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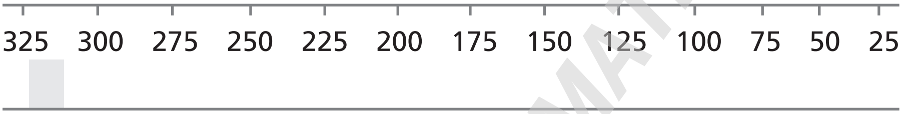
First Steps



June 323	Death of Alexander the Great; outbreak of Lamian War
322	Battle of Krannon; end of Lamian War
320	Death of Perdikkas in Egypt; settlement of Triparadeisos
319	Death of Antipater
317	Return of Olympias to Macedonia; deaths of Philip Arrhidaios and Eurydike
316/15	Death of Eumenes of Kardia in Iran
314	Antigonos' declaration of Tyre; first coalition war (Kassander, Lysimachos, and Ptolemy against Antigonos)
312	Battle of Gaza; Seleukos retakes Babylon
311	Treaty ends coalition war
310	Deaths of Alexander IV and Roxane

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I From Babylon to Triparadeisos

The sudden death of the Macedonian king Alexander, far away from home at Babylon in Mesopotamia on June 10, 323, caught the world he ruled fully unprepared for the ensuing crisis. Only two of the men who founded the dynasties of kings which dominated the history of the Hellenistic world were even present at Babylon when he died, and only one of them was sufficiently prominent among the officers who assembled to debate the future to be given an independent provincial command: Ptolemy, now in his early forties, was appointed to distant Egypt (though with Alexander's established governor, Kleomenes, as his official deputy). Seleukos, also present at Babylon, but some ten years younger, became cavalry commander in the central government, a post which under Alexander had been equivalent to the king's deputy but now was envisaged as being purely military. The third of the later dynasty-founders, Antigonos, a one-eyed giant of a man in his late fifties, was still in central Asia Minor where he had been posted by Alexander in 334 as governor of Phrygia: the officers at Babylon merely confirmed him in his post, since they had no good reason to annoy him by sending a replacement. The three senior figures whose interests dominated affairs at Babylon were, however, all dead within five years. Of them only Perdikkas, a member of one of the old royal families of Upper Macedonia, to whom the dying Alexander gave his signet ring, was present. Absent were Philip's old officer Antipater, now approaching eighty and governor of the Macedonian homeland since 334, and Krateros whom Alexander had sent home with 10,000 veterans to replace Antipater, but who had shirked the challenge and had merely reached Kilikia when Alexander died. Their activities, though in the last resort largely ephemeral, shaped the first years after Alexander's death, but they played no substantial role in creating the long-term structure of the Hellenistic world.

The surviving ancient narrative sources for the history of the decisive thirty years after Alexander's death (the first two chapters of this book) are fairly extensive, though none is contemporary with the events. The most important is the general history of Diodoros, a Sicilian, whose narrative in Greek in books 18–20 excerpted the very detailed, but now lost, story told by the contemporary writer Hieronymos of Kardia. Hieronymos was an active participant in many of the events, whereas Diodoros wrote in the second half of the first century BC and had no personal experience of them. Diodoros' value is therefore related to how accurately he excerpted Hieronymos. Diodoros can be supplemented for the first three years by some surviving extracts of a narrative by the Alexander historian Arrian, writing in the second century AD, and more generally by the short Latin narrative, perhaps intended as a school text of the third century AD, by one Justin. Justin abbreviated a much longer Latin work (now also lost) by a contemporary of Diodoros, the *Historiae Philippicae* of Pompeius Trogus. Trogus' sources are unknown, but may have included Hieronymos. Justin's work is unfortunately not only brief, but also careless and often merely obscure. Plutarch wrote several *Lives* in the first and second centuries AD which shed light on the period, especially his *Phokion*, *Eumenes*, and *Demetrios*. Plutarch read everything he could lay his hands on, but his biographies are typically constructed for moralizing purposes, and therefore tend to be very selective in what they record. Some contemporary documents in the form of inscriptions have survived – decrees of democratic states, letters written by one or other of the warlords, sometimes other types of document – and these provide invaluable authentic contemporary information, but it is usually limited to specific places and single occasions.

The main problem facing the assembled officers at Babylon was to find a royal successor for the dead Alexander. Alexander had a son, Herakles – he was the child of the Persian Barsine, but was still a small boy and, more importantly, was unrecognized by his father – but Roxane, his official Iranian wife, was heavily pregnant. Also at court in Babylon was the last-surviving son of Philip II, Alexander's half-brother Arrhidaios, who had only survived Alexander's morbid suspicion of potential competitors because he was in some way mentally deficient. Faced with this choice between the devil and the deep blue sea, it was hardly surprising that the bad-tempered compromise reached by the officers, under pressure from mutinying soldiery whose loyalty to the Argead House was unbroken, was a recipe for disaster: Arrhidaios was immediately acclaimed king, whereupon he took his charismatic father's name Philip; but should Roxane's baby be male, he was to be called Alexander and also recognized as king; a few months later this duly happened. This curious decision meant that the real ruler would be the regent, as long as he could maintain sufficient loyalty among the Macedonians towards the two equally inadequate "kings," and the function fell to Perdikkas. Antipater was confirmed in Macedonia, but since Alexander had sent Krateros to replace him, he was to share his office with Krateros. Krateros was also granted the high-sounding title of "Protector of the Kings" (*prostates*), but without specific function. Other officers present or absent were given functions or provinces commensurate with their current standing, but no new structure for the empire was envisaged, and Alexander's army seemed satisfied. What this all might mean in practice nobody could judge, there being far too many variables of interest and temperament (Diodoros 18.3–4; Arrian, *Successors* Frag. 1).

Perdikkas faced two immediate problems of principle, neither capable of an easy solution. Alexander, it was well known, wanted to be buried in the Egyptian oasis of Siwah, where he had had a mystical experience at the Amun temple when he visited it in 332. If this wish were fulfilled, then any prestige associated with the possession of the tomb of the charismatic king would be Ptolemy's, though the desert remoteness of Siwah would hinder its practical exploitation as a loyalty-symbol for Macedonians. Argead kings were, however, traditionally buried at Aigai in Macedonia, but in Macedonia Antipater was firmly in the saddle and would doubtless be pleased enough to uphold Macedonian royal tradition. Perdikkas' dilemma concerning the disposal of Alexander's body thus had no easy solution in respect to his own future role, both possibilities involving increased prestige for a potential competitor, whether Alexander's funeral cortège went to Egypt or to Macedonia. A decision could be postponed while a suitably baroque carriage was constructed, but sooner or later it would have to be taken.

His second problem concerned the structure of the government of the empire as a whole. If the "kings" and their protectors were really to govern it as a unity, where were they going to do it from? The officers and troops at Babylon had granted Perdikkas a formal function, but no geographic area of immediate responsibility. In principle the function of regent encompassed the whole empire, in practice the choice of a future base for the kings was bound to affect the current governor of the place chosen; but as Argead kings the obvious place for them was Macedonia. A clash with Antipater must therefore have seemed almost inevitable, and the need to work out a modus vivendi with him was fairly urgent. It might be possible to postpone a decision for a few months until Roxane's baby was born and strong enough to travel, but Perdikkas' two major advantages, his possession of Alexander's body and his regency for the kings, both presented unpleasant, perhaps even insurmountable, problems for his own future position. He could still lose everything. A marriage alliance with Antipater, however, might ease the transition, and while still at Babylon Perdikkas approached the old man for the hand of his daughter Nikaia. If Antipater accepted, it might be possible to outmaneuver Ptolemy.

