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THE AGE OF THE SUCCESSORS AND THE CREATION OF THE HELLENISTIC KINGDOMS (323-276 B.C.)

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THE AIMS OF THE DIADOCHS

Rolf STROOTMAN

Abstract: This paper challenges the widespread belief that the political ambitions of Seleukos, Ptolemy and other Diadochs were limited as compared to those of Antigonos and Demetrios, and that they and their successors maintained some kind of balance of power. By examining the aspirations of the Diadochs in the context of the Near Eastern tradition of empire, it is argued that the Diadochs had no other option than to claim world hegemony. Likewise, Alexander's universalism and *pothos* are interpreted as standard elements of imperial ideology.

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In evaluating the history of the Diadochs in the *Life of Pyrrhus*, Plutarch singled out their insatiable avarice as the main reason for the upheavals after Alexander's death:

> For how men to whose rapacity neither sea nor mountain nor uninhabitable desert sets a limit, men to whose inordinate desires the boundaries which separate Europe and Asia put no stop, can remain content with what they have and do one another no wrong when they are in close touch, it is impossible to say. Nay, they are perpetually at war, … and they treat the two words, war and peace, like current coins, using whichever happens to be for their advantage, regardless of justice; for surely they are better men when they wage war openly than when they give the names of justice and friendship to the times of inactivity and leisure which interrupt their works of injustice[1].

Plutarch's critical assessment of the Diadochs' ambitions is pithily expressed in the word *pleonexia* ("rapacity"), *i.e.* the craving for expansion

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[1] Plu. *Pyrrh.* 12.2-3 (translation by B. Perrin). For the predatory nature of the Hellenistic kingdoms in actual practice see Austin 1986; Eckstein 2006, 79-117; Strootman 2007, 31-53.

at the expense of others, a vice he attributed in particular to Pyrrhos[2]. However, just as the vanity and pomposity ascribed to Hellenistic kings in later ages was in fact a negative rendition of *tryphe*, so too was the greed that according to Plutarch characterized these kings ultimately derived from their own self-presentation as triumphant conquerors[3].

In my contribution I will try to reassess the imperialist policies of Alexander's successors. What did they fight for? To ask what the main issue was of the struggle between the Diadochs is also to ask what the nature was of the monarchies they created. This is a relevant question because the monarchies they created endured until well into the first century B.C.E. and were of fundamental formative influence for the Roman and Parthian Empires.

Any assessment of Hellenistic imperialism, however, is clouded by the popular modern assumption that the Hellenistic Empires, willingly or unwillingly, operated some kind of a balance of power. This balance supposedly was created by the Successors. The over-ambitious attempt of Antigonos and Demetrios to rule over the whole of the Macedonian Empire is contrasted to the more limited, and thus more realistic, ambitions of Ptolemy, Seleukos, Kassandros and Lysimachos, who survived because they gave up the ideal of unity[4].

In recent years historians have sometimes questioned this paradigm, arguing that the idea of a balance of power in the Hellenistic world is based on hindsight. Already three decades ago Frank Walbank in the context of second century Antigonid naval power cautiously stated that a balance between the great powers existed *in practice* but was never accepted *in principle*[5]. Sheila Ager recently commented:

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[2] Nederlof 1940, 58. The word appears also at 7.3 en 9.6; cf. 23.2 and 30.3.

[3] Importance of victory in royal legitimization: Gehrke 1982; Strootman 2005.

[4] For instance Bouché-Leclercq 1913, 26; Tarn 1927, 462-3; Braunert 1964, 82-3; Ritter 1965, 126-7; Wehrli (C.) 1968, 73; Klose 1972, 17-22; Müller 1973, 88-93; Cohen 1974; Will 1979, 75; Will 1984, 37, 39-42, 58; Green 1990, 5-6; Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993, 120-1. More examples have been collected by Meeus 2007, 220 n. 2.

[5] Walbank 1982, 234 (Walbank 1981, 56, however, upholds the orthodox view: "It is unlikely that each general was staking out a claim to the whole empire — unless this was perhaps Antigonus' idea"). Cf. Eckstein 2006, 95-6: "From 323 to roughly 188 B.C. no single state was ever able to achieve a hegemonic position in the eastern Mediterranean. Yet a structural situation where a multiplicity of competing states are relatively evenly matched in power … is the most unstable and war-prone of all interstate institutions."

