

«Attica in Syria»

Persian War Reenactments and Reassessments of the Greek-Asian Relationship: a Literary Point of View¹

Silvia Barbantani

DOI – 10.7358/erga-2014-001-barb

ABSTRACT – In one of the fragments of encomiastic poetry which is most difficult to interpret, *Suppl. Hell.* 958 (*P.Hamb.* 312 inv. 381, 3rd cent. BCE), a king (most probably Ptolemy II) compares his two arch-enemies, the «Medes» and the Galatians, those already defeated and those about to receive due punishment for their impiety. Comparison with contemporary and late-antique Greek encomia from Egypt may suggest that here are at play two levels of assimilation with the 5th century Persians: on the one hand, every barbarian enemy of a Greek state can be seen as a reincarnation of the Persian spectre (even the Galatians are often assimilated to the invading army of Xerxes in Hellenistic art and literature); on the other hand, the Seleucids, having inherited the land once dominated by the Achaemenids, can be presented by their enemies as «the New Persians». That a Ptolemy could play the role of a defender of the cultural identity of his subjects (both Greeks and Egyptians) against the Persians, is no surprise. We have to assess, however, if the Seleucids really did care less about advertising their Greek/Macedonian cultural inheritance than the rival dynasties. A review of the surviving Greek literature from the Seleucid empire (generally overlooked by scholars, who are most interested in the marvels of Alexandrian poetry) can be useful to reply to this question.

KEYWORDS – Seleucid, Ptolemy, Hellenistic, Persian, Greek literature, court poetry, SH 958, Seleucidi, Tolemei, ellenistico, Persiani, letteratura greca, poesia di corte.

¹ The paper has been presented at the international Conference «The Many Faces of a Hellenistic King», organized by Prof. Penelope Wilson and Dr. Heba Abd El Gawad at University of Durham, 11-12 November 2011; an earlier and shorter version has been presented in the cycle of lectures «La (ri)scoperta dell'Antico. Terzo incontro di studi in ricordo del Prof. Mario Zambarbieri», organized by the Liceo Ginnasio Statale Carducci, Milano, 22 January 2011, while its origin is in a series of presentations I did in 2009 and 2010 in preparation for the travels in Jordan and in Syria of the Scuola di Specializzazione in Archeologia of the Università Cattolica. I thank the organizers of the conferences and all the colleagues for useful comments and suggestions. Mine remains the responsibility for what is written.

Now as in antiquity, wars are fought on the battlefield as much as on the cultural ground. However, ancient court poetry, especially learned poetry as we find it in Alexandria, cannot be defined, literally, as «propaganda», as it could hardly «be propagated», circulate widely outside the circle of the alphabetized Greeks, that is ethnic Greek or Greek-speaking members of the court, members of the rival court, *élites* of the Greek and Hellenized *poleis*. While the audience for *docta poesis* was relatively restricted, Hellenistic kings had other means to spread their self-representation as rulers² on a wider scale: primarily iconographic tools, like works of art donated and exhibited in renown sanctuaries, symbolism on coinage, theatrical manifestation of power like solemn processions and festivals³, but also specific literary genres, like epic/encomiastic poetry designed for panhellenic competitions and public performances outside the relatively circumscribed sphere of the court. However, even the most exclusive manifestations of court poetry could be useful to understand the way Hellenistic kings related with their inner circle of «Friends», their allies and their adversaries.

1. PTOLEMAIC COURT POETRY ON MEDES AND «PHILOPERSIAN» KINGS

I shall start from *SH* 958, one of the rarest – if not the only – example of Hellenistic elegy about a contemporary war, dating 3rd century BC. It could better be defined as fragment of an epic poem in elegiacs: the presence of a speech or a dialogue suggests that the composition was of a certain length, and the military subject recalls Hellenistic historical epic poems like those of Simonides of Magnesia and Musaeus of Ephesus⁴.

[.] πρ[ό]σθε πύλης καὶ τείχεος αἰ.πε[
[.].]ην ταύτην ἦνυες ἀγγελίην.
[.].]ης, ὄνα, διὰ στόματος λόγου . [
[.]ἰερῆς ἔρνεα φυταλῆς
[.]ὀπίσω ῥυπαρῆς στάχυες τρι[βόλοιο] 5
[.]ἀ]ναγγέλλων εἰς βασιλῆα λόγο[v].
[.]v ἐπει μάλα πάντα δι' οὔατος ἔκλ[v]

² On the diverse nature of Hellenistic monarchies, not fitting a unique model, see e.g. Mooren 1985, 208-209; Gruen 1996; Ma 2003.

³ E.g. the Great Procession described by Callixenos, or Antiochus IV's festival at Daphne, on which see Chaniotis 1997; Rice 1983; Iossif 2011c. On the use of theatres for festivals as a stage for rulers, see Le Guen 2003, 353; Le Guen 2010, 505-511; Vial 2003.

⁴ For a thorough commentary and a critical edition of this problematic fragment see Barbantani 2001; Barbantani 2002-2003.

[.].ρὸν δ' αὐτίκα ἄνεσχε λόγ[ον].
[.]ς ὕβρισται τε καὶ ἄφρονες, ἀλλὰ μ[
[.]γ ταύτης μισθὸν ἀτασθαλίας, 10
γνώσον]ται δὲ μαθόντες, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἀρεί[ονας ἄλλους]
[.] εἰς κρατερὴν δουλοσύνην ἔθεμ[εν].
[οὐδ' ἔμπης Μῆδοισι βαθυκτεάνοισιν ὀμ[οίως]
[οἶδε βιώ]σασθαι θούροσ ἀνήρ Γαλάτης.
Οὐ γὰρ πο]ρφυρέουσιν ἐν εἵμασιν οὐδὲ μύροισ[ιν] 15
[.] . μαλακὸν χρῶτα λιπαινόμενο[ς],
ἀλλὰ χα]μεινιάδιός τε καὶ αἰθρία ἐγί[αυτόν].

[...] in front of the gate and the walls [...]
you completed these [gloomy] tidings:
«[...] unpleasant,] o king, from my mouth [...] of my speech;
[...] the shoots of the sacred tree;
[...] what remains behind are ears of rough *tribolos*»
[...] bringing the message to the king.
[...] as soon as he had heard the entire tale,
[...] immediately raised a [...] speech:
«Impious and stupid men, but [very soon]
[they will pay] the penalty for their impudence.
They will learn from experience, because [others, even more courageous],
[...] we reduced to harsh slavery.
The impetuous Galatian man does not certainly
[follow a way of life similar] to the rich Medes;
for he does not recline in purple garments nor does he [...].
anointing his delicate skin with unguents,
but rests on the ground and lives in the open [all year round]».

This is a unique fragment, because it names in one breath two of the most iconic enemies for every Graeco-Macedonian ruler: Galatians and Medes. The piece is quite complex, due to several lacunae in some of the lines crucial for the interpretation of the scene. In my commentary on the fragment⁵ I argued that the king speaking is a Ptolemy, comparing two of his most fearful enemies, the Galatians, ὕβρισται τε καὶ ἄφρονες⁶, and the «Medes». The identity of the Galatians is quite clear, only the time of the action is debatable: they may be Ptolemy Philadelphus' rebellious mercenaries of 275, or, if the action is to date some years later, a roaming band of Celts threatening Ptolemaic-controlled areas in Asia Minor, like those attacking Tlos and repelled by the general Neoptolemus⁷. The identification of the «Medes», although apparently evident, it is not. The

⁵ See Barbantani 2001, 118-179.

⁶ Cf. Hom. *Od.* VI 120, IX 175, XIII 201, XXIV 282; Hom. *Il.* XIII 633-634.

⁷ On this episode see Barbantani 2007.

term «Medes» was commonly used by the Greeks in a derogatory way to identify the Achaemenids (so, not exactly «Medes», but Persians)⁸ who attacked Greece and were defeated in the 5th century BC, or, more closely to the date of our fragment, the Achaemenids defeated by Alexander, in the person of king Darius III. If so, the king speaking may be Ptolemy II, comparing the «Medes» already defeated by Alexander, the *ktistes* (hero-founder) of his capital Alexandria and the ultimate origin of the power of the Ptolemaic dynasty, and the about-to-be defeated mercenaries. This interpretation fits wells with the integration for l. 11 proposed by most philologists: ἀρεῖ[οναζ ἄλλουζ], identifying the «better»⁹ with the Medes; the king would state: «We (*i.e.* the Macedonians, or more specifically the Ptolemies) have already defeated others better (= better organized and powerful, although more effeminate) than the Galatians». However, there is the possibility that with «Medes» the king refers (overtly or allusively) to the heirs of the Achaemenids in the Asiatic territories of Alexander's former empire, namely the Seleucids. Episodes of the wars for the possession of the so-called Coele-Syria were represented, by Ptolemaic «propaganda», at many levels and for different audiences, as a re-enactment of the Persian wars of the 5th century, in the same way in which Alexander's enterprise was presented as a belated punishment for the «Medes». Seleucids are clearly superimposed to the Achaemenid invader Cambyses in documents primarily (but not exclusively) addressed to the Egyptian subjects, such as the Pithom stele (273 BC, 1st Syrian War)¹⁰, the Adulis decree (OGIS I 54, 18-22¹¹ and 199, 3rd Syrian War), where Ptolemy III states to have invaded the lands «beyond the Euphrates, Mesopotamia, Babylonia, Susiana, Persia, Media, until Bactria» in order to retrieve the sacred things stolen by the Persians from Egypt¹², and the Canopus decree (OGIS I 56,

⁸ See Tuplin 1994; Jonkers 1948.

⁹ See Barbantani 2001, 160-162, 172-176.

¹⁰ Tarn 1929 interpreted that Ptolemy went to *Parset*, PRSTT = Persia, on the occasion of a campaign against the Nabateans (cf. Graf 2006, on the Posidippus epigram 10 A.-B. mentioning a Nabatean king); however, the scene is rather «Palestine», as pointed out by Bresciani 1978; Lorton 1971; Bernard 1990, 535-536; Winnicki 1990; Meeks 2002. On the Pithom stele see Minas 1994; Thiers 2007; also Brugsch - Erman 1894; Heinen 1984; Grzybek 1990, 69-112; Sherwin-White - Kuhrt 1993, 35-36; Barbantani 2001, 167-168.

¹¹ See Fauvelle-Aymar 2009; Casson 1981; Casson 1989, 102-106; Beyer-Rotthoff 1993, 40-67; Funk 1997, 205-206; Barbantani 2001, 169-170. For the historical sources of the 3rd Syrian War see App. Syr. LXV 346 (Ptolemy enters in Babylon), and the Gurob papyrus, with a report compiled by the king himself (Hauben 1991, 30-31).

¹² Cf. Hieron. in *Daniel*. III, XI 8: *quadraginta milia talentum argenti tulit et vasa pretiosa simulacraque deorum duo milia quingenta, in quibus erant et illa quae Cambyses capta Aegypti in Persas portaverat*; also Porphyrius (FGrHist 260 F 43) attributes the rapt

10-11, 239/8 BC, 3rd Syrian War)¹³, where the king is said, again, to have «brought back the statues stolen by the Persians from the temples». To those one could add a demotic *ostrakon* from Karnak (258/7 BC), whose text may derive from a Greek original: it describes Ptolemy II as «the king who was victorious over the philo-Persian king (= Antiochus I) when he went to the land of Syria» (ll. 2-4)¹⁴. Ptolemy Philadelphus' mighty military power is also celebrated in Egyptian documents like the text of the Sais Stele and an inscription accompanying a triad of statues (Ptolemy II, Arsinoe II and Amon), now in the Graeco-Roman Museum of Alexandria (l. 3: Ptolemy's soldiers are «more numerous than the sand»; ll. 5-6: shield and sword are mentioned)¹⁵. Not only the common Egyptian population, but also the Egyptian *philoi* of the king acting at court in various capacities (recent studies are confirming a relevant presence of Egyptian collaborators of the Ptolemies at a very early stage), may have appreciated the Macedonian rulers stepping into the shoes of the old pharaohs and presenting themselves as avengers of the Persians' impiety.

In Egyptian style bas-reliefs the Syrian Wars are represented with the topic image of the king smiting the enemy with a spear: on the Memphis stele preserving the Raphia decree, sanctioned by a priestly synod on the occasion of Philopator's victory over Antiochus III (217 BC), Ptolemy IV is depicted mounted on horseback, with the pharaonic double crown, in the act of transfixing with his spear an enemy (not appearing in the broken stone). In the Pithom stele II, replicating the same decree, the Ptolemy appears in Macedonian battledress, overcoming with a spear his adversary, Antiochus III¹⁶. Chaniotis compared this scene with the painting of the Kinch tomb (Naousa, 3rd century BC) showing a Macedonian horseman in the act of charging with his spear a Persian infantry soldier¹⁷, and with

to Cambyses, see Pfeiffer 2004, 20. On the importance of the *restitutio* of divine statues see Van't Dack 1992, 327-328.

¹³ On the Canopus decree see Pfeiffer 2004; Onasch 1976; Herz 1992, 85-87; *contra*, Johnson 1995. See also Bernard 1970; Heinen 1978, 192-197; Beyer-Rothhoff 1993, 291-300; Barbantani 2001, 170-171. On this and on other Ptolemaic epigraphic political statements see Selden forthcoming.

¹⁴ See Bresciani 1978, 31-37, and Bresciani 1981; on the «philo-Persian king» see Funk 1997.

¹⁵ Sais Stele: see Thiers 1999; Collombert 2008. For the inscription on the triad (cat. nr. 11261) see Stanwick 2003, 44, 100, A10 and 159, fig. 9; Sauneron 1960, 87.

¹⁶ See Moreno 1994, 342; Hölbl 2001, 162-163 (fig. 6.1: relief on the Raphia decree), with bibliography; Stanwick 2003, 7-8. On the figurines inspired by life-size groups see Laubscher 1991.

¹⁷ See Chaniotis 2005, 196, fig. 10.1; cf. Pollit 1986, 43-44; Smith 1991, fig. 204.2; Issif 2012.

a Bithynian relief dated by the time of Prusias I's campaigns against the Galatians (216 BC), representing a horseman hitting with two spears a Galatian, also mounted on horse¹⁸.

Epigraphic documents, especially if bilingual, like some of these decrees, are so explicit because they are meant to be exposed in public, and to be read by as many subjects as possible. There may have been some influence of a Ptolemaic anti-Seleucid propaganda in prose works, now almost completely lost¹⁹; hyperbolic statements like those of the Adulis and of the Canopus decrees are repeated by later sources like Polyainus VIII 50 (Ptolemy III arrives «as far as India») and Trogus/Iustinus XXVII 1, 9 (the Euergetes conquered *totum Seleuci regnum*). Quite different is the tone of court poetry and its level of engagement in contemporary events. If in Egyptian documents a Seleucid can be unambiguously defined «philopersian king», the Seleucids, as enemies, are never named explicitly in the surviving Ptolemaic learned poetry. In Alexandrian poetry there are, undeniably, some allusions to Egypt's challenging relationship with its eastern neighbors. In the eve of the 2nd Syrian War, Ptolemy II was presenting himself as the heir to the philhellenic and anti-Persian politics of Alexander, whose striking image as Πέρσαισι βαρῦς («punisher of the Medes»), sporting the insignia of divine kingship (αιολομίτρας) is prominent in Theocritus *Idyll* XVII 19; in this poem, Alexander is presented side by side with Ptolemy I, one of his main collaborators and founder of the Ptolemaic dynasty, and with the civilizer hero Heracles *kentaurophonos* (l. 20), progenitor of both Macedonians, Alexander and Ptolemy (l. 27). Moreover, in *Idyll* XVII 85-89, among Philadelphus' eastern domains are listed Phoenicia, Syria (that is Coele-Syria) and Arabia, lands contended by the Seleucids, without a word spent on an ongoing conflict: in the fictional encomiastic reality these territories are indisputably belonging to Ptolemy II. The coast of Asia Minor, including Pamphylia, Cilicia, Lycia and Caria (ll. 88-89)²⁰ is also depicted as under tight control of the king of Egypt. In spite of these allusions to the ruler's military power (both Ptolemy I and his son are por-

¹⁸ See Chaniotis 2005, 201, fig. 10.2.

¹⁹ On the philo-Ptolemaic sources showing Antiochus I as a *bon vivant* and a champion of *tryphē* see Mastrocinque 1987, 24-29. Philarchus criticizes Antiochus II and shows Seleucus II defeated and on the run (*FGrHist* 81 F 6 and F 30). Of course the accusation of excessive *tryphē* could rebound on the Ptolemies, e.g. in some passages of Philarchus (*FGrHist* 81 F 40; cf. Pédech 1989, 467-468) or of Ptolemy of Megalopolis (*FGrHist* II b 161 Text, 897-898). The anecdote on Stratonice's baldness (Luc. *Pro Im.* 5-7), in contrast with the celebration of Berenice's lock, could be a product of the Lagid propaganda at the time of the Laodicean War (246/5 BC); possibly on the same topic is the mysterious and ironic epigram praising the hair of an *anassa*, *A.P.* V 25 (= *FGE* 313-314, anon. II).

²⁰ On this passage see Barbantani 2007, 68 with further bibliography.

trayed in their martial capacity, αἰχμηταί, ll. 55-56), Theocritus' *Encomium of Ptolemy* is mostly engaged in internal politics, celebrating Philadelphus' relationship with his family and his role of keeper of peace and bringer of wealth to his country²¹. The same celebration of Alexander's deeds we find in Theocritus was also publicized in an impressive pageant including a military parade, the Grand Procession described by Callixeinos²², where images of Dionysus and Alexander appear, and the allegoric figure of Corinth (referring to the League set up by Philip II) is followed by the cities «which were governed by the Persians» (Ath. V 201d-e). Rightly it has been pointed out that

The presentation of Dionysos and Alexander as the conquerors of the East and as gods with a special relationship to the Ptolemies places the Ptolemies metaphorically in the position actually occupied by the Seleucids in the eastern stretches of Alexander's empire. The Ptolemies [...] surely had no intention of usurping eastern Asia from Antiochus I, but their indirect claim to it here as part of the inheritance from Alexander can hardly be interpreted otherwise than in the context of the current struggles with Syria over Coele-Syria and, to a lesser extent, Caria. (Rice 1983, 191)

In comparison with the bombastic statements of the Ptolemaic epigraphic decrees, Callimachus is admirably synthetic, even though dutifully encomiastic, when in the *Lock of Berenice* (fr. 110 Pfeiffer / Catull. *Car.* 66) alludes to the *blitz-krieg* that led Ptolemy III into the very heart of the «Assyrian empire», the region of Babylonia, during the 3rd Syrian war: see Catull. *Carm.* 66, 12: *vastatos finis Assyrios*; 36: *captam Asiam Aegypti finibus addiderat*²³. In the poem there is also a clever interplay between the new conflict and the ancient Persian War, since at ll. 45-46 (καὶ διὰ μέ[σσου] / Μηδείων ὀλοαὶ νῆες ἔβησαν Ἄθω, cf. Catull. *Carm.* 66.45-46: *cum Medi peperere nouum mare, cumque iuuentus / per medium classi barbara nauit Athon*) is evoked Xerxes' impiety, the cut of the Athos peninsula. However, like in Theocritus' *Idyll XVII*, the focus of the poem is neither the war nor the king, but Berenice as a role-model of a faithful and loving wife. Interestingly enough, there is no political exploitation, in the surviving Alexandrian poetry of the 3rd century BC, which is often keen on celebrating Ptolemaic queens and the value of dynastic marriage as source

²¹ For a recent re-interpretation of the *Idyll XVII* in a double Greek-pharaonic key, see Heerink 2010.

²² Callix. *apud* Ath. V 201d. See Rice 1983, 102-111.

²³ See Weber 1993, 313-314; Pfeiffer 2004, 18-19; Boiy 2004, 149-154. At the death of Antiochus II, his two sons Seleucus (by Antiochus and Laodice) and Antiochus (by Berenice) competed for the throne. Most probably Ptolemy never went further than Babylon and just received ambassadors from the farthest regions while staying there.

of legitimate heirs, of the fact that Seleucus I was one of the few among Alexander's generals not to repudiate his «barbarian» wife, Apama, a Sogdian princess, and that their son Antiochus I was the first half-blood ruler in Asia, for a long time relegated to the Upper Satrapies²⁴: a claim that, coming from the Ptolemies, who (mainly through twin marriages) always remained «ethnically pure» Macedonian throughout three centuries, could have used at their advantage. Other references to Medes, Persians or Syrians in the extant work of Callimachus are quite puzzling, and not overtly politically charged²⁵. That the disparaging connotation of the «Assyrian river»²⁶, the Euphrates, as muddy waters in *Call. Ap.* 108 could be a political reference to the Seleucids²⁷ is extremely doubtful: the context of the *Hymn* finale refers to the choice of a poetic style, not to politics, and Callimachus was notoriously fond of a scholar hired by the Seleucids, like Aratus; in turn, later Greek poets working for Seleucid kings, like Euphorion, were inspired by Callimachus. Apparently, then, the world of Hellenistic learned poetry was not divided by court affiliation, and the feeling is that inside this quite restricted community of *poetae docti* osmosis and cultural exchange (even rivalry to get the best patron) was more common than political antagonism; it was more common, probably, scholarly bickering inside the same institution (Timon *SH* 786 *docet*). In Theocritus too, references to exotic places of the Seleucid East look like harmless commonplaces²⁸. Ptolemaic court poetry had other, more allusive ways to present their rulers as superiors to the Seleucids, without even naming the

²⁴ On the expansion towards East see Tarn 1985³; Bickerman 1966; Altheim - Rehork 1969; Wolski 1984; Musti 1984; Narain 1989; Kuhrt - Sherwin-White 1987; Sherwin-White - Kuhrt 1993, 72-111, 144 ff.

²⁵ The reference to Medes and Persians in Callimachus generally points to the old, barbarian Medes, like fr. *Aitia* I 15-18 Pfeiffer: *Μασσα|γεται| [κ]αι| μακ|ρον| ο|σ|τε|υ|ιο|εν| ε|π| ανδρα| / Μηδου|·| α| η|δονιδες|] δ|·| ωδε| μελιχρ|ο|τεραι|·| / ε|λλετε| Βασκανη|ς| ο|λο|ον| γενο|ς|·| αυθι| δε| τεχνη| / κρινετε|·| [μη| σχοιν|ω| Περσιδι| τη|v| σοφιη|*. Other notable references are *Call.* fr. 505 Pfeiffer (ή μὲν ἀπ' Ἀσσυρίων ἡμεδαπὴ στρατιή «and our army from the Assyrian»), with reference to Cappadocians who live on the Pontus Euxinus, according to the explanation of the *Etymologicum Magnum* (Pfeiffer relates the fragment to the army of the Amazons), and fr. 506 Pfeiffer (ἡμισυ μὲν Πέρσαι, ἡμισυ δ' Ἀσσυριοί; cf. *Schol. ad Aesch. Pers.* 84: «the Persians were formerly called Assyrians»).

²⁶ On the interchangeable, and not uniform, definition of all things «Syrian» as «Assyrian» (and on the assimilation of Arameans as «Syrians») see Andrade 2013, 6.

²⁷ Sic Strootman 2009, 35-36. See also Brumbaugh forthcoming.

²⁸ In *Theoc. Id.* II 161-162 the «Assyrian guest» who knows many *pharmaka* is just a cliché; in *Id.* X 26 a beautiful black-skinned woman is nicknamed «Syr»: Βομβύκα χαρίεσσα, Σύραν καλέοντι τυ πάντες, / ισχνάν, ἀλιόκαστον, ἐγὼ δὲ μόνος μελίχλωρον; in *Id.* XV 114 Σύριω ... μύρω is a precious Oriental perfume. In the ps.Theocritean *Ep.* 25 Gow = *A.P.* VII 534 (possibly by Alexander Aetolus, see Gow 1950, II, 548) the warning against untimely navigation (cf. *Call. A.P.* VII 272) is directed against a Greek merchant

competing dynasty. As convincingly suggested by Petrovic²⁹ with plenty of parallels, Ptolemies dared to rival the Seleucids on their own new cultural territory, re-interpreting in an epigrammatic low key (but not for that less effectively encomiastic), the traditional Achaemenid inscriptions representing riches and goods flowing to the Great King from the most exotic places: in Posidippus' *Lithica*, Ptolemaic grasp over the farthest regions of Earth is represented by the stream of precious stones (some of which explicitly connected with Persia) to Alexandria. For Ptolemaic court poets therefore Alexandria becomes not only the new epicentre of the Hellenic cultural life in the Mediterranean, but also the treasury of the world's most desired art trophies, which was once the Achaemenid court.

The fact that there is no further explicit reference to the Syrian wars or to Seleucid rulers in the surviving Ptolemaic court poetry could be bewildering for a modern historian. It may well be that chance has robbed us of the most blatant pieces of poetic anti-Seleucid productions. However, one of the tacit rules of political marketing (ancient or modern) is «never multiply the enemies without a good reason»: one arch-enemy is capturing the attention and the energy of the audience better than two, even if, in fact, the one chosen for the purpose does not constitute a real and present danger after all. The role of the arch-enemies which once belonged to the «Medes», for all the Hellenistic rulers, in different times and places (Ptolemies, Seleucids, Attalids, possibly some of the Antigonids³⁰), in Greek sources is invariably taken over by the new barbarians on the scene, the Galatians, at least in the 3rd and part of the 2nd century BC, before the rise of the Romans³¹. The

sailing from Coele-Syria (ll. 3-4): δειλαιε Κλεόνικε, σὺ δ' εἰς λιπαρὴν Θάσον ἔλθεῖν / ἠπείγειν Κοίλης ἔμπορος ἐκ Συρίας.

²⁹ Petrovic 2014.

³⁰ See Barbantani 2001, 181-223; on the debated identification by Barigazzi 1974 of *SH* 958 as a fragment of Aratus' *Hymn to Pan*, dedicated to Antigonus Gonatas after the Lysimachia clash with the Galatians, see Barbantani 2001, 123-125. The victory over the Galatians at Delphi was carefully exploited in mainland Greece by the Aetolians, while the Attalids made any effort to advertise in Athens their success over the Celts, linking them iconographically to the Persian Wars (their *donaria* in Athens included a Persomachy and an Amazonomachy).