By the time the messenger arrived in Macedonia, Antipater had more immediate concerns at home. The news of Alexander's death gave Athens and the Aitolian League the impetus they required to enroll a large number of states, mostly from central and northern Greece (including Thessaly) in a revolt against Macedonian domination. By winter 323/2 the allies had shut up Antipater and his army in Lamia in central Greece and held him there under siege. He desperately needed help and appealed to other Macedonians, in particular to Leonnatos in Hellespontine Phrygia, as well as to Krateros, who was in any case supposed to be on his way home with a large contingent of troops. Around this time the Athenian politician Demades, who had always cultivated good relations with the Macedonians, opened negotiations with Perdikkas to try to involve him, unknown to Antipater, in undermining Antipater's position among the Macedonian grandees. The negotiations led to nothing except the death of Demades, when they became known later. But they illustrate the way at least some of the belligerents envisaged a political solution to the war.

In the spring Leonnatos, being closer to the scene of the action than Krateros, arrived in Thessaly but was killed in his first confrontation with the Greeks, though his very presence made them raise the siege. When Krateros arrived it was already late summer, but the united Macedonian armies were strong enough to defeat the Greeks at Krannon in September 322. The so-called Lamian War (Diodoros' name for it, probably reflecting the Macedonians' perception of the war which he found in Hieronymos, though contemporary Greeks liked to call it the "Hellenic War" – the war for Greece) was thereby ended. The Greeks were about to learn that Macedonian rule could be much more invasive and unpleasant than it had been under Philip and even Alexander. Antipater now insisted that each Greek participant state negotiate its peace terms separately, so that individual local solutions to the general problem of Macedonian control could be found. Only the Aitolians refused, and despite Macedonian efforts they managed to survive undefeated in their mountainous homeland until other more important affairs began to occupy the victors of Krannon. Athens, however, whose pride and joy, the great fleet, had also been devastated by the Macedonian admiral Kleitos in a battle off Amorgos, suffered sorely (Diodoros 18.8–17).

A Macedonian garrison was introduced to the city and it set up its base in the fort of Mounychia in the Peiraieus. One of its functions was to oversee the Athenian government. This seemed necessary, since Antipater introduced a major change in the constitution by redefining qualifications for citizenship. Only those who possessed property worth more than 2,000 drachmas (one-third of a talent: in income and buying power perhaps something like €200,000 today) were allowed to be politically active. As a result, some 12,000 men lost their active citizenship, around 9,000 remaining fully qualified. Antipater offered land in Thrace to those excluded, but he had severed the living nerve of the Athenian democracy. The principle that all adult citizens, regardless of their property census, should be equal in political terms had survived all the vicissitudes the state had suffered since Kleisthenes' reforms nearly two hundred years before. Moreover, a foreign garrison had not been seen on Athenian soil since the Spartans installed one at the end of the Peloponnesian War in 404. The Samos question was now also resolved once and for all: Antipater referred it formally to "the kings" for a decision, but Perdikkas simply repeated Alexander's decision in favor of the Samians. Athens also lost three of its most prominent democratic activists as a direct result of the war. The general Leosthenes, who organized the Greek alliance, fell during the first year; the orator Hypereides, who led the war party in the assembly and held the official funeral oration over the dead of the first year of the war (Leosthenes among them), was executed by Antipater's men; and the most famous of them all, the great orator Demosthenes, who led the first Athenian resistance against Macedonia under Philip II and had encouraged Leosthenes in recent times, now fled Athens, but was hunted out by Antipater's men in his remote Peloponnesian refuge at Kalauria, and saw no way out except suicide (Diodoros 18.18; Plutarch, *Demosthenes* 28–30).

The range of possible relationships between Macedonia and the other Greek states was put to the test in Antipater's treatment of Athens, the largest and most prestigious of the Greek cities. The defeated Athenians lost their rights of self-determination because of their opposition to Macedonia, but the exiled Samians recovered their self-determination because of their opposition to defeated Athens. Any generalization about Macedonian treatment of "the Greek states" at this time thus inevitably produces contradictions. Antipater's chief interest, as it had been all along, was to maintain the stability and security of Macedonian control; and now that the Lamian War had proved that many of the southern Greek states were unwilling to accept Macedonian supremacy as a long-term political fact, Antipater saw no alternative to massive intervention in the internal affairs of the defeated in order to convince them. His measures could hardly have made Macedonia more unpopular than it was already, and they at least offered the chance of being more efficient as a control mechanism. Athens was, of course, not the only place where such changes were made, but our Macedonia-friendly source sums up the settlement as it affected them: "So the Athenians were unexpectedly well treated and gained peace; they could run their affairs from now on without disturbance and harvest their land without fear, so that they rapidly increased their wealth" (Diodoros 18.18.6). Antipater was relying on the comfort-needs of the middle classes. Only time would tell whether his model was a viable long-term proposition.

After the war Antipater returned to Macedonia and consolidated his personal bond with Krateros by marrying his daughter Phila to him; Perdikkas also finally received Nikaia, whom he had asked for nearly two years before. The hope was that this tie would encourage him to find a suitably prominent role for Krateros in Asia, since Europe was too small for both him and Antipater. These marriage alliances show how strongly personalized Macedonian political life at the top remained, how personal relations really mattered over and above all governmental structural considerations. When Nikaia came to Perdikkas in 321, he and the kings had reached Sardeis, the old Persian capital of the satrapy of Lydia, after restoring order in Kappadokia on the way (at Babylon Kappadokia was entrusted to Eumenes of Kardia, an influential Greek who had been Alexander's private secretary, but he had been unable to take up his post until the royal army cleared the way for him). At Sardeis a series of problems, personal and political, began to come to a head at the time of Perdikkas' marriage to Nikaia, and decisions could not be delayed. Even this theoretically joyous personal event was clouded by the arrival of Alexander's full sister, Kleopatra, before the wedding. Kleopatra had been sent off by her mother Olympias – no friend of Antipater's – and she now offered herself to Perdikkas as an alternative bride. Despite the potential political attraction of this match, Perdikkas stuck to Nikaia because to refuse her now would insult Antipater and bring the coalition of Antipater and Krateros actively against him, while he still had found no permanent home for "the kings." For a return to Pella he needed Antipater's support, and only Nikaia could guarantee this (Arrian, *Successors* Frag. 1, 21).

By early summer 321 he had also decided not to allow Alexander's body to get into Ptolemy's hands. Since Babylon Ptolemy had been very active and efficient in his own interest in Egypt. He removed his experienced deputy Kleomenes by assassination and seized the chance of extending his area of immediate influence to the west by annexing Kyrene. Perdikkas was not even consulted (Diodoros 18.19–21; Arrian, *Successors* Frag. 1, 16–19). He also established friendly relations with some of the rich city-kings in Cyprus and kept up contacts with Antipater. Despite all this activity, Perdikkas underestimated the man. Before Perdikkas had decided what to do with Alexander's body, Ptolemy was in touch with Arrhidaios, the Macedonian officer charged with building the carriage for the cortège; and when Arrhidaios and the embalmed Alexander reached Syria, Ptolemaic troops met him by arrangement to escort the procession to Egypt (though Ptolemy was pragmatic enough not to bury his charismatic asset in a remote oasis: Memphis, the old pharaonic capital of Lower Egypt from where he currently ruled, was Alexander's first resting place). In order to achieve this coup, Ptolemy's forces had to repulse units of Perdikkas' "royal army" that the regent had sent to prevent just this happening. Ptolemy's action was therefore a clear challenge to Perdikkas' authority. If his position as regent were to mean anything at all, Ptolemy needed to be punished; and given the current tense situation, this requirement implied an immediate military expedition (Diodoros 18.26–8; Arrian, *Successors* Frag. 1, 25).

