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PETER THONEMANN

## Estates and the Land in Hellenistic Asia Minor: An Estate Near Antioch on the Maeander

### *I. Introduction*

In 1957, the late CHRISTIAN HABICHT published a substantial fragment of a lengthy inscribed dossier from the Heraion at Samos, apparently dating shortly after the liberation of Karia from Rhodian rule in 167 BC (Fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> The original dossier, inscribed on a large white marble stēlē, seems to have consisted of three separate documents: a decree (ψήφισμα) of the small Karian city of Antioch on the Maeander; a treaty (συνθήκη) between Antioch and an unknown community; and a replying decree of the Samians (ἀπόκριμα Σαμίων), granting permission to the Antiochenes to deposit a copy of the decree and treaty in the public archives at Samos, and to erect an inscribed copy in the Samian Heraion. The fragment published by HABICHT consists of the final eight lines of the συνθήκη (a series of entrenchment clauses) and what appears to be the greater part of the replying decree of the Samians. Over the past sixty years, the inscription has attracted a modest amount of attention, focussed in particular on the Samians' description of the Antiochenes as 'kinsmen' (συνγενεῖς), and on the evidence that the inscription provides for Karian attitudes towards Rome in the after-

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Abbreviations follow those recommended by AIEGL (GrEpiAbbr), with the following additions: VAN BREMEN, Decrees = R. VAN BREMEN, The date and context of the Kymaian decrees for Archippe, REA 110, 2008, 357–382; ERRINGTON, Θεὰ Ῥώμη = R. M. ERRINGTON, Θεὰ Ῥώμη und römischer Einfluss südlich des Mäanders, Chiron 17, 1987, 97–118; HABICHT, Volksbeschlüsse = CH. HABICHT, Samische Volksbeschlüsse der hellenistischen Zeit, MDAI(A) 72, 1957, 152–274; SEKUNDA, Settlement = N. SEKUNDA, Achaemenid settlement in Caria, Lycia and Greater Phrygia, in: H. SANCISI-WEERDENBURG – A. KUHRT ed., Achaemenid History VI, 1991, 83–144; THONEMANN, Antioch = P. THONEMANN, The Silver Coinage of Antioch on the Maeander, NC 179, 2019, 49–80; THONEMANN, Krateuas = P. THONEMANN, Estates and the Land in Early Hellenistic Asia Minor: The Estate of Krateuas, Chiron 39, 2009, 363–393; THONEMANN, Maeander = P. THONEMANN, The Maeander Valley: A Historical Geography from Antiquity to Byzantium, 2011. – For assistance with images, I am grateful to THOMAS CORSTEN and ISABELLA BENDA-WEBER (Vienna), KLAUS HALLOF (Berlin), ACHIM LICHTENBERGER (Münster), and ELENI TZIMI (DAI Athen). I owe a particular debt of gratitude to MICHAEL METCALFE for entrusting the fragment A(i) to me for publication.

<sup>1</sup> HABICHT, Volksbeschlüsse 242–252, no. 65 (BE 1960, 318); republished by K. HALLOF in 2000 as IG XII 6, 1, 6 (W. BLÜMEL, I.Nysa 639; R. M. ERRINGTON, Staatsverträge IV 660–661).



Fig. 1: Fragment B, formerly IG XII 6, 1, 6.

math of the Roman liberation of Karia in 167 BC.<sup>2</sup> The identity of the community with whom the treaty was made has remained a matter of speculation.<sup>3</sup>

In the present paper, I publish two new fragments of the Antioch dossier from Samos. The first of them, Fragment A(i), is known only from a copy taken by the British trav-

<sup>2</sup> Kinship between Samos and Antioch: O. CURTY, *Les parentés légendaires entre cités grecques*, 1995, 61–63, no. 29; THONEMANN, *Maeander* 25 n. 64; cf. S. LÜCKE, *Syngeneia: epigraphisch-historische Studien zu einem Phänomen der antiken griechischen Diplomatie*, 2000, 138. Rome and Karia: R. MELLOR, *Θεὰ Ῥώμη: The worship of the Goddess Roma in the Greek World*, 1975, 45f.; ERRINGTON, *Θεὰ Ῥώμη* 103–105; see also C. P. JONES, *Diotrephes of Antioch*, *Chiron* 13, 1983, 378f.; G. M. COHEN, *The Hellenistic Settlements in Europe, the Islands, and Asia Minor*, 1996, 250–253; THONEMANN, *Antioch*, esp. 50f.

<sup>3</sup> I previously suggested (following HABICHT, *Volksbeschlüsse* 246) the small town of Syneta (THONEMANN, *Antioch* 51), near modern Bucak köyü, just east of Antioch (on which see now A. CHANIOTIS, *Inscriptions from Bucakköy [Syneta?] in Karia*, in: K. HARTER-UIBOPOU ed., *Epigraphische Notizen*, 2019, 79–106); it is now clear this was incorrect.

eller WILLIAM GELL in 1812, in the course of an expedition to Ionia undertaken under the auspices of the Society of Dilettanti (1811–1813). GELL's original copy of the stone is not preserved; what we have is a fair copy in one of the notebooks presented by GELL to the Society of Dilettanti as an «official record» of the 1811–1813 expedition, now in the British Museum (Fig. 2). The credit for the discovery and identification of GELL's fair copy is due to MICHAEL METCALFE, who is currently preparing an extended study of the surviving archival documentation of the Second Ionian Mission of the Society of Dilettanti, including much important unpublished material from Samos and elsewhere.<sup>4</sup> In a note alongside his fair copy, GELL describes the fragment as an «inscription on white marble broken and defaced in a magazine at the Heraeum in Samos copied with great difficulty», and as we will see, GELL's copy is demonstrably seriously defective in many respects.<sup>5</sup> The fragment copied by GELL seems to have been complete at left, but broken above, right, and below; it carries the left-hand parts of twenty-nine lines of text.

The second new fragment, Fragment A(ii), was first published in 1981 by R. MERİÇ, R. MERKELBACH, J. NOLLÉ and S. ŞAHİN in Volume VII 1 of «Die Inschriften von Ephesos».<sup>6</sup> This fragment was copied at Kuşadası by OTTO BENNDORF in 1896 («in einem Hausflur»), and was published by the editors of I.Ephesos from BENNDORF's «Skizzenbuch» (Fig. 3). The editors of I.Ephesos did not recognise the inscription's true character (they considered it part of an inheritance dispute, «Ein Erbstreit»), and no-one seems to have engaged with it since 1981. The Kuşadası fragment is evidently a «pierre errante», transported across the narrow strait between Samos and the mainland opposite at some point between antiquity and the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>7</sup> This fragment must have been broken on all four sides; it carries parts of twenty-seven lines of text, all of them incomplete at both left and right. As the text

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<sup>4</sup> MICHAEL METCALFE would like to thank CELESTE FARGE in the Department of Greece and Rome at the British Museum for her generous assistance during his work on the archive of the Society of Dilettanti, without which this project would not have been possible.

<sup>5</sup> For this «magazine», see GELL's description in *Antiquities of Ionia, Part the First* (Second Edition), 1821, 60: «The mission was induced to lodge in some magazines on the shore, distant about fifty minutes from Chora, on account of their proximity to the ruins [of the Heraion]. These magazines were then newly erected, and had caused the destruction of the greater part of the remaining marbles of the temple of Juno, as was evident from the number of fragments, particularly of the bases, which appeared in the walls.» In his own unpublished diary of the 1811–1813 expedition, FRANCIS BEDFORD writes (referring to the inscription published here): «The magazine consists of about a dozen houses, built in 1810 & 1811 & the walls are full of marble fragments of the bases of the Temple many of which were blown up for the purpose of building them ... Over the door of the adjoining house is a fragment of a long inscription, the letters of which are very small & much defaced» (BEDFORD, *Diary* 1, fol. 34v–36r).

<sup>6</sup> I.Ephesos 3131 (H. PLEKET, SEG 31, 1580).

<sup>7</sup> The stone's non-Ephesian provenance was already recognised by the first editors. Other non-Ephesian stones at Kuşadası: J. and L. ROBERT, *BE* 1982, 305 (on I.Ephesos 3124, from Melos).

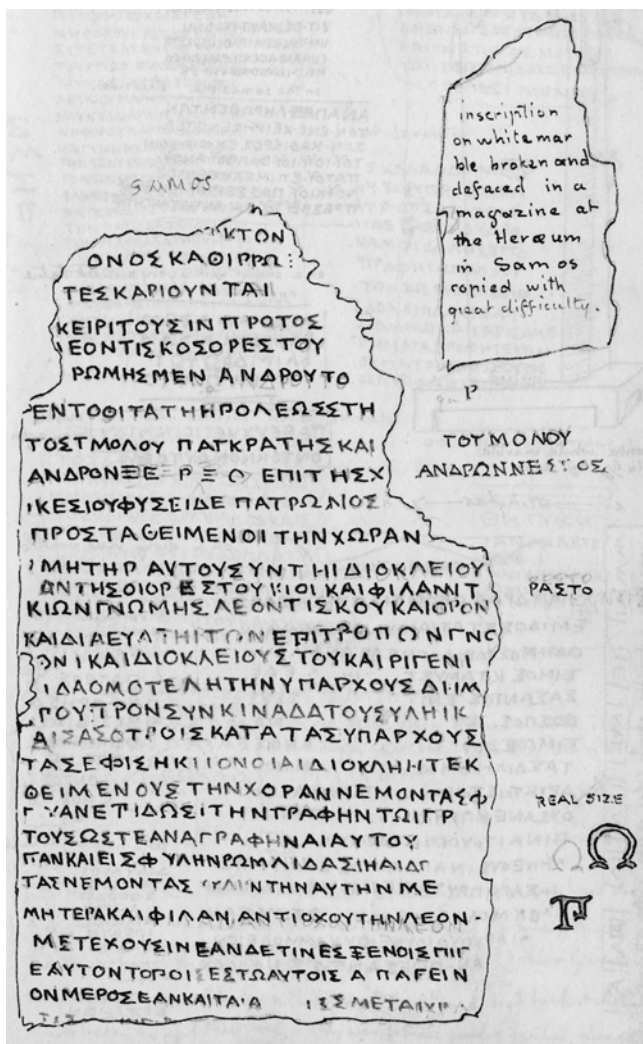


Fig. 2: Fragment A(i), fair copy of W. GELL, *Drawings and Journals from the 2<sup>nd</sup> Ionian Mission sponsored by the Dilettanti Society, 1811–1813, notebook 2, fol. 13r.*

printed below illustrates, the lost GELL Fragment A(i) and the lost Kuşadası Fragment A(ii) make an almost perfect join, with typically only one or two letters missing in the centre of each line between the right-hand edge of A(i) and the left-hand edge of A(ii).

We are therefore able to reconstruct a substantial new portion (Fragment A[i+ii]) of the inscribed dossier from the Samian Heraion. The new Fragment A includes the very end of the ψήφισμα of Antioch (lines A1–5), and what must surely be the greater part of the συνθήκη (lines A5–29), which concluded with the opening lines of the

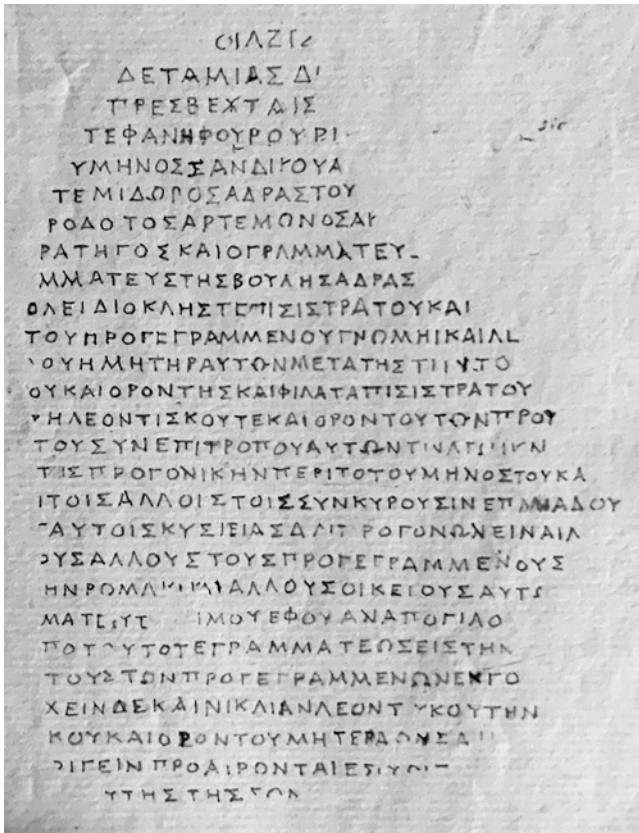


Fig. 3: Fragment A(ii), formerly I.Ephesos 3131, notebook copy of O. BENNDORF, *Skizzenbuch 1896 II 11*.

fragment published by HАВIСHT (B1–8).<sup>8</sup> It is unclear how large a gap ought to be postulated between Fragments A(i+ii) and B. I strongly suspect (though cannot prove) that the two fragments are very nearly adjoining; it is conceivable that the final line of Fragment A (A29) is in fact identical to the first or second line of Fragment B.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Strictly speaking, the entrenchment clauses (B3–8) cannot be an integral part of the treaty: HАВIСHT, *Volksbeschlüsse* 245.

<sup>9</sup> It is noteworthy that around 8–10 letters are missing at the right-hand edge of both Fragment A(ii) (the Kuşadası Fragment) and Fragment B (the text published by HАВIСHT). This strongly suggests that the right-hand edge of the stèle was broken vertically *before* the horizontal break that separated Fragments A(i) and A(ii) from Fragment B. It is likely enough that the three extant fragments were broken apart during the construction of the «magazines» near the Heraion in 1810–1811 (above, n. 5).



## II. Treaty Between Antioch on the Maeander and an Estate-Holding Family

Three fragments of a large stēlē of white marble from the Heraion at Samos. Fr. A(i) seen in the Heraion in 1812 by WILLIAM GELL; now lost. Fr. A(ii) seen at Kuşadası in 1896 by OTTO BENNDORF; now lost. Fr. B discovered in the Heraion in 1912 or 1913; now in the museum at Samos, inv. 209.

Ed.: **A(i)**: Unpublished: copy of WILLIAM GELL, Drawings and Journals from the 2<sup>nd</sup> Ionian Mission sponsored by the Dilettanti Society (Department of Greece and Rome, British Museum), Notebook 2, fol. 13r (here, Fig. 2). **A(ii)**: I.Ephesos 3131, from OTTO BENNDORF's notebook copy (<Skizzenbuch 1896 II 11>); SEG 31, 1580 (here, Fig. 3). **B**: HABICHT, Volksbeschlüsse 242–252, no. 65 (BE 1960, 318); IG XII 6, 1, 6 (K. HALLOF); I.Nysa 639 (W. BLÜMEL); Staatsverträge IV 660–661 (R. M. ER-RINGTON) (here, Fig. 1).

Dimensions (all in m): **A(i)**: unknown. **A(ii)**: H. 0.37; W. 0.28; Th. 0.15; Letters 0.008. **B**: H. 0.44 (0.30 at r.); W. 0.495 (above), 0.25 (below); Th. 0.12–0.145; Letters 0.008–0.009; Interlinear space 0.005. Complete at left; broken above, right, and below.

Date: c. 165 BC.