³¹ An exception to the exclusive equation «Galatians = ancient Medes» appears in the period when the Argead kings tried to conquer Greece: the insistence of the contemporary sources on the «barbaric threat» coming from Macedonia is due to the fact that many Greeks still considered Philip II a barbarian invader like Xerxes (cf. the comparison between Macedonians and Persians in the Chremonidean Decree, *Syll.*³ 434/5); in the epigram *FGE* CXLII, commissioned by Pyrrhus to celebrate the dedication of the shields taken from the soldiers of Antigonus Gonatas, the conquest of Asia is associated to the conquest of Greece (ll. 1-2: Αἶδε ποτ' Ἀσίδα γαῖαν ἐπόρησαν πολύχρυσον, / αἶδε καὶ Ἑλλάσι<ν> δουλοσύναν ἔπορον): the Antigonid king, once conqueror of Persia and Greece,

so called «Galatian wars» (that is, a galaxy of scattered guerrilla episodes and minor-scale clashes, with the possible exception of the «Battle of the elephants») were paradoxically felt by the Graeco-Macedonian people and presented by Greek literature as a re-enactment of the Persian wars, much more than the Syrian Wars, which constituted one of the longest series of continuous conflict ever (nine, spread over 150 years)³². The Galatian victory of Ptolemy II is transfigured into an epic, cosmogonic fight in Call. *Del.* 165-188³³. It may be that advertising military success over an unambiguously non-Greek entity, the Galatians, was striking a deeper chord in Greek hearts. Later *encomia* in Greek by Dioscorus of Aphrodito and other Egyptian poets, but also some encomiastic epigrams dedicated to emperors like Julian, follows this trend, interpreting again the fight against local barbarians (like the Blemmyes) as a revival of the Persian Wars³⁴:

1. *GDRK* P² XXII 1 (Page 1950², nr. 135), 4th century AD: epic poem on the Diocletian and Galerius' war against the Persians: fr. 1 *recto*, ll. 7-10: οὐ γὰρ ὅσος στεινωπὸν ὑπ[ὸ] π[ι]τύχα Θερμοπυλάων / Μῆδος Ἄρης ἤχησεν ὑπ[ὸ] σ[τ]ρατιῆσι Λακῶνων, / τόσος ἐμοῖς βασιλεῦσ[ιν] ἐπήιεν ἀντιβολήσων, / ἀλλὰ πολὺ πλείων τε κα[ὶ] ἄσ[χ]αλό[ν]ων ὑπ' ὁμ[ο]κλή[ς]. «Not such as the Persian arms that rang beneath the Spartan host in the narrow cleft of Thermopylae, not such the numbers that advanced to meet my kings, but greater far, and stung by the battle cry» (transl. by D.L. Page); fr. 1 *verso*, ll. 15-21: the two emperors are compared to Zeus and Apollo defeaters of the Giants: [οἴα] δ' ὁ μὲν Κρήτηθεν, ὁ δ' εἰναλῆς ἀπὸ Δήλου / εἶσι, Ζεὺς ὑπὲρ Ὀθρυν, ὁ [δ'] ἐς Πάγγαιον Ἀπόλλων, / τοῖν δὲ κορυσσομένοιν ὄμαδος πέφρικε Γιγάντων, / τοῖος ἄναξ πρέσβιστος [ἄ]γων στρατὸν Αὐσονιῶν / ἀντολίην ἀφίκανε σὺν ὁ πλοτέρω βασιλῆι. / καὶ γὰρ ἔσ[αν] μακάρεσσιν ὁμοιοί, ὃς μὲν εἰκοῶς / αἰθεριῶ [Διὶ κάρτος, ὁ δ'] Ἀπόλλωνι κομήτη. «Even as one divinity goes from Crete, the other from seagirt Delos – Zeus over Othrys, Apollo to Pangaeus – and as they gird their armour on, the throne of Giants trembles: in such guise came our elder lord, beside the younger king, to the Orient with an army of Ausonians. Like to the blessed gods they were, one in strength a match for Zeus. above, the other for long-haired Apollo» (transl. by D.L. Page).
2. *GDRK* P² XXXV (Page 1950², nr. 140), ca. 500 AD: encomium or fragment from Pamprepis' Ἰσαυρικά: *recto*, l. 14: αὐχένα γα[ῶ]ρον Ἄρης Αχαμμεν[ίδ].

is now hiring Galatians as mercenaries and let himself be defeated by the Epirote king, emulator of Alexander and alleged descendant of Achilles (cf. Leon. *A.P.* VI 130).

³² See Grainger 2010. The scholar highlights (415), as a consequence of the rivalry over Coele-Syria, the development of a continuous arms race between Ptolemies and Seleucids, with a resultant impact of the military conflict on every aspect of life (economic, political, administrative) of the two kingdoms.

³³ See Barbantani 2001, 188-203; Barbantani 2011.

³⁴ See Barbantani 2001, 128, 130-132; Viljamaa 1968.

3. GDRK II S 10, p. 50 (Page 1950², 141) *Encomium ducis Thebaidos*, possibly coming from a campaign against the Blemmyes, or the Persians: l. 12: Πέρσα[ι] ἀναπνεύσωσι Θεμιστοκλήα φυγόν[τες]. «The Persians may breathe again, for they have escaped their Themistocles» (transl. by D.L. Page).³⁵
4. Epigrams: anon. *A.P.* 16, 62 and 63: Justinian Μηδοκτόνος (62, 1) / Μηδοφόνος (63, 4) [cf. Kaibel 30, 6: μηδοφόνων ... πατέρων; Paul. Sil. *A.P.* 16, 118, 1: Cynegirus' Μηδοφόνους ... χειρας; Teact. Schol. *A.P.* 16, 233, 7: Marathon ó μηδοφόνος; *A.P.* 14, 148, the emperor Julian, μαρνάμενος Περσῶν πόλιας καὶ τείχεα μακρὰ (l. 4), is compared to Zeus defeater of the Giants, Γηγενέων ... φύλον (l. 1).

The absence of a prominent figure of a Seleucid king as a military «arch-enemy» in Ptolemaic learned poetry may be also due to the simple fact that a cultivated Greek or Greek-speaking audience, as the one composed by the king's *philoi* and courtiers, could not be cheated into this belief, not even in the fictitious realm of court poetry, as the Seleucids were simply not «Medes enough» or «barbarian enough» to play the part of the Achae-menids. Possibly in a different kind of poetic production, less concerned with allusive refinement and more overtly encomiastic, like epic poems or encomia (in hexameters or elegiacs, like our fragment *SH* 958) targeting a wider audience than the court, identification of the Seleucids with the Persians could be more explicit. Unfortunately parallels with Ptolemaic works of art in Greek style do not help, as there is some ambiguity in the figurative representations of the Ptolemaic king victorious over an enemy: in the many variants of the small bronze group representing Ptolemy as Hermes *Enagonios* in the act of wrestling an adversary to the ground, the opponent has been recognized by various scholars in turn as a «Seleucid» or a «Barbarian» (Galatian?), but his identity is not unquestionably identifiable³⁶. Large scale monuments celebrating Ptolemaic military victories

³⁵ On the identity of the *laudandus* and the context of the poem see Viljamaa 1968, 53 and Page 1950², comm. *ad* nr. 141. The parallel with Themistocles is already exploited for Caius Iulius Nicanor of Hierapolis, Syria (1st AD), presented as «New Homer and new Themistocles»: conqueror of Salamina and epic poet, «new father of the *Iliad*» (Robert 1990, 583-44; Jones 1978, 222-228).

³⁶ According to Charbonneau 1953, 113-118: the group «Hermes/Heraclès wrestling a barbarian» could represent Ptolemy III overcoming the Seleucid enemy in a celebration of the 3rd Syrian War. See also Laubscher 1985; Laubscher 1991; Laubscher 1992; Lehmann 1988. Kyrieleis 1975, 36, 54 ff., 173, and Kyrieleis 1973 identifies in the Istanbul group with the same subject Ptolemy III, in the Athens and the Baltimore groups a young Ptolemy V (cf. Moreno 1994, 351-352). A similar group from Lixus could present Ptolemy II wrestling with Seleucus I, depicted as a Minotaur, with reference to the conquest of Crete (cf. Moreno 1994, 324-327). A group from the Hermitage probably depicts

are missing, therefore it is useless to speculate on the hypothetical presence of the Seleucids in them ³⁷.

2. KALEIDOSCOPIIC IDENTITIES AND SPLIT PERSONALITIES

The question here is not to discuss the real ethnicity of the Seleucids, but rather the way they presented themselves to their subjects and to their Graeco-Macedonian rivals ³⁸. In the last decades, collaboration between Classicists, Egyptologists, scholars of Ancient Mesopotamia has depicted a much more exciting and complex image of the Hellenistic kingdoms. The case of non-Greek royal *philoï* – both in Egypt ³⁹ and in the Seleucid area – bearing Greek names and able to move at ease in both worlds, being perfectly bilingual ⁴⁰ and – at a different level – bicultural (Berossus, Manetho) ⁴¹, is enlightening. We could also imply that to a certain extent subjects of the Ptolemies and of the Seleucids were also visually and imaginatively bi-functional, that is they could interpret, with various degrees of awareness, iconography originally belonging to different co-existing cultures: the reliefs on the Egyptian temples depicting Ptolemies destroying the enemies would not have left indifferent also the Greek or mixed-Greek

Ptolemy III as Heracles wrestling with Seleucus II, represented as a mythical king of Thrace (cf. Moreno 1994, 332-333).

³⁷ On the existence of an hypothetical large-scale monument on the defeat of the Galatian mercenaries see discussion in Barbantani 2001, 199-200. Laubscher 1991 hypothesizes the existence in Alexandria of an equestrian monument of Ptolemy depicted as Alexander defeater of the Asians, while Moreno 1994, 322-323, believes that the statuette of Alexander/Ptolemy Philadelphus on horseback adorned with an elephant skin possibly refers to the Ethiopian campaigns of 280 BC.

³⁸ On Greek identity in the East and in Egypt see Burstein 2005; Burstein 2008; Mairs 2008, 2011a, 2011b; Mairs forthcoming; Goudriaan 1988; Goudriaan 1992, 76-77 (ethnicity is a «way to organizing cultural differences»; «each generation must decide for itself whether or not to adopt the transmitted ethnic identity»); Østergård 1992. On ethnicity as a «process», «constructed (mainly cultural) identity», «definition/negotiation of (territorial, cultural, linguistic, biologic) boundaries» see Retsö 2006; Herring 2009; Jones 1997; Barth 1969, 84-85 («Ethnic groups are culturally ascribed identity groups, which are based on the expression of a real or assumed shared culture and common descent»).

³⁹ See de Meulenaere 1963; Yoyotte 1969; Quaegebeur 1980, esp. 78-79; Peremans 1983; Clarysse 1985; Thompson 1992, 44-45; La'da 1994; Klotz 2009; Collombert 2000; Pfeiffer 2004, 4; Bingen 2007; Barbantani 2014a, 305-308; Gruen forthcoming. On the *philoï* in the Seleucid/Attalid territories see Savalli Lestrade 1998.

⁴⁰ See Mairs 2011a, 1: «Strict and consistent allocation of different languages to specific domains by a language community as a whole results in a situation of diglossia».

⁴¹ On Manetho see Moyer 2011, 84-140. On Berossus and his cultural environment see Haubold - Lanfranchi - Rollinger - Steele 2013; Haubold 2013, 142-177.

passer-by⁴². Identity is fundamentally a choice between multiple cultural components of an individual or a society, much more than the mere product of genetic factors. Since the Eighties of the last century, many studies have shown how Ptolemaic kings managed the relationship with their multi-ethnic subjects and collaborators, and we know with a good degree of certainty how and when they were able to play the part of the pharaoh, when the part of protectors of the Greek identity, and when they wanted to enhance their Macedonian heritage⁴³. The latter position is exemplified by Posidippus' epigrams⁴⁴, or by Call. *Del.* 167, where, according to Apollo's prophecy, all the lands facing the sea, from the East to the West, «do not refuse to have a Macedonian king», Ptolemy II: the king is styled as a (almost) Greek sovereign, in order to present him properly as a savior of the Ἕλληνες in l. 171. In Alexandrian poetry, «Greek» is generally used in a contrastive way to mark a relevant opposition to non-Greeks, and in his surviving works Callimachus uses the terms «Hellene» (fr. 379 Pfeiffer; *Del.* 172), and «barbarian», in the adjectival form βαρβαρικός, only in the context of the Galatian invasion⁴⁵.

Only recently a similar effort has been done for the study of the ethnopolitical strategies of the Seleucid rulers, who had to deal with a more complex kingdom than the Ptolemies, a mosaic of different cultures, languages and *ethne*: most relevant for our purposes are the studies about the relationship of these Macedonian-Iranian rulers with the heart of their empire, the region of Babylonia, and to the very heart of Babylonian culture, the local templar clergy. In fact, for the Seleucids, Babylonian and Mesopotamian culture were more important, from the political point of view, than

⁴² As rightly pointed out by Diana Delia in her response to Samuel 1993, 203: the Ptolemaic monuments at Karnak, Edfu, Kom Ombo, Philae, celebrate the king emulating pharaonic prototypes, but they were visible to Egyptians and Greeks alike. See also Assmann 2001, esp. 412 (XXX dynasty models for Ptolemaic Egyptian temples).

⁴³ They remained culturally and ethnically Macedonian until the last ruler, Cleopatra VII Philopatra (she was the only Ptolemy to speak Egyptian, and maybe half Egyptian by birth): see Bingen 1999a, 1999b; Bearzot 1999. On the diversity of roles played by all Hellenistic kings with the Greek and the local communities, see Ma 2003.

⁴⁴ See Thompson 2005; Stephens 2004 and Stephens 2005; van Bremen 2007, 173; Barbantani 2012.

⁴⁵ See Hunter 1991, 85, 87, n. 19. Cf. *SH* 969, 7: φῦλα μὲν Ἑλλήνων (Barbantani 2001, 111-114). Documentary evidence gives us a more complex picture of ethnicity in Ptolemaic Egypt: although there were never massive ethnic-motivated clashes between Greek and Egyptians, at least in the first century and a half of the Macedonian rule, cases like that of the Memphite *katochos* Ptolemy, who dreams in Demotic but complains that local sellers harass him «because [he is] Greek» show how complex the situation may be in the everyday life. See Thompson 1992; Thompson 2001, 314, on the bilingualism of Apollonius son of Glaucias, brother of Ptolemy *katochos* in the Serapeum.

the Persian-Iranian elements, who survived mostly in religion and iconography: rather than of a «philo-Persian king» (as Antiochus I is defined in the Karnak *ostrakon*, see *supra*, p. 25), we should rather speak of a «philo-Babylonian» king⁴⁶. But how the Seleucid kings were perceived abroad by the Greek allies and enemies is not an easy question to reply to, due to the shipwreck of most of the 3rd and 2nd century works in verse and prose produced in this area of the world. Paradoxically it is easier now to understand how Greeks and Macedonians were perceived by local communities in Asia, thanks to the wider knowledge we have of non-Greek sources⁴⁷. We need to rely mostly on epigraphical and archaeological (mainly numismatic) sources, which show that the self-representation of the Seleucid rulers as Greek/Macedonians⁴⁸ was still very strong in the 3rd century BC, as strong as the Ptolemaic one, even though not so successfully advertised through Greek poetry. Here I shall focus on the first two rulers, Seleucus I and Antiochus I, since they are contemporary with the events hinted in the verses of *SH* 958.

From Babylonian sources it is clear that Seleucus I, although supported and appreciated by the local clergy, who included him in templar chronicles as a true Babylonian king after his Assyrian and Achaemenids predecessors, was nonetheless acknowledged with his Macedonian identity: in a chronicle of 281 BC Seleucus is said to march with his army from Sardis

⁴⁶ See Mitchell 2007, 152-153; Kosmin 2013; Haubold 2013, 127-177. Some scholars, like Briant, challenged the idea that Persian culture survived through Hellenistic and Roman periods in Asia Minor, except in the royal dynasties of Eastern Anatolia; but Iranian names remain associated with the local cults in sanctuaries in Caria, Lydia, Pontus and Cappadocia, showing that Persians traditions and families remained active for a long time in that area, sometimes in an Hellenized form, like in Ephesus.

⁴⁷ In Near Eastern sources (Babylonian, Assyrian, Hebrew, Persians), Greeks are always defined generically «Ionians» (Kuhrt 2002, 24 ff.; Briant 1994), like in Demotic documents «Greek» (*Hellen*) is «Wynn» = Ionian (Thompson 2001, 302). For the Persian use of «Yauna» as «Greek» see Del Monte 2001, 139-140 and Sancisi-Weerdenburg 2001. In the reliefs of the Persians royal tombs at Naqs-i Rostam and Persepolis, the representatives of various peoples part of the Persian empire are labeled: two are called *Yauna* and *Yauna takabana* (with petasos); the same outfit however is found on «Carians» and on a Lydian; on the Darius tomb relief, two groups of *Yauna* are differentiated, with and without petasos: in sum, there is little in the outfit and in the descriptions separating the diverse Hellenic and Hellenized peoples, which evidently formed in the eye of the Persians a culturally homogeneous group.

⁴⁸ Hellenistic rulers define themselves simply as *basileis* for the Greek subjects, while for the indigenous subjects they adopt local titles (Walbank 1984, 65-67). The ethnic «Macedonian» is sometimes used in a contrastive way, e.g. for Ptolemy III in *IG*² IX 1, I 56 (Thermon), during a war against an Antigonid; for Antiochus III in Delos, while following in Greece the politic agenda of Philip V.

towards *Maqqadunu*, Macedonia, «his country»⁴⁹. The ethnic of the king, apparently, was not considered so important, since also previous kings recognized in Babylonian temples but not of Babylonian origin claimed proudly their own ethnic identity⁵⁰. It is worth recalling that Babylonian sources contemporary with Seleucus I and Antiochus I make a strong difference between the «Macedonicity» of the king who complied with the Babylonian rule of protecting the temples, and the origin of other, more dangerous, Greek-Macedonian troops, those of the invaders, disparagingly defined as Haneans, «barbarians from a faraway country»⁵¹: evidently everybody needed to have their own «Galatians». The fact that Antiochus I was half-Iranian was certainly put in good use in his relationship with the local *philoï* and population, but we can be confident that this could hardly change his attitude towards the Greek subjects and Greek culture in general (nor the attitude of his Hellenic subjects towards him): he was willing to underline the paternal side of his lineage, the Macedonian side, in one of the most important Babylonian document of his time, where he and his family are shown performing the duties of the Achaemenid and previous Mesopotamian kings towards the local temples. Antiochus I presents himself as a protector of the temples of Borsippa and of the Babylonian Esagila, using traditional standard formulae, but he proudly states his Macedonian descent, deviating in this from the Babylonian use, where the ethnicity of the king is never stated (but echoing instead the Achaemenid royal inscriptions, see note 50). In the Borsippa cylinder he states in fact: «I am

⁴⁹ See Del Monte 1997, 199; Del Monte 2001, 145 ff., 199. The «Diadochoi Chronicle» presents Macedonia as the homeland of the legitimate king (Seleucus).

⁵⁰ Cf. Kuhrt 2002, 19: King Darius I (DNa 8-14) proclaims: «I am Darius, the great king, king of kings, king of all kind of people, king of this great earth far and wide, son of Hystaspes, an Achaemenid, a Persian, son of a Persian, an Aryan, having Aryan lineage» (transl. by A. Kuhrt).

⁵¹ The term «Hana», from its original meaning «a north-west region beyond the Cadar Mountain», indicates an undefined far-off land, the place from where threatening barbarian outsiders (nomadic hordes, sacrilegious pillagers) usually come; it is a disparaging title, like «Vandals» applied to people with destructive behavior, or «Huns» for «Germans » during World War I (see Joannès 1997, 150; Kuhrt 2002, 25): it is applied therefore only to troops which bring turmoil and chaos, notwithstanding their real ethnicity and provenance. Seleucus and his army are not categorized by Babylonians as «Hanaeans»: his troops in 282 are called «Ionians», and when he is treacherously killed in Thrace in 281 the place is called «the land of the Hanaeans». See Del Monte 2001, 140-147; Kuhrt 2002, 25-26; Landucci 2007. In the Chronicle of the Diadochoi (see Del Monte 1997, 183-189; Grayson 1975, 24-37) the army of Akkad, Babylonian, is guided by Seleucus (*contra*, see van der Spek 2003, 289-346: the leader would be Alexander), while his rival Antiochus Monophthalmos is the leader of the Haneans. Haneans are also the Greek rebels in Bactria in the astronomical diary of 323/2 BC (Del Monte 1997, 12).

Antiochus, great king, king powerful, king of the universe, king of Babylon, king of the land, the caretaker of the Esagila and of the Ezida, *first son of Seleucus, I, Macedonian*, king of Babylon» (transl. by Kurt - Sherwin-White 1991)⁵². The text also contains a prayer for military victory, and for the prosperity of the king and of his family. The joint forces of many historians specialized in different ethnicities of Asia have in recent years better defined the many faces of the Seleucid kings, especially of the founder of the dynasty and his son: Babylonian with the Babylonians, Bactrian/Iranian in the «Upper Satrapies», Achaemenid in Asia Minor (and whenever it was convenient to keep elements of the previous empire), Macedonian with the army and military colonists, Greek with the Greek *poleis* and continental Greeks⁵³. The impression is that the Seleucids were much more flexible than Ptolemies in their royal self-representation, as they had to cope with many different ethnic/cultural groups inside the boundary of their empire.

If it is true that the first Seleucids found convenient to maintain certain aspects of the Achaemenid rule for practical reasons⁵⁴, nonetheless they acted like all the others Hellenistic dynasts towards mainland Greeks. For example, so much effort was put in attracting the sympathies of Athens⁵⁵, still a symbol of Greek culture *par excellence*, in spite of the rise of Alexandria, that Seleucid kings started to play with the Athenians the part of the «anti-Persian kings» (the exact opposite of the Ptolemaic claim about them) when they spread the news – no matter how close to reality – to have brought back to Athens the «statues/books stolen by Xerxes» (Aul. Gell. VII 17; Paus. I 8, 5: restitution of the statues of Armodius and Aristogeiton by an Antiochus, probably the first; Paus. I 16: Seleucus I gives back to Brauron the statue of Artemis; Polyb. XVI 1, 11, Strabo IX 1, 17, Liv. XLI 20, 8: Antiochus IV wanted to complete the Athenian temple of Zeus Olympius)⁵⁶. Probably the blueprint for these moves is the restitution

⁵² On the Borsippa cylinder see Kuhrt - Sherwin-White 1991; Kuhrt 1996, 49 ff.; Del Monte 2001, 148-149; Kuhrt 2002; Virgilio 2003, 70-71; Strootman 2013; Haubold 2013, 128-178; Andrade 2013, 46-47. Briant 1994 suggests that this formulae rather follow the common use of Hellenic dedications in Greek sanctuaries, where the rulers style themselves as «king of the Macedonians» (see e.g. Antiochus III in a dedication in Delos; Paus. VI 3, 1, X 7, 8, on Ptolemaic dedications in Delphi and Olympia: «They called themselves «Macedonian», although they were kings of Egypt, because they liked to be called so»).

⁵³ See Ma 2003.

⁵⁴ See e.g. Engels forthcoming.

⁵⁵ See the anecdotic link between Berossus and the Athenians in Plin. *HN* VII 123. Athens is also considered the primary inspiration for the Alexandrian library (Engberg-Pedersen 1993, 287-288).

⁵⁶ Seleucus Nikator manifested an interest in the Athenian culture (see Habicht 1989; Primo 2009, 52-53); he allegedly established a group of Athenians coming from

by Seleucus I to the sanctuary of Didyma-Miletus of the statue of Apollo taken by Xerxes to Ecbatana (Paus. I 16, 3 and VIII 46)⁵⁷. Even if most of the episodes of *restitutio* are fictitious constructions by later historians, they are in tune with the Seleucid anxiety of competing (especially with the Attalids, who showed-off their Galatian triumphs in Athens with majestic monuments) for the role of «Defeater of the Barbarians» in front of mainland Greeks, in order to maintain them as deferential and useful allies. Under the reign of Antiochus III, Romans fitted well in this picture as new invaders, while in turn the Seleucids were described by Roman and Greek philo-Roman sources as degenerates, decadent Greeks influenced by Asiatic customs; but the subject is too complex to be developed here⁵⁸.

3. EARLY SELEUCID KINGS AS PATRONS OF GREEK CULTURE

The will of the Seleucids of underlining their «Greekness» in the Greek culturally dominated part of their empire is evident from many facts, like the wealthy donations to famous panhellenic sanctuaries, the foundation of new Greek *poleis* (mainly in Northern Syria, but also the royal capital Seleucia on the Tigris had its Greek community, and Greek architectural features like a theatre⁵⁹), the participation in the agonistic competitions in mainland Greece⁶⁰, and, most of all, monetary iconography. Recently Le

Antigoneia (the city of his rival Antigonus) into his newly founded capital Antiochia (Jo. Malal. 152-153, 14 Thurn = Paus. Damasc. *FGrHist* 854 F 10; Lib. XI 89-92). On Antiochus IV and Athens see Andrade 2013, 39-40.

⁵⁷ According Bearzot 1984, 73, it was Seleucus I to give it back; see now Iossif 2011a.

⁵⁸ On the accusation of «barbarization» of Greek customs in the Seleucid kingdom, and on the counter-offensive cultural politics of Antiochus IV, see, among the latest, Andrade 2013, 48-55. It is impossible to know if the negative equation Seleucids = anti-Greek Persians has been inspired to the Romans and their allies by previous Ptolemaic models of anti-Seleucid propaganda. Rhodian sources presented Antiochus III as the new Xerxes threatening the freedom of the Greeks, and the Roman could boast: in *Antiocho vicimus Xerxen* (Flor. I 24, 12); Ennius (369 Skutsch) compares the passage of the Dardanelles by Antiochus III to that of the Achaemenid king; at the Isthmian games of 196 BC the battle of Cynoscephalae was assimilated to the victories of the Persian Wars (Plut. *Flam.* 11); Alcaeus of Messene in *A.P.* XVI 5 opposes Xerxes to T.Q. Flamininus.

⁵⁹ Van der Spek 2001: also according to cuneiform texts (temple diaries), the theatre is an important feature in Hellenistic Babylon. It was built for the Greek community, maybe even at the time of Alexander, and was used both for civic meetings or reading of royal letters, and, at least at Seleucia on the Tigris, for dramatic performances (see Le Guen 2003, and *infra*, pp. 38 and 68).

⁶⁰ There is no literary or epigraphic source mentioning the participation of 3rd/2nd century Seleucid kings to such games, while Ptolemies competed in the *periodos* games

Guen has underlined the role of Seleucid kings in sponsoring, directly or indirectly, theatrical representations. In the Hellenistic period, and later under the Roman empire, the theatre was not only the scene for tragedies and comedies, but it was also used for civic meeting, encounters with the king or the king's officials, and recitals of encomiastic poetry; theatres were built with the financial help of local citizens but possibly also with that of kings and courtiers. Ptolemies protected the Technitai of Egypt and Cyprus, which took the name of «Technitai of Dionysus and of the Theoi Adelphoi»⁶¹. The engagement of the rival dynasty in protecting professional poets was surely a motive strong enough not to be left behind⁶²: also in the Seleucid kingdom the Associations of Dionysian Technitai, like the one in Teos, were actively subsidized by the rulers, especially Antiochus III⁶³.

The Seleucids, at least since Antiochus I, chose Apollo as *archegetes* of their dynasty and father of Seleucus I, and exploited the image of this god as main symbol on coins (one of the most pervasive means of propaganda) for at least two good reasons, as shown by recent numismatic studies, mainly by Iossif⁶⁴: he was «the most Greek» of all the Olympian gods and, at the same time, syncretically, the equivalent of the Iranian god with whom the ruler was identified, mainly through the symbol of the bow⁶⁵. I would

since the beginning, as we know from Posidippus' *Hippikà*; however, Seleucid courtiers and princes (like Alexander Balas, son of Antiochus IV Epiphanes and competitor in the *Panathenaia* in 150 or 146) are listed as participants in Panhellenic *agones*: see Savalli Lestrade 2005, 31; van Bremen 2007, 362-363; Barbantani 2012, 52-54.

⁶¹ Le Guen 2003, 339-340: although no Hellenistic theatre has survived in the area of Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, the impression is that Seleucus and Antiochus I tried to develop the Hellenized urban life in those areas. The theatrical drama does not belong to Semitic cultures, while it is at the core of the Greek one also in the Hellenistic period (Le Guen 2010). Plut. *De Alex. fort.* II 9 identifies the theatre as the epicenter of the Hellenistic monarchies cultural life.

⁶² Le Guen 2003, 354: the Lagids sponsored the Technitai in Cyprus and Egypt; the Attalids those in Ceos.

⁶³ See Le Guen 2001, I, TE 42, ll. 16-17, 48-49.

⁶⁴ See in particular Iossif 2011a; Iossif 2011b; Iossif - Lorber 2009. On Seleucid coinage cf. also Wright 2005; Wright 2007-2008; Wright 2011a; Wright 2011b.

