

# The Ancient History Bulletin

---

VOLUME TWENTY-NINE: 2015

NUMBERS 3-4

---

## **Edited by:**

Edward Anson ✦ Michael Fronda ✦ David Hollander  
Timothy Howe ✦ Joseph Roisman ✦ John Vanderspoel  
Pat Wheatley ✦ Sabine Müller



**ISSN 0835-3638**

# ANCIENT HISTORY BULLETIN

Volume 29 (2015) Numbers 3-4

Edited by:

Edward Anson, Michael Fronda, David Hollander, Sabine Müller, Joseph Roisman, John Vanderspoel, Pat Wheatley

Senior Editor: Timothy Howe

Editorial correspondents

Elizabeth Baynham, Hugh Bowden, Franca Landucci Gattinoni, Alexander Meeus, Kurt Raaflaub, P.J. Rhodes, Robert Rollinger, Victor Alonso Troncoso



## Contents of volume twenty-nine

### Numbers 3-4

- 91 Benjamin Scolnic, *The Villages of the Carians in Diodorus Siculus and Seleucus I's Route to Babylon in the Winter of 312/311 B.C.E.*
- 115 Andrew G. Scott, *Leadership, Valor, and Spartan Death in Battle in Xenophon's Hellenica*
- 134 Guglielmo Bagella, *Il Metodo Compositivo di Plutarco per la Vita di Crasso*
- 157 Alexander Yakobson, *Cicero, the Constitution and the Roman People*

## NOTES TO CONTRIBUTORS AND SUBSCRIBERS

The Ancient History Bulletin was founded in 1987 by Waldemar Heckel, Brian Lavelle, and John Vanderspoel. The board of editorial correspondents consists of Elizabeth Baynham (University of Newcastle), Hugh Bowden (Kings College, London), Franca Landucci Gattinoni (Università Cattolica, Milan), Alexander Meeus (University of Leuven), Kurt Raaflaub (Brown University), P.J. Rhodes (Durham University), Robert Rollinger (Universität Innsbruck), Victor Alonso Troncoso (Universidade da Coruña)

AHB is currently edited by: Timothy Howe (Senior Editor: [howe@stolaf.edu](mailto:howe@stolaf.edu)), Edward Anson, Michael Fronda, David Hollander, Sabine Müller, Joseph Roisman, John Vanderspoel and Pat Wheatley.

AHB promotes scholarly discussion in Ancient History and ancillary fields (such as epigraphy, papyrology, and numismatics) by publishing articles and notes on any aspect of the ancient world from the Near East to Late Antiquity. Submitted articles should normally be in English, but the journal will consider contributions in French, German, Italian or Spanish.

### SUBMISSION GUIDELINES

AHB adheres to the usual North American editorial policies in the submission and acceptance of articles but imposes no House Style. Authors are, however, asked to use the abbreviations of *L'Année philologique* (A<sup>Ph</sup>) for journals, and of the *Thesaurus linguae latinae* (TLL) for Latin authors. Please send submissions to the editor most closely identified with your field of enquiry or, in case of doubt, to Timothy Howe ([howe@stolaf.edu](mailto:howe@stolaf.edu)). Articles must be submitted in electronic format, preferably generated by MS Word. Greek font or other special characters must convert such to Unicode and should be accompanied by a PDF version. Authors will receive PDF offprints of their contributions. Copyright is retained by the author. Books for reviews and enquiries concerning book reviews should be directed to Joseph Roisman ([jsroisma@colby.edu](mailto:jsroisma@colby.edu)).

### SUBSCRIPTION INFORMATION

The subscription rate for individual and institutional subscribers is USD 25.00. Detailed instructions about subscriptions and access to digital content can be found on the AHB website: <http://ancienthistorybulletin.org>

### PAYMENT

Payment may be made via the subscription portal on the AHB website:  
<http://www.ancienthistorybulletin.org/subscribed-users-area/membership-levels/>

*Cover image courtesy of The Nickle Arts Museum, University of Calgary*

# The Villages of the Carians in Diodorus Siculus and Seleucus I's Route to Babylon in the Winter of 312/311 B.C.E.

Benjamin Scolnic

ἐπεὶ δὲ προάγων κατήντησεν εἰς Μεσοποταμίαν, τῶν ἐν Κάραις κατωκισμένων  
Μακεδόνων οὐς μὲν ἔπεισεν, οὐς δ' ἐβιάσατο συστρατεύειν αὐτῷ.

When in his advance he [Seleucus] entered Mesopotamia, he persuaded some of the  
Macedonians who were settled at Carae to join his forces, and compelled the rest [Diod.  
19.91.1 (Trans. Geer, Loeb ed.)].

While the chronology of the Third Diadoch War (315-311 B.C.E) has been the subject of intense debate for many decades, there now seems to be a consensus of advocates for both the 'high' and 'low' chronologies (high = spring 312 for the Battle of Gaza and autumn of 312 for Seleucus' return to Babylon; low = autumn 312 and spring 311, respectively)<sup>1</sup> that the Battle of Gaza was fought towards the end of 312<sup>2</sup> and that Seleucus entered Babylon in the spring of 311.<sup>3</sup> Scholars who maintain different views of the chronology of these events such as Bosworth (high)<sup>4</sup> and Billows (low)<sup>5</sup> agree that Diodorus 19.91 states that Seleucus' route from Gaza to Babylon went through Karrha (Biblical Harran) in ancient Upper Mesopotamia (what is now modern Turkey).<sup>6</sup> The two other passages in Diodorus that use this place-name, however, indicate a location other than Harran. The text of Diodorus renders the Greek name of the

---

<sup>1</sup> For discussion of the controversy about the low and high chronologies of these years, see Smith 1961, 288-290; Hauben 1973, 258-261; Errington 1977, 499-500; Winnicki 1989, 56-57; Boiy 2000, 115-121; Boiy 2007; Boiy 2011, 1-12; Wheatley 1998, 264-65; Wheatley 2003, 268-76; Wheatley 2007; Wheatley 2009, 328; Wheatley 2015, 241-242; Meeus 2012, 74; Wallace 2014.

<sup>2</sup> The conclusion that the Battle of Gaza occurred during the winter of 312/311 is based on several points of evidence. According to the usual interpretation, Seleucus, seeing an opportunity to regain Babylonia for himself while his rival Antigonus was in winter quarters, convinced Ptolemy, who had returned to Egypt for the winter after winning victories in Cyprus and raiding Cilicia and Upper Syria (Diod. 19.79.4-6), to engage Antigonus' inexperienced son Demetrius at that point (Diod. 19.80.3). Demetrius summoned his soldiers from various winter quarters to fight the battle against Ptolemy (Diod. 19.80.5). Diodorus' statement (Diod. 19.86.1) that Sidon was the first city to submit to Ptolemy after Gaza should be combined with the coinage from Sidon that indicates Ptolemaic control of the city in the year 312/311 (which began in October 312 in that locale), but only for several months before it reverted to Antigonid hands (Wheatley 2003; Merker 1964, 14-15; Newell 1916). For the dating of the Battle of Gaza, see Wheatley 1998, 280-281; Wheatley 2003, 274; Wheatley 2007, 182; Boiy 2007, 115-116; Yardley *et al.* 2011, 8-22; Meeus 2012, 91-93. But see *contra* Schober 1981, 97, n. 1; Bosworth 2002, 217-31.

<sup>3</sup> There is interesting cuneiform evidence for the return of Seleucus to Babylon around April 311. BM 35920, a fragment of Bab. Chron. 10 = BHCP 3 (<http://www.livius.org>), indicates that Seleucus returned to Babylon in Nisan (= April) 311 (van der Spek 2014, 327-328, 340-42). Since BM 22022 has the name Alexander IV instead of Antigonus in May 311, this may be another indication that Antigonus was no longer in control of Babylon by this date (Boiy 2000, 120; Boiy 2004, 126; Bosworth 2002, 219-20; Yardley *et al.* 2011, 271).

<sup>4</sup> Bosworth 2002, 217-223. See also Bosworth 1992, 55-81, esp. 75-78; Wheatley 1998, 257-81; Wheatley 2002, 39-47; Wheatley 2003, 268-276.

<sup>5</sup> Billows 1990, 136-138; Anson 2006, 228-229. An important exception is Winnicki 1989: see below.

<sup>6</sup> Now just inside Turkey at the site of Altınbaşak east of Zeugma and SSE of Edessa.

location as Κάραις in both 17.110 and 19.91 and Καρῶν κώμαις (Karôn Kômai) in 19.12: “the villages of the Carians” and not Karrha. I will suggest that these references to Κάραις (*Carae*) should be linked to long-established settlements already utilized by Alexander in his army’s route from Susa to Opis during his campaign in Persia and Babylonia in 324 (Diod. 17.110), and by Eumenes as a winter quarters in 317 during the Second War of the Successors (Diod. 19.12.1). Since the existence of these settlements bears on the historical question of the placement of Carians in Babylonia before and after Alexander, I will bring several chronological and geographical arguments to support this theory. In particular, I will examine the sequence of events in 312/311 in the context of the Third Diadoch War and in so doing explore the nature of Diodorus’s account of Seleucus’ march to Babylon and how the general raised an army on the way. In the end, I hope to offer deeper context for the term “Mesopotamia” and its relation to the villages of the Carians in Diodorus.