Fr. A	(i)	(ii)
(0)	[(e.g.) οἴτινες παρακαλέσουσιν Σαμίους ... συνχωρῆσαι τόπον ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἡρας ἱερῶι, ἐν ᾧ]	
1	[ἀνατεθήσεται ὑπ' α]ϋτῶν [στήλη λευκοῦ λίθου, εἰς ἣν ἀναγραφῆσεται τό τε ψήφισμα καὶ ἡ συν]- [θήκη], ὅπως καθιερω[θή καὶ ὑπάρχη ταῦτα κύ]ρια εἰς [τὸν αἰὲ χρόνον, εἰδότας ὅτι ταῦτα ποιή]- [σαν]τες χαριούνται [τῷ δήμῳ· τοὺς] δὲ ταμίας δι[δόναι e.g. μεθόδιον τοῖς πρεσβευταῖς ἀφ'] [ῶν] χειρίζουσιν προ<σ>ό<δ>>[ων· ἡρέθησαν] πρεσβευταὶ Ἐ[πίνικος Ἰκεσίου, φύσει δὲ Πάτρωνος,]	
5	Λεοντίσκος Ὀρέστου. [(?) συνθήκη· ἐπὶ] στεφανηφό[υ]ρου Ῥι[--- c. 15 --- καὶ ἱερέως] [τῆς] Ῥώμης Μενάνδρου το[ῦ -- c. 8 -- ο]υ, μηνὸς Ξανδικοῦ· ἀ[γαθῆ] τύχη· ἐπὶ τοῖσδε συνέ]- [θ]εντο οἱ <ε> τῆ<ς> πόλεως στρ[ατηγοὶ Ἄρ]τεμίδωρος Ἀδράστου, [---- c. 20 ----] τος Τμώλου (?), Παγκράτης Χα[ρ - c. 4 -, Ἡ]ρόδοτος Ἀρτέμωνος, Ἄρ[---- c. 18 ----] Ἄνδρων Νέστο<υ> (?) ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς χ[ώρας στ]ρατηγὸς καὶ ὁ γραμματεὺς [τοῦ δήμου Ἐπίνικος]	
10	Ἰκεσίου, φύσει δὲ Πάτρωνος, [καὶ ὁ γρα]μματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς Ἄδρασ[τος (patronym) καὶ οἱ] προστ<ε>θειμένοι τὴν χώραν [τῆ] π[ό]λει Διοκλῆς τε Πισιστράτου καὶ [Νικιάς Λεοντίσκου] ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ σὺν τῇ Διοκλείου[ς] τοῦ προγεγραμμένου γνῶμη καὶ Λε[οντίσκος καὶ Ὀρ]- [ῶν]- ῶνης οἱ Ὀρέστου υἱοὶ καὶ Φίλα Ἄντ[ιό]χου ἡ μήτηρ αὐτῶν μετὰ τῆς τῶν π<ρ>ο[γε]- γραμμένων] υἱῶν γνῶμης Λεοντίσκου καὶ Ὀρόν[τ]ου καὶ Ὀρόντης καὶ Φιλὰ τὰ Πισιστράτου [(?) καὶ Νικιάδος]	
15	<π>αἰδία φύ[σ] τῆ τῶν ἐπιτρόπων γνῶμη Λεοντίσκου τε καὶ Ὀρόντου τῶν προγ[ε]γραμμέν]-	

- φων[Ι] καὶ Διοκλείου τοῦ Χαριγεν<ο>[ῦς] τοῦ συνεπιτρόπου αὐτῶν· τ<ή>ν <χ>ώρ<α>ν  
 [εἶναι Ἀντιοχ]-  
 ἶδα ὁμοτελή τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν α[ὐ]τ[ο]ῖς προγονικὴν περὶ τὸ τοῦ Μηνὸς τοῦ Κά[ρου] ἱερὸν  
 καὶ  
 λουτρὸν (?) σὺν Κιναδάτου ὕληι κ[α]ὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς συνκύρουσιν ΕΠΙ. ΑΔΟΥ  
 [- - c. 8-11 - -]  
 [κ]αὶ Σαστροῖς κατὰ τὰς ὑπαρχούσ[α]ς αὐτοῖς κυ<ρ>εἰὰς δ[ι]ὰ προγόνων· εἶναι δ[ὲ] καὶ  
 πολί]-  
 20 τας ἐφ' ἴση κ<α>ὶ ὁμοίαι Διοκλῆν τε κ[α]ὶ τ[ο]ὺς ἄλλους τοὺς προγεγραμμένους [τοὺς  
 προστε]-  
 θεμένους τὴν χώραν νέμοντας φ[υλ]ῆν Ῥωμαῖδ[α], καὶ ἄλλους οἰκείους αὐτῶ[ν - c. 7-9 -]  
 ΓΥΑΝΕΤΙΔΩΣΙ τὴν γραφὴν τῷ γρ[αμ]ματεῖ τ[οῦ] δ[ι]ήμου, ἐφ' οὗ ἂν ἀπογραφ[ῶ]σιν ἕαν]-  
 τοὺς, ὥστε ἀναγραφῆναι αὐτοῦ[ς] ὑπὸ τοῦ τότε γραμματέως εἰς τὴν [- - c. 8-10 - -]  
 ἴταν καὶ εἰς φυλὴν Ῥωμαῖδα· εἶναι δὲ [καὶ] τοὺς τῶν προγεγραμμένων ἐκγό[νους] πολί]-  
 25 τας νέμοντας φυλὴν τὴν αὐτὴν· με[τέ]χριν δὲ καὶ Νικιάν Λεοντ[ί]σκου τὴν [Διοκλείου]  
 μητέρα καὶ Φιλάν Ἀντιόχου τὴν Λεοντ[ί]σκου καὶ Ὀρόντου μητέρα φ[ν] καὶ [οἱ] ἄλλοι  
 μετέχουσιν· ἐὰν δὲ τινες ξένοι ἐπιπ[αρ]οικεῖν (?) προαιρῶνται ἐ<π>ὶ τοῖς [- - c. 8-10 - -]  
 ἑαυτῶν (?) τόποις, ἔστω αὐτοῖς ἀπάγειν (?) [ἀπὸ τα]ύτης τῆς σφ[υ]ρ[ῆ]ς [- - - - -]  
 ον μέρος· ἐὰν καὶ ταια[.....]ς μεταίχ[.....]
- [unknown number of lines missing]

## Fr. B

- [- - - - -]||[- - - - -]  
 [- - - - -]ΣΣΙΤΟΥ εἰς Ἀντιόχ[ε]ιαν τὴν πρὸς  
 [τῷ Μαιάνδρ]ωι .ΝΙ. .... προσ. Ι.[- - -] ὑπὸ τ[ῶ]ν περὶ Διοκλῆν, τόδε [τὸ ψήφισμα καὶ]  
 5 τὴν συνθήκην τήνδε καθιερώσθαι καὶ εἶναι κύρια εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον κ[αὶ] μ[η]θενὶ ἐ-  
 ξουσίαν εἶναι παραβῆναι ταῦτα μηδὲ εἰπεῖν μηδὲ εἰσανγεῖλαι μηδὲ γράφα[ι] μηδὲ νόμον  
 θεῖναι ὡς δεῖ καταλυθῆναι τι τῶν γεγραμ[μ]ένων· ἐὰν δὲ τις παρὰ ταῦτα π[οι]ῆ, κατάρη]-  
 τὸν τε αὐτὸν εἶναι καὶ ἀποτεῖσαι ἱερὰς τῆς Ῥώμης δραχμὰς δισμυρίας καὶ μ[η]δὲν ἥσσον  
 τὸ ψήφισμα καὶ τὴν συνθήκην εἶναι κύρια καὶ τὴν χώραν ὑπάρχειν Ἀντιοχίδα [(?) vac.]  
 vac. ἀπόκριμα vac. Σαμίων vac. ἐπὶ Θεοδότου, Ληναίωνος [(day number)],  
 10 ἔδοξεν τῷ δήμῳ, γνῶμη πρυτάνεων· ὑπὲρ ὧν οἱ στρατηγοὶ τὴν ἐκλήσιαν [- - - c. 8 - - -]  
 .αν καὶ <ἐ>πελθόντες οἱ παρ' Ἀντιοχέων τῶν πρὸς τῷ Μαιάνδρῳ πρεσβευτα[ί, ἐκ μὲν  
 τῶν]  
 ἄλλων πολιτῶν, καθότι γράφουσιν, Ἐπίνικος Ἴκεσίου φύσει δὲ Πάτρωνος, ἐκ [δὲ τῶν προσ]-  
 φρικώτων τὴν χώραν τῇ πόλει Λεοντίσκος Ὀρέστου, τὸ τε ψήφισμα ἀπέδω[καν καὶ τὴν]  
 [σ]υνθήκην καὶ παρακαλοῦσιν ἡμᾶς ἀποδεξαμένους τὰ ἐψηφισμένα κατατά[ξι]αι ἐν τοῖς  
 15 [π]αρ' ἡμῖν δημοσίοις γράμμασιν, συνχωρήσαι δὲ καὶ τόπον ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἡ[ρα]ς ἱερῷ, ἐν  
 [ῶ]ι ἀνατεθήσεται ὑπὸ τῶν πρεσβευτῶν στήλη λευκοῦ λίθου, εἰς ἣν ἀν[α]γραφῆσε]-  
 [τ]αὶ τὸ τε ψήφισμα καὶ ἡ συνθήκη, ὅπως καθιερωθῆ καὶ ὑπάρχη ταῦτα κύρ[ια] εἰς τὸν αἰεὶ  
 [χ]ρόνον, εἰδόμενος ὅτι ταῦτα ποιήσαντες χαριούμεθα τῷ δήμῳ· ὅπως [δ'] οὖν πᾶσιν  
 [ἐμ]φανῆ ποιῶμεν ἣν ἔχομεν εὐνοίαν διὰ παντὸς πρὸς Ἀντιοχεῖς τ[οὺς] πρὸς τῷ  
 20 [Μ]αιάνδρῳ συγγενεῖς καὶ φίλους καὶ εὐ[ν]ους καὶ ἰσοπολίτας καὶ συμ[μά]χους ὑπάρ]-  
 χοντας ἡμῶν, εὐχαρίστας δὲ διακειμένους καὶ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους, τ[οὺς] κοινούς  
 εὐεργέτας πάντων, vac. τύχη ἀγαθῆ καὶ ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῶν δήμων, δ[ε]δόχθαι τῷ  
 δήμῳ· συνήδεσθαι μὲν Ἀντι<ο>χεῦσιν ἐπὶ τῷ γεγονότι προσορισμῶ[ι] τῆς χώρας  
 καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ διὰ τῆς τῶν προσόδων ἐπαυξήσεως δυνατωτέρους [α]ὐτ[οὺς] γεγονέναι  
 25 εἰς τε τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐξυπηρετεῖν φιλ[ο]δοξῶς καὶ τοῖς αἰεὶ εὐεργετεῖν προαιρου]-  
 μένοις εὐχαρίστας ἀπαντᾶν ἐν παν[τ]ὶ καιρῷ, ἀναγράψαι δὲ καὶ τὸ τε ψήφισμα καὶ

τὴν γεγρονυῖαν συνθήκην τὸν γραμ[ματέα τῆς βουλῆς, καθότι οἱ πρεσβευταὶ παρακα]-  
 [λ]οῦσιν, καὶ εἰς τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν δημόσια γ[ράμματα κατατάξαι, ὅπως πᾶσιν ἦι φανε]-  
 [ρ]ὸς ὁ δῆμος πρὸ πλείστου τιθέμ[ενος τὴν πρὸς τοὺς συγγενεῖς καὶ φίλους εὐνοίαν],  
 30 [ἦ]ν οὐδέποτε διαλέλοιπεν Ἄντι[οχεῦσιν παρεχόμενος ἐν τοῖς πρότερον χρόνοις καλῶς]  
 [κ]αὶ συμφερόντως *vac.* καὶ νῦν δὲ τη[-----]  
 ... οὖσεν, μεθ' ἧς ἐπέβαλλεν εὐνοία[ς-----]  
 ... ν ὄν τρόπον καὶ οἱ πρεσβευ[ταὶ-----]  
 [----- Διον]υσίοις, [-----]

**A2** (init.) ΟΝΟΣΚΑΘΙΡΡΩ G(ELL); (fin.) ΟΙΛΖΙΣ B(ENNDORF). || **A3** ΚΑΠΙ- G. || **A4** ΚΕΙ-  
 ΡΙΤΟΥΣΙΝΠΙΡΟΤΟΣ G. || **A7** ΘΙΤΑΤΗΗΠΙΟΛΕΩΣΣΤΗ G. || **A8** (init.) ΤΟΣΤΜΟΛΟΥ G.<sup>1</sup>,  
 ΤΟΥΜΟΝΟΥ G.<sup>2</sup>; (med.) ΚΑΙ G. || **A9** ΑΝΔΡΟΝΞΕ Ρ Ξ G.<sup>1</sup>, ΑΝΔΡΩΝΝΕΣΤΟΣ G.<sup>2</sup>. || **A11**  
 ΠΡΟΣΤΑΘΕΙ- G. || **A13** (fin.) μετὰ τῆς ΤΙΗΝΤΟ B. || **A14** (fin.) an [γενόμενα]? || **A15**  
 ΚΑΙΔΙΑ G. || **A16** (med.) ΚΑΙΡΙΓΕΝΙ G.; (fin.) ΤΙΝΑΓΩΙΚΝ B. || **A17** (med.) ΑΡΧΟΥΣΔΗΜ  
 G. || **A18** (init.) ΠΟΥΠΙΡΟΝ G.; (fin.) ΕΠΜΙΔΔΟΥ ut vid. B. || **A19** ΚΥΣΙΕΙΑΣΔΔ B. || **A20**  
 ΙΣΗΚΠΙΟΝΟΙΑΙ G. || **A21** ΧΟΡΑΝ G. || **A22** (fin.) ΑΠΟΓΙΑΟ B. || **A24** (med.) ΣΙΗΑΙΔΕ G. ||  
**A27** (med.) ΞΕΝΟΙΣΠΙΓ G.; ΟΙΓΕΙΝ B. || **A28** (init.) ΕΑΥΤΟΝ G. || **B8** (fin.) [εἰς ἀεὶ?]   
 НАБИЧТ; [αὐτοῖς] ERRINGTON.

**A** «[...] (ambassadors) who will call on the Samians to grant a spot in the sanctuary of Hera, in which] they [will erect a stēlē of white marble, on which the decree and the treaty will be written up,] so that [these things] might be sanctified [and remain in f]orce for [ever, knowing that by do]ing so they will gratify [the dēmos (of Antioch); and let the] treasurers gi[ve to the ambassadors travel-expenses from the] revenues under their control. [There were chosen as] ambassadors: E[pinikos (adoptive) son of Hikesios, natural son of Patron]; (5) Leontiskos son of Orestes. [Treaty.] When Rhi[ - - son of - -] was stephanēphoros, and Menandros son of [ - - was priest of] Roma, in the month Xandikos. With g[ood fortune: on the following terms, the trea]tly was agreed by the stratēgoi of the polis, [Ar]temidoros son of Adrastos, [ - - son of - -, - - son of] Tmolos (?), Pankrates son of Chai[r - -, He]rodotos son of Artemon, Ar[ - - son of - -,] Andron son of Nestos (?) the stratēgos in charge of the te[rri]tory], and the secretary [of the dēmos, Epinikos] (10) (adoptive) son of Hikesios, natural son of Patron, [and the se]cretary of the boulē, Adras[ - - son of - - ; and by those who] attached their land to the polis, Diokles son of Pisistratos, and [Nikias daughter of Leontiskos], his mother, with the consent of the afore-mentioned Diokles, and Le[ontiskos and Or]ontes sons of Orestes, and Phila daughter of Antiochos, their mother, with the consent of her af[ore-mentioned] sons Leontiskos and Orontes, and Orontes and Phila the (15) little children of Pisistratos [and Nikias (?)], with the consent of their guardians, the afore-mentioned Leontiskos and Orontes, and of Diokles son of Chairigenes, their joint guardian. The land [is to be Antioch]ene territory, paying the same taxes – the land which belongs to them as an ancestral possession around the [sanctuary and] baths (?) of Men Karou, along with Wood of Kinadates and the other [places (?)] ap-pertaining to it [ - -] and Sasotra, according to their rights of possession from ancestral times; and they are also to be citizens (20) with full and equal rights, Diokles and the other afore-mentioned persons who attached their land (to the polis), belonging to

the tribe Rhomais; and other members of their household [- -] a letter to whichever secretary of the *dēmos* may be in office when they register themselves, so that they may be enrolled by the secretary in office at that time into the [(?) citizen b]ody and into the tribe Rhomais; and the descendants of the afore-mentioned persons are also to be citizens, (25) belonging to the same tribe; and Nikias daughter of Leontiskos, the mother of Diokles, and Phila daughter of Antiochos, the mother of Leontiskos and Orontes, are also to share in the (rights) that the others share in; and if any foreigners choose to settle on the lands [(?) belonging to] them, let it be permitted to them to take away (?) [from t]his [- - - the *n*]th part; and if [- -]

**B** [...] to Antioch [on the Maeand]er [- -] by Diokles and his associates, let this [decree and] the treaty be sanctified and remain in force for ever, a[nd let no-one] (5) have the right to transgress these terms, nor to propose or introduce or draft or establish [a law] to the effect that any of the things written (here) should be overturned; and if anyone a[cts] contrary to these terms, let him be accursed and let him pay 20,000 drachms as sacred to Roma, and let the decree and treaty nonetheless remain in force, and the territory remain Antiochene. Reply of the Samians. When Theodotos was eponym, on the [*n*th day of] the month Lenaion, (10) resolved by the *dēmos*, proposal of the prytaneis: on the matters concerning which the stratēgoi [(?) explained to] the assembly, and the ambassadors who have arrived from the Antiocheis on the Maeander – from the other citizens, as they write, Epinikos (adoptive) son of Hikesios, natural son of Patron, and from [those who att]ached their land to the polis, Leontiskos son of Orestes – handed over the decree and the treaty; and they call on us to accept the things voted, and register them (15) in our public archives, and also to grant a spot in the sanctuary of Hera, in which a stēlē of white marble will be erected by the ambassadors, on which the decree and the treaty will be written up, so that these things might be sanctified and remain in force for ever, knowing that by doing so we will gratify the *dēmos* (of Antioch); and so that we might make it clear to all what goodwill we consistently bear towards the Antiocheis on the (20) Maeander, our kinsmen and friends, who are well-disposed towards us, enjoying equal citizen-rights, and our allies, and who are gratefully disposed towards the Romans, the [common] benefactors of all – with good fortune and for the salvation of both *dēmoi*, be it resolved by the *dēmos* to join in rejoicing with the Antiocheis at the extension [of their territory] which has occurred, and at the fact that through the increase in their revenues they have become better able (25) to serve Roman interests in an honourable manner, and to respond with due gratitude under ever[y circumstance to those who consistently ch]oose [to confer benefactions on them; and let] the secr[etary of the boulē write up the decree and] the treaty that has been struck, [just as the ambassadors req]uest, and [register them] in our public a[rchives, so that it might be clear to all] that the *dēmos* consi[ders goodwill towards kinsmen and friends] as a matter of the highest importance, (30) which it has never failed in [extending to] the Anti[oc]heis in former times in a fine] and beneficial manner; and now, [- -] with the goodwill that is appropriate [- -] in the manner that the ambassadors too [- - at the Dion]ysia [- -].»