⁶⁵ See Iossif - Lorber 2009, 29-32: the superimposition of the Seleucid kings to Apollo could pre-date the decision to make Apollo the *archegetes* of the dynasty (see the Aigai decree for Seleucus and Antiochus, in 281 BC). According to the legend preserved in Diod. XIX 92 and App. *Syr.* 56 and 63 the Apollinean oracle of Didyma foresaw an exceptional destiny to Seleucus when he was still an officer of Alexander; in turn Seleucus showed an extraordinary devotion to Apollo, even without stating a descent from this god (*I.Did.* 479 = OGIS 213; *I.Did.* 480, 424 = OGIS 214; cf. *I.Erythrai* 205, 74-75, in Engelmann - Merkelbach, 1972, nr. 205, ll. 74-76: *archegetes*), while the first explicit reference to Apollo as Seleucid ancestor is in Miletus/Didyma under Seleucus II (*I.Did.* 493 = OGIS 227); according to Iossif - Lorber 2009, 31, n. 62, the Decrees of Ilium OGIS 212, 13-14

like to enhance this view pointing out that the first Seleucids may had a further reason to insist on Apollo, that is the antagonism with the Ptolemies in the Mediterranean and Syrian area. In Alexandrian court poetry, especially in Callimachus' *Hymn to Delos* and in the fragmentary hymn of *P. Goodspeed*⁶⁶ (but cf. also Theoc. *Id.* XVII 64-69: Cos is for Ptolemy what Delos is for Apollo), Ptolemy II plays on earth the role of Apollo, who, as a defeater of the Titans/Giants, was *par excellence* the bringer of the order over the chaos unleashed by chthonian enemies – in Egyptian terms, the keeper of *maat* against the assault of the unruly forces of the Barbarians. It would be no surprise then, if Euphoriion, a learned poet sponsored by Antiochus III, can be suspected of having written also about Zeus' (and Apollo's?) fight against the Giants, possibly with encomiastic purposes (see *SSH* 454C; *P. Oxy.* LVI 3830 fr. 3, ii, ll. 9-10: «the story is in Euphoriion»)⁶⁷. Even if they were not reading Alexandrian poetry, Seleucid rulers could not ignore that the Ptolemies, presenting themselves as new pharaohs, had made the god Apollo, that is Horus, for the Egyptians, «the prototype of pharaonic kingship»⁶⁸, «their own»: a competitive genealogy that promoted Seleucus I, the founder of the dynasty, as a direct scion of Apollo could beat even the fabulous imagery of Callimachus' *Hymn to Delos*, where Apollo defines Ptolemy II θεός ἄλλος (l. 165)⁶⁹ and foresees his collaboration with him in defeating the Celtic barbarians; Ptolemy I could, at the most, cling to the unofficial gossip that wanted him son of Philip II⁷⁰. Both Seleucids and Ptolemies contended for the favor of the Apollinean temple of Didyma – apart from the epigraphic evidence, we have some examples of court poetry on this subject: for the Ptolemies, Callimachus' 17 *Iambus* (fr. 229 Pfeiffer), on Branchus, the ancestor of the priestly family of Didyma and beloved of Apollo⁷¹; we may only guess that Apollonius

(*I. II.* 31) and *OGIS* 219, 26-27, which refer to Apollo as *archegetes* of the Seleucid *genos*, is more recent than suggested by Robert 1937, 172-184 (281/0 BC); Ma 1999, 254-259 dates them to the reign of Antiochus I. Certainly, Zeus also keeps a fundamental position as god *genethlios* of the Seleucids, and as a *genius loci* of the favorite city of Seleucus I, Seleucia in Pieria (Paus I 16, 1; App. *Syr.* 58; *OGIS* 245), while Apollo remained the local deity of Antiochia (in the Daphne sanctuary, developed by Seleucus I, cf. Strabo XVI 2, 6): see Debord 2003, 302-305; Le Rider 1999.

⁶⁶ Col. VI 12-14. See Barbantani 2005, 153; Barbantani 2008; Meliadò 2008, 110-111.

⁶⁷ Cf. Primo 2009, 98-99.

⁶⁸ I am quoting Stephens 2003, 236 (see also Stephens 2003, 114, 209).

⁶⁹ See Barbantani 2001, 196-199; Barbantani 2011.

⁷⁰ Ptolemy I apparently did not construct any divine filiation for himself; he was divinized by his son Ptolemy II. On the paternity of Alexander (Ammon, Nectanebo, Philip II) and of Ptolemy I see Assmann 2001; Ogden 2013.

⁷¹ Primo 2009, 79-80; Demodamas of Halicarnassus, *philos* of Seleucus and Antiochus (Plin. *HN* VI 49; *FGrHist* 428 T 2), makes an offer to Apollo Didymaeus in

Rhodium, in his *Ktiseis*, insisted on the same topic⁷². Probably is not by chance that the first evidence of a joint cult of Seleucus *Zeus Nicator* and Antiochus *Apollo Soter*⁷³ comes from a city of the Syrian Tetrapolis, very close to the Mediterranean Greeks, a city bearing the Macedonian toponym of Seleucia *in Pieria*⁷⁴: this is the town where Antiochus I buried his father and probably started his cult in the Nikatoreion (App. *Syr.* 63), and which therefore was later considered «the hearth of the dynasty» (ἀρχηγέτιν; ἐστίαν ... τῆς αὐτῶν δυναστεία, Polyb. V 58, 1-5)⁷⁵. There is no doubt, then, that Seleucid rulers too considered important to advertise and underline their Hellenic and divine origin as a means of legitimation in front of their Greek audience, both in their own kingdom and abroad. So, to reply to the question, how important was for the first Seleucid kings (the contemporary to our fragment *SH* 958) to advertise their Greek/Macedonian identity, we can say that it was as much important as for the Ptolemies, that is, vital; as vital as the need to represent themselves as the continuators of the local rulers. There is no contradiction in these sentences, if we abandon the thinking process based on binary opposition (foreign to some cultures, like the Egyptian one⁷⁶) and embrace some basic facts about the processes by which individuals manage their identity⁷⁷.

Incidentally, Apollo is also the god of poetry, and is often evoked in this capacity in Callimachus and in most of the Alexandrian poetry. It is significant that he is not prominent for this role in the Seleucid kingdom, as far as we know (as for Seleucid-sponsored poetry, there are just some Apollinean references in Euphoriion, see note 124): the Apollo of the Seleucid coins is

Scythia, in a period when Didyma was under Ptolemaic control. According to Bearzot 1984, Demodamas was Seleucus' agent in Miletus, and a liaison officer with the temple of Didyma; cf. *OGIS* 213 (*I.Did.* 479 and *I.Did.* 480), where Demodamas celebrates Apama, wife of Seleucus I, for acting in favor of the sanctuary and of Seleucus' Milesian soldiers.

⁷² Miletus is one of the sets for the myth of Ocyrhoe in the Ναυκράτεως Κτίσις, and could feature in the Καύνου Κτίσις as well; see Barbantani forthcoming, F 2-3, 5-6.

⁷³ On *OGIS* 245 (= *IGLS* III 1184 = *SEG* 35, nr. 1521, Seleucia in Pieria) see Coşkun forthcoming; Debord 2003, 297-299: the inscription lists the priests of Seleucus *Zeus Nicator* («military victor») and of Antiochus *Apollo Soter*. Promoter of the cults seems to be Ptolemy son of Thraseas, *strategos* and *archiereus* of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia, who betrayed the Ptolemies for the Seleucids around 202 BC.

⁷⁴ See Bousdroukis 2003.

⁷⁵ See Sève-Martinez 2004: Seleucia in Pieria was taken by Lagids several times between 246 and 219, but was often visited by the king.

⁷⁶ See Selden 1998.

⁷⁷ See e.g. the Apollonius son of Ptolemy a.k.a. Pashai son of Pamenes and his double funerary monument, in Greek and in hieroglyphs: Thompson 2001, 315-16; Barbantani 2014a, 305-306.

the *toxotes*, the perfect bowman, who, as demonstrated by recent studies⁷⁸, corresponds to the image of the warrior king in the Achaemenid tradition. This is a radical shift from the Macedonian and Greek symbol of the spear, that in Hellenistic poetry and iconography is intended as «the royal weapon» *par excellence*⁷⁹. The only known Apollo citharoedus in the Seleucid area is the statue work of Bryaxis, dedicated in Daphne, near Antiochia, by Seleucus I⁸⁰. The *Paeon Erythraeum in Seleucum* I (140 Powell = *I.Erythr.* 205, ll. 74-76) may post-date this ruler, and the word *παῖς* is ambiguous⁸¹.

Ὑμνεῖτε ἐπὶ σπονδαῖς Ἀπόλλωνος κυανοπλοκάμου
παῖδα Σέλευκον, ὃν αὐτὸς γείνατο χρυ[σ]ολύρας
[. . . .]γεῖτε μὴ διαθέσθε[]

Praise with hymns during the libations Seleucus, the servant/son of the dark-haired Apollo, whom the player of the golden lyre himself begot.

This is not, strictly speaking, an example of encomiastic court poetry, but rather one of the many lyric poems in honor of rulers (Lysander, Demetrius Poliorcetes, Antigonus Monophthalmos) commissioned by cities or private citizens for a public festive occasion. Note that here the image of Apollo as a lyre-player, unusual in Seleucid environment, is required by the lyric context.

4. A TALE OF TWO KINGDOMS, AND OF MANY LIBRARIES

Doubts about the strength of Seleucids' devotion to their culture of origin were probably originated by the fact that there has never been an institution equivalent to the Alexandrian Library and Museum in the Seleucid world, and therefore the contribution of the kings to fostering Greek culture appears somehow irrelevant. The reply to the question «how will-

⁷⁸ See in particular Iossif - Lorber 2009, esp. 29-32; Iossif 2011a; Iossif 2011b.

⁷⁹ See Barbantani 2007, 67-73. A spear is also present in Egyptian-style bas-reliefs depicting the Ptolemies. The symbol is common in Greece and in Asia, see e.g. Merkelbach - Stauber 2005, nr. 315 (Bisutun, Bagistan): bas-relief of Gotarses Geopothros as a horseman armed with a spear.

⁸⁰ Lib. LX 8-12. Balty 2004 presumes that Bryaxis was active at the court of Seleucus when Antiochia on the Orontes was founded (300 BC); later on he passed to the Ptolemies.

⁸¹ On the back of a block found in Erythrai are engraved a paeon to Apollo and one to Asclepius (Furley - Bremer 2001, II, 161-162). Powell 1925, 140, dates the paeon to 281-280 BC (cf. Primo 2009, 103-104: after Curupedion and before the murder of Seleucus by Ptolemy Keraunos); for Iossif 2011a, 246-247 (using also paleographic criteria), the composition is later than 281 and it is referring to Seleucus II; *παῖς* would mean «servant» (see Goukowsky 2002, esp. 218-219; Chaniotis 2011, 112), and not «son» of the God.

ing were the Seleucids to support Greek culture» mainly depends from the consideration of the different structure of the Seleucid empire in comparison with the Ptolemaic one. Although keen on playing the role of the Egyptian pharaohs for their native subjects, the first Ptolemies cleverly exploited Greek culture as a means (along with other ones, like the mirage of economic growth and promising careers, see Theoc. *Id.* XIV 58-68; Herodas I 26-34) to lure new Greek immigrants to Alexandria, to attract the allegiance of Greek *poleis*, Athens *in primis*, and to justify their legitimacy as heirs of Alexander: in Callimachus *Victoria Sosibii*, fr. 384, 23-24 Pfeiffer, Egypt is presented as «the land of Alexander» *tout-court*. Babylon, the last residence and first resting place of Alexander, was used as a first important capital by Seleucus I⁸²; but Alexandria, founded by the young conqueror himself, became, thanks to a clever move of Ptolemy I, also the site of his burial: preserving the mortal remains of the divinized hero *ktistes*, Alexandria could claim in the face of all the Greeks to be the only site where his legacy – in terms of legitimacy of power and ideals – was treasured⁸³. Alexandria *ad Aegyptum*, the only Greek *polis* in the new territory (with the exception of Ptolemais and Naucratis) was strategically transformed, with the creation of the Museum and of the Library, into the «New Athens», the new centre of culture at the heart of the Mediterranean pond: it quickly became a springboard of cultural, military and economic importance with no equals. Although the sources are contradictory and sometimes unreliable in details, there is no doubt that the Library was conceived and developed by the first two Ptolemies (contemporary to the first three Seleucids) as a monument to the Hellenic heritage, well preserved under their munificent wings: there could be a personal cultural interest in this enterprise, but it was also a clever political move. Although every sort of science and art was given free citizenship in the Museum, the *genius loci* remained Homer, the co-founder of Alexandria along with the notoriously *philomerikos* Macedonian king⁸⁴: Alexander had his *Sema*, the deceased and divinized Ptolemies their temple, but Homer soon received his own

⁸² On Hellenistic Babylon see Boiy 2004; Clancier 2007; on the special relationship of Seleucus with Babylon, where he was satrap in 320-315 BC, see Capdetrey 2007.

⁸³ On the foundation of Alexandria see Barbantani 2014b and Barbantani forthcoming, F 1.

⁸⁴ Plut. *Vita Alex.* XXVI 3-7: appearing in a dream, Homer (quoting *Od.* IV 354-355) showed Alexander where to found his city: Alexandria is a «product of Homer», as it is all Greek *paideia*. *A.P.* XVI 295, a list of places claiming to be Homer's homeland, also included Egypt: see *infra*, n. 173. On the importance of the figure of Homer in Alexandria see Farnoux 2007 and Petrovic forthcoming. Alexander had a special predilection for Homer (see Strabo XIII 1, 27; Dio Chrys. IV 39; Plut. *Alex.* 8 and 26; he is the new Achilles: Arr. *Anab.* VII 14, 4); but also other Macedonian leaders presented themselves

sanctuary too, thanks to Ptolemy IV (the *Homereion*: Ael. V.H. 13, 22). Homer was the first author to be graced with a critical work by the philologists of the Library, and would remain at the core of Greek *paideia* until the end of Antiquity. Library and Museum were mainly and foremost centres of Greek culture⁸⁵, although some foreign works in translation could be hosted there (Manetho, the *Septuaginta*): in spite of all myths surrounding the Library of Alexandria, Bagnall 2002, 361, pointed out that even the fake letter of Aristeeas implies that the inclusion of a work into this institution was commonly perceived, by non-Greek as well as by Greeks, as a universally recognized validation. Thanks to the stability of the Ptolemaic dynasty and to the existence of one and only capital, the program of development and protection of the Greek heritage by the Ptolemies, in terms of book collection, philological studies, not to speak about the effort to support new research in various scientific fields (medicine, astronomy, geography, zoology), looks quite systematic and well organized, at least for the 3rd century, and until the half of the 2nd century BC.

Opposite to the Ptolemies, the Seleucids never had the need nor the will to establish a single cultural center, or a «capital». Following in this, partly, the example of Achaemenids, they had an itinerant court, moving between a few important centers (Babylon, Seleucia on the Tigris, Sardis, the Tetrapolis), going after the monarch wherever political, diplomatic and military obligations would call him⁸⁶. The focus of modern scholars has shifted over the years from a Mediterranean-centered view of the Seleucid empire (the creation of the Tetrapolis, the Syrian Wars)⁸⁷, to a Babylonian-centered one⁸⁸. Abandoning the old interpretative model «centre-periphery», we can safely say now that, like an ellipse, the Seleucid kingdom had two political/military foci, Northern Syria and Babylonia-Seleucis, not mutually exclusive but complementary⁸⁹. We must remember, however, that not always a cultural centre need to be also an important political centre, and *vice-versa*⁹⁰. This situation, therefore, does not exclude the presence of other important sites of Greek literary culture, with residential

fond of Homer, as a mark of their philhellenism: see, e.g. Cassander (Ath. XIV 620b). On Macedonian philhellenism see Carney 2005.

⁸⁵ See Erskine 1995; Maehler 2003. Even if, as suggested by Bagnall 2002, the number of volumes in the Library of Alexandria is exaggerated by the sources, this was considered the most complete Greek library in antiquity.

⁸⁶ Tuplin 1998.

⁸⁷ On Seleucid residences see Held 2002.

⁸⁸ On the pluricentric empire, where every zone and city had a specific role, see Kuhrt 1996; Invernizzi 1993; Briant 1994; Boucharlat 1997; Sève-Martinez 2004.

⁸⁹ See now for this concept Sève-Martinez 2003, 232-233.

⁹⁰ As pointed out by Engberg-Pedersen 1993, 311.

scholars, partly depending from – or sponsored by – the king, even though we know that some of the intellectuals, acting occasionally as diplomats and courtiers, would follow the nomadic monarch in his activities throughout his empire. Recent studies, for example, have underlined the important role of doctors⁹¹, not only as scholars and scientists but also as friends and counselors of the king.

As we well know – and as the Ptolemaic *poetae docti* knew better – scholarly poetry, like historical and scientific writing, needs a well-endowed library in order to be created. We can think of individual libraries of smaller scale, moving along with their owners wherever the court was settled, but more realistically cultural institutions needed a solid architectonic structure (often monumental, like the Celsus library in Ephesus). Some of the scholars linked to the Seleucid court produced quite specialized work, e.g. in the field of lexicography: Euphorion compiled an Hippocratic lexicon (frr. 196-198 Lightfoot), possibly inspired by the doctor and *philos* of Antiochus III, Apollonphanes; the antiquarian and historian Hegesianax of Alexandria Troas, highly esteemed by Antiochus III⁹², wrote Περὶ τῆς Δημοκρίτου λέξεως and Περὶ ποιητικῶν λέξεων (Steph. Byz. s.v. Τρωιάς)⁹³. Certainly, the occasional court poem or epigram may be composed *impromptu* or with the help of memory, but the long-lasting products of literary art, the ones the king would wish to flaunt as sponsor in front of the most sophisticated Greek audience in the *poleis* of his kingdom, in mainland Greece, and even before the scholars subsidized by rival dynasties, imply stability and wealth, the only conditions which can grant a systematic collection/production of books, and can sustain the expenses for its maintenance⁹⁴.

Seleucus I may have known something firsthand about the building of the Alexandrian library (or at least its plans), as he was a guest of Ptolemy I for some time before accessing the throne. But both he and his co-regent and successor Antiochus I had many other problems to face before thinking to establish themselves a library of such size, and everything that goes with it. However, this was a world where competition among kingdoms

⁹¹ See Savalli Lestrade 1998; Massar 2004; Primo 2009, 45-49, 52 (he believes that a school of medicine was developed and supported by the court); Istasse 2006, 66-67. Important was also the engagement of historians/diplomats, like Megasthenes, ambassador of Seleucus I, in building the new royal image of the Seleucid ruler, bridging the gap between Greek and Mesopotamian culture: see Haubold 2013, 131.

⁹² See Massar 2004, 200, on Ath. IV 155a-b.

⁹³ *FGrHist* 45 T 1. See Primo 2009, 91-94.

⁹⁴ According to Bagnall 2002, the Library of Alexandria was destroyed first and foremost by the lack of maintenance.

was hard at every level. Since the rival Ptolemies were boasting, with the Library and the Museum, to be the true keepers of the Greek heritage, followed in the 2nd century BC by the Attalids⁹⁵, eager to take over the part of the «New Athens» of Asia after the Ptolemaic decadence, a Greek library endowed and controlled by the king had to be created at a certain point also in the Seleucid kingdom. The first mention of a *demosia bibiotheke*, located at Antiochia, and supervised by the learned poet Euphorion of Chalcis, appointed by the Antiochus III the Great (223-187 BC), is in a very late source, *Suda*, ε 3801 Adler. Information on the contents of the library is lacking: we know *e.g.* that it contained the letters of Epicurus⁹⁶. It is not surprising to find precisely in Antiochia the first library officially supported by the king: this was probably, from the political point of view, the most important city of the Tetrapolis⁹⁷, a system of four Greek cities founded by Seleucus I to guard the western front, against the Ptolemaic advances in Southern Syria, and against the Macedonian expansion from the north, and also not too far from mainland Greece: Antiochia was at the crossroads of all the Hellenic cultural, economic and military routes of the Mediterranean East. According to Johannes Malalas (197, 10 Thurn = *Chron.* 235, 18-236, 1; *FGrHist* 854), under Antiochus IX Philopator (114-95 BC) or Antiochus X Eusebius Philopator (95-92 BC) in Antiochia was built a monumental complex near the *agora*, including a library and a *Museion*, a temple of the Muses, probably on the Alexandrian blueprint; the project was financed, however, not by the ruler, but by the Antiochian citizen Maron, once he came back to his homeland after making a fortune in Athens. How these architectural spaces were put at the service of the scholarly community is hard to know; Libanius and other rhetors of Late Antiquity still used for their public lectures a covered room in the *bouleuterion*⁹⁸.

⁹⁵ See Engberg-Pedersen 1993, 299-300; Pfrommer 2004 offers an interesting parallel between the complex of the royal palace in Pergamon and Alexandria: both of them included a library.

⁹⁶ The Epicurean Philonides was living at the court of Antiochus Epiphanes: see Engberg-Pedersen 1993.

⁹⁷ Strabo compares Antiochia on the Orontes, the metropolis or capital of the Seleucid kingdom, to Seleucia on the Tigris and to Alexandria, underlining its proximity to the Daphne sanctuary, sacred to Apollo (Strabo XVI 2, 5-6; Paus. VIII 33). On the foundation plans of Seleucus and on the divine prodigies which accompanied them as reported in contemporary and later sources, see Primo 2009, 240 ff., 253 ff., 262 ff., 274 ff.; Iossif 2012. On the importance of Antiochia as an art centre see Balty 2004.

⁹⁸ See Ehling 2002, 45; Primo 2009, 24 ff.; Norman 2000.

5. SELEUCID «COURT POETRY» AND SCHOLARSHIP

It is hardly credible, however, that the Seleucids started to care about Greek libraries only with Antiochus III⁹⁹. When he summoned Euphorion, it was not the first time that a Seleucid king invited a learned poet from mainland Greece. Aratus, born in Soli, Cilicia, an area contended between Ptolemies and Seleucids, was first active at the Macedonian court of Pella, by Antigonus Gonatas (married to Phila, daughter of Seleucus I and Stratonice)¹⁰⁰, who was gladly hosting Greek scholars, like the Stoic philosopher Perseus, the epic poet Antagoras of Rhodes and the poet-philologist Alexander Aetolus (later member of the Alexandrian Pleiade). Possibly between 274 and 272 Aratus moved at the service of Antiochus I¹⁰¹ (even though it is uncertain in which city he mainly resided) then went back to die in Macedonia. Aratus was greatly admired by the most important Alexandrian poet of the period, Callimachus, and possibly he is the same person named by Theocritus in *Idyll* VII 102¹⁰²: considering his international fame, having him associated with his court was for Antiochus a smart move.

Certainly the topic of some of his poems, astronomy and medicine (*e.g.* Ἱατρικαὶ δυνάμεις, Σύνθεσιν φαρμάκων, Θηριακῶν ἐπιτήδεια, *Phaenomena*)¹⁰³, was in tune with the interests of the Seleucid rulers, but there is no way to know if these works were composed under a specific cultural influence of the king (cf. *Suda*, s.v. Ἄρατος, α 3745: he wrote an *epikedeion* for the court doctor Cleombrotus, *SH* 104)¹⁰⁴.

I suspect that Antiochus could provide him with a decent library, as Aratus, unlike some intellectuals drawn to the Seleucid court purely by the mirage of *doreai* and *suntaxeis*¹⁰⁵, was not the type of scholar to be lured from a court to another only by money or prestige. Callimachus (*Ep.* 27

⁹⁹ Istasse 2006, 62, n. 46, follows B.A. Van Groningen in proposing as a founder of the Library Seleucus I or II.

¹⁰⁰ For their wedding he wrote the *Hymn to Pan* (*SH* 115; *Suda*, s.v. Ἄρατος, α 3745); see *supra*, n. 29.

¹⁰¹ *Vita Arati* III 16 Martin: Δωσίθεος δὲ ὁ πολιτικός ἐν τῷ πρὸς Διόδωρον ἐλθεῖν φησιν αὐτὸν καὶ πρὸς Ἀντίοχον τὸν Σελεύκου καὶ διατρίψαι παρ' αὐτῷ χρόνον ἰκανόν.

¹⁰² See Lewis 1992, 97-98; Cameron 1995, 196-198, on this debated point and on the synchronism between Aratus and Theocritus.

¹⁰³ Medical works: *SH* 92-98; astronomical works: *SH* 86-91. For a list of attributed works see also *Suda*, s.v. Ἄρατος, α 3745.

¹⁰⁴ See Massar 2004; Primo 2009, 45-49.

¹⁰⁵ See Savalli Lestrade 1998; Massar 2004, 191-195: *syntaxis* is a sort of periodical wages, possibly offered by the kings to scholars like Euphorion or the Peripatetic Lycus (*Diog. La.* V 67), in order to attract them to their court.

Pfeiffer)¹⁰⁶ describes him almost as his *alter-ego*, inspired, like himself, by Hesiod; a champion of *ponos* («toil»), a Hellenistic poetic code-word for «literary refinement», «painstaking artistic research», and of the equally essential Alexandrine quality of *leptotes* («subtlety»)¹⁰⁷:

Ἡσιόδου τόδ' ἄεϊσμα καὶ ὁ τρόπος· οὐ τὸν αἰοῖδὸν
ἔσχατον, ἀλλ' ὀκνέω μὴ τὸ μελιχρότατον
τῶν ἐπέων ὁ Σολεὺς ἀπεμάξατο. χαίρετε λεπταὶ
ρήσιες, Ἀρήτου σύντονος ἀγρυπνίη.¹⁰⁸

Interesting is the information that Aratus devoted himself, like the main scholars in the Alexandrian Library, to a διόρθωσις («correction», a philologically revised copy) of the *Odyssey* and possibly of the *Iliad*¹⁰⁹, which also implies the help of a library. However, there are no traces of Aratus' scholarly interest for these poems in the Homeric *scholia*, and we have no evidence that could relate his philological works (or any of his works, actually) to his Seleucid period: the compressed information given in the *Vita Arati* I 8, 19-24 Martin is the only testimony of such a connection (καὶ τὴν Ὀδύσειαν δὲ διώρθωσε, καὶ καλεῖται τις διόρθωσις οὕτως Ἀράτειος ὡς Ἀριστάρχειος καὶ Ἀριστοφάνειος. τινὲς δὲ αὐτὸν εἰς Συρίαν ἐληλυθέναι φασὶ καὶ γεγονέναι παρ' Ἀντιόχῳ καὶ ἠξιῶσθαι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ὥστε τὴν Ἰλιάδα διορθώσασθαι, διὰ τὸ ὑπὸ πολλῶν λελυμάνθαι), and remains isolated. On the contrary, an anecdote preserved by Diog. La. IX 113 (Timon of Phlius suggested him to look for the «ancient copies» of the Homeric text and not for the «corrected copies»)¹¹⁰ may suggest that Aratus started his Homeric work in Athens, where he was a pupil the Stoic philosophers Zeno and Perseus (before he too moved to Pella)¹¹¹. In any case, there is no sure relationship of Aratus with Antiochia, a city which in later times was renown

¹⁰⁶ See Cameron 1972; Cameron 1995, 321-328 and 374-379; Ludwig 1975; Negri 2000; Gärtner 2007; Stewart 2008; Katz 2008; Volk 2010, Acosta-Hughes - Stephens 2013, 213-214. On Callimachus' relative chronology see Lehnus 1995.

