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C. P. JONES

Hellenistic History in Chariton of Aphrodisias

It might seem improbable that a Greek romance written in the period of the Roman empire, and set approximately in the late fifth century or the early fourth, should illuminate the history of Alexander's Successors. It will be argued here that a passing phrase in the romance by Chariton of Aphrodisias, Chaereas and Callirhoe, reveals something of the history of Hellenistic Miletos and, by extension, of the policy of Antigonos Monophthalmos towards the Greek cities of Asia; and some consequences may also emerge for Chariton's methods of composition.¹

Chariton's novel is usually dated to the first century of the Christian era, though preferences have been expressed for both the preceding and the following centuries.² The heroine, Callirhoe, is the daughter of the famous Hermocrates of Syracuse who died in 407; in the story he is still alive, though there is no sign of the war between Athens and Sparta. As BRIAN REARDON has observed, «The historical setting is vague . . . and displays a number of anachronisms . . . The story reflects a

¹ I am grateful to GLEN BOWERSOCK and CHRISTIAN HABICHT for their comments. All dates are B.C. unless otherwise indicated. I have used the following special abbreviations: BILLOWS, Antigonos = R. A. BILLOWS, Antigonos the One-Eyed and the Creation of the Hellenistic State, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London 1990; BURASELIS, Makedonien u. d. Ägäis = K. A. BURASELIS, Das hellenistische Makedonien und die Ägäis, Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung 73, Munich 1982; FRASER, Ptolemaic Alexandria = P. M. FRASER, Ptolemaic Alexandria I–III, Oxford 1972; KLEINER, Milet = G. KLEINER, Die Ruinen von Milet, Berlin 1968; MAGIE, Roman Rule = D. MAGIE, Roman Rule in Asia Minor I–II, Princeton 1950; MAIER, Mauerbauinschriften = F. G. MAIER, Griechische Mauerbauinschriften I, Heidelberg 1959; MEHL, Seleukos = A. MEHL, Seleukos Nikator und sein Reich I, Louvain 1986; REARDON, Novels = B. P. REARDON, ed., Collected Ancient Greek Novels, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London 1989; ROBERT, A travers l'Asie Mineure = L. ROBERT, A travers l'Asie Mineure, Paris 1980; ROBERT, OMS = L. ROBERT, Opera Minora Selecta I–VII, Amsterdam 1969–1990; Bull. ép. = J. and L. ROBERT, Bulletin épigraphique in REG 1938–1984; ROSTOVITZEFF, Hellenistic World = M. I. ROSTOVITZEFF, The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World I–III, Oxford 1941; WEHRLI, Antigone = CL. WEHRLI, Antigone et Démétrios, Geneva 1968; WELLES, RC = C. BRADFORD WELLES, Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period, New Haven and London 1934.

² See most recently REARDON, Novels 17–18; C. P. JONES in: M.-F. BASLEZ, ed., Le Monde du roman grec, Paris 1992.

number of historical events and people distributed over most of the fourth century, including the siege of Tyre by Alexander the Great in 332.»³

In the third book, Callirhoe has arrived by a series of misadventures at the country estate of a great man of Miletos called Dionysios. He asks her to marry him, and when she consents he has her conveyed by water to his house in town, situated ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ λιμένος τοῦ Δοκίμου λεγομένου (3, 2, 11). The harbor plays no further role in the narrative, and there seems no reason to question the name. This name is usually taken to be «Dokimos,» and translators render the phrase in question «am Hafen mit Namen Dokimos,» «sur le port appelé Dokimos,» «by the harbor called Docimus.»⁴ Yet the Greek also permits another translation, «the harbor of Dokimos,» with the nominative form understood as ὁ λιμὴν ὁ Δοκίμου λεγόμενος. Thus in Herodotos ἡ Μοίριος καλεομένη λίμνη is the lake in the Egyptian Fayum dug by a king allegedly called Moiris (2, 149, 1; cf. 2, 101, 2). An example in several respects similar to the present one is Spasinou Charax, often called simply Charax, in the Mesopotamian Delta; Cassius Dio (68, 28, 4) refers to this as τὸν χάρακα τὸν Σπασίνου καλούμενον, and this «fortress of Spasines» took its name from a Seleucid eparch, more correctly named Hyspaosines, who made himself into an independent king in the later second century.⁵

The name «Dokimos» is not especially rare, but only one bearer of it enters into history, and as it happens he intervened at a crucial juncture in the history of Miletos. Early in 312 Antigonos Monophthalmos moved to seize Caria, then governed by a semi-independent satrap, Asandros. While Antigonos himself besieged Tralles, he sent sea and land forces against the cities of the coast, «making Medeios the captain of his fleet and appointing Dokimos commander of his army. These arriving at the city of Miletos summoned the citizens to freedom and after taking by storm the fortified acropolis restored the constitution to autonomy» (Diod. Sic. 19, 75, 3–4, τοῦ μὲν στόλου ναύαρχον ἀποδείξας Μήδιον, τοῦ δὲ στρατοπέδου καταστήσας στρατηγὸν Δόκιμον. οὗτοι δὲ παραχρὴν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τῶν Μιλησίων τοὺς τε πολίτας ἐκάλουν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὴν φρουρουμένην ἄκραν ἐκπολιορκήσαντες εἰς αὐτονομίαν ἀποκατέστησαν τὸ πολίτευμα).⁶ This event constituted an epoch

³ REARDON, *Novels* 18. The subject of anachronisms in Chariton is excellently discussed by P. SALMON, CE 86, 1961, 365–76.