It seems clear that Seleucus did not come to Harran/Karrha but to “the villages of the Carians” in the winter of 312/11. Harran is never otherwise mentioned by Diodorus—there is no evidence that there was a Macedonian garrison or even a permanent Macedonian presence in Karrha, scholarship assumes it, and therefore thinks that Seleucus must have gone there.<sup>7</sup> Yet for all of the theories about the importance of Harran in this period, no one suggests that even Alexander ever stopped at that location. Indeed, there is no record of Harran as a winter quarters for armies during this era, whereas we know that Eumenes used “the villages of the Carians” as such. To his credit, Bosworth does not simply assume the Macedonian presence in Harran and asks: “Commentators have been surprisingly incurious about this group of military settlers. How were they established, and who were they?” It is not surprising that Bosworth strains to make a case that there was a Macedonian garrison at Harran;<sup>8</sup> the claim that there

---

<sup>7</sup> Billows (1990, 137) states: “He probably crossed this river near the site where he later founded a colony with the suggestive name Nikephorion (‘bringer of victory’). From there he marched to Karrhai (Harran) in northern Mesopotamia (now in southern Turkey). At Karrhai there was a colony of Macedonian veterans, whom Seleukos recruited into his army by a mixture of force and persuasion (Diod. 19.91.1).” He is followed by van der Spek (2014, 327); and Grainger (1990, 74, 98–100) agrees: “Across the Euphrates a different secrecy was required. He stopped at Karrhai to recruit soldiers from the settlers there, and to make sure the rest did not rush on ahead to warn the wrong people of his approach”; see also Orth 1993, 125–126; Grainger 2014, 42–43. So does T. Green (1992, 44): “Although it is doubtful whether Alexander himself ever came to Harran, a Macedonian military colony was stationed on the ancient site, now transcribed as Karran, by its Seleucid rulers. It was here that Eumenes, Alexander’s secretary, spent the winter of 318 B.C.E., vainly scheming for the reunification of the dead conqueror’s empire. Diodorus Siculus reports that Seleucus, in his attempt to make himself master of Babylon, came to the city in 312 B.C.E. where he persuaded some and compelled others of the Greeks who had been settled there to join his forces (footnote: Diodorus 19.91).”

<sup>8</sup> Bosworth 2002, 234. While Bosworth thinks that the “Macedonians in Carrhae were a substantial group,” he admits that Alexander did not place them there, “for he passed through Mesopotamia at a time when he needed every last Macedonian, and that was long before the network of military colonies evolved in the eastern satrapies.” Bosworth also does not think they were settled by Perdiccas (322/321) and so postulates that they were settled in 316 by Antigonos when he dispersed the corps of the Silver Shields (Polyaen. 4.6.15; Diod. 19.48; Plut. *Eum.* 19.3). The actual passage in Polyaenus, however, gives a different impression: “Antigonos rewarded the Silver Shields, who handed Eumenes over to him in chains, with gifts. But to guard against their untrustworthiness, he gave 1,000 of them to be allies to Sibyrtius, the satrap of Arachosia, and he sent the others as garrisons to other places, strong and impassable, so that they might have the countryside itself as a guard. Therefore all of them quickly disappeared” (trans. Krentz and Wheeler, 1994). There is nothing here about establishing these soldiers in permanent garrisons, and Harran does not fit with the motivation to send these

was a Macedonian settlement in Harran is a supposition without any textual evidence. Consequently, Seleucus must have marched to settlements near Babylon called “the villages of the Carians.” While Seleucus had been satrap in Babylonia and seems to have had good relations with the people of the region, he did not have any connection to Harran in Upper Mesopotamia.

### The Three References in Diodorus

Three passages in Diodorus offer direct evidence that Seleucus knew of the military communities at the villages of the Carians from a few years earlier when he had appealed to the soldiers under Eumenes who were living there. The first and most complicated describes the movements of Alexander near Babylon:

Αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναλαβὼν τὴν δύναμιν προῆγεν ἐκ τῶν Σούσων καὶ διαβὰς τὸν Τίγριν ἐν ταῖς Κάραις καλουμέναις κώμαις κατεστρατοπέδευσεν. ἔξῃς δ' ἐν ἡμέραις τέτταρσι τὴν Σιττακινὴν διανύσας ἤκεν εἰς τὰ καλούμενα Σάμβανα.

After this he marched with his army from Susa, crossed the Tigris, and encamped in the villages called Carae. Thence for four days he marched through Sittacenê and came to the place called Sambana (Diod. 17.110.3–4; Trans. Bradford Welles, Loeb ed.).

The second may be found Eumenes' movements in 318/317:

κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀσίαν Εὐμενὴς μὲν ἔχων τοὺς ἀργυράσπιδας Μακεδόνας καὶ τὸν ἀφηγούμενον αὐτῶν Ἀντιγέννην παρεχέμασε μὲν τῆς Βαβυλωνίας ἐν ταῖς ὀνομαζομέναις Καρῶν κώμαις, πρὸς δὲ Σέλευκον καὶ Πίθωνα πρέσβεις ἀπέστειλεν, ἀξιῶν βοηθεῖν τοῖς βασιλεῦσι καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ συναγωνίσασθαι πρὸς Ἀντίγονον.

In Asia, Eumenes with the Macedonian Silver Shields and their commander Antigenes wintered in the villages of Babylonia known as the villages of the Carians. He sent embassies to Seleucus and Pithon asking them to aid the kings and to join him in the struggle against Antigonus (Diod. 19.12.1; Trans. Geer, Loeb ed.).

The third passage shows Seleucus' knowledge of the villages, which I now cite at greater length:

---

possibly dangerous soldiers to “other places, strong and impassable.” Moreover, Antigonus and Eumenes had fought the famous Battle of Gabiene in Persia, and a thousand were sent to Arachosia (in modern Afghanistan), in the opposite direction from Harran.



ἐπεὶ δὲ προάγων κατήντησεν εἰς Μεσοποταμίαν, τῶν ἐν Κάραις κατωκισμένων Μακεδόνων οὓς μὲν ἔπεισεν, οὓς δ' ἐβιάσατο συστρατεύειν αὐτῷ. ὥς δ' εἰς τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν ἐνέβαλεν, οἱ πλείους τῶν ἐγχωρίων ἀπήντων καὶ προστιθέμενοι πᾶν ἔφασαν αὐτῷ τὸ δοκοῦν συμπράξιν: [2] τετραετὴ γὰρ χρόνον γεγονώς σατράπης τῆς χώρας ταύτης πᾶσι προσενήνεκτο καλῶς, ἐκκαλοῦμενος τὴν εὖνοιαν τοῦ πλήθους καὶ πόρρωθεν προπαρασκευαζόμενος τοὺς συμπράξοντας, ἐὰν αὐτῷ δοθῇ καιρὸς ἀμφισβητεῖν ἡγεμονίας.

When in his advance he entered Mesopotamia, he persuaded some of the Macedonians who were settled at Carae to join his forces, and compelled the rest. When he pushed into Babylonia, most of the inhabitants came to meet him, and, declaring themselves on his side, promised to aid him as he saw fit; for, when he had been for four years satrap of that country, he had shown himself generous to all, winning the goodwill of the common people and long in advance securing men who would assist him if an opportunity should ever be given him to make a bid for supreme power [Diod. 19.91.1-2 (Trans. Geer, Loeb ed.)].

There are five possibilities for the relationship between the locations in these three passages:

1. They all refer to Harran.<sup>9</sup>
2. The three citations refer to three different places, one between Susa and Bisitun and Media (Diod. 17.110), one close to Susa (Diod. 19.12) and the third in modern-day Turkey (Diod. 19.91).<sup>10</sup>
3. Two of the references, those relating to Alexander and Eumenes, are to the same place in Babylonia, but the third one involving Seleucus refers to Karrha (Harran).<sup>11</sup>
4. There may have been more than one homonymous Carian enclave in Babylonia, Upper Mesopotamia and Susiana.
5. All three references are to the same set of villages in Babylonia.

## Alexander and the Villages of the Carians in Diod. 17.110

While it is possible that Alexander left Carian troops to establish villages near Babylon on his way east, the villages seem to have been called “of the Carians” before Alexander’s Carian troops could have settled there. It seems more than plausible to suggest that Alexander stopped at mercenary settlements that already had existed for a long time, perhaps going back

<sup>9</sup> This is the position of Green (1992, 44).

<sup>10</sup> Bosworth (2002, 108) states that the villages of the Carians mentioned in 19.12 were east of the Tigris and close to Susa and so were not the same villages that Alexander passed on his way from Susa to Bisitun and Media in 17.110 and are not the location mentioned in 19.91, which he thinks is Karrha (Harran).

<sup>11</sup> In his notes to the Loeb edition of Diodorus 19 (vol. IX, 259, n. 6) Geer states: “The villages of the Carians (or of the Carae) are probably the same as the villages ‘called the Carae’ which Alexander passed through (Book 17.110.3) and are not to be identified with the Carae of chap. 91.1, which is the well-known city of Carrhae in Mesopotamia.”

to the fourth or even fifth century. Earlier Carian settlers/mercenaries may have set up communities that became permanent settlements. There were Carians among the war captives held by Nebuchadnezzar II in Babylon.<sup>12</sup> Indeed, there is evidence for a “*ḥatru* of the Carians” in Babylonia in the Achaemenid period.<sup>13</sup> Waerzeggers states, “A group of Carians, presumably mercenaries, occupied a fief (*ḥatru*) close to Nippur, perhaps already in the time of Cambyses.”<sup>14</sup> Boiy explains that *ḥatrus* were military colonies that often were referred to by ethnic names<sup>15</sup> and that “it is highly probable that the name of such a *ḥatru* was still in use in the Hellenistic period. A “*ḥatru* of the Carians” is attested during the Achaemenid period in the neighborhood of Nippur.”<sup>16</sup> We find a useful parallel in the communities of Judeans in Babylonia in the Neo-Babylonian and early Achaemenid cuneiform record. While the Hebrew Bible would make it seem that all of these Judeans were “exiles” (Jer. 52:30, 2 Kings 24:12-14, etc.), at least some of them seem to have been military settlers who had migrated voluntarily and were awarded land in return for their service. Just as there were “villages of the Carians,” there was a toponym “Judahtown” where Judeans lived, “the gentilic indicating the origin of the predominant part of its population.”<sup>17</sup>

In the fifth century B.C.E., Herodotus speaks of the Carians as famous mercenaries in the armies of the ancient Near East.<sup>18</sup> Thus, not only were Carians present in Babylonia long before the Hellenistic period but also that the designation “villages of the Carians” would be clear to all those who knew something about this area and time.<sup>19</sup> Of particular interest here are the references to “displaced Carians” in Arrian’s *Anabasis*.<sup>20</sup> The Carians had revolted against the Persians in 499 and were defeated. The Persians may have deported some of the Carians to

---

<sup>12</sup> Waerzeggers 2006, 1.

<sup>13</sup> Stolper 1985, 73 and in general, 70-103. See also Boiy 2004, 120 and n. 53; Tubach 1995, 102; van der Spek 1986, 104-105.

<sup>14</sup> Waerzeggers 2006, 1.

<sup>15</sup> Boiy 2004, 120, n. 53.

<sup>16</sup> Boiy 2007, 55, n. 122.

<sup>17</sup> Pearce and Wunsch 2014, 6.

