ON THE EUPHRATES (BABYLONIA)

Our only evidence for Seleukeia on the Euphrates (Babylonia) is found in various cuneiform texts. Thus, *BCHP* 11 Obv. 3 [partially restored], 7-8, 13-14 ("Ptolemy III Chronicle"), which probably dates to 246/5 B.C., mentions "[Seleucia the royal city, which is on the] Euphrates and the Royal Canal."¹ The city is also mentioned in a number of astronomical diaries that date from the Parthian period. According to one of the citations (*Astronomical Diaries* 3:429, no. 93A Rev. 11-13; 24 [94 B.C.]), "That month [. . .] the second river which is above Seleucia which is on the Euphrates on the mountain side [. . .] they began to dig." Another citation (*Astronomical Diaries* 3:391, no. 105A Rev. 23 [106 B.C.]) says: "That month, I heard that the Arabs [. . .] departed to the surroundings of Seleucia which is on the Euphrates."²

As R. J. van der Spek noted, we learn that Seleukeia on the Euphrates (Babylonia) was liable to attack from Arabs, that it had a "mountain side," and that there was a "second canal" upstream. Since the King's Canal branched off from the Euphrates near Sippar, he suggested that Seleukeia on the Euphrates (Babylonia) might have been the refounded Sippar.³

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In general see J. Lending in www.livius.org/se-se/seleucia/seleucia_euphrates.html; and R. J. van der Spek, http://www.livius.org/cg-cm/chronicles/bchp-dynastic/dynastic_02.html (commentary on *BCHP* 10).

1. For **BCHP** 11 (translation and commentary) see R. J. van der Spek in

livius.org/cg-cm/chronicles/bchp-ptolemy_iii/bchp_ptolemy_iii_01. html. In a personal communication, Van der Spek mentioned that he was puzzled by the description of the city as “royal.” He said: “One would think of a scribal error for Tigris, but there are too many instances, and it seems indeed acceptable that Ptolemy went along the Euphrates and passed by a Seleucia on the Euphrates (like Alexander came to Babylon via Sippar). But yet I am at a loss about this city.”

2. For **Seleukeia on the Euphrates (Babylonia)** see also *Astronomical Diaries* 3:317, Rev. no. 119D (120 B.C.); the restoration suggested by R. J. van der Spek (in his commentary on *BCHP* 10, p. 3) for *Astronomical Diaries* 3:389, 105A Rev. 3–4 (106 B.C.); *Astronomical Diaries* 3:431, 93A Rev. 24 (94 B.C.), as well as Van der Spek’s restoration for *BCHP* 10.6 (= *ABC* 13; “Seleucid Accessions Chronicle” concerning the reign of Antiochos II, the accession of Seleukos II, and the accession of Seleukos III).

3. Commentary on *BCHP* 10. Alternatively, Van der Spek speculated that Seleukeia might have been another name for Neapolis, which is mentioned by Isidore of Charax and which, he also suggested, might have been a refoundation of Sippar (*FGrH* 781 F2.1).

SELEUKEIA ON THE TIGRIS

The founder of Seleukeia on the Tigris was Seleukos I Nikator.¹ The precise founding date, however, is not known but has been the subject of much discussion. Most likely, however, the city was founded in the decade before the battle of Ipsos or very soon after.² Seleukeia on the Tigris is referred to as the “royal city” in a number of fragmentary cuneiform documents.³ We may assume, therefore, that the Seleucids considered Seleukeia to be one of the “capitals” of their kingdom.⁴

According to Appian (*Syr.* 58), when Seleukos was about to found the city the magi resisted.⁵ Although Appian does not indicate why they were opposed to the new foundation, we may speculate that it was because it was done at the expense of the city of Babylon. Strabo says (16.1.5) that Seleukos fortified Seleukeia and transferred to it the *basileion*. In order to populate the new city Seleukos brought in Babylonian colonists (Paus. 1.16.3). A fragmentary cuneiform chronicle says: “That month Antiochus, the crown [prince], settled [the Mace]donians, as many as there were in Babylon, [whom king Alexander?]/[into Babylon] had forced to enter, from Babylon [into Seleucia]/[. . . .] × [. . . .]/[which is o]n the Tigris . . . [. . . .] × [. . . .]” (trans. Van der Spek, *BCHP* 5, Rev. 6–9 = Grayson, *ABC*

11). Another cuneiform document (*Astronomical Diaries* 3:97, no. 144 Obv. 37) mentions “the citizens who were in Babylon and Seleukeia” (145 B.C.).⁶ By his own time (late first century B.C./early first century A.D.), Strabo remarked, Seleukeia had replaced Babylon as the “metropolis of Assyria” (16.1.16); and by the mid-first century A.D. Pliny described Babylon as “deserted” (*NH* 6.122).⁷

The identification of the site of Seleukeia on the Tigris at Tell Umar through excavation was made by Leroy Waterman in 1927–1928. He argued that the area of small mounds surrounding the artificial mound of Tell Umar was too large for a Babylonian city. This could only be the site of Seleukeia.⁸ The University of Michigan excavation that followed (1927 – 1937) was the first to focus on a Greek settlement in Mesopotamia. Its main efforts concentrated on (a) Tell Umar, (b) a building just to the south of Tell Umar, and (c) a residential block in the southern part of the city.⁹ In the latter part of the twentieth century (1964–1976, 1986–1989) the Italian Archaeological Expedition excavated at Seleukeia; the focus of its attention was the “Archive” building, south of Tell Umar. Generally, in considering the results of archaeological work at Seleukeia it is important to bear in mind that only a small part of the city has thus far been excavated and that the archaeologists reached down to the Hellenistic level in only some of the excavated areas.

Tell Umar encloses the most conspicuous structure at Seleukeia. Its precise date and function have been the subject of some discussion. Formerly, it was thought that the structure probably did not date to earlier than the Seleucid period and that it was Mesopotamian (a ziggurat?)—rather than Greek—in character. This interpretation has since been abandoned. In a note to me, Antonio Invernizzi has provided the following information: “Doubts on the interpretation of Tell Umar as a ziggurat were raised very soon after the beginning of our field work. . . . Today [i.e., 2011] the religious nature of the building must definitely be abandoned and radically and unexpectedly changed in favour of a theatre.”¹⁰

As mentioned above, to the south of the mound the University of Turin archaeological expedition excavated a large structure it identified as the municipal Archive building.¹¹ The Archive building apparently served as a storehouse for documents, many of which dealt with the salt trade. The building was destroyed in a fire in the third quarter of the second century B.C. The sealings that survived—over 30,000 (including fragments)—date from the second half of the third to the first half of the second century B.C. A large majority of the sealings are one of two variants of the *halike* (salt) tax, either for payment or for exemption from the tax. The motifs of the sealings of Seleucid date are mainly Greek, undoubtedly reflecting the

Graeco-Macedonian culture of many of the merchant class of the city. A much smaller group of sealings bears Oriental motifs.¹² The presence of these Oriental motifs suggests that the native population—or at least part of it—also took an active role in the economic life of Hellenistic Seleukeia. Very few cuneiform documents have been found at Seleukeia.¹³ The contrast with, for example, URUK and BABYLON—where significant numbers of cuneiform tablets from the Hellenistic period have been found—is quite striking.

In addition to the Babylonians at Seleukeia there were, of course, Macedonian and Greek settlers. The evidence—from the first century A.D. onward—for Macedonians and Greeks living in Seleukeia is extensive: Pliny, Tacitus, and Cassius Dio, for example, comment on this. In his description of the population of Seleukeia in the first century A.D. Josephus (*AJ* 18.372) mentions three groups: Macedonians, Greeks, and Syrians, who were organized as a *politeuma* (πολλοὶ μὲν Μακεδόνων, πλεῖστοι δὲ Ἕλληνας, ἔστιν δὲ καὶ Σύρων οὐχ ὀλίγον τὸ ἐμπολιτευόμενον). Two points: (a) by “Syrians,” Josephus apparently means the native Babylonians, and (b) the Syrians were not citizens of the *polis* of Seleukeia; that status was undoubtedly reserved for the Macedonians and Greeks.¹⁴

In the latter part of the first century A.D. Pliny (*NH* 6.122) estimated the population was 600,000; in the mid-second century Orosius (7.15) put the population at 400,000. Seleukeia was considered to be one of the most important cities of the Graeco-Roman world. Thus, [Ps.-]Sallust (*Epist. Mithr.* 19) described Seleukeia as “maxima urbium,” and Strabo, who lived in the late first century B.C./early first century A.D., described Seleukeia as the metropolis of Assyria (16.1.6, 2.5); he considered Seleukeia and ALEXANDREIA near Egypt to be both more powerful and larger than ANTIOCH near Daphne. Josephus (*AJ* 18.372), who lived in the late first century A.D., referred to Seleukeia as “the most important city of the region.”¹⁵

A Babylonian chronicle dated to 224/3 B.C. records the arrival celebration of a dignitary from Syria—probably Antiochos (III)—at Seleukeia.¹⁶ In c. 205 B.C. Seleukeia was one of the cities that voted to accept the invitation of Magnesia on the Maeander to the festival in honor of Artemis Leukophryene (*OGIS* 233.101-2 = *I. Magnesia* 61 = Rigsby, *Asyria* 111 = *I. Estremo Oriente* 252 = *Euphrat* 306 = *IGIAC* 53). Seleukeians are often found as agonistic victors in the Greek world (e.g., at Delos, Kos, Athens, and Olympia).¹⁷ Except for 221-220 and 161 B.C. when it was under the control of usurpers, Molon and Timarchos respectively, Seleukeia remained under Seleucid control until c. 140 B.C.,

when the Parthian Mithradates took it. Between 130 and 129/8 B.C. Seleukeia was briefly retaken by Antiochos VII; it was then lost to the Parthian Phraates II.¹⁸ There was a royal mint at Seleukeia that produced coins, the earliest of which were Alexanders, during the period(s) of Seleucid hegemony. Civic coinage is attested for the first time under the Parthians.¹⁹ The Seleucid era in general use at Seleukeia was the Macedonian (beginning in autumn 312 B.C.) rather than the Babylonian (beginning in spring 311 B.C.).²⁰

We also have some information regarding the civic organization of Seleukeia. After the collapse of the revolt of Molon in 220 B.C., Hermias, Antiochos III's minister, expelled τῶν καλουμένων Ἀδειγάνων (Polyb. 5.54.10). It is quite probable, as P. Roussel has suggested, that *adeiganes* should be corrected to *peliganes*. The latter term, which refers to a Macedonian bouleutic organization, is found in a decree of LAODIKEIA by the Sea dated to 174 B.C. (IGLS 1261). Presumably, therefore, the *adeiganes* were members of a Seleukeian council. In the mid-first century B.C. there is evidence for a *gerousia* (Plut. *Crass.* 32). And Tacitus mentions the senate of 300, whose members were chosen for their wealth or their wisdom (*Ann.* 6.42: "trecenti opibus aut sapientia delecti ut senatus, sua populo vis"). Finally, the legend ΒΟΥΛΗ(Σ) is found on some coins from Seleukeia of the early first century B.C.–mid-first century A.D. Thus the weight of the evidence makes clear the importance of the council(s) at Seleukeia. What is less clear is the relation of the *adeiganes*, the *gerousia*, the senate, and the *boule* to each other—if they were separate bodies—and their precise role in the government of the city. I have mentioned the "trecenti . . . delecti ut senatus, sua populo vis." It is not clear whether the phrase "sua populo vis" means the senate was chosen by popular election or—more probably—that the *populus* had independent powers. In any event, the phrase may be taken as evidence for the existence of a popular assembly.²¹ Tacitus also mentions that there was often extreme hostility between the senate—undoubtedly a reference to the aristocracy—and the *populus*. Interestingly, Josephus (*AJ* 18.374) also mentions constant strife in Seleukeia between the Greeks and the Syrians.²²

In addition to the evidence for an *epistates* at Seleukeia (Polyb. 5.48.12) there is also evidence for various other civic offices. Thus, a fragmentary stele found in a building complex to the southeast of Tell Umar records the names of priests of the living king and deceased rulers and the presence of a *hieromnemon* (or *hieromnemes*), an *agonothetes*, and a *tamias*; a stamp of unbaked clay, dated to 72/1 B.C., contains a reference to a *gymna[siarch]*. Sealings found at Seleukeia (see above) give evidence for the office of *bybliophylax* and *chreophylax*. A *paraphylax* is also recorded

on a bronze weight of the Parthian period. Other sealings give evidence for various taxes or functions without referring to the office or official: thus, for example, the ἀνδραποδική (tax connected with the sale of slaves), the fragmentary καταγραφή (a “transaction”), and, as I mentioned, the ἀλική (payment of or exemption from the salt tax).²³ Evidence for trade with the Aegean basin is to be seen in the discovery of Rhodian amphora handles at Seleukeia.²⁴

Excavation of part of an atelier uncovered the remains of a large number of terra-cotta figurines (second half of the second to the first century B.C.). The figurines do not give evidence of a gradual transition from Greek to Oriental types; rather, according to W. van Ingen, the two “run more or less parallel.” In addition, late Hellenistic terra-cotta *pinakes* with erotic scenes have been found at Seleukeia; the scenes depicted are quite similar to those found on relief pottery at, for example, PERGAMON.²⁵

Evidence for the worship of Isis and Tyche at Seleukeia can be found on some of the sealings.²⁶ The fragmentary stele mentioned above provides evidence for the existence of a Seleucid dynastic cult at Seleukeia. In addition, the fact that the stele was discovered in the building just to the south of Tell Umar prompted C. Hopkins to suggest that the building was a Seleucid *heroon*; this suggestion, however, has not met with general agreement.²⁷ The Romans took the statue of Apollo Komaios from Seleukeia and set it up in the temple of Palatine Apollo in Rome (Amm. Marc. 23.6.24).²⁸ An important bronze statue of a resting Herakles that is dated by an inscription on the thighs to 150/1 A.D. has been found at Seleukeia (800 m northwest of Tell Umar). The inscription indicates that the statue was brought from Mesene and placed in the temple of Apollo “who presides over the bronze gate.”²⁹ It is unclear whether the Apollo in whose temple the statue was placed was, in fact, Komaios.

Hopkins believed a theater was located on the south side of the city, near the ancient caravan road. Invernizzi has suggested—with greater likelihood—that it was at Tell Umar.³⁰ The main agora of Seleucid and Parthian times was located immediately to the south of Tell Umar.³¹

Seleukeia was located near or next to the town of Opis, which Strabo described as an emporium for the places around it (16.1.9). Bearing in mind the commercial importance of Opis, R. H. McDowell suggested that it became one of the quarters of Seleukeia.³² Seleukeia was on most of the important trade routes across Asia south of the Caspian and, as a result, was a major commercial center.³³ It was laid out on a grid plan. The city blocks were quite large, approximately 140 × 70 meters. According to

Strabo (16.1.5), Seleukeia was approximately 300 stades from Babylon. Seleukeia was located at the present Tell Umar, on the west bank of the Tigris River. Ktesiphon was approximately 5 kilometers distant on the east bank.³⁴

P. M. Fraser has suggested that the ALEXANDREIA on the Tigris River mentioned in some recensions of the *Alexander Romance* “corresponds” to Seleukeia on the Tigris.³⁵

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In general see Streck, *RE* s.v. “Seleukeia (am Tigris)”; Herzfeld in Sarre and Herzfeld, *Archaeologische Reise* 2:46–58; Tcherikover, *HS* 90–91; R. H. McDowell, “The History of Seleucia from Classical Sources,” in Hopkins, *TAS* 149–63; Tarn, *GBI*² 60–62; Newell, *ESM* 9–11; E. Savage, *Seleucia-on-the-Tigris* (Ann Arbor: Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, University of Michigan, 1977); J.-M. Fiey, *OS* (1967) 397–98, 410–12; Wilber, *PECS* s.v. “Seleucia on the Tigris”; E. Marinoni, *Istituto Lombardo, Rendiconti classe di lettere e scienze morali e storiche* 106 (1972) 616–31; Oppenheimer, *BabJ* 207–23; Oelsner in *Materialien* 131–32, 236–37; Downey, *Architecture* 51–63; Orth, *Diadochenzeit* 135–36; Invernizzi in *EΛ HNIΣMOΣ* 339–59; id., *RA* (1991) 180–85; id. in *Centre* 230–50; id., *Reallexikon* s.v. “Seleukeia am Tigris” (bibliography, pp. 368–69); Sherwin-White and Kuhrt, *Samarkhand* passim; Kuhrt in *Hellenistic Kingship* 44–46; Potts, *Mesopotamian Civilization* 284–86; Capdetrey, *Pouvoir* 52–59, 363–64; Van der Spek in *Feeding the Ancient Greek City* 33–45; Messina in *Sulla via di Alessandro* 107–15.

For the **Greek, Latin, and (rare) rabbinic literary texts** relating to Seleukeia see Oppenheimer, *BabJ* 207–14.

The extant evidence for the use of cuneiform at Seleukeia is slim: one fragmentary tablet has been published (a dedication dated to 225/4 B.C. of one or more slaves to the god Nergal; the donor was a man with Greek name—Kebros—whose father was also Greek) and one sealing; see L. T. Doty, *Mesopotamia* 13–14 (1978–1979) 91–98; Invernizzi in *Arabie orientale* 29. A few more have been found: see Oelsner in *Materialien* 236–37, 468 n. 877, 501. In addition, forty-nine cuneiform inscriptions mainly on bricks have been found by the Turin expedition; the sole exception was no. 8, which is described as a “fragment of a little steatite base with cuneiform inscription.” All the other inscriptions were seals impressed on terra-cotta bricks. As for the date, forty-two of these were definitely neo-Babylonian (G. Pettinato, *Mesopotamia* 5–6 [1970–1971])

49–66; Waterman, *Second Preliminary Report* 78, mentions a brick with cuneiform stamp left in situ at Tell Umar). The original provenience of the bricks is unknown; they could, for example, have been brought to Seleukeia from some other site, such as Babylon itself. Finally, the Michigan expedition found three stone door sockets that had faint traces of early Sumerian writing as well as two basalt slabs, on the second of which there were three or more lines of writing (Waterman, *Preliminary Report* 6).

For the results of the University of Michigan excavation at Seleukeia (1927–1937) see, in addition to the monographs of R. H. McDowell, C. Hopkins, and W. van Ingen, L. Waterman, *Preliminary Report*; id., *Second Preliminary Report*; and <http://www.umich.edu/~kelseydb/Excavation/Seleucia.html>. When consulting and evaluating these reports it is important to bear in mind that the Michigan excavation concentrated primarily on the Parthian rather than the Seleucid levels (McDowell, *SIOS* vii; Hopkins, *TAS* 1, 4.)

For the reports of the results of the Italian Archaeological Expedition under the direction of A. Invernizzi and E. Valtz (of the Centro Ricerche Archaologiche e Scavi di Torino per il Medio Oriente e l'Asia) see the articles in *Mesopotamia* and, occasionally, in *Sumer*. See also Messina, *Seleucia al Tigri: L'edificio degli Archivi*; and *Seleucia al Tigri: Il monumento di Tell Umar*, as well as Invernizzi et al. in *La terra tra i due Fiumi* (Turin, 1985) 87 – 141, www.centroscavatorino.it/en/progetti/iraq/seleucia.html; Invernizzi, *Reallexikon* s.v. “Seleukeia am Tigris”; and Downey, *OEANE* s.v. “Seleucia on the Tigris.”

1. For Seleukos Nikator as the **founder** of Seleukeia see, for example, Strabo 16.1.5; Paus. 1.16.3; Tac. *Ann.* 6.42; Joseph. *AJ* 18.372; Pliny *NH* 6.122; Amm. Marc. 23.6.23 (and Biffi, *Strabone* 140); George Kedrenos 166D (*CSHB* 13:292), who calls it “Babylon”; *Kitab al-Majdal* (trans. Harrak in *Ideologies* 112); *Midrasch Tehillim* 9.8 (ed. Buber, p. 85).

Grayson, *ABC* 11 = *BCHP* 5 mentions Antiochos, the crown prince, as moving Macedonians (?) from Babylon to [Seleukeia] on the Tigris (see above). Grayson (*ABC* p. 26) believed the crown prince was Antiochos I Soter; Sherwin-White disagreed (*JNES* 42 [1983] 266 n. 5 and 270). As for city in question, we must bear in mind that “Seleukeia” is a restoration, albeit a likely one.

The **name of the city is variously given in the literary sources** as Σελεύκεια ἢ ἐπὶ τοῦ Τίγρητος (App. *Syr.* 57); Σελεύκεια ἢ ἐπὶ Τίγριδι (Plut. *Luc.* 22); Σελεύκεια ἐπὶ τῷ Τίγρει (Strabo 16.1.5); Σελεύκεια ἢ πρὸς τῷ Τίγριδι (Isidore of Charax 1). For the ethnic in an inscription see

also, for example, Σελευκῆ εὔσιν τοῖς πρὸς [τ]ῶι Τίγρει (*I. Mag.* 61.101f.). On **coinage of the Parthian period** we find the **ethnic** ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΩΙ ΤΙΓΡΕΙ (e.g., McDowell, *CST* 94ff., nos. 126ff; Le Rider, *Seleucie du Tigre* 20, nos. 15 and 18; 50–56, nos. 91–176, 389–98, and 446–64). This is later replaced by the **toponym** ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΙΑΣ (or, ΣΕΛΕΥΚΙΑΣ) ΤΗΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΩ ΤΙΓΡΕΙ or ΤΙΓΡΙ (e.g., McDowell, *CST* 98, nos. 130ff.; and Le Rider, *Seleucie du Tigre* 19, nos. 12–13; 20, nos. 16–17; 22, no. 26) or just ΣΕΛΕΥΚΙΑΣ (e.g., Le Rider, *Seleucie du Tigre* 21, no. 20; 57, no. 527).

2. For the **founding date** of Seleukeia see, for example, Beloch, *GG*² 4.1: 136 n. 2 (soon after 311 B.C.); see also Marinoni, *Istituto Lombardo* 106 (1972) 616–20 (shortly before 311/10 B.C.); Hopkins, *TAS* 4f. (around 307 B.C.); Kaerst, *GHZ* 73–74 (after 306 B.C.); Kuhrt and Sherwin-White, *Ach. Hist.* 8:322 (305/4–301 B.C.); Bouché-Leclercq, *Seleucides* 524–25 (not long after March–May 300 B.C.; followed by R. A. Hadley, *Historia* 27 [1978] 228–29); Brodersen, *Komment.* 165 (before 300 or 301 B.C.). Houghton, *CSE* p. 94 n. 1; id., *SNR* 59 (1980) 9 n. 6 (300 B.C.); and Le Rider, *Suse* 31 (between 311 and 306/5 B.C.).

I incline toward a founding date before Ipsos rather than after. Before 301 B.C. Seleukos’s territory was confined to the east. The founding of Seleukeia on the Tigris as the capital of his eastern-centered kingdom would have been quite appropriate. After Ipsos, Seleukos came into possession of vast stretches of territory west of the Euphrates, in particular (northern) Syria and most of Asia Minor. As we know, he now turned his attention to the region of northern Syria that came to be known as Seleukis. The result, of course, was the great foundations there. A less likely hypothesis connects the founding of Seleukeia with Seleukos’s son, Antiochos, who was appointed coregent in 294/3 B.C. (see, for example, Grayson, *ABC* pp. 26, 28; Doty, *CA* 9).

For a review of suggested dates see Hadley, *Historia* 27 [1978] 228–29; and Sherwin-White, *JNES* 42 (1983) 270 n. 36; Orth, *Diadochenzeit* 135.

3. In **cuneiform documents** see, for example, “Seleukeia, the royal city” and “Seleukeia, the royal city on the Tigris” (*Astronomical Diaries* 1:345, no. 273B Rev. 31; 1:347, no. 273B Rev. 35; 2:333, no. 187 Rev. 18; 2:439, no. 171B Rev. upper edge 1); 3:135, no. 140 Rev. 9). See also *BCHP* 12.13 (“[to the city of Seleucia, the city of kingship on the Tigris and the King’s Canal” = Grayson, *ABC* 13b.13 [p. 284]: “[.] of royalty, which [was] at the Tigris and the king’s canal”).

In the **Syriac sources** we find “Selok in Beth Aramaye” in the *Chronicle of Karka de Beth Selok* (see KARKA de BETH SELOK; on Beth Aramaye [essentially, southern Mesopotamia]—“Land of the Aramaeans”—

see, for example, Obermeyer, *Die Landschaft Babylonien* 75; Fiey, *Assyrie* 3:147-261; Harrak, *Acts of Mar Mari* 39 n. 95; Jullien in *L'empire Sassanide* 146-47; id. in *Indo-Grecs* 84-85) and "Selik Haravta" (see Hoffmann, *Auszüge* 38; and Oppenheimer, *BabJ* 220); Harrak *Zuqnin* 41 n. 13.

For the claim that someone from Seleukeia on the Tigris could often be called a Babylonian see Appendix X; and Tarn, *GBI*² 15.

4. Seleukeia is very often mentioned in Babylonian chronicles and astronomical diaries. For references see Del Monte, *Testi* 292. It was apparently at least the capital of the satrapy of Babylonia. Kings and satraps often resided there and from there occasionally visited BABYLON .

For the designation of Seleukeia as the "**city of kingship**" or the "royal city" see above, n. 2; and Sherwin-White, *JNES* 42 (1983) 268-70. Cf. Durine, which Pliny also describes as a "royal city" (*NH* 6.138; see ALEXANDREIA/ Spasinou Charax). Seleukeia on the Euphrates (Babylonia) is also called a "royal city" (*BCHP* 11 Obv. 3 [restored], 7-8, 13-14; Rev. 11, 12). In a personal communication R. J. van der Spek asks if the reference might be to a "royal foundation" rather than a "capital city."

The Seleucids were particularly peripatetic kings who maintained palaces in a number of settlements: for example, SARD IS, APAMEIA Kelainai, ANTIOCH near Daphne, EKBATANA, SELEUKEIA on the Eulaios, as well as Seleukeia on the Tigris; see Sherwin-White and Kuhrt, *Samarkhand* 38. In a personal communication, P. J. Kosmin calls attention to the fact that a cuneiform flake from the Parthian period (*Astronomical Diaries* 3:461, no. 86, flake 11) refers to the royal palace at Seleukeia not by the standard word *ekallu*, but by the Old Persian loan-word *apadna*, and that this must date back to the Seleucid period.

"**Capital**" city is a modern term. It is, however, a reasonable expectation that the designation "city of kingship" as applied to Seleukeia meant it was considered to be the equivalent of a modern capital. That having been said, there are a number of questions that remain unanswered: (a) What precisely does **basileion** mean? For example, in a personal communication R. J. van der Spek calls attention to the fact that *to basileion* also means "royal treasury," as does the Babylonian *bit sarri*, "house of the king." (b) Does the presence of a *basileion* at a settlement indicate it was a "capital"? (c) If Seleukeia was founded before the battle of Ipsos in 301 B.C. was it intended to be the "capital" of the whole Seleucid empire as it existed then? (d) After Ipsos, was it intended to be the "capital" of the eastern half of the Seleucid empire, the control of which Seleukos transferred to Antiochos I (App. Syr. 62)?

On ALEXANDREIA near Egypt as a capital city see C. B. Welles,

Historia 11 (1962) 273 and n. 8. For an Antigonid seaside βασιλειον on the Syrian coast see SELEUKEIA in Pieria. According to Strabo (16.2.3), there was a βασιλειον at SAMOSATA in his time (late first century B.C./early first century A.D.).

5. Appian is our sole extant source for the **opposition of the magi** to the founding of Seleukeia; see Brodersen, *Komment.* 163; McDowell in Hopkins, *TAS* 150. For the “Herodotean” tone of Appian’s narrative see Brodersen, *Komment.* 165–66.

6. For **the fragmentary cuneiform chronicle** describing the transfer of “[Mace]donians” from Babylon to Seleukeia by Antiochos I see *BCHP* 5 Rev. 6–9 (“Antiochos and Sin Chronicle” = *ABC* 11) with Van der Spek’s commentary (http://www.livius.org/cg-cm/chronicles/bchpantiochos_sin/antiochos_sin_02.html, pp. 4–5). Cf. the refounding of LYSIMACHEIA in Thrace; the establishment of JEWISH COLONIES in Lydia and Phrygia, both under Antiochos III; and the introduction of new settlers at PTOLEMAIS in the Thebaid.

For the **cuneiform Astronomical Diaries** 3:97, no. 144 Obv. 37 see R. J. van der Spek, *AfO* 44–45 (1997–1998) 170.

A **cuneiform astronomical diary mentions that “the citizens of Babylon went out to Seleucia”** (trans. Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries* 1:273 B Rev. 34–36; see also 1:273 B Rev. 31) in 274 B.C. See above, n. 1; and BABYLON , n. 2. Previously it had been claimed that this referred to the transfer of Babylonians to Seleukeia. Recently, however, R. J. van der Spek has argued that the text has to do with the dispatch of an embassy of Babylonian members of the Temple Council; see further BABYLON , n. 2.

For the **transfer of people** from nearby town(s) to populate a new foundation see, for example, the settlements listed in Appendix VII in Cohen, *Settlements in Europe*, as well as ANTIOCH near Daphne and the description in the *Chronicle of Karka de Bet Selok* (see KARKA de BETH SELOK).

7. Kuhrt and Sherwin-White have argued that **the creation of Seleukeia on the Tigris should not be seen as a “deliberate demotion of the status of Babylon”** (in *Ach. Hist.* 8:322–23; *JHS* 111 [1991] 82; Sherwin-White in *Hellenism* 19; Kuhrt in *Hellenism* 54.) In fact BABYLON continued to function as an important religious center throughout much of the Hellenistic period and beyond, one in which there was a flourishing Greek community; see BABYLON and n. 16. But, ultimately the growth and development of Seleukeia clearly took place at the expense of Babylon. Pliny’s comment—even if slightly hyperbolic—makes that quite clear.

8. Waterman, *Preliminary Report* 2-6.

9. McDowell thought that the **city block** was occupied by a single residential structure (*SIOS* vii, 11); F. E. Brown, on the other hand, has argued convincingly (*AJA* 42 [1938] 608) that this was a Hellenistic *insula* that contained at least seven separate houses. Two smaller, private archives were found in the houses. In 1993 Invernizzi suggested that one of the two archives is apparently complete; the other is not (*Ancient Archives* 313-14); i.e., the room containing the first was completely excavated, but part of the second room was left unexposed. As a result, not all of the sealings from the latter archive were collected. But, as I have mentioned, the Michigan team excavated the Parthian levels but only partially excavated the Seleucid levels (to which the archives belong). In a personal communication in 2011 A. Invernizzi remarked that both archives are likely to be incomplete.

10. On **Tell Umar** see, for example, Downey, *Architecture* 51-54; Invernizzi in *La terra* 90-92, 172-73; and Messina, *Seleucia al Tigri: Il monumento di Tell Umar*. For the old suggestion that this was a ziggurat see Hopkins, *TAS* 10-11; and Downey, *Architecture* 53f.; on the other hand, cf. the hesitation of Waterman (noted by Hopkins, *TAS* 10). In 1976 Invernizzi suggested it might be “a temple or even the main sanctuary” (*Sumer* 32 [1976] 172). Subsequently, he suggested that Tell Umar might have been the site of the theater (e.g., in ΕΛΛΗΝΙΣΜΟΣ 354-56; *RA* [1991] 185). In 2010 he noted that Tell Umar “conceals the remains of a large theatre, its cavea supported by blocks of solid mudbrick, partly housing rooms on the ground floor on the western side. In late Sassanid times the remains of the theatre were included within a powerful tower of uncertain purpose” (Invernizzi, *Reallexikon* s.v. “Seleukeia am Tigris”); see below, n. 30.

11. For the **results of the excavation of the Archive building** see Invernizzi, *Mesopotamia* 5-6 (1971) 21-29; id., *Mesopotamia* 7 (1972) 13-16; id., *Mesopotamia* 8-9 (1973-1974) 9-14; id. in *La terra* 92-93; as well as *Seleucia al Tigri: Le impronte di sigillo dagli Archivi I-III* and the review of P. Callieri, *Mesopotamia* 40 (2005) 205-7; Invernizzi, *Reallexikon* s.v. “Seleukeia am Tigris”; Messina, *Seleucia al Tigri: L'edificio degli Archivi*; and below, n. 12.

12. On the **sealings found at Seleukeia** by the Michigan excavation see especially McDowell in Waterman, *Preliminary Report* 26-42; id., *YCS* 3 (1932) 98-111; id., *SIOS*; and the review of F. E. Brown, *AJA* (1938) 607-17. For the sealings found in the Archive building by the Italian Archaeological Expedition see Invernizzi, *Mesopotamia* 3-4 (1968-1969) 69-124; id., *AAAS* 21 (1971) 105-8; id., *Seleucia al Tigri: Le impronte di*

sigillo Archivi I-III. See also Invernizzi in *Archives* 131–43; id. in *Ach. Hist.* 8:353–34; id. in *Studi Moscati* 801–11; id. in *Ancient Archives* 302–22; id., *BAI* 12 (1998) 105–12 (portraits of Seleucid kings on the sealings); id., *Mesopotamia* 30 (1995) 39–50 (sealings of Achaemenid and Graeco-Persian style); Invernizzi and Papotti in *Golf- Archäologie* 33–44; Mollo in *Sceaux d’Orient* 89–107; V. Messina, *Mesopotamia* 40 (2005) 125–44.

On the Oriental motifs found on the sealings see Invernizzi in *Ach. Hist.* 8:353–64; id. in *Arabie orientale* 27–30. On mixed Greek-Babylonian motifs see Invernizzi in *Ancient Iran* 87–99. McDowell noted that the high proportion of Greek to Oriental motifs in the extant sealings “demonstrates that the class in society represented by these impressions was overwhelmingly Greek in culture” (*SIOS* 224). He also—tentatively—claimed that the choice of motifs, e.g., Athena, whose worship was not especially popular in Hellenistic Asia Minor and Syria, suggests that Graeco-Macedonian settlers rather than Hellenized natives chose the types (*SIOS* 224–27). Cf., however, Brown (*AJA* [1938] 616), who pointed out that McDowell frequently called “essentially Oriental motifs Greek, when it was merely their treatment that is Hellenized”; as a result, Brown questioned McDowell’s suggestion regarding the “Hellenic character” of the commercial classes at Seleukeia. Brown commented that most of the engravers were “certainly Greek” and “that the tendency of the Oriental parvenu aping ruling class manners would be to secure the most Hellenized seal possible at the cheapest price.” Invernizzi claimed (in *Arabie orientale* 28) that while it is possible native persons adopted Hellenistic typologies for their seals, it is less likely that persons of Graeco-Macedonian origins would have made use of native motifs. In fact, any inferences about the ethnicity of (segments of) the population of Seleukeia based on the motifs on the extant sealings—without other supporting evidence—are highly subjective.

13. Only one **cuneiform document** with a definite provenience from Seleukeia has been found. Published by the Italian excavators, it is a fragmentary tablet dated to 225/4 B.C. found on the surface (i.e, not in its original site) in the area of the Archive building, although Kutha may have been its original provenience (L. T. Doty, *Mesopotamia* 13–14 [1978–79] 91 – 98). Some other documents that were found by the Michigan team remain unpublished; see Invernizzi in *Ancient Archives* 311–12; id. in *Ach. Hist.* 8:353; id. in *Archives* 136–37 n. 26 and above.

14. For **Greeks and Macedonians in Seleukeia** see, for example, Pliny (*NH* 6.122) in the late first century A.D., Tacitus (*Ann.* 6.42) in the early second century A.D., and Cassius Dio (40.16) in the early third century A.D. See also, for example, the discussions of Oppenheimer (*BabJ* 220–21)

and D. Goodblatt (*JAOS* 107 [1987] 605-22) and literature cited in each; and Appendix IX, n. 28.

For the claim that ἐμπολιτευόμενον was the verb of *politeuma* rather than *polites* see Tarn and Griffith, *HC*³ 157 and n. 3; Kasher, *Jews in Egypt* 182. However, this is contradicted by *IG V.2* 263.18; cf. also LSJ s.v. ἐμπολιτεύω, “trans., introduce into a state, naturalize.”

15. On the **population of Seleukeia** see Oppenheimer, *BabJ* 216; cf. APAMEIA on the Axios, n. 14. On the importance of Seleukeia see also, for example, Joseph. *AJ* 18.372-73; Tac. *Ann.* 6.42; Sallust *Letter of Mithridates* 19; Eutropius 8.10.2; Amm. Marc. 23.6.25; see also Plut. *De Fort. Alex.* 328F.

16. For **the arrival of the dignitary at Seleukeia in 224/3 B.C.** see Grayson, *ABC* 13b.10-14 = *BCHP* 12; and Sherwin-White, *JNES* 42 (1983) 267f. For the arrival celebrations of royalty at various cities see, for example, Ptolemy III at SELEUKEIA in Pieria and ANTIOCH near Daphne (*FGrH* 160, the Gurob Papyrus; see also Holleaux, *Etudes* 3:282-315; and Habicht, *Gott.* 2 234f.), Attalos I at Athens (Polyb. 16.25.3-9), and Attalos III at Pergamon (*OGIS* 332.26ff.).

17. For **Seleukeian agonistic victors in the Greek world** see above, p. 21, n. 97; Appendix X; and C. P. Jones, *Tyche* 7 (1992) 128.

18. For the **Parthian capture of Seleukeia** see T. G. Pinches and J. Strassmaier, *LBAT* no. 418 = *Astronomical Diaries* 3:135, no. 140A Rev. 7 and 9 (141 B.C.); cf. R. J. van der Spek, *AfO* 44-45 (1997-1998) 171; J. Oelsner, *AOF* 3 (1975) 27-29, 31-32; Sherwin-White and Kuhrt, *Samarkhand* 224-25.

19. For early Alexander **coinage** at Seleukeia see Newell, *ESM* p. 14, no. 11; N. M. Waggoner, *ANS MN* 15 (1969) 21-30; and Price, *Alexander* 480.

On the **royal Seleucid coinage** see, for example, McDowell, *CST* esp. pp. 3-58, nos. 3-65; Newell, *ESM* 9-98, nos. 1-260; and id., *addenda* in *WSM* 11-23 (Le Rider [*Suse* 24] reattributed *ESM* 407-9 and 412A—which Newell had assigned to Susa—to Seleukeia); *CSE* pp. 94-101, nos. 914-1020 (G. Le Rider, *Gnomon* 59 [1987] 171, has suggested that no. 965, which Houghton tentatively attributed to Seleukeia on the Tigris, may have come from Miletos; see also Price, *Alexander* 480f.; Le Rider, *RN* [1987] 241 and n. 5, also suggested that no. 946 could equally be attributed to Bactria); *CSE* 2 57-74, 117-18, 160, 203, 268-72, 373-74, 426-27, 547, 632, 861-64; O. Morkholm, *Acta Arch.* 36 (1965) 130-40, nos. 11-13, 24-27, 34-40, 67-71, 111; id., *EHC* 71, 116f.; Krittr, *Susa* 99-105; Houghton and Lorber, *Seleucid Coins* 1 and 2, nos. 114-54, 378-93, 586-600, 762-85, 939-42, 949, 1153-94, 1334-39, 1505-11, 1512 (?),

1683-1705, 1983-91, 1992 (?), 2127-31; Le Rider, *Suse* 120-81, nos. 239-406; and Le Rider, *Seleucie du Tigre* 45-50, nos. 1-90. See also Simonetta in *Sulla via di Alessandro* 117-19.

For the **bronzes issued under the Parthians** see, for example, *BMC Arabia, etc.* 140-46, nos. 1-48; Imhoof-Blumer, *MG* p. 451f., nos. 60ff.; McDowell, *CST* 94-111, nos. 126-48; Le Rider, *Seleucie du Tigre* 14-41, nos. 1-87 (for a concordance with McDowell see pp. 42-33); 50-66, nos. 91-774. See also Simonetta in *Sulla via di Alessandro* 119-21.

For the curious discs of unbaked clay—probably tokens used for taking part in assemblies or other ceremonies—that were copies of Seleucid coins found at Seleukeia see McDowell, *SIOS* 241-42; and Newell, *ESM* 98.

20. For the use of **the Macedonian Seleucid era** at Seleukeia see Le Rider, *Suse* 33-40; contra: McDowell (*CST* 147-53), who claimed it was the Babylonian.

21. On the **civic organization** see, for example, Streck, *RE* s.v. "Seleukeia (am Tigris)," 1162-63. On the **adeiganes** and Roussel's suggested correction to *peliganes* see *Syria* 23 [1942-1943] 21-32, esp. 31-32; and LAODIKEIA by the Sea. For the mention of Macedonia in a cuneiform document see, for example, *BCHP* 9 Rev. 3 ("End of Seleucus Chronicle").

For the legend BOYAH or BOYAHΣ on some coins from Seleukeia of the first half of the first century A.D. see, for example, *BMC Parthia* p. 157, no. 37; McDowell, *CST* 71, no. 89; Le Rider, *Seleucie du Tigre* 27, no. 40; 60, nos. 602-25 (BOYAH); McDowell, *CST* 104, no. 137; Le Rider, *Suse* nos. 354-55, 357-58, and p. 39; id., *Seleucie du Tigre* 24, no. 31; 58, no. 541 (BOYAHΣ).

The assemblies at the new Seleukeia (= Veh Ardashir = Coche) are also mentioned in the Syriac Acts of Mar Mari (between the fifth and ninth century A.D.) and the Arabic *Kitab al-Majdal* (twelfth century A.D.). On the date of the former see J. M. Fiey, *Jalons pour une histoire de l'Église* (Louvain, 1970) 40; on the date of the latter see B. Holmberg, *Parole de l'Orient* 18 (1993) 255-73; and id. in *Christians at the Heart of Islamic Rule*, ed. D. Thomas (Leiden and Boston, 2003) 161-64. Both documents refer to three assemblies: for the "elders," for the "youth," and for the "children" (Harrak in *Ideologies* 110-12 [translation]; id., *Acts of Mar Mari* xxii). Cumont suggested that the *Acts of Mar Mari* reflected the situation in second-century A.D. Seleukeia. He noted that this tripartite division was also found in the Greek cities of Asia Minor (*Revue de l'instruction publique en Belgique* 36 [1893] 373-78; see also Chaumont, *Christianisation* 26). Cumont also suggested that the assembly of the elders did not take an active role in the political life of the city; rather, it

was a group of older men who gathered for entertainment. In Cumont's reconstruction the assembly of the "elders" attested in the Syriac sources would presumably not relate to any assembly or council recorded in the Greek, Latin, or numismatic sources.

On the other hand, A. Harrak, noting that Mesopotamian cities had always had a popular assembly, has argued that the assembly recorded in the Syriac sources was Babylonian in origin (in *Ideologies* 109–18; *Acts of Mar Mari* xxii–xxiv). Harrak would see the Syriac assembly of "elders" as an assembly rather than a council. In a personal communication he notes that the names of the assembly and its leaders in the Syriac source are entirely Akkadian.

22. Pointing to Josephus's reference (*AJ* 18.374) to the continuous discord between the Greeks and the Syrians in Seleukeia, and Tacitus's mention of the antagonism between the senate and the *populus*, Oppenheimer suggested (*BabJ* 217) they were referring "to the same groups, namely the Hellenized citizens on the one hand and the non-Hellenized Babylonians organized in a *politeuma* ('sua populo vis') on the other." Oppenheimer's suggestion is interesting but problematic. It is built on the equation of the *populus* mentioned by Tacitus with the *politeuma* of Syrians mentioned by Josephus. But these are two distinctly different bodies: the former was presumably composed of citizens, the latter of noncitizens. Furthermore, note Josephus's account of the subsequent events at Seleukeia: the Greeks broke the Jewish-Syrian alliance that had been in effect, and brought about a reconciliation with the latter group. As a result, the Greeks and Syrians now turned on the Jews in a great rampage (18.375–76). The clear impression one gets from Josephus's account is of a strategic alliance between two ethnic factions; there is nothing explicit to indicate their political status. Finally, we should bear in mind that both Tacitus and Josephus were describing a situation in the first century A.D.; we do not know to what degree, if any, this reflected circumstances in Hellenistic Seleukeia (i.e., c. 300 years earlier).

23. For the **epistates** at Seleukeia see Walbank, *Comment.* on Polyb. 5.48.12. For the **fragmentary stele** that mentioned a **hieromnemon** (or **hieromnemes**), an **agonothetes**, and a **tamias** see, for example, McDowell, *SIOS* 258–59; C. Hopkins, *MUSJ* 37 (1961) 237–46; id., *TAS* 24; M. Rostovtzeff, *JHS* 55 (1935) 66; Downey, *Architecture* 55; and *I. Estremo Oriente* 76. (The *pahatu* [= *epistates*?] of Seleukeia [named Seleukos] mentioned in *ABC* 13 = *BCHP* 10 Obv. 5 appears to belong to SELEUKEIA on the Euphrates [Babylonia].) Much still remains unknown regarding the stele. We do not know, for example, the date of the inscription or its precise nature. Furthermore we cannot identify the king

mentioned in the second line of the surviving fragment (Ἀντιόχου δὲ Σω[τήρως . . . βα]σιλέως δὲ . . .). The second king has been identified as Seleukos II (McDowell), Seleukos III (Rostovtzeff), Antiochos II (R. Mouterde, *MUSJ* 19 [1935] 119–20), and Demetrios II (Hopkins). For the **gymnasiarch** see McDowell, *SIOS* 254–55. For the **bybliophylax** and **chreophylax** see McDowell, *SIOS* 39f. and 128–38; Rostovtzeff, *YCS* 3 (1932) 63–71; Brown, *AJA* 42 (1938) 614–17; Welles, *RC* pp. 321–22; and Capdetrey, *Pouvoir* 319–20; cf. the *chreophylakeion* at DOURA EUROPOS. For the **paraphylax** see McDowell, *SIOS* 256–58 (an inscribed weight with the monogram ΠΡ, i.e., παραφύλαξ, dated to 74/5 A.D.); and Brown, *AJA* 42 (1938) 617; from this we may conclude that in the Parthian period the *paraphylax*—the municipal police officer—had the responsibility for the control of weights and measures (see Rostovtzeff, *SEHHW* 451, 1431). On the ἀνδραποδική, καταγραφή, and ἀλική see, for example, McDowell, *SIOS* 41ff. and 127ff.; Brown, *AJA* 42 (1938) 607–17; Rostovtzeff, *SEHHW* 469–71; id., *YCS* 3 (1932) 65–91, esp. 82–85; M. W. Stolper, *ZA* 79 (1989) 90–91; Mollo in *Archives* 145–56.

24. For **Rhodian amphora handles** see McDowell, *SIOS* 250–53; and C. Börker, *BaM* 7 (1974) 38–41; see also Rostovtzeff, *SEHHW* 680, 1486; id., *JHS* 55 (1935) 252; and F. E. Brown, *AJA* 42 (1938) 617. For the **glassware found at Seleukeia** (post-Hellenistic), see M. Negro Ponzi, *Parthica* 4 (2002) 63–156 (“Both the American and the Italian excavations have reached the Seleucid and early Parthian dwelling levels only in limited areas, where no glassware was found,” 67).

25. For the **terra-cotta figurines from the atelier** see Invernizzi in *EAA HNIΣMOΣ* 348–50; id., *Mesopotamia* 3–4 (1968–1969) 227–43; id., *Mesopotamia* 8–9 (1973–1974) 181–228; Invernizzi et al. in *La terra* 97–98, 126–32, 179–93. For the **terra-cotta pinakes with erotic scenes** see Invernizzi in *Arabia Antiqua* 155–65; cf. J. Schäfer, *Hellenistische Keramik aus Pergamon* (Berlin, 1968) 79–80, pls. 27–32. For a **terra-cotta figurine of a dying Amazon** (probably Parthian date) from Seleukeia see Invernizzi, *Parthica* 1 (1999) 107–15. In general for the figurines discovered by the Michigan excavation see W. van Ingen, *Figurines from Seleucia on the Tigris* (Ann Arbor, 1939) 3–52 and catalogue; Karvonen-Kannas, *Figurines* 14. See also Invernizzi, *Seleucia al Tigri: Le impronte di sigillo dagli Archivi I–III*.

In general for the **pottery—both imported and locally produced—found at Seleukeia** see Valtz in *Arabie orientale* 41–48; id. in *Arabia Antiqua* 167–81; id. in *Golf-Archäologie* 45–56; id. in *Ceramiques hellenistiques* 331–35.

26. For **Isis** at Seleukeia see A. Bollati in *Tropi isiaci: La Grande Dea*

tra passato e presente (Turin, 2000) 33–37; and A. Invernizzi, *Parthica* 5 (2003) 63–75; for **Tyche** see A. Bollati, *Parthica* 5 (2003) 77–95. The sealings with representations of Tyche (standing) were found in situ in the Archive building; hence they can be dated to between the mid-third to the second half of the second century B.C. Tyche (seated) is also found on royal and civic coins from Seleukeia of the Parthian period; see, for example, McDowell, *CST* 84, 86, 92, 95, etc. (royal); 127–37 (civic).

27. For the **identification of the building complex to the southeast of Tell Umar as a Seleucid heroon** see Hopkins, *TAS* 13–25; contra: Downey, *Architecture* 54–60. It was originally identified as a “Parthian Villa” (Hopkins, *TAS* 13).

28. On **Apollo Komaios** see, for example, Robert, *OMS* 2:984–85; Invernizzi, *RA* (1989) 75–82. A sealing from Seleukeia (McDowell, *SIOS* p. 74, no. a.1) bears a representation of Apollo. McDowell correctly noted that since we do not know the characteristics of Apollo Komaios, it is not possible to say whether the Apollo on the sealing is the same as that mentioned by Ammianus.

29. For the **statue of the resting Herakles** see W. al-Salihi, *Sumer* 43 (1984) 219–29; Invernizzi in *Golf-Archäologie* 27–31; id. in *EAA HNIΣMOΣ* 356–59; id., *RA* (1989) 65–113; P. Bernard, *JS* (1990) 3–67. For the inscription on the statue see also *I. Estremo Oriente* 86; *Euphrat* 507; and E. Morano in *Proceedings of the First European Conference of Iranian Studies* (Rome, 1990) 1:229–35.

30. For the alleged remains of a **theater** see Hopkins, *TAS* 26–27; and Invernizzi, who suggested it was located at Tell Umar (n. 10, above). See also S. Downey (*Architecture* 63; and *OEANA* s.v. “Seleucia on the Tigris”) who rejected Hopkins’s suggestion and observed that Invernizzi’s suggestion “though probable remains hypothetical.” For the results of excavation at Tell Umar and the arguments that the theater was located there see especially Messina, *Seleucia al Tigri: Il monumento di Tell Umar* 55–160. For the fragments of capitals discovered there see Invernizzi, *Mesopotamia* 29 (1994) 107–46.

31. For the **main agora of Seleucid and Parthian times**—identified by the Italian mission—see especially Messina, *Seleucia al Tigri: L’edificio degli Archivi*. Earlier, Hopkins’s suggested identification of possible site(s) for an **agora or agorai** (*TAS* 2, 26–27) did not meet with general acceptance; see, for example, Downey, *Architecture* 63; id., *OEANE* s.v. “Seleucia on the Tigris”.

In addition, M. Negro Ponzi (*Mesopotamia* 3–4 [1968–1969] 53–55) investigated a large square that, however, was formed only in late Parthian times.

32. The **precise geographic relationship of Opis to Seleukeia** is not clear; B. Meissner (*Klio* 19 [1925] 103) suggested the two were identical; contra: Oppenheimer, *BabJ* 197 n. 17. On Opis see also McDowell in Hopkins, *TAS* 149–50; and Oppenheimer, *BabJ* 193–98. J. A. Black (in *Northern Akkad Project Reports* [Ghent, 1987] 1:21) suggested that a westward shift in the course of the main channel of the Tigris—so that it now flowed past the site of Seleukeia—caused the decline of Opis. Black noted it is unclear whether this would have been the result of natural causes or a deliberate act by Seleukos Nikator. On the probable shift in the Tigris see, earlier, H. C. Hollis, *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 20.8 (October 1933) 129–30; C. Hopkins, *Antiquity* 13 (1939) 442; J. M. Fiey, *Sumer* 23 (1967) 3–9; see also R. M. Adams, *Heartland of Cities* (Chicago, 1981) 6–7, 158, etc.; G. Gullini, *Mesopotamia* 1 (1966) 31–32.

Politics, repeated Roman attacks, and the changing course of the Tigris brought about the decline and, ultimately, the abandonment of Seleukeia. For the decline (beginning, perhaps, in the first century A.D.) and ultimate abandonment of Seleukeia in favor of nearby Coche (Kokhe) see, for example, Oppenheimer, *BabJ* 218–20, 230–34 (map on p. 233); Matthews, *Ammianus* 141–43 (map on p. 142).

33. On the **mercantile importance of the location of Seleukeia** see, for example, Le Rider (*Suse* 299–300, 446–49; id. in *Societes et compagnies de commerce en Orient at dans l’Ocean Indien* [Paris, 1966] 121–27; Tarn, *GBI*² 60–61, 261; C. P. Jones, *Tyche* 7 [1992] 128); Invernizzi in *Centre* 230–50; id. in *Nuove fondazioni* 115–29; id., *al-Rafidan* 15 (1994) 1–24. Le Rider noted that the relatively small number of Seleukeian coins found at Susa for the period from Seleukos I to the beginning of the reign of Antiochos III suggests that during this time frame commercial traffic between the two cities was limited. On the other hand, Le Rider suggested that the large increase in the number of Seleukeian bronzes at Susa in the time of Antiochos III reflected the new commercial realities—in particular, trade with Arabia and India—brought on by the Seleucid king’s presence in these regions in 205–4 B.C. The harbor of Seleukeia is mentioned in *Astronomical Diaries* 3:217, no. 132B Rev. 19–20 (“the harbor of ships in the Tigris”).

34. For the **location** see, for example, McDowell in Hopkins, *TAS* 149. On the **city plan of Seleukeia** see A. Invernizzi, *Sumer* 32 (1976) 167ff.; and Valtz in *Arabia Antiqua* 167. For a sketch map of the site see Hopkins, *TAS* 2, 4; Invernizzi in *EAA HNIΣMOΣ* 343. For the city blocks at Seleukeia see Hopkins, *Antiquity* 13 (1939) 441; id., *TAS* 1; compare those at ANTIOCH near Daphne (112 × 58 m), LAODIKEIA by the Sea (112 × 57), APAMEIA on the Axios (c. 107 × 54), Doura EURO POS (70 × 35),

and ALEXANDREIA near Egypt (330 × 278).

35. **ALEXANDREIA on the Tigris River** is mentioned in recensions A (the most reliable) and Γ of the *Alexander Romance*. Fraser (*Cities* 32) suggested it corresponded to Seleukeia on the Tigris.

SELEUKEIA ΥΠΟ ΠΕΡΣΩΝ

In the *Cyranides* we read (prologue, p. 16.35–42, ed. Kaimakis): ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἄλλην ἔφη θεάσασθαι πόλιν πρὸ δεκαεπτὰ τῆς Σελευκίας σχοινίων ἦν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς ὑποστρέφων κατέστρεψε καὶ ἔκτισεν ἑτέραν Σελεύκειαν ὑπὸ Περσῶν κειμένην ὡς εἶναι περσογενῆ. καλεῖται δὲ πρώτη Ἀλεξάνδρεια ἢ πρὸς Βαβυλῶνα. The passage appears to provide the following information: after seeing Seleukeia on the Tigris, Harpocraton (a) saw another city 17 *schoinia* from Seleukeia; (b) this city Alexander the Great had destroyed; (c) Alexander then built another Seleukeia, which was ὑπὸ Περσῶν; (d) [Seleukeia] was first called “Alexandreia near Babylon.”

This is our only extant reference to a Seleukeia ὑπὸ Περσῶν. Alexander the Great would not, of course, have founded a city with the name “Seleukeia.” One might suggest that the passage intended to say that Alexander founded a settlement, Alexandreia near Babylon, that was later called “Seleukeia”; but this would be very strained. We should need additional information before definitely asserting the existence of this settlement.

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See further ALEXANDREIA near Babylon.

TRAPEZOUS

Stephanos (s.v. “Trapezous”) is our only extant source for Trapezous in the Persian Gulf region (πλησίον τοῦ Ἀραβικοῦ κόλπου). W. W. Tarn tentatively raised the possibility that it was founded by settlers from the like-named Black Sea city.¹ This is certainly a possibility, but we should need additional information before affirming this suggestion. In any event, the exact location is not known.

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1. *GBI*² 12; see also Potts, *Arabian Gulf* 2:17.

URUK

A Greek inscription found at Uruk (Greek, Orchoi) records a dedication to the god Gareus apparently made in 110 A.D. in the (Macedonian) month of Dios;¹ the dedication was made by Artemidoros son of Diogenes, who is also called Minnanaios son of Touphaios.² There was a mint at Uruk that coined money in the second century B.C. and later: a hoard found at Uruk contained Seleucid and Parthian bronzes [?].³ W. W. Tarn suggested that the Greek population of Susa and Uruk came from Ephesos. He based this suggestion on the fact that the city goddess of Susa, Artemis-Nanaia, annexed the bee of Artemis of Ephesos for her own symbol, as did Artemis-Ishtar at Uruk.⁴ In this connection we may note that "Minnanaios" (mentioned above) is a name of the god Nanaia assimilated to/equated with Artemis. Greek personal names occur with some frequency especially during the second century B.C.⁵ In addition to the Greek inscription mentioned above, I would call attention to a cylinder inscription dated to 244 B.C. that refers to a *shaknu* (prefect?) of Uruk who had both a Babylonian (Anu-uballit) and a Greek name (Nikarqusu, i.e., Nikarchos), the latter having been given by King Antiochos. The cylinder is a building inscription commemorating the building of the Resh sanctuary for the sky god Anu, who in late Achaemenid time had replaced Ishtar as the main deity of Uruk. The remarkable feature of this cylinder is that it was dedicated by a private citizen (though governor) rather than a king.⁶ Rhodian amphora handles have also been found at Uruk.⁷ Opinions are divided as to whether or not there was, in fact, an organized Greek colony at Uruk.⁸

Uruk was located at the site of the modern Warka, 193 kilometers southeast of Babylon on the east bank of the Euphrates.⁹

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In general see M. Rostovtzeff, *YCS* 3 (1932) 49–91; Doty, *CA* 150–60; G. Goossens, *Academie royale de Belgique: Bull. de la classe des lettres et des sciences morales et politiques* (Brussels, 1941) 222–44; G. Sarkisian, *Eos* 48.2 (1956) 29–44; id., *ActaA* 22 (1974) 495–503; Downey,

Architecture 15-17, 42 - 47; Oppenheimer, *BabJ* 334-40; Sherwin-White, *Samarkhand* 149-53; id. in *Hellenism* 2; Wallenfels, *Uruk* 1-5; Oelsner in *Ancient Archives* 284-301; Orth, *Diadochenzeit* 138-39; Kuhrt in *Hellenistic Kingship* 50-51; Potts, *Mesopotamian Civilization* 287-92.

For the results of excavation at Uruk see *Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka Endberichte* (Mainz am Rhein, 1988-).

1. On the **Greek toponym Orchoi** see A. Aymard, *REA* 40 (1938) 6 (= *Etudes* 179). The genitive and the dative of the toponym are found on the *bullae* (e.g., Rostovtzeff, *YCS* 3 [1932] 26-48) but as Ὀρχοί in Ptolemy (5.20.7, 8.20.29). In a personal communication, R. J. van der Spek provides the following information: "The toponym *Orchoi* is NO T found on *bullae*, only the genitive *Orchôn* and the dative *en Orchois*. It is my conviction that the nominative was *Orcha*, just as so many Oriental cities had an ending in pluralis neutri-a, like Borsippa, Susa, Sippara, Doura, Ekbatana, Arbela, Baktra, Hierosolyma, Dana, Gadara, etc. etc. In the case of Uruk one might even recognize it in the modern name *Warka*. I noticed this already in my article in *Hellenism in the East*, p. 73 n. 29, though the given example of *Koutha* there is incorrect: it is not attested in non-biblical Greek and called Chouth or Choutha in the LXX and Josephus, but indeclinable." The **ethnic** was Ὀρχηνός (e.g., Strabo 16.1.6; Pliny *NH* 6.123, 130; and *I. Estremo Oriente* 131).

2. For the **Greek inscription** see C. Meier, *BaM* 1 (1960) 104-14 = *SEG* 18:596 = *Nouveau choix* no. 33 = Oppenheimer, *BabJ* 335-36 = *I. Estremo Oriente* 140 = *Euphrat* 516. See also J. Robert and L. Robert, *BE* (1962) 322; L. Robert, *Hellenica* 11-12 (1960) 130; Le Rider, *Suse* 41-43.

3. For the **coin hoard** found at Uruk see Le Rider, *Suse* 458-61; and *Seleucid Coins* 2.1:250-51, no. 1865.

4. *GBI*² 6.

5. On **Greek personal names in Uruk** see, for example, G. Sarkisian, *ActaA* 22 (1974) 495-503; S. Sherwin-White, *ZPE* 50 (1983) 209-21; Oelsner in *Circulation* 341-47; Boiy in *Ethnicity* 47-60.

6. For **the cylinder inscription** see A. T. Clay, *Miscellaneous Inscriptions in the Yale Babylonian Collection* (New Haven, Conn., 1915) no. 52; and A. Falkenstein, *Topographie von Uruk*, vol. 1, *Uruk zur Seleukidenzeit* (Leipzig, 1941) 4-7; and P.-A. Beaulieu, *ASJ* 14 (1992), 47-75.

7. For **Greek names on Rhodian amphora handles found at Uruk** see C. Börker, *BaM* 7 (1974) 43-44. On **Greek personal names** found at Uruk see Sarkisian, *ActaA* 22 (1974) 495-503.

8. On the question of **whether or not there was an organized Greek**

colony at Uruk see, for example, the following: Downey (*Architecture* 46–47) denied the possibility. Aymard was skeptical about the existence of a colony but thought it probable that the Greeks at Uruk formed a *politeuma* (*Etudes* 203–4). Sherwin-White and Kuhrt equivocated. They pointed out that no Greek inscription on stone, graffito, or ostrakon of Hellenistic date could definitely be attributed to Uruk. Furthermore, they noted the absence of the usual signs of a Greek presence (e.g., Greek burial practices, Greek pottery, terra-cottas, etc.; note in this connection K. Karvonen-Kannas, *Figurines* 30: “Only rarely are assumedly Babylon or Seleucian figurines found in Uruk . . . and only a couple of figurines made in Uruk ever found their way to Babylon and Seleucia”). In this connection they correctly noted that the *bullae* from Uruk bearing impressions of official stamps with Greek inscriptions attest the existence of a Seleucid bureaucracy, not necessarily of an organized Greek settlement (*Samarkhand* 149; for Greek *bullae* and clay seals from Uruk see, for example, M. Rostovtzeff, *YCS* 3 [1932] 26–48; Wallenfels in *Archives* 113–29 [private seals]). Nevertheless, they allowed that “the idea of an early Greek ‘colony’ at Uruk is perfectly in keeping with our evidence of general Seleucid policies” (*Samarkhand* 153).

McEwan believed that Babylon and Uruk were *poleis* in the Greek sense (*Priest* 158). Among other things, he observed that the ethnics “Babylonian” and “Urukean” were used “in a more or less Greek sense.” He also noted that “the organization of the assemblies and the clan system of Uruk all combine to suggest they either considered themselves members of *poleis* or at the very least that they attempted to approximate these institutions.” McEwan’s suggestions have not met with approval. Thus, A. J. Brinkman (*JCS* 35 [1983] 237–38) and Van der Spek (in *Hellenism* 61) correctly noted that these institutions were Babylonian and not the result of Greek influence. Furthermore, Van der Spek was skeptical of the use of the word *polis* as a technical term for a Greek city with Greek political institutions (in *Hellenism* 57–59; and *Grondbezit* 45–54). For a discussion of Uruk see Van der Spek in *Hellenism* 70–74. He believed that a *politeuma* of Greeks and or Hellenized Urukeans in Uruk may have existed, though the evidence is restricted to the abundance of Greek names (many borne by indigenous people) and the fact that one cuneiform tablet was issued in ANTIOCH on the Ishtar Canal, the main waterway in Uruk.

Elsewhere, McEwan has suggested that a cuneiform document found at Uruk contains a reference to a liturgy in the original Greek sense (*Welt des Orient* 13 [1982] 25–30). Potts remarked that “the architectural remains, the enormous quantities of cuneiform texts of Seleucid date

recovered and the sheer size of the settlement suggest that Uruk was one of the most important *Babylonian* cities in southern Babylonia during the Seleucid era. . . . That there were ethnic Greeks living at Uruk and that they, both men and women, owned property and functioned as witnesses in legal documents attests to their complete integration into *Babylonian* society, rather than any sort of imposition of Greek norms on the ancient city." (*Mesopotamian Civilization* 291).

For the possibility that there was a civic ruler cult at Hellenistic Uruk see, for example, BABYLON , n. 12 and references cited there. Van der Spek suggested that Uruk should be identified with ANTIOCH on the Ishtar Canal (*BiOr* 37 [1980] 254; and in *Hellenism* 73). On the Seleucid attitude toward the Babylonian cities and city land see, for example, Sarkisian in *Ancient Mesopotamia* 312-31.

9. On the **location** of Uruk see, for example, Oppenheimer, *BabJ* 336 and n. 4; on the topographic setting see R. M. Adams and H. J. Nissen, *The Uruk Countryside* (Chicago, 1972), esp. 55ff. (historical overview of the site).

ZETIS

See Elymais, Susiana, Persis, and Carmania.

V

ELYMAIS, SUSIANA, PERSIS, AND
CARMANIA

ALEXANDREIA ΕΠΙ ΣΟΥΣΟΙΣ

The eighth *Alexandreia* in the list of settlements ascribed to the Macedonian king at the end of the alpha recension of the *Alexander Romance* is ἐπὶ Σούσοις.¹ W. W. Tarn claimed that this reading was corrupt and suggested instead ἐν Σόγδοις. In support of this he cited two instances in which the reading *Sousiana* was, he claimed, an error for *Sogdiana*.² He then called attention to the list of Alexander's foundations at the end of the Syriac *Alexander Romance* (3.24, trans. Wallis Budge): "The ninth is Alexandria which is in the country of Sôd, that is to say, Samarkand." As Tarn observed, it is not clear whether the word *Samarkand* refers to the city of *Alexandreia* or the country of *Sogd*. Tarn added correctly that at the very least Alexander did not found *Samarkand* (MARAKANDA).

In *Cities of Alexander the Great* P. M. Fraser mentioned *Alexandreia ἐν Σούσοις* (*sic*). He did not allude to Tarn's suggested identification. He noted only that *Alexandreia ἐν Σούσοις* probably was to be identified with *SELEUKEIA* on the *Eulaios*.³

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In general see Tarn, *Alexander* 2:243–44; Fraser, *Cities* 33.

1. Curiously, in quoting Kroll's text Tarn referred to this settlement as **Alexandreia** ἐπὶ Σούσοις. However, in the discussion that followed he referred to it as ἐν Σούσοις. Fraser likewise described it as ἐν Σούσοις. In fact, in the edition of both Müller (the *editio princeps*, an appendix to F. Dübner, *Arriani, Anabasis et Indica* [Paris, 1877] 151) and Kroll, the only reading is ἐπὶ Σούσοις.

2. For the **emended reading of Sogdiana for Sousiana** see Kroll ad *Alexander Romance* A 3:33.22 and Dexippus (*FGrH* 100 F8.6); see also Tarn, *Alexander* 2:243–44.

3. Fraser, *Cities* 33. In the table of Alexander foundations at the end of *Cities of Alexander the Great*, Fraser did not mention *Alexandreia ἐν Σούσοις*; on the other hand, he did record *ALEXANDREIA ἐν Σουσιανῆι* (p. 240, no. 13) and equated it with *ALEXANDREIA/Spasinou Charax* (following Tarn, *Alexander* 2:234, 236). I cannot find any elaboration of this claim elsewhere in his book, nor can I find any ancient or Byzantine evidence for *ALEXANDREIA* in *Susiana* (see that entry).

ALEXANDREIA IN CARMANIA

Pliny (*NH* 6.107) records an *Alexandreia* in *Carmania*. The settlement is also mentioned by Ammianus (23.6.49) and Ptolemy (6.8.14). The precise location is not known. However, the coordinates provided by Ptolemy would place it somewhere northeast of Hormuz. W. Tomaschek located it c. 96 kilometers north of Minab at Gulashkird/Golashkerd (*Valashgird* in the Arabic geographers).¹ P. M. Fraser noted that this *Alexandreia* was not mentioned by the historians, the tradition of the *Alexander Romance*, or the Arab geographers; furthermore, he remarked that whereas W. W. Tarn accepted it as a foundation of Alexander himself, “its attestation is weak.”²

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In general see Droysen, *Hist.* 2:688; Tomaschek, *RE* s.v. “*Alexandreia* 11”; id., *Erlauterung* 42–43; Berve, *Alexanderreich* 1:295; Tcherikover, *HS* 99; Tarn, *Alexander* 2:239; id., *GBI*² 481–82; Fraser, *Cities* 30, 166–67.

1. Tomaschek, *RE* s.v. “*Alexandreia* 11”; see also Le Strange, *Caliphate* 317 and map VI; R. Bouchardat and J.-F. Salles, *PSAS* 11 (1981) 67 and map on p. 87.

2. Fraser, *Cities* 167 and n. 117. On **Carmania** see, for example, Potts in *Archaeologia Iranica* 581–603.

In the region of the Strait of Hormuz I would also mention *Portus Macedonum* and ALTARS OF ALEXANDER (Pliny *NH* 6.110).

ALEXANDREIA IN SUSIANA

Enumerations of Alexander’s foundations often refer to an “*Alexandreia* in *Susiana*,” which, it is usually claimed, was identical with ALEXANDREIA/Spasinou Charax.¹ As far as I have been able to determine, the toponym *Alexandreia* in *Susiana* is a modern designation. I have not found it in any ancient or Byzantine source.

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1. See, for example, Andreas, *RE* s.v. “*Alexandreia* 13”; Tarn, *Alexander* 2:234, 236, 243; see ALEXANDREIA/Spasinou Charax, n. 17; Fraser, *Cities* 240, no. 13 (see above, ALEXANDREIA ΕΠΙ ΣΟΥΣΟΙΣ). J. Renger &

H. Treidler, *BNP* s.v. “Alexandria 4,” describe this as a “city in Susiana not far from the mouth of the Tigris (Pliny, *HN* 6,138).” The reference is obviously to Spasinou Charax. In support of this they cite Miller, *Itineraria* 753f. and 760 and map no. 219 (665–66); but—as far as I can see—these citations deal with ALEXANDREIA by Issos.

See also J. Seibert (*Eroberung* 196 n. 9), who, likewise, cites Pliny *NH* 6.138.

ALEXANDREIA ΠΡΟΣ ΠΕΡΣΑΣ

Alexandreia ἡ πρὸς Πέρσας is mentioned in the lists at the end of the *Alexander Romance* as well as in various other texts.¹ The identification of Alexandreia ἡ πρὸς Πέρσας has been problematic. A. Ausfeld emended the text to read (in his German translation) “die am Pieria-Gebirge bei Issos.” W. W. Tarn rejected this (“only a counsel of despair”) and claimed it was Alexandreia near/of the Parsii, namely, Alexandreia-Ghazni.² On the other hand, P. M. Fraser claimed it corresponded to ANTIOCH in Persis.³

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1. **Alexandreia** ἡ πρὸς Πέρσας is mentioned in the A (ed. Kroll), B (A. τὴν ἐπὶ Πέρσαις, ed. Bergson), and Γ (A. τὴν ἐπὶ Περ[σ]ίας, ed. Parthe) recensions of the *Alexander Romance* (3.35) as well as the Ethiopic version, p. 352 (“Alexandria of Persia,” ed. and trans. Wallis Budge); the *Excerpta Latina Barbara* 34b (“Alexandria qui in Persida,” p. 210, ed. Schoene); the *Chronicon Paschale* p. 321 (A. τὴν ἐπὶ Πέρσας, *CSHB* 4.1); the *Byzantine Alexander Poem* 6107 (Περσῶν τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, ed. S. Reichmann); Yakut (“Iskandariya in Persia,” *Mujam* 1:100, ed. Wüstenfeld); see also Wallis Budge, Ethiopic version, 351 n. 5; Lagarde, *Analecta Syriaca* 207 (Syriac; translated into English by Wallis Budge in his English translation of the Syriac version of the *Romance*, p. 161); Fraser, *Cities* 240–41.

2. Ausfeld, *Alexanderroman* 121 n. 12; in a note to his text of the A recension of the *Alexander Romance* 3.35 Kroll remarked “recte ἐπὶ Περίας κατ’ Ἴσόν” regarding Ausfeld’s emendation; Tarn, *Alexander* 2:244.

3. For the **identification of Alexandreia** ἡ πρὸς Πέρσας **with Antioch in Persis** see Fraser, *Cities* 31.

ALEXANDROU NESOS ARAKIA

Among the three islands of the Persian Gulf Ptolemy (6.4.8) mentions Ἀλεξάνδρου ἢ καὶ Ἀρακία.¹ Previously it was believed that this could be identified with the island of IKARO S that is mentioned by Arrian (7.20.4) and Strabo (16.3.2).² However, the Danish excavations on the island of Failaka have demonstrated that Failaka should be identified with Ikaros. In fact, it is now generally agreed that Arakia should be identified with the island of Kharg in the Gulf. E. Haerinck has suggested there was a Palmyrene colony on Kharg;³ we do not know if earlier there was a Graeco- Macedonian colony on the island.

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In general see R. Ghirshman, *CRAI* (1958) 261-68; id., *RA* (1959) 70-72; Le Rider, *Suse* 432; E. Haerinck, *IrAnt* 11 (1975) 134-67; P. Bernard, *Topoi* 5 (1995) 403-8; M.-J. Steve, *Kharg* 7-9.

1. Marcianus of Herakleia (1.24 in *GGM* 1:530) provides the same information with the addition of the word νῆσος (Ἐνταῦθα παράκειται νῆσος Ἀλεξάνδρου καλουμένη). Moses of Chorene refers to this island as Alexandria (*Eranshahr* 32, ed. Marquart, p. 138). Pliny (*NH* 6.111) mentions the islands of Psilos, Kassandra, and Aracha in the Persian Gulf facing Persis.

For the **toponym** cf., for example, Alexandrou Nesos and Alexandrou Chorion in the Fayum (*Dizionario* s.vv. "Alexandrou Nesos" and "Alexandrou Chorion").

2. For the **identification of Arakia with Ikaros** see, for example, Ghirshman, *RA* (1959) 70-72. For the **identification of Arakia with Kharg** see, for example, Le Rider, *Suse* 432 n. 2; Haerinck, *IrAnt* 11 (1975) 135; Steve, *Kharg* 8.

3. For Haerinck's suggestion that there was a **Palmyrene colony on Kharg** see *IrAnt* (1975) 148-49 n. 52.

ALTARS OF ALEXANDER

In his discussion of the region adjoining Carmania Pliny (*NH* 6.110) mentions Altars of Alexander as well as POR TUS MACEDON UM. The name Altars of Alexander recalls the various elephant-hunting stations along the African Red Sea coast: for example, the Altars of Konon, as well as the Pillars and Altars of Pytholäus, Lichas, Pythangelos, and Leon

mentioned by Strabo (16.4.8–15). The Red Sea stations were known by the expedition leaders.¹

P. H. L. Eggermont identified the “Altars of Alexander” with the “altars to Tethys and Oceanus” that Diodorus says Alexander built (17.104.1; cf. Justin [12.10.6], who simply mentions *aras*). We do not know the exact location. With regard to PORTUS MACEDONUM and Altars of Alexander, R. Boucharlat and J.-F. Salles suggested—as a hypothetical construct—that they were located on the Iranian coast, just within the Strait of Hormuz.² We do not definitely know the founder; however, it may be suggested that—like PORTUS MACEDONUM—the settlement was established by Alexander or—more probably—named in honor of Alexander by Nearchos.

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In general see Tarn, *GBI*² 482 and map 1; Eggermont, *Sind and Baluchistan* 37–41, 134–37; R. Boucharlat and J.-F. Salles, *PSAS* 11 (1981) 67; ARBIS and BARKE in India, n. 1; and PORTUS MACEDONUM, n. 3.

1. See Cohen, *Settlements in Syria* 47 and references cited in n. 84.

2. Boucharlat and Salles, *PSAS* 11 (1981) 67–68; and PORTUS MACEDONUM. Tarn (*GBI*² 482 and map on p. 1) placed Altars of Alexander just beyond the Strait of Hormuz at Cape Jask.

ANTIOCH IN PERSIS

An inscription (Rigsby, *Asyria* no. 111) found at Magnesia on the Maeander that probably dates to 205 B.C. records a decree of Antioch in Persis recognizing the festival of Artemis Leukophryene at Magnesia.¹

The decree provides evidence for the existence of a *boulē* and *ekklēsia/dēmos* (ll. 8–9, 32–33, 48), *prytaneis* (10), and *tamiai* (74). The decree was dated by an eponymous priest (Herakleitos son of Zoes) of the royal Seleucid cult.² The calendar was divided into semesters (6); the two attested month names—Pantheos (9) and Herakleios (69–70)—are not Macedonian. There is no evidence that the Seleucid era was used in the decree. Antioch was one of the cities visited by Magnesian *theoroi* announcing the festival (73);³ in turn, Antioch sent *theoroi* to Magnesia (69). The decree refers to the fact that the Magnesians were kinsmen and friends of the Antiochenes (11–12). Furthermore, we learn from the decree that Antioch was named for Antiochos Soter, that at his request the Magnesians sent additional colonists to Antioch in order to strengthen the

city (14–16), and that the Antiochenes worshipped the gods common to them and to the Magnesians (40–41).⁴ We do not know whether Antiochos Soter or his father, Seleukos I Nikator, founded the settlement. A letter of Antiochos III to the Magnesians indicates that the king was present in Antioch in Persis in 205 B.C. and met the same Magnesian *theoroi*—Demophon, Philiskos, and Pheres—who are mentioned in the Antiochene decree.⁵

The ethnic was Ἀντιοχέων τῶν Π[ερσίδος] (*Asyilia* 111.1; cf. τὸν τῶν Ἀντιοχέων δῆμον, *Asyilia* 111.20); the toponym was Ἀντιόχεια τῆς Περσίδος (*Asyilia* 69.9–10). A. Houghton, C. Lorber, and O. Hoover have suggested that there was minting activity at Antioch in Persis during the second quarter of the second century B.C.⁶

The location of Antioch is not definitely known. Three possible sites have been suggested: Bushire, Rishahr, or c. 20 kilometers inland from Bushire at Tawwaj (ancient Taoke, just north of Borazjan).⁷

P. M. Fraser has suggested that ALEXANDREIA πρὸς Πέρσας recorded in the Alexander lists corresponds to Antioch in Persis.⁸

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In general see Tcherikover, *HS* 98, 196–97; Holleaux, *Etudes* 1:318–19; Robert in *Laodicee* 330–31; Orth, *Machtanspruch* 114–16; Sherwin-White and Kuhrt, *Samarkhand* 160–65; Rigsby, *Asyilia* no. 111 and commentary; P. Bernard, *JS* (1990) 46–52; R. Sherk, *ZPE* 93 (1992) 254; Fraser, *Cities* 31 and n. 68; id., *Terminology* 335.

1. *OGIS* 233 = *I. Mag.* 61 = Rigsby, *Asyilia* no. 111 = *I. Estremo Oriente* 252 = *Euphrat* 306 = *IGIAC* 53. It should be noted that the ethnic of the city appears only in the first line—which is heavily restored—of the decree. In fact, Dittenberger (comment. ad *OGIS* 233.1) considered the possibility that the line should be restored, Π[ισιδικῆ]. However, this possibility is excluded if *Asyilia* no. 125 (= *I. Mag.* 79–80) is correctly assigned to ANTIOCH near Pisidia; cf. Boesch, *Theoros* 65–66 and n. 1. For the restoration Ἀντιοχέων τῶν Π[ερσίδος] rather than Π[ερσικῶν] see L. Robert, *Hellenica* 7 (1949) 20 n. 2.

2. On the **dating by the priest of the royal Seleucid cult** see Robert and Robert, *Amyzon* 167–68.

3. On the question of the **status of settlements visited by theoroi** see PTOLEMAIS Larisa, n. 4.

4. L. Robert has remarked (in *Laodicee* 331) that the Antiochenes' worship of gods common to them and to the Magnesians indicates that—

like the colonists of the Archaic period—Hellenistic colonists also brought their gods to their new settlements. He also has suggested (in *Laodicee* 330) that Ephesos also sent colonists to Antioch in Persis.

