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## **Edited by:**

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Charlotte Dunn ✦ Andrea Gatzke ✦ Timothy Howe  
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# The Life and Afterlife of a Hellenistic Flagship: The “Sixteen” of Demetrius Poliorcetes Revisited

Thomas C. Rose

**Abstract:** This paper presents new evidence and new arguments in support of an old theory: the Macedonian “sixteen” Lucius Aemilius Paullus sailed up the Tiber in 167 BCE was built more than a century earlier by Demetrius Poliorcetes. Plutarch reports that Demetrius’ naval building program culminated in the early third century BCE with the construction of a flagship “sixteen,” the largest single-hulled warship constructed in antiquity, and there is no evidence that any of Demetrius’ Antigonid successors ever built or deployed ships approaching the size of this vessel. The Antigonid kings were participants in a larger Greek tradition of dedicating ships in sanctuaries, beginning with Demetrius’ construction of the Monument of the Bulls at Delos. Delian inscriptions refer to this elaborate structure as the *Neōrion*, since it featured a gallery for the display of a votive ship. The “sixteen” must have remained intact for so long because it, too, was housed in a *neōrion*. The most likely location would be the port city of Demetrias, Demetrius’ eponymous foundation and final resting place. For his part, Paullus demonstrated a sustained interest in appropriating Antigonid commemorative practices for his own purposes, most famously at Delphi, where he repurposed Perseus’ dedicatory column to celebrate his own victories in Greece. After Pydna, Paullus made two visits to Demetrias separated by an interval of several months—more than enough time to have the old flagship restored and refitted for the journey to Rome. In a final act of Antigonid emulation, Paullus installed the “sixteen” in a custom *neōrion* near the Tiber.

**Keywords:** Demetrius Poliorcetes; Hellenistic kingship; Dedicated ships; *neōrion*; Lucius Aemilius Paullus

In 167 BCE, the year after his overwhelming victory at Pydna ended both the 3<sup>rd</sup> Macedonian War and the Antigonid dynasty that had ruled over Macedon for five generations, the consul Lucius Aemilius Paullus returned to Rome in style.<sup>1</sup> He was rowed up the Tiber in the captured flagship of the Macedonian kings as the denizens of the city thronged the river’s banks. Livy

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<sup>1</sup> I’m grateful to Philip Katz for reading and offering insightful comments on an earlier version of this paper. I would also like to thank Kristian Lorenzo, Morgan Condell, and *AHB*’s two anonymous readers for their many helpful suggestions and criticisms. All translations, and any remaining errors, are my own. All dates hereafter are BCE unless otherwise noted.

and Plutarch describe the gleaming arms and sumptuous tapestries of purple and scarlet which adorned the ship on its regal passage.<sup>2</sup> The use of this ship as a floating platform for the display of the spoils of his Balkan campaign was a fitting prelude to Paullus' triumph, a magnificent spectacle made all the more memorable by the presence of the captive Macedonian king Perseus and his family.<sup>3</sup> The ship that Aemilius Paullus took from Perseus was magnificent in its own right. Our sources call it *hē basilikē hekkaidekērēs*, "the royal 'sixteen,'" which would make it one of the largest wooden warships ever constructed.<sup>4</sup> But neither Perseus nor any of his recent Antigonid predecessors seem to have built or deployed vessels approaching the size of this mammoth ship. So, who built it? How did Perseus come to possess it? Where was it when Aemilius Paullus seized it?

Before we turn to any of these questions, some brief historical orientation on the development of massive ships like this "sixteen." In the early Hellenistic period, ships were built that dwarfed the triremes or "threes" that dominated the Greek fleets of the fifth and fourth centuries.<sup>5</sup> Experiments with ship classes larger than the trireme, referred to collectively as polyremes, were underway as early as the late 5<sup>th</sup> century, when the Carthaginians developed the first quadriremes or "fours."<sup>6</sup> Dionysius I of Syracuse recruited craftsman from around the Greek world for a building program that resulted in the construction of the first "fives" at the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>7</sup> These ships were rowed at two or three levels, but, unlike triremes, in which rowers situated in three superimposed banks each pulled their own oar, polyremes were powered by sweeps of oarsmen, with multiple men pulling the same oar.<sup>8</sup> The "Big Ship Phenomenon"<sup>9</sup> really took off after the death of Alexander, when the great conqueror's successors engaged in what has been aptly characterized as a naval arms race.<sup>10</sup> And no one did more to advance this phenomenon than Demetrius Poliorcetes, the first Antigonid king of Macedon and the great-great-grandfather of Perseus.<sup>11</sup> By 306 his navy boasted "sixes" and "sevens" which played a pivotal role in his smashing victory over Ptolemy son of Lagus near Cypriote Salamis.<sup>12</sup> Demetrius subsequently

<sup>2</sup> Livy 45.35; Plut. *Aem.* 30.1-3.

<sup>3</sup> Livy 45.40; Plut. *Aem.* 32-34.

<sup>4</sup> Plut. *Aem.* 30.2: ἀνέπλει τὸν Θύβριν ποταμὸν ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλικῆς ἑκκαίδεκῆρους; cf. Livy 33.30.5, 45.35.3: *regia navis...quam sedecim versus remorum agebant*. For the position of the "sixteen" among the ranks of antiquity's largest warships, see below n. 22.

<sup>5</sup> On the development of ship classes larger than triremes, see Tarn (1930) 129-134; Casson (1995) 97-99, 137-140; Murray (2012) 143-45, 171-191; Blackman, Rankov, *et al.* (2013) 79-83.

<sup>6</sup> Pliny *HN* 7.208; Clem. Al. *Strom.* 1.16.75.10.

<sup>7</sup> Diod. Sic. 14.42.2.

<sup>8</sup> Analogues from the galleys of the 17<sup>th</sup> century CE suggest that massive oars could be pulled by a sweep of up to eight men. On the oarage of Hellenistic polyremes, see esp. Casson (1995) 99-116.

<sup>9</sup> I borrow the phrase from Murray (2012) 3 and *passim*.

<sup>10</sup> Casson (1995) 98.

<sup>11</sup> Demetrius may well have been the first to substitute the multiple-rower sweep for the one or two man oars of earlier warships (Casson 1995, 99-100).

<sup>12</sup> For ancient accounts of the battle, see Diod. Sic. 20.49-52; Plut. *Demetr.* 16; Polyae. 4.7.7; Paus. 1.6.6; App. Syr. 54.275; *Marmor Parium*, BNJ 239 B21; Justin 15.2.6-9; Oros. 3.23; cf. Alexis *ap.* Athen. 6.254A; for modern treatments, see esp. Seibert (1969) 190-206; Hauben (1976); Billows (1990) 151-55; Yardley, Wheatley, and Heckel (2011) 237-240; Murray (2012) 105-112; Wheatley and Dunn (2020) 145-158.

embarked on a naval building program that produced vessels of unprecedented size. This effort was aided in part by access to the forests of Cyprus consequent to his victory at Salamis. Theophrastus tells us that Demetrius built an “eleven” remarkable for the size and quality of its Cypriote timbers;<sup>13</sup> by 302 Demetrius had a “thirteen” which he left in Piraeus when he departed for Anatolia and the ill-fated campaign that culminated in the battle of Ipsus the following year.<sup>14</sup> After Demetrius sailed to Syria to marry his daughter Stratonice to Seleucus in 299, he hosted a banquet on this flagship “thirteen.”<sup>15</sup> Polyremes were employed as flagships and on prestige missions from the beginning, as this last episode illustrates.<sup>16</sup> When Dionysius I arranged a marriage alliance with the Epizephyrian Locrians he sent his prototype “five” to fetch his new bride; Alexander chose a royal Cypriote “five” as his flagship at Tyre; Demetrius sent messengers on his flagship “seven” to inform his father Antigonus of his victory at Salamis.<sup>17</sup>

