

I Political History

A Alexander the Great

1 Priene Honours Antigonus

Tod, *GHI* 186 (*Syll.*³ 278)

Summer 334

Following his victory over the Persians in the cavalry battle at the Granikos River in May 334, Alexander proceeded south in Asia Minor and, after his arrival at Ephesos, set about the liberation of the Greek cities (Arrian 1.18.1–2; on Alexander's actions and policy here see A. J. Heisserer, *Alexander the Great and the Greeks* [Norman, OK, 1980], especially chapter 6). To this period (about August 334) belongs the present decree of the city of Priene (cf. the reference to autonomy in the prescript). Antigonus, later known as the 'One-Eyed' (*Monophthalmos*), served in Alexander's army as commander of the allied contingents until early in 333 when he was appointed satrap of Phrygia (Arrian 1.29.3). From Alexander's death in June 323 until his own on the field at Ipsos in 301, Antigonus' role in the struggles of the successors was a major one (see further documents 6 and 7). Precisely what (if anything precise) he did for Priene in 334 is unknown.

[Resolved] by the *boule* [and the *demos*], on the second of [the month] Metageitnion, at a [principal] assembly, the Prieneans being autonomous, in the term of Hippo[krates] as *prytanis*: to Antigonus, (son) of Philippos, Macedonian, who has been a benefactor and who is zealous towards the city of the Prieneans, that he be given *proxenia* and citizenship and the right to own land and house, and freedom from taxation on all things pertaining to

his own house, except land, and the right of import and export, both in war and in peace, free from plunder and without special treaty, and access to the magistrates and the *demos* of the Prieneans first after the sacred matters; and for these things to belong to him and to his descendants.

2 'Letter' of Alexander to the Chians

Tod, *GHI* 192 (*Syll.*³ 283)

332 (?)

Early in 333 the island city of Chios, previously governed by a democracy that supported Alexander, was betrayed to Darius' commander Memnon (Arrian 2.1.1; cf. Diod. 17.29.2). An oligarchy was thereupon established and a number of people, presumably anti-Persian democrats, expelled from the city. In the latter part of 332 the democrats succeeded in turning the city over to Alexander's admiral Hegelochos after a siege (Arrian 3.1.3–4; Curtius 4.5.15–18). It is probably to the period immediately after the recovery of the city by Alexander's forces that this text belongs, although it has been placed soon after the battle of the Granikos in 334. While the prescript indicates that the communication, whether a letter or *diagramma* (order), was addressed by Alexander to the Chians, its original form seems to have been altered in the process of transcription at Chios: note the differing forms of reference to Alexander in the third person, the use of what appears to be the royal plural in the provision about the Chian triremes, and the ambiguous 'us' (most likely a royal plural, or does it refer to the Chians themselves?) in the last sentence but one.

In the term of Deisitheos as *prytanis*; from King Alexander to [the] *demos* of the Chians. All the exiles from Chios are to return; the form of government in Chios is to be *demos*. Law-drafters are to be chosen, who shall draft and revise the laws, in order that nothing may be contrary to the democracy or the return of the exiles; the results of the revision and drafting are to be referred to Alexander. The Chians are to provide twenty triremes with crews at their own expense, and these are to sail for as long as the rest of the fleet of the Greeks sails with us. Of those who betrayed the city to the barbarians, as many as have already departed are to be exiles from all the cities sharing in **the peace** and are to be subject to arrest according to the resolution of the Greeks; as many as have been caught are to be taken before and judged in the ***synhedrion of the Greeks***. If there is any dispute between those who have returned and those in the city, they are to be judged in this matter before us. Until the Chians are reconciled with one another, there is to be as

large a **garrison** as may be sufficient among them from Alexander the King, and this the Chians are to maintain.

Notes:

the peace: The peace treaty concluded between Philip II of Macedon and the Greeks in 338/7 after his victory at Chaeronea and renewed by Alexander in 336/5.

synhedrion of the Greeks: The council of the Corinthian League, instituted by Philip and continued by Alexander, to which all member states sent delegates, *synhedroi*.

garrison: Curtius 4.8.12–13 suggests that early in 331 Alexander agreed to a Chian request for the withdrawal of the garrison.

3 Cyrene Supplies Grain to the Greeks

Tod, *GHI* 196

330–326

Early in the 320s Greece laboured under a serious shortage of grain (cf. document 74). Prices rose widely, but such was the fertility of Cyrene in North Africa that it could at the same time distribute grain from a massive surplus (probably at reduced prices rather than free; so Tod, *GHI* II, p. 276). The total listed here is 805,000 *medimnoi* (the equivalent of 1,207,500 Attic *medimnoi*, if the figure is given according to the Aeginetan standard, cf. Tod, *loc.cit.*), and it went to numerous places in Greece and the islands, as well as to two individuals: Alexander's mother Olympias (a total of 72,600 *medimnoi*) and his sister Cleopatra (50,000). (Cf. *SEG* 42.1663.)

The priest (is) Sosias, (son) of Kalliadas. Those to whom the city gave grain, when there was the shortage of grain in Greece: to the Athenians, 100,000 (*medimnoi*); to Olympias, 60,000; to the Argives, 50,000; to the Larisaeans, 50,000; to the Corinthians, 50,000; to Cleopatra, 50,000; to the Rhodians, 30,000; to the Sikyonians, 30,000; to the Meliboians, 20,000; to the Megarians, 20,000; to the T[en]jians, 20,000; to the Lesbians, 15,000; to the Theraeans, 15,000; to the Oitaeans, 15,000; to the Ambrakiots, 15,000; to the Leukadians, 15,000; to the Karystians, 15,000; to Olympias, 12,600; to the Thessalians of Atrax, 10,000; to the Kythnians, 10,000; to the Opountians, 10,000; to the Kydoniates, 10,000; to the Koans, 10,000; to the Parians, 10,000; to the Delphians, 10,000; to the Knossians, 10,000; to the Boeotians of Tanagra, 10,000; to the Gortynians, 10,000; to the Eleians, 10,000; to the Akarnanians of Palairos, 10,000; to the Megarians, 10,000; to the Meliboians,

8,500; to the Phliasians, 8,000; to the Hermioneans, 8,000; to the Oitaeans, 6,400; to the Troizenians, 6,000; to the Plataeans, 6,000; to the Keans of Ioulis, 5,000; to the Aiginetans, 5,000; to the Astypalaians, 5,000; to the Kytherans, 5,000; to the Hyrtakinians, 5,000; to the Aiginetans, 5,000; to the Keans of Karthaia, 4,000; to the Kytherans, 3,100; to the Keans, 3,000; to the Illyrians, 3,000; to the Keans of Koresos, 3,000; to the Ambrakiots, 1,500; to the [I]ketyrians, 1,000; to the Knossians, 900.

4 Restoration of Exiles to Tegea

Tod, *GHI* 202 (*Syll.*³ 306)

324

In summer 324 Alexander sent Nikanor of Stageira to the Olympic Games with instructions for him to have the victorious herald read out the following communication: 'King Alexander to the exiles from the Greek cities: We were not responsible for the fact that you are in exile, but we will be responsible for your return to your own fatherlands. We have written to Antipater about these matters, that he might compel to bring back (their exiles) those cities that do not wish to do so' (Diod. 18.8.4; cf. 17.109.1). On the whole the measure was welcomed, especially by the more than 20,000 exiles present, but it produced immediate discontent at Athens and in Aetolia (Diod. 18.8.6ff.). It also produced problems in the various cities affected, and the present text gives an indication of how the situation was handled at Tegea. Apparently a previous piece of Tegean legislation had not found complete favour with Alexander, and what we have is a version revised in the light of the statement of principles communicated to the city in the king's *diagramma* referred to at various points in the text. (Cf. *SEG* 41.383.)

[— King Alex]ander [—] the *diagramma*; (it) is to be written as the city has corrected (it) according to the objections raised in the *diagramma*.

The exiles who return are to receive the property on their father's side, which was theirs when they went into exile; and as many women as, not having been given in marriage, held property and did not in fact have brothers (are to receive) the property on the mother's side. And if it should happen, in the case of a woman given in marriage, that her brother and his line be extinct, then she shall have the property on the mother's side, and it shall not go to a more distant relation.

Regarding houses, each is to have one (house), according to the *diagramma*. If a house has a garden by it, let him not take another (garden); if there is no garden by the house, but there is one up to a distance of a *plethron* away, let him take half of it, as is prescribed in the case of other land. As the price of

the **houses**, let him receive for each house two minas; the tax-assessment on the houses is to be as the city reckons; the tax on the gardens is to be double what is prescribed in the law; the city is to remit the money and not to give a formal receipt either to the exiles or to **those previously enjoying citizen-rights at home**.

Regarding the festivals which the exiles have been missing, the city is to deliberate, and whatever the city decides after deliberation is to be valid and binding.

The **foreign court** is to sit for sixty days. For as many as do not file suit within the sixty days, it is not to be possible for them to have property claims judged in the foreign court, but at all times in the city court. If they discover anything subsequently, (let them bring it to court) in sixty days from the day the court begins to sit; if he does not file suit even within this time, it shall no longer be possible for him to have the matter judged. If any return later, when the foreign court is no longer in session, let him register the property (in question) with the *stratego*i within sixty days; and if the matter is one that requires defence, the court is to be at Mantinea. If he does not file suit within this period, it shall no longer be possible for him to have the matter judged.

Regarding the sacred moneys [—] amounts owing, in cases where the city has settled with **the goddess** let him who is in possession of the property give over half of it to him who has returned, just as the others are to do. As many as have themselves been in debt to the goddess, by way of guarantees or otherwise, if he who is in possession of the property has evidently settled the debt to the goddess, let him give half to the one returning, just as the others are to do, without delay. If he has evidently not paid the goddess back, let him give over half of the property to the one returning, but let him settle the debt from his own half. If he does not wish to settle it, let him give over the whole of the property to the one returning, and let the latter, when he has received it, settle the whole debt to the goddess.

As many wives or daughters of the exiles as remained at home and married or who went into exile and later married in Tegea and paid for their exemption (from banishment) remaining at home, neither these nor their descendants are to be subject to inquiry about paternal or maternal property, except those who were forcibly exiled subsequently and who are returning on the present occasion, either they themselves or their children – both they and their descendants are to be subject to inquiry about the paternal and maternal property, according to the *diagramma*.

I swear by Zeus, Athena, Apollo, Poseidon that I shall bear goodwill towards those who have returned whom the city has resolved to receive back, and I shall bear no malice against any of them for anything he may propose after the day on which I swear the oath, nor shall I stand in the way of the safety of those who have returned, neither in [. . .] nor in the public affairs of the city [—] against those who have returned [—] to the city [—] what is written in the *diagramma* about [—] nor shall I give counsel against any one (of them).

Notes:

houses: i.e., houses beyond the one allowed by the *diagramma*; these would have to be given up by the returning exile.

those previously enjoying citizen rights at home: The precise meaning of the text at this point is particularly unclear; for this version cf. Tod, *GHI* II, pp. 298, 300.

foreign court: It seems most likely that the reference here is to a panel of judges brought in from another city, probably Mantinea (note the time limit and the mention of Mantinea a few lines later; cf. also Tod, *GHI* II, p. 301), but the reference might possibly be to a Tegean court which dealt with suits between citizens and foreigners. Cf. below, on document 9.

the goddess: Athena Alea.

5 Restoration of Exiles to Mytilene

Tod, *GHI* 201 (*OGIS* 2); *SEG* 36. 752

324

This inscription is part of a decree passed by the Lesbian city of Mytilene and containing regulations dealing with the return to the city of exiled citizens. The context is probably the same as that of the similar Tegean enactment of 324 (document 4), although it has been assigned also to that of Alexander's letter to the Chians (document 2; see C. B. Welles, *American Journal of Archaeology*, 42 (1938), 245–260; cf. in general A. J. Heisserer, *Alexander the Great and the Greeks* [Norman, OK, 1980], 118ff.). It is at any rate clear that these measures were directly influenced by a communication from Alexander.

[— and let the] *basileis* [favour the one who has returned on the ground that] the one previously [in the] city [is guilty of fraud. But if any of those who have returned] does not abide by these settlements [let him not receive (?)] from the city any property and let him not [enter into possession] of any of those things which those previously in the city granted to him, but let those previously in the city who granted (them) [to him] enter upon possession of these things, and let the *strategoi* [transfer the possessions back] to the one previously in the city [on the ground that] the one who has returned [has not observed the settlement], and let the *basileis* favour [the one] previously [in] the city on the ground that the one [who has returned] is guilty of fraud. And if anyone institutes a lawsuit concerning these things let neither [the *peridromoi*] nor the *diaskopoi* nor any other magistrate bring it to court. [It is

to be the concern of] the *strategoï* and the *basileis* and the *pe[ridromoi* and the *disaskopoi* and the [other] magistrates if [everything does not take place] as [has been written] in the [decree]; and let them condemn [him who disregards any of the things] written [in the decree], in order that [there may be] no difference between those who have returned and those [previously] in the city, [but] (that) all who have been reconciled [may deal] with one another [without suspicion and] without plotting, and (that) they may abide by [the king's answer and] by the settlement in this decree.

The *demoi* [is to choose as arbitrators] twenty men, ten [from those who have returned] and ten from those previously in the city. Let these [maintain careful watch] and see to it that there shall be no [difference between those] who have returned and those previously in the city; and [they shall act] concerning the disputed possessions [so that those who return] shall, [preferably], come to terms both with those in the city and with [one another], and, failing this, that they shall be as just as possible, and that all shall abide by the settlements which the king has determined [and by the reconciliation], and shall inhabit the city [and the country] in a state of concord with one another.

And concerning possessions, [after] the settlements [have been accepted] as far as possible, and concerning the oath, [which the] citizens [are to swear], concerning all these things where mutual agreement has been achieved, let the men chosen bring (reports) before the [*demoi*, and let the *demoi*] when it has heard, deliberate as to what it considers advantageous. [If the *demoi* considers the] mutual agreements advantageous, it is to decree for those who returned during the term of Smithinas (as) *prytanis* [the same as] has been decreed [for the rest]. If there is anything lacking from this decree, [the decision concerning this shall be] with the *boule*. When the decree has been ratified [by the *demoi*, the entire] *demoi*, on the twentieth of the month [after the sacrifice, is to pray] to the gods that the settlement between those who returned [and those previously] in the city occurs for the safety and happiness [of all the citizens]. [All the public] priests and priestesses are to open the temples and [the *demoi* is to come together for prayer.] The sacrifices which the *demoi* vowed, when it dispatched [the messengers to] the king, are to be offered on the king's [birthday] every year; present at the sacrifice are to be [the twenty men and the] messengers sent to the king, [the ones from those previously] in the city and the ones from [those who returned.] When the treasurers have had this [decree] inscribed [on a stone stele, they are to have it set up in the sanctuary —].

Note:

We have chosen in some places to retain the text and restorations of Tod.

B The Successors of Alexander: 323–276

6 Antigonus and Skepsis

RC 1 (OGIS 5, and see *Staatsverträge* 428) and OGIS 6

311

The peace concluded in 311 between Antigonus on the one hand and Cassander, Lysimachus and Ptolemy on the other is known only through this inscription and a brief report in Diodorus (19.105.1). The terms, according to Diodorus, were as follows: ‘Cassander is to be *strategos* of Europe until the Alexander born of Roxane comes of age; Lysimachus is to be master of Thrace, and Ptolemy of Egypt and the cities bordering on it in Libya and Arabia; Antigonus is to have command over all Asia; the Greeks are to be autonomous.’ The sequel to this, as Diodorus reports, was the murder by Cassander of Roxane and the young Alexander. With the disappearance of this last recognized royal remnant, ‘each of those who ruled over peoples or cities maintained hopes of monarchy and held the territory assigned as subject to him as a sort of spear-won kingdom’ (Diod. 19.105.4). The terms of the peace itself had effectively put the seal upon the partition of Alexander’s empire. For Antigonus the peace represents an enforced denial of any wider ambitions, but by championing the cause of the Greek cities he was able to achieve at the same time something of a diplomatic triumph. This stance was not new to him in 311 (he had proclaimed at Tyre in 315 that all the Greek cities were to be ‘free, ungarrisoned, and autonomous’ [Diod. 19.61.31]), and it is effectively reasserted in the explanation of the negotiations contained in the letter to Skepsis, which was presumably only one of many such sent out to the cities. In the Skepsians’ reply, Antigonus’ report is enthusiastically welcomed and cult honours are decreed for him.

RC 1

— we exercised [zeal for the] liberty [of the Greeks], making for [this reason] no small concessions and distributing money besides, [and] to further this we sent out Aischylos along [with Dema]rchos. As long as there was agreement [on] this we participated in the **conference on the Helle[s]pont**, and if certain men had not interfered the matter would then have been settled. [Now also] when Cassander and Pto[lemy] were conferring about a truce and when Prepelaos and Aristodemos had come to us on the subject, although we saw that some of the demands of Cassander were rather burdensome, still as there was agreement concerning the Greeks we thought it necessary to overlook this in order that the main issue might be settled as soon as possible; for we

should have considered it a fine thing if all had been arranged for the Greeks as we wished, but because the negotiation would have been rather long, and because we were anxious that the question of the Greeks should be settled **in our lifetime**, we thought it necessary not to let details endanger the settlement of the principal issue. What zeal we have shown in these matters will I think be evident to you and to all others from the arrangements themselves.

After the dealings with Cassander and Lysimachus had been completed, to conclude which they had sent Prepelaos with full authority, Ptolemy sent envoys to us asking that a truce be made with him also and that he be included in the same agreement. We saw that it was no small thing to give up part of an ambition for which we had taken no little trouble and incurred much expense, and that too when an agreement had been reached with Cassander and Lysimachus and when the remaining task was easier. Nevertheless, because we thought that after a settlement had been reached with him the matter of **Polyperchon** might be arranged more quickly as no one would then be in alliance with him, and because of **our relationship to him (Ptolemy)**, and still more because we saw that you and our allies were burdened by the campaign and the expenses, we thought it was well to yield and to make the truce with him also. We sent Aristodemos and Aischylos and Hegesias to draw up the agreement. They have now returned with the pledges, and the representative of Ptolemy, Aristoboulos, came to receive them from us. Know then that the truce has been established and that the peace is made.

We have written in the treaty that all the Greeks are to swear to aid each other in preserving their freedom and autonomy, thinking that while we lived in all human expectation these would be protected, but that afterwards freedom would remain more certainly secure for all the Greeks if both they and the men in power are bound by **oaths**. For them to swear also to help to guard the terms of the treaty which we have made with each other seems to us neither discreditable nor disadvantageous for the Greeks; therefore it seems to me best for you to take the oath which we have sent. In the future also we shall try to provide both for you and for the other Greeks whatever advantage we have in our power. It seemed best to me then to write you also about these matters and to send to you Akios to speak further (on the subject). He brings you copies of the treaty which we have made and of the oath. Farewell.

OGIS 6

— he has sent] Akios, who [is in every respect] well-disposed [to our city] and continues [always] to maintain [his zeal] and (who) [requests (us)] to declare to him whatever the city might need; and he has sent also the agreements which have come about between himself and Cassander and Ptolemy and

Lysimachus and copies of the oaths; and (he has sent a report of) what has been done concerning the freedom and autonomy of the Greeks.

Be it resolved by the *demos*: since Antigonos has been responsible for great goods for the city and for the rest of the Greeks, to praise Antigonos and to rejoice with him over what has been done; and for the city to rejoice also with Greeks at the fact that, being free and autonomous, they will continue [for] the future to exist in peace. In order that Antigonos may be honoured in a manner worthy of what has been done and that the *demos* may be seen to render thanks for the good things it has already received, (be it resolved) to set aside a precinct for him and to make an altar and to set up as fine an image as possible; and for the sacrifice and the festival to take place in his honour each year, just as it was even formerly carried out; and to crown him with a gold crown of a hundred gold [staters]; and to crown also Demetrius and **Philippos**, each with (a crown of) fifty gold pieces; and to proclaim the crowns [at the] contest during the festival; and for the city to sacrifice (the offering of) glad tidings at the news sent by Antigonos; and for all the citizens to wear garlands; and for the treasurer to provide the expenditure for these things.

(Resolved) also to send him gifts of friendship; and to have the agreements and the letters from Antigonos and the oaths which he sent inscribed on a stele, just as Antigonos instructed, and to set it up in the sanctuary of Athena; (and) for the secretary to look after (this); and for the treasurer to provide the expenditure for this as well. (Resolved also) for all the citizens to swear the oath that has been sent just as Anti[gonos instructed]; (and) for those chosen

Notes:

conference on the Hellespont: Antigonos met with Cassander on the Hellespont in 313/12: Diod. 19.75.6.

in our lifetime: Antigonos was 71 at the time.

Polyperchon: One of the oldest of Alexander's generals, he had succeeded Antipater as regent of Greece in 319, much to the dismay of Antipater's son Cassander. Antigonos came to terms with him in 315 and named him *strategos* of the Peloponnesus (Diod. 19.57.5; 60.1; 61.1). Polyperchon refused to desert Antigonos for Cassander, also in 315 (Diod. 19.63.3, cf. 64.1), but when Antigonos' man Telesphoros arrived in 313 with instructions to free the cities, Polyperchon refused to vacate Sikyon and Corinth (Diod. 19.74.2).

our relationship to him (Ptolemy): Both Ptolemy and Antigonos' son Demetrius had married daughters of Antipater.

oaths: 'It is unnecessary to point out that the oath asked of the Greeks would require them to support Antigonos in a new war if he could claim the treaty had been violated.' (RC, p. 10).

Philippos: Antigonos' younger son.

7 Two Letters of Antigonus to Teos

RC 3 and 4 (*Syll.*³ 344)

306–302

At some point in the last years of the fourth century Antigonus decided to unite the cities of Teos and Lebedos into a single, new city of Teos. This was to involve the removal of all the inhabitants of Lebedos to Teos (which was perhaps to be rebuilt on the peninsula slightly to the west of its existing location). These two letters from Antigonus to Teos contain various regulations for and instructions about the synoecism, which was in fact never finally accomplished. They (or at least the second of them) were written between 306 (when Antigonus adopted the royal title: Diod. 19.53.2) and 302 (when Cassander's general Prepelaos won over Teos: Diod. 20.107.5). The two letters were perhaps not separated by a long time, as some of the instructions issued in the first had not been carried out when the second was written. (Cf. S. L. Ager, *Interstate Arbitrations in the Greek World* (Berkeley, 1996), no. 13.)

RC 3

— whoever] is sent to the Panionion, we thought it best that he should perform all the] common (ceremonies) for an equal period and should bivouac and attend **the festival** with [your envoys] and be called Tean.

We thought it best that a building lot [be given] to each of the L[ebedians] among you equal to that which he leaves behind in Lebedos. Until the new houses are built, houses [are to be furnished to all] the Lebedians without charge: if the present city remains, one-[third of the] existing houses; if it is necessary to tear down the present city, half of the existing houses [are to be left], and of these one-third are to be given [to the Lebedians] and you are to have two-thirds; if a certain part of the city is torn down and the remaining houses [are enough] to receive both you and the Lebedians, [the] third part of these] are to be given to the Leb[edians]; if the remaining houses are not enough to receive both you [and the Lebedians], enough of the houses which are going to be torn down are to be left. [And when] enough houses [have been completed] in the city that is being built, then the houses which [were left] are to be demolished, [as many as] lie outside the walls of the city. [All the Lebedians] are to build houses on their lots within three years; otherwise the [lots] are to become public property. [We thought] it right that the **roofs** of the houses be given to the Lebedians, a quarter of the total number each year for four years, [so that] the houses [may be finished as soon as possible].

[We thought] it right also that a place be assigned the Lebedians where they may bury their [dead].

(We thought it right) that [whatever] the city of Lebedos owes [as interest] be met from the common [revenues each year], and that these debts [be assumed] by your city on the conditions under which the Leb[edians owe] them.

As to the *proxenoi* of the city of Lebedos or those benefactors who possess [citizenship] or some other grant or honour from the Lebedians, (we thought it right) [that they have the same among] you, and that their names be inscribed within a year in the place where your *proxenoi* [and benefactors are] inscribed.

As to the suits based on injury or breach of contract [now standing] in either city, [we thought it right] that the litigants be reconciled or the cases adjudged separately [according to the] laws [of each city] and according to our *diagramma*, within two years from the time when [the *diagramma*] is promulgated. As to those suits which (you) have against Lebedians or the Lebedians have [against you, (we thought it right) that both cities make] an agreement, and put the agreement into writing; and if any objection is raised [against the] agreement, that the matter be decided in (before) **the umpire (city)** within six months; that the umpire [city be] Mitylene, as both have agreed. [We think it best] that the drafters of the agreement should write the other terms as they may choose, but as we hear that the suits over contracts and over injuries are [so numerous] that if [they were judged according to] the [law], even without interruption, no one would be able to wait for the end – for up to now [it does not appear that any progress] has been made with these nor have the contracts been executed because the suits have [long] remained [unadjudicated] – and if the interest accumulates [from year to year, no one] would be able to pay it. We think it best for the drafters of the agreement to provide, if [the debtors pay] of their own accord, that they pay no more than double the value [of the debt], and if they go to court and are adjudged liable, (that they pay) three times its value.

Whenever the agreement [is ratified], (we think it right) that the suits be filed and judged within a year; and that anyone who does not file his suit [or have it judged] in the time prescribed, if the courts are sitting, should no longer be able to file it or [to have it judged; and if any] of your (citizens) or of the Lebedians is not in the city during the prescribed period, that it should be possible to serve a summons upon him [in his absence] before the town hall and before his house, notifying the [proper official . . .] in the presence of two responsible witnesses.

(We thought it right) that in the future [penalties] be paid [and received according to] whatever laws you may think are fair to both cities; [that each city appoint] as law-drafters three (men) not younger than forty years [who are incorruptible], and let the men chosen swear that they will draw up such laws as [they consider] to be best and to be of benefit to the city. After they have taken the oath, [let them draw up what] laws [they think] will be fair

to both cities and let them submit them within [six months]. (We thought it right) that anyone else who wishes be permitted to draw up and submit a law. (We thought it right) that those of the laws [submitted] be put into practice which the law-drafters may agree upon and the *demos* ratify, [and that those which are opposed] be sent to us so that we may either decide about them [or designate a city] to do so; that (you) send (to us) also the [laws] which are agreed upon and that you indicate which were submitted by the law-drafters and [which were submitted by others, so that] if any have obviously drawn up a law not for the best but [inappropriately], we may charge him with it and punish him; that these things be done within a year. [Until all the] laws should have been drawn up, your envoys thought it best [to use the laws] of your city, [but those from] Lebedos asked permission to send for and [to use] those from some other city. [Since] we thought it fairer to send for [laws] from another city, [we directed] both parties to name the city whose laws they wished to use, and as both agreed to use the laws of the Koans we decided that this should be done, [and we have requested the Koans] to give you **the laws to copy**. We think [it best] that three men [be appointed] as soon as this answer is read and that they be sent [to Kos in] three [days] to copy the laws; that those who are sent [shall bring back the] laws sealed with the seal of the Koans in [thirty] days; that when the laws [are brought back] you and the Lebedians shall elect the (new) magistrates [within] ten [days].

As to those men who have been *choregos* or trierarch or have performed another [liturgy] in either city, we think it best that they no longer [be liable for the same liturgy]. The envoys of the Lebedians [asked] that they be relieved of [the liturgies] for such time as the synoecism is in process. We think it best, if all of you remain [in the old city], that the Lebedians should be immune from the liturgies for three years. [If any of you] move into the peninsula, that they also should be immune for the [same period and that those whose] houses are not moved (or torn down?) should assume the liturgies.

The envoys of the L[ebedians] said [that it was necessary] to set aside from the revenues [a thousand (and)] four hundred gold staters **for the supply of grain**, so that] anyone who wished, taking this money against security, [might import grain into the] city and sell it throughout the year whenever he wished, and that [at the end of the year] he should return the money to the city, both the capital and the interest at the rate [at which he took it. When they particularly requested us] to order that this be done even now so that there might be [a sufficient quantity] of grain [in the city] – for you could not produce enough – your envoys expressed [their approval but asked] that more money be appropriated as the synoecism [was being completed] and the population was becoming [larger] as you moved into the same place. Previously we were un[willing] to grant that [any] city should undertake the importation of grain or maintain a supply of grain, [for we were not willing to have the] cities spend for this purpose large sums of money unnecessarily; we did not [wish] even now to give this permission, for the **tributary [land]** is near [and thus if a need] of grain arose, we think there could easily be brought

from [there as much as] one wished. Our anxiety on this point was due [to a desire] to benefit the [cities], since you and all the others [know that there is] no private profit [for us] in the business, but we maintain the regulation [in the hope that] the cities may become free of their debts. Seeing [that as far as lies in our power] we have made you **free and autonomous** in other respects [we thought] to exercise some care over your debts also that they might be paid off as soon as possible. [As, however], this plan for the supply of grain seems [advantageous], we think it best, in order that we may [omit] nothing [which is both just] and also advantageous to the *demos* that the [supplies] of grain should be established as the Lebedian envoys said, believing that there should be provided against security a total of a thousand (and) [four hundred] gold staters.

(We think it best) that the import and export of all [grains] be declared [in the portico of the] market, so that if it should not pay any persons to bring the grain into the [market and thence to] export it, they may have the right to export (directly), paying the duty on what is declared [in the market]. As to what villages or farms there may be outside [the city], we think it best that each man be ordered to register [as much produce] as he wishes to export (directly) from the farmland, so that he may export (it) having made declaration [to the market commissioner and] paid [the] taxes.

Your envoys [and those from the Lebe]dians asked that three men be appointed from each city to frame any regulations furthering the synoecism [which may have been omitted. It seems to us desirable] that the men be appointed within thirty days [of the time when this answer] is read, and that the ones chosen draw up any measures which have been omitted [by us]; that of their provisions those [are to be valid] which are agreed upon by both (cities), and that the disputed points are to be referred to us within the two following months, (so that) after hearing [both sides] we may decide as we think [is best] for both.

RC 4

King Antigonus to the *boule* and the *demos* of the Teans, greeting. When we [before studied] how the synoecism might be completed most quickly, we did not see from what source the [necessary] money would come [for you] to be able [to give immediately] to the Lebedians the value of their houses, because the amount arising from the revenues comes in over a [rather long] period of time. [When we received] your envoys and those from the Lebedians and asked [them if they had any] expedient to suggest to us, and they said they had none except taxation, examining [their proposals] we find that only your wealthiest citizens have always advanced the property taxes. [It seems good to us, then] that there should be six hundred (designated as) wealthy, [and that these] should advance money in proportion to their property, so that

there may be [for the Lebedians] one-fourth of the compensation available at once, and that repayment be made to these men first, after an interval [of a year] from the revenues [of the city], all of them being appropriated **for this purpose**.