> Walbank's view is that the Antigonids in the naval realm were *not* being purely defensive, but rather were actively pursuing aggressive expansionism — they just weren't very good at it. And that may be the whole story of Hellenistic 'balance of power' in a nutshell[6].

Still, the assumption that the Hellenistic monarchies — with the exception sometimes of the Seleucid state — were not empires but territorially limited 'national' kingdoms prevails. The power of paradigm is revealed most strikingly by the common characterization of the Ptolemaic kingdom as an Egyptian kingdom. Indications in the sources that Ptolemy and his immediate successors aimed at creating a maritime empire *including* Egypt are routinely neutralized by labeling Ptolemaic expansion in the Mediterranean and the Aegean as 'foreign policy' or as 'defensive imperialism' (for instance by Édouard Will in the *Cambridge Ancient History*)[7]. This leaves unexplained why the Ptolemies resided in Alexandria instead of in Egypt proper, and why the agents of Ptolemaic imperialism were very rarely Egyptians. It may be true that in the course of the second century B.C.E. the declining Ptolemaic kingdom became a more Egyptian-based monarchy *in practice* — but never so *in principle* (as the imperial ideology of Kleopatra VII at the very end of Ptolemaic history shows)[8].

The presumption of a balance of power is founded not only on the supposed opposition between Antigonos and the other Successors, but also, and more fundamentally, on a supposed opposition between the Successors and Alexander[9]. While Alexander aimed at dominating the world, and Antigonos in his turn aimed at gaining control of Alexander's empire, the other Successors had more limited aims. Thus the universalistic ambitions of both Alexander and Antigonos are believed to be exceptional.

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[6] Ager 2003, 49; cf. 37-8. Similar doubts are expressed by Adams 2006, 49. Meeus 2007 shows that none of the Diadochs, not even Ptolemy, showed any sign of separatism during the years from Alexander's death to Triparadeisos; cf. Meeus 2008, arguing that in the Babylon Settlement of 323 the creation of a balance of power between the three most powerful men at that time — Perdikkas, Krateros, and Antipatros — is "absolutely out of the question", and that there is no trace of separatist tendencies, not even on the part of Ptolemy (79-80).

[7] Will 1984, 41-2, following Plb. V 34.9. So also Braunert 1964, 91-4.

[8] Strootman 2010b.

[9] So for instance Bosworth 2006, 12-3.

In this paper I hope to show that the ambitions of Antigonos were not fundamentally different from those of his rivals. This will be argued by reconsidering the imperial ideology of Alexander and his Successors in the context of the tradition of empire in the Ancient Near East, before, during and after the Age of the Successors.

The Ancient Near East

From the late third millennium the claim to universal hegemony became a pivotal element in the monarchical ideology of Near Eastern kingdoms. The great monarchies of the Sumerians, Babylonians, Hittites, and Egyptians were typically conceived of as world empires, comprising the entire *civilized* earth and surrounded by a chaotic periphery inhabited by wicked rebel princes, ferocious barbarians or worse[10]. Where the king ruled, peace and prosperity prevailed. Beyond that, there was only war. The ideology called the "siege complex"[11] obliged kings to constantly protect the lands and peoples placed under their guardianship by the gods. Rival kings are routinely marginalized. They are either vassals or rebels — never equals. The overlordship of the one real king is expressed by such titles as Great King, King of Totality, King of the Four Corners (of the World), King of Lands, or King of Peoples. Thus in an epic poem celebrating Assyrian victory against the Babylonians, Tukulti-Ninurta I (1244-1208 or 1233-1197) is lauded as "he who [rules] the extremities of the four winds; all kings without exception live in dread of him."[12]

In the second millennium universalistic ideology generally did not coincide with actual political reality. Political power in the east was divided up among several competing kingdoms. In a brilliant study of this so-called "concert of nations", Mario Liverani has shown how monarchies employed various strategies to deal with on the one hand the inconsistency of claims to world power and on the other hand the necessary recognition of the existence of other monarchies in the sphere of international diplomacy, where kings treated each other as equals (as the

[10] Liverani 1979; Stadnikow 1995; Holloway 2002.
[11] Liverani 1981.
[12] Kuhrt 1995, 356.

Amarna letters reveal); these two conflicting realities were kept radically apart as separate cognitive realities[13].