¹⁰⁷ Aratus was admired for his subtlety as «king of astronomical poetry» by a Ptolemy, possibly Ptolemy III Euergetes, author of Ἴδιοφυῆ: see *SH* 712, 4: ἀλλ' ὁ γε λεπτολόγος σκῆπτρον Ἄρατος ἔχει. Leonidas of Tarentum *A.P.* IX 25 also praises Aratus as a «second Zeus» (ll. 5-6) for his λεπτότης (l. 1) and his poetic dedication (l. 5: καμῶν).

¹⁰⁸ The last word is a medical technical term: see D'Alessio 2007⁴, 240.

¹⁰⁹ See *Suda*, s.v. Ἄρατος, α 3745: Διόρθωσιν Ὀδυσσεΐας, and *Vita Arati* I 8, 19-24 Martin (quoted here above). Curiously, *Suda* praises his main work, the didactic poem *Phainomena*, for the ζῆλος Ὀμηρικός and not for the Hesiodic taste, as Callimachus did in his epigram 27 Pfeiffer does.

¹¹⁰ φασὶ δὲ καὶ Ἄρατον πυθέσθαι αὐτοῦ πῶς τὴν Ὀμήρου ποιῆσιν ἀσφαλῆ κτήσαιτο, τὸν δὲ εἰπεῖν, «εἰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ἀντιγράφοις ἐντυγχάνοι καὶ μὴ τοῖς ἤδη διορθωμένοις.

¹¹¹ *Vita Arati* IV 20 Martin. Cameron 1995, 210, also suggests that Callimachus and Aratus met in Athens.

mainly for his rhetorical and philosophical schools¹¹² rather than for philology and poetry; hyperbolic is the statement by Cicero, *Arch.* 4: *celebri quondam urbe et copiosa atque eruditissimis hominibus liberalissimisque studiis adfluente*.

We do not possess any significant example or solid evidence for learned poetry in Greek composed for Seleucid kings, especially under Seleucus I and his son and successor Antiochus I. What is more striking however, is the lack of encomiastic poetry – or better, the lack of its traces – before Antiochus III. We may assume that there was none, and think that Seleucid royal ideology was better spread by prose works of historiographers¹¹³, but the *argumentum ex silentio* is never a good one, and our case is no exception, especially because encomiastic poetry has always been a necessary ingredient to almost every known court in history. Light poetry as entertainment for banquets is attested: Mnesiptolemus of Cuma's son, bearing the flattering dynastic name of Seleucus, wrote *ἰλαρὰ ᾄσματα*, «festive songs» under Antiochus III or IV¹¹⁴. But this is not what a king was mainly sponsoring poets for. That even a modest poet born and raised in the Seleucid kingdom, and specialized in entertaining *impromptu* compositions, could

¹¹² Although some philosophers are known to have been *philoï* of the Seleucid kings and to be living at court, the philosophical schools flourishing in the kingdom were not attached to or protected by the ruler. On prominent doctors and scientists living at court see Engberg-Pedersen 1993; Istasse 2006, 65-67, 73. Antiochus II tried to lure at his court the peripatetic Lycon who was a guest of Eumenes I of Pergamon (Diog. La. V 67); the Epicurean Philonides was a courtier of Demetrius I, while the Epicurean Diogenes of Seleucia was hosted by Alexander Balas (Ath. V 47, 211a-d); the Stoic philosopher Aristotreon from Seleucia, nephew of Chrysippus of Soli, acted in Athens as a diplomat for Antiochus III. Among the philosophers originary of (or linked to) the Seleucid kingdom one can count also the Stoic Apollonphanes of Antiochia Mygdonia (Nisibis), contemporary of Antiochus III; Diogenes of Babylonia, from Seleucia in Mesopotamia (Strabo XVI 1, 16; Diog. La. VI 81), pupil of the Stoic Chrysippus; apparently the Athenian philosopher Archedemus founded a school in Babylon (Plut. *Mor.* 605b). The Epicurean Philonides of Laodicea became a courtier of Antiochus IV Epiphanes and Demetrius I Soter (*P.Herc.* 1044; Epicurean school at Antiochia). Under the Roman Empire Apamea became the site of a Neopythagoric school (Numenius; Iamblicus of Chalcis). Mathematics was also flourishing, probably inspired by the old Babylonian tradition: one of the outstanding scholars in this field was the Neopythagorean Nicomachus of Gerasa (ca. 60-120 AD).

¹¹³ See Primo 2009, 67-68, 103-104; Istasse 2006, 66-67 ff. Under Seleucus I was active Daimachus of Plataea (*FGrHist* 65; Strabo II 1, 9), while Demodamas of Miletus acted also as *strategos* for Seleucus I and Antiochus I (*FGrHist* 428; Plin. *HN* VI 49); Megasthenes (*FGrHist* 715) and Patrocles (*FGrHist* 712) served under Antiochus I (for the relationship of Greek historiographers with Berossus see Kosmin 2013); under Antiochus II Theos, the Cypriot Aristos (*FGrHist* 143); under Antiochus III, Mnesiptolemus of Cuma (*FGrHist* 164; Ath. XV 53, 697d; Primo 2009, 88-89; Austin 1999), Hegesianax of Alexandria Troas (*FGrHist* 45; Polyb. XVIII 47, L 3).

¹¹⁴ See Powell 1925, 176; Ath. XV 53, 697d.

also produce propagandistic epic poems on military deeds is proved by Archias of Antiochia, who, after moving to Rome, wrote a poem on Marius' wars against Cymbrians, one on Lucullus' war against Tigranes of Armenia (73-70), and one on Cicero's consulate (Cic. *ad Att.* II 4, 1; 6, 1).

Victory in battle has always been one of the strongest marks of legitimation for every monarch, ancient and modern¹¹⁵. We have seen above that even a king *philomousos* and not particularly martial like Ptolemy Philadelphus boasted, through the writing of his court poets, to be the conqueror of the world. It has been often underlined that, among the many attributes characterizing a Hellenistic king, Seleucids were mainly defined by the military power¹¹⁶, forced, as they were, first to struggle with competing Successors, then, for almost two centuries, with the Ptolemies for the possession of Southern Syria, and at the same time with the Galatians, various usurpers, several minor dynasties fighting for the control of Asia Minor and the most Eastern territories, to say nothing about Parthians and the Romans. Since the Syrian Wars lasted for so long and were of central importance to both the kingdoms involved, and since the clashes with Galatians were exploited in encomiastic poetry by all the Greek parties engaged in them, it is highly improbable that Seleucid kings did not wish that some encomiastic poet could turn these exploits into heroic tales, advertising in verses their martial prowess: as for the literary genre, this praise could be sung in encomia, like those promised by Theoc. *Id.* XVI to Hiero and like the *Id.* XVII offered to Ptolemy II, in longer epic poems designed for court reading or festival performance¹¹⁷, or simply in epigrams accompanying statues or to be read in books¹¹⁸. A military victory which is not celebrated in epic verses (either in hexameters or in elegiacs), possibly with Homeric flavour¹¹⁹, and not just with monuments in panhellenic sanctuaries, for

¹¹⁵ See e.g. the use of epithets like *kallinikos*, also for minor rulers: cf. the dedication of an altar to Hestia by Heliodotus for the safety of king Euthydemus and his son Demetrius, 2nd BC (Tagikistan), in Bernard *et al.* 2004, 333-356. For the theme of *doriktetos chora* see Virgilio 2003; Barbantani 2007, with relevant bibliography; Callataÿ - Lorber 2011; Muccioli 2013, 342-345.

¹¹⁶ For the comparison between the Achaemenid and the Seleucid king as a warrior see Sève-Martinez 2003, 236-238; Tuplin 2013.

¹¹⁷ Like those listed by Ziegler 1988; on the existence of Hellenistic encomiastic epic poems, *contra* Cameron 1995, see discussion in Barbantani 2001, 21-31, and Barbantani 2002-2003.

¹¹⁸ E.g. Ant. Thess. *A.P.* XVI 75 is an encomium of the Thracian king Cotys (ἔργον αἰδοπόλων, l. 4).

¹¹⁹ On the Homeric style of *SH* 958 see Barbantani 2001, *passim*. «The vigor of Callimachus' and Theocritus' renunciation of heroic poetry may well derive from that part of their audience who would in fact relish hearing of the *basileas* and *heroas* (fr. I 3 and 5 Pfeiffer): namely, the royal patrons» (so Griffiths 1979, 6). This was so much true in the

Greek traditional culture is somehow incomplete, as it lacks the power to bridge time and acquire immortal glory: since Pindar, *Nem.* 5, 1-5, Greek poets proclaim that their compositions are not anchored to fixed – figurative and epigraphic – manifestations of praise, but can spread the glory of the *laudandus* all over the world, living in the memory of the audience forever¹²⁰. The *topos* survived until Late Antiquity: a good Hellenistic example from the 3rd century BC is the encomiastic elegy for a Ptolemaic hero, which I have discussed in depth elsewhere, *SH* 969, 3-4¹²¹: his δόξα («fame») should be remembered ἐν βύβλοις («in books»). Immortality is consigned to written words rather than to figurative art again in Agathias (5th AD) *A.P.* IV 5(3c), 9-10: ὄλβιοι, ὧν μνήμη πιτυτῶν ἐνὶ τεύχεσι βίβλων, / ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐς κενεᾶς εἰκόνας ἐνδιάει («Blessed are they whose memory resides in the scrolls of wise books, but not in empty images»)¹²².

Although the current belief among scholars¹²³ is that only under Antiochus III there has been a systematic reappraisal and celebration of his dynastic predecessors, I rest convinced that Seleucid court poetry must have flourished before. The main poet under Antiochus III was Euphorion: he celebrated Seleucus' divine origin from Apollo in fr. 119 Lightfoot (= 174 Powell, from Tert. *De anima* 46, 6: *Seleuco regnum Asiae mater nondum eum entixa providit. Euphorion promulgavit*; cf. Iust. *Epit.* XV 4, 3-4; App. *Syr.* 284-285)¹²⁴, and possibly also mentioned the defeat of

case of the Ptolemies, who practiced a cult of Homer (cultural, in the Library and in the Museion, and religious, since Ptolemy IV).

¹²⁰ Cf. Simon. fr. 581 *PMG*: the wandering song is superior to fixed statues; Theogn. I 237-254; Pind. *Nem.* III 6-9: victory loves *song* most of all. For discussion on the subject see O'Sullivan 2003; Rausa 1994, 86-93; Tarn Steiner 1994, 94-99.

¹²¹ Barbantani 2001, 73-116; Bing 1988, 15 ff.

¹²² Στήλαι καὶ γραφίδες καὶ κύρβιες εὐφροσύνης μὲν (134) / αἴτια τοῖς ταῦτα κτησαμένοις μεγάλης, (135) / ἀλλ' ἐς ὅσον ζῶουσι· τὰ γὰρ κενὰ κύδεα φωτῶν / ψυχᾶς οἰχομένων οὐ μάλα συμφέρεται. / ἡ δ' ἀρετὴ σοφίης τε χάρις καὶ κεῖθι συνέρπει, / κἀνθάδε μιμνᾶζει μνήστιν ἐφελκομένη. / οὕτως οὔτε Πλάτων βρενθύεται οὔτ' ἄρ' Ὀμηρος (140) / χρώμασιν ἢ στήλαις, ἀλλὰ μόνῃ σοφίῃ. / ὄλβιοι, ὧν μνήμη πιτυτῶν ἐνὶ τεύχεσι βίβλων, / ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐς κενεᾶς εἰκόνας ἐνδιάει («Columns and pictures and inscribed tablets are a / source of great delight to those who possess them, / but only during their life; for the empty glory of / man does not much benefit the spirits of the dead. / But virtue and the grace of wisdom both accompany / us there and survive here attracting memory. So / neither Plato nor Homer takes pride in pictures or / monuments, but in wisdom alone. / Blessed are they whose memory is enshrined in wise volumes and not in empty images»; transl. by Paton 1920).

¹²³ Lately by Primo 2009.

¹²⁴ Cf. also Euphorion's other Apollinean fragments, *A.P.* VI 279 (= *Ep.* 1 Lightfoot), 4 Lightfoot (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Δοδώνης, from the *Anius*, name of Apollo's son) and 209 Lightfoot (Tzetz. *ad Lyc. Al.* 911). It is not clear if the work of Euphorion where the dream of Laodice was narrated was in prose; he treated the story of the heroin Laodicea, wife of Priamus, possibly a prefiguration of Laodice wife of Antiochus III (see Primo

the Galatians under Antiochus I: he names a Galatian tribe in a fragment preserved in *Et. Magn.* 223, 12-16 (s.v. Γαιζήται: Οἱ Γαλάται· οἱ τὴν γῆν ζητοῦντες. Ἐκπεσόντες γὰρ τῆς ἑαυτῶν χώρας, πολλὴν γῆν περιῆλθον ζητοῦντες ὅπῃ οἰκήσουσιν. Εὐφορίων ἢ Πολυχαρίη¹²⁵. ὄθεν καὶ, “Γαιζήται περὶ δεῖρεα χρυσοφορεῦντες”¹²⁶; cf. *Et. gen.* AB s.v. Γαιζήται; Steph. Byz. s.v. γάζα¹²⁷, but it is not clear if the verse was just a passing reference to the barbarians or it was part of a work entirely focused on the military actions of the Seleucids against them: nothing is known of the poem *Polychaeres*, from which the fragment is taken; surely Euphorion, with his cryptic and convoluted style, could not be the author of the elegy *SH* 958.

The fact that we do not have evidence for encomiastic poetry pre-Antiochus III may be simply due to chance, or to the poor quality of the poems (especially if conceived for festival recitations and not as small, learned pieces); ancient sources mainly focus on philosophers, pantomimes and doctors as preferred guests of the Seleucid kings instead of poets, but their court was not different from the ones of the Ptolemies, of the Attalids or of Argeads. In particular, I find unrealistic that the famous – if ineffective – «Elephant victory» of Antiochus I over the Galatians was not celebrated by contemporary court poets, especially if, as Coşkun 2012 recently pointed out, we must place the episode at a higher date (before the First Syrian War), rather than around 267 BC (Wörllle): it could be almost contemporary with Callimachus’ *Hymn to Delos*, praising the ridiculous enterprise of Ptolemy II against the Galatians as a glorious deed he completed with the help of Apollo, the same god Antiochus I wanted to advertise as his main dynastic symbol¹²⁸. It would have been too good an occasion to be wasted for a Seleucid ruler, and comparison with Macedonian, Ptolemaic, Attalid¹²⁹ and Greek (Aetolian) parallels shows that

2009, 98-99). Further encomiastic intentions can be detected in Euphorion’s works: the *Hippomedon maior* could be an encomium-hymn for the Ptolemaic governor of Thrace, as first thought by Wilamowitz, while the *Alexandros* could refer to a ruler of Euboea whose wife, Nicea, protected the poet (Magnelli 2002, 96).

¹²⁵ ἐν Πολυχάρει corr. Meineke.

¹²⁶ Fr. 42 Lightfoot. According to Cazzaniga 1972, 393-395, before moving to the Seleucid court Euphorion tried to obtain the protection of the Attalids celebrating the sanctuary of Gryneion (Barigazzi 1952, 167); this fragment on the Galatians then could be referring to the Attalids’ enterprises against the Celts.

¹²⁷ See Magnelli 2002, 136-137; Barbantani 2001, 184.

¹²⁸ For the *Hymn*, see *supra*, p. 39. Coşkun forthcoming believes that the «Soter» ideology was linked to the dynastic program which likened the couple Seleucus I - Antiochus I to Zeus - Apollo.

¹²⁹ See Barbantani 2001, 214-223. Poetic compositions for the Attalids are ascribed to an Arrian (*Suda*, α 3867 Adler; see Fowler 1991; Swain 1991) and to a Leschides (*Suda*, λ 311 Adler; Fantuzzi in Ziegler 1988, lxxi); among the Pergamene historians, one can

everybody who defeated the Galatians in the 3rd-2nd century BC did not wait two generations to advertise this victory in poetry. The article in *Suda* which refers to Simonides of Magnesia (*Suda*, σ 443 Adler = *FGrHist* 163 T1), the epic singer of the said elephant victory, as a poet living under Antiochus III, is a problematic text, and it is not given for granted that the «Antiochus the Great» quoted by the Byzantine source is a correct chronological reference¹³⁰; Simonides may have lived under the same Antiochus I he celebrated. What is sure is that *SH* 958 is not a poem composed for a Seleucid ruler, in spite of some suggestions in this sense: the disparaging presentation of the «Medes» would not have been welcome at the court of the Seleucids, since they inherited the Medes' territory, but also some of their habits, like the use of many local administrators, as well as *philoï* of native origins¹³¹; not to speak about the Asian maternal side of Antiochus I

mention, in the Hellenistic period, Neanthes, Philarchus and Semos (*FGrHist* 84, 81, 396); under the Roman rule, Telephus (*FGrHist* 505) and Charax (*FGrHist* 103). A candidate for the authorship of *SH* 958, according to Powell 1919, was Musaeus of Ephesus (*Suda*, μ 1296 Adler), court poet of Eumenes I and Attalus II (*contra*, Jacoby *FGrHist* 172 Komm. and Lloyd-Jones - Parson *ad SH* 561; see also Ziegler 1988, lxxiii-lxxxiv; Cameron 1995, 269, 283).

¹³⁰ *Suda*, σ 443 Adler = *FGrHist* 163 (Simonides of Magnesia) T1; *SH* 723. See Barbantani 2001, 65, 134, 154, 157, 183; Bar-Kochva 1973; Fantuzzi in Ziegler 1988, lxxxiv; Cameron 1995, 284-285; Primo 2009, 87-88. *Suda* defines him ἐποιοῦς. The so called «battle of the elephants» is of uncertain date and effect; the fact that Lucian (*Zeux*. 8-11) describes it with novelistic touches suggests that he was probably using as a source a poetic text. According (among others) to Jacoby (*FGrHist* 163 Komm. 594) and Cameron 1995, 285, Simonides would have celebrated, under Antiochus III, the Galatian enterprises of his predecessor Antiochus I. However, the rhetoric rules of the encomium prescribes that, celebrating his patron, a poet could certainly mention and praise his predecessors, but not in way that could obfuscate the glory of the *laudandus*. Momigliano 1929 identified the *basileus* of *SH* 958 with Antiochus III, engaged in an expedition against the Galatians after subjugating the Medes (197 BC).

¹³¹ On the Babylonian and local *philoï* see Istasse 2006: among the Seleucid territorial governors (*strategoï*) there were at least seven non Greek (five Iranians); the diplomats were mostly Greeks, with the exception of the Syrian Zenodorus, sent to Athens by Antiochus VII. Most of the military commanders were Macedonians and Greeks, only four Iranians and two Syrians, and some of other ethnicities – e.g. Galatians like Lysimachus (Polyb. V 79, 11) and Briccon, from Apamea (Barbantani 2014a). Among the Seleucid *philoï*, non-Greeks are attested only from the 2nd BC onwards: notable are Hermias from Caria, probably a *philos* of Seleucus III and general of Antiochus III; Kendebaïos (Pisidian or Lycian), *philos* and general for Antiochus VII in Palestine; Bithys, a Thracio-Macedonian chancellor and «relative» of Antiochus VII (see Istasse 2006, 75-78); the Syrian Kombabos *philos* of Seleucus I is a fictional character by Luc. *De Dea Syria* 17-27. An onomastic survey, however, offers more clues about the presence of Hellenized, Greek-Babylonian people near to the court: see Clancier 2007, 26-27; Del Monte 2001, 155-160; Boiy 2004, 288-289; Andrade 2013, 45-46. In Uruk, as in Babylon, there is evidence for a double onomastic in Greek and Babylonian, but it disappears in the 2nd century BC after

himself. It has been underlined that, exactly like the Ptolemies¹³², Seleucids applied the definition of «barbarian» only to populations external to their kingdom, like Galatians and Thracians¹³³. It would be interesting to know how – if ever – the Ptolemies have been portrayed as enemies by Seleucid «propaganda», catered both for a Greek-speaking audience and for the native populations¹³⁴. By now, there is no derogative use of the term «Egyptian» in Seleucid sources in Greek language, but as we have seen (*supra*, n. 51), Babylonian sources under Seleucus I and Antiochus I did not hesitate to define any enemy, notwithstanding his ethnicity, a «Hanean», and the Ptolemaic Graeco-Egyptians were not an exception: the Babylonian *Chronicle of Ptolemy III*¹³⁵, referring to the campaign of Ptolemy Euergetes into Mesopotamia during the 3rd Syrian War describes the enemies in traditional terms as godless Haneans, while, in turn and in the same period, Ptolemy III was presenting himself as a defender of the Egyptians and his beaten Seleucid adversaries as the heirs of the impious Persians who once invaded Egypt and stole sacred statues from there (see *supra*, pp. 24-25).

Not only overtly encomiastic poetry could also be of high political value to a Hellenistic cultivated monarch; we may presume the early existence, also in the Seleucid area, of poems of local historical interest¹³⁶. Alexandrian court poetry had a very strong etiological penchant, meaning that the Graeco-Macedonian *élite* rejoiced in retracing fictitious Hellenic origins for their habits and in recreating a Greek past even for the most distant parts of the area colonized by them; this kind of «intentional history», especially when applied to foundation tales, had a significant diplomatic importance in keeping or developing cultural, economic and military

the Parthian conquest; see *e.g.* Anu-Uballit = Nicarchus, whose Greek name was granted to him by Antiochus II (ca. 245 BC); from the same family is known a Anu-Uballit son of Anu-balassu-iqbi = Cephalon (202 BC): at least 14 persons of this family bear a Greek name (some a dynastic Seleucid name). For a similar phenomenon (bilingual *philoi* of mixed origin) in Ptolemaic Egypt see a summary with bibliography in Barbantani 2014a.

¹³² As for the Ptolemies, the only disparaging note on the Egyptian low-life is in Theoc. *Id.* XV 47-49, but it is put in the mouth of the not particularly cultivated Greek housewives of Alexandria, and is meant as a praise of the urban «law and order» granted by the king: a classist, more than a racist comment. Ptolemy I and II, who lived side by side with Manetho and other notables from highly respected priestly families, could hardly see their Egyptian courtiers as «petty thieves».

¹³³ See Primo 2009, 88; Ma 2004; App. *Syr.* 6.

¹³⁴ Possibly their relationship with the Galatians, both in Asia Minor and in Egypt, was discussed by Demetrius of Byzantium (*FGrHist* 162 T 1; Diog. La. V 83): see Primo 2009, 105.

¹³⁵ See Haubold 2013, 134-135.

¹³⁶ See Cameron 1995, 263, on the local encomiastic poets.

relationship with allied cities or states¹³⁷. If the strategy of «Hellenizing the past» of a non-Greek area through the use of myth is a very well established practice for the Ptolemies, thank to the abilities and the subtleties of *poetae docti* like Callimachus and Apollonius, there is no reason to believe that Seleucid did avoid competition in this field, especially since they were very active founders of new cities, often in remote regions, all in need of some Hellenic background, real or imagined¹³⁸: recent studies show that Macedonian toponyms were used in Greek foundations all over the Seleucid kingdom, with concentration in Northern Syria¹³⁹. There may be a clue that such poetry was produced in the Seleucid kingdom already in the 3rd century BC, in relation with a city of the Tetrapolis, Apamea. If Antiochia was the first centre with a library and a residential poet-scholar worthy to be mentioned, Apamea, created first and foremost as a strategic centre for the royal stables (war elephants and horses: Strabo XVI 2, 10)¹⁴⁰, was also associated very early with Greek and Macedonian cultural traditions: first known as the village «Pharnake», then baptized «Pella»¹⁴¹ by the Macedonian colonists, who also changed the name of the local river Orontes into «Axius» (another allusion to homeland: it was the river of the Macedonian Pella), the city later bore the not-so-Hellenic name of Antiochus' mother, the Bactrian Apama: it must be underlined that, in the

¹³⁷ See Mori 2008; Barbantani forthcoming, introduction. On intentional history, see Gehrke 1994; Gehrke 2001; Foxhall *et al.* 2010.

¹³⁸ On the Seleucid foundations see Grainger 1990; Grainger 2010. A distinction was endorsed by the Seleucids, within the same city or areas, between Greek communities and other ethnicities; the effort to increase the number of resident Greeks is evident especially after 188 BC (Roman conquest of Anatolia): existing cities (especially in Phoenicia and Syria, but also Babylon, *OGIS* 253) were granted the status of *poleis* and these new «upgraded» *poleis* constructed fictitious ties of kinship with the Greek cities of the Aegean area: on these topics see Andrade 2013, 41-44; Burstein 2008, 75-76.

¹³⁹ See many examples in Boudroukis 2003; the most evident case is that of Pella-Apamea, but see also, in North Mesopotamia, «Mygdonia» (Plin. *HN* VI 41-42), named after a Macedonian district; also the region of «Pieria», where Seleucia is located, takes its name from a Macedonian region.

¹⁴⁰ See Balty 2003b, 229. The coins of Apamea show a war elephant on the obverse, a horse and the anchor on the verso.

¹⁴¹ There is another Pella in Jordan, north of Amman. On the foundation of Apamea see Cohen 2006, 94-101; Balty 2003a. The first toponym for the site, Pharnake, is registered by Malalas VIII 198-203 (account of the foundation of Apamea). Strabo XVI 2, 4 recalls that the first Macedonian colony was called «Pella», in honor of Alexander and Philip; the denomination «Pella» is preserved in the tale of Oppian (see *infra*, p. 55). In the same region Antigonus Monophthalmos had founded, around 307 BC, Antigoneia, a military *katoikia*; Seleucus did not obliterate his rival's city, but changed its Macedonian name into that of his Bactrian wife, Apama. In some sources the city is sometimes defined «Cherronesos» (Plut. *Dem.* L 914, LII 915; cf. Opp. *Cyn.* 100-155: «at the same time firm ground and an island»).

intention of the Seleucid king, this denomination was on the same level of importance as «Antiochia», «Laodicea» and «Seleucia», the other three cities of the Tetrapolis named from the Greek anthroponyms of Seleucus I and Seleucus' father and mother. The effort to grant the *polis* a strong Hellenic heritage must have been done quite early. Hollis and Bernand have convincingly suggested that the passage of the *Cynegetica* attributed to a 3rd century AD poet, Oppian¹⁴² from Apamea, recounting the myth of Heracles opening a way to the river Orontes (*Cyn.* II 100-158) is drawn from some etiological poem of the first Hellenism, possibly composed by Euphorion¹⁴³: the tale would have been congenial to him, as the librarian of Antiochus III repeatedly addressed Heracles' enterprises in his poems, such as the famous toils (fr. 28, 41a, 71 Lightfoot) and his travels in the West (the Pillars: fr. 169 Lightfoot; homecoming with Geryon's cows: fr. 72 Lightfoot, cf. Opp. *Cyn.* II 110). However, Callimachus must not be ruled out as a source for this episode in Oppian¹⁴⁴. Here is the episode of Opp. *Cyn.* II 100-158, in the translation by A.W. Mair (1928):

Οἱ Σύριοι ταῦροι δέ, Χερωνήσοιο γένεθλα, 100
αἰπεινὴν τοὶ Πέλλαν εὐκτιτον ἀμφινέμονται,
αἴθωνες, κρατεροί, μεγάλητορες, εὐρυμέτωποι,
ἄγραυλοι, σθENAροί, κερααλκέες, ἀγριόθυμοι,
μυκηταί, βλοσυροί, ζηλήμονες, εὐρυγένειοι
ἀλλ' οὐ πιαλέοι δέμας ἀφιλαφές βαρύθουσι, 105
οὐδὲ πάλιν λιπόσαρκοι ἐὼν δέμας ἀδρανέουσιν·
ᾧδε θεῶν κλυτὰ δῶρα κερασάμενοι φορέουσιν,
ἀμφοτέρων κραιπνοὶ τε θέειν σθENAροὶ τε μάχεσθαι·
κεῖνοι, τοὺς φάτις ἔσκε Διὸς γόνον Ἡρακλῆα

¹⁴² Oppian declares Apamea his homeland in *Cyn.* II 156-158. He is the author of the *Cynegetica* in four books dedicated to emperor Caracalla (after 211 AD, see *Cyn.* I 10-15; he promises Caracalla other poems in *Cyn.* II 156 ff.), and must be distinguished from the homonym Oppian of Anazarbus (Cilicia), who lived under Marcus Aurelius and wrote a poem on fishing, *Halieutika* (datable after 198 AD). On the *Cynegetica* and their authorship see Mair 1928, xiii-xxiii; Bowie 1990, 80; Silva Sánchez 1994-1995 and Silva Sánchez 2002, 15-28; Primo 2009, 95 ff.