⁴ K. PLEPELITS, *Chariton von Aphrodisias: Callirhoe*, Stuttgart 1976, 71; G. MOLINIÉ, *Le Roman de Chairéas et Callirhoé*, Paris 1979, 96; REARDON, *Novels* 52. Cf. also BÜRCHNER, RE 5, 1903, 1274, Dokimos 1, «Hafen von Miletos, Chariton III 2». In *Le Monde du roman grec* (n. 2), I allowed for the alternative possibility to be discussed here, but not for the conclusions that I am now drawing.

⁵ G. W. BOWERSOCK, *L'Arabie préislamique et son environnement historique et culturel*, Leiden 1989, 159–68, especially 159; D. T. POTTS, *The Arabian Gulf in Antiquity II*, Oxford 1990, 8–9, 145–46. CH. HABICHT points out that a Hyspaosines of Bactria made a dedication recorded at Delos in 153/52: Inscr. de Délos 1432, A a, col. II 27.

⁶ On this event BURASELIS, *Makedonien u. d. Ägäis* 10–11; BILLOWS, *Antigonos* 120–21

in the annals of the city. In its inscribed records of the annual *stephanephoroi*, a new list was begun with an annotation under the name of the eponym for 313/12: ἐπὶ τοῦτου ἡ πόλις ἐλευθέρα καὶ αὐτόνομος ἐγένετο ὑπὸ Ἀντιγόνου καὶ ἡ δημοκρατία ἀπεδόθη: so also a new list was begun in 259/58 when Antiochos II liberated the city from the tyrant Timarchos.⁷

To understand how Dokimos was appointed to his position by Antigonos, and how he might have given his name to a harbor of Miletos, it will help to review his career. His name is typically Macedonian.⁸ He had already served in some capacity under Alexander (Diod. Sic. 19, 16, 1, διὰ τὴν μετ' Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατείαν), but enters history in the winter of 321/20, when Perdikkas, chiliarch of the Macedonian empire but threatened by Antigonos and by Ptolemy (the future Ptolemy I Soter), decided to replace the then satrap of Babylon, Archon, with «a Macedonian, Dokimos by name»; Dokimos was able to establish his position only after heavy fighting, in which Archon died of his wounds (Arr. FGrHist 156 F 10, 3–5).⁹ At the conference held at Triparadeisos in 320, Dokimos as a partisan of the now dead and disgraced Perdikkas was deprived of his satrapy and condemned to death (Arr. FGrHist 156 F 10, 19–22); his successor was Seleukos (the future Seleukos I Nikator), who arrived in Babylon late in the same year.¹⁰ Dokimos is next heard of in the following winter, when Eumenes of Cardia, the leader of the Perdikkian faction, tried to negotiate with Alketas, the brother of Perdikkas, and with others including Dokimos «who after being appointed to commands or satrapies by Perdikkas had been condemned to death by the Macedonians» (Plut. Eum. 8, 8; Arr. Hist. post. Alex., Göteborg

(dating it to early 312). On Medeios of Larissa, prominent admiral under Alexander and his successors, CH. HABICHT, *Ancient Macedonia* 1, Thessaloniki 1970, 265–69; BILLOWS, 400–01. The ἄκρᾱ captured by Medeios and Dokimos is presumably the hill against which the theatre now stands: so KLEINER, *Milet* 17; for this sense of ἄκρᾱ, L. ROBERT, *Gnomon* 42, 1970, 595–96 (OMS VI 645–46). Athens, which had honored Asandros in 314/13, later appears to have congratulated Miletos on recovering its ancestral constitution, IG II² 450, 1129.

⁷ List of 313/12: REHM, *Milet* I 3, no. 123. For the beginning of the next list (Milet no. 124) in 259/58, M. WÖRRLE, *Chiron* 18, 1988, 430–39, especially 437. For this practice of listing eponyms, gymnasiarchs and the like from a crucial event such as the liberation of a city or a region, see now J. and L. ROBERT, *Fouilles d'Amyzon en Carie* I, Paris 1983, 249–50.

⁸ The articles of KAERST in RE 5, 1903, 1274 nos. 4 and 5, divide him into two and are now antiquated. For subsequent discussion, H. BERVE, *Das Alexanderreich auf prosopographischer Grundlage* II, Munich 1926, 147 no. 285; ROBERT, *A travers l'Asie Mineure* 240–42 (especially 241 on the name); J. HORNBLLOWER, *Hieronymus of Cardia*, Oxford 1981, 125–26; BILLOWS, *Antigonos* 382–83.

⁹ On these transactions L. SCHÖBER, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte Babyloniens und der Oberen Satrapien von 323–303 v. Chr.*, Frankfurt 1981, 38–40; MEHL, *Seleukos* 29; BILLOWS, *Antigonos* 62.