## III. Commentary on Fragment A

**A0–3** Despite the poor state of preservation of these lines, it is clear that we are dealing with the end of the original decree of Antioch (τὸ ψήφισμα, lines B3, B8, B13, B17, B26), and more particularly with the instruction to the ambassadors to request from the Samians a spot in the temple of Hera where a copy of the decree and treaty can be erected (cf. B14–15, παρακαλοῦσιν ἡμᾶς ... συνχωρῆσαι ... τόπον). The precise wording in A1–3 cannot be restored with absolute confidence, but it appears to have been very close to the Samians' own report of this request in lines B15–18 of their answering decree (A2, ὅπως καθιερω[θῆ] = B17, ὅπως καθιερωθῆ; A2–3, [ταῦτα ποιήσαν]-τες χαριούνται [τῷ δήμῳ] = B18, ταῦτα ποιήσαντες χαριούμεθα τῷ δήμῳ).<sup>10</sup> It is typical for 'answering' decrees of this kind to recapitulate the wording of the original request very closely: compare e.g. I.Magnesia 97 (Teian decree honouring a Magnesian), lines 11–24 (request) = lines 55–65 (Magnesian recapitulation of the request: almost word-for-word identical); I.Magnesia 101 (decree of the Larbenoi for judges from Magnesia), lines 56–60 = 70–73; I.Kaunos 17 (decree of Smyrna for judges from Kaunos), lines 38–43 = I.Kaunos 19, lines 82–86. For the specification that the ambassadors themselves are to be responsible for the erection of the stēlē, compare I.Thrace Aeg. E5 (Abderite decree for Amymon and Megathymos, c. 166 BC), lines 40–43, παρακαλέσουσιν Τηῖους ... συνχωρῆσαι τοῖς πρεσβευταῖς στήσαι στήλην κτλ.

**A3–4** The Antiochene treasurers ([τοῦς] δὲ ταμίας, A3) are here required to furnish (δι[δόναι], A3) something from the revenues under their control ([ἀφ' ὧν] χειρίζουσιν προ<σ>ό<δ>[ων], A3–4); this is overwhelmingly likely to be travel-expenses (μεθόδιον, ἐφόδιον) for the Antiochene ambassadors to Samos. Similar phrases frequently appear at the very end of decrees envisaging the despatch of ambassadors, immediately before the report of the actual appointment of the ambassadors: e.g. IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 1258, lines 54–55 (Athenian embassy to Pharnakes of Pontos, 196/195 BC); I.Smyrna 573, lines I.31–32 (embassy of Smyrna to the katoikoi at Magnesia under Sipylos, c. 241 BC); I.Magnesia 97 (embassy of Teos to Magnesia), lines 24–27; I.Kaunos 17, lines 43–44 (embassy of Smyrna to Kaunos). For the phraseology [ἀφ' ὧν] χειρίζουσιν προ<σ>ό<δ>[ων] (A3–4), compare e.g. I.Magnesia 66 (RIGSBY, Asyria 264f., no. 115: recognition of Leukophryena by unknown city), lines 7–10, τὴν δὲ ἐσομένην δαπάνην ... δότωσαν οἱ ταμίαι ἀφ' ὧν χειρίζουσιν προσόδων; I.Sardis II 308 (publication of letter from Laodike, 213 BC), lines 6–7, ἀναγράψαι τὸν ταμίαν, τὸ δὲ ἐσόμενον ἀνήλωμα εἰς ταῦτα δοῦνα[ι] αὐτὸν ἀφ' ὧν χειρίζει προσόδων; Syll.<sup>3</sup> 694 (Pergamon, c. 129 BC), lines 58–61, [τὸ δὲ ἐ]σόμενον ἀν[ά]λωμα ... [πρ]οέσθαι Εὐκλήην καὶ Δ[ι]ονύσι[ον] τοὺς ταμίας [ἀφ'] ὧν [χ]ειρίζουσιν προ[σόδων].

**A4–5** As one would expect, the two ambassadors (one representing each party to the treaty) are identical to those named in the replying decree of Samos (B12–13), where it is made clear that Epinikos represents the city of Antioch (B11–12, [ἐκ μὲν

<sup>10</sup> Thus already HABICHT, Volksbeschlüsse 245.

τῶν] ἄλλων πολιτῶν) and Leontiskos represents the family now attaching their estate to the city (B12–13, ἐκ [δὲ τῶν προσ]ωρικότων τὴν χώραν τῆι πόλει).

**A5–6** This inscribed dossier demonstrably made use of internal <sub-headings> (cf. B9, ἀπόκριμα Σαμίων), and hence I have assumed that the lacuna in the middle of A5 included the sub-heading [συνθήκη]. We then have an Antiochene civic dating formula, by eponymous stephanēphoros, eponymous priest of Roma, and Makedonian/Seleukid month (Xandikos, roughly March in the Seleukid calendar).<sup>11</sup> The city turns out to have had two eponymous officials in this period, the stephanēphoros and the priest of Roma. The existence of a priesthood of Roma at Antioch was already known from the first-century honorific inscription for the orator Diotrophes of Antioch (late 80s or 70s BC), in which Diotrophes is described – apparently – as «priest of the god Men and the goddess Roma in succession to his ancestors».<sup>12</sup> The Antiochene stephanēphoros was already attested in a late Hellenistic inscribed list of stephanēphoroi (and apparently other magistrates) from Antioch; the stephanēphoros acted as the eponymous magistrate in very many cities of Karia, Ionia, and Lydia, including all of Antioch's immediate neighbours in the middle Maeander valley (Seleukeia-Tralleis, Nysa, Apollonia-Tripolis).<sup>13</sup>

There is nothing intrinsically surprising about a city having two eponymous magistracies.<sup>14</sup> <Double eponyms> very often take the form of a <traditional> civic eponymous magistrate (stephanēphoros, prytane, priest of civic deity, etc.) paired with a priest of an external power or (as here) its personification. The earliest examples known to me date to the very end of the third century BC. At Lykian Xanthos, two decrees dating to 206/205 and 202/201 respectively are dated by a pair of civic eponyms, the priest of the Ptolemaic royal house and the priest *pro poleōs*; by 197/196 BC, when the city had come under Seleukid rule, the priest of the Ptolemies had been replaced by a «priest of the (Seleukid) kings».<sup>15</sup> Similarly, at the Karian town of Amyzon, a civic decree dating

<sup>11</sup> The answering decree of the Samians (B9–34) was passed during the Samian month Lenaion (B9); according to the reconstruction of the Samian calendar proposed by M. TRÜMPY, Untersuchungen zu den altgriechischen Monatsnamen und Monatsfolgen, 1997, 78–89, Samian Lenaion would usually fall in around January, typically a couple of months *before* the Macedonian month Xandikos. But since we have no way of knowing how much time might have elapsed between the agreement of the συνθήκη and the joint embassy to Samos, I do not think the new fragment provides sufficient reason to question TRÜMPY's reconstruction of the Samian calendar.

<sup>12</sup> I.Nysa 621; THONEMANN, Antioch 71–74, lines 2–3, ἱερέα θεο[ῦ Μ]ηνός [καὶ θεᾶς Ῥώμης ἀπὸ π]ρογόνων; the restoration is guaranteed by line 15, [ἱερατεύσαντ]α τῆς Ῥώμης.

<sup>13</sup> Antioch: I.Nysa 624. Seleukeia-Tralleis: I.Tralleis 26. Nysa: I.Nysa 403, 522. Apollonia-Tripolis: ROBERT, Doc. Asie Min. 342–349 (SEG 33, 999).

<sup>14</sup> E.g. ROBERT, OMS I, 567; MELLOR (above, n. 2), 72f., 182–184; R. K. SHERK, The Eponymous Officials of Greek Cities V, ZPE 96, 1993, 281; I. SAVALLI-LESTRADE, Intitulés royaux et intitulés civiques, Studi Ellenistici 24, 2010, 133–136.

<sup>15</sup> Ptolemaic: SEG 38, 1476 (206/205 BC: priest of the Theoi Euergetai and King Ptolemy); SEG 36, 1220 (202/201 BC: priest of the Theoi Euergetai, Theoi Philopatores and King Ptolemy),

to November–December 201 BC (under Antiochos III) is dated by two local eponyms, the traditional civic *stephanēphoros* and a new «priest of the kings».<sup>16</sup> Priests of Hellenistic monarchs are occasionally attested as sole eponymous magistrates (particularly at royal city-foundations) already in earlier periods, but this particular phenomenon (the addition of a priest of the ruler-cult as a «second eponym» at non-royal cities) seems to be a novelty of the last years of the third century.<sup>17</sup> The phenomenon was subsequently extended to the priesthood of other non-royal external powers: so at Minoa on Amorgos, we find a «double eponym» of the *dēmiourgos* (the «traditional» eponymous magistrate) and a priest of Rhodos, the nymph after whom the island of Rhodes was named; the relevant inscriptions date to the later Hellenistic period (early first century BC?), and the «second eponym» may have been created during the brief revival of Rhodian power in the Aegean after the First Mithradatic War.<sup>18</sup>

The particular form of «double eponym» found at Antioch (a «traditional» civic magistrate paired with a priest of Roma) is well attested in Lykia after 167 BC, and in the Roman province of Asia after 133 BC. In Lykia, a treaty between the Lykian League and the Termessians by Oinoanda (c. 160–150 BC) is dated by two Lykian League eponyms, the priest of Roma and the priest of Apollo, and by two Termessian eponyms, the priest of Zeus and the priest of Roma; a slightly later treaty of *isopoliteia* between Xanthos and Myra is dated by three Xanthian eponyms, the priest of Apollo, priest of Roma, and priest *pro poleōs*.<sup>19</sup> In Asia, both Sardis and Ephesos had «double eponyms» of this kind in the early first century BC: *prytane* and priest of Roma at Ephesos,

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with J. BOUSQUET, *La stèle des Kyténiens au Létôon de Xanthos*, REG 101, 1988, 23–25. Seleukid: SEG 33, 1184 and SEG 46, 1721 (MA, Antiochos 324–327, docs 23–24: both 197/196 BC), with PH. GAUTHIER, *Bienfaiteurs du gymnase au Létôon de Xanthos*, REG 109, 1996, 5–7. See also R. VAN BREMEN, *On the dating of the land transaction documents from Olymos*, EA 51, 2018, 29, on priesthoods of the (Seleukid) kings in post-Seleukid Karia and Ionia.

<sup>16</sup> ROBERT, Amyzon, no. 15; MA, Antiochos 298–300, doc. 10: ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου θεοῦ δευτέρου καὶ ἱερέως τῶν βασιλέων Ἰάσονος τοῦ Βαλά<γ>ρου. The «priest of the kings» as second eponym at Amyzon seems to have been introduced precisely in 202/201 BC, since a slightly earlier decree of Amyzon (October–November 202 BC) is dated by *stephanēphoros* alone: ROBERT, Amyzon, no. 14; MA, Antiochos 297f., doc. 9; SAVALLI-LESTRADE (above, n. 14), 133.

<sup>17</sup> E.g. SEG 38, 619, with M. HATZOPOULOS, *Une donation du roi Lysimaque*, 1988, 21–29 (a «priest of Lysimachos» as sole eponym at Kassandreia in the 280s BC); IG Iran Asie centr. 53 (a priest of the Seleukid kings as sole eponym at Antioch in Persis in 205 BC). The eponymous priest at Laodikeia on the Lykos, considered by CH. HABICHT as possibly a priest of the Seleukid founder (*Gottmenschentum und griechische Städte*, <sup>2</sup>1970, 107), was in fact – at least in later periods – a priest of the personified polis: ROBERT, I.Laodicée Lycos nymphée 324f.

<sup>18</sup> IG XII 7, 245 and IG XII 5, 38, with ROBERT, OMS I, 530–542; id., *Monnaies grecques*, 1967, 10 n. 4. Historical context: N. BADOUD, *Rhodes et les Cyclades à l'époque hellénistique*, in: G. BONNIN – E. LE QUÉRÉ ed., *Pouvoirs, îles et mer*, 2014, 125.

<sup>19</sup> Lykian League and Termessos: SEG 60, 1569, with D. ROUSSET, *De Lycie en Cabalide*, 2010, 15–23; Xanthos: SEG 44, 1218 (c. 150–100 BC), with J. BOUSQUET – PH. GAUTHIER, *Inscriptions du Létôon de Xanthos*, REG 107, 1994, 323–326. On priests «*pro poleōs*» and double eponyms in Lykia, see CH. SCHULER, *Priester πρό πόλεως in Lykien*, ZPE 173, 2010, 74–81.

priest of Roma and priest of Zeus Polieus at Sardis.<sup>20</sup> The phenomenon proliferates in the Augustan period, when instances are known from Kos (monarchos, priest of Roma and Augustus), Nysa (priest of Roma and Augustus, stephanēphoros) and Kyme (priest of Roma and Augustus, prytane, stephanēphoros).<sup>21</sup> In several Lydian cities, we find a single eponymous magistrate occupying two offices simultaneously, the priesthood of Roma and another civic magistracy: this was the case at Thyateira (prytane and priest of Roma), Apollonis/Nakokome (stephanēphoros and priest of Roma), Maionia (stephanēphoros and priest of Roma, with a second eponymous official, the priest of Zeus Olympios), and Sardis (stephanēphoros and priest of Roma: perhaps only for a brief period under Augustus).<sup>22</sup>

The present text seems to be our earliest non-Lykian example of a «double eponym» of the priest of Roma and another official; just as in Lykia, the likeliest context for the introduction of a «second eponym» at Antioch is the liberation of Karia from Rhodian rule in 167 BC.<sup>23</sup> The name of the priest of Roma, Μέσανδρος, was very common at Antioch.<sup>24</sup>

**A6–10** Lines A6–16 consist of a listing of the two parties who agreed the treaty, the civic officials of Antioch (lines A6–10) and the members of the extended family with whom the treaty was made (A10–16). In lines A6–7 I have restored one of the standard «introductory» formulae for interstate treaties, ἀ[γαθῆι τύχηι ἐπὶ τοῖσδε συνέθ]εντο; the shorter [τάδε συνέθ]εντο is also possible.<sup>25</sup> This is followed by a list of the executive magistrates of Antioch: a college of seven stratēgoi, one of whom is

<sup>20</sup> SEG 60, 1330, III lines 34–36; for the double eponym at Sardis, see also I.Sardis II 441, with G. PETZL's commentary (priest of Roma and priest of Zeus Polieus).

<sup>21</sup> Kos: IG XII 4, 2, 1142 (Augustan). Nysa: I.Nysa 403 (1 BC). Kyme: I.Kyme 19 (2 BC–AD 14).

<sup>22</sup> Thyateira: TAM V 2, 903 (Augustan) and 940. Apollonis/Nakokome: TAM V 2, 1229 (28/27 BC). Maionia: SEG 57, 1198 (17/16 BC). Sardis: I.Sardis II 593 (9 BC or shortly after); similarly I.Sardis I 93. At Apollonia-Tripolis, the eponym in the early Hellenistic period was the stephanēphoros alone (above, n. 13); at an uncertain date in the later Hellenistic period, we find a single individual who had served as both stephanēphoros and priest of Roma, though it is not certain that the latter magistracy was eponymous (MAMA VI 53: probably first century BC). In the Roman imperial period, the (single) eponymous magistrate at Side was the dēmiourgos and priest of Roma: R. K. SHERK, *The Eponymous Officials of Greek Cities IV*, ZPE 93, 1992, 245f.

<sup>23</sup> ERRINGTON, Θεὰ Πώμη.

<sup>24</sup> THONEMANN, Antioch 70.