¹⁴³ On the reprises by Oppian from Euphorion see Magnelli 2002, 113-114. On the passage here discussed see Hollis 1994, followed by Agosta 2009, 74-82; Bernard 1995; Whitby 2007, 132-133; Bartley 2003, 186-196, suspects on Oppian the influence of the episode of Heracles and Cacus in Virg. *Aen.* VIII 184-279, and of Her. VII 129, 4 (the flooding by the Thessalian river Peneus, released by Poseidon; in Diod. IV 18, 6 it is Heracles who opens the way for the river Peneus). If the myth of the Orontes has been treated in poetry first by Euphorion, he could have drawn from Macedonian sources, like Marsias of Pella (4th century BC) and Marsias of Philippi (3rd century BC), as suggested by Bernard 1995.

¹⁴⁴ Euphorion himself was heavily indebted to Callimachus and Apollonius: see Magnelli 2002, 22-26.

ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν κατὰ κόσμον ἀείσομεν εὐρέα κάλλι
πάτρης ἡμετέρης ἐρατῆ Πιμπληϊδι μολπῆ·
νῦν δὲ παλίντροπος εἶμι κλυτὴν θήρειον ἀοιδῆν.

The Syrian Bulls, the breed of the Chersonese, pasture about high well-built Pella; tawny, strong, great-hearted, broad of brow, dwellers of the field, powerful, valiant of horn, wild of spirit, loud-bellowing, fierce, jealous, abundant of beard, yet they are not weighed down with fat and flesh of body, nor again are they lean and weak; so tempered are the gifts they have from heaven – at once swift to run and strong to fight. These are they which report said Heracles, the mighty son of Zeus, when fulfilling his labours, drove of old from Erytheia, what time he fought with Geryoneus beside the Ocean and slew him amid the crags; since he was doomed to fulfill yet another labour, not for Hera nor at the behest of Eurystheus, but for his comrade Archippus, lord of holy Pella. For aforesaid all the plain by the foot of Emblonus was flooded; since evermore in great volume rushed Orontes¹⁴⁵ in his eagerness, forgetting the sea and burning with desire of the dark-eyed nymph, the daughter of Ocean. He lingered amid the heights and he covered the fertile earth, unwilling to forgo his hopeless love of Meliboea¹⁴⁶. With mountains on either side was he encircled round, mountains that on either hand leaned their heads together. From the East came the lofty form of Diocleium, and from the West the left horn of Emblonus, and in the midst himself raging in the plains, ever waxing and drawing nigh the walls, flooding with his waters that mainland at once and island, mine own city. Therefore was the son of Zeus destined straightway with club and mighty hands to apportion their water unto each, and to give separate course from the plain for the waters of the fair-tressed lake and the fair-flowing river. And he wrought his mighty labour, when he cut the girdle of the encircling hills and undid their stony bonds, and sent the river belching to its mouth, surging incontinent and wildly murmuring, and guided it toward the shores. And loudly roared the deep sea, and the mighty body of the Syrian shore echoed to the din. Not with such violent flood descend those contrary-travelling rivers on either side the echoing sea: here Ister, cleaving the white barriers of the North through Scythia, roars loudly everywhere, trailing amid precipices and water-smitten heights; while on the other hand the sounding sea trembles at the holy stream of Egypt when from Libya it breaks about it. So the mighty river Orontes made a noise of dread bellowing about the shores; and mightily roared the headlands when they received within their bosom the swell of the new-come sea; and the black and fertile earth took heart again,

¹⁴⁵ Oppian keeps the original name Orontes for the Axios. On the coins minted by Antiochus IV there is still the «Axius» denomination (also quoted by Sozomenus, 5th century AD). With reference to the events narrated at ll. 128-131, it must be also noted that the Macedonian Pella was situated by a lake, into which the Axios flew through a canal.

¹⁴⁶ The name Meliboea could be a variant for Periboea, a nymph beloved by the Axios river in Hom. *Il.* XXI 141-143, and by the Orontes in Nonn. *Dion.* XVI 146-148 (Nonnus could also be inspired by Euphorion).

arisen from the waves, a new plain of Heracles. And to this day the fields flourish everywhere with corn and everywhere the works of oxen are heavy on the prosperous threshing-floors around the Memnonian shrine, where the Assyrian dwellers mourn for Memnon, the glorious son of the Morning, whom, when he came to help the sons of Priam, the doughty husband of Deidameia swiftly slew. Howbeit the spacious glories of our fatherland we shall sing in due order with sweet Pimplean song; now I turn back to sing of glorious hunting.

At the time of the *Cynegetica*, Heracles was a model for Caracalla, Oppian's dedicatee¹⁴⁷. But the hero has always been part of the pedigree of all the Hellenistic dynasties. Heracles was linked to the Attalids through Telephus. As a bringer of civilization and ancestor of the Macedonian royal house, Heracles, like Dionysus, was the ideal hero for a dynasty of city-founders and explorers like the Seleucids¹⁴⁸; according to later sources, possibly drawing from earlier Hellenistic material, Daphne, with its sacred *alsos* of Apollo, honored by the Seleucid kings since the time of Seleucus I, was founded by Heracles himself and was originally called «Heracleis»¹⁴⁹. Since Heracles was also very prominent in the dynastic pantheon of the Ptolemies (in the Adulis decree, ll. 5-6, Ptolemy II lists among his ancestors Heracles and Dionysus¹⁵⁰; cf. Theoc. *Id.* XVII 26-27)¹⁵¹, one can safely hypothesize that this hero was exploited by Seleucid royal propaganda with every means. Even as late as in the 4th century AD, Libanius of Antiochia boasted in his panegyric oration *Antiochikos* (XI 56 and 119) that among the Greek colonists (Ionians, Argives, Cretans) who first inhabited Antiochia there were also the descendants of Heracles, the mythical Heraclidae expelled by Eurystheus.

The character of Archippus, a dear friend of Heracles in the tale preserved by Oppian, may allude to a noble citizen of Apamea at the time of Seleucus I, possibly holding a military title as a head of cavalry, *hipparchos* (Hollis), or to the founder of the first Macedonian colony in this area (Ber-

¹⁴⁷ As Euphorion probably composed verses for Antiochus III, so Oppian dedicated his poem to the emperor Caracalla. The theme of the «royal hunt», an aristocratic activity also dear to the Achaemenids, was en vogue under Alexander and his successors, as well as under the Roman emperors: see Seyer 2007; Seyer 2006; Whitby 2007, 132-135.

¹⁴⁸ See Primo 2009, 57 ff.

¹⁴⁹ See Primo 2009, 282. Heracles, however, is not very frequently present on Seleucid coins: see Iossif 2011b.

¹⁵⁰ Hazzard 2000, 70, underlines that Dionysus was exhibited for the first time among the ancestors of Ptolemy II during the Procession of 262 BC.

¹⁵¹ On Heracles see also Theoc. *Id.* XXIV: *Herakliskos*; ps.Theoc. *Id.* XXV: *Heracles and the Nemean Lion*. The hero also features in Callimachus' *Aitia* (e.g. in the *Victoria Berenices*) and in Apollonius' *Argonautica*.

nard). The effort of granting Apamea such a strong Hellenic past may be motivated by the fact that this was one of the last cities before the frontier with the contended region of Coele-Syria (Strabo XVI 2, 19: Ptolemaic fortifications south of the Orontes), a strategic role that ceased once Antiochus III conquered the region in 200 BC (victory at Panion).

6. SYRIA, COELE-SYRIA, PHOENICIA: A NEW ATTICA, A NEW ALEXANDRIA

If there is nothing comparable to Alexandria in the Seleucid kingdom, there was, however, an Athens, and an Athens well linked to Heracles, like Apamea¹⁵²: Gadara, a city located in an ideal position from the strategic point of view, on the boundaries with the troublesome Coele-Syria¹⁵³, will be remembered as «the Attica of the Syrians» thanks to the multi-faceted poet Meleager (1st BC), who defined it so in one of his famous self-epitaphs (*A.P.* VII 417, 2: Ἀτθίς ἐν Ἀσσυρίοις ναιομένα Γαδάροις). This is a very apt denomination, as Gadara, one of the most profoundly Hellenized cities of this area, could boast for centuries to be one of the richest and productive *poleis* of the Seleucid kingdom (and then of the Roman empire), both in economic and cultural terms. The epigrammatist and philosopher Meleager, in many way a «servant of the Muses», was not the only one to express a laudatory judgment on the city as an ideal «common homeland» (like Athens) for cultivated men: the idea that the area near Gadara was the «new Attica»¹⁵⁴ still persists in the 2nd-3rd century AD, as the city is still called πατρις δέ μου, / καὶ πᾶσι κοινὴ, Γάδαρα χρηστομουσία¹⁵⁵ in a humble Roman funerary epigram for the local citizen Apion¹⁵⁶, found in the vil-

¹⁵² On Heracles represented on Gadarene coins see bibliography in Cohen 2006, 283, 285.

¹⁵³ The city is located on a fertile ground, on a hill above the Yarmuk (Hieromax), at the confluence of various caravan routes. See Grainger 2010, 210, 260-261, 401; Cohen 2006, 282-286. First under Ptolemaic influence, Gadara was taken by Antiochus III during the 4th Syrian War, in 218 BC (Polyb. V 71; a Ptolemaic garrison was located at Philadelphia = Amman), then re-occupied by the same king during the 5th Syrian War, in 200 BC: Gadara was renamed Antiochia and later Seleucia.

¹⁵⁴ On Attica as the quintessential heart of Greek culture see Ael. Aristid. *Or.* I 15-16.

¹⁵⁵ «Homeland to me, and common homeland to all, Gadara illustrious for the Muses». The adjective is an *hapax*; the verb χρηστομουσεῖν is attested in Ath. XIV 33, 19 and Eust. *Comm. ad Il.* III 906, 23 van der Valk.

¹⁵⁶ Apion is only child of Quintus and Filous (= abbreviated form for Filousa) of Hippos, deceased at 22. See SGO IV 21/21/03 = Peek GVI 1070; Cumont 1913, 169-170, nr. 143. The *editio princeps* is given by Clermont-Ganneau 1897, with a transcription and a

lage of Saffouré, south-east of the lake of Tiberias: the city, once named Hippos (now Susieh), belonged, like Gadara, to the Roman Decapolis. The persistence of the reputation of the area as the new Attica under the Roman empire is further confirmed by the fact that the jurist Domitius Ulpianus from Tyrus, a city not far from Gadara (and «nurse» of Meleager: *A.P.* VII 417, 1; 418, 2), was nicknamed «Syrattikos»¹⁵⁷.

Meleager is probably one of the best examples of the subtle power of Greek culture to infiltrate and saturate local and ancient cultural traditions, blending with them but maintaining its distinctive features. Cynical philosopher¹⁵⁸ like his older fellow citizen Menippus (a «Phoenician» according to Diog. La. VI 99-101), prose writer, one of the most refined Greek epigrammatists and the first to anthologize earlier epigrams, Meleager proudly states in three self-epitaphs (*A.P.* VII 417, 418, 419)¹⁵⁹ to be a citizen of three *poleis* and also a citizen of the world, a *cosmopolites* (*A.P.* VII 417, 5-6: *μίαν, ξένε, πατρίδα κόσμον / ναίομεν*). Meleager is a sort of cultural bridge between two worlds, the Ptolemaic and the Seleucid kingdom, being at the same time a Syrian from Gadara, a Phoenician raised in Tyrus¹⁶⁰, and a Greek educated in Cos, the very place where Ptolemy II

sketch of a squeeze sent him by an Arab, taken from a «*pierre noire*» (basaltic); no specific date is provided (2nd-3rd AD Peek, 2nd AD Merkelbach). The text is in iambic trimeters: ἦν μου πατήρ Κοίντος, ἦν μήτηρ φιλοῦς, / τὸ δ'οὔνομα μ'ἔστιν Ἀπειών, πατρὶς δέ μου / καὶ πᾶσι κοινὴ Γάδαρα χρηστομουσία. / σοφῆς δ' ἄφ' Ἰππου ἔστιν ἡ μήτηρ φιλοῦς. / 5 ἄπαιδα τ' οἶκον ἐγλιπὼν ἐπὶ τρισὶν / οἰκῶ κελεύθοις τύμβον, εἰς δ<v> οὐσίην (*lapis*: EISOMOUSIHN) / πατήρ ἄπασαν ἐκχέας μ'ἐπλούτισεν. / ἦσαν τ' (Merkelbach: ζήσαντ') ἐτ[η] δις ἐνδ[ε]κ(α) μονογενῆς ἔβην.

¹⁵⁷ Ath. III 126f, IX 368c, III 126a, IV 174e. Ulpian lived under Septimius Severus.

¹⁵⁸ Like Posidippus and other epigrammatists declaring a sympathy for some philosophical school, Meleager states in his epigrams to have been inspired by the Cynic Menippus of Gadara. Meleager is classified among the Cynics by Ath. IV 157 and Diog. La. VI 99, who attributes to him, in the *Life of Menippus*, the now lost *spoudogeloia* (τὰ δὲ βιβλία αὐτοῦ πολλοὺ καταγέλωτος γέμει καὶ τι ἴσον τοῖς Μελέαγρου τοῦ κατ' αὐτὸν γενομένου). On Meleager's biography and work see *HE* II 591-593.

¹⁵⁹ See lately on Meleager's self-epitaphs and cosmopolitanism Höschele 2013.

¹⁶⁰ Phoenician cities once under Ptolemaic control, like Tyrus, gained early the status of Greek *poleis*, while local communities under Seleucid rule rarely had it; among others, Gadara and Hippos are explicitly defined in Greek sources as «Greek cities» (Ioseph. *BJ* II 97; *AJ* XVII 320), while other cities of the area are not; in a honorific inscription, Nysa-Scythopolis boasts to be one of the «Hellenic *poleis* of Coele Syria», possibly to differentiate itself from the Aramaic-speaking countryside: see Foerster - Tsafirir 1986-1987, 53-58; Andrade 2013, 47-48. On the complex issues of identity and ethnicity in Hellenistic and Roman Middle East, at the time of Meleager and later, see Geiger 2002: Diog. La. VI 99 defines Menippus a Phoenician, and Philostratus calls the sophist Apsines from Gadara also a «Phoinix»; Meleager in *A.P.* VII 419, 7-8, distinguishes the Syrian from the Phoenician language, but there are many examples of confusion for the names of the inhabitants of the Palestinian region; Sartre 2007 discovered that some apparently

was born and followed the teaching of Philitas, and which was celebrated by Callimachus in the crucial passage of the *Hymn to Delos* where the king is praised as «another Apollo» defeating Galatians. The name of Meleager's father, as well as his own name, are Greek, even though this is not enough to be certain of his Hellenic origin. As we have seen, cultural preferences are more important than genetic configuration or ethnic traditions when one has to define his/her own identity: in spite of his claim to be a polyglot and multi-ethnic citizen of the world, Meleager's literary production is all and only in Greek, very concerned with the classical Greek tradition and with the way to innovate it: he revolutionized the genre epigram, developing it and preserving for the first time its best samples in an *Anthology*, and probably also the philosophical dialogue, which evolved into the Menippean satire. In *A.P.* VII 419, 7-8 he salutes the passer-by in three languages (*salam, audonis, chaire*), but he is expecting that his Phoenician and Syrian audience could read his epigram in Greek in order to reply to his greetings. Gadara would produce another philosopher and master of the epigrammatic genre, Philodemus, who moved on to live with the new masters of the Mediterranean, the Romans, as later did another famous Gadarene, Theodorus, rhetor and teacher of Tiberius¹⁶¹.

If in the 5th and 4th century BC Athens was believed to be the «school of Hellas» (Thuc. II 41) thanks to its capacity to unite different nations through culture¹⁶², 1st century BC Gadara was the best evidence that this process was already well developed, and Meleager was right in claiming the Athenian inheritance for his hometown.

Homer, whom the Ptolemies consecrated as a co-founder and *genius loci* of Alexandria, shared with Meleager the cosmopolitanism, and became, by the Roman period, a strong identitarian symbol for many Greek communities of Asia, which granted him cultural citizenship¹⁶³. Some *Homereia*, temples of Homer endowed with a gymnasial area, were

Greek and Latin sounding names in Syriac inscriptions disguise a Syrian origin. On Zenodotus' epigram for Zeno, *A.P.* VII 117 = *HE* 1, which presents Phoenicia as the origin of Cadmus and Greek letters, with an expression comparable to Meleager *A.P.* VII 417, 4, see Höschele 2013, 21.

¹⁶¹ According to *Suda*, θ 151, *s.v.* Θεόδωρος, Γαδαρεύς, he composed a *Περὶ Κοίλης Συρίας*: see Primo 2009, 287; for his work see Granatelli 1991.

¹⁶² Isocr. *Paneg.* 50: τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὄνομα πεποιήκε μηκέτι τοῦ γένους ἀλλὰ τῆς διανοίας δοκεῖν εἶναι, καὶ μᾶλλον Ἑλληνας καλεῖσθαι τοὺς τῆς παιδείσεως τῆς ἡμετέρας ἢ τοὺς τῆς κοινῆς φύσεως μετέχοντας («she has brought it about that the name Hellenes suggests no longer a race but an intelligence, and that the title Hellenes is applied rather to those who share our culture than to those who share a common blood»); transl. by Norlin 1980).

¹⁶³ Homer appears frequently on coins from Asiatic cities; see Strabo XIV 37; Esdaile 1912; Heyman 1982 (Smyrne).

present in Asia Minor since early Hellenistic times, and survived into the Roman era¹⁶⁴. The widespread presence of Homer – not only through books and recitals of the *Homeristai* but also in figurative arts, numismatic iconography, anthroponyms, local cults – even in the most remote areas of Asia Minor¹⁶⁵ – is another sign the capillary infiltration of Greek culture even without a centralized support from a stately/monarchic institution. Although, as we have seen above, there is no certain evidence of philological work on Homer in the Seleucid kingdom, as we have for the Ptolemaic one, Homer remained for the Greeks and the Hellenized people of Asia the pivotal author of their *paideia*, until very late into the Roman Empire. Many Greek cities had contended for the honor to be Homer's homeland¹⁶⁶: while the Alexandrian philologist Aristarchus, in his monograph *περὶ πατρίδος* (*scil.* Ὀμήρου)¹⁶⁷, made him an Athenian, for Meleager, a citizen of the «Syrian Athens» Gadara, Homer was, like himself, a Syrian¹⁶⁸. It would be interesting to know the view of the cultivated 1st century AD doctor Hermogenes of Smyrne, who wrote, among other things, one book *περὶ τῆς Ὀμήρου σοφίας* and one about the poet's *πατρίς* (*SGO* I 05/01/26).

Not only the long-time Hellenized, Mediterranean Coele-Syria, but even the internal region of Babylonia, the core of the Seleucid kingdom, so rich in ancient local traditions, could be assimilated to old glorious Greece, against the claim of cultural excellence of the Alexandrian scholars: this claim is made, unsurprisingly, by a bunch of philosophers linked not with the Seleucid, but with the Attalid court. Crates and his pupil Zenodotus,

¹⁶⁴ On the Homereion at Colophon see Gautier 2006; on the one in Smyrna, Petzl 1982, I, 79, nr. 214.

¹⁶⁵ See e.g. the hyperbolic epitaph of the teacher Magnus from Miletropolis in Mysia, *ἔξοχα Ὀμηρείων ἀψάμενον σελίδων* (l. 2; *SGO* II 08/05/08); a common praise for poets was to be «the New Homer», like Paeon of Syde, Pamphylia (Robert 1990), and Heraclitus from Rhodiapolis, Lycia (Robert 1990; Jones 1978 and Jones 2011, *TAM* II 910, 15-16; *SEG* 27, 1977, 937).

¹⁶⁶ See e.g. the epigram from Pergamon *SGO* I 06/02/18, and *A.P.* IX 213, 672; XVI 102, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 320 (Skiadas 1965).

¹⁶⁷ *Ἀρίσταρχος δὲ καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ Θράξ Ἀθηναῖον* (*Vita Homeri* in Allen 1912, 101, 244, 247.8; cf. *schol. A ad Il.* XXIII 197).

¹⁶⁸ In a prose philosophical work titled «Charites», quoted by Ath. IV 157 B: (Nicon speaks) *ἢ καθάπερ ὁ πρόγονος ὑμῶν Μελέαγρος ὁ Γαδαρεὺς ἐν ταῖς Χάρισιν ἐπιγραφομένης ἔφη τὸν Ὀμηρον Σύρον ὄντα τὸ γένος κατὰ τὰ πάτρια ἰχθύων ἀπεχομένους ποιῆσαι τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς δαψιλείας πολλῆς οὐσης κατὰ τὸν Ἑλλησποντον* («or it is like what your ancestor Meleager of Gadara, in the work entitles *The Graces*, said of Homer: being a Syrian by birth, he has represented the Achaeans as abstaining from fish according to the practice of his own country, although there is great abundance of them in the region of Hellespont?»; transl. by Gulik 1928).

both of Mallus, considered Homer a «Chaldean» (Babylonian) ¹⁶⁹; on the same wavelength is the epigram by Herodicus of Babylon ¹⁷⁰, the successor of Crates of Mallus (Ath. V 221f-222b; *SH* 494; *FGE* 62-64), directed against Aristarchus, who abandoned Alexandria in 145 BC under the pressure of Ptolemy VIII Physkon, and his school:

Φεύγετ', Αριστάρχειοι, ἐπ' εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάττης
Ἑλλάδα, τῆς ξουθῆς δειλότεροι κεμάδος,
γωνιοβόμβυκες, μονοσύλλαβοι, οἷσι μέμηλε
τὸ σφὶν καὶ σφῶιν καὶ τὸ μὴν ἠδὲ τὸ νῖν.
Τοῦθ' ὑμῖν εἶη δυσπέμφελον· Ἡροδικῶ δὲ
Ἑλλάς ἀεὶ μίμνοι καὶ θεόπαις Βαβυλῶν.

Fly, sons of Aristarchus, fly from Hellas over the broad back of the ocean, more craven than the lawny lechive antelope, buzzing in corners, mumbling monosyllables, whose sole business is the difference between «ye» and «your» and «it» and «hit»; may your journey be rough through these waters, but as for Herodicus, long live Hellas and Babylon, child of the gods. (Transl. by Gulick 1928)

It is remarkable that the Herodicus' epigram strikingly presents the opposite view of the famous Hellenistic inscription from Rhodes *IG* XII 1, 145 (*SEG* XXXVI 175) ¹⁷¹, where the Greek Halicarnassus is proudly (and favorably) compared to ancient (ὠγυγίη) Babylonia: Assyria may have the tomb of the legendary queen Semiramis, but it cannot boast to have such glorious sons as Andron «blossom of the Muses», and the sweet (γλύκιον στόμα, ἡ[δύ]επιῆ) Herodotus and Panyassis: apparently, the intellectual heritage of the Carian-Hellenic colony is meant to be superior to the venerable and exotic Syrian past:

λάϊνο[ν Ἀ]σσυρίη [χῶ]μα Σεμι[ρά]μιος
ἀλλ' Ἀνδρῶνα οὐκ ἔσχε Νίνου πόλις, οὐδὲ παρ' Ἴνδοις
ῥιζοφυῆς Μουσέων πτόρθος ἐνετρέφετο·

¹⁶⁹ *Schol. A ad Il. XXIII* 79b Erbse reports that Zenodotus of Mallus, disciple of Crates, considered Homer a Chaldean, in the context of a discussion on a Greek word, interpreted as having a Babylonian origin; his master Crates of Mallus was also interpreting an Homeric word, «belos», as coming from an Babylonian root: see Broggiato 2001, 180-182, F 21 (for Zenodotus F 20, 23, 67, 132); according to Pusch 1889, 150-151, «Chaldean» here most probably is not an ethnic definition but stands for «an astronomer». See also *Et. Magn.* CLVII 52 ff. s.v. Ἀσσυρία: Ἡ Βαβυλωνία· τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐκαλεῖτο Εὐφράτις, ὕστερον δὲ Χαλδαία· τὸ τελευταῖον δὲ, ἀπὸ Ἀσοῦρου τοῦ Σούσου, Ἀσσυρία, ὡς Ξενοκράτης ἐν πρῶτῳ Χρονικῶν.

¹⁷⁰ On this passage see now Haubold 2013, 178-184.

¹⁷¹ The inscription, whose date is uncertain (possibly 2nd-1st BC), has been put in relation with the Salmakis elegy of Halicarnassus: see Peek 1978; Isager 1998, 16-18; Ebert 1986; Garulli 2012, 176-178.

[κού] μὴν Ἡροδότου γλύκιον στόμα καὶ Πανύασσιν
 ἠ[δου]επῆ Βαβυλὸν ἔτρεφεν ὠγγυγίη,
 ἀλλ' Ἀλικαρνασσοῦ κραναὸν πέδον· ὦν διὰ μολπὰς
 κλειτὸν ἐν Ἑλλήνων ἄστεσι κῦδος ἔχει.

5

Assyria (has) the stone-mound of Semiramis. But the city of Ninus did not bring forth an Andron, neither did such offspring of the Muses shoot from the ground among the Indians. Primeval Babylon did not nourish a mouth like that of Herodotos' which is even sweeter, nor Panyassis with his sweet words, but the rugged earth of Halikarnassos did. Through their songs does she enjoy a renown among the cities of the Hellenes. (Transl. by S. Isager, in Isager 1998, 16)

The Pergamene approach to texts (Homer *in primis*) was radically different from the Alexandrian one; it would be too much to read in the epigram attributed to Herodicus anything other than a scholarly argument, one of the many we can catch some glimpse of in the Hellenistic poetry. Even if the competition between different schools of thought or approaches to the Hellenic tradition was not programmatically sponsored by the Seleucid or Attalid kings against their rivals, the Ptolemies, interesting nonetheless is the vindication of the «Hellenicity» of Babylon from Herodicus' part. The natural consequence of making Babylon a New Hellas was to make Homer, the embodiment of Hellenic culture, a Babylonian.

Following the «well-known practice of fashioning Homer in one's own image» (Kim 2010, 167) and his Attalid predecessors in mocking Alexandrian philologists, Lucian of Samosata (Samsat in Turkey, formerly Antiochia of Commagene; see Lucian *Hist. conscr.* 24), another cosmopolitan author, admirer of the Gadarene Menippus, and very keen on reworking in a novelized way episodes of the Seleucid history¹⁷², went as far as to make Homer, under the original name of Tigranes, a native of Babylon (Lucian *Ver. hist.* II 20 ff.)¹⁷³:

Οὔπω δὲ δύο ἢ τρεῖς ἡμέρα διεληλύθεσαν, καὶ προσελθὼν ἐγὼ Ὅμηρῳ τῷ ποιητῆι, σχολῆς οὐσης ἀμοιβῶν, τά τε ἄλλα ἐπυνθανόμην καὶ ὅθεν εἶη, λέγων τοῦτο μάλιστα παρ' ἡμῖν εἰσέτι νῦν ζητεῖσθαι. ὁ δὲ οὐδ' αὐτὸς μὲν ἀγνοεῖν ἔφασκεν ὡς οἱ μὲν Χίον, οἱ δὲ Συμυραῖον, πολλοὶ δὲ Κολοφώνιον αὐτὸν νομίζουσιν·

¹⁷² See e.g. his version of the Battle of the Elephants in *Zeux.* 8-11 (*supra*, n. 130); in *Imag.* 5 and in *De Dea Syria* 17-18 (cf. Dio Cass. XXXI 116, XXXVII 6) he told the romantic tale of Antiochus and Stratonicë.