After he seized the throne of Macedon in 294, Demetrius began preparing on an epic scale for an expedition aimed at reconstituting the Asian empire he and his father had lost at Ipsus. Plutarch claims that he laid the keels for no less than 500 ships at his shipbuilding hubs of Corinth, Piraeus, Chalcis, and Pella.<sup>18</sup> Among these ships was at least one mammoth “sixteen.” “Everyone was amazed,” Plutarch writes, “not only at the multitude, but also at the magnitude of the works. Up to this time no man had seen a ‘fifteen’ or ‘sixteen.’”<sup>19</sup> And these were no mere showpieces: “their enormous scale did not diminish their effectiveness at all. Indeed, their speed and their performance were even more impressive than their size.”<sup>20</sup> Demetrius’ largest ships inspired awe and dread in equal measure: “even his enemies would stand on shore and marvel at his ‘fifteens’ and ‘sixteens’ as they sailed past.”<sup>21</sup>

Very few large polyremes—ships larger than class “ten”—were ever built, and it is generally accepted that Demetrius’ “sixteen” was the largest single-hulled warship constructed in antiquity.<sup>22</sup> William Murray has demonstrated that massive polyremes like Demetrius’ flagship “sixteen,” were designed primarily for siege and counter-siege operations in which their extraordinary size and weight could be turned against the artillery batteries and

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<sup>13</sup> *Hist. plant.* 5.8.1. On the cedars of Cyprus, see esp. Meiggs (1982) 136-37.

<sup>14</sup> *Plut. Demetr.* 31.1.

<sup>15</sup> *Plut. Demetr.* 32.3.

<sup>16</sup> Walbank (1982) 233; Murray (2012) 25; Thompson (2013) 186, 193-95.

<sup>17</sup> Dionysius: *Diod. Sic.* 14.44.7; Alexander: *Curt.* 4.3.11; Demetrius: *Diod. Sic.* 20.53.1.

<sup>18</sup> *Plut. Demetr.* 43.4.

<sup>19</sup> *Plut. Demetr.* 43.4-5: ἐκπληττομένων πάντων οὐ τὰ πλήθη μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ μεγέθη τῶν ἔργων. οὐδεὶς γὰρ εἶδεν ἀνθρώπων οὔτε πεντεκαϊδεκῆρη ναῦν πρότερον οὔθ' ἐκκαϊδεκῆρη.

<sup>20</sup> *Plut. Demetr.* 43.7: οὐδὲ τῷ περιττῷ τῆς κατασκευῆς ἀπεστεροῦντο τὴν χρεῖαν, ἀλλὰ τὸ τάχος καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἀξιοθεατότερον τοῦ μεγέθους παρεῖχον.

<sup>21</sup> *Plut. Demetr.* 20.7: καὶ τὰς μὲν ἐκκαϊδεκῆρεις αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς πεντεκαϊδεκῆρεις ἐθαύμαζον ἐστῶτες οἱ πολέμιοι παρὰ τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν πλεούσας.

<sup>22</sup> Casson (1995) 107; Murray (2012) 176, 184. Even larger vessels—“twenties,” “thirties,” and a “forty”—were built by Ptolemy II and his successors, but these were almost certainly multi-hulled (Athen. 203D-204E). On these vessels, see esp. Casson (1995) 108-112; Murray (2012) 171-185.



increasingly sophisticated barriers deployed at the entrances of fortified harbors.<sup>23</sup> They were not meant to do battle with other big ships, as has long been assumed, in large part because their relative lack of speed and maneuverability rendered them vulnerable as they moved from port to port.<sup>24</sup> These behemoths were the centerpieces of naval siege units, and could only be used effectively after control of the seas had been established by a fleet of smaller polyremes.<sup>25</sup> Demetrius' victory at Salamis ushered in nearly two decades of Antigonid thalassocracy and he was never challenged again at sea. His navy and his naval siege unit made the re-conquest of the fortified ports of Anatolia and the realization of his ambitions a real possibility. But the scope of those ambitions and the scale of his preparations provoked his rivals to ally against him. Demetrius' irredentist vision came crashing down in 288 when Lysimachus and Pyrrhus invaded Macedon from east and west and forced Demetrius to flee his kingdom.<sup>26</sup>

Aside from Demetrius' "sixteen" and the "sixteen" that Paulus took to Rome in 167, there is only one further attestation for a *hekkaidekērēs*. Among the terms imposed on Philip V by the Romans after his defeat at Cynoscephalae in 197 was the provision that he surrender all of his warships with the exception of five decked ships and a "sixteen."<sup>27</sup> The appearance of such a mammoth ship in the terms of the treaty comes as quite a surprise, since there is no indication that Demetrius' Antigonid successors shared his passion for large polyremes, and the naval arms race that prompted the construction of these vessels had run its course by the late 3<sup>rd</sup> century.<sup>28</sup> Demetrius' son Antigonos Gonatas pursued an active naval policy, but the ship which he dedicated to Apollo after his naval victory over Ptolemy II near Cos was probably a mid-size polyreme, and perhaps should be identified with the "nine" that so impressed Pausanias when he visited Delos some four centuries later.<sup>29</sup> Macedon does not seem

<sup>23</sup> Murray (2012) 69-128 and *passim*. On the harbor defenses of the time see, e.g., Diod. Sic. 20.85.2; Philo Polior. C 54-55, D 101 and 103.

<sup>24</sup> Murray (2012) 249-250.

<sup>25</sup> Murray (2012) 176.

<sup>26</sup> Plut. *Demetr.* 44; Plut. *Pyrrh.* 11. At the same time, Ptolemy sent a large fleet to the Aegean; what role, if any, it played in driving Demetrius from Macedon is unclear.

<sup>27</sup> Polyb. 18.44.6-7: τὰς καταφράκτους ναῦς πλὴν πέντε σκαφῶν καὶ τῆς ἑκκαίδεκῆρου; Livy 33.30.5: *naves omnes tectas tradere praeter quinque et regiam unam inhabilis prope magnitudinis, quam sedecim versus remorum agebant*.

<sup>28</sup> Casson (1995) 140; Murray (2012) 206-207.