¹⁰ R. M. ERRINGTON, *JHS* 90, 1970, 75–76; SCHÖBER, *Untersuchungen* (n. 9), 41; MEHL, *Seleukos* 39–40.

fr. 19–22).¹¹ The negotiations were unsuccessful, and in 319 Antigonos was able first to defeat Eumenes at Orkynia in Cappadocia and then to march against Alketas and his supporters. These he defeated at Cretopolis in Pisidia, and though Alketas escaped Dokimos and others were captured and imprisoned for several years (Diod. Sic. 18, 45, 3; 19, 16, 1).¹² In 316, according to a report which probably goes back to Hieronymos of Cardia, Dokimos made a dramatic escape by negotiating with Antigonos' wife Stratonike; unlike his companions he saved his life, but was allegedly «regarded as untrustworthy and treated as a prisoner.» It is a likely suggestion that he betrayed his companions in return for a promise of advancement in the service of Antigonos (Diod. Sic. 19, 16).¹³

As has been seen, Antigonos appointed Dokimos in 312 to command his land forces in the conquest of western Caria; his colleague in the operation, the well-known Medeios of Larissa, had also been a loyal subordinate of Perdikkas, and like Dokimos may have been captured by the forces of Antigonos.¹⁴ After the capture of Miletos, Dokimos is not heard of again for over ten years, but in the interval he appears to have received a position of very high trust, the governorship of Upper Phrygia, once Antigonos' own province and the original base of his power: some have thought that Dokimos combined it with Hellespontine Phrygia and that his position approached that of a regional dynast.¹⁵ It was probably while in this position that he founded a colony of Macedonians which was to perpetuate his name into the Byzantine era: this was Dokimeion, situated some twenty-five kilometers north-east of Synnada near extremely important marble-quarries, and probably intended to serve for the exploitation of this valuable resource.¹⁶ Coins of the Roman

¹¹ For the Göteborg fragment, J. NORET, *AC* 52, 1983, 235–42; ST. SCHRÖDER, *ZPE* 71, 1988, 75–90; on the historical context, SCHRÖDER, 84–87.

¹² For Orkynia, BILLOWS, *Antigonos* 75–76; for Cretopolis, R. ENGEL, *Historia* 21, 1972, 501–07 (principally concerned with the historiography); *Bull. ép.* 1978, 501 p. 491 (site); BILLOWS, *Antigonos* 77–79. The attempt of W. M. RAMSAY, *JHS* 40, 1920, 107–12, to locate the unnamed fortress in the area of the modern Afyon Karahisar does not convince.

¹³ R. H. SIMPSON, *Historia* 6, 1957, 504–05; cf. HORNBLOWER, *Hieronymus* (n. 8), 125–26.

¹⁴ On Medeios, above n. 6. For this suggestion, BILLOWS, *Antigonos* 400–401. In Arrian's account of Perdikkas' measures in early 320, his dispatch of Medeios to Cyprus follows immediately on Dokimos' dispatch to Babylon (*Arr. FG RHist* 156 F 10, 3–5 and 6).

¹⁵ W. W. TARN, *Cambridge Ancient History* VI, Cambridge 1927, 503, suggesting that «both Phrygias and the Dardanelles were in his charge»; H. BENGTON, *Die Strategie in der hellenistischen Zeit* I, Munich 1964, 199–201; for a minimal view of his position, BILLOWS, *Antigonos* 273–74.

¹⁶ For this suggestion, TARN (previous n.), 491; cf. ROBERT, *A travers l'Asie Mineure* 242 n. 14. Sites of Dokimeion and Synnada: W. M. CALDER and G. E. BEAN, *A Classical Map of Asia Minor*, London 1958, E e; L. ROBERT, *JS* 1961, 137–41, 1962, 25–26 (OMS VII 41–45, 91–92); id., *A travers l'Asie Mineure* 228–29. On Dokimeion and its marble in general, apart from works already cited, W. RUGE, *RE* 5, 1903, 1273–74; ROBERT, *RPh* sér. 3, 8, 1934, 267–68 (OMS II 1166–67); id., *JS* 1962, 13–43 (OMS VII 79–109); WEHRLI, *Antigone* 80–82; J. RÖDER, *JDAI* 86, 1971, 253–312; ROBERT, *A travers l'Asie Mineure* Ch. IX, 221–56;

period carry a youthful portrait of Dokimos as the founder, and several epigrams of the same period mention him in the same capacity; in one Dokimeion is called the «city of Dokimos», a phrase reminiscent of the «harbor of Dokimos» at Miletos.¹⁷

The last event in which Dokimos appears occurred in the region of Synnada and Dokimeion. In 302 Lysimachos crossed from Thrace into Asia, and marched south-east into the heart of Dokimos' province. Just as he had formerly betrayed Alketas and his other colleagues when imprisoned by Antigonos, so he now deserted Antigonos for Lysimachos, and handed over Synnada and other strongholds containing the king's treasures (Diod. Sic. 20, 107, 4; Paus. 1, 8, 1).¹⁸ Although he is not heard of again, the sources now become so scanty that his career may have continued after 302 without leaving a trace.¹⁹