<sup>18</sup> Herodotus, who may have been part Carian himself, states: “They invented three things in which they were followed by the Greeks: it was the Carians who originated wearing crests on their helmets and devices on their shields, and who first made grips for their shields; until then all who used shields carried them without these grips, and guided them with leather belts which they slung round the neck and over the left shoulder” (1.171.4). These clearly legendary contributions demonstrate that the Carians were perceived as great warriors. The evidence for Caria and the Carians begins with Old Assyrian and Hittite cuneiform texts of the second millennium. In the very ancient Catalogue of Ships in the *Iliad*, Homer states that they lived in Miletus and sided with the Trojans (*Il.* 2.867ff.). The Carians were known as mercenaries in Egypt at a very early date. Herodotus tells of two kings of Egypt, Apries and Psammenitus son of Amasa, who had Carians and Ionians in his service (*Hdt.* 2.163; 3.11); cf. Ray, 1995, 1189-94. An early reference to Carian mercenaries can be found in the Bible in 2 Kings 11:4, 19 (and perhaps in 2 Sam. 8:18, 15:18, 20:23).

<sup>19</sup> For recent discussions of Carian identity, see LaBuff 2013, 86-107; and Waerzeggers 2006, 1-22, esp. 1. For Carians in Babylonia: Eilers 1940, 189-233; Zadok 1979, 168; Zadok 2005, 76-106, esp. 80-95; Schmitt 1976-80, 423-25; Stolper 1985, 70-103; van Bremen and Carbon 2010; Karlsson and Carlsson, 2011.

<sup>20</sup> Arr. *Anab.* 3.8.5, 3.11.5, and 3.13.1; cf. Bosworth 1980, 291; Bosworth 1988, 148, 170.



Babylonia (Arr. *Anab.* 3.8.5, 11.5).<sup>21</sup> In the battle of Gaugamela, “the so-called displaced Carians” were in the center near King Darius: “Together with the Sittacenians (they) had been posted with the Babylonians.” It is fair to surmise from these hints that the Carians had been displaced to Babylonia or to a place between Babylon and Sittacenê. While the placement of forces in a battle is only suggestive of permanent geographical location, it is safe to say that the Carians had, after close to two centuries, maintained their identity as a group. It seems more than possible that at least some of the displaced Carians lived in the “villages of the Carians,”<sup>22</sup> for Arrian refers to Alexander’s relationship with Caria and the Carians a number of times (*Anab.* 1.20.2; 1.23.6-24.2; 1.29.1-2; 3.22.3; 5.25.4; 6.1.6; 7.23.1), and in 334 B.C.E. Alexander had negotiated a relationship with Princess Ada of Caria.<sup>23</sup> Consequently, it makes perfect sense for Alexander to come to the villages of the Carians. I re-cite the passage about Alexander at the villages of the Carians (Diod. 17.110.3): “After this he marched with his army from Susa, crossed the Tigris, and encamped in the villages called Carae. Thence for four days he marched through Sittacenê and came to the place called Sambana.”<sup>24</sup>

In Alternative 2 listed above, the villages of the Carians must be in Susa,<sup>25</sup> but this alternative does not allow for Diodorus’s observation (17.110.3) that Alexander “marched with his army from Susa, *crossed the Tigris*, and encamped in the villages called Carae.” Diodorus states that Alexander marched from Susa and so must have crossed the Tigris from east to west and then encamped in the villages of the Carians. Again, if the starting-point was Susa, then he crossed the Tigris and was now on its western side.

Since determining the location of the villages of the Carians in Diodorus 17 depends on an understanding of Alexander’s route from Susa to Opis in 324 and his participation in troop movements on the route, it is necessary to study our other extant ancient sources on this topic. Arrian narrates that Alexander sailed from Susa down to the Persian Gulf and sent

---

<sup>21</sup> The practice of uprooting whole communities and transplanting them to Mesopotamia is well attested; see Ctesias, *Persica* 13.30; Diod. 1.46, 4; Hdt. 4.204, 5.14-15, 5.17, 5.98. The Milesians were deported to Ampê at the mouth of the Tigris (Hdt. 6.20); Eretrians to Ardericca in Elam (Hdt. 6.119; Philostratus, *Vita Apollonii* 1.24); Boeotians to the Tigris region in Diod. 17.110. See *Encyclopedia Iranica*, “Deportations”; Grosso 1958, 350-75; Oded 1979; Penella 1974, 295-300; Shapur Shahbazi 1983, 239-46.

<sup>22</sup> For Carians in this area, see Waerzeggers 2006, 1-22, esp. 1. Borsippa was 11 miles southwest of Babylon on the east bank of the Euphrates.

<sup>23</sup> Arr. *Anab.* 1.23.7-8; Diod. 17.24.2-3; Strab. 14.2.17; Plut. *Alex.* 22.4. See recently Sears 2014, 211-221; Carney 2005, 65-91. Ada was the scion of the Hecatomnid dynasty that had controlled Caria during the fourth century. Both rulers benefited greatly from the relationship: Ada became sole ruler over Caria, outmaneuvering her siblings with whom she had been quarreling; Alexander avoided dealing with the Carian guerillas that had been able to inflict terrible losses on invading forces.

<sup>24</sup> While the location of Sambana is unknown, Sittacenê was Susis: “Neighbouring Susis is the part of Babylonia which was formerly called Sitacenê, but is now called Apolloniatis” (Strabo 15.3.12). Polyb. 5.51 shows that Apollonia was east of the Tigris.

<sup>25</sup> Bosworth (2002, 108) states that the location of the Carian villages was east of the Tigris, citing Herzfeld 1968, 9. I will argue against Herzfeld’s position at length below. Bradford Welles, in his notes to the Loeb edition of Diodorus 17 (vol. VIII, 442, n. 1), insists that Diodorus’s topography here must be “confused” because while the ancient historian places the villages of the Carian on the left bank or eastern side of the Tigris, they are on the western side or right bank of the Tigris and Sittacenê is on the left bank or eastern side. He bases this on the identification of the Carian villages in Babylonia in Diod. 19.12; again, I will argue against this position below.

Hephaestion to move down to the Gulf with most of the infantry (*Anab.* 7.7.1). He leaves “most of his ships, including all which were in need of repair, just inside the mouth of the river....” The Euphrates becomes, near its mouth, a more or less shallow swamp.<sup>26</sup> Then “... the rest of the fleet returned up the Eulaeus<sup>27</sup> to the canal which joins it with the Tigris, and passed through.”<sup>28</sup> In the meantime, Alexander

sailed off-shore along the stretch of coast between the Eulaeus and the Tigris, and then proceeded up the Tigris to the place where Hephaestion and the whole army were encamped. From there he went further up the river to Opis, a town on its bank.<sup>29</sup>

According to Arrian, Alexander stops at three places after Susa: 1. An unnamed location just inside the mouth of the Tigris where the fleet stayed; 2. An unnamed location on the banks of the Tigris between the Persian Gulf and Opis where Hephaestion and the whole army encamped; 3. Opis, a town on the banks of the Tigris. Arrian does not give names for the first two sites. He does not say anything about the founding of any permanent settlement near the mouth of the Tigris or the Euphrates or about an existing settlement of Carians. It is possible that Hephaestion stayed near or at the pre-existing villages of the Carians and that Alexander met him there. I think it likely that the location where the army stopped on the way from the Gulf is the villages of the Carians—note carefully that this second encampment is clearly distinct from the location near the Gulf and the destination of Opis.<sup>30</sup>

The reason that the identification of Diodorus’ villages of the Carians with Arrian’s reference to an encampment near the Tigris is considered problematic is that Pliny portrays Alexander as the founder of a settlement near the mouths of the two rivers, which has been identified with Arrian’s unnamed place where ships were put to repair. Pliny (6.31.138-9) states that the town of Charax, situated in the innermost recesses of the Persian Gulf, originally was founded by Alexander with invalid soldiers from Durine, and was to be named Alexandria. Modern scholars agree that there was a small Achaemenid settlement called Durine and Alexander gave the name Pella to the port where he settled some of his Macedonian veterans.<sup>31</sup> The location of Charax was originally on the coast of the Persian Gulf in modern-day Kuwait.<sup>32</sup> In addition, the first century geographer Isidore of Charax in his *Parthian Stations* states:

---

<sup>26</sup> The Tigris and Euphrates join together as they approach the Gulf.

<sup>27</sup> Susa was situated on the Eulaeus, one of the main rivers of Susiana: Arr. *Anab.* 7.7.1-2; Diod. 19.19.1; Plut. *Eum.* 14; Strabo 15.3.4; 22; Pliny, *NH* 6.26.100; 6.31.135; with Potts 1999.

<sup>28</sup> At this point in time, part of the fleet is at a temporary resting-place for repair and part is moving up the Tigris.

<sup>29</sup> Arr. *Anab.* 7.6. Though Arrian does not mention it, Hephaestion has marched up the Tigris towards Opis. We next see Hephaestion involved in the internal feuding at Opis (7.13), and then dying of sickness at Ectabana (7.14).

<sup>30</sup> As a further indication of the deficiencies in the sources about the order of events at this point in Alexander’s career, Diodorus (17.108.1) and Curtius (10.2-4) have Alexander facing a mutiny at Susa, while Arrian has it at Opis (*Anab.* 7.8.1; cf. Plut. *Alex.* 70.3); for discussion, Atkinson 2009, 121.

<sup>31</sup> Brown 2001, 67; Bosworth 1988, 158-9 and 249.

<sup>32</sup> Nodelman 1960, 83-121; Schuol 2000; Hansman 1967, 21-58; Hansman, “Characene and Charax,” <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/characene-and-charax-spasinou-in-pre-islamic-times>.

“[Lower] Media, which extends 22 schoeni. The beginning is at the district of Carina; in which there are 5 villages in which there are stations, but no city.”<sup>33</sup> Wheatley suggests that there may be a resonance of the ‘Carian Villages’ here.<sup>34</sup>

At this point it is useful to recall Diod: 17.110.3–4: “After this he marched with his army from Susa, crossed the Tigris, and encamped in the villages called Carae.” The differences between the historians are that:

1. Diodorus has Alexander marching by land with his army, not sailing by boat without them as in Arrian, and so does not have any stop between Susa and the villages called Carae;
2. Diodorus has nothing about Alexander stopping in the area near the Persian Gulf or about founding a city there, while Arrian has Alexander stopping briefly in that area and Pliny has him founding a city there.