While these tensions were increasing in Syria, two events in Asia Minor and an unsolved personnel problem both threatened Perdikkas' equanimity and undermined his position. The unsolved personnel problem concerned Krateros' future role in Asia, since he and Antipater agreed that they could not share Europe, as foreseen at Babylon. Perdikkas could not decide how to react, but time was pressing. The other events were unrelated, but serious enough. The first happened at court, where king Philip Arrhidaios took a wife, Adea, of whom Perdikkas disapproved so violently that he arranged the murder of her mother, whose idea the whole thing was. This was no mere domestic tragedy, since the murdered mother of the bride was Kynnane, daughter of Philip II and so half-sister of Alexander and of Kleopatra; Adea herself was therefore a grandchild of the great Philip II. Perdikkas was horrified at this potential challenge to his authority from within the royal house. Arrhidaios might be mentally deficient but Adea certainly was not, and she instigated serious riots among the troops when Kynnane was killed by Perdikkas' brother Alketas. Perdikkas was forced to allow the marriage, whereupon Adea took her famous and revered great-grandmother's mythological name, Eurydike (Arrian, *Successors* Frag. 1, 22–3.)

The second event may not have seemed so threatening at the time. Antigonos, governor of Phrygia, had refused assistance to Perdikkas and Eumenes while they were operating in Kappadokia in 322, and now, when called to explain himself, chose to abandon his satrapy and join Antipater and Krateros, whom he found engaged in the war against the Aitolians. Antigonos' presence alone might not have been particularly significant, but he soon claimed to have received important news from his contacts in Asia: Perdikkas was thinking of giving up Nikaia and marrying Kleopatra after all. This bombshell news may not have been true, but Antipater and Krateros were already suspicious because Perdikkas had still made no offer to Krateros, and the last thing Antipater wanted was the court and the regent, now married to Alexander's sister, escorting Alexander's body into Macedonia in a solemn procession protected by the Macedonian royal army that had conquered Asia. Antigonos' news therefore suited well enough; and since it was in their current interest that Alexander's body stay in Egypt, friendly cooperation with Ptolemy was predestined (Diodoros 18.25.3–5; Arrian, *Successors* Frag. 1, 24).

By the end of the winter 321/20 the alliance stood. The Aitolian war was broken off and preparations made for a joint expedition to Asia Minor and beyond, while Perdikkas himself with the kings, the court, and the royal army set off for Egypt. Several major problems were resolved in this year, so that at the end of it some aspects of the later structure of the Macedonian empire began to emerge. Krateros was killed in the first confrontation with the Perdikkan army, commanded by Eumenes of Kardia, defending Bithynia, and so the awkward requirement of finding him a suitable area of responsibility vanished. Antipater and Antigonos then each led part of the joint army and navy on towards Syria. Meanwhile Perdikkas' invasion of Egypt solved a second personnel problem. It went disastrously wrong from the start, and after a catastrophic attempt to cross the Nile near Memphis in which some 2,000 men were drowned, a group of officers conspired to assassinate him. They then invited Ptolemy into their camp, where he received an enthusiastic welcome from the demoralized troops, stimulated not least by generous provision of food and other materials. When news arrived that Krateros had been killed in battle by Eumenes, the troops immediately pronounced Eumenes condemned to death. Ptolemy cleverly refused all responsibility for the two embarrassing kings, but negotiated a temporary arrangement with the conspirators, escorting the invaders (apart from those who chose to join him) back to Syria, where they met up with Antipater and Antigonos at Triparadeisos on the northern edge of Mt. Lebanon. Even before the armies met, consensus was reached that Antipater assume Perdikkas' function as regent. The decision implied the return of the kings to Macedonia, since Antipater showed no personal interest in Asian affairs and was too old – he was now in his late seventies – to develop any. Another part of the deal broken at Triparadeisos was also consensus: that Ptolemy, who had defended his Egypt against Perdikkas, should remain there. He was probably also bound into Antipater's dynastic system by receiving the hand of yet another of his many daughters, also named Eurydike (Diodoros 18.29–39; Arrian, *Successors* Frag. 1, 26–38).

Leading Perdikkans were still on the loose in various places, equipped with armies and treasure. Particularly dangerous was Eumenes of Kardia, since with his strategically situated base in Kappadokia he controlled major routes across central Anatolia. Antipater showed no enthusiasm for mopping up Perdikkan resistance, but Antigonos was to hand, both willing and able, and he knew the ground well, because he had controlled the areas in his Phrygian satrapy bordering Kappadokia since 334. He was therefore both confirmed in his old satrapy and given the job of fighting Eumenes, using some of Perdikkas' soldiers for the task. Before Antipater returned to Macedonia with the kings, he promoted Antigonos still further to an unspecific, therefore wide-ranging, command as "General (*strategos*) of Asia," which was probably the type of command that had been envisaged for Krateros. The promotion was accompanied by the customary personal connection with Antipater: Krateros' wife Phila, Antipater's eldest daughter, was now a widow, and Antigonos' son Demetrios needed a wife. The conjunction of interests was clear, the circumstances favorable, and the marriage was arranged immediately. Some forty years later the first fruit of this marriage, their son Antigonos, would himself become king in Macedonia (Diodoros 18.40–41; Plutarch, *Demetrios* 14).

At Triparadeisos the interests of the officers who had participated in the coup against Perdikkas remained to be satisfied. Those who already possessed satrapies, such as Peithon in Media, were confirmed in post, but two leading conspirators, Antigenes, commander of the infantry guard unit, the "Silver Shields," and Seleukos, commander of the royal cavalry, were now rewarded for the first time with rich – but for Antipater conveniently distant – satrapies, Antigenes in Susiana and Seleukos in Babylonia. As far as the Macedonian traditionalist Antipater was concerned, they were unlikely to offend his interests from there, however rich and successful they might become. His estimate proved correct.

II Kassander and Polyperchon

When Antipater returned to Macedonia with the kings and their entourage late in 320 he had less than a year still to live. His negotiations at Triparadeisos created a satisfactory traditionalistic distribution of power, with royal authority finally back where it belonged, in Macedonia. The men who operated in the provinces of the empire all formally acknowledged their dependence and subordination to the Argead monarchy, and as long as they depended on Macedonian soldiers to uphold their positions locally this was on the whole likely to continue. To what extent wealth was transferred from the Asiatic provinces to the center is not known. The Persian system of regional treasuries, taken over by Alexander, persisted in any case, and we hear of no regular transfers of bullion. But this may not have bothered Antipater too much, since he certainly brought the central treasury and archive that Perdikkas had controlled back to Macedonia. Before he separated from Antigonos, he was able to leave him a sufficient amount to pay his soldiers for the war against Eumenes and the remaining Perdikkan loyalists, until Antigonos gained access to the regional treasuries in the provinces which they still controlled.

Had Antipater lived even for a few more years, the imperial structure that he and Krateros had worked out for themselves, a European and an Asian division of responsibilities with nominal precedence of the European – Macedonian – side for traditional historical reasons, might well soon have established itself, with Antigonos taking over the role of the deceased Krateros. Antigonos' deliberately ill-defined current function of "Royal General in Asia" could have perpetuated itself under these conditions. What Antigonos made of his post after defeating Eumenes, assuming he would do so, would then be largely his own business, as long as he did not offend the European side and challenge its nominal supremacy. In effect, the structure of the old Persian empire might well be revived, but with a Macedonian ruling it who, because he was a Macedonian, would formally acknowledge the supremacy of the Macedonian king in Europe, however independent he might actually become.