<sup>29</sup> The sources for the dedicated ship of Antigonos are late, often confused, and difficult to reconcile with one another. Plutarch (*Mor.* 676D) gives the name of Antigonos' flagship as *Isthmia*; Athenaeus (5.209E), citing Moschion, records that he dedicated a "sacred trireme" (ἱερὰ τριήρης) to Apollo after his victory in a *naumachia* near Kos, implies that this was his flagship (ἡ ἐνίκησε), and reports that the vessel was "not a third, and perhaps not even a fourth the size" (οὐδὲ τὸ τρίτον, τάχα δὲ οὐδὲ τὸ τέταρτον εἶχε) of Ptolemy Philopator's floating river palace, the *Thalamegus*, or the *Syrakosia/Alexandria*, a mammoth merchant ship built by Hieron of Syracuse with wood sufficient for sixty "fours" (Athen. 5.206F); Pollux (*Onom.* 1.83.2) refers to a special ship possessed by Antigonos which he calls a τριάρμενος (an obscure adjective that seems to connote "three-masted"; cf. Plut. *Marc.* 14; Luc. *Nav.* 14; id. *Pseudol.* 27; Philostr. *VA* 4.9; Tarn 1910, 209-212; Casson 1995, 115-16; Murray 2012, 185-88), and groups it with a "fifteen" in the fleet of one of the early Ptolemies; Pausanias (1.29.1) knew of no ship larger than one he saw at Delos "having as many as nine rowers from the decks" (τὸ δὲ ἐν Δήλῳ πλοῖον οὐδένα πω νικήσαντα οἶδα, καθῆκον ἐς ἐννέα ἐρέτας ἀπὸ τῶν καταστρωμάτων). Casson (1969, 192-93), citing Tarn (1910, 209-212), argues that the latter is "surely right," and all of these ships—the *Isthmia*, the "sacred trireme," the *triarmenos*, and the "nine" on Delos—are one and the same. If this is true, the ship had been dedicated some 400 years before

to have been a significant naval power during the reigns of Demetrius II and Antigonos Doson (239-217), a time when the Ptolemies and Rhodes were the only Hellenistic powers willing to take on the expense of maintaining a permanent navy.<sup>30</sup> The treaty shows that Philip V possessed a “sixteen,” but he did not, or could not, deploy it, even when he was engaged in the naval sieges and prestige missions appropriate for large polyremes. When he launched an audacious naval campaign aimed at seizing control of the Aegean in 201, his largest ships were midsize polyremes. When he besieged Chios during the same campaign his flagship was a “ten,” and that ship was destroyed in a *naumachia* between the island and the Anatolian mainland.<sup>31</sup> A few years later he arrived for a summit with T. Quinctius Flaminius and representatives of various Greek states—a prestige mission calling for a large polyreme if there ever was one—in a *pristis*, a much smaller vessel,<sup>32</sup> and naval power played no part in his subsequent policies. For his part, Perseus deployed fleets consisting of *lembi* and *pristeis*, swift, maneuverable ships smaller than triremes.<sup>33</sup> In sum, there is no reason to suspect that any of Demetrius’ Antigonid successors built the “sixteen.” I think we can be reasonably sure that the “sixteen” Paulus sailed up the Tiber in 167 and the “sixteen” the Romans allowed Philip to keep thirty years earlier was the same ship built by Demetrius in the early 3<sup>rd</sup> century. This is hardly an original idea. In fact, William Tarn suggested as much nearly a century ago.<sup>34</sup>

Tarn’s identification has often been doubted, in large part because the ship built by Demetrius would have been more than 120 years old by the time Paullus defeated Perseus at Pydna.<sup>35</sup> The fourth-century Athenian naval lists demonstrate that some individual triremes were in service for more than thirty years, while David Blackman has suggested that the average “natural life” of a trireme at Athens was rather more than twenty years, and the average actual life was somewhat less than twenty.<sup>36</sup> If we accept Tarn’s identification, Demetrius’ “sixteen” was more than triple the age of the oldest attested Athenian trireme, and had survived for something like six times the average natural life of those much smaller warships. Wooden ships were vulnerable to heat and sun and especially to the depredations of wood-boring marine mollusks like the notorious *teredo navalis*, the ship worm.<sup>37</sup> To reach such an advanced age, the “sixteen” must have received very special care indeed, but Tarn’s various proposals for the fate of the “sixteen” after the death of Demetrius would have the ship constantly on the move and frequently in harm’s way.

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Pausanias visited the sanctuary, yet there has been no attempt to account for its preservation. It is nowhere explicitly stated that Antigonos made his dedication to Delian Apollo, however, and he may well have set up his flagship on Cos (Katz, forthcoming).

<sup>30</sup> Walbank (1982) 223-25; Ehrhardt (1975) 167-68, 171.

<sup>31</sup> Polyb. 16.3.4-6.

<sup>32</sup> Philip refused to disembark from the ship, citing security concerns (Polyb. 18.1.1).

<sup>33</sup> The Antigonid pivot to smaller craft seems to have been initiated by Philip V after his defeat near Chios. According to Lionel Casson, this shift “inaugurated a new era of naval tactics” (Casson 1995, 99, 125-27; cf. Walbank 1982, 226).

<sup>34</sup> Tarn in *CAH VII* (1928) 92; id. (1930) 133-34 n. 5.

<sup>35</sup> E.g. Blackman (1969) 215-16; Walbank (1957-79) v.III 790-91; Thompson (2013) 115; Tarn himself was initially skeptical (1910, 220 n. 65).

<sup>36</sup> Blackman (1969) 215-16; Casson (1995) 120.

<sup>37</sup> Lovén (2011) v.1, 2; Lipke (2012) 203-06.



Initially, Tarn argued that Ptolemy Soter seized the “sixteen” in Caunus, the Carian bridgehead for Demetrius’ final campaign, at some point after Poliorcetes surrendered to Seleucus and was placed in regal captivity in Syria in 285, where he died three years later.<sup>38</sup> Ptolemy Philadelphus then inherited the ship from his father, but he in turn lost the ship to Antigonus Gonatas in the famous *naumachia* fought off Cos around 260.<sup>39</sup> The ship then remained somewhere in Macedon down to the time of Perseus.<sup>40</sup> In 1930 Tarn published *Hellenistic Military and Naval Developments*, a slim volume whose brevity belies its considerable influence. In it he revised his theory on the afterlife of Demetrius’ “sixteen.” The ship was not lost to Ptolemy, but to Lysimachus, who seized it when he and Pyrrhus invaded Macedon in 288. According to this theory, the ship passed first to Seleucus after he defeated Lysimachus in the Battle of Corupedium in 281, and then to Ptolemy Ceraunus, who murdered Seleucus shortly after his victory.<sup>41</sup> The “sixteen” served as Ceraunus’ flagship when he defeated Gonatas in a naval battle and briefly established himself as king of the Macedonians, and it remained in Macedon after his death.<sup>42</sup> Subsequent commentators who accept Tarn’s idea that Demetrius’ ship survived down to the time of Philip V or the battle of Pydna have endorsed one or the other of Tarn’s theories, or even argued for an eclectic blend of the two.<sup>43</sup> In a recent and stimulating chapter on Hellenistic royal barges, Dorothy Thompson suggests that the “sixteen” was held in turn by Demetrius, Antigonus Gonatas, Ptolemy Ceraunus, Ptolemy Philadelphus, and again by Gonatas in the roughly three decades from its construction to the Battle of Cos.<sup>44</sup>

The notion that Demetrius’ “sixteen” took part in major naval battles and changed hands a number of times is perfectly in keeping with the air of vertiginous excitement that pervades the Successor Era, with its romantic figures and their many and sudden changes of fortune. But each of these scenarios is in fact supremely unlikely. First for Tarn’s initial theory—that Ptolemy seized the “sixteen” in Caria. When Demetrius did depart for his final Asian expedition it was after he had been expelled from Macedon.<sup>45</sup> His diminished resources

<sup>38</sup> Tarn in *CAH VII* (1928) 92. For the date of Demetrius’ death, see Plut. *Demetr.* 52.5; Wheatley (1997).

<sup>39</sup> The date of the battle is a matter of dispute, with scholars advocating for various points in the period 262-255; see, e.g. Walbank (1982) 220-22; Buraselis (1982) 146-151; Hammond and Walbank (1988) 587-600; Reger (1994) 33. In any case, the *naumachia* off Cos was not the sort of action for which the “sixteen” was designed.