It seems safe to infer that «the harbor of Dokimos» at Miletos, mentioned only by Chariton of Aphrodisias, received its name from Dokimos, the general of Antigonos. As for the date of its construction, three epochs in his career are possible, though perhaps not equally likely. The preferable one, which will be assumed here, is the year 312 or soon thereafter, when Dokimos in company with Medeios liberated Miletos. Of the two alternatives, one is that he built the harbor as governor of Phrygia, the same period in which he founded Dokimeion; for marble exported from Dokimeion, Miletos was the nearest and most convenient outlet, since the silting of the Maeander which was later to ruin its economy still lay far in the future.²⁰ The other possibility is that the construction took place under Lysimachos, since Dokimos might have retained his position in Phrygia after defecting to him.²¹

Some two and a half centuries later, the name Dokimos recurs in a notable family of Miletos which supplied several *stephanephoroi*: a Dokimos son of Antiphon in

M. WAELKENS, Dokimeion: Die Werkstatt der repräsentativen kleinasiatischen Sarkophage, Berlin 1982; for recent bibliography, R. M. HARRISON et al., AS 40, 1990, 206.

¹⁷ Coins: BMC, Greek Coins, Phrygia 189 nos. 7–9; The Weber Collection, Greek Coins III no. 7083; SNG Copenhagen, Phrygia no. 354; SNG Deutschland, von Aulock no. 3547; SNG Deutschland, München, Phrygien nos. 178–81. Epigrams: ROBERT, RPh sér. 3, 8, 1934, 267–68 (OMS II 1166–67). The epigram mentioning a ναῒτι Δοκίμοιο πόλῃος was published by W. PEEK, MDAl(A) 56, 1931, 124 no. 8, with the reading δοκίμοιο: corrected by A. WILHELM, SbBerlin 1932, 851 (Akademieschriften II 395) and by ROBERT, *ibid.*

¹⁸ On these events, BILLOWS, Antigonos 175–76. On the activities of Lysimachos' colleague Prepelaos in this campaign, J. and L. ROBERT, Fouilles de Claros I: Décrets hellénistiques, Paris 1989, 77–78, 83–84.

¹⁹ Below, n. 21; cf. J. and L. ROBERT, Fouilles de Claros (n. 18), 78, on the later career of Prepelaos.

²⁰ At a later date Ephesos and not Miletos would have been the better outlet: ROBERT, JS 1962, 26 (OMS VII 92). On the silting up of the Maeander in later antiquity, ROBERT in *Laodicee du Lykos, Le Nymphée*. Québec and Paris 1969, 346–49.

²¹ Cf. ROBERT, A travers l'Asie Mineure 242 n. 14, suggesting that Dokimos founded Dokimeion only after his defection.

69/68 and his two sons Antiphon and Molpagoras in 55/54 and 54/53. It is possible that, like the Macedonian Diogenes who gave Athens its freedom in 229, Dokimos left descendants in the city he had benefited.²²

Like the colony of Dokimeion, the new harbor must have had the sanction of Antigonos. He had several motives for strengthening the defences and improving the economy of the coastal cities in western and southern Asia Minor. The principal one arose from his continuing struggles against rival dynasts, particularly Ptolemy with his formidable navy. Already in 314 Antigonos' nephew Polemaios had to defend the Ionian coast against attacks from Seleukos, recently expelled by Antigonos from Babylonia and now in league with Ptolemy (Diod. Sic. 19, 58, 5; 60, 3-4).²³ In 313 Kassandros attempted to reinforce Seleukos by sending an expedition to the northern Aegean and to Caria, but this ended in failure (Diod. Sic. 19, 68, 2-7).²⁴ In 309, Ptolemy launched what appears to have been a major offensive in Ionia and Caria. In Caria, Iasos and Myndos passed into Egyptian control, Halikarnassos was only saved for Antigonos by the arrival of his son Demetrios, and Ptolemy passed the winter of 309/08 on Cos, which lay within sight of Halikarnassos and dominated the entrance to its gulf.²⁵ Under these circumstances, Antigonos may well have decided to strengthen Miletos and its harbors immediately after liberating the city in 312, and as commander of the land forces in that operation Dokimos would have been a suitable person to oversee the new construction, whatever his precise title: perhaps he became governor of Caria, for no successor to Asandros is known.²⁶

While encamped before Tyre in 314, Antigonos proclaimed the freedom and autonomy of the Greeks, which he thereafter espoused as a set policy, however insincerely it may have been felt and however frequently it was in fact infringed (Diod. Sic. 19, 61, 3-4). In 313 he reaffirmed the policy in negotiations with Asandros, conceding him control of Caria in return for the autonomy of the Greeks; Asandros in fact soon broke the agreement, and it was in retaliation that Antigonos decided to

²² Descendants of Dokimos: REHM, *Milet I* 3, no. 125, 28, 46, 47: for Molpagoras note also I. Didyma no. 390 A I 5, 394, 1-2; also the Aur(elii) Docimi of I. Didyma no. 529. For Diogenes of Macedon at Athens and his descendants, CH. HABICHT, *Studien zur Geschichte Athens in hellenistischer Zeit*, Göttingen 1982, 82-83, and also below.

