

THE GARRISONS OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT  
IN THE GREEK CITIES OF ASIA MINOR\*

By

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The freedom of the Greek cities of Asia Minor (on its coast and nearby islands) under Alexander the Great is the question that have provoked the sharp polemics in scholarship<sup>1</sup>. In the present essay, I am not going to discuss such a complicated question in detail and try to answer it as a whole; I intend to turn to only one relevant issue. Since the status of a free and/or autonomous polis, at least in Late Classical and Hellenistic epochs, was frequently (if not normally) inclusive of, in addition, freedom from a foreign garrison<sup>2</sup>, my aim is to clear up whether the Greek cities of Asia Minor, liberated from Persian rule or dependence in the course of Alexander's campaign, became ἀφρούρητοι (ungarrisoned) or not. At the same time, I am interested not only in the legal aspect: it is obvious to me that a foreign garrison's presence, whatever reasons it was called forth, violated freedom of a polis *de facto*, even if not *de iure*<sup>3</sup>. My hope is that this study will contribute, to a certain degree, to our comprehension of the scope of the freedom of the Greek poleis of Asia Minor in the age of Alexander.

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<sup>1</sup> The detailed survey of scholarship on the question, see MARINOVICH 1993: 155–166; NAWOTKA 2003: 16 f.; and especially KHOLOD 2006; also see still valuable, too brief though, survey in SEIBERT 1972: 85–90.

<sup>2</sup> For the Greek conception of a free and/or autonomous polis in the epochs, see e.g. TARN 1948: II 203–207; MAGIE 1950: I 56 f., II 828 f., n. 13; see also BILLOWS 1990: 194–197; HANSEN 1995; NAWOTKA 2003: 18 f.

<sup>3</sup> See e.g. CHANIOTIS 2005: 88–93, on usual problems for Hellenistic cities, including Greek poleis, caused by foreign garrisons in them.

It is known from our sources that Alexander garrisoned some Greek cities of Asia Minor (on its coast and nearby islands).

As to the Greek poleis on the coast of Asia Minor, the Macedonian garrisons, according to the data we have, were placed in Halicarnassus (the evidence for 334–332: Arr. *Anab.* I 23, 6; II 5, 7; Curt. III 7, 4; cf. Diod. Sic. XVII 27, 6), Side (333: Arr. *Anab.* I 26, 5), Soli (333: Arr. *Anab.* I 26, 5; Curt. III 7, 2) and Ephesus (c. 324: Polyaeus *Strat.* VI 49)<sup>4</sup>. In addition, it is very likely (although we have not precise information about this) that a garrison was installed in Aspendus (333)<sup>5</sup>: since the city was not first, at request of its inhabitants, garrisoned by Alexander (Arr. *Anab.* I 26, 2 f.), it seems to be hardly probable that later, when Aspendus was punished because of its renegeing on the agreement it had come to with the Macedonian king and of the city's attempt to resist (Arr. *Anab.* I 27, 3 f.), it escaped installation of a garrison<sup>6</sup>.

Besides, it cannot be excluded that a garrison was also placed in Priene (in its citadel of Teloneia) (334): perhaps this is attested by a reference to “the garrison” in the excerpt of Alexander's authentic edict to the Prienians (HEISSERER, p. 146<sup>7</sup>, l. 15: καὶ τῆμ φρουρ[ἰ]α]ν ἐφ[- -]<sup>8</sup>). Nevertheless, in view of much damage of the inscription's end, not allowing to understand in what connection the garrison is mentioned here, another assumption is quite possible as well: a lost part of the document may have said not about a garrison's installation, but, on the contrary, about providing the immunity from its establishment in Priene. At any rate, I cannot agree with NAWOTKA (although his hypothesis is very interesting) who, having no doubt as regards the presence of a garrison in the city in 334, states that it had not to necessarily consist of Alexander's soldiers. Presumably, he writes, a garrison was formed from the Prienians themselves whose releasing from the *syntaxis* (ibid., ll. 13–15)<sup>9</sup> may have presupposed fielding by them

<sup>4</sup> For the case of Ephesus, see below.