<sup>40</sup> Tarn in *CAH VII* (1928) 92.

<sup>41</sup> On the battle and the subsequent murder of Seleucus, see esp. Memnon *BNJ* 434 F 5.7, F 8.2; Justin 17.1.7-2.3; Paus. 1.10.5; Hammond and Walbank (1988) 241-44.

<sup>42</sup> Tarn (1930) 133-37. Tarn’s revised theory is fatally undermined by his identification of Demetrius’ “sixteen” with the famous flagship of Lysimachus, the *Leontophoros*. Demetrius’ “sixteen” was built at one of his shipbuilding hubs in mainland Greece, while the latter ship, probably a double-hulled “eight,” was built in Heracleia (Memnon *BNJ* 434 F 8.5; Casson 1995, 139 n. 12). On the *Leontophoros*, see esp. Murray (2012) 185-88.

<sup>43</sup> E.g. Walbank (1957-79) v.II 611-12 follows Tarn (1930) 133-37; Walbank (1957-79) v.III 790-91 adopts the skeptical posture of Blackman (1969) 215-16: “nor is it indeed certain that this ‘sixteen’ was identical with Demetrius’ ship”; Blackman (1969) 215-16; Casson (1995) 119, 139 n. 12 follows Tarn in *CAH VII*; Pitassi (2011) 14; Murray (2012) 281; Blackman, Rankov, *et al.* (2013) 82; Kleu (2015) 178.

<sup>44</sup> Thompson (2013) 188. Thompson’s speculation that Ptolemy Ceraunus’ victory over Antigonus Gonatas in 280 was “a more likely occasion for its transfer to the Egyptian fleet,” rests on the mistaken assumption that Ptolemy Ceraunus was king in Egypt.

<sup>45</sup> Plut. *Demetr.* 46.4.

necessitated a commensurate reduction in the scope of the campaign and he could not hope to establish control of the Aegean, much less deploy a naval siege force.<sup>46</sup> Thanks to an agreement he reached with Ptolemy, his passage to Asia Minor was unopposed, and the fleet he took to Caria seems to have consisted largely of troop and horse transports.<sup>47</sup> A fragmentary inscribed letter found in Caunus demonstrates that Demetrius and his force received a hospitable welcome there.<sup>48</sup> If Ptolemy did seize Demetrius' ships at Caunus, and there is no evidence that he did, the "sixteen" was not among them.

The idea that Lysimachus seized the "sixteen" in Macedon in 288 does not withstand scrutiny either. As we have seen, Corinth, Piraeus, Chalcis, and Pella were the hubs for Demetrius' final shipbuilding drive. He lost Pella in 288, but retained control of the other key ports. His rivals then divided Macedon between themselves; Pyrrhus took the western portion, Lysimachus the eastern, with the Axios River forming the border of the partitioned kingdom.<sup>49</sup> Even if the "sixteen" was left behind in the harbor of Pella when Demetrius fled to southern Greece, the Macedonian capital, which is west of the Axios, fell to Pyrrhus, not Lysimachus.<sup>50</sup> Thus, Demetrius probably did not lose the "sixteen" when he lost Macedon, nor did he take the ship with him to Caria. The "sixteen," along with the vast majority of his warships, must have been laid up in the harbors of his key ports in mainland Greece under the watchful eye of his son, Antigonus Gonatas.

Since the Antigonids never lost control of the "sixteen," we can now set aside all of the ingenious but implausible sequences of events that end with them regaining it. But if the fate of the ship after the burial of Demetrius in his eponymous Thessalian foundation was considerably more prosaic than Tarn and subsequent critics would have it, the maritime tableau with which Plutarch ends his *Life of Demetrius* is rendered all the more poignant:

*There was something dramatic and theatrical even in Demetrius' burial. For his son Antigonus, when he learned that his remains had been sent home, put to sea with his entire fleet (πάσαις ἀναχθεῖς ταῖς ναυσὶν) and met them off the islands. They were given to him in a golden hydria, and he placed them in the largest of his flagships (μεγίστην τῶν ναυαρχίδων). Of the cities where the fleet touched in its passage, some*

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<sup>46</sup> Murray (2012) 124. According to Plutarch, Demetrius' invasion force amounted to 11,000 infantry and an unspecified number of cavalry (*Demetr.* 46.4: στρατιώτας μυρίου καὶ χιλίουσιν ἵππευσιν ἐμβιβάσας).

<sup>47</sup> For the negotiations between Demetrius and Ptolemy's envoys, Sostratus of Cnidus and the Athenian Callias of Sphettus, see *IG II<sup>3</sup>* 1 911; cf. *Plut. Demetr.* 46.3. On the composition of Demetrius' invasion fleet, see Murray (2012) 124-25.

<sup>48</sup> *I Caunus* 1. An inscription from Nisyros (*SEG* 54.732) recording honors for Demetrius may be connected with this campaign. The decree should probably be dated to the period 290-286 (Gauthier 2005, no. 378), and Nisyros commands the sea lane from the Aegean to southern Caria.

<sup>49</sup> *Plut. Pyrr.* 12.1; Beloch (1925) 236 n. 3; Hammond and Walbank (1988) 230 with n. 1. When Paullus broke up Perseus' realm in 168, the Axios formed the border between two of the four new administrative regions (*Liv* 45.29.3-9).

<sup>50</sup> There is no evidence that Pyrrhus ever deployed large polyremes, although Hannibal, the Carthaginian naval commander defeated by C. Duilius in 260, had as his flagship a "seven" that had once belonged to Pyrrhus (*Polyb.* 1.23.4).

*brought crowns to adorn the hydria, others sent men in funeral attire to provide an escort and assist in the burial. When the fleet put in at Corinth, the urn was conspicuous on the vessel's stern, adorned with royal purple and a king's diadem, and young men had been stationed around it in arms as a bodyguard. Xenophantus, the most highly regarded aulos-player then living, sat near playing the holiest of melodies. The rowers kept perfect time with the music, and the sound of the oars, like cries of mourning, answered to the cadences of the aulos. But the sight of Antigonos himself, despondent as he wept, awakened the most pity and lamentation among those who had gathered by the shore. After ribbons and crowns had been bestowed upon the remains at Corinth, Antigonos brought them to Demetrias for burial, a city named after his father, who had settled it from the small towns around Iolkos (Plut. Demetr. 53).<sup>51</sup>*

If the “sixteen,” remained with Gonatas when his father departed on his last campaign, then the “largest of his flagships” (μεγίστην τῶν ναυαρχίδων) that led Demetrius’ funerary cavalcade off Corinth and conveyed his remains to Thessaly for burial was none other than the most spectacular naval creation of the Besieger of Cities. After it served as a funerary barge in 282,<sup>52</sup> we lose track of Demetrius’ famous flagship for eighty-five years. How could it possibly have survived down to the time of Philip V’s treaty with the Romans?