²³ WÖRRLE, *Chiron* 7, 1977, 48; BURASELIS, *Makedonien u.d. Ägäis* 40; MEHL, *Seleukos* 79-80; BILLOWS, *Antigonos* 112-13.

²⁴ BURASELIS, *Makedonien u.d. Ägäis* 10; MEHL, *Seleukos* 80-81; BILLOWS, *Antigonos* 119-20.

²⁵ On this campaign, see above all WÖRRLE, *Chiron* 7, 1977, 51-52; cf. BURASELIS, *Makedonien u.d. Ägäis* 47-48; BILLOWS, *Antigonos* 143-44, 200-01. Iasos: G. PUGLIESE CARRATELLI, *ASAA* 45-46, n. s. 29-30, 1967/68, publ. 1969, 437-45 no. 1; Bull. ép. 1971, 620; W. BLÜMEL, *Die Inschriften von Iasos I*, Bonn 1985, no. 2. Myndos: Diod. Sic. 20, 37, 1. Halikarnassos: Plut. *Demetr.* 7, 5. Cos: Diod. Sic. 20, 27, 3.

²⁶ For the known governors of Caria in the hellenistic period, HABICHT, *MDAI(A)* 72, 1957, 219 n. 68.

seize Caria for himself in 312.²⁷ When he made peace in 311 with Cassandros, Ptolemy and Lysimachos, the freedom and autonomy of the Greeks were written into the terms, and Antigonos proceeded to send letters to the Greek cities drawing their attention to this clause (Diod. Sic. 19, 105, 1; cf. 20, 19, 3).²⁸ The liberation of Miletos is one expression of this policy, and again it is easy to see how Antigonos might have wished to advertise his goodwill towards this ancient Greek city by encouraging its development.²⁹ He also had a more personal motive. One of his closest confidants, who served him from at least 319 until after his assumption of kingship in 306, was a well-known Milesian, Aristodemos son of Parthenios. In 306/05, Aristodemos was *stephanephoros* (doubtless in absence) of the city, and in the same year he was present at Antigonos' coronation (Plut. Dem. 17, 2–6). He was later to be buried in a *heroon* near the temple of Apollo of Didyma.³⁰

For Antigonos' initiative at Miletos, the best analogue is provided by Colophon, lying to the south-east of Smyrna and united in sympolity with Notion on the coast. A famous inscription first published in 1935 contains a decree passed by Colophon perhaps soon after 311. Since the clause justifying the measures to be taken begins by mentioning «King Alexander and Antigonos» as the liberators of the city, it seems likely that the latter is the moving force behind the decree. The walls of Colophon were now extended to include the «old city,» situated nearby but lower down, and a subscription (*epidosis*) was opened in order to raise the necessary funds. Prominent among the subscribers are a number of foreigners, including two Macedonians and a Milesian, and LOUIS ROBERT has proposed that these were officers of Antigonos' army.³¹ At Smyrna itself, Antigonos revived the long dormant

²⁷ On Antigonos' agreement with Asandros, H. H. SCHMITT, *Die Staatsverträge des Altertums III*, Munich 1969, 38 no. 425. In this same year, 314/13, Asandros was *stephanephoros* at Miletos: REHM, *Milet I* 3, no. 122, ii 100 (Syll.³ 272).

²⁸ Letter of Antigonos: OGIS 5, 53–61; WELLES, RC 1; SCHMITT, *Staatsverträge* (n. 27) III, 40–44 no. 428. The sincerity of Antigonos' philhellenism has been variously estimated: see most recently BILLOWS, *Antigonos* 114, 199–205.

²⁹ In a much-discussed sentence of his letter to Miletos (WELLES, RC 14, 6–7), Ptolemy II claims that his father had freed the city from «harsh and oppressive taxes which certain of the kings had imposed» (tr. WELLES). It is more than uncertain whether this refers to Antigonos: cf. WÖRRLE, *Chiron* 7, 1977, 55–56.

³⁰ On Aristodemos see now BILLOWS, *Antigonos* 371–74. Add the new boundary stone of the *temenos*, KL. TUCHELT, *Vorarbeiten zu einer Topographie von Didyma*, MDAI(I) Beiheft 9, 1973, 28–29; id., MDAI(I) 23–24, 1973–74, 168 with Pl. 75. For the new inscription of Ephesos granting him citizenship in 306 or later, Bull. ép. 1983, 335, p. 142; SEG 33, 933, 17–20.