<sup>5</sup> Regardless of what degree of Greekness of the listed cities was to the age of Alexander (with the exception of Ephesus certainly remaining a Greek polis), there is nothing in our sources, indicating that the Macedonian king considered the cities as non-Greek and so treated them differently from those communities of Asia Minor which were undoubtedly counted among the Greek poleis at that time. See BOSWORTH 1988: 254. But cf. HORNBLLOWER 1982: 78–105, 121; SCHEER 2003: 226–231. Also cf., in general, HANSEN, NIELSEN 2004: 1115 f., 1214–1217, 1220.

<sup>6</sup> So too e.g. BOSWORTH 1980: 168; 1988: 255; GREEN 1991: 208; HAMMOND 1994: 86; CARLEDGE 2004: 121.

<sup>7</sup> HEISSERER 1980. Some other editions of the inscription: HICKS, HILL 1901: no. 155; *OGIS* 1; *I. Priene* 1; TOD 1946–1948: no. 185; SHERWIN-WHITE 1985: 80 f.; RHODES, OSBORNE 2007: no. 86 B.

<sup>8</sup> As SHERWIN-WHITE (1985) has convincingly argued, the surviving inscription is not Alexander's authentic edict but its excerpt published by the Prienians in the temple of Athena Polias later, under Lysimachus. On the date of 334 for Alexander's authentic edict to Priene, see KHOLOD 2005; my arguments in favour of the date have been maintained by MILETA 2008: 36.

<sup>9</sup> On the *syntaxis*, mentioned in the excerpt of Alexander's authentic edict to Priene, see most recently KHOLOD 2007; cf. NAWOTKA 2003: 26–30.

troops, a garrison in this case, as their contribution, instead of submitting the money-payment, to the Panhellenic war against Persia. Otherwise, according to NAWOTKA, it is difficult to understand why the Prienians later, when they have engraved the excerpt of Alexander's authentic edict, would have been interested in publicizing the fact of once having had a foreign garrison in their city<sup>10</sup>. My objections to the opinion are the following. On the one hand, there appears to be no need to doubt a Macedonian garrison's presence in Priene proceeding from a consideration that it would not be advantageous for its citizens to advertise such an event at the time of inscribing the excerpt of Alexander's edict: if the Macedonian king indeed wrote about *his* garrison in the authentic edict, the fact that there was some information here which would have motivated the Prienians to put it in the inscription or, at least, have not prevented from this step cannot be excluded. But even if one follows a mentioned consideration, denying, as a result, the presence of Alexander's garrison in Priene, needless to think that only the reference in the edict to the necessity for the Prienians to carry out garrison duties in their polis by themselves would have roused them later to reflect a corresponding point of the document in the inscription: it is obvious that they would not have been less interested in publicizing on stone the edict's point which would have referred to providing to Priene by the Macedonian king the immunity from his garrison's establishment. On the other hand, fielding by the Prienians their own troops on garrison service in Alexander's time seems also to be problematic because of the lack of evidence, with one exception – the case of Soli and Mallus (Arr. *Anab.* II 20, 2), of providing by the Greek cities on the coast of Asia Minor troops to the army or ships to the fleet of the Macedonian king. Although it is very likely that Alexander could sometime, extremely rare, have called these cities to carry out certain military duties<sup>11</sup>, it is hard to assume that he has demanded from Priene to do the same, and especially so as NAWOTKA supposes: there is no instance of forming by the Macedonian king his garrisons from the Greeks of Asia Minor, not to mention the installation of such garrisons in their own cities; nor do we know that Alexander acted in this way, i.e. placed garrison formed from one polis' inhabitants just in the polis, in connection with the other Greeks. It appears that Alexander never did so because such a measure simply could not give him reliable control of any city. One way or another, it is important to stress once again that the presence of Alexander's garrison in Priene is far from certain.

As to the Greek poleis of the islands of the eastern Aegean, the establishment of the Macedonian garrisons in them is attested for Mytilene on Lesbos (the evidence for 333: Arr. *Anab.* II 1, 4; cf. Diod. Sic. XVII 29, 2), Chios (332:

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<sup>10</sup> NAWOTKA 2003: 29. Cf. RHODES, OSBORNE 2007: no. 86 B, p. 432 (the sixteenth line's cautious restoration giving the similar sense).