Until c. 800 B.C.E., the yearly military campaigns of Near Eastern kings were raids aimed at hegemony and the acquisition of booty and glory rather than attempts at real territorial expansion. This changed when a new type of empire developed in the Neo-Assyrian period. Neo-Assyrian imperialism gradually came to aim at the permanent control of as large a territory as possible. Through a policy of aggressive expansionism combined with a policy of consolidation the Assyrian kingdom became the sole empire of importance in the Near East and set the example for succeeding empires. As Paul-Alain Beaulieu put it:

> The history of Assyria was not only the history of the growth of an empire, but also the history of the growth of an imperial idea. Although the Assyrian Empire eventually collapsed, … the structure it had created ultimately survived because there was no serious attempt at returning to the previous state of political fragmentation. Assyria's enduring contribution was to create the irreversible fact of empire and to inculcate it so deeply in the political culture of the Near East that no alternative model could successfully challenge it, in fact almost up to the modern era[14].

The Persian Achaemenids, too, presented themselves as rulers of a world empire[15], controlling a far larger territory than the Assyrian kings had done. Their status was expressed in the well-known title 'Great King'. The belief took root in the east that there was place in the world for many kings, but only one imperial overlord to rule them all. The Achaemenid rulers succeeded in finding more or less general acceptance of their status as Great Kings, even far beyond the actual boundaries of their empire (although the empire, of course, officially had no boundaries)[16].

Alexander the Great

When Alexander replaced Darius III as ruler of the east in 330, the status of Great King passed on to him. Thus Alexander became the heir to an age-old belief that the civilized world was somehow a unity. His

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[13] Liverani 1990.

[14] Beaulieu 2004, 49. Cf. Larsen 1979b and Postgate 1992, 247.

[15] See e.g. Nylander 1979; Cool Root 1979.

[16] See Allen 2005, showing that prestige could be derived from contacts with the Great King in Greek communities as far as Sicily.

ambition to become sole ruler first became apparent when he visited the oracle of Ammon at Siwah. On the eve of the Battle of Gaugamela (331) Darius sent to Alexander envoys offering peace and half his empire[17]. Alexander declined. Just as the universe (*kosmos*) will not hold together when there are two suns, he said, the inhabited world (*oikoumene*) cannot be ruled by two kings[18]. Darius of course was of the same opinion; what he offered Alexander was in fact no more than the status of a subking, a vassal[19].

Universalistic claims were both a tradition of the Near East and a typical, perhaps even necessary feature of pre-modern empires in general; being by definition ethnically and politically heterogeneous polities founded on conquest, virtually all empires in world history — from Inca Peru to Han and Tang China — claimed limitless power in their propaganda and as a result were actively expansionist in practice more often than not[20]. Alexander took over the eastern universalistic pretensions for the sake of his eastern subjects *and* translated these pretensions into Greco-Macedonian forms. The oriental title "Great King" became the Hellenic title King of Asia[21], which was carefully created not to antagonize the inhabitants of mainland Greece and Macedonia, who were excluded from its pretensions[22]. Like the Assyrian kings, Alexander set

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[17] Arr. *An*. II 25.1-3; D.S. XVII 54.1-5; Plu. *Alex*. 29.7-8; Curt. IV 11.1-22; Just. XI 12.9-15. For the historicity and date of the embassy see Bosworth 1980b, 228-9.

[18] D.S. XVII 54.5; the metaphor of the two suns is also given by Just. XI 12.15.

[19] Alexander was offered rule over all territory west of the river Euphrates (i.e. excluding the crucial satrapies Mesopotamia and Babylonia), a gift of silver bullion, and marriage with Darius' daughter; by accepting these gifts, Alexander would have become a subordinate vassal of Darius, whose status as Great King implied that he had the right to bestow and withdraw royal titles. This policy was later practiced frequently by the Seleucids, cf. e.g. Seleukos II's acceptance of Arsakes I as a vassal king in c. 229/8, or the various kings appointed by Antiochos the Great.

[20] Bosbach 1985; Münkler 2005; Strootman forthcoming. For the similarities and differences between pre-modern empires in various regions consult Sinopoli 1994, who defines empire as "politically expansive polities, composed of a diversity of localized communities and ethnic groups" (159).

[21] Arr. *An*. II 14.8-9; Curt. IV 1.1-14; Plu. *Alex*. 34.1.