For other settlements (possibly) colonized by older Greek cities see, for example, ANTIOCH near Pisidia, AMPELON E on the Red Sea coast, URUK, and SELEUKEIA on the Eulaios.

5. For the **letter of Antiochos III to the Magnesians** see Rigsby, *Asyilia* no. 69.9-10 = *RC* 31 = *OGIS* 231 = *I. Estremo Oriente* 250 = *Euphrat* 304 = *IGIAC* 51.

6. For the **attribution of coins to a mint at Antioch in Persis** see *Seleucid Coins* 2.1:27, 39, 111-12, 113, 190, and nos. 1340-42 (Seleukos IV), 1362 (Antiochos, son of Seleukos IV), 1372 (Antiochos, son of Seleukos IV), nos. 1526-28; and *CSE* 2 no. 381 (Antiochos IV Epiphanes), nos. 1708-9 (Demetrios I). Houghton, Lorber, and Hoover (*Seleucid Coins* 2.1:113) reassigned to Antioch in Persis some tetradrachms and control-linked bronzes that Le Rider had assigned to Susa (nos. 1526-28).

7. For the suggested **location** at Bushire see Tarn, *JEA* 15 (1929) 11 and n. 4 (see also, for example, Bickerman in *La Persia* [1966] 109; Le Rider, *Suse* 270; Orth, *Machtanspruch* 115 n. 6); P. Boucharlat and J.-F. Salles, *PSAS* 11 (1981) 79; and D. S. Whitcomb, *Mesopotamia* 22 (1987) 331 n. 22 (following Le Rider). For Rishahr see Bernard, *JS* (1990) 48. C. Roueché and S. M. Sherwin-White (*Chiron* 15 [1985] 9 n. 18) considered either Bushire or Taoke/Tawwaj possible. H. Bivar (in a paper given at the School of Oriental and African Studies of London University on December 7, 1982, and cited by Roueché and Sherwin-White, *Chiron* 15 [1985] 9 n. 18; see also Salles in *Hellenism* 92 n. 24; and map in D. S. Whitcomb, *Mesopotamia* [1987] 313, fig. B) opted for Taoke. In favor of Taoke, Roueché and Sherwin-White noted that it was the site of a former Achaemenid administrative center (there had been an Achaemenid palace nearby [Arr. *Ind.* 39.3; Strabo 15.3.3]; for Borazjan see A. Sarfaraz, *Iran* 11 [1973] 188-89) and that it would have been in line with Seleucid policy to have established a settlement there. Furthermore, they noted that Taoke was on the main route from Bushire and the coast to Persepolis and Shiraz. See the map in Bernard, *JS* (1990) 47. On Bushire, Rishahr, Taoke/Tawwaj, and the Bushire Peninsula see also Whitcomb, *Mesopotamia* (1987) 311-36 and maps (figs. A-B); and Bernard, *JS* (1990) 46-50.

There may also be **references to Antioch in Persis in the Chinese sources**. A. F. P. Hulsewé (*China in Central Asia* 113 n. 255) called attention to the possibility that *T'iao-chih*, which is mentioned in the *Han Shu* 96A (27B), might be the Chinese transcription for *Taoke*. And A.

Herrmann speculated that the town of An-ku, which is mentioned in the *Wei-liao*, was a Chinese transcription for Ἴώννακα πόλις (*Monumenta Serica* 6 [1941] 233); see also Tarn, *GBI*² 418. Bernard (*JS* [1990] 51) suggested that ION AKA POLIS mentioned by Ptolemy (6.4.2) was simply a descriptive name (i.e., “Greek-town”) for Antioch in Persis; in fact, Tarn had already raised this possibility in 1929 and again in 1938 (*JEA* 15 [1929] 11 n. 4 and *GBI*² 418). In short, as was possibly the case in the Greek sources, Antioch in Persis (or Ionaka Polis) may have been attested under two different names— T’iao-chih and An-ku—in the Chinese texts. Note, however, the caution that attaches to the references to toponyms in the Chinese sources; see above, pp. 10–11.

8. For the suggested **correspondence of Alexandreia** πρὸς Πέρας and Antioch in Persis see Fraser, *Cities* 31.

ARBIS IN GEDROSIA

For Arbis, which Ptolemy (6.21.5) identifies as a *polis* of Gedrosia, see ARBIS in India .

GABAI

There was a tradition that Gabai in Persis was founded by Alexander the Great. For example, according to the Pahlavi *Provincial Capitals of Eranshahr* (53, trans. Markwart), “The capital of Gay [i.e., Gabai, modern Isfahan] was built by the accursed Alexander the son of Philip.” This foundation and the attribution to Alexander is also mentioned by a number of Perso- Arabic writers: e.g., Dinawari ([41], trans. Noldeke, *Beitrage* 42), al-Tabari ([702]; trans. Noldeke, *Beitrage* 47; see also n. 4), as well as Hamza al- Isfahani (*Sini muluk* 40, trans. Pourshariati in *Indo-Grecs* 124) and Qudama (*Kitab al-Kharaj* 265 in *BGA* 6:207, trans. Goeje).¹

J. Markwart observed that although there is a tradition among the Arabs that Gabai was founded by Alexander, this is not found in the Syriac version of the *Alexander Romance* nor is it supported by historical evidence.²

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In general, see Marquart, *Untersuchungen* 32–34; Weissbach, *RE* s.v.

“Gabai”; Hoffmann, *Auszüge* 132 and n. 1130; R. Schmitt, *EIr* s.v. “Gabrae”; P. Pourshariati in *Indo-Grecs* 112.

1. Markwart, *Provincial Capitals*, 104; see also id., *Eranshahr* 28–29; id., *Untersuchungen* 2:32–34. On the fertile agricultural land surrounding Isfahan see, for example, Engels, *Alexander* 79.

2. See, for example, Hamza al-Isfahani (trans. Pourshariati in *Indo-Grecs* 124): “Alexandria: Amongst the stories that story-tellers have concocted is that Alexander constructed 12 cities in Iran and called all of them Alexandria. These are said to have included cities in Isfahân, Herât, Marv, Samarqand, Sughd, Babylon and Meysan and four cities in the Sawâd of Iraq. But this news is not trustworthy for Alexander was a destroyer and not a constructor.”

There was also a **tradition that there had been an Achaemenid settlement at Isfahan**; see, for example, Jackson, *Persia* 256–61.

HERMOUPOLIS

Among the settlements in Carmania, Ammianus (23.6.49) mentions ALEXANDREIA, TRAGON IKE, and Hermoupolis (Hermupolis). We know nothing else about this town.

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In general see Tcherikover, *HS* 99; Den Boeft et al., *Comment. on Ammianus XXIII* 186; Fontaine, *Ammien XXIII-XXV* 2:97–98.

IONAKA POLIS

Among the towns of Persis Ptolemy records a Ionaka Polis, namely, “Greektown” (6.4.2).¹ There is no other extant reference to this town. W. W. Tarn suggested that Ptolemy was referring to ANTIOCH in Persis.²

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1. On the **toponym** see Appendix VIII.

2. For the **equation of Ionaka Polis and ANTIOCH in Persis** see W. W. Tarn, *JEA* 15 (1929) 11 n. 4; id., *GBI*² 418 and n. 1; P. Bernard, *JS* (1990) 51. Tarn repeated this claim in *OCD*² s.v. “Antioch in Persis”; note

that in *OCD*³ S. Sherwin-White did not mention this.

LAODIKEIA

Pliny (*NH* 6.115) is our only extant source for the existence of this Laodikeia.¹ He says it was founded by Antiochos and that it was located in the frontier region of Persis. Tcherikover has suggested that the founder was probably Antiochos I and that the city was located on the Persian Gulf.

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In general see Tcherikover, *HS* 99, 174.

1. Weissbach (*RE* s.v. "Laodikeia 6") equated the Laodikeia mentioned by Pliny with LAODIKEIA in Media, which is mentioned by Stephanos (s.v. "Laodikeia") and Strabo 11.13.6.

MASJID-I SULAIMAN

R. Ghirshman has suggested that there may have been a Macedonian garrison or, possibly, a settlement at Masjid-i Sulaiman ("Mosque of Solomon"). He pointed to the discovery (in a temple that he suggested was dedicated to Athena) of figurines of Macedonian cavalymen that were recognizable as such by their headdress (the *kausia*).¹ Furthermore, among the sanctuaries discovered there was one dedicated to Herakles. In addition, archaeologists found a large statue of Herakles as well as other (fragmentary) representations of the hero.² On the other hand, we may note that of the coins found at Masjid-i Sulaiman very few—six—were Greek/Hellenistic; most were either Parthian, Sassanid, or, especially, Elymaid.³ The ceramic evidence found at the site suggests a date in the third and second centuries B.C.⁴

Masjid-i Sulaiman is located in the Zagros Mountains.⁵

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In general see Schippmann, *Feuerheiligtümer* 233–51; R. Ghirshman, *Syria* 27 (1950) 205–20; id., *CRAI* (1968) 8–15; id., *CRAI* (1970) 653–65; id., *Terrasses sacrées: L'Iran du Sud-Ouest* 1:179–91 et passim; Potts, *Elam* 371–73.

1. For the **cavalrymen** see Ghirshman, *CRAI* (1970) 655–57 (photographs on p. 656); id., *Terrasses sacrées: L'Iran du Sud-Ouest* 1:78–81, 179, 187, and pls. CXI–CXIII. For the **kausia** see IKARO S, n. 26. For the **temple of Athena** see Ghirshman, *Terrasses sacrées: L'Iran du Sud-Ouest* 1:187–90.

2. For the **temple dedicated to Herakles** see Ghirshman, *CRAI* (1968) 11–15; id., *Terrasses sacrées: L'Iran du Sud-Ouest* 1:90–99, 187–91. For the **statue of Herakles and other representations** see Ghirshman, *CRAI* (1968) 12–15; id., *Terrasses sacrées: L'Iran du Sud-Ouest* 1:91–96; Connelly in *Arabie préislamique* 151–52.

3. For the **Hellenistic coins** found at Masjid-i Sulaiman see Augé, Curiel, and Le Rider *Terrasses sacrées: Les trouvailles monétaires* nos. 12–17 and pp. 15–16.

4. For the **ceramic evidence** see, for example, Haerinck, *La ceramique* 13–14, 19–37, 62–66; and Potts, *Elam* 371.

5. For the **location** see fig. 10.1 (map) in Potts, *Elam* 356.

METHONE

According to Stephanos (s.v. “Methone”), who is our sole source of information, there was a Methone in Persis. The toponym is, of course, also found in Macedonia, Thessaly, and Messenia. W. W. Tarn identified Methone with Maitona, which is mentioned by Ptolemy (6.4.6) among the cities of Persis. E. Herzfeld located Maitona on the Artemita-Persepolis road.¹

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In general see Droysen, *Hist.* 2:748; Tcherikover, *HS* 99; and W. W. Tarn, *JEA* 15 (1929) 11 n. 4.

1. For **Maitona** see E. Herzfeld, *Klio* 8 (1908) 14, 16.

PORTUS MACE DONUM

According to Pliny (*NH* 6.110), “The Carmanians are adjoined by the Harmozaei. . . . Here are the Port of the Macedonians (*Portus Macedonum*) and the Altars of Alexander situated on a promontory” (trans. Rackham). W. W. Tarn suggested that *Portus Macedonum* could be

identified with Harmouza, which is mentioned by Ptolemy (6.8.5; 8.22.21).¹ The latter he identified with Armoza Regia, which is recorded by the Ravenna Geographer (52.10, ed. Pinder and Parthey = 18.10, ed. Schnetz).

Tarn offered up “Portus Macedonum” as an example of a case where “later compilers . . . copied from their sources the description of a place as though it were a name.”² But this is not necessarily so. On the Red Sea coast there were many elephant-hunting stations with descriptive names such as the Lookout Post of Demetrios, the Altars of Konon, the Harbor of Antiphilos, the Harbor of Eumenes, the Pillars and Altars of Pytholäus, Lichas, Pythangelos, and Leon (Strabo 16.4.8–15). And in Appendix VIII I have tried to demonstrate that many names—particularly in the eastern satrapies of the Seleucid empire—that Tarn frequently dismissed as nicknames or descriptions given by later copyists could, in fact, have been actual toponyms.

Given that Pliny mentions ALTARS of ALEXAND ER and Portus Macedonum together, we may expect that both were founded by Alexander or—most probably—named in honor of Alexander by Nearchos. Their precise location is not known.³

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In general see Kiessling, *RE* s.v. “Harmozeia”; Tarn, *GBI*² 481–85; P. Boucharlat and J.-F. Salles, *PSAS* 11 (1981) 67–68.

1. Tarn, *GBI*² 481–85. In a rather complicated reconstruction Tarn suggested that Zetis and Alexandria (see ALEXANDREIA in Carmania) mentioned by Pliny (*NH* 6.107) corresponded to Harmouza and Alexandria recorded by Ptolemy (8.22.21). He then suggested that Harmozia, Zetis, and Portus Macedonum were the nicknames or descriptions of a town whose “Greek official name” was lost; see further Appendix VIII.

2. Tarn, *GBI*² 13.

3. **Location.** Tarn (*GBI*² 481–82 and map 1 at end) identified Portus Macedonum with Omana, which he located on the Strait of Hormuz, and ALTARS OF ALEXAND ER with Cape Jask, just beyond the Strait (map I at end of *GBI*²). Note, however, that Omana was most probably located beyond the Strait, somewhere on the Iranian coast; see J.-F. Salles, *PSAS* 10 (1980) 103–4 (Sadij); Boucharlat and Salles, *PSAS* 11 (1981) 67–68 (Tiz); Casson, *Periplus* 180–81 (Chah Bahar, Tiz, or Gwadar West Bay).

Boucharlat and Salles (*PSAS* 11 [1981] 67–68) suggested—as a

hypothetical possibility—that Portus Macedonum and ALTARS OF ALEXANDER were places “inhabited by the Harmozei, neighbours of the Carmani, and they are situated on a cape from which we can easily reach another cape and the desert island of Aphrodisias, generally recognised as Kish Island. One must admit the existence of a coastal site on the Iranian side of the Hurmuz strait, which was known by Pliny but ignored by the *Periplus* and by Ptolemy and which must be different from Ommana and from Armouzon; the foundation of this site should be linked with the expeditions of Alexander.”

Eggermont’s (*Sind and Baluchistan* 136; and ARBIS in India, n. 3) suggested identification Portus Macedonum = Alexander’s Harbor = Barbarikon = Barke is not convincing. It would appear that we should not search for Portus Macedonum in the area of the Indus delta. For suggestions regarding the possible location—in the Indus delta—of Alexander’s Harbor see ARBIS, n. 3.

SELEUKEIA IN ELYMAIS

See SELEUKEIA near the Hedyphon.

SELEUKEIA NEAR THE HEDYPHON

According to Strabo (16.1.18), Seleukeia near the Hedyphon River (a tributary of the Eulaios) was a “large polis” that was formerly called Soloke. Tcherikover suggested that it might be equated with the Seleukeia in Elymais mentioned by Pliny (*NH* 6.136). Noting that the Hedyphon was a tributary of the Eulaios, Tcherikover has suggested that Seleukeia near the Hedyphon is the same city as that referred to in the decree of ANTIOCH in Persis as SELEUKEIA on the Eulaios. Attached to the decree of ANTIOCH in Persis recognizing the festival of Artemis Leukophryene at Magnesia on the Maeander is a list of other cities in southern Mesopotamia and the Persian Gulf region that also recognized the festival: among these were SELEUKEIA on the Tigris, SELEUKEIA on the Erythraean Sea, SELEUKEIA on the Eulaios, and Seleukeia near the [Hedyphon].¹ If the restoration is correct this would indicate that Seleukeia on the Eulaios and Seleukeia near the Hedyphon were separate cities. P. M. Fraser appears to suggest (very tentatively) that the *Alexandreia ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνος* recorded in the Alexander lists might correspond to Seleukeia near the Hedyphon.²

J. Hansman suggested that Seleukeia was located at Jan-i Sheen/Ja Nishîn on the banks of the Hedyphon (modern Jarrhai) River in eastern Khuzistan (ancient Elymais).³

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In general see Honigmann, *RE* s.v. "Seleukeia 13"; Tcherikover, *HS* 98; Le Rider, *Suse* 40, 261, 354-55; J. Hansman, *Iran* 16 (1978) 154-61; Oppenheimer, *BabJ* 430-31; Biffi, *Strabone* 158; Radt, *Kommentar* 8:273; Fraser, *Terminology* 370.

1. For the **decree of Antioch in Persis** see Rigsby, *Asyilia* no. 111 (= *I. Mag.* 61 = *OGIS* 233 = *I. Estremo Oriente* 252 = *Euphrat* 306 = *IGIAC* 53). For lines 110-11 of the inscription, Haussoullier (in *Studies Ramsay* 188; see also *SEG* 4:504) proposed restoring the following: Σ[ε]λευκ[εῦσι]ν τ[οῖς] π[ρὸς] τῶ[ι] Ἡδυφῶντι]. In equating Seleukeia on the Eulaios and Seleukeia near the Hedyphon, Tcherikover was following Dittenberger (n. 47 to *OGIS* 233).

2. For **ALEXANDREIA near Babylon** see that entry; and Fraser, *Cities* 32-33.

3. **Location.** H. Rawlinson's identification of the Hedyphon with the Jarrhai (*JRGS* 9 [1839] 85) is generally accepted; see, for example, Honigmann, *RE* s.v. "Seleukeios 13"; W. B. Henning, "The Monuments and Inscriptions of Tang-i Sarvak," *Asia Major* (1952) 177 (= *W. B. Henning Selected Papers*, vol. 2 [Leiden and Tehran-Liege, 1977] 385); and Hansman, *Iran* 16 (1978) 156, 159. For Hansman's suggestion that Seleukeia near the Hedyphon was located at Jan-i Sheen/Ja Nishîn see pp. 159-61 ("It is accordingly proposed that the fortified site called Jan-i Sheen, which does lie beside the Hedyphon (Jarrhai) river, would better fit the indications suggested by our findings in reference to the situation of Seleucia-on-the- Hedyphon. We have already noted, moreover, that the embankments of Jan-i Sheen in their original conception form a parallelogram, as do the embankments at the site of Charax. . . . At Jan-i Sheen there is certainly pottery of the Parthian period. Moreover, we may reasonably expect earlier sherds to be sealed in the 4 m. depth of cultural deposit within the embankment lines. . . . While recognizing that only archaeological excavations will determine the full chronological sequence of cultural deposit at Jan-i Sheen, the present evidence of location, form and pottery would reasonably support an identification of this site with Seleucia-onthe- Hedyphon as it may relate to the Parthian/Elymaean period, and by location and form to the Greek period"); see also map on p.

SELEUKEIA ON THE ERYTHRAEAN SEA

Appended to the decree of ANTIOCH in Persis recognizing the festival of Artemis Leukophryene at Magnesia (Rigsby, *Asyria* no. 111.105-7) that probably dates to 205 B.C. was a list of other cities that had voted similar decrees. Among these was Seleukeia on the Erythraean Sea (recorded by its ethnic as Σελευκεῦσιν τοῖς πρὸς τῇ Ἐρυθραῖ θάλασσῃ). The fact that these Seleukeians passed a decree similar to that voted by the Antiochenes in Persis suggests that they also had a similarly developed civic structure. The astronomer Seleukos of Seleukeia came from this city.¹ Although the precise location is not known, the various attestations for the ethnic of Seleukos of Seleukeia suggest the city was in the southern part of Babylonia, on the Persian Gulf.² G. F. Del Monte has suggested that the “Seleukeia” mentioned in the cuneiform astronomical diary of 150 B.C. was Seleukeia on the Erythraean Sea and not, as generally believed, SELEUKEIA in Pieria.³ We do not know the founder.

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In general see Tcherikover, *HS* 98; Le Rider, *Suse* 270 n. 11; Funck, *Uruk* 23-55; Potts, *Arabian Gulf* 2:15; Sherwin-White and Kuhrt, *Samarkhand* 20; Fraser, *Terminology* 371.

1. For **Seleukos of Seleukeia** see F. Cumont, *Syria* 8 (1927) 83-84. Cumont noted that Strabo refers three times to the astronomer: (a) Σέλευκος ὁ Βαβυλώνιος (1.1.9), (b) Σέλευκος δ' ὁ ἀπὸ τῆς Σελευκείας and Χαλδαῖος (16.1.6), (c) Σέλευκος ὁ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐρυθραῖς θαλάττης (3.5.9); and that Stobaios (1.21.3a, ed. Wachsmuth and Hense) calls him Σέλευκος ὁ Ἐρυθραῖος. See further Appendix X.

2. Tarn suggested (*GBI*² 43) that the **location** of Seleukeia was “on the north-east shore of the Persian Gulf somewhere between Charax Spasinu at the mouth of the Tigris and Antioch in Persis on the Gulf of Bushire.”

3. *Astronomical Diaries* 3:87, no. 149 Rev. 6; see Del Monte, *Testi* 91-94; and R. J. van der Spek, *AfO* 44-45 (1997-1998) 168-69.

SELEUKEIA ON THE EULAIOS

An inscription (Rigsby, *Asyria* no. 111) found at Magnesia on the Maeander records a decree of Antioch in Persis (probably dating to c. 205 B.C.) that recognizes the festival of Artemis Leukophryene at Magnesia.¹ Appended to the decree was a list of other cities in southern Mesopotamia and the Persian Gulf region that passed similar decrees; among these was Seleukeia on the Eulaios (recorded by its ethnic, Σελευκεῦσιν τοῖς πρὸς τῷ Εὐλαίῳ). The discovery at Susa of a fragmentary inscription dated to 177/6 B.C. that mentioned Seleukeia on the Eulaios enabled B. Haussoullier to make the identification of the two.² The inscription records a decree voted (by the *ekklēsia*) in honor of the chief priestess of the local cult of the wife and the mother of Seleukos IV. The decree also provides evidence for a *grammateus* and *prytaneis*.

Inscriptional evidence suggests that Seleukeia on the Eulaios was originally settled by military colonists. A metrical inscription from there dated to 1/2 A.D. records a dedication by the *phrouroi* of the *akra*. The *phrouroi*, who were residing in the citadel, praised the Parthian administrators for the repair of their irrigation system; this had resulted in the renewed fertility of their *kleroi*. It was signed by Ariston son of Goras; the name Goras is Macedonian. Most probably these *phrouroi* of the *citadel* were descended from the original colonists or garrison soldiers who had received the *kleroi* and had been settled in the *akra*.³

A dedication by Leon, the commanders under him, and the soldiers is dated palaeographically to the third century B.C. It honors Arete, the daughter of Timon who was in charge of the court of the king (Λέων καὶ οἱ ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἡγεμόνες καὶ στρατιῶται Ἀρέτην Τίμωνος). The phraseology—similar to that found elsewhere—suggests the soldiers/settlers were organized into an association, either while on active duty or shortly after they were settled at the site.⁴

A dedication, dated palaeographically to the late third/early second century B.C., honors a *strategos* who was also in charge of the revenues (*SEG* 7:5 = *I. Estremo Oriente* 184 = *Euphrat* 409 = *IGIAC* 8). We also find evidence from the second century B.C. for the sacred manumission of slaves (*SEG* 7:15, 17–26 = *I. Estremo Oriente* 192 = *Euphrat* 417 = *IGIAC* 17).⁵ Under the Seleucids there was a royal mint at Susa.⁶ Although the founder is not definitely known, it is possible that Seleukeia was founded during the reign of Seleukos I Nikator.⁷

Coins discovered at Susa provide a useful perspective on the economic life of the city in the Hellenistic period.⁸ G. Le Rider noted that from the reign of Seleukos I to the beginning of the reign of Antiochos III relatively few coins (33 in all) from SELEUKEIA on the Tigris were found at Susa. In contrast, 314 bronze coins from Seleukeia on the Tigris that were minted

under Antiochos III were found, and an additional 106 coins that were produced under Seleukos IV. Le Rider reasonably suggested that the large number of coins from the Babylonian city reflected the presence of its merchants in Susa and that Susa's commercial importance for trade with the Persian Gulf region increased significantly as a result of Antiochos III's eastern campaign between 210 and 204 B.C.

Greek practices and institutions continued to flourish under Parthian rule. For example, documents continued to be inscribed on stone. There is also evidence dating from c. 100–50 B.C. for a *gymnasiarch*, Nikolaos, who apparently built a stadium in the *polis* (*SEG* 7:3 = *I. Estremo Oriente* 207 = *Euphrat* 412 = *IGIAC* 10). Another inscription, possibly dating to the first century B.C. (*SEG* 7:6 = *I. Estremo Oriente* 208 = *Euphrat* 413 = *IGIAC* 9), records the honors for Lysimachos son of Apollophanes, a *somatophylax*. A letter from the Parthian king Artabanos III to Antiochos and Phraates and the *polis* at Susa validates the election of the city treasurer.⁹ The letter is dated to the 17th of the Macedonian month Audnaios in the 268th year of the Seleucid era (21 A.D.). From the letter we also learn that the *boulē* proposed candidates for office and subjected them to a *dokimasia*; that the *polis* elected them and that a three-year interval had to intervene between terms for the city treasurer. Another inscription dating to the second century B.C. mentions a *chreoph[ylakeion/ylakes]* (*SEG* 7:15 = *I. Estremo Oriente* 192 = *Euphrat* 417 = *IGIAC* 17).¹⁰

There are numerous Macedonian and Greek anthroponyms in the inscriptions found at Susa. In addition, it is noteworthy that Eulaios is a Macedonian name.¹¹ Figurines of riders wearing the Macedonian *kausia* have been found at Susa.¹² From the civic coinage we learn that religious life centered around the Greek pantheon. Apollo and Artemis were particularly revered.¹³ Finally, Rhodian amphora handles dating to the last quarter of the third/first quarter of the second century B.C. have also been discovered at the site.¹⁴

P. M. Fraser has suggested that the ALEXANDREIA ἐπὶ Σούσοις, which is recorded in recension A of the *Alexander Romance*, probably corresponds to Seleukeia on the Eulaios.¹⁵

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In general see Tarn, *GBI*² 27–28; Le Rider, *Suse*; Rostovtzeff, *SEHHW* 489 – 90; L. Robert, *Gnomon* 35 (1963) 71–76; Cohen, *Seleucid Colonies* 2, 23, 36, 76; Oppenheimer, *BabJ* 422–33; Sherwin-White and Kuhrt,

Samarkhand 135, 179; Boucharlat in *Materialien* 41-57; R. Sherk, *ZPE* 93 (1992) 258-59; Orth, *Diadochenzeit* 136; Fraser, *Terminology* 370; Martinez-Sève in *Seleucids* 41-66.

1. For the **decree of Antioch in Persis** see Rigsby, *Asyria* no. 111 (= *I. Mag.* 61 = *OGIS* 233 = *I. Estremo Oriente* 252 = *Euphrat* 306 = *IGIAC* 53). Tcherikover (*HS* 98) believed that Seleukeia on the Eulaios was identical with SELEUKEIA near the Hedyphon.

2. For the **decree mentioning Seleukeia on the Eulaios** see Haussoullier in *Mélanges Perrot* 155-58; see also id. in *Studies Ramsay* 187-93; and *SEG* 7:2 = *I. Estremo Oriente* 191 = *IGIAC* 14. Lines 3-4 of the inscription read: ἐν Σελευκ[εῖ] εἶαι τῆι πρὸς τῶι Εὐλαίωι. For the partially restored reference to the mother and wife of Seleukos IV see L. Robert, *RPh* (1936) 148; id., *Hellenica* 7 (1949) 28 (correcting Haussoullier in *Studies Ramsay* 190).

For a **plan of Susa** see Le Rider, *Suse* 277. On the **difficulty of identifying the Eulaios** see ALEXANDREIA/ANTIOCH/Spasinou Charax, n. 1.

3. For the **metrical inscription** see F. Cumont, *CRAI* (1930) 211-20; id., *CRAI* (1931) 238-50; *SEG* 7:13.9-13 = *I. Estremo Oriente* 214 = *Euphrat* 405 = *IGIAC* 12 (9/8 B.C. or 1/2 A.D.). See also Rostovtzeff, *SEHHW* 490; Cohen, *Seleucid Colonies* 23 and n. 100; Billows, *Colonists* 176; Potts, *IrAnt* 24 (1989) 329; id., *Elam* 360. For a second dedication see *SEG* 7:12 = *Euphrat* 406 (8 B.C.).

For the *kleroi* cf. those at DO URA EURO POS.

4. For the **dedication by Leon** see *SEG* 7:4 = *I. Estremo Oriente* 183 = *Euphrat* 408 = *IGIAC* 7 as well as Cohen, *Seleucid Colonies* 76 and n. 22; Potts, *Elam* 360. With the association of soldiers at Seleukeia cf. the dedication made by “Soteles the Athenian and the soldiers” (Σωτέλ[ης] Ἀθηναῖο[ς] καὶ οἱ στρα[τιῶται]) at IKARO S, n. 5; and some military units that were stationed at Palaimag nesia c. 243 B.C. (Τίμωνι κα[ὶ] τοῖς πεζοῖς τοῖς τεταγμένοις ὑπὸ Τίμωνα and Μενεκλεῖ τε καὶ τοῖς ὑπ’ αὐτὸν τασσομένοις) in *OGIS* 229.103, 105. For the suggestion that Seleucid colonists formed corporations or associations see, for example, Oertel, *RE* s.v. “Katoikoi”; Tarn, *GBI*² 8; Bickerman, *IS* 82; Cohen, *Seleucid Colonies* 77 and n. 24.

5. For the **manumitting of slaves for cult service** see, for example, *SEG* 7:15 = *I. Estremo Oriente* 192 = *Euphrat* 417; *SEG* 7:17 = *I. Estremo Oriente* 190 = *Euphrat* 420; *SEG* 7:22 = *Euphrat* 418; *SEG* 7:25 = *I. Estremo Oriente* 206 = *Euphrat* 419; and Potts, *Elam* 363-68 (translations). The **toponym** Seleukeia on the Eulaios (Σελεύκεια ἡ πρὸς τῶι Εὐλαίωι, usually in the dative governed by ἐν) is frequently mentioned

in these inscriptions; see, for example, *SEG* 7:15 (= *I. Estremo Oriente* 192 = *Euphrat* 417 = *IGIAC* 17); 17, 18 (= *I. Estremo Oriente* 189); 24 (= *I. Estremo Oriente* 193).

6. For the **Seleucid royal mint at Susa** see Newell, *ESM* 107–53, nos. 283–412A and *addenda* in *WSM* 23–25; Le Rider, *Suse* nos. 1–84 and pp. 5–10; O. Morkholm, *Acta Arch.* 36 (1965) 131ff., nos. 19–23, 31–33, 58–66, 101–10; Houghton, *CSE* 1021–83; Krittr, *Susa* 3–80; Houghton and Lorber, *Seleucid Coins* 1.1: nos. 160–93, 194(?), 397–406, 406–7(?), 601–4, 786–805, 950, 1205–26, 1227–28 (?); and Martinez-Sève in *Seleucids* 47–55.

For the minting of coins under Antiochos IV Epiphanes see Le Rider, *Suse* 62–68, nos. 53–64. However, Morkholm (*Acta Arch.* 36 [1965] 152–56) removed some tetradrachms to the “District of the Erythraean Sea,” i.e., to ANTIOCH/Spasinou Charax. Furthermore, Houghton, Lorber, and Hoover (*Seleucid Coins* 2.1:113) reassigned a pair of tetradrachm issues to an “Uncertain Mint 80” (nos. 1516.1–2) in Babylonia, Susiana, or Persis and some tetradrachms and control-linked bronzes to ANTIOCH in Persis (nos. 1526–28).

7. **Founder.** Haussoullier suggested (in *Mélanges Perrot* 158) that Antiochos I founded the settlement when, as coruler with his father, he was in charge of the eastern satrapies; i.e., between 294/3 and 281 B.C. Tarn believed (*GBI*² 27) that Seleukeia began as a military colony and became a *polis* only under Antiochos III. Le Rider thought (*Suse* 280) it could have been founded as early as the last decade of the fourth century B.C., when SELEUKEIA on the Tigris was probably founded.

8. For the **economic life of Susa in the Hellenistic period** see the important discussion of Le Rider, *Suse* 299–306; see also Oppenheimer, *BabJ* 76. Le Rider also noted (306) that no coinage of Susa has been discovered at Persepolis or vice versa. This prompted him to suggest that commercial traffic to Iran went via the Persian Gulf rather than overland.

9. For the **letter of King Artabanos III** see F. Cumont, *CRAI* (1932) 238–60; *RC* 75; *SEG* 7:1 = *I. Estremo Oriente* 218, 220 = *Euphrat* 407: Βασιλεὺς βασιλέων Ἀρσάκης Ἀντιόχῳ καὶ Φραάτει ὄντοιν ἐν Σούσοις [τ]οῖς ἄρχουσι καὶ τῇ πόλει (l. 2). Welles suggested (*RC* 303 n. 12) that Antiochos and Phraates were the eponymous archons; see also R. Sherck, *ZPE* 93 (1992) 258–59. On the other hand, Cumont (249–50, followed by, for example, Wilhelm, *AAWW* [1934] 47 [= *Akademieschriften* 2:441]; Rostovtzeff, *CAH* 11:117; Le Rider, *Suse* 276 and nn. 4–5) convincingly interpreted the passage as “Arsakes King of kings to Antiochos and Phraates in Susa, to the magistrates and the polis.” As for Antiochos and Phraates, Cumont claimed the first was the *epistates*, and the second the

satrap of Susiana. Tarn noted (*GBI*² 27 and n. 3) that inasmuch as Phraates is named second he cannot have been the satrap; hence he suggested that Antiochos was the *epistates* and Phraates was a “Parthian . . . of less importance . . . probably the Parthian official in charge of the great Achaemenid palace.” Rostovtzeff thought that “one may be the governor of the province, the other the commander of the garrison.” Le Rider argued that the two officials were listed in hierarchic order, that Antiochos was the *strategos* of Susiana and Phraates was responsible for affairs in Susa itself.

In his commentary to **I. Estremo Oriente 208** Canali de Rossi has suggested the inscription could be dated to the period from the early second century B.C. to the early first century A.D.

10. For the mention of the ***chreoph[ylakeion/ylakes]*** see *SEG* 7:15 = *I. Estremo Oriente* 192 = *Euphrat* 417 = *IGIAC* 17.

11. For **Macedonian names at Seleukeia on the Eulaios** see, for example, Antiochos, Petasos, Leonides (*RC* 75.11 and 7 [p. 301]; *I. Estremo Oriente* 218.12, 220.1; *Euphrat* 407.12, 16; *IGIAC* 3), Attalos (*SEG* 7:2.9 = *I. Estremo Oriente* 9 = *IGIAC* 14), Ariston (*SEG* 7:13.13 = *I. Estremo Oriente* 214 = *Euphrat* 405 = *IGIAC* 12), Lysimachos (*SEG* 7:6.2 = *I. Estremo Oriente* 208 = *Euphrat* 413 = *IGIAC* 9), Krateros (*SEG* 7:10 = *I. Estremo Oriente* 180 = *Euphrat* 404 = *IGIAC* 4), Drakas (*SEG* 7:21.3 = *I. Estremo Oriente* 196 = *IGIAC* 21), Nikolaos (*SEG* 7:3.2 = *I. Estremo Oriente* 207 = *Euphrat* 412 = *IGIAC* 10). For the Macedonian name **Eulaios** see Robert, *Gnomon* 35 (1963) 75–76; id., *OMS* 2:978–83 (= *Epistemonike Epeteris tes Philosophikes Scholes tou Panepistemiou Athenon* 13 [1962–1963] 520–25); see also Billows, *Colonists* 176 and n. 85; Le Rider, *Suse* 282–85.

12. For riders wearing the **kausia** that were found at Susa see Ghirshman, *Persian Art* 104 and fig. 118; id., *Terrasses sacrées: L'Iran du Sud-Ouest* 1:79; Connelly in *Arabie préislamique* 150. On the *kausia* see also IKARO S, n. 26.

13. For the **religious life at Seleukeia** see Le Rider, *Suse* 287–89. In addition to Artemis (e.g., *Suse* nos. 8–12, 34, 41–42, 49, 60, 78, 84, 110; 51 [Artemis and Apollo]) and Apollo (e.g., nos. 16–18, 23–27, 35, 48, 50, 57), other Greek divinities represented on the coins include Athena (nos. 30 – 31, 36), the Dioskouroi (no. 58), Hermes (nos. 43, 45, 76), and Zeus (nos. 39, 62, 75). The only possible allusion to an Oriental deity is found on a coin dating to the reign of Antiochos IV Epiphanes (*Suse* 289–90, no. 59).

A broken piece of stone found at Susa has on it the word ἀρχιερεύς. The inscription is dated palaeographically to the first half of the second century B.C. (F. Cumont, *CRAI* [1938] 305–7 [= *I. Estremo Oriente* 181 = *IGIAC*

28]; see also J. Robert and L. Robert, *BE* [1939] 521; Le Rider, *Suse* 288 n. 1). It is possible that we have here a reference to a high priest of the royal cult; but given the state of the evidence—one word!—we must leave this to the realm of speculation.

14. For the **Rhodian amphora handles** see F. Cumont, *Syria* 8 (1927) 49–52; R. Ghirshman, *CRAI* (1949) 196–97; C. Börker, *BaM* 7 (1974) 44–45; Garlan, *Amphores* 68–76 et passim; Finkielsztejn, *Chronologie*; id. in *Amphorae* 117–21; id. in *Epigrafia Anforica* 55–65; P. Monsieur, R. Bouchardat, and E. Haereinck, *IrAnt* 46 (2011) 161–82.

15. For **Alexandreia** ἐπὶ Σούσοις see Fraser (*Cities* 33), who referred to it as **Alexandreia** ἐν Σούσοις.

Tarn's suggestion (*GBI*² 6) that settlers from Ephesos colonized Susa is not convincing; contra: Le Rider, *Suse* 281. For other Hellenistic foundations settled by old Ionian cities see, for example, ANTIOCH near Pisidia, ANTIOCH in Persis, and AMPELON E on the Red Sea.

STASIS

Stephanos is our only source of information about Stasis, which he describes (s.v. “Stasis”) as a πόλις Περσικὴ ἐπὶ πέτρης μεγάλης ἣν εἶχεν Ἀντίοχος ὁ Σελεύκου.¹ Antiochos son of Seleukos could presumably be either Antiochos I or III. Since εἶχεν did not make much sense, B. Niese suggested emending the text to read εἶλεν. Even with the emendation, we still lack a firm indication that this was a colony. Tcherikover was properly skeptical about this settlement.

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In general see Droysen, *Hist.* 2:748; Weissbach, *RE* s.v. “Stasis”; Niese, *GMS* 2:92 n. 5; Tcherikover, *HS* 99.

1. On the **toponym** see Appendix VIII.

TANAGRA

Ptolemy (6.4.4) is our sole source of information about Tanagra in Persis. The toponym, of course, recalls the like-named city in Boeotia. Diodorus says that Xerxes had exiled some Boeotians to the region of Apolloniatis (17.110.-4–5). Furthermore, Herodotus tells us that Darius had

transplanted other Greeks to Susiana and the Red Sea basin (3.39, 6.20, 6.119). This raises the possibility that Tanagra originated as a settlement of Greeks who had earlier been exiled by one of the Persian kings, rather than as a Hellenistic settlement.

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In general see Tcherikover, *HS* 99; Tarn, *GBI*² 11.

TRAGONIKE

Both Ptolemy (6.4.6) and Ammianus (23.6.42) mention Tragonike in Persis. There is no additional information available regarding this town.

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In general see Sturm, *RE* s.v. "Tragonike"; Tcherikover, *HS* 99; Den Boeft et al., *Comment. on Ammianus XXIII* 180; Fontaine, *Ammien* 2:92.

ZETIS

Pliny is our only extant source for Zetis, which he mentions along with ALEXANDREIA as being in Carmania (*NH* 6.107). W. W. Tarn suggested that Zetis was a nickname ("The Search," an allusion to Nearchos's search for Alexander) for Harmouza. In this connection he suggested that Zetis and Alexandreia in Pliny were to be identified with Harmouza and Alexandreia in Ptolemy (8.22.21; cf. 6.8.5).¹ H. Treidler suggested that Zetis might have been located north of modern Bandar Abbas at the site of the present Gulashkird (Valashgird in the Arabic geographers).²

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In general see Tarn, *GBI*² 482; Treidler, *RE* s.v. "Zetis"; and POR TUS MACEDON UM.

1. Tarn, *GBI*² 482 n. 1. On **the toponym Zetis** see Appendix VIII.
2. Treidler, *RE* s.v. "Zetis"; and E. Herzfeld, *Klio* 8 (1908) 21. For the location of Gulashkird (Valashgird) see Le Strange, *Caliphate* 317 and map

VI; R. Boucharlat and J.-F. Salles, *PSAS* 11 (1981) 67 and map on p. 87. Note that Tomaschek (*RE* s.v. "Alexandreia 11") suggested this was the site of ALEXANDREIA in Carmania.

VI

MEDIA, HYRCANIA, AND PARTHIA

ACHAIA IN PARTHIA

According, to Appian (*Syr.* 57), Achaia was founded by Seleukos I Nikator and was one of a number of settlements in Parthia that were given names from Greece or Macedonia. Assuming the information in Appian is correct, this settlement should be distinguished from the ACHAIA in Aria recorded by Strabo (11.10.1).¹

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In general, see Droysen, *Hist.* 2:750–51; Tcherikover, *HS* 100, 102; Brodersen, *Komment.* 160–61.

1. See also the discussion in HERAKLEIA/ACHAIS (ACHAIA) in Aria.

ALEXANDROPOLIS

According to Pliny (*NH* 6.113) there was an Alexandropolis in the region of Nisiaia, named for its founder (“regio Nisiaea Parthyenes nobilis, ubi Alexandropolis a conditore”). Tcherikover called attention to the *polis* of Parthaunisa, which, according to Isidore of Charax (12), the Greeks called Nisaia, and suggested there might be a connection between the two. Nevertheless, Tcherikover was skeptical of Pliny’s ascription of this city to Alexander. In fact, noting the silence of the Alexander historians regarding this city, Tcherikover doubted its existence.¹

We should distinguish cities called Alexandreia from those called Alexandropolis. There are three or four of the latter name; according to P. M. Fraser, “They do not occur in the lists of Alexandrias, and indeed they are not known to the Alexandreian tradition as we have recreated it.” Fraser notes that the “Oriental Alexandropolises raise insoluble problems. . . . The cities given by Pliny and Honorius [i.e., Alexandropolis and HEKATOMPYLOS] seem quite unreal; there is no suggestion in any Greek source, geographical or historical, of a city founded by Alexander after his passage through the Caspian Gates, while the long and monotonous list of *oppida* in Honorius is so full of geographical nonsense that we may jettison it without qualms.”²

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In general see Droysen, *Hist.* 2:671; Tomaschek, *RE* s.v. “Alexandropolis 1”; Berve, *Alexanderreich* 1:293; Tcherikover, *HS* 101; Fraser, *Cities* 29.

1. Tcherikover, *HS* 101; Berve (*Alexanderreich* 1:293) considered Alexandropolis as a “possible” but “not certain” foundation of Alexander.

2. Fraser, *Cities* 29.

APAMEIA

In a corrupt passage Strabo says (11.13.6) that among the Greek cities in Media founded by the Macedonians (εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ Ἑλληνίδες πόλεις κτίσματα τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐν τῇ Μηδίᾳ, ὧν Λαοδίκειά τε καὶ Ἀπάμεια καὶ ἡ πρὸς Ῥάγαις καὶ αὐτὴ Ῥάγα, τὸ τοῦ Νικάτορος κτίσμα) was Apameia, LAODIKEIA, the [city] near Rhagai, and RHAGA[I] itself; he also says (11.9.1) that Apameia was near Rhagai.¹ Pliny adds (*NH* 6.43) that Apameia was called Rhagiane. Isidore of Charax (8) says that Apameia was beyond the Caspian Gates in the district of Choarene. The founder was most probably Seleukos I Nikator. The city was also mentioned by Ammianus (23.6.43), Ptolemy (6.5.3), and Eustathius (918 in *GGM* 2:379). There is no other extant information about this settlement.²

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In general see Mannert, *Geographie* 5.2:179; Droysen, *Hist.* 2:750; Tomaschek, *RE* s.v. “Apameia 7”; Tcherikover, *HS* 100; Fraser, *Terminology* 340–41.

1. On “the [city] near Rhagai” see HERAKLEIA in Media.

2. **Location.** According to Tomaschek (*RE* s.v. “Apameia 7”), Apameia was located on the caravan road from Tehran to Shahrud and Nisapur at the site of the village of Sahr-Khwar or Khar. For a map see A. F. von Stahl, *GJ* 64 (1924) 316.

BISITUN

At Bisitun (Behistun) a sculpture representing a reclining Herakles at a banquet also has an inscription dated to 148 B.C. that records the Macedonian or Thessalian name, Pantauchos.¹ Louis Robert has therefore suggested that this could reflect the presence of Macedonians in the area, either as administrators or as colonists. We should need further evidence

before affirming that there was a settlement of Greeks and/or Macedonians there.

Bisitun is located 32 kilometers east of Bactaran (Kirmanshah).

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In general see L. Robert, *Gnomon* 35 (1963) 76 and n. 7; Bickerman in *La Persia* (1966) 109; Potts, *Elam* 373.

1. For the **inscription** mentioning Pantauchos see, for example, *I. Estremo Oriente* 274 = *Euphrat* 308 = *IGIAC* 70.

CHARAX

Isidore of Charax (7) mentioned Charax in Media and said it was near the Caspian Gates.¹ Charax is also mentioned by Ammianus (23.6.43) and Ptolemy (6.5.3). We do not know the precise location.²

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In general see Tomaschek, *RE* s.v. "Charax 9" and "Choara"; Tcherikover, *HS* 100-101; Markwart, *Provincial Capitals* 110; Fontaine, *Ammien XXIII-XXV* 2:93; Den Boeft in *Comment. on Ammianus XXIII* 181; and CHARIS in Parthia.

1. It is generally agreed that the "**Caspian Gates**" (modern Sardarrah) should be identified with a narrow defile 78 km east of Tehran that separates Media from Parthia and Hyrcania (e.g., Strabo 11.3.7, 11.9.1, 15.2.8; Pliny *NH* 6.43); see, for example, Mannert, *Geographie* 5.2:175-77; A. V. Williams Jackson, *From Constantinople to the Home of Omar Khayyam* (New York, 1911) 127-38; A. Stahl, *GJ* 64 (1924) 318-20; J. F. Standish, *Greece and Rome* 17 (1970) 17-24; Fontaine, *Ammien XXIII-XXV* 2:93; Silberman, *Pomponius Mela Chronographie* 139; J. Hansman, *JRAS* (1968) 118 and map on p. 117; Biffi, *Strabone* 156-57.

2. **Location.** See Ritter, *Erdkunde* 9:451-52; Forbiger, *Handbuch* 2:596 n. 21; Tomaschek, *RE* s.v. "Charax 9."

In *Seleucid Coins* 2.1:XLVII, pp. 694-98, Houghton, Lorber, and Hoover reattributed most of the drachm coinage formerly assigned to a second workshop at EKBATANA to a new mint (possibly at Charax or, more probably, HEKATOMPYLOS) in northern Media or Hyrcania; the new mint would have been opened in the course of Antiochos III's eastern campaign.

CHARIS

Charis was one of the settlements in Parthia named for Greek and Macedonian places that Appian (*Syr.* 57) says were founded by Seleukos I Nikator.¹ There is no other information extant about this foundation.²

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In general see Droysen, *Hist.* 2:751; Tomaschek, *RE* s.v. “Charis”; Tcherikover, *HS* 101; Brodersen, *Komment.* 159–60.

1. Tarn (*GBI*² 13) believed that “Charis” was actually a nickname; see further KALLIOPE in Parthia, HEKATOMPYLOS, and Appendix VIII.

2. Brodersen (*Komment.* 159–60) mentions **three possible identifications for this settlement**: (a) Karisi in Aria, (b) CHARIS in India, or (c) CHARAX in Media. The evidence Brodersen cited for Karisi in Aria is found on a coin of Eukratides. According to A. Cunningham (*NC* [1869] 225, no. 21; *Geography* 33), on the coin there is an “Arian [i.e., Aryan] legend in three lines outside, incomplete; but by collation with other specimens it appears to be *Karisiye nagara devata*, ‘the god of the city of Karisi,’ but the last word [i.e., “devata” (god)] is very doubtful”; see also A. von Sallet, *ZfN* 6 (1879) 300; id., *ZfN* 9 (1882) 159. In fact, the legend should be read as *Kavisiye nagara devata*, “the god of the city of Kapisa” (= Bopearachchi, *Monnaies gréco-bactriennes* 216, nos. 121–22). Thus, the coin is an issue of Kapisa in the Parapamisadai.

EPIPHANEIA EKBATANA

Ekbatana was an old city that was refounded in the Hellenistic period. The identification of the monarch who refounded it is unclear. Polybius remarked (10.27.3–4) that Alexander the Great established a ring of “Greek cities”—except Ekbatana—around Media to protect it. Presumably Polybius placed Ekbatana in a separate category because, as he says (10.27.5), it had always been the royal residence of the Medes.¹ The Perso-Arabic writer Qudama recorded Hamadan as one of Alexander’s foundations (*Kitâb al-Kharâj* 265 in *BGA* 6:207, trans. Goeje).² Pliny (*NH* 6.43) claimed that King Seleukos founded Ekbatana as the capital of Media (“Ecbatana caput Mediae Seleucus rex condidit”). According to Stephanos (s.v. “Agbatana”), Ekbatana was also called Epiphaneia. Undoubtedly Antiochos IV Epiphanes would have been responsible for this.³

There was a Seleucid royal mint at Ekbatana that was active as early as

the reign of Seleukos I Nikator and continued in operation until at least the mid-second century B.C.⁴ Ekbatana remained under Seleucid rule—except for the period c. 162–160 B.C., when the usurper Timarchos controlled the city—until the Parthian Mithradates I conquered Ekbatana, c. 148/7 B.C.⁵

Strabo says (11.13.1, 5, and 6) that Ekbatana served as a summer residence for the Persians and later for the Macedonians and the Parthians.⁶ Ekbatana was located on the main route from Bactria to SELEUKEIA on the Tigris at the site of the modern Hamadan.⁷

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In general see Tcherikover, *HS* 99–100; Weissbach, *RE* s.v. “Ekbatana”; Treidler, *KP* s.v. “Ekbatana”; M.-L. Chaumont, *Syria* 50 (1973) 216–17; P. Briant, *OCD*³ “Ecbatana”; Wilber, *PECS* s.v. “Ecbatana (Hamadan)”; Orth, *Diadochenzeit* 118; Mittag, *Antiochos* 203–4.

For the results of excavation at Ekbatana between 1983 and 1999 see M. R. Sarraf, *AMI* 29 (1997) 321–39; id. in *Continuity of Empire (?)* 269–79.

1. For ancient **Ekbatana** see, for example, Benzinger, *RE* s.v. “Ekbatana 1”; Brown, *OEANE* s.v. “Ecbatana”; Perkins, *ABD* s.v. “Ecbatana.”

Grainger (*Seleukos* 149) included Ekbatana among the foundations of Seleukos I. F. Altheim (*Weltgeschichte* 268), citing Strabo 11.13.5, claimed that Seleukos I used Ekbatana as an “occasional residence”; see also Mehl, *Seleukos* 1:267 n. 132.

2. M. J. Price tentatively suggested that the famous elephant medallions of Alexander the Great might possibly have been minted at Ekbatana—or Susa, Babylon, or Persepolis (in *Studia Naster* 1:83–84); contra: Holt, *Elephant Medallions* 100. In general on the elephant medallions see Holt’s interesting discussion in the book of that title. On Hamadan see below, n. 7.

3. Of the settlements named **Epiphaneia**, Mørkholm (*Antiochos* 117) considered only EPIPHANEIA in Armenia and Epiphaneia Ekbatana to be definite foundations of Antiochos IV Epiphanes. For the activities of Epiphanes in the East see, for example, Mørkholm, *Antiochos* 166–80; Le Rider, *Suse* 311–24; Bickerman in *CHI* 3:32.

4. For the **royal mint at Ekbatana**, for example, see Newell, *ESM* 162–227 and 253–54, nos. 428–656; id., *WSM* nos. 26–31; O. Mørkholm, *Acta Arch.* 36 (1965) 130–38, nos. 14, 28, 41, 72–74; *CSE* 1120–1275; *CSE* 283, 161–62, 205–8, 301, 382, 429–30, 884–85; Le Rider, *Suse* 325–

40; G. K. Jenkins, *NC* (1951) 6–19; Houghton and Lorber, *Seleucid Coins* 1 and 2, nos. 200–225, 409–21, 606–11, 806–29, 944–47, 951, 1230–71, 1352–59; pp. 115–16 and nos. 1539–57, 1589–1602, 1603 (?); p. 195 and nos. 1724–47, 1748 (?); p. 252 and nos. 1869–82.

For **Timarchos and the coins minted by him** see also A. R. Bellinger, *ANS MN* 1 (1945) 37–44; Le Rider, *RN* (1959–1960) 14–16; id., *Suse* 332–34; Houghton, Lorber, and Hoover, *Seleucid Coins* 2:145–50, nos. 1589–1602. Bellinger’s attempt (*YCS* 11 [1950] 314 n. 1) to attribute the drachms of Timarchos to SELEUKEIA on the Tigris was rejected by Le Rider (*Suse* 333), who has convincingly assigned them to Ekbatana.

I would also call attention to a group of **bronze coins bearing a head of Tyche and on the reverse the legend ΔΚΣ ΔΙΟΥ Α** (e.g., *BMC Arabia, etc.* 143–45, nos. 19–40; *Hunter. Coll.* 3:320, nos. 1–4; *SNG [Cop] Palestine-Characene* 270–71). De Saulcy (*Numismatique* 378–80) identified this as an autonomous emission of DION in southern Syria dated according to the Seleucid era, i.e., year 224 (= 89/8 B.C.). The Α would have referred to the first year of the city’s autonomy. This attribution has not been accepted. Most scholars assign the coins to a mint farther east and suggest (a) ΔΙΟΥ Α refers to the first day of the Macedonian month of Dios, and (b) ΔΚΣ refers to either the Seleucid era (i.e., 89/8 B.C.) or the Parthian era (i.e., 24 B.C.). Thus, D. Sellwood (*Parthia*² no. 92.3) and C. Augé (*GHPO* 325) suggested Ekbatana. Newell (cited in McDowell, *CST* 155 n. 12) and Le Rider (*Suse* 43 n. 2; 416, “possibly Ekbatana”) pointed to a mint in Iran. On the other hand, W. Wroth (*BMC Parthia* xlvi–xlvii, n. 2), G. F. Hill (*BMC Arabia* xxxi, n. 3), and Mørholm (*SNG [Cop] Palestine* 270–71) assigned the coin to SELEUKEIA on the Tigris. In general, see Augé in *GHPO* 325 and n. 3.

In *Seleucid Coins* 2.1:XLVII, pp. 694–98, Houghton, Lorber, and Hoover reattributed most of the drachm coinage formerly assigned to a second workshop at Ekbatana to a new mint (possibly at CHARAX or, more probably, HEKATOMPYLOS) in northern Media or Hyrcania; the new mint would have been opened in the course of Antiochos III’s eastern campaign.

5. For the **coins issued by Mithradates I at Ekbatana** see Le Rider, *Suse* 340–45.

6. At 11.13.5 Strabo describes **Ekbatana as a winter** residence of the Persians, Macedonians, and Parthians. As various editors and translators have noted (e.g., G. Kramer [1844], A. Meineke [1877], W. Falconer [1913], H. L. Jones [1917], F. Lasserre [1975]), this was presumably a copyist’s error. Suggested emendations include “summer residence” or “royal residence.”

2 Macc. 9:3–28 is the only extant ancient source for the unlikely claim

that Antiochos IV Epiphanes died near Ekbatana; see Le Rider, *Suse* 323 n. 6; J. A. Goldstein, *II Maccabees* 350–51; Habicht, 2. *Makkabäerbuch* 244 n. 5; Schwartz, 2 *Maccabees* 353–54. Polybius (31.9) and Porphyry (*FGrH* 260 F56) say he died at Tabai in Persis; see further Walbank, *Comment.* 3:474; and T. Drew-Bear, *REA* 82 (1980) 155–57.

7. According to Polybius (10.27.4) Ekbatana was in the northern part of Media and commanded the part of Asia bordering on the Maeotis and Euxine seas. But, as Walbank observed (*Comment.* 2:233), this is “true only in reference to P.’s distorted geographical picture of northern Media.”

For **Hamadan** see, for example, Polybius’s description (10.27); and Matheson, *Persia* 109–12. Hamadan is located 336 km southwest of Tehran; see map 5 on p. 108 of Matheson, *Persia*; and map on p. 86 in Bosworth, *Conquest*. For the **identification of Hamadan and Ekbatana** see, for example, A. F. von Stahl, *GJ* 64 (1924) 313–18.

EUMENEIA

Stephanos (s.v. “Eumeneia”) is our sole source of evidence for Eumeneia in Hyrcania. Assuming the accuracy of the information, one thinks of Eumenes of Kardia, who was active in this region, as the likely founder. If so, his death in 316 B.C. would provide a *terminus* for the foundation date. It is far more likely that this settlement is to be identified with EUMENEIA in Hyrcania in the Lydian plain.

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In general see Droysen, *Hist.* 2:750; Tcherikover, *HS* 22–23; Cohen, *Settlements in Europe* 208.

EUROPOS RHAGAI

Qudama included “Ray” among the settlements he ascribed to Alexander (*Kitâb al-Kharâj* 265 in *BGA* 6:207, trans. Goeje). Strabo (11.13.6; see also 11.9.1; and Stephanos, s.v. “Rhaga”) says that Rhagai was—along with LAODIKEIA, APAMEIA, and the [city] near Rhagai—a Greek city founded by the Macedonians. Strabo adds that Rhagai was founded by Seleukos I Nikator who named it Europos; Strabo also says that it was about 500 stades south of the Caspian Gates. In fact it was an old native city that Seleukos refounded.¹ Ptolemy (6.2.17), Ammianus (23.6.39), and the

Tabula Peutingeriana (XI.2) refer to the city under the name Europos.²

Strabo and Stephanos also commented that the Parthians renamed it Arsakia. Note, however, that Ptolemy (6.2.16–17) and Ammianus (23.6.39) record both Europos and Arsakia.³ Rhagai was located southeast of Tehran at the site of the modern Ray.⁴

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In general see Weissbach, *RE* s.v. “Raga”; Markwart, *Provincial Capitals* 112; Tcherikover, *HS* 100; Frye, *Iran* 152; Duchesne-Guillemin, *KP*, s.v. “Raga”; Orth, *Diadochenzeit* 134; Fraser, *Terminology* 340–41.

1. Markwart, *Provincial Capitals* 112–13. For the **mention of the district of Rhagai in the Bisitun (Behistun) inscription of Darius I** see *OCD*³ s.v. “Bisitun” and references cited there. On the Caspian Gates see CHARAX in *Media*, n. 1

2. For **other references to Rhagai in the literary sources** see Weissbach, *RE* s.v. “Raga”; and Markwart, *Provincial Capitals* 112. Newell (*ESM* 253–54) considered—but ultimately dismissed—the possibility that there had been a royal Seleucid mint at Rhagai. A group of coins (nos. 503–15) with Alexander types and the name Seleukos or Antiochos that he considered assigning to Rhagai he finally left with those assigned to EKBATANA; followed by Houghton and Lorber, *Seleucid Coins* 1.1, nos. 204–5, 210–11, 214.

Tcherikover (*HS* 159) suggested that Antigonos Monophthalmos might have settled his soldiers throughout the *region* of Rhagai. In support of this suggestion he called attention to Diodorus’s statement that “Antigonos . . . distributed the soldiers throughout the entire satrapy and particularly in the eparchy called Rhagae” (19.44.4, trans. Geer). Billows (*Antigonos* 299–300) agreed with Tcherikover and, in further support, pointed to Polyaeus (4.6.15). The latter mentions that three thousand soldiers were sent to Sibyrtios in Arachosia and that another two thousand were stationed as garrisons in various “secure and out-of-the-way sites,” a description that—according to Billows—fits the region of Rhagai.

3. On **the renaming of Rhagai as Arsakia** see M.-L. Chaumont, *Syria* 50 (1973) 201–5; and Fraser, *Terminology* 341.

4. For the **location of Ray** see Schmidt, *Iran* 29ff. and pls. 31–33; and A. F. von Stahl, *GJ* 64 (1924) 318.

HEKATOMPYLOS

It is not clear whether Hekatompylos in Comisene (in western Parthia) was colonized by Seleukos I Nikator or whether its founding predates him. According to Curtius Rufus (6.2.15), who is describing Alexander's sojourn in Parthia, Hekatompylos was "founded by the Greeks," and Alexander stayed there. Unfortunately he is no more specific than that. Diodorus said (17.75.1) that on his way to Hyrcania Alexander camped near a city called Hekatontapylos; Diodorus adds that it was particularly rich.¹ On the other hand, Appian (*Syr.* 57)—who occasionally committed errors in his ascription of settlements to Seleukos—included Hekatompylos/Hekatompolis among the settlements he says were founded by Seleukos (the variant spellings are found in different manuscript traditions).² If the latter form is not an error, then the Hekatompolis of Seleukos would be different from the Hekatompylos of Curtius and Diodorus. On the other hand, if—as likely—the reading "Hekatompylos" in Appian is correct, then we should have the difficulty of reconciling Appian's statement that Seleukos founded Hekatompylos with the evidence of Diodorus that the town was already in existence when Alexander was in the area. A possible—speculative—solution to the problem is to suggest that Diodorus was referring retrospectively to the city, that is, to an already existing native city that subsequently was renamed/refounded as Hekatompylos by Seleukos.³ In this connection we may note that although the site of Hekatompylos has not been definitely identified (see below), most scholars locate it at Shahr-i Qumis. In area A at the site, surface survey has revealed evidence for intermittent occupation during the Iron Age and Achaemenid period.⁴

According to Polybius (10.28.7; see also 29.1), in the course of his expedition against Arsakes II in 210 B.C. Antiochos III rested his army at Hekatompylos. Polybius adds that the city was in the middle of Parthia and was so named because all the roads from the surrounding areas converged on it. Strabo, quoting Apollodorus of Artemita (11.9.1), describes Hekatompylos as the royal residence of the Parthians (τὸ τῶν Παρθηαίων βασίλειον). Pliny (*NH* 6.44) describes it as the capital of Parthia ("ipsum vero Parthiae caput Hecatompylos") and says it was in the middle of that region (*NH* 6.113; see also 6.61). Ptolemy (6.5.2) refers to it as Ἐκατόν/μυλος βασίλειον, and Ammianus (23.6.44) also mentions it.⁵ Isidore of Charax (9), writing in the first century A.D., remarks that in Comisene there were eight villages in which there were stations, but no cities.

There may have been a royal mint at Hekatompylos that produced coins under Antiochos I and II and Seleukos II.⁶ The location of Hekatompylos is

a major crux; the consensus of scholarly opinion would place it 32 kilometers southwest of Damghan at the mounds of Shahr-i Qumis.⁷

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In general see A. D. Mordtmann, *SBAW* (1869) 497–536; Droysen, *Hist.* 2:750; Kiessling, *RE* s.v. “Hekatompylos”; Miller, *Itineraria* 793; Tcherikover, *HS* 101; Markwart, *Provincial Capitals* 55–56; Walbank, *Comment.* 2:236–38; Matheson, *Persia* 193–94; J. Hansman, *JRAS* (1968) 111–39; Bosworth, *Comment.* 1:342–43; M.-L. Chaumont, *Syria* 50 (1973) 217–22; Brodersen, *Komment.* 160; Fraser, *Cities* 107–9; Colledge, *OCD*³ s.v. “Hekatompylos”; Orth, *Diadochenzeit* 121; Cohen in *Cultural Horizons* 84–85; cais-soas.com/cais/geography/damghan.htm.

For the results of excavation at Shahr-i Qumis see J. Hansman and D. Stronach, *JRAS* (1970) 29–62 and (1974) 8–22.

1. If I understand him correctly, Fraser (*Cities* 29 and n. 61) has suggested that **there was an Alexandria or Alexandropolis at Hekatompylos** and that this may perhaps be identified with the “Alexandria oppidum” recorded by Julius Honorius (A6, ed. A. Reise, *Geographi Latini Minores* p. 26) between “Carrha oppidum” and “Nisibi oppidum.” Nevertheless, Fraser noted: “There is no suggestion in any Greek source . . . of a city founded by Alexander after his passage through the Caspian Gates”; furthermore, he correctly dismissed Honorius as a reliable source. In any event, I fail to see the basis for positing an identification of Hekatompylos with Honorius’s “Alexandria oppidum.” In his listing of cities Honorius moves in a generally westward direction. As I mentioned, this particular Alexandria is listed between “Carrha oppidum” and “Nisibi oppidum,” both of which are in northern Mesopotamia. This is followed by Arbaei, Commagene, Dolicha, Palmyra, and Damascus. Thus, if Honorius can be relied on—which is unlikely—this Alexandria would appear to have been in northeastern Mesopotamia rather than in Parthia.

As for Curtius Rufus, we may note that he says Hekatompylos was “founded by the Greeks.” He does not say it was founded by Alexander. But this is an argument from silence.

For the Caspian Gates see CHARAX in Media, n. 1.

2. According to Markwart, in the **Pahlavi Provincial Capitals of Eranshahr** (18, ed. Markwart), the “chief of the sorcerers (?)” Az I dahak “appears as mythical representant of the Seleucid ruler,” i.e., Seleukos I Nikator (p. 55); see also Marquart, *ZDMG* 49 (1895) 644 n. 1.

Among the foundations that he ascribes to Seleukos Nikator, Appian

mentions various settlements that he says were given names from Greece and Macedonia (Syr. 57). Among these were SOTEIRA, CHARIS, KALLIOPE, HEKATOMPYLOS, and ACHAIA. Tarn noted (GBI² 13–14) that no such Greek cities are known. Therefore, he suggested that **Appian has given the nicknames rather than the real names**. According to Tarn, Hekatompylos is attested in the literature only as the Homeric epithet for Thebes “of the hundred gates.” Thus, according to Tarn, the nickname means that the town had more gates than the normal four found in Hellenistic town planning. The real name of the town is unknown, and “Hekatompylos” found in the late Alexander historians is simply an example of “the usual proleptic use of names of a later day.” Two comments: (a) Hekatompylos is referred to by Diodorus as well as Pliny, Curtius Rufus, and Ptolemy in addition to Appian. That is to say, it is found in a number of disparate sources dating from as early as the mid-first century B.C. (b) Although the toponym is not attested in Greece it is found—not as a nickname but as a toponym—in Libya (Polyb. 1.73.1; Diod. 4.18.1, 24.10.2). Diodorus gives a mythological origin for the name: he says Herakles founded the city. In any event, the existence of the city is beyond dispute: both Diodorus and Polybius mention the capture of Hekatompylos by the Carthaginian Hanno. See also Appendix VIII. On errors in Appian see Cohen, *Settlements in Syria* 3.

There are at least **four variant spellings attested for the toponym**:

- a. Hekatompylos in Parthia: Polyb. 10.28.7, 29.1; Strabo 11.9.1; Pliny *NH* 6.44, 61, 113; Amm. 23.6.44; Ptol. 6.5.2; Plethon’s excerpt of Appian (in Brodersen, *Antiochike* 55). Hekatompylos in Libya: Diod. 4.18.1, 24.10.2.
- b. Hekatontapylos in Parthia: Diod. 17.75.1. Hekatontapylos in Libya: Polyb. 1.73.1.
- c. Hecantopolis in Parthia: *Tab. Peut.* XI.2 (note that Droysen [*Hist.* 2:749] believed that one should distinguish Hecantopolis [which he called “Hecatompolis”] recorded in the *Tab. Peut.* from the “well known Hecatompylon”).
- d. Hekatompylos/Hecatompolis: App. Syr. 57.

3. Assuming—reasonably—that Hekatompylos was the refounding of a native town, Hansman suggested that the **Old Persian name of the native town might have been *Komisha** (*JRAS* [1968] 133–35). Briefly, he noted the following: Seleucid eparchies were often named after pre-Hellenistic cities of the districts; thus Rhagiana from Rhagai (Old Persian,

Raga), Gabiane from Gabai (Old Persian, Gaba?) and Susiana/e from Susa (Old Persian, Çusha). Hekatompylos was located in the eparchy of Comisene. Furthermore, Yakut says that Arabic Qumis is the equivalent of the Persian Komish (*Mu'jam al-Buldan* p. 464, trans. Meynard). Finally, he pointed out that in the transition to Middle Persian the final vowel of an Old Persian word is dropped. Thus, Raga and Çusha (Old Persian) become, respectively, Ray and Shush (Middle Persian). Hence, the possibility that the Old Persian name for the town might have been Komisha.

4. J. Hansman and D. Stronach, *JRAS* (1970) 34.

5. For the establishment of the **Parthian capital at Hekatompylos** after 217 B.C. see, for example, Colledge, *Parthians* 27.

For **Hekatompylos in the Chinese histories** see Hirth, *China* 141.

6. The **question of whether there was a Seleucid royal mint at Hekatompylos or ARTAKOANA** remains unresolved. In *ESM* 255–56 (which was published in 1938) Newell tentatively assigned tetradrachms and drachms nos. 727–45 (in an *addendum* in *WSM*—which was published in 1941—he added *WSM* 727A–40B) to a possible Seleucid mint at Hekatompylos but finally opted for ARTAKOANA (which he identified with ALEXANDREIA in Aria). Newell hesitated to claim the existence of a Seleucid mint at Hekatompylos because the group of coins contained so many examples (nos. 733–45) of issues of Seleukos II Kallinikos. The problem centers around the date of the Parthian conquest of Hekatompylos. There have been two chronologies offered by scholars: a “high chronology” (in the decade of the 240s, at the end of the reign of Antiochos II) and a “low chronology” (in the early 230s, under the reign of Seleukos II); see further, p. 31, n. 136. If the “high chronology” is followed this would eliminate the possibility that Seleukos II controlled Hekatompylos, and would necessitate assigning the coins to Artakoana. If the “low chronology” is followed this would leave open the possibility that coin nos. 733–45 had been minted at Hekatompylos. Newell concluded (*ESM* 255–56): “Until our dates are definitely established, or until further evidence in its favor turns up, the writer would not advocate the existence of a Seleucid mint at Hekatompylos, although such a possibility should always be kept clearly in mind.”

However, after Tarn reviewed *ESM* (in *JHS* 59 [1939] 322) and expressed a preference for Hekatompylos as the site of the mint, Newell softened his claim for Artakoana (see *WSM* [34], which was published in 1941: “Dr. Tarn’s interesting remarks on the choice between Hekatompylos or Artacoana as the mint of Nos. 727–745, increases the probabilities for the former”). A. Houghton and W. Moore (*ANS MN* 29 [1984] 6 n. 13) assigned these coins to a mint at Alexandria in

Aria/Artakoana rather than at Hecatompylos, as did K. Ehling, *SNR* 76 (1997) 29–38 (coin catalogue: 34–37). Ehling’s claims for the “high chronology” prompted Houghton and Lorber (*Seleucid Coins* 1.1:213 and nos. 612–13, 830) to assign the coins to Artakoana. See also Houghton, *CSE* 1276–79 (“Hecatompylos or Artacoana”).

For **Hecatompylos as the probable site of the mint** see, for example, Tarn, *JHS* [1939] 322; and Newell (above); M. T. Abgarians and D. G. Sellwood, *NC* (1971) 117; O. Mørkholm, *EHC* 118.

In *Seleucid Coins* 2.1:XLVII, pp. 694–98, Houghton, Lorber, and Hoover reattributed most of the drachm coinage formerly assigned to a second workshop at Ekbatana to a new mint in northern Media or Hyrcania (possibly at CHARAX or, more probably, Hecatompylos); the new mint would have been opened in the course of Antiochos III’s eastern campaign.

7. Any attempt to fix the **location** of Hecatompylos relies on the literary evidence and that evidence is, unfortunately, inconsistent. In what follows I attempt to give a brief summary of the evidence and the problems relating to it. For fuller discussions consult the works cited below.

All of the extant sources use the Caspian Gates—which separated Media from Hyrcania and Parthia—as a reference point for fixing the location of Hecatompylos (for the likely equation of the Caspian Gates with the Sar-Darrah valley, which cuts through the Elburz Mountains, see CHARAX, n. 1). Briefly, the reported figures for the distance from the Caspian Gates to Hecatompylos are as follows:

1,960 stades (Strabo 11.8.9, citing Eratosthenes)

1,260 stades (Strabo 11.9.1, citing Apollodorus of Artemita)

1,064 stades (= 133 m.p.; Pliny *NH* 6.44)

1,040 stades (Amm. 23.6.43)

In evaluating the information given by Strabo it is important to bear in mind that in antiquity there was no fixed and universally accepted length of the stade. The stade itself was always 600 feet in length; however, there was no standard length for the Greek foot. This could vary (slightly) in different localities. Thus, the Olympic foot was 320 mm, the Pergamene was 330 mm, and the Aeginetan, 333 mm (Pryce et al., *OCD*³ s.v. “Measures”). Furthermore, Strabo relied on various sources for much of his work; as a result, there is no assurance that throughout his work he consistently used the same measurement for the stade. Various textual emendations have been proposed, none of them convincing (see, for

example, J. Marquart, *Untersuchungen* 2:21-23; Kiessling, *RE* s.v. "Hekatompylos," 2794; Brunt, *Arrian* 1:496-97; and contra: Bosworth, *Comment.* 1:342-43). On the other hand, the information given by Strabo from Apollodorus (1,260 stades) may be reconciled with that given by Pliny (1,064 stades) and Ammianus (1,040 stades). The resulting distances from these three latter sources suggest locating Hekatompylos at Shahr-i Qumis.

On the **location** of Hekatompylos see, for example, the following: Mordtmann, *SBAW* (1869, vol. 1) 497-536 (Shahrud); Kiessling, *RE* s.v. "Hekatompylos" (Shahrud); von Stahl, *GJ* 64 (1924) 323-25 ("Only Damghan corresponds to the facts mentioned below, and even Damghan leaves a certain doubt"); P. Pédech, *REA* (1958) 74-75 (Shahr-i Qumis); Walbank, *Comment.* 2:236-38 (Shahr-i Qumis); Matheson, *Persia* 191-92 (Shahr-i Qumis; map on p. 190); Hansman, *JRAS* (1968) 111-39, esp. 116-19 (Shahr-i Qumis; photographs; map on p. 117); Hansman and Stronach, *JRAS* (1970) 30-33, 61 ("Thus, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, and indeed lacking any known alternative site, it would seem not unreasonable to reaffirm the proposal . . . that the site of Shahr-i Qumis Area B is, in fact, Parthian Hekatompylos"); A. J. Boyle, *BJRUL* 60 (1977) 25 (Damghan); Bosworth, *Comment.* 1:342-43 (Shahr-i Qumis); Fraser, *Cities* 107-9 (Shahr-i Qumis). F. Hirth (*China* 143 n. 1), writing in the nineteenth century, observed that the Chinese historians also located Hekatompylos in the neighborhood of Damghan. Lastly, we may note Chaumont's observation: "L'emplacement d'Hécatompylos reste toujours incertain" (*Syria* 50 [1973] 220).

HERAKLEIA

Strabo says (11.9.1) that Herakleia and APAMEIA were located in the vicinity of RHAGAI.¹ Ammianus (23.6.39) refers to Herakleia and notes that—along with Arsakia, EUROPOS, Cyropolis, and EKBATANA—it was conspicuous for its wealth and the strength of its walls. Finally, Ptolemy (6.2.16) also mentions Herakleia.²

* * * *

In general see Droysen, *Hist.* 2:670-71, 3:749; Bevan, *Seleucus* 1:265; Tcherikover, *HS* 100; Hakkert, *LGRC* s.v. "Achais 1"; Kiessling, *RE* s.v. "Herakleia 22."

1. At 11.13.6 (a corrupt passage) Strabo says that among the Greek cities in Media that were founded by the Macedonians were LAODIKEIA, APAMEIA, the [city] near RHAGAI (καὶ ἡ πρὸς Ἰάγαις), and Rhagai itself. In his edition of Strabo, Meineke, following the earlier suggestion of G. Kramer in his edition (Berlin, 1847) and Groskurd, inserted [Ἡράκλεια] after Ἰάγαις; see also K. Müller's translation (Paris, 1853). Cf. Kiessling (*RE* s.v. "Herakleia 22"), who rejected the restoration.

2. See also HERAKLEIA/ACHAIS and ACHAIA in Aria.

KALLIOPE

Appian (*Syr.* 57) includes Kalliope among the settlements in Parthia that were founded by Seleukos I Nikator and named for places in Greece and Macedonia.¹ It clearly had strategic importance: Pliny says (*NH* 6.44) that it had formerly served as a bulwark against the Medes. The town is also mentioned by Stephanos (s.v. "Kalliope," citing Polybios). There is no other extant information about this settlement.

* * * *

In general see Droysen, *Hist.* 2:750; Tcherikover, *HS* 101; Walbank, *Comment.* 2:242; Brodersen, *Komment.* 159.

1. Tarn has suggested (*GBI*² 13-15, followed by Walbank, *Comment.* 2:242) that inasmuch as the toponyms SOTEIRA, CHARIS, and HEKATOMPYLOS as well as Kalliope are not attested in Greece as toponyms ("There were no such Greek cities"), they were, in fact, nicknames. Note, however, that in the case of Hekatompylos a like-named city in Libya is firmly attested; in fact, according to Diodorus (4.18.1), the latter town received its name from Herakles!

KANGAVAR

At modern Kangavar (Konkobar, Concohar), 75 kilometers east of Kirmanshah, archaeologists have discovered the fragmentary remains of a large temple dated to c. 200 B.C. The fragments indicate that the columns had Doric capitals, though the temple was most likely not Hellenistic in style.¹ In fact, Isidore of Charax (6) noted that there was a temple of Artemis near Kangavar. It has been thought that the temple was dedicated

to Anahita.²

We do not know whether there was a Hellenistic colony at or near the site.³

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In general see Mannert, *Geographie* 5.2:168; Schippmann, *Feuerheiligtümer* 298–308; Jackson, *Persia* 234–42; Wilber, *PECS* s.v. “Concobar”; Matheson, *Persia* 124; Colledge in *Hellenism* 149, 154, 156; Sherwin-White and Kuhrt, *Samarkhand* 74.

For **the results of excavation** at Kangavar see M. Azarnoush, *AMI* 14 (1981) 69–94.

1. For the **temple at Kangavar** see, for example, Colledge in *Hellenism* 156; Ball, *Rome* 330–32; Azarnoush, *AMI* 14 (1981) 69–94.

2. On **Anahita** see, for example, Raditsa in *CHIr* 3(1) 100–101. Note that Azarnoush (*AMI* 14 [1981] 83–84) has questioned the attribution of the temple to either Anahita or Artemis.

3. Grainger (*Seleukos* 149) assumed there was a Greek city at Kangavar; see, earlier, Tarn, *GBI*² 63. The extant evidence does not support that assumption. Cf. Sherwin-White and Kuhrt, *Samarkhand* 74: “Kangavar, a huge ‘post-Achaemenid’ site, which may be a city.”

For a **hoard of fourth- and third-century gold coins** found at Tarik Darreh, 8 km south of Kangavar see A. Houghton, *ANS MN* 25 (1980) 31–44.

KARAFTO

A Greek inscription dated palaeographically to the late fourth/early third century B.C. over the entrance of a grotto at Karafto records the popular formulaic phrase that Herakles lived there.¹ Clearly, this reflects the presence of Greeks or Macedonians in the region. However, we should need additional evidence in order to posit the existence of a Greco-Macedonian settlement in the area.

Karafto is located in northwest Iran, approximately 150 kilometers southeast of Lake Urmia.

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In general see Stein, *Old Routes* 324–39; W. W. Tarn, *CR* (1940) 215–16; H. Seyrig, *Syria* 24 (1944–1945) 78–79; L. Robert, *BE* (1946–1947) 227; P. Bernard, *St. Iran.* 9 (1980) 301–24; H. von Gall, *AMI* 11 (1978) 91–112; id., *EIr* s.v. “Karafto Caves”; Potts, *Elam* 373.