³¹ The first edition was by B. D. MERITT, *AJPh* 56, 1935, 359–72 (a squeeze is preserved at the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton); now in: MAIER, *Mauerbauinschriften* no. 69. The fundamental study is that of ROBERT, *RPh* sér. 3, 10, 1936, 158–64 (OMS II 1237–43): note especially 162 n. 2 on the foreign subscribers and 166 on the sympolity of Colophon and Notion. More recently, D. MAGIE, *Roman Rule* 79–80; WEHRLI, *Antigone* 90–91; BILLOWS, *Antigonos* 295.

city by a synoecism of several smaller ones, and by moving the site from the north-east of the gulf to a more defensible position around Pagos on the south-east (Str. 14, 1, 37, C 646).³² At Teos, Smyrna's neighbor to the south-west, Antigonos about 302 made elaborate arrangements for a synoecism with Lebedos, and his two letters to Teos preserved on stone show him entering into minute details of the arrangements. One of his concerns, relevant to the case of Miletos, is for the export of grain, which farmers were now allowed to take directly to the harbor after paying the sales tax.³³

A parallel for the situation of Miletos in 312 may also be found in Athens after the restoration of its liberty in 229. Having persuaded the Macedonian commander Diogenes to withdraw from Attica, the citizens began a new list of archons (as at Miletos in 313/12) and a loan was raised «for freedom» (προδανεισμός χρημάτων εἰς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν); at least part of this money was intended for refurbishing the harbors of Attica, in the first place Peiraios.³⁴

There may be an analogue of another kind to the «harbor of Dokimos» in the capital of Antigonos' rival Ptolemy. One of Ptolemy's chief concerns after he had gained Egypt in 323 was to build up the harbors of Alexandria. Of the two sea-harbors, divided by the great mole called the Heptastadion, the western one, which is still functioning, was called the «harbor of Eunostos.» Strabo, the only source for this name, first refers to the harbor in the accusative as τὸν λιμένα τὸν τοῦ Εὐνόστου καλούμενον and later as τὸν Εὐνόστου λιμένα (Str. 17, 1, 6, C 792; cf. 17, 1, 10, C 794). Some have understood this designation to mean «the harbor of Safe Return,» but «Eunostos» is only attested as a proper name, found above all in Boeotia.³⁵ P. M. FRASER has recently proposed to connect it with a little-known divinity of millers, and suggests that the harbor «was regarded as pre-eminently the «corn-harbor»»; as he admits, however, this divinity is usually feminine, ἡ Εὐνοστός.³⁶ A

³² C. J. CADOUX, *Ancient Smyrna*, Oxford 1938, 95–96, 98; MAGIE, *Roman Rule* 70, 876 n. 66; WEHRLI, *Antigone* 92; BILLOWS, *Antigonos* 295.

³³ WELLES, *RC* 3, 4; for Antigonos' arrangements concerning export of grain, no. 3, 94–101 with WELLES, p. 30. In general, WEHRLI, *Antigone* 87–89; BILLOWS, *Antigonos* 288–89; SHEILA L. AGER, *ZPE* 85, 1991, 93–96. For the geography of Teos, J. and L. ROBERT, *JS* 1976, 167–72 (*OMS* VII 311–16).

³⁴ HABICHT, *Studien zur Geschichte Athens* (n. 22), 79–81; L. MIGEOTTE in: *Boeotika*, ed. H. BEISTER and J. BUCKLER, Munich 1989, 193–201. MIGEOTTE shows that the epigraphical evidence cited for the participation of Thebes and Thespiai in this affair is weak; CH. HABICHT kindly informs me that he accepts MIGEOTTE's arguments and will return to the subject in *ClAnt* 11, 1992.

³⁵ For this view, SCHIFF, *RE* 6, 1907, 1143; K. LEHMANN-HARTLEBEN, *Die antiken Hafenanlagen des Mittelmeeres*, *Klio Beiheft* 14, n. f. 1, Leipzig 1923, 293; LIDDELL-SCOTT-JONES s. v. εὐνοστός II. On «Eunostos» and its extension, J. and L. ROBERT, *Bull. ép.* 1959, 184, on no. 136.

³⁶ FRASER, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* II 77–78 n. 181; for the divinity, SCHIFF, *RE* 6, 1907, 1136 no. 1; DUANE W. ROLLER in *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* IV, 1988, 65–66,

third view, first proposed by CARL WACHSMUTH, is that the harbor was named after Eunostos, a king of Soloi in Cyprus who was married to Eirene, a daughter of Ptolemy Soter by the Athenian courtesan Thais.³⁷ Against this FRASER argues that Eunostos of Soloi «was an obscure person, married to an illegitimate daughter of Soter by Thais, and even if the harbor had been named after him it is unlikely that the name would have lasted three hundred years.»³⁸ Neither argument seems very strong. Too little is known of this period to allow easy judgement about the relative obscurity of the lesser characters; and at all times names attached to places tend to outlast the memory of the original eponym. On the positive side, Ptolemy was concerned from the beginning of his reign to establish his influence in Cyprus; a predecessor of Eunostos as king of Soloi, Pasikrates, made alliance with him in 320, and remained faithful in 314 at a time when other of the local rulers went over to Antigonos.³⁹ The best interpretation of «the harbor of Eunostos» may therefore be that it is named after this Eunostos (who need not yet have succeeded his father or married the daughter of Ptolemy and Thais), whether the name was bestowed simply as a compliment or because he took some direct part in the construction. More than one commentator has observed how the harbors of Miletos made it a rival of Alexandria,⁴⁰ and it has already been seen that in the years after the liberation of the city in 312 Ptolemy and his fleets constituted the main threat to Antigonos' domination of Ionia and Caria. If Ptolemy named one of the harbors of his capital after a valued ally, then there is a curious parity, whether or not intended, with the «harbor of Dokimos» in Antigonid Miletos.