[22] For a discussion of the title King of Asia see Fredricksmeyer 2000. Alexander's epithet 'The Great' may have had oriental antecedents, but is attested not earlier than in Plautus' *Mostellaria* (775), although this passage shows that the title was then already in existence; cf. Worthington 1999, 1 n. 3. For the title of Great King in the Hellenistic Age see Strootman forthcoming.

up altars along the boundaries of the known world: at the Danube in 335, on the banks of the Beas, the river where the gods forbade him to go farther, at the Jaxartes in 329, and at the Hydaspes in 326[23]. Alexander's famous *pothos*, in particular his longing to reach the final frontier of the Indian Ocean, and his supposed last plans for future global conquest, may have been merely ancient slogans modified for a Greek audience. Indeed, even the notion of a 'unity of mankind' seems not so obsolete when considered in this light.

The Diadochs

Even if they had wanted to, Alexander's Successors would never have been able to substitute the age-old image of the world as an imperial commonwealth by a concept of political fragmentation or 'balance of power'. As long as Philip III and Alexander IV were alive the idea of the unity of the Argead Empire remained alive as well. Individual Macedonian warlords may have tried to personally control a part of the empire, like Peithon did in the Upper Satrapies, but this was not at odds with the idea of imperial unity. Several generals, including Perdikkas, Krateros, and Leonnatos, aimed at usurping power over the whole, *inter alia* by contemplating marriage with one of Philip II's daughters, through whom the Argead inheritance would be transmitted if Alexander IV died and the marriage of Philip III and Adea-Eurydike (who were *both* heirs to Philip II) remained childless[24].

Like the Achaemenid Empire, the Argead Empire outside Macedon was a dynastic state, a family affair. When Philip III and Alexander IV had both been killed, in 317 and 309, and the Argead house had become extinct in the patriline, there was a possibility for each of the Successors to found an imperial dynasty of his own, preferably by marrying an heiress of Philip and thus bring his inheritance — the title King of the

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[23] Danube: Arr. *An*. I 4.5; Jaxartes: Plin. *Nat.* VI 18; Oros. I 2.5; Hydaspes: Arr. *An*. V 29.1-2; Plu. *Alex*. 62.7-8; Curt. IX 3.19; D.S. XVII 95.1-2.

[24] D.S. XX 37.4 explicitly states that Kassandros, Lysimachos, Antigonos and Ptolemy wished to marry Kleopatra because they all hoped to gain control of the whole empire; also Nepos (*Eum.* 2.3-4) assured his readers that *all* former friends of Alexander equally strove after control of the whole empire (see Meeus, this volume).

Macedonians and Alexander's conquests — into his own household[25]. When there was no more Argead king left, the Argead Empire ceased to exist. The surviving Successors had to choose between remaining content with the semi-autonomous status of satrap or vassal prince, or trying to take control of the entire empire. There was no middle way. If we look at the actions of Kassandros, Ptolemy, Seleukos and Lysimachos before 306/5, there are more indications of far-stretching than of limited ambitions. Kassandros for instance had married Thessalonike, a daughter of Philip II, in 315. Since all male offspring of a Macedonian king by any of his wives was equally entitled to the inheritance[26], and Philip's other surviving daughter, Kleopatra, was executed by Antigonos in 309/8, the sons of Kassandros and Thessalonike would eventually hold the strongest legitimate claims to the Argead royal title, until 294, when Kassandros' dynasty disappeared too.

Ptolemy's ambitions became manifest at an early stage. For a time, when he bided his time as a governor of Egypt, he resided in Memphis, the satrapal capital of Egypt. But already before the death of Alexander IV he moved his court to Alexandria[27]. By conspicuously leaving Egypt and turning his eyes towards the Mediterranean, Ptolemy showed that his ambition was no longer confined to his original satrapy. Moreover, he took Alexander's body with him and buried the conqueror within the confines of that part of Alexandria that would later be known as the *Basileia*, the Royal District[28]. The fact that he had captured Alexander's body in the first place, will not have made the impression that his ambitions were modest either, and that had already occurred two years after Alexander's death. Ptolemy's initial reason to take hold of Alexander's body may be unclear but his activities in the Levant after his moving to Alexandria, including the construction of a fleet, demonstrated quite

[25] There remained various claimants in the matriline, including Neoptolemos II of Epirus, a son of Philip II's daughter Kleopatra; Neoptolemos was killed by Pyrrhos in c. 295 (Plu. *Pyrrh*. 5.14), but the fate of his sister Kadmeia is unknown — perhaps Pyrrhos married her or killed her too. For inheritance customs of Macedonian royalty see Strootman 2007, 108-14.

[26] Ogden 1999.

[27] Fraser 1972, 2:11-2 n. 28.

