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UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

THE SELEUCIDS IN MESOPOTAMIA

by

CARLOS MANUEL ANTONIO ALONSO

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

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in

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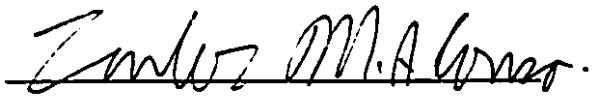

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To my Parents and to the loving memory of my late Great Grandmother

ABSTRACT

The Seleucids, while in control of Mesopotamia from 312 B.C. to 129 B.C., had a limited influence on the natives of Mesopotamia. Of the three types of cities found in Mesopotamia, only the πόλις ἑλληνίς showed any Greek influence. Of the other two, the πόλις περσική does not seem to have been influenced by the Greeks at all, while in the πόλις μιξοβάρβαρος a Greek community was juxtaposed with a native one in the same city. Only Greek military colonies were founded in Seleucid Mesopotamia. Most of these colonies were eventually turned into Greek cities. As for the various officials found, only the religious ones show any sign of being divided between Greek officials and native ones. In the areas of politics and economics, the division is between royal officials, appointed by the king, and local ones, who were selected by their peers. Both Greeks and natives could be selected to serve in either category. There is also little evidence of the Hellenization of the native Mesopotamians or of the Orientalization of the Greek inhabitants of Mesopotamia. What the evidence shows is a resistance to the Hellenic way of life on the part of the natives. This resistance is to be seen not as an intentional type, but simply as a resistance to change. The reason for this seeming lack of Hellenization is due to the fact that Mesopotamia, although an important area of the Seleucid Kingdom, was not its heart. This privilege went to an area located in northern Syria known as the Seleucis, where the main capital of Antioch-on-the-Orontes was located. Most of the Greeks and Macedonians would have settled in the region around Antioch in order to be close to the Seleucid king and to his court. Had Mesopotamia been the heart of the Seleucid Kingdom, then there is a good chance that it would been Hellenized more than it was.

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Abbreviations

A) Classical Works

All abbreviations of Classical Works are the same as those found in the Oxford Classical Dictionary^2, p. ix-xxii.

B) Modern Works

CAH- The Cambridge Ancient History, First Edition.

CAH^2- The Cambridge Ancient History, Second Edition.

CQ- Classical Quarterly.

IG- Inscriptiones Graecae.

JEA- Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.

JHS- Journal of Hellenic Studies.

JNES- Journal of Near Eastern Studies.

OGIS- Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae.

PSBA- Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology.

RÉA- Revue des Études Anciennes.

SEG- Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum.

YCS- Yale Classical Studies.

ZAV- Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Verwandte.

ZPE- Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik.

Introduction

M. Rostovtzeff in a 1932 article asked his readers, " How far did the Greeks Hellenize Babylonia?"[1] Although an important question, it was a hard one to answer in 1932 because of the lack of evidence. But now after sixty-three years much more evidence has come to light in Mesopotamia, allowing us to examine the question posed by Mr. Rostovtzeff, and the nature of the relations between the Seleucid monarchs and the indigenous peoples of Mesopotamia. This thesis will explore the foregoing topics in relation to the different aspects of the political and social world of Hellenistic Mesopotamia.[2] It will first examine the three different types of πόλεις found in Mesopotamia: the πόλις ἑλληνίς, the πόλις περσική, and the πολις μιξοβάρβαρος. Then it will examine Greek colonies in general, and then see if any Greek style colonies were founded in Mesopotamia. Next this thesis will investigate the different political, economic, and religious officials found in Mesopotamia, both Greek and native. Then it will explore to what extent the native Mesopotamians were Hellenized by the new Greek settlers and to what extent the Greeks who settled in Mesopotamia were Orientalized by the native population. Finally it will consider what forms of resistance to Hellenization occurred in Mesopotamia, such as the use of traditional architectural forms, the use of cuneiform in documents of different sorts, the continued use of traditional forms of literature and rituals. But first for clarity, a brief historical outline of Seleucid history will be provided as well as a discussion of Seleucid

a discussion of Seleucid chronology.

The time frame of this thesis will be from the time when Seleucus I Nicator finally gained control of Babylonia in 312[3] to 129, when Antiochus VII Sidetes was killed in Media by the Parthian king, Phraates II (the time when all of the Seleucid kingdom east of the Euphrates was lost permanently to the Parthians). In 312, after much fighting, Seleucus I was finally able to gain control of Babylonia, his old satrapy, from Antigonus Monophthalmus, who had driven Seleucus from Babylonia three years before in 315. It was from this point that the Seleucid Era was reckoned.[4] In 311, a treaty was signed by all the major powers except Seleucus. This peace allowed Antigonus to try to drive Seleucus out of Babylonia. But this was not possible since Seleucus had established himself firmly in Babylonia. It should be mentioned that Seleucus did not adopt the local royal title at this time as some think[5], but only in 305, when he took up the title of βασιλεύς. From Babylonia he set out to conquer the ' upper satrapies ', which were held by Antigonus. Both men fought each other until around 308, when a treaty seems to have been concluded between the two. Seleucus retained control of the area east of the Euphrates. While Antigonus was involved with affairs in the West, Seleucus was involved in fighting in the eastern part of his realm with the Mauryan king, Chandragupta. This war lasted from *c.* 308 until *c.* 305-303. As part of the agreement between the two rulers, Seleucus had to surrender certain of his eastern satrapies that bordered on Chandragupta's kingdom. In return Seleucus got five hundred elephants from the Indian king.[6]

In the summer of 301, a coalition between Cassander, Lysimachus, Seleucus, and Ptolemy was formed against Antigonus and his son, Demetrius Poliorcetes. At the Battle of Ipsos the latter were defeated by Seleucus and his allies (except for Ptolemy, who did not go to Asia Minor to help Seleucus, but instead invaded Coele-Syria). At the aforementioned battle, Antigonus lost his life and Demetrius fled. After the battle the victors divided the spoils. Cassander got total control of Macedonia, and Lysimachus took Asia Minor as far as the Taurus Mountains, except for a few areas that went to Ptolemy. Seleucus got Syria, but because of his friendship with Ptolemy, Seleucus let Ptolemy keep Coele-Syria, although he did not renounce his family's claims to Coele-Syria. Because of this, the region became a bone of contention between the two dynasties for many years to come. Soon after Ipsos, Ptolemy and Lysimachus formed an alliance against Seleucus; so Seleucus made one with Demetrius. The alliance was cemented when the aged Seleucus married Demetrius' young daughter, Stratonice. Soon after her marriage to Seleucus, she was divorced by him and was married to Seleucus' son, Antiochus. Antiochus was now made co-ruler and was put in charge of the ' upper satrapies'. The alliance between Seleucus and Demetrius was short lived. Demetrius began to lose power and in 286, he was captured by Seleucus who kept him as a prisoner at Antioch-on-the-Orontes. Here Demetrius died in 283.[7]

In the late 280's, Seleucus was urged to attack Lysimachus, by Lysandra, the wife of Lysimachus' son, Agathocles, whom Lysimachus had killed. It is also believed that Ptolemy Ceraunus, Lysandra's brother

and a son of Ptolemy I, helped to push Seleucus into the war against Lysimachus. And so Seleucus invaded Asia Minor in the middle of the winter of 282/1. At the beginning of 281, Seleucus met Lysimachus in battle at Corupedium, near Sardis. Lysimachus was killed and all of his Asian possessions fell to Seleucus. Seleucus continued on into Europe, presumably preparing to take over the Macedonian throne. By the end of the summer of 281, Seleucus had crossed over into Thrace. However Seleucus' prospects were not fulfilled, for he was assassinated by Ptolemy Ceraunus. Ptolemy was declared king of Macedon but was killed fighting the Celts not long after.[8]

Internally, Antiochus I's succession went smoothly since he had been co-ruler for a number of years. But it took him some time to get to the West, where all the action was taking place, since he was in the East at the time of his father's death. Once arriving in the West, Antiochus seems to have fought a war against Ptolemy II in Syria and Asia Minor, in order to gain possession of his inheritance. This war is known as the Syrian War of Succession. Also during the reign of Antiochus I, the Celts crossed over the Hellespont into Asia Minor. They caused problems in their new homes until they were defeated by Antiochus in the so-called Elephant Battle in *c.* 275 or *c.* 270. Although defeated, the Celts were not totally vanquished and continued to cause more problems for the states of Asia Minor. The First Syrian War, fought between Antiochus I and Ptolemy II, took place from 274 to 271. Little is known about this war; but it seems that the war did not seriously change the *status quo* . Thus the war more or less represents

a failure for Antiochus I, since he was interested in revising the state of affairs. Antiochus I died in 261. His death seems to have triggered the Second Syrian War (260- ? 253).[9]

Not much is known about this war. It seems to have been started by Ptolemy II, who wished to exploit the weakness of the new Seleucid king, Antiochus II. From the examination of the available evidence, Antiochus II seems to have emerged as the victor. Nothing is really known about the settlement, except that Antiochus repudiated his wife, Laodice, to marry Berenice, the daughter of Ptolemy II. Antiochus II died in 246, the same year as Ptolemy II. Antiochus died in Ephesus under mysterious circumstances at the home of his former wife, Laodice. She claimed that Antiochus had named their son, Seleucus, as his heir. This came as a blow to Berenice, Antiochus' second wife, and her son.[10] Seleucus II was recognized in a large part of Asia Minor only, while Berenice had her son proclaimed king and called in her brother Ptolemy III to help her. This act started the Third Syrian War.[11] While Seleucus was still in Asia Minor, Ptolemy advanced on Syria. He met with no resistance since he was seen as the champion of Berenice and her son. But before he arrived at Antioch, Berenice and the young king were killed. Ptolemy, however, kept up the fiction that his sister and nephew were still alive. From Syria he advanced to the Euphrates and then into Mesopotamia. But he had to leave the area in order to go home to deal with an uprising in Egypt. In 245, we find Seleucus II recognized as king in Babylonia. The war continued on for a few more years. While Seleucus was away asserting his power in Syria and the

eastern provinces, his brother, Antiochus Hierax, was made co-regent of the area west of the Taurus. It was here that the Ptolemaic forces were operating until the end of the war in 241. It should be noted that once the war was over Seleuceia-in-Pieria, the port of Antioch, remained in Ptolemaic hands until the reign of Antiochus III.[12]

After the end of the Third Syrian War, Antiochus Hierax rebelled, demanding that he should be recognized as king. The war between Seleucus II and Antiochus Hierax is known as the ' War of the Brothers ' (241-? 236). Seleucus took the offensive and marched into Asia Minor. He was victorious at first, but suffered a terrible defeat at the hands of his brother and his Celtic mercenaries near Ancyra in 240 or 239. After the battle Seleucus fled to Cilicia. We do not know when peace was made but it must have occurred before 236, because by this date Seleucus was fighting with the Parthians in the East. Antiochus Hierax retained Asia Minor. After this settlement, Seleucus had to go east to deal with trouble in Parthia and Bactria, which had by this time seceded from the Seleucid kingdom. Because Seleucus was kept busy in the East, he could not exploit the difficulties his brother was having in Asia Minor. In 226, Antiochus Hierax was murdered in Thrace. Seleucus died in 226 or 225, while fighting in the eastern part of his kingdom, where he had been ever since his defeat at Ancyra.[13]

Before going on it should be mentioned that according to Musti in the second edition of the Cambridge Ancient History, the date of the secession of Bactria and Parthia from the Seleucid realm is a

problem.[14] This confusion of chronology is a result of the inconsistencies of the sources. According to Musti there is a ' high ' and a ' low ' dating. According to the ' high ' dating the secession of the two states took place during the reign of Antiochus II. If one uses the ' low ' dating, one would place the secession under discussion in the reign of Seleucus II.

Seleucus II was followed by his son, Seleucus III. Seleucus III ruled only for a short period of time, from 226/5-223. Seleucus tried during his reign to reconquer Asia Minor, parts of which had been taken by the Attalid dynasty of Pergamum. During the campaign against the Attalid king, Attalus I, Seleucus was assassinated. After the assassination of Seleucus III, the royal diadem was at first offered to Achaeus, a member of the royal family, who happened to be with Seleucus when he was assassinated. However, Achaeus turned down the diadem in favor of Seleucus' younger brother, Antiochus, who at the time was in the ' upper satrapies ' . From 223-221, Antiochus III was occupied putting down a rebellion in the eastern part of the kingdom led by Molon. Then in 220 Achaeus rebelled in Asia Minor by taking the royal title. Antiochus left him alone for the time being because he was drawn into a war with Egypt.[15]

The Fourth Syrian War (221-217) was started soon after the death of King Ptolemy III. Antiochus thought that he should try to settle the question of Coele-Syria while the new king of Egypt, Ptolemy IV, was still establishing himself. The war moved slowly at first, but by 219,

Antiochus had succeeded in taking Seleuceia-in-Pieria from Ptolemy. This city had been in Ptolemaic hands since the end of the Third Syrian War. Soon after, because of problems between Theodotus, the Ptolemaic commander in Coele-Syria, and the Ptolemaic government, some important cities on the coast were given over to Antiochus by Theodotus. In order to gain some time after this set back, the government at Alexandria opened up negotiations with Antiochus and got a four month truce in the winter of 219/18. During this delay King Ptolemy and his court were able to raise a new army and to strengthen their positions. In the spring of 218, Antiochus was able to capture more of Coele-Syria and by the winter of 218/17, he was able to move into winter quarters at Ptolemaïs (Acre). Then on June 22, 217, the decisive battle of the war was fought at Raphia. Antiochus lost the battle and withdrew to his capital at Antioch. The peace treaty that was signed seems to have been quite lenient towards Antiochus. For example, Antiochus was able to keep the port of Seleuceia-in-Pieria. Not long after the conclusion of the Fourth Syrian War, Antiochus turned his attentions towards Achaeus. Antiochus fought with him until 213, when Antiochus finally captured and executed him at Sardis.[16]

With Achaeus out of the way, Antiochus set out to re-establish Seleucid control in the East. This so-called ' Anabasis ' of Antiochus took from 212 to 205 to complete. In 212 he reduced Armenia to the status of a vassal and he seems to have re-organized the administration of Media. He then attacked Parthia, which resulted in a treaty of alliance with Arsaces II. From 208-206, Antiochus tried to re-establish

his authority in Bactria. He was not able to do so and he was forced to make a treaty with King Euthydemus of Bactria. Antiochus then crossed the Hindu-Kush Mountains and made a treaty with a local Indian king named Sophagasenus. Antiochus then returned home through his Iranian provinces. It was after his ' Anabasis ', that Antiochus, emulating Alexander the Great, took the extra name of the Great.[17]

After his ' Anabasis ', Antiochus turned his attentions towards Asia Minor. This occupied his time until 203, when he decided to try to take over Coele-Syria again. This decision was made because of the death of Ptolemy IV, in 204, and also because Ptolemy IV's heir was his six-year-old son, Ptolemy V. After fighting for three years, Antiochus was able to get revenge for Raphia by defeating the Ptolemaic army at Panium in 200. Antiochus then spent the next two years reorganizing his new conquest. This left Antiochus free in 197 to re-assert himself in Asia Minor. In 196, after Philip V of Macedonia had been defeated by the Romans, Antiochus was told by the Romans not to attack the autonomous cities of Asia Minor and to evacuate the cities he had taken from Ptolemy and Philip. Antiochus was also warned against crossing over into Europe with an army.[18]

Antiochus paid no heed to this warning and in 192, Antiochus, in alliance with the Aetolians, crossed over to Demetrias in Thessaly. This started the war between Antiochus and Rome in 191. Antiochus did not have much luck in ' liberating ' the cities of Greece. Then in the spring of 191, Antiochus was defeated at Thermopylae and driven back

into Asia. In the winter of 190 a Roman army, under the command of L. Cornelius Scipio, crossed over to Asia. The final battle of the war took place near Magnesia-ad-Sipylum. The Romans won and Antiochus was forced to sue for peace. The treaty between the two states was made at Apamea in Syria. Amongst the terms of the peace treaty was the demand that Antiochus evacuate all territory north of the Taurus mountains and that he pay a certain amount of money to Rome and to her allies in the war. In 187, a year after his settlement with Rome, Antiochus was killed while attempting to raise money from a native temple in Elymaïs. Since Antiochus III's eldest son, Antiochus, had died, he was succeeded by his second son, Seleucus IV, who had been co-ruler since 189. Not much happened during his reign. Seleucus was assassinated by his chancellor, Heliodorus, who had caused trouble with the Jews. We do not know why Heliodorus killed the king, but the deed was done on September 3, 175. Heliodorus proclaimed Seleucus' young son, Antiochus, as king.[19] The young king's mother, Laodice, acted as regent for him. Around the same time, Seleucus IV's brother, Antiochus, was returning from Rome, where he had been sent as a hostage by Antiochus III. Seleucus IV's brother was released by the Romans because Seleucus had sent his son, Demetrius, as a hostage instead of Antiochus. While in Athens Antiochus heard about his brother's death. With the help of King Eumenes II of Pergamum, Antiochus was crowned king of the Seleucid kingdom as King Antiochus IV. Upon his return to Syria he killed Heliodorus, married his sister-in-law, Laodice, and made her son co-ruler for several years. During the first years of his reign, Antiochus spent time making allies and friends in Asia Minor and Greece. Of all

the cities of Greece, Athens had the closest ties with the king. It was to Athens that Antiochus came on his release from Rome and it had been from here that he went to gain his throne.[20]

Then in 170/69 Antiochus attacked Egypt. This invasion started the Sixth Syrian War. The main reason for the war was that the Ptolemaic government claimed that the land of Coele-Syria was promised to the late king Ptolemy V in 194/3, when he married Antiochus IV's sister, Cleopatra. While Cleopatra was alive she kept her son, Ptolemy VI, from going to war, but once she had died, the young king's new ministers were planning on war. So Antiochus wanted to strike at Egypt before Egypt could strike at him. Since Rome was, at the time, fighting with Perseus of Macedon, it did not pay much attention to this war. In early 169, after a battle at Pelusium, Antiochus was able to seize his nephew and kept him with him, claiming to be the boy's guardian. To counter this the government at Alexandria set up Ptolemy VI's brother, Ptolemy VII, and his sister, Cleopatra, as rival rulers. Antiochus then left, leaving his nephew in Alexandria. Antiochus returned in 168 and laid siege to Alexandria. But before the siege went on for long, Rome intervened. It sent C. Popillius Laenas as an ambassador to Egypt. Upon arriving he gave Antiochus an ultimatum. Popillius Laenas drew a circle around the king, telling him that before he left the circle he had to decide whether or not to withdraw his forces from Egypt and Cyprus. Antiochus had no choice but to comply. [21]

After this humiliating experience, Antiochus accepted what was

unavoidable and turned his energies to the eastern part of his kingdom. Before he set out to the East, Antiochus held a great festival in honor of the god, Apollo, at Daphne, a suburb of Antioch. Thus in the spring of 165, he set out for the eastern parts of his kingdom. Before leaving he made his young son, Antiochus, co-ruler and left his chancellor, Lysias, as the boy's guardian. The purpose of this expedition is not known. Antiochus' expedition was cut short in 165. After trying to raise money from the temple of Nanaia in Elymaïs, from where Antiochus was repelled, he grew sick and died in Tabae.[22]

Another event which took place during the reign of Antiochus IV was the beginning of the revolt of the Maccabees. The revolt started because of the strict measures that Antiochus had taken against the Jews of Palestine. One of the main reasons Antiochus came down so hard on the Jews was because of the civil strife between the different factions contending for the High-Priesthood of the Temple at Jerusalem. Some of the more pious Jews reacted to the measures of Antiochus and rebelled. The rebellion lasted off and on until John Hyrcanus I was made king of Judaea in 135.[23]

Antiochus was succeeded by his son, Antiochus V who, being a boy, was under the care of Lysias. It seems that before Antiochus IV died he decided to replace Lysias with a man named Philippus, although this is not certain. When Lysias heard about this he stopped fighting the Jews and attacked Philippus, who was defeated and killed. The young king did not last long. In 162 his cousin, Demetrius, the son of Seleucus IV,

who had been in Rome as a hostage, made a daring escape from the city. The young prince had the help of some of his father's friends in Rome, the historian Polybius, and an ambassador of King Ptolemy VI. Demetrius headed towards Syria. Once there he proclaimed himself king, seized Apamea, the military capital of the Seleucid kingdom, and then marched on Antioch. Lysias and the young King Antiochus were captured and executed. Before the end of 162, Demetrius was recognized as king throughout the Seleucid dominions.[24]

Upon his accession, Demetrius I faced many problems. There were people in his realm who remained loyal to the house of Antiochus IV. Others used this as a pretext to advance themselves. One such man was Timarchus, who proclaimed himself ' Great King '. He was satrap of Media and perhaps also of Babylonia. Other areas also broke away under local dynasts or under their satraps. At the same time the Maccabees were still causing trouble in Judaea. Demetrius also had to face the hostilities of Rome. Rome's hostilities were caused by his escape from Rome and by his pretending that he had the Romans' approval for his actions in the East. He worked hard to overcome all these difficulties. He had a hard time placating his external enemies, but within his realm he was more successful. Demetrius was almost able to put down the revolt in Judaea. In 161 or 160, Demetrius was able to defeat Timarchus. He was heralded as Σωτήρ in Babylonia, and this epithet became part of his royal title. Demetrius then tried to repair his relations with Rome. We are not sure whether or not the Roman Senate recognized Demetrius as king. What we do know is that Demetrius was

tolerated by Rome so long as he was obedient. It seems that some time before 161, the Senate granted an alliance to Demetrius' Jewish subjects.[25]

Demetrius, because of his preference for seclusion and his reputation of being a drunkard, became unpopular with his subjects. When the citizens of Antioch rebelled, Demetrius suppressed it with measures that made him appear even more unpopular than before. He also antagonized Ptolemy VI, forcing Ptolemy to join Demetrius' other enemies, the kings of Pergamum and Cappadocia. They put forward a man named Balas who they claimed to be the son of Antiochus IV. He was brought to Pergamum where he was made king of the Seleucid kingdom and was given the dynastic name of Alexander. Alexander Balas was settled in Cilicia, under the protection of a local dynast and in 153 he appeared in Rome with Antiochus IV's daughter, Laodice, at his side. In 152, he obtained a decree from the Senate giving him permission to take the Seleucid kingdom for himself. Before October of 152, Alexander Balas was in Palestine where he made Jonathan Maccabee High-Priest. In the war against Alexander Balas, Demetrius was successful at first, but by the summer of 150, Demetrius had lost both his life and his kingdom.[26]

Alexander Balas started his reign by executing his predecessor's son, Antigonus, his wife, Laodice, and a number of his friends. Alexander was at first very popular. But in reality Alexander was the puppet of Ptolemy VI, whose daughter, Cleopatra, he married. Alexander began to lose popularity when it became apparent that he cared little

for duty. He left most of the work of running the state to his favorites, while the king lived most of the time in Ptolemaïs. Alexander left Judaea to itself under the High-Priest Jonathan Maccabee. The worst blow came when the satrapies of Media and Susiane were lost by 148/7. By the summer of 145, when Alexander was overthrown by Demetrius' son, Demetrius, he had lost the support of his foreign allies. Alexander was forced to leave his capital and raised an army in Cilicia. The first battle was fought at Antioch-on-the-Oenoparus, located in Northern Syria. Alexander lost the battle and fled to an Arab dynast, named Diocles, who killed him a few days after his arrival.[27]

Demetrius II at the outset of his reign had to put down a rebellion in his capital at Antioch-on-the-Orontes. He called upon Jonathan Maccabee, who sent to Demetrius three thousand Jewish soldiers to help him. Then a man of Apamea, named Diodotus, but more generally known as Tryphon, took over the armaments in Apamea and captured the two year old son of Alexander Balas, named Antiochus, who had been in the care of Diocles, and had the young boy proclaimed King Antiochus VI, in the late summer of 145. Demetrius sent an army against Tryphon but he was able to defeat Demetrius' army. Demetrius spent the next few years fighting with Tryphon. By 142/1, Tryphon grew tired of Antiochus VI and had him killed. In order to enhance his prestige with a victory and to make his army strong enough to crush Tryphon, Demetrius went east to push back the Parthians, who had invaded Seleucid territory. Unfortunately Demetrius was defeated by the Parthians and taken prisoner

c. 140/39. It was up to Demetrius' younger brother, Antiochus, to finish the war with Tryphon. In 139/8 Antiochus was proclaimed king and he defeated Tryphon in northern Syria. After Tryphon was besieged in the Phoenician city of Dora, he escaped from there and went to Apamea, where he took his own life.[28]

With Tryphon out of the way, Antiochus VII had no problem in gaining recognition throughout the Seleucid empire. Antiochus had to deal with two main problems, the Jews and the Parthians. The king turned to the Jewish problem first. Realizing that his generals were accomplishing nothing, Antiochus took matters into his own hands. In 135, he invaded Judaea. By October of 134, Antiochus had taken Jerusalem and had made King John Hyrcanus I a vassal. But after Antiochus' death in the East, the Seleucid power over Judaea vanished and Judaea finally became an independent kingdom. With Judaea under control, Antiochus turned his forces towards the East against the rising power of the Parthians. In 131, Antiochus began his campaign against the Parthian king, Phraates II. Antiochus was victorious at first, winning three successive battles. He was able to retake Babylon, which had been in Parthian hands since 141. He soon retook Seleuceia-on-the-Tigris, Susa, and all the area of Susiane. Antiochus then invaded Media. It was here in the winter of 130/29, that Antiochus was forced into battle and killed. Phraates' victory was decisive. He was able to keep Media and recovered the provinces of Babylonia and Susiane. By 126/5, all the land east of the Euphrates was in Parthian hands and lost forever to the Seleucids.[29]

The last sixty-five years of the Seleucid kingdom were ones of anarchy and confusion. Although Demetrius II managed to escape to become king again, he lasted for only three years. In the period from 129-64, we find fifteen rulers. There were two more Demetriuses, another Alexander, another two Seleucuses, six more Antiochuses, two Philips, a Cleopatra, and a king of Armenia named Tigranes. Finally all this chaos was put to rest when in 64, the Roman, Pompey the Great annexed what was left of the Seleucid kingdom to the Roman Empire, as the province of Syria.[30]

Before proceeding, a few words must also be said about Seleucid chronology. Unlike some periods of history, establishing dates during the Seleucid period is not quite so difficult. The reason for this is the existence of the method of dating events by the Seleucid Era.[31] The Seleucid Era was originally the reckoning of the regnal years of Seleucus I. After his death his son, Antiochus I, continued to use the numbering of his father's regnal years, as well as using his own. The following kings also continued this practice.[32] The one drawback to this system was that two different starting dates were used. In the western half of the kingdom the Seleucid Era began in the fall of 312, while in the eastern half it began on 1 Nisan 311= 3 April 311.[33] But the Babylonian or eastern method of computing the Seleucid Era soon gained predominance and was still in use even after the end of the Seleucid kingdom.[34]

Another form of dating in the Seleucid kingdom was by the regnal

years of a given king. This method works fine, but has one major drawback. This is that, unless one has a list of the different kings of a given dynasty in chronological order, it is almost impossible to determine when a given event happened. Fortunately for us, a cuneiform king list for the Seleucid period exists.[35] Another text found in Pritchard[36] gives part of a king list that starts in the late Assyrian period and continues down to the reign of Seleucus II.

Other useful tools are cuneiform diaries that can be used in determining when an event took place during the Seleucid period.[37] The diaries give a day by day account of any astronomical events that took place. Each tablet gives the months and the day when each event occurred, as well as the regnal year of the king in power. Once the Seleucids are in power the Seleucid Era is also used on the tablets. On occasion historical events find their way into the diaries. These historical sections "are of remarkable unevenness: sometimes they record events of ephemeral importance from the city of Babylon, in other cases events of political significance."[38] With all this information coming out of Mesopotamia, one comes across the problem of trying to correlate the Mesopotamian dates with their corresponding modern dates. This problem was solved when in 1956, R. Parker and W. Dubberstein came out with a book entitled Babylonian Chronology 626B.C- A.D. 75. In this book they discuss the Babylonian calendar and how it was set up, as well as what chronological information is available for certain reigns, and then they give tables correlating Babylonian dates to their Julian equivalents.

Chapter 1: The Πόλις in Mesopotamia

This chapter will examine the Greek πόλεις that were found in Mesopotamia. There seem to have been three types of πόλεις found. There were new foundations such as Seleucia-On-The-Tigris, as well as older Mesopotamian cities which remained more or less Mesopotamian throughout the Seleucid Period. An example of this second type is Uruk. Forming a third type of city in Mesopotamia were older cities such as Babylon that might have been, in part, refounded as a Greek type πόλις. An examination of Seleucia-On-The-Tigris, Uruk, and Babylon will follow. Before going on to discuss these topics, it may be useful to look at the geographical boundaries of the Seleucid Kingdom during the time frame of this thesis and also to understand why Mesopotamia held such an important position in the kingdom.

At the time of the death of Seleucus I in 280 his realm spread over most of the Middle and Near East, occupying the territories of seven modern nations and huge tracts of four ex-Soviet Republics[39]. After the Battle of Panion, fought in 200, Antiochus III added the area of modern Israel and parts of Jordan to his kingdom[40]. The ancient names for the different areas of the kingdom can be found in Diodorus[41]. He divided Asia into half using the Taurus and Hindu Kush mountain ranges, which he thought were one continuous mountain range, as the dividing line. North of this line he placed Sogdiana, Bactria, Aria, Parthia, Hyrcania, Media[42], and Armenia (see map 8). Then, in Asia Minor, also

north of the Taurus range, were Greater and Hellespontine Phrygia, Lydia, Caria, Pisidia, Lycia, and the Greek cities on the coast (see map 9). Diodorus placed the following areas to the south of the Taurus-Hindu Kush line: India (which was not part of the Seleucid Kingdom), Arachosia, Gedrosia, Carmania, Persis, Susiana, Sittacene, Babylonia and Mesopotamia (see maps 8 and 11). Diodorus then mentions Syria, Cilicia, Pamphylia, and finally Coele-Syria (see maps 9 and 10). It is interesting to note that Diodorus leaves out of his account of Asia Minor the areas of Bithynia, Pontus and Cappadocia.