<sup>11</sup> KHOLOD 2007: 69–72; cf. NAWOTKA 2003: 28 f.

Heisserer, p. 80<sup>12</sup>, ll. 17–19; 331: Curt. IV 8, 12) and Rhodes (331: Curt. IV 8, 12; 323: Diod. Sic. XVIII 8, 1).

Thus it is clear that the evidence of Alexander's garrisons in the Greek cities of Asia Minor (on its coast and nearby islands) is extremely scanty. Nevertheless, even proceeding from this information, it seems quite possible to come to some conclusions concerning the issue under consideration in the present essay.

First of all, it is remarkable that, with the exception of Halicarnassus and Ephesus (the case of Priene is uncertain), there is no information about Alexander's garrisons in the Greek cities on the western coast of Asia Minor, i.e. in the majority of Greek cities here. Should one suppose, then, trying to explain such a fact, that our sources' data of these garrisons are simply lost? I think not: it is significant that from the same sources we know about the garrisons of the Macedonian king in a number of other places of western Asia Minor (e.g., Sardes: Arr. *Anab.* I 17, 7 f.; cf. Diod. Sic. XVII 21, 6; 64, 6; Plut. *Alex.* 16; Curt. III 12, 7)<sup>13</sup> and, in addition, about his two garrisons in the not numerous Greek cities on its south coast (Side and Soli). It appears that the same doubt should be also related to the case of the island poleis of the eastern Aegean: that our knowledge of Alexander's garrisons here is limited to only three examples (Mytilene, Chios and Rhodes) is hardly accidental. Of course some loss of such evidence should not be denied. But, at the same time, there is no reason to absolutize this assumption: the general picture that our sources present concerning the establishment of Macedonian garrisons in the Greek poleis of Asia Minor is undoubtedly close to reality. At any rate, even if one recognizes certain loss of such information, it is surely impossible to claim, having no reason, that "Alexander garrisoned them often"<sup>14</sup>.

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<sup>12</sup> This is the so called Alexander's First Letter to Chios. Some other editions of the inscription: MICHEL 1900: no. 33; HICKS, HILL 1901: no. 158; Ditt. *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 283; TOD 1946–1948: no. 192; RHODES, OSBORNE 2007: no. 84 A. In my opinion, the traditional dating of the First Letter to 332 (after the final liberation of Chios from the Persian control) is correct. HEISSERER's attempt to redate this document to 334 (1973, republished with some added remarks in HEISSERER 1980: 79–95), cannot be recognized – because of obvious weakness of his arguments – as convincing. For the critique of these arguments, see ROSEN 1982: 358 f.; MARINOVICH 1993: 185 f.; DMITRIEV 2004: 362–366; also see e.g. BOSWORTH 1980: 178, 268; 1988: 193; HAMMOND in: HAMMOND, WALBANK 1988: 73 f.; DEBORD 1999: 466 f.; FARAGUNA 2003: 114. However, the new date of Alexander's First Letter to Chios, suggested by HEISSERER, has been accepted by RHODES, OSBORNE 2007: no. 84, pp. 422 f., but they has offered no further argumentation in its favour; cf. *SEG* XXVI 1019 ("334?"); XXX 1071 ("334–332"); BAGNALL, DEROW 2004: no. 2 and AUSTIN 2006: no. 6 ("332?"); HANSEN, NIELSEN 2004: 1064 ("332/1"), 1067–1069 ("334–330"); PODDIGHE 2009: 111 ("c. 332?").

<sup>13</sup> On these garrisons, see THOMAS 1974: 12–18, 16 (Tab.); in addition, see ENGELS 1978, pp. 146 f. (Tab. 4).