Plutarch makes it clear that Demetrius spared no expense in the design and construction of his large polyremes, and it is possible that the hull of his great flagship was fitted with a lead sheath to protect it from the ravages of the shipworm and other forms of biofouling.<sup>53</sup> As the roughly contemporary Kyrenia wreck demonstrates,<sup>54</sup> cladding of lead was sometimes applied to the underwater hulls of merchant ships to extend their lifetime of service.<sup>55</sup> Other notable ships so equipped include the superfreighter *Syrakosia/Alexandria* built by Hieron of Syracuse in the mid-third century,<sup>56</sup> the large merchant vessel that sank with its spectacular cargo off

<sup>51</sup> Ἔσχε μέντοι καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν ταφὴν αὐτοῦ τραγικὴν τινα καὶ θεατρικὴν διάθεσιν. ὁ γὰρ υἱὸς Ἀντίγονος ὡς ἤσθετο τὰ λείψανα κομιζόμενα, πάσαις ἀναχθεῖς ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐπὶ νήσων ἀπήνηται· καὶ δεξάμενος εἰς τὴν μεγίστην τῶν ναυαρχίδων ἔθετο τὴν ὑδρίαν χρυσήλατον οὖσαν. αἱ δὲ πόλεις, αἷς προσεῖχον, τοῦτο μὲν στεφάνους ἐπέφερον τῇ ὑδρίᾳ, τοῦτο δ’ ἄνδρας ἐν σχήματι πενθίμῳ συνθάψοντας καὶ συμπαραπέμψοντας ἀπέστελλον. εἰς δὲ Κόρινθον τοῦ στόλου καταπλέοντος, ἥ τε κάλπις ἐκ πρύμνης περιφανῆς ἑωρᾶτο πορφύρα βασιλικῇ καὶ διαδήματι κεκοσμημένη, καὶ παρειστήκεισαν ἐν ὅπλοις νεανίσκοι δορυφοροῦντες. ὁ δὲ τῶν τότε αὐλητῶν ἑλλογιμώτατος Ξενόφαντος ἐγγὺς καθεζόμενος προσηύλει τῶν μελῶν τὸ ἱερώτατον· καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο τῆς εἰρεσίας ἀναφερομένης μετὰ ῥυθμοῦ τινος, ἀπήντα ψόφος ὥσπερ ἐν κοπετῷ ταῖς τῶν αὐλημάτων περιόδοις. τὸν δὲ πλεῖστον οἶκτον καὶ ὀλοφυρμὸν αὐτὸς Ἀντίγονος τοῖς ἡθροισμένοις ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ὀφθεῖς ταπεινὸς καὶ δεδακρυμένος παρέσχεν. ἐπενεχθεῖσών δὲ ταινιῶν καὶ στεφάνων περὶ Κόρινθον, εἰς Δημητριάδα κομίσας ἔθηκε τὰ λείψανα, πόλιν ἐπώνυμον ἐκείνου, συνοικισθεῖσαν ἐκ μικρῶν τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἰωλκὸν πολιχνίων.

<sup>52</sup> For the date, see Wheatley (1997).

<sup>53</sup> Blackman (1969) 215; Thompson (2013) 195.

<sup>54</sup> Steffy (1985) 72.

<sup>55</sup> Staniforth (1985) 22; Casson (1995, 209-10) suggests such cladding was quite common: “Most hulls—but not all—were protected against marine borers by a sheath of lead sheets set over a layer of tarred fabric and held in place by multitudinous large-headed copper tacks.”

<sup>56</sup> καὶ ταῖς ἐκ μολίβου ποιηθείσαις κεραμίσις ἀεὶ καθ’ ὃ ναυπηγηθεῖ μέρος περιλαμβάνετο (Moschion BNJ 575 F1 = Athen. 5.207A-B)

Anitkythera in the first century,<sup>57</sup> and the mammoth ships launched by Caligula on Lake Nemi.<sup>58</sup> But there is no clear evidence for the application of lead sheathing to any ancient warship,<sup>59</sup> and even ships equipped with a metal hide must be regularly hauled out of the water for hull-scraping and maintenance, as a copper-bottomed analogue from the Age of Sail demonstrates.<sup>60</sup>

The USS *Constitution*, her lower hull sheathed in 12,000 feet of sheet copper, was successfully launched after two failed attempts in 1797. By 1803, after several years in the Caribbean, new copper sheathing was already necessary, and the ship has been re-coppered at least a dozen times in her history and frequently spent long periods “in ordinary,” or mothballed in port (1801-03, 1807-09, 1816-21, 1828-35, etc.).<sup>61</sup> The ship has also undergone significant refits several times, most notably in the period 1927-31, when eighty-five percent of the ship was replaced in dry dock.<sup>62</sup> This comprehensive refit was begun 130 years after the *Constitution*’s maiden voyage, making the ship nearly the same age as Demetrius’ “sixteen” when Paullus took it to Rome. The history of the *Constitution* suffices to show that a hull sheathed in lead alone would not have insured the survival of the “sixteen,”<sup>63</sup> but there is one explanation that is consonant with Antigonid commemorative practice and accounts for both the remarkable age of the ship and the inability or unwillingness of any of the subsequent Antigonids to use it.

Demetrius and his son Antigonus were participants in a larger Greek practice of dedicating ships on land.<sup>64</sup> This practice was established at least as early as the late 7<sup>th</sup> century when two

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<sup>57</sup> Bouyia (2012) 36.

<sup>58</sup> Ucelli (1950) 153-55.

<sup>59</sup> I know of no literary evidence for a warship with lead cladding unless we classify Hieron’s *Syrakosia/Alexandria*, a colossal freighter equipped with artillery and a variety of defensive weaponry, as a warship. That ship, which could not be accommodated by any Sicilian harbor, was loaded with a tremendous cargo of grain and other products and sent on a maiden voyage to Alexandria, where it was promptly hauled out of the water (ἡ ναὺς κατήχθη εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, ἔνθα καὶ ἐνεωλκήθη: Moschion BNJ 575 F1 = Athen. 5.2098A-B) and perhaps placed on display. Two ships equipped with lead sheathing discovered off the coast of Marsala were originally interpreted as Carthaginian ramming warships and dated to the final phase of the First Punic War (Frost 1972), but the identification of these vessels as warships now seems far from certain (Averdung and Pederson 2012).

<sup>60</sup> Tarn (1930, 133-34 n. 5) held up Nelson’s famous flagship, the HMS *Victory* as an analogue for Demetrius’ “sixteen.” The *Victory*, like Demetrius’ ship, was preserved as “a memorial of an older day.” He did not speculate on hull cladding, but it is worth noting that the *Victory* was re-coppered at least fifteen times between 1780 and 1888 (Goodwin 2015, 25).

<sup>61</sup> On the *Constitution*’s many repairs, restorations, and rebuilds, see: <https://www.history.navy.mil/browse-by-topic/ships/ships-of-sail/uss-constitution-americas-ship-of-state/background-for-media/significant-periods.html>.

<sup>62</sup> On the long and eventful history of the *Constitution*, see the remarkable resources collected at [ussconstitution.org](http://ussconstitution.org).

<sup>63</sup> Cf. Thompson (2013) 195.