The areas that Diodorus mentions seem to have been the different satrapies of the Seleucid state. As a general rule the names of the satrapies ended in -ια[43]. The only major problem with a given satrapy was that it was normally made up of large amounts of territory regardless of the nationality of the inhabitants and the nature of the physical make up of the area[44]. In order to rectify this problem the satrapies were divided into smaller units that could be governed much more easily. Tarn believed that the satrapies beyond the Euphrates were divided up as follows: First there were σατραπεῖαι or satrapies. Each σατραπεῖα was divided into a number of ἐπαρχίαι or eparchies. The ἐπαρχία was a better divison then the σατραπεῖα because the ἐπαρχία had often been created following a natural division dictated by the lie of the land[45]. Then an ἐπαρχία would be divided into a number of ὑπαρχεῖαι or hyparchies. The ὑπαρχεῖα seems to have been the basis for land registry in the Seleucid Kingdom, since the registration was based on the registers found in each ὑπαρχεῖα[46]. This division of satrapy,

eparchy, and hyparchy is similar to the three fold division of nome, *topos*, and village found in Ptolemaic Egypt[47]. Since the Seleucid hyparchy would have been much bigger then the Ptolemaic village, Tarn postulates that there must have been a further division in the Seleucid Kingdom. He thought that each ὑπαρχεία would have been divided into a number of σταθμοί or stations. The σταθμοί were originally post stations on the main roads during Achaemenid rule which the Seleucids took over and turned in to a subdivision of the ὑπαρχεία. Each σταθμός was composed of a number of villages[48]. Tarn used this system of land division to explain what Appian meant when he said that under Seleucus I "σατραπεῖαι δὲ ἦσαν ὑπ' αὐτῷ δύο καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα· τοσαύτης ἐβασιλευε γῆς"[49]. Tarn believes that Appian meant that there were seventy-two eparchs in the kingdom, not satraps. Tarn comes to this conclusion because in Appian's day the eparchy was the main division of the territories in the East and not the satrapy. Tarn also brings up the point that in Appian's day the Greek word ἡ ἐπαρχία was equivalent to the Latin word *provincia*[50].

Musti, a more recent scholar, thinks that Tarn's system was too rigid. He prefers Bengtson's view[51] that the seventy two satrapies found in Appian were the historical result of the break up of a small number of the large satrapies into smaller ones. Musti mentions two reasons for this possible break up. It occurred either because of spontaneous thrusts towards autonomy or because of pressure from the central government, especially during the reign of Antiochus III, which was attempting to reduce the power of the satraps of large satrapies by

splitting them up into smaller units. Musti also thinks that one should not give such a " rigid terminological and technical value to such a broad term as eparchia "[52]. As one can see, Musti gives a better description than Tarn does on how the Seleucid Kingdom was arranged. He admits that the satrapy was divided into smaller units but he remains flexible with his terminology.

As for the extent of the Seleucid Kingdom, it covered most of the area of the Asian part of Alexander's Empire at some time or other. It varied from time to time depending on the strength or weakness of the central government. Around 305 (see map 1) Seleucus' realm consisted of most of Alexander's Asian holdings. The areas of Alexander's Asian Empire that were not under Seleucus' control were Northern Mesopotamia, Syria, Coele-Syria, and Cyprus which were under the control of Antigonus Monophthalmos. Seleucus did not control any of Asia Minor, which was under the control of Antigonus and native rulers. The far eastern part of Alexander's realm was also not under Seleucus' power. The area of the upper Indus, Gandhara, all or part of Parapomisadae, and East Arachosia were ceded by Seleucus to the Mauryan King, Chandragupta by about 305[53]. Further, the satrap of Media, Atropates, managed to take over north-west Media and founded a kingdom there which his descendants ruled until it was taken over by the Parthians[54]. After the fall of Antigonus at the Battle of Ipsos in 301, Seleucus added the area of Northern Mesopotamia and Syria to his kingdom (see map 2). Coele-Syria and Cyprus were taken by Ptolemy I and large parts of Asia Minor went to Lysimachus. By about 275 (see map 3), the Seleucids had taken over most

of the Asian portions of Lysimachus' kingdom. It was also around this time that the Gauls settled in the interior of Asia Minor in the area called Galatia[55].

By the time of the death of Seleucus II in 226/5 major changes had taken place in the Seleucid Kingdom (see map 4). In Asia Minor the Attalid Kingdom, centered around Pergamum, had sprung up; also parts of Cilicia had been taken over by the Ptolemies. Further east more dramatic changes are seen. Two new kingdoms had been established by this time, the Indo-Bactrian kingdom in Bactria and northern India and the Parthian kingdom in Parthia and Hyrcania. In fact Seleucus II lost his life while fighting the Parthians[56]. The Seleucid realm was expanding again by around 200 (see map 5). Not only had Antiochus III finally added Coele-Syria to his kingdom but, after his *Anabasis*, he brought back under his control most of the eastern part of his realm. The kings of Armenia, Media Atropatene, Parthia, and Bactria were all made vassals of Antiochus and the Kingdom of Subhagasena, located along the upper reaches of the Indus was made an ally[57]. After Antiochus' defeat by the Romans, things took a turn for the worse for the Seleucids (see map 6). All of the places which Antiochus had brought under his control in the East were lost, while most of the Seleucid territory in Asia Minor north of the Taurus Mountains was given to the Attalids and to the island state of Rhodes. Things went down hill from there. Parthia began to expand at an alarming rate. Although the Seleucids tried to stop the growth of Parthia, by 129 Parthia controlled most of the Middle East east of the Euphrates (see map 7). Also about

this time the Jews under the Maccabees had set up an independent state. Thus the Seleucid Kingdom was reduced to Syria and parts of Phoenicia and Cilicia[58].

Until the Parthian expansion, Mesopotamia was an important area in the realm of the Seleucids. One of the main reasons for this was the fact that the area of Mesopotamia was necessary for the movement of goods and manpower from one end of the kingdom to the other. Most of the main trade routes leading from the Iranian Plateau and the lands further east to the lands on the coast of the Mediterranean Sea passed through Mesopotamia[59]. Mesopotamia also acted as a redistribution center for the Seleucid Kingdom. An example of this can be found in an astronomical diary dating from February 275[60]. In it we are informed that in " month XII [*Addaru*] the 24th day, the satrap of Babylonia brought out much silver, cloth, goods, and utensils(?) from Babylon and Seleucia, the royal city, and 20 elephants, which the satrap of Bactria had sent to the king, to Transpotamia [*Ebir-nari*] before the king"[61]. Another reason Mesopotamia was important to the Seleucids was the fact that the area was very fertile, producing a large amount of agricultural resources along with surpluses[62].

In Mesopotamia, as in the rest of the Seleucid realm , one of the smallest divisions was the city. Some of these cities were new foundations, whose civic structures were modeled on those found in the cities of Greece. Examples of this type of city are Antioch-on-the-Orontes or Seleucia-on-the-Tigris. Others were older cities that were

reorganized on the Greek pattern and normally given a dynastic name of some sort, such as Susa, which was latter refounded as Seleucia-Eulaeus. Other native cities retained their existing civic structures, their old names, and customs, and continued to function as they had before. Examples of this type of city are Ecbatana[63]or Uruk. The problem then arises as to what terms were used by the Greeks to differentiate these cities. The most convenient term would be πόλις. R.J. van der Spek has no problem in using the term πόλις for any city found in the Hellenistic World[64]. He points out that the word πόλις can have two senses in Greek. It can mean a town or city or it can mean a state. Van der Spek then argues that since the Greeks wrote most often about themselves and since the city-state was the main form of state in Greece in the Classical Period, the city and the state were seen as identical. But this did not stop the Greeks from using the word πόλις to describe such non-Greek cities as Nineveh, Babylon, Opis, and Ecbatana, which were not city-states as the Greeks envisioned them[65] . Professor van der Spek the goes on to give three categories of the πόλις that the Greeks seemed to have used[66]. The first category is the πόλις ἑλληνίς. This category included all the normal Greek πόλεις plus the hellenized cities. The next category is the πόλις περσική. This included Gaugamela and other cities found in the old Persian Empire[67], that more or less kept their original organization. The third category is the πόλις μιξοβάρβαρος, a term used by John Malalas to refer to Edessa[68], a city which he thought had a mixed population. In Mesopotamia all three types of city can be found. As an example of the πόλις ἑλληνίς there is Seleucia-on the Tigris, of the πόλις περσική there is perhaps Uruk and

of the πόλις μιξοβάρβαρος there is Babylon.

The first of these cities that will be examined is Seleucia-on-the-Tigris (referred to here- after just as Seleucia). There are two major problems in the study of Seleucia. The first is when the city was founded and the other is why it was founded.

The problem of dating the foundation of Seleucia stems from the fact that none of our sources gives a date for the foundation of the city. All that the ancient authors tell us is that Seleucia was founded by Seleucus I Nicator on the site of the older city of Opis[69]. Since all of the ancient sources definitely link Seleucus I with the foundation of Seleucia we can dismiss the hypothesis that it was founded around 294/3 by Antiochus I[70] or around 275/4 when Seleucia is first referred to in cuneiform documents[71]. This leaves us with three possible dates; one *c.* 312 when Seleucus retook Babylonia from Antigonus[72], one *c.* 305 when Seleucus adopted the title βασιλεύς[73], or one *c.* 300 after Seleucus had defeated Antigonus at the Battle of Ipsos[74]. Of these three dates the one *c.* 312 is too early. During the period from 312 to 308 Seleucus was involved in a war with Antigonus that was centered in Babylonia. In fact we learn from the "Diadochi Chronicle" that Antigonus plundered Babylon and the surrounding area[75]. Since the area was in such turmoil until peace was made *c.*308, Seleucus would not appear to have had the time or man power to build a city. Both of the remaining dates are possible but the one that seems best is the one *c.*305. There are several reasons for this. The first is that in the Hellenistic world

the foundation of a city could be seen as the prerogative of a king[76]. Before 305 Seleucus was 'on paper' a satrap of King Alexander IV. Since in theory Seleucus had to keep up the appearance that he was still loyal to King Alexander, he could not found a city without the king's permission and then name it after himself. By 305 Seleucus was a king in his own right and would have had the power to found a city in his own name. Another reason is that it was about 306/5 that Antigonus founded his capital of Antigoneia-on-the-Orontes, not far from the future site of Antioch[77]. It seems that since Seleucus' greatest rival, Antigonus, founded a new city and named it after himself, that Seleucus would want to do the same. Seleucus may have also wished to found a new city because the damage that was inflicted on Babylon during the war with Antigonus might have prevented Seleucus from using it as his capital[78].

As for a foundation date c. 300, although Bouché-Leclerq believes that Seleucia was founded not long after Antioch[79], it still seems too late. Before the Battle of Ipsos in 301, Seleucus controlled only southern Mesopotamia and the eastern satrapies. He would have needed a capital for his new kingdom. Babylon was not in a good economic condition to be the capital of Seleucus' new kingdom after being looted on several occasions during the war with Antigonus. Also with its strong ties to the past it would have made sense for Seleucus to found his new capital elsewhere. Since he would have had to find a different site that would have been just as centrally located as Babylon, Opis would appear to be one of the most desirable sites for the foundation of the new city. After the Battle of Ipsos, when Seleucus had gained

control of northern Syria and founded Antioch and its sister cities, Seleucia would then have become the capital of the eastern half of the kingdom. In 1978, Robert Hadley tried to revive Bouché-Leclerq's date of 300 for the foundation of Seleucia[80]. He gives three reasons why the date of *c.* 300 is preferable to the others. Hadley's first reason was the ongoing threat of invasion by Antigonus down to his death in 301. Although this seems a good reason for not founding a city, it did not stop other rulers from founding cities during a war or in hostile territory. The best example of this is Alexander the Great who made it a habit to found Alexandrias wherever he went, even in hostile areas such as eastern Iran and Afghanistan[81]. Hadley's second point was that until 301, Seleucus would not have been able to draw a large number of Greeks or Hellenized populations into any city he founded. This second reason is also not a good one. If Seleucia was founded *c.* 305, it would have taken years for the city to be built up into a capital city. At first only a few people would have been needed to live there. Over time more people would have moved there. Even if Seleucus had never gained direct access to Greece, this would not have necessarily stopped Greeks from migrating to the Seleucid Kingdom if they wanted to live there. Hadley's final argument for a date *c.* 300 seems to be his weakest. He states that since there was a growing antagonism between Seleucus and the Babylonians, it would have been impossible for Seleucus to found a city in the area until the area was militarily secure. The only evidence we have for the Babylonians being hostile to Seleucus is in Appian, Syriake, 58-59. Even here the priests who try to get Seleucia founded at an inauspicious time were Magoi, who were Persian,

not Babylonian, priests[82]. Except for this one reference, all of our evidence seems to show that Seleucus and the Babylonians were on very good terms. It is for these reasons that I find that a date c. 305 for the foundation of Seleucia to be the best.

The next question that must be examined is the reason why Seleucia was founded. It was thought amongst the Ancients that Seleucia was founded in order to depopulate Babylon[83]. This hypothesis also has its adherents amongst modern scholars. For example, Samuel Eddy in his book The King is Dead, believes that the depopulation of Babylon was one of the main reasons for the foundation of Seleucia[84]. Sherwin-White, on the other hand, does not believe this to be the case[85]. She gives several reasons why the building of Seleucia would not have caused the depopulation of Babylon. First she dismisses the evidence given by Pliny the Elder. She says that Pliny was writing about three centuries after Seleucia was founded. By Pliny's time Babylon was in a ruined state. This was due more to the Parthian ransacking of the city in 126[86] than to the policy of the Seleucids. Sherwin-White then points out that Seleucia was over forty miles from Babylon[87]. Before the advent of modern travel it took a man, named Rich, in 1839, two days to travel the distance between the two cities with a well-equipped caravan[88]. Another reason she gives is that each city was on a different riverine system. Most of the trade from the Persian Gulf still went up the Euphrates to Babylon since the Euphrates was easier to navigate than the Tigris. Also there was a main caravan road to the Indian frontier that crossed the Tigris at the site of Seleucia. It

would have made sense for Seleucus to found a city here to take advantage of this trade route[89].

The story found in Appian's Syriake, 58-59 is also used to prove that Seleucia was built to ruin Babylon. In this story Seleucus had asked the Magoi to tell him what time would be the most auspicious for the foundation of the new city. The Magoi gave a false time since they did not want such a powerful city built near them. The gods had other plans. When the auspicious time arrived, a voice was heard to give the sign to the soldiers to start to work. No matter how hard he tried, Seleucus could not get them to stop. So he went back to the Magoi. They got him to promise not to punish them and then they told him the truth that this was the correct time for the city to be built. They also explained their reasons for giving the false time and Seleucus forgave them. Eddy sees this as proof of an anti-Macedonian sentiment among the Babylonian clergy[90]. There are several problems with this. First, the term Magoi refers to Persian[91], not Babylonian, priests. Babylonian priests are normally called Chaldaioi[92]. It is possible, nevertheless, that some Persian or Zoroastrian priests were upset by the foundation of Seleucia for whatever reasons and tried to have the city cursed by being founded at an inauspicious time[93]. Yet this is not an argument for native Babylonian sentiment. The other problem is that Seleucus was on good terms with the native Babylonians. When he came back to Babylon in 312 the natives welcomed him with open arms. Not only did he and his descendants treat the native Babylonians well, but they also rebuilt many parts of the native cities, including

temples[94].

If a desire for the depopulation of Babylon was not the reason for the foundation of Seleucia, what was? The most likely reason (as noted previously) was that Seleucus wished to found a new city to be the capital of his new kingdom. Once Syria was added to Seleucus' Kingdom after the Battle of Ipsos in 301, Seleucia would have become the capital of the eastern part of the kingdom[95]. It, nevertheless, could serve as the residence of the crown-prince when he was in charge of the Upper Satrapies. The new city was to act as the royal residence for the king and his family when they were in the area and also to house all of the official administrative offices for this part of the kingdom. In fact in Babylonian documents Seleucia is referred to as *āl šarrūti* or the city of kingship[96]. This term was used by the Babylonians and the Assyrians to designate a new royal capital in order to differentiate it from other cities in the kingdom[97].

The administrative and business functions of the city are seen in its layout. Seleucia was laid out into three areas by a canal from the Euphrates and by a caravan road[98]. North of the canal was the Royal or Palace Area. In this section of the city were located the royal palace, the Heroön of Seleucus I, several temples and the royal archives[99]. In the ruins of the royal archives were found the remains of about 24,000 clay 'bullae'[100]. Also located in this area is the mound of Tell Umar whose purpose has not yet been determined[101]. It has been suggested that Tell Umar might have been a tomb of a prince, or an altar of some

sort, or a lofty tower that was built to act like a lighthouse[102]. It has also been suggested that Tell Umar might also have been a ziggurat[103]. Between the canal and the caravan road was the Residential Area where houses and apartment blocks have been found[104]. Also in the section of the Residential Area near to the caravan road and to the south of it was located the Business and Civic Area. Here was located at least one agora, a theatre and perhaps even a stadium[105]. The whole of the city was then surrounded by a large wall, remains of which have been found, and to the east was located the harbor[106]. We are also told by Pliny that the city walls were laid out in the shape of an eagle spreading its wings[107].

Another type of πόλις that Professor van der Spek mentions is the πόλις περσικήν[108]. In Mesopotamia an example of this type of πόλις might perhaps be found in the city of Uruk. Uruk, located 175 km south-east of Babylon, was one of the most ancient of the cities of Mesopotamia[109]. Not only did Uruk gave its name to the second of the three great periods of Babylonian pre-history but it was the home of the legendary Sumerian king Gilgamesh[110]. Uruk was famed in Babylonian history for having imposed its hegemony over Babylonia five times[111]. Uruk was known to the Greeks, who created the large numbers of clay *'bullae'* found at Uruk, either as Ὄρχοι or as Ὄρχα. The reason for this variation is that on the *'bullae'* only the genitive Ὄρχων and the dative Ὄρχοις is found[112]. From these forms of the names some have postulated the nominative Ὄρχοι[113], while others Ὄρχα[114]. In fact van der Spek prefers the Ὄρχα variation giving as his reason the fact

that many hellenized versions of oriental names end in -a, citing as examples Borsippa, Susa, Doura, Koutha, and Arbela[115]. Other variations of Ὄρχοι do exist, but they can be explained. The form Ὀρέχ found in the Septuagint is due to the transliteration of the Hebrew form of the name, Erech[116]. For some reason Ptolemy uses the form Ὀρχόη in his Geography[117]. Since Strabo, Pliny the Elder, and the tax office at Uruk use the ethnicon Ὀρχηνοί, which is based on Ὄρχοι not Ὀρχόη, the former form must be the correct one[118]. As to the origin of the name Ὄρχοι, it seems to me to be possible that Ὄρχοι is simply a transliteration of the Babylonian name Uruk into Greek[119]. Ὄρχοι, thus, seems to be the official Greek name of Uruk in the Hellenistic Period. Another possibility also exists. Doty makes mention of a Greek city in the area of Uruk known as Antioch-on-the-Ishtar-Canal[120]. This city he believes to be one of the several cities founded by Seleucus I and Antiochus I under that name and to be located somewhere in the area of Uruk since the Ishtar Canal was the chief canal of Uruk in the Seleucid period[121]. Although this interpretation is possible another exists. It is possible that Antioch-on-the-Ishtar-Canal may have been at some time the official Greek name of Uruk, but the name was soon dropped since Uruk/Ὄρχοι had already become the names used in the area[122]. Having determined what Uruk was called in the Seleucid Period one can go on to examine what Uruk's position in Seleucid Mesopotamia was.

As mentioned above [123] Uruk might perhaps be classified as a πόλις περσική. Uruk seems to have acted both as a center for native

Babylonian culture and learning[124] and also as the main center for the collection of the royal taxes for the area[125]. Evidence for the former phenomenon can be found in the large number of cuneiform texts that have been found at Uruk that date to the Seleucid Era[126]. Evidence of the later phenomenon can be discovered from the large amount of clay 'bullae' found in Uruk[127]. These 'bullae' are all that remain of the vast amount of official documents that once existed. These documents dealt with the collection and registration of the royal taxes at Uruk. Uruk, thus, seems to have had a dual role both as a native Babylonian center and also as a Greek one too.

Unfortunately, except for the 'bullae' and one Greek inscription on a clay jar lid that might come from Uruk[128] there is no concrete evidence that Uruk was a πόλις or that it had a Greek population[129]. Also, unlike Babylon, there are no buildings of the Greek type found in Seleucid Uruk, nor any Greek burial customs or pottery or other forms of Greek art[130]. In fact all of the Greek 'bullae' found in Uruk were found in a room of the Bit rēš sanctuary, the main Babylonian sanctuary of Seleucid Uruk[131]. The 'bullae' , however, do prove that Uruk was Hellenized to some extent. How far Uruk was Hellenized is a hotly debated question. Rostovtzeff saw Uruk as becoming a half-Greek city with a good portion of its business affairs in Greek hands[132]. Van der Spek, on the other hand, saw Uruk as remaining on the whole a typical Babylonian city, not showing much evidence of Greek influences[133]. There is thus a debate as to whether or not Uruk was a πόλις. McEwan believes that Uruk was a Greek πόλις[134]. He states

that "the degree of political Hellenization at Uruk was greater than at Babylon. To all intents and purposes Uruk became a *polis*, that is a political entity in the Greek sense, rather than the oriental city it had been for more than two millennia"[135]. McEwan cites as evidence the fact that the people of Uruk begin to use the term *Urukaja*, a term that can be translated as 'citizen of Uruk', in this period. He also cites the fact that in the Seleucid Period the old *puḫur Uruk*, or 'assembly of the city of Uruk', was equivalent to the Greek *βουλή*[136]. Van der Spek dismisses all this because in the cuneiform documents Uruk showed few signs of any form of Greek influence. There is no evidence that Uruk tried to behave like a Greek city, *i.e.*, no traces of Greek magistrates, council or popular assembly[137]. He in fact believes that the search to prove that Uruk was a Greek πόλις is irrelevant[138]. Downey comes up with a good compromise. She thinks that there were some Greeks living in Uruk at this time but their numbers were not large[139]. In fact in her mind "(s)o little is known about the civic organization of Uruk that is not possible to determine whether or not it was organized as a Greek polis"[140]. Aymard has the same opinion. He thinks that it is possible that the Greeks that settled in Uruk could have formed some sort of a community, perhaps a *πολίτευμα*, and he thinks that the evidence from elsewhere makes it probable. But he also stresses that there is only evidence at Uruk for isolated Greeks[141]. It, thus, seems likely that some Greeks must have lived in Uruk during the Seleucid period. The evidence, however, is not sufficient to prove how many there were in Uruk, nor how they fit into the political make up of the city. As to whether or not Uruk can be considered a πόλις there

is simply not enough evidence to prove the case, although, based on the evidence that we do have it seems unlikely.

Babylon, on the other hand, provides us with more evidence to prove that it was at least in part refounded as a πόλις. There is ample evidence showing a Greek presence in Babylon during the Seleucid Period. There is, for example, to be found in Babylon a Greek theater, Greek pottery, amphora handles, glass 'pastes', and terra-cottas[142] as well as numerous Greek inscriptions, such as an ostrakon listing payment to companies of soldiers garrisoned in Babylon[143], a list of victors of different athletic events among the ἔφηβοι and the νέοι[144], and perhaps also SEG, Vol. 26(1976-1977), # 1624[145] , a stone inscription which names Antiochus IV as the σωτήρ τῆς Ἀσίας and also the κτίστης and the εὐεργέτης of an unnamed city. Although classified as a πόλις περοική by Stephanos Byzantinii[146], the term πόλις μιξοβάρβαρος might suite Babylon better since it seems to have had a mixed Greek and Babylonian population. Also Babylon seem to have kept its old name during the Seleucid Period,[147] unlike other oriental cities which when refounded received a dynastic name[148].

Now we come to the question was Babylon refounded as a Greek πόλις? The answer is that to a certain degree, it was. One must not assume that everyone in Babylon became a citizen of the new πόλις. It is more likely that only the Greek and Macedonian inhabitants formed the citizens of the πόλις along with perhaps some of the Hellenized Babylonians[149]. Evidence for this can be found in an astronomical

diary dated to 234 SE = 78/7. In it " 'the *Šatammu* of Esagila and the Babylonians' made an offering of two bulls and two sheep, while the *politai* were fighting one another in the neighborhood of a temple"[150]. There is a distinction drawn here between the Babylonians and the group called *politai*. This distinction leads one to assume that the *politai* referred to the Greco-Macedonian inhabitants who made up the πόλις at Babylon. This would not be the only example for a small foreign element juxtaposed to the native population of a city. In the Seleucid Kingdom the Greeks and Macedonians formed separate communities juxtaposed with a native one at Apamea-Silhu and at Susa[151]. A more famous example comes from Ptolemaic Egypt. In the city of Alexandria the Jews formed a separate community. They inhabited their own section of the city, were governed by their own *Ethnarch* and under their own laws[152].

The question then arises as to when this Greek community in Babylon, which was centered in the area of Babylon known as the Homera, arose? There are two periods that seem the most likely. The first is in the early third century. This date is based on a Greek ostrakon fragment found at Babylon. The inscription contains a record of a payment of some sort to two Greek commanders and to their soldiers[153]. The inscription runs as follows:

αρδι/

Βαλλάρωι καὶ τοῖς

ὑφ' αὐτόν σμθ'

Ἀρτέμωνι καὶ τοῖς

ὑφ' αὐ[τόν] σμθ'[154].

It can be translated as follows:

...ardi/

To Ballaros and to those

under him 249.

To Artemon and to those

under him 249[155].

Sherwin-White uses this ostrakon along with the other evidence of a Greek presence in Babylon in the Seleucid Period to prove that a Greek colony was set up at Babylon in the early third century[156]. This date seems too early. Although some Greek names are found in the cuneiform documents of the early third century, more are found after 161[157]. Also other evidence seems to point to a later date. Except for the Ballaros Ostrakon, the rest of the Greek inscriptions from Babylon date from after the 160's[158]. A rebuilding or a refurbishing of the Greek theater also dates to this period[159]. The Greeks found in Babylon under Ballaros and Artemon can be explained as a garrison placed in Babylon[160], not necessarily as a Greek colony or a πόλις. In fact the setting up of a garrison in the citadel of a city under Seleucid control and also in the countryside at places of strategic or political importance is well attested[161]. The best date for the foundation of the Greek πόλις is in the late 160's, which coincides roughly with the reign of Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175-164).

It is in the reign of Antiochus IV that most scholars place the founding of Babylon as a πόλις[162]. They base their arguments on inscription SEG, Vol. 26(1976-1977), #1624. It runs as follows:

Βασιλεύοντος Ἀντιόχου Θ[εοῦ Ἐπιφανοῦς]

σωτῆρος τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ κτίσ[του καὶ εὐεργέτου]

τῆς πόλεως ἔτους σμ΄ κα[ὶ ρ΄ τῆι θυσίαι καὶ τῶι]

4 ἀγῶνι χαριστηρίοις ὑπὸ [Δάφνηι ἀγομένοις σ΄]

ἀπιόντος Ὑπερβερεταίου [Βασιλεῖ Ἀντιόχωι]

Θεῶι Ἐπιφαν[εῖ βωμὸ]ν ἀνέ[θηκεν ἐν τῆι ἀγορᾶι]

Φίλιππος Δι[.....]

8 ἐν τῶι δμ΄ [καὶ ρ΄ ἔτει .....].

It can be translated as:

In the reign of Antiochus the G[od Manifest] Savior of Asia and founder/restorer [and benefactor] of the city year [1]46 (SE) [at the sacrifice and the] games of thanksgiving [which were undertaken] at [Daphne on the sixth (day)] (before) Hyperberetaios, Philippos the son of Di[.....] de[dicated in the agora an alt]ar [to King Antiochus] the God Manife[st] in the [year 1]44 (SE) [.....][163].

The main problem with the use of this inscription is that its provenance is unknown. It was bought from a dealer based in Baghdad at the end of the last century. The dealer said that it came from the area of Babylon, between Dschumschuma and Birs-Nimroud (Borsippa)[164] . Haussouiller believed that it came from Babylon[165] but Sherwin-White doubts it. She believes that the dealer said that the stone came from Babylon in order to give it more value. In fact she says the inscription could have come from any Greek foundation in Babylonia or Susiane, such as Seleucia-on-the-Tigris, Seleucia-Eulaeus (Susa), or elsewhere[166]. Van der Spek, on the other hand, believes that Sherwin-

White's doubts are sound, but that a provenance from Babylon for this inscription is not impossible. The dealer could have gotten the stone from a laborer from the German excavation at Babylon[167].

It can be assumed that this inscription could possibly come from Babylon. If it did, then it fits well into the picture. For in the inscription Antiochus IV is referred to as the " κτίστης καὶ εὑρέτου τῆς πόλεως"[168]. Antiochus is thus seen as the founder or restorer and the benefactor of a city. One can envision Antiochus forming the Greco-Macedonian population into a πόλις in the year 146 SE = 167/8. It is soon after this date in 161 that we find more references in the cuneiform documents to Greeks in Babylon[169]. It is also around this time that we find the word *pu-li-ṣe-e* found in the cuneiform documents. This word equals the Greek πολίτης and seems to refer to the Greco-Macedonian citizens and not to the whole population of the city[170]. The reign of Antiochus IV, the great founder of Greek πόλεις and colonies in the Near and Middle East, seems the best period for the formation of the Greco-Macedonian element in Babylon into a πόλις[171]. Any reference to Greeks before this time such as the ones in the Ballaros Ostrakon or to Dromon the son of Phanodemos in an inscription from Andros[172] refer to either the members of the Greco-Macedonian garrison or to individual Greeks who settled in Babylon, perhaps as the Metics did in Athens. It should be stressed though that the Greeks at Babylon did not affect the native Babylonian institutions at all. Babylon continued to act as a traditional Mesopotamian city as she had done for centuries[173].

To sum up: the Seleucid Kingdom was the largest of the Successor States that sprang up at the death of Alexander the Great. Over the centuries its territory expanded and contracted like an amoeba. This vast kingdom was divided into a number of different divisions, the smallest of which was the city. Three types of cities can possibly be found in Seleucid Mesopotamia: the πόλις ἑλληνίς, the πόλις περσική and the πόλις μιξοβάρβαρος. Examples of all three types can perhaps be found in Mesopotamia. Seleucia-on-the-Tigris can be considered an example of the πόλις ἑλληνίσ, Uruk of the πόλις περσική and perhaps Babylon of the πόλις μιξοβάρβαρος. There was, however, another small division to be found in the Seleucid Kingdom, the colony, which will be the topic of the next chapter.

Chapter 2: The Colony in Mesopotamia

There were two great phases of colonization in Greek history. The first took place from *c.* 734 to *c.* 580, during which time Greek πόλεις were founded from Spain to Turkey, from the Ukraine to North Africa. The second phase followed the opening up of the East after Alexander the Great's conquest of the Persian Empire[174]. There were differences between these two phases of Greek colonization. During the first phase colonies were sent out by many different cities independent of each other[175]. There were also many reasons why these colonies were sent out. For example, there might have been a lack of good farm land or overpopulation in the mother-city. Famine, drought, and civil strife also played a role in the sending out of these early colonies, as did trade[176].

The second phase of Greek colonization brought Greek-style city life to parts of the Persian Empire where this style of civic structure had never been used before. In contrast with the earlier phase, this later phase of colonization was part of the unified conquest of the territories in which the colonies were set up[177]. The Seleucid method of colonization emulated the system used by Alexander and perhaps even the system used by Antigonus Monophthalmos[178]. It should be stressed, though, that there was not just one system of colonization used by the Seleucids in their kingdom[179]. Three main types seem to have been used. This chapter will first examine these three types of colonies in

general and then see if any colonies of the types examined were founded in Mesopotamia.