[28] Str. XVII 1.8 C794. Cf. Fraser 1972, 1:11-37; Nielsen 1994, 25-6 and 131-3; Strootman 2007, 75-80.

clearly that he aimed at becoming a Mediterranean naval power[29]. The diplomatic and military activities of Ptolemy Soter on the international stage show a determined, systematic strategy aimed at acquiring a huge maritime empire: an empire of which Egypt formed part but which was not for that reason an Egyptian Empire. A quick look at any historical map showing Ptolemaic possessions and allies reveals that by trying to control ports along the coasts of the Eastern Mediterranean and the Aegean, Ptolemy as it were tried to embrace the Mediterranean with his holdings[30]. His work was continued by his successor, Ptolemy Philadelphos. The Ptolemaic aim to control coastal areas conflicted with the Seleucids' conception of the same seashores as the outlying parts of their land empire. This in turn caused the nine wars fought between Ptolemies and Seleucids after Ptolemy's death[31].

Like Ptolemy, Seleukos conspicuously abandoned his satrapal headquarters in Babylon years before his assumption of the diadem. Around 311 he ordered the construction of a new capital, Seleukeia on the Tigris, thereby revealing his monarchical aspirations. The empire would later date its beginning to 312, the year in which Seleukos returned to Babylonia. The campaign he began shortly after against Nikanor, the Antigonid satrap of Media, turned out to be the start of the conquest of the Upper Satrapies. When Seleukos embarked on this campaign he personally appointed a governor (*strategos*) of Babylonia, Patrokles, as if he were already an emperor then[32].

Apparently, for Seleukos possession of one of the richest provinces in the Macedonian Empire first of all served as a stepping-stone for the creation of an empire of his own. Lysimachos' strategy was comparable, he merely bided his time somewhat longer. After the Battle of Ipsos,

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[29] See also the contributions by Hauben and Meeus in this volume.

[30] Polybius (V 34.7-9) describes Ptolemy Philadelphos' Mediterranean empire in similar words.

[31] Modern historiography knows six so-called Syrian Wars, a rather inappropriate term as much more was at stake than merely the possession of (Koile) Syria; after the Sixth Syrian War (170-168) three more military conflicts between the two powers occurred (see Grainger 2010).

[32] Seleukos had been awarded royal honors by his non-Greek subjects before his assumption of the *basileus* title in 305 (Plu. *Demetr*. 18.3). It is indeed hard to see how his pacification of the Upper Satrapies, which was for a large part a diplomatic affair, could have been successful without him having monarchical pretensions vis-à-vis the Iranian nobility.

Lysimachos too began building an empire — an Aegean-Pontic empire, as the location of *his* new capital, Lysimacheia, near the southern tip of the Thracian Chersonesos indicates. Clearly, whenever the opportunity arose, any Diadoch would try to expand his power at the cost of the others.

Still, becoming a monarch or even constructing an empire was not the same as reconstituting Alexander's empire and claiming world dominion. What mattered most in this respect was the question who would be able to claim overlordship over the whole, in other words, the question who would succeed Alexander as King of Asia viz. Great King. This question became a very urgent one after Alexander IV's death in 309.

Antigonos and Demetrios were later accredited with the dubious honor of having been the only ones aspiring to become universal rulers of a world empire (leaving aside Perdikkas). Plutarch writes that Demetrios — whom the Athenians according to Athenaeus once honored with a painting of the king standing upon the *oikoumene*[33] — used to scorn people who gave the title of *basileus* to anyone but his father and himself. His friends thereupon drank toasts to Demetrios the king, Seleukos the commander of the elephants, Ptolemy the admiral, Lysimachos the treasurer, and Agathokles the governor of the island of Sicily[34]. Thus Demetrios claimed that his rivals were only minor rulers under the one and only Great King. A historical papyrus from the late second, early first century B.C.E., perhaps a fragment of Zenon of Rhodes, claims that Antigonos wished to rule the entire *oikoumene*, just as Alexander had done[35].

The supposed exclusiveness of Antigonos' universalism is quite peculiar because it was Seleukos rather than Antigonos who really attempted to reconstruct Alexander's empire. After all, it was not the Antigonid

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[33] Ath. XII 536a.

[34] Plu. *Demetr*. 25.4; *Mor*. 823c-d; Phylarchus, *FGrHist* 81 F31. On the anecdote see Hauben 1974b, dating it between 304 and 301; cf. Gruen 1985, who dates the anecdote to the 290's. As Hauben adds (107), the most striking indication of the extent of Antigonid imperial ideology is the fact that Demetrios included in his claims Sicily, "which was far beyond the confines of Alexander's empire" (through probably not beyond the confines of Alexander's own claims).