(It seems to us best) that the men who are going to bring the appraisers [of the houses] from Kos [and the] men who are going to copy the laws should be chosen as soon as **the abrogation(?)** [takes place and] be sent out in five days from the time they are chosen, and that those who are [sent] for the laws should bring them from Kos and report them in the period which we specified in the answer (i.e., the previous letter). [Those] who are sent [for the] appraisers should bring the appraisers back as quickly as possible.

[We think best —] that the houses in your city which must be given to the Lebedians for [temporary residence] be counted [within] fifteen [days] from the reading of [this] answer, and that those who are to count [the houses and] assign them to the temporary occupants be elected by each [tribe] at the next assembly.

Notes:

the festival: Both Teos and Lebedos were members of the Ionian League, and as such both sent *theoroi* to the cult celebrations of the League at the Panionion. This provision aims at coping with the situation that would arise when Lebedos ceased to exist and could thus not send a *theoros* in its own name.

roofs: The roofs would normally be made of baked tiles, the walls of less expensive unbaked brick. (It is not easy to see what else the translation of the text could be in this section, but the relation between the requirement to build in three years and the provision of roofs over four years is a matter for curiosity.)

the umpire city: Cf. documents 9, 72 (with notes).

the laws to copy: The laws of Kos went back ultimately to the seventh-century lawgiver Charondas of Katane (cf. Aristotle, *Politics* 2.12; Herondas, *Mim.* 2.48).

for the supply of grain: For an analogous, but more complicated, grain fund cf. document 75.

tributary land: Territory directly subject to Antigonos and paying him tribute in grain. He could of course sell as much of the grain as he did not himself require and would no doubt be anxious to do so.

free and autonomous: On this policy of Antigonos, cf. document 6: he clearly does not feel the enforced synoecism to be at odds with it.

for this purpose: In order to obtain the money needed immediately, the 600 wealthiest citizens of Teos are required to advance one-quarter of the amount. Repayment (one year later) is guaranteed them from the city's revenues.

the abrogation (?): The assumption that something is wrong with the text seems inevitable; expected here would be 'when this response is read' (as above), or something like that. The cities' laws would of course cease to function only after the formal adoption of those imported from Kos. Cf. *RC*, p. 32.

8 The Hellenic League of 302

Staatsverträge 446 (Moretti 44; *IG* IV² 1.68)

302

As early as 307/6 Antigonus had sought to establish a united coalition of the Greeks in Greece (Diod. 20.46). Nothing came of it then, but in 302 representatives from a number of Greek states met with Demetrius at the Isthmus of Corinth, and the charter of the new Hellenic League was drawn up (Diod. 20.102, Plut. *Demetrius* 25). The fragmentary state of the text (found at Epidaurus) makes it impossible to determine who the original members were or exactly how many in number, but there would seem to have been at least half a dozen, including Elis and the Achaean League. The immediate aim of the venture was to unite the Greeks with Antigonus and Demetrius in the war against Cassander, but the provisions were drawn up with the view that the organization would continue to exist in peacetime. Whether it could have done so is perhaps doubtful, but there was no chance of it surviving the defeat and death of Antigonus at Ipsos in 301.

Fragment I

— there is to be friendship and [alliance for all time] between [those . . . sharing in the] *synhedrion* . . . and Antigonus and Demetrius so that they have the [same] enemies and friends [—] by land and sea the Kings Antigonus and Demetrius. [If any] of the allies or those sharing in the *synhedrion* or any of the cities sharing in the agreement ravage the land or capture garrisons [— or] seek to destroy [the monarchy of Antigonus and] Demetrius and their descendants or [cities? constitutions? —]

Fragment II

[— it is not to be allowed for the cities] to do anything other [than what has been written; if any act contrary (to the agreements) either in] word or deed, let [anyone who wishes] bring a charge [about them to the] *prohedroi*, – let the *synhedroi* pass judgment [and, if they are convicted, let them pay as a penalty whatever they seem to deserve to suffer] or to pay. [Let care be taken . . . to ensure that the] sea is clear [of pirates? —]; to use the ancestral constitutions — nor with the purpose of revolution — [if someone proposes or votes that — for the proposer and the] one who put the vote to be judged [by the] *synhedroi*; if the *synhedroi* do not judge, let] anyone who wishes [bring a charge] about them —

Fragment III

— it shall not be permitted to [interfere with either the] ambassadors [from the Greeks (?) to] the *synhedroi* [or those] dispatched [by the] *synhedroi*, or with those sent out on common [campaign, either as they are going out] (to the places) to which the individual contingents have been ordered or as they are returning to their [cities?], or to kidnap them or to seize them [on any] charge. If anyone [does these things] let [the] magistrates in each of the cities prevent him, and let the *sy[nhedroi* pronounce judgement].

Let the *synhedroi* assemble in time of peace [at the sacred games?], but in time of war as often as seems beneficial to the *synhedroi* and to [the *strategos*] left behind by the kings for the common protection. The *synhedrion* shall sit for as many days as the *prohedroi* of the *synhedrion* announce. The meetings of the *synhedrion* shall take place, until such time as the **common war** is concluded, wherever the *prohedroi* and the king or the *strategos* appointed by the kings announce; when peace comes, wherever the **crowned games** are held. The resolutions of the *synhedroi* shall be [binding]. Let them conduct business when more than half their number is present, but if less than half is present they are not to conduct business. Concerning resolutions passed in the *synhedrion*, it shall not be possible for [the] cities to demand an account from the *synhedroi* who are sent.

When the war [ends] there shall be five [*prohe*]droi chosen by lot from among the *synhedroi*. No more than one may be selected by lot from any league or city. These shall bring together the *synhedroi* and [the] common secretaries [and the] assistants; and they shall put forward the matters about which [it is necessary] to deliberate; and they shall [pass on the] resolutions to the secretaries, having themselves [clear?] copies, and they shall introduce [all?] the legal cases, and shall take care that all business is conducted [as is needful] having the power to fine anyone acting in a disorderly way. [If anyone wishes] to introduce [any matter] of advantage to the kings [and the Greeks,] or to report [anyone as] acting contrary to the interests of the allies [or] disobeying the resolutions, or to bring any other business before the *synhedroi*, let him register [with the *prohedroi*] and let them bring the matter before the *synhedroi*. [The] *prohedroi* chosen by lot [are to be] required to render account for [everything] which they do. Let [whoever wishes (to bring a charge against them)] register it with the *prohedroi* next chosen by lot. Let [those who take over] bring the charge before the *synhedroi* at the first sitting [next ensuing]. Until the common war is ended, the *prohedroi* shall [always be those] (sent) from the kings. [If] any city does not send the *synhedroi* [to the] assemblies according to the agreements, let it pay a fine for each of those (so absent) of two [**drachmas or minas**] for each [sitting] until the *synhedroi* adjourn, unless any [of the *synhedroi* declares on oath] that he was ill. And if any city does not send the assigned military contingent according to the call sent out, let it pay a daily penalty for each cavalryman of fifty drachmas; for

each hoplite of twenty drachmas; for each [light-armed soldier] of ten drachmas; and for each sailor [ten?] drachmas; until [the] time of the campaign [has expired for] the other Greeks.

Fragment IV

It shall not be permitted instead of these — to dispatch cavalrymen instead of infantrymen (?) — [the] mercenaries have been enrolled and the [mercenary leaders?] — [If any?] city or individual transgresses any [of what — has] been written, let [the *synhedroi*] fine [them] — the fines for private individuals — for the cities the *strategos* — the money collected — for whatever the *synhedroi* may decide —

Fragment V

— Those who are going to share in the *synhedrion* (?) are to have the] agreements and the [oaths inscribed upon] stone stelae and [have them set up, the . . . in . . . , the . . . in . . . ,] the Eleians in [Olympia, —], the Achaeans in [Aigion, — ; and the others who join the] *synhedrion* [are also to have] the agreements [and the oaths inscribed in the most famous sanctuaries] among them.

[(The) oath: I swear by] Zeus, Ge, Helios, P[oseidon, Athena, Ares, and all the gods and goddesses: I will abide] in the alliance [with the Kings Antigonus and Demetrius (?) and their [descendants (?) and . . . who share in (?)] the *synhedrion*; and I shall have the same enemies and friends. And [I shall] not [bear arms to bring suffering (?) . . . against any of those] abiding by the [treaty, neither by land nor by sea (?), nor] shall I ravage the territory [. . . , nor shall I subvert the] kingdom of An[tigonus and Demetrius and their descendants. If] anyone else [does any of these things (?), doing something contrary to] the things [written] in [the treaty (?), I shall not allow (him to do so) to the extent of my power], but [I shall] go to war [against him . . . who transgresses . . . the] alliance —

Notes:

***synhedrion*:** The council of the League, composed of the representatives (*synhedroi*) sent by the member states.

***prohedroi*:** A board of presidents of the *synhedrion*; on their functions and selection, see particularly Fragment 3.

common war: The war against Cassander.

crowned games: the Olympic, Pythian, Isthmian, and Nemean games.

account: The *synhedroi* are thus to be fully empowered representatives, not delegates.
[drachmas or minas]: Probably minas; a fine of only two drachmas seems excessively small.

9 Ephesos Recovers from War

*Ephesos 4; Syll.*³ 364

after 297

After the defeat of Antigonos and Demetrius at Ipsos in 301, Ephesos continued to support Demetrius. This inscription shows that its territory suffered heavily in the ensuing war between Demetrius and Lysimachus. As a result, many were left holding ruined property which they had used as security in contracting loans. This property could not be sold for anything like its full value, if indeed buyers could be found at all, and the lenders would therefore be entitled to seize the whole of the pledged property in repayment of the loan. To prevent this happening a long (the surviving text is only part of what was originally inscribed) and complicated series of provisions was enacted. The dominating principle is that the land, after having a fair valuation placed on it, should be divided between the owner and his creditor(s), the latter receiving land in proportion to the amount of the debt. Thus, if the loan were for 1,000 drachmas and the land valued at 4,000 drachmas, the creditor could expect to receive one-quarter of the land.

The judges. – It is to be possible for the judges, if the matter does not seem to them to be ready for judgement, but the landowner has placed a greater value (on the property) and the creditor a lesser one, to value it for as much as may seem well to them. There is to be no counter-estimate of the (amount of the) debt. – If the valuation is agreed but the loan is disputed, or if the loan is agreed but the valuation is disputed, the judgement is to be about what is disputed. – The decisions of the judges the *eisagogeis* are to inscribe on a whitened tablet and, along with the settlements of the arbitrators, which (the disputants) have agreed to before the court, (and) to hand over to those who have been chosen to supervise the **common war**. When those who have been chosen to supervise the common war receive the judgements and the arbitration settlements, they are to select by lot, from the thirty who have been chosen by the *demos*, five men for each five-day period as dividers of properties, and they are to select by lot also the areas and to record these; and the men selected by lot are to perform the divisions in the areas that have fallen to them, not sundering the holdings of the creditor or those of the landholder, but dividing the parts so that these are contiguous with one another; and of the land let them give over to the creditors [and to the land-

holders] amounts in proportion to the value inhering, taking into account both the [amount of the] loan and the valuation; let them except, in the process of division of the land, roads leading to religious sites and to water and to farm buildings and around graves. – If any dispute the division that has occurred, let them declare this to those who have been chosen to supervise the common war and to the one in charge of the court. – Let the one designated to be in charge of the court lead the judges out to the place, and let the judges, if the division seems to them not to have been justly made, make it fair by adding to each (one's share, as may be required) in proportion to the (amount of the) loan and the valuation. The partitionings accomplished by the arbitrators or the judges are to be reported to those who have been chosen to supervise the common war, including a record of the men's names, the areas, and the boundaries of the divisions. – Those who have been chosen (to supervise the common war), having had all this inscribed on whitened tablets, are to turn them over to the *neopoiai* to be set up in the temple precinct. And let them give copies of these also to the copying-clerk, in order that it may be possible for any citizen who desires to look over the partitionings of the landed properties. And this process of division is to be the same for all. – If they reach agreement between themselves in some other way about the division and register with those who have been chosen to supervise the common war, it is to be for them just as they agree between themselves; and copies of the valuations and loans are to be received by the landholder from the creditor joining with him in the agreement, and by the creditor from the landholder joining him in the agreement, and, on behalf of an orphan, by the guardian, and by the assistants which each may have taken on; no one is to receive copies from anyone else, and those assigned to be in charge of these things are not to give them (to anyone else) nor to receive (them from anyone else). Otherwise, both the one who receives and the one who gives to another are to be accursed, and both the one who receives and the one who gives are to be liable to prosecution as being disobedient and as plotting against the best interests of the city. –

As many as have lent money on security of **residual value**, these are to have recovery from the portion remaining to the landholder – whether there be one or many of them, the first (being settled with) first, the others subsequently – and the law is to be for these just as for the initial lenders. – If any, after mortgaging property to some, have borrowed from others as if on unencumbered property, deceiving the subsequent lenders, it is to be allowed for the subsequent lenders, being treated as the previous lenders according to the reckoning of the common war, to have the property. If anything remains owing to them, the lenders are to have (right of) recovery from the entire property of the debtor, in any way they can and free from all penalty. And if there is a guarantor, recovery from the guarantor is to be just as from those who guarantee [unsecured] loans. –

Concerning guarantors who provide guarantees with respect to the property [itself]: if the value of the property is equal to the loan for which [he is] the guarantor, based on the valuation in effect before the war, then the

guarantor is to be released from his guarantee. If the amount owing is greater than the value of the property, then let the guarantor pay, proportionately, the **excess** of the amount owing over the value of the property, as do those who guarantee unsecured loans, except if extra interest is being charged for a longer period than that of the [guarantee] made in the (original) transaction. – If the creditor is charging additional interest contrary to the (original) transaction and the [length of time] agreed in the transaction, let the guarantor not pay the excess brought about by this additional charge, unless the creditor has postponed the recovery (of the loan) with the knowledge and consent of the guarantor. If they dispute about this, they are to receive judgement before the **foreign court**, unless they have been brought to some agreement by the arbitrators, and the creditor is to initiate the court case. –

If any guardian, having borrowed (money from the orphan) during his [guardianship], is in possession of the orphan's money in any way, he is not to share in the (provisions relating to the) common war. –

As many as owe dowries for their own daughters or sisters, having assigned them from their paternal property, or being guardians, either appointed in the father's will or chosen by the *demos*, have not given to the orphan girls under their guardianship the dowries assigned by their fathers, or who, having married and then been divorced, have not paid back the dowries, which are to be paid back according to law, these are to pay the dowries and the interest according to the (original) transaction; and it is not to be open to them to take into account the (provisions relating to the) common war, but let the guardians make up the deficiency in the dowry of the orphan girls out of the rest of the estate under their guardianship. –

As many as have borrowed on real security since the term of Demagoras as *prytanis* and the month of Posideon, for these the (provisions relating to the) common war are to apply as for the others, but the valuations of the properties are to be those of the time when the loans and the (original) transactions took place, in order that, if any entered into arrangements with their property laid waste or after the farm buildings had been destroyed, their valuations may reflect the state of the property on the basis of which they made the **arrangements**. –

As many as have made transactions, before (the term of) Apollas and the month Lenaion, contrary to the (provisions relating to the) common war, these transactions are not to be valid, but those in debt to them are to be covered by the (provisions relating to the) common war. –

As many as have made transactions on real security since the month of Lenaion and (the term of) Apollas, their transactions are to be valid and the (provisions relating to the) common war are not to apply to them, since they prospered by maintaining faith during the war, but they are not to receive interest of more than one-twelfth. –

Concerning lenders who have entered upon possession of property: As many as, having entered upon possession of properties, in accordance with arrangements made, prior to the month Posideon in the term of Demagoras, hold and possess the properties, for these the possessions are to be valid,

unless they (i.e., debtor and creditor) have willingly come to some agreement with one another. If any dispute about full ownership, they are to receive judgement according to the laws. As many as entered upon possession subsequent to the month Posideon in the term of Demagoras, when the borrowers were in possession of the property according to the decree and had been brought back by the *demos*, (in such cases) the properties are to belong to the borrowers and possessors, the loans to the lenders, the division taking place as for the other lenders. – If the lenders disagree with the debtors, saying they entered upon possession prior to the term of Demagoras as *prytanis* and the month Posideon, they are to receive judgement just as do the others who have suffered damage in the common war. – If any have themselves willingly and without coercion come to some agreement with the lenders, although the lenders have not entered upon possession, their agreements are to be valid. If the one says that he was coerced and the other denies it, they are to receive judgement about these matters in the foreign court, but they are first to submit to arbitration before the arbitrators in accordance with this law. –

As many as have departed after abandoning their property, and the creditors have begun cultivation, (in these cases) the property is to belong to the creditors. If the debtors wish to recover their property by paying back what the creditors have spent, and the interest at one-fourteenth, and anything that may have been expended in the land or lost due to cultivation, taking into account the revenues produced, it is to be allowed for them, if they pay (all this) back during the year of (the term of) Danaos, to share in the (provisions relating to the) common war on the same terms as the others. – Concerning the expenditures made, and the losses in cultivation, and the revenues produced, if they come to agreement with one another or are brought to agreement by the arbitrators, these (agreements) are to be (valid); otherwise they are to receive judgement before the foreign court just as do the others, and the one who abandoned the property is to initiate the court case. If any, in the terms of Demagoras or Mantikrates or Apollas, up to the month Posideon, —

Notes:

common war: ‘The common war’ seems best taken as referring to a war undertaken by the common decision of the citizenry, the results of which war affected all alike. ‘Those who have been chosen to supervise the common war’ are a board of officials elected to see to the execution of all measures enacted to deal with damages and problems resulting from the war.

assistants: *sy[hago]nistai*, rather than co-guardians (*sy[norpha]nistai*): SEG 43.751.

residual value: If, for example, someone has borrowed 1,000 drachmas on security of a landed estate clearly worth more than that amount, he might go on to contract an additional loan (or loans) on security of the value of the estate over 1,000 drachmas.

excess: If, for example, the guarantor had pledged himself for one-quarter of the debt, then he would be liable for one-quarter of the excess of the amount owed over the value of the property.

foreign court: Most likely a panel of judges brought in from a friendly city to aid in the settlement of these disputes. The invocation of judges or third-party arbitrators from elsewhere was a widespread phenomenon in the Hellenistic period (cf. W. W. Tarn and G. T. Griffith, *Hellenistic Civilisation*, 3rd edn [London, 1966], 88–9; M. N. Tod, *International Arbitration amongst the Greeks* [Oxford, 1913]; S. Ager, *Interstate Arbitrations in the Greek World, 337–90 BC* [Berkeley, CA, 1996]).

arrangements: These two provisions have to do with loans contracted during the war, the preceding ones with loans contracted prior to it. The war apparently began in the month Posideon in the year for which Demagoras was *prytanis* (cf. the end of the inscription) and ended two years later, during the prytany of Apollas. The year of Danaos, mentioned near the end, is probably the first prytany year after the end of the war.

10 The Ionian League Honours Hippostratos of Miletos

Syll.³ 368

289/8

The victory of Seleucus and Lysimachus at Ipsos in 301 won for the latter control of Asia Minor. The present text reflects at least one aspect of his administration of the area as well as his attitude toward Ephesus, which had been so steadfast in its support of Demetrius after Ipsos. The decree of the federal council of the ancient Ionian League is preserved in two copies, one from Smyrna and one from Miletos. The latter is translated here (A), along with the two related Milesian decrees inscribed along with it (B and C).

A

Resolved by the *koinon* of the Ionians. Whereas Hippostratos, (son) of Hippodemos, of Miletos, a friend of King Lysimachus and appointed *strategos* in charge of the cities of the Ionians, continues to treat in a friendly and beneficent way each city individually and the Ionians as a whole, with good fortune, be it resolved by the *koinon* of the Ionians: to praise Hippostratos (son) of Hippodemos for his virtue and (for) the goodwill which he continues to hold towards the *koinon* of the Ionians, and for him to be free from all taxes in (the) cities of the Ionians; the same provisions are to apply to Hippostratos himself and to his descendants. And (resolved) to erect a bronze equestrian statue of him in the Panionion; and for two cities to be chosen to

see to it that the statue of Hippostratos is erected with dispatch, in order that all the rest may know that the Ionians honour with the appropriate honours men who are noble and provide service to the cities. And (resolved) for each of the council members to take back to their own cities the decisions of the Ionians, in order that the decisions of the Ionians may be there preserved in the public archives. And (resolved) to have this decree inscribed on the base of the statue of Hippostratos in the Panionion and for each of the cities (to have it inscribed) in their own city on a stone stele. The cities chosen were Miletos and **Arsinoeia**.

B

In the year of Telesias, in (the month) Panemos. Resolved by the *demos*: to have inscribed in the public archive the decree ratified at the Panionion. Supervisors of the statue of Hippostratos (son) of Hippodemos, chosen according to the decree decreed by the Ionians were Archidemos (son) of Aristokrates and Ameinias (son) of Krateas.

C

In the year of Telesias, in (the month) Lenaion. Resolved by the *boule*: Protomachos (son) of Pylios spoke: In order that the honours decreed by the *koinon* of the Ionians for Hippostratos (son) of Hippodemos may be carried out with dispatch, be it resolved by the *boule*: for the *teichopoioi* to see to it and to let a contract for the preparation of the stele and the inscription of the decisions, and for the treasurer in office for the month of Lenaion to provide the money from the wall-building funds.

Note:

Arsinoeia: The city more usually known as Ephesos; it was renamed by Lysimachus after his third wife, Arsinoe, daughter of Ptolemy I and later wife of Ptolemy II.

11 Lysimachus and Priene

Priene 14 (OGIS 11) and RC 6 (OGIS 12; *Priene* 15)

c.285

During Demetrius' invasion of Asia Minor in 287/6 (for this as the context of these inscriptions see Welles, *RC*, pp. 43–4) many cities either fell to his attacks or, as all of Lydia and Caria, went over to him. Priene was among

those that remained loyal to Lysimachus. It endured the ravaging of its territory by Demetrius' soldiers and the hostile population of the Maeander plain until Lysimachus' forces were able to bring relief. In return for this the city voted to establish a cult in his honour, much as had been done at Samothrace in return for helpful military intervention (*Syll.*³ 372). The first text is part of a decree of Priene communicating the city's resolutions to Lysimachus, the second (also fragmentary) is the letter written by the king in return. Lysimachus' goodwill, thus secured, had its limits (cf. document 12). See further J.-M. Bertrand, 'Formes de discours politiques: décrets des cités grecques et correspondance des rois hellénistiques' in *Du pouvoir dans l'antiquité: mots et réalités*, ed. Cl. Nicolet (Paris and Geneva, 1990), 101–15.

Priene 14

(For) King [Lysimachus]

Resolved by the *demos*; proposal [of the *strategoï* (?). Whereas] King Lysimachus both in [past times always] continued to exercise care [for the *demos* of the Pri]eneans and now, having dispatched a force [against the Magnesians] and the other **Pedieis**, led [it (the *demos*)] **back [into the] city**, be it resolved by the *demos*: to choose as ambassadors ten men [from among] all the citizens who, going to him, shall both deliver the decree and rejoice with the king at the fact that he and his forces are well and that the other matters are in a satisfactory state, and who shall make clear [the] goodwill which the *demos* continues to hold towards King [Lys]imachus and who shall crown him with a [gold] crown of a thousand gold pieces. And [the] *demos* shall erect [in the *agora*] a **bronze image** [of the king] and shall set up beside it on the right — [to build] also an altar dedicated to him [in the *agora*; and for all] the [priests and priestesses of] the city [to sacrifice each] year, and for all the citizens to wear garlands, and for the priests and the magistrates and all the citizens to hold a procession [on the birthday of King] Lysimachus; [and] for [the magistrates] to gather together (for a banquet); and for the one in charge of [fiscal administration to give] to [the] *hieropoioi* of the tribes [for the sacrifices as much money as is given also for the Panathenaia —

RC 6

[King Lysimachus to the *boule* and] the *demos* [of the Prieneans], greeting. [Your] ambassadors, Antisthenes [and those with him, came and delivered] to us [your] decree and themselves rejoiced at [the fact that] we are in good health and (likewise) our friends [and] forces and affairs through [the entire] land, and they spoke along the lines of what is written in the decree, declaring about [the] goodwill which the *demos* holds towards us and that, when

we sent (instructions) to obey, (the *demos*) obeyed So[sthenes the (?)] *strategos* with enthusiasm and [in no way] stood apart from what was useful to us, although the land was being [ravaged] by the Magnesians [. . .] **and the [soldiers]** marching with them. [Wishing therefore to exercise care for] all [of you in common] and [each one] individually, and [considering it to be] to our advantage [that you should be our friends as] even previously, [we grant] as [your ambassadors] **requested** —

Notes:

Pedieis: The (non-Greek) inhabitants of the lower Maeander valley.

led . . . back [into the] city: On the text here cf. C. Habicht, *Gottmenschentum und griechische Städte*, 2nd edn (Munich, 1970), 39 n. 5. The alternative is '[saved the] city by land': so *RC* 44, where this is taken as alluding to Demetrius' naval superiority.

bronze image: This refers specifically to a cult statue; cf. the provision about an altar just below. For the text in this section of the decree, see L. Robert, *Etudes anatoliennes* (Paris, 1937), 183–4.

and the soldiers: Lysimachus does not mention the Pedieis. The soldiers (if the restoration is indeed correct) may be taken to be those of Demetrius in 287/6 (cf. *RC*, p. 43).

requested: This refers to a now lost section of the Prienean decree.

12 Letter of Lysimachus to Samos

RC 7 (*OGIS* 13)

283/2

Disputes between cities over territory, common enough throughout antiquity, tended during the Hellenistic period to lead to arbitration rather than to war. In the present case Priene has claimed a right to the area of Batinetis in the district of the Samian Anaia (on which, cf. documents 75, 76). Both sides presented their cases before Lysimachus, and the following letter, of which only the first part is preserved, contains his decision. Why the Prieneans made the claim in the first place is not clear, for it seems from the opening of Lysimachus' letter that there was not much question as to whose the territory was. It may be that they thought the king would simply favour them over the Samians. The tone of the letter and the fact that it was inscribed at Samos indicate that he did not. For the date and circumstances of the judgement, see *RC*, pp. 48–50 and cf. Tod, *International Arbitration* 135–6 and Ager, *Interstate Arbitrations*, no. 26.

King Lysimachus to the *boule* and the *demos* of the Samians, greeting. Your envoys and those sent by Priene appeared before us in the matter of the land which they have in fact disputed earlier in our presence. If we had known

beforehand that you had had this land in your possession and use for so many years we should never have undertaken to hear the case at all; as it was, we thought that your occupation was a matter of only a very short time, for so [the] Prienean envoys declared to us in their former [statements]. At any rate, when your (envoys) and those from Priene were here, it was necessary to hear through the arguments [of both groups]. The Prieneans tried to prove from the histories and [the other] testimonials and documents, including the six years' truce, that the original [possession] of the land of Batinetis had been theirs. [Later] they agreed that when **Lygdamis** attacked Ionia [with] his army the rest left the country and the Samians withdrew [to the] island; that Lygdamis, after occupying the land for three (or seven or ten) years, returned [to them] the same possessions and the Prieneans [took them over]; that no one of the Samians was there at all [unless one] happened to be among them as a resident alien, and he placed [the produce of his fields] at the disposal of the Prieneans; that **later**, the Samians, [returning], seized the land forcibly; that consequently Bias [was sent from] the Prieneans [with full powers] about a settlement with the Samians, and that [he] concluded the settlement and that the inhabitants [left the land of Ba]tinetis. [They claimed that affairs] had remained in this state in former times and that up to quite **recently** [they had been in possession of the land]; now they asked us on the basis of this original [possession to give them back] the land. The [envoys] sent by you [claimed] that you had received your existing [possession] of the [land of] Batinetis [from your ancestors.] They admitted that, after the [invasion] of Lygdamis, the Samians like the rest [left the land and withdrew to] the island; that afterwards . . . a thousand S[amians] settled —

Notes:

Lygdamis: The king of the Cimmerians who descended upon Asia Minor in the seventh century.

later: The conflict was renewed in the sixth century while Bias was tyrant of Priene. After the first serious battle, in which 1,000 Samians were killed, the six-years' truce was signed. The Samian attack referred to here took place in the seventh year.

recently: The precise temporal reference is not clear, if indeed it was intended to be; between Bias and Lysimachus three centuries elapsed of which nothing is said by the Prieneans. What the Samians had to say does not survive.

13 Athens Honours Philippides

Syll.³ 374

283/2

Passed in the year of the death of Demetrius Poliorcetes, this decree honours the comic poet Philippides for service to the *demos* extending over more

than fifteen years. Plutarch (*Demetrius* 12.6ff.) records his enmity towards Stratokles, the strenuous supporter of Demetrius, and adds: 'Philippides was a friend of Lysimachus, and on his account the *demos* received much good treatment at the hands of the king.' Such is the story told by this inscription, wherein Lysimachus is, not surprisingly, the only living ruler mentioned.