The first type of colony used was the κλῆρος type. In this type of colony an active soldier, or mercenary, or veteran was given a κλῆρος, or plot of land, to cultivate. The only requirement was that the holder of the κλῆρος had to serve in the army if called upon to do so[180], since the land that was given was royal land and in theory still belonged to the king. However, the κλῆροι could be willed, sold, or even mortgaged, the only condition being that the new owner had to serve in the army if called upon or else presumably send a substitute in his place[181] . Examples of this can be found in documents that were found at Dura-Europus. The first is a mortgage document dating to 195. In it we learn that a man named Aristonax has mortgaged part of his κλῆρος[182]. The other document seems to be part of the *lex coloniae* of Dura-Europus. In this document we are told to whom one can leave one's κλῆρος[183]. Not only are male occupants allowed but even certain female ones. If none of the prescribed occupants can be found then the κλῆρος "shall fall to the crown"[184] since "the king retained a right of *escheat*"[185], *i.e.*, if there were no legal heirs, ownership of the κλῆρος reverted back to the king. There is one problem with this system of inheritance. If a woman should inherit the κλῆρος what would happen if the owner were to be called up for military service? The solution seems to be that the owner of the κλῆρος "was responsible for providing a soldier, who need not necessarily be its owner"[186].

There is no agreement as to what were the precise components of the κλῆρος. Tarn and Griffith think that each settler was given just a κλῆρος, although they do not give much evidence to back up what they have said[187]. Rostovtzeff, on the other hand, thinks that each settler was given both a κλῆρος and an οἰκία or home, as evidence of which he cites three inscriptions, OGIS 229 from Smyrna, OGIS 211 from Thyateira, and the Mnesimachus inscription from Sardis[188]. Cohen agrees, for the most part, with Rostovtzeff but thinks that in most cases the settler had to do with an οἰκόπεδον or home site rather than with an οἰκία, citing as evidence The Codex Vaticanus, an Arabic account of the founding of Antioch-on-the-Orontes, Josephus, AJ, XII.3.4(147-153) and the Mnesimachus inscription[189]. It also seems that the οἰκόπεδα or the οἰκίαι would be located in a town or fortified village, which might be a native one, and that the κλῆροι were, as in Greece, located outside of the town or village and could be spread out over a large area[190]. The κλῆρος itself could be subdivided into farmland, which might or might not be partly wooded, and vineland, although in some cases a garden or an orchard might be given in addition to, or instead of, the vineland[191]. As for the ethnic make up of the settlers it seems that Greeks or Macedonians were used most often at first, since it was these ethnic groups that made up the backbone of the Seleucid army[192]. The use of natives, though, was not unheard of. A famous example of the use of natives in a Seleucid military colony is the instance when Antiochus III sent two thousand Mesopotamian and Babylonian Jewish families to settle in Lydia and Phrygia[193].

Many examples can be given of the use of the κλῆρος type of colony. This type of colony was used extensively in Asia Minor[194]. It was also used in other parts of the kingdom. For example, the garrison set up at Susa was given grants of κλῆροι[195]. Another famous example, Dura-Europus, will be examined below[196].

The second type of colony found in the Seleucid Kingdom was the civilian colony. In this type of colony a king would request that a Greek city or cities should send out some of its citizens in order to found a new colony at a site of his choosing[197]. This method of sending out a group of settlers is similar to the method used in the earlier phase of Greek colonization[198]. There were many examples of this type of colony in the Seleucid realm. For example, Antiochus III is said to have refounded Lysimacheia by gathering together the former inhabitants of the city, who had fled when the city was destroyed, and other interested settlers[199]. Again, the city of Magnesia-ad-Maeandrum sent out settlers to both Antioch-in-Pisidia[200] and to Antioch-in-Persis[201].

The third type of colony that seems to have been founded was one where both military personnel and civilians acted as the settlers. I could find only one example of a colony of this type. We learn of this colony from an inscription found at Smyrna, dated to the reign of Seleucus II[202]. In this inscription we learn that the δῆμος of Smyrna granted citizenship to the inhabitants of the πόλις of Magnesia-ad-Sipylum and to the inhabitants of a neighboring fort named

Palaimagnesia. What is interesting is that the citizens of both Magnesia and Palaimagnesia were made up of both soldiers of various sorts and of a civilian population[203]. It is also interesting to note that the citizens of each place had been given, at some point, κλῆροι[204]. This means that at some time before, the πόλις of Magnesia-ad-Sipylum had either been a colony of some sort that was eventually turned into a πόλις, or had been a πόλις before and had a garrison living in it at the time before the grant of Smyrnian citizenship[205].

Of these three types of colonies, only examples of the military colony seem to be found in Mesopotamia due in part to the distance of Mesoptamia from the centre of Greek civilization[206]. Some examples are Antioch-Nisibis, Edessa, Nicephorion, and Dura-Europos. Since Dura-Europos is the best known of these colonies, it will be examined in detail. First, the location of Dura-Europos will be examined, then the date and the reason why it was founded and by whom will be investigated. Next, the city's lay-out will be looked at, and the discussion will conclude with an examination of the city's political organization.

The city was founded on a high promontory overlooking a bend in the Middle Euphrates (see Map 11). Dura-Europos was ideally situated to exercise control over the military and commercial traffic, which came up the Euphrates from Babylonia and the Persian Gulf to be then transported to the ports on the eastern Mediterranean Sea[207]. Dura-Europos was also on two main caravan routes. It was the beginning of the caravan

route that led through Palmyra to the Mediterranean Sea[208]. The other led from Antioch-on-the-Orontes through Dura-Europos and Seleucia-on-the-Tigris to the Upper Satrapies and further east[209]. Dura-Europos commanded the area of the Middle Euphrates[210], just as the kingdom of Mari had done about fourteen hundred years before[211].

The exact date of the foundation of Dura-Europos is not known[212]. The most likely date is one around 300[213]. The colony was founded by a man named Nikanor[214]. The only problem that we have is the identity of this Nikanor. There are several possibilities. The Nikanor who founded Dura-Europos might be the same Nikanor who was Antigonus' satrap of Media. This Nikanor was defeated by Seleucus in 311 at a night battle fought on the Tigris and, according to Appian, died soon after[215]. Grainger then postulates that after his defeat, Nikanor did not die but changed sides and joined the Seleucid cause[216]. Seleucus, being a generous man, gave Nikanor control of the area of Mesopotamia and during his tenure of office he founded Dura-Europos and other colonies[217]. Grainger also gives an alternative interpretation. According to this, Nikanor was still working for Antigonus when Dura-Europos and the other settlements were founded in order to control the routes into Babylonia in preparation for a future Antigonid invasion. If this were so then the name of Europos would have been given to the city at a later date since it is doubtful that Antigonus would found a city and then name it after the birth place of his rival[218].

Rostovtzeff, however, thinks that the Nikanor who founded Dura-

Europos was not only a subordinate of Seleucus but was also the same Nikanor who was his nephew[219]. Although it does seem likely that Nikanor was connected to Seleucus somehow, the idea that he was Seleucus' nephew can probably be discounted since the only evidence comes from The Chronicle of John Malalas[220], who wrote around A.D. 565 and is known to have made many mistakes[221]. In fact, Grainger believes that this bit of information found in Malalas was a later invention, since Nikanor and his brother, Nikomedes, were listed as the children of a presumed sister of Seleucus named Didymeia. It was a well known fact the Seleucids set great store in the oracle found at Didyma and it would have made sense for some writer to invent a sister for Seleucus named after the famous oracle showing a family preference for Apollo and also showing a family connection which went back into the Persian Period. Grainger then rightly points out that all that this proves is that Didymeia and her sons are an invention since the oracle at Didyma was inactive until the conquest of Alexander the Great, and that an earlier Macedonian connection is most unlikely[222].

A third possibility is put forward by Perkins. She thinks that a more plausible explanation is that the Nikanor found in Isidore's work is a mistake for Nikator, the epithet of Seleucus I. Perkins bases her argument on the fact that settlements were normally founded in the name of the ruler whether or not he was actually present at the time[223]. While it is a known fact that Seleucus I was seen by the inhabitants of Dura-Europos as the founder of their settlement (evidence of which is seen in a carved relief, dated to A.D. 158-159, showing Seleucus I

Nicator crowning the Gad, *i.e.*, Τύχη, of Dura-Europos, an act which is appropriate for the founder of the settlement[224]), this does not mean that Seleucus could not have had a subordinate found the colony for him, since he may have been occupied elsewhere at the time. It would seem that the best solution to the problem of the identity of Nikanor is that he was a subordinate of Seleucus (and not the Antigonid Satrap of Media, since Nikanor is a very common Macedonian name[225]) and that he founded Dura-Europos around 300, after the battle of Ipsos, when Seleucus gained control of the area. The colony founded by Nikanor was settled on the site of a town with the Aramaic name of Dura[226], which is related to the Assyrian word *dūru*, which can mean, a city or fortification wall, or fortress amongst other things[227]. Nikanor named the city Europos after the birth place of Seleucus[228]. It seems to have retained this name until around A.D. 180. By A.D. 200, the name Dura (Δοῦρα in Greek) was adopted. Although there is no evidence why Europos changed its name back to Dura, one can assume that there was an upsurge of non-Greek influence that seems to have been building up since the middle of the first century A.D. The name Dura-Europos is a modern convention[229].

As mentioned above, Dura-Europos was built on a high plateau on the west bank of the Euphrates. Like most Hellenistic settlements of its time, Dura-Europos was laid out on the Hippodamian plan[230]. Two main streets ran through the city, one from north to south, the other from east to west. The narrower side streets ran parallel or at right angles to these two streets thus forming quadrangular blocks[231]. The two

main roads of Dura-Europos intersected at the large agora which was located in the middle of the city. The east-west road led from the Main Gate located on the desert side of the settlement to a ravine located on the east side of the site. The road then continued down to another gate located at river level. The whole site was surrounded by a circuit wall and watch towers which were used for the defence of the site. The wall and towers are used as evidence to show that Dura-Europos was interded as a fortress on major trade and caravan routes and perhaps as a starting point for military campaigns. A piece of high ground located between the ravine that led to the gate on the river and the Euphrates, was walled off and turned into a citadel. Within this citadel the remains of a substantial Hellenistic palace were found, which had been destroyed by a landslide in the first century B.C. A smaller palace, which may date from before the citadel palace, had also been built on another outcropping of high ground near to the gate on the river side. The earliest temple to be founded in Dura-Europos was dedicated to Artemis-Nanaia[232]. Evidence for the other temples built during the Seleucid Period is scanty. The necropolis was started outside the city wall on the desert side of the settlement. The placing of the necropolis seems to be a native practice. This is a wisely thought-out practice, for by disposing of the dead in the desert one does not use up valuable arable land for this purpose. Dura-Europos was substantially rebuilt in the late second and early first centuries, B.C.[233]. According to Matheson, "it is otherwise virtually impossible to recover the appearance of the original Hellenistic architecture"[234].

Dura-Europos seems to have been founded at first as a military colony. This can be gathered from the fact that the original inhabitants of the settlement had been given κλῆροι to farm[235]. These κλῆροι seem to have been named after the original owners since the mortgage document, mentioned above on page 33, informs us that the κλῆρος that Aristonax was mortgaging was known as the κλῆρος Κόνωνος, who must have been the original holder of the κλῆρος[236]. The territory assigned to Dura-Europos, in which the κλῆροι were located, was spread up and down the banks of the Euphrates. Several κλῆροι were grouped together in some way to form a ἑκάς. The exact meaning of ἑκάς is not known. All that is known with certainty is that it was a large division of land that contained a number of κλῆροι[237]. Perhaps there is a connection between the ἑκάς and the Greek word for one hundred, ἑκατόν. If this is so, one can surmise that each ἑκάς perhaps contained a hundred κλῆροι. During the Parthian and Roman Periods it seems that the territory of Dura-Europos was no longer divided into ἑκάδες but into villages, to which the κλῆροι were then attached[238].

At some point in time Dura-Europos seems to have been turned into a πόλις[239]. All of our evidence comes from Parthian and Roman times, but it seems likely that the change occurred during the Seleucid Period. Rostovtzeff thinks it unlikely that it was the Parthians who endowed Dura-Europos with a Greek constitution. He thinks it much more likely that the Parthians allowed the city to retain the constitution that it received during the Seleucid Period[240]. Once granted the status of a πόλις, it is possible but not certain that, Dura-Europos would have been

granted some form of ἐλευθερία and αὐτονομία[241]. A constitution of some sort would have been drawn up, perhaps based on that of some of the πόλεις found in Asia Minor[242]. Once this was done, one would expect to find the institutions found in a typical Greek city. For example, Rostovtzeff states that a βουλή was found in Dura-Europos in the Roman Period[243]. It also seems likely on analogy with Seleucia-in-Pieria and with Seleucia-on-the-Eulaeus (*i.e.*, Susa) that Dura-Europos had elected magistrates with a στρατηγός or an ἄρχων at their head. Other minor officials are known along with various royal officials discharging their various duties[244].

The colony played just as important a role in the Seleucid Kingdom as the πόλις did. There were three main types of colonies found in the Seleucid Kingdom. The first was the military colony, in which the settlers were given plots of land known as κλῆροι in exchange for the promise of military service. The second type of colony found was the civilian colony. In this type of colony the king requested that a city or cities send out members of its citizen body in order to found a new settlement elsewhere. The third type of colony found was of a mixed type in which both military personnel and civilians lived side by side. A Greek style of colonization was found in Mesopotamia, where many Greek colonies of the military type were founded, the best example being Dura-Europos. This colony was founded around 300 by a subordinate of Seleucus I named Nikanor. The colony was built on an older native town known as Dura but was renamed Europos in memory of the birth place of Seleucus. By around A.D. 200, however, Europos was again being called

by its old name of Dura. The settlement started out (as did all the Mesopotamian colonies) as a military colony with its inhabitants receiving κλῆροι. At some point during the Seleucid Period the colony was made into a πόλις with all of the privileges that went with this transformation. It seems to have been the goal of many of the colonies to be able to be transformed into a πόλις. Influences from the native population on the Greek inhabitants of Dura-Europos can also be seen. For example, there was a tendency to syncretize Greek and native deities in new areas where the Greeks settled. An example of this can be found in the case of Artemis-Nanaia. Here two goddesses who both functioned as fertility goddesses were equated with each other. The influence of the native Mesopotamians can also be seen in the use of the old name of Dura in the Roman Period. This change of name seems due to the upsurge of Mesopotamian influence that had been building up since the middle of the first century A.D. We must not forget, though, that the Greek influence was just as strong. Even after the Greeks lost control of Dura-Europos to the Parthians the 'Greekness' of the city did not disappear. Throughout the Parthian and Roman Periods Dura-Europos remained a Greek style city with a Greek style constitution. Also many of the officials found a Dura-Europos still have Greco-Macedonian names. Now that the type of settlement found in Seleucid Mesopotamia has been examined, an investigation of what types of officials were found in it can be attempted.

Chapter 3: Officials

Many different types of officials were found in Seleucid Mesopotamia. They can be divided into three types: political, economic, and religious. These groups then can be further subdivided into smaller categories. The political and economic officials can be divided into royal or local ones, while religious officials can be divided into Greek and native groups. There are a few problems in interpretation that should be mentioned before we go on.

First, the Greeks, unlike the Romans, were not consistent with the use of terms for their various officials. The term στρατηγός can be used as an example. First of all στρατηγός could simply mean a general. It could also be used to refer to a 'mayor' of a city or to a governor of a small province. The next problem that one faces is trying to determine if the officials found in the cuneiform documents are native officials or Greek ones that were given a Akkadian name in the cuneiform documents. The greatest problem in the examination of the various officials is the lack of evidence. Unlike Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt, Seleucid Mesopotamia has yielded very few Greek documents on stone, ostrakon, papyrus, or parchment. The few that are found illuminate the study of the various officials very little. The same can be said of the cuneiform documents. These documents tell us much about how the economy of Seleucid Mesopotamia worked and also inform us about the cultural, religious and to some extent the scientific life of Mesopotamia. The

cuneiform documents do not tell much about how the political system worked. What one has to do then is to take what evidence there is and try to sort out what types of officials were found in Seleucid Mesopotamia, what the function of each one was, and then see how they were related to one other.

The first group of officials to be examined will be political. This group can be subdivided not into Greek and native officials but into royal officials who represent the central government and local officials. It should be mentioned that both Greeks and natives belonged to both classes of officials. The first official to be looked at will be the provincial governor.

Unfortunately there was not just one term in the Seleucid Kingdom for provincial governors. The most common Greek term for governor was σατράπης or satrap. The term στρατηγός could also be used for a governor of a smaller province. For example, we know that the governor of both Hellespontine Phrygia and Susiana had the title of στρατηγός[245]. In Babylonian the term *muma"er* was used for governor and seems to have been used to translate the Greek σατράπης[246]. McEwan thinks that the Babylonian word *aḫšadrapan(n)u* was also used to refer to a provincial governor of some sort[247].

The function of the satrap, who was appointed by the king, was to administer the political, military, and fiscal aspects of his province. At some point the fiscal and in some cases the military aspects of the

province were transferred to other officials, who answered directly to the king and not to the governor[248]. This was a wise move since there is evidence that some provincial governors had revolted and formed their own kingdoms as Diodotus the satrap of Bactria did in the 250's. Other governors tried to take over the whole kingdom as Molon, governor of Media, and his brother Alexander, governor of Persis, attempted to do from 222 to 220, and Timarchus, governor of Media, from 162 to 161[249]. This division of function was an attempt to prevent provincial governors from wielding too much power. It seems that most of the provincial governors tended to be Greek or Macedonian. The main reason for this seems to be that the kings wished to have Greeks or Macedonians in such high places. There is evidence that on occasion natives could be used as governors. An example of this may be found in Hyspaosines of Charax. According to Pliny the Elder, Hyspaosines was the king of the Arabs who lived by the head of the Persian Gulf[250]. A. Bellinger, in a 1942 article[251], believes that Hyspaosines was an Iranian name and that he was related to both to the Greco-Bactrian kings Diodotus I and Euthydemus and also the Seleucids[252]. Bellinger then says that Hyspaosines was satrap of Mesene, located at the head of the Persian Gulf (see Maps 8 and 11), most likely under Antiochus IV[253]. During the period of turmoil that followed the deaths of either Antiochus IV or Demetrius I, Hyspaosines declared his satrapy independent and himself king[254]. Thus Hyspaosines followed in the footsteps of his supposed ancestor, Diodotus I of Bactria. Hyspaosines' kingdom at its height stretched from the head of the Persian Gulf up to Seleucia-on-the-Tigris. Most of this territory he was able to take over

due to the problems that the Parthians were having at the time, but by about 121, his kingdom was reduced to its original size. Even though he was beaten by the Parthians, Hyspaosines' kingdom was not taken over and the descendants of this great king remained in power until around 116 A.D., when one of the kings of Charax paid homage to the victorious Roman Emperor, Trajan. It was at some point after this that Semites took over the kingdom[255] .

Besides the governor, another important royal official found in the Seleucid Kingdom was the ἐπιστάτης. The Babylonian terms that seemed to have been used to translate this term are *paḫat*[256] and perhaps also *Šaknu*[257]. The role of the ἐπιστάτης was to act as a governor or 'overseer' of a city. He was appointed by the king and seems to have been responsible for looking after the king's interests in the city under his control. It was still possible for local city officials to be elected as in Seleucia-in-Pieria[258], but the power of these local officials would have been lessened by the presence of the ἐπιστάτης[259]. It is known that both Greek and native cities and the Greek colonies in Mesopotamia had ἐπιστάται. For example, it is known that both Seleucia-on-the-Tigris[260] and Dura-Europos had ἐπιστάται. In the case of the latter the ἐπιστάτης was combined, in the late Seleucid or early Parthian times, with the στρατηγός as the chief official of Dura-Europos[261]. There also seem to have been ἐπιστάται at Babylon[262] and at Uruk[263]. The office of ἐπιστάτης was filled by both natives and Greeks. A good example of a native ἐπιστάτης is Anu-uballiṭ-Nikarchos of Uruk the son of Anu-iqṣur. This man held office

under Antiochus II from whom Anu-uballiṭ got his Greek name. We learn from a cuneiform building inscription that Anu-uballit did extensive rebuilding of the Bit rēš, the main temple of Seleucid Uruk[264]. Clay, unfortunately, translated the word šaknu in this document as "second officer" and so it seemed that Anu-uballiṭ-Nikarchos was a lesser official then he actually was[265]. Doty, on the other hand, believes that the term *šaknu* should be translated as "city governor" and thus be equivalent to the Greek ἐπιστάτης[266]. An example of a Greek ἐπιστάτης known for the region of Mesopotamia is Democrates the son of Byttakos. Our information about Democrates comes from OGIS 254, a stone inscription of unknown provenance but found somewhere in the area around Babylon[267]. In it Democrates is not only the ἐπιστάτης but also the στρατηγός of the unnamed city[268]. Perhaps he was both the royal governor of the city as well as the chief civic magistrate.

Another important royal official was the garrison commander known as the φρούαρχος or as the ἀκροφύλαξ. This was a very important post since the garrison commander would have been in charge of many soldiers. So the person chosen to be the head of the garrison would have instilled great confidence in the king in order to be chosen for this powerful position. The garrison commander was distinguished from the ἐπιστάτης, who was the civil representative of the king in the cities[269]. Since the garrison commander would have had control of many soldiers, the king tended to appoint Greeks for this position. The garrison commanders, like the ἐπιστάται, seemed to have answered directly to the king and not to the governor of the province in which the garrison was located[270].

An example of a garrison commander in Mesopotamia is the same Democrates mentioned above. Not only was he the *στρατηγός* and the *ἐπιστάτης* of the unnamed city but was also the *ἀκροφύλξ* too[271]. This combining of offices was common in the late Seleucid and Parthian Periods[272].

The last political officials representing the central government that will be discussed are the *βασιλικοὶ δικασταί* or royal judges. The Babylonian name for this office, which is attested in cuneiform documents, is *dajjānē ša šarri*[273]. These judges were appointed by the king and they presided over courts that were organized along Greek lines and tried cases between Greeks and natives, especially when the interests of the king were involved[274]. Royal judges were found in Mesopotamia not only in Greek foundations such as Dura-Europos[275], but also in native centers like Babylon[276]. They could be appointed from both the Greek and native populations of the kingdom. It should be mentioned that the use of royal judges in the Seleucid Kingdom might not have been invented by the central government. It is known that the use of royal judges was a Babylonian institution that dates from Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid times[277]. One can surmise that, perhaps, the use of royal judges in the Seleucid Kingdom was an institution that the kings took over and adapted from their Mesopotamian subjects.

The other type of political officials found in the Seleucid kingdom were the local officials. These, unlike their royal counterparts, looked after the local needs of the areas under their control. They were normally not appointed by the king but were elected or chosen by

the inhabitants of the area in which they lived. The most important of these local officials were the 'mayors' of the various population centers. The most common Greek term for mayor was ἄρχων, although the term στρατηγός could also be used. For the native Mesopotamian cities, we have only evidence from Babylon. Here the head of the native inhabitants of Babylon seems to have been the Šatammu, who was helped by the Council of the Esagila. Although the *Šatammu* was the chief administrator of the Temple of Marduk, he and the temple council seem to have pulled double duty as not only the head of the religious life of the native Babylonians but also as their political and legal leaders as well. This situation was not unheard of in the Seleucid kingdom. For example, it is a well known fact that under the Seleucids, the area of Judea was run by the High Priest of the Temple in Jerusalem and by the Council of Elders, who were themselves, for the most part, priests[278].

Very little is known about the mayors of the Greek cities found in the Seleucid kingdom. What can be deduced is that they would control matters of local importance, while matters concerning the central government would have been handled by the ἐπιστάτης. This did not mean that the mayors of a town or city could not work together with the ἐπιστάτης on matters involving not only the local inhabitants but also the crown. It was also possible for the mayors to be addressed in official documents from the central government. For example, in a stone inscription from Seleucia-in-Pieria dated to the reign of Seleucus IV , we see both the ἐπιστάτης, named Theophilus, and the city magistrates

(*i.e.*, the ἄρχοντες) working together to carry out a order from the king. Also to show respect to the inhabitants of Seleucia-in-Pieria, King Seleucus IV, in his original request to Seleucia, addressed not only Theophilus but the ἄρχοντες as well[279].

Another important local official was the ἀγορανόμος or market manager. In fourth- century Athens we learn that the main functions of the ἀγορανόμοι were "to take responsibility for all goods that are on sale, to ensure that what is sold is in good condition and genuine"[280]. This seems to have been their main function in the Seleucid realm, too, with one exception. The ἀγορανόμοι seem to have also taken over the regulation and inspection of the weights and measures used in the markets, a job done by the μετρονόμοι or measures magistrates in Athens[281]. These extra duties of the ἀγορανόμοι can be deduced from lead weights of the Seleucid Period that have been discovered in Mesopotamia. On some of these weights the name of the ἀγορανόμος has been found. This shows that the ἀγορανόμος had approved that this weight be used[282]. The ἀγορανόμος is attested not only in Dura-Europos[283] but also in Babylon[284].

The last local official to be examined is the γυμνασιάρχος. This was an important local office. The main duty of the γυμνασιάρχος was to oversee the formal education of the city's youths[285]. This education would have been both physical and intellectual. It is not surprising then, given the importance of the γυμνασιάρχος, that this office is found in several of the cities of the Near East. We hear of a

γυμνασιάρχος named Nicolaus, who not only trained the youths of Seleucia-on-the-Eulaeus but also built a stadium for the city in the first century B.C.[286]. We also learn of a γυμνασιάρχος at Babylon, from a Greek inscription on clay giving a list of the various victors among the ἔφηβοι and νεοί for the year 111[287]. The name of this γυμνασιάρχος does not survive in full[288] but we do learn that this important official was found in Babylon. Although the two last named γυμνασιαρχοῦντες do date from the Parthian period, one must assume that it was the Seleucids who implemented the office of the γυμνασιάρχος and not the Parthians, for the Parthians tended to let alone the forms of local government that they found in the areas they took over from the Seleucids.

The next group of officials to be looked at will be ones whose main function was to supervise the fiscal aspects of the kingdom. These officials, like their political counterparts, can be divided into two groups, royal and local. The first set to be looked at will be the διοικήται.

Unfortunately for us the exact functions and the position in the fiscal hierarchy of the διοκήται are not known[289], although, McEwan may be right when he remarks that the διοκήτης was the chief financial officer of a given district[290] . All that is known for sure is that the διοκήται and their subordinates, the οἰκονόμοι, were divided into two types; one type was involved in the satrapal financial administration, while the other type was involved in the administration

of the royal lands and estates[291]. One can postulate that the function of the *οἰκονόμος* found in the second group was to look after individual royal estates as his name implies. It is also interesting that the word *διοκήτης* is one of the few Greek loanwords found in Akkadian that are not personal names[292].

Another royal financial official, whom we know more about, is the *χρεοφύλαξ*. His official duties were to draw up and officially register private business documents[293]. According to Rostovtzeff the *χρεοφύλαξ* seems to have been originally concerned with the registration of loans. Over time his duties were widened so that all kinds of business documents, not just loans, were drawn up and registered by him[294]. The *χρεοφύλακες* were found throughout the Seleucid Kingdom. In Mesopotamia they were found in Dura-Europos, Seleucia-on-the-Tigris, and in Uruk[295]. It is from the later city that most of the objects known as *bullae* have been found[296]. They can have an impression of the *χρεοφύλαξ*'s seal on their exterior. A document written on papyrus or parchment would have been folded or rolled and then tied with a woolen string. Around the string wet clay was placed in such a way that the string would penetrate the clay. The main parties to the transaction and their witnesses would then impress their seals into the clay while it was still wet. If the document was to be officially registered with the crown , the *χρεοφύλαξ* would then have to impress his seal also to show that the document had been officially registered. Also if any taxes were due on the transaction, once these were paid the officer in charge would impress his stamp to show that payment of the taxes had

been made. The document would then be deposited in the official or temple archives, depending on the type of document[297]. Except for one document written on a clay tablet, only documents written on papyrus or parchment seen to have been registered with the χρεοφύλαξ. The one clay tablet just referred to does seem to have been officially registered with the χρεοφύλαξ, although the χρεοφύλαξ is not directly named in it, as Doty thinks[298]. What makes it certain that this document was officially registered is a large seal impression that was inscribed with two figures that were common on coins and seals of the early Seleucids, an anchor and a horned horse[299]. McEwan for the most part agrees with Doty's findings. His main disagreement with Doty is how the legend above the seal impression should be read. Doty thinks that the legend should contain a word that could be an attempt to transliterate the Greek word χρεοφύλαξ into Babylonian[300], while McEwan, who seems to give the correct answer, considers the same word to be a transliteration of the Greek word σύμβολον[301].

Another fiscal official whose seal has been found on *bullae* is the βυβλιοφύλαξ or βιβλιοφύλαξ. Rostovtzeff believes that this official was not the predecessor of the χρεοφύλαξ nor the same official under a different name. He believes that these two officials were contemporaries of each other, although the post of βυβλιοφύλαξ was probably created before. The main difference between the two is that while the χρεοφύλαξ was in charge of registering all types of public business documents, the βυβλιοφύλαξ was in charge of the registration and keeping of documents that concerned only the royal estates in

Mesopotamia[302].

As for local financial officials not many are known for the region of Mesopotamia. All of the cities and colonies would have had some sort of civic fiscal officials who would have collected the local taxes and have taken care of other fiscal matters. Unfortunately there is no documentation for them. The only local official who seems to be in charge of economic matters, for whom there is documentation, is a temple official found in cuneiform documents from Babylon and Uruk. This official is known as the *ganzabara* or treasurer[303] in Uruk and as the *bēl minde* or paymaster in Babylon[304]. Although there was a difference in name between these two officals there does not seem to have been any difference in function[305]. The function of each in his respective city was to distribute to various individuals or groups, who worked in or for the temple, their rations[306].

The last group of officials to be examined in this chapter will be religious officials. This group unlike the preceding two can be divided into Greek and native religious officials. Unfortunately, there is no direct evidence for Greek religious officials in Seleucid Mesopotamia. One can assume that in Greek foundations, like Seleucia-on-the-Tigris and Dura-Europos[307], there would have been Greek-style temples, Greek-style rites, and Greek religious officials to administer these rites. There would also have been Greek religious officials involved in the State ruler-cult. Although there is no direct evidence for the State ruler-cult in Mesopotamia, it can be assumed that one must have existed

since Antiochus III set up a kingdom-wide State-run ruler-cult[308]. Since there is no concrete evidence for Greek religious officials, we shall go on to discuss the native Babylonian religious officials, for whom there is much more evidence.

The most important native religious official found in Mesopotamia was the *šatammu*[309]. The šatammu was the chief administrator of the temple for which he worked. In Babylon the most important *šatammu* was the one in charge of the temple of Marduk, known as the Esagila. His main function was to see to the various aspects of the temple administration. As mentioned above on p. 60, the *šatammu*, along with the temple council of the Esagila, seemed to have acted as the civic heads of the native Babylonians[310]. In Uruk the chief administrator of the temples was not called the *šatammu* but rather the *rab*(û) *ša-rēš āli*. The *rab*(û) *ša-rēš āli* of Uruk functioned in the same way as the *šatammu* did in Babylon[311]. He, along with the council of the Bit rēš temple, seemed to have acted as the civic heads of the native population of Uruk, although this is not certain[312]. It is fortuitous that some information is available about a *rab*(û) *ša-rēš āli* named Anu-uballiṭ-Kephalon, the son of Anu-balassu-iqbi. It is known from building inscriptions that Anu-uballiṭ-Kephalon did major renovations on the Bit rēš and Irigal temples in Uruk[313]. It was once thought that Anu-uballiṭ-Kephalon was the στρατηγός or even the ἐπιστάτης of Uruk[314] instead of his nemesake Anu-uballiṭ-Nikarchos, due to Clay's mistranslation of the term *šaknu*[315]. It is now known that although Anu-uballiṭ-Kephalon was an important local official, he was not the

ἐπιστάτης or any other type of official appointed by the king, but seems to have been chosen by his peers to hold the office of *rab(û) ša-rēš āli*[316].