[35] *P.Köln* VI (1987) 247; the text is anti-Antigonid, pro-Ptolemaic; see the critical remarks in Billows 1990, 351-2; cf. Lehmann 1988a.

dynasty but Seleukos' offspring that would eventually hold the title of Great King, until this title passed on to the Parthian Arsakids by right of victory. Antigonos even was relatively slow in openly showing his imperial designs. It is true that in 315 he had half-heartedly rearranged the eastern satrapies in his capacity as *strategos* of Asia, but apart from this, Antigonos, unlike Seleukos, never showed much interest in the affairs of the East[36]. Like Ptolemy, he was more concerned about Mediterranean affairs. When in 309/8 Antigonos executed Kleopatra, he presumably did so to prevent her from marrying Ptolemy — an indication of Ptolemy's ambitions rather than Antigonos's. And it was only in 308 that he founded as his new capital Antigoneia in Syria, some years after Seleukos had founded his in Babylonia.

One may think of two reasons why it was not Seleukos but Antigonos who became known to the afterworld as the most ambitious of the Successors. The first is the simple fact that virtually no contemporary Seleucid historiography survives, not even second-handedly, whereas the pro-Antigonid history of Hieronymus of Kardia has been extensively preserved in Diodorus. A second reason is Seleukos' success. Seleukos was the most successful of the Successors. He actually *did* conquer most of Alexander's empire and he passed on his conquests more or less intact to his son. Antigonos, however, failed spectacularly. The fact that both he and Demetrios rose to highest power, and then fell as deep as one could possibly fall, made their history more useful as moral example for later writers, like Plutarch.

The coronation of the Diadochs

Looking beyond the colorful anecdotes, and beyond mere ideology, there were two occasions where the question of Great Kingship really was at stake. The first is Antigonos' declaration of the independence of the Greek cities at Tyre in 314 B.C.E. Protecting the freedom of cities is a typical *imperial* slogan. Although Antigonos had not yet officially claimed to be a king, he certainly acted as one when he proposed to the army assembly that:

> All the Greeks should be free, exempt from garrisons, and autonomous. The soldiers carried the motion and Antigonos sent messengers in every

[36] Billows 1990, 159.

> direction to announce the resolution. He calculated as follows: the Greeks' hopes for freedom would make them willing allies in the war, while the generals and satraps in the Upper Satrapies, who suspected Antigonos of seeking to overthrow the kings who had succeeded Alexander, would change their minds and willingly submit to his orders when they saw him clearly taking up the war on their behalf[37].

It was an empire-wide resolution, also disallowing Ptolemy, Kassandros, Lysimachos and Polyperchon to garrison Greek cities. Although the king, Alexander IV, was not present at Tyre, Antigonos apparently felt confident enough to act on his behalf and present *his* army assembly as *the* Macedonian Assembly. If Ptolemy, Antigonos' main rival at that time, really had only limited ambitions, he probably would have ignored or resisted the order. Instead, his reaction was to emulate Antigonos:

> Ptolemy heard of the resolution … and drafted a proclamation in much the same words to convey to the Greeks that he cared no less for their autonomy than did Antigonos. Each side saw that to gain the goodwill of the Greeks would carry no little weight, and so they vied with each other in conferring favors on them[38].

Ptolemy, Antigonos, and Demetrios thereupon tried to gain control over the League of Corinth — which had been revived by Polyperchon already in 318 — because they knew that a declaration of Greek freedom carried more weight if issued from Corinth, as both Philip II and Alexander had done[39]. Apparently, Ptolemy competed with Antigonos and Demetrios in becoming the leader of all the Greeks.

The second occasion was the assumption of kingship by the Successors in 306/5. Again, it was Antigonos who took the lead. The significance of this event has often been debated. Hans Hauben argued that Antigonos' *basileia* signified his ambition to become sole ruler of the empire[40]. This is presumably correct. But if so, then the title of *basileus*

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[37] D.S. XIX 61.

[38] D.S. XIX 62. Seleukos did not react because he had just been expelled from Babylonia and had taken refuge with Ptolemy.

[39] Dixon 2007, 152.