<sup>25</sup> ἐπὶ τοῖσδε συνέθεντο in e.g. MA, Antiochos, 338 doc. 29 (SEG 36, 973: treaty between Zeuxis and the Philippeis/Euromians, 197 BC); I.Smyrna 573 (treaty between Smyrna and the katoikoi at Magnesia under Sipylos, c. 241 BC), line II.34; in the latter document, as apparently in our text, ἀγαθῆι τύχηι follows the dating formula and precedes the terms of the treaty. In our text, adscript iota is generally employed for nouns, adjectives and the definite article (A12, A18, A22, B13, B15, B23, B24; exceptions in A15, γνώμη, A20, ἴση, B22, τύχηι ἀγαθῆ ... σωτηρίῳ), but apparently not for verb-forms (B17).



further defined as the *stratēgos ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας*;<sup>26</sup> the *grammateus* of the *dēmos*; and the *grammateus* of the *boulē*. The closest parallel for this institutional structure is found at the neighbouring city of Plarasa-Aphrodisias, where, in the late Hellenistic and early imperial periods, decrees were typically proposed by a college of *stratēgoi* or *archontes* (apparently one and the same body), along with a *grammateus* of the *dēmos* and (usually) either one or two *stratēgoi ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας*;<sup>27</sup> at both Tralleis and Nysa (as well as several cities in Lydia), decrees were proposed by a college of *stratēgoi* along with the *grammateus* of the *dēmos*.<sup>28</sup> The fragmentary Hellenistic decree I.Kaunos 24, apparently a grant of citizenship and *proxenia* to a citizen of Kaunos, is attributed to Aphrodisias by CH. MAREK on the basis of the resolution-formula (resolution of a group of magistrates including the *stratēgos ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας* and the *grammateus* of the *dēmos*); as the present inscription shows, this decree could equally well be attributed to Antioch.<sup>29</sup> The size of the college of *stratēgoi* at Antioch is notably large (seven): the closest parallels come from Tralleis, which in the Hellenistic period seems usually to have had a college of ten or eleven *stratēgoi*, although one decree (Trallian recognition of the Magnesian *Leukophryena*) seems to imply a college of seven *stratēgoi*, as at Antioch.<sup>30</sup> Elsewhere in western Asia Minor, boards of *stratēgoi* seem typically to have been smaller: Pergamon had a college of five *stratēgoi*, an unidentified Attalid city five, Iasos five (including a *stratēgos ἐπὶ χώρας*), Karian Stratonikeia four (includ-

<sup>26</sup> (1) [Αρ]τεμίδωρος Ἀδράστου; (2) name and patronym lost at the end of A7; (3) [-]-τος Τιμόλου (the patronym not quite certain); (4) Παγκράτης Χαί[ρ - c. 4 -]; (5) [Η]ρόδοτος Ἀρτέμωνος; (6) Ἀρ[- - - c. 15 - - -]; (7) Ἄνδρων Νέστο<υ> ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς χ[ώρας στ]ρατηγός (the reading of the name very uncertain). The final individual was both a member of the college of *stratēgoi* and the holder of a distinctive office (ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας στρατηγός): hence, unusually, his title follows his name rather than preceding it. We therefore ought not to restore a [καὶ] at the end of line A8: the name Ἄνδρων Νέστο<υ> belongs to the asyndetic list of *stratēgoi*.

<sup>27</sup> I.Aphrodisias 2007, 12.803 (I century AD: proposal of *stratēgoi*, *grammateus* of the *dēmos*, and two *stratēgoi ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας*); cf. also I.Aphrodisias 2007, 8.3 (88 BC: [archontes/*stratēgoi*], *grammateus* of the *dēmos*, *stratēgos ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας*); SEG 54, 1020 (I century BC: [*stratēgoi*], *grammateus* of the *dēmos*, *stratēgos ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας* [possibly the same man as the *grammateus*]); I.Aphrodisias 2007, 12.309 (imperial: *stratēgoi* and *grammateus* of the *dēmos*); I.Aphrodisias 2007, 12.1015 (II century AD: [archontes/*stratēgoi*], *grammateus* of the *dēmos*, *stratēgoi ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας*); I.Aphrodisias 2007, 12.207 (I century AD: archontes, *grammateus* of the *dēmos*, *stratēgos ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας*); I.Aphrodisias 2007, 12.205 (I–II century AD: archontes, *grammateus* of the *dēmos*, and two *stratēgoi ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας*). See further A. CHANIOTIS, *New Inscriptions from Aphrodisias* (1995–2001), *AJA* 108, 2004, 379–381.

<sup>28</sup> Tralleis: I.Tralleis 21 (RIGSBY, *Asyria* 275–277, no. 129). Nysa: I.Nysa 405 (I century AD) and 441 (under Antoninus Pius). Lydian cities: e.g. SEG 53, 1360 (Tabala); SEG 57, 1198 (Maionia).

<sup>29</sup> I.Kaunos 24, lines 2–4: ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ: [γνώμη ἀρχόντων/στρατηγῶν - - καὶ - -]ΞΟΥ τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας σ[τ]ρατηγοῦ [καὶ - - τοῦ γ]ραμματέως δήμου.

<sup>30</sup> A. M. WOODWARD – L. ROBERT, *Excavations at Sparta, 1924–28*, *ABSA* 29, 1927–1928, 69f. Ten or eleven *stratēgoi*: I.Tralleis 27. Seven *stratēgoi* (?): I.Tralleis 21 (RIGSBY, *Asyria* 275–277, no. 129).

ing a *stratēgos* ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας), and Attalid Hierapolis three; the size of the college of *stratēgoi* at Aphrodisias is unknown.<sup>31</sup>

Most of the civic magistrates at Antioch carry common Greek names. The name Ἄδραστος (A7, A10) has a strong local flavour (it is extremely common at Aphrodisias and at neighbouring cities).<sup>32</sup> The name Τιῶλος (A8), if I am right to restore it here, is extremely rare: the LGPN cites only three examples, from Rhodes, Anthedon, and an uncertain location in Lydia. An epitaph from Athens commemorates a certain Φιλόδημος Τιῶλου Ἄντιοχεύς (IG II<sup>2</sup> 8307), and it is tempting to wonder whether this man might have been a native of Antioch on the Maeander. Also in line A8, GELL read ΚΑΙ after the name Παγκράτης, but Greek personal names in Καί- are distinctly rare, while names in Χαίρ- are extremely common; GELL was demonstrably prone to misreading chi as kappa (A3, ΚΑΠΙ- for χαίρ-; A4, ΚΕΙΠΙ- for χειρί-; A16, ΚΑΙΠΙ- for Χαίρ-). In line A9, the patronym Νέστος would be exceptionally rare (the LGPN cites only two instances, from Naxos and Athens), but GELL was clearly highly doubtful about his reading at this point, and I suspect that his copy is at fault.

**A10–16** The list of representatives of the city of Antioch is followed by a list of the other parties to the treaty, an extended family-group who are here defined as [οἱ] προστ<ε>θειμένους τὴν χώραν [τῆι πόλει (A10–11; cf. A20–21, [τοὺς προστε]-θειμένους τὴν χώραν); compare B12–13, where they are defined as [τῶν προσ]-ωρικῶτων τὴν χώραν τῆι πόλει (the verbs προστίθεσθαι and προσορίζειν are clearly treated as synonyms). The sense of this phrase is «those who attached/added the(ir) land to the polis», i.e. the occupants/possessors of a large estate who have chosen to «attach» it to the territory of the city of Antioch (see the discussion below, Section IV). The verb προσορίζειν is a technical term for the extension of a city's dependent territory (literally «boundaries») by the attachment of a new parcel of land: see e.g. I.Ilion 33, lines 24–25 (c. 274 BC; WELLES, RC 10, lines 7–8), in which Antiochos I grants a large plot of formerly royal land in the Troad to one Aristodikides of Assos, which Aristodikides is required to «attach» (προσορίσαι) to the territory of either Ilion or Skepsis.<sup>33</sup> The verb can also be used of *sympoliteiai*, as in a letter of (probably) Anti-

<sup>31</sup> Pergamon: e.g. OGIS 267, lines II 22–23 (H. MÜLLER, *Pergamenische Parerga*, Chiron 33, 2003, 423–433). Unidentified Attalid city: I.Magnesia 87 (RIGSBY, *Asyilia* 278f., no. 131). Iasos: I.Iasos 264, with TH. BOULAY – A. V. PONT, *Chalkêtôr en Carie*, 2014, 21–31. Stratonikeia: I.Stratonikeia 1006, 1318. Hierapolis: OGIS 308.

<sup>32</sup> R. VAN BREMEN, *Adrastos at Aphrodisias*, in: R. W. V. CATLING – F. MARCHAND ed., *Onomastologos: Studies in Greek Personal Names presented to Elaine Matthews*, 2010, 440–452.

<sup>33</sup> For other examples, see I.Smyrna 573 (treaty between Smyrna and the *katoikoi* at Magnesia under Sipylos, c. 241 BC), line 101 (possible attachment of land occupied by the *katoikoi* to the territory of Smyrna, ἐὰν προσορισθῆ ἡ χώρα ... τῆι πόλει); I.Mylasa 22 (c. 230–225 BC; WELLES, RC 29, χώραν ... ὑμῖν προσορίσαι); SEG 57, 1150 (with SEG 61, 982: Apollonioucharax, 165/164 BC), lines A13–14 (the Attalid land-distributor Lykinos is instructed to seek out a suitable plot of land to add to the dependent territory of Apollonioucharax, συνετάξαμεν [φροντί]-ζειν ὄθεν δ[σ]ναίμεθα χώραν προσορίσαι αὐτοῖς); OGIS 338 (Pergamon, 133 BC), lines 5–6 (Attalos III expands the civic territory of Pergamon, προσορίσας αὐτῆι καὶ πολε[ιτικῆ] χώραν ἣν

ochos III to the Iasians (c. 197/196 BC), in which Antiochos «attaches» the *dēmos* of the Chalketorians to Iasos in a *sympoliteia*.<sup>34</sup> The verb *προστίθεσθαι* is less often used in this context, but see e.g. Sulla's letter of 80 BC to Oropos (SHERK, RDGE 23; I.Oro-pos 308, no doubt translating a Latin original), lines 43–45, τῆς εὐχῆς ἀποδόσεως ἔνεκεν τῷ ἱερῷ Ἀμφιαράου χώραν προστίθημι πάντη πάντοθεν πόδας χιλίους, «for the sake of fulfilling a vow, I attach to the sanctuary of Amphiaraios land extending 1,000 feet in every direction»; elsewhere in the Oropos dossier (as in the present text), the verb *προσορίζειν* is used of Sulla's action (lines 22 and 56: *προσώρισεν*).

The family-group who «attached their land to the polis» consists of two separate nuclear families: (a) Diokles (I) son of Pisistratos and his mother Nikias daughter of Leontiskos (I), along with two underage children of Pisistratos and Nikias, Orontes (II) and Phila (II); (b) Leontiskos (II) and Orontes (I), sons of Orestes, and their mother Phila (I) daughter of Antiochos. The precise kin-relationship between these two nuclear families cannot be determined, but they were clearly very closely connected: note the overlapping onomastic repertoire in both families (Leontiskos, Orontes, Phila), and the fact that the adult brothers Leontiskos (II) and Orontes (I) acted as guardians of the two young children Orontes (II) and Phila (II). A further individual, Diokles (II) son of Chairigenes, acted as co-guardian of Orontes (II) and Phila (II), but seems not to have been one of the parties to the treaty; his name suggests that he, too, was a member of this extended family-group. The three adult male members of this extended family, Diokles (I), Leontiskos (II), and Orontes (I), all participated in the treaty on their own authority; the two adult women (apparently both widows) participated with the «consent» of their adult sons, and the two underage children participated with the consent of their adult guardians. The phraseology employed for «consent» (*σὺν τῇ τοῦ δεῖνα γνώμῃ, μετὰ τῆς τοῦ δεῖνα γνώμης*) is likewise regularly used in manumission inscriptions, particularly (but not always) in cases where a female manumitter cannot legally act without the consent of her *kyrios*.<sup>35</sup> It is striking

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ἔκριν[εν]). See further ROBERT, *Carie* 100; THONEMANN, *Krateuas* 375; P. THONEMANN, *Eumenes II and Apollonioucharax*, *Gephyra* 8, 2011, 24.

<sup>34</sup> I.Mylasa 913, with BOULAY – PONT (above, n. 31), 54–64 and 124f., doc. 2: *προσορίζει* τῇ πόλει τὸν τῶν Χαλκητορέων δήμον ἵνα συμπολιτευόμενος ἐπ' ἴση καὶ ὁμοίαι τ[ῶ]ν αὐτῶν ἡμῖν μετέχη.

<sup>35</sup> E.g. IG Iran Asie centr. 14 (Susa, 177/176 BC), ἀ[φιέρωσεν ἢ δεῖνα] Ἀμμωνί[ου ...] μετὰ τῆς [τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς] Δημητ[ρίου τοῦ δεῖνος] γνώμη[ς], with ROBERT, *OMS II*, 1227–1231; see further T. RITTI – C. ŞİMŞEK – H. YILDIZ, *Dediche e καταγραφαὶ dal santuario frigio di Apollo Lairbenos*, EA 32, 2000, 48f. (sanctuary of Apollo Lairbenos); R. ZELNICK-ABRAMOWITZ, *Taxing Freedom in Thessalian Manumission Inscriptions*, 2013, 32f. For the use of the phraseology in other contexts, cf. e.g. the Pergamene astynomic law (OGIS 483), lines 188–192 (different punishments for slaves who act μετὰ/ἄνευ τῆς τοῦ κυρίου γνώμης); IG XII 4, 2, 597 (Kos, c. 50 BC: dedication of statue of *paidonomos* by *paides* μετὰ τὰς τῶν κυρίων γνώμας). On male legal guardianship of women in the Hellenistic period, see R. VAN BREMEN, *The Limits of Participation*, 1996, 217–225; E. ΣΤΑΥΡΙΑΝΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, «Gruppenbild mit Dame», 2006, esp. 97–102, 111–115.

that the family concerned felt the need to list all relevant members of the extended family-group, along with (where necessary) the basis of their legal right to act; they were clearly anxious to close all possible loop-holes in securing their future status and rights (see further on A24–27 below).

The onomastics of the family holds several clues (none decisive) as to their possible origins. The names Διοκλῆς, Λεοντίσκος, Ὀρέστης and Χαριγένης are too widespread to be diagnostic.<sup>36</sup> Two names may have a Rhodian tinge: two of the three attestations of the very rare woman's name Νικιάς derive from Rhodes and nearby Kalymnos, and the name Π(ε)ἰσίστρατος seems to have been particularly popular on Rhodes (44 of 138 instances).<sup>37</sup> More interesting is the rare Persian name Ὀρόντης, the most famous bearer of which was satrap of Mysia and leader of the 'Satraps' Revolt in Asia Minor in the mid-fourth century BC.<sup>38</sup> The name is relatively unusual in the wider Greek world during the Hellenistic and Roman periods, and it is therefore tempting to suppose that a bearer of the name at Trapezopolis (between Attouda and Laodikeia) in the early Flavian period might be a descendant of the family in the present inscription.<sup>39</sup> Finally, our attention might be piqued by the woman's name Φίλα daughter of Ἀντίοχος; neither name is in itself at all unusual, but both names are found in the Seleukid royal house, and we know that another close relative of the Seleukid royal family (Achaios 'the elder') owned a large estate in exactly this region in the mid-third century BC.<sup>40</sup> However, both names are sufficiently common that it would clearly be perilous to build too much on this.

**A16–19** These lines are the first clause of the συνθήκη proper. The opening clause can be restored with reasonable certainty from B8 below (τὸ ψήφισμα καὶ τὴν συνθήκην εἶναι κύρια καὶ τὴν χώραν ὑπάρχειν Ἀντιοχίδα): the stretch of land in hereditary possession of the extended family-group enumerated in the preceding lines (τ<η>ν <χ>ώρ<α>ν ... τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν ἀ[ὐ]τ[ο]ῖς προγονικὴν, A16–17) is now to

<sup>36</sup> The most unusual is Χαριγένης, of which thirty-five instances are listed in the LGPN, including one at Laodikeia on the Lykos (imperial period); all but eight are from Athens or Euboea.

<sup>37</sup> One of the very few examples of Π(ε)ἰσίστρατος from western Asia Minor comes from the town of Syneta (modern Bucak köyü), probably incorporated into the territory of Antioch in the later Hellenistic period: CHANIOTIS (above, n. 3), no. III, line 5, with p. 88.

<sup>38</sup> Encyclopedia Iranica, s.v. Orontes (<https://iranicaonline.org/articles/orontes>).

<sup>39</sup> Trapezopolis: RPC II 1234–1236 (Τι. Κλ. Ὀρόντης); Trapezopolis may well have been situated on or near the estate described here (see further below). In Asia Minor, the name Ὀρόντης is otherwise only attested at Dorylaion, Sagalassos, and in several cities of Rough Kilikia (LGPN V.B and V.C, s.v.). For Persian names in this region, see further below.

