

The forgotten ones. Thracians and Thessalians in Bactria-Sogdiana

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ABSTRACT

The presence and pre-eminence of settlers from the Northern Aegean world in early Hellenistic Bactria-Sogdiana have been tacitly accepted by scholars since Robert's paper in 1968. The present article challenges the idea which backs up this assumption and also provides some new evidence with a greater focus on the Thracian and Thessalian cases. In this paper, it will be assessed that the hitherto accepted proofs are mostly circumstantial and not compelling. However, the dismissal of these pieces of evidence does not imply the total rebuttal of the possible presence of settlers from Thrace and Thessaly, but a reassessment of their importance and the times and circumstances of their arrival, proposing different migratory waves and purposes behind these populational movements. In consequence, this reassessment also implies new insight about how they would have been integrated into the complex multicultural mosaic of Bactria-Sogdiana.

KEYWORDS

Thracians; Thessalians; Bactria; Sogdiana; Diadochi; Alexander; Triballos; Kineas.

The account of the conquest and colonization of Bactria-Sogdiana is oftentimes interpreted as a tripartite conflict between the local people, the Macedonian power and the unmanageable Greek settlers (see, e.g., HOLT 1995; SIMONETTI AGOSTINETTI 2002; COLORU 2009, 124–138; ILIAKIS 2013). However, in the middle of these three main actors, there were additional groups that did not completely fit in any of these groups. Even though they possibly played an important part, they are usually forgotten. This paper is focused on the role carried out by Thracians and Thessalians. They were Macedonians' closest neighbours – aside from Chalcidian cities – and, therefore, all three shared common characteristics.¹ 'Thracian' was a loosely defined category in which Greeks fit in different *ethne* living in south-east Balkans, at the northern frontier of Hellas. This vicinity with the Greek world implied a progressively strong Hellenization of these peoples, although they were always considered strangers (DAMYANOV 2015; GRANINGER 2015, 27–30; SEARS 2015). During Philip's reign, many Thracian tribes were conquered and some of their territories even became part of the Macedonian kingdom. Alexander's first campaign reasserted Macedonian hegemony in the region and Thracians contributed a noteworthy levy for his expedition against the Persians (see below). Contrarily, Thessalians were undoubtedly considered a Greek people and no serious opposition against this claim is known, unlike Macedonians.² However, the characteristics of their homeland, political system and traditions were felt somehow different by southern Greeks, who many times considered Thessalians less

- 1 As Archibald (2000, 212–213) points out, singular landscape characteristics, different from what it could be found in southern Greece, especially vast plains, prefigured shared particular political, economic and cultural systems. The territories they held were far more extended than those of most of Greek *poleis*. Proverbial wealth, cavalry, livestock, and aristocracy were the most idiosyncratic shared elements between Thracians, Thessalians, and Macedonians.
- 2 Actually, Thessalians were possibly behind the birth of the concept of 'Hellenes', see HALL 2009, 608–609.

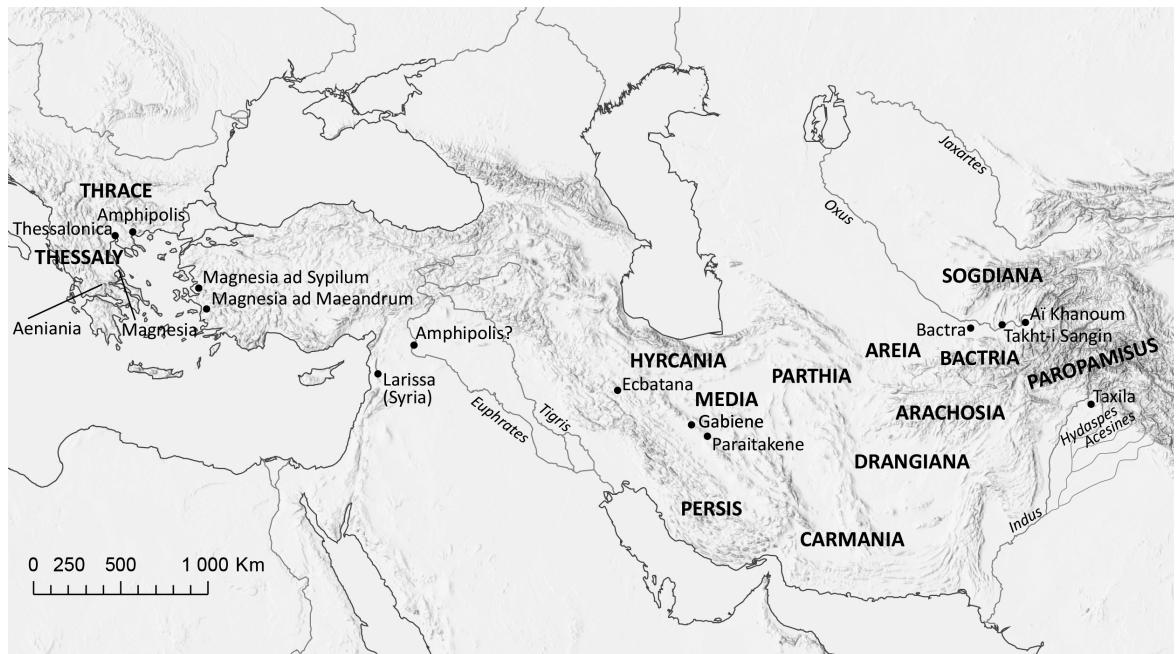


Fig. 1: Map of all the locations mentioned in the chapter.

refined – or more primitive – than themselves (WESTLAKE 1935, 39–46). In Alexander’s times, their distinction from the rest of the Greeks was based on political motives (see below).

The hegemonic presence of people from Northern Greece (i.e. Thessaly and Macedonia) and Balkan tribes in Bactria-Sogdiana has been widely – and somewhat blindly – accepted (ROBERT 1968, 431–438; BERNARD 1972, 618–619; BERNARD 2002, 80–81; OIKONOMIDES 1980, 180, note 6; OIKONOMIDES 1984, 29–30; RAPIN – GRENET 1983, 360, note 63; SIDKY 2000, 130–131, 169; COLORU 2009, 150–151, 2013, 44; MARTINEZ-SEVE 2009, 134–136; MAIRS 2015, 3), but their position remains ambiguous. Were they forced settlers? Or did they collaborate with the Macedonians? Was their status permanent or did it change throughout the years? This paper aims to better define the Thracians’ and Thessalians’ roles in Bactria-Sogdiana during and after Alexander’s conquest and their actual demographic weight.

THRACIANS IN BACTRIA-SOGDIANA

Thracian presence in Bactria is scarcely attested. Archaeology has only revealed two possible pieces of evidence of their presence so far. It is a widely known inscription from the Ai Khanoum gymnasium dedicated by two brothers (mid-3rd century BC: ROBERT 1968, 416–421; 200–150 BC: CANALI DE ROSSI 2004, no. 381; cf. LERNER 2003–2004, 390–391).³ One of the dedicators is

3 The inscription was found in a niche opened in the northern porch wall of the gymnasium courtyard during the second archaeological campaign (BERNARD 1967, 318–319, without the inscription text). The inscription helped to identify the building as a gymnasium because it was dedicated to Heracles and Hermes: Τριβαλλός/καὶ Στράτων/Στράτωνος/Ἑρμῆι, Ἡρακλεῖ.

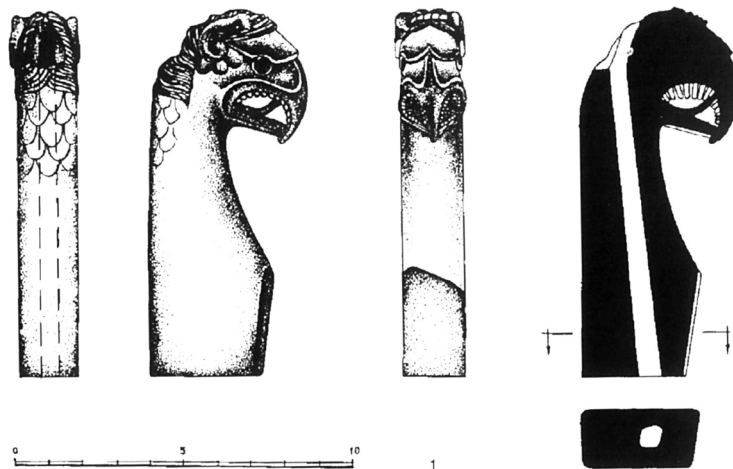


Fig. 2: Makhaira handle with griffin head from Takht-i Sangin (after LITVINSKIJ – PICHIKJAN 1999, 50, fig. 5.1).

a certain Triballos. This name is not very common⁴ and suggests a connection of some sort with this Balkan tribe (FRASER 2009, 215). The dedicator could have been a descendant of an Alexander's soldier of this origin (see below) or a later settler. But perhaps this link was more indirect and could refer to a privileged relationship with the Triballians, either commercial or military (ROBERT 1968, 419–420). The name of his father and his brother, Straton, is not helpful because it was widespread throughout the Greek world. Therefore, we cannot be sure that the bearer of the name Triballos had actual Thracian roots.