1. *CIG* 4673 = *SEG* 7:36 = *I. Estremo Oriente* 269 = *IGIAC* 75. See also Seyrig, *Syria* 9 (1944–1945) 79 n. 1; and von Gall, *AMI* 11 (1978) 91–95. For the worship of Herakles on Mount Sanbulos (= the modern Sunbulah) west of Kirmanshah see *Tac. Ann.* 12.13; and Seyrig, 69 n. 1.

KHURHA

To the west of the village of Khurha (Khorheh), southwest of Qum, are the remains of a temple. However, there is no agreement regarding the architecture. For example, D. Schlumberger thought the column bases were of Achaemenid type. A Seleucid attribution has found most—if not universal—favor. Thus, E. Herzfeld, who remarked that the ruins were Seleucid, conjectured that the temple was dedicated to Dionysos. B. Rowland Jr. also believed the temple was Seleucid, but suggested it was devoted to fire worship, rather than to Dionysos. On the other hand, K. Schippmann considered it to be a Parthian temple.¹

J. D. Grainger observed without further discussion that this was the site of a “Greek city.”² We should need further information before affirming this suggestion.

Khurha is located on the road between Qum and Arak.

* * * *

In general see Matheson, *Persia* 189 and map 6 on p. 168; Herzfeld, *Archaeological History* 50–51; D.N. Wilber, *PECS* s.v. “Khurha”; Colledge in *Hellenism* 156; Grainger, *Seleukos* 149.

1. Schlumberger in *CHIr* 3(2):1047 (who also suggested that this might have reflected “Greek art modified to a certain extent by a survival of Achaemenian art”; Herzfeld, *Archaeological History* 50–51); see also B. Rowland Jr., *AJA* 39 (1935) 489–95 (“The comparative crudity of the capitals at Khurha leads me to date this temple late in the Seleucid Period, that is, shortly before 250 B.C., if not actually in the time of the Philhellenic Parthians,” 493); and E. Porada, *The Art of Ancient Iran* 180 (“Only two rather barbaric Ionian columns, remains of a structure at Khurha near Qum, are admitted generally to belong to the Seleucid period”). See also

Schippmann, *Feuerheiligtümer* 424–30 and figs. 66–68; W. Kleiss, *AMI* (1973) 180–81; A. Hakemi, *East and West* 40 (1990) 11–41.

2. Grainger, *Seleukos* 149.

LAODIKEIA IN MEDIA

According to Strabo (11.13.6), among the Greek cities in Media founded by the Macedonians were APAMEIA, Laodikeia, the [city] near Rhagai, and RHAGA[I] itself. Presumably this Laodikeia is to be identified with the Laodikeia mentioned by Pliny (*NH* 6.115). According to Pliny, the settlement—a foundation of Antiochos—was located in the frontier region of Media, west of Pasargadai.¹ Laodikeia in Media was also mentioned by Stephanos (s.v. “Laodikeia”) and Eustathius (918 in *GGM* 2:379).

It is quite possible that this settlement is identical with LAODIKEIA Nihavand. If so, we may also suggest that the founder—identified only as “Antiochos” by Pliny—might have been Antiochos I Soter.

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In general see Droysen, *Hist.* 2:749; Weissbach, *RE* s.v. “Laodikeia 6”; Tcherikover, *HS* 100; L. Robert, *Hellenica* 7 (1949) 19; Walbank, *Comment.* 2:232–33; Fraser, *Terminology* 357.

1. On **the name Pasargadai** see Stronach, *Pasargadae* 280–81.

LAODIKEIA NIHAVAND

We learn about the existence of Laodikeia from an inscription found near the town of Nihavand.¹ The inscription records a letter from Antiochos III to Menedemos (presumably the governor of the satrapy) establishing a high-priestess-hood for his wife, Laodike, and a cover letter from Menedemos to Apollodoros and Λαοδικέων τοῖς ἄρχουσι καὶ τῇ πόλει.² The letter is dated to 193 B.C. Apollodoros was undoubtedly the *epistates* of the city.³ As L. Robert suggests, Laodikeia would probably have been included in the list of *poleis* appended to the end of the decree of ANTIOCH in Persis that voted to recognize the festival of Artemis Leukophryene at Magnesia at the end of the third century B.C. (*OGIS* 233 = Rigsby, *Asyria* 111 = *I. Estremo Oriente* 252 = *Euphrat* 306 = *IGIAC* 53). A limestone altar decorated with garlands in relief has also been

discovered there.⁴ We do not definitely know the founder. It is possible that this settlement is identical with LAODIKEIA in Media, which Pliny says (*NH* 6.115) was founded by “Antiochos.” It is possible, therefore, that the founder was Antiochos I Soter.⁵

Nihavand is in west-central Iran, c. 65 kilometers south of Hamadan.⁶

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1. For the **letter from Antiochos III to Menedemos and the cover letter from Menedemos to Laodikeia** see L. Robert, *Hellenica* 7 (1949) 5–29; *I. Estremo Oriente* 277–78 = *Euphrat* 301 = *IGIAC* 66; see also R. Sherk, *ZPE* 93 (1992) 257–58. This inscription is the second of three copies of Antiochos III’s letter regarding the establishment of a high-priestess-hood for his wife; the other two were found in the modern village of Durdurkar, between Karaylk-Bazar and Korzum in southwest Turkey (*RC* 36/7; Ma, *Antiochos III* p. 354, no. 37 = *I. Estremo Oriente* 452–53 = *Euphrat* 302), and in Kirmanshah in northwest Iran (L. Robert, *CRAI* [1967] 281–97; *I. Estremo Oriente* 271–72 = *Euphrat* 303 = *IGIAC* 68).

2. The **formula** τοῖς ἄρχουσι καὶ τῇ πόλει is the same as that found, for example, in the letter sent by King Seleukos IV to SELEUKEIA in Pieria (*RC* 45) and in a letter from Thraseas to ARSINOE in Cilicia (C. P. Jones and C. Habicht, *Phoenix* 43 [1989] 319–20 = *SEG* 39:1426).

According to M. Holleaux (*Études* 3:211–15) the formula τοῖς ἄρχουσι καὶ τῇ πόλει χαίρειν represents both a later development than τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ and a reflection of the more influential role played by the magistrates. See also Dmitriev, *City Government* 13–17.

3. For the **date—according to the Macedonian Seleucid era—**see Robert, *Hellenica* 7 (1949) 15; and Le Rider, *Suse* 38.

4. For the **limestone altar** see Colledge in *Hellenism* 145.

5. Sherwin-White and Kuhrt have suggested (*Samarkhand* 74) that the site could date from the reign of **Antiochos I**.

6. For the **location** of Nihavand see Le Strange, *Caliphate* 196–97 and map opp. p. 185; Matheson, *Persia* 108, map 5; and Fraser, *Terminology* 357. For a brief description of the site see Ghirshman in Robert, *Hellenica* 7 (1949) 21.

NISAIA (NIGAIA)

According to Ammianus (23.6.54) there were three prominent cities in

Margiana—Nisea/Nigaea, IASONION , and ANTIOCH. The MSS of Ptolemy (6.10.4, 8.23.6) give the toponym as either Nisaia or Nigaia. Isidore of Charax (12) says that Parthaunisa—namely, Nisa, the capital of the Parthian empire—was called “Nisaia” by the Greeks.¹ Coins of Seleukos I or Antiochos I, Antiochos III, and Alexander Balas as well as the Greco-Bactrian kings Euthydemos I and Eukratides I have been found at Nisaia. The fact that almost all the coins found at Nisaia were silver, whereas those found at Gyaur Kala in the Merv oasis were bronze, undoubtedly reflects the fact that Nisaia was a royal residence.² The extant ancient sources offer differing opinions as to the region in which the town was located. As mentioned above, Ammianus placed it in Margiana, as did Ptolemy. On the other hand, Strabo (11.7.2) located it in Hyrcania.³

Nisaia was, of course, an early royal residence of the Parthians. On the other hand, it is not clear whether Nisaia and Iasonion were Hellenistic foundations. Nisaia was located near the modern Ashgabat (Ashkhabad) in Turkmenistan.⁴

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In general see Tcherikover, *HS* 105; Weidner, *RE* s.v. “Nigaia”; Sturm, *RE* s.v. “Nisaia 2”; M.-L. Chaumont, *Syria* 50 (1973) 211–15; Fontaine, *Ammien XXIII-XXV* 2:101–2; Den Boeft et al. in *Comment. on Ammianus XXIII* 191.

1. See I. Khlopin, *IrAnt* 12 (1977) 117–49; and ALEXANDROPOLIS in the region of Nisaia.

2. For the **coins found at Nisaia** see N. M. Smirnova, *AC3* (1996) 260–85, nos. 8–14 (Seleukos I or Antiochos I), 15 (Antiochos I), 19 (Antiochos III), 20 (Alexander Balas), 26–27 (Euthydemos I), 36 (Eukratides I). For **coins found at Gyaur Kala** see ALEXANDREIA/ANTIOCH IN MARGIANA, n. 8.

3. See, for example, Sturm, *RE* s.v. “Nisaia 2”; and Chaumont, *Syria* 50 (1973) 211 n. 7.

4. For the **archaeological remains and the results of excavation** see various articles in *Parthica*. See also, for example, Schlumberger, *L'Orient hellénisé* 34–38; Frumkin, *Archaeology* 144–45; Invernizzi in *La Persia* (1996) 237–49; id. in *Das Partherreich* 45–60 and bibliography cited there; id. in *After Alexander* 163–77; id., *Mesopotamia* 25 (1990) 47–50; id., *Scultura di metallo da Nisa*; id., *Nisa partica: Le sculture ellenistiche*; Wiesehöfer, *Ancient Persia* 125–26 et passim. See also Masson, *Das Land* 119–39; id., *Old Nisa—A Parthian Royal Residence*

(Leningrad, n.d.) 1-12; A. Gabutti Roncalli, *Mesopotamia* 31 (1996) 161-77; V. N. Pilipko, *Staraja Nisa* (Moscow, 2001); P. Mollo, *Mesopotamia* 31 (1996) 179-88; C. Lippolis and V. Messina, *Parthica* 10 (2008) 53-61.

For the **location** see the map in Wiesehöfer, *Ancient Persia* 104.

SETTLEMENTS FOUNDED BY ALEXANDER AMONG THE KOSSAIOI

In the *Indika* (40.6-7) Arrian says: "The Uxians are neighbours to the Susians . . . as the Mardians . . . live next to the Persians and the Cossaeans next to the Medes. Alexander pacified all these tribes. . . . He also founded cities" (trans. Brunt).¹

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1. On the **Kossaians** see, for example, Weissbach, *RE* s.v. "Kossaioi"; Brinkman, *Reallexikon* s.v. "Kassiten"; Bosworth, *Commentary* 2:120; Biffi, *Indiké* 232; Dognini, *Indiké* 186-87.

SIRYNX

Polybius (10.31.6) described the *polis* of Sirynx near Tambrax as the capital or royal residence (βασιλείου) of Hyrcania because of its strength—it was surrounded by three ditches—and favorable location.¹ The population included Greeks (10.31.11), who were apparently a minority.² In the course of his expedition against Arsakes II, Antiochos III besieged and captured the city.

Although the exact location is not known, the most likely suggestion would place Sirynx near the southeast corner of the Caspian Sea, on a hill near Astrabad.³

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In general see Tcherikover, *HS* 100-101; Tarn, *GBI*² 16, 20; Walbank, *Comment.* 2:241; M.-L. Chaumont, *Syria* 50 (1973) 207-10.

1. On the **toponym** see Walbank, *Comment.* 2:24; and Appendix VIII.

2. On the small size of **the Greek population in Sirynx** see Tarn, *GBI*² 20 and n. 4. For the Greek quarter—the Hellenion—at Memphis see, for example, *P. Lond.* 50.6; and Thompson, *Memphis* 80, 97; *PCZ* 1:59034;

K.J. Rigsby, *GRBS* 42 (2001) 117-24.

Tcherikover (*HS* 100-101) was uncertain as to whether Sirynx was a real *polis*. According to Tarn (*GBI*² 20), "One cannot rely on Polybius' use of the word *polis*, but the fortifications of the town show that it cannot well have been anything less." On the other hand, Bickerman (in *La Persia* [1966] 107) thought it was a "walled native town called Sirynx [*sic*] by the Greeks."

3. On the suggested **location** of Sirynx near Astrabad see for example, B. Dorn, *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences de Saint-Pétersbourg*⁷ 23 (1875) 134; A. F. von Stahl, *GJ* 64 (1924) 315 (map); P. Pédech, *REA* (1958) 80-81 and map opp. p. 74; Walbank, *Comment.* 2:241; Seyrig, *Syria* 50 (1973) 207-10 and map on p. 204. Less likely are the suggested locations near Sari (i.e., in the Caspian region of northern Iran; Marquart, *Untersuchungen* 2:62) or at Sarakhs on the northeastern Iranian frontier (E. Herzfeld, *AMI* 1 [1929] 109-10; id., *AMI* 4 [1932] 38, 62).

SOTEIRA

See SOTEIRA in Aria.

VII

ARIA, SOGDIANA, BACTRIA, AND ARACHOSIA

ACHAIA IN ARIA

Strabo (11.10.1) mentions three cities in Aria—ARTAKOANA/ARTAKAENA, Alexandreia, and Achaia—that he says bore the names of their founders.¹

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1. See the discussions in ACHAIA in Parthia, ALEXANDREIA in Aria, and HERAKLEIA/ACHAIS (ACHAIA) in Aria.

AÏ KHANOUM

Between 1965 and 1978, excavation at the site of the village of Aï Khanoum at the junction of the Amu Darya (Oxus) and Kokcha rivers in eastern Bactria revealed the existence of a previously unknown Hellenistic settlement.¹ Among other things, archaeologists uncovered the remains of a *heroön*, a gymnasium, a theater that could seat around 6,000 people, two temples, private dwellings, administrative areas, and a palace complex, as well as inscriptions, coins, and abundant ceramic evidence.² The site, with a natural acropolis c. 60 meters high, was secured by strong fortification walls. The lower town was not laid out on a regular grid plan.³ Although not situated on any of the great trade routes, the settlement was adjacent to fertile agricultural land and was located near various mining operations; furthermore, it served a military function, standing as a bulwark against nomadic tribes to the north, and may well have also served as the administrative center of the region.⁴

An inscription that was found, probably in situ, in the *pronaos* of the *heroön* contains two texts. The first is an epigram; it states that a certain Klearchos had arranged for the transcription of certain precepts of old wisdom attributed to the Seven Wise Men of Greece that were exhibited at Holy Pytho, namely, Delphi, in the *temenos* of Kineas. The second text is the copy of one of the series of these so-called Delphic maxims.⁵ The unique Greek character of this inscription, found more than 5,000 kilometers from Delphi, has frequently been noted by modern scholars. We may also note the following: (a) the name Kineas is probably either Thessalian or Macedonian, and (b) the reference to the *temenos* of Kineas

indicates he was probably considered to be the founder of the Hellenistic settlement. We do not know if he did this on his own initiative or—as is more probable—at the command of a ruling monarch. If the latter case, we may ask: Which king? Most probably it was either Alexander or Seleukos I. On the basis of the extant evidence one cannot be any more specific than that.⁶

A second inscription was found in a building identified as a gymnasium. It records a dedication to Hermes and Herakles—the traditional deities of the gymnasium—made by Triballos and Straton, the sons of Straton.⁷ We get additional information about proper names used at Aï Khanoum from ink inscriptions on funerary urns, stone, and fragments of jars stored in the palace treasury.⁸ An *agorano[mos]* is mentioned on a stamped amphora handle that was apparently of local origin.⁹

Excavation at the site has revealed both Oriental and Hellenic influences in the material remains. The construction and the basic architectural techniques—for example, mud-brick masonry, the use of flat roofs even for public monuments—were essentially Oriental. On the other hand, many other architectural techniques and decorations were Greek: for example, stone blocks laid without the use of mortar, fitted with *anathyroses*, and fastened by metal dowels and cramps sealed by molten lead; flat Corinthian tiles with cover tiles and antefixes at the end of eaves cover tiles.¹⁰ Of the various buildings excavated, the gymnasium, the theater, and the *heroon*—that is, buildings that correspond to Greek customs and institutions—are essentially Greek.¹¹ On the other hand, the palace reflects both eastern and western influences, while the plan of the arsenal was primarily derived from an Oriental model; the same is true of the two temples, the stepped podium/sacred platform on the acropolis, and the residential houses.¹² The private houses reflect central Asiatic and Persian rather than Greek influences. The artifacts found in the houses and in the palace—such as double-eared amphorae, certain drinking bowls, imitation kraters, so-called Megarian bowls, Laconian keys, rectangular grindstones with horizontal handles, loom weights, ink pots, so-called strygils which athletes used to scrape their bodies, chairs made of ivory turned on a lathe, and sundials—clearly reflect Greek influences.¹³ Greek models and traditions can also be seen elsewhere at the site: for example, in fragments of an Ionic capital, a herm (found in the gymnasium), a funerary stele with the portrait of an *ephebe* (?), a woman leaning on a pillar, a standing male wearing a crown, and a fountain waterspout of Greek type.¹⁴

The palace complex was large: it covered a rectangular area of c. 350

× 250 meters.¹⁵ P. Bernard noted that its very size “reinforces the impression that the palace is a royal one,” and suggested that the palace “simultaneously served three functions: it was a state structure, a residence and a treasury.” The treasury of the palace was apparently kept in the northwestern building of the complex. Among other things found were lapis lazuli, garnet, turquoise, crystal, and asbestos as well as jewelry, stone plates, ivory, and vases that had contained incense, olive oil, and cash.¹⁶ The contents of each vase was written in Greek on its shoulder, as well as the names of the persons responsible for it: a clear indication of a developed financial and administrative system. On the extant examples, the first person named was always a Greek, presumably the director of the treasury; the others, who were Greek or Oriental, were probably subordinates.¹⁷ Incidentally, the Greek, Macedonian, and Oriental personal names that survive on these and other objects provide some indication (a) of the makeup of the settlement population and (b) that many of the colonists originated in northern Greece and Macedonia. The palace was rebuilt on a more monumental scale in the second quarter of the second century B.C. It is possible that the rebuilding of the palace took place under the aegis of Eukratides, the last major Graeco-Bactrian king, who ruled from c. 170 to c. 145 B.C.¹⁸ An inscription on one of the vases found in the treasury of the palace mentions “year 24.” This may refer to the regnal year or an era of Eukratides; if so, the reference would be to 147 B.C., in other words, some two or three years before the pillaging of the treasury by invading nomads.¹⁹

Earthen impressions of a papyrus and a parchment text preserve fragments of a philosophical dialogue, probably by Aristotle, and fragmentary lines in iambic trimeters. These fragments suggest there may have been a library at the settlement. The importance of dramatic performances in the cultural life of the settlement is indicated by the discovery of the theater and a fountain gargoye representing a mask of comedy.²⁰

As regards religious life in the settlement at Ai Khanoum, I have already mentioned the dedication to Hermes and Herakles. In addition, a bronze statuette of Herakles has been discovered. And in the temple à redans archaeologists have discovered a fragmentary statue that Bernard suggested might have been of Zeus.²¹ Although one finds gods from the Greek pantheon on coinage from Ai Khanoum,²² the architecture of the sanctuaries thus far unearthed at Ai Khanoum reflects strong Oriental influence. In addition, the stepped podium/sacred platform recalls the observation of Herodotus (1.131) and Strabo (15.3.13) that the Persians

worshipped their gods in the open air. Other divinities attested include a female figurine carved from a bone, apparently of local tradition, as well as Cybele; the importance of the latter is attested by a representation of her on a gold-covered silver plaque dated to the first half of the third century B.C. There is no extant evidence for Indian or Buddhist cults at Aï Khanoum, although Indian religious symbols appear on Indo-Greek coins found at the site and on a coral pendant.²³

Among the coins found at the site were ten unstruck planchets. The discovery of these indicates that there had been a mint at Aï Khanoum. The (mainly) bronze coins found at the site include those of Seleukos I, and Antiochos I and II, followed by the Graeco-Bactrian Diodotos I and II, Euthydemos I, Demetrios I, Euthydemos II, Antimachos I, Demetrios II, Agathokles I, Apollodotos I, and Eukratides I—that is, from the early third to the mid-second century B.C.²⁴ Silver coins—in addition to those found in the hoards—and one gold have also been found at the site.²⁵

There is evidence for the intensive use of irrigation canals in the plain of Aï Khanoum.²⁶ The settlement was apparently destroyed around the mid-second century B.C. by nomadic invasions.²⁷ Evidence for the presence of invaders at Aï Khanoum may be seen in the discovery in the treasury of a silver ingot bearing an inscription in an unknown (Bactrian?) language.²⁸

The ancient name is still not definitely known.²⁹

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In general see P. Bernard, *PBA* 53 (1967) 71–95; id. in *DAI* 1829–1979 108–20; id. in *Scientific American Ancient Cities* (New York, 1994) 66–75 (= *Scientific American* 247 [1982] 148–59); id., *JA* 264 (1976) 245–75; id. in *Afghanistan* 81–129; id. in *Civilizations* 2:104–23; id., *Parthica* 11 (2009) 33–56; MacDowell and Taddei in *Archaeology of Afghanistan* 198–99, 208–9, 218–30; Ball, *Gazetteer Afghanistan* no. 18; Rapin in *Greek Colonists* 329–42; Orth, *Diadochenzeit* 106–7; Fraser, *Cities* 155–56; Sherwin-White, *OCD*³ s.v. “Ai Khanoum”; Holt, *Thundering Zeus* 43–46, 51–52, 61–62, et passim, 140–71 (coins); Posch, *Baktrien* 15–52, 88–96; Leriche in *After Alexander* 140–44; Ball, *Monuments of Afghanistan* 149–51; Mairs, *Hellenistic Far East* 26–28.

For the results of excavation at Aï Khanoum see Bernard et al. in *Mémoires de la Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan, Fouilles d’Aï Khanoum* (= *Aï Khanoum*). For the results of surveys and excavation in the Aï Khanoum plain see Gentelle, Lyonnet, and Gardin in *Prospections* vols. 1–3. On the publication program see also G. Fussman,

JAOS 116 (1996) 245–52, 258–59. See also the preliminary reports, published primarily in *CRAI* and *BEFEO*; and the bibliography in S. Veuve, *BCH* 106 (1982) 23 n. 1; Rapin, *RA* (1987) 41 n. 1; Narain in *India* 115 n. 1. See also the bibliography of P. Bernard in *BAI* 12 (1998) 3–11; and id. in *Bibliografija Nauchnykh Trudov Inostrannogo Chlena Rossijskoj Akademii Nauk Polja Bernara* (Moscow, 2009) 8–29. For a retrospective overview see Bernard, *CRAI* (2001) 971–1029. On the plundering at the site see, for example, P. Bernard, J.-F. Jarrige, and R. Besenval, *CRAI* (2002) 1421–28 and earlier articles cited in n. 57.

For the **inscriptions** found at Aï Khanoum see Rapin in *Aï Khanoum* 8:387–89; Bernard in *Greek Archaeology* 75–81; *I. Estremo Oriente* 322–86; *Euphrat* 102–3 and *IGIAC* 97–150.

1. There is extensive evidence for **agricultural cultivation and irrigation in the plain of Aï Khanoum in the pre-Greek period**; see Gentelle, *Étude géographique* 143; id. in *Prospections* vol. 1 passim; Bernard in *DAI 1829–1979* 109; Francfort in *Aï Khanoum* 9 (forthcoming); Mairs in *Foundation Myths* (forthcoming). Furthermore, in a walled, circular town settlement 2 km north of the northern wall of Aï Khanoum, sherds dating from as early as the Achaemenid period have been found; see J.-C. Gardin (*BEFEO* 63 [1976] 78–79), who also suggested that “in Persian times, the circular town was the main settlement in the Aï Khanoum plain”; and Gardin in *Prospections* 3:41–42, 45–46, 136, 144–45, figs. 3.1–2, 3.7; G. Fussman, *JAOS* 116 (1996) 247.

2. For the **ceramic evidence** see, for example, Gardin in *Aï Khanoum* 1:121–88; J.-C. Gardin and B. Lyonnet, *BEFEO* 63 (1976) 45–51; Veuve in *Aï Khanoum* 6:95–101. For the ceramic evidence from Aï Khanoum providing evidence for contact between Bactria and the Mediterranean world throughout the Hellenistic period see above, p. 9. For the inscriptions and coins see below.

3. For the **fortifications** see Bernard in *DAI 1829–1979* 110–11; P. Leriche, *RA* (1974) 231–70; id. in *Aï Khanoum* 5; and id. in *Mélanges Lévêque* 5:207–17. For the **absence of a grid plan** in the lower town see, for example, Leriche in *After Alexander* 141.

4. On the **significance of the location of the settlement at Aï Khanoum** see Bernard in *DAI 1829–1979* 109–10; Bernard in *Géographie* 14–15; see also Rapin in *Greek Colonists* 331; and Kritz, *Bactria* 33 and n. 160.

For a **map and a plan of the site** see, for example, Bernard in *Scientific American Ancient Cities* 70, 71; id., *CRAI* (2001) 983; id. in *Afghanistan* 82. For a reconstruction of the site see, Lecuyot in *After Alexander* 155–62.

5. For **the inscription containing the epigram and the Delphic maxims** see Bernard, *PBA* (1967) 71-95, 88-89; L. Robert, *CRAI* (1968) 421-57 (= *Aï Khanoum* 1:207-37); *Nouveau Choix* no. 37; Rapin in *Aï Khanoum* 8:389, nos. a-c; *Steinepigramme* 3:6, no. 12/01/01; *I. Estremo Oriente* 382-84; *Euphrat* 103A & B.143-47; and *IGIAC* 97. Regarding the find location, Bernard (*PBA* [1967] 88-89) remarked: "Although it is clear the stone had been displaced, since its inscribed face was turned towards the left ante, there is no serious reason to doubt that it originally stood in the heroön itself or in its temenos." Robert dated the inscription on palaeographic grounds to the beginning of the third century B.C. A. K. Narain and, subsequently, J. D. Lerner questioned Robert and Bernard. Narain pointed out that "while the irresistible temptation to identify Clearchus as a disciple [*sic*] of Aristotle is understandable, there is no direct evidence to support it" (*AION* 47 [1987] 277). Narain concluded that the inscription should be dated from the third quarter of the third century B.C. (*AION* 47 [1987] 287). On the basis of the architectural history of the *temenos* and the ceramic evidence, J. D. Lerner downdated the inscription. He claimed—not convincingly—that the Klearchos mentioned in the inscription was not the philosopher from Soloi, the pupil of Aristotle, as Robert had suggested (*CRAI* [1968] 442-48); rather, he may have been a like-named citizen of Aï Khanoum who traveled to Delphi, copied the maxims, and had them set up at the *temenos* of Kineas when he returned (followed by Mairs in *Foundation Myths* [forthcoming]). This, according to Lerner, would have happened in the last part of the third/first quarter of the second century B.C. (*AMI* 35/36 [2003/2004] 383-90, 395, 400). G. Rougemont disagreed with Narain and Lerner and concluded that "les deux écritures employées (respectivement pour l'épigramme et pour les maximes) indiquent nettement la haute époque hellénistique et je serais surpris que ces textes soient très postérieurs au premier quart du IIIe siècle" (*IGIAC* p. 207).

For **Kineas**, who is known only from this inscription, see, for example, Rougemont, *IGIAC* p. 201. Robert (*CRAI* [1968] 431-38 = *Aï Khanoum* 1:211-22) suggested he was of Thessalian origin and that he may have been of the generation after Alexander. Other names attested at Aï Khanoum that were characteristic of Thrace, Macedonia, or northern Greece include Triballos (Robert, *CRAI* [1968] 419), Lysanias (Bernard, *CRAI* [1972] 618-19), Molossos (Rapin, *BCH* [1983] 334, no. 8d); see also n. 17 below.

For other examples of a **temenos** see PYRRHEION in Epirus and literature cited there. For **Delphi and its oracle in the life of Aï Khanoum** see Mairs in *Foundation Myths* (forthcoming).

6. **The founder.** On Kineas as founder see, for example, Leschhorn, *Gründer* 314–17. Bernard suggested that Alexander founded the settlement at Aï Khanoum and that it was the site of Alexandreia Oxeiana (e.g., *PBA* [1967] 92; in *DAI 1829–1979* 110; and in *Géographie* 3–17. Actually, in this latter article Bernard hesitated between identifying Termez or Aï Khanoum as the possible site of Alexandeia Oxeiana [3–5] but ultimately decided in favor of Aï Khanoum [12–15]; followed by MacDowell and Taddei in *Archaeology of Afghanistan* 218; and by Merkelbach and Stauber in *Euphrat* 7). At the same time, however, he did not dismiss the possibility that Seleukos I might have been the founder; he noted, for example, that there was no archaeological proof that the founding of the settlement at Aï Khanoum reached back to Alexander (*JS* [1982] 135; *Aï Khanoum* 4:7, 34). In favor of Alexander he observed that the fertility of the soil in the region and the need to control the peasants who cultivated it would have prompted Alexander to settle colonists at the site. He also noted that among the bronze coins discovered at Aï Khanoum were nine (plus two *hors fouille*) anepigraphic coins of Athenian type (Bernard and Guillaume, *RN* [1980] 12–17; Bernard in *Aï Khanoum* 4:19, nos. 1–9; see also 159–60). Bernard described them as “pre-Seleucid.” He also observed that the number of examples found at the site and the fact that the series is not attested elsewhere indicate they were minted at Aï Khanoum. He then tentatively raised the possibility that the coins indicated the settlement at Aï Khanoum existed as a Greek city before the arrival of Seleukos I Nikator and was thus a foundation of Alexander, i.e., ALEXANDREIA Oxeiana. The dating, however, is not secure, and Bernard himself did not exclude the possibility that the coins dated to the beginning of the period of Seleucid rule. Kritt (*Bactria* 41–42), for example, placed these coins “sometime after the beginning of the sole reign of Antiochus I,” i.e., after 281 B.C. For Bernard’s suggestion that the settlement at Aï Khanoum was later renamed Eukratideia see below, n. 29.

Fraser (*Cities* 155–56 and n. 99) pointed to the lettering of the Klearchos inscription and the reference to Klearchos himself as indications of a foundation date at the end of the fourth or the beginning of the third century B.C. This, he claimed, made it probable that the settlement was a Seleucid foundation. He also noted that “the preponderance of early Seleucid bronzes, especially those of Antiochos I, among the coins found on the site, supports but does not prove the Seleucid origin of the city” (citing Bernard in *Aï Khanoum* 4:5). He argued against the possibility that the settlement was named after Alexander for the following reasons: (a) the *temenos* of Kineas (i.e., as founder) argues against this, (b) it is not mentioned in any of the surviving Alexander historians (an argument from

silence, as Fraser himself noted), and (c) it was highly unlikely that the Seleucids would have named a settlement “Alexandreia,” Downey (*Architecture* 63) also observed that the fact that none of the buildings thus far excavated can be dated to before the early third century B.C. supported dating the foundation to the reign of Seleukos I Nikator.

Narain called attention to the Greek monogram  and the symbol  on a brick that covered the sarcophagus in the tomb of Kineas (for the monogram  see below, n. 24). Narain identified the latter as the Brahmi letter *Jha* (see Bernard in *Aï Khanoum* 1:9-10, 87-88; Narain, *JAOS* [1986] 797-801 = *Indo-Greeks* [Delhi, 2003] 388-91; id., *ZPE* 69 [1987] 278-80 = *Indo-Greeks* 417-19; id., *AION* 47 (1987) 286 = *Indo Greeks* 442; id. in *India* 124-25 = *Indo-Greeks* 401-2. Kritt [*Susa* 130-31] followed Narain’s identification and also suggested it was “possible” that “a cursive form of the Brahmi character found on the bricks” could be read on certain coins). He also pointed out that the use of Brahmi has not been attested before the mid-third century B.C. Therefore, he dated the Brahmi stamp on the brick to c. 185 B.C. or, at the earliest, to c. 250 B.C. and remarked (*ZPE* 69 [1987] 279-80): “If this conclusion is justified the very chronology of the city at Aï Khanoum as given by Bernard will have to be reconsidered. For according to him the monument under discussion comes from the earliest phase of the city which he dates in the last quarter of the fourth century B.C. (see *Aï Khanoum* 1:105) and which he believes to be Alexandria Oxiana.” Finally, Narain concluded that “the available evidence” pointed to the founding of the settlement at Aï Khanoum by Diodotos (I or II?, i.e., mid-third century B.C.) and the renaming—“if at all”—by Euthydemos (in *India* 128). *Nota bene*, however, that Narain’s argument is essentially *ex silentio*. Posch (*Baktrien* 15-23) essentially offered a compromise position between the early and later dating: he suggested there was an early foundation established in 328 B.C., and that approximately two generations later the settlement associated with Kineas as *ktistes* was founded.

Narain’s identification of the symbol  on the brick as the Brahmi letter *Jha*, and the historical implications, have not been universally accepted. Bernard objected strongly that “pour de multiples raisons, il est peu vraisemblable que, malgré les apparences, le signe qui, dans la marque officielle estampée sur les briques cuites enveloppant le sarcophage de Kinéas, s’ajoute au monogramme grec composé des lettres *delta* et *oméga*, représente la lettre brahmi *jha* . . . le rapport établi par lui [i.e., Narain] avec la brahmi est . . . incompatible, pour la Bactriane, avec la vraisemblance historique et les données archéologiques (le monnayage prouve que la ville d’Aï Khanoum existe dès le règne d’Antiochos I^{er}, au

moins), et qu'il faut tenir compte aussi de possibles influences linguistiques et paléographiques laissées par l'araméen, qui fut pendant deux siècles la langue des bureaux de la chancellerie achéménide en Asie Centrale. On n'exclura pas non plus que le signe qui fait l'objet de la présente discussion soit une simple marque d'identification sans signification alphabétique proprement dite, hypothèse qui laisse place à la possibilité d'un graveur s'inspirant *librement* d'une lettre araméenne, *daleth* ou *tsadé*" (in *IGIAC* 208–9). For a fuller statement of Bernard's objections to the interpretation of the symbol **𐎧** as a Brahmi letter see his discussion in *Aï Khanoum* 9 (forthcoming). L. Martinez-Sève observed (in *IGIAC* 204–5 n. 721): "Une brique cuite portant la même lettre que celle invoquée par A. K. Narain a été retrouvée prise dans un sol ancien du sanctuaire aux niches indentées, que l'on peut dater du règne d'Antiochos I^{er}. Cela exclut donc sa datation." See also Falk, *Schrift im alten Indien* 333–34.

7. For the **dedication to Hermes and Herakles** see L. Robert, *CRAI* (1968) 417–21; MacDowell and Taddei in *Archaeology of Afghanistan* 199; Rapin in *Aï Khanoum* 8:389, no. 2; *I. Estremo Oriente* 381 = *Euphrat* 102 = *IGIAC* 98. There has been some disagreement regarding the dating of the inscription. Robert dated it (primarily) on palaeographic grounds to the mid-third century B.C. On the other hand Bernard, pointing to the archaeological context, suggested dating the text to the first half of the second century B.C. (in *Aï Khanoum* 6:111–12; see also M. Sève, *BE* [1989] 140; and *SEG* 38:1505); see also J. D. Lerner, *AMI* 35/36 (2003/2004) 390–91; and above, n. 5.

8. For the **treasury and personal names attested at Aï Khanoum** see n. 17. For the **funerary inscriptions** see *I. Estremo Oriente* 360–62, 385–86; *IGIAC* 133–37.

9. For the **agorano[mos]** see D. Schlumberger and P. Bernard, *BCH* 89 (1965) 635–39; Bernard, *PBA* (1967) 91 and n. 2; Gardin in *Aï Khanoum* 1:162; Rapin in *Aï Khanoum* 8:388, no. 7; *I. Estremo Oriente* 322. For another fragment of a stamped handle, with three letters preserved, see Rapin in *Aï Khanoum* 8:114, 304 (no. 32), 327 (no. 44), and pl. 57. In a personal communication Paul Bernard informs me that contrary to what he had first thought in 1965, the handle with *agorano[mos]* (palace propylaeum) and the other one (palace treasury) belong to imported amphoras; for other fragments of this type of amphora with pointed base, whose Mediterranean origin has since been recognized, see Rapin in *Aï Khanoum* 8:155 and n. 472, 327 (nos. 41–45), and pl. 70; Schlumberger and Bernard, *BCH* (1965) 625 (no. 65), 634–35 (nos. 87, 89), figs. 8, 27; Gardin in *Aï Khanoum* 1:162, fig. 31. A complete example of such an amphora but without a stamp on the handle, which was found at the house

near the Kokcha River (Bernard *CRAI* [1971] 411, fig. 14), is thought to be Rhodian, second quarter of the second century B.C.; on this amphora see further Lyonnet in *Aï Khanoum* 9 (forthcoming).

10. For **the construction techniques as well as the architectural techniques and decorations** see especially Bernard, *PBA* (1967) 77–86; id., *JA* 264 (1976) 245–75.

11. For the **gymnasium** see Bernard, *CRAI* (1978) 421–29; id. in *Afghanistan* 89–90; S. Veuve and J.-C. Liger, *BEFEO* 63 (1976) 40–45; Veuve and Liger, *BEFEO* 68 (1980) 5–6; Veuve in *Aï Khanoum* 6; Posch, *Baktrien* 24–28. For the **theater** see Bernard, *CRAI* (1976) 314–22; id., *CRAI* (1978) 429–41; id. in *Afghanistan* 90; Posch, *Baktrien* 31–34. For the **heroön** see Bernard et al. in *Aï Khanoum* 1:85–102, 115; Posch, *Baktrien* 43–44.

12. For the **palace complex** see Bernard, *JA* 264 (1976) 252–57; and below, n. 15. The **temple à redans** (Francfort referred to it as the temple “à niches indentées”) was located on the main north-south road of the settlement (see Bernard et al., *CRAI* [1969] 327–55, [1970] 317–37, [1971] 414–31, [1974] 295–98; Bernard, *JA* 264 [1976] 266–72; and Bernard in *Akten XIII Kong.* 51–53; Francfort in *Aï Khanoum* 3.2: *Le sanctuaire du temple à niches indentées*; Downey, *Architecture* 65–73; Colledge in *Hellenism* 142; Posch, *Baktrien* 39–42; Hannestad and Potts in *Religion* 93–101; Martinez-Sève in *Paysage* 195–207 and bibliography on 195 nn. 1–4). **Fragments of the sandaled left foot and left hand of a marble statue**, two to three times life size, have been found. Bernard has suggested (*CRAI* [1969] 338–41) this might have been a statue of Zeus enthroned similar to that found on Graeco-Bactrian coinage, with a scepter in his left hand and a Nike or an eagle in his right (this coin type was particularly popular throughout the Hellenistic world; see, for example, Bellinger, *Essay* 3; Price, *Alexander and Philip* 30–31; R. A. Grossmann, *Yale University Art Gallery, Sculpture Hall: Greek Coins* [New Haven, Conn., n.d.] no. 9; Arnold-Biucchi, *Alexander's Coins* 33, 51–57; and Le Rider, *Alexander the Great* 6–8). Rapin speculated (in *Greek Colonists* 341) that the statue fragment “certainly represented a syncretistic Graeco-Oriental deity, whether male or female, in a style which is evidently Greek.” Bernard has also suggested (*CRAI* [1974] 298; see also *CRAI* [1970] 327–30) that the deity worshipped in the temple might have been—as in Commagene—Zeus-Ahura Mazda, under the form Zeus-Oromasdes. F. Grenet has commented: “Il convient à mon avis, d’envisager dans cette perspective l’assimilation locale de Mithra à Zeus” (in *Histoire et cultes* 150). For **the (small) finds from the temple** see Francfort in *Aï Khanoum* 3.2.

The second temple (referred to as the extramural temple or the temple *hors les murs*) was located outside the north gate. Although no cult objects or inscriptions have thus far been found there, it has been identified as a temple on the basis of some similarities to the temple à *redans* (Bernard, *CRAI* [1974] 287-89; id., *CRAI* [1976] 303-6; id. in *Akten XIII Kong.* 53-54; Downey, *Architecture* 73-75). For the stepped podium/sacred platform see Bernard, *CRAI* (1976) 306-7; id., *JA* 264 (1976) 272-73; id. in *Akten XIII Kong.* 54; Downey, *Architecture* 75; Hannestad and Potts in *Religion* 95.

13. For the **private houses and objects found therein as well as the Greek influence on many of the artifacts** see, for example, P. Bernard, *BCH* 89 (1965) 604-40; id., *JA* 264 (1976) 257-66; id. in *Afghanistan* 91-92; Gardin in *Aï Khanoum* 1:121-88; id. in *De l'Indus aux Balkans* 447-60; Gouin in *Aï Khanoum* 1:195-201; Francfort in *Aï Khanoum* 3.2:7-104; Guillaume and Rougeulle in *Aï Khanoum* 7:3-74; S. Veuve, *BCH* 106 (1982) 23-51; and Rapin in *Greek Colonists* 340.

14. **Fragments of an Ionic capital:** Bernard, *BEFEO* 63 (1976) 36-37; id., *StIr* 23 (1994) 83 n. 3; B. A. Litvinsky and I. R. Pichikian, *IrAnt* 33 (1998) 249; see also Francfort in *Aï Khanoum* 3.2:31. The **herm:** Bernard, *CRAI* (1967) 319-21. The **funerary stele:** Bernard, *CRAI* (1972) 623-25; id. in *Afghanistan* 127, no. 32. **Woman leaning on a pillar:** Bernard, *CRAI* (1972) 627-29. **Standing male:** Bernard, *CRAI* (1969) 341-44; see also Rapin in *Greek Colonists* 340. The **fountains:** Bernard, *CRAI* (1976) 307-13; id., *CRAI* (1978) 429; P. Leriche and J. Thoraval, *Syria* 56 (1979) 171-205; Leriche in *Aï Khanoum* 5:32-33; and below, n. 20.

15. For the **palace complex** see, for example, Bernard, *CRAI* (1968) 264-71; id., *CRAI* (1970) 301-10; id., *CRAI* (1971) 385-406; id., *CRAI* (1974) 289-93; id. in *Afghanistan* 88-89; Bernard and Rapin, *BEFEO* 68 (1980) 10-38; Bernard in *DAI 1829-1979* 114-15; id. in *Scientific American Ancient Cities* 70-72; Bernard and Le Berre in *Aï Khanoum* 1:17-83; Rapin in *Greek Colonies* 333-36; Colledge in *Hellenism* 142-44; Downey, *Architecture* 64; Nielsen, *Hellenistic Palaces* 124-29; MacDowell and Taddei in *Archaeology in Afghanistan* 221-24.

For a photograph and plan of the palace see, for example, Bernard in *Scientific American Ancient Cities* 67, 72.

16. Bernard in *Scientific American Ancient Cities* 70. Earlier, Bernard (*CRAI* [1974] 292-93; see also MacDowell and Taddei in *Archaeology of Afghanistan* 224) had suggested **three possible explanations for the nature and use of the palace complex:** (a) a royal residence, a *basileion* (Rapin in *Greek Colonists* 335; MacDowell and Taddei in

Archaeology of Afghanistan 221; on the *basileion* see SELEUKEIA in Pieria; and Pitschikjan in *Basileia* 226–33); (b) the residence of the governor, who was assisted by a military or administrative official; (c) the seat of government of the *polis* (assuming the settlement was a *polis*) at Ai Khanoum.

For the **objects found in the treasury of the palace: lapis lazuli, garnet, turquoise, crystal** (Rapin in *Ai Khanoum* 8:172–77), **asbestos** (*Ai Khanoum* 8:151), as well as **jewelry** (*Ai Khanoum* 8:167–81), **stone plates** (*Ai Khanoum* 8:157), and **ivory** (*Ai Khanoum* 8:165, 181, 235). For **notations on vases regarding incense, olive oil, and coins** see below, n. 17.

17. For **the treasury of the palace** see, for example, Bernard, *CRAI* (1978) 447–60; Bernard and Rapin, *BEFEO* 68 (1980) 10–38; Rapin, *RA* (1987) 41–70; id. in *Ai Khanoum* 8; id. in *Greek Colonists* 334–35. For the **inscriptions on the vases** found in the treasury see Rapin, *BCH* 107 (1983) 315–72; id., *RA* (1987) 54–56; id. in *Ai Khanoum* 8:95–103; *SEG* 33:1220–46, 38:1516; *I. Estremo Oriente* 323–57; *IGIAC* 101–30; Bernard in *Greek Archaeology* 80. See also *Ai Khanoum* 8:388 and *IGIAC* 138–50 for other graffiti and inscriptions on vases and sherds found elsewhere at the site. In addition to the Greek inscriptions and graffiti, **an Aramaic ostrakon** relating to the payment made to various people bearing Iranian names has also been discovered (Bernard, *CRAI* [1972] 631–32; Rapin *BCH* [1983] 347, no. 28), an indication of a local economic administration. For the **names** see Bernard in *Ai Khanoum* 4:7 n. 9; and id. in *Greek Archaeology* 80–81; the index in Rapin, *BCH* (1983) 372 and in *IGIAC*; for other Greek names see also Robert, *CRAI* (1968) 418, 422; id., *CRAI* (1972) 618. For the Iranian names see F. Grenet, *BCH* (1983) 373–81.

18. Rapin associated **the rebuilding of the palace** with the apogee of Eukratides (in *Greek Colonists* 335–56, citing Justin 41.6). He noted that his coinage is particularly abundant (see, for example, Bernard in *Ai Khanoum* 4:101; A. S. Hollis, *ZPE* 110 [1996] 161–64). Furthermore, he remarked that several archaeological finds, especially from the treasury, suggest that Ai Khanoum was Eukratides’ capital. Holt (*OCD*³ s.v. “Eucratides”) also described him as a Graeco-Bactrian king. Note, however, that there is some disagreement among scholars about the exact nature of Eukratides’ position. Narain (*CAH*² 8:401; *ZPE* 69 [1987] 281), for example, claimed—less convincingly—that we do not know “whether Eucratides was a satrap of the northern provinces of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom or was a soldier of fortune.”

19. For the **inscription on the vase referring to “year 24”**

(Bernard, *CRAI* [1980] 442 = *Ai Khanoum* 8:96, no. 19 = *SEG* 33:1220 = *I. Estremo Oriente* 329 = *IGIAC* 117) see, for example, Bernard in *Ai Khanoum* 4:99–102 (“L’année régnale ou l’ère à laquelle se rapporte la date de 24 ne peut donc être que celle d’Eucratide I. . . . La date communément admise pour le début du règne d’Eucratide est 170 environ. . . . La date de 24 sur le tessou inscrit de la trésorerie d’Ai Khanoum nous donne donc 147 av. J.-C.”); Bernard and Rapin, *BEFEO* 68 (1980) 23–27; Rapin, *BCH* 107 (1983) 320, 360, 367–71; id. in *Ai Khanoum* 8:114, 285–94; id., *RA* (1987) 56; G. Fussman, *BEFEO* 67 (1988) 36–37; B. Lyonnet, *BAI* 12 (1998) 143; J. D. Lerner, *Anabasis* 1 (2010) 70–71. Rapin speculated (in *Greek Colonists* 336) that “the absence of any inscriptions later than c. 145 B.C. and evidence of destruction by fire in several public buildings are very probably indicative of the end of Eucratides’ rule and the capture of Ai Khanoum by nomadic invaders.” On the other hand, Narain (*ZPE* 69 [1987] 280–82) noted that there is nothing in the inscription indicating the reign of Eucratides and tentatively suggested that the “year 24”—if it was part of a reckoning system—referred to the era started by Menander in c. 155 B.C. This would date the inscription to c. 131 B.C. See also Bopearachchi, *Ancient Indian Coins* 179; and id. in *Coins* 104: “It is evident that this inscription does not refer to an era but to a year of an unknown reign”; followed by J. D. Lerner, *Anabasis* 1 (2010) 70–71.

Note, however, that the question of the eras in use in Hellenistic Bactria is a complex one; see, for example, Bernard’s and Rapin’s discussions (cited above) as well as Salomon in *Afghanistan ancien carrefour* 359–83; J. Jakobsson, *CQ* 59 (2009) 505–10.

20. For the **remains of the literary texts** found at Ai Khanoum see C. Rapin, *BCH* 111 (1987) 225–66 (philosophical dialogue, 232–49; lines in iambic trimeters, 249–59); Bernard in *Greek Archaeology* 81; *I. Estremo Oriente* 458–59; and *IGIAC* 131–32 (and bibliography). For the possibility that there may have been a **library** at Ai Khanoum and the tentative identification of the site within the palace complex as the library see Rapin, *RA* (1987) 50; id., *BCH* 111 (1987) 225–31, 259–66; cf. the library at ALEXANDREIA near Egypt. For the **fountain gargoyle** (along with other spigots) see Bernard, *CRAI* (1976) 310–13; id. in *Afghanistan* 128, no. 33; P. Leriche and J. Thoraval, *Syria* 56 (1979) 196–98; Leriche in *Ai Khanoum* 5:32–33.

21. For the **religious life** at Ai Khanoum see, for example, MacDowell and Taddei in *Archaeology of Afghanistan* 227; Rapin in *Greek Colonists* 340–41. For the **fragmentary statue (possibly) of Zeus** see above, n. 12; for the **statuette of Herakles** see Bernard, *CRAI* (1974) 301–2.

22. For **coins from Ai Khanoum with gods of the Greek pantheon**

on them see, for example, Bernard in *Aï Khanoum* 4, Index I; Krittr, *Bactria* 25-26, 35-37; Holt, *Thundering Zeus* 96 (probably Aï Khanoum), 121.

23. On **the Oriental character of the religious architecture at Aï Khanoum** see Bernard, *JA* 264 (1976) 266-273; id. in *Akten XIII Kong.* 51-59. For the Persians worshipping in the open air see Bernard, *CRAI* (1976) 306-7. For the **female deity**, carved in bone, see, for example, Bernard, *CRAI* (1974) 302-5; id. in *Afghanistan* 115, no. 16; MacDowell and Taddei in *Archaeology of Afghanistan* 227; *Afghanistan* no. 16. For **Cybele** on the silver plaque see Bernard, *CRAI* (1970) 339-47; id. in *Afghanistan* 118-19, no. 23; Francfort in *Aï Khanoum* 3.2:93-104. Bernard (*CRAI* [1970] 345-46) and Francfort pointed out (in *Aï Khanoum* 3.2:102-3) the similarity of the representation of Cybele to the Dea Syria, i.e., Atargatis (on which see HIERAPOLIS Bambyke, n. 3), and noted that the plaque bore witness to ties between Syria and central Asia in the first half of the third century B.C. Other figurines in terra-cotta were also found. However, it is not clear whether they were simply decorative objects or representations of deities; see further Rougeulle and Samoun in *Aï Khanoum* 7:60-62. For Indian religious symbols on Indo-Greek coins and on a coral pendant see Rapin in *Greek Colonists* 341; R. Audoin and P. Bernard, *RN* (1974) 6-41.

24. For the suggestion that there was a **mint at Aï Khanoum** see, for example, Bernard in *Aï Khanoum* 4:35; Krittr, *Bactria* 31-33 (who considers it to have been more important than Baktra's); Holt, *Thundering Zeus* 43, 117 n. 27, 124-25; Capdetrey, *Pouvoir* 79. On the **coinage** see, for example, P. Bernard and O. Guillaume, *RN* (1980) 9-32; Bernard in *Aï Khanoum* 4; G. Le Rider, *RN* (1987) 236-44; Krittr, *Bactria* 22-44.

For the planchets see *Aï Khanoum* 4:13-14, 83-84, nos. 225-34. Of the coins found at Aï Khanoum, Bernard (*Aï Khanoum* 4:14) has suggested that most, if not all, of series IV.3 (Antiochos I, thirty-six examples), VI.1 and 2 (Diodotos I and II, twenty-one examples), and VII (Euthydemus I, forty-nine examples), among other coins, were undoubtedly minted there.

Bernard noted that of the eleven pre-Seleucid (?) and Seleucid series, only one (IV.1) originated in the Near East, in SELEUKEIA on the Tigris. All the others originated in central Asia, primarily Bactria (*Aï Khanoum* 4:12-13). As for Aï Khanoum, he remarked that in contrast to DOURA EUROPOS, which relied on the mint at ANTIOCH for most of its coinage, the Bactrian settlement apparently provided for its own monetary needs. As Bernard commented in *Aï Khanoum* 4:13, "La satrapie bactrienne affirmait ainsi son autonomie économique et monétaire, prélude à l'indépendance politique qu'elle n'allait pas tarder à revendiquer."

On some coins of Seleukos I and Antiochos I (*ESM* nos. 665–75) that Newell ascribed to Baktra one finds the monogram , , or . The attribution of these coins has been the object of discussion (and disagreement) among a number of scholars.

On some of the coregency coins of Seleukos I and Antiochos I discovered at Aï Khanoum one apparently finds the monogram  (so Bernard and Guillaume, *RN* [1980] 17, no. A [= *Aï Khanoum* 4:36], 11–13. Note, however, that in *Aï Khanoum* 4:36, Bernard wrote “monogrammes illisibles” for the three examples found in the course of the excavation). On the other hand, the monogram  is—probably—partially preserved in an example in the British Museum collection (*RN* [1980] 17, no. B = *Aï Khanoum* 4:36, TF37 [“hors fouilles”]). In a personal communication Bernard has written that Kritz “a probablement raison de penser que ces exemplaires étaient en fait dépourvus de tout monogramme (Kritz, *Bactria* 41–42),” but that he had recognized “le monogramme  sur un 4^e exemplaire TF 37 d’Aï Khanoum, trouvé fortuitement en dehors du site (*RN* [1980] 17, no. A, pl. II = *Aï Khanoum* 4:36, TF37), ainsi que sur un exemplaire dans le British Museum (*RN* [1980] 17, n° B, pl. II). La même série comportait donc à la fois des exemplaires avec et sans monogramme ; il en allait de même de la légende au nom des deux rois Séleucos et Antiochos qui fait défaut à certains exemplaires: Kritz n’a peut-être pas tort de considérer qu’il faut distinguer deux séries anépigraphes très proches mais distinctes dans le temps (Kritz, *Bactria* 41–42).” Furthermore, on a number of bricks uncovered at Aï Khanoum one finds the monogram  (see, for example, D. Schlumberger and P. Bernard, *BCH* 89 [1965] 654–55; Bernard in *Aï Khanoum* 1.1:9 and nn. 6, 88; for [abbreviations of] city names stamped on roof tiles see, for example, LYSIMACHEIA in Aetolia and ILION). As Schlumberger and Bernard noted (*BCH* 89 [1965] 654), the monogram consisted of a circle within which was a delta; on the bottom line of this there was an oval loop, which was probably an omega. If the oval loop in the delta is only lacking the bottom of the circle, the monogram would be analogous to, if not identical with, the monogram found on a series of silver coins produced around 285–280 B.C. at a Bactrian mint by Antiochos in the name of his father, Seleukos I, and in his own name as vice regent of the eastern provinces. The only difference would be the shape of the loop attached to the lower line of the deltas: semicircular on the coins, semioval on the bricks. The monogram could be resolved to read Δω.

Bernard and Guillaume (*RN* [1980] 18–19) pointed out that on both the coin discovered *hors fouilles* and in the British Museum collection (no. a) one apparently finds the same monogram  found on the Seleucid coins

that Newell had attributed to Baktra (*ESM* 674–75). The connection between these coins was confirmed by the appearance of the Π to the right of the monogram on both the British Museum example and *ESM* 674. The monogram was also found on coins ascribed to Baktra with the variant forms  and . The second of these variants, of course, has also been found as a mark on bricks excavated at Aï Khanoum. Bernard and Guillaume considered the possibility that the coin that Newell had attributed to Baktra should in fact be reassigned to Aï Khanoum. They rejected this possibility, however, because it would have deprived Baktra of all its coinage. In a personal communication Paul Bernard adds the following: “La position tout à fait excentrée d’Aï Khanoum la rend, selon moi, inapte à devenir la capitale centralisatrice de la province, au moins dans les débuts d’un nouvel état qui a besoin de fortifier sa mainmise sur le territoire conquis. . . . Le monnayage d’Aï Khanoum (et bien sûr, il ya en eu un) n’a été trouvé que lorsqu’on y a fait des fouilles. Il y a eu des fouilles à Bactres dernièrement (dernier compte rendu par R. Besenval et Ph. Marquis, *CRAI* 2010), mais elles n’ont pas atteint véritablement les couches d’occupation grecques: les restes d’architecture grecque ont été trouvés comme remplois dans des constructions postgrecques. Le jour où on fouillera l’établissement grec on trouvera autant de types monétaires nouveaux qu’on en a trouvé à Aï Khanoum.”

Bernard and Guillaume also claimed that the small number—four—of bronzes found at Aï Khanoum rendered it impossible to say that this particular coin was minted locally. Therefore, they presented two possible solutions: (a) attribute all these coins to Baktra, or (b) assign these coins to Aï Khanoum by shifting to it from Baktra all the bronze and silver coins of the first two Seleucid kings. They opted for the first solution. However, we should note that the existence of a Seleucid mint at Baktra is a hypothesis, albeit a strong one. Newell (*ESM* 228–49) argued that, among other things, under the Seleucids Bactria (a) was populous and wealthy, (b) was economically important as the terminus of the highway from Babylonia and the West, via Ekbatana, to the East, and (c) had close commercial relations with central Asia and India. (d) As a result, it needed coined money but was too far removed from Babylonia and western Iran to be supplied by mints there, and thus a royal Seleucid mint at the capital Baktra would be highly probable. Furthermore, Newell pointed out that (e) the city was the nearest large urban center to the find spot of the Oxus treasure, and (f) the Seleucid coins he proposed assigning to Baktra lead directly into the following issues of the Bactrian kings Diodotos and Euthydemos, with (g) the “only logical location for a large and active royal mint . . . at Bactra, the political, commercial and geographical centre of

the entire province” (229). Newell also noted that the earliest Seleucid coins could be assigned to Bactra because (h) they were the only known specimens that reached the British Museum from India, (i) they differed in style from any of the other ordinary specimens of this type, (j) they were struck from inverted dies, and (k) they are unique in that they have a monogram on the obverse directly behind the head of Zeus. Finally, Newell dismissed the possibility that the coins had been minted in India because northwest India was not under Seleucid hegemony during the reign of Seleukos, but “Bactria was, and hence the capital city, Bactra, appears to be the only mint possible” (230). It is useful to bear in mind that, compelling as Newell’s reasons are for the existence of a Seleucid mint at Baktra, no confirmatory evidence for it has yet been discovered. As for alleged proximity to the Oxus treasure, Krittr remarked that Ai Khanoum (which, of course, Newell did not know about) “is actually a bit closer to the find spot of the Oxus Treasure than Bactra and far more accessible” (Krittr, *Bactria* 23; for the coins in the Oxus treasure see A. R. Bellinger, *ANS MN* 10 [1962] 51–57). The problem with this claim, however, is that the find spot of the Oxus treasure is not definitely known. Two locations have been suggested: Takht-i Sangin (see, for example, Holt, *Thundering Zeus* 17; Capdetrey, *Pouvoir* 78 n. 162; and earlier literature) and Takht-i Kobad (Bernard, *StIr* 23 [1994] 101–6). With regard to Takht-i Kobad, Bernard observed in a personal communication that “à vol d’oiseau Bactres est à 100 km de Takht-I Kobad, Takht-I Kobad est à 125 km d’Ai Khanoum. Il est faux de dire qu’il était ‘beaucoup plus facile d’aller’ d’Ai Khanoum à Takht-I Kobad que de Bactres à Takht-I Kobad.”

B. Krittr (*Bactria* 23) disagreed with Newell and Bernard. Krittr noted the weakness of Bernard and Guillaume’s objection to the small number of coins with the monogram  found at Ai Khanoum, and suggested (*Bactria* 11, 22–34) removing from Baktra to Ai Khanoum the coins that Newell had assigned to the former (*ESM* 657–726, designated “Mint B” by Krittr). Krittr was initially followed by Houghton and Lorber (*Seleucid Coins* 1.1:103; see also Bopearachchi in *Travaux Le Rider* 82). They summarized Krittr’s arguments as follows: “Krittr cited the area of diffusion of the bronzes found at Ai Khanoum, which localizes them narrowly; edge technique and fabric that associate the unmarked Ai Khanoum bronzes with others bearing the  monogram; and mud bricks with the monogram , excavated at Ai Khanoum . . . and unstruck flans proving the existence of a local mint. . . . Cumulatively, Krittr argued, these factors tend to support the reattribution of Newell’s Bactra series to the mint at Ai Khanoum.” They also noted the discovery of a new bronze coin (*Seleucid Coins* 1.1:103 and no. 283A) that depicted the river Oxus; this, they commented, would have been

inappropriate for Baktra because it does not lie on the Oxus or any river.

O. Bopearachchi (in *Travaux Le Rider* 79–91; in *Roi et Économie* 355–61) and G. Le Rider (*SNR* 83 [2004] 196–97) rejected Krit্ত’s reattribution. Among other things, Bopearachchi noted that whereas archaeological excavation at Aï Khanoum had reached Hellenistic levels everywhere the archaeologists had dug, at Baktra excavation had not reached these levels. As for the newly discovered coin (*Seleucid Coins* 1.1, no. 283A), Bopearachchi pointed out—among other things—that the simple fact of a river running through the *territory* (italics mine) of a city could provide sufficient justification for that city to mint coins with a river god on them. And that condition could have applied to Baktra. He also observed that there was no proof that the coin had actually been found at Aï Khanoum (Houghton and Lorber had noted only: “Notable provenance: Pakistan”). In *Seleucid Coins* 2.1:643 Houghton and Lorber accepted Bopearachchi’s criticism regarding 283A and concluded: “Given the current state of the evidence it seems prudent to treat both attributions with caution until the coin finds from the ongoing excavations at Bactra can be fully analyzed against the published finds from Aï Khanoum and the distribution pattern of the disputed coin types at other excavated sites.” See also O. D. Hoover, *CSE* 2:17 re nos. 121–35, 865–66 (“It is necessary to leave the possibility open that some or all of the coins formerly attributed to Aï Khanoum may actually be issues of Bactra”). For Krit্ত’s response to Bopearachchi’s discussion see *Transitions*, esp. 167–84.

As for Baktra, Krit্ত (*Bactria* 1–21, 23, 32) suggested the possibility of reassigning to it a series of coins (designated “Mint A” by Krit্ত, *Bactria* 4–10, nos. 1–47) of Seleukos I Nikator (*ESM* 331–35, 337–40, 749–50; also *CSE* 1033, 1035, 1300–1301; *McClellan Coll.* 9243) that Newell had ascribed to Susa (*ESM* pp. 124–25). Note, however, that the origin of these coins has been a matter of continuing discussion: Le Rider (*Suse* 31–32) doubted the attribution of *ESM* 331–35, 337–39, to Susa (on the difficulty of determining whether various bronzes of Seleukos I should be assigned to Susa or SELEUKEIA on the Tigris see Le Rider, *Suse* 25–27). Mørkholm (cited in *CSE* p. 103) suggested assigning them to EKBATANA.

25. For **silver coinage** found at Aï Khanoum see Bernard in *Aï Khanoum* 4:5. In addition, three hoards (“1970,” “1973,” and “1973/1974”) of silver coins have also been found at Aï Khanoum. For the “1970” hoard (677 Indian and 6 Indo-Greek silver coins) see R. Audoin and P. Bernard, *RN* (1973) 238–89; Audoin and Bernard, *RN* (1974) 7–41; and below, n. 26; for the “1973” hoard (63 tetradrachms) see C. Petitot-Biehler, *RN* (1975) 23–57; Bernard, *CRAI* (1974) 305–8; id., *RN* (1975) 58–69. The third hoard (“1973/1974”), including “some 141 silver coins”

according to Holt, found at or near the excavation site in the winter of 1973–1974 was, unfortunately, clandestinely sold; see H.-P. Francfort, *RN* (1975) 19–22; Bernard in *Aï Khanoum* 4:1; F. Holt, *RN* (1981) 7–44.

26. For the remains of **ancient irrigation canals** in the plain of Aï Khanoum see Gentelle, *Étude géographique* 59–101; id. in *Prospections* 1:91–105; Gardin in *Prospections* 3:113–14. On irrigation networks in Bactria see also Aperghis, *Economy* 68. Strabo mentions the cultivation of rice in Bactriana and other regions and the need to irrigate the crop (15.3.18).

27. The precise **circumstances of the end of the settlement at Aï Khanoum** are unclear (in general see Narain, *Indo-Greeks* 128–64; id. in *CAH*² 412–15; Bernard, *PBA* [1967] 93; id. in *Aï Khanoum* 1:109–11; id., *RN* [1975] 62–69; Posch, *Baktrien* 88–96; and Lyonnet in *Histoire et cultes* 155–56). On the one hand, there is evidence for a major fire in the last phase of the settlement at the palace complex (Bernard, *PBA* [1967] 75, 93; id. in *Aï Khanoum* 1:110). Furthermore, the gymnasium, as well as the area between the propylaia of the palace and the heroön of Kineas, was occupied by squatters (Bernard, *CRAI* [1968] 278–79; see also Guillaume in *Aï Khanoum* 2:25–27; Veuve in *Aï Khanoum* 6: 109–10). The presence of these squatters and the transformation of the public buildings into homes for them presumably would have come about as a result of the fire. On the other hand, in 1968 excavators found evidence that at the temple à redans the fire followed, rather than preceded, a late occupation phase when the building was used as a warehouse (Bernard, *CRAI* [1969] 352–55; id. in *Aï Khanoum* 1:110). This raised the possibility that the phase when the squatters were taking over the public buildings preceded the conflagration and that the fire simply marked the end point of this decline. In 1969 Bernard was unable to choose between these two hypothetical reconstructions (*Aï Khanoum* 1:110–11). He did, however, call attention to the report of the Chinese diplomat Chang K'ien, who visited and briefly described Bactria in 129 B.C. At that time, according to Chang K'ien, “Ta-hia (Bactria) is more than 2,000 li to the southwest of Ta-Yüan (Ferghana) on the south Bank of the K'ui-shui (Oxus). The people there have fixed abodes and live in walled cities and regular houses like the people of Ta-Yüan. They have no great king or chief, but everywhere the cities and towns have their own petty chiefs. While the people are shrewd traders, their soldiers are weak and afraid to fight, so that when the Ta-Yüechi migrated westward, they made war on the Ta-hia, who became subject to them. The population of Ta-hia may amount to more than a million. Their capital is called Lanshi, and it has markets for the sale of all sorts of merchandise (sections 46–51) . . . but when they were

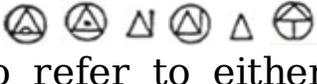
beaten by the Hiung-nu, they (the Ta-Yüe chi) . . . attacked Ta-hia (Bactria) and conquered it. Subsequently they had their capital north of the K'ui-shui (Oxus) and made it the court of their king" (section 29; trans. F. Hirth, *JAOS* 37 [1917] 89-152; see also Tarn, *GBI*² 270-311, 513-14; and Narain's analysis of the sources in *Indo-Greeks* 128-40; on the Yüe-chi—the Tocharoi—see Schwarz, *KP* s.v. "Tocharoi" and literature cited there; Xinru Liu, *Journal of World History* 12 [2001] 266-67).

Bernard (*RN* [1975] 58-69) reexamined the problem in the light of the discovery of the "1973" hoard (see above, n. 25). Bernard called attention to the following. (a) The coinage discovered in the course of excavating the site essentially ends with Eukratides; to date, no coinage of Eukratides' son, Heliokles I, has been discovered. In contrast, extensive coinage of both Eukratides (144 coins out of 627) and Heliokles (221 coins, a third of the hoard) was found in the Qunduz hoard (Curiel and Fussman, *Qunduz*, 13-47, nos. 101-247, 390-610. Qunduz is southwest of Ai Khanoum; the hoard was found, not at Qunduz, but 90 km northwest of it at Khisht Tepe on the Oxus; see Fussman in *Qunduz* 9; Le Berre in *Qunduz* 83-88; and Ball, *Monuments of Afghanistan* 260). (b) The coins found in the course of excavating Ai Khanoum were mainly bronzes. In contrast, the two hoards (subsequently, a third hoard—"1973/1974"—was found; see above, n. 25) thus far discovered at Ai Khanoum consisted of silver coins. It is therefore all the more noteworthy that both the bronze and the silver coinage at Ai Khanoum apparently ended with Eukratides. The cause, Bernard argued convincingly, was the fire that destroyed the palace complex. In the period after the fire at the palace there is no extant evidence for Hellenic life at the settlement: the Greek colonists left, to be replaced by nomadic invaders, in particular the Yüe-chi. Thus Bernard, following Narain, speculated that the disintegration of the Greco-Bactrian kingdom took place in essentially two stages: in the first stage the nomadic Yüe-chi came into control of the territory north of the Oxus, i.e., Sogdiana. This had already taken place when the Chinese ambassador Chang K'ien traveled through the region in 129-128 B.C. The second stage was marked by the installation of the Yüe-chi in Bactria and the consequent migration of the Greek colonists southward; this would have taken place in the last years of the second century B.C.

28. For the **silver ingot** see Rapin, *BCH* 107 (1983) 349, no. 30 and literature cited there.

29. **At least three different names** have been suggested for the settlement at Ai Khanoum: (a) Alexandria Oxeiana, (b) Dionysopolis, Diodoteia, or Diodotopolis, and (c) Eukratideia.

a. For Alexandria Oxeiana see above, n. 6.

b. In support of Dionysopolis, Diodoteia, or Diodotopolis, Narain (*CAH*² 8:395–97; *Numismatic Digest* 10 [1986] 4–15 = *Indo-Greeks* [Delhi, 2003] 373 – 84; in *India* 123–29) called attention to the monogram(s) on coins that Newell had assigned to Baktra (*ESM* 664–726: ). He pointed out that they could not be resolved to refer to either Baktra or its other name, Zariaspa. He also claimed they could not refer to the name of Diodotos (thus, see MacDonald [*CHI* 437], who suggested the monogram  could be resolved to read ΔΙΟ[δότης]). Narain turned to the coins with the monogram  (*ESM* 665–73; see above, n. 24) that Newell had assigned to Baktra. He noted that the same monogram is also found on bricks discovered at Aï Khanoum (see above, nn. 6, 24), and reassigned these coins to Aï Khanoum; he also followed the suggestion of Gardner (*NC* [1879] 12) and Howorth (*NC* [1888] 295) that the monogram could be resolved to read Dionysopolis, and speculated that this—or, alternatively, Diodoteia or Diodotopolis—was the ancient name of Aï Khanoum; the resolution, however, is not definite. Furthermore, we may object—as Narain himself admitted—that this could be the monogram of an official or moneyer rather than of a city. Cf., for example, Holt (*Thundering Zeus* 52 and n. 15), who suggested the monograms stood for magistrates, not cities.

c. Finally, Bernard speculated that the settlement at Aï Khanoum was later renamed Eukratideia (in *DAI 1829–1979* 116; *Scientific American Ancient Cities* 72; *BEFEO* 68 [1980] 38; followed by Rapin in *Aï Khanoum* 8:293; id. in *Afghanistan ancien carrefour* 146 and n. 17; id. in *De l'Indus* 115; F. Grenet and C. Rapin, *BAI* 12 [1998] 82 and n. 24). Bernard called attention to Strabo (11.11.2), who said that Eukratideia in Bactria was named for its ruler (on Eukratideia see also Ptol. 6.11.8). Bernard suggested that Strabo might have been referring to the settlement at Aï Khanoum, which Eukratides would have refounded as his capital. In connection with this he called attention to the 1970 hoard of 683 Indian and Graeco-Bactrian coins (677 punch-marked silver coins of Mauryan date from the mint of Taxila and 6 silver coins of Agathokles) that was found in the palace (R. Audouin and P. Bernard, *CRAI* [1971] 435–46; Audouin and Bernard, *RN* [1973] 238–89; Audouin and Bernard, *RN* [1974] 7–41; see also MacDowall and Taddei in *Archaeology of Afghanistan* 208–9). The coins—most of which were in a traveler's water flask—had been buried c. 130 B.C. Bernard and Rapin (*BEFEO* 68 [1980] 36–38) pointed to Eukratides' campaigns in India and suggested that the presence of the coins in Aï Khanoum could be related to this, presumably as either plunder or tribute.

Finally, *nota bene* Mairs's sober assessment: “We cannot identify the name of Aï Khanoum, Greek or local” (in *Foundation Myths* [forthcoming]).

ALEXANDREIA/ALEXANDROPOLIS IN SAKASTANE

Isidore of Charax (18–19) says: (18) ἐντεῦθεν Σακαστανὴ . . . καὶ πλησίον Ἀλεξάνδρεια πόλις (καὶ πλησίον Ἀλεξανδρόπολις πόλις) . . . (19) ἐντεῦθεν Ἀραχωσία . . . εἶτα Ἀλεξανδρόπολις μητρόπολις Ἀραχωσίας.¹ This apparently corrupt text is our only extant source for the existence of an Alexandreia or Alexandropolis in Sakastane. We do not know the definite location of this settlement.²

* * * *

In general see Droysen, *Hist.* 2:674–76; Herrmann, *RE* s.v. “Sakastane”; Tarn, *GBI*² 470–71; Tcherikover, *HS* 103; P. Bernard, *St. Iran.* 3 (1974) 174–75 and n. 6; Brentjes, *BNP* s.v. “Sacastene”; Fraser, *Cities* 29, 137–40; and ALEXANDREIA in Arachosia.

1. Regarding **the text of Isidore** Tarn commented (*GBI*² 471 n. 1): “In 18 (Sacastene) he has καὶ πλησίον Ἀλεξάνδρεια πόλις καὶ πλησίον Ἀλεξανδρόπολις πόλις and in 19 (Arachosia) he has Ἀλεξανδρόπολις, μητρόπολις Ἀραχωσίας. It has long been recognised that one of the two names in 18 must go out; and Arrian III,28,4 makes it certain that the name in 19 (Isidore is reproducing an official survey) should be Ἀλεξάνδρεια. Ἀλεξάνδρεια therefore has been transferred from 19 to 18 and must go out of 18 and back to its place in 19, which has been filled by Ἀλεξανδρόπολις taken from 18. The real reading then of 18 is καὶ πλησίον Ἀλεξανδρόπολις πόλις and of 19 Ἀλεξάνδρεια μητρόπολις Ἀραχωσίας.” Tarn also claimed (471) that Alexandropolis (a) was near, not in, Sakastane, (b) was located at Kandahar, (c) was not founded by Alexander (because a city with that name could not have been founded by the Macedonian king) but “at best was a military colony which (possibly quite correctly) attributed its settlement to him.” Cf. Bernard, who claimed that Alexandropolis was undoubtedly a doublet for Alexandreia, and observed: “Il n’y a aucune raison pour faire subir au texte tous les remaniements que propose Tarn” (*St. Iran.* 3 [1974] 174 n. 6).

Fraser (*Cities* 138) agreed with (a) Tarn’s deletion of the redundant phrase (καὶ πλησίον Ἀλεξανδρόπολις πόλις) in Isidore 18. He also agreed with (b) the transfer of the two names (i.e., that the real reading of 18 is καὶ πλησίον Ἀλεξανδρόπολις πόλις and of 19 is Ἀλεξάνδρεια, μητρόπολις Ἀραχωσίας) and with (c) the claim that the termination “-polis” indicated the settlement was not founded by Alexander but was attributed to him at a later date.

2. **Location.** Droysen claimed (*Hist.* 2:676) that Alexandreia/

Alexandropolis in Sakastane was at Kandahar; he was followed by Scerrato in *Asoka* 20. Tarn (see above, n. 1) also placed it at Kandahar. Although Fraser first accepted the identification of Alexandria/Alexandropolis in Sakastane with Kandahar (*Afghan Studies* 2 [1979] 13 and 17 n. 26), he subsequently repudiated this claim (*Cities* 138–39 n. 66). His reason for rejecting the identification was based on the results of excavation at Kandahar that demonstrated that Old Kandahar was both an Achaemenid and an early Hellenistic center (see, for example, *Gazetteer Afghanistan* s.v. “Kandahar”). Since he believed Alexandria/Alexandropolis was a later foundation he suggested (140) that it was located not at Kandahar but at or near Zaranj. Note, in this connection, that Qudama said Alexander built a settlement at Zaranj (*Kitâb al-Kharâj* 265 in *BGA* 6:207, trans. de Goeje). Fraser also suggested that ALEXANDREIA in Arachosia was founded by Alexander at the site of Kandahar. Regarding Alexandria/Alexandropolis in Sakastane, Fraser suggested the use of πλησίον by Isidore in 18 indicated that the particular site lay off the main route of the σταθμοί. He suggested this description fits well with the location of Alexandria or Alexandropolis near Sakastane at or near Zaranj, which was located off the main road from Aria to Arachosia. The argument is somewhat circular, but not unconvincing. See ALEXANDREIA in Arachosia; and Fraser, *Afghan Studies* 2 (1979) 16–17 n. 26.

ALEXANDREIA/ANTIOCH IN MARGIANA

According to Pliny (*NH* 6.46–47)—who relied not on the bematists Diognetos and Baiton, but on some unspecified sources—Alexander founded a city bearing his own name in Margiana (“Margiane . . . in qua Alexander Alexandriam condiderat; qua diruta a barbaris Antiochus Seleuci filius eodem loco restituit Syrianam interfluenta Margo qui corrivatur in Zotha lacu; maluerat illam Antiochiam appellari. Urbis amplitudo circumitur stadiis LXX. In hanc Orodes Romanos Crassana clade captos deduxit”). Assuming Pliny was correct in his information, we should like to know when and by whom this settlement might have been founded. Alexander wintered in 329/8 B.C. at Baktra. In the spring of 328, according to Arrian (4.15.7), he returned to Sogdiana. Curtius, however, said (7.10.14ff.) that Alexander crossed the Ochus and Oxus rivers¹ and arrived at the city of Margiana (“Superatis deinde amnibus Ocho et Oxo, ad urbem Margianam pervenit. Circa eam VI oppidis condendis electa sedes est, duo ad meridiem versa, IIII spectantia orientem; modicis inter se spatiis distabant, ne procul repetendum esset mutuum auxilium. Haec omnia sita

sunt in editis collibus”). This expedition and the circumstances surrounding the establishment of Alexandria in Margiana—which is not mentioned by Arrian—have been treated with great skepticism by scholars. As a result, various scholars have suggested that (a) the Macedonian king personally founded Alexandria in Margiana, (b) Alexander sent someone else—either Krateros or Ptolemy, or (c) it was a Seleucid foundation.²

Pliny adds that Alexandria was later destroyed “by the barbarians” and that it was then refounded by Antiochos I who built a “Syrian” city on the same site and called it Antioch.³ Strabo (11.10.2) said that, because of its fertility, Antiochos I built a wall 1,500 stades in circumference and founded a city that he named Antioch; he added that the land was particularly good for viticulture. The wall built by Antiochos I has been identified with the city wall at Gyaur Kala that has been partly excavated.⁴ The Hellenistic wall was nearly 8 kilometers in length and stood c. 10 meters above a platform that was at least 3.5 meters high; the wall was multistoried; at the top there was a walkway that measured 1.1 meter in width. This form of wall is attested in Hellenistic Asia Minor, for example, at Side, Perge, and Kaunos. The appearance of this type of wall in Margiana, incidentally, reflects the spread of Hellenistic military architecture throughout the region. The area enclosed by the wall was quadrangular in shape and was traversed by two main roads that crossed at right angles.⁵

Isidore of Charax (14) referred to Antioch in Margiana by name, said it was called “well-watered,” and also noted that there were no villages in the area. Antioch is also mentioned by Ptolemy (6.10.4, “Antioch Margiana”). It is possible that the Seleucid general Demodamas had a role in the founding of Antioch.⁶ Martianus Capella (6.691) and Solinus (48.3, ed. Mommsen) also mentioned that Alexander founded an Alexandria in Margiana; however, in relating the subsequent history of the settlement they both say Antiochos renamed it “Seleukeia.” The reading “Syrianam” in the text of Pliny *NH* 6.47 is problematic and undoubtedly corrupt. By reference to Solinus and Martianus Capella, Honigmann (*RE* s.v. “Seleukeia 10”) suggested this was the original reading in the text of Pliny. Thus, as Tomaschek speculated (*RE* s.v. “Antiocheia 12”), after Alexandria was destroyed by the barbarians it was renamed “Seleukeia” and then “Antioch” by Antiochos I.⁷ In fact we cannot, on the basis of the available evidence, make a definitive determination whether the toponym was Seleukeia or Antioch or both in sequence. Nevertheless we may note that the attestation for “Antioch” dates from as early as the first century B.C., whereas the evidence for “Seleukeia” dates from the third century A.D. and later. Finally, Merv is also mentioned in the Iranian tradition as a

foundation of Alexander by, for example, al-Dinawari ([41], trans. Nöldeke, *Beiträge* 42), al-Tabari ([702], trans. Nöldeke, *Beiträge* 47), Qudama (*Kitâb al-Kharâj* 265 in *BGA* 6:207, trans. Goeje), Hamza al-Isfahani (*Sini mulûk* 40, trans. Pourshariati in *Indo-Grecs* 124), and the Pahlavi *Provincial Capitals of Eranshahr* (12, trans. Markwart: “The capital of Marv and the capital of *Hare[v]* were built by the accursed Sokander the Romaeon”). Coins of Antiochos I and Antiochos II and various Graeco-Bactrian kings have been found at Gyaur Kala.⁸

Gyaur Kala, 30 kilometers east of Merv, has been identified as the site of Antioch in Margiana. In the middle of the north wall of Gyaur Kala are the remains of a polygonal enclosure wall, Erk Kala. This was the site of the town during the Achaemenid period; it subsequently became the citadel of the Hellenistic city.⁹

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In general see Droysen, *Hist.* 2:672–73; Tomaschek, *RE* s.v. “Alexandria 3” and “Antiocheia 12”; Honigmann, *RE* s.v. “Seleukeia 10”; Meyer, *Blüte* 17–18; Tcherikover, *HS* 105; Frye, *Iran* 156; Frumkin, *Archaeology* 146–47; Knobloch, *Oxus* 174–76; Leriche in *Plateau iranien* 311; André and Filliozat, *Plinie VI.2* 60–61; A. B. Bosworth, *JHS* 101 (1981) 24–29; P. Bernard, *JS* (1982) 125–38; Sherwin-White and Kuhrt, *Samarkhand* 82–84; Masson, *Das Land* 141–49, 158–62; Orth, *Diadochenzeit* 108; Holt, *Thundering Zeus* 27 and n. 16; Fraser, *Cities* 31 and n. 67, 116–17 and n. 25; Rapin in *Afghanistan ancien carrefour* 147; id., *BAI* 12 (1998) 223 n. 49; F. Grenet and C. Rapin, *BAI* 12 (1998) 79–89; Fraser, *Terminology* 371.