In the archonship of Euthios, in the third prytany, that of (the tribe) Akamantis, for which Nausimenes (son) of Nausikydes, of (the deme) Cholargos was secretary, on the eighteenth day of Boedromion, the nineteenth day of the prytany; at a principal assembly; of the *prohedroi* Hieromnemon (son) of Teisimachos, of (the deme) Koile put the vote along with his fellow-*prohedroi*; resolved by the *boule* and *demos*; Nikeratos (son) of Phileas, of (the deme) Kephale spoke: Whereas Philippides has continued in every circumstance to show his goodwill towards the *demos* and, having journeyed abroad to King Lysimachus and having first spoken with the king he obtained as a gift for the *demos* 10,000 Attic medimnoi of grain which were distributed to all the Athenians in the archonship of **Euktemon**, and he spoke also about a mast and yard-arm in order that they might be given to the goddess at the Panathenaia along with the *peplos*, things that were brought in the archonship of Euktemon; and when Lysimachus the king won the battle which took place at **Ipsos** against Antigonos and Demetrius, those citizens who died in the [fighting] he had buried at his own expense; (as for those who) had been taken prisoner, after presenting himself to the king (and) obtaining their **release**, those who wished to continue as soldiers he arranged to be assigned in divisions, while those who wished to depart, after clothing them and providing money for travel from his own funds, he sent off whithersoever each wished (to go), and of these there were more than three hundred; and he also asked and obtained that as many citizens as had been captured and held in Asia by Demetrius and Antigonos be released; and he continues always to be helpful to any Athenians who encounter (him) in the way that each calls upon him; and since the *demos* obtained its **freedom**, he has continued to speak and to do what is of benefit for the safety of the city, calling upon the king to aid with money and with food, in order that the *demos* might remain free and might regain the Piraeus and the garrisons as quickly as possible, and on all these matters the king often bore him witness before the Athenian ambassadors who approached him; and having been elected *agonothetes* in the archonship of **Isaios**, he willingly answered the call of the *demos* from his own funds and made the ancestral [sacrifices] to the gods on behalf of the *demos*, and the [—] he gave to all the Athenians (for) all the [contests, and] he was the first to establish an additional contest in honour of Demeter [and Kore], in remembrance of the [freedom] of the *demos*, and he [looked after] the other contests and [sacrifices on behalf of the city], and [after spending a great deal of his own] money on these things he submitted his accounts

according to the laws, and never did he ever [do] anything contrary to democracy in either [word or] deed.

In order that it may be clear [to all that the *demos*] knows how to render thanks to its [benefactors] in a manner worthy of the benefactions: with good [fortune; resolved] by the *boule*: that the *prohedroi* chosen by lot [to preside] (over the assembly of the *demos*), when the number of days [required by law] for the request have passed, shall raise these matters at the first legal meeting of the assembly, and shall put to the *demos* the proposal of the *boule*, to wit, that the *boule* resolves: to praise Philippides (son) of Philokles of (the deme) Kephale for his valour and for the goodwill which he continues to hold toward the *demos* of the Athenians, and to crown him with a gold crown according to the law, and to proclaim the crown during the Great Dionysia at the competition of tragedians, and to erect a bronze statue of him in the theatre, and to grant to him, and to whoever in future is his eldest descendant, public maintenance in the *prytaneion* and *prohedria* at all the contests that the city puts on. (Also resolved that) those in charge of administration are to look after the fabrication and proclamation of the crown; (that) the secretary for the prytany is to have this decree inscribed on a stone stele and set up by the temple of Dionysos, and those in charge of administration are to allocate twenty drachmas for the inscription of the stele [from] the funds expended by the *demos* on decree-related matters.

Notes:

Euktemon: Eponymous archon in 299/8.

Ipsos: Summer 301. Along with the forces of Lysimachus at Ipsos were of course those of Seleucus.

release: see A. Bielman, *Retour à la liberté. Libération et sauvetage des prisonniers en Grèce ancienne* (Athens and Paris, 1994), esp. 20.

obtained its freedom: In 287, with the help of a Ptolemaic fleet. Since early 294 Athens had been under the control of Demetrius, who had returned to Greece after the death of Cassander in 298 or 297.

Isaios: Eponymous archon in 284/3.

14 Knidian Loans to Miletos

Milet I 3 138

283/2

In 283/2 Miletos found itself without sufficient money on hand to pay the second instalment of its (annual?) tribute to Lysimachus. To cope with the situation the Milesians adopted the expedient of borrowing this money at

Knidos. The Knidians were approached by envoys from Miletos, who sought the official support of Knidos for the venture, on the understanding that citizens of Miletos would guarantee the loans. This support was forthcoming, and the assembly at Knidos voted to invite contributory loans for Miletos and to underwrite these as well. The amount thus raised was $12\frac{1}{6}$ talents (of which 3 talents were lent for a year free of interest and the rest at the modest rate of 6 per cent.) If it may be assumed that this approximated to the amount needed and that the instalment in question was the second of two for the year, Miletos was paying Lysimachus a tribute of something like 25 talents a year. In this inscription the Milesians express their gratitude to the Knidians and publish the names of both the Milesian guarantors and the lenders from Knidos.

Resolved by the *demos*; proposal of the *epistatai*; Episthenes (son) of Alkis spoke: Whereas the *demos* of the Knidians is continually well-disposed and friendly towards the *demos* of the Milesians, showing itself eager to contribute to the welfare of the city on all other occasions and now, after we dispatched Kallikrates and Philippos as ambassadors about the provision of guarantees and the loan of the money which we must pay as the second instalment to King Lysimachus, (the *demos* of the Knidians) has sent to us a decree about these matters, and the ambassadors report that the *demos* of the Knidians has passed a decree about the provision of guarantees for the lenders and has called upon those who wish to provide a service to the *demos* of the Milesians, giving security to the lenders and praising them and exhibiting all zeal and goodwill for the collection of money; with good fortune, be it decreed by the Milesians:

to praise the *demos* of the Knidians for its virtue and for the goodwill which it continues to hold towards the *demos* of the Milesians, and for it to be a subject of attention for the *boule* and the *demos*, and for the *prytaneis* and the *epistatai* to look after any matters about which the *demos* of the Knidians send to us, and for it to be (designated as) a benefactor of the *demos* of the Milesians; and to praise the private individuals who are lending the money and providing this service to the city; and, in order that the city of the Knidians shall be honoured and the individual lenders as each is worthy, the *demos* is to choose 75 *synhedroi* from among all the Milesians who, having met together and drawn up the list of honours with which the *demos* of the Knidians and those who have lent the money to the city ought to be honoured, will bring (these) before the assembly at which it is lawful for the *demos* to deliberate about its benefactors; and, in order that security be provided for the lenders, the *demos* is to choose 75 men who will give surety and provide guarantees to the lenders on behalf of the *demos*; and to have inscribed on a stone stele the names of the lenders, each with his father's name and the city from which he hails, and to

have this set up in the temple of Apollo, adding besides the amount of money which each is lending, as the funds are advanced (?), and the term of the loan; and for the *teichopoioi* to look after and to let a contract for the preparation of the stele and the inscription of the names; and for the treasurer to provide the expenses from the wall-maintenance funds;

and, in order that the city of the Knidians may know what has been decreed, for the previously chosen ambassadors, Kallikrates and Philippos, to deliver the decree to the *demos* of the Knidians and to call upon them to maintain the same goodwill and friendship towards our city for all time and to join in seeing to it that the money is brought safely to our city, and for these same ambassadors to have full authority to act on behalf of the city and the aforementioned guarantors in drawing up contracts and in arranging guarantees for the lenders. Resolved by the *demos* to have the decree inscribed on a whitened tablet.

The following announced that they would provide guarantees:

(There follows here the list of the 75 Milesians who undertook to guarantee the loans on behalf of the city.)

The following Knidians made loans to the Milesians in Rhodian silver:

Stiphos (son) of Akroteles and Timodamas (son) of Lachartos: 6,000 drachmas.

Philophron (son) of Philistas and Archippos (son) of Timaitios: 3,000 drachmas.

Diotimos and Mellinos, (sons) of Agathoboulos and Timas (son) of Timas: 6,000 drachmas.

Kleisilochos (son) of Anaxippidas: 2,000 drachmas.

Antigonos (son) of Epigonos: 6,000 drachmas.

Thessalakon (son) of Kallippos: 3,000 drachmas.

Stipholaidas (son) of Akrotatos: 2,000 drachmas.

Antikrates and Philokrates, (sons) of Epikrates: 3,000 drachmas.

Menippos (son) of Apollodoros: 3,000 drachmas.

Euphragoras, Kleumenes and Kleumbrotos, (sons) of Philistas: 3,000 drachmas.

Kallikles (son) of Athenokritos, Halikarnassian: 6,000 drachmas.

Athenodoros (son) of Theodoros, Cyrenean: 12,000 drachmas.

These made loans for three years; the loan begins in the month Artemision in (the stephanephorate) of Alexippos; interest is three obols per mina per month.

The following made loans without interest for a year:

Athenagoras (son) of Kleon: 6,000 drachmas.

Boularchidas (son) of Archipolis: 6,000 drachmas.

Epikydes (son) of Theanos: 4,000 drachmas.

Nikandros (son) of Symmachos, Halikarnassian: 2,000 drachmas.

The total (of the loans): twelve talents and ten minas of Rhodian (silver).

15 Letter of Seleucus I and his Son Antiochus to an Official

RC 9

281

With the defeat and death of Lysimachus at Koroupedion in 281, mastery of Asia Minor fell to Seleucus. Realizing this, Athymbra, a small community centring on the temple of Hades and Kore near Nysa (created not long after this by a synoecism that included Athymbra), sent a deputation to him seeking confirmation of their traditional rights of receiving and protecting suppliants, of inviolability, and of exemption from taxation. In the present letter the king, along with his son and co-regent Antiochus, directs Sopatros, the governor of the district, to give the Athymbrians a favourable reply. Particularly noteworthy is his insistence upon the importance of the goodwill of the Greek cities. Not long after this letter was written, Seleucus was murdered by Ptolemy Keraunos as he crossed to Europe (late 281).

[King] Seleucus and Antiochus to Sopat[ros, greeting]. The Athymbrians [having sent] to us [as envoys] Iatrokles, Artemidoros and Timotheos concerning their [right of receiving suppliants, their inviolability, and their tax exemption], we have [. . .] the details and have written to you that you may reply [to them at greater length]. [For our policy is always] through benefactions [to please] the citizens [of the Greek cities and by no means least] with reverence to join in increasing [the honours] of the gods, [so that we may be the object of goodwill] transmissible for all time [to those who come after] us. We are convinced that even in previous times we have given [many great] proofs of [our] personal [reverence, and] now also, [wishing] to be consistent with [our actions from the beginning], [we grant] to all the temples which [have received the right of inviolability —

16 Ilion and Antiochus I

Ilion 32 (OGIS 219)

279–274

After successfully dealing with a rebellion in the Seleukis that began at the death of Seleucus in 281, Antiochus I crossed the Taurus mountains into Asia Minor and within five years succeeded in concluding peace both with

Antigonus Gonatas and with the Gauls. During the very early years of the new reign, the city of Ilion had already established a cult of Antiochus. In the present inscription, they confer upon him honours that reflect his successes in Asia Minor. Ilion had been loyal in support of Seleucus (cf. the end of this decree and *Ilion* 31 [OGIS 212]) and was always solicitous of his son (cf., probably, document 18).

The *epimenios* being Nymphios (son) of Diotrephes, the *epistates* being Dionysios (son) of Hippomedon, Demetrios (son) of Dies spoke: Whereas King Antiochus, (son) of King Seleucus, when he first took over the kingship and adopted a glorious and noble policy, sought to restore the cities of the **Seleukis**, which were beset by difficult circumstances on account of those who were in rebellion, to peace and to their former prosperity, and, marching out against those who attacked his kingdom, as was just, (sought) to recover his ancestral empire; wherefore, embarking upon a noble and just enterprise and having not only his friends and forces eager to support him to the end in his struggle for the state but also the supernatural as a kind ally, he restored the cities to **peace** and his kingdom to its former condition; and now, coming to the area on this side of the Taurus (mountains) he has with all zealous concern at once established peace for the cities and brought his affairs and his kingdom to a greater and more brilliant condition, mostly thanks to his own virtue, but also thanks to the goodwill of his friends and his forces; so, in order that the *demos*, since even previously at the time when he took over the kingship – it regularly made vows and sacrifices to all the gods on his behalf – may show the king clearly that it is now well-disposed and has the same policy, be it resolved by the *boule* and the *demos*:

For the priestess and the *hieronomoi* and the *prytaneis* to pray to Athena Ilias, along with the ambassadors, that his presence has been (for the good) of the King and of his sister the Queen and of his friends and forces, and that all other good things accrue to the King and the Queen, and that their affairs and kingdom remain (steadfast), progressing just as they themselves intend; and for all the other priests and priestesses to pray, with the **priest of King Antiochus**, to Apollo the founder of his line and to Victory and to Zeus and to all the other gods and goddesses. With the prayers to Athena let the *hieronomoi* and the *prytaneis*, with the priestess and the ambassadors, perform the customary and ancestral sacrifice; (with the prayers) to Apollo and the other gods let the *strategoï*, with the other priests and priestesses, (perform the sacrifice). When they make the sacrifices, let all the citizens and *paroikoi* wear garlands, and let them, meeting [in their houses] perform sacrifices to the gods on behalf of the King and the *demos*.

And, [in order that] the role of the *demos* in promoting these things pertaining to honour and glory [may be clear to all], (be it resolved) to praise him for the virtue and courage he always has, [and to set up] a golden image

[of him] on horseback in the sanctuary of Athena in the most conspicuous [place] by the altar of white stone, and to inscribe upon it: 'The *demos* (of the Ilians (dedicates this statue of) King] Antiochus (son) of King Seleucus, on account of his piety towards the sanctuary, he who has become [benefactor and] saviour of the *demos*.' And for the *agonothetes* and the *s[ynhedroi]* to make a proclamation [at the Panathenaia at the] athletic contest, [when the] city and the other cities crown [Athena] Ilias with the [crown of valour], making the announcement [—]; and to choose as ambassadors from among all [the Ilians three men, who], saluting him on behalf of the [*demos* and rejoicing at the fact that] he and [his sister the Queen and their children] and his friends and the [forces] are (all) in good health, [shall report to him the honour decreed], and, relating [the goodwill of the *demos*, which it has always] continued [to hold towards both] his father King S[eleucus and the whole royal house], shall call upon [him —

Notes:

Some scholars would associate this inscription with Antiochus III and his time, not least on the basis of some of the letter-forms; we adhere to the earlier dating and association with Antiochus I, without wishing to exclude the possibility that the inscription we have is a later recutting of an earlier text, done perhaps on the occasion of Antiochus III's successes in Asia Minor early in the second century; see, on this and other points, J. Ma, *Antiochos III and the Cities of Western Asia Minor* (Oxford, 1999), 255–9, and *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 124 (1999), 81–8.

Seleukis: The area of northern Syria, including the cities Antioch-by-Daphne, Seleukeia, Apamea, and Laodikeia.

peace: A reference to the peace concluded between Antiochus and Antigonus Gonatas in 279 or 278; or possibly to that concluded after the defeat of the Gauls, in 275/4; or perhaps indeed, to both.

priest of King Antiochus: This indicates that there already existed a cult of Antiochus at Ilion.

17 Kos Gives Thanks for the Defeat of the Gauls

Syll.³ 398

278

At the time of his death in battle against Seleucus at Koroupedion in 281 Lysimachus had for four decades been (amongst other things, to be sure) filling the role played in the fourth century and before by the kings of Macedon and, later, in the third and second (from c.277/6 to 167) by the Antigonids in Macedon, namely, withstanding the almost constant pressure of the various tribes to the north. Whether anyone could have withstood the

Gallic forces in the winter of 280/79 is unknown; Seleucus was murdered later in the year of Koroupedion on his way to Greece, and his murderer, Ptolemy Keraunos, ended his brief reign of Macedon fighting against the invaders. The Gauls reached Delphi but soon began to fall prey to the guerilla war conducted from the mountains by the peoples of central Greece, above all the Aetolians, and to the weather. At Delphi itself the Greeks were aided by a severe storm of hail or snow (the 'white maidens' of the oracle in Diod. 22.9.5; cf. Justin 24.8 and the 'epiphany' in the present text). The northward retreat of the Gauls was, for them, disastrous. This decree of the Koans is the earliest surviving reference to the events of 280–278 and must have been passed as soon as it became clear that the Gauls were indeed leaving Greece. On the Delphic sequel to this great moment, see above all G. Nachtergaeel, *Les Galates en Grèce et les Sôtéria de Delphes* (Brussels, 1987), pp. 401ff., no. 1 for this text and cf. *SEG* 45.468.

Diokles (son) of Philinos spoke. Whereas, the barbarians having made a campaign against the Greeks and against the sanctuary in Delphi, it is announced that those who came against the sanctuary have met with vengeance at the hands of the god and at the hands of the men who went to the aid of the sanctuary at the time of the barbarians' attack, and that the sanctuary has been preserved and, moreover, adorned with the arms of the attackers, and that most of the rest of the attackers perished in their battles with the Greeks; – in order that the *demos* may be manifest in sharing with the Greeks pleasure at the victory that has occurred and in rendering thank-offerings to the god on account of the epiphany that took place amidst the dangers surrounding the sanctuary and the safety of the Greeks; – with good fortune, be it resolved by the *demos*: that the *architheoros* and the *theoioi* who have been chosen, when they arrive in Delphi, are to sacrifice a gilt-horned ox to Pythian Apollo on behalf of the safety of the Greeks, and to pray that good things befall the *demos* of the Koans and that they conduct their political affairs with concord in democracy, and that it go well for all time with those of the Greeks who went to the aid of the sanctuary, and that the *prostatai* also are to make a sacrifice to Pythian Apollo and to Zeus the Saviour and to Victory; let them sacrifice to each of the gods an unblemished victim; the day on which they make the sacrifice is to be held sacred and garlands are to be worn by the citizens and the *paroikoi* and all the others resident in Kos; let the sacred herald proclaim that the *demos* holds the day sacred in honour of the safety and victory of the Greeks, and that it will be well and propitious for those wearing garlands; let them make the sacrifice in the month Panamos; let the treasurer provide for the sacrifice in Delphi four hundred drachmas, for that in Kos one hundred and sixty drachmas; let the *prostatai* see to it that the money is dispatched to the *theoioi* and that the sacrifices in Kos take place; let the *poletai* let a contract for the inscribing of this decree on a stone stele and for setting it up in the sanctuary of Asklepios.

C The Period of Stability (276–221)

18 A Gift of Land by Antiochus I

Ilion 33 (RC 10–13)

c.274

This dossier, inscribed all together at Ilion, relates to a substantial gift of royal land to one Aristodikides of Assos by Antiochus I (on the dating and the ascription to this Antiochus, which is not certain, cf. *RC*, p. 64). Of Aristodikides nothing further is known, but the fact that he is designated ‘friend’ of the king is significant. It shows that ‘he belonged . . . to the half-military, half-political nobility of merit which grew up rapidly under the Hellenistic dynasties, and if we may draw any conclusions from the extensive land grants made to him, his place in it must have been high’ (*RC*, p. 64). The dossier is introduced by a covering letter to Ilion from Meleager (13), Antiochus’ deputy in Asia Minor (cf. document 79), and there follow three letters of Antiochus to Meleager (10–12): the first announces the initial gift to Aristodikides, the second increases it (this after an intervention by Aristodikides), and the third amends it in the light of problems encountered along the way.

RC 13

Meleager to the boule and the *demos* of the Ilians, greeting. Aristodikides of Assos has given us letters from King Antiochus, the copies of which we have written for you below. He has also himself come to us, saying that although many others address themselves to him and confer on him crowns – a fact which we ourselves know because certain embassies have come to us from the cities – he wishes, both because of the sanctuary and because of the goodwill he entertains towards you, to join to your city the **land given him by King Antiochus**. What he thinks should be granted him by the city, then, he himself will make clear. You would do well to vote all his privileges and to inscribe the terms of the grant which he will make on a stele and to place it in the sanctuary, so that the grant may remain securely yours for all time. Farewell.

RC 10

King Antiochus to Meleager, greeting. We have given to Aristodikides of Assos two thousand *plethra* of cultivable land to join to the city of the Ilians or the

Skepsians. Do you therefore give orders to convey to Aristodikides from the land adjacent to that of Gergis or Skepsis, wherever you think best, the two thousand *plethra* of land, and to add them to the boundaries of the (land) of the Ilians or the Skepsians. Farewell.

RC 11

King Antiochus to Meleager, greeting. Aristodikides of Assos has come to us, asking us to give him in the Hellespontine satrapy Petra, which formerly Meleager held, and of the land of Petra fifteen hundred *plethra* suitable for cultivation, and two thousand other *plethra* of cultivable land from that adjacent to the lot previously given to him. And we have given him both Petra, unless it has been given previously to someone else, and two thousand *plethra* of cultivable land besides, because he as our friend has furnished us his services with all goodwill and enthusiasm. Do you therefore having made an investigation, if this Petra has not already been given to **someone else**, convey it with its land to Aristodikides, and from the crown land adjacent to the land formerly given to Aristodikides give orders for the surveying and conveyance to him of two thousand *plethra*, and that he be permitted to join (his holding) to any of the cities he wishes in our country and alliance. If the crown peasants of the region in which Petra lies wish to live in Petra for protection, we have ordered Aristodikides to allow them to live (there). Farewell.

RC 12

King Antiochus to Meleager, greeting. Aristodikides has come to us, saying that, because it had been assigned to Athenaios the commander of the naval base, he has not even yet received the place Petra and the land belonging to it, which we previously wrote giving it to him, and he has asked that there be conveyed to him instead of the land of Petra the same number of *plethra* elsewhere, and that there be granted to him two thousand *plethra* besides, which he may join to any of the cities in our alliance he wishes, just as we wrote before. Seeing therefore that he is well-disposed and enthusiastic in our interest we are anxious to favour the man highly, and we have given our consent in this matter also. He says that his grant of the land of Petra was fifteen hundred *plethra*. Do you therefore give orders to survey and to convey to Aristodikides of cultivable land both the **twenty-five hundred *plethra*** and, instead of the land belonging to Petra, fifteen hundred other *plethra* suitable for cultivation from the crown land adjacent to that originally given him by us. (Give orders) also to permit Aristodikides to join the land to any of the cities in our alliance he wishes, just as we wrote in our earlier letter. Farewell.

Notes:

land given him by King Antiochus: This issue, treated in all three letters of Antiochus, arises because there were only two categories of land (excluding perhaps some temple land), crown land and city land. Land that passed from the king must needs become part of the territory of some city or another. As an element of the original gift (10) Antiochus gave Aristodikides the choice between Skepsis and Ilion. This was then (11, 12) extended to any allied city, but Aristodikides chose to have his new land attached to the territory of Ilion.

someone else: It seems extraordinary that Antiochus should not know this. Evidently only inspection on the spot could answer the question.

twenty-five hundred plethra: Either a mistake (the figure earlier in the text was 2,000) or an act of generosity, perhaps as compensation for Petra. If the figure is correct, the land given to Aristodikides in all these presentations amounted to 6,000 *plethra* (the 2,000 of 10, the 2,000 of 11, which seem to recur in 12, first as 2,000 and then as 2,500, and the 1,500 of 12) or, perhaps, 8,000 (if the 2,000 of 11 are not the same as the 2,000/2,500 of 12).

19 Chremonides' Decree

Staatsverträge 476 (*Syll.*³ 434/5)

265/4

Although it is not a war vote, this decree effectively marks the beginning of the war named after its proposer. The target was Antigonos Gonatas of Macedon, here cast in the role of enemy of the cities of Greece, who had been extending his influence and control in Greece since securing the throne of Macedon in 277/6. The instigator of this bellicose co-operation between Athens and Sparta was clearly Ptolemy II of Egypt, whose influence in Greece had been waning directly as Antigonos' increased. The attempt proved disastrous for the Spartans, who were defeated in a battle near Corinth that cost them their king, Areus, for the Athenians, who capitulated to Antigonos in 261/0 after a siege that Ptolemy's admiral Patroklos had failed to break, and for Ptolemy himself, who eventually lost his naval domination of the Aegean after a defeat at the hands of the Macedonian navy.

Gods. In the archonship of Peithedemos, in the second prytany, that of (the tribe) Erechtheis, on the ninth (day) of Metageitnion, the ninth (day) of the prytany, (in) a statutory assembly. Of the *prohedroi* Sostratos, (son) of Kallistratos, of (the deme) Erchia, and his fellow *prohedroi* put the motion to the vote. Resolved by the *demos*: Chremonides, (son) of Eteokles, of (the deme) Aithalidai, spoke: Whereas in former times the Athenians and the

Lacedaemonians and the allies of each, after making friendship and common alliance with one another, together fought many noble struggles alongside one another against those who were trying to enslave the cities, from which deeds they both won for themselves fair reputation and brought about freedom for the rest of the Greeks, and (whereas) now, when similar circumstances have overtaken all Greece on account of those who are trying to overthrow the laws and the ancestral institutions of each (of the cities), King Ptolemy, in accordance with the policy of his ancestors and **his sister**, shows clearly his concern for the common freedom of the Greeks, and the *demos* of the Athenians, having made an alliance with him, has voted to urge the rest of the Greeks towards the same policy; and, likewise, the Lacedaemonians, being friends and allies of King Ptolemy, have voted an alliance with the *demos* of the Athenians, along with the Eleians and Achaeans and Tegeans and Mantineians and Orchomenians and Phialians and Kaphyans and as many of the Cretans as are in the alliance of the Lacedaemonians and **Areus** and the other allies, and have sent ambassadors from the *synhedroi* to the *demos* (of the Athenians), and their ambassadors having arrived, make clear the zealous concern which the Lacedaemonians and Areus and the rest of the allies have towards the *demos* of the Athenians, and bring with them the agreement about the alliance; (and) in order that, a state of common concord having come to exist among the Greeks, the Greeks may be, along with King Ptolemy and with each other, eager contenders against those who have wronged the cities and violated their treaties with them, and may for the future with mutual goodwill save the cities; with good fortune, be it resolved by the *demos*:

That the friendship and alliance of the Athenians with the Lacedaemonians and the Kings of the Lacedaemonians, and the Eleians and Achaeans and Tegeans and Mantineians and Orchomenians and Phialians and Kaphyans and as many of the Cretans as are in the alliance of the Lacedaemonians and Areus and the rest of the allies, be valid for all [time, the one which] the ambassadors bring with them; and that [the] secretary of the prytany have (it) inscribed on a bronze stele and [set up] on the Acropolis, by the temple of Athena Polias; and that [the] magistrates [swear] to the ambassadors who have come [from them (the *synhedroi*) the oath] about the alliance, according to [ancestral custom]; and to send [the] ambassadors [who have been] elected by the *demos* to receive the oaths [from] the [rest of the Greeks]; and further, that [the *demos* immediately] elect [two] *synhedroi* [from among] all [the Athenians] who shall deliberate [about the common] good with Areus and the *synhedroi* [sent by the allies]; and that [those in charge] of public administration distribute to those chosen (as *synhedroi*) provisions for as long as they shall be away [whatever] the *demos* shall decide [when electing them];

And to praise [the ephors] of the Lacedaemonians and Areus and the allies, [and to crown them] with a gold crown in accordance with the law; [and further, to praise the] ambassadors who have come from them, Theom [. . .

of Lacedaemon and Argeios (son) of Kleinias of Elis, [and to crown] each of them with a gold crown, in accordance with [the law, on account of their zealous concern] and the goodwill which they bear towards [the rest of the allies] and the *demos* of the Athenians; and that [each of them] be entitled to receive [other] benefits from the *boule* [and the *demos*, if they seem] to deserve [any]; and to invite them [also to receive hospitality] tomorrow [in the *prytaneion*], and that the secretary of the prytany have inscribed [this decree also and the agreement] upon a [stone] stele and have it set up on the Acropolis, and that those in charge of [public administration] allocate [the expense for the inscription and erection] of the stele, [whatever it] may be. The following were elected *synhedroi*: Kallippos of (the deme) Eleusis, [and —].

The treaty and alliance [of the Lacedaemonians and the allies] of the Lacedaemonians with [the Athenians and the allies] of the Athenians, [to be valid] for all [time]: [Each (of the parties)], being [free] and autonomous, [is to have its own territory, using its own political institutions in accordance with] ancestral tradition. If anyone [comes with war as their object against the land] of the Athenians or [is overthrowing] the laws, [or comes with war as their object against] the allies of the Athenians, [the Lacedaemonians and the allies] of the Lacedaemonians [shall come to the rescue in full strength to the best of their ability. If] anyone comes with war as their object [against the land of the Lacedaemonians], or is overthrowing [the] laws, [or comes with war as their object against the allies] of the Lacedaemonians, [the Athenians and the allies of the Athenians shall come to the rescue in full strength to the best of their ability. —]

The (following) Athenians swear the oath to the Lacedaemonians [and to those from each] city: the *strategoi* and the [*boule* of 600 and the] archons and the phylarchs and the taxiarchs [and the hipparchs]. ‘I swear by Zeus, Ge, Helios, Ares, Athena Areia, [Poseidon, Demeter] that I shall remain in the alliance that has been made; [to those abiding by this oath] may many good things befall, to those not, the opposite.’ [Of the Lacedaemonians] (the following) swear the same oath to the Athenians: the [kings and the ephors (and)] the *gerontes*. And the magistrates [are to swear the same oath also in the other] cities. If [it seems preferable to the Lacedaemonians and] the allies and the Athenians (to add something) or to remove something in respect of (the terms of) the alliance, [then whatever is decided upon by both] will be in accord with the oath. [The cities are] to have [the agreement] inscribed [upon] stelai and have (them) set up in a sanctuary wherever they wish.

Notes:

his sister: Arsinoe (Philadelphos), daughter of Ptolemy I and sister of Ptolemy II, was also the second wife of the latter, the first having been Arsinoe, daughter of Lysimachus.

Areus: son of Acrotatus, king of Sparta from 309 to 265/4. He died in battle against Antigonos at the Isthmus in the first year of the war.

synhedroi: members of the council of the states in the Spartan alliance.

20 Antiochus I and the Ionian League

Erythrai 504 (OGIS 222)

268–262

This inscription (from Klazomenai) contains resolutions of the Ionian League about the cult of Antiochus I. His birthday is to be celebrated, as was Alexander's, and a sacred precinct is to be established as the seat of his and his son's worship by the League. Besides the obvious fact that the Ionian cities are seeking to please Antiochus in this increasingly standard way, one may note that they count upon him to support established democracies. In this respect the Seleucids were the heirs of the policy of Antigonos towards the Greek cities.

— (on) the fourth [of the month . . .] in order that we may celebrate the [day on which King Antiochus] was born with [all] reverence [and] gratitude: (be it resolved also) to give to [each] of those who [take part in the festivities] as much as is given for the [procession and sacrifice (in honour) of] Alexander. And in order that [King Antiochus and] Queen **Stratonike** may know [what has been decreed by the *koinon* of the] Ionians in respect of the honours, (be it resolved) [to choose immediately **from amongst** . . .] two (men) from each city who have [before this time] served as ambassadors to King [Antiochus, and for these] to deliver [to the king] this decree [from the *koinon*] of the Ionian cities [. . . and for them to accomplish whatever good] they may be able to for the *koinon* [of the cities]. And let the ambassadors [call upon] King [Antiochus] to take [every] care for the [Ionian] cities [in order that (the cities) being free and [being] democracies, may [with concord] continue to conduct their own internal political affairs according to (their) ancestral [laws]. And [let] the ambassadors [make clear] to him that [by doing this] he will be responsible for [many] good things for the cities [and at the same time he will be following the] **policy of his ancestors**.