Secondly, ivory scabbards and sword sheathes have been found in Takht-i Sangin. These pieces were part of the great amount of votive objects unearthed at the Oxus Temple. Different types of swords were found, including *machairai*, which were frequently linked with Thracian tribes in the sources.⁵ Litvinskij and Pichikjan, the first excavators of the site, concluded that it cannot be established whether this type of weapon arrived before or after Alexander's conquest (PICHIKJAN – LITVINSKIJ 1999, 51, 100, 103; cf. Xenophon *Cyr.* II, 1.21). Even though the *machaira* had a strong Thracian connection, this is not clear evidence of their presence in the area because other peoples adopted this sword or resembling ones;⁶ furthermore, Thracians

4 The *LGPN* only records five cases: three from Athens (one of them a slave), one from Astypalaia, and one from Thrace (*LGPN* [online], s. vv. Τρίβαλλος/Τριβαλλός). There are three further attestations: two from Ptolemaic Egypt (BERNAND – MASSON 1957, 30–31, no. 22; *P. Tebt.* 1009, Fr. 1.5) and another from Seleucia at the Tigris (TRACY – HABICHT 1991, 216). Cf. COLORU 2009, 150.

5 The Thracian tribe of the Dii are called 'μαχαιροφόροι' by Thucydides (II, 96.2, 98.4; VII, 27.1); see also Xenophon *Cyr.* VI, 2.10.

6 The Greek authors considered the *machaira* a barbarian weapon in the best-case scenario (cf. Aeschylus, 56) – a majority of them did not consider it even as a legitimate weapon. The word was first applied to hunting, sacrificial or kitchen knives. The sword known as *machaira* was single-edged and preferentially used by the cavalry – even though it was also used by Thracian infantry, see STOYANOV 2015, 429. This weapon was not exclusively Thracian and the sources related it with other peoples. Besides the Dii, Colchians (Herodotus VII, 79), Egyptians (Herodotus VII, 89.3; IX, 32.1), Cilicians (Herodotus VII, 91) or Armenians (Xenophon *Cyr.* III, 2.10) are also attested using *machairai*. Nevertheless, the word was used in a general sense and could refer to other similar

did not only use *machairai*, but also other types of swords (STOYANOV 2015, 428–429). Therefore, this second ‘Thracian’ connection is again suggestive, but not compelling.

Textual testimonies are also scanty. The sole direct evidence of the presence of Thracian personnel in the Hellenistic Far East comes from Diodorus’ description of Eumenes’ forces in Paraitakene (Diodorus XIX, 27.5).⁷ On the left wing, there were 500 Thracian riders from the Upper Satrapies alongside with the same number of cavalymen from the Paropamisus. There was also a joint contingent of 600 Greek and Thracian riders under Peukestas’ command from the Persian satrapy (Diodorus XIX, 14.5). Antigonos had Thracian cavalry too, most likely it came from Thrace itself and not from the satrapies (Diodorus XIX, 29.4; LAUNEY 1949, 369; GRIFFITH 1968, 49; WEBBER 2001, 12; cf. Diodorus XIX, 29.2).⁸

Where did the 500 Upper Satrapies cavalymen come from? Holt automatically identified the Upper Satrapies with Bactria-Sogdiana (HOLT 1995, 94, note 29). Nevertheless, the expression ‘Upper Satrapies’ was a flexible one and it was applied to describe a geographical/administrative reality that could shrink and expand depending on the circumstances (cf. Diodorus XVIII, 7.1, 39.6, 73.2, XIX, 14.1, 90.1, 100.3–4, XX, 47.5; BRIANT 2002, 745; MENDOZA 2017, 57–58). The unique constant was that the term concerned territories east of Syria.⁹ There are other alternative explanations. First of all, they could be Peukestas’ Thracians from the joint cavalry battalion mentioned by Diodorus (cf. LAUNEY 1949, 369–370). Persis was sometimes included in this vague concept of the Upper Satrapies and Thracian presence there is attested elsewhere until the battle of Raphia at least (Polyaenus IV, 16; VII, 39, 40; Polybius V, 79.6).¹⁰ Therefore, perhaps the 500 Thracians were living in Persis – although this would only leave about a hundred Greeks in Peukestas’ squadron.

The second possibility is that if they were fighting alongside the Paropamisus’ contingent, they came from there as well. This region can be undoubtedly considered as part of the ‘Upper Satrapies’.¹¹ In addition, this Thracian regiment might have been previously mentioned in other sources. Back in 326/325 BC, Philip, son of Machatas (HECKEL 2006, 212–213, s.v. Philip [5]), received a large group of Thracian soldiers as part of the garrison force of his Indian satrapy (Arrian *Anab.* VI, 15.2). Firstly its territory was comprised of the area between the Indus and the Hydaspes, with the capital in Taxila (Arrian *Anab.* V, 8.3). This initial satrapy grew down south until the confluence of these rivers with the Acesines (Arrian *Anab.* VI, 14.3, 15.2; Plutarch *Alex.* 60.16), and more importantly, it also expanded northward. Nicanor, who was in charge of Alexandria in Caucasus and probably of the lands between the Paropamisus and

single-edged swords. On the *machaira*, see ROUX 1964, 34–35; PICHKJAN – LITVINSKIY 1999, 93–96. See also WOOD 2011, 148.

7 On the battle, see DEVINE 1985.

8 In *Bibliotheca Teubneriana*’s edition (FISCHER 1906), Θρακῶν is added simply by analogy with those mentioned when listing Eumenes’ troops, as we have seen. This addition is not necessary. As they were contingents from two different armies, this extrapolation is not valid.

9 This expression was still used in the Seleucid administration time after Parthian and Greco-Bactrian independences. The core of this region was Media. See CAPDETREY 2007, 267.

10 There were one thousand Thracians among the Seleucid lines – and maybe some Agrianians, a Thracian tribe; cf. LAUNEY 1949, 378–379; GRIFFITH 1968, 144, 251 (who held the opinion that they were not settlers, but mercenaries); BAR-KOCHVA 1976, 50; DUMITRU 2013, 71–73. Another contingent of Thracians fought in the Ptolemaic army (Polybius V, 65.10). Polyaenus’ passages are not dated and there has been no consensus about which Seleucus is mentioned in one of the episodes (BAR-KOCHVA 1976, 33–34; DUMITRU 2013, 78–79).

11 Going forward in this article, the strictly geographical name ‘Eastern satrapies’ will be used for those territories east to the Tigris.

the Indus river (Arrian *Anab.* IV, 22.4, 28.6; see BOSWORTH 1983, 38, note 6), was assassinated by the Assaceniens. Philip, son of Machatas, was sent to regain control of those lands and they were incorporated to his dominions (Arrian *Anab.* V, 20.7). The extension to the north of his satrapy is well-attested and Arrian states that it arrived until the limits of Bactria (Arrian *Anab.* VI, 2.3).¹² But Philip's government was short-lived and he died at the hands of some of his own mercenaries (Arrian *Anab.* VI, 27.5; Curtius X, 1.20). He was succeeded by Taxiles and Eudamus (HECKEL 2006, 120, s.v. Eudamus [2]). Interestingly, the latter is described by Curtius as 'the general of the Thracians' (Curtius X, 1.21: *dux erat Thracum*).¹³ At the time of Paraitakene, Eudamus was at the head of the former satrapy of Porus, whom he had assassinated. Thus, some Thracians soldiers might still be in the Paropamisus and northern India, either as a garrison force, personal guard or settlers.

The main problem is in the numbers given by Diodorus.¹⁴ He details the soldiers in each contingent, both when the satrapal army joined Eumenes' and in the battle order in Paraitakene. For this battle, it must be kept in mind that Diodorus also states that Eumenes selected 300 riders from all the cavalry units for an *ad hoc* squadron. For Paropamisus, it is firstly stated, at the arrival, that its satrap, Oxyartes, only sent 1,200 infantry and 400 cavalrymen under Androbazus' command (Diodorus XIX, 14.6). On the other hand, when Diodorus later describes the formation of Eumenes' army in Paraitakene, the number of these riders increases up to 500 men, who battled alongside with the Thracian contingent (Diodorus XIX, 27.5). Perhaps some of the foot soldiers were converted into riders? Eudamus, for his part, only had, in Paraitakene, 250 of the 500 cavalrymen that had initially arrived under his command (Diodorus XIX, 27.2). A closer look at the whole numbers of the satrapal cavalry gives us an insight into a possible solution (**Tab. 1**).

Therefore, if we assume that the Hippiarchies' selection was formed by riders from the satrapal contingents, there is only an overall difference of ten soldiers between the arrival and the battle of Paraitakene. This difference of ten cavalrymen could be caused by the Arachosian regiment, being this the very same discrepancy between Diodorus' figures for the arrival and for the battle order. Either Diodorus rounded up the figures in the second passage or those lost riders accompanied Sibyrtilus when he fled to his satrapy (Diodorus XIX, 23.4).¹⁵ Apart

12 Φιλίππῳ δὲ τῷ σατραπίῃ τῆς ἐπέκεινα τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ὡς ἐπὶ Βακτρίας γῆς ('Philip, the satrap of the country west of the Indus towards Bactria'). Philip may have controlled the whole Paropamisus' satrapy between the destitution of Tyriespis and the arrival of Oxyartes as the new governor (Arrian *Anab.* VI, 15.3; Curtius IX, 8.9-10; SISTI - ZAMBRINI 2004, 539).