For the results of excavation at Merv see G. Herrmann, K. Kurbansakhatov, St. J. Simpson et al., *Iran* 31 (1993) 39–62, *Iran* 32 (1994) 53–75, *Iran* 33 (1995) 31–60, *Iran* 35 (1997) 1–22, *Iran* 36 (1998) 53–76, *Iran* 37 (1999) 1–24, *Iran* 38 (2000) 1–31 (“The International Merv Project”); T. Williams, K. Kurbansakhatov, et al., *Iran* 40 (2002) 15–41, *Iran* 41 (2003) 139–70 (“The Ancient Merv Project”); Mairs, *Hellenistic Far East* 34; www.ucl.ac.uk/silva/merv.

For the ruins known as Köne Kishman on the northeastern periphery of the Merv oasis see A. Bader, V. Gaibov, and G. Koselenko, *Mesopotamia* 27 (1992) 225–50.

1. The identification of the **Ochus River** is a major crux; see, for example, Bosworth, *JHS* 101 (1981) 26–27; id., *Comment.* 2:108–10 (the present Kunduz); contra: Bernard, *JS* (1982) 130–31.

2. Three positions have been advanced by scholars regarding the **circumstances of the founding of Alexandria in Margiana**: (a) The Macedonian king personally founded Alexandria in Margiana in the course of his expedition (Engels, *Alexander* 104–5 and n. 27). (b) Alexander sent someone else (e.g., Droysen, *Hist.* 2:673; Berve, *Alexanderreich* 1:294; Tarn, *Alexander* 2:234–35; Schachermeyr, *Alexander* 349 and n. 416 [Krateros]; Hammond, *Alexander*² 195; Holt, *Alexander* 62 and n. 48 [Ptolemy]); contra: Fraser who objected (*Cities* 117 and n. 26) that this was contrary to Alexander’s practice of being at the founding of settlements; elsewhere, however (*Cities* 70), Fraser claimed that Krateros “must be regarded as the most active agent of Alexander’s Indian foundations.” In fact, there are instances where Alexander delegated a subordinate to carry out the establishment of a settlement: e.g., GERASA and SAMAREIA. (c) Because of the weak evidence for this Alexandria as a foundation of Alexander (Arrian does not mention it), we should consider it a Seleucid foundation (e.g., Tcherikover, *HS* 105; Fraser, *Cities* 117–18).

Bosworth examined the Curtius passage (*JHS* 101 [1981] 23–29; *Comment.* 2:108) and focused his attention on the fact that the MSS read either “Marganiam” (P, FLV) or “Marginiam” (BM). The emendation to “Margianam” was made as early as the sixteenth century and has been accepted in most modern editions. Bosworth argued against this. He noted that “in his Paris edition of 1678 Michael Le Tellier . . . disputed the emendation on the grounds that the direct route from Bactria to Margiana does not cross the Oxus.” As a result Bosworth claimed (*Comment.* 2:108) that the “Margania” mentioned by Curtius “is not the ancient Margiana (Mary) but a location in Sogdiana north of the Oxus where Alexander founded not one city but a network of six.” Bosworth correctly noted (*Comment.* 2:108) that “the hill country described by Curtius . . . cannot easily be reconciled with the alluvial plain around Mary . . . but does fit the area north of the Oxus.” Bosworth remarked that he did not “doubt that the great site at Giaur Kala . . . is the foundation of Antiochus I . . . which was established . . . on the site of an earlier Alexandria” (he did not, however, hazard any suggestion as to which Alexandria this might have been). Rather, he disputed “the assumption that *Alexander* founded an Alexandria in Mary and that the foundation is identical with Curtius’ Margania.” **Bernard** (*JS* [1982] 125–38) took issue with Bosworth. (a) He correctly noted that the emendation “Margiana” is supported by its appearance in Pliny *NH* 6.47. (b) He also noted that ceramic ware dated to the Hellenistic period has been found at Gyaur Kala (128). (c) Regarding the six sites in the vicinity of Margiana/Margania/Marginia that

Curtius says were chosen for founding settlements, Bernard suggested these settlements were built on old “tépés” of accumulated mud-brick. This is not fully convincing; at any rate, it certainly does not fit Curtius’s description—“in editis collibus”—for the sites. Furthermore, Isidore of Charax (14) said—in the early first century A.D.—there were no villages in the region of Antioch. (d) Bernard admitted there is no specific evidence for the strongholds mentioned by Curtius; on the other hand, he called attention to the wall mentioned by Strabo (11.10.2) and noted that Soviet archaeologists have found major sections of it (see S. A. Vjazigin, *Trudy IUTAKE* 1 [1949] 260–75; L. I. Merezin, *Trudy IUTAKE* 16 [1978] 11–15). That having been said, it is important to emphasize that—attractive as the identification of Gyaur Kala with Alexandria in Margiana is—no archaeological, epigraphic, or numismatic evidence has yet been discovered that would specifically confirm this (cf. Fraser, *Cities* 117–18: “Thus the evidence for the foundation by Alexander remains weak, and it is wiser to regard it as a Seleucid foundation”). Furthermore, although Pliny says Alexander established an Alexandria in Margiana, Curtius says nothing about Alexander founding a city. He limits himself to the comment that Alexander arrived at the city of Margiana/Margania/Marginia (“ad urbem Margianam pervenit”). Assuming Curtius is not in error here, the clear implication is that Alexander reached a native city—whatever its name—that was already in existence.

Grenet and Rapin (*BAI* 12 [1998] 79–89) followed Bosworth in not emending the text of Curtius. They suggested (82–84) that the description of Marginia/Margania “strongly evokes Termez”; this prompted them to identify—as Tarn had done—ALEXANDREIA Oxeiana with Termez; contra: P. Leriche, *JA* 290 (2002) 411–15. See also Rapin in *Afghanistan ancien carrefour* 155 n. 50; ALEXANDREIA of the Caucasus, n. 2; ALEXANDREIA Oxeiana, n. 4; and ANTIOCH THARMATA in India, n. 2.

3. Compare also HERAKLEIA, which was founded by Alexander and then refounded as ACHAIS/ACHAIA by Antiochos.

Tarn (*JHS* 60 [1940] 91–92) claimed that Alexandria at Merv (i.e., Margiana) was destroyed in the same Saka invasion that destroyed ALEXANDREIA Eschate and his alleged Alexandria Tarmita (see ALEXANDREIA Oxeiana) and that all were then rebuilt—as Antiochs—by Antiochos I.

4. For the identification of the **wall** attributed to Antiochos I see, for example, V. Zavyalov and St. J. Simpson, *Iran* 39 (2001) 12–14; and earlier reports in *Iran*; Zavyalov in *After Alexander* 313–29 and plan on 313. See also G. Puschnigg, *Parthica* 10 (2008) 109–10 and plan on 110; Sherwin-White and Kuhrt, *Samarkhand* 82–84. For a plan and satellite image of

Gyaur Kala see G. Barratt, *Iran* 31 (1993) 45; and T. Williams et al., *Iran* 40 (2002) 18.

In an article published in 1995 A. N. Bader et al. have suggested—less convincingly—that the wall of Antiochos I was the extensive outer wall formerly called Giliakin-Chilburj (in *Gryphons* 39–50, plan on 48) that encircled the Merv area; previously it was thought that it had been built in the Middle Ages. According to Bader et al., “The wall has been almost completely destroyed. Its last clearly visible remains were demolished in 1989–1991. . . . Now only a very small section [approx. 150 m] of it is preserved” (44–45). The outline of the wall has been traced by satellite imaging. According to Bader et al., “It seems to have enclosed the *khora* of Antioch in Margiana,” an area of about 55–60 km².

5. For the **similarities to the walls of Hellenistic cities in Asia Minor**, in particular at Side, Perge, and Kaunos see Zavyalov in *After Alexander* 327. In a personal communication Pierre Leriche observed: “Au cours du Colloque After Alexander, j’ai exprimé quelques doutes sur le rapprochement entre Merv et Sidè, Pergé et Kaunos, mais il est vrai que je ne les ai pas écrits.” For the **two main roads that crossed at right angles** see, for example, P. Bernard, *JS* (1982) 128.

6. For **Demodamas** see ALEXANDREIA/ANTIOCH in Scythia.

7. Cf. GADARA in southern Syria, which, according to Stephanos (s.v. “Gadara”), was called both Antioch and Seleukeia.

8. For the **coins** found at Gyaur Kala see N. M. Smirnova, *AC* 3 (1996) 260–85: Antiochos I, no. 16; Antiochos II, nos. 17–18; Graeco-Bactrian kings, nos. 22–25, 28–35, 37–44; id., *Numismatika e Epigrafik* 16 (1999) 256, nos. 2–3 (= Houghton and Lorber, *Seleucid Coins* 1.1:150, nos. 422–23): Antiochos I.

9. On the **location** and its importance see Frumkin, *Archaeology* 146–52; Masson, *Das Land* 145–50 (plan on p. 146); Frye, *Iran* 18; Fraser, *Cities* 117 n. 25. Note, however, Rapin’s caution: “Le site de Gyaur-kala constitue incontestablement la plus importante ville de l’époque hellénistique en Margiane, mais aucune source ne fournit les éléments suffisants pour l’assimiler avec certitude à cette Alexandrie-Antioche” (*BAI* 13 [1998] 223, n. 49; see also Rapin, *Afghanistan ancien carrefour* 147 n. 20). On **Erk Kala** see Zavyalov in *After Alexander* 313–14; and IASONION.

ALEXANDREIA/ANTIOCH IN SCYTHIA

The *Alexander Romance* and the *Romance* tradition mention an

Alexandreia in Scythia.¹ W. W. Tarn has suggested this was ALEXANDREIA Eschate and that it was subsequently refounded as the Antioch in Scythia recorded by Stephanos (s.v. "Antioch 10").²

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In general see Droysen, *Hist.* 2:751; Tcherikover, *HS* 106; Tarn, *GBI*² 83–84; id., *JHS* 60 (1940) 90–94; Brodersen, *Komment.* 161; Fraser, *Cities* 33 and n. 72; id., *Terminology* 332.

1. For **Alexandreia in Scythia in the Alexander Romance** and the *Romance* tradition see, for example, the A recension, 3.37; B recension, 3.35; Γ recension 3.35; Armenian version 285, trans. Wolohojian; Syriac version 3.24, trans. Wallis Budge; Hebrew version 130, trans. Kazis; *Excerpta Latina Barbari* 34b, ed. Schoene ("Alexandriam Scythiam in Egeis"); Julius Valerius 3.35, ed. Rosellini; *Chronicon Paschale* 321, *CSHB* 4.1; *Historia de Preliis* 130, ed. Hilka.

2. The *Tab. Peut.* (XI.5) placed Alexandreia and Antioch side by side on the south bank of the Jaxartes (Araxes) River. We should, *prima facie*, conclude that the existence of the two toponyms on the map is evidence for the separate existence of the two cities. Nevertheless, Tarn (*JHS* 60 [1940] 91–92) claimed that Alexandreia Eschate was destroyed in the same Saka invasion that destroyed ALEXANDREIA at Merv (i.e., Margiana). He pointed out that "in the Table, below Alexandria . . . and spatially covering both names, Alexandria and Antioch, though clearly referring to the Alexander-name are the words "Hic Alexander responsum accepit. Usque quo Alexander"; and below that . . . a picture of two altars. . . . The Peutinger Table then would suffice to show that this northern Antioch replaced Alexandria; but important confirmation is given by the proceedings of Demodamas." Tarn then claimed that Demodamas of Miletos was one of the Seleucid *strategoï* of Bactria-Sogdiana between c. 290 and 280 B.C., and that we know two things about him: (a) he crossed the Jaxartes, and (b) he built "altars" to Apollo, "the two things being in some way connected" (92; see Pliny *NH* 6.49: "transcendit eum amnem Demodamas, Seleuci et Antiochi regum dux, quem maxime sequimur in his, arasque Apollini Didymaeo statuit"; the phrase "Seleuci et Antiochi regum dux" would, according to Tarn, refer to the period 293–280 B.C., when Seleukos and Antiochos ruled jointly). Tarn noted that "when Alexander was building Alexandria-Chojend, he had to cross the river and drive away the nomads who were threatening him from the northern bank; as no Greek king ever sought or attempted to *hold* anything north of the river,

Demodamas' crossing may have served the same purpose as Alexander's, in connection with the building of the new Antioch. As to his altars, Pliny, after mentioning 'Alexandria in the farthest bounds of the Sogdians,' says that altars had been set up there (*ibi*) by Heracles, Dionysus, Semiramis, Cyrus and Alexander, whose expeditions all ended there. . . . The first three names are mythical, and if Cyrus set up altars it must have been at his own foundation Cyropolis. . . . There can therefore be no doubt that the two altars . . . which appear in the Peutinger Table below Alexandria are meant for Alexander's; the story must have been that he set them up . . . when the gods forbade him to go further. Demodamas' altars therefore, which he set up to Apollo of Didyma, ancestor and patron of the Seleucids, and which were connected with his crossing of the Jaxartes, must have been connected with the new Antioch as Alexander's had been with his Alexandria. Antioch 'in Scythia' was therefore Alexandria-Chojend refounded." In the first edition of *GBI* (83 and n. 3), incidentally, Tarn commented that a "mysterious Antioch in Scythia . . . conceivably . . . was only Alexandria-Eschate refounded." In the *addenda* to the second edition he wrote "certain" and referred the reader to his *JHS* 60 (1940) article; see also *Alexander* 2:235-36, 243; followed by Briant (*OCD*³ s.v. "Alexandreia 5"), who said Alexandreia Eschate was renamed Antioch by Antiochos I.

Nota bene, however, that in an important study L. Robert (*BCH* 108 [1984] 467-72) correctly pointed out that, as far as we know, Demodamas was a Seleucid general ("Seleuci et Antiochi regum dux"), not necessarily the *strategos* of Bactria-Sogdiana. Furthermore, he demonstrated, by reference to *I. Didyma* 480.2 (= Günther, *Orakel* p. 23) and 479.1 (= *OGIS* 213 = Günther, *Orakel* p. 29), that Demodamas probably crossed the Jaxartes and built the altars to Apollo of Didyma some time before 300 B.C. On Demodamas see also Solinus 49.5 (ed. Mommsen); Stephanos s.v. "Antissa"; *FGrH* 428 T1-3; *OGIS* 213. See also Haussoullier, *Milet* 34-49; Holleaux, *Etudes* 3: 111-17; J. Wolski, *Klio* 38 (1960) 113-15; Bosworth, *Comment.* 2:17; Fraser, *Cities* 33 n. 72.

Cf. Fraser (*Terminology* 332), who soberly observed that Antioch in Scythia was "otherwise unknown, unless it be supposed (as by Tcherikover, p. 106) that Demodamas of Miletus, . . . the military commander of Seleukos and Antiochus I, who is said to have crossed the Jaxartes, founded an Antioch there, to mark the limits of Empire," Droysen (*Hist.* 2:751) believed that Antioch in Scythia was located in the vicinity of the Jaxartes.

ALEXANDREIA/ANTIOCH THARMATA

See ANTIOCH THARMATA in India; ALEXANDREIA Oxeiana, nn. 2 and 3; ALEXANDREIA of the Caucasus, n. 2.

ALEXANDREIA ESCHATE

Arrian (4.1.3–4, trans. Brunt) said that in the course of campaigning north of the Hindu Kush and the Oxus River in Sogdiana in 329 B.C. Alexander “was himself planning to found a city on the Tanais and to give it his own name. For in his view the site was suitable for the city to rise to greatness, and it would be well placed for any eventual invasion of Scythia and as a defence bastion of the country against the raids of the barbarians dwelling on the other side of the river. He thought that the city would actually rise to greatness because of the number of settlers and the splendour of its name.”¹ After capturing the city of Cyropolis (Arr. 4.3.1–4), Alexander applied himself to building Alexandreia.² According to Arrian (4.4.1), “Alexander himself now spent twenty days in building the wall of the city he proposed to found, and settling there some Greek mercenaries, any of the neighbouring barbarians who shared in the settlement as volunteers, and also some Macedonians from the army who were no longer fit for active service. He then sacrificed to the gods in accordance with his custom and held a cavalry and athletic contest” (trans. Brunt). Curtius Rufus (7.6.26) adds that Alexander built the settlement on the former site of his camp. He also claimed that the building of the city wall took only seventeen days and said it measured 26 stades (see also Justin 12.5.12).³

This settlement is quite probably to be identified with Alexandreia Eschate and is mentioned by Ptolemy (6.12.6; cf. 8.23.14), Pliny (*NH* 6.49: “the Sogdiani . . . on the farthest confines of their territory [is] Alexandria, founded by Alexander the Great,” trans. Rackham), the *Itinerarium Alexandri* ([36] 81, ed. Hausmann), and Qudama (“l’extrême Alexandrie,” *Kitâb al-Kharâj* 265 in *BGA* 6:206, trans., de Goeje). In addition, Appian (*Syr.* 57) included an ALEXANDRESCHATA in Scythia among the foundations of Seleukos I Nikator.⁴ It is not clear, however, whether this was an error on the part of Appian, or, in fact, Seleukos actually refounded the settlement. The settlement is also mentioned under the year 328/7 B.C. in the *Marmor Parium* (*FGrH* 239 B7): ὠκίσθη δὲ πρὸς τῷ Ταναί πόλις Ἑλληνίς. P. M. Fraser suggested that, although the toponym survived in Pliny, Ptolemy, and Qudama, the settlement was among the first to fall to Saka inroads from the north.⁵ W. W. Tarn has suggested that (a) this

Alexandreia is identical with the ALEXANDREIA in Scythia mentioned by the *Alexander Romance* and Qudama, and that (b) it was destroyed when ALEXANDREIA at Merv (i.e., Margiana) and (the alleged) Alexandreia Tarmita were destroyed and was rebuilt by Antiochos I Soter as ANTIOCH in Scythia (which is recorded by Stephanos, s.v. “Antioch 10”).⁶

Although we do not definitely know the location, the most likely suggestion identifies it with Khojend.⁷

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In general see Droysen, *Hist.* 2:679; Tomaschek, *RE* s.v. “Alexandreia 5”; von Schwarz, *Alexander* 47–51; Berve, *Alexanderreich* 1:293, “Alexandreia am Jaxartes”; Tcherikover, *HS* 106; Tarn, *Alexander* 2:235–36, 244; Bosworth, *Comment.* 2:15–17; Orth, *Diadochenzeit* 108; Holt, *Thundering Zeus* 27 and n. 16; Briant, *OCD*³ s.v. “Alexandreia 5”; Fraser, *Cities* 151–53.

For excavation reports see references cited by Fraser, *Cities* 151 n. 92.

1. Stephanos (s.v. “Alexandreia 18”) recorded an **ALEXANDREIA on the Tanais**. Arrian (3.30.7) referred to the Tanais—and differentiated it from the European Tanais (Don)—and noted that the natives called it the Jaxartes (on the different MS readings [“Orxantes”] and at 7.16.3 [“Oxyartes”] see Brunt’s note to 3.30.7 [in the new Loeb edition of Arrian] and Bosworth, *Comment.* 1:378 [“There was no uniformity of spelling”]; for the spelling Jaxartes see, for example, Strabo 11.6.1); this is the modern Syr Darya. Alexandreia on the Tanais may be identified with Alexandreia Eschate. On the confusion in antiquity regarding the Tanais see, for example, Pearson, *Histories* 162–63; Bosworth, *Comment.* 1:377–78; Brunt, *Arrian* 1:524–25.

2. On **Cyropolis (Kyreschata)** see also Strabo 11.11.4; Stephanos, s.v. “Kyrou Polis” (ἡ καὶ Κυρέσχατα καλεῖται, πόλις πρὸς τοῖς ἐσχάτοις Περσίδος); Ptol. 6.12.5 (“Kyreschata”); Amm. Marc. 23.6.59 (“Cyreschata”); see also E. Benveniste, *JA* 224 (1943/1945) 163–66; Bosworth, *Comment.* 2:19; Fraser (*Cities* 67, 152 and n. 93), who suggested that Alexander probably intended that Alexandreia would supersede Cyropolis.

3. Holt (*Bactria* 54–59; id., *Anc. Maced.* 4 [1986] 316–19; see also Briant, *Paysans* 244–47) has argued that (a) Alexander wanted to “break the military and economic bonds between Scythia and Sogdiana,” (b) he founded Alexandreia Eschate as a “bulwark between the Sogdians and Scythians . . . for the military purpose of enforcing a sterile frontier against

the Scythians,” and (c) the Sogdian revolt was a direct response to the founding of this settlement. For Bosworth’s vigorous refutation see *Comment.* 2:16 (“Holt’s hypothesis . . . smooths over the explicit evidence for hostility and conflict between the Sogdian population, static in their domiciles along the great rivers and the nomad Sacae. . . . Alexander is more likely to be following an Achaemenid precedent of containment and deliberately expanding the network of cities along the frontier. The announcement of the new city might have evoked justified fears that existing settlements . . . would lose territory to it and so contributed to the outbreak of revolt”); id., *JHS* 110 (1990) 257; and E. Bloedow (*PdP* 46 [1991] 52–54), who noted that the revolt in Sogdiana had broken out and become widespread before the building of the settlement.

4. For **the suggestion that Seleukos refounded the settlement** see Tcherikover, *HS* 106; Brodersen, *Komment.* 161; and Bosworth (*Comment.* 2:17), who also suggested that Alexandria Eschate might have been destroyed by the Saka nomads. He called attention to Appian’s attribution of Alexandreschata to Seleukos and speculated—if the tradition is not completely corrupt—that the passage could be alluding to a second foundation. Fraser (*Cities* 66–67, 38, 153 n. 94) identified Appian’s Alexandreschata with Alexandria Eschate and dismissed the ascription to Seleukos as an error of Appian or an unfounded claim.

5. On **the Saka invasion** see, for example, Tarn, *JHS* 60 (1940) 93–94; Bosworth, *Comment.* 2:17.

6. Tarn, *JHS* 60 (1940) 91–93; and ALEXANDREIA Oxeiana, n. 3.

7. For the probable **location** of Alexandria Eschate at or near Khojend see, for example, Tomaschek, Tcherikover, and Fraser in works cited above; Bernard in *Ai Khanoum* 4:167; Brodersen, *Komment.* 161; N. Negmatov, *JCA* 9 (1986) 43–45. At Khojend, excavation at the old citadel suggests the site was occupied from the Achaemenid through the Hellenistic period and later (see Fraser, *Cities* 151 and n. 92 and references cited there). Of course this does not prove the identification of Alexandria Eschate with Khojend.

Bosworth noted (*Comment.* 2:15–16) that the distance from Khojend to “Samarkand (c. 290 km) corresponds exactly with the 1,500 stades of Arrian 4.6.4, and it is on a highly strategic site, dominating the western access to the Fergana basin. Unfortunately the exact site has not been located, but it is of some interest that 4 km south of Khodzents is Chorsu-Gozien, an ancient urban site where several archaeological finds have occurred, notably the neo-Attic Leninabad Krater.” (On the Leninabad crater see B. A. Litvinskij and N. O. Tursunov, *East and West* 24 [1974] 89–110; on the authenticity of the krater see P. Bernard in *Cultes et*

monuments religieux dans l'Asie centrale préislamique [Paris, 1987] 27–28). Bosworth suggested this may be the site of Alexandria Eschate.

In a private communication, Paul Bernard provides the following additional information: “En 1986 deux anses d’amphores estampillées inédites, trouvées fortuitement sur le site de la ville ancienne d’Alexandrie Ultime-Khodjend et que j’ai moi-même examinées, sont entrées au musée de Dushambé: l’une au nom de Kléophôn fils de Pheidippos est thasienne (370–355 d’après Y. Garlan), l’autre d’Héraclée Pontique, au nom de Dionysios, fils de Molossos, pourrait être du temps d’Alexandre”; see also Y. Garlan in *BCH Supplément* 13:269.

For a map see Bosworth, *Comment.* 2:14.

ALEXANDREIA IN ARACHOSIA

Neither the Alexander historians nor the earlier Hellenistic geographers mention Alexandria in Arachosia. The toponym is found in Isidore (19): Ἀλεξανδρόπολις μητρόπολις Ἀραχωσίας, ἔστι δε Ἑλληνίς (*FGrH* 781; in fact Tarn suggested that the form Ἀλεξανδρόπολις in Isidore [19] probably resulted from textual corruption; the correct form would undoubtedly be Ἀλεξάνδρεια).¹

The name Alexandria is also found in Ammianus (23.6.72 = *LInde* 225), Ptolemy (6.20.4), and Stephanos (s.v. “Alexandria 12 and 15”).² On the other hand, Strabo, citing Eratosthenes (11.8.9 = Berger, *Fragmente* IIIB 20), Pliny (*NH* 6.92, “Arachosia cum flumine et oppido eiusdem nominis”), Stephanos (s.v. “Arachotoi”) and Ptolemy (6.20.5) mention Arachotoi or Arachotos. Pliny, citing the bematists Diognetos and Baiton, also refers to an “Arachosiorum oppidum” (*NH* 6.61) that is not mentioned by either Isidore or Ammianus. Presumably Arachotoi was the local name for Alexandria in Arachosia.³ It is not possible to say whether Curtius Rufus’s reference (7.3.1–2) to 4,000 Greek infantry and 600 cavalry being left as a garrison in Arachosia is to be connected with the founding or populating of Alexandria. The silence of the early sources regarding Alexandria in Arachosia has prompted a debate about (a) whether—assuming it existed—it was founded by Alexander and (b) its location.

It is important to note that the identification of Alexandria in Arachosia mentioned by Isidore with Arachotoi mentioned by Strabo and Pliny is a crucial assumption, but only that. As Fraser has remarked, “If that equation does not hold, there is no peg available in the literary wardrobe on which to hang an Alexandria of Arachosia founded by Alexander.”⁴

The probability that there was an Achaemenid and, subsequently, an

early Hellenistic settlement—or, at the very least, strong lines of communication with the Greek world—at Kandahar was indicated by epigraphic discoveries at and behind the Old City: an Elamite cuneiform inscription, a bilingual—Greek and Aramaic—edict of Asoka, a second Asokan inscription in Greek, and two Greek inscriptions—an early (c. 275 B.C.) Hellenistic dedication on a statue base, and a funerary epigram of Sophytos dated to the late second century B.C.⁵ Furthermore, the ninth-century adaptor of Ptolemy, al-Khuwarizmi, identified Kandahar with Alexandria in Arachosia. In the present state of the evidence this seems the most likely identification.⁶ There is no extant coinage that can definitely be attributed to this Alexandria.⁷

We do not know when this Alexandria was founded. Assuming Alexander did found the settlement, we may also assume it was initially established at the time of his expedition to Bactra after the Philotas affair, that is, 330 B.C (Arr. 3.28.1) or soon after, on his orders.

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In general see Droysen, *Hist.* 2:676; Berger, *Fragmente* 318-19; Tomaschek, *RE* s.vv. “Alexandria 12,” “Arachotos 2”; Berve, *Alexanderreich* 1:293; Tcherikover, *HS* 102; Tarn, *GBI*² 470-71; P. H. L. Eggermont, *Persica* 2 (1965-1966) 64-65; Herzfeld, *Empire* 335 ; K. Fischer, *BJ* 167 (1967) 197-99; P. Bernard, *St. Iran.* 3 (1974) 171-84; id., *JS* (2005) 260-356; Brunt, *Arrian* 1:499-503; Bosworth, *Comment.* 1:368-69; André and Filliozat, *Pline VI.2* 89-90, 120; André and Filliozat, *L’Inde* 399; Orth, *Diadochenzeit* 107; Briant, *OCD*³ s.v. “Alexandria 3”; Fraser, *Afghan Studies* 2 (1979) 16-17; id., *Cities* 100-101, 132-40; Kuhrt, *PNB* s.v. “Arachosia.”

For the **results of excavation at Kandahar** see, for example, MacDowell and Taddei in *Archaeology of Afghanistan* 230-32, 262-63; *Gazetteer Afghanistan* s.v. “Kandahar” (maps in vol. 2); A. W. McNicoll and W. Ball, *Excavations at Kandahar 1974 and 1975* (Oxford, 1996); and S. Helms, *Excavations at Old Kandahar in Afghanistan 1976-1978* (Oxford, 1997); P. Bernard, *JS* (2005) 277-81 and publications cited on p. 277 n. 118; Mairs, *Hellenistic Far East* 35.

1. For the **likely corruption in the text of Isidore** 18-19 see Tarn, *GBI*² 471 and n. 1; accepted by Fraser (*Cities* 138); see also ALEXANDREIA/ALEXANDROPOLIS in Sakastane.

According to Appian (*Syr.* 57), among the foundations of Seleukos I Nikator were some named in honor of Alexander the Great. These included

Alexandreschata in Scythia (for which see ALEXANDREIA Eschate) and ALEXANDROPOLIS in India. It is not clear which settlement the latter was. Goukowsky (*Essai* 1:329 n. 198) thought it was Alexandria in Arachosia; Tcherikover (*HS* 166) believed it was to be identified with an Indian Alexander settlement that Seleukos refounded. See also Brodersen, *Komment.* 161. Tarn claimed the toponym Alexandropolis indicated this was a military colony, though he admitted there is no explicit evidence to support this (*GBI*² 7 n. 2, 471; *Alexander* 2:249 and n. 2); contra: R. Burn, *JRAS* (1941) 68.

2. Actually, **Stephanos twice records an Alexandria in Arachosia** (s.v. “Alexandria 12 ἐν Ἀραχώτοις” and “Alexandria 15 παρὰ τοῖς Ἀραχώτοις, ὁμοροῦσα τῇ Ἰνδικῇ”). A number of explanations for the apparent redundancy—none completely satisfactory—have been offered. For example, Tarn speculated (*GBI*² 470 n. 4) that no. 15 might be a duplicate of no. 12 or possibly a duplicate of no. 5 (“in Opianae”). Later (*Alexander* 2:241) he suggested that no. 12 was Alexandria, nicknamed PROPHTHASIA, in Seistan, which he located at Zaranj, and no. 15 was located at Ghazni. Bernard (*St. Iran.* 3 [1974] 174 n. 6) claimed there was only one Alexandria in Arachosia and that Stephanos erred in positing two. Bernard suggested that Stephanos’s error was based on Strabo, who, following Eratosthenes, first mentioned (11.8.8 = Berger, *Fragmente* IIIB 63) the (people) Arachotoi, the Massagetai, and the Bactrians along the Oxus and then (11.8.9) referred to the city Arachotoi. In fact, Bernard noted that Strabo (or Eratosthenes or the MS tradition) mistakenly made the (people) Arachotoi the neighbors of the Massagetai and the Bactrians along the Oxus. Bernard suggested that, based on this information, Stephanos wrongly concluded there were two “Arachosian” cities and, hence, two distinct Alexandrias in Arachosia; see also Fraser (*Cities* 139 n. 66), who believed the duplication probably resulted from the fact that, according to Strabo (11.8.8), Eratosthenes placed an Arachosia along the Oxus. But, according to Fraser, “the attribution to Eratosthenes can hardly stand . . . for Eratosthenes knew very well that Arachosia was south of the Hindu Kush.” As for Ghazni, Fraser noted that excavation there has not yet penetrated to pre-Islamic levels (see below, n. 6). Another explanation suggests emending the text from Ἀραχωτούς to Ἀρ(ε)ίους (see Berger, *Fragmente* 318–19). However, as Fraser has correctly objected, there is no textual justification for this. Daffina’s identification (*Limmigrazione* 100–102) of Arachotoi with Χοροχοῶδ πόλις (Isidore of Charax 19) rather than with Alexandria in Arachosia is not convincing; see Bernard, *St. Iran.* 3 (1974) 176. Tcherikover (*HS* 103) understood Stephanos s.v. “Alexandria 12 and 15” to refer to ALEXANDREIA in

Sakastane.

3. See further Bernard, *St. Iran.* 3 (1974) 175–82; and Rapin in *Afghanistan ancien carrefour* 163.

4. *Cities* 133. Brunt (*Arrian* 1:502–3) argued that the fact that Strabo and Pliny mention the Arachotian town and not Alexandria in Arachosia (whereas they do refer to ALEXANDREIA in Aria and PROPHTHASIA) suggests the two places were not identical; see also Bosworth, *Comment.* 1:369 (“Nothing compels us to . . . identify Alexandria [sc. in Arachosia] with the Arachosian town of the bematists”).

5. In general, for the inscriptions found at Old Kandahar see Mairs, *Hellenistic Far East* 36–37. For the **cuneiform inscription** see Fraser, *Cities* 136 n. 61; id., *Afghan Studies* 3–4 (1982) 13. For the **bilingual inscription** see Schlumberger et al., *JA* 246 (1958) 1–48; J. Filliozat, *Epigraphica Indica* 34 (1961–1962) 1–8; Pugliese Carratelli and Garbini, *Asoka* 1–62; Falk, *Asokan Sites* 242–43; for the **Greek text** see *SEG* 20:326 = *I. Estremo Oriente* 290 = *Euphrat* 202 = *IGIAC* 82; Bernard in *Greek Archaeology* 95–96. For the **second Asokan inscription** see Schlumberger, *CRAI* (1964) 126–40; Schlumberger et al., *Epigraphica Indica* 37 (1968) 193–200; Bernard in *Greek Archaeology* 96–103 = *IGIAC* 83; and Falk, *Asokan Sites* 244–45.

For the **inscribed statue base** see *SEG* 30:1664 = Fraser, *Afghan Studies* 2 (1979) 9–10. Lines 2–3 read: ΘΗΡΟΣΑ [-----] στῆσα τόδε εἰς τέμε[ν]ος | υἱὸς Ἀριστώνακτος ΑΛΕΞ [-----] ἐ {i?}νάστοις; *Steinepigramme* 3:8, no. 12/02/01; *I. Estremo Oriente* 293 = *Euphrat* 106 = *IGIAC* 81. The fragmentary Greek text consisted of at least two elegaic couplets that formed a metrical dedication of a statue group. Fraser observed that the dedication implied the existence of a sanctuary and, hence, a Greek colony at Kandahar; see also P. Bernard (in *Greek Archaeology* 103): “La date haute de cette dédicace, vers 275 av. n.è., enlève tous les doutes que l’on pouvait avoir sur l’existence à Kandahar d’une colonie grecque fondée par Alexandre sur le site d’une ville déjà existante.”

A. N. Oikonomides, *ZPE* 56 [1984] 145–47 (see also id., *AncW* 12 [1985] 69–71) restored these lines as θηρὸς Ἀ[λεξάνδρου] στῆσα τόδε εἰς τέμε[ν]ος | υἱὸς Ἀριστώνακτος Ἀλεξ[ανδρέων] δ’ εἰν ἀστοίς. According to Oikonomides, the restoration verified the location of Alexandria in Arachosia at Kandahar and indicated that the city had a special *temenos* for the cult of its founder, Alexander the Great. Note, however, that Oikonomides’ restoration is very unlikely; see Pleket, *SEG* 34:1434; and Fraser, *Cities* 136 n. 61 (“There are no positive grounds for restoring Ἀ[λεξάνδρεύς] in the lacuna in line 2 of the text. It would be exceptional

(but not unparalleled) for a dedicant to refer to himself by his ethnic in making a dedication in his home-town. The supplement therefore cannot be used as a confirmation of the identification of the city”). For the same lines W. Peek (*ZPE* 60 [1985] 76) has suggested θηρὸς Ἀ[ριστομένης] στῆσα τόδε εἰς τέμενος | υἱὸς Ἀριστώνακτος. ἀλεξι[κάκοιο] δ᾽ ἐν ἀστοῖς. *Steinepigramme* 4:470, no. 23/13 has the following: θηρὸς Ἀ[.] .] στῆσα τόδε εἰς τέμενος | υἱὸς Ἀριστώνακτος Ἀλεξ[.] εἰν ἀστοῖς.

For the **funerary epigram of Sophytos** see P. Bernard, G.-J. Pinault, and G. Rougemont, *JS* (2004) 227–332; and *SEG* 54:1568; R. Schmitt, *I-IJ* 49 (2006) 352; Coloru, *Da Alessandro* pp. 289–290, no. 6; and *IGIAC* 84.

6. In his entry on the cities corresponding to Ptolemy 6.20.4–5, al-Khuwarizmi mentions “the eastern Iskandariya” as corresponding to Arachotos. He says “a river rises in the region between Iskandariya of the East and the mountains close by and runs between the city of Iskandariya and the mountain, and close to Kandahar” (see Fraser, *Cities* 100–101; and Nallino, *Raccolta* 508). This is strikingly close to Isidore (19), who remarked that the Arachotos River flows by Alexandreia in Arachosia (καὶ παραρρεῖ αὐτὴν ποταμὸς Ἀραχωτός). Fraser noted (*Cities* 101 and map at end; see also 139 n. 66, correcting his earlier acceptance [*Afghan Studies* 2 (1979) 13] of the identification of ALEXANDREIA in Sakastane with Kandahar) that this is the earliest Arabic reference to Kandahar and makes “virtually certain the equation Alexandria in Arachosia = Qandahar.” Note, however, Ball (*SAS* 4 [1988] 131), who, without referring to al-Khuwarizmi, claimed that the earliest mention of Kandahar that definitely refers to the one in Afghanistan dates to the thirteenth century.

For **Kandahar** as the site of Alexandreia in Arachosia see also, for example, Meyer, *Blüte* 31; Tcherikover, *HS* 102; G. Fussman, *Arts asiatiques* 13 (1966) 32–57, esp. 41; Daffina, *Immigrazione* 104–5; Fischer, *BJ* (1967) 195–99; Bernard, *St. Iran.* 3 (1974) 175–76; MacDowell and Taddei in *Archaeology of Afghanistan* 188; Bosworth, *Comment.* 1:368. On Kandahar see, for example, Le Strange, *Caliphate* 347; Fischer, *BJ* (1967) 129–232 (map opp. p. 134); W. Ball, *SAS* 4 (1988) 115–42; Bosworth, *EI*² s.v. “Kandahar”; Ball, *Monuments of Afghanistan* 228–33; and P. Bernard, *JS* (2005) 261, 265–69. Cf. Tarn (*GBI*² 14, 470–71; *Alexander* 2:234, 241), following Droysen (*Hist.* 2:676–77), who—unconvincingly—placed Alexandreia in Arachosia at Ghazni (see above, n. 2).

Fraser (*Cities* 140) noted that at Kandahar there is Achaemenid and early Hellenistic material (see above), but at Ghazni excavation has not

penetrated to pre-Islamic levels. Hence we cannot at present say what material remains are to be found at the latter site. The objection is, of course, *ex silentio*. On **Ghazni** see, for example, Le Strange, *Caliphate* 348; A. Bombaci, *East and West* 8 (1957) 247–59; Fischer in *Archaeology of Afghanistan* 311–13; *Gazetteer Afghanistan* s.v. “Ghazni”; Ball, *Monuments of Afghanistan* 190–93.

Foucher (*Vieille Route* 217) denied that the toponym Kandahar perpetuated the name Alexandria.

7. In 1984 A. Houghton and W. Moore (*ANS MN* 29:1–6) tentatively suggested that a series of Alexander type issues (including tetradrachms, drachms, and hemidrachms) struck in the name of Antiochos might have been produced at a **mint at Alexandria in Arachosia**. Subsequently (*ANS MN* 33 [1988] 58), noting Bernard’s proposal (*Ai Khanoum* 4:91) that Arachosia broke away from Seleucid control at the end of the fourth century and fell under Mauryan influence, they retracted this suggestion.

ALEXANDREIA IN ARIA

According to Strabo (11.10.1; see also 11.8.9, 15.2.8) there were three *poleis* in Aria—ARTAKOANA/Artakaena, Alexandria, and ACHAIA. He noted that all were named after their founders. Pliny (*NH* 6.61) said that Alexander founded Alexandria in Aria.¹ Stephanos (s.v. “Alexandria 7”) also mentioned the city, as—most probably—did Ammianus (23.6.69).²

It is commonly agreed that Alexandria was “within the general area of Herat.” Nevertheless, no extensive excavations at Herat have been undertaken. As a result, the precise location of Alexandria has not yet been identified. As P. M. Fraser has observed, “It is natural to suppose that Islamic Herat stood on the site chosen by Alexander for his new city, but there is no evidence that the citadel was in existence before the Islamic period. . . . We can only say that in general terms the site of Herat seems the most likely position for the city, facing the river and protected by the mountains to the north.”³

This Alexandria is not mentioned in any of the surviving Alexander historians. On the other hand, it does appear in the Perso-Arabic (Iranian) and the Arabic tradition. Qudama (*Kitâb al-Kharâj* 265 in *BGA* 6:207, trans. Goeje), al-Tabari (p. 47, trans. Nöldeke), and Hamza al-Isfahani (*Sini mulûk* 40, trans. Pourshariati in *Indo-Grecs* 124) record Herat (which has been suggested as the site of Alexandria in Aria; see below) as a foundation of Alexander. Yakut also says that Herat was built by Alexander. However, as Fraser has noted, Qudama does not say it was

called Iskandariya, and Yakut does not include the identification in his list of Iskandariyas.⁴

In the past it has been suggested that *Alexandria* and *ARTAKOANA/ARTAKAENA* were identical. However, the sources that discuss *Aria* mention both *Artakoana* and *Alexandria*, clearly suggesting they were separate cities (Strabo 11.10.1; Isidore of Charax 15; Pliny *NH* 6.93; Ptol. 6.17.17).⁵ It is not clear if there was a Seleucid royal mint at *Artakoana/Alexandria* in *Aria*.⁶

* * * *

In general see Droysen, *Hist.* 2:673–74; Tomaschek, *RE* s.v. “*Alexandria 2*”; Tcherikover, *HS* 102; Kaerst, *Hellenismus* 1:424; Berve, *Alexanderreich* 1:293; Bosworth, *Comment.* 1:356–57; André and Filliozat, *Plin VI.2* 89, 121, 122–23; Fraser, *Cities* 109–13.

1. For **the possibility that Pliny *NH* 6.92** also refers to this settlement see *ALEXANDRIA* near *Baktra*, n. 2.

2. Bernard has demonstrated (*JS* [1982] 221) that the *Alexandria* mentioned by Ammianus (23.6.69) was in *Aria* rather than *ALEXANDRIA Oxiana* (so Goukowsky, *Essai* 1:346 n. 77).

3. Fraser, *Cities* 113. For the likely **location** of *Alexandria* at *Herat* see, for example, Droysen, *Hist.* 2:674; Tomaschek, *RE* s.v. “*Alexandria 2*”; Berve, *Alexanderreich* 1:293; Tcherikover, *HS* 102; Tarn, *Alexander* 2:234 and n. 5, 241; *Gazetteer Afghanistan* s.v. “*Herat*”; Allchin and Hammond, *Archaeology of Afghanistan* 188; Fraser, *Cities* 110–13 (“[*Alexandria*] was evidently built somewhere near the site of *Artacoana*. . . . Though how near it is not possible to determine. . . . The exact location of *Alexander’s* city and its relation to *Artacoana* alike remain unknown, and unless excavations in depth are ever undertaken at *Herat* the first problem will remain unsolved”). On *Herat* see also A. Lezine, *BEO* 18 (1963–1964) 127–45; and Ball, *Monuments of Afghanistan* 200–210.

4. *Cities* 111–12 and n. 16. See also the *Pahlavi Provincial Capitals of Eranshahr* 12 (trans. Markwart and comments on p. 47).

5. For **the earlier view that identified *Alexandria* with *ARTAKOANA*** see, for example, Tomaschek, *RE* s.vv. “*Alexandria 2*” and “*Artakoana*” (*Alexandria* was the lower city, i.e., the commercial center, and *Artakoana* designated the citadel); Meyer, *Blüte* 31; Tcherikover, *HS* 102; Newell, *ESM* 256; Fox, *Alexander* 280. For **the separate identity of the two cities** see, for example, Bevan, *Seleucus* 1:269 n. 1 (“not identical . . . but they may have been close together, perhaps on opposite

banks of the [Arius] river”); Bosworth, *Comment.* 1:356–57; Fraser, *Cities* 110 and n. 15. For Artakoana see also Arr. 3.25.5; Diod. 17.78.1. The location of Artakoana is not yet definitely known. Engels (*Alexander* 90–91 and map 11) believed “the site of the city will be rather to the north and east of Sousa. . . . If Artacoana is located in the Soviet Union, it will only be a matter of time before . . . excavations . . . will uncover it”; Bosworth suggested it was “somewhere along the Hari Rud in the vicinity of Herat” (*Comment.* 1:357).

At *NH* 6.93 Pliny records Artacoana and Artacabene as two separate towns. It is generally agreed that Pliny was mistaken and that the references are to one and the same town. See, for example, Bevan, *Seleucus* 1:268 n. 3 (“ ‘Artacabene’ is obviously only another way of writing the same Persian name which is represented by ‘Artacoana’ ”); Tcherikover, *HS* 102; André and Filliozat, *Pline VI.2* 123 (“Pline a commis une erreur en considérant *Artacoana* et *Artacabene*, deux formes du meme nom, comme deux villes différentes”); and K. Ehling, *SNR* 76 (1997) 32–33.

6. For **the possibility that there was a Seleucid royal mint at Artakoana/Alexandereia in Aria** see HEKATOMPYLOS in Parthia, n. 6.

ALEXANDREIA IN OPIANE

See ALEXANDREIA of the Caucasus.

ALEXANDREIA IN PARAPAMISADAI

See ALEXANDREIA of the Caucasus.

ALEXANDREIA IN SOGDIANA

See ALEXANDREIA Oxeiana.

ALEXANDREIA KAPISA

See ALEXANDREIA of the Caucasus, n. 8.

ALEXANDREIA NEAR BAKTRA

According to Diodorus (17.83.2) Alexander built “other” cities in Bactria and Sogdiana; Strabo (11.11.4) specifically says eight cities, Justin (12.5.12–13) says twelve. Stephanos (s.v. “Alexandreia 11”) is our only extant source for Alexandreia near Baktra (κατὰ Βάκτρα).¹ It is not clear whether this settlement is identical with ALEXANDREIA Oxeiana.²

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In general see Droysen, *Hist.* 2:680; Tomaschek, *RE* s.v. “Alexandreia 4”; Berve, *Alexanderreich* 1:293–94; Tcherikover, *HS* 104–5; Tarn, *GBI*² 115 and n. 1; id., *Alexander* 2:241; Fraser, *Cities* 153–54.

1. Tarn suggested that Baktra (modern Balkh) was refounded as an Alexandreia and that it was probably identical with Stephanos’s Alexandreia near Baktra. Cf. Fraser, *Cities* 154 n. 96 (“Ἄ. κατὰ Βάκτρα itself remains in limbo”); and Rapin in *Afghanistan ancien Carrefour* 147 (Alexandreia near Baktra “n’est pas véritablement identifiable”). For Balkh see Ball, *Monuments of Afghanistan* 154–63.

2. Tcherikover (*HS* 104–5) suggested that Pliny *NH* 6.92 (“haec regio est ex adverso Bactrianorum deinde [sc. regio] cuius oppidum Alexandria, a conditore dictum”) referred to this Alexandreia. However, the text is problematic. I note the following texts:

Ansart (1829) and Ajasson de Grandsagne (1830): “haec regio est ex adverso. Bactrianorum deinde, cuius oppidum Alexandria, a conditore dictum.”

Sillig (1851), von Jan (1854), and Detlefsen (1866): “haec regio est ex adverso Bactrianorum, deinde cuius oppidum Alexandria a conditore dictum.”

Mayhoff (1906): “haec regio est ex adverso Bactriae, Ariorum deinde cuius oppidum Alexandria a conditore dictum.”

Rackham (1938): “haec regio est ex adverso Bactriae; Arianorum deinde cuius oppidum Alexandria a conditore dictum.” Semi (1977): “haec regio est ex adverso Bactriae; Ariorum deinde cuius oppidum Alexandria, a conditore dictum.”

Brodersen (1996): “haec regio est ex adverso Bactriae, Ariorum deinde cuius oppidum Alexandria, a conditore dictum.”

These latter readings—following Mayhoff’s (1906) emendation—would refer to ALEXANDREIA in Aria.

ALEXANDREIA OF THE CAUCASUS

According to Arrian (3.28.4), after leaving PROPHTHASIA Alexander led his army to Mount Caucasus, where he founded a city he called *Alexandreia*.¹ Diodorus (17.83.1) adds that he founded the city in sixteen days in the pass that leads to Media (*sic*), calling it *Alexandreia* (παρελθὼν πλησίον τοῦ Καυκάσου κατεστρατοπέδευσεν, ὃ τινες Παροπάνισον ὄρος προσαγορεύουσι. τὸ δ’ ὄρος τοῦτο κατὰ πλάτος διελθὼν ἐν ἡμέραις ἑκκαίδεκα πόλιν ἔκτισε κατὰ τὴν εἰσβολὴν τὴν φέρουσαν εἰς τὴν Μηδικήν, ἣν ὠνόμασεν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν).² Curtius Rufus (7.3.19–23) says that Alexander settled 7,000 natives along with retired soldiers. Diodorus adds (17.83.2) that at a day’s march from *Alexandreia* the Macedonian king founded “other cities” (ὁ δ’ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ ἄλλας πόλεις ἔκτισεν, ἡμέρας ὁδὸν ἀπεχούσας τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας) in which he settled 7,000 natives and 3,000 time-expired soldiers.³ There is no other indication where these settlements were. The following spring Alexander returned to *Alexandreia*; he now dismissed the hyparch he had placed in charge of the city and appointed in his stead Nikanor, a Companion. At the same time he also settled additional natives and retired soldiers (Arr. 4.22.4–5).⁴ We do not know the (official) name of the city.⁵ There are possible references to *Alexandreia* of the Caucasus in the *Milindapanha* and the *Mahavamsa*.⁶ R. Audoin and P. Bernard have suggested that Agathokles minted silver coinage here.⁷

Pliny (*NH* 6.62) says the settlement was located at foot of the Caucasus (“sub ipso Caucaso”), as does Curtius (7.3.23, “in radicibus montis”). *Alexandreia* of the Caucasus was probably located south of the Hindu Kush in the region between the modern Charikar and Begram and the junction of the Ghorband and Panjshir rivers. However, the exact location has not yet been identified.⁸

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In general see Wilson, *Ariana* 179–83; Lassen, *Ind. Alter.* 2:129–30; Droysen, *Hist.* 2:677–78; F. Spiegel, *Eran. Alter.* 2:543 n. 1; Tomaschek, *RE* s.v. “*Alexandreia* 6”; Cunningham, *Geography* 18, 31–33; Tcherikover, *HS* 103–4; Berve, *Alexanderreich* 1:293; Tarn, *GBI*² 96–98, 460–62; id.,

Alexander 2:236, 241, 246; Bosworth, *Comment.* 1:369–70; Bernard, *JS* (1982) 217–42; Goukowsky, *Essai* 1:158–59, 215–17; id. in *Mélanges Lévêque* 2:245–66; Orth, *Diadochenzeit* 108; Fraser, *Cities* 73, 140–50; Briant, *OCD*³ s.v. “Alexandreia 6”; Mairs, *Hellenistic Far East* 35.

1. On the **tendency of the ancients to confuse the Caucasus with the Hindu Kush** see, for example, Arr. 5.3.1–4; Strabo 11.5.5.

Plutarch (*De Fort. Alex.* 328F) also mentions a “Greek city” founded by Alexander in the Caucasus; presumably this refers to Alexandreia of the Caucasus.

2. **P. Goukowsky** (*Diodore* 236–37; *Essai* 1:158–59, 215–17; id. in *Mélanges Lévêque* 245–66) **claimed that at Diodorus 17.83.1 and Curtius 7.3.19–23 the reference is not to Alexandreia of the Caucasus but rather to ALEXANDREIA Oxeiana.** Briefly, he argued as follows: according to Diodorus and Curtius, Alexander founded Alexandreia after having crossed the Caucasus. Goukowsky suggested emending the text of Diodorus from κατὰ τὴν εἰσβολὴν τὴν φέρουσαν εἰς τὴν Μηδικήν to κατὰ τὴν ἐκβολὴν τὴν φερομένην εἰς τὴν Μηδικήν (Budé ed.). We should therefore search for this settlement in Bactria (and not confuse it with Alexandreia of the Caucasus [Arr. 3.28.4, 7.3.23; Strabo 15.2.10; Pliny *NH* 6.21], which, Goukowsky acknowledged, is usually located at/near Begram). Now, according to the *Metz Epitome* (4) Alexander “pervenit ad oppidum Tarmantidem, quod est positum in flumine Medorum.” Goukowsky thus suggested that (a) the “River of the Medes” was the Amu Darya, i.e., the Oxus; (b) the Alexandreia mentioned by Diodorus and Curtius was identical with the “oppidum Tarmantidem” mentioned by the *Metz Epitome* (*Epitoma rerum gestarum Alexandri*); and (c) the latter was probably Termez, where Tarn located Ptolemy’s ALEXANDREIA Oxeiana (Goukowsky followed Tarn’s identification of Alexandreia Oxeiana with Termez [*GBI*² 118–19; id., *JHS* 60 (1940) 89–91; id., *Alexander* 2:235] but rejected the suggestion that it was also renamed Demetrias; see further ALEXANDREIA Oxeiana and ANTIOCH Tharmata in India; and contra: Rapin in *Afghanistan ancien carrefour* 152–53 and n. 40).

P. Bernard (*JS* [1982] 217–42; see also Fraser, *Cities* 141 n. 69, 154 and n. 97) **argued strongly against Goukowsky’s reconstruction, in particular his claim that at 17.83.1 Diodorus refers to Alexandreia Oxeiana and that Alexandreia Oxeiana was located at Termez.** Among other things Bernard focused on (a) the site of this Alexandreia relative to the Hindu Kush and (b) the reading Μηδική in Diodorus. He argued that Diodorus and Curtius (and the *Metz Epitome*) erred in locating this Alexandreia north of the Hindu Kush, i.e., in placing the foundation of

this settlement after the crossing of the Hindu Kush (see also Brunt, *Arrian* 1:503). In fact, Bernard claimed, the sequence was just the reverse: after the founding of this *Alexandreia* at Begram, i.e., south of the Hindu Kush, the Macedonian king marched to Bactria. Bernard also claimed (*JS* [1982] 235) that the “violentes déformations” to which toponyms were subjected in the *Metz Epitome* (the example he gave was “Remaxii” for “Arimaspi”) rendered the identification of Tarmantis-Tarmantidis with Tarmita/Termez less secure. (He also noted that P. H. Thomas, in his edition of the *Epitome*, had suggested emending the text from “ad oppidum Tarmantidem” to “ad oppidum Paropanisadarum”; this emendation would, of course, provide an allusion to the province of Parapamisadai, where *Alexandreia* of the Caucasus was [presumably] located.) Finally, Bernard accepted J. J. Reiske’s emendation (made in 1757) of Μηδικήν to Ἰνδικήν in Diodorus’s text (*JS* [1982] 222–27) and noted that by virtue of its position *Alexandreia* was “véritablement la porte de l’Inde” (227). Finally, we may note Fraser’s sober observation regarding the text of Diodorus 17.83.2 (see also below, n. 3): “Nobody can assess the extent of error that may lie behind Diodorus” (*Cities*, 141 n. 69). See also Leriche and Pidaev, *Termez* 31–33: “Jusqu’ici, aucune trace matérielle ne permet de supposer que Termez ait pu être cette Alexandrie de l’Oxus” (but see 33 n. 1: “Ceci est le point de vue de l’un des auteurs, l’autre restant fidèle à l’identification de Termez-Alexandrie de l’Oxus”; and ANTIOCH THARMATA, n. 2).

3. MS F of Diodorus has the singular (ἄλλην πόλιν . . . ἀπέχουσιν); but, as Welles observed (n. 1 to Loeb edition of Diodorus 17.83.2), immediately below we find the plural ταύτας (see also Droysen, *Hist.* 2:678–79; Tcherikover, *HS* 104). Ghirshman (*Bégram* 9 n. 3) followed the reading ἄλλην πόλιν and suggested this “other polis” was located 30 km (?) south of Begram in the area east of Saraï Khwaja at Eskandaria/Tepe Sikandar (for the location of Saraï Khwaja see map 2 on p. 228 in Bernard, *JS* [1982]). Furthermore, Ghirshman suggested it was also the site of Ortospana (“Ceci expliquerait peut-être, pourquoi le site que nous proposons d’identifier avec Ortospana, porte aujourd’hui le nom d’Eskandaria ou Alexandrie”; for Ortospana see Strabo 11.8.9, 15.2.8; Pliny *NH* 6.61; Amm. Marc. 23.6.70; and Rapin in *Afghanistan ancien carrefour* 162; the location of Ortospana is not definitely known; for example, Tarn [*GBI*² 471] located it at Kabul, and Fraser [*Cities* 121 n. 32, 141–44, esp. 142] placed it in the area of Bamiyan; in general see Stein, *RE* s.v. “Ortospana”). However, Bernard objected (*JS* [1982] 242 n. 69) that (a) the earliest archaeological remains discovered at the site date from the sixth century A.D. (see also *Gazetteer Afghanistan* s.v. “Tepe

Skandar”) and (b) the modern toponym may be a “*création tardive*” by the local population (Bernard noted that the toponym “Tepe Sikandar” is first mentioned by Ghirshman, who worked at Begram in 1941 and 1942, and that in 1925 Masson and Foucher referred to the site as Qala-i Rajput; see also Ball, *Monuments of Afghanistan* 271).

4. The **hyparch** whom Alexander dismissed is not identified by Arrian. Berve (*Alexanderreich* 2:272–73, no. 545; see also Heckel, *Who’s Who* 174) suggested it was Neiloxenos, whom Alexander had appointed supervisor for the Persian satrap, Proxes (Arr. 3.28.4). However, Bosworth objected (*Comment.* 2:145) that Neiloxenos appears to have been a regional military commander, whereas Arrian suggests that the deposed hyparch was responsible only for the new settlement. On Nikanor see Berve, *Alexanderreich* 2:275–76, no. 556; and Heckel, *Who’s Who* 177, “Nicanor [6].”

5. At two places Arrian identifies this *Alexandreia* by reference to the mountainous region where it was located. Thus, at one point he says (3.28.4) Alexander πρὸς τὸν Καύκασον τὸ ὄρος ἦγεν, ἵνα καὶ πόλιν ἔκτισε καὶ ὠνόμασεν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν; at another (4.22.4) he says the Macedonian king ἀφίκετο εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν πόλιν τὴν κτισθεῖσαν ἐν Παραπαμισάδαις. Neither reference, however, can be construed as the name of the settlement. Bosworth remarked (*Comment.* 2:145) that at 4.22.4 Arrian was using “the alternative nomenclature, based on the native name for the area, *Parapamisadae*” (for the spelling “*Parapamisadai*” in Arrian see also *Ind.* 5.11; and *Ta Meta Alex.* in *FGrH* 156 F9.36). See also Diod. 17.83.1; Pliny *NH* 6.62; and Curtius 7.3.23, quoted above.

Stephanos (s.v. “*Alexandreia*”) mentions two *Alexandreias* that are relevant to the discussion: no. 5, ἐν τῇ Ὠπιανῇ κατὰ τὴν Ἰνδικήν, and no. 17, ἐν τῇ Σογδιανῇ παρὰ Παραπαμισάδαις. Tarn (*Alexander* 2:241) suggested that no. 5 was *Alexandreia* of the Caucasus (see also Bernard, *JS* [1982] 232), and no. 17 was *ALEXANDREIA* on the Oxus in Sogdiana (*Oxeiana*). Fraser (*Cities* 149) remarked that “Stephanos’ list of *Alexandreias* shows some signs of confusion in the Asiatic items, and the presence of both Ἀλεξάνδρεια ἐν Ὠπιανῇ and (as no. 17) Ἀλεξάνδρεια ἐν Παραπαμισάδαις may have arisen from a failure to identify the two cities.” He then tentatively suggested (149–50) the possible identification of *Alexandreia* in the *Parapamisadai* (possibly an earlier name) with *Alexandreia* in *Opiane*; in the table on p. 240 he lists as no. 6 “A. ἐν Παραπανισάδαις (= πρὸς τῷ Καυκάσῳ).”

In any event, it is useful to bear in mind that the toponym *Alexandreia* of the Caucasus, though widely used by modern scholars, is nowhere directly

attested in the extant sources.

6. The *Milindapanha* or *Questions of Milinda* is a dialogue on Buddhism between Milinda (undoubtedly the king Menander) and a Buddhist sage, Nagasena, that dates to c. 100 B.C. It exists in a Pali version (complete) and a Chinese translation (partial). The work has two parts. The first—comprising the first three books—is dated to soon after Menander’s death; the second part—the remaining books—is later. For possible references to Alexandria of the Caucasus in the *Milindapanha*: (a) Menander was born in the village of Kalasi, which was near Alasanda, i.e., Alexandria of the Caucasus (see the English translation of the Pali version by R. Davids, *The Questions of King Milinda*, pt. 1, *Sacred Books of the East* 35 [Oxford, 1890] 127; see also A. Foucher, *JA* [1929] 175–76; and O. Bopearachchi, *St. Iran.* 19 [1990] 43–44). (b) An Alexandria is included in a list of places in India (“Kotumbara, Mathura, Alexandria, Kashmir, Gandhara”; Davids, *The Questions of King Milinda*, pt. 2, *Sacred Books of the East* 36 [Oxford, 1894] 211, 269). See further, Tarn (*GBI*² 415–21, esp. 421 and n. 4), who argued that the references are to Alexandria of the Caucasus rather than to ALEXANDREIA near Egypt (so, for example, P. Pelliot, *JA* [1914] 413–17); see also Ghirshman, *Bégram* 6–7; Narain, *Indo-Greeks* 74 (103). The Pali epic *Mahavamsa* from Sri Lanka (fifth-sixth century A.D.) mentions “Alasanda, the city of the Yonas” (XXIX). This is also a possible reference to Alexandria of the Caucasus; see further Droysen, *Hist.* 2:677; Tomaschek, *RE* s.v. “Alexandria 6.”

In addition, Tarn, noting that Alexandria of the Caucasus was “at or about the junction of the Panjshir and Ghorband rivers,” has suggested (*Alexander* 2:246) that in the Syriac version of the *Alexander Romance* Alexandria “which is upon the farther bank of the rivers in the country of the Indians” (3.24, trans. Wallis Budge, p. 143) refers to Alexandria of the Caucasus.

In general on Menander see Bopearachchi, *St. Iran.* 19 (1990) 39–66.

7. R. Audoin and P. Bernard, *RN* (1974) 30–31.

8. **Location.** The early suggestion that Alexandria of the Caucasus was located at or near Bamiyan was long ago rejected; see, for example, Wilson, *Ariana* 179–81; and Spiegel, *Eran. Alter.* 2:543 n. 1. For the suggested location of Alexandria of the Caucasus at or in the vicinity of Begram see, for example, C. Masson, *JASB* (1836) 6–8, 537, followed, for example, by Droysen, *Hist.* 2:677; Tarn, *Alexander* 2:246 (see above, n. 6); Brunt, *Arrian* 1:503; Bernard, *JS* (1982) 237–42; Fraser, *Cities* 146–50; Bosworth, *Comment.* 1:370 (“the vicinity of Begram, at the confluence of the rivers Gorbant and Panjshîr. Traces of a fortress have been discovered at the confluence itself [the mound of Borj-i Abdullah] and there are

Hellenistic remains immediately to the south"); see map 4 in Ghirshman, *Bégram* 6; and map 2 in Bernard, *JS* (1982) 228.

On Borj-i Abdullah, which was c. 600 m north of Begram, see Ghirshman, *Bégram* 1-5 and plan, p. 2. On Begram and the results of the excavation there see J. Hackin and J. R. Hackin, *Recherches archéologiques à Begram* (Paris, 1939); J. Hackin, *Nouvelles recherches archéologiques à Begram (ancienne Kâpicî)* (Paris, 1954); Ghirshman, *Bégram*, plan of the site, pl. 24; J. Hackin, J. Carl, and J. Meunié, *Diverses recherches archéologiques en Afghanistan (1933-1940)* (Paris, 1959) 83-113; MacDowell and Taddei in *Archaeology of Afghanistan* 257-62; *Gazetteer Afghanistan* s.v. "Begram"; Mehendale and Cambon in *Afghanistan* 131-210; map 2 in Bernard, *JS* (1982) 228; Ball, *Monuments of Afghanistan* 174-75.

For the suggested location of Alexandria of the Caucasus at the site of Parwan see, for example, A. Foucher (*CRAI* [1939] 437-39; *CRAI* [1941] 551; *Vieille Route* 2:203); Hackin (*Recherches archéologiques à Begram* 4 and map on p. 5). Following Foucher, Ghirshman (*Bégram* 6 and map; see also map 2 in Bernard, *JS* [1982] 228) believed that it was located either at (Ghirshman) or near (Hackin) Parwan (the modern Jebel Saraji). Foucher also suggested that Begram was the site of Kapisa (Pliny *NH* 6.92; Solinus 54.2, ed. Mommsen; Ptol. 6.18.4, "Katisa"; on Kapisa see Foucher in *Études asiatiques* 1:266-73; see also Rapin in *Afghanistan ancien carrefour* 162). According to the *Milindapanha* (pt. 1, p. 127; trans. R. Davids; see above, n. 6) Menander was born in the village of Kalasi. Foucher (*BSOS* 6 [1930] 344; *Vieille Route* 2:212) suggested this was, in fact, Kapisa. Both Tarn (*GBI*² 420) and Bernard (*St. Iran.* 3 [1974] 178 n. 21; *JS* [1982] 240-41) correctly rejected this emendation. Bernard objected that at both (H)Opian and Parwan the archaeological remains were too inconsequential to justify identifying the sites with Alexandria, and suggested that Alexandria and Kapisa were one and the same towns, located at the site of Begram.

In the first edition of *Greeks in Bactria and India* (97-98, 460) Tarn speculated that the native Kapisa on the east bank of the Panjshir-Ghorband rivers and Alexandria of the Caucasus on the west bank were united in a double city, Alexandria Kapisa. In the *addenda* to the second edition (540) he abandoned this claim pending the publication of the results of the French excavation at Begram.

On the other hand, Cunningham (*Geography* 25-26), Tarn (*GBI*² 96-98, 460-61), and Bernard (*JS* [1982] 232, 240) pointed to Stephanos, s.v. "Alexandria 5" (ἐν τῇ Ὀπιανῇ κατὰ τὴν Ἰνδικήν), noted the presence of the village of (H)Opian north of Charikar, and suggested Alexandria of the

Caucasus was in the district of Opiane, the name of which will have been preserved in the modern village. In *Alexander* 2:241 Tarn equated Alexandria in Opiane with Alexandria of the Caucasus. Fraser pointed out (*Cities* 148–49) that the name “Opiane” is not attested elsewhere in the ancient literature (though see Hecataeus, *FGrH* 1 F299, mentioned by Fraser, *Cities* 148 n. 84; see also Stein, *RE* s.vv. “Opiai” and “Opiane”). In the seventh century A.D. the Chinese pilgrim Hsüan-Tsang (see Beal [trans.], *Buddhist Records* 2:285; cf. 1:55 n. 198; Watters [trans.], *Yuan Chwang’s Travel* 2:266; see also Fraser, *Cities* 234) referred to U-pi-na (Hupian) as the capital of the area around Kapisa. (On the Afghan section of the itinerary of Hsüan-Tsang see Foucher in *Études asiatiques* 1:257–84.) In any event, the similarity of a modern toponym to an ancient one is insufficient grounds—in the absence of other supporting evidence—for affirming the existence of the ancient settlement. Fraser’s observation (149) that “there seems, then, no decisive reason to prefer H(O)pian to Begram as the most probable site for Alexander’s city” is a reasonable assessment of the *status quaestionis*.

Finally, Bevan suggested that Alexandria of the Caucasus was located at Charikar (*CHI* 1:348), and, earlier, Wilson had suggested either Ghazni or Kandahar (*Ariana* 179).

We may summarize some of the various possibilities in tabular form.

TABLE 7.1

a. Foucher	Kapisa: Begram
b. Foucher, Hackin, and Ghirshman	Alexandria of the Caucasus: Parwan
c. Cunningham	Alexandria of the Caucasus = Alexandria in Opiane: H(O)pian
d. Bernard	Alexandria of the Caucasus = Alexandria in Opiane = Kapisa: Begram
e. Tarn	Alexandria of the Caucasus = Alexandria in Opiane
f. Fraser	Alexandria of the Caucasus [= Alexandria in Parapamisadai = Alexandria in Opiane ?]: Begram or H(O)pian
g. Bevan	Alexandria of the Caucasus: Charikar

ALEXANDREIA ON THE TANAIS

See ALEXANDREIA Eschate.

ALEXANDREIA OXEIANA

Ptolemy (6.12.6) is our sole extant source for *Alexandreia Oxeiana* in Sogdiana. The identification of *Alexandreia Oxeiana*—if, in fact, it existed—remains problematic. It has variously been suggested it was (a) identical with *ALEXANDREIA* near *Baktra*,¹ (b) *AĪ KHANOUM*, (c) *Termez*,² (d) *Alexandreia* in Sogdiana (Stephanos, s.v. “*Alexandreia 17*”),³ or (e) the settlement unearthed at *Kamp yr Tepe*.⁴

* * * *

In general see Droysen, *Hist.* 2:679, 680; Tomaschek, *RE* s.v. “*Alexandreia 4*”; Berve, *Alexanderreich* 1:294; Tcherikover, *HS* 105-6; Tarn, *GBI*² 118-19; id., *JHS* 60 (1940) 89-91; id., *Alexander* 2:235; Bernard in *Géographie* 3-5; Orth, *Diadochenzeit* 109; Fraser, *Cities* 153-56.

1. For the **suggested identification of *ALEXANDREIA* near *Baktra* with *Alexandreia Oxeiana*** see Fraser, *Cities* 153-54.

2. For the **possible identification of *Alexandreia Oxeiana* with *AĪ KHANOUM*** see that entry. For the possibility that ***Termez* might have been the site of *Alexandreia Oxeiana*** see the discussion of Bernard in *Géographie* 4-5. Bernard hesitated between *Termez* and *AĪ Khanoum* but ultimately opted for the latter; see *AĪ KHANOUM*, n. 6; *ALEXANDREIA* of the Caucasus, n. 2. See also Leriche and Pidaev, *Termez* 33 and n. 1; and *ANTIOCH THARMATA*, n. 2.

3. For the **possible identification of Ptolemy’s *Alexandreia Oxeiana* with Stephanos’s *Alexandreia* in Sogdiana** see Tarn, *GBI*² 118-19; id., *JHS* 60 [1940] 89-91; id., *Alexander* 2:235. Tarn claimed that *Alexandreia Oxeiana* in Sogdiana was located on the north bank of the Oxus. He also said: “There can be no reasonable doubt that it stood at Tarmita . . . now *Termez* . . . , for it could not have stood anywhere else.” For the earlier identification of Tarmita with *Termez* see *ANTIOCH THARMATA*, n. 2. As for Tarmita, Tarn also claimed it came from a Tibetan translation of a lost Sanskrit work: “The original mentions a town Dharmamitra (Demetrius) and the translator says that the name was the origin of Tarmita on the Paksu (Oxus)” (*JHS* 60 [1940] 89 n. 2). Tarn claimed that “the Alexandria there was destroyed when Alexandria-Merv was destroyed; it was refounded by Antiochus I as Antioch Tarmata or Tharmata [Tarn’s reference is to the *Tab. Peut.* X1.5 and *Rav. Geog.* (ed. Schnetz) II.1.14-15: (14) “*Antiochia*,” (15) “*Tarmata*”] at the same time as Antioch-Merv and subsequently refounded by Demetrius of Bactria as a

Demetrias; the native name, as was usual, finally came back again, medieval Termedh, modern Termez” (*Alexander* 2:235). Tarn further suggested that this Alexandria was identical with “Alexandria 17, in Sogdiana παρὰ Παροπαμισάδαις,” recorded by Stephanos. In short, according to Tarn’s original reconstruction we would have the following sequence of toponyms: Tarmita -> Alexandria -> Antioch -> Demetrias -> Termez. *Nota bene*, however, that Tarn’s reconstruction has been “decisively rejected by orientalists” (Fraser, *Cities* 154; see the convincing refutation of Narain, *Indo-Greeks* 40-41 [= *Indo-Greeks* rpt., 48-49], following R. B. Whitehead, *NC* [1947] 35; id., *NC* [1950] 213-14; and H. W. Bailey, *BSOAS* 13 [1950] 400-403, who demonstrated that Dharmamitra was the name of the author of the commentary, not of the city of Tarmita; this was subsequently accepted by Tarn [*GBI*² 525]: “that Tarmita later became Demetrias . . . is . . . a mistake”; see also ANTIOCH Tharmata in India, n. 2).

For P. Goukowsky’s suggestion that Diodorus 17.83.1 refers to Alexandria Oxeiana and that the settlement was located at Termez, and the refutation by Bernard and Fraser, see ALEXANDREIA of the Caucasus, n. 2. For the suggested identification of Termez with Alexandria Oxeiana see also Pidaev in *La Bactriane* 54.

4. For the **suggested identification of Alexandria Oxeiana with the settlement discovered at KAMPYR TEPE** see that entry, n. 10; and Leriche in *After Alexander* 133.

ALEXANDRESCHATA IN SCYTHIA

For Alexandreschata in Scythia (App. *Syr.* 57) see ALEXANDREIA Eschate.

ANTIOCH

See ANTIOCH Tharmata in India, n. 2.

ARIGAION

According to Arrian (4.24.6, 25.5), in 327/6 B.C. Alexander descended on a city called Arigaion and captured it after its inhabitants had set it on fire and fled.¹ Because of its favorable position the king then ordered Krateros to strengthen the city with a wall and to settle in it neighboring peoples

who volunteered, as well as retired soldiers.² The exact location is not known; the commonly held opinion is that it was located at the modern town of Nawagai.³

* * * *

In general see Tomaschek, *RE* s.v. "Arigaion"; Tcherikover, *HS* 107; Berve, *Alexanderreich* 1:296; Caroe, *Pathans* 50-51; Bosworth, *Comment.* 2:163; Fraser, *Cities* 69, 159, 187.

1. For **another reference to Arigaion** see *Itinerarium Alexandri* 105 (ed. Hausmann). At 8.10.19 the text of Curtius reads "Acadira." In his note to the Loeb edition Rolfe remarked: "Otherwise unknown: cf. Arr. iv.33.5 (*sic*; the correct reference is 4.23.5) Ἄνδακα"; Bosworth (*Comment.* 2:163) said Acadira was "clearly the same place" as Arigaion and (*Comment.* 2:158) that the city mentioned at Arrian 4.23.5 "is not named elsewhere and cannot be identified."

2. Bosworth (*Comment.* 2:163) noted that "the voluntary nature of the settlement is as suspect here as in the earlier foundation [i.e., ALEXANDREIA Eschate]. It is not impossible that some of the neighbours of Arigaeum were willing to take advantage of generous allocations of land and settled on privileged terms, but the tradition of Alexander's conquest suggests that there was a general flight from the path of the invasion and few who threw in their lot willingly with the new order. The majority of the local settlers (like the Hellenic population) were pressed men, prisoners of war assigned to the rural work-force of the new foundation."

3. For the **possible location** of Arigaion at Nawagai (north of Peshawar at the Pakistani/Afghan frontier) see, for example, Holdich, *Gates of India* 103; Foucher, *Vieille Route* 207 (map); and Bosworth, *Comment.* 2: map 4.

ARTAKOANA/ARTAKAENA

See ALEXANDREIA in Aria and HEKATOMPYLOS.

* * * *

In general see Droysen, *Hist.* 2:750-51; Tomaschek, *RE* s.v. "Artakoana"; Berve, *Alexanderreich* 1:293; Tcherikover, *HS* 102; Schachermeyr, *Alexander* 314; Bosworth, *Comment.* 1:356-57; Holt, *Thundering Zeus*

DEMETRIAS IN ARACHOSIA

In his description of Arachosia, Isidore of Charax (19) mentions: “the city of Chorochoad and the city of Demetrias; then Alexandropolis, the metropolis of Arachosia . . . and by it flows the river Arachotus” (modern Arghandab; trans. Schoff). It is generally agreed that the founder was Demetrios I Kallinikos.¹ Tomaschek suggested that Demetrias was located west of Kandahar.²

* * * *

In general see Tomaschek, *RE* s.v. “Demetrias 5”; Tcherikover, *HS* 103; Tarn, *GBI*² 93–94; MacDowell in *Afghanistan ancien carrefour* 197–206; P. Bernard, *JS* (2004) 275; Fraser, *Terminology* 352.

1. On Demetrios I as **founder** see, for example, Tarn, *GBI*² 93–94; Narain, *CAH*² 8:399; Bernard, *JS* (2004) 275; Fraser, *Terminology* 352.

2. For the suggested **location** see Tomaschek, *RE* s.v. “Demetrias 5”; and map in Fraser, *Cities* 238. Note, however, that Bernard (*JS* [2004] 275) remarked that “le site n’a pas été localisé”; and Fraser (*Terminology* 352) considered its location “uncertain.”

DEMETRIAS IN SOGDIANA

See ALEXANDREIA OXEIANA and EUKRATIDEIA.

EUKRATIDEIA

Strabo (11.11.2), followed by Stephanos (s.v. “Eukratidia”), mentioned Eukratideia. Stephanos described it as a πόλις Βάκτρων, and Strabo noted that it bore the name of its ruler (τοῦ ἄρχαντος ἐπώνυμος).¹ This was certainly Eukratides, who ruled c. 170–145 B.C. (Justin 41.6.1–5; Strabo 15.1.3). The settlement is also recorded by Ptolemy (6.11.8). The precise location is not known. Based on the coordinates given by Ptolemy, Kiessling suggested Eukratideia was located c. 102 kilometers west of Baktra (Balkh) in the region of Shibarghan.² W. W. Tarn suggested that

Eukratideia might be identified with DEMETRIAS in Sogdiana or was simply a later foundation, built by Heliokles; P. Bernard speculated that it was a later name for the settlement at AĪ KHANOUM.³

* * * *

In general see Kiessling, *RE* s.v. “Eukratideia”; Tcherikover, *HS* 104-5; Tarn, *GBI*² 208-9; Fraser, *Terminology* 352-53.

1. The **identification and family background of Eukratides** is much disputed; see, for example, Tarn, *GBI*² 195-224, especially 196-97; Narain, *Indo-Greeks* 53-58 et passim; id., *CAH*² 8:401; Mørkholm, *Antiochus* 172-75; Holt, *OCD*³ s.v. “Eucratides I.”