[And let the ambassadors] call upon King Antiochus to indicate [the place which may to him] seem to be [the finest], in which the sacred precinct [of the kings shall be consecrated] and the festival [shall be] celebrated. (And be it further resolved), [when] the embassies [have returned], for the city [in which they perform (?) the] **sacrifice of the Alexandreia** [to summon all the *demoi*] who share in the [sacrifice, in order that, according to the decision] of the *synhedrion*, they may deliberate [about . . . and the sacrifices] and

about the rest of the matters, how [they will come to pass and at what] times they should be carried out.

[And, when the] decree [has been ratified,] for the *synhedroi* (there) present from the cities to perform a sacrifice to all the gods and goddesses and to Kings Antiochus <and Antiochus> and Queen Stratonike, and to sacrifice victims free from blemish, and for the *synhedroi* and everyone else in the city to wear garlands; and for the priests and priestesses to open the temples and burn incense, praying that the resolutions may be of benefit to Kings Antiochus and Antiochus and to Queen Stratonike and to [all] those sharing in the honours. And (be it further resolved) to have this decree inscribed on a stele, and (with it) the names and patronymics of the *synhedroi* who have come from the cities, and placed in the sacred precinct by the altar of the kings; and that the *demoi* in the individual cities have this decree inscribed, and (with it) the names and patronymics of the *synhedroi*, [and set up in whatever place] may seem most conspicuous.

Notes:

Stratonike: the daughter of Demetrius Poliorcetes. She had been married to Seleucus I before he gave her in marriage to his son Antiochus.

from among . . . : Perhaps, 'from among the *synhedroi*'.

policy of his ancestors: This conventional reference need refer to no more than Antiochus' father, but it might be taken to include Antigonus as well.

sacrifice of the Alexandria: The chief rite in the League cult of Alexander.

<and Antiochus>: The name of Antiochus (son of Antiochus I, co-regent with his father and soon to become Antiochus II) was mistakenly omitted here.

21 Ptolemy II and Miletos

Milet I 3 139 (incl. *RC 14*)

c.262

This inscription from Miletos contains three elements: (A) a letter from Ptolemy II to the city thanking it for its support; (B) a decree of Miletos instructing the council to have Ptolemy's communication and envoy brought before a meeting of the assembly; (C) a proposal of one Peithenous (who was *stephanephoros* at Miletos in 261/0) adopted at that meeting of the assembly. The troubles which Miletos endured in support of Ptolemy are probably the same as are reflected in the list of Milesian *stephanephoroi* (*Milet I 3 123*). From 266/5 to 263/2 this eponymous magistracy was held by Apollo himself: the situation was such that no one else could be found to take on the position. This is the period of the Chremonidean War, to which the military activity referred to in Peithenous' decree (including an attack by

sea – presumably by the Macedonian navy) would thus belong. These events at Miletos may accordingly be seen as having taken place not long before the decisive defeat inflicted upon Ptolemy's fleet by Antigonos Gonatas in the battle of Kos (261? See *SEG* 43.1272).

A

King Ptolemy to the *boule* and the *demos* of the Milesians, greeting. I have in former times shown all zeal on behalf of your city, both **giving land** and exercising care in all other matters, as was proper because I saw that our father was kindly disposed towards the city and was responsible for many benefits for you and relieved you of harsh and oppressive taxes and tolls which certain of the **kings had imposed**. Now also, as you have guarded fittingly your city and your friendship and alliance with us – for **my son** and **Kallikrates** and the other friends who are with you have written me what a demonstration you have made of your goodwill towards us – we consequently praise you highly and shall try to requite your people through benefactions, and we call upon you for the future to maintain the same policy towards us so that, this being the case, we may exercise even more care for your city. We have ordered Hegestratos to address you at greater length on these subjects and to give you our greeting. Farewell.

B

Resolved by the *boule* and *demos*; proposal of the *epistatai*; Epameinon, (son) of Hestiaios, spoke: that the secretary of the *boule* is to bring before the assembly on the fourth day from the end of this month the letter which Hegestratos brought from King Ptolemy and to have it read to the *demos*, and also the *epistatai* are to bring Hegestratos before the assembly, and that the *demos*, having heard (Hegestratos and the letters) is to take counsel for what seems to be best.

C

Resolved by the *demos*; proposal of the *epistatai*; Peithenous (son) of Tharsagoras spoke: (concerning) the other matters (let it be) as the *boule* has decreed; (and) whereas, when the *demos* had even previously chosen friendship and alliance with the **god and saviour** Ptolemy, it happened that the city became prosperous and renowned and that the *demos* was judged worthy of many great goods, for which reasons the *demos* honoured him with the greatest and most noble honours, and (whereas) his son, King Ptolemy,

having succeeded to the throne, and having renewed the friendship and alliance with the city, has shown all zeal in promoting the interests of all the Milesians, giving land and arranging the peace for the *demos* and being responsible for other good things as well for the city, and now, when many great wars overtook us by land and sea and the enemy attacked our city by sea, the king, having learned that the city had stood honourably by its friendship and alliance with him, dispatched letters and the ambassador Hegestratos and praises the *demos* for its policy and promises to take all care for the city and to requite it even more with benefactions, and calls upon the *demos* to maintain its friendship towards him for the future as well, and (whereas) the ambassador Hegestratos made similar declarations about the goodwill which the king holds towards the city; be it resolved by the *demos*:

To praise King Ptolemy, because in all circumstances he has the same policy about what is of benefit to the city; and, in order that for the future as well the *demos* may make manifest its zeal in the interest of his [son] and himself, to call upon the citizens to take the oath to maintain for all time the friendship and alliance which exist between the city and King Ptolemy and his descendants; and for the ephebes, when, after [finishing their training] and completing the prescribed requirements, they leave the gymnasium, to swear to abide by the ratified decisions of the *demos* and to maintain the friendship and alliance with King Ptolemy and his descendants; and, in order that both the policy of the king towards the city and the goodwill of the *demos* towards the king may be remembered for all time, to have this decree and the letter (of the king) inscribed on a stone stele and to have it set up in the sanctuary of Apollo beside the statue of Ptolemy the god and saviour; and for the *teichopoioi* to let a contract for the preparation of the stele and the inscription of the decree and the letter, and for those chosen to be in charge of the defence of the city to provide the expense from the wall-maintenance fund; and for the ambassadors previously chosen by the *demos* to deliver the decree to the king. Resolved by the *demos* to have the decree inscribed on a whitened tablet.

Notes:

giving land: See *Milet* I 3.122–126, under the year 279/8.

kings had imposed: Cf. document 14.

my son: This individual is probably to be identified with the ‘son Ptolemy’ who appears in papyri as co-ruler with Ptolemy II between 267 and 259, and with the son of Ptolemy who revolted from his father at Ephesos in 259 (?) (Athenaeus 593; Trogus, *Prologues* 26).

Kallikrates: son of Boiskos, of Samos; he was active in the Aegean in Ptolemy’s service in the 270s and 260s.

god and saviour: Ptolemy I Soter.

22 Letter of Antiochus II to Erythrai

Erythrai 31 (RC 15; OGIS 223)

after 261 (?)

It is not altogether certain whether the author of this letter is Antiochus I or II. On balance, the flattering tone of the letter (and the similar character of the gestures made by Erythrai) accord better with the beginning of a reign. It is, moreover, less likely to have been Antiochus I, always at war, who remitted the Gallic war tax than his son, who will have been particularly anxious at the outset of his reign to secure the loyalty of important Greek cities (RC, p. 81; see, however, Habicht, *Gottmenschentum*² 96–9, where the letter is assigned to Antiochus I and seen in connection with document 20). (The aim of the Gallic fund itself may have been either to meet actual war costs or to pay the Gauls to leave Antiochus and those places subject to him in peace.) After the king's letter was inscribed a decree of the Erythraians; of this little survives, as of the Erythraian decree (*Erythrai* 30) referred to by Antiochus at the beginning.

King Antiochus to the *boule* and the *demos* of the Erythraians, greeting. Tharsynon and Pythes and Bottas, your envoys, delivered to us the decree by which you voted the honours and the crown with which you crowned us, and gave us likewise the gold intended as a gift of friendship. Having discoursed on the goodwill which you have always held towards our house and on the gratitude which the people entertain towards all their benefactors, and likewise on the esteem in which the city has been held under the former kings, they asked with all earnestness and zeal that we should be friendly to you and should aid in advancing the city's interests in all that pertains to glory and honour. We have then accepted in a friendly spirit the honours and the crown and likewise the gift, and we praise you for being grateful in all things – for you seem generally to pursue this policy. We have therefore from the beginning continued to entertain goodwill towards you, seeing that you act sincerely and honestly in all matters, and we are now even more attracted to you, recognizing your nobility from many other things and to no small extent from the decree which has been delivered to us and from what was said by the embassy. And since Tharsynon and Pythes and Bottas have shown that under Alexander and Antigonus your city was autonomous and free from tribute, while our ancestors were always zealous on its behalf; since we see that their judgement was just, and since we ourselves wish not to lag behind in conferring benefits, we shall help you to maintain your autonomy and we grant you exemption not only from other tribute but even from [the] contributions [to] the Gallic fund. You shall have also [. . . and] any other benefit

which we may think of or [you ask for]. We call upon you also, remembering that [we have always] tried earnestly — goodwill as is just and — consistent with your previous actions — that you will remember suitably [those by whom] you have been benefited. [More about these matters and] and the other questions which we discussed your envoys [will report to you], whom [we praise] both for their [other conduct and] especially for the concern they have shown [for the interests of the *demos*]. Farewell.

23 Eumenes I and his Mercenaries

Staatsverträge 481 (OGIS 266)

263–241

At some point in his reign (perhaps more likely near the beginning than the end) Eumenes was faced with a mercenaries' revolt that evidently lasted for four months. The following inscription, found at Pergamon, contains the concessions made by Eumenes to bring an end to the trouble and the oaths sworn by Eumenes and the soldiers.

Requests which Eumenes (son) of Philetairos granted to [the] soldiers [in] Philetaireia and to those in Attaleia. To pay as the cash value of the grain (allowance) four drachmas the *medimnos*, and of the wine (allowance) four drachmas the *metretes*. Concerning the year: that it be reckoned as having **ten months**, and he will not observe an intercalary (month). Concerning those who have performed the full number (of campaigns) and who are not in service: that they receive the pay for the time they have served. Concerning the affairs of orphans: that the next of kin take them over, or the one to whom (he) has left (them). Concerning taxes: that the freedom from taxes in the **44th year** shall obtain. If anyone goes out of the service or asks to be dismissed, let him be released, removing his own belongings free of impost. Concerning the pay which was agreed for the four months: that the agreed amount be given, and let it not be reckoned as part of the (regular) pay. Concerning the '**poplar-corps**': that they receive the grain for the period for which (they were granted) also the garland.

He shall inscribe the oath and the agreement on four stone stelae, and shall set them up, one in Pergamon in the sanctuary of Athena, one in Gryneion, one in Delos, one in Mitylene in the (sanctuary) of Asklepios.

The oath sworn by Paramonos and the commanders and the soldiers under them in Philetairea-under-Ida and Polylaos and the commanders and soldiers under him in Attaleia and Attinas (the) hipparch and the cavalrymen under him and **Holoichos** and the Trallians under him: I swear by Zeus, Ge, Helios, Poseidon, Demeter, Ares, Athena Areia, and the Tauropolos, and all the other

gods and goddesses. I settle with Eumenes (son) of Philetairos, from the best motives, and I shall bear goodwill towards him and his offspring, and I shall not plot against Eumenes (son) of Philetairos, nor shall I take up arms against him nor shall I desert Eumenes, but I shall fight on his behalf and on behalf of his state as long as I am alive and until I die. And I shall provide other service with goodwill and without hesitation, with all zeal to the best of my ability; and if I perceive anyone plotting against Eumenes (son) of Philetairos, or otherwise acting against him or his state, I shall not allow (him) to the best of my ability, and I shall, immediately or as quickly as I am able, announce the one doing any of these things to Eumenes (son) of Philetairos, or to whoever I consider will most quickly reveal it to him. And I shall preserve, if I take anything over from him, either city or garrison or ships or money or anything else that may be handed over to me, and I shall return (it) correctly and justly to Eumenes (son) of Philetairos or to whomever he may command, provided he does what has been agreed. I shall not accept letters from the enemy, and I shall not receive an ambassador nor myself send (such) to them; and if anyone brings (letters) to me, I shall take them, sealed, and I shall lead the one who brought them as quickly as I am able to Eumenes (son) of Philetairos, or I shall take (them) and lead (him) to whoever I consider will most quickly reveal (the matter) to him. And I shall not deal fraudulently regarding this oath by any means or pretext whatsoever. And I release **Eumenes (son) of Attalus** from the oath, and also those who swore with him, when the matters agreed upon have been carried out. And may it be well for me and mine if I keep my oath and remain in (a state of) goodwill towards Eumenes (son) of Philetairos, but if I should break the oath or transgress any of the agreements, may I and my line be accursed.

Oath of Eumenes: I swear by Zeus, Ge, Helios, Poseidon, Apollo, Demeter, Ares, Athena Areia, and the Tauropolos, and all the other gods and goddesses. I shall maintain goodwill towards Paramonos and the commanders and the others under pay in the command in Philetaireia-under-Ida, (towards) those under the orders of Paramonos, and towards Arkes, and towards the garrisons under him, and towards Philonides and towards those serving without pay who have joined in swearing the oath and towards all that is theirs, and towards Polylaos and the commanders and all other soldiers placed under his command in Attaleia, infantry and cavalry and Trallians, as long as they campaign with us; and I shall not plot, nor shall anyone else on my account, nor shall I betray them or [anything of] what is theirs to any enemy, [neither those in charge (?)] of them nor those chosen by the rank and file, in any way or under any pretext whatsoever, nor shall I carry [arms] against (them), nor —

Notes:

ten months: The reference is to the military year of ten months for which the mercenaries were engaged.

44th year: The Seleucid era was used by Eumenes; year 44 = 269/8; the freedom from taxes was granted originally by Philetairos.

poplar-corps: Soldiers awarded a garland of poplar.

Holoichos: On the name (Holoichos and not <Hom>oloichos) see *Bulletin Epigraphique*, 1969, 372, and 1970, 480.

Eumenes (son) of Attalus: This is probably Eumenes' cousin, son of his father's brother. It has been suggested that he was taken prisoner by the soldiers and a promise exacted from him on oath.

24 Berenike's Journey to Syria

P.Cair.Zen. II 59251

252

Part of the agreement between Ptolemy II and Antiochus II that ended the Second Syrian War (259–253) was the marriage of the latter to Ptolemy's daughter Berenike, thus displacing Antiochus' first queen, Laodike, and preparing the dynastic rivalry in the Seleucid house that erupted into the Third Syrian War on the death of Antiochus. Ptolemy accompanied his daughter as far as Pelusium, the eastern edge of Egypt, and the *dioiketes* Apollonios escorted her, with an undoubtedly large retinue and her enormous dowry, as far as the Syrian border between Ptolemaic and Seleucid possessions. During the return journey, Artemidoros, the private physician of the finance minister, writes as follows to Zenon with various requests. On Apollonios' agent Zenon, who appears in many papyri in this volume, see M. Rostovtzeff, *A Large Estate in Egypt* (Madison, WI, 1922); Cl. Préaux, *Les Grecs en Égypte d'après les archives de Zénon* (Brussels, 1947); Cl. Orrieux, *Les Papyrus de Zénon* (Paris, 1983); W. Clarysse and K. Vandorpe, *Zénon, un homme d'affaires grec à l'ombre des Pyramides* (Leuven, 1995).

Artemidoros to Zenon, greeting. If you are well, it would be excellent. I too am well, and Apollonios is in good health, and other things are satisfactory. As I write to you, we have just arrived in **Sidon** after accompanying the queen as far as the border, and I expect to be with you soon. You will please me by taking care of yourself so that you may be well and by writing to me if you want anything that I can do for you. And please buy me, so that I may get them when I arrive, three *metretai* of the best honey and 600 *artabas* of barley for the animals, paying the price of these things from the sesame and *kroton*; and please take care of the house in Philadelphia so that I may find it roofed when I arrive. Try also as best you can to keep watch on the oxen and the pigs and the geese and the rest of the livestock there, for in this way I shall have a better supply of provisions. And take care that the crops are harvested in some manner, and if any outlay is necessary, do not hesitate to pay what

is necessary. Farewell. Year 33, *intercalary* Peritios 6. (Address) to Zenon. To Philadelphia. (Docket) Year 33, Phamenoth 6. Artemidoros.

Notes:

The translation is in the main that of *Sel.Pap.* 93.

Sidon was the most northern of the major port cities of the Ptolemaic province of Syria and Phoenicia.

25 Correspondence about a Sale of Land by Antiochus II to the Divorced Queen Laodike

RC 18–20 (OGIS 225 +)

254/3

This dossier, from the sanctuary of Apollo at Didyma, containing a letter of Antiochus II and two letters of subordinate Seleucid officials, deals with the sale of a tract of land in Asia Minor to his recently divorced wife Laodike. At the time preparations were being made for the dynastic marriage of Antiochus to Berenike, daughter of Ptolemy II of Egypt (see document 24). The price paid, 30 talents, is minimal for land estimated at 15,000 ha (cf. RC, p. 96), but the effect of the sale was to remove the property from the royal domain and turn it into privately owned land in the territory of a city (cf. 18). A gift would have been potentially revocable by the king. The extensive publicity to be given the transaction seems also to have been aimed at guaranteeing Laodike's ownership of the property. The dossier as inscribed begins with what remains of the covering letter (19) of Metrophanes, who was governor of the Hellespontine satrapy, in which the land was located, or *dioiketes* of the kingdom (H. Bengtson, *Die Strategie in der hellenistischen Zeit* [Munich, 1964–7], II, 103). This was addressed to the hyparch of the district. Then came the royal letter (18) and the required survey report (20) of the hyparch. Lost is the letter of the *oikonomos* referred to in the hyparch's report, which originally stood before the others.

19

[— the copy of the edict written] by him [— and to the other [— to place] the stelae in [the designated cities. Do you] then in accordance with the letter of the [king] place the contract and give orders to have the deed of sale and the survey inscribed on two stone stelae, and of these to set up the one in Ephesos in the sanctuary of Artemis and the other in Didyma in the

sanctuary of Apollo, and to supply from the royal treasury the money required for this. Let it be your care that the stelae be erected as soon as possible, and when it is done write to us also. We have written to Timoxenos the archivist to file the deed of sale and the survey in the royal records at Sardes, as the king has directed. [Year 59,] **Daisios**.

18

King Antiochus to Metrophanes, greeting. We have sold to Laodike (the village) Pannoukome and the manor-house and the land belonging to the village, bounded by the land of Zelia and by that of Kyzikos and by the old road which used to run above Pannoukome, but which has been ploughed up [by the] neighbouring farmers so that they might take the place for themselves – the present Pan[noukome] was formed afterwards – and any hamlets there may be in this land, and the folk who live there with their households and **all their property**, and with the income of [the] fifty-ninth year, at (a price of) thirty talents of silver – so also any of the folk of this village who have moved away into other places – on the terms that she will pay no taxes to the royal treasury and that she will have the right to join the land to any city she wishes; in the same way also any who buy or receive it from her will have the same right and will join it to whatever city they wish unless Laodike has already joined it to a city, in which case they will own the land as part of the territory (of the city) to which it has been joined by Laodike. We have given orders to make payment in the treasury at . . . in three instalments, the first in the month **Audnaios in the sixtieth year**, the second in **Xandikos**, the third in the following three months. Give orders to convey to Arrhidaios, the manager of Laodike's property, the village and the manor-house and the land belonging to it and the folk with their households and all their property, and to have the sale entered in the royal records in Sardes, and inscribed on five stelae; (give orders) to erect the first in Ilion in the sanctuary of Athena, another in the sanctuary at Samothrace, another in Ephesos in the sanctuary of Artemis, the fourth in Didyma in the sanctuary of Apollo, and the fifth in Sardes in the sanctuary of Artemis; and (give orders) to survey the land immediately and to mark it with boundary stones, and [to inscribe] the boundaries of the land also on the stelae [just mentioned. Farewell. Year 59], the fifth of **Dios**.

20

[The copy of] the [survey: —] Pannou[kome and the manor-house and the land belonging to it and the] peasants [who live there, and there has been conveyed] to Arrhidaios the manager of Laodike's property by [. . .] krates the hyparch, the village and the manor-house and the [land] belonging to it,

according to the written order of Nikomachos the *oikonomos* to which were subjoined that from Metrophanes and that from the king which had been written to him, according to which it was necessary to make the survey: from the east, from the land of Zelia by land of Kyzikos, the ancient royal road which runs to Pannoukome above the village and the manor-house—this was pointed out by Menekrates the (son) of Bacchios of Pythokome, it having been ploughed up by the (peasants) living next to the place; from this to the altar of Zeus which lies above the manor-house and which is, like the tomb, on the right of the road; from the tomb the royal road itself which leads through the Eupannese to the river Aisepos. [The] land has been marked with stelae according to the boundaries as pointed out.

Notes:

Daisios: May 253.

all their property: The royal peasants were attached to the land. When the property became privately owned and attached to a city, their position would be that of non-citizen residents of the city.

Audnaios in the sixtieth year: December 253.

Xandikos: March 252.

Dios: October 254.

26 Ptolemy III Euergetes: The Adoulis Inscription

OGIS 54

c.246

This inscription, the text of which survives thanks to the copy made of it at Adoulis on the Arabian Gulf by the sixth-century monk Cosmas Indicopleustes, commemorates the campaign made by Ptolemy III at the opening of his reign. His opponent was Seleucus II, who had himself just come to the throne. The conflict, the Third Syrian War, is known also as the Laodikean war, after Laodike, whom Antiochus II had set aside in order to marry Berenike, daughter of Ptolemy II (cf. documents 24, 25). After the death of Antiochus II, Laodike's son succeeded him as Seleucus II, and she forthwith saw to the murder of Berenike and her infant son at Antioch. Ptolemy, too late to save his sister (cf. document 27), immediately undertook a march into the Asian heartland of the Seleucid realm. This campaign is referred to also by Jerome in his commentary on the Book of Daniel (11.8): 'and he (Ptolemy) came with a great army, and entered into the province of the king of the north, i.e., Seleucus called Callinicus, who was reigning in Syria with his mother Laodice, and dealt masterfully with them and obtained so much as to take Syria and Cilicia and the upper parts across the

Euphrates, and almost all Asia. And when he heard that a rebellion was afoot in Egypt, plundering the kingdom of Seleucus he took 40,000 talents of silver and costly vases, and 2,500 images of the gods, amongst which were those Cambyses had carried away to Persia when Egypt was taken.’ (Cf. also E. Bevan, *The House of Ptolemy* [London, 1927], 192ff.).

Great King Ptolemy (son) of King Ptolemy and Queen Arsinoe the **Brother and Sister Gods**, the children of King Ptolemy and Queen Berenike the **Saviour Gods**, descendant on the paternal side of Herakles (son) of Zeus, on the maternal of **Dionysos (son) of Zeus**, having inherited from his father the kingdom of Egypt and **Libya** and **Syria** and Phoenicia and Cyprus and **Lycia** and Caria and the **Cyclades islands** led a campaign into Asia with infantry and cavalry and fleet and Troglodytic and Ethiopian elephants, which he and his father were the first to hunt from these lands and, bringing them back into Egypt, to fit out for military service. Having become master of all **the land this side of the Euphrates and of Cilicia and Pamphylia** and **Ionia** and the **Hellespont** and Thrace and of all the forces and **Indian elephants** in these lands, and having made subject all the princes in the (various) regions, he crossed the Euphrates river and after subjecting to himself Mesopotamia and Babylonia and Sousiane and Persis and Media and all the

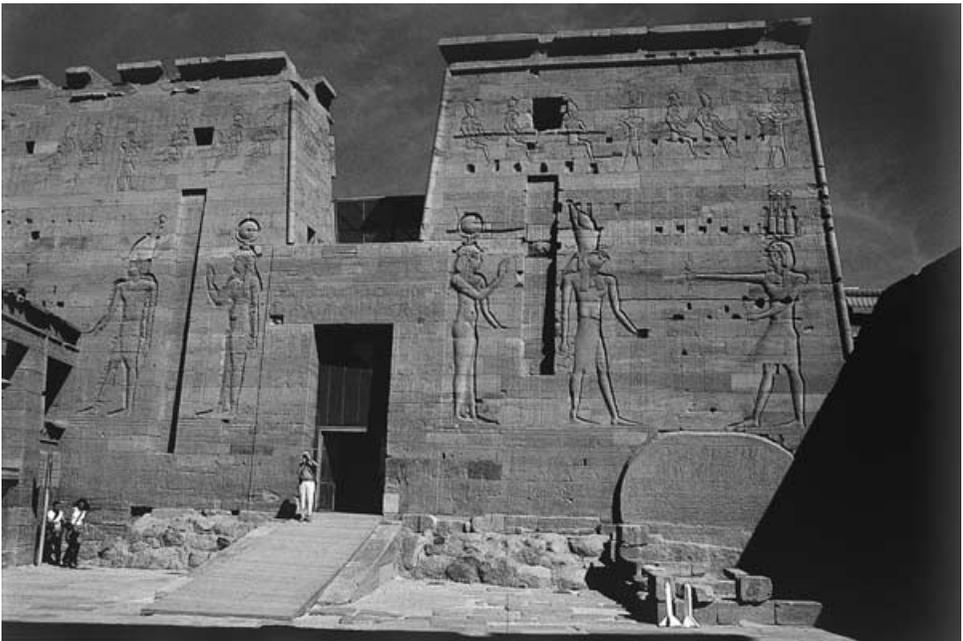


Plate 2 Temple of Isis at Philae, second pylon.

rest of the land up to **Bactriane** and having sought out all the temple belongings that had been carried out of Egypt by the Persians and having **brought them back** with the rest of the treasure from the (various) regions he sent (his) forces to Egypt through the canals that had been dug —

Notes:

Brother and Sister Gods: Ptolemy II Philadelphos and Arsinoe, his wife and (half-)sister.

Saviour Gods: Ptolemy I Soter and Berenike.

Dionysos (son) of Zeus: The line is counted as descended from Herakles, son of Zeus, through Hyllos. The latter was the son of Herakles and Deianeira, the daughter of Dionysos and Althaia.

Libya: This refers primarily to Cyrene.

Syria: i.e., Coele-Syria.

Lycia: The southern shore of Asia Minor, with the exception of Pamphylia and Cilicia, was under Ptolemaic control.

Cyclades islands: Cf. *Syll.*³ 390 on Ptolemaic control of the Aegean islands.

land this side of the Euphrates and Cilicia: See the passage of Jerome quoted above.

Pamphylia: Cf. Polybius 5.34 for Pamphylia under Ptolemaic control early in the reign of Ptolemy IV Philopator.

Ionian: Cf. Polybius 5.35 for Ephesos (and Samos) in the reign of Philopator, also 5.34.

Hellespont: Cf. Polybius 5.34.

Indian elephants: The Seleucids used Indian elephants. On the Ptolemaic elephant corps, cf. document 120.

Bactriane: On the eastern expedition, cf. the passage of Jerome quoted above. According to Justin (27.1), Ptolemy, ‘unless he had been recalled to Egypt by a domestic rebellion, would have taken over the entire kingdom of Seleucus’. See Polyaeus 8.50 for the statement that Ptolemy succeeded by a ruse in gaining power from the Tauros to India without a fight, and Jerome (*loc. cit.*) for the report that Ptolemy handed over the provinces across the Euphrates to Xanthippos to govern.

brought them back: Cf. Jerome (quoted above) and the Canopus decree of 239/8 (document 164). It may be noted that the first two Ptolemies are also credited in Egyptian inscriptions with the same accomplishment.

27 Report on the Third Syrian War

W.Chr. 1

c.246

This much-discussed papyrus contains a report, damaged in many places, of military operations by the Ptolemaic armed forces against those of the Seleucid Queen Laodike in the early part of the Third Syrian War (cf. document 25),

as Ptolemy III, who is himself the writer here, advanced to support the claims of his sister Berenike. Ptolemy reports that Berenike had, while one of Ptolemy's officers was conquering some Seleucid city, given orders for some 1,500 talents of silver in Soloi to be captured and brought to Seleukia, which they succeeded in doing, with the help of the people of Soloi. The Seleucid strategos, trying to escape across the Tauros to Ephesos, was beheaded by the natives. Ptolemy then arrived in Seleukia to a tumultuous welcome, but left soon for Antioch, where a similar greeting met him, and where he found Berenike. This passage has aroused much controversy, because ancient authors assert that Berenike was dead when Ptolemy arrived in Antioch. The present passage is rather enigmatic: Berenike may well have been dead, which would explain why she was not active in this welcoming scene; or perhaps the king was trying to conceal her death from his readers, in order to use her as a living weapon for political propaganda in Asia, which he in fact did. The restorations are in places conjectural and the translation not entirely certain.

— and asking him [to do] nothing in violation of the treaty or hostile, he said that the [benevolence] on our part and [that of our sister (?)] would be evident [to them for the future], and after this, [giving] his right hand [to them and] putting Epigenes in charge of the [citadel and handing] the city [over to him], at daybreak —

At the same time Pythagoras [and Aristokles, with five (?)] ships, when our sister sent orders to them, . . . and sailing along the coast to Cilician Soloi, they took up the money collected there and transported it to Seleukia, it being 1,500 talents [of silver, which] **Aribazos**, the strategos in Cilicia, was planning to send to Ephesos to Laodike, but since the Soleians and the soldiers there agreed with one another and with the strong assistance of Pythagoras and Aristokles . . . , and since they were all brave men, it happened that the money was captured and the city and citadel came into our hands. But after Aribazos had escaped and was approaching the pass of the Tauros, some of the natives in the area cut off his head and brought it to Antioch.

[But] when we . . . affairs on the [ships], at the beginning of the first watch, we embarked onto as many ships as the harbour in Seleukia would hold and sailed along the coast to the fort called **Posideon** and anchored about the eighth hour of the day. From there, early the next morning we weighed anchor and arrived at Seleukia. The priests and the magistrates and the other citizens and the commanders and the soldiers crowned themselves (with garlands) and met us on the [road] to the harbour, and [no extravagance of] goodwill and [friendship toward us was lacking.]