According to Strabo (14, 1, 6, C 635), Miletos had four harbors, one of which was large enough for a fleet.⁴¹ It is unclear whether the geographer means by «Miletos» only the city or the territory as well; this contained at least one notable harbor, that of Panormos which served the temple of Apollo at Didyma and is indirectly mentioned by Chariton.⁴² The one singled out by Strabo is probably the north one, cal-

identifying the divinity with the Tanagran hero, SCHIFF, *ibid.* no. 2, but this seems very doubtful.

³⁷ C. WACHSMUTH, *Göttinger Festrede 1876*, 4 [non vidi]; accepted by PUCHSTEIN, RE 1, 1893, 1382; B. NIESE, *Geschichte der Griechischen und Makedonischen Staaten II*, Gotha 1899, 106. On this Eunostos, SCHIFF, RE 6, 1907, 1138–39, Eunostos no. 4.

³⁸ FRASER, *Ptolemaic Alexandria II* 78 n. 181.

³⁹ Arr. FGrHist 156 F 10, 6; Diod. Sic. 19, 59, 1. On Pasikrates, F. WOTKE, RE 18, 1949, 2062–63; BILLOWS, *Antigonos* 112.

⁴⁰ Thus ROSTOVITZ, *Hellenistic World II* 1043, «Alexandria had rivals in the reorganized harbours of Miletos.»

⁴¹ On the harbours of Miletos in general, LEHMANN-HARTLEBEN, *Antike Hafenanlagen* (n. 35) 127–28; ROSTOVITZ, *Hellenistic World II* 664–67; MAGIE, *Roman Rule* 73–74, 882 n. 79; KLEINER, *Milet 6–7*, 48–60.

⁴² On Panormos, ROBERT, *Hellenica XI/XII*, Paris 1960, 265; W. GÜNTHER, *Das Orakel von Didyma in hellenistischer Zeit*, MDAL(I) Beiheft 4, 1971, 11, 98; cf. Chariton 1, 11, 8, an «anchorage (ᾠμος) eighty stades from the city.»

led since its excavation the «lion-harbor» (Löwenbucht) because of the two stone lions set up on either side of the entrance, which could also be enclosed by a chain; this same harbor is presumably the one called the «enclosed harbor» (κλειστός λιμήν) in an inscription dated approximately to the time of the Mithridatic Wars.⁴³ This expression designates harbors that were built into a city's defences and could be closed off: another example is the so-called Box (Κίβωτος) adjacent to the harbor of Eunostos in Alexandria (Str. 17, 1, 6, C 792), and just as that «enclosed harbor» had a particular, perhaps popular, name, so also the one at Miletos seems to have been known as the «harbor of Dokimos».⁴⁴ The excavators of the north harbor of Miletos propose to date it in the late fourth century, «als Milet von Alexander d. Gr. erobert war und die hellenistische Epoche begann», and this date fits perfectly with the theory that the builder was a general of Antigonos Monophthalmos.

To return finally to Chariton, if the above arguments are correct, it follows that he is alone in preserving an important detail about the toponymy, and indirectly about the history, of hellenistic Miletos. That may be because, as a citizen of Aphrodisias in Caria, he knew Miletos as the nearest major harbor (though in his day the silting of the Maeander had sent it into decline).⁴⁵ Another hypothesis, not incompatible with this one, may be entertained: that Chariton is incorporating into his novel details borrowed from some hellenistic historian now lost, and hence that his narrative incorporates a name which later passed out of use.

As has been seen, it is generally admitted that «the story reflects a number of historical events and people distributed over most of the fourth century, including the siege of Tyre by Alexander the Great in 332».⁴⁶ In Chariton's siege, however, it is the King of Egypt who besieges and takes Tyre after conquering Coele Syria and Phoenicia (7, 2), and that situation is less similar to Alexander's siege of Tyre than to another one, which happens to be very close in time to Antigonos' liberation of Miletos. Towards the end of the year 312, Ptolemy marched out of Egypt against Antigonos' son Demetrios in Syria. Demetrios was heavily defeated at Gaza, and Ptolemy proceeded to invest Tyre, while Demetrios retreated to northern Phoenicia; eventually Ptolemy's forces captured the city by treachery (Diod. Sic. 19, 80–86; Plut. Dem. 5).⁴⁷

⁴³ On the north harbour, A. v. GERKAN, *Milet I* 6, Berlin 1923, 82–86; id., *Milet II* 3, Berlin 1935, 110–14, especially 112 on the date; also 111 with Abb. 81 on the Roman houses built over part of the wall. Inscription mentioning the «enclosed harbor»: REHM, *Milet II* 3, 131 no. 400, cf. *Milet I* 3 no. 172 (MAIER, *Mauerbauinschriften* no. 73).