Another important group of native temple officials are the *ērib bĪti*. This term, which means 'temple enterer', was used to designate any priest in general. Their main duties were to take part in the various temple rituals and to perform other priestly functions[317]. The *ṭupšar Enūma Anu Enlilla* were also important sacerdotal officials. The *ṭupšar Enūma Anu Enlilla*, whose name literally means the 'scribe of (the series) Enūma Anu Enlilla', would today be called an astrologer[318]. Unlike some of the other religious officials, the astrologer was a relative new- comer, who began to become important in the Neo-Assyrian period. It was during the Hellenistic Period that the astrologer became very important to the natives of Mesopotamia[319]. The reputation of these Mesopotamian astrologers grew to such an extent that they became famous in the Greco-Roman world, where they were known as Chaldeans. In fact Uruk was famous in the Greco-Roman world as being the home of one of the principal schools of Chaldean astrology and astronomy[320]. As one would expect, the main duties of the *ṭupšar Enūma Anu Enlilla* were to observe the heavens and to predict the future using the information gleaned from these observations. The *āšipu*, or exorcists, were also important cultic officials. They seem to have been slightly more important than the astrologers during the Hellenistic Period since they represented an older level of Mesopotamian religion[321]. Their duty was to perform exorcisms, which were used "to inflict evil on an enemy,

to ward off attacks on oneself, and to cleanse persons and objects from the evil consequences of ominous encounters by transferring the 'miasma' to carriers that could be easily and effectively destroyed"[322].

There were also many lesser members of the priestly class as well as non-sacerdotal personnel who worked in or for the temple. The most important of these were the clerks. The clerks were divided into two types, the *ṭupšarru*, who was the scribe who wrote in cuneiform on clay tablets, and the *sepīru*, who wrote on parchment and/or papyrus, most likely in Aramaic and perhaps also in Greek. The former of these two was definitely of higher status, since many of the cuneiform scribes belonged to the priestly class[323]. Many other types of personnel were found working in or for the temples. These include cultic performers of various sorts[324], all types of craftsmen, such as weavers, carpenters, jewellers, metalworkers, and potters[325], and builders[326]. Farmers who grew the grain used to make ritual bread and beer and various types of shepherds and herdsmen could also be found working for the temples[327]; as well as various types of personnel who prepared the food and drink for the ritual meals[328]. Porters[329] and simple laborers[330] round off the list of non-religious temple personnel.

There were three types of officials found in Seleucid Mesopotamia: political, economic, and religious. The first two groups can be divided not into Greek and non-Greek official but into officials who represent the central government and those who represent the local inhabitants. Both Greeks and non-Greeks were used in both classes showing the

Seleucids' trust in the non-Greeks of their kingdom. The religious officials, on the other hand, were divided into Greek and non-Greek officials. It is unfortunate that from the area of Mesopotamia only evidence of the non-Greek religious officials is found.

Chapter 4: The Cultural Exchange between the Seleucids and the Mesopotamians

This chapter will examine the various forms that cultural exchange took on in Seleucid Mesopotamia. First this chapter will explore the topic of the Hellenization of the native Mesopotamians. Next it will examine to what extent the Greeks living in Mesopotamia were Orientalized. Then the chapter will conclude with an investigation of the resistance to Hellenization found in Mesopotamia. As can be expected some of the native Mesopotamians were to some extent Hellenized. The best examples of this Hellenization are to be found in The Babyloniaca written in Greek by a priest of Bel-Marduk, named Berossos, and the use of Greek names by some of the natives of Mesopotamia.

As just mentioned the author of The Babyloniaca[331], Berossos[332], was a priest of Bel-Marduk who lived during the early Hellenistic Period and dedicated his work to the king Antiochus I[333]. The Babyloniaca was written in Greek and was divided into three books. It dealt with Mesopotamian history from the creation of the world until Alexander's conquest of Babylon. It is a well documented fact that Berossos used native documents in the compilation of his work. For example, it can be proven that in his account of the creation of the world[334], Berossos used the Babylonian epic of creation entitled The *Enūma eliš* [335]. It can also be proven that Berossos had access to

Sumerian texts. This is illustrated by two facts. First, the names found in Berossos' list of Antediluvian kings is based upon Sumerian king lists that contained their names[336]. The second fact is that, although containing differences of detail, Berossos' account of the Flood[337] must be based on a Sumerian version since the hero's name in Berossos, Xisuthros, is an attempt to transliterate into Greek the name of the Sumerian Flood hero, Ziusudra[338]. Once Berossos reached the historical period his use of native documents continued. Robert Drews has proven that Berossos made use of the extensive corpus of Babylonian chronicles in the historical section of his Babyloniaca[339].

The next question that one must ask about Berossos' work is why was The Babyloniaca written? There are at least three answers to this question other than the education of Antiochus I and the Greek population[340]. One answer is given by Samuel Eddy in his book The King is Dead. Eddy believed that Berossos wrote his book as a form of tacit anti-Seleucid propaganda. This was achieved by presenting the ancient kings of Babylon, especially King Nebuchadnezzar II, as great warriors, who outdid both Alexander the Great and Seleucus I in deeds of arms[341]. Another answer comes from Burstein's introduction to his translation of Berossos. In it Burstein claims that Berossos wrote his book and dedicated it to King Antiochus I in the hopes that the king, if he read a true account of the history of Babylonia and of the proper relations that existed in the past between 'Church' and 'State', might be induced to show more respect towards the Babylonian cities by repudiating Seleucus I's policy of showing more favor towards his new

foundation of Seleucia-on-the-Tigris[342]. A third answer is made by Amélie Kuhrt, who believes that Berossos wrote his work under Seleucid patronage in order to furnish the Seleucids with ammunition in their propaganda war with the Ptolemies[343].

Kuhrt's explanation of The Babyloniaca seems to be the best one of the three. In response to Eddy's views one could say that the deeds of Nebuchadnezzar II can be seen not as anti-Seleucid but as anti-Ptolemaic propaganda. By stating that in the past a great Babylonian king not only controlled Phoenicia and Coele-Syria, areas that both dynasties claimed as their own, but also Egypt itself, a fact that was most certainly incorrect[344], Berossos could be seen as laying claim to these areas for the Seleucids. In response to Burstein's answer one could say that, although his ideas do have some attraction, there is no proof that Seleucus I's motives for founding Seleucia-on-the-Tigris were sinister and were in need of being reversed[345]. Another fact that seems to support Kuhrt's hypothesis is that Berossos' work "is arranged according to the principles established by Hecataeus (sc. of Abdera)"[346]. Hecataeus of Abdera was an historian who wrote an Egyptian history for Ptolemy I to be used as propaganda[347]. It was in response to Hecataeus' work that Berossos was supposedly commissioned to write his book to counter the claims put forward by Hecataeus. For example, to counter the great deeds of the Egyptian king called by Hecataeus Sesoösis[348], Berossos wrote of the great deeds of King Nabopolassor and of his son Nebuchadnezzar II. Berossos' claim that the Chaldeans had been living in Babylonia from ancient times can also be

seen as a criticism of Hecataeus' statement that the Chaldeans had emigrated from Egypt to Babylonia[349] .

The other main example of Hellenization found in Seleucid Mesopotamia is the use of Greek names by some of the natives of Mesopotamia. There were two ways in which a native could receive a Greek name. The first was when an individual received a Greek name, in addition to his old native name, from the king. The other method was voluntary, whereby the new Greek name was either chosen by an individual or was given to him by his parents[350]. This new Greek name could be used in addition to a native name, or could be used by itself. It should also be mentioned that the use of double names was not unheard of in pre-Seleucid Mesopotamia[351]. Most of the evidence for the adoption of Greek names by the Mesopotamians comes from cuneiform sources[352], although there is one Greek inscription of unknown Mesopotamian provenance that gives evidence for the use of a double name by a native named Aristeas-Ardibēlteios[353]. Also most of the evidence for the use of Greek names comes from Uruk. This should not be seen as evidence that Uruk held a special place in Seleucid Mesopotamia, but mainly that most of the cuneiform documents from this period come from Uruk[354].

As mentioned, the first way that a person could receive a Greek name was from the king. This practice was not unheard of in the Ancient Near East[355]. This giving of a new name by kings to foreigners was done either to reward the individual, as in the case of Joseph, or else in the hopes of assimilating conquered peoples, as in the case of Daniel

and the other Judean nobles[356]. The only known case in Seleucid Mesopotamia of this form of name giving is the case of Anu-uballiṭ-Nikarchos the son of Anu-iqṣur. A building inscription informs us that for some untold reason Anu-uballiṭ was given the Greek name Nikarchos by king Antiochus II[357]. One can assume that this extra name was given to Anu-uballiṭ as a reward for something that he did that pleased the king, since there is no evidence of an attempt to assimilate the population of Uruk to Greek ways at this time.

There is more evidence for the second method of acquiring a Greek name. This method involved the voluntary adoption of a Greek name by an individual or the giving of a Greek name to a child by a Mesopotamian parent. The best example found for this second method is the other Anu-uballiṭ who had the additional Greek name Kephalon. Not only did Anu-uballiṭ-Kephalon marry a woman with a Greek name and patronymic but he also gave his sons Greek names as well[358]. This trend can be traced in his family over the next two generations[359].

One might now ask, why did some Mesopotamians decide to adopt Greek names? To answer, one should look carefully at the voluntary adoption of Greek names by individuals or by their parents, leaving aside the example of Anu-uballiṭ-Nikarchos, whose reason for adopting a Greek name was the wish of Antiochus II. The best reason for this phenomenon seems to be found in the fact that the use of Greek names was a practice of certain members of the propertied families of Uruk. These individuals, including Anu-uballiṭ-Kephalon, seem to have adopted these Greek names

as part of a program of self-Hellenization, which they used to preserve or to acquire political position[360]. Although most of the examples of the use of Greek names by native Mesopotamians only start to become more numerous during the reigns of Antiochus III and IV, one must not see the adoption of Greek names as part of a program of assimilation initiated by these two kings as Sarkisian does. According to Sarkisian, the Greeks, who at first resided at Uruk, lived in a separate colony from the natives. The natives lived in the so called 'civic-and-temple' community. It was under Antiochus III that the Greek colony was merged with the native 'civic-and-temple' community to form one civic body. Under Antiochus IV there was another influx of Greeks into Uruk. Then under the Parthians the number of Greeks declined and it is this decline that explains why Greek names disappear from cuneiform documents[361]. Sarkisian's theory would imply a royal policy that was designed to radically change the political and social systems of Seleucid Mesopotamia, for which there is no independent corroborating evidence[362]. From the evidence it also seems that only a small part of the Mesopotamian natives was Hellenized to any great extent.

The next topic to be examined is if the Greeks, who settled in Mesopotamia, were Orientalized to any extent by the natives. Unfortunately there is no firm evidence of this. The two most likely pieces of evidence that seem to show the Orientalization of the Greeks are in actuality rather uncertain. These are the 'Graeco-Babyloniaca' texts and the support that several Seleucid monarchs showed to Mesopotamian temples.

The 'Graeco-Babyloniaca' are a curious set of documents. Since these texts were first brought to scholarly attention in 1902 by T. Pinches, A. Sayce, and F. Burkitt[363], they have continued to interest scholars[364]. There are sixteen 'Graeco-Babyloniaca' texts of various sizes which have survived. They are made of unbaked clay of which eight of the nine that have both the front and back surfaces preserved have a cuneiform text on the obverse and Greek script on the reverse[365], while the ninth has the reverse left uninscribed but has Greek script on the obverse[366]. Another six have the reverses preserved with a Greek script on them[367]. The final tablet has both the obverse and the reverse inscribed in a Greek script[368]. This last text, unlike the other fifteen, is not an attempt to transliterate Akkadian or Sumerian into Greek characters but some other language. It as been suggested that perhaps the language is some form of Aramaic, although this is not certain[369]. Sollberger divides the texts into three categories: A) lexical texts, B) literary texts, and C) unclassified texts. It is a proven fact that the texts, except for the one in the unknown language, are copies of texts that were used in the scribal schools[370]. Thus it seems likely that the authors of these texts were somehow involved in the training of scribes or were students themselves. The 'Graeco-Babyloniaca' texts date from the second century B.C. to the first century A.D..

The question now arises: who wrote these texts? As mentioned above the texts were somehow tied in to the training of students in the Mesopotamian scribal schools. Another question that should be answered

is, what is the ethnic background of the authors of these texts? There are two possible answers to this question. First is that the authors were Greeks who were learning to be traditional Mesopotamian scribes. This is the answer given by most scholars who have dealt with the topic[371]. If this were the case this would change modern views on the depth of Greek interest in foreign cultures[372], which tend to see the Hellenistic Greeks as monolingual and lacking any real contact with the different eastern cultures[373]. The other answer is that the authors of the 'Graeco-Babyloniaca' texts were Babylonians who were experimenting with an alphabetic system for writing Akkadian and Sumerian[374]. The reason for this experiment, if it ever took place, was to find a less cumbersome way of writing the ancient languages of Mesopotamia. Unfortunately, as Black and Sherwin-White point out, the question must remain unsolved for now since there is not enough evidence for either of the options to be considered the definitive answer[375]. If one had to pick between the two choices, as they stand at the present time, one would have to choose the first one. The texts written in the Greek script are simply transliterations of the cuneiform texts, their main purpose being to act as a crib to the pronunciation of the Akkadian and Sumerian words. If this is the case one would have to agree with Pinches who says " (a) Native Babylonian would not have needed transcriptions of Babylonian and Akkadian words into Greek characters, and the writer is hardly likely to have been a Graecised Babylonian learning his own language by means of the Greek alphabet to give him the true pronunciation"[376].

The other example that can perhaps be seen of the Orientalization of Greeks is the rebuilding of native Mesopotamian temples by the various Seleucid rulers. The best example of this is the work done on the Ezida, the temple of the Babylonian god Nabû, located in the city of Borsippa[377] by King Antiochus I. Information about the work done on the Ezida comes from a cylinder on whose surface a cuneiform building inscription can be found[378]. It was discovered in 1880 A.D. by H. Rassam in the ruins of the Ezida. The shape of inscription was a common one for foundation texts from the second millennium on[379]. The text is written in an archaic form of Akkadian[380]. Antiochus is portrayed in it as a Babylonian monarch by the use of the traditional nomenclature used for a Babylonian king[381]. In the inscription we are told how Antiochus decided to rebuild the temple and how he was actively involved in the various foundation ceremonies that were performed before actual work on the temple could be begun[382].

Work was also done on other temples located in other Mesopotamian cities. For example, it was once thought that not much work was done on the Esagila temple at Babylon[383]. It can now be proven by the Antiochus cylinder and by other cuneiform documents that work was done on the Esagila temple during the rule of Alexander the Great and his successors in Babylon[384]. Work was also done on the main temples of Uruk during the Hellenistic period[385]. There is no direct evidence that the Seleucid kings were involved directly in the rebuilding of the temples of Uruk, only that this was done by the aid of the local officials[386]. The Bit rēš was rebuilt by Anu-uballiṭ-Nikarchos,

during the reign of Antiochus II, and by Anu-uballiṭ-Kephalon, during the reign of Antiochus III. The later Anu-uballiṭ was also involved in the rebuilding of the Irigal temple. One can assume, though, that some form of royal help would be needed in such large scale public building programs[387].

All this information might be used to indicate that the Seleucid kings were to some extent Orientalized. Of great importance for an argument of this sort would be the fact that Antiochus I took an active role in the foundation ceremony of the Ezida temple. But this does not mean that Antiochus was in the process of being Orientalized. All that Antiochus' participation shows is that he was concerned to do what was expected of a Babylonian king in such a situation. What this inscription shows is the central government's concern over appearing to conform to the ideals of the natives[388]. In fact, it is very doubtful that Antiochus would have understood what he was saying or what was being said by others[389]. All that would have been necessary for him to do was to go through the motions of the ceremony, no doubt with the help of the native clergy. In fact, all of this concern over the temples of Mesopotamia is not real evidence of the Seleucid monarchs' Orientalization. The Seleucid kings not only rebuilt and refurbished temples in Mesopotamia, but elsewhere in the kingdom as well[390]. Both native temples, such as the temple at Jerusalem[391] and the one at Hierapolis in Syria[392] and Greek ones, like the temple of Apollo at Didyma[393], were rebuilt or refurbished by the Seleucid kings over the years. The work done on temples, both native and Greek, shows either

the Seleucid monarchs' concern for religion in general, or their concern for keeping their subjects happy, so they would not revolt, which is the more likely of the two alternatives. They did work on many temples to please all the members of the realm, not just one group or another. Thus of the two examples that we have of the supposed Orientalization of the Greeks in Mesopotamia only the example of the 'Graeco-Babyloniaca' can perhaps be taken to prove that there was some kind of orientalization of a few of the Greeks that settled in Mesopotamia.

Not only is there little evidence of Orientalization of the Greeks and of Hellenization of the natives in Seleucid Mesopotamia, but there is also sparse evidence of the active resistance to Hellenization on the part of the natives. Any resistance that did occur was non-violent and was more of an intellectual type. There are three forms that might be cited for the supposed resistance: the continued use of traditional architectural forms in Mesopotamian temples; the use of cuneiform for certain types of legal documents and for the recopying of older literary and historical texts and for the creation of new ones; and finally the use of traditional rituals in the native temples.

The first piece of evidence that has been cited for the resistance to Hellenization is the continued use of traditional architectural forms for Mesopotamian temples. As mentioned above, several of the Seleucid kings rebuilt temples in the old Mesopotamian cities. These royally sponsored temples were rebuilt not on a Greek patterns but according to Mesopotamian ones[394]. Even though such temples as the Esagila in

Babylon[395], the Ezida in Borsippa[396], the Bit rēš, the Irigal, the E-anna, and the Bit Akītu in Uruk[397], were not all rebuilt exactly as they were before, they were still rebuilt according to Mesopotamian architectural concepts.

In order to find Greek style temples one has to go to purely Greek foundations. In such settlements, which were built according to Greek city planning, one would expect to find temples built according to Greek architectural concepts. This can be seen in the remains of Seleucia-on-the-Tigris[398] and also at Dura-Europos[399]. At Dura-Europos an interesting phenomenon happened. The first temple built in the colony, the Temple of Artemis and Apollo, which later became the Temple of Artemis-Nanaia, was built according to canons of the Doric Order. It was only during the Parthian Period that this temple was rebuilt according to oriental patterns[400]. But the other temple that dates to the Seleucid Era, that of Zeus Megistos, which seems to date to the reign of Antiochus IV, shows a mixture of Greek and non-Greek architectural forms in its construction. The Greek element in the temple is the use of the Doric order and the non-Greek element is the general plan of the temple[401]. This phenomenon is most likely due to the influence of the natives of the area, since they would have been more numerous than the Greek inhabitants of Dura-Europos.

It is their great numbers that can explain why the natives continued to use traditional architectural forms. The population of the old Mesopotamian cities was composed predominantly of native Mesopotamians

with few Greek inhabitants, if any. Because of this, the Greek influence was minimal on the native population at large. It is only in areas where there was a large concentration of Greeks that one would expect to find Greek styles of architecture. But over time, as the Greeks intermarried with natives and fewer new Greek settlers arrived from more Hellenized areas, the influence of the natives became stronger and was capable of influencing the architectural styles of these Greek settlements.

Another supposed form of resistance to Hellenization was the continued use of cuneiform in various sorts of documents. These documents can be divided into two groups, legal documents and literary and historical texts.

Only certain types of legal documents continued to be written using cuneiform. Most of the documents of this sort come from Uruk. The majority were "private transactions involving temple allotments (*isqu*), real estate or slaves"[402]. The type of transaction also varied but most were bills of sale[403]. The question arises as to why were these types of documents still written using cuneiform. The answer seems to lie in the Seleucid taxation system. If the transaction being recorded was liable to any type of royal tax or if it required the service of any type of royal officer, then these documents, recording the transactions, would have to be drawn up in Greek, or perhaps in Aramaic, and written on papyrus or parchment. They would be sealed in the customary Greek manner or placed in a clay '*bulla*', and then placed in the care of the

relevant Greek records officer. Transactions not liable to such taxes continued to be drawn up in the traditional manner regardless of who the principals were. This would explain why only certain types of transactions are found in the corpus of legal documents found at Uruk[404].

Not only were legal documents written using cuneiform but also literary and historical works, of which two types can be found. The first type are older texts that were recopied during the Seleucid period. These texts consists of hymns[405] and lamentations[406], as well as manuals of divination[407] and the texts of various sorts of rituals that were to be performed[408].

New literary and historical texts were also composed in Akkadian in the Seleucid Period. The first type that will be examined is prophecies. These were not real prophecies but were pseudo-prophecies, since they were in fact *vaticinia ex eventu*. The prophecies tend to be divided according to the reigns of various kings, although the kings are not named. Even so, it is sometimes still possible to identify the kings in question on the basis of the details given in the prophecy. The reign of each king tended to be characterized as a 'good' reign or as a 'bad' reign[409]. The concept of recording prophecies either real or *ex eventu* is a common literary motif in the Ancient Near East. For example, there are the various prophets in the Old Testament, and in Egypt there are such prophetic works as, The Admonitions of Ipu-Wer[410], and The Prophecies of Neferti[411]. A prophetic text also

survives from Ptolemaic Egypt called The Oracle of the Potter[412]. Several prophetic texts have also been discovered in Mesopotamia. Most date from pre-Hellenistic times, but one, the so called Dynastic Prophecy, dates from the Hellenistic Period[413].

The Dynastic Prophecy[414] is preserved on one broken tablet, BM 40623. Grayson, who edited the *editio princeps*, divided the text into four columns, two on the obverse and two on the reverse[415]. It is now believed that the text had six columns, three on the obverse and three on the reverse[416]. The text deals with the rise and fall of several dynasties. Although no kings are named in the text, it is possible to deduce who the kings are from the allusions found in the text. It is thus possible to see that it prophesies the fall of the Assyrian Empire and the rise and fall of the Neo-Babylonian and Persian Empires. After the section dealing with the Persian Empire, two more sections are found, which are very badly damaged. It is believed by most scholars that these might have dealt with some of the events that took place after the death of Alexander the Great. Based on that hypothesis, the text would have to date from the early Hellenistic Period[417].

What was the purpose of this text? Grayson believes that The Dynastic Prophecy was written as "a strong expression of anti-Seleucid sentiment"[418]. Although there is no cuneiform evidence to support this view, Grayson does find support for anti-Seleucid sentiment in Book III of the Sibylline Oracles. Some of the oracles found in Book III were said to have been uttered by a Babylonian Sibyl. One prophecy

predicts the Macedonian conquest of Europe and Asia and then the fall of the Macedonian dynasty[419]. Grayson believes that it is possible that this text is Babylonian in origin and could be related somehow to Akkadian Prophecy[420].

Sherwin-White, on the authority of Ringgren[421], thinks that the text was written by a Babylonian wishing to support a new ruler, who, it was hoped, would restore order after a time of bad rule. Sherwin-White believes this ruler to be Seleucus I and the time of bad rule the period when Antigonus had control of Babylonia[422]. Both hypotheses are good; unfortunately one cannot choose between either one or the other due to the poor state of the final column of the text. It is in this final column that the period dealing with events after Alexander might have been given. Sherwin-White's hypothesis fits the general picture of the acceptance of Seleucid rule by the Mesopotamians better than Grayson's does. But the anomaly suggested by Grayson can be explained, if true, by seeing the population of Babylonia not as a monolithic block[423]. There could have been a minority of natives who were anti-Seleucid. It would be this group that might be responsible for the Dynastic Prophecy and perhaps for certain parts of The Sibylline Oracles.

Another type of new literary expression composed during the Seleucid Period occurred as chronicles recounting events that either took place in Babylonia or else events that took place outside Babylonia but in someway affected it[424]. These new chronicles were a continuation of the older Neo-Babylonian chronicles that dealt with events from the

reign of Nabu-naṣir (747-734), to at least the capture of Babylon by Cyrus the Great in 539[425]. It seems that the scribes at Babylon continued to compose chronicles after the Persian takeover. Although the first fragment in this later series seems to deal with the reign of Xerxes[426], it is safe to assume that this later series picked up, more or less, where the Neo-Babylonian series ended. This new series seems to have ended in Year 88 S.E. (*i.e.*, 224/223)[427]. The six distinct chronicles and the two fragments[428] are not as well preserved as the Neo-Babylonian series is. Still, much historical information can be gleaned from what survives[429].

It is easy to see why these chronicles were composed. Even under foreign control, the natives of Mesopotamia retained their ancient culture. The scribes and other learned men continued to compose the chronicles in imitation of earlier practices. It was still felt that the recording of the gradual unfolding of events at Babylon, even under foreign control, was important[430].

The last type of literary and historical work composed during the Seleucid Period was the king list. The practice of composing king lists was an old one dating back to Sumerian times[431]. The tradition was continued through the later ages of Mesopotamian history[432]. It was in imitation of these older king lists that the two dating from the Seleucid Era were written. The first one, called the "The Uruk King List"[433], is less important than "The Sachs-Wiseman King List". The reason for this is that "The Uruk King List" only lists the length of a

king's reign. "The Sachs-Wiseman King List", on the other hand, not only gives the length of each reign but also gives the exact year of the king's accession, using the Seleucid Era, and it also gives the year of the king's death. On occasion the exact day and month of the king's death is also given. The first extant name on "The Uruk King List" is that of Kandalanu (647-627). The list then proceeds through the various Neo-Babylonian, Persian[434], and Macedonian rulers down to King Seleucus II. It is interesting to note that Antigonus Monophthalmus is listed as a king who reigned for six years[435], whereas in "The Sachs-Wiseman King List", Antigonus is simply called "the chief of the army"[436].

This more important king list was first brought to people's attention in 1954 by A. J. Sachs and D. J. Wiseman in their article, "A Babylonian King List of the Hellenistic Period", Iraq Vol. 16(1954), p. 202-211, with plates # LII and LIII[437]. The tablet was left unbaked in antiquity and was covered with dirt until discovered by the authors in the British Museum[438]. The list starts with Alexander the Great and continues down through his successors. The text breaks off at the end of the reign of King Antiochus IV. Of the few words that can be made out of the rest of the text, mention should be made of "'De(metrius II) the son of De(metrius I)' and 'Ar(saces?) the king'"[439]. These names prove that the king list continued down to at least the Parthian conquest of Mesopotamia. The language used in the text is at times archaic[440]. For example, there is the use of *in-ag* in the stereotyped expression *mu* x *in-ag*, which means ' he exercised (kingship) *x* years'.

In fact this same phrase which is used in '"The Sachs-Wiseman King List" was used in The Sumerian King List to inform the reader of the duration of a reign[441].

The reasons for the composition of these king lists seem to be the same as for the composition of the chronicles. The scribes who composed them wished to continue the tradition of composing king lists. It did not matter to them that some of the kings in the list were not native Babylonian rulers. All that mattered was that the lists were composed according to the age old practices of composition laid down in the earlier periods of Mesopotamian history.

The last example that will be given of the resistance to Hellenization is the continued use of traditional rituals. Various types of rituals and ceremonies were continued in the Seleucid Period. There was, for example, a ceremony called the *dīk bīti* or the 'awakening of the temple' that was held every morning[442]. There was also a ceremony called the *lubuštu*, during which the divine statues were clothed[443]. There were also various types of ritual feasts, libations and purification rites[444]. One very important ceremony that was still celebrated during the Seleucid Period, at both Babylon and Uruk, was the New Year Festival, known as the *Akītu Festival*[445]. This festival was celebrated at Babylon at the beginning of the Babylonian month *Nisan*[446]. There were two *Akītu* festivals held at Uruk. One was held later in the month *Nisan*, while the other was held six months later at the beginning of the month *Tašrit*[447].

Other types of rituals were also performed in Seleucid Mesopotamia. There is, for example, a text that describes the ritual that is to be performed for the repair of a temple[448]. Also to be found is a text that describes the ritual one was to perform if one wished to observe an eclipse[449]. As one can see there was very little change when it came to the cultic activity of the Mesopotamians during the Seleucid Period. This is due to the fact that in a purely native setting the natives tended to continue to use older forms of rituals.

There was very little influence of the Greeks upon the native Mesopotamians and of the natives on the Greeks. Of the examples of Hellenization of the natives that were given, only the use of a second name by some of the rich members of Babylonian society can be used as an example of a limited form of Hellenization. As for Orientalization, only the 'Graeco-Babyloniaca' texts seem to be evidence of some form of orientalization of certain Greeks. There is more evidence, on the other hand, of a tacit type of resistance to Hellenization on the part of the natives. This took the form of continuing to use traditional forms of architecture, literature and rituals.

Conclusion

Having examined the evidence that exists for the Hellenization of Mesopotamia, one can now attempt to answer the question asked by Rostovtzeff in 1932: "How far did the Greeks Hellenize Babylonia"[450]? The answer to this question seems to be that the natives of Mesopotamia were Hellenized very little. Only rich upper-class natives seem to have been Hellenized to any great extent, and even among these, only certain members. The main reason for this phenomenon seems to be that Mesopotamia was not the heart of the Seleucid Kingdom. Before examining this point, one should briefly sum up what conclusions can be drawn from the evidence examined in the body of this thesis.

From the examination of the types of πόλεις found in Mesopotamia, it seems that the only true Greek πόλεις found would have been the type known as the πόλις ἑλληνίς. These cities were organized on the pattern of the cities found in Greece. Over time, as contact with the Greek world became less, especially after the Parthian takeover of Mesopotamia, the native influence in these πόλεις ἑλληνίδες would have grown. This native influence, although affecting the religious outlook and the architecture of the city, does not seem to have affected the political setup of the city. For during the Parthian period, Seleucia-on-the-Tigris and Dura-Europos, which by this time was no longer a colony but a πόλις ἑλληνίς, continued to function as πόλεις ἑλληνίδες at least when it came to the realm of politics[451].

The other types of πόλεις found in Seleucid Mesopotamia had varying degrees of Hellenization. For example, according to the available evidence, it seems that the πόλις περσική was not Hellenized to any great extent. Few Greeks, if any, lived in this type of city. If any did, they were so few in number that they do not seem to have greatly influenced the city or the native population as such[452]. In the πόλις μιξοβάρβαρος, the evidence seems to point to a juxtaposition of two civic bodies, one Greek, the other native[453]. This interpretation is better than the one envisioned by Rostovtzeff and Sarkisian of a mixed population of Greek and native origin[454].

As for the three types of colonies found in the Seleucid Kingdom there seems to be only evidence for the military type found in Mesopotamia. These Greek colonies, like the Greek πόλεις, retained their 'Greekness' even after the Parthian takeover, even after the native upsurges that took place at that time.