Taking our different accounts together, understanding that our different authors have different emphases and different sources, how can we effect some sort of harmonization? Since Diodorus does not have any stop between Susa and the villages called Carae, it is at least plausible that, to use Arrian’s more complete list of three locations, Place 1 is Durine/Alexandria/Charax, Place 2 is the villages of the Carae, and Place 3 is Opis. Even though Arrian does not mention the villages of the Carians, one of his unnamed sites would fit geographically. Yet modern scholarship is confused about the identifications of the villages of the Carians mentioned by Diodorus and the site that would become Alexandria/Charax in Pliny. The consensus of scholarship follows Herzfeld’s conjecture that identifies Alexandria/Charax and the villages of the Carians even though, given the ancient sources, they seem to be two distinct places. Here is Herzfeld’s logic in a kind of geometric proof:

1. Given: Alexander only built Alexandrias at places he had visited.
2. Arrian based on Aristobulus: Alexander founded Alexandria between the mouths of the Tigris and the Eulaeus and the Persian Gulf and settled the new town with the inhabitants of nearby Durine and/or his invalid soldiers.
3. Diodorus: The only place that Alexander visited after leaving Susa was the village of the Carians.
4. Old Persian inscriptions: The Carian villages are also known as Bannēšu.
5. Murashu documents: Bannēšu is on a canal in the Dur.Ellil district.<sup>35</sup>
6. Therefore: Durine = Dur.Ellil.
7. Conclusion: Durine/Alexandria = the villages of the Carians. It was “A Carian Naval Station on the Tigris.”<sup>36</sup>

---

<sup>33</sup> Schoff 1914, 7.

<sup>34</sup> In a private communication, relaying Meeus 2009, 101. If, as Schoff thinks, Isidore were from Charax at the northern end of the Persian Gulf, he no doubt would have known if Charax and the villages of the Carians had been the same place.

<sup>35</sup> Murashu Sons was a firm of merchants who conducted business in Nippur about 499–460.

I would like to argue against this line of logic and its conclusion:

1. Herzfeld reads Arrian incorrectly: Arrian never says that Alexander built a town or anything else in the area of the Gulf or the mouths of the rivers. But if Herzfeld means to say Strabo (16.1.11), who, also explicitly basing himself on Aristobulus, describes Alexander's river journey and extensive work on the canals, Strabo does not mention anything about a town or settlement, either. Perhaps Herzfeld means to say that Pliny says Alexander founded an Alexandria in that area, but that is no longer based on Aristobulus.
2. The references to *Dur-Ellil* in other Murashu documents show that it is the fortified part of Nippur.<sup>37</sup> The *Bannēšu* = Carians have a fiefdom along the banks of the Euphrates of Nippur. The Carian presence was near Nippur, not near the Persian Gulf. If anything, this evidence supports a reading different from Herzfeld's. His inference from the Murashu documents is based on a name that he takes to be Carian. But even if there was an individual Carian at a town near the Gulf, this does not prove that there was a Carian town near the Gulf. Carians were known to be skilled sailors, but this could also explain why Carians could have settlements near the Tigris on the way down to the Gulf from Babylon. And not all Carians were sailors: the Carians who were at the Battle of Gaugamela are a case in point.
3. While Herzfeld assumes the equation *Bannēšu* = Carians, Waerzeggers (2006) proposes that the terms reflect a distinction between types of Carians, those who had been in Egypt and those who had not been in Egypt.
4. Herzfeld states that since Alexander only built towns at places he had visited personally, he must have built an Alexandria at the Carian villages. Herzfeld assumes that Alexandrias could only be places founded or at least visited by Alexander himself. Plutarch states that Alexander founded seventy towns (*Mor.* 328E-329A). I believe that the picture is much more complex than either Plutarch or Herzfeld presents it.<sup>38</sup> The figure of seventy is probably exaggerated.<sup>39</sup> A town could claim such a founding or visit;

---

<sup>36</sup> Herzfeld (1968, 9) states: "The first point, the Carian villages, are those of the *Krkā* of the OP. inscriptions, for which *Xerx.Pers.daiv.* substitutes the placename *Bannēšu*. This is known from the business documents of Murašū Sons of Nippur, in the fifth century B.C., as situated on a canal in the district of *Dūr.Ellil*. Aristobulus apud Arrian VII, 7, tells of an Alexandria founded by Alexander on a lagune between the mouths of the Tigris and the Eulaeus (Ulai of Susa), settled with inhabitants of Durine, an old βασιλήιον τεῖχος, garrison under the immediate command of the king. Alexander built towns only at places he had personally visited, and the only occasion for this foundation is his visit of the Carian villages, *Bannēšu*. Durine then is *Dūr.Ellil*."

<sup>37</sup> Clay 1912, UP II I Nr. 42, Z. 4, 5; Nr. 196 Z. 6; Nr. 204, Z. 8; BE IX. Nr. 28 Z. 2; 50 Z. 5; X, Nr. 93 28, Z. 5. Nr. 48. No. 126.

<sup>38</sup> It also is possible that Alexander or his successors re-named and added to the population of some these settlements, rather than actually "founding" brand new settlements.

<sup>39</sup> Hammond (1998, 243-270) accepts Plutarch's estimate of the cities founded by Alexander as numbering more than 70. Others have severe doubts: "It is a gross exaggeration" (Tarn 1948, 233); "Plutarch was either speaking irresponsibly or attributing ... later foundations" to Alexander, and "Plutarch is, in fact, a suspect source in more than one respect" (Fraser 1996, 188); and Plutarch's statement "is a brilliant outburst of Hellenic chauvinism but is totally divorced from historical reality" (Bosworth 1988, 245).

it would not be the first time an ancient place claimed origins that were not based in historical fact or were tied to legend or mythology. For example, Alexander did not found Alexandria Troas. According to Strabo 13.1.26, this site was first called Sigeia. Antigonus forced the re-population of the city in 306, calling it Antigonía. After the battle of Ipsus in 301, Lysimachus called it Alexandria (Pliny, *NH* 5.33.124).<sup>40</sup>

In this case, given Arrian's statement, Alexander may have stopped briefly in the area and, given Pliny's statement, a town might have first been inhabited by some of his sailors or invalid soldiers. Alexander may have had some connection to the founding of a town near the mouth of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers and the Persian Gulf. But none of this would indicate that the town involved constituted the villages of the Carians.

While Herzfeld and those who follow him such as Lane Fox,<sup>41</sup> say that Place 1 is Durine/Charax/Alexandria/villages of the Carae, here is Peter Green's more careful formulation:

In spring 324 Alexander left Susa. Hephaestion, with the bulk of the infantry, was dispatched west of the Tigris, by the overland route. The king himself sailed down the river Eulæus, cruised along the coast until he reached the Tigris estuary, and then made his way upstream to Hephaestion's camp. From there he continued as far as Opis .... It was probably during this journey, somewhere between the Eulæus and the Tigris estuary, that the king founded Alexandria-in-Susianis (Charax)...<sup>42</sup>

Note that Green does not mention the villages of the Carae, but instead separates the stop that would be Alexandria (Place 1) from the stop where Hephaestion encamped (Place 2). This makes perfect sense and I would only add that the place that Hephaestion encamped was the villages of the Carians. Again, I do not agree with Herzfeld's identification of Charax with the villages of the Carians. Alexander may have influenced the creation of an Alexandria on the Persian Gulf but Durine was not the villages of the Carians—these were to the northwest of Susa and closer to Babylon. I therefore do not agree with any reconstructions of this part of Alexander's route that follow from Herzfeld's identification. In my view, the three references

---

<sup>40</sup> Feuser 2009.

<sup>41</sup> Here, for example, is Lane Fox, who bases himself on what he calls Herzfeld's "brilliant point" and makes the second and third places into one: "Rid therefore of a few hundred veterans, Alexander left his new city to be built and sailed up the Tigris, removing weirs and allowing his surveyors to measure the length of the river. At Opis, on the river bend south of modern Baghdad, he paused to meet Hephaestion and the land army" (Lane Fox 2004, 423). After identifying the new Alexandria and the Villages of the Carae as the same place at the mouth of the Tigris, Lane Fox combines the two stops after that. He then creates the following elegant reconstruction of Alexander's activities, speaking of Alexander's journey from "Susa to Spasinou Charax (the Carian Villages)": "At the mouth of the Tigris, he was able to lighten his load. Where the Dur-Ellil canal meets the eastern edge of the river estuary, the Persian kings had founded a royal garrison two hundred years before and stocked it with Carian settlers, fellow countrymen of Scylax the sea captain and those well suited to naval work on the Persian gulf" (Lane Fox 2004, 422–23 and 543). "The route in [Diod. 17] 110.3–4 is not without logic, once it is realized that it refers to his journey from Susa to Spasinou Charax (the Carian Villages), then through Sittacene (cp. S. 16.1.17) .... The days' intervals are incomplete and the list in in a muddled order, but this itinerary certainly goes back to an eye-witness" (Lane Fox 2004, 543–44). Note that Lane Fox makes the equation Charax = Carian Villages and then says that the list is in a muddled order.

<sup>42</sup> Green 1991, 453.

to Carae or the villages of the Carae in Diodorus may all be to the same location, as in Alternative 4 above.

In the end, it seems likely that Alexander came back from India through Susa, sailed to the Persian Gulf, visiting the site of what later would be called an Alexandria, and *then* moved north to the villages of the Carians that may have been on the banks of the Tigris. The place where Arrian states that Hephaestion and the whole army encamped may have been Carae—villages of foreigners with a Greek background might have been a perfect place for a long encampment. Alexander crossed the Tigris again in order to move north.<sup>43</sup> Then he moved through the area of Sittacenê, marching to fight hostile tribes to the north and defeating them before returning to Babylon. If this reconstruction is correct, the villages of the Carae were not at some unknown location between Susa and Media as Alternative 1 states, but west of the Tigris to the east of Babylon, as in Alternative 4. Since the location known as the villages of the Carians is mentioned in reference to Alexander, it becomes an interesting candidate to be the site referred to Diod. 19.12 and 19.91.