¹⁷³ See Matteuzzi 2000-2002; Kim 2010, 140-174; Andrade 2013, 268-269; on the diversity of Homer's outlandish origins (Egyptian, Syrian, Roman) see Kim 2010, 165-167. Lucian is possibly referring to the theory of Alexander of Paphus, who made Homer an Egyptian (see Eust. *Od.* 1713, 17 = *Vita Homeri* VII Allen). For the view of the philosophers of Mallus about the Babylonian origin of Homer see *supra*, n. 169.

εἶναι μέντοι γε ἔλεγεν Βαβυλώνιος, καὶ παρά γε τοῖς πολίταις οὐχ Ὅμηρος, ἀλλὰ Τυράνης καλεῖσθαι· ὕστερον δὲ ὀμηρεύσας παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἀλλάξει τὴν προσηγορίαν. ἔτι δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀθετουμένων στίχων ἐπηρώτων, εἰ ὑπ' ἐκείνου εἰσὶ γεγραμμένοι. καὶ ὃς ἔφασκε πάντας αὐτοῦ εἶναι. κατεγίνωσκον οὖν τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ζηνόδοτον καὶ Ἀρίσταρχον γραμματικῶν πολλὴν τὴν ψυχρολογίαν ...

Before many days had passed, I accosted the poet Homer, when we were both disengaged, and asked him, among other things, where he came from; it was still a burning question with us, I explained. He said he was aware that some brought him from Chios, others from Smyrna, and others again from Colophon; the fact was, he was a Babylonian, generally known not as Homer, but as Tigranes; but when later in life he was given as a homer or hostage to the Greeks, that name clung to him. Another of my questions was about the so-called spurious lines; had he written them, or not? He said they were all genuine; so I now knew what to think of the critics Zenodotus and Aristarchus, and all their lucubrations [...]. (Transl. by Fowler - Fowler 1905)

According to Hesych. B19 Latte, probably from Aristophanes' play *The Babylonians*, «'Babylonians' means tout-court 'the Barbarians' in the Attic authors» (*scil.* of the 5th century BC). This was ages before Babylonia had become the most important region of the Seleucid empire, and before the Syrian territory around Gadara could be defined «the Attica of Syria». Meleager presents himself as a Syrian-Phoenician-Greek, Lucian as a Syrian: both of them, centuries apart, are choosing to use the Greek language, in the Attic form¹⁷⁴, and to embrace the traditional Hellenic literary culture, two of the most important marks of identity (cf. Her. VIII 144), blending them proudly with their Near Eastern origin. Lucian himself explains how he had to learn Greek as a foreign language, because he considered the Hellenic education and philosophy, in spite of one's ethnicity, the real core of a man¹⁷⁵. In the *Piscator* 19, Lucian goes beyond Hellenism, stating that civilization is not linked to the Greek language, but to morals:

Παρρησιάδης: Σύρος, ὃ Φιλοσοφία, τῶν Ἐπευφρατιδίων. ἀλλὰ τί τοῦτο; καὶ γὰρ τούτων τινὰς οἶδα τῶν ἀντιδίκων μου οὐχ ἦττον ἐμοῦ βαρβάρους τὸ γένος: ὁ τρόπος δὲ καὶ ἡ παιδεία οὐ κατὰ Σολέας ἢ Κυπρίου ἢ Βαβυλωνίου ἢ Σταγειρίτας. καίτοι πρὸς γε σὲ οὐδὲν ἄν ἐλαττον γένοιτο οὐδ' εἰ τὴν φωνὴν βάρβαρος εἶη τις, εἴπερ ἡ γνώμη ὀρθὴ καὶ δικαία φαίνοιτο οὐσα.

I am a Syrian from the Euphrates, my lady [Philosophia]. But is the question relevant? (cf. Meleager, *A.P.* VII 417, 5: εἰ δὲ Σύρος, τί τὸ θαῦμα;) Some of my

¹⁷⁴ On the cultural ideology of Atticism in Asia, see Andrade 2013, esp. 247-253.

¹⁷⁵ Luc. *Somm.* IX 11: a Greek education makes a man worthy of public office and precedence.

accusers I know to be as much barbarians by blood as myself; but character and culture do not vary as a man comes from Soli or Cyprus, Babylon or Stagira. However, even one who could not talk Greek would be none the worse in your eyes, so long as his sentiments were right and just. (Transl. by Fowler - Fowler 1905)¹⁷⁶

His situation was not very different from that of many subjects of the Seleucid empire who wanted to be part of the new administrative, political and military Graeco-Macedonian *élite*. Between the 3rd century BC and the rise of Rome, in Egypt, Asia and elsewhere, «Greek» are those who share Greek language (learned through the heritage of poetry and literature), not anymore only those who share the Greek ethnicity. Wherever Homer and the Greek literature is studied, no matter the difference of methodological approach, this place (Babylon, Gadara, Samosata) «is forever Hellas».

7. AT THE BOUNDARIES OF THE HELLENIZATION

Gadara, which pre-existed the Macedonian invasion of Asia, and shifted for at least a century and a half between Ptolemaic and Seleucid control, can be the best example of how Hellenic culture flourished in the Seleucid kingdom even when not directly sponsored by the court. On the other hand, to remain in the same area, Greek culture in the Tetrapolis, especially in Antiochia, was to a certain extent controlled by the king, who often resided in this area, at least until it remained part of the Seleucid empire¹⁷⁷. The ratio of founding (or re-founding) Greek colonies and *poleis* was dictated to Seleucid kings by military and political reasons, not by cultural ones. Most of the Seleucid colonies-turned-into-*poleis*, however, preserved a core of Greek citizenship that carried on the Hellenic literary tradition for many centuries. Although no impressive Greek library has been recorded as an enterprise of Seleucid kings, the sheer number of intellectuals who originated from their kingdom, or former kingdom, once it passed under the Roman empire, is a symptom of the persistence and of the vivacity of

¹⁷⁶ Cf. with the testimonies quoted by Burstein 2005, 241, e.g. Isocr. *Paneg.* 50 and Eratosthenes in Strabo I 4, 9, C 66-67: «Praise should not be given to those who divide mankind into Greek and Barbarians, or to those who advised Alexander to treat the Greeks as friends and barbarians as enemies; for the division should rather be made according to good qualities and bad».

¹⁷⁷ See Austin 1999: the fact that even in a period of deep crisis of the Seleucid dynasty in the 2nd and 1st century BC outstanding personalities manifest themselves in this area (Posidonius, Philodemus) shows that the culture of these cities was independent from the court.

Hellenic culture in this region¹⁷⁸. Making Homer a Babylonian, or a Syrian, was just a way of reminding the audience that Greek *paideia* had not one and only capital (Alexandria, Athens), but was everywhere Greek books and language may reach. And they could reach very far. If the heart of the Seleucid kingdom remained Babylon, other Greek centers bloomed in the far eastern regions of the Seleucid empire, from the royal capital Seleucia on the Tigris as far as the garrison town of Dura Europos (where in the 3rd century BC philosophical works and iambic poems were read)¹⁷⁹ or Ai Khanoum (where the Delphic maxims were exhibited in the heart of the city)¹⁸⁰: the deep-rooted Greek culture of these remote towns survived at least until the 1st century AD, as proved by archaeological finds. The newly discovered acrostic poem by Sophytus (2nd century BC), a merchant of Alexandria Arachosia (Bactriana)¹⁸¹, can be compared with the ambitious acrostic poems by the Nubian official Paccius Maximus at Kalabsha (1st AD), at the boundary of the ex-Ptolemaic empire¹⁸²: both are quite sophisticated and reveal the will of advertising proudly a Greek identity which has been conquered by eager learning and by the slow assimilation of the Greek poetic tradition.

In sum, the role of the Seleucid as active sponsors of Greek identity in the East is difficult to prove, but has to be implied by the nature of their kingdom: although it has been demonstrated that the Seleucids, more than the Ptolemies, used local people in the administration and in the army, the core of the State remained a relatively restricted Greek-speaking ruling class, active over a vast territory, from the coast of Ionia to the Indian boundaries. Greek language and literature were not imposed from above by a systematic «cultural policy»¹⁸³, but soaked into the land as a result of

¹⁷⁸ For a list of Asiatic intellectuals see Pack 1993; Istasse 2006, 62-65. On the fluctuating category of «Greekness» in Syria, and on the meaning of Greek *paideia* in that region, from the age of Antiochus IV to Late Antiquity, see Andrade 2013, esp. 247-260.

¹⁷⁹ See Rapin 1992, esp. 115-123; Welles *et al.* 1959; Welles 1959; Leriche 2003. The *Europaioi* (descendants of the Macedonians) considered Seleucus I «Nicator» («military victor») the hero founder of the city of Dura Europos (whose centre possibly was established under Antiochus I) and dedicated him a priesthood, still present in 180 AD (*P.Dura* 25; *P.Dura* 23, ll. 16-20; see Debord 2003; Rostovtzeff 1939; Rigsby 1980).

¹⁸⁰ At Ai Khanoum, in the shrine of the heroized city founder, a Clearchus, possibly the philosopher from Soli (see Merkelbach - Stauber 2005, 8-15, nr. 103), had the Delphic maxims inscribed. On the cultural identity of the Greeks in these peripheral locations, and on Hellenic identitarian elements (gymnasium, theatre, shrine of the *ktistes*) see Burstein 2005, 232-234; Burstein 2008; Mairs 2008.

¹⁸¹ Found in the necropolis of Kandahar, Afghanistan: see Bernard *et al.* 2004, 227-332; Merkelbach - Stauber 2005, 17-19, nr. 105.

¹⁸² Mairs 2011b.

¹⁸³ See Mairs 2012: «[...] claims that any political power pursued a deliberate policy of Hellenization toward its subjects must be approached with caution [...]. Rather

military conquest, colonization, mixed marriages, business exchanges, and the ambition of the locals to share the «identity» of the ruling class. In cities where a Greek community was established, the culture of the gymnasium, which implies Greek education and the presence of small libraries, also appeared, along with a theatre; even if not all the οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ γυμνασίου were ethnically Greek, they were certainly culturally Hellenes¹⁸⁴. It is true that, differently from Egypt, where the language of administration was Greek, in many regions of the Seleucid kingdom Aramaic was still widely used and in Babylonia the Akkadic language was artificially kept alive by the clergy; there are hints, however (like the «Graeco-Babylonian tablets»¹⁸⁵, that Greek was known and used also by local scholars and officials, and Greek culture in Babylon may have been more alive than what the scanty evidence suggests (the materials which supported Greek texts, like papyrus and parchment, are easily perishable in that climate)¹⁸⁶. We are sure that in Babylon there was a rich library of literary and scientific texts in the dead or dying Akkadic/Babylonian language, but a Greek library (including possibly local scholarship in translation) is nowhere attested¹⁸⁷; the only effective effort to share Babylonian culture with Greeks was made by

than focus on Hellenization as a process imposed from above by a political authority, it is almost always more useful to examine the specific aspects of Greek culture which a population adopted, the context in which they did so, and the motivations they may have exercised. The Hellenistic kingdoms, in particular, were places where an element of self-Hellenization could be advantageous».

¹⁸⁴ See Criboire 2001.

¹⁸⁵ On the Graeco-Babylonian tablets (1st BC - 1st AD) see Del Monte 2001, 165; Boiy 2004, 192-196; Black - Sherwin-White 1984. They could be the work of Greek apprentices in the Babylonian scribe workshop or an experiment to keep alive in a new form the dying Akkadic-Sumeric language. Clancier 2007, 24-25, underlines the multilingualism of the Babylonian notables.

¹⁸⁶ See Boiy 2004, 140-141: *OGIS* 23 (dated 146 BC; the Parthians invaded the city in 141 BC) is the first indication of the existence of a Greek community in Babylon; it describes Antiochus as a savior of Asia and founder and benefactor of the city; but most probably the first Greek nucleus was established with the arrival of Seleucus in Babylon in the 4th century BC (Capdetrey 2007, 210: in 312 Seleucus is said to have liberated his *philoi* in Babylon, cf. Diod. XIX 91, 4). On the Greek presence in Babylon as shown by the onomastic in the cuneiform documents and in the architectural remains see Boiy 2004, 288-290: *ephebia* is attested by an inscription 2nd BC; the agora of Babylon is mentioned by Diod. XXIV-XXV 21; houses with peristyle have been found.

¹⁸⁷ Clancier 2007, 48-54, highlights the prosperity of the Sumerian-Akkadic culture in the Hellenistic period: the old tablets of the cuneiform libraries were copied and restored, and the scribal tradition was strong; the existence of big libraries with encyclopedic contents is proved in Mesopotamia since the 1st millennium. It is not possible to know if such libraries included also foreign texts; some cuneiform texts are copies of documents on parchment (Clancier 2005), however no document on this material survives.

Berosus¹⁸⁸, unsurprisingly attached to Antiochus I, who was at the same time the most Hellenic and the most Babylonian/Iranian among the rulers of the dynasty.

To simplify, if the role of Alexandria was mainly to collect and preserve what was representative of Greek culture, and to keep it flourishing in the Mediterranean, the Seleucids inherited from Alexander the task of spreading the same Greek culture on a wider scale, carrying on what Plutarch describes as the effect of Alexander's conquest, even in the respect of the local traditions¹⁸⁹. It is true, as Burstein (2005, 226-229) puts it, that «Colonial culture is a simplified and selective version of Greek culture», however, it provided a unifying layer for one of the widest empires known to history. In fact, the new *koinè* did not only brought together all the Greeks, who already shared cults and literary tradition even when they spoke the most diverse dialects, but was something more ambitious: it united all the Greek-speaking people, that is also the hellenophone «Barbarians», *in primis* the native officials in Egypt and in the Seleucid kingdom¹⁹⁰. In this Seleucids were a step beyond the Achaemenids, who never created an empire with a common, shared culture¹⁹¹. «[...] Greek and 'barbarians' reconstituted, reinvented, and restaged Hellenism in ways that produced new types of Greeks or conveyed Greekness through unassimilated, un-classical traditions» (Andrade 2013, 347).

To conclude: unless new papyrological evidence would shed more light on this fragment, I believe that in *SH* 958 the «Medes» are the Achaemenids defeated by Alexander and his generals. Ptolemies could present the Seleucid as the new Medes to the Egyptians, but Greek subjects could hardly find this superimposition fully believable. In spite of genetic ethnicity, the Seleucids never presented themselves to their Greek subjects, allies and rivals as less Greek/Macedonian than the Ptolemies; strikingly, the main adversary

¹⁸⁸ See *supra*, n. 40.

¹⁸⁹ Plut. *De Alex. fort.* I 5, 328c-329a: ἄλλ' Ἀλεξάνδρου τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐξημεροῦντος Ὅμηρος ἦν ἀνάγνωσμα, Περσῶν καὶ Σουσιανῶν καὶ Γεδρωσίων παῖδες τὰς Εὐριπίδου καὶ Σοφοκλέους τραγωδίας ἤδον («when Alexander civilized Asia, Homer was the reading and the children of the Persians, Susians, Gedrosians, sang the tragedies of Euripides and Sophocles»; transl. by Babbitt 1936).

¹⁹⁰ The same claim was made by the Egyptians some centuries before, see some lines from the New Kingdom instruction to a scribe: «One teaches the Nubian to speak Egyptian, the Syrian and other strangers too» (quoted by Thompson 1992, 44-45, from Lichtheim 1976, 144).

¹⁹¹ Sancisi-Weerdenburg 2001, 335: «In contrast to the Romans, the Persians never fully developed an ideological system that might have created empire-wide internal coherence [...]. Conquest was made by ethnic (or political) units: king engaged in battle against king, and the winner took it all».

of Ptolemy II, who styled him as the «philo-Persian king», Antiochus I, appears at the same time as the most Hellenic (as defeater of the Galatians) and the most Babylonian (as half-Bactrian by birth and perfectly integrated into the Babylonian templar system) of the Seleucid rulers. His successful adoption of Apollo as *archegetes* of the Seleucid dynasty overstepped any Ptolemaic claim over this god. The combination of philhellenism and defeat of the Galatians, started by Antiochus I and imitated by the Attalids, was still a vivid memory when Antiochus I of Commagene had inscribed on his the temple of Nemrud Dag (1st BC) a threat against potential violators of the royal site, recalling the power of Delphi, ἔνθα παρνασιούς πέτ[ρ]αῖς ὁμογενεῖ φύσει Γαλατικὰς τείσει[ε]ν δίκας¹⁹². The role of Seleucid kings in Hellenizing the East was discreet and not systematic, yet their influence lasted at least four or five centuries, and produced some marvellous fruits, like the art of Gandhara. Today, only scanty remainders survive of that enterprise: curiously, a Macedonian symbol survives in what was the most remote region of their empire, the *pakul*, the typical Afghan and Pakistani hat, heir of the Macedonian *kausia*¹⁹³. The last poetic resurgence of the dream of Alexander in the 20th century AD comes not from the ex-Seleucid territories, but, again, from Alexandria, so once more the Ptolemies had the last word over their rivals as keepers of the Hellenic culture. The last of the great Alexandrian *poetae docti*, Konstantinos Kavafis, probably for the first time in history after the death of the Macedonian conqueror, names in one breath as «we», with a healthy pinch of irony and one of nostalgic pride, the Greeks of Egypt, Syria, Media, Persia and «all the rest»:

Στα 200 π.Χ. (1931)

[.....]

Κι απ' την θανμάσια πανελλήνιαν εκστρατεία,
την νικηφόρα, την περίλαμπρη,
την περιλάλητη, την δοξασμένη
ως άλλη δεν δοξάσθηκε καμιά,
την απaráμιλλη: βγήκαμ' εμείς·
ελληνικός καινούριος κόσμος, μέγας.

Εμείς· οι Αλεξανδρείς, οι Αντιοχείς,
οι Σελευκεῖς, κ' οι πολυάριθμοι
επίλοιποι Ἑλληνας Αἰγύπτου και Συρίας,

¹⁹² See Waldmann 1973, 59-80, 71 (Np), ll. 37-40; Petzl 1976, 372; Smith 1989, 102-104; Versluys forthcoming. On the Hellenistic culture in Commagene see Schmitt-Pantel 1992, 465-466; Sherwin-White - Kuhrt 1993, 118; on the sanctuary, see Musti 1982, 196-197 (inscription).

¹⁹³ Survived through the Bactrian kings, see Kingsley 1981; Kingsley 1984; Fredricksmeyer 1986; Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 1993.

κ' οι εν Μηδία, κ' οι εν Περσίδι, κι όσοι άλλοι.
Με τες εκτεταμένες επικράτειες,
με την ποικίλη δράσι των στοχαστικών προσαρμογών.
Και την Κοινήν Ελληνική Λαλιά
ως μέσα στην Βακτριανή την πήγαμε, ως τους Ινδούς.
[.....]

In 200 B.C. (1931)

[.....]

And from this marvelous pan-Hellenic expedition,
triumphant, brilliant in every way,
celebrated on all sides, glorified
as no other has ever been glorified,
incomparable, we emerged:
the great new Hellenic world.

We the Alexandrians, the Antiochians,
the Seleukians, and the countless
other Greeks of Egypt and Syria,
and those in Media, and Persia, and all the rest:
with our far-flung supremacy,
our flexible policy of judicious integration,
and our Common Greek Language
which we carried as far as Bactria, as far as the Indians.¹⁹⁴
[.....]

SILVIA BARBANTANI

Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore - Milano

silvia.barbantani@unicatt.it

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbreviations

- FGE D.L. Page, *Further Greek Epigrams. Epigrams before A.D. 50 from the Greek Anthology and Other Sources not Included in «Hellenistic Anthology» or «Garland of Philip»*, Cambridge 1981.
- GDRK E. Heitsch, *Die griechischen Dichterfragmente der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Kl. 3. Folge N. 49, Bd. I 1961; I² veränderte Auflage 1963; N. 58 Bd. II, 1964), Göttingen 1961-1964.

¹⁹⁴ Transl. by E. Keeley and P. Sherrard, in Savidis 1992.

- HE A.S.F. Gow - D.L. Page, *The Greek Anthology. Hellenistic Epigrams*, I-II, Cambridge 1965.
- PMG D.L. Page, *Poetae Melici Graeci*, Oxford 1962.
- SGO R. Merkelbach - J. Stauber, *Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten*, I-V, Leipzig 1998-2010.
- SH H. Lloyd-Jones - P. Parsons (eds.), *Supplementum Hellenisticum*, Berolini - Nova Eboraci 1983.
- SSH H. Lloyd-Jones, *Supplementum Supplementi Hellenistici*, Berolini - Nova Eboraci 2005.
-
- Acosta-Hughes - Stephens 2013 B. Acosta-Hughes - S. Stephens, *Callimachus in Context: From Plato to the Augustan Poets*, Cambridge - New York 2013.
- Agosta 2009 G. Agosta, *Ricerche sui Cynegetica di Oppiano*, Amsterdam 2009.
- Allen 1912 T.W. Allen, *Homeri opera*, V, Oxford 1912 (repr. 1969).
- Altheim - Rehork 1969 F. Altheim - J. Rehork, *Das Hellenismus in Mittelasien*, Darmstadt 1969.
- Andrade 2013 N.J. Andrade, *Syrian Identity in the Greco-Roman World*, Cambridge 2013.
- Assmann 2001 J. Assmann, Sapienza e mistero. L'immagine greca della cultura egiziana, in S. Settis (a cura di), *I Greci. Storia cultura arte società. I Greci oltre la Grecia*, III, Torino 2001, 401-469.
- Austin 1999 M. Austin, Krieg und Kultur im Seleukidenreich, in K. Brodersen (hrsg.), *Zwischen West und Ost*, Hamburg 1999.
- Babbitt 1936 F.C. Babbitt (ed.), *Plutarch, Moralia*, IV, Harvard 1936.
- Bagnall 2002 R.S. Bagnall, Alexandria: Library of Dreams, *PAPhS* 146, 4 (2002), 348-362.
- Balty 2003a J.-C. Balty, À la recherche de l'Apamée hellénistique: les sources antiques, in M. Sartre (éd.), *La Syrie hellénistique, Actes du colloque de Tours du 4-6 octobre 2000* (Topoi Suppl. 4), Lyon 2003, 211-222.
- Balty 2003b J.-C. Balty, À la recherche de l'Apamée hellénistique: les témoignages archéologiques, in M. Sartre (éd.), *La Syrie hellénistique. Actes du colloque de Tours du 4-6 octobre 2000* (Topoi Suppl. 4), Lyon 2003, 223-252.
- Balty 2004 J.-C. Balty, Antioche, centre d'art sous Séleucos I Nicator, in B. Cabouret - P.-L. Gatier - C. Saliou (éds.), *Antioche de Syrie. Histoire, images et traces de la ville antique* (Topoi Suppl. 5), Lyon 2004, 11-19.
- Barbantani 2001 S. Barbantani, *Φάτις νικηφόρος. Frammenti di elegia encomiastica nell'età delle guerre galatiche: Supplementum Hellenisticum 958 e 969*, Milano 2001.

- Barbantani 2002-2003 S. Barbantani, Callimachus and the Contemporary Historical «Epic», *Hermathena* 173-174 (2002-2003), 25-43.
- Barbantani 2005 S. Barbantani, Goddess of Love and Mistress of the Sea. Notes on a Hellenistic Hymn to Arsinoe-Aphrodite (P.Lit. Goodsp. 2, I-IV), *Ancient Society* 35 (2005), 133-163.
- Barbantani 2007 S. Barbantani, The Glory of the Spear. A Powerful Symbol in Hellenistic Poetry and Art. The Case of Neoptolemus «of Tlos» (and Other Ptolemaic Epigrams), *SCO* 53 (2007), 67-138.
- Barbantani 2008 S. Barbantani, Some remarks on P.Goodspeed 101 and on the Orthography of the «Ptolemaic Hymns» P.Lit.Goodspeed, in E. Cingano - L. Milano (eds.), *Papers on Ancient Literatures: Greece, Rome and the Near East*, Proceedings of the Venice International University Advanced Seminar in Humanities, 2004-2005 (Quaderni del Dipartimento di Scienze dell'Antichità e del Vicino Oriente 4), Venezia - Padova 2008, 1-32.
- Barbantani 2011 S. Barbantani, Callimachus on Kings and Kingship, in B. Acosta-Hughes - L. Lehnus - S. Stephens (eds.), *The Brill Companion to Callimachus*, Leiden 2011, 178-200.
- Barbantani 2012 S. Barbantani, Hellenistic Epinician, in C. Carey - R. Rawles - P. Agocs (eds.), *Receiving the Komos: Ancient and Modern Reception of the Victory Ode* (Supplement Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies 112), London 2012, 37-55.
- Barbantani 2014a S. Barbantani, «Déjà la pierre pense où votre nom s'inscrit». Identity in Context in Verse Epitaphs for Hellenistic Soldiers, in R. Hunter - A. Rengakos - E. Sistakou (eds.), *Hellenistic Studies at a Crossroads. Exploring Texts, Contexts and Metatexts* (Trends in Classics Suppl. 25), Berlin - New York 2014, 305-338.
- Barbantani 2014b S. Barbantani, Mother of snakes and kings. Apollonius Rhodius' Foundation of Alexandria, *Histos* 8 (2014), 209-245.
- Barbantani forthcoming S. Barbantani, Apollonius Rhodios, Ktiseis (11), in D. Engels - S. Schorn (eds.), *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, IV C, part 2, Leiden forthcoming.
- Barigazzi 1952 A. Barigazzi, Nuovi frammenti di Euforione. Tibi Grynei nemoris dicatur origo, *SIFC* 26 (1952), 149-168.
- Barigazzi 1974 A. Barigazzi, Un frammento dell'«Inno a Pan» di Arato, *RbM* 117 (1974), 221-246.
- Bar-Kochva 1973 B. Bar-Kochva, On the Sources and Chronology of Antiochus I's Battle Against the Galatians, *PCPhS* 199 (1973), 1-8.
- Barth 1969 F. Barth (ed.), *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*, Boston 1969.
- Bartley 2003 A.N. Bartley, *Stories from the Mountains, Stories from the Sea: The Digressions and Similes of Oppian's Halieutica and the Cynegetica*, Göttingen 2003.