[And when we arrived] in the city, [the private individuals asked us to sacrifice the] victims offered [on the **altars**] they had built [by their houses] and [the sacred heralds] announced the honours in the Emporion. This day [we spent in the city], but on the next . . . [and embarking on the ships] all those who had [sailed with us and the] soldiers (corrected to: satraps) from there and the generals [and the other] commanders, as many as were not sta-

tioned in the city and the [citadel with the] garrison . . . Afterwards, [we arrived] at Antioch. [And there] we saw such a preparation (for our arrival) and so [great a mass of the populace] that we were astonished. For the satraps and other commanders and the soldiers and the priests and the colleges of magistrates and all the young men from the gymnasium and the rest of the crowd, crowned (with garlands), [came to meet] us outside the gate, and they led all the sacrificial victims to the road in front [of the gate], and some welcomed us with their hands while others [greeted us] with applause and applause — (15 lines lost or damaged).

In nothing were we so glad as [in their zeal]. And when we . . . all the offered victims . . . and since the sun was already setting, we went at once to our sister and afterwards dealt with business, giving audience to the commanders and soldiers and other persons in the country and taking counsel about the entire matter. In addition, for some days . . .

Notes:

For discussion see M. Holleaux, *Études d'épigraphie et d'histoire grecques*, III (Paris, 1942), 281–310, with bibliographical additions by L. Robert; subsequent discussions add little. The best text is *W.Chr.* 1, but a number of the somewhat conjectural restorations of Holleaux, especially in column III, have been translated in brackets as representing in all probability the correct sense. Numerous problems exist in the text but cannot be discussed here; some have been decided without explanation, others avoided as too uncertain.

Aribazos: Representing the 'legitimate' Seleucid government and Laodike; the name is Persian.

Posideon: A harbour at the mouth of the Orontes river.

On the phenomenon of private **altars** and offerings in conjunction with civic cults (as in document 16) see the remarks of L. Robert in *Essays in Honor of C. Bradford Welles*, ed. A. E. Samuel (New Haven, 1966), 175–211.

28 Delphi, Smyrna and Seleucus II

Rigsby 7 (OGIS 228)

242 (?)

This and document 29 emanate from the time of the Third Syrian War (246–241) and provide an insight into the situation of Seleucus II in Asia Minor, and especially into the attitude of the city of Smyrna and its actions on his behalf. In gratitude for its strenuous support Seleucus wrote to 'the kings and the dynasts and the cities and the leagues' (document 29), asking them to confirm as sacred and inviolable Smyrna and its sanctuary of Aphrodite Stratonikis. The present inscription (found at Delphi) contains the favourable response accorded the request by the Delphians.

Gods. [Resolved by the] city of the Delphians: Whereas King Seleucus (son) of King [Antioch]us, having sent a letter to the city, requests that the temple of Aphrodite Stratonikis and the city of the Smyrnaeans be sacred and inviolable (and whereas) he himself, having obeyed the **oracle of the god** and having done what he requests of the city, has granted to the Smyrnaeans that their city and land should be free and not subject to tribute, and guarantees to them their existing land and promises to return their ancestral territory; and (whereas) the Smyrnaeans, having sent as ambassadors Hermodoros and Demetrios, ask that the things granted to them be inscribed in the temple, as the king requests, be it resolved by the city of the Delphians, that the temple of Aphrodite Stratonikis and the city of the Smyrnaeans is to be sacred and inviolable, just as the king has sent (to ask) [and] the city of the Smyrnaeans requests. And it has been enjoined upon the *theoroi* announcing the **Pythia** to praise King Seleucus for these things and for his piety and for his having acted in accordance with the oracle of the god, and to sacrifice to Aphrodite. (Resolved also) for the city to have this decree inscribed in the sanctuary of the god, and the letter on the wall of the magistrates' building.

Notes:

oracle of the god: It was in response to an oracle of Apollo that a temple was dedicated to Aphrodite Stratonikis: cf. Tacitus, *Annals* 3.63.

Pythia: During Seleucus' reign the Pythian games were held in 246, 242, 238, 234, 230, and 226 (he may have been dead by this time in 226, however). The ones mentioned here seem best taken as being those of 242 (cf. document 29).

29 Magnesia, Smyrna and Seleucus II

Magnesia am Sipylos 1 (*Staatsverträge* 492; *OGIS* 229) soon after
242 (?)

The opening phases of the Third Syrian War were marked by successes on the part of Ptolemy III (see document 26). When Seleucus II crossed the Tauros mountains in 246 to meet the invader in Seleukis, trouble arose at Magnesia-by-Sipylos, where the soldiers (at least) revolted from Seleucus. This led immediately to war between Magnesia and Smyrna, which remained steadfast in its loyalty to the Seleucid cause and which for a time got much the worst of the fighting. A cessation of hostilities was arranged by the time Seleucus again crossed over into Seleukis (242?), and this was followed by a more permanent (and quite favourable for Smyrna and Seleucus) reconciliation by which Magnesia was effectively absorbed into Smyrna. The inscription contains three separate, but closely related in time

and substance, elements. (A) is a decree of Smyrna dealing with the negotiations between the city and the soldiers at Magnesia. (B) is the text of the agreement negotiated between them, according to which those at Magnesia became citizens of Smyrna. (C) is the decree of Smyrna by which the city absorbed also the fortress at Old Magnesia and the forces there. As remarkable as the vigorous efforts of Smyrna on Seleucus' behalf is the authority he evidently gave the city to act independently in his interest.

A

Resolved by the *demos*, proposal of the *strategoï*. Whereas previously, at the time when King Seleucus crossed over into Seleukis, when many and great perils beset our city and territory, the *demos* maintained its goodwill and friendship towards him, not terrified at the attack of the enemy nor caring about the destruction of its property, but reckoning everything to be secondary to standing by its policy and to supporting his state to the best of its ability, as has been its way from the beginning; wherefore King Seleucus too, being disposed piously towards the gods and lovingly towards his parents, being magnanimous and knowing how to return gratitude to those who benefit him, honoured our city, both on account of the goodwill of the *demos* and the zeal which it evinced for his state and on account of the fact that his father the **god Antiochus** and the mother of his father the **goddess Stratonike** are **established among us** and honoured with substantial honours by the people in common and by each of the citizens individually, and he confirmed for the *demos* its autonomy and democracy, and he wrote to the kings and the dynasts and the cities and the leagues, asking that the temple of Aphrodite Stratonikis be (recognized as) inviolable and our city (as) **sacred and inviolable**.

And now, when the king had crossed over into Seleukis, the *strategoï*, anxious for affairs to remain in a state beneficial to the king, sent to the **katoikoi** in Magnesia and to the cavalry and infantry in open camp and dispatched from amongst themselves Dionysios to call upon them to maintain forever the friendship and the alliance with King Seleucus, promising that, if they preserved his state and had the same enemy and friend, they would have from the *demos* and from King Seleucus all kindness and noble things and that gratitude worthy of their policy would be returned to them. Those in Magnesia, being called upon and being themselves eager to maintain the friendship and the alliance with the king and to preserve his state for him, zealously accepted what was asked by the *strategoï* and promised to hold the same policy towards our *demos* in all matters of benefit to King Seleucus, and they have dispatched to us envoys, from the *katoikoi* Potamon and [Hi]erokles, from those in open camp Damon and Apolloniketes, to speak with us and to convey the agreement by which they ask that the (treaty of) friendship be

concluded with them; and the envoys, brought before the *demos*, have discoursed on all matters, in accordance with what was written in the agreement.

With good fortune, be it resolved to conclude the (treaty) of friendship with those in Magnesia on all terms of benefit to King Seleucus, and to appoint three envoys (to go) with them, who shall convey the agreement that the *demos* may decide, and who shall speak about what is written in it and call upon them to accept and to carry out what is written in the agreement; and if those in Magnesia accept (it), let the envoys who shall have been appointed administer to them the oath written in the agreement; and when those in Magnesia have accepted these things and have sealed the agreement and sworn the oath and the envoys have returned, let all the rest of the things written in the agreement be carried out, and let this decree be inscribed according to the law; and let it be inscribed [on] stelae on which also the agreement shall be inscribed. And let the *epimienioi* of the *boule* invite the envoys who have come from Magnesia to be received as guests in the *prytaneion*. And let Kallinos the treasurer give to the envoys appointed (the) travel-allowance (specified) by [law] for as many days as the *demos* assigns. Five days were assigned; appointed as ambassadors were Phanodemos (son) of Mik[ion], Dionysios (son) of Dionytas, Parmeniskos (son) of Pytheas.

B

In the term of Hegesias as priest, in the term of Pythodoros as *stephanephore*, (in) the month Lenaion; with good fortune: On the following terms the Smyrnaeans (on the one side) and (on the other) the *katoikoi* in Magnesia, both the cavalry and the infantry in the city, and [those] in open camp and the other inhabitants concluded the (treaty of) friendship, and the Smyrnaeans gave citizenship to the *katoikoi* in Magnesia, the cavalry and infantry in the city, and to those in open camp and to the [others who] live in the city, on the condition that those in Magnesia preserve with all zeal for all time for King Seleucus the alliance and goodwill towards the affairs of King Seleucus, and that they return to King Seleucus as much as they have received from King Seleucus, after guarding (it) to the extent of their ability. They shall be citizens with the Smyrnaeans according to the laws of the city, without political discord and reckoning the same as enemy and friend as the Smyrnaeans. Those in Magnesia shall swear to the Smyrnaeans and the Smyrnaeans to those in Magnesia, each of them the oath written below in the agreement.

When the oaths have been carried out, let all the accusations that arose in the course of the war be done away with, and let it not be possible for either side to bring accusations about what happened during the war either through a court case or in any other way at all; otherwise, let every accusation brought be invalid.

Citizenship in Smyrna, on equal terms and the same as for the other citizens, is to be given to the *katoikoi* in Magnesia, the cavalry and infantry in the city, and to those in open camp. Citizenship is likewise to be given to the others [who] live in Magnesia, as many as may be free and Greeks. Let those who are secretaries of the (military) divisions deliver to the *demos* the registers of the cavalry and infantry in Magnesia, both those in the city and those in open camp, and (let) the men appointed by the *katoikoi* in Magnesia (deliver to the *demos*) the list of the other inhabitants. When the secretaries provide the registers and the appointed men the list of the other inhabitants, let the *exetastai* have them swear on oath at the *metroon* over freshly sacrificed victims: [the] secretaries that they have from the best motive brought the list of the *katoikoi* really with them, cavalry and infantry, [both those] drawn up [in the city and those in] open camp; the men who bring the list of the [other inhabitants, that they have from the best motive brought the list of those who] live in Magnesia and who are really free and Greeks. Let [the] *exetastai* hand over the [lists] that have been brought to the record-keeper of the *boule* and the *demos*, and let him deposit (them) in the public archive. Let the *exetastai* assign all the names that have been brought to tribes by lot and enter them in the **allotment-lists**, and let those entered in the allotment-lists share in everything in which the other citizens share. Let the enrolled citizens use the laws of the Smyrnaeans in contract and injury cases involving Smyrnaeans, even in Magnesia. And let them accept also in Magnesia the coin of the city as legal. And let those in Magnesia receive the magistrate whom the *demos* may send to have control of the keys and to be in charge of the protection of the city and to preserve the city for King Seleucus. And let the Smyrnaeans provide for lodging to those of the ones from Magnesia who are building houses as many beds as the *demos* may decide, for six months from the time the agreement is sealed; let the treasurer of the sacred revenues, with the *strategoï*, lease the houses and provide the expense from the revenues of the city. The *katoikoi* of Magnesia, both the cavalry and the infantry in the city, and those in open camp, and the others who are being enrolled in the state are to swear the following oath:

‘I swear by Zeus, Ge, Helios, Ares, Athena Areia and the Tauropolos, and the Sipyrene Mother, and Apollo in Panda, and all the other gods and goddesses, and the fortune of King Seleucus: I shall abide by the agreements which I conclude with the Smyrnaeans for all time; and I shall preserve the alliance and goodwill towards King Seleucus and the city of the Smyrnaeans; and I shall preserve what I have received from King Seleucus to the extent of my ability and shall return (it) to King Seleucus; and I shall transgress nothing of what is in the agreement, nor shall I change for the worse the things written in it, in any way or on any pretext whatsoever; and I shall be a citizen, with concord and without political strife, according to the laws of the Smyrnaeans and the decrees of the *demos*, and I shall join in preserving the autonomy and the democracy, and the other things which have been granted to the Smyrnaeans by King Seleucus, with all zeal and at all times, and I shall not

wrong any one of them, nor shall I allow another (to do so), to the extent of my ability; and if I perceive anyone plotting against the city, or the territories of the city, or seeking to subvert the democracy or the *isonomia*, I shall reveal (this) to the *demos* of the Smyrnaeans and shall go to its aid, contending with all zeal, and shall not desert it, to the extent of my ability. May it be well for me if I abide by this oath, but if I break it may there be ruin for myself and for the family sprung from me.'

The Smyrnaeans are to swear to those from Magnesia the following oath: 'I swear by Zeus, Ge, Helios, Ares, Athena Areia, and the Tauropos, and the Sipyrene Mother, and Aphrodite Stratonikis, and all the other gods and goddesses: I shall abide for all time by the treaty which we have concluded with the *katoikoi* [in] Magnesia, the cavalry and infantry in the city, and those in open camp and the others who are being enrolled in the state, transgressing nothing of what is in the agreement nor changing for the worse the things written in it, by no device and on no pretext whatsoever. And I shall bear goodwill both towards King Seleucus and towards the *katoikoi* in Magnesia, those in the city and those in open camp, and (towards) the others who live [in] Magnesia, as many as are free and Greeks, and I shall make them all citizens, (them) and their descendants, on equal terms and the same as for the other citizens, and assigning them by lot to tribes I shall enter them in the one each may draw by lot, and I shall not wrong any one of them nor shall I allow another (to do so), to the extent of my ability. And if I perceive anyone plotting against them or their descendants or their property, I shall reveal this as quickly as I can, and shall lend support with zeal. And I shall give them the right to share in the magistracies and the other public affairs of the city in which also the other citizens share. May it be well for me if I abide by this oath, but if I do not may there be ruin for myself and the family sprung from me.'

Let the Smyrnaeans and those from Magnesia appoint men, [each of them as many as] each may reckon to be sufficient, to administer the oath to the peoples of those in Smyrna and of those in Magnesia. [Let them administer the oath after announcing] on the previous day that those in the city are to be present for the completion of the oath specified in the agreement. Let those appointed from Magnesia administer [the oath written above] to the Smyrnaeans, and those from Smyrna to those in Magnesia. In Smyrna let [the treasurer Kal]linos provide the victims for the oath-swearing from what the *demos* may decree, in Magnesia the treasurers to whom the people may assign the task. And let the Smyrnaeans have the agreement inscribed on [white stone] stelae and set up in the sanctuary of Aphrodite Stratonikis and in Magnesia-on-the-Maeander in the sanctuary of Artemis [Leukophrye]ne, and (let) the *katoikoi* in Magnesia (have it inscribed and set up) in the agora by the altar of Dionysos and the statues of the kings, and in Panda in [the sanctuary of] Apollo, and in Gryneion in the sanctuary of Apollo. And let the record-keeper of the *boule* and the *demos* have the copies of the agreement entered [in] the public archive. And let those whom the *koinon* of those in Magnesia may appoint seal the (copy of the) agreement which is to be given

to the Smyrnaeans with their own seals and with the existing public seal, and let the *strategoï* and the *exetastai* of the Smyrnaeans seal the one to be given to Magnesia with the seal of the city and with their own. Let these matters be carried out by both peoples with good fortune.

C

Resolved by the *demos*, proposal of the *strategoï*: whereas the *demos*, taking forethought for all the things of benefit to King Seleucus, formerly continued to join in strengthening his kingdom and to preserve his state in so far as it could, and endured the loss and destruction of much of its property and withstood many dangers for the sake of preserving its friendship towards King Seleucus, and now, being eager to join in preserving for him and holding together his state as far as is possible, (the *demos*) has concluded a (treaty of) friendship with the *katoikoi* in Magnesia and the cavalry and infantry soldiers in open camp and the others who live in Magnesia, in order that they might maintain the alliance and goodwill of King Seleucus; reckoning it to be necessary for the city to take over also the place **Old Magnesia** and to make a guard post with it, in order that, with this taken over as well, all the important matters might remain (solid) for King Seleucus, they (the *demos*) sent to those living in the place and called upon them to choose friendship towards King Seleucus and to hand over the keys to the magistrate sent by the *demos* and to accept the guard-force which will join with them in maintaining the place for King Seleucus, promising that, if they do these things, they will have from the city all the kindnesses and noble things; those living in the place chose with all zeal friendship for King Seleucus and accepted the requests made by the *demos* and handed over the keys to the magistrate sent by the *demos* and received into the place the guard-force from the city:

With good fortune, be it resolved that they are to be citizens and to have all the same things the other citizens have, and that they are to have, free from the tithe, their allotments, the two which the **god and saviour Antiochus** granted them and about which **Alexander** has written; and if the territory, which the *katoikoi* who were previously in Magnesia hold, is joined to our city, they are to have the **three allotments** as a gift and are to keep their present freedom from taxes; and as many of them as are without allotments, (resolved) for a **cavalryman's allotment** to be given them from the (lands) located by the place; and Timon and the infantry under Timon, who have been assigned from the phalanx to the guard-force of the place, are to have citizenship and the same freedom from taxes [which] also the others have, and they are to be in the place; and Omanes, and the Persians under Omanes, and those sent from Smyrna to guard the place – Menekles and those under him – are to have citizenship and the other kindnesses which have been decreed also for the others from Magnesia, and the *demos* is to take thought as to how the drink and food allowances, and as many other things as used to be given to them from the royal treasury, may be given to them

from the royal treasury. (Resolved) to have this decree inscribed on the stelae which will be set up in the sanctuaries by the *demos* and [by those] from Magnesia; and for it to be recorded in the public archives as well.

Notes:

God Antiochus: Antiochus I Soter.

Goddess Stratonike: The daughter of Demetrius Poliorcetes, married first to Seleucus I and then to his son, Antiochus (I).

established among us: i.e., have cults at Smyrna.

sacred and inviolable: Cf. document 28.

Katoikoi: The word applies to military settlers. Some of them were resident in Magnesia itself and some were evidently encamped nearby. It may be that a disagreement had arisen between the two groups; just below they are seen each to have sent their own envoys to Smyrna.

allotment-lists: The lists from which jurors, etc. were selected by lot.

Isonomia: Literally, 'equality before the law', an ingredient of democracy, and often a synonym for democracy.

Old Magnesia: A fortress near Magnesia.

God and saviour Antiochus: Antiochus I; the designation is indicative of cultic honours.

Alexander: A minister, or governor, of Antiochus I, perhaps identical with the brother of Seleucus' wife Laodike who supported Antiochus Hierax against Seleucus in the War of the Brothers.

three allotments: The original one plus the two granted by Antiochus I.

cavalryman's allotment: A special favour, as this would be larger than an infantryman's.

30 Decree of the Achaean League

Staatsverträge 499; *Syll.*³ 490

c.234

During the 230s a number of Peloponnesian cities joined the Achaean League upon the abdication of their pro-Macedonian tyrants (cf. Polybius 2.44.4f. for Megalopolis, Argos, Hermione, and Phlius). That the same thing happened at Orchomenos is made most likely by the present inscription (found near Orchomenos), which contains measures taken by the Achaeans to deal with certain difficulties existing at Orchomenos when it joined the league (on which aspects cf. S. L. Ager, *Interstate Arbitrations in the Greek World*, 337–90 BC [Berkeley, CA, 1996], 43). Orchomenos later joined the Aetolian League, fell under the control first of Kleomenes of Sparta in 228 (Pol. 2.46) and then of Antigonos Doson (Pol. 2.54). In 199 it re-entered the Achaean League (Livy 32.5).

[—] transgresses [—] sends [—] if a magistrate [—] or a private citizen casts his vote that [— let him owe as a fine] thirty talents sacred to Zeus [Amarios, and let it be open to anyone who so wishes] to bring a capital [charge] before the *koinon* [of the Achaeans. Let] the Orchomenians and the Achaeans [swear] the same [oath] as follows, in [Aigion the *synhedroi* (? or *damiourgoi*) of the Achaeans and the *strat*]egos and the hipparch and the nauarch, in [Orchomenos the magistrates of the Orchomenians]: ‘I swear by Zeus Amarios, Athena Amaria, Aphrodite, and [all the] gods (that) I shall in all respects **abide by the stele** and the agreement and the decree [passed by the *koinon*] of the Achaeans; and if anyone does not so abide, I shall prevent him to the best of my ability. To me if I keep this oath may good things befall, (to me) if I break it, the opposite.’

It shall not be permitted for anyone of those who obtain a lot or a house in Or[chomenos] after they (the Orchomenians) have become Achaeans to alienate it within a period of twenty years. If there existed from the time before the Orchomenians became Achaeans any charge against **Nearchos** or his sons, let all such charges be null and void; and no one shall [seek a judgement against (?)] Nearchos or his sons nor shall Nearchos or any of his sons (seek a judgement) on any charges existing before the Orchomenians became Achaeans; anyone who seeks such a judgement shall pay a fine of a thousand drachmas, and the judgement shall be invalid.

Concerning [the] golden (statue of) Victory from (the sanctuary of) Zeus Hoplismios, which the Methydrians deposited as security for the money which the Methydrians [who] moved to Orchomenos then divided up among themselves, and which some of them (subsequently) [brought back to Methydria]: if they do not return the money to the Megalopolitans, even as [the] city of the Orchomenians has [granted], those who do not act justly are to be **liable to prosecution**.

Notes:

abide by the stele: The stele commemorating the admission of Orchomenos into the League. Cf. Polybius 2.41.12; also 23.18.1 for reference to another such stele.

Nearchos: In all likelihood Nearchos was tyrant of Orchomenos who abdicated peacefully when Orchomenos joined the League. Cf. Polybius 2.41–4.

liable to prosecution: ‘Methydria was one of those towns which ceased to be independent when Megalopolis was founded and instead came to form part of the territory of Megalopolis. A short time, however, before Orchomenos joined the Achaean League, the Methydrians attempted to regain their former autonomy; when the venture was initially successful, they borrowed money required for the defense of the city, giving the golden statue of Victory as security. A short while later, when the Megalopolitans had regained Methydria, the leaders of the revolt fled to Orchomenos, which was not yet an Achaean city [as was Megalopolis from c.235], and there divided up among themselves the borrowed money. When the Orchomenians

themselves became Achaeans, they were bound to assist the Megalopolitans in regaining their own property.’ (Dittenberger on *Syll.*³ 490).

D The Period of Roman Intervention (221–189)

31 Pharos and Rome

ZPE 88, 1991, 261 (cf. *SEG* 41. 545)

after 219 (?)

The island city of Pharos (modern Stari Grad on the Croatian island of Hvar) and its prince Demetrios played a major role in Rome’s earliest campaigns in the Adriatic, the first two Illyrian wars (229/8 and 219). Whether willingly or not, the city joined Demetrios in his war against Rome (219) and suffered destruction at the hands of the Romans. Not long after that, it seems, the Romans relented and allowed Pharos to re-establish itself. This decree of Pharos arises from that situation and records the decisions of the Roman senate (including the granting, or renewal, of an alliance), the decision of the Pharians to seek help from Paros and elsewhere in re-establishing their city, and the reply of the Parians, which itself includes the beginning of the response of the oracle at Delphi to their inquiry (so *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 88, 1991; for the view that the inscription belongs much later, see A. M. Eckstein, *Classical Philology*, 94, 1999, 395–418). In the treaty between Philip V and Hannibal (215) Pharos appears in a list of places of which the Romans are called ‘masters’ (Pol. 7.9.13).

A

— (line 3) – [Whereas the] senate and *demos* [of the Romans], [being] friends [and well-disposed] to the city of the Pharians [from ancestral times, (and) having given back] to us [our] city [and ancestral] laws, and, of the land that [belongs to the city on] the island, they gave us [—] forty [—] and they confirmed the alliance [and friendship and the other] kindnesses, [be it resolved by the] *demos*: to send envoys [to our founders], (the) Parians, and to the **co-[founders]** of our city (?), the —]ians, to renew the kinship [already existing] between us [and to call upon (them)] to assist in the **re-establishment** [of our city] in so far as each of the [cities might be in a position to do so]; and to have inscribed on a stone stele [a copy (?)] of the decree that was

brought and to have (it) set up [in the *agora*], in order that the memory of those who come to the aid [of the *demos* might remain for all time] even unto future generations. [Chosen as envoys were Athenas (son) of Dionys[ios, — tylos (son) of Polycharm]os, Antipatros (son) of Nikas.

[From the Parians. Resolved by the *boule* and] the *demos*: Telesis (son) of Demo— spoke: concerning] what the archons have put forward [about the envoys] from the Pharians: be it resolved: that the archons [bring them] before the *demos*, and that there be put [to the *demos*] the proposal of the *boule*, (namely) that it is resolved by the *boule* [that the *demos* should consider] this matter. Telesis (son) of Demo[— spoke: to adopt in other respects] the proposal of the *boule*; (and) whereas [(the) Pharians, being colonists] from our city, [have sent to us] a letter and envoys [Athenas (son) of Dionysios, —]tylos (son) of Polycharmos, An[tipatros (son) of Nikas, who] explained about the disasters [that befell the city] and called upon [us to assist] them in the reestablishment of the [city in so far as] we might be in a position to do so, and having come [with their secretary before] the *boule* [and the *demos*, spoke at length] in accordance with what [was set out] in [the letter] with no lack of zeal and [love of honour]; about these matters, be it resolved [by the *demos* —]

B

— three [men]; and that [all] these things [are to be for the] protection and safety [of our city] and the (city) of the Pharians [and — of the city] of the Pharians; and for [the archons] to invite to the sacrifices in the *prytaneion* [the envoys] and their secretary and all the men [who have come with] them; and likewise [to invite the] envoys and their secretary [to] all [the other sacrifices] as long as they are residing with us [whenever] the *demos* [conducts sacrifices (?)]; and to praise them [because they have made] (their) stay in the city [noble and seemly] and worthy of both [the cities]; and for the archons with the secretary [to keep] the letter [from Pharos safe in] the public archive [—]. — nous spoke: (let it be) in other respects [as (resolved by) the *boule*] and the *demos*; and (in addition), to choose [from the] citizens six men [to be *theopropoi* to Delphi —, and for it to be] allowed to anyone who wishes — to be an envoy to Delphi; [and to ask the god]: by making sacrifices to which of the gods or which goddess [the *demos* of the Pharians] will hold their city and [territory] free from harm and [—] will harvest [—].

(The) god declared:

Send Praxiepes (the) Parian [—] to the west —

Notes:

co-[founders]: Traces of letters on the stone are consistent with (but do not impose) the view that the Athenians are here referred to as co-founders of Paros.

re-establishment: This most likely involves physical reconstruction, without excluding the possibility that it refers (also or instead) to political and social rebuilding.

32 Philip V and Larisa

Syll.³ 543

215

This inscription contains two letters of Philip V of Macedon and two decrees of the Thessalian city of Larisa. Philip is here trying to help resuscitate the city after the damage it suffered during the last months of the Social War (220–217). At the same time he has the Romans very much on his mind, as the noteworthy reference to them in the second letter indicates. In the year before the second letter belongs the battle of Cannae and the start of negotiations between Philip and Hannibal. On the politography, see further *SEG* 37.481; 42.1791.

The *tagoi* being Anankippos (son) of Thessalos, Aristonous (son) of Eunomos, Epigenes (son) of Iason, Eudikos (son) of Adamas, Alexias (son) of Klearchos; the gymnasiarch being Aleuas (son) of Damosthenes; Philip the king has sent the following letter to the *tagoi* and the city:

King Philip to the *tagoi* and the city of the Larisaeans greeting. When Petraios and Anankippos and Aristonous returned from **their embassy**, they revealed to me that your city too is in need of more inhabitants on account of **the wars**. Until we shall consider that others too are worthy of your state, for the present it is my decision that you pass a decree in order that citizenship may be given to those of the Thessalians or the other Greeks who dwell among you. For when this has been accomplished and all have remained together on account of the kindnesses, I am convinced both that many other useful things will accrue both to me and to the city and also that the land will be worked to a greater extent. **Year 5, the 21st day of Hyperberetaios.**

The city has voted the following decree: On the 26th day of Panamos, a special assembly having taken place with all the *tagoi* presiding; since Philip the king has sent a letter to the *tagoi* and the city, (saying) that Petraios and Anankippos and Aristonous, when they returned from their embassy, revealed to him that our city is in need of more people to inhabit it on account of the wars; (he says that) until he shall consider that others are worthy of our state, for the present it is his decision that we pass a decree in order that citizenship may be given to those of the Thessalians and the other Greeks who dwell among us; (and he says that) when this has been accomplished and all have remained together on account of the kindnesses, he is convinced both that

many other useful things will accrue to him and to the city and that the land will be worked to a greater extent.

It is decreed by the state to act in regard to these matters according to what the king wrote, and to give citizenship to those of the Thessalians and the other Greeks who dwell among us, both to them and to their descendants, and that all other rights should belong to them, as many as belong to the Larisaeans, each choosing the tribe of which he wishes to be a member; and that this decree is to be valid for all time, and that the treasurers shall pay for it and the names of those enrolled as citizens to be inscribed upon two stone stelae, and shall set up one in the temple of Apollo Kerdoios, and the other on the acropolis, and shall pay whatever expense arises from this.

And later Philip the king sent another letter, the following, to the *tagoi* and the city; the *tagoi* being Aristonous (son) of Eunomos, Eudikos (son) of Adamas, Alexippos (son) of Hippolochos, Epigenes (son) of Iason, Nymeinios (son) of Mnasiias; the gymnasiarch being Timounidas (son) of Timounidas.