<sup>64</sup> On this practice, see esp. Blackman (2001); Wescoat (2005); Lorenzo (2015).

ships were set up on custom supports in the Heraion on Samos.<sup>65</sup> After the Persian Wars the victorious Greeks dedicated captured Phoenician triremes as thank offerings to Poseidon at Isthmia and Sounion, and to Ajax at Salamis.<sup>66</sup> The Athenians hauled a ship on land at Molykreion Rhion and dedicated it to Poseidon after a naval victory early in the Peloponnesian war, while the Peloponnesians set up an open air trophy ship of their own on the opposite side of the Gulf of Corinth.<sup>67</sup> Alexander dedicated a Phoenician “sacred ship” to Heracles after the fall of Tyre in 332, and, a few years later, three captured ships were set up near Cyrene.<sup>68</sup> All of these dedicated ships were left exposed to the elements and must have decayed quickly.<sup>69</sup> The famous *triakontor* (thirty oared-galley), in which Theseus was said to have set out for Crete and returned to Athens after dispatching the Minotaur, was a different sort of dedication. The so-called Ship of Theseus was on display in Athens until at least the late 4<sup>th</sup> century, and had undergone so many restorations that philosophers made it an object lesson in the metaphysics of identity: could the existing ship be identified with that of Theseus, even if all of its component parts had been replaced?<sup>70</sup>

Demetrius took the extraordinary step of constructing an ornate, roofed marble structure in the sanctuary of Apollo on Delos as a showcase for captive arms and an astonishing votive—an entire warship. This monument has been dubbed The Monument of the Bulls for its marvelous bull protomes, but Delian inventories refer to it as the *Neōrion*.<sup>71</sup> The *Neōrion* almost certainly commemorated Demetrius’ double victory at Cypriote Salamis in 306,<sup>72</sup> where he

<sup>65</sup> Walter (1976) 58, 60; id. (1990) figs. 92, 98; Shipley (1987) 57; Blackman (2001) 209 with n. 3; Lorenzo (2015) 128. The limestone supports for the ship dedications have been back-filled for conservation and are no longer visible.

<sup>66</sup> Hdt. 8.121.

<sup>67</sup> Thuc. 2.84.4; 2.92.5.

<sup>68</sup> Alexander: Arr. *Anab.* 2.24.6; Cyrene: SEG 9.76; SEG 38.1895. I’m grateful to Philip Katz for these references.

<sup>69</sup> Lorenzo (2015) 128. Diodorus may provide evidence for another of these ephemeral ship dedications in his account of Demetrius Poliorcetes’ epic siege of Rhodes. A “four” Demetrius’ wife Phila dispatched from Cilicia in 304 was captured *en route* to Rhodes by the Rhodian captain Menedemus, who subsequently “hauled the ship up on land,” presumably as a trophy (τὴν δὲ ναῦν ἐνέωλκῃσεν; Diod. Sic. 20.93.4). Where, precisely, the ship was on display is unclear.

<sup>70</sup> Plut. *Thes.* 23.1; cf. Pl. *Phaedo* 58A-C.

<sup>71</sup> E.g. *I Delos* 1403, 1405, 1412. The monument is not mentioned in any extant literary source, and, in the absence of a dedicatory inscription, there is no definitive evidence for the identity of the donor. But the monument dates to the end of the fourth century or the beginning of the third (see now Herbin 2014, 165, 175; Coarelli 2016, 219), and the themes of the monument’s decorative program and the votives on display within it (see below n. 72), as well as the close and abiding connection of the Antigonids with the sanctuary all point to Demetrius. The bibliography is immense; for Demetrius as the donor of the Delian *Neōrion*, see esp. Wescoat (2005) 169, who concludes “the victory over Ptolemy at Cypriot Salamis makes the best historical, political, logistical, iconographic, archaeological and stylistic sense,” Treheux (1987), esp. 180-84; Moretti (2015) 85-87; Lorenzo (2020); Katz (forthcoming); Vlachou (2010) argues that the monument was a joint dedication of Demetrius and his father; Coarelli (2016) 203-245 suggests that Demetrius built the *Neōrion* to house his flagship from Salamis and that Gonatas later modified the structure to accommodate an even larger ship dedication. Lorenzo (2020, 436-37 n. 3, 442-44) provides a useful survey of the scholarship.

<sup>72</sup> The front porch of the *Neorion* featured an Athena holding two *Nikai*, two gilded rams decorated with spolia from a naval victory, and a display of cavalry armor. (*ID* 1403 ll. 39-52). One of the rams was crowned with a diadem, indicating a royal donor. The dual *Nikai* indicate a double victory; the displays of naval spoils as well as



routed Ptolemy's brother Menelaus in a land battle before defeating Ptolemy himself in an epic *naumachia*.<sup>73</sup> The ship it housed was probably one of the "fives" Demetrius captured from Ptolemy in the battle.<sup>74</sup> Another building designed to house a votive ship was erected in the Sanctuary of the Great Gods on Samothrace.<sup>75</sup> This structure is not nearly as elaborate as the Delian *Neōrion*, and its smaller gallery would not have allowed it to showcase as large a vessel. Still, architectural elements, especially the marble entablatures above the door frames, were identified as recognizably Macedonian by the excavators, and it has been dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century.<sup>76</sup> The patron for this *Neōrion* is unknown, but Demetrius' son Antigonos Gonatas, who, as we have already seen, dedicated another ship to Apollo, is a plausible candidate.<sup>77</sup>

In his recent work on dedicated triremes, Kristian Lorenzo has addressed the considerable logistical challenges involved in moving votive warships into sanctuaries, and concludes that, unlike the whole ships dragged up on land as trophies during the Peloponnesian War, these ships must have been partitioned and then put back together once they were safely in their sanctuary settings.<sup>78</sup> But the reconstitution of these dedicated ships was merely cosmetic, since partitioning would fatally compromise the integrity of their hulls, which were built using pegged mortise-and-tenon construction.<sup>79</sup> Launching them again was not an option.<sup>80</sup> Thus, if

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cavalry armor suggest that the monument commemorates victories by both land and sea (SEG 37.692; Treheux 1987, 180-84; Brogan 1999, 203; Vlachou 2010, 76-79). The sculpted maritime *thiasos* adorning the outer sides of the central gallery's lateral walls is wholly appropriate for a monument commemorating Demetrius' naval victory and the Antigonid thalassocracy it ushered in (on the position of this sculpted frieze, see Brogan 2005, 341-351; on the complementarity of the imagery of the frieze and Demetrius' program of divine self-fashioning, see Lorenzo 2020, 451-56).

<sup>73</sup> Diod. Sic. 20.47, 49-52; Plut. *Demetr.* 15.

<sup>74</sup> According to Diodorus (20.52), Demetrius captured fully 120 ships from Ptolemy's fleet, which consisted entirely of "fours" and "fives" (Diod. Sic. 20.49). Wescoat (2005) 169-170 demonstrates that the gallery of the *Neorion* would comfortably accommodate a "five," but not a larger vessel (cf. Coarelli 2016). The date of the monument (see above, n. 71) and the dimensions of its gallery rule out the intriguing suggestion that the monument was built by the Athenians to house the famous *triakontor* of Theseus (so Chankowski 2008, 263-273; cf. Trümper 2016, 240 n. 31).

<sup>75</sup> See, e.g., McCredie (1987) 270; Blackman (2001) 208-09; Wescoat (2005) *passim*, with additional citations at 156 n. 6.

<sup>76</sup> Wescoat (2005) 163.

<sup>77</sup> Basch (1993) 31; Wescoat (2005) 170; Katz (forthcoming). For other possible donors, see Wescoat (2005) 170-72.

<sup>78</sup> Lorenzo (2015) 129.

<sup>79</sup> On pegged mortise-and-tenon joinery and the thousands of joints that held together the hulls of ramming warships, see esp. Mark (2008).