- Bearzot 1984 C. Bearzot, Il santuario di Apollo Didimeo e la spedizione di Seleuco I a Babilonia (312 a.C.), in M. Sordi (a cura di), *I santuari e la guerra nel mondo classico* (CISA 10), Milano 1984, 51-81.
- Bearzot 1992 C. Bearzot, Ptolemaios Makedon. Sentimento nazionale macedone e contrapposizioni etniche all'inizio del regno tolemaico, in M. Sordi (a cura di), *Autocoscienza e rappresentazione dei popoli nell'antichità* (CISA 18), Milano 1992, 39-53.
- Bernand 1970 A. Bernand, *Le Delta égyptien d'après les textes grecs. Les confins lybiques*, III (MIFAO), Le Caire 1970.
- Bernand 1990 P. Bernard, Nouvelle contribution de l'épigraphie cunéiforme à l'histoire hellénistique, *BCH* 114 (1990), 513-541.
- Bernand 1995 P. Bernard, Une légende de fondation hellénistique: Apamée sur l'Oronte d'après les «Cynégetiques» du Pseudo-Oppien, *Topoi* 5 (1995), 353-382.
- Bernard *et al.* 2004 P. Bernard - G-J. Pinault - G. Rougemont, Deux nouvelles inscriptions grecques de l'Asie Centrale, *JS* (2004), 327-356.
- Beyer-Rotthoff 1993 B. Beyer-Rotthoff, *Untersuchungen zur Außenpolitik Ptolemaios III.* (Habelts Dissertationsdrucke - Reihe alte Geschichte 37), Bonn 1993.
- Bickerman 1985 E.J. Bickerman, The Seleucids and the Achaemenids, in *La Persia e il mondo greco-romano. Atti del Convegno, Roma 11-14 aprile 1965* (Problemi attuali di Scienza e Cultura 76), Roma 1966, 87-117; rist. in E. Gabba - M. Smith (eds.), *Religions and Politics in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods* (Biblioteca di Athenaeum 5), Como 1985, 491-521.
- Bing 1988 P. Bing, *The Well-Read Muse. Present and Past in Callimachus and the Hellenistic Poets* (Hypomnemata 90), Göttingen 1988.
- Bingen 1999a J. Bingen, Cleopatre VII Philopatris, *CE* 74 (1999), 118-123.
- Bingen 1999b J. Bingen, La politique dynastique de Cléopâtre VII, *CRAI* (1999), 49-66.
- Bingen 2007 J. Bingen, PSA Athen. 9 + 13 et le diecète Dioskuridès, *CE* 82 (2007), 207-217.
- Black - Sherwin-White 1984 J.A. Black - S.M. Sherwin-White, A Clay Tablet with Greek Letters in the Ashmolean Museum and the Greco-Babyloniaca, *Iraq* 46, 2 (1984), 131-140.
- Boiy 2004 T. Boiy, *Late Achaemenid and Hellenistic Babylon*, Leuven 2004.
- Boucharlat 1997 R. Boucharlat, Camp royal et résidences achéménides, in P. Briant - M.F. Boussac (éds.), *Recherches récentes sur l'Empire achéménide* (Topoi Suppl. 1), Lyon 1997, 217-223.
- Bousdroukis 2003 A. Bousdroukis, Les noms des colonies séleucides au Proche-Orient, in M. Sartre (éd.), *La Syrie hellénistique. Actes du col-*

- loque de Tours du 4-6 octobre 2000* (Topoi Suppl. 4), Lyon 2003, 9-24.
- Bowie 1990 E. Bowie, Greek Poetry in the Antonine Age, in D.A. Russell (ed.), *Antonine Literature*, Oxford, 1990, 53-90.
- Bresciani 1978 E. Bresciani, La spedizione di Tolomeo II in Siria in un ostrakon demotico inedito da Karnak, in H. Maehler - V.M. Strocka (hrgg.), *Das Ptolemäische Ägypten. Akten des Internationalen Symposions 27.-29. Sept. 1976 in Berlin*, Mainz am Rhein 1978, 31-37.
- Bresciani 1981 E. Bresciani, La morte di Cambise ovvero dell'empietà punita: a proposito della «Cronaca demotica», verso, col. C, 7-8, *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 4 (1981), 217-222.
- Briant 1994 P. Briant, Sources gréco-hellénistiques, institutions perses et institutions macédoniennes: continuités, changements et bricolage, *AchHist* 7 (1994), 283-310.
- Broggiato 2001 M. Broggiato, *Cratete di Mallo. I frammenti*, Edizione, introduzione e note (Pleiadi: Studi sulla letteratura antica 2), La Spezia 2001.
- Brugsch - Erman 1894 H. Brugsch - A. Erman, Die Pithomstele, eine hinterlassene Arbeit, *ZÄS* 32 (1894), 74-87.
- Brumbaugh forthcoming M. Brumbaugh, Kallimachos and the Euphrates: Trashing the Seleukid «Nile», in *APA Annual meeting 2012*, forthcoming.
- Burstein 2005 S. Burstein, The Legacy of Alexander: New Ways of Being Greek in the Hellenistic Period, in W. Heckle - L.A. Trittle (eds.), *Crossroads of History: The Age of Alexander*, Claremont (CA) 2005, 217-241.
- Burstein 2008 S. Burstein, *Greek Identity in the Hellenistic Age*, in K. Zacharia (ed.), *Hellenisms: Culture, Identity, and Ethnicity from Antiquity to Modernity*, Aldershot 2008, 59-78.
- Callataÿ - Lorber 2011 F. Callataÿ - C.C. Lorber, The Pattern of Royal Epithets on Hellenistic Coinages, in P.P. Iossif - A.S. Chankowski - C.C. Lorber (eds.), *More than Men, Less than Gods. Studies in Royal Cult and Imperial Worship. Proceedings of the International Colloquium Organized by the Belgian School at Athens (1-2 November 2007)*, Leuven 2011, 417-455.
- Cameron 1972 A. Cameron, Callimachus on Aratus' sleepless nights, *CR* 22 (1972), 169-170.
- Cameron 1995 A. Cameron, *Callimachus and His Critics*, Princeton (NJ) 1995.
- Capdetrey 2007 L. Capdetrey, Séleucos, satrape d'Akkad. Réflexions sur l'origine du pouvoir séleucide, in P. Brun (éd.), *Scripta Anatolica. Hommages à Pierre Debord*, Bordeaux 2007, 193-214.
- Carney 2005 E.D. Carney, Elite, Education and High Culture in Macedonia, in W. Heckle - L.A. Trittle (eds.), *Crossroads of History: The Age of Alexander*, Claremont (CA) 2005, 47-64.

- Casson 1981 L. Casson, The Location of Adulis (Periplus maris Erythraei 4), in L. Casson - M. Price (eds.), *Coins. Culture and History in the Ancient World. Numismatic and other Studies in Honor of B.L. Trell*, Detroit 1981, 113-122.
- Casson 1989 L. Casson, *The Periplus maris Erythraei*, Text with introduction, translation and commentary, Princeton (NJ) 1989.
- Cazzaniga 1972 I. Cazzaniga, L'Inno di Nicandro ad Attalo I (fr. 140): esegesi e problematica, *PP* 27 (1972), 369-396.
- Chaniotis 1997 A. Chaniotis, Theatricality beyond the Theater. Staging Public Life in the Hellenistic World, *Pallas* 47 (1997): *De la scène aux gradins*, éd. par B. Le Guen, 219-259.
- Chaniotis 2005 A. Chaniotis, *War in the Hellenistic World*, Oxford 2005.
- Chaniotis 2011 A. Chaniotis, The Ithyphallic Hymn for Demetrios Poliorcetes and Hellenistic Religious Mentality, in P.P.Iossif - A.S. Chankowski - C.C. Lorber (eds.), *More than Men, Less than Gods. Studies in Royal Cult and Imperial Worship. Proceedings of the International Colloquium Organized by the Belgian School at Athens (1-2 November 2007)*, Leuven 2011, 157-195.
- Charbonneau 1953 J. Charbonneau, Portraits Ptolémaïques au Musée du Louvre, *MMAI* 47 (1953), 99-129.
- Clancier 2005 P. Clancier, Les scribes sur parchemin du temple d'Anu, *Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale* 99 (2005), 85-104.
- Clancier 2007 P. Clancier, La Babylonie Hellénistique: aperçu d'histoire politique et culturelle, *Topoi* 15, 1 (2007), 21-74.
- Clarysse 1985 W. Clarysse, Greek and Egyptians in the Ptolemaic Army and Administration, *Aegyptus* 65 (1985), 57-66.
- Clermont-Ganneau 1897 C. Clermont-Ganneau, Nouvelles inscriptions grecques et romaines de Syrie, *Études d'archéologie orientale* 2 (1897), 143-146.
- Cohen 2006 G.M. Cohen, *The Hellenistic Settlements in Syria, the Red Sea Basin, and North Africa*, Berkeley 2006.
- Collombert 2000 P. Collombert, Religion égyptienne et culture grecque: L'exemple de Διοσκουρίδης, *CE* 75 (2000), 47-63.
- Collombert 2008 P. Collombert, La «stèle de Saï» et l'instauration du culte d'Arsinoé II dans la chôra, *AncSoc* 38 (2008), 83-101.
- Coşkun 2012 A. Coşkun, Deconstructing a Myth of Seleucid History: The So-Called «Elephant Victory» over the Galatians Revisited, *Phoenix* 66, 1-2 (2012), 57-73.
- Coşkun forthcoming A. Coşkun, *The Soter Cults of Seleucus I and Antiochus I Preceding the So-Called Elephant Victory of ca. 275 BC.*, forthcoming in *Acts of Seleucid Study Day I*, Centre for Hellenistic and Romano-Greek Culture and Society, University of Exeter, Exeter, 15 August 2011.

- Cribiore 2001 R. Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind: Greek Education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt*, Princeton 2001.
- Cumont 1913 F. Cumont, *Catalogue des sculptures et inscriptions antiques (monuments lapidaires) des Musées royaux du cinquantenaire*, Bruxelles 1913.
- D'Alessio 2007⁴ G.B. D'Alessio (a cura di), *Callimaco: Inni; Epigrammi; Ecclie; Aitia; Giambi e altri frammenti*, I-II, Milano 2007⁴.
- Debord 2003 P. Debord, Le culte royal chez les Séleucides, in F. Prost (éd.), *L'Orient Méditerranée de la mort d'Alexandre aux campagnes de Pompée* (Pallas 62), Toulouse 2003, 281-308.
- Del Monte 1997 G. Del Monte, *Testi della Babilonia Ellenistica*, Pisa - Roma 1997.
- Del Monte 2001 G. Del Monte, Da «barbari» a «re di Babilonia»: i Greci in Mesopotamia, in S. Settis (a cura di), *I Greci. Storia cultura arte società. I Greci oltre la Grecia*, Torino 2001, 137-166.
- de Meulenaere 1963 H. de Meulenaere, La famille royale des Nectanébo, *ZÄS* 90 (1963), 90-93.
- Ebert 1986 J. Ebert, Das Literaten-Epigramm aus Halikarnass, *Philologus* 130 (1986), 37-43, tav. xiii.
- Ehling 2002 K. Ehling, Gelehrte Freunde der Seleukidenkönige, in A. Goltz - A. Luther - H. Schlange-Schöningen (hrsgg.), *Gelebte in der Antike. Alexander Demandt zum 65. Geburtstag*, Köln 2002, 41-58.
- Engberg-Pedersen 1993 T. Engberg-Pedersen, *The Relationship between Intellectual and Political Centres in the Hellenistic World*, in P. Bilde - T. Engberg-Pedersen - L. Hannestad - J. Zahle (eds.), *Centre and Periphery in the Hellenistic World*, Aarhus 1993, 285-315.
- Engelmann - Merkelbach 1972 H. Engelmann - R. Merkelbach, *Die Inschriften von Erythrai und Klazomenai*, I, Bonn 1972.
- Engels forthcoming D. Engels, The Achaemenid and the Seleucid Courts: Structural Continuities, Personal Changes, in A. Erskine - L. Llewellyn Jones - S. Wallace (eds.), *The Hellenistic Court. Acts of the conference 25th-27th February 2011*, Swansea forthcoming
- Erskine 1995 A. Erskine, Culture and Power in Ptolemaic Egypt: the Library and Museum at Alexandria, *Greece & Rome* 42 (1995), 38-48.
- Esdaille 1912 K.A. Esdaille, An essay towards the classification of Homeric coin types, *JHS* 32 (1912), 298-325.
- Farnoux 2007 A. Farnoux, *Homère d'Alexandrie*, in S. Basch - J.-Y. Empeur (éds.), *Alexandria ad Europam*, Le Caire 2007 (= *Études alexandrines* 14), 5-13.
- Fauvelle-Aymar 2009 F.-X. Fauvelle-Aymar, Les inscriptions d'Adoulis (Érythrée). Fragments d'un royaume d'influence hellénistique et gréco-

- romaine sur la côte africaine de la mer Rouge, *BIFAO* 109 (2009), 135-160.
- Foerster - Tsafrir 1986-1987 G. Foerster - Y. Tsafrir, Nysa-Scythopolis. A New Inscription and the Titles of the City on Its Coins, *Israel Numismatic Journal* 9 (1986-1987), 53-58.
- Fowler - Fowler 1905 H. W. Fowler - F. G. Fowler, *The Works of Lucian of Samosata*, II, Oxford 1905.
- Fowler 1991 R.L. Fowler, Arrian the Epic Poet, *JHS* 11 (1991), 211-217.
- Foxhall *et al.* 2010 L. Foxhall - H.-J. Gehrke - N. Luraghi (eds.), *Intentional History. Spinning Time in Ancient Greece*, Stuttgart 2010.
- Fredricksmeier 1986 E.A. Fredricksmeier, Alexander the Great and the Macedonian Kausia, *TAPA* 116 (1986), 215-227.
- Funk 1997 B. Funk, «König Perserfreund». Die Seleukiden in der Sicht ihrer Nachbarn (Beobachtungen zu einigen ptolemäischen Zeugnissen des 4. und 3. S.v.Chr.), in B. Funk (hrsg.), *Hellenismus: Beiträge zur Erforschung von Akkulturation und Politischer Ordnung in den Staaten des hellenistischen Zeitalters: Akten des internationalen Hellenismus-Kolloquiums 9.-14. März 1994 in Berlin*, Tübingen 1997, 195-215.
- Furley - Bremer 2001 W.D. Furley - J.M. Bremer, *Greek Hymns: The Texts in Translation*, I, *Greek Hymns: Greek Texts and Commentary*, II, Tübingen 2001.
- Gärtner 2007 T. Gärtner, Zur Deutung des kallimacheischen Epigramms über die Phainomena des Arat, *AC* 76 (2007), 157-162.
- Garulli 2012 V. Garulli, *Byblos lainee. Epigrafia, letteratura, epitafo*, Bologna 2012.
- Gautier 2006 P. Gautier, Les décrets de Colophon sur mer en l'honneur des Attalides Athénaïos et Philetairos, *REG* 119 (2006), 474-503.
- Gehrke 1994 H.-J. Gehrke, Mythos, Geschichte, Politik – Antik und modern, *Saeculum* 45 (1994), 239-64.
- Gehrke 2001 H.-J. Gehrke, Myth, History, and Collective Identity. Uses of the Past in Ancient Greece and Beyond, in N. Luraghi (ed.), *The Historian's Craft in the Age of Herodotus*, Oxford 2001, 286-313.
- Geiger 2002 J. Geiger, Language, Culture and Identity in Ancient Palestine, in E.N. Ostenfeld (ed.), *Greek Romans and Roman Greeks. Studies in Cultural Interaction*, Aarhus 2002, 233-246.
- Goudriaan 1988 K. Goudriaan, *Ethnicity in Ptolemaic Egypt* (Dutch monographs on ancient history and archaeology 5), Amsterdam 1988.
- Goudriaan 1992 K. Goudriaan, *Ethnic strategies in Graeco-Roman Egypt*, in P. Bilde - T. Engberg-Pedersen - L. Hannestad - J. Zahle (eds.), *Ethnicity in Hellenistic Egypt*, Aarhus 1992, 74-99.

- Goukowsky 2002 P. Goukowsky, Sur une épigramme de Thespies, in J. Dion (éd.), *L'épigramme de l'Antiquité au XVII^e siècle ou Du ciseau à la pointe*, Paris 2002, 217-246.
- Gow 1950 A.S.F. Gow, *Theocritus*, Edited with a translation and commentary, I-II, Cambridge 1950.
- Grainger 1990 J.D. Grainger, *The «Cities of Seleukid Syria»*, Oxford 1990.
- Grainger 2010 J.D. Grainger, *The Syrian Wars* (Mnemosyne Suppl. 320), Leiden - Boston 2010.
- Granatelli 1991 R. Granatelli (ed.), *Apollodori Pergamensi ac Theodori Gadarei testimonia et fragmenta*, Roma 1991.
- Grayson 1975 A.K. Grayson, *Babylonian Historical-literary Texts*, Toronto 1975, 24-37.
- Griffiths 1979 F.T. Griffiths, *Theocritus at Court* (Mnemosyne Suppl. 55), Lugduni Batavorum 1979.
- Gruen 1996 E. Gruen, Hellenistic Kingship: Puzzles, Problems, and Possibilities, in P. Bilde - T. Engberg-Pedersen - L. Hannestad - J. Zahle (eds.), *Aspects of Hellenistic Kingship*, Aarhus 1996, 116-125.
- Gruen forthcoming E. Gruen, Hellenistic Court Patronage and the Non-Greek World, in A. Erskine - L. Llewellyn Jones (eds.), *The Hellenistic Court. Acts of the conference 25th-27th February 2011*, Edinburgh forthcoming.
- Grzybek 1990 E. Grzybek, *Du calendrier macédonien au calendrier ptolémaïque. Problèmes de chronologie hellénistique*, Basel 1990.
- Gulik 1928 C.B. Gulik (ed.), *Athenaeus. The Deipnosophists*, II, London 1928.
- Habicht 1989 C. Habicht, Athen und die Seleukiden, *Chiron* 19 (1989) 7-26.
- Hauben 1991 H. Hauben, L'expédition de Ptolémée III en Orient et la sédition domestique de 245 av. J.-C. Quelques mises au point, *APF* 39 (1991), 29-37.
- Haubold 2013 J. Haubold, *Greece and Mesopotamia: Dialogues in Literature*, Cambridge 2013.
- Haubold - Lanfranchi - Rollinger - Steele 2013 J. Haubold - G. Lanfranchi - R. Rollinger - J. Steele (eds.), *The World of Berossos*, Wiesbaden 2013.
- Hazard 2000 R.A. Hazard, *Imagination of a Monarchy. Studies in Ptolemaic Propaganda* (Phoenix Suppl. 37), Toronto 2000.
- Heerink 2010 M. Heerink, Merging Paradigms: Translating Pharaonic Ideology in Theocritus' «Idyll» 17, in R. Rollinger - M. Lang - B. Gufler - I. Madreiter (hrsgg.), *Interkulturalität in der Alten Welt: Vorderasien, Hellas, Ägypten und die vielfältigen Ebenen des Kontakts*, Wiesbaden 2010, 383-408.
- Heinen 1978 H. Heinen, Aspects et problèmes de la monarchie ptolémaïque, *Ktema* 3 (1978), 177-199.

- Heinen 1984 H. Heinen, The Syrian-Egyptian Wars and the New Kingdoms in Asia Minor, in F.W. Walbank - A.E. Astin - M.W. Frederiksen - R.M. Ogilvie (eds.), *Cambridge Ancient History* (2nd ed.), VII, part 1, *The Hellenistic World*, Cambridge 1984, 412-445.
- Held 2002 W. Held, Die Residenzstädte der Seleukiden. Babylon, Seleukia am Tigris, Ai Khanoum, Seleukia in Pieria, Antiocheia am Orontes, *JdI* 117 (2002), 217-249.
- Herring 2009 E. Herring, Ethnicity and culture, in A. Erskine (ed.), *A Companion to Ancient History*, Oxford 2009, 123-133.
- Herz 1992 P. Herz, Die fruhen Ptolemäer bis 180 v.Chr., in R. Gundlach - H. Weber (hrsgg.), *Legitimation und Funktion des Herrschers vom ägyptischen Pharao zum neuzeitlichen Diktator*, Stuttgart 1992, 51-98.
- Heyman 1982 C. Heyman, Homer on Coins from Smyrna, in *Studia P. Naster oblata*, I, Leuven 1982, 162-173.
- Hölbl 2001 G. Hölbl, *A History of the Ptolemaic Empire*, London - New York 2001 (*Geschichte des Ptolemäerreiches*, Darmstadt 1994).
- Höschele 2013 R. Höschele, If I am from Syria, so what? Meleager's Cosmopoetics, in S. Ager - R. Faber. (eds.), *Belonging and Isolation in the Hellenistic World*, Toronto 2013, 19-32.
- Hollis 1994 S. Hollis, [Oppian.] Cyn. II 100-158 and the mythical past of Apamea on the Orontes, *ZPE* 102 (1994), 153-166.
- Hunter 1991 R.L. Hunter, Greek and non-Greek in the Argonautica of Apollonius, in S. Said (éd.), *Hellenismos. Quelques jalons pour une Histoire de l'identité grecque. Actes du Colloque de Strasbourg 25-27 octobre 1989*, Leiden - New York - København - Köln 1991, 81-99.
- Invernizzi 1993 A. Invernizzi, Seleucia on the Tigris: Centre and Periphery in Seleucid Asia, in P. Bilde - T. Engberg-Pedersen - L. Hannestad - J. Zahle (eds.), *Centre and Periphery in the Hellenistic World*, Aarhus 1993, 230-250.
- Iossif 2011a P.P. Iossif, *Apollo toxotes and the Seleukids, comme un air de famille*, in P.P. Iossif - A.S. Chankowski - C.C. Lorber (eds.), *More than Men, Less than Gods. Studies on Royal Cult and Imperial Worship* (Studia Hellenistica 51), Leuven - Paris - Dudley (MA) 2011, 229-291.
- Iossif 2011b P.P. Iossif, Seleucid Religion through Coins: Is it Possible to Quantify «Iconography» and «Religion»? , in F. de Callataj (ed.), *Quantifying Monetary Supplies in Greco-Roman Times*, Bari 2011, 213-246.
- Iossif 2011c P.P. Iossif, Imago mundi: expression et représentation de l'idéologie royale séleucide. La procession de Daphné, in E. Dabrowa (ed.), *New Studies on the Seleucids* (Electum 18), Krakow 2011, 125-157.

- Iossif 2012 P. Iossif, Les «cornes» des Séleucides: vers une divinisation «discrète», in F. Duyrat - A. Suspène (éds.), *Le Caractère du Prince. Actes du colloque organisé à Orléans, 15 octobre 2010* (CEA 49), Ottawa 2012, 45-150.
- Iossif - Lorber 2009 P.P. Iossif - C.C. Lorber, The Cult of Helios in the Seleucid East, *Topoi* 16, 1 (2009), 19-42.
- Isager 1998 S. Isager, The Pride of Halikarnassos, *ZPE* 123 (1998), 1-23.
- Istasse 2006 N. Istasse, Les experts «barbares» dans le monde politique séleucide, in J.-C. Couvenhes - B. Legras (éds.), *Transferts culturels et politique dans le monde hellénistique. Actes de la table ronde sur les identités collectives* (Sorbonne, 7 février 2004), Paris 2006, 53-80.
- Joannès 1997 F. Joannès, Le monde occidental vu de Mésopotamie, de l'époque néo-babylonienne à l'époque hellénistique, *Trans-euphrathène* 13 (1997), 141-153.
- Johnson 1995 C.G. Johnson, Ptolemy V and the Rosetta Decree: The Egyptianization of the Ptolemaic Kingship, *AncSoc* 26 (1995), 145-155.
- Jones 1978 C.P. Jones, Three Foreigners in Attica, *Phoenix* 32 (1978), 222-234.
- Jones 2011 C.P. Jones, Julius Nicanor Again, *ZPE* 178 (2011), 79-83.
- Jones 1997 S. Jones, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity. Constructing Identities in the Past and Present*, London - New York 1997.
- Jonkers 1948 E.J. Jonkers, Medoi, ta Medika, Medismos, in *Studia Varia Carolo Guilielmo Vollgraff a discipulis oblata*, Amsterdam 1948, 78-83.
- Katz 2008 J. T. Katz, Vergil Translates Aratus: Phaenomena 1-2 and Georgics 1, 1-2, *MD* 60 (2008), 105-123.
- Kim 2010 L. Kim, *Homer between History and Fiction in Imperial Greek Literature*, Cambridge 2010.
- Kosmin 2013 P. Kosmin, Seleucid ethnography and Indigenous Kingship: The Babylonian Education of Antiochus I, in J. Haubold - G. Lanfranchi - R. Rollinger - J. Steele (eds), *The World of Berossos*, Wiesbaden 2013, 199-212.
- Kuhrt 1996 A. Kuhrt, The Seleucid Kings and Babylonia: New perspectives on the Seleucid Realm in the East, in P. Bilde - T. Engberg-Pedersen - L. Hannestad - J. Zahle (eds.), *Aspects of Hellenistic Kingship*, Aarhus 1996, 41-54.
- Kuhrt 2002 A. Kuhrt, *Greeks' and «Greece» in Mesopotamian and Persian Perspectives* (The Twenty-First J.L. Myres Memorial Lecture), Oxford 2002.
- Kuhrt - Sherwin-White 1987 A. Kuhrt - S. Sherwin-White, *Hellenism in the East. The Interaction of Greek and non-Greek Civilizations from Syria to Central Asia After Alexander* (Hellenistic Culture and Society 2), Berkeley - Los Angeles 1987.

- Kuhr - Sherwin-White 1991 A. Kuhr - S. Sherwin-White, Aspects of Seleucid Royal Ideology: The Cylinder of Antiochus I from Borsippa, *JHS* 101 (1991), 71-86.
- Kingsley 1981 B.M. Kingsley, The Cap That Survived Alexander, *AJA* 85, 1 (1981), 39-46.
- Kingsley 1984 B.M. Kingsley, The Kausia Diadematophoros, *AJA* 88, 1 (1984), 66-68.
- Klotz 2009 D. Klotz, The Statue of the «dioiketes» Harchebi/Archibios. Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art 47-12, *BIFAO* 109 (2009), 281-310.
- Kyrieleis 1973 H. Kyrieleis, Καθάπερ Ἑρμῆς καὶ Ὀρος, *Antike Plastik* 12 (1973), 133-147.
- Kyrieleis 1975 H. Kyrieleis, *Bildnisse der Ptolemäer*, Berlin 1975.
- La'da 1994 C. La'da, One Stone: Two Messages (CG 50044), in A. Bülow-Jacobsen (ed.), *Proceedings of the 20th International Conference of Papyrologists, Copenhagen, 23-29 August 1992*, København 1994, 160-164.
- Landucci 2007 F. Landucci, Babilonia e i Diadochi di Alessandro: staticità asiatica e dinamismo macedone, in T. Gnoli - F. Muccioli (a cura di), *Atti del convegno di studi. Incontri tra culture nell'oriente ellenistico e romano, Ravenna 11-12 marzo 2005*, Milano 2007, 29-54.
- Laubscher 1985 H.P. Laubscher, Hellenistischer Herrscher und Pan, *MDAI(A)* 100 (1985), 333-353.
- Laubscher 1991 H.P. Laubscher, Ptolemäische Reiterbilder, *MDAI(A)* 106 (1991), 223-258.
- Laubscher 1992 H.P. Laubscher, Ein Ptolemäer als Hermes, in H. Froning (hrsg.), *Kotinos. Festschrift für Erika Simon*, Mainz am Rhein 1992, 317-322.
- Le Guen 2001 B. Le Guen, *Les Associations de Technites dionysiaques à l'époque hellénistique*, I-II, Nancy 2001.
- Le Guen 2003 B. Le Guen, Théâtre, cités et royaumes en Anatolie et au Proche-Orient de la mort d'Alexandre le Grand aux conquêtes de Pompée, in F. Prost (éd.), *L'Orient méditerranéen de la mort d'Alexandre aux campagnes de Pompée* (Pallas 62), Rennes 2003, 329-355.
- Le Guen 2010 B. Le Guen, Les fêtes du théâtre grec à l'époque hellénistique, *REG* 123 (2010), 495-520.
- Lehmann 1988 S. Lehmann, Ptolemaios III Euergetes-Hermes Enagonios als Pentathlos und Pancratiast: zur Bedeutung zweier Alexandrinischer Bronzstatuetten in Stuttgart, in K. Schwantler-A. Bernard-Walcher (hrsgg.), *Griechischen und römischen Statuetten und Grossbronzen. Akten der 9. Internationale Tagung über antiken Bronzen, Wien 21-25 April 1986*, Wien 1988, 290-301.