<sup>40</sup> M. WÖRRLE, Antiochos I., Achaios der Ältere und die Galater, Chiron 5, 1975, 59–87 (I.Laodikeia Lykos 1; I.Mus. Denizli 2: 267 BC): large estate around Neon Teichos and Kiddiou Kome, near Laodikeia. The precise character of the familial ties between Achaios 'the elder' and the Seleukid royal house remain uncertain: see T. CORSTEN on I.Laodikeia Lykos 1; B. CHRUBASIK, Kings and Usurpers in the Seleukid Empire, 2016, 103f.; M. D'AGOSTINI, Asia Minor and the many shades of a civil war, in: K. ERICKSON ed., The Seleukid Empire 281–222 BC, 2018, 61f.

become part of the territory of Antioch ([εἶναι Ἀντιοχ]ίδα) and is to be subject to the same civic taxes as the rest of Antioch's territory (ὁμοτελή, A17 – the adjective is predicative).<sup>41</sup> The location of this stretch of land is further defined in A17–19, a passage of text which is frustratingly difficult to restore as a result of the poor quality of both GELL's and BENNDORF's copies. It is, though, certain that the family's estate was centred on the sanctuary of Men Karou, east of Antioch (A17, *περὶ τὸ τοῦ Μηνὸς τοῦ Κά[ρου] - -*). This is our first epigraphic attestation of the sanctuary of Men Karou, described in some detail by Strabo (12. 8. 20):

μεταξὺ δὲ τῆς Λαοδικείας καὶ τῶν Καρούρων ἱερόν ἐστι Μηνὸς Κάρου καλούμενον, τιμώμενον ἀξιολόγως, συνέστηκε δὲ καθ' ἡμᾶς διδασκαλεῖον Ἡροφιλείων ἰατρῶν μέγα ὑπὸ Ζεύξιδος, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Φιλαλήθους, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν πατέρων τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐν Σμύρῃ τὸ τῶν Ἐρασιστρατειῶν ὑπὸ Ἰκεσίου, νῦν δ' οὐχ ὁμοίως τι συμβαίνει.

«Between Laodikeia and Karoura is a sanctuary named after Men Karou, which is held in remarkable honour. In my own day, a great school of Herophilean doctors was established there by Zeuxis, and after that by Alexander Philalēthēs, just as in the time of our fathers the school of Erasistrateans was established at Smyrna by Hikesios, although it is not now as significant as it was previously.»<sup>42</sup>

The precise location of this sanctuary is not known; it seems to have lain on the territory of Attouda, to judge from the appearance of a bust of Men Karou (with accompanying legend ΜΗΝ ΚΑΡΟΥ) on pseudo-autonomous imperial bronze coins of Attouda (Fig. 4).<sup>43</sup> RAMSAY conjectured that the sanctuary might have been situated at or near the modern village of Gerali, 3 km south of Sarayköy near the confluence of the Lykos and Maeander, which (pending better evidence) is as good a guess as any.<sup>44</sup> This area was known both in antiquity and today for its thermal springs, and the existence of a medical school associated with the sanctuary makes it quite plausible that the sanctuary was built around a hot spring with 'healing' qualities.<sup>45</sup> At the start of line

<sup>41</sup> The rare adjective ὁμοτελής is otherwise only attested in Greek epigraphy in the treaty between Rhodes and Hierapytna of c. 205 BC, where it is stipulated that Rhodian naval officers are to take care of Hierapytna «as if it were ὁμοτελής» (I.Cret. III iii 3.A, lines 61–63: τοὶ ἄρχοντες ... ἐπιμελέσθω τὰς πόλιος τὰς Ἱεραπυτνίων καθάπερ τὰς ὁμοτελοῦς); the term is presumably semantically identical to the more common ἰσοτελής.

<sup>42</sup> See, above all, C. NISSEN, *Entre Asclépios et Hippocrate*, 2009, 189–215; on the medical school, H. VON STADEN, *Herophilus*, 1989, 529–539. Zeuxis Philalēthēs appears as a mint-magistrate at Laodikeia under Augustus (RPC I 2893–2895).

<sup>43</sup> E.g. BMC Caria, 65 nos 18–19; SNG Cop. (Caria) 162; SNG von Aulock 2499.

<sup>44</sup> W. M. RAMSAY, *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia I: The Lycos Valley*, 1895, 167–169; TIB VII Phrygien und Pisidien, 1990, s.v. Gereli; U. HUTTNER, *Early Christianity in the Lycos Valley*, 2013, 52f.

<sup>45</sup> Strabo tells us that the village of Karoura, to the west of the sanctuary of Men Karou, had thermal springs (12. 8. 17: *κώμη δ' ἐστὶν αὕτη πανδοχεῖα ἔχουσα καὶ ζεστῶν ὑδάτων ἐκβολὰς, τὰς μὲν ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ Μαιάνδρῳ, τὰς δ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ χεῖλους; cf. Athenaios, Deipn. 2. 17 [43b], τὰ δ' ἐν Καρούροις καθάξηρα καὶ σφόδρα θερμά*); these are likely to be the hot springs in the



Fig. 4: Attouda, AE (AD c. 193–250). Obv. Bust of Men facing r. in Phrygian cap, with half-moon behind his shoulders. Legend: ΜΗΝ ΚΑΡΟΥ. Rev. Altar with decorative garlands and bosses, topped with three pine-cones and two cylindrical altars with lit fires above. Legend: ΑΤΤΟΥΔΕΩΝ. 22mm, 4.83g. Scale: 2 : 1.

A18, GELL read ΠΟΥΠΙΡΟΝ; the final four letters could in theory be a misreading of ἱερόν, but then it is hard to see what could have stood in the lacuna at the end of A17 (τὸ τοῦ Μηνὸς τοῦ Κά[ρου - c. 5–8 -]που ἱερόν).<sup>46</sup> I have therefore preferred to assume that the word ἱερόν stood immediately after the god's epithet, and was followed by a reference to a bath-house at the sanctuary of Men Karou (περὶ τὸ τοῦ Μηνὸς τοῦ Κά[ρου ἱερόν καὶ] λουτρόν).

In lines A18–19 we then have a list of other major constituent elements of the estate. For the first toponym, GELL's copy implies Κιναδάτους ὕλη, «Wood of Kina-dates». The basic form of the toponym («natural feature» of «personal name») is widespread in western Asia Minor: one might compare the place-name «Water of Morstas» (Μορστού ὕδωρ) in the estate of Mnesimachos near Sardis (I.Sardis I 1, lines I.7–8).<sup>47</sup> A personal name \*Κιναδάτης is not otherwise attested in Greek, but the termination -δάτης is extremely common in Greek transliterations of personal names of Old Persian origin (Μιθραδάτης, Βαγαδάτης, etc.), and it is therefore quite conceivable that

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Maeander plain north and north-east of the modern village of Tekkeköy (13km west of Gerali), which today support several thermal spas: RAMSAY (above, n. 44), 2, 170f.; J. G. C. ANDERSON, A summer in Phrygia I, JHS 17, 1897, 398 (ancient remains near the village of Kabaagaç); HUTTNER (above, n. 44), 18f., 23. On thermal and petrifying springs in this region, see THONEMANN, Maeander 75–87.

<sup>46</sup> It is possible, but in my view unlikely, that the name of a second deity could have stood in the lacuna, e.g. τὸ τοῦ Μηνὸς τοῦ Κά[ρου καὶ Ἀσκλη]π<ι>οῦ ἱερόν; but the absence of a second definite article would be highly problematic (we would expect καὶ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ, for which there is insufficient space), and we have no reason to think that Men Karou shared his sanctuary with another deity. A second epithet of Men is also conceivable.

<sup>47</sup> Likewise e.g. Ἰλου ὄρος in I.Sardis I 1 line I.4; Λειβου ἄλωσ at Apollonia under Salbake (I.Aphrodisias 2007, 12.26, c26, with L. ZGUSTA, Kleinasiatische Ortsnamen, 1984, 338 § 704); etc.

the toponym originally derives from the name of an old Achaimenid land-owner in the region.<sup>48</sup> The Greek \*Κιναδάτης could easily represent the Elamite name Kinna-dadda, frequently attested in the Persepolis Fortification Texts; in the years around 500 BC, a certain Kinnadadda was steward of the land-holdings of Darius' wife Atossa near Persepolis.<sup>49</sup>

The toponym «Wood of Kinadates» is at first sight a surprising one to find in this region, since in modern times the Lykos plain around Sarayköy has been entirely bare of vegetation, marshy and in large part uncultivated.<sup>50</sup> Most probably the estate extended to the south and south-west of the sanctuary of Men Karou, up into the broken foothills of the Babadağ mountain range (the ancient Mt Kadmos) towards the ancient settlements of Trapezopolis (at Boludüzü, near modern Bekirler) and Attouda (modern Hisarköy), still today covered with a mixture of maquis and pine-forest.<sup>51</sup> The term ὕλη can refer either to genuine woodland or to maquis; it is therefore not clear what the main economic function of this part of the estate might have been (hunting, timber, pasturage).<sup>52</sup>

This is followed by a phrase which should mean «and the other [(?) places] appertaining to it» (κ[α]ὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς συνκύρουσιν ΕΠ. . ΑΔΟΥ[-]); for the verb συνκύρειν in the sense «appertain to/be contiguous to», cf. I.Ilion 33 (conveyance of estate to Aristodikides of Assos, c. 274 BC), lines 51–52 (WELLES, RC 12, lines 2–3, with p. 364), Πέτρων τὸ χωρίον καὶ τῆγ χώραν τὴν συγκύρουσαν; HATZOPOULOS, Macedonian Institutions II 39 (Gazoros, 215/214 or 174/173 BC), lines 10–14,

<sup>48</sup> For Achaimenid land-holdings in this region, see further below. For the preservation of Persian names in toponyms, compare e.g. Φαρνάκου χωρίον at Aphrodisias (A. CHANIOTIS, Twelve buildings in search of a location, in: C. RATTÉ – R. R. SMITH ed., Aphrodisias Papers 4, 2008, 76f.); Δαρειουκώμη in Lydia (TAM V 2, 1335). Note that the element Κινα- appears in indigenous Lydian toponymy and onomastics: a village Κιναροα near Sardis (I.Sardis I 1, line 1.6); a village Κιναμουρα near Hypaipa (I.Ephesos 3806); ὁ Κιναβαλου πύργος at Teos (CIG 3064, line 7); L. ZGUSTA, Kleinasiatische Personennamen, 1964, 233 § 610–613; id. (above, n. 47), 264 § 517.

<sup>49</sup> M. W. STOLPER, Atossa re-enters, in: S. GONDET – E. HAERINCK ed., L'Orient est son jardin, 2018, 449–466; the name identified as Elamite already by M. MAYRHOFER, Onomastica Persepolitana, 1973, 181 § 8.830. I am grateful to YUHAN VEVAINA for advice on this point.

<sup>50</sup> X. DE PLANHOL, Le cadre géographique, in: J. DES GAGNIERS ed., Laodicée du Lycos: Le nymphée, 1969, 396.

<sup>51</sup> Mt Kadmos: ROBERT, Carie 25–31, 39–46; for photographs of the wooded hills and ravines on the north-west slopes of Mt Kadmos, between Attouda and Trapezopolis, see THONEMANN, Maeander 228 Fig. 6.5 and 240 Fig. 6.10. For the location of Trapezopolis, TIB VII Phrygien and Pisidien 407f., s.v. Trapezupolis; for the (very scanty) remains, C. ŞİMŞEK, Trapezopolis Nekropolü I, Arkeoloji ve Sanat 109–110, 2002, 3–17.

<sup>52</sup> CH. SCHULER, Ländliche Siedlungen und Gemeinden im hellenistischen und römischen Kleinasien, 1998, 114–116; for sheep-pasturage in this region, see THONEMANN, Maeander 190–193. For ὕλη in the sense «wood, timber-stand», see now SEG 57, 1667 (Neisa), ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Καρταπιδι ὕλης οὐδέποτε οὐδεὶς πρίωμα ἐξήγαγε<ν> ἴκρι<α>.

πρ[ο]ενοήσατο τῆς χώρας ... καὶ τὰς συ[ν]κυρο]ύσας κώμας ἐζήτησεν διασ[ώ]ι-  
[σ]αι.<sup>53</sup> At the end of line A18 we ought to have a masculine or neuter noun in the  
dative plural meaning «places, (small) settlements» dependent on or contiguous to the  
Wood of Kinadates, e.g. [τόποις], [οικοπέδοις], [ἀγροῖς].<sup>54</sup> Finally, at the start of line  
A19, we have what is unambiguously a name of a village, Σασσοτροῖς (perhaps, but  
not certainly, one of the settlements appertaining to the Wood of Kinadates). Here  
GELL's reading is certain to be correct, since we know of a village of this name in the  
far north-east of the territory of Lydian Philadelphia, at modern Başibüyük, 8km  
south-east of Kula;<sup>55</sup> clearly this cannot be the settlement referred to in the present  
inscription, and we must be dealing with homonymous villages.<sup>56</sup> Finally, in line A19,  
we have a further clause indicating the family's right to dispose of the constituent  
elements of the estate due to their ancestral right of possession of them (κατὰ τὰς  
ὑπαρχούσ[α]ς αὐτοῖς κυ<ρ>ιείας δ[ι]ὰ προγόνων).<sup>57</sup>

**A19–27** We now come to the second major clause of the treaty: the family mem-  
bers listed in A10–16 (A20–21, Διοκλῆν τε καὶ τ[ο]ὺς ἄλλους τοὺς προγεγραμμένους  
[τοὺς προστε]θειμένους τὴν χώραν) are to receive citizenship at Antioch, and are  
to be enrolled into the Antiochene tribe Ῥωμαῖς. The use of the active verb νέμειν  
for «belong to (a civic subdivision)» is relatively unusual, but compare the letter of  
Philip V to Mylasa (I.Labraunda 5, c. 220 BC), lines 32–33, ἀπέφαινον δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν  
τῶ[ι] ἱερῶι διατρίβοντας πολίτας ὑμῶν εἶναι καὶ φυλάς νέμειν καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι

<sup>53</sup> The verb προσκύρειν is frequently used in the same sense: see e.g. I.Sardis I 1 (estate of Mnesimachos), lines I.4–5, προσκύρουσιν δὲ [πρὸς τὴν κώ]μην ταύτην καὶ ἄλλαι κώμαι; line I.11, ἐκ πασῶν ... τῶν κωμῶν καὶ ἐκ τῶν κλήρων καὶ τῶν οικοπέδων προσκυρόντων; I.Labraunda 8B (letter of Olympichos to Mylasa), lines 17–19, τὰς ὑπαρχούσας ἡμῖν γέας πάσας ... καὶ τὰ προσκύροντα [πάντα] ταῖς γέαις ταύταις.

<sup>54</sup> SCHULER (above, n. 52), 62–66, 79–83, 127–130.

<sup>55</sup> TAM V 1, 228 = TAM V 3, 1485 (II or III century AD): τῆς Σασσοτρέων κατ[οικίας]. The toponym is probably Lydian: compare the Lydian village-name Περισσασσωστρα (I.Sardis I 1, line I.7).

<sup>56</sup> Compare e.g. Attoudda near Sardis (I.Sardis I 1, line I.10) and the polis of Attoudda at Hisar-köy, west of Laodikeia; on the possible existence of multiple settlements called Tabai, see ROBERT, Carie 82f.

<sup>57</sup> The four forms of legitimate acquisition recognised in Greek international law are listed in the Magnesian arbitration between Itanos and Hierapytna (I.Cret. III iv 9, c. 111 BC), lines 133–134: [ἀν]θρώποι τὰς κατὰ τῶν τόπων ἔχουσι κυριείας ἢ παρὰ προγόνων π[αραλαβόν]τες αὐτοὶ [ἢ πριάμενοι κατ'] ἀργυρίου δόσιν ἢ δόρατι κρατήσαντες ἢ παρὰ τινος τῶν κρεισσόν[ων σχόντες], «people have rights of possession over land by dint of having either received it themselves from their ancestors, or bought it with money, or conquered it with the spear, or received it from more powerful persons»; see A. CHANIOTIS, Justifying territorial claims in Classical and Hellenistic Greece, in: E. M. HARRIS – L. RUBINSTEIN ed., *The Law and the Courts in Ancient Greece*, 2004, 186. On κυριεία as «right of possession», see ROBERT, Claros 74; BOUSQUET – GAUTHIER (above, n. 19), 332 n. 52; for «ancestral» rights, L. CRISCUOLO, *La formula ἐν πατρικοῖς nelle iscrizioni di Cassandra*, Chiron 41, 2011, 461–485.