### Eumenes and the villages of the Carians<sup>44</sup>

Diod. 19.12 may help determine the general location of the villages of the Carians and the extent of Seleucus' knowledge of the location as a settlement for soldiers. Yet, this passage must be understood in its historical context. Before his death, Antipater declared Polyperchon regent, passing over his son Cassander. When Antipater died in 319, the Second Diadoch War erupted (318-316); on one side were Cassander, Antigonus and Ptolemy, and on the other side were Polyperchon and Eumenes (the supreme general in Asia). In Asia, Antigonus drove Eumenes further east. Eumenes spent the winter of 318/17 at a location in Babylonia called the villages of the Carae. I cite the passage again for convenience:

In Asia, Eumenes with the Macedonian Silver Shields and their commander Antigenes wintered in the villages of Babylonia known as the villages of the Carians. He sent embassies to Seleucus and Pithon asking them to aid the kings and to join him in the struggle against Antigonus.<sup>45</sup>

When Eumenes, from the villages of the Carians, attempts to enlist Seleucus and Pithon, they not only refuse but also send an ambassador to Antigenes and the Silver Shields imploring them to remove Eumenes from command. It is important to underline that Seleucus knew about the presence of Macedonian forces at the villages of the Carians and communicated with the forces there. Roisman emphasizes that the entire army, not only the Silver Shields, were encamped at this location.<sup>46</sup> The Macedonian soldiers at the villages of the Carae not only

---

<sup>43</sup> Bradford Welles, in the Loeb edition of Diodorus 17, does admit this as a possibility: 442-443, n. 1.

<sup>44</sup> Anson 2015, 173-174; cf. Anson 2004, 159-160.

<sup>45</sup> In the distribution made at Triparadeisus, Pithon had been appointed satrap of Media and Seleucus satrap of Babylonia (Diod. 18.39.6).

<sup>46</sup> Roisman 2012, 193.



disregarded the request but, remaining loyal to Eumenes, left with him. Eumenes headed for Susa where he hoped to rally the armies of the upper satrapies. The issue here was crossing the Tigris:

Eumenes .... set out with the army and pitched camp on reaching the Tigris River at a distance of three hundred stades from Babylon.<sup>47</sup> He was forced, however, to cross the river because the country behind him had been plundered, whereas that on the other side was untouched and able to furnish abundant food for his army. When he, accordingly, had gathered boats from all sides for the crossing, Seleucus and Pithon sailed down with two triremes and a good many punts, for these craft still survived from those that had been built by Alexander near Babylon.<sup>48</sup>

In this view, the villages of the Carians were south or southeast of Babylon and were most certainly west of the Tigris. This latter point is extremely significant for my purpose here.

### **Seleucus in Diod. 19.91 and the Villages of the Carians**

I will now bring several chronological and geographical arguments to support the theory that Seleucus visited the villages of the Carians. Here, I find it helpful to think about the Third Diadoch War as a war of calculation, a fascinating chess game with many pieces, not only with the players/Kings Antigonus and Ptolemy but also Cassander, whose actions for our purpose here affect those of Antigonus, who fights a two-front war. The queens of Antigonus and Ptolemy are Demetrius and Seleucus, respectively, and the bishops and knights are their various commanders. The pawns are the various cities and localities that sometimes had minds of their own and revolted against one side or transferred their allegiance from one to the other. As on a chessboard, movements can be quick and dramatic, and recognizing this fact is important for my suggestion that Seleucus marched in a direct route to Babylonia. I suggest that these military movements are not so much the stuff of legend as historical actions in a war where urgency and surprise were important weapons.

I will quickly review the relevant events of 312/11 to provide the context for Seleucus's actions and in order to understand the nature of our main source, Diodorus's account. In the summer of 312, the people of Cyrene no longer wanted to serve as Ptolemy's loyal pawns and revolt; they were on the verge of defeating the garrison in the citadel (Diod. 19.79.1-3). From Alexandria, Ptolemy sent ambassadors who were killed and the attack on the citadel only intensified. He sent Agis with an army and Epaenetus with a fleet to quell the rebellion. This revolt may have been part of a wider insurrection as a result of general dissatisfaction with Ptolemy or at the instigation of Antigonus, or both, because Ptolemy felt it necessary to go himself to Cyprus where other kings had become disobedient (79.4-5). He executed one king,

---

<sup>47</sup> In the Loeb edition of Diodorus 19, Geer notes (260, n. 3) that three hundred *stades* equal "about 34½ miles. He crossed Mesopotamia below Babylon." Note Geer's use of Mesopotamia as a region far south of Harran.

<sup>48</sup> Seleucus uses triremes and other large boats built for Alexander after his return to Babylon and shortly before his passing (Arr. *Anab.* 7.19.4), twelve or thirteen years earlier in 324. Again, Seleucus' knowledge of this area and its resources is substantial.

Pygmalion, and arrested two others who had been negotiating with Antigonos. In the latter half of summer or early fall, having placed a general over Cyprus, Ptolemy sailed to northern Syria, captured and sacked Poseidium and Potami Caron, and then sailed on to Cilicia, where he took Malus, plundering “the neighboring territory” and giving spoils to his soldiers.

In 80.1–2, Demetrius, who has been in Coelê-Syria for some time, waiting for Ptolemy’s invasion,<sup>49</sup> heard of Ptolemy’s actions in Cilicia and forced his men to move so quickly, covering hundreds of miles in six days, that he lost many of his horses during the march. But he was too late; Ptolemy had already sailed away, first to Cyprus and then to Egypt. The story as it has come down to us (19.80.3) is that Seleucus convinced Ptolemy to march from Egypt to Palestine, that Ptolemy wanted to go home and stay home for the winter at this point,<sup>50</sup> but that Seleucus convinced him that this was the time to strike because Antigonos was in winter quarters along the Hellespont (19.77.5–7)<sup>51</sup> and they could defeat his young son Demetrius. Seleucus felt the power vacuum that would allow Ptolemy to take Syria and Seleucus to return to Babylon. This may be true or partially true, but this account also smacks of pro-Seleucid bias, saying, in effect, that Ptolemy only marched to Palestine to win the Battle of Gaza because Seleucus talked him into it. In that sense, the victory belongs to Seleucus because without him, it never would have taken place. In a debate that would last until the second century, the question of which kingdom Coelê-Syria belonged to would be the subject of not only propagandistic rhetoric but also a basis for the six Syrian Wars. Ptolemy, however, was his own man, the same man who would sign an agreement not even a year later in 311 that would not even include Seleucus and would leave him isolated in his fight against Antigonos. Simpson may be right that Ptolemy did not have any choice if he wanted to be included in an agreement that had basically been set without him,<sup>52</sup> but the fact remains that Ptolemy did what was good for Ptolemy. And it may be that it was only after the Battle of Gaza that Seleucus himself saw just how open Babylon was, because Pithon, Antigonos’s satrap in Babylonia (19.56.4), was killed in that conflict.

I suggest that after securing his western (Libya) and northern (Cyprus) flanks and testing Antigonid strength in Syria and Cilicia, Ptolemy went home to Egypt, planning to collect a major army and turn around and come back to Palestine by land. Diodorus tells us in 19.79.7 why Ptolemy had provided rich spoils for his soldiers in the plunder of the area around Malus in Cilicia because “his playing up to the soldiers in this way was designed to evoke enthusiasm in face of the encounters that were approaching.” This sounds like a man planning his next major move, not someone going home to hibernate. Whatever the deciding factor, Ptolemy and Seleucus began a major invasion of Syria, marching by land from Pelusium through the desert. Demetrius, who apparently has been fooled by Ptolemy’s return to Egypt, was to recall his troops from their winter quarters, the main indication how late in the year it was:

---

<sup>49</sup> According to Diod. 19.69 (see Plut. *Demetr.* 5.2 and App. *Syr.* 54), Antigonos had left Demetrius, at the young age of 22, in Syria to wait for Ptolemy’s attack from Egypt.

<sup>50</sup> Billows 1990, 125, n. 57; Meeus says that Ptolemy “was goaded into invading Phoenicia by Seleucus” (Meeus 2012, 229, n. 23).

<sup>51</sup> Or perhaps at Celaenae; cf. Diod 19.69.2; Wheatley 1998, 274.

<sup>52</sup> Simpson 1954, 26–7, 29–30.

“Demetrius, who had likewise summoned his soldiers to Old Gaza from their winter quarters on all sides, awaited the approach of his opponents” (19.80.5).<sup>53</sup> The date of the battle of Gaza, as I indicated at the beginning of this paper, is generally accepted as no earlier than autumn 312.<sup>54</sup>

The next question for my purpose is how soon did Seleucus leave for Babylon after the battle. If the battle was in October and Seleucus left immediately after it, he would have until April 311 to get to Babylon (when we know he was there; see note 3 above). If the Battle of Gaza was in late autumn or early winter, and Seleucus was with Ptolemy as he moved north to conquer Phoenicia, he could only leave for Babylon in the middle of winter or early spring, and this would make a quick march to Babylon as opposed to a longer march through Harran more plausible. Diodorus reports that Seleucus left for Babylon: “after the defeat of Demetrius at Gaza in Syria, Seleucus, receiving from Ptolemy no more than eight hundred foot soldiers and about two hundred horse, set out for Babylon” (Diod. 19.90.1).

There are two ways to read Diodorus’ account: one is that it was immediately after the battle; the other is that it was not for weeks if not for months. It is likely that Diodorus means that Ptolemy dispatched Seleucus right after the battle. The Parian Marble, which contains this entry for 312/11, seems to confirm such a reading:

From the time when there was an eclipse of the sun, and Ptolemy defeated Demetrius at Gaza and dispatched Seleucus to Babylon, 48 years, and Polemon was archon at Athens (FGrH 239 F B16).<sup>55</sup>

Leaving aside the problem of the reference to an eclipse here, it may seem that the Battle of Gaza and Seleucus’ march to Babylon are immediate, consecutive events. And then there is the supporting evidence from Appian, who says that after the Battle at Gaza: “Ptolemy immediately sent Seleucus to resume the government and gave him 1000 foot-soldiers and 300 horse for this purpose” (App. Syr. 54). The Parian Marble only states that Gaza and Seleucus’ departure for Babylon happened in the same year. Appian may have focused on the Diodorus reference without thinking about earlier ones where Diodorus discusses actions and events after the battle that involve Seleucus—e.g., “Ptolemy and Seleucus permitted the recovery of the dead, and they returned to Demetrius without ransom the royal baggage which had been captured” (19.85.3). Seleucus is very much a part of this negotiation process—his antagonism

---

<sup>53</sup> That Demetrius brings his army together again after the men had been distributed into their winter camps has a parallel in 19.68 where Ptolemaeus, Antigonos’ general who had divided his men for winter quarters, gathers his troops again to fight against Cassander’s commander Eupolemus in Caria.