For the **coinage** of Eukratides see, for example, Gardner, *BMC Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India* 13-19; Narain, *Coin Types* 9-12; Le Rider, *Suse* 333, 345; Mørkholm, *Antiochus* 173-74; Holt, *Thundering Zeus* 72-73.

2. On **Shibarghan** see *Gazetteer Afghanistan* s.v. “Shibarghan.”

3. Tarn (*GBI*² 208-9) tentatively suggested that Eukratideia might have been the refounded Demetrias on the Oxus (Tarn pointed the reader to p. 118, where he apparently referred to the settlement as “Demetrias in Sogdiana”). This is unlikely for two reasons: (a) as Tarn himself noted, Ptolemy includes Eukratideia among the cities not on the Oxus, and (b) in any event, the existence of this particular Demetrias has been convincingly attacked; see further ALEXANDREIA Oxeiana (accepted by Tarn in an *addendum* to *GBI*² 525). Alternatively, Tarn suggested that Eukratideia was simply a later foundation, built by Heliokles. Bernard speculated that Eukratideia might have been a later renaming of the settlement at AĪ KHANOUM (see the latter entry, n. 29). Finally, Fraser remarked that “the magnificent and abundant coinage of its mint notwithstanding, the location of this, the capital city of the Bactrian Empire is unknown” (*Terminology* 352).

HERAKLEIA/ACHAIS (ACHAIA)

There appears to be confusion—and possible errors—in the extant evidence regarding Herakleia, Achais, and Achaia. In the present state of the evidence, certainty is quite unattainable. The most that one can do, therefore, is set out the sources and various possible solutions.

We learn about Herakleia/Achais in Aria from Pliny and Solinus.

According to Pliny (*NH* 6.48), who was apparently discussing the Transcaspiian region, Herakleia was founded by Alexander; subsequently it was destroyed and rebuilt by Antiochos, who renamed it Achais (“oppidum Heraclea ab Alexandro conditum, quod deinde subversum ac restitutum Antiochus Achaida appellavit”).¹ Solinus (48, ed. Mommsen), who derived much of his information from Pliny, gives essentially the same information as Pliny about Herakleia/Achais except that he appears to locate it in the Caspian region (“et aliud in Caspiis Alexander oppidum excitarat idque Heraclea dictum dum manebat; sed hoc quoque ab iisdem eversum gentibus, deinde ab Antiocho restitutum, ut ille maluit, Achais postmodum nominatum est”). Although Pliny and Solinus apparently differ on the location of Achais, the fact that they record essentially the same history indicates they are undoubtedly talking about the same city.

As for Achaia in Aria, Strabo (11.10.1) specifically says it (as well as ARTAKOANA/ARTAKAENA and ALEXANDREIA) was named for its founder (ἐπώνυμοι τῶν κτισάντων). In contrast, Pliny and Solinus say that after Herakleia was destroyed it was rebuilt by Antiochos, who then named it Achais—that is, he named it for someone else. If the information in Strabo and Pliny/Solinus is correct, we then would have two distinct traditions regarding the founding and, presumably, two distinct towns: (a) Achaia, which was named for its founder, and (b) Achais, which was named by its founder for someone else. Finally, Appian (*Syr.* 57) records an ACHAIA in Parthia among the foundations of Seleukos I Nikator, and Strabo (11.9.1), Ammianus (23.6.39), and Ptolemy (6.2.16) record a HERAKLEIA in southeastern Media/Parthia.²

We may set out the information available to us about Herakleia, Achais, and Achaia in tabular form as below (see Table 7.2, opposite on p. 275).

We do not know the exact location of Herakleia/Achais.³

* * * *

In general see Droysen, *Hist.* 2:670–71, 749, 3:344–45; Niese, *GMS* 2:92; Kiessling, *RE* s.v. “Herakleia 22”; Tomaschek, *RE* s.vv. “Achaia 9,” “Achais”; Tcherikover, *HS* 102; Berve, *Alexanderreich* 1:292; André and Filliozat, *Pline VI.2* 63–64; Brodersen, *Komment.* 160–61; Hakkert, *LGRC* s.v. “Achais 1 & 2”; Holt, *Thundering Zeus* 27 and n. 16.

TABLE 7.2

City	Location	Source(s)	Founder(s)
ACHAIA	(Aria)	Strabo 11.10.1	Achaios (?)
ACHAIA	(Parthia)	App. <i>Syr.</i> 57	Seleukos
ACHAIS	(Transcaspian)	Pliny <i>NH</i> 6.48	Antiochos
ACHAIS	(Caspian)	Solinus 48	Antiochos
HERAKLEIA→ACHAIS	(Transcaspian)	Pliny <i>NH</i> 6.48	Alexander, Antiochos
HERAKLEIA→ACHAIS	(Caspian)	Solinus 48	Alexander, Antiochos
HERAKLEIA	(Media/Parthia)	Strabo 11.9.1; Amm. Marc. 23.6.39; Ptol. 6.2.16	?

1. On the **difficulties relating to Pliny *NH* 6.46–48** see Kiessling, *RE* s.v. “Herakleia 22.”

2. Two questions: (a) Is the Achais mentioned by Pliny and Solinus to be identified with Achaia? (b) Are the Achaias mentioned by Appian and Strabo identical or not? I.e., since Appian locates Achaia in Parthia, and Strabo locates it in Aria, are they referring to different cities, or has one of them erred? If the latter case, who? To these questions Tarn answered as follows (*GBI*² 15 and nn. 1 and 2): Achaia and Achais referred to one and the same city. Furthermore, the adjectival form “Achais” meant Herakleia “the Achaian”—that is, the population of the town included a large number of these people among the settlers. Finally, Tarn dismissed as a “mistake” Strabo’s inclusion of Achaia in the list of cities bearing the name of their founder (11.10.1). We should, however, separate two claims made by Strabo: (a) there was an Achaia in Aria, and (b) it was named for its founder. Even assuming the latter piece of information is incorrect it is still quite conceivable that there was an Achaia in Aria.

Tcherikover (*HS* 102) identified the Achaia in Aria recorded by Strabo and Pliny with the Achaia in Parthia mentioned by Appian (see also, Kiessling, *RE* s.v. “Herakleia 22”). He also commented that Appian’s ascription of Achaia in Parthia to Seleukos Nikator was false because Achaios, who gave his name to the city, was a relative of Antiochos I (an Achaios is also mentioned in an inscription dated to 267 B.C. from Denizli near Izmir; see M. Wörrle, *Chiron* 5 [1975] 59–87; see also D. Musti in *CAH*² 7:195–96 [“a high Seleucid functionary”] and Holt, *Thundering Zeus* 28 n. 16). As a result he considered this to be a foundation of the latter king. Cf. André and Filliozat (*Plinie VI.2* 63–64), who objected—correctly—that Tcherikover was confusing Herakleia/Achais with Achaia in Aria.

Bevan (*Seleucus* 1:269) suggested the founder of Achaia in Aria was “no doubt the general and father-in-law of Seleucus II, or an elder Achaeus of the same family.”

3. **Location.** Kiessling (*RE* s.v. “Herakleia 22”) suggested that Herakleia was located either on the Oxus River or in the mountainous area between northwest Media and Bactria. André and Filliozat (*Pline VI.2* 63) cited Solinus (as well as Strabo 11.9.1 and Amm. Marc. 23.6.39) to support their claim that this Herakleia was located at the entrance to the Caspian Gates at the foot of Mount Damavand.

IASONION

Ammianus (23.6.54) mentions three prominent cities in Margiana— Iasonion, ANTIOCH, and NISAIA/NIGAIA; Ptolemy (6.10.3) also refers to Iasonion. It is not clear whether Iasonion and Nisaia were Hellenistic foundations. The location is not definitely known.¹

* * * *

In general see Weissbach, *RE* s.v. “Iasonion”; Tcherikover, *HS* 105; Fontaine, *Ammien XXIII-XXV* 2:101; den Boeft et al., *Comment. on Ammianus XXIII* 191.

1. **Location.** Iasonion was probably located somewhere north of the modern Herat. Weissbach (*RE* s.v. “Iasonion”) believed it was at the site of Ak Tepe, near the point where the Kushk flows into the Murgab (ancient Margus) River; F. Hiebert, P. L. Kohl, and St. J. Simpson suggested Yarim Tepe (*Barrington Atlas* 2:1361). C. Rapin has suggested that “avant l’époque hellénistique le site de Merv/Erk-kala pourrait avoir porté le nom de Iasonion” (in *Afghanistan ancien carrefour* 147 n. 20; *BAI* 12 [1998] 214 and 215 [map]).

See map at the end of *Ammien XXIII-XXV 2^e partie*; and map 98 in the *Barrington Atlas*.

KADRUSIA/UM

According to Pliny (*NH* 6.92) there was “ad Caucasum Cadrusi, oppidum ab Alexandro conditum.” Solinus (54, ed. Mommsen) gave essentially the same information with slightly different wording: “Cadrusiam/ um oppidum

ab Alexandro Magno ad Caucasum constitutum est, ibi et Alexandria.”¹ Thus, both Pliny and Solinus located the settlement close to the Caucasus; the latter added that it was near Alexandria. We do not know the exact location.² Tcherikover understood this to mean there was a city called “Kadrusi” in the area.³ In fact Kadrusi probably referred to the people; the name of the settlement would probably have been Kadrusia or Kadrusium.⁴

* * * *

In general, see Kiessling, *RE* s.v. “Gedrosia”; Tomaschek, *RE* s.v. “Cadrusi”; Cunningham, *Geography* 36–37; Marquart, *Eranshahr* 242; Tcherikover, *HS* 104; Tarn, *GBI*² 99 n. 6; Ghirshman, *Bégram* 7 and n. 3; André and Filliozat, *Pline VI.2* 122.

1. Regarding the **name of the settlement in Solinus’s text**: the MSS of Solinus have Cadrusia and Cadrusiam. Mommsen suggested the reading Cadrusium.

2. **Location.** Kiessling speculated (*RE* s.v. “Gedrosia” 902) that it was located in the Hindu Kush. Cunningham (*Geography* 36 and map III opp. p. 19) suggested identifying the settlement with the old site of Koratas, on the north bank of the Panjshir River, 10 km northeast of Begram.

3. Tcherikover also commented that Pliny might have been referring to the city mentioned by Diodorus; apparently he was thinking of Diodorus 17.83.2: ὁ δ’ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ ἄλλας πόλεις (cf. the alternative reading in MS F: ἄλλην πόλιν, . . . ἀπέχουσιν) ἔκτισεν, ἡμέρας ὁδὸν ἀπεχούσας τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας. On this passage see ALEXANDREIA of the Caucasus.

4. Tarn objected (*GBI*² 99 n. 6) that Pliny *NH* 6.92 “has been much misunderstood and Cadrusi has been called a city (Tcherikover, *HS* 104; Kiessling, *RE* s.v. “Gedrosia” 902). Certainly there were town-names in India ending in -i, which Greeks sometimes transliterated by iota and sometimes by eta. But had Pliny meant a town, he would have written, as he regularly does, oppidum Cadrusi, and on his usage the meaning is clear enough: ‘the Cadrusi (and among them) a city founded by Alexander’. The Cadrusi are otherwise unknown.” Tarn’s cautionary note about the Kadrusi is well taken (followed by Ghirshman, *Bégram* 7 and n. 3 [who nevertheless noted that the text of Pliny is “actuellement inintelligible”]; see, earlier, Vaux, *Dict. Geog.* s.v. “Cadrusi,” who observed that Cadrusi referred to a district and that Solinus had apparently misunderstood Pliny’s words and had “inferred that there was a city there called Cadrusia; for which, however, there is no authority”). On the other hand, he did not mention the Solinus passage. See also Marquart, *Eranshahr* 242; and

KAMPYR TEPE

The Persian historian Hafiz-i Abru (d. 1430 A.D.) said that near Termez there was a site called Pardagwi. At the time Hafiz-i Abru was writing, the site had fallen from its former prosperity; formerly, however, it had competed with Termez as a crossing place on the Oxus. According to the historian, it claimed to have been founded by Alexander the Great, though others asserted that it was in fact older than Termez. Hafiz-i Abru said that the toponym—given to it in the time of Alexander—represented the Greek for “guesthouse.” Based on this, V. Minorsky reasonably suggested that the original name was Pandocheion, “The Inn.”¹

Kampyr Tepe is located 30 kilometers west of Termez; it is set on a high terrace on the right bank of the Amu Darya (Oxus) River.² At the site there is a citadel dating from the Hellenistic period; unfortunately only part of the citadel (150 × 100 m) has survived; the rest collapsed into the Amu Darya.³ Fragmentary Greek graffiti as well as coins provide evidence for the presence of Greeks at Kampyr Tepe. Greek graffiti have been found on potsherds and the side of a large jar.⁴ One graffito on the exterior of a vessel has been read as “fifteen drachms” (*I. Estremo Oriente* 307). A second, on the inside of the rim of a vessel, refers to the liquid measure, “seven khoes” (*I. Estremo Oriente* 308).⁵ The third graffito (*I. Estremo Oriente* 309) was scratched on the side of a jar; the four letters on the jar—ΚΑ ΕΘ/Ω—have been variously read as the beginning of a personal name (according to V. Jailenko, cited by E. T. Rtveladze) or κλεῦών, that is, “prophecy,” “rumor,” or “fame” (according to Rtveladze).⁶ Among the three hundred coins thus far discovered, two were of Antiochos I and another eighteen were of various Graeco-Bactrian kings.⁷ A terra-cotta plaque of a heavily armored soldier equipped in Hellenistic fashion has been found at Kampyr Tepe. V. P. Nikonorov and S. A. Savchuk have dated the plaque to the midsecond century B.C.⁸ Finally, the first wall of the citadel was built, according to Rtveladze, “dans la pure tradition de la poliorcétique hellénistique.”⁹ The composite information suggests the possible presence of a Hellenistic settlement—a *katoikia*, as Rtveladze suggested—at Kampyr Tepe.

The suggested identification of Kampyr Tepe with Pandocheion is most attractive. But it is only a suggestion. Note that P. Leriche has suggested it could possibly be ALEXANDREIA Oxeiana.¹⁰

In general see V. Minorsky, *Kara-Tepe* (Moscow, 1969) 2:46–47; and P. Bernard, *JS* (1982) 236; Capdetrey, *Pouvoir* 80 and n. 183.

For the results of the excavation at Kampyr Tepe see E. T. Rtveladze, *BAI* 8 (1994) 141–55; id., *RN* (1995) 20–24; id., *DA* 247 (1999) 56–57; id., *Aleksandr* 46–53; Rtveladze, ed., *Kampyr Tepe*, 5 vols. [in Russian] (Tashkent, 2000–2006); Leriche in *After Alexander* 133; Leriche and Pidaev in *After Alexander* 181.

1. V. Minorsky, *BSOAS* 30 (1967) 45–53; id., *Kara-Tepe* 2:46–47; P. Bernard, *JS* (1982) 131 n. 14 and 236; Rtveladze, *Aleksandr* 46–49.

2. For the **location** of Kampyr Tepe see, for example, map in *After Alexander* 30; and map 98 in *Barrington Atlas*.

3. On the **citadel** see E. T. Rtveladze, *BAI* 8 (1994) 141–55; id., *DA* 247 (1999) 56–57; id. in *Kampyr Tepe* 1:7; Azimov in *La Bactriane* 235–40.

4. Rtveladze in *Kampyr Tepe* 1:17, 3:101–2; id., *BAI* 8 (1994) 147–49; id., *RN* (1995) 21–22 = *SEG* 45:1881 = *I. Estremo Oriente* 307–309 = *IGIAC* 150; Rapin in *Aï Khanoum* 8:390 (K Λ E Ω). Cf. G. Rougemont in *IGIAC* p. 255

5. Cf. the **inscriptions on vases found at Aï KHANOUM**, n. 17.

6. See above, n. 4.

7. For the **coins** see Rtveladze, *BAI* 8 (1994) 150; id. in *Kampyr Tepe* 1:17; Aiupova and Gorin in *Kampyr Tepe* 2:129–30.

8. V. P. Nikonorov and S. A. Savchuk, *Iran* 30 (1992) 49–54; see also N. Sekunda, *Hellenistic Infantry Reform* 173–74. Nikonorov and Savchuk noted that G. A. Pugachenkova, who first published the plaque (in *Obshchestvennye nauki v Uzbekistane* [Tashkent, 1989] 4:55–57), believed that a Roman soldier was depicted on it and dated it to the first half of the second century A.D. However, Nikonorov and Savchuk correctly pointed out that the plaque was found in a deposit above which were two layers, and above that, a coin of the Graeco-Bactrian king Eukratides (c. 170–145 B.C.). Hence, they suggested that the latest date for the plaque would be the period of the reign of Eukratides.

9. For the **citadel wall** see Rtveladze, *DA* 247 (1999) 56–57; id., *BAI* 8 (1994) 144; id. in *Kampyr Tepe* 1:7ff.; Azimov in *La Bactriane* 235–40.

10. For a **plan of the site** see, for example, Rtveladze in *Kampyr Tepe* 1:8–9. For the **suggested identification of Kampyr Tepe with Alexandria Oxeiana** see, for example, Leriche in *After Alexander* 133.

MARAKANDA

According to Curtius Rufus (7.6.10), at the time when Alexander reached Marakanda (the modern Samarkand in the valley of Zarafshan River) it was enclosed by a wall of 70 stades, inside of which there was a citadel that was surrounded by another wall.¹ Arrian (3.30.6) referred to it as a “royal residence of the Sogdians’ land.”

Excavation at Afrasiab (the ancient site of Samarkand prior to the Mongol conquest) has revealed evidence for habitation before the Hellenistic period.² There is also evidence for habitation at the site during the Hellenistic period. Thus, the ceramic ware found in level II of Afrasiab (third-second centuries B.C.) shows similarities with that found at AĪ KHANOUM.³ Bricks have been found marked with Greek letters (α, β, ε, φ) in certain sections of the walls of the Hellenistic period.⁴ A bronze coin of Antiochos II has been discovered at Afrasiab; in addition, a coin of Seleukos I and two of Eukratides probably came from there. Two Greek graffiti have been discovered there; one—with the name “Nikias”—was inscribed on a fragment of a vase. The other, an *astragalos*, was inscribed with ΚΤΗΣ, probably the abbreviation or the first letters of a proper name.⁵ Finally, the remains of fortification walls dating to the Hellenistic period have also been discovered.⁶

It is not clear whether or not there actually was an organized Hellenistic settlement at the site.⁷

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In general see von Schwarz, *Alexander* 41–45; Marquart, *Eranshahr* 303–4; Bernard in *Aī Khanoum* 4:138–40; id. in *La Persia* (1996) 331–65; V. A. Shishkina, *Afrasiab* (Tashkent, 1966); P. Bernard, F. Grenet, M. Isamiddinov, et al., *CRAI* (1990) 356–80; C. Rapin and M. Isamiddinov, *Topoi* 4 (1994) 547–59; Bosworth, *Comment.* 1:377; Sherwin-White and Kuhrt, *Samarkhand* 106; Holt, *Thundering Zeus* 27; Capdetrey, *Pouvoir* 77 and n. 156; F. Grenet, *AnnHSS* 59 (2004) 1043–67, esp. 1056–59; J. D. Lerner, *Anabasis* 1 (2010) 58–68; C. Baratin and L. Martinez-Sève, *DA* 341 (2010) 32–33 and other articles in *DA* 341 (2010): “Samarcande, cité mythique au coeur de l’Asie.”

For the **results of excavation at Afrasiab** see especially P. Bernard et al., *CRAI* (1990) 356–80 (bibliography in nn. 2–3 for earlier investigations at the site); Bernard et al., *CRAI* (1992) 275–311; and Bernard in *La Persia* (1996) 331–65; G. V. Shishkina, *Sovietskaja*

Arxeologija (1975) 60–77; id., *BAI* 8 (1994) 81–99 (and bibliography in notes, pp. 94–99); L. Martinez-Sève, *RA* (2003) 202–5; F. Grenet, *AnnHSS* 59 (2004) 1051–54; for a brief history of excavation at the site see pp. 1045–51; articles in *DA* 341 (2010).

1. According to the list of Alexander’s foundations at the end of the Syriac *Alexander Romance* (3.24, trans. Wallis Budge), “The ninth is Alexandria which is in the country of Sôd, that is to say, Samarkand.” Tarn remarked (*Alexander* 2:244) that it is not clear whether the word “Samarkand” refers to the city of Alexandria or the country of Sogd. Tarn added that at the very least Alexander did not found Samarkand/Marakanda, noting that this was a later legend. For the later claim that Alexander founded the *city* of Samarkand see, for example, *Romance* 3.7 (trans. Wallis Budge, p. 115): “I commanded a city to be built there and to be called Samarkand.” Qudama also included Samarkand among Alexander’s foundations (*Kitâb al-Kharâj* 206 in *BGA* 6:265, trans. Goeje), as did al-Tabari ([702] trans. Nöldeke, *Beiträge* 47) and Hamza al-Isfahani (*Sini mulûk* 40, trans. Pourshariati in *Indo-Grecs* 124). See also ALEXANDREIA ΕΠΙ ΣΟΥΣΟΙΣ.

2. For **evidence for habitation at Afrasiab before the Hellenistic period** see G. V. Shishkina, *BAI* 8 (1994) 81; Bernard in *La Persia* (1996) 334–37.

For a **map of the region** and a **plan of the site** see, for example, Bernard in *La Persia* (1996) 333, 335–36; F. Grenet, *AnnHSS* 59 (2004) 1044.

3. For the **ceramic ware** see Bernard et al., *CRAI* (1990) 358; Bernard, *Abstracta Iranica* 6 (1983) 40; id. in *La Persia* (1996) 360–64; G. V. Shishkina, *BAI* 8 (1994) 86. Relying primarily on the ceramic evidence (as well as the numismatic evidence), B. Lyonnet (*BAI* 12 [1998] 141–59) has suggested that there were three phases of Afrasiab’s history during the Hellenistic period: (a) the first phase—Afrasiab IIA—extended from c. 320 to c. 280 B.C.; (b) this was followed by a period down to the reign of Eukratides I (c. 171/170 B.C.) during which there is no evidence for the presence of Graeco-Bactrians in Marakanda; (c) the last phase of Hellenistic Afrasiab—which she designated as IIB—extended from the reign of Eukratides until some undefined point during the nomadic domination of the region. Cf. J. D. Lerner (*Anabasis* 1 [2010] 67–69), who has suggested that there was no lacuna between Afrasiab IIA and IIB and that Afrasiab IIA proceeded directly to Afrasiab IIB without interruption.

4. For **bricks with Greek letters** see Bernard et al., *CRAI* (1990) 359; Bernard in *La Persia* (1996) 350–52; C. Rapin and M. Isamiddinov, *Topoi* 4 (1994) 555–56; G. V. Shishkina, *BAI* 8 (1994) 85, 88.

5. For the **coins** see Bernard et al., *CRAI* (1990) 359; Bernard in *Ai Khanoum* 4:139; and id. in *La Persia* (1996) 347 and n. 49; G. V. Shishkina, *BAI* 8 (1994) 88. In a personal communication, L. Martinez-Sève notes that “en ce qui concerne les monnaies, 26 exemplaires ont été récemment découverts par un prospecteur dans des déblais de fouille à l’aide d’un détecteur de métal. Ils se répartissent en 5 drachmes d’argent et 21 bronzes. Les rois attestés avec certitude sont Sophytos, Séleucos I, Diodote I ou II et Antiochos III. La publication est en cours par Anvar Atakhodjaev.” On the checkered history of the coins in the Samarkand Museum see Lerner, *Anabasis* 1 (2010) 62–64.

For the **name Nikias** on the vase see Bernard et al., *CRAI* (1990) 359–60 and nn. 4–7; Bernard in *Ai Khanoum* 4:139; *SEG* 44:1303 = *I. Estremo Oriente* 388 = *IGIAC* 153; G. V. Shishkina, *BAI* 8 (1994) 88. For the **letters** ΚΤΗΣ on the *astragalos* see Bernard, *Topoi* 4 (1994) 510–11 (citing X. Axunbabaev, *Istorija materialnoj kultury Uzbekistana* 25 [1991] 72–77) = *SEG* 44:1303 = *I. Estremo Oriente* 387 = *IGIAC* 152. See also Bernard in *Greek Archaeology* 92.

6. For the **fortification walls** see G. V. Shishkina in *Fortification* 71–78; F. Grenet, *AnnHSS* 59 (2004) 1052–54.

7. Bernard suggested there was a “communauté coloniale” at the site (in *La Persia* [1996] 365); in a personal communication L. Martinez-Sève has observed: “Même si Marakanda passe pour une colonie d’Alexandre peu de vestiges archéologiques signalent la présence d’une architecture grecque. Néanmoins, ils indiquent que l’établissement est resté sous contrôle grec au moins un certain temps. C’est ce dont témoignent les fortifications. Celles-ci ne furent pas immédiatement reconstruites après la prise de la ville achéménide: les occupants grecs se contentèrent alors de réparer les remparts de Darius III, en utilisant des briques de format carré, qui se distinguent nettement des briques d’époque achéménide ainsi que des briques hellénistiques utilisées par la suite. . . . À l’heure actuelle [i.e., 2011], on a donc plutôt le sentiment que Samarkand fut pendant l’époque hellénistique un avant-poste militaire à la tête d’un réseau de fortins destiné à contrôler les populations sédentaires et nomades de la vallée du Zéravshan, dans une région qui était située sur les marges du royaume séleucide. L’établissement fut solidement tenu par les Grecs au moins dans les premières décennies qui ont suivi la conquête d’Alexandre, mais pas nécessairement pendant toute l’époque hellénistique. Il est vrai que les incertitudes sont grandes, mais plusieurs éléments convergent pour suggérer que l’établissement fut perdu dans le courant du III^e siècle et brièvement reconquis ensuite. Rien ne permet de conclure en revanche que l’établissement a abrité une forte population grecque et qu’il a connu

un véritable développement urbain.”

NIKAIA

According to Arrian (4.22.6) Alexander reached Nikaia on his way to India and sacrificed to Athena.¹ Tcherikover dismissed the possibility that this could have been a Greek settlement because it was already in existence when Alexander arrived there. He suggested the toponym might have originated as the translation of a native name.² However, W. W. Tarn objected—reasonably—that Arrian was using the name proleptically.³ The exact site has not yet been securely identified.⁴

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In general see Tcherikover, *HS* 104; Stein, *RE* s.v. “Nikaia 8”; A. Foucher, *CRAI* (1939) 435–47; Tarn, *GBI*² 99 and n. 4; Berve, *Alexanderreich* 1:293; Bosworth, *Comment.* 2:146; Fraser, *Cities* 68, 145–46 and n. 79.

1. Nikaia is also mentioned in the *Itinerarium Alexandri* (104, ed. Hausmann): “Undecima die quam supermolitus est illic Alexandriam venit. transmissis inde regionibus Parapamisadarum perque Nicaeam oppidum et Cophena flumen Indum petere contendit.” See also Tabacco, *Itinerarium Alexandri* 225–26.

2. Tcherikover, *HS* 104, following Wilson, *Ariana* 183; contra: Tarn, *GBI*² 99 n. 4.

3. For Alexander as the **founder** of Nikaia see also Fraser, *Cities* 68. Fraser adds (*Cities* 145–46): “Though he [i.e., Arrian] does not specifically say so, his language suggests that the city was already in existence, and was therefore perhaps one of the subsidiary foundations (‘other cities’) made by Alexander before he crossed the mountain northwards, which are mentioned by Diodorus (17.83.2).” Droysen suggested (*Hist.* 2:683; see also Tarn, *GBI*² 99 n. 4 and Brunt, *Arrian* 1:321 n. 6) that Nikaia might be one of the “other cities,” a day’s journey from Alexandreia, mentioned by Diodorus (17.83.2). On this passage see ALEXANDREIA of the Caucasus.

4. Various suggestions have been made regarding the **location**:

- a. Kabul (e.g., C. Ritter, *Abh. Berlin Akad.* [1829] 162; Cunningham, *Geography* 42; Cunningham claimed that Nonnus *Dionysiaca* 16.403–5 referred to this Nikaia. In fact the reference is undoubtedly to NIKAIA in Bithynia; see further, L. Robert, *HSCP* 81 [1977] 14–15; and P.

Chuvin, *Mythologie et géographie dionysiaques* [Clermont-Ferrand, 1991] 148). For Kabul see also Ball, *Monuments of Afghanistan* 218–27.

- b. Between Charikar and Kabul (Bevan, *CHI* 1:348).
- c. Begram (e.g., Wilson, *Ariana* 183; Trinkler, *Afghanistan* 58; Hackin, *Recherches* 4).
- d. A site a bit north of the Kabul (Cophen) River, near the village of Mandrawar, c. 15 km northwest of Jalalabad (e.g., Foucher, *CRAI* [1939] 435–47, id., *Vieille Route* 1:35, 2:204 [map] and 205; see also Ghirshman, *Bégram* 8; Goukowsky, *Essai* 2:151 n. 1). Fraser objected (*Cities* 146 n. 79): “The precise site selected on topographical grounds by Foucher, Mandawara, just north of the Kabul river before it is joined by the Alinghar and Alishang rivers, flowing down from the Kafirstan mountains, has not been investigated in detail: Ball’s account of it (*Gazetteer Afghanistan* no. 705 and map 112) is not encouraging: ‘Many mounds in and around the village. On a hill to the north are some petroglyphs of ibex’ ”). In any case, as Bevan (*CHI* 1:348 n. 3) rightly saw (if we follow Arr. 4.22.6: ἀφικόμενος δὲ ἐς Νίκαιαν . . . προὔχωρει ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Κωφῆνα), Nikaia was not itself on the river; from Nikaia Alexander advanced toward the Cophen [Kabul] River.
- e. West of the Cophen River, in the triangle of lower Parapamisadai (Bosworth, *Comment.* 2:146).

In general see Stein, *RE* s.v. “Nikaia 8”; Foucher, *CRAI* (1939) 435–36; and Bosworth, *Comment.* 2:146 and map 3; Fraser, *Cities* 144–46.

PROPHTHASIA

According to Stephanos (s.v. “Phrada,” citing Charax of Pergamon), Phrada was a city in Drangiane that Alexander renamed Prophthasia. Strabo, citing Eratosthenes (11.8.9 = Berger, *Fragmente* IIIB 20), says that it was 1,600 stades (= c. 200 miles) from ALEXANDREIA in Aria (Herat) to Prophthasia. Pliny (*NH* 6.61) gives essentially the same figure: 199 Roman miles.¹ Pliny, Plutarch (*De Fort. Alex.* 328F), Ptolemy (6.19.4), and Ammianus Marcellinus (23.6.71) referred to it as “Prophthasia.” The latter added that it was wealthy and famous. Isidore of Charax (16) referred to it as Phra and described it as a “very great city.”² We do not know if there was a mint at Prophthasia.³

Treidler suggested that Prophthasia was the main link between Arachosia and Gedrosia. Note, however, that the exact location of Prophthasia is not yet known.⁴

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In general see Treidler, *RE* s.v. "Prophthasia 2"; Tcherikover, *HS* 102-3; Berve, *Alexanderreich* 1:293; Tarn, *GBI*² 14 and n. 4, 49, 347, 482; id., *Alexander* 2:236; Daffina, *Immigrazione* 88-96; Orth, *Diadochenzeit* 134; Fraser, *Cities* 123-30.

1. The figures given by Strabo and Pliny for **the distance from Prophthasia to Alexandreia** differ from the actual distance between Farah and Herat, i.e., c. 160 miles. This caused Tarn (*GBI*² 14 and n. 4, 347; see also Droysen [*Hist.* 2:674], who earlier noted the discrepancy) to place Prophthasia further from Herat, in the region of Zaranj. Furthermore, Tarn argued that Prophthasia ("Anticipation," i.e., presumably a reference to Philotas's conspiracy) was a nickname for Alexandreia in Seistan (see Tarn, *Alexander* 2:233: "No one who has written on the subject has understood that, as Alexander's cities in the East all had the same official name, Alexandria, there naturally grew up for daily use a series of popular names or nicknames, which largely ousted the official names altogether from the literature we possess"). Elsewhere he wrote (*GBI*² 14): "Prophthasia in Seistan (Drangiane or Zarangiane) . . . was only a nickname . . . the official name, Alexandria, has been preserved by the Chinese historian Pan-ku, who called Seistan O-ik-san-li, a word which has been shown to be Alexandria"; and (347): "It was suggested long ago that O-ki-san-li was Alexandria and that seems now certain; but it has not been asked where an Alexandria could be found in Seistan. One can now see that it was the official name of Prophthasia, Alexander's capital of Seistan, which has perished in the Greek tradition"; see also Foucher, *Vieille Route* 2:216, 275, 410; and below, Appendix VIII. However, Fraser correctly objected (*Cities* 126 n. 43): "There is no indication . . . which Alexandria Pan-ku was referring to. Chavannes, *T'oung Pao* 6 (1905) 555, n. 7 (quoted by A. F. P. Hulswé, *China in Central Asia* 112, n. 250) identified it with Alexandria in Aria as against Marquart's identification of it with Alexandria in Arachosia. . . . Granted the uncertainty of frontiers in these provinces, it seems much more likely that the important centre in the valley of the Hari-Rud should be picked out to express the region to the south of the Kushan kingdom than the almost unknown city of Alexandria in Sakastane. It is any case doubtful to what extent the Chinese of the former

Han dynasty had direct knowledge of the region. I do not think we are justified in accepting Prophthasia as an Alexandria on this basis, though it finally stood in the index to Tarn's *Alexander*, ii.455 as Alexandria (15)." Finally, Fraser (*Cities* 130) (a) posited that Alexander himself bestowed the name (i.e., Prophthasia) on the settlement, and (b) denied that "Prophthasia" was a nickname. He also concluded that the ancient identity of Ghazni was "not determinable" (*Cities* 139, 249).

We may set out these attributions in tabular form.

TABLE 7.3

Droysen	(1) Alexandria/Alexandropolis in Sakastane: Kandahar (2) Alexandria in Arachosia: Ghazni (3) Prophthasia: [unknown]
Tarn	(1) Alexandria/Alexandropolis in Sakastane: Kandahar (2) Alexandria Prophthasia in Seistan: Zaranj (3) Phra: Farah (4) Alexandria: Ghazni
Fraser	(1) Alexandria/Alexandropolis in Sakastane: (area of) Zaranj (?) (2) Alexandria in Arachosia: Kandahar (3) Phrada -> Prophthasia: Farah (4) ["Not determinable"]: Ghazni

See maps at the end of Fraser, *Cities*.

2. Regarding **Ammianus Marcellinus**, Fraser (*Cities* 131 n. 50, 142 n. 71) commented on the "looseness" of his description of cities in the East and remarked that he "seems to have invented his description of the 'cities' in the eastern provinces, perhaps assisted by scrutiny of a schematic illustrated itinerary."

3. Newell speculated that two tetradrachms from India, struck in the coregency of Seleukos I and Antiochos I (*ESM* nos. 747-48; see p. 261) may have been produced at **a mint at Prophthasia**. Contra: Bernard and Guillaume (*RN* [1980] 19 n.19), who suggested a mint in Bactria (but not Baktra itself).

4. Droysen (*Hist.* 1:409 n. 1, 3:676) could not offer a possible **location** for the site of Prophthasia. Tarn identified it with Zaranj (*GBI*² 14 and n. 4); contra: Daffina, *Immigrazione* 90-93. Treidler (*RE* s.v. "Prophthasia 2"), Kaerst (*Hellenismus* 1³:424 n. 2), and Berve (*Alexanderreich* 1:293)

suggested it might have been located at the site of the modern Farah. On the map in *Cities* Fraser placed Prophthasia (with a question mark) at Farah.

RHOITIA IN BACTRIA

Stephanos (s.v. "Rhoitia") mentions a Rhoitia in Bactria. This is the only extant information about the settlement. Rhoiteion is the name of a town in the Troad and a place in the territory of Megalopolis.¹ It is possible that Rhoitia was named for one of these. We do not know who might have founded it.

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In general see Tarn, *GBI*² 120.

1. On **Rhoiteion in the Troad** see Bürchner, *RE* s.v. "Rhoiteion 1, 3"; Cook, *The Troad* 77-78, 87-88. On the **Rhoiteion in the territory of Megalopolis** see Bölte, *RE* s.v. "Rhoiteion 2."

SOTEIRA

Appian (*Syr.* 57) included Soteira among the foundations in Parthia with names from Greece or Macedonia that he ascribed to Seleukos I Nikator.¹ On the other hand, Ammianus (23.6.69), Ptolemy (6.17.7), and Stephanos (s.v. "Soteira") placed it in Aria. Furthermore, Stephanos says that it was founded by Antiochos son of Seleukos, namely, Antiochos I Soter. Antiochos's epithet suggests that he, rather than his father, may have been the founder. We do not know where this settlement was located.²

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In general see Droysen, *Hist.* 2: 751; Herrmann, *RE* s.v. "Soteira"; Bevan, *Seleucus* 1:269; Tcherikover, *HS* 102; Tarn, *GBI*² 13; Brodersen, *Komment.* 159; Fontaine, *Ammien XXIII-XXV* 2:116-17; Cohen in *Cultural Horizons* 84; K. Ehling, *SNR* 76 (1997) 32.

1. For **Tarn's claim** (*GBI*² 13) that "Soteira" was a nickname and that the real name of the foundation is lost see Appendix VIII.

2. **Location.** Herrmann (*RE* s.v. "Soteira") suggested that Soteira was

located on the south shore of the lake of Aria (modern Zerrah; see Ptol. 6.17.2); cf. Fontaine, *Ammien XXIII-XXV* 2:116–17. See also Vaux, *Dict. Geog.* s.v. “Aria Lacus”; and *Lexique* s.v. “Aria Lacus”; Berthelot, *Asie* 177; Markwart, *Wehrot* 24.

TETRAGONIS

Pliny (*NH* 6.92) mentioned a town beneath the Hindu Kush, Cartana, that was subsequently called Tetragonis (“Cartana oppidum sub Caucaso, quod postea Tetragonis dictum”).¹ Its location is not definitely known.²

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In general see Lassen, *Ind. Alter.* 2:122; Cunningham, *Geography* 31–33; Tcherikover, *HS* 104; Tarn, *GBI*² 98–99; Fraser, *Cities* 149–50 nn. 87–88; Ghirshman, *Bégram* 8.

1. Tarn (*GBI*² 98–99) remarked that “Cartana, nicknamed Tetragonis must have been a Greek city, a native place rebuilt on the Hellenistic model, for *tetragonos* is practically a technical term for a city laid out on the Hellenistic plan described by Polybius [6.31.10], four-square with two main roads intersecting at the centre of the city.”

Cunningham (*Geography* 31–32) identified Pliny’s Cartana with the Karsana or Karnasa mentioned by Ptolemy (7.1.43, ed. Stückelberger and Grasshoff; Κάισανα in Nobbe’s edition). As Tarn remarked, if this identification is valid, then Ptolemy’s unnamed river is the Ghorband.

2. **Location.** Tarn suggested that Cartana was located at Bamiyan and that its importance stemmed from its position on the main road from Baktra to ALEXANDREIA of the Caucasus and on to India (*GBI*² 99); on Bamiyan see A. Foucher in *Études asiatiques* 1:260–63 and map on p. 278; Fraser, *Cities* map at end. Cunningham, on the other hand, claimed (*Geography* 18, 31–33) that Cartana-Tetragonis was located at the site of Begram and that it ultimately merged with the nearby H(O) pian; contra: Fraser (*Cities* 149 n. 87 and 150 n. 88), who noted that excavation at Begram has not supported this hypothesis; and Ghirshman (*Bégram* 8), who identified Begram with Kapisa (on Begram see ALEXANDREIA of the Caucasus). Following Pliny’s indications, Ghirshman suggested that Cartana was in the northern part of the Parapamisadai.

Thera in Sogdiana

According to Stephanos (s.v. "Thera") there was a Thera in Sogdiana. Thera, of course, was the name of the Aegean island as well as of a city in Caria. The toponym Therai is also attested in the Peloponnese. It is possible that Thera in Sogdiana was named for one of these places.¹ We do not know who might have founded this colony.

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In general see Ruge, *RE* s.v. "Thera"; Tarn, *GBI*² 120.

1. In a personal communication Paul Bernard informs me that he is "persuadé que ce lieu [i.e., Thera in Sogdiana] a bien existé, mais qu'il résulte de la confusion d'une ville avec un parc de chasse, à une cinquantaine de km à l'est de Marakand, où Alexandre avait organisé en 328 une battue gigantesque pour son armée et où il s'était lui-même illustré en abattant seul et à pied, armé d'un épieu, un lion, écartant rudement Lysimaque qui avait voulu s'interposer entre la bête et lui, pour protéger son souverain. . . . Le mot grec *thêra* signifie à la fois 'chasse' et 'lieu de chasse' 'paradis de chasse'. En Syrie Kerka de-Sida qui s'est appelée Marcopolis dans les années 240 porte dans un document araméen de 242 le nom de 'Marcopolis Théra' '*mrqpwls tr*". Teixidor considère que '*tr*' représente le grec '*thêra*' (*CRAI* 1990, p. 156). Le paradis de Bazeira où se déroula la chasse d'Alexandre était bien pour les Grecs la *thêra* de Bazeira. Il n'est guère étonnant que *thêra* ait pu survivre dans la tradition tardive comme une ville de Sogdiane." See further Bernard in *Mélanges Jean-François Jarrige* (forthcoming); and ANTHEMOUSIAS Charax Sidou, n. 6.

VIII

INDIA

ALEXANDER'S HARBOR

See ARBIS in India and XYLINEPOLIS.

ALEXANDREIA [?] AT THE JUNCTION OF THE AKESINES AND INDUS

According to Arrian (6.15.2) in 325 B.C. Alexander ordered Philippos “to found a city there just at the meeting of the two rivers (i.e., the Akesines [modern Chenab] and Indus Rivers) . . . and dockyards to be built” (trans. Brunt).¹ Arrian says Alexander expected the city would become “great and famous.” Arrian does not give the name of the city. However, it is possibly the same *Alexandreia* as that mentioned by Curtius Rufus (9.8.8) and by Diodorus (17.102.4), which, the latter says, was initially populated by 10,000 settlers. The existence of this settlement has been questioned.² Assuming it was built, we do not know the exact location.³

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In general see Droysen, *Hist.* 2:684; Kaerst, *Hellenismus* 1:464; Berve, *Alexanderreich* 2:294; Tcherikover, *HS* 109; Eggermont, *Punjab* 106–10; A. B. Bosworth, *CQ* (1976) 130–32; Fraser, *Cities* 70–71.

1. On **Philippos** see, for example, Berve, *Alexanderreich* 2:384–85, no. 780; and Heckel, *Marshals* 331.

2. For **doubts about the existence of this settlement** see, for example, Woodcock, *India* 39; and Fraser, *Cities* 71 (“It is not clear that it was ever built, and some believe, perhaps with good reason, that it was not”); see also Tarn, *Alexander* 2:237.

Welles (note 2 to Loeb Diodorus 17.102.4) and Fraser (*Cities* 71 and n. 27) claimed that Arrian (6.15.2), Diodorus, and Curtius Rufus were all referring to the same city. However, Fraser did comment that “Diodorus’ narrative here bears little resemblance to that of Arrian, and he gives no clear geographical indication of the location.” Brunt (note to Loeb Arrian 6.15.2) was undecided as to whether or not the reference in Diodorus and Curtius Rufus was to this settlement or to the settlement mentioned at 6.15.4, i.e., *ALEXANDREIA* [?] of the Sogdoi. On the other hand, Tcherikover (*HS* 109), Kaerst (*Hellenismus* 1:464), Berve (*Alexanderreich* 2:294), and Heckel (*Marshals* 331 n. 40) believed Diodorus and Curtius

Rufus meant the latter foundation. Droysen (*Hist.* 2:684) also associated the Curtius Rufus reference with ALEXANDREIA [?] of the Sogdoi.

Eggermont, writing in 1993 (*Punjab* 108–10), suggested that the information in Arrian 6.15.4 (“Here he had Craterus and the greater part of the army and the elephants ferried across to the left bank of the river Indus. . . . He himself sailed down toward the royal city of Sogdia. There he fortified the new city, and constructed new ship-stations and had his damaged boats refitted,” trans. Brunt) was a “doublet” of that contained in 6.15.2 and, therefore, that “the town of Sogdia [was] identical with Alexandria-Uch.” Surprisingly, in the course of his discussion Eggermont did not refer to the article “Errors in Arrian” that A. B. Bosworth had published in *CQ* in 1976. In that article Bosworth had first suggested there was a doublet in Arrian, i.e., with ALEXANDREIA [?] of the Sogdoi. Bosworth noted that after Arrian’s reference to the settlement at the confluence of the Akesines and the Indus “comes a reference to the arrival at the palace of the Sogdi. . . . Here too Alexander founds a city, again with dockyards, and again there is a reference to the fleet; the ships which had been damaged were refitted. Why, one asks, had that not been done at the confluence, where Alexander had deliberately lingered to concentrate his forces? Why also should a second Alexandria have been founded in such close proximity to the city at the confluence? There is no hint elsewhere of two foundations in this area and no trace of either city in later history. The difficulties evaporate if we assume a doublet in Arrian” (131).

3. **Location.** Cunningham (*Geography* 277–79; see also Eggermont, *Punjab* 109) suggested that the settlement was located at the site of Uch, which is in southern Punjab province in Pakistan. Uch, which is 112 km south-southwest of Multan and 72 km northeast of Mithankot, was formerly located at the confluence of the Indus and Chenab rivers (see map 1 on p. 6 in Eggermont, *Sind and Baluchistan*; map 9 in Bosworth, *Comment.* 2:317; and map 46 in *National Geographic Atlas*²).

I should mention here **IOMOUSA**, which Ptolemy (7.1.46) included among the cities east of the Hydaspes (Jhelum) River. In *GBI*² 246–47 Tarn suggested the term was derived from Ἰὼ Μοῦσα, “Hail, O Muse,” and that “the words are the first words of a lyric addressed to the Muse whose name was the name of the city. . . . The name of the Muse and her eponymous city was no doubt Calliope.” Tarn also suggested that the colony was founded with settlers from KALLIOPE in Parthia; furthermore (if I understand Tarn correctly) “Kalliope” and “Iomousa” were nicknames for ALEXANDREIA [?] at the junction of the Akesines and Indus. Tarn’s reason for this identification was that Ptolemy’s coordinates placed Iomousa near the confluence of the Chenab and Indus rivers. Subsequently

(*Alexander* 2:237) Tarn repudiated the equation for the following reasons: (a) although we know the town was ordered to be built, we do not know if it was ever finished, (b) its position is too far south for a genuine Greek city of the eastern Punjab, and (c) Ptolemy's coordinates are not always reliable in the East. As a result, Tarn speculated that Iomousa was probably [ALEXANDREIA] on the Akesines. On the other hand, Eggermont (in *Studia Naster* 2:65–66) did not believe that Iomousa was a place-name. He suggested—not convincingly—that it was “the word ‘dachanos’ [i.e., “south” in the language of the natives, according to the author of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* 50], which through the intermediary of a vast range of variant lectures occurring in the papyri of the classical antiquity itself eventually came to the notice of Ptolemaeus in the shape of a toponym.” One awaits the discovery of further information regarding Iomousa (and the hypothetical Kalliope in India).

ALEXANDREIA BY POROS

See NIKAIA in India.

ALEXANDREIA IN MAKARENE

Among the *Alexandreias* recorded by Stephanos is no. 13, ἐν Μακαρήνῃ, which he described as ἦν παραρρεῖ ποταμὸς Μαξάτης. The correctness of this information has long been doubted. In the late seventeenth century both Saumaise (Salmasius) and L. Holsten suggested emending the text. The former suggested that we read ἐν Σακαστήνῃ for ἐν Μακαρήνῃ and Ἰαξάρτης for Μαξάτης; the latter emended ἐν Μακαρήνῃ to ἐν Μαξαρήνῃ and Μαξάτης to Μαξάρης. This would place the settlement either in southeastern Iran or in the Caspian region. More recently, P. M. Fraser noted—perhaps too pessimistically—that *Alexandreia* in *Makarene* is nowhere else attested in the extant literature, and suggested the reference may be corrupt.¹

On the other hand, W. Tomaschek, in his *RE* article, suggested that *Alexandreia* in *Makarene* was located in eastern *Gedrosia* on the banks of the *Mashkai/Maxates/Pao*, a tributary of the *Hingol/Nal River*.² P. Goukowsky followed this suggestion and speculated further that the settlement was probably built by *Leonnatos*.³ W. W. Tarn also challenged the suggested emendations that had been proposed by Saumaise; he argued for the existence of an *Alexandreia*—also in eastern *Gedrosia*—and

suggested it was identical with Alexandria in the territory of the Oreitai, that is, Ora.⁴

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In general see Tomaschek, *RE* s.v. "Alexandria 10"; Tcherikover, *HS* 147; Goukowsky, *Essai* 2:99–100; Fraser, *Cities* 166 and n. 116.

1. Saumaise in the Dindorf edition of Stephanos (Leipzig, 1825), 2:54; he was followed by Tcherikover (*HS* 147; see also Droysen, *Hist.* 2:674–75). L. Holsten (in the Dindorf edition of Stephanos, 2:54), who also wrote in the last half of the seventeenth century, called attention to the Μαζήραι (Ptol. 6.9.5), who lived on the Caspian Sea coast, and the Μαζήρας River (Ptol. 6.9.2); see further Weissbach, *RE* s.v. "Maxerai." Pape-Benseler listed Makarene with a question mark (*Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*³ s.v.). See also Fraser, *Cities* 166 n. 116.

2. Rivers in this region are frequently known by a number of names; see Eggermont, *Sind and Baluchistan* 58. On the **identification of the Maskid and the Maxates** see W. Tomaschek, *SAWW* 121.8 (1890) 33; Herzfeld, *Empire* 63, 335; see also A. Stein, *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India* 43 (1931) 35 (Maskid). The Maskid/Maxates/Mashkai is called the Pao on the maps of A. Stein (*GJ* 102 [1943] 195) and Eggermont (*Sind and Baluchistan* 58; map 3, p. 56).

3. Goukowsky, *Essai* 2:99–100.

4. See Tarn, *Alexander* 2:249–50; and ALEXANDREIA Rhambakia. For locating Alexandria in Makarene in Gedrosia see also Tomaschek, *RE* s.v. "Alexandria 10"; Berve, *Alexanderreich* 1:295; and Goukowsky, *Essai* 2:99–100, 195 n. 83. For the term "Makran" in early Arab accounts of the region see Holdich, *The Gates of India* 284–324.

ALEXANDREIA KATA TON MELANA KOLPON

See ALEXANDREIA RHAMBAKIA, n. 6.

ALEXANDREIA OF THE OREITAI

See ALEXANDREIA RHAMBAKIA.

ALEXANDREIA [?] OF THE SOGDOI

According to Arrian (6.15.4), after Alexander founded ALEXANDREIA at the junction of the Akesines (modern Chenab) and Indus he sailed down to the βασίλειον of the Sogdoi.¹ There he fortified a city (καὶ ἐνταῦθα πόλιν τε ἐντείχιζεν ἄλλην), built new ship-stations, and refitted his damaged ships. Arrian does not give the name of the settlement. However, it has frequently been suggested that the Alexandria mentioned by Diodorus (17.102.4) and Curtius Rufus (9.8.8) may refer to this settlement, rather than to ALEXANDREIA at the junction of the Akesines and Indus rivers.² The exact location is not definitely known.³

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In general see Wilson, *Ariana* 203; Droysen, *Hist.* 2:684; Cunningham, *Geography* 290–93; Wecker, *RE* s.v. “Sogdoi”; Kaerst, *Hellenismus* 1:464 and n. 6; Berve, *Alexanderreich* 1:294; Tcherikover, *HS* 109.

1. On **the term** τὸ βασίλειον see SELEUKEIA in Pieria; and SELEUKEIA on the Tigris.

2. Diodorus (17.102.4, trans. Welles) says: “Next Alexander received the submission of those who dwelt on either side of the river; they were called Sodrae and Massani. Here he built a city Alexandria by the river and selected for it ten thousand inhabitants. Next he came to the country of King Musicanus.” Curtius Rufus (9.8.8, trans. Rolfe) says: “When these had been received in submission, Alexander came on the fourth day to another nation. . . . Accordingly, after founding a town there, which he ordered to be called Alexandria, he entered the territories of those who are called the Musicani.” Cunningham (*Geography* 290–91) suggested that the Sodrae of Diodorus and the Sogdoi of Appian were identical and that the same people were described by Curtius Rufus, though the latter did not mention their names. For scholars identifying the settlement recorded by these three authors see ALEXANDREIA [?] at the Junction of the Akesines and Indus, n. 2. Eggermont (*Punjab* 106–10) suggested that Alexandria of the Sogdoi was identical with ALEXANDREIA [?] at the junction of the Akesines and Indus; see the latter entry, n. 2. For Bosworth’s suggestion that there was a doublet (of Alexandria [?] of the Sogdoi and ALEXANDREIA [?] at the junction of the Akesines and Indus) in Arrian 6.15.2–4 see the latter entry, n. 2.

3. **Location.** Cunningham (*Geography* 292–94 and map IX opp. p. 284) suggested the settlement was located at Fazilpur; he also called attention to Bhatia between Multan and Alor, which the early Arab geographers

described as a strong fort, and speculated that this might have been the site of Alexandria of the Sogdoi (see Eggermont, *Sind and Baluchistan* 6, map 1). Kaerst (*Hellenismus* 1:464 n. 6, followed by Berve, *Alexanderreich* 1:294) suggested the settlement was above Bukkur; he also noted that the Arabic writers mentioned an Ashkandra or Sekandra between Multan and Alor (modern Sukkur) (see also Wilson, *Ariana* 203; and Lassen, *Ind. Alter.* 2:183 n. 2).

[ALEXANDREIA] ON THE AKESINES

According to Arrian (5.29.2–3), upon his return from the Hyphasis (modern Sutlej) River Alexander arrived at the Akesines (modern Chenab) River. He found the city already built that he had ordered Hephaestion to fortify.¹ He settled in it people from the area as well as mercenaries who were no longer fit for military service.² Arrian, who is our sole source of information about this settlement, does not give its name.³ We do not know the exact location.⁴

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In general see Tomaschek, *RE* s.v. “Alexandria 8”; Berve, *Alexanderreich* 1:294; Tcherikover, *HS* 108–9; Tarn, *Alexander* 2:237; Fraser, *Cities* 70; Bosworth, *Comment.* 2:358.

1. For **Alexander delegating the responsibility of founding a settlement to one of his commanders** see, for example, BOUKEPHALA, SAMAREIA, and GERASA.

2. Bosworth (*Comment.* 2:358) called attention to the fact that Arrian did not mention the inclusion of Macedonians among the settlers. He suggested this was not fortuitous and probably reflected Alexander’s disinclination to settle Macedonians in such a distant area, where the prospect of returning home was very small.

3. Tcherikover (*HS* 108–9) and Tomaschek (*RE* s.v. “Alexandria 8”) referred to the settlement as Alexandria on the Akesines. For Tarn’s suggested identification of this Alexandria with Iomousa (Ptol. 7.1.46), see ALEXANDREIA [?] at the Junction of the Akesines and Indus.

4. **Location.** Lassen (*Ind. Alter.* 2:165) and Droysen (*Hist.* 2:684; see also Berve, *Alexanderreich* 1:294) suggested that Wazirabad (on the Chenab River 100 km north of Lahore in northeastern Pakistan) was the site of the ancient settlement; see map 24 in *National Geographic Atlas*².

For the Chenab River see, for example, maps in Bosworth, *Comment.* 2:317, 339.

ALEXANDREIA ΠΑΡΑ ΣΩΡΙΑΝΟΙΣ

According to Stephanos (s.v. “Alexandreia 14”), there was an Alexandreia παρὰ Σωριανοῖς; he describes the latter as an Indian *ethnos*. We do not know who these people were or the exact location of the settlement. J.-G. Droysen identified this settlement with PATALA.¹ A. Cunningham suggested this Alexandreia was located on the site of the ruins of Shorkot.²

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In general see Droysen, *Hist.* 2:684; Cunningham, *Geography* 236–37; Tcherikover, *HS* 109; Tarn, *Alexander* 2:241.

1. *Hist.* 2:684.

2. *Geography* 235–37 and map VI opp. p. 120. Cunningham suggested that Philip—who was put in charge of the Oxydrakai and Malloi by Alexander—enlarged and strengthened Shorkot. Furthermore, Cunningham identified Shorkot with the city of the Malloi, which Alexander captured (Diod. 17.98.1–6). For the campaign against the city of the Malloi see also Hammond, *Sources* 265–69.

ALEXANDREIA RHAMBAKIA

According to Arrian (6.21.5), during his return march from India in 325 B.C. Alexander arrived at Rhambakia, the largest village of the Oreitai. He was favorably impressed with the site and believed that it would become a great and prosperous city if people were settled there. He left Hephaestion there to oversee this. Subsequently he ordered Leonnatos to provide settlers for the city (καὶ τὴν πόλιν ξυνοικίζειν, 6.22.3). Arrian does not give the name of the foundation. However, Diodorus (17.104.8, trans. Welles), says: “Alexander wanted to found a city by the sea. He found a sheltered harbour with suitable terrain near by (πλησίον), and established there a city called Alexandria”; and Curtius Rufus (9.10.7) tells us that Alexander founded a city in this region and populated it with Arachosii.¹ Pliny (*NH* 6.97) mentions “Alexandria, founded in the territory of this race by Leonnatus at the order of Alexander; Argenus, with a serviceable

harbour” (trans. Rackham).² Finally, Stephanos refers to Alexandria no. 4 (s.v.) as a πόλις Ὠριτῶν, ἔθνους Ἰχθυοφάγων, κατὰ τὸν περίπλου τῆς Ἰνδικῆς.³ The land of the Ichthyophagoi was on the coast, west of the mouth of the Hingol River in the region between Cape Malan and Cape Jask.⁴ Presumably these latter authors were all referring to the settlement at Rhambakia recorded by Arrian.⁵

We do not know the location of this settlement.⁶

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In general see Tomaschek, *RE* s.v. “Alexandria 9”; Kiessling, *RE* s.v. “Rhambakia”; Berve, *Alexanderreich* 1:295; Tcherikover, *HS* 110; Tarn, *Alexander* 2:249–53; J. R. Hamilton, *Historia* 21 (1972) 603–8; André and Filliozat, *Pliny VI* (2) 127–29; Eggermont, *Sind and Baluchistan* 91–96; Goukowsky, *Essai* 2:95–100; Fraser, *Cities* 71–73, 164–66.

1. Despite Pliny’s notice about the population of the settlement, Fraser suggested (*Cities* 72 n. 31) that the synoecism was made up largely of local Oreitai tribesmen.

For **Alexander’s commanders founding settlements on his orders** see, for example, SAMAREIA, GERASA, and BOUKEPHALA.

2. The fact that Diodorus referred to Alexandria’s harbor and Pliny mentioned Alexandria and Argenus, “with a serviceable harbor,” indicates that there was a **harbor at or near this Alexandria**. According to Arrian (*Ind.* 23.4) Cocala was an anchorage where Nearchos stopped and met Leonnatos. We do not know the precise location of Cocala. Tomaschek (*SAWW* 121.8 [1890] 20) searched for it at the mouth of the Phor River. In connection with this, Tomaschek called attention to Julius Valerius, who included an Alexandria “apud Origala” in his list of Alexander foundations (60, ed. Kuebler); Tomaschek corrected Alexandria “apud Origala” to Alexandria “apud Cocala.” Tarn (*Alexander* 2:253) suggested Cocala was at or near the mouth of the Porali River, which today reaches the sea via the Miani Hor lagoon. He also believed that Leonnatos settled both the harbor town (i.e., Cocala) and the city (i.e., Alexandria mentioned by Diodorus and Pliny). Goukowsky (*Essai* 2:96–98) also hypothesized that Cocala was the harbor for Alexandria. The latter he believed was at Kaiara Kot; the former he identified with Argenus and, following Tomaschek, placed at the mouth of the Phor River (see below, n. 5). Eggermont (*Sind and Baluchistan* 73), imaginatively but unconvincingly, identified Alexandria “apud Origala” with Alexandria and Argenus mentioned by Pliny (the eparchy name, Oritene-> Origene->Orgene-

>Argene->Argenus; the Doric pronunciation of the eparchy name, Oritana->Origana->Origala).

3. Regarding **Stephanos's reference to Alexandria no. 4 as a πόλις Ὀριτῶν**, the MSS actually have Νεαρτῶν. However, this was corrected by Meineke in his edition of Stephanos to Ὀριτῶν, and this has been generally accepted; see, for example, Tarn, *Alexander* 2:241-42; Eggermont, *Sind and Baluchistan* 71; and Fraser, *Cities* 165 n. 115; similarly Diod. 17.104.5, 105.1.

4. For the land of the **Ichthyophagoi** see, for example, Strabo 15.2.2-3; Diod. 3.15.1; Arr. *Ind.* 26.2; see also Tkac, *RE* s.v. "Ichthyophagoi"; Eggermont, *Sind and Baluchistan* 168-69; Biffi, *Indike* 199.

5. In earlier discussions scholars usually assumed that there were **two settlements founded in the territory of the Oreitai, one at Rhambakia built by Hephaestion and a second at an unknown site by Leonnatos**; see, for example, Droysen, *Hist.* 2:686-87 (who questioned whether we are dealing with one or two cities and opted for the latter); Berve, *Alexanderreich* 1:295 ("Alexandria in Oreitenlande I," possibly at Somniani; "Alexandria in Oreitenlande II," possibly identical with Rhambakia). Subsequently, Tarn (*Alexander* 2:249-53) suggested that only one city was founded—by Leonnatos at Ora—and that Hephaestion did not, in fact, build a settlement at Rhambakia. Furthermore, Tarn called attention to Alexandria in Makarene recorded by Stephanos (no. 13; Stephanos adds ἦν παραρρεῖ ποταμὸς Μαξάτης). Tarn argued (*Alexander* 2:249-50) that this city is identical with Alexandria in the territory of the Oreitai, i.e., with Ora. On the other hand, Tomaschek suggested (*RE* s.v. "Alexandria 10") that Alexandria in Makarene was a separate foundation in Gedrosia, located on the banks of the Maskid (Maxates), a tributary of the Hingol/Nal River; see further ALEXANDREIA in Makarene. Tarn's suggestion that there was only one Alexandria has been generally accepted; at the same time, debate has continued regarding the identification of the settlement. Thus, Hamilton (*Historia* 21 [1972] 603-7) argued there was one Alexandria in the territory of the Oreitai, but it was located at Rhambakia, not Ora. Fraser (*Cities* 166 n. 116) also claimed there was only one settlement but suggested it was at or near Rhambakia and that Ora was simply an alternative name for it; see also Eggermont, *Sind and Baluchistan* 94-95. On Alexander in the land of the Oreitai see also Strabo 15.2.7.

6. The **literary evidence for the location of Alexandria Rhambakia** provides apparently conflicting information. Assuming they were both talking about the same settlement, we may note that Arrian gives no indication that the settlement was on the coast, while Diodorus

says it had a harbor. Fraser (*Cities* 165 n. 115) dismissed the problem by noting that the latter could not be trusted on the question of the exact location. However, the information given by Pliny and Stephanos also points to a settlement on/near the coast. As a result, there are two schools of thought regarding the possible location of Alexandria Rhambakia: inland or on/near the coast.

A. Stein (*GJ* 102 [1943] 215; map on p. 195; followed, e.g., by H. T. Lambrick, *Sind* [Hyderabad, 1964] 125; Fraser, *Cities* 165 n. 115) searched inland for Alexandria Rhambakia at Welpat, in the vicinity of the present Bela (see map 3, p. 56 in Eggermont, *Sind and Baluchistan*); he noted that at "Bela itself the height and extent of the mound on which the town is built, distinctly suggests considerable antiquity. . . . But I was unable to trace any definite archaeological evidence as to the earliest period to which the formation of the great mound may date back" and concluded that "no definite location is at present possible" (Stein [216] and Goukowsky [*Essai* 2:192 n. 47], incidentally, dismissed Cunningham's identification [*Geography* 354] of Rhambakia with Rambagh).

Other suggested identifications point southward, toward the coast. Thus, Tomaschek (*SAWW* 121.8 [1890] 19-20) thought it was on the eastern end of the Miani Hor lagoon at the site of Sonmiani (see M. Neubert, *PGM* 74 [1928] map 19, opp. p. 192). On the other hand, Eggermont (*Sind and Baluchistan* 76-77; see map in Stein, *GJ* [1943] 195) believed this Alexandria was located on the western end of the Miani Hor, at the site of the village of Khandewari (which, he speculated, preserved the name of Alexandria). Hamilton (*Historia* 21 [1972] 607-8) also looked for the settlement in this general area, i.e., north of the Miani Hor, between Siranda Lake and Khandewari (see map in Eggermont, *Sind and Baluchistan* 56). Goukowsky (*Essai* 2:96-99; and map in Eggermont, *Sind and Baluchistan* 56) revived a suggestion of Holdich (*Journal of the Society of Arts* [1901] 422 and map on 421; firmly rejected by Stein, *GJ* 102 [1943] 200-201, 216) that Alexandria Rhambakia was at or very near the site of Kaira Kot. And M. Neubert suggested it was at Sangal, near the mouth of Phor River (*PGM* 74 [1928] 140-41 and n. 8, and map 19). Based on the available evidence, certainty in identifying the location of Alexandria Rhambakia is obviously not possible. If, however, the settlement described by Arrian is identical with the Alexandria mentioned by Diodorus, Pliny, and Stephanos, then a location on or near the coast is more likely than one in the interior. In any event, we should bear in mind Fraser's warning (*Cities* 165 n. 115) that because of silting the basin of the Porali River has changed substantially since antiquity.

We may also note that in his enumeration of Alexandrias, Stephanos

(s.v. "Alexandria 16") records one, κατὰ τὸν Μέλανα κόλπον. The identification—and the location—of this settlement is not securely fixed. Speculation about a possible site has focused on two widely separated regions: Thrace and Asia. In favor of Thrace is the (weak) argument that the only "Black Gulf" known to us is in the area of the Thracian Chersonese. As a result, Meineke suggested the city was the Alexandria in Thrace mentioned by Stephanos (s.v., no. 3), which, in turn, is undoubtedly identical with ALEXANDROPOLIS in Thrace recorded by Plutarch (*Alex.* 9; see Tarn, *Alexander* 2:248–49; Fraser, *Cities* 26–27, 29). Stephanos mentions Alexandria κατὰ τὸν Μέλανα κόλπον between Alexandria among the Arachotoi (15) and Alexandria in Sogdiana (17); this, it has been suggested, points to a possible location in Asia. (In total, Stephanos lists eighteen Alexandrias. The first three are Alexandria in Egypt, Troas, and Thrace; these are followed [nos. 4–7] by settlements in India; then follows [nos. 8–10] Alexandria in Cilicia, the problematic Alexandria in Cyprus [on which see ALEXANDREIA on the Tigris], then Alexandria in Caria. Nos. 11–15 and 17–18 all appear to be in Asia; hence the argument that no. 16 was also in this region.) Cunningham (*Geography* 353–54) suggested that Alexandria κατὰ τὸν Μέλανα κόλπον was identical with Alexandria Rhambakia. He pointed out that, according to Arrian (*Ind.* 25.1), the western limit of the territory of the Oreitai was called Malana. Cunningham identified this with the Bay of Malan east of Ras (Cape) Malan ("Mons Maleus" in Pliny *NH* 2.184; see further Eggermont, *Sind and Babiluchistan* 78–79 and map 3 on p. 56), 30 km west of the Aghor River (see Stein, *GJ* 102 [1943] 204). Fraser (*Cities* 166 n.116) granted that the "location in very general terms would suit that Alexandria . . . for it comes in Stephanus' list after Ἄλ. παρὰ τοῖς Ἀραχώτοις," but objected that "even if there were any evidence that Alexander built a further, otherwise unrecorded, city in this area, the great bare headland . . . could not be the potential site of a 'large and prosperous city' ." See also Tarn (*Alexander* 2:253–54), who rejected the melana-Malana equation. He was undoubtedly correct when he described Alexandria κατὰ τὸν Μέλανα κόλπον as "irrecoverable" (242).

ALEXANDROPOLIS

Among the foundations of Seleukos I Nikator, Appian (*Syr.* 57) mentions Alexandropolis in India. It would appear that Appian is our only extant source of information about this settlement.¹ The precise identification of this settlement is not known. Tcherikover suggested the reference was to a

foundation in India of Alexander that Seleukos had restored.² On the other hand, P. Goukowsky identified the settlement with ALEXANDREIA in Arachosia.³

* * * *

In general see Tcherikover, *HS* 111, 166; Brodersen, *Komment.* 161.

1. In A5 of the *Cosmographia* Honorius lists the “provinciae oceani orientalis” (ed. A. Riese); he begins with India and then proceeds in a generally northwestward direction through the Middle East. In the following section (A6) he provides a list of the “oppida oceani orientalis.” Again, he moves in a generally northwestward (and rather circular) direction. Early in his list he includes an “Alexandropolis.” Widemann included this Alexandropolis in the list of settlements he attributed to Alexander (*Les successeurs* 32). Nevertheless, the existence of this settlement is highly doubtful. Note Fraser’s comments: “Oriental Alexandropolises raise insoluble problems. . . . The cities given by Pliny and Honorius seem quite unreal . . . while the long and monotonous list of *oppida* in Honorius is so full of geographical nonsense that we may jettison it without qualms” (*Cities* 29; see also ALEXANDROPOLIS in Parthia and HEKATOMPYLOS).

2. Tcherikover, *HS* 111. On **Seleukos in India and Bactria** see, for example, Brodersen, *Comment.* 127; Mehl, *Seleukos* 1:156–91.

3. Goukowsky, *Essai* 1:329 n. 198. For the **difficulties with the ALEXANDROPOLIS settlements**—in Thrace, Parthia, Sakastane, Arachosia (see ALEXANDREIA), and at HEKATOMPYLOS—see ALEXANDROPOLIS in Parthia and Fraser, *Cities* 29–30. In his discussion Fraser did not mention Alexandropolis in India.

ANTIOCH THARMATA

Antioch Tharmata is mentioned in two extant sources: the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (XI.5) records an Antio[c]hia Tharmata, a city near or on the coast of India, between the mouths of the Ganges and Patleris rivers; the Ravenna Geographer mentioned Antiochia and Tarmata (2.1.14–15, ed. Schnetz) in India. Tomaschek identified it with Harmata, an Indian city mentioned by Stephanos (s.v. “Harma”), and suggested it was located southwest of the Ganges Delta.¹ He also speculated that Greeks may have landed here during the reign of either Antiochos II or III. One awaits

further information before coming to any conclusions about Antio[c]h Tharmata.²

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In general see Droysen, *Hist.* 2:752; Tomaschek, *RE* s.v. “Antiocheia 13”; Miller, *Itineraria* 798, 846; Tcherikover, *HS* 111; P. Leriche, *JHPCS* 27 (1994/2010) 153–90, esp. 185–88; Rapin in *Afghanistan ancien carrefour* 153–54 and n. 45; Leriche and Pidaev, *Termez* 31–33.

1. On **Harma/Harmata** see Tarn (*GBI*² 525), who observed that Stephanos’s Harmata had nothing do with Tarmita (on Tarmita see below and ALEXANDREIA OXEIANA, n. 3); rather, he identified it with Harmateleia, which is mentioned in Diodorus 17.103.1 and which is called Harmata in two MSS; followed by Leriche in *La Bactriane* 79. Eggermont (*Sind and Baluchistan* 129–33) suggested—unconvincingly—that Harma is an “intermediary” form between Ramba and Ora and posited—also unconvincingly—the equation Harma (Harmatelia) = Ramba (Rambacia) = Cocala. See also ALEXANDREIA Rhambakia.

2. In the modern scholarly literature **the identification and suggested location of Antioch Tharmata** has had an interesting history. Droysen (*Hist.* 2:752), who referred only to the *Tabula Peutingeriana* and did not mention the Ravenna Geographer, was rightly skeptical about an Antioch located on the eastern coast of India. On the other hand, Tomaschek (*RE* s.v. “Antiocheia 13”) was willing to consider the possibility that under the Seleucids (possibly Antiochos II or III?) Greek merchants might have been conducting business in the area of the Ganges. Tcherikover (*HS* 111) agreed with Droysen’s skepticism but, nevertheless, located it southwest of the Ganges Delta. On the other hand, Miller (*Itineraria Romana* 795, 798) located it at Merv.

Scholarly speculation also began focusing on a location in Bactria/Sogdiana; this was based primarily on the assumption that Tharmata/Tarmata was located at the site of Termez on the Oxus River. In 1915 P. Cordier called attention to the first colophon of the Tibetan translation of a lost Sanskrit work, which mentioned Dharmamitra and *Tar-mi-ta* (*Catalogue du Fonds Tibétain de la Bibliothèque Nationale III Index du Bstan-Hgyur* [Paris, 1915] 408). In the catalogue Cordier had written the following brief note: “Dharmamitra (. . . originaire de Tarmita [?], au bord du fleuve Paksu [cor. Vaksu = l’Oxus, ou Amou-daria]).” Subsequently, P. Pelliot identified the toponym Tarmita as the old form of Termez (“Termez dans les texts chinois et tibétains,” *Comptes Rendus de*

l'Académie des Sciences de l'URSS [1929] 297-98), which was also known in Chinese (Hsüan-Tsang either in Beal, trans., *Buddhist Records* 1:38 or Watters, trans., *Yuan Chwang's Travel* 1:105). In 1933 S. Lévi (*JA* 222 [1933] 27 n. 1) observed that Tarmita was "évidemment Termed (Termez) sur l'Oxus" and "Paksu" was a Sanskrit form for the name Oxus.

In 1938 Tarn wrote (*GBI*² 118-19; see also *JHS* 60 [1940] 84-94; *Alexander* 2:234-35): "It is . . . tolerably certain that Demetrius founded a name-city Demetrias in Sogdiana, for a Sanskrit work, existing only in a Thibetan translation, recorded a city Dharmamitra and Dharmamitra is the (Prakrit) form given to Demetrius' name in the Yuga-purana. The Thibetan translator has added that this name was the original of Tarmita which is Termedh, represented by the modern Termez, on the north bank of the Oxus."

Subsequently, Tarn's claim that Dharmamitra was a toponym was refuted by R. B. Whitehead (*NC* [1947] 36) and H. W. Bailey (*BOAS* 13 [1950] 400-403; see also Narain, *Indo-Greeks* 39-41). Both scholars demonstrated conclusively that Dharmamitra was the name of a person—rather than of a place—who came from Tarmita (accepted by Tarn, *GBI*² 525).

There the matter stood until 1998, when F. Grenet and C. Rapin revived Tarn's hypothesis (*BAI* 12 [1998] 83-84). Among other things, they also called attention to a fragmentary Middle Persian graffito found at Kara Tepe, in the northern part of Termez, probably dating from the end of the third century A.D., that W. B. Henning restored as ['](n)tywk (in a letter to V. G. Lukonin in B. I. Stavinskij, ed., *Kara-tepe* [Moscow, 1969] 2:46 n. 24 [N.V.]). *Nota bene* that the reprinting of Henning's letter in *Kara-tepe* remains—as far as I know—the only public notification regarding this graffito. To date, there has been no formal publication; see Leriche and Pidaev, *Termez* 32. This, of course, would raise the possibility that the graffito could be read as "Antioch" and would support the identification of Termez with Antioch Tharmata. And, in fact, Bernard pointed to the graffito as demonstrating that Termez had been renamed Antioch by Antiochos I (*JS* [1982] 236 and n. 54). However, Leriche correctly objected (*JA* 290 [2002] 414) that it is not clear whether the restored name is a toponym (i.e., "Antiocheia") or a homonym (i.e., "Antiochos"). In an article published in 2010 Leriche expressed concern that the reading was based on a photograph in a private letter; in fact it had never been published or confirmed (Leriche, *JHPCS* 27 [1994/2010] 187). Given these uncertainties, Grenet and Rapin's conjecture should be held in abeyance until we have firm and unequivocal evidence for the occurrence of "Antioch" as a toponym and for its referring specifically to Termez.

Separate from—but related to—the question of the identification of Termez with Antioch Tharmata/Tarmata mentioned in the *Tab. Peut.* and by the Ravenna Geographer is whether or not Termez was the site of an Alexandria, and, if so, which one. There was a tradition that Termez was the site of an Alexandrine foundation. This tradition is mentioned, for example, by the Persian historians al-Tabari (ninth century) and Hafiz-i Abru (early fifteenth century); see V. Minorsky, *BSOAS* 30 (1967) 46; Leriche in *La Bactriane* 80 n. 20; and Leriche and Pidaev in *After Alexander* 181 n. 4. Tarn claimed (*GBI*² 118-19; *JHS* 60 [1940] 89-91; *Alexander* 2:235) that ALEXANDREIA Oxeiana mentioned by Ptolemy (6.12.6) was identical with ALEXANDREIA in Sogdiana recorded by Stephanos (“Alexandreia 17”). Tarn also said that Alexandria Oxeiana in Sogdiana was located on the north bank of the Oxus. Furthermore, he said (with admirable self-assurance!): “There can be no reasonable doubt that it stood at Tarmita . . . now Termez . . . , for it could not have stood anywhere else”; followed by P. Goukowsky (*Diodore* 236-37; *Essai* 1:158-59, 215-17; in *Mélanges Lévêque* 245-66) and C. Rapin (in *Afghanistan ancien carrefour* 164). Note, however, P. Bernard (*JS* [1982] 217-42; see also Fraser, *Cities* 141 n. 69; 154 and n. 97), who argued against Goukowsky’s claim that Alexandria Oxeiana was located at Termez (for further discussion see ALEXANDREIA Oxeiana, n. 3). Bernard concluded (*JS* [1982] 236): “Mais présence grecque n’est pas forcément synonyme de fondation d’Alexandre et il n’y a rien dans tout cela qui puisse établir de façon péremptoire que Termez occupe le site de l’ancienne Alexandrie Oxienne.” In 2001 C. [S.] Pidaev (in *La Bactriane* 54) observed: “Ainsi, nous possédons aujourd’hui à la fois des renseignements archéologiques et des informations provenant de sources écrites qui, bien qu’indirectes, permettent de penser que l’établissement initial de l’ancienne Termez s’était fait avant la conquête d’Alexandre. Plus tard, en 327 av. n.è., quand ce dernier conquiert le territoire, il apprécia l’importance de cet endroit pour la défense de son empire et fonda, probablement à l’emplacement du site déjà existant, une des nombreuses villes qui portaient le nom d’Alexandrie. Selon Diodore (XVII, 83,1) et Ptolémée (VI,12,5), une de ces villes a été fondée sur l’Oxus et nommée Alexandrie de l’Oxus. Par la suite, d’après certains savants, cette ville fut détruite par les nomades puis restaurée autour de 293-290 av. n.è. par le roi séleucide Antiochos I^{er} qui la renomma Antioche.” Finally, in 2002 P. Leriche, who directs the archaeological excavations at Termez, noted, among other things, that remains found at the citadel of ancient Termez were too sparse for the period in question to have justified an attack or siege by Alexander. He also observed that that region of Termez was quite infertile and has not

yielded evidence for intensive habitation and cultivation. Leriche concluded by leaving open the identification of the site of ancient Termez (*JS* 290 [2002] 411–15; and in *La Bactriane* 80, 95). In 2007 Leriche and Pidaev wrote (in *After Alexander* 181): “We have no unquestionable attestation of any *Alexandria* or *Demetrius* that can be identified with Termez. Of course this does not mean that Termez did not exist in Hellenistic times. Let us cite here the example of the two Hellenistic sites of Ai Khanum and Kampyr Tepe, the names of which are still unknown.” In an accompanying note (4) Leriche and Pidaev remarked: “According to At-Tabari (ninth-century), Termez was founded by the Sassanian king Kavadh (489–581), but the same author cites Termez among the twelve cities built by Alexander. Similarly Hafiz-I Abru (Bart’old, *Al Muzaffarti*, 20) attributes the foundation of Termez to Zul’Karnaïn, i.e. Alexander.” Finally, in 2010 Leriche observed (*JHPCS* 27 [1994/2010] 187): “Jusqu’ici, la céramique grecque trouvée à Termez n’est pas antérieure à l’époque séleucide et aucune trace matérielle ne permet de supposer que Termez ait pu être cette Alexandrie de l’Oxus”; and (157): “Il s’agit donc d’une petite fondation séleucide [i.e., at the site of Termez], semblable à celle découverte à Kampyr Tepe.” See, in addition, Leriche and Pidaev, *Termez* 31, 33 and n. 1: “Il existe bien une implantation grecque sur la citadelle de Termez, mais celle-ci est très limitée et n’est apparemment pas due à Alexandre mais à ses successeurs.” In the accompanying note they write: “Ceci est le point de vue de l’un des auteurs, l’autre restant fidèle à l’identification de Termez-Alexandrie de l’Oxus.” See also KAMPYR TEPE.