King Philip to the *tagoi* and the city of the Larisaeans, greeting. I learn that those who were enrolled as citizens in accordance with my letter and your decree and who were inscribed on the stelae have been struck out. If indeed this has happened, those who advised you have missed the mark regarding what is of benefit for (your) fatherland and regarding my decision. For that it is the fairest thing of all for the city to grow strong, with as many as possible having a part in the state, and for the land to be worked not badly, as is now the case, I believe that not one of you would disagree, and it is also possible to look at the others who make use of similar enrolments of citizens, among whom are **the Romans**, who receive into the state even slaves, when they have freed them, giving them a share in the magistracies, and in such a way not only have they augmented their own fatherland, but they have also sent out colonies to almost seventy places. So even now I still call upon you to get on with the business without rivalry, and to restore to citizenship those selected by the citizens; but if any (of them) have done anything irremediable against the throne or the city or for any other reason are not worthy to have a part in this stele, (I call upon you) to postpone consideration of them until I shall hear their cases after returning from **my campaign**; announce, however, to those intending to bring accusations against these (that they take care) not to show themselves as doing this out of rivalry. **Year 7, the 13th day of Gorpiaios.**

The city has voted the following decree: On the last day of Themistios, Alexippos presiding (over the meeting) concerning sacred affairs, Alexippos having spoken, it is decreed by the state: the *tagoi* themselves are to set up in the town centre a whitened tablet on which they have inscribed (the names of) as many of those enrolled as citizens whom anyone accuses; the names of the rest of those enrolled as citizens in accordance with the letter of the king, and the letters of the king, and the decrees – both the previous one and today's – (the *tagoi*) are to have inscribed on two stone stelae and to set these up, the one in the temple of Apollo Kerdoios and the other on the acropolis

in the temple of Athena; and the treasurers are to provide the expenditure arising for this out of the public revenues; and this decree is to be valid for all time.

The following have been enrolled as citizens in accordance with the letters of the king and the decrees of the city: (There followed here a list of names; those that survive include one from Samothrace, 142 from Krannon, and more than sixty from Gyrton.)

Notes:

returned from their embassy: These envoys were involved in the negotiations that resulted in the peace of Naupaktos in September, 217 (see Chr. Habicht in *Ancient Macedonia* [Thessaloniki, 1970], 277–8).

the wars: The reference is to the fighting in Thessaly near the end of the Social War (summer, 217: cf. Polybius 5.99–100).

year 5, the 21st day of Hyperberetaios: About September, 217. For the dating (year 5 and not year 2) and, so, the year (217) see Habicht, *Ancient Macedonia*, 273–9.

the Romans: Philip's information on Rome is not altogether exact. Freed slaves did obtain citizenship but could not themselves hold magistracies (for the text here, cf. Habicht, *Ancient Macedonia*, 273n. 1), and seventy colonies is, by any method of reckoning, excessive.

my campaign: Above all at Messene; cf. Polybius 7.10ff. At precisely this time Philip's negotiations with Hannibal were coming to a conclusion (cf. Livy 23.33–4, 38–9; Polybius 7.9 for the treaty itself).

year 7, the 13th day of Gorpiaios: About August 215.

33 Alliance between Rome and the Aetolian League

Moretti 87 (*Staatsverträge* 536)

211

During the first Macedonian war the Romans concluded an alliance, almost certainly in 211, with the Aetolian League, the effect of which was to keep Philip of Macedon occupied while securing for the Romans a good deal of saleable booty (notably, the inhabitants of the captured cities). The agreement, and its execution, also gained for the Romans the ill-will and suspicion of a large part of Greece (cf. esp. Polybius 9.37–9; 10.25; 11.4–6). This fragmentary inscription containing part of the treaty was found at Thyrrheion in Akarnania; Livy 26.24 gives what purports to be a fuller version, along with an account of the preceding negotiations (cf. also Livy 25.33). The nature of the terms lost at the end of the inscription cannot be gathered from Livy but may be at issue in a hostile exchange between Flamininus and the Aetolian Phainias at the end of the second Macedonian war (Polybius 18.38).

— [against] **all these** — let the magistrates of the Aetolians do, as may be customary to be done (?). If the Romans take by force any of these peoples, let it be permitted, as far as concerns the *demos* of the Romans, for the *demos* of the Aetolians to have these cities and lands; whatever (the) Romans take besides the city and land, let (the) Romans have. If Romans and Aetolians together take any of these cities, let it be permitted, as far as concerns the *demos* (of the Romans) for (the) Aetolians to have these cities and lands; whatever they take besides the city, let it belong to both together. If any of these cities go over to, or surrender to, (the) Romans or (the) Aetolians, [let it be permitted, as far as concerns the] *demos* of the Romans, for the Aetolians to take these people and the cities and the lands [into their] state — autonomous — from Rome — the peace —

Note:

all these: Philip's allies in Greece, including the Epirotes, Achaeans, Acarnanians, Boeotians, Thessalians, Euboeans, Phocians and Locrians (see Polybius 9.38.5, 11.5.4).

34 Enslavement During a Native Revolt

C.Ptol.Sklav. 9

197

This document is typical bureaucratic correspondence in form: a request to the *dioiketes* for registration of a slave, with a covering letter from the *dioiketes* to the *agoranomoi* ordering that the request be carried out. But the slave in question had been purchased from the government, which normally prohibited enslavement of Egyptians, and the registration is carried out under a royal *prostagma* concerning slaves acquired during the *tarache* ('disturbance'), i.e., the revolt of Hurgonnaphor and Chaonnophris, under Ptolemies IV and V. What this 18-year-old woman had done to merit enslavement during the revolt, we cannot know; probably she was part of the captured population of a rebellious town. On the revolts, see B. C. McGing, 'Revolt Egyptian Style: Internal Opposition to Ptolemaic Rule', *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, 43 (1997), 273–314.

Athenodoros to the *agoranomoi*, greetings. A copy of the memorandum from Pyrrhos the **praktor** is appended for you. Register in the name of Thaubastis, therefore, the purchase of the slave in accordance with it. Farewell. Year 8, Hathyr 28.

To Athenodoros the *dioiketes* from Pyrrhos. Thaubastis daughter of Sokrates, Syrian, with her *kyrios* Apollonios from the unit of Anthemidas, Cretan, assistant of the elite chest-armoured (soldiers), has registered, in accordance with the proclamation issued in year 8, Phaophi 2, concerning those who have Egyptian slaves from the disturbance in the countryside, Thasion, about 18 years old, who she says is an Egyptian, and Thaubastis has paid to the bank of Philippos, into the account of the king, on Xandikos 15 of year 8, **500 drachmas** of bronze and the exchange charge of 52dr. 4 obols, and the tax on the sale of slaves, 110dr. 5 ob. of bronze. Please give orders for the sale to be registered to Thaubastis, who is about 30 years old, short, honey-colored, round-faced, with a scar on her right cheek, with her *kyrios* Apollonios (son) of Apollonios, about 40 years old, of medium height, honey-coloured, balding on the forehead, with ears sticking out, a scar on the left side of his forehead, from the street of Arsinoe Euergetis.

Sale of Thasion, 18 years old, short, dark-skinned, round-faced, easily recognized by many scars. Year 18, Hathyr 26, Daisios 4.

Notes:

praktor: In this case, the *praktor xenikon*, who had charge of selling slaves on behalf of the government.

500 drachmas: The editor thought this was a high price, but it is in bronze currency, which had depreciated against silver in several steps before and around 197. Compared to contemporary prices, in fact, it appears that this price was a great bargain. The government may have sold captives off cheaply.

35 Lampsakos, Massilia and Rome

Lampsakos 4 (Syll.³ 591)

197/6

This is the surviving part of a decree of Lampsakos in honour of Hegesias. The embassy, which is described here and for the conduct of which Hegesias is honoured by his city, belongs to the winter of 197/6, probably to the first part of 196. The ten commissioners were with Flamininus at Corinth for the spring and early summer of 196 (see Polybius 18.44–7 and Livy 33.30–4), and they had left Rome by the time Hegesias arrived there. Very early in 196 Antiochus had tried and failed to gain control of Lampsakos and Smyrna by siege or diplomacy (Livy 33.38), and it was probably this activity (or the expectation of it) that prompted this Lampsakene embassy. Lampsakos and Smyrna (along with Alexandria Troas, also in north-western Asia Minor) played an important role in Rome's dealings with Antiochus from 196 on: see especially Polybius 18.52 (196); Livy 35.15–17 (193); Polybius 21.13 and Diodorus 29.7 (190, with reference back).

[— in the decrees] inscribed above. [When the *demos* was looking for] and with all [zeal] calling upon those who would offer themselves, and when the *demos* passed a decree [to the effect that] there would be some honour from the [*demos*] for those who undertook the embassy on behalf of the city to the [Massilio]tes and the Romans, and that when the ambassadors returned the *boule* would formulate a proposal as to how they would be honoured, and when [some] had withdrawn after being put forward, and others, even after being elected, had declared on oath (that they could not go) – all on account of the extent of the journey [and the expense] – then Hegesias, after being put forward and after being elected and requested by the *demos*, instead of abjuring (the embassy), [thinking] nothing of the dangers associated with the journey, but reckoning his own affairs [of less importance] than what was of benefit to the city, [accepted] the position of ambassador;

And, after leaving home and arriving [in] Greece and, along with his fellow-ambassadors, having met with the general of the Romans in command of the fleet, [**Lucius**], he explained to him at length that the *demos*, being the [**kinsman**] and friend of the *demos* of the Romans, had sent [them] to him, and that he [and his] fellow-ambassadors requested and called upon him [to take thought] for our city, inasmuch as we are kinsmen of the [Romans], in order that he might bring about [what might seem to be] beneficial for the *demos*; for it was incumbent upon them [always] to support (?) what is of benefit to the city, both on account of [the] kinship [obtaining] between us and them – which (kinship) even [they themselves accepted] – and because of the fact that the Massiliotes, [who are friends] and allies of the *demos* of the Romans, are **our brothers**; and [whenever] they received [from him] fitting answers they sent [all these to the city], and on account of these the *demos* was of better heart; [for in] them he explicitly accepted the relationship [and] kinship obtaining between us and the Romans, [and he undertook that], if he made friendship or sworn agreement with anyone, he would include our city [in the agreement], and (that) he would maintain [the democracy] and the autonomy and the peace, [and (that) he would do whatever] could be of use, and (that), if anyone [attempted to cause us trouble], he would not permit (them) but would prevent (them). And (Hegesias), [along with his fellow]-ambassadors, meeting with the **treasurer** in charge of the fleet . . . [and having persuaded] him always to be responsible for some good, [received] from him [too] a letter to [our] *demos* [which (the *demos*), recognizing] it to be of benefit, entered in [the public archives];

And travelling then [to . . . and wishing to accomplish everything] concerning which he had decrees, after making [the] long and dangerous voyage to [Massi]lia and (there) [going before the Six Hundred], he (so) disposed them and acted [so as to obtain] ambassadors to join with him in the embassy [from Massilia] to Rome; and judging it to be useful, they asked for [and obtained from the] Six Hundred a beneficial letter on [our] behalf [to the] *demos* of the **Tolostoagian Gauls**.

Travelling then [to Rome along with his] fellow-ambassadors and those sent along with them [from Massilia, and treating with the Senate along with [them, he heard them (the Massiliotes) speak of] the goodwill and the disposition which [they maintained towards] them (the Romans) and renew the existing [alliance with] them and explain to them [about us, that they (the Massiliotes)] were in fact brothers of our *demos* [and] held [the goodwill] pursuant upon the kinship; and he (Hegesias) spoke [both about the **other matters**], and about what the *demos* sought to bring about [for itself that it had sent] the embassy and, along with [his fellow-ambassadors] he called upon them [to have forethought for the safety] of their other friends and relations and to take thought on behalf of our city, on account of [the kinship and] the kindnesses obtaining between us and them [and the] commendation we had received from the Massiliotes, [asking that he] receive [an answer] beneficial to the *demos*; and (when) the ambassadors [besought] that we might be included [in the agreements] the Romans made with the [**king**, the senate] included us in the agreements with [the king], just as they themselves write, and concerning [all] the other [matters] the Senate [referred] them to the consul [of the Romans], **Titus**, and the **ten commissioners** appointed to deal with the affairs of Greece]; and going to Corinth, with [. . . and] Apollodoros, he (Hegesias) met with the general [and the ten commissioners, and] having spoken to them on behalf of the *demos* and having [called upon (them) with all] zeal to take thought [on our behalf and to contribute] to the preservation of [our] city as [autonomous] and democratic; concerning which things he received both [a benevolent decree] and letters to the **kings** — ; [recognizing these] to be of benefit to it (the *demos*) he dispatched [them —]. The *demos*, in accordance with what had previously been decreed —

Notes:

Lucius: L. Quinctius Flamininus. He served under his brother Titus as legate in charge of the fleet from 198 to 194.

kinsman: Lampsakos shared in the religious federation centred upon the sanctuary of Athena Ilios at Ilion and was thus counted as ‘related’ to Ilion; legend had it that the Romans were descended from the Trojans; thus the Lampsakenes were related to the Romans; see, in general and above all, A. Erskine, *Troy between Greece and Rome* (Oxford, 2001) and cf. *SEG* 44.1689.

brothers: Both Lampsakos and Massilia were originally colonies of Phokaia; having the same mother-city they were brothers.

treasurer: i.e., *quaestor*.

Tolostoagian Gauls: It is probably to be presumed that the nearby Gauls with whom the Massiliotes had dealings were related to the Tolostoagian (or Tolostobogian) Gauls who lived in Asia Minor. (Note that there were Tectosages both in Asia Minor and near Toulouse.) Evidently the Lampsakenes believed that a letter from the Massiliotes to their neighbours would result in a communication from the latter to their relatives in Asia Minor that would be of benefit to the Lampsakenes; the aim was probably to facilitate or to improve trade between Lampsakos and the Tolostoagii.

other matters: For the text here and on the Gauls in this inscription generally, see M. Holleaux, *Études d'épigraphie et d'histoire grecques* V (Paris, 1957), 141–55.

king: The reference is to the treaty of peace between Rome and Philip V, the main terms of which were drawn up by the senate before the dispatch of the ten senatorial commissioners to Greece in 196 (see Polybius 18.44 and cf. Livy 33.30). On the notion of being included in a treaty, compare the parties 'written on' (*adscripti*) to the Peace of Phoinike in 205 (Livy 29.12).

Titus: T. Quinctius Flaminius (consul 198), commander of the Roman forces in Greece from 198 to 194. He is called consul here (*strategos hypatos*), but was, strictly, proconsul at the time (cf. document 36).

ten [commissioners]: For the appointment of the ten see Polybius 18.42 and Livy 33.24.

kings: Presumably the kings of Asia Minor, including Eumenes of Pergamon, Prusias of Bithynia and, especially no doubt, Antiochus III.

36 Letter of Flaminius to Chyretiai

RDGE 33 (Syll.³ 593)

197–194

The Thessalian city of Chyretiai was taken by storm and plundered by the Aetolians in 199 (Livy 31.41.5). After the battle of Cynoscephalae and Philip's surrender in 197 it presumably passed to the Romans along with other places once subject to Philip. The date of the present letter, by which confiscated property was given over to the city, cannot be fixed with certainty. It certainly precedes Flaminius' departure from Greece in 194 and is probably subsequent to the promulgation of the terms of the Roman settlement in 196. It may belong to the summer of 196, when Flaminius dealt with Thessalian legations at Corinth (Polybius 18.47), or to the spring/summer of 194, when Flaminius visited Thessaly and put things in order (Livy 34.51), or to almost any time between the summer of 197 and 194. What is clear is that Flaminius is anxious to blunt criticism of Roman behaviour in Greece (this was forthcoming above all from the Aetolians), to demonstrate Rome's concern for the preservation of private property (cf. the role of the wealthy in his Thessalian arrangements: Livy 34.51.6), and in general to secure the goodwill of as much of Greece as possible with a view to what was seen as the threat posed by Antiochus III.

Titus Quinctius, *strategos hypatos* of the Romans, to the *tagoi* and the city of (the) Chyretians, greeting. Since even in other matters we have made altogether clear to everyone both our own policy towards you and that of the *demos* of the Romans, we wish also in what follows to demonstrate in every respect that we have taken a stand for what is honourable, in order that those who are not in the habit of acting from the best motives may not be able **to**

talk us down in these matters either. As many of your possessions, in land and houses, as remain of those belonging to the public property of the Romans, we grant them all to your city, so that in these matters also you may know our nobility and that in no matter whatsoever have we wished to be greedy, setting the highest premium upon kindness and love of glory. As many as have not recovered what belongs to them, if they prove their case to you and are evidently speaking reasonably, as long as you base your action upon my written decisions, I judge it to be just that (the property) be restored to them. Farewell.

Notes:

strategos hypatos: The usual Greek term for consul. It must be being used in an extended sense here to include proconsul since the letter is certainly after 198, the year of Flamininus' consulship. From 197 to 194 Flamininus held a proconsular command in Greece. Cf. document 35.

to talk us down: This seems a clear reference to the Aetolians, who were critical of the Roman settlement of Greece from the start (cf. esp. Polybius 18.45; the word used of the Aetolians there is the same as appears here (*katalalein*)).

37 Statue of Flamininus at Gytheion

Syll.³ 592

195 (or later)

The operations of 195, when Flamininus was instrumental in liberating Gytheion from Nabis of Sparta (Livy 34.29), lie behind this inscription on a statue base found there.

The *demos* of the Gytheians (dedicated this statue of) Titus, (son) of Titus, consul of the Romans, its saviour.

38 Eumenes II and the War against Nabis of Sparta

Syll.³ 595

195 (or later)

These two dedications at Pergamon stem from the same operations as the foregoing (see Livy 34.29 for Eumenes' presence at Gytheion). The first is from an offering made by Eumenes, the second from the base of a statue set up in Eumenes' honour.

A

[King Eumenes] (made this) offering to Athena Nikephoros [from] the booty [arising out of] the campaign [which he conducted with the Romans] and [the] other allies against Nabis the Laconian, [him who had subjected the Argives] and [Messenians].

B

[The] soldiers [and sailors who] sailed [with] him [to] Greece in the war against Nabis [the Laconian] (dedicated this statue of) [King Eu]menes, for his valour.

39 M. Valerius Messalla Writes to the Teans

(Rigsby 153 *RDGE* 34, *Syll.*³ 601)

193

About 205 the Teans had established a festival in honour of Dionysos and had in this connection successfully sought that numerous Greek cities recognize Teos as sacred and inviolable (see Rigsby, *Asyilia*, 280–325; 314 no 153 for this inscription). The same request was communicated to the Romans in 194/3 through Antiochus' envoy Menippos. This letter is the Roman response. Note the end, and see esp. J. Ma, *Antiochos III and the Cities of Western Asia Minor* (Oxford, 1999), 94–102.

(From the) Romans. Marcus Valerius, (son) of Marcus, **praetor**, and the tribunes of the plebs and the Senate, to the *boule* and the *demos* of the Teans, greeting. **Menippos**, the ambassador sent to us by King Antiochus, chosen also by you as ambassador concerning your city, presented the decree and himself spoke with all zeal in accordance with it. We received the man kindly both on account of his previous reputation and on account of his innate good character, and we listened favourably to his requests. And that we continue always to value most highly reverence towards the gods one might best reckon from the favour with which we have for these reasons met from the supernatural. We are convinced, moreover, that the special honour we show to the divine has become thoroughly clear to all from many other things as well. Wherefore, for these reasons and on account of our goodwill towards you and on account of the esteemed ambassador, it is our decision that your city and land are to be sacred, as is even now the case, and inviolable and free from tribute at the hands of the *demos* of the Romans, and we shall try to increase both the honours to the god and our kindnesses to

you, so long as you maintain your goodwill towards us even after this. Farewell.

Notes:

praetor: M. Valerius M.f. Messalla, praetor 193.

Menippos: Menippos and Hegesianax were the ambassadors sent by Antiochus to Rome in the winter of 194/3; see esp. Livy 34.57–9.

40 The Scipios Write to Herakleia-by-Latmos

RDGE 35 (*Syll.*³ 618)

190

In the latter part of 190 L. Cornelius Scipio, consul for that year, led the Roman forces across the Hellespont into Asia Minor. His brother, P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus (consul 205 and 194) was serving as his legate (on the restoration of the names, see *RDGE*, p. 219). Around this time they were met by a large delegation from Herakleia-by-Latmos, which announced the decision of the city to entrust itself to the Romans. This probably happened after the Romans entered Asia and before the Battle of Magnesia (December/January 190/89), although the embassy could have been dispatched at any time after the Roman naval victory at Myonnesos (late summer 190). This letter contains the response of the Scipios.

[Lucius Cornelius Scipio], consul of the Romans, [and Publius Scipio, his brother], to the *boule* and *demos* of the Herakleotai, [greeting]. Your ambassadors, Dias, Dies, Diony[sios, . . .]am[an]dros, [Eu]demos, Moschos, Aristides, Menes, met with us, [noble] men who both presented the decree and themselves spoke, with no lack of love of honour, in accordance with what was set out in the decree. As it is, we are kindly disposed towards all the Greeks, and we shall try, now that you have come over **into our [trust]**, to show all possible concern, being always responsible for some good. We grant to you freedom, as we have also to [the] other cities that have surrendered absolutely to us, and (we grant to you), keeping all your possessions, to govern yourselves according to your own laws, and [in] other matters we shall try, treating you well, always to be responsible for some good. We accept your kindnesses and the **[pledges]** and shall ourselves try to be second to none in the requital of favours. We have dispatched to you Lucius Orbius to look after the [city and] the land, so that no one may cause you any trouble. Farewell.

Notes:

into our [trust]: The Herakleotai have performed a *deditio in fidem* to the Roman commander, as apparently have other Greek cities in the area. This involved total surrender of the city and all that was in it for the Romans to do with as they liked. The import of the gesture was not always understood by the Greeks: see Polybius 20.9–10 and cf. 36.4.

[pledges]; or better, [honours]: See J. Ma, *Antiochos III and the Cities of Western Asia Minor* (Oxford, 1999), 367.

41 Letter of C. Livius Salinator to Delphi

RDGE 38 (Syll.³ 611)

189/8

In 189(?) the Delphians, who had been freed from Aetolian control by M'. Acilius Glabrio (consul 191) after his victorious campaign in Greece in 191, sent three envoys to Rome in order to obtain senatorial confirmation of Delphi's autonomy (cf. RDGE 37 and p. 226). As we learn from the present inscription, these envoys never returned home. A second embassy was sent, probably late in 189, and it was their visit to Rome that elicited this letter from the consul of 188, C. Livius Salinator.

[**Gaius Livius, (son) of Marcus**], consul [of the Romans, and] (the) tribunes of the plebs and [the] Senate, to the magistrates and city of the Delphians, [greeting]. The ambassadors dispatched by you, Herys (son) of Eudoros and Damosthenes (son) of Archelas, presented the letter and themselves spoke in accordance with what was set down in the letter with all zeal and with no lack of love of honour, and they reported also that you celebrated the gymnastic contest and the sacrifice on our behalf. And the Senate gave consideration, and they resolved, concerning the previous ambassadors, Boulon, Thrasykles, and Orestas, who came to us but perished on the return journey home, to write to our general, **Marcus Fulvius**, in order that he might see to it that, when we have the business at Same under control, he search out the wrongdoers, and might see to it that they meet with fitting punishment and that all the belongings of the ambassadors are restored to their relatives. It was resolved also to write to the Aetolians about the wrongs that have occurred among you, in order that they might now seek out and restore to you everything that has been taken away, and that nothing (of the kind) may occur in the future.

And concerning those dwelling in Delphi, the Senate has allowed you to have **power to banish** those whom you wish and to allow to dwell among

you those who are acceptable to the *koinon* of the Delphians. We have given to these (ambassadors), as they requested of us, the responses that were given to the ambassadors who came from you before, and for the future we shall try always to be responsible for some good to the Delphians, on account of the god and on account of you and on account of the fact that it is our ancestral custom to be reverent towards the gods and to honour them as being responsible for all good things.

Notes:

Gaius Livius, (son) of Marcus: The reference in the letter to the siege of Same, which began in October, 189 and lasted for four months (cf. M. Holleaux, *Etudes* V, 249–86), means that only the consuls of 189 or 188 can be at issue here. As neither of the consuls of 189 was in Rome at the time, and as the name of the other consul of 188 (M. Valerius M.f. Messalla) is too long for the gap on the stone, the name of C. Livius M.f. Salinator must be restored here. The consuls of 188 entered office on the Ides of March, AUC 566, which fell on 21 November 189 B.C. (*Phoenix*, 27 [1973], 348). The letter was thus written between that date and the arrival at Rome of the news of the fall of Same (late January/early February, 188).

Marcus Fulvius: M. Fulvius M. f. Nobilior, consul 189.

power to banish: A large number of Aetolian citizens (mostly from nearby Locris, as well as from Aetolia itself) had come to own houses and property in Delphian territory (cf. *RDGE* 37). After their liberation from the control of the Aetolian League, the Delphians wished them to leave and succeeded in obtaining Rome's support in evicting them.

42 An Honorary Decree from Chios

ISE 152; *BSA* 77, 1982, 79

c.188

This large fragment of a Chian decree belongs most probably to the months immediately after the end of Rome's war with Antiochus and so to the time that saw the beginning of close relations between Rome and Chios, which had served Rome as a naval base and granary during the war. It provides one of the earliest indications of cultic honours for the goddess Roma (on which see R. Mellor, *ΘΕΑ ΡΩΜΗ: The Worship of the Goddess Roma in the Greek World* [Göttingen, 1975]).

— to share in (or an example of) his generosity [—] with his kinsmen to honour [— for] **their appearance** during the war [— he provided for each of the citizens] an amphora of old wine. – The [*demos*, having voted to cele-

brate] after the Theophania a procession and [a sacrifice and musical] and athletic [contests] in honour of Roma, and being anxious that [the] festival [should be carried out as splendidly as possible] owing to its wish to render thanks [to the *demos* of the Romans worthy] both of itself and of the rest of the Greeks [—] **the *agonothetes*** [— , (the honorand)], having arrived back from Rome [demonstrated his own] nobility by both honouring them and [(by) —] and he [took on] of his own free will the office of *agonothete*. [And he undertook] to receive the Romans who arrived [at the time of the festival] and any others the archons might decide. [—] this with those who shared in his undertaking [—] during the festival of the musical [and athletic contests what was appropriate] for each of the furnishings [— and he took care of the] other aspects of decorum and [good order] in the theatre, [and he conducted the musical contest] in a manner both noble and worthy of the city and of those who contributed (to the festival) and of the *pompagogoi*. [And he provided a supper for all] the Romans who were staying (in the city). He [accomplished] these other things and also the provision [of the oil] for the youths. – [And he carried out everything] to do with the athletic [contests] with fairness. –

And, wishing in every [way to make clear the] goodwill and gratitude of the *demos* and to have [the citizens maintaining] and increasing that which [pertains] to glory and [honour, he caused to be made from] his own resources a dedication to Roma, costing [a thousand (?)] Alexandrian [drachmas,] containing **an account** of the birth of the founder of Rome [Romulus and] his [brother] Remus – on which occasion it happened that they [were begotten by Ares himself], which may be reckoned to be true on account [of the bravery of the Romans]. – And he took care of the [fashioning] of the weapons [offered by the] *demos* to the victors in the athletic contests [and he took thought that there should be] engraved upon them legends (tending) to the glory of the Romans. – [And, wishing also] to join with the citizens in increasing [the] honours to [the] Muses, [—] to honour the Muses more splendidly [—] on account of the fame already bestowed upon the city [by the poets, he gave from] his own resources a th[ousand] Alexandrian drachmas [— for the] construction of an altar to the Muses and —

Notes:

We have for the most part maintained the text and supplements of *BSA* 77 (1982).

their appearance: This refers to an appearance by more than one god and most likely to an epiphany by the Dioskouroi, Kastor and Polydeuces (see K. A. Garbrah, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 65, 1986, 207–10).

the *agonothetes*: Apparently the *agonothetes* in office for the year was prevented, by death or some other disability or insufficiency, from carrying out his duties.

an account: The possibility that the dedication contained a pictorial representation and not a story in words cannot be excluded, nor can the possibility that nourishment by the famous she-wolf, and not the fatherhood of Ares, is at issue here.

E The Struggle for the Survival of Hellenism (189–30)

43 A Letter of Eumenes

ISE 196 (EA 29, 1997, 3)

after 188

This dossier of (at least) three royal letters from Tyriaion in rural Phrygia provides a nice indication of the appreciation of the dominance of Rome by King Eumenes II – the Romans had granted him control of a large part of Asia Minor by the settlement of Apamea that followed their victory over Antiochus III. It illustrates also the power of a Hellenistic king – the inhabitants of the place in question ask Eumenes for the right to organize and conduct themselves as a *polis*, and with the king's assent they become one.

A

With good fortune. King Eumenes to the **inhabitants of the Toriaians**, greeting. Your men, Antigenes (and) **Brennos** (and) Heliades, whom you sent to join us in rejoicing at (our) having arrived in good health in the place with everything achieved – on account of which, giving thanks to the gods, you accomplished the proper sacrifices – and who requested, on account of the goodwill you have towards our state, that a *polis* constitution be granted to you, and your own laws, and a gymnasium, and as many things as consistent with those; all these things they explained with enthusiasm, and having declared your zeal – that you support unhesitatingly all things that are in our interest – they asked for (our) assent; for (they said that) fitting expressions of gratitude to me on the part of the people will remain forever, and that you will not diverge from what is advantageous and important for me.

I could myself see that it is no small matter for me to grant your requests, as it is directly related to many matters of great consequence: indeed, what is given to you by me now would be durable, since I possess full authority by virtue of having received it from the Romans who gained power both by war

and by treaty; that would not be the case with what is written by someone who has not this authority, for such a favour would truly be judged by all as empty and deceitful. However, on account of the goodwill you have towards us and have shown at the proper time, I grant both you and those living with you in (fortified) places (the right) to organize yourselves into one constitutional body and to use your own laws; if you yourselves are satisfied with some of these, refer them to us so that we can inspect them for anything contrary to your interests; if not, make that clear and we shall give you men suitable for appointing *boule* and magistrates, and for distributing the people by dividing (them) into tribes, and for providing oil for the youths after making a gymnasium. As to recognizing your constitutional status, I myself have **addressed you (accordingly)** in the second letter at the beginning. So do try, having received such great honours from me, to show your true goodwill by your deeds on all occasions.

B

King Eumenes to the *boule* and the *demos* of the Toriaians, greeting. Whereas we have granted to you a *polis* constitution and a gymnasium, we wish to make evident our enthusiasm by increasing these things, and, for now, we give you for the oil the revenue from the office of the *agoranomos*, until such time as Herodes ‘**the one and a half**’ examines the matter and assigns (money) from other (sources) – whether from some estate or piece of land, or whether he thinks it best to collect from another (source) also [the] tithe of all the produce. And, in general, know that, if you preserve your goodwill towards us, you will receive many times more privileges.