<sup>54</sup> Wheatley: October is possible but that it could not have been later than November (Wheatley 2003, 274 with n. 32); Errington: late summer or autumn (Errington 1977, 499); Billows: “presumably not earlier than the middle of December” (Billows 1990, 136); Anson “would place the battle no earlier than the late autumn of 312, and more likely the winter” (Anson 2006, 229); Hauben: “late autumn,” for if Ptolemy only held Sidon for several months (Plut. *Demetr.* 5–6 and Paus. 1.6.5), the battle of Gaza must have been in late 312 (Hauben 1973, 265); Meeus: “it would seem that the battle of Gaza was probably fought in December or early January” (Meeus 2012, 89, n. 63).

<sup>55</sup> The Parian Marble is an inscription that originally may have been displayed at a Parian shrine honoring Archilochus, and seems to have been based on the archives of Athens as its dates are based on the years of Athenian archons. But see Wheatley 2007, 189: “At best, the Parian Marble must be handled with great caution.”

to Demetrius's father Antigonus is based on the fact that they were once allies who had fought together against Perdiccas and then Eumenes and had a "compact of friendship," but that Antigonus had taken his satrapy of Babylonia away from him (19.85.3).

At this point in the story, Ptolemy and Seleucus now moved into Phoenicia, gaining control of the "open country" and then winning Sidon (Diod. 19.86.1). As noted above (note 2), Diodorus' statement that Sidon was the first city to submit to Ptolemy after Gaza should be combined with the coinage from Sidon that indicates Ptolemaic control of the city in the year 312/311 but only for several months before it reverted to Antigoniid hands.<sup>56</sup> The phrase "open country" is odd considering that we know from a later reference that Diodorus knows that Ptolemy took "Ake in Phoenician Syria and Ioppe, Samaria and Gaza in Syria" (19.93.7). Josephus, based on the account of Agatharchides of Cnidus, "the historian of the Diadochi," tells us that Ptolemy takes Jerusalem and Judaea: "Now Ptolemy, after taking many captives both from the hill country of Judaea and the district round Jerusalem and from Samaria and those on Garizein, brought them all to Egypt and settled them there" (AJ 12.3-10).<sup>57</sup> While it is not clear why Diodorus does not speak of these conquests in 19.86, the point is that all of these battles and actions took time, at least several weeks.

Next, Ptolemy and Seleucus moved on Tyre and asked for its surrender, but the garrison commander Andronicus refused bribes and honors and would not betray Antigonus and Demetrius. His soldiers mutinied, and he was captured by Ptolemy, but treated with honor and forgiveness. In praising Ptolemy's character, Diodorus reviews how he had welcomed Seleucus when he fled to Egypt after his mistreatment by Antigonus. It is only now that Seleucus asks permission to go to Babylon:

Therefore on this occasion also, when Seleucus asked him to give him soldiers for an expedition into Babylonia, he readily consented; and in addition, he promised to aid him in every way until he should regain the satrapy that had formerly been his. (Diod. 19.86.5)

Following Diodorus, Seleucus does not seem to leave for Babylonia immediately after the Battle of Gaza but rather seems to stay with Ptolemy for what may be weeks if not a few months of negotiations and military action in Phoenicia. Based on the order of the narrative in Diodorus, Seleucus only asks and Ptolemy only agrees to the Babylonia mission *after* Phoenicia is secure. The shorter notice in 19.90.1 should be seen as a quick review in order to return to this subject. Thus, Boiy places the Battle of Gaza in late 312 and says: "Gradually Ptolemy was able to lay his hand on Palestine and Phoenicia."<sup>58</sup> Seleucus does not leave until some months after that.<sup>59</sup> Winnicki does not have Seleucus leave until the second half of March 311.<sup>60</sup> Billows has the

---

<sup>56</sup> Wheatley 2003.

<sup>57</sup> Wheatley 2003, 272, n. 16.

<sup>58</sup> Boiy 2007, 145.

<sup>59</sup> See Boiy 2007, 124–128 for a grid of the various reconstructions of the chronology of events including the battle of Gaza and Seleucus's arrival in Babylonia. My view seems closest to Wheatley 2002 and Winnicki 1989.

<sup>60</sup> Winnicki 1989, 78.

battle in mid-December and the departure no earlier than January 311.<sup>61</sup> Whatever the exact timing, there is a short time period before Seleucus is at the gates of Babylon in April 311 as set by the cuneiform evidence, narrowing the window for Seleucus' march and raising of an army.

## The March

At the very least, there should be uncertainty in the study of Seleucus' route to Babylon, since we cannot be certain about Diodorus' reference to "Carae" in 19.91. It is possible that Karrha is correct in Diod. 19.91, but it would seem illogical. The entire unusual winter campaign was designed by Seleucus to enable him to regain Babylon while Antigonus and Demetrius were far from that area. Antigonus was in the west, Demetrius had summoned his soldiers to Tripolis to help form a new army (Diod. 19.85.5) and Pithon their satrap in Babylonia had died at the Battle of Gaza. If Seleucus went north to Karrha and then south to Babylonia, he would have taken a very long route in a situation where time was of the essence and this necessitated a short route.<sup>62</sup> A quick look at the map shows just how far north it would have been for Seleucus to go to Harran, and how it would have made much better sense to go directly east from Tyre to Babylonia. Kosmin describes Seleucid's triumph:

following Ptolemy's victory over Antigoniid forces at Gaza in 312, Seleucus hurried through the Arabian desert with a tiny band of followers to reclaim his satrapal command; this triumphal return to Babylon marked the birth of the Seleucid empire.<sup>63</sup>

Yet in his reconstruction of the events of 312–311, Billows suggests that Seleucus took the roundabout route from Tyre to Babylon.<sup>64</sup> In this scheme, Seleucus left Tyre no earlier than late January 311, followed the course of the Fertile Crescent up the Orontes Valley, marched east to the Euphrates and crossed near the site where he would later found the colony of Nikephorion,<sup>65</sup> moved on to Karrhai/Harran in northern Mesopotamia where he founded a colony of Macedonian veterans (Diod. 19.91), and only then marched south to Babylonia. In this view, even this circuitous path was only followed safely because it was the middle of winter.

It would seem that no description of this route could be much more different from that of the dramatic march as narrated by Diodorus, who tells a dramatic and propagandistic tale of

---

<sup>61</sup> Billows 1990, 136–37.

<sup>62</sup> Grainger states that "The fact that Seleukos was greeted warmly by the inhabitants when he reached Babylon rather suggests that he had been preparing the ground in advance" (1990, 73).

<sup>63</sup> Kosmin 2014, 16.

<sup>64</sup> Defending the high chronology of Gaza in spring 312 and the expedition to Babylon in the late summer of that year, Bosworth needs the long, circuitous route (Bosworth 2002, 231). The low chronology, however, as Winnicki explains at length, fits well with a shorter and faster route to Babylon (Winnicki 1989, 76–84).

<sup>65</sup> Since Karrhai is north of Nikephorion and away from Babylon, it would seem more likely that Seleucus crossed the Euphrates further south and that Nikephorion would not have been the site of the crossing. Also, while the name of the colony surely refers to Seleucus as victor, the site itself was not the place of any victory. The use of Nikephorion in this scheme seems anachronistic.

Seleucus and his march “into the interior” to Babylon:

In Asia, after the defeat of Demetrius at Gaza in Syria, Seleucus, receiving from Ptolemy no more than 800 footsoldiers and about 200 horse, set out for Babylon.<sup>66</sup> He was so puffed up with great expectations that, even if he had had no army whatever, he would have made the expedition into the interior with his friends and his own slaves; for he assumed that the Babylonians, on account of the goodwill that had previously existed, would promptly join him (Diod. 19.90.1).

While Seleucus’ men are terror-stricken, their leader, with strong and confident oratory, states that men who marched with Alexander should rely on their own military prowess and not be discouraged by obstacles such as the mighty armies that may be arrayed against them. The account even includes divine portents.<sup>67</sup> Seleucus expresses his intense faith in his personal destiny, for he is the new Alexander:

He added that they ought also to believe the oracles of the gods which had foretold that the end of his campaign would be worthy of his purpose; for, when he had consulted the oracle in Branchidae, the god had greeted him as King Seleucus, and Alexander standing beside him in a dream had given him a clear sign of the future leadership that was destined to fall to him in the course of time (Diod. 19.90.3-4).

While Diodorus 18–20 seems to have been based partly on the work of Hieronymus of Cardia (c. 364–260 B.C.E.), a pro-Antigonid Greek general and historian who is referred to explicitly by Diodorus as “the writer of the history” (Diod. 19.100.2),<sup>68</sup> Diodorus also worked with other sources, at least one of which was a Seleucid Romance, a legendary account that often overpowers the less dramatic account of Hieronymus.<sup>69</sup> As Primo has stated, it is clear that Diodorus incorporates some of the historiographical motives elaborated at the Syrian court.<sup>70</sup> The Seleucid narrative has been suggested to be the work of Demodamas of Miletus through the transmission of Duris of Samos<sup>71</sup> or that of the Seleucid general Patrocles.<sup>72</sup> Diodorus’

---

<sup>66</sup> The propagandistic implication may be that Ptolemy gave Seleucus very little and should not get credited with any portion of the victory.

<sup>67</sup> Compare also Diod. 19.55.7, where we are told that the Chaldean astrologers warned Antigonus to expect danger from Seleucus. Other signs and omens of Seleucus’s future greatness are given in App. Syr. 9.56. Was Seleucus already of such importance that astrologers were making predictions about him, or did the Babylonians yearn for his return so much that they designed these omens, or were all of these items placed in these later narratives to predict Seleucus’s importance?

<sup>68</sup> Hieronymus, who served Eumenes, Antigonus and Demetrius, wrote a history of the Diadochi during his residence at the court of the Antigonids; see Hadley 1969, 142–152; Errington 1970, 49–77; Errington 1977, 478–504; Hornblower 1981; Landucci Gattinoni 2008, xii–xxiv; Roisman 2010, 135–148. Could it be that we can see evidence of the use of two sources in the many differences in the descriptions of Demetrius’s army in 19.69.1 and 82.2–4? Perhaps the first text is based on Hieronymus and the second on a report of the Battle of Gaza from the victorious Seleucid side.