The evidence examined also shows that three types of officials were found in Mesopotamia: political, economic, and religious. The first two types of officials can be divided into royal officials, who were appointed by the king and normally took care of matters that in some way involved the king or the central government; and local officials, who were normally elected by the local citizens and who under normal circumstances looked after local matters. Both Greek and natives could be chosen to be royal officials, but Greeks and Macedonians tended to be chosen for the higher offices, such as provincial governor or garrison

commander.

Religious officials were divided into Greek and non-Greek ones. There is no documentation found in the evidence for the Greek officials, although they must have existed since Greek religious officials must have been used in the Greek style temples built in the Greek cities. Luckily, there is much more evidence for non-Greek religious officials found in Mesopotamia. Most of these officials can also be found in the pre-Seleucid eras. These officials can be used to prove a continuation of the traditions from the past.

When one turns to the evidence for the cultural exchange between the Greeks and the natives of Mesopotamia, one can find very little evidence of the Hellenization or of Orientalization of the inhabitants. Of the two examples given of Hellenization of the natives, only the example of the adoption of Greek names can be seen as a real example. It should be mentioned that only certain of the Greek names found in the cuneiform documents are the second names of a native Mesopotamian. The only two types of holders of Greek names that are definitely Babylonians are those that have both a Babylonian name and a Greek one or those that have a sole Greek name with a Babylonian patronymic. On the other hand, there is a good chance that people with a sole Greek name and patronymic or with just a Greek name are Greeks and not natives. But there is, of course, still a chance that these people might be natives.[455]

As for the Orientalization of the Greeks there does not seem to be

any firm proof. The 'Graeco-Babyloniaca' texts can perhaps be seen as some kind of Orientalization of the Greeks, if, in fact, the authors of these texts were Greeks. The rebuilding of temples by the Seleucid Kings, on the other hand, should not be seen as the Orientalization of these monarchs, but as a simple concern on their part for religion in general or, more probably, as a way to keep the subjects of the kingdom happy.

What the evidence shows best is some resistance to Hellenization on the part of the natives. This resistance was not an active type but a passive one. In fact, the evidence seem to point to simple resistance to change rather than to an intentional resistance to the Greeks and their way of life. Many Mesopotamians simply wished to continue to do things as they had been done for centuries.

This interpretation goes against what Eddy says in his book The King is Dead. He sees most of the types of resistance as intentional . It may be useful to point out some of the more important pieces of evidence that Eddy uses to make his case.

After some remarks about Alexander and the Diadochoi, at the beginning of Chapter 5[456], Eddy goes on to discuss the resistance found in Mesopotamia during the Seleucid Period. He first mentions the resentment that the natives felt about the foundation of Seleucia-on-the-Tigris. This has been discussed already on pages 29-31 of this thesis. All that remains to say about this topic is that Eddy was

mistaken when he says that " the fate of Seleukeia-on-Tigris was frequently forecast in the Chaldean astrological tablets of the early Seleukid era"[457]. In note number 31 on p. 116 of his book, he quotes Pinches as his source for this statement[458]. But Eddy has misread Pinches. For Pinches says on page 476, not 477 as Eddy says, " (h)ow the Babylonians took the foundation of Seleucia-on-the-Tigris, which is often mentioned in the numerous astrological tablets of this period, *is not recorded*, but the way in which they speak of the migration of Babylonians to Seleucia implies that they took it greatly to heart"[459]. There is no mention of these tablets forecasting the fate of Seleucia at all. In fact the tablets do not even criticize the city outright, but only in a roundabout way.

The next important point raised by Eddy is the fact that in a chronicle for the year 276, there is grumbling about using unfamiliar Greek copper coins and about the scabies that was rampant in the land. The chronicle goes on to complain about the selling of the children of Babylon as slaves and about the famine that was taking place in the city[460]. The first criticism that can be made about this part of Eddy's work is that the document in question is not a chronicle but is an historical section of an astronomical tablet[461]. It also does not 'grumble' about anything but just states the facts in an objective manner without any form of complaint whatsoever[462].

Eddy then goes on to mention the tales about Semiramis and other heroes of the Babylonian past. He sees these tales as anti-Seleucid

propaganda[463]. This need not be the case. Grayson sees these tales not as a tacit form of resistance to Hellenization, but simply as evidence of a sense of rivalry to the deeds of Alexander and the early Seleucids[464]. Eddy's discussion of Berossos, which follows the examination of the tales of the heroes of Babylon's past, has been dealt with already on pages 71-73 of this thesis.

The Sibylline oracle mentioned on p. 84-85 of this thesis is Eddy's next topic[465]. He claims that since the oracle mentions Babylon it seems likely that it was of Babylonian and not of Persian provenance. J. Collins in his introduction to his translation of Book III of the Sibylline Oracles in Volume I of The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, believes that " the evidence for attributing this oracle to a specific situation is simply inadequate. It could have been written by anyone hostile to the Macedonians at any time after the fall of Babylon to Alexander"[466].

In Chapter 6 of The King is Dead, the most important piece of evidence found for anti-Hellenism, so Eddy believes, is an astronomical diary dated to 143 S.E.=168. Eddy's interpretation is based on Pinches' partial translation and his summary of the rest of the document[467]. According to Eddy, under Antiochus IV, a new priest, appointed by order of the king, hands over gold from the temple treasures of Esagila to the government; Eddy does not make it clear whether the central or local government is meant. From this gold some statues of Hellenized gods were made by the citizens of the πόλις of Babylon. These statues were

dedicated in the temple. Later on some thieves, whom Eddy calls "patriots" , strip some statues of certain native gods of their gold. These thieves are eventually caught, tried, and executed by the authorities. Eddy takes these events to be part of a reaction to Antiochus IV's program of Hellenization of the Seleucid Kingdom[468].

It is easy to see how Eddy got this idea from Pinches' partial translation and commentary. A comparison of the new translation of the diary found in Astronomical Diaries and Related Texts from Babylon, Volume 2, edited and translated by Sachs and Hunger, with Eddy's reconstruction, proves that Eddy was wrong[469]. First of all, what the citizens of the πόλις of Babylon made were not statues of Hellenized gods, but "works which were like a drawing of the Greeks [...]"[470]. Then after three pages of astronomical data, one comes to the appointment of the new priest by order of the king. This man was a jeweler, and he was given the gold from the dedications made in the Esagila Temple in conjunction with the assembly of the goldsmiths. The new priest and the goldsmiths were to take this gold and make some kind of object, which Sachs and Hunger believe to be a wig, for the statue of Bēl-Marduk[471]. So the priest was not using the sacred gold to make statues of foreign gods , but some kind of object for the cult statue of Bēl-Marduk. A few days after these events took place, some thieves peeled something off, perhaps the gold leaf, from the statues of the gods Nergal and Ammami'ita. Two days later the thieves who striped the image of Nergal were caught. Three days after that, they were tried by the *Šatammu* and by the temple judges of Esagila and were found guilty

and were executed by being burned alive[472]. This too cannot be seen as evidence of anti-Hellenic sentiment since the thieves are not said to be Greek. One would think that if the thieves were of Greek descent the diary would have mentioned that. As one can see, Eddy believed that there was some form of tacit resistance to Seleucid rule in Mesopotamia, although he considered it less vigorous and aggressive than the Persian resistance was[473]. On a closer examination it seems likely that the resistance that was found in Mesopotamia was simply a resistance to change and not to the Greeks or Seleucids *per se*.

One can now attempt to answer the question why Mesopotamia was seemingly so little Hellenized. The answer seems to be that it was not the heart of the Seleucid Kingdom. Although Mesopotamia was an important area of the kingdom and was the area in which the capital of the eastern half of the kingdom was located (*i.e.*, at Seleucia-on-the-Tigris), it still was not the center of the kingdom and the location of the main capital of the kingdom, which was located at Antioch-on-the-Orontes, in northern Syria in the area known as Seleucis[474]. Since the area of Seleucis was the center of the kingdom, more Greeks and Macedonians would have settled in this area in order to be close to the king and to his court. On account of this the area around the Syrian Tetrapolis seems to have become very Hellenized. This area remained a flourishing area of Hellenism until the Arab conquest in A.D. 637[475]. An example of the deep penetration of Hellenic culture in Syria is the case of the poet Meleager of Gadara. Although there is no evidence of a Greek or Macedonian settlement in Gadara, Meleager was somehow

Hellenized since there is no trace in his poetry of his having deeply absorbed any non-Greek culture when he was young[476]. This phenomenon of the deep Hellenization of the area around the capital of a Hellenistic kingdom is not unique to the Seleucid Kingdom, for it also took place in Ptolemaic Egypt. Although Greeks settled all along the Nile valley, the largest concentration of Greeks was found in and around the area of the capital at Alexandria[477].

This phenomenon then would explain why the area of Mesopotamia was so little Hellenized. It is true that on occasion the crown prince or the co-regent would take up residence at Seleucia-on-the-Tigris, but he would not have been permanently stationed there. He would have had to travel all through the eastern part of the kingdom. Anyway most Greeks or Macedonians who settled in the Seleucid kingdom would most likely have wished to live near the king of the kingdom, since he would have been the real power in the kingdom, and not near to his heir, even if the latter had control of large areas of the East.

An exception to this rule is to be found in the area of Bactria. This area of the Seleucid kingdom, which later became an independent kingdom, seems to have been Hellenized to a great extent, even though it was a long way away from the heart of the Seleucid kingdom and from the Greek world in general. The reason for this seem to be due to the fact that Greeks were settled in this region since Achaemenid times[478]. These Greek settlers were met by Alexander when he was campaigning in this area. Most of these early Greek settlers resisted Alexander along

with their Iranian and Indian neighbors[479]. The reason for this seems to have been not any anti-Hellenic sentiments on the part of these Graeco-Bactrians but anti-Macedonian ones instead. After Alexander's conquest of the area and even after his death Greeks and Macedonians were settled in Bactria, either voluntarily or by force. By about 256 for some reason the area of Bactria revolted from Seleucid control and a kingdom was set up under the control of the former Seleucid satrap named Diodotus[480]. The kingdom expanded and contracted until the last remaining 'Greek' kingdoms in Bactria and what was then known as India had been destroyed by the Yuezhi-Kushan, the Saka, and the Pahlava in the first century B.C.[481]. Not only did these Greeks influence the natives of Bactria and India but they were also influenced by them. The best examples of this influence are found in the art and architecture of the area, especially at Ai Khanoum[482]. There is also evidence of the influence of Oriental religions on the Greeks that settled in Bactria and India. The best example of this is the Indo-Greek king Menander, who supposedly converted to Buddhism[483]. The reason for the Hellenization of Bactria seems to have been caused either by the fact that Greeks had been living in the area for many years before Alexander's conquest, or it was due to the fact that there was some affinity between the Greeks and the native Bactrians and Indians due to their common Indo-European origins, that did not exist in other parts of the Middle East[484].

As mentioned above, Bactria was an exception to the rule. In the other parts of the Seleucid kingdom, except for northern Syria,

Hellenism seems to have made very little head way against the native traditions. One can suppose that if Mesopotamia had been the heart of the Seleucid Kingdom then there would have been a good chance that it would have been Hellenized more than it was. This would have been due to the fact that more Greeks would have settled in the area to be near to the king and to his court. However, since this was not the case, it must be noted that the few Greeks that did settle in Mesopotamia seem to have had a definite effect on certain of the natives, particularly the wealthier ones.

NOTES

1. Rostovtzeff(1932), " Seleucid Babylonia ", YCS, Vol. 3(1932), p. 90.

2. I should mention that in the time of the Seleucids the region that we call Mesopotamia was in fact two different satrapies. Mesopotamia was in the north and corresponds to ancient Assyria, while the south, which corresponds to ancient Akkad and Sumer, was called Babylonia. For convenience I will refer to the whole region as Mesopotamia.

3. All dates unless otherwise stated are B.C.

4. For more on the Seleucid Era see below, p. 17.

5. Bikerman(1938), Institutions des Séleucides, p. 12, n. 5.

6. Seleucus retakes Babylonia: CAH², Vol. 7:1,p. 49; Will(1966-67), Histoire Politique du Monde Hellenistique, Vol. 1, p. 53; Diodorus, XIX.90-92; Plutarch, Demetrius, 7.2-3. Peace of 311: CAH²., Vol. 7:1, p. 49-52; Will, Vol. 1, p. 54-57; Diodorus, XIX.64.8; 75.6; 105. War Between Seleucus and Antigonus: CAH²., Vol. 7:1, p. 52-53; Will, Vol. 1, p. 58-59; Diodorus, XIX.90-92; Plutarch, Demetrius, 18.2; Appian, Syriaca, 54-55. War between Seleucus and Chandragupta: CAH²., Vol. 7:1, p. 53; 59-60; Will, Vol.1, p. 235-238; Strabo, XV.2.9; Justin, XV.4.12-21; Appian, Syr., 55.

7. Ipsos: CAH²., Vol. 7:1, p. 60; Will, Vol. 1. p. 68-70; Diodorus, XX.106-113; XXI.1-4. Division of spoils and the issue of Coele-Syria: CAH²., Vol. 7:1, p. 60; Will, Vol. 1. p. 68; Diodorus, XXI.1.5; Justin, XV.4.21-22; Plutarch, Demetrius, 28-30.1. Seleucus and Demetrius: CAH²., Vol. 7:1, p. 103 104; Will, Vol. 1, p. 73-74; Justin, XV.4.23 *ff.*; Plutarch, Demetrius, 31.2; 32.1-3; 33.1. Downfall of Demetrius: CAH²., Vol. 7:1, p. 108-109; Will, Vol. 1, p. 79-81; Plutarch, Demetrius, 46.2 *ff.*

8. Seleucus' war against Lysimachus: CAH²., Vol. 7:1, p. 112-113; Will, Vol. 1, p. 84-86; Justin, XVII.1.3-12; Pausanias, I.10.3-5; Appian, Syr.62. Death of Seleucus: CAH²., Vol. 7:1, p.113-115; Will, Vol. 1, p. 86-88; Justin, XVII.2; Appian, Syr.62; Pausanias, I.16.2.

9. Syrian War of Succession: CAH²., Vol. 7:1, p. 113-114; 413-416; Will, Vol. 1, p. 117-123. The Elephant Battle: CAH²., Vol. 7:1, p. 415-416; 423; Will, Vol. 1, p. 123-125; Livy, XXXVIII.16; Strabo, XII.5.1; Justin, XXV.2.8-11. First Syrian War: CAH²., Vol. 7:1, p. 416-418; Will, Vol. 1, p. 127-130; Babylonian Tablet BM 92689 (see Austin[1981], The Hellenistic World, # 141, p. 240-241); Pithom Stele (See Mahaffy[1895]); Theocritus, Idylls, 17, *ll.* 86 *ff.*

10. The name of this child is not known to us.

11. This war is also known as the Laodicean War.

12. Second Syrian War: CAH^2., Vol. 7:1, p. 418-420; Will, Vol. 1, p. 208-216. Deaths of Ptolemy II and Antiochus II: CAH^2., Vol. 7:1, p. 419-420; Will, Vol. 1, p. 216-221; Appian, Syr, 65, Athenaeus, XIII. 593c-d; St. Jerome, In Daniel, XI.6; Justin, XXVII.1.1. Third Syrian War: CAH^2., Vol. 7:1, p. 420-421; Will, Vol. 1, p. 223-233; Appian, Syr., 65; Justin, XXVII. 1-2.9; FGrH., 160 (See Austin[1981], #220, p. 363-364, Bagnall and Derow[1981], Greek Historical Documents: The Hellenistic Period, #27, p. 50-52, and Burstein [1985], The Hellenistic Age, #98, p. 123-125); Adulis Inscription, (See Austin[1981], #221, p. 365, Bagnall and Derow, #26, p. 49-50, and Burstein, #99, p. 125-126).

13. War of the Brothers: CAH^2., Vol. 7:1, p. 429; Will, Vol. 1, p. 265-266; Pompeius Trogus, Prologus, 27; Justin, XXVII. 2.6-11. Seleucus II in the East: CAH^2., Vol. 7:1, p. 429; Will, Vol. 1, p. 278-282; Justin, XLI.4-5; Strabo, XI.8.8.

14. CAH^2., Vol. 7:1, p.219-220.

15. Seleucus III: CAH^2., Vol. 7:1, p. 430; Will, Vol. 1, p. 282-283; Polybius, II.71.4; IV.48.6-8; Appian Syr., 66. Succession of Antiochus III: CAH^2., Vol 7:1, p. 433-434; Will, Vol. 2, p. 10-17; Polybius, IV.48.5-10; V.40.5; 41-57.1; Appian, Syr., 66; Justin, XXIX.1.3; St. Jerome, In Dan., XI.10. Rebellion of Achaeus: CAH^2., Vol. 7:1, p. 434-435; Will, Vol. 2, p. 18-21; Polybius, IV.48.10-12; V.57-58.

16. Fourth Syrian War: CAH^2., Vol. 7:1, p. 435-439; Will, Vol. 2, p. 21-36; Polybius, V.34; 40; 58-71; 79-87; 107; XV.25.1-2; Justin, XXX.1. Death of Achaeus: CAH^2., Vol. 8, p. 248-249; Will, Vol. 2, p. 39-42; Polybius, V.107.4; VII.15-18; VIII.15-21.

17. The ' Anabasis ': CAH^2., Vol. 8, p. 249-250; Will, Vol. 2,p. 42-59; Polybius, VIII.23; X.27-31;49; XI.34; XIII.9; Justin, XLI.5.7; Strabo, XI.14.15.

18. Asia Minor: CAH^2., Vol. 8, p. 250; Will, Vol. 2, p. 96-98. Fifth Syrian War: CAH^2., Vol. 8, p.251-252; Will, Vol. 2, p. 101-102; Polybius, XVI.18-19; 22a; 39; XVIII.53-55; Josephus, Antiquitates Judaicae, XII, 3.3-4.9(129-222); St. Jerome,In Dan., XI.13 *ff*; Justin, XXXI.1.1-2. Roman Warning: CAH^2., Vol. 8, p. 274-276; Will, Vol. 2, p. 102-103; Polybius, XVI.27.5; Justin, XXX.3.3-4; XXXI.1.2.

19. The new king was only about four or five years old at this time. Also, although Antiochus was king, modern scholars do not give him a regnal number, unlike Antiochus IV's young son, Antiochus V or Alexander Balas' young son, Antiochus VI.

20. War with Rome: CAH^2., Vol. 8, p. 280-288; Will, Vol. 2, p. 173-185; Livy, XXXV.43-XXXVII; Polybius, XX.1-10; XXI.2; 6-8; 10-11; 13-17; Appian, Syr., 12-36; 38-39; Justin, XXXI.6.4-8.8; Diodorus, XXIX.1-3; 5; 7-8; 10. Treaty of Apamea: CAH^2., Vol. 8, p. 288-89; Will, Vol. 2, p. 185-187; Livy, XXXVII.55.1-3; XXXVIII.38; Polybius, XXI.24.1-2; 42-43; Appian, Syr., 39. Death of Antiochus: CAH^2., Vol.8, p. 338; Will, Vol. 2, p. 200-202; Diodorus, XXVIII.3; XXIX.15;

Strabo, XVI.1.18; Justin, XXXII.2.1-2; St Jerome,In Dan., XI. **Seleucus IV:** CAH^2., Vol. 8, p. 338-340; Will, Vol. 2, p. 254-255; Appian, Syr., 45; 66; St. Jerome, In Dan., XI.20. **Heliodorus and the Jews:** II Maccabees, 3-4.6. **Succession of Antiochus IV:** CAH^2., Vol. 8, p. 340-341; Will, Vol. 2, p. 255-256; Appian, Syr., 45; OGIS, #248 (See Austin, # 162, p. 268-269 and Burstein, #38,p. 51-52).

21. **Antiochus and Egypt:** CAH^2., Vol. 8, p. 343-346; Will, Vol. 2, p. 262-275; Polybius, XXVII.13; XXVIII.1; 12-21; 23; XXIX.23.4; Diodorus, XXX.14-18; Appian, Syr., 66; Justin, XXIV.3.1-4; Josephus, AJ., XII.2(242-244); Livy, XLV.12.1ff. **Popillius Laenas:** Livy, XLIV. 19 to end; Justin, XXXIV.2.8-3.1.

22. **Festival at Daphne:** CAH^2., Vol. 8, p. 345; Will, Vol. 2, p. 290-291; Polybius XXX.25-26; Diodorus, XXI.16; Athanaeus, V, 194c; X, 439b. **Antiochus in the East:** CAH^2., Vol. 8, p. 350-353; Will, Vol. 2, p. 296-298; Diodorus, XXXI.17a; 18a; Appian, Syr., 46; 66; Tacitus, Histories, V.8.4-5. **Death of Antiochus:** CAH^2., Vol. 8, p. 352; Will, Vol. 2, p. 296; Polybius, XXXI.9; I Maccabees, 6.1-16; II Maccabees, 1.10-16; 9; Josephus, AJ., XII.9.1-2(354-361); Appian, Syr., 66.

23. **Antiochus and the Jews:** CAH^2., Vol.8, p. 346-350; Will, Vol. 2, p. 280-289; I Mac., 1.10-6; II Mac., 4.7-6; 8-13; Josephus, AJ., XII. 5-8(237-353); Bellum Judaicum, I.1(31-47); St. Jerome, In Dan., XI.29-30.

24. **Antiochus V:** CAH^2., Vol. 8, p. 353-356; Will, Vol. 2, p. 306-308; Josephus, AJ., XII.9.2(360-361); 9.7(386); I Mac., 6.63; II Mac., 9.29. **Escape and accession of Demetrius I:** CAH^2., Vol. 8, p. 355-356; Will, Vol. 2, p. 307; Polybius, XXXI.2.1-8; 11-15; Appian, Syr., 46-47; Justin, XXXIV.3.6-9; I Mac., 7.1-4; II Mac., 14.1-2; Josephus, AJ., XII.10.1(389-390).

25. **Timarchus' revolt:** CAH^2., Vol. 8, p. 356-358; Will, Vol. 2, p. 308-309; Diodorus, XXXI.27a; Appian, Syr., 47; Pompeius Trogus, Prologus, 34. **Judaea:** CAH^2., Vol. 8, p. 357; Will, Vol. 2, p. 310-312; I Mac., 7and 9; II Mac., 14-15; Josephus, AJ., XII.10(389-434)-XIII.1(1-34). **Rome and Demetrius:** CAH^2., Vol. 8, p. 358-359; Will, Vol. 2, p. 309; Polybius, XXXI.33; XXXII.2-3; Diodorus, XXXI.28-29; Appian, Syr., 47. **Rome and the Jews:** CAH^2., Vol. 8, p. 358-359; Will, Vol. 2, p. 311-312; I Mac., 8.25.

26. **The Fall of Demetrius:** CAH^2, Vol. 8, p. 361-362; Will, Vol. 2, p. 314-316; Polybius, XXXIII.15.1-2; 18.5 *ff.*; Diodorus XXXI.32a; Appian, Syr., 67; I Mac., 10.1-50; Josephus, AJ., XIII.2.1-4(35-61); Justin, XXXV.1.3-11; Strabo, XIII.4.2.

27. **Alexander Balas:** CAH^2., Vol. 8, p. 362-365; Will, Vol. 2, p. 317-318; Diodorus, XXXII, 9c-d; 10; XXXIII.3; Appian, Syr., 67; Justin, XXXV.2; I Mac., 10.51-11.1-9; Josephus, AJ., XIII.4.1-8(80-119); Strabo, XVI.2.8; Justin, XXXV.2.4.

28. **Demetrius II and Tryphon:** CAH^2., Vol. 8, p. 365-368; Will, Vol. 2, p. 340-342; I Mac., 11.20-13; 15.15-24; Josephus, AJ., XIII.5.1-6.7(131-217); BJ., I.2.1-2(48-50); Diodorus, XXXIII.4a; 17; Appian, Syr., 68; Strabo, XVI.2.10. **Demetrius and the Parthians:** CAH^2., Vol. 8,p. 368; Will, Vol. 2, p. 342-344;

Justin, XXXVI.1.2-6: XXXVIII.9.2-3; Appian, Syr., 67; I Mac., 14.1-3; Josephus, AJ., XIII.5.11(184-186). **Antiochus VII and Tryphon:** CAH^2., Vol. 8, p. 368-369; Will, Vol. 2, p. 344-347; I Mac., 15-16; Josephus, AJ, XIII.7(219-228); BJ., I.2.2-5(50-61); Strabo, XIV.5.2; Diodorus, XXIV.1; Appian, Syr., 68.

29. **Antiochus VII and the Jews:** CAH^2., Vol. 8, p. 369-370; Will, Ibid., Josephus, AJ., XIII.8.3(230-248). **Antiochus VII and the Parthians:** CAH^2., Vol. 8, p. 370-373; Will, Vol. 2, p. 347-349; Justin, XXXVIII.9.4-10; 11; XLII, 1; Diodorus, XXIV,15-19; Josephus, AJ., XIII.8.4(249-253); Appian, Syr., 68.

30. **End of the Seleucid Monarchy:** Will, Vol. 2, p. 363-366; 373-385; 414; 423-434; Bellinger(1949), "The End of the Seleucids"; Justin, XXXVIII.9.1; XXXIX.1-3; XL.1-2.5; XLII.2.1-6; Diodorus, XXXIV/V.22; 28; XL.1a-b; Appian, Syr., 48-49; 68-70; Mithridateios, 84-90; 92; 95; 106; Strabo, XI,14.15; XIV.5.2; Josephus, AJ, XIII.9-15.2(254-392); 16.4(419-421); BJ., I.2.6-4(62-106); Plutarch, Lucullus, 3-5; 21-36; Pompey, 39.2; Cassius Dio, XXXVI.17.3; XXXVII.5-7a.

31. The Seleucid Era is abbreviated as SE.

32. See Bickerman(1943),"Notes on Seleucid and Parthian Chronology", Berytus, Vol. 8(1943), p.73.

33. See Bickerman(1943), Ibid, p. 74-76, and Samuel (1972), Greek and Roman Chronology, p.245-246.

34. Samuel(1972), Ibid, p. 245, and Bickerman(1968), Chronology of the Ancient World, p. 71.

35. See Sachs and Wiseman(1954), "A Babylonian King List of the Hellenistic Period", Iraq, Vol. 16(1954), p. 202-211, and, Pritchard(1975), The Ancient Near East Vol. II, p. 119-120.

36. Pritchard(1975), Ibid., p. 118-119.

37. The late A. Sachs with the aid of H. Hunger, has complied, edited, and translated many of these astronomical diaries in Astronomical Diaries and Related Texts from Babylonia . Unfortunately the two volumes that have already come out cover the period from 652-165 only. The diaries containing the events until the Parthian take over have not appeared yet.

38. Sachs and Hunger(1988-1989), vol. 1, p. 36. [END OF NOTES FOR THE INTRODUCTION]

39. Sherwin-White and Kuhrt (1993), From Samarkhand to Sardis, p. 7. The seven modern nations are Turkey, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Kuwait, Iran, and Afghanistan. The four ex-Soviet Republics are Armenia, Tadzhikistan, Uzbekistan, and Turkmenistan.

40. Ibid.

41. Diodorus, XVIII.5-6.

42. Media was divided into two parts: the Seleucid satrapy of Media and the independent kingdom of Media Atropatene.

43. Tarn(1930), Seleucid-Parthian Studies, p. 25.

44. Tarn(1951), The Greeks in Bactria and India^2, p. 3.

45. Ibid., p. 2-3.

46. Tarn(1930), p. 27.

47. Tarn(1951), p. 1.

48. Ibid., p. 2.

49. Appian Syr., 62.328.

50. Tarn(1930), p. 24-33; Ibid.(1951), p. 1-4, 442-445.

51. Bengtson(1964-1967), Die strategie in der hellenistischen Zeit, II, p, 30-38; Musti(1984), p.188.

52. Musti(1984), p. 188.

53. Sherwin-White and Khurt(1993), p. 12.

54. Ibid. The area of this kingdom roughly corresponds to modern Azerbajan which is a modern rendering of Atropates/Atropatene (Ibid.).

55. Seleucid Holdings before Ipsos: CAH^2., Vol 7:1, p. 49; 59-60. Seleucid Holdings After Ipsos: CAH^2., Vol 7:1, p. 60. Seleucid Holdings c. 275: CAH^2., Vol 7:1, p. 113. Celts in Asia Minor: CAH^2., Vol. 7:1, p. 422-425.

56. Rise of Pergamum:CAH^2., Vol. 7:1, p. 426-432. Rise of the Indo-Bactrian Kingdoms: CAH^2., Vol. 7:1, p. 219-220; CAH^2., Vol. 8, p. 394-395. Rise of the Parthian Kingdom: CAH^2., Vol. 7:1, p. 219-220, 429.

57. Antiochus III's *Anabasis*: CAH^2., Vol. 8, p. 249-250. Antiochus III's Take-Over of Coele-Syria: CAH^2., Vol. 8, p. 251-252.

58. Antiochus III's Losses After The War With Rome: CAH^2, Vol. 8, p. 288-289. Seleucid Losses To Parthia: CAH^2., p. 356-373. Rise of The Maccabean Kingdom:CAH, Vol. 8, p. 531-533.

59. Sherwin-White(1987), "Seleucid Babylonia", Hellenism in the East, p. 16.

60. Austin(1981), #141, p. 240-241; Sachs and Hunger (1988-1989), Vol. 1, # -273, p. 336-348.

61. Sachs and Hunger(1988-1989), # -273, 30'-32', p. 345.

62. Sherwin-White(1987), p. 16.

63. This is before Ecbatana was refounded by Antiochus IV Epiphanes as Epiphaneia.

64. van der Spek(1987), "The Babylonian City", in Hellenism in the East, p. 57-59.

65. Nineveh: Herodotus, II.150.2; Babylon: Herodotus, I.178.1; Opis: Xenophon, Anabasis, II.4.25; Ecbatana: Herodotus, III.64.3-5.

66. van der Spek(1987), p. 59.

67. Stephanos Byzantinii, Ethnikon, p. 200. For other cities that Stephanos classifies under this heading see the index on p. 799.

68. John Malalas, The Chronicle, XVII.15(418).

69. Seleucus I Nicator as founder of Seleucia: Strabo, XVI.1.5; Ammianus Marcellinus, XXIII.6.25; Appian,Syr., 58; Pliny the Elder, VI.30; Pausanias, I.16; Tacitus, Annales, VI.42. Seleucia founded on the site of Opis: Strabo, XVI.1.9.

70. Grayson(1975a), Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles, p. 26, 28; Doty(1977), Cuneiform Archives from Hellenistic Uruk, p. 9.

71. Roux(1992), Ancient Iraq^3, p. 415. Roux's date can most definitely be dismissed since he places the foundation date seven years after Seleucus I's death.

72. Tarn(1927), " The Heritage of Alexander", CAH, Vol. 6, p. 492.

73. Kaerst(1926-27), Geschichte des Hellenismus, Vol. 1, p. 27; Newell(1978), The Coinage of the Eastern Seleucid Mints, p. 10-11.