13 HOLT (1995, 84, note 139) considers that the Thracians were those murderous mercenaries. But this identification is arbitrary and ill-founded. Arrian (*Anab.* VI, 27.2) says only 'mercenaries', with no ethnic label. Thracians might not have been involved in the mercenaries' assassination of the satrap since it seems unlikely that Eudamus, who was the general of the Thracian contingent, was later rewarded for this action. It seems more probable that the murderers were Greek mercenaries as in the well-known revolts in Bactria-Sogdiana (see below).

14 The highly detailed information both for the battlefield characteristics and the armies' contingents had to come from Hieronymus of Cardia, an eye-witness of many of the events described in Diodorus' books about the Diadochi period. He was with Eumenes until the battle of Gabiene, so Hieronymus had first-hand information about Eumenes' army in Paraitakene. After being captured in Gabiene, he was closely associated with the Antigonids and he had access to official accounts and documents. Therefore, Hieronymus is an exceptional source when dealing with these events because he was acquainted with both sides. Certainly, there are some calculation errors elsewhere in Diodorus' *Library*, but they have been considered Diodorus' own errors (or of the subsequent copyists) when reading Hieronymus' account. See BIZIÈRE 1975, 154; HORNBLLOWER 1981, 38-40, 109-110, 120-122.

15 Eumenes tried to undermine Peukestas' growing influence by charging Sibyrtilus, a close friend of Peukestas. Eumenes also sent some horsemen to Arachosia and ordered the seizure of Sibyrtilus'

Officer	Diodorus XIX, 14.5-8 (Arrival of the satrapal army)	Diodorus XIX, 27.2-28.4 (Battle order in Paraitakene)	Difference in the number of troops between the arrival and the battle order
Eudamus (Northern India)	500	250 (150 horsemen + 100 selected mounted lancers)	-250
Stasander (Areia-Drangiana + Stasanor's troops from Bactria-Sogdiana)	1000	950	-50
Sibyrtius-Cephalon (Arachosia)	610	600	-10
Androbazus ¹⁶ (Paropamisus)	400	1,000 (500 from Paropamisus + 500 Thracians from the Upper Satrapies)	+600 (100 from Paropamisus + 500 Thracians)
Tlepolemus (Carmania)	700	800	+100
Peukestas (Persis)	1,000 (600 Greeks and Thracians + 400 Persians)	300	-700
Amphimachus (Mesopotamia)	---	600	---
Hipparchies' selection ¹⁷	---	300	---
Total	Diodorus: 4,600 Actual: 4,210 ¹⁸	Actual: 4,800 ¹⁹	-10 (-310 + 300 soldiers of the Hipparchies' selection)

Tab. 1: Satrapal cavalry troops in Eumenes' army.

from these ten soldiers, there is a clear equivalence between the figures. The first inference is that the Thracian riders listed in Paraitakene were part of the original satrapal armies. Apart from the Thracian squadron, there is the aforementioned increase of Paropamisus' troops by about 100 cavalrymen,²⁰ as well as Tlepolemus' squadron from Carmania.²¹ Perhaps there

baggage. Sibyrtius was forced to sneakily flee to avoid being sentenced to death. It is likely that he did not run away alone, but he would have escaped with some of his men, especially if he was expecting to face Eumenes' horsemen at his arrival to Arachosia (Diodorus XIX, 23).

16 He is not mentioned in the second passage explicitly, but it can be inferred that he was the one in charge of Paropamisus' cavalry during the battle.

17 Undoubtedly, there is no clear indication that the members of this squadron were part of the satrapal forces. Although, given the fact that there was already an elite cavalry in the ranks of Eumenes' army, we can presume that the hipparchies' selection was composed of the Eastern contingents. Cf. DEVINE 1985, 79.

18 As Bizière (1975, 154) noted, the absence of Amphimachus (due to a corrupt transmission?) could explain the discrepancy between the real total and Diodorus' figure. Therefore, a figure of 300-400 riders (390 if he was utterly precise) for Amphimachus' contingent might well be a reasonable conjecture. However, it is well-advised to rule them out because one cannot be sure that Diodorus gave the correct number in the lost passage.

19 Diodorus gives a total as 6,100 because he also includes other Eumenes' cavalry units such as the Companions. However, this number does not match either the sum of the different contingents (6,300).

20 Diodorus initially lists 400 cavalry troops under Androbazus' command. In the battle order, there were 500 Paropamieseans plus the 500 Thracians.

21 This difference of 200 men (100 from Paropamisus + 100 from Carmania) echoes the one existent between the sum of the whole cavalry given by Diodorus (6,100) and the actual (6,300); see DEVINE

were minor modifications to adjust the composition and the formation on the *ilai*. In any case, it did not imply the arrival of further satrapal contingents or the relocation of other units from the rest of Eumenes' army.

We ignore what was the exact contribution of every Eastern regiment to Eumenes' 300 selected riders. Putting aside the minor arrangements we have just addressed, it is likely that both the selected cavalrymen and the Thracian squadron were mainly recruited from the forces of Peukestas, Eudamus, and Stasander, the only ones who lost soldiers between Diodorus' first and second counts (700, 250, and 50, respectively). The only explicit mention of Thracian riders is that of Peukestas' Greco-Thracian cavalry but, as stated earlier, it is plausible that there were Thracians both from the Paropamisus and Eudamus' satrapy as well. Therefore, it is likely that it was an *ad hoc* mixed squadron composed by Thracians from different Eastern satrapies (MENDOZA 2017, 58), with a main contribution from Eudamus', Stasander's, and Peukestas' contingents.²²

Diodorus' information, in consequence, attests the presence of Thracian people in the Eastern satrapies in general, but there is no direct mention to Bactria-Sogdiana in particular. These Thracians from the Upper Satrapies might have either arrived with Alexander's army or in the early Diadochi period – or both. With regard to the first option, the Thracian contingent in Alexander's army²³ at the crossing of the Hellespont was 7,000 infantrymen (including Illyrians) and 600 or 900 riders (Thracians, Paeonians, and *prodromoi*²⁴) – plus 1,000 Agrianians, another Thracian tribe (Diodorus XVII, 17.4). Later on, arrivals of several Thracian reinforcements sent by Antipater during the first part campaign are also attested in the sources.²⁵

1985, 79. Hornblower (1981, 110, n. 14) suggests that Diodorus might not have counted Eudamus' squadron (150 riders) who fought alongside the elephants. She reached a different total sum (6,250), perhaps because she only counted 50 riders for Eudamus' two units of mounted lancers instead of counting 50 for *each* unit and, therefore, making 100 cavalrymen: πρόταγμα δὲ τούτων εἴλας δύο ξυστοφόρων ἐπιλέκτων, βάρθος ἐχούσας ἰππέων πεντήκοντα ('an advance guard for them two troops of selected mounted lancers with a strength of fifty horsemen').

- 22 Therefore, Thracian contribution by Stasander's Bactrian contingent would be of 50 soldiers at the most. The difference of 50 riders between the first and the second passages of Diodorus includes both Stasander's and Stasander's contingents and they might have been distributed both between the selected cavalry squadron and the Thracian one. Therefore, Thracians coming from Bactria might have been just a few. Moreover, there is a possible previous mention of Stasander's Thracian troops from Areia. Anaxippus was left in that satrapy with forty mounted javelin-men back in 330 (Arrian *Anab.* III, 25.2). Some authors have defended a Thracian background to the *prodromoi*, the *sarisophoroi*, and the *hippakontistai* (see note 28).
- 23 On the Thracian participation in the campaign, see: TARN 1948, 157–160; GRIFFITH 1968, 14–15; DANOV 1979, 39–41; BOSWORTH 1988, 264–265; ARCHIBALD 1998, 305–306; SEKUNDA – WARRY 1998, 24–25, 48; WEBBER 2001, 11; DANA 2011, 97–99; DELEV 2015, 52–53.
- 24 This passage is corrupt and there have been different interpretations, mostly about the *prodromoi*. Milns's (1966) proposal is the most convincing (Θραῖκες δὲ <καὶ> πρόδρομοι καὶ Παιόνες, i.e. 'Thracians, <and> *prodromoi*, and Paeonians') and, therefore, those *prodromoi* would have been Macedonians. Goukowsky (1976, 179) suggested that those 900 riders were 300 Thracians, 300 Paeonians, and 300 *sarisophoroi*. Merker (1965, 45–46) and Atkinson (1980, 384) considered a smaller Paeonian contingent (200 soldiers).
- 25 Possible reinforcement of Agrianians before Issus (Curtius III, 9.10; cf. ATKINSON 1980, 212). Asclepiodorus with 500 riders at Memphis (Arrian *Anab.* III, 5.1). Arrival of 3,000–3,500 foot soldiers and 600 cavalrymen at Babylon (Curtius V, 1.41; Diodorus XVII, 65.1; cf. Arrian *Anab.* III, 16.10–11; ATKINSON 1994, 49). In all these instances, it is clearly stated that these troops came from Europe and, therefore, they were not relocations of troops already in Asia.