<sup>69</sup> Landucci Gattinoni 2013, 30–42; Kosmin 2014, 94–100.

<sup>70</sup> Primo 2009, 186: “è chiaro che Diodoro ha recepito alcuni dei motivi storiografici elaborati alla corte siriana”.

<sup>71</sup> Landucci Gattinoni 1997, 194–203; Landucci Gattinoni 2008, xii–xxiv.

<sup>72</sup> Primo 2009, 186.



description of Seleucus on the road to Babylon clearly follows a pro-Seleucid account.<sup>73</sup> Yet as skewed as this account is, it is at least plausible that there is a historical kernel of a faster rather than a slower route to Babylon. In a much briefer manner, here is Appian: “With this small force Seleucus took Babylon, the inhabitants receiving him with enthusiasm, and within a short time he augmented his power greatly” (App. Syr. 54). This may constitute the historical core of these events. Thus, we have evidence of many forced marches in Diodorus’ account. We also have evidence of movement across the Arabian desert in these years. Billows himself discusses how a year or two later, in 310-9, Ptolemy sent troops across the Arabian desert to aid Seleucus in Babylon (Arr. *Ind.* 43.4-5),<sup>74</sup> indicating that such marches were made in that time. Did this second wave of troops from Ptolemy follow Seleucus’ example? According to Plutarch, Demetrius marches through the desert to attack Babylon (see below). After his defeat by Seleucus, Nicanor escapes across the desert (Diod. 19.92.5). Seleucus may also have crossed the desert from Syria to Babylon.

What would the shorter route across the desert have been? Winnicki proposes a route from Gaza to Elusa to Oboda to Petra to Dumatha that arrived in Babylonia south of Babylon,<sup>75</sup> near the location of the villages of the Carians as I have proposed it.<sup>76</sup> I find his proposal very intriguing, but I am concerned that this route has Seleucus leaving from Gaza rather than from further north, where we know Seleucus was at that time. Perhaps, instead, Seleucus followed the Jordan River and then connected to this route at Oboda or Petra.

## Μεσοποταμία

Diodorus states that “when in his advance he [Seleucus] entered Mesopotamia, he persuaded some of the Macedonians who were settled at Carae to join his forces, and compelled the rest.” Since Diodorus knows that Seleucus entered “Mesopotamia” and came to Κάραϊς in 19.91.1, scholars have thought that Κάραϊς here must mean Harran, the Greek *Κάρραι*, a major ancient city in what has been referred to as Upper Mesopotamia. That Seleucus entered

---

<sup>73</sup> The bias is clear: Seleucus was highly popular in Babylon where he had ruled so well and with such beneficence that he hardly needed a force to take the city; he was the popular hero; the city had waited for him to return. Seleucus liberates his loyal admirers, friends and slaves who have been languishing in prison for years. “In this way, then, Seleucus regained Babylonia.” Even “regained” feels biased. Supported by the gods and the spirit of Alexander, Seleucus is inspiring. He is a liberator. He is the recipient of long-lasting loyalty. He is hugely popular with the common people. There seem to be two dimensions of winning Babylon with a small force: it took great bravery, skill and strategy, and it could only be accomplished because the entire city was a fifth column waiting for their hero’s return. Both elements betray subjectivity.

<sup>74</sup> Billows 1990, 139; cf. Schober 1981, 128-29; Winnicki 1989, 78-84; but see the demurral in Bosworth 2002, 232-233, who stipulates Diodorus’s location of Carae in Mesopotamia (discussed below).

<sup>75</sup> Winnicki 1989, 79 and 91.

<sup>76</sup> “Ihr Name knüpft sicherlich an das frühere karische Siedlungswesen in Südbabylonien an, wo das ganze Gebiet zwischen der Tigris und Euphratmündung von Karern in persischer Zeit der Namen *Krkā* führte” (Winnicki 1989, 78). Again, this is different from what I have proposed and seems to echo Herzfeld’s theory (above, n. 36) that I have tried to refute.

“Mesopotamia” does indeed, on the surface seem to support the identification of Κάραις with Harran. Yet while Μεσσοποταμία does mean “between two rivers,” and there is no question that the rivers involved are the Tigris and the Euphrates, this ambiguous and flexible Greek term can be applied to any and all geographical areas between and near those rivers. After Seleucus takes Babylon in 311, two references to Mesopotamia in the versions of the counter-attack by Demetrius presented by Diodorus and in Plutarch, may be interpreted to mean that “Mesopotamia” in Diod. 19.91 refers to southern or lower Mesopotamia or the area near or around Babylon and supports the case that the passage speaks of “the villages of the Carians.”

In his *Life of Demetrius*, Plutarch discusses how Demetrius contends with the Nabataean Arabs and takes huge spoils, and then moves north. While his father Antigonus had once taken Babylon from Seleucus, Seleucus has recovered it and marched east, leaving a vacuum: “Meantime Demetrius, hoping to find Mesopotamia unprotected, suddenly crossed the Euphrates, and invaded Babylonia.”<sup>77</sup> Demetrius came up through the desert, crossed the Euphrates and attacked Babylon. Mesopotamia here thus means southern Mesopotamia. If Demetrius were coming through Mesopotamia from the area around Harran he would be on the same side of the Euphrates as Babylon and would not need to cross it.

At this point it is useful to return to Diodorus’ account of Demetrius’ movements in 19.100.5-7. Here, Demetrius seems to have returned from the Arabian desert to his father Antigonus in Upper Syria, from which he now moves against Babylon:

So Demetrius, having set out from Damascus in Syria, carried out his father's orders with zeal. Patrocles, who had been established as general of Babylonia by Seleucus, hearing that the enemy was on the frontiers of Mesopotamia, did not dare await their arrival since he had few men at hand; but he gave orders to the civilians to leave the city, bidding some of them cross the Euphrates and take refuge in the desert and some of them pass over the Tigris and go into Susianê to Euteles and to the Red Sea; and he himself with what soldiers he had, using river courses and canals as defenses, kept moving about in the satrapy, watching the enemy and at the same time sending word into Media to Seleucus about what was taking place from time to time and urging him to send aid as soon as possible. When Demetrius on his arrival at Babylon found the city abandoned, he began to besiege the citadels.

The “frontiers of Mesopotamia” must not mean Harran here, as it would be based on the usual explanation of 19.91. If Demetrius were moving so quickly that the pro-Seleucus civilians were running for their lives, so quickly that Seleucus did not have time to return and defend Babylon or even send aid, then Demetrius seems to have been moving directly east and had not gone up north to Harran—he entered the “frontiers of Mesopotamia” closer to Babylon. Patrocles was busy keeping his eye on the enemy, so Demetrius was probably not on a march covering hundreds of miles.

My point here is that in this sequel within Diodorus himself and in the parallel passage in Plutarch, “Mesopotamia” is used in a way that lends itself to the interpretation of a southern region between the two rivers, which would fit with an interpretation of 19.91.1 in which

---

<sup>77</sup> Plut. *Demetr.* 7.3, trans. Perrin, Loeb ed.; cf. Diod. 19.100.4.

Seleucus comes to “the villages of the Carians” in Mesopotamia.

## Conclusions

In this brief paper, I have suggested that the seemingly-mysterious “villages of the Carians” bore a well-known name, perhaps going back to the fifth century B.C.E. As such, they should be our first choice for locating the references in Diodorus, including 19.91. Consequently, we should reconsider arguments that reconstruct Seleucus’ route as going so far north to Karrha and be open to the possibility that Seleucus moved along a quicker route to Babylonia. Even though Diodorus’ account of Seleucus’ march to Babylonia is laden with Seleucid propaganda, we may still attempt to distill the historical layer underneath. As I have attempted to show here, it seems reasonable to suggest that this legendary march may have been based on a historical march that was shorter rather than longer and that he set out with a force of around a thousand soldiers that required him to enlist more soldiers on the way. Seleucus hoped to fill his ranks at a place where he knew troops were available. It would make perfect sense for Seleucus to collect soldiers during the winter months at an established winter quarters, a known military community, the “villages of the Carians.”

BENJAMIN SCOLNIC  
SOUTHERN CONNECTICUT STATE UNIVERSITY

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Anson, E.M. 2004; 2nd ed. 2015. *Eumenes of Cardia. A Greek Among Macedonians*. Leiden.
- Anson, E.M. 2006. “The Chronology of the Third Diadoch War,” *Phoenix* 60: 226-235.
- Atkinson, J.E. 2009. *Curtius Rufus. Histories of Alexander the Great, Book 10*. Oxford.
- Billows, R.A. 1990. *Antigonos the One-Eyed and the Creation of the Hellenistic State*. Berkeley.
- Boiy, T. 2000. “Dating Methods during the Early Hellenistic Period,” *JCS* 52: 115-121.
- Boiy, T. 2004. *Late Achaemenid and Hellenistic Babylon*. Leuven.
- Boiy, T. 2007. *Between High and Low. A Chronology of the Early Hellenistic Period. Oikumene. Studien zur antiken Weltgeschichte, Bd. 5*. Frankfurt.
- Boiy, T. 2011. “The Reigns of the Seleucid Kings According to the Babylon King List,” *JNES* 70: 1-12.
- Bosworth, A.B. 1980; 1995. *A Historical Commentary on Arrian’s History of Alexander*, 2 vols. Oxford.
- Bosworth, A.B. 1988. *Conquest and Empire: the Reign of Alexander the Great*. Cambridge.
- Bosworth, A.B. 1992. “Philip III Arrhidaeus and the Chronology of the Successors,” *Chiron* 22: 55-81.