[40] Hauben 1974b, 105: "the other Diadochi would have to subject themselves to him lest they be regarded as usurpers or rebels and run the risk of having their territories taken by force of arms"; cf. Müller 1973, 88-93. A minimalistic view is presented by Billows 1990, 158-60: the assumption of kingship was first of all Antigonos' answer to the question how to "institutionalize his power in such a way as to provide for the succession of

as taken by Ptolemy, Seleukos, Lysimachos, Kassandros, and Agathokles in reaction to Antigonos' move[41], must have meant the same lest they would have openly accepted the status of vassals subordinate to Antigonos. As Gruen argued, the title of *basileus* as it was used by the Successors indeed carried no territorial or national meaning[42].

A crucial detail is the fact that the assumption of *basileia* was accompanied by the assumption of the diadem. The diadem presumably was introduced by Alexander as an exclusive monarchical symbol[43]. The old Macedonian monarchy knew no distinct regalia[44]. The diadem therefore was a new emblem, associated with Alexander's new title King of Asia[45]. Only much later did the diadem become a generic symbol of kingship, worn also by lesser kings. But in 306/5 the diadem cannot but have signified universalistic pretensions, and a claim to rule over the whole of Alexander's Kingdom of Asia[46].

Seleukos perhaps was most successful in gaining acceptance for this claim. Seleucid universalistic propaganda resonates in Appian's account of the conquests of Seleukos:

> He conquered Mesopotamia, Armenia, Anatolia, the Persians, the Parthians, the Baktrians, the Arabs, the Tapyri, the Sogdians, the Arachosians, the Hyrkanians, and all the other peoples that had before been conquered by Alexander, as far as the river Indus[47].

Demetrios to that power" (158) and "should not be understood as a claim specifically to supreme power over all of Alexander's empire" (159).

[41] For the chain of events following Antigonos' coronation see Müller 1973, 93-104.

[42] Gruen 1985.

[43] A view first expressed by Grenz 1914, 36-8, but not accepted by Ritter 1965, 31-41. Evidence for Alexander wearing the diadem e.g. Arr. *An.* VII 9.9; D.S. XVII 116.4; XVIII 60.6-61.1; Curt. X 6.4.

[44] Whether Alexander also invented the bind or derived it from a pre-existing model is debated: the 'original' diadem has been identified as a pre-Hellenistic Macedonian royal bind, an Achaemenid royal insignia, a Greek victory wreath, and the fillet of the victorious Dionysos. For an overview see Smith 1988, 35-6, who is strongly opposed to a 'fictitious' Achaemenid origin, as argued by Ritter 1965, 105-8, and Ritter 1987.

[45] Smith 1988, 36; Strootman 2007, 367-73.

[46] Significantly, the only two rulers who had reason to be more cautious than the others, the Syracusean tyrant Agathokles and Kassandros the King of the *Makedones*, did take the title of *basileus* but did not wear the diadem, cf. Hauben 1974b, 106.

[47] App. *Syr.* 55.

In the 280s a Seleucid general, Demodamas of Miletos, crossed the river Jaxartes (Syr Darya) into the steppes of Inner Asia to campaign against the nomads living there. When he returned he built altars dedicated to the Seleucid tutelary deity Apollo along the river, setting them up at the same locations where altars had previously been built by Herakles, Dionysos, Cyrus and Alexander, whose expeditions had all ended there[48]. At about the same time the Seleucid general Patrokles, formerly the governor of Babylonia, explored the Caspian Sea on the northern Seleucid border; when Patrokles returned he confidently wrote in his report that the Caspian was indeed a branch of Okeanos, the river encompassing the world[49].

Aftermath: The successors of the Diadochs

In the 260s, the Alexandrian court poet Callimachus lauded Ptolemy II Philadelphos in a hymn as one who ruled "over the Two Countries and over the lands that lie beside the sea, as far as the edge of the earth, where the swift horses always bring the sun."[50] About the same time, the poet Theocritus, too, described his patron's empire as limitless: "The whole sea and all the land and the roaring rivers are ruled by Ptolemy."[51] The presentation of the empire as limitless, harmonious and peaceful was a pivotal aspect of Ptolemaic panegyric, notably at the court of Philadelphos[52].

The first Seleucid kings meanwhile appropriated the title King of Asia. For their non-Greek subjects they were simply Great King. They claimed for themselves the title of Great King (*lugal galú*) in their cuneiform correspondence with Babylonian cities. The best known instance is in the opening lines of the building inscription of Antiochos I from the Ezida temple in Borsippa (268), where the king calls himself:

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[48] Plin. *NH* VI 18.