<sup>80</sup> Arrian (*Anab.* 7.19.3) writes that two "fives," three "fours," twelve triremes, and nearly thirty *triakontoroi* were cut into segments and transported overland from Phoenicia to Thapsacus on the Euphrates where they were reassembled in the spring of 323. If true, this would provide evidence for the reconstitution and reuse of partitioned polyremes during the reign of Alexander (Casson 1995, 136; Bosworth 1988, 187-88). But Curtius (10.1.19) states only that the timber for these vessels was felled on Mt. Libanus and transported to Thapsacus where the ships were constructed, while Strabo (16.1.11) claims that the ships were pre-fabricated in some way before being assembled. This suggests another form of construction, perhaps laced mortise-and-tenon



the Macedonian flagship that Paullus took to Rome was the “sixteen” of Demetrius, it cannot have survived as a dedication in an inland sanctuary like the votive ships at Samos, Delos, and Samothrace, but must have remained intact in or within short compass of a harbor. There is evidence for the launch of just such a trophy ship after a long period of disuse. In 192, Philopoemon availed himself of a ship that had been captured by the Achaeans eighty years earlier and made it his flagship in a surprise attack on Gytheum.<sup>81</sup> The ship was a Macedonian “four” that had once belonged to Craterus son of Craterus, half-brother to Antigonus Gonatas and the stepson of Demetrius Poliorcetes.<sup>82</sup> Philopoemon found the ship at Aegium, where it must have been on display in the Achaean capital.<sup>83</sup> According to the accounts of Livy and Plutarch, Philopoemon’s attack on Gytheum was hasty and ill-conceived, and he does not seem to have made much of an attempt to renovate the old ship, which broke up at first contact with an enemy vessel.<sup>84</sup> Obscured by the preoccupation of ancient and modern commentators with the poor condition of the ship is the fact that Philopoemon very nearly circumnavigated the Peloponnese in this vessel, some eight decades after it was taken out of commission. In this light, it is not the ship’s state of decay that is noteworthy, but rather its remarkable degree of preservation. We can only account for this if the quadrireme was regularly maintained and protected from the elements, and we can only account for Philopoemon’s ability to launch it if it was never partitioned and was housed at or in very close proximity to the harbor. There was clearly another method of preserving a special ship on land, a sort of monumental shipshed or dry dock that fulfilled the commemorative/dedicatory function of the ship trophy set up on the shore while protecting the ship from the elements after the fashion of the *neōria* erected in sanctuaries at Delos and Samothrace.

Although we know nothing of the nature of the structure that housed the ship Philopoemon launched from Aegium, we have literary evidence for two such structures, one at Actium,<sup>85</sup> the other in Rome. Both are explicitly referred to as *neōria*; the latter was built by none other than Lucius Aemilius Paullus. After his triumphant passage up the Tiber, Paullus had the “sixteen” and other Macedonian vessels “of a size not previously seen” hauled out of

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joinery (Mark 2008, 261; Lorenzo 2015, 129), that was appropriate for river craft of the sort that Trajan had prefabricated at Nisibis and transported to the Tigris on wagons (Dio 72.25.1).

<sup>81</sup> Livy. 35.26. Plutarch (*Phil.* 14.3) claims that the ship was out of circulation for forty years, but Livy, whose source is Polybius, is clearly better informed. The connection of the celebrated ship to Craterus and his wife Nicaea, who were verifiably active in the area in the 270s (Plut. *Mor.* 253a; cf. Justin 26.13; Paus. 5.5.1), but long dead forty years later, confirms Livy’s chronology.

<sup>82</sup> This Craterus was the son of Alexander’s famous marshal and Phila, the daughter of Antipater. Demetrius married Phila after the elder Craterus was killed.

<sup>83</sup> Errington (1969) 103. The Alexandrians were able to refit a number of old ships and deploy them against Caesar in 47 (Caes. *BAfr.* 13), but these vessels were housed in “secret dockyards” (*occultis navalibus*) and not on display; cf. App. *Pun.* 575 where the Carthaginians build warships “from old material” (ἐξ ὕλης παλαιᾶς) during the Third Punic War (my thanks to the anonymous reader for these references).

<sup>84</sup> Livy 35.26: *putrem iam admodum et vetustate dilabentem*; Errington (1969) 102-03; Blackman (1969) 215.

<sup>85</sup> After his naval victory at Actium in 31, Octavian constructed a complex of *neōria* near the mouth of the Ambracian Gulf, at the foot of the hill surmounted by the temple of Actian Apollo. These *neōria* housed ten ships of distinct sizes, a set representative of each class of ship in the navy of Antony, including his flagship “ten.” This magnificent memorial did not last long; the entire complex had been destroyed by fire by the time of Strabo. On the Actian *neōria*, see Strabo 7.7.6; Tarn (1931); Murray and Petsas (1989) 116; Lorenzo (2019) 134.

the river in the Campus Martius (Livy 45.42.12).<sup>86</sup> Nearly twenty years later, three hundred children of prominent Carthaginians were sent as hostages to Rome in a futile attempt to appease the Romans on the eve of the Third Punic War. According to Polybius, the hostages were conveyed to Rome and “all of them were confined in the *neōrion* of the *hekkaidēkērēs*.”<sup>87</sup> Paullus must have installed the ship in a custom shed or enclosed dry dock on the bank of the Tiber in the Campus Martius after the “sixteen” played its starring role in the riverine spectacle of 167.<sup>88</sup> Paullus demonstrated a sustained interest in appropriating Antigonic commemorative practices for his own purposes, most famously at Delphi, where he repurposed Perseus’ dedicatory columns to celebrate his own victories in Greece.<sup>89</sup> I suspect Paulus installed the “sixteen” in a *neōrion* on the Tiber because he found it on display in a similar structure in Demetrias, Demetrius’ eponymous foundation and final resting place on the Gulf of Pagasae. The ship must have been intact and on display at the harbor, and not in one of the inland sanctuaries of the city, since Aemilius Paullus was able to successfully launch the old flagship in 167. This presented Paullus with considerable, but certainly not insuperable, logistical challenges. In his description of the largest polyreme ever built, the colossal “forty” of Ptolemy IV Philopator, Callixeinus of Rhodes describes how such a vessel could be installed in a dry dock, and, by reversing the process, launched again:<sup>90</sup>

*Later, a certain Phoenician devised a new method of launching it, setting a trench under her equal to the ship itself in length, which he dug close to the harbor. And in the trench he built foundations of solid stone five cubits deep, and across them he laid a succession of transverse rollers running the whole width of the trench, leaving a depth of four cubits.*

*Next, after digging a channel from the sea, he filled the whole excavated area with water, into which he easily brought the ship with the aid of those men who happened to be at hand; then closing the entrance which had been originally made, he drained the water off again with machines; and when this had been done the vessel rested securely on the aforementioned beams. (Athen. 5.203E-204D = Callixeinus BNJ 627 F1)<sup>91</sup>*

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<sup>86</sup> Livy 45.42.12: *naves regiae captae de Macedonibus invisitatae ante magnitudinis in campo Martio subiuctae sunt.*

<sup>87</sup> Polyb. 36.5.8: συνεκλείσθησαν ὁμοῦ πάντες εἰς τὸ τῆς ἑκκαίδεκῆρους νεώριον.

<sup>88</sup> On this structure, which has not been located, see Richardson (1992) 266; cf. Murray and Petsas (1989) 5; Blackman, Rankov, et al. (2013) 31 with n. 12.

<sup>89</sup> Polyb. 30.10.2; Livy 45.28.2; Plut. *Aem.* 28.4. Polybius and Livy both speak of columns, though Plutarch only mentions one. A marble statue base sculpted to resemble a pile of captive Macedonian arms from the sanctuary of Apollo on Delos and a remarkably similar base recently discovered in the Athenian agora should probably be assigned to a commemorative program in which Aemilius Paullus repurposed Antigonic monuments and arrogated Antigonic iconography to commemorate his victory in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Macedonian War and the subsequent dissolution of the Antigonic monarchy. Jacob Morton and I will discuss this program in detail in a forthcoming article. On the statue bases in Athens and Delos, see now Camp (2015) 499-507.