- Bosworth, A.B. 2002. *The Legacy of Alexander: Politics, Warfare, and Propaganda under the Successors*. Oxford.
- Brown, J. Pairman. 2001. *The Legacy of Iranian Imperialism and the Individual: Volumes 1-3*. Berlin.
- Carney, E.D. 2005. "Women and Dunasteia in Caria," *AJP* 126: 65–91.
- Clay, A.T. 1912. *Business Documents of Murashu Sons of Nippur Dated in the Reign of Darius II Vol. II, N. 1*. Philadelphia.
- Cohen, G.M. 2013. *Hellenistic Settlements in the East from Armenia and Mesopotamia to Bactria and India*. Berkeley.
- Eilers, W. 1940. "Kleinasiatishes," *ZDMG* 94: 189–233.
- Errington, R.M. 1970. "From Babylon to Triparadeisos, 323–320 B.C.," *JHS* 90: 49–77.
- Errington, R. M. 1977. "Diodorus Siculus and the Chronology of the Early Diadochoi 320–311 B.C.," *Hermes* 105: 478–504.
- Feuser, S. 2009. *Der Hafen von Alexandria Troas*. Asia Minor Studien, 63. Bonn.
- Fraser, P.M. 1996. *Cities of Alexander the Great*. Oxford.
- Grainger, J.D. 1990. *Seleukos Nikator: Constructing a Hellenistic Kingdom*. London.
- Grainger, J.D. 2014. *The Rise of the Seleukid Empire 323–223 BC: Seleukos I to Seleukos III*. South Yorkshire.
- Green, P. 1991. *Alexander of Macedon 356–323 B.C.: A Historical Biography*. Berkeley.
- Green, T.M. 1992. *The City of the Moon God: Religious Traditions of Harran*. Leiden.
- Grosso, F. 1958. "Gli deportati in Persia," *Rivista di filologia e di istruzione classica* 86: 350–75.
- Hadley, R. 1969. "Hieronymus of Cardia and Early Seleucid Mythology," *Historia* 18: 142–152.
- Hamilton, J.R. 1969. *Plutarch, Alexander: A Commentary*. Oxford.
- Hammond, N.G.L. 1983. *Three Historians of Alexander the Great: The so-called Vulgate Authors, Diodorus, Justin and Curtius*. Cambridge.
- Hammond, N.G.L. 1998. "Alexander's Newly-founded Cities," *GRBS* 39: 243–270.
- Hansman, J. "Characene and Charax," <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/characene-and-charax-spasinou-in-pre-islamic-times>.
- Hansman, J. 1967. "Charax and the Karkheh," *Iranica Antiqua* 7: 21–58.
- Hauben, H. 1973. "On the Chronology of the Years 313–311 B.C.," *AJP* 94: 256–267.
- Herzfeld, E. 1968. "A Carian Naval Station on the Tigris," in G. Walser, ed., *The Persian Empire: Studies in Geography and Ethnography of the Ancient Near East, edited from the Posthumous Papers*. Weisbaden: 9.
- Hornblower, J. 1981. *Hieronymus of Cardia*. Oxford.
- Karlsson, L. and S. Carlsson, 2011. *Labraunda and Karia*. Uppsala.

- Kosmin, P. 2014. *The Land of The Elephant Kings: Space, Territory and Ideology in the Seleucid Empire*. Cambridge MA.
- Krentz, P., and E.L. Wheeler. 1994. *Polyaenus. Stratagems of War*, 2 vols. Chicago.
- LaBuff, J. 2013. "Who(')s(e) Karian? Language, Names, and Identity," *AHB* 27: 86-107.
- Landucci Gattinoni, F. 2013. "Seleucus vs. Antigonus: A Study of the Sources," in V. Alonso Troncoso and E.M. Anson, eds., *After Alexander: The Time of the Diadochi (323-381 BC)*. Oxford: 30-42.
- Landucci Gattinoni, F. 1997. *Duride di Samo*. Rome.
- Landucci Gattinoni, F. 2008. *Diodoro Siculo. Biblioteca storica. Libro XVIII. Commento storico*. Milan.
- Lane Fox, R. 2004. *Alexander the Great*. New York.
- Meeus, A. 2009. "The History of the Diadochoi in Book XIX of Diodorus' *Bibliotheca Historica*. A Historical and Historiographical Commentary," diss. Leuven.
- Meeus, A. 2012. "Diodorus and the Chronology of the Third Diadoch War," *Phoenix* 66: 74-96.
- Merker, I.L. 1964. "Notes on Abdalonymos and the Dated Alexander Coinage of Sidon and Ake," *ANSMN* 11: 13-20.
- Newell, E.T. 1916. *The Dated Alexander Coinage of Sidon and Ake*. New Haven.
- Nodelman, Sh.A. 1960. "A Preliminary History of Characene," *Berytus* 13: 83-121.
- Oded, B. 1979. *Mass Deportations and Deportees in the Neo-Babylonian Empire*. Wiesbaden.
- Orth, W. 1993. *Die Diadochenzeit im Spiegel der historischen Geographie*. Wiesbaden.
- Pearce, L.E. and C. Wunsch. 2014. *Documents of Judean Exiles and West Semites in Babylonia in the Collection of David Sofer*. Bethesda, MD.
- Penella, R.J. 1974. "Scopelianus and the Eretrians in Cissia," *Athenaeum* 52: 295-300.
- Potts, D.T. 1999. "Elamite Ula, Akkadian Ulaya and the Greek Choaspes: a Solution to the Eulaios Problem," *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 13: 27-44.
- Primo, A. 2009. *La storiografia sui Seleucidi: da Megastene a Eusebio di Cesarea*. Pisa.
- Rathmann, M. 2005. *Diodoros. Griechische Weltgeschichte. Buch XVIII-XX*. Stuttgart.
- Ray, J.D. 1995. "Soldiers to Pharaoh: The Carians of Southwest Anatolia," in J.M. Sasson, ed., *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East Vol. II*. New York: 1189-94.
- Roisman, J. 2010. "Hieronymus of Cardia: Causation and Bias from Alexander to his Successors," in E.D. Carney and D. Ogden, eds., *Philip II and Alexander the Great: Father and Son, Lives and Afterlives*. Oxford: 135-148.
- Roisman, J. 2012. *Alexander's Veterans and the Early Wars of the Successors*. Austin.
- Schmitt, R. 1976-80. "Karer," *RIA* 5: 423-25.
- Schober, L. 1981. *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte Babyloniens und der Oberen Satrapien von 323-303 v. Chr.* Frankfurt.

- Schoff, W.H. 1914. *Parthian Stations by Isidore of Charax: The Greek text, with a translation and commentary*. Philadelphia.
- Schuol, M. 2000. *Die Charakene: Ein mesopotamisches Königreich in hellenistisch-parthischer Zeit*. Stuttgart.
- Sears, M.A. 2014. "Alexander and Ada Reconsidered," *CP* 109: 211–221.
- Shapur Shahbazi, A. 1983. "Darius' Haft-Kišvar," in H.M. Koch and D.N. MacKenzie, eds., *Kunst, Kultur und Geschichte der Achämenidenzeit und ihr Fortleben* (Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran, Ergänzungsband 10). Berlin: 239–46.
- Simpson, R.H. 1954. "The Historical Circumstances of the Peace of 311," *JHS* 74: 25–31.
- Smith, L.C. 1961. "The Chronology of Books XVIII–XX of Diodorus Siculus," *AJP* 82: 283–290.
- Stolper, M.W. 1985. *Entrepreneurs and Empire: the Murasu Archive, the Murasu Firm, and the Persian Rule in Babylonia*. *PIHANS* 54. Leiden-Istanbul: 70–103.
- Tarn, W.W. 1948. *Alexander the Great*, 2 vols. Cambridge.
- Tubach, J. 1995. "Seleukos' Sieg über den medischen Satrapen Nikanor," *WO* 26: 97–128.
- van Bremen, R. and J.-M. Carbon, eds., 2010. *Hellenistic Karia: Proceedings of the First International Conference on Hellenistic Karia, Oxford, 29 Jun–2 July 2006*. Talence.
- van der Spek, R.J. 1986. *Grondbezit in het Seleucidische Rijk*. Amsterdam.
- van der Spek, R. J. 2014. "Seleukos, Self-appointed General (Strategos) of Asia (311–305 BC), and the Satrapy of Babylonia," in H. Hauben and A. Meeus, eds., *The Age of the Successors and the Creation of the Hellenistic Kingdoms (323–276 B.C.)*, *Studia Hellenistica* 53. Leuven: 323–42.
- Waerzeggers, C. 2006. "The Carians of Borsippa," *Iraq* 68: 1–22.
- Wallace, S. 2014. "Defending the Freedom of the Greeks: Antigonos, Telesphoros, and the Olympic Games of 312 B.C.," *Phoenix* 68.3–4: 235–46.
- Wheatley, P.V. 1998. "The Chronology of the Third Diadoch War, 315–311 B.C.," *Phoenix* 52: 257–81.
- Wheatley, P.V. 2002. "Antigonos Monophthalmus in Babylonia, 310–308 B.C.," *JNES* 61: 39–47.
- Wheatley, P.V. 2003. "The Year 22 Tetradrachms of Sidon and the Date of the Battle of Gaza," *ZPE* 144: 268–276.
- Wheatley, P.V. 2007. "An Introduction to the Chronological Problems in Early Diadoch Sources and Scholarship," in W. Heckel, L. Tritle, and P. Wheatley, eds., *Alexander's Empire: Formulation to Decay*, Claremont, CA.
- Wheatley, P.V. 2009. "The Besieger in Syria, 314–312 BC: Historiographic and Chronological Notes," in P. Wheatley and R. Hannah, eds., *Alexander & His Successors: Essays from the Antipodes*, Claremont, CA: 323–33.
- Wheatley, P.V. 2015. "Diadoch Chronography after Philip Arrhidaeus: Old and New Evidence," in P. Wheatley and E. Baynham, eds., *East and West in the World Empire of Alexander. Essays in Honour of Brian Bosworth*, Oxford: 241–58.



- Winnicki, J.K. 1989. "Militäroperationen von Ptolemaios I. und Seleukos I. in Syrien in den Jahren 312-311 v. Chr. (I)," *Ancient Society* 20: 55-92.
- Winnicki, J.K. 1991. "Militäroperationen von Ptolemaios I. und Seleukos I. in Syrien in den Jahren 312-311 v. Chr. (II)," *Ancient Society* 22: 147-201.
- Yardley, J.C., P. Wheatley and W. Heckel, *Justin. Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus II: Books 13-15: The Successors to Alexander the Great*. Oxford.
- Zadok, R. 1979. "On some foreign population groups in first-millennium Babylonia," *Tel Aviv* 6: 164-181.
- Zadok, R. 2005. "On Anatolians, Greeks and Egyptians in 'Chaldean' and Achaemenid Babylonia," *Tel Aviv* 32: 76-106.