[49] Patrocles, *FGrHist* 712; Memnon, *FGrHist* 434 F1 (9).

[50] Call. *Del.* 168-70. For the date see Mineur 1984, 10-8.

[51] Theoc. *Id.* XVII 77-92.

[52] Strootman 2010a, 40-4.

> Antiochos the Great King, the Mighty King, King of the World, King of Babylon, King of Countries, caretaker of Esagila and Ezida, first son of King Seleukos, the Macedonian, King of Babylon[53].

From the reign of Antiochos III (if not earlier) the Seleucids translated that title directly into Greek as *basileus megas*[54]. Interestingly, two Ptolemaic kings adopted the Asian title *basileus megas* too, in both cases as an expression of victory over the Seleucids. The Victory Stele of Ptolemy III Euergetes, a Greek inscription of *c.* 241 from Adoulis on the Red Sea, glorifies the achievements of the king during the Third Syrian War (246-241) in a style which combines ancient pharaonic and Greek terminology:

> Ptolemaios the Great King … having gained possession of the whole land on this side of the Euphrates … crossed the river Euphrates, and subdued Mesopotamia, Babylonia, Susiane, the Persis, Media and the rest of the land as far as Baktria[55].

The historicity of these conquests is doubtful[56]. What Ptolemy III merely claims, is that he considered the entire Seleucid empire *doriktetos chora* ("spear-won land", i.e. war booty), meaning that the whole of Asia had become his own by right of victory over its previous master, the Seleucid king. "As far as Baktria" is — like "as far as the River Indus" in

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[53] Pritchard 1969, 317 = Austin 2006, no. 166. The title is also given to several Seleucid kings in the Babylonian king list *BM* 35603 = Austin 2006, no. 158.

[54] The interconnectedness of the two titles is clear from I *Macc.* 8.6: "Antiochos [III] the Great King of Asia"; for contemporary confirmation in the epigraphic record see Ma 1999, 272-6, who suggests distinct periods (and significance) for the use of the title *megas* (which Antiochos III took after his *anabasis,* cf. App. *Syr.* 1) and *basileus megas*. Cf. *I.Délos* 1547 and 1548, with Just. XXXVIII 10.6 (Antiochos VII). The Hellenistic title *basileus megas* lived on in several successor states of the Seleucids, including Kommagene, Pontos, Baktria and the Parthian kingdom. The title was claimed by later kings either by right of inheritance or conquest. In 34 B.C.E., Kleopatra VII and her son Ptolemy XV (Caesarion) were proclaimed respectively Queen of Kings and King of Kings as heirs of the Seleucids (D.C. XLIX 40.2-41.3; Plu. *Ant.* 54.3-6), cf. Bingen 1999. In Tarsos in 41 Kleopatra had already celebrated her marriage with Marc Antony, as a hierogamy of Dionysos and Aphrodite "for the benefit of Asia" (Plu. *Ant.* 26.3).

[55] *OGIS* 54 = Austin 2006, no. 268. The other instance is Ptolemy IV, who is proclaimed Great King on the Raphia Decree after his victorious return from war against Antiochos III in Koile Syria in 217.

[56] He did advance as far as Babylonia (App. *Syr.* 65; cf. Hauben 1990, 31-2) but withdrew to Egypt in 241 (Just. XXVII 1.9).

the citation about Seleukos, above — a standard claim, meaning no less than "as far as the end of the (civilized) earth."[57]

If the aims of the Diadochs indeed were limited, that would not only have set them apart from their predecessors — the Achaemenids *and* Alexander — but also from their own successors. Like Alexander, in order to build an empire they needed to position themselves within the age-old Near Eastern tradition of empire, a tradition that combined an ideological claim to world hegemony with an all too real obligation on the part of the ruler to make every effort to realize this aim in actual reality. The endurance of this ideology in the kingdoms of the Ptolemies and the Seleucids — in 34 Kleopatra VII as the heir of both the Ptolemaic and Seleucid royal title could still claim to be entitled to an empire "as far as India"[58] — makes it very unlikely that the founders of these empires had limited ambitions. On the contrary: passed on to their sons and grandsons, the Diadochs' expansionism, competition and refusal to acknowledge borders resulted in the relentless and ruthless warfare that would upset the Eastern Mediterranean and Middle East for centuries to come.

[57] Strootman 2010b.
[58] D.C. XLIX 41.3.

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