

**The Macedonian army as a vehicle for change?
Military presence in western Asia Minor during the
early Hellenistic period: topography, agency and
identity**

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I, Cristina Mestre González, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Abstract

Alexander the Great's expedition and the Wars of the Successors after his death saw a great number of armies deployed in Asia Minor, many of which were key to the development of the political powers that emerged during the Hellenistic period. The territorial establishment of these armies, first as garrisons and later as settlements, has led to questions about the social, political, cultural and economic impact that they had on the communities with which they came into contact. The aim of this thesis is to understand the extent of this impact and analyse the role that specifically the Macedonian components of the army had in their relationship with their surroundings in western Asia Minor during the Hellenistic period, with a special focus on the third and second centuries BC. To this aim, I will analyse several characteristics which can be considered unequivocally Macedonian and upon which the Macedonian character of the soldiers and settlers was built; I will next discuss the military presence in western Asia Minor through topography and the physicality of the settlements; land tenure and other activities in the settlements; and the relationship between the dynasts and kings and their men. For this I will employ mainly epigraphic sources and will reassess the context and relationship between many inscriptions, aiming to provide a more holistic view of the military presence in Hellenistic western Asia Minor.

Impact statement

The impact of this thesis, due to the nature of its research, will be mainly restricted to the academic sphere. It will provide a tool for future scholarship on Greek epigraphy and the topography of Hellenistic Asia Minor and for assessing the impact of Macedonian culture on other territories through the early Hellenistic armies. A large part of this thesis involves the reassessment of prior scholarship and of previously studied inscriptions seeking to fill gaps in our knowledge of the system of military settlements in Hellenistic Asia Minor and the networks that may have existed between them.

Outside of academia, I argue that this thesis could potentially contribute to History's role as an educator for the future, building on our knowledge of the past to understand our present. The focus on the role of the Macedonian army as a vehicle for transformation, which implies the assimilation of a cultural past which merged with the new life circumstances both of the settlers and of the natives, should encourage reflection on how we relate to our own cultural heritage and to that of others, a debate that is very relevant in our modern globalised world.

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Rodri, Marta, no podría haber hecho esto sin vosotros. Mamá, te quiero.

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INTRODUCTION

Lake Marmara, known in Antiquity as Lake Koloe or the Gygaean Lake, is one of the most prominent features of the Turkish province of Manisa, located between the rivers Gördes and Gediz and the cities of Salihli (ancient Sardis), Manisa (ancient Magnesia ad Sipylum) and Akhisar (ancient Thyateira). It is a massive expanse of water that irrigates the nearby fields of the plain of Akhisar, to the north, and that dominates the landscape from whichever of the mountainous elevations that surround it one may choose to look. Already in 1842, William J. Hamilton wrote, after climbing one of the limestone ridges to the west of the lake, that “[o]n reaching the summit of the ridge we had at our feet the whole extent of the unruffled lake, its marshy banks skirted with reeds and rushes, surrounded by hills on every side, except to the S.E., where it opens to the Hermus, in which direction its superfluous waters escape, and to the N., where the hills appear to sink away altogether”¹. The lake, in the centre of the ancient region of Lydia, was surrounded in Antiquity by numerous settlements, many of them military in nature.

In 1932, Louis Robert visited the western regions of Turkey and, when visiting Akhisar, in the province of Manisa, attracted to that site for the historical topography of the Attalid colonies of Attaleia and Apollonis, he described the area of the high valley of the Lydian river Lykos thus:

*On avait fondé Attaleia parce que, dans cette vallée du Lykos, fertile, on pouvait donner aux κάτοικοι de bonnes terres à blé, à oliviers, à vignes ; c'est aussi pourquoi les riches plaines du Caïque et de l'Hermos ont été semées, à l'époque hellénistique, de fondations militaires, d'établissements de Macédoniens et de Mysiens, comme déjà les belles terres de la Lydie, du Caïque, de la Mysie Hellespontique avaient été peuplées de colons perses*².

The density of military settlements in Lydia was not a feature unique to this part of western Asia Minor. Evidence for the installation of foreign military forces has been found in Mysia, Ionia, Phrygia and Karia as well. The installment of military forces in newly conquered territories was a necessary step for the creation of an empire: these soldiers, stationed in garrisons, forts or settlements, through their twofold relationship towards the king they served and towards the communities around which they were

¹ Hamilton 1842: 145.

² Robert 1934: 91-2.

settled, were key players in the administration, control and transformation of Asia Minor³. But there is still much to be said about the settlements themselves.

Macedonian soldiers are also of course found in other regions of the Hellenistic world. The model of soldier-settlers is extremely well documented in Egypt, where they were called *cleruchs* and received land in exchange for military service⁴. The settled men received important perks: large land allotments, tax exemptions on the land and life tenure that favoured the inheritance by their successors⁵. Macedonians appeared as *cleruchs* from the early third century BC and remained an essential part of the Ptolemaic army⁶. The soldiers were settled in pre-existing settlements, with very few new foundations (in addition to Naukratis, in existence since the seventh century BC, Alexandria and Ptolemais were the only two new Greek *poleis* founded by the Ptolemies), as Egypt was already an urbanised territory by the beginning of the Ptolemaic period⁷.

The evidence for Hellenistic settlements in Syria is much more reduced than in Egypt: fewer papyri have survived and most of our information is derived from historiography, coins and inscriptions⁸. Whether a *cleruchic* system like the Egyptian one was put in place by the Seleukid kings is, although likely, unclear⁹. What we do know is that there was a colonising effort, especially in North Syria, by the Seleukids in the early third century BC which included the foundation of the cities of Seleukeia, Antiocheia, Apameia and Laodikeia along the course of the Orontes river (also known as the Syrian Tetrapolis) and the settlement of men, very likely soldiers, in *κατοικίαι* which bore Macedonian names: Beroia and Pella in Northern Syria; Maroneia in the Syrian Chalkidike; Amphipolis and Beroia in the Kyrrhestike; and Dion and Pella in Southern Syria¹⁰. In his 1977 study of the toponymy of North Syria, Edmond Frézouls proposed that this effort in copying toponyms from the motherland, intended to persuade the Macedonians to conquer and settle in these new territories while thinking

³ Ma 1999: 108-121.

⁴ The bibliography for the Ptolemaic military system is vast, but see recent summaries in Manning 2003: 108 and Fischer-Bovet 2014: 118-123.

⁵ Legras 2015: 392-93.

⁶ Bagnall 1984; Launey 1987: 308-16.

⁷ Fischer-Bovet 2014: 296.

⁸ Cohen 2006: 20.

⁹ Briant (1978: 91-2) and Andrade (2013: 42) argue in favour of it.

¹⁰ App. Syr. 57; Cohen 2006: 26-27 and Appendix III pp. 407-08.

of them as a ‘new Macedonia’, relied heavily on the resemblance between the Macedonian landscapes and those of certain parts of Syria¹¹.

Asia Minor, like Egypt and northern Syria, was an organized space by the time Alexander marched into Asia, having been under Persian control since the sixth century BC and having already cities and roads that structured the territory¹². It was also Macedonia’s first point of contact with Asia, due to the geographical proximity between the shores of Macedonia and the Troad (not coincidentally, Troy was the first point at which Alexander arrived after setting sail from Macedonia in 334 BC¹³). The contacts between Macedonia and Asia Minor intensified in the early third century BC: after Alexander’s death, several Macedonian generals and dynasts owned land and founded cities there, such as Dokimos, Asandros, Pleistarchos and the Philomelids, all of whom I shall discuss in Chapter 1.

In 2010, Frank Daubner published an article on the dating, role and status of Seleukid and Attalid foundations in Asia Minor, in which he argued not only that the majority of them must be Attalid rather than Seleukid, as had usually been accepted, but also concluded, rather provocatively, that Macedonian settlements did in fact not exist, as they were not necessary in a “makedonischen Reich” where it was a given that Macedonians would have to serve in the army¹⁴. In 2018 and 2019, in what could to some extent be read as a counterargument to Daubner’s first assertion, Stephen Mitchell published two articles on the military foundations that Robert wrote about during his travels through Lydia: “Dispelling Seleukid Phantoms: Macedonians in Western Asia Minor from Alexander to the Attalids” and “Makedonen überall! Die makedonische Landnahme in Kleinasien”¹⁵. In these works he discusses several Macedonian military settlements located in the regions of Lydia and Phrygia: Thyateira, Blaundos, Peltai, Eukarpia and Toriaion are amongst the foundations that are said to have a Macedonian origin, be it inferred from the legends on their coins, from the epigraphic record or from the literary sources.

Western Asia Minor, and especially Lydia, is the region which offers the most abundant evidence for Macedonian military settlement. This evidence belongs

¹¹ Frézouls 1977. See also Bernard 1995: 382-93; Bousdroukis 2003; Cohen 2006: 29-25-28; Capdetrey 2012: 323-4, 329-31; Andrade 2013: 42.

¹² See Chapter 2 for traces of Achaemenid military settlement in Lydia.

¹³ Diod. 17.17.2.

¹⁴ Daubner 2010: *passim*, esp. 57-8.

¹⁵ Mitchell 2018 and 2019.

overwhelmingly to the Attalid period after 188 BC, when Pergamon took over the majority of the Seleukid territories in Asia Minor, but there are also inscriptions that date to the Seleukid era, which has led to the consideration that there must have been a strong Seleukid effort at military settlement that was then taken over by the Attalids¹⁶. Stephen Mitchell, however, has recently argued that many of the settlements were pre-Seleukid, founded as the beginning of a policy of military and agricultural settlement in the time of Alexander or in that of the early Macedonian dynasts who ruled over different parts of western Asia Minor in the fourth and third centuries BC: Asandros, Pleistarchos, Eupolemos and Olympichos in Karia; Ptolemaios in Lykia; Dokimos and the Philomelids in Phrygia. Mitchell also argues that the Macedonians who were settled “tried to maintain their ancestral identity persistently and seemingly effortlessly for about six centuries until the third century AD”¹⁷. He concludes that the conquered country underwent a process of ‘Macedonisation’ (“Makedonisierung”) that left its mark everywhere in western Asia Minor. This, to some extent, echoes Daubner’s paradoxical argument that Macedonian military settlements did not exist because the kingdoms that the Seleukids and the Attalids created in Asia Minor were Macedonian in and of themselves.

I hope, to an extent, to challenge or reassess these views. While, as Daubner writes, reaching an understanding of military settlements in western Asia Minor is not an easy thing to do, there is much that can and must be said about them. It is not so much the suggestion that the settlements were pre-Seleukid foundations that must be scrutinized, although each settlement will be commented on individually, but the notion of a wave of ‘Macedonisation’ having a greater impact than Hellenisation in the settlements of western Asia Minor. Contrary to Syria, in Asia Minor there was no clear Macedonian imprint, no network of cities with duplicate Macedonian names. How and to what extent can we speak of ‘Macedonisation’ then? This in turn raises another question. One must define what makes a community ‘Greek’ and what makes it ‘Macedonian’: what signs can these settlements give us to be able to determine whether they were the latter rather than the former? Macedonia’s history is so deeply intertwined with that of Greece that the elements that we may isolate to this aim are often inadequate for us to assume with any confidence a strong Macedonian, rather than Greek, identity.

¹⁶ Cohen 1995: 36-54.

¹⁷ Mitchell 2019: 348.

Mitchell's hypothesis rests on two main foundations: Alexander's intent when launching his conquest and the archaeological evidence. The territorial expansion of Macedonia and the resulting division of the conquered land between, amongst others, soldiers, were surely in Alexander's mind and also in that of his father Philip, but it can hardly be an intention attributed solely to them. As for the archaeological evidence, Mitchell discusses the Phrygian sites of Toriaion and Gordion and the ceramic and numismatic finds in the latter. He also uses as evidence the Roman imperial coinage of Hyrkanis, Blaundos, Peltai and Dokimeion, all of them *poleis* which claimed a Macedonian heritage through the legends on their coins, appending the ethnic Μακεδών to the individual city ethnic¹⁸. Whether these settlements in particular had a Macedonian origin and whether they attest to a 'Macedonisation' of western Asia Minor are, to my mind, two different matters. Can we, as Mitchell suggests, identify a Macedonian origin in the Hellenistic period for these and other sites and, if so, can we understand what impact that had on their topography, society and culture? Can we indeed identify a 'Macedonisation' of western Asia Minor based on the action and settlement of soldiers during the Hellenistic period?

The term 'Macedonian' or Μακεδών is more problematic than it may seem at first, for during the Hellenistic period it suffered in many cases a shift in meaning from a purely ethnic denotation to the description of the way in which specific contingents of the army were armed, independently of their geographic origin. Ethnic denominations were common differentiators for military bodies in the Hellenistic period: Antiochos IV's military parade at Daphne in 166 BC divided the infantry by ethnics, including a body "armed after the Roman fashion", Mysians, Kilikians, Thracians, Gauls and Macedonians, which has sparked discussions about the extent to which these denominations were truly indicative of the geographic provenance of the men or, to the contrary, pseudo-ethnics that described the way in which the soldiers were armed and/or implemented in battle¹⁹. It is well-known that in the Seleukid army, Μακεδών was a term employed to describe troops armed in the Macedonian way: during the Fifth Syrian War (202-195 BC) between Antiochos III and Ptolemy V, part of Antiochos' forces are described by Polybius as ἐκ πάσης ἐκλελεγμένοι τῆς βασιλείας, καθωπλισμένοι δ' εἰς

¹⁸ Mitchell 2019: 342-47.

¹⁹ Polyb. 30.25.1-5. Nicholas Sekunda considers most of the ethnics at Daphne true ethnics (1994: 12ff). See Houle 2015 for a deeper study of the ethnic denominations within the Seleukid army and the possibility that these terms were pseudo-ethnics.

τὸν Μακεδονικὸν τρόπον, ἄνδρες μύριοι· τούτων οἱ πλείονες ἀργυράσπιδες “a force of ten thousand selected from every part of the kingdom and armed in the Macedonian manner, most of them with silver shields”, and later on again as τὰς μὲν φάλαγγας [...] καὶ τοὺς ἐπιλέκτους τοὺς εἰς τὸν Μακεδονικὸν τρόπον “the phalanxes of the picked troops armed in the Macedonian fashion”²⁰. It is very clear here that the men armed “in the Macedonian fashion” were not necessarily Macedonians in origin, which suggests that the troops described as “Macedonians”, Μακεδόνες, in Antiochos IV’s parade at Daphne were employing this kind of pseudo-ethnic rather than displaying a true geographic origin²¹. Marcel Launey cautioned against reading a geographic or ethnic origin into the denomination Μακεδών in an army context, especially in relation to literary sources: “On tiendra donc compte de la possibilité que Μακεδών n’ait plus qu’une valeur technique, pour désigner soit un cavalier, soit de préférence un soldat de l’infanterie lourde, armé selon les traditions macédoniennes; cette prudence est de règle, principalement à la lecture des historiens”²². However, Livy himself disparaged the term ‘Macedonian’ and the cultural implications of the developments of the Hellenistic kingdoms on the Macedonians that moved away from the homeland: *Macedones, qui Alexandream in Aegypto, qui Seleuciam ac Babyloniam, quique alias sparsas per orbem terrarum colonias habent, in Syros Parthos Aegyptios degenerarunt*, “The Macedonians who live in Alexandria in Egypt, in Seleukia or Babylonia and in other colonies scattered throughout the world have degenerated into Syrians, Parthians and Egyptians”²³. So how can we interpret the military settlements in Asia Minor that identify in the epigraphic record as ‘Macedonian’?

The difficulties that an attempt to answer such a question poses are huge. The first question we must ask ourselves is how to distinguish between ‘Macedonian’ influence and ‘military’ influence and to what extent they exist without the other or, to the contrary, operate hand in hand. While the armies of the early Successors, of the Seleukids and of the Attalids were not entirely formed of Macedonians, they were based

²⁰ Polyb. 5.79.4, 82.2.

²¹ More instances of this phenomenon are noted elsewhere: see for example the case of Themison the Cyprian who, under Antiochos II, was to be announced as Themison the Macedonian at festivals (a fragment of Pythermos of Ephesos preserved in Athenaios 7.289f; Sekunda 1994: 13). There are also attestations of the pseudo-ethnic Μακεδών in Ptolemaic Egypt (Fischer-Bovet 2014: 177ff).

²² Launey 1987: 293, but he is careful not to consider the term a pseudo-ethnic in every case (1987: 322). Sekunda follows Launey in arguing that “Macedonian” was a legal term rather than an ethnic denomination, although at the same time he believes that as a general rule the Seleukid phalanx would have been formed of genuine Macedonians (Sekunda 1994: 13). Fraser mentions Μακεδών as a possible pseudo-ethnic in certain contexts but does not discuss false ethnics further (2009: 141 and n. 74).

²³ Livy 38.17.10; Daubner 2010: 51.

on the army model created by Philip II and Alexander the Great and controlled by Macedonian generals (the Attalids were not Macedonian themselves but they were linked by marriage²⁴ and adopted many Macedonian economic and cultural elements, as I shall show, as well as a good number of Seleukid military settlements after the Peace of Apameia in 188 BC). It is therefore a complicated question to answer that will require understanding the extent to which the influence that the settlements exerted was military and to what extent Macedonian, while at the same time comprehending how these two aspects interconnected.

The archaeological record has provided us with very little information about the settlements themselves, and what we do know from epigraphic evidence is, *a priori*, more likely to be identified with Greece than with Macedonia: the use of the Greek language or the concession of a βουλή and a gymnasium when a settlement upgraded to *polis*-status as was the case with the Phrygian city of Toriaion. Even those cities that in the Roman imperial period display a Macedonian identity, such as Peltai or Blaundos in Phrygia through their coinage, present few, and contested, indications of a continued Macedonian heritage from the times of Alexander up until then²⁵. However, the appearance of self-proclaimed Μακεδόνες in what seem to be military settlements in the early Hellenistic period warrants further and broader research to understand the significance of the claims of these men. I will be analysing the role that the army, and specifically its Macedonian components, played in the transformation of the places in which they were settled and in maintaining the idea of ‘Macedonianness’ over a number of centuries.

Onomastics are also a tricky field of study. Previous studies of Macedonian onomastics have already commented on its problems: Argyro Tataki’s *Macedonians abroad* (1998) and Miltiades Hatzopoulos’ “‘L’histoire par les noms’ in Macedonia”

²⁴ Attalos I’s mother, Antiochis, was the granddaughter of Seleukos I and both Eumenes II and later Attalos II married Stratonike, a Cappadocian princess who descended from the Seleukids (Strabo 13.4.2). Philetairos was born in Tieion, a small city in Paphlagonia, near the Black Sea, of which we know that early in the 3rd century Amastris, the wife of Lysimachos, founded an eponymous city –modern Amasra– from the synoikism of four cities: Sesamos, Kytoros, Kromna and Tieion (Strabo 12.3.10). Though Tieion soon separated from this union, the chronology of Lysimachos’ tenure of Asia Minor, after the battle of Ipsos in 301 BC, and the royal presence that transpires from the founding of Amastris allows Philetairos to have come into contact with the Macedonian army and Greek culture very early on. It is worthy of note that Eumenes, brother of Philetairos, held Amastris during the battle of Koroupedion (*FHGr* III 16), which indicates the degree of trust between Macedonians and the family of Philetairos.

²⁵ *BMC Phrygia* 347 nos. 1-7 (Peltai); *BMC Lydia* 42-45 nos. 1-29 (Blaundos).

(2000)²⁶ both speak of the difficulties of considering names, and especially dynastic names such as Ἀλέξανδρος, Ἀμύντας, Ἀντίγονος, Ἀντίπατρος, Ἀρχέλαος, Ἄτταλος or Φίλιππος amongst others, as representative of the spread of Macedonian culture, since they represent not so much an adoption of Macedonian names as an acceptance of the new ruling houses. Hatzopoulos in particular emphasizes issues with names that are not intrinsically Macedonian but were either popular in Macedonia or spread as a result of the Macedonian conquest, such as Δημήτριος, Μένανδρος or the conspicuous Ἀλέξανδρος. It is, as is becoming increasingly apparent, quite difficult to have a clear roadmap for a proper analysis of Macedonian onomastics and one must tread very carefully, taking into account the context of each piece of evidence, before declaring it Macedonian.

I am aware that the scope of this thesis does not allow for speculation on how the soldiers themselves felt towards their ethnicity, for there is very little evidence to sustain any solid claims about this. My aim is to analyse how and to what extent the arrival and settlement of Alexander's army, and then that of the men who succeeded him, influenced geography, politics and culture in western Asia Minor. More specifically, I will explore the role of the Macedonian soldiers and generals as possible vehicles of transformation and their impact especially during the periods of Seleukid and Attalid control of western Asia Minor.

Several works on the topic of Hellenistic armies and settlements are still points of reference. Getzel M. Cohen produced three volumes in which he exhaustively collected all the extant information (at the time of writing) on Hellenistic settlements generally, not specifically military colonies: *The Hellenistic Settlements in Europe, the Islands, and Asia Minor* (1995), *The Hellenistic Settlements in Syria, the Red Sea Basin, and North Africa* (2006) and *The Hellenistic Settlements in the East from Armenia and Mesopotamia to Bactria and India* (2013). Marcel Launey's two-volume work *Recherches sur les armées hellénistiques* (1949-50, reedited in 1987 with comments by Yvon Garlan, Philippe Gauthier and Claude Orrieux) also discusses military settlements at length and the role of Macedonian soldiers in the Hellenistic armies, investigating among many other things the changing nature of the term Μακεδών²⁷. As has already been mentioned, while it has become clear that it suffered a shift from an ethnic

²⁶ They both rely heavily on Kalleris' book *Les anciens Macédoniens* (1977: *passim* but especially pp. 289-325).

²⁷ See above n. 22.

denomination to a purely military one related to weaponry and role within the army, it is essential to investigate through their language the men who describe themselves as Μακεδόνες in the third and second centuries BC in areas of heavy military presence, especially when they are found in military settlements rather than in the context of active army service.

The terminology employed both in epigraphy and in the literary sources when talking about military settlements in Asia Minor has been the object of scholarly debate for many years. The most common term in later sources and modern scholarship is κατοικία, but both Louis Robert and Maurice Holleaux commented on the ambiguity of its meaning, especially in connection to two passages in Polybius and in Strabo which mention τῶν Μυσῶν κατοικίαι and the κατοικία τοῦ Περγάμου respectively (Polyb. 5.77.7; Strab. 13.4.1-3). Robert was not convinced that the term necessarily implied a military settlement and Holleaux cautioned against an over-interpretation of Strabo's text, as by the time he was writing the meaning of the term could have changed significantly²⁸. In the third edition of *Hellenistic Civilization*, Tarn and Griffith argued that "[i]t is generally believed that settlers in a military colony were called *katoikoi*", an opinion which has since been adopted by most scholars within the wider context of the history of Hellenistic western Asia Minor; but in more recent times, Getzel Cohen drew attention to the fact that the actual word κατοικία was not commonly used in the Hellenistic period (κάτοικος was, however), and that the military nature of what later writers term κατοικίαι has been increasingly questioned²⁹. A conciliatory stance between the two positions can be adopted, however: the appearance of two military individuals, a στρατηγός and a member of the δορυφόροι, in a late Hellenistic inscription from τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν ἐν Δαφνοῦντι, in Mysia, near Apollonia ad Rhyndacum³⁰, together with several inscriptions from the Hermos valley in which the same settlement is referred to first by its κατοικοῦντες and later as a κατοικία, can point to a shift in the terminology and a possible military past of settlements that in imperial times are designated as κατοικίαι³¹.

²⁸ Robert 1937: 191-98; Holleaux 1938a.

²⁹ Tarn and Griffith 1952: 146; Hansen 1971: 173; Schuler 1998: 33-36; Cohen 1991: 41-44. Mitchell (2018) holds the opposite view and argues for a military meaning.

³⁰ SEG 43.879; see Chapter 3 Section 3.4.2.

³¹ See Chapter 2 Section 2.2.2 and 2.2.3.

What seems clear is that κατοικία designates a nucleus without polis status and privileges³². Whether it was a more advanced type of settlement than a κόμη is debated, and, although κατοικία does not automatically imply a military character to the settlement or to the settlers, some locations described as such in the epigraphic record in later times can suggest a military past. A decision must be made on a case-to-case basis, and several instances will be discussed in this thesis.

The clearest sign of a place being a military settlement in Hellenistic Asia Minor is the use of the participle κατοικοῦντες, almost always in the nominative plural, in inscriptions erected by the soldiers themselves. A very large number of inscriptions with κατοικοῦντες, most of them Macedonian, has appeared in Lydia, around the area of modern Lake Marmara, ancient Lake Koloe or the Gygaean Lake, as well as in Mysia, Karia and Phrygia in smaller numbers. In these cases, apart from one specific instance in Karia, the settlements themselves are not given any particular denomination such as κατοικία or κόμη, but are rather defined by the settlers, οἱ κατοικοῦντες.

The evidence that I will be considering does not differ much from that studied by Mitchell, but there are two main limitations that must be brought to attention: firstly, the geographical spread. Although the geographical scope of my thesis, that is, western Asia Minor, comprises the Troad, Mysia, Aeolis, Lydia, Ionia, Karia, Lykia and Phrygia, once the garrisons and settlements of these areas have been systematically analysed, it becomes clear that the greatest concentration of them occurred in Lydia. While this wealth of information is useful to analyse the topography and the networks between the settlements, most of the Lydian inscriptions are very short and do not allow for a deeper study of the settlement conditions or of the historical and political context. Other texts from Ionia, Mysia, Phrygia or Karia do allow for this sort of analysis and, despite not furnishing as much topographical information, they will be extremely useful to produce a more cohesive analysis of the politics and culture of the settlements.

The second limitation is that of chronology: despite referencing the early Hellenistic period in the title, the evidence for most military settlements comes from the period that followed the Peace of Apameia in 188 BC, when the Attalid kingdom took over most of the Seleukid territorial possessions in Asia Minor. The systematic analysis of the garrisons and settlements has also yielded evidence for early Hellenistic and Roman

³² Cohen 1978: 15; Debord 1985: 351; Launey 1987: 336; Schuler 1998: 33.

military presence in western Asia Minor in the form of second and third-century AD inscriptions which mention κατοικίαι and fortifications mainly along the Hermos and Kaystros valleys, allowing us to reconstruct a development of the settlements through time.

The bulk of my evidence will be epigraphic. I have used extensively *Tituli Asiae Minoris*, the principal corpus of inscriptions pertaining to Asia Minor, especially volumes V.1, V.2 and V.3 (edited by Peter Herrmann in 1981 and 1982 and Georg Petzl in 2007 respectively) which focus on Lydia, as well as the *Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien* series for the editions and commentaries of specific inscriptions. To supplement the epigraphic evidence, I have systematically searched the indexes of every volume to date of the *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, looking for mentions of κατοικοῦντες, κατοικίαι and Μακεδόνες, selecting those inscriptions that had indications of a military character and that belonged to the territories of western Asia Minor and to the period between 323 BC and 133 BC – although, on occasion, inscriptions from the Roman period that are significant for the understanding of the development of the military settlements are also noted. I have compared every edition of the texts (most appear with a full *apparatus criticus* in the Epigraphic Appendix at the end of this dissertation) and proposed new readings where I was able to, as well as new interpretations of the content and/or context of the documents when put in conjunction with other texts.

In addition to the epigraphic sources, I have used numismatic and archaeological ones. Coinage will be analysed throughout the thesis, focusing on types. The analysis of fortifications (towers, fortresses and garrisons) and their geographical spread will be key to understand the choice for the stationing and settlement of men and the role that the settlements played in their territories. While Louis Robert's work remains highly relevant today, especially in his topographic descriptions of the territories through which he travelled in Turkey, it is Recep Meriç's systematical analysis and collection of fortresses in the valleys of the rivers Kaystros (Küçük Menderes) and Hermos (Gediz) in his books *Das Hinterland von Ephesos: archäologisch-topographische Forschungen im Kaystros-Tal* (2009) and *Hermus (Gediz) Valley in Western Turkey: results of an archaeological and historical survey* (2018) respectively that will be key in researching the archaeological side of the presence of the army in these areas.

In the first chapter I attempt to answer the question posed earlier of what makes a community ‘Macedonian’ by analysing Macedonian policies in the Macedonian kingdom related to the land, the army and the king, including the legal aspects of settlement and land grants. These I consider possible precedents for the settlement policies and patterns in Asia Minor (as well as elsewhere, in Egypt and Syria). I will explore, firstly, the movement of troops into Asia Minor in order to understand the dimensions of the population that we are speaking of, as well as to gain a sense of the number of soldiers that the garrisons and later settlements could have contained. I will then explore the implantation of garrisons and settlements by Alexander’s Successors, the first instances of Macedonian military presence in western Asia Minor and the policies concerning military settlement that these Macedonian generals and dynasts who preceded Seleukid and Attalid control of western Asia Minor implemented in their territories.

In the second chapter I analyse the location and impact of the garrisons and settlements, with a special focus on Lydia and the network of settlements around Lake Marmara. The analysis of the geographical aspect of the settlements will allow me to contextualise the relevant inscriptions and to ask questions about the evolution of the settlements, as well as the extent of their interconnectedness. As a starting point, I will use a recently published inscription from the area of Daldis, in Lydia, concerning a settlement named Apolloniou Charax³³. This inscription, whose context is not immediately clear, is however a perfect way to introduce the main chapters of the thesis and to raise key points about the topography, the concession of lands to settlers and the relationship between the kings and the soldiers and between the soldiers and their surroundings; all these points, once discussed, can then be used to try to explain the more obscure parts of the inscription.

In the third chapter, I analyse the land tenure and settlement conditions of the soldiers. I examine the mechanisms of conscripting and settling men, as well as the construction activity of the settlements and their population. Building on the discussion of legal terminology in Chapter 1, I will engage with the current debate concerning the nature of the lands that were given to the settlers and the legal aspects of transfer, ownership and military obligation. Looking more broadly at life in the settlements once the men were established, I will also explore the presence of animals

³³ *SEG* 57.1150.

linked to military activities in the settlements and their impact on the role of the latter; the appearance of clearly Macedonian cults to Zeus Seleukios, Zeus Antigoneios and Artemis Tauropolos; and the cultural coexistence between Macedonians and Mysians, an ethnic group that appears repeatedly alongside the Macedonians in an Attalid context and whose interaction with them can give us some indication of the extent of the cultural impact of the Macedonian army.

In the fourth chapter, I analyse the relationship between the soldiers and the kings and how the military may have been able to shape their economic conditions and their obligations vis-à-vis the kings. The establishment of men either in new foundations or alongside an existing community entails the creation of a new relationship with the community they entered into contact with and with the powers that settled them there. Through the extant evidence, I will analyse what sort of political relationship the army developed towards the kings and whether this relationship allowed them a greater degree of influence when petitioning the kings.

Overall, I aim to provide a reassessment of the epigraphic material related to armies, especially garrisons and military settlements, in western Asia Minor during the early Hellenistic period and to outline with greater precision the Macedonian presence and impact in this time and space, attempting to understand how the settlement system worked against better known examples such as the *cleruchies* in Egypt. My purpose is to trace the impact of the Macedonian heritage of the army, but also that of the army itself and to understand how the military related to their surroundings. This will serve to update and enrich our picture of the military settlements in western Asia Minor.

In his famous 1958 article “*Imperium Macedonicum*”, Charles Edson concluded that the aim of his study had been “not to solve, but merely to point out the existence of a problem. A solution can only be achieved by determining the extent and the origin of the Macedonian inhabitants of the Seleucid empire and if, or to what degree, specifically Macedonian military, social, and political institutions existed in that empire. This last cannot be accomplished apart from the study of those same institutions in Old Macedonia itself”³⁴. I hope with this thesis to be able to shed some light on Edson’s problematic and add a further step in our knowledge of Macedonia outside Macedonia and of its role in the development of the Hellenistic period.

³⁴ Edson 1958: 165.

CHAPTER 1. MACEDONIAN PRECEDENTS AND EARLY SUCCESSORS

Asia Minor's military settlements did not emerge as an isolated phenomenon but were rather a continuation of the Macedonian experience of army-king interaction and of the territorial expansion that had begun in early Argead times and which Alexander developed further in both Macedonia and Asia. To understand the way in which the Macedonian presence manifested itself in Asia Minor in the early Hellenistic period, it is necessary to look into the earlier history of the Macedonian kingdom and search for cultural, religious, legal and economic elements that may have been translated into the new territories of which Alexander and his Successors took control.

In particular, we must try to achieve an understanding of the relations between king and subjects, societal and military organization, notions of status and identity (individual and collective), and rights and duties. It is all of these together that defined those that came to dwell, for longer or shorter periods, in western Asia Minor as Μακεδόνες. The extent to which this 'Macedonian-ness' persisted and the role it had in the transformation of the territories and populations with which it came into contact is the primary question of this thesis. In this chapter, I will analyse first the relationship between the soldiers and the land in Macedonia, both before and after Alexander, and the common pattern that emerges in military land grants that can be considered characteristically Macedonian. Then I will analyse how many Macedonians crossed over to Asia and in what numbers they were settled to understand the approximate extent of the Macedonian population that may have been settled in Asia Minor. The focus will next shift to the relationship between the Argead rulers and their army: the synergy between Alexander and his men was the best example of this, but the archaeology of the Macedonian cities and palaces can also give us clues to the underlying Macedonian ideology of the proximity between the king and his subjects, as can the epigraphic documentation of land transactions. The chapter will end with a section concerning Asia Minor after Alexander's death and the appearance and activities of the early Successors, for Seleukid control did not follow immediately, but was rather built on the operations of previous Macedonian generals and dynasts.

1.1 "He founded more than seventy cities amongst savage tribes"

As spear-won as Alexander's new empire may have been, it was not spear-held. Cities and garrisons were the main backbone of his territorial control: one of his main

policies was to create and reinforce a network of urban centres as he advanced deeper into Asia, whether by taking control of pre-existing cities or by founding new ones³⁵. Although Alexander's concern for the administrative organization of his new empire was limited at best, especially in Asia Minor; the generals that successively ruled over this territory implemented a policy of land grants and settlement foundations that would lead to an extensive network of military settlements between their city foundations by the end of the third century.

1.1.1. Rooting the Macedonians

As Macedonian as Alexander was and as Macedonian as his preferred troops were, Macedonia itself was not a distinct entity from its origins, but rather a conjunction of many different parts which were independent to a certain extent until formally united under Argead rule³⁶. Even after the kingdom was secured, successive Macedonian kings clashed with their Illyrian and Thracian neighbours – Philip II himself was a hostage at the Illyrian king Bardylis' court for a short period of time, perhaps not enough for him to take in Bardylis' military reforms due to his young age³⁷, but he must surely have been aware of them, since the change he enacted of transforming an army of volunteers into a professional standing army in the decade of the 350s had already been introduced in Illyria in 385; in addition, he also spent two years in Thebes, where he met Epaminondas and had the chance to have a first-hand experience of the military developments of the Theban phalanx³⁸. In 357 BC Philip moved against Bardylis and defeated him a year later at the battle of Erigon Valley³⁹. With this victory, he expanded his territory up to Lake Lychnitis (modern Lake Ohrid between Albania and North Macedonia) and enforced the garrisons of Astraea, Doberus and Kellion to hold this newly conquered land (Damjan and Bansko in North Macedonia between the Belasica

³⁵ Plutarch (Plut. *Mor.* 328E) affirms that he founded more than seventy poleis “amongst savage tribes” (βαρβάρους ἔθνεσιν), while Stephanus of Byzantium brings the number down to a more sensible eighteen (Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀλεξάνδρεια); however, modern examination of the famous Alexandrias has revealed that not only were many of them later foundations by his Successors and not at all related to Alexander himself, but also that he did not establish any of them in Asia Minor (Droysen *Hellenismus* III.2 pp. 189ff and Tarn 1979: II 232ff).

³⁶ Hammond and Griffith 1979: 55-69.

³⁷ Diod. 16.2.2. Philip must have been an infant when sent to Illyria and stayed there until he was, at most, 15 years of age, as we know that he was moved to Thebes around 368 BC.

³⁸ Sprawski 2010: 132; Howe 2017: 104. For Philip's time in Thebes and what he learnt there, see Hammond 1997; Worthington 2008: 17-19.

³⁹ Diod. 16.4.3-4, 8.1; Hammond 1981. *Barr.* Map 50 B1 Astraea, C2 Doberus. Stephanus of Byzantium describes the former as a πόλις Ἰλλυρίας and the latter as a πόλις Παιονίας.

and the Smrdeš mountain ranges; and Amyntaio in northern Greece, south of lake Vegotirida, respectively [FIG. 1])⁴⁰.

Despite the kingdom's fragmented origin, after the subsequent confrontations with their northern neighbours once the Argeads had established their power over Upper and Lower Macedonia, we see the Macedonians starting to perceive themselves as a people. It is perhaps the contraposition to the Illyrians and Thracians to the north that brought about this conceptualisation not of "Macedonia" as a geopolitical entity but of "the Macedonians" as a whole. Several epigraphic documents attest to this shift.

Early in Alexander's reign, most likely before he crossed into Asia, we have epigraphic evidence for a very particular grant from the king⁴¹. The inscription in question, found in modern Kalamoto, is a dedication by Agathanor, priest of Asklepios, and is followed by a list of priests, but right before the enumeration starts, we find this statement: [ἀφ' ο]ῦ βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος ἔδωκε Μακεδόσι | Καλίνδοια καὶ τὰ χωρία | τὰ περὶ Καλίνδοια, "from the time at which King Alexander gave to Macedonians Kalindoia and the lands around Kalindoia"⁴². M. Hatzopoulos and L. Loukopoulou, following N. Hammond, argue that these Μακεδόνες were not military settlers, but that this is rather a donation to the Macedonians *en bloc* to refound a city under Macedonian rule after the destruction of the Chalkidian League by Philip II in 348 BC⁴³. M. Errington disagrees with Hatzopoulos and Loukopoulou's view: he rejects the modern idea of a "Macedonian people" and argues that the beneficiaries of the grant would have surely known who the inscription was referring to, thus the vagueness of the expression⁴⁴. However, he plays down the lack of an article before Μακεδόσι. The literary example from Diodorus that Errington cites, of a land grant in Methone in which, he argues, the general term "Macedonians" is used to refer to a particular group, does use the article, ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος τὴν μὲν πόλιν κατέσκαψε, τὴν δὲ χώραν διένειμε τοῖς Μακεδόσιν (Diod. 16.34.5), but even here, given the context of Methone surrendering its territory to Philip after a siege, I would hesitate to read it as a grant to a specific group of Macedonians – rather it should be understood as the territory of Methone

⁴⁰ Diod. 16.4.3-4, 8.1; Hammond 1981. Demosthenes at the time warned Athens that Philip was ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς πόλεις τειχίζειν, "building fortified cities amongst the Illyrians" (*First Phillipic* 48).

⁴¹ This situation can be compared with the picture that Plutarch and Justin paint of Alexander just before the expedition (Plut. *Alex.* 15; Just. 11.5.5).

⁴² SEG 36.626 ll. 5-8. The grant also included the dependent communities of Thamiskos, Kamakai and Tripoi. See also Hatzopoulos 2006: 27ff.

⁴³ Hammond 1988: 386; Hatzopoulos and Loukopoulou 1992: I 113; BE 1988 847.

⁴⁴ Errington 1998: 79-82.

becoming part of the territory of Macedonia. No other concessions are made to Μακεδόσιν or τοῖς Μακεδόσιν in those terms, but even if it is an unparalleled occurrence, the lack of an article must be taken into account⁴⁵. Despite not discussing this issue, Hammond's view must be correct: the grant of Kalindoia is not *viritim* to a group but a collective grant to the people of Macedonia.

This in turn has branching implications, not only cultural, implying the existence of the notion of the Macedonians as a cohesive people, but also legal. With the recipients being as broad as “the Macedonians”, how would the allocation and management of the lands be handled? What would the status of the territory be: γῆ βασιλική or otherwise? As Hammond points out, this is clear evidence that the royal land and the Macedonians' land were two distinct entities⁴⁶. Already in Achaemenid Asia Minor there was a distinction between civic (not necessarily private) and royal land, although the gift of lands from the king to satraps or local landowners who acted as small-scale dynasts was a common practice in the Achaemenid empire; but these gifts did not entail rights to the sovereignty of the land, only to the revenues, making the beneficiaries of the lands subject to the will of the Achaemenid king⁴⁷. *Poleis*, in the Greek city-state sense, only existed as such in western Asia Minor, a very peripheral area of the empire, so the process that we see in the Hellenistic period of linking a gift of private land to the territory of a *polis* did not exist in the Achaemenid period⁴⁸. The gift of Kalindoia must be seen as newly formed civic land rather than royal that would be attached to Kalindoia itself, which became a Macedonian city with villages (Thamiskia, Kamakaia and Tripoatis, ll. 8-10) attached to its territory⁴⁹. It shows the expansion of Macedonia in northern Greece through large-scale grants aimed at founding or refounding Macedonian cities, as well as proving a strong connection between the king and his people.

⁴⁵ See other cases of grants or dedications in which some specification is given: *IG* X,2 1 1031 ll. 6-7, καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς | Μακεδόνας (a dedication to Zeus Olympichos from Olympia); Hatzopoulos, *Macedonian Institutions* II 47 ll. 6-7, πρὸς τοὺς λοιποὺς Μακεδόνας | πάντας (decree of Kassandreia for Kos); *IG* II² 3679 ll. 5-7, κατὰ δὲ Μακεδό|νες {sic} ἀπὸ Ἀλεξάν|δου (a dedication of a statue for Iunia Themistokleia in Eleusis); *SB* 1.1106 l. 4, οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου τοῦ Ἡρακλείου Μακεδόνες (a fragmentary dedication from Sebennytyos in Egypt).

⁴⁶ Hammond 1988: 389.

⁴⁷ Briant 1985: 54-64.

⁴⁸ Briant 1985: 69-70, 2006: 333.

⁴⁹ See the relatively similar case of the grant of royal land of Antiochos I to Aristodikides, land which was attached to the territory of Ilion and turned into *polis*-land (*RC* 10-13).

There are examples of *viritim* land grants to members of the army within Macedonia. Around 278 BC, a certain Apollodoros of Kassandreia, a private citizen who sought to become tyrant of the city, undertook several actions to win the city's trust, such as removing the previous tyrant, Lachares, or establishing a festival in honour of Eurydike, daughter of Lysimachos, who had restored freedom to Kassandreia. However, once he achieved his goal, his actions became those of a real tyrant – later historians paint a truly grim picture of him and his fellow conspirators engaging in human sacrifice and drinking blood⁵⁰. He was eventually put to death by Antigonos II Gonatas. As narrated by Polyaeus, one of the measures he took, in this case to earn the soldiers' sympathy, was to grant citizenship of the city and lands (κλήρους) to the soldiers whom Ptolemy Keraunos had previously established in the citadel (τῆς ἄκρας). This would create a patronage relationship between Apollodoros and the army, ensuring their personal loyalty to him through the gift of lands in exchange for military service. It is also a clear example of the continuity between garrisons and soldiers in a standing army and their later settler counterparts: for their loyalty and to ensure their continued service, the men from Kassandreia received lands to cultivate and to live on.

An inscription dated to a few years earlier, between 306 and 297 BC, presents us with a grant of royal land from Kassandros to Perdikkas, a royal φίλος, and introduces a key term for land grants in the Hellenistic period: ἐμ πατρικοῖς, “as a hereditary possession”⁵¹. This expression is found again in an almost identical form in a grant from king Lysimachos to Limnaios also in the territory of Kassandreia⁵² and in Thessaly, in a letter of Philoxenos of Pythion to Demetrios II⁵³; it reappears with variations in Karia (εἰς τὰ πατρικά or εἰς πατρικά), in the territory around Mylasa, though here used for land-leasing contracts⁵⁴; in the island of Failaka (ancient Ikaros, 20 km off the coast of Kuwait City; dated to 203 BC) as εἰς τὸ πατρικόν⁵⁵; and in a very fragmentary inscription from Skythopolis (Hefzibah, Palestine; dated between 199-195 BC), all in a

⁵⁰ Polyaeus. 6.7.2; Psoma 2008b: 223. See also Diod. 22.5. and Polyb. 7.7.2.

⁵¹ Hatzopoulos, *Macedonian Institutions* II 20.11, 19.

⁵² Hatzopoulos, *Macedonian Institutions* II 22, ll. 4-5.

⁵³ Helly and Tziafalias 2010: 72-3 no.1 ll. 14-5.

⁵⁴ Mylasa: *I. Mylasa* 201, 207, 210, 212; Hyllarima: *BCH* 1934, 372-76, no. 39C (Debord-Varinlioglu, *Hyllarima* 12 = *I. Nordkarien* 461); Labraunda: *I. Labraunda* 8B; Sinuri: *I. Sinuri* 46B; Olymos: *I. Mylasa* 818, 822, 831. See the discussion in van Bremen 2016 and Chapter 3 Section 3.2.

⁵⁵ The inscription from Failaka has been most recently published in *I. Estremo Oriente* 422 (= *SEG* 20.411, 35.1476, l. 32). See Roueché and Sherwin-White 1985 no. 3 for a full commentary on Failaka and its inscriptions, but with a different interpretation to the previously mentioned examples.

clear Macedonian context⁵⁶. The discussion of the legal entitlement of a grant ἐμ πατρικοῖς is still ongoing, with new documents, such as those from Failaka or Hefzibah, allowing further depth of interpretation. A satisfying conclusion, however, is yet to be reached. While the general consensus is that lands granted ἐμ πατρικοῖς entailed hereditary property, inheritable by the grantee's successors, what remains in disagreement is whether the grantee also received full ownership of the land or whether it remained liable to repossession by the king or his successor(s)⁵⁷. I. Velissaropoulou defines the object of a grant ἐμ πατρικοῖς as “une entité patrimoniale distincte à la fois des acquits et des bien reçus en héritage des parents en ligne collatérale”⁵⁸. She analyses the clauses in all the above-mentioned documents and reaches the conclusion that the expression entails only a hereditary disposition of the property and is, by itself, hollow, as the transfer or sale requires for each specific case to append conditions to the lease or grant of the land. P. Thonemann, following Hatzopoulos, argues that the land granted ἐμ πατρικοῖς became the grantee's private property⁵⁹, while M. Rostovtzeff and W. Tarn believed that it was subject to confirmation by the king, in what they called “limited proprietorship”, as the land never ceased to belong to the monarch⁶⁰. L. Criscuolo, in a recent review of the Kassandreia inscription, argues for a middle ground: the lands were not subject to confirmation *per se* as the title ἐμ πατρικοῖς already implied full ownership of the land and also included the right of alienation; this particular document arises from an exceptional occasion in which a royal arbitration and confirmation were needed to solve a private problem⁶¹.

An *a priori* similar case, although in a slightly different context, occurred in the second half of the third century in Macedonia. Two letters from the chancery of king Demetrios II deal with issues of landed property and ownership transfer⁶². In the first one, a certain Philoxenos of Pythion wrote to the king to ask that he be granted ἐμ πατρικοῖς the lands that had been designated for a man called Therson. In the second letter and earlier, the king answers the petition of the same Therson, who wrote asking

⁵⁶ SEG 29.1613 l. 24.

⁵⁷ Rostovtzeff 1910: 252; Hatzopoulos 1988: 32.

⁵⁸ Velissaropoulou 2011: II 105ff.

⁵⁹ Thonemann 2009: 366 n13; Hatzopoulos 1988: 31-5.

⁶⁰ Rostovtzeff 1910: 252; Tarn 1969: 191. This was certainly the case with the Ptolemaic cleruchic model: the cleruchs received lands in exchange for military service (the extent of the territory in accordance to their station within the army), but the land never ceased to ultimately belong to the king (Kehoe 2010: 315; Pollard 2010: 451; Fischer-Bovet 2014: 225).

⁶¹ Criscuolo 2011: 484-5.

⁶² Helly and Tziafalias 2010: 72-3 I, l. 14-5, 85 II, l.6.

to be granted the lands of a certain Pausanias of Pythion, since, having died heirless, his lands were conveyed to the royal treasury (κατεχωρίσθησαν εἰς τὸ βασιλικόν). Philoxenos is continuing the usage of the Macedonian technical vocabulary attested in the letters from Lysimachos and Kassandros, asking for a land grant that entails full ownership of the terrains which the formula ἐμ πατρικοῖς would involve *per se*.

As for Therson and Pausanias' case, the explanation is not as straightforward. Although this was interpreted first as a return of the lands to the king's possession, further study of the document and its parallels with two texts from the Seleukid and Ptolemaic kingdoms, Doura Europos (third century AD) and Theadelphia (after 149 AD) respectively⁶³, indicate, as argued by Bruno Helly and Athanasios Tziafalias, that it was not a reversion of the ownership of the land but rather a new legislation which did not exist in the Classical period, based on the emergence of the personal Hellenistic monarchies, by which the king was the ultimate heir to all of his subjects and liable to inherit in case of heirless death⁶⁴. The existence of this law in Egypt and Syria at such a late date suggests a Macedonian origin of the law, supported by the Pythion letter of the late third century BC – to the extent that even the wording is similar: Πανσανίου τινὸς | Πυθοιάστου τελευτήσαν|τος καὶ οὐθένα κληρόνομον ἀ|πολίποντος in Macedonia (Il. 2-5); Τῶν δὲ τελευ[τη]σάντων[ν τ]ὰς κληρονομείας ἀποδίδος[θ]ε τοῖς [ἄγ]χιστα γένους in Doura (*P. DuraEuropos* 12 Il. 3-4); [Τ]ῶν [τ]ελευτώ[ν<των>] ἀδιαθέτω[ν] οἷς οὐδεὶς ἐστὶν ἄλλος κατὰ νόμους κληρονόμο[υ]ς τὰ ὑπάρχοντα τῷ φύσκῳ προσκρείνεται in Egypt (*BGU* 1210 §4).

The conditions attached to the grants themselves are quite vague, but upon closer analysis we can see the seeds of the Hellenistic cleruchy and military settlements, as A. Bresson has pointed out⁶⁵. Leaving aside the Karian cases, which deal with land leases from temples, most of the recipients of lands ἐμ πατρικοῖς are related to the military: in Failaka they are Seleukid military settlers; Philoxenos of Pythion is a ἑταῖρος in a chiliarchy, and the Hefzibah inscription concerns Antiochos III's στρατηγός Ptolemy son of Thraseas, formerly in Ptolemaic service. Moreover, in Kassandros's donation it is

⁶³ The *lex ab intestat* from Doura was first published by Haussoullier (1923). See the discussion in Modrzejewski 1961 and the summary of previous scholarship in Helly and Tziafalias 2010: 86 n57. The legislation to ensure that the land stayed within the families of the original grantees has a parallel in the Avroman parchments, of Parthian date, attesting to the continuity of the Macedonian law (Minns 1915; Griffith 1935: 157-60). For the Egyptian law of Theadelphia, known as the *Gnomon of the Idioslogos*, see *BGU* 5 1210 and Modrzejewski 1971.

⁶⁴ Helly and Tziafalias 2010: 86-91.

⁶⁵ Bresson 2016: 114.

said explicitly that Perdikkas' grandfather Polemokrates obtained by allotment, ἐκκληροῦχησεν, the land⁶⁶. Crucially, as it predates the establishment of the cleruchic system in Egypt and in the Seleukid empire, this text is one of the first proofs of land grants subject to certain conditions, showing quite conclusively that this was a system of Macedonian origin which employed a clearly Macedonian vocabulary. The donation of lands ἐμ πατρικοῖς, that is, making them hereditary, is the core of the Macedonian land grant system.

The conditions seem to have emerged gradually in later cases, linking the property to the provision of a service – if the agreed service was neglected or if the holder of the plot died with no sons or successors, the contract was void and the lands returned to the king. The Failaka document can be understood as supporting this idea, as the use of the aorist participles ἐξεργασάμενοι and φύτευσαντες (ll. 26-6) suggest that they will be able to own the lands after having completed these actions: “[And if] some of these wish / to [? acquire property] on the island, designate land / which,] when they have cultivated and planted (it) / they will own] as a hereditary possession”⁶⁷. In any case, the terms of service are still very unclear to us.

All this would prove that, at least as far back as the third century BC, there were in Macedonia laws regarding the disposal of lands after the holder's death, whether those lands were military allotments or not, with the legal innovation of introducing the king as ultimate heir of all his subjects. In case of military grants, the land would revert to the king as part of his property if the conditions of the grant were not met. The Ptolemaic model certainly follows this conditional framework: the lands were granted subject to the lessee's provision of military service for the king, and one can reasonably read a similar framework in neighbouring Thessaly, from several decrees of Larissa concerning the sale of lots of public land formerly assigned to ἵππεῖς, known as *hippoteia*: the lands, of which the horsemen have not full ownership, are sold because they were not being taken care of properly and the city of Larissa would rather sell them to other individuals who would ensure their conditions were met⁶⁸.

⁶⁶ Hatzopoulos, *Macedonian Institutions* II 20 ll. 6-7.

⁶⁷ *I. Estremo Oriente* 422 ll. 23-6. Translation by C. Roueché and S. Sherwin-White (1985: 16). Similar conditions are imposed to the Cretan mercenaries settled in Milesian territory around 228 BC (*I. Milet.* I 33.3 e 6-7: μὴ εἶναι δὲ αὐτοῖς τῇ[v] | δεδομένην χώραν ἀποδόσθαι μηδενὶ ἕως ἐτῶν εἴκοσι, “they are not allowed to sell the land allotted to them to anyone for a period of twenty years”).

⁶⁸ Fischer-Bovet 2014: 199-221, 225-27; Helly and Tziafalias 2013: 145-6, 169ff. Macedonia, and especially Philip II, had a very close relationship with Thessaly (Graninger 2010, esp. 312-14). Both

1.1.2 Moving the Macedonians

During his campaign, before fighting Dareius at Issos, in the second-century AD account of Arrian, Alexander addresses his men in an impassioned speech that he hoped would encourage them in the ensuing battle. In this speech he makes a point of distinguishing Macedonians, Greeks and foreigners (βάρβαροι): “We Macedonians [...] are to fight Medes and Persians, peoples long steeped in luxury, while we have long been hardened by warlike toil and danger; and above all it will be a fight of free men against slaves. And so far as Greek will meet Greek, we shall not be fighting for like causes; those with Dareius will risk their lives for pay, and poor pay too; our troops will fight as volunteers for Greece. As for our foreign troops, Thracians, Paeonians, Illyrians, Agrianes, the stoutest in Europe, and the most warlike, will be ranged against the feeblest and softest hordes of Asia”⁶⁹. While it is true that this is a speech that Arrian put in the Macedonian king’s mouth, it made a point about the distinction between Macedonians and the other members of Alexander’s army.

The number of Macedonians that moved to Asia Minor and beyond is near-impossible to determine – to know how many soldiers crossed the Hellespont we only have the figures that the ancient sources have haphazardly given to us; in addition, not all would have stayed in Asia Minor after the partition of the empire in the Wars of the Successors. However, it is both necessary and profitable to scrutinize the numbers. Plutarch and Arrian agree on 30,000 infantry and 5000 horse who crossed into Asia with Alexander⁷⁰; this confirms Diodorus’ discussion of Alexander’s troops at Granikos, for which battle he breaks down the numbers as follows:

There were found to be, of infantry, twelve thousand Macedonians, seven thousand allies, and five thousand mercenaries, all of whom were under the command of Parmenion. Odrysians, Triballians, and Illyrians accompanied him to the number of seven thousand; and of archers and the so-called Agrianians one thousand, making up a total of thirty-two thousand foot soldiers. Of cavalry there were eighteen hundred Macedonians, commanded by Philotas son of Parmenion; eighteen hundred Thessalians, commanded by Callas son of Harpalus; six hundred from the rest of Greece under the command of Erigyius; and nine hundred Thracian and Paeonian

territories had a landed aristocracy which provided the army’s cavalry force, so it is not surprising that they employed similar land granting methods (Billows 1995: 10). A 3rd century inscription from Dion concerning an estate named “Mysia” owned by a certain Noumenios sheds light on the relationship to the land of the veterans that returned from Asia Minor (Chapter 3 Section 3.4.2). See also Chapter 3 Section 3.2 for further discussion of land tenure and allotment sizes in the settlements.

⁶⁹ Arr. *Anab.* 2.7.4-5. Loeb translation by P. A. Brunt modified by myself.

⁷⁰ Arr. *Anab.* 1.11.3; Plut. *Alex.* 15.1.

*scouts with Kassandros in command, making a total of forty-five hundred cavalry.*⁷¹

From a grand total of 32,000 infantry and 4500 cavalry, Macedonians made up barely 40% of the men: 12,000 foot soldiers and 1800 horse. Between this moment and the battle of Gaugamela, a further 15,600 Macedonians joined Alexander in Asia, raising that initial figure to some 30,000 Macedonians⁷². Richard Billows estimates that between 35,000 and 37,000 Macedonians crossed into Asia Minor with Alexander's campaign and never returned⁷³. Taking into account the human losses during this campaign and looking at the figures of the Macedonians that were still alive serving in the army after Alexander's death (in 331 BC there already was an advance force of 10,000 men in Asia Minor; at the time of Alexander's death in 323 BC Krateros was returning to Macedonia with 10,000 men and Perdikkas remained at Babylon with some 15,000 troops⁷⁴), we can imagine that something of the order of 30,000 Macedonians would have been settled in Asia and Egypt after Alexander's death⁷⁵. If, as Billows estimates, 5000 of these Macedonians can be allotted to Ptolemy, we are left with some 25,000 for the whole of Asia. This is a vast territory indeed and we know of up to seventy settlements and cities from Asia Minor to India that claim a Macedonian origin or Macedonian heritage – while it is likely that many of these claims are fabricated, it goes to show that the number of Macedonians that stayed in Asia Minor cannot have been very large⁷⁶.

The troops came and went from Asia during Alexander's lifetime and the climate of instability that immediately followed his death with the Wars of the Successors make it nearly impossible to determine the number of Macedonians that arrived or stayed in Asia Minor specifically. Instead, it is much more profitable to understand how the shifting nature of this period shaped the needs and the later development of the Macedonian presence in Asia Minor. Although cities were founded, Alexander's

⁷¹ Diod. 17.17.3-4. Loeb translation by C. B. Welles. The numbers are more or less stable for Gaugamela, having increased just a bit: 40,000 infantry and 7500 horse according to Arrian (*Anab.* 3.12.5).

⁷² Arr. *Anab.* 1.29.4, 3.16.10; Kallisthenes *FGrH* (Jacoby) IIB 124 F33 (in Polyb. 12.19.2).

⁷³ Billows 1995: 146-57, 186.

⁷⁴ For the advance force, Diod. 17.7.10 and Polyæn. 5.44.4. Bosworth (*JHS* 106 (1986) 3 n10) argues for a significant Macedonian component in these troops. For Krateros and his troops, Arr. *Anab.* 7.12.1, Diod. 17.109.1, 18.4.1. Billows (1995: 188 n10) sets the number at 11,500 by adding the 1500 horse mentioned by Diodorus (18.16.5). For a breakdown of the figures of Perdikkas' military strength at Babylon, Billows 1995: 190-94.

⁷⁵ Billows 1995: 153. He argues that most of the settlers would have gone to Asia rather than to Egypt as the Macedonian military presence in Ptolemaic Egypt was not as strong as elsewhere (153 n25; Diod. 19.80.3-4 for the small numbers of Macedonians in Ptolemy's army for the battle of Gaza).

⁷⁶ Billows 1995: 179-82.

strategy for holding conquered territories included installing garrisons in pre-existing *poleis*, as he did in Sardis, Halikarnassos, Side, Soli, Ephesos and possibly in Aspendos and Priene⁷⁷. This trend was followed by his Successors: some of the earliest documents of interaction between the army and the kings in Hellenistic Asia Minor, which will be examined in this chapter, involve garrisons: the Macedonian general Eupolemos and the garrison installed in Theangela, the future Ptolemy I and the mercenaries in Iasos or Eumenes I and the soldiers from Philetaireia and Attaleia – in this case, two freestanding garrisons, not within a city, which indicates that garrisons were also installed in strategic locations away from *poleis*⁷⁸. This was not a new phenomenon: in the Achaemenid period, the territory was guarded by soldiers called φρουροί in garrisons, either protecting specific urban nuclei or spread throughout the χώρα⁷⁹, and the king also granted land against a promise of military service⁸⁰: fortified manors are well documented in Lydia in the Classical period, such as that of the persian Asidates, who who lived in a τύρσις or fortified mansion in the Kaikos valley which Xenophon and his troops attacked⁸¹. The following appearance of a certain Itamenes with his troops ἐκ τῶν πλησίων χωρίων, “from the nearby places”, answers Xenophon’s description of the military service that the landowners had to provide in exchange for their lands: “In times past it was their national custom that those who held lands should furnish cavalymen from their possessions and that these, in case of war, should also take the field, while those who performed outpost duty in defence of the country received pay for their services” (Xen. Cyr. 8.8.20). While the τύρσις was not by itself a military enclave, it did have a militarily organised territory with troops ready to march, a system that survived into the Hellenistic period⁸².

We do not have numbers for these garrisons, although one would assume they would indeed be small – Billows doubted that a settlements such as Thyateira (modern Akhisar

⁷⁷ Sardis: Arr. *Anab.* 1.17.3-8; Halikarnassos: Arr. *Anab.* 1.23.6, Curt. 3.7.4; Side: Arr. *Anab.* 1.26.4; Soli: Arr. *Anab.* 1.26.5, Curt. 3.7.2; Ephesos: Polyae. *Strat.* 6.49. For Aspendos and Priene, see Kholod 2010: 250.

⁷⁸ Epigraphic Appendix 2, 3 and 4 respectively; see below Section 1.4 and Chapter 2 Section 2.2.1. One might also include the συμπολιτεία between Smyrna and Magnesia ad Sipylum since, despite not involving the king directly, it also includes a garrison posted at Palaimagnesia (Epigraphic Appendix 18; Chapter 2 Section 2.3.1).

⁷⁹ Tuplin 1987: 174-5, 209.

⁸⁰ Xen. *Cyr.* 8.8.20; Briant 1985: 62-3; Schuler 1998: 66-8.

⁸¹ Xen. *Anab.* 7.8-15.

⁸² Sekunda (1985: 11-13) discusses the episode and suggests that Apollonia and Parthenion, the nearby towns that are mentioned, were garrison towns.

in the Turkish province of Manisa, probably founded around 281 BC by Seleukos I⁸³) or Dokimeion (modern İscehisar in the province of Afyonkarahisar, probably founded at the end of the fourth century BC by the Macedonian general Dokimos) would have received more than a few hundred settlers, and in the case of the garrisons the numbers would have been even smaller, although mentions about provisions for orphans does suggest that the soldiers installed in them may have had an accompanying train⁸⁴. An early second-century inscription from an Attalid garrison in the area of the river Kaikos, found in the village of Yaylaköy, in the northeastern foothills of the Yüntdağ mountain range and 36 km south of Pergamon (Bergama), presents us with a religious association made up of the members of the garrison, led by their phrourarch Demetrios⁸⁵. The inscription is preserved in full, so that we know all the members of the association and garrison, whose names are listed: there are fifteen, and the editor of the inscription, Helmut Müller, suggests that, since the chances of the men being able to refuse to partake in a religious cult sponsored and initiated by their superior commanding officer would have been rather low, we could be looking at the full force of the garrison⁸⁶. This goes to show how small indeed these garrisons may have been and how military occupation in certain areas started as simple vigilance outposts which could end up with the foundation of permanent settlements – although in this particular case, in the absence of further excavations in the area of the *φρούριον*, there is no assured continuity in the shape of a settlement; the peace of Apameia must have rendered the frontier control role of the garrison obsolete and changed it into a trade and police control outpost⁸⁷.

Garrisons were established all over the Greek world as a means to control the city or the territory they were in (see the Ptolemaic garrison at Iasos for the former or the Attalid garrison at Attaleia for the latter⁸⁸), and the density of the evidence for garrisoning and settlements in Asia Minor points to its being a key area of Antigonos' land after the partition at Babylon and of Lysimachos' territory later, before being taken

⁸³ See Chapter 2 Section 2.2.2.

⁸⁴ Billows 1995: 154. See the agreement between Eumenes I and the soldiers from Philetaireia and Attaleia (Epigraphic Appendix 4), with the soldiers' petition about orphans: *ὑπὲρ ὀρφανικῶν ὅπως ἂν | οἱ ἄγχιστα γένους λαμβάνωσιν ἢ ὧι ἂν ἀπολίπηι* (ll. 8-9).

⁸⁵ SEG 60.1332 (first published by Müller (2010); Epigraphic Appendix 20). See Chapter 3 Section 3.1 for a case study of the approximate population of a settlement and the size of the land allotments.

⁸⁶ Müller 2010: 436.

⁸⁷ Müller 2010: 455.

⁸⁸ See below Section 1.4.2 for Iasos and Chapter 2 Section 2.2.1 for Attaleia.

over by the Seleukids and after them the Attalids⁸⁹. The initial period of Macedonian control over Asia Minor after Alexander's death makes it clear how much the armies shifted until the Seleukid, Ptolemaic and Antigonid kingdoms were firmly established. The interaction of garrisons with the native populations through religion, mixed marriages or their general behaviour towards their non Greco-Macedonian neighbours suggests a relatively strong impact on their surroundings⁹⁰.

The role of such garrisons in the initial and prolonged contact between the native populations of Asia Minor and the Macedonian soldiers must then have been extremely important, all the more so due to their shifting nature, moving to and fro as per the military needs of their generals. The change in this contact and in the relationship between the settlers and their surroundings once the temporary character of their installation became a permanent one will be explored in later chapters.

1.2 "Such freedom of speech did the Macedonians always have towards their kings"

Another central issue is the kind of relationship that Alexander (perhaps more so than his father) built with his soldiers. The Macedonian monarchy was primarily a military regime, the king being also the head of the army and basing his power and legitimacy on his military role. In his account of Alexander's Asian campaign, Arrian presents us with several instances of Alexander's closeness with his troops: he visited the wounded soldiers after the battles and buried the fallen⁹¹ and he encouraged the men in battle to the point where they would rally to his side to touch him⁹². He was a constant presence at the army's front lines, resulting in more than one near fatal injury; such an attitude would have brought him closer to his men, who saw their king fighting amongst them, one more soldier in the fray.

The agency of the troops and the capacity to represent their concerns to the king will be a common motif in military contexts. Unlike citizen bodies with appointed leaders, the army appealed directly to the king through a spokesperson or by appearing themselves before the king: after the mutiny at Hyphasis, a certain Koinos acted as a representative of the soldiers to speak to Alexander; and following the mutiny at Opis, with Alexander having been secluded in his tent for a week, the soldiers personally

⁸⁹ Launey 1987: 633-42; Billows 1995: 146; Chaniotis 2002: 99-102.

⁹⁰ See Chapter 4; also Chaniotis 2002 (with an updated version in 2005: 88-93).

⁹¹ Granikos: Arr. *Anab.* 1.16.4-5; Issos: 2.12.1.

⁹² Arr. *Anab.* 2.7.9.

camped on his doorstep to ask for his forgiveness⁹³. The openness and willingness of Alexander to meet with his subjects was vital to the preservation of their favour⁹⁴.

While the psychological link between Alexander and his men was undeniable, the physical relationship between them was equally strong. In addition to the urge to touch the king's body that we have mentioned before, it is clear that Alexander's position within the army camp encouraged a close relationship. In an army continuously on the move, such as Alexander's, it is not surprising that his tent was situated amongst those of the men, so they could go to him whenever the need arose.

But the relationship that Alexander cultivated with his troops should not be ascribed entirely to him: he did not create a new relational paradigm with the army from scratch, but rather built on the foundation of previous Macedonian royal practices. The openness of the Macedonian monarchy not only to the high-ranking members of the court but also to the rest of their subjects is clearly exemplified in the palaces of Aigai and Vergina⁹⁵. The two historical capitals of the kingdom of Macedonia, Aigai being the original until Archelaos moved it to Pella in the fifth century BC⁹⁶, were built in existing urban *nuclei* taking advantage of the geographical features of the sites. In Pella, the palace is located on a hill some way from the agora and the main excavated section of the city and can be reached walking up the very aptly named modern "Acropolis" street (modern Greek name Ακροπόλεως). From this vantage point, the palace could not only control the city and the surrounding plains (and the ancient lake, today filled with sediment), but it also made sure it was seen from every point of the city and beyond [FIG. 2], as well as being strategically close to the sea [FIG. 3]⁹⁷.

The palace of Aigai, today Vergina, was beautified and revamped by Philip II, but the existence of the city and of the royal residence dates back to the sixth century BC⁹⁸. The way in which Aigai slowly evolved from settlement to *polis* is significant in that it

⁹³ *Op. cit.* 5.27.1-2 and 7.11.4 respectively. Koinos son of Polemokrates was a known figure within the army and therefore it is not surprising that he would be chosen to represent the men. Cf. Bosworth 1995: I 351.

⁹⁴ Mari 2018: 132. Demetrios Poliorcetes lost the Macedonians' favour by being isolated and refused to grant audiences, as opposed to what Philip II had used to do (Plut. *Dem.* 42.1-3). This was very much like what the Greeks identified with tyrannical Persian practices, for which see below n. 95.

⁹⁵ Against this, the Persian kings strove to be inaccessible and isolated (Hdt. 1.99.1, 3.84.2, Hatzopoulos 2001b: 193). See Xenophon's comparison of Persian and Spartan kings (*Ages.* 9). Hatzopoulos (2006: 62) argues that the Macedonian monarchy was built up from a mixture of nomadic and civic institutions, symbolising the archaic Macedonian and Greek paradigms.

⁹⁶ Roisman 2010: 156; Akamatis 2011: 394.

⁹⁷ Akamatis 2011: 399, Figs. 37-39.

⁹⁸ Hatzopoulos 2001b: 189; Kottaridi 2011: 303.

reflects the power of the Macedonian nobility and the way in which the kings depended on their support and military force. Excavations in the city have shown that the plural in the name of Aigai answered to an “open” urban formation that developed organically over time, before it became a royal residence, formed of several villages that slowly came together; as Angeliki Kottaridi, the chief archaeologist of the site, puts it, “its space reflects a society founded on the aristocratic structures of clans for which the royal presence and power were the cohesive element”⁹⁹. The role of the nobility in the exercise of power in Macedonia and the extent to which the king relied on his fellow noblemen to retain that power is clearly expressed in the structure of the palace: after a monumental façade, turned towards the east and dominating the city, one would enter an ample peristyle that served as the articulating centre of the palace. From there, nearly in a straight line, a five-column entrance gave way to a tripartite complex whose central room must have been the throne room¹⁰⁰ [FIGS. 4-5]. The other two rooms flanking this one, with the same dimensions, had bases for couches and were thus used as symposium spaces, fitting up to 60 reclining banqueters¹⁰¹. One might think of Amyntas I’s banquet for the Persian ambassadors who were subsequently murdered by the future Alexander I or the quarrel between Philip II and Alexander after the former’s marriage to Eurydice¹⁰² and imagine them happening in these ἀνδρῶνες.

This openness and proximity of the king to his subjects, and especially his officers, translated into the close-knit relationship that would later be witnessed between Alexander and his troops, a reminder that the king’s power, as absolute as it was, still depended on his military prowess and the support of both the nobility and the army, enabling the latter to develop an agency of its own when dealing with their monarch. One might think of the ἔντευξις, the actual physical meeting between the kings and their subjects, for which two inscriptions give direct evidence: one comes from a letter of Demetrios to the sanctuary of Herakles Kynagidas and says that the king personally met the envoys, and another, also from the reign of Demetrios, is from the petition of a

⁹⁹ Kottaridi 2011: 299.

¹⁰⁰ Kottaridi 2011: 325.

¹⁰¹ Kottaridi 2011: 325. See Marc 2014: 59-61 for another description of the palace of Aigai and 63-65 for Pella, whose palatial structure was enlarged by successive monarchs until Perseus but is still undergoing excavation.

¹⁰² Hdt. 5.18-21; Plut. *Alex.* 9.4.

cavalry officer from Perrhaibia named Philoxenos asking for a grant of land which he was promised in a previous meeting with the king¹⁰³.

This agency is most clearly exemplified in the so-called Macedonian army assembly¹⁰⁴. The first instance of the Macedonians coming together under arms by the summons of a king happened after the accession of Philip II to the throne; during Alexander's Asian campaign they convened several times¹⁰⁵. Scholars have taken two main approaches to this subject, summarised by R. Lock and C. King¹⁰⁶: a constitutionalist approach that suggested that the decisions taken by the army assembly would entail a binding contract between the king and the soldiers, as it was an expression of a Macedonian constitutional right; or a personal approach based on the autocratic character of the Macedonian monarchy, which would mean that the meetings of the assembly could serve to boost morale and to ensure that the king had the army's support, but its decisions were in no way binding and could be ignored at the king's will¹⁰⁷. It is true that, although the constitutional understanding is very attractive, the evidence to support it is tenuous; what is clear is that the Macedonian soldiers had ready access to their king to plead their case, whether their voice was heeded or not in the end. Both after the death of Darius and in the mutinies at Hyphasis and Opis, which were purely motivated by the soldiers themselves, Alexander was forced to hear and confront his troops – paradoxically, it was the closeness that Alexander had with his troops that led to their estrangement and later to the revolt¹⁰⁸. This dichotomy can be traced all the way to the reign of Philip V, during the conspiracy of Apelles: amongst other military commanders, the king ordered Leontios, commander of the peltasts, to be arrested and executed, upon hearing which the peltasts sent an ambassador to Philip, begging him not to try Leontios without their presence there, or else they would feel neglected and slighted¹⁰⁹. Polybius explains this final remark by stating that εἶχον γὰρ ἀεὶ τὴν τοιαύτην ἰσηγορίαν Μακεδόνες πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεῖς, “such freedom of speech did the

¹⁰³ Hatzopoulos, *Macedonian Institutions* II 8 ll. 1-3; Helly and Tziafalias 2010: no. 1 ll. 11-15; discussed earlier in Section 1.1.1.

¹⁰⁴ Hatzopoulos 2006: 70-4 on the relationship between the king and the *ethnos* in Macedonia, especially in the context of Philip II's reforms.

¹⁰⁵ Curt. 6.8.23, *omnes armati*. Philip II: Diod. 16.3.5, 4.3; Alexander: after Darius' death (Diod. 17.74.3-4; Plut. *Alex.* 47.1; Curt. 6.2.15-19) or on the Hyphasis mutiny (cf. *supra*). After Alexander's death, the army stood by Arrhidaeus' candidature to the throne.

¹⁰⁶ Lock 1977: 91-2; King 2010: 384.

¹⁰⁷ For the constitutionalist view, Granier 1931; Hammond and Griffith 1979: 160-2; Anson 1991. Against this, King, *op. cit.* and Lock, *op. cit.*

¹⁰⁸ Lock 1977: 104; Carney 2015: 30ff, esp. 47.

¹⁰⁹ Polyb. 5.27.5-6.

Macedonians always have towards their kings”. The embassy, however, was utterly unsuccessful – Philip was irritated and Leontios summarily executed, signalling that, at least by the second century BC, the king was neither legally nor on a personal level bound by the petitions or the will of his army.

1.3 “For I foresee that a great combat of my friends will be my funeral games”

It is important to remark that the administrative and political models that we have looked at in the previous two sections, concerning the Macedonian soldiers’ relationship to the land and to the kings, were not conveyed into Asia Minor by Alexander alone. After his death, with the ensuing Wars of the Successors, many generals were successively involved in the ruling of western Asia Minor and advanced the implantation and expansion of Macedonian social, cultural and political elements by which future king-army relationships were to function. These first Successors, all born-and-bred Macedonians, will provide concrete evidence for the application of the practices and concepts we have discussed earlier in this chapter. Before moving onto the early Successors, however, we must consider Asia Minor and the system that was implanted there.

Although the research that has been made into the military settlement system of Asia Minor has been rapidly advancing in the last few decades, there are still many gaps in our knowledge and it is necessary to turn to other known contemporary systems to draw parallels where possible. The best documented system of military settlement we know of is the Ptolemaic cleruchic system: the soldiers received land in the Egyptian χώρα, mostly in the Fayum, in exchange for military service¹¹⁰. However, the social and political circumstances of Egypt and Asia Minor were not the same, especially at the urban level. Only three cities existed in Egypt that could be described as Greek *poleis*: Naukratis, an archaic foundation in the Nile delta; Alexandria, founded in 331 BC; and the only city foundation of the Ptolemaic dynasty, Ptolemais Hermiou¹¹¹. The perhaps surprising lack of *polis* foundations by the Ptolemies can be explained through their exploitation of the existing Pharaonic urban networks of Egypt. Pharaonic road and settlement networks connecting the Eastern desert and the Red Sea to ensure the exploitation of this area’s natural resources were already in place, as well as several cities that controlled a territory within a very clear geographical dichotomy, with

¹¹⁰ Lewis 1986: 24; Fischer-Bovet 2014: 120.

¹¹¹ Grabowski 2013: 58; Fischer-Bovet 2014: 120.

Thebes as the capital of Lower Egypt and Memphis of Upper Egypt, which in turn were divided into smaller circumscriptions known as *nomes*¹¹². Inheriting this territorial organisation, Ptolemaic military settlement was intended as a means to man regions of low population density rather than to control the territory, as was the case with the Seleukid foundations¹¹³. That is not to say they produced no foundations at all; they distributed their soldiers throughout the country, either in existing villages or in new ones, and precisely to expand the cultivated areas available for settlements they undertook the reclamation of the Fayyum and the creation of the Arsinoite nome¹¹⁴.

Asia Minor did not possess that same structured character. *Poleis* did exist in Western Asia Minor before Alexander conquered the Persian territories: Ionia was a heavily urbanised region, with coastal cities of ancient lineage such as Miletos, Ephesos, Priene, Erythrai or Smyrna, and the Achaemenid empire used the Lydian cities of Sardis and Daskyleion as capitals of the satrapies of Lydia and Hellespontine Phrygia respectively. However, these cities were few and far between. The Persian road network linked the bigger cities of Asia Minor with the heart of the empire: the Persian Royal Road began in Sardis and moved through what would later become Philomelion (modern Alaşehir) before passing into Syria through the Kilikian Gates; the Common Road started at Ephesos and passed through Magnesia on the Maeander and Tralles before, according to the reconstruction of David French, joining the Royal Road around what would later be Laodikeia on the Lykos (modern Denizli)¹¹⁵. In addition to this, Asia Minor was, especially in the first years of the Wars of the Successors, a heavily disputed territory: the coastal regions of Ionia, Karia, Lykia and Pamphylia, as well as the inner territory of Phrygia, changed hands several times in this period.

The first of the Successors to gain hegemony over western Asia Minor were Antigonos Monophthalmos and Lysimachos, and their influence over the territory must not be overlooked. They were elite Macedonians, directly linked to the courts of Philip II and Alexander, and reproduced Macedonian coin types, copying Alexander's coinage

¹¹² Mueller 2006: 47-9, 60.

¹¹³ Mueller 2006: 63. Grabowski (2013) argues that the Ptolemies' disinterest in *poleis* foundations was due to two reasons: a) there was already an urbanisation model put into place by the pharaohs so a new city system was unnecessary and b) the development of a *poleis*-system throughout the country, due to the particular characteristics that Greek *poleis* entail, would have hindered the absolute power of the new Ptolemaic monarchy.

¹¹⁴ Thompson 1999: 124ff; Fischer-Bovet 2014: 120. Bagnall (1984) warns about how grossly overrepresented the Arsinoite nome is in our evidence in comparison to other *nomes*.

¹¹⁵ French 1998.

with his effigy with the horns of Ammon or Herakles' lion pelt [FIG. 6] or using types with Macedonian shields [FIG. 7]. We have already spoken of Lysimachos' land grant to Limnaios and the typically Macedonian legal language which is employed in it and which can be found again in Asia Minor, although exclusively in Mylasa and Hyllarima, under the rule of Olympeichos¹¹⁶. These men founded and refounded cities with a clear dynastic intention: Antigonos founded around 311 BC Antigoneia in the Troad from a *συνοικισμός* of up to six nearby settlements¹¹⁷. After the battle of Ipsos and Antigonos' death, Lysimachos changed the city's name to Alexandreia¹¹⁸. Lysimachos himself refounded Antigoneia in Bithynia as Nikaia after his first wife, Amastris in Paphlagonia after his second wife, and transformed Smyrna into Eurydikeia after his daughter¹¹⁹. Other generals turned dynasts also founded *poleis*. Dokimos, the general of Antigonos who defected to Lysimachos in 302 BC, was presumably the founder of Dokimeion, which modern scholarship has agreed to locate in modern İscehisar, 40 km northeast from Synnada and 25 km northeast from Afyonkarahisar, whose gigantic rocky outcrop was an essential strategic location¹²⁰. If it was founded during the last decades of the fourth century it would be one of the oldest Macedonian colonies in Asia Minor¹²¹ – Dokimos is attested in Pisidia as early as 321 BC¹²²; he came under Antigonos' wing around 313 BC, when we see him appointed *στρατηγός* of the army¹²³, until his surrender of Synnada in 302 BC, so Dokimeion would have been founded in this twenty-year period. In the Roman imperial period, the city claimed a Macedonian ancestry through its coinage, bearing witness to the survival of Macedonian identity deep in the heart of Asia Minor¹²⁴. No Hellenistic coinage has been found to date, a fact that might be explained by its status as a settlement rather than a city. In the third

¹¹⁶ See below Section 1.3.2.

¹¹⁷ Strabo 13.1.33, 47, 52. *I. Alexandria Troas* pp. 1-2; Cohen 1995: 145.

¹¹⁸ Pliny *NH* 5.124.

¹¹⁹ Nikaia: Strabo 12.4.7. Nikaia was initially an Antigonid foundation, named Antigoneia, and was then refounded as Nikaia by Lysimachos; Amastris: Strabo 12.3.10; Eurydikeia: Cohen 1995: 180-83 and Delrieux 2007. He also renamed Ephesos as Arsinoe for his third wife (Strabo 14.1.21 and Step. Byz. s.v. Ἐφεσός) but the name did not last, as with Smyrna-Eurydikeia, and the cities soon returned to their original names.

¹²⁰ Ramsay 1887: 482; Robert 1962b: 24-26; Cohen 1995: 296.

¹²¹ Cohen 1995: 295; Mitchell 2018: 13-14.

¹²² Diod. 18.45.2.

¹²³ Diod. 19.75.3.

¹²⁴ *Kl. M.* 224ff nos. 7-11; *BMC Phrygia* 118 nos. 1-3, 191ff 19-33; *SNG Cop. Phrygia* 352, 357, 360; *SNG von Aulock* 3545, 3549, 3551-2, 3554-6. All of these coins date from the Severan dynasty onwards.

century, the Macedonian dynasty of the Philomelids, small scale dynasts within the Seleukid kingdom, founded in Phrygia the cities of Lysias and Philomelion¹²⁵.

Three generals who controlled Karia, however, were particularly significant when it comes to analysing the impact of the Macedonian army on the territories they controlled: Pleistarchos and Asandros in the fourth century BC and Olympichos in the third century BC.

1.3.1. Pleistarchos and Asandros

Pleistarchos, the brother of Kassandros, was one of Lysimachos' main allies in his fight against Antigonos; according to Plutarch, he was granted Kilikia after the latter's defeat at Ipsos in 301 BC¹²⁶. However, all the epigraphic information we have concerning Pleistarchos points to his exercising his power in Karia. A statue base, inscribed with a dedication to him, was found in Tralles (modern Aydin)¹²⁷, but more importantly, we have two decrees from Hyllarima¹²⁸ (modern Derebağ) and Sinuri¹²⁹ (near Mylasa, modern Milas) dated respectively to the third and seventh years ἐπὶ Πλειστάρχου (298/7 and 295/4 BC), and we know of his renaming Herakleia under Latmos (located in modern Kapıkırı, on the northeastern shore of lake Bafa) as Pleistarcheia¹³⁰. The city had a history of name-changing after being refounded as Herakleia – the original name was Latmos, as the mountain range that surrounds the city, a name attested since at least the sixth century in an inscription from Didyma and in Athenian tribute lists¹³¹.

¹²⁵ Holleaux 1915; Billows 1995: 99-100; Malay 2004: 410-11 (who sums up previous scholarship in the subject with a concise outline of their genealogy); Mitchell 2018: 14. Some of Philomelion's coinage has what can *a priori* be taken as a Macedonian symbol, an eight-pointed star, but it comes accompanied by a crescent, making it a symbol of the Mithrydatic kingdom of Pontus, which dominated Philomelion in the late 2nd and early 1st centuries BC, when the coins were issued (McGing 1986: 24, 97; de Callatäy 2009: 64, 83, 238-9).

¹²⁶ Plut. *Dem.* 31.4.

¹²⁷ *I. Tralleis* 34. Cf. *BCH* 10 (1886) 455-456 no. 6; *ZPE* 16 (1975) 163.

¹²⁸ *MDAI(I)* 25 (1975) 338-9 (Debord-Varinlioğlu, *Hyllarima* 13 = *I. Nordkarien* 462).

¹²⁹ *I. Sinuri* 44.

¹³⁰ Steph. Byz. s.v. Πλειστάρχεια; Strabo 14.1.8; Cohen 1995: 261-3; Wörle 2003a: 139-40, 2003b: 1376. Interestingly, Pleistarchos did not strike coins in Pleistarcheia, but one known coin struck under his authority in honour of Kassandros bears a very militaristic theme: the obverse is a Phrygian helmet and the reverse a spear point, which closely resembles those of the sarissa points found in Vergina by M. Andronikos (1980) [FIG. 8-9].

¹³¹ Didyma: *I. Didyma* 12. Athenian lists, dated between 452 and 442: *IG* I³ 260 col. X 3, 261 col. II 29, 262 col. II 16, 263 col. V 19, 265 col. I 109, 266 col. V 8, 267 col. V 18, 268 col. IV 29, 270 col. IV 27, 271 col. II 78, 279 col. I 68, 280 col. I 64.

The attribution of the shift from Latmos to Herakleia is unclear; the city must have already been named Herakleia around 300 BC when Pleistarchos is attested in Karia, but that barely reduces the possible authors of the refoundation. The poliorcetic analysis of the fortifications of Herakleia suggests that the development of its towers and gates could have responded to the tactical advancement of torsion-powered siege weapons like those employed by Philip II¹³², which in turn suggests that whoever sponsored the foundation of Herakleia under Latmos and its building activity was very familiar with the military developments that were coming out of Macedonia. The fact that Herakles was a particularly popular religious figure in Macedonia can further point in this direction: the earliest Macedonian coinage, issued by Alexander I in the fifth century BC, already featured portraits of Herakles, and the founding myth of the Argead royal house made them descendants of Herakles through his son Temenos¹³³. Herakles was worshipped in Aigai and Pella as Herakles Patroos and throughout the kingdom as Herakles Kynagidas, linked to the royal hunting practice¹³⁴.