74. Bouché-Leclerq(1914), Histoire des Séleucides, Vol. 2, p. 524; Hadley(1978), " The Foundation Date of Seleucia-On-The-Tigris", Historia, Vol. 27(1978), p. 228-230. Pallis on p. 30 of his book The Antiquity of Iraq, has an interesting theory. He believes that Seleucia-on-the-Tigris was founded at some point between 307 to 300 but did not receive the title of *āl šarrutI* or the city of kingship that is found in the cuneiform documents until 275.

75. Grayson(1975a), "The Chronicle Concerning the Diadochi", Reverse, *ll.* 27-29, p. 118.

76. Grainger(1990), Seleukos Nikator, p. 102.

77. Billows(1990), Antigonos the One-Eyed, p. 242; Grainger(1990), p. 100; van der Spek(1987), p. 66.

78. Sherwin-White(1983a), " Babylonian Chronicle Fragments as a source for Seleucid History", JNES, Vol. 42(1983), p. 270.

79. Bouché-Leclerq(1914), Vol. 2, p. 524-525.

80. Hadley(1978), *passim*.

81. Bosworth(1988), Conquest and Empire: The Reign of Alexander the Great, p. 247-250.

82. For more on this topic see below p. 23 of this thesis.

83. Strabo, XVI.1.5; Pliny the Elder, VI,122.

84. Eddy(1961), p. 115-116.

85. Sherwin-White (1987), p. 18-21.

86. Diodorus, XXXIV/XXXV. 21.

87. Eddy makes the distance between the two cities seem very short. He says "the effects (of the new city) on Babylon *only a few miles away*(italics mine), was literally depopulation", (Eddy[1961], p. 115).

88. Sherwin-White(1987), p. 19.

89. Isidore of Charax, Parthian Stations, I ; Rostovtzeff(1941), The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World, Vol. 1, p. 456, 459, 461-462, Vol. 3, p. 1433, note # 253; Cohen(1978), The Seleucid Colonies, p. 18.

90. Eddy(1961), p. 115.

91. Herodotus, I.107, 132, 140.

92. Pausanias, I.16.3.

93. Hopkins(1972), Topography and Architecture of Seleucia on the Tigris, p. 150.

94. *Pace* Strabo. XVI.I.5. Strabo here says that neither Alexander the Great nor his successors finished the rebuilding of the tomb of Belus, *i.e.*, the Temple of Bel Marduk. This is simply not true. We learn from a cuneiform text of Antiochus I that both the Temple of Marduk and that of Nabû in Borsippa were rebuilt by Antiochus I (see Austin #189, p. 310-311).

95. When the Parthians took over the area they eventually founded a new capital city at Ctesiphon across the Tigris from Seleucia, instead of using the old Seleucid capital.

96. Sherwin-White(1983a), p. 269.

97. Ibid., p. 270.

98. Hopkins(1972), p. 2. Fig. 1; Downey(1988), Mesopotamian Religious Architecture: Alexander Through the Parthians, p. 52, fig. 13.

99. Hopkins(1972), *passim*; Downey(1988), p. 54-62.

100. Invernizzi(1976), "Ten Years' Research in The Al-Mada'in Area, Seleucia and Ctesiphon", Sumer, Vol. 32(1976), p. 169.

101. Hopkins(1972), p. 8-12; Invernizzi(1976), p. 171-172; Downey(1988), p. 52-54.

102. Hopkins(1939), "A Bird's-eye View of Opis and Seleucia", Antiquity, Vol. 13(1939), p. 443.

103. Hopkins(1972), p. 10-12; Downey(1988), p. 52-54.

104. Hopkins(1972), p. 28-117.

105. Ibid., *passim*; Invernizzi(1976), p. 168-169; Downey(1988), p. 62-63.

106. Hopkins(1972), p.1-7.

107. Pliny, VI.305.

108. van der Spek(1987), p. 59.

109. Goossens(1941), "Au Déclin de la Civilisation Babylonienne: Uruk sous les Séleucides", Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres et des Sciences Morales et Politiques de l'Academié Royal Belgique, Vol. 27(1941), #6-9, p. 222.

110. Ibid.; Roux(1992), p. 68-76, 116-121.

111. Goossens(1941), p. 222.

112. Aymard(1938), "Une Ville de la Babylonie Séleucide d' Après les Contracts Cunéiformes", RÉA, Vol. 40(1938), p. 6, note # 6.

113. Rostovtzeff(1932), p. 49.

114. SEG, Vol.7, p. 12, #41.

115. van der Spek(1987), p. 73, note # 29. In this thesis I will follow convention and use Ὄρχοι.

116. Genesis, 10,9-10; Aymard(1938), p. 6, note 6.

117. Ptolemy, The Geography, V.20,7; VII. 20.29.

118. Strabo, XVI.1.6; Pliny the Elder, NH, VI.123 and 130; Rostovtzeff(1932), p. 49.

119. Rostovtzeff(1932), p. 49; Aymard(1938), p. 33; Downey(1988), p. 43.

120. Doty(1977), p. 194.

121. Ibid., p. 195-196; Downey(1988), p. 47.

122. McEwan(1988), "Babylonia in the Hellenistic Period", Klio, Vol. 70(1988), p. 415.

123. See p. 24 of this thesis.

124. Aymard(1938), *passim*; Goossens(1941), *passim*.

125. Rostovtzeff(1932), *passim*.

126. See for example, Clay(1912), Babylonian Business Transactions of the 1st Millennium B.C.; Clay(1913), Legal Documents from Erech dated in the Seleucid Era (312-65 B.C.); Clay(1915), Miscellaneous Inscriptions in the Yale Babylonian Collection; Clay(1923), Epics, Hymns, Omens and Other Texts; Doty(1977), *passim*.

127. Rostovtzeff(1932), *passim*.

128. Haussoullier(1909), "Inscriptions grecques de Babylone", Klio, Bd. 9(1909), p. 362-363, # 3; Clay(1923), p. 54 and Fig. 58; Sherwin-White(1982), "A Greek Ostrakon from Babylon of the Early Third Century B.C.", ZPE, Vol. 47(1982), p. 52. Both Clay and Sherwin-White give the inscription as "Ἀριστέας ὠι ἀλλο ὄνομα Ἀρδιβήλτειος (or Ἀρδυβήλτειος)" which can be translated as " Aristeas whose other name is Ardibelteios". Haussoullier on the other hand gives the inscription as "Ἀριστέας ὠι ἄλλο ὄνομα Ἀρδυβήλ Τέιος" which can be translated as "Aristeas whose other name is Ardu-Bel(or Arad-Bel) the Tean". Clay, although admitting that the provenance of this inscription is unknown, seems to think that it could be from Uruk but gives no reason why he thinks so. Haussoullier, on the other hand, firmly believes that it is from Babylon giving no reasons for his belief.

129. Sherwin-White and Kuhrt(1993), p. 149-161.

130. Ibid.

131. Rostovtzeff(1932), p. 6; Downey(1988), p. 42-44.

132. Rostovtzeff(1932), p. 90.

133. van der Spek(1987), p. 72.

134. McEwan(1988), *passim*.

135. Ibid., p. 413.

136. Ibid., p. 413-414.

137. van der Spek(1987), p. 72.

138. Ibid., p. 74.

139. Downey(1988), p. 46.

140. Ibid., p. 47.

141. Aymard(1938), p. 33-34.

142. Sherwin-White(1982), "A Greek ostrakon from Babylon of the early third century B.C.", ZPE, Vol. 47(1982), p. 64.

143. Ibid., *passim*.

144. Haussouillier(1909), p. 352-362. Although this inscription dates from the Parthian period it is used to prove that a Greek *gymnasion* must have been built at some time before the Parthian conquest.

145. Also known as OGIS, # 253.

146. Ethnikon, p. 154.

147. Sherwin-White(1982), p. 67-70.

148. Such cities are Susa refounded as Seleucia-Eulaeus (Sherwin-White [1982], p. 66); Ecbatana refounded as Epiphaneia (van der Spek[1987], p. 59); or Jerusalem refounded as an Antioch (II Mac., 4.9,19).

149. Sherwin-White(1982), p. 66-67; Ibid. (1987), p. 20-21; van der Spek(1987), p. 66-70.

150. van der Spek(1987), p. 68.

151. Sherwin-White(1982)p. 67; Ibid.(1987), p. 21.

152. Fraser(1972), Ptolemaic Alexandria, Vol. 1, p. 54-58.

153. Sherwin-White(1982), *passim*.

154. Ibid., p. 55. See Sherwin-White and Kuhrt(1993), Plate # 6 for a photograph of the ostrakon.

155. Translation my own.

156. Sherwin-White(1982), p. 61-70.

157. van der Spek(1987), p. 68.

158. Ibid., p. 69.

159. Ibid., p. 65.

160. Sherwin-White(1987), p. 20.

161. Bickerman(1938), p. 53-54.

162. Tarn(1951), p. 187-188; Rostovtzeff(1928), CAH, Vol. 7, p. 188; Mørkholm(1966), Antiochus IV of Syria, p. 117-118; van der Spek(1987), p. 66-70.

163. Translation my own. For other translations see Burstein(1985), # 41, p. 55-56; and Sherwin-White and Kuhrt(1993), p. 157 and plate # 7 for a photograph of the inscription.

164. Sherwin-White(1982), p. 65.

165. Haussoullier(1901), "Les Séleucides et le temple d'Apollon Didyméen", Revue Philologique, Vol. 25(1901), p. 40-42.

166. Sherwin-White(1987), p. 67.

167. van der Spek(1987), p. 67.

168. SEG, Vol. 26(1976-1977), # 1624, *l.* 2-3.

169. van der Spek(1987), p. 68; Pinches(1901), The Old Testament in Light of the Historical Records and Legends of Assyria and Babylonia, p. 480-481.

170. van der Spek(1987), p. 67-68.

171. Ibid., p. 66, 69-70.

172. "Δρόμωνα Φανοδήμου Βαβυλώνιον πρόξενον(SIC) καὶ εὐεργέτη[ν]/ [εἶναι τῆς] πόλεως Ἀνδρίων", IG, XII(5), # 715, *ll.* 4-5.

173. van der Spek(1987), p. 69. **[END OF NOTES FOR CHAPTER 1]**

174. Murray(1993), Early Greece^2, p. 102.

175. Ibid.

176. Bury and Meiggs(1975), A History of Greece[4], p. 70-71.

177. Murray(1993),p. 102.

178. Griffith(1968), The Mercenaries of the Hellenistic World, p. 149-151.

179. Bikerman(1938), p. 78-79.

180. Tarn and Griffith(1952), Hellenistic Civilisation[3], p. 146.

181. Ibid.

182. Griffith(1968), p. 156-157.

183. Ibid., p. 157-159. A translation of this document can be found in Austin(1981), #179, p. 292.

184. Austin(1981), Ibid.

185. Ibid.

186. Griffith(1968), p. 159.

187. Tarn and Griffith(1952), p. 146.

188. CAH., Vol. 7, p. 171. A translation of the Smyrna inscription can be found in Austin(1981), #182, p. 297-302 and Bagnall and Derow(1981), #29, p. 53-58. A translation of the Mnesimachus inscription can be found in Austin(1981), #181, p. 295-296.

189. Cohen(1978), p. 47-48. The difference between an *οἰκία* and an *οἰκόπεδον* is that an *οἰκία* was an actual house, while an *οἰκόπεδον* was only a plot of land where the colonist would have been required to build the house for himself.

190. Ibid., p. 48-50; Tarn and Griffith(1952), p. 146.

191. Cohen(1978), p. 50.

192. Tarn and Griffith(1952), p. 146; Cohen(1978), p. 9-11, 29-33. There are several sources of evidence for Macedonian colonists. The literary evidence for colonists, especially Macedonian ones, is spread over the whole Seleucid kingdom, while epigraphy and numismatics show that in general Macedonians were largely in western Asia Minor.

193. Josephus, AJ., XII.3.4(147-153); Cohen(1978), p. 5-9.

194. Cohen(1978), *passim*.

195. SEG, Vol. 7(1933), # 13, p. 6-7. This poem inscribed on stone dates to the Parthian period, A.D. 2, but it is used to show that earlier under the Seleucids a garrison was set up at Susa and there were κλῆροι in exchange for services (Griffith[1968], p. 160-161).

196. Pages 46-52 of this thesis.

197. Cohen(1978), p. 29.

198. Ibid.

199. Appian, Syr. 1; Livy, XXXIII.38.

200. Strabo, XII.8.14.

201. OGIS, 233,*l*. 11; Austin(1981), # 190, p. 311-313.

202. OGIS, 229; Austin(1981), # 182, p. 297-303; Bagnall and Derow(1981), # 29, p. 53-58.

203. Griffith(1968), p. 154-156.

204. Cohen(1978), p. 60-63.

205. Griffith(1968), p. 154.

206. The lack of evidence is another reason why only military colonies are found in Mesopotamia. All of the evidence that has been found so far is that of military colonies only.

207. Perkins(1973), The Art of Dura-Europos, p. 3; Rostovtzeff(1941), Vol. 1, p. 484.

208. Perkins(1973), p. 3-4.

209. Hopkins(1979), The Discovery of Dura-Europos, p. 252.

210. This area was know as Parapotamia by the time of the accession of Antiochus III (Sherwin-White and Kuhrt[1993], p. 44.)

211. Sherwin-White and Kuhrt(1993), p.44. Roux mentions the fact that the site of Mari was reoccupied in the Seleucid Period (Roux[1992], p. 416, 495, note # 25).

212. Matheson(1982), Dura-Europos, p. 1; Perkins(1973), p. 4.

213. Grainger(1990), p. 99; Matheson(1982), p. 1. A date around 300 is best since it was at this time that the area of northern Mesopotamia was securely in the hand of Seleucus following the Battle of Ipsos (See Map 2).

214. Isidore of Charax, Parthian Stations, 1; Grainger(1990), p. 95-99; Hopkins(1979), p. 251; Matheson(1982), p. 1-3; Perkins(1973), p. 4; Rostovtzeff(1941), Vol. 1, p. 476, 483, Vol. 3, p. 1436, note # 263.

215. Appian, Syr. 55; Grainger(1990), p. 96.

216. Grainger is able to postulate this theory by assuming that Appian may be wrong about Nikanor's death in 311.

217. Grainger(1990), p. 96-97.

218. Ibid., p. 97-98.

219. Rostovtzeff(1941), Vol. 1, p. 476. Rostovtzeff seems to base his argument on the fact that the name of the founder of Dura-Europos was the same as a supposed nephew of Seleucus I, who was one of the two regents of the East according to John Malalas.

220. Malalas, VIII.11(198).

221. Grainger(1990), p. 3.

222. Ibid., p. 3-4.

223. Perkins(1973), p. 4.

224. Rostovtzeff(1941), Vol. 1, p. 424. For illustration of this relief see Hopkins(1979), p. 220; Matheson(1982), p. 2; Fig. 3; Perkins(1973), Plate # 32; Rostovtzeff(1941), Plate # LI, 2.

225. Grainger(1990), p. 96.

226. Ibid.

227. The Assyrian Dictionary, Vol. 3, *s.v.*, *dūru* A, p. 192-197.

228. Grainger(1990), p. 4-5, 97-98; Hopkins(1979), p. 251; Matheson(1982), p. 3; Perkins(1973), p.4; Rostovtzeff(1941), Vol. 1, p. 483.

229. Matheson(1982), p. 3.

230. The Hippodamian plan was a system of town planning, in which the 'streets' and 'avenues' were laid down at right angles and parallel to each other like the rows and columns of a checkerboard. This system was supposedly invented by Hippodamus of Miletus.

231. Rostovtzeff(1941), Vol. 1, p. 485.

232. Artemis-Nanaia was a syncretism of the Anatolian Artemis found at Ephesus and Sardis and of the Mesopotamian fertility goddess Nanaya. See Black and Green(1992), Gods, Demons and Symbols of Ancient Mesopotamia, *s.v.*, Nanaya, p. 134.

233. Matheson(1982), 6-8.

234. Ibid., p. 8.

235. Rostovtzeff(1941), Vol. 1, p. 487.

236. Griffith(1968), p. 156-157.

237. Cohen(1978), p. 45.

238. Rostovtzeff(1941), Vol. 1, p. 488.

239. The term πόλις refers to the area of the settlement inside the walls of Dura-Europos. Ἔκδο and village are terms used to describe how the κλῆροι were grouped in the country.

240. Rostovtzeff(1941), Vol. 1, p. 485-486.

241. Cohen(1978), p. 83.

242. Rostovtzeff(1941), Vol 1, p. 487.

243. Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 486. Rostovtzeff does not mention where he found the evidence for the presence of a βουλή in Roman Dura-Europos.

244. Ibid. [END OF NOTES FOR CHAPTER 2]

245. Bickerman(1938), p. 199.

246. Grayson(1975a), # 10, obv. *l.* 3, p. 115 with note on *l.* 3.

247. McEwan(1988), p. 416. Grayson(1975a), *loc. sit.*, says that *aḫšadrapan(n)u* was a loan word used to translate the Persian term *khshathrapavan*.

248. Sherwin-White and Kuhrt(1993), p. 46-48; Sherwin-White(1987), p. 22-23.

249. Diodotus: CAH², Vol. 8, p. 393-397; Justin, XLI.4. Molon and Alexander: CAH², Vol. 7[illegible], p. 434; Polybius V.40-54. Timarchus: CAH², Vol. 8, p. 356-358; Diodorus, XXXI.27a; Appian, Syr., 47; Pompeius Trogus Prologus, 34.

250. Pliny, NH., VI.139.

251. Bellinger(1942), " Hyspaosines of Charax", YCS, Vol. 8(1942), p. 53-67.

252. Ibid., p. 64 for a family tree that explains these family relations. If Hyspaosines was a relation of the Seleucids this might explain how he became satrap of Mesene in the first place.

253. Bellinger(1942), p. 55.

254. Ibid., p. 63.

255. Ibid., p. 67.

256. McEwan(1988), p. 116; van der Spek(1987), p. 63-64.

257. McEwan(1988), Ibid.; Doty(1977), p. 24-25.

258. Welles(1966), Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period, # 45, p. 186-188; Austin(1981), # 176, p. 289-290.

259. Rostovtzeff(1941), Vol. 1, p. 527.

260. Grayson(1975a), # 13, obv., *l.* 5, p. 123; Polybius, V.48.12.

261. Rostovtzeff(1941), Vol. 1, p. 486.

262. van der Spek(1987), p. 63. In the cuneiform documents cited by van der Spek the Babylonian term *paḫatu* is used for the Greek ἐπιστάτης.

263. Doty(1977), p. 24-25. In Uruk the Babylonian term *šaknu* seems to have been used for the Greek ἐπιστάτης.

264. Clay(1915), # 52, p. 81-84 and plate # XXXIX.

265. Clay(1915), Ibid, p. 83, *l.* 2.

266. Doty(1977), p. 21-22, 24-25, 351 note# 56, 352-353 note # 69.

267. It was bought at the same time as OGIS 253 (Sherwin-White and Kuhrt[1993], p. 157 and plate # 8).

268. OGIS 254, *ll.* 3-4. The whole inscription runs:'Η πόλις / Δημοκράτην Βυττάκου,/ τὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ ἐπιστά/την τῆς πόλεως, τεταγμέ//νον δὲ καὶ ἐπι τῶν ἀκρο/φυλακίων, καλοκάγαθίας/ἕνεκεν. It can be translated as: The city has appointed Democrates the son of Byttakos *stratēgos* and *epistatēs* of the city and also citadel commander on account of his nobleness. (Translation my own).

269. Bickerman(1938), p. 54.

270. Sherwin-White(1987), p. 23.

271. OGIS 245, *ll.* 5-6.

272. Rostovtzeff(1941), Vol. 2, p. 856-857.

273. Garyson(1975a), # 13b, *l.* 9, p. 283.

274. Rostovtzeff(1941), Vol. 1, p. 506; Vol. 2, p. 522, 857.

275. Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 486.

276. van der Spek(1987), p. 63.

277. Sherwin-White(1983a), p. 269.

278. van der Spek(1987), p. 61-63.

279. Welles(1966), # 45, p. 186-188; Austin(1981), # 176, p. 289-290.

280. [Aristotle], The Athenian Constitution, 51.1. Translated by P.J. Rhodes.

281. Ibid., 51.2.

282. Rostovtzeff(1941), Vol. 1, p. 451-455, with plates # LIV-LV. It is interesting to note that on a weight from Seleucia-on-the-Tigris the chief of police, known as the παραφύλαξ, was in charge of the regulation of weights and measures (Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 451; Vol. 3, p. 1431, note # 250).

283. Ibid, Vol. 1, p. 486.

284. Ibid., Vol. 1 p. 451.

285. Murray(1995), "Forms of Sociality", The Greeks, p. 254.

286. SEG, Vol. 7(1934), # 3, p. 3; Rostovtzeff(1941), Vol. 2, p. 858; Vol.3, p. 1536, note # 140.

287. Haussoullier(1909), p. 352-362.

288. All that survives of the name and title in line 4 of the inscription is "γυμνασιαρχοῦντος Πηλ...".

289. Bickerman(1938), p. 209.

290. McEwan(1988), p. 417.

291. Sherwin-White and Kuhrt(1993), p. 47.

292. McEwan(1988), p. 416-418.

293. Doty(1977), p. 317.

294. Rostovtzeff(1932), p. 60.

295. Ibid., p. 62-63.

296. Ibid., *passim*.

297. Ibid., p. 24.

298. Doty(1979), "An Official Seal of the Seleucid Period", JNES, Vol. 38(1979), p. 195-197.

299. Doty(1979), p. 196; McEwan(1982), "An Official Seleucid Seal Reconsidered", JNES, Vol. 41(1982), p. 51.299.

300. Doty(1979), p. 196-197.

301. McEwan(1982), p. 51-53. McEwan gives, in my opinion, the correct reading, since his arguments for reading *σύμβολον* are much more convincing then Doty's in favor of *χρεοφύλαξ*.

302. Rostovtzeff(1932), p. 70-71.

303. This word is a loanword that derives from Median through Old Persian (McEwan[1981], Priest and Temple in Hellenistic Babylonia, p. 34).

304. Ibid., p. 35.

305. Ibid.

306. Ibid., p. 64.

307. That is before the Greek cults and deities were syncretized with native cults and deities.

308. Rostovtzeff(1941), Vol. 1, p. 431, 434; Vol. 3, p. 1426 note # 231. Sherwin-White, in her 1983 article "Ritual for a Seleucid king at Babylon", JHS, Vol. 103(1983), p. 156-159, is right in seeing a ritual performed at Babylon for King Seleucus and his sons other than as evidence of the State-run ruler-cult. She see the ritual as "a royal offering of some type, or an offering and/or prayers made 'for the life of the king and his sons' in a traditional Babylonian style" (Sherwin-White[1983b], p. 159).

309. Unfortunately most of our evidence for native religious officials comes only from Babylon and Uruk.

310. McEwan(1981), p. 25-26; van der Spek(1987), p. 61-63.

311. McEwan(1981), p. 26.

312. van der Spek(1987), p. 70-72. Doty states that the exact meaning of the term *rab*(û) *ša-rēš āli* is not certain. All that can be deduced is that the holder of this title held an important position in the city administration of Uruk (Doty[1977], p. 22-25).

313. Downey(1988), p. 20-22, 24-28, 31.

314. Rostovtzeff(1932), p. 6.

315. Clay(1915), #52, p. 83, *l.* 2.

316. Doty(1977), p. 21-25, 351 note # 56, 352-353 note # 69.

317. McEwan(1981), p. 7-8.

318. Ibid., p. 15-21.

319. Ibid., p. 16.

320. Strabo, XVI.1.6; Pliny the Elder, NH., VI.123.

321. McEwan(1981), p. 21-24.

322. Oppenheim(1977), Ancient Mesopotamia: Portrait of a Dead Civilization[2], p. 180.

323. McEwan(1981), p. 27-32.

324. Ibid., p. 11-14.

325. Ibid., p. 36-40.

326. Ibid., p. 48-53.

327. Ibid., p. 57-58.

328. Ibid., p. 40-48.

329. Ibid., p. 54-57.

330. Ibid., p. 58-60. [END OF NOTES FOR CHAPTER 3]

331. Berossos is author number 680 in Jacoby's Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker, Vol. 3C1, here abbreviated as FGrH, 3C1, # 680. The only English translation of the fragments of Berossos is Burstein(1978), The Babyloniaca of Berossus.

332. Komoróczy on p. 125 of his 1973 article, "Berosos and the(*sic.*) Mesopotamian Literature", Acta Antiqua, Vol 21(1973), believes that Berossos' name to be derived from the Babylonian **Bēl-rē'ûšu* which can be translated as 'Bēl is his shepherd'.

333. FGrH, 3C1, # 680, T. 2.

334. FGrH, 3C1, # 680, F. 1=Burstein(1978), Book 1.2.1-4.

335. Burstein(1978), p. 14, note # 10; Komoróczy(1973), p. 131-133.

336. FGrH, 3C1, # 680, F. 3=Burstein(1978), Book 2.1.1-11. The Sumerian origin of Berossos' Antediluvian kings: Burstein(1978), p. 18-19, notes # 26-47; Jacobsen(1939), The Sumerian King List, p. 70-76, notes #5-6, 10-11, 17-22, 24-28, 30, 32-34.

337. FGrH, 3C1, # 680, F. 4=Burstein(1978), Book 2.2.1-4.

338. Burstein(1978), p. 19 notes # 47-48; Komoróczy(1973), p. 136-139.

339. Drews(1975), "The Babylonian Chronicles and Berossus", Iraq, Vol. 37(1975), p. 39-55, esp. p. 50-55.

340. Sherwin-White and Kuhrt(1993), p. 148.

341. Eddy(1961), p. 125-126.

342. Burstein(1978), p. 5.

343. Kuhrt(1987), "Berossus' *Babyloniaka* and Seleucid Rule in Babylonia", Hellenism in the East, p. 55-56.

344. Ibid., p. 56.

345. Ibid., p. 54.

346. Murray(1972), "Herodotus and Hellenistic Culture", CQ, Vol. 66(1972), p. 208.

347. Murray(1970), "Hecataeus of Abdera and Pharaonic Kingship", JEA, Vol. 56(1970), *passim*.

348. Sesoösis is more commonly known as Sesostris. See Herodotus, II.102-110.

349. Kuhrt(1987), p. 56.

350. Sherwin-White(1983c), "Aristeas Ardibelteios: Some Aspects of the Use of Double Names in Seleucid Babylonia", ZPE, Vol. 50(1983), p. 214-215; Sherwin-White and Kuhrt(1993), p. 150-151.

351. Sherwin-White and Kuhrt(1993), p. 151.

352. For a list of the various Greek names found in the cuneiform documents see Bowman(1939), "Anu-Uballiṭ-Kefalon (*sic.*)", The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures, Vol. 56(1939), p. 235-242 and Zadok(1979), "On Some Non-Semitic Names in Cuneiform Sources", Beiträge Zur Namenforschung, N.F., Bd. 14(1979), p. 294-301.

353. Sherwin-White(1983c), *passim*. For the text, translation, and a discussion of this inscription see note # 128 of this thesis. 353.

354. Ibid., p. 216.

355. See for example the case of the Patriarch Joseph receiving an Egyptian name from Pharaoh in Genesis, 41:45, and the case of Daniel and other members of the royalty and nobility of Judah receiving new Babylonian names from the chief eunuch of King Nebuchadnezzar II in Daniel, 1:7.

356. Sherwin-White(1983c), p. 214-215; Sherwin-White and Kuhrt(1993), p. 150. It should be mentioned that in their reference to the Genesis passage mentioned in note # 352, Sherwin-White and Kuhrt give the wrong chapter number, giving 46:45 instead of 41:45.

357. Clay(1915), # 52, p. 81-83.

358. See the family tree on p. 243 of Bowman's 1939 article.

359. Sherwin-White(1983c), p. 217-218. Sherwin-White made a error in this section of her article by claiming that Sarkisian on p. 498-499 his 1974 article "Greek Personal Names in Uruk and the *Graeco-Babyloniaca* Problem" found in Acta Antiqua, Vol. 22, corrected Bowman's statement that Anu-uballiṭ-Kephalon was the grandson of Anu-uballiṭ-Nikarchos. Although Sarkisian does mention that there is no proof of this relationship between these two men, he does not mention that this idea came from Bowman. In fact Bowman himself believes that the two men were cousins, not grandfather and grandson (See Bowman[1939] p. 234 and p. 243).

360. Sherwin-White(1983c), p. 217-218.

361. Sarkisian(1974), *passim*.

362. Sherwin-White(1983c), p. 217.

363. Pinches(1902), "Greek Transcriptions of Babylonian Tablets", PSBA, Vol. 24(1902), p. 108-119; Sayce(1902), "The Greeks in Babylonia: The Graeco-Cuneiform Texts", Ibid., p. 120-125; Burkitt(1902), "Notes on 'Greek Transcriptions of Babylonian Tablets' ", Ibid., p. 143-145.

364. See for example Sollberger(1962), "Graeco-Babyloniaca", Iraq, Vol. 24(1962), p. 63-72; Geller(1983), "More Graeco-Babyloniaca", ZAV, Vol. 73(1983), p. 114-120; and Black and Sherwin-White(1984), "A Clay Tablet with Greek Letters in the Ashmolean Museum, and the 'Graeco-Babyloniaca' Texts", Iraq, Vol. 46(1984), p. 131-140.

365. Sollberger(1962), A1-A2, p. 64-65; A4-A5, p. 66-67; B2-B3, p. 69-71; C1, p. 71; Geller(1983), *passim*.

366. Sollberger(1962), B4, p. 71.

367. Sollberger(1962), A3, p. 65; B1, p. 67-69; C2-C5, p. 71-72.

368. Black and Sherwin-White(1984), *passim*.

369. Ibid., p. 135-138, especially p. 137-138.

370. Ibid., p. 135.

371. Pinches(1902), p. 113 and the third note on this page; Burkitt(1902), p. 144-145; Sollberger(1962), p. 63.

372. Black and Sherwin-White(1984), p. 138-139.

373. Momigliano(1975), Alien Wisdom: The Limits of Hellenization, *passim*.

374. Black and Sherwin-White(1984), p. 138-139. Both Sayce(1902), p. 125, and Geller(1983), p. 118-119 keep the question open and do not give a definite answer either way.

375. Black and Sherwin-White(1984), p. 139.

376. Pinches(1902), p. 113, third note on page.

377. Black and Green(1992), *s.v.*, Ezida, p. 80.

378. Austin(1981), #189, p. 310-311; Kuhrt and Sherwin-White(1991), "Aspects of Seleucid Royal Ideology: The Cylinder of Antiochus I From Borsippa", JHS, Vol. 111(1991), p. 71-86, and plate # II.

379. Kuhrt and Sherwin-White(1991), p. 73-74.

380. Ibid., p. 78.

381. Ibid., *passim*.

382. Ibid., p. 79-81.

383. Rostovtzeff(1941), Vol. 3, p. 1427, note # 234.

384. Downey(1988), p. 7-13; Kuhrt and Sherwin-White(1991), p. 81-82.

385. Downey(1988), p. 17-38.

386. Kuhrt and Sherwin-White(1991), p. 85.

387. Ibid.

388. The same concern for native religion is seen in Cyrus the Great. See Pritchard(1969), Ancient Near Eastern Texts[3], p. 315-316.