νόμοις.<sup>58</sup> The only other civic tribe known at Antioch is a tribe Ἀντιοχίς; the tribe-name Ῥωμαῖς (named after the goddess Roma) seems otherwise only to be attested at the neighbouring city of Aphrodisias.<sup>59</sup> The tribe Ῥωμαῖς was surely introduced at the same time as the cult and eponymous priesthood of Roma at Antioch, no doubt in 167 BC; as so often, we see here a Greek city modelling its honours for Rome on the kinds of honours previously conferred on Hellenistic monarchs (who were frequently honoured with the creation of additional civic tribes in their name).<sup>60</sup> In Greek citizenship decrees, the beneficiary normally has a free choice of tribe and other civic subdivision(s), or is assigned to a tribe by sortition; direct assignment, as here, is relatively unusual.<sup>61</sup> It is difficult to say why the Antiochenes might have wished to enrol the entire family in the single tribe Ῥωμαῖς; the reasons could have been either practical (was the new tribe under-populated?) or symbolic (enrolment into the tribe named after the Antiochenes' most significant benefactors).

I have been unable to reconstruct a wholly convincing syntax for lines A21–24. A distinction is here drawn between those immediate family-members who have been explicitly named earlier in the treaty (Διοκλήν τε κ[αί] τ[ο]ὺς ἄλλους τοὺς προγεγραμμένους, A20), who receive citizenship and tribal affiliation at Antioch instantly and automatically, and other non-specified «familiar» (ἄλλους οἰκείους αὐτῶ[ν], A21: perhaps their dependents on the estate), who have the right to receive citizenship and tribal membership in future, after following a procedure of written deposition described in A21–23.<sup>62</sup> Provisions of this general kind are often found in Hellenistic

<sup>58</sup> The verb νέμειν is also used of «inhabiting» a city: e.g. I.Delphinion 143A (isopoliteia with Seleukeia-Tralleis, 218/217 BC), lines 17–18, Σελευκεῦσι τοῖς νέμουσι πατρίδα καὶ πόλιν Σελεύκειαν. The same verb can also be used of the process of distributing persons among civic subdivisions: e.g. SEG 47, 1745 (letter of Eumenes II to Toriaion, shortly after 188 BC), lines 31–32, δώσομεν τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους ... ἄμνον νέμειν εἰς φυλάς καταμερισθέντα.

<sup>59</sup> Tribe Ἀντιοχίς: Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀντιόχεια (11), Ἀντιοχίς ... καὶ φυλῆς ὄνομα. Tribe Ῥωμαῖς at Aphrodisias: I.Aphrodisias 2007, 12.26 and 12.1007 (the same man: Hadrianic date); the only other tribe attested at Aphrodisias is Ἄδριανίς (A. CHANIOTIS, *Inscriptions*, in: C. RATTÉ – P. D. DE STAEBLER ed., *The Aphrodisias Regional Survey*, 2012, 349).

<sup>60</sup> The best-known example is the creation of the additional «Antigonid» tribes Antigonis and Demetrias at Athens in 307 BC: Diod. Sic. 20. 46. 2, with HABICHT (above, n. 17), 44–55. Note also e.g. SEG 59, 1406 (Aigai, c. 281 BC), lines 22–25: two additional tribes created in honour of the Seleukid monarchs, Σελευκίς and Ἀντιοχίς; a tribe Σελευκίς also at Kolophon (D. ROUSSET, *La stèle des Géléontes au sanctuaire de Claros*, JS 2014, 70f.). At Nysa, the tribes Σελευκίς and Ἀντιοχίς persisted into the Roman period, supplemented (under Augustus) with the names of members of the imperial house, Γερμανικίς Σελευκίς and Ἀγριππιῆς Ἀντιοχίς: I.Nysa 419, with BLÜMEL's commentary.

<sup>61</sup> N. F. JONES, Enrollment clauses in Greek citizenship decrees, ZPE 87, 1991, 79–102; cf. also I. SAVALLI-LESTRADE, I neocittadini nelle città ellenistiche, *Historia* 34, 1985, 387–431.

<sup>62</sup> The term οἰκείος, when applied to individuals, generally designates a kinship-link by alliance rather than consanguinity, or more generally an affective connection closer to that designated by φίλος: CURTY (above, n. 2), 224–241; cf. LÜCKE (above, n. 2), 62–64. But note the usage in the near-contemporary letter of Eumenes II to Tabai (SEG 57, 1109, c. 168/167 BC),

treaties of isopoliteia.<sup>63</sup> For example, in the well-preserved Milesian treaty with Seleukeia-Tralleis (I.Delphinion 143A: 218/217 BC), a procedure is laid down whereby future citizens of Seleukeia can take up citizenship at Miletos (albeit only after ten years' residence at Seleukeia). Such persons are required first to make a written deposition (ἀπογραφή) in the archive of the Milesian boulē, stating their paternity and tribe at Seleukeia; the grammateus then announces their candidacy to the ekklesia, after which they are assigned to a Milesian tribe. An even closer parallel is found in the eighth and last of the Kymaian decrees for Archippe, probably dating to the mid-second century BC: Archippe's oikonomos Helikon (who was no doubt in a similar position to the οικείοι of the present inscription) is granted citizenship at Kyme on Archippe's request, and is required to file a written deposition (γραφή) with the grammateus of the nomophylakes and in the public record office.<sup>64</sup> The procedure at Antioch was clearly very similar: the οικείοι are to register their application for citizenship with the grammateus of the dēmos (ἀπογραφῶσιν ἕαν]τούς) by means of a documentary deposition (τὴν γραφήν, A22), just as in the grant of citizenship for Helikon at Kyme.<sup>65</sup> I take the clause in lines A22–23 (ἐφ' οὗ ἂν ἀπογραφῶσιν ἕαν]τούς) to mean «under whichever grammateus they may register themselves»; i.e. this need not be during the current grammateus' term of office, but may be in any future year. Once this process of written registration has occurred, the grammateus then in office (τοῦ τότε γραμματέως, A23) will enrol them into the [?citizen body] and the tribe Ῥωμαῖς (ὥστε ἀναγραφῆναι αὐτοῦ[ς] ... καὶ εἰς φυλὴν Ῥωμαῖδα, A23–24). I am uncertain how to restore the phrase at the end of A23 and beginning of A24 (εἰς τὴν [-]ίταν); the desired sense is «into the citizen body», and so we might perhaps consider εἰς τὴν [-]πολι<τεί>αν vel sim.<sup>66</sup>

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lines II.4–6, where the dynast Koteies is said to have marched to Ἀραμεῖα ἔχων μεθ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν οικείων νεανίσκους, apparently a private militia made up of young men from his household or estate. I suspect that a similar sense is intended here.

<sup>63</sup> See BOUSQUET – GAUTHIER (above, n. 19), 332–339, on the rather similar process of «registration» in SEG 44, 1218 (isopoliteia of Xanthos and Myra), lines 15–38.

<sup>64</sup> SEG 33, 1039, lines 77–80: ἐπικληρωσάτω δὲ καὶ ὁ ἐσόμενος ἔμμηνο[ς] στρατηγός Ἐλικῶνα τὸν Ἀπολλωνίου ἐπὶ τε φυ[λῆ]ν καὶ φράτραν καὶ καθ' ἃ ἀνα[δι]δότηω γραφήν τῷ γραμματεῖ τῶν νομοφυλάκων καὶ εἰς τὸ ἀντιγραφίον καὶ μ[ε]τεχέτω πάντων ὧν καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πολῖται. For the date, VAN BREMEN, Decrees.

<sup>65</sup> Part of the verb διδόναι (-δῶσι?) surely lurks in the latter part of the difficult sequence ΓΥΑΝΕΤΙΑΩΣΙ copied by GELL at the start of line A22: compare καθ' ἃ ἀναδιδότηω γραφήν in the decree for Archippe. ΚΑΤΗΡΥΝ STEVENS tentatively suggests to me that we might restore A21–22 καὶ ἄλλους οικείους αὐτῶ[ν ὁμοίως ὄσ]<οι> ἂν ἐπιδώσι τὴν γραφήν κτλ., which must at least give the right general sense, although ἐπιδίδωμι seems not to be closely paralleled in this sense.

<sup>66</sup> For this «concrete» use of πολιτεία («citizen body», usually πολιτεύμα), compare e.g. I.Delphinion 143A, line 29, τοὺς δὲ προσίοντας πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν (similarly I.Delphinion 146A, line 38); Syll.<sup>3</sup> 543 (Philip V's second letter to Larisa, 215 BC), lines 34–35, παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς ... τοὺς μὲν κεκρμένους ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν ἀποκαταστήσαι εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν.

**A24–27** These two clauses are intended to guarantee the future citizen-rights of the linear descendants of the immediate parties to the treaty (A24, τοὺς τῶν προγεγραμμένων ἐκγό[νους]), and – more unexpectedly – to secure the rights of the two adult women listed earlier, Nikias and Phila (I) (A25–27, με[τέ]χειν δὲ καὶ Νικίαν ... ὧν καὶ [οἱ ἄλλοι] μετέχουσιν). The first clause is perfectly well paralleled, but the function of the second clause is less clear; one might have thought that the status of these women had already been guaranteed by the clause in A19–21 (covering Διοκλῆν τε κ[αὶ τ]οὺς ἄλλους τοὺς προγεγραμμένους). Presumably this additional clause reflects the fact that the female members of the family would not become members of a phylē, but nonetheless expected to receive the other benefits of Antiochene citizenship (με[τέ]χειν ... ὧν καὶ [οἱ ἄλλοι] μετέχουσιν); we might compare the isopoliteia treaty between Miletos and Herakleia under Latmos (I.Delphinion 150: c. 186–182/181 BC), in which men wishing to take up citizen-rights at the partner city (τοὺς δὲ βουλομένους Ἡρακλεωτῶν μετέχειν τῆς ἐμ Μιλήτῳ πολ[ι]τείας καὶ ἱερῶν καὶ ἀρχείων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν, lines 43–44) are required to register the names of their wives and children at the time of their application for citizenship, presumably on the expectation that their wives will also take up (some of) the relevant citizen-rights (εἴ τισιν ὑπάρχουσιν γυναῖκες καὶ τέκνα, [sc. ἀπογράφεσθαι] καὶ τὰ τούτων ὁμοίως ὀνόματα, lines 46–47).

**A27–29** The final preserved clause in this part of the inscription – if I have understood it correctly – appears to be concerned with the eventuality that «foreigners» (ξένοι, A27) might choose to settle (ἐπιπ[αρ]οικεῖν προαιρῶνται) on the estate now being attached to the polis-territory of Antioch (ἐ<π>ὶ τοῖς ... τόποις).<sup>67</sup> At the start of line 28, GELL read EAYTON, but an accusative singular is hard to account for here, and GELL was prone to confuse omicron and omega (A2, ΟΝΟΣ for ὄπως; A21, ΧΟΡΑΝ for χώραν; perhaps A8, ΤΜΟΛΟΥ for (?) Τμῶλου). I have hence assumed that the true reading is ἐαυτῶν, although this too is not without its problems (why reflexive?). The precise force of the apodosis that follows is similarly uncertain. It seems a priori likely that the purpose of this clause is to guarantee the family the continuation of certain fiscal rights over their property after its attachment to the territory of Antioch. Perhaps they are being granted the right to draw a certain proportion of the rent or tax levied on these new settlers (ἔστω αὐτοῖς ἀπάγειν ... [e.g. τοῦ τέλους τὸ

<sup>67</sup> A verb ἐπιπαροικεῖν is unattested elsewhere, and my reading ἐπιπ[αρ]οικεῖν rests on fragile grounds: GELL read ΣΠΙΓ before the lacuna, and BENNDORF read ΟΙΓΕΙΝ after it. However, the verb gives a sense that is perfectly appropriate in this context («settle in addition»), and παροικεῖν is (in the Hellenistic period) a technical term for what a ξένος does: see e.g. SEG 42, 558 (Anthemous, c. 40 BC), προενοήθη ... τῆς τῶν παροικούντων ξένων ἀσφαλῆας; IG XII 7, 390A (Amorgos, II century BC), μετ[ά]δ[ο]σιν ἐποιή[σατο τῶν κρεῶν] τοῖς πολίταις καὶ ξένοις τ[ο]ῖς παροι[κοῦσι]. The term πάροικος also has a quite different technical meaning in Hellenistic Asia Minor, not relevant here: see L. GAGLIARDI, I paroiroi delle città dell'Asia Minore, *Dike* 12–13, 2009–2010, 303–322, with references to the abundant literature.

δεκατ]ὸν μέρος vel sim.) by dint of their hereditary possession of the territory; but the verb ἀπάγειν seems inappropriate in this context.<sup>68</sup>

#### IV. *The Estate and the ‹Family of Diokles›*

As was already clear from the fragment published by HABICHT in 1957 (Fragment B above), the main event being commemorated in the inscribed dossier from Samos was the extension of Antiochene territory (προσορισμὸς τῆς χώρας) by means of a treaty (συνθήκη) with a neighbouring community. As HABICHT convincingly argued, the dossier must date shortly after the liberation of Karia from Rhodian rule in 167 BC: Antioch was certainly a Seleukid subject-city in spring 189 BC, and so cannot have been one of the Karian cities left free under the terms of the treaty of Apameia in winter 189/188 BC. There is no sign of Rhodian ‹oversight› of Antioch in either the old or new fragments of the dossier, and the Antiochene cult of Roma is most likely to have been introduced in gratitude for the Roman liberation of Karia in 167.<sup>69</sup> The slightly unexpected decision of the Antiochenes to have a copy of the dossier published at the Samian Heraion (rather than, say, the sanctuary of Apollo at Didyma) no doubt reflects the kinship-ties between Samos and Antioch alluded to at B20; I have argued elsewhere that these ties may derive from the involvement of the Samian colony of Nagidos in Kilikia in the original third-century foundation of Antioch.<sup>70</sup>

Fragment B did not provide clear evidence for the identity and character of the ‹community› with whom the treaty was made. HABICHT assumed – quite reasonably given the evidence available to him – that the extension of Antioch’s territory resulted from a treaty of synoikismos with a small neighbouring polis, which was thereby absorbed into the city of Antioch.<sup>71</sup> We know now that this assumption was wrong; the

<sup>68</sup> I have wondered whether GELL’s ΑΠΑΓΕΙΝ might be a misreading for λαβεῖν or ἀ<πο>λαβεῖν (he seems to have misread a lambda as a pi at the start of line A18); λαβεῖν ... μέρος would be entirely standard phraseology for receiving a proportion of revenues.

<sup>69</sup> HABICHT, Volksbeschlüsse 247–249; similarly ERRINGTON, Θεὰ Ῥώμη 103–105. For Antioch as Seleukid in spring 189, Livy 38. 15, with J. D. GRAINGER, The campaign of Cn. Manlius Vulso, AS 45, 1995, 34.

<sup>70</sup> B20: συγγενεῖς καὶ φίλους καὶ εὐ[ν]ους καὶ ἰσοπολίτας καὶ συμ[μάχους]; see also ERRINGTON, Staatsverträge IV 660. On the kinship-ties between Samos and Antioch, see THONEMANN, Maeander 25 n. 64; THONEMANN, Antioch 51. We do not know whether further copies of the treaty were inscribed on stone elsewhere.

<sup>71</sup> HABICHT, Volksbeschlüsse 246 («Synoikismos der Antiochier mit einer anderen weniger bedeutenden Gemeinde»); similarly e.g. L. ROBERT, Sur des inscriptions de Délos, in: Études déliennes, BCH Suppl. 1, 1973, 446f. («augmenté ... d’un territoire appartenant à quelque petite cité adjacente»); ROBERT, Amyzon 129 («absorbant par accord une communauté limitrophe dont le nom nous reste inconnu»); CURTY (above, n. 2), 62 («traité conclu entre deux cités»); THONEMANN, Antioch 50; S. SABA, Isopoliteia in Hellenistic Times, 2020, 96 («Antioch and an unknown city»); ERRINGTON, Staatsverträge IV 661 («Staatsvertrag zwischen Antiocheia und einer unbekanntem Nachbarstadt»).