⁴⁴ On the Cibotos of Alexandria, PUCHSTEIN, *RE* 1, 1893, 1382; FRASER, *Ptolemaic Alexandria I* 26, II 78–79.

⁴⁵ Cf. C. P. JONES in *Le monde du roman grec* (n. 2). On the silting of the Maeander, above, p. 93.

⁴⁶ REARDON, *Novels* 18, quoted above, p. 91.

⁴⁷ On these events, BILLOWS, *Antigonos* 125–29. SALMON (n. 3), 373–76, sees a reflection of Tachos' revolt against Artaxerxes Memnon in 360 as well as of Alexander's siege of Tyre.

Alerted to the possibility of a hellenistic history behind Chariton's account of Miletos, attention is drawn to an episode which comes shortly after his mention of the harbor of Dokimos; this is Callirhoe's arrival in the city. «At daybreak the whole town was already decorated with garlands of flowers. Every man offered sacrifice in front of his own house, and not just in the temples . . . All had but one desire – to see Callirhoe; and the crowd gathered round the temple of Concord, where by tradition bridegrooms received their brides.⁴⁸ [Callirhoe] put on a Milesian dress and bridal wreath and faced the crowd; they all cried, «The bride is Aphrodite!» They spread purple cloth and scattered roses and violets in her path; they sprinkled her with perfume as she passed; not a child nor an old man remained in the houses, or even at the harbors;⁴⁹ the crowd packed tight, and people even climbed on the roofs of houses» (3, 2, 14–17, trans. REARDON).

It is worth comparing the account preserved in the Gourob Papyrus, and probably written by Ptolemy III Euergetes himself, of his triumphant arrival in Syria in 246.⁵⁰ «Embarking on as many ships as the harbor of Seleuceia [Pieria, sc.] was likely to hold, we sailed to the fortress called Poseideon and anchored about the eighth hour of the day. Then we weighed anchor at dawn [cf. Chariton 3, 2, 14] and entered Seleuceia. The priests, magistrates and the general citizenry, the commanders and the soldiers, wearing crowns [cf. Chariton, *ibid.*] met us on the (road) to the harbor. (No excess of) goodwill and (friendliness towards us was missing. When we entered) the city, (the ordinary people invited us to sacrifice) the animals provided (at the altars which they had built before their houses).»⁵¹ So also when the victor entered Antioch: «we saw such preparation and (crowds of such large) size [cf. Chariton 3, 2, 17] that we were amazed; for advancing from the gate there came to meet us governors, the other commanders, (soldiers,) priests, magistrates, all the youth of the gymnasium, and a whole crowd wearing wreaths [cf. Chariton 3, 2, 14], and they brought all the sacrificial animals into the road outside the gate, and some shook our hands while others (greeted us) with shouts of acclamation [μετὰ κρότου καὶ κραυγῆς; cf. Chariton, *ibid.*].»

In one of his last articles LOUIS ROBERT collected many examples of the Greek procession of welcome (*apantesis*), from the early hellenistic period well into the Roman, and it would be unwise to infer from this passage alone that Chariton was

⁴⁸ This detail too is relevant to ancient Miletos.

⁴⁹ REARDON, *Novels* 53 n. 49, rightly comments, «Harbors would normally be under constant guard.»

⁵⁰ JACOBY, *FGrHist* II b no. 160; M. HOLLEAUX, *Études d'épigraphie et d'histoire grecques* III, Paris 1942, 281–310 (originally published in *BCH* 1906 and *REA* 1916); cf. VOLKMANN, *RE* 23, 1959, 1669–70; ROBERT, *Essays in honor of C. Bradford Welles*, Toronto 1966, 187 (*OMS* VII 611); *id.*, *BCH* 108, 1984, 484 = *Documents d'Asie Mineure*, *BEFAR* 139 bis, Paris 1987, 473. I translate the text of HOLLEAUX, marking restorations by parentheses.

⁵¹ For this ritual of *παράστασις* ἱερῶν, ROBERT, *Hellenica* XI/XII, Paris 1960, 126–31.

imitating some text of hellenistic history.⁵² Nonetheless, the possibility is worth keeping in mind. The scene might perhaps be modelled on some historic marriage in the city; one such occurred there in 286, when Demetrios Poliorketes married Ptolemais, a daughter of his father's old enemy Ptolemy Soter (Plut. Dem. 46, 5).⁵³

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⁵² ROBERT, BCH 108, 1984, 479–86 = Documents d'Asie Mineure 467–74. Note also ROBERT's discussion of the parallels between Chariton and a law regulating sacrifices in honour of Arsinoe II Philadelphos (P.Oxy. XXVII no. 2465 fr. 2): Essays in honor of C. Bradford Welles, 193 n. 114 (OMS VII 617).

⁵³ Cf. WILLRICH, RE 6, 1907, 1326–27, Eurydike no. 16; E. MANNI, Plutarchi Vita Demetrii Poliorcetis, Florence 1953, 86; VOLKMANN, RE 23, 1959, 1867, Ptolemais no. 2; WÖRRLE, Chiron 7, 1977, 56 with n. 75.