389. Ibid., p. 81.

390. Bickerman(1938), p. 123-124.

391. Josephus, AJ., XII.3.3-4(138-146); I Mac., 10.44; II Mac., 3.3.

392. [Lucian], De Dea Syria, 17.19.

393. OGIS # 214; Burstein(1985), # 9, p. 11-12; Welles(1966), # 5, p. 33-40.

394. See Downey(1988), *passim*.

395. Ibid., p. 7-14.

396. Ibid., p. 15.

397. Ibid., p. 17-42.

398. Ibid., p. 51-63; Hopkins(1972), *passim*.

399. Downey(1988), p. 76-86.

400. Ibid., p. 76-79.

401. Ibid., p. 79-86.

402. Doty(1977), p. 51.

403. Ibid.

404. Ibid., p. 333.

405. Clay(1923), # 8, p. 22-24; # 10, p. 29-30.

406. Ibid., # 9, p. 24-29; # 11, p. 30; Pinches(1903), p. 477-478.

407. Clay(1923), # 12-13, p. 30-37.

408. Ibid., # 6-7, p. 12-22; Pritchard(1969), p. 338-345.

409. Grayson(1975b), Babylonian Historical-Literary Texts, p. 13.

410. For a translation see Lichtheim(1973), Ancient Egyptian Literature, Vol. I: The Old and Middle Kingdoms, p. 149-163.

411. For a translation see Ibid., p. 139-145.

412. For a translation see Burstein(1985), # 106, p. 136-139.

413. Ringgren(1983), "Akkadian Apocalypses", Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East², p. 379-383.

414. For the text, transliteration, and translation see Grayson(1975b), p. 28-37.

415. Ibid., p. 24-29.

416. Sherwin-White(1987), p. 10.

417. Ibid., p. 11.

418. Grayson(1975b), p. 17.

419. The Sibylline Oracles, III, *11*. 381-387. A translation of the Sibylline Oracles can be found in The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, Vol I: Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments, p. 317-472.

420. Grayson(1975b), p. 17-19.

421. Ringgren(1983), p. 385.

422. Sherwin-White(1987), p. 11. Ringgren sees the text not as being critical of the rule of Antigonus but of the Seleucids (Ringgren[1983], p. 383, 385).

423. Sherwin-White and Kuhrt(1993), p. 9.

424. Grayson(1975a), p. 23.

425. Ibid., p. 10. It is interesting to note that Berossos' account of Babylonian history becomes fuller after the reign of Nabu-naṣir (FGrH, 3C1, # 680, F. 3, 16=Burstein(1978), 2.5.1-2, and notes # 66-67).

426. Grayson(1975a), # 8, p. 112-113.

427. Ibid., p.22.

428. Ibid., Chronicles: # 8-13, p. 112-123; Fragments: # 13a-13b, p. 124, 283-284.

429. Ibid., p. 9.

430. Ibid., p. 22-23.

431. Jacobsen(1939), *passim*; Pritchard(1969), p. 265-266.

432. Pritchard(1969), p. 271-272, 564-566.

433. Ibid.(1975), p. 118-120.

434. There is a break in the text between Darius I and another ruler who had as a second name Nindin-Bel. After this ruler the list continues on with King Darius III and the Macedonian kings.

435. Pritchard(1975), p. 119, rev., *l.* 5.

436. Sachs and Wiseman(1954), "A Babylonian King List of the Hellenistic Period", Iraq, Vol. 16(1954), p. 204.

437. For other translations see Austin(1981), #138, p. 236-237 and Pritchard(1975), p. 119-120.

438. Sachs and Wiseman(1954), p. 202.

439. Ibid., p. 209.

440. Aymard(1955), "Du Nouveau sur la Chronologie des Seleucides", RÉA, Vol. 57(1955), p. 102, note # 2.

441. Sachs and Wiseman(1954), p. 202-203.

442. McEwan(1981), p. 161.

443. Ibid., p. 163-164.

444. Ibid., p. 162, 165, 166-169.

445. Ibid., p. 160.

446. Ibid., p. 178-179.

447. Ibid., p. 179-180.

448. Pritchard(1969), p. 339-342.

449. Clay(1923), # 6, p. 12-17. [END OF NOTES FOR CHAPTER 4]

450. Rostovtzeff(1932), p. 90.

451. Native influence on Religion and Architecture: Downey(1988), *passim*; Political Institutions: Rostovtzeff(1941), Vol. 1, p. 482-489; Vol. 2, p. 856-858; Vol. 3, p. 1438, note # 269, p. 1537, note # 139.

452. Aymard(1938), p. 32-34; Downey(1988), p. 42-47; van der Spek(1987), p. 72-74.

453. Sherwin-White(1982), p. 67; Ibid.(1987), p. 21.

454. Rostovtzeff(1932), p. 90; Sarkisian(1974), *passim*.

455. Sherwin-White and Kuhrt(1993), p. 152-153.

456. Eddy(1961), p. 101-115.

457. Ibid., p. 115.

458. Pinches(1903), p. 476.

459. Ibid., Italics my own.

460. Eddy(1961), p. 120.

461. Austin(1981), # 141, p. 240-241.

462. Grayson(1975b), p. 19, note # 29.

463. Eddy(1961), p. 121-125.

464. Grayson(1975b), p. 19, note # 29.

465. Eddy(1961), p. 127.

466. The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, Vol. 1, p. 359.

467. Pinches(1903), p. 480-481, 553.

468. Eddy(1961), p. 135-136.

469. Unfortunately there is no commentary attached to the translation of Sachs and Hunger, so we do not know what they thought about Eddy's reconstruction.

470. Sachs and Hunger(1988-1989), Vol. 2, # -168, Obv. *1*. A15, p. 471.

471. Ibid., Rev. //. A 12'- A 14', p. 477.

472. Ibid., *11*. A 15'- A 18', p. 477.

473. Eddy(1961), p. 128.

474. Strabo, XVI.2.4-10; Seyrig(1970), "Séleucus I et la fondation de la monarchie Syrienne", Syria, Vol. 48(1970), p. 299-300. The area of Seleucis is also known as the Syrian Tetrapolis, which got its name from the four sister cities of Antioch-on-the-Orontes, Seleucia-in-Pieria, Laodicea-by-the-Sea, and Apamea-on-the-Orontes.

475. Seyrig(1970), p. 290.

476. Millar(1987), "The Problem of Hellenistic Syria", in Hellenism in the East, p. 130.

477. Bowman(1989), Egypt after the Pharaohs, p. 122, 209-212.

478. CAH², Vol. 8, p. 388.

479. Ibid., p. 415.

480. Ibid., p. 389-394.

481. Ibid., p. 394-415; Narain(1957), The Indo-Greeks, *passim*; Tarn(1951), *passim*.

482. Downey(1988), p. 63-76.

483. CAH², Vol. 8, p. 407 with note #107, 411; Narain(1957), p. 97-99.

484. The Persians were also of Indo-European stock, but they resented the fact that they, who were once masters of the world, were now forced to be the subjects of others. **[END OF NOTES FOR THE CONCLUSION]**

Table 1: A Seleucid King List[1]

305-281	Seleucus I Nicator (Satrap of Babylonia from 321-315, 312-305. He took up the title of βασιλεύς in 305.)
281-261	Antiochus I Soter (son, co-regent from 292-281)
261-246	Antiochus II Theos (son, co-regent from 266-261[2])
246-226/5	Seleucus II Callinicus (son)
226/5-223	Seleucus III Soter Ceraunus (son)
223-187	Antiochus III Megas (brother)
187-175	Seleucus IV Philopator (son, co-regent from 189-187[3])
175-164	Antiochus IV Epiphanes (brother[4])
164-162	Antiochus V Eupator (son, co-regent from 165-164)
162-150	Demetrius I Soter (cousin, son of Seleucus IV)
150-145	Alexander I Theopator Euergetes Balas (Pretended son of Antiochus IV)
145-142 or 139/8	Antiochus VI Epiphanes Dionysus (son)
142-138	Tryphon (Diodotus) (usurper)
145-140/39	Demetrius II Nicator (son of Demetrius I, captured by the Parthians)
139/8-129	Antiochus VII Euergetes Sidetes (brother)
129-126/5	Demetrius II Nicator (for the second time)
128-122[5]	Alexander II Zabinas (pretended son of Alexander I)
126/5-123[6]	Cleopatra Thea (Daughter of Ptolemy VI of Egypt)
126/5	Seleucus V (son of Cleopatra Thea and Demetrius II)

126/5-96	Antiochus VIII Philometor Grypus (brother)
115/4-95	Antiochus IX Philopator Cyzicenus (son of Cleopatra Thea and Antiochus VII)
95[7]	Seleucus VI Epiphanes Nicator (son of Antiochus VIII)
95[8]	Antiochus X Eusebes Philopator (son of Antiochus IX)
95-88	Demetrius III Philopator Soter Eucaerus (king at Damascus, son of Antiochus VII)
95	Antiochus XI Epiphanes Philadelphus (king in Cilicia, brother)
95-84/3	Philip I Epiphanes Philadelphus (king in Cilicia, twin brother)
87[9]	Antiochus XII Dionysus (king at Damascus, brother)
c. 95-55	Tigranes Megas (king of Armenia)
84/3[10]	Philip II Philorhomaus (son of Philip I)
69-64	Antiochus XIII Philadelphus Asiaticus (son of Antiochus X)

1. Based on the king lists in the CAH^2, Vol. 7:1, p. 482, Morby(1989), p. 33-34, and Green(1990), p. 734-735.

2. Antiochus II's older brother, Seleucus, was co-regent from 280-267 but he predeceased his father.

3. Seleucus IV's older brother, Antiochus, acted as co-regent from 210-193 but he predeceased his father.

4. The son of Seleucus IV, Antiochus, was co-regent from 175-170.

5. Green gives the dates of 128-123 for Alexander II.

6. Morby gives the dates for Cleopatra Thea as 125-120.

7. Morby and Green give the dates for Seleucus VI as 96-95.

8. Morby gives Antiochus X's dates as 95-83 while Green gives them as 95-*c.* 90/88.

9. Morby gives the dates for Antiochus XII as 87-84 while Green gives them as ca. 86-85.

10.Morby gives the dates of Philip II as 69-64 while Green gives them as 66?-63.

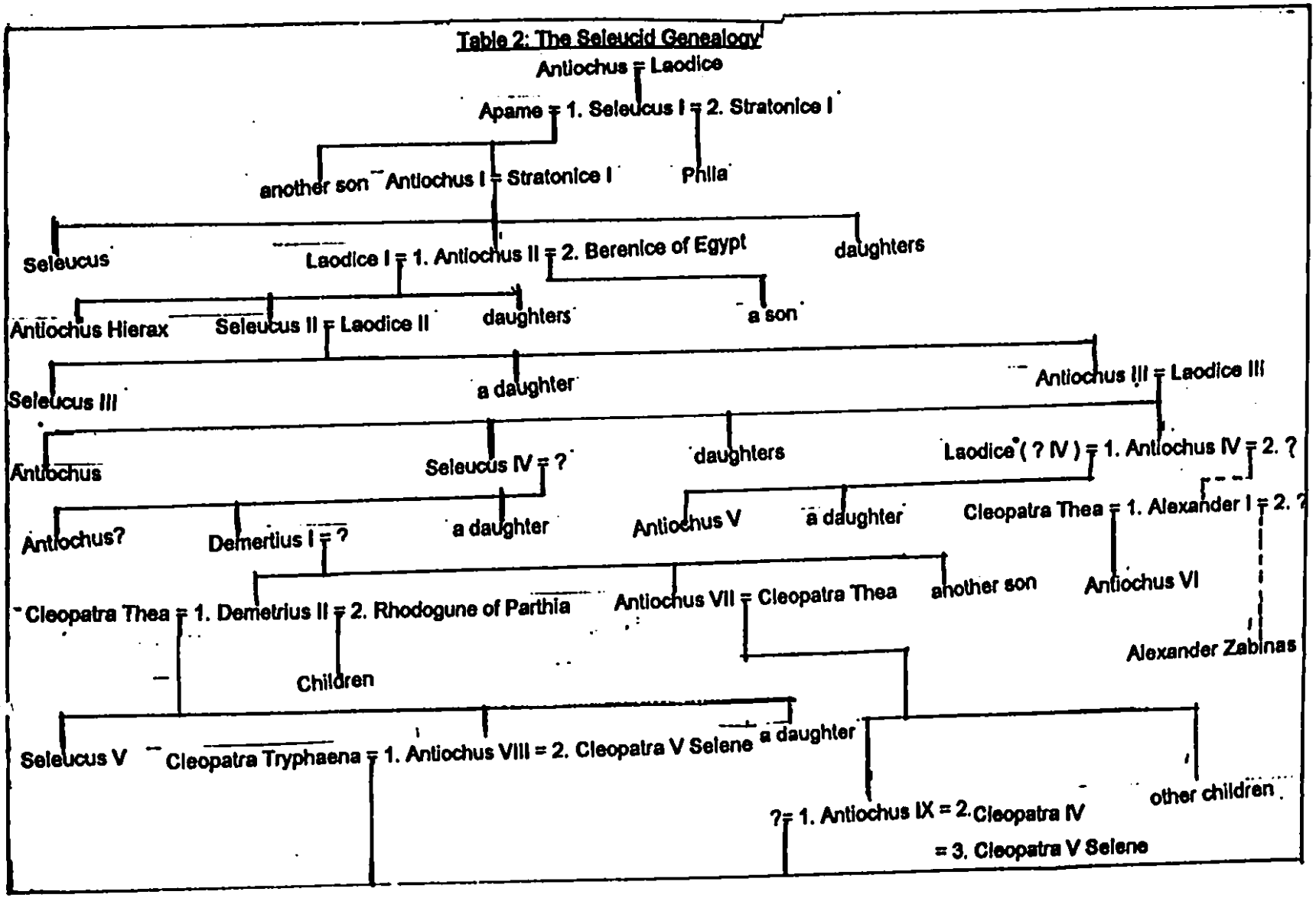
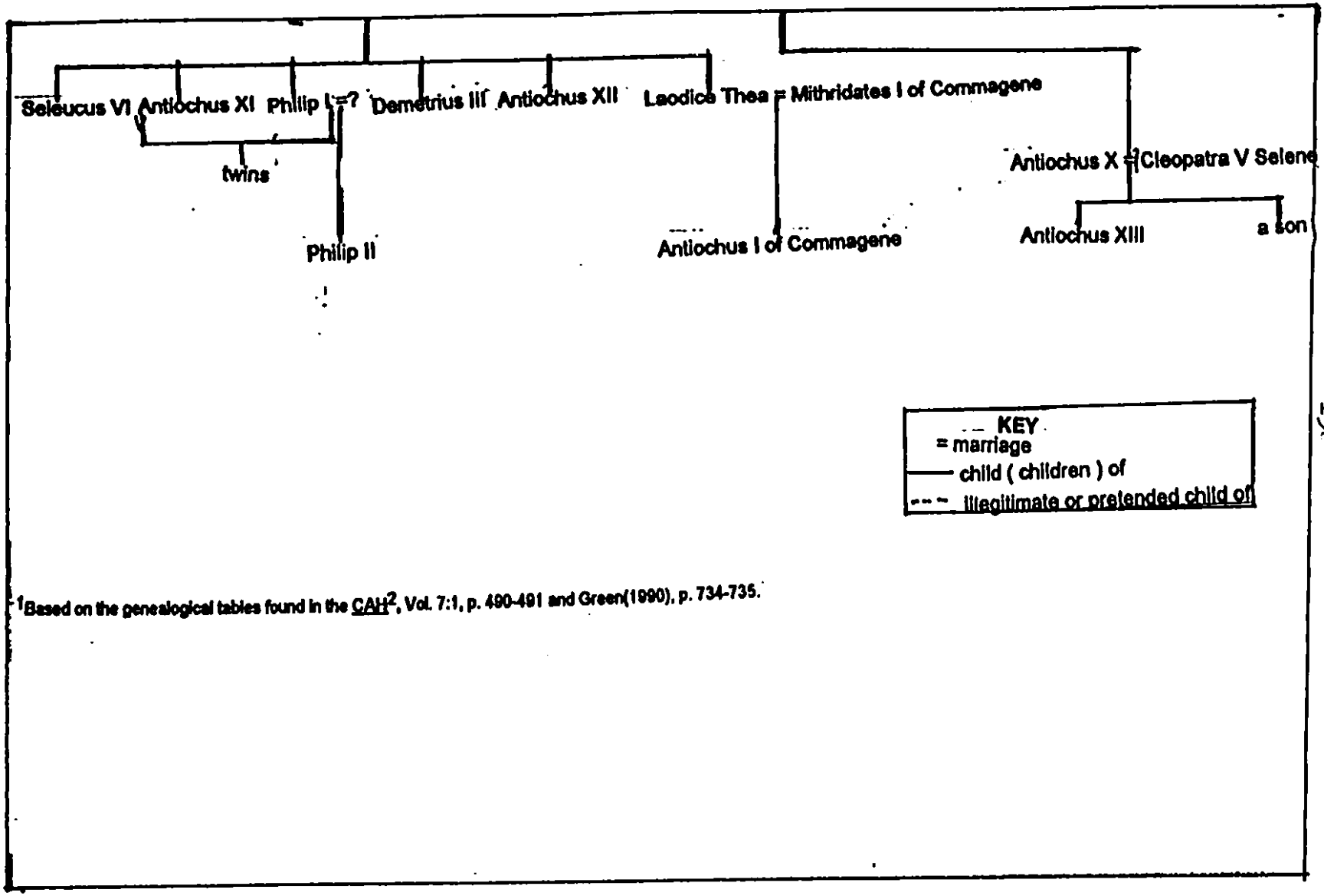
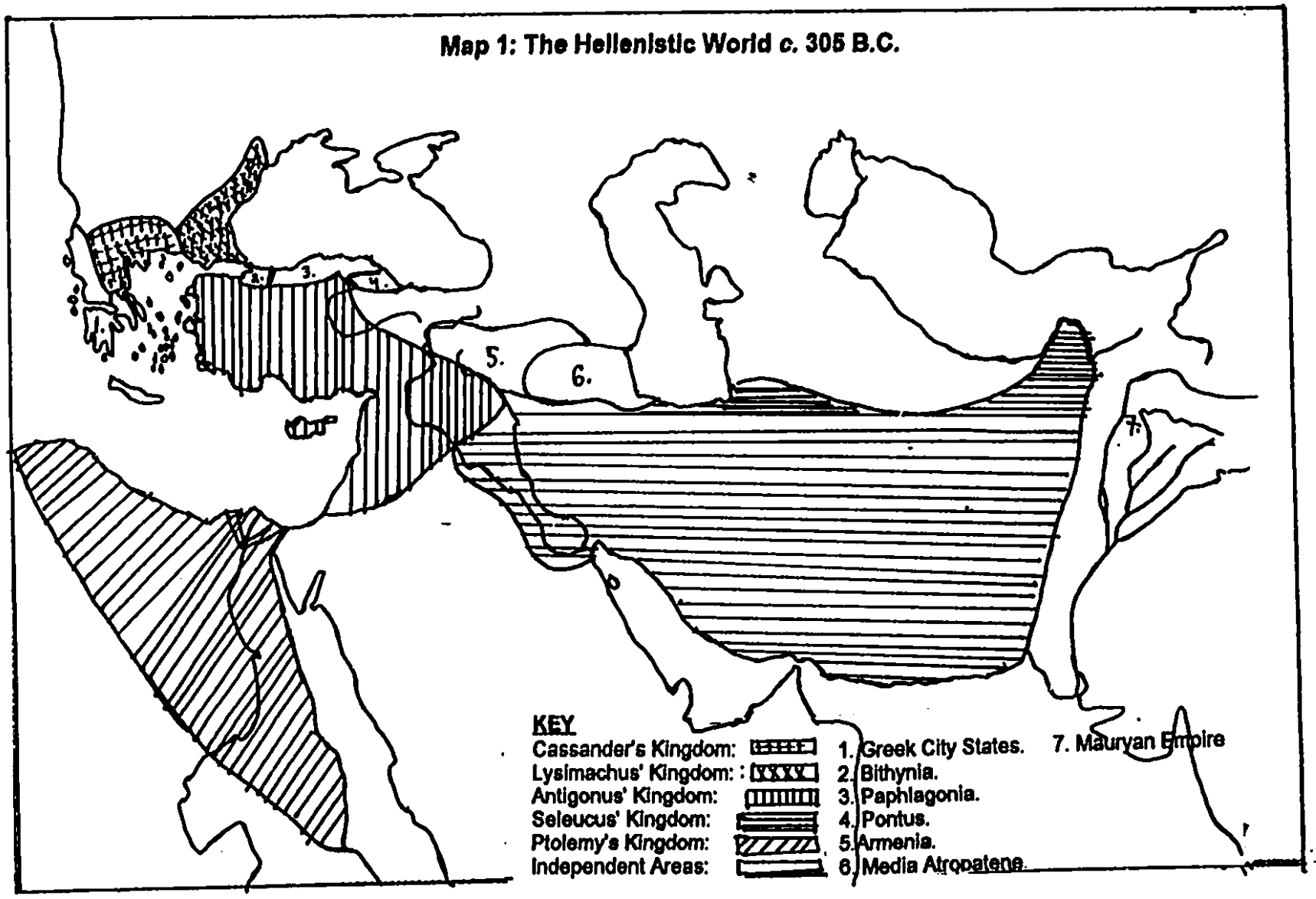


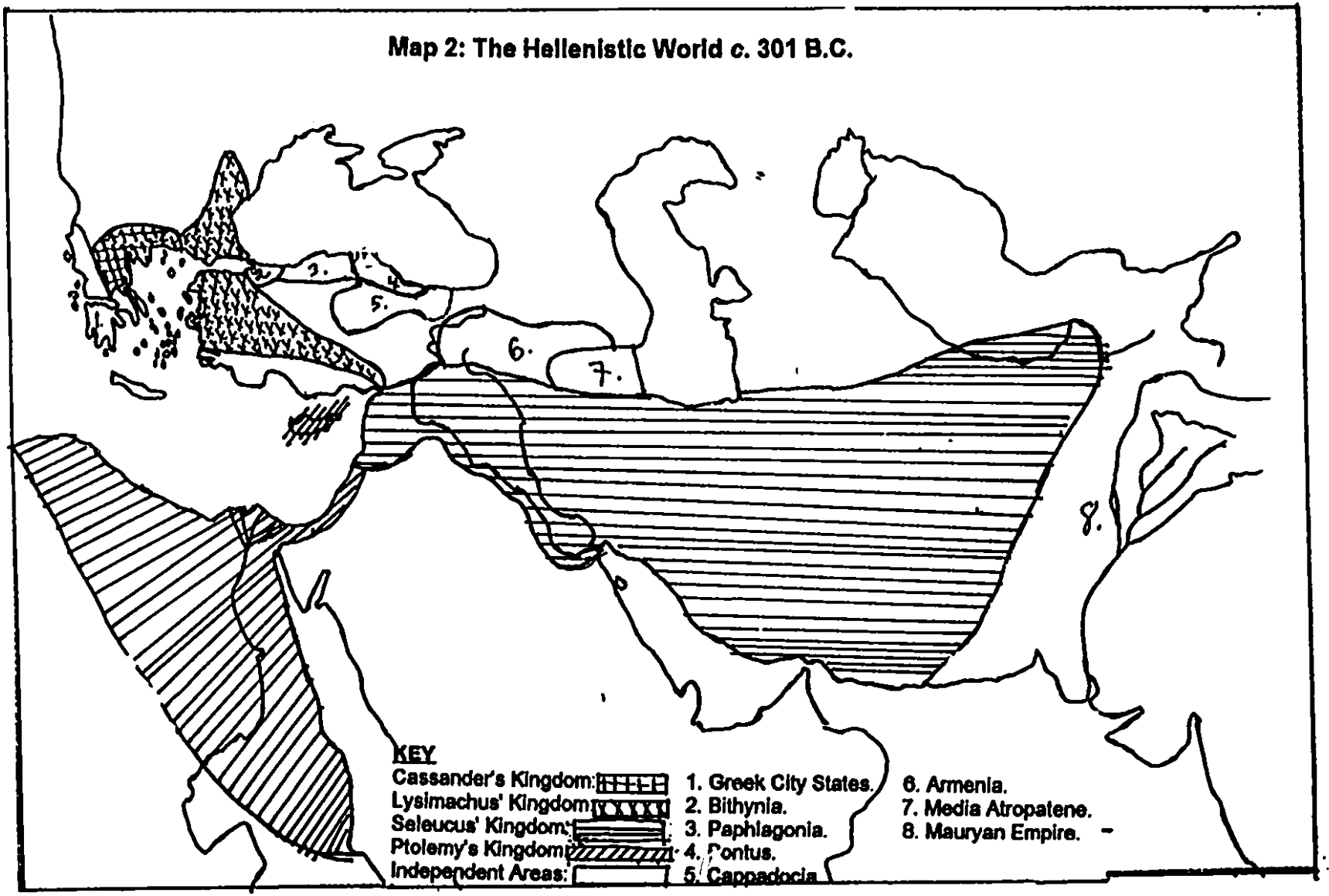
Table 2: The Seleucid Genealogy
Antiochus = Laodice
Apame = 1. Seleucus I = 2. Stratonice I
another son
Antiochus I = Stratonice I
Phila
Seleucus
Laodice I = 1. Antiochus II = 2. Berenice of Egypt
daughters
Antiochus Hierax
Seleucus II = Laodice II
daughters
a son
Seleucus III
a daughter
Antiochus III = Laodice III
Antiochus
Seleucus IV = ?
daughters
Laodice (? IV) = 1. Antiochus IV = 2. ?
Antiochus?
Demetrius I = ?
a daughter
Antiochus V
a daughter
Cleopatra Thea = 1. Alexander I = 2. ?
Cleopatra Thea = 1. Demetrius II = 2. Rhodogune of Parthia
Antiochus VII = Cleopatra Thea
another son
Antiochus VI
Alexander Zabinas
Children
Seleucus V
Cleopatra Tryphaena = 1. Antiochus VIII = 2. Cleopatra V Selene
a daughter
other children
?= 1. Antiochus IX = 2. Cleopatra IV
= 3. Cleopatra V Selene

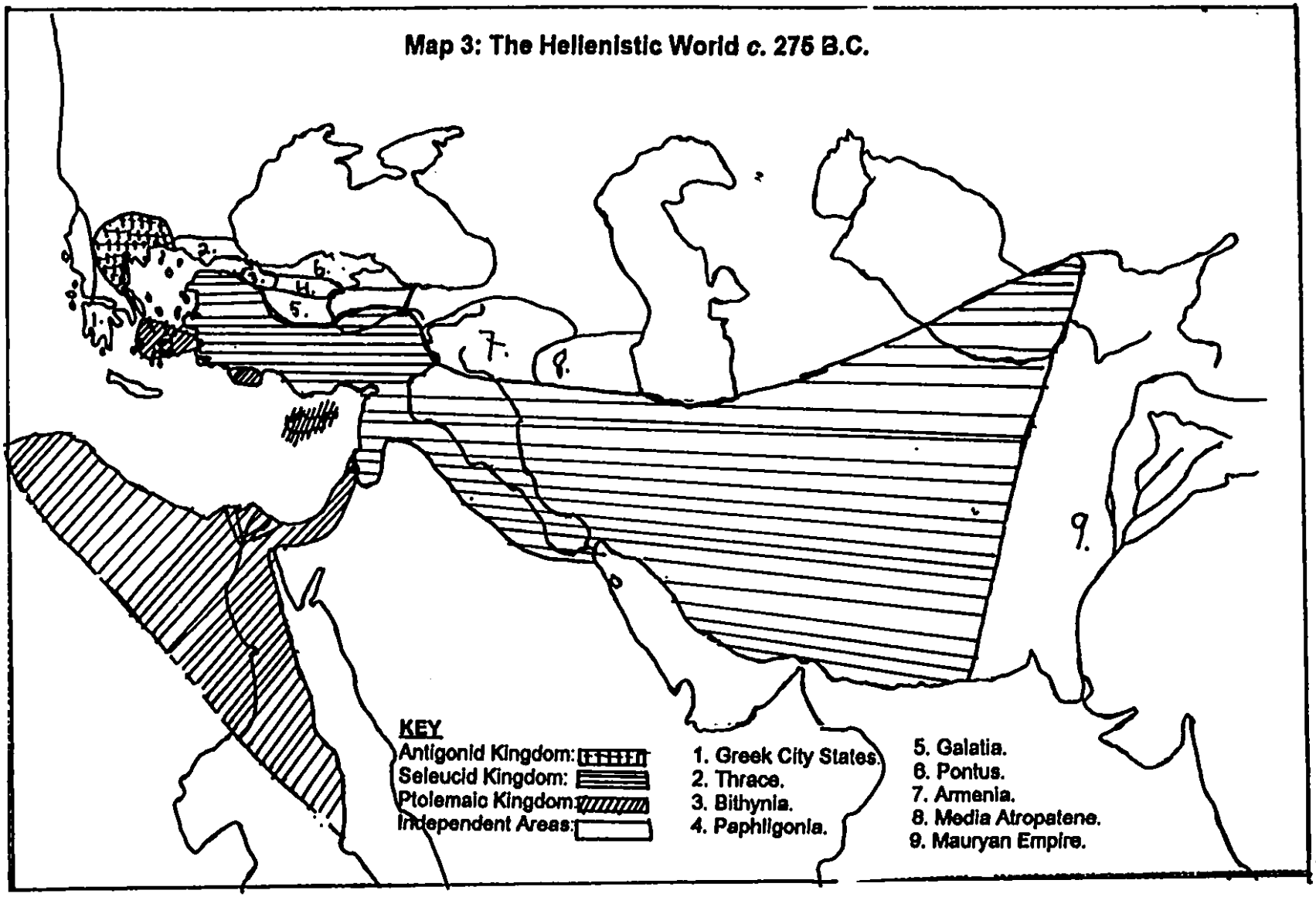


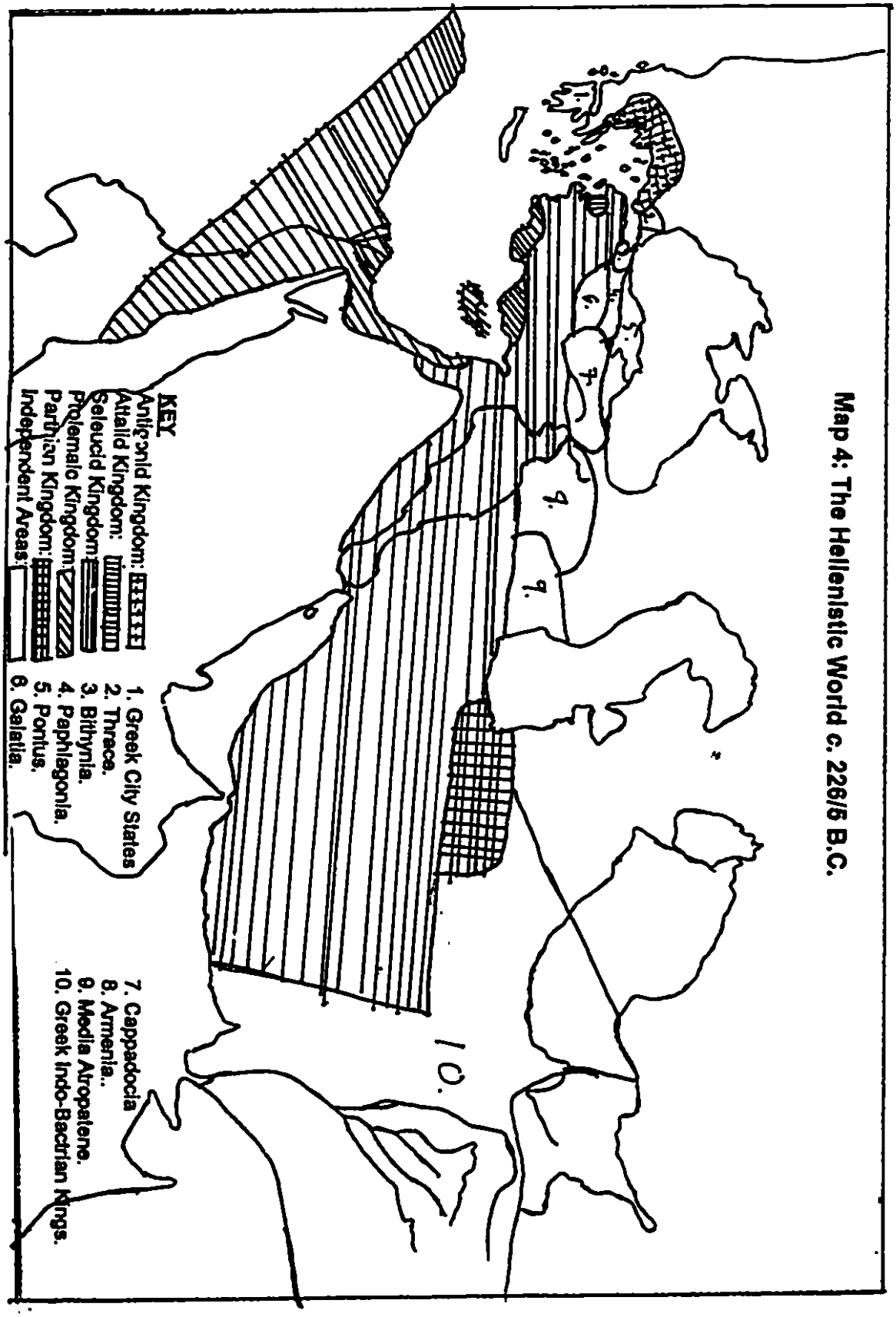
[1]Based on the genealogical tables found in the CAH[2], Vol. 7:1, p. 490-491 and Green(1990), p. 734-735.