However, the city was still named Λάτμος and the inhabitants Λατμίοι in a treaty of συμπολιτεία between Latmos and Pidasa, dated to around 323-313 BC, under the supervision of Asandros¹³⁵. Asandros, a Macedonian general close to Alexander, was satrap of Karia from 323 until his disappearance from the record around 312 BC after many changes of allegiance, from Perdikkas to Antigonos and then to his enemies Ptolemy and Seleukos¹³⁶. Part of his coinage, struck in Miletos, presents Macedonian imagery, specifically Macedonian shields, sometimes with a *gorgoneion* in the central

¹³² Hornblower 1982: 322 n.325. It is not clear whether the authorship of Herakleia's original walls should be assigned to Mausolos or Pleistarchos (Cohen 1995: 261; Billows 1989: 191; Hornblower 1982: 320). See Peschlow-Bindokat (1996) for photographs.

¹³³ Dahmen 2010: 50-3; Christesen and Murray 2010: 430.

¹³⁴ Hammond and Griffith 1979: 155-56. One of the most prominent sanctuaries of Herakles Kynagidas was in Aigai (Beroia) and has produced several epigraphic documents detailing the correspondence between the priests and Demetrios Poliorcetes (Hatzopoulos, *Macedonian Institutions* I 416-18).

¹³⁵ SEG 47.1563, ll. 14, 20, 22, 25, 26, 38; Blümel 1997. See van Bremen 2003: 314 for an English translation and Wörrle 2003a: 131-5, 138-43. Remains of the ancient site of Latmos can still be seen next to Herakleia (Peschlow-Bindokat 1996: *passim*, esp. 23-4, with photographs. However, she does not acknowledge the name of Herakleia before it became Pleistarcheia).

¹³⁶ Diod. 19.62, 68, 75. Wörrle 2003b: 1362; Kizil et al. 2015: 393. His parentage is unclear. Arrian (*Anab.* 1.17.7) describes him as son of Philotas, but Heckel (1992, esp. Appendix VI) repeatedly questions the identification of Asandros with the son of the famous Philotas and thus his connection with Parmenion, although he nevertheless accepts his identity as an elite Macedonian general. Billows (1995: 91) considers him son of Agathon and possibly connected to Parmenion based on Curtius (10.10.2) and Justin (*Epit.* 13.4.15), who however erroneously misname him Kassandros.

boss, a type that we have already mentioned and that will reappear with other Macedonian dynasts, most notably Eupolemos [FIG. 10]¹³⁷.

The union of Latmos and Pidasas, a *συνοικισμός* rather than a *συμπολιτεία*, as it involved the transfer of population to a new location¹³⁸, was imposed by Asandros: not only did the territories of both cities fall within his satrapy, but one of the tribes of the newly founded city was to be named Asandris after the satrap, *προσκατατάξαι δὲ καὶ φυλὴν μία[ν] πρὸς ταῖς ὑπαρχούσαις καὶ ὀνομάζεσθαι αὐ[τ]ὴν Ἀσανδρίδα* (ll. 4-6)¹³⁹. A relatively new inscription, predating the Latmos-Pidasas treaty, further cements his power in this region: the city of Pidasas honours two officials of Asandros who were put in charge of managing the finances of the city and who restored objects to one of its sanctuaries¹⁴⁰. The two men are presented as *οἱ ἐ[πιστά]ται οἱ κατασταθέντες ὑπ’ Ἀσάν[δ]ρου* (“the *epistatai* appointed by Asandros”, ll. 2-3)¹⁴¹, making this the first time we have evident proof of Asandros’ direct involvement in Karia through men appointed by him working in the communities under his control, possibly in preparation for the *συνοικισμός*¹⁴². Moreover, the reconstructed title of the two men, if they were indeed *ἐπιστάται*, is a clearly Macedonian one: the role of *ἐπιστάτης* is well documented in Macedonia, attested in at least eight cities from the fourth to the second centuries BC¹⁴³. They were civic magistrates who served as royal commissioners in the *poleis* and in the *χώρα* and had judicial and military powers¹⁴⁴. The appearance of *ἐπιστάται* in Karia under the aegis of a Macedonian general shows an unquestionable transfer of Macedonian institutions and roles into the recently conquered territories, in a way similar to that of the formula *ἐμ πατρικοῖς*.

While it was known, from other texts, that Asandros’ satrapal capital must have been located in Mylasa¹⁴⁵, this new text, in conjunction with the Latmos-Pidasas treaty, allows

¹³⁷ *SNG Cop* 1129. See below Section 1.4.1.

¹³⁸ *SEG* 47.1563 ll. 19-20, 27-8; Wörle 2003b: 1373.

¹³⁹ van Bremen 2003: 315; Bencivenni 2003: 154; Wörle 2003a: 125. See LaBuff 2010: 116-20 for the contrary view that Asandros was not directly involved in the synoecism but that the new phyle was an unimposed tribute to the satrap.

¹⁴⁰ Kizil et al. 2015.

¹⁴¹ Blümel 2016: 107; *οἱ ἐ[πιμελη?]ταὶ* in Kizil et al. 2015.

¹⁴² Kizil et al. 2015: 402.

¹⁴³ See the table in Hatzopoulos, *Macedonian Institutions* I 374-5 and his thorough analysis in 372-96. See below n. 576 for the *μάρτυρες δικασταί* found in Mylasan documents, another Macedonian institution within a territory in which Asandros and Olympichos, two Macedonian dynasts, had been active.

¹⁴⁴ Errington 1990: 222, 230-33; Hatzopoulos 2001a: 120-21.

¹⁴⁵ Billows 1989: 184; Kizil et al. 2015: 394. He is not mentioned, but his name is reconstructed, in a Mylasan inscription that mentions the existence of the “*palaestra* of Nikanor” in the city, pointing to further Macedonian involvement in the city (*I. Mylasa* 21, ca. 317 BC).

us to reconsider the extent of Asandros' power in Karia: we have now direct evidence of his men's involvement in the supervision of the city's finances (δ[ι]ωρθώσ[?]αγτο τὰς πολιτικὰς προσόδου[ς], ll. 7-8¹⁴⁶). As Pidasas' inscription honouring Asandros' officials has been dated to 322/21 BC, a few years earlier than the συμπολιτεία with Latmos, I believe it could be interpreted as Asandros' efforts of sorting out local business with the aims of preparing the grounds for the συμπολιτεία which he himself was going to sponsor not long after.

1.3.2. Olympichos

Olympichos, son of Olympichos, was another minor Macedonian dynast attested in Asia Minor in the third century. He started off as governor of Karia under Seleukos II but switched sides after Antigonos Doson's Karian expedition of 227 BC and was later found answering to Philip V¹⁴⁷. Though none of the inscriptions that bear his name appends an ethnic to it, his position within the political hierarchy and his name, not Macedonian *per se* but known to have been used by Macedonians, seem to indicate a Macedonian origin¹⁴⁸. We know that he was also militarily active, with enough forces to pose a threat to Iasos and its neighbouring cities¹⁴⁹. The bulk of extant evidence concerning Olympichos comes from the so-called Olympichos dossier published by Jonas Crampa in *Labraunda III.1: Period of Olympichos*, to which several new discoveries must be added, particularly a new, very fragmentary, decree that complements a previously known letter from Olympichos to the city of Mylasa concerning the lease of lands to the temple of Zeus Osogo (*I. Labraunda* 8 B, ca. 235 BC)¹⁵⁰. In this text, Olympichos gifts (ἀνατίθημι, l. 20) the lands that he had bought from Queen Laodike, together with their revenues, to the temple of Zeus Osogo “for all time” (ἐς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον, l. 21), and exhorts the Mylasans to lease out the lands (μισθῶσαι, l. 24) on a hereditary basis (εἰς πατρικὰ, l. 24). This is a new way of dealing with land grants that may differ from Mylasan tradition and that employs unequivocally Macedonian vocabulary, albeit giving it a new context¹⁵¹.

¹⁴⁶ Blümel 2016: 108. δ[ικαίως? | διωκῆς?]αγτο in Kizil et al. 2015: 384-5.

¹⁴⁷ Holleaux 1899: 20-37; Billows 1995: 95-6; but especially Crampa's description of Olympichos' career (*I. Labraunda* 86-96).

¹⁴⁸ *I. Smyrna* 183, Ἀμύντας | Ὀλυμπίχου | Μακεδόν. See also Kobes 1996: 80.

¹⁴⁹ Holleaux 1899: 31-33; Meadows 1996: 257-63; *I. Iasos* 150.

¹⁵⁰ van Bremen 2016 for the new text; see also van Bremen 2017: 2 n9.

¹⁵¹ See other previous Mylasan land grants: *I. Mylasa* 208, 220 or 802. On the development of leases more generally, see Pernin 2014: 485-525.

The language used by Olympichos when describing his grant of lands, ἐς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον, resonates with the Ptolemaic cleruchic system¹⁵² and would mean that those royal lands were now civic lands. In an interesting turn of events, *I. Labraunda* 8 A is the surviving last part of a decree where, after enumerating the rather severe punishments for those who act against something that must have been explained in the lost part of the stele, we are informed that Olympichos himself would now lease the lands at a fixed rate from the temple of Zeus Osogo (presumably εἰς πατρικὰ as had been established, ἐμισθώσατο Ὀλύμπιχος αὐτὰ παρ' ἡμῶν εἰς πατρικὰ?)| τακτοῦ φόρου ἐκάστου ἔτους δραχμῶν Ἀλεξ[ανδρείων], ll. 8-9). This supposes continuity with Macedonian terminology, but also an adaptation to fit the needs of Mylasa: As we have seen, in Macedonia the formula ἐμ πατρικοῖς was only used in royal grants where an individual received lands from the king, such as the cases of Limnaios or Perdikkas, and refers to the transmission of land itself, but in this case the structure of the grant has been changed, as the grantor is not a king but a temple, that of Zeus Osogo, managed by Mylasa, and the formula refers not to the land but to the lease. Olympichos' gift meant that the land ceased to be satrapal and became civic or sacred, and its revenues would be enjoyed in perpetuity by the god; it is only the lease that would be hereditary and, one assumes, subject to specific conditions¹⁵³. It might well have been this radical change in the legal proceedings of Mylasa that called for such a strong response in *I. Labraunda* 8A, for the need to establish and secure this new situation would have required forceful measures¹⁵⁴.

A revised version of a purchase of land by the Mylasan tribe of the Otorkondeis has revealed that in 261 BC Mylasa was under Seleukid control¹⁵⁵. While the timeline of the struggle between Ptolemies and Seleukids for political hegemony in Karia is still unclear, now that Seleukid control has been assured prior to the Olympichos dossier, Olympichos need not have been the prime sponsor of this new terminology: the previous, now well-documented Macedonian presence in the area could point to Antiochos or even the Ptolemies or Asandros in the fourth century BC¹⁵⁶. Mylasa thus

¹⁵² See above Section 1.3.

¹⁵³ van Bremen 2016: 19-20.

¹⁵⁴ van Bremen 2016: 17-8. She also comments (20-1) on another 3rd century Mylasan text that employs the term εἰς τὰ πατρικά: a decree of the tribe of the Otorkondeis leasing out land that belonged to the tribe (*I. Mylasa* 201). The language of this inscription is also clearly Macedonian, but the difficulty of dating it makes it complicated and risky to say whether it predated or not Olympichos' letter.

¹⁵⁵ van Bremen 2020: 3-4, dated to the 51st year of the Seleukid calendar, under Antiochos I.

¹⁵⁶ van Bremen 2020: 18.

emerges as a singular example of very early Macedonian involvement with a pre-existing community: Asandros, Pleistarchos and Eupolemos were very active in the region, with Asandros establishing his headquarters in the city; later on, Olympichos is attested as having owned land there. Mylasa was not a Macedonian settlement but had ties to Macedonia and to the Macedonian army from very early on, adopting as its own elements of their culture, such as the legal expression of ἐν πατρικοῖς.

1.4. Iasos and Theangela: early Macedonian military presence in Asia Minor

I will now analyse two documents which are representative of the cultural and political changes that Alexander's early Successors brought about in Asia Minor and of the role the army played in such changes: the treaty between the city of Theangela and the Macedonian general Eupolemos and the treaty between the city of Iasos, the garrison imposed on it by Antigonos Monophthalmos and the future Ptolemy I. Due to their length and complexity, these two texts can help expand our knowledge of the way in which the Macedonian armies of the Successors operated in western Asia Minor, as they are the earliest known Hellenistic examples of interactions between generals/dynasts and cities in which the soldiers play such a critical role.

1.4.1. Theangela (ca. 310 BC)

The Macedonian military presence in Karia in the late fourth century BC has already been discussed above with the presence of Asandros and Pleistarchos, especially around Mylasa; but there was a third Macedonian general whose actions in Karia have reached us through epigraphic and numismatic evidence: Eupolemos. He is first attested as a general of Kassandros under the orders of Asandros; he was captured by Antigonos' nephew Polemaios at the fortress of Kaprima in 313 BC, and after 312 BC was named στρατηγός of Greece by Kassandros¹⁵⁷. This Eupolemos has historically been identified with an Eupolemos son of Potalos honoured in a Iasian inscription from the second quarter of the third century BC¹⁵⁸; but a relatively new text from Iasos, the dedication of an ἀνδρῶν to Artemis Astias by an Eupolemos son of Simalos, published by Roberta Fabiani, has proven that it is this Eupolemos who should be identified as the dynast, as

¹⁵⁷ Diod. 19.68.5-7, 77.6; cf. Billows 1989: 175-77.

¹⁵⁸ *I. Iasos* 32; dated to the end of the fourth century BC by Louis Robert (*Coll. Froehner* pp. 73-6) but now proven to belong to an earlier period by Roberta Fabiani (2009).

he had enough influence to dedicate an ἄνδρῶν in his name, and not the son of Potalos, who, while being a respectable citizen of Iasos, was not Kassandros' general¹⁵⁹.

Eupolemos struck coinage in his Karian territory, specifically in Mylasa. His distinctive type takes Macedonian imagery but gives it a twist, presenting three overlapping Macedonian shields, decorated with concentric circles and a spearhead in their centre, while the reverse presents a sheathed sword [FIG. 11]¹⁶⁰. The use not only of Macedonian types, such as the shields, but also of clearly military imagery (the spearheads, the sheathed swords and the link to later similar types which also emphasise their military nature, like Philip V's Macedonian helmet or Artemis Tauropolos) highlights Eupolemos' role as a general – a Macedonian one. Billows understands the spearhead within the shields as a reference to “spear-won land” (a very common trope in the post-Alexander Hellenistic world)¹⁶¹. This may be the case, as the iconography of Eupolemos' coins is a blend of different Macedonian and military elements, setting a precedent for types and iconographic models that in the late Hellenistic period will be considered undoubtedly Macedonian. The Macedonian shield was a type already known from the fourth century BC, from a series of “anonymous” coins which Katerini Liampi dated to Alexander the Great and after him as posthumous mints, meaning that there was already a precedent on which Eupolemos based his coins, all the more so if it linked him iconographically with Alexander and the Argeads¹⁶². The novelty resides in Eupolemos' use of this type, putting three overlapping shields on the obverse of his coins instead of a single one occupying the whole space. Raymond Descat discusses the possibility of the three shields representing the triple alliance that Eupolemos, Pleistarchos and Kassandros struck against Antigonos Monophthalmos in 314 BC, but he prefers an economic reason rather than a purely propagandistic one: he proposes that the intention behind tripling the shields was to create a financial link with the already existing shield coinage to indicate that his coins were thrice its value¹⁶³. While this latter proposal is interesting, the fact that all Eupolemos' issues are bronze makes this hypothesis less likely. In addition, although the Macedonian shield type was well-

¹⁵⁹ Fabiani 2009.

¹⁶⁰ Akarca 1959 App. II; *BMC Karia* 128 nos. 1-6; Rostovtzeff 1931: 23-4.

¹⁶¹ Billows 1989: 200. Alexander was said to have leapt out of his ship when he reached Troy and thrown a spear at the land to claim it as his (Diod. 17.17.1-3, Justin 11.5). See also the frescoes from the villa of P. Fannius Synistor in Boscoreale, very likely inspired by Macedonian funerary frescoes; one of them depicts the personifications of Macedonia and of Asia sitting on either side of the water, with a spear stuck between them (Palagia 2014).

¹⁶² Liampi 1986: 44ff.

¹⁶³ Descat 1998: 170-74.

known in Macedonia, it is doubtful that it was well-established enough in Asia Minor for people using it automatically to make the connection Descat argues for – even if it was mainly intended to be used as army pay, not every soldier was Macedonian and may not have immediately understood the reference. It is perhaps better explained through the Macedonian triple alliance and Eupolemos' military power.

As said, Fabiani identified Eupolemos with Kassandros's general, mentioned by Diodorus, and roughly agrees with Robert, Rostovtzeff and Descat about the dates, placing his rule as local dynast in Karia around 315-314 BC¹⁶⁴. The extent of the territory of Eupolemos is also still a matter of debate, but from the dedication of the ἀνδρόν at Iasos it would seem that he had influence over this city and also in Mylasa, where he struck coinage, as well as in Theangela, where the inscription that now occupies us was found. This text records the capitulation of the Karian city of Theangela after a siege around 310 BC¹⁶⁵. Theangela, also known as Syangela, was a Karian city already in existence by the time of the Hekatomnids, according to Strabo¹⁶⁶. Barely 12 km east from Halikarnassos, the remains of the fortress can still be traced between the Kaplan Dağı to the west and the Kuşca Dağı to the east, near the modern villages of Çamlık, Kumköy, Pinarbelen and Çiftlikköy [FIG. 12]. The structure is elongated with several *tetrapyrgia*, also present in other coeval fortifications such as Herakleia under Latmos, whose city walls were possibly constructed by the Macedonian dynasts that controlled Karia in the late fourth century BC¹⁶⁷.

The inscription is the end of a treaty between Eupolemos and the soldiers stationed in Theangela after a four-month siege (ll. 4-21), with the laying out of conditions related to the salary of the soldiers and their status, whether they wanted to go into Eupolemos' service or leave the territory, and also promising an amnesty for civilians, including slaves and free men, followed by an oath sworn by Eupolemos to the city of Theangela and to the soldiers stationed there (ll. 22-30). While it is possible that we are missing, at the beginning of the treaty, the dispositions concerning the negotiations between the city

¹⁶⁴ Fabiani 2009; *Coll. Froehner* p. 76-77; Rostovtzeff 1931; Descat 1998.

¹⁶⁵ Epigraphic Appendix 3.

¹⁶⁶ Strabo 13.1.59; Zgusta, *Ortsnamen* §1261-2. Stephanos of Byzantium accepts both spellings, s.v. Θεάγγελα and Σουάγγελα, describing them as πόλις Καρίας. Stephanos gives a Karian etymology of the name related to the tomb of the legendary king Kar, while Zgusta opts for a Greek compound of θεός and ἄγγελος. Also see Hornblower 1982: 96ff.

¹⁶⁷ Bean and Cook 1957: 138-40; Hornblower 1982: 320-22 (who cautiously suggests they may have plausibly been the work of Mausolos); Debord 1994: 61 Fig. 3. See above Section 1.3.1. For more on *tetrapyrgia*, Schuler 1998: 69-70 and Pimouguet-Pédarros 2000: 116-7.

of Theangela and Eupolemos, the part that is preserved reflects an independent negotiation between the soldiers and the dynast. The soldiers stationed in Theangela, most likely mercenaries working for the city¹⁶⁸, had their own representatives along with those of the Theangelians: Philippos, Damagathos and Aristodemos, all of them of Greek origin, although the name of Philippos has a distinct Macedonian flavour (ll. 7-8). The promises exacted by the soldiers are mainly of an economic nature: they will be paid the salary that they were owed (four months, plus two extra to Aristodemos and the men under his command who wish to remain in Eupolemos' employment, ll. 8-10, and also four months for the artillery men, ll. 14-15), as well as freedom of movement and exemption from taxation for those who wished to leave Theangela (ll. 15-17).

One final promise, recorded in the oath, relates to the donation of lands to the soldiers. Eupolemos' control over the territory must have been solid enough for him to be able to promise to those soldiers who wanted to enter his service land in τὰ Πεντάχωρα (l. 21). While it is evident that this name is a compound of πέντε and χώρα, the exact nature of the lands the inscription is referring to is unclear. Similarly formed names are attested elsewhere: Τετραχωρίται in Thrace, Τρικωμία in Phrygia, Ἑξακωμία in Arabia or Ἑπτακωμήται in Pontos¹⁶⁹. The most widely accepted view is that this Pentachora would be a rural centre made up of several (five?) villages, where the soldiers would receive land plots to work¹⁷⁰. It must have been within Eupolemos' territory, likely somewhere around Mumcular and the plain of Karova, but what is most important is that we have here an instance of a group of soldiers voluntarily settling as, presumably, κάτοικοι. The disposition in the text says that it would be those who wanted to pass into Eupolemos' service who would receive the lands, implying that these men would continue to be active within the dynast's army.

The inscription closes with Eupolemos' oath to respect the treaty – interestingly enough, the expected oath in return by the Theangelians and the soldiers is not inscribed, and the stone does not seem to be missing any text on its lower part¹⁷¹. One of the points that the inscription makes, and which L. Robert rightly highlighted, is that Eupolemos would receive τῇ πόλιν καὶ τὰς ἄκρας (l. 20), the city and the fortified citadels, plural.

¹⁶⁸ Rostovtzeff 1931: 15.

¹⁶⁹ Keil and von Premerstein 1914: 26.

¹⁷⁰ Robert *Coll. Froehner* 19; Rostovtzeff 1931: 19; Billows 1989: 201.

¹⁷¹ A photograph can be found in *Coll. Froehner*, Planche XXIII. Some scholars explain this absence with Eupolemos' confidence in his authority over the city (Billows 1989: 197), but it may well have been inscribed on a different stone; it need not necessarily mean that it was never inscribed at all.

Robert understood the importance of this precision to recognise the force and the influence of Theangela's geographic location: not only would the fortification command the surrounding territory from its towers (Robert pointed out the Theangelian ownership of the nearby plain of Karaova to provide the population with sustenance), but it would also have been impossible to take it by force, hence the dynast's need for a siege and a treaty¹⁷².

In addition to the new inscription with Eupolemos' dedication of the ἀνδρών, Eupolemos is linked to the city of Iasos, some 25 km north of the site of Theangela, by a contemporary Iasian inscription honouring an officer by the name of Aristodemos¹⁷³, very likely the same Aristodemos who was clearly said to have entered Eupolemos' service: Ἀριστοδήμωι καὶ τοῖς [ὑπ' αὐτὸν οὖσιν?] | στρατιώταις ὅσοι ἂν μένωσιν παρ' Εὐπολέμωι (Il. 9-10). Billows suggested that it was Eupolemos who stationed Aristodemos in Iasos, thereby including the city in the dynast's territory and indicating a continuous Macedonian influence over the region, first with Eupolemos and later on with Ptolemy I, as we shall now see¹⁷⁴.

1.4.2. Iasos (309/4 BC)

In addition to the settlement project that the first two Ptolemaic kings carried out in Egypt, meant to secure both their lands and the mustering of their army, their territorial aspirations extended over the islands of the Aegean and certain parts of Asia Minor, namely Karia, Lykia, Pamphylia and Kilikia¹⁷⁵. One of the earliest attestations of Ptolemaic control in northern Karia comes from the city of Iasos and the garrison that Antigonos Monophthalmos imposed on it. Located in the small peninsula of Kızıklıslacık in the Gulf of Güllük (province of Muğla), Iasos has been the object of many excavation projects in the last few years, which have provided information on the topography and archaeology of the city.

One of the inscriptions found there is of special historic significance as it is the first document that preserves a detailed treaty between a Greek city of Asia Minor and a Hellenistic monarch, in this case between Iasos and Ptolemy I. The text is a dossier of four documents inscribed one after the other; only the first dates to before Ptolemy took the royal title (*I. Iasos* 2; Epigraphic Appendix 2). This first document records the

¹⁷² *Coll. Froehner* Pl. XXVI-XXVIII.

¹⁷³ *I. Iasos* 33. See Fabiani 2015: 262 n.68.

¹⁷⁴ Billows 1989: 195.

¹⁷⁵ Bagnall 1976: 38-79 for Cyprus, 117-158 for the Aegean and 80-116 for Asia Minor.

surrender of Iasos to Ptolemy during his efforts to take control of southwestern Asia Minor from Antigonos Monophthalmos and contains two independent (but related) treaties, one between the Iasians and the soldiers stationed in the city, and another between the Iasians and Ptolemy himself¹⁷⁶.

Iasos was not a military settlement, but rather a *polis* that had a garrison forced upon it by Polemaios son of Polemaios (mentioned in the fragmentary beginning of the text in ll. 2, 6, 10 and 11). He was Antigonos' nephew and one of his main generals, who had besieged Kaunos and Iasos and defeated Eupolemos near Kaprma in 314/3 BC, but in 309 BC switched sides and went over to Ptolemy, roughly around the same time this inscription was composed¹⁷⁷. He is mentioned at the beginning of the text as the man who made the city free, autonomous, ungarrisoned and exempt from tribute (ll. 6-7), as well as restoring to the Iasians the citadels and everything within them (ll. 11-13). The location of the citadels (ἄκραι, also in the plural, similarly to those in Theangela), which are mentioned up to four times in the first twenty lines of the treaty (ll. 11, 13, 17, 18), is unclear. Kıyıkışlacık itself is a rather flat location, but it is surrounded by three mountainous elevations from the nearby Karcılık Tepesi; however, none of them has so far yielded archaeological evidence [FIG. 13]. Iasos was a fortified city since at least 412 BC, when it was taken by the Persians¹⁷⁸, and recent excavations have brought to light a defence system, the “cinta di terraferma”, which enclosed a considerable portion of the territory outside the centre of the ancient *polis*¹⁷⁹. The enclosure was built with a military defensive aim in mind and could house up to four thousand soldiers, and I. Pimouguet-Pédarros explains the choice of the esplanade outside Iasos proper with a dynamic we will see in other military settlements: the territory of Iasos, which was limited by its location in a peninsula off the coast of Kıyıkışlacık, was not big enough to house and feed this many soldiers, thus the need to expand into the surrounding territory [FIG. 14]¹⁸⁰.

¹⁷⁶ Giovannini 2004: 77.

¹⁷⁷ Diod. 19.57.4, 60.2, 68, 75, 20.19.27; Plut. *Eum.* 10.3. Bagnall 1976: 89-90. His alliance with Ptolemy did not work in the end, however, and he was forced to commit suicide.

¹⁷⁸ Thuc. 8.28.2-4; Pimouguet-Pédarros 2000: 203-4.

¹⁷⁹ Raffaella Pierobon has written extensively about the “cinta di terraferma”; for a recent review of the excavations, see Pierobon 2011.

¹⁸⁰ Pimouguet-Pédarros 2000: 350. See 341-53 for a poliorcetic analysis of the Iasean fortifications. It is worth remembering how the geography of the region has changed: what is now the Milas-Bodrum airport was an inner expanse of water (nicknamed “Little Sea”), access to which Iasos could control from its position. For a brief comment on this, Reger 2010 and van Bremen 2011.

The soldiers had three representatives who spoke in their name: Machaon, Hieron and Sopolis¹⁸¹, with Machaon apparently in control of the citadels (ἀποδόντας δὲ κομίσασθαι παρὰ Μαχάονος τὰς ἄκρας | [καὶ] τὰ ἐν ταῖς ἄκραις ὄντα, ll. 17-18). While the soldiers only swear an oath to the Iasians and do not receive any oath in return, they manage to extract very advantageous promises from the Iasians: they will be paid the provisions (σιτᾶρχίας, l. 13) and the pay (μισθοῦς, l. 14) that they are owed, they will be allowed to leave the city either by land or by sea unmolested (ἀπαλλασσομένοις ὅπου ἂν βούλωνται καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν, l. 21) and any charges brought by the Iasians against the soldiers and vice versa will be ignored (ll. 21-25). Polemaios was presumably the architect of the Iasian surrender, but he does not speak for the men, who were, according to Adalberto Giovannini, mercenaries under the orders of Antigonos¹⁸². The soldiers, thus, must have negotiated on their own with Iasos the terms of their surrender of the citadels – terms which were also approved by the future Ptolemy I, who swears to protect this agreement (ll. 41-46), showing the agency of the army when negotiating with an established power such as a *polis*, just as it had happened in Theangela.

However, the king had tools to ensure the loyalty of the men until such a time as he had secured his control over Iasos. The text declares that what was owed to the soldiers would be paid by the Iasians “in fifteen days from the day on which those who had been sent to Ptolemy arrive before him”¹⁸³: this was no doubt Ptolemy’s scheme to ensure the loyalty of Polemaios and the soldiers in Iasos, as they would not receive their money until the messengers had presented themselves and presumably sworn loyalty. Another rather complicatedly phrased time clause in the soldiers’ oath stipulates that “I will not receive a soldier from anyone for four days after that on which the men are sent to Ptolemy, nor after that without (the permission of) the Iasians”¹⁸⁴. This can be interpreted, together with the previous time limit, as a clause intended to safeguard Ptolemy’s claim to the soldiers’ loyalty, preventing “anyone” (Antigonos perhaps?) to challenge his hegemony over the city during the time it took the messengers to come and go, but Giovannini also suggests that it was a condition inserted by the Iasians to

¹⁸¹ Epigraphic Appendix 2, ll. 7-8, 14, 19, 33, 41-2. Their names are usually followed by καὶ οἱ τούτων στρατιῶται, clearly marking them out as the leaders.

¹⁸² Giovannini 2004: 77-8.

¹⁸³ Epigraphic Appendix 2 ll. 16-7: ἐν ἡμέραις δεκαπέντε ἀφ’ ἧς ἂν οἱ πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον ἀποσταλέντε[ς] | παραγίνωνται.

¹⁸⁴ Epigraphic Appendix 2 ll. 37-9: οὐ παραδέξομαι στρατιώτην παρ’ οὐθενὸς ἐν ἡμέραις τέσσαρσιν ἀφ’ ἧς ἂν οἱ πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον ἀποσταλῶσιν | οὐθ’ ὕστερον ἄνευ Ἰασέων.

ensure that the promises they had made to the soldiers were enjoyed only by those men who were already stationed in the citadels¹⁸⁵.

The power games in this inscription come to light when placed under scrutiny: Polemaios switched sides from one general to another and yielded Iasos to Ptolemy, who was aware of the need to make concessions to the city and its garrison while still keeping control and maintaining his slogan of freedom for the Greek cities; the soldiers were not just a bargaining chip but rather had their own voice in the inscription.

1.5. Conclusion

The most complicated part of isolating the Macedonian elements that made up the “Macedonian identity” of the incoming population is making sense of the Macedonians as an entity – despite turbulent beginnings and the many different peoples brought together under Argead rule, the Macedonians did emerge in the third century as a rather unified body, as the epigraphic evidence shows. The first years of the Hellenistic period were unstable and saw power changing from one general or dynast to another, which meant that soldiers were presumably moved constantly around the disputed territories and set up in garrisons, and some of them were given land to establish themselves in – as the soldiers of Apollodoros of Kassandreia or those given land in the Pentachora by Eupolemos. A clear sign of the Macedonian influence of these dynasts is the shift in legal terminology for something as crucial for military settlers as land grants: the formula of a hereditary grant, ἐμ πατρικοῖς, of an unquestionable Macedonian origin, can be traced from the documents of the early Successors in Macedonia to Mylasa, under Olympichos and perhaps even earlier, Dura Europos and Failaka.

The relationship between the king and the army in such a heavily militarised monarchy as the Argead was extremely important for Alexander’s success and perhaps downfall: his reputation for extreme closeness to his men led to their higher expectations and therefore bigger disappointment when he seemed to favour the Persians; the two mutinies of Opis and Hyphasis show as much. But it was not only an intangible reality that Alexander single-handedly created: Macedonian architecture suggests from very early on an openness that other contemporary monarchies, such as the Achaemenid, lacked. The palace of Aigai is a perfect example of this closeness which translated even more strongly into the interactions between the kings and their

¹⁸⁵ Giovannini 2004: 75.

subjects, and the historiographic accounts of interactions between the army and Alexander or the Antigonids, such as Philip V, show the soldiers choosing their own representatives and being able to speak directly to the king without any intermediaries.

The expansion of Macedonian elements in Asia Minor, however, cannot be solely attributed to Alexander himself, for his engagement with this territory was minimal, but rather to his Successors and the generals under them that ruled in the early Hellenistic period. It seems to have been especially the “smaller” generals, those with more limited territories, who interacted more closely with the local communities and had the most influence. The settling of soldiers continued – Eupolemos and his grant of Pentachora to whoever desired to enter his service is a clear example of it – and pushed forward the Hellenisation of Asia Minor, employing and thereby reinforcing Macedonian elements. These Macedonian elements encompassed various aspects of civic and political life: not least the soldiers’ ability to represent themselves when petitioning the king on equal footing to cities, but also cultural elements such as the Macedonian shields, the “spear-won land” of the dynasts or the legal framework elements of which were introduced into Asia Minor and the East.

CHAPTER 2: TOPOGRAPHY AND SETTLEMENTS

Western Asia Minor is a territory of contrasts, of mountains ideal for fortified citadels and of rich, fertile plains. In the shadow of cities like Pergamon, Smyrna or Sardis, many military settlements were founded, their existence attested through the epigraphic evidence. However, in addition to the content of the inscriptions themselves and the information that they provide regarding the functioning of these military settlements, there is another less-studied aspect that will be critical to understanding settlement patterns and interconnectivity in this region: topography.

To understand the role and importance that the settlement of soldiers had in western Asia Minor, as well as their interaction with the kings, it is necessary to understand properly the physical reality of these foundations. Choosing a location for a military settlement was not left to chance but was rather the product of a careful study of the territory; such choices reflect the relationships and networks between the reigning powers at the time and the settlements themselves. Only when the settlements are looked at in their topographic context does the Macedonian influence on the newly acquired territories become clearer.

This chapter addresses the topography of the settlements, elucidating the significance of their location and the information that this can give us about their role in historical developments. I begin by analysing two recent epigraphic documents from Lydia, in the modern province of Manisa. After discussing the network of military settlements that these specific inscriptions reveal, I move on to the broader picture of military settlements in Lydia, as the bulk of our epigraphic evidence comes from this region. The objective is to understand why this region, unlike others, presents such a remarkable concentration of settlements. In further sections I will move beyond Lydia and discuss the settlements of Magnesia, the κόμη of the Kardakes in Lykia and Toriaion and Pessinous in Phrygia: the inscriptions found at these locations are especially illustrative of how military settlements interacted with or petition the Seleukid and Attalid kings and the inscribed texts are in addition sufficiently complex to allow us to discuss diverse aspects of life in these settlements. The epigraphic evidence from Lydia, although more abundant, has provided us with shorter texts that do not allow too much depth of interpretation, so the use of evidence from other regions that also came into contact with the early Successors, Seleukids and Attalids will allow us further to discuss the role that topography played in the army and in the military settlements.

2.1. Eumenes II and Apolloniou Charax

In 2007, Peter Herrmann and Hasan Malay published two new inscriptions found in the village of Taşkuyucak in the Turkish province of Manisa (no further details about the findspot were given; FIGS. 15 no. 1 and 16 A and B)¹⁸⁶. The opisthographically inscribed marble stele is of considerable size, broken at the top, rendering both texts acephalous. The stone is a most interesting example of Hellenistic epigraphy, for it reveals a complex network of settlements around Lake Marmara and Sardis. I would like to emphasize from the outset that I have purposefully written “two new inscriptions”, for the texts so far have been treated as a single document – erroneously to my mind: both form and content point to there being two separate texts not directly related to each other. For practical purposes, I will employ Herrmann and Malay’s division of the stone into Face A and Face B – an arbitrary denomination, as it does not imply that one text must be read before the other or any chronological hierarchy; but I will treat them as two separate documents.

What was called Face A by the first editors is a letter from Eumenes II, as has been plausibly argued, to the settlers of a place referred to as Apolloniou Charax, agreeing to transfer the Mysians from another place, called Kournoubeudos, to their territory and granting several privileges such as tax exemption (A 17, 22-23), a reduction in the recruitment rate (A 19-20) and help with their building activity to accommodate the new incoming population (A 24-26). Face B, it will be argued, contains a series of petitions from a community (Apolloniou Charax?) to the king, petitions related to their cult of Zeus Stratios (B 4-9), the rebuilding of houses (B 9-11) and the granting of further land to their territory (B 11-24).

First, we need to examine the complicated relationship between the two sides of the inscription. The original editors considered that the voice speaking in both texts was the same, that of the king, and that they were thus related both thematically and chronologically. Michael Wörrle and Peter Thonemann have disagreed and suggested that Face A should be read as the answer to the petitions on Face B¹⁸⁷. Alice Bencivenni has also tackled the issue of the (dis)connection between Face A and B and has proposed that Face B was a royal letter from the king to an officer directly citing the

¹⁸⁶ SEG 57.1150; Epigraphic Appendix 1; Herrmann-Malay, *Lydia* no. 32.

¹⁸⁷ Wörrle 2009: 427 n76; Thonemann 2011a: 6-7.

community's requests and commenting on them¹⁸⁸. I shall here propose a third explanation, based on the topographic information provided in the texts, and argue that there is no direct connection to be made as far as content goes; as for chronology, we might be looking at work done by two masons at two different points in time, if not too far apart.

The clearest link between the two sides is the γεωδότης Lykinos, who is mentioned in both A and B: Λυκίνωι δ[ἐ] τῶι γεωδότηι συνετάξαμεν [ῥεπιβλέπ]ειν ὅθεν [δυ]ναίμεθα χώραν προσορίσαι αὐτοῖς, A 12-14; τοὺς δ' ἐν τούτοις μετάγειν εἰς ἃς ἂν κρίνη κατοικίας Λυκῖνος ὁ γεωδότης, B 22-24. Since this is obviously the same person, this restricts the date to a certain window, but does not presuppose that the two texts are directly related even if they were presumably contemporary. As noted by the first editors, the script presents differences between Face A and Face B: the letter forms show differences, such as the alphas with a broken crossbar in Face A, straight in B; larger omegas and omicrons in A, smaller in B; or the straight sigmas in A, slightly inward in B; the assimilation of consonants at the end of words is present in A but missing in B. All of this might suggest that they are the work of two different drafters, thus entailing some chronological distance¹⁸⁹. An acetate copy of the two inscriptions makes these differences in script plain to the eye [FIG. 17]. Moreover, as a close reading of the text makes clear, the issues mentioned in the petitions from B are not picked up in A as one would expect from a royal answer to a petition, and the decisions from A have no immediate connection to B; as we shall see below, previous analyses that connect them force the interpretation of the text to fit this idea. While I agree that in Face A it is a king speaking, as he is the only one with the power to enforce the decisions taken, I do not believe that the explanation for Face B is as simple as considering it to be a mere petition from Apolloniou Charax that would be answered by the text of Face A. Topographical and terminological issues in the texts suggest otherwise.

Peter Herrmann and Hasan Malay dated both texts (treating them as a single entity) to 165/4 BC. Their dating is derived from the mention in Face B of the soldiers who were registered as having left the army 'in the year 32' (τῶν συναναφερομένων λιποστρατῆσαι ἐν τῶι β' καὶ λ' ἔτει περι[ε]λεῖν, B 3-4), which, since we must find

¹⁸⁸ Bencivenni 2015: 4-5.

¹⁸⁹ Herrmann-Malay, *Lydia* 52-3.

ourselves in a post-Apameian context, can only be a regnal year of Eumenes II, thus making it 166/5 BC. This dating is supported by the evidence of the Galatian invasion of Asia Minor, a few years before, between 168 and 166 BC, which affected especially Lykaonia, Pisidia and Phrygia; but our inscription may indicate that it also reached as far west as Lydia and Lake Marmara¹⁹⁰. If this dating is correct, Face B can certainly be placed within the context of the invasion, as the desertion of soldiers in the last year of the war (166 BC) must have been a particularly delicate subject – one would expect them not to fail in their duties so close to the conclusion of hostilities. However, the only dating we have for Face A is the destruction of Kournoubeudos by the enemies “last year” ([ἐπ]εὶ δὲ κατεφθ[ι]μένοι πέρυσι ὑπὸ τῷ πολεμίῳ πολλῆς προμη[θεί]ας ἄξιοί εἰσιν, A 14-16). If still within the war with the Galatians, this would place the text in a window between 167 and 165 BC. The interest of the king in strengthening the settlement by maximizing its revenue through the transfer of another contingent of settlers could potentially be explained if Face A preceded Face B, happening at the beginning of the war, when Eumenes would have wanted to reinforce his position around the valley of the Hermos against a possible Galatian attack. This would place Face A *ca.* 167/6 BC while Face B would be dated to *ca.* 165/4 BC.

One of the most important aspects of both texts is the extent of new topographical information that they convey to us. We are introduced to a number of settlements that not only appear to have been aware of each other, but which also interacted amongst themselves. In total, seven settlements are mentioned in the two texts: Apolloniou Charax (A 5-6), Kournoubeudos (A 2), Kastollos (A 3-4), Kadoi (A 18), Sibloë (B 11-2), Thileudos (B 22) and Plazeira (B 22). Topographically and archaeologically, this inscription poses a great challenge. Were we able to pinpoint all these locations on a map, we would have an extremely detailed picture of the relationship between a settlement, its neighbours and its surrounding territory.

2.1.1. Kournoubeudos and Kastollos

Κournouβευδος· τὸν δ' ἐν τούτῳ τῷ τόπῳ κατοικοῦντας
Μυσοῦν [ἐτάξαμε]ν εἰς Καστωλ|λὸν μετάγειν...

*Kournoubeudos: we had ordered to move the Mysians settled in
this place to Kastollos... (A 2-3).*

¹⁹⁰ RC 54; I. Pergamon 165; Chaniotis 2005: 69; Hansen 1971: 120-4; Magie 1950: 22-4. OGIS 305 (dated to 166 BC) mentions a danger (κίνδυνον, l. 11) that Pergamon had just escaped, but it is not clear whether it was a Galatian attack; M. Holleaux is reluctant to link the two events (1938b: 162 n5). We should, however, be very cautious before linking this “danger” and the Apolloniou Charax text to a torching of the suburbs of Sardis as Thonemann does (2011a: 172-3).

The first line of Face A and the beginning of the second seem to be concluding a lost section and continuing with what looks to be a new entry under the name Κουρνουβευδος, perhaps the next community to be dealt with in a list. A parallel with an itemised list of categories which the text deals with can be found in Antigonos' first letter regarding the συνουκισμός of Teos and Lebedos – although there the itemisation is done by issues to be decided on, not by place¹⁹¹. For this hypothesis to make sense, we must assume that there was at least one other item in the list, some other community possibly of military settlers too, in line with the “demonstrations in the war”; the ordinances regarding this hypothetical settlement are now completely lost beyond this first line of Face A¹⁹².

The name of this settlement, whose location is unknown to us, is etymologically very interesting. The second element of the name, -βευδος, is well attested in Phrygia. Livy and Ptolemy mention the existence of a Παλαιὸν Βεῦδος near Synnada (modern Şuhut, in the Afyonkarahisar province)¹⁹³, and another ethnic with the same root, Βευδουσοικενός, exists in the same region, around modern Afyonkarahisar¹⁹⁴. Moreover, it is also attested as a theonym: an inscription from Seyitgazi (Eskişehir, to the north of Afyon) presents us with an otherwise unattested divinity, Μήτηρ Τιειοβευδηνή¹⁹⁵. The -βευδ- element is found again in Lydia, in the modern village of Encekler, south of Saittai [FIG. 15 no. 3], this time turned into a divine epithet, in a dedication to an unknown god, possibly Zeus, Βευδινός¹⁹⁶. In the same village, it also appears, slightly differently, as an anthroponym: Βευδινος¹⁹⁷. Christian Naour, the editor of these two inscriptions, suggested that they could be related to an unnamed settlement near Encekler, documented through other texts¹⁹⁸; his point was proven when seven years later H. Malay published a Hellenistic dedication from a settlement of ‘Mysians in Emoddi’, possibly found in Topuzdamları, south-west from Encekler, thereby

¹⁹¹ RC 3 (= SEG 45.1629).

¹⁹² While Herrmann and Malay (2007) and Thonemann (2011a) have wanted to pair this entry up with [ἰδεῖξαι ἐν [τῷ πο]λλέμῳ (A 1-2, in Thonemann's translation: *Kournoubeudos ... [made] demonstrations [sc. of their loyalty] in the war*) they acknowledge that the construction is odd at best; a toponym in the nominative (instead of the more common οἱ ἐν/ἐκ/ἀπό plus genitive or dative) and at the end of the sentence is unheard of. I propose that it be understood as a heading for the petition that is to come from line 4 until the end of Face A. The phrasing is still strange but it is a much better fit.

¹⁹³ Livy 38.15.14; Ptol. 5.5.5: *Beudos, quod vetus appellat*. Zgusta, *Ortsnamen* §149-1.

¹⁹⁴ MAMA VI 399 l. 3. Βευδου Οἶκος (Zgusta, *Ortsnamen* §149-2).

¹⁹⁵ Drew-Bear II no. 11, SEG 28.1188.

¹⁹⁶ Naour 1983: 128 no. 15, SEG 33, 1014.

¹⁹⁷ Naour 1983: 130 no. 16.

¹⁹⁸ TAM V,1 166.

identifying the location of this settlement¹⁹⁹. This inscription, dated to 162/1 BC, is contemporary with that of Apolloniou Charax and is dedicated to Zeus Beudenos²⁰⁰. It is clearly a word of Anatolian origin, then, which served as a component in a place name, a divine name and a personal name²⁰¹. Topuzdamları is certainly apt for a military settlement: located right by the river İlke, its two nearby hills control the surrounding region. It therefore seems possible that Kournoubeudos was in the vicinity of Encekler and Topuzdamları, near Emoddi, where the influence of Zeus Beudenos and its etymological derivatives were especially strong. The presence of further Mysian settlements in the area only strengthens this idea.

Kastollos, the place intended initially for the relocation of the Mysians (A 3–4), is a relatively well documented site. In the fourth century, when the region was under Achaemenid control, we are told of Καστωλοῦ πεδίου, “the plain of Kastolos” (Xen. *Anab.* 1.1.2, 1.9.7), where the Persian forces were rallied; on another occasion it is called just Καστωλός (Xen. *Hell.* 1.4.3). The appearance of Persian cults such as those of Men and Meter in the region surrounding Kastollos and modern Kula demonstrates that Persian colonisation had been active there as a more constant presence than just a mustering place for armies²⁰².

P. Herrmann identified the modern plain of Burçak Ovası between Philadelphia (modern Alaşehir) and Saittai with this Καστωλοῦ πεδίου [FIG. 18], but the settlement of Kastollos, with a variant spelling with duplication of lambda, has been located with greater accuracy in modern Bebekli, south of Kula, after the publication of an inscription of imperial date mentioning Ἐν Καστωλλῷ κόμῃ (TAM V,1 222) [FIG. 19]. Geographically, Bebekli was a logical choice for a military establishment [FIG. 20]. It was close to the Persian Royal Road, which according to Herodotus (5.52-53) passed through the nearby Maeander valley, connecting Sardis to eastern Asia Minor and the

¹⁹⁹ Malay 1990: 65-68; Epigraphic Appendix 13, *I.Mus. Manisa* no. 53. For the chronology, see SEG 28.902.

²⁰⁰ Another γεωδότης is honoured by a Mysian community in this inscription, and both Herrmann and Malay and Thonemann have speculated that it could be Lykinos, although the name is too worn to be properly read. Assuming that Eumenes II's first regnal year was 197/6, this inscription, from his 36th regnal year, would be chronologically close to the Apolloniou Charax texts.

²⁰¹ This has happened with several other epithets such as Bennios in Phrygia or Gordios in Cappadocia. Cf. Naour 1983: 130.

²⁰² The area of Kula and Kastoloupedion saw a great concentration of Persian cults related to Anaitis, or Persian Artemis, and Men, sometimes combined: for Anaitis, TAM V,1 236, 237, SEG 29.1174; for the combination of the two, SEG 35.1164 and 1269. All of these belong to the imperial period but they prove the past existence of Persian cults in military areas that survive into the third century AD. See Paz de Hoz (1999: 2-9 and maps at pp. 402-10) for further references on Persian and Anatolian divinities in this area.

rest of the empire, and thus made communication easy, not just with Sardis or Smyrna, but also with the eastern part of the Achaemenid empire²⁰³. In addition to this, the district of Kula, where Bebekli is located, is famous for its Yanıköre rock formations, the modern Turkish equivalent of the Greek Κατακεκαυμένη, “burnt land”. These rock formations, of volcanic origin, stand over Burçak Ovası providing not only excellent locations for military outposts to survey the whole plain but also ensuring fertile land derived from the volcanic soil. They might be the key to the κώμη Ἀκροκαστωλλοῖ[o] mentioned in a late imperial inscription from Kula²⁰⁴:

- ἔτους · υἷ' ; μη(νός) Δύστρου ις'·
 ξεῖνε, θέλεις παριῶν γνῶναι τὸ “τίς ἐνθάδε κεῖται;”;
 κούρη κεῖται πολλοῖς καμάτοις βίον ἐξάνυσας[α],
 τοῦνομα Ἀλεξάνδρα, Ἀλεξάνδροιο θύγατρα,
 5 “εὐγενέων τοκέων” ἔκλυεν “θύγατερ γεγонуῖα,
 σεμνὸν ἔχουσα τρόπον, καλὰς φρένας, εἶδος ἀρίσ[τη]
 καὶ γένος.” ἥ γε (?) Κάδοιο κλυτῆς μέγαλοιο πόλεως
 εἰμένη ἐγ δῆμου παρὰ ἱερὰ ρεῖθρα τὰ Ἑρμου,
 εὐγενέτις πατρίδος κώμης Ἀκροκαστωλλοῖ[o]
 10 ἐνθάδε Δαμιανῶ τοῦμῶ πατρὶ γαμηθεῖσα
 οὐκ ἐποίησε τέκνα, βίον δ' ἐπ[ί]τειμον ἀπῆξεν·
 [...] ICEN δὲ χρόνους πάντας ζωῆς ἀπὸ γέννης
 [...] P εὖρον ἐγὼ κεχαραγμένον ὥς ἐκυήθ[ην]
 [...] T A ἐψήφισα χ' εὖρον ἀκρειβῶς
 15 [...] AI δις δύο μῆνας
 [— — — — —] {traces of letters}

The text, a funerary inscription for a woman named Alexandra, was erected by her adoptive son, whose name is lost to us, and describes her lineage: Alexandra came from “the famous city of the great Kados” (Κάδοιο κλυτῆς μέγαλοιο πόλεως, l. 7), related to Kadoi, another of the locations mentioned in the Apolloniou Charax documents which I will discuss below. The dedicant’s father and Alexandra’s husband, a certain Damianos, came from the village of Akrokastollos which she made her home (l. 9). The prefixation of the term ἄκρος to a city name in order to designate a higher, fortified place, was well-known in Antiquity: perhaps the best-known case is that of Corinth and its Acrocorinth (Paus. 2.5.1), but similar cases are also found in Asia Minor, such as Afyonkarahisar’s ancient name of Akroinos or Acroënus²⁰⁵. Although the text is from a very late period, dated by Petzl and Tanriver to AD 324 (year 408 of the Sullan era), it is a very clear

²⁰³ French (1998). See his Appendix 2 (p. 28ff) for the route in modern topography and maps.

²⁰⁴ TAM V,3 1914; Petzl and Tanriver 2003: 24 (with photograph).

²⁰⁵ For the name Akroinos: Cheynet and Drew-Bear 2004. Although the inscription is Byzantine, it bears witness to the ancient name of Afyonkarahisar. See also Thonemann 2013b: 6.

remnant of the militarization of the area, which can still be traced in the name in such a late date.

The king's interest in moving the Mysians from Kournoubeudos to Kastollos must have been motivated by two main reasons: the abundance of fertile land in the plain (as expressed in A 4-5) and the need to keep that area militarised and under control. The appearance in Attika of a funerary inscription dated between the fourth and the first centuries BC of an Ἀπολλώνιος | Ἀσκληπιάδου | Μυσὸς ἀπὸ | Καστωλοῦ²⁰⁶ may indicate either that there was already a community of Mysians in the area or that, despite the aborted attempt described in the Apolloniou Charax texts, there was one at a later stage. The choice of Kastollos can also be linked to the consolidation of Attalid power in the region following Eumenes II's territorial expansion after Apameia – the kingdom of Pergamon needed to organise and control its new territories effectively and contingents of soldiers were settled to this end.

2.1.2. Kadoi/Kadooi

συγχωρῶ πρὸς οἷς ἐπεχωρήσα|μεμ πένθ' ἔτεσιν ἀτελείαν αὐτοῖς
καὶ ἄλλων | πέντε, καθὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐγ Καδόοις Μυσοῖς
συν[ε]|χωρήσαμεγ...

*I grant to them another five years of tax exemption in addition
to the five which were granted previously, just as we granted to
the Mysians at Kadoi... (A 16-19).*

Another of the locations involved, Kadoi/Kadooi²⁰⁷ (mentioned both in Alexandra's funerary inscription and in our Apolloniou Charax texts), is a more complex matter. Herrmann and Malay suggested that Kadoi, to which the king refers in A 18, be identified with modern Gediz, which is located 120 km east of Taşkuyucak and ca. 80 km north east of Bebekli along the Upper Hermos Valley as the crow flies [FIG. 21]. Gediz, like Kastollos, lies in a plain between three hilly plateaus: Şaphane Dağı, Elma Dağı and the western end of Murat Dağı. From the modern site of Gediz there is a panoramic view of the plain, and less than 5 km westwards from the village, between Gediz and Şaphale, there is a mountain of considerable altitude which provides a perfect view of the territory for kilometres around [FIG. 22]. Already in 1898, Karl Buresch highlighted the geographical and strategic importance of Kadoi: located on a steeply sloped mountain terrace, which is difficult or impossible to access from the sides, and

²⁰⁶ IG II² 9977. Unfortunately, the inscription is not dated beyond belonging to some point between 403/2 BC and the Augustan era and no information on the letter forms is available, so the precise dating is near impossible and must be taken with caution.

²⁰⁷ ἐν Καδοοῖς (A 18); for the name see Petzl and Tanriver 2003: 26-7.

overlooked by an easily fortified rocky outcrop, it was an important pass towards Northern Phrygia²⁰⁸. While there is no evidence that there was any military occupation of Gediz/Kadoi before the Hellenistic period, its strategic location lends itself to a double role of frontier control between Phrygia and Lydia as well as manpower reserve from which men could be recruited and moved elsewhere when the need arose.

While Gediz is the generally accepted location for Kadoi, there are issues that put into question whether Gediz's Kadoi is the Kadoi mentioned in the Apolloniou Charax text, not least due to its distance from Taşkuyucak; a link between the two is not immediately obvious. There is, in fact, another location that lends itself much better to the identification for this Kadoi. An imperial funerary inscription found in Akselendi, 14 km NW from Taşkuyucak, right in the middle of the plain that leads to Lake Marmara, speaks of a place called Καδουκώμη, "the village of Kados" [FIG. 23]²⁰⁹. The editors of the text, Herrmann and Malay, point out that the toponym is new and suggest the possibility of linking its identity with that of Κιδοῦκ[ώμη], which appears in another early imperial inscription with the same findspot, possibly locating it in Tiyenli, 6 km SW of Akselendi²¹⁰.

More evidence related to the name Kados allows us to link this hypothetical Kadoi to the area of Lake Marmara. A derivation from the personal name Kadoas appears in the already mentioned funerary inscription for Alexandra as her birthplace: Κάδοιο κλυτῆς μεγάλιο πόλεως²¹¹. Petzl and Tanriver propose that the name Kados refers to an eponymous founding hero, as well as serving as the basis for Kadoi's name²¹². Let us take a closer look at the name.

A new Sardian inscription has thrown new light on the very early history of Sardis. Dated to the second or third centuries AD, the inscription is extremely fragmentary and only a few lines have survived²¹³.

²⁰⁸ Buresch 1898: 157.

²⁰⁹ Herrmann-Malay, *Lydia* 29 no. 16, l. 10 (*SEG* 57.1165).

²¹⁰ *SEG* 49.1572.

²¹¹ *TAM* V,3 1914, l. 7; see above.

²¹² Petzl and Tanriver 2003: 26-7. They take the heroic male head on the city's coinage to represent this heroic ancestor (photograph in Imhoof-Blumer, *Revue Suisse de Numismatique* 23 (1923) 321 no. 370, Taf. XII 8)

²¹³ *I. Sardis* II 577. Edition and translation by G. Petzl.

- - - -
]ΟΣΗ[
]Α Ἡρακλε[-
 ν]εικᾶ Κόρο[ιβος
]ΟΝ ἀφ' οὗ ΑΙΙ[
 5]αδες – Δ[
]ΗΣ Σαδυάτ[(τ)-
] παῖδες Ι[
]γες ἡρξ[-
]ΕΚΑΔΟΥ[
 10]ΜΟΥΑΔΙ[
]ΝΟΑΡΔ[
]ΨΕΟΣ[
 - - - -

[- - -] *Herakle*[- - -] *Koro[ibos]* is victorious [- - -] *Sadyat*[(t)*es* - - -] *children* [- - -] *ruled* [- - -] *the (aforementioned) Ard[ys] (?)* - - -].

P. Thonemann attempted to link this inscription with a possible genealogy of the Mermnad dynasty at Sardis²¹⁴. The names of Sadyattes and Ard[ys?] resonate with the history of the dynasty that we know from Nikolaos of Damaskos, who probably took it from Xanthos' *Lydiaka*. According to Nikolaos, the Lydian king (S)adyattes had twin sons, Ardys and Kadys (ὅτι Ἀδυσάττεω τοῦ Λυδῶν βασιλέως παῖδες δίδυμοι, Καδὺς καὶ Ἄρδυσ, *FGrH* IIa 90 F44a); the latter died after his wife plotted to kill him (μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ καὶ ὁ Καδὺς ἀπέθανεν, F44c). The letters ΚΑΔΟΥ in line 9, in conjunction with the names of Sadyattes and Ardys certainly seem to imply that we are dealing with a document concerning the Mermnad dynasty and that Kadoas was a name deeply ingrained in Lydian history. D. Schürr suggested that it derived from the Lydian *kδou*, which in turn derived from the Lykian *χñtawā-* or *χñtewe-*, meaning “to rule”; such a root would befit a royal name if Kadys did indeed exist²¹⁵.

The name is already attested in at least three Lydian-alphabet inscriptions from the first half of the fourth century BC in the form *Katovaś or *Katowa, and must have been a common name in Sardis at this time; it appears again, twice, in its Hellenised version Καδοας, at the very end of the fourth century among the slaves included in the long inscription documenting the estate of Mnesimachos near Sardis²¹⁶. Both men

²¹⁴ Thonemann presented his argument orally in the Oxford Epigraphy Workshop on October 14th 2019 under the title “A new Lydian history from Sardis”.

²¹⁵ Schürr 2010: 195.

²¹⁶ *I. Sardis* VI.2 8 l. 5, 10 l. 1-2, 11 l. 7; *I. Sardis* VII.1 1 l. 17-18. For other attestations of the name, see Gusmani 1964: 146-7 and Friedrich 1932: IX 8.5, 10.1, 10.9, 11.7. On the estate see Descat 1985; Billows 1995: 112-145; Aperghis 2004: 137ff.

named Kadoas demonstrate a clearly indigenous genealogy, being descended from an Adrastos and an Armanandos respectively²¹⁷. In Yeniköy, north of Lake Marmara and 7 km south of Taşkuyucak, two inscriptions were unearthed that record the existence of a sanctuary of Apollo Pleurenos around the area of the lake, in a still unlocated place called Πλευρά²¹⁸ [FIG. 24]. The priest at this sanctuary is a certain Kadoas, a name that is repeated in all the inscriptions found on this site, which makes the editors assume that the priesthood of this Apollo Pleurenos was hereditary²¹⁹. The name in its form Kadoas is not attested anywhere outside Sardis' territory, although variations of it have appeared elsewhere in Asia Minor, most notably Phrygia and Pisidia, and it has also been considered a Paphlagonian name²²⁰. All the evidence shows that it was an Anatolian indigenous name, whose most common form in Lydia was Kadoas, as appearing in the Pleura inscriptions, and that this form was almost exclusively to be found around Sardis. While there is no extant evidence that, in addition to a personal name, it was used as a theonym, Petzl and Tanriver's suggestion that Kados could have been an eponymous hero might not be off the mark, as it was a name important enough to be used for a settlement. In any case, there is no doubt that Kadoas and Kadoi are indigenous Anatolian names, strongly linked to Sardis in the case of the former.

The evidence from Sardis, the Kadoi from Apolloniou Charax and the new inscription from Akselendi all point towards a solid identification of the Kadoi to which Face A refers with the Καδουκώμη near Apolloniou Charax rather than with the Kadoi from Gediz. This would make the mention of the Mysians living there much more reasonable, for the settlers from Apolloniou Charax would have been sure to know the situation of another settlement so close to them. This in turn reinforces the idea of the settlements having a heavy agricultural role, for Akselendi and Tiyenli, the two proposed locations for Καδουκώμη, are in the middle of the plain of Akhisar and very close to the Çal Dağı, which could have served as a vantage point for military purposes.

²¹⁷ For Armanandos, Zgusta, *Personennamen* §97-2, otherwise unattested. For Adrastos and its Lydian origin, despite its Greek appearance, see van Bremen 2010.

²¹⁸ Malay and Nalbantoğlu 1996. Cf. Herrmann 2004 for a compilation and commentary on the texts from the sanctuary published by M. and N. and by Louis Robert (1987: 323-29).

²¹⁹ Malay and Nalbantoğlu 1996: 77 L2.

²²⁰ Dubois 2010: 409, 415. Kadas (Zgusta, *Personennamen* §500-1); Kadaos (Zgusta, *Personennamen* §500-2), Kadis (Zgusta, *Personennamen* §500-4; *SEG* 6.691), Kados (Zgusta, *Personennamen* §500-6; *CIG* 3956d), Kadauas/Kadaouas (Zgusta, *Personennamen* §500-8; *JHS* 8 1887 245 n23 A).

2.1.3. Apolloniou Charax²²¹

Apolloniou Charax, the main focus of the inscription on face A, has been located by the original editors at Taşkuyucak, where the inscription was found, and subsequent interpretations of the text have accepted this location. Nevertheless, we are missing the beginning of the stele with all the information that it involves, meaning that this is not something that should be accepted without further analysis. It seems plausible that in face A Eumenes II is writing to an official on the ground, but the identity of the people behind the “we” petitioning the king or his official in Face B is not as straightforward²²². One of the biggest questions that the inscription poses is that of the προάστιον from B 12, which is entirely out of place, as the existence of a προάστιον necessarily implies that of an ἄστυ, which Apolloniou Charax as a fortified military settlement should not have. We will come back to whose προάστιον this is in due time.

Is Taşkuyucak Apolloniou Charax? Taşkuyucak makes for an ideal location for a military settlement, as it lies within the floodplain of the river Hyllos in an advantageous position, 440 m above sea level, providing a stunning panoramic view of the lower Hyllos valley as the river flows into Lake Marmara with plenty of arable land to cultivate [FIG. 25-26]. It is bordered by hills to the north, which can serve both as a natural defence and as an even higher outpost to watch the plain below, and west, south and east there are extensive terrains in which modern Turkish farmers cultivate tobacco [FIG. 27-29]. While we do not have any archaeological confirmation of it, Taşkuyucak does possess the necessary characteristics of a military settlement and could well have been Apolloniou Charax – that is the most sensible conclusion, which must nevertheless be drawn with caution until the remaining parts of the inscription are found.

There are several clues in both texts that allow us to identify Apolloniou Charax as a military settlement. There is a marked interest on the part of the king in settling military matters in a way that will benefit both him and the settlers: he reduces the recruitment to one in three men (ἀπὸ τριῶν, A 19) and explains his decision by saying that that he

²²¹ I have chosen to render the name as Apolloniou Charax, like the first editors, rather than Apollonioucharax as other scholars have done (cf. Thonemann 2011a). See Bencivenni 2015, who also chooses Apolloniou Charax. This type of toponym is also found elsewhere, cf. Πασίνου Χάραξ in Charakene, at the head of the Persian Gulf (*I. Estremo Oriente* 149-153, Schuler 1998: 126), Πόρρου Χάραξ in Lakonia (Polyb. 5.19.4), Πατρόκλου Χάραξ in Attica (Paus. 1.1.1). These names are similar to other toponyms formed with fortification vocabulary such as Gordiou Teichos (near Aphrodisias; *BCH* 1972 435-6, Livy 38.13.8) or Neoteichos (near Laodikeia on the Lykos; *SEG* 47.1739; this one being formed from an adjective rather than a name).

²²² Bencivenni (2015) already pointed out the strangeness of the voice in Face B and attempted to explain it as a copy from the original petition interlaced with comments from the king.

knows that in time of need, they will give him “more soldiers” (πλείονας στρατιώτας, A 22). Face B upholds the notion, proven by epigraphic finds, of a high density of military settlements in the area surrounding Lake Marmara: it opens with a mention of the royal policy towards those who had deserted the army (λιποστρατῆσαι, B 3), and the emphasis on the land in terms of housebuilding (A 25-6, B 9-11) and of the annexation of new territories (B 20-24) point towards military settlers.

In addition to this, the Mysians of Kournoubeudos are described as κατοικοῦντες (A 3, 8?), which would imply that they too were military settlers merging into another community, possibly making the assimilation easier for both groups, as the word συνήθης in A 9 implies. Mysians were a common fixture of Attalid armies and many of them appear to have been settled around the Lake Marmara area: in addition to Kournoubeudos, presence of Mysians has been attested in Emoddi (Epigraphic Appendix 13) and Yigitler (south east of Demirci, some 60 km east of Taşkuyucak, FIG. 88 no. 8)²²³. It might be thought that, because of their proximity and their interest in taking in the Mysians from Kournoubeudos, the settlers from Apolloniou Charax could have been Mysians themselves; the evidence that we possess for Mysians in the Attalid army shows that even at the time of Attalos I they were heavily Hellenised, so the very easily translatable Greek name of Apolloniou Charax, “the Fort of Apollonios”, does not invalidate this possibility²²⁴. Interestingly, it is one of only two settlements with such a clearly Greek name to be found so far in the area of Lake Marmara.

In direct proximity to Taşkuyucak, there are another nine military settlements that we can confidently date to in the Hellenistic period²²⁵. Eight have non-Greek names: Thyateira (Epigraphic Appendix 5A and B); Mernouphyta (Epigraphic Appendix 12); Partheura (Malay, *Lydia Mysia Aiolis* no. 71); Doidye (Epigraphic Appendix 7); and Lasnedda and Emoddi (Epigraphic Appendix 11 and 13), as well as the probably pre-Hellenistic settlements of Hyrkanis and Agatheira [FIG. 88]²²⁶.

The ninth settlement, the only other to possess a Greek name, was Charax, “the Fort”, later known as Charakipolis, the “city of the fortress”, which is mentioned immediately

²²³ SEG 41.1037, TAM V,1 444; BE (1984) 385. To the south of Lake Marmara, in the Kaystros valley and Kilbian plain, were heavily militarised and a settlement of Mysomacedonians has been attested there. See Chapter 3 Section 3.4.2.

²²⁴ See Chapter 3 Section 3.4.2.

²²⁵ But more κατοικίαι have been documented in later times; see below Sections 2.2.2 and 2.2.3.

²²⁶ For more on these settlements, see below Section 2.2.2. If my reasoning is right, Kadoi/Kadoukome would also have been a military settlement in close proximity.

after Apolloniou Charax in the Flavian *conventus* list with its inhabitants known as Χαρακηνοί²²⁷. It has been located at the modern village of Karayakup, 8 km NE of Taşkuyucak [FIG. 30]²²⁸. The first extant evidence for the name of Charakipolis comes from an inscription dated to AD 166/7: ἔτους ρϞζ' μηνὸς Γορπιαίου [., καθὼς] | Χαρακιπολῖται [ἄγουσιν(?) —']²²⁹. Another inscription, tentatively dated to the second century AD, also bears this name, if Malay's reconstruction is correct: [— ὥς (δὲ) ἄγουσι Χαρακι]πολῖται²³⁰. While the settlement existed alongside Apolloniou Charax at least by AD 70/80 (the date of the Flavian *conventus* list), it seems clear it did not receive an upgrade to *polis*-status until the second century and thus, if it was already in existence during Eumenes II's reign, it would have been no more than a military settlement – its very name arguing for its military nature.

Clive Foss described the site of Charax/Charakipolis as a “small and undistinguished place founded on a hill over the river, with access to land which [...] is fertile and could support a modest population”, although it must have had some military importance as it lies close to Kale Tepe, a hilltop on which a Byzantine fortification wall was later built [FIG. 31]²³¹. It can be assumed that this settlement and Apolloniou Charax were close not only in terms of geography but also of ethnicity. They share Greek names, with a clear military association that could point to a relationship of some kind between the two settlements, and later imperial inscriptions show that Apollonios was a common name among the Charakipolitans, perhaps a remnant of the prosopography of the first settlers²³². A second century BC inscription found on the site of Charax presents us with a list of names belonging to thirty-four individuals, all of them with a patronymic but without an ethnic²³³. Judging by style, date and location, there is little doubt that these men were soldiers stationed in or around the settlement. This document proves beyond a doubt that there was, at least, a Greek presence at Charax at the same time as in Apolloniou Charax. It is possible that the men in the Charax inscription were making a dedication to Zeus Stratios: a second-century AD inscription found in Karayakup

²²⁷ *I. Ephesos* 13 I.12-13, Habicht 1975: 65, 74.

²²⁸ See Herrman *TAM V*,1 p. 220. Names that suggested a military origin were not uncommon in Asia Minor: Peltaí, a Phrygian city that in the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD claimed Macedonian ancestry and was likely the product of a Hellenistic settlement, bore a clearly military name which referenced the πέλτη, the shield that the peltasts carried in battle. See also FIG. 88 nos. 6-7.

²²⁹ *TAM V*,1 683.

²³⁰ *I. Mus. Manisa* no. 548.

²³¹ Foss 1987: 92-3.

²³² *TAM V*,1 680 l. 5, 12; 682 l. 9; 684 l. 2.

²³³ Epigraphic Appendix 21.

records one such dedication with another, albeit shorter, list of names²³⁴. Although this may not be enough to prove the existence of a sanctuary to Zeus Stratios rather than an individual dedication, the reappearance of the god in Face B of the Apolloniou Charax texts and the assignation of a κώμη, Sibloë, as ἱερὰ καὶ ἀτελής, whose revenues will be used for sacrifices for Zeus Stratios (B 4-5, 15-17), prove without a doubt the existence of a sanctuary of Zeus Stratios, which will be decisive for our understanding of the historical and geographical context of the inscription²³⁵.

There is surprisingly little scholarship on Zeus Stratios, perhaps because his nature has been taken for granted a little too easily²³⁶. There is no evidence before the Roman imperial period of a cult of Zeus Stratios outside Asia Minor, and certainly none in Macedonia, so it seems unlikely that it was introduced by Alexander²³⁷. The cult is first mentioned by Herodotus and ascribed exclusively to the Karians (5.119, μόνον δὲ τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν Κᾶρες εἰς τὸ Διὶ Στρατίῳ θυσίας ἀνάγουσι), and Strabo further points in the direction of Mylasa, where the Mylasans worshipped several incarnations of Zeus: Osogo or Osogollis, Labraundos and Stratios (14.2.23). This is confirmed by epigraphic evidence from Mylasa, in three inscriptions dated to the end of the second century BC which suggest not only that there was an institutionalised cult of Zeus Stratios in this city but also that its nature may not have necessarily been either Greek or military *per se*.

The first of these Mylasan inscriptions is a dedication by a certain Theomnestos son of Leon, priest of Zeus Stratios and Hera, in honour of his father Leon son of Theomnestos²³⁸; the second is a decree of the Mylasan tribe of the Hyarbesytai in which Theomnestos son of Leon appears again²³⁹; and the third one is a decree of the Mylasan tribe of the Otokondeis, where Theomnestos' lineage is expanded²⁴⁰. The texts are contemporary, as Theomnestos son of Leon is present in all three with his title as priest of Zeus Stratios. The fact that there was a priesthood, Theomnestos in Mylasa and Bakchios in our inscription, shows some degree of institutionalisation of the cult. In imperial times, the στρατηγοί of Stratonikeia made a dedication to Zeus Stratios and

²³⁴ TAM V,1 681.

²³⁵ On ἱερὰ κώμαι, see Robert, *Carie* 294-5 and Chapter 3 Section 3.1.

²³⁶ For more on the religious life of soldiers in the Hellenistic period, see Launey 1987: 890-945.

²³⁷ Two imperial inscriptions to the emperor and Zeus Stratios have been found in Attica (*IG* II2 4739, *IG* XII,4 2.648). The cult of Zeus Stratios is also attested in Bithynia under the Mithridatic dynasty (App. *Mithr.* 66.276 and 70.295) and during the imperial period (in Amaseia: *Studia Pontica* III 140, 141).

²³⁸ *I. Mylasa* 405.

²³⁹ *I. Mylasa* 301 ll. 4-6.

²⁴⁰ *I. Mylasa* 204 ll. 13-16. See Varinlioğlu (1986: 77) for a genealogical tree of Theomnestos.

Nemesis²⁴¹. Zeus is not the only god to carry this epithet, but it still is a rather uncommon one; only Aphrodite and Hekate share in it, also in Asia Minor: Hekate Strateia in Kos (*IG* XII,4 624-632) and Aphrodite Strateia also in Mylasa (*I. Mylasa* 203 and 204) and Erythrai (*I. Erythrai Klazomenai* 207), in this case also accompanied by Herakles. This has led scholars to think that this Aphrodite was an Astartean version of the goddess, in the Hellenisation of divinities' names that happened in Anatolia after Alexander's conquest²⁴². If this is true and Stratios is a Hellenisation of oriental divinities such as Astarte, it would provide us with a first link to the army.

Zeus Stratios is attested on two further occasions in Karia and Lydia: in our Apolloniou Charax inscription, dated to 165/4 BC, and in Charakipolis, in a second-century AD dedication in which Greek and non-Greek names are mixed²⁴³. Michael Wörle suggested that the introduction of Zeus Stratios in Apolloniou Charax was made by military settlers, further venturing the idea of a relationship between the army and this particular epithet²⁴⁴. This may well be correct, as Mylasa and Stratonikeia were from early on in contact with the army, the former as the headquarters of Asandros and the latter as a foundation of, probably, Antiochos I²⁴⁵; Apolloniou Charax and Charakipolis were military settlements themselves. Without any further attestations or more details about the cult, it is extremely complicated to state anything about its origin with any degree of certainty, but the most plausible explanation is that it was a cult that originated in Asia Minor from the mixture of Greek (perhaps Macedonian) and

²⁴¹ *I. Stratonikeia* 1318.

²⁴² Parker 2017: 66. For the identification of Aphrodite Strateia with Astarte, Budin 2010: 103-4. It has also been suggested that *Stratios* is just a Greek translation of the epithet *Labraundos* (Sokolowski 1955: 155; Budin 2010: 103); Laumonier, however, considers them two separate attestations of the god (1958: 41ff).

²⁴³ Epigraphic Appendix 1 Face B and *TAM* V,1 681. The most conspicuous non-Greek names are Tatas and Ammias, widely attested all over Asia Minor, especially in Lydia, Karia and Phrygia (Zgusta, *Personennamen* §1517-17 and §57-16 and 23 respectively). A 2nd century BC inscription from Charakipolis (*TAM* V,1 677) presents us with a list of sixty-nine names of, presumably, soldiers, fifteen of which can be identified as Macedonian (Γλαύκιος (sic, l. 1), Φίλιππος (l.1), Νουμήνιος (l. 2), Ἀνδρόνικος (l. 3), Γλαυκίας (l. 3), Νικόμαχος (l. 8), Ἀνδρόμαχος (l. 8, in the genitive Ἀνδρομάχου), Ἀττίνας (ll. 14 and 15), Ἰόλλας (l. 14, in the genitive Ἰόλλου), Ἀλέξανδρος (l. 15), Ἀρχέλαος (l. 17, in the genitive Ἀρχελαίου), and Μένανδρος (ll. 5, 12 and twice in 13). Peter Herrmann suggested it may be a religious dedication, although the introduction to the text is lost. The repetition of many names that also appear in the Mysian contingents from the lists from Lilaia led Herrmann (*TAM* V,1 p. 220) to propose that they could have been either Pergamene soldiers or Mysian mercenaries. Considering this coincidence, the occurrence of a Τήλεφος in line 1, a heroic name very close to both Mysia and Pergamon, and the proximity to other Mysian settlements may very well point to these men being Mysians indeed, hence the lack of any city ethnics. For more on the relationship between Mysia and Macedonia, see Chapter 3 Section 3.4.2.

²⁴⁴ Wörle 2009: 431, based on similarities with the Hellenising influence in the cult of Zeus in Aizanoi.

²⁴⁵ See Chapter 1 Section 1.3.1 and van Bremen 2020: 10-11.

indigenous divinities, and its epithet, Stratios, intimately links it to the army, who would have been its main diffusor in Karia and Lydia.

It is also significant that, as far as we know, the cult was found more often in urban centres than in small-scale settlements: Mylasa and Stratonikeia have produced proof of this. This changes our notion of the location and nature of the sanctuary of Zeus Stratios in our inscription. It does not denote *per se* a Greek or Macedonian community, but rather the integration and assimilation of, presumably, warlike divinities, like Aphrodite-Astarte; and it can also be understood as an urban cult, linked to cities rather than to settlements – making it possible that the sanctuary of Face B, even if located in a military settlement, was dependent on a city, confirmation of which we see in the appearance of a *προάστιον*, to which we will return shortly.

The language employed in the inscription to describe Apolloniou Charax itself is also revealing. The king agrees to furnish stonemasons for τὴν τοῦ χωρίου οἰκοδομίαν (A 24-5)²⁴⁶. Χωρίον is a complex term, meaning both “territory” and “fortress”, very often making it hard to ascertain which understanding is the right one²⁴⁷. There are, however, many inscriptions linked to archaeological remains which suggest that during the Hellenistic period, the preponderant meaning was that of fortress²⁴⁸. In a very recent survey of the Maeander valley, Recep Meriç describes the remains of a fortified place found on the slopes of Mount Sipylos in 2007, which are consistent with the χωρίον Παλαιμαγνησία from Epigraphic Appendix 18 III (l. 94)²⁴⁹. The treaty between Teos and Kyrbissos leaves no doubt as to the fact that we are dealing with a fortress (τὸ χωρίον, l. 7), as there is a phrourarch assigned to it²⁵⁰. A recent inscription from Xystis in Karia (Körteke Kalesi in the province of Aydin, near Hyllarima) also employs the term χωρίον and has a perfectly traceable archaeological record that allows us to see the double-walled structure of the fortification [FIG. 32]²⁵¹. It has also been suggested that χωρίον refers not only to the fortified place but also to the population that surrounds it²⁵². Was this the case at Apolloniou Charax? Other than the stele with the inscription, there

²⁴⁶ The same term is employed in another Attalid inscription from Pergamon related to a military settlement (Epigraphic Appendix 15 C 6, οἰκοδομηθῆναι).

²⁴⁷ Pimouguet-Pédarros (2000: 111-12) makes a brief synthesis of the debate, highlighting the need for context in each particular case.

²⁴⁸ Thonemann (2007: 455) states that χωρίον in the sense of village only appeared in late Roman times.

²⁴⁹ Meriç 2018: 116 and Fig. 61.

²⁵⁰ J. and L. Robert 1976: 196ff.

²⁵¹ Bresson, Descat and Varinlioğlu 2021: 142 l. 11.

²⁵² Pimouguet-Pédarros 2000: 111, Debord 1994: 59.

are no archaeological remains of the actual settlement at Taşkuyucak, but the name “Apolloniou Charax” does indeed suggest a structure with an inner fortified nucleus and an outer territory. This reminds us of Charax/Charakipolis or of the fort (φρούριον) also named Charax near Ephesos, which falls under the category of “fortifications extra-urbaines” as discussed by Isabelle Pimouguet-Pédarros²⁵³. Apolloniou Charax may have been one of these extra-urban fortifications surveying and controlling the territory north and east of Lake Marmara, but also serving as an agricultural and manpower reserve. The question that is raised now is: to which urban centre was it linked?

The key to answering this question and understanding the true nature of the text lies in the term προάστιον. As mentioned before, it is a puzzling word to be used if the inscription indeed refers to Apolloniou Charax, which we have seen was a simple military settlement. In Face B, we are told that the houses in the προάστιον had been burned and torn down (B 9-10) during the war – probably during the Galatian invasions of 168-166 BC during Eumenes II’s reign²⁵⁴. The existence of a προάστιον necessarily implies that of an ἄστυ, but this does not work for a settlement like Apolloniou Charax which, by definition, lacked the structure of a full-fledged polis. Most of the previous scholarship acknowledges the difficulty of ascribing a προάστιον to Apolloniou Charax; the original editors tried to explain it by linking it with the nearby city of Sardis and with a Delphic inscription that tells us about the “great danger” that it had just escaped in 166 BC²⁵⁵. Following the publication of an inscription from a sanctuary of Apollo Pleurenos at Kemerdağları, Louis Robert showed conclusively that in the late Hellenistic period, territories north of Lake Marmara up to modern Çömlekçi [FIG. 33] belonged to Sardis; but with the discovery of a second inscription that added to our knowledge of the sanctuary, Malay and Nalbantoğlu proved that this was the situation only after 129 BC with the Roman annexation of Asia: before that, the sanctuary was under the direct control of the royal administration at Pergamon²⁵⁶. This leaves us with two problems regarding Herrmann and Malay’s identification of the προάστιον: firstly,

²⁵³ Pimouguet-Pédarros 2000: 108. On the fortification of Charax, see Holleaux 1916.

²⁵⁴ Thonemann 2011a: 3-4. See above 2.1 for the discussion of the inscription’s chronology.

²⁵⁵ For the identification as a suburb of Sardis: Herrmann-Malay, *Lydia* 54, 57, Brixhe and Gauthier *BE* 2007, 451 and Riel 2011: 145. Otherwise, Thonemann 2015: 7, who dismisses Herrmann and Malay’s claim and suggests that the προάστιον “refers to that part of a settlement outside the settlement’s wall-circuit”, which in this case I do not find convincing. Bencivenni acknowledges the connection with Sardis but remains unconvinced (2015: 6). For the Delphic inscription, *OGIS* 305 (= *FD* III 241).

²⁵⁶ Robert 1987: 327-9; Malay and Nalbantoğlu 1996: 79-80; Herrmann 2004: 279. There is a continuity between the Seleukid and Attalid administrations, so there is a possibility that before that the temple was administered by the Seleukids from Sardis, but there is no epigraphic evidence to support that idea conclusively.

there is no evidence of the territory of Sardis extending as far north as Taşkuyucak in the first half of the second century BC; and secondly, even if it did, we cannot speak of the territory of Sardis and its προάστιον as if they were one and the same – the προάστιον must have been closer to the actual city centre, which lies 26 km south of Taşkuyucak and across the expanse of Lake Marmara. We must look elsewhere.

Thyateira lies close to Taşkuyucak but faces the same problem as Sardis: the city centre is 28 km away from the village and even if the territory of this city reached Apolloniou Charax at this time, the προάστιον surely cannot have done so. The lack of any further identification of the προάστιον in the text must have surely meant that the settlers had no doubts as to which προάστιον they were referring to – it must have been close enough to matter to them and it would have been unmistakable. One final option that seems at the same time the most likely and the most problematic is Daldis.

Daldis has been utterly passed over in previous scholarship. While its existence and importance, especially in later periods, is acknowledged, nothing has been done to explore its origins. Only three textual sources mention it: Ptolemy in his *Geography* (5.2.21, Δάλδεια), Artemidoros of Daldis (*Oneirocrit.* 3.66, πόλισμα Λυδίας) and the Suda (s.v. Ἀρτεμίδωρος; πόλις δέ ἐστι τῆς Λυδίας ἢ Δάλδης). It was first identified as Nardi Kale, some 7 km northwest of the village of Kemerdamları on the east shore of Lake Marmara, by Karl Buresch; his identification has since been accepted by all [FIG. 30]²⁵⁷. While its location and its continued existence under Roman rule seems to be securely confirmed²⁵⁸, its origin and foundation date is not only unknown to us but has never been sought. The earliest direct mention of Daldis is the Flavian *conventus* list of 79 AD²⁵⁹, but there is material evidence of Lydian habitation on Nardi before the Hellenistic period²⁶⁰. During his visit to the area, Foss described the territory around Daldis as “rough and broken, with numerous small and fertile basins for cultivation and abundant fodder on the slopes for grazing”, but also “plainly more important than its neighbours”²⁶¹.

²⁵⁷ Buresch 1898: 192; Keil and von Premerstein 1908: 64ff; Robert 1976: 188 n31, 189 n32; Habicht 1975: 74 (with Herrmann’s suggestion that Daldis was on a hill a little southeast of Nardi); Pleket 1979: 75; Zgusta, *Ortsnamen* §233; Herrmann *TAM* V,1 pp. 200-2.

²⁵⁸ It minted coins during the Flavian period under the name Flaviopolis or Flavia Caesarea (Habicht 1975: 74).

²⁵⁹ Habicht 1975: I 10-11, Φλαουιοκαισα- vac. | ρεῖς Δαλδιανοὶ.

²⁶⁰ Meriç 2018: 187, Figs. 68-70.

²⁶¹ Foss 1987: 93-4.

The name Daldis has a very unclear etymology. It is plainly not Greek and one would assume a Lydian origin; but there are no parallels in any Lydian inscription to give us any more clues²⁶². With settlement attested during the Lydian period and later under the Romans, it is safe to assume that Daldis existed during the Hellenistic period, albeit discreetly enough to have evaded notice. In the Flavian *conventus* list its citizens appear named as Φλαουιοκαισα|ρεῖς Δαλδιανοί, which might mean that Daldis had been made a polis together with Vespasian's grant of the dynastic name, which in turn could point to Daldis being bigger or worthier of attention than its neighbours who did not receive such an honour – if not a polis before this, perhaps close to being one²⁶³. Coins minted in Daldis during the Roman period feature Zeus Lydios [FIG. 34]: whether this meant that the god was the patron of the city or that it had a sanctuary of Zeus, there is a clear link between Daldis and Zeus, which means it is plausible to believe that this city may have been involved in the sanctuary of Zeus Stratios mentioned in our texts. The fact that in the *conventus* list it appears together with Apolloniou Charax and Charax/Charakipolis²⁶⁴ must mean that all three settlements coexisted at this given time, barely 7 km apart from each other. With such a small distance between them, it would be inconceivable for them not to be aware of each other – and close enough for the hypothetical προάστιον of Daldis to have been of relevance to Apolloniou Charax. It is, however, a very speculative explanation due to the scarcity of evidence we possess for Hellenistic Daldis.

Even if we do accept that the προάστιον belonged to Daldis and that Apolloniou Charax depended on the city for administrative purposes, issues still remain with the text of Face B. The speaker(s) constantly refer to themselves in the first person plural (τὰ ἐν ἡμῖν ἀργυρικά, B 7; ἐσμέν, B 11; ἡμετέραν, B 12) and in several instances speak in a way unbecoming of a royal official who is relaying the message from a community to the king, which is the hypothesis brought forward by Marijana Riel and Alice Bencivenni²⁶⁵. They proposed that the document had been initially written by the king in a similar fashion to Face A but was then modified by the official relaying the message to the community for its inscription on the stele, changing the second-person verbs and

²⁶² No parallels elsewhere in Asia Minor and no entry in R. Gusmani's *Lydisches Wörterbuch*. Clearly if the moniker Flaviopolis was added under the Flavian dynasty, Daldis must have been the original name of the city.