On ancient Termez see also *Kara-Tepe* [in Russian] (Moscow, 1964); the collection of essays in *La Bactriane* 37–159; Leriche and Pidaev, *Termez* 9–81; Leriche and Pidaev in *After Alexander* 179–211; Leriche, *JHPCS* 27 (1994/2010) 153–87.

I should emphasize that the issue under consideration is not whether Termez was once earlier known as Tarmita. The question before us is whether the Tarmita (Termez) on the Paksu/Oxus River in Sogdiana that is recorded in the first colophon of the Tibetan translation of the lost Sanskrit work should be identified with the Tharmata/Tarmata that is recorded in the *Tab. Peut.* and by the Ravenna Geographer. Here the evidence becomes murky. If these two latter citations do refer to a town (somewhere) in India, then clearly there were (at least) two settlements named Tarmita/Tharmata in the region—one in Sogdiana and one in India. That being the case, we also would lose support for the renaming of Tarmita in Sogdiana as an Antioch.

ARBIS

Curtius Rufus called attention to the fact that Alexander founded a number of cities in the Indus River delta (9.10.3), but does not provide specific information regarding their names or locations.

Ptolemy (6.21.5), for example, mentions an Arbis, which he identifies as a *polis* of Gedrosia. This is possibly identical with the town named Arbis (?; the MS tradition is defective) that, according to Pliny (*NH* 6.97), was founded by Nearchos on the coast of India in the area of the mouth of the Indus (“Haec tamen digna memoratu produntur: Arbis oppidum a Nearcho conditum in navigatione et flumen Arbium navium capax”).¹ Finally, Strabo (15.2.1) refers to the Arbies, a people whose name was like the Arbis River; according to Strabo, the Arbis River formed the boundary between them and the next tribe, the Oreitai.² Strabo added that the Arbies had a seacoast of 1,000 stadia in length.

Tcherikover and Berve suggested that the “Alexander’s Harbor” mentioned by Arrian (*Ind.* 21.10) should be identified with this settlement.³

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In general see Berve, *Alexanderreich* 1:295; Tcherikover, *HS* 110; Eggermont, *Sind and Baluchistan* 136; André and Filliozat, *Pline VI.2* 127–28; Biffi, *Indiké* 188.

1. The reading “Arbis” was suggested by J. Hardouin (see, for example, the Leipzig 1778 and Zweibrücken 1783 editions of Pliny). The various MSS have “ab iis,” “ab his,” or “abies.” In support of the MS reading “ab iis,” André and Filliozat (*Pline VI.2* 127–28) noted that Arrian and Curtius Rufus frequently referred to the founding of settlements without specifying their names. In that connection note that the name of the river, i.e., “Arbim,” is also an emendation; it was suggested by Detlefsen (Berlin, 1866). Another suggested reading, by Mayhoff (Leipzig 1906) was Arbium. The MSS have “nabrum” or “nabrim.” On the Arbius, Arbis, or Arabis River see Pliny *NH* 6.96 and 109; Strabo 15.2.1; Arr. *Ind.* 21.8.

Elsewhere (*NH* 6.110) Pliny says that some placed the Arbii between the Carmanians and the Harmozaei (“a promunturio Carmanis iunguntur Harmozaei; quidam interponunt Arbios CCCXXI p. toto litore. ibi Portus Macedonum et Arae Alexandri in promunturio”). As Eggermont has noted (*Sind and Baluchistan* 136), this is incorrect. The Arbii lived in the area of the Indus Delta, not in the region between Carmania and the Harmozaei (Hormuz). The location of Portus Macedonum is not definitely known.

Eggermont claimed (*Sind and Baluchistan* 136) that since (a) Pliny mentioned the Port of the Macedonians in connection with the territory of the Arbii and (b) their territory was located in the area of the Indus Delta, this demonstrated that PORTUS MACEDONUM = Alexander's Harbor = Barbarikon = BARKE. I would point out, however, that (a) Eggermont's identification of Portus Macedonum with Barbarikon and Barke is not convincing, and (b) Pliny's remark, "Quidam interponunt Arbios CCCXXI p. toto litore," is probably parenthetical; i.e., "ibi Portus Macedonum et Arae Alexandri in promunturio" refers back to "a promunturio Carmanis iunguntur Harmozaei" (see also Tarn, *GBI*² 481 and map 1 at end). If that is so, we should not search for the PORTUS MACEDONUM in the area of the Indus Delta, but rather on the Iranian coast of the Strait of Hormuz and the ALTARS OF ALEXANDER, just beyond at Cape Jask; see also R. Boucharlat and J.-F. Salles, *PSAS* 11 (1981) 67-68.

2. See map 2 at the end of Tarn, *GBI*².

3. Alexander's Harbor has been identified by various scholars with a number of different settlements. Tcherikover (*HS* 110) and Berve (*Alexanderreich* 1:295) suggested **identifying Arbis with Alexander's Harbor**. Cf. Eggermont who posited a four-part equation: PORTUS MACEDONUM = Alexander's Harbor (Arr. *Ind.* 21.11) = Barbarikon = BARKE (*Sind and Baluchistan* 134, 136, and map 2 on p. 30; see also *OLP* 1 [1970] 75-82). See further BARKE, n. 1. And Treidler (*RE* s.v. "Xylinepolis") suggested identifying Alexander's Harbor with XYLINEPOLIS.

As regards the **location of Alexander's Harbor** see, in general, Biffi, *Indiké* 188. Tomaschek (*Erläuterung* 7-8, 12; and *RE* s.v. "Alexandrou Limen") suggested it was located at the site of Karachi. In this he was followed by, among others, Tarn (*Alexander* 1:106) and M. R. Haig (*Delta* 12-13); see also M. Neubert, *PGM* 74 (1928) 139. Contra: Eggermont, *Sind and Baluchistan* 33-34, 55. H. T. Lambrick (*Sind* 117-19 and map opp. p. 98) suggested that Alexander's Harbor was near the present village of Gujo. M. Kervran (*CRAI* [1995] 295-300, 304-5, and maps on pp. 291-92, 292-93) speculated that it could have been at Tharro Hill.

ASTEROUSIA

According to Stephanos (s.v. "Asterousia") Asterousia was a *polis* in the region of the Caucasus. Stephanos adds that it was an *apoikia* of Cretans that took its name from a mountain in Crete.¹ He adds that the inhabitants were known as Ἀστερουσιανοί, Ἀστερουσιεῖς, and Ἀστερούσιοι. The

precise location of the settlement is not known.²

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In general see Lassen, *Ind. Alter.* 2:122; Droysen, *Hist.* 2:678; Oberhummer, *RE* s.v. “Asterusia 1”; Tomaschek, *RE* s.v. “Asterusia 2”; Tcherikover, *HS* 104; Tarn, *GBI*² 99, 250.

1. See also Eustathius *Commentary* on the *Iliad* (332.20, ed. Van der Valk).

2. **Location.** Tomaschek (*RE* s.v. “Asterusia 2”), following Stephanos, suggested it was at the foot of the south side of the Indian Caucasus. Woodcock (*India* 111) placed Asterousia in the Kabul valley.

BARKE

According to Justin, Alexander founded Barke (12.10.6: “Ibi in monumenta a se rerum gestarum urbem Barcem condidit,” ed. Semi). Assuming the text of Justin is correct and there was, in fact, a city of this name, we do not know the precise location.¹

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In general see Tomaschek, *RE* s.v. “Barke 3”; Tcherikover, *HS* 109; Tarn, *GBI*² 244 and n. 8; Eggermont, *Sind and Baluchistan* 40–41, 132–37.

1. Droysen (*Hist.* 2:685) suspected the text of Justin and followed the emendation to “arcem.” Tarn (*GBI*² 244) remarked: “Justin’s Barce . . . is not worth a thought, as the number of different MS readings shows.” The different MS readings—e.g., “barcem,” “parcem,” “bartem”—clearly indicate a difficulty in the tradition.

On the other hand, Cunningham (*Geography* 339–40 and map IX on p. 285) identified the settlement with the ruins at Bambhura. The latter he also identified with (a) the Barbarei of Ptolemy (7.1.59) and (b) the coastal emporium Barbarikon/Barbarike of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (38, 39). Bambhura is located near the coast at the head of the Ghara River (which apparently was the most westerly branch of the Indus until the mid-nineteenth century). Contra: for example, M. R. Haig (*Delta* 31 and map), who suggested Barbarikon was located near Shah Bandar. Note, too, Casson (*Periplus* 188), who observed that “a plethora of locations have been offered for the port (i.e., Barbarikon/Barbarike), no two alike”;

see also Smith (*Early History* 245), who, because of the changes in the rivers of Sind over the centuries, despaired of identifying Barbarikon. Finally, Eggermont identified Barke with Barbarikon as well as with PORTUS MACEDONUM and Alexander's Harbor (*Sind and Baluchistan* 136 and map on p. 30); for problems with the identification and location of PORTUS MACEDONUM see that entry; and ARBIS in India, n. 1); for Alexander's Harbor see ARBIS, n. 3.

BAZIRA

See ORA in India.

BOUKEPHALA

According to Arrian (5.19.4), after the battle of the Hydaspes River Alexander founded two cities, one where the battle was fought and one at the crossing of the Hydaspes; one was called NIKAIIA from the victory, and the other Boukephala in memory of his horse, which had died of old age and the heat (Ἴνα δὲ ἡ μάχη ξυνέβη καὶ ἔνθεν ὀρμηθεὶς ἐπέρασε τὸν Ὑδάσπην ποταμὸν πόλεις ἔκτισεν Ἀλέξανδρος. καὶ τὴν μὲν Νίκαιαν τῆς νίκης τῆς κατ' Ἰνδῶν ἐπώνυμον ὠνόμασε, τὴν δὲ Βουκεφάλαν ἐς τοῦ ἵππου τοῦ Βουκεφάλα τὴν μνήμην).¹ A number of other sources also provide accounts of the founding.² Arrian also says that Alexander placed Krateros in charge of the actual construction and fortification of the settlements (5.20.1).³ Diodorus adds (17.89.6) that the settlements were built quickly because there were plenty of workers available. After Alexander left the region and marched eastward both cities were damaged by rain; upon his return he repaired them (Arr. 5.29.5). Interestingly, Plutarch specifically says (*Alex.* 61.1) that Boukephalos died "not at once [i.e., after the battle] but some time afterwards" (trans. Perrin). Now Diodorus separated the founding of Boukephala and Nikaia from the naming by an interval of time (17.89.6, 95.5; see also Curtius Rufus [9.1.6, 3.23], who likewise appears to have separated the two events). According to him, it was only after Alexander founded the settlement and departed eastward from the Hydaspes that Boukephalos died (i.e., the horse did not die at the time of the battle but afterward, during Alexander's absence). It was when the king returned to the region that he actually named the two settlements.⁴

Aelian (*NA* 16.3) mentions the fact that there were Macedonians

settled in Boukephala. The *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (47) refers to Boukephalos Alexandria, an indication that it still existed in the first century A.D.⁵

Most of the ancient authors refer to this settlement either as “Boukephala” or, less frequently, “Boukephaleia”; beginning with the first century a.d. and continuing into the Byzantine period one also encounters “Alexandria Boukephalos” and in one case, simply “Alexandria.”⁶

The exact location of Boukephala and Nikaia was already a matter of dispute in antiquity. The same is true today; we do not know the location of either, other than that they were built on the banks of the Jhelum (Hydaspes) River, opposite each other.⁷ Most likely Boukephala was 40 kilometers south of the city of Jhelum on the west bank of the Jhelum River, at the site of the modern Jalalpur.⁸

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In general, see Tomaschek, *RE* s.vv. “Alexandria 8,” “Bukephala 1”; Droysen, *Hist.* 2:683–84; Tcherikover, *HS* 108; Berve, *Alexanderreich* 1:294; Tarn, *GBI*² 245–46; id., *Alexander* 2:236–37; G. Radet, *REA* 43 (1941) 33–41; P. H. L. Eggermont in *Studia Naster* 2:53–68; Hamilton, *Comment.* 169–70; Hammond, *Sources* 110–12; Bosworth, *Comment.* 2:311–13; Fraser, *Cities* 69–70, 161–62.

1. Bosworth (*Comment.* 2:311–12) remarked: “Arrian makes two distinct statements, one about the location and one about the nomenclature of Alexander’s cities. They were founded at the battle site and at his crossingpoint on the west bank of the Hydaspes . . . one was named Nicaea in honour of his victory, the other Bucephala in memory of his deceased stallion. The separation of the two clauses is annoying and makes it practically impossible to determine which city was founded on which side of the Hydaspes. The consensus of critical opinion (e.g., Radet, *REA* 43 [1941] 34; Hammond, *Sources* 1101–2) is that Arrian’s τὴν μὲν means ‘the former’ and that consequently Nicaea was founded on the battle site. That is a possibility, but hardly certain. Arrian can use μὲν to refer to the second, not the first item of a pair . . . and τὴν μὲν could here mean ‘the latter’. Quite possibly Arrian himself had no idea which site was which.” Hamilton (*Comment.* 170) suggested that Nikaia was the site of the battlefield.

2. For **other accounts of the founding of Boukephala and Nikaia** see, for example, Diod. 17.89.6, 95.5 (“Boukephala”); Strabo 15.1.29 (“Boukephalia”); Plut. *Alex.* 62 and *De Fort. Alex.* 328F (“Boukephalia”);

Curtius Rufus 9.1.6, 3.23 (“Bucephala”); Stephanos s.vv. “Boos Kephalai” (“Boukephala”) and “Boukephaleia” (“Boukephaleia”); and below, note 6. After describing the circumstances of the founding of the settlement, Plutarch added (*Alex.* 61) “it is said” that when a dog named Peritas that belonged to Alexander died, the king founded a city and gave it the dog’s name! On Peritas see Droysen, *Hist.* 2:685; Berve, *Alexanderreich* 1:294.

3. Cf. ARIGAION , which was built by Krateros on Alexander’s orders; see also GERASA and SAMAREIA, which may have been founded by Perdikkas at the command of Alexander.

4. For **the interval between the founding and the naming** see, for example, Berve, *Alexanderreich* 1:294; Hammond, *Sources* 110–12.

5. Fraser (*Cities* 162 n. 111) correctly called Narain to task for doubting whether Boukephala still existed at the time of Menander (in *Indo-Greeks* 81). As Fraser noted, the reference to it in the *Periplus* answers the question. Note also the references to Boukephala in other (later) ancient and the Byzantine sources as well as in Yakut (below, n. 6).

6. For **other literary sources that mention Boukephala** see, for example, Pliny (*NH* 6.77: “Bucephala”), who noted that the Asini inhabited three cities and that the chief (*caput*) one was Boukephala; Gell. 5.2.5 (“Bucephalon”); Ptol. 7.1.46, 8.26.8 (“Boukephala”); *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* 47 (“Boukephalos Alexandria”); Justin 12.8.8 (“Bucephale”); Orosius 3.19.4 (“Bucefale”); Solinus 45.9 (“Bucephala,” ed. Mommsen); *Metz Epitome* 62 (“Bucephala”); Geog. Rav. 2.1 (p. 16, “Alexandria Bucefalos,” ed. Schnetz); *Tab. Peut.* XI.3 (“Alexandria Bucefalos”); Greek *Alexander Romance* A (Ἀλεξάνδρειαν τὴν ἐπὶ Βουκεφάλω ἵππῳ; also B [ed. Bergson] and Γ [ed. Parthe]); Syriac 3:24 (“Alexandria which was built after the name of the horse called Bucephalus, the interpretation of which is Bull-headed,” trans. Wallis Budge); and Lagarde, *Analecta Syriaca* 207; translated into English by Wallis Budge in his English translation of the Syriac version of the *Romance*, p. 161, “Alexandria Bucephalus”; Armenian 285 (“Alexandria, which he built on the bull-headed horse,” trans. Wolohojian); Hebrew 130 (“Bucephalus after the name of the horse,” trans. Kazis); Julius Valerius 3.35 (“Alexandria quae condita est nomine Bucephali equi,” ed. Rosellini); *Scholia in Nubes* 23 (“Alexandria,” ed. Holwerda); Hesychios s.v. “Boukephalos”; Eustathius (*Comment. ad Iliadem* 1:479, l. 25, ed. Van der Valk [= 309, 12], “Boukephala”); Yakut (*Mushtarik* p. 23; see Fraser, *Cities* 55); see also above, n. 2. For the evolution of other toponyms or ethnics cf., for example, ANTIOCH near Daphne and SELEUKEIA in Pieria.

Arrian twice mentions Boukephala, at 5.19.4 (Alexander καὶ τὴν μὲν Νίκαιαν τῆς νίκης τῆς κατ’ Ἰνδῶν ἐπώνυμον ὠνόμασε, τὴν δὲ

Βουκεφάλαν ἕς τοῦ ἵππου τοῦ Βουκεφάλα τὴν μνήμην) and at 5.29.5 (Alexander καὶ τὸν Ἀκεσίνην αὖ διαβάς ἐπὶ τὸν Ὑδάσπην ἤκεν, ἵνα καὶ τῶν πόλεων τῆς τε Νικαίας καὶ τῶν Βουκεφάλων). The first occurrence is clearly a feminine singular. The question relates to the second. Tomaschek (*RE* s.v. “Bukephala”) understood this to be a neuter plural. In this he was followed by Radet (*REA* 43 [1941] 33 n. 4), Hamilton (*Comment.* 169), and Bosworth (*Comment.* 2:312–13). The latter noted the discrepancy; he correctly dismissed the probability of corruption in either passage and suggested that Arrian simply failed to reconcile the differing nomenclatures of his sources. This is, of course, possible. Note, however, that Stephanos (s.v. “Boos Kephalai”) says that the inhabitants of Boukephala were called Βουκεφαλεῖς. Admittedly Stephanos is not always the most reliable source. If, however, the information he is providing is valid, then it may be that at 5.29.5 Arrian was referring to the city by its ethnic rather than by its toponym. The occurrence of the toponym in the Latin sources (see above) also exhibits some diversity.

Under “Boukephaleia” Stephanos gives the ethnic as Βουκεφαλίται.

7. For **the settlements being opposite each other** see, for example, (1) Arrian (5.19.4), who said Alexander founded cities (a) where the battle was fought and (b) at the place from which he set out to cross the Hydaspes; (2) Diodorus (17.89.6), who claimed Alexander founded two cities, (a) one beyond the river where he crossed and (b) one at the place where he defeated Poros; (3) Strabo (15.1.29), who said Alexander founded cities on either side of the Hydaspes, where (a) having crossed the river, (b) he conquered Poros; (4) Stephanos (s.v. “Boos Kephalai”), who noted that Alexander founded cities on both sides of the Hydaspes, Nikaia [and] Boukephala, (a) where he had crossed and (b) where the battle was fought and his horse died; i.e., he placed Boukephala on the east bank (see below, n. 8). Aulus Gellius (5.2.5) located it “in isdem locis,” and the *Metz Epitome* (62) “in eo loco” (i.e., where the battle had been fought). See further, for example, E. Lamotte, *BEFEO* 44 (1947–1950) 150, 157; Hammond, *Sources* 110–12; Hamilton, *Comment.* 169–70; Bosworth, *Comment.* 2:311–12.

8. For the **location** of Boukephala see the discussions of Aurel Stein (*GJ* 80 [1932] 44; *Indian Antiquary* 61 (1932) 185; and *Archaeological Reconnaissances* 32), who suggested Jalalpur in the Punjab as the site; followed by, for example, Fraser, *Cities* 161 and n. 108; see also Radet, *REA* 37 (1935) 349–56; id., *REA* 43 (1941) 33–40. See earlier Cunningham (*Geography* 202–4), who also opted for Jalalpur or, less probably, Dilawar. For Jhelum as the possible site see, for example, Smith, *Early History* 74–75; Berve, *Alexanderreich* 1:294; Errington, *OCD*³ s.v.

“Bucephalas.” Tarn’s claim (*Alexander* 2:236–37) that Boukephala was located on the east bank of the Hydaspes (modern Jhelum) River and Nikaia on the west bank is not convincing; contra: for example, Radet, *REA* 43 (1941) 35–39; Hamilton, *Comment.* 169–70 (map on p. 168); Bosworth, *Comment.* 2:312; Fraser, *Cities* 162 n. 111.

Tarn also argued that Boukephala was the capital of the Indo-Greek king, Hippostratos (*GBI*² 326–27). In support of this he pointed to the “City” silver issues of the latter, which he claimed were minted at Boukephala (for silver coins of Hippostratos see Bopearachchi, *Monnaies* 356–58). However, R. B. Whitehead objected (*NC* [1940] 110; see also Narain, *Indo-Greeks* 149–50) that if these coins were minted at Boukephala, we should expect that they would have been found in the area east of the Jhelum or in the vicinity (where Tarn would place Boukephala). This, however, is not the case, which is noted (and apparently accepted) by Tarn (*Alexander* 2:236, 451). See also Fraser, *Cities* 162 n. 111. In a personal communication, O. D. Hoover informs me that the coins of Hippostratos seem to be found in the western Punjab.

BYZANTION

Among the coastal cities of India was one called Byzantion.¹ Byzantion, was, of course, a Greek toponym. However, it has been reasonably suggested that Byzantion in India was probably a distortion of an Indian name;² hence, the name cannot be used as evidence for the existence of a Greek settlement. Byzantion was located on the west coast of India, probably at the site of the modern Vijayadurg.³

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In general see Tomaschek, *RE* s.v. “Byzantion 2”; Tcherikover, *HS* 110.

1. For **literary references to Byzantion** see, for example, *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* 53; Stephanos, s.v. “Byzantion”; Ptol. 7.1.7; Anon. [Aethicus] *Cosmographia* I.6 (in A. Reise, *Geographi Latini Minores* [Heilbronn, 1878] p. 74; on the [unknown] authorship of this treatise see C. Nicolet, *JS* [1986] 160–63 and n. 10). Tomaschek suggested that Pisauta in the *Tab. Peut.* (XI.5) should be identified with Byzantion.

2. For the likely suggestion that **the name Byzantion was probably the distortion of a native name** see, for example, E. Warmington, *Commerce* 68 (“It is a mistake to suppose that places like Byzantion on the

Indian coast were Greek settlements or factories, for the distortion of Indian names accounts for these apparent settlements of Roman subjects"); followed by P. Meile, *JA* 232 (1940) 119. See also L. Casson (*Periplus* 216), who remarked: "The suggestion that, because of its name, this was a Greek colony is totally without validity." For the suggestion that **Byzantion represented a Greek colony** see, for example, Vidal de la Blache, *CRAI* (1896) 462 n. 1; K. N. Sivaraja Pillai, *Tamils* 117, 174; G. Fiaccadori, *PdP* 213 (1983) 444 (and additional references).

3. For the **location of Vijayadurg** see Casson, *Periplus* 297 and map 17. For the **identification of Byzantion with Vijayadurg** see, for example, Tomaschek, *RE* s.v. "Byzantion 2"; Sircar, *Cosmography* 116.

CHARIS

The possibility that there was a Charis in India is suggested by the appearance of the personal name Charisios in the apocryphal Acts of Thomas (82, 87, etc.).¹

* * * *

1. For **Charisios** in the Acts of Thomas see H. J. W. Drijvers in W. Schneemelcher, ed., *New Testament Apocrypha* (Cambridge and Louisville, 1992) 2:371ff. See also A. von Sallet, *ZfN* 6 (1879) 300; Brodersen, *Komment.* 160; CHARIS in Parthia. Charis is also attested as a personal name; see the *LGPN*.

DAIDALA

There are two extant references to Daidala in India: Ptolemy (7.1.49) and Stephanos (s.v. "Daidala").¹

There was a *chorion* called Daidala in the Rhodian Peraia (Strabo 14.2.2). Stephanos (s.v. "Daidala") says Daidala in the Rhodian Peraia was either a *polis* or a *chorion*. Daidala was also the name of a mountain in Lycia (Stephanos s.v. "Daidala"; Ptolemy 5.3.2). In addition there was probably a city of this name in Crete (Stephanos s.v. "Daidala"). And in the Parapamisadai the name was apparently given both to a district (Curtius Rufus 8.10.19) and to the mountains there (Justin 12.7.9; Orosius 3.19.1).² We do not know whether the settlers living at Daidala in India

originated in Crete, Asia Minor, or the Parapamisadai.³

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In general, see Tomaschek, *RE* s.v. “Daidala 1 and 2”; Bürchner, *RE* s.v. “Daidala 3”; Ruge, *RE* s.v. “Daidala 4 and 5”; Tcherikover, *HS* 110; Tarn, *GBI*² 249–50; W. Heckel, *Justin Commentary* 240.

1. Meineke in his edition punctuated the text of Stephanos as follows: ἔστι καὶ Ἰνδικῆς καὶ Κρήτης ἄλλη (followed by Billerbeck and Zubler in their edition). Dindorf punctuated it ἔστι καὶ Ἰνδικῆς καὶ Κρήτης ἄλλη. Tarn (*GBI*² 250 and n. 2) followed Dindorf’s reading and remarked (not convincingly): “This does not mean one in India and one in Crete, but ‘there is another Daedala Indian and Cretan’, i.e., Indo-Cretan, a Cretan community in India.” For Daidala in the Rhodian Peraia see Radt, *Kommentar* 8:66 and references cited there.

2. In the Loeb edition J. C. Rolfe remarked: “See *montes Daedalos*, Justin xii.7; otherwise unknown” with reference to Curtius Rufus 8.10.19.

3. For **other colonies in Asia (some of whose) settlers may have originated in Asia Minor** (rather than on the Greek mainland) see, for example, RAS IBN HANI on the Mediterranean coast in Syria, AMPELON E on the Arabian Red Sea coast, and TRAPEZOUS in the Persian Gulf region.

DEMETRIAS IN SIND

In the first edition of the *GBI* Tarn claimed that the town Dattamitri mentioned in a *scholion* to the grammarian Patanjali (and in the *Mahabharata*) referred to a Demetrias in Sind in the lower Indus valley; furthermore, he claimed this Demetrias was the refounded port city of PATALA.¹ E. H. Johnston argued decisively against the Dattamitri = Demetrias equation;² in the second edition of the *GBI* Tarn accepted the refutation.³

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1. *GBI*² 142.

2. *JRAS* (1939) 217–40; *JRAS* (1940) 189–93; followed by Narain, *Indo-Greeks* 39–40. Cf. Tarn, *JRAS* (1940) 179–89.

3. *GBI*² 526 (“It must now be taken that the *Mahabharata* does not mention Demetrias”).

IOMOUSA

See ALEXANDREIA [?] at the Junction of the Akesines and Indus, n. 3.

KALLIOPE

See ALEXANDREIA [?] at the Junction of the Akesines and Indus, n. 3.

LEUKE

The *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (53) and Ptolemy (7.1.95) mention Leuke, an island off the southwest coast of India. Most scholars assume that the references are to the same place and identify this either with Pigeon Island, south of Karwar, or with Angedive Island, further south.¹ The name calls to mind various places, such as LEUKE KOMÉ on the Red Sea coast, LEUKE KOMÉ and LEUKAS BALANAIA on the Phoenician coast, and places in Greece. Nevertheless, there is no extant information to indicate this was a Hellenistic settlement.

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In general see Fabricius *Periplus* 159; Wecker, *RE* s.v. “Leuke 3”; Tcherikover, *HS* 110; Berthelot, *Asie* 356; Casson, *Periplus* 217.

1. For the **location** of Leuke at Pigeon Island see, for example, Warmington, *Commerce* 57; Schoff, *Periplus* 203; Casson, *Periplus* 217, 297 and map 17 on p. 295; see also Huntingford, *Periplus* 115 (“perhaps Hog Island or Pigeon Island”). Cf. Müller, *GGM* 1:296, followed by Lassen, *Ind. Alter.* 3.166; Fabricius *Periplus* 159; Wecker, *RE* s.v. “Leuke 3,” who identified Leuke with Angedive Island.

Berthelot (*Asie* 355–56 and map 12 facing p. 328) claimed the Leuke mentioned by Ptolemy and the *Periplus* were two distinct places. He pointed out that Ptolemy’s Leuke was, according to his coordinates, 400 km from Angedive Island. Note, however, that (a) Ptolemy’s information is not always reliable (see Casson, *Periplus* 294: “Ptolemy is of scant help, since his sites often do not coincide and, in addition, he omits some of the

Periplus' listings [or gives them different names] and shifts the position of others") and (b) the identification of Leuke with Angedive is not definite.

MASSAGA

See ORA in India.

[CHIEF CITY OF] MUSIK ANO S/OI

According to Arrian (6.15.7, 17.1) and Curtius Rufus (9.8.8-10) Alexander ordered Krateros to fortify the citadel in Musikanos's city and to place a garrison there. Subsequently, Musikanos revolted; as a result Alexander moved against the rebellious cities and fortified and garrisoned some of them. There is no indication in the extant sources that Alexander founded a settlement there.

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In general see Droysen, *Hist.* 2:684; Cunningham, *Geography* 294-95; Berve, *Alexanderreich* 1:272; Tcherikover, *HS* 109; Eggermont, *Punjab* 110.

NAGARA DIONYSOPOLIS

Among the cities of India Ptolemy (7.1.43) records a "Nagara which is [also known as] Dionysopolis." Presumably the latter toponym indicates the presence of Greek colonists at the town.¹ W. W. Tarn suggested that nickel and bronze coins of Agathokles and Pantaleon bearing a portrait of Dionysos on the obverse should be assigned to this settlement.²

Nagara was probably located in Gandhara near Jalalabad at the site of the modern Nagarahara.³

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In general see Lassen, *Ind. Alter.* 2:335, 3:137; Tomaschek, *RE* s.v. "Dionysopolis 3"; Cunningham, *Geography* 53-54; Tcherikover, *HS* 107; Tarn, *GBI*² 158-59, 244.

1. Tarn has suggested (*GBI*² 11, 159; see also *Alexander* 2:249) that the form of the toponym Dionysopolis—like Alexandropolis and Macedonopolis—indicates it was a Greek military colony; contra: R. Burn, *JRAS* (1941) 68. Tarn's rejoinder (*Alexander* 2:249 n. 2) is weak: "A reviewer of *Bactria and India* . . . took me to task for saying that the name Alexandropolis meant a military colony. There is no explicit statement, as I have said. But the evidence here given for Alexandropolis in Thrace is, to any one who understands the Hellenistic world, conclusive that it could not have been a *polis*; it was therefore a military colony, as indeed Plutarch implies, there being no third possibility. The other two places follow."

2. Tarn, *GBI*² 158. For **coins of Agathokles and Pantaleon with Dionysos on the obverse and panther on the reverse** see, for example, *BMC Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India* 9-11, nos. 1-2, 6-8; *SNG (Cop) Parthia-India* 266; Mitchiner, *Indo-Greek Coinage* 1:84, no. 160; O. Bopearachchi, *Monnaies gréco-bactriennes* series 5 (pp. 173-74), series 4-5 (pp. 181-82); *SNG ANS* 9:233-38, 262-63; R. Audoin and P. Bernard, *RN* (1974) 30; and Lévêque in *Inde* 134-35. On **Dionysos in India** see Dihle in *India* 47-57; and Lévêque in *Inde* 125-37; for **Dionysiac motifs in the art of Bactria and Sogdiana** see Abdullaev in *Afghanistan ancien carrefour* 227-40. In general see Tarn, *GBI*² 158-59.

In 1879 P. Gardner suggested that the monograms \uparrow , Δ , \triangle , Δ , etc. on coins found in the Oxus hoard could be read to indicate the mint of Dionysopolis, which he equated with NYSA (*NC* [1879] 12; noted earlier by Lassen, *Ind. Alter.* 2:335; Cunningham, *NC* [1868] 199; id., *Geography* 54; for the suggested identification of Dionysopolis with NYSA in India see that entry). On the other hand, H. Howorth located the mint at Nissa (i.e., NISAIA) in Parthia (*NC* [1888] 293-99). Finally, Narain suggested that these coins were minted at AĪ KHANOUM, which, he believed, bore the name Dionysopolis or Diodoteia or Diodotopolis (*CAH*² 8:395-96; see AĪ KHANOUM, n. 29; and Bopearachchi in *Travaux Le Rider* 80-81).

3. For the **location** of Nagara at Nagarahara see Lassen, *Ind. Alter.* 3:137 and n. 5; see also Cunningham, *Geography* 53-54. On Nagarahara see, for example, Hiuen Tsiang, *Buddhist Records* 1:91, trans. Beal; Foucher, *CRAI* (1927) 119-21; id. in *Etudes asiatiques* 1:276-80; Grousset, *Buddha* 95-96; Tarn, *GBI*² 159, 244, and map 3 at end.

NIKAIA

According to Arrian (5.19.4), after the battle of the Hydaspes River Alexander founded two cities, one where the battle was fought and one at

the crossing of the Hydaspes; one was called Nikaia from the victory, and the other BOUKEPHALA in memory of his horse.¹ Alexander apparently established the cities, then marched eastward. Upon his return he actually named them.² No coinage survives that can definitely be ascribed to Nikaia.³ Although the exact location of Nikaia is still not known, most scholars suggest it was on the east bank of the Jhelum (Hydaspes) River, and Boukephala on the west.⁴

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In general see Droysen, *Hist.* 2:683–84; Stein, *RE* s.v. “Nikaia 9”; Berve, *Alexanderreich* 1:294; Tcherikover, *HS* 108; Foucher, *Vieille Route* 205 and map on 204; R. Audoin and P. Bernard, *RN* (1974) 30; Bosworth, *Comment.* 2:311–13; Fraser, *Cities* 70, 161; see also the discussion and literature in the entry BOUKEPHALA.

1. For **other literary sources that mention Nikaia** see, for example, Diod. 17.95.5; Strabo 15.1.29; Curtius Rufus 9.3.23; Justin 12.8.8; Orosius 3.19.4; Stephanos, s.vv. “Boos Kephalai” and “Nikaia 4”; *Itinerarium Alexandri* 104 (ed. Hausmann); see also BOUKEPHALA, nn. 2 and 6.

While BOUKEPHALA frequently appears in the list of foundations attributed to Alexander found at the end of (most recensions of) the *Alexander Romance* and the later tradition, Nikaia does not. On the other hand, Alexandria by Poros is attested, for example, in the Greek A recension (3.35, ed. Kroll), the B recension (3.35, ed. Bergson), Julius Valerius (3.35, ed. Rosellini), the *Chronicon Paschale* (p. 321, ed. Dindorf), as well as Lagarde, *Analecta Syriaca* 207 (“which is in the country of king Porus,” trans. Wallis Budge in his English translation of the Syriac version of the *Romance*, p. 161) and Armenian versions (286, “Alexandria for Poros,” trans. Wolohojian). In the Greek B recension and in the *Chronicon Paschale*, Alexandria by Poros follows immediately after Alexandria Boukephala. Surprisingly, most scholars do not mention Alexandria by Poros. However, Tarn—who made use of the list at the end of the *Alexander Romance*—assumed that Alexandria by Poros should be equated with Nikaia (*Alexander* 2:243).

2. For the discussion and sources regarding **the interval between the founding and the naming of both Boukephala and Nikaia** see BOUKEPHALA.

3. Stein (*RE* s.v. “Nikaia 9”) rejected the suggestion of E. J. Rapson (in *CHI* 1:551, 553, 556, 588) that restruck coins of Strato with Nike on the

reverse (e.g., Mitchiner, *Indo-Greek Coinage* 2:180, no. 333; Bopearachchi, *Monnaies* 263–64) should be ascribed to this Nikaia, and those with the ox head to BOUKEPHALA.

4. For the probable **location** of Nikaia on the east bank of the Jhelum see BOUKEPHALA, n. 8. Cunningham (*Geography* 204–5, map on p. 182) suggested it was located 10 km east of Jalalpur at Mong; Berve (*Alexanderreich* 1:294) followed Smith's suggestion that it was in the region of Sukchainpur (*Early History* 75 and map on p. 71). On the commercial importance of the site see A. Dupont-Sommer, *CRAI* (1970) 158–73; R. Audoin and P. Bernard, *RN* (1974) 30 n. 7.

On the other hand, note A. Stein, *GJ* 80 (1932) 43–44; id., *Indian Antiquary* 61 (1932) 185; in the latter he concluded it was “impossible to indicate the site of Nikaia.”

NYSA

Arrian mentions the city of Nysa between the Kophen and Indus rivers and says it was founded by Dionysos (5.1.1).¹ There is no scholarly agreement as to the identification of the site of Nysa.² Despite the prominence of Nysa in Greek mythology and the connection with Dionysos, there is no substantive evidence that Nysa in India was a Hellenistic settlement.

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In general see, for example, Tcherikover, *HS* 107; Narain, *Indo-Greeks* 2; Bosworth, *Comment.* 2:160–61, 198–207.

1. On **Dionysos in India** see, for example, Dihle in *India* 47–57; Lévêque in *Inde* 125–37. On **Alexander at Nysa** see also Arr. *Ind.* 1.5; Curtius Rufus 8.10.7–18; *Metz Epitome* 36 (ed. Thomas); Bosworth, *Arrian* 69–70; id., *Comment.* 2:198–99 (bibliography on p. 199); Goukowsky, *Essai* 2:21–33.

2. On **the difficulty of identifying the site of Nysa** see Bosworth, *Comment.* 2:160–61, 200–201. Cunningham suggested identifying Nysa with NAGARA DIONYSOPOLIS and locating it at Begram (*Geography* 53–54); followed by P. Gardner (*NC* [1879] 12); Tcherikover (*HS* 107); Newell, *ESM* 228; and H. P. Ray (in *Memory as History* 113). Contra: H. H. Howorth (*NC* [1888] 294–95, 297–99), who—less convincingly—equated it with Nissa in Parthia.

ORA, MASSAGA, AND BAZIRA

According to Arrian (4.28.4) Alexander made Ora and Massaga into fortresses for the region and fortified Bazira as a *polis*.¹ There is nothing in the extant evidence to indicate that Alexander founded settlements at any of these cities.

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In general see Tcherikover, *HS* 107; Eggermont, *OLP* 1 (1970) 66–68; Bosworth, *Comment.* 2:169–70, 176–77.

1. The text regarding Bazira reads: τὰ Βάζιρα δὲ πόλιν ἐξετείχισε. In the Teubner edition Roos added <τὴν> before πόλιν.

OROBATIS

According to Arrian (4.28.5), Hephaestion and Perdikkas built a wall around the city of Orobatis and left a garrison there. There is no indication that they actually founded a settlement there.

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In general see Tcherikover, *HS* 107; Stein, *RE* s.v. “Orobatis”; Eggermont, *OLP* 1 (1970) 71–74; id., *Punjab* 23; Bosworth, *Comment.* 2:182–83.

PANTIPOLIS

Ptolemy (7.1.86) includes Pantipolis among the cities in the area of the mouth of the Ganges. There is no other extant information about Pantipolis.

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In general see Tcherikover, *HS* 110; Kanakasabhai, *The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago* 17.

PATALA

According to Arrian (6.18.1, 20.1) Alexander ordered Hephaestion to fortify the citadel and naval station at Patala and to build dockyards there.¹ Diodorus (3.47.9 = Agatharchides 105b [Burstein]) mentions Potana, a city built by Alexander on the Indus because he wanted to have a naval station on the seashore. J.-G. Droysen identified Potana with Patala.² The exact site of Patala is not known; most likely it was located in the area between Hyderabad and the Bahmanabad.³

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In general see Tomaschek, *Erläuterung* 6–8; Smith, *Early History* 106–9; Berve, *Alexanderreich* 1:297; Renou, *Ptolémée* 85 (Greek and Latin sources); Tcherikover, *HS* 109; Eggermont, *Sind and Baluchistan* 27–29, 37–38, 189–90, et passim; Burstein, *Agatharchides* 169 n. 3; Bosworth, *Conquest* 249; Fraser, *Cities* 71, 73.

1. In his short entry on Patala, Berve (*Alexanderreich* 1:297) adds: “cf. Justin 12.10.6.” Justin there says: “Ibi in monumenta a se rerum gestarum urbem Barcem condidit arasque statuit relicto ex numero amicorum litoralibus Indis praefecto” (ed. Semi). The reading “Barcem” is suspect; presumably Berve did not accept it. See also BARKE, n. 1.

2. Droysen, *Hist.* 2:685 and n. 5, followed by Burstein, *Agatharchides* 169 n. 3. In the first edition of *GBI* (142) Tarn postulated the existence of a DEMETRIAS in Sind, which he also suggested was the refounded Patala. He withdrew this suggestion in the second edition (526). Note, however, that Fraser (*Alexandria* 1:181, 184) subscribed to the Demetrias-Patala identification.

3. On the **location** of Patala see, in general, M. Kervran, *CRAI* (1995) 283–84. Cunningham (*Geography* 320), Warmington (*Commerce* 55), and Kervran (*CRAI* [1995] 284–86) placed Patala at or near the site of Hyderabad. Haig (*Delta* 18–19) suggested it was located near a spot 56 km southeast of Hyderabad. H. H. Wilson (*Ariana* 211 and map facing p. 214) and V. A. Smith (*Early History* 106) put it at or near Bahmanabad (i.e., 76 km northeast of Hyderabad and 21 km southeast of Shahdadpur). Eggermont (*Sind and Baluchistan* 27, 189–90, and map 2 on p. 30) located it south of Bahmanabad and northeast of Nasarpur.

As regards the relationship of Patala to XYLINEPOLIS, in a personal communication (January 12, 2011), A. B. Bosworth writes: “My feeling (now) is that two separate foundations are at issue. Xylinepolis is described as the first staging point on the voyage to the west, which was

founded by Leonnatus on Alexander's instructions. Patala was at a significant distance from the delta, and it could have been exploited as a source of native labour (Arr. *Anab.* 6.18,1). I would place Patala at the confluence some way above the coast, and then Xylinepolis at the crossing of the river Hab. Alexandria itself was duly established by Alexander and Leonnatus, again to the west." See, earlier, Bosworth, *Conquest* 249.

PENTAPOLIS

Ptolemy (7.2.2) is our only extant source for Pentapolis; he includes it among the cities at the mouth of the Ganges. It is quite possible that the toponym Pentapolis is simply the translation or the "imitative rendering" (so Gerini) of a native name. That possibility and its location on the east (rather than the west) coast of India renders it unlikely that Pentapolis originated as a Hellenistic settlement.¹

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In general, see Gerini, *Researches*² 35–36; Stein, *RE* s.v. "Pentapolis."

1. Berthlolet (*Asie* 379 and map 9 bis opp. p. 296) identified Pentapolis with the modern Chittagong (the main seaport of Bangladesh); Sircar (*Cosmography* 137) identified it with Panchibi in the Bogra district (in northern Bangladesh).

PUSHKALAVATI

The site of Pushkalavati has been identified with a series of mounds near Charsada in the Peshawar plain, 5 kilometers from the present junction of the Swat and Kabul rivers and 30 kilometers northeast of Peshawar.¹ The highest mound, Bala Hisar, was occupied as early as the sixth century B.C. Approximately 1 kilometer northeast of Bala Hisar is another mound, Shaikhan. Aerial photographs of the latter revealed the existence of a grid plan with a series of parallel streets, mainly 36 meters apart.² In short, the photographs indicated that it was, according to M. Wheeler, "an Indo-Greek city with the characteristically Hellenistic features of its kind."³ Three coin hoards have been found. Coins from one of the hoards included those of Indo-Greek rulers of the mid-second to the mid-first century B.C. A little terra-cotta *putto* of classical type was also found in the Hellenistic

level.⁴

Thus, it appears that in the second or first century B.C. Pushkalavati was removed from its older location at Bala Hisar to a new site at Shaikhan (cf. the similar situation at TAXILA).⁵ It is not clear to what degree the city was laid out by the Indo-Greeks or by the Indo-Parthians who succeeded them.⁶ Nevertheless, the likelihood is strong that the settlement at Shaikhan was originally established by one of the later Indo-Greek rulers. By whom we do not know.⁷

The Greek name of Pushkalavati was Peukelaotis.⁸ Peukelaos is attested as the name of two (and possibly three) Macedonians as well as of an Indo-Greek king. However, it is more likely that the toponym represented the Hellenization of Pushkalavati than that it was derived from the name of the Macedonians or the king.⁹

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In general see Cunningham, *Geography* 56–59; Rapson in *CHI* 1:557–58; Stein, *RE* s.v. “Peukelaotis”; J. Marquart, *Untersuchungen* 2:179; id., *Eranshahr* 241; Tarn, *GBI*² 136, 237 n. 5, 244–45; Narain, *Indo-Greeks* 151; M. Wheeler, *Charsada* (Oxford, 1962), esp. 1–5; id., *Persepolis* 98–102; Schwarz, *KP* s.v. “Peukelaotis”; Caroe, *Pathans* 48–49; Treidler, *RE* s.v. “Proklais 1 and 2”; Eggermont, *OLP* 1 (1970) 107 and n. 168; id., *Punjab* 57; André and Filliozat, *Pline VI. 2* 90; Bosworth, *Comment.* 2:149–50, 183–84.

For the results of the archaeological excavation see Wheeler, *Charsada* 9–127; A. H. Dani, *Ancient Pakistan* 2 (1965–1966) 17–214; R. Coningham and I. Ali, *Charsadda* (Oxford, 2007); and <http://www.arch.cam.ac.uk/pushkalavati>; Mairs, *Hellenistic Far East* 37.

1. For the **location** of Pushkalavati see Cunningham, *Geography* 56–58; Foucher, *Vieille Route* 41–43 and 206 (map); Tarn, *GBI*² 136 and map 3 at end. On Pushkalavati see, for example, Wheeler, *Charsada* 1–15 and maps on pp. 2 and 4 (for a plan of the excavation site see p. 11); Puri, *Cities* 90–92.

2. For the mound of Shaikhan see Wheeler, *Charsada* 16–17 and pls. XIV–XVI; Dani, Rehman, and Fidaullah, *Ancient Pakistan* 2 (1966) 17–214.

3. Wheeler, *Persepolis* 101.

4. For the **coins discovered at Shaikhan** see, for example, H. L. Haughton, *NC* (1940) 123–26; Wheeler, *Charsada* 17. According to Haughton, who secured twenty-one coins from the first hoard and

recorded others, there were coins of Menander, Strato with Agathokleia, Amyntas, Diomedes, Philoxenos, Hermaios, Hermaios with Kalliope, Antialkidas, and Antimachos Nikephoros. Thus the hoard covers the mid-second to the mid-first century B.C. Haughton also called attention to a second hoard that was apparently also Indo-Greek. In the course of his excavation at Shaikhan, Dani discovered as many as 475 coins (*Ancient Pakistan* [1965–1966] 35–38); among these were coins of Agathokles, Menander, Apollodotos, Antialkidas, Heliokles, Lysias, Telephos, and Philoxenos. A third, small find—probably from a hoard—was also discovered, apparently in the neighborhood of Charsada (H. Bivar, *NC* [1965] 71–79). It included coins of Menander, Antimachos, Nikephoros, Zoilos, Lysias, and Antialkidas.

Tarn, writing before the discovery of the settlement at Shaikhan, claimed that Pushkalavati became a Greek *polis* (*GBI*² 135–37, 336). In support, he called attention to the appearance of the Fortune of the city on kings' coins and a single gold coin of the city itself (Obv., r. *Pakhalavadi devada*; l. illegible Kharoshthi legend, city goddess wearing a mural crown and holding a lotus in her right hand; Rev., humped bull and the legend ΤΑΥΡΟΣ and a Kharoshthi word [*BMC Indian Coins* p. 162 = Rapson in *CHI* 1:587]). Note, however, that the latter coin is undated; furthermore, O. D. Hoover informs me that there is some question about the authenticity of the coin.

For the **terra-cotta putto** see Wheeler, *Persepolis* 101–2.

5. Wheeler (*Charsada* 13–14) called attention to the analogous history of Pushkalavati and TAXILA.

6. Wheeler, *Charsada* 16–17.

7. **Founder.** Dani (*Ancient Pakistan* [1965–1966] 23) suggested the settlement was founded by Menander in the mid-second century B.C.

8. **Peukelaotis** is mentioned in the following Greek and Latin sources (I have not given the variant spellings attested in the MSS):

Strabo 15.1.27: ἤδη δὲ πρὸς τῷ Ἰνδοῦ πάλιν ἄλλη πόλις Πευκολαΐτις, πρὸς ἧ ζεῦγμα κτλ.

Arrian *Anab.* 4.22.7: ἐς τὴν Πευκελαῶτιν χώραν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰνδὸν ποταμόν

Arrian *Anab.* 4.28.6: καὶ πόλιν τε Πευκελαῶτιν οὐ πόρρω τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ὠκισμένην

Arrian *Ind.* 1.8: ἄλλη πόλις Πευκελαΐτις, μεγάλη καὶ αὐτή, οὐ μακρὰν τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ

Arrian *Ind.* 4.11: Κωφὴν δὲ ἐν Πευκελαΐτιδι

Pliny *NH* 6.62: “ad flumen Copheta et oppidum Indorum Peucolatim”

Pliny *NH* 6.78: ‘Peucolitae’

Pliny *NH* 6.94: “oppida Peucolis”

Ptolemy 7.1.44: Ποκλαίς (Ποκλάεις)

Periplus of the Erythraean Sea 47, 48: Προκλ<α>ΐδος

It is possible that there were two cities of the same name: (a) the capital of Gandhara near Charsada (the present Pushkalavati) that is mentioned in the Indian and Arabic as well as some of the Greek and Latin sources (on this see Stein, *RE* s.v. “Peukelaotis”) and (b) another city (exact location unknown) near the Indus that is mentioned only by Arrian (*Anab.* 4.28.6 and *Ind.* 1.8) and Strabo (15.1.27); see further Bosworth, *Comment.* 2:183–84.

For Alexander at Peukelaotis see E. Badian, *CQ* (1987) 117–28.

9. Curtius Rufus (6.7.15, 9.5; 7.10.10) mentions **two Macedonians named Peukolaos**. A third (fictional?) Peukolaos is mentioned in *Alexander Romance* 3.32. See Berve, *Alexanderreich* 2:319, nos. 636–38; and Heckel, *Who’s Who* 205–6. The *LGPN* lists twelve persons with this name.

The Indo-Greek king Peukolaos is known from coins; see, for example, Bopearachchi, *Monnaies* 106, 309. Cf. Tarn’s reservations (*GBI*² 245).

SAGALA EUTHYMEDIA

According to Ptolemy (7.1.46) Sagala was also known as Euthymedia. In 1738 T. Bayer suggested emending the text to Euthydemia.¹ On this reading, the settlement would have been named in honor of Euthydemus. This attractive emendation found considerable—though not universal—acceptance. Thus, W. W. Tarn challenged the emendation and convincingly demonstrated that the modification to Euthydemia was unwarranted and that the real name was, in fact, Euthymedia.² Sagala was probably located east of the Akesines (Chenab) River in the northern Punjab at the site of the modern Pakistani city of Sialkot.³

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1. T. Bayer, *Historia Regni Graecorum Bactriani* (St. Petersburg, 1738) 84–85; followed, for example, by Droysen, *Hist.* 2:752 n. 2; Kiessling, *RE* s.v. “Euthydemeia”; Herrmann, *RE* s.v. “Sagala 1”; Tcherikover, *HS* 108; Renou *Ptolémée* 21; Foucher, *Vieille Route* 2:274–75; Berthelot, *Asie* 286 (and map 8 facing p. 264); Stückelberger and Grasshoff in their edition of Ptolemy (see also 2:710 n. 52). Accepted with reservations by MacDonald in *CHI* 446. Cf. the reading “Marganiam” in Curtius Rufus 7.10.15. This was emended to “Margianam” as far back as the sixteenth century; the emendation has been accepted in most—though not all—modern editions. Cf. A. B. Bosworth, *JHS* 101 (1981) 23–26; see also ALEXANDREIA/ANTIOCH in Margiana, n. 2.

2. Tarn, *GBI*² 247–49, 486–87; followed, for example, by Narain, *Indo-Greeks* 81; see also Eggermont in *Studia Naster* 2:66–67.

3. For the **location** see, for example, Smith, *Early History* 78 n. 2; A. Foucher, *Vieille Route* 2:274, 398; Tarn, *GBI*² 247; cf. Narain (*Indo-Greeks* 81), who reserved judgment on the identification of Sagala and Euthydemia/ Euthymedia and its location at Sialkot.

SALAGISSA

Ptolemy (7.1.48) includes Salagissa in his list of cities in India. According to Strabo (12.6.5), Sagalassos in Pisidia was also known by the alternative name, Selgessos.¹ The latter form of the toponym suggests that the town in India may have been a colony of Pisidian settlers, named for their original home. We do not know the exact location.²

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In general see Herrmann, *RE* s.v. “Salagissa”; Tarn, *GBI*² 250–51.

1. On Pisidia and Sagalassos in the Hellenistic period see H. Bracke and M. Waelkens in Waelkens, ed., *Sagalassos* (Leuven, 1993) 1:15–29, 37–45.

2. Herrmann (*RE* s.v. “Salagissa”) suggested Salagissa was located in the eastern Punjab.

TAXILA

Taxila (Takshasila), one of the largest and most important cities of ancient India, was located 35 kilometers west of Rawalpindi.¹ The city occupied a

number of sites in succession. It was originally located on the Bhir Mound. This was undoubtedly the site that Alexander visited and where he left infirm soldiers (Arr. 5.8.3).² Around the beginning of the second century B.C. the city was moved to Sirkap, northeast of the Bhir Mound.³ In contrast to “the crooked streets and haphazard planning” of the settlements of the Bhir Mound, the settlement at Sirkap was laid out—like PUSHKALAVATI at Shaikhan—on a typical, Hellenistic grid pattern.⁴ Furthermore, various Graeco-Roman objects have been found at Sirkap and in the surrounding region.⁵ In addition, among other temples found in the vicinity, a large one of semiclassical design has been discovered near Sirkap.⁶ There was a major Indo-Greek royal mint at Taxila.⁷ Furthermore, Philostratus observed: “Taxila, they tell us, is about as big as Nineveh and was fortified fairly well after the manner of Greek cities” (*Life of Apollonius* 2.20).⁸

All of this, of course, may reflect to a greater or lesser degree, Hellenistic and Graeco-Roman influences on Taxila. It does not, however, prove there was actually an organized, Hellenistic settlement at Taxila.⁹

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In general see Tcherikover, *HS* 107–8; Herrmann, *RE* s.v. “Taxila”; Renou, *Ptolémée* 88 (Greek and Latin sources); Tarn, *GBI*² 137, 179, 245; Narain, *Indo-Greeks* 31 et passim; Wheeler, *Persepolis* 103–20; Marshall, *A Guide to Taxila*; Dar, *Ta hellēnistika stoicheia* and English summary in id., *Taxila and Hellenism*; B. Rowland Jr., *AJA* 39 (1935) 489–96; Brunt, *Arrian* 2:471–72; Puri, *Cities* 113–17; Dani, *Historic City of Taxila*; Bosworth, *Comment.* 2:221–22; André and Filliozat, *Pline VI.2* 90; K. Karttunen, *Arctos* 24 (1990) 85–96; F. Canali de Rossi, *I. Estremo Oriente* pp. 234–35; P. Bernard in *Coins* 51–98; Falk, *Asokan Sites* 252–53.

For the results of archaeological excavations at Taxila see Marshall, *Taxila*; A. Ghosh (postscript by R. E. M. Wheeler), *Ancient India, Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India* 4 (1944–1945) 41–84; Kenoyer in *Between the Empires* 39–40; Mairs, *Hellenistic Far East* 36.

1. For the **location** of Taxila see Marshall, *Taxila* 1:1–8; and map IV in Cunningham, *Geography* 55. For a map, plans, and photographs of the site see Marshall, *Taxila* vol. 3. For the topography and history of the site see Marshall, *Taxila* 1:1–78.

2. On the **Bhir Mound** see Marshall, *Taxila* 1:87–111; id., *Guide to Taxila* 47–59; Wheeler, *Persepolis* 102–11; Dani, *Historic City of Taxila* 81–88. Marshall identified stratum III (c. fourth century B.C.) at the Bhir Mound with the period of Alexander’s visit (*Taxila* 1:103; *Guide to Taxila*

47); cf. Dani (*Historic City of Taxila* 48), who suggested this stratum belonged to the Mauryan period and claimed that the remains of the time of Alexander have not yet been discovered.

For a dedication made by Alexander at or near Taxila see Philostratus *Life of Apollonius* 2.12 (= *I. Estremo Oriente* 400^L).

3. On **Sirkap** see Marshall, *Taxila* 1:112–213; id., *Guide to Taxila* 60–84; Wheeler, *Persepolis* 112–15; Dani, *Historic City of Taxila* 88–108.

4. See, for example, Wheeler, *Persepolis* 133; Marshall, *Taxila* 1:113; Dar, *Ta hellēnistika stoicheia* 73–89; id., *Taxila and Hellenism* 6–7.

5. For **Graeco-Roman objects found at Sirkap and vicinity** see, for example, J. Marshall, *JRAS* (1947) 3–32; id., *Taxila* 2:451, 512, 532, 565, 605, 607, 616, 641; B. Rowland Jr., *ArtB* 31 (1949) 1–10; Nehru, *Gandharan Style* 70, 94–97; Dani, *Taxila* 95.

6. For the **semiclassical temple**, located approximately 630 meters north of the northern gate of Sirkap at Jandial, see, for example, Marshall, *Taxila* 1:222–30; id., *Guide to Taxila* 85–89; Wheeler, *Persepolis* 115–17 (plan on p. 116); Dar, *Ta hellēnistika stoicheia* 105–19; id., *Taxila and Hellenism* 9; id., *JCA* 3 (1980) 93–102; Dani, *Historic City of Taxila* 112–13; Bernard in *Coins* 70–74. According to Marshall (*Taxila* 1:222 and pl. 44), “Its plan is unlike that of any temple yet known to us in India, but its resemblance to the classical temples of Greece is striking.” The plan was basically that of a Greek temple, with a *pronaos*, a *naos*, and at the rear an *opisthodomos*. Two features distinguished it from prototypical Greek temples: (a) the normal peristyle was replaced by a wall with large windows, and (b) between the *naos* and the *opisthodomos* was a solid mass of masonry—with a foundation of more than 20 feet below the temple floor—that was clearly designed to support a heavy superstructure; the mass was ascended by flights of broad stairs. This solid mass of masonry prompted Marshall to suggest its purpose was to serve as a foundation for a ziggurat and that it was designed for Magian or Zoroastrian worship. Marshall also noted the presence of Ionic columns (*Taxila* 1:223 and pl. 44; for a photograph see also Rowland, *AJA* 39 [1935] 492). In any event, the temple cannot be precisely dated. Marshall vacillated. In the text of *Taxila* (1:225) he inclined—hesitantly—to the view that both the Jandial temple and the Mohra Maliara building (see below) were built under the Sakas in the first century B.C. rather in the second century B.C. under the Greeks. But in a postscript written in 1951 he concluded that the Jandial temple dated to the “Greek period” (*Taxila* 1:229). Marshall identified this temple with the one described by Philostratus in his *Life of Apollonius* 2.20; contra: P. Bernard (in *Coins* 70–74), who argued convincingly against any resemblance between the temple described by Philostratus and the

building at Jandial.

Five hundred meters west of Sirkap, at Mohra Maliar, portions of Ionic capitals were discovered at a building that probably dated to the latter half of the first century B.C. (see, for example, Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India: Report for the Year 1872-73* 5 [1875; repr., 1966] 69-72; Wheeler, *Persepolis* 117; Rowland, *AJA* 39 [1935] 495 [with photograph]; Dar, *Ta hellēnistika stoicheia* 119-25; id., *Taxila and Hellenism* 10; id., *JCA* [1980] 106-11; Dar believed it was a Parthian temple; Dani, *Historic City of Taxila* 114-15, identified it as a Greek temple of “new design”).

With the Ionic capitals found at Taxila compare the fragments of an Ionic capital found at AĪ KHANOUM (n. 14) and the Ionic columns found at KHURHA.

7. For the **mint** at Taxila see R. Audoin and P. Bernard, *RN* (1974) 23-30. More than 12,000 coins (including coins of various Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek kings) were found by Marshall in the course of his excavation; see Marshall, R. B. Whitehead, E. H. C. Walsh, and J. Allan in *Taxila* 2:751-863 and especially 763-69 (chart of Greek coins found in Sirkap on 766-67). See also Dani, *Historic City of Taxila* 55, 59-66.

8. Bernard correctly dismissed the probative value of **Philostratus’s description of the city and fortifications of Taxila**: “These two features (i.e., its large size and the fortifications) are not particularly distinctive. The first is intended to bring to mind one of the preconceived ideas of the Greeks about the Orient, namely the colossal size of everything pertaining to it, the second to emphasize the Hellenic superiority over everything oriental” (in *Coins* 74).

9. On **the absence of evidence for a permanent Greek settlement** see, for example, Dani, *Historic City of Taxila* 92 (“The planning at Sirkap is certainly borrowed from the west, but it is strange that within the city no Greek temple, palace or theatre, or any other buildings associated particularly with the Greeks has so far been found. By contrast, each rectangular block contains houses planned in the oriental style and they are interspersed with Buddhist stupas and shrines”); see also Narain, *Indo-Greeks* 31 and n. 8.

Tarn suggested (*GBI*² 179) it was Demetrios I who transferred the population of the old Taxila to Sirkap; he described the new Taxila as “a strange foundation to be made by a Greek king, for what Demetrius built was not a Greek city but an Indian one, and an Indian city it remained; there is no indication that it ever became a Greek *polis* or bore Demetrius’ name.” See also Karttunen (*Arctos* [1990] 96): “Taxila was probably never a Greek polis in the proper meaning of the word, it was and remained in the first place an Indian town.” On the other hand, Dar (*Taxila and*

Hellenism 6-7) claimed—less convincingly—that the settlement at Taxila was a Greek *polis* and that it was founded by Menander.

THEOPHILA

Ptolemy (7.1.60) is our only extant source for the existence of Theophila, apparently east of the Indus Delta.¹ There have been two suggestions regarding the toponym: (a) it is a translation of the Sanskrit Suradara, that is, the love/veneration of the god and can therefore be seen as having the same meaning as Theophila,² or (b) it honored Theophila, the mother (?) of Demetrios and Apollodotos.³

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In general see Herrmann, *RE* s.v. “Theophila”; Tarn, *GBI*² 147, 234–35, 526; Narain, *Indo-Greeks* 94.

1. For a map demonstrating the possible **location** of Theophila see Berthelot, *Asie* map 11, opp. p. 312.

2. For **the suggestion that Theophila is a translation of a Sanskrit word** see Lassen, *Ind. Alter.* 3:143. Lassen also suggested it was located at the site of the modern Surdhaur.

3. For **the hypothesis that the settlement was named for Theophila** see Tarn, *GBI*² 147. Cf. Narain (*Indo-Greeks* 94), who was skeptical of Tarn’s claim and questioned whether Theophila was a Greek city. Narain noted, correctly, that (a) the possibility that this settlement was “named after a supposed mother of Demetrius I and the hypothetical Apollodotus I lacks proof,” (b) there is no reason to believe that Demetrios and Apollodotos were brothers born of the same mother, and (c) we do not definitely know if her name was Theophila.

One might object that in the Hellenistic period a settlement toponym that was derived from a personal name usually took an adjectival form of the latter; thus, for example, *Alexandreia* was the toponym for settlements honoring Alexander, *Kassandreia* for Kassandros, *Lysimacheia* for Lysimachos, *Antiocheia* for Antiochos, *Philetaireia* for Philetairos, *Attaleia* for Attalos, *Apameia* for Apama, *Seleukeia* for Seleukos, *Laodikeia* for Laodike, *Stratonikeia* for Stratonike; note, however, *Agathokleia*, which was both a personal name and may also have been a place-name; see *AGATHOKLEIA* in Mysia. On the other hand, we do encounter, for example, *Thessalonike*, *Philotera*, *Arsinoe*, *Berenike*, and *Nikaia* as both

personal names and place-names. In short, Theophila could be both a personal name and a toponym.

XOANA

Among the cities of India Ptolemy (7.1.61) mentions Xoana. Tcherikover included it in his list of Hellenistic settlements in India. *Xoanon* was, of course, a Greek term for “an image of deities.” Nevertheless, we should need additional information before designating Xoana as such.

* * * *

In general see Tcherikover, *HS* 110; Treidler, *RE* s.v. “Xoana”; Olshausen, *BNP* s.v. “Xoana”; Neudecker, *BNP* s.v. “Xoanon.”

XYLINEPOLIS

Pliny (*NH* 6.96), who is our sole source of information about Xylinepolis, says it was founded by Alexander.¹ He remarks that he does not have sufficient information about the exact location or the river on which it stood, but adds that it was the embarkation point for the voyage of Onesikratos and Nearchos.² The toponym most probably is the Greek ξυλίνη πόλις, namely, “Timber Town” or “Wooden Town.”³ According to Curtius Rufus (9.10.3), Alexander built many cities in the region of the Indus Delta. Furthermore, Arrian (*Ind.* 10.2) says that in India cities on rivers or the coast were built of wood. He explained that if they had been built of brick they would not have lasted because of the humidity and the flooding. It is possible that Xylinepolis was one of these.⁴

We do not know precisely where this settlement was located.

* * * *

In general see Pape and Benseler, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen* s.v. “Xylinepolis”; Droysen, *Hist.* 2:687; Berve, *Alexanderreich* 1:294; Tomaschek, *Erläuterung* 10–11; Tcherikover, *HS* 109; Tarn, *GBI*² 244; id., *Alexander* 2:239; H. Schiwiek, *BJ* 162 (1962) 37; Treidler, *RE* s.v. “Xylinepolis”; J. Filliozat, *JA* (1977) 414; André and Filliozat, *Pline VI.2* 127; Karttunen, *BNP* s.v. “Xylinepolis”; Biffi, *Indiké*

1. The MSS have the following variants: “xilenepolis,” “exilenaepolis,” “exilenepolis.”

2. Tarn dismissed Pliny’s information (*GBI*² 244: “It was not founded by Alexander or by anyone else; it is merely one of Pliny’s so common mistakes in transliteration and in his original source was only ξυλίνη πόλις, ‘a wooden town’, some native place built of wood instead of brick as was the Indian custom if the place was liable to be flooded”). Tarn also called attention (*GBI*² 530) to Stephanos’s note on the Morieis (s.v.); Stephanos described them as an Indian *ethnos* who lived in wooden houses; see also Tarn (*GBI*² 244 n. 6) on Livy 38.15.7 (“postero ad Xylinen quam vocant Comen posuit castra”), which he cited as a parallel to Xylinepolis.

The fact that in some Indian cities the buildings were constructed of wood in the late fourth century B.C. suggests there were timber forests in the region. Toponyms derived from tree names are frequently found in the ancient world. For example, Homer (*Il.* 2.829) mentions Pityeia (*pitys* = pine tree) on the south coast of the Propontis between Parion and Priapos; Strabo (13.1.15) tells us that there were pines in the vicinity. A small island off the coast of Troezen was called Pityoussa (Paus. 2.34.8; in the same region, incidentally, was another island, Halioussa, i.e., “Salt”); Meiggs remarked that a pine wreath was the prize at the nearby Isthmian games and noted that the Aleppo pine stills grows in the region (*Trees* 35). Furthermore, Pliny (4.35) and Ptolemy (3.12.33) both mention a Xylopolis in Macedonian Mygdonia, which, Meiggs noted, is “well wooded.” And Ptolemy (5.6.6) records a Xyline in Cappadocia. In general see Meiggs, *Trees* 35–36; and Appendix VIII (toponyms in the United States that reflect a local resource).

Interestingly, the one fact that Pliny adds regarding Xylinepolis is that it was the departure place for Onesikratos and Nearchos. It is certainly conceivable, therefore, that Xylinepolis was a real toponym, derived from a nearby source of timber (rather than from building material used in the construction of houses, etc., in the town) and that Onesikratos and Nearchos used the wood from the surrounding region to build or repair their ships; see also André and Filliozat, *Pline* VI.2 127.

Treidler (*RE* s.v. “Xylinepolis”) identified Xylinepolis with “Alexander’s Harbor” (Arr. *Ind.* 21.¹1). For the various suggested identifications of Alexander’s Harbor see ARBIS in India, n. 3.

3. It is possible—though unlikely—that the toponym is simply the Hellenization of a native name. Of course, that would render moot any

discussion relating Xylinepolis to the building materials for this town or the natural resources in the surrounding region. Against this possibility, however, Arrian's observation (*Ind.* 10.², on which see Biffi, *Indiké* 151–52) about the Indian practice of using wood for constructing buildings in coastal and riverine towns is compelling (see above, n. 2: Stephanos's observation that the Morieis—an Indian *ethnos*—lived in wooden houses). In any event, Eggermont's suggestion (*Sind and Baluchistan* 34–36) that “Xiline” (in Xilene-polis) is a variant reading of Kanthi (the result of a series of copyists' mistakes), which is mentioned by Ptolemy (7.1.2: ἐν κολπῷ καλουμένῳ Κάνθι Ναύσταθμος ὄρμος), and that Kanthi should be identified with Xylinepolis is unconvincing; cf. André and Filliozat, *Pline VI.2* 127; and Filliozat *JA* (1977) 414.

4. At 6.20.5 Arrian says that Alexander “sailed once more [from PATALA] down to the lake, and built another ship-station (ναύσταθμος) and other dock yards there” (trans. Brunt). W. Heckel (*Justin Commentary* 1:266) has suggested that Arrian was perhaps referring to Xylinepolis. And this is certainly possible. One should, however, bear in mind Curtius Rufus's observation (see above) that Alexander built many cities in the region of the Indus Delta. And, also as noted above, Ptolemy (7.1.2) used the very same term (ναύσταθμος) to describe a ship station either at Kanthi or in the bay called Kanthi. On the suggested relationship of Xylinepolis to Patala see Bosworth, who speculated in a personal communication that they were separate settlements (see PATALA, n. 3).

APPENDICES

I

FOUNDERS

Settlements whose founders are attested in the ancient sources are listed below. Definite attributions in the ancient sources are indicated thus: (+). Probable or possible attributions in the ancient sources are indicated thus: (@). Whether or not the attribution may be accepted as correct is another question. The reader should consult the particular entry for further discussion and references.

An asterisk indicates that Seleukos I Nikator as founder is attested only in Appian *Syriake* 57.

The numerous *Alexandreias* present a particular problem. As I have noted above in regard to other Hellenistic settlements, I have listed with a (+) settlements that I believe are reliably attributed to Alexander by an ancient source. Example: Pliny says Alexander founded XYLINEPOLIS. The attribution, therefore, is definite. For this reason, I list this settlement with a (+). Whether, in fact, Alexander actually founded Xylinepolis is another question. The reader should consult the particular entry for further discussion and references. One should also bear in mind that some Alexandrian settlements were referred to with different epithets by different ancient and modern authors.

ARMENIA

Arsamosata

Artaxata

Epiphaneia

Philadelphieia

Arsames (@)

Artaxias (+)

Antiochos IV Epiphanes (@)

Demetrios II Theos Philadelphos

Nikator, Arsakes II, or Artabanos I

Tigranokerta

Philadelphos

Tigranes II (+)

NORTHERN MESOPOTAMIA

Amida

Seleukos I Nikator (+)

Antioch in Mygdonia

Nikanor (@)

Apameia on the Euphrates

Seleukos I Nikator (+)

Edessa/Antioch on the Kallirhoe

Seleukos I Nikator (+)

Kallinikon

Seleukos II Kallinikos (+)

Karrhai

Alexander or Antigonos I
Monophthalmos

Kirkesion

Seleukos II Kallinikos (+)

Nikatoris

Seleukos I Nikator (@)

Nikephorion (Raqqah)

Alexander or Seleukos I Nikator*

Stratonikeia

Seleukos I Nikator or Antichos I
Soter

ASSYRIA AND APOLLONIATIS/SITTAKENE

Alexandreia Arbela

Alexander (@)

Apameia

Antiochos I (+)

Demetrias

Demetrios I or Demetrios II

Karka de Beth Selok

Seleukos I Nikator (@)

SOUTHERN MESOPOTAMIA AND THE PERSIAN GULF

Alexandreia/Antioch/Spasinou

Alexander (+)/Antiochos IV

Charax

Epiphanes (@)

Alexandreia near Babylon

Alexander (+)

[Alexandreia] near the Pallakopas

Alexander (@)

Antioch on the Ishtar Canal

Seleukos I Nikator or Antiochos I
Soter

Apameia in Mesene

Antiochos I Soter (+)

Seleukeia on the Tigris

Seleukos I Nikator (+)

ELYMAIS, SUSIANA, PERSIS, AND CARMANIA

Alexandreia ΕΠΙ ΣΟΥΣΟΙΣ

Alexander (@)

Altars of Alexander

Alexander (@)/Nearchos (@)

Antioch in Persis

Seleukos I Nikator or Antiochos I
Soter

Laodikeia
Portus Macedonum
Seleukeia on the Eulaios

Antiochos I Soter (@)
Alexander (@)/Nearchos (@)
Seleukos I Nikator (@)

MEDIA, HYRCANIA, AND PARTHIA

Achaia
Alexandropolis
Apameia
Charis

Epiphaneia Ekbatana

Eumeneia
Europos Rhagai
Hekatompylos
Kalliope
Laodikeia in Media
Laodikeia Nihavand

Seleukos I Nikator*
Alexander (@)
Seleukos I Nikator (@)
Seleukos I Nikator*
Seleukos I Nikator (+)/Antiochos
IV Epiphanes (@)
Eumenes of Kardia (@)
Seleukos I Nikator (+)
Seleukos I Nikator (@)
Seleukos I Nikator (+)
Antiochos I Soter (@)
Antiochos I Soter (@)

ARIA, SOGDIANA, BACTRIA, AND ARACHOSIA

Aï Khanoum
Alexandreia/Antioch in Margiana
Alexandreia/Antioch in Scythia

Alexandreia Eschate

Alexandreia in Arachosia
Alexandreia in Aria
Alexandreia near Baktra
Alexandreia of the Caucasus
Alexandreschata in Scythia
Demetrias in Arachosia
Eukratideia
Herakleia/Achais
Marakanda
Pandocheion (see Kampyr Tepe)
Prophthasia

Soteira

Kineas (?)
Alexander (+) and Antiochos I (+)
Alexander (@) and Antiochos I (@)
Alexander (+)/Seleukos I Nikator
(@)
Alexander (@)
Alexander (+)
Alexander (@)
Alexander (+)
Alexander (@)/Seleukos I Nikator*
Demetrios (@)
Eukratides (@)
Alexander (+)/ Antiochos (+)
Alexander (@)
Alexander (@)
Alexander (@)
Seleukos I Nikator or Antiochos I
Soter

INDIA

Alexandreia [?] at the junction of the Akesines and Indus	Alexander (@)
Alexandreia [?] of the Sogdoi	Alexander (+)
[Alexandreia] on the Akesines	Alexander (+)
Alexandreia Rhambakia	Alexander (+)
Alexandropolis	Seleukos I Nikator (+)
Antioch Tharmata	Antiochos II or Antiochos III (?)
Boukephala	Alexander (+)
Nikaia	Alexander (+)
Xylinepolis	Alexander (+)

II

SETTLEMENTS IN MESOPOTAMIA AND IRAN ATTRIBUTED TO ALEXANDER

The settlements in Mesopotamia and Iran listed below have been variously attributed to Alexander, in antiquity, in the *Alexander Romance* and its various recensions and derivatives, in other Byzantine or medieval sources, in the Perso-Arabic tradition, or by modern scholars. Only one—ALEXANDREIA/ANTIOCH/Spasinou Charax—can definitely be attributed to the Macedonian king. The latter settlement is also the only one that is mentioned by at least one of the Alexander historians. Consult the appropriate entries for discussion and references.

Alexandreia/Antioch/Spasinou
Charax

Alexandreia Arbela

Alexandreia ΕΠΙ ΣΟΥΣΟΙΣ

Alexandreia in Carmania

Alexandreia in Mesopotamia

Alexandreia in Mygdonia

Alexandreia in Susiana

Alexandreia near Babylon

Alexandreia on the Tigris

Alexandreia ΠΡΟΣ ΠΕΡΣΑΣ

Alexandropolis

Dara/Dora

Gabai

Hamadan (Ekbatana)

Karrhai

Nikephorion (Raqqah)

Seleukeia ΥΠΟ ΠΕΡΣΩΝ

III

GREEK AND MACEDONIAN TOPONYMS AND NAMES/WORDS THAT (RE)APPEAR IN MESOPOTAMIA AND REGIONS FARTHER EAST

Achaia
Anthemous
Apollonia
Arethousa
Artemita
Asterousia
Byzantion
Chalkis
Charis
Edessa
Europos
Hekatompylos
Herakleia
Ichnai
Ikaria
Kalliope
Larisa
Methone
Mygdonia
Neapolis

Pella
Sirynx (?)
Soteira
Tanagra
Tetragonis
Thera

IV

REFOUNDATIONS AND NEW FOUNDATIONS

Settlements for which there is evidence or some indication that they were either refoundations or new foundations are listed below (see also the brief discussion in Cohen, *Settlements in Europe* 428). In reviewing this list it is important to keep in mind that for many settlements there is no extant evidence bearing on this question. I have not included any of these latter foundations.

The various settlements attributed to Alexander present problems of a different sort. As I have already noted, we do not definitely know the exact location of any *Alexandreia* in central Asia. Furthermore, there is a good deal of confusion resulting from the fact that different ancient sources apparently used different names to refer to the same settlement.¹ Finally, the ancient sources occasionally say that a site was particularly suited for founding a settlement (e.g., Arrian 4.1.3–4 regarding *ALEXANDREIA Eschate*) but do not indicate whether or not there had previously been a native village or town at the site. Curtius Rufus (7.6.26) says that Alexander built *Alexandreia Eschate* on the former site of his camp. If this information is correct, it may suggest that this settlement may have been a new foundation.

REFOUNDATIONS

Ai Khanoum	[<i>Alexandreia</i>] on the Akesines (?)
<i>Alexandreia Arbela</i>	<i>Alexandreia Rhambakia</i>
<i>Alexandreia</i> in Arachosia (?)	Antioch in Mygdonia
<i>Alexandreia</i> [?] of the Sogdoi	Artemita in Apolloniatis
Babylon	Karka de Beth Selok

Edessa /Antioch on the Kallirhoe
(?)

Epiphaneia Ekbatana

Europos Rhagai

Hekatompylos (?)

Ikaros

Kalliope in Parthia

Karrhai

Marakanda

Nagara Dionysopolis

Sagala Euthymedia

Sittake

Tigranokerta

NEW FOUNDATIONS

Alexandreia Eschate

1. See, for example, p. 38, cf. Table 7.1 on p. 269.

V

FOUNDATIONS AT OR NEAR MAJOR RELIGIOUS CENTERS

Babylon

Seleukeia on the Tigris

VI

CIVIC INSTITUTIONS AND OFFICES

Decrees passed by

Antioch in Persis
Seleukeia on the Erythraean Sea
Seleukeia on the Tigris
Seleukeia on the Eulaios
Seleukeia near the Hedyphon

ephebes

neoi

gymnasiarch

Babylon

agora

pu-li-te-e /pu-li-ta-nu [politai]

pe-li-ga-na-a-n[u [peliganes]

theater

pa-hat e.ki [epistates]

Ikaros

gymnastic [?] *agon*

neokoroi

adeiganes

gerousia

senate

boule

epistates

priests of the living king and
deceased rulers

Seleukeia on the Tigris

hieromnemon (or *hieromnemones*)

agonothetes

tamias

gymna[siarch]

bybliophylax

chreophylax

paraphylax

Seleucid dynastic cult

boule

ekklesia/demos

prytaneis

tamiai

Antioch in Persis

eponymous priest of the royal
Seleucid cult

Greek month names

“the *demos* of the Antiochenes”

chreoph[ylakeion/ylakes]

gymnasiarch

boule

dokimasia

Seleukeia on the Eulaios

archontes

grammateus

prytaneis

phrouroi

strategos

archontes

Laodikeia Nihavand

epistates

agorano[mos]

heroön

Aï Khanoum

gymnasium

theater

treasurers?