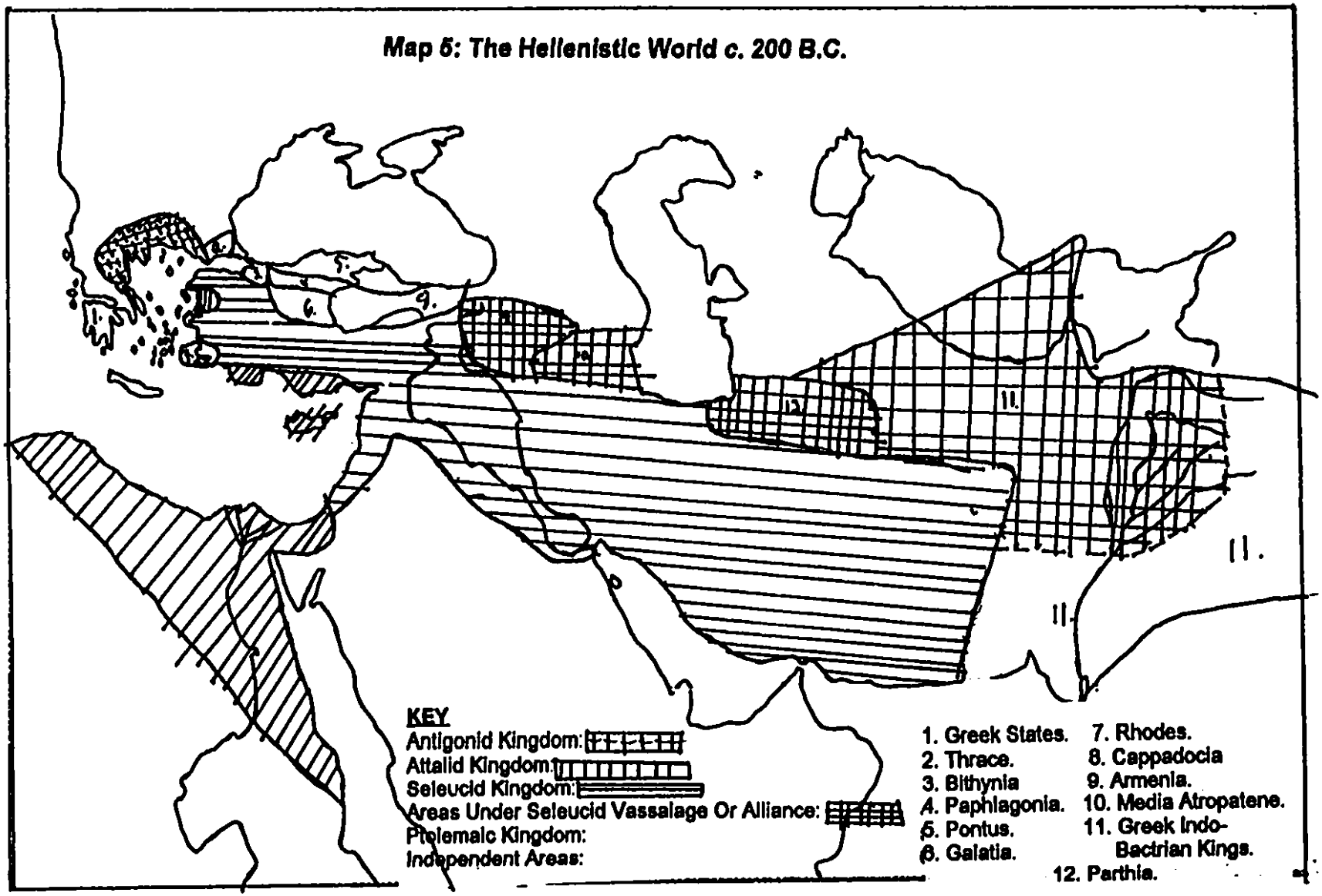

Map 1: The Hellenistic World c. 305 B.C.
1.
2.
3.
4.
5.
6.
7.
KEY
Cassander's Kingdom:
Lysimachus' Kingdom:
Antigonus' Kingdom:
Seleucus' Kingdom:
Ptolemy's Kingdom:
Independent Areas:
1. Greek City States.
2. Bithynia.
3. Paphlagonia.
4. Pontus.
5. Armenia.
6. Media Atropatene.
7. Mauryan Empire

Map 2: The Hellenistic World *c.* 301 B.C.

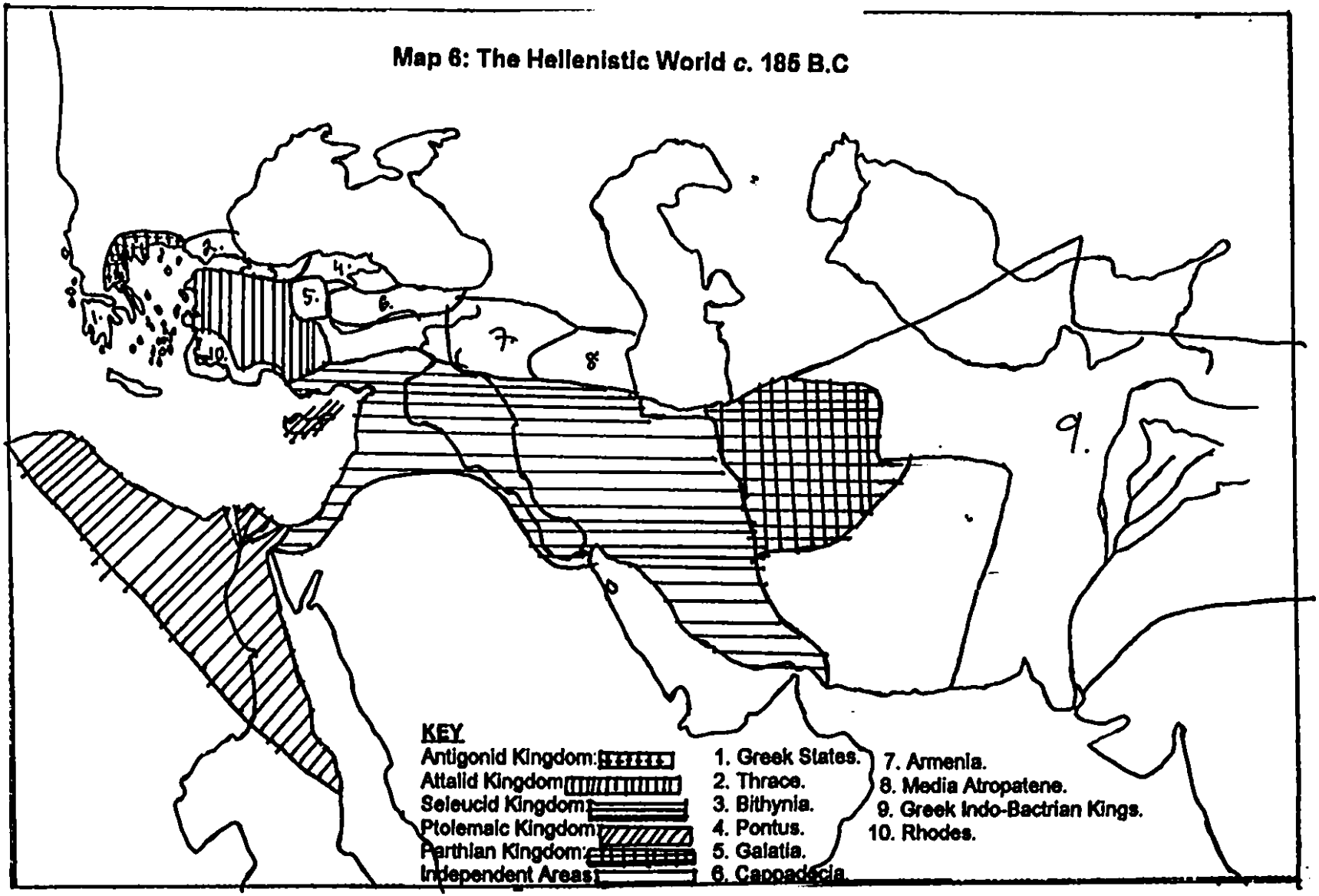



Map 3: The Hellenistic World c. 275 B.C.
KEY
Antigonid Kingdom:
Seleucid Kingdom:
Ptolemaic Kingdom:
Independent Areas:
1. Greek City States.
2. Thrace.
3. Bithynia.
4. Paphlagonia.
5. Galatia.
6. Pontus.
7. Armenia.
8. Media Atropatene.
9. Mauryan Empire.

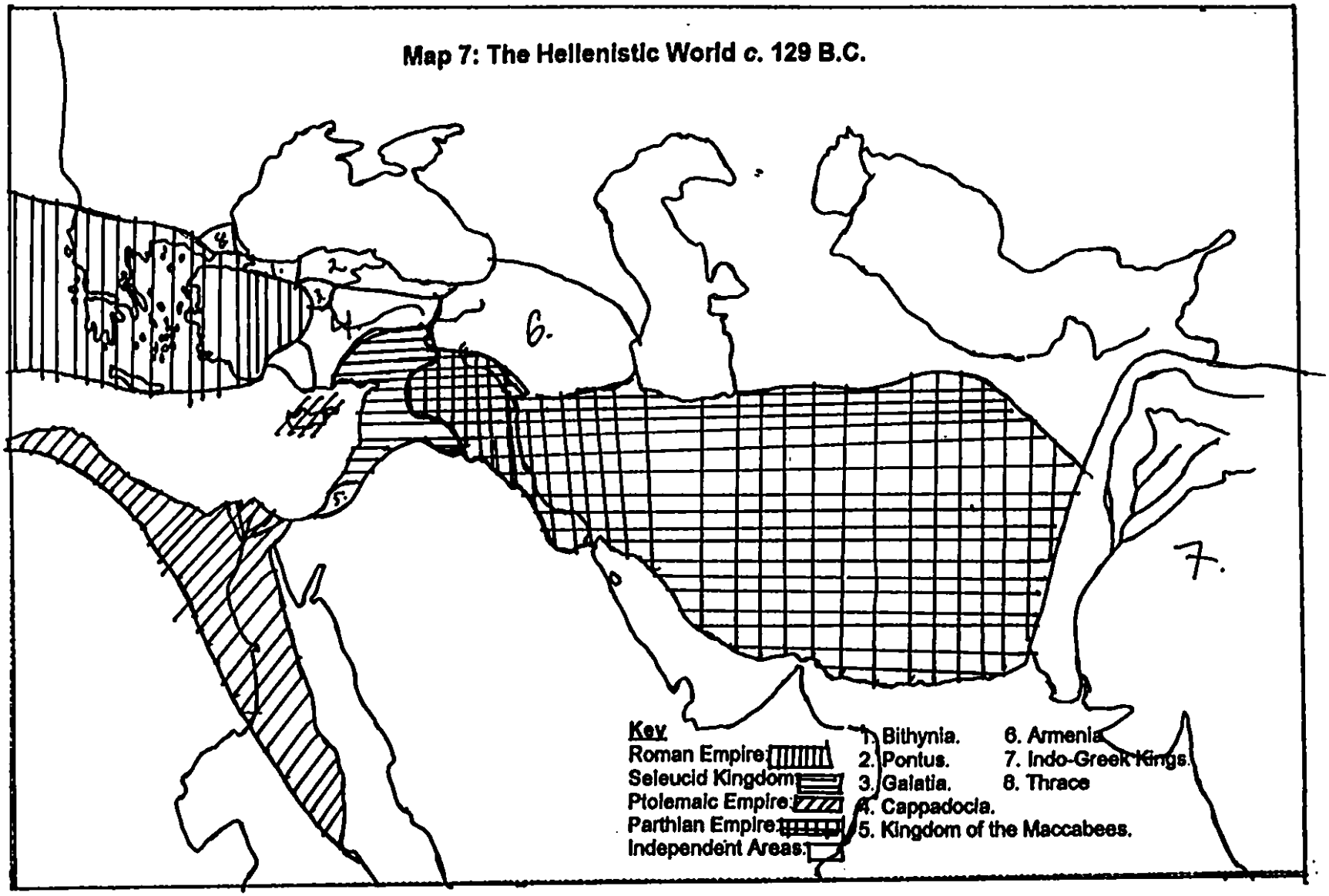

Map 4: The Hellenistic World c. 226/5 B.C.
KEY
Antigonid Kingdom:
Attalid Kingdom:
Seleucid Kingdom:
Ptolemaic Kingdom:
Parthian Kingdom:
Independent Areas:
1. Greek City States
2. Thrace.
3. Bithynia.
4. Paphlagonia.
5. Pontus.
6. Galatia.
7. Cappadocia
8. Armenia..
9. Media Atropatene.
10. Greek Indo-Bactrian Kings.
I.O.


Map 5: The Hellenistic World c. 200 B.C.
KEY
Antigonid Kingdom:
Attalid Kingdom:
Seleucid Kingdom:
Areas Under Seleucid Vassalage Or Alliance:
Ptolemaic Kingdom:
Independent Areas:
1. Greek States.
2. Thrace.
3. Bithynia
4. Paphlagonia.
5. Pontus.
6. Galatia.
7. Rhodes.
8. Cappadocia
9. Armenia.
10. Media Atropatene.
11. Greek Indo-Bactrian Kings.
12. Parthia.

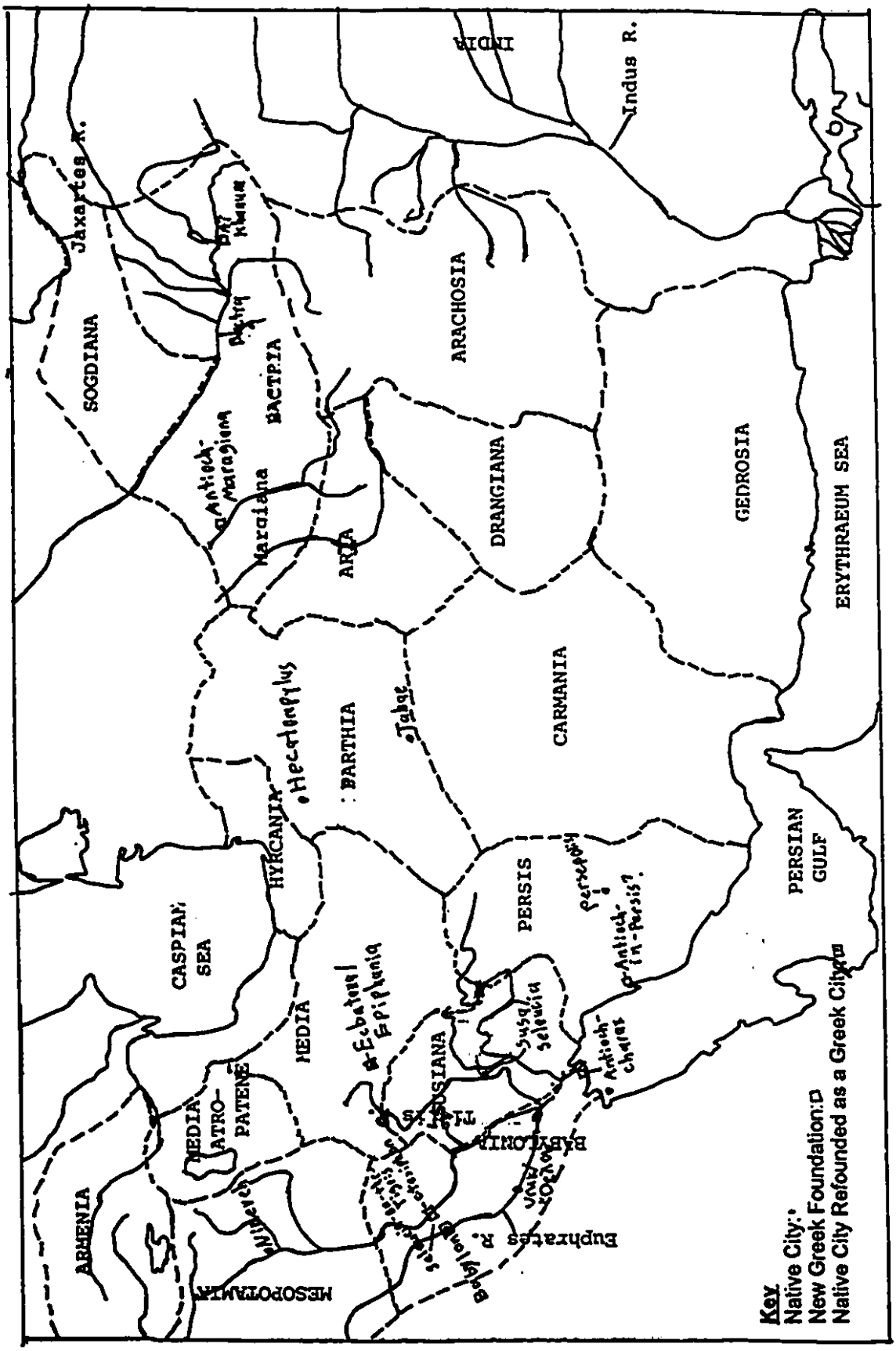
Map 6: The Hellenistic World *c.* 185 B.C



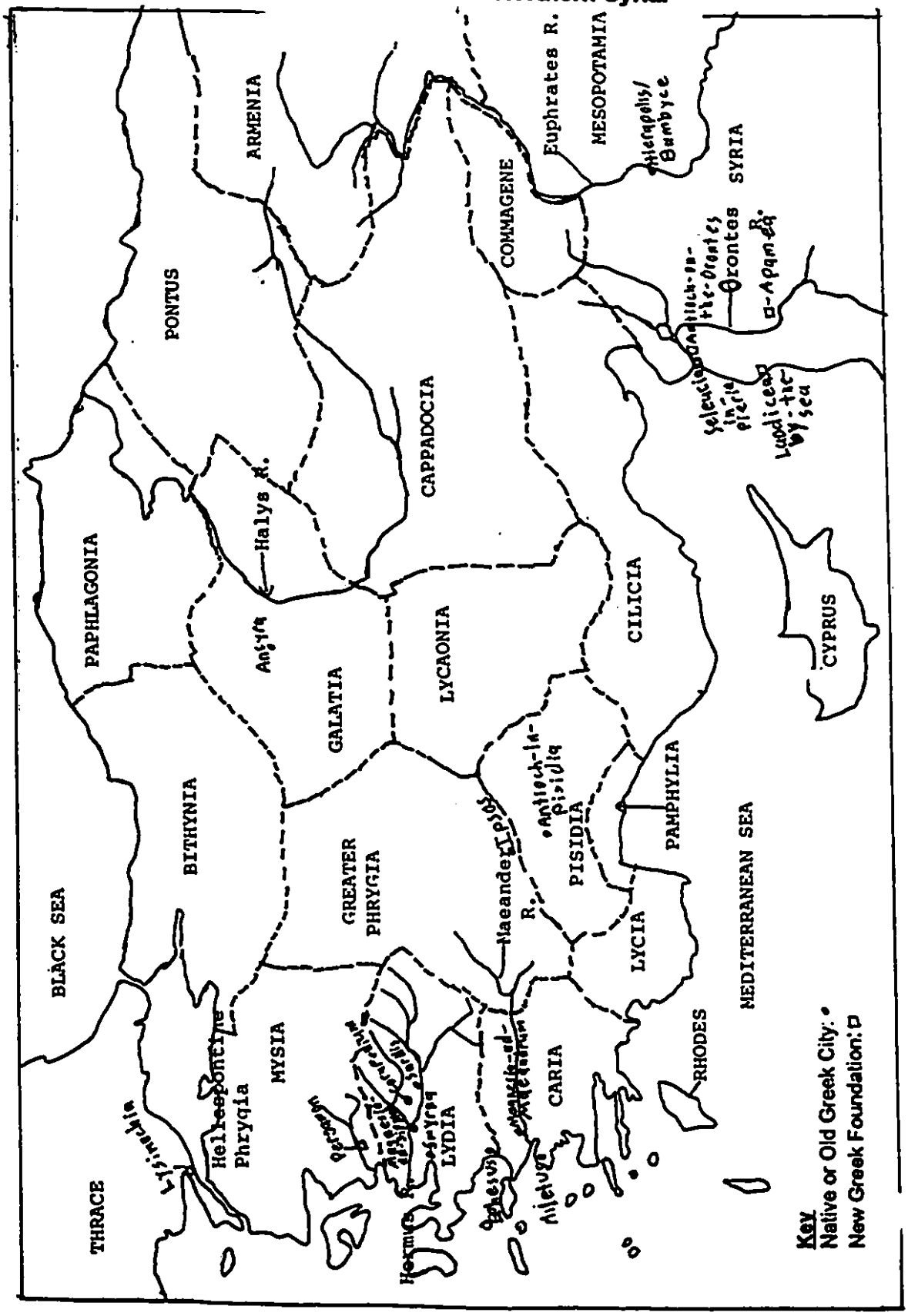
Map 7: The Hellenistic World *c.* 129 B.C.



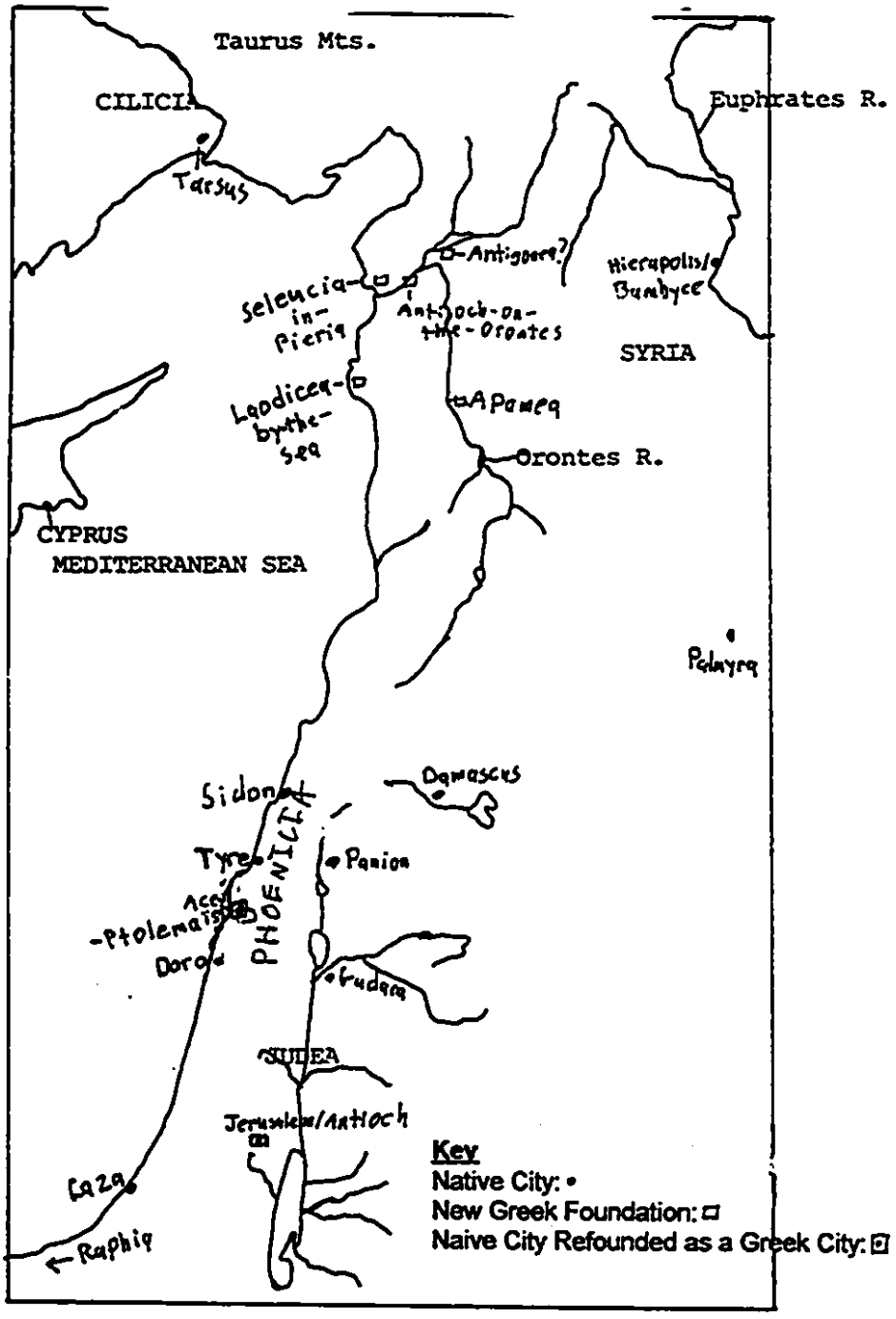
MAP 8: The Upper Satrapies.



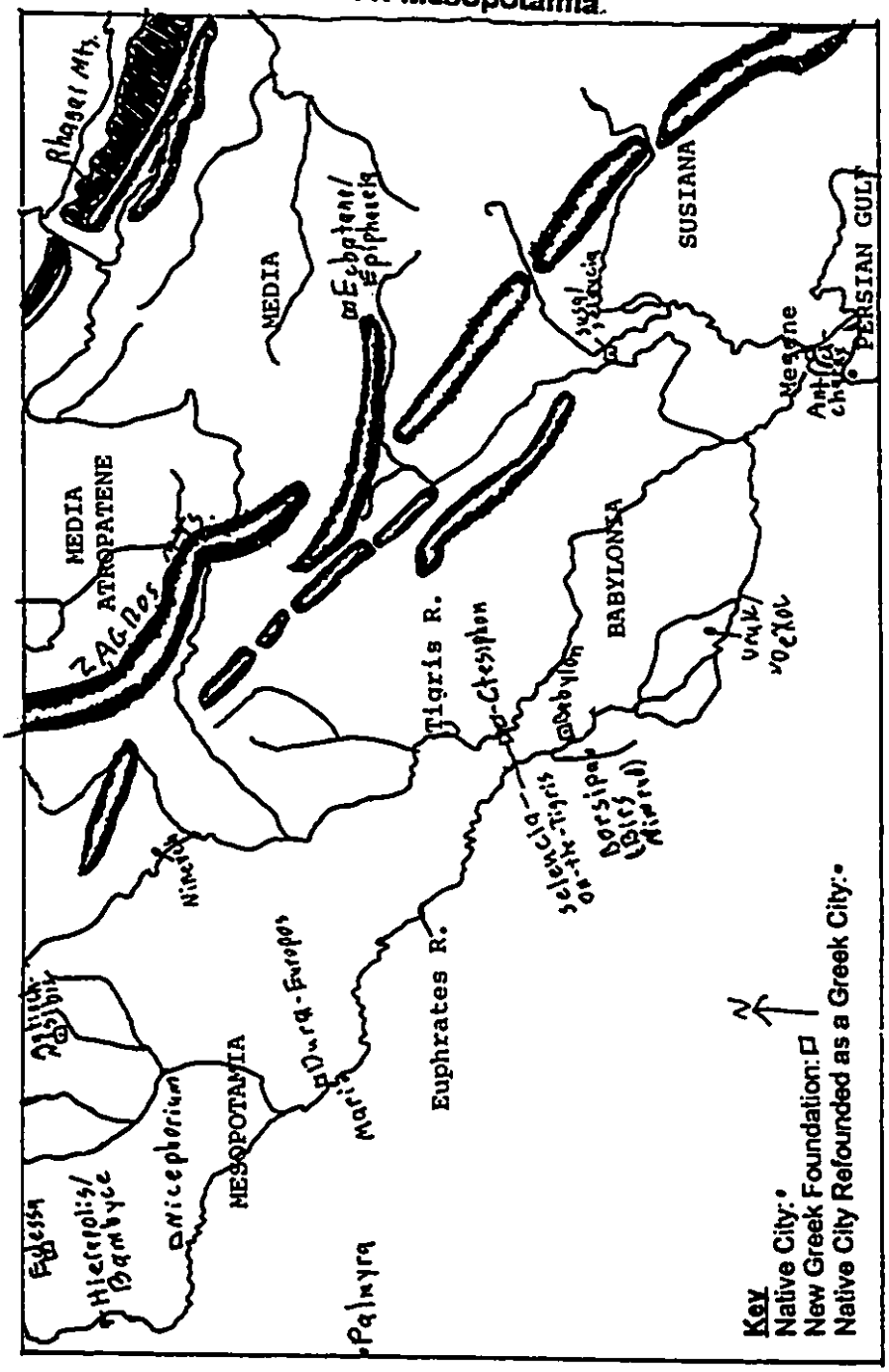
MAP 9: Asia Minor and Northern Syria.



MAP 10: Northern Syria and Coele-Syria.



MAP 11: Mesopotamia.



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