<sup>14</sup> MARINOVICH 1993: 180. So too STONEMAN 1997: 28; FARAGUNA 2003: 113. Some scholars have suggested that Macedonian garrisons (besides those attested by our sources) were also placed in a number of other Greek cities of Asia Minor (on its coast and nearby islands). See e.g. THOMAS 1974: 15 and 16 (Tab.) (the cities of Lesbos, including Mytilene, and Cos, after 332), 13, 18 and 16

Next, it is rather interesting that all our information about the installation of Macedonian garrisons in the Greek cities of Asia Minor (on its coast and nearby islands) goes back to the time from the end of 334. In my opinion, this fact is easily explainable: since then Alexander faced the need to protect the cities here, including the Greek cities, against the Persian fleet and troops left in the Macedonian rear<sup>15</sup>. Certainly it does not follow from this that Alexander did not place his garrisons in the Greek poleis of Asia Minor before to protect the cities against possible attacks of the Persians: a garrison in Mytilene, which resisted to the Persian forces in 333 (Arr. *Anab.* II 1, 4; cf. Diod. Sic. XVII 29, 2), was installed in the city probably in 334, if not earlier; in addition, it cannot be excluded that a Macedonian garrison was placed then in Priene (see above). Nevertheless, it seems that Alexander garrisoned the Greek poleis of Asia Minor in 334 very rarely: when the Persian immediate threat seemed to have disappeared after the battle of the Granicus, it was surely inexpedient for the Macedonian king to exasperate the Greeks of Asia Minor without special necessity, widely installing garrisons in their cities, and, above all, to disperse in contingents his army. In order to control the region at that time, a few garrisons, installed in its most important strategic places, was enough. Needless to think, however, that from the end of 334, when the Persian threat reappeared in Asia Minor and near to it, Alexander began to install garrisons in all cities here, including the Greek cities, which were falling in his hands: in spite of likely more frequent, than earlier, use of the measure, he surely could not but take into account the small number of his army and therefore he was forced to limit himself to garrisoning only several places where the presence of his soldiers seemed to be especially important. At last, it is significant that after the beginning of 331 the mentions of Macedonian garrisons in the Greek poleis of Asia Minor disappear from our sources (the exceptions are Ephesus and Rhodes where the garrisons are testified for c. 324 and 323 respectively): indeed, the Aegean war was over to 331 and, as a result,

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(Tab.) (Ephesus and Miletus? 334); HAMILTON 1974: 62 (Phaselis, 333); BOSWORTH 1980: 134 (Tralles and Magnesia on Maeander, 334), 136 (some cities of Ionia and Aeolis liberated by Alcimachus, 334), 140 (Miletus, 334) (cf. BOSWORTH 1988: 252–257); DEBORD 1999: 436, n. 88 (Tralles, 334); WORTHINGTON 2004, p. 81 (Miletus, 334). However, it should be pointed out that all the suggestions are absolutely unfounded: there is no evidence of these garrisons. For the case of Miletus, see a quite right remark of NAWOTKA 2010: 152 (“Garrison is absolutely unattested and there is no need to speculate whether it was stationed in Miletus or not”).

<sup>15</sup> After Alexander captured Halicarnassus (with the exception of its two citadels) in late autumn 334, the Persians made Cos the base of their fleet and troops in the eastern Aegean and western Asia Minor. In the spring of 333 they began to conduct the counter-offensive operations here, and these areas remained the theatre of military activities to the second part of 332. On these operations, see especially RUZICKA 1988. Alexander should have taken into consideration the possibility of the Persian activities in the Macedonian rear already in captured Halicarnassus, in view of the strong enemy forces left in its citadels and at Cos.

Alexander had not the necessity any more to maintain his garrisons in these cities to protect them against the Persians.