C

King Eumenes to the *boule* and the [*demos*] of the Toriaians greeting. Brennos and Orestes, whom you sent —

Notes:

inhabitants of the Toriaians: ‘Inhabitants’ because they are not as yet a civic body; they were most likely soldiers resident or garrisoned in the place. On the names, Toriaians and Tyriaion, see *Epigraphica Anatolica*, 29, 1997, 10–11.

Brennos: The name is Celtic.

addressed you (accordingly): At the beginning of his second letter (B) Eumenes uses the form of address normal in writing to a Greek *polis*.

‘the one and a half’: The word (*hemiolios*) may refer to the man’s size: cf. F. W. Walbank, *Historical Commentary on Polybius I* (Oxford 1957), 572–3.

44 Rome and Perseus

RDGE 40 B (~ Syll.³ 643)

172/1

On the eve of the war against Perseus the Romans, attempting to shore up support for themselves in Greece and to stem the tide of affection flowing towards Perseus, wrote to the Delphic Amphictyony with a list of complaints against the Macedonian king. This inscription from Delphi contains part of that letter; their allegations against Perseus bear a striking resemblance to the allegations against him brought to Rome by Eumenes late in 172 (Livy 42.13).

[— (line 6) – Know then first of all that Per]seus, contrary to what is proper, [came with an army to the feast of the] Pythia. [It was] evidently not [at all] right [for him to share with you in [either] sacrifices or games or [festivals, since] he brought in the [barbarians] from beyond the [**Ister**, who had been roused before for] no [good cause] but instead for the enslavement [of Greece, and who,] having **marched against** the sanctuary [at Delphi, having in mind to plunder] and destroy it, received from [the god fitting punishment]. And he transgressed the oaths made by (his) [father, which he had himself renewed]. And [he conquered] (the) Thracians, who are our [allies. And he drove] Abroup[olis, whom we included in [the treaty with Philip], from his kingdom. And he removed (the) envoys [sent from (the) Thebans] to Rome about an alliance by the [treachery of a shipwreck].

He came, moreover, to this point of madness, [that, considering it a great thing contrary to] oaths [to destroy] the freedom [given] by [our commanders by throwing] the whole nation into disorders [and political conflicts], he continued to do [nothing if not what is] base, but [confounding everything, and courting the masses, and] destroying the leading men, [he mindlessly promised cancellations of debts] and brought about social revolutions, (thereby) showing [what hatred he had towards the best] men. As a result of all this, it happened that the Pe[rrhaebians and Thessalians fell into terrible] disasters, and the barbarians [attacked] more fear[somely]. And, desiring [a great] war, so that, [finding you] unaided, he might quickly enslave [all the Greek cities, he plotted death for Arthetauros the Illyrian, and he dared to set an ambush for] Eumenes the king, [who is our friend and ally,] at the time when, discharging [a vow, he (Eumenes) came to Delphi, taking no thought (i.e., Perseus) for the worship of the] god [customarily practised] by all who go (to Delphi) [and disregarding (the) security that your sanctuary has possessed according to all men [for Greeks] and barbarians [alike] for all [time].

Notes:

We have adopted the text of G. Colin, which has shorter restorations than that of H. Pomtow (*Syll.*³ and *RDGE* 40 A).

Ister: i.e., the Danube.

marched against: Cf. documents 17 and 155 for this episode from the early third century.

45 Decree of the Senate on the Affairs of Thisbe

RDGE 2 (*Syll.*³ 646)

170

In the winter of 172/1 a Roman embassy, led by Q. Marcius Philippus, had attempted, among other things, to dissolve the Boeotian League and to secure the adherence of the various cities individually to Rome (see Livy 42.43–4 and cf. 42.46–7 and Polybius 27.5). Except in the cases of Thisbe, Koronea and Haliartos they were immediately successful. Early in 171 the war of the Romans against Perseus actually began, the Roman forces in Greece being led by the consul P. Licinius Crassus and the praetor C. Lucretius Gallus. Of the Boeotian cities Haliartos alone remained steadfast in its alliance to Perseus. It was taken by Lucretius after a siege, plundered and then destroyed. Lucretius next approached Thisbe. It surrendered. The city was turned over to the exiles (pro-Romans driven out by the supporters of Macedon) and to the supporters of Rome who had remained in the city. All the property of the pro-Macedonians, most of whom had by this time fled, was sold (see Livy 42.63, where Thisbe must be at issue and not Thebes). In 170 the pro-Romans at Thisbe sent a delegation to Rome with the aim of dealing with certain problems and securing their position. The Senate responded in the decree (*senatus consultum*) preserved in the present inscription from Thisbe. It was issued by Q. Maenius, praetor (in Greek *strategos*, as is usual) in 170. On the Koroneans mentioned at the end of the letter, see *RDGE* 3 and L. Robert, *Études épigraphiques et philologiques* (Paris, 1938), 287–92; their situation was analogous to that of the Thisbeans.

Quintus Maenius son of Titus, praetor, consulted the Senate in the Senate house **seven days before the Ides of October**; present for the writing (of the decree) were **Manius Acilius** son of Manius, (of the tribe) Voltinia, (and) **Titus Numisius** son of Titus. Concerning the matters about which the Thisbeans who remained in our friendship spoke regarding their affairs: that there be given them those to whom they might relate their affairs (to the Senate). Concerning this matter it was so resolved: that Quintus Maenius,

praetor, should appoint five from those in the Senate, who seem to him to be in accordance with the public interest and his own good faith. Resolved.

On **the day before the Ides of October**; present for the writing (of the decree) were **Publius Mucius** son of Quintus, **Marcus Claudius** son of Marcus, **Manius Sergius** son of Manius. So concerning the matters about which the same ones spoke regarding land and regarding revenues and regarding mountain pastures: it was resolved that, as far as concerns us, it be permitted for them to have what had been theirs. About magistracies and about sanctuaries and revenues, that they might have control of them; concerning this matter it was resolved thus: that those who entered our friendship before **Gaius Lucretius** brought up his army to the city Thisbe should have control for the next ten years. Resolved.

About land, houses, and their possessions: to whomever of them something belonged, it was resolved that they should be allowed to have their own property. So concerning the matters about which the same ones spoke, that **those who deserted (to us) and are exiles there**, should be allowed to fortify the citadel and to live there, as they requested, it was resolved thus: that they should live there and fortify it. Resolved. Resolved not to fortify the city.

So concerning the matters about which the same ones spoke, that the gold, which they collected for a crown in order that they might dedicate the crown in the Capitolium, might be returned to them, as they requested, in order for them to dedicate this crown in the Capitolium: resolved thus to return it. Likewise concerning the matters about which the same ones spoke, that they might hold (the) men who are at odds with our public interest and with their own: concerning this matter it was resolved to do as may seem to Quintus Maenius, praetor, (to be) in accordance with the public interest and his own good faith.

Those who went away to other cities and did not appear before our praetor, that they might not return to their (former) position: concerning this matter it was resolved to send a letter to **Aulus Hostilius**, consul, that he might give his attention to this, as may seem to him in accordance with the public interest and with his own good faith. Resolved.

So concerning the matters about which the same ones spoke, regarding the trials of Xenopithis and Mnasis, that they might be sent from Chalkis and Damokrita, (daughter) of Dionysios, from Thebes: it was resolved that these (women) should be sent from these cities, and that they should not return to Thisbe. Resolved.

So about their report that these women brought jugs with silver to the praetor: concerning **this matter** it was resolved to deliberate later in the presence of Gaius Lucretius. So concerning the matters about which the same Thisbeans reported **regarding grain and oil**, that they had a partnership with Gaius Pandosinus: about his matter it was resolved to give them judges, if they wish to receive judges. So concerning this matter it was resolved to give to (the) Thisbeans and Koroneans friendly letters to Aetolia and Phokis and to any other cities they may wish.

Notes:

seven days before the Ides of October: 9 October by the Roman calendar, in fact 30 June 170 (*Phoenix*, 27 [1973], 348–9).

Manius Acilius and **Titus Numisius:** Probably M'. Acilius Glabrio (son of the consul who fought against Antiochus in 191) and T. Numisius Tarquiniensis (ambassador to Antiochus and Ptolemy in 169 and member of the senatorial commission to settle the affairs of Macedon in 167).

the day before the Ides of October: 14 October by the Roman calendar, in fact 5 July 170 (cf. above).

Publius Mucius, Marcus Claudius and **Manius Sergius:** Probably P. Mucius Scaevola (consul 179; his brother served under Licinius Crassus in Greece in 171), M. Claudius Marcellus (ambassador to the Aetolians in 173 and probably the consul of 183), and M'. Sergius, who in 164 served on an embassy to Greece and Asia Minor. It seems likely (*RDGE*, p. 29) that these three, along with the two named earlier, comprised the group of five selected to help the Thisbeans prepare their case for the Senate.

Gaius Lucretius: C. Lucretius Gallus, praetor 171, in charge of the fleet in Greece.

those who deserted (to us) and are exiles there: The provision applies to those who had been driven into exile for their support of Rome and not to all who were, or claimed to be, pro-Romans.

Aulus Hostilius: A. Hostilius Mancinus, consul 170.

this matter: The details of this are obscure, but it appears that an attempt was made to bribe Lucretius. That the Senate takes it seriously could suggest it had been successful. In fact, Lucretius never appeared before the Senate. His conduct of the war was attacked by tribunes in 170 – he was said to have exhibited excessive cruelty and greed, and when he failed to appear in Rome he was condemned *in absentia* by all thirty-five tribes and fined 1,000,000 asses (see on this Livy 43.4, 7–8).

regarding grain and oil: The details of this altercation are even more obscure, but the man Pandosinus is known to have been involved in other foreign enterprises in the period.

46 Dispatch from the Front in the Civil War of 169/8

P.Köln IV 186

c.169/8

This remarkable piece can be compared only to document 27, Ptolemy III's report from the early part of the Third Syrian War. Here we have a description of military action and the tactical situation during part of what is called the Sixth Syrian War, the three-cornered struggle of the years 170–168 with Ptolemy VI Philometor, Antiochus IV and Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II in a contest in which Antiochus aligned himself with Philometor and Rome ultimately came in with Popilius Laenas' famous line drawn in the sand at Eleusis outside Alexandria, forcing Antiochus to retreat. The papyrus, written in a highly lit-



Plate 3 Inscription of Hakoris son of Herieus at Tenis; his son Euphron figures in the papyrus.

erary Greek reminiscent of Polybius and in an elegant hand, is only fragmentarily preserved, but it seems to concern mainly an episode in which the forces of Philometor tried to capture a fort belonging to Euergetes, only to get trapped inside and suffer a severe defeat. It is apparently Euergetes' general who writes to his king.

. . . They [the enemy] mounted a vigorous spear attack, as a result of which it turned out that [some of them] rather overpowered our men, prevailing with their bravery, and being [brave men] and worthy of their native lands they got control of the palisade and [entered; but] they were thrown into confusion by their own ranks because inside they were cut off and [had] no means of escape, and falling into ditches and canals, they perished by suffocation and . . . , so that if anyone attempted to hide . . . by our cavalry because it was easy to overpower them thanks to the spaciousness . . . [There were so many] of the distinguished among them, it would be too long to enumerate them. Apart from these, [of those inside the] circuit we took **Harkonnesis** alive, and **Euphron** son of Hakoris of those outside . . . and Apollonios of the 'Antiochians'. And [taking] others of their officers to a total of 120 men, we

arranged to send them downstream together with the . . . [except Euphron] because of the services of his father Hakoris and because of his (loyalty?) which existed from the start . . . and because of having received [from you] the power to release him . . . The [rest, however, we kept] for making an example of and for observation, so that no one [else may engage in] such [behaviour?] . . . having been left behind because all of the Egyptians in the countryside . . . [and] because of being harassed by the fleet [from the garrison of Pelusium?] blockading in the rear . . . Farewell.

Notes:

Some portions have been omitted as too fragmentary for translation. We have adopted some of the suggestions of J. S. Rusten, *Phoenix*, 38 (1984), 188.

Harkonnesis, Euphron: See W. Clarysse, *Ancient Society*, 22 (1991), 235–43 and A. E. Hanson and P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Ancient Society*, 20 (1989), 133–45. Euphron was a member of a prominent family of Middle Egypt attested across several generations. Hakoris seems to have supported the monarchy during the turbulence of the early second century and won lasting gratitude from the royal house. Euphron was the first member of the family to bear a Greek name, which is a translation of his grandfather's Egyptian name, Herieus.

47 Eumenes II and the Ionian League

RC 52 (OGIS 763)

167/6

From the time of the first Macedonian War through the beginning of the third, the royal house of Pergamon was on the best of terms with Rome and profited more than a little from that friendship. As the war with Perseus drew towards a close, however, the Senate began to view Eumenes with growing disfavour, whether because he was really thought to have been trying to help Perseus (who had allegedly tried to have him murdered) or because he had ceased to be useful, or perhaps because he would become, with the end of the Macedonian monarchy, the most influential Greek player on the Greek stage. In the winter of 167/6 he went to Italy himself, but the Senate, unwilling openly to admit its change of heart, hurriedly voted that it would receive no more kings. Informed of this at Brundisium, Eumenes left Italy directly. It was on his way back to Pergamon that the envoys from the Ionian League (*koinon* of the Ionians) met him at Delos and informed him of the honours they had voted him; the present inscription (from Miletos) contains his response. The contrast with his treatment by Rome is striking. Nor was the situation unique, for Polybius (31.6) was led to remark that the more the Romans behaved harshly towards Eumenes, the more the Greeks were attracted to him.

King Eu[menes to the League of the Ionians, greeting]. Of your envoys, Menekles did not appear before me, but Eirenias and Archelaos meeting me in Delos delivered a fine and generous decree in which you began by saying that I, having chosen from the start the finest actions and having shown myself a common benefactor of the Greeks, had undertaken many and great struggles against the barbarians, exercising all zeal and forethought that the inhabitants of the Greek cities might always dwell in peace and in the best condition; and that, being indifferent [to] the coming danger and determining [to be zealous and ambitious in] what concerned the League, consistent with my father's policy, I had made clear on many occasions my attitude on these points, being well-disposed both in general and towards each of the cities individually and joining in bringing about for each many of the things pertaining to glory and repute, which actions [. . .] both my love of glory and the gratitude of the League. Wherefore, in order that you might show that you always return fitting honours to your benefactors, you have resolved to crown us with a gold crown of valour, to set up a gold statue in whatever spot of Ionia I may wish, and to proclaim the honours in the games celebrated by you and throughout the cities in the (games) held in each. (You resolved) [also to greet me] in the name of the League [and to join in rejoicing at] the fact that I and my relatives are in good health [and] my affairs [are] in good order, and to call upon me, seeing the gratitude of the people, to take [proper] thought for those things by which the League of the I[onians would be furthered] and would be always in the best [condition]. Thus in the future as well would I receive all that pertains to honour and glory. In accordance with the contents of the decree your envoys also spoke with great enthusiasm declaring that the goodwill of the whole people towards us was most vigorous [and] sincere. The honours I accept kindly and having never failed, as far as it lay in [my] power, to confer always something of what pertains to [honour and glory] both upon all in common and individually by city, I shall now try not to diverge from such a precedent. May things turn out in accordance with my wish, for so will you have a demonstration of my policy clear through the facts themselves. In order that for the future, by keeping a day in my honour in the festival of the Panionia, you may celebrate the whole feast more illustriously, I shall present you with sufficient revenues from which you will be able to [establish] our memory suitably. The gold statue I shall make myself, because I desire that [the] favour should be altogether without expense for the League. [I wish] to have it set up [in the] precinct voted us by the Milesians. Since it was when you were celebrating the festival in this city that you voted us the honour, and since this city alone of the Ionians up to now has designated a precinct for us, and since it counts itself our relation **through the Kyzikenes** and since it has done many glorious and memorable deeds for the Ionians, I thought that the erection of the statue in this (city) would be most suitable. In detail about my goodwill towards all of you in common and

to each individual city your envoys have heard and will report to you. Farewell.

Note:

Through the Kyzikenes: Eumenes' mother Apollonis was the daughter of a Kyzikene, and Miletos was the mother-city of Kyzikos.

48 Chalkis Honours Ariston of Cyprian Soloi

ISE 143 (OGIS 760)

170–168

In this decree the Euboian city of Chalkis honours the man who was sent there from Egypt with a gift of grain for the Romans. The context is, on balance, more likely to be the years of Rome's war against Perseus, when Chalkis was a base for Roman supplies (so Dittenberger in *OGIS*, reckoning that the grain was destined for the Roman forces then in Greece) than the years after the war (as suggested by Canali de Rossi in *ISE*). The proposer of the decree, Mikythion son of Charidamos, is known to have been the leader of the pro-Romans in Chalkis at the time (Livy 35.38 and elsewhere).

In the term of Epandridas (as) *hegemon*; Mikythion (son) of Charidamos spoke: Whereas Ariston (son) of Herakleides, Solian, has always continued to be well-disposed to the *demos* of the Chalkidians, and is helpful to many of the citizens in whatever one might ask of him; and having been sent by **King Ptolemy the elder** in charge of the gift of grain sent to the Romans and having arrived in our city, he conducted himself during his stay in a manner worthy both of the king who sent (him) and of our city: be it resolved by the *boule*: that Ariston (son) of Herakleides, Solian, is to be *proxenos* and benefactor of the *demos* of the Chalkidians, both he and his descendants, and that they are to have (the) right of owning land and house, and security and inviolability both when there is war and in time of peace, and that there shall belong to them all the other things, as many as are prescribed for the other *proxenoi* and benefactors of the *demos* of the Chalkidians.

Note:

King Ptolemy the elder: Ptolemy VI Philometor, then ruling jointly with his brother Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II: cf. documents 46, 51.

49 Alliance between Maroneia and Rome

SEG 35. 823

167 or soon after

In 167 King Eumenes, aware of the displeasure of the Romans (cf. document 47), sent his brother Attalus (the future Attalus II) to Rome (see Pol. 30.1–3 for this episode). Some at Rome tried to induce the young man to betray his brother and claim the throne for himself, promising him the city of the Ainioi and Maronitai in Thrace, previously subject to Philip V of Macedon as Ainos and Maroneia and coveted by Eumenes throughout the 180s, as part of the bargain (there was by this time only the one city of Maroneia, as reflected in this inscription of the alliance from Maroneia). When Attalus declined to be seduced, the Senate declared the city free. The alliance between Rome and Maroneia was most likely struck very shortly after that. This inscription is the fullest surviving Greek text of a Roman alliance. The form of alliance appears to have been standard over a long time. (For a fragmentary Latin text of an alliance of the same form, between Rome and Callatis on the Black Sea (72/1), see *ILLRP* 516.)

— the] priest [of Zeus and Roma, Dionysos and Maro being —]; the envoys having been [— (son) of —, —] (son) of Atheneus, Agathok[les (son) of —], Pythion (son of) Heragoras: [Alliance of the *demos*] of the Romans and the *demos* of [the Maronitai and] those of the Ainioi judged by **Lucius [Paulus]** to be free and sharing in their state: There shall be friendship and good alliance by land and by sea for all time. There shall not be war. The *demos* of the Maronitai shall not allow, by public counsel with wicked deceit, the enemies and **antipolemioi** of the Romans to pass through their own territory and the (territory) they control so as to bring war on the Romans and those under them; and they shall not supply them, by public counsel with wicked deceit, with arms or ships or money so as to bring war on the *demos* of the Romans. The *demos* of the Romans shall not allow, by public counsel with wicked deceit, the enemies and *antipolemioi* of the *demos* of the Maronitai to pass through their own territory and the (territory) they control so as to bring war on the *demos* of the Maronitai and those under them: and they shall not supply them, by public counsel with wicked deceit on the part of the *demos* of the Romans, with arms or ships or money so as to bring war on the *demos* of the Maronitai.

If anyone begins (a war) against the *demos* of the Romans or those under the Romans, then the *demos* of the Maronitai shall go to the aid of the *demos* of the Romans in so far as they are able. If anyone begins a war against the *demos* of the Maronitai or those under the Maronitai, then the *demos* of the

Romans shall go to the aid of the *demos* of the Maronitai in so far as they are able.

If the *demos* of the Romans and the *demos* of the Maronitai, by common counsel and with each deliberating, wish to add anything to this alliance or to delete (anything from it), it shall be permitted (to do so), and whatever they add shall be (included) in (the terms of) the alliance; and whatever they delete, this shall not be (included) in (the terms of) the alliance. This alliance (is) to be inscribed on a bronze tablet and set up at Rome in the Capitolium, at Maroneia in the sanctuary of Dionysos.

Notes:

Lucius [Paulus]: L. Aemilius L.f. Paullus, consul for the second time in 168 (previously in 182) and commander of the Roman army in Greece, proconsul in 167 for the settlement of Greece after the defeat of Perseus and the abolition of the Macedonian monarchy. Exactly when, how and why he secured the incorporation of some of the inhabitants of Ainos in the *polis* of Maroneia is not known.

antipolemioi: Exactly what this word means here is not wholly clear: apparently something distinct from (but clearly related to) ‘enemies’ (*polemioi*).

50 Eumenes II, Attalus II and the Gauls

RC 61 (OGIS 315 VI)

c.156

In spite of the evident hostility of Rome (cf. document 47) Eumenes continued in his attempt to deal with the Gauls. He was aided in this, and eventually succeeded (in 159), by his brother Attalus (II). The collection of letters, of which this inscription is a part, indicates that the matter was approached at least partly by way of intrigue, and in this they had the support of the priest of Cybele at Pessinus, himself a Gaul. The first three letters were written by Eumenes II (the date of RC 55 is 5 September 163), the next two by Attalus acting on his brother’s behalf. The last but one is again from Attalus, but whether as king or minister is not clear; here in RC 61 he is king. Much of the time had evidently been spent in planning a course of vigorous action, but when this was finally discussed by Attalus with his advisers (RC 61), hesitation won the day. The view of Rome that produced this result is, to judge from Polybius (see above all 23.17), one that had been valid for some three decades at least. The letters themselves were not actually inscribed until the late first century, probably as part of an attempt to record the history of the temple of Cybele at Pessinus on its stones.

[King Attalus to priest Attis, greeting. If you were well, it would be] as I wish; I also was in good health. When we came to Pergamon and I assembled not only Athenaios and Sosandros and Menogenes but many others also of my kinsmen, and when I laid before them what we discussed in Apamea and told them our decision, there was a very long discussion, and at first all inclined to the same opinion with us, but Chloros vehemently held forth the Roman fact and counselled us in no way to do anything without them. In this at first few concurred, but afterwards, as day after day we kept considering, it appealed more and more, and to start something without them began to seem to hold great danger; if we were unsuccessful (there would be) envy and detraction and baneful suspicion – that which they felt also towards my brother – if we failed, certain destruction. For they would not, it seemed to us, regard our disaster with sympathy but would rather be delighted to see it, because we had undertaken such projects without them. As it is, however, (it seems that) if – may it not happen – we were worsted in any matters, having done everything with their approval, we would receive help and fight our way back, with the goodwill of the gods. I decided, therefore, always to send to Rome men to report constantly on cases where we are in doubt, while [we] ourselves make [careful] preparation [to protect] ourselves, [if necessary] —

51 Will of Ptolemy the Younger

SEG 9. 7

155

On the morrow of the Sixth Syrian War (170–168), Egypt was ruled by two sons of Ptolemy V: Ptolemy VI Philometor (cf. document 48) and his younger brother Ptolemy VIII (called Physcon for his corpulence), who later became Euergetes II. The co-regency was not a stable one, and in 164 Ptolemy VI was forced to flee. He found little sympathy at Rome, where he went first, but did succeed in establishing himself on Cyprus. In 163 he was asked by the Alexandrians to return to Egypt, whereupon the two brothers decided to partition the kingdom. Ptolemy VI took Egypt and Cyprus, Ptolemy VIII Cyrene. Hostilities continued nonetheless, while the younger Ptolemy sought to secure Cyprus. In 155, so Ptolemy VIII maintained, his brother tried to have him assassinated. To this context belongs this inscription from Cyrene, containing the younger Ptolemy's will. In 155/4, it may be added, he went to Rome and showed the scars from the alleged murder attempt to the Senate (Polybius 33.11, where there is no mention of the will). The senators decided at that point to help him secure control of Cyprus. Enough of Polybius' account of these events survives (cf. 31.2, 10, 17; 33.11) to give a clear picture of the Senate's calculating pragmatism (see especially 31.10).

(In the) fifteenth year, (the) month Loios, with good fortune. King Ptolemy, (son) of King Ptolemy and Queen Cleopatra, Gods Manifest, the younger, made the following testament, of which also a copy has been sent to Rome. May it be allowed me, with the favour of the gods, to take vengeance fittingly upon those who contrived the unholy plot against me and sought to deprive me not only of my kingship but also of my life. If anything human should befall me before I leave successors to my kingship, I leave the kingship which belongs to me to the Romans, with whom I have from the beginning truly maintained friendship and alliance; and to the same I entrust my affairs for them to preserve, beseeching them by all the gods and by their own good reputation, if any attack the cities or the country, to give aid, in accordance with the friendship and alliance which has existed between us and in accordance with justice, with all their might. As witnesses of these things I appoint Capitoline Zeus and the Great Gods and Helios and **Apollo Archegetes**, with whom also the document concerning these matters has been deposited.

Note:

Apollo Archegetes: Apollo (the) Founder (of Cyrene), in whose sanctuary the inscription was found.

52 Letter of Q. Fabius Maximus to Dyme

RDGE 43 (Syll.³ 684)

144/143

After the end of the Achaean War in 146 the Achaean League was drastically reorganized by the Romans. Its territory was reduced and a property qualification for League and city magistrates was established. Paucity of evidence for the years after 146 makes it impossible to establish the popularity or otherwise of the new arrangements, but the present text indicates that there was serious discontent at least in Dyme soon after 146. New laws were drafted, public buildings were burned, and even some local magistrates (the *synhedroi* not with Kyllanios and the *damiourgos* condemned to death) were involved. The matter was reported to the Roman governor of the province of Macedonia (whose area of control included the Peloponnesos) who here outlines the actions he has taken.

In the term of Leon as *theokolos*, (and that) of Stratokles as secretary of the *synhedrion*. **Quintus Fabius**, (son) of Quintus, Maximus, proconsul of the Romans, to the magistrates and *synhedroi* and the city of the Dymaeans, greeting. Kyllanios and the *synhedroi* with him informed me about the wrongs that

have been perpetrated among you – I speak of the burning and destruction of the town hall and the public records, in which the leader of the whole disturbance was Sosos, (son) of Tauromenes, who also drafted the laws contrary to the constitution given by the Romans to the Achaeans concerning which I held a detailed discussion in Patrai with my advisory council present. Since, therefore, those who carried out these things were to my mind manifestly laying the [foundation] of the worst state of affairs and of disorder for all the Greeks – for not only are these doings [in keeping with] a state of mutual disaffection and cancellation of debts, but they are also at odds with the freedom returned in common to all the Greeks and with our policy. As the accusers provided genuine proofs, I have judged to be guilty and have condemned to death Sosos, who was the instigator of the deeds and who drafted laws aiming at the overthrow of the constitution given, and likewise [Phor]miskos (son) of Echesthenes, one of the *damiourgoi*, who acted together with those who set fire to the town hall and the public records – since even he [himself] confessed. Timotheos (son) of Nikias, who was with Sosos a law-drafter, since he seemed to have done less wrong, I ordered to proceed to Rome, having exacted an oath that he will be there on the first day of the ninth [month] and having informed the **praetor in charge of foreigners** [of the decision] that he is not to return home before (then), unless —

Notes:

On all aspects of this text, see R. M. Kallet-Marx, *Classical Quarterly*, 1995, 129–53.

Quintus Fabius: The identity of this proconsular Quintus Fabius, Q. Fabius Maximus Servilianus (consul 142, praetor by 145) and the date of the inscription are guaranteed by a series of still unpublished inscriptions: see J.-L. Ferrary, *Philhellénisme et impérialisme* (Rome, 1988), 186–99; see also Kallet-Marx (cited above).

praetor in charge of foreigners: i.e., the *praetor peregrinus*.

53 Letter from Esthladas to his Parents

P.Dryton 36 = W.Chr. 10 (Sel.Pap. 101)

130

This papyrus provides further evidence of the civil war between Ptolemy VIII and his sister Cleopatra II, in which the city of Hermonthis persistently took the side of the latter. The author, son of a cavalry officer of Cretan descent, is on military duty; he tells his parents that the Egyptian general of the king, Paos, is shortly to arrive with an army capable of conquering Hermonthis. Paos was probably successful, since Hermonthis was in Euergetes' hands in 127. For the family's papers, see N. Lewis, *Greeks in Ptolemaic Egypt* (Oxford, 1986, repr. Oakville, CT, 2001), 88–103.

Esthladas to his father and mother, greeting and good health. As I keep writing to you to keep up your courage and take care of yourself until things settle down, once again please encourage yourself and our people. For news has come that Paos is sailing up in the month of Tybi with abundant forces to subdue the mobs in Hermonthis, and to deal with them as rebels. Greet my sisters also and Pelops and Stachys and Senathyris. Farewell. Year 40, Choiach 23. (Address) Deliver to Pathyris to my father.

Note:

Despite the opening greeting, the verbs following are all in the singular, presumably meaning the father (Dryton). His mother is actually his stepmother. Cf. *BL* 9.374.

54 Decree of Amnesty and Regulation

P.Tebt. I 5

118

These royal decrees, issued by Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II and his two queens, Cleopatra II and III, marked the end of a prolonged period of civil and dynastic warfare that had occupied much of Euergetes' reign in Egypt (145–116). The variety and thoroughness of the measures taken show the disarray of the country in the wake of the conflicts. In particular, the great attempt to re-establish tranquil and productive relations between the Crown and its tax base shows the disastrous effects of internal strife on the tightly regulated economic life of the country. Relations between Greeks and Egyptians are also treated with considerable innovative care. Throughout, the revitalization of royal revenues is at stake; the king must persuade the royal cultivators to return to their land, the workers in monopolized industries to return to their jobs, and the officials to stop oppressing the subjects. The last of these was perhaps the most difficult of all, as the king's control of his administration was not very secure. For this period in general, see Cl. Préaux, *Actes du Ve Congrès International de Papyrologie* (Brussels, 1938), 345–54.