VII

ETHNICS AND TOPONYMS

The list below is not exhaustive. It gives the main ethnics (and certain toponymic forms) attested for the settlements in this volume. Note that abbreviations (on coins) take many forms and that minor variations in spelling are quite common. For fuller information the reader should consult the individual entries and Cohen, *Settlements in Europe* 440. For Greek ethnic terminology see the book of that title (2009) by P. M. Fraser.

An asterisk indicates that the particular ethnic is attested only in Stephanos.

Northern Mesopotamia

Anthemousias	ΑΝΘΕΜΟΥΣΙΑ ΑΝΘΕΜΟΥΣΙΩΝ Ἀντιόχεια ἢ ἐν Μυγδονία Ἀντιόχεια ἢ ἐν τῇ Μυγδονία Ἀντιόχεια Μυγδονική Ἀντιόχεια τῆς Μυγδονίας ἢ πρὸς τῷ Μυγδονίῳ Ἀντιόχεια Ἀντιόχεια ἢ Ἐπιμυγδονία
Antioch in Mygdonia	Νίσιβις Ἀντιοχεὺς ἀπὸ Μυγδονί(ας) ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΜΥΓΔΟΝΙΑΙ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΠΙ ΚΑΛΛΙΡΟΗΙ

Edessa/Antioch on the Kallirhoe	Ἀντιόχεια ἡ μιξοβάρβαρος Ἐδεσσηνός *Ἐδεσσαῖος
Nikatoris	*Νικατορίτης
Zenodotion	*Ζηνοδότιος *Ζηνοδοτιεύς *Ζηνοδοτηνός

Southern Mesopotamia

Apameia near the Seleias	Ἀπαμεῦσιν τοῖς [π]ρὸς τῷ Σελείαι Σελεύκεια ἡ ἐπὶ τοῦ Τίγρητος Σελεύκεια ἡ ἐπὶ Τίγριδι Σελεύκεια ἐπὶ τῷ Τίγρει
Seleukeia on the Tigris	Σελεύκεια ἡ πρὸς τῷ Τίγριδι ΣΕΛΕΥΚΙΑΣ ΤΗΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΩ ΤΙΓΡΙ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΩ ΤΙΓΡΕΙ
Seleukeia ὑπὸ Περσῶν	Σελευκεῦσιν τοῖς πρὸς [τ]ῷ Τίγρει
Uruk	Σελεύκεια ὑπὸ Περσῶν Ὀρχηνός

Elymais, Susiana, Persis, and Carmania

Antioch in Persis	Ἀντιοχέων τῶν Π[ερσίδος] Ἀντιόχεια τῆς Περσίδος τὸν τῶν Ἀντιοχέων δῆμον
Seleukeia near the Hedyphon	Σ[ε]λευκ[εῦσι]ν τ[οῖς] π[ρὸς] τῷ [ι] Ἡδυφῶντι].
Seleukeia on the Erythraean Sea	Σελευκεῦσιν τοῖς πρὸς τῇ Ἐρυθραῖ θαλάσσει
Seleukeia on the Eulaios	Σελευκεῦσιν τοῖς πρὸς τῷ Εὐλαίω Σελεύκεια ἡ πρὸς τῷ Εὐλαίω

Media, Hyrcania, and Parthia

Laodikeia Nihavand

Λαοδικέων

India

Asterousia

*Ἀστερουσιανοί

*Ἀστερουσιεῖς

*Ἀστερούσιοι

Boukephala

*Βουκεφαλῖται

*Βουκεφαλεῖς

VIII

THE TOPONYMY OF THE HELLENISTIC SETTLEMENTS

For purposes of toponymic research regarding the Hellenistic settlements we can—somewhat arbitrarily—divide the ancient world into a number of regions: (1) Greece, Macedonia, the Islands, and Asia Minor; (2) Asia Minor west of the Tauros Mountains; (3) Cilicia beyond the Tauros (see Strabo 14.5.1), Syria, and Phoenicia; (4) Egypt; (5) the regions beyond the Euphrates, i.e., Mesopotamia, the Iranian plateau, and central Asia.

In Greece, Macedonia, the Islands, and Asia Minor west of the Tauros Mountains most of the new settlements were given dynastic names. Thus, we find, for example, AGATHOPOLIS, ALEXANDROPOLIS, ANTIGONEIA, ANTIOCH, ANTIPATREIA, ARSINOE, ATTALEIA, BERENIKE, EUPATORIA, EPIPHANEIA, EURYDIKEIA, EUMENEIA, EUSEBEIA, LAODIKEIA, LYSIAS, NIKAIA, NIKOMEDEIA, NIKOMEDEION, PHARNAKEIA, PHILADELPHEIA, PHILIPPOI, PHILOMELION, PHILOTERA, PLEISTARCHEIA, PROUSA, PROUSIAS, PTOLEMAIS, SELEUKEIA, STRATONIKEIA, ZEILA, and ZIPOITION. But in Asia Minor we also find settlements for which we have only their indigenous name (assuming they were given new toponyms by the settlers) as well as towns with names like APOLLONIA, HIERAPOLIS, and KRETOPOLIS [?]. We also find settlements that were apparently named for the general who founded them; an example of this is DOKIMEION in Phrygia. Crossing the Tauros Mountains we reach Cilicia beyond the Tauros and then, Syria. In Cilicia beyond the Tauros and Syria, as well as Phoenicia, we still encounter numerous settlements with dynastic names—e.g., ANTIGONEIA,

ANTIOCH, APAMEIA, ARSAMEIA, ARSINOE, DEMETRIAS, EPIPHANEIA, LAODIKEIA, LYSIAS, PHILADELPHEIA, PHILOTERIA, PTOLEMAIS, and SELEUKEIA. As I have already noted, for the first time we now find the extensive use of toponyms drawn from Greece and Macedonia. The first definite example of which I am aware is AIGEI in Cilicia beyond the Tauros.¹ In Syria we find, for example, ACHAIA, AINOS, AMPHIPOLIS, ANTHEDON, ARETHOUSA, ASTAKOS, THE AXIOS RIVER, BEROIA, CHALKIS, CHAONIA, DION, DOLICHE, EUROPOS, GINDAROS, HELLAS, HERAIA, HERAKLEIA, KALLIPOLIS, KYRRHOS, LARISA, LEUKAS, MARONEIA, MEGARA, OROPOS, PELLA, PERINTHOS, PIERIA, SERRE, and TEGEA. We also find names like APOLLONIA, GERASA, HELIOPOLIS, HIERAPOLIS, and SKYTHOPOLIS. Elsewhere I have briefly discussed the toponymy of the nome capitals and the Fayum towns in Ptolemaic Egypt.²

When we cross the Euphrates and arrive in Mesopotamia we still encounter numerous towns with dynastic names; for example, ALEXANDREIA, ANTIOCH, APAMEIA, and SELEUKEIA. There are also settlements with toponyms drawn from Greece and Macedonia: for example, EDESSA, ICHNAI, and ANTHEMOUSIAS in northern Mesopotamia and, in the south, Pella. The island of IKAROS was, of course, named for the island in Aegean. We also find names like ALAGMA, APOLLONIA, DIOSPAGE, MAKEDONO UPOLIS, NIKEPHORION, POLYTELEIA, and ZENODOTION.

When we cross the Tigris and reach the Iranian plateau we still find some toponyms from Greece and Macedonia, e.g., ACHAIA, EUROPOS, HERAKLEIA, METHON E, and TANAGRA, as well as dynastic toponyms, such as ALEXANDREIA, ALEXANDROPOLIS, ANTIOCH, APAMEIA, EPIPHANEIA, and LAODIKEIA. But now we begin to see a significant number of toponyms that W. W. Tarn described as “nicknames”: e.g., SOTEIRA, CHARIS, KALLIOPE, HEKATOMPYLOS, SIRYNX, and ZETIS. By the time we reach Bactria and India we still find some dynastic toponyms—e.g., many ALEXANDREIAS (of course), DEMETRIAS, and EUKRATIDEIA. On the other hand, we also encounter toponyms that Tarn thought were nicknames, e.g., PROPHTHASIA.

In considering these names, at least one distinction immediately emerges. When new names were given to Hellenistic settlements in Asia Minor these were usually dynastic names. Certainly what is quite noticeable is that there is no evidence for the use of toponyms drawn from Greece or Macedonia in that area. I have already mentioned that it is only when we cross the Tauros Mountains and reach Cilicia and Syria that toponyms drawn from Greek or Macedonian places make their appearance. It is particularly in Syria that one encounters an abundance of

town names drawn from Greece and Macedonia, as well as dynastic names. When we cross the Euphrates and reach Mesopotamia and points further east the situation undergoes a further modification. We still find toponyms drawn from both Greek and Macedonian places and dynastic names. But now (apparently) fanciful or allusive names—or, at least, toponyms not encountered elsewhere—begin to make their appearance as well. It is these latter names that I should like to consider.

A good point of departure for this discussion is Tarn's analysis of the nomenclature of the settlements in the East. According to Tarn, "No one who has written on the subject has understood that, as Alexander's cities in the East all had the same name, Alexandria, there naturally grew up for daily use a series of popular names or nicknames, which largely ousted the official names altogether from the literature we possess."³ In this connection we might consider the toponymic history of BOUKEPHALA in India. This settlement is known in the extant sources as both "Boukephala" and "Alexandreia Boukephala" (and variants thereof). In fact the attestations for the names appear to follow a chronological progression. The earliest attestations and those found in the Alexander historians generally refer to it as simply "Boukephala" (see BOUKEPHALA, nn. 2 and 6). The first extant attestation for "Alexandreia Boukephala" is in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* 47; the date of the *Periplus* cannot be securely fixed. It has been dated to as early as 30 A.D. and as late as 230 A.D. L. Casson has argued for a date between 40 and 70 A.D.⁴ Thereafter the occurrences of the double toponym become more frequent, though the single name, "Boukephala," is also found. In short, a consideration of the toponymic history of Boukephala suggests a progression that was the opposite of what Tarn claimed. That is to say, first and—most importantly—in the Alexander historians we see "Boukephala" being used practically exclusively. Subsequently, "Alexandreia Boukephala" is attested with increasing — though not with exclusive—frequency.

As regards the Seleucid foundations Tarn remarked: "By the middle of the second century B.C. . . . every place which ultimately bore a Seleucid dynastic name had received that name and become a *polis*. But no city was ever *officially* named Antioch or Seleuceia alone; the confusion would have been impossible, and some geographical designation was always part of the city's name, so that *e.g.* a Greek of Susa in a formal document would call himself not a Seleuceian but Seleuceian-on-the-Eulaeus. It was a very clumsy system, and naturally led in popular speech to many cities getting secondary or popular names, which may be comprehensively called nicknames; these were convenient and found their way wholesale into the literature, with the result that east of the Euphrates we know the

nicknames better than the official names, which have often been ousted altogether. These nicknames were of many types; they might allude to some historical event, as Prophthasia . . . or Zetis; to some peculiarity of construction, Hekatompylos; to virtues and vices, as Charis, Stasis, Apate; to some feature of the population, as the ethnic names; to something in the city worship, as Calliope and Soteira; even to material objects, Kibotos (the ark), Aspís (the shield), Perikephalaia (the necklace), Syrinx (the mine), where the allusion is for us completely lost. . . . One must of course distinguish from nicknames those cases in late compilers where they copied from their sources the descriptions of a place as though it were a name; such are Diadochou, 'the city of the Successor'; Ionaca polis, 'Greek town'; Portus Macedonum, 'the harbour-town of the Macedonians'; Asylum Persarum, 'the asylum of the Persians'; and even Komopolis, 'a village-city'.⁵

In his well-known discussion and enumeration of the settlements founded by Seleukos I Nikator in Syria and "the barbarous regions of upper Asia" (Syr. 57), Appian said that Seleukos gave these settlements names that were taken from his family, his own exploits, in honor of Alexander, or from Greece or Macedonia. Among the towns Appian recorded are SOTEIRA, CHARIS, KALLIOPE, HEKATOMPYLOS, and ACHAIA. Tarn focused on these five settlements.⁶ He said that these towns were named after Greek cities. He then added: "There were no such Greek cities; his (i.e., Appian's) *statement* refers to the real names, but what he has *given* is not the real names but the nicknames. The real names . . . are lost." By "nickname" I assume that Tarn was following a definition such as that given in *The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*: "A name added to, or substituted for, the proper name of person, place, etc." The underlying assumption for Tarn appears to be, therefore, that allusive names for eastern Hellenistic settlements were nicknames that masked "official" names that were often lost.

In the *Laws* (704a) Plato observed that the name of a town "may be determined by the accident of locality or of the original settlement,—a river or fountain, or some local deity may give the sanction of a name to the newly founded city" (trans. Jowett). In this connection, I would note that on the Greek mainland there are many toponyms that, while not fanciful, were allusive. Usually the allusions were to a (presumably local) agricultural product, animal, mineral, industry, topographical or geological phenomenon, or some aspect of the city wall or fortification. A random search reveals, for example, toponyms such as Elaious ("olive oil"), Oinous ("vine"), Alope ("fox"), Aige ("goat"), Leontinoi ("lion"), Chalkis ("bronze"), Leukas ("white"), Mylai ("mill"), Charadros ("stream" or "torrent"), Ainos

("spring"), Neon Teichos ("new wall"), and Pyrgos ("tower"). Presumably Chytropolis (*chytros*—"pot") referred to an industrial product of the town or a (nearby) topographic feature. Olenos in Achaia was a city of Achaia that was probably named for its location in the bend of a hill; cf., for example, the English Channel, which is called La Manche ("the sleeve") in French; Bend, Oregon; and the Grand Teton Mountains in Wyoming.

Tarn includes Aspis, Perikephalaia, and KIBOTOS among the settlements that are known only by their nicknames, and in these instances I believe he is correct. I would note, incidentally, that these terms are attested in Macedonia (Aspis and Perikephalaia) and Phrygia (Kibotos), i.e., not in the eastern reaches of the Seleucid empire. For the first two Tarn cited Stephanos (s.v. "Aspis"), who mentions an Aspis in Macedonia that he says was founded by Philip V; he adds that it was called Aspis Perikephalaia from Philip's armor (panoply). The Greek word *aspis*, of course, means "shield." The name, therefore, might have been chosen because it referred to a military function of the settlement or to the physical outline of the colony (we may compare ALEXANDREIA near Egypt, which Strabo [17.1.8] described as being in the shape of a *chlamys*). Tarn translated Perikephalaia as "necklace." And this is, in fact, one of its meanings. But note that LSJ (s.v. "Perikephalaia") also gives "helmet" as another definition. Stephanos's language (κτίσμα Φιλίππου τοῦ πατρὸς Περσέως τὰς πόλεις ὀνομάσαντος ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ πανοπλίας Ἀσπίδα Περικεφαλαίαν) is awkward and renders it difficult to determine whether Perikephalaia is being used nominally or—more probably—adjectivally. If the latter, then it simply modifies Aspis and does not indicate the existence of a separate settlement named Perikephalaia. As for Kibotos ("chest"), it is known only as an epithet—found in the literary and epigraphic sources—for Apameia Kelai nai in western Asia Minor. No generally satisfactory suggestion has yet been offered to explain the term.⁷ At the very least, I believe that in this instance, too, we have an example—as Tarn suggested—of a nickname.

I cannot offer a convincing explanation for ZETIS. I would note, however, that in mythology Zetes and his brother Kalais are mentioned among the Argonauts. Furthermore, Silius Italicus (8.512-13) said that Kalais was the founder of Kales in Campania. I can also offer no suggestion for STASIS ("sedition") and POLYTELEIA ("extravagance").⁸ Perhaps they are translations or Hellenizations of (lost) native toponyms or relate to some collective experience of the settlers at the site. One thinks, for example, of late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century American toponyms, such as Defiance, Ohio; Fairplay, Colorado; Happy Camp and Death Valley, California; Happy Valley, Farewell Bend, Amity, and Aims, Oregon (see

below).⁹ PRO PHTHASIA (“anticipation”) may also fall into this category of names, but other explanations are possible. Tarn suggested the name was an allusion to Philotas’s conspiracy and that Prophthasia was a nickname for ALEXANDREIA in Sakastane.¹⁰ However, this has not been accepted by P. M. Fraser.¹¹ In any event, we should also note that the Prophthaseia was the name of a religious festival in western Asia Minor (Diod. 15.18.4).

KALLIOPE is nowhere attested as a toponym in Greece. But it is, of course, the name of one of the Muses.

SOTEIRA is not attested in Greece. But Soteria is widely attested in Greece as a designation for a sacrifice in commemoration or hope of deliverance from a danger or sickness or for festivals in commemoration of the same.¹² In fact, on the Red Sea coast there was a “harbor of Soteira” that Strabo says was so called because some commanders had been saved from great dangers (16.4.7). Certainly a similar scenario might be suggested to explain the toponym in Asia.

CHARIS is nowhere attested as a toponym in Greece or Macedonia. But the Charites, the “Graces,” were an important part of Greek culture. And Charis is attested as a personal name; see the *LGPN*.

ACHAIA is not attested as the name of a city in Greece. On the other hand, it is, of course, the name of a region.

HEKATOMPYLOS is not attested as a toponym in Greece or Macedonia; but it is found as the name of a town in Libya, established by no less a personage than Herakles! (Diod. 4.18.1). And, of course, “hundred-gated Thebes” was well known in Greek mythology (*Il.* 9.383; Dionysius Periegetes 249, ed. Amato).

DIOSPAGE (“font/stream of Zeus”) is not attested as a toponym on the Greek mainland. But Ainos (“spring”) is found as a town name both in Greece and in the Hellenistic East.

Tarn also suggested that SIRYN X was a nickname (Polyb. 10.31).¹³ In support of this he cited Polybius (10.31.6), who mentions τὴν προσαγορευομένην Σίρυγκα πόλιν. Citing this passage, Tarn claimed that Polybius specifically took this phrase to mean that “Sirynx” was a nickname.¹⁴ This is not convincing. According to LSJ the verb προσαγορεύω means (among other things) “to call by name, call so and so.” In any event, Tarn also believed that Aspis was a nickname. But in that case, Stephanos used the verb ὀνομάζω in referring to the town. Appian (*Syr.* 57) also used ὀνομάζω when he discussed Soteira, Kalliope, Charis, and Hekatompylos among other settlements whose names he says were derived “from Greece or Macedonia, or from his [i.e., Seleukos’s] own exploits, or in honour of Alexander” (trans. White). There is no agreement

as to the possible allusive intent of “Sirynx.” Tarn suggested that “Sirynx” was meant to sound like “Syrinx,” which means, among other things, a groove or barrel of a catapult, a covered gallery, or a mine. Thus, here we have a possible allusion to military hardware. The alternative meaning is “mine.” F. W. Walbank suggested that lead, sulphur, and coal mines in the general region might well explain it.¹⁵ But was “Sirynx” necessarily a nickname? What about XYLINEPOLIS in India (Pliny *NH* 6.96)?¹⁶ Of course, we should not forget that *syrinx* is also the Greek word for a panpipe and was the name of a figure in Greek mythology.

In the United States there are numerous examples of toponyms that reflect a local resource or industry. I give a random sampling: Citrus, Florida; Coal City and Coal Valley, Illinois; Coalgood, Kentucky; Coaltown, Coalport, and Oil City (Pennsylvania); Coalwood and Colliers, West Virginia; Coffee in Alabama and Georgia; Coffeetown, Mississippi; Collierville and Iron City, Tennessee; Copperopolis, California; Cornville, Arizona; Cottondale, Alabama; Cotton Plant, Arkansas; Dolomite, Alabama; Gloversville, New York; Goldfield, Nevada; Grainfield, Kansas; Ironton, Minnesota and Ohio; Ironville, Kentucky; Mill City, Oregon; Oil City, Pennsylvania; Oilton, Oklahoma; Orange County, California; Peachtree City and Lumber City (Georgia); Saltville, Virginia; Sawmill, Arizona; Silver City, North Carolina; Silverton, Colorado; Steelton, Pennsylvania; Sunflower, Mississippi; Tannersville, New York; Wheatland, Iowa, Montana, and Wyoming. These may have originated as topical names used casually by the original settlers; if so, the names stuck and became legitimate (and official) toponyms. Some American town names were given rather capriciously. Bird-in-Hand in southeastern Pennsylvania was named for a picture on a hotel’s swinging sign.¹⁷ And some names may be completely misunderstood. In the early twentieth century the town of Telegraph, Texas, did not have a telegraph. It received the name because telegraph poles had been cut down from trees there during the 1850s.¹⁸ Incidentally, the toponym Intercourse in southeastern Pennsylvania has nothing to do with sexual activity. At the time the town of Intercourse was founded, the term meant “intersection,” i.e., of two roads, or “interchange, commerce.”¹⁹ This fact, however, has not deterred numerous tourists from appropriating roadside signs with the name of the town!

Let us return to Appian. Contrary to what Tarn claimed, Appian does not say that the settlement names in his list were toponyms in Greece and Macedonia, only that the settlement names were taken from there. That is to say, the Asiatic toponyms were taken from Greece and Macedonia, not necessarily from place-names in Greece and Macedonia. And this description certainly fits Kalliope, Soteira, Charis, and Hekatompylos:

these and other names were drawn from Greece—in a number of instances, from Greek mythology or religion—but not necessarily from the names of Greek cities.

Finally, there are the settlements with toponyms that alluded to the ethnic background of the colonists. As I mentioned, Tarn believed that these names, found in late compilers, resulted from the fact that the compilers copied a description of a town “as though it were a name”: thus, for example, IONAKA POLIS (Ptol. 6.4.2). However, by analogy with Germantown in, for example, Ohio and Illinois, I wonder if it is, in fact, a toponym that simply reflected the ethnic background of the original settlers. The same was quite probably the case for PORTUS MACEDONUM (Pliny *NH* 6.110).²⁰ In short, contrary to what Tarn thought regarding the eastern Seleucid empire, in nineteenth-century America a description of a particular town could also serve as a toponym. At the very least, we should consider the possibility that the same was true in the Hellenistic world.

Tarn was a Scotsman, living and writing his monumental *opera* in Scotland. He may be forgiven, therefore, for not being familiar with American toponymy. But American toponymy, I would suggest, can serve as a possible analogy for some of the names of the villages and towns established by the Graeco-Macedonians in regions beyond the Euphrates. The United States is a country that has—relatively speaking—only recently been settled by Europeans. As Robert Louis Stevenson observed, “And there is no part of the world where nomenclature is so rich, poetical, humorous and picturesque as the United States of America. All times, races and languages have brought their contribution.”²¹ Many of the American toponyms I have cited—especially those in areas beyond the New England and Mid-Atlantic coasts—reflect some aspect or moment of that particular town’s history, economic base, or predominant founding population. In this connection I would also mention Bend, Oregon. According to the Wikipedia website, “The name Bend was derived from ‘Farewell Bend’, the designation used by early pioneers to refer to the location along the Deschutes River where the town was platted, one of the few fordable points along the river.”²² Further examples from Oregon abound. Thus, the town of Amity was so named because of “the result of an amicable settlement of a local school dispute.”²³ Aims received its name because “it was the hope or aim of the local residents to develop a substantial community, it was concluded to adopt the name Aims, which was done.”²⁴ And an account of how the Malheur River got its name runs as follows: “Tuesday, February 14th, 1826. We encamped on *River au Malheur* (unfortunate river) so called on account of property and furs

having been hid here formerly, discovered and stolen by the natives.”²⁵ But if the settlers could give allusive or capricious names to settlements or sites that developed into settlements, so could the authorities. The arbitrary nature of the naming process of settlements and towns in the American West in the nineteenth century can be seen quite clearly in the following: according to A. Linklater, “Seven dollars was as much as the Burlington (sc. the railroad) was prepared to pay to have a town planned. Out west a depot was required every twelve or fifteen miles so that farms would not be more than half a day’s journey and hundreds of identical towns were laid out. . . . There were so many that it was hard to come up with names for them all. ‘I shall have two or three towns to name very soon,’ Charles Perkins, land agent to the Burlington railroad, wrote in the 1870s as the track advanced through Iowa. ‘They should be short and easily pronounced. Frederic I think is a very good name.’ ”²⁶ In short, I believe that what struck Tarn as nicknames may well have been allusive, fanciful—or capricious—toponyms that were used by the settlers; but toponyms nonetheless.²⁷

Tarn was quite correct in pointing out that many settlements with dynastic names had additional titles to help distinguish, for example, one Antioch from another. The distinguishing term was usually a nearby village, shrine, region, river, stream, or mountain. Thus we encounter, among others, ANTIOCH near Daphne, ANTIOCH near Pisidia, ANTIOCH on the Maeander, ANTIOCH by Hippos, ANTIOCH on the Chrysorhoas, and ANTIOCH on the Kallirhoe.²⁸ The evidence for the use of these enlarged toponyms, incidentally, dates in some cases to as early as the third/second century B.C. On the other hand, I can find no evidence to suggest that a settlement called, for example, Sirynx, Charis, or Hekatompylos also had a dynastic name, and that the latter was its official name. To put it another way, I cannot find any evidence to indicate, for example, that Sirynx, Charis, or Hekatompylos was a nickname rather than a real name. My argument is admittedly from silence, but the comprehensive lack of evidence on this question points to this conclusion.

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1. Cohen, *Settlements in Syria* 26–27.
 2. Cohen, *Settlements in Syria* 52–58; see also Clarysse in *Fayyum* 67–81.

3. *Alexander* 2:233.

4. *Periplus* 6–7.

5. Tarn, *Alexander* 2:233; id., *GBI*² 12–13.

6. *GBI*² 13; followed by Walbank, *Comment.* 2:242.

7. See APAMEIA KELAINAI and n. 7 in that entry.

8. Pliny (*NH* 6.155) mentions Apate (“deceit” or “treachery”) in Arabia, which he says is what the Greeks called the town of Sibus (“oppido/oppidum Sibi quod Graeci Apaten vocant”); Tarn (*GBI*² 13) called attention to this town. This is our sole extant evidence for Apate, and based on this, I would not consider this a Hellenistic settlement.

9. Moving back in time and farther west to the Pacific Ocean, I would mention the Northern Mariana Islands. These were explored by Magellan in 1521; he named them the Ladrones Islands (“Islands of Thieves”) because one of the natives stole a boat from him. Cf. “Thievish Harbour in New England which early whalers had so named because local Indians had stolen a harpoon there” (E. J. Dolin, *Leviathan* [New York, 2007] 32).

10. *GBI*² 14.

11. *Cities* 125 and n. 42.

12. See, for example, Pfister, *RE* s.v. “Soteria”; and M. H. Jameson, *OCD*3 s.v. “Soteria.”

13. *GBI*² 13.

14. *GBI*² 15.

15. *Comment.* 2:241; see also P. Pedech, *REA* (1958) 80–81.

16. Cf. Xyline Kome in Pisidia: “ad Xylinen quam vocant Comem posuit castra” (“he encamped . . . at what they call Xyline Come” [Livy 38.15.7; Manlius in 189 B.C. in Pisidia? Ptol. [5.6.6] mentions a place called Xyline in Pontus).

17. I might also call attention to H. L. Mencken’s classic study, *The American Language* (New York, 1946). Mencken identified eight categories of geographic and place-names in the United States: (a) those embodying personal names, chiefly the surnames of pioneers or of national heroes; (b) those transferred from other and older places, either in the eastern states or in Europe; (c) Indian names; (d) Dutch, Spanish, French, German, and Scandinavian names; (e) biblical and mythological names; (f) names descriptive of localities; (g) names suggested by the local flora, fauna, or geology; (h) purely fanciful names (529). Regarding the last category he observed: “There was a time, particularly during the gold rush

to California, when the rough humor of the country showed itself in the invention of extravagant and often highly felicitous place-names. . . . *Tombstone* still stands in Arizona, *Goose Bill* remains a post office in Montana, and the Geographic Board gives its imprimatur to the *Horsethief* trail in Colorado, to *Burning Bear* in the same state, and to *Pig Eye* lake in Minnesota. Various other survivors of a more lively and innocent day linger on the map: *Blue Ball*, Pa., *Cowhide*, W. Va., *Dollarville*, Mich., *Oven Fork*, Ky., *Social Circle*, Ga., *Sleepy Eye*, Minn., *Bubble*, Ark., *Shy Beaver*, Pa., *Shin Pond*, Me., *Rough-and-Ready*, Calif., *Non Intervention*, Va., *Noodle*, Tex., *Number Four*, N.Y., *Oblong*, Ill., *Stock Yards*, Neb., *Stout*, Iowa, and so on. West Virginia, the wildest of the eastern states, is full of such place-names. Among them I find *Affinity*, *Annamoriah* (*Anna Maria?*), *Bee*, *Bias*, *Big Chimney*, *Billie*, *Blue Jay*, *Bulltown*, *Caress*, *Cinderella*, *Cyclone*, *Czar*, *Cornstalk*, *Duck*, *Halcyon*, *Jingo*, *Left Hand*, *Ravens Eye*, *Six*, *Skull Run*, *Three Churches*, *Uneeda*, *Wide Mouth*, *War Eagle* and *Stumptown*. The Postal Guide shows two *Ben Hurs*, five *St. Elmos* and ten *Ivanhoes*" (536-37). Cf. G. R. Stewart's classifications/ categories in *American Place-Names* xxii-xxxii: linguistic transfer, dual and multiple origin, abundance vs. rarity, habitations or natural features, folk-names, linguistic play or humor, evolved names-bestowed names, "official names," naming systems, literary influences, religious and mythological names, railroad stations as well as mines and brands, personal names, tribal and national names, names from nature, exotic names, descriptive names, association names, possessive names, incident names, commemorative names, commendatory names, coined (manufactured) names, transfer and shift names, name clusters, folk-etymology, and mistake names.

18. R. A. Caro, *The Years of Lyndon Johnson: Means of Ascent* (New York, 1990) 155.

19. See, for example, Stewart, *American Place-Names* 221.

20. Tarn also mentioned "Asylum Persarum" (Pliny *NH* 6.135) in this category and translated it as "the asylum of the Persians" (*GBI*² 13); cf. K. Brodersen, "das Asylon der Perser" in his edition (Zurich, 1996). Note, on the other hand, that in the Loeb edition, Rackham translated it as "the Persian town of Asylum"; earlier, J. Bostock and H. T. Riley translated it as "Asylus in Persis" (London, 1855).

21. *The Travels and Essays of Robert Louis Stevenson: Across the Plains* (New York, 1907) 105.

22. The name was popular among nineteenth-century pioneers. "Farewell Bend" was also the name of a spot along the Snake River (287 miles east of the city of Bend) where, according to the Farewell Bend State

Park website, “after following the Snake river for 350 miles, Oregon Trail Pioneers rested above the bend in the river here, then bid farewell to the Snake River and continued their trek.” Cf. Stewart, *American Place-Names* 43: “In OR the town is so called probably because of a bend in an early road, though there is also a river bend there.”

23. McArthur, *Names* 18.

24. McArthur, *Names* 7; see also Stewart, *American Place-Names* 13.

25. McArthur, *Names* 533; see also Stewart, *American Place-Names* 274.

26. A. Linklater, *Measuring America* (London, 2002) 200.

27. In his *Names on the Globe* (Oxford, 1975), G. R. Stewart’s classification of place-names includes—among others—“descriptive names,” “associative names,” “incident-names,” and “commemorative names,” as well as “mistake names” (85-162). One may also read—for edification and enjoyment—Stewart’s *Names on the Land: A Historical Account of Place Naming in the United States* (New York, 1945); and Wallace Stegner, *Beyond the Hundredth Meridian* (New York, 1953) 191-98 on names in the “Plateau Province” (eastern and southern Utah, part of western Colorado, northern New Mexico, and northern Arizona).

28. See, for example, Le Rider, *Suse* 410-11.

IX

POLIS HELLENIS

In the various sources for Hellenistic settlements one of the phrases used to describe a few of these foundations is *polis Hellenis*, i.e., Greek city.¹ It is used, for example, by Strabo, Isidore of Charax, Josephus, and Plutarch, as well as in the *Marmor Parium*, to describe various settlements in southern Syria, Mesopotamia, and points farther east. As this phrase might be useful in furthering our understanding of the settlements I should like to consider briefly its various occurrences with regard to the settlements. I am particularly interested in the significance of the word *Hellenis*. *Polis* is, of course, a most important and complex problem when one comes to the Hellenistic period, and deserves continuing investigation; however, in the present study I focus on the first term when it is used to describe a *polis*. But here, too, one must move cautiously because *Hellenis* (and, by extension, ethnicity) was a fluid and dynamic term that—over time—was subject to multiple definitions and applications.²

If, originally the term *Hellene* had a primarily racial, linguistic, or geographic connotation, already in the fifth century it began to be used in a cultural context as well and, in fact, could be adopted.³ Thus, Herodotus, in an oft-cited and much-discussed passage, says that in 479 B.C. the Athenians talked about “the kinship of all Greeks in blood and speech, and the shrines of gods and the sacrifices we all have in common and the likeness of our way of life” (8.144, trans. Godley). As Arnold Toynbee correctly noted, this Herodotean observation is noteworthy because it introduced a cultural component into what had previously been a racial and linguistic definition. Toynbee then pointed to Isocrates, who in 380 B.C. in another oft-quoted passage—this, from the *Panegyricus*—said that “the name ‘Hellenes’

suggests no longer a race but an intelligence (*dianoia*), and . . . the title ‘Hellenes’ is applied rather to those who share our culture than to those who share a common blood” (50, trans. Norlin). Toynbee remarked that “Isocrates was in advance of his time in giving ‘Hellenism’ an exclusively cultural connotation,” and emphasized that this was a “new conception of Hellenism.”⁴ But was it new? In a fragment from the opening lines of the lost *Phrixos B’* (*TrGF* 77 F 819) Euripides described Kadmos as a Sidonian who came to Thebes and, although born a Phoenician, changed his *genos*, became a *Hellene* and lived in the Dirkaion (i.e., the Theban) Plain.⁵ The fragment—if it accurately reflects the Euripidean text—is worthy of comment. It would appear that already in the latter part of the fifth century B.C. “Hellene” was already losing its racial connotation — at least in the eyes of some Greeks. From Euripides’ perspective one could change one’s *genos* simply by moving. Even if in this fragment there is no word about whether or not Kadmos learned to speak Greek or adopted Greek habits or customs, we should note that for Euripides just moving to Thebes was enough. It would appear that Isocrates’ conception of “Hellenism”—or, at least, “Hellene”—might not have been so new after all. At the very least, we may suggest that Isocrates was reflecting and expanding on a more liberal definition of “Hellene” that was already present in some circles in Athens in the latter part of the fifth century B.C.⁶

That having been said, it is important to note that the extent to which Isocrates was actually advocating a cultural definition of a Hellene as opposed to writing a panegyric (so the title) for Athenian cultural dominance is a matter of continuing discussion. But even if one (correctly) wants to see Isocrates’ claim within the larger political context of the time, the fact remains that the orator was suggesting that, at the very least, *Hellene* had a cultural as well as an ethnic component. This in itself reflects a development in the understanding of the term.⁷ This interpretation, however, is by no means universally accepted. Thus, S. Said suggested that the orator did not completely abandon the older definition of Greek ethnicity. Rather, he meant that from now on to be considered a Greek it would not be sufficient to have Greek blood; one would also need to have had an Athenian education.⁸ On the other hand, a number of scholars have emphasized that in the speech Isocrates was extolling Athenian cultural dominance at the expense of Sparta. Thus N. Baynes argued that the *Panegyricus* was intended to glorify Athens and was directed against Sparta. And S. Usher claimed that in the *Panegyricus* Isocrates was “narrowing the idea of ‘Greekness’ . . . rather than extending it to foreigners” and that the orator was asserting that Athenian culture represented the highest form of Hellenism.⁹ In any event, around

300 B.C. Clearchus of Soloi described a Jew from Jerusalem (who had supposedly met Aristotle) as “a Greek not only in his language but also in his soul.”¹⁰ Clearly we have now moved beyond the simple racial value for the term “Greek.” In time, *Hellenis* would undergo further development and be used in other contexts—for example, in Ptolemaic Egypt and the early Christian world—with still other nuances and meanings. As a result, each use of the term *polis Hellenis* must be considered in the setting within which it occurs if one is to understand its particular application and meaning.

I.

In the classical period the term *polis Hellenis* was used to denote, among other things, (a) cities of Greece as opposed to those located elsewhere, and (b) colonies planted by Greek cities in barbarian territory, including Macedonia, along with the colonies on the west coast of Asia Minor, in Sicily, and in southern Italy. In these cases, there is a contrast implicit or explicit with either a general barbarian environment or organized barbarian opposition, and it is often a question of a recognizable group, such as “the Greek cities of Asia” or “the Greek cities of Sicily.”¹¹

This category of meaning continues into the Hellenistic period and beyond. Thus, Strabo, writing in the late first century B.C./early first century A.D., cites Trapezous in Pontus (12.3.17), Mainaka in Spain (3.4.2), and (Ennius’s birthplace) Rhodiai in Italy (6.3.5) as *poleis Hellenides*. Interestingly, he also says that the Latin cities Tibur and Praeneste are called Greek (cities). Presumably the term refers to their legendary foundation stories: there was a tradition that Argives and Arcadians were involved in the founding of both.¹² In addition, Herakleides Pontikos (102, ed. Wehrli) referred to Rome as a “Greek city”—again, a reference to a mythological past. Similarly, Caere (Plut. *Camil.* 21.2; Strabo 5.2.3; Dion. Hal. 3.58) and Spina (Strabo 5.1.7; Dion. Hal. 1.18.3–4) were also called “Greek cities,” presumably an allusion to the mythological connection with the Pelasgians. We may note in passing that in these citations the term “Greek city” refers only to the foundation, not to contemporary characterizations of the inhabitants’ ethnicity or the character of the city. Stephanos (s.v. Τίβυρις, quoting Artemidorus) makes this explicit in his description of Tibur: “a Greek city with respect to its origins” (πόλις Ἑλληνὶς τὴν ἀρχὴν γεγонуῖα).

In addition, there are a number of examples where “Greek city” appears to be equivalent to an independent or “autonomous city.” For example, when discussing the cities on the Macedonian coast, Ps.-Scylax

(66 = GGM 1:52–53) distinguished between *poleis* and *poleis Hellenides*; the former were cities belonging to the Macedonian kingdom; the latter were independent city-states.¹³ When Polybius (21.24.8, “Greek cities”; 45.2, “autonomous cities”) talks about the cities of Asia Minor, it would appear—as E. Bickerman has suggested—that the terms “Greek city” and “autonomous city” were used interchangeably.¹⁴ Interestingly, in the Jerusalem Talmud there are a number of instances in which a town is referred to as *avtonit* (i.e., autonomous) or *boule*.¹⁵ Finally, there are a number of Hellenistic inscriptions in which the term “the Greek cities” is often used interchangeably with “the Greeks” and the “individual cities”; this is explicitly the case, for example, in a decree of the Delphic Amphictyony in honor of Eumenes II (Syll.3 630.4–5, 14–15, 182 B.C.). Elsewhere, the decree of ANTIOCH in Persis (OGIS 233.37 = *I. Estremo Oriente* 252 = *Euphrat* 306 = *IGIAC* 53) mentions the Hellenic cities that had benefited from services provided by Magnesia on the Maeander. The decree of Teos honoring Antiochos III (SEG 41:1003, A/B 6–7) refers (in a partially restored section) to the king as the common benefactor of Teos and the other Hellenic *poleis*. And a letter from Eumenes II to the Ionian League (RC 52.11, 167/6 B.C.) mentions the king’s efforts on behalf of the inhabitants of “Greek cities.”

II.

I should like to list briefly the various Hellenistic settlements that are described as *poleis Hellenides*, with brief notes about each one. I begin with a doubtful case—Ktesiphon—and then move on to towns and cities that were probably Hellenistic (re)foundations. In each case, see the particular entry for fuller discussion.

A. KTESIPHON : Josephus (*AJ* 18.376) described Ktesiphon as a πόλις Ἑλληνίς; this was probably, as Tcherikover noted, a characterization of the city rather than a description of its status (*HS* 91). On the other hand, Strabo described it simply as a κώμη μεγάλη (16.1.16). The personal name Ktesiphon is Greek; however, it is not clear whether the toponym was taken from the Greek world or resulted from the Hellenization of an Oriental name. There is no extant evidence that specifically indicates Ktesiphon was a Hellenistic foundation.

B. ICHNAI: a “Greek city founded by the Macedonians” (Isidore 1). The toponym Ichnai is found in both Thessaly and Macedonia. Presumably Mesopotamian Ichnai was named for one of these towns.¹⁶

C. NIKEPHOR ION : a *polis Hellenis* (Isidore 1). It was founded by Alexander (Isidore; Pliny *NH* 6.119) or Seleukos I (App. *Syr.* 298). Cassius

Dio says (40.13.1) that when M. Licinius Crassus was preparing for his campaign against the Parthians Nikephorion was one of the “Greek *poleis*” that supported him.¹⁷ According to Dio, many of the Greek and Macedonian colonists in the region regarded the Romans as “philhellenes.”

D. ALEXANDROPOLIS or ALEXANDREIA in Arachosia: “It is Greek” (Isidore 19).

E. ARTEMITA: a *polis Hellenis* in the district of Apolloniatis (Isidore 2). A “noteworthy *polis*” (Strabo 16.1.17). The toponym is Greek. Stephanos (s.v.) calls Artemita a “*polis* of the Parthians.”¹⁸ It is not clear whether Artemita was a Hellenistic refoundation or whether the Greeks in the town were descended from the Greeks transplanted to this area by Xerxes (Diod. 17.110.4–5).

F. CHALA: a *polis Hellenis* (Isidore 3). Is this identical with a group of Boeotians settled by Xerxes that is attested by Diodorus (17.110.4–5) as still keeping up the Greek language—for the most part—at the time of Alexander?

G. RHAGAI, [Herakleia], APAMEIA, and LAODIKEIA: “Greek cities in Media founded by the Macedonians” (Strabo 11.13.6).

H. ALEXANDREIA on the Tanais: a *polis Hellenis* (*Marmor Parium*, FGrH 239 B7).

I. ALEXANDREIA of the Caucasus: Plutarch (*De Fort. Alex.* 328F) also mentions a “Greek city” founded by Alexander in the Caucasus; presumably this refers to Alexandria of the Caucasus.

J. GAZA, GADARA, and HIPPOS: among the “Greek cities” that were detached from Archelaos’s territory and attached to the province of Syria (Joseph. *AJ* 17.320, *BJ* 2.96).

K. SKYTHOPOLIS: the designation *Hellenis polis* for Skythopolis is found on a dedicatory inscription that was discovered there. The dedication probably dates to 161–180 A.D.; it is probably also to be read—in abbreviated form—on some coins of the same period.¹⁹

I would note the following:

1. Isidore of Charax used the term *polis Hellenis* five times in his *Parthian Stations*. Tarn was unable to explain why Isidore sometimes used this expression.²⁰ He asserted that for Isidore, the term can mean nothing different from the simple *polis*, since according to Tarn, Isidore, following the official Parthian survey, keeps to the strict meaning of “city organized in Greek fashion” for the latter term.

2. It is not clear, incidentally, whether Strabo’s description of Rhagai, [Herakleia], Apameia, and Laodikeia as “Greek cities founded by the Macedonians” is based on conditions in his day or on Eratosthenes. The

latter was his source for a good deal of information about this region, and he, of course, lived in the late third century B.C. In any event, Polybius (10.27.3) also says that Media was “ringed about” with Greek cities.

3. A number of the settlements in the East continued to have some identifiable Greek character into the first century A.D. and beyond.²¹

III.

It is from southern Syria that we have the most extensive evidence for the term *polis Hellenis*. The earliest extant reference may be found in 2 Maccabees 6:8, which refers to an anti-Jewish decree that was published in the “neighboring Greek cities” at the time of the Antiochene persecutions. No further information is available as to which cities these were. Subsequently, at the death of Herod the Great in 4 B.C., there were rebellious protests in Jerusalem against the memory of the king and against his son, Archelaos. Augustus, after hearing appeals by various embassies and by “the Hellenic cities under Herod,” eventually decided how to handle the succession: Herod’s kingdom was broken up and divided among three of his sons.²²

Nicolaus of Damascus (*FGrH* 90 F136) mentions the rebellion against Herod’s children and against “the Greeks” that broke out after his death. Nicolaus also refers to the “Greek cities” that were subject to dispute and were demanding their “freedom” from Augustus. And Josephus (*AJ* 17.320, *BJ* 2.96) specifies that whereas Strato’s Tower, Sebaste, Joppa, and Jerusalem were cities that were included in the domain of Archelaos, Gaza, Gadara, and Hippos were among the “Greek cities” that were detached from Archelaos’s territory and attached to the province of Syria. If we search for a common thread connecting the three cities detached from Herodian territory, we note a number of factors:

1. All three seem to have been refounded during the Hellenistic period and given dynastic names: Gaza was renamed SELEUKEIA. HIPPOS, which, of course, is a Greek word, was renamed ANTIOCH. According to Stephanos (s.v. “Gadara”), GADARA was also called ANTIOCH as well as SELEUKEIA.

2. Two of the cities—Gadara and Hippos—are explicitly described as “Macedonian settlements” by George Synkellos (558–59).

3. According to Josephus (*AJ* 13.364) there was a council of 500 at Gaza in the second century B.C.

4. Like a number of others in the area, all three cities were also reconstituted or rebuilt through the efforts of Pompey and Gabinius. Furthermore, all three were absorbed into the province of Syria. We do

not know, incidentally, whether the removal from the jurisdiction of the king to a Roman province involved the grant of autonomy to the various cities, though it is certainly possible they were granted some kind of nominal “freedom” or “autonomy.” After all, “freedom” from Archelaos was, according to Nicolaus, a major demand of the “Greek cities.”

5. Two of the cities—Gaza and Hippos—coined money with Greek legends.

6. Gadara was well known as a center of Hellenic culture. In short, in all three “Greek cities” at least part of the population was Hellenophone or Hellenophile in the first century B.C./A.D.

Now, however, I would turn cautious. I have mentioned that both Gaza and Hippos minted coins with Greek legends. On the other hand, in the Hellenistic period a number of the old Phoenician cities also minted coins with Greek inscriptions, though unlike the settlements with dynastic names, coins of these cities frequently had accompanying Phoenician inscriptions as well.²³ Furthermore, from both Sidon and Tyre we have other examples of Greek culture—e.g., the erection of Greek inscriptions, townspeople appearing in victor lists at Delos and in the Panathenaia. Gravestones from Sidon, dated to the third or second century B.C., indicate the dead were Greek soldiers, mainly from Crete and Asia Minor, but some from Greece as well.²⁴ Sidonians appear in victor lists at, for example, the Theseia, the Panathenaia, and Delos.²⁵ And the Sidonians set up a statue—with accompanying Greek inscription—to commemorate the victory of Diotimos son of Dionysios at the Nemean games.²⁶ Interestingly, in the inscription Diotimos is described as a *dikastes*, i.e., *shofet*—a judge. As Fergus Millar has pointed out, this is a Phoenician office, not a Greek one. For all the use of the Greek language and the participation in Greek cultural activities, Sidon still maintained its native institutions.²⁷ Furthermore, the statue was sculpted by a Cretan—Timocharis—not a Sidonian. At Tyre, games in honor of Herakles/Melqart were celebrated every four years (2 Macc. 4:18–20). Nevertheless, the degree to which Hellenization asserted itself in the Phoenician cities is a matter of some discussion. Undoubtedly at the time there was an influential segment of the population that spoke or knew Greek. Nevertheless, no extant ancient author describes them as “Greek cities.”

It would be useful, too, to consider what Josephus apparently meant by “Greek.” In describing Seleukeia on the Tigris he says explicitly (*AJ* 18.372–74) that the population consisted of “many Macedonians, a majority of Greeks and not a few Syrians” (trans. Feldman). Furthermore, he says that there had been civil unrest between the Greeks and the

Syrians, but that after the growth of the Jewish community there, the Greeks and Syrians united and turned on the Jews. Clearly in this passage Josephus distinguished between Greek and Syrian, though it is unclear whether he was using the former term in an ethnic or simply a cultural sense.²⁸

Let us also consider Caesarea Maritima. Caesarea—the old Straton’s Tower—was refounded by Herod the Great and named in honor of Augustus. It is nowhere described as a “Greek city” in the extant sources. In the time of the emperor Nero civil strife broke out at Caesarea. Josephus quite frequently refers to the Syrians in Caesarea (*AJ* 20.173–78). Nevertheless, at one point (*BJ* 3.409) he says that most of the inhabitants there were Greeks. Elsewhere (*BJ* 2.266), he describes how “the Jewish portion of the population rose against the *Syrian inhabitants*. They claimed that the city was theirs on the ground that its founder, King Herod, was a Jew. Their opponents admitted the Jewish origin of its second founder but maintained that the city itself belonged to *the Greeks*. . . . Every day the more venturesome in either camp would rush into combat; for the older members of the Jewish community were incapable of restraining their turbulent partisans and the Greeks considered it humiliating to give way to the Jews” (trans. Thackeray; my emphasis). Josephus then concludes his account of the difficulties at Caesarea by remarking (*BJ* 2.284): “Meanwhile the Greeks of Caesarea had won their case at Caesar’s tribunal.” In fact, in this narrative Josephus—who lived in the latter part of the first century A.D. and was describing events in the middle of the same century—identified the Syrians as Greeks. The fact that Apollonius of Tyana, who also lived in the first century A.D., praised the city for its “Greek culture” (*Ep.* 11 [ἡθoς]) is interesting but does not say anything about the ethnic background of the inhabitants or the organization of the city.

Finally, I would call attention to the “Ancient Table of Contents” to Josephus’s *Jewish Antiquities*; the “Ancient Table of Contents” may date to the fifth/sixth century A.D. or earlier and, hence, is not without interest to the historian. One of the sections of the Table of Contents for book 15 lists “The founding of Greek cities (*poleon hellenidon*) which Herod accomplished.” The relevant sections of the text discuss the various towns and fortresses that Herod built or fortified: among these were Sebaste, Gaba, and Esbonitis, as well as Straton’s Tower, which he refounded as Caesarea. While the extent of the Hellenic element in these settlements may be debated, it would appear that—at the very least—these were not centers of Jewish habitation.²⁹ But now hard reality intervenes: while Josephus did not describe Sebaste and Caesarea as “Greek cities,” the

author of the “Ancient Table of Contents” did.

IV.

We can also see the progression and continuing elaboration in the meaning and use of the term *Hellene* if we consider Ptolemaic Egypt.³⁰ Practically all the people in Ptolemaic Egypt were divided into essentially two groups, Hellenes and Egyptians. But here, too, we must move cautiously because, as Roger Bagnall has observed, “As far back as we can look . . . Ptolemaic ethnicity appears a bit slippery.”³¹ When considering Ptolemaic Egypt, therefore, one should distinguish between private or social ethnicity, which was often related to a person’s race or geographic background, and official ethnicity, which was not. Official ethnic designations (as given in official or legal documents) reflected a person’s status, not necessarily his (or her) geographic or racial background. In short, in the official life of Ptolemaic Egypt ethnicity was a legal question, not—paradoxically—an ethnic one. In this sphere one could *become* a Hellene.

Originally, in third-century B.C. Egypt, most ethnic designations were precisely that: designations of a person’s city or regional background. The term “Hellene,” when it was used, referred primarily to persons who were Greek by descent, in opposition to the native Egyptians. And this usage continued throughout much of the period of Ptolemaic rule. For example, in a well-known document dating to 163 B.C. a certain Ptolemaios son of Glaukias complained that he had been attacked because he was a Greek (*UPZ* 17.21–22). And the ordinances of Ptolemy VIII in 118 B.C. distinguished between Greeks and Egyptians.³² If the basic distinction in the population of Ptolemaic Egypt continued—not surprisingly—to be between Hellenes and Egyptians, the designation of the term “Hellene” evolved. In time it came to include not just the descendants of ethnic Greeks but also most non-Egyptians—Macedonians, of course, and Thracians, Gauls, Syrians, and Jews, among others.³³

There is, in addition, another usage of the term “Hellene” that we find in Hellenistic Egypt. Under the Ptolemies ethnic designations also came to be used in official contexts to categorize or identify a person, i.e., to designate a person’s status rather than his (or her) race or geographic background. Thus, individuals who were not necessarily Greeks by origin or descent were so designated for official purposes. As a result we find “Hellenes” mentioned in a number of different official contexts—fiscal,³⁴ judicial,³⁵ military,³⁶ and agricultural.³⁷

It is interesting, incidentally, to note that later, with the arrival of the Romans, the juridical categories of the population changed: (1) Roman

citizens (“cives Romani”), (2) citizens of the three (later, four) Greek cities of Egypt (“cives peregrini”), (3) the rest of the population beyond those included in the two other groups (“peregrini Aegyptii”). In this scheme, the Hellenes now became simply “Egyptians,” just like the native Egyptians themselves.³⁸

V.

By way of further comparison, let us consider another (near-)contemporary source: the New Testament. It is generally—though not universally—agreed that in the many instances in which Jews and Greeks are contrasted in the New Testament the latter reference is actually to “Gentiles.”³⁹ For example, at Galatians 3:28 we read: “There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female.”⁴⁰ And at Mark 7:26 we read about the woman of Tyre who is specifically called a “Greek, a Syro-Phoenician by birth” (cf. Matthew 15:22, “a Canaanite woman”). Clearly this woman was not an ethnic Greek, though presumably she was a Hellenophone or, at least, a Hellenophile. Finally, we may note that in late antiquity persons described as Greeks could, in fact, be either Greeks or pagans.⁴¹ It will not be surprising, therefore, to find that in his *Commentary* on Ecclesiastes 9:11 (248.20–21, ed. M. Gronewald), Didymos the Blind—who lived in the fourth century A.D.—described Chorazin and Bethsaida as Jewish *poleis* and Tyre and Sidon as “Hellenic [*poleis*].” Interestingly, Gronewald translated the latter as “the heathen cities.”

I would also call attention to the term “Hellenist” (*Hellenistes*). Its earliest occurrence is in Acts in the New Testament, where it is found three times (Acts 6:1, 9:29; 11:20). The precise meaning of the term has been the subject of much discussion: does it, for example, refer to (a) Greek-speaking Jews, (b) Gentiles, (c) Jewish proselytes who converted to Christianity, or (d) Hellenophones? Briefly, it would appear most likely that it means simply “Hellenophone,” without reference to any ethnic or national group; this, at least, is the meaning that appears to fit best all three occurrences.⁴² But this is only a conjecture because here, too, the precise meaning of the term still eludes us.⁴³

VI.

From the world of the New Testament let us turn to the still pagan Graeco-Roman world of the first and second centuries A.D. Here I would mention a well-known observation of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who flourished in

the last third of the first century B.C./first half of the first century A.D. He defined *Hellenikon* as speaking the Greek language, having a Greek way of life, acknowledging the same gods, and having the same equitable laws (1.89.4). The similarity to Herodotus's criteria, which I mentioned earlier, is striking. The one omission in Dionysius—and a not insignificant one—is “of common blood.”⁴⁴ Now the cultural element becomes predominant, if not always exclusive. This becomes clear if we consider, for example, Dio Chrysostom, who lived in the latter half of the first century/early second century A.D.

If the main polarity in the New Testament is between Greeks and Jews, in Dio it is between Greeks and barbarians.⁴⁵ On the other hand, what precisely was meant by “Hellene” (and “barbarian”) was rather fluid. Dio, for example, observed (48.8) that one could be a Hellene by cultivation (*paideia*). Elsewhere he remarked that citizens in the cities near Caesarea in Asia Minor were “well-born people and very Greek” (47.13); he also noted that there was a specifically Hellenic type of beauty (21.16). In the address to his native city, Prousa, Dio framed his exhortation to the Prousians to make their city “truly Greek” by urging them to cultivate the “finer things” (44.10). Nevertheless, Dio makes clear that, in his view, descent (*physis*) remained an essential component in defining “Greekness,” as did religious rites, customs, and festivals (38.46, 40.28, 48.8).

VII.

Ethnics are mutable today, and they were in antiquity. They could be created and modified; they could also be manipulated.⁴⁶ I mention a number of examples from disparate times and regions. I have already mentioned Euripides' description of how Kadmos changed his *genos*. In Alexandria, Josephus tells us that the Jews were given permission to take the title “Macedonian” (*BJ* 2. 488). Of course, we are all familiar with the fact that in the Ptolemaic army ethnics came to designate branches of the military. The same was true elsewhere. Josephus (*BJ* 5.460, trans. Thackeray), for example, says that Antiochus Epiphanes of Commagene had “a bodyguard calling themselves ‘Macedonians’ . . . armed and trained in the Macedonian fashion, from which circumstance they took their title, most of them lacking any claim to belong to that race.”⁴⁷

We may also consider an incident that took place at the Temple in Jerusalem. According to the *Mishnah Yomah* (6.4), when the scapegoat was being led out on the Day of Atonement the Babylonians used to pull at its hair. But according to the *Gemara* (66b) to this passage, “Rabbah b. Bar Hana said: These were not Babylonians but Alexandrians, and because

they [the Palestinians] hated the Babylonians, they called them [the Alexandrians] by their [the Babylonians'] name. It was taught: R. Judah said, They were not Babylonians, but Alexandrians."⁴⁸ It is not clear, incidentally, whether the reference here is to Babylon in Mesopotamia or the settlement of the same name in Egypt.⁴⁹ Another example: Procopius (*History of the Wars* 1.18.38) says that almost all the Isaurians fighting in the battle of Callinicum in 531 A.D. were killed. Further on he says: "They were not in fact all Isaurians but the majority of them were Lycaonians."⁵⁰ Another example: it has been convincingly argued that in Italy of the late fifth century A.D. the terms "Roman" and "Goth" were created categories and were correlated more with profession than with language, religion, or ethnic background.⁵¹ And Peter Brown has pointed out that further east, the Syriac sources in the sixth century A.D. used the word "Goth" to mean "soldier."⁵²

Earlier I mentioned Strabo's description of Trapezous as a *polis Hellenis*. In his book on the Black Sea region Neal Ascherson discussed the Pontic Greeks in the Turkish city of Trabazon, the modern Trapezous: "Sophisticates in Trebizond might address one another in the fifteenth century as 'Hellenes', but this was a cultural fancy rather than an ethnic description. Outsiders . . . referred to them and to all the inhabitants of the Byzantine Empire as 'Rom' . . . people, or as 'Romanians', citizens of the Roman Empire, in other words, who were also distinguished by their orthodox Christian faith. Struggling with these categories, a Pontic Turk whose village had once been Greek . . . [said:] . . . "This is Roman (Rum) country; they spoke Christian here."⁵³ As in fifteenth-century A.D. Pontus, so in the Hellenistic and Roman periods: "Hellene" was both a "cultural fancy" and an "ethnic description." Furthermore, usage may have varied with different locations, different contexts, and different authors. "Hellene" could, of course, mean an ethnic Greek; but over time it could also refer to a native Asian who spoke Greek or otherwise partook of Greek culture. In later Ptolemaic Egypt it could refer essentially to all non-Egyptians. And from the Jewish/Christian perspective it could refer to the whole non-Jewish/non-Christian world.

The survival of Greek culture in the East and West—and the threat to its survival—was a *topos* in Greek and Latin literature. In the West, Strabo (6.1.2) noted that southern Italy, which was so heavily settled by Greeks that it was called Magna Graecia, was in his time becoming "barbarized." In Asia Minor before the battle of Magnesia in 189 B.C. the Roman general told his troops (Livy 38.17.11): "The Macedonians who hold Alexandria in Egypt, who hold Seleucia and Babylonia and other colonies scattered throughout the world have degenerated into Syrians, Parthians, Egyptians.

. . . Whatever grows in its own soil has greater excellence; transplanted to another soil, its nature being modified to suit that in which it grows, it loses its virtue” (trans. Sage). This is a good prebattle exhortation, but bad history. In fact, elsewhere, the Rhodians (37.54.18) claimed that “the cities which are on the ancient soil are not more Greek than their colonies, which once set out from there for Asia; nor does a change of habitation change race or manners (*genus aut mores*).” For example, the continued Greek character of Seleukeia on the Tigris attracted the attention of Pliny, Tacitus, and Cassius Dio. Pliny remarked (*NH* 6.122) that Seleukeia “at the present day . . . is a free and independent city and retains the Macedonian manners” (trans. Rackham). Tacitus (*Ann.* 6.42) singled out Seleukeia because it was still “faithful to the memory of its founder Seleucus [and] has not degenerated into barbarism” (trans. Jackson). Cassius Dio (40.16) described Seleukeia as a “city in Mesopotamia which even at the present day has a very large Greek population” (trans. Foster). On the other hand, later still, Ammianus Marcellinus (14.8.6) noted that Seleucus “built cities of great strength and abundant wealth; and many of these, although they are now called by the Greek names which were imposed on them by the will of their founder, nevertheless have not lost the old appellations in the Assyrian tongue which the original settlers gave them” (trans. Rolfe).

This concern in antiquity with the survival of Greek culture, particularly in the East, calls to mind a curious fact: except for AIGEI, toponyms derived from Macedonia and the Greek mainland are not attested in the extant sources for Hellenistic settlements in Asia Minor. These town names become common only when we cross the Tauros Mountains into Syria and Mesopotamia.⁵⁴ In this regard it is interesting to note, therefore, that the extant literary citations for the term *polis Hellenis*, when used in connection with Hellenistic settlements, refer to foundations in Syria and points farther east. Of course there were many Hellenistic settlements in Asia Minor. Nevertheless, I have not yet found a reference to any Hellenistic settlement in Asia Minor as a *polis Hellenis*. This, of course, will not be surprising for Josephus and Isidore of Charax; after all, their primary focus was not Asia Minor. But what about Strabo? In general, when he does choose to characterize a city in Asia Minor he will refer to it as, for example, an “Aeolian city” or an “Ionian city.”⁵⁵ As far as I could find, his only explicit use of *polis Hellenis* to describe a city in Asia Minor is for Trapezous, which was located north of the Pontic Alps on the Black Sea coast. He does, however, provide extensive information about numerous Hellenistic settlements in Asia Minor. And he specifically refers to two—THYATEIRA in Lydia and STRATON IKEIA in Caria—as “Macedonian settlements.” I have already mentioned that when Strabo mentioned

Rhagai, Apameia, and Laodikeia in Media he described them as “Greek cities which were Macedonian foundations.” Interestingly, in the case of Thyateira and Stratonikeia, Strabo did not add the description of them as “Greek cities.” What Strabo’s silence means—if anything—I do not know.

It is in connection with Cappadocia that we find reference to Greek cities. In his account of Tigranes, Strabo remarks (11.14.15) that the king filled Tigranokerta with people gathered from twelve “Greek cities” that he ravaged (ἐρημωθεισῶν). Elsewhere (12.2.9) he says that after Tigranes overran Cappadocia, he forced the inhabitants—including the inhabitants of Mazaka—to migrate to Mesopotamia; furthermore, he adds that the Armenian king populated Tigranokerta with these people. Plutarch (*Luc.* 21.4, 26.1, 29.2) also refers to Tigranes’s removal and resettlement of “Greeks” from Cilicia and Cappadocia to Tigranokerta. In short, it would appear that Strabo considered Mazaka a “Greek city.” Curiously, it is in connection with Cappadocia that we find another reference to a Greek city in Asia Minor. Philostratus, who lived in the first century A.D., described Tyana as “a Greek city amidst a population of Cappadocians” (*Life of Apollonius* 1.4, trans. Conybeare). Furthermore, there is evidence for a gymnasium there in this same period (*SEG* 1:466). Presumably the fact that the native population of Cappadocia was not particularly Hellenized brought into sharper focus the Hellenic character of those cities that were. The same phenomenon may explain Strabo’s characterization of Trapezous in Pontus.

I return to the object of my inquiry: when a Hellenistic settlement is described in the ancient sources as a *polis Hellenis* what does this tell us about the colony? Many—though not all—of the places described as a “Greek city” originated as a Greek settlement, either in the Hellenistic period or, occasionally, earlier still. A city described as “Greek” would undoubtedly have had some Greek connections, often in contrast with the surrounding population; but precisely what that Greek connection was and how strong remains a matter of speculation. Undoubtedly the resident population included a community of Hellenophones or Hellenophiles. Such persons—if sufficiently numerous and influential—could be expected to press for coinage to be minted with Greek legends, to found a gymnasium, institute “Greek” games, and set up a *polis* organization. Compare Pausanias’s sarcastic comment about Panopeus in Phocia (10.4.1, trans. Jones): “Panopeus, a city (*polis*) of the Phocians, if one can give the name of city to those who possess no government offices, no gymnasium, no theater, no market-place, no water descending to a fountain, but live in bare shelters just like mountain cabins, right on a ravine.” Nevertheless, it remains unclear how much—if any—of this would actually have

materialized in any particular Hellenistic settlement and how much would have survived down to the first century A.D. and later. In this connection it is important to emphasize that most of the sources that bear on the subject date to the first century A.D. or later, i.e., to the post-Hellenistic period. Furthermore, we do not know why the ancient sources described a particular settlement as a *polis Hellenis* but omitted the same designation for other foundations. At the very least we can suggest that during the Hellenistic and Roman periods *polis Hellenis*—when the term was used to describe a Hellenistic settlement—was not used as a technical term in the modern sense. Rather its use and its application apparently rested largely on the context in which the term appeared. In short, therefore, it would appear that the use of the term *polis Hellenis* to describe a Hellenistic settlement has limited value for determining its precise organization or societal structure. But this, too, has value because it defines the limits available to the researcher in using the expression to help describe a Hellenistic settlement.

1. I am immensely grateful to Mischa Hooker for exemplary research assistance in the preparation of this appendix.

2. On Greek ethnicity see, especially, J. M. Hall, *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity*; id., *Hellenicity*; Malkin, *Ancient Perceptions of Greek Ethnicity*; and A. A. Lund, *Historia* 54 (2005) 1–17; see also Walbank, *Selected Papers* 1–19; id., *Polybius, Rome, and the Hellenistic World* 137–52.

3. See, for example, Toynbee, *Some Problems of Greek History* 58–63; Trédé in *Hellenismos* 71–80.

4. *Some Problems of Greek History* 59–60; see also J. M. Hall, *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity* 44–45.

5. See also Ar. *Frogs* 1225; Ps.-Plut. *On Exile* 607B–C; id. *Lives of the Ten Orators, Isocrates* 837E; [Lucian] *Makrob.* 23; Tzetzes *Comment.* on the *Frogs* 1225 (ed. Koster); and *POxy.* 2455, frag. 17, col. xix. (= *TrGF* 5:2, p. 861). On Kadmos as Phoenician and as Greek see Miller in *Cultural Borrowings* 79–84. Miller noted that Bachylides (14.41–48) and Pherecydes (*FGrH* 3 F21) linked Kadmos with Egypt, and Herodotus (2.49.3, 4.147.4, 5.57–61) portrayed him as a Phoenician immigrant with ties to Egypt. On the other hand, Pindar (*Ol.* 2.23, 78; *Pyth.* 9.82–83, 3.86–

92; *Is.* 1.30, 7.10; *Paian.* 9.44; *Dithyr.* 2.27) saw him as Greek. This might have been—as Miller observed—a result of “Boeotian patriotism.” Miller also pointed out that whereas Kadmos is portrayed as Phoenician in fifth-century literary texts, he is presented as Greek in fifth- and fourth-century iconography (81 and earlier discussions cited in n. 68). On Greeks and barbarians in Euripides see S. Said, *Ktema* 9 (1984) 27–53.

6. See Trédé in *Hellenismos* 72. In the fourth century B.C. the term *genos* could also be used with a nonethnic connotation to indicate “class, sort, kind” (LSJ s.v. “genos V”). Nevertheless, I believe that in the *Phrixos B'* passage Euripides was using the term in its meaning of “race” or “descent”; see further Jones, *Kinship Diplomacy in the Ancient World* 15; J. M. Hall, *Hellenicity* 214.

7. Interpretations of *Panegyricus* 50 run the gamut. For example, M. Trédé observed that this is “the first and best statement of a cultural definition of ‘Greek’ ” (in *Hellenismos* 72). See also A. A. Lund, *Historia* 54 (2005) 13.

8. In *Greek Ethnicity* 282; see also Said in *Greeks on Greekness* 48–55.

9. Baynes, *Byzantine Studies and Other Essays* 1:152–53; Usher, *Isocrates Panegyricus and To Nicocles* 161; Usher in Kuhn, *The Birth of the European Identity* 131–45; see also J. M. Hall, *Hellenicity* 209.

10. In *Authors* 1:49ff.

11. For the distinction between “barbarian” and “Hellene” see, for example, Strabo (6.1.2, 10.3.9, 14.5.25); Josephus (*AJ* 18.20); Dio Chrysostom (1.14, 38; 14.16; 32.35, 40), Pausanias (1.14.2, 8.25.13, 46.4, 10.32.3); Pliny *NH* 6.7; Ps.-Scymnus 932–34 (*GGM NH* 1:335.) On barbarians and Hellenes see E. Hall, *Inventing the Barbarian* 11; Antonaccio and Said in *Greek Ethnicity* 121, 287; on Macedonians and Hellenes see J. M. Hall in *Greek Ethnicity* 165–72.

12. Horace refers to Tibur as *Argeo positum colono* (2.6.5); more detailed accounts make one of the founders, at least, Tiburnus, a descendant of the Argive Amphiaraus. There is also the tradition that Arcadians were involved (Solinus 2.8). Praeneste, according to some stories, was founded by a son or grandson of Odysseus (Solinus 2.8; Stephanos s.v. “Prainestos”). Strabo (5.3.11) says that its former name was Polystephanos; Pliny (*NH* 3.64) says it was once called “Stephane”: in either case, a Greek name. In the case of both cities, there are also rival stories that involve no Greek connection.

13. Hatzopoulos, *Macedonian Institutions under the Kings* 1:473; U. Kahrstedt, *Hermes* 81 (1953) 91–111; Kalleris, *Les anciens Macedoniens*

593 and 603, n. 3.

14. *REG* 50 (1937) 218.

15. M. Jastrow, *Dictionary of the Talmud* s.v. “Avtoniot.”

16. On Thessalian and Macedonian Ichnai see Strabo 5.435; Hdt. 7.123; and Papazoglou, *Villes* 154–56.

17. According to Florus 1.46, Crassus was at Nikephorion when an embassy from Orodes came to him; see further A. Garzetti, *Athenaeum* (1944) 4 of.; Marshall, *Crassus* 153.

18. Tacitus (*Ann.* 6.41) calls Artemita and Halum—which is probably Isidore’s Chala—*Parthica oppida*.

19. G. Foerster and Y. Tsafir, *INJ* 9 [1986–1987] 57; P.-L. Gatier, *Syria* 67 (1990) 205–206.

20. *GBI*² 21.

21. See, for example, Tac. *Ann.* 6.42; Cassius Dio 40.16; Joseph. *AJ* 18.372–74; and Cohen, *Settlements in Europe* 71.

22. Smallwood, *Jews* 108–10.

23. E.g, Tyre: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΤΥΡΙΩΝ (*SNG Spaer* 1670, 140/39 B.C.); Sidon: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΣΙΔΩ (*SNG Spaer* 1654, 145/4 B.C.).

24. Grainger, *Hellenistic Phoenicia* 82 n. 105.

25. *IG* 2:960.16 (Theseia), 2314.21 (Panathenaia); *IG* 11:203A.68 (Delos).

26. Bickerman in *Mélanges Dussaud* 91–99; Grainger, *Hellenistic Phoenicia* 81.

27. F. Millar, *PCPS* (1983) 55–71.

28. Josephus’s description of the population of Seleukia in *AJ* 18.372–74 is problematic and has been the subject of much discussion. For example, Oppenheimer claimed (*BabJ* 221 and n. 52) that at *AJ* 18.372 Josephus meant by “Greeks” Hellenized natives rather than true, ethnic Greeks, and by “Syrians” non-Hellenized natives. The descendants of the original settlers from Greece and Macedonia, he claimed, were subsumed under the rubric “Macedonian.” Hence, according to Oppenheimer, the major part of the population of Seleukeia was composed of Hellenized Babylonians. However, Josephus says quite explicitly that for a long time there had been bitter antagonism between the Greeks and the Syrians. In Oppenheimer’s interpretation this would presumably mean between the Syrians and the Hellenized Syrians. I confess to being somewhat

uncomfortable with Oppenheimer's suggestion.

In fact, Oppenheimer points out that in his description of Caesarea Maritima Josephus apparently used the terms "Greek" and "Syrian" interchangeably (*BabJ* 221 n. 52) and that he described various Palestinian—i.e., native—cities (e.g., Gaza, Gadara, and Hippos) as "Greek" cities (*AJ* 1.144). As regards Seleukeia, Cassius Dio explicitly says that in the midfirst century B.C. Crassus expected that he would easily win over its inhabitants because they were Greeks (προσποιήσεσθαι γάρ σφας ἅτε καὶ Ἕλληνας ῥαδίως ἤλπιζεν, 40.20), and that in his day (late second/early third century A.D.) it still had a mainly Greek population (πλεῖστον τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν καὶ νῦν ἔχουσα, 40.16); note, incidentally, the similarity in wording that Cassius Dio (πλεῖστον τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν) and Josephus (πλεῖστοι δὲ Ἕλληνες) use to describe the community of Greeks in Seleukeia. Furthermore, the distinction between "Greek" and "Macedonian" continued for some time. For example, Isidore of Charax (1), writing at the end of the first century B.C., described Doura as a Macedonian foundation that was called EURO POS by the Greeks (see also Joseph. *AJ* 12.119). Oppenheimer is also undoubtedly correct when he suggests that by the first century A.D. many Syrians had been assimilated through intermarriage and acculturation into the Greek and Macedonian communities of Seleukeia. Nevertheless, it appears that when Josephus says there were Macedonians, Greeks, and Syrians living in Seleukeia he was making a (primarily) demographic rather than a cultural or linguistic observation; see also T. Spawforth (in *Greeks on Greekness* 4 and n. 13), who correctly emphasized that in describing the population makeup of Seleukeia, Josephus used the present tense in order to describe the situation in the first century A.D. The difficulty is that Josephus is not always consistent in his application of ethnic terms—a reflection, perhaps, of the common usage at the time (see, again, Spawforth [in *Greeks on Greekness* 3-4], who correctly noted the difficulty of understanding precisely what Josephus meant by the term "Macedonian" when used in a nonmilitary context). Put another way, Oppenheimer is quite precise in his interpretation of the three population groups articulated by Josephus at *AJ* 18.372-74; it is not clear, however, if Josephus was equally precise. Finally, I would note, for example, that elsewhere (*AJ* 1.144) Josephus mentions "the Aramaeans, whom the Greeks term Syrians" (trans. St. J. Thackeray; see Feldman in *Josephus Commentary* 3:51). There, at least, we see no reference to the degree of Hellenization or non-Hellenization of the population.

In general, see the discussions of Oppenheimer (*BabJ* 220-21) and D. Goodblatt (*JAOS* 107 [1987] 605-22) and the literature cited in each, as well as SELEUKEIA on the Tigris, n. 14.

29. See H. St. J. Thackeray, *Josephus* (Cambridge and London, 1978) 4:636–37.

30. The literature on ethnic designations in Ptolemaic Egypt is extensive. See, for example, E. Bickerman, *Archiv* 8 (1927) 216–39; Méleze-Modrzejewski in *Essays Welles* 148; id., *REG* 96 (1983) 241–68; id. in *Mneme Petropoulos* 1:62; id. in *Symposion 1982* 241–80; Goudriaan, *Ptolemaic Egypt*; Bilde et al. in *Hellenistic Egypt*; Thompson in *Greek Ethnicity* 301–19.

31. Bagnall in Bierbrier, *Portraits and Masks* 7.

32. *C. Ord. Ptol.* 53.168–69, 207–20; see also *P. Magd.* 32.3–4 = *P. Ent.* 22 (219 B.C.).

33. Galen, *De Sanitate tuenda* 1.10.17 [VI.51] (= *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum* V.4.2, ed. Koch), who lived in the second century A.D., divided humanity into barbarians, Greeks, and people who had adopted Greek ways. With the latter category compare *P. Col. Zen.* 66.21, which records the complaint of a non-Greek (possibly an Arab) in 256 or 255 B.C. that he had been badly treated because he did not know how “to act like a Greek.”

34. E.g., Clarysse in *Pap. Cong. XX* 193–203 on *CPR* XIII 4.109–98 (Jews counted as “Hellenes”) and 4.110, 113 (Thracians counted as “Hellenes”); on “tax-Hellenes” see also Thompson in *Multi-Cultural Society* 326; id. in *Hellenistic Constructs* 247–48; id. in *Greek Ethnicity* 310–11. In *CPJ* 33, which relates to tax collection, Hellenes are opposed to Jews rather than Egyptians, the only extant example of such a distinction; see also Méleze-Modrzejewski, *REG* 96 (1983) 267 n. 113.

35. E.g., *C. Ord. Ptol.* 53.207–20.

36. E.g., *C. Ord. Ptol.* 53.169 = *P. Tebt.* 5.

37. E.g., *P. Amh.* 40.7–8 (second century B.C.); see also Méleze-Modrzejewski, *REG* 96 (1983) 267–68; Thompson in *Greek Ethnicity* 304–12.

38. See Bagnall in Bierbrier, *Portraits and Masks* 7–15; cf. Cassius Dio, who says that, when dealing with the cities of Ephesos and Nikaia, Augustus distinguished between the Romans and the “*xenoi* whom he called Hellenes” (τοῖς δὲ δὴ ξένοις, Ἑλληνας σφας ἐπικαλέσας, 51.20.7).

39. See H. Windisch in *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1972) s.v. “Hellen.”

40. See also Colossians 3:11: “Where there is neither Greek nor Jew . . .”; and 1 Corinthians 12:13: “For by one spirit we were all baptized into one body—Jews or Greeks, slaves or free . . .”.

41. G. Bowersock, *Hellenism in Late Antiquity* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1990) 9.

42. See the useful discussions of Windisch in *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament* s.v. "Hellen"; and L. Morris in the *International Standard Bible Encyclopedia* s.v. "Hellenist."

43. In contrast to the usage of the term in the Jewish/early Christian world of the first century A.D., Strabo appears to mean "ethnic Greek" when he uses the term "Greek" at 6.1.2 and 10.3.9. This is apparently also the meaning at 14.5.25, where he is discussing the tribes of Asia Minor and affirms the old Hellenic dichotomy that the world was made up of Greeks and barbarians. The context—he is discussing the Ionians, Aeolians, and Dorians—indicates he is using the term "Greek" in the ethnic rather than the cultural sense. I have already mentioned that at 11.13.6 Strabo specifically says that Rhagai, [Herakleia], Apameia, and Laodikeia were "Greek cities founded by the Macedonians." Does Strabo here mean "Greek" in the ethnic rather than the "cultural" sense?

44. See, for example, J. M. Hall, *Hellenicity* 224; Said in *Ancient Perceptions of Greek Ethnicity* 290.

45. See, for example, 12.27, 33; 32.40; and Bowie in *Hellenismos* 195–203; Saïd in *Greek Ethnicity* 286–94; J. M. Hall, *Hellenicity* 224–26.

46. See, for example, J. M. Hall, *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity* 1–3.

47. See, for example, Spawforth in *Greeks on Greekness* 3.

48. Soncino ed., trans. L. Jung.

49. For Babylon in Egypt see, for example, Joseph. *AJ* 2.315; Strabo 17.1.30; Diod. 1.56.3; for additional literary citations and numerous papyrological references see *Dizionario* s.v. "Babylon" and *Supplements*; see also G. T. Manley, *Evangelical Quarterly* 16 (1944) 138–46. Note, too, that in the early church "Babylon" was frequently used in a number of different symbolic senses; see, for example, Watson, *ABD* s.v. "Babylon."

50. See G. Greatrex, *Rome and Persia at War, 502–532* (Leeds, 1998) 201 n. 24; H. Elton in Mitchell and Greatrex, *Ethnicity and Culture in Late Antiquity* 293–307.

51. Amory, *People and Identity in Ostrogothic Italy* 40–42, 86–89, 151–52, 348–49.

52. Cited in Amory, *People and Identity in Ostrogothic Italy* 25 n. 49 (personal communication to the author).

53. *Black Sea* 181.

54. Cohen, *Settlements in Europe* 56.

55. See, for example, “Aeolian”: Strabo 12.3.27; 13.1.6, 46, 49, 58; 3.5, 6; 14.1.39; “Ionian”: 12.3.21; 14.1.27; “Pamphylian”: 12.7.1; “Pisidian”: 13.4.16; see also “Syrian”: 14.5.25; “Thracian”: 14.1.30.