In 330 BC, the majority of the Thracians troops were garrisoned in Media under the orders of Parmenio (Arrian *Anab.* III, 19.7; BOSWORTH 1980a, 337–338). Some of their commanders, like Agathon and Sitalkes (HECKEL 2006, 7, s.v. Agathon [2], 251–252), were involved in the execution of Parmenio (Arrian *Anab.* III, 26.3–4).²⁶ However, it seems that the elite force of the Agrianians²⁷ and some other Thracian soldiers²⁸ continued with Alexander's army. The former participated in many daring engagements throughout those years, including his attack against Porus' elephants alongside additional Thracians (javelin men?) at the battle of the Hydaspes (Curtius VIII, 14.24–25; cf. Arrian *Anab.* V, 12.2, 13.4). Nevertheless, back in 329/328 BC, when Alexander was in Bactra, the officer Ptolemy arrived with a mercenary force composed of 4,000 foot-soldiers and 1,000 riders (Arrian *Anab.* IV, 7.2; Curtius VII, 10.11). This Ptolemy is called 'general of the Thracians' by Arrian,²⁹ but there is no explicit indication that those mercenaries were Thracians. Therefore, the Thracians at the Hydaspes could either have been fresh troops that had arrived after 330 BC or not.

After the battle against Porus, Phrataphernes met Alexander's army and returned some Thracian troops that the king had left in his charge in a previous unknown occasion (Arrian *Anab.* V, 20.7).³⁰ There is no information about how many the Thracians were and whether they came from Ecbatana or if they were later-arrived reinforcements (MILNS 1978, 376; BOSWORTH 1995, 321). Soon after this event, Curtius and Diodorus relate the arrival of remarkable new reinforcements (Curtius IX, 3.21; Diodorus XVII, 95.4³¹). Curtius says that the convoy was made up by 5,000 cavalrymen from Thrace, and 7,000 foot-soldiers sent by Harpalus (from Babylon), but Diodorus raises the figures up to almost 6,000 riders and more than 30,000 infantrymen from Greece.³² However, Diodorus does not indicate their ethnicity precisely ('allies and mercenaries') and the indication that they came from Greece does not imply that

26 Perhaps 600 soldiers were executed alongside their officers after the return of Alexander from India: Curtius X, 1.9. Bosworth (1980a, 363) suggests that the soldiers who mutinied after his death were the Thracians. The figure of 600 might not be precise because it was usually employed by Roman authors to indicate a high number: ATKINSON – YARDLEY 2009, 79.

27 Agrianians are mentioned 47 times in Arrian (BRUNT 1976, lxxxii).

28 There has been some historiographic discussion about the ethnicity – either Thracian or Macedonian – of the *prodromoi*, the *sarisophoroi* and the (*hipp*)*akontistai*. Some have also suggested that Alexander created a mixed squadron after Gaugamela. See BERVE 1926 I, 129–130, 135; TARN 1948, 157–158; BRUNT 1963, 27–28, 1976, lxxiv–lxxv; BOSWORTH 1980b, 14–15; BOSWORTH 1988, 165, 271; BOSWORTH 1995, 279; NIKONOROV 1997, 34–35; SEKUNDA – WARRY 1998, 24; HAMILTON 2002, 42, 102; OLBRYCHT 2011a, 75–82.

29 The precise meaning of this remark is not clear and there are opposite views regarding this post and the circumstances of his voyage (cf. BOSWORTH 1995, 40–41; HECKEL 2006, 235, s.v. Ptolemy [4]).

30 However, it can be plausibly posited that Phrataphernes used them in his missions to capture Barzanes and/or Autophradates. The presence of Phrataphernes in Alexander's winter residences is recorded twice in consecutive years – in Bactra and Nautaca (Sogdiana) (Arrian *Anab.* IV, 7.1, 18.3). In consequence, it has been regarded as a possible doublet of Arrian – or his source. Scholars have preferred the later instance because it is unlikely that he could complete the mission he had been previously appointed in such a short period (BOSWORTH 1995, 38–39; HECKEL 2006, 341, note 693).

31 Diodorus does not state who led those troops, but Curtius says it was Memnon. The identification of this Memnon is troublesome, given his homonymy with the governor of Thrace that led a revolt against Antipater a few years earlier (Diodorus, XVII, 62.1–63.1; cf. DANOV 1979, 41; PRANDI 2013, 161; DELEV 2015, 52–53).

32 They both agree that there were also brought 25,000 suits of armour, but only Diodorus adds 100 talents of medical supplies. The divergence in the figures for the cavalrymen is almost negligible and can be just a consequence of a different way of rounding off the real figure of 5,000 something soldiers. However, the difference in the number of infantrymen is too big. Hammond (1983, 152)

Episode	Number of Thracians
Crossing of the Hellespont	<8,600–8,900 (<7,000 foot soldiers (including Illyrians) + 600–900 riders + 1,000 Agrianians)
Before Issus	Unknown number of Agrianians
Memphis	500 riders
Babylon	3,600–4,100 (3,000–3,500 foot soldiers + 600 riders)
India	5,000–<6,000 riders
TOTAL	≈ 17,700–19,500
*Bactra (Ptolemy's contingent)	4,000 foot soldiers + 1,000 riders?

Tab. 2: Thracian forces during Alexander campaign. Initial troops and new reinforcements from Europe.

all of them were Greeks. These soldiers and those of Phrataphernes were probably the basis for that garrison force given later on to Philip, son of Machatas, and under the supervision of Eudamus in northern India (BOSWORTH 1988, 265; BOSWORTH 1995, 41).

The previous summary gives several important clues about the role of Thracians during the campaign's Eastern phase. After 330 BC, with a few exceptions, Thracians were employed as a garrison force. In Media and India³³ especially, they were a substantial – if not the main – body of the garrisoned soldiers, maybe counting thousands in every case. Finally, there was a possible reunion of part of the Thracian contingent from Media with the rest of Alexander's army in 325/324 BC in Carmania (Arrian *Anab.* VI, 27.3; Curtius X, 1.1). There, Cleander, Sitalkes, Heracon, and Agathon (only in Curtius) led a group of 5,000 foot-soldiers and 1,000 riders. The ethnicity of these troops is not stated, but two officers, Sitalkes and Agathon (HECKEL 2006, 7, s.v. Agathon [2], 251–252; cf. DANA 2011, 97, note 25), were commanders of Thracian units. It appears likely to assume that part of these 6,000 men (i.e. the 5,000 foot-soldiers and the 1,000 riders) were Thracians.³⁴

During the early Diadochi period, Thracians are scarcely attested in the East – with the exception of their minor role in Paraitakene. As indicated before, most of the Thracian contingent disappeared from the sources after its confinement in Media in 330 BC, except for the aforementioned scattered instances. So, where did those thousands of Thracians go during those years?³⁵

suggests that information about the origins of the contingents might have been lost in Curtius. In any case, the figure that concerns us here, the Thracian cavalry troops, is certified by both accounts.

33 Even high-esteemed Agrianians were settled down in a new foundation in the land of the Oreitae (Arrian *Anab.* VI, 22.3).

34 See note 26. There was a previous arrival of troops from Media, but all of them were Macedonians and Greeks – around 11,200: Curtius VII, 3.4. It confirms that Thracians mostly formed garrison body thereafter.

35 Tarn (1948, 158) defended that they were sent back home alongside the Greek allies and the Thesalians at the Oxus albeit Thracians are not mentioned and most of them were already in Media and not with the main army. Additionally, it would be misleading to think that Thesalians, Greek allies and Thracians were equally regarded (see below).

This apparent disappearance gives us a greater understanding of the Thracian presence in the campaign. As Bosworth clearly stated: ‘Alexander had no interest in repatriating any of them and the main *raison d’être* of his Thracian contingent may have been simply to be out of Thrace’ (BOSWORTH 1988, 265; DANOV 1979, 39–40; ARCHIBALD 1998, 305).³⁶ Similar arguments have been raised concerning the preference for Greek mercenaries as settlers in the eastern-most colonies (HOLT 1995, 78–80; LANDUCCI GATTINONI 1995; SIMONETTI AGOSTINETTI 2002; COLORU 2009, 128; ILIAKIS 2013, 185–187; cf. GRIFFITH 1968, 23–24).³⁷ As stated earlier, some Thracians were garrisoned or carried out military missions in oriental satrapies. In addition to Phrataphernes, it is possible that Thracian squadrons were assigned to other satraps (cf. BRUNT 1976, 527) like Stasanor, who had similar appointments during those years (MENDOZA 2017, 47–48). If Greek mercenaries and Thracians represented the same problem, Alexander could have applied the same solution. The sources specify the ethnic composition of some of the new foundations in the East,³⁸ however, it lacks for most of the strictly military outposts, either temporary or permanent.³⁹ Certainly, the civic settlements also had certain military duties, but it was not their exclusive purpose (LANDUCCI GATTINONI 1995, 135). It is possible that the Thracians were perceived more trustworthy than Greek mercenaries to carry out garrison tasks, as the two forthcoming Bactrian revolts would prove.⁴⁰ It would be also a further preventive measure given that the settler population was mainly formed by forced Greek colonists. It would hinder the emergence of a sympathy between garrison soldiers and settler community to eventually overthrow the Macedonian power (cf. Curtius X, 2.8).⁴¹ Macedonians were a relatively reduced contingent, so any help would have been welcomed (LAUNNEY 1949, 351–353; THOMAS 1974, 19; BILLOWS 1995, 153–157, 188; NIKONOROV 1997, 33; SIMONETTI AGOSTINETTI 2002, 215; OLBRYCHT 2011b, 24; cf. COLORU 2013, 41–42, 50–51). Thus, it is plausible that regiments of Thracians were not only garrisoned in Media, Persis, Areia-Drangiana,