King Ptolemy and Queen Cleopatra the Sister and Queen Cleopatra the Wife proclaim an amnesty to all their subjects for errors, crimes, accusations, condemnations and charges of all kinds up to the 9th of Pharmouthi of the 52nd year, except to persons guilty of wilful murder or sacrilege.

They have also decreed that persons who have fled because they were guilty of theft or subject to other charges shall return to their own homes and resume their former occupations, and recover those of their belongings seized on account of these charges that have not yet been sold.

And they release everyone from debts for the period up to the 50th year in respect to the farming of the grain tax and the money taxes except for hereditary lessees who have given a surety.

Likewise, in respect to those who owe for the half-*artaba* tax and . . . and the two-*artaba* tax and the police tax and embankment work and similar obligations and the dike-tax, up to the same date. And they release also those in arrears for the *apomoira* and the *eparourion* and the rents and the other . . . up to the same time —.

(And they have decreed that the officials of the custom-house shall not . . . nor seize goods unless they find upon the wharf at the harbours of Alexandria something on which duty has not been paid or of which the importation is forbidden; these they are to bring to the *dioiketes*.)

Likewise persons who travel on foot up the country from Alexandria by the land-route which leads . . . , and persons crossing from one tongue of land to another shall have no payment of any kind demanded or exacted from them except the legal duties.

[Likewise in the case of] persons importing goods through the foreign mart . . . the seizure [is to be made (?)] at the custom-house itself.

And they have decreed that all recipients of grants of land and all holders of temple or other conceded land, both those who have encroached on the Crown land and all others who hold more land than that to which they are entitled, shall, on giving up the excess and declaring themselves and paying a year's rent, be released from payments due from them up to the 51st year, and shall remain in valid possession (of their holdings).

And that the picked forces, and the native soldiers who hold ten or seven *arouras*, and their leaders, and all others placed [in that class], and the native marines, and those who . . . , shall have the legal ownership of the lands which they have possessed up to the [52nd year, and shall be free from accusation] and interference. And they release everyone from the *liturgikon* due.

And they have decreed that the sacred land and other sacred [revenues] which belong to the temples shall remain assured to them and that the temples shall receive the shares which they used to receive from vineyards and gardens and other land.

And in like manner the appointed sums or what they received from the Treasury for the pay of the temples and the other sums granted to them up to the 51st year shall be paid to them regularly, as in the other cases, and no one shall be allowed to take anything from these sources of revenue.

No one shall take away by force anything of what has been dedicated to the gods, nor apply forcible persuasion to the superintendents of the sacred revenues, whether derived from villages or land or other temple revenues, nor shall the tax on associations or the *crown-tax* or the *artaba-tax* be paid upon what has been dedicated to the gods, nor shall anyone exercise control over the sacred land on any pretext, but they shall be left to be administered by the priests.



Plate 4 South Temple at Karanis, chamber for crocodile mummy.

And they remit to the overseers of the temples and the chief priests and priests the arrears on account of both the tax for overseers and the values of woven cloths up to the 50th year.

Likewise they remit to holders of honourable offices, or of posts as prophet or scribe, or of other sacred offices in the temples, the arrears owed in the temples for the emoluments demanded on certain occasions up to the 50th year. Likewise they remit the penalties incurred by those who have extorted more (than their due) emoluments up to the same period.

Likewise to holders of such offices in the lesser temples, both shrines of Isis and feeding places of ibises and hawk-shrines and Anubis-shrines and the like they remit the corresponding arrears and penalties up to the same period —.

And they have decreed that the expenses for the burial of **Apis** and Mnevis should be demanded from the Crown revenues, as in the case of the deified personages. Likewise in the case of the other sacred animals the sums required (shall be paid by the Crown). (Likewise) those honourable offices and posts as prophet or scribe which have been bought for the temples out of the temple revenues, and of which the prices have been paid, shall remain assured to the temples, but the priests are not permitted to make over these offices to other persons.

And they have decreed that no one is to be [taken away] or forcibly ejected from the existing places of asylum on any pretext.

And since it sometimes happens that the *sitologoi* and *antigraphais* use larger measures than the correct bronze measures appointed in each nome . . . in estimating dues to the Crown, and in consequence the cultivators are not charged the (correct number of) choinikes, they have decreed that the *strategoï* and the overseers of the revenues and the royal scribes shall test the measures in the most thorough manner possible in the presence of those concerned with the revenues, of the farmers, and the priests and the cleruchs and other holders of conceded land . . . , and the measures must not exceed (the government measure) by more than the two . . . allowed for errors. Those who disobey this decree are **punishable with death**.

And they have decreed that the cultivators of vineland or gardens throughout the country, if they plant them between the 53rd and 57th years in the land which has become flooded or dry, shall be left untaxed for five years dating from the time at which they plant them, and from the sixth year for three years more they shall be required to pay less than the proper amount, (payment being made) in the fourth year, but from the ninth year onwards they shall all pay the same as the owners of taxable land, and that cultivators in the country belonging to Alexandria shall be allowed an extra three years' grace.

And they have decreed that those who have bought from the Crown houses or vineyards or gardens or other (holdings?) or boats or anything else whatever shall remain in **undisturbed possession**, and they shall not have persons quartered in their houses.

And they have decreed that owners of houses which have been pulled down or burned shall be permitted to rebuild them according to the prescribed measurements; and that persons who own private [houses] in the villages shall likewise be allowed to rebuild their homes in the same manner to the height of . . . , and rebuild the temples to the height of 10 cubits, except the inhabitants of **Panopolis**.

No one is to collect anything whatever from the cultivators and the **tax-payers** and the persons connected with the revenues and the honey-workers and the rest for the benefit of the *strategoï* or superintendents of police or the chiefs of police or *oikonomoi* or their agents or the other officials in any way. Neither *strategoï* nor holders of official positions nor their subordinates nor any other persons whatever shall take the richest Crown land from the cultivators by fraud or cultivate it at choice.

The following classes – the Greeks serving in the army, the priests, the cultivators of Crown lands, the . . . , all the wool-weavers and cloth-makers, the swineherds, the gooseherds, [the . . .], oil-workers, castor-oil-workers, honey-workers, and beer-makers, who pay the proper sums to the Crown **shall not have persons quartered** in the one house in which each of them lives, and in the case of their other buildings which may be used for quarters, not more than half shall be occupied for that purpose.

And they have decreed that the *strategoï* and the other officials may not compel any of the inhabitants of the country to work for their private service, nor use their cattle for any purpose of their own, nor force them to feed calves and other animals for sacrifice, nor force them to provide geese or birds or wine or grain at a price or on the occasion of renewals, nor oblige them to work without payment on any pretext whatever.

And they remit to the police throughout the country the (penalties incurred by making) false returns in connection with the government inspections and the produce which they have lost; and they remit the sums which have been paid them for arrears or for other reasons but which have disappeared, up to the 50th year.

And (they have decreed) that those who have failed to deliver to the Crown at a price the oil-yielding produce from cleruchic or temple or other land up to the same period and those who have failed to supply transport for the assembly are released from the penalties which they have incurred.

Likewise that persons who have failed to provide reeds and light material for the embankments (are released from the penalties which they have incurred).

Likewise the cultivators of Crown lands, and other holders of conceded land who have failed to plant the proper number [of arouras] up to the 51st year, (are released from) the penalties which they have incurred, but the planting (of the proper number) shall be made from the 52nd year onwards.

And (they remit the penalties incurred by) those who have cut down wood on their own property in contravention of the published decree.

And they have decreed, in cases in which Egyptians and Greeks are opposed, namely in cases of Greeks who bring actions against Egyptians, or of Egyptians against Greeks, with regard to all classes except the cultivators of Crown land and the taxpayers and all others connected with the revenues, that where Egyptians make an agreement with Greeks by contracts written in Greek, they shall give and receive satisfaction before the *chrematistai*; but where Greeks make agreements by contracts written in Egyptian they shall give satisfaction before the **native judges** in accordance with the national laws; and that suits of Egyptians against Egyptians shall not be dragged by the *chrematistai* into their own courts, but they shall allow them to be decided before the native judges in accordance with the national laws.

And they have decreed that collectors of foreign debts must not on any pretext whatever get control over the persons of the cultivators of Crown land or the taxpayers or the others whom the previously issued decrees forbid to be brought up for accusation; but the exactions in cases which come before the collectors shall be levied upon the rest of the debtor's property which is not exempted by the following decree.

And they have decreed that in the case of cultivators of Crown land the collectors shall not sell up one house containing their working implements, or their cattle or other equipment necessary for cultivation, neither for a debt

to the Crown nor for one to the temples nor for any other debt, on any pretext whatever. And in the same way they shall not sell the cloth-weaving tools of the cloth-weavers and the **byssus**-makers and the wool-weavers and other persons engaged in similar trades on any pretext whatever; nor shall any other persons take possession of or use the tools required for cloth-weaving or byssus manufacture than the taxpayers themselves and the byssus-workers, who alone shall use them in the temple themselves for the service of the sovereigns and the vestments of the other gods.

And (they have decreed) that no one holding an official position or anyone else shall impose labour upon the cloth-weavers and byssus-workers and robe-weavers gratis or at reduced wages. And they have decreed that no one may appropriate boats for his own use on any pretext whatever.

And that neither the *stratego*i nor any others who are in charge of the Crown, city or sacred interests may arrest anyone for a private debt or offence or owing to a private quarrel and keep him imprisoned in their houses or anywhere else on any pretext whatever; but if they accuse anyone, they shall bring him before the magistrates appointed in each nome, and shall give or receive satisfaction in accordance with the decrees and regulations.

Notes:

The text used here is that of *C.Ord.Ptol.* 53, where the evidence of unpublished partial copies (53 *bis-ter*) is brought to bear, and where a large bibliography may be found. The translation of the original editors has however been used as the basis for this one. The **apomoira**, a tax of a sixth on produce of these types of land, was allocated by the Revenue Laws to Arsinoe Philadelphos (document 114); it is not certain what part if any was directly paid to the temples before 118, and the effect of this provision is thus not entirely clear. It evidently constituted a significant royal concession.

Apis: The famous sacred bulls of Memphis who in succession incarnated the god Apis and who were buried in an elaborate funerary complex there.

death penalty for false measures: This, the only death penalty specified in the document, suggests the importance attached by the sovereigns to this measure.

undisturbed possession: This clause avoids claims by those who have returned home to find their belongings confiscated and sold.

Panopolis: Apparently one of the chief sources of rebellion against Euergetes.

'taxpayers': here and elsewhere in this papyrus evidently the workers in royal monopolies.

groups exempt from quartering: It is interesting to see which of the Egyptians are included in this privileged class, notably workers in the essential industries.

native judges: This is certainly a major innovation and one surely of great importance to the Egyptian subjects of the Ptolemies; the Greek judges are ordered to end and reverse their practice of concentrating judicial matters in their hands.

byssus: a type of flax for linen.

55 Letter of King Antiochus to King Ptolemy

RC 71–72 (OGIS 257)

109

The last years of the Seleucid dynasty were dominated by internecine rivalry and a labyrinthine series of marriage alliances with the Ptolemies. At the end of the second century Antiochus VIII Grypus and Antiochus IX Cyzicenus were ruling in different parts of Syria. They were at once cousins, being sons of the brothers Demetrius II and Antiochus VII, and uterine brothers, as both were born of Cleopatra Thea. Each of them, moreover, during his life married two daughters of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II (father of Ptolemy IX Soter II and Ptolemy X Alexander): Grypus married Cleopatra Tryphaina, and Cyzicenus married Cleopatra IV, and both married (in succession) Cleopatra Selene, who went on to wed Antiochus X. Of the sisters, Cleopatra IV and Cleopatra Selene both had Ptolemy IX (their brother) as a first husband. The letters here were probably written by Antiochus VIII to his ally Ptolemy X at a time when Antiochus was in control of Seleukia. Antiochus VIII and IX, both weak, 'were forced to purchase support in any quarter and at any price at which it might be obtained. Here the cost was the recognition of the freedom of one of the capital cities, Seleucia in Pieria' (RC, p. 290). The text of the second letter (including the mention of the Romans) is full of uncertainties.

71

King Antiochus to King Ptolemy, also (called) Alexander, his brother, greeting. If you were well it would be as we wish; we ourselves were well and were remembering you with affection. The people of Seleukia in Pieria, the city holy and inviolable, [from of old] supported our father and to the end maintained steadfast their goodwill [towards him. They have been constant in] their love towards us and have shown it [through many] fine deeds especially in the most desperate times we have experienced. We have therefore hitherto furthered their interests both generously and as they deserve and have brought them into [more conspicuous] regard. And now, being anxious to reward them fittingly with the first [and greatest] benefaction, [we decided that they be for] all time free, [and we included them in the treaties] which we have made with each other, [thinking] that thus both [our piety and our generosity] towards our ancestral city will be more apparent. [So that you also may] know [these concessions, it seemed] best [to write to you]. Farewell. Year 203, Gorpaios 29.

72

[King Antiochus to the magistrates and the] *boule* and the *demos* [of the people of Seleukia] in Pieria, the holy [and inviolable, greeting. If you and the city were well, it would be] as we wish. [We have sent you a copy of the letter] which we have written [to King Ptolemy and of the one to the Senate of the] Romans (?), [so that you may know —

56 Decree for Diophantos, Strategos of King Mithridates VI

IPE I² 352 (Syll.³ 709)

c.107

In the years preceding the accession to the throne of Pontus by King Mithridates VI Eupator (about 112), the Greeks of the north coast of the Black Sea were under constant pressure from the Scythians of the steppe. The independence of Chersonnesos (on the Crimean peninsula), in particular, was threatened by the control over Olbia by the Scythian king Palakos. Under attack by the barbarians, the Greeks of Chersonnesos appealed for help to the new king of Pontus (about 110; Strabo 7.308–9). The *démarche* bore fruit for the Chersonnetai, for whom independence was secured, and for Mithridates, who made a solid beginning of establishing his control over the entire area. The successful campaign was conducted by Mithridates' general Diophantos of Sinope, in whose honour the Greeks of Chersonnesos passed this decree.

[— and . . . son of —]ithos spoke: Whereas [Diophantos, (son) of Askla]piodoros, of Sinope, being [our] friend [and benefactor] and being trusted and [honoured] second to none by King **Mithradates** Eupa[tor], has always been responsible for good [for each] of us, urging the king on to the most noble and glorious deeds, having been summoned by him [and] taking on the war against the Scythians, [and] arriving in our city, he courageously accomplished the crossing of the whole army to the opposite shore; and when Palakos, king of the Scythians, suddenly attacked with a great throng, he (Diophantos), drawing his army up in the moment of need and routing the Scythians, who were thought to be irresistible, brought it about that King Mithradates Eupator set up his first trophy from Scythian spoils; and rendering the neighbouring Tauroi subject to him and establishing a city in the place, he moved off into the regions about the **Bosporus** and, having in a

short time carried out many great actions, he turned back into our area again and, taking with him those citizens in their prime, he advanced into the middle of Scythia, and when the Scythians surrendered to him the palaces at Chabaioi and Neapolis it came to pass that almost all (of them) became subject to King Mithradates Eupator, for which the *demos* in its gratitude honoured him with the appropriate honours, as having been released from the domination of the barbarians.

When the Scythians made manifest their innate faithlessness and revolted from the king and sought to bring about a change in the state of affairs, and when, for these reasons, King Mithradates Eupator again sent Diophantos out with an army, although the season was closing on winter, Diophantos, taking his own troops and the most able of the citizens, set out against the very palaces of the Scythians, but hindered by storms and turning back to the coastal area he took Kerkinitis and the Walls and set about besieging those living round the Fair Harbour. When Pala[kos] thought the occasion was to his advantage and was collecting all his own forces, dragging along also the tribe of the Reuxinalians, the Parthenos, who ever stands (watch) over the Chersonnetai and who on that occasion was with Diophantos, foretold the action that was about to happen by the signs that occurred in the sanctuary and inspired the whole army with courage and daring. After Diophantos drew up his forces wisely it came to pass that the victory went to King Mithradates Eupator, a splendid one and worthy of being remembered forever; for of the (enemy's) infantry scarcely a one [was saved], and of the cavalry not many escaped. Leaving no time for inactivity, and advancing with [his army] **at the height of spring** against Chabaioi and Neapolis, all the heavy-armed soldiers — [with the result that some . . .] (managed to?) escape, and the rest of the Scythians about their own [affairs?] . . . took counsel.

And after moving off into the regions about the Bosporus and arranging things there well and to the advantage of King Mithradates Eupator, when the Scythians with Saumakos began to cause trouble and killed the king of the Bosporus, Pairisadas, who had raised him (Saumakos), and laid a plot against Diophantos, he escaped [the] danger and boarded the boat that had been sent to him by our citizens, and coming here and encouraging the citizens, having as a zealous helper King Mithradates Eupator who dispatched him, he arrived **at the height of spring** with his army and navy, and taking with him a specially picked group of citizens in three ships' crews, he set out from our city and took Theodosia and Pantikapaion; and punishing those who were responsible for the revolt and capturing Saumakos, who was the murderer of King Pairisadas, he sent him under arrest into the kingdom (Pontus), and he regained control of the area for King Mithradates Eupator, and, aiding the embassies dispatched by the *demos* he shows himself kind and zealous for everything of benefit to the Chersonnetai.

So, in order that the *demos* may be seen to return fitting thanks to its benefactors, be it resolved by the *boule* and the *demos* to crown Diophantos (son)

of Asklapiodoros with a golden crown at the (festival of the) Parthenia at the procession, the *symnamones* making the (following) proclamation: 'The *demos* crowns Diophantos (son) of Asklapiodoros, of Sinope, on account of his virtue and his goodwill toward itself'; and to set up a bronze statue of him in armour on the acropolis by the altar of Parthenos and that of Chersonnesos; and for the magistrates listed to look after these matters, that they may be done as quickly and as splendidly as possible; and to have this decree inscribed upon the base of the statue, and for the treasurers of the sacred (funds) to provide the expense arising in these connections. These things were resolved by the *boule* and the *demos*, on the 19th of the month Dionysios, when Agelas the (son) of Lagorinos was *basileus*, and Menis the (son) of Heraklios was *proaisymnetes*, and Da[masikl]eios (son) of Athanaios was secretary.

Notes:

Mithradates: The spelling of the name varied in antiquity; this form is the less common.

Bosporus: The Crimean Bosporus.

at the height of spring: The phrase is the same in both places, most likely indicating that two successive springs are at issue.

57 Chairemon of Nysa, Mithridates and Rome

*Syll.*³ 741, I + *RDGE* 48 (*Syll.*³ 741, II)
+ *RC* 73–74 (*Syll.*³ 741, III–IV)

88 and following

After the end of the Roman war against Mithridates of Pontus many of the Greek cities of Asia Minor were anxious to appear as pro-Roman as possible. At Ephesos, for example, an inscription of about 85 (*Syll.*³ 742) referred thus to Mithridates: '[having transgressed his] treaty with the Romans and collecting together [forces, he undertook] to make himself master [of territory that in no way belonged] to him'; and it goes on to speak of the Ephesians as having from the start maintained their goodwill towards the Romans. In 88, however, the Ephesians had slaughtered the Romans and Italians who had taken refuge in the (theretofore) inviolate sanctuary of Artemis at Ephesus (Appian, *Mith.* 23.88). At the end of the war the city of Nysa honoured its eminent pro-Roman Chairemon with a statue. Inscribed on the base of it were three letters written in 88: (A) one to the city of Nysa from the Roman proconsul of Asia, C. Cassius, and (B and C) two of a different tenor from Mithridates to his satrap of Caria, Leonippos. It is not clear whether the honour was conferred posthumously, for it would seem that Chairemon was in the Artemision at Ephesos when the massacre just referred

to occurred. Rhodes proved in the event a more secure place of refuge, and Chairemon's descendants are known to have maintained connections with Rome (cf. *RDGE*, p. 262).

[The *de*]mos [of the Nysaeans and the *bou*]le [honoured] Ch[ae]r[em][on] (son) of Pythodoros.

A

Gaius Cassius to the magistrates of the Nysaeans, greeting. Chairemon, son of Pythodoros, your citizen, came to me in Apamea, and asked [that] I allow him (to come before) my advisory council. This I did allow him, since he promised to my advisory council, out of regard for the Senate and *demos* of the Romans, that he would give as a gift for the army 60,000 *modii* of wheat meal. I replied about this matter that he had done nobly, and that I myself in turn would see to it that he recognized that these things were pleasing to us. And [we shall report these things] to the Senate and the *demos* of the Romans.

B

King [Mithrid]ates to (the) satrap Leonippos, greeting. Whereas Chairemon (son) of Pythodoros, a man most hatefully and most inimically disposed to our state, has always consorted with our most hated enemies, and now learning of my proximity has removed to a place of safety his sons Pythodoros and Pythion and has himself fled, proclaim that if anyone apprehends Chairemon or Pythodoros or Pythion living, he will receive forty talents, and if anyone brings in the head of any [of them], he will receive twenty talents.

C

King Mithridates to Leonippos, greeting. Chairemon (son) of Pythodoros has previously effected the escape of the fugitive Romans with his sons to the city of the Rhodians, and now, learning of my proximity, he has taken refuge in the temple of the Ephesian Artemis and from there he is sending letters to the Romans, the common enemy (of everyone). [His] confidence in face of the offences he has committed is the starting-point of the things being done against us. Consider how you may by all means bring him to [us] or how he may be kept in arrest and imprisonment until I am free of [the] enemy.

58 Correspondence of Platon

P.Bour. 10, 12

88

These two letters form part of a dossier of letters written by Platon, *epistatagos* of the Thebaid, in the time of a revolt by the Egyptians of that region in 88. The revolt began under Ptolemy X Alexander, but that king is not mentioned as taking any measures, and by the end of the dossier, Ptolemy IX Soter II, his brother, has returned to power after decades out of the country, and Alexander has fled. It is interesting to note that in these letters Platon uses the priests and an Egyptian subordinate as the bases of support for the government, in keeping with the usual policy of the later Ptolemies of using Egyptians to control Egyptians. At the same time, it is interesting that Platon is able to switch allegiance from one king to his rival – the letters are dated by the regnal years of different kings – without any obvious hesitation (there are seven months between the letters). For a full discussion of the entire dossier, see E. van 't Dack, 'Le retour de Ptolémée IX Sotèr II en Égypte et la fin du règne de Ptolémée X Alexandre I', in *The Judaeo-Syrian-Egyptian Conflict of 103–101 B.C.* (Brussels, 1989), 136–50.

10

Platon to Nechthyris, greeting. We set out from Latopolis to take charge of things in the most advantageous manner under the circumstances, having written to the inhabitants to assist you. Please keep watch on the area and be on the defensive; and if any persons try to disobey you and engage in a (more severe?) uprising, secure them until I reach you as soon as possible. Farewell. Year 26, Phamenoth 16. (Address) Give to Nechthyris.

12 = *W.Chr.* 12

Platon to the priests and other inhabitants of Pathyris, greeting. Philoxenos my colleague has written to me in a letter brought to me by Orses about the arrival of King Soter, the very great god, at Memphis, and that Hierax has been put in charge, with very great forces, of the subduing of the Thebaid. I judged it good to inform you so that knowing this you may be resolute. Farewell. Year 30, Phaophi 19. (Address) To the priests and others in Pathyris.

Note:

The letter 'to the inhabitants' mentioned by Platon in the earlier letter is extant, *P.Lond.* II 465 (*SB* III 6300), and repeats much of the phraseology of *P.Bour.* 10.

59 Cn. Pompeius Magnus

Syll.³ 749, 751

c.67

These two inscriptions are from the bases of the statues of Pompey erected probably after his war against the pirates, a campaign especially gratifying to the islands of the Aegean. (A) is from Delos, (B) from Samos.

A

The *demos* of the Athe[nians and the *koinon*] of the Pompeis[*tai* in Delos (dedicated) to Apollo (this statue of) Gnaeus] Pompeius [son of] Gna[*eus*, (the) Great], **autokrator**.

B

The *demos* of the Samians (dedicated this statue of) Gnaeus Pompeius, son of Gnaeus, (the) Great, **autokrator**, the benefactor and saviour —

Note:

autokrator: i.e. (in Latin) *imperator*.

60 Report on Disturbance in the Country

BGU VIII 1762

probably 58

The author and addressee of this report are both unknown, but the source is the Herakleopolite Nome and time evidently the rule of Berenike IV and Cleopatra Tryphaina in 58. The details are obscure, but it appears that an angry group was pacified by promises that their complaints against an official would be heeded.

— On the following day rather more (men) came to the gate of . . . and shouted for the queens and the armed forces. When the *strategos* arrived with Chairas the clerk and the visitors from Alexandria, they learned of many other misdeeds committed by Hermaiskos and his staff towards everybody. They (the complainants) refuse to do any more work, either private or royal, if

Hermaskos and his staff are not removed from the *nome* when the *strategos* has made his report to the queens and *dioiketes*. And when the *strategos* and the others encouraged them more and promised to report the submissions to them, they dispersed. Therefore we report.

61 Disturbance in the Province of Asia

RDGE 52

probably 51/50

The details of the disturbance that gave rise to this letter from the Roman governor of Asia are lost (the text translated here, preserved in part at Miletus and at Priene, is preceded by twenty-four desperately fragmentary lines and a gap of another twelve). What remains of the inscription provides welcome evidence for the organization of the province of Asia in the middle of the first century, as well as a nice indication of potential problems of communication between governors and governed more than seventy-five years after the creation of the province.

[— (line 37) — of (from?)] **Quintus** T(?)[—] for the cancellation [. . . and,] meeting [**Marcus**] **Cicero**, he expressed thanks, carefully maintaining my arrangements [not to be undone (?)]; whence I have been astonished at how you have borne the shamelessness of certain men in [these matters]. For these [reasons] I have written to the *koinon* of the Greeks — [to] you, (to the) Ephesians, Trallians, Alabandians, Mylasians, Smyrnaeans, Pergamenes, Sardians, Adramyttians, in order that you might send (copies) to the cities in your own *dioikesis*, and see to it that this letter is inscribed in the most conspicuous place on a pilaster on white stone, in order that justice might be established for all in common throughout the province, and that all the other cities and *demoi* might do the same amongst themselves, and that they might deposit (copies) in the public (archives in the) *nomophylakia and chrematisteria*. (As to) the reason for which I wrote in Greek, inquire no further: I had in mind that you should not because of **mistranslation** be less able to understand what [has been written]. I [gave] the letter to [Ti]mokles (son) of Anaxagoras and Sosikrates (son) of Py[thion], envoys from (the) Magnesians-on-the-Maeander. Farewell.

Notes:

Quintus: Probably Q. Minucius Q.f. Thermus, proconsular governor of the province of Asia in 51/50.

[**Marcus**] **Cicero**: Probably the orator, who was proconsular governor of Cilicia in 51–50.

dioikesis: a judiciary district of the province of Asia.

mistranslation: The fact that Quintus writes in Greek in order to avoid being misunderstood suggests that he feared problems could arise if his communication had to be translated. Whether he has succeeded in his aim is perhaps not entirely clear.

62 An Egyptian View of Rabirius Postumus

SB XXII 15203

after 55/54

Gaius Rabirius Postumus, a Roman equestrian of the late Republic, achieved a measure of fame by lending vast amounts of his own and his friends' money to Ptolemy XII Auletes when that king needed ready cash for bribery and consumption. Postumus made sure of collecting the debts by having Auletes appoint him *dioiketes* in 55 BC. His term of office ended in prison before he returned to Rome in late 54, only to face prosecution there by the successful accuser of Aulus Gabinius, the former proconsul of Syria. Cicero's defence speech for him survives (*pro Rabirio Postumo*). This papyrus preserves a fragmentary polemical description of his time in office as *dioiketes*. It is not known if the account comes from a semi-literary work or is an extract from a judicial document of some sort; it apparently breaks off in mid-sentence.

. . . Postumus. For on taking office (?), he removed those originally appointed and those who had succeeded to their posts following their fathers and grandfathers. He appointed unsuitable and desperate men, selling the property which had been preserved throughout the whole time. From these, after ordering that the worthiest and most useful of the *dioiketai* be removed, he (turned?) to plunder . . .

Notes:

For discussion of the papyrus see B. Kramer, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, 41 (1995), 304–5; N. Lewis, *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists*, 34 (1997), 27, who suggests at the start reading instead 'taking an opportunity'.

63 Cleopatra's Golden Handcuffs for a Roman

P.Bingen 45

33

The royal act preserved in this papyrus grants a series of exemptions from taxes and other burdens for a Roman, whose names are only partly preserved.

Peter Van Minnen has read them as Publius Canidius, the leading general of Mark Antony, killed on Octavian's orders after the battle of Actium. Klaus Zimmermann has instead read Quintus Cascellius, an otherwise unattested member of a known family. This reading seems to us to fit the traces better but is by no means certain. Zimmermann has also argued that the recipient of the letter was Ptolemy Caesarion, the son of Caesar and Cleopatra. The order lacks the name of Cleopatra at the beginning, but no one else can be meant by the 'we' who orders these concessions. That the subscription 'make it happen' (Greek *ginestho*, 'let it take place') is in Cleopatra's own hand (as Peter van Minnen has argued) seems to us less likely.

(Docket) Received: Year 19 = 4, Mecheir 26.

To — .

We have granted to . . . ius Ca . . . ius and his heirs the annual exportation of 10,000 *artabas* of wheat and the annual importation of 5,000 Coan amphoras of wine without anyone exacting anything in taxes from him or any other expense whatsoever. We have also granted tax exemption on all the land he owns in Egypt on the understanding that he shall not pay any taxes, either to the state account or to **the private account of me and . . .**, in any way, in perpetuity. We have also granted that his tenants are exempt from personal liabilities and from taxes without anyone exacting anything from them, not even contributing to the occasional assessments in the *nomes* or paying for expenses for soldiers or officers. We have also granted that the animals used for ploughing and sowing as well as the beasts of burden and the ships used for the transportation (down the Nile) of the wheat are likewise exempt from 'personal' liabilities and from taxes and cannot be commandeered. Let it be written to those to whom it may concern, so that knowing it they can act accordingly.

(Subscription) Make it happen.

Note:

The translation is based on that of P. van Minnen, *Ancient Society*, 30 (2000), 29–34, based on his revised text, but modified in light of K. Zimmermann, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 138 (2002), 133–9.

the private account of me . . .: the *Idios Logos*, the 'private account' of the monarchs as distinguished from the government's regular funds. Van Minnen restores [and my children], which is palaeographically difficult; Zimmermann, [and you], referring to Ptolemy Caesarion, who he thinks is the addressee.