It is known, however, that Alexander's garrisons still remained in a number of the Greek poleis of Asia Minor, liberated from Persian control in 332, for some time. But now there were other reasons for their presence here (as well as for their installation in 332): they had to prevent internal struggle, *stasis*, threatening the communities after returning there the pro-Macedonian exiles and to support the new democratic governments established in these cities. For instance, so was the situation at Chios where, after its liberation by the Macedonians in 332, a garrison was placed to avert the danger of disorder: "Until the Chians are reconciled to one another", Alexander claims in his First Letter to Chios, "there is to be a garrison among them from king Alexander, which is to be of sufficient strength; and the Chians are to support it"<sup>16</sup> (Heisserer, p. 80, ll. 17–19: μέχρι ἄν διαλλαγῶσι Χίοι, φυλακὴν εἶναι παρ' αὐτοῖς πα<ρ>' Ἄλε[ξ]άνδρου τοῦ βασιλέως, ὅση ἄν ἰκανὴ ᾗ τρέφειν δὲ ταύτης Χίου). However, a garrison's presence in Chios appears not to be long: probably it was removed at the beginning of 331<sup>17</sup>. This, in my opinion, can be deduced from the words of Curtius, according to whom the envoys from Chios and Rhodes, having come to Alexander in Egypt, made complaints of the garrisons and their wishes were met (Curt. IV 8, 12: "Rhodii et Chii de praesidio querebantur. Omnes ea, quae desiderare visi, impetraverunt"). In turn, it is remarkable that the Chian envoys are mentioned by Curtius in close connection with the Rhodian ones: hence we may conclude that a Macedonian garrison also have been earlier (certainly in 332 when the city have submitted to Alexander<sup>18</sup>: Arr. *Anab.* II 20, 2; Curt. IV 5, 9; cf. Justin. XI 11, 1; Oros. III 16, 12; 17, 9) installed in Rhodes (and likely because of the same reason as in Chios) and was now removed by Alexander. If it was so, i.e. a Macedonian garrison was then removed from Rhodes, its absence here was temporary: Alexander reestablished a garrison here before 323 (Diod. Sic. XVIII 8, 1)<sup>19</sup>. Since there was no threat from external power to Rhodes after 331, a gar-

<sup>16</sup> Transl. HEISSERER 1980: 81.

<sup>17</sup> LENSCHAU 1940: 206; TOD 1946–1948: no. 192, p. 266; TARN 1948: II 215 f.; HAMILTON 1974: 78; BOSWORTH 1980: 268; HEISSERER 1980: 92; GEHRKE 1985: 49; MARINOVICH 1993: 237, n. 47; DEBORD 1999: 466 f. But see EHRENBERG 1938: 25; DMITRIEV 2004: 365, n. 95. Cf. BERVE 1926: I 247; ATKINSON 1980: 372 f.

<sup>18</sup> For this, see HAUBEN 1977: 307.

<sup>19</sup> According to Diodorus, a Macedonian garrison was expelled by the Rhodians after the death of Alexander in 323. TARN'S (1948: II 215) attempt to deny the historicity of this statement must be adjudged a failure; see FRASER 1952: 200 f. At the same time, it should be noted that some scholars in view of Diodorus' indication of the presence of Alexander's garrison in Rhodes in 323 have interpreted the cited above words of Curtius differently: (i) the request of the Rhodian envoys regarding a garrison's removing was not fulfilled by Alexander (BERVE 1926: I 248; EHRENBERG 1938: 18; BOSWORTH 1980: 242; GEHRKE 1985: 140); (ii) it was fulfilled but partly: a garrison was reduced (VAN GELDER 1900: 99 f.; HILLER VON GEARTRINGEN 1931: 777); (iii) the request was fulfilled, nevertheless

risson's reestablishment in the polis can be explained only by intensification of internal tension here: perhaps this time a Macedonian garrison's installation in the city resulted from a corresponding request of the local democrats, fearing actions against their régime of the oligarchs, whose presence in Rhodes at the end of Alexander's reign is rather clearly attested in our sources<sup>20</sup>. Ephesus, where Philoxenus, the official of Alexander, introduced a garrison *c.* 324 (Polyaenus *Strat.* VI 49), appears to be a similar case: probably a garrison's introduction in the city was also aimed at preventing the internal strife in it<sup>21</sup>.

Thus the examined material, it seems, allows me to say that Alexander garrisoned the Greek poleis of Asia Minor (on its coast and nearby islands) extremely rarely. Besides, it is obvious that these garrisons were not the occupation troops, intended only to hold the cities (and the neighbouring territories) under the Macedonian power<sup>22</sup>. Their presence in the Greek poleis of Asia Minor was caused, first of all, by the war, waged in the region and near to it, which naturally forced Alexander to protect the communities under his control and, at the same time, the local pro-Macedonian democracies against the Persians, and then, when the military operations in the eastern Aegean were over, by the necessity to establish in a number of the cities, liberated from the Persians, internal peace and order and to support the democrats who came to power in those cities. In