²⁶³ *I. Ephesos* 13 I.10-11; Habicht 1975: 66.

²⁶⁴ Habicht 1975: I 10-14.

²⁶⁵ Riel 2011: 143; Bencivenni 2015: 4-6.

pronouns to the first-person, with several interjections made by the king. However, this does not explain phrases like ἐπ<ε>ὶ αἱ πρότερον ἀφαιρεθεῖσαι ἡμῶν οὐκ ἀποκατεστάθησαν ὃν τρόπον συνεκχωρήκεις (B 20-21), in which the authors of the letter reproach the king for not having delivered on his promise of restoring some villages to their territory.

Moreover, the earlier ἐπεὶ | δημόται ἐσμέν (B 10-11) is once again incongruous with the way in which a *polis* or an official thereof would speak. Similar clauses can be found in appeals of small communities to the king but are not evidenced in any kind of correspondence between cities and kings²⁶⁶. The main difficulty in interpreting this phrase may have been caused by the translation that the editors have chosen: Herrmann and Malay translate it as “since we are concerned about the people”, while Thonemann following Wörrle chooses “because we are poor”²⁶⁷. The first editors’ translation, as they themselves admit, does not make much sense, and Thonemann’s has been until now the most widely accepted one. However, there are no other attestations of the word δημότης that suggest negative or pitiful connotations such as “poor”. In his *Memorabilia*, Xenophon discusses whether Homer approved of chastising τοὺς δημότας καὶ πένητας, “common and poor folk” – a repetition of an adjective meaning “poor” would be out of place²⁶⁸. A Boeotian inscription from the fourth century BC describes the fine to whoever misbehaves in the sanctuary of Amphiareion in Oropos, ἢ ξένος ἢ δημότης, “either foreigner or fellow citizen”²⁶⁹. Every definition of the term converges on a common meaning: commoner or citizen²⁷⁰. In the letter from Eumenes II to the Phrygian settlement of Toriaion granting them polis-status, the king orders the now city to δῆμον νέμειν εἰς φυλὰς καταμερισθέντα, “distribute the people by dividing them into tribes”²⁷¹. Δημόται here clearly cannot have the meaning of “member of a deme” as used in Athens, but the Athenian and the Toriaion examples could offer a parallel for the change of a settlement towards a poliadic citizen structure and cement the image of Apolloniou Charax being part of the broader territory of a polis²⁷². It could be interpreted as a way of indicating that the settlement had been recently added to the

²⁶⁶ SEG 17.754 l. 7-8; *I. Histria* 378 C3-8; SEG 19.718; Thonemann 2011a: 7.

²⁶⁷ Herrmann-Malay, *Lydia* 51-2; Thonemann 2011a: 3.

²⁶⁸ Xen. *Mem.* 1.2.59.

²⁶⁹ SEG 31.416, l. 9-10.

²⁷⁰ LSJ: “one of the people”, “commoner”, “one of the same people”, “fellow citizen”, “member of a deme”. Slater: “fellow townsman”. DGE: “hombre del pueblo, de la clase popular”, “plebeyo (en Roma)”, “ciudadano, habitante de una ciudad”.

²⁷¹ Epigraphic Appendix 17 l. 32.

²⁷² For a possible link between military settlements, *poleis* and demes, see Mileta 2009: 74.

territory of a city (Daldis?) and that the settlers are now “fellow townsmen”, close enough to the προάστιον to care whether it was burned down or not, and therefore feel it is their right to receive aid from the king to rebuild the settlement²⁷³.

In any case, while there is clearly a *polis* involved at some level, everything seems to indicate that the authors of Face B are a settlement or settlements, and thus we turn again to Apolloniou Charax. While a city reproaching a king is unheard of, it would not be the first time we find an example of some tension or strained familiarity between a king and a military settlement. Eumenes II’s namesake and predecessor Eumenes I had to face a mercenary revolt in the first years of his reign that ended with an agreement in which the soldiers laid down the rules²⁷⁴. However, the events that are described on both sides of the stone would be unusual in a military settlement of standard size, as Apolloniou Charax *a priori* would be. The men are assigned new lands twice in the span of very few years: they first receive an indeterminate amount of land when accepting the settlers from Kournoubeudos and afterwards they petition the king (successfully, one would imagine) for an extra ten *stadia* of land for the sanctuary of Zeus Stratios, as well as at least three villages. If the ten *stadia* granted by the king referred to the radius of the area of the temple, the perimeter of the sanctuary would be at least 1800 m – it was not a small sanctuary²⁷⁵.

The relationship between the Hellenistic kings and the temples has been an object of debate for some time, focusing on the question of whether the kings expropriated lands from the temples to give them to military settlements²⁷⁶; but the discovery of several inscriptions has since reoriented the discussion towards the donation of lands to temples²⁷⁷. The extant evidence seems to point to the latter rather than the former and the Apolloniou Charax texts might further add to it. Similar cases in three other *poleis*

²⁷³ A further argument against the involvement of Sardis in this inscription is that no *polis*-type structures such as tribes or demes are known in Hellenistic Sardis, so if δημόται indeed means “member of a deme” or “fellow citizen”, there is as of yet no evidence to necessarily link it to Sardis rather than Daldis (Kosmin 2019: 78).

²⁷⁴ Epigraphic Appendix 4 (see below Section 2.2.1 and Chapter 4 Section 4.2.1).

²⁷⁵ Although it is a strange choice to express the territory of the sanctuary in a unit of length rather than of area, it is not unheard of. Strabo employs στάδια to describe the precinct of the temple of Artemis in Ephesos (14.1.23), and K. Rigsby suggests that it would be referring to the radius of the περίβολος (1996: 390).

²⁷⁶ For this view, see *OGIS* 262 and 502, Rostovtzeff *CAH* VII: 183; Welles *RC* 282-3; Tarn and Griffith 1952: 140-1; Rostovtzeff 1941: I 492-3, 503-7, III 1440-1 n. 279-83 (Seleukids), *ibid.* II 648-9 and III 1477-8 n. 62-3 (Attalids).

²⁷⁷ See the donation of land to the temple of Aizanoi by Attalos I and Prusias I (*OGIS* 502 and below); *CAH*² VII: 302; Magie 1950: 758-9 n56, 1017-8 n64; Hansen 1971: 97-9. Other donations can be found in Asia Minor or Syria (*RC* 62, *OGIS* 383, *RC* 70).

may help us draw parallels for the context of our text: the donation of lands by Attalos I and Prusias I to the temple of Zeus at Aizanoi; the temple complex of Pessinous; and the joint inscription of the Kiddioukometai and Neoteichitai from Phrygia²⁷⁸.

The Phrygian city of Aizanoi is located in the modern village of Çavdarhisar in the province of Kütahya. Its temple of Zeus is its best-known feature and a second-century AD inscription concerning a dispute that arose from the revenues of the temple's land reveals part of the Hellenistic history of the site²⁷⁹. Aizanoi was not a *polis* until at least the second century BC, when Attalos I and later Prusias I reorganised its territory, but the presence of military settlers in Aizanoi is confirmed by the funerary stele of Polemaios son of Perdikkas, set up by his brother Lysias son of Perdikkas in the second or first century BC; it is the earliest private inscription that we have from the city and shows that at least some of the settlers were Macedonians²⁸⁰. Although very little is known from Hellenistic Aizanoi, the Hadrianic dispute over the κλήροι of the ἱερὰ χώρα of the temple of Zeus (divided by 'the kings', according to the dossier, meaning Attalos and Prusias²⁸¹) suggests that Attalos I, later followed by Prusias, who must have seized the city around 190 BC²⁸², assigned γῆ βασιλική to the temple, divided it into κλήροι and provided tenants for them, most likely soldiers (Aizanoi was a frontier area for the Attalids, disputed with the Bithynian kingdom), while the temple kept its ownership of the land and received its revenue from the settlers²⁸³. Thus, a military settlement was created alongside the temple complex, whose god, Wörrle suggests, was radically Hellenised and turned into the main deity of the new *polis*²⁸⁴. This coexistence of a sanctuary and a military settlement and the granting of lands to the settlers by the king may provide a parallel for the situation of Apolloniou Charax, the sanctuary of Zeus Stratios and the unidentified *polis* with the προάστιον of Face B.

Pessinous (modern Ballıhisar in the province of Eskişehir) was famously the principal cult centre for Kybele in Hellenistic Asia Minor and a powerful temple-state

²⁷⁸ Avram and Tsetskhladze 2014; *I. Laodikeia Lykos* 1. A relatively similar case is *IGLS* VII 4028 (=RC 70) where a priest of Zeus Baitokaike in Syria petitions Antiochos I and receives lands and the power to administer them separately from the nearby cities.

²⁷⁹ *MAMA* IX xxxvi-xlii. See Rheidt 2008 for a more recent survey of the archaeology of Hellenistic Aizanoi.

²⁸⁰ Wörrle 1995: 75-6 no. 3; *SEG* 45.1721. Thonemann 2013b: 23.

²⁸¹ *MAMA* IX xxxvii P2 (B).

²⁸² Habicht 2006: 3-6.

²⁸³ Wörrle 2009: 426-30; *MAMA* IX xli.

²⁸⁴ Wörrle 2009: 431; P. Hamon *BE* (2015) 658.

complex that had dealings with the Attalids²⁸⁵. A relatively new inscription suggests the existence of a military settlement near Pessinous under the name of Kleonnaeion, which Peter Thonemann tentatively identified as the military part of Pessinous itself: while Pessinous would be the traditional name for the temple-state, Kleonnaeion would refer to the military settlement in the same location, founded by a hypothetical *Kleonnas²⁸⁶. A similar situation occurs elsewhere in Phrygia, in what would become Laodikeia on the Lykos: two communities, the villages of Neoteichos and Kiddiou kome, issue an honorific decree for two benefactors, Banabelos and Lachares, ordering to erect *stelai* with their benefactions in the sanctuaries of Zeus in Baba kome and of Apollo in Kiddiou kome²⁸⁷. The similarities with Apolloniou Charax and Charakipolis are twofold: on the one hand, as Susan Sherwin-White and Amelie Kuhrt have suggested, Kiddiou kome would have been a previously indigenous settlement while Neoteichos would have been where the Greek settlers were located. On the other hand, Thomas Corsten argued that Baba kome could have been a religious site dependent on Kiddiou kome (which according to the inscription did not itself have a sanctuary), and that moreover Baba could have been the genitive for Babas, a Phrygian god who would have been assimilated to Zeus in the Hellenistic period – Pliny’s assertion that Laodikeia was previously called Diospolis would fit in with this interpretation²⁸⁸. In this inscription Kiddiou kome and Neoteichos (whose military nature is patent in its name) issue a joint decree with a common ἐκκλησία (ἐκκλησί|ας γενομένης ἔδοξε Νεοτειχείταις | καὶ Κιῳδοικωμίταις, l. 4-6), and the fact that they would later go on to become Laodikeia on the Lykos evidences the depth of their relationship and how, despite being two separate entities, administratively they acted as one.

It could be considered that Charax and Apolloniou Charax once found themselves in a similar situation, having been founded at the same time, perhaps a single settlement initially (the eponymous Apollonios may have been one of the founders?) but later splitting into two, one of them related to an indigenous sanctuary which would become that of Zeus Stratios (as we have already noted, the origin of the cult is not Greek). Charax/Charakipolis would have remained linked to the sanctuary, perhaps even

²⁸⁵ *I. Pessinous* 1-7. Note Altay Coşkun’s reassessment of the history of the temple-state complex and the likelihood that it did not exist in pre-Hellenistic times (2018).

²⁸⁶ Avram and Tsetschladze 2014; Thonemann 2015: 124-6 (see below Section 2.3.3 b) “Pessinous”).

²⁸⁷ *I. Laodikeia Lykos* 1; Wörle 1975: 59-87.

²⁸⁸ Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993: 169; Corsten 2007; Pliny *NH* 5.105. Zeus was indeed the principal deity of the new foundation of Laodikeia on the Lykos (Cohen 1995: 308-11).

administering it, and grown at a faster rate, while Apolloniou Charax remained a military settlement – so far there is no evidence that it ever became a polis – but the relationship between the two persisted so that, when the need arose, they would have petitioned the king together. As for how they interacted with each other and what relationship they had at the time of the inscription that occupies us, it is possible to find a parallel in the κοινά that are known to have existed in Lydia at this time.

Examples of political κοινά that have been documented in Hellenistic Asia Minor include that of the Abbaeitai Mysians, but also lesser known ones, such as the κοινόν of the Mogoreis in Karia²⁸⁹. As for Lydia, a recently published inscription from the village of Iğdecik, 23 km NE of Salihli (Sardis), presents us with a thus far unknown κοινόν τῶν περὶ τὴν Κατακεκαυ[μένη]ν Μαίωνων²⁹⁰. The inscription, dated to Attalos II's 7th year (153/2 BC) is heavily damaged and its lower part is lost, but from what can still be read of the text, it is an honorific decree for Sokrates, son of Artemidoros, issued by the κοινόν of the Maionians of the Katakekaumene. It is dated to the same year as an Attalid inscription from a Macedonian military settlement named [...]espourai, near Mecidiye (province of Manisa), in which the soldiers honour their commander Derdas son of Derkilides²⁹¹; it also uses the same formula to refer to the dedicants, οἱ περὶ, as two other inscriptions from military settlements, from Thyateira and from [A/Na]krasos, as well as the inscription of the δῆμοι of Mysia Abbaeitis²⁹². The inscription goes on to list the settlements (κατοικίαι) that belonged to the κοινόν, although the names, which were on the lower part of the stele, are lost²⁹³. Malay and Riel describe the κοινόν as “the communities of Maionians outside their primary centre at the future or already extant city of Maionia [...]. [T]he Maionians in the Katakekaumene were organized as a κοινόν regrouping a number of communities, possibly with its own political institutions”²⁹⁴. Is it possible to see a parallel with the situation of Apolloniou Charax and Charakipolis and an explanation for the first-person plurals in the text of Face B in another κοινόν that included these two settlements and is, as of yet, unknown and

²⁸⁹ See J. and L. Robert's essay in *BE* 1984 384, Buresch 1898: 142-4, 155, 158; Malay and Petzl 2003 and Chapter 3 Section 3.4.2. For the κοινόν of the Mogoreis, see Debord 2003: 148. On military κοινά, see Cohen 1978: 72-83.

²⁹⁰ Malay and Riel 2019 no. 1.

²⁹¹ Epigraphic Appendix 8 (see below Section 2.2.2).

²⁹² Epigraphic Appendix 5B; Epigraphic Appendix 10; *SEG* 33.1004. Malay and Riel 2019: 49. See below, Section 2.2.2.

²⁹³ The term κατοικίαι is restored; the editors's reason for choosing κατοικίαι rather than κῶμαι is that the latter is too short for the space available (Malay and Riel 2019: 48).

²⁹⁴ Malay and Riel 2019: 50.

unnamed? The existence of this other almost contemporary κοινόν 35 km away from Apolloniou Charax supports to some extent the hypothesis that such a community may have existed.

I thus propose the following interpretation of the two texts: Face A would be a royal letter from Eumenes II to an official on the ground, concerning several issues which would have been divided into categories, Kournoubeudos being the last of them; Face B would have included a royal letter (perhaps some ten lines long), now completely lost, in which the king accepted the petitions of the settlers, petitions which would have been inscribed below and part of which are preserved in the extant text²⁹⁵. This would mean that, if we imagine that we are missing about half of the text in Face A and half of the text including a short royal letter in Face B, the full extent of both texts would run to between 50 and 60 lines, bringing the total height of the stele to about two metres – certainly a towering stone but not unheard of: the Kyme pillars with the inscriptions of Archippe are 1.97 m tall and the decree of συμπολιτεία between Magnesia and Smyrna is 2.19 m tall²⁹⁶. The communities involved in both texts would be Apolloniou Charax and Charax (not yet Charakipolis), if the two settlements belonged to a κοινόν like that of the Abbaeitis Mysians or of the Maionians of Katakekaumene, jointly petitioning Eumenes about military, religious and territorial matters – the presence of military settlers being granted lands alongside a sanctuary or temple is well attested in Aizanoi, and we may find ourselves in a similar situation here. The tone of the document would be set by the pre-existing parameters in which the army-king relationships occurred; but the land demands must be understood in relation to temple grants. Thus, the two settlements would form a military-religious symbiotic unit, whose benefits would be maximised in the appeal to the king. As for the προάστιον, there is simply not enough evidence to state confidently which city it belonged to, but it seems, if not probable, at least possible, that it was the *polis* of Daldis, which in turn would shed some light on the obscure Hellenistic history of this city.

²⁹⁵ See above Section 2.1.1 for a parallel of an itemised royal letter; for a royal letter inscribed before a petition, see the letter of Philip V to Archippos and the ὑπόμνημα of the Euieistai (*SEG* 46.758, Hatzopoulos, *Macedonian Institutions* II 17) or the stele with the dossier of Aristodikides of Assos (*RC* 10-13).

²⁹⁶ Kyme and Archippe: *I. Kyme* 13; Smyrna and Magnesia: Epigraphic Appendix 18.

2.2. Lydian settlements

As is plain now, we can reconstruct a whole network of minor sites in Lake Marmara with links to Apolloniou Charax. Lydia has proved to be an especially fertile territory for military presence, with a concentration that rivals any other part of Asia Minor. The area surrounding Lake Marmara has yielded a considerable amount of epigraphical evidence for the existence of military settlements in the Hellenistic period. The origin of these settlements, whether Achaemenid or Seleukid, is not always clear, but their survival into the period of Attalid rule demonstrates that in the second century BC, Lake Marmara witnessed the coexistence of at least ten military settlements – and this population density is in itself significant.

I will now discuss these other settlements and the topography that influenced their foundation and role in Hellenistic Lydia, as well as two of the earliest settlements that we can describe with certainty as Attalid: Attaleia and Philetaireia under Ida.

2.2.1. Attaleia and Philetaireia under Ida

One of the earliest pieces of evidence for Attalid military settlements is an agreement between the dynast of Pergamon, Eumenes I (who had not yet taken the royal title), and the rebellious soldiers stationed in two locations, Attaleia and Philetaireia under Ida²⁹⁷. Since its publication in 1895 by Max Fränkel, much has been said about this inscription, and the impact it has had on our knowledge of mercenaries and their conditions of service in the Hellenistic world has been substantial. It is a very revealing document for the beginning of the Attalid dynasty and the relationships and balance of power between the kings and the soldiers, a topic which will be explored in Chapter 4; but it also raises questions about the geographical situation and relationship between the locations mentioned in the inscription. Investigating these questions could help us get a better grasp of the historical context of this agreement but also add to our knowledge of the organisation and recruitment of the Attalid army.

The text has been dated to the beginning of the rule of Eumenes I (263-241 BC), when his power was not yet firmly established; Jean-Christophe Couvenhes has recently placed it in the context of the fight for the succession to Philetairos' rule between the future Eumenes I and a certain Eumenes son of Attalos, possibly a cousin, mentioned in

²⁹⁷ Epigraphic Appendix 4. Cf. Griffith 1935: 282ff and Launey 1987: 739-50.

lines 46-7 of the inscription²⁹⁸. It can be divided into three main sections: the petitions (or demands) of the soldiers from Philetaireia and Attaleia ([ἀξ]ιώματα, ll. 1-19); an oath sworn by the generals of the rebellious soldiers (ll. 19-51); and the oath sworn in turn by Eumenes (ll. 51-63, the end is lost). Content and tone aside for now, the inscription deals with two main locations: Philetaireia under Ida (Φιλεταιρεία ὑπὸ τὴν Ἰδὴν) and Attaleia (Ἀττάλεια). The stone itself was found in Pergamon, where it was to be set up in the temple of Athena on the acropolis; other copies were to be set up in Gryneion, Delos and Mytilene (ll. 17-19); however, the question of the location of, and relationship between, the two garrisons has been traditionally disregarded in favour of the content of the inscription, despite the possibility of its yielding new information about the organisation of the Attalid army. I shall therefore here focus on the locations of the settlements.

The ancient sources are contradictory in their information about Attaleia: Pliny placed it in Mysia, within Pergamene jurisdiction²⁹⁹, while Stephanus of Byzantium describes it as a πόλις Λυδίας, which led Georges Radet to conclude that it must have been a frontier settlement, liable to have its location misinterpreted by ancient authors; he accordingly located it in Gördük Kale, 10 km north from the modern city of Akhisar³⁰⁰. In the same year, Carl Schuchhardt visited the area and determined through the discovery of signs of habitation that Attaleia must have rather been on a hill southeast from Selçikli named Koca Mezarlik (formerly Karaman Mezar); when Keil and von Premerstein undertook their own journey in 1908, they pinpointed it to a third site, southwest of Selçikli, called Yaran Tepe, based on their findings of a mosaic floor, broken tiles and graves [FIG. 35]³⁰¹.

When Clive Foss visited the area at the end of the 1980s, he described Selçikli thus:

[It] lies in the hills at no great height above the plain of the Lycus and the modern highway from Izmir to Istanbul which passes through Akhisar (Thyateira). The village is protected by low hills but has easy access to a fertile plain about five kilometres wide, which is separated from the plain of Thyateira by a range of hills. This culminates in the ridge of Gördük Kale immediately above the river.³⁰²

²⁹⁸ Couvenhes 2019: 615.

²⁹⁹ Pliny *NH* 5.33.4. That Attaleia was under Pergamene jurisdiction is confirmed by the Ephesos *conventus* list (*JRS* 65 (1975) 65 II.7). See also Cohen 1995: 205-6.

³⁰⁰ Radet 1887: 170, 174. To support his argument, he presents an inscription from Yenice Köyü, on the opposite side of the river Lykos, which mentions Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος Ἀτταλεάτων (p. 173).

³⁰¹ Keil and von Premerstein 1911: 60ff; Foss 1987: 95.

³⁰² Foss 1987: 95.

This description contrasts with the opinions of Louis Robert and Biagio Virgilio, who considered that the location was totally devoid of any strategic or even commercial role³⁰³. In Robert's words, "le site d'Attaleia, près de Selçikli, consiste, au fond de la vallée, en une colline, dépourvue de toute valeur stratégique; elle n'a un rôle ni de forteresse, ni de guette dominant la région; ce n'est pas un poste militaire. D'autre part, la ville est dans une vallée écartée". Robert conclusively affirmed that Attaleia did not have either military or commercial value, but rather was a rural centre, chosen to give land to the settlers because of the fertility of its soil and its proximity to the valley of the Lykos. However, the presence of a garrison as early as Eumenes I's rule means that its military character cannot be completely disregarded.

Robert and Virgilio's descriptions are indeed surprising for a modern traveller who visits Selçikli. Once one leaves behind the highway that Foss mentions and starts traversing the secondary roads that lead to the village, it is immediately noticeable that it is in an elevated position surrounded by vast olive fields, and from both the roads and the fields there is a panoramic view of the plain of Akhisar. During my visit there, the local people took us to an olive orchard southeast of Selçikli – which looked in all probability like the Koca Mezarlik of Schuchhardt – which they introduced as "Yaran" [FIGS. 36-37]. Given the volatile nature of popular names, it should not come as a surprise that people from different generations change either the name or the location of a given toponym – after all, it has been more than one hundred and fifty years since Schuchhardt and Keil and von Premerstein visited the area and three decades since Foss followed them. It is, however, striking that these two very particular locations were apparently mixed up. Yaran yielded to us, in a superficial examination, several fragments of pottery, brick and even a small column base [FIGS. 38-40]. Its description seems to match Schuchhardt's Koca Mezarlik and Foss' assertion of its being the most likely location for Attaleia.

I would therefore rather side with the more military oriented approach of Robert Allen, Richard Evans and Esther Hansen. Evans defines Attaleia as "a military foundation aimed at defending the Caicus Valley" and Hansen as a "frontier fortress", while Allen considers that Eumenes had a stronger agenda than Philetairos towards

³⁰³ Robert 1934: 90-2. Virgilio (1983: 116, 119) agrees with Robert, considering it in line with Attalid land-granting policy, but does stress the agricultural role of the settlement. Cf. Polyb. 5.78.5.

creating an independent dynasty in Pergamon³⁰⁴. One of the three proposed sites for Attaleia, Gördük Kale (‘kale’ meaning ‘castle’ or ‘fortress’ in Turkish and ‘gördük’ meaning ‘we saw’) was identified by William Ramsay as the Byzantine fortress of Meteorion, but Foss proposes that it could have been the fortress of Byzantine Attaleia³⁰⁵. Gördük Kale, which is visible from Selçikli, is located in a strategic spot above the river Lykos that would have been useful to fortify and that would have complemented the more agricultural nature of Selçikli [FIG. 41]³⁰⁶. Since, due to its proximity to the area in which Attaleia must have been located, it surely fell within the settlement’s territory, it would have been a natural choice for a fortified point in addition to a more agricultural yet still strategic settlement in Selçikli. Its closeness to Thyateira can also help to explain the choice of its location.

Already in 1904, Ramsay pointed out the suitability of Thyateira’s location as both a military and a commercial hub, given its location in the valley that connects the rivers Hermos and Kaikos [FIG. 42]³⁰⁷. Founded by the Seleukids, it remained under their control until 226 BC, when Attalos I, Eumenes’ successor, took over the region; it grew to become a city in the Roman period and outlived many of its contemporary settlements, as can be seen from the modern Turkish city that stands there today, Akhisar³⁰⁸. The proximity of a garrison at Attaleia to Thyateira may have been oriented towards keeping this settlement-cum-city under control both before and after the territory came under Attalid control.

Attaleia was in existence by at least 269/8 BC, from the mention of a tax exemption in the year 44 (l. 10-11) –which must be Seleukid dating– so likely a foundation by Philetairos rather than by his successor, as some have argued³⁰⁹. The naming of the settlements as Philetaireia and Attaleia is consonant with the Hellenistic practice of naming new foundations or re-foundations after members of the royal family, and with

³⁰⁴ Hansen 1971: 224; Allen 1983: 22; Evans 2014: 162.

³⁰⁵ Ramsay 1890: 131; for the mention of Meteorion in Byzantine texts, Foss 1987: 96; Macrides 2007: 379-80.

³⁰⁶ Couvenhes 2019: 609.

³⁰⁷ Ramsay 1904: 332-33.

³⁰⁸ Steph. Byz. s.v. Θυάτεια; Epigraphic Appendix 5B. There is extant coinage minted at Thyateira under imperial rule: *BMC Lydia* 293-320, nos. 8-144; *SNG Cop. Lydia* 572-633. Polyb. 4.48. Cohen 1995: 238-42; Herrmann *TAM* V,2 p. 309; for an in-depth discussion of Thyateira, see below Section 2.2.2.a.

³⁰⁹ For a foundation by Eumenes I, see Hansen 1971: 22, 175, 229; Cohen 1995: 171, 205; Thonemann 2013a: 27-8; for Philetairos, see Schalles 1985: 32; Kosmetatou 2001: 113, 117; Chrubasik 2013: 90, 2016: 29.

the idea that, in addition to the military role it played, it was founded so as to provide the Attalid military settlers with fertile land, as Polybius later writes of Attalos I and his Galatian mercenaries³¹⁰:

He was anxious lest they should desert to Achaeus, and join in an attack upon himself: and was at the same time uneasy at the scandal to which he would give rise, if he caused his soldiers to surround and kill all these men, who were believed to have crossed into Asia in reliance on his honour. He therefore seized the occasion of their refusal to proceed, to promise them that he would see that they were taken back to the place where they had crossed into Asia; would assign them suitable lands for a settlement [τόπον δώσειν εὐφυῇ πρὸς κατοικίαν]; and would afterwards do them any service they asked for, if it was within his power and consistent with justice (Polyb. 5.78.5).

Philetaireia under Ida, on the other hand, is a much more complex matter as its site has not yet been located³¹¹. Its defining element, ὑπὸ τὴν Ἰδὴν, places it at the foot of Mount Ida, modern Kaz Dağı in the province of Balıkesir, but its exact location is disputed. Most scholars agree on the eastern side of the Ida range and northern coast of the Adramyttene Gulf (modern Gulf of Edremit), placing it very close to the ancient site of Antandros, in Devren hill between the modern cities of Altinoluk and Avcılar³¹². Its location within the Kaz Dağı would certainly give it an advantageous position in relation to the coast of the Adramyttene Gulf and also vis-à-vis the Troad to the northern side of Mount Ida; it would control the access from the Troad to Mysia³¹³. The rise of the slopes of the Kaz Dağı from the coast is very steep, its altitude easily reaching 1000 m above sea level [FIG. 43]. The peculiarity of the terrain in this specific location is that there is a valley running through the Kaz Dağı from north to south between Altinoluk and Avcılar, connecting both sides of the mountain range [FIG. 44]. Any settlement near this point would have easy access to the Troad and would be able to effectively control the entrance to the region, as well as having a very good view of the gulf. While the surname ὑπὸ τὴν Ἰδὴν suggests that its position was at the foot of Mount Ida, the advantages of also controlling the higher vantage points of the mountain were surely not lost on the settlers. That does certainly not exclude a commercial or agricultural role, as Mount Ida was widely known as a source for timber and Antandros

³¹⁰ On Galatians in the Attalid armies, see Reinach 1909a: 102-8.

³¹¹ Not to be confused with the Philetaireia in the inscription that honours the gymnasiarch Diodoros Paspáros (*MDAI(A)* 32 (1907) 234, no. 4; Robert 1937: 45-50), as this must have been much closer to Pergamon. Cf. Allen 1983: 23 n49. The upper city of Pergamon is thought to have been called Philetaireia too (Hansen 1971: 235 n. 2).

³¹² Magie 1950: 734; Virgilio 1983: 113; Cohen 1995: 171-2; Kosmetatou 2001: 111.

³¹³ Virgilio and Kosmetatou (cf. *supra*) highlight this particular role of the settlement.

as a shipbuilding centre³¹⁴. This was also a horse-breeding region and the nearby region of Assos (modern Behramkale) contained major copper and silver mines³¹⁵. It was no doubt an area that the emerging Attalid kingdom would have been greatly interested in.

Antandros' connection to the Attalid monarchy has been very recently illuminated by a new document linking Attalos I to this very city³¹⁶. This new decree, tentatively dated to the mid-third century BC, before Attalos had taken the royal title, is proof that the area of Antandros was under Pergamene control at least as far back as the reign of Eumenes I. Philetaireia would then fit perfectly into the picture of an early Attalid expansion in the southern Troad and would therefore not be as inexplicable a foundation as some authors have thought it to be³¹⁷.

Moreover, this new text can shed some light on the role and links of Philetaireia under Ida to other surrounding urban *nuclei*. The new inscription, as well as honouring a certain Zoilos son of Archios who had defended the city and the country (ἐπὶ τῆς φυλακῆς | τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῆς χώρας, l. 7-8), mentions his “well-behaved soldiers”, (τοὺς στρατ[ιώτα]ς εὐ[τάκτου]ς, l. 12)³¹⁸. The text of the agreement of Eumenes and the soldiers, on the other hand, not only places the settlement of Philetaireia in close proximity to Antandros – without giving any indication as to its nature; a garrison perhaps?³¹⁹ – but also suggests the existence of a harbour that the soldiers were willing to protect if they received it from the king. Although a harbour is not mentioned explicitly, ships (ναῦς, a collective noun³²⁰) are mentioned amongst the items that the soldiers could potentially take over from the king: <δ>ιαφυλάξω δὲ καί, ἐάν τι παραλάβω παρ’ αὐτοῦ, ἢ πόλιν ἢ φρού[ριον ἢ ν]αῦς ἢ χρήματα ἢ ἄλλο ὃ ἄμ μοι παραδοθῇ (ll. 37-38). If they were willing to take and protect “either city or fortress or ship or money or anything else”, one can imagine that this [ν]αῦς might refer generally to those housed in Philetaireia's harbour, as Attaleia is too far inland to have any

³¹⁴ Xen. *Hell.* 1.1.24-5; Strabo 13.1.51; Thuc. 4.52.3. See also Ellis-Evans 2019: 79-94.

³¹⁵ Plut. *Eum.* 8.3; Strabo 13.1.56.

³¹⁶ Found in November 2018, presented in an oral communication in Oxford, January 21st 2019, by O. Clarke and D. Etches under the title “A new inscription from Antandros”. Unpublished.

³¹⁷ Cohen 1995: 171-2; Kosmetatou 2001: 110. Both Philetaireia and Attaleia have been traditionally understood as conflictive foundations for the relationship between the Seleukid and the Attalid monarchies, being in the border between the territories of both kingdoms, but recent reviews of the evidence have suggested a less tense atmosphere and a greater delegation of power: see Savalli-Lestrade 1992 and Chrubasik 2016: 29.

³¹⁸ See the parallelism in a similar decree in *I. Iasos* 34, dated by Roberta Fabiani to the second quarter of the 3rd century BC (Fabiani 2015: 170, 195), for a naval officer and Chapter 4 Section 4.1.1.

³¹⁹ This idea was already suggested by Reinach (1908: 188).

³²⁰ See n. 591.

connection to the sea, and Antandros was one of the major harbours of the region. If we take Philetaireia to be a mere garrison post, and not a fully developed settlement, which at this point seems more likely, the conjunction of the Antandros text and of the agreement seems to point towards Philetaireia being a garrison linked to the bigger city of Antandros, just as Apolloniou Charax may have been dependent on Daldis or Attaleia on Thyateira.

However, one more question arises from the agreement between Eumenes and the soldiers, which has been, if not disregarded, at least not properly addressed by previous scholars. Why did these two settlements in particular form an alliance to revolt against Eumenes? As we have seen, the textual and archaeological evidence for them is quite meagre, and their relationship, other than the link that the agreement provides, is anything but clear. They are more than 100 km apart, as the crow flies, and no clear route or road joins them. No main Persian road covers that area, but the existence of Roman roads between Thyateira, Pergamon, Adramyttion and Assos, some of which may have been in existence in the Hellenistic period, points towards well-travelled routes between these cities. The study of Roman milestones shows that the most likely route between the two settlements would have been via Pergamon or Apollonis³²¹, and there is a similar route depicted in the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, again by way of Pergamon³²². This is quite striking considering the preparation that must have gone into a military revolt. How did these men conduct their communication, being so far apart? They would have certainly not gone unnoticed had they passed through Pergamon. Would it not have been easier to contact other military settlements from their surrounding territory?

The dating of the inscription, around 263 BC, can point towards the so-called battle of Sardis between Eumenes and Antiochos I, although its dating remains so obscure that it is very hard to ascribe any definite historical consequences to it³²³; it may also be placed within the context of Eumenes I's accession and a possible mutiny that he would have had to face in the process³²⁴. In both cases, the context is clearly military and we may expect the men to have taken part in a certain amount of campaigning. The

³²¹ *RRMAM* III Fasc. 3.5, p. 25, Map 5.1.1.

³²² *Tabula Peutingeriana* VIII.

³²³ van Bremen 2020: 9-10.

³²⁴ This mutiny could have been caused by a struggle between Eumenes I and Eumenes Attalou, another Attalid contender for the throne (Reinach 1908: 185-6; Couvenhes 2019: 605).

description of several groups of men in the inscription as ἔμμισθοι (l. 54), ἄμισθοι (l. 56) and ἄπεργοι (ll. 7 and 11) raises questions about the status of these soldiers. In a recent article, Jean-Christophe Couvenhes proposed that these terms designated different types of military settlers that Eumenes, or more likely Philetairos, in an earlier effort at territorialising his military influence, had settled in lands under his control so as to have a pool of recruitment for future wars: the ἔμμισθοι would be active soldiers who received a salary, while the ἄμισθοι, rather than volunteers or an irregular body³²⁵, would be reserve military settlers, and the ἄπεργοι troops who had been definitively demobilised³²⁶. This would not only mean that the Attalids had begun a settlement effort very early on and that there was already in place a system for men to be mobilised and demobilised as the need arose, but also that the soldiers could have met and plotted while on campaign, evidencing a close-knit military community that managed to stay in touch and carry out such an elaborate scheme as this over great distances.

With the exception of Philetaireia under Ida, located in the Troad, all the settlements we have discussed until now were within reasonable distance of each other, and the epigraphic evidence clearly shows that in Attalid times all of them coexisted in the area around Lake Marmara. It would be unthinkable that they were not aware of each other – in fact, the two texts from Apolloniou Charax disprove this notion. They must have interacted in ways that have not been preserved in either the epigraphic or the archaeological record. However, to fill in the blanks in our knowledge, we must turn to other areas of Asia Minor where more complete evidence is found.

2.2.2 Hermos valley

The Hermos valley, with its confluence with the Hyllos and the area of Lake Marmara, was one of the main areas of military settlement of western Asia Minor. Won by the Seleukids after the battle of Korupedion, it fully came under Attalid control around 226 BC, when Attalos I defeated and expelled Antiochos Hierax from western Asia Minor. A series of dedications to Athena in Pergamon recall the successive victories of the Attalid king against his enemies; one of them, in a very fragmentary state, celebrates his victory near Lake Koloe (Marmara)³²⁷. While Attalid presence in the area had been a reality since at least forty years earlier, with the foundation of Attaleia near Thyateira, it is at this time that Pergamon gained full control of the region and of

³²⁵ Virgilio 1983: 125; Fränkel, *I. Pergamon* 13 p. 17; Griffith 1935: 287-88.

³²⁶ Couvenhes 2019: 615-20.

³²⁷ The inscription belongs to a group of nine dedications made by Attalos I at Pergamon (*OGIS* 271-9).

the military settlers inhabiting it. Compared to its southern neighbour, the Kaystros valley, the Hermos valley has not yielded a particularly significant presence of fortifications, but those that have been documented are often close enough to settlements found in the epigraphic record that a link between them seems unavoidable³²⁸.

I shall now discuss inscriptions that alert us to the existence of military settlements in the Hermos valley and the area of Lake Marmara in the Hellenistic period. There is also epigraphic evidence from later times, especially the early first century AD, that records κατοικίαι in this area, which may or may not point to Hellenistic military settlements that had demilitarised by the Roman period; some of these settlements deserve at least a brief comment. Thus, from the area of Daldis comes an inscription dated to AD 13/14 by οἱ ἐν Ταβίλλοις κάτοικοι³²⁹; from Ahmetli, near Sardis, an inscription dated to AD 37-41 from ἡ Ταγηνῶν κατοικία³³⁰.

Several inscriptions from the region north of Magnesia ad Sipylum, modern Manisa, attest to the existence of two settlements whose exact location is unclear but which are most likely to be located around the area of Sarıçam, at the foot of the Yunt Dağı. An undated inscription from the οἱ κατοικοῦντες Μοσχакώμη[v] found in Tepecik, 6 km south of Sarıçam, proves the existence of a Moschakome³³¹; a new inscription from Sarıçam by οἱ κατοικοῦντες τὸ χω[ρ]ίον Ὀρμοιτηνο[ι], also undated³³², can now be added to two imperial inscriptions that mention ἡ Ὀρμοιτηνῶν κατοικία³³³. These, however, were found in Karaağaçlı, 14 km south of Sarıçam, making Ormoita's location unclear³³⁴.

Within the territory of Philadelphia (modern Alaşehir), in Hayalli, was found an inscription dated to AD 7/8 from ἐξ Ορεσᾶ[.] | [κάτο]ικοι³³⁵; also in the territory of Philadelphia, from Yeniköy and Çimentepe, four late Hellenistic or early Roman

³²⁸ See Maps 2 and 3 in Meriç 2018.

³²⁹ Herrmann-Malay, *Lydia* no. 42.

³³⁰ Herrmann-Malay, *Lydia* no. 43.

³³¹ TAM V,2 1408; Robert, *Hellenica* VI 65-69 no. 21. There are no available photographs of the stone and neither Robert nor Herrmann comment on the date of the inscription; Cohen assumes it to be early imperial (1995: 219).

³³² Herrmann-Malay, *Lydia* no. 18; SEG 57.1218. First published partially in TAM V,2 1397.

³³³ TAM V,2 1412-13.

³³⁴ Herrmann and Malay point out the possible existence of a third unnamed settlement in the area of Sarıçam from an inscription found in İshakçelebi, 12 km SE from the former, that succinctly mentions οἱ κάτοικοι (TAM V,2 1414; Herrmann-Malay, *Lydia* p. 31). However, the text may also simply refer to either Moschakome or Ormoita.

³³⁵ SEG 46.1494; TAM V,3 1433.

inscriptions attest to the settlement of Kapolmeios or Kapolmeos: two of these inscriptions mention οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν Καπολμείοις and οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν Κα[πολ]μήοις³³⁶, possibly signifying a military origin. The other two inscriptions, of a later date in the first or second century AD, describe the settlement as a κατοικία, evidencing the shift in the terminology for the settlements³³⁷. Near Kula, both a settlement, ἡ Νισυρέων κατοικία, and a Byzantine fortress have been found in one of the volcanic formations of the Yanikyöre area, between the villages of Gökçeören (formerly known as Menye) and Saraçlar³³⁸. In this settlement, a third-century AD dedication to Zeus Seleukios was found³³⁹, suggesting not only a military past but also a Macedonian foundation³⁴⁰. Further away to the east, between the Hermos and the Hyllos, in the Gördes-Uşak plateau, two honorific inscriptions (late first century BC-early first century AD) from a settlement named Moreis were found near Selmanhacılar³⁴¹. One of the texts emanated from οἱ κατ[οικοῦν]τες ἐν Μορεῖ while the other from οἱ ἐν Μορεὶ κάτοικοι, displaying the same shift in terminology and bearing witness to a possible military past. In Badınca, on the southern side of the Hermos plain, Meriç located a Byzantine fortification, which attests to the military control exercised over Philadelphia in Late Antiquity³⁴².

There is, however, no extant Hellenistic evidence for any of these settlements – while some of them do suggest a military origin or connection (especially those in proximity of documented fortifications), any further analysis of most of them must remain in the realm of speculation given the unresolved understanding of the term κατοικία. I shall now discuss several settlements for which we do have Hellenistic evidence and whose examination may help us understand the landscape of the Hermos valley in the third and second centuries BC.

³³⁶ *TAM* V,3 1432 (dated to 2/1 BC; see Petzl's edition and commentary in *EA* 26 (1996) 2 no. 1) and *TAM* V,3 1435 (first published by Keil and von Premerstein 1914: 37 no. 54) respectively.

³³⁷ *TAM* V,3 1523 and 1729.

³³⁸ Meriç 2018 Map 3.

³³⁹ *TAM* V,1 426.

³⁴⁰ As suggested by P. Herrmann in *TAM* V,1 p. 132. For more on Zeus Seleukios, see Chapter 3 Section 3.4.1.

³⁴¹ Herrmann-Malay, *Lydia* nos. 67-68; *SEG* 57.1220.

³⁴² Meriç 2018 Map 2.

a) Thyateira

One of the oldest military settlements in the Lake Marmara area may well be Thyateira, where the city of Akhisar stands today³⁴³. According to Stephanus of Byzantium, it was founded by Seleukos I after his victory over Lysimachos (presumably at Korupedion in 281 BC³⁴⁴). The culturally mixed origin of Thyateira is clear from all the testimonies that describe its foundation: Stephanus says that before Seleukos the city was named Pelopeia and Semiramis, Greek and Lydo-Assyrian names respectively, while at the same time considering it a Lydian city – which the Lydian -teira suffix certainly encourages– or the farthestmost city of the Mysians³⁴⁵. It does certainly seem to predate the Macedonian conquest of Asia Minor. However, Strabo also describes it as a κατοικία Μακεδόνων³⁴⁶.

The site of Thyateira is located in the valley of the Lykos at the crossroads of important trade routes, leading to Pergamon, Sardis, Magnesia and Smyrna³⁴⁷. It lies in the plain at the foot of the western slope of Katırcı Dağı, with an uninterrupted view of the surrounding plain leading up to Lake Marmara. The proximity to the river Lykos makes for some extremely fertile lands even at the present time. Seleukid involvement in this area is not surprising, as it stands to reason that Seleukos would have wanted to ensure his control over Lydia after his victory over Lysimachos, and the proximity to the site of Korupedion, together with the fertility of the plain of the Lykos and the strategic location of Thyateira, within easy reach from Pergamon, Smyrna and Sardis, would make it a fundamental site to settle his soldiers.

³⁴³ Keil and von Premerstein 1911: 11; Launey 1987: 337; Cohen 1995: 238-42. Another Seleukid city in its vicinity was Stratonikeia (not to be confused with its more famous namesake in Karia), located between the villages of Siledik and Yağmurlu, 27 km north of Thyateira. Not much is known of its Hellenistic history, but it has been suggested that it was a foundation of Antiochos I or Eumenes II (Robert 1962a: 43-70; Cohen 1995: 232-38; Daubner 2010: 54). In Roman times, the city was refounded as Stratonikeia-Hadrianopolis (*BMC Lydia* 284ff). While it may have been a settlement before it became a *polis*, there is not enough evidence to support claims of a military character.

³⁴⁴ Steph. Byz. s.v. Θυάτειρα explains that the name derives from Seleukos' naming the city after his daughter (θυγάτηρ), which seems rather unlikely.

³⁴⁵ Stephanus' assertion concerning the previous names of Thyateira is confirmed by epigraphic findings (*TAM V*, 2 1177). For the suffix -teira, see below n. 394. Miletta (2009: 84, 86) considers it an indigenous *polis*.

³⁴⁶ Strabo 13.4.4. Robert, correctly in my opinion, points out that this just meant "settlement", without any military connotations, for the meaning of the term κατοικία had changed by Strabo's time (1987: 535-8).

³⁴⁷ Serdaroğlu *PECS* 919; Magie 1950: 123.

The oldest evidence for the Seleukid settlement of Thyateira is a dedication to Apollo Pityaenos dated to 276/5 BC³⁴⁸. The inscription already implies some military involvement through a mention of the Galatian invasion of that same year (l. 11). It has been argued that two other inscriptions could push back the date of the first Macedonian presence in Thyateira to shortly after Alexander's death: a funerary inscription of a certain Menedemos son of Neoptolemos, Macedonian, and a very fragmentary dedication by 'the Macedonians around Thyateira'³⁴⁹. The original editors of these inscriptions argued, on the basis of the letter forms, that they could be dated to the time of Alexander's first successors, which would indicate a Macedonian settlement in Thyateira before the Seleukid foundation took place. However, no further proof is offered and the inscriptions are undated, making such a connection unsure at best. The letter forms of the Menedemos inscriptions, in fact, look more similar to those of the dedication to Apollo Pityaenos than to those in the Thyateira inscription: the sigmas have open angles, the kappas have short *hastae*, and the pis and the omicrons are smaller than the rest of the letters³⁵⁰. All this shows, at any rate, a very early Macedonian presence in the valley of the river Hyllos.

The military character of Thyateira in its early phase is once again displayed in another dedication to Seleukos – presumably Seleukos I – by the ἡγεμόνες and soldiers in Thyateira³⁵¹. It is telling that the soldiers describe themselves as either 'in' (ἐν) or 'around' (περὶ) Thyateira, rather than 'from', as is the case in other settlements³⁵², which might be due to the early date of the inscriptions, possibly implying that the soldiers still formed a separate entity from Thyateira or that their post was not yet permanent there.

³⁴⁸ *TAM* V,2 881, Keil and von Premerstein 1908: 14 no. 19. The name Pityaenos referred to a close-by village, Pityaia. This is not the only attestation of a cult of Apollo at Thyateira: Apollo Tyrimnos appears in many dedications from the city (*SEG* 49.1707; *TAM* V,2 882, 883, 956, 993).

³⁴⁹ For Menedemos, *TAM* V,2 1109 (first published by Clerc (*BCH* 10 (1886) 398 no. 1). For the Macedonians in Thyateira, Epigraphic Appendix 5B (first published by Reinach (*BCH* 11 (1887) 466 no. 32).

³⁵⁰ For comparison, see the drawing of the Apollo Pityaenos dedication in Keil and von Premerstein 1908: 14 no. 19; for Menedemos' inscription the facsimile in Clerc *op. cit.* and for the Macedonians in Thyateira, the facsimile in Lechat and Radet 1887: 446 no. 32.

³⁵¹ Epigraphic Appendix 5A.

³⁵² οἱ ἐκ Κοβηδύλης Μακεδόνες (Epigraphic Appendix 6); οἱ ἐκ Δοιδύης Μακεδόν[ες] (Epigraphic Appendix 7); οἱ ἐξ Ἀγαθείρων Μακεδ[ό]νες (Epigraphic Appendix 9); οἱ ἐκ Εμοδδὶ Μυσοὶ (Epigraphic Appendix 13). Cohen (1995: 239) suggests that the differentiation between ἐν and περὶ might answer to a physical separation of urban and rural groups, such as seemed to be the case in Smyrna (cf. section 2.3.1) but Thyateira does not seem to be a settlement big enough to warrant such a division.

The Macedonian heritage in Thyateira lasts well into the Roman period, when we still find individuals with Macedonian names such as Lagidas³⁵³.

While Thyateira did not pass into Attalid control until the reign of Eumenes I or Attalos I³⁵⁴, two Attalid military settlements are to be found in its vicinity: Attaleia, which has already been discussed, and whose foundation dates back to the rule of Philetairos; and Mernouphyta, of disputed date but founded at some point during Attalos I's rule. The only inscription relating to Mernouphyta, found in Akhisar (Epigraphic Appendix 4), dates to the Roman imperial period and reads thus:

- 1 Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ.
οἱ ἀπὸ βασιλέων
Ἀττάλου
καὶ Εὐμένους
5 κατοικοῦντες
Μερνουφυτα
Ἡρακληασταὶ
ἐτείμησαν
Γλύκωνα
10 Νεικάνδρου
χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ,
ἄνδρα φιλότειμον³⁵⁵.

The inscription mentions both Attalos I and Eumenes II, but the date of the settlement by the former is unclear as the territory of Thyateira changed hands several times during Attalos I's rule: it belonged to the Attalids between 226-223 BC; Attalos then lost it and did not regain it before 218 BC; we know that around 190 BC the area was in Seleukid hands, but it passed permanently to the Attalids, now under Eumenes II, in 188 BC³⁵⁶. Attalos may have founded it in any of the moments when he had control over Thyateira's territory, but Louis Robert suggested as the most likely date ca. 197 BC, the end of Attalos' reign and the beginning of that of Eumenes³⁵⁷.

The Mernouphyta inscription was found in Akhisar, so we have no way of knowing where exactly the settlement would have been located; but it points towards an Attalid

³⁵³ TAM V,2 1106.

³⁵⁴ Herrmann TAM V,2 p. 309.

³⁵⁵ TAM V,2 959; Keil and von Premerstein 1911: 27 no. 51. The wording of the expression used to refer to the settlers is unusual (ll. 2-7), with a very long subordinate clause that can be translated as "The Herakleastai settlers from Mernouphyta, established by the kings Attalos and Eumenes" (my own translation).

³⁵⁶ Cohen 1995: 219.

³⁵⁷ Robert 1962a: 40, followed by Herrmann TAM V,2 p. 352.

interest in securing the region during Attalos I's campaigns, possibly before he took over Lydia and Thyateira, and Eumenes II's early reign, before the Peace of Apameia³⁵⁸. The name Mernouphyta is not entirely Greek: the first part may be a theonym or an anthroponym³⁵⁹; but there is, once again, a Macedonian prevalence amongst the settlers, who in the second century AD still worship Herakles, an echo of Alexander's relationship with the mythical founder of his house³⁶⁰.

For all the generals and soldiers residing at Thyateira, the *a priori* military or defensive character of this settlement and those around it should not be taken for granted. Just as in the Apolloniou Charax inscription, we learn from the dedication to Apollo Pityaenos mentioned earlier that the Galatians had attacked the city and even kidnapped some of its citizens, hence the dedication by the father of one of those taken. We know of the Galatian invasions of the 270s in the Troad and Phrygia, and this inscription suggests that Lydia was similarly affected³⁶¹. Sometime later, during the reign of Eumenes II, Kournoubeudos also suffered during a war, possibly with the Galatians, and was burnt to the ground (κατεφθ[ι]μένοι, A 14-15). This is surely not indicative of a great military success. It seems quite evident that military settlements such as Thyateira were not meant to act as a border control or as an effective border army, but rather as a source of soldiers and generally as a means for the king to ensure the cultivation and exploitation of the lands.

In addition to Attaleia and Mernouphyta, there was at least one other military settlement in the proximity of Thyateira. A fragmentary Hellenistic inscription found on the north slope of the acropolis of Pergamon mentions a settlement of Macedonians honouring Menogenes son of Menophantos, who served under Eumenes II as ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων of the Attalid kingdom³⁶². The text, without any significant restorations, is as follows:

³⁵⁸ Cohen (1995: 281) suggests it was founded to control or counter Thyateira.

³⁵⁹ Zgusta, *Ortsnamen* §802; he suggests that the second part of the name might be Greek for "plot of land" (cf. Phyteanon in *MAMA* I 439) and cites further examples of locations in Lydia: Azaphyta (§21-4), Dideiphyta (§264-1), Ideiphyta (§362) and Titeiphyta (§1344-4). Cf. Thonemann 2009: 378.

³⁶⁰ Epigraphic Appendix 12 l. 7, Ἡρακλῆασται.

³⁶¹ *TAM* V,2 881; Keil and von Premerstein 1911: 14-16 no. 19; Magie 1950: 730-1.

³⁶² *OGIS* 294.

[οἱ περὶ Νά νε/᾿Α]κρασον Μακεδόνες
 [Μηνογ]ένην Μηνοφάντου,
 [---] βασιλέως Εὐμένου,
 [---]οφύλακα, ἀρετῆς ἔνεκεν
 5 [καὶ ἄνδρα- νε/καλοκά]γαθίας καὶ εὐνοίας
 [πρὸς τε τὸ]μ βασιλέα καὶ ἑαυτούς³⁶³.

In his edition, Dittenberger, following Fränkel, restored the name of the settlement as Νάκρασον and the titles of Menogenes as συγγενῆς and νομοφύλαξ (Epigraphic Appendix 10), which Savalli-Lestrade rejected as speculative and replaced with σωματοφύλαξ or ἀρχισωματοφύλαξ³⁶⁴, which considering the implications of the title and its many attestations under the Attalids may be the better choice. Nakrasos is listed by Ptolemy as being one of several Lydian cities, along with Mostene, Hierokaisareia and Thyateira (5.2.14), and it is named in the will of Epikrates (first century AD) and in an imperial decree from the reign of Nero, found in Bakır, where it is presented as ἡ Μα|κεδόνων Νακρασειτῶν | βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος, repeating the link to the Macedonian population of the initial settlement³⁶⁵.

While Dittenberger's reconstruction is plausible, it has also been suggested that the first line be restored as [οἱ περὶ ᾿Α]κρασον Μακεδόνες³⁶⁶, referring to another Lydian settlement known mainly through numismatic evidence³⁶⁷. Both were located in the Kaikos valley, and the villages of Bakır and İyaslar, in the province of Manisa, just slightly over 20 km northwest of Akhisar (Thyateira), have alternatively been proposed as the location of one or the other. As Louis Robert pointed out, both options are plausible and so far it is impossible to know which restoration is the correct one, but it serves the purpose of this thesis to note that at least one of these settlements was in the orbit of the Macedonian settlements of the Lake Marmara area and, specifically, near Thyateira.

One final inscription related to a possible military settlement in this area, although it is far from clear, is the dedication of a stoa, presumably in Thyateira, by men from four settlements who describe themselves as κατοικοῦντες: οἱ κατο[ικοῦ]ντες ἐν Τελαγίνοι[ς?] | καὶ Ουαρνεαῖς καὶ Σιλβο[ῖς?] | καὶ Ποταμιά³⁶⁸. The stone, dated between

³⁶³ Epigraphic Appendix 10.

³⁶⁴ Savalli-Lestrade 1998: 135-7.

³⁶⁵ *Testament* I. 25; *CIG* 3522.

³⁶⁶ Robert 1962a: 71-6; Magie 1950: 979-80; see also Cohen 1995: 223-4.

³⁶⁷ *BMC* Lydia 9-16 nos. 1-40; *Lyd. St.* 42-3 nos. 1-4.

³⁶⁸ Malay, *Lydia Mysia Aiolis* no. 24 ll. 3-6; *SEG* 49.1706 (=59.1399).

27 BC and AD 14 AD, was found in Medar, 5 km north of Akhisar's city centre, but the locations of Telagina, Ouarnea, Silba (?) and Potamia are otherwise unknown, as the toponyms were unattested before the discovery of this inscription. The use of κατοικοῦντες at such a late stage is interesting for its unusualness and has led Hasan Malay, the text's original editor, to suggest that the men who erected the stele were colonists settled by the Seleukids or the Attalids³⁶⁹.

b) Apollonis

The vicinity of Dereköy, some 15 km west of Akhisar/Thyateira, has provided epigraphic evidence for two Attalid military settlements: one named Doidye and the other [...]espourai. The wording in both inscriptions is similar and they are dated with Attalid regnal years to the 37th year of Eumenes II (161/0 BC) and the 7th year of Attalos II (153/2 BC) respectively:

{ *corona* }

βασιλεύοντος Εὐμένου
ἔτους ζ', μηνὸς Περιτίου.
οἱ ἐκ Δοιδύης Μακεδόν[ες]
— — — — —³⁷⁰

{ *corona* }

βασιλεύ[ον]τος Ἀττάλου
ἔτους ζ', μηνὸς Ξανδικο[ῦ].
οἱ ἐκ [...]εσπούρων Μακεδό-
νες ὑπὲρ Δέρδου τοῦ Δερ-
κ[υλί]δου τοῦ αὐτῶν στρα-
τ[η]χο[ῦ] ἀρετῆς ἔνεκεν κα[ὶ]
εὐδ[ό]ξ[ου] ἀν[δ]ραγαθίας, ἧς
ἔχων διατελεῖ εἰς τε
[τ]ὸν βασιλ[έα] καὶ ἑαυτοῦ[ς].³⁷¹

The Doidye inscription was found between the villages of Dereköy and Zeytinliova, while that from [...]espourai appeared in Dereköy itself [FIG. 45]. They have been put in relation to the bigger settlement of Apollonis, whose remains can still be seen in the site known as Palamut Kalesi.

Apollonis was an Attalid foundation, named after Attalos I's wife, Apollonis of Kyzikos, and was founded by συνοικισμός according to the orders of Eumenes II by one of his brothers, probably Attalos³⁷². The date for its foundation has been debated but, ultimately, it is impossible to specify further than Eumenes II's reign (197-159 BC). Louis Robert argued on the basis of numismatic evidence that it was already founded by

³⁶⁹ Malay, *Lydia Mysia Aiolis* p. 41.

³⁷⁰ Epigraphic Appendix 7.

³⁷¹ Epigraphic Appendix 8.

³⁷² Strabo 13.4.4, *TAM* V,2 1187. See Robert's discussion on the possibility of Attalos being the brother of whom the text speaks (1962a: 258 n. 1). Magie suggests ascribing the foundation to Attalos I and seeing Eumenes' action as a re-foundation (1950: 981).

194/3 BC, while Peter Herrmann argued for a dating between the death of Apollonis, in 175 BC, and the end of Eumenes' rule in 159 BC³⁷³. Despite its Attalid origin, however, there is evidence of a heavy Macedonian component among the initial settlers of Apollonis: the city produced coinage with a Macedonian shield on the obverse, similar to the fourth-century Macedonian coinage that Descat called “au bouclier”³⁷⁴. This type was used in Apollonis in the late second and early first centuries BC, with the same Macedonian shield on the obverse and a club with the legend ΑΠΟΛΛΩ/ΝΙΔΕΩΝ surrounded by a circle of dots on the reverse [FIG. 46-47]³⁷⁵.

Moreover, although the epigraphic evidence from Apollonis leans heavily to the Roman period, five inscriptions with ephebic lists have been found, dated between the second and first centuries BC, which allow us to have a closer look at the onomastics of this city in a context that is not purely military³⁷⁶. The longest and most complete is *TAM* V,2 1203 = Epigraphic Appendix 22 with a total of 130 names, of which twelve are clearly Macedonian: Νουμήνιος (I.5), Πρεπέλαος (I.6), Φιλίππος (I.9), Ἀμύντας (I.11), Ἀλέξανδρος (II.4 22), Ἄτταλος (II.11, twice, for a father and a son, V.20), Καλλίας (IV.7), Ἀντίπατρος (V.17, 18). In *TAM* V,2 1204, Macedonian names are almost entirely absent save for an Ἄτταλος Ἀρειδαίου in I.14³⁷⁷, and a rather obscure Macedonian name, Βότρης (in the genitive Βοτρέους), which appears in *TAM* V,2 1208³⁷⁸. The names are mostly dynastic, which may show more an acceptance of the new ruling elites than a Macedonian heritage, but the appearance of less conspicuous Macedonian names such as Νουμήνιος, Καλλίας, Βότρης or even Ἀρειδαῖος confirms the Macedonian heritage of the city. While the ephebic lists cannot be considered representative of the whole population of Apollonis due to their fragmentary and limited nature, it is striking that, not that long after its foundation, surviving traces of Macedonian onomastics were to be found within a group of young men that would presumably go on to serve in the army.

Although the archaeological remains are scarce, the location of Apollonis, to the north of the modern village of Mecidiye, is clear and its perimeter can be clearly seen

³⁷³ Robert 1962a: 32-37; Herrmann *TAM* V,2 p. 421.

³⁷⁴ *SNG Cop. Lydia* 342-47; *SNG von Aulock* 3060; *BMC Lydia* 187 nos. 1-4; *Lyd. St.* 26; *SNG Cop.* 16; *Winterthur* 3682.

³⁷⁵ *SNG Cop.* 16; *SNG* (München) 32.

³⁷⁶ *TAM* V,2 1203 (Epigraphic Appendix 22)-1208.

³⁷⁷ Robert 1962a: 249.

³⁷⁸ Robert 1962a: 249.

from above [FIG. 48-49]³⁷⁹. Some 15 km west of Thyateira/Akhisar, it commands the plain and the nearby settlements. The mound where the site has been located is of slightly higher altitude than the surrounding lands, and it is composed of two elevations: one of a more triangular shape, which Schuchhardt identified as Apollonis proper, and a second smaller one, 500 m to the north, which he suggested might be Doidye, although other authors favour a more distant location for the latter, Dereköy or Zeytinlioiva to the north of Mecidiye³⁸⁰. The second mound is certainly big enough to hold a garrison and even a settlement, so it could be argued that it may indeed be identified with Doidye, assuming that the settlement went on to become part of the city after the συννοικισμός³⁸¹. As for the location of [...]espourai, no conclusive information is known to this date, although it was certainly to be found within the territory of Apollonis.

The presence of Macedonian soldiers in both settlements certainly points to a link with Apollonis and its Macedonian population, but also to the earlier history of the area: several Seleukid settlements have been documented in the vicinity of Apollonis, most notably Thyateira, so there was already a Macedonian stratum in place before 175 BC, the *terminus post quem* for the foundation of the city. Doidye and [...]espourai may well have also been Seleukid foundations to support Thyateira that were later taken over by the Attalids and added to the territory of Apollonis³⁸². The Seleukids surely would have seen the agricultural potential of the valley of the Hyllos and the strategic advantages of controlling the plain and Mount Aspendos (Yunt Dağı) and would thus have settled two contingents of Macedonians west of Thyateira. This would explain the existence of two military settlements so close to the *polis* and would show the Seleukid interest in the area of Lake Marmara and the systematic control they exerted on the valley of the Hyllos. The Attalids no doubt considered it beneficial to their growing political and geographical power to take over an area with already installed military settlements and, in order to stabilise the area, to found a city to which these would belong.

³⁷⁹ See also Robert 1962a Planche I.

³⁸⁰ Schuchhardt *MDAI(A)* 24 (1899) 155, followed by Hansen (1971: 176). Georges Radet was the first one to identify Doidye with Dereköy (1890: 17), and later with Zeytinlioiva (then Yayaköy; 1893 map; Von Diest 1889: 22).

³⁸¹ Cohen 1995: 201. Magie (1950: 981) dispels the previous notion that Doidye could have been an older name for Apollonis based on topographic and numismatic grounds.

³⁸² Schulten 1897: 529; Hansen 1971: 174.

c) Hyrkanis

The region of Hyrkanis is one of the oldest examples of Persian colonisation to survive well into the Hellenistic and Roman periods, not least due to its name, which already provides us with a direct link to Persian activity: Strabo tells us about the settling of Hyrkanian soldiers in the plain of the same name by the Achaemenids³⁸³. Hyrkania, a region south of the Black Sea, was taken by Cyrus the Great in 549/8 BC, just two years before Lydia fell to the Achaemenid Empire. The fact that the Hyrkanian plain was also called Plain of Cyrus (τὸ Κύρου πεδῖον) and that we have evidence for a settlement named Dareiou Kome (in modern Yeşilköy) in Roman times seems to point towards either Cyrus the Great or Darius the Great, which would mean that Persian colonisation in the area was established as far back as the sixth century BC³⁸⁴. This is not the only example of the settlement of Eastern soldiers in Lydia: from the area of Taşkuyucak also comes an inscription from οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν | Παρθευροῖς³⁸⁵. The inscription has been dated to the late Hellenistic period, and although the name of the honorand is quite certainly of Greek origin, the name Παρθευροῖς recalls Alexander's incursion into Hyrkania, south of the Caspian Sea, after which he marched towards the Parthians, ἐπὶ Παρθυαίους ἦγεν (Arr. 3.25.1).

The settlement that gives name to the Hyrkanian plain, Hyrkanis, has traditionally been located in Halitpaşaköy (known as Papazlı when the inscriptions were first discovered), between the Çal Dağı and the Kara Dağ [FIG. 50-51]³⁸⁶. It controls the eastwards passage towards Lake Marmara and Sardis, the beginning of the Persian Royal Road, but more importantly, it controls the western plain – the Hyrkanian plain – and the routes from Smyrna and Pergamon. The nearby Çal Dağı reaches 600 m of altitude not far from Halitpaşaköy and 1000 m at its highest point, giving a strategic outlook over the western and eastern plains – a preeminent location for a military settlement, even in Achaemenid times [FIG. 52 (A and B)]. The settlement was not only close to the course of the Hermos river, to the south of the Çal Dağı, which marks it as extremely appropriate for the granting of land to settled soldiers, but also had a strong

³⁸³ Strabo 13.4.13. See also Sekunda 1985 for more details of the Persian colonisation of Lydia. Steph. Byz. s.v. Ὑρκανία.

³⁸⁴ TAM V,2 1335. Although the name recalls its Persian origin, there is no certainty as to which Darius founded it. The name structure is similar to that of the Kome of the Kardakians (Καρδάκων κόμη): genitive plus nominative (“the kome of Darius”).

³⁸⁵ Malay, *Lydia Mysia Aiolis* no. 71. The location of Partheura is currently unknown.

³⁸⁶ Fontrier 1886: 9-19; Keil and von Premerstein 1908: 59; Robert, *Hellenica* VI: 21; Herrmann TAM V,2 p. 464-5.

connection to another river by the name of Pidasos, probably a tributary of the Phrygios³⁸⁷, as many of its coins bear the image of a river god which has been identified with the Pidasos³⁸⁸.

The Macedonian conquest, however, profoundly altered the cultural identity of these settled Hyrkanians. The earliest evidence we have from Hyrkanian Macedonians belongs to a proxeny decree from Amphissa, in Lokris, dating to the end of the second century BC, in which a certain Menophantos, a doctor and a Μακεδὼν Ὑρκάνιος, is honoured³⁸⁹. Further epigraphic evidence comes from the Roman period³⁹⁰, together with numismatic sources from the imperial period that maintain a Macedonian type, either with the Macedonian shield or with the ethnic ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ ΥΡΚΑΝΩΝ [FIG. 53]³⁹¹. The appearance of two inscriptions relating to a cult of Zeus Seleukios in the nearby village of Alibeyli has strengthened the link to the Macedonian conquerors and suggested a possible Seleukid foundation in the early stages of their control of western Asia Minor, as was the case with Thyateira³⁹². Whether a foundation or a refoundation by the Seleukids, Hyrkanis is clear proof of military involvement in Lydia well before the Hellenistic period and of the acculturation of soldiers, first Persians and then Macedonians, into new cultural frameworks.

Another inscription related to a military settlement was discovered in Halitpaşa; it was first published in 1946 by Jeanne and Louis Robert, who read the name of the settlement as Dechtheira – with some hesitation, as they themselves acknowledge, for the stone was extremely weathered³⁹³. Some years later, P. Herrmann published a correction to this reading, correctly to my mind, turning it into Agatheira³⁹⁴.

³⁸⁷ Pliny *NH* 5.119; Sekunda 1985: 20.

³⁸⁸ Herrmann *TAM* V,2 464; *Lyd. St.* 83 no. 1-3; *SNG* (München) 175.

³⁸⁹ *IG* IX,1² 3:750, l. 7. Also Samama 2003 no. 67 on dating. In his commentary, Vollgraf (1901: 234-9) links his name to the cults of Men and Artemis Anaitis, again recalling the Persian influence in the region of Hyrkanis. The term “Hyrkanian Macedonians” is used again by Tacitus when narrating the earthquake Lydia suffered 17 AD (*Tac. Ann.* 2.47).

³⁹⁰ *I. Ephesos* 1498 l. 8; *TAM* V,2 1308.

³⁹¹ Cohen 1995: 210. *BMC Lydia* 122 no. 1-3; *Lyd. St.* 83-85 nos. 1, 5; Robert, *Hellenica* VI 21-22.

³⁹² *TAM* V,2 1306; Cohen 1995: 210. Another inscription for Zeus Seleukios was found in Saraçlar, near Kula and Encekler (Emoddi), *TAM* V,1 426; *BE* 1951 46. See Chapter 3 Section 3.4.1.

³⁹³ Robert, *Hellenica* VI p. 22 no. 3, with squeeze.

³⁹⁴ Herrmann 1986: 17-20, with photograph; Epigraphic Appendix 9. Zgusta, *Ortsnamen* §255 also reads Agatheira.

[β]ασιλεύοντος Εὐμένου[υς ἔτους — — —].
οἱ ἐξ Ἀγαθείρων Μακεδ[ό]νες
[Σ]έλευκον Μενεκρά[τ]ο[υ]ςΤΟ[. (?)]
.... καὶ ἀγαθὸν γενόμεν[ον — — —]

The ending of the name, -teira, also present in Thyateira, is formed from a Lydian suffix which Reinach argued was an old Lydian term for “fortress” or “town”, equivalent to the Greek χάραξ³⁹⁵. It is clear that the name is not of Greek or Macedonian origin, but the colonists may have been, since the inscription honours a certain Seleukos son of Menekrates – the Macedonian relationship in the name Seleukos is undeniable.

It is impossible to say exactly when it was founded, for no other inscriptions mention the settlement and most of the epigraphic evidence for Macedonians around Lake Marmara belong to Attalid times; this very inscription has been dated to the reign of Eumenes II (197-159 BC), from the use of the royal title, and Herrmann, following Jeanne and Louis Robert, dates it to after the peace of Apameia in 188 BC³⁹⁶. However, the fact that there was a cult to Zeus Seleukios in Hyrkanis in the late Roman period points to a deeper involvement with the Seleukids and, perhaps, to a Seleukid foundation³⁹⁷.

Finally, from late Attalid times, judging from the letter forms, an inscription from the settlement called Lasnedda was found in Büyükbelen, 10 km to the west of the western shore of Lake Marmara, on the slopes of Çal Dağı [FIG. 54]³⁹⁸. The identity of the settlers is unknown to us, as no ethnic is attached to the name of the settlement: οἱ ἐν Λασνέδδων, but Herrmann suggested that it be interpreted as another Macedonian colony, in addition to the many already present in the area. However, although it is safe to assume that it was indeed a military settlement, as the dedication from Lasnedda follows the usual wording, a Macedonian origin should not be so easily taken for granted.

The name Lasnedda has a typical Lydo-phrygian ending in -dda, and the very short inscription is a dedication made to a Phrygian god, Papias, whose cult had only been

³⁹⁵ Reinach 1890: 64; Cohen 1995: 238; Keil and von Premerstein 1914: 87. It can also be found in Thyateira (Zgusta, *Ortsnamen* §349), Apateira (Zgusta, *Ortsnamen* §80) and Kothaira (*I. Ephesos* VII,1 3293).

³⁹⁶ See also Cohen 1995: 195, 223-24.

³⁹⁷ *TAM* V,2 1306.

³⁹⁸ Epigraphic Appendix 11; *BE* 1970 517. Tentatively dated by Herrmann and Polatkan (*Testament* 44).

attested in Phrygia until the discovery of this inscription, although the name as an anthroponym is widely attested elsewhere – now we know that his cult was also undertaken in Lydia³⁹⁹. There is no doubt that it is a name native to Asia Minor, and that the cult existed prior to the Macedonian conquest. The lack of any ethnic denominations in the inscription may point to a mixed settlement, whose non-Greek population may have kept its religious customs. Not far from Büyükbelen, in the nearby village of Çullugörece, an early Roman inscription was found that mentions ὁ δῆμος | [...]σζεδδίων Ἑλληνέ[ς] | τε καὶ [Ῥ]ωμαῖοι⁴⁰⁰. All commentators have been cautious in linking the two inscriptions, as there is not enough evidence to confidently affirm whether this second inscription also refers to Lasnedda. However, the name of one individual involved shows a non-Greek origin, Persian in this case with the name Marcus Antonius Bagoas (l. 4, 7); furthermore, they call themselves Ἑλληνες and not Macedonians – they may have been Hellenised but there are no traces of any, real or imagined, Macedonian heritage.

The inscription from Hyrkanis was obviously transported from elsewhere, as it was being reused as part of a floor; we may therefore speculate about its original location. Agatheira could have been situated to the south of Çal Dağı, opposite Hyrkanis, creating a triangle of sorts with Hyrkanis and Lasnedda that would enable whoever controlled the region to control not only the passage towards Lydia but also the natural resources of the river Hermos and the mountain. It is impossible to know the extent of Agatheira's or Lasnedda's political independence, as the only texts we have do not give any indication of this, but if they were settlements akin to Doidye, which was not very far, we could suggest that they depended on the nearby polis of Hyrkanis (Büyükbelen is only 13 km away from Halitpaşaköy), while at the same time maintaining their separate identity. This would in turn, as Peter Herrmann suggested, mean that the territory of Hyrkanis covered not only the Hyrkanian plain towards Smyrna but also the two mountains of the Çal and the Kara Dağları⁴⁰¹. Seleukid and Attalid control of the area would be indeed essential to keep in check the passage towards Sardis and the Royal Road, as well as the extension of fertile land fed by the rivers Hermos, Phrygios and Pidasos.

³⁹⁹ Keil and von Premerstein 1911: 7; *Testament* 44-45, Zgusta, *Personennamen* §1199.

⁴⁰⁰ *TAM* V,2 1322 l. 1-3.

⁴⁰¹ *TAM* V,2 p. 464.

It is not the concentration of military settlements in this area that should come as a surprise, but rather the scarcity of direct Macedonian references in comparison to other parts of Lake Marmara – Agatheira’s Seleukos notwithstanding. While there may have been Macedonian settlers here, it is significant that the three attested settlements of Hyrkanis are either of Persian or of native origin, although we know them through documents redacted in Greek. Hyrkanis is the only one to which we can confidently ascribe a pre-Hellenistic origin, possibly in Achaemenid times, but it is likely that all three of them were in existence by Seleukid times. This evidences a continued interest in Lake Marmara: the Achaemenids already saw the potential of the area in the sixth century BC and the Seleukids integrated their Macedonian soldiers into what probably were established settlements around the Çal Dağı, with the Attalid takeover a final step in their Hellenistic history.

2.2.3 Kaystros valley

The Kaystros river, modern Küçük Menderes, flows in southern Lydia through the Kaystrian and Kilbian plains, between the Tmolos (Boz Dağları) to the north and Messogis (Aydın Dağları) mountains to the south. Although this valley does not have the density of military settlement attested for its northern neighbour, the Hermos valley, up to five κατοικίαι have been attested through inscriptions of Roman imperial times. Due to the ambiguous nature of the term κατοικία, this might not in itself be significant enough, but the archaeological prospections in the valley carried out by Recep Meriç and his documentation of the chain of fortifications that extended east from Ephesos to the end of the Kilbian plain have allowed us to link several of these κατοικίαι to extant fortifications, thus proving a military past to them.

Meriç has located up to forty-nine fortifications in the Kaystros valley: these formed a chain of defensive, guard and signal systems from the Gulf of Ephesos in the east, along the northern face of the Messogis mountains and into the Kilbian plain, finishing in the confluence of the Messogis and the Tmolos (see map in FIG. 55)⁴⁰². A mixture of freestanding towers, rectangular forts, farmsteads with towers and big fortresses⁴⁰³, they served mainly as watchposts for border and pass control and for relaying signals (five forts are located in the Gallesion mountain range, between Ephesos and the coast; three in the passage of Urfalı Dağı; one between Darmara-Eskioba and Kurşak; five in the

⁴⁰² See Meriç 2009 Plan 4 at the end of the book.

⁴⁰³ See the typology of the fortifications in Chapter 3 Section 3.1.

valley between Belevi and Tire and a further seven in the middle Kaystros valley between the Messogis and the Tmolos⁴⁰⁴). Some of the farmsteads and fortresses were also equipped for attack with catapults, but this was not the norm.

As for the epigraphic record, two honorific inscriptions, one from the first or second centuries AD and another from the third century AD, attest to the existence of ἡ Βωνιτῶν κατοικία in Büyük Kale ('Big Castle' or 'Big Fortress') in the valley between Belevi and Tire, at the foot of the Messogis, where Meriç also recorded a big fortress with enough space for a proper garrison, as the modern name suggests⁴⁰⁵. In Eskioba, where Meriç recorded the site of the fortification of Darmara, on the northern slope of the smaller mountain that separates the Messogis from the Kaystros plain, a second/third-century AD honorific inscription for a *neopoios* of Artemis mentions ἡ Ἀλμουρηνῶν κατοικία⁴⁰⁶. To the east, in the confluence of the Messogis and the Tmolos, a new second-century AD inscription published by Peter Herrmann and Hasan Malay identified a previously unnamed κατοικία in Çayağzı as Diginda, whose name also appears in a second-century BC list of *symbolephoroi* found in the same location⁴⁰⁷. While no fortifications have been recorded in Çayağzı, in a neighbouring village just 2 km to the west called Karaburç both a fortress and a second-century AD inscription for a Thracian god have been discovered⁴⁰⁸. The dedicant, a certain Ἡρακλείδης (who appears without patronymic), describes himself as a φύλαξ⁴⁰⁹, which could possibly point to an original military settlement with a Thracian presence.

In the modern city of Tire, 36 km NE from Ephesos, an imperial inscription (possible second or third century AD) mentioning ἡ Μαγνημηνῶν κατοικία has been found (although the 'magni-' may in this case suggest a Roman origin)⁴¹⁰. While there are no fortifications in Tire proper, Meriç documented a fortress with an acropolis in Cambazlı, 4 km SE of Tire at 600 m of altitude on the slopes of Mount Messogis⁴¹¹. The fortress at Cambazlı has quite significant dimensions: its total length is of 270 m, while the acropolis' length is of 150 m; both have fortified walls with square towers, two of which

⁴⁰⁴ Meriç 2009: 134-5.

⁴⁰⁵ SEG 31.958-59. The name of the κατοικία may possibly come from the Greek βουνός; Zgusta, *Ortsnamen* §159-3.

⁴⁰⁶ I. Ephesos VII,1 3263 ll. 13-14; SEG 31.957. Possibly a Phrygian name: Zgusta, *Ortsnamen* §46.

⁴⁰⁷ Buresch 1898 no. 64; Herrmann-Malay, *Lydia* nos. 97 and 99.

⁴⁰⁸ Herrmann-Malay, *Lydia* no. 98.

⁴⁰⁹ Herrmann and Malay do not doubt his Thracian origin and they suggest that he may be a slave due to the lack of patronymic (*Lydia* p. 128).

⁴¹⁰ SEG 31.964.

⁴¹¹ Meriç 2009: 137.

protect the main gate. Being so close and with the view that the fortress must have provided of the Kaystros plain, Tire and Cambazlı must have been linked to some extent in antiquity, perhaps with the Μαγνημηνῶν κατοικία being a military settlement in origin.

One last imperial κατοικία, which is not linked to any extant fortification, is ἡ Σικλιανῶν κατοικία, identified by a funerary inscription found in Furunlu, on the northern side of the Kaystros plain and by the southern slope of Mount Tmolos⁴¹². There is nothing to suggest this settlement was military or fortified in origin, but its closeness to the Tmolos, very much like Tire, could indicate, at least, an intention of controlling the northwestern part of the valley and the passage towards Kolophon and Smyrna.

2.3. Coastal and inner Asia Minor

The evidence from Lydia is certainly striking for its quantity but is rather lacking in content: the very fragmentary inscriptions, together with the almost total absence of archaeological remains, in part due to the lack of survey activity in the valley of the rivers Hyllös and Lykos, suggest extreme caution in drawing any straightforward conclusions. Looking elsewhere in western Asia Minor can help to find parallels that will enable us to ground the hypotheses about the Lydian military settlements more solidly. I have selected four particularly well-documented cases from different parts of western Asia Minor, which will help better understand the Macedonian military presence further in Lydia, Lykia and Phrygia.

Thus, I will be discussing one Seleukid settlement – one of the few we can confidently ascribe to the Seleukids⁴¹³ – and three which passed into Attalid hands after the Peace of Apameia in 188 BC: the κόμη of the Kardakes in Lykia and two Phrygian settlements, Toriaion and Pessinous. All four will provide us with invaluable topographic as well as socio-political information, which will be discussed in later chapters.

2.3.1 Magnesia ad Sipylum and Palaimagnesia

During the Third Syrian War which brought Seleukos II and Ptolemy III face to face, Smyrna stayed loyal to Seleukos while Magnesia ad Sipylum supported the Lagid king's efforts – which unfortunately did not play out well for the city. Encouraging

⁴¹² SEG 28.931.

⁴¹³ Kosmin 2019: 89.

them to take Seleukos' side, Smyrna sent envoys to Magnesia to initiate a procedure of *συμπολιτεία* between the two cities, a process which involved the military settlers already established in Magnesia⁴¹⁴.

The stone documenting this process was found in Smyrna (modern İzmir). It is composed of three different texts related to this *συμπολιτεία*: 1) a decree of Smyrna concerning its treaty with Magnesia (ll. 1-33); 2) the actual treaty between both cities (ll. 34-88); 3) a second decree of Smyrna concerning the fortress of Palaimagnesia (ll. 89-108). The fact that Smyrna published separate decrees for Magnesia and for Palaimagnesia when it would have been possible to deal with both at the same time, considering all the texts concern the same political issue, points towards a semi-independent military settlement in Palaimagnesia.

While archaeological remains are scarce, Magnesia ad Sipylum has traditionally been identified with the modern city of Manisa, administrative seat of the eponymous Turkish province – the name still bearing some resemblance. Its qualifier, “ad Sipylum”, refers to the contiguous Spil Dağı, Sipylos in Antiquity, the nearby mountain which separates Smyrna and Magnesia and towers over the Gulf of Smyrna, together with its neighbour Yamanlar Dağı. The summit of Sipylos reaches 1500 m of altitude, providing a view of the Hyrkanian plain all the way to Lake Marmara, as well as of Smyrna and its gulf [FIGS. 56-57]. The course of the Hermos through the plain, so very near Magnesia, makes for an extremely fertile soil, as can be seen from modern grasslands around the city. Not much of the ancient city of Magnesia stands, but recent surveys have allowed the identification of some remains in the southern part of Manisa, on the slope of the hill known as Topkale⁴¹⁵. In his survey of the Hermos river, Recep Meriç describes the 2007 excavation of Manisa's slopes and the discovery of the remains of an earlier fortification wall built in cyclopean style, which the archaeologist in charge, M. U. Doğan, called “the Lower City”. Meriç has since identified this “Lower City” with the fortress of Palaimagnesia mentioned in our text. The position of this fortress and its acropolis would certainly match the expectations that the decree from Smyrna creates, as it has a vantage position over both the city of Magnesia and the plain, but would also give easy access to the summit if needed [FIGS. 58-59]. If this is indeed Palaimagnesia,

⁴¹⁴ Epigraphic Appendix 18.

⁴¹⁵ Keil and von Premerstein 1908: 1; Meriç 2018: 116, Fig. 61.

it would conform to the image of a separate entity from Magnesia, close enough to depend on it but independent enough to warrant a decree of its own.

The text of the three decrees already shows a geographical distinction between the soldiers stationed at Magnesia proper: the inscription mentions several times οἱ ἐμὲ Μαγνησίαι κάτοικοι and οἱ ὑπαιθροί, sometimes with further details of the types of troops that make up these contingents, namely horsemen and infantry⁴¹⁶. The terminology employed is interesting: the bulk of the army is described as κάτοικοι, against the more usual κατοικοῦντες we have seen in previous inscriptions, and there is a clear distinction between those residing in the city, κατὰ πόλιν, and outside the city, οἱ ὑπαιθροί. Ὑπαιθρος literally means “in the open air”, but it can also designate an army in the field or a military encampment stationed outside a city⁴¹⁷. It is often used by Hellenistic writers to describe military matters, be it campaigns or troops, bearing the nuance of taking to the field or to the open air⁴¹⁸. A funerary inscription from Tralleis for Dionysios, the commander of τοῦ ὑπαίθρου, singular, allows us to understand it as a canonical organisational paradigm within the Hellenistic armies – the commander at Tralleis is Attalid, whilst the ὑπαιθροί at Smyrna are Seleukid⁴¹⁹. Since in this case the term seems to refer to the territory surrounding the city, it becomes clear that at Magnesia the army controlled every part of the *polis*: the city, the acropolis (the fortress of Palaimagnesia) and the lands around it⁴²⁰.

A further proof of the separation between the soldiers in the city and those in the open comes from their political organisation: they send separate ambassadors to deal with the Smyrnaeans (l. 21)⁴²¹. One of the most interesting parts of the inscription, albeit of complicated interpretation, comes in lines 86-87, when the dispositions for the inscription and diffusion of the decrees are set out: it is stated that the Smyrnaean copy will be delivered by whomever the κοινόν of those in Magnesia appoint, and will be signed with both the appointee’s seal and with that of the κοινόν. Commenting on this,

⁴¹⁶ Mentioned up to ten times: ll. 14, 21, 35, 36, 43-4, 46, 59, 71-2, 73-4, 92.

⁴¹⁷ Iossif and Lorber 2010: 435.

⁴¹⁸ Diod. 21.16.2; Polyb. 1.84.4, 4.8.5, 13.2.3, 31.18.8. Cf. Launey 1987: 693ff and Garlan 1978: 103-8 for an Athenian decree concerning ὑπαίθροί and Couvenhes 2011: 303-6 more generally for Athenian ὑπαίθροί.