This ideal solution vanished with Antipater's death, for no other living Macedonian enjoyed the prestige and authority of the seventy-nine-year-old Antipater, who had been one of Philip's right-hand men throughout the years of struggle for supremacy in Greece and governed Europe while Alexander was conquering Asia. In Macedonia personal prestige and charisma were at least as important as any formal position. But personal prestige was non-transferable and died with its bearer; it was potentially revivable only as historical memory, but even then only within the family of its creator. Antipater, loyal companion and servant of two great Macedonian kings, had in the end one great weakness: his unbending loyalty to the Argead House, currently represented by the debile Philip Arrhidaios and the child Alexander IV, coupled with his belief that others ought to share it. When he felt death approaching, he chose as successor the man whom he felt would best represent the kings' interests in the European sector of the kingdom – his own personal priority – just as he himself had tried to do. Above all, he wanted to avoid giving the impression of setting up a rival dynasty of hereditary regents, despite his large family and his well-known inclination to cement personal relationships with potential rivals by using his nubile daughters. He therefore chose as his successor as regent not his eldest son Kassander, but Polyperchon, an older man already in his sixties, a representative of one of the old regional royal houses of Upper Macedonia (Tymphaia). Polyperchon had made the whole expedition with Alexander as an infantry officer and had recently returned to Macedonia with Krateros and helped win the Lamian War. When Antipater and Krateros set off to confront Perdikkas in Asia, he was left behind as Antipater's deputy in control of Macedonia. He could reasonably be expected to share Antipater's loyalty to the Argead royal house, and because of his origin and his vast military experience, to be readily accepted by the rank and file of the Macedonian soldiery (Diodoros 18.48–49).

This prognosis could not be made for Antipater's son Kassander, whom he nevertheless appointed Polyperchon's deputy with the title "Chiliarch." Kassander was now about forty, therefore a slightly old contemporary of Alexander, but had not accompanied the king to Asia. As a young man in Macedonia, he observed at close hand his father's continual bitter struggle with Olympias, and then he himself traveled to Babylon in 324 to represent his father, where he enjoyed no great welcome at Alexander's court. He was, however, still at Babylon when Alexander died, and therefore experienced the tense atmosphere among the officers and observed the self-interested maneuverings from which the unworthy dual kingship of Philip Arrhidaios and Alexander IV had emerged. For a short time after Triparadeisos he had been Antigonos' deputy, but at the time of Antipater's death he was back in Macedonia, perhaps because of his father's terminal illness.

Events following Antipater's death show clearly that again in this phase of Macedonian history personal ambitions were more important than any formalized governmental structure. Even the loyalties of the Macedonian troops, who were attached to the Argead House by a long tradition that had been massively reinforced during the last generation by the personal brilliance of Philip and Alexander, gradually began to dissolve, as the current figureheads of the royal house remained politically invisible. The troops also became increasingly aware that each group of soldiers was actually being paid by its immediate commander in order to achieve his own interests, not by the king in Pella to represent his. This was particularly the case in Asia, but it began to be true in Europe as well, as a result of the dissatisfaction felt by Kassander and his friends with the role envisaged for him as Polyperchon's subordinate. Polyperchon's own activities did little to stem this concern. The unimaginative infantryman may once have been loved by the troops, but he was not respected by his younger equals among the leaders. Kassander was furious at his father's choice and immediately began sounding out his own chances in Macedonia but also, more ominously, with his father's garrison commanders in the Greek cities. He contacted Ptolemy and his recent commander in chief, Antigonos, whose current operations against the Perdikkans in Asia were progressing satisfactorily, though Eumenes still remained undefeated. Before long Kassander left Macedonia and asked Antigonos for practical help, which he duly received, including some warships. This decision implied the total rejection of Polyperchon both by Kassander and by Antigonos, therefore civil war, if the old warrior chose to resist and could drum up sufficient support among Macedonian traditionalists. At this stage Antigonos fostered the impression that he wanted to uphold the division of the empire that he had agreed with Antipater, merely being dissatisfied with the person chosen to govern Europe. For this reason he supported Kassander against Polyperchon. Like Kassander, he entertained no basic objection to the hereditary principle, and had nothing against creating a dynasty of regents in Macedonia. It was an omen for the thought-patterns of the leading men of the time (Diodoros 18.54).

Polyperchon's position was embarrassingly paradoxical: appointed by Antipater as his successor, he was now openly opposed by Antipater's eldest son. Loyalties in the land were inevitably divided, and he could not anticipate whom Antipater's garrison commanders in Greece would support. Yet he was dependent on the southern Greek cities for income and manpower, since he could expect nothing more from Asia, now that Antigonos was openly supporting Kassander – in 318 Antigonos stopped four ships at Ephesos that were carrying 600 talents (about 20 metric tons) of silver bound for Pella, thus proving the point (Diodoros 18.52.7). Polyperchon therefore desperately needed to control Greece, but this was a more complicated operation than merely exchanging the garrison commanders loyal to Kassander (assuming they let themselves be replaced). After the Lamian War Antipater altered the constitutions of most of the cities that fought against Macedonia in the war – not just at Athens – everywhere putting men of wealth into control of the local governments. They were, of course, grateful to him for this and would tend to support their benefactor's son, if asked to do so. Who, then, in Greece was likely to support Polyperchon? Also in Macedonia Polyperchon was now isolated from the personal political support network created by Antipater and his family, and had little alternative to merely emphasizing his purely formal role as guardian of the Argead House. To strengthen his position he invited Olympias, Alexander's mother, to join him. During Alexander's absence in Asia Olympias was effectively ousted from influence by Antipater and had retired to her original home in Epeiros, where her nephew Aiakides ruled. As Philip's most favored wife and Alexander's mother, she certainly still had her own following in Macedonia, but should she return Polyperchon could abandon hope of ever reconciling Antipater's friends and family.

Antipater's death and Kassander's ambitious dissatisfaction thus brought about a struggle for control of the old Greek cities in the Balkans, which in due course turned into a competition for their hearts and minds and dragged them into center-stage in the power struggle emerging among the Macedonian warlords. Scarcely a city could escape unwilling participation. In Asia the situation was no different in principle, as Antigonos systematically aimed to gain control of the Greek cities in his area, though his experience as freedom-bringer from the Persians under Alexander seems to have made him more sensitive to each individual city's aspiration to self-determination. This, however, did not mean that these communities were any less involved in the struggle for supremacy among the Macedonians.

Polyperchon and his advisers had no time to lose. Antipater's death and the appointment of the new regime brought a flood of representatives from the Greek states to Pella, each anxious to learn what the future was going to mean for his own state. These men needed reassuring, if they were going to see advantage in supporting Polyperchon rather than Kassander in the internal Macedonian dispute. In Athens, perhaps elsewhere also, Kassander managed to put his own man in as garrison commander before Polyperchon had a chance to interfere, but in general Polyperchon seems to have reckoned, probably rightly, that he would get little support from Antipater's garrison commanders or from those Greeks who had benefited from Antipater's constitutional changes. They would all tend to favor Kassander. The only conceivable way out for him was to abandon Antipater's system and hope for the support of their opponents – an extremely dangerous option for a Macedonian, who knew well enough how the democracies had opposed Philip II and especially Antipater. Nevertheless, Polyperchon's advisers issued a royal decree in Philip Arrhidaios' name restoring the constitutions valid in the time of Philip and Alexander – i.e., before the Lamian War – and restoring all exiles driven out by "our generals from the time when Alexander crossed to Asia" (i.e., by Antipater, who had been in charge for the whole of that time). Athens received the additional explicit favor of recovering Samos, but since Polyperchon did not hold Samos he could not restore it to Athens, so this point was merely cheap propaganda, pandering to Athenian revisionists, and could have no practical effect. The Greek envoys representing the states enjoying Antipater's revised constitutions, who received this document in Pella, must have been horrified at its local implications (Diodoros 18.55–56).

They had every right to be so. In the spring Polyperchon, accompanied by Philip Arrhidaios, entered central Greece to harvest the political fruits of his propaganda offensive. Our best information comes, as so often, from Athens, where the leaders of the restored democracy, relying on the protection of Polyperchon's nearby army, wreaked bloody vengeance on the most prominent of those whom, they claimed, had supported and benefited from Antipater's regime. This happened despite the continued presence of the Macedonian garrison in the Peiraieus under the command of Kassander's man, Nikanor. Polyperchon insisted the Athenians do their own dirty work, when appeal was made to the king. The most prominent victim of the judicial massacre that followed was Phokion, an old conservative patriot who had been elected no fewer than forty-five times to the leading annual office of *strategos*, and so had served the Athenians loyally through all the troubles of their disputes with Macedonia since the 350s. He also enjoyed the rare reputation of being absolutely incorruptible. His fatal mistake, it now turned out, was to have served his country also under Antipater's oligarchy. His earlier career was suddenly irrelevant, and he and a group of his friends and associates were hauled before the angry newly restored people's assembly, condemned to death, and immediately executed (Diodoros 18.65–67; Plutarch, *Phokion* 33–37). All was not, however, so negative and violent. Antipater's Athenian friends had also committed bitter offenses against the national democratic tradition, their acts including the petty cancellation of honors voted to friends and servants of the democracy, as well as to external benefactors. One particularly prominent case was that of Euphron of Sikyon, whose earlier honors, cashiered by the oligarchs, were restored in a long decree voted in November 318. It was probably not the only restorative action of its kind, once the democrats got over the riotous violence caused by their initial anger (*Syll.*^{3} 317 = Austin^2 32 = Harding 123).

If Polyperchon had not been challenged in Macedonia itself, his program in southern Greece might conceivably have worked for some time, but it offended so many vested interests that could be exploited by Kassander that in the end it merely made a further contribution to the confusion and instability of the times. In many other cities scenes comparable to those in Athens took place. It was not long before Kassander arrived in the Peiraieus with the fleet he had received from Antigonos, and his solution to the Athenian constitutional problem did not lack a certain flair and awareness of local needs: he imposed one of the Athenian conservatives, Demetrios of Phaleron, ex-student at the elite school of Aristotle, as his trusted governor, to be supported by the loyal Macedonian garrison. Demetrios was an associate of Phokion's but had fled the city in anticipation of the democratic restoration, and it might well have been on his recommendation that Kassander weakened the democratic opposition by halving the property census required for citizenship to a capital of 1,000 drachmas (ca. €100,000), a regulation that immediately significantly broadened the base of the citizenship. The length of service of the garrison in Mounychia was also officially limited to the duration of Kassander's war "against the kings," a phrase which, if authentic, shows that Kassander was not presenting himself merely as another Antipater (Diodoros 18.64). Other cities that joined Polyperchon were also gradually recovered at significant cost in time, money, and manpower, but Kassander was helped not least by the fact that Polyperchon made himself widely unpopular by operating with a large army in central and southern Greece, where the cities which he claimed to be helping had to supply and tolerate it. His most spectacular action was his attempt to force reform on the Arkadian city Megalopolis by laying it under siege. He nevertheless failed to take it. So much for the "hearts and minds" campaign in Greece, which continued ineffectually for several more years (Diodoros 18.57; 69–72; 74–75).

Polyperchon was convinced of the importance of his official function of ruling the whole of Alexander's legacy for "the kings," and therefore also made efforts to gain a foothold in Asia Minor. Since Antigonos was supporting Kassander, and since Polyperchon had no intention of squandering his own men on a land campaign in Asia – he needed them all in Europe – he fell on the notion of rehabilitating Eumenes of Kardia and replacing Antigonos with him as Royal General in Asia. Eumenes needed a special royal dispensation because, embarrassingly for Polyperchon, in 320 a Macedonian assembly in Egypt had condemned him to death for killing Krateros, so providing the moral basis for Antigonos' campaign against him in the first place. Under the present circumstances, however, Eumenes' appointment had the supreme advantage that, as a non-Macedonian, he could never challenge for power in Macedonia itself, and if he were successful he would keep Antigonos occupied far away from Macedonia. This was important, because since Antipater's death Antigonos had increasingly been operating in western Anatolia, including in strategically important Bithynia, so that he currently controlled the eastern side of both the Dardanelles and the Bosporos. In 317 Polyperchon even sent a fleet up to the narrows under his experienced admiral Kleitos, who had beaten the Athenians in the Lamian War and now again won a naval battle, only to be trumped in the following night by a commando action in the dark organized by Antigonos and Kassander's man Nikanor; Kleitos himself was killed trying to escape (Diodoros 18.72). It was therefore vital to Polyperchon that Antigonos be occupied elsewhere, and Eumenes gladly accepted his paradoxical rehabilitation, moving quickly from Kappadokia to provoke Antigonos by using his new royal patent to gain access to regional imperial treasuries and other resources, and to begin recruiting troops. Since Antigonos was entirely dependent on the financial resources of Asia, he could not allow Eumenes to cut him off from them, and set off to eliminate him. Eumenes, however, made his way successfully into the rich heartland of the old Persian empire in Iran, and began collecting money and men from the Iranians in order to facilitate his return to the west. Antigonos had no real alternative to following him, if he did not want to leave these immensely rich resources in the hands of his enemy (Diodoros 18.53; 58–63; Plutarch, *Eumenes* 13).

As long as Antigonos and Eumenes campaigned against each other in distant Iran, it must have seemed to Polyperchon that his coup against Antigonos had succeeded, but he desperately needed a similar success in Europe. The prestige of his physically inadequate royal wards was insufficiently impressive to guarantee the wide support among the Macedonians that he required, if he were to prevail over Kassander. Recognizing this, he had formed the idea of trying to increase his popularity by mobilizing old Argead loyalties through bringing Olympias back to Pella. Olympias at first delayed a decision, but after Kassander's success in Athens she decided to come after all. It was summer 317. Polyperchon marched out to greet her in the western Macedonian mountains with his army, accompanied by her grandchild Alexander and his mother Roxane; she met him there, escorted by an Epeirot military unit provided by her nephew Aiakides. On this occasion Polyperchon left Philip Arrhidaios and Eurydike behind in lower Macedonia, but as soon as he set off Eurydike, rightly suspecting that she and her husband would take second, if any, place should Olympias return to Pella, did the unthinkable and appealed to Kassander. She also began raising troops of her own and marched off with them to confront

Polyperchon and Aiakides in the mountains. When it came to the confrontation, her men simply refused to fight a civil-war battle against Alexander's mother and his child. Their refusal resolved one of the intractable problems created at Babylon, that of the double kingship – but not as the formidable Eurydike had envisaged. She and Arrhidaios were captured, locked up, and mistreated by a ruthlessly resentful Olympias seeking vengeance, and in October they were murdered (Diodoros 19.11).

If Polyperchon had regarded Olympias as his trump against Kassander – the confrontation in the mountains might have seemed to prove him right – he soon found himself completely overshadowed by the old queen, once she had arrived back in Macedonia. She exercised an apparently uncontrolled brutality against her rivals at court and against Antipater's family which, however, merely played into Kassander's hands. After killing Philip and Eurydike she purged Kassander's family, killing one of his brothers, Nikanor, and even desecrating the grave of another, Iollas. She also eliminated, it was said, some hundred prominent Macedonians who, for her, counted as associates of Kassander. Olympias' reign of terror, unhindered by the nominal regent Polyperchon, soon made Kassander seem to many Macedonians the better alternative, and in 316 he judged the time ripe for returning to Macedonia. On his approach, Olympias took refuge in the coastal city of Pydna, but Kassander forced the passes through the mountains and began a siege. In the end Olympias was forced to capitulate and Kassander staged a "trial" before his victorious troops in which she was condemned to death; the sentence was quickly executed. Together with Olympias Kassander also captured Alexander and Roxane, as well as other members of their entourage. The young Alexander was immediately sent to Amphipolis with his mother, where he was kept out of sight and under guard to prevent his becoming a focus for traditionalist opposition elements. After the horror of Olympias' terror regime, Kassander could reasonably expect significant support for his position as effective ruler in Macedonia, as long as he did not launch a reign of terror of his own. He obviously realized this, and bolstered his position among the Macedonians by marrying Thessalonike, a daughter of Philip II (but not of Olympias), whom he had captured at Pydna along with Olympias' court. In this way he associated himself conspicuously with Philip II, but demonstratively not with Alexander and Olympias (Diodoros 19.35–36; 49–52).

A further act soon after the capture of Pydna illustrates that Kassander was planning a long-term role at the top. On the site of the old Korinthian colony Potidaia, occupied but not wholly destroyed by Philip in 356, he founded a new city intended to become the main urban center of Chalkidike. Chalkidike was not traditionally an integral part of Macedonia, though after its conquest by Philip land there had been distributed to individual Macedonians (*Syll.*^{3} 332). Now it was finally organized and integrated into the kingdom, a new urban center created on an old site for the new Macedonian settlers of the area and for any remaining population from the old cities. The most dramatic aspect of the new urban center, however, was its programmatic name: Kassandreia.

Philip had begun the royal habit of naming newly founded cities in newly won territory after himself, and Alexander continued the tradition. To name his new city Kassandreia, therefore, shows that Kassander was presenting himself as their successor and their equal. Some time later – the exact date is not known – he exerted pressure on a group of small communities on the Thermaic Gulf and united in another new city, which he named after his wife, Thessalonike. Regional consolidation through centrally supported urbanization by regional rulers or kings had been begun in Macedonia by Philip and Alexander and soon became characteristic of the Macedonian governments of the Hellenistic period – we shall see many later examples – but its first manifestations after Alexander's death are Kassander's foundations in the Macedonian homeland. The use of personal dynastic names for such permanent pieces of communal infrastructure shows he was intending to stay (Diodoros 19.52.2–3; Strabo 7, Frag. 21; 24).

After Kassander's success at Pydna Polyperchon remained on the loose in the south, accompanied by his son Alexandros, but his responsibility for Olympias' disastrous return to Macedonia had forfeited his claim to rule there. The last nail in the coffin of his political ambitions to lead Macedonia was hammered home in Iran. While these events were taking place in Europe, Antigonos finally overcame and eliminated Eumenes in Iran, so that Polyperchon's Asian scheme also collapsed completely (Diodoros 19.12–34; 37–44; Plutarch, *Eumenes* 13–19). Critical now would be Antigonos' reaction to the new situation in Macedonia, to which his own support for Kassander had already made a significant contribution at a critical time. If he were prepared to accept Kassander as successor of Antipater in Europe, then the dualistic governmental structure envisaged by Antipater for the empire might still be restored. It was a big "if."

III Antigonos

After Antigonos defeated and killed Eumenes, he began to reckon up with the Macedonian governors of the Iranian satrapies who had supported Eumenes, or who for other reasons seemed potentially unreliable. He showed no inclination for any personal visitation of points farther east. Indeed, quite the opposite. When spring 315 came, he traveled south into Persis and then, moving westwards, went on to Babylon, collecting on the way huge amounts of precious metals that had accumulated in the regional treasuries. From Ekbatana he took 10,000 talents, from Susa another 15,000 talents, together therefore the almost unbelievable sum of 25,000 talents in bullion or coin (a metal weight of some 900 metric tons with an equivalent value of perhaps €15 billion). He was transporting this with him when he arrived in Babylon. That was enough cash in hand to pay up to 40,000 soldiers for three years or so; moreover, he could anticipate an annual income, as long as the eastern satrapies continued to pay their tribute to him, of some 11,000 talents (Diodoros 19.56.5).

It is hardly surprising that those Macedonians who had secretly hoped Eumenes might win (or even better, that both he and Antigonos might eliminate each other) became increasingly disturbed by Antigonos' overwhelming financial power, which he used to support his claim to represent the central government in Asia, a function from which Polyperchon had actually deposed him. The first men to feel the negative side of this claim were the governors of the eastern satrapies, but the situation first became really serious at Persepolis, where he insisted on deposing and taking along with him the locally popular governor, Peukestas, because he had accepted Eumenes' authority. When he reached Babylon Seleukos, who had actually opposed Eumenes and so far supported Antigonos, disagreed with him violently on the issue of his overall authority – Antigonos demanded Seleukos show him the accounts of his satrapy, and Seleukos denied his right to do so – and this led to an open breach. Faced with Antigonos' currently overwhelming military powers and considering the fate of Peukestas, Seleukos decided to leave while still free to do so. He took his worries with him to Egypt, where he painted Antigonos' attitudes and aims in the darkest possible colors. According to our source Diodoros (19.56), he alleged that Antigonos was aiming to occupy the whole empire ruled by Macedonians, and he might even have been right. Antigonos tried to counteract Seleukos' complaints by sending his own envoys to Ptolemy, Kassander and Lysimachos, who had governed Thrace since 323, but his colleagues were alarmed at his successes and his sudden massive wealth and were persuaded by Seleukos' allegations. While Antigonos was away fighting against Eumenes, Ptolemy had taken control of parts of southern Syria (known as "Koile Syria," "Hollow Syria"), and Kassander sent some troops to attack Eumenes' base in Kappadokia. Now they claimed that Antigonos formally cede these areas to them: Ptolemy should keep his part of Syria, Kassander gain Kappadokia, to which he also demanded Lykia. Lysimachos, though he cooperated with Antigonos and Kassander against Polyperchon, had already been alarmed by Antigonos' activities in Bithynia, which had made him a direct neighbor, and from where he could control shipping passing through the narrows. Lysimachos therefore demanded Bithynia for himself as his specific part of the coalition's packet of demands. The coalition also insisted that Antigonos share out the treasure he collected after defeating Eumenes, since that had really been a joint war. Refusal would be regarded as a declaration of war. Antigonos refused (Diodoros 19.56–57).

Given the conflicting ambitions and interests of the main protagonists, war may indeed have seemed at some time inevitable. That it broke out during the winter 315/14 was, however, a direct result of the coalition's challenge to Antigonos. Of the three opponents, Lysimachos was the least dangerous and in any case currently fully occupied in setting up his own authority in Thrace. Ptolemy was nearest, and Antigonos quickly drove his occupying forces out of Syria and began a major shipbuilding program in order to increase his offensive capabilities against the westerners. He soon made it clear that he intended to try to undermine Kassander's position among the Greek cities in Europe – he had no serious chance of mounting an attack on Macedonia itself – and so damage his possibilities of raising income and troops from them, as well as weakening Macedonia's southern flank. He therefore took up contact with Polyperchon and his son Alexandros, who still held some cities in the Peloponnese, happily ignoring the fact that the same Polyperchon had deposed him from his royal command against Eumenes. Money talked louder than dubious constitutional law, and Antigonos' envoy, the Milesian Aristodemos, won over the ex-guardian of the kings by offering him the largely illusory title "General of the Peloponnese" – this time, in effect, Antigonos' general. Alexandros negotiated his future role within Antigonos' plans with Antigonos himself, who in the meanwhile was besieging Tyre (Diodoros 19.58–64).

Polyperchon and Alexandros may not have been the most promising allies for Antigonos, but he had little choice if he wanted to gain a foothold in Europe. They needed his cash just as much as he needed such regional influence and prestige as they still possessed, and they might usefully keep Kassander occupied. At the same time they presented no realistic longer-term challenge to plans Antigonos might have had for Greece, or even for Macedonia. Additionally they brought along a perhaps decisive propaganda bonus for Antigonos' challenge to Kassander, for in 318 Polyperchon had proclaimed the reintroduction of democracies in those Greek cities where they had been abolished by Antipater. At the time it was a disaster for him, since by it he threw away one of his few advantages, the support of the rich citizens who had been favored by Antipater's constitutional reforms, and Kassander had little difficulty in restoring Antipater's oligarchies and maintaining garrisons to support them. But four years on in 314 Kassander's unpopular garrisons provided Antigonos with a cheap populistic club with which to beat him. Antigonos had personally experienced the popularity of Alexander's introduction or restoration of democratic governments in the Greek cities of Asia in and after 334, and noted that they did not necessarily conflict with Macedonian imperial interests. Grateful citizens were much more likely to make themselves useful than resentful ones. His collaboration with Polyperchon now offered him the opportunity of gaining some popularity in mainland Greece and the islands by applying the same political techniques as Alexander had employed in Asia Minor. Since he could expect no support anyway from Kassander's garrison troops nor from the richer citizens whom they kept in power locally, he had absolutely nothing to lose by following up Polyperchon's lead and promoting the interests of the lower classes in the cities. His policy also implied encouraging the self-determination of the Greek cities and so, hopefully, gaining their willing support.

Antigonos did not wait long to formulate his policy. As soon as he won over Alexandros, he called his troops together – both Macedonians and other Greeks – who were currently besieging Tyre and announced his program. In it was something for everybody. For the Macedonians, he demanded that Kassander be punished for murdering Olympias and for keeping the little king Alexander and his mother Roxane imprisoned; for "forcing" Thessalonike into marriage and for aiming at the throne himself; also for reversing deliberate past

Macedonian actions by rebuilding Olynthos, destroyed by Philip in 348, as Kassandreia, and now Thebes (in 315, destroyed by Alexander in 335); Antigonos claimed for himself to be successor to Polyperchon as duly appointed general and guardian of the king, this a direct result of his recent negotiations with Polyperchon and Alexandros. For the Greeks present and absent, Antigonos proclaimed that all cities should be free, ungarrisoned, and autonomous, by which he meant living according to their own public laws and traditions. His Greek soldiers could hardly object, and they loudly acclaimed their approval (Diodoros 19.61).

Antigonos' demands relating to Kassander's position in Macedonia were programmatic but quite impractical: he could do nothing, at least in the short term, to achieve them, nor was he likely to gain many friends in contemporary Macedonia through them. But the Macedonians at home were not his primary audience. The demands were aimed in the first instance at his own Macedonians, the soldiers in his army, who hoped someday to be able to return home with him. The Greek side of the program, however, was both immediately practical and seriously aimed at gaining long-term influence in the Aegean and mainland Greece. He sent his nephew Dioskorides to the Aegean immediately with a large fleet to guarantee the safety of his existing allies and to attract the support of those islands that had not yet joined him (Diodoros 19.62.9). Dioskorides' most spectacular success was the prestigious liberation of Apollo's island Delos in autumn 314 from the longstanding Athenian administration, an independence which the Delians upheld for more than 150 years, until after the battle of Pydna (168), when the Romans restored Athenian administration. Antigonos received appropriate honors in Delos from a grateful population in the form of an annual festival called the *Antigoneia*, recalling the liberation, and soon afterwards his local representatives began to coordinate his allies in the Aegean area by founding a "League of Islanders" (*Nesiotai*) (*IG* XI 4, 1036). Dioskorides and his men were also active in Asia Minor, where Miletos, the home city of Antigonos' officer Aristodemos, recorded for the official year 313/12 that "the city became free and autonomous through Antigonos, and the democracy was restored " (*Syll.*^{3} 322). Until then it had been controlled by the Karian satrap, Asander, who had been won over by the anti-Antigonos coalition. Ptolemy seems to have been the only member of the coalition to realize how effective and dangerous Antigonos' courting of the Greeks by offering them self-determination could become. He therefore tried to compete by announcing that his activity in the Aegean was also aimed at liberating the Greeks, but his alliance with Kassander (and in Asia Minor with Asander in Karia) rendered his proclamation unconvincing and so ineffective. Seleukos with an Egyptian fleet had little success in the Aegean, so Ptolemy now concentrated on Cyprus, which was not only rich and a major provider of scarce shipbuilding timber, but was also strategically vital under ancient sailing conditions for a naval power based on the eastern Mediterranean, in Syria or Egypt, that wished to operate in the Aegean: this meant that both Antigonos and Ptolemy competed for influence in the cities of Cyprus (Diodoros 19.62).

In mainland Greece – a critical area for operations, if Antigonos really intended to hurt Kassander – the situation was much more complex. Too many conflicting aims and ambitions existed to ensure success merely with a slogan, however well thought out and presented. The Aitolian League, still unrepentently hostile to whoever might be ruling in Macedonia, gave Antigonos some tactical support, but his reliance on Polyperchon and Alexandros proved to be a serious weakness. In 313 Kassander split the father–son tandem by winning over Alexandros, and the potential disaster for Antigonos was averted only when Alexandros was assassinated. Small towns that simply wished to be left alone suffered badly from the uncertainties of the times. Good examples are the north Peloponnesian cities Dyme and Aigion in Achaia. In 313 both were garrisoned by Kassander while Antigonos' man Aristodemos of Miletos was leading a mercenary army against Kassander's garrisons, promoting Antigonos' "liberation" program. At Aigion Aristodemos defeated and expelled the garrison, but in the process completely lost control of his own troops, who instead of restoring freedom and autonomy went on the rampage, plundering and robbing, in the course of which many of the newly freed citizens were killed and much of their property destroyed. Dyme was more complicated, but no more heartening. The presence of Aristodemos in the region encouraged the Dymeans to take the initiative themselves against Kassander's garrison, but they chose a bad moment to act, just when Aristodemos was away in Aitolia. Alexandros, now representing Kassander, in one of his last actions before his assassination, arrived first, relieved the garrison, and took control of the city again, punishing the rebels with death, imprisonment, or exile. He then withdrew, whereupon the Dymeans lost little time in calling in Aristodemos' mercenaries from Aigion and repeated their attack on the garrison, this time successfully. But recent violent events had stimulated a climate of mindless brutality, and the "liberation" was accompanied by the massacre of prisoners and of those citizens who were thought to have supported Alexandros and benefited from the garrison (Diodoros 19.66).

Such incidents illustrate graphically the practical problems associated with the "liberation" program in Greece, where the upper classes in many of the cities felt their own sectional interests were best represented by Kassander and his garrisons, which kept them in power locally. The inherent class diversity of interests, which over the centuries had repeatedly led to outbreaks of civil war (*stasis*) in many Greek cities, was now further intensified by divergent class identification with the interests of competing Macedonian dynasts. Nevertheless, with persistence and the mobility offered by his large fleet, Antigonos' operatives did make some progress by spring 311, and a relief expedition organized by Kassander to attack Antigonos in his own territories in Karia was an embarrassing failure. By then, however, the world picture had again changed and none of the dynasts saw much point in continuing their war, since such successes as they had achieved were not decisive. Moreover, Antigonos had recently suffered a major defeat in Syria and from it emerged a potentially disastrous threat to his infrastructure in the east, on which he relied for income to finance his war in the Mediterranean basin. In 312 while he was himself operating in Asia Minor, his son Demetrios was left behind to defend Syria. This was essential, since shortly before Ptolemy had refused to make peace on terms that Antigonos thought acceptable (Diodoros 19.64.8): we are not told what they were, but he had presumably demanded guarantees for his possessions in Syria and Phoinikia that Ptolemy was not prepared to give. At about the same time, separate negotiations with Kassander on the Dardanelles also produced no satisfactory agreement (Diodoros 19.75.6). So the war went on.