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it concerned not a garrison's removing but the friction which may have arose between Alexander's soldiers and the Rhodians (HAUBEN 1977: 309 f.); (iv) Alexander fulfilled the request of the Rhodian envoys, however they asked him not of a garrison's removing but, on the contrary, of its strengthening (GORLOV 1990: 218). Cf. BERTHOLD 1980: 47; ATKINSON 1980: 372. In my opinion, it is hard to recognize all these interpretations as convincing: while one cannot agree with the first and forth of them because they directly contradict the words of Curtius, the second and third seem to be unnecessarily forced, taking into consideration a more simple possibility to reconcile the statements of Curtius and Diodorus by the assumption of a Macedonian garrison's reestablishment in Rhodes. So also e.g. HAMMOND in HAMMOND, WALBANK 1988: 75 (cf. HAMMOND 1994: 130; DEBORD 1999: 466 and n. 340). Nevertheless, see FRASER 1952: 201, who has held that "it is safer to keep an open mind on the relative value of Curtius and Diodorus in this particular matter".

<sup>20</sup> HAUBEN 1977: 310 f.; GORLOV 1990: 218 f.; cf. BERTHOLD 1980: 48 f.

<sup>21</sup> So too Nawotka 2003: 32. Although a garrison was introduced in Ephesus not by Alexander but Philoxenus, it is difficult to imagine that Philoxenus did so against his king's will; therefore, Ephesus can well be considered together with the other Greek cities in Asia Minor garrisoned by Alexander (see above). For Philoxenus, this mysterious person of Alexander's reign, see, in particular, BERVE 1926: II 389–391; LEUZE 1935: 425–429; BADIEN 1966: 54–60; and recently TATAKI 1998: 452 f.; HECKEL 2006: 220.

<sup>22</sup> As it certainly was in the Balkan Greece where after the battle of Chaeronea (338) the Macedonian garrisons permanently presented in Ambracia (Diod. Sic. XVII 3, 3), Thebes (Cadmea) (Diod. Sic. XVI 87, 3; XVII 3, 4; 8, 3 f. and 7; 12, 5; Arr. *Anab.* I 7, 1 and 9 f.; 8, 6; 9, 9; Plut. *Alex.* 11; *Dem.* 23; Paus. IX 1, 8; 6, 5; cf. Din. I 19), Corinth (Acrocorinth) (Polyb. XXXVIII 3[5], 3; Plut. *Arat.* 23; cf. Plut. *Mor.* 221F) and probably in Chalcis (Polyb. XXXVIII 3[5], 3; cf. Arr. *Anab.* II 2, 4). See KHOLOD 2003: 200–211; cf. GRIFFITH in: HAMMOND, GRIFFITH 1979: 611–613. Besides, at some time before 323 Alexander's garrison was installed in Sicyon (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 448, l. 46; see GRIFFIN 1982: 76.

addition, it is significant that the presence of the Macedonian garrisons in the Greek poleis of Asia Minor was not long: Alexander withdrew them with the end of the Aegean war and with the stabilization of internal affairs in the cities. Consequently, after that these poleis become ἀφροῦρητοι, i.e. no less free in this respect than overwhelming majority of the Greek cities of Asia Minor (on its coast and nearby islands) which, as far as our sources allow me to judge, were not garrisoned by the Macedonian king at all. At the same time, as the cases of Ephesus and Rhodes probably show, Alexander could later resort again to such a measure, establishing his garrisons in the cities. However, there is no reason to doubt that the Macedonian king did so only in rare instances and saw these garrisons as temporary measure introduced only long enough to stop internal tension in the Greek poleis of Asia Minor.

On the other hand, it should be taken into consideration that the presence of Alexander's garrisons in the Greek cities of Asia Minor, even if the garrisons were temporary, evidently restricted the communities' freedom, at least *de facto*: the case of Aspendus, petitioning it not to be garrisoned, as well as that of Chios and Rhodes, complaining about the garrisons, are significant. Moreover, it is noteworthy that the Macedonian king, in principle, could install or withdraw his garrisons where and when he wanted, a fact that clearly demonstrates how heavily the scope of the freedom of the Greek poleis of Asia Minor was dependent on Alexander's power.

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