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- 36 Probably the most shocking case was that of the Agrianians that were left in the land of the Oreitae after a great career, see note 33. Justin (XI, 5.3) and Frontinus (II, 11.3) explain that Alexander took Thracian princes and officers as hostages before departing.
- 37 Holt even considered that those Thracians that arrived in India (Curtius IX, 3.21), like the rest of the Greek mercenaries, were part of Agis’ uprising – or that there was some type of agreement between the Spartan king and Memnon (note 31). But there is no indication that the newcomers were in any way linked with those revolts.
- 38 On Alexander’s garrisons, see THOMAS 1974. Using the figures of Curtius, she calculated that 54,000 soldiers were garrisoned at least (THOMAS 1974, 19; cf. BRUNT 1976, 527). On the ethnicity of the new Eastern foundations, see OLBRYCHT 2011b. These settlements were generally populated by a mix of Greek mercenaries, Macedonians unfit for battle, and local people.
- 39 See, for example, the six outposts established in Margiana (Curtius VII, 10.15; OLBRYCHT 2011b, 29; cf. BOSWORTH 1981; BERNARD 1982) or the attack of Spitamenes against one of the fortifications of Bactria (Arrian *Anab.* IV, 16.4–5; cf. IV, 1.4, 16.3; Curtius VII, 10.10; BOSWORTH 1995, 17). There were some places where the fortifications were reinforced and a garrison was placed, especially in India (Arrian *Anab.* IV, 27.7, 28.4–6, V, 24.8, VI, 15.7, 18.1, 20.5).
- 40 During the first Bactrian revolt, Greek colonists did not initially control the citadel and they had to assault it (Curtius IX, 7.1–2; cf. ILIAKIS 2013, 188). See, also, the already mentioned (note 13) assassination of Philip, satrap of Northern India. It is possible that Eudamus’ Thracians and Macedonian soldiers collaborated to punish the murderous mercenaries.
- 41 It has been a regular practice to post garrison soldiers of different ethnicity from the colonial or local population, especially in frontier regions. For example, under the Achaemenid rule, there was a Jewish military colony in Elephantine, Egypt (PORTEN 1968; on ethnicity in the Achaemenid garrisons, see TUPLIN 1987, 219–222). In the Imperial Roman period, Dacian soldiers are widely attested in outposts in the Egyptian Eastern Desert (DANA 2003).

and India as the satrapal troops in Paraitakene suggest, but in some other Eastern settlements and outposts.⁴²

Nevertheless, the lack of direct references about this possible establishment of Thracian troops in Bactria-Sogdiana opens up the possibility of a later arrival, during the Seleucid period. The settlement of these Balkan people is attested elsewhere in Seleucid territory (LAUNEY 1949, 378, 392–394; DANA 2011, 107; DUMITRU 2013, 75, 79).⁴³ Their presence is attested in Persis (see note 10), Phrygia, Pisidia, Lydia, and Caria (DANA 2011, 107–114).⁴⁴ Thracians were usual companions of the Macedonian colonists (DANA 2011, 112–115). Seleucid activity in Bactria-Sogdiana is well-attested especially during the coregency of Antiochus I with new settlements and refoundations. These policies might have been applicable upon the arrival of a new population – military or civil – from the West and from various ethnic backgrounds (SHERWIN-WHITE – KUHRT 1993, 167; CHANIOTIS 2002, 100; COLORU 2013; KOSMIN 2014, 61, 290–291, note 18; MARTINEZ-SÈVE 2015, 26–28; cf. COHEN 1978, 29–41). As a result, the presence of Seleucid Thracian settlers is hypothetical but likely (COLORU 2013, 44–45; cf. TARN 1938, 70, 118).

In conclusion, the Thracian presence in Bactria-Sogdiana is not completely confirmed, however, we have possible clues which make it plausible. Triballos' inscription does not prove a Thracian presence, the dedicator could equally be a descendant of a nameless Alexander's soldier/Seleucid settler or none of them.⁴⁵ Alternatively, the textual evidence supposes a firmer ground for suggesting a Thracian presence in early Hellenistic Bactria-Sogdiana. They could have been part of the garrison force left by Alexander in the area as seen in other Eastern satrapies.⁴⁶ Their role would have been initially different from that of Greek settlers, most likely as an auxiliary force under the Macedonian commandment. It is difficult to assess the Thracians' career during the tumultuous period between the first revolt of the Greek settlers

42 Besides, their suitability for confronting certain enemies would have helped in the decision. In Bactria-Sogdiana, the potential enemy would be a band of very mobile cavalrymen. Paeonian/Thracian scouts would be a very useful force to detect and confront them. In 331 BC, they successfully intercepted a thousand-man Persian riders' patrol (Curtius IV, 9.24–25; Plutarch *Alex.* 39.2). Other light-troop squadrons could have carried out the task as well (e.g. Anaxippus' troops in Areia, see note 18). I would like to thank Michael Iliakis for his remarks on this issue.

43 The presence of Thracians is indisputable in the Ptolemaic territory and other Hellenistic kingdoms as well: LAUNEY 1949, 372–377, 384–388, 390–391; GRIFFITH 1968, 114, 118–119, 133, 137, 243, 253–254; BINGEN 1983; BAGNALL 1984, 10, 13, 15–18; ARCHIBALD 2010, 339–340; DANA 2011, 90–106. As already noted, there was a certain Triballos in Seleucia at the Tigris (see note 4).

44 Despite the fact that many documents are late, Dana suggests that the Thracian presence could go back to Alexander or Seleucid period in some cases; cf. COHEN 1978, 9–11. This prevalence of western satrapies might be a result of the greater quantity of material for them in comparison with what happens in easternmost territories.

45 Apart from previously indicated alternatives, it is worth mentioning that there is earlier evidence of a Thracian presence in the Achaemenid Empire. Thracian *kurtaš* are widely found in Persepolis' Fortification tablets (PF 851, 852, 853, 1006, 1010, 1056, 1057, 1085, 1171, 1172, 1176, 1186, 1215, 1278, 1363, 1575, 1813, 1819, 1820, 1823, 1847, 1946, 1954, 1955, 1957, 1987, 2055, 2069; PFA 18; plus some unpublished ones: BALCER 1988, 7, note 23). Nevertheless, there is no clear indication of their presence in the Persepolis' Treasury tablets (see BALCER 1988, 6–7; BALCER 1995, 153–154; VASSILEVA 2015, 322–323). These instances can hardly be connected with our men. These documents are limited to Darius I's reign (509–494 BC) and to the central regions of the Empire (i.e. Persis and Elam). I would like to thank Wu Xin for her commentaries in regards to this particular point.

46 MARTINEZ-SÈVE 2015, 25–26 suggests that Alexander could have stationed troops in Kohna Qala and the acropolis of Aï Khanoum. As she pinpoints, this does not imply that the Hellenistic city was built in Alexander's times, a fact that agrees with the archaeological record. Obviously, there is no way to ascertain these troops' ethnicity.

(325 BC) and the battle of Paraitakene (317 BC). Eumenes' Thracian squadron could have been furnished by some soldiers from Bactria-Sogdiana – although the main contribution might come from Peukestas and Eudamus. If that is the case, their presence in Stasanor's contingent would suggest that they were widely regarded as trustworthy (MENDOZA 2017, 57–58) and the Thracians might not have actively participated in the two previous uprisings. In all actuality, they were potential victims of them given their likely association with Macedonian power. Furthermore, the arrival of Thracian settlers during the Seleucid period is also plausible.

THESSALIANS IN BACTRIA-SOGDIANA

On October 22, 1966, the well-known Kineas' *heroon* and its inscriptions were discovered in Aï Khanoum.⁴⁷ Kineas has been unanimously considered the worshipped founder of the city. His *heroon* was one of the oldest structures of Aï Khanoum (going back to the 4th century), and so was Kineas' cult. In consequence, Kineas' identity has appeared closely bound with the problem of his precise dating, which, in turn, is linked with Aï Khanoum's. Nevertheless, it is very difficult to determine the chronology with the needed accuracy and, in consequence, it has oscillated through the bibliography about the city (cf. e.g. BERNARD – FRANCFORT 1978, 12–15; BERNARD 1982, 135–136; LERNER 2003–2004; LYONNET 2012; MAIRS 2015b, 114–116; MARTINEZ-SÈVE 2015, 21–32). Assuming a founder's cult to him (BRIANT 1998, 325–327; MAIRS 2015b, 112), Kineas has been considered an officer, either of Alexander, Seleucus, or even Antiochus (MARTINEZ-SÈVE 2015, 30–32; cf. MARTINEZ-SÈVE 2011, 219).⁴⁸ However, this correlation between chronology and identity is actually a false premise and perhaps his heroization was not linked with the city foundation. The inscription does not detail it (he is not described as *ktistes* or *oikistes*; see note 47), so there are any number of other possibilities. By way of example, he could have been killed in action in an ambush during Alexander's campaign, in a later 'barbarian' attack or even in one of the settlers' uprisings, most likely not far from where the city was built.⁴⁹ In any case, his cult could have predated the definitive establishment of the city and, in consequence, it is not of help for backing up any date nor background of Kineas. Thus, Kineas' post, affiliation and deeds in Bactria-Sogdiana cannot be simply deduced after the chronology of the earliest *heroon* and the content of the inscription.