Seleukos was the driving force for change. In 312 he still enjoyed Ptolemy's confidence, and now persuaded his host that in Antigonos' absence the time was ripe for an aggressive blow against Syria, now commanded by the impetuous Demetrios. When the armies met near Gaza, Demetrios suffered a defeat so serious that Ptolemy was able to occupy Gaza and several other cities, and to hold them until Antigonos himself brought in reinforcements later in the year. For Antigonos, the worst was yet to come. Seleukos never forgot that at Triparadeisos in 320 he had been appointed to Babylonia and had abandoned his post only under pressure from Antigonos. He had not lost his ambition to return. After the battle of Gaza Ptolemy gave him a thousand men for an attempt on Babylonia, and so to attack Antigonos where it would really hurt him – in his financial base in the east. Since 315 the region had apparently functioned smoothly for Antigonos, providing the regular funds that his expensive military and naval campaigns in the Levant and the Aegean constantly required. Seleukos increased his small force en route by recruiting some Macedonian veterans and garrison troops left by Antigonos in northern Mesopotamia, and when he reached Babylon he received a warm welcome, so we are told, in the city which he had ruled for four years, so that he could eject Antigonos' men from the city and its two citadels and take control himself. Antigonos' commander in Media, Nikanor, challenged Seleukos, but when the armies met a mixture of good fortune and good sense brought Seleukos success, and he was even able to recruit what remained of Nikanor's army. The strategically critical western Iranian satrapies of Media and Susiana then joined Seleukos, while Nikanor himself fled westwards and reported his disaster to Antigonos. Unless Seleukos could be stopped, Antigonos would be receiving no further funds from his eastern satrapies. Antigonos' first reaction was to imitate Seleukos and try to recover Babylonia in a blitz campaign, and Demetrios set off from Damaskos with a large army of nearly 20,000 men. Seleukos himself was in western Iran when Demetrios arrived, and his local commander in Babylon, Patrokles, simply evacuated the city, except for the two fortified citadels, one of which Demetrios took by storm. He did nothing for his popularity, however, when he let his troops – largely mercenaries – plunder and rob the local population. At the second citadel he failed. Demetrios had to leave one of his friends to continue the siege, while he himself returned to Syria to report to his father on the seriousness of the situation (Diodoros 19.90–92; Plutarch, *Demetrios* 7).

The success of Seleukos' Babylonian adventure was the master stroke that forced Antigonos into negotiations to end the war in the west. Each side had hurt the other sufficiently to regard peace as desirable, but no basic change to the distribution of influence had occurred during the years of fighting: Cyprus was still divided between Ptolemaic and Antigonid supporters; in Egypt Ptolemy was more firmly in the saddle than ever and, as recent events had shown, posed a permanent threat to Antigonos in Syria and Phoinikia, thanks above all to his fleet. In Greece and the Aegean Antigonos had made some gains, owing to his effective propaganda, which he turned into strategic advantage, but in Macedonia itself Kassander remained firmly in control, and in Thrace Lysimachos was never seriously challenged. On the other hand, the coalition itself had made no progress towards realizing its initial demands. Without Seleukos' current threat to Antigonos' financial infrastructure in the east, the desultory war might well have gone on indefinitely, since earlier separate talks with Kassander and Ptolemy had shown that neither side was hurt enough to offer serious concessions.

The immediate loss of Babylonia and the eastern satrapies, and the prospect that this might be permanent, changed all that. The peace treaty that was agreed in 311 formally cemented the structural division of the Macedonian empire on the lines already sketched out by Antipater and Krateros for themselves in 320. Antigonos was forced to agree to the status quo in the west in order to be free to combat Seleukos in the east. This concession certainly recognized his position of primacy in Asia, but when he accepted Kassander's rule in "Europe" (not further defined) and Lysimachos' in Thrace he formally abandoned any personal claim in Europe; moreover, his recognition of Ptolemy in Egypt and Libya formally restricted the definition of "Asia," his own area of primacy, and limited his rights there. The coalitionists could now afford to observe his existential struggle with Seleukos from a distance, since they had nothing to lose by it: whether Antigonos won or lost, time would be gained; and should Seleukos win, they would expect no problem in coming to an arrangement with their protégé, when he became Antigonos' successor in Asia.

Two minor points were also raised and formally incorporated into the treaty. For the Macedonians, the child Alexander IV, whom the army had recognized at Babylon in 323 and whose interests had been used for Antigonos' propaganda against Kassander since 314, was still the legitimate king, even if he were shut off from all public life in the fortress Amphipolis. He was now twelve years old, and with each advancing year getting closer to maturity, when at least some Macedonian traditionalists would expect him to begin to rule. Kassander therefore had to accept a formal limitation of his own position in Macedonia: he, the agreement stated, was to be "General in Europe" until Alexander IV came of age (a restriction which did not apply to the other signatories). The clause upheld Macedonian tradition – Kassander's father Antipater had held this title under Alexander the Great – but in practice it amounted to a death sentence for the boy and his mother, which was carried out by Glaukias, the commander of the garrison in Amphipolis, only a few weeks after the treaty was agreed. In due course the child's body received royal burial in the Argead cemetery at

Aigai; with him the family that had ruled Macedonia as long as the unified Macedonian state had existed buried its last king.

The second point which Kassander was reluctantly made to accept in order to gain the peace concerned the Greek states. According to the text of the treaty, the Greeks were to be "autonomous." This meant that Antigonos had in effect imposed his own propaganda on his colleagues. Ptolemy and Lysimachos will have shrugged their shoulders at this slogan, since they had few, if any, old Greek cities in their territories. Antigonos' own aggressive liberation campaign, despite local setbacks and contradictions, had not been aimed at them, but at weakening Kassander's position with the Greek city-states in the Aegean islands, in the Peloponnese, and in central Greece, where it achieved some successes. Antigonos cannot seriously have expected that as a result of this clause Kassander would immediately withdraw his remaining garrisons – the most important of them was Athens. It was rather intended as a message to those cities his operatives had already "freed" (even though some of his own garrisons remained in place, for security reasons) that their interests were not being abandoned by this treaty between the Macedonian dynasts, even though his own agreed area of responsibility, being restricted to Asia, formally excluded them (Diodoros 19.105; 20.19.3).

From one of his own Asian cities, the tiny Skepsis in the Troad, an inscription has preserved a letter in which Antigonos explains why he made peace. Large parts of the document can still be read. In it Antigonos emphasizes that he had not achieved everything for the Greeks that he had hoped to because the negotiations would have taken up too much time, but he had negotiated a clause guaranteeing, as he said, "freedom and autonomy" (the literary text in Diodoros mentions only "autonomy," internal self-determination – writing to his own subjects Antigonos could afford to strain the truth). The reason why he was in such a hurry to make peace and therefore, as he said, to compromise and sacrifice some of his principal interests, he leaves imprecise. It would not do to say to Greeks that he had more urgent concerns than Greek interests, far away from Greek lands. He also insisted that his Greeks (he naturally said "all Greeks," which has often confused historians) swear an oath that they would themselves take unified action to defend their "freedom and autonomy." Given Antigonos' planned absence in the eastern satrapies, independent action was their only chance. It implied, of course, the guarantee of active support against anyone who might seem to pose a threat to it or to the interests of Antigonos as its protector (*OGIS* 5 = BD^2 6 = Austin^2 38 = Harding 132; cf. chapter 4 below).