⁴¹⁹ Malay (1996: 85 n12) suggests a parallel with Epigraphic Appendix 16, but these are two different situations, as the Attalid decree seeks for the soldiers to be settled, and that is not a concern in Magnesia’s case.

⁴²⁰ Iossif and Lorber 2010: 436.

⁴²¹ Interestingly, as Cohen points out (1978: 78), the native Magnesians, οἱ ἄλλοι οἰκηταί (l. 35) have no say and no ambassadors, which says something about the overpowering authority of the army and Magnesia’s origin as a military settlement.

Cohen is tempted by the idea that this refers to a military association, but he concludes that it is more probable that it meant the whole of the population of Magnesia, military and civic⁴²². While this might be true, we have seen the authority that the army commanded in Magnesia, as the ambassadors sent to negotiate the agreement were all picked out of military bodies; so it stands to reason that the appointed person to sign off the agreement would also be a member of the army.

Attempting to reconstruct a Seleukid colonial association, Cohen states that “[i]n the military colonies, the commanding officer was also the chief magistrate”⁴²³. There is no evidence that this *κοινόν* may be similar to the *κοινά* of the Abbaeitian Mysians or the Mogoreis in Karia, but the term certainly speaks of a communal understanding and further proves that these complex social organisations were common amongst military bodies. Alice Bencivenni proposed another very interesting explanation for this apparent military supremacy: that the city of Magnesia suffered, after the imposition of a garrison in early Hellenistic times, a reverse process to that of other settlements being absorbed into *poleis*; in this case, it was the city which was encompassed within the settlement as far as its civic status was concerned⁴²⁴. In none of the three texts are the *polis*-status of Magnesia or the city’s civic institutions mentioned, which suggests two possibilities: either, as Bencivenni postulates, the city had regressed from its *polis*-status and was now a *κοινόν* based around the military settlement that probably Antiochos I had founded, or it had only become a *polis* recently and its status was feeble, especially after the war; there are no references prior to these texts to Magnesia ad Sipylum being a city⁴²⁵. Magnesia would thus have a lot to gain from Smyrna’s offer of citizenship and it would also explain why the army, and not the Greek citizens of Magnesia, was handling the negotiations. The present status of the evidence does not allow any clear conclusions, but if Bencivenni’s argument is right, this would be an extraordinary example of the impact of the establishment of a military settlement near a pre-existing *polis* and the transformation of the political dynamics that it brought with it.

Returning to the fortress of Palaimagnesia, the wording of the inscription is not entirely clear as to the degree of independence of the fort. We are told that the men

⁴²² Cohen 1978: 78.

⁴²³ Cohen 1978: 78.

⁴²⁴ Bencivenni 2003: 223-26, following Gauthier 1985: 198.

⁴²⁵ Ihnken, *I. Magnesia Sipylos* pp. 17-18; the only prior reference to Magnesia is a 5th-century fragment of Hellanikos of Lesbos that does not give it any particular title (*FGrH* 4 F 191).

guarding the fort before the Smyrnaean garrison was sent to reinforce Smyrna's control over it are a certain Timon and [τ]οῖς πεζοῖς τοῖς τεταγμένοις ὑπὸ Τίμωνα τοῖς ἀποταχθεῖσιν ἀπὸ τῆς φάλαγγο[ς] | ἐπὶ τὴν φυλακὴν τοῦ χωρίου (ll. 103-4), “the infantry stationed under Timon's command who were detached from the phalanx for the guarding of the fort”. It seems obvious that Timon and his men initially belonged to the same body as the κάτοικοι and the ὑπαιθοῖς stationed in the lower city but were chosen to occupy Palaimagnesia. However, Smyrna sent a separate embassy just for the fortress (l. 95), and the detailing of the privileges that they would receive (citizenship and tax exemption amongst others, ll. 99-104) is not reciprocated in the decrees for Magnesia.

Aside from the patent interest of Smyrna in controlling Palaimagnesia, the fortress seems to have operated as a *quasi*-independent entity, receiving ambassadors separately from Magnesia and having its own allotments of land. This fits with my hypothesis of every military settlement depending on a bigger nearby city – only in this case the settlement was to be found within the city. Their foundation signals a very early Seleukid interest in the region: although the earliest reference to a Seleukid monarch in the text is to Antiochos I (ὁ θεὸς καὶ σωτὴρ Ἀντίοχος, l. 100), we have already seen several early Seleukid settlements in the area, possibly dating back to Seleukos I, amongst them Thyateira, Doidye and [...]espourai or Hyrkanis, very close to Magnesia. The name of Palaimagnesia, “Old Magnesia”, certainly seems to point towards an earlier foundation than Magnesia ad Sipylum, and one could speculate that it was a Seleukid foundation, shortly after the battle of Korupedion, which received from the king a special land assignation, ratified in the third part of the Smyrna decree⁴²⁶.

This inscription provides a very complete example of a tripartite division of the army in a military settlement which had grown considerably but not yet enough to receive the status of *polis*. The fort of Palaimagnesia controlled Mount Sipylos and the surrounding plain as well as owning some of the lands around the city, while the rest of the army was divided geographically, settled either within the city or “out in the open” – presumably lodged in temporary barracks rather than proper houses like their comrades, suggestive of a contingent of men employed to survey and control the land around Magnesia.

⁴²⁶ Bencivenni 2003: 235.

2.3.2 Lykia: Καρδάκων κώμη

Further south, close to Rhodian territory, we still find traces of Achaemenid military settlements, such as the κώμη of the Kardakes near Telmessos, documented by an inscription dated to the 17th year of Eumenes II's reign (181/0 BC)⁴²⁷. The text consists of a letter of Eumenes to a certain Artemidoros, presumably a provincial governor, concerning the state of the village of the Kardakes in Lykia. According to the information that Artemidoros had passed on to the king, the land had been so impoverished that the settlers had decided to leave and further action was necessary to keep them stationed there. Eumenes therefore agreed to exempt them from the payment of taxes to ease their recovery; he also agreed to let their fort be repaired, as long as they would assume the expenses themselves.

The text was found in Fethiye, in the modern province of Muğla, a harbour city situated on the eponymous gulf, which has been identified as the site of ancient Telmessos⁴²⁸. Lykia was granted to the Rhodians after the Treaty of Apameia in 188 BC, but Telmessos and its territory, which had belonged to Ptolemaios son of Lysimachos, were now granted to Eumenes II⁴²⁹. The Rhodian influence in the area, however, was still strong – in the text, the soldiers are liable to pay in Rhodian drachmae (l. 11)⁴³⁰.

Previous discussions of this text raised two essential and interconnected questions: where was this κώμη located and how significant a settlement was it? The second question is provoked by the refusal of some scholars to consider it a military settlement at all. Bar-Kochva argued: “The participle form of *katoikein*, the absence of any indication of military obligations in this long inscription and the heavy burden of the poll-tax imposed on them as on the *laoi* suggest that in the Hellenistic period they were a civilian element, although the possibility that they were initially settled there by the Persians for military purposes cannot be ruled out”⁴³¹. I would agree with the last part of his argument, but otherwise there are several flaws. Οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν Καρδά|κων κώμηι mirrors the most common way of presenting military settlers in the Hellenistic

⁴²⁷ Epigraphic Appendix 14.

⁴²⁸ More specifically in Hızırlık, near Fethiye. See Kolb 2018: 213ff for photographs of the ancient site.

⁴²⁹ Polyb. 21.24.6-8; Livy 37.56.4. Wörrle 1979. Eumenes possibly took advantage of his relationship with influential Roman families to acquire this strategic harbour, which would be separated from the main Pergamene kingdom and very close to Rhodes (Kobes 1997). See also his description (p. 68) of the harbour of Telmessos.

⁴³⁰ See Kay 2013: 127 for Attalid taxes. Fraser and Bean suggest this move by the Romans was aimed at limiting the expansion of Rhodes in the area (1954: 117).

⁴³¹ Bar-Kochva 1976: 216-7 n27.

period, with many examples which have been discussed above belonging to the same period. The absence of military obligations and the poll tax are also not indicative *per se* of a civilian settlement: the purpose of the military settlements was twofold, military and agricultural, and inscriptions concerning them need not refer to their war duties if it was not necessary for their purpose – for example, the Attalid grants of land to groups of settlers around Pergamon (*I. Pergamon* 7 and 158 = Epigraphic Appendix 15 and 16) do not explicitly mention their military duties, and most of the dedications that have allowed us to locate the settlements do not either, which does not automatically exclude them from a military status. Segre, the first editor of the text, Launey and Sekunda do consider it a military settlement owing to its more than likely Achaemenid origin⁴³².

The relationship of the settlement to the Ptolemies and the Seleukids is beyond doubt: the soldiers are said to have bought the land from a certain Ptolemaios, who must certainly be identified with the local dynast son of Lysimachos, who had received the city and its territory in δωρεά from Ptolemy III in 240 BC⁴³³ (despite an inscription from 279 BC in which Ptolemy II was praised for deciding not to gift Telmessos as a δωρεά⁴³⁴), which places the Kardakes in an area of strong Macedonian control.

We are informed by Livy that when Eumenes II received Telmessos and its lands in the Treaty of Apameia, he also received *castra Telmessium*, “the forts of the Telmessians”⁴³⁵. Now, Fethiye is a flat harbour town, covering a large expanse of plain and surrounded by several mountain ranges: Belen Dağı and An Dağı to the south and Dolukızlan Tepesi to the north [FIG. 60]. At least one of the forts that Livy mentions must have been situated nearby and at one of these elevated locations. Werner Tietz wanted to identify this fort with a habitation site to the northwest of the Belen Dağ rather than, as Sekunda, with an inner land location around Acıpayam⁴³⁶. His reasoning is sound: the Belen Dağ location provides an excellent view of the Gulf and of the surrounding territories, but the nearby plain of Kayaköy, enclosed by mountain ranges, would not have been able to provide enough arable land to support the settlement,

⁴³² Segre 1938: 190-208; Launey 1987: 486; Tietz 2003: 348. Sekunda (1991: 105-6) mentions the Achaemenid reorganisation of Lykia in the 340s as a possible time frame for its foundation. We have already seen the Achaemenid establishment of Hyrkanians in Lydia, so this κώμη could be another Persian military settlement (see above Section 2.2.2 c) Hyrkanis). See Charles 2012 for the military use of the term κάρδακες in Persian armies.

⁴³³ *OGIS* 55; Wörle 1979: 85-6.

⁴³⁴ Wörle 1978.

⁴³⁵ Livy 37.56.5.

⁴³⁶ Tietz 2003: 351-2; Schweyer 1993: 39-40; Sekunda 1991: 107.

causing a shortage situation like that described in Eumenes' letter [FIG. 61]. The plain comprises an area of just over 6 km²; it is not particularly big compared to those of Attaleia and Apollonis, for example⁴³⁷, especially given the importance given to agriculture in the petition of the settlers to the king; the fact that the Belen Dağ location was enclosed by mountains and the land could not have easily expanded into neighbouring territory would also have posed a difficulty for the settlers when the crops failed.

The military character of the settlement is shown through the use of poliorcetic terminology. In lines 17-19, the king grants the petitioners a crucial concession: ἐπισκευάσα[ι] δὲ καὶ τὸ προὔπαρχον αὐτοῖς πυργίον, ὅπως ἔχωσιν ὀχύ<ρ>ωμα, “and (give instructions) that they may repair the fort they previously had, so as to have a stronghold”. While it is true that the king allows the settlers to rebuild the πυργίον (l. 18), this should not be understood as a fortress (Austin translates it as “fort”⁴³⁸): πυργίον is the diminutive of πύργος, “tower”, so this πυργίον should be just a small tower, possibly with more of a surveillance than a military role⁴³⁹. However, the king allowed this reconstruction of the tower “so as to have a stronghold”, ὅπως ἔχωσιν ὀχύ<ρ>ωμα (l. 18-19). Οχύρωμα certainly refers to the stronghold of a fortress, perhaps one to which the πυργίον was attached or otherwise associated – but it points towards a military past rather than an active present role: if the whole complex had fallen into disrepair and the πυργίον should now function as a stronghold, its actual military role must have been extremely reduced.

The bigger question as to whether the κόμη was still a military enclave at the time of Eumenes' missive does not lie, as many have argued, in the denomination of the settlement – we have seen other κόμαι that were also military settlements in origin, like Dareiou kome in Lydia – but rather in the role and agency of the settlers. Other texts dealing with royal resolutions concerning military settlements (not *poleis* with soldiers in them) reveal a direct channel of communication between king and soldiers: this was

⁴³⁷ See discussion of population and areas below in Chapter 3 Section 3.2.

⁴³⁸ Austin 2006: no. 238.

⁴³⁹ Other documented *pyrgia*, usually in structures like *tripyrgia* or *tetrapyrgia*, had a defensive role within their complex: Descat (1994: 206) on Thera and Kallipolis of Karia; Schuler (1998: 70) on Antiochia on the Orontes; Tietz points out that this *pyrgion* was possibly an observatory and did not have any supra-local significance (2003: 350). Cf. Pimouguet-Pédarros 2000: 116-17. Another famous ὀχύρωμα was the one found in the Samothracian Peraia, mentioned in the so-called Hippomedon decree (Robert 1935: 425-7. Followed by Roussel (1939), Rostovtzeff (1940) and Juhel (2015). Translation in Austin 2006 no. 269; Psoma 2008a: 126).

the case with Apolloniou Charax, Philetaireia and Attaleia or the two Pergamene inscriptions for unnamed military settlements⁴⁴⁰. Here, however, the king writes to Artemidoros, presumably the regional governor, and not to the settlers themselves⁴⁴¹. Segre explains this by stating that the king would rather speak to a στρατηγός than to a non-autonomous group of subjects⁴⁴², and cites two Attalid inscriptions, concerning Hierakome and the settlers of Apollo Tarsenos, in which he claims a similar situation occurs⁴⁴³. What is the difference, then, between this κώμη and other settlements seen in previous sections of this chapter? The Kardakes had not yet lost completely their military character, patent from the use of the term κατοικοῦντες to describe them and the importance of their πύργιον, but many years had passed since their foundation, during Achaemenid times or, perhaps, in the period of Ptolemaic control of Lykia. Even if the κώμη still operated as a military settlement, Eumenes had just received control of the area of Telmessos: he had no prior ties to the settlers. Unlike the case of the men in Philetaireia and Attaleia or even in Apolloniou Charax, who served actively in the Attalid army in the case of the former and who may have been settled by the Attalids themselves in the case of the latter, the Kardakes did not have any relevant connection to the king and were therefore not treated in any special way; Eumenes spoke to his regional governor, not to them. This exemplifies the importance of the proximity between the king and the settlers by showing how what had once been a military settlement corresponded with the king once it had begun to lose its military character.

2.3.3 Phrygia

Several cities in Phrygia can attest to a Macedonian military heritage, some with more certainty than others. Dokimeion, Philomelion and Lysias were foundations of Macedonian generals and dynasts that controlled parts of Phrygia in the fourth and third centuries BC⁴⁴⁴. Antioch near Pisidia, located in modern Yalvaç, in the province of Isparta, was possibly a foundation of Antiochos I. Strabo tells us that it was populated with settlers from Magnesia on the Maeander (ταύτην δ' ᾠκισαν Μάγνητες οἱ πρὸς Μαϊάνδρῳ, 12.8.4)⁴⁴⁵; whether they were military settlers or not is not immediately clear, but its frontier location, on the border with Pisidia, may suggest a similar

⁴⁴⁰ Epigraphic Appendix 1, 4, 15 and 16 respectively.

⁴⁴¹ Sekunda 1991: 105; Austin 2006 no. 238. See Chapter 3 for more on this topic.

⁴⁴² Segre 1978: 195-7.

⁴⁴³ *RC* 69 and 47 respectively. Welles discusses the unclear identity of the addressee in both texts.

⁴⁴⁴ See Chapter 1 Section 1.3.

⁴⁴⁵ Cohen 1995: 278-81. See also *I. Magnesia* 79-80 for an inscription of the two cities jointly celebrating the festival of Artemis Leukophryene.

population transfer to that of the Babylonian Jews to Lydia and Phrygia which would happen later on under Antiochos III⁴⁴⁶. Two possibly Attalid foundations exist within 60 km of each other, Apollonia and Eumeneia (modern Uluborlu and Işıklı respectively)⁴⁴⁷. Not much is known about Hellenistic Apollonia, but a late second-century BC coin from Eumeneia depicting a draped bust of Men with a Phrygian cap on the obverse and a Macedonian eight-pointed star on the reverse may point to a Macedonian, if not military, origin⁴⁴⁸.

Metropolis, located in modern Tatarlı, less than 20 km NE of Apollonia, may also have been a Seleukid foundation⁴⁴⁹. It was already in existence by the second century BC and was part of Strabo's κοινὴ ὁδός, which also passed through Apameia and Laodikeia⁴⁵⁰; together with its name, its antiquity makes it unlikely that it was a military settlement, but rather a *polis* from its foundation. At least part of its original population must have been Macedonian, for in the second and third centuries AD there is attested a cult of Artemis Tauropolos⁴⁵¹ and several Macedonian names: Ἀλέξανδρος, Ἀτταλος or Ἀμύντας⁴⁵².

Peltaï and Blaundos are perhaps the two Phrygian cities whose Macedonian character has been most discussed⁴⁵³. Peltaï was located southwest of Eumeneia, although its precise location is still unknown⁴⁵⁴. Through Xenophon we learn that it was already in existence in Classical times, and in the second half of the second century BC its βουλή decreed honours for some judges sent there from Antandros⁴⁵⁵. Its name, Πέλται, must be related to the Greek term πέλτη, the hoplite shield, suggesting a military origin, an idea which is supported by the fact that Cyrus' army stayed there for three days. It minted coins from very early on and in the second and third centuries AD it claimed a Macedonian ancestry through its coinage with a series of issues with the legend

⁴⁴⁶ See Chapter 3 Section 3.2.

⁴⁴⁷ Cohen 1995: 285-90 (Apollonia), 301-5 (Eumeneia).

⁴⁴⁸ CoinArchives: <https://bit.ly/3huBMgP>.

⁴⁴⁹ Hansen 1971: 171; Cohen 1995: 313-14. Robert (1980: 270) described and took photographs of the plain between Metropolis and Synnada.

⁴⁵⁰ Livy 38.15.13; *I. Tralleis* 31; Strabo 14.2.29.

⁴⁵¹ *MAMA* IV 122. A Macedonian goddess, especially linked with Amphipolis. See Chapter 3 Section 3.4.1.

⁴⁵² Ἀλε|ξάνδρου Ἀττά|λου (*MAMA* IV 122 ll. 3-5); Αὐρ. | Ἀλέξανδρον (*MAMA* IV 124 ll. 3-4); [Αὐρ.] | Σωσθένην Μ[ακεδό(?)]|νος Ἀττάλου (*MAMA* IV 130 ll. 1-3); Αὐρ. Δημή|τριον Ἀμύντου Δομνί|ωνα (*MAMA* IV 131 ll. 3-5); Αὐρ. | Ἀλέξανδρον | Τιείου (*MAMA* IV 132 ll. 4-6).

⁴⁵³ See most recently Mitchell 2018: 21.

⁴⁵⁴ Cohen 1995: 318-19.

⁴⁵⁵ Xen. *Anab.* 1.2.7-10; *CIG* 3568f. A recently discovered inscription has shown that at this time Antandros was under Attalid control, placing Peltaï too in the Attalid orbit (see above Section 2.2.1).

ΠΕΑΘΝΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ⁴⁵⁶. Its Hellenistic, second-century BC coinage does not present itself as Macedonian so openly, but its iconography does relate to Macedonian types: several of its coins have on their obverse a seated lion with a small eight-pointed Macedonian star, a winged thunderbolt and a club with a lion's skin⁴⁵⁷. Blaundos' case, however, is more complicated. It was located near the border between Lydia and Phrygia, next to the modern village of Sülümenli, a strategic location from where the roads between the Hermos and the Maeander could be controlled⁴⁵⁸. Similarly to Peltai, it existed in the Classical period; it was certainly a pre-Hellenistic settlement, perhaps Luwian⁴⁵⁹. It minted coins from the first to the third centuries AD with the legend ΒΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ⁴⁶⁰, but nowhere else is this Macedonian identity echoed in its Hellenistic evidence. Its Hellenistic coinage may be interpreted as employing Macedonian models: Mitchell understood the eagle in the civic coinage to be a mythologem linked to Alexander the Great⁴⁶¹, and another issue showed on the obverse a club reminiscent of those depicted in the coins of Alexander the Great or, more contemporary, Philip V and Amphipolis⁴⁶². However, no archaeological remains of a Hellenistic settlement have been found and we can only speculate that, due to these later instances of Macedonian presence and Blaundos' strategic location, a garrison may have been installed in the late fourth century/early third century BC⁴⁶³.

While the cities which I have just discussed may represent examples of Macedonian military settlements which developed into *poleis*, for most of them there is not enough Hellenistic evidence for a thorough discussion of their impact in Hellenistic Phrygia. I will now analyse in depth two specific examples of military settlements that evolved into cities and whose detailed epigraphic evidence for the Hellenistic period allows us to

⁴⁵⁶ See for example *BMC Phrygia* 348ff, nos. 12-21, 23-33; Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* 283ff, nos. 7-13; *SNG Cop. Phrygia* 638-42; *SNG von Aulock* 3908-14, 8432-34. There is a gap in Peltai's extant coinage between the 2nd century BC and the 2nd century AD.

⁴⁵⁷ *BMC Phrygia* 348 nos. 1-7.

⁴⁵⁸ Cohen 1995: 290-92; Filges 2006: 20; Mazzini 2021: 29.

⁴⁵⁹ The city was called Mlaundos in the Classical period. Hdt. 8.136.1, Diod. 13.104.6, Hornblower 1982: 218 n2; Sekunda 1991: 125-8; Debord 1999: 95 n102; Filges 2003: 19-21 and 2006: 39-40.

⁴⁶⁰ For coins with ΒΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ (OR ΒΛΑΟΥΝΔΕΩΝ) ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ, see *BMC Lydia* 47-57 nos. 45-48, 55-58, 61, 62; *SNG Cop. Lydia* 87-90, 94, 97-100; *SNG von Aulock* 2922, 2924, 2926-32.

⁴⁶¹ *BMC Lydia* 42 nos. 1-3, 6-8; Mitchell 2018: 21-22.

⁴⁶² *BMC Lydia* 42 no. 5. The club has been a symbol associated with Macedonian royalty since the time of Philip II and Alexander the Great, as it linked the Argeads with their mythological ancestor Herakles (Andronikos 1984: 136).

⁴⁶³ For a possible Seleukid foundation of Blaundos, see Ramsay 1895: 241; Hansen 1971: 175 (who ascribes it to Antiochos I); Cohen 1995: 290-2. See also Filges 2003: 40 and 2006: 20-21; Mazzini 2021: 30. Mazzini also argues that the ethnic Μακεδών appears in Blaundos' imperial coinage not so much due to a real Macedonian identity but rather as a reaction to Rome's politics and an interest in linking the city to Alexander the Great's heritage, greatly admired by Rome at that time.

discuss the impact of the army in the topography of the areas in which they were located and, later, the relationship of the soldiers and the kings through the epigraphic record: Toriaion and Pessinous.

a) Toriaion

The city of Toriaion is already attested in late Achaemenid times: it is mentioned by Xenophon as the place in whose nearby plain Cyrus chose to hold a military parade⁴⁶⁴. It has traditionally been located in Mahmuthisar in the province of Konya⁴⁶⁵, but a letter from Eumenes II to Toriaion when the place did not yet enjoy *polis*-status has caused a reassessment of the topography of the settlement.

The dossier itself is of great interest for the study of the evolution of military settlements in Phrygia and Asia Minor, as it presents us not only with a very clear picture of the transfer of power from one dynasty to another and the situation for the population in the *interim*, but also with the upgrade of a military settlement into a full-fledged polis. The dossier is formed of three letters, only two of which are preserved entirely. Only the first is addressed to Τοριαιτῶν τοῖς κατοικοῦσι (ll. 1-38); the second (ll. 39-48) and the third (ll. 49-51) greet the δῆμος and the βουλή of Toriaion. The change in status happens between the first and second missives, when the settlers ask the king to grant them a city constitution (πολιτείαν, l. 9), petition to which the king agrees, hence the transformation in the second and third texts. The upgrade is linked to the physical transformation of the city, as the king also grants the right to a gymnasium (ll. 10, 33) and probably other buildings to house the new political institutions of the *polis*, perhaps included in the rather vague expression of ὅσα τούτοις ἐστὶ ἀκόλουθα (l. 10).

One of the most interesting issues of this text is to be found in lines 26-27: συνχωρῶ καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ τοῖς μεθ' ὑμῶν συνοικουσίγ ἐν χωρίοις εἰς ἓν πολίτευμα συνταχ[θ]ῆναι (as per Jonnes and Riel's edition of the text): here, the king specifies who the beneficiaries of this civic upgrade are. The original editors translated as "I grant both you and those living with you in fortified places to organise yourselves into one citizen body"⁴⁶⁶. This has, of course, provoked much discussion. Jonnes and Riel proposed that ὑμῖν referred to retired soldiers living in Toriaion while "those living with you" designated soldiers

⁴⁶⁴ Xen. *Anab.* 1.2.14-8. Also mentioned by Strabo (14.2.29).

⁴⁶⁵ Jonnes and Riel (1997) *ed. prim.* and later Schuler (1999), Savalli-Lestrade (2018), Andrade (2013) and Parker (2017). *BE* 1999, 509; *SEG* 45.1745.

⁴⁶⁶ Jonnes and Riel 1997: 4.

on active garrison duty residing in fortresses in the settlement's territory⁴⁶⁷. Christof Schuler reassessed Jonnes and Riel's edition of the text two years later, pointing out a clear weak point in their argument: surely, during such a political turning point for the city, Eumenes' wording would have been much more precise, giving the particular locations and not simply "fortresses" in a general sense⁴⁶⁸. He thus returns to the idea, discarded by Jonnes and Riel, of the native population living also in Toriaion – which was in any case a pre-Hellenistic settlement, whose name possibly derives from a native tribe⁴⁶⁹ – and chooses to read ἐγχορίοις as a compound noun, which radically transforms the political meaning of the inscription for our knowledge of Hellenistic Asia Minor. With a new translation that reads "I grant both you and the native population living with you to organise yourselves into one citizen body", we have for the first time an explicit mention of the indigenous population of Asia Minor being treated as equals to the Greco-Macedonian military settlers⁴⁷⁰.

The inclusion of the native population in decisions taken in the text is certainly suggestive of a settlement of considerable proportions, capable of housing a contingent of soldiers as well as the indigenous inhabitants that lived alongside them, but also of setting aside land for a structure that could be used as gymnasium⁴⁷¹. But once the notion of the χορία is taken out of the equation, deciphering Toriaion's military character becomes slightly more complicated, and we must look elsewhere to understand what exactly to look for when searching for Toriaion's location. The inscription was found in Mahmudhisar, in the province of Konya, but as Peter Thonemann has argued, there is plenty of evidence for medieval reuse of ancient and Byzantine stones in the village, which weakens the certainty of its identification with Toriaion⁴⁷². He proposed an alternative location, between the two very small villages of Zaferiye, Kaleköy and Karaköy some 13 km east of Ilgın and 16 km north of

⁴⁶⁷ Jonnes and Riel 1997: 19.

⁴⁶⁸ Schuler 1999: 127.

⁴⁶⁹ Zgusta, *Ortsnamen* §1354 and §1387-2. If the ethnic had enough strength to survive as the settlements name, it might be the most logical explanation for the strange wording of Τοριαίων τοῖς κατοικοῦσι instead of οἱ ἐν Τοριάῳ κατοικοῦντες or similar. Cf. the discussion in Jonnes and Riel 1999: 10-11. See the late imperial inscription of Τοριαίων ἡ πεντακωμία (SEG 17.746) for the several tribes coming together to form a single entity – a case similar to Theangela's Pentachora (Epigraphic Appendix 3 l. 21).

⁴⁷⁰ Schuler 1999: 128. Mileta (2009: 84-7) considers Toriaion a military *polis*, not an indigenous one, as it gained its status due to the military settlers that were installed in it.

⁴⁷¹ P. Gauthier (BE 1999 509) points out that the grant of a gymnasium did not mean that one had to be build *ex novo*; in fact, Toriaion probably already had structures in place that could serve as one after the king's concession. The king would thus only be concerned with the organisation of the gymnasium and the provision of oil.

⁴⁷² Thonemann 2008: 45.

Mahmuthisar [FIG. 62]. There, following the valley of the Bulusan Çayı, there are two elevations in the terrain that create a gap for the river to pass through, and the remains of a fortress can be spotted in the place called Kale Tepesi, “Castle Hill” [FIGS. 63-64]. Peter Thonemann photographed and described the site, very aptly pointing out that it fits the description that Anna Comnena gives of the settlement in Byzantine times as “slightly off the road” – Persian roads, no doubt⁴⁷³. The region is a fertile plain, not nearly as rugged as Lydia or Karia, with plenty of room for agricultural production. Moreover, it is close to the Bozdağ mountain range, south of Ilgın, and from the pass in which Kale Tepesi is located the whole plain can be surveyed.

What role did Toriaion play in Hellenistic Phrygia? What need was there for a settlement and a fortress on Kale Tepesi? The view from the hill certainly makes for a strategic outpost above the plain of Phrygia Paroreios, and the nearby Bulusan Çayı feeds into the surrounding agricultural lands that the settlement must have owned, as Paroreios was known for the fertility of its earth⁴⁷⁴. Commercially it was a location that any monarch would have been interested in controlling: the combined route of the Royal and the Common Persian Roads passed through it, giving access to eastern Asia Minor as well as to Syria and the Levant⁴⁷⁵. However, Phrygia possessed a distinguishing feature that set it apart from Lydia, Karia or Ionia: the distance between it and the cores of the Seleukid and Attalid monarchies. The hundreds of kilometres that separate Toriaion from Pergamon, Sardis or Babylon caused problems for the agricultural goods that it might have been able to provide – it would certainly not have been intended for the kingdom’s capital, as they would not make it in time. This phenomenon, known as “friction of distance”, caused an increasing interest by the monarchs in monetising the revenues from these territories –metal, unlike grain, does not have an expiry date–, and both Attalids and Seleukids made the local communities responsible for the collection of this revenue, thus expanding the civic network throughout distant territories and encouraging further independence and decentralisation in the *poleis* of Phrygia⁴⁷⁶. Toriaion was made a *polis* because it played into the Attalids’

⁴⁷³ Thonemann 2008: 46-7, Plates 11-12; Anna Comnena 15.6.9.

⁴⁷⁴ See Bru 2017 for an up-to-date reassessment of Phrygia Paroreios. Aperghis (2004) makes the point that the Seleukids monetised the economy through the creation of cities and the stimulation of demand – the silver that resulted from this trade could then be taxed and transported. For more on taxes and their importance to the Hellenistic royal economy, see Schuler 2004: 529ff.

⁴⁷⁵ Xen. *Anab.* 1.2.14; Strabo 14.2.29; French 1998.

⁴⁷⁶ Thonemann 2013a: 18-9; cf. Scott 2009: 40-50.

interests of controlling and taxing territories they did not have close, immediate contact with. But the upgrade was not driven by economic considerations alone.

To understand the military role that Toriaion played in Hellenistic Phrygia we must look north to the border with Galatia, at the city of Pessinous and the unrest that a recently published letter from Eumenes II bears witness to.

b) Pessinous

Pessinous has come down in history as the ancient seat of the cult of the goddess Kybele, described by Strabo as “the greatest of the emporiums of that part of the world, containing a temple of the Mother of the gods, which is an object of great veneration”⁴⁷⁷. The discovery of a dossier of seven letters from Eumenes II and his brother Attalos (later Attalos II) to the temple-state between 163 and 156 BC has been interpreted as a “secret” correspondence between the Attalid kings and Attis, the head priest of Pessinous, asking for Attalid involvement in the area after Rome declared the Galatians free and autonomous in 166 BC, a decision no doubt intended as a limitation of Attalid power⁴⁷⁸. This led scholars to believe that at this time Pessinous was not under Pergamon’s hegemony but still within its sphere of influence⁴⁷⁹. However, recent reassessment of the dossier has altered the chronology of the first letter and the context for the other six. In a series of articles on the history of Pessinous, Altay Coşkun has pointed out the lack of historiographic, epigraphic and material evidence concerning the pre-Hellenistic history of the temple-state, and has argued that the temple of Kybele as we know it did not exist before 205 BC, when Attalos I launched a campaign to add Pessinous to Attalid territory⁴⁸⁰. The first letter of the dossier, *I. Pessinous* 1 (which is now attributed to Attalos I and dated to 207 BC)⁴⁸¹, would not have been addressed to Attis but to a military officer on the ground with orders to capture Pessinous, which was then a local and rather obscure sanctuary. In this letter, Pessinous is named Πεσσόγγοι (ll. 6-7), which for many years led scholars to believe that it must be referring to another sanctuary in the vicinity of Pessinous; but the lack of any convincing locations or archaeological remains have made the identification with any place other than Pessinous impossible; Coşkun suggests that Πεσσόγγοι was a pseudo-ethnic based on a mistaken

⁴⁷⁷ Strabo 12.5.3.

⁴⁷⁸ *I. Pessinous* 1-7 (= RC 55-61); for the declaration of Galatian autonomy, Polyb. 30.28, 30.30.6.

⁴⁷⁹ Thonemann 2015: 121; *I. Pessinous* p. 1.

⁴⁸⁰ Coşkun 2016, 2018, 2019 and forthcoming.

⁴⁸¹ Coşkun 2016.

rendering of the name “Pessinous”⁴⁸². Moreover, Πεσσόγγοι is described as ἱεροῦ γὰρ τοῦ | χωρίου ὄντος (Il. 8-9), “sacred and fortified”, which not only must point to Pessinous, but also means that there must have been a military settlement of some sort there; this in turn ties in to the new royal letter found in Ballıhisar in 2014, which indicates unrest in the region⁴⁸³.

This new royal letter was dated by the editors, Avram and Tsetskhladze, some two decades earlier than the previous dossier. Found in Ballıhisar [FIG. 65], the modern location for ancient Pessinous, it is a fragmentary letter from Eumenes II to two royal officials, Sosthenes and Heroides, concerning a ἡγεμών by the name of Aribazos⁴⁸⁴. Aribazos had come before the king to complain about the neglect he was suffering at the hands of the monarch, since he had not received what he considered was due to him. In this context, Aribazos demanded to be ascribed to a strategy (ἐπιγραφῆναι στρατηγία[ι], l. 12), to be able to retain his hegemonic κλήροι ([καὶ] τοὺς κλήρους ἐαθῆναι ἔχειν οὐς προκ[α|τέ]χει, ὄντας ἡγεμονικούς Il. 13-14) and to receive the privileges that had also been granted to the στρατηγοί (τά τε ἄλλα ὑπάρ[ρ|χει]ν αὐτῶι, ἃ καὶ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς συνεχω[ρ]ήκαμεν, Il. 14.16). As the first editors put it, he was essentially asking for a promotion.

Amorion is described by Strabo as belonging to Phrygia Paroreios⁴⁸⁵. It has been located between Hamzahacılı and Hisarköy, 40 km southwest of Ballıhisar [FIG. 66]⁴⁸⁶. The area is extremely flat, so the settlement was probably founded with an agricultural rather than strategic aim, in a similar fashion to Attaleia. The archaeological remains are to be found atop a mound from which the plain can be controlled, and the base of a fortified wall can still be seen [FIGS. 67-69]. Kleonnaeion has been harder to locate. Avram and Tsetskhladze simply noted it as a new place name and suggested a tentative etymology related to a hypothetical hero named Kleonikos⁴⁸⁷. Peter Thonemann, however, quite convincingly reconstructed the numismatic evidence for Kleonnaeion, finding a coin first published as ΛΕΟΝ-ΝΑΙΤΩΝ but which in light of this new

⁴⁸² Coşkun 2016: 57.

⁴⁸³ Coşkun 2016: 57-8.

⁴⁸⁴ Avram and Tsetskhladze 2014 (*ed. prim.*); Thonemann 2015. See Chapter 4 Section 4.3.2 b) Pessinous.

⁴⁸⁵ Strabo 12.8.13. Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀμόριον follows him.

⁴⁸⁶ Hirschfeld *RE* 1875. The *Tabula Peutingeriana* places it in Emirdağ, slightly west of Hamzahacılı (Amurio, XX). Zgusta, *Ortsnamen* §59.

⁴⁸⁷ Avram and Tsetskhladze 2014: 165. Riel gives a similar explanation (2014: 144).

evidence should be changed to [K]ΛEON-NAITΩN⁴⁸⁸. The founder, a hypothetical Kleonnas, would be one of the many army officials that founded military settlements in the fourth and third centuries in Asia Minor, following the example of others such as Dokimos (Dokimeion, modern İscehisar) or Pleistarchos (Pleistarcheia, modern Kapıkırı), although it must be noted that the name Kleonnas is as yet unattested in the Greek world⁴⁸⁹. Based on the coin types that can be observed for Kleonnaeion and Pessinous, Thonemann proposes that Kleonnaeion and Pessinous are one and the same: Pessinous would refer to the indigenous temple-state built around the temple of Kybele, while Kleonnaeion, a Greco-Macedonian name, would be the settlement where the soldiers were stationed⁴⁹⁰.

This may very well have been the case: we have seen in the συμπολιτεία of Smyrna and Magnesia how a city could be divided into two separate entities (Magnesia and Palaimagnesia, each warranting its own ambassadors and conditions) and in Aizanoi how a sanctuary's lands could be divided into κληροι for military settlers⁴⁹¹. However, there is no further evidence to support Thonemann's claim, attractive as it is, for the name Kleonnaeion does not appear elsewhere – certainly not in the correspondence between the Attis and the kings. The idea must be taken with caution, then, but even if Kleonnaeion were a separate settlement from Pessinous, the findspot of the stone might easily be explained through the patterns of political dependence that we have seen confirmed in the establishment of military settlements: both Amorion and Kleonnaeion were located in the territory of the temple-state of Pessinous, and although they had a certain degree of independence, as can be deduced from the fact that Aribazos himself petitions the king, Pessinous would have still been the political centre of its territory; it thus had a copy of the decisions taken erected there. It can be safely assumed that copies of the letter would have been made and set up in Kleonnaeion, where Aribazos was registered and could make public the royal answer.

Peter Thonemann dates the inscription to the 180s, after the war with Ortiagon of the Tolistobogioi, rather than *ca.* 160 BC, as the first editors suggested, for two reasons:

⁴⁸⁸ *Kl. M.* I 276 no. 1; Thonemann 2015: 122.

⁴⁸⁹ See my discussion of Dokimeion and Pleistarcheia in Chapter 1 Section 1.3.

⁴⁹⁰ Thonemann 2015: 124-6; Mitchell 2018: 26. Coşkun, however, points out that Thonemann's view has some inconsistencies, especially related to the distribution of the material evidence, and that it must be taken with caution (2019: 625-30).

⁴⁹¹ For the possession of lands by the temple, see the case of Aizanoi, also in Phrygia, above in Section 2.1.3 and in Chapter 3 Sections 3.1 and 3.2.

firstly, because it was then that Pergamon had won control over Phrygia Epiktetos (Mysia) and Galatia and thus had the right to grant land at will⁴⁹²; and secondly, because of the mention of the royal officer Heroides. Heroides, in charge of finances and possibly one of the king's *philoi*, also appears in the second letter of Eumenes to the now *polis* of Toriaion (l. 44) and is put in charge of designating the estates and lands from which revenue will be extracted through tax⁴⁹³. He seems to be in a similar position in the Pessinous inscription, as he is one of the two recipients of the letter together with Sosthenes, and it is to be assumed that they were ordered to arrange for Aribazos' petitions to be taken care of.

Toriaion's letter is best understood when put in the context of the Treaty of Apameia: the settlement had just changed hands from the Seleukids to the Attalids and thus the men from Toriaion wrote to the king to confirm their status under the new ruling power. The text is therefore to be dated to shortly after 188 BC. The Pessinous inscription, as per Thonemann's dating, should be nearly contemporary, perhaps some years apart, spanning several years of Heroides' career. Although the published photograph of the Toriaion text is quite poor, the letter forms do seem very similar, strengthening this connection.

The situation would then be as follows: right after the Treaty of Apameia, Eumenes confirmed his hegemony over the newly acquired territories and started to make plans to take over territory in Galatia. At the same time, Prusias of Bithynia, wronged by the Romans' grant of Phrygia Epiktetos to Eumenes and aided by the Galatians, declared war in 187 BC. Eumenes granted *polis*-status to Toriaion reminding the population that he was the legitimate owner of the territory by leave of Rome (Il. 22-4, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἡ γραφεῖσα ὑπὸ τῶν μὴ κυριευόντων· κενὴ γὰρ ἡ χάρις αὕτη καὶ δόλ[ι]α κρίνοιντ' ἂν ὑπὸ πάντων ἀληθῶς). Prusias' influence did reach Pessinous, however, where the mercenaries revolted and were punished for it after the war – a punishment which Aribazos unwillingly participated in⁴⁹⁴. The general image that we get from these two texts combined is that of a successful attempt by the Attalids at reinforcing their authority over Phrygia through military settlements in the decades of the 180s.

⁴⁹² Habicht 1989: 325-8; Mitchell 1993: I 25.

⁴⁹³ Müller 2005 and Savalli-Lestrade 2018: 174.

⁴⁹⁴ Savalli-Lestrade 2018: 174-5.

2.4. Conclusion

Despite the many questions that the inscription from Apolloniou Charax raises, an in-depth study of its topographical content has proved to be vital to further understand the geographical realities of Hellenistic Lydia. Contrary to what previous scholars assumed, we are presented not with decisions that concern and emanate from a single settlement, but rather with a complex network of communication and interdependence between small-scale military settlements and *poleis*. It is extremely likely that the inscription deals with two settlements, Apolloniou Charax and Charakipolis, the latter linked in some way to the sanctuary of Zeus Stratios. This would explain the military and religious petitions of Face B. Furthermore, a dual settlement with these characteristics would be in consonance with the territorial expansion that we see through the annexation of Sibloë, Thileudos and Plazeira. In addition to this, the προάστιον mentioned in Face B needs to be attached to a nearby city, but Sardis, the most popular option, is geographically too distant from the settlement for its προάστιον to have had a realistic impact upon Apolloniou Charax. It is thus that we turn to a less known city within closer proximity: Daldis. The scholarship on Daldis is very scarce but this inscription might shed some light on its unexplored Hellenistic history. The inscription also bears witness to the process of creation of new military settlements, as is the case with Thileudos and Plazeira's assignation as κατοικίαι κυνηγῶν (to be discussed in the next chapter, 3.3).

The new information about hitherto unknown settlements can be added to our previous knowledge of the settlement network around Lake Marmara. The locations of these settlements, when studied alongside military foundations elsewhere, reveal two main facts: firstly, that military settlements often depended on bigger nearby *poleis* which served as local centres for their respective territories: such is the case of Apolloniou Charax and Daldis, Attaleia and Thyateira, Philetaireia under Ida and Antandros or Doidye and [...]espourai and Apollonis. However, the agency and own voice of the settlers in their petitions, the only notable exception to which is the κόμη of the Kardakes, proves that the settlers, despite administratively depending on these bigger *nuclei*, were able to appeal independently to the king in their capacity as soldiers and military settlers. Secondly, we must take our distance from the rigid notion of the settlements' double role as agricultural centres and military enclaves: their nature was more nuanced. That they played a double role, military and agricultural, does not mean

that each of these facets carried the same weight as the other or that they worked in the same way in every settlement. Their military character was associated with the production of fighting forces for whenever the army was summoned, be it soldiers, cavalry or guard dogs, rather than active border control – several instances of settlements being destroyed or on the verge of it attest to this reality: military settlements were ineffective means of protection, so their military usefulness must lie elsewhere. The concentration of military settlements around Lake Marmara, a region that, while important, did not need that amount of military forces is explained by the vastness of the agricultural lands surrounding it. A single polis could not expand enough to control directly all the fertile territory, while military settlements would have kept the land productive while creating a population of soldiers loyal to the kings and grateful for the territories they had been granted.

Finally, Apolloniou Charax allows us to further understand royal policy towards establishing military settlements after Apameia, when the Attalid territory saw a dramatic increase: two of the variables that took precedence in this case were the previous establishment of settlements in a particular area, which was therefore known to be strategically relevant and worth controlling, as was the case of Kastollos and Hyrkanis, both traditional Achaemenid settlement areas. The interest of the kings in having the settlements cultivate the land and pay taxes contributed to the progressive transformation of the κατοικοῦντες from soldiers to landowners and farmers by Roman times.

CHAPTER 3. THE ARMY AND THE LAND

The nature of the land is crucial in the decision-making process of founding a settlement. In the previous chapter, I have shown that the location of garrisons and military settlements answered to complex motivations driven mostly by strategic and agricultural considerations. After having looked at specific settlements in context, we must turn to the question of land tenure and settlement conditions: how the soldiers were conscripted and housed, what kind of lands they were given and under what conditions, and what activities, other than the expected military campaigning when the need arose, were carried out in the settlements.

In contrast to the well-known, well-documented settlement system of Ptolemaic Egypt, the way in which Seleukids and Attalids settled men in Asia Minor is not entirely clear to us. In previous chapters I have spoken of early Macedonian foundations and of Macedonian terminology related to the granting of land that can be found in the territories conquered by Alexander. The aim of this chapter is to bring together the discussions of Chapters 1 and 2 to produce a fuller image of the settlement system that the Seleukids and then the Attalids introduced in Asia Minor.

In this chapter, I will explore the process and mechanisms of settling the soldiers and granting them land, focusing on documents from Pergamon and Aizanoi that are especially relevant for this matter, and I will attempt to give an estimate of the population of a typical settlement, Attaleia, which offers sufficient information to make speculation worthwhile. I shall also analyse the physical layout of the garrisons and settlements that can be traced in the archaeological record and the role played by animal husbandry in such contexts. Finally, I will look at two instances of the cultural impact of the Macedonian army that allow us to get a better understanding of the life in the garrisons and settlements. The first instance is the appearance in Lydia of gods with explicit Macedonian links: Zeus Antigoneios, Zeus Seleukios and Artemis Tauropolos, a goddess that is mentioned in several of the texts already discussed; the second instance is the relationship between Macedonians and Mysians, which may not appear obvious at first sight but is recurrent enough to warrant being looked into in more depth.

3.1. Settling the soldiers

The obvious precondition for settling soldiers in a new land is to recruit the men into military service. Troop recruitment in Macedonia has been amply studied, especially

after the discovery of Philip V's military διάγραμμα from Amphipolis⁴⁹⁵. How recruitment worked in Hellenistic Asia Minor, however, is far from clear, especially once the three great Hellenistic kingdoms had emerged and consolidated their borders. The Seleukid army has benefitted in the past of a thorough analysis of its composition⁴⁹⁶, but the figures and recruitment practices of the Attalid kingdom are still obscure.

One of the few known references to the Attalid recruitment system comes from Face A of the Apolloniou Charax inscription, where the king consents to lowering the registration for military service to “one (man) out of every three” (ἀπὸ τριῶν, A 19). Although the expression is far from clear, it does suggest that there was an established ratio of men who were to be conscripted in each household or settlement – more likely the latter. Macedonian regulations from the time of Philip V show that the army conscripted men based on a system of “households” or πυροκαύσεις, and only one individual per household would be conscripted, with several conditions attached⁴⁹⁷. There is not enough evidence to know to what extent this may have also been the case in the Attalid kingdom, as we cannot expect to see in the newly established and much smaller military settlements of Asia Minor the same social organisation that existed in Macedonian cities; it is likely that the conscription unit was not the household or the family, as in Macedonia, but rather the settlement.

The Apolloniou Charax texts show that there was an established system of conscription and that, despite theirs being a military settlement, not every man was automatically liable to be conscripted, but rather temporarily served according to this system. Moreover, if the conscription unit was indeed the settlement, the command may have been perfectly understandable if each settlement had a recorded census on which the reduction could be made, although no record of such a census survives. The lack of figures for any of the settlements makes any further assumptions purely speculative.

Once the men were in the service of the king, they had to be settled and given housing, for which several pieces of evidence exist, which suggest that this was a pressing matter to which the kings devoted a considerable amount of attention. The interest that both the kings and the population had in speeding up the construction of the houses was not new. Whereas founding a settlement for the soldiers to take up the

⁴⁹⁵ Hatzopoulos 2001a, esp. 85-123; also Launey 1987: 25-60; Sekunda 2013: 101-3.

⁴⁹⁶ See the discussion in Bar-Kochva 1976: 20-53, esp. 28-31 with focus on the north Syria region.

⁴⁹⁷ Hatzopoulos 2001a: 85-118, App. 2 I and II.

cultivation of the lands would probably be the easiest course of action, we have seen cases of soldiers stationed in already existing cities, living alongside the civilian population, as was the case with Smyrna or Iasos. A letter from Eumenes II to a settlement in the area of Telmessos throws some light on the obligation of cities and villages to house soldiers who were moving into the territory⁴⁹⁸. In this particular case, the king exempted the village (apparently named Philotera, l. 9, and therefore probably a Ptolemaic foundation)⁴⁹⁹ from the ἐπισταθμεία for a period of ten years, acknowledging that it was a heavy burden (οὐθεὶς ὑμᾶς παρενοχλήσει, l. 5), and agreed also to grant exemption from the χειρωναξίον, an artisan tax, provided that the artisans patrolled the surrounding mountains and kept them guarded (τὴν ὄροφυλακίαν αἰρόμε[νοι], l. 8)⁵⁰⁰. Admittedly, Philotera was not a military settlement, but nevertheless the document illustrates the mechanisms through which the crown encouraged the settlement of men in preexisting villages and their interest to avoid any tension between the soldiers and the local population. A letter from Ptolemy II Philadelphos to Antiochos, a royal officer from the Apollonopolite nome in Egypt, attests to the unrest that came along with the billeting of the soldiers in private houses, to the extent that the king forbade the men from forcefully entering people's houses and ordered that they rather build their own: "Concerning the billeting (σταθμοδοσία) of soldiers we hear that there has been increased violence as they are not receiving lodgings from the *oikonomoi* but break into the houses themselves, expel the inhabitants and settle there by force. Give instructions therefore that in future this is not repeated, but that preferably they provide themselves with accommodation (στε[γ]αγομείσθωσαν)"⁵⁰¹.

We have several mentions of the actual construction of buildings in both new and existing settlements. Help is requested and granted to build houses in two different areas: Apolloniou Charax (A 24-6, οἰκοδομίαγ) and the προάστιον (of Daldis?) (B 9-11, κατασκευήν, a rebuilding in this case). It was not the first time that a king granted help

⁴⁹⁸ SEG 29.1516; Wörrle 1979: 86-7. Louis Robert (*BE* 93 (1980) 484) follows Wörrle and dates the inscription to the reign of Eumenes II and places it as a twin document to that of the Kardakes due to the similarity in the situations that the king addresses.

⁴⁹⁹ Wörrle 1979: 104-6. Two other sites (in the Red Sea: *RE* s.v. Philoteris, and in Palestine: Steph. Byz. s.v. Φιλωτέραι) were named Philotera after Ptolemy II's daughter, as is probably the case here as well.

⁵⁰⁰ The contrary term, ἀνεπισταθμεία, exemption from billeting soldiers, is much more widely attested (Wörrle 1979: 91). It is clear that, while the settlement of soldiers was a common business, it was not particularly welcome by the population.

⁵⁰¹ *C. Ord. Ptol.* 24; translation by Austin (2006 no. 311); also see Lewis 1986: 22-3. See the similar situation in Soloi (Kilikia) in *RC* 30 and in Sardis (Chapter 4 Section 4.1.1).

to this end to a military settlement. In 181 BC, Eumenes II wrote a letter to help the settlers of the *κώμη* of the Kardakes who had been forced to leave their settlement due to the poor conditions of the land⁵⁰². It was a long way from Apolloniou Charax, 250 km south, but the situation is similar: the king agrees to a series of grants to military settlers (*οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν Καρδά|κων κώμῃ*, l. 3-4) to facilitate their re-settling. In this case, the terminology is slightly different from that used in the case of Apolloniou Charax: the settlement is described as a *κώμη* and its small tower as a *πυργίον*, while in Apolloniou Charax, it is Sibloë which is described as a *κώμη*. We have already mentioned the difficulties that the term *κώμη* presents in the inscription of the Kardakes, and it would not be the first time a *κώμη* had a military character, but it seems unlikely to be the case of Sibloë⁵⁰³. Sibloë was declared sacred and free from taxation, *ἱερὰ καὶ ἀτελής* (B 17), so that its revenues would be used for the sacrifices for Zeus Stratios. This can, and should, be interpreted as the land of Sibloë being attached to the territory of the sanctuary of Zeus Stratios, in a manner similar to the *κλήροι* given by Attalos I to the temple of Zeus in Aizanoi⁵⁰⁴ but at a much smaller scale: the *ἱερὰ καὶ κῶμαι* were villages that were near a sanctuary and that belonged to it⁵⁰⁵.

The terms employed for the building of houses are *οἰκοδομία*⁵⁰⁶ and *κατασκευή* in the case of Apolloniou Charax (A 25 and B 11) or of the Jewish settlers in Lydia and Phrygia (*εἷς τε οἰκοδομίας οἰκιῶν αὐτοῖς δώσεις τόπον ἑκάστῳ*, Joseph. *AJ* 12.151) and *ἐπισκευάζω* in the case of the Kardakes (l. 17, although referring to a fort), but there is a fourth expression that has also been used in a military context. A very fragmentary Attalid royal letter found in Pergamon concerning military settlers⁵⁰⁷ divides the men in two categories: those housed and those not yet housed (*[τοῖς ἐστεγνοποιημέν]οις* and *μήπω ἐστεγνοποιημένων*, l. 14 and 15 respectively). The verb *στεγνοποιέω* is not very

⁵⁰² Epigraphic Appendix 14 l. 6-7; Cohen 1995: 330-31, Austin 2006: 415-16. See Chapter 2 Section 2.3.2.

⁵⁰³ An inscription from Roman times mentions a *Δα|ρειουκωμητῶν κατοικία* near Hyrkanis, the original name presumably along the lines of “Dareius’ *κώμη*”: *TAM* V,2 1335 l. 3-5. The name seems to suggest a Persian foundation, but which Dareius it should be ascribed to is unclear (see Frontier’s very brief discussion in *BCH* 9 (1885) 398 and 11 (1887) 90-1 and Sekunda 1985: 22). For other military settlements in Hyrkanis: *TAM* V,2, 1307; Tac. *Ann.* 2.47. See the earlier discussion in Chapter 2 Section 2.2.2 c) Hyrkanis.

⁵⁰⁴ Even the money for this transaction was to be taken from the royal treasury, *ἐκ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ* (B 18).

⁵⁰⁵ Robert, *Carie* 294-5. Many *ἱερὰ καὶ κῶμαι* are documented in Lydia (Robert 1937: 555-561).

⁵⁰⁶ A parallel can be found in another inscription concerning a military settlement near Pergamon (Epigraphic Appendix 15). Unfortunately, the end of the inscription is so fragmentary that its exact meaning is difficult to discern. It is also employed in an Attic inscription from Rhamnous where a certain Epichares is praised for building forts (*οἰκοδόμηκε δὲ καὶ | φυλακτήρια*) and supplying them with war dogs (*κύνας [π]ροσκατέστησε το[ῖ]ς ὑπάρχουσιν*; *SEG* 24.154 ll. 13-15; see below Section 3.3).

⁵⁰⁷ Epigraphic Appendix 16 (*I. Pergamon* 158 = *RC* 51).

common; it is found only on two other occasions: in Kaunos, concerning a κόμη but without any clear military connotations, and in Macedonia, in Philip V's military διάγραμμα from Amphipolis⁵⁰⁸. In the latter, it describes the order in which the different housing units of the infantry will be put up, and it is linked to two other words: τὸν φραγμόν, a fence or palisade for the king, and σκηνοπούϊαν, the pitching of tents. Neither of these two terms entails long-term buildings for continued habitation. However, this would make little sense in the case of the Pergamon inscription. Why give lands, in considerable quantities, to the men, and especially why give more to those who were already housed (100 πλέθρα of cleared land and 10 of vineyard land against 50 and 5 respectively for those not yet housed) if the buildings were only temporary? We must take into account that Philip's διάγραμμα was for a very different setting and for an army on the move, while these men were most likely being settled permanently – or at least for a long period of time. It therefore makes more sense to understand Pergamon's στεγνοποιέω as the building of houses rather than temporary barracks, just like those in Apolloniou Charax⁵⁰⁹.

This brings me to my last point: the physicality of the settlements. From the extant evidence it is impossible to know with any degree of certainty the population of these settlements, since no perimeter or outline of the housing organisation survives. The looting of stone in modern times for other purposes has prevented us from finding any substantial remains, but it must not be doubted that we are not speaking of simple perishable barracks. The Byzantine fortifications at Palaimagnesia are in consonance with the χωρίον from the συμπολιτεία⁵¹⁰; the outline of the walls at Apollonis [FIGS-48-49] can still be seen and in Attaleia construction elements are still to be found [FIGS. 38-40]. In Apolloniou Charax the king calls for stonemasons to build more houses for the incoming settlers from Kournouboudos (λατύπου[ς], A 25). While it is possible that at an earlier date some groups of settlers were indeed living in temporary barracks, as has been discussed above in connection with the ὕπαιθοι of Magnesia and the soldiers

⁵⁰⁸ Kaunos: *JHS* 74 (1954) 87-8 no. 22; Macedonia: Hatzopoulos, *Macedonian Institutions* II no. 12, II.5. The term στεγνόν ("covered dwelling", "house") appears in a Milesian inscription concerning the settlement of Cretan mercenaries in Myous, part of the city's territory: Μυο[υσίων δὲ τοὺς κ]ε[κτημ]ένους τὰς οἰκίας ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ δέ[ξασθ]αι αὐ[τούς]. δοῦναι δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων στεγνῶν τῶ[ν] | ἐφ' ἔτ[ος] μισθοῦντων, ὅ[σοι] ἐπαγγέ[λλ]ονται, "the Myousians who own property in the countryside are to take them [the Cretans] in. Of the existing houses, they are to be given [them] leased per year to those who require it" (*I. Milet.* I 3.33 e 12-14). See *BE* (1968) 247 (J. and L. Robert); *BE* (1980) 108 (J. and L. Robert on *RC* 51) and Pezzoli 2009.

⁵⁰⁹ Rousset (2014: 39-40 and n. 51) discusses the term στεγνά.

⁵¹⁰ Epigraphic Appendix 18 l. 94.

who were not yet housed in the Pergamene inscription, it would not be sensible to assume that settlements which lasted so long over time were made out of perishable materials. They must have been constructed out of stone, perhaps even with some small-scale monumentality judging from the column base found at Attaleia [FIG. 38].

While we know very little about the typology of the settlements, the archaeological excavations of fortifications in Asia Minor have allowed us to get a glimpse of what the military side of the installation of men would have looked like. Isabelle Pimouguet-Pédarros divided these fortifications into two main groups: those near urban centres, designed for the immediate defense of the *polis*, and those in the country designed for the defense of the *χώρα*⁵¹¹. As for the extra-urban fortifications, in the valley of the Kaystros Recep Meriç identified four main types: freestanding towers, rectangular forts, farmsteads with towers and big fortresses with an acropolis⁵¹². Excepting perhaps the fortified farmsteads, which had already been documented in Achaemenid Lydia⁵¹³, these four types are common in other parts of western Asia Minor such as Karia⁵¹⁴. I have already discussed (see above Chapter 2 Sections 2.2.2 and 2.2.3) the location and the role of the fortifications in the Kaystros and the Hermos valleys, but it is worth looking into the dimensions of these fortifications.

Watchtowers are, as their name implies, nothing beyond a tall, rectangular structure, used for signalling and control of the immediate surroundings – the groups stationed there must have had very small numbers. The rectangular forts, while having very similar, albeit broader, functions to the watchtowers (that is, signalling, border and pass control, and territory control), had bigger dimensions: amongst those documented in the Kaystros valley, the smallest, like those of Göllüce or Arvalya, measured around 20 x 20 m, while some of the biggest, like Alaylı, had sides 63 m long⁵¹⁵. The farmsteads usually were a mixture of the rectangular forts and the towers, serving too to control the territory and for signalling, and some of them included catapult mechanisms within their fortified courtyards⁵¹⁶. As for the big fortresses with an acropolis, Meriç states that, while they were like miniature Hellenistic cities, they cannot be considered urban

⁵¹¹ Pimouguet-Pédarros 2000: 101.

⁵¹² Meriç 2009: 135-7. But also see the discussion in Pimouguet-Pédarros 2000: 107-111.

⁵¹³ Xen. *Anab.* 7.8.8-17; Sekunda 1985.

⁵¹⁴ Pimouguet-Pédarros 2000: 118-33.

⁵¹⁵ Meriç 2009: 135-6. See Chapter 2 Section 2.2.3.

⁵¹⁶ Meriç 2009: 136.

*nuclei*⁵¹⁷. They were, however, big enough to fit proper garrisons: for example, the fortress of Tulum was 430 x 230 m.

Can we deduce anything about the population these military enclaves may have housed? Any attempt at estimating is complicated for two reasons, especially in the case of the settlements. Firstly, we do not have clear geographical limits for the settlements: the lack of archaeological evidence for the physicality of the villages forces our calculations to be based on purely hypothetical surface areas; secondly, we do not have figures, from Hellenistic or Roman times, to back up any possible claims. Islands, such as Delos, Keos or Amorgos, are an easier subject to study when dealing with population estimates, as they belong to a closed geographical context⁵¹⁸; and quite diverging figures have been argued even for *poleis* in Asia Minor during the Roman period: David Magie put Pergamon's population at 200,000⁵¹⁹ while Andrew Wilson and J. W. Hanson lowered it to 32,000⁵²⁰. However, it is worth venturing a reasoned guess with the very limited information that we possess.

I emphasized in previous chapters the changing nature of the settlement of soldiers in Asia Minor: the first locations were garrisons, temporary posts to hold a territory with relatively few men. The political circumstances after Alexander's death did not lend themselves to the establishment of permanent settlements until territories were more firmly established and the kings ceased to need armies constantly on the move. Some of these garrisons acquired a permanent character with time, with some of the phourarchs receiving honours from the neighbouring villages for having kept the peace for many years, and other developed religious associations. At Yaylaköy (also called Yaylakale) in the province of Manisa, on the northern slopes of the Yüntdağ mountain range, the following inscription was found⁵²¹:

⁵¹⁷ Meriç 2009: 136. See also Radt 2009 for the description of several Hellenistic fortifications in Karia, Lykia and Kilikia.

⁵¹⁸ Reger (1994: 83-4) gives a total population of 2600-3900 individuals for Hellenistic Delos; Ruschenbusch (1982: 184) of 5000-7000 for Keos and of 3000 for Amorgos (1984: 265-66).

⁵¹⁹ Magie 1950: 583. He gives the same figures for Ephesos and Smyrna.

⁵²⁰ Wilson 2011: 187. See also Hanson 2011: 230, 254-57.

⁵²¹ Epigraphic Appendix 20.

- Ἐπὶ Δημητρίου φρου-
 ράρχου τοῦ κτίσαν-
 τος τὸ ἱερὸν ν' ἀγαθῇ
 τύχῃ ν' συνῆλθον οἱ πρ-
 5 ὧτοι Ἀσκληπιασταί·
 Δημήτριος Σεύθου,
 Μικαδίων Ἀρισταγόρου,
 Μητρόδωρος Ἀφ(?)άρου.
 Ἀσκληπιάδης Γλαυκίου,
 10 Μητροφάνης Ἀρτεμιδώ-
 ρου, Μακεδὼν Ἀνδρέσ-
 του, Νικάνωρ Μικαδίωνος,
 Ἀρτέμων Ἀθηναίου,
 Ἡρακλείδης Βακχίου,
 15 Κάλας Γλαυκίου, ου
 Ἀπωλλώνιος Δημητρί-
 Σ(?)ώνικος Ἀριστοκράτου,
 Ἀριστογένης Διονυσοδώ-
 ρου, Ἀγήνωρ Βακχίου,
 20 Πυρρίας Δημέου.

This text, mentioned earlier in Chapter 1 (Section 1.1.2), is a list of names belonging to the members of a religious association of Asklepiasts. It begins with the founder of the ἱερὸν, Demetrios son of Seuthes, who also heads the list (ll. 1-3, 6); he is followed by fourteen names. The editor of the text, Helmut Müller, published a high-quality photograph of the stone, which is in one piece and in a good state of preservation. This means we have the entirety of the text and of the list of names. Müller suggests that, given that the sponsor of the cult was the phrourarch himself, the chances of the men serving under him refusing to join the association were small indeed, so we must be looking at the whole extent of the garrison, fifteen men in total⁵²². The stone, along with a contemporary *lex sacra* that further confirms the existence of this Asklepieion, was found, according to the owner, in the small village of Yaylaköy, in the northeastern slope of the Yüntdağ, right between Pergamon and Thyateira (30 km east of Bergama and 31 km west of Akhisar)⁵²³. Müller suggested that the fortress would have been employed by the Attalids to protect the valley of the Kaikos, modern river Bakır, from the settlement area of the Seleukids in Lydia⁵²⁴. The small size of the enclave and the number of men, together with the proximity to Pergamon, would make it, if not

⁵²² Müller 2010: 436. For further discussion of this garrison and of its origin, see Chapter 1 Section 1.1.2.

⁵²³ Published in the same article, Müller 2010: 438-447. See Müllers photographs of Yaylaköy in pp. 449-454.

⁵²⁴ Müller 2010: 453-55.

probable, at least plausible that it was a site for temporary occupation rather than a permanent settlement, where platoons of soldiers would take turns to guard the access routes to Pergamon.

Based on the archaeological remains of the site of Yaylaköy, where the inscription was found, and taking into account the number of men from the text, one may imagine the garrison within a rectangular fort with a makeshift tower similar to those described above⁵²⁵. The dating of the text places it in the first half of the second century BC, so not exactly during the period of instability of the Wars of the Successors, but it still marks the difference in size, even in later times, between a garrison or an outpost meant for the control of a city's territory and a settlement with permanent character where the cultivation of the land was of extreme importance⁵²⁶. In the συμπολιτεία decree between Teos and Kyrbissos, in Ionia, which specifies that Kyrbissos would be used as a fort by Teos with a garrison supplied by the city itself, it is said that φρ[ου]||ροὺς δ' ἔχειν τὸ[μ] φρο[ύ]ραρχον μ]ῃ ἐλάττους ἢ εἴκοσι τῶμ πολιτῶν καὶ | κυνὰς τρεῖς, “the phrourarch will have no fewer than twenty garrison men of amongst the citizens and three dogs” (ll. 18-20)⁵²⁷. Although it is a relative number – no fewer than twenty men, which could mean a higher figure depending on the need – it still follows the model of Yüntdağ of a small garrison with few men.

Six men have Macedonian names: Γλαυκίας (ll. 9 and 15, Ἀσκληπιάδης Γλαυκίου and Κάλας Γλαυκίου, possibly indicating two brothers), Μακεδών (l. 11), Νικάνωρ (l. 12), Κάλας (l. 15) and Πυρρίας (l. 20; this name is especially common in central Greece and in Thessaly, but also, to a lesser extent, in Macedonia). At this point in time it is unlikely that the men had been born in Macedonia, but as Helmut Müller points out, they probably came from or had relation to the Macedonian settlements that existed in Lydia, several of which were Attalid. Ἀπολλώνιος, also present in the list (l. 16), was an extremely popular name in Lydia. But more importantly, nine of these names (Δημήτριος, Μητρόδωρος, Ἀσκληπιάδης, Ἀρτεμίδωρος, Διονυσόδωρος, Μητροφάνης, Ἡρακλείδης, Ἀρτέμων and Βάκχιος) correspond to the basis of Pergamene onomastics in the city's ephebic lists, as pointed out by Müller⁵²⁸. Δημήτριος, Μητρόδωρος and

⁵²⁵ See Müller's description and photographs of the site in 2010: 447-50.

⁵²⁶ In Abb. 3 of Müller's publication (2010: 441) one can see the rocky outcrop that surveys Yaylaköy and better understand the military significance of the spot.

⁵²⁷ SEG 26.1306; Robert, L. and J. 1976: 160, 206-7.

⁵²⁸ Müller 2010: 435.

Ἀσκληπιίδης are the most common, and it would not do to think that this is a mere coincidence: it is very likely that most of the men hailed from Pergamon, likelier as troops under direct orders from the king than as part of the city's army.

The garrison from Yüntdağ must have been more of an outpost than a garrison, as its numbers are very small indeed, especially compared to another garrison from very early Attalid times which may allow us to take a closer look at the size and land allotment differences between garrisons and military settlements. Attaleia was a foundation of the first Attalids, as is evident from the dynastic implications of its name, established either by Philetairos or by Eumenes I and in existence at least by 269/8 BC⁵²⁹. We know of it from the agreement between Eumenes I and the men garrisoned at Attaleia and Philetaireia under Ida after these had rebelled against the Pergamene dynast⁵³⁰. Two facts make Attaleia an interesting subject to attempt an estimation of population and land allotments: we know of its location with relative certainty, near the modern village of Selçikli, and the text of the agreement describes in enough detail the troops stationed there to make a further analysis worthwhile.

Three groups of men were stationed in Attaleia: Polylaos and the ἡγεμόνες and στρατιῶται under him, Attinas the ἱπάρχης and his ἱππεῖς, and Oloichos and his Trallians⁵³¹. We can make relatively safe estimations for the numbers of two of the groups, starting with Attinas. According to Asclepiodotus and Aelian, the authors of the two main extant Greek military treatises, respectively the Τέχνη τακτική (first century BC) and the Τακτικὴ θεωρία (second century AD), the Macedonian cavalry, whether heavy or light, was organised in ἵλαι of 64 men, and a hipparchy was made up of eight

⁵²⁹ See Chapter 2 Section 2.2.1 for a discussion of its topography and relation to Philetaireia under Ida.

⁵³⁰ Epigraphic Appendix 4. For a discussion of the content of the text, see Chapter 4 Section 4.2.1.

⁵³¹ Epigraphic Appendix 4 ll. 21-23. See Chapter 2 Section 2.2.1 and Chapter 4 Section 4.2.1. Παράμονος, the ἡγεμὼν of the soldiers at Philetaireia under Ida and Ὀλώιχος, the leader of the Trallians also at Attaleia, all bear Macedonian names: the name Παράμονος is found in Aigai in the fourth century BC and in Pella in the third century BC (*LGP*N 4 s.v.; also widespread in Boiotia: Tataki 1998: 109, 172, 395-96). Ὀλώιχος is a rarer name, with only six documented attestations: four in Macedonia, one in Epirus and one in Pergamon, the earliest one being a fourth-century epitaph featuring also an Amyntas (*LGP*N IIIa (Bouthrotos, Epirus) and IV (Amphipolis, Tyrissa and Morrylos) s.v.; *SEG* 43.372). The name Ἀττινᾶς is problematic. Louis Robert proved that it was not an indigenous name, although it might seem so at first sight, but a Greek name that was just especially popular in Aiolis and Pergamon (*Sardis* VI,2 p. 90; Robert, *Noms indigènes* 210-11. *LGP*N gives also some instances in Attica and Delos, but relatively late – 2nd c. BC). However, Ἀττινᾶς, with a slight accent change, is attested in Thessaly and Macedonia from the fourth century BC, always surrounded by other easily identifiable Macedonian names (*SEG* 25.691 (Thessaly); Hatzopoulos, *Macedonian Institutions* II pp. 93-4 no. 79.8 (Lete); Tataki 1998: 275 nos. 330 and 331). At the end of the third century, around 208 BC, it is very well attested in the lists of Mysians that Attalos I sent to Lilaia in central Greece: eleven individuals bear the name (*FD* III (4) 132-35 = Epigraphic Appendix 19).

ἵλαι⁵³². If Attinas was a hipparch, he would have had 512 men under his control. Polylaos is said to have commanded ἡγεμόνες and στρατιῶται; further discussion of these terms and their relation to each other will follow at a later stage⁵³³, but for now it will suffice to say that Polylaos must have been either a συνταγματάρχης commanding 256 with two ἡγεμόνες for each σπείρα or a πεντακοσιάρχης commanding 512 men – otherwise the numbers get excessively big (the next step in the chain of command is the chiliarchy with 1024 men) and we know the Attalid army was a modest one⁵³⁴. As for Oloichos, it is almost impossible to make a safe estimation of the number of men he commanded, as there is too little evidence, but it is not really necessary for our current purpose. Taking the troops of Polylaos and Attinas as a starting point, we can estimate the population of the garrison at Attaleia at the time of Eumenes I at either 768 or 1024 men, depending on whether Polylaos was a συνταγματάρχης or a πεντακοσιάρχης⁵³⁵.

Selçikli is a modest village located in an elevated terrain looking southwards towards the plain of Akhisar. Nowadays, it is surrounded by lands for cultivation with, mainly, wheat and vines. Without advancing too much into the territory of Akhisar, ancient Thyateira, the plain south of Selçikli has a surface of approximately 24 km², that is, 24,000 πλέθρα⁵³⁶. How were these πλέθρα divided? Individual land grants to members of the elite are not relevant here due to the extraordinary size that these grants usually had: in Macedonia, Limnaios son of Harpalos received an estate of nearly 2500 πλέθρα⁵³⁷; if we had to take such a figure into account there would be only ten owners in the whole of the Attaleian plain. More commonly, the lots for the non-exalted population appear to have been of 50 πλέθρα (= 5 ha)⁵³⁸. This is congruent with the exploitation of the land: grapes were a very productive type of crop and a cereal farm of

⁵³² Ascl. 8; Aelian, *Tact.* 20. See the translation and commentary of Christopher Matthew (2012). They are relatively late sources for early Hellenistic armies, but Asclepiodotus was a disciple of Posidonius of Apameia, and Aelian claims in his introduction to have focused on the structure of the Macedonian army of Alexander the Great, employing synchronic sources, such as Pyrrhus of Epirus, Polybius and Posidonius (Asclepiodotus is conspicuously absent from his list).

⁵³³ See Chapter 4 Section 4.1.3.

⁵³⁴ Ascl. 2.1-7; Aelian, *Tact.* 8-10; for the assertion of the modest size of the Attalid army, see Ma 2013: 59ff.

⁵³⁵ See Chapter 4 Section 4.1.3 for more on army arrangements and figures.

⁵³⁶ 10,000 m² = 1 ha = 10 πλέθρα (Hatzopoulos 1988: 37 n. 2).

⁵³⁷ SEG 38.619; Hatzopoulos 1988; Thonemann 2009: 367.

⁵³⁸ Thonemann 2009: 383 n. 84. We find this in Halieis (Argolid, although here there is a predominance of 36-πλέθρα lots; Boyd and Jameson 1981: 329-32, 338), in Larissa (Salviat and Vatin 1974: 257-9) and Crimea (Dukvová and Pečírka 1970, a study of 35 farms of varying sizes, with a predominance of 50 πλέθρα-sized estates).

5 ha would be enough to feed a family – 10 ha is already a very generous plot⁵³⁹. In a fragmentary Pergamene inscription very likely related to a military settlement we are given more information about the hierarchical division of the lands: there are three groups of grantees, a first one receiving 125 πλέθρα of cleared land and 12.5 πλέθρα of vineyards, a second one (“those already housed”) 100 and 10 respectively and a third one (“those not yet housed”) 50 and 5⁵⁴⁰. The first group is unidentified but we can assume they must have been high up in the military hierarchy. We do not know how many men received each type of lot.

With this knowledge we can go back to Selçikli and the soldiers in Attaleia. If we accept that the three chiefs, Polylaos, Attinas and Oloichos received larger allotments, probably of around 100 πλέθρα, we can imagine the lower-ranked soldiers receiving plots of 50 πλέθρα⁵⁴¹. In this scenario, within the Attaleian plain there would be three lots of 100 πλέθρα for the commanders and 474 lots of 50 πλέθρα for the rest of the soldiers. This number is a significant reduction from our previous estimates of a fighting population of at least 700 to 1000 individuals. With the numbers that we get from Attaleia, the surface area to be granted to the men would have to be at least double the size of the current plain south of Attaleia, which would doubtlessly come into conflict with the territories of nearby settlements like Thyateira. The apparent reduction of men from the time in which Attaleia was a garrison and, presumably, no land was granted since there was not yet any need or policy for military settlements, to the time in which it became a village with settlers who worked the land is a surprising one indeed. It sheds some light on the possible composition and size of military settlements in Asia Minor but also on the limitations that the topography of their locations and the role they played in their territories imposed on their size and development.

3.2. Land for the soldiers

The status of the land that was granted to the soldiers is not immediately clear to us. In Chapter 1 I discussed the conditions for military land grants in Macedonia and the appearance of the Macedonian expression ἐμ πατρικοῖς in Hellenistic Asia Minor. A

⁵³⁹ Jameson 1994: 58; Bresson 2016: 121 and n. 13.

⁵⁴⁰ Epigraphic Appendix 16. See below Section 3.2 for further discussion of this text.

⁵⁴¹ It is unlikely that the ἡγεμόνες and the cavalry received the same lots as the normal infantry soldiers, as we know of the existence of ἡγεμονικοὶ κλῆροι (*SEG* 55.1401 ll. 13-14; see also Avram and Tsetskhladze 2014 and Thonemann 2015) and of ἱππικοὶ κλῆροι (Epigraphic Appendix 18 ll. 102-3), but we do not know whether the difference lay in their size or in the conditions for their holding or both. For the sake of argument, we will employ the 50 πλέθρα to keep the numbers stable.

system of land allotment called *ḫaṭru* already existed in the Achaemenid empire, although this has been documented in Babylonia and not in Asia Minor⁵⁴². The lots of the *ḫaṭru* could come from civic, royal or temple land and resembled the Ptolemaic κλήροι; paralleling these two systems, the Phrygian settlement of Aizanoi can give us clues as to the origin of the land that was granted to military settlers. I discussed Aizanoi in the previous chapter⁵⁴³, but it is still relevant for our current discussion, as it has been shown that the process of land granting that happened in Aizanoi in the second half of the second century BC was a complex one: Attalos I (and later Prusias I) assigned royal land to the temple of Zeus and then divided it into military κλήροι which would be granted to the settlers, while the revenues of these lands would still go to the temple⁵⁴⁴. Aizanoi, despite being a uniquely documented example of grants of land to military settlers, also depicts a situation that would not represent every settlement, as not all of them were linked to sanctuaries. It does, however, shed light on the process of the division of the lots and the assignment, as well as showing that the land granted to settlements did not have to be linked necessarily to a city: it could be temple land or, perhaps as in the Achaemenid system, royal land, in which case the king would be the beneficiary of the revenues, although the settlement would still have to be appended to a larger urban unit⁵⁴⁵.

What kind of land was granted and what interest did the crown have in granting it to the settled soldiers? The issue is brought up at the beginning of the section concerning Kournouboulos in Face A of the Apolloniou Charax inscription. Initially, the Mysians were to be moved to Kastollos ἐπεὶ καὶ [νὴ γῆ? παν]τελῶς [ὑπ]ἀρχεῖ | ἐκεῖ περισσὴ (A 4-5). Herrmann and Malay's edition of the text reconstructs that phrase as ἐπεὶ καὶ χῶ[ρα? παν]τελῶς, but there is quite clearly a N following καὶ- and, as Peter Thonemann comments, the wording does not work well in their edition, so I follow Thonemann's reconstruction. The term περισσὴ certainly proves that the issue at hand is land tenure, but this is nevertheless a very vague term. The kind of land that was granted to military settlers is described more specifically in the already mentioned inscribed royal letter from Pergamon, *I. Pergamon* 158 (= *RC* 51)⁵⁴⁶. The κλήροι are divided amongst the

⁵⁴² Briant 1985: 66; 2002: 75, 597-99; Debord 1995: 55-6; Schuler 1998: 66-68; Kuhrt 2001: 349-51.

⁵⁴³ Chapter 2 Section 2.1.3.

⁵⁴⁴ Rheidt 2008; Wörle 2009: 426-29.

⁵⁴⁵ Presumably the same case, although to a smaller scale, as Sibloë in Face B of the Apolloniou Charax texts (see above Section 3.1).

⁵⁴⁶ Epigraphic Appendix 16.

men presumably based on military hierarchy, but the land itself is the same for all groups: cleared (ψιλὴ γῆ) and vineyard (ἄμπελος). These types of lands are not unknown in Asia Minor in relation to lands granted to individuals or collectives⁵⁴⁷. Alexander granted an estate in the valley of the Kaikos to a certain Krateuas which contained γῆν ψιλὴν ἀγρόν⁵⁴⁸. A series of petitions from the Heracleopolite nome in Egypt shows that κάτοικοι settled there had very similar concerns to those from Asia Minor (*BGU* VIII 1756, 1757): harvesting lands and probably paying a fixed quantity of produce as tax as part of their cleruchic contract⁵⁴⁹. The same applies to the early Hellenistic grants in Macedonia, such as Lysimachos' land-grant to Limnaios in the Chalkidike, with an estate that contained twenty πλέθρα of vines⁵⁵⁰. Antiochos III's letter to Zeuxis to move two thousand Babylonian and Mesopotamian Jewish settlers to Lydia and Phrygia after Achaïos' revolt, to strongholds and to strategic places (εἰς τὰ φρούρια καὶ τοὺς ἀναγκαιοτάτους τόπους), gives us a similar description of the lands: Zeuxis is told to give each of the settlers a place to build a house (εἷς τ' οἰκοδομίας οἰκιῶν αὐτοῖς δώσεις τόπον ἐκάστω) and a plot of land for tillage and planting vineyards (καὶ χώραν εἰς γεωργίαν καὶ φυτεῖαν ἀμπέλων)⁵⁵¹.

The emphasis on the land in terms of its productivity clearly signals the main aim of these grants: the cultivation of the land and the use of its produce as tax, whether in kind or transformed into cash⁵⁵². The reason behind the transfer of the Mysians to Kastollos was, according to the inscription, not military or strategic but agricultural, just as the grants of the fragmentary Pergamon inscription (*RC* 51; Epigraphic Appendix 16) highlight the arable nature of the land and the tribute the new settlers would have to pay (or be exempted from). Moreover, several extant land grants apparently included a habitation element, which meant that the men were meant to live and settle in those places: the above mentioned grant of lands in Lydia and Phrygia to Jewish settlers, Krateuas' estate and those in Epigraphic Appendix 16, which I will discuss now. This is

⁵⁴⁷ In Asia Minor: *I.Priene* 17.22, 27.22; *Testament* l. 7; *I.Mylasa* 204.8, 206.4, 217.11, 227.4, etc.; also in Arkadia (*IG* V,2 269 l. 10) and Macedonia (*SEG* 53.613 C20, 45.603 l. 133), as well as the sale of land to ἱππεῖς in Thessaly, which implicated a legal obligation to cultivate the lands (Helly and Tziafalias 2013: 171-84). Cf. Billows 1995: 162.

⁵⁴⁸ Thonemann 2009: 371 l. 9.

⁵⁴⁹ *BGU* IV 1185 also mentions ἄμπελος and παράδεισος (l. 19).

⁵⁵⁰ Hatzopoulos, *Macedonian Institutions* II no. 10 l. 19-20.

⁵⁵¹ Joseph. *AJ* 12.147-52. Schalit 1960 (though somewhat dated); Cohen 1978: 5-9 and 1995: 212-13; Ma 1999: 267; Austin 2006: 380 no. 215.

⁵⁵² Thonemann 2009: 384. See also Thonemann's idea of "friction of distance" (2013: 19-20). For the expression of interest in the land being cultivated, see Antiochos III's letter to Meleager (*RC* 10-13 γῆς ἐργασίμου).

a further confirmation of the double role of the military settlers as reserves for the army but also as landowners to make sure that the lands were cultivated and produced income for the royal treasury.

It is worth looking at the inscription *I. Pergamon 158* (= *RC 51*; Epigraphic Appendix 16) in more depth. The document is very fragmentary and, crucially, we are missing the beginning; but from the extant text it can be gleaned that it is a royal letter (for only a king could assign land as is done in this inscription) to a group of military settlers; their military nature is clear from the hierarchy that is established through the clear-cut proportion and distribution of land, and is confirmed by a later mention of mercenaries in line 29. The text would have begun, presumably, with greetings from the king and an introduction to the issue at hand and to the lands about to be distributed (ψιλῆς πλῆθρα [...], l. 3). When we get to the preserved section of the text, the lands are already being distributed, and we can distinguish three groups of grantees with two kinds of land each (uncultivated, ψιλή, and vineyards, ἄμπελος); some of the quantities of land for each group have not been preserved in the text, but the proportions are easily calculable using a proportional system. Following Hatzopoulos' calculation and on the basis of 1 πλῆθρον being equal to 0.1 hectare, that is, 1000 m², the following table illustrates the land divisions:

Beneficiary	Type	Quantity	Surface
Unknown (high ranking officers?)	ψιλή	125 πλῆθρα (?)	125 000 m ²
	ἄμπελος	12.5 πλῆθρα (l. 11)	12 500 m ²
Those already housed [Τοῖς ἐστεγνοποιημέν]οις (l. 14)	ψιλή	100 πλῆθρα (l. 14)	100 000 m ²
	ἄμπελος	10 πλῆθρα (?) (l. 15)	10 000 m ²
Those not yet housed Τῶν δὲ μήπω ἐστεγνοποιημένων (l. 15)	ψιλή	50 πλῆθρα (?) (l. 16)	50 000 m ²
	ἄμπελος	5 πλῆθρα (l. 16)	5000 m ²

After the assignation, there is a clause disposing of the rights of the settlers over their lots and then the king grants them several other petitions (although the text is again quite fragmentary here), which points towards a new settlement just having been founded with help from the king to properly set it up: precincts for temples (τὰ τεμένη, l. 21)⁵⁵³, a tax exemption (τὴν ἀτέληαν, l. 23), oil for the youths, presumably implying the

⁵⁵³ Although τέμενος may also mean a separate piece of land (etymologically connected to τέμνω), it is mostly accepted to have a religious connotation: Papazarkadas stated it can be applied to both a sanctuary and an arable sacred estate (2011: 3; cf. Frisk 1970 s.v. τέμενος, Beekes 2010: s.v. τέμενος).

existence of a gymnasial organisation (ἔδωκα τοῖς νέοις εἰς τὸ ἔλαιον, l. 24), the right of the childless to dispose of their property ([κλ]ηρονομίαι τῶν ἀτέκνων, l. 25) and a further tax exemption, presumably of a different nature or applied to different people from the first one ([τ]αύτας ὁμῖν καὶ ἀτέλειαν, l. 28).

This is the first military settlement for which we have specific land measurements. Other similar examples belong to the category of royal δωρεά to high-ranking individuals, involving much larger areas: Lysimachos' grant to Limnaios in Macedonia, of which we have already spoken, comprised a total of 2480 πλέθρα of land between all three territories he was to receive⁵⁵⁴; in Asia Minor, Antiochos I granted a certain Aristodikides a total of 3500 πλέθρα of land⁵⁵⁵. As far as settlements are concerned, an apparently military association in ancient Euia (modern Koilas) received fifty πλέθρα of χώρα ψιλή which had formerly belonged to a certain Korragos son of Perdikkas⁵⁵⁶. The Pergamene inscription stands somewhere in between and gives some insight into the extension of military settlements and the actual amounts of land included in the κλῆροι, but without knowing how many men would have been settled, further estimations would be purely speculative. We can, however, see some similarities with other models, both preceding and contemporary to the Attalids: the Ptolemaic and the Thessalian.