Just as it was assumed that he was an officer and the founder of Aï Khanoum, a determined ethnic background for Kineas was also posited. In 1968, Louis Robert wrote a paper focused on the inscriptions found in Aï Khanoum so far. In spite of the presence of the name Kineas in some other regions like Attica, Egypt or the Cyclades, Robert concluded that the most plausible option is that he was from Thessaly (ROBERT 1968, 431–438). From then on, scholars have

47 Like Triballos' inscription, it was found in the course of the second campaign (BERNARD 1967, 317–318; CANALI DE ROSSI 2004, no. 382). It was placed in the *heroon's* pronaos. Complete text: Ἀνδρῶν τοῖσφά ταῦτα παλαιότερων ἀνάκει[τα]ι/ ῥήματα ἀριγνώτων Πυθοῖ ἐν ἡγαθέαι·/ ἔνθεν ταῦτ[α] Κλεάρχος ἐπιφραδέως ἀναγράψας/ εἴσχοτο τηλαυγῆ Κινέου ἐν τεμένει ('These wise sayings of men of old, the maxims of renowned men, are enshrined in the holy Pytho. There, Klearchos copied them conscientiously, and set them up here in the sanctuary of Kineas, blazing them from afar'). Additionally, there were also five Delphic maxims inscribed in the same base (text in ROBERT 1968, 424).

48 The Seleucid option has been the most widely defended, see e.g. ROBERT 1968, 437–438; FRASER 1996, 195; LERNER 2003–2004, 392–393.

49 Arstonicus was a citharist who died defending Bactra during a surprise attack by the Massagetae (Arrian *Anab.* IV, 16.6–8). Alexander ordered to set up a statue of him in Delphi (Plutarch *Mor.* 334–335)

widely accepted Kineas' Thessalian roots.⁵⁰ However, new onomastic databases cast doubt on this assertion. *LGPN* records forty individuals (*LGPN* [online], s. v. Κινέας):⁵¹ sixteen from Attica, thirteen from Thessaly, eight from the Cyclades (mostly from Delos), and one from Sparta, Lokris, and Doris respectively. Pre-Hellenistic attestations reduce the corpus to thirteen entries:⁵² six from Thessaly, six from Attica and one from Ioulis (Keos). Certainly, *LGPN* compiles more individuals from Attica (62,361) than from Thessaly (13,282) and, in consequence, the Thessalian percentage of this name is found to be higher. Nonetheless, it is hardly significant and does not imply a conclusive claim by itself.⁵³ Therefore, the alleged Thessalian origin is not clear, or at best, cannot be exclusively based on onomastic arguments.

After Kineas, some other names found in Ai Khanoum – Lysanias, Isidora, Kosmos/Kosmas, Molossos⁵⁴ and the aforementioned Triballos (BERNARD 1972, 618–619; BERNARD 2002, 80–81) – have been also traced back to Northern Greece and the Balkans, spreading the idea of a predominance of these regions among the early community of Ai Khanoum. However, a more detailed analysis of the names clearly questions these assertions.

For Bernard (1972, 618), Lysanias 'est un beau nom macédonien' and he directly relates it with Kineas and Triballos' alleged northern origin, yet it was a very popular name (304 records in *LGPN* [online] s. v. Λυσανίας) and it can be widely found elsewhere. Undoubtedly Lysanias was popular in the north, but not before Hellenistic times.⁵⁵ Molossos, like Triballos, is a name based on an ethnonym, and therefore, it might imply a relation of some nature to these people rather than a Molossian origin. In truth, most instances are found in Asia Minor (*LGPN* [online] s. v. Μολοσσός).⁵⁶ Additional names give us little evidence of a northern predominance. Isidora is mainly a late name, and *LGPN* only identifies one pre-Hellenistic case, from Athens

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- 50 Oikonomides (1980, 180, note 6; OIKONOMIDES 1984, 30) even identified him with a certain Kineas, Philip's agent in Thessaly (Polybius XVIII, 14.4; Demosthenes XVIII, 295; Theopompus in *FGrH* 115, F 35 *apud* Suda s.v. Κινέας). This thought process might be one of risky conjecture if one takes into consideration his age at the time.
- 51 Egypt has not been surveyed yet by *LGPN* volumes. There are 34 attestations of this name in the *Trismegistos* database (ID: 3611). There was a brewer named Kineas in Hellenistic Uruk. Unfortunately, the document is not dated: CANALI DE ROSSI 2004, no. 144.
- 52 Including three instances (two from Thessaly and one from Ioulis) dated between the 4th and 3rd century BC, but excluding the man from Ai Khanoum. In this and the next onomastics analyses, the pre-Hellenistic evidence will be especially highlighted because it is more meaningful to discuss any likely ethnic background.
- 53 For instance, the higher percentage is found in Ioulis, with a corpus of 494 individuals (or 926 if all Keos is considered).
- 54 Lysanias, Isidora, and Kosmos/Kosmas come from three funerary jars found in the extramural mausoleum (BERNARD 1972, 608–625; CANALI DE ROSSI 2004, nos. 361, 362). Kosmos/as is also attested in Ai Khanoum's Treasury documents (RAPIN – GRENET 1983, 338, no. 13c; CANALI DE ROSSI 2004, no. 334). The name Molossos was found in the Treasury too (RAPIN – GRENET 1983, 334, 367–368, no. 8d; 1a/2a?; CANALI DE ROSSI 2004, nos. 323, 328). All inscriptions are dated in 2nd century BC.
- 55 From northern regions, there are 8 Thessalians, 21 Macedonians, 3 Thracians, 5 Illyrians, and over 50 Epirotes. However, it was also very common in other places, like Cyrene (16 instances) or Attica (81). Only assessing pre-Hellenistic evidence (86 – including those with a 4th–3rd century BC dating), the majority of cases are from Attica (65). Northern Greek instances are drastically reduced with this criterion: only six (five Macedonians and one Thessalian).
- 56 *LGPN* records 50 instances of this name. Molossos was not common in Epirus itself – only three cases (cf. FRASER 2009, 219). It was very popular in Asia Minor, especially in Aphrodisias (Imperial period) and Miletus. There are five instances in Thessaly and only one in Macedonia, but none is earlier than 3rd century BC. Cf. COLORU 2013, 151.

(*LGPN* [online] s. v. Ἰσιδώρα).⁵⁷ *Kosmos* is also attested only once in pre-Hellenistic times, in Samos. In reference to the other instances, they are late and mostly from Magna Graecia and Asia Minor (*LGPN* [online] s. v. Κόσμος).⁵⁸ *Kosmas* is even later and all the cases are not earlier than 3rd century AD (23 instances) (*LGPN* [online] s.v. Κοσμάς).

Therefore, none of these names represents a strong claim to a northern Greece origin and the subsequently proposed prominence based on onomastics must be questioned. Anthroponomy can provide clues, but rarely an undeniable conclusion. As Rachel Mairs states, a regional identification 'is a matter of weighing probabilities, and looking for supporting circumstantial evidence' (MAIRS 2015a, 87; see also, 76–77, 79, 81). Onomastics can only be a key factor in some extraordinary epichoric names, none of them to be found in the extant Bactrian corpus⁵⁹. Thus, the presence of Northern Greek and Balkan people in this region must be substantiated through other evidence instead of onomastics.

Further evidence has been put forward to support this theory (COLORU 2009, 150–151; COLORU 2013, 44). Firstly, the peculiar month name Ὀλῶος, found in a parchment donated to the Ashmolean Museum (first half of 2nd century BC; BERNARD – RAPIN 1994; REA – SENIOR – HOLLIS 1994; RAPIN 1996), has been considered a 'Northern Greek variant – possibly from the region of Thessalonica' (COLORU 2013, 44). Notwithstanding, there are parallels of this month name elsewhere: Sardis, Priene, Julia Gordos (Lydia), Dura-Europos, Seleucia at the Tigris, and Susa.⁶⁰ The majority of these locations can be easily related with the Seleucids; therefore, in all probability, it was a month of the Seleucid calendar, a form of the Macedonian month Ἀῶος (BERNARD – RAPIN 1994, 275–278; REA – SENIOR – HOLLIS 1994, 264; CANALI DE ROSSI 2004, no. 459⁶¹). Certainly, the earliest instance is from Thessalonica (223 BC), but it does not necessarily mean that it was an exclusive regionalism and, in consequence, that its attestation elsewhere (i.e. Sardis in 213 BC, Priene in the first half 2nd century BC, Seleucia in the 1st century BC – 1st century AD, Susa in 23/24 AD, Julia Gordos in 76 AD, and Dura-Europos in the 1st–2nd centuries AD), always implied the necessary presence – and predominance – of Thessalonian settlers. Therefore, such an assumption cannot be either reached for Bactria-Sogdiana. The only conclusion that can be come to is that some elements of the Seleucid calendar were preserved by the Greco-Bactrian kings' administration (BERNARD – RAPIN 1994, 277).⁶²

In addition to the month name, a town called Amphipolis has also been used to back up this hypothesis (COLORU 2009, 150–151; COLORU 2013, 44). This toponym is attested in a parchment probably found in Yousufdhara, near Bactra/Balkh (CLARYSSE – THOMPSON 2007, 275–279). This otherwise unknown Amphipolis perhaps was located in Balkh oasis. Due to the famous city in Edonis by the river Strymon – which was originally founded as an Athenian colony and later conquered and annexed by Philip –, it has been suggested that the Bactrian town was named after it and, in consequence, it would be additional evidence for the so-called Northern Greece hegemony. There also existed a Seleucid settlement by river Euphrates with this name (Pliny *NH* V, 24.87; Appian *Syr.* 57; Stephanos s.v. Ἀμφίπολις; COHEN 2006, 149–150;

57 From a total of 47 instances, there are three from Thessaly, nine from Macedonia and one from Thrace.

58 From a total of 78 instances, there are three from Macedonia and three from Thrace.

59 For an updated compilation, see MAIRS 2015a, 88–95.

60 See full references, discussion and bibliography in BERNARD – RAPIN 1994, 275–276.

61 On the Seleucid calendar, see SAMUEL 1972, 139–145.

62 There is no contradiction in maintaining a Seleucid calendar despite not being part of the empire anymore, as an Armenian inscription posterior to its independence shows (ROBERT – ROBERT 1952, 183, no. 5).

CLARYSSE – THOMPSON 2007, 277⁶³). However, Amphipolis is a descriptive toponym,⁶⁴ and therefore, it could have been independently applied to the particular characteristics of the Bactrian and the Mesopotamian towns – most likely by their position in relation to their respective rivers – or as a loose recalling of the original (Edonian) one for a resembling urban plan, without necessary presence of settlers from there. Moreover, Macedonian Amphipolis was repopulated by people from other Greek regions by Philip, and, as a result, any Northern real autochthony would have become diffused by then.⁶⁵

In conclusion, current evidence used to back up this alleged predominance of settlers from Thessaly and other northern regions is circumstantial and not compelling. Although their presence cannot be dismissed outright, it must be based on other evidence outside the scope of anthroponyms, toponyms, and month names.

Textual evidence can be helpful. The Thessalian cavalry was the most renowned among the Greek battalions in Alexander's army (STROOTMAN 2010–2011; MENDOZA forthcoming). Alexander was the *tagos/archon* of the Thessalian *koinon* – like his father before – and their relationship has to be differentiated from what was established in relation with the rest of the Greek allies.⁶⁶ Even though Greek combatants were demobilized either in Ecbatana or Parthia (Ecbatana: Arrian *Anab.* III, 19.5–7; Parthia: Curtius VI, 2.15–17; Plutarch *Alex.* 42.5; Diodorus XVII, 74.3–4), Alexander opened the door to re-enlistment as mercenaries to which some Thessalians agreed. Initially, they were entrusted to Parmenio and they were incorporated into Ecbatana's garrison (Arrian *Anab.* III, 19.7). Nevertheless, some Thessalians met Alexander's army again in Areia, conducted by their former hipparch Philip, son of Menelaus (Arrian *Anab.* III, 25.4; Curtius VI, 6.35; HECKEL 2006, 212, s.v. Philip [4]). After Parmenio's execution, his former troops met Alexander's main army in Arachosia and it is likely that there were more Thessalian riders (600?) among them (Curtius VII, 3.4; MENDOZA forthcoming). However, the reinstatement of these troops was short-lived, and the Thessalians were sent back home by Alexander in Bactria, before the crossing of the Oxus, along with the oldest Macedonians (Arrian *Anab.* III, 29.5). As argued elsewhere (MENDOZA forthcoming), this dismissal was likely related to Parmenio's death because those soldiers were regarded as a potential pocket for discontent and mutinies, given their attachment to the assassinated general. But did all the Thessalians actually return? Some high-rank Thessalians, like Medius of Larissa or Ariston of Pharsalus, are still attested during the rest of Alexander's life. Moreover, other more regular Thessalian soldiers could have also remained in the army, as some fragments of

63 Sources do not agree if it was a refoundation of local Tourmeda or Thapsacus, and whether it was placed on the eastern and/or western bank of the Euphrates.

64 There were diverse theories regarding the origin of this toponym that underline in different ways the descriptive nature of the name: Thucydides, IV, 102.4; Suda s.v. Ἀμφίπολις; Marsyas in *FGrH* 136, F 12; Julius Pollux, IX, 27. Seleukid Amphipolis was also on a river, in the east and/or west bank of the Euphrates. There were other descriptive toponyms like Parapotamioi, Kallipolis, Antipolis, Tripolis, or Neapolis. In Central Asia, there was the city of Cartana at the foot of the Hindu Kush, which was renamed or nicknamed Tetragonis ('quadrangular'); see COHEN 2006, 287, 340.

65 There are some examples of these new Amphipolitans in Alexander's entourage: Androsthenes of Thasos, Erigyius and Laomedon of Mytilene, and Nearchus of Crete. See HAMMOND-GRIFFITH 1979, 352–353.

66 The sources explaining Alexander's access to the throne clearly state that he firstly was nominated *tagos* of the Thessalian League and afterwards he was confirmed as hegemon of the League of Corinth: Diodorus XVII, 4.1; Justin XI, 3.1; Aeschines III, 161. Thessalian squadrons are always distinguished from the allied cavalry in the sources and they were under a different commander's orders. On the Thessalian *koinon* under Philip and Alexander, see WESTLAKE 1935, 196–236; SORDI 1958, 249–309.

Polycleitus of Larissa suggest (FGrH 128 F 9, 10; cf. MENDOZA forthcoming). However, there are other indications suggesting that, after they were discharged at the Oxus, some Thessalians remained in the vicinity as settlers or a garrison force (cf. OIKONOMIDES 1980, 180, note 6; OIKONOMIDES 1984, 30).

There were Thessalians directly involved in the second settler revolt in Bactria according to Diodorus' account (Diodorus XVIII, 7). One of the leaders was a certain Philon of Aeniania and there was a second anonymous Aenianian, who mediated between Peithon and Lipodorus.⁶⁷ Aeniania was a region south of Thessaly and often considered a part of it. Aenianians were one of the so-called Thessalian *perioikoi*. They are widely attested in Thessalian armies, therefore it is likely they took part in the Thessalian regiment in Alexander's campaign.⁶⁸ In this case, Philon could be a member of a garrison or the military force left in the satrapy. But he was actually chosen by the insurgent settlers as their leader. This suggests that, at least, Philon was no longer an active soldier, but probably it hints at the fact that from the beginning he probably was a colonist as well. It is possible that he was one of Darius' Greek mercenaries incorporated into the army, like those 1,500 in Hyrcania (Curtius VI, 5.10; Diodorus XVII, 76.2; Arrian *Anab.* III, 23.8–9, 24.4–5). Thessalian mercenaries in the Persian army are attested elsewhere,⁶⁹ so it is not unlikely that some of them were part of the huge group of Greek mercenaries left in Bactria as settlers. The case of Lipodorus, commander of the 3,000 men who betrayed the rebel cause, evince certain factionalism among the Greek settlers' army. Was Lipodorus still an active officer, and so his troops and the Aenianian mediator? Did Lipodorus rearm his former unit? Or was it an *ad hoc* unit? Was the rebel force only formed by settlers or some active soldiers and officers joined too? Diodorus' passage raises many questions, however, provides few answers.⁷⁰

There is no clear evidence about who was the satrap of Bactria-Sogdiana when the second uprising arose because it is probable that the former governor, Amyntas, had died during the first revolt. In the repartition of Babylon, Bactria-Sogdiana was assigned to Philip, patronymic unknown (Diodorus XVIII, 3.3; *Liber de Morte* 121; Ps.-Callisth. rec. A' III, 33; Dexippus in FGrH 100, F 8.6).⁷¹ Heckel suggests that he could be the one and the same Philip, son of Menelaus (HECKEL 2006, 212, 214, s.v. Philip [4], Philip [10]), former commander of the Thessalian cavalry. The last reputable information about Philip is the aforementioned reunion with Alexander in Areia when he was already commander of the mercenary cavalry. The remaining Thessalian soldiers could well have eventually been assigned to their former officer. Having said that,

67 Heckel (2006, 151) suggests that Lipodorus was Aenianian too. Goukowsky (1978, 14, note 2) considers unnecessary the correction to Letodorus.

68 See Thucydides III, 93.2, V, 51 (cf. Diodorus XII, 77.4); Xenophon *Hell.* VI, 1.9, 19 (*perioikoi* in the Thessalian army); Pausanias X, 8.3; Philochorus (FGrH 328) F 56; SORDI 1958, 21–22, 56, 65, 125–126, 178, 340–343; ROBERT 1968, 437–438.

69 For example, Aristomedes of Pherae: HECKEL 2006, 47–48. Other captured Thessalians: Plutarch, *Mor.* 181b; WESTLAKE 1935, 225–226.

70 A Babylonian Astronomical Diary seems to indicate that official garrison or military forces were attacked: '[...]... from' his troops because of fighting against the troops of Ḫani he w[ent?] to Ba[c]tria [...]'. Translation by SACHS-HUNGER 1988, 211 (tablet no. 322 D Obv. l. 22). Ḫani is a term used in cuneiform texts to refer to Macedon and, by extension, to Hellas. It must not be understood as an indication that the troops were ethnic Macedonians, but that they were under the orders of the Macedonian power.

71 It is possible that Philip already was satrap before Alexander's death: Curtius X, 10. 4. However, the fact that Philip did not suffer any apparent retaliation after the revolt and that he was later assigned some important roles might indicate that he was not in the satrapy at the time of the uprising or perhaps that he had not yet taken up this position. See MENDOZA 2017, 46–47, notes 20, 21.

Philip could very well be another interesting ‘Thessalian connection’ if he is to be identified with the homonym satrap of Bactria-Sogdiana, both if he was nominated before or after the second revolt. In any case, we ignore what happened to these Thessalians or the rebel ones after the crush of the second settler revolt.

Thessaly was almost never under Seleucid control (see below), but some Larissans fought under Seleucus I’s orders and were settled in Syria (Diodorus XXXIII, 4a; Appian *Syr.* 57; Strabo IX, 5.19; Pliny *NH.* V, 81, VI, 159; COHEN 2006, 117–118, 263; COLORU 2013, 40). Given the lack of any further data, we ignore if they were mercenaries, Alexander veterans and/or soldiers from the Eastern satrapies. As stated, Seleucus I and his son encouraged the colonization of Central Asia, so perhaps some other Thessalians could have found their way to Bactria-Sogdiana instead.

There are some other later glimpses of Thessalian presence in Bactria-Sogdiana. Although they are extremely circumstantial, they are worth noting at least. To begin with, in Polybius’ account of Antiochus III’s siege of Bactra (208–206 BC) it is stated that the Greco-Bactrian king Euthydemus was originally from Magnesia – like the Seleucid negotiator, Teleas (Polybius XI, 34.1–10). It is not clear whether Euthydemus was himself born in Magnesia or a descendant of a group of settlers from there.⁷² But the real question is which Magnesia was he from. Scholars have been mainly divided between Magnesia on the Meander and Magnesia ad Syphilum. Undoubtedly, the evidence leans towards the former, especially after the identification between Marsyas and the Oxus’ statuette of Takht-i Sangin (BERNARD 1987).⁷³ But there was a third Magnesia, the Thessalian Magnesia (LERNER 1993, 135–139; SIDKY 2000, 161–162)⁷⁴ – Magnesians were *perioikoi* too (see note 68). Thessaly was partially and ephemerally in Antiochus III’s hands in the early stages of the Roman-Seleucid War (192–191 BC) and, therefore, some years after the siege of Bactra. However, possession of a territory was not a *conditio sine qua non* for either hiring mercenaries – or officers, like Teleas?⁷⁵ – or receiving colonists from there, as those Thessalians settled down by Seleucus in Syria prove.⁷⁶ Magnesia on the Meander’s possibility is the most well-grounded thus far, but it does not exclude different waves of colonization, which could leave room for the presence of settlers from the different Magnesias in Bactria-Sogdiana, including the Thessalian one. Marsyas’ statuette strongly suggests the presence of settlers from Magnesia on the Meander, but there is no way to establish a direct connection with the episode from the siege of Bactra and its Magnesian protagonists.

72 Preservation of the civic/ethnic label is attested elsewhere in the Hellenistic world, see LAUNEY 1949, 675–679; CHANIOTIS 2004, 494; FRASER 2009, 159–160.

73 However, it is not compelling for our case that Magnesia on the Meander actually was the homeland of colonists of other Eastern foundations like Antioch in Persis. Evidence cannot be extrapolated beyond the locations explicitly indicated (cf. BRIANT 1998, 326; MARTINEZ-SÈVE 2012, 378; COLORU 2013, 38–40, 43, 151–152). As in the case of Syrian Larissa, it is only a circumstantial clue.

74 Actually, the Thessalian Magnesia is the oldest one and settlers from there were the founders of both cities in Asia Minor, giving them the name of their homeland.

75 The name Teleas is scarcely attested in any of its two forms – Τελέας (23 records), Τηλέας (10 records, including ours – which is placed in Magnesia on the Meander). Of these 33 records, three are from Thessaly (2nd century BC), and only one from Ionia (Ephesus, Hellenistic period). Furthermore, it could have been asserted that odds were in favour of the Thessalian option, but it would have been completely dishonest after questioning the validity of these circumstantial proofs. As stated in several other cases, evidence of this type is far from conclusive and it is not applicable to our case.

76 There is clear evidence for Thessalian soldiers in Asia Minor as well (Magnesians: LAUNEY 1949, 218, 227). Besides, a Ptolemaic Thessalian officer named Hippolochus and his 400 Thessalian riders crossed over to Seleucid ranks in Raphia (Polybius V, 70.11, 71.10, 79.9).

Finally, there is a vaguer and even later Thessalian connection established through Eukratides I's coinage. This Greco-Bactrian king was portrayed wearing a Boeotian helmet in some of his issues.⁷⁷ This type of helmet was widely worn in Central Greece poleis, but it was especially linked with Thessalian cavalrymen. Given their discharge at the Oxus and the alleged Thessalian origin of Kineas, Eukratides' depiction with the helmet was supposed to have a significant link with them by Oikonomides (1984, 29–30; СИДКΥ 2000, 169). However, there are further examples of representations of this helmet elsewhere in Bactria and India.⁷⁸ In any case, it is difficult to trace back these depictions to some previous Thessalian settlers. Due to its suitability for the cavalry (Xenophon *Eq.* 12.3), it would not be implausible to believe that this type of helmet – or a version of it – was adopted without needing this direct connection. Therefore, Oikonomides' suggestion is not useful to corroborate the presence of a Thessalian community in Bactria-Sogdiana.



Fig. 3: Silver tetradrachm of Eukratides I (BOPEARACHCHI 1991, series 6; www.cngcoins.com).

In conclusion, Thessalian presence is only firmly attested during the second settler revolt, with the two Aenianians – Philon and the anonymous mediator.⁷⁹ Their previous status is not clear and they could be either settlers and/or garrison/army personnel, although the former is more likely, especially in the case of Philon. Besides them, there is just a number of promising possibilities. The Aenianians' presence clearly suggests that there were some Thessalians in the earliest stages of the Hellenistic presence in Central Asia, but their real importance cannot be properly weighted. However, it is also possible the arrival of more Thessalians under the Seleucids. Euthydemus' origin is an open question, and Thessalian Magnesia cannot be still dismissed for sure. Finally, Eukratides' Thessalian connection seems more accidental and a direct link is not necessary.

77 BOPEARACHCHI 1991, 202–216, series 4–9, 11–17, and 19–25, pl. 16–22.

78 See full references in NIKONOROV 1997, 48.

79 Or three if Lipodorus, as Heckel suggests (see note 67), is included.

CONCLUSIONS

After examining these pieces of evidence, unquestionable conclusions cannot be drawn, due to the inherent limitations of evidence – or in some cases, just traces. This is especially relevant to the case of onomastics. Anthroponomy has proved not to be as conclusive as once thought and the idea of a Northern Greek and Balkan preeminence should be left open. If they are not properly weighted, onomastics can lead to misleading conclusions and paradigms. In Bactria-Sogdiana, the alleged ‘Northern predominance’ has been tacitly accepted since Robert’s paper back in 1968. More complete databases, like *LGPN*, are helpful to obtain more weighted analyses and, therefore, to question some long-established theories.⁸⁰ The short corpus of personal names in Bactria-Sogdiana does not allow to draw full conclusions about the ethnic composition of the entire settler community – as we say in Catalan: ‘Una flor no fa estiu, ni dues primavera’ (‘A flower does not make a summer, neither two a spring’, roughly similar to ‘a swallow does not make a summer’). There were two or three Aenianian rebels during the second revolt, but how many more Thessalians were involved? Were those two or three the only ones? What was their status? And so for the Thracians in Paraitakene. Historical reconstructions do not exclude the presence of Thracians and Thessalians in the region, and, in some cases, it seems likely. However, it is not sure whether all of them arrived at the same time or in multiple migratory waves. The relative remoteness of Bactria-Sogdiana in comparison with other territories compels us to be cautious about putting them alongside. Only some affinities with the easternmost satrapies can be established, but sometimes the sources are even more silent than for our region. Therefore, Thracian and Thessalian individuals could have found their way to Bactria-Sogdiana, but further details about them cannot be known with the present state of the research. However, they should not be forgotten, but integrated into the complex Bactrian mosaic.

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80 Arguably, one should bear in mind their limitations too: *MAIRS* 2015a, 76–77.

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