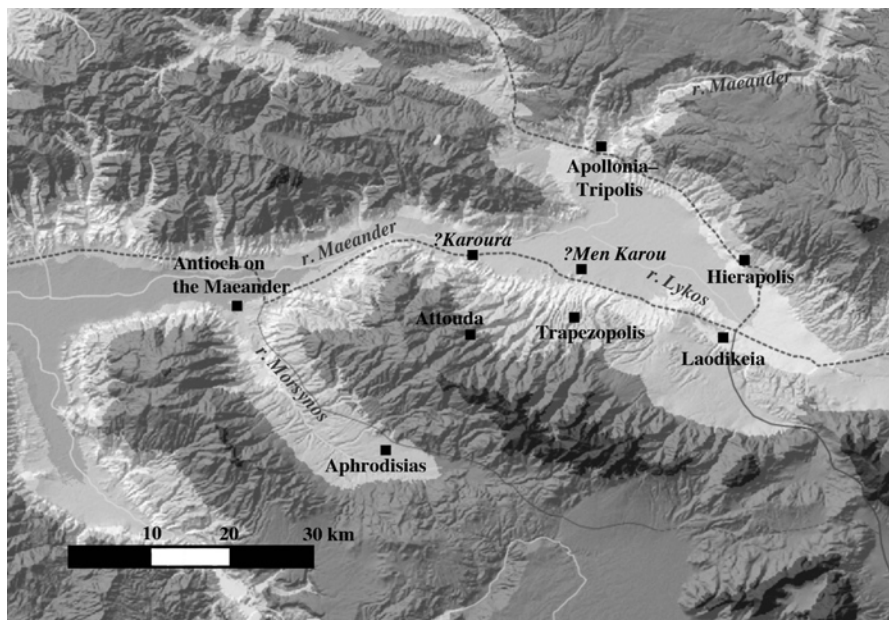


Fig. 5: The Middle Maeander and Lower Lykos valleys.

treaty was in fact with an extended family group (henceforth the ‘family of Diokles’) in possession of a large estate around the sanctuary of Men Karou, close to the confluence of the Lykos and the Maeander, some 33 km east of Antioch.<sup>72</sup> I know of no other example of a συνθήκη between a polis and an extended family, or between a polis and an estate-holder. The mere fact that the agreement between the city of Antioch and the family of Diokles took the form of a bilateral συνθήκη, closely modelled on other interstate treaties, vividly illustrates the extraordinary power and autonomy of this particular estate-holding family. In formal diplomatic terms, they are treated as equal partners to the polis of Antioch – and indeed, the territorial extent of their estate may well have been not significantly inferior to the existing civic territory of Antioch.<sup>73</sup>

Although we have no other documents of exactly this type, the general scenario – ‘attachment’ of a private estate to the territory of a polis, with an associated grant of

<sup>72</sup> It is now clear that this accounts for the curiously precise definition of the status of the two ambassadors to Samos in Fragment B (Epinikos ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν and Leontiskos ἐκ τῶν προσωρικῶτων τὴν χώραν τῆι πόλει, B11–13), one representing each party to the treaty.

<sup>73</sup> See B24–26, on the increase in revenues (ἡ τῶν προσόδων ἐπαύξησις) resulting from the new land now attached to the territory of Antioch. We have examples of bilateral agreements between poleis and private creditors (e.g. Syll.<sup>3</sup> 955: Arkesine and Praxikles of Naxos, described as a συγγραφή), but such agreements were certainly not conceived as ‘treaties’.

polis-citizenship to the estate-holder(s) – is well attested in earlier periods.<sup>74</sup> The best-known example is found in a dossier of royal correspondence from Ilion, dating between 277 and 261 BC, concerning the grant by Antiochos I of a large estate in the Hellespontine satrapy to a certain Aristodikides of Assos.<sup>75</sup> Under the terms of Antiochos' grant, Aristodikides is permitted (or perhaps required) to «attach» (προσενέγκασθαι, προορίσαι) this estate to either the city of Ilion or Skepsis. When Aristodikides has made his choice (Ilion), the satrapal governor writes to the city of Ilion to inform them that Aristodikides will shortly be in touch to settle the precise terms: «He himself will make clear to you what he thinks he should be granted by the polis, and you would do well to vote all the privileges to him, and to inscribe the terms of the grant on a stēlē and set them up in the sanctuary, so that the grant might remain secure for you in perpetuity».<sup>76</sup> The outcome of this (clearly highly asymmetric) bargaining process between Ilion and Aristodikides must have been a mutual agreement not fundamentally different in kind from the συνθήκη between Antioch and the family of Diokles: polis-citizenship and other specific privileges for the estate-holder in return for the attachment of the estate to polis-territory.<sup>77</sup> Ilion was clearly given very little choice in the matter by the satrap; the absence of any higher authority in the present case must have given the polis of Antioch significantly greater bargaining power in formulating the terms of their agreement with the family of Diokles.<sup>78</sup>

Who were the family of Diokles, and how and when did they come into possession of the estate around the sanctuary of Men Karou? As we have seen, the onomastics of the family do not settle the question with any certainty (see on A10–16 above): two of the names may perhaps have a Rhodian tinge (Νικιάς, Πισίστρατος), one name is certainly Persian in origin (Ὀρόντης), and one name-combination may conceivably

<sup>74</sup> On the «attachment» of estates to polis-territories under the Seleukids, see e.g. G. G. APERGHIS, *The Seleukid Royal Economy*, 2004, 99–107; L. CAPDETREY, *Le pouvoir séleucide*, 2007, 151–153; THONEMANN, *Krateuas 375*, with further bibliography.

<sup>75</sup> OGIS 221; WELLES, RC 10–13; I.Ilion 33; A. BENCIVENNI, *Aristodikides di Asso, Antiocho I e la scelta di Ilio, Simblos 4*, 2004, 159–185. Whether Aristodikides was required to attach his estate to a polis, or was permitted to do so as a privilege, is not clear: SCHULER (above, n. 52), 173f.

<sup>76</sup> I.Ilion 33, lines 11–17, ἃ μὲν οὖν ἀξιοῖ γενέσθαι αὐτῶι παρὰ τῆς πόλεως, αὐτὸς ὑμῖν δηλώσει· καλῶς δ' ἂν ποιήσαιτε ψηφισάμενοί τε πάντα τὰ φιλάνθρωπα αὐτῶι καὶ καθ' ὅτι ἂν συγχωρήσῃ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν ποιησάμενοι καὶ στηλώσαντες καὶ θέντες εἰς τὸ ἱερόν, ἵνα μὲνι ὑμῖν βεβαίως εἰς πάντα τὸν χρόνον τὰ συγχωρηθέντα.

<sup>77</sup> Similar asymmetric bargaining must underlie the attachment of the estate of the Seleukid officer Larichos to Priene, probably in the 270s BC: I.Priene B–M 29–31 (grant of extensive honours, including fiscal exemptions, to Larichos), with PH. GAUTHIER, *Les honneurs de l'officier séleucide Larichos*, JS 1980, 35–50.

<sup>78</sup> The new fragment A provides no support for the hypothesis of ERRINGTON, Θεὰ Ῥώμη 104, that Roman *legati* oversaw the προσορισμός of Antiochene territory in c. 165 BC; ERRINGTON's hypothesis that the same putative *legati* were responsible for the synoikism of Aphrodisias is now known to be incorrect (A. CHANIOTIS, *New evidence from Aphrodisias*, in: R. VAN BREMEN – J.-M. CARBON ed., *Hellenistic Karia*, 2010, 456–466).

point towards a Seleukid connection (Φίλα daughter of Ἀντίοχος). Formally there seem to be three possibilities: (1) that the family were of Rhodian origin, and that they received this estate only after the Rhodian take-over of inland Karia in 188 BC; (2) that they were granted the estate before 190 BC by Antiochos III or one of the earlier third-century Seleukid monarchs; (3) that they were a family of Achaimenid origin, already settled in the region before the Makedonian conquest of 334/333 BC.

The first of these possibilities (Rhodian) can surely be ruled out. A family which had only been in possession of an estate for less than a generation could hardly have described their estate as «ancestral» (A17, A19); moreover, there is no sign that the twenty-odd years of Rhodian rule in Karia saw the creation of large Rhodian private estates deep in inland Asia Minor.<sup>79</sup> (That does not of course rule out the possibility that an existing land-holding family might have intermarried with members of the Rhodian elite.) The family is also very unlikely to be of Persian origin, despite the presence of the Persian name Ὀρόντης within the family's onomastic repertoire. There is a relatively dense concentration of Iranian names in the Lykos valley, the Tabai plateau, and the Morsynos valley in the Hellenistic and Roman periods; as NICOLAS SEKUNDA has demonstrated, this Iranian onomastic stratum is at least as likely to derive from Seleukid-period colonisation in the region as from any kind of Achaimenid «residue».<sup>80</sup> That there were large Achaimenid estates in the lower Lykos valley in the fourth century BC is likely enough, and the estate in the present inscription may have originally been of Achaimenid origin, as the toponym «Wood of Kinadates» may suggest.<sup>81</sup> But in this area of dense Seleukid settlement, it is impossible to believe that the descendants of any Iranian estate-holders could still have been in possession as late as the mid-second century BC.

It is therefore overwhelmingly likely that the family of Diokles was originally granted κυρεία of the estate by the Seleukid monarchs. As it happens, we have clear epigraphic evidence for the existence of another large Seleukid estate in exactly this region (the lower Lykos valley). An inscription discovered around 4 km west of the site of Laodikeia, precisely dated to 267 BC, records honours conferred by the inhabitants of two villages, Neon Teichos and Kiddiou Kome, on two local agents of the Seleukid dignitary Achaios «the elder», described as κύριος τοῦ τόπου.<sup>82</sup> Evidently

<sup>79</sup> On the character of Rhodian rule in Karia after 188, see G. REGER, *The relations between Rhodes and Caria*, in: V. GABRIELSEN et al. ed., *Hellenistic Rhodes*, 1999, 89f.; H.-U. WIEMER, *Krieg, Handel und Piraterie*, 2002, 251–260.

<sup>80</sup> SEKUNDA, *Settlement* 112–119.

<sup>81</sup> SEKUNDA, *Settlement* 112f. (estate of Ariaaios near Kolossai, 395 BC: Polyainos, *Strat.* 7. 16. 1); 117f. (estate of Mardonios near Apollonia-Tripolis: SEG 33, 999, and see further below).

<sup>82</sup> WÖRRLE (above, n. 40) (I.Laodikeia Lykos 1; I.Mus. Denizli 2). The two honorands are described as ὁ τὰ Ἀχαιοῦ οἰκονομῶν and ἐγλογιστὴς τῶν Ἀχαιοῦ respectively; on these titles, see CAPDETREY (above, n. 74), 306–312. The document is dated ἐπ' Ἐλένου ἐπιμελητοῦ τοῦ τό[πο]υ; it is unclear whether this man's authority extended over Neon Teichos alone, the whole of Achaios' estate, or all royal estates in the region.

Achaios possessed a large estate to the west of the future site of Laodikeia, including several villages and (apparently) at least two rural sanctuaries, a «sanctuary of Zeus in Baba Kome» and a «sanctuary of Apollo in Kiddiou Kome» (I.Laodikeia Lykos 1, lines 18–21, 26–29).<sup>83</sup> There is no reason to think that Achaios' estate was identical to that of the family of Diokles: the toponymy does not overlap, and the sanctuary of Men Karou lay around 17 km north-west of the find-spot of the «Achaios» inscription. But the two estates do seem to have taken a very similar form, consisting of a cluster of indigenous villages around one or more rural sanctuaries (Men Karou; Zeus at Baba Kome and Apollo at Kiddiou Kome). We should presumably picture the lower Lykos and middle Maeander valleys in the third and early second centuries BC as a patchwork of relatively small Seleukid garrison-towns (Laodikeia, Antioch, Nysa, Seleukeia-Tralleis), interspersed with large private estates structured around villages and rural sanctuaries, in the possession of powerful families like those of Achaios and – most probably – the ancestors of the family of Diokles in the present inscription.<sup>84</sup>

The precise legal status of estates granted by the Seleukid monarchs from the βασιλική χώρα to their relatives, friends and subjects has been much debated, in particular whether such estates (in cases where they were not «attached» to the territory of a polis) were necessarily granted only in hereditary usufruct, or whether they could become the private and alienable property of the recipient.<sup>85</sup> For our purposes, the issue is immaterial, since the expulsion of Antiochos III from Asia Minor north of the Taurus in 188 BC must necessarily have brought an end to any residual Seleukid claims to former royal land in the region. Whatever the original terms of the grant, the family of Diokles would by default have obtained full hereditary ownership over their estate by dint of the settlement of 188 BC.

However, the treaty of Apameia must also have left the estate-holders feeling distinctly nervous. The Seleukids – on whose authority their possession ultimately rested – were no longer in a position to enforce the estate-holders' rights of κυρεία. Worse, the estate lay in the boundary-zone between the two new power-holders in western Asia Minor, the Attalid kings and the island-city of Rhodes. In 189/188, the boundary between Attalid and Rhodian territories was fixed as the Maeander river;

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<sup>83</sup> The foundation of Laodikeia probably postdates the decree. T. CORSTEN, The foundations of Laodikeia on the Lykos, in: H. ELTON – G. REGER ed., *Regionalism in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor*, 2007, 131–136, suggests that the sanctuary of Zeus at Baba Kome may lie behind Pliny's claim (HN 5. 105) that the original name of Laodikeia was Diospolis. Note that it was at Laodikeia, near his ancestral estate, that Achaios «the younger» was proclaimed king in 220 BC (Polybios 5. 57. 5).

<sup>84</sup> The family of Diokles must have been of high social rank, and it is tempting to wonder whether they might have been, like Achaios «the elder», distant relatives or philoi of the Seleukid royal house; the woman's name Φίλα Ἀντιόχου may perhaps point in that direction. The family of Achaios were presumably stripped of their estates in the Lykos valley after the crushing of the younger Achaios' revolt in 214 BC: MA, Antiochos 54–63; CHRUBASIK (above, n. 40), 81–89, 101–115; D'AGOSTINI (above, n. 40), 59–82.

<sup>85</sup> Bibliography in THONEMANN, *Krateuas* 375.



the greater part of the Lykos valley, including at least some of the land south of the Lykos (including Laodikeia), also passed to the Attalids. The estate around the sanctuary of Men Karou, immediately south of the confluence of the Lykos and the Maeander, must therefore have had the unenviable distinction of occupying the very outermost corner of Rhodian territory to the north-east.<sup>86</sup> Between 188 and 167 BC, the family may perhaps have felt (for reasons quite unknown) that their rights to the estate were safe under Rhodian suzerainty; as we have seen, there are even some very slender grounds to think that they might have intermarried with Rhodian elites. But the liberation of Karia from Rhodes in winter 168/167 BC (Polyb. 30. 5. 12) once again threw their possession of the estate into doubt: there was no longer any external power (apart from Rome) with any reason to protect the estate-holders' rights. It was at this moment, then, that the family of Diokles decided to throw in their lot with a neighbouring polis, and to reinvent themselves as land-holding citizens of Antioch. The payment of fiscal dues to the polis of Antioch must have seemed like a reasonable price to pay in return for continued control of their ancestral estate and at least part of its revenues (which seems to have been explicitly guaranteed in their *συνθήκη* with Antioch, lines A27–29).

Why did Diokles and his family choose to attach their estate to the territory of the relatively remote city of Antioch (some 33km to the west as the crow flies, and significantly longer by road), rather than the much closer city of Laodikeia on the Lykos (17km to the south-east), or indeed Hierapolis (17km to the east, across the Lykos valley) or Apollonia-Tripolis (15km to the north)?<sup>87</sup> It is of course possible that the family in fact approached several nearby poleis, and went with whichever city offered them the most favourable terms; compare, once again, the choice offered by Antiochos I to Aristodikides of whether to attach his estate to Ilion or Skepsis, subsequently expanded to «whatever city in our territory and alliance he might wish», a freedom which was no doubt designed to increase Aristodikides' bargaining-power with the

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<sup>86</sup> Livy 37. 56. 2–6. The area around the confluence of the Lykos and the Maeander seems to be the subject of the (to us) mysterious clauses in Livy concerning the status of *Cariam quae Hydrela appellatur agrumque Hydrelitanum ad Phrygiam vergentem*, which were granted to Eumenes. The location of «Caria Hydrela» (and the later polis of Hydrela, known from coinage struck from the reign of Augustus onwards: RPC I 2984–2985; RPC III 2359–2365) is unknown; W. M. RAMSAY plausibly identified it with the region north of the Lykos, on the left bank of the Maeander, between the cities of Hierapolis and Apollonia-Tripolis (above, n. 44, 172–175). In later periods, Hydrela was attached to the conventus of Kibyra-Laodikeia, while Trapezopolis (immediately west of Laodikeia, close to the sanctuary of Men Karou) was assigned to Karian Alabanda (Pliny, NH 5. 105 and 109), implying that the traditional dividing line between Karia (free in 167) and Phrygia (Attalid between 189 and 133) lay along the western boundary of Laodikean territory.

<sup>87</sup> We have no way of knowing whether the estate directly bordered on the territories of all these cities, but it seems likely that it did directly verge on the eastern part of the territory of Antioch – at least, I know of no evidence for «exclaves» in the polis-territories of western Asia Minor.

cities.<sup>88</sup> But we should also recall the different political statuses of the cities of the lower Lykos and middle Maeander valley after 167 BC. Laodikeia (like Hierapolis and Apollonia-Tripolis) was a subject city within the Attalid kingdom, and seems to have been an Attalid administrative centre from the 180s onwards;<sup>89</sup> Antioch, by contrast, was a free city within the former Rhodian zone in Karia. The geographically ‹rational› thing to do would be to attach the estate to Laodikeia; but Rome may have been unwilling to see Eumenes' territory expanded even to this modest extent, particularly after their abrupt break with Eumenes in winter 167/166 BC (Polyb. 30. 19). Or perhaps Diokles and his family simply wished to avoid subjecting their estate to Attalid royal authority and taxation.