- Lehnus 1995 L. Lehnus, Riflessioni cronologiche sull'ultimo Callimaco, *ZPE* 105 (1995) 6-12.
- Leriche 2003 P. Leriche, Doura-Europos hellénistique, in M. Sartre (éd.), *La Syrie hellénistique. Actes du colloque de Tours du 4-6 octobre 2000* (Topoi Suppl. 4), Lyon 2003, 171-191.
- Le Rider 1999 G. Le Rider, Séleucos I entre Séleucie de Piérie et Antioche, *RBN* 145 (1999), 115-139.
- Lewis 1992 A.-M. Lewis, The Popularity of the «Phaenomena» of Aratus: A Reevaluation, in C. Deroux (ed.), *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History*, VI, Bruxelles 1992, 94-118.
- Lichtheim 1976 M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature, II: The New Kingdom*, Berkeley - London 1976.
- Lightfoot 2009 J.L. Lightfoot, *Hellenistic Collection. Philitas, Alexander of Aetolia, Hermesianax, Euphorion, Parthenius*, Cambridge (MA) - London 2009.
- Lorton 1971 D. Lorton, The Supposed Expedition of Ptolemy II to Persia, *JEA* 57 (1971), 160-164.
- Ludwig 1975 W. Ludwig, Kallimachos und die «Phainomena» Arats als hellenistische Dichtung, in A.D. Skiadas (hrsg.), *Kallimachos* (Wege der Forschung 296), Darmstadt 1975, 301-307.
- Ma 1999 J. Ma, *Antiochus III and the Cities of Western Asia Minor*, Oxford 1999.
- Ma 2003 J. Ma, Kings, in A. Erskine (ed.), *A Companion to the Hellenistic World*, Oxford 2003, 177-195.
- Ma 2004 J. Ma, Une culture militaire en Asie Mineure hellénistique?, in J.C. Couvenhes - H.L. Fernoux (éds.), *Les cités grecques et la guerre en Asie Mineure à l'époque hellénistique*, Tours 2004, 199-220.
- Maehler 2003 H. Maehler, Alessandria, il Museo, e la questione dell'identità culturale, *Atti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei* 14 (2003), 99-120.
- Magnelli 2002 E. Magnelli, *Studi su Euforione*, Roma 2002.
- Mair 1928 A.W. Mair (ed.), *Oppian, Colluthus, Tryphiodorus*, Cambridge (MA) - London 1928.
- Mairs 2008 R. Mairs, Greek Identity and the Settler Community in Hellenistic Bactria and Arachosia, *Migrations and Identities* 1 (2008), 19-43.
- Mairs 2011a R. Mairs, Bilingualism; Hellenization, in R.S. Bagnall - K. Brodersen - C.B. Champion - A. Erskine - S.R. Huebner (eds.), *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History*, Malden (MA) - Oxford 2011.
- Mairs 2011b R. Mairs, Acrostich Inscriptions at Kalabsha (Roman Talmis): Cultural Identities and Literary Games, *CE* 86 (2011), 251-267.

- Mairs 2012 R. Mairs, Hellenization, in R.S. Bagnall - K. Brodersen - C.B. Champion - A. Erskine - S. R. Huebner (eds.), *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History*, Malden (MA) - Oxford 2012.
- Mairs forthcoming R. Mairs, Intersecting Identities in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt, in R.J. Dann - K. Exell (eds.), *Approaching Ancient Egypt*, New York forthcoming.
- Martin 1974 J. Martin, *Scholia in Aratum vetera*, Stuttgart 1974.
- Massar 2004 N. Massar, Le rôle des richesses dans les relations entre le souverain, la «maison du roi» et les savants de cour. État des lieux, in V. Chankowski - F. Duyrat (éds.), *Le roi et l'économie, Autonomies locales et structures royales dans l'Économie de l'Empire Séleucide. Actes des rencontres de Lille (23 juin 2003) et d'Orléans (29-30 janvier 2004)* (Topoi Suppl. 6), Lyon 2004, 189-211.
- Mastrocinque 1987 A. Mastrocinque, *Manipolazione della storia in età ellenistica. I Seleucidi e Roma*, Roma 1987.
- Matteuzzi 2000-2002 M. Matteuzzi, A proposito di Omero «babilonese» (Lucian. V.H. II 20), *Sandalion* 23-25 (2000-2002), 49-51.
- Meeks 2002 D. Meeks, Coptos et les chemins du Pount, in *Autour de Coptos. Actes du colloque organisé au Musée de Beaux-Arts de Lyon (17-18 mars 2000)* (Topoi Suppl. 3), Lyon 2002, 267-335.
- Meliadò 2008 C. Meliadò, *E cantando danzerò. PLitGoodspeed 2*, Introduzione, testo critico, traduzione e commento, Messina 2008.
- Merkelbach - Stauber 2005 R. Merkelbach - J. Stauber, *Jenseits des Euphrat: griechische Inschriften. Ein epigraphisches Lesebuch.*, München - Leipzig 2005.
- Minas 1994 M. Minas, Die Pithom-Stele. Chronologische Bemerkungen zur frühen Ptolemäerzeit, in M. Minas - J. Zeidler (hrsgg.), *Aspekte Spätägyptischer Kultur. Festschrift für Erich Winter zum 65. Geburtstag* (Aegyptiaca Treverensia 7), Mainz 1994, 203-212.
- Mitchell 2007 S. Mitchell, The Persian Presence in the Religious Sanctuaries of Asia Minor, in E. Matthews (ed.), *Old and New Worlds in Greek Onomastics*, Oxford 2007, 151-169.
- Momigliano 1929 A. Momigliano, Un'ignota irruzione dei Galati in Siria al tempo di Antioco III?, *BFC* 36 (1929), 151-155.
- Mooren 1985 L. Mooren, The Ptolemaic Court System, *CE* 60 (1985): *Studia J. Bingen dicata*, 214-222.
- Moreno 1994 P. Moreno, *La scultura ellenistica*, Roma 1994.
- Mori 2008 A. Mori, *The Politics of Apollonius Rhodius' Argonautica*, Cambridge 2008.
- Moyer 2011 I.S. Moyer, *Egypt and the Limits of Hellenism*, Cambridge - New York 2011.

- Muccioli 2013 F. Muccioli, *Gli epiteti ufficiali dei re ellenistici* (Historia Einzelschriften 244), Stuttgart 2013.
- Musti 1984 D. Musti, Syria and the East, in F.W. Walbank - A.E. Astin - M.W. Frederiksen - R.M. Ogilvie (eds.), *Cambridge Ancient History* (2nd ed.), VII, part 1, *The Hellenistic World*, Cambridge 1984, 175-220.
- Musti 1982 D. Musti, Morte e culto del sovrano in ambito ellenistico (in particolare sulle tombe-santuario dei sovrani della Commagene), in G. Gnoli - J.-P. Vernant (éds.), *La mort, les morts dans les sociétés anciennes*, Cambridge - Paris 1982, 189-201.
- Narain 1989 A.K. Narain, The Greeks of Bactra and India, in A.E. Astin - F.W. Walbank - M.W. Frederiksen - R.M. Ogilvie (eds.), *Cambridge Ancient History* (2nd ed.), VIII, *Rome and the Mediterranean to 133 b.C.*, Cambridge 1989, 388-420.
- Negri 2000 M. Negri, L'ultima (?) parola sul presunto incontro tra Arato e Callimaco, *SCO* 47, 2 (2000), 495-498.
- Norlin 1980 G. Norlin (ed.), *Isocrates, with an English Translation in Three Volumes*, I, Cambridge (MA) 1980.
- Norman 2000 A.F. Norman, *Antioch as a centre of Hellenic Culture as Observed by Libanius*, Liverpool 2000.
- Ogden 2013 D. Ogden, The Birth Myths of Ptolemy Soter, in S.L. Ager - R.A. Faber (eds.), *Belonging and Isolation in the Hellenistic World* (Phoenix Suppl. 51), Toronto 2013, 184-198.
- Onasch 1976 C. Onasch, Zur Königsideologie der Ptolemäer in den Dekreten von Kanopus und Memphis (Rosettana), *APF* 24-25 (1976), 137-155.
- Østergård 1992 U. Østergård, What is National and Ethnic Identity?, in P. Bilde - T. Engberg-Pedersen - L. Hannestad - J. Zahle (eds.), *Ethnicity in Hellenistic Egypt*, Aarhus 1992, 16-38.
- O'Sullivan 2003 P. O'Sullivan, Victory Statue, Victory Song: Pindar's Agonic Poetics and Its Legacy, in D. Phillips - D. Pritchard (eds.), *Sport and Festival in the Ancient Greek World*, Swansea 2003, 75-100.
- Pack 1993 E. Pack, Antiochia: schema di uno spazio letterario semi-vuoto, in G. Cambiano - L. Canfora - D. Lanza (a cura di), *Lo spazio letterario della Grecia antica, La produzione e la circolazione del testo II, 2: L'Ellenismo*, Roma - Salerno 1993, 717-767.
- Page 1950² D.L. Page, *Select Papyri*, III, *Greek Literary Papyri*, I, *Poetry*, London 1950².
- Paton 1920 W.R. Paton, *The Greek Anthology*, I, London 1920.
- Pédech 1989 P. Pédech, *Trois historiens méconnus (Theopompe, Duris, Phylarque)* (Collection d'études anciennes 119), Paris 1989.
- Peek 1978 W. Peek, Zu griechischen Epigrammen, *ZPE* 31 (1978), 256-258.

- Peremans 1983 W. Peremans, Les Égyptiens dans l'armée de terre des Lagides, in H. Heinen (hrsg.), *Althistorische Studien H. Bengtson zum 70. Geburtstag dargebracht von Kollegen und Schülern*, Wiesbaden 1983, 92-102.
- Petrovic 2014 I. Petrovic, Posidippus' «Lithika» and Achaemenid Royal Propaganda, in R. Hunter - F. Montanari - A. Rengakos - E. Sistakou (eds.), *Hellenistic Studies at a Crossroads, Exploring Texts, Contexts and Metatexts* (Trends in Classics Suppl. 25), Berlin - New York 2014.
- Petrovic forthcoming I. Petrovic, SH 979 and the Cult of Homer in Alexandria, in Y. Durbec (éd.), *Traditions épiques et poésie épigrammatique. Présence des épopées archaïques dans les épigrammes grecques et latines* (Hellenistica Groningana), forthcoming.
- Petzl 1976 G. Petzl, on Waldman 1973, *Gnomon* 48 (1976), 370-375.
- Petzl 1982 G. Petzl, *Die Inschriften von Smyrna*, I, Bonn 1982.
- Pfeiffer 2004 S. Pfeiffer, *Das Dekret von Kanopos (238 v.Chr.) Kommentar und historische Auswertung eines dreisprachigen Synodaldekretes der ägyptischen Priester zu Ehren Ptolemaios' III. Und seine Familie* (APF Beiheft 18), München - Leipzig 2004.
- Pfrommer 2004 M. Pfrommer, Die Basilea von Pergamon. Alexandria und das Haus des Augustus, *IstMitt* 54 (2004), 161-171.
- Pollit 1986 J.J. Pollit, *Art in the Hellenistic Age*, Cambridge 1986.
- Powell 1919 J.U. Powell, On New Fragments of Greek Poetry Recently Published at Berlin, *CR* 33 (1919), 90-91.
- Powell 1925 J.U. Powell, *Collectanea Alexandrina. Reliquiae minores poetarum Graecorum aetatis Ptolemaicae 323-146 a.C. Epicorum, Elegiacorum, Lyricorum, Ethicorum*, Oxonii 1925 (Chicago 1981).
- Primo 2009 A. Primo, *La storiografia sui Seleucidi*, Pisa - Roma 2009.
- Pusch 1890 H. Pusch, *Quaestiones Zenodotae*, Halle 1889 (diss.), in *Dissertationes philologicae halenses* 11, Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Halis Saxonum 1890, 119-216.
- Quaegebeur 1980 J. Quaegebeur, The Genealogy of the Memphite High Priest Family in the Hellenistic Period, in D. J. Crawford - J. Quaegebeur - W. Clarysse (eds.), *Studies on Ptolemaic Memphis* (Studia Hellenistica 24), Lovanii 1980, 43-89.
- Rapin 1992 C. Rapin, *Fouilles d' Ai Khanoum VIII. La Trésorerie du palais hellénistique d' Ai Khanoum. L'Apogée et la chute du royaume grec de Bactriane* (Fouilles d' Ai Khanoum VIII, Mémoires de la Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan 33), Paris 1992, 95-114.
- Rausa 1994 F. Rausa, *L'immagine del vincitore. L'atleta nella statuaria greca dall'età arcaica all'ellenismo*, Treviso 1994.
- Retsö 2006 J. Retsö, The Concept of Ethnicity, Nationality and the Study of Ancient History, *Topoi* 14 (2006), 9-17.

- Rice 1983 E.E. Rice, *The Grand Procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus* (Oxford Classical and Philosophical Monographs), Oxford 1983.
- Rigsby 1980 K.G. Rigsby, Seleucid Notes, I: Zeus Olympios, *TaPhA* 110 (1980), 233-238.
- Robert 1937 L. Robert, *Etudes Anatoliennes*, Paris 1937.
- Robert 1990 L. Robert, Deux poètes grecs à l'époque impériale, in L. Robert, *Opera minora selecta*, VII, Amsterdam 1990, 569-588.
- Rostovtzeff 1939 M. Rostovtzeff, *Le Gad de Douira et Séleucos Nicator* (Mélanges syriens offerts à R. Dussaud 1), Paris 1939, 281-295.
- Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 1993 C. Saatsoglou-Paliadeli, Aspects of Ancient Macedonian Costume, *JHS* 113 (1993), 122-147.
- Samuel 1993 A.E. Samuel, The Ptolemies and the Ideology of Kingship, in P. Green (ed.), *Hellenistic History and Culture*, (Hellenistic Culture and Society 9), Berkeley - Los Angeles - London 1993, 168-210.
- Sauneron 1960 S. Sauneron, Un document égyptien relatif à la divinisation de la reine Arsinoé II, *BIFAO* 60 (1960), 83-109.
- Selden 1998 D.L. Selden, Alibis, *CA* 17, 2 (1998), 289-412.
- Selden forthcoming D. Selden, Reading the Rosetta Stone: Language, Literacy, and Power at the Ptolemaic Court, in A. Erskine - L. Llewellyn Jones (eds.), *The Hellenistic Court. Acts of the conference 25th-27th February 2011*, Edinburgh forthcoming.
- Sancisi-Weerdenburg 2001 H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg, Yauna by the Sea and across the Sea, in I. Malkin (ed.), *Ancient Perceptions of Greek Ethnicity*, Washington (DC) 2001, 323-346.
- Sancisi-Weerdenburg et al. 1994 H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg - A. Kuhrt - M.C. Root (eds.), *Achaemenid History, VIII: Continuity and Change*, Leiden 1994.
- Sartre 2007 M. Sartre, The Ambiguous Name: the Limitations of Cultural Identity in Graeco-Roman Onomastics, in E. Matthews (ed.), *Old and New Worlds in Greek Onomastics*, Oxford 2007, 199-229.
- Savalli Lestrade 1998 I. Savalli Lestrade, *Les «Philoi» Royaux dans l'Asie Hellénistique* (Hautes Études du Monde Gréco-Romain 25), Genève 1998.
- Savalli Lestrade 2005 I. Savalli Lestrade, Devenir une cité. Poleis nouvelles et aspirations civiques en Asie Mineure à la basse époque hellénistique, in P. Fröhlich - C. Müller (éds.), *Citoyenneté et participation à la basse époque hellénistique. Actes de la table ronde des 22 et 23 mai 2004*, Paris 2005, 9-37.
- Savidis 1992 G. Savidis (ed.), *C.P. Cavafy. Collected Poems* (revised ed.), Princeton 1992.

- Schmitt-Pantel 1992 P. Schmitt-Pantel, *La cité au banquet. Histoire des repas publics dans les cités grecques* (Collection de l'École Française de Rome 157), Rome 1992.
- Sève-Martinez 2003 L. Sève-Martinez, *Quoi de neuf sur le royaume séleucide?*, in F. Prost (éd.), *L'Orient méditerranéen de la mort d'Alexandre aux campagnes de Pompée* (Pallas 62), Rennes 2003, 221-242.
- Sève-Martinez 2004 L. Sève-Martinez, Peuple d'Antioche et dynastie séleucide, in B. Cabouret - P.L. Gatier - C. Saliou (éds.), *Antioche de Syrie. Histoire, images et traces de la ville antique* (Topoi Suppl. 5), Lyon 2004, 21-41.
- Seyer 2006 M. Seyer, The Royal Hunt. The Symbolical Meaning of an Ancient Topos, in A. Prinz (ed.), *Hunting Food – Drinking Wine. Proceedings of the XIXth Conference of the International Commission for the Anthropology of Food*, Poysdorf, 4.-7.12.2003, Wien 2006, 171-198.
- Seyer 2007 M. Seyer, *Der Herrscher als Jäger. Untersuchungen zur königlichen Jagd im persischen und makedonischen Reich vom 6.-4. Jahrhundert v. Chr. sowie unter den Diadochen Alexanders des Großen*, Wien 2007.
- Sherwin-White - Kuhrt 1993 S. Sherwin-White - A. Kuhrt, *From Samarkhand to Sardis. A New Approach to the Seleucid Empire* (Hellenistic Culture and Society 13), London 1993.
- Silva Sánchez 1994-1995 T. Silva Sánchez, «Kaiserkult» y creación poética. Algunas reflexiones sobre las Vitae Oppiani y la composición de los *Cynegetica*, *ExcPhil* 4-5 (1994-1995), 107-122.
- Silva Sánchez 2002 T. Silva Sánchez, *Sobre el texto de los Cynegetica de Opiano de Apamea*, Cádiz 2002.
- Skiadas 1965 A.D. Skiadas, *Homer in griechischen Epigramm*, Athenai 1965.
- Smith 1989 R.R.R. Smith, *Hellenistic Royal Portraits*, Oxford 1989.
- Smith 1991 R.R.R. Smith, *Hellenistic sculpture: A Handbook*, New York 1991.
- Stanwick 2003 P. E. Stanwick, *Portraits of the Ptolemies. Greek Kings as Egyptian Pharaohs*, Austin (TX) 2003.
- Stephens 2004 S.A. Stephens, *For you, Arsinoe ...*, in B. Acosta-Hughes - M. Baumbach - E. Kosmetatou (eds.), *Labored in Papyrus Leaves, Perspectives on an Epigram Collection Attributed to Posidippus* (P.Mil.Vogl. VIII 309), Cambridge (MA) - London 2004, 161-176.
- Stephens 2005 S.A. Stephens, *Battle of the Books*, in K. Gutzwiller (ed.), *The New Posidippus. A Hellenistic Poetry Book*, Oxford 2005, 229-248.
- Stewart 2008 S. Stewart, Emending Aratus' *Insomnia*: Callimachus Epigr. 27, *Mnemosyne* 61 (2008), 586-600.

- Strootman 2009 R. Strootman, Literature and the Kings, in J.J. Clauss - M. Cuypers (eds.), *A Companion to Hellenistic Literature*, Oxford 2009, 30-45.
- Strootman 2013 R. Strootman, Babylonian, Macedonian, King of the World: The Antiochus Cylinder From Borsippa and Seleukid Imperial Integration, in E. Stavrianopoulou (ed.), *Shifting Social Imaginaries in the Hellenistic Period: Narrations, Practices, and Images* (Mnemosyne Suppl. 363), Leiden - Boston 2013, 67-97.
- Swain 1991 S. Swain, Arrian the Epic Poet, *JHS* 111 (1991), 211-214.
- Tarn 1929 W.W. Tarn, Ptolemy II and Arabia, *JEA* 15 (1929), 9-25.
- Tarn 1985³ W.W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactra & India* (3rd ed. updated by F.L. Holt), Chicago 1985 (= Cambridge 1951¹).
- Tarn Steiner 1994 D. Tarn Steiner, *The Tyrant's Writ: Myths and Images of Writing in Ancient Greece*, Princeton 1994.
- Thiers 1999 C. Thiers, Ptolémée Philadelphie et les prêtres de Sais: la stèle Codex Ursinianus fol. 6 r^o + Naples 1034 + Louvre C.123, *BIFAO* 99 (1999), 423-445.
- Thiers 2007 C. Thiers, *Ptolémée Philadelphie et les prêtres d'Atoum de Tjékou: Nouvelle édition commentée de la stèle de Pithom CGC 22183*, Montpellier 2007.
- Thompson 1992 D.J. Thompson, Language and Literacy in Early Hellenistic Egypt, in P. Bilde - T. Engberg-Pedersen - L. Hannestad - J. Zahle (eds.), *Ethnicity in Hellenistic Egypt*, Aarhus 1992, 39-52.
- Thompson 2001 D.J. Thompson, Hellenistic Hellenes: The Case of Ptolemaic Egypt, in I. Malkin (ed.), *Ancient Perceptions of Greek Ethnicity*, Washington 2001, 301-22.
- Thompson 2005 D.J. Thompson, Posidippus, Poet of the Ptolemies, in K.J. Gutzwiller (ed.), *The New Posidippus. A Hellenistic Poetry Book*, Oxford 2005, 269-283.
- Tuplin 1994 C. Tuplin, Persians as Medes, in H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg - A. Kuhrt - M.C. Root (eds.), *Achaemenid History, VIII: Continuity and Change*, Leiden 1994, 235-256.
- Tuplin 1998 C. Tuplin, The Seasonal Migration of Achaemenid Kings: A Report on Old and New Evidence, in M. Brosius - A.T. Kuhrt (eds.), *Studies in Persian History: essays in memory of David M. Lewis*, Leiden 1998, 63-114.
- Tuplin 2013 C. Tuplin, The Military Dimension of Hellenistic Kingship: An Achaemenid Inheritance?, in *Orient und Okzident: Antagonismus oder Konstrukt?*, Würzburg, provisional publication: http://www.achemenet.com/document/TUPLIN_Military_dimension_of_hellenistic_kingship_08_2013.pdf.
- van Bremen 2007 R. van Bremen, The Entire House is Full of Crowns: Hellenistic Agones and the Commemoration of Victory, in S. Horn-

- blower - C. Morgan (eds.), *Pindar's Poetry, Patrons and Festivals: From Archaic Greece to the Roman Empire (345-375)*, Oxford 2007, 345-375.
- van der Spek 2001 R. van der Spek, The Theatre of Babylon in Cuneiform, in W.H. van Soldt (ed.), *Veenhof Anniversary Volume. Studies Presented to Klaas R. Veenhof on the Occasion of his Sixty-fifth Birthday*, Leiden 2001, 445-456.
- van der Spek 2003 R. van der Spek, Darius III, Alexander the Great and the Babylonian Scholarship, in W. Henkelman - A. Kuhrt (eds.), *Achaemenid History XIII. A Persian Perspective. Essays in memory of Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg*, Leiden 2003, 289-346.
- Van't Dack 1992 E. Van't Dack, L'armée de terre lagide: reflet d'un monde multiculturel?, in J.H. Johnson (ed.), *Life in a Multi-Cultural Society: Egypt from Cambyses to Constantine and Beyond*, Chicago 1992, 327-341.
- Versluys forthcoming M.J. Versluys, *Nemrud Dag and Commagene under Antiochos I. Material Culture, Identity and Style in the Late Hellenistic World*, forthcoming.
- Vial 2003 C. Vial, À propos de concours de l'Orient méditerranéen à l'époque hellénistique, in F. Prost (éd.), *L'Orient méditerranéen de la mort d'Alexandre aux campagnes de Pompée* (Pallas 62), Rennes 2003, 311-328.
- Viljamaa 1968 T. Viljamaa, *Studies in Greek Encomiastic Poetry of the Early Byzantine Period* (Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum, Societas Scientiarum Fennica 42, 4), Helsinki 1968.
- Virgilio 2003 B. Virgilio, *Lancia, diadema e porpora. Il re e la regalità ellenistica* (Studi Ellenistici 14), Pisa 2003.
- Volk 2010 K. Volk, Aratus, in J.J. Clauss - M. Cuypers (eds.), *A Companion to Hellenistic Literature*, Chichester-Malden 2010, 197-210.
- Walbank 1984 F.W. Walbank, Monarchies and Monarchic Ideas, in F.W. Walbank - A.E. Astin - M.W. Frederiksen - R.M. Ogilvie (eds.), *Cambridge Ancient History* (2nd ed.), VII.1, *The Hellenistic World*, Cambridge 1984, 62-100.
- Waldmann 1973 H. Waldmann, *Die Kommagenische Kulturreformen unter König Mithradates I. Kallinikos und seinem Sohne Antiochos I.* (Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain 34), Leiden 1973.
- Weber 1993 G. Weber, *Dichtung und Höfische Gesellschaft. Die Rezeption von Zeitgeschichte am Hof der ersten drei Ptolemäer* (Hermes Einzelschriften 62), Stuttgart 1993.
- Welles et al. 1959 C.B. Welles - R.O. Fink - J.F. Gilliam, *The Parchment and Papyri. The Excavations at Dura Europos, Final Report V.1*, New Haven - London 1959.

- Welles 1959 C.B. Welles, The Hellenism of Dura-Europos, *Aegyptus* 39 (1959), 23-28.
- Whitby 2007 M. Whitby, The «Cynegetica» attributed to Oppian, in S. Swain - S. Harrison - J. Elsner (eds.), *Severan Culture*, Cambridge 2007, 125-134.
- Wright 2005 N. Wright, Seleucid Royal Cult, Indigenous Religious Traditions and Radiate Crowns: The Numismatic Evidence. *Mediterranean Archaeology* 18 (2005), 67-82.
- Wright 2007-2008 N. Wright, From Zeus to Apollo and Back Again: A Note on the Changing Face of Western Seleucid Coinage, *Journal of the Oriental Society of Australia* 39-40, part 2 (2007-2008), 527-539.
- Wright 2011a N. Wright, The «Royal Archer» and Apollo in the East: Greco-Persian Iconography in the Seleucid Empire, in *Proceedings of the fourteenth International Numismatic Congress in Glasgow, August 30 - September 3 2011*, Glasgow 2011, 163-168.
- Wright 2011b N. Wright, The Iconography of Succession under the Late Seleukids, in N.L. Wright (ed.). *Coins from Asia Minor and the East: Selections from the Colin Pitchfork Collection. Ancient Coins in Australian Collections Volume Two*. Sydney: Numismatic Association of Australia, Adelaide 2011, 41-46.
- Winnicki 1990 J.K. Winnicki, Bericht von einem Feldzug des Ptolemaios Philadelphos in der Pithom-stele, *JJP* 20 (1990), 157-167.
- Wolski 1984 J. Wolski, Les Séleucides et l'héritage d'Alexandre le Grand en Iran, *Studi Ellenistici* 1 (1984), 9-20.
- Yoyotte 1969 J. Yoyotte, Bakhthis: religion égyptienne et culture grecque à Edfou, in Ph. Derchain (éd.), *Religions en Egypte hellénistique et romaine. Actes du colloque de Strasbourg (16-18 Mai 1967)*, Paris 1969, 127-141.
- Ziegler 1988 K. Ziegler, *L'epos ellenistico. Un capitolo dimenticato della poesia greca*, Bari 1988 (*Das hellenistische Epos: ein vergessenes Kapitel griechischer Dichtung*, Leipzig 1966).