X

THE ETHNIC “BABYLON IAN”

IG XII.5 715 (= *I. Estremo Oriente* 99) is an inscription from the island of Andros. It records a decree of Andros that honors a certain Dromon son of Phanodemos, a Βαβυλώνιος, and is dated palaeographically to the third century B.C.¹ In studying this inscription some scholars have generally—and understandably—assumed that Dromon was from Babylon, i.e., the city. But was Dromon necessarily from Babylon? In other words, does the term “Babylonian” as used in the inscription indicate that Dromon was (a) from the city of Babylon, (b) the region of Babylonia, or (c) the city of Seleukeia on the Tigris? In fact, on this question, opinions vary. Susan Sherwin-White, following G. Le Rider, believed it was used as a city ethnic for Babylon. Tarn, on the other hand, assumed it meant that Dromon was a Seleukeian, i.e., that the term was used as a city ethnic for Seleukeia on the Tigris.²

If Dromon was, in fact, from Babylon we would have evidence to support the contention that in the third century B.C. (a) there was a Greek community in Babylon, and (b) the city still retained its old name. I should, therefore, like to consider whether or not the Andrian inscription definitely indicates Dromon was from the *city* of Babylon.

When Seleukos I Nikator founded Seleukeia on the Tigris he transferred to it settlers from Babylon (Paus. 1.16.3).³ Strabo (16.1.16), writing in the late first century B.C./early first century A.D., said that Seleukeia had replaced Babylon as the “metropolis of Assyria.” By the mid-first century A.D. Pliny described Babylon as “deserted” (*NH* 6.122).⁴

Along with a number of other scholars, Tarn assumed that Antiochos IV

Epiphanes founded Babylon as a “Greek city.” The major support for this position was *OGIS* 253, an inscription dated to 167/6 B.C. by the Seleucid calendar, 166/5 by the Babylonian (l. 3) and that mentions (l. 8) the Seleucid era 144 (i.e., 169/8 B.C.); it records a dedication that reads, in part: Βασιλεύοντος Ἀντιόχου θ[εοῦ Ἐπιφανοῦς] | σωτήρος τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ κτίσ[του καὶ εὐεργέτου] | τῆς πόλεως; and further on it specifically mentions the dedication to θεῶι Ἐπιφαν[εῖ].⁵ The assumption had been that this inscription came from Babylon. In fact, as Sherwin-White pointed out, its provenience is not known. As a result, one cannot use the dedication to support the claim that Epiphanes founded a settlement at Babylon. Having disposed of the support for Antiochos IV as founder of a settlement at Babylon, Sherwin-White pointed to various indications of a Greek presence at Babylon in the third century B.C., among them the theater, an *ostrakon* with Greek names dated palaeographically to the third century B.C., and *IG XII.5* 715, the Andrian inscription.⁶ Furthermore, Sherwin-White correctly noted that since the decree from Andros is a public document, we should expect that Βαβυλώνιος is used here as the ethnic of a city. However, there is a problem with the term “Babylonian.” Let us briefly review the pertinent evidence.

Pliny (*NH* 6.122; see also 212) says that Seleukeia on the Tigris “tamen Babylonia cognominatur.” Strabo remarked (16.1.16): ὥσπερ δὲ Βαβυλωνίαν τὴν χώραν καλοῦμεν, οὕτω καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας τοὺς ἐκεῖθεν Βαβυλωνίους καλοῦμεν, οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλ’ ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Σελευκείας ἦττον, κἂν ἐκεῖθεν ὦσι, καθάπερ Διογένη τὸν Στωικὸν φιλόσοφον (“And as we call the country Babylonia, so also we call the men from there Babylonians, that is, not after the city, but after the country; but we do not call men after Seleuceia, if they are from there, as, for example, Diogenes the Stoic philosopher,” trans. Jones). Strabo’s observation that Diogenes the Stoic, although from Seleukeia, was often called “the Babylonian” was echoed by other authors: for example, Cicero *De nat. deorum* 1.41, *De officiis* 3.51; see also Diogenes Laertius 6.81: στωικός, γένος Σελευκεύς, ὁ καὶ Βαβυλώνιος καλούμενος διὰ τὴν γειτονίαν; cf. Athen. 5.211b: Διογένης . . . τὸ μὲν γένος ἦν ἐκ Σελευκείας τῆς ἐν Βαβυλωνίᾳ; Stephanos s.v. “Babylon”: Σελεύκεια καλουμένη; Eustathius *Comment.* 1005 (= *GGM* 2.390): Ἔτεροι δὲ Σελεύκειάν ποτε καλεῖσθαι τὴν τοιαύτην Βαβυλῶνά φασι; George Cedrenus 292.

Essentially, two explanations are given in the ancient literature for the fact that Seleukeia was surnamed “Babylonian”: (1) According to Diogenes Laertius, Diogenes the Stoic was called “the Babylonian” because Seleukeia was near Babylon. (2) Strabo says that people from the region of Babylonia were called Babylonians, i.e., they were called after the region

rather than the city. Hence, according to him, Diogenes the Stoic, who was from Seleukeia (which was in Babylonia) was known as “the Babylonian” rather than as “the Seleukeian.” Confirmation that Strabo used the term “Babylonian” to refer to a region rather than as an ethnic for a city can be seen by considering the way he describes Seleukos the astronomer, who was from Seleukeia. The question is: which Seleukeia? In the past scholars have often assumed the latter was from Seleukeia on the Tigris or from Babylon.⁷ Strabo refers three times to the astronomer: (a) Σέλευκος ὁ Βαβυλώνιος (1.1.9), (b) Σέλευκος δ’ ὁ ἀπὸ τῆς Σελευκείας and Χαλδαῖος (16.1.6), (c) Σέλευκος ὁ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐρυθραῖς θαλάττης (3.5.9). In addition, Stobaios (1.21.3a, ed. Wachsmuth and Hense) calls him Σέλευκος ὁ Ἐρυθραῖος. In short, as Franz Cumont has convincingly demonstrated, Seleukos the astronomer was from Seleukeia on the Erythraean Sea, not from Seleukeia on the Tigris.⁸ Furthermore, Strabo’s mention of Seleukos as ὁ Βαβυλώνιος—like his characterization of Diogenes the Stoic—refers to the region, not to the city.

One last item remains to be considered: How early is the evidence for the use of the term “Babylonian” to refer to the region? The earliest attested literary citation for referring to people from Seleukeia as “Babylonians” is found in Cicero, who dates from the mid-first century B.C. However, the evidence may go back earlier. Strabo lived in the late first century B.C./ early first century A.D. Yet the attestation for Strabo’s use of the ethnic “Babylonian” may actually date from an earlier period, depending on the date for his source. For example, the astronomer Hipparchus, whom Strabo cites in his reference to “Seleukos the Babylonian” (1.1.9), lived in the latter part of the second century B.C. Eratosthenes and Posidonius, two of the authors on whom Strabo often relied and who were his sources of information for his discussion about naphtha in Babylonia (16.1.15), lived, respectively c. 275–194 B.C. and c. 135–c. 50 B.C. Eratosthenes in turn frequently used the work of Polyclitus of Larissa, who lived in the late fourth century B.C.; the latter is also mentioned by Strabo (16.1.13) in his discussion of the Euphrates.

Finally, Sherwin-White suggested that in Greek public documents the ethnic that one was likely to encounter was the city (rather than the regional) ethnic.⁹ Not always. Regional ethnics are occasionally found in public documents. For example, in Europe, inhabitants of Hellenistic Thessalonike frequently called themselves “Macedonians.”¹⁰ Furthermore, as one proceeds east references to persons by regional ethnics in Delian and Delphic public documents are not uncommon. For example, a Delphic *proxenos* decree honored Asklepiades, a Phoenician (*SGDI* 2589), and documents from Delos refer to Sosikrates (*I. Delos* 2598.27), Theokritos

(*IG XI.4 591.3*), and Xenodemos (*IG XI.4 633.3–4*), all Syrians, as well as Hyspsianos, a Bactrian (*I. Delos 442.B.108, 1432.AII.27*). Of course, city ethnics for Syrian and Phoenician and even Babylonian individuals are also be found in Delphic, Delian, and other public documents; thus, for example, Antioch and Laodikeia (presumably the Syrian cities), Sidon, Tyre, Beirut (*I. Delos, 2598*), and Seleukeia on the Tigris (*I. Delos 2429 and 2445*; see also Klee, *Gymnischen Agone 16* [Kos, 182–178 B.C.] and *EAD 30:292* [second/first century B.C.]).¹¹ However, the appearance of multiple examples of regional ethnics is significant. For purposes of this brief investigation, it removes one further support for the argument that in *IG XII.5 715* “Babylonian” should be read as a city ethnic.

In short, the appearance of the term “Babylonian” in *IG XII.5 715* may refer to the city of Babylon. However, it is also possible it refers to the region of Babylonia. If the latter is the case then we must remove *IG XII.5 715* from the body of definite evidence available to us for reconstructing the history of Hellenistic Babylon.

1. For the dating see Hiller von Gaertringen *ad IG XII.5 715*; Sherwin-White suggested it probably was from the second half of the century (*ZPE 47* [1982] 68).

2. See, for example, Le Rider, *Suse 37* n. 3; see also Sherwin-White, (above, n. 1); Tarn, *GBI*² 15 and n. 8: “Seleuceia was sometimes called Babylon and Seleucians more often than not were called Babylonians; indeed a Greek called a ‘Babylonian’ generally means a Seleucian. . . . Prior to Antiochus IV a Greek called a Babylonian must, it would seem, be a Seleucian, like Dromon son of Phanodemus at Andros in the third century.”

3. A Babylonian cuneiform text that records events in the reign of Antiochos I had been understood to indicate that in 274 B.C. the king transferred Babylonians to Seleukeia. However, recently R. J. van der Spek has argued that the text deals with the sending of an embassy of Babylonian members of the Temple Council, three days after “messages of the king from [*sic*] Sardis arrived”; see *BABYLON*, n. 2.

4. For Babylon continuing as a religious and cultural center in the Hellenistic period and beyond (until the mid-third century A.D.)—despite Pliny’s claim—see *BABYLON* and n. 16.

5. On *OGIS* 253 (= *I. Estremo Oriente* 103 = *Euphrat* 509) see the improved text of M. Zambelli, *Riv. fil.* 88 (1960) 363–98, esp. 374–80; J. Robert and L. Robert, *BE* (1962) 321; J. G. Bunge, *Chiron* 6 (1976) 58–62; Sherwin-White, *ZPE* 47 (1982) 64–66; Sherwin-White and Kuhrt, *Samarkhand* 157.

6. For the *ostrakon* see Sherwin-White (*ZPE* 47 [1982] 54–64; see earlier, bibliography and editions on p. 54).

7. See, for example, Gossen, *RE* s.v. “Seleukos 38”; Heath, *OCD1* and *OCD2* s.v. “Seleucus 5” (corrected by G. J. Toomer in the third edition of the *OCD*).

8. *Syria* 8 (1927) 83–84; see also Biffi, *Strabone* 143; and Radt, *Kommentar* 8:270.

9. *ZPE* 47 (1982) 68.

10. For Thessalonike see, for example, C. Michel, *Recueil* 389.13, 34 (cf. 322); see also W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge* 3 492; *IG IX.2* 367; *IG X.2*[1] 1031; and *FD III.1* 577.

We may also note the case of *Alexandria Troas*. During the Hellenistic period the ethnic for *Alexandria Troas* was Ἀλεξανδρεὺς (e.g., Bellinger, *Troy: The Coins; Supplementary Monograph* 2, p. 91, no. A123ff.). In the Imperial period, however, the toponym is often found as Τρωάς (e.g., *BCH* 15 [1891] 449; Acts 16:8, 11; 20:5–6; 2 Corinthians 12:2; 2 Timothy 4:13. See also Ruge, *RE* s.v. “Troas,” 583–84; L. Robert, *Les gladiateurs dans l’Orient grec* 296 n. 2; id., *Hellenica* 2 [1946] 67–68; Habicht’s commentary on *I. Pergamon VIII.3* 74) and the ethnic as Ἀλεξανδρεὺς ἐκ τῆς Τρωιάδος (*Syll.* 3 585.44), Τρῶς ἀπὸ Ἀλεξανδρείας (*Syll.* 3 585.40), Αἰολεὺς ἀπ’ Ἀλεξανδρείας (*BCH* 59 [1935] 56, no. 2, l. 35), and Τρωαδεὺς (*FD III.1* 551.26–27; *I. Pergamon VIII.3* 74), which succeeded Τρῶς ἀπὸ Ἀλεξανδρείας.

11. Persons from Seleukeia on the Tigris are also mentioned in inscriptions as agonistic victors or residents at Lebedeia in Boeotia (S. N. Koumanoudes, *AD* 26 [1971] 36 [second/ first century B.C.]), Rhodes (C. P. Jones, *Tyche* 7 [1992] 124, l. A.16 [second/first century B.C.]), Athens (C. Habicht and S. V. Tracy, *Hesperia* 60 [1991] 188 [= *SEG* 41:115], col. I.6 [170/69 B.C.]), and Olympia (Eusebius, *Chron.* I [ed. Schoene, 1875] 212 [100 B.C.]).

ABBREVIATIONS

AA	Archäologischer Anzeiger.
AAA	Athens Annals of Archaeology.
AAE	Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy.
AA(A)S	Les annales archeologiques (arabes) syriennes.
AASOR	Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research.
AAWW	Anzeiger der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien.
AB	Analecta Bollandiana.
ABC	A. K. Grayson. <i>Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles</i> . Locust Valley, N.Y., 1975.
ABD	D. N . Freedman, ed. <i>The Anchor Bible Dictionary</i> . 6 vols. New York, 1992.
ABSA	Annual of the British School at Athens.
AC	Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia. <i>Hist. Achaemenid History</i> . 14 vols. Leiden, 1987-2008.
Ach.	
AClass	<i>Antiquité classique</i> .
ACO	<i>Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum</i> .
ActaA	<i>Acta Antiqua</i> .
Acta Arch.	<i>Acta Archaeologica</i> .
<i>Acts of Mar Mari</i>	A. Harrak, trans. and ed. <i>The Acts of Mar Mari the Apostle</i> . Atlanta, 2005.
AD	<i>Archaologikon deltion</i> .
AE	<i>L'annee épigraphique</i> .
<i>Afghanistan</i>	F. Hiebert, and P. Cambon, eds. <i>Afghanistan: Hidden Treasures from the National</i>

- Museum, Kabul.* Washington, D.C., 2008.
- Afghanistan ancien* O. Bopearachchi and M.-F. Boussac, eds. *Afghanistan ancien carrefour entre l'est et l'ouest.* Turnhout, 2005.
- Afghanistan carrefour*
- Afghanistan une histoire* *Afghanistan une histoire millenaire.* Paris, 2002.
- AfO* *Archiv fur Orientforschung.*
- After Alexander* J. Cribb and G. Herrmann, eds. *After Alexander: Central Asia before Islam.* Oxford, 2007.
- Age of the Parthians* V. S. Curtis and S. Stewart, eds. *The Age of the Parthians.* London, 2007.
- AION* *Annali dell'Istituto Orientale.*
- AJA* *American Journal of Archaeology.*
- AJAH* *American Journal of Ancient History.*
- AJP* *American Journal of Philology.*
- AKAW/ADAW* *Abhandlungen der Koniglichen Preussischen (der Deutschen) Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin.*
- Akten XIII Kong* *Akten des XIII Internationalen Kongresses fur Klassische Archäologie, Berlin 1988.* Mainz am Rhein, 1990.
- Alejandro Magno* J. M. Croisille, ed. *Neronia IV Alejandro Magno, modelo de los emperadores romanos.* Brussels, 1990.
- AMI* *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran (und Turan).*
- Amphorae* J. Eiring and J. Lund, eds. *Transport Amphorae and Trade in the Eastern Mediterranean.* Aarhus, 2004.
- AN* *Archaeological News.*
- Ancient Archives* M. Brosius, ed. *Ancient Archives and Archival Traditions.* Oxford, 2003.
- Ancient Galilee* J. Zangenberg, H. W. Attridge, and D. B. Martin, eds. *Religion, Ethnicity, and Identity in Ancient Galilee,* Tübingen, 2007.

- Ancient Historian* B. Levick, ed. *The Ancient Historian and His Materials*. Farnborough, 1975
- Ancient Iran* E. Dabrowa, ed. *Ancient Iran and the Mediterranean World*. Cracow, 1998.
- Ancient Mesopotamia* I. M. Diakonoff, ed. *Ancient Mesopotamia*. Moscow, 1969.
- Anc. Maced. 4* *Ancient Macedonia 4*. Institute for Balkan Studies 204. Thessaloniki, 1986.
- ANL *Atti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*.
- AnnHSS *Annales histoire sciences sociales*.
- ANRW *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*.
- ANS NNM *American Numismatic Society, Numismatic Notes and Monographs*.
- Ant. Cl.* *L'antiquité classique*.
- AOF *Altorientalische Forschungen*.
- Arabia Antiqua* A. Invernizzi and J.-F. Salles, eds. *Arabia Antiqua: Hellenistic Centres around Arabia*. Rome, 1993.
- Arabie* J.-F. Salles, ed. *L'Arabie et ses mers bordières*. Vol. 1. Lyon and Paris, 1988.
- Arabie orientale* R. Boucharlat and J.-F. Salles, eds. *Arabie orientale Mesopotamie et Iran meridional de l'âge du fer au debut de lapériode islamique*. Paris, 1984.
- Arabie préislamique* T. Fahd, ed. *L'Arabie préislamique et son environnement historique et culturel (Actes du Colloque de Strasbourg 24-27 juin 1987)*. Leiden, 1989.
- Araby the Blest* D. T. Potts, ed. *Araby the Blest: Studies in Arabian Archaeology*. Copenhagen, 1988.
- Archaeologia Iranica* L. de Meyer and E. Haerinck, eds. *Archaeologia Iranica et Orientalis*. 2 vols. Ghent, 1989.
- Archaeology of Afghanistan* F. R. Allchin and N. Hammond, eds. *The Archaeology of Afghanistan from the*

- Earliest Times to the Timurid Period.*
New York, 1978.
- Archéologie* J.-M. Dentzer and W. Orthmann, eds.
Archéologie et histoire de la Syrie. Vol. 2.
Saarbrücken, 1989.
- Archiv* *Archiv für Papyrusforschung.*
- Archives* M.-F. Boussac and A. Invernizzi, eds.
*Archives et sceaux du monde
hellenistique*. Paris, 1996.
- ArCl* *Archaeologia Classica.*
- ArD* G. R. Driver. *Aramaic Documents of the
Fifth Century B.C.* Oxford, 1965.
- Armeniens* G. Dédeyan, ed. *Histoire des Armeniens.*
Toulouse, 1982.
- ArtB* *Art Bulletin.*
- AS* *Ancient Society.*
- ASJ* *Acta Sumerica Japan.*
- Asoka* G. Pugliese Carratelli, G. Garbini, and U.
Scerrato. *A Bilingual Graeco-Aramaic
Edict by Asoka*. Serie Orientale Roma 29.
Rome, 1964.
- Astronomical Diaries* A.J. Sachs and H. Hunger, eds. *Astronomical
Diaries and Related Texts from
Babylonia*. 3 vols. Vienna, 1988-1996.
- Aus dem Osten* J. Ozols and V. Thewalt, eds. *Aus dem Osten
des Alexanderreiches*. Cologne, 1984.
- Auszüge* G. Hoffmann. *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten
persischer Märtyrer*. Leipzig, 1880.
Reprint, Nendeln, 1966.
- Authors* M. Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews
and Judaism*. 3 vols. Jerusalem, 1974-
1984.
- BA* *Biblical Archaeologist.*
- Babylon: mesopotamischer Geschichte* *Focus* J. Renger, ed. *Babylon: Focus
mesopotamischer Geschichte,
WiegEFRüher Gelehrsamkeit, Mythos in
der Moderne*. Saarbrücken, 1999.

- Babylon: Wissenskultur*
- E. Cancik-Kirschbaum, M. van Ess, and J. Marzahn, eds. *Babylon: Wissenskultur in Orient und Okzident*. Berlin and Boston, 2011.
- Bahrain*
- S. H. A. al Khalifa and M. Rice, eds. *Bahrain through the Ages: The Archaeology*. London, 1986.
- BAI*
- Bulletin of the Asia Institute.*
- BaM*
- Baghdader Mitteilungen.*
- BAR*
- Biblical Archaeology Review.*
- Barrington Atlas*
- R.J.A. Talbert, eds. *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World*. Princeton, N.J., 2000.
- Basileia*
- W. Hoepfner and G. Brands, eds. *Basileia: Die Paläste der hellenistischen Könige*. Mainz am Rhein, 1996.
- BASOR*
- Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research.*
- BASP*
- Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists.*
- BCH*
- Bulletin de correspondance hellénique.*
- BCHP*
- I. Finkel and R.J. van der Spek, *Babylonian Chronicles of the Hellenistic Period*. <http://www.livius.org/babylonia.html>.
- BE*
- “Bulletin épigraphique.” In *Revue des études grecques*.
- BEFEO*
- Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient.*
- BEINE 2*
- G. R. D. King and A. Cameron, eds. *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East*. Vol. 2, *Land Use and Settlement Patterns*, Princeton, N.J., 1992.
- BEO*
- Bulletin d'études orientales.*
- Between the Empires*
- P. Olivelle, ed. *Between the Empires: Society in India, 300 BCE to 400 CE*. Oxford, 2006.

BGA	<i>Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum.</i>
BGA 6	M.J. de Goeje. <i>Kitâb al-Masâlik wa'l-Mamâlik . . . et Excerpta e Kitdb al-Kharâdj auctore Kodâma ibn Dja'Far.</i> Reprint, Leiden, 1967.
Bibliographie	L. Vanden-Berghe. <i>Bibliographie analytique de l'archéologie de l'Iran ancien.</i> Leiden, 1979.
BIFAO	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientate.</i>
BiOr	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis.</i>
BJ	<i>BonnerJahrbucher.</i>
BJRUL	<i>Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library.</i>
BMCR	<i>Bryn Mawr Classical Review.</i>
BNP	H. Cancik and H. Schneider, eds. <i>Brill's New Pauly: Antiquity.</i> Leiden and Boston, 2002-.
BSO(A)S	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies.</i>
BZ	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift.</i>
Byz.-neugr. Jahr.	<i>Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbucher.</i>
CAH	<i>Cambridge Ancient History.</i>
CBHP	I. Finkel and R.J. van der Spek. <i>Babylonian Chronicles of the Hellenistic Period,</i> www.livius.org/mesopotamia .
CCL	<i>Corpus Christianorum Series Latina.</i>
Centre	P. Bilde et al., eds. <i>Centre and Periphery in the Hellenistic World.</i> Aarhus, 1993.
Ceramiques hellenistiques	F. Blondé et al., eds. <i>Ceramiques hellenistiques et romaines.</i> Lyon and Paris, 2002.
CFHB	<i>Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae.</i>
CHI	<i>Cambridge History of India.</i>
	E. Yarshater, ed. <i>Cambridge History of Iran 3(1): The Seleucid, Parthian, and</i>

- CHIr* 3(1-2) *Sasanian Periods*. 2 vols. Cambridge, 1983.
- CIIII.I* *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum*. Part III, *Pahlavi Inscriptions*. Vol. I, *Royal Inscriptions, with Their Parthian and Greek Versions*. Texts I, *Die dreisprachige Inschrift Sâbuhrs I. an der Ka'ba-I Zardust (SKZ)*. Band 1. London, 1999.
- CIL* *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*.
- Circulation* D. Charpin and F. Joannes, eds. *La circulation des biens, des personnes et des idées dans le Proche-Orient ancien*. Paris 1992.
- Civilizations 2* J. Harmatta, B. N. Puri, and G. F. Etemadi, eds. *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*. Vol. 2. Paris, 1994.
- C&M* *Classica et Mediaevalia*.
- CM* Jean-Jacques Glassner. *Chroniques mesopotamiennes*. 1993 (English version, *Mesopotamian Chronicles* [Atlanta, 2004]).
- Coins* M. Alram, D. E. Klimburg-Salter, eds. *Coins, Art, and Chronology*. Vienna, 1999.
- Comment. on Ammianus* P. De Jonge et al. *Philological and Historical Commentary on Ammianus Marcellinus XVI-XXIII*. Groningen and Leiden, 1972-2002.
- Communautés rurales* *Les communautés rurales*. Pt. 2, *Antiquité*. Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin 41. Paris, 1983.
- Companion* A. Erskine, ed. *A Companion to the Hellenistic World*. Oxford, 2003.
- Continuity of Empire (?)* G. B. Lanfranchi, M. Roaf, and R. Rollinger, eds. *Continuity of Empire (?)*. Padua, 2003.
- J.P. Uhlenbrock et al. *The Coroplast's Art*.

<i>Coroplast's Art</i>	New Paltz and New Rochelle, N.Y., 1990.
<i>CQ</i>	<i>Classical Quarterly</i> .
<i>CRAI</i>	<i>Comptes-rendus de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres</i> .
<i>CSCO</i>	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium</i> .
<i>CSHB</i>	B. G. Niebuhr et al., eds. <i>Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae</i> . 50 vols. Bonn, 1828-1897.
<i>Cultural Borrowings</i>	E.S. Gruen, ed. <i>Cultural Borrowings and Ethnic Appropriations in Antiquity</i> . Stuttgart, 2005.
<i>Cultural Horizons</i>	J. L. Warner, ed. <i>Cultural Horizons: A Festschrift in Honor of Talat S. Halman</i> . 2 vols. Syracuse, N.Y., 2001.
<i>DA</i>	<i>Les dossiers d'archéologie</i> .
<i>Da Alessandro</i>	O. Coloru. <i>Da Alessandro a Menandro: Il regno greco di Battriana</i> . Pisa and Rome, 2009.
<i>DAE</i>	P. Grelot. <i>Documents arameens d'Egypte</i> . Paris, 1972.
<i>DAI 1829-1979</i>	<i>150 Jahre Deutsches Archäologisches Institut 1829-1979</i> . Mainz, 1981.
<i>DaM</i>	<i>Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Station Damaskus, Damaszener Mitteilungen</i> .
<i>Das Babylon</i>	F. Weitzel, E. Schmidt, and A. Mallwitz. <i>Das Babylon der Spätzeit</i> . Berlin, 1957.
<i>Das Partherreich</i>	J. Wiesehöfer, ed. <i>Das Partherreich und seine Zeugnisse</i> . Stuttgart, 1998.
<i>DAWW</i>	<i>Denkschriften der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien</i> .
<i>De Agricultura</i>	H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg, ed. <i>De Agricultura: In Memoriam Pieter Willem de Neeve (1945-1990)</i> . Amsterdam, 1990.
<i>De l'Indus</i>	O. Bopearachchi et al., eds. <i>De l'Indus a l'Oxus: Archéologie de l'Asie centrale</i> .

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- De I Indus aux Balkans* J.-L. Huot, M. Yon, and Y. Calvet, eds. *De [Indus aux Balkans]*. Paris, 1985.
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- Dict. Geog.* W. Smith, ed. *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*. 2 vols. London, 1854.
- Dictionnaire des inscriptions* C.-F. Jean and J. Hoftijzer. *Dictionnaire des inscriptions semitiques de VOuest*. Leiden, 1960.
- Dictionnaire ecclesiastiques* R. Aubert, R. van Cauwenbergh, and E. van Cauwenbergh. *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de geographie ecclesiastiques*. Paris, 1912-.
- Dizionario* A. Calderini and S. Daris, eds. *Dizionario dei nomi geografici e topografici dell'Egitto greco-romano*. 5 vols. in 15 fasc. plus 5 suppl. Cairo, Madrid, Milan, and Pisa, 1935-2009.
- DNP* H. Cancik and H. Schneider, eds. *Der neue Pauly: Enzyklopädie der Antike*. Stuttgart and Weimar, 1996-2005.
- DOP* *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*.
- Dura: The Coins* A. R. Bellinger. *The Excavations at Dura-Europos: Final Report. Vol. 6, The Coins*. New Haven, Conn., 1949.
- EA* *Epigraphica Anatolica*.
- EAD* *Ecole Française d'Athènes: Exploration archeologique de Délos*.
- EAD30* M.-T. Couilloud. *Les monuments funéraires de Rhenee*. Paris, 1974.
- Early Roman Empire* S. E. Alcock, ed. *The Early Roman Empire in the East*. Oxford, 1997.
- EB* *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.
- O. Mørkholm, *Early Hellenistic Coinage*.

- EHC* Cambridge, 1991.
- EI* *Encyclopaedia of Islam. New Edition.* Leiden, 1960-2009.
- EIr* *Encyclopaedia Iranica.*
- EAAHNIZMOZ* O EAAHNIZMOZ ZTHN ANATOAH. Athens, 1991.
- Enciclopedia* *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica.* 7 vols. and suppl. Rome 1958-1973.
- Encyclopaedia Judaica* *Encyclopaedia Judaica.* Jerusalem, 1971-1972.
- Epig. Cong. VIII* *Ada of the Eighth International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy, Athens 1982.* 2 vols. Athens, 1984, 1987.
- Epig. Cong. XI* *X Congresso internazionale di epigrafia Greca e Latina Roma 1997.* 2 vols. Rome, 1999.
- ESAR* T. Frank et al. *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome.* 6 vols. Baltimore, 1933-1940.
- Essays Thompson* O. Mörholm and N. M. Waggoner, eds. *Greek Numismatics and Archaeology: Essays in Honor of Margaret Thompson.* Wetteren, 1979.
- Essays Welles* *Essays in Honor of C. Bradford Welles.* New Haven, Conn., 1966.
- Ethnicity* W. H. van Soldt, ed. *Ethnicity in Ancient Mesopotamia (Proceedings of the 48e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Leiden 2002).* Leiden, 2004.
- Etudes asiatiques* *Etudes asiatiques publiees a Vocccasion du 25e anniversaire de VEcole Française d'Extrârne-Orient.* 2 vols. Paris, 1925.
- Fayyum* M. Capasso and P. Davoli, eds. *New Archaeological and Papyrological Researches on the Fayyum.* Salento, 2007.

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- R. Alston and O. M. van Nijf, eds. *Feeding the Ancient Greek City*. Leuven, Paris, and Dudley, 2008.
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- Beiträge zur alten Geschichte und Geographie: Festschrift für Heinrich Kiepert*. Berlin, 1898.
- Festschrift Wirth*
- W. Will, ed. *Alexanderd. Gr: Festschrift G. Wirth zum 60. Geburtstag am 9.12.86*. 2 vols. Amsterdam, 1987.
- FGrH*
- F. Jacoby. *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*. 3 vols. in 14 pts. Berlin, 1923-1958 (plus continuation 1998-).
- FHG*
- C. Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*. 5 vols. Paris, 1841-1870.
- Fleischman Collection*
- A *Passion for Antiquities: Ancient Art from the Collection of Barbara and Lawrence Fleischman*. Malibu, 1994.
- Fortification*
- P. Leriche and H. Tréziny, eds. *La fortification dans l'histoire du monde grec*. Paris, 1986.
- Foundation Myths*
- N. Mac Sweeney, ed. *Foundation Myths in Dialogue*. Forthcoming.
- GA*
- Graeco-Arabica*.
- Gazetteer Afghanistan*
- W. Ball and J.-C. Gardin, eds. *Archaeological Gazetteer of Afghanistan*. 2 vols. Paris, 1982.
- GCS*
- Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller*.
- Geographica Historica*
- P. Arnaud and P. Coumllon, eds. *Geographica Historica*. Bordeaux and Nice, 1998.
- Geographie*
- P. Bernard and H.-P. Francfort. *Etudes de géographie historique*. Paris, 1978.
- Geographie administrative*
- La géographie administrative et politique d'Alexandre à Mahomet*. Strasbourg, 1979.
- GGM*
- C. Müller. *Geographi Graeci Minores*. 2 vols. Paris, 1882.

- GHPO*
- P.-L. Gatier, B. Helly, and J.-P. Rey-Coquais, eds. *Geographie historique au Proche-Orient*. Paris, 1988.
- GJ**
- Geographical Journal*.
- Golf-Archäologie*
- K. Schippmann, A. Herling, and J.-F. Salles. *Golf-Archäologie*. Buch am Erlbach, 1991.
- Gottkonige*
- J. Wagner, ed. *Gottkonige am Euphrat*. Mainz am Rhein, 2000.
- GR*
- The Geographical Review*.
- GRBS*
- Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*.
- Greek Archaeology*
- Greek Archaeology without Frontiers*. Athens, 2002.
- Greek Colonists*
- J.-P. Descoedres, ed. *Greek Colonists and Native Populations*. Oxford, 1990.
- Greek Ethnicity*
- I. Malkin, ed. *Ancient Perceptions of Greek Ethnicity*. Washington, D.C., 2001.
- Greeks beyond the Aegean*
- V. Karageorghis, ed. *The Greeks beyond the Aegean: From Marseilles to Bactria*. New York, 2002.
- Greeks on Greekness*
- D. Konstan and S. Said, eds. *Greeks on Greekness*. Cambridge, 2006.
- Gryphons*
- A. Invernizzi, ed. *In the Land of the Gryphons*. Florence, 1995.
- HA**
- Historia Augusta*.
- Hellenism*
- A. Kuhrt and S. Sherwin-White, eds. *Hellenism in the East*. London, 1987.
- Hellenismos*
- S. Saïd, ed. *Hellenismos: Quelques jalons pour une histoire de Videntite grecque (Actes du Colloque de Strasbourg, 25-27 octobre 1989)*. Leiden and New York, 1991.
- Hellenismus*
- B. Funck, ed. *Hellenismus*. Tübingen, 1996.
- Hellenistic Constructs*
- P. Cartledge, ed. *Hellenistic Constructs*. Berkeley, 1997.
- Hellenistic Egypt*
- P. Bilde et al., eds. *Ethnicity in Hellenistic Egypt*. Aarhus, 1992.

<i>Hellenistic Kingship</i>	P. Bilde et al., eds. <i>Aspects of Hellenistic Kingship</i> . Aarhus, 1996.
<i>Helsinki Atlas</i>	S. Parpola and M. Porter, eds. <i>The Helsinki Atlas of the Near East in the Neo-Assyrian Period</i> . Helsinki, 2001.
<i>Histoire et cultes</i>	P. Bernard and F. Grenet, eds. <i>Histoire et cultes de l'Asie centrale préislamique</i> . Paris, 1991.
<i>Hommages a Marcel</i>	J. Bibauw, ed. <i>Hommages a Marcel Renard</i> . 3 vols.
<i>Renard</i>	Brussels, 1969.
<i>HSCP</i>	<i>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</i> .
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i> .
<i>ICS</i>	<i>Illinois Classical Studies</i> .
<i>Ideologies</i>	A. Panaino and G. Pettinato, eds. <i>Ideologies as Intercultural Phenomena</i> . Milan, 2002.
<i>I-IJ</i>	<i>Indo-Iran Journal</i> .
<i>L'ile de Failaka</i>	<i>L'île de Failaha: Archéologie du Koweït</i> . Lyons, 2005.
<i>INC Rome</i>	<i>Congresso internazionale di numismatica 11-16 settembre 1961</i> . Vol. 2, <i>Atti</i> . Rome, 1965.
<i>Inde</i>	J.-C. Carrière et al., eds. <i>Inde, Grece ancienne</i> . Paris, 1995.
<i>India</i>	G. Pollett, ed. <i>India and the Ancient World</i> . Leuven, 1987.
<i>Indo-Grecs</i>	R. Gyselen, ed. <i>Des Indo-Grecs aux Sassanides</i> . Res orientales 17. Bures-sur-Yvette, 2007.
<i>INJ</i>	<i>Israel Numismatic Journal</i> .
<i>Interkulturalitat</i>	R. Rollinger, B. Gufler, M. Lang, and I. Madreiter, eds. <i>Interkulturalitat in der Alten Welt</i> . Wiesbaden, 2010.
<i>IrAnt</i>	<i>Iranica Antiqua</i> .
<i>Itin. Ant.</i>	<i>Itineraria Antonini Augusti</i> .

<i>JA</i>	<i>Journal asiatique.</i>
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society.</i>
<i>JASB</i>	<i>Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature.</i>
<i>JCA</i>	<i>Journal of Central Asia.</i>
<i>JCS</i>	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies.</i>
<i>JDAI</i>	<i>Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts.</i>
<i>JEA</i>	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.</i>
<i>JHPCS</i>	<i>Journal of Historical, Philological and Cultural Studies.</i>
<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies.</i>
<i>JIAN</i>	<i>Journal international d 'archéologie numismatique.</i>
<i>JKDAI</i>	<i>Jahrbuch des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts.</i>
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies.</i>
<i>JNSI</i>	<i>Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.</i>
<i>Josephus Commentary</i>	<i>S. Mason, ed. Flavius Josephus Translation and Commentary. Leiden, 2000-.</i>
<i>JP</i>	<i>Journal of Philology.</i>
<i>JRA</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Archaeology.</i>
<i>JRAS</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.</i>
<i>JRGS</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Geographical Society.</i>
<i>JS</i>	<i>Journal des savants.</i>
<i>Justin Commentary</i>	<i>J. C. Yardley, trans., and W. Heckel, comment. Justin, Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus. Vol. 1. Oxford, 1997.</i>
<i>Kondakov Institute</i>	<i>Annales de l'Institut Kondakov (Seminarium Kondakovianum).</i>
<i>KP</i>	<i>Der Kleine Pauly.</i>
<i>KST</i>	<i>Kazi Sonuçlari Toplantisi.</i>
	<i>H. Waldmann, Die kommagenischen</i>

- Kultreformen* *Kultreformen unter König Mithridates I. Kallinikos und seinem Sohne Antiochos I.* Leiden, 1973.
- LA* *Libya Antiqua.*
- La Bactriane* P. Leriche et al., eds. *La Bactriane au carrefour des routes et des civilisations de l'Asie centrale.* Paris, 2001.
- Laodicee* J. des Gagniers et al., eds. *Laodicee du Lycos.* Quebec and Paris, 1969.
- La Persia (1966)* *La Persia e il mondo greco-romano.* Rome, 1966.
- La Persia (1996)* *La Persia e l'Asia centrale.* Rome, 1996.
- La terra* *La terra tra i due fiumi.* Turin, 1985.
- La transition* P. Briant and F. Joannes, eds. *La transition entre l'empire achemenide et les royaumes hellenistiques (vers 350-300 av. J.-C).* Paris, 2006.
- La ville* *La ville dans le Proche-Orient ancien.* Leuven, 1983.
- LBAT* T. G. Pinches and J. N. Strassmaier. *Late Babylonian Astronomical and Related Texts.* Providence, 1955.
- Le moyen Euphrate* J. Cl. Margueron, ed. *Le moyen Euphrate.* Leiden, 1977.
- L'empire Sassanide* R. Gyselen, ed. *Contribution a l'histoire et a la geographie historique de l'empire Sassanide.* Res orientales 16. Bures-sur-Yvette, 2004.
- L'emporion* A. Bresson and P. Rouillard, eds. *L'emporion.* Paris, 1993.
- Les perses* E. Babelon. *Les perses achemenides.* Paris, 1893.
- Lex. Agypt.* W. Helck, F. Otto, and W. Westendorf, eds. *Lexikon der Agyptologie.* 7 vols. Wiesbaden, 1975-1992.
- Lexikon AGM* W. Leschhorn and P. R. Franke, eds. *Lexikon des Aufschriften auf griechischen*

- Munzen*. 2 vols. Vienna, 2002-2009.
- Lexique* M. Besnier. *Lexique de geographie ancienne*. Paris, 1914.
- Lex. Myth.* W. H. Roscher, ed. *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*. Leipzig,
- LGPN* P. M. Fraser and E. Matthews, eds. *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*. 5 vols. Oxford, 1987-2010.
- LGRC* A. M. Hakkert, ed. *Lexicon of the Greek and Roman Cities and Place Names in Antiquity*. Amsterdam, 1992-.
- LIMC* *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*. Zurich and Munich, 1981-.
- L'Inde* J. André and J. Filliozat. *L'Inde vue de Rome*. Paris, 1986.
- L'Orient mediterraneen* M.-T. Le Dinahet, ed. *L'Orient mediterraneen de la mort d'Alexandre au 1^{er} siècle avant notre ère*. Nantes, 2003. (Nantes)
- L'Orient mediterraneen (Rennes)* F. Prost. *L'Orient mediterraneen de la mort d'Alexandre aux campagnes de Pompee*. Rennes, 2003.
- LSJ* H.G. Liddell, R. Scott, and H.S. Jones, eds. *A Greek-English Lexicon*. 9th ed. Oxford, 1996.
- M* *Mishnah*.
- Materialien* U. Finkbeiner, ed. *Materialien zur Archdologie der Seleukiden- und Partherzeit im südlichen Babylonien und im Golfgebiet*. Tübingen, 1993.
- MB* *Le monde de la Bible*.
- MDAI(A)* *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archaologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung*.
- MDAI(K)* *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archaologischen Instituts, Abteilung*

	<i>Kairo.</i>
<i>MDOG</i>	<i>Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft.</i>
<i>Med. Ant.</i>	<i>Mediterraneo antico.</i>
<i>MedArch</i>	<i>Mediterranean Archaeology.</i>
<i>MEFRA</i>	<i>Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome: Antiquité.</i>
<i>Mélanges Dussaud</i>	<i>Mélanges syriens offerts a monsieur Rene Dussaud. Paris, 1939.</i>
<i>Mélanges Leveque</i>	M.-M. Mactoux and E. Geny, eds. <i>Mélanges Pierre Leveque</i> . 8 vols. Paris, 1988-1995.
<i>Mélanges Perrot</i>	<i>Mélanges Perrot: Recueil de mémoires concernant l'archéologie classique, la littérature et l'histoire anciennes, dedie a Georges Perrot.</i> Paris, 1903.
<i>Memory as History</i>	H. P. Ray and D. T. Potts, eds. <i>Memory as History: The Legacy of Alexander in Asia.</i> New Delhi, 2007.
<i>Metz Epitome</i>	<i>Epitoma Rerum Gestarum Alexandri Magni.</i> For text with commentary see O. Wagner, <i>Jahrbücher für classische Philologie, Supplementband 26</i> (1901) 91-167; for text alone see P. H. Thomas, <i>Epitome Rerum Gestarum Alexandri Magni</i> (Leipzig, 1960).
<i>MHR</i>	<i>Mediterranean Historical Review.</i>
<i>Midrasch Tehillim</i>	S. Buber, ed., <i>Midrasch Tehillim.</i> Vilna, 1891.
<i>Mnemata Waggoner</i>	W. E. Metcalf, ed. <i>Mnemata: Papers in Memory of Nancy M. Waggoner.</i> New York, 1991.
<i>Mneme Petropoulos</i>	A. Biscardi, J. Modrzejewski, and H.J. Wolff, eds. <i>Mnēmē Georges A. Petropoulos, 1897-1964,</i> Athens, 1984.
<i>Multi-Cultural Society</i>	J. H. Johnson, ed. <i>Life in a Multi-Cultural Society.</i> Chicago, 1992.
<i>MUSJ</i>	<i>Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph.</i>

MVAG	<i>Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch/Vorderasiatisch-Agyptischen Gesellschaft.</i>
Myos Hormos	H. Cuvigny, ed. <i>La route de Myos Hormos</i> . 2 vols. Cairo, 2003.
Nachrichten	<i>Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen Philologisch-Historische Klasse.</i>
Namenwörterbuch	A. Schalit, <i>Namenwörterbuch zu Flavius Josephus</i> . Leiden, 1968.
National Geographic Atlas ²	<i>National Geographic Atlas of the Middle East</i> . 2nd ed. Washington, D.C., 2008.
NC	<i>Numismatic Chronicle.</i>
NCBT	<i>Newell Collection of Babylonian Tablets, Yale University</i> , http://www.yale.edu/nelc/babylonian.html .
ND	O. Seeck, ed. <i>Notitia Dignitatum</i> . 1876. Reprint, Frankfurt am Main, 1962.
NEASB	<i>Near Eastern Archaeological Society Bulletin.</i>
Nuove fondazioni	S. Mazzone, ed. <i>Nuove fondazioni nel vicino oriente antico: Realtà e ideologia</i> . Pisa 1994.
OA	<i>Opuscula Atheniensia.</i>
OCD ³	S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth, eds. <i>Oxford Classical Dictionary</i> . 3rd ed. New York and Oxford, 1996.
ODB	A. P. Kazhdan, ed. <i>The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium</i> . 3 vols. New York and Oxford, 1991.
OEANE	E. M. Meyers, ed. <i>The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East</i> . 5 vols. New York and Oxford, 1997.
OJA	<i>Oxford Journal of Archaeology.</i>
OLP	<i>Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica.</i>
OS	<i>L'Orient syrien.</i>

- Pap. Cong. XX*
- PAPS*
- Pair. Nicaen. Nom.*
- Paysage*
- PBA*
- PCPS*
- PdP*
- Pfeiffer*
- PG*
- PGM*
- PL*
- Plateau Iranien*
- PO*
- Politics*
- PSAS*
- Ptolemaic Memphis*
- RA*
- RAC²*
- A. Bülow-Jacobsen, ed. *Proceedings of the 20th International Congress of Papyrologists*. Copenhagen, 1994.
- Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*.
- H. Gelzer, H. Hilgenfeld, and O. Cuntz, eds. *Patrum Nicaenorum Nomina*. Vol. 2. Leipzig, 1898. Reprint, 1995.
- P. Carlier and C. Lerouge-Cohen, eds. *Paysage et religion en Grece antique*. Paris, 2010.
- Proceedings of the British Academy*.
- Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*.
- Parola del passato*.
- R. Pfeiffer, *Callimachus*. 2 vols. Oxford, 1949, 1953.
- Patrologia Graeca*.
- Petermanns geographische Mitteilungen*.
- Patrologia Latina*.
- Le plateau iranien et l'Asie centrale des origins a la conquete islamique*. Paris, 1977.
- Patrologia Orientalis*.
- L. Moor en, ed. *Politics, Administration, and Society in the Hellenistic and Roman World*. Leuven and Paris, 2000.
- Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies*.
- D.J. Crawford, J. Quaegebeur, and W. Clarysse. *Studies on Ptolemaic Memphis*. Leuven, 1980.
- Revue archeologique*.
- Das Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*. 2nd ed. Stuttgart, 1970.

RAO	<i>Recueil d'archéologie orientate.</i>
Rav. Geoff.	<i>Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia.</i>
RB	<i>Revue biblique.</i>
RBN	<i>Revue beige de numismatique et de sigillographie.</i>
RBNE	<i>The Roman and Byzantine Near East.</i> Ann Arbor, Mich., 1995.
RBNE2	J. H. Humphrey, ed. <i>The Roman and Byzantine Near East.</i> Vol. 2. Portsmouth, 1999.
RE	<i>Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Alertumswissenschaft.</i>
REA	<i>Revue des etudes anciennes.</i>
Reallexikon	<i>Reallexikon der Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archäologie.</i>
REArm	<i>Revue des etudes armeniennes.</i>
REG	<i>Revue des etudes grecques.</i>
Religion	P. Bilde et al., eds. <i>Religion and Religious Practice in the Seleucid Kingdom.</i> Aarhus, 1990.
RFIC	<i>Rivista difilologia e di istruzione classica.</i>
RH	<i>Revue historique.</i>
Rise of Rome	P. Grimal, ed. <i>Hellenism and the Rise of Rome.</i> London, 1968.
Riv. Fil.	<i>Rivista difilologia classica.</i>
Robert, OM	L. Robert, <i>Opera Minora Selecta.</i> Vols. 1-7. Amsterdam, 1969-1990.
Roi et economie	V. Chankowski and F. Duyrat, eds. <i>Le roi et Veconomie.</i> Lyon, 2004.
Roman Anatolia	S. Mitchell, ed. <i>Armies and Frontiers in Roman and Byzantine Anatolia.</i> Oxford, 1983.
Roman Army	D. L. Kennedy, ed. <i>The Roman Army in the East.</i> Ann Arbor, Mich., 1996.
	V. Begley and R. D. De Puma, eds. <i>Rome and</i>

<i>Rome and India</i>	<i>India: The Ancient Sea Trade</i> . Madison, Wis., 1991.
<i>Rom. Front. Cong. XV</i>	V. A. Maxfield and M.J. Dobson, eds. <i>Roman Frontier Studies 1989. Proceedings of the XVth Congress of Roman Frontier Studies</i>). Exeter, 1991.
<i>Rom. Front. Cong. XVI</i>	W. Groenman-van-Waateringe, B.L. van Beek, W.J. H. Willems, and S. L. Wynia, eds. <i>Roman Frontier Studies 1995. Proceedings of the XVIth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies</i> . Oxford, 1997.
<i>RSN/SNR</i>	<i>Revue suisse de numismatique/Schweizerische numismatische Rundschau</i> .
<i>RStudFen</i>	<i>Rivista di studifenici</i> .
<i>SAS</i>	<i>South Asian Studies</i> .
<i>SAWW</i>	<i>Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-historischen Klasse der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien</i> .
<i>SBAW</i>	<i>Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Sitzungsberichte</i> .
<i>Sceaux d'Orient</i>	R. Gyselen, ed. <i>Sceaux d'Orient et leur emploi</i> . Res orientales 10. Bures-sur-Yvette, 1997.
<i>SCO</i>	<i>Studi classici e orientali</i> .
<i>Seleucia</i>	A. Invernizzi, ed. <i>Seleucia al Tigri: Le impronte di sigillo dagli archivi</i> . 3 vols. Alexandria, 2004.
<i>Seleucids</i>	<i>New Studies on the Seleucids</i> Cracow, 2011.
<i>Seleukid Prosopography</i>	J. D. Grainger. <i>A Seleukid Prosopography and Gazetteer</i> . Leiden, New York, and Cologne, 1997.
<i>SM</i>	<i>Schweizer Munzblätter</i> .
<i>SNR</i>	See <i>RSN</i> .

- Sociétés et compagnies* M. Mollat, ed. *Societes et compagnies de commerce en Orient et dans Vocean Indien (Actes du Huitieme Colloque International d'Histoire Maritime)*. Paris, 1970.
- SPAW* *Sitzungsberichte der (Königlichen) Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*.
- Spiegel* K. Repgen and S. Skalweit, eds. *Spiegel der Geschichte: Festgabefür Max Braubach zum 10 April 1964*. Münster, 1964.
- St. Iran.* *Studia Iranica*.
- Studia Master* J. Quaegebeur, ed. *Studia Paulo Master Oblata*. 2 vols. Leuven, 1982.
- Studies on Jacob of Edessa* G. Y Ibrahim and G. A. Kiraz, eds. *Studies on Jacob of Edessa*. Piscataway, N.J., 2010.
- Studies Ramsay* W. H. Buckler and W. M. Calder, eds. *Anatolian Studies Presented to Sir William Mitchell Ramsay*. Manchester, 1923.
- Studies Veenhof* W. H. van Soldt et al., eds. *Veenhof Anniversary Volume: Studies Presented to Klaas R. Veenhof on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*. Leiden, 2001.
- Studi Moscatti* E. Acquaro, ed. *Alle soglie della classicita a il mediterraneo tra tradizione e innovazione: Studi in onore di Sabatino Moscatti*. 3 vols. Rome 1996.
- Sulla via di Alessandro* V. Messina, ed. *Sulla via di Alessandro da Seleucia al Gandhâra*. Milan, 2007.
- Symb. Oslo.* *Symbolae Osloenses*.
- Symposion 1982* F.J. F. Nieto, ed. *Symposion 1982: Vortrage zur griechischen und hellenistischen Rechtsgeschichte*. Cologne and Vienna, 1989.
- Syncretismes* M. Simon, ed. *Les syncretismes dans les religions grecque et romaine*. Paris,

	1973.
<i>Syrie</i>	M. Sartre, ed. <i>La Syrie hellenistique</i> . Lyon, 2003.
<i>Tab. Pent.</i>	<i>Tabula Peutingeriana</i> .
TAVO19	E. Kettenhofen. <i>Vorderer Orient, Römer und Sāsāniden in der Zeit der Reichskrise (224-284 n. Chr)</i> , <i>Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients (TAVO)</i> [map] 19. Wiesbaden, 1982.
TB	<i>Babylonian Talmud</i> .
<i>Testi</i>	G. F. del Monte. <i>Testi dalla Babilonia ellenistica</i> . Vol. 1. Rome, 1997.
<i>Theatra et spectacula</i>	M.E. Fuchs and B. Dubosson, eds. <i>Theatra et spectacula: Les grands monuments des jeux dans l'antiquité</i> . Lausanne, 2011.
TIR	<i>Tabula Imperii Romani</i> .
TJ	<i>Jerusalem Talmud</i> .
<i>Topoi Supplement I</i>	<i>Topoi Supplément I: Recherches recentes sur VEmpire achemenide</i> . Lyon, 1997.
<i>Trade and Famine</i>	P. Garnsey and C. R. Whittaker, eds. <i>Trade and Famine in Classical Antiquity</i> . Cambridge, 1983.
<i>Travaux Le Rider</i>	M. Amandry and S. Hurter, eds. <i>Travaux de numismatique grecque offerts a Georges Le Rider</i> . London, 1999.
TrGF	<i>Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta</i> .
<i>Upper Syrian Euphrates</i>	G. del Olmo Lete and J.-L. Montero Fenoll6s, eds. <i>Archaeology of the Upper Syrian Euphrates</i> . Barcelona, 1999.
<i>West und Ost</i>	K. Brodersen, ed. <i>Zwischen West und Ost</i> . Hamburg, 1999.
YCS	<i>Yale Classical Studies</i> .
ZA	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete</i> .
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i> .

<i>Zeugma</i>	D. Kennedy, ed. <i>The Twin Towns of Zeugma on the Euphrates</i> . Portsmouth, 1998.
<i>ZfN</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Numismatik</i> .
<i>ZPE</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i> .

ARCHAEOLOGICAL, EPIGRAPHIC, PAPYROLOGICAL, AND NUMISMATIC ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Aï Khanoum</i>	P. Bernard et al. <i>Fouilles d'Aï Khanoum</i> . Paris, 1973-.
<i>Alexander and Philip</i>	M. J. Price. <i>The Coinage in the Name of Alexander the Great and Philip Arrhedeus</i> . 2 vols. Zurich and London, 1989.
<i>Amyzon</i>	J. Robert and L. Robert. <i>Fouilles d'Amyzon en Carie</i> . Paris, 1983
<i>ANS MN</i>	<i>American Numismatic Society, Museum Notes</i> .
<i>Armenian Coinage</i>	A. Mousheghian and G. Depeyrot. <i>Hellenistic and Roman Armenian Coinage</i> . Wetteren, 1999.
<i>AUB Collection</i>	D. C. Baramki. <i>The Coin Collection of the American University of Beirut Museum: Palestine and Phoenicia</i> . Beirut, 1974.
<i>Bactria</i>	B. Kritt, <i>Seleucid Coins of Bactria</i> . Lancaster, 1996.
<i>Bedoukian, Artaxiads</i>	P. Bedoukian. <i>Coinage of the Artaxiads of Armenia</i> . London, 1978.
<i>BMC</i>	<i>A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum</i> . London, 1873-1927.
<i>Bopearachchi, Indo-Greek Coins</i>	O. Bopearachchi. <i>Indo-Greek, Indo-Scythian, and Indo-Parthian Coins</i> . Washington, D.C., 1993.
_____, <i>Monnaies</i>	O. Bopearachchi. <i>Monnaies gréco-bactriennes et indo-grecques</i> . Paris, 1991.
<i>Butcher, Roman Syria</i>	K. Butcher. <i>Coinage in Roman Syria</i> .

- London, 2004.
- Caravan Kingdoms*
M. Huth and P. G. van Alfen, eds. *Coinage of the Caravan Kingdoms*. New York, 2010.
- Chrest. W. or M.*
L. Mitteis and U. Wilcken. *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde*. 4 vols. Leipzig and Berlin, 1912.
U. Wilcken. *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde 1:1, Historischer Teil, 1:2, Chrestomathie*.
L. Mitteis, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde 2:1, Juristischer Teil, 2:2, Chrestomathie*.
- CIG*
Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum.
- CIJ*
J. B. Frey. *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaicarum*. 2 vols. Rome, 1936-1952.
- CIL*
Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.
- Cohen, Médailles Imperiales*²
H. Cohen. *Description historique des monnaies frappées sous l'empire romain communément appelées Médailles Impériales*. 2nd ed. 8 vols. and suppl. Leipzig, 1930.
- Coinage of the Caravan Kingdoms*
M. Huth. *Coinage of the Caravan Kingdoms: Ancient Arabian Coins from the Collection of Martin Huth*. New York, 2010.
- Coin Types*
A.K. Narain. *The Coin Types of the Indo-Greek Kings*. Reprint, Chicago, 1968.
- C. Ord. Ptol.*
M. T. Lenger, ed. *Corpus des ordonnances des Ptolémées*. Brussels, 1980-1990.
- CPJ*
V. A. Tcherikover and A. Fuks. *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum*. 3 vols. Cambridge, 1957-1964.
- CPR XIII*
H. Harrauer, ed. *Corpus Papyrorum Raineri XIII. Griechische Texte IX*. Vienna, 1987.
- CRWLR*
A. M. Burnett and M. H. Crawford. *The Coinage of the Roman World in the Late*

- Republic*. Oxford, 1987.
- CSE A. Houghton. *Coins of the Seleucid Empire from the Collection of Arthur Houghton*. New York, 1983.
- CSE₂ O. D. Hoover. *Coins of the Seleucid Empire from the Collection of Arthur Houghton*. Pt. 2. New York, 2007.
- De Saulcy, *Numismatique* F. De Saulcy. *Numismatique de la Terre Sainte*. Paris, 1874.
- Eckhel, *Doctrina* J. Eckhel. *Doctrina Numorum Veterum*. 9 vols. Vienna [?], 1792–1828.
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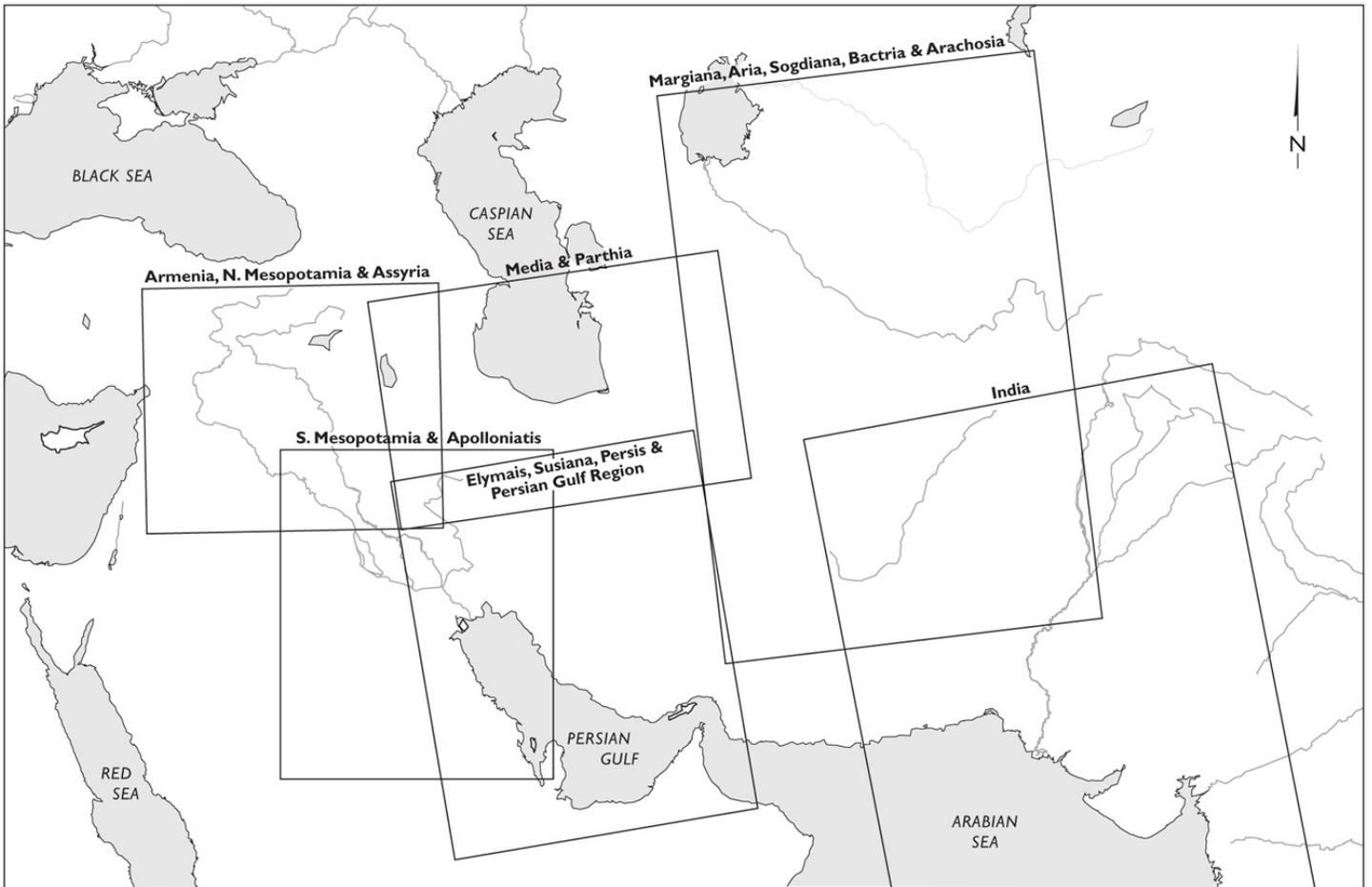
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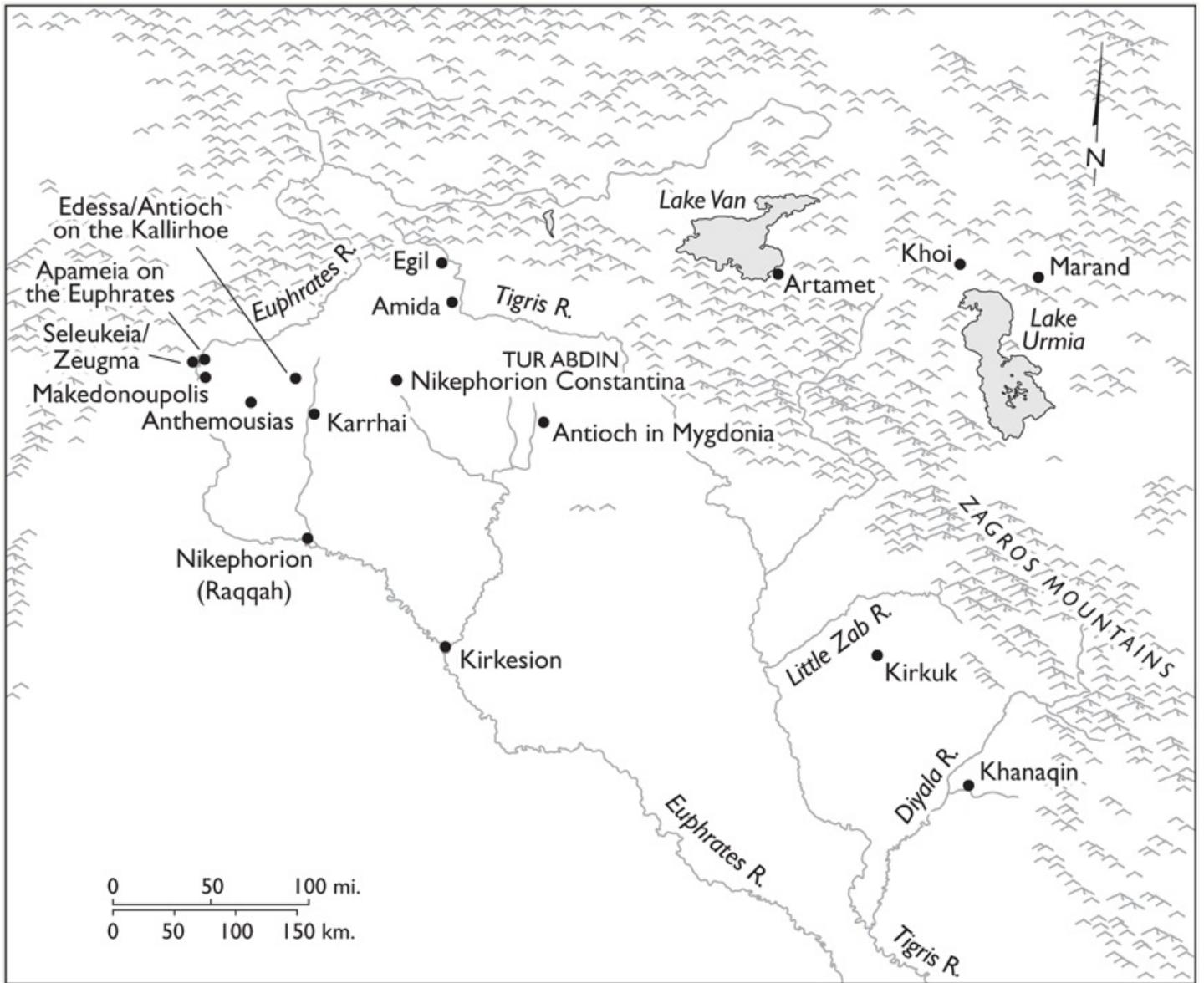
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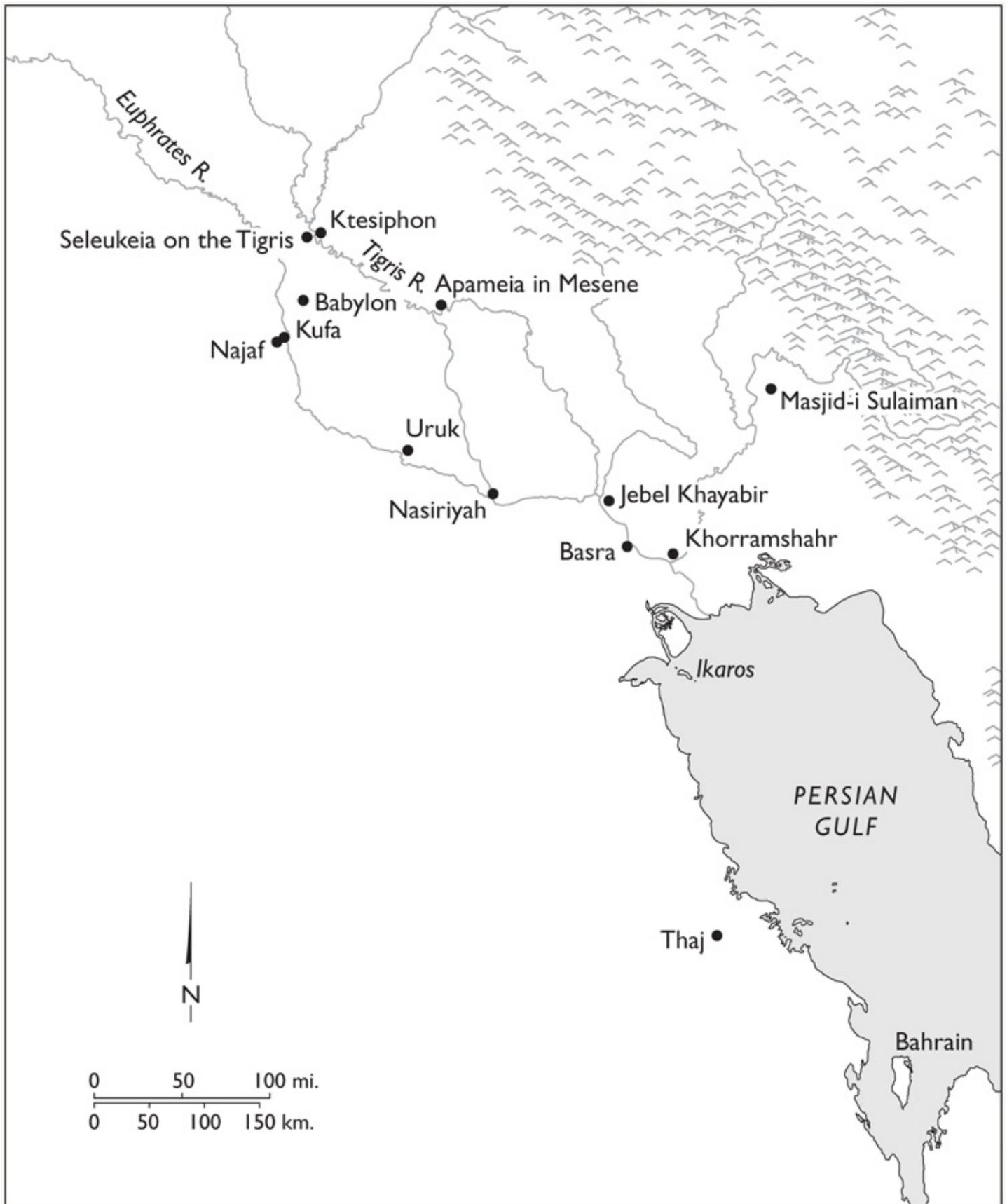
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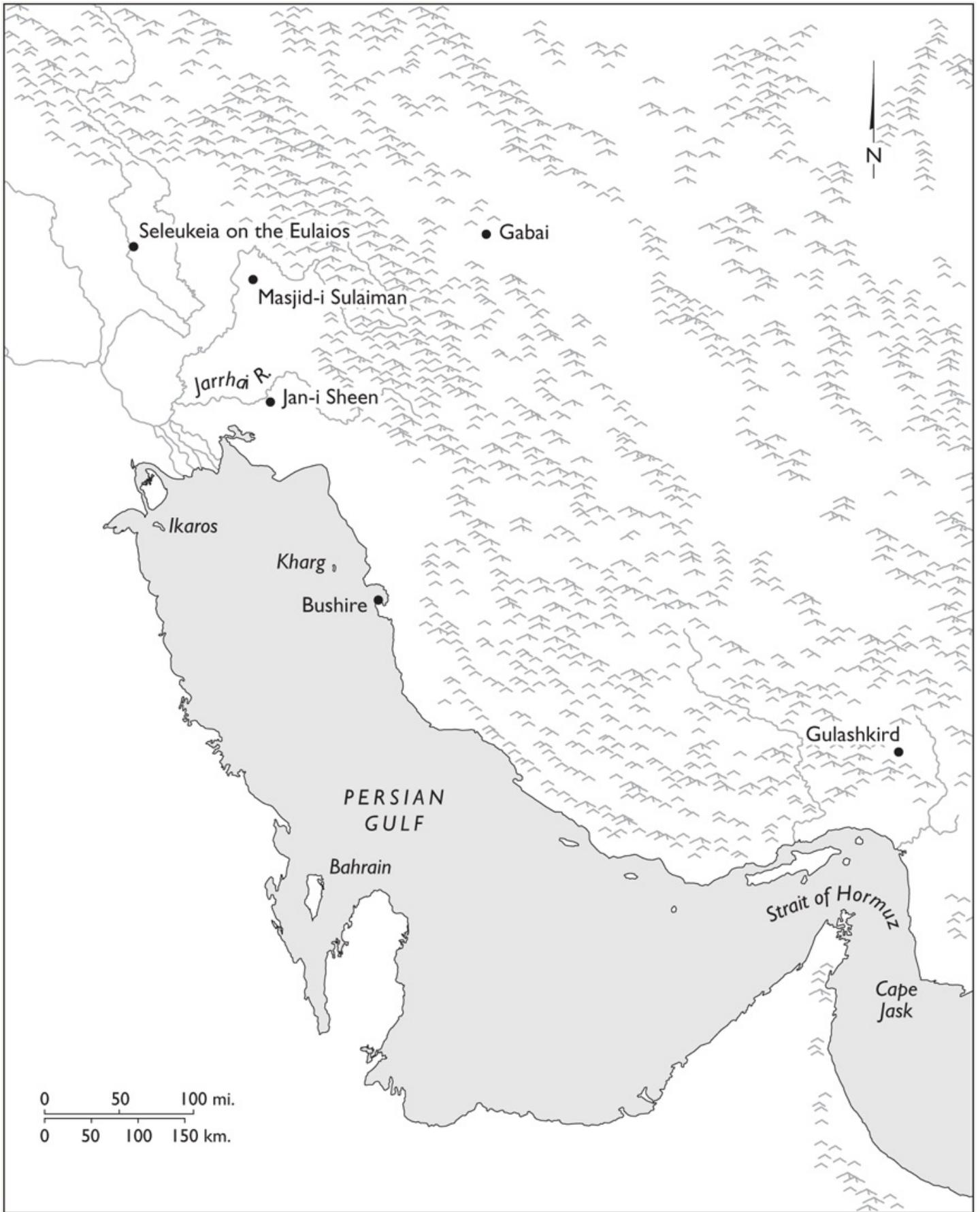
MESOPOTAMIA, CENTRAL ASIA, AND INDIA. MAPS FOLLOW FOR THE AREAS OUTLINED.



ARMENIA, NORTHERN MESOPOTAMIA, AND ASSYRIA



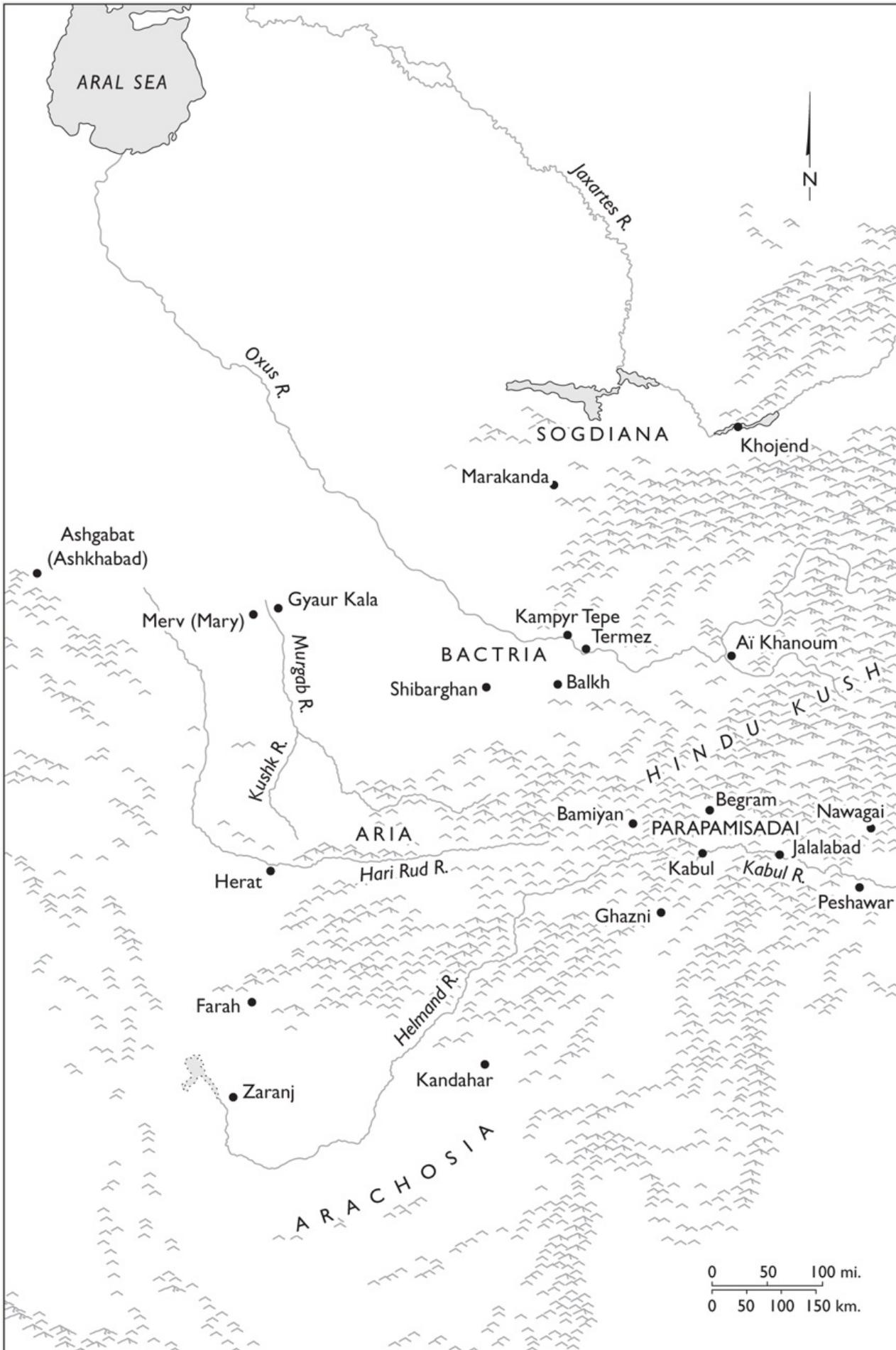
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ELYMAIS, SUSIANA, PERSIS, AND THE PERSIAN GULF REGION

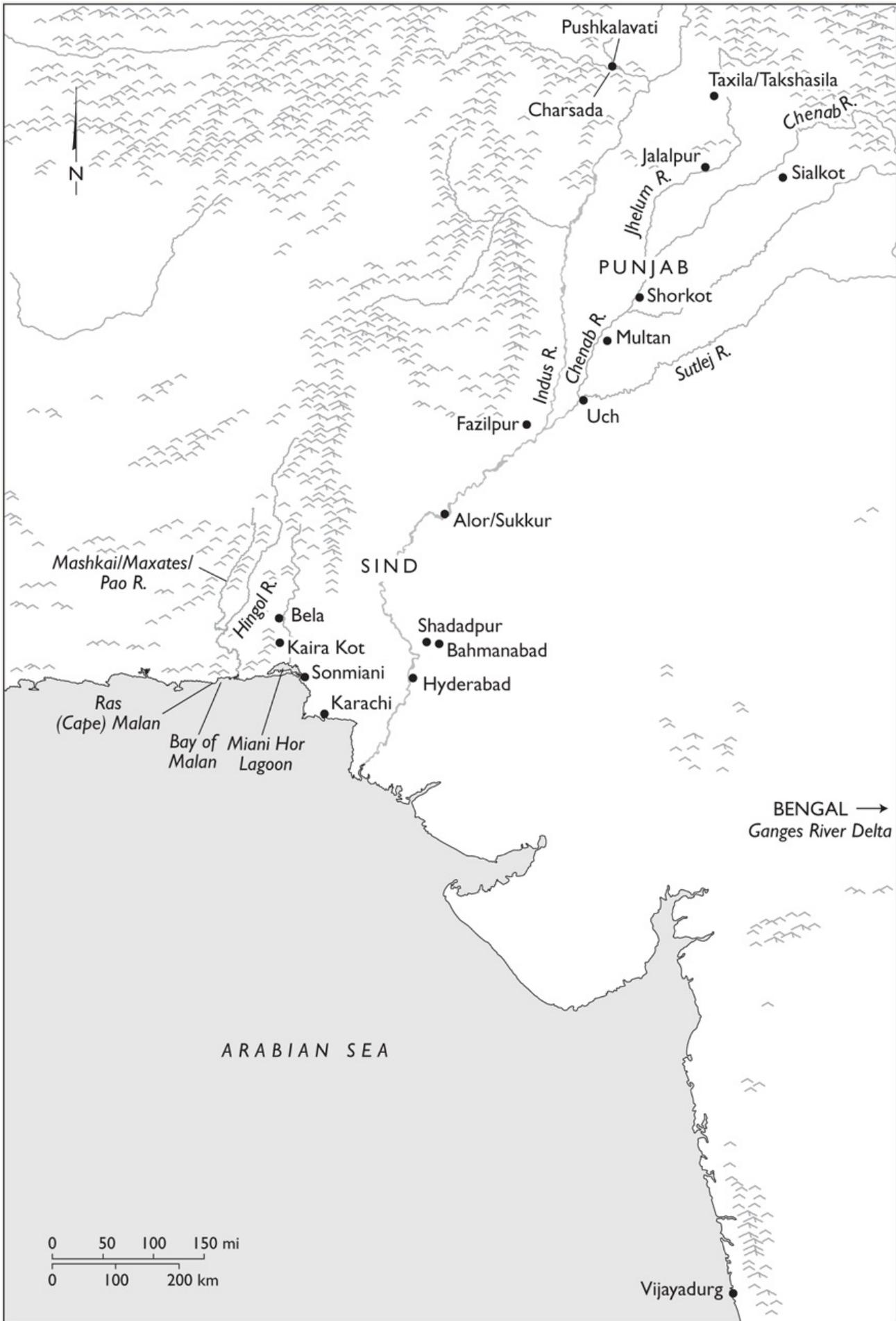


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MARGIANA, ARIA, SOGDIANA, BACTRIA, AND ARACHOSIA



INDIA