The subsequent fate of the family of Diokles and their estate around the sanctuary of Men Karou is frustratingly difficult to trace. An Antiochene honorific decree of the post-Mithradatic war period for the orator Diotrophes (probably shortly after 85 BC) describes him as ‹priest of the god Men and the goddess Roma in succession to his ancestors›, clearly indicating that the cult of Men – most probably that of Men Karou – was one of the chief civic cults at Antioch in the early first century BC.<sup>90</sup> But, remarkably, the god Men does not appear at all on the abundant imperial bronze coinage of Antioch, and by the time that Strabo was writing (probably late in the reign of Augustus),<sup>91</sup> the sanctuary of Men Karou seems pretty clearly no longer to belong to Antioch. Strabo describes the sanctuary as lying ‹between Laodikeia and Karoura› (12. 8. 20), and he clearly conceives the territory of Antioch as lying west of Karoura (13. 4. 15); Antioch itself he describes as a city of only ‹moderate size› (μετρία πόλις), albeit with extensive fertile territory on both sides of the Maeander river (χώραν δ' ἔχει πολλήν ἐφ' ἑκάτερα τοῦ ποτάμου, πᾶσαν εὐδαίμονα: 13. 4. 15).<sup>92</sup> The head of the school of medicine at the sanctuary of Men Karou under Augustus, Zeuxis Philalēthēs,

<sup>88</sup> I.Ilion 33, especially lines 5–8, indicating that Aristodikides was being ‹wooded› by several cities at once (πολλῶν αὐτῶι καὶ ἐτέρων διαλεγομένων καὶ στέφανον διδόντων).

<sup>89</sup> This is clear from the inclusion of Laodikeia among the authorities named on the Attalid ‹cistophoric countermarks› of the mid-180s BC (R. BAUSLAUGH, *Cistophoric countermarks*, NC 150, 1990, 39–65), and from the series of cistophoric tetradrachms struck in the name of Lao(dikeia) c. 160–145 BC (F. KLEINER – S. NOE, *The Early Cistophoric Coinage*, 1977, 97–99; A. MEADOWS, *The closed currency system of the Attalid kingdom*, in: P. THONEMANN ed., *Attalid Asia Minor*, 2013, 198), as well as from the fact that Laodikeia subsequently became the centre of a Roman conventus-district after 133 BC (W. AMELING, *Drei Studien zu den Gerichtsbezirken der Provinz Asia*, EA 12, 1988, 15–17).

<sup>90</sup> JONES (above, n. 2), 369–380 (SEG 31, 899); I.Mus. Denizli 57; I.Nysa 621; THONEMANN, *Antioch* 71–74. JONES notes the puzzling absence of later evidence for the cult of Men at Antioch (379).

<sup>91</sup> K. CLARKE, *Between Geography and History*, 1999, 282–292.

<sup>92</sup> The city struck a substantial silver coinage in (probably) the early first century BC (THONEMANN, *Antioch*), but its imperial-period coin-production is relatively modest in scale (23 separate issues in RPC I–III, compared to 15 for Attouda and 100 for Laodikeia). The very scanty epigraphy of Antioch and neighbouring villages is collected by W. BLÜMEL, I.Nysa 621–654.

was a mint-magistrate at Laodikeia under Augustus, and the god Men regularly appears on the imperial bronze coinages of Laodikeia, Attouda, and Trapezopolis (labelled as MHN KAPOY on the coinage of Attouda alone).<sup>93</sup> The estate around the sanctuary of Men Karou is therefore likely to have been ‹detached› from Antioch at some point between the 80s BC and the Augustan period. Whether the descendants of the family of Diokles also ‹relocated› to one of the cities of the lower Lykos valley (Attouda, Trapezopolis, Laodikeia) at this point is quite unknown; as we have seen, the unusual personal name Ὀρόντης, held by two members of the family of Diokles in the 160s BC, reappears as the name of a mint-magistrate at Trapezopolis in the early Flavian period.<sup>94</sup>

#### V. *The Fate of Seleukid ‹Great Estates› in Asia Minor after 188 BC*

The present text vividly illustrates the dynamics of a process which must have been very widespread in the former Seleukid territories of inland western Asia Minor after 188 BC. With the political eclipse of Antiochos III, wealthy land-holding families like that of Diokles were deprived of the ultimate guarantor of their right of possession, and were forced to seek alternative means of guaranteeing their position. Their solution was to voluntarily transfer their estates to the territory of a nearby Greek polis, in return for polis-citizenship for themselves and their dependents. Their actual possession of the estate continued unchanged, albeit now within the legal framework of the Greek polis (‹alienable private property›) rather than the Hellenistic kingdom (‹inalienable hereditary usufruct›).<sup>95</sup>

A very similar process of estate-transferral seems to have occurred during an earlier period of political transition, namely that which followed the Makedonian conquest of Asia Minor in 334/333 BC. In the Achaimenid period, large parts of western and inland Asia Minor were carved up into estates whose revenues were farmed by members of the Iranian ruling elite. In the words of LOUIS ROBERT:<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>93</sup> Zeuxis: RPC I 2893–2895. Men at Laodikeia: RPC I 2907, 2927; IV 2, 2115, 2118, 2126, 2973, 11601 (temp.). Men at Attouda: RPC IV 2, 598, 861 (temp.); labelled as MHN KAPOY on pseudo-autonomous bronzes of (perhaps) the Severan period, BMC Caria, 65 nos 18–19; SNG Cop. (Caria) 162; SNG von Aulock 2499. Men at Trapezopolis: RPC II 1236; III 2262A; IV 2, 941, 2419 (temp.). See also A. LAUMONIER, *Les cultes indigènes en Carie*, 1958, 474–476.

<sup>94</sup> RPC II 1234–1236 (Τι. Κλ. Ὀρόντης). We do not know when Attouda and Trapezopolis first claimed polis-status: Attouda struck a small silver drachm-coinage at some point in (perhaps) the late first century BC (THONEMANN, *Maeander* 229), contemporary with a much larger issue of Plarasa-Aphrodisias (D. J. MACDONALD, *The Coinage of Aphrodisias*, 1992, 35f., 59–67).

<sup>95</sup> THONEMANN, *Krateuas*.

<sup>96</sup> OMS III, 1532, quoted by P. BRIANT, *Les Iraniens d'Asie Mineure*, DHA 11, 1985, 169.

«Il y avait dans ce pays, en mainte ville, dans les campagnes les plus riches – en Mysie, Lydie, Ionie – une aristocratie perse. Quand l’empire de Darius eut disparu, quand en Asie l’hellénisme triompha, non plus seulement par sa civilisation insinuante et pénétrante, mais aussi politiquement, quand la cité grecque devint l’organisme politique privilégié et normal, quel pouvait être le sort des Perses établis dans ces régions? Comment pouvaient-ils tenir un rang?»

The fate of at least one Persian land-holding aristocrat is indicated by a well-known inscription from the small Karian city of Amyzon, precisely dated to 321/320 BC. The text is concerned with the future status of a Persian called Bagadates, apparently a large estate-holder near Amyzon, with a long-standing association with the sanctuary of Artemis.<sup>97</sup> On the intervention of the Makedonian satrap, the polis of Amyzon assigns to Bagadates the office of *neōkoros* of Artemis, as well as granting citizenship, *ateleia*, *proedria* and other rights to both Bagadates and his son Ariarames; in return, no doubt, the Amyzonians benefited from the attachment of Bagadates’ domains to their civic territory.<sup>98</sup> A rather similar situation seems to underlie an inscription plausibly attributed by ROBERT to the small city of Tripolis-Apollonia, on the right bank of the Maeander near its confluence with the Lykos, perhaps dating to the early third century BC.<sup>99</sup> A certain Mardonios son of Aristomachos (Persian name, Greek patronym) is honoured by Apollonia for the enthusiasm which he showed for the city «in former times under the tyrants, and at the time of the joint *synoikism* of the *tetrapolis*»; in return for his services, Mardonios and his descendants are granted citizenship and other benefits at Apollonia.<sup>100</sup> Here too, as at Amyzon, we appear to be dealing with an estate-holder of Persian descent («un seigneur perse») being «incorporated» into a Greek polis through a grant of citizenship and other privileges; no doubt his estates came with him.

In the wake of the Seleukid crash of 190–188 BC, very many large estate-holders in Asia Minor must have ended up following trajectories much like those of Bagadates and Mardonios. I have discussed elsewhere the widespread phenomenon of local «strongmen» or «dynasts» on the fringes of the Attalid kingdom being co-opted into the Attalid administrative hierarchy through appointment to Attalid city- or regional-governorships: Sotas, the Attalid city-governor at Olbasa, «previously a neighbour to

<sup>97</sup> ROBERT, Amyzon 97–118, no. 2.

<sup>98</sup> Lines 11–13 (with ROBERT, Amyzon 115–117): δεδόσθαι Βαγαδά[ατή] και τῶι υἱῶι αὐτοῦ Ἀριαράμη πολιτείαν και ἀ[τέλειαν πάντων και προεδρίαν· μετέχειν δ’ αὐτο[ῦς κτλ.]; BRIANT (above, n. 96), 171. See also BRIANT’s subsequent reflections (more cautious on the «typicality» of the Amyzon decree) in *L’Asie Mineure en transition*, in: P. BRIANT – F. JOANNÈS ed., *La transition entre l’empire achéménide et les royaumes hellénistiques*, 2006, 328–330.

<sup>99</sup> ROBERT, Doc. Asie Min. 342–349 (SEG 33, 999); SEKUNDA, Settlement 117f. The attribution of the decree to Apollonia-Tripolis is not quite certain: in an unpublished paper, D. PAMARKOS has suggested that it may derive from Apollonia on the Rhyndakos.

<sup>100</sup> Lines 5–15, ἐπειδὴ Μαρδόνιος Ἀριστομάχο[υ] ... ἔν τε τοῖς πρότερον χρόνοις ἐπὶ τῶν τυράννω[υ] και ἐν τῇ συνοικίσεια τῇ κοινῇ τῆς τετραπόλεως προθυμίαν πᾶσαν παρέσχηται ... πολιτείαν δεδόσ[θαι αὐτῶι και] ἐγόνους και μετέχ[ειν αὐτοῦς] ὄνπερ και οἱ πολ[ίται κτλ.].

the city»; the family of Dionysios, estate-holders near Kocağur in the lower Maeander valley, three of whom occupied high Attalid administrative offices at Tralleis; the dynast Koteies of Tabai with his private militia of οἰκεῖοι, recognised as a royal philos by Eumenes II; perhaps Korrhagos the Macedonian, Attalid stratēgos of the Hellespontine district.<sup>101</sup> In each instance, it is highly tempting to see these local strongmen as former Seleukid estate-holders, making the best of the changed political landscape post-188 by reinventing themselves as high officials in the Attalid provincial administration.<sup>102</sup>

A particularly suggestive case is that of the great civic benefactor Archippe at Kyme in the mid-second century BC.<sup>103</sup> Archippe was clearly in possession of large landed estates near Kyme, some of which she promised to make over to the city of Kyme after her death; her euergetic expenditure, including funding the construction of a new bouleutērion, was on a spectacular scale. But Archippe also seems oddly «semi-detached» from the civic life of Kyme: there is no sign that she ever held a priesthood or performed public liturgies there. Very late in her life, she requested that the city bestow citizenship on her estate-manager (oikonomos) Helikon, a citizen of the Syrian city of Antioch by Daphne – a request which, as we have seen, finds a very close parallel in the conditional grant of Antiochene citizenship to the οἰκεῖοι of the family of Diokles (see above, on lines A21–24). RIET VAN BREMEN has already drawn attention to the potential interest of Helikon's Syrian origin, and has speculated that Archippe was «in some way or other (most likely through marriage) associated with the world of the Seleukid court».<sup>104</sup> A simpler solution can now be proposed, particularly if VAN BREMEN is right to date the Archippe dossier to the mid-second century (rather than, as had previously been thought, to the 120s BC). I would like to see Archippe and her family, like the family of Diokles, as major Seleukid estate-holders, who chose to reinvent themselves after 188 BC as citizens of the free city of Kyme, perhaps precisely in order to prevent their estate being annexed into the Attalid βασιλική χώρα. There is also a suggestive parallel to be drawn between the status of Archippe as an independent female landowner of quite extraordinary wealth and political influence, and the express concern of the family of Diokles to secure the future rights of their own

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<sup>101</sup> P. THONEMANN, *The Attalid state*, in: id. (above, n. 89), 12–17. Sotas, πρότερόν τε γειτνιών τῆι πόλει: SEG 44, 1108 (I.Mus. Burdur 326). Family of Dionysios: SEG 46, 1434. Koteies of Tabai: SEG 57, 1109. Korrhagos: I.Prusa 1001. See also I. SAVALLI-LESTRADE, *Les Attalides et les cités grecques*, in: A. BRESSON – R. DESCAT ed., *Les cités d'Asie Mineure occidentale au II<sup>e</sup> siècle a. C.*, 2001, 88f. (no evidence for Attalid grants of estates).

<sup>102</sup> It is likely enough that many of the semi-independent local dynasts of third-century Asia Minor – Olympichos in Karia, Philomelos and Lysias in eastern Phrygia, Themison in southern Phrygia – were large Seleukid estate-holders who transformed their estates into quasi-principalities during periods of Seleukid weakness: CAPDETREY (above, n. 74), 119–124.

<sup>103</sup> SEG 33, 1035–1041, with VAN BREMEN (above, n. 35), 13–19; ead., *Decrees*; F. R. FORSTER, *Die Polis im Wandel*, 2018, 372–379.

<sup>104</sup> VAN BREMEN, *Decrees* 374.

female family-members within the polis of Antioch (lines A25–27). It is quite possible that female estate-holders in the Seleukid world (Archippe; Nikias and Phila) might have enjoyed more generous rights of property-ownership and inheritance than citizen women typically did within the Greek poleis of Asia Minor.

It is, finally, worth wondering whether a rather similar set of dynamics might underlie the early development of the polis of Aphrodisias, some 24 km south of Antioch in the middle Morsynos valley. In the Roman imperial period, we find a small number of leading families at Aphrodisias claiming to be descendants of «those who joined in founding the city» (τῶν συνκτισάντων τὴν πόλιν, and similar phrases), a status-group not paralleled in any other Greek polis.<sup>105</sup> There is no sign that a polis already existed in the middle Morsynos valley in the Seleukid period, and the earliest evidence for polis-organisation in the region dates to the period of Rhodian rule in Karia (188–167 BC).<sup>106</sup> It is therefore possible that the polis of Aphrodisias might have originated as a collective enterprise by a small group of former Seleukid estate-holders around a sanctuary of Aphrodite in the middle Morsynos valley, whose descendants retained a special status at imperial-period Aphrodisias. But we are visibly now deep into the realms of speculation.

Be all that as it may, the treaty between Antioch and the estate-holding family of Diokles deserves to be recognised as one of the most consequential new texts for the history of western Asia Minor to emerge in recent years. It provides our first hard evidence for the fate of the great Seleukid estates in Asia Minor after the crash of 189/188 BC; it also shows us, for the first time, the delicate negotiations which were involved in the voluntary «attachment» of private estates to the territories of Greek poleis. To risk a vast generalisation, the dominant form of human settlement and social organisation in inland Asia Minor during the Seleukid period seems to have been the private estate held in usufruct from the king – the estate of Mnesimachos near Sardis, the domains of Achaios in the Lykos valley, the territories of Philomelos in eastern Phrygia. By the early Roman imperial period, the greater part of this former royal land was carved up into contiguous polis-territories, some of them the linear descendants of small Seleukid garrison-towns (Nysa, Antioch on the Maeander, Laodikeia on the Lykos), others new creations of the later Hellenistic or early imperial periods (Aphrodisias, Attouda, Trapezopolis). This fundamental shift in the organisation of the productive landscape must have resulted, at least in part, from choices made by individual estate-holders like the family of Diokles in the mid-160s BC. By the Roman imperial period, many of the smaller poleis of inland Asia Minor give the impression of being utterly dominated by a small group of land-holding families of spectacular wealth (the Carminii of Attouda, the Statilii of Herakleia under Latmos, «those who joined in founding the city» at Aphrodisias).<sup>107</sup> I do not know of any case where we can actually prove a direct

<sup>105</sup> CHANIOTIS (above, n. 27), 381–383.

<sup>106</sup> CHANIOTIS (above, n. 78), 456–466 (SEG 60, 1075).

<sup>107</sup> Carminii and Statilii: THONEMANN, Maeander 203–241.

linear connection from these wealthy polis-families of the high imperial period back to the great estate-holding magnates of Hellenistic Asia Minor, but the new inscription from Antioch brings us tantalisingly close.

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### *Figures*

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Der CHIRON wird jahrgangsweise und in Leinen gebunden ausgeliefert.  
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