<sup>90</sup> On the challenges involved in launching the “forty” of Ptolemy Philopator, see Sleeswyk and Meijer (1994), who doubt that large polyremes could safely be hauled onto ramps and slipped into shipsheds. Cf. Blackman, Rankov, et al. (2013) 99.

<sup>91</sup> ὕστερον δὲ τῶν ἀπὸ Φοινίκης τις ἐπενόησε τὴν καθολκὴν, τάφρον ὑποστησάμενος ἴσην τῇ νηὶ κατὰ μῆκος, ἣν πλησίον τοῦ λιμένος ὥρυξε. ταύτη δὲ τοὺς θεμελίους κατωικοδόμησε λίθωι στερεῶι πρὸς πέντε πῆχεις

Demetrius founded Demetrias as his official seat (*basileion*) and royal naval base (*naustathmos*) in Thessaly,<sup>92</sup> and the image of the king as naval victor was central to both civic iconography and the founder cult devoted to him there by the site of Iolkos, home port of the Argonauts.<sup>93</sup> Demetrius' most famous series of coins featured a winged Nike alighting on the prow of a ship on the obverse and a striding Poseidon brandishing a trident on the reverse; the mint at Demetrias issued further coinage depicting the deified Demetrius and Poseidon.<sup>94</sup> The painted funerary stele of Chaeronides, a Cretan mercenary in Antigonid service who died in Demetrias, depicts a shield with a Poseidon identical to that found on the coins as its blazon, indicating that the Poseidon *Promachos* adorned the shields of at least some of Demetrius' soldiers.<sup>95</sup> The official seal of Demetrias featured an image of her founder, heroically nude atop the prow of a ship.<sup>96</sup> In the north wing of the palace at Demetrias, excavators found a large marble base that supported the prow of a warship, and have suggested that a statue of either Demetrius as victor and founder or of a winged Nike was placed on top,<sup>97</sup> completing the iconographic circuit between coins, seals, and sculpture. We do not know the nature of the celebrations held in honor of Demetrius as deified founder of the city, but his heroön, oriented towards both the palace and the harbor,<sup>98</sup> occupied the most prominent position in the city;<sup>99</sup> the theatre beneath it and the probable site of a stadium or hippodrome north of the theatre suggest lavish spectacles.<sup>100</sup> The preservation and display of Demetrius' greatest warship in the harbor at Demetrias would have been a spectacular component of this commemorative

τὸ βάθος, καὶ διὰ τούτων φάλαγγας ἐπικαρσίας κατὰ πλάτος τῆς τάφρου διώσας συνεχεῖς, τετράπηχυν εἰς βάθος τόπον ἀπολείπουσας. καὶ ποιήσας εἴσρουν ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐνέπλησεν αὐτῆς πάντα τὸν ὀρυχθέντα τόπον, εἰς ὃν ῥαϊδίως ὑπὸ τῶν τυχόντων ἀνδρῶν εἰσήγαγε τὴν ναῦν· <εἶτα> τὸ ἀνοιχθὲν κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐμφράξαντας μετεξαντλήσαι πάλιν τὴν θάλασσαν ὀργάνοις. τούτου δὲ γενομένου, ἐδρασθῆναι τὸ πλοῖον ἀσφαλῶς ἐπὶ τῶν προειρημένων φαλάγγων.

<sup>92</sup> Strabo 9.5.15; cf. Polyb. 18.11.4-7; Livy 32.37.3-4,

<sup>93</sup> The links between the new city and the heroic past of the area were strengthened by the revival of the cult of Artemis Iolkia, patron goddess of Iolkos, in the agora of Demetrias; IG IX.2 1105, 1106; Kravaritou (2016) 134-35.

<sup>94</sup> Newell (1927) 34-38 Plate XVIII, nos. 8-14; Mørkholm (1991) 77-78 Plate X, nos. 162-65, and 171.

<sup>95</sup> On this stele and the Poseidon shield blazon, see Sekunda (1994) 19-22.

<sup>96</sup> On the identity of the warrior, see Kron and Furtwängler (1983) 147-168.

<sup>97</sup> Batziou-Efstathiou (2002) 27-28; Stamatopoulou (2018) 354. No surmounting sculpture has been recovered, however, and the notion of a capping statue is speculative.

<sup>98</sup> The *naustathmos* of Demetrias was located on the northern headland of the promontory known as Pefkakia. Continuous siltation of the southern Pagasetic Gulf (the modern Gulf of Volos) diminished the utility of this harbor by the Byzantine period, and few traces of the harbor facilities are visible today. A supposed commercial harbor on the south side of the Pefkakia promontory has not yet been confirmed by geomorphological studies (Stamatopoulou 2018, 351). On the harbors of Demetrias, see esp. Ginalis (2014) 162-171.

<sup>99</sup> On this structure, and its location atop "Höhe 84," see Marzollf (1987) esp. 1-47; Stamatopoulou (2018) 357. The heroön was erected on an artificial platform measuring c.37 x 150m and may have served as the seat of a cult dedicated to Demetrius and his son Antigonos as city founders (*ktistai*), together with the traditional heroes (*archēgetai*) of the various communities that participated in the synoecism of Demetrias, see Marzollf (1987) 1-47; Kravaritou (2013) 263-64.

<sup>100</sup> Mili (2015) 201; Stamatopoulou (2018) 357. On the nature of heroic cult paid Demetrius in his eponymous foundation, see Kravaritou (2011) 119-122; id. (2013); Mili (2015) esp. 199-201.

program. A *neōrion* for the “sixteen,” perhaps appended to the shipshed complex in the harbor, would position the Antigonids as the inheritors of the heroic naval legacy of Iolkos, celebrate the magnitude of the city founder’s accomplishments, and advertise the continuing potency of the Antigonid kings. I suggest that Antigonus Gonatas dedicated his father’s funerary barge in a custom structure in Demetrias’ harbor where it was maintained for 115 years.

After Paullus defeated Perseus at Pydna, we know that he made two visits to Demetrias separated by an interval of several months<sup>101</sup>—more than enough time to have the old flagship restored, refitted, and launched for the long voyage to Italy. No doubt this restoration was an extensive one; whether the latter-day Ship of Theseus that Paullus took up the Tiber to the Campus Martius remained the “sixteen” of Demetrius or not was now a question to exercise the philosophers of Rome.

Demetrius’ most famous ship was constructed and displayed as a symbol of Macedonian power and Antigonid prestige; the repurposing of this ship by Lucius Aemilius Paullus was thus a potent demonstration of Roman dominance over the Greek world. And so, the final indignity visited upon this extraordinary vessel—her conversion to a sort of prison hulk for the incarceration of Carthaginian hostages—was fitting.<sup>102</sup> This ultimate expression of Antigonid power and tradition was appropriated to commemorate the fall of that proud dynasty, preserved in a monument that arrogated Antigonid commemorative practice, and converted to house hostages whose presence in Rome signaled the imminent Roman eclipse of yet another great rival.

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<sup>101</sup> Livy 45.28.

<sup>102</sup> The use of shipsheds to house prisoners dates back to the tyranny of Polycrates of Samos, who used *neosoi* as cells for the wives and children of dissident Samians (Hdt. 3.45.4); Gessius Florus, governor of Judaea, imprisoned Jews in shipsheds at Caesarea Maritima in 66 CE (Jos. BJ 2.458).

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