The Ptolemaic cleruchic model is perhaps the best documented of the Hellenistic period due to the wealth of extant papyri. The system, which mainly developed under Ptolemy II and III, meant that soldiers were given lands in exchange for military service and loyalty to the crown⁵⁵⁷. As with the Pergamene inscription, in Egypt the size of the lots depended on the position of each individual within the army: as such, the officers and the cavalry were the biggest beneficiaries, with grants of 100 arouras – the number slowly decreased at the end of the third century and the beginning of the second to 80 and then 70 arouras⁵⁵⁸. The evidence for infantry cleruchs is scarcer but we know that their grants were significantly smaller than those of the cavalry: somewhere between 25 and 30 arouras⁵⁵⁹. An aroura was equal to 27.5 ha or 2756 m², making it significantly

⁵⁵⁴ SEG 38.619 (= Hatzopoulos, *Macedonian Institutions* II 22).

⁵⁵⁵ *I. Ilion* 33 (= RC 10-13).

⁵⁵⁶ Hatzopoulos, *Macedonian Institutions* II 17.

⁵⁵⁷ This refers only to the Ptolemaic κληροῦχοι, as there were other types of soldiers, such as the μισθοφόροι, who received pay instead of lands (Fischer-Bovet 2014: 119-20, 199).

⁵⁵⁸ Fischer-Bovet 2014: 120.

⁵⁵⁹ Fischer-Bovet 2014: 121. See the analysis of the proportion of cleruchic lands in Egypt in *idem*: 199-221.

bigger than the *πλέθρον*⁵⁶⁰. Whereas, as I have discussed in Chapter 2, an officer in Asia Minor could have received around 100 *πλέθρα*, a Ptolemaic officer, receiving 100 *aroura*, would have lands almost thrice the size of his Anatolian counterpart; the same happened with the infantry, for whom the proportions are very similar: 30 *arouras* in Egypt and perhaps around 50 *πλέθρα* in Asia Minor, but there would have been a difference of up to 30,000 m² between the two grants. While land in Asia Minor was by no means scarce, the difference in size with Ptolemaic Egypt may have resulted from the availability of suitable land for the men or from the numbers of settlers, which would impinge on the quantity of land that each would perceive. But it is also possible that it is Ptolemaic Egypt that marked a difference, for lots of 50 *πλέθρα* are also found in Classical Greece.

Macedonia's connection to Thessaly, its southern neighbour, can be traced as far back as the beginning of the fourth century, when in 393 BC, after being ousted by the Illyrians, Amyntas III was restored to power with the help of Medius, of the family of the Aleuads of Larissa⁵⁶¹; later, Amyntas would also enter an alliance with Jason of Pherai, by then Tagos of the Thessalian League⁵⁶². Philip II continued and reinforced this relationship by marrying two Thessalians, Nikesipolis of Pherai and Philinna of Larissa (mother of Philip III Arrhidaios); he was also elected archon of the Thessalian League⁵⁶³. It is not surprising to find some parallels between the ways in which lands were granted in Macedonia and in Thessaly, which may in turn have influenced the settlement system in Asia Minor. An early third century inscription from Larissa concerning the sale of plots for horsemen reveals that cavalrymen received two parcels of land against the single one received by the civic population of the *ταγαί*: a *κλήρος* for their own sustenance and a *ἰπότητειον* for that of their horse⁵⁶⁴. This double plot already recalls the two types of land that the Pergamene inscription describes. The lands are sold by lots of 50 *πλέθρα* (*πεμπεικοντίαν*), although from the remainders of the sale we know that some lots were smaller than these, and that this did not mean that each *ἰπότηεια* measured 50 *πλέθρα*⁵⁶⁵.

⁵⁶⁰ Fischer-Bovet 2014: 379.

⁵⁶¹ Diod. 14.92.3; Graninger 2010: 312.

⁵⁶² Diod. 9.60.2.

⁵⁶³ Athen. 13.557b-e; Hammond and Griffiths 1979: 220-30; Graninger 2010: 314.

⁵⁶⁴ Helly and Tziafalias 2013; *SEG* 53.543; Bouchon and Helly 2015: 237 n20.

⁵⁶⁵ Helly and Tziafalias 2013: 166ff.

If the Ptolemaic and Thessalian models did indeed influence the way in which military settlements were established in Hellenistic Asia Minor, we could potentially imagine a tripartite arrangement in the fragmentary Pergamene letter to military settlers (*RC* 51; Epigraphic Appendix 16) with the officers at the top, followed by the cavalry and the infantry – we can draw parallels with the Egyptian system based on the hierarchy and the proportions, and the double land grant could mirror the Thessalian duality of the *ἰπότεια* and *κλήροι*. A passage of the *συμπολιτεία* between Smyrna and Magnesia supports this parallel, as we see a division of *κλήροι* into ordinary *κλήροι* and *κλήροι ἵπτικοί*⁵⁶⁶, although the exact size of each *kleros* is not mentioned.

A most interesting passage concerning the property of the lands can be found in lines 18-21 of the Pergamene letter: τῶ[ν δὲ ἀμπέλων καὶ] τῶν ἄλλων ἐγγαίων ὧν ἀπέδοτο Δή[[μαρχος ὁ παρ' ἡμῶν, ἐὰν δὲ καὶ] τινες ἄλλοι τῶν τὰ βασιλικὰ πραγματευ[ομένων ἄλλους ἐγγαίους μετὰ] ταῦτα πωλῶσιν, ἔσονται αἱ τε κτήσεις κύ[[ριαι κατὰ τὰ συγχωρη]θέντα ἐκάστοις, “[as to the vineyards] and other tracts which Demarchos, [our agent (?)], has sold, and if any other royal agents ever sell [other tracts of land], the ownership will be [absolute according to the grant] in each case”. Much of this has been reconstructed, especially by Welles who made several corrections to Fränkel’s edition, and crucially the last part, κτήσεις κύ[[ριαι]. Apparently, in addition to the several hundreds of *πλέθρα* that the new settlers have been given, some particular tracts had also been sold to the cleruchs by a royal agent named Demarchos, and the inscription arranges for these lands and any other sold by other agents to be had in full (*κύρια*) ownership, “absolute according to the grant in each case”, if Welles’ reconstruction is correct. Julie Velissaropoulou describes this type of ownership, *κυριεία*, as sometimes giving the holder property rights, but not always – it was defined by the quantity and the duration of the *κυριεία* in each particular case⁵⁶⁷. Whereas Welles argued that this land was now private and neither royal nor civic⁵⁶⁸, I would propose that although the land did cease to belong to the king, it would have been registered within the territory of Pergamon as part of the *χώρα* that the city controlled – one might see as a parallel the grant of Antiochos I to Aristodikides, who is allowed to choose to which city he will join his new territories⁵⁶⁹. Moreover, the *κυριεία* can be understood as a similar term to

⁵⁶⁶ Epigraphic Appendix 18 ll. 100-103. See Thonemann 2011b: 246 and Aperghis 2004: 148.

⁵⁶⁷ Velissaropoulou 2011: II 67-9. The term was also used for the legitimacy of children within a marriage (Velissaropoulou 2011: I 271).

⁵⁶⁸ Welles *RC* 51 p. 208.

⁵⁶⁹ *RC* 11.

the Macedonian formula of ἐμ πατρικοῖς, discussed in Chapter 1, which meant, *a priori*, a full ownership of the land that was however limited by the conditions attached to the grant of the aforesaid ownership⁵⁷⁰.

Ἐμ πατρικοῖς and its derivatives are certainly a Macedonian creation, for even if the principle of hereditary possession was common elsewhere, the terminology was very different⁵⁷¹; the term first appears with Alexander's early Successors, Kassandros and Lysimachos, and then comes up again in areas of Macedonian influence, such as Failaka or Skythopolis. Its appearance in Karia and the implications of cultural transmission it suggests were already noted by R. van Bremen⁵⁷². A question that arises is why this expression was used specifically in Mylasa and not elsewhere in Asia Minor. That we do not have any extant evidence of its use in other locations of Asia Minor does not mean it was not used, but we can attempt to explain its recurring appearance in this particular city. Mylasa had from very early on a strong Macedonian military presence: it served as Asandros' headquarters for the region of Karia which he received in the Treaty of Babylon in 323, later confirmed in Triparadeisos in 321 BC⁵⁷³. Eupolemos, another Macedonian general, has also been documented near Mylasa at the same time as Asandros, and after them Pleistarchos was also militarily active in the area⁵⁷⁴. In the second half of the third century, the Macedonian dynast Olympichos also controlled Mylasa. Olympichos was the first leaseholder of the lands donated to Zeus Osogo on a hereditary basis, as Riet van Bremen argues, and possibly the first to introduce the concept of ἐμ πατρικοῖς to Mylasa (*I. Labraunda* 8B)⁵⁷⁵. The territory that belonged to Mylasa held several temple complexes of great importance: that of Zeus Karios and Zeus Osogo in Mylasa itself, Zeus Labraundos in Labraunda, and the sanctuaries of Sinuri and Olymos. Temples owned and leased land; and with the new influx of settlers into Asia Minor after Alexander's conquest, they would have needed to ensure they had

⁵⁷⁰ See Chapter 1 Section 1.1.2.

⁵⁷¹ Other similar expressions employed in other parts of the Greek world were εἰς τὸν αἰὲ χρόνον (i.e. *IG* II² 97, 112, 116, 334, 1132 in Attica), εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον (i.e. *IG* II² 463, 687, 1326, 1346 in Attica but also in Iasos, *I. Iasos* 52, and in Magnesia on the Maeander, *I. Magnesia* 32) or κατὰ βίου (i.e. *IG* XIV 645 ll. 50 and 99 in Italy). See Behrend 1973: 148 and Pernin 2014: 424.

⁵⁷² van Bremen 2016: 17-21.

⁵⁷³ Diod. 18.3.1, 18.39.6. Robert, *Amyzon* 1983: 99-100; Billows 1989: 184, 190.

⁵⁷⁴ See below Chapter 1 Section 1.3. Billows 1989: 184, 190; for the issue of Eupolemos' identity and his relationship with Asandros, see Rostovtzeff 1931, Robert 1936, Buraselis 1982, Billows, op. cit., Descat 1998 and Fabiani 2009.

⁵⁷⁵ Although she is cautious of absolutely assigning this act to Olympichos, as new texts have proved that Mylasa was under Seleukid control by 261 BC and the term may have been introduced before (van Bremen 2016: 21; 2020; see Chapter 1 Section 1.3.2).

they had a strong legislative system to deal with this, for which they turned to the Macedonian legal terminology of the new ruling elite of Karia. Thus, ἐμ πατρικοῖς was adopted but also adapted to a new context to fit the needs of the Mylasan temples⁵⁷⁶.

The formula κτήσις κύρια also appears in Lysimachos' grant to Limnaios within the enumeration of rights of the new owners over the lands: καὶ | αὐτῷ καὶ ἐγγόνοις κε|κτῆσθαι κυρίοις οὓσι κα[ι] | πωλεῖν καὶ ἀλλάσσεσθαι[ι] | καὶ διδόναι οἷς ἂν βού|λωνται, “(he has given the lands) to him and to his descendants with full rights to own them and to sell them and to exchange them and to give them to whoever they wish”⁵⁷⁷. There is not enough evidence to suggest that κτήσις κύρια has a Macedonian origin like ἐμ πατρικοῖς, but if the latter was established in Asia Minor in the third century BC by Olympichos, a Macedonian dynast with a military career, it is possible that a similar process happened in Lydia and that, at least in this case, the granting of land to the settlers was worded on the basis of models brought from Macedonia by the generals and the soldiers. The adoption of these models, if this hypothesis is correct, could reflect the role that the Macedonians played in the spread of a land tenure model of inheritable possession that had not been expressed in those terms in Asia Minor until then.

The similarities with the Ptolemaic cleruchic system must be noted: according to a late second century Demotic papyrus, the lands were granted *r nhh*, “forever”, which echoes the Greek, not Macedonian, formulas of ἐπὶ τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον discussed in Chapter 1, and the cleruchs possessed the lands as long as they had heirs who would take their place; but the lands could still be confiscated if they were not cultivated, i.e. if the cleruchs did not uphold their part of the bargain⁵⁷⁸.

In his analysis of the text of *RC* 51, Welles stated that it was not clear whether we were dealing with the foundation of a new settlement or the granting of privileges to an already established one, but he did accept that the city mentioned in line 14 was Pergamon⁵⁷⁹. The appearance of the institution of the νέοι in line 24 and of several sacred precincts (τὰ τεμένη, l. 21) further proves this connection with a necessarily big city. The granting of land to soldiers in the vicinity of Pergamon would have enabled

⁵⁷⁶ Incidentally, Mylasan documents from the 2nd/1st century BC also use the expression μάρτυρες δικασταί as witnesses to a land sale. This is an expression found also in Macedonia, especially in the 3rd/2nd century BC Mieza land documents (*SEG* 53.613; van Bremen 2020: 17 n.75).

⁵⁷⁷ *SEG* 38.619; Hatzopoulos, *Macedonian Institutions* II 22 ll. 22-27. Cf. Hatzopoulos 1988: 34-5.

⁵⁷⁸ *P.Bürgsch.* 7, l. 3 (= *SB* I 4475); Préaux 1939: 469; Monson 2007: 374-5, Fischer-Bovet 2014: 227.

⁵⁷⁹ Welles *RC* 51 p. 207. Following him Hansen 1971: 233. See also Robert 1987: 535-8.

the city to grow in territory; it can be linked to the two types of settlers mentioned in a Pergamene decree issued after Eumenes III's death in 133 BC, distinguishing τῶν στρατιωτῶν τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν [τὴν πόλιν] καὶ τὴν χώραν⁵⁸⁰.

3.3. Settlers and company

The land-related side of the argument must not be oversimplified, however, as the settlers were not just farmers when not fighting: we have evidence of other activities that were undertaken in the settlements that bridge various aspects of military foundations. Although cattle raising in the settlements is not well documented in the epigraphic record, there are instances of animals being raised that suggest that animal rearing was undertaken to some extent by the settlers.

In their recent *New Religious Texts from Lydia* Hasan Malay and Georg Petzl published an inscription from the western slope of Mazlitepe, between Kula and Şiritli, tentatively dated to the first century BC and related to the consecration of certain terrains to the cult of Zeus Keraunios⁵⁸¹. Two of these terrains are particularly relevant to us: ἀμπέλο[υ]ς τὰς ἐπὶ τῇ Σκοπῇ καλουμένας (ll. 4-6) and χώραν τὴν ἐπ[ὶ] Βασιλικαῖς Μάνδραις (ll. 6-7). The first part is a clear link to the land grants we have previously seen, all the more so since it is a vineyard, which is called “near the watchtower”. It is very possible that at this point in time, being managed by a religious association, the land had lost its original military character, but the permanence of the name suggests that it was indeed a garrison post at some point⁵⁸².

The Βασιλικαὶ Μάνδραι, “Royal Folds”, suggests they were enclosures for the breeding of horses for the Attalid cavalry⁵⁸³. However, the toponym is common enough in Asia Minor: we find a ὄποι Μανδρῶν in Mysia⁵⁸⁴, Mandres in Bithynia⁵⁸⁵, and two sites in Lydia: [τ]όπω τῷ λεγομένῳ Ἀγάθωνος Μάνδραις (Kastollos) and ἀπὸ Σύρου Μανδρῶν (Kula)⁵⁸⁶. Zgusta suggests it may have a Greek origin but also acknowledges that it is widespread enough to possibly be a loan word from one of the languages of

⁵⁸⁰ *OGIS* 338 ll. 13-4.

⁵⁸¹ Malay - Petzl, *Lydia* no. 199.

⁵⁸² The territories are consecrated by an “hereditary priest” (ὁ διὰ γένους ἱερεὺς, ll. 1-2) for a sacrifice to Zeus Keraunios. The cult of Zeus Keraunios is widely attested in Lydia (Paz de Hoz 1999: 24): in Thyateira (*TAM* V,2 889, 890), Silandos (*SEG* 33.1028, 1010), Kollyda (*TAM* V,1 360; *SEG* 32.1212), Satala (*TAM* V,1 614) and mountains between Thyateira, Attaleia and Iulia Gordos (*TAM* V,1 781). The god was particularly important in Seleukeia in Syria (Cohen 2006: 134).

⁵⁸³ Malay - Petzl, *Lydia* p. 202.

⁵⁸⁴ *LBW* III 1095.

⁵⁸⁵ *SEG* 37.1036.

⁵⁸⁶ *TAM* V,1 222 and 317 respectively.

Asia Minor, an opinion that concurs with Chantraine's, who does not think it has an Indoeuropean origin⁵⁸⁷. We know Kula was under Attalid control by the first half of the second century BC, as is evident from the Apolloniou Charax inscription, and Mazlitepe, some 5 km to its east, was surely within its territory. Mazlitepe opens into to a relatively plain area to the west, which one could plausibly see as useful for the breeding and exercising of horses. Moreover, the area, bordering on Phrygia, is protected by the Uysal Dağı to the east and it is easy to imagine the Attalids ensuring control of their frontiers, especially in the lowlands, through the breeding of horses for their army.

Cavalry was a common fixture of the Seleukid and Attalid armies: it is mentioned in the decree of Smyrna and Magnesia ad Sipylum (Epigraphic Appendix 18 I.14, II.35, 36, 44, 46, 59, III.92) and in the letter of Antiochos III to his army at Amyzon (RC 39); the hipparch Attinas and the ἵππεῖς under him stationed in Attaleia were amongst those who swore the oath to Eumenes⁵⁸⁸; a very fragmentary Pergamene letter of Eumenes I to his soldiers also reveals another contingent of cavalry settlers⁵⁸⁹. The epigraphic attestations of their presence are scarce, but this should not be taken as implying that they were not there; most of the inscriptions from military settlements give no clues whatsoever as to the nature of the soldiers or their role in the army – the literary sources prove conclusively that both the Seleukids and the Attalids relied heavily on their cavalry⁵⁹⁰. It follows logically that, were they to settle cavalry in any particular settlement, they would also have had to furnish the means to rear and train their horses, thus granting lands in consequence and possibly leading to a distinction at both individual and settlement level⁵⁹¹.

⁵⁸⁷ Zgusta, *Ortsnamen* §765; Chantraine 1999 s.v. μάντρα. See also Robert 1962a: 80.

⁵⁸⁸ Epigraphic Appendix 4 l. 22-3.

⁵⁸⁹ Epigraphic Appendix 15. See Catling 2004: 399 for discussion on whether the Attalid soldiers honoured at Lilaia were cavalrymen (unlikely). A bronze plaque found in Pergamon – now lost (see drawing in Taylor 2016: 83) depicts a cavalry charge against a *sarissa*-armed phalanx: this has been interpreted as an Attalid celebration of their role in the battle of Magnesia. However, the identification is far from clear. Even if this is more likely to be an ornamental plaque without any historical references, a general celebration of Attalid military victory, it is still significant to prove the role and importance of the Attalid cavalry.

⁵⁹⁰ Ma 2013: 59; Griffith 1935: 174; Bar-Kochva 1976: 67-75. Ma suggests that the Mysians supplied heavy cavalry to the Attalid state (2013: 69).

⁵⁹¹ See Epigraphic Appendix 16 for the hierarchic distinctions between members of a same settlement. We also have evidence for Ptolemaic cavalry around Kalynda in Lykia (modern Şerefler east of Dalaman), derived from a mention in the Zenon papyrus of the obligation to supply fodder that fell upon a Kalyndian citizen (PCZ 59341b and c (dated 247 BC but referring to an earlier situation): νοὶ γὰρ ἔχομεν καὶ ἐπισταθμούς καὶ τὸν χόρτον καὶ τὴν γράστιν τελούμεν τῷ ἵππεϊ (b6-8). Wörrle (1979: 87-9) is surely right to see in the singular τῷ ἵππεϊ a collective noun: the cavalry). See also the discussion in Tietz 2003: 206-14.

The Apolloniou Charax texts also introduce another activity that gives some nuance to the complexity of the activities that were undertaken in a military settlement: in Face B, the community demands that Thileudos and Plazeira, probably located in the plain of Akhisar near Apolloniou Charax, be assigned as κατοικίας κυνηγῶν (B 22). Both Herrmann and Malay, the original editors, and Peter Thonemann have translated this as “settlements of the huntsmen” or “hunters’ settlements”⁵⁹². However, once the inscription is put in its topographic context, the translation makes little sense. Lydia is not known for its hunting grounds and long past was the time of hunting out of necessity rather than sport. By the Hellenistic era, hunting was a pastime of the elite, linked to the royal houses⁵⁹³. In Macedonia, the hunt had a long tradition in the Argead family⁵⁹⁴, and the term κυνηγοί is used also to refer to the priests of Herakles Kynagidas⁵⁹⁵. There was no link to the royal house in Apolloniou Charax that we know of, nor any connection to Herakles: the hunting hypothesis is, at best, weak.

We have however precedents of dogs employed for warfare in Persia, Lydia, Macedonia, Hyrkanis and Magnesia⁵⁹⁶. There are several instances of κυνηγοί in the Hellenistic armies, especially in that of the Ptolemies, some of them in the Ptolemaic territories of Asia Minor⁵⁹⁷. Launey already advocated the role of dogs in strongholds and garrisons: “l’organisation militaire hellénistique [...] a utilisé le flair et la vigilance des chiens, notamment dans les places-fortes”⁵⁹⁸. There are precedents for the deployment of guard hounds in Lydia, by the Mermnad kings, and in Magnesia and Hyrkanis, in the area of Lake Marmara. One of the closest parallels for the κυνηγοί of Apolloniou Charax, related to Launey’s assertion, is to be found in a third-century BC decree of the Ionian city of Teos (located at Sığacık near İzmir) in which we are informed of their συμπολιτεία with nearby Kyrbissos, undoubtedly a fortified settlement⁵⁹⁹. Teos’ main interest in this συμπολιτεία is related to the fort that was

⁵⁹² Herrmann-Malay, *Lydia* 52; Thonemann 2011a: 3.

⁵⁹³ Xenophon describes the satrapal residence of Daskyleion in Phrygia as having closed garden with animals to hunt, παράδεισοι (*Hell.* 4.1.15).

⁵⁹⁴ Perhaps the most famous representation of Macedonian hunting practices is the hunting frieze of Tomb II at Vergina. See Franks 2012 for an in-depth analysis of the frieze.

⁵⁹⁵ Mili 2014: 205. See the inscription for Herakles Kynagidas in Beroia in Allamani-Souri 1993. Hatzopoulos (1994: 103-6) already links their hunting facet to their military obligations.

⁵⁹⁶ Hdt. 5.1 (dogs employed in the battle between Persians and Perinthians); Polyæn. *Strat.* 4.2.16, 7.2.1 (Philip II employed bloodhounds to track his enemies; Alyattes of Lydia employing war dogs); Ael. *NA* 7.38 (Hyrkanis and Magnesia); cf. also Pliny *NH* 8.61, Karunanithy 2008: 77.

⁵⁹⁷ *OGIS* 99, 143; Athen. 5.201.

⁵⁹⁸ Launey 1987: 1017.

⁵⁹⁹ L. and J. Robert 1976. Elif Koparal has located Kyrbissos of Ionia (not to be confused with the eponymous city of Karia, J. and L. Robert 1976: 160) at Kocadömen Tepe, just north of Kuyucak (İzmir)

located at Kyrbissos: arrangements are made to choose a new phrourarch from amongst the citizens to protect the fortress (φυλακή τοῦ χωρίου, ll. 13-4). One of the clauses of the treaty reads φρ[ου]ροὺς δ' ἔχειν τὸ[μ] φρο[ύραρχον μ]ὴ ἐλάττους ἢ εἴκοσι τῶμ πολιτῶν καὶ | κυνὰς τρεῖς (“the phrourarch will have for the fortress no less than twenty men from amongst the citizens and three dogs”, ll. 18-20). Besides giving us a specific number of men in a garrison adjoined to a city, the text shows that the fortress was protected with dogs, what Robert calls “chiens de forteresse”⁶⁰⁰. Another example of a fortress dog comes from Plutarch, who in his *Life of Aratos of Sikyon* states that, after taking Acrocorinth, Aratos garrisoned it with four hundred soldiers and fifty dogs, with as many handlers (κυνηγοῖς, Plut. *Arat.* 24).

The evidence thus suggests that the κατοικία κυνηγῶν at Apolloniou Charax was a settlement for guard dogs and their handlers, rather than for hunters. The latter would hardly play any role in the control of the territory or in its agricultural development, but it would be sensible to imagine a settlement for the training of guard dogs to be employed either in war or in fortresses: the treaty from Teos goes on to specify that the city will be in charge of acquiring the dogs and handing them over to the phrourarch (ll. 20-1).

The plains surrounding Taşkuyucak, especially southwest, extending towards Lake Marmara, provide plenty of space and fodder to feed a hypothetical unit of war-trained dogs, so in order to explain these κατοικίαι κυνηγῶν we could imagine that Thileudos and Plazeira produced these trained dogs, looked after by their handlers, the κυνηγοί, and later on presumably shifted them to whatever garrisons were in need of them. Otherwise they could have made up a unit of their own, linked to the garrison at Apolloniou Charax. Thus, the interest in Thileudos and Plazeira as restitution for those settlements which had not been restored as promised may hypothetically reside in their economic value: the breeding and trade of guard dogs.

3.4. Cultural coexistence

As the previous sections have shown, the soldiers' lives in the settlements were complex and full of nuance. So was their interaction with the native inhabitants of

and some 18 km east of Teos (Koparal 2013). Its position and remains certainly point towards a garrison post such as the one the inscription describes, which could potentially be used to protect the border between the territories of Teos and Klazomenai.

⁶⁰⁰ J. and L. Robert 1976: 207. He places the inscription together with another two Hellenistic texts that mention war dogs in fortresses: *SEG* 23.271 in Boeotia and *BE* 1968 247 in Rhamnous. See also Roussel 1930 for a comprehensive compilation of sources from Hellenistic and Roman times.

western Asia Minor: the recurring combination of Macedonian soldiers in settlements with indigenous names and the religious syncretism present in the inscriptions we have discussed attest to a cultural coexistence and assimilation both on the side of the Macedonians and of the native populations.

We have already mentioned the cult of Zeus Stratios in Apolloniou Charax and in several other cities of western Asia Minor, which was linked to the army as a whole rather than to a specific Macedonian component of it, albeit not as directly as it might seem at a first glance. There are three other instances of religious cults that provide us with a direct link to Macedonia and that, given their survival over time, bear witness to a lasting Macedonian imprint by the settlers: the cults of Zeus Seleukios and Zeus Antigoneios in Lydia and the cult of Artemis Tauropolos in several early Hellenistic inscriptions throughout western Asia Minor.

3.4.1. Macedonian gods

The cults of Zeus Seleukios and Zeus Antigoneios in Lydia are clearly related to the Macedonian kings who controlled western Asia Minor in the early Hellenistic period. In Alibeyli, less than 4 km east of Hyrkanis (Halitpaşaköy), a late imperial votive offering of a statuette with an inscription was discovered which attests to the cult of a Zeus Seleukios:

Ἀρτεμίδωρος Με-
 νελάου Μητρὶ Θεοῦ
 καὶ Διὶ Σελευκέῳ
 ἑπακούσασι
 [εὖ]χὴν ἔτους
 [-----]⁶⁰¹

Artemidoros son of Menelaos (set up this stele) to the Mother of God and Zeus Seleukeos who listened to his prayer, (in the) year...

A second statuette offering related to this cult comes from the κατοικία of Nisyra, located at the village of Saraçlar, near Kula, and is dated to AD 228/9:

⁶⁰¹ TAM V,2 1306 (Robert, *Hellenica* VI p. 24 no. 4; SEG 15.740).

[Δ]ι Σελευκίῳ καὶ Νύμφαις
 Καρποδοτείραις ἡ Νισυρέων
 κατοικία ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀβλαβείας
 καὶ τελεσφορίας τῶν καρπῶν
 κατ' ἐπιταγὴν. ἔτους τγί, μη(νὸς)
 Πανήμου γί.⁶⁰²

*To Zeus Seleukios and to the Nymphai
 Karpodoteirai, the village of the
 Nisyreans for their protection from all
 harm and for their initiation in the
 mysteries of the harvests, as per their
 command. Year 313 (AD 228/9), month
 of Panemos, (day) 13.*

The Macedonian character of this cult, of a Zeus named after a king of Macedonian origin, is very clear, although the use of an epithet formed with an adjectival form of a personal name is quite striking: we only know of seven other cases of such an occurrence⁶⁰³. Parallel to this Zeus Seleukios is the cult of Zeus Antigoneios, amply documented by late imperial inscriptions found in the small village of İmrenler south of Demirci, west of the ancient city of Saittai, suggesting the existence of a sanctuary in or close to this spot – although a preliminary survey conducted by Hasan Malay was not able to establish the location of this hypothetical sanctuary⁶⁰⁴. The inscriptions follow a similar formula with the name of the dedicant and that of Zeus Antigoneios: Μενῶς | Δι Ἄντ{σ}ιγονέῳ | εὐχὴν⁶⁰⁵; Χαρίτων Δι Ἄντ[ι]γονίῳ εὐχὴν⁶⁰⁶; Ἑρμῆς Δι Ἀντιγονάῳ | ἱερεὺς εὐχὴν⁶⁰⁷; Ἀπ[ο]λλῆας ὑπὲρ τοῦ υἱοῦ | σωτηρίας | [ε]ὐχὴν | Δι Ἀντιγονάῳ⁶⁰⁸.

Despite their straightforward appearance, these two cults are not unproblematic. The origin of the epithets of the god, Seleukios and Antigoneios, has been debated: it may have been a simple form of honouring the kings they were named after, but the existence of a festival named Seleukeios in Alexandria could also point towards an older Macedonian cult whose epithet merged with the name of Seleukos in the Hellenistic period⁶⁰⁹.

⁶⁰² TAM V,1 426 (Robert, *Hellenica* VI p. 25; Keil and von Premerstein 1911: 101-2 no. 200).

⁶⁰³ Parker 2017: 201. Particularly interesting outside of Asia Minor is the occurrence of a Zeus Philippios in Lesbos during the early years of Alexander's reign (*IG* XII,2 526; *Chiron* 42 (2012) 183-212).

⁶⁰⁴ *I.Mus. Manisa* nos. 69-74; Paz de Hoz 1999: 61.9-13; *SEG* 48.1437, 51.1806-7. Another small dossier of three inscriptions in honour of Zeus Antigoneios were found in Çukurören, 30 km east of Gediz (*SEG* 52.1347-9), all of them from Roman imperial times.

⁶⁰⁵ *I.Mus. Manisa* no. 70.

⁶⁰⁶ *I.Mus. Manisa* no. 71.

⁶⁰⁷ *I.Mus. Manisa* no. 72.

⁶⁰⁸ *I.Mus. Manisa* no. 73.

⁶⁰⁹ We know of this festival through a 3rd-century AD agonistic inscription from Sardis (*SEG* 53.1355 C 22; see Strasser 2003: 281-83), but its details and attribution are still obscure, although it is very unlikely that the Ptolemies would have dedicated a festival to their rivals (Robert, *Hellenica* VI 24-6, *BE* (1951) 46). See also Parker 2017: 202; Paz de Hoz 1997: 55-6. Early scholars like Keil and von Premerstein, following Hoffman, suggested that the epithet was not derived from the Seleucid house but rather a corruption of ζάλευκος, "the shining one", although they did not deny a Macedonian origin (1911: 101-2).

Zeus Antigoneios can plausibly be identified with Antigonos Monophthalmos, the only Antigonos to have controlled western Asia Minor and to have started as satrap of Lydia and Phrygia, pushing the chronology of the cult as far back as 312 BC, when he gained effective control of Lydia after ousting Kleitos⁶¹⁰. As for Zeus Seleukios, the relative geographical proximity of İmrenler to the two locations where its cult has been attested and the analogy with the cult of Zeus Antigoneios and Antigonos Monophthalmos does indeed seem to point to a parallel identification of the cult of Zeus Seleukios with the Seleukid dynasty. If Zeus Seleukios was named by the first Macedonian colonists in the area of Hyrkanis, we could date the origin of the cult to Seleukos I Nikator, around 281 BC when he defeated Lysimachos in the battle of Korupedion. Both cults are found in areas of heavy military settlement, so while the explanation for the existence of these adjectival titles may be related in part to the emotional sphere of the settlers displaying their Macedonian origin, there may well be political considerations behind it, such as the intention of honouring a particular ruler. What does become clear, however, due to the chronology of the inscriptions that attest to the existence of these cults, is that they had a lasting impact, as they survived well past the Hellenistic period.

All our extant evidence for these two cults belongs to the third century AD. It has been pointed out by previous scholars that the inscriptions on the statuettes link the cult of Zeus Seleukios to native agricultural divinities and thus make it near indistinguishable from other Lydo-Phrygian cults of Zeus⁶¹¹. The lack of continuity between the hypothetical fourth/third-century cult and that which we find in imperial times has led scholars to dismiss the Macedonian character of the cult. Nicholas Sekunda claims that “the inscription only shows the inhabitants of the *katoikia* offering a dedication. It does not indicate whether they were in fact descendants of colonists or simply peasants worshipping a god brought in by the Hellenistic colonists”⁶¹². But it is precisely this indeterminacy that makes this a worthy case study.

Five centuries after the Macedonian conquest of Asia Minor, the link between the inhabitants of the settlements and their Macedonian ancestors must have been tenuous at

⁶¹⁰ Diod. 18.52.5-8. He already controlled several territories in Asia Minor: Greater Phrygia, Pamphylia and Lykia after the partition of Babylon (323 BC, confirmed in Triparadeisos in 312 BC); Diod. 18.3.1, 18.39.6.

⁶¹¹ Paz de Hoz 1999: 63-4; Debord and Oulhen 2003: 83; Parker 2017: 202.

⁶¹² Cohen 1991: 47 n24.

best. If one looks at the stones, especially at those of Zeus Antigoneios – only a squeeze exists of one of the inscriptions of Zeus Seleukios⁶¹³ –, it is remarkable how *impromptu* they seem. They are engraved on statues or busts of Zeus, not as part of the sculpture piece but as votive offerings, having been inscribed over the details of the sculpture [FIGS. 70-74]. Moreover, the letters look irregular and somewhat careless, suggesting that they had been produced by a non-professional hand. The overall picture that these inscriptions create is one of a popular cult, found (as far as we know) outside urban centres. In this extremely rural area it is doubtful that the identification of a god with a Macedonian king of old was meant as a political statement, but it rather had to be a sign of the survival of that Macedonian element in the collective religious experience, even if it had been diluted through time and remained only as a divine epithet.

There is one third divinity that links Macedonia and the military settlements and whose presence can be traced to a Macedonian context. The oaths that were sworn in the third century BC in Iasos and Theangela by Ptolemy and Eupolemos respectively, as discussed in previous chapters, include a variety of Greek gods – Zeus, Ge, Helios, Poseidon, Ares, Apollo, Athena Areia, Demeter and “all the gods and goddesses”, θεοὺς πάντας καὶ πάσας⁶¹⁴ – but they both have in common one in particular: Tauropolos (τὴν Ταυροπόλον⁶¹⁵). The cult of Tauropolos, or Artemis Tauropolos, is already mentioned by Euripides in his *Iphigenia in Tauris*⁶¹⁶, and although she may have had an Attic origin, the attested evidence for her cult is concentrated in Macedonia, specifically in Amphipolis, whose main divinity she quickly became after the foundation of the city⁶¹⁷.

Tauropolos demonstrates the same flexibility of character as her mother city: Amphipolis, although an Athenian foundation, has been traditionally taken as a paradigmatic Macedonian city, and this, while not completely untrue, is also not unproblematic. It was founded by the Athenian general Hagnon son of Nikias in 437 BC and remained Athenian until it was taken by the Spartans during the Peloponnesian War, in 424 BC; after the Peace of Nikias in 421 BC, never actually being returned to Athens, Amphipolis became independent⁶¹⁸. Less than a century later, in 358/57 BC, Philip II

⁶¹³ Robert, *Hellenica* VI Pl. XXV.

⁶¹⁴ Epigraphic Appendix 2 ll. 35-64, 43-44, 48-49, 53-54; Epigraphic Appendix 3 ll. 22-24.

⁶¹⁵ Epigraphic Appendix 2 ll. 36, 44, 49, 54; *Coll. Froehner*. 52 l. 23.

⁶¹⁶ 1455-6: Ἄρτεμιν δέ νιν βροτοὶ / τὸ λοιπὸν ὑμνήσουσι Ταυροπόλον θεάν. See also Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1981: 229 and *MAMA* IV 122.

⁶¹⁷ For the origin of Tauropolos, Thuc. 4.102.

⁶¹⁸ Diod. 12.32.3; Thuc. 4.104-107.

took the city by siege and it remained a part of the Macedonian kingdom until Rome defeated Perseus in the battle of Pydna in 168 BC⁶¹⁹. It is clear that the city had a convoluted history, but the fact is that it spent considerably more time under Macedonian rule than under Athenian. This Macedonian rule was accompanied by a new building programme on the acropolis and the introduction of new cults, such as that of Asklepios, already popular in Macedonia; Amphipolis became an important economic centre located on the Via Egnatia⁶²⁰. Several fourth/third-century BC monumental tombs with Macedonian style paintings have also been found in Amphipolis, reinforcing the image of Macedonian control over the city⁶²¹. By the Hellenistic period it can be considered a Macedonian city or, at least, a city that can be confidently linked to Macedonian culture.

Amphipolis' Tauropolion, Artemis Tauropolos' sanctuary, was the main religious symbol of the city and the goddess became one of the most recognisable mint types of Amphipolis in the period of Roman domination: the coins depict a bust of Artemis Tauropolos within a Macedonian shield (obverse) and the words ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ ΠΡΩΤΗΣ separated by a club, within an oak wreath and a thunderbolt to the left (reverse) [FIG. 75]⁶²². She is associated with military victories as a θεὸς ἔνορκος, perhaps most famously within Macedonia in the dedication made by Perseus after his victory against the Thracian prince Abroupolis in 179 BC; but the goddess is found much earlier in Eupolemos' oath to Theangela, in Ptolemy's oath to the mercenaries at Iasos, in Eumenes I's agreement with the rebellious mercenaries from Philetaireia and Attaleia and in the treaty of συμπολιτεία between Smyrna and Magnesia ad Sipylum⁶²³. In every case the formula follows a similar pattern: the three first divinities to be mentioned are Zeus, Ge and Helios, and although after this the order of some of the other gods is inverted, Tauropolos always appears preceded by two other significantly military deities: Ares and Athena Areia⁶²⁴. Her military character cannot be denied, and

⁶¹⁹ Diod. 16.8.2

⁶²⁰ Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 2011: 416-22.

⁶²¹ Lazarides 1997: 69-72, figs. 38-9; Koukouli-Chryssanthaki 2011: 422.

⁶²² Mari 2012: 125-36 for an in-depth analysis of the Tauropolion's role in Amphipolis' religious and civic life. Diodorus tells us that amongst Alexander's plans prior to his death was the (re?)building of the Tauropolion in Amphipolis (Diod. 18.4.5; Launey 1987: 938), but as it never came to fruit, it cannot be confirmed.

⁶²³ *Coll. Froehner*. 52 l. 23; Epigraphic Appendix 2 ll. 36, 44, 49, 54; *I. Iasos* 3 ll. 12, 23; Epigraphic Appendix 4 ll. 24, 52-3; Epigraphic Appendix 18 ll. 60, 70. It is also found in a late Hellenistic inscription from Kibyra concerning an oath between a dynast named Moagetes and the cities of Kibyra, Boubon and Balbura (Meier 2019: 55 no. 2 b).

⁶²⁴ See Launey 1987: 926-7 for more on the cult of Ares in Asia Minor.

her appearance in the treaty between Antiochos III and the city of Lysimacheia (196 BC)⁶²⁵, within the context of the Second Macedonian War, hints at the very specific role of this string of divinities in oaths of alliance that were struck after times of military unrest. If Manuela Mari's argument, to see Tauropolos as a figure of conciliation between the new Athenian colonists and the native inhabitants of Amphipolis, is to be accepted, this conciliatory character, extrapolated to the conflicts between Macedonians in Asia Minor, may be what introduced her into oath-swearing and the reason behind her introduction into Asia Minor specifically by Macedonian soldiers and generals⁶²⁶.

3.4.2. Mysians

I will now be looking at the relationship between Mysians and Macedonians, who recurrently appear together in inscriptions, and I will analyse the reasons behind this unexpected relationship and how the interaction between the soldiers and the Mysians they came into contact with affected both groups. I have already mentioned the use of ethnic denominations to refer to specific divisions of the army based on their weaponry or deployment rather than on their geographic origin; Mysians are one of the ethnics that, especially in Ptolemaic Egypt, became a pseudo-ethnic in the second century BC⁶²⁷. However, in Asia Minor, Mysians became more intricately linked to Macedonia than most of the other ethnic groups that came into contact with the Macedonian settlers; this link endured until the imperial period.

When Attalos III died in 133 BC, part of his will concerning the city of Pergamon was published on a tall stone stele of which the better part remains in very good condition⁶²⁸. In it, the city decided to grant citizenship to several groups of individuals, amongst them a group of Macedonians and Mysians (ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Μακεδόσιν καὶ Μυσ[οῖς], l. 14). The context clearly indicates that the Mysians were military personnel and the differentiation between the troops settled in the city and the countryside and the Macedonians and the Mysians, stationed in the citadel (τοῖς ἀναφερομένοις ἐν ταῖς

⁶²⁵ *I. Ilion* 45; it is possible that Philip V's treaty with the same city was a model on which this treaty was based (*SEG* 38.603; Piejko 1988).

⁶²⁶ Mari 2012: 143-5. Mari argues that she was a figure of conciliation because the attributes of Artemis Tauropolos (torches, warrior and city-saviour, a figure of passage of age for both sexes) could be linked to already popular divine figures in the region, so it would be possible to introduce this new divinity without much dissension but still have it remain an Attic cult.

⁶²⁷ See Introduction; *N.B.* the case of Theotimos the "Persian" who became a "Mysian" of the fourth hipparchy in *P. Fay.* 11 and 12, Fischer-Bovet 2014: 193; Houle 2015: 51. As for the Mysians that took part in the Daphne parade, nothing seems to suggest that they were not native to Mysia (Sekunda 1994: 16-17).

⁶²⁸ *I. Pergamon* 249 (=OGIS 338).

τῶ[ν] παροί[κων ἀπο]γραφαῖς καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν [τὴν πόλιν] καὶ τὴν χώραν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Μακεδόσιν καὶ Μυσ[οῖς] | καὶ τοῖς ἀναφερομένοις ἐν τῷ φρουρίῳ (Il. 12-15), is reminiscent of the situation in Magnesia and Palaimagnesia, where the men stationed in the city (and outside of it) and in the fortified citadel were treated as separate entities⁶²⁹. This is a late instance of a relationship between Mysians and Macedonians in the Attalid kingdom, but evidence of it can be found before and after 133 BC; perhaps the most striking piece of evidence to this end is the existence of a settlement of “Mysomacedonians” in the Ephesos *conventus* in the first/second centuries AD, to which we will return⁶³⁰. It is worth taking a closer look at earlier evidence that links Macedonia and Mysia to try to elucidate what such a connection can tell us about the cultural impact that the Macedonian army had on this particular ethnic group.

While Mysians seem to be absent from the record during the time of Seleukid rule over Asia Minor, which does not mean they were not involved in either the army or the founding of settlements⁶³¹, they were ever present in the Attalid army. Early in Attalos I’s reign, during his campaign against Achaïos, the Attalid king took advantage of his rival’s engagement with Selge in Pisidia and set out to recover the territories that he had lost in his previous campaigns⁶³². Aided by the Galatian tribe of the Aigosagai, he retook Kyme, Smyrna, Phokaia, Aigai, Temnos, Teos and Kolophon. After this, he “crossed the river Lykos and advanced on the Mysian *katoikiaî*” (διαβὰς τὸν Λύκον ποταμὸν προῆγεν ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν Μυσῶν κατοικίας, Polyb. 5.77.7). Much has been said about this passage: the initial reaction to Polybios’ text was to interpret it as an area of Mysian military settlements, but Louis Robert showed that, due to the chronology both of Attalos’ campaign and Polybios’ writing, they could not have been military settlements in the Seleukid or Attalid way, but were rather Mysian villages⁶³³. What this shows is the interest of the Attalid kingdom in Mysia and the early date at which Mysia

⁶²⁹ See Chapter 2 Section 2.3.1. It is also possible that the Macedonians and the Mysians could have been part of the king’s personal army, thus their location in the acropolis and not in the city. This, however, would mean that the rest of the troops would have been Pergamon’s army, and there is not enough evidence to assert whether the city would have had an army of its own – if it was allowed to, which seems unlikely.

⁶³⁰ Ptol. 5.2.13; Pliny *NH* 5.120; *MDAI(A)* 1894 103 A 19.

⁶³¹ They do appear as part of Achaïos’ army in Polybios’ account of his attack on Selge, probably because he controlled Asia Minor at the time and, consequently, the settlements (Bar-Kochva 1976: 41).

⁶³² Polyb. 5.77.

⁶³³ Robert 1987: 468-84. See the previous discussion in Robert 1937: 184-98 and Holleaux 1938a.

came under the Attalid aegis and Mysians were plausibly incorporated into the army on a regular basis.

At a later point of Attalos I's reign their military involvement became ever clearer: they were amongst those Attalid troops being granted citizenship by the Lilaia in a series of Delphic inscriptions (FD *III* (4) 132-135 = Epigraphic Appendix 19). Two of the contingents identified as Mysians: those under Menodoros son of Neon, himself a Mysian, with 65 names, and those under Polemon, a Pergamene, with 25 names⁶³⁴. As soon as these two lists are compared to the others of the same set, discussed in a previous section, a key difference becomes clear: the Mysians are the only ones who do not have a city ethnic. It has been argued that the term Μυσός is a pseudo-ethnic and that the men came from the Attalid military colonies in Lydia and Mysia, but that does not invalidate the probability of their being genuine Mysians, as we have seen that Mysian and Macedonian settlements were in close proximity and operated in a very similar fashion⁶³⁵. Moreover, it would be contradictory to accept the ethnics of the other two lists as genuine but not the Mysians. Quite to the contrary: this is an indication of their strong ethnic identity, needing no more than a bulk identification as Mysians to denote their provenance; but it is at odds with the Hellenised nature of all the names displayed. Two names are of unclear origin, Μενοίτας and Βύττακος; but both can be traced to Macedonia before they are attested in Asia Minor⁶³⁶. Several of the names are clearly Macedonian: Ἀττίνας, Ἀμύντας, Ἀτταλος or Φίλιππος, but they are still a minority: only 15% of all the Mysians in Lilaia bore names related to Macedonia⁶³⁷. While they still maintained a close-knit ethnic identity, enough to put together two units made up completely of Mysian men, by 218 BC the Mysians who served in the Attalid army were Hellenised at least onomastically and some of them, even if they were not a majority, judging from the appearance of Macedonian names, had already formed links with Macedonia⁶³⁸.

⁶³⁴ Epigraphic Appendix 19 132 and 134 II.23-III.33 respectively.

⁶³⁵ Lesquier 1911: 121; Masson 1993: 164; Catling 2004: 399 n7. Masson admits that Mysians onomastics are very badly attested (164 n5).

⁶³⁶ Μενοίτας: Epigraphic Appendix 19 132 II.12, Tataki 1998: 371 nos. 58-59, *SEG* 27.1114 10b, 16b; Βύττακος: Epigraphic Appendix 19 132 IV.15, Polyb. 5.79, *OGIS* 254.

⁶³⁷ Epigraphic Appendix 19 132 I.13, 15, III.11, IV.10, 13, 134 III.11, 14, 21, 23, 25, 29 (Ἀττίνας); Epigraphic Appendix 19 132 III.21 (Ἀμύντας); Epigraphic Appendix 19 132 III.21 (Ἀτταλος); Epigraphic Appendix 19 134 III.9 (Φίλιππος). In these calculations I also include Μένανδρος, which was not Macedonian per se but was extremely popular in Macedonia (Hatzopoulos 2000: 103).

⁶³⁸ Launey 1987: 459. Over 45% of the garrison attested at Lilaia are Mysians (Thonemann 2013a: 65).

Their presence as part of the community of military settlers is attested in two inscriptions from Eumenes II's time, both probably closely related: a dedication by Mysians living in a village named Emoddi (οἱ ἐκ Εμοδδῖ| Μυσοῖ) and Face A of the Apolloniou Charax inscription, where two groups of Mysian settlers are mentioned, those in Kournoubeudos (Κουρνουβευδος· τοὺς δ' ἐν τούτῳ τῷ τόπῳ κατοικοῦντας Μυσούς) and those in Kadoi (τοῖς ἐγ Καδόοις Μυσοῖς)⁶³⁹. Their geographical relationship has already been discussed in Chapter 2, but it is worth noting that, despite all three places bearing clearly indigenous names, there is again evidence for a Hellenisation of the Mysian population, as they speak Greek and employ Greek epigraphy with Greek formulas; if my interpretation of the nature of Apolloniou Charax is right and the settlers who authored the petition were Mysians too, it would further point towards this Hellenisation, or at least of their inclusion within a Hellenised framework, as the name of the settlement is clearly Greek⁶⁴⁰.

But this Hellenisation is not conclusive enough in our search for a meaningful connection between Macedonia and Mysia. One of the first distinct links that we can find between these two territories is an early Hellenistic funerary stele found in Cihanköy, in the northern province of Bursa, 6 km north from Orhangazi. The long inscription, a funerary epigram for a certain Menas, a Bithynian and a ἡγεμών, who is said to have died in a battle near the river Phrygios – most likely the battle of Koroupedion in 281 BC – was topped with a relief depicting this battle and Menas' triumphant exploits before his death, but only the lower part of the relief survives [FIG. 76]⁶⁴¹. In one section of the epigram, Menas boasts of having killed a Thracian and a Mysian and won great fame for it: [Θ]ρήϊκα δὲ προπάροιθε βαλὼν ἐνὶ τεύχεσιν ἄνδρα | [κ]αὶ Μυσόν, μεγάλας κάτθανον ἄμφ' ἀρετᾶς (ll. 5-6). The relief would have surely depicted this particular scene as it is the only feat explicitly mentioned in the epigram: the extant sculpture depicts four figures, two of them standing up, of whom only the feet and part of the legs remain, and two corpses head to head: the Thracian is identified by his long hair, while the other body, almost entirely covered up by a large oval shield

⁶³⁹ Epigraphic Appendix 1 A 18 and no. 14.

⁶⁴⁰ Debord (2001: 143-44) argues that the Mysians north of the Temnos mountains were active Hellenising agents.

⁶⁴¹ *LMus.Iznik* (10,1) 751 (*I. Kios* 98), *BCH* 24 (1900) 380 no. 27, *DOG* 2 Taf. 332 no. 1269 (photograph). Brought to attention by Ma (2013: 67-8). See also Mehl, who argues that the inclusion of a Bithynian in the battlefield could point to a contingent of Bithynians under the orders of King Zipoites I, who would have joined Seleukos' side in the campaign (Mehl 1986: 294-6).

with a cross-shaped vertical spine, must be the Mysian⁶⁴². The shield is clearly a *θυρεός* due to its size and design, like those introduced by the Galatians in their invasion of Asia Minor in the 280s, which were also adopted by Achaean, Boeotian and Macedonian soldiers [FIGS. 77-78]⁶⁴³. Although the shield type does not lend itself to much local ethnic characterisation, it does suggest a link with continental Greece, perhaps referring back to the supposedly Thracian roots of the Mysians that Strabo described⁶⁴⁴; it is also one of the earliest attestations of Mysians fighting in Macedonian armies: Menas' Bithynian origin should place him in Seleukos' army, therefore both the Thracian and the Mysian would have been fighting for Lysimachos, who was then still ruler of Thrace and Asia Minor.

Two other significant pieces of evidence come from the village of Yiğitler, 4 km south of Demirci and 70 km northeast from Lake Marmara: two stelai, one funerary and one honorific, from the late second century BC, after the Attalid kingdom had ceased to exist and its territory became a Roman province [FIG. 79-80]. The funerary stele, made by a certain Asklepiades son of Glaukos, a Mysian, carries a dedication and an epigram for Asklepiades and for his wife Stratonike. Set up by Asklepiades' brother-in-law, Patrokleides son of Attalos, it has a pediment with the head of a Gorgon, two uninscribed wreaths, below them the signature of the sculptor, Ἀσκληπιάδης Γλαύκου Μυσὸς ἐπόησεν, and below that a relief with four figures: a servant holding a box, a woman, a child and a soldier with a cuirass and a shield⁶⁴⁵. The honorific stele has moulding and acroteria, below which there are four wreaths with an inscription each, while at the bottom of the stele is a relief depicting a soldier, a servant and a child standing in front of a horse⁶⁴⁶. Four δῆμοι of Mysia Abbaitis, inscribed within wreaths, honour the dead man: ὁ περὶ | Λακεμας | δῆμος, ὁ περὶ | Ὀδὸν | δῆμος, ὁ περὶ | Μόκαδα | δῆμος, ὁ περὶ | Ἄγκυραν | δῆμος⁶⁴⁷; most of them are known from other sources, but the Mokadenoi, Lakimenoi and Ankyranoi in particular are part of the Flavian *conventus*

⁶⁴² Launey 1987: 438; Ridgway 1990: 357.

⁶⁴³ Levêque 1968: 268; Santosuosso 1997: 149; Ma 2000: 354; Sekunda 2007: 339-41. For Galatian evidence, Rouveret 2004 no. 8; for Greco-Macedonian evidence, Sekunda 2007: 342 Figs. 11.7, 11.8. This type of shield was later also adopted by the Roman army; see Taylor 2016 for similar Roman shields in a bronze plaque found in Pergamon.

⁶⁴⁴ Strabo 7.3.2, 10; *DGRG* s.v. Mysia. See also Debord 2001: 135-37 for the historiographical accounts of the origin of the Mysians.

⁶⁴⁵ *SEG* 41.1037; Petzl 1990 no. 1, photograph in Taf. 3 no. 1; Meriç 1993: 68-9, Figures 19-20. It has been linked to another funerary stele of a Mysian soldier, Menekrates son of Timarchos (*TAM* V,1 444), found in Karaoba, 40 km south of Yiğitler (J. and L. Robert, *BE* 1984 385).

⁶⁴⁶ *SEG* 33.1004; Malay 1983, photograph in Taf. 3 a-b.

⁶⁴⁷ Malay 1983: 27; J. and L. Robert, *BE* 1984 385; Ma 2013: 66.

list, placed together with the Δαλδιανοί, Χαρακηνοί and Ἀπολλωνιαχαρακεῖται⁶⁴⁸. The two male figures in the reliefs are homogenous in style and characterisation; they may hint at the attire of the Mysians that served as light infantry – all the more so since in Asklepiades' funerary stele, he himself, a Mysian, produced the sculpture. The θυρεός that Asklepiades depicts on the right-hand side of the stele, a large oval shield with a vertical spine, is reminiscent of the one sprawled over the Mysian in the Menas relief discussed above, a stable element in Mysian military depictions of the Hellenistic period. It is also significant that the names of Asklepiades' wife and father-in-law are of a clearly Macedonian nature: Στρατονίκη and Ἄτταλος.

The combination of the two stelai presents us with a strong Mysian identity, present in the ethnics and in the military attire of the men depicted in the reliefs, all the more so as part of a consciously Mysian federal ἔθνος that was Mysia Abbaeitis, a non-urban political entity made up of Mysian villages which was in existence by the second century BC, minted coin under their name and even appointed a federal στρατηγός⁶⁴⁹. At the same time, we can see a Hellenised community that adopted Greek models for their inscriptions, Greek iconography and Greek names, with a particular Macedonian flavour. This may have been done consciously or unconsciously, but it is an undeniable sign of the permeation of Macedonian culture by way of the army⁶⁵⁰.

There is an early piece of evidence that suggests a singular, if not entirely clear, connection between Macedonia and Mysia, and which has been surprisingly overlooked since its discovery. In 1995, Dimitrios Pandermalis mentioned the discovery at Dion in Macedonia of a third-century letter from king Antigonos Gonatas to Agasikles, the royal ἐπιστάτης; the text was discussed by Hatzopoulos after its publication in 1998⁶⁵¹.

5 βασιλεὺς Ἀντίγο-
 νος Ἀγασικλεῖ χαί-
 ρειν· κατώικικεν
 Νουμήνιος παῖδας
 αὐτοῦ ἀνάμεσον
 Ἀσίκου καὶ τῆς Πυρρω-
 λίας λίμνης, προσα-

⁶⁴⁸ Habicht 1975: 65 I.2, 4-5, 14. The Odenoi are known from *TAM* V,1 76 (but see the discussion in *BE* 1984 385); the Ankyranoi are well attested (see Buresch 1898: 142, 147, 152-3; Robert 1962a: 95 no. 9; Malay 1983: 27).

⁶⁴⁹ *OGIS* 446; for a longer discussion of Mysia Abbaeitis, see J. and L. Robert's essay in *BE* 1984 384, Buresch 1898: 142-4, 155, 158; Malay and Petzl 1984: 157-65 and 2003.

⁶⁵⁰ J. and L. Robert, *BE* 1984 384; Ma 2013: 67ff.

⁶⁵¹ Pandermalis 1995: 169, 1999: 53; Hatzopoulos, *BE* 1999 335 and 2006: 27-9; *SEG* 48.783.

10 γορεύσας τὸ χωρίον
 Μυσίαν· ὅπως οὖν
 15 εἰδότες ἕκαστοι
 μὴ συναλλάσσωσιν
 τούτοις ἄνευ Νου-
 μηνίου, σύνταξον οὖν
 ἀναγράψαι τὴν
 15 παρ' ἡμῶν ἐπι[στο]-
 λὴν ἐν τῷ[ι ἱερῷ(?)].

King Antigonos to Agasikles, greetings. Noumenios established his sons between Asikos and lake Pyrrolia, and called this territory (χωρίον) Mysia; and so that everyone (lit. each of them) is aware and does not enter into contracts with them without Noumenios' consent, make sure to engrave and set up our letter in the temple.

A copy of the letter found in Mygdonian Apollonia confirms that Agasikles was indeed the ἐπιστάτης of Dion, and has led to discussion about the topographic information yielded by the text, namely the location of lake Pyrrolia: while earlier editors identified it with modern lake Volvi, in whose southern shore is Apollonia, Hatzopoulos argued in a 2008 article that it was lake Koroneia, also known as Agios Vasileios, ca. 12 km to the west⁶⁵². Much has also been said about the impact of this text on our knowledge of the economic history of Hellenistic Macedonia, as the letter deals with the status of the lands that had most likely been granted to Noumenios and with the rights that his sons had (or did not have) over them⁶⁵³.

So far Angelos Zannis, the editor of the copy from Apollonia, is the only one who has tackled the issue of the territory named Mysia, identifying its location as being between lake Koroneia and the modern villages of Evangelismos, Mikrokomí or Askos or alternatively around Langadikia, Scholarion and Prophitis [FIG. 81]⁶⁵⁴. It is a fertile valley inserted between two mountain ranges, very flat and with plenty of modern cultivated fields – in Antiquity, perhaps also used for horse-rearing pasture [FIGS. 82-83]. What is never mentioned, however, is the nature of the name itself, Mysia: according to the letter, it was Noumenios himself who named it so. Hatzopoulos only comments that “[l]e nom du domaine n'est pas connu par ailleurs et on ne peut que

⁶⁵² Zannis 2000-3; SEG 51.796; Hatzopoulos 2008.

⁶⁵³ Zannis 2000-3: 221-3; BE 2000 453; Hatzopoulos 2008: 64, see Chapter 1 Section 1.1.1 for more on Macedonian land grants and their conditions.

⁶⁵⁴ Zannis 2000-3: 220.

spéculer sur les raisons qui sont à l'origine de son appellation”, but I believe there is much that can be gained by reflecting on Noumenios’ choice⁶⁵⁵.

The text reads προσα|γορεύσας τὸ χωρίον| Μυσίαν (Il. 7-9); the aorist participle in the nominative singular must go with Νομήνιος, two lines before, also in the nominative singular, making Noumenios responsible for choosing the name of the territory. The inscription gives us no information about Noumenios himself: not his patronymic, city ethnic or his social status, but the extension of his lands hints at his being an important person within the Macedonian social hierarchy; Zannis suggests that he was a royal φίλος or a ἑταῖρος⁶⁵⁶. He can safely be identified as a Macedonian; although the name Noumenios is quite common in the Greek world and has a wide geographical extension, especially centred around Athens, enough examples of it are found in Macedonia to make Noumenios’ Macedonian origin reasonable⁶⁵⁷. The fact that he chose for his estate the name “Mysia”, not distinctively Macedonian, is puzzling. Other instances of the name Noumenios have been attested in Lydia and in Mysia, albeit in later times: amongst the most striking ones, Dionysios son of Noumenios in two late Hellenistic fragmentary inscriptions from Pergamon probably referring to the same individual (*I. Pergamon* 237, 238); the priest Diodoros son of Noumenios in a first-century epitaph from Sardis (*SEG* 41.1023) and Noumenios son of Demetrios in a first-century list of ephebes from Apollonis (*Epigraphic Appendix* 22 I.5). One of the earliest instances of the name in Lydia occurs in the second-century list of soldiers from Charakipolis, where we find a Noumenios son of Parmenides⁶⁵⁸. Might we imagine our Macedonian Noumenios to have served in Asia Minor, specifically in Mysia, under Antigonos’ predecessors and to have built up enough of a rapport with the land to have wanted to name his lands in the Chalkidike Μυσία? If Noumenios was a man of a respectable age by the middle of the third century BC, he could conceivably have been born under Lysimachos or Kassandros and might have served under the latter or under Demetrios Poliorcetes in his unsuccessful Asian campaign before returning to Macedonia. If one were to try and take this identification further, it is notable that the land described above, between the lakes Volvi and Koroneia, where Noumenios’ estate must have been located, bears considerable resemblance to the area surrounding lake

⁶⁵⁵ Hatzopoulos 2008: 64.

⁶⁵⁶ Zannis 2000-3: 221, 221 n39.

⁶⁵⁷ *LGP* 4 s.v.; Hatzopoulos and Loukopoulou 1992: 296.

⁶⁵⁸ *Epigraphic Appendix* 21 I. 2. For more on this list see Chapter 2 Section 2.1.3.

Daskylitis (modern lake Kuş/Manyas, in north-western Turkey) [FIG. 84-85]⁶⁵⁹. This area was within the ancient territory of Mysia; on the south-eastern shore of the lake, near the modern village of Ergili, lies Daskyleion, which was the satrapal capital of Hellespontine Phrygia and had been under Macedonian control since Alexander appointed Kalas as satrap in 334 BC⁶⁶⁰. The Macedonian estate of Noumenios could have reminded him of the area around Daskyleion, due to its flatness, fertility and closeness to a large body of water, such as the lake Kuş, and perhaps he decided to name it so as a memento of his campaign in Asia. It is undoubtedly a very big leap of faith and based on speculation, but if true, it would speak of the invisible link that joined Macedonia and Mysia, and which in Noumenios' case seems to have happened in a completely conscious fashion and have been a deliberate choice⁶⁶¹.

The chief piece of evidence from which this discussion stems and that has made us look back in time to make sense of it is the existence of a settlement of Mysomacedonians in the *conventus* of Ephesos in the first century AD. This community appears both in the epigraphic record, in an inscription from Antiocheia on the Maeander (modern Kuyucak in the province of Aydın) in a list of Lydian, Phrygian and Karian cities, in Pliny's description of the *conventus* of Ephesos, in the section of Ptolemy's *Geography* on Mysia Major (Μεγάλη Μυσία), as well as in two coins dated to the early first century AD⁶⁶².

Traditional discussions of the Mysomacedonians have focused exclusively on their geographical location, often saying little more than that they existed and were probably located in the Ephesos *conventus*⁶⁶³. When writing about the area around Sardis, Strabo describes Mount Tmolos (modern Bozdağ) thus:

ὑπέρκειται δὲ τῶν Σάρδεων ὁ Τμῶλος, εὐδαίμων ὄρος, ἐν τῇ ἀκρωρείᾳ σκοπὴν ἔχον, ἐξέδραν λευκοῦ λίθου, Περσῶν ἔργον, ἀφ' οὗ κατοπτεύεται τὰ κύκλῳ πεδία καὶ μάλιστα τὸ Καῦστριανόν· περιουκοῦσι δὲ Λυδοὶ καὶ Μυσοὶ καὶ Μακεδόνες.

⁶⁵⁹ For the ancient name, Strabo 12.3.22.

⁶⁶⁰ Arrian, *Anab.* 1.14, 2.4; Diod. 17.17, 18.3.1, 18.39.6. A Late Hellenistic inscription mentions a military settlement called Daphnous near Apollonia on the Rhyndakos, evidencing Hellenistic military presence in Hellespontine Phrygia (*SEG* 43.879; Tanriver and Kütük 1993).

⁶⁶¹ The renaming of territories with foreign names based on political intent and/or geographic similarities had already been done in Northern Syria by the Seleukids (Bousdroukis 2003); in this case the extent of the renaming is much more reduced but it is interesting to see the reverse process: a foreign territory name transplanted into Macedonia.

⁶⁶² *MDAI(A)* 1894 101 A 19 (now published in *I. Nysa* 625); Pliny *NH* 5.31.120; Ptol. 5.2.15. For the coins see Cohen 1995: 221 and below [FIG. 86].

⁶⁶³ Launey 1987: 444; Keil and von Premerstein 1914: 58; Robert 1980: 336-7; Ramsay 1895-97: 195-99.

*Above Sardeis is situated Mt. Tmolus, a blest mountain, with a look-out on its summit, an arcade of white marble, a work of the Persians, whence there is a view of the plains below all round, particularly the Cayster Plain. And round it dwell Lydians and Mysians and Macedonians.*⁶⁶⁴

Pliny follows this tradition, locating the Mysomacedonians in the Ephesos *conventus*:

Verum Ephesum alterum lumen Asiae remotiores convenient Cesarienses, Metropolitae, Cilbiani inferiores et superiores, Mysomacedones, Mastauenses, Briullitae, Hypaepeni, Dioshieritae.

*But Ephesus, the other great luminary of Asia, is the centre for the Caesarienses, Metropolitae, Upper and Lower Cilbiani, Mysomacedones, Mastauenses, Briullitae, Hypaepeni and Dioshieritae.*⁶⁶⁵

Ptolemy, however, places them in Greater Mysia, further to the north, between Traianopolis and the Phrygian Pentapolis, a location which has been proved wrong, while Strabo and Pliny's location are confirmed by the inscription of Antiocheia where the δῆμος of the Mysomacedonians is followed by the Upper and Lower Kilbianoι⁶⁶⁶. The Kaystros and the Kilbian plains, located along the river Kaystros (modern Küçük Menderes) were heavily militarised: more than thirty forts or freestanding towers have been documented through different surveys of the area, ranging from small enclosures for a garrison to forts with inner citadels capable of functioning as small-scale cities⁶⁶⁷. In a previous passage on Sardian jurisdiction, Pliny mentions the Mysotmolitae, a name created in a similar fashion to that of the Mysomacedonians, although in this case the settlement would have been made up of Mysians and natives from mount Tmolos; they are also present in the Flavian *conventus* list⁶⁶⁸. Other settlements of mixed ethnicity are known, mostly those including the Macedonian element in the name, such as the Macedones Cadieni in the same passage of Pliny, the Hyrkanian Macedonians or the Blaundoi and Peltenoi Macedonians in Phrygia⁶⁶⁹.

Moreover, a Sardian funerary inscription from the end of the fourth/beginning of the third century BC can attest to Mysian presence in this area linked to Ephesos, further

⁶⁶⁴ Strabo 13.4.5. Translation by Horace Leonard Jones, Loeb Classical Library.

⁶⁶⁵ Pliny *NH* 5.31.120. Translation by H. Rackham, Loeb Classical Library.

⁶⁶⁶ Ptol. 5.2.15; *MDAI(A)* 1894 A19-20, B1-3. Coins minted by the Mysomacedonians in imperial times feature the Ephesian Artemis, further cementing their belonging to the territory of Ephesos (cf. Münsterberg, *Numismatische Zeitschrift* (1915) 108-11; Leschhorn, *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte* (1984) 55).

⁶⁶⁷ Hansen 1971: 181; Meriç 2009: 130-37; Roosevelt 2019: 159-60, n. 82-3. See Chapter 2 Section 2.2.3.

⁶⁶⁸ Pliny 5.30.111; *I. Ephesos* A26; Cohen 1995: 222.

⁶⁶⁹ Ramsay 1895-97: 195-99; for the Macedonian settlement at Hyrkanis see Chapter 2 Section 2.2.2 c) Hyrkanis; for the Blaundoi and Peltenoi Macedonians there is only numismatic evidence from the imperial period, see for example *BMC Lydia* 47-57 nos. 45-8, 55-58 (Blaundos); *BMC Phrygia* 348ff nos. 12-21, 23-33 (Peltai).

confirming Pliny's testimony: the deceased is a certain Δρόμων | Ἐφέσου | Μυσός⁶⁷⁰. While Dromon is a relatively common Greek name, Ephesos, used as a personal name, is quite uncommon, with only ten known occurrences so far, six of them in Asia Minor from the fourth century onwards: of those six, five occur in Sardis and one in Rhodes (but referring to a Lydian)⁶⁷¹.

The construction of the name Μυσομακεδόνες, just as the Μυσοτυμολεῖται, puts the Mysian element as an attachment to the Macedonians and Tymoleitai respectively. Similarly, in the case of the Μακεδόνες Ὑρκανοί, Βλαυνδεοὶ Μακεδόνες or Πελτηνοὶ Μακεδόνες, every time it is Μακεδόνες which is accompanied by an ethnic adjective that signals the community into which the Macedonians had merged. One might think of modern examples of similar ethnic integration in names such as African Americans or Asian British – although it could be argued which of the two identities is more predominant in each individual that identifies as such, my point is that the “main” ethnic marker, American, British or Macedonian in each case, is the one which determines the cultural development of the individual: African Americans live in America and express themselves in English, equally with Asian Brits. However, their family idiosyncrasies still come into play; they also accept and assume the identity that comes from their ancestral roots, thus creating a new distinctive identity.

One could assume that the Mysomacedonians had a similar experience: scholars have tended towards considering them an Attalid rather than Seleukid foundation in which Macedonians were settled alongside Mysians, although recent reassessment of the evidence has suggested that they could have been settled as part of Alexander's policy of ethnic mixture⁶⁷². How the first settlers lived through this experience is impossible to know, but the fact that in the first century AD there is still a settlement under the name of Mysomacedonians – which is the name of the inhabitants, not of the settlement itself – speaks of a continuous process of assimilation that produced a new entity, not quite Mysian but not quite Macedonian either, which employed Greek language and Greek formulas to present itself (ὁ δῆμος ὁ Μυσομακεδόνων) and at the same time identified with gods that combined elements from Greece and Asia Minor, as the coin of Artemis Ephesia with the engraving MYCOMAKEΔON / Ω – N proves [FIG. 86].

⁶⁷⁰ SEG 35.1255 = *I. Sardis* II 633 (<https://sardisexpedition.org/en/artifacts/ml14-633>).

⁶⁷¹ LGPN 5a s.v.; SEG 36.1011 ll. 38, 45; 35.1255; Maiuri, *Rodi e Cos* 227; *I. Sardis* I 1.17.

⁶⁷² Ramsay 1895-97: 195-99; Magie 1950: 974; Cohen 1995: 221. For the contrary view, see Mitchell 2018: *passim*, esp. 18.

Drawing conclusions from such meagre evidence about such a subjective issue as the expression of one's own ethnicity is extremely complicated, not to say impossible, but the analysis of the connection between Macedonia and Mysia has shown a cultural relationship that spread through several centuries and that produced the community of the Mysomacedonians in imperial times. It has also shown that Mysians were a very distinctive people, who managed to maintain their identity stable and recognisable from a very early stage while at the same time being compatible with the new Greco-Macedonian ruling elite that took over Asia Minor after Alexander's campaign.

3.5. Conclusion

The issues surrounding land tenure and the settlement conditions of the Macedonian army in Hellenistic Asia Minor are still not entirely clear to us, but I hope to have been able to shed some light on them. Precedents or parallels such as the Achaemenid *hapru* system or the Ptolemaic cleruchic system can be used to understand the parameters in which the land allotment to the soldiers may have worked in Seleukid and Attalid times, and several well documented texts from the third and second centuries BC allow us to have a better understanding of the situation in Asia Minor.

The housing of the soldiers was an issue that the kings took very seriously and that is mentioned in many texts: housing an army on the go was a rather straightforward task which could, on occasion, create friction between the army and the cities or villages that were forced to take in the soldiers. Once the men were given lands for settlement, however, the kings often gave specific instructions for the building of houses; and if the houses were destroyed, due to some unforeseen circumstance such as war or abandonment, great care would be taken for their rebuilding.

The size of the allotments was clearly based on hierarchy and was aimed at the cultivation of the lands that were granted: in almost every text that deals with the settlement of soldiers, it is explicitly said that the lands were to be cultivated, usually mentioning vineyards (ἀμπελοι) or uncultivated land (ψιλή γῆ). The revenues, however, did not remain with the settlers but with the owners of these lands: the documentation from Aizanoi reinforces the notion of limited proprietorship on the part of the soldiers, for the revenues would be paid to the temple of Zeus, who had received the lands from Attalos I. The formula of ἐμ πατρικοῖς may not be widely used in the inscriptions that deal with military settlements, but the idea of ownership under certain conditions is prevalent in every instance of military land allotments.

Life in the settlements was complex and nuanced and analysing other aspects of what the settlers did, such as animal husbandry, helps to draw a fuller picture of the role that the κατοικίαι played within the army and within their own communities. The soldiers also brought with them foreign gods linked to the Macedonian ruling houses, Zeus Antigoneios and Zeus Seleukios, whose cult survived through time and was found again in the second and third centuries AD, showing an adaptation of Macedonian cultural practices at a time considerably after the time when they were conceived. This survival is also exemplified in the relationship between Mysians and Macedonians, who had enough of an influence over each other that in the first century AD a colony of Mysomacedonians could be found in the upper Kaystros valley.

The settlement of soldiers in western Asia Minor was part of a greater effort by the rulers, especially Seleukid and Attalid, to organise the land, cultivating it and ensuring a steady supply of manpower for the army. The allotment of land, its conditions and the status of the land itself is still very much up for debate but it is certain that the Macedonian army did act as a vehicle for change, transforming the settlements and cities whose land they were granted through cultivation and housebuilding and adapting preexisting formulas and systems to the new reality of the Hellenistic kingdoms.

CHAPTER 4. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN KINGS AND SOLDIERS

When giving his account of the preparations for the battle of Issos, Quintus Curtius described the Macedonian army as “an army prepared to stand or to follow, [...] watchful, not only for the signal, but even for a nod of its leader”⁶⁷³. His comment is strongly supported by Arrian’s narrative, notably concerning the mutiny that Alexander the Great had to face at Opis, allegedly caused by the feeling his Macedonian soldiers had that he had begun to prefer his new Asian troops to them; they afterwards refused to move from the king’s tent until he had personally forgiven them⁶⁷⁴. The relationship between Alexander and his troops appears to have been exceptionally personal, drawing from Macedonian tradition in which the king’s power was, above all, military, and needed the support of both his noblemen and his army to exercise his sovereignty⁶⁷⁵.

How did the relationship between Alexander’s Successors and their armies develop after Alexander’s death and the partition of his army? Do we find the same devotion during the Wars of the Successors and the Hellenistic period? While it is clear that the military continued to be central to the conflicts and territorial developments during this time, be it as garrisons, military settlements or armies on the go, the attitude towards the commanders it served and vice versa, especially with the change of hegemonic power that took place in Asia Minor with the Peace of Apameia, is still to be analysed in depth. In this chapter I shall assess instances of communication between them and the kings and the social, cultural and economic impact of this communication. The writing of letters played a critical role in the relationship that the Macedonian kings had with their subjects, as it was a very flexible means of communication that furthermore carried an overtone of direct contact and closeness⁶⁷⁶. This correspondence will be essential to understand the power dynamics in the Hellenistic period better, specifically the way in which these soldiers related to their kings and generals, the extent to which the latter held sway over each other and the issues raised by the men, settled or otherwise, in their petitions.

⁶⁷³ Curt. 3.3.27.

⁶⁷⁴ Arr. *Anab.* 7.8.2-3, 7.11.4.

⁶⁷⁵ Austin 1986; Carney 2015: 34.

⁶⁷⁶ Plutarch narrates an anecdote of Seleukos I complaining of the amount of letter writing the office of kingship entailed (Plut. *An seni.* 790 A). See Mari (2018: *passim* but especially 125-30), who argues that the royal chancery in Macedonia can be traced as far back as Philip II. On epistolary παρουσία, see Ceccarelli 2013: 3-4, 9, 300.

I will begin by analysing the relationship and the tensions that existed in Macedonian armies at the time of Alexander and immediately after his death, to illustrate how the earliest Macedonian commanders and kings communicated with their soldiers and to what extent that style of communication persisted in the settlements in the new political context. The analysis will then move to Seleukid and Attalid rule in Asia Minor, where I will look at instances of correspondence between Seleukid kings and their army that evidence the behaviour of the men and the consequences, positive or negative, that this behaviour had, and at the correspondence between Eumenes I and II and their settlers to understand to what extent the territorial expansion of the kingdom after Apameia affected the relationship between these two kings and their soldiers. Finally, a return to the two texts from Apolloniou Charax in Lydia will allow me to create a more complete picture of the situation of this settlement complementing the image that has begun to emerge in the previous chapters.

4.1. Alexander and the Seleukids

The agency of the army is evident even before Alexander's time. The importance of keeping the men satisfied and, most importantly, paid, appears in many accounts that depict relationships between kings or generals and their troops. When recounting Cyrus' early education, Xenophon makes very clear that if the king does not deliver on the expectations that the troops have of him, especially regarding their pay, they will readily disband⁶⁷⁷. Eumenes of Kardia also made a point of promptly paying his men so as to ensure their loyalty⁶⁷⁸. At the beginning of the *Anabasis*, Xenophon narrates how the soldiers hired by Cyrus refused to continue their march when they started to suspect that they were marching against king Artaxerxes II, and later on the generals were forced to summon an assembly of the troops to explain the real goal of the expedition, which angered the soldiers as they felt deceived by their superiors, and had to be pacified through money⁶⁷⁹. The political power of the assembly was not to be disregarded either. It was the Macedonian soldiers who chose Eumenes of Kardia over Peukestas as their leader when faced with the army of Antigonos before the battle of Gabiene, and we

⁶⁷⁷ Xen. *Cyr.* 1.6.9. Throughout the work, Cyrus gives several inspired speeches revolving around obedience and the promise of better conditions to win the approval of his men; when there are rumours of Indian spies in their camp, Cyrus invites any man who so wishes to attend a public meeting where he will once more endeavour to make them trust him wholeheartedly: *op. cit.* 2.1.15-22, 6.2.9-14.

⁶⁷⁸ Plut. *Eum.* 8.5-7.

⁶⁷⁹ Xen. *Anab.* 1.3.1, 1.4.11-12.

have already spoken of the relevance of the Macedonian army assembly, somewhere between real political power and a symbol of Macedonianness⁶⁸⁰.

As we have seen in Chapter 1, Alexander had a very close relationship with his troops, encouraging a physical as well as psychological proximity– which was precisely what led to the two mutinies that changed the course of his campaign, at Hyphasis and Opis. He settled his soldiers in garrisons throughout his growing empire but drew a clear line when it came to ethnicity to protect the Greco-Macedonian elite and keep it as such: in Priene, he granted privileges only to the ethnic Greeks living at Priene and Naulochon, turning Greekness not only into a question of culture but also of economic privilege⁶⁸¹.

Following his example after his death, several of his generals deployed and gradually settled soldiers in Asia Minor. In the extant texts related to these generals we can see how the Macedonian army continued to have a clear representation and power of negotiation. Eupolemos' treaty and oath to the Karian city of Theangela and Ptolemy I's agreement and oath with Iasos and its garrisoned soldiers are the best examples of this⁶⁸². Eupolemos represents the clearest beginning of a settlement programme through his statement that those soldiers who remained in his service would receive the territory known as Pentachora, presumably as military settlers⁶⁸³. Both treaties, that of Eupolemos and that of Ptolemy, have in common the tripartite nature of the parties involved: firstly, a general or dynast; secondly, an established Greek city with a civic body, in these two cases Theangela and Iasos respectively; and thirdly, the army. It is striking how limited the role of both cities seems to have been in the negotiations compared to the two other parties: in Theangela, much of the surviving document was generated by the need to have the soldiers's situation clarified after the garrison had yielded, and in Iasos the situation was very similar, even more accentuated when it came to the three oaths, since the soldiers swore as a separate group from the Iasians.

The negotiating power that the army shows under Eupolemos and Ptolemy followed the example set by Alexander's army both in Macedonia and in Asia. However, the historical context of the Wars of the Successors and the first years of the Hellenistic

⁶⁸⁰ Plut. *Eum.* 14; for the Macedonian army assembly see Chapter 1 Section 1.2.

⁶⁸¹ Thonemann 2012.

⁶⁸² Epigraphic Appendix 2 and 3 respectively. See Chapter 1.

⁶⁸³ Robert *Coll. Froeh.* 52 ll. 20-1: τοῖς δὲ στρατιώταις τοῖς ἐκ Θεαγ|γέλων, εἴαν τινες στρατεύωνται παρ' Εὐπολέμοι ὑπάρχειν αὐτοῖς τὰ Πεντάχωρα.

kingdoms was one of shifting powers and political instability, where garrisons with smaller numbers of soldiers who moved from one post and master to another must have been the most common form of military settlement.

4.1.1. Sedition and friendship in post-Alexander armies

The relationship between Greeks, Macedonians and the overarching political powers was not always smooth, nor was Alexander's settlement of men as he passed through Asia⁶⁸⁴. In Bactria, the easternmost part of his conquered territories, two soldier revolts broke out at the news of Alexander's death, one in 326/5 BC and another in 323 BC⁶⁸⁵. The first one, according to Diodorus, was caused by the general discontent of being settled in such a far away and inhospitable region as Bactria and the news of Alexander's near-death after being wounded in battle; this caused the Greek settlers (κατοικισθέντες Ἕλληνες) to revolt against the Macedonians (ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων, Diod. 17.99.5-6). Curtius' account of the revolt does not mention Alexander's wound, only that "disagreement had arisen among them" (*orta inter ipsos sedicione*, Curt. 9.7.1). Similarly, after Alexander died, the soldiers settled in Bactria rose in revolt once more, "longing for the Greek customs and manner of life, while being cast away in the most distant part of the kingdom" (ποθοῦντες μὲν τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν ἀγωγὴν καὶ δίαιταν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἐσχατιαῖς τῆς βασιλείας ἐξερριμμένοι, Diod. 18.7.1). It is also said that they had not done so before out of fear, but now that their king was dead they dared to revolt (ζῶντος μὲν τοῦ βασιλέως ὑπέμενον διὰ τὸν φόβον, τελευτήσαντος δὲ ἀπέστησαν, Diod. 18.7.1), which paints a rather less idyllic picture of Alexander's sway over his army – the boons to loyal soldiers were generous but so were the punishments for disobedience and sedition. In the second revolt the blame is also laid at the feet of the Greeks, whereas the Macedonians stay loyal to Perdikkas throughout, choosing to obey his orders over those of Pithon, the commander Perdikkas had chosen to lead them (οἱ δὲ Μακεδόνες μνησθέντες μὲν τῆς τοῦ Περδίκκου παραγγελίας, οὐδὲν δὲ φροντίσαντες τῶν γεγενημένων ὄρκων παρεσπόνδῃσαν τοὺς Ἕλληνας, Diod. 18.7.8). This narration, most likely influenced by the work of Hieronymos of Kardia, must be

⁶⁸⁴ On the distrust between Alexander and his men and between the Successors see Heckel 2002; even with such a charismatic leader as Alexander, there were tensions in the military at every level before his death.

⁶⁸⁵ Iliakis 2013 for a reappraisal of both revolts; before that, Briant 1973: 62ff.

taken with caution, but it certainly speaks of a division between Macedonians and Greeks and of an underlying tension between Alexander and his army⁶⁸⁶.

Tensions between the kings and their soldiers were not uncommon; Alexander was not the only one to suffer this kind of revolts. His particular closeness to the men and his charismatic personality may have made his Macedonian soldiers feel neglected, but other pressing matters also weighed heavily in previous and later soldier revolts: Philip II too had to face the discontent of his men for the payment he owed them, according to an anecdote from Polyaeus (4.2.6), which has to be taken carefully, but highlights the tensions that the issue of pay gave rise to in the Hellenistic armies; two of the conditions that the rebellious soldiers from Philetairaia under Ida and Attaleia imposed on Eumenes I were related to pay: ὑπὲρ τῶν τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἀποδόντων τὸν κύριον | καὶ γενομένων ἀπέργων· ὅπως τὸ ὀψώνιον λαμβάνωσι | τοῦ προειργασμένου χρόνου, “concerning those who have rendered the full number (of campaigns) and who are not in service: that they receive the pay for the time they have served”; ὑπ[ὲρ] | τοῦ ὀψωνίου, οὗ ὁμολόγησεν τῆς τετραμήνου· ἵνα δοθῇ [τὸ ὁ]μολογον, καὶ μὴ ὑπολογιζέσθω εἰς τὸ ὀψώνιον, “concerning the pay which was agreed for the four months: that the agreed amount be given, and let it not be reckoned as part of the (regular) pay” (Epigraphic Appendix 4 ll. 6-8, 12-14). Eumenes of Kardia had to face a similar challenge when his men revolted and were only pacified when they were paid what they were owed⁶⁸⁷.

Preoccupation with discipline, order and good behaviour was common both in mobile armies on the go during the Wars of the Successors and in the garrisons that were established in western Asia Minor⁶⁸⁸. The language employed in honorific decrees and royal letters betrays certain tensions in the relationship between the soldiers and the cities or villages that received them. The decree of συμπολιτεία between Teos and Kyrbissos in Ionia in the third century BC contains several clauses related to the fortress which Kyrbissos was to be used as⁶⁸⁹. Amongst them, it is stated that ἐὰν δ[έ] τις [ἀ]τάκτῃ ἢ μὴ πε[ι][θ]άρχῃ τοῦ φρουράρχο[υ], ἐ[ξ]ε[ί]ναι [τῷ φρ]ουράρχῳ καὶ καταδεῖν κα[ὶ] | ἀπόμισθον ποιῆσαι, “if anyone is undisciplined or does not obey the

⁶⁸⁶ The influence of Hieronymos is clear in Diodorus’ treatment of Pithon as a disloyal and traitorous character, due to the personal enmity between Hieronymos and Pithon after Alexander’s death (Landucci Gattinoni 2008: 52; for Hieronymos’ enjoyment of Antigonos’ favour see Diod. 19.44.3).

⁶⁸⁷ Plut. *Eum.* 8.5-7; Briant 1973: 45-55.

⁶⁸⁸ Fernández Nieto 1995: 223-30.

⁶⁸⁹ SEG 26.1306; J. and L. Robert 1976: 160.

phrourarch, that the phrourach be allowed to put him in bonds and discharge him” (ll. 31-33)⁶⁹⁰. In an early Attalid inscription from Antandros, a certain Zoilos, a royal official, is praised for having provided well-behaved soldiers: παρέχεται δὲ [καὶ] τοὺς στρατ[ιώτα]ς εὐ[τάκτου]ς⁶⁹¹. We find a similar wording in an honorific decree for a naval officer in Iasos: παρέχεται δὲ καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς συμπλέοντας | εὐτάκτους ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τῇ χώρῃ περὶ πάντα⁶⁹². Such an insistence on the good behaviour of the soldiers, and Teos’ measures to keep it in place, must speak of moments where such manners and goodwill were absent and conflict ensued⁶⁹³.

Two Seleukid inscriptions attest to similar situations. After the war against Achaïos and the siege of Sardis, Seleukid troops remained in the city for at least one year after the end of the hostilities; we know of this through two letters of Antiochos III to the Sardians in which we are told about the prolonged confiscation of the gymnasium by the army and the payment of an exceptional tax which had been forced upon the city⁶⁹⁴. Both letters date from 213 BC, and in the first one Antiochos orders that the gymnasium “which [they] had used before” be restored to the Sardians: τὸ γυμνάσιον ᾧ πρότερον ἐχρήσθη | συντετάχαμεν ἀποκαταστήσαι ὑμῖν⁶⁹⁵. If it had to be restored it must necessarily mean that it had been taken away from the population of Sardis and, as Philippe Gauthier points out, the only logical explanation, taking into account the historical context, is that it was done by the royal army⁶⁹⁶. This is further confirmed by the second letter, dated only a few months later, where it is clear that the Sardians were once again in possession of their gymnasium, but the troops were still occupying part of the houses in city: εἰς | τοὺς κατασταθμευομένους δὲ παρ’ ὑμῖν συνχωροῦμεν λαμβά|νεσθαι ὧν ἔχετε οἰκιῶν ἀντὶ τῶν ἡμισέων τὰ τρίτα μέρη, “as for the (soldiers) quartered amongst you, we have agreed that they will take hold of the houses that you own, not half anymore but one third”⁶⁹⁷. The military occupation of Sardis continued with a lodging modality for the garrison soldiers that implied that the Sardians had to

⁶⁹⁰ J. and L. Robert 1976: 216-19.

⁶⁹¹ Unpublished, see n. 316.

⁶⁹² *I. Iasos* 34 ll. 6-7; *BE* 1973 419. Robert would restore the same text in *I. Iasos* 33 ll. 1-2 (*Coll. Froehner* 75-6).

⁶⁹³ Chaniotis 2002: 103-4. These are only a few, but many inscriptions praising garrison commanders existed throughout Hellenistic Asia Minor. See for further examples the 3rd century honorific decrees of Priene for its phrourarchs Apellis son of Nikophon, Nymphon, Bias, Helikon and Evandros son of Sabyllus (*I. Priene* 20-26). See below the case of Amyzon (Section 4.1.2).

⁶⁹⁴ *SEG* 39.1283, 1285; *I. Sardes Suppl. II* no. 1 pp. 13ff, no. 3 pp. 81ff.

⁶⁹⁵ *SEG* 39.1283 ll. 6-7.

⁶⁹⁶ *I. Sardes Suppl. II* p. 37.

⁶⁹⁷ *SEG* 39.1285 ll. 6-8.

receive one or more soldiers in their homes⁶⁹⁸. It is not hard to imagine that with the soldiers' occupation of the city, first with the gymnasium and half the houses and later, when the gymnasium was returned to the Sardians, one third of the houses, the tensions between the citizens of Sardis and of the Seleukid troops must have been palpable⁶⁹⁹.

A similar situation can be observed in the Lykian *polis* of Limyra, where a letter from a king to the city, dated between 197 to 188 BC, points towards another instance of Seleukid soldiers sharing the Limyrans' gymnasium: [περὶ] τοῦ γυμνασίου δὲ οὐ ἀνέθηκεν Φανοκράτης εἰρήκαμεν | [ἀποκατασταθῆναι ὑμῖν ὑπὸ τῶν στρ]ατιωτῶν ἵνα μήτε δίσκοι μήτε | γυμνασίαρχοι δισσοὶ | [- - - ca. 27-33 - - - καὶ] αὐτῶι χρᾶσθαι εἰς ἃ ἂν προαιρῆσθε, “regarding the gymnasium built by Phanokrates, we have ordered that [it is returned to you by the] soldiers so that neither discs nor double gymnasiarchs ... and so that you use it as you prefer”⁷⁰⁰. There seems to have been an attempt to navigate the occupation of the gymnasium through the use of two shifts, one for the soldiers and one for the Limyreans; but the latter finally requested to have their building back and succeeded⁷⁰¹. The first editor of the text, M. Wörle, saw in this text clear signs of hate between the two groups (“In Limyra trennte die Gruppen nicht der Jugendschutz, sondern der zwischen Besetzten und Besatzern lauernde Haß”), and following editions of the inscription suggest that the tensions were indeed considerable: B. Virgilio suggests that the soldiers were banned from accessing the private property on the *χώρα* and allowed, but with restrictions, to supply themselves with food and goods, putting clear limits to the soldiers' practice of pillaging and war booty so as to encourage the peaceful coexistence between the Seleukid troops and the Limyreans⁷⁰².

But there are also instances of friendship and goodwill between the garrisons and the cities. The two decrees of Antandros and Iasos mentioned previously are honorific decrees in which the respective cities praise their military officials for their good labour. A Xanthian honorific decree for the Ptolemaic phrourarch Pandaros (260/59 BC) praises him because καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς γέγονεν καὶ ἄξιός τοῦ βασιλέως κα[ὶ] τῇ Ξανθίων πόλει |

⁶⁹⁸ *I. Sardes Suppl. II* p. 100.

⁶⁹⁹ See Chapter 3 Section 3.1 for more examples of tension between the billeted soldiers and the native population.

⁷⁰⁰ *SEG* 63.1311 ll. 17-19.

⁷⁰¹ Wörle 2011: 409-10.

⁷⁰² Virgilio 2013: 974-76, 979. These are some of the most prominent examples but many others exist: a letter of a king to a provincial governor exempting the city of Soloi from billeting after the soldiers had abused their hosts shows similar tensions (Welles *RC* 30) and Ma (1999: 271) ascribe it to a Ptolemaic king, likely Ptolemy IV, whereas Virgilio (2011: 234-48) opts for Antiochos III).

γέγονεν ἀνέγκλητος καὶ πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας χρείας παρείσχηται κοινῇ καὶ ἰδίαι ἑκάστωι⁷⁰³. The term ἀνέγκλητος, “blameless”, “giving no ground for dispute”, is a fairly standard term of praise⁷⁰⁴, but it also speaks of cases in which grounds for dispute were given; if no garrison commanders ever misbehaved, the recognition would be rather pointless⁷⁰⁵.

The imposition of garrisons on any population, especially on a *polis*, was an instrument of control for the kings and a direct confrontation with the autonomy of those cities – Macedonian garrisons in Greece were called “the fetters of Greece”, πέδας Ἑλληνικάς (Polyb. 18.11.5). It is not surprising that the citizens were unhappy with the soldiers and that tensions were rife. But this was the situation at the beginning of the Hellenistic period or at times of active war such as Antiochos III’s war against Achaïos. The garrisons were gradually substituted with military settlements, in which, despite the lingering nature of control through the army, the relationship between the soldiers and the civil population grew closer and more intense, giving us examples of integration such as the letter to Toriaion from Eumenes II, where the soldiers are helping the settlement receive *polis*-status and the native inhabitants are treated on the same footing as the Greeks⁷⁰⁶.

4.1.2. Magnesia and Palaimagnesia

The συμπολιτεία between Smyrna and Magnesia ad Sipylum presents us with a very interesting dichotomy: the king’s interest is very clearly represented – he wants to ensure the future loyalty of Magnesia and to prevent further uprisings against him – yet he himself does not take part in the proceedings. The inscription is grandiosely propagandistic, especially the first document: Smyrna flaunts its friendship with the now-victorious Seleukos II, stating that “King Seleukos too, being disposed piously toward the gods and lovingly toward his parents, being magnanimous and knowing how to return gratitude to those who benefit him, honoured our city, due to the good-will of

⁷⁰³ SEG 33.1183, ll. 6-9. Cf. Robert, *Amyzon* 124-7.

⁷⁰⁴ *I. Labraunda* 43.6; *I. Priene* 19.30; *I. Priene* 23.11; Robert, *Amyzon* no. 19.6.

⁷⁰⁵ Chaniotis 2002: 103. This recognition of garrison commanders who did their job admirably can also be seen in several inscriptions from Smyrna from the end of the Hellenistic period, dated to the revolt of Aristonikos (*I. Smyrna* 609-12), where the commander (or commanders?) of a garrison near the city, in Akkaya, is awarded a golden crown by his men.

⁷⁰⁶ Epigraphic Appendix 17. See below Section 4.3.2 a) Toriaion and Chapter 2 Section 2.3.3 a) Toriaion.

the δῆμος and the zeal which it displayed for his state”⁷⁰⁷, and all the conditions negotiated in the agreement are linked to their being in the best interest of Seleukos.

The aspect of political representation that emerges from this text is worth further consideration. Firstly, the issuer. Smyrna’s decrees follow the usual opening pattern (ἔδοξεν τῷ δήμῳ, στρατηγῶν γνώμη for Epigraphic Appendix 18 I and III; ἐπὶ ἱερέως Ἑγησίου, στεφανηφόρου δὲ Πυθοδώρου, μηνὸς Ἀθηναίωνος ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ for Epigraphic Appendix 18 II) but when the first Smyrnaean envoy is mentioned, it becomes clear that he is acting on behalf of king Seleukos and not just in the interest of Smyrna. They “dispatched from among themselves Dionysios to call upon them to maintain forever the friendship and the alliance with King Seleukos, promising that, if they preserved his state and had the same enemy and friend, they would have from the δῆμος and from King Seleukos all kindness and noble things and that gratitude worthy of their policy would be returned to them”⁷⁰⁸. The Magnesian soldiers immediately respond by sending an acquiescent counter-embassy to Smyrna, not to the king – it is evident that Smyrna is acting as proxy to the king in this instance, one of the few times that a military body such as the garrisoned soldiers of Magnesia does not speak directly to the king⁷⁰⁹.

As for the receiving body, the Magnesians, it is worth stressing that it is not Magnesia, its δῆμος, who received the Smyrnaean envoy, but the soldiers garrisoned in the city: διεπέμψαντο πρὸς τοὺς ἐμὲ Μαγνησῖαι κατοίκους καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ὑπαίθρους ἱππεῖς καὶ στρατιώτας⁷¹⁰. The civic population of Magnesia only appears three times in all three texts: καὶ τοῖς οἰκοῦσι | τῇ πόλιν; καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς οἰκοῦσιν ἐμὲ Μαγνησῖαι; καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς οἰκοῦντας ἐμὲ Μαγνησῖαι⁷¹¹. The envoys, πρεσβευτάς, Potamon, Hierokles, Damon and Apolloniketes, represent the soldiers stationed in the city, but there is no direct representation for Magnesia as a civic institution. Palaimagnesia, in Epigraphic Appendix 18 III, is an even acuter case in point, since it

⁷⁰⁷ Epigraphic Appendix 18 I ll. 6-8.

⁷⁰⁸ Epigraphic Appendix 18 I ll. 14-8, ἀπέστειλαν ἐξ αὐτῶν | ἕνα Διονύσιον τὸν παρακαλέσοντα αὐτοὺς διαφυλάσσειν τὴν φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν βασιλεῖ Σελεύκῳ εἰς | πάντα τὸν χρόνον, ἐπαγγελλόμενοι διατηρούντων αὐτῶν τὰ πράγματα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐχθρὸν καὶ φίλον ἡγουμένων ὑπάρξειν αὐτοῖς παρὰ τοῦ δήμου καὶ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως Σελεύκου πάντα τὰ φιλάνθρωπα καὶ καλῶς ἔχοντα καὶ ἀποδοθήσεσθαι χάριτας αὐτοῖς ἀξίας τῆς αἰρέσεως.

⁷⁰⁹ Rostovtzeff (1931: 18) explains this as a refusal of the king to speak directly to the rebel city, therefore using Smyrna as a proxy; the idea is attractive but there is not enough evidence to read that much into it, and Smyrna certainly also had interest in carrying out this συμπολιτεία.

⁷¹⁰ Epigraphic Appendix 18 I ll. 13-4.

⁷¹¹ Epigraphic Appendix 18 II ll. 36-7, 74; III ll. 92-3 respectively.

was a fortified citadel that had an agreement of its own, separate from that of the general army stationed in the lower city. This is reminiscent of the situation in Theangela and Iasos, although in this particular case the agency of the soldiers had completely overridden Magnesia's own: despite the treaty affecting the whole of Magnesia, as it would be absorbed by Smyrna, in none of the three treaties did the city have representatives of its own; it was the soldiers who had the final say.

A clearer image of communications between the Seleukid kings and their army comes from a royal letter written by Antiochos III dated to ca. 203 BC, found at Amyzon in Karia⁷¹². The text is mutilated and only the first five lines are preserved as follows:

βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος στρατηγοῖς,
 ἱπάρχαις, πεζῶν ἡγεμόσι, στρα-
 <στρα>τιώταις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις
 [χ]αίρ[ε]ιν. τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλω-
 5 [νος καὶ τῆς Ἀρτ]έμιδος τὸ ἐν
 [.....]

Dated to Antiochos' campaign in Asia Minor during the Fifth Syrian War, the fact that no indication is given as to the place of origin or garrison of the soldiers reflects an army on the move; the message would have been intended for the army as a whole as they passed through the country. The missing instructions that the letter would have relayed are echoed in a royal ἐντολή found in Labraunda and dated to roughly the same time:

3 [...] συντέταχεν ἡμ[ῖν ὁ] βασιλεὺς
 [Ἀ]γτίοχος ἐπιμέλειαν ποιεῖσθαι [τῶν]
 5 [ἱερ]ῶν καὶ ἅπαντα τὰ ἄλλα· ὑμεῖς οὖν
 [κ]ατὰ τε τὰ λοιπὰ εὐτακτεῖτε, ὥς[περ]
 [πρ]οσθήκει, καὶ μήτε ἐπισκηνοῦτ[ε e.g. ἰδί]-
 [αι] ἐν Λαβραύνδοις μήτε ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς
 [οῖκ(?)]οις καταλύετε, μηδὲ κτήνη σ[υνάγε(?)]-
 10 [τε μ]ήτε ἐν τοῖς πυλῶσι μ[ή]τε ἐν [τῇ αὐ]-
 [λῇ? μ]ήτε ἐν ταῖς στ[οαῖς μηδὲ .c.6..]
 [...c.8...]θ[εσθ][εc.16.....]⁷¹³

This inscription is a royal ἐντολή to protect the sanctuary of Zeus from the passing troops with commands such as not to put up tents in Labraunda, not to take up quarters

⁷¹² RC 39 (= *OGIS* 217); Robert, *Amyzon* no. 10; Paton and Myres *JHS* (1896) 231 no. 34.

⁷¹³ Robert, *Amyzon* 139-40; *I. Labraunda* III 1 pp. 134-5 (ll. 3-8), 2 n° 46 pp. 61-63.

in the sacred spaces or not to introduce animals in the buildings. Louis Robert linked both texts as showing Antiochos III's policy to avoid pillaging and abuses in sanctuaries. Jonas Crampa interpreted it as a covering letter from Zeuxis to the army, because of the chronology of the letter forms, the connection with Antiochos III's campaigns in Karia, and parallels with other similar contemporary letters found in Karia. This letter and the previous one must be put in relation to another letter to the city of Amyzon from a royal official concerning the ἀσυλία of a sanctuary.

Ἀμυζονέων χαίρειν [— —]
 τὸ ἱερὸν ἄσυλον [— —]
 βασιλέως εὖνοιαν [— —]
 το, καὶ μηδενὶ ἐνοχλεῖν ὑμᾶς [— —]
 5 ἔρρωσθε.⁷¹⁴

Welles considers that Antiochos' letter to the army and this letter to the Amyzoneans refer to the same event: the granting of inviolability to the sanctuary of Apollo and Artemis in Amyzon. The two interested parties, army and citizens of Amyzon, are informed of the new situation through different channels: the army through the king and the city through an official⁷¹⁵. The document from Labraunda proves that it was not the first time a sanctuary sought protection against an army on the move, even if it was their king's own army.

Excepting the first letter, where Antiochos' identity as the author is evident from the greeting, the authorship of the remaining two is open to discussion. In both letters the king is spoken of in the third person, ruling him out as the author, and the tone of the missive points to the writer being a royal official. Although Welles avoids attaching any names to the letter, both Robert and Crampa identified the author as Zeuxis, Antiochos' viceroy in Asia Minor under the title of ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων⁷¹⁶. The Amyzon dossier, including the text from Labraunda, which Crampa points out belonged to Mylasa at this time, proved his involvement in Karia, and especially in Amyzon, where he is mentioned by name in a decree for the ἐπιστάτης of Amyzon, Menestratos⁷¹⁷.

⁷¹⁴ RC 40.

⁷¹⁵ Possibly Zeuxis. See Welles RC 40 pp. 171-2 for a chronological analysis.

⁷¹⁶ Welles RC 40; Robert, *Amyzon* 176-79; *I. Labraunda* III 2 62. For Zeuxis' career under Antiochos III, *I. Sardes Suppl. I* 11-14. See Ma, Derow and Meadows (1995) for further identification of Zeuxis as the author by putting these letters in relation to RC 38, a letter to the Amyzoneans, which was thought to have been written by Antiochos III by Robert and Welles but was convincingly proved to have been written by Zeuxis.

⁷¹⁷ *I. Labraunda* III 2 62. Robert, *Amyzon* 15 pp. 151-3.

The influence of Zeuxis over Amyzon is patent from this inscription and the dossier related to the sanctuaries, and earlier evidence linking him to decisions regarding the army makes it even more plausible that he is indeed the author of the letters to Amyzon and the soldiers at Labraunda: he was present at the siege of Seleukeia Pieria during the Fourth Syrian War and in the campaign against the rebel Molon⁷¹⁸ and, after fighting for Antiochos at the battle of Magnesia ad Sipylum, he was one of the peace envoys to Rome⁷¹⁹. Perhaps one of the most famous passages concerning him is the letter of Antiochos to Zeuxis regarding the Mesopotamian and Babylonian Jews that were to be settled in Lydia and Phrygia⁷²⁰.

It was thus expected and within Zeuxis' duties to act as a spokesperson for the king; but it is still noteworthy that in the first missive related to the ἀσυλία of Amyzon, it is Antiochos and not Zeuxis who speaks directly to the army. The fact that the king chose personally to address the army while his official was charged with informing the city must be representative of the close relationship that Antiochos III kept with his army – perhaps this situation, in which an army off to war was banned from indulging themselves on the road also required the intervention of the higher authority to keep the ban in place.

4.1.3 Army arrangements

At this point, after having discussed army representation, we need to look more closely at the different parties involved in the communication between kings and army in this early period of the Hellenistic kingdoms. While on one side there is the king, on the army side we can observe a bipartite, sometimes tripartite division: ἡγεμόνες, στρατιῶται and, on occasion, cavalry. This division appears under Seleukos I in the dedication of the soldiers in Thyateira: βασιλεῖ Σελεύκῳ<ι> | τῶν ἐν Θυατείροις | Μακεδόνων οἱ ἡγεμόνες καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται (Epigraphic Appendix 5A); in the agreement between Eumenes I and the soldiers from Philetaireia and Attaleia: ὅρκος ὃν ὤμοσεν Παράμονος καὶ οἱ | ἡγεμόνες καὶ οἱ ὑφ' αὐτοῦ στρατιῶται οἱ ὄντες ἐμ Φιλεταιρείαι | τῇ ὑπὸ τὴν Ἰδὴν καὶ Πολύλαος καὶ οἱ ὑφ' αὐτὸν ἡγεμόνες καὶ στ[ρα]τιῶται οἱ ὄντες ἐν Ἀτταλείαι καὶ Ἀττινᾶς ἱπάρχης καὶ οἱ ὑφ' αὐτὸν ἱππεῖς καὶ Ὀλώιχος καὶ οἱ ὑφ' αὐτὸν Τραλεῖς (Epigraphic Appendix 4, ll. 19-23); in the dedication of a statue of Attalos I made by Epigenes at Pergamon: Ἐπιγέν[η]ς καὶ οἱ ἡγεμόνες καὶ

⁷¹⁸ Polyb. 5.45.4-60.4.

⁷¹⁹ Polyb. 21.16.4.

⁷²⁰ Josephus *AJ* 12.147-53. See Chapter 3 Section 3.2.

στρατ[ι]ῶται | οἱ συναγωνισάμενοι τὰς πρὸς τοὺς Γα[λ]άτας (*I. Perg.* 29 ll. 2-3); in Antiochos III's letter to the army about the sanctuary of Amyzon: βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος στρατηγοῖς, | ἱπάρχαις, πεζῶν ἡγεμόσι, στρα<στρα>τιώταις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις (*RC* 39 ll. 1-3); and possibly in a very fragmentary inscription concerning an *a priori* Attalid military settlement near Pergamon: [Εὐμένης στρατηγοῖς ἱπάρχαις ἡγεμ]όσι καὶ ἱπεῦσι (Epigraphic Appendix 15 A 1, Welles' reconstruction). Leaving aside the cavalry commanders for now, for which there generally is a single recurrent title, ἱπάρχης, the infantry men are described alternatively as ἡγεμόνες or as στρατιῶται; only Antiochos III's letter is more specific in also including the στρατηγοί in addition to the already mentioned positions.

Amongst the infantry, a hierarchy emerges: στρατηγός at the top, followed by the ἡγεμόνες and finally the στρατιῶται. The nomenclature is surprisingly vague, or rather untechnical. The term στρατιώτης describes nothing more than a man who serves in an army, and it is defined by the context in which it is used. M. Launey pointed out its meaning of “soldier of lower rank” as opposed to a ἡγεμών⁷²¹. A στρατηγός is, in its most technical sense, the leader of a στρατηγία, also known as a φαλαγγαρχία, comprised of 4,096 men (*Ael. Tact.* 9). However, the title that hovers in between, that of the ἡγεμών, does not appear in the break-down of the phalanx as it is not a technical term for a particular office. Under Alexander it was used for members of his council and his φίλοι: μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς ἐπανελθὼν μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν συνήγαγε τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ τοὺς ἀξιολογωτάτους τῶν φίλων καὶ προέθηκε βουλὴν περὶ τῆς εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν διαβάσεως (*Diod.* 17.16.1, when discussing the crossing into Asia); σκηνὴν δὲ κατασκευασάμενος ἑκατοντάκλινον τοὺς τε φίλους καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας (*Diod.* 17.16.4, when sacrificing in Dion); πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἡγεμόνων συνίσταντο καὶ κατηγοροῦν τοῦ Περδίκκου (*Diod.* 18.36.4, during the initial struggle after Alexander's death)⁷²². It was later employed for the commanders of the peltasts and the ἄγημα: under Philip V, Leontios, Ptolemaios and Megaleas are described as ἡγεμόνες τῶν τε πελταστῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων συστημάτων (*Polyb.* 5.26.8), but immediately after it is again used to mean just

⁷²¹ Launey 1987: 25-9.

⁷²² For further examples of the same nature, Hatzopoulos, *Macedonian Institutions* I 35.

“commanding officer”: γενομένης δὲ τῆς εἰσόδου τραγικῆς διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀπαντησάντων ἡγεμόνων καὶ στρατιωτῶν (Polyb. 5.26.9)⁷²³.

A comparison of Arrian’s and Plutarch’s narration of Alexander’s last moments can be of interest here. When the king lay dying, his officers came into his presence to speak with him; according to Arrian παραγγεῖλαι δὲ τοὺς μὲν στρατηγοὺς διατρίβειν κατὰ τὴν αὐλήν, χιλιάρχας δὲ καὶ πεντακοσιάρχας πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν (Arr. *Anab.* 7.25.6), while Plutarch says that ἐβδόμη σφόδρα πυρέττων ἔθυσεν ἑξαρθεῖς πρὸς τὰ ἱερά· τῶν δὲ ἡγεμόνων ἐκέλευε τοὺς μεγίστους διατρίβειν ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ, ταξιάρχους δὲ καὶ πεντακοσιάρχους ἔξω νυκτερεύειν (Plut. *Alex.* 76.6). In both cases we have two groups of men separated by status: on the one hand Arrian’s στρατηγοὶ and Plutarch’s μέγιστοι τῶν ἡγεμόνων, who were allowed in to see the king, on the other the χιλιάρχει, ταξιάρχαι and πεντακοσιάρχαι who were asked to wait outside. In another description of the army by Diodorus, the same distinction is made when the δεύτεροι ἡγεμόνες are separated from the higher-ranking officials, οἳ τε στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ τὰς ἱππαρχίας ἔχοντες (Diod. 19.22.2)⁷²⁴. This shows how malleable the term could be, especially when accompanied by a specification such as μέγιστος or δεύτερος.

So how can we narrow down who were the ἡγεμόνες of Antiochos’ letter concerning the sanctuary of Amyzon or those posted at Attaleia and Philetaira under Ida? An enlightening inscription from Macedonia might give us some clues. A letter of Antigonos Doson to the city of Beroia grants immunity from civic obligations to the ἡγεμόνες who had fought alongside the king; after this, sixty names divided by dots into three groups of twenty follow⁷²⁵. The only practical possibility for these men is that there were three σπεῖραι or συντάγματα, each of 256 men: each σπεῖρα had 16 officers, one for each of the λόχοι that formed it, plus five supernumeraries (ἑκτακτοί), for a total of 21 – although in that case we would have a surplus of three men regarding the 60 names of the inscription, so the calculations are not perfect⁷²⁶. If Hatzopoulos’ deduction is correct, it would mean that each ἡγεμών commanded one λόχος of 16 men (15 plus himself). As the textual evidence has shown, the term could vary depending on the context due to its malleability, but this might be evidence for a more technical meaning

⁷²³ Hatzopoulos 2001a: 69-70; Helly and Tziafalias 2010: 115.

⁷²⁴ Hatzopoulos, *Macedonian Institutions* I 448 n. 3.

⁷²⁵ Hatzopoulos, *Macedonian Institutions* II n° 10, 2001c: 45-6; see also Helly and Tziafalias 2010: 104ff for a similar inscription and their appraisal of the letter to Beroia.

⁷²⁶ Hatzopoulos, *Macedonian Institutions* I 453-4. Hatzopoulos’ argument, while well thought out, is flawed: it presupposes too many things to reach a comfortable conclusion and must be taken with caution.

of the title. In this way, if in the agreement between Eumenes I and the soldiers we accept that the ἡγεμόνες that Polylaos and Paramonos commanded in Attaleia and Philetaireia respectively were akin to λοχαγοί, Paramonos and Polylaos could conceivably be ταξίαρχοι (commanding 128 men), συνταγματάρχοι (256 men), πεντακοσίαρχοι (512 men), χιλίαρχοι (1,024 men), μέγαρχοι (2,048 men) or στρατηγοί (4,096 men)⁷²⁷. However, due to the small size of the Attalid army, especially at this initial stage, we must tend towards the lower figures; I doubt that Polylaos and Paramonos commanded any more men than a πεντακοσιαρχής⁷²⁸.

What is clear in any case is that a ἡγεμών, when not in a court context, was a high-ranking military officer within its own file but rather modest when it came to the broader context of the army unless explicitly stated otherwise. The distinction between ἡγεμόνες and στρατιῶται was clearly meant to make their difference in status obvious, in addition to any purely military ranking. In the inscriptions regarding Amyzon, Attaleia and Philetaireia, the ἡγεμόνες always have a superior: the στρατηγοί. Must we then understand the τῶν ἐν Θυατείροις Μακεδόνων οἱ ἡγεμόνες of the Thyateiran dedication to Seleukos or of the Pergamene statue base of Attalos I as meaning simply “commanders” in its widest meaning? The evidence suggests so⁷²⁹.

As for the cavalry, which we had left aside, the term that keeps appearing is ἵπάρχης which does not lend itself to so much speculation. Aelian and Asclepiodotus described a ἵππαρχία as the combination of two ταραντιναρχίαι or four ἐπιλαρχίαι, numbering in total 512 horsemen (Ael. *Tact.* 20; Ascl. *Tact.* 7.11)⁷³⁰. Within an ἐπίταγμα, the largest military unit, there were eight ἵππαρχίαι, so it is not strange that several ἵππαρχοι are mentioned in Antiochos III’s letter to the army. The title also appears in Philip V’s military *diagramma*, as one of the men responsible for the inspection of the horses and applied to Leon as the leader of the Royal Squadron: καὶ Λέοντα τὸν τῶν Μακεδόνων ἵππαρχην (Polyb. 18.22.2)⁷³¹.

⁷²⁷ Ael. *Tact.* 9.

⁷²⁸ The largest contingent we know of for the Attalid army numbered 7,000 men during the Third Macedonian War; at Magnesia the infantry numbered only 2,000 (Ma 2013: 59). See the case study of Attaleia in Chapter 3 Section 3.1.

⁷²⁹ See the discussion of the power that the ἡγεμόνες wielded with the Successors, especially in relation to Eumenes of Kardia and the near-defection of his troops, in Briant 1973: 55-58.

⁷³⁰ Sekunda 1994: 29-32.

⁷³¹ Hatzopoulos 2001a: Ep. App. 2 II ll.6-7.

The image that emerges from this nomenclatorial division is one where every part of the army saw itself represented in their communication with the king: the cavalry, the infantry commanders and the base foot soldiers. This formula of ἡγεμόνες, στρατιῶται and ἱπάρχαι appears in very early inscriptions, during the time of Seleukos I or of the first Attalids, and on occasions where the army was on the move, as is the case of Antiochos III's letter concerning Amyzon or the statue dedication for Attalos I after victorious battles against Antiochos and the Galatians. In later inscriptions dealing with military settlements, the military hierarchy loses precedence over either ethnicity or the general idea of the men being soldiers, which could possibly attest to the progressive sedentarization of the soldiers and their shift to military settler status rather than members of a permanent standing army.

4.2. Attalids

Compared to the evidence for Seleukid interference in the life of Asia Minor's military settlements, the volume of Attalid documents is staggering. The taking over of western Asia Minor by the Pergamene dynasty after Apameia has resulted in numerous documents attesting to correspondence between soldiers and kings that help to shape our knowledge of king-army relationships in this period. Five documents stand out as particularly revealing.

4.2.1. Eumenes I

Eumenes I's reign has provided two documents that are relevant to the first years of unstable Pergamene rule and the first Attalid military foundations in their then reduced territory. The first document has already been discussed in Chapter 2 and it is probably Eumenes I's most discussed piece of evidence: the agreement between the dynast and the rebellious soldiers of Attaleia and Philetaireia under Ida⁷³². Now that the topographic importance of both sites has been discussed, we must turn to another significant aspect of the text: the tone and content.

The agreement does not imply a position of power for Eumenes; that much is plain in the fact that the issuing body is not the dynast but rather the soldiers. Understanding the nature of the text is paramount for understanding the kind of language and structure employed: this is not a decree or a letter, but a settlement between two parties that most likely stems from a series of exchanges whose results are what is documented on the

⁷³² Epigraphic Appendix 4; see Chapter 2 Section 2.2.1.

stone. The first section of the inscription is very straightforward: it jumps directly to the soldiers' petitions with a dry [ἄξ]ιώματα ἃ ἐπεχ[ώρη]σεν Εὐμένης Φιλεταίρο[υ] (l. 1). This is followed by a succession of six clauses headed by ὑπέρ and a genitive noun related to their queries: ὑπὲρ τοῦ | ἐνιαυτοῦ (ll. 4-5), ὑπὲρ τῶν τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἀποδόντων τὸν κύριον | καὶ γενομένων ἀπέργων (ll. 6-7), ὑπὲρ ὀρφανικῶν (l. 8), ὑπὲρ τελῶν (l. 9) and ὑπ[ὲρ] | τοῦ ὀψωνίου (ll. 12-13)⁷³³. The petitions are clearly systematised, stated in a matter-of-fact way.

Following them, there are instructions to inscribe the text and put it up in several sanctuaries, in a way reminiscent of the language of decrees, something which is quite startling inasmuch as this is not a decree, but the final transcription of an agreement between a military body and their employer (in this case, the dynast of Pergamon)⁷³⁴. Two third-person imperatives are used to express this order: ἀναγράψατω and ἀναθέτω (ll. 16-17)⁷³⁵. The use of ἀναγράψατω is not unheard of in other Hellenistic inscriptions, all of them decrees: we find it in Telmessos (τὸ δὲ ψήφισμα τοῦτο ἀναγραψάτω ὁ ἄρ[χων]⁷³⁶), in Tymnos (ὁ ἱεροθύτας ὁ ἐν ἀρχαῖ ἐὼν ἀναγραψάτω τόδε τὸ ψάφισμ[α]⁷³⁷), in Priene (τὸ δὲ ψήφισμα τόδε ἀνα[γ]ραψάτω ὁ νεωποίης⁷³⁸) or in the already mentioned συμπολιτεία between Smyrna and Magnesia ad Sipylum (ἀναγραψάτω δὲ καὶ ὁ γραμμματοφύλαξ τῆς βουλῆς⁷³⁹). In all of these cases, however, the context is that of a city issuing a command to a city official: an archon, a sacrificing priest, an official in charge of the temple-fabric or an official registrar respectively. It does not read as an order *per se* but rather as the natural order of civic administration: a higher power (the *polis*) instructing an administrator with a task. In this decree, however, not only is that order subverted, as it is the soldiers, normally subordinates, who are issuing the order,

⁷³³ The petitions are discussed in depth in Griffith 1935: 282-88 and Launey 1987: 738-50.

⁷³⁴ Compare to this the late second-century BC grant of privileges from Ptolemy Euergetes II to the troops stationed in Cyprus (*SEG* 37.1372; Lenger 1956: *passim*, esp. 456-61): although it is just an extract that transcribes the passage that interests the inscriber the most (probably local authorities that used the citation to support another decision), it retains the economic privileges granted to the men, concerning a bonus, σιταρχία (l. 25), which Ptolemy concedes *motu proprio* after several expressions of gratitude to the men, thanking them for their service and help in his campaign to regain power.

⁷³⁵ In decrees we would expect to find something along the lines of ἀναγράψαι τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα, “this decree will be inscribed”. See for example, *I. Didyma* 492B ll. 43-4; *I. Erythrai Klazomenai* 117 l.29, 21 ll. 18-9, 10 ll. 13-4; *BCH* 387 (1913) 236-38 no. 40 C.6 (Kolophon); *I. Milet.* I 3, 45 l. 83; *CIG* 3562 ll. 29-30; *OGIS* 258 l. 52, 437 l. 31.; *I. Pergamon* II 251 ll. 36-7.

⁷³⁶ *TAM* II 1 ll.35-6.

⁷³⁷ *SEG* 14.702 l. 21.

⁷³⁸ *I. Priene* 81 ll. 17-8.

⁷³⁹ Epigraphic Appendix 18 ll. 85-6. If the reconstruction is correct, it may also have occurred in a Labraundan decree concerning a gift of land to the temple of Zeus Osogo (van Bremen 2016: 9).

but more astonishingly, the implied recipient of that order is no less than a dynast and future king.

A close parallel to this use of ἀναγραφάτω occurs in a late third/early second-century Thessalian decree from Phthiotic Thebes concerning the citizenship of a certain Eurydamas, protecting him by restricting other citizens from denouncing his past behaviour without proof⁷⁴⁰. The context and date of the inscription are not certain; in a relatively recent reassessment of the text, Jacek Rzepka proposed that Eurydamas could have been either a forgiven tyrant from the 240s, or one of Philip V's collaborators in Philippopolis in the 190s⁷⁴¹. Whether a tyrant or a royal *philos*, Eurydamas was clearly an important enough figure in Phthiotic Thebes to merit a decree that explicitly protected his status within the community. The last four lines of the inscription set forth the dispositions for the erection of the stele: ταῦτα | ἀναγραφάτω Εὐρυδάμας εἰστήλας λιθίνας καὶ ἀνθέτω εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Δήμητρος | καὶ ὅπου ἂν ἀλλαχοῦ ἡ πόλις κελεύῃ (ll. 20-23). Eurydamas, just like Eumenes, is ordered to inscribe and set up the stele in the temple of Demeter and wherever else the polis decides. The situation is similar: some clear previous tension between the two parties involved in the text, an agreement reached and a powerful figure (Eurydamas/Eumenes) submitting to the will of the opposite party. However, in this case Eurydamas is also benefitting from the setting up of the stele, as it contains privileges for him, whereas in the Pergamon inscription the main beneficiaries are the soldiers, not Eumenes.

The use of *polis*-like, decree-like language in a context that includes neither a *polis* nor a decree (for the agreement is not a decree but, as stated above, a settlement between two opposing parties) could be explained as an attempt to legitimise the content and situation of the agreement, very fraught on both sides due to the political and military shifts of power that happened during Philetairos' and Eumenes I's rules. It is also a very clear sign of how far the authority of the army extended when communicating with the higher echelons of political power. That Eumenes would agree to the terms and to the setting up of the stone in Pergamon must be taken as evidence of the reliance of Pergamon on its military power at the beginning of their existence as an independent state. Eumenes was still a dynast, not a king, and his power all the more precarious because of it.

⁷⁴⁰ SEG 53.565. See the translation and legal framework of the document in Gray 2015: 124-6, 134-6.

⁷⁴¹ Rzepka 2010: 90-1.

The information that we gain concerning the soldiers' position is revealing of the level of agency they had as a self-representing body: the main weight of the negotiations with Eumenes is borne by Paramonos, head of the infantry from Philetaireia, and Polylaos, head of the infantry from Attaleia, mentioned both in the soldiers' oath and in Eumenes'⁷⁴². In addition, we know of four other representatives: from Attaleia, Attinas, leader of the cavalry (l. 22), and Oloichos, leader of the Trallians⁷⁴³ (l. 23); from Philetaireia, Arkes, in charge of the garrisons (l. 56) and Philonides, whose affiliation is not clear (l. 56)⁷⁴⁴. The division of the men and the appearance of Attinas and Oloichos only in the soldiers' oath to Eumenes and of Arkes and Philonides only in Eumenes' oath is not gratuitous: in a recent article, Jean-Christophe Couvenhes proposed that those mentioned in the first oath, Paramonos, Polylaos, Attinas and Oloichos (and their men) were the ones to swear fidelity to Eumenes after having rebelled, while Arkes and Philonides received Eumenes' oath after being placed in Philetaireia by the dynast to reinforce Paramonos' troops⁷⁴⁵.

Here we can see, clearly illustrated, the bipartite structure of the infantry mentioned in the previous section, represented by the two top infantry commanders stationed at Philetaireia under Ida and Attaleia, Paramonos and Polylaos respectively (ll. 19-22, 53-59). They stand at the top of the hierarchy, followed by ἡγεμόνες and στρατιῶται, and, although the wording is slightly different in each case, the two mentions of both men leave little doubt as to their commanding roles: "Paramonos and the commanders and the soldiers under them who are in Philetaireia under Ida" (ll. 19-21), but "to Paramonos and the commanders and the others in receipt of pay, who serve in Philetaireia under Ida under Paramonos" (ll. 53-55); "Polylaos and the commanders under him and the soldiers who are in Attaleia" (ll. 21-22), and later "to Polylaos and the commanders and all the other soldiers who serve under him in Attaleia and the infantry and the cavalry" (ll. 57-59). Although the groupings of the chain of command change from one mention to another, we have a clear structure in which every part of the army swore the oath to Eumenes and received his oath in return, from Paramonos and Polylaos

⁷⁴² Ll. 19, 53 and 21, 57 respectively.

⁷⁴³ Tralles was a polis located at modern Aydın. Most likely of Thracian origin, Trallians became common in the Attalid army after 211 BC, when Attalos I struck an alliance with the Aetolian League, and after Apameia Tralles became a major administrative centre in the Maeander valley (Reinach 1909b: 55-59; Hansen 1971: 228; Thonemann 2013: 14-5). Cf. Strabo 14.1.42-4. Zgusta, *Ortsnamen* §1361-1.

⁷⁴⁴ Ll. 19-21 and 56. Couvenhes puts Philonides as the leader of the ἄμισθοι (2019: 613), but the link is not entirely apparent to me. On the status of the ἄμισθοι and the ἄμισθοι, see Virgilio 1983: 121-26 and Couvenhes 2019: 615-18; see also Chapter 2 Section 2.2.1.

⁷⁴⁵ Couvenhes 2019: 612-15.

(συνταγματάρχοι? Πεντακοσίαρχοι?) to the ἡγεμόνες (a vague term, as explained above, but possibly to be identified as λοχαγοί) and the plain στρατιῶται, an umbrella term for the soldiers under the command of these men.

Eumenes' position towards his men resembles the situation that his namesake, Eumenes of Kardia, had to face at Kelainai when his men revolted and had to be pacified – Plutarch's account of the incident suggests that the Eumenes' soldiers may have sworn a similar oath to that of the soldiers stationed at Philetaireia and Attaleia⁷⁴⁶. These oaths, increasingly common during the Hellenistic period with the rise of mercenaries in the armies and usually linked to problems with the pay, betray a deep mistrust between the parties – desertion had become a very powerful weapon at a time when hegemony over Alexander's empire was still disputed, and the soldiers learned how to use this weapon to their advantage⁷⁴⁷. This inscription represents the tensest moment of the relationship between the Attalid kings and their army that we know of. The behaviour of the men of Philetaireia and Attaleia reflects the extent of their sway over the Attalids at this initial point of their political careers, when they were not yet a royal dynasty and were consolidating their power.

A second Pergamene inscription from early Attalid times confirms several of the points raised by the agreement⁷⁴⁸. The stone is unfortunately extremely weathered and divided into three fragments: two (B and C) are part of the main body of the text while the third (A) belongs to the beginning, as it includes remnants of the right-hand side triangular pediment on top of the stele [FIG. 87]. A significant part of the text is lost but reconstruction is possible and profitable. From the topmost fragment, it seems relatively clear that it is a royal letter dealing with military settlers (including cavalry, which is mentioned twice), who were going through some sort of change in their circumstances.

⁷⁴⁶ Plut. *Eum.* 8; Briant 1973: 53-39; Hornblower 1981: 204.

⁷⁴⁷ Briant 1973: 60. Eumenes of Kardia received four oaths from his men in a single year – and still was deserted (Justin 14.4.3).

⁷⁴⁸ Epigraphic Appendix 15.

- A [— — — — —]οσι καὶ ἱππεὺς
 [— — — — —]ς Ἀριστομα-
 [χ — — — — —]ες παρ' ὑμῶν
 [— — — — —]σὺν ηξιοῦτε
- B [— — — — —] πρότερον ἦσαν εἰθισμένοι
 [— — — — —]νωσαν(?). εἰ δέ τινα οἱ ἱππεῖς
 [— — — — —]τ]ὴν πρόσοδον [ἐφ]έμεν ὑμῖν τῶν
 [— — — — —]Ἐλληνες παροικοῦσιν, ἐὰν βούλω[ν]-
 5 [— — — — —] ἐν ὑμῖν ἐπ[—]
- C [— — — — —]αν γεω[— — — — —]
 [— — — — —] δὲ μακροὺς [— — — — —]
 [— — — — —]υρικὴν δὲ πη[— — — — —]
 [— — — — —] ἔξ τῶν ὁμο[λογημένων — — —]
 5 [— — — — —] ἀλ]λ' ἔσσεσθε ατ[— — — — —]
 [— — — — —]ον οἰκοδομηθῇ ε[— — — — —]
 [— — — — —]Σ σὺν τοῖς λα[— — — — —]

The dating is a complex matter. The letter forms suggest an early Hellenistic date. While the original editor, Max Fränkel, was reluctant to ascribe it to a specific king – he did not go further than noting that the letter forms were similar to those of *I. Pergamon* 6 and that that inscription was likely to be dated after the reign of Eumenes I –, C. B. Welles in his *Royal Correspondence* stated that “according to the character of the script the text belongs to the first half of the third century; as author Eumenes is to be preferred to Philetaerus, since he was, as far as is known, the founder of the earliest Pergamene military colonies”⁷⁴⁹. He thus proposes the following reconstruction of A1: [Εὐμένης στρατηγοῖς ἱπάρχαις ἡγεμ]όσι καὶ ἱππεῦσι, basing it on the opening from the letter of Antiochos III to his army that we saw earlier: Βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος στρατηγοῖς, | ἱπάρχαις, πεζῶν ἡγεμόσι (*RC* 39 ll. 1-2). While Welles’ reconstruction might be correct, his reasoning needs further evidence to support it. In recent years, the relationship between the first Attalids, especially Philetairos and Eumenes I, and their Seleukid overlords has been greatly reassessed, as well as the territorial policies of the former: we have already seen in the previous chapter that the garrisons of Philetaireia and Attaleia very likely preceded Eumenes⁷⁵⁰.

⁷⁴⁹ Welles *RC* 16 p. 86-7.

⁷⁵⁰ Chrubasik 2016: 31ff.

Working on the assumption that we could fit around 40 letters per line, the options Εὐμένης Φιλεταίρου and Φιλέταιρος Ἀττάλου are both possible⁷⁵¹; perhaps the closest parallel is the beginning of the agreement with the soldiers of Philetaireia and Attaleia, whose letter forms are very similar to our fragmentary inscription. However, there is another possibility that has not been contemplated yet by any editor: King Attalos I. Βασιλεὺς Ἀτταλος would comfortably fit the space we have, and the letter forms can be easily compared to several documents pertaining to this king's reign: the dedications made in Pergamon after his victory over the Galatians (in particular *I. Pergamon* 21, 23 and 24) and a letter to an official for the establishment of a priesthood (*I. Pergamon* 40). The Σ, Κ, Ο, Ω and Π are quite similar and might suggest a date close to 248 BC, when Attalos took the royal title.

Both Eumenes and Attalos had an expansionist policy, increasing Pergamon's territory and finding themselves in need of military settlements to guard their borders and to provide a recruitment pool for future campaigns. The double mention of the cavalry (A 1 and B 2), and, if the reconstruction is correct, of the στρατηγοί and ἡγεμόνες makes it clear that this text was addressed to the army, and two other words suggest a settlement: παρικοῦσιν “those who live alongside you” (B 4), and οἰκοδομηθῆι, “that a [house? building?] be built” (C 6)⁷⁵². If this was a letter to the army as a whole or to the army on the move, as Antiochos III's letter (*RC* 39), the building of houses and the mention of Greeks living alongside the soldiers would make little sense. Moreover, the expression παρ' ὑμῶν (A 3) is used elsewhere for envoys of cities and settlements to the king, cementing the idea of an embassy sent by a military settlement to the king⁷⁵³. The inscription was found in Pergamon, so we have no way of knowing where the settlement may have been located, since it was custom, from what we can see from Eumenes I's agreement, to erect the decrees in several sacred locations, amongst them the temple of Athena in Pergamon, which was surely the case here as well. In any case, whether it was Eumenes I or Attalos I, we can place the inscription in the second half of the third century BC, after Eumenes' victory in the battle of Sardis and

⁷⁵¹ Parallels for the former: *SEG* 49.1746, Epigraphic Appendix 4, *MDAI(A)* 35 (1910) 463,45; and the latter: *OGIS* 312, 748, *MDAI(A)* 33 (1908) 405,34.

⁷⁵² See Chapter 3 Section 3.1 on the terms used for housebuilding.

⁷⁵³ See below Section 4.3.2 a) Toriaion.

subsequent annexation of what were until then Seleukid territories⁷⁵⁴, or perhaps later, after 248 BC and Attalos' assumption of the royal title.

The identification of the inscription's dating with a moment of expansion in Pergamon's early history is supported by one of the better conserved lines in fragment B, which reads πρότερον ἦσαν εἰθισμένοι, "they were previously accustomed to"⁷⁵⁵. Whatever the earlier privilege may have been, this is a clear reference to a previous situation that, presumably, the settlers wished to maintain, hence the petition to the king. The change of political hegemony usually involved an appeal to the king to ensure that the settlement remained stable and in favour, or sometimes to extract promises of improvement from the new king; such is the case with the Phrygian settlements of Toriaion or Pessinous after the Attalid expansion after Apameia⁷⁵⁶.

The dispatch of envoys to the king will be a common motif in the petitions that we will analyse, but it continues the model already seen in Eumenes I's agreement, of the soldiers being able to represent themselves and send their representatives to the king, on the same level as a *polis*. In this fragmentary inscription, the wording of the embassy, [οἱ πεμφθέντ]ες παρ' ὑμῶν as proposed by Welles or more likely [οἱ ἀποσταλέντ]ες παρ' ὑμῶν makes clear that the men were received by the king as representatives of their settlement⁷⁵⁷. The way in which the petitions are introduced is reminiscent of Eumenes' agreement with his soldiers and might shed some light on the nature of the petition. Line A 4 was initially published by Fränkel as [σ]υνηξιοῦτε and was later amended by Welles to [ν]ὺν ἡξιοῦτε without further comment, but grammar and content-wise, Fränkel's reconstruction makes more sense: the verb is an imperfect second person plural, which would be at odds with the introduction of a time adverb such as νῦν⁷⁵⁸. Moreover, the already mentioned πρότερον ἦσαν εἰθισμένοι raises questions about the number of communities involved in the inscription: "you have requested" but "they were accustomed to"? The phrasing is similar to that of Apolloniou Charax: we have another situation where two groups of people are used to each other, γεγόνασιν ἀ[ὐ]τοῖς

⁷⁵⁴ Hansen 1971: 22; but see van Bremen 2020: 9-10 on the dating of the battle of Sardis.

⁷⁵⁵ RC 16 B1. Welles proposed to reconstruct the text as [- ¹¹ - ἀτέλειαν ? ἦ] πρότερον ἦσαν εἰθισμένοι, as tax exemptions were common in military settlements throughout the Hellenistic period. Piejko follows Welles with his reconstruction [ὑπαρχέτω οὖν ἡ ἀτέλεια ἦ] πρότερον ἦσαν εἰθισμένοι (SEG 38.1265).

⁷⁵⁶ For both see below Section 4.3.2.

⁷⁵⁷ Welles RC 16 p. 87; see the parallel in RC 35 I.3.

⁷⁵⁸ RC 16 A 4.

συνήθεις, and in consequence they jointly decide to come together, ὥς ἡξίουσαν⁷⁵⁹. We could potentially be looking at the joining of two military communities in this inscription as well, thus the reference to what they would be allowed to do with the land revenues (τ]ὴν πρόσοδον [ἐφ]ίμεν ὑμῖν, B 3) and to their relationship with their Greek neighbours (Ἑ]λλήνες παρικοῦσιν, B 4).

The establishment of this new settlement with an enlarged population would need more housing for the incoming settlers, and this building activity is reflected in fragment C with the word οἰκοδομηθῆι (C 6). This is very evocative of the phrase ἐπεὶ περὶ τὴν τοῦ χωρίου οἰκοδομίαν γίνονται of Face A from Apolloniou Charax, where Eumenes agrees to furnish the petitioners with more buildings to accommodate the Mysians that would move there from Kournoubeudos⁷⁶⁰. The entire sentence with which the text finishes is ἐπεὶ περὶ τὴν τοῦ χωρίου οἰκοδομίαν γίνονται, καὶ ἡμεῖς λατύπου[ς] | ὁμολογήκαμεν αὐτοῖς χορηγήσειν, “since they are taking care of the construction of buildings of the settlement, we have agreed to supply stonemasons for them”⁷⁶¹. Fragment C of Epigraphic Appendix 15 resonates with many of these terms: the γεω of C 1 could well be a form of the verb γεωργέω, as Francis Piejko suggests, or a reference to another γεωδότης such as Lykinos from the Apolloniou Charax inscription⁷⁶²; τῶν ὁμο[λογημένων] (C 4), “of the things that have been granted”; the already mentioned οἰκοδομηθῆι and possibly one more term: the last line, σὺν τοῖς λα[— — —] (C 7), could be reconstructed as σὺν τοῖς λα[τύποις — — —], “together with the stonemasons”, just as Eumenes II granted stonemasons to Apolloniou Charax to help with the building of the new houses. This reconstruction would go very well with both τῶν ὁμο[λογημένων] and οἰκοδομηθῆι and would further help understand the inscription in the context of the establishment of a military settlement⁷⁶³.

⁷⁵⁹ Epigraphic Appendix 1 A 8-9, 12. The συν- in συνήθεις implies this closeness too.

⁷⁶⁰ Epigraphic Appendix 1 A 25.

⁷⁶¹ Epigraphic Appendix 1 A 24-6. There are textual parallels for the structure of γίνονται περὶ meaning “to become involved with something” or “to take care of something”: see Isocr. 3.12 and Phld. Mus. 4.19.36.

⁷⁶² Piejko: *SEG* 38.1265.

⁷⁶³ I owe this suggestion to my supervisor, Dr. Riet van Bremen. Welles’ (*RC* p. 87) proposed reconstruction of this fragment, despite having a different wording, still follows the same idea of providing housing for the soldiers: ἔσεσθε ἀτε[λείς ἐπ’ ἔτη δέκα ὅπως τὸ χωρίον οἰκοδομηθῆι ἐν τῷ βραχυτάτῳ χρόνῳ?] (C 5-6); κώμας σὺν τοῖς λα[οῖς πανοικίους] (C 7). Piejko proposes another, more dubious, reconstruction for C 6-7 which makes reference to a tower and a fortress by analogy to Eumenes II’s letter to the Kardakes in Telmessos: ὁμοίως δὲ συγχωροῦμεν ὅπως τὸ πυργίον οἰκοδομηθῆι ἐν τῇ χώρῃ ἵνα χρησθαι ἔχητε ἑαυτοῖς σὺν τοῖς λα[οῖς εἰς ὀχύρωμα] (*SEG* 41.1086).

While it is true that this inscription is extremely fragmentary, close inspection and comparison with other Hellenistic inscriptions aids us in putting together a picture of the founding of new military settlements by joining different groups of people, as well as of the agency of the army in the very first stages of Attalid power.

4.3.2. Eumenes II

Although Attalos I's reign was perhaps one of the most turbulent in the history of the Attalid dynasty, as he participated in several extraterritorial campaigns against Philip V of Macedonia and defeated the Galatians, earning himself both the title of king and the nickname Σωτήρ, Saviour, it is not until we reach his son's time that we experience a real change in the situation of military settlers and settlements in Attalid Asia Minor. The main difference was indeed the territorial expansion of Pergamon: following his father's example, Eumenes had become a loyal ally of Rome and consequently was granted a vast swathe of Seleukid territory after the peace of Apameia in 188 BC. Post-Apameian Pergamon had to manage Seleukid settlements far away from the capital in Mysia, but many of the frameworks that defined the relationship between the king and the soldiers were still firmly in place and reappear in every royal petition we have.

Three documents are fundamental in exploring the degree of agency that soldiers had when addressing the king and the attitude that Eumenes II demonstrated towards the military settlements in his newly acquired territories. In Phrygia Toriaion and Pessinous and in Lykia the κόμη of the Kardakes have yielded three of the most complete documents for understanding the transfer of power from the Seleukids to the Attalids⁷⁶⁴. With the topographic importance of their locations explained in Chapter 2, we must turn to the communication of these settlements with the king.

a) Toriaion

A dossier of three letters from Eumenes II to the settlement (first letter, ll. 1-38) and then city (second and third letters, ll. 39-51) of Toriaion documents the process by which it benefitted from an upgrade to *polis*-status, after it came under Attalid rule. The first letter, by far the longest, contains several points of great significance for the study of military settlements in Phrygia, not least amongst them proof that, for the first time known to us so far, settlers and native inhabitants were to stand on the same political footing: συνχωρῶ καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ τοῖς μεθ' ὑμῶν συνοικουσίῃ ἐγχωρίοις εἰς ἓν πολίτευμα

⁷⁶⁴ Epigraphic Appendix 17; Avram and Tsetskhladze 2014; Maier, *Mauerbauinschriften* I 76 respectively. See Chapter 2 Sections 2.3.2 and 2.3.3 for an introduction and comment on them.

συνταχ[θ]ῆναι (Il. 26-7)⁷⁶⁵. It bears witness to the extent to which cultural and ethnic assimilation could happen in a military settlement, through the statement of joint citizenship for settlers and natives, but also through the names of the envoys, one of which, Brennos, is of clear Celtic origin.

But there is another part of the text which is even more indicative of the relationship that these settlers had with the king. The first and third letters begin as is common to many royal letters, by narrating how the envoys reached the king and presented him with their petition. In the first instance, the three men, Antigenes, Brennos and Heliades, are described as οἱ παρ' ὑμῶν ἄνδρες [...] οὗς ἐπέμψατε (Il. 3-4), “your men... which you sent”, a neutral term to refer to the envoys of a place that was not a city or a temple. The third letter opens with a second delegation sent to the king, comprising Brennos and a new envoy, Orestes: [β]ασιλ[ε]ὺς Εὐμένης Τοριαίων τῇ βουλῇ κα[ὶ] τῷ [δήμῳ | *vac.* χα]ίρειν· Βρέννος καὶ Ὀρέστης, οὗς ἀπεστ[εῖ]λα[τε...] (Il. 49-50)⁷⁶⁶. Only these two first lines survive, and we are missing the term for the envoys, which the first editors of the text, L. Jonnes and M. Riel assumed would have been πρεσβευτάς, given that Toriaion had now the status of a city⁷⁶⁷.

The formula used in the first letter, οἱ παρ' ὑμῶν ἄνδρες, is very similar to the expression “your ambassadors”, οἱ παρ' ὑμῶν πρέσβεις/πρεσβευταί, typically found in royal correspondence between kings and cities: it appears in a letter from Antigonos I to Eresos (ca. 306 BC); from Lysimachos to Samos (ca. 282 BC); from Antiochos II to Erythrai (ca. 261 BC); in several letters to the city of Magnesia (ca. 208/7 BC) sent by Antiochos III, Ptolemy IV and Attalos I; in a letter from Eumenes II to the Ionian league (ca. 166 BC) and in one from Attalos II to Amlada (ca. 160 BC)⁷⁶⁸. There is a clear pattern in the way cities approached the kings to petition them regarding diverse issues and the way in which kings responded to these petitions, and it is noteworthy that military enclaves, much smaller in surface and power, like Toriaion or Pessinous, were treated, or at least represented to be treated in the same way as established Greek cities like Samos or Magnesia. What is striking, for lack of parallels, is the use of the term

⁷⁶⁵ Epigraphic Appendix 17. See Chapter 2 Section 2.3.3 a) Toriaion for further analysis and relevant bibliography.

⁷⁶⁶ As we have already mentioned, Brennos is a name of Celtic origin, but it is also interesting to note that Orestes is a predominantly Macedonian name, found in Macedonia as early as the 5th century BC (Tataki 1998: no. 13). See *LGPN* IV s.v.

⁷⁶⁷ Jonnes and Riel 1997: 4, 28.

⁷⁶⁸ *RC* 2 Il. 6-7; 7 Il. 2-3; 15 Il. 2-3; 31-4; 52 l. 2; 54 l.2 respectively.

ἄνδρες rather than a more specific word to refer to envoys or messengers – however, on closer inspection, it becomes clear that πρέσβεις would not have been used in the first missive as Toriaion was not yet a city, and ἄγγελος, although usually used to refer to a non-Greek envoy, is not attested well enough in the epigraphic record for it to be a distinct possibility⁷⁶⁹. It is true that ἄνδρες is found elsewhere referring to soldiers (though, like ἄγγελοι, it is not very common⁷⁷⁰), and perhaps the use of a neutral term for Toriaion's envoys derives from the ethnic mixture of the embassy: two of the envoys, Antigenes and Heliades, seem to be of Greek origin, while the third one, Brennos, has a clearly Galatian name.

In addition to the ethnic issues that the text brings up, it is interesting to note how a communication between a non-polis settlement and a king could work, adopting formulas and structures that one would expect to find in a letter from or to a polis. It is very possible that the military origin of Toriaion influenced and shaped the way in which it interacted with Eumenes, suggesting a special status that enabled military settlements to have a considerably close relationship with the kings.

b) Pessinous

The petition of the ἡγεμών Aribazos concerning a land grant that had gone unfulfilled contains further information on how a military man could approach the king. This text from Pessinous in Phrygia offers a parallel to the text from Toriaion, but it shifts the weight of the correspondence from an organised civic body, albeit composed of soldiers, to a single individual who acts with the same agency as that body through his belonging to it.

Aribazos was a member of a garrison of soldiers, the ἡγεμών of the Galatians from Kleonnaeion and of the κάτοικοι of Amorion (ll. 4-5). We learn from the royal letter that he petitioned the king to fix a wrong he felt had been done to him. He did not speak for his men (as was the case in Philetaireia and Attaleia) nor for his settlement (as was the case in Toriaion), but even so managed to meet the king and make his voice heard:

⁷⁶⁹ Adcock and Mosley 1975: 152; Ceccarelli 2013: 11-13, 178-79 (ἄγγελοι in tragedy), 103-108 (in Herodotus). For the epigraphic evidence, see the legal dispute of the sons of Diagoras of Kos (ἀν ἔλαβον ἄγγελοι παρ'αγενόμενοι ἐς Κῶν, *I. Knidos* I 221 B 19-20), an honorific decree for Malousios of Gargara in Ilion (τοῖς ἀποστε[λλο]μένοις ἀγγέλοις, *I. Ilion* 1 ll. 26-7), a contract between Hermias and Erythrai (ὁμ[οίως δὲ | καὶ Ἐ]ρμῖαν καὶ τοὺς ἐταίρ[ους ὁμό]σαι δ[ι]τ' ἀγγέλων βοηθήσειν [Ἐ]ρυθρα[ίοις κ]αὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ [θάλασσαν], *I. Erythrai Klazomenai* 9 ll. 23-7) and a decree of Miletos accepting *philia* with Sardis (πέμψαι δὲ | καὶ ξένια τῷ ἀγγέλωι τοὺς στρατηγούς ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως, *SEG* 37.982 ll. 35-7).

⁷⁷⁰ Epigraphic Appendix 18 II 47-8; Jonnes and Riel 1997: 12.

ἐντυχὼν ἡμῖν Ἀρίβαζος says the future Attalos II in line 3⁷⁷¹. This was not a common occurrence; that an individual of a non-elite background petitioned the king and managed to get him to rule in his favour after complaining that things had not been arranged as they should is significant in terms of the closeness of the relationship between the king and the somewhat lower echelons of the army in the second century BC.

Aribazos, given his military nomenclature and petition, cannot have been a very high-ranking member of the Attalid army. He was certainly of some importance, as he commanded two units of men, the Galatians from Kleonnaeion and the soldiers from Amorion, but he is described as a ἡγεμών, a title that recurs several times in the letter. This is the royal answer to his petition, which allows us to reconstruct his requests:

- [...], τοῖς [δὲ]
 ἡγεμόσιν φιλάνθρωπον γεγραφέναι ἡμᾶ[ς]
 10 [ἃ] δεῖν ἐκάστους ἔχ[ει]ν τῶν τὰς ὑποκάτω
 [ἡ]γεμονίας ἐχόντων, περὶ δὲ ἑαυτοῦ μηθὲ[ν]
 [γ]εγονέναι· καὶ ἡζίου ἐπιγραφῆναι στρατηγία[ι]
 [καὶ] τοὺς κλήρους ἐαθῆναι ἔχειν οὓς προκ[α]-
 [τέ]χει, ὄντας ἡγεμονικούς, τὰ τε ἄλλα ὑπά[ρ]-
 15 [χει]ν αὐτῷ, ἃ καὶ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς συνεχω-
 [ρήκαμε]ν. κτλ.

*(He also says) that we (i.e. Attalos) have written an edict (lit. a benefaction) to the hegemones concerning what (privileges) each of those holding subordinate hegemoniai should have, but that concerning Aribazos himself, none of these things have in fact come to pass. And Aribazos has requested that he be inscribed to a strategia and that he be permitted to possess the kleroi which he already in fact holds from former times – being, as they are, hegemonikoi kleroi – and that he should receive all the other (privileges) which we have also granted to the strategoi.*⁷⁷²

According to Aribazos, Attalos had previously written to other ἡγεμόνες concerning privileges for those who held ὑποκάτω ἡγεμονίαι. He also mentions holding ἡγεμονικοὶ κλήροι, land allotments for ἡγεμόνες, for which he seeks official confirmation of his ownership, and also wants to be elevated to the command of a στρατηγία and receive the privileges accorded to the στρατηγοί. The main difference that this document brings to light regarding the military hierarchy, in comparison with previously analysed texts,

⁷⁷¹ A very similar wording is used in the inscription from Apolloniou Charax of the petitioners: ἐντυχόντων δ' ἐ[μοῖ] (Epigraphic Appendix 1 A 5).

⁷⁷² Edition and translation (with modifications) from Thonemann 2015: 117-8. See also discussion by P. Hamon in *BE* 2015 658.

is that it seems to suggest a much more solid concept of a ἡγεμών within the military hierarchy; the existence of ἡγεμονικοὶ κλῆροι certainly points to that. Thonemann described Aribazos' title as a "non-technical term for junior military officers of various kinds"⁷⁷³. While I do agree that the term was traditionally non-technical, in this text it seems to take on a more defined meaning, although not immediately clear to us. As for the ὑποκάτω ἡγεμονίαι, three different suggestions have been made: Avram and Tsetskhladze, followed by Thonemann, understood them as regiments or commands subordinate to the other ἡγεμόνες mentioned in the text; Marijana Riel, on the other side, proposes that τὰς ὑποκάτω | [ἡ]γεμονίας should be understood quite literally as a now-lost list of ἡγεμονίαι inscribed below the text; finally, Patrice Hamon cautiously suggests that it may also be referring to a geographical opposition between the inner regions of Pessinous and the "lower" districts located to the west⁷⁷⁴. We know nothing of the size or characteristics of ἡγεμονικοὶ κλῆροι, but we can guess they may have been bigger or better endowed than those which were not for commanders – the name certainly puts them in opposition to normal κλῆροι, and the nomenclature must have been clear enough for administrative purposes once Aribazos published the text on stone⁷⁷⁵.

The στρατηγία Aribazos is petitioning to be enrolled in has been interpreted by Avram and Tsetskhladze as one of the administrative districts of the Attalid kingdom, modelled after the Seleukid satrapies⁷⁷⁶: we know of στρατηγοί of the Hellespont, of the Chersonese and Thrace and of Karia and Lydia⁷⁷⁷, all of them areas of considerable geographic expanse. This would be, thus, a new Attalid στρατηγία unknown to us until now. This, however, poses difficulties. If Aribazos was a ἡγεμών, a "junior-officer" in Thonemann's terms, holding a modest, if not unimportant, position within the army, from what we have seen from many other previous texts, it would seem rather a hubristic claim to ask to receive the same privileges as these regional governors⁷⁷⁸. Moreover, his claims seem restricted to the military: the mercenaries and soldiers he

⁷⁷³ Thonemann 2015: 118.

⁷⁷⁴ Avram and Tsetskhladze 2014: 170; Thonemann 2015: 119 (used in a similar sense in Plutarch (*Cam.* 23.1) and Aelian (*Tac.* 10.4)); Riel 2014: 145; Hamon *BE* 2015 658 p. 610.

⁷⁷⁵ Avram and Tsetskhladze 2014: 171.

⁷⁷⁶ Avram and Tsetskhladze 2014: 157 (although they argue for a smaller administrative district, still subordinate to the provincial governor); Thonemann 2015: 120-1; Coşkun 2019: 626.

⁷⁷⁷ στρατηγὸς τῶν καθ' Ἑλλήσποντον τόπων, *I. Prusa* 1001.3-4; στρατηγὸς τῆς Χερρονήσου καὶ τῶν κατὰ Θράκην τόπων, *OGIS* 339.13; στρατηγὸς Καρίας καὶ Λυδίας τῶν κατὰ Ἐφεσον τόπων, *SEG* 46.1434. See Thonemann 2013: 9-16.

⁷⁷⁸ The same view is held by Riel (2014: 145-46).

commands and the land allotments which correspond to his position within the army. As Riel points out, the mention of the στρατηγοί and their privileges can only point towards the term being used in its military sense, that of an army general commanding a στρατηγία, which makes sense considering he was in charge of two groups of soldiers⁷⁷⁹.

Nevertheless, it is striking that it was a petition from an individual, not a community, to the king; an individual that was not part of the king's inner circle, although from the beginning of the lost lines in the lower part of the stele one can infer that he was a relevant member of the community that rendered beneficial services to the crown. The fact that Aribazos, a man with a Persian name and no lineage who was the leader of a Galatian contingent in a part of Phrygia that, at the time, was not particularly well urbanised, managed to speak to the king and get his petition granted, and then had a stele set up is quite significant⁷⁸⁰. This shows that military men, even if there were not intermediaries for a *polis* but for a settlement and had no noble lineage to recommend them, could access the king directly and had, to some extent, a privileged rapport with him.

c) Καρδάκων κόμη

Finally, the royal letter concerning the κόμη of the Kardakes east of Telmessos raises some very interesting questions about the workings of the Attalid bureaucracy concerning military settlements⁷⁸¹. So far, the most complete documents we have analysed are those from Toriaion and Pessinous, as those of the reign of Eumenes I are of a more fragmentary nature, and in those documents, the king addresses directly the Toriaitans (Τοριαιτῶν τοῖς κατοικοῦσι) and two royal officials, Sosthenes and Heroides, for an affair concerning a third official. While it is unsurprising that, after the petition was presented to the king, the management of the decisions taken by the king was handed over to local officials, the κόμη of the Kardakes stands out for the way in which they seem to have been sidelined regarding the proceedings.

The communication framework in this inscription is not simple. The issuer is Eumenes II (l. 1) but the recipient is not the κόμη itself but a certain Artemidoros, the

⁷⁷⁹ Riel 2014: 145; Hamon *BE* 2015 658 p. 610.

⁷⁸⁰ Aribazos' interaction with the king is similar to that of the intermediaries between Hellenistic *poleis* and the royal administrations that are analysed in Paschidis (2008), but unlike them, Aribazos does not have the same characteristics of coming from an illustrious family, being a city elite or being an experienced politician.

⁷⁸¹ Epigraphic Appendix 14. See Chapter 2 Section 2.3.2.

provincial governor of Attalid Telmessos⁷⁸². Once again, since Eumenes decrees fiscal exemptions and economic measures related to the land, it is not surprising that the provincial governor should be the one in charge, but the following is also stated: ἀνεγνώσθη μοι ἃ ὑπογεγράφεις ἐν τῇ εἰσγραφῇ | ἥ ἀναδέδωκαν οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν Καρδάκων κώμῃ (ll. 1-4), “that which you have appended to the petition which the settlers in the κώμη of the Kardakes submitted has come to my attention”. What these lines suggest is that while the settlers did come as a single group, continuing the tendency of representing themselves when dealing with the king, they may not have had access to him, but rather to a royal official. One of two situations could have happened: either the settlers sent envoys with their petition, which was then entrusted to Artemidoros for further research to get back to the king; or the petition was directly delivered to Artemidoros, as royal representative in the province, and only presented to Eumenes after his inquiry. The omission of any mention of πρεσβευταὶ, ἄγγελοι or ἄνδρες from the Kardakes or their coming before the king strongly points towards the latter option. The infinitives διαρρυῆναι (l. 9), πράξαι (ll. 9-10), ἀφεῖναι (l. 13), ὑπάρχειν (l. 15) and ἐπισκευάσα[ι] (l. 17) depend on an imperative, σύνταξον (l. 7), clearly directed at Artemidoros, “give instructions that...”. The Kardakes are little more than spectators, while we might have expected a treatment similar to that of Apolloniou Charax or Toriaion. So what made this κώμη different?

While the military nature (of lack thereof) of the settlement and the disconnection of Eumenes with these newly acquired settlers must also be taken into consideration, for all the evidence so far points towards a distinctive treatment of the king towards settlements with soldiers, the physical distance between Eumenes and the κώμη is also a significant point. In 181 BC, after Apameia, the territory of Pergamon had expanded significantly and was not the small kingdom that it had been in origin. The administrative divisions of the territory with provincial and city governors, στρατηγοί and οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως, and the Attalid adoption of the Seleukid structures already in place bear witness to this progressive development of Attalid bureaucracy⁷⁸³. Pergamon lies more than 300 km north of Telmessos (modern Fethiye), where the inscription was found, and it seems likely that Eumenes would have delegated the task of dealing with this problem, not so much military as purely agricultural and fiscal, to Artemidoros, the provincial governor, a man who would know the local situation and characteristics of

⁷⁸² Maier, *Mauerbauninschriften* 248; Austin 2006: 416.

⁷⁸³ Thonemann 2013: 11ff.

the settlement and who would serve as link between the settlement and the king. While the demilitarisation of the settlement may have come into play in the way in which this communication was conducted, geographical separation between the κώμη and Pergamon must have been the chief reason for the lack of direct contact of the king and the settlers, and not lack of consideration on the king's part.

Indeed, all the documents discussed in this section have one other feature in common: the positive outcome for the soldiers in every situation, no matter the price for the king. It goes without saying that those petitions which were not successfully resolved would not have been recorded on stone, but there seems to be an urge to please the army and, in some cases, to use the measures taken in each case as a public display of benevolence. Perhaps the most striking text to this end is the agreement between Eumenes I and the soldiers from Philetaireia and Attaleia, where the matter-of-fact tone of the text, with the vocabulary and verbal forms that are employed, give a clear sense of the tension that followed the negotiations; still, the agreement was reached and inscribed on stone. The rest of the texts lack that tension and seem to depict a cordial relationship between the Attalids and their men, with the king being generally predisposed to accept the petitions; tax exemptions are common and even when a single soldier is the one petitioning him, the king is quick to agree: ἐπεὶ οὖν ἔν τε τῇ ἀ[ρ]χαίαι κ[αὶ] νῦν | [χρείας καὶ πλε]ῖον ας [π]αρείσχηται καὶ ἐν..., “And since both in olden times and now he has provided [many good services] and...”⁷⁸⁴. The propagandistic nature of the Attalid royal letters becomes manifest in Toriaion, where Eumenes II needed to assert his authority in the former Seleukid territories and warned the settlers against looking elsewhere for concessions or support⁷⁸⁵.

4.1. Apolloniou Charax

The topographical analysis of the Apolloniou Charax inscriptions has revealed an intricate network of military settlements in the area of Lake Marmara, as well as a potential settlement-temple complex around the sanctuary of Zeus Stratios in Charakipolis. If my interpretation is correct and Apolloniou Charax and Charakipolis formed indeed a sort of dual settlement, then both communities would have been the authors of the petitions in Face B and the indirect recipients of Face A – the direct recipient would have been, presumably, a royal official, who was informed by the king

⁷⁸⁴ Pessinous inscription: Thonemann 2015: 117 ll. 16-7.

⁷⁸⁵ Epigraphic Appendix 17 ll. 17-26, translation by Jonnes and Riel (1997).

of the resolutions that were to be implemented regarding these military settlements⁷⁸⁶. Once the topography has revealed this much, we can turn to a deeper analysis of the content of the text, for the language employed and the king's decisions can add to our understanding of the dynamic between army and monarchy in second-century Asia Minor.

a) Face A

In the so-called Face A, the voice must necessarily belong to the king speaking to a royal official, as the decisions taken, the tax and military exemptions, could not have been awarded by anybody other than a monarch, in this case Eumenes II. However, some of the grammatical choices and expressions that appear in the text can seem rather incongruous for a royal letter.

Due to the damage the stone has suffered, we are missing the opening of the letter: the first section that we conserve as a whole is that regarding Kournoubeudos. We are told that although the initial idea was to move the Mysians from Kournoubeudos to Kastollos, this decision was finally amended in favour of Apolloniou Charax due to the intervention of its settlers (A 2-10). This intervention seems intended to highlight both the good judgement of the settlers and the favour that the king is bestowing upon them by changing his mind on the subject; but such a change of heart seems to be a surprisingly un-regal behaviour.

There are five main verbs by means of which this excursus is organised: [ἐτάξαμε]ν or similar (A 3); συνεχώρησα (A 12); συνετάξαμεν (A 13); συγχωρῶ (A 16) and ὁμολογήκαμεν (A 26). Apart from the first one, all are verbs of utterance with similar meanings, such as “agree”, “promise” or “arrange”, as one would expect of a letter where orders are being given. The first verb, in A 3, is less clear due to the weathering on the surface of the stone. Both the first editors and Peter Thonemann saw a N to end the word: τοῦς δ' ἐν τούτῳ τῷ τόπῳ κατοικοῦντας Μυσοῦς [- ca. 6-7-]N εἰς Καστωλ|λὸν μετὰγειν (A 2-4)⁷⁸⁷. It must clearly be a verb in the indicative on which the following infinitive μετὰγειν depended. Since μετὰγειν means “move”, “relocate” or “transfer”, the main verb must have been a decision verb, for which Peter Herrmann and Hasan Malay suggested [ἔδοξε]ν, [ἔδῃσε]ν or [ἐτάξαμε]ν, while Thonemann proposed

⁷⁸⁶ Bencivenni 2015: 5, although she applies this hypothesis to Face B, which I do not think is correct; it fits rather better with Face A.

⁷⁸⁷ Herrmann-Malay, *Lydia* 49; Thonemann 2011a: 1.

[ἔμελλο]ν or [ἔπενόου]ν⁷⁸⁸. He justifies his choice by explaining that “the sense is required that Eumenes ‘intended’ or ‘was planning’ to relocate the Mysians at Kournoubeudos to Kastollos, until the inhabitants of Apolloniou Charax persuaded him otherwise”. His two supporting examples, however, do not survive scrutiny: Antiochos III’s letter to Magnesia and Laodike’s letter to Iasos both use verbs similar to ἐπινοέω⁷⁸⁹ but it is not in the context of a monarch changing his or her mind about a previously established decision. It does not seem consistent with the demeanour of a Hellenistic king to acknowledge that he was thinking of doing something but then somebody else convinced them to do otherwise – it sounds almost too informal. I would rather go with Herrmann and Malay’s suggestions, particularly [ἐτάξαμε]ν, “we ordered”, since it distances the king from the notion of having considered something but having been proven wrong.

The morphology of these five main verbs is very inconsistent: three are in the first person plural while the remaining two are in the first person singular, mixed throughout the text; what is more, several of the subordinate verbs follow the same pattern: ἐπεχωρήσα|μεμ (A 16-17) and συν[ε]|χωρήσαμεγ (A 18-19) employ the plural but οἶδ(α) (A 21) is again in the singular. This inconsistency throughout makes the reconstruction of the missing parts of the text an enormously challenging task.

What happened to make the king change his mind? To sacrifice moving the Mysians to a place where there was plenty of uncultivated fresh land (A 3-4), after having seen how essential the agricultural role of the settlements was, the sway of Apolloniou Charax must have been considerable. Between lines 2 and 5 we have the first part of the decision, that of moving the Mysians to Kastollos, and in lines 5 and 6 Apolloniou Charax first makes an appearance: ἐντυχόντων Δ[— 8-10 —] τοῦ Ἀπ[ολλ]ωνίου Χάρακος. They had come to thank Eumenes for something related to their territory (recovery? preservation? augmentation? τῆς χ[ώ]ρας εὐχαριστεῖν, A 6-7⁷⁹⁰) and to present their case based on their friendship with Kournoubeudos (γεγόνασιν ἀ[ὐ]τοῖς συνήθεις, A 8-9). Who did the men of Apolloniou Charax send to speak to the king?

⁷⁸⁸ Thonemann 2011a: 4.

⁷⁸⁹ *RC* 31 l. 25; *I. Iasos* 4 l. 28.

⁷⁹⁰ Thonemann 2011a: 5.

Ἐντυχόντων marks the beginning of a genitive absolute with the meaning of “coming before a king to make a request”⁷⁹¹. While it is clear that we are dealing with a delegation of some kind, there is no space for the traditional terms for ambassadors or envoys, ἀγγελῶν or πρεσβευτῶν, but we could fit ἐντυχόντων δ’[ἐμοὶ ἄνδρῶν] τοῦ Ἀπ[ολ]λωνίου Χάρακος, the restoration fitting just about with 10 characters. The wording is admittedly strange although a convincing parallel can be found in the somewhat contemporary Toriaion inscription⁷⁹². This text, another petition to Eumenes II, features the ambassadors of Toriaion described as οἱ παρ’ ὑμῶν ἄνδρες and the name of the settlement in genitive (Τοριαιτῶν τοῖς κατοικοῦσι) rather than with an expected preposition like ἐν or ἀπό. Thonemann reconstructs the expression as ἐντυχόντων δ’ ἐ[μοὶ e.g. τῶν ἀπὸ] τοῦ Ἀπ[ολ]λωνίου Χάρακος, but this solution is not grammatically correct. While it is fairly certain that a personal pronoun would follow, the inconsistency of the use of singular and plural makes it hard to ascertain whether it would be ἐμοὶ or ἡμῖν, although the latter seems a more likely possibility, matching the previous main verb, [ἐτάξαμε]ν, two lines before (A 3). An alternative option could be ἐντυχόντων δὲ [ἡμῖν ἄλλων ἐκ] τοῦ Ἀπ[ολ]λωνίου Χάρακος, which would imply that the settlers from Apolloniou Charax were, at least some of them, Mysians too; that would have been one of the reasons why they went to such great pains to persuade Eumenes to allow the Mysians from Kournoubudos to live with them, at the same time as explaining the familiarity between the two settlements and that of Kadoi (A 18)⁷⁹³.

Certainly, the fact that the men sent by Apolloniou Charax were not considered either ἄγγελοι or πρεσβευταί derives from the non-*polis* status of the settlement⁷⁹⁴. It is also noteworthy that in most occasions where ambassadors are involved, coming before the king with a petition, whatever term for ambassador is used does not have the genitive of their place of origin appended, as the name of the city has already been stated in the opening of the letter and it was evident who was sending those ambassadors: see the letter of Antigonos to Eresos (*RC* 2, l. 6); of Lysimachos to Samos

⁷⁹¹ Welles *RC* 11 p. 65; Wörle 1988: 165 n. 76; Thonemann 2011a: 4.

⁷⁹² Epigraphic Appendix 17, see above Section a) Toriaion.

⁷⁹³ A similar possibility could be ἐντυχόντων δὲ [ἡμῖν τινῶν ἐκ] τοῦ Ἀπ[ολ]λωνίου Χάρακος, “some men from Apolloniou Charax”, but I feel ἄλλων fits better the general context. A parallel for the grammatical construction with τινῶν can be found in the covering letter from Meleagros to Ilion regarding the joining of the lands of Aristodikides of Assos to their territory: ὥσπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς παρακολουθοῦμεν διὰ τὸ καὶ πρεσβεῦσαι ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων τινὰς πρὸς ἡμᾶς (*RC* 13 ll. 6-8). A third possibility, mirroring *I. Ilion* 56 ll. 5-6 (dated around the same period), could have ἐνίων “some” instead of ἄλλων or τινῶν.

⁷⁹⁴ Adcock and Mosley 1975: 152.

(*RC* 7, l. 2), of Antiochos II to Erythrai (*RC* 15, ll. 2, 36); of Eumenes II to the Ionian League (*RC* 52, ll. 2, 7); or of Attalos III to Amlada (*RC* 52, l. 2) and to Hierakome (*RC* 68, l. 8). When it does have a genitive attached specifying whose envoys they are, it is usually a sign that there is more than one population involved in the petition: see the letter of Antigonos to Teos and Lebedos (*RC* 3 l. 93, οἱ πρέσβεις τῶν Λεβεδίων).

There is a final aspect of Face A that is worthy of comment: the grants that Eumenes conferred on the settlement. The extant decisions dealing with the economy and sustainability of the settlement must necessarily spring from the needs of the Mysians from Kournoubeudos, with Apolloniou Charax benefitting indirectly from these grants; after Eumenes' consent to the two settlements merging, one must understand the multiple references to “them” after A 12 as referring to the now unified settlement with members of the original population of Apolloniou Charax and the new Mysians from Kournoubeudos: the land that Lykinos was to add must have been for the displaced Mysians but referring to the territory of Apolloniou Charax (Λυκίνωι δ[ὲ] | τῶι γεωδότηι συνετάξαμεν [ἐπιβλέπ]ειν ὅθεν [δου]ναίμεθα χώραν προσορίσαι αὐτοῖς, A 12-14); the tax exemption is granted because “they deserve great consideration, having been destroyed last year by the enemy” ([ἐπ]εὶ δὲ κατεφθ[ι]μένοι πέρυσι ὑπὸ τῶι πολεμίῳ πολλῆς προμη[θεί]ας ἄξιοί εἰσιν, συγχωρῶ πρὸς οἷς ἐπεχωρήσαμεν πένθ' ἔτεσιν ἀτελείαν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἄλλων | πέντε A 14-18), κατεφθιμένοι referring to those in Kournoubeudos – if the initial Κουρνουβευδος in A 2 is indeed a subtitle for the whole of the extant text, it follows that the main beneficiaries of the decisions would be the Mysians from that particular location. Finally, the stonemasons must also be granted to the Mysians from Kournoubeudos now in Apolloniou Charax, since they were the ones in need of new houses, having just moved into the settlement (A 25-26). While we might find the phrasing confusing, as after A 8 there are no more mentions of toponyms, except for the Mysians in Kadoi, and the grants are given αὐτοῖς, “to them”, the king is likely writing to an official on the ground who would have understood Eumenes or, at least, would have been able to get an explanation that we do not.

The military grant, however, is surprisingly vague in its phrasing: καὶ ἀπὸ τριῶν τῇ καταγραφῇ γ[ί]νεσθαι· ὅταγ γὰρ ἀναγκαιοτέρα χρεία γίνητα[ι], αὐτοὶ διὰ τὴν προθυμίαν καὶ εὖνοιαν οἶδ' ὅτι δῶσ[ου]σιν πλείονας σ<τ>ρατιώτας, “and recruitment will only be of one in every three (men). For I know that when a time of need comes, they will give us more soldiers due to their eagerness and goodwill” (A 19-22). Two

points of interest are: ἀπὸ τριῶν and πλείονας σ<τ>ρατιώτας. Eumenes dictates that the recruitment will only be of one “out of three” but fails to specify further. Herrmann and Malay understand it as a partitive genitive, a shortening of ἓνα ἀπὸ τριῶν, and interpret it as a reduction of the enrolment rate to one third, although they leave the translation open to interpretation, “that the enrolment should be made out of three (?)”⁷⁹⁵. Thonemann follows Herrmann and Malay’s suggestion, translating the expression as “[r]egistration for compulsory military service will fall only on one man in three”, although he does pose the question of whether this enrolment exemption applied only to able-bodied males or to the whole population of the settlement, now with its original population and the new settlers from Kournoubeudos added⁷⁹⁶. We gain some interesting information from this. This is the first, and to my knowledge only, direct reference to military service from the Attalid kingdom. It does unfortunately not give us much detail as to how the men were drafted and in what numbers. Καταγραφή is a common term for military enrolment⁷⁹⁷, and Thonemann’s “compulsory” character probably comes from the very nature of the cleruchic settlers: they were awarded land by the king in exchange for military service. However, it seems surprising to say the least that, in a military settlement that was receiving even more incoming soldiers (as the Mysians were), the levy would be reduced for an unspecified period of time. This ties in with the second point of interest of this grant: that the king could afford to reduce the enrolment rate because he knew that in times of need the settlers would provide him with “more” (πλείονας) soldiers. The term “more” is surprisingly vague for something that one imagines would have been as structured and organised as military service. Moreover, it seems Eumenes left it up to the settlers to decide how many men would answer his call when he needed his army.

To sum up briefly, Face A is the king speaking to an official, an intermediary between Eumenes and both the γεωδότης Lykinos and the settlers who would benefit from the royal letter. While the decisions taken are succinct in their phrasing and rather inconsistent in their grammar, one imagines those involved in carrying out the king’s orders would have understood what everything meant. We learn that the settlers of

⁷⁹⁵ Herrmann-Malay, *Lydia* 52, 54 n. 51. They also mention Errington’s hypothesis of it being “one in every three years” but the abbreviation would be unusual and would conflict with the next clause, which begins with γὰρ and speaks of the increase in the number of soldiers.

⁷⁹⁶ Thonemann 2011a: 2, 6.

⁷⁹⁷ Polyb. 2.24.10, 3.40.3, 5.64.2, 6.19.5, 6.21.1, 9.6.6, 35.4.14; Diod. Halic. *Antiq. Rom.* 4.19.1; Plut. *Mario* 9.1. See Chapter 3 Section 3.1 for more on recruitment.

Apolloniou Charax may have been Mysians, perhaps from an ethnically diverse settlement, which would explain their and Eumenes' interest to take in the Mysians from Kournoubeudos. The grants listed in the second half of the text must be understood as aimed towards the new inhabitants of the settlement, not to Apolloniou Charax as a whole. What we have here is a framework of communication between the king, an official and a military settlement, where the settlers are shown to have enough sway over the monarch to provoke a substantial change in his policy with all the implications that shift would have.

b) Face B

Face B is rather more complicated than Face A inasmuch as it is not clear whose voice is speaking to the king. The topographic analysis has enabled us to propose the hypothesis of a dual settlement or of two settlements administratively working as one, one derived from the other but growing at a larger rate and possibly containing or administering the sanctuary of Zeus Stratios (Charax/Charakipolis). There is throughout the text a consistency in the use of the first person plural that would fit well with the inhabitants of the settlement petitioning the king: τὰ ἀναφερόμενα ὀφειλήματα τὰ ἐν ἡμῖν ἀργυρικὰ ἢ σιτικὰ, “our registered debts in silver and grain” (B 7-8); ἐπεὶ | δημόται ἐσμέν, “because we are citizens (?)” (B 11-12); τὴν πρότερον οὖσαν ἡμετέραν, “which was ours previously” (B 12); διορθωσαμένων ἡμῶν, “it will be restored to us” (B 13); αἱ πρότερον ἀφαιρεθεῖσαι ἡμῶν, “the [villages] were taken from us before” (B 20).

Again, we are missing the beginning of the letter, but the first extant petition is related to the amnesty of those soldiers who had deserted in the year 32 (166/5 BC, B 3-4), and the few words that can be made out in the previous sentence, ἐπιγέγραπ[ται ...]²... ὅ]παρχειν τὰ φιλόανθρωπ[α] (B 2), seem to suggest that the letter started with another military related query. It is not the first instance known to us of soldiers leaving their employer – the soldiers from Theangela chose whether to stay with Eupolemos or not after the treaty was signed⁷⁹⁸ – but here the consequences were clearly of a different order of magnitude. The fact that they deserted on what would have been the last year of the war (166/5 BC, if we are indeed talking about the Galatian invasion of Lydia), might have somehow lessened their punishment to an extent where it was affordable to pardon them; if they had left their territories unprotected and failed to make good their side of

⁷⁹⁸ Epigraphic Appendix 3, l. 10.

the cleruchic bargain on the first years of the war, when holding back the enemy was key, their punishment might have been more severe. However, as we have noted, the settlements seem to have been of little help when it came to preventing enemy attacks, so it is likely that the punishment responded more to the soldiers' breach of contract than to an actual threat to the territory.

It is interesting to note that the authors of the petition, presumably at least partly military settlers themselves, act in a way that seems protective of their colleagues, asking for this amnesty with a very particular phrasing: τῶν συναναφερομένων <λι>ποστρατῆσαι, “of those registered at the same time as having deserted” (B 3). They do not outright acknowledge the fault but rather focus on the technicalities. If some men had been “registered at the same time as having deserted”, it would be logical to suppose there was a clear military census of every man serving in the Attalid army, adding to the recruitment ratio mentioned in Face A.

The territorial demands are no less substantial. In addition to the extension of the ἀσυλία of the sanctuary of Zeus Stratios by a considerable amount of territory, as seen in Chapter 2 (Section 2.1.3), three villages are to be annexed to the χώρα of the settlement(s). Sibloë had belonged to them until it had been sold to a certain Meleagros for 448 drachmas and 1.5 obols⁷⁹⁹; now the settlement wanted it back but it had to be paid for from the royal treasury, so that the revenues from it could be used for the sacrifices for Zeus Stratios (B 11-19). They further requested that the villages of Thileudos and Plazeira be assigned to them as villages for guard dogs and their handlers, even if that meant moving their population elsewhere (B 20-24). It is impossible to know the extension of these villages or the territory that they already encompassed and that would be appended to Apolloniou Charax and Charakipolis, but it makes sense that one of the requests dealt with further land for Zeus Stratios and the other for military purposes – we know military settlements could possess lands, as was the case with the

⁷⁹⁹ Thonemann (2011a: 8) suggests that a numeral is missing from the figures, since the number seems to be remarkably small in comparison to other Lydian villages like Tobalmoura and Periasotra, mortgaged by Mnesimachos to the temple of Artemis at Sardis, with values of 12,000 and 13,680 drachmae respectively (*I. Sardis* VII 1,1). This might be possible; but it seems unlikely that with such a specific number, which the settlers no doubt had interested in highlighting, the stone cutter would have made a mistake. We do not know the nature or extension of Sibloë so its value may have lain elsewhere and not be immediately obvious in a monetary way.

κώμη of the Kardakes in Lykia⁸⁰⁰, and temples certainly did own land, part of which was sometimes granted by the king⁸⁰¹.

The language they employ is quite direct for a royal petition: admittedly we are missing the beginning of the text where the standard initial pleasantries would have been found, but the general tone set by the document is not one of submission to the king but rather of a settlement asserting its rights from a position of strength. The expression ἐπεὶ | δημόται ἐσμέν (B 10-11) has already been commented on⁸⁰²; it seems to me that rather than an expression to elicit pity from the king due to their dire situation (the burned down houses from the προάστιον), the intention behind those words is to stress their rights and demand some money for their reconstruction. This demanding spirit can be found again twice: in B 18-19, when it is asked that the money for the restitution of Sibloë be paid from the royal treasury, τὸ δὲ ἀργύριον δοθῆναι ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἐκ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ τῶι Μελεά|γρῳι; and in B 20-21, where the settlers claim Thileudos and Plazeira for themselves ἐπ<ε>ὶ αἱ πρότερον ἀφαιρεθεῖσαι ἡμῶν οὐκ ἀ|ποκατεστάθησαν ὃν τρόπον συνεκεχωρήκεις, “[s]ince those (villages) which were taken from us before have not been returned in the way which you promised”. As far as we know, cities never reproached kings, but the military appear to have been more at ease than *poleis* to test the boundaries of familiarity when speaking with a king.

The continuous use of the first-person plural and the content of the text indicates that Face B is indeed a petition from a community, most likely the military settlement of Apolloniou Charax, to Eumenes II after a period of war. The petitions concern mainly military and economic issues, dealing with the pardon of the soldiers who deserted during what was likely a critical period and the addition of territory both to the temple of Zeus Stratios and to the settlement itself by the repurchase of Sibloë and the assignation of Thileudos and Plazeira as settlements for guard-dogs. The tone employed by the petitioners is extremely protective of the settlement’s own interests and is an illustrative example of how the military enjoyed a closeness that *poleis* did not have with the kings.

⁸⁰⁰ Epigraphic Appendix 14.

⁸⁰¹ See Chapter 2 n. 277 for the debate on whether the Hellenistic kings expropriated or granted land to temple complexes. A case in point is Aizanoi, for which see Wörrle 2009: 426-31.

⁸⁰² For further discussion of the term δημόται and its meaning, see Chapter 2 Section 2.1.3.

4.4. Conclusion

The relationship between king and army was inherently fraught from the very beginning, under Philip and Alexander, and was not always pleasant – such a personal model of monarchy required of the king more concessions than some were willing to make. What is clear, whether the surviving inscriptions talk of a good or a fraught relationship, is that even by Attalid times, military settlements still enjoyed a privileged status that enabled them to speak to the kings, while not on equal terms, at least in a way that suggested familiarity.

Military settlements were not *poleis* nor were they formed of elite individuals from the nobility, yet politically they acted as though they belonged to one of these groups. The inscriptions we have analysed show that they sent envoys, even if the traditional Greek terms for ambassadors did not apply to them, and that they spoke for themselves when petitioning the king for something that concerned their territory, without having to go through the channels of a *polis* or a higher official. We see that very clearly in the early documents of Eumenes I's reign and in the text from Apolloniou Charax, and the brazenness that could sometimes accompany such a closeness to the king is noticeable in the treaty of the soldiers from Philetaireia and Attaleia with Eumenes.

This brings about another question about the political and administrative relationship of the settlements not so much with the king as with their surroundings. The analysis of the correspondence of soldiers stationed in garrisons and settlements, not yet *poleis*, and kings enables us to further confirm the view that, although linked to a bigger urban centre due to their small size (Philetaireia to Antandros, Apolloniou Charax possibly to Daldis or the case of Aizanoi and the sanctuary of Zeus), the settlements were nonetheless capable of acting independently of the *polis* in whose territory they were located.

Especially after Apameia in 188 BC, the administration of the newly conquered territories lost the centralised character that had been typical of the Seleukid administration and which was based on a mixture of Achaemenid and Macedonian paradigms⁸⁰³. In contrast to the extensive correspondence of Seleukid monarchs with high-ranking officials such as Zeuxis, there is very little evidence of the same behaviour between the Attalid court and its provinces. This power vacuum must have been vital

⁸⁰³ McKenzie 1994; Thonemann 2011: 12.

for the further development and independent agency of the military settlements, granting them more space to grow and act – as long as they still fulfilled their role to the king's satisfaction.

CONCLUSION

The aim of my thesis was to understand whether there was a transformation of the sociocultural, political and geographical landscapes of western Asia Minor, and what role the army, specifically its Macedonian components, may have played in it. I have tackled this issue first by understanding the underlying elements of Macedonian culture that could be deemed characteristic and then looking at three key aspects of the incidence of Macedonian armies in western Asia Minor: topography, relationship with their superiors and impact of Macedonian culture. The topographic analysis of the garrisons and settlements has been essential to understanding not only the reasoning behind the choice of location but also the nature of the relationship between the different settlements and the possible communication networks that existed amongst them. Without this first layer of research, it would have been impossible to understand the implications of the Apolloniou Charax inscriptions or of the network of settlements around Lake Marmara. The role and influence of the Macedonian armies were dealt with more directly in the third and fourth chapters, which explored land tenure and the relationship between the settlers and the land and the way in which Macedonian tradition shaped the granting and use of lands in western Asia Minor, as well as the implications of the fluctuating relationship between generals or kings and their armies and how this link affected the way of life and the sociocultural practices of the communities the soldiers lived in, focusing on how they adopted and adapted Macedonian elements, such as language or religion, and how this shaped the development of cities and settlements in western Asia Minor.

While it is true that, after the emergence of the three great Hellenistic kingdoms, the Macedonian element in Asia Minor was diluted due to the sheer size of the territory that was to be controlled and to the mixture of Macedonian population with Greek settlers and the native inhabitants of western Asia Minor, it was certainly key in the development of smaller communities and local histories, as the cases of Aizanoi or Magnesia, for instance, prove.

One of the questions I asked in the introduction was to what extent we could distinguish the ‘Macedonian’ influence from the ‘military’ influence. This is not an easy question to answer, as in many cases they went hand in hand, but I believe that I have shown that the Macedonian element, in terms of importance, was more often than not superseded by the military element of the communities where the soldiers were settled –

even in settlements whose men identified as Macedonian. By this I mean that, while military settlements were very widespread and formed complex networks, as can be seen especially in the area of Lake Marmara or in the chains of garrisons in the Hermos and Kaystros valleys, and their foundations had a geographic, political and economic impact in the communities amongst which they were settled, not all of them were Macedonian, and in the ones that were, the Macedonian element was not immediately evident. Where the Macedonian impact becomes obvious is in the territories directly controlled by Macedonian generals and dynasts, especially in the early Hellenistic period: the minting of coins with Macedonian iconography or the use of Macedonian terminology for granting land to the soldiers, adapted to the political and economic context of western Asia Minor, was a significant sign of Macedonian influence that came about not only due to the political hegemony of Alexander's Successors but also due to the establishment of thousands of soldiers in western Asia Minor and the need to set up a system in which these men would function. This system, owing to the Macedonian origin of the generals, dynasts and kings, was modelled to a certain extent on Macedonian paradigms.

I have built a comprehensive picture of military settlements in western Asia Minor through epigraphy, linking texts that had not been put in relation to each other before. I have also discovered information that points towards a fraught relationship between the kings and generals and their soldiers, based on mistrust and bought loyalty rather than on the arresting charisma that Alexander had and which later historiographers have insisted upon. However, it is also true that the upper hand that the soldiers usually had in these relationships due to the uncertain political landscape and the need to ensure their loyalty also benefitted the communities they were settled in and served as a vehicle for their development, as was the case of Toriaion, for example. This holistic view of the military presence, in garrisons and settlements, in western Asia Minor and particularly in Lydia, where information is remarkably abundant, has helped advance and put together the fragmentary knowledge that inscriptions provide about the development of Greek, and especially Macedonian, military presence in this territory, from garrisons to full-fledged *poleis*.

The end result of my research is, first, a better understanding of the texts from Apolloniou Charax. The reason for insisting on Apolloniou Charax derives from its being a tremendously complex settlement which can provide us with considerable

information concerning the political, cultural and economic history of the Attalid kingdom after the Peace of Apameia. It is, however, also necessary to be aware of the limitations of these texts: the surface of the stone is very worn in certain parts, leaving some readings open to interpretation, and unless the rest of the inscription is found, its meaning and context cannot be known for certain. Secondly, this research has provided a reassessment of the importance and influence of Macedonia in the development of western Asia Minor: it may not have been as extensive or intensive as may be believed, but it was significant enough to shape the administration of the new territories in Asia Minor. Both the land tenure and the relationship between the Seleukid and Attalid kings and their troops and settlers are strongly influenced by Macedonian models, especially by Alexander. While the role of the military settlements may have shifted through time and the Macedonian influence waned, especially after 133 BC with the death of Attalos III and the advent of Rome, the army was a powerful force all through the Hellenistic period, shaping the economy, culture and history of western Asia Minor: the survival of Macedonian cults such as that of Zeus Antigoneios and Zeus Seleukios or of Macedonian iconography and identity claims in the Roman imperial period attests to its influence on the civilian population.

Moreover, the analysis of the role of the Macedonian army in the transformation of western Asia Minor not only has allowed me to identify what we understand by Macedonian culture better, but how the expression of a cultural identity can shift through time and be adopted or forgotten and years later re-emerge with a new significance, and this may help us relate to our own cultural heritage in a modern world so marked by cultural mixture and globalisation.

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>ABSA</i>	<i>British School of Athens Annuals.</i>
<i>AncSoc</i>	<i>Ancient Society.</i>
<i>AS</i>	<i>Anatolian Studies.</i>
<i>Barr.</i>	<i>Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World.</i>
<i>BCH</i>	<i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.</i>
<i>BE</i>	<i>Bulletin épigraphique in Revue des études grecques (Paris 1888 –).</i>
<i>BGU</i>	<i>Berliner griechische Urkunden.</i>
<i>BMC</i>	<i>A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum (1873-1927), London.</i>
<i>C. Ord. Ptol.</i>	<i>M. T. Lenger, Corpus des Ordonnances des Ptolémées (Brussels 1980).</i>
<i>CA</i>	<i>Classical Antiquity.</i>
<i>CAH</i>	<i>Cambridge Ancient History.</i>
<i>CAH²</i>	<i>Cambridge Ancient History, 2nd edition.</i>
<i>CIG</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum (Berlin 1828-77).</i>
<i>Coll. Froehner</i>	<i>L. Robert, Collection Froehner. I. Inscriptions grecques (Paris 1936).</i>
<i>CP</i>	<i>Classical Philology.</i>
<i>DGE</i>	<i>Diccionario Griego-Español.</i>
<i>DGRG</i>	<i>W. Smith, Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography (London 1866).</i>
<i>DOG</i>	<i>E. Pfuhl and H. Möbius, Die Ostgriechischen Grabreliefs (Mainz am Rhein 1977-79).</i>
<i>Drew-Bear</i>	<i>T. Drew-Bear, Nouvelles inscriptions de Phrygie (Zutphen 1978).</i>

Droysen, <i>Hellenismus</i>	J. G. Droysen, <i>Geschichte des Hellenismus</i> (Hamburg 1836-43).
EA	<i>Epigraphica Anatolica</i> .
FD III	<i>Fouilles de Delphes III. Épigraphie</i> (Paris 1909-85).
FGrH	F. Jacoby, <i>Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> (1923 –).
FHGr	C. Müller, <i>Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum</i> (Paris 1841-1873, 5 vols.).
Hatzopoulos, <i>Macedonian Institutions</i>	Hatzopoulos, M., <i>Macedonian Institutions under the Kings</i> (2 vols., Athens 1996).
Herrmann - Malay, <i>Lydia</i>	P. Herrmann (†), H. Malay, <i>New Documents from Lydia</i> (Denkschriften Akad. Wien, Phil.-Hist. Kl. Band 340; Wien 2007)
HGC	<i>The Handbook of Greek Coinage Series</i> .
I. Alexandria Troas	M. Riel, <i>The inscriptions of Alexandria Troas</i> (IK 53; Bonn 1997).
I. Didyma	A. Rehm, <i>Didyma</i> , II. <i>Die Inschriften</i> , hrsg. von R. Harder (Berlin 1958).
I. Ephesos	H. Wankel, R. Merkelbach et al., <i>Die Inschriften von Ephesos</i> , I-VII (IK 11-17; Bonn 1979-1984).
I. Erythrai Klazomenai	H. Engelmann, R. Merkelbach, <i>Die Inschriften von Erythrai und Klazomenai</i> , III (IK 1-2; Bonn 1972-1973).
I. Estremo Oriente	F. Canali De Rossi, <i>Iscrizioni delle Estremo Oriente Greco. Un repertorio</i> (IK 65; Bonn 2004).
I. Histria	D.M. Pippidi, <i>Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris Graecae et Latinae I. Inscriptiones Histriae et viciniae</i> (București 1983).
I. Iasos	W. Blümel, <i>Die Inschriften von Iasos</i> (IK 28 1/2; Bonn 1985).

- I. Ilion* P. Frisch, *Die Inschriften von Ilion (IK 3;* Bonn 1975).
- I. Kios* Th. Corsten, *Die Inschriften von Kios (IK 29;* Bonn 1985).
- I. Knidos* W. Blümel, *Die Inschriften von Knidos, I-II (IK 41-42;* Bonn 1992-2019).
- I. Labraunda* J. Crampa, *Labraunda. Swedish Excavations and Researches, III 1/2. Greek Inscriptions, I-II* (Lund 1969-1972).
- I. Laodikeia Lykos* Th. Corsten, *Die Inschriften von Laodikeia am Lykos, I (IK 49;* Bonn 1997)
- I. Magnesia* O. Kern, *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander* (Berlin 1900).
- I. Magnesia Sipylos* T. Ihnken, *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Sipylos (IK 8;* Bonn 1978).
- I. Milet* *Milet VI. Inschriften von Milet, 1-3* (Berlin 1997–2006).
- I. Mus. Iznik* S. Şahin, *Katalog der antiken Inschriften des Museums von Iznik (Nikaia), I-II 1-3 (IK 9-10 1-3;* Bonn 1979-1987).
- I. Mus. Manisa* H. Malay, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions in the Manisa Museum* (Denkschriften Akad. Wien, Phil.-Hist. Kl. Band 237; ETAM 19; Wien 1994).
- I. Mylasa* W. Blümel, *Die Inschriften von Mylasa, I. Inschriften der Stadt (IK 34, Bonn 1987); II. Inschriften aus der Umgebung der Stadt (IK 35;* Bonn 1988).
- I. Nysa* W. Blümel, *Die Inschriften von Tralleis und Nysa, I. Die Inschriften von Nysa (IK 36 2;* Bonn 2019).
- I. Pergamon* M. Fränkel, *Altertümer von Pergamon. VIII. Die Inschriften von Pergamon, 1-2* (Berlin 1890-1895).
- I. Pessinous* J. Strubbe, *The Inscriptions of Pessinous (IK 66;* Bonn 2005).

<i>I. Priene</i>	F. Hiller von Gaertringen, <i>Inscripfen von Priene</i> (Berlin 1906).
<i>I. Sardes Suppl. I</i>	L. Robert, <i>Nouvelles inscriptions de Sardes (fasc. I)</i> (Paris 1964).
<i>I. Sardes Suppl. II</i>	Ph. Gauthier, <i>Nouvelles inscriptions de Sardes II</i> (Genève 1989).
<i>I. Sardis</i>	W.H. Buckler, D.M. Robinson, <i>Sardis, VII. Greek and Latin Inscriptions</i> (Leiden 1932).
<i>I. Sardis II</i>	G. Petzl, <i>Sardis. Greek and Latin Inscriptions, Part II: Finds from 1958 to 2017</i> (Cambridge Mass. 2019).
<i>I. Sinuri</i>	L. Robert, <i>Le sanctuaire de Sinuri près de Mylasa</i> (Paris 1945).
<i>I. Smyrna</i>	G. Petzl, <i>Die Inschriften von Smyrna, I-II 1/2 (IK 23-24 1/2; Bonn 1982-1990).</i>
<i>I. Stratonikeia</i>	M.Ç. Şahin, <i>Die Inschriften von Stratonikeia, I-II 1/2 (IK 21-22 1/2, 68; Bonn 1981-2010).</i>
<i>I. Tralleis</i>	Fj.B. Poljakov, <i>Die Inschriften von Tralleis und Nysa, I. Die Inschriften von Tralleis (IK 36 1; Bonn 1989).</i>
<i>I.Kyme</i>	H. Engelmann, <i>Die Inschriften von Kyme (IK 5; Bonn 1976).</i>
<i>IG</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> (Berlin 1873 –).
<i>IGLS</i>	<i>Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie</i> (Paris 1929 –).
<i>JESHO</i>	<i>Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient</i>
<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies.</i>
<i>JRS</i>	<i>The Journal of Roman Studies.</i>
<i>Kl. M.</i>	F. Imhoof-Blumer, <i>Kleinasiatische Münzen</i> (Vienna, 1901-02, 2 vols.).
<i>LBW</i>	P. Le Bas, W.H. Waddington, <i>Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie</i>

	<i>Mineure, fait par ordre du gouvernement français pendant les années 1843 et 1844 III. Inscriptions grecques et latines</i> (Paris 1870).
<i>LGPN</i>	<i>A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names</i> (Oxford 1987).
<i>LSJ</i>	<i>Liddle-Scott-Jones Greek-English Lexicon.</i>
<i>Lyd. St.</i>	F. Imhoof-Blumer, <i>Lydische Stadtmünzen</i> (Genf-Leipzig 1897).
<i>Maier, Mauerbauinschriften</i>	F.G. Maier, <i>Griechische Mauerbauinschriften</i> (Heidelberg 1959).
<i>Maiuri, Rodi e Cos</i>	A. Maiuri, <i>Nuova silloge epigrafica di Rodi e Cos</i> (Firenze 1925).
<i>Malay - Petzl, Lydia</i>	H. Malay, G. Petzl, <i>New religious texts from Lydia</i> (Wien 2017).
<i>Malay, Lydia Mysia Aiolis</i>	H. Malay, <i>Researches in Lydia, Mysia and Aiolis</i> (Denkschriften Akad. Wien, Phil.-Hist. Kl. Band 279) (Wien 1999).
<i>MAMA</i>	<i>Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua, I-XI</i> (London 1928-2013).
<i>MDAI(A)</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts. Athenische Abteilung.</i>
<i>MDAI(I)</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts. Abteilung Istanbul.</i>
<i>OGIS</i>	W. Dittenberger, <i>Orientis graeci inscriptiones selectae</i> (Leipzig 1903-1905).
<i>P. Bürgsch</i>	K. H. Sethe and J. A. A. Partsch, <i>Demotische Urkunden zum ägyptischen Bürgschaftsrechte vorzüglich der Ptolemäerzeit, Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig. Philologisch-historische Klasse 32, (Leipzig 1920).</i>

<i>P. DuraEuropos</i>	C. B. Welles, R. O. Fink and J. F. Gillam, <i>The excavations at Dura-Europos: final report. Vol 5. Pt. 1, The parchments and papyri</i> (Yale, 1959).
<i>P. Fay.</i>	B.P. Grenfell, A.S. Hunt, and D.G. Hogarth, <i>Fayum Towns and Their Papyri</i> , (London, 1900).
<i>PCZ</i>	<i>Cairo Zenon Papyri.</i>
<i>PECS</i>	<i>Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites</i> (Princeton, 1976).
<i>RA</i>	<i>Révue Archéologique.</i>
<i>RC</i>	C.B. Welles, <i>Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period</i> (New Haven 1934).
<i>RE</i>	Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, <i>Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft.</i>
<i>REA</i>	<i>Révue des études anciennes.</i>
<i>REB</i>	<i>Révue des études byzantines.</i>
Robert, <i>Amyzon</i>	J. Robert, L. Robert, <i>Fouilles d'Amyzon en Carie I. Exploration, histoire, monnaies et inscriptions</i> (Paris 1983).
Robert, <i>Carie</i>	J. Robert, L. Robert, <i>La Carie. Histoire et géographie historique avec le recueil des inscriptions antiques. II. Le plateau de Tabai et ses environs</i> (Paris 1954).
Robert, <i>Hellenica</i>	L. Robert, <i>Hellenica. Recueil d'épigraphie, de numismatique et d'antiquités grecques I-XIII</i> (Paris 1940-1965).
Robert, <i>Noms indigènes</i>	L. Robert, <i>Noms indigènes dans l'Asie Mineure gréco-romaine</i> (Paris 1963).
<i>RPC Supp. 1</i>	Burnett, A., M. Amandry, <i>Roman Provincial Coinage. Supplement 1.</i> (London & Paris, 1999).
<i>RPhil</i>	<i>Révue De Philologie, De Littérature Et d'Histoire Anciennes.</i>

<i>RRMAM</i>	D. H. French, <i>Roman roads and milestones of Asia Minor</i> (London 1981-2016).
<i>SB</i>	<i>Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten</i> (Straßburg 1915 –).
<i>SCO</i>	<i>Studi Classici E Orientali</i> .
<i>SEG</i>	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i> (Leiden 1923 –).
<i>Slater</i>	William J. Slater, <i>Lexicon to Pindar</i> (Berlin, De Gruyter, 1969).
<i>SNG Cop.</i>	<i>Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, Danish National Museum, part 25 and 26</i> (Copenhagen, 1947); <i>Supplement, Acquisitions 1942-1996</i> (Copenhagen, 1992).
<i>SNG von Aulock</i>	<i>Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Deutschland: Sammlung von Aulock, Karien</i> (Berlin, 1962); <i>Nachträge I</i> (Berlin, 1967).
<i>Studia Pontica III</i>	J.G.C. Anderson, F. Cumont, H. Grégoire, <i>Studia Pontica III. Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines du Pont et de l'Arménie</i> (Bruxelles 1910).
<i>TAM</i>	<i>Tituli Asiae Minoris</i> (Vindobonae 1901 –).
<i>Testament</i>	P. Herrmann and K. Z. Polatkan, <i>Das Testament des Epikrates und andere neue Inschriften aus dem Museum von Manisa</i> (Vienna 1969).
<i>Winterthur</i>	H. Bloesch, <i>Griechische Münzen In Winterthur</i> (Winterthur 1987).
<i>Zgusta, Ortsnamen</i>	L. Zgusta, <i>Kleinasiatische Ortsnamen</i> (Heidelberg 1984).
<i>Zgusta, Personennamen</i>	L. Zgusta, <i>Kleinasiatische Personennamen</i> (Prag 1964).
<i>ZPE</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i> .

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EPIGRAPHIC APPENDIX

1. Eumenes II and Apolloniou Charax

Lower part of a marble stele inscribed on both sides. Found in the village of Taşkuyucak, province of Manisa. Now in the Manisa Museum (Inv. No. 7936). H 1.18 m; W 0.65 m; D 0.105 m; letter height 0.0012-0.0015m (Face A), 0.001m (Face B).

Eds. P. Herrmann and H. Malay, *New Documents from Lydia*. (Ergänzungsbande zu den Tituli Asiae Minoris nr. 24; Vienna, 2007), 49-58, no. 32. P. Thonemann, *Gephyra* 8 (2011), 1-12. *SEG* 57.1150, *BE* (2007) 451.

Cf. M. Riel (2011), “Observations on a New Corpus of Inscriptions from Lydia”, *EA* 44 pp. 143-152; A. Bencivenni (2015), “Alcune questioni aperte sull’iscrizione attalide di Apolloniou Charax (SEG 57, 1150)”, *SE* 24, pp. 1-6.

Figures 2 and 3.

Date: Face A 167/6 BC; Face B 165/4 BC.

Face A – Royal letter

- [— — c.15 — —]ΤΙ[— c.10 — ἐπ(?)]ιδείξεις ἐν [τῶι πο]-
λέμῳ· Κουρνούβευδος· τοῦς δ’ ἐν τούτῳι τῶι τό-
πῳ κατοικοῦντας Μυσοῦς [ἐτάξαμε]ν εἰς Καστωλ-
λὸν μετάγειν, ἐπεὶ καὶ [νῆ γῆ? παν]τελῶς [ὑπ]ἄρχει
5 ἐκεῖ περισσὴ· ἐντυχόντων δ’ [ἐμοὶ ἀνδρῶν] τοῦ Ἀπ[ολ]-
λωνίου Χάρακος καὶ ΦΑΣ[— c.12 — δὲ ἐπὶ?] τῆς χ[ώ]-
ρας εὐχαριστεῖν ΕΠΙ[— c.5 — κατοικου]ντες ἐν τῶι Κ[ουρ]-
νούβευδει Μυσοὶ ΚΑΤ[— c.9 —] καὶ γεγόνασιν α[ὐ]-
τοῖς συνήθεις βούλεσθ[αι? — c.10 —]ΑΙ ὅπως Ν[...]
10 δι’ ἑαυτοὺς δοκῶσιν, ἐγὼ — c 12 — —]Ν ἀ[πο]-
δεξάμενος τὴν εὐγνωμοσύ[νην καὶ] μετρίότητα α[ὐ]-
τῶν, τοῦτο μὲν συνεχώρησα Ο[....]ΟΥΣΑΝ, Λυκίνῳ δ[ὲ]
τῶι γεωδότῃ συνετάξαμεν [ἐπιβλέπ]ειν ὅθεν [δυ]-
ναίμεθα χώραν προσορίσαι αὐτοῖς· [ἐπ]εὶ δὲ κατεφθ[ι]-
15 μένοι πέρυσιν ὑπὸ τῶι πολεμῳ πολλῆς προμη[θεί]-
ας ἄξιοί εἰσιν, συγχωρῶ πρὸς οἷς ἐπεχωρήσα-
μεν πένθ’ ἔτεσιν ἀτελείαν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἄλλων
πέντε, καθὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐγ Καδόοις Μυσοῖς συν[ε]-
χωρήσαμεν, καὶ ἀπὸ τριῶν τὴν καταγραφὴν γ[ί]-
20 νεσθαι· ὅτα γὰρ ἀναγκαιοτέρα χρεία γίνητ[αι],
αὐτοὶ διὰ τὴν προθυμίαν καὶ εὐνοιαν οἶδ’ ὅτι δ[ώσου]-
σιν πλείονας σ<τ>ρατιώτας· καὶ τῆς ἐφ’ ἔτους δεκ[α]-

τείας παρεθήτωσαμ πάντες, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ
οἷς τὰ εἴσφορα ἐπιγέγραπται· ἐπεὶ περὶ τὴν τοῦ χωρί-
25 ου οἰκοδομίαγ γίνονται, καὶ ἡμεῖς λατύπου[ς]
ὁμολογήκαμεν αὐτοῖς χορηγήσειν· vac. Γ vac.

1 H/M ἐπι]δείξεις?, Thonemann ἀπο]δείξεις || 2 Thonemann Κournoubeudos τοὺς δ' ἐν ||
3 H/M [ἔδοξε]ν, [ἔδέησε]ν, [ἐτάξαμε]ν, Thonemann [ἐπενόου]ν || 4 H/M ἐπεὶ και
χῶ[ρα? παν]τελῶς, Thonemann και[νὴ γῆ (?) παν]τελῶς || 5 H/M ἐντυχόντων δὲ,
Thonemann δ' ἐ[μοὶ e.g. τῶν ἀπὸ] || 6 H/M ΦΑΝ, δ[ἐ] ἐ[πὶ?] τῆς χ[ώ]-, Thonemann τοῦ
Ἀπ[ολλ]ωνιουχάρακος, ΦΑΣ (φασ[κόντων ἐπὶ (?) – c.4 -]δ[c.4]) || 7 H/M ΕΝΕΔ[—
c.10 —], Thonemann ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ[κατοικ]οῦντες || 9 Thonemann ὅπως ἄ[ν] || 11: H/M
με[τρι]ότ[η]τα || 12 Thonemann ὥς ἤξιουσας || 13 H/M [ἐπιβλέπ]ειν, [ἐξετάζ]ειν, ὅθεν
δ[υ]-, Thonemann [φροντίζ]ειν, ὅθεν δ[υ] || 14 H/M αὐτοῖς.

Translation: ... *demonstrations in the war. Kournoubeudos: we had ordered to move the Mysians settled in this place to Kastōllos, since there is plenty of new land there; [men (?)] from Apolloniou Charax came to me and said that they were grateful for the ... of the land ... the Mysians in Kournoubeudos ... and they had become acquainted, they wanted to ... in whichever way they decide. And, acknowledging their good sense and moderation, I have granted this ..., and we have commanded Lykinos the land-distributor to consider (?) from where we might add further land to them; and since they are worthy of great consideration, having been destroyed last year by the enemies, I grant to them another five years of tax exemption in addition to the five which were granted previously, just as I have conceded to the Mysians at Kadoi, and recruitment will only be of one in every three (men). For I know that when a time of need comes, they will give us more soldiers due to their eagerness and goodwill. And they will all be exempted from the tithe this year, and equally to those on whom property-tax (?) is levied. Since they are taking care of the construction of buildings at the settlement, we have agreed to supply stonemasons for them.*

Face B – Petition

[— — — —]ΠΕ[— — — — — το]ύτων δὲ τῶν ΑΝ[— — — — —]
[—]δριαῖ ἐπιγέγραπ[ται — 2-3 — ὅ]πάρχειν τὰ φιάνθρωπ[α — 7-8 —]
ΝΑΣ τῶν συναναφερομένων λιποστρατῆσαι ἐν τῷ β' καὶ λ' ἔτει περι-
[ε]λεῖν· ὑπάρχειν δὲ ταῦτά τοῖς ἄλλοις· τὴν ἀσυλίαν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ
5 Στρατίου ὑπάρχειν, ἀντὶ τῶν προσυνκεχωρημένων σταδίων
ἐπτὰ ἔσται ἐπὶ στάδια δέκα· καὶ ἵνα Βάκχιος ὁ ἱερεὺς ποιῇ στέφα-
νον χρυσοῦν, τὰ ἀναφερόμενα ὀφειλήματα τὰ ἐν ἡμῖν ἀργυρικά ἢ σι-
τικά ἕως τοῦ τρίτου ἔτους ἀπολῦσαι, εἰ μὴ τινες πράξαντές
τινα αὐτοὶ κατεισχῆκασιν· περὶ τῶν ἐνπεφυρισμένων καὶ κα-
10 θειλκυσμένων οἰκιῶν ἐν τῷ προαστίῳ προνοηθῆναι, ἵν', ἐπεὶ
δημόται ἐσμέν, μεταδοθῇ τι εἰς τὴν κατασκευὴν αὐτῶν· Σι-

- βλόην κόμην τὴν πρότερον οὔσαν ἡμετέραν, περὶ ἧς γέγρα-
 πται, ἵνα διορθωσαμένων ἡμῶν τὴν τιμὴν Μελεάγρῳ τῷ
 ἡγορακότῃ αὐτὴν δραχμῶν νν ΥΜΗ — C ν ἀποδοθῇ, κομί-
 15 σασθαι νῦν ἄνευ τιμῆς, ὅπως ὑπάρχωσιν αἱ ἐξ αὐτῆς
 πρόσοδοι εἰς τε τὰς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Στρατίου καὶ τὰς ὑπὲρ ὑ-
 μῶν συντελουμένας θυσίας καὶ διαμένῃ ἡμῖν ἱερὰ καὶ ἀτελής·
 τὸ δὲ ἀργύριον δοθῆναι ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἐκ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ τῷ Μελεά-
 γρῳ· εἰς τὰ ἐλλείποντα τοῖς κλήροις καὶ προσδόμασιν δο-
 20 θῆναι κόμας· ἐπ<ε>ὶ αἱ πρότερον ἀφαιρεθεῖσαι ἡμῶν οὐκ ἀ-
 ποκατεστάθησαν ὃν τρόπον συνεκεχωρήκεις παραδεῖ-
 ξαι Θιλευδον καὶ Πλαζειρα κατοικίας κυνηγῶν· τοὺς δ' ἐν
 τούτοις μετάγειν εἰς ἃς ἂν κρίνῃ κατοικίας Λυκίνος ὁ γεωδό-
 τῃς. - Συντετάχαμεν γὰρ τούτῳ ἐπιβλέψαντι παραδεῖξαι.

3 H/M <λι>ποστρατῆσαι || 4 H/M ελεῖν· ὑπάρχειν || 9 H/M περὶ τῶν ἐνπεφυρισμένων ||
 23 H/M τούτοις.

Translation: ... of those... registered... (we request that/we have been granted that (?))
 the privileges persist... [the punishment?] of those registered at the same time as having
 deserted the army in the year 32 to be cancelled, and they are to have the same as the
 others. (The sanctuary of) Zeus Stratios to have asyilia, and instead of the seven stadia
 granted previously, it will be of ten stadia. And that, so that Bakchios the priest can
 make a golden crown, our registered debts in silver and grain to be remitted until the
 third year, unless someone has exacted payment and withheld it. Regarding the houses
 that were burnt and pulled down in the proastion, since we are demotai (?) (that) it is
 attended to that some (grant?) is given towards their reconstruction. (That) the village
 of Sibloë, which was ours formerly – concerning which it is written that “it will be
 returned when we pay to Meleagros the price at which he bought it: 448 drachmae and
 1.5 obols” –be transferred to us without (having to pay) the price (for it), so that the
 revenues from it can go towards the sacrifices that we perform for Zeus Stratios and for
 you, and that it remains sacred and free from taxation, and that the money for this be
 given to Meleagros out of the royal treasury. Villages should be granted for the
 shortfall regarding the kleroi and associated buildings. Since those (villages) which
 were taken from us before have not been returned in the way which you promised,
 Thileudos and Plazeira to be assigned as settlements for guard-dog handlers, and move
 those living there to whatever settlements Lykinos the land-distributor may consider. –
 For we have ordered him to look into the matter and assign them.

2. Treaty between Ptolemy I and the soldiers in Iasos

Marble stele found during the Italian excavations in Iasos in the wall of the Eastern gate (Inv. No. 1327). The stele is broken in two; the upper part is composed of three fragments. There is a gap between the upper and the lower part. H ca. 2 m.

Eds. P. Carratelli, “Supplemento epigrafico di Iasos”, *Annuario Sc. Arch. Atene* (1967-68) 437-445 nos. 1A and 1B ll. 1-6 (with photograph); Y. Garlan, *ZPE* 18 (1975) 193-198; F. Piejko, *ZPE* 44 (1981) 109 n.11 (*SEG* 31.936); *I. Iasos* 2 (W. Blümel); A. Giovannini, *EA* 37 (2004) 69-87 (with translation).

Cf. G. T. Griffith, *Mercenaries* (1935) 264-316; *BE* (1971) 620; *BE* (1976) 651; R.S.Bagnall, *The Administration of the Ptolemaic Possessions Outside Egypt* (1976) 89-90; C. Laviosa, *BA* 31-32 (1985) Suppl. 47-54 (*SEG* 36.981); H. Hauben, *EA* 10 (1987) 3-5 (*SEG* 37.862); M. Launey, *Recherches* 725-750.

309-305 BC.

- 1 [ca. 11] ΟΥ[—]ΕΠΟΣΥΛ[...]
[—] Πολεμαῖον
[—] δ[ε]δόχθαι [τῇ]
[βουλῇ κ]αὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῶ[ν] Ἰασέων —]
- 5 [—]
[—] Π[ολ]εμαῖος ἐλεύθερον [καὶ]
[αὐτόνομον καὶ ἀφροῦρητον καὶ ἀφορολόγητον — Μα]χάων καὶ οἱ
[τούτου στρατιῶται καὶ Ἱέρων καὶ οἱ τούτου στ]ρατιῶται καὶ Σώπολις
[καὶ οἱ τούτου] στ[ρα]τιῶται —]ΑΝ[.]ΥΣΙΝΕΑΜ[...] ἄξιως [...]
- 10 [ca. 11] Πολεμαῖον [—] Πολεμαῖοι Πο[λ]εμαίου [ca. 5]
[— Πο]λεμαῖος ἀποδώσει[ν] τὰς ἄκρας[ς]
[καὶ τὴν πόλιν —]· ἀποδώσειν δὲ [κ]αὶ τὰ ἐν
[ταῖς] ἄ[κ]ραις ὄντα πάντα [—]· τὰς δὲ σιταρχίας [κ]αὶ τοὺς
[μ]ισθοὺς τούτους ὀφειλομένους Μα[χάονι καὶ Ἱέρωνι κ]αὶ Σωπόλιδι καὶ τοῖς τού-
15 [τ]ων στ[ρα]τιῶταις ἀποδοῦναι Ἰασεῖς ΤΟΙΣΚΗΛΟΥΣΑ[.]Ο[.] ὅσου αὐτοῖς
ὀφεί-
[λ]ητα[ι] ἐν ἡμέραις δέκαπέντε ἀφ’ ἧς ἂν οἱ πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον ἀποσταλέντε[ς]
παραγένωνται, ἀποδόντας δὲ κομίσασθαι παρὰ Μαχάονος τὰς ἄκρας
[καὶ] τὰ ἐν ταῖς ἄκραις ὄντα καὶ τὴν πόλιν καθάπερ ὁμολόγηται· ἔστω δὲ
[ἀ]σφάλεια Μαχάονι καὶ Ἱέρωνι καὶ Σωπόλιδι καὶ τοῖς τούτων στρατιώταις
20 [κ]α[τ]οικοῦσιν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ ἐπιδημοῦσιν κατὰ τοὺς νόμους τοὺς Ἰασέων
[καὶ] ἀπαλλασσομένοις ὅπου ἂν βούλωνται καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν·
ἀ[φ]εῖς-

θαι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων πάντων αὐτούς τε καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας τῶν
 πρὸς Ἰασεῖς καὶ τοὺς ἐν Ἰασῶι [κατοικοῦν]τας, καὶ Ἰασεῖς καὶ τοὺς ἐν Ἰασῶι
 [κατ]οι-
 κούντας τῶν πρὸς αὐτοὺς κα[ὶ] τ[οὺς στρα]τιώτας αὐτῶν τῶν ἐν τοῖς
 25 ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις γεγενη[μένων ὑπὲρ τ]ῶν συμβολαίων· εἶνα[ι] δὲ τῇ[ν]
 αὐτὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἥμπερ εἰ ca. 16] προσεῖναι τῇ Ἀριστοκλείους
 γυναικὶ καὶ τοῖς Ἀριστο[κλείους —]ἈΔΙ καὶ τοῖς Μόλωνος παιδίοις
 [κ]αὶ Σύρωι καὶ Ἰσχυρ[— θυγ]ατρὶ καὶ τῇ Ἑστιαίου γυναικὶ καὶ τοῖς
 παιδίοις καὶ τοῖς [ἐκγόνους —· ὁμός]αι δὲ Ἰασεῖς καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει
 κατοικοῦν-
 30 τας Πτολεμαί[ωι, ἐλευθέρους ὄν]τας καὶ αὐτονόμους καὶ ἀφρουρήτους καὶ
 ἀφορο-
 λογήτους, συ[μμάχους] ἔσεσθαι Πτολεμαίωι καὶ τοῖς ἐγγόνους αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν
 ἀεὶ χρόνον· ὁμόσαι δὲ καὶ Μαχάονα καὶ Ἰέρωνα καὶ Σώπολιν καὶ τοὺς τούτων
 στρατιώτας Ἰασεῦσιν, καὶ Ἰασεῖς Μαχάονι καὶ Ἰέρωνι καὶ Σωπόλιδι καὶ τοῖς
 τού-
 των στρατιώταις· ὁ δ' ὅρκος ἔστω Μαχάονι μὲν καὶ Ἰέρωνι καὶ Σωπόλιδι καὶ
 35 τοῖς στρατιώταις ὅδε· (ν) ὁμνύω Δία Γῆν Ἥλιον Ποσειδῶ Ἀπόλλω Δῆμητρα
 Ἄρῃ Ἀθηνᾶν Ἀρείαν θεοὺς πάντας καὶ πάσας καὶ τὴν Ταυροπόλον· ἐμμενῶ
 ταῖς
 ὁμολογίαις ἃς πεποίημαι πρὸς Ἰασεῖς καὶ οὐ παραδέξομαι στρατιώτην πα-
 ρ' οὐθενδὸς ἐν ἡμέραις τέσσαρσιν ἀφ' ἧς ἂν οἱ πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον ἀποσταλῶσιν
 οὐθ' ὕστερον ἄνευ Ἰασέων· ἄνευ δόλου καὶ ἀπάτης· εὐορκοῦντι μέμ μοι εὖ εἴη,
 40 ἐπιорκοῦντι δὲ τάναντία τούτων· (ν) ὁμόσαι δὲ καὶ Ἰασεῖς Μαχάονι καὶ
 Σωπόλιδ[ι]
 καὶ Ἰέρωνι καὶ τοῖς τούτων στρατιώταις τὸν αὐτὸν ὅρκον· ὁμόσαι δὲ καὶ
 Πτολεμαῖον
 τὸν ὅρκον τόνδε· (ν) ὁμνύω Δία Γῆν Ἥλιον Ποσειδῶ Ἀπόλλωνα Δῆμητρα Ἄρῃ
 Ἀθηνᾶν Ἀρείαν θεοὺς πάντας καὶ πάσας καὶ τὴν Ταυροπόλον· διαφυλάξω τὰς
 ὁμολογίας ἃς πεποίηνται Ἰασεῖς πρὸς Μαχάονα καὶ Ἰέρωνα καὶ Σώπολιν καὶ
 τοὺς
 45 τούτων στρατιώτας καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ὁμολογίαις
 γεγραμμένους·

ἄνευ δόλου καὶ ἀπάτης· εὐορκοῦντι μέμ μοι εὖ εἴη, ἐπιορκοῦντι δὲ τάναντία
τούτων·

ὁμόσαι δὲ καὶ Ἰασεῖς Πτολεμαίῳ καὶ Πτολεμαῖον Ἰασεῦσιν· ὁ δ' ὅρκος ἔστω
ὅδε· ὁμνύω Δία Γῆν Ἥλιον Ποσειδῶνα Ἀπόλλωνα Δῆμητρα Ἄρη Ἀθηνᾶν
Ἀρείαν

θεοὺς πάντας καὶ πάσας καὶ τὴν Ταυροπόλον· εὐνοήσω Πτολεμαίῳ καὶ
συμμαχήσω

50 καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐγγόνοις εἰς τὸν αἰὲ χρόνον, ἐλεύθερος ὦν καὶ αὐτόνομος καὶ
ἀφρούρη-
τος καὶ ἀφορολόγητος· ἄνευ δόλου καὶ ἀπάτης· εὐορκοῦντι μέμ μοι εὖ εἴη καὶ
γένει, ἐπιορκοῦντι δὲ τάναντία τούτων· (ν) Πτολεμαῖον δὲ ὁμόσαι Ἰασεῦσι [τὸν
ὄρ]-
κον τόνδε· ὁμνύω Δία Γῆν Ἥλιον Ποσειδῶ Ἀπόλλωνα Δῆμητρα Ἄρη Ἀ[θηνᾶν
Ἀρείαν]
θεοὺς πάν[τας καὶ πάσας καὶ τ]ὴν Ταυροπόλον· διαφυλάξω [τὴν πόλιν τὴν
Ἰασέων]

55 [ca. 9 ἐλευθέραν καὶ αὐτόνομ]ον καὶ ἀφρούρητον κα[ὶ ἀφορολόγητον —]
[—]ν[—]
[—]εωσδε[—]
[—]διοσ[—]
[—] τοὺς νεωποίας ἀνα[γράψαι —]

60 [—]οσῖα[—]σ[—]
[—] καὶ στήναι ἐν τῷ τοῦ Διὸς ἱερῷ. *vacat*

Translation: ... Polemaios ... It was resolved by [the council] and the people of the [Iasians] ... [(?) since] Polemaios [(?) made the city free and autonomous and ungarrisoned and exempt from tribute] ... Machaon and [his soldiers, and Hieron and his] soldiers, and Sopolis [and his] soldiers ... worthily ... Polemaios ... to Polemaios son of Polemaios ... Polemaios will restore the citadels [and the city] ... And (let) him restore everything which was in the citadels ... And (let) the Iasians pay the provisions and pay owed to Machaon [and Hieron] and Sopolis and their soldiers ... which are owed to them in the fifteen days after which those sent to Ptolemaios return; once they have returned, (let) the citadels and what is in the citadels and the city be taken back from Machaon as it has been agreed. Let Machaon and Hieron and Sopolis and their soldiers who live in the city and reside there according to the laws of the Iasians and are being discharged go wherever they want by land or by sea in safety. Ignore all charges these men and their soldiers have made against the Iasians and those who live at Iasos, and likewise those which the Iasians and those who live at Iasos have made in

the past [before] the agreements. Let the same safety which . . . be allowed to the wife of Aristokles and the ... of Aristokles and to the children of Molon and to Syros and to Ischyros ... daughter and to the wife of Hestiaios and to the children and [descendants of] ...

(Let) the Iasians and those who live in the city swear to Ptolemaios that, while being [free] and autonomous and ungarrisoned and exempt from tribute, they will be [allies] to Ptolemaios and his descendants for all time.

And (let) Machaon and Hieron and Sopolis and their soldiers swear to the Iasians, and the Iasians to Machaon and Hieron and Sopolis and their soldiers. And let this be the oath for Machaon and Hieron and Sopolis and the soldiers: I swear by Zeus, Gē, Helios, Poseidon, Apollo, Demeter, Ares, Athena Areia, all the other gods and goddesses and the Tauropolos. I will abide by the agreements which I have made with the Iasians and I will not receive a soldier from anyone for four days after that on which the men are sent to Ptolemaios, nor later without the permission of the Iasians. I shall do so without treachery and deceit. And may it be well with me if I swear truly, but the opposite of this if I swear falsely. And (let) the Iasians swear the same oath to Machaon and Sopolis and Hieron and their soldiers.

And (let) Ptolemaios swear this oath: I swear by Zeus, Earth, Sun, Poseidon, Apollo, Demeter, Ares, Athena Areia, all the other gods and goddesses and the Tauropolos. I shall preserve the agreements which the Iasians have made with Machaon and Hieron and Sopolis and their soldiers and the others who are written down in the agreements. I shall do so without treachery and deceit. And may it be well with me and my kin if I swear truly, but if I swear falsely the opposite of these things.

And the Iasians to swear to Ptolemaios and Ptolemaios to the Iasians. Let this be the oath: I swear by Zeus, Earth, Sun, Poseidon, Apollo, Demeter, Ares, Athena Areia, all the other gods and goddesses and the Tauropolos. I shall be well-disposed to Ptolemaios and I shall be an ally, both to him and his descendants for all time, being free and autonomous and ungarrisoned and exempt from tribute. I shall do so without treachery and deceit. And may it be well with me if I swear truly, but the opposite of this if I swear falsely.

(Let) Ptolemaios swear to the Iasians this oath: I swear by [Zeus, Earth], Sun, Poseidon, Apollo, Demeter, Ares, [Athena Areia], all the other gods [and goddesses and] the Tauropolos. I shall preserve [the city of the Iasians . . . free and autonomous] and ungarrisoned and [exempt from tribute] ...

... the neopoiai will inscribe [this decree . . .] and place it in the sanctuary of Zeus. (Adapted from A. Ellis-Evans in "Dynasts and Kings" and from A. Giovannini).

3. Treaty between Eupolemos and Theangela

Lower fragment of a white marble stele. Found on the side of the citadel of Theangela. H 0.54 m, W 0.61 m, D 0.065 m, letter height 0.009-0.01 m.

Eds. E. L. Hicks, *CR* 3 (1889) 235-236 no. 2 (ll. 11-14, 25-30); M. Rostovtzeff, *REA* 33 (1931) 7-21 no. 1 (with photograph, Pl. I); L. Robert, *AC* 4 (1935) 157-173; L. Robert, *Coll. Froehner* no. 52 (with photograph, Pl. XXIII); *Staatsverträge* III 429 (H. H. Schmitt);

Cf. R. A. Billows, *CA* 8 (1989) 173-206; R. Descat, *REA* 100 (1998) 167-190; M. Austin (2006), *HW²* no. 40; R. Fabiani, *EA* 42 (2009) 61-77.

Ca. 310 BC.

- 1 α[—]
 στεφ[—]
 ρου τοῦ δὲ [—]
 τῶν στρατευομέ[νων — τῶν]
- 5 δὲ ζμηνῶν τελεῖν ἕκαστ[—]
 εἶναι δὲ ἄδειαν καὶ Ἐρειναιεῦσιν [—]
 Φιλίππῳ δὲ καὶ Δαμαγάθῳ καὶ Ἀριστοδήμῳ [καὶ τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοὺς τασσο]-
 μένοις στρατιώταις ἀποδοθῆναι τὰ ἐνοφειλόμεν[α αὐτοῖς ὁψώνια μηνῶν]
 τεσσάρων καὶ δόμα μηνῶν δύο Ἀριστοδήμῳ καὶ τοῖς [ὑπ' αὐτὸν οὖσιν?]
- 10 στρατιώταις ὅσοι ἂν μένωσιν παρ' Εὐπολέμῳ· ὅσοι δὲ τῶν σ[τρατιωτῶν]
 παρεγένοντο εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐκ τῶν Εὐπολέμου ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἢ ἐν π[ολέμῳ]
 εἶναι αὐτοῖς ἄδειαν· τῶν δὲ δούλων ὅσοι μὲν ἐν εἰρήνῃ παρεγένοντο
 εἶναι αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὰς συνθήκας τὰς Εὐπολέμῳ καὶ τὰς Πευκέστει γε-
 γεννημένας· τοῖς δὲ ἐμ πολέμῳ ἐλθοῦσιν ἄδειαν εἶναι· ἀποδοθῆναι δὲ
- 15 καὶ τοῖς καταπαλταφέταις ὁψώνια μηνῶν τεσσάρων· τῶν δὲ στρατιω-
 [τ]ῶν τοῖς βουλομένοις ἀπίνειν ἐξεῖναι ἔχουσιν τὰ αὐτῶν, καὶ εἶναι
 [α]ὐτοῖς ἀτέλειαν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἄγουσιν διὰ τῆς Εὐπολέμ[ου·]
 ὅταν δὲ ὁμόσῃ Εὐ[πόλ]εμος Θεαγγελεῦσιν καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις
 ἐμμενεῖν ἐν τοῖς ὁμολογημένοις καὶ τὰ ὁψώνια ἀποδῶι τοῖς στρατιώταις,
- 20 παραλαμβανέτω τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰς ἄκρας· τοῖς δὲ στρατιώταις τοῖς ἐκ Θεαγ-
 γέλων, ἐάν τινες στρατεύωνται παρ' Εὐπολέμῳ ὑπάρχειν αὐτοῖς τὰ Πεντάχωρα.
 ὄρκος ὃν ὠμώμοκεν Εὐπόλεμος· ὁμνῶν Δία Γῆν Ἥλιον Ἄρην Ἀθηνᾶν
 Ἀρείαν καὶ τὴν Ταυροπόλον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς πάντας καὶ

- πάσας· ἐμμενῶ οἷς ὁμολόγηκα πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τὴν Θεαγγελέων
 25 καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς ἐν Θεαγγέλοις, καὶ σηματοῦμαι τὰς
 συνθήκας ἃς πεποίημαι πρὸς Θεαγγελεῖς καὶ ἀποδώσω ἐσφραγισ-
 μένας Θεαγγελεῦσι καὶ οὐ κωλύσω τὴν πόλιν ἀναγράψαι τὰς
 συνθήκας καὶ τὸν ὄρκον ὃν ὁμώμοκα ἐν στήλῃ καὶ στήσαι ἐν ἱερῶι
 ᾧ ἂν βούλωνται ἐν Θεαγγέλοις· εὐορκο<ῦ>ντι μέμ μοι εὖ εἶναι αὐτῶι καὶ
 30 γένει, ἐπιορκοῦντι δὲ τάναντία τούτων.

Translation: . . . and there shall also be an amnesty for the people of Erinaea . . . to Philippus, Demagathus and Aristodemus [and the] soldiers [under their command] shall be paid the four [months' salary] that is due [to them] as well as a donative of two months' salary to Aristodemus and all the soldiers [under his command?] who decide to remain in the service of Eupolemus; for all the [soldiers] who came over to the city from the land of Eupolemus in peace or in war there shall be an amnesty; for all the slaves who came over in peace the conditions shall be as laid down in the treaties with Eupolemus and with Peucestas; for those who came over in war there shall be an amnesty; to the artillerymen shall also be paid four months' salary; all the soldiers who wish to depart shall be allowed to do so taking their chattels with them and shall be exempt from custom dues on their goods on passing through the territory of Eupolemus; and when Eupolemus has sworn to the people of Theangela and the troops (in the city) that he will abide by the agreement, and when he has paid the salary to the soldiers, let him take control of the city and the citadels; any soldiers from Theangela who take up service with Eupolemus shall be allowed to settle at Pentachora. Oath sworn by Eupolemus: I swear by Zeus, Gē, Helios, Ares, Athena Areia and the Tauropolos and all the other gods and goddesses; I will abide by the agreement made with the city of Theangela and the soldiers in Theangela, and I will place a seal on the treaty I have made with the people of Theangela and hand it over to them sealed up, and I will not prevent the city from inscribing the treaty and the oath I have sworn on a stele and placing it in any sanctuary in Theangela they wish. If I abide by my oath may I and my family prosper, if I break the oath may the opposite happen. (Translation adapted from Austin 2006 no. 40).

4. Eumenes I and the soldiers from Philetareia under Ida and Attaleia

Stele of blue marble, broken at the bottom and slightly weathered at the sides. Halfway through the inscription, a crack cuts the stone diagonally. Found in Pergamon (Bergama), now in the State Museum of Berlin (Inv. No. n/a). H 0.66m; W 0.374-0.383m; D 0.10-0.11m; letter height 0.009-0.007m.

Eds. *I. Pergamon* 13 (M. Fränkel, with drawing); *OGIS* 266 (W. Dittenberg).

Cf. A. J. Reinach, *RA* 12 (1908), 174-218; G. T. Griffith, *Mercenaries* (1935) 172ff, 282ff; E. Hansen, *The Attalids of Pergamon* (1971) 228ff; B. Virgilio, *SCO* 32 (1983); R. E. Allen, *The Attalid Kingdom* (1983) 23-5; M. Launey, *Recherches* 742-3; I. Savalli-Lestrade, *REG* 105 (1992) 221-230; G. Cohen, *The Hellenistic settlements in*

Europe, the islands and Asia Minor (1995) 171 (on Philetaireia), 205 (on Attaleia); E. Kosmetatou, *AS* 31 (2001) 113; M. Austin (2006), *HW*² no. 196; M. Trundle, “OGIS I 266: Kings and contracts in the Hellenistic world”, in *Ptolemy II Philadelphus and his world* (2008).

Ca. 263 BC.

- 1 [ἄξ]ιώματα ἃ ἐπεχ[ώρη]σεν Εὐμένης Φιλεταίρο[υ τοῖς]
 [ἐ]μ Φιλεταιρεῖαι στρατιώταις καὶ τοῖς ἐν Ἀτταλείαι·
 [σ]ίτου τιμὴν ἀποτίνειν τοῦ μεδίμνου δραχμὰς τέσσ[α]-
 [ρ]ας, οἴνου τοῦ μετρητοῦ δραχμὰς τέσσαρας. ὑπὲρ τοῦ
 5 ἐνιαυτοῦ· ὅπως ἂν ἄγεται δεκάμηνος, ἐμβόλιμον δὲ
 οὐκ ἄξει. ὑπὲρ τῶν τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἀποδόντων τὸν κύριον
 καὶ γενομένων ἀπέργων· ὅπως τὸ ὀψώνιον λαμβάνωσι
 τοῦ προειργασμένου χρόνου. ὑπὲρ ὀρφανικῶν· ὅπως ἂν
 οἱ ἄγχιστα γένους λαμβάνωσιν ἢ ὧι ἂν ἀπολίπηι. ὑπὲρ τελῶν·
 10 ὅπως ἂν ἡ ἀτέλεια ὑπάρχηι ἢ ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ καὶ τεσσαρα-
 κοστῷ ἔτει. ἐάν τις ἄπεργος γένηται ἢ παραιτή[σ]ηται, ἀφιέσ-
 [θ]ῳ καὶ ἀτελῆς ἔστω ἐξάγων τὰ αὐτοῦ ὑπάρχοντα. ὑπ[ὲρ]
 τοῦ ὀψωνίου, οὗ ὁμολόγησεν τῆς τετραμήνου· ἵνα δοθῇ [τὸ ὀ]-
 μόλογον, καὶ μὴ ὑπολογιζέσθῳ εἰς τὸ ὀψώνιον. ὑπὲρ τῶν λευ[.]·-
 15 νων· ὅπως καὶ τὸν σῖτον λάβωσιν τοῦ χρόνου, οὗ καὶ τὸν στέφανον.
 τὸν ὄρκον δὲ καὶ τὴν ὁμολογίαν ἀναγραφάτω εἰς στήλας λιθί-
 [ν]ας τέσσαρας καὶ ἀναθῆτω μίαν μὲν ἐμ Περγάμῳ ἐν τῷ τῆς
 Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερῷ, μίαν δὲ ἐγ Γρυνεῖῳ, μίαν δὲ ἐν Δήλῳ, μίαν δὲ ἐμ Μιτυ-
 λήνῃ ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ. ὄρκος ὃν ὤμοσεν Παράμονος καὶ οἱ
 20 ἡγεμόνες καὶ οἱ ὑφ' αὐτοὺς στρατιῶται οἱ ὄντες ἐμ Φιλεταιρεῖαι
 τῇ ὑπὸ τὴν Ἰδην καὶ Πολύλαος καὶ οἱ ὑφ' αὐτὸν ἡγεμόνες καὶ στ[ρα]-
 τιῶται οἱ ὄντες ἐν Ἀτταλείαι καὶ Ἀττινᾶς ἱπάρχης καὶ οἱ ὑφ' αὐ-
 τὸν ἱππεῖς καὶ Ὀλώιχος καὶ οἱ ὑφ' αὐτὸν Τραλεῖς· ὁμνύω Δία, Γῆν,
 Ἥλιον, Ποσειδῶ, Διμήτρη, Ἄρη, Ἀθηνᾶν ἀρείαν καὶ τὴν Ταυροπόλον
 25 καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς πάντας καὶ πάσας· διαλύομαι ἀπὸ τοῦ
 [βε]λτίστου πρὸς Εὐμένη τὸν Φιλεταίρου καὶ εὐνοήσω αὐτῷ καὶ
 [τοῖς ἐ]κείνου καὶ οὐκ ἐπιβ[ο]υλ[εύ]σω Εὐμένει τῷ Φιλεταίρου οὐδὲ ὅπλα
 [ὑπενα]ντία θήσομαι [οὐ]δ' ἐγκαταλείψω Εὐμένην, ἀλλὰ μαχοῦμαι
 [ὑπὲρ α]ὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων τῶν ἐκείνου ἕως ζωῆς καὶ θανά-

- 30 [του παρ]έξομαι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην χρεῖαν εὐνόως καὶ ἀπροφα-
σί[σ]τως μετὰ πάσης προθυμίας εἰς δύναμιν εἶναι τὴν ἐμήν.
ἐάν τέ τινα αἰσθάνωμαι ἐπι[β]ουλευόντα Εὐμένει τῷ Φιλεταίρῳ[υ]
[ἢ ἄ]λλο τι πράσσοντα ἐναντίον ἐκείνῳ ἢ τοῖς πράγμασιν αὐτο-
[ῦ, οὐ]κ ἐπιτρέψω εἰς δύναμιν εἶναι τὴν ἐμήν καὶ ἐξαγγελῶ πα-
35 [ραχρ]ῆμα ἢ ὥς ἂν τάχιστα [δ]ύνωμαι τὸν τούτων τι ποιοῦντα
[Εὐμέ]νει τῷ Φιλεταίρῳ ἢ ὃν ἂν ὑπολαμβάνω τάχιστα τούτῳ
[ἐμφανι]εῖν. <δ>ιαφυλάξω δὲ καί, ἐάν τι παραλάβω παρ' αὐτοῦ, ἢ πόλιν ἢ φρου-
[ριον ἢ ν]αῦς ἢ χρήματα ἢ ἄλλο ὃ ἅμ μοι παραδοθῇ, καὶ ἀποδώσω ὀρθῶς
[καὶ] δικαίως Εὐμένει τῷ Φιλεταίρῳ ἢ ᾧ ἂν οὗτος προστασσει, ποιοῦντος
40 [αὐτ]οῦ τὰ ὁμολογημένα. οὐ λήψο[μ]αι δὲ παρὰ τῶν ἐναντίων οὐδὲ γράμμ[α]-
[τα ο]ὐδὲ πρεσβευτὴν προ[σ]δέξομ[α]ι οὔτε αὐτὸς ἀποστελῶ πρὸς αὐτούς·
ἐάν τέ τις ἐνέγκῃ μοι, τά τε γράμματ' ἀνοίσω κατεσφραγισμένα καὶ
τὸν ἐνεγκόντα ἀνάξω ὥς ἂν τάχιστα δύνωμαι πρὸς Εὐμένη τὸν Φιλε-
ταίρου, ἢ πρ[ὸ]ς ὃν ἂν ὑπολαμβάνω τάχιστ' [α]ὐτῷ ἐμφανιεῖν πρὸς τοῦτο[ν]
45 ἀνάξω καὶ ἀνοίσω. οὐδὲ κακοτεχνήσω περὶ τὸν ὄρκον τοῦτον οὐθὲν
οὔτε τέχνῃ οὔτε παρευρέσει οὐδεμιᾷ. παραλύω δὲ καὶ Εὐμένη τὸ[ν]
Ἀττάλου τοῦ ὄρκου καὶ τοὺς μεθ' αὐτοῦ ὁμωμοκ[ό]τας συντελεσθέν-
των τῶν ὁμολογημένων. εὐορκοῦντι μέμ μοι καὶ ἐμμένοντι ἐν τῇ
πρὸς Εὐμένη τὸν Φιλεταίρου εὐνοίαι εὖ εἴη καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς,
50 εἰ δ' ἐφορκοίην καὶ παραβαίνοίμ τι τῶν ὁμολογημένων, [ἐ]ξώλης εἴην
καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ γένος τὸ ἀπ' ἐμοῦ. ὄρκος Εὐμένους· ὁμνύω Δ[ί]α, Γ[η]ῆν,
Ἥλιον, Ποσειδῶ, Ἀπόλλω, Δήμητρα, Ἄρη, Ἀθηνᾶν ἀρείαν καὶ τὴν [Ταυροπό]-
λον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς πάντας καὶ πάσας· εὐνοήσω Παραμ[όνω]
καὶ τοῖς ἡγεμόσι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς ἐμίσθοις, τοῖς ἐν τῇ στρατηί[αι]
55 τῇ ἐμ Φιλεταιρείαι τῇ ὑπὸ τὴν Ἰδην ὑπὸ Παράμονον ταχθεῖς[ι]ν καὶ
Ἄρκητι καὶ τοῖς ὑφ' αὐτὸν φρουροῖς καὶ Φιλωνίδῃ, καὶ τοῖς ἀμίσθοις τοῖς
[σ]υνομωμοκόσι, τούτοις καὶ τοῖς τούτων πᾶσι, καὶ Πολυλάῳ καὶ τοῖς
[ἡγ]εμόσι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις στρατιώταις τοῖς ὑφ' αὐτὸν τασσομένοις
[ἐν Ἀ]τταλείαι πᾶσι καὶ πεζοῖς καὶ ἵππεῦσι καὶ Τράλεσιν, ἕως ἂν
60 [σὺν ἡ]μῖν στρατεύωνται καὶ οὐκ ἐπιβουλεύσω οὐδὲ ἄλλος δι' ἐμ[οῦ]
[οὔθεις. ο]ὐδὲ προδώσω ὑπεναντίῳ οὐθενὶ οὔτε αὐτοὺς οὔτε αὐτῷ[ν τὰ]
[πράγματα] τούτων οὐδὲ τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ αἰρεθέντας τρόπῳ οὐ[θεν]
[οὐδὲ παρε]υρέσει οὐ[δε]μιᾷ, οὐδὲ [ὅπλ]α ἐναντία θήσομαι οὐδὲ [— — —]

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

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

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

Oath of Eumenes: I swear by Zeus, Ge, Helios, Poseidon, Apollo, Demeter, Ares, Athena Areia, and the Tauropolos, and all the other gods and goddesses. I shall maintain good-will towards Paramonos and the commanders and the others under pay

*in the command in Philetaireia-under-Ida, those under the orders of Paramonos, and towards Arkes, and towards the garrisons under him, and towards Philonides and towards those serving without pay who have joined in swearing the oath and towards all that is theirs and towards Polylaos and the commanders and all other soldiers placed under his command in Attaleia, infantry and cavalry and Trallians, as long as they campaign with us; and I shall not plot, nor shall anyone else on my account, nor shall I betray them or [anything of] what is theirs to any enemy, [neither those in charge (?)] of them nor those chosen by the rank and file, in any way or under any pretext whatsoever, nor shall I carry [arms] against (them), nor - - - (translation by R. Bagnall and P. Derrow, *The Hellenistic Period: Historical Sources in Translation*² (2004) no. 23).*

5. Macedonians in Thyateira

A) Found in Akhisar (“Kiösk”). No more details of its findspot, description or dimensions are given.

Eds. A. E. Kontoleon Νέα Σμύρνη 14.VIII (1891), *REG* 4 (1891) 297 n. 1; M. Clerc, *De rebus Thyatirenorum* 13; Clerc-Zakas 161 n. 107; *OGIS* 211 (W. Dittenberger); *TAM* V,2 901 (P. Herrmann).

Cf. L. and J. Robert, *La Carie* II (1954) 289 c. adn. 6; G. Radet, *De coloniis* 50; D. Magie, *RRAM* 977 adn. 10; G. Cohen, *Seleucid Colonies* 12; M. Launey, *Recherches* 949.

Ca. 281 BC.

5 βασιλεῖ Σελεύκῳ<ι>
τῶν ἐν Θυατείροις
Μακεδόνων οἱ ἡ-
γεμόνες καὶ οἱ στ-
ρατιῶται.

B) Broken stele decorated with foliage, found in a private house of Akhisar. Small letters.

Eds. G. Radet and H. Lechat, *BCH* 11 (1887) 466 no. 32; M. Clerc, *De rebus Thyatirenorum* 13, Clerc-Zakas 153 no. 88; *TAM* V,2 1166 (P. Herrmann).

Cf. 3A *supra*.

3rd century BC.

[οἱ π]ερὶ Θυάτειρ[α]
[Μ]ακεδόνες.

8. Macedonians from [...]espourai

Stele of white marble. Found in Dereköy. Above the text, a crown has been inscribed. H 1.35m; W 0.57m; D 0.07m; letter height 0.028m.

Eds. K. Schuchhardt, *Ath. Mitt.* 24 (1899) 230 no. 68; Keil and Premierstein, *Bericht I* 47 no. 95 (with drawing); *TAM V,2* 1190 (P. Herrmann).

Cf. L. Robert, *Villes*² 34, 250; G. Cohen, *The Hellenistic settlements in Europe, the islands and Asia Minor* (1995) 207-8.

153/2 BC.

{*corona*}

- 1 βασιλεύ[ον]τος Ἀττάλου
ἔτους ζ', μηνὸς Ξανδικο[ῦ].
ο[ὶ] ἐκ [...]εσπούρων Μακεδό-
νες ὑπὲρ Δέρδου τοῦ Δερ-
5 κ[υλίου] τοῦ αὐτῶν στρα-
τ[η]γο[ῦ] ἀρετῆς ἔνεκεν κα[ὶ]
εὐδό[ξου] ἀν[δ]ραγαθίας, ἥς
ἔχων διατελεῖ εἰς τε
[τ]ὸ [ν] βασιλ[έ]α καὶ ἑαυτοῦ[ς].

9. Macedonians from Agatheira (honorific inscription for Seleukos)

Stele of white marble, broken at the top. Found in Halitpaşa. H 1.29m; W 0.43m; letter height 0.012m. The surface is extremely weathered and most letters are partially faded. Very faint traces of an olive crown can be seen in the extant portion of the stone above the text.

Eds. J. and L. Robert, *Hellenica* 6, 22-24 no. 3 (with photographs, Planche X 2 and XIII 3); P. Herrmann *EA* 7 (1986) 17-18 (with photograph, Tafel 4); *TAM V,2* 1307; *SEG* 36.1075.

Cf. G. Cohen, *The Hellenistic settlements in Europe, the islands and Asia Minor* (1995) 195-6.

2nd century BC (188-159 BC).

{*corona laurea lemniscata*}

- [β]ασιλεύοντος Εὐμένου[ς] ἔτους — — —].
οἱ ἐξ Ἀγαθείρων Μακεδ[ό]νες
[Σ]έλευκον Μενεκρά[τ]ο[υ]ς ΤΟ[.] (?)]
. . . . καὶ ἀγαθὸν γενόμεν[ον] — —]

2 J. and L. Robert οἱ ἐγ. Δεχθείρων

10. Macedonians from [A/Na]krasos

Large block of blue-gray marble, broken to the left. Found in 1892 in the southern slope of Pergamon's acropolis, over the modern houses. H 0.57 m; W 0.59 m; D >0.85 m; letter height 0.020 m.

Eds. *I. Pergamon* 176a p. 504 (M. Fränkel); *OGIS* 290 (W. Dittenberger); G. Corradi, *Studi ellenistici* (1929) 273 no. 4; I. Savalli-Lestrade, *Les philoi royaux dans l'Asie hellénistique* (1998) 135-37 no. 20.

Cf. H. Hepding, *MDAI(A)* 35 (1910) 465 no. 46; M. Launey, *Recherches* 339; D. Magie, *RRAM* 979-80; P. Herrmann and K. Polatkan, *Testament* (1969) 8-17; J. and L. Robert *BE* (1970) 512; L. Robert, *Villes*² 71-76; E. Hansen, *The Attalids of Pergamon* (1971) 174; G. Cohen, *The Hellenistic settlements in Europe, the islands and Asia Minor* (1995) 196-97 (Akrasos), 222-25 (Nakrasos).

197-158 BC.

- 1 [οἱ περὶ Νά *vel* Ἄ]κρασον Μακεδόνες
 [Μηνογ]ένην Μηνοφάντου,
 [— — —] βασιλέως Εὐμένου,
 [— — —]μοφύλακα, ἀρετῆς ἔνεκεν
5 [καὶ ἀνδρα]γαθίας καὶ εὐνοίας
 [πρὸς τε τὸ]μ βασιλέα καὶ ἑαυτούς.

3 συγγενῇ] Fränkel, Dittenberger, [σύντροφον] Corradi, [τὸν τοῦ] Savalli-Lestrade; 4 τὸν καὶ νο]μοφύλακα Fränkel, [καὶ νομ]οφύλακα, [σωμα]τοφύλακα *vel* [αρχισωμα]τοφύλακα Savalli-Lestrade; 6 πρὸς τε τὸ]μ βασιλέα Fränkel, τῆς εἰς τὸ]μ βασιλέα Dittenberger.

11. Soldiers from Lasnedda

Stele of white marble broken in two parts. Found in Büyükbelen, now in the Archaeological Museum of Manisa (Inv. No. 152 = 1303). Above the inscription stands a humanoid figure with a broad shallow dish on its right hand and a staff or a tree trunk on its left hand. H 1.20m; W 0.47m; D 0.10m; letter height 0.016m.

Eds. *Testament* (P. Herrmann, K. Z. Polatkan) 42 n. 5 (with photograph); *TAM* V,2 1321 (P. Herrmann).

Cf. J. and L. Robert, *Hellenica* 6 (1948) 22-3; J. and L. Robert *BE* 1970 516; T. Drew-Bear and C. Naour, *ANRW* II.18.3 (1990) 2022 no. 437; G. Cohen, *The Hellenistic settlements in Europe, the islands and Asia Minor* (1995) 215.

Late Hellenistic period.

οἱ ἐγ Λασνέδδων
Παπῖαι εὐχὴν.

12. Soldiers from Mernouphyta

Round base of white and red marble, with a decorated *krepis*. Found in Akhisar. H 0.73m; W 0.48m; letter height 0.022-0.024m.

Eds. Keil and Premierstein, *Bericht* II 27 no. 51 (with drawing); *TAM* V,2 959 (P. Herrmann).

Cf. L. Robert, *Villes*² 39ff, 260; D. Magie, *RRAM* 123, 977; E. Hansen, *The Attalids of Pergamon* (1971) 175; H. H. Schmitt, *Untersuchungen z. Geschichte Antiochos' des Großen u. seiner Zeit* (1964) 173; J. and L. Robert, *BE* 1981 477; R. E. Allen, *The Attalid Kingdom* (1983) 43ff; L. Robert, *RPhil* 58 (1984) 15; M. Launey, *Recherches* 1030-31; Zgusta *KO* §802; G. Cohen, *The Hellenistic settlements in Europe, the islands and Asia Minor* (1995) 218-19; *RE* s.v. “Mernouphyta”.

2nd century AD.

- 1 ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ.
οἱ ἀπὸ βασιλέων
 Ἀττάλου
καὶ Εὐμένους
5 κατοικοῦντες
 Μερνουφυτα
 Ἡρακληασταὶ
 ἐτείμησαν
 Γλύκωνα
10 Νεικάνδρου
 χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ,
 ἄνδρα φιλότειμον.
 {corona}

13. Mysians from Emoddi

Marble stele. Brought from Encekler but possibly found in Topuzdamları, now in the Archaeological Museum of Manisa (Inv. No. n/a). The surface is badly weathered. H 0.60m; W 0.58m; D 0.13m; letter height 0.018m.

Eds. H. Malay *EA* 16 (1990) 65-67 (with photograph, Taf. 11); *SEG* 40.1062.

Cf. Ch. Naour, *ZPE* 44 (1981) 17 no. 28, 12 no.5; P. Debord, *REA* 1985 348; P. Herrmann and H. Malay, *New Documents from Lydia* (2007) 54; P. Thonemann, *Gephyra* 8 (2011) 6.

171/170 or 163/161 BC.

- 1 βασιλεύοντος Εὐμένου
 ἔτους ἕκτου κ[α]ὶ τριακοστοῦ,
 μηνὸς Ἀπελλαίου· οἱ ἐκ Εμοδδὶ
 Μυσοὶ ὑπὲρ[ρ.]ΥΜ...Υ Ἡγησίου
5 γεωδότο[υ] εὐεργ[εσίας] ἔνεκεν
 καὶ εὐνοίας [τῆς] εἰς ἑαυτοὺς
 Διὶ Βευδηνῶι.

14. Κώμη of the Kardakes

Stele of grey marble, broken at the top left and right edges and at the bottom. Broken in half after the discovery. Found in Makri-Telmessos, the right half is lost, the left half is in the Museum of Smyrna (Inv. No. n/a). Dimensions of the preserved part: H 0.36m; W 0.25m; D 0.115m.

Eds. *Clara Rhodos* 9 (1938) 190-208 (M. Segre, with photograph Fig. 6); Maier, *Mauerbauinschriften* I 248-50 no. 76 (F. G. Maier); *SEG* 44.1217.

Cf. M. Rostovtzeff, *SEHWW* 646-49, 1477; D. Magie, *RRAM* 1026; M. Wörrle, *Chiron* 8 (1978) 241-2 and n206; Bar-Kochva, *Seleucid Army* 216 n27; M. Launey, *Recherches* 486 n4, 508 n5; G. Cohen, *Seleucid Colonies* 30; A. J. Reinach, *REA* 13 (1911) 54 n2; R.H.J. Ashton, *ZPE* 104 (1994) 57-6; G. Cohen, *The Hellenistic settlements in Europe, the islands and Asia Minor* (1995) 330-31; M. Austin, *HW²* (2006) no. 238.

181 BC.

- 1 [βα]σιλεὺς Εὐμένης Ἀρτεμιδώρῳι. ἀνεγνώσ-
θη μοι ἃ ὑπογεγράφεις ἐν τῇ εἰσγραφῇ
ἥ ἀναδέδωκαν οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν Καρδά-
κων κώμῃ. ἐπεὶ οὖν ἐξετάζων εὐρίσκεις
5 αὐτοὺς ἀσθενῶς ἀπαλλάσσοντας τοῖς ἰδίοις διὰ τὸ
τὸν ξύλινον καρπὸν σπάνιον γίνεσθαι καὶ τὴν χώραν λυ-
πράν, σύνταξον τήν τε χώραν, ἣν ἡγοράκησαν παρὰ
Πτολεμαίου, τήν τε τιμὴν οὐκ ἔδωκαν διὰ τὸ τοὺς πλείσ-
τους διαρρῦναι αὐτῶν, ἔαν ἔχειν καὶ τὸ ἀργύριον μὴ πρᾶ-
10 ξαι, καὶ ἐπεὶ τῆς συντάξεως δεῖ διορθοῦσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐκάσ-
του σώματος ἐνηλίκου Ῥοδίας δραχμὰς τέσσαρας ὀβολόν, ἀσ-
θενοῦντες δὲ τοῖς ἰδίοις βαρύνονται, τά τε παραγραφόμενα αὐ-
τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ ἑκκαίδεκάτου ἔτους ἐκ τούτων ἀφεῖναι, ἀπὸ δὲ
τοῦ ἑπτακαίδεκάτου ἔτους Ῥοδίαν δραχμὴν καὶ ὀβολόν, καὶ ὅ-
15 σους ἂν ἐπείσῳγονται ἐκ τῆς ὑπερορίας ὑπάρχειν πάντων ἀτέ-
λειαν ἐτῶν τριῶν, τοῖς δὲ ἐκχωρήσασιν πρότερον ἐκ τοῦ τό-
που, νῦν δὲ βουλομένοι<ς> ἐπανελθεῖν ἐτῶν δυῶν, ἐπισκευάσα[ι]
δὲ καὶ τὸ προϋπάρχον αὐτοῖς πυργίον, ὅπως ἔχωσιν ὀχύ-
<ρ>ωμα, τὴν μὲν ἄλλην χορηγίαν ἑαυτοῖς παρασχόντων,
20 τεχνίτου δὲ μισθωθέντος αὐτοῦ.
ιζ' Δίου τετράδι ἀπιόντος.
βασιλεύοντος Ἀντιόχου ἔτους ιθρ' μηνὸς Ὑπερβερεταί[ου]
[— — — — — συν]εχωρησ — — — — — ΑΚΕΞ — — — — —

Translation: *King Eumenes (II) to Artemidorus. I have read the comments you appended to the petition submitted by the settlers in the village of the Cardaces. Since after investigating you find that their private affairs are in a weak condition, as their trees are not yielding much fruit and their land is of poor quality, give instructions that they may keep the piece of land they bought from Ptolemy and the price they did not pay because most of them have no resources left, and (give instructions) not to exact the money; and since they must pay for each adult person a poll-tax of four Rhodian drachmas and an obol, but the weak condition of their private affairs makes this a burden to them, give instructions to exempt them from the arrears (of this tax) for the sixteenth year, and of one Rhodian drachma and one obol from the seventeenth year; and for all those whom they introduce from the outside, (give instructions) that they be granted exemption from all taxes for three years, and for those who have previously left the area but now wish to return, exemption for two years; and (give instructions) that they may repair the small fort they previously had, so as to have a stronghold, so long as they [provide] themselves the rest of the expenditure, while I myself pay for a skilled craftsman. (Year) 17 (=181 BC), the fourth day from the end of Dios.*

When Antiochos was king, in the year 119 (=193-2 BC) in the month of Hyperberetaios...

(Translation Austin 2006 no. 238).

15. Letter of an Attalid king to members of the army concerning a military settlement

Three fragments of a stele of blue-grey marble. Found in Pergamon (Bergama, A August 1881, B June 1881, C August 1885), now in the State Museum of Berlin (Inv. No. unavailable). Fragment A is the upper right corner, capped by the end of a gable; B also belongs to the right side of the stele, providing a right-hand side edge; C is an interior fragment. H A 0.09m, B 0.1m, C 0.14m; W A 0.145m, B 0.31m, C 0.17m; D A 0.175m, A (gable) 0.21m, B 0.18m, C 0.195m; letter height 0.010-0.012m, interval between lines 0.005m.

Eds. *I. Pergamon* 7 (M. Fränkel, with drawing); *RC* 16 (C. B. Welles).

Cf. A. Wilhelm, *Arch.-epigr. Mitt. Aus Oesterr.*, 20 (1897) 50; J. Ma, 'The Attalids: A Military History', in *Attalid Asia Minor* (2013) 52.

Ca. 260-248 BC.

A [Βασιλεὺς Αττάλος στρατηγοῖς ἱπάρχαις ἡγεμ]όσι καὶ ἱππεὺς
[— — — — —]ς Ἀριστομα-
[χ— — — — —]ες παρ' ὑμῶν
[— — — — —] σ]υνηξιοῦτε

B [— — — — —] πρότερον ἦσαν εἰθισμένοι
[— — — — —] νῶσαν(?). εἰ δέ τινα οἱ ἱππεῖς
[— — — — —] τ]ὴν πρόσδοτον [έφ]ίμεν ὑμῖν τῶν
[— — — — —] Ἐ]λληνες παροικοῦσιν, ἐὰν βούλω[ν]-

5 [— — — — —] ἐν ὑμῖν ἐπ[—]

C [— — — — —]αν γεω[— — — — —]

[— — —] δὲ μακροὺς [— — — — —]

[— — —]υρικὴν δὲ πη[— — — — —]

[— — —] ἔξ τῶν ὠμο[λογημένων — —]

5 [— — —] ἀλλ' ἔσεσθε αἰ[— — —]

[— — —]ον οἰκοδομηθῇ ε[— — — — —]

[— — —]Σ σὺν τοῖς λα[— — — — —]

A 1 reconstruction C. Mestre González; Wilhelm ἱππεῦσι, Fränkel ἱππεύς, Welles [Εὐμένης στρατηγοῖς ἱπάρχαις ἡγεμ]όσι καὶ ἱππεῦσι | 2 Welles [χαίρειν ...²³...]ς Ἀριστομά- | 3 [χου ...¹⁷... οἱ πεμφθέντ]ες | 4 Fränkel σ]υνηξιοῦτε, Welles [πρεσβευταὶ ἀνέδωκαν ἀξίωμα καθ' ὃ ν]ῦν ἡξιοῦτε | **B** 1 Welles [...11... ἀτέλειαν? ἦι] | 2 Fränkel [ἔγ]νωσ[α]ν (?), Welles [χρῆσθαι ...15...]γῶσαν | 3 Welles [πωλοῦσι κλῆρον τῇ]ν | 4 Welles [τοιούτων, καὶ ὅσοι Ἐ]λληνες | 5 Fränkel ἐν ὑ[μῖ]ν, Welles [ται ...25... δεδώκ]α[μ]εν ὑμῖν | **C** 3 Fränkel [πανηγ]υρικὴν, Welles [ἀργ]υρικὴν | 4 Fränkel ὠμο[λογημένων] | 5 Fränkel [ἀλλ'] ἔσεσθε or [κα]λέσεσθε | 7 Fränkel τοῖς λα[χοῦσιν(?)]

16. Letter of an Attalid king to military settlers with land grants

Three fragments of a blue-white marble stele. Found in Pergamon (Bergama, November 1884-July 1885), now in the State Museum of Berlin (Inv. No. unavailable). A and B fit together and form the lower right-hand corner of the stele, there is a blank space of 9cm below the last line of writing. C is an irregularly shaped piece from the left edge of the stele. The beginning is lost. The surface is badly weathered in several places. H A/B 0.8m, C 0.08m; W A/B 0.45m, C 0.14m; D A/B 0.17m, C 0.17cm; letter height 0.01m, interval between lines 0.0012m.

Eds. *I. Pergamon* 158 (Fränkel, with drawing); *RC* 51 (Welles).

Cf. H. Swoboda, *Rhein. Museum* 46 (1891) 504ff; A. Schulten, *Hermes* 32 (1897) 526, 534ff; M. Rostovtzeff, *Gesch. der Staatspacht* (1904) 365; P. Ghione, *Mem. Acc. Torino* 55 (1905) 98, 103; G. Cardinali, *Regno di Pergamo* (1906) 175-198, n. 215, 277-79; H. Francotte, *Finances des Cités Gr.* (1909) 75ff; M. Rostovtzeff, *Röm. Kolonat altertümer* (Hermann, *Lehrbuch der gr. Antiquitäten* I 3 1913) 202ff; RE s.v. *katoikoi*; M. Holleaux, *BCH* 48 (1924) 28, 38, 42, 44; E. Meyer, *Grenzen der hell. Staaten* (1925) 98; M. Rostovtzeff *CAH* VIII (1930) 595ff; Schroeter, *De Regum Hellenisticorum Epistulis* (1932), cites the letter as frag. 15 but does not print the text; E. Hansen, *The Attalids of Pergamon* (1971) 233; B. Virgilio *SCO* 32 (1983) 117; L. Robert *Documents* (1987) 482; G. Cohen, *The Hellenistic settlements in Europe, the islands and Asia Minor* (1995) 57ff; P. Thonemann, *The Maeander Valley* (2011) 246; J. Ma, 'The Attalids: A Military History', in *Attalid Asia Minor* (2013) 59, 63.

2nd century BC.

[— — — — —]μενο[ς] καὶ Αἰ[....]

[— — — — —]ΟΑΣΙτε τά τε καταμετ[ρ]

[— — — — —]ων ψιλῆς πλέθρα [...]
 [— — — — — κα]ὶ πρότ[ερ]ο[ν ...]
 5 [— — — — —]
 [— — — — —]
 [— — — — —]
 [— — — — —]. Ὁ...ν ὑμ[— — — — —]
 [— — — — —]ν ἀναδεδώκ[ο]σ[ιν — — — — —]
 10 [— — — — — μ]ένοις τοὺς κλήρους ψιλῆς πλ[έ]-
 [θρα — — — — —]α δεκαδύο ἡμίπλεθρον τὰ μέγ
 [— — — — — το]ὺς τοιούτους οὐ βουληθέντας ἐν
 [— — — — — μ]ὲν τοῖς πλείοσι κοινωνεῖν, τῶν δὲ ἄλ-
 [λων τοῖς ἐστεγνοποιημέν]οις ἐν τῇ πόλει ψιλῆς πλέθρα ἑκατόν,
 15 ἀμπέλων π[λέθρα δέκα, τῶν] δὲ μήπω ἐστεγνοποιημένων ἑκά-
 στῳ ψιλῆς [πλέθρα πεντήκ]οντα, ἀμπέλων πέντε, τελοῦσιν ἐκ
 τούτων ἐ[κ μὲν τοῦ οἴνου το]ῦ τε σίτου καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν καρπῶν δεκά-
 την, τῶ[ν δὲ — — — — — κα]ὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐγγαίων ὧν ἀπέδοτο Δή-
 [μαρχος ὁ παρ' ἡμῶν, ἐὰν δὲ κ]αὶ τινες ἄλλοι τῶν τὰ βασιλικά πραγματευ-
 20 [ομένων — — — — — ἐὰν] ταῦτα πωλῶσιν, ἔσονται αἱ τε κτήσεις κύ-
 [ριαι — — — — — τὰ ταχ]θέντα ἑκάστοις, εἰς δὲ τὰ τεμένη τὰ εἰς
 [— — — — — ἐτ]ετάχειν πρότερον Δημάρχῳ
 παραδει-
 [— — — — —] καὶ τὴν ἀτέληαν αὐτῶν ἐπεχώρησα
 [— — — — —]ων ἔδωκα τοῖς νέοις εἰς τὸ
 ἔλαιον
 25 [— — — — — κλ]ηρονομίαι τῶν ἀτέκνων
 φαινον-
 [τ — — — — — τά]χ(?)ματα εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν καθή-
 [κοντα — — — — —]. ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ ἐν
 τού-
 [τ — — — — — τ]αύτας ὑμῖν καὶ ἀτέλειαν
 [— — — — —] τῶν μισθοφόρων τοῦ
 ἐν
 30 [— — — — — τά]ξητε ἐπωνύμους
 ὧν

- I Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ·
 βασιλεὺς Εὐμένης Τοριαιτῶν τοῖς κατοικοῦσι
 χαίρειν· οἱ παρ' ὑμῶν ἄνδρες Ἀντιγένης, [B]ρέννος,
 Ἑλιάδης, οἷς ἐπέμψατε συνησθησομένους μὲν ἡ-
 5 μῖν ἐπὶ τῷ καταπεπραχότας πάντα παρεῖναι ὑγι-
 αίνοντας εἰς τὸν τόπον - ἐφ' οἷς δὴ καὶ χαριστήρια τοῖ[ς]
 θεοῖς ἀποδιδόντες π[ρο]σηγάγετε τὰς καθηκούσα[ς]
 θυσίας, ἀξί[ω]σαντας δὲ δι' ἣν εἰς τὰ ἡμέτερα πρά-
 γματα ἔχετε εὖνοιαν ἐπιχωρηθῆναι ὑμῖν πολιτείαν
 10 τε καὶ νόμους ἰδίους καὶ γυμνάσιον καὶ ὅσα τούτοις ἐστὶ
 ἀκόλουθα, ταῦτά τε φιλοτιμότερον ἀπέλογισαντο, καὶ
 τὴν προθυμίαν ἐξηγησάμενοι, διότι πρὸς πάντα
 ἀπροφασίστως ἔχετε τὰ συμφέροντα ἡ[μ]ῖν, ἡξί-
 ουν τε ἐπινεῦσαι· χάριτας γὰρ τὰς ἐμοὶ προσηκού-
 15 σας παρὰ τοῦ πλήθους ὑπάρξιν διὰ παντός, οὔτ[ε]
 τῶν λυσιτελῶν ἐμοὶ οὔτε τ[ῶ]ν ἀναγκαίων ἐμοὶ ἀφι[σ]-
 ταμένων ὑμῶν. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐθεώρουμ μὲν οὐκ εἰς μικρὰ
 διαφέρον ἐμοὶ τὸ συνχωρῆσαι τὰ ἀξιούμενα, πρὸ[ς] με[ί]ν-
 ζονα δὲ καὶ πολλὰ πράγματα ἀνῆκον· καὶ γὰρ νῦν ὑμ[ῖν]
 20 γένοιτ' ἂν βεβαία παρ' ἐμοῦ δο[θ]εῖσα, ἐκτεμένου κυρ[ί]-
 ως διὰ τὸ παρὰ τῶν κρατησάντων καὶ πολέμῳ καὶ σ[υν]-
 θήκαις εἰληφέναι Ῥωμαίων, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἡ γραφεῖσα ὑπὸ
 τῶν μὴ κυριευόντων· κενὴ γὰρ ἡ χάρις αὕτη καὶ δόλ[ι]-
 α κρίνοιτ' ἂν ὑπὸ πάντων ἀληθῶς. ὅμως δὲ διὰ τὴν εὐν[οι]-
 25 αγ ἣν ἔχετε πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐνεδείξασθε ἐν τῷ προσ-
 ἦκοντι καιρῷ, συνχωρῶ καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ τοῖς μεθ' ὑμῶν συνoi-
 κοῦσιν ἐνχωρίοις εἰς ἓν πολίτευμα συνταχ[θ]ῆναι καὶ νό-
 μοις τε χρῆσθαι ἰδίους, οἷς εἰ μὲν τισιν αὐτ[ο]ὶ εὐαρεστεῖτε,
 ἀνενέγκατε ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ὅπως ἐπικρίνωμε[ν] πρὸς τὸ μῆδεν
 30 ἔχε[ιν] ἐναντίον τοῖς ὑμῖν συμφέρουσιν· εἰ δ[ὲ] μή {ι}, διασαφῆ-
 σατε καὶ δώσομεν τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους καὶ βουλὴν καὶ ἀρχ[ὰς]
 καθιστάναι καὶ δῆμον νέμειν εἰς φυλὰς καταμερισθέντα,
 καὶ γυμνάσιον ποιησαμένους τοῖς νέοις τιθ[έ]ναι ἄλειμ-
 μα. περὶ τε τοῦ νομίζεσθαι πολίτευμα τὸ ὑμέ[τ]ε[ρ]ον, αὐ-

35 τος ἐν τῇ ἐτέραι ἐπιστολῇ καταρξά[μ]ενος π[ρ]οσ[π]εφώνηκ[α].
 πειράσθε οὖν, τηλικούτων τετευχότες παρ' ἐ[μο]ῦ τιμί-
 [ω]ν, ἀποδείκνυσθαι διὰ τ[ῶ]ν ἔργων ἀληθινῶς τὴν ε[ὔ]νοϊαν
 ἐν ἅπασι τοῖς καιροῖς. *vacat*

II βασιλεὺς Εὐμένης Τοριαιτῶν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ
 40 χαίρειν· ἐπειδὴ συνκεχωρήκαμεν ὑμῖν πολιτεῖαν τε
 καὶ γυμνάσιον, βουλόμεθα φανερόν ποιῆ[σα]ι τὸ πρό[θυ]-
 [μον] συναύξοντες ταῦτα, καὶ δίδομεν ὑμῖν εἰς τὸ ἄλξιμμα
 κατὰ τὸ παρὸν τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγορανομ[ί]ας πρόσδοτον, ἕως ἄν
 ἐπισκεψάμενος Ἡρώιδης ὁ ἡμιόλιος ἀπόταξι ἐτέρων,
 45 ἐάν τε ἀπὸ τινος κτήματος ἢ χώρας, ἐὰν τ' ἀφ' ἐτέρου εἰς-
 δοκιμάζηι, καὶ τῶν γενημάτων πάντων φέρειν [τὴν]
 δεκάτην. [κ]αθόλου τε γινώσκεθ' ὅτι, συντη[ροῦν]τες [τὴν]
 πρὸς ἡμᾶς εὔνοϊαν, πολλαπλασίῳν τεύξεσθε φιλανθρώπων.
 vacat

III [β]ασιλ[ε]ὺς Εὐμένης Τοριαιτῶν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ [δήμῳ]
 50 *vac.* [χα]ίρειν· Βρέννος καὶ Ορέστης, οὓς ἀπεστ[εί]λα[τε]
 [πρεσβευτὰς (?) πρὸς ἡμᾶς/ἐμέ-----]
 [-----]

27 J&R ἐνχωρίοις, Schuler ἐν χωρίοις

Translation:

I. *With good fortune. King Eumenes to the inhabitants of Toriaion {Tyriaion}, greetings. Your men Antigenes, Brennos, Heliades, whom you sent to congratulate us for having accomplished everything and for arriving in good health at this place - on account of which, while giving thank-offerings to the gods, you offered the proper sacrifices - and to request, because of the good-will you have for our state, to grant you a city-constitution and the use of your own laws and a gymnasium, and the other rights consistent with those things, these men have spoken with great enthusiasm, and after having declared that you are sincerely eager to do everything advantageous to us, they asked for our assent; for they said that befitting expressions of gratitude to me will continue to be made on behalf of your people for ever, and that you will not diverge from what is advantageous and necessary for me. As for me, I could indeed observe that it is no small matter for me to grant your demands, since it is directly related to many matters of great consequence: indeed, any favour bestowed on you by me at this moment would be secure, since I have full authority over the land by virtue of having received it from the Romans who prevailed both in war and in treaty; that would not be the case with a favour decreed by someone with no authority, for such a favour would*

truly be condemned by all as empty and deceitful. However, on account of the good-will you have for us, as you have demonstrated at the right time, I grant both you and the locals living alongside you to organize yourselves into one citizen body and to use your own laws; if you yourselves are satisfied with some of them, submit them to us so that we inspect them for anything contrary to your interests; if not, let us know and we shall grant you suitable ones and (I grant you to) appoint the council and the magistrates and to distribute the people and assign them to tribes, and to build a gymnasium and provide oil for the youths. As for the official recognition of your city-constitution, I myself have already declared this at the beginning of the second letter. After having received such great honours from me, try to show by your deeds your true good-will in all the situations.

II. *King Eumenes to the council and the people of Toriaion greetings. Since we have granted you a city-constitution and a gymnasium, we want to make manifest our good-will by increasing our grant, and we give you for the purchase of oil at present the revenue accruing from the office of agoranomos, until Herodes "one and a half" examines the matter and earmarks other revenues, whether from an estate or a piece of land, or from anything else he might choose, from which a tenth of all the produce will be levied. On the whole, be assured that, if you preserve [the] good-will for us, you will receive many times as many privileges.*

III. *King Eumenes to the council and the [people] of Toriaion greetings. Brennos and Orestes, whom [you] sent [as ambassadors to us] . . .*

(Translation by L. Jonnes and M. Riel).

18. Sympoliteia between Smyrna and Magnesia ad Sipylum

Slightly tapered stele of grey marble composed of five fragments. Found in Smyrna (İzmir), now in the Ashmolean Museum of Oxford (Inv. No. Chandler II-26). H 2.19m; W 0.99 (top), 1.06m (bottom); D 0.18m; letter height 0.014m.

Eds. Chandler, *Marm. Oxon.* II 26 (Boeckh, *CIG* 3137; Dittenberger, *SIG*¹ 171); E. L. Hicks, *A Manual of Greek Historical Inscriptions* (1882) no. 176 (W. Feldman, *Analecta Epigraphica ad hist. synoecismorum et sympolitiarum Graecorum*, Diss. Straßburg 1885, no. II; Michel, *Recueil* no. 19; Dittenberger, *OGIS* 229; H. H. Schmitt, *Staatsverträge* III 492); Th. Ihnken, *I. Magnesia am Sipylos* 1 (with photographs, Taf. 1-4); G. Petzl, *I. Smyrna* II,1 573.

Cf. M. Rostovtzeff, *REA* (1931) 18; C. J. Cadoux, *Ancient Smyrna* (1938) 113–27; B. Bar-Kochva, *The Seleucid Army* (1976) 57ff; G. Cohen, *The Seleucid Colonies* (1978) 60–3, 77ff. (though cf. S. Sherwin-White, *JHS* 100 (1980) 259ff.); H. Heinen, *CAH*² VII.1 (1984) 420ff; J. Ma, *Antiochos III and the Cities of Western Asia Minor* (1999) 44ff., 49ff; R. Bagnall and P. Derow *The Hellenistic Period: Historical Sources in Translation*² (2004) no. 29 (just translation); M. Austin (2006), *HW*² no. 174; P. Iossif and C. Lorber, *HZAG* 59 (2010) 432–447.

Ca. 243 BC.

- I ἔδοξεν τῷ δήμῳ, στρατηγῶν γνώμη· ἐπειδὴ πρότερόν τε καθ' ὃν καιρὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς Σέλευκος ὑπερ-
έβαλεν εἰς τὴν Σελευκίδα, πολλῶν [κ]αὶ μεγάλων κινδύνων περιστάντων τῇ πόλιν ἡμῶν καὶ τὴν
χώραν, διεφύλαξεν ὁ δῆμος τῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐνοίαν τε καὶ φιλίαν, οὐ καταπλαγεῖς τὴν τῶν ἐναντίων ἔφοδον
οὐδὲ φροντίσας τῆς τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἀ[π]ωλείας, ἀλλὰ πάντα δεύτερα ἡγησάμενος εἶναι πρὸς τὸ διαμει-
5 ναι ἐν τῇ αἰρέσει καὶ ἀντιλαβέσθαι τῷ π[ρ]αγμάτων κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν καθότι ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπέστη· διὸ
καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Σέλευκος, εὐσεβῶς τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς διακείμενος καὶ φιλοστόργως τὰ πρὸς τοὺς γονεῖς, μεγα-
λόψυχος ὢν καὶ ἐπιστάμενος χάριτας ἀποδιδόναι τοῖς ἑαυτὸν εὐεργετοῦσιν, ἐτίμησεν τῇ πόλιν ἡμῶν διὰ
τε τὴν τοῦ δήμου εὐνοίαν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν ἣν ἐπεποίητο εἰς τὰ πράγματα αὐτοῦ καὶ διὰ τὸ πατέ-
ρα αὐτοῦ θεὸν Ἀντίοχον καὶ τὴν μητέρα τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς θεὰν Στρατονίκην ἰδρῦσθαι παρ' ἡμῖν τιμωμέ-
10 νους τιμαῖς ἀξιολόγοις καὶ κοινῇ ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους καὶ ἰδία ὑφ' ἐκάστου τῷ πολιτῶν καὶ ἐβεβαίωσεν τῷ δήμῳ τὴν αὐ-

τανομίαν καὶ δημοκρατίαν, ἔγραψεν δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεῖς καὶ τοὺς δυνάστας καὶ τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὰ ἔθνη ἀξι-
 ώσας ἀποδέξασθαι τό τε ἱερὸν τῆς Στρατονικίδος Ἀφροδίτης ἄσυλον εἶναι καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν ἱερὰν καὶ ἄσυλον· νῦν τε ὑπερ-
 βεβληκότος τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς τὴν Σελευκίδα οἱ στρατη[γο]ὶ σπεύδοντες διαμένειν τῷ βασιλεῖ τὰ πράγματα συμφερόντως διε-
 πέμψαντο πρὸς τοὺς ἐμὲ Μαγνησῖαι κατοίκους καὶ πρὸς[ς] τοὺς ὑπαίθρους ἵππεις καὶ στρατιώτας καὶ ἀπέστειλαν ἐξ αὐτῶν
 15 ἕνα Διονύσιον τὸμ παρακαλέσοντα αὐτοὺς δια[φυ]λάσσειν τὴν φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν βασιλεῖ Σελεύκῳ εἰς
 πάντα τὸν χρόνον, ἐπαγγελλόμενοι διατηρούντων αὐτῶν τὰ πράγματα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐχθρὸν καὶ φίλον ἡγουμένων ὑπάρξειν αὐ-
 τοῖς παρὰ τοῦ δήμου καὶ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως Σελεύκου πάντα τὰ φιλάνθρωπα καὶ καλῶς ἔχοντα καὶ ἀποδοθήσεσθαι χάρι-
 τας αὐτοῖς ἀξίας τῆς αἰρέσεως· οἱ δὲ ἐμὲ Μαγνησῖαι παρακληθέντες καὶ αὐτοὶ ὄντες πρόθυμοι πρὸς τὸ διαφυλάσσειν τῷ βασιλεῖ
 τήν τε φι-
 λίαν καὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν καὶ διατηρεῖν αὐτῷ τὰ πράγματα, τὰ τ[ε] ἀξιωθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν φιλοτίμως ἀπεδέξαντο καὶ
 ἐπαγγέλ-
 20 λονται τὴν αὐτὴν ἔξειν αἴρεσιν τῷ δήμῳ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ εἰς πάντα τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως Σελεύκου συμφέροντα καὶ ἀπεστάλκασιν
 πρὸς ἡμᾶς πρεσβευτὰς ἐγὼ μὲν τῶν κατοίκων Ποτάμωνα καὶ [Ἰ]εροκλῆν, ἐγὼ δὲ τῶν ὑπαίθρων Δάμωνα καὶ Ἀπολλωνικέτην, τοὺς
 δ[ια]-
 λεξομένους τε ἡμῖν καὶ ἀνοίσοντας τὴν ὁμολογίαν καθ' ἣν ἀξι[ο]ῦσιν συνθέσθαι τὴν πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς φιλίαν· ἐπαχθέντες δὲ καὶ
 ο[ἱ]
 πρεσβευταὶ ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον συνλελαλήκασιν ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων ἀκολ[ού]θως τοῖς ἐν τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ γεγραμμένοις· ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ·
 δεδόχθα[ι]
 τήν τε φιλίαν συντίθεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἐμὲ Μαγνησῖαι ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς[ς] τοῦ βασιλέως Σελεύκου συμφέρουσιν, καὶ ἀποδείξαι πρὸς
 αὐτοῦ[ς]

- 25 πρεσβευτὰς τρεῖς, οἵτινες τὴν ὁμολογίαν τε ἣτις ἂν δόξῃ τῷ δήμῳ ἀνοίσουσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ περὶ τῷ γεγραμμένων ἐν αὐτῇ δι[α]-
λεγήσονται καὶ παρακαλέσουσιν αὐτοὺς δέχεσθαι τε καὶ συντελεῖν τὰ ἐν τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ γεγραμμένα, καὶ ἐάμπερ δέξωνται οἱ ἐμ
Μαγνησίαι, ὀρκισάτωσαν αὐτοὺς οἱ ἀποδειχθησόμενοι πρεσβευταὶ τὸν ὄρκον τὸν ἐν τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ γεγραμμένον·
προσδεξαμέν[ων]
δὲ ταῦτα τῶν ἐμ Μαγνησίαι καὶ συνσφραγισαμένων τὴν ὁμολογίαν καὶ ὁμοσάντων καὶ ἐπανελθόντων τῷ πρεσβευτῶν
συ[ντε]-
λείσθω καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα τὰ ἐν τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ γεγραμμένα, καὶ τὸ ψήφισμα τόδε ἀναγραφῆτω κατὰ τὸν νόμον· ἀναγραφῆτω
δὲ κ[αὶ εἰς]
- 30 στήλας εἰς ἃς καὶ ἡ ὁμολογία ἀναγραφῆσεται· καλεσάτωσαν δὲ οἱ ἐπιμήνιοι τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς τοὺς
παραγεν[ομένους]
ἐγ Μαγνησίας ἐπὶ ξενισμὸν εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖον· τοῖς δὲ ἀποδειχθε[ῖ]σι πρεσβευταῖς δότω μεθόδιον Καλλῖνος ὁ ταμίας τὸ ἐκ τοῦ
[νόμου]
ἡμερῶν ὅσων ἂν ὁ δῆμος τάξῃ ἀπὸ τῶν τῆς πόλεως προσόδων· ἡμέρα[ι] ἐτάγησαμ πέντε, πρεσβευταὶ ἀπεδείχθησαν
Φανόδημος Μικ[ίωνος?],
Διονύσιος Διονυτᾶ, Παρμενίσκος Πυθέου.
- II ἐπὶ ἱερέως Ἑγησίου, στεφανηφόρου δὲ Πυθοδώρου, μηνὸς Ἀθηναῖ[ν]ος· ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ· ἐπὶ τοῖσδε συνέθεντο τὴν φιλίαν
Σμυρναῖ[οί]
- 35 τε καὶ οἱ ἐμ Μαγνησίαι κάτοικοι, οἳ τε κατὰ πόλιν ἱππεῖς καὶ πεζοὶ κα[ὶ οἱ] ἐν τοῖς ὑπαίθροις καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἰκηταί, καὶ τὴν
πολιτείαν ἔδωκαν
Σμυρναῖοι τοῖς ἐμ Μαγνησίαι κατοίκοις, τοῖς τε κατὰ πό[λ]ιν ἱππεῦσι καὶ πεζοῖς καὶ τοῖς ὑπαίθροις καὶ τοῖς οἰκοῦσι

τὴν πόλιν, ἐφ' ὅτῳ τὴν μὲν συμμαχίαν καὶ τὴν εὖνοιαν τὴν εἰς] τὰ πράγματα τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως Σελεύκου διατηρήσουσιν οἱ ἐμ
Μαγνησῖαι τῷ βασιλεῖ Σελεύκῳ μετὰ πάσης προθυμίας εἰς ἅπαντα τ[ὸν] χρόνον, καὶ ὅσα παρείληφان παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως
Σελεύκου φυλάξαντες

εἰς δύναμιν εἶναι τὴν αὐτῶν ἀποδώσουσιν τῷ βασιλεῖ Σελεύκῳ[ι· πολ]ιτεύσονται δὲ μετὰ Σμυρναίων κατὰ τοὺς τῆς πόλεως
νόμους

40 [ἀ]στασιάστως τὸν αὐτὸν ἐχθρὸν καὶ φίλον ἡγούμενοι Σμυρναίο[ις· ὁμ]οῦνται δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐμ Μαγνησῖαι Σμυρναίοις καὶ
Σμυρναῖοι τοῖς ἐμ

Μαγνησῖαι ἑκάτεροι αὐτῶν τὸν ὅρκον τὸν ἐν τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ ὑπο[γε]γραμμένον· συντελεσθέντων δὲ τῶν ὀρκῶν τὰ μὲν
ἐγκλήματα αὐ-

τοῖς τὰ γεγεννημένα κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἦρθω πάντα καὶ μὴ ἐξέστω [μηδὲ] ἑτέροις ἐγκαλέσαι περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον
γεγεννημένων μή[τε]

διὰ δίκης μήτε κατ' ἄλλον τρόπον μηθένα· εἰ δὲ μή, πᾶν τὸ ἐπιφερόμε[ν]ον ἔγκλημα ἄκυρον ἔστω· δεδόσθαι δὲ τοῖς ἐμ
Μαγνησῖαι κατοίκ[οις],

τοῖς τε κατὰ πόλιν ἱππεῦσι καὶ πεζοῖς καὶ τοῖς ὑπαίθοις, πολιτεί[α]ν ἐν Σμύρνῃ ἐφ' ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίαι τοῖς ἄλλοις πολίταις·
ὁμοίως δὲ δε[δόσθαι]

45 τὴν πολιτείαν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τ[οῖς ο]ικοῦσιν ἐμ Μαγνησῖαι ὅσοι ἂν ὦσιν [ἐ]λεύθεροί τε καὶ Ἕλληνες· ἀνενεγκάτωσαν δὲ τοὺς
μεγ καταλοχισμ[οὺς]

[τ]ῶν ἐμ Μαγνησῖαι ἱππέων τε καὶ πεζῶν τῶν τε κατὰ πόλιν καὶ τῶν ὑπαί[θ]ρων οἱ ὄντες γραμματεῖς τῶν ταγμάτων ἐπὶ τὸν
δῆμον, τῶν δὲ ἄλ[λων]

οἰκητῶν τὴν γραφ[ὴν οἱ] ἀποδειχθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν ἐμ Μαγνησῖαι κατοίκω[ν] ἄνδρες· ὅταν δὲ τιθῶνται τοὺς καταλοχισμοὺς οἱ
γραμματεῖς καὶ οἱ

[ἄ]νδρες οἱ ἀ[πο]δειχθέντες τὴν γραφὴν τῶν ἄλλων οἰκητῶν, ὀρκισάτωσαν [αὐ]τοὺς οἱ ἐξεσταὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ μητρώου ἱεροῖς νεοκαύτοι[ς τοὺς μὲν]

[γραμμ]ατεῖς ἢ μὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ βελτίστου ἀνενηνοχέαι τὴν γραφὴν τῶν ὄντων [ν π]αρ' αὐτοῖς κατοίκων ἱππέων καὶ πε[ζ]ῶν, τῶν τε κατὰ πόλιν καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὰ]

- 50 ὑπαιθρα τασσομένων, τοὺς δὲ ἄνδρας τοὺς ἀ[ναφ]έροντας τὴν γραφὴν τῶν [ἄλλων οἰκητῶν, ἢ μὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ βελτίστου ἀνενηνοχέαι τὴν γραφὴν τῶν] οἰκούντων ἐμ Μαγνησίαι καὶ ὄντων ἐλευθέρων κ[αὶ] Ἑλλήνων· τὰς δὲ ἀνενεχ[θείσας γραφὰς οἱ] ἐξεσταὶ παραδότησαν τῷ γραμμα[τοφύ]λακι τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου, ὁ δὲ θέσθω εἰς [τὸ] δημόσιον. ἐπικληρωσάτωσαν δὲ οἱ [ἐξεστα]αὶ εἰς τὰς φυλὰς τὰ ἀνενεχθέντα ὀνόματα πάντα καὶ ἀ[να]-

γραψάτωσαν εἰς τὰ κληρωτήρια, καὶ ἔστω μετουσία τοῖς ἀναγραφείσιν εἰς τὰ κληρ[ω]τήρια πάντων ὧγ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς πολίταις μέτεστιν·

χρήσθωσαν δὲ οἱ πολιτογραφηθέντες καὶ ἐμ Μαγνησίαι περὶ τῶν συναλλ[αγμάτ]ων καὶ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων τῶμ πρὸς Σμυρναίους τοῖς νόμοις

- 55 τοῖς Σμυρναίων· δεχέσθωσαν δὲ καὶ ἐμ Μαγνησίαι τὸ νόμισμα τὸ τῆς πόλεως [ἔνν]ομον· καὶ ἄρχοντα δὲ ὃν ἂν ἀποστέλλῃ ὁ δῆμος κυριεύσοντά τε τῷ κλειδῶν καὶ ἐσόμενον ἐπὶ τῆς φυλακῆς τῆς πόλεως καὶ διατηρήσοντα τὴν πόλιν τῷ βασιλεῖ Σελεύκῳ παραδέξονται οἱ ἐμ Μαγνησίαι· δό-
τωσαν δὲ Σμυρναῖοι καὶ εἰς κατασκήνωσιν τοῖς ἀποσκευαζομένοις τῶν ἐκ Μαγν[ησ]ίας οἰκίας κλινῶν ὅσων ἂν τῷ δήμῳ δόξῃ ἀφ' οὗ ἄγ χρόνου ἢ ὁμολο-

γία συνσφραγισθ<ῆ>ι εἰς ἑξάμηνον· μισθούσθω δὲ ὁ ταμίας τῶν ὀσίων προσόδων [τ]ὰς οἰκίας μετὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ τὸ ἀνήλωμα διδόντω ἀπὸ τῶν τῆ[ς]

πόλεως προσόδων. ὁμόσαι δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἐμ Μαγνησίαι κατοίκους τῶν τε κατὰ πό[λ]ιν ἱππέων καὶ πεζῶν καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ὑπαίθοις τασσομένους κα[ὶ]

60 τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς καταχωριζομένους εἰς τὸ πολίτευμα τόνδε τὸν ὄρκον· ὁμνύω Δία, Γῆν, Ἥλιον, Ἄρη, Ἀθηνᾶν Ἀρείαν καὶ τὴν Ταυροπόλον καὶ τῆ[μ]

Μητέρα τὴν Σιτυληνὴν καὶ Ἀπόλλω τὸν ἐμ Πάνδοις καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς πάντας καὶ πάσας καὶ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως Σελεύκου τύχην· ἐμμενῶ ἐν

ταῖς συνθήκαις αἷς συντέθειμαι πρὸς Σμυρναίους εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον [κ]αὶ διατηρήσω τήν τε συμμαχίαν καὶ τὴν εὐνοίαν τῷ βασιλεῖ Σελεύκῳ

καὶ τῇ Σμυρναίων πόλει, καὶ ἃ παρείληφα παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως Σελεύκου διατηρή[σ]ω κατὰ δύναμιν τὴν ἐμὴν καὶ ἀποδώσω τῷ βασιλεῖ Σελεύκῳ καὶ οὐθέν

παραβήσομαι τῶν κατὰ τὴν ὁμολογίαν οὐδὲ μεταθήσω ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον τὰ γεγραμ[μ]ένα ἐν αὐτῇ οὔτε τρόπῳ οὔτε μηχανῇ οὐδεμιᾷ· καὶ πολιτεύσομαι μεθ' ὁ-

65 μονοίας ἀστασιάστως κατὰ τοὺς Σμυρναίων νόμους καὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα τοῦ δή[μ]ου καὶ συνδιατηρήσω τήν τε αὐτονομίαν καὶ δημοκρατίαν καὶ τὰλλα τὰ

ἐπικεχωρημένα Σμυρναίοις ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως Σελεύκου μετὰ πάσης προθυμ[ί]ας ἐμ παντὶ καιρῷ, καὶ οὔτε αὐτὸς ἀδικήσω αὐτῶν οὐθένα οὔτε ἄλλῳ ἐπ[ι]-

τρέψω οὐθενὶ κατὰ δύναμιν τὴν ἐμὴν· καὶ ἂν τινα αἰσθάνωμαι ἐπιβουλεύ[οντα] τῇ πόλει ἢ τοῖς χωρίοις τοῖς τῆς πόλεως, ἢ τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἢ τὴν ἰσο-

νομίαν καταλύοντα, μηνύσω τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Σμυρναίων καὶ βοηθήσω ἀγωνιζ[όμ]ενος μετὰ πάσης φιλοτιμίας, καὶ οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψω κατὰ δύναμιν τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ· εὐορκοῦντι μέμ μοι εὖ εἴη, ἐφιορκοῦντι δὲ ἐξώλεια καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ γέ[νει τ]ῷ ἐξ ἐμοῦ. ὁμόσαι δὲ καὶ Σμυρναίους τοῖς ἀπὸ Μαγνησίας τὸν ὄρκον

70 τόνδε· ὁμνύω Δία, Γῆν, Ἥλιον, Ἄρη, Ἀθηνᾶν Ἀρείαν καὶ τὴν Ταυροπόλον καὶ τὴν Μη[τέρ]α τὴν Σιτυληνὴν καὶ Ἀφροδίτην Στρατονικίδα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς πάντας καὶ πάσας· ἐμμενῶ ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις αἷς συντεθείμεθα πρὸς τοὺς [ἐμ Μ]αγνησῖαι κατοίκους, τοὺς τε κατὰ πόλιν ἵππεις καὶ πεζοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἐν τ[οῖς] ὑπαίθροις τασσομένους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς καταχωριζομένους εἰς τὸ [πολί]τευμα, εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον οὐθὲν παραβαίνων τῷ κατὰ τὴν ὁμολογίαν οὐδὲ μετατιθεὶς ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον τὰ γεγραμμένα ἐν αὐτῇ, οὔτε τέχνη οὔτε [μηχα]νῇ οὐδεμιᾷ. καὶ εὐνοήσω καὶ βασιλεῖ Σελεύκῳ καὶ τοῖς ἐκ Μαγνησίας κα- τοίκους τοῖς τε κατὰ πόλιν καὶ τοῖς ὑπαίθροις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς οἰκο[ῦσιν ἐμ] Μαγνησῖαι ὅσοι εἰσὶν ἐλεύθεροί τε καὶ Ἕλληνες, καὶ ποιήσομαι αὐτοὺς

75 πολίτας πάντας καὶ τοὺς ἐκγόνους αὐτῶν ἐφ' ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ τοῖς ἄλλοις πολί[ταις κ]αὶ εἰς φυλὰς αὐτοὺς ἐπικληρώσας καταχωριῶ εἰς ἣν ἂν ἕκαστοι λάχωσιν καὶ οὔτε αὐτὸς ἀδικήσω αὐτ[ῶν] οὐθένεα οὔτε ἄλλῳ ἐπιτρέψω οὐθενὶ κατὰ δ[ύν]αμιν τὴν ἐμὴν· καὶ ἐάν τινα αἰσθάνωμαι ἐπιβουλεύοντα αὐτοῖς ἢ τοῖς ἐκγό[νοις] αὐτῶν ἢ τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν αὐτῶν, μηνύσω ὥς ἂν τάχιστα δύνωμαι, καὶ βοι[ηθήσ]ω μετὰ φιλοτιμίας· καὶ μετουσίαν αὐτοῖς δώσω τῶν τε ἀρχείων καὶ τῶν ἄ[λλων]

τῶν κοινῶν τῆς πόλεως, ὧν καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πολῖται μετέχουσιν· εὐορκοῦν[ντι μέμ] μοι εὖ εἴη, ἐφιορκοῦντι δὲ ἐξώλεια καὶ αὐτῶι καὶ γένει τῶι ἐξ ἐμοῦ. ἀποδ[ειξά]-

τωσαν δὲ Σμυρναῖοί τε καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ Μαγνησίας ἄνδρας [ἐκάτεροι αὐτῶν ὅσους] ἂν ἐκάτεροι ὑπολανβάνωσιν ἱκανοὺς εἶναι, τοὺς ὀρκιοῦντας τὸ πλῆθος

80 τῶν τε ἐν Σμύρνηι καὶ τῶν ἐμ Μαγνησίαι· οἱ δὲ [ὀρκιζέτωσαν προγράψα]ντες τῇ πρότερον ἡμέρῃ ἐνδημεῖν τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει ὥς τοῦ ὅρκου συν[τε]-

λεσθησομένου τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ὁμολογίαν· [ὀρ]κιζέτωσ[αν δὲ τὸν προγεγραμμένον ὅρκ]ον οἱ μὲν ἐκ Μαγνησίας ἀποδειχθέντες Σμυρναῖους, οἱ δὲ ἐξ Σμύρνης τοὺς ἐμ

Μαγνησίαι· τὰ δὲ ἱερεῖα τὰ εἰς τὰ [ὀρ]κωμόσια ἐν Σμύρνηι [δότῳ ὁ ταμίας Καλ]λίνος ἀφ' ὧν ἂν ψηφίσηται ὁ δῆμος, ἐν δὲ Μαγνησίαι οἱ ταμίαι, οἷς ἂν τὸ πλῆθος ἐπι-

τάξῃ. ἀναγραφάτωσ[αν] δὲ καὶ τὴν ὁμολογίαν ἐν στήλα[ις λευκολίθοις καὶ ἀναθ]έτωσαν Σμυρναῖοι μὲν ἐν τῶι τῆς Ἀφροδίτης τῆς Στρατονικίδος ἱερῶι καὶ

ἐμ Μαγνησίαι τῇ πρὸς τῶι Μαιάνδρῳι ἐν τῶι τῆς Ἀρτέμιδ[ος τῆς Λευκοφρυη]νῆς ἱερῶι, οἱ δὲ ἐμ Μαγνησίαι κάτοικοι ἔν τε τῇ ἀγορᾷ παρὰ τὸν βωμὸν τοῦ

85 Διον[ύσ]ου καὶ τὰς τῶν βασιλέων εἰκόνας καὶ ἐμ Πάνδοις ἐν [τῶι ἱερῶι τοῦ] Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ ἐγ Γρυνέωι ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος· ἀναγραφάτω δὲ καὶ ὁ γραμ-

ματοφύλαξ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου τὰ ἀντίγραφα τῆς ὁμολογίας [εἰς τὸ δημ]όσιον· συνσφραγισάσθωσαν δὲ τὰς ὁμολογίας τὴμ μὲν Σμυρναίοις δοθησομένην

οὓς ἂν ἀποδείξῃ τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ἐμ Μαγνησίαι τοῖς τε ἑαυτῶν δακτυλίοις κα[ὶ τ]ῶι ὑπάρχοντι κοινῶι, τὴν δὲ εἰς Μαγνησίαν δοθησομένην σφραγισάσθωσαν Σμυρνα[ίων]

οἳ τε στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ ἐξεσταταὶ τῷ τε τῆς πόλεως δακτυλίῳ καὶ τοῖς αὐτῶν. ταῦτα δὲ ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς πλήθεσιν συντετελέσθαι τύχηι τῇ ἀγαθῇ. vacat

III ἔδοξεν τῷ δήμῳ, στρατηγῶν γνώμη· ἐπειδὴ προνοῶν ὁ δῆμος ὑπὲρ πάντων [τ]ῶν τοῦ βασιλέως Σελεύκου συμφερόντων διετέλει καὶ πρότερον τήν τε βασιλεί[αν]

90 αὐτοῦ συναύξων καὶ τὰ πράγματα διατηρῶν καθ' ὅσον ἦν δυνατός, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν περιεΐδεν ἀπολλύμενα καὶ καταφθειρόμενα τῶν ὑπαρχόντων, πολλοὺς δὲ ὑπέμειν[εν]

κινδύνους ἔνεκεν τοῦ διατηρῆσαι τὴν φιλίαν τὴν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Σέλευκον, καὶ νῦν φιλοτιμούμενος αὐτῷ συνδιατηρῆσαι καὶ συνέχειν τὰ πράγματα καθ' ὅ[σον]

ἐνδεχόμενόν ἐστιν, τήν τε πρὸς τοὺς ἐμ Μαγνησίου κατοίκους καὶ τοὺς ὑπαίθρους ἱππεῖς καὶ τοὺς πεζοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς οἰκοῦντας ἐμ Μα-

γνησίου συντέθεται φιλίαν, ἵνα διαφυλάσσωσιν τὴν συμμαχίαν καὶ τὴν εὖνοιαν τῷ βασιλεῖ Σελεύκῳ· νομίζω[ν] δὲ [ἀ]ναγκαῖον εἶναι τῇ πόλει παραλαβεῖν καὶ τὸ

χωρίον Παλαιμαγνησίαν καὶ ποιήσασθαι τὴν φυλακὴν δι' αὐτοῦ, ἵνα καὶ τούτου παραληφθέντος ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀσφαλέστερον διαμένῃ πάντα τὰ σύνεγγυ[ς]

95 πράγματα τῷ βασιλεῖ Σελεύκῳ, διεπέμψαντο πρὸς τοὺς οἰκοῦντας ἐν τῷ χω[ρ]ίῳ καὶ παρεκάλεσαν αὐτοὺς αἰρεῖσθαι τὴν φιλίαν τὴν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Σέλευκον

καὶ παραδοῦναι τὰς κλεῖδας τῷ ἄρχοντι τῷ ἀποσταλέντι ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου καὶ πα[ρ]αδέξ[α]σθαι φυλακὴν τὴν συνδιατηρήσουσαν μετ' αὐτῶν τὸ χωρίον τῷ βασιλεῖ

Σελεύκῳ, ἐπαγγελλόμενος ταῦτα ποιησάντων αὐτῶν ὑπάρξειν αὐτοῖς παρὰ τῆς πόλεως πάντα τὰ φιλάνθρωπα καὶ καλῶς ἔχοντα, οἳ δὲ οἰκοῦντες ἐν τῷ

χωρίωι ἐλόμενοι τὴμ φιλίαν τὴν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Σέλευκον μετὰ πάσης προ[θ]υμίας προσεδέξαντο τάξιούμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου καὶ τάς τε κλεῖδας παραδεδώκασι[ν]

τῶι ἄρχοντι τῶι ἀπεσταλμένῳ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου καὶ τὴν φυλακὴν τὴν παρὰ τῆς πόλεως παρεδέξαντο εἰς τὸ χωρίον· ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ· δεδόχθαι πολίτας τε αὐτοὺς εἶν[αι]

100 καὶ ὑπάρχειν αὐτοῖς τὰ αὐτὰ ὅσα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πολίταις ὑπάρχει, καὶ τοὺς τε κ[λ]ήρους αὐτῶν τοὺς δύο, ὃν τε ὁ θεὸς καὶ σωτὴρ Ἀντίοχος ἐπεχώρησεν αὐτοῖς καὶ περὶ ο[ῦ]

Ἀλέξανδρος γεγράφηκεν, εἶναι αὐτοῖς ἀδεκατεύτους, καὶ ἐὰν προσορισθῇ ἡ χώρα, ἣν ἔχουσιν οἱ πρότερον ὄντες ἐμ Μαγνησίαι κάτοικοι, τῇ πόλει τῇ ἡμετέραι,

ὑπάρχειν αὐτοῖς τοὺς τρεῖς κλήρους δωρεὰν καὶ τὴν ἀτέλειαν αὐτοῖς μέ[ν]ειν τὴν νῦν ὑπάρχουσαν· καὶ ὅσοι αὐτῶν εἰσιν ἀκληρούχῃτοι, δοθῆναι αὐτοῖς κληρο[ν]

ἵππικὸν δωρεὰν τῶν παρακειμένων τῶι χωρίῳ· ὑπάρχειν δὲ καὶ Τίμωνι κα[ὶ] τοῖς πεζοῖς τοῖς τεταγμένοις ὑπὸ Τίμονα τοῖς ἀποταχθεῖσιν ἀπὸ τῆς φάλαγγο[ς]

ἐπὶ τὴν φυλακὴν τοῦ χωρίου τὴν τε πολιτείαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀτέλειαν [ἢ κ]αὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὑπάρχει, καὶ εἶναι αὐτοὺς ἐν τῶι χωρίῳ· ὑπάρχειν δὲ καὶ Ὠμάνει καὶ το[ῖς]

105 Πέρσαις τοῖς ὑπὸ Ὠμάνην καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ Σμύρνης ἀποσταλεῖσιν ἐπὶ τὴν [φ]υλακὴν τοῦ χωρίου, Μενεκλεῖ τε καὶ τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτὸν τασσομένοις, τὴν τε πολιτείαν[ν]

καὶ τὰλλα φιλάνθρωπα, ἃ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς ἐκ Μαγνησίας ἐψήφισται, κ[αὶ] προνοῆσαι τὸν δῆμον ὅπως αὐτοῖς διδῶται ἐκ βασιλικοῦ τά τε μετρήματα καὶ τὰ ὀψώνια

τὰλλα ὅσα εἰώθει ἐκ βασιλικοῦ δίδοσθαι αὐτοῖς. τὸ δὲ ψήφισμα τόδε ἀν[αγ]ράψαι εἰς τὰς στήλας τὰς ἀνατεθεισομένας ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ὑπὸ τε τοῦ δήμου καὶ [τῶν]

ἐκ Μαγνησίας· ἀναγεγράφθαι δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις. vacat

Translation:

I. *Resolved by the demos, proposal of the strategoi. Whereas previously, at the time when King Seleucus crossed over into Seleukis, when many and great perils beset our city and territory, the demos maintained its good-will and friendship toward him, not terrified at the attack of the enemy nor caring about the destruction of its property, but reckoning everything to be secondary to standing by its policy and to supporting his state to the best of its ability, as has been its way from the beginning; wherefore King Seleucus too, being disposed piously toward the gods and lovingly toward his parents, being magnanimous and knowing how to return gratitude to those who benefit him, honored our city, both on account of the good-will of the demos and the zeal which it evinced for his state and on account of the fact that his father the god Antiochus and the mother of his father the goddess Stratonike are established among us and honored with substantial honors by the people in common and by each of the citizens individually, and he confirmed for the demos its autonomy and democracy, and he wrote to the kings and the dynasts and the cities and the leagues, asking that the temple of Aphrodite Stratonikis be (recognized as) inviolable and our city (as) sacred and inviolable. And now, when the king had crossed over into Seleukis, the strategoi, anxious for affairs to remain in a state beneficial to the king, sent to the katoikoi in Magnesia and to the cavalry and infantry in open camp and dispatched from among themselves Dionysios to call upon them to maintain forever the friendship and the alliance with King Seleucus, promising that, if they preserved his state and had the same enemy and friend, they would have from the demos and from King Seleucus all kindness and noble things and that gratitude worthy of their policy would be returned to them. Those in Magnesia, being called upon and being themselves eager to maintain the friendship and the alliance with the king and to preserve his state for him, zealously accepted what was asked by the strategoi and promised to hold the same policy toward our demos in all matters of benefit to King Seleucus, and they have dispatched to us envoys, from the katoikoi Potamon and [Hi]erokles, from those in open camp Damon and Apolloniketes, to speak with us and to convey the agreement by which they ask that the (treaty of) friendship be concluded with them; and the envoys, brought before the demos, have discoursed on all matters, in accordance with what was written in the agreement; with good fortune, be it resolved to conclude the (treaty) of friendship with those in Magnesia on all terms of benefit to King Seleucus, and to appoint three envoys (to go) with them, who shall convey the agreement that the demos may decide, and who shall speak about what is written in it and call upon them to accept and to carry out what is written in the agreement; and if those in Magnesia accept (it), let the envoys who shall have been appointed administer to them the oath written in the agreement; and when those in Magnesia have accepted these things and have sealed the agreement and sworn the oath and the envoys have returned, let all the rest of the things written in the agreement be carried out, and let this decree be inscribed according to the law; and let it be inscribed [on] stelae on which also the agreement shall be inscribed. And let the epimenioi of the boule invite the envoys who have come from Magnesia to be received as guests in the prytaneion. And let Kallinos the*

treasurer give to the envoys appointed (the) travel-allowance (specified) by [law] for as many days as the demos assigns. Five days were assigned; appointed as ambassadors were Phanodemos son of Mik[ion], Dionysios son of Dionytas, Parmeniskos son of Pytheas.

II. In the priesthood of Hegesias, the stephanephorate of Pythodoros, the month Lenaion; with good fortune: On the following terms the Smyrnaeans (on the one side) and (on the other) the katoikoi in Magnesia, both the cavalry and the infantry in the city, and [those] in open camp and the other inhabitants concluded the (treaty of) friendship, and the Smyrnaeans gave citizenship to the katoikoi in Magnesia, the cavalry and infantry in the city, and to those in open camp and to the (others who) live in the city, on the condition that those in Magnesia preserve with all zeal for all time for King Seleucus the alliance and good-will toward the affairs of King Seleucus, and that they return to King Seleucus as much as they have received from King Seleucus, after guarding (it) to the extent of their ability. They shall be citizens with the Smyrnaeans according to the laws of the city, without faction and reckoning the same as enemy and friend as the Smyrnaeans. Those in Magnesia shall swear to the Smyrnaeans and the Smyrnaeans to those in Magnesia, each of them the oath written below in the agreement. When the oaths have been carried out, let all the accusations that arose in the course of the war be done away with, and let it not be possible for either side to bring accusations about what happened during the war either through a court case or in any other way at all; otherwise, let every accusation brought be invalid. Citizenship in Smyrna, on equal terms and the same as for the other citizens, is to be given to the katoikoi in Magnesia, the cavalry and infantry in the city, and to those in open camp. Citizenship is likewise to be given to the others [who] live in Magnesia, as many as may be free and Greeks. Let those who are secretaries of the (military) divisions deliver to the demos the registers of the cavalry and infantry in Magnesia, both those in the city and those in open camp, and (let) the men appointed by the katoikoi in Magnesia (deliver to the demos) the list of the other inhabitants. When the secretaries provide the registers and the appointed men the list of the other inhabitants, let the exetastai have them swear on oath at the metroon over freshly sacrificed victims, [the] secretaries that they have from the best motive brought the list of the katoikoi really with them, cavalry and infantry, [both those] drawn up [in the city and those in] open camp; the men who bring the list of the [other inhabitants, that they have from the best motive brought the list of those who] live in Magnesia and who are really free and Greeks. Let [the] exetastai hand over the [lists] that have been brought to the record-keeper of the boule and the demos, and let him deposit (them) in the public archive. Let the exetastai assign all the names that have been brought to tribes by lot and enter them in the allotment-lists, and let those entered in the allotment-lists share in everything in which the other citizens share. Let the enrolled citizens use the laws of the Smyrnaeans in contract and injury cases involving Smyrnaeans, even in Magnesia. And let them accept also in Magnesia the coin of the city as legal. And let those in Magnesia receive the magistrate whom the demos may send to have control of the keys and to be in charge of the protection of the city and to preserve the city for King Seleucus. And let the Smyrnaeans provide for lodging to those of the ones from Magnesia who are building houses as many beds as the demos may decide, for six months from the time the agreement is sealed; let the treasurer of the sacred revenues, with the strategoi, lease the houses and

provide the expense from the revenues of the city. The katoikoi of Magnesia, both the cavalry and the infantry in the city, and those in open camp, and the others who are being enrolled in the state are to swear the following oath: "I swear by Zeus, Ge, Helios, Ares, Athena Areia and the Tauropolos, and the Sipylene Mother, and Apollo in Pandoi, and all the other gods and goddesses, and the fortune of King Seleucus: I shall abide by the agreements which I conclude with the Smyrnaeans for all time; and I shall preserve the alliance and good-will toward King Seleucus and the city of the Smyrnaeans; and I shall preserve what I have received from King Seleucus to the extent of my ability and shall return (it) to King Seleucus; and I shall transgress nothing of what is in the agreement, nor shall I change for the worse the things written in it, in any way or on any pretext whatsoever; and I shall be a citizen, with concord and without faction, according to the laws of the Smyrnaeans and the decrees of the demos, and I shall join in preserving the autonomy and the democracy, and the other things which have been granted to the Smyrnaeans by King Seleucus, with all zeal and at all times, and I shall not wrong any one of them, nor shall I allow another (to do so), to the extent of my ability; and if I perceive anyone plotting against the city, or the territories of the city, or seeking to subvert the democracy or the isonomia, I shall reveal (this) to the demos of the Smyrnaeans and shall go to its aid, contending with all zeal, and shall not desert it, to the extent of my ability. May it be well for me if I abide by this oath, but if I break it may there be ruin for myself and for the family sprung from me." The Smyrnaeans are to swear to those from Magnesia the following oath: "I swear by Zeus, Ge, Helios, Ares, Athena Areia, and the Tauropolos, and the Sipylene Mother, and Aphrodite Stratonikis, and all the other gods and goddesses: I shall abide for all time by the treaty which we have concluded with the katoikoi [in] Magnesia, the cavalry and infantry in the city, and those in open camp and the others who are being enrolled in the state, transgressing nothing of what is in the agreement nor changing for the worse the things written in it, by no device and on no pretext whatsoever. And I shall bear good-will both toward King Seleucus and toward the katoikoi in Magnesia, those in the city and those in open camp, and (toward) the others who live [in] Magnesia, as many as are free and Greeks, and I shall make them all citizens, (them) and their descendants, on equal terms and the same as for the other citizens, and assigning them by lot to tribes I shall enter them in the one each may draw by lot, and I shall not wrong any one of them nor shall I allow another (to do so), to the extent of my ability. And if I perceive anyone plotting against them or their descendants or their property, I shall reveal this as quickly as I can, and shall lend support with zeal. And I shall give them the right to share in the magistracies and the other public affairs of the city in which also the other citizens share. May it be well for me if I abide by this oath, but if I do not may there be ruin for myself and the family sprung from me." Let the Smyrnaeans and those from Magnesia appoint men, [each of them as many as] each may reckon to be sufficient, to administer the oath to the peoples of those in Smyrna and of those in Magnesia. [Let them administer the oath after announcing] on the previous day that those in the city are to be present for the completion of the oath specified in the agreement. Let those appointed from Magnesia administer [the oath written above] to the Smyrnaeans, and those from Smyrna to those in Magnesia. In Smyrna let [the treasurer Kal]linos provide the victims for the oath-

swearing from what the demos may decree, in Magnesia the treasurers to whom the people may assign the task. And let the Smyrnaeans have the agreement inscribed on [white stone] stelae and set up in the sanctuary of Aphrodite Stratonikis and in Magnesia-on-the-Maeander in the sanctuary of Artemis [Leukophrye]ne, and (let) the katoikoi in Magnesia (have it inscribed and set up) in the agora by the altar of Dionysos and the statues of the kings, and in Pandoi in [the sanctuary of] Apollo, and in Gryneion in the sanctuary of Apollo. And let the record keeper of the boule and the demos have the copies of the agreement entered [in] the public archive. And let those whom the koinon of those in Magnesia may appoint seal the (copy of the) agreement which is to be given to the Smyrnaeans with their own seals and with the existing public seal, and let the strategoi and the exetastai of the Smyrnaeans seal the one to be given to Magnesia with the seal of the city and with their own. Let these matters be carried out by both peoples with good fortune.

III. Resolved by the demos, proposal of the strategoi: whereas the demos, taking forethought for all the things of benefit to King Seleucus, formerly continued to join in strengthening his kingdom and to preserve his state insofar as it could, and endured the loss and destruction of much of its property and withstood many dangers for the sake of preserving its friendship toward King Seleucus, and now, being eager to join in preserving for him and holding together his state as far as is possible, (the demos) has concluded a (treaty of) friendship with the katoikoi in Magnesia and the cavalry and infantry soldiers in open camp and the others who live in Magnesia, in order that they might maintain the alliance and good-will of King Seleucus; reckoning it to be necessary for the city to take over also the place Old Magnesia and to make a guardpost with it, in order that, with this taken over as well, all the important affairs might remain (solid) for King Seleucus, they (the demos) sent to those living in the place and called upon them to choose friendship toward King Seleucus and to hand over the keys to the magistrate sent by the demos and to accept the guard-force which will join with them in maintaining the place for King Seleucus, promising that, if they do these things, they will have from the city all the kindnesses and noble things; those living in the place chose with all zeal friendship for King Seleucus and accepted the requests made by the demos and handed over the keys to the magistrate sent by the demos and received into the place the guard-force from the city: with good fortune, be it resolved that they are to be citizens and to have all the same things the other citizens have, and that they are to have, free from the tithe, their allotments, the two which the god and savior Antiochus, granted them and about which Alexander has written; and if the territory, which the katoikoi who were previously in Magnesia hold, is joined to our city, they are to have the three allotments as a gift and are to keep their present freedom from taxes; and as many of them as are without allotments, (resolved) for a cavalryman's allotment to be given them from the (lands) located by the place; and Timon and the infantry under Timon, who have been assigned from the phalanx to the guard-force of the place, are to have citizenship and the same freedom from taxes [which] also the others have, and they are to be in the place; and Omanes, and the Persians under Omanes, and those sent from Smyrna to guard the place--Menekles and those under him--are to have citizenship and the other kindnesses which have been decreed also for the

others from Magnesia, and the demos is to take thought as to how the drink and food allowances, and as many other things as used to be given to them from the royal treasury, may be given to them from the royal treasury. (Resolved) to have this decree inscribed on the stelae which will be set up in the sanctuaries by the demos and [by those] from Magnesia; and for it to be recorded in the public archives as well.

(Translation by R. Bagnall and P. Derow, *The Hellenistic Period: Historical Sources in Translation*² (2004) no. 29).

19. Lists of Attalid soldiers honoured by the people of Lilaia (Phocis)

Blocs of breccia stone that formed part of the eastern wall of the upper terrace of the temple of Apollo in Delphi. No. 132 Col. III and IV was found separately from the rest of the text in 1941 by J. Bousquet. No. 134 (Inv. No. 1051). H 0.495 m, W 0.89 m, D 0.575 m, letter height 0.012 m. No measurements or further description for the remaining stones is given but F. Courby drew their appearance and location (*FD* II 220 Fig. 174).

Eds. H. Pomtow, *Gött. Gel. Anz.* (1913) 188; F. Courby, *FD* II 222ff. (only printed no. 134); *FD* III (4) 132-135 (J. Poilloux). 134:

Cf. A. Wilhelm, *Anz. Akad. Wien* (1931) 85; L. Robert, *Coll. Froehner* 96 n. 2; M. Launey, *Recherches* 71-73, 654-655; *BE* 1955 120; O. Masson, *REG* 106 (1993) 163-167.

Ca. 208 BC.

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- 1 ἐπειδὴ ἀποσταλέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀττάλου ἐπὶ τὰν φυλακὰν τᾶς πόλιος τῶν Λιλαιῶν Μηνόδωρος
Νέωνος Μυσὸς καὶ οἱ ὑφ' αὐτὸν Μυ[σο]ὶ τὰν τε πόλιν διεφύλαξαν μετὰ τε τοῦ δαιμονίου καὶ μετὰ τῶν πολιτῶν [καὶ]
ἀνεστράφησαν ἐν τῇ πόλει καλῶς καὶ ὁσίως· ἔδοξε τῇ πόλει τῶν Λιλαιῶν· προξένους εἶμεν καὶ εὐεργέτας
τᾶς πόλιος Μηνόδωρον ξεναγὸν καὶ τοὺς ὑφ' αὐτὸν ἡγεμόνας καὶ στρατιώτας· ὑπάρχει<ν> δὲ καὶ ἐκγόνοις πᾶσιν
- 5 ἰσοπολιτείαν καὶ ἀσφάλειαν καὶ πολέμου καὶ εἰράνας καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα ὅσα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις καὶ εὐεργέταις.
στραταγέοντος Μενεκράτεος καὶ ἀρχόντων Νικοξένου, Φαῦλλου, ἱερητεύοντος τῷ Καφισῶι Καλλικράτεος.

	I	II	III	IV
				<i>vacat</i>
7	Θεοδώρῳ Θράσωνος Δυσμάραι Ἑρμίου Μάκρῳν Δαϊμένους	Ἀπολλωνίῳ Μενάνδρου Ἀπολλωνίῳ Μενάνδρου Διογένει Διοδώρου	Ἀρτέμῳνι Κλέωνος Εὐκλείδει Διονυσίου Ἡρώδει Πολεμοκράτου	Δαίπῳνι Πανσανίου Μητροδώρῳ Θράσωνος Ἀσκληπιάδει Ἀττίνου
10	Διοδώρῳ [Κ]αλλισθένου Δίῳνι Εὐβούλου Ἰπάρχῳι Ἀντικράτους	Μενεκλεῖ Τιμοθέου Ἀπολλωνίῳ Ἀρύββου Μενοῖται Διονυσίου	Ἀπολλωνίδει Εὐβούλου Ἀττίν[α]ι Γλαύκου Ἀσκληπιάδει Ἀπολλωνίου	[.]ενοῖται Μεν<ά>νδρου Νικάνδρῳι Δαϊμένου Ἀρτέμῳνι Ἀττίνου
	Ἀπολλωνίῳ Ἀττίνου Ἀρτάμῳνι Ἀρρύβου Ἀττίναι Μενάνδρου	Χαρμ[....] Μενάνδρου Ἀπολλωνίῳ Ἑρμογένου Δαϊμένε[ι ...]ολάου	[....]δίῳι Δαϊμένου [....]πῳι Τραλέος [....]νίῳι Ἑρμογένου	Ἀρτέμῳνι Ἀττίνου [...]πῇ[.....]νου Βυττάκῳι [..]λίου
15	Κρατίπῳνι Θεοφίλου Σίδῳνι Κλέωνος Ἀρτεμιδώρῳ Μενεκράτους	Σωκράτει Κρατίππου Ἡραφάντῳι Ἀριστέου Μενίσκῳι Μενεκράτου	...ροδώρῳι Πολύωνος Μενεκράτει Κλέω[νος?] [..]οξένῳι Δημητρίου	Ἀπολλωνίῳ [..]οδώρου Μενάν[δρῳι] Ἀπολλωνίου [— — — — —]
	Ἡρακλέοντι Ἀριστοβούλου Ἀπολλωνίῳ Ἀνδρωνος Ἀπολλωνίῳ Νέωνος	Κ[λε]άρ[χ]ῳι(?) Ἀπολλοδώρου [Τ]ελεσ[ί]α[ι Γ]λύκωνος Ἀειμνήστῳι Θεοκλείους	[— — — — —]ῳι Ἀπολλωνίου [.]ηνοδώρῳι Ἀπ[ο]λλωνίου [Ἀμ]ύνται Ἀττάλου	[...]ΑΝ[— — —] [— — — — —] [— — — — —]
20	Ἀρτεμιδώρῳ Μενάνδρου Μητροδώρῳ Νέωνος Ταυρίσκῳι Τ[ι]μολέο[ντος]	Ἡρακ[λέ]ῳνι Ἡρακλείδου rasura? Μενίσκῳι Ἑρμογένου	[Ἀρι]στομάχῳι [.]Ε[— —] <i>vacat</i>	[— — — — —] [— — — — —] [— — — — —]
25	Ἀπολλωνίῳ Βο[.]ωντο[—] Καλλιγέν[ει — — —] <i>vacat</i>	Κλέῳνι Μενεκράτ[ου] [Μ]ενεκράτ[ει — —]		

Translation of lines 1-6: *Since Menodoros son of Neon, Mysian, and the Mysians under his command who were sent out by king Attalos to protect the city of Lilaia kept the city safe with the assistance of the divinity and of the citizens [and] conducted themselves in the city in a fine and holy manner; it is resolved by the city of Lilaia: that Menodoros, the commander of the mercenaries, and the other commanders and the soldiers under his command shall have the status of proxenoi and benefactors of the city; that they shall have for all their descendants equal citizenship rights and inviolability both in war and in peacetime and all the other rights that are*

granted to other proxenoi and benefactors. When the strategos was Menekrates and the archons were Nikoxenos and Phaullos, and the priest of Kephisos was Kallikrates.

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1 θε[οί. τύ]χαι ἀγαθᾶι.
ἐπειδὴ οἱ[ι] ἀποσταλέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀτ<τ>άλου ἐπὶ τὰν φυλα[κὰν]
[τ]ᾶς πόλιος τῶν Λιλαϊέων οἱ στρατιῶται καὶ ἀγεμόνες οἱ μετὰ Θρασ[υμάχου ἀπο]-
σταλέντες τ[ά]ν τε πόλιν δι[ε]φύλαξαν μετὰ τε τοῦ δαιμονίου [καὶ τῶν] πολιτᾶ[ν]
5 καὶ τὰν λοιπὰν ἀναστροφ[ὰ]ν ἐποίησαντ[ο] καλῶς καὶ δ[ι]καίως καὶ [ό]σ[ί]ως· ἔδοξ-
ε τᾷ πόλει τῶν Λιλαϊέων· τόν τε ἀγεμόνα Θρασύμαχον καὶ το[ὺ]ς μετὰ αὐτοῦ
στρατιώτας καὶ ἡγεμόνας τοὺς ἐλθόντας ἐπὶ τὰν φυλακὰν τᾶς πόλιος
<προξένους> εἶμεν <καὶ> εὐεργέτας τᾶς πόλιος· ὑπάρχειν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἰσοπολιτεί-
αν καὶ ἀσυλίαν καὶ πολέμου καὶ εἰρήνας καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα ὅσα καὶ τοῖς ἄλ-
10 λοις προξένοις καὶ εὐεργέταις· δεδόσθω δὲ καὶ τῷ ξεναγῶι αὐτῶν Ἀθη-
νοδῶρῳ ἅ τε προξεν[ί]α καὶ ἰσοπολιτεία καθὼς καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις
αὐτοῦ. ἀρχόντων Πράξωνος, Εὐάνορος· ἱερ<ητ>εύοντος τῷ [Καφισῶι] Τιμανγ[έλου].

I

Θρασυμάχῳ Ἀριστίωνος Αἰνιᾶνι
Ἀθηνοδῶρῳ Ἀλ[ε]ξιάδ[ου Περ]γαμηνῶι
15 Ἀντι[πά]τρῳ Ἀρισ.....ους Π[ερ]γαμηνῶι
Ἀπ[ολ]λωνίῳ Ἀσκληπ[ιάδ]ου Κολ[ο]φονίῳ
Ἀρτεμιδῶρῳ Δι[ον]υσίου Περγαμηνῶι
[...]ημῶι Διονυσίου Βισανθηνῶι
Διονυσίῳ Ἀρχελάῳ Π[ερ]γαμηνῶι
20 Μητροδῶρῳ Ἀπ[ο]λλωνίου Περγαμηνῶι

II

Μηνοφῶντι Η[.]ν[— — Περ]γαμ[ην]ῶι
Κλεινομάχῳ Γλαύκου Περγαμηνῶι
Ἀρτέμῳ Ἡρακλείδου Περγαμηνῶι
Αἰσχρίῳ Ἀσστια[...] Περγαμηνῶι
ἈΠ.Ν.ΕΙ Δάμωνος Περγαμηνῶι
Ἑρμογένει Μενίππου Περγαμηνῶι
Ἀμύνται Τιμοθέου Περγαμηνῶι
Ἀσκληπιάδει Σωπάτρου Περγαμηνῶι

	[...]φωι Εὐ[.]γου Περγαμηνῶι	Μάκρωνι Ἀματόκου Περγαμηνῶι
	Ἀπολλωνί[ωι] Ἀσ[— — —]αίου Περγαμηνῶι	Διονυσίωι Δημητρίου Περγαμηνῶι
	Λ[.]ΕΙωι Τε[...]ου Περγαμηνῶι	Ἑρμοκρίτωι [.....] Περγαμηνῶι
	Σωσθείδει Νε[— — —] Περγαμηνῶι	Ἡλιοδῶ[ρωι] Φιλάγρου Περγαμηνῶι
25	[Ἀν?]τέρωτι Ἡρα[— — —]ς Περγαμηνῶι	Δημητρίωι Δημητρίου Περγαμηνῶι
	Ἀρτεμιδῶρωι Εὐθ[υ]δάμου Περ<γ>αμηνῶι	Μητροφάνει Μελεάγρου Περγαμηνῶι
	[Μη]νοφίλωι Λ[....]Λ[.]ους Περγαμηνῶι	[— — — — — — — —] Βισανθ[ηνῶι]
	Ἀ[ρκέ?]σων[ι — — —]Ω[— — —] Περγαμηνῶι	Βίθυι Κλέωνος Βισανθηνῶι
	[...]Ιον[— — — — — — — — Π]εργαμηνῶι	Ἀπολλωνίωι [.....]ου Περγαμηνῶι
30	[...]άνδρω[ι — — —] Περγαμηνῶι	Ἑρμῶνι Ἀγαθοκλέους Περγαμηνῶι
	[...]ΟΚΑΛΟΙΝ.Ι Μενίσ[κ]ου Περγαμηνῶι	Εὐαγόρ[αι Μ]γασιτίμου? Περγαμηνῶι
	[...]ΛΗΜ — Μά[κ]ρωνος Περγαμηνῶι	Δ[...]ΝΙ[....]ΟΡΑ[...]ου Περ[γαμηνῶι]
	[— — —]ανωι Διονυσίου Περγαμηνῶι	Τιμοφά[ν]ει Κλέ[ωνο]ς Περγ[αμηνῶι]

Translation of lines 1-12: *Gods. With good fortune. Since the soldiers who were sent out by king Attalos to protect the city of Lilaia and the commanders who were sent out by Thrasymachos have kept the city safe with the assistance of the divinity [and of the] citizens, and otherwise have conducted themselves during their stay in a fine and just and holy manner; it is resolved by the city of Lilaia: that the commander Thrasymachos and the soldiers under his command and the other commanders who came to protect the city shall have the status of proxenoi and benefactors of the city; that they shall be granted equal citizenship rights and inviolability both in war and in peacetime and all the other rights that are granted to other proxenoi and benefactors; and that proxeny and equal citizenship rights shall be granted to Athenodoros, the commander of the mercenaries, the same as to his soldiers. When the archons were Praxon and Euanor, and the priest of [Kephisos] was Timangelos.*

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[ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἀποσταλ]έντες ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέ[ω]ς Ἀ[ττά]λο[υ ἐπὶ τὰν φυλακὰν τῶν Λι]-
[λαιέων στρατιῶται] καὶ ἀγεμόνες οἱ μετὰ Εὐρ[υκ]άρ[του] ἀποστα[λέντες τὰν τε πόλιν]
[διεφύλαξαν μετὰ] τοῦ δαιμονίου καὶ μετὰ τῶν πολ[ι]τ[ῶν] καὶ τὰν λοιπὰ[ν ἀναστρο]-

5 [φὰν ἐποιήσαντο κ]αλῶς καὶ ὀσίως καὶ δικαίως· ἔδοξε τῇ πόλει τῶν Λιλ[αιέων τόν· τε]
 [ἀγεμόνα Εὐρ]υκάρτην Ἀρισταγόρου Ἱεραπύτνιον καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτ[οῦ στρατιώτας καὶ]
 [ἀγεμόνας τοὺς] ἐλθόντας ἐπὶ τὰν φυλακὰν τὰς πόλιος προξένους εἴμε[ν καὶ εὐεργέτας]
 [τὰς πόλιος τῶν] Λιλαϊέων· ὑπάρχειν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκγόνοις πᾶσιν καὶ ἰσοπολ[ιτεῖαν καὶ ἀσυλί]-
 [αν καὶ πολέμου καὶ] εἰρήνας καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα ὅσα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις καὶ εὐεργ[έταις].
 [ἀρχόντων Πράξωνος, Ε]ὐάνορος· ἱερητεύοντος τῷ Καφισῶι Τιμαγγέλου. Φιλίππῳ Φοκίνῳ

	I	II	III
10	[— — —]αι Ἀπολλωνίδου Μασσαλιώτῃ [— — —]αι Φιλοξένου Πλευρωνίῳ [— — —]ωι Ἀσκληπιάδου Ἀλεξανδρεῖ [— — —]ηται Ἐλπινίκου Λοκρῶι [— — —]μά[χ]ωι Λύκωνος Θεσσαλῶι	Ζω[ίηι?] Ἀρνίου? Θεσσαλονικεῖ Διονυσίῳ Δαμοχάρους Λυσιμαχεῖ Μητροδῶρῳ Πολυφάνεος Παριαν[ῶ]ι Σπάρτῳ Σώσου Κυδωνιάται Νικοφάνει Νικοφάντους Ἐλατεῖ	Τίμωνι Τρωίλου Δημοφίλῳ Ἀττίνου Τεισίῳ Σκαμάνδρου Θράσῳ Ἀρτεμιδώρου Αἰσίμῳ Ἀριστοκλέους
15	[— — —]οδώρῳ Ἀσκληπιοδώρου Αἰνίῳ [— — —]ωι Διονυσοδώρου Μάγνητι [— — —]ίῳ Ἡφαιστίωνος Παριανῶι [— — —]αγ[ό]ραι Ἡροδότου Θεσσαλῶι [— — —]ωνίῳ Μενελάου Περινηθίῳ	Δήμῳ Κτησικλέους Σολεῖ Δημητρίῳ Διοδώρου Ἐρετριεῖ Ἑρμογένει Ζωίλου Θεσσαλῶι Ἀπολλωνίῳ Ἀντιπάτρου Πριηνεῖ Νικοστράτῳ Λαμπροῦ Λοκρῶι	Ἀρτέμῳ Μ[η]νοδώρου [Μ]αρσύᾳ[ι] Ἀττίνου Μενάνδρῳ Νέωνος Ξανθίππῳ Ξάνθου Ἑρμογένει Αἰσίμου
20	[Βιβίῳ] Βιβίου Λευκανῶι [— — —]άτῳ Διονυσίου Φωκαεῖ [— — —]λάῳ Ἀρκεσιλάου Λυσιμαχεῖ [— — —]τρίῳ Ἱεροκλείους Θεαγγελεῖ [— — —]ίκῳ Φιλίππιδου Λυκίῳ	Δαμάρχῳ Ἀντιγένους [Θε]σ[σα]λῶι Μητροδῶρῳ Θρασυμάχου Αἰνιᾶνι vacat κατὰ ταῦτα δὲ καὶ Πολέμῳ Περγαμηνῶι τῶν Μυσῶν ἡγεμό-	Διογένει Μενάνδρου Ἀπολλωνίῳ Ἀττίνου Φιλοίτῳ Κλεωνύμ[ου] Παγκράτῃ Ἀττίνου Ἄνδρῳ Μενεκράτους
25	[— — —]ται Βίθυος Θεσσαλονικεῖ [— — —] Ἀριστεύου Θεσσαλῶι [— — —]ώρῳ Φιλίππου Αἰγαιεῖ [— — —]φιγόνου Θεσσαλῶι [— — —] Ἀρτεμιδώρου Λυσιμαχεῖ	νι καὶ τοῖς ὑφ' αὐτὸν στρατιώταις δεδοσθαι τήν τε πολιτείαν καὶ προξενίαν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα ὅσα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις καὶ εὐεργέταις, ἀρχόντων Πράξω-	Νικάνορι Ἀττίνου Πρωτέᾳ Μενάνδρου Ἀσκληπιάδῃ Ἀνδρωνος Δημητρίῳ Ἀνδρωνος Ἀττίνῳ Ἀπολλωνίου
30	[— — — — — — —]ου Κολοφωνίῳ [— — — — — — —]ου Μάγνητι	νος, Εὐάνορος· ἱερητεύοντος Καφισῶι Τιμαγγέλου. Πολ[έμῳ] Δημητρίου	Ἡρακλείδῃ Τίμωνος Μενάνδρῳ Κλεάρχ[ου]

Νικί[αι Ζ]ηνι[— — —]
Μενά[νδρωι — — —]

Translation of lines 1-9: *[Since the soldiers who were sent] out by king A[tta]los to protect the city of Lilaia and the commanders who were sent out by Eurykartes [have kept the city safe with the assistance of] the divinity and of the citizens, and otherwise [have conducted themselves during their stay] in a fine and holy and just manner; it is resolved by the city of Lil[ai]a: that the commander Eur]ykates, son of Aristagoras, from Hieraptyna, and the other [commanders and the soldiers] under his command who were sent to protect the city shall have the status of proxenoi [and benefactors of the city] of Lilaia; that they shall have for themselves and their descendants equal citizenship [rights and inviolability both in war and] in peacetime and all the other rights that are granted to other proxenoi and bene[fact]ors. When the archons were Praxanos] and Euanoros; when the priest of Kephisos was Timangelos.*

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[ἐπειδὴ οἱ] ἀποστα[λέντες ὑπ]ὸ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀττάλου ἐ[πὶ τὰν φυλακὰ]ν τᾶς πόλιος τῶν [Λιλαιέω]ν [στρατιῶτ]αι καὶ
ἡγεμόνες οἱ [μετὰ]
[Ἀριστ]οβούλου ἀποσ[ταλέν]τες τὰν τε πόλιν διεφύλαξαν μετὰ τοῦ [δαιμονίου καὶ μετὰ] τῶν [πολιτᾶν καὶ τὰν λοιπὰν
ἀν]αστροφὰν ἐποίησαντο ἐν τᾷ πόλει [καλῶς]
[καὶ δι]καίως· ἔδοξε τᾷ[ι] πόλει [τῶν] Λ[ιλ]αιέ[ων· τὸν τε] ἀ[πο]σταλέ[ντα ἡγεμόνα Ἀρι]στόβουλο[ν] Θεογένου[ς]
<Λυσ>ιμαχέα καὶ [τοῦ]ς μετὰ [αὐ]-
τοῦ ἡγεμόνας καὶ στρατ[ιώτας τοὺς ἐλθόντας] ἐπὶ [τ]ὰ[ν φυ]λακὰ[ν] τᾶς πόλ[ιος] προξένους [εἶμ]εν [καὶ] ε[ὐε]ργέτας τᾶς
[πόλιος τῶν Λιλαί]-
5 ἑων· ὑπάρχειν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκ[γ]ό[νοι]ς πᾶσιν ἰσοπολιτείαν κα[ὶ] ἀσφ[άλειαν καὶ πολέμου καὶ εἰρήνης καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα
ὅσα καὶ] τοῖς ἄλλ[οις] προξένουσι καὶ] εὐ[εργέταις].
ἀρχόντων Πράξωνος, Εὐάνορος· ἱερητε[ύοντος] τῷ Καφισῶι Τιμ[αγγέλου].

I

Ἀριστοβούλῳ Θεογένου Λυσιμαχεῖ
Μενελάῳ Μενελάου Περγαμηνῶι
Ἀπολλοφάνει Μενεκράτους Κυρηναίῳ

II

Ἄρχωντι Χορείῳ Λ[υ]σιμ[α]χεῖ
Ποσειδωνίῳ Μνησιθέῳ Κ[ο]λο[φ]ω[νί]ῳ
Σωκράτει Κ[αλλι]ξένου Ἱεραπυτνίῳ

10 Μενεδήμωι Φανίδου Λευκανῶι
 Θεοδώρωι Ἀρτεμιδώρου Λευκανῶι
 Κράτωνι Μενεμάχου Σικυωνίωι
 Φιλοξένωι Θεογένους Θεσσαλῶι
 Διονυσίωι Σειρανίου Λευκανῶι
 15 Ἀριστοβούλωι Θεογένους Λυσιμαχεῖ
 [Θε]οδώρωι Κάλλωνο[ς] Λ[υσιμ]αχεῖ
 [Ἀσκλ]ηπιάδει Ἀρι[..... Λυσιμαχ]εῖ
 [Κλε?]άρχωι[ι Λυσιμ]αχεῖ
 [— —]ντι Ἡρο[— — — Ἡρακ]λεώτη
 20 [— —]ΑΧΝΩΙ[— — — —]ου Ἀχαιῶι
 [— —]όχωι Φυλλίδου Ἀ[μφιλ]οχεῖ
 [Ἀ]ντιόχωι Φυλλίδου Ἀμφιλοχεῖ
 Ἀσκληπιάδει Δημητρίου [Κ]ασσανδρεῖ
 Ἀριστοκλεῖ Μητρ[ο]δῶ[ρου Λυ]σιμα[χεῖ]
 25 Ἀντιγένει Δ[— — — — — — —]
 [Φ]ανοστράτωι? — — — — —] Λυσ[ιμαχεῖ]
 [.]Σ[— — — — — — — — — —]
 [— — — — — — — — — —]
 [— — — — — — — — — —]χεῖ

III

7 Ἀπολλ[— — — — — — — — — —]
 Φιλομάχωι Νεοδάμο[υ] Λακεδαιμονίωι
 [Ὀ]νάται Μνασισθένης Μεσσαν[ίωι]
 10 Μνασικλῆι Τελεσάρχου Ἀρκάδι
 Μαχέτωνι Φιλίππου Σ— — — — —
 Κλεοντίδαι Ἀπολλ[— — Λυσιμ]αχεῖ
 [— — — — — — — — — — Λυσιμ]αχεῖ
 [— — — — — — — — — —]

Ἀντιπάτρωι[ι]άδου Κρήτι
 Εὐμάχωιος Ἐλευθερναίωι
 Μενάνδρωι[ι ...]ητος Μάγνητι
 Δημητρίωι[ια]γόρου Κολοφονίωι
 Διονυσίωι Πρ.....έγου Λυσιμαχεῖ
 Σωσιλέωι Βακχίου Λυσιμαχεῖ
 ...ωνι Διονυσίου Ἐλαίτη
 [Δ]ημητρίωι Θράσωνος Αἰνίωι
 Καλλιστράτωιαίου Λυσ[ιμαχεῖ]
 Σίμωι Ἀρτεμιδώρου Ἐλαίτη
 Διονυσίωι Η[— — — Π]εργα[μη]νῶι
 Θεοδότωι [— — — — — — —]εῖωι
 Σωσ[— — — — — — — Καλυμ?]νίωι
 [— — — — — — — — — — Κ]αλυμνίωι
 [— — — — — — — — — — Λυσ]ιμαχεῖ
 [— — — — — — —]μου Λυσιμαχεῖ
 [— — — — — — —ο]υ Λ[υ]σιμαχεῖ

IV

καὶ τοῖς μετὰ αὐτῶν
 [— — — — — — — — — —]
 [— — — Μ]ενεκράτου
 [— — — — — — — — — —]
 Μενάνδρωι Ἑρμογένους
 Ἀλεξιβούλωι Ἀττάλου
 [— — — — —]τάρχου
 [.]Κ[.]Ν[.]ΩΙ Ἑρμο[γ]ένου(?)

15 [— — — — —]
 [Ἡρακ?]λέωνι ΣΕΝ..... Συρακ[οσίωι]
 Τιμάρχωι Κάλλωνος Λυσιμαχεῖ
 Ἀριστοκλεῖ Κάλλωνος Λυσιμαχεῖ
 Κρατίνωι Ἀριστοκλείους Περγαμηνῶι
 20 Μην[ο]γένηι Ἀριστοκλείους Περγαμηνῶι
 vacat

25

[— — —]ωι Μενεκράτους
 [— — —]ωι Ἀνδρονίκου
 [— —]μαι Δαίππου
 Χάρητι Διοκλείους
 Ἀρτέμωνι Με[....]ου
 Μενίππωι [— — — —]
 [— — —]ομε[— — — —]
 [— — — — —]
 [— — — — —]
 [— — — — —]
 [Ἀπο]λλωνίωι ΤΛ[— — —]
 vacat

Translation of lines 1-6: *[Since the] [soldiers] who were sent [out by] king Attalos to [protect] the city of [Lilaia] and the commanders who were sent [out by Arist]oboulos have kept the city safe with the assistance of the [divinity and] of [the citizens, and otherwise have conducted themselves during their] stay in the city in a [fine and j]ust manner; it is resolved by the city of Lilaia: that the [commander Ari]stoboulos, son of Theogenes, from Lysimacheia, and the commanders and soldiers under his command who came to protect the city shall have the status of proxenoi and benefactors of the city; that they and all their des[cendant]s shall be granted equal citizenship rights an[d invi]olability both in war and in peacetime and all [the other rights that are granted to] other [proxenoi and] bene[actors]; When the archons were Praxon and Euanor, and the priest of Kephisos was Tim[angelos].*

20. List of Asklepiasts in a garrison near Pergamon

Stele of porous andesite stone, with a triangular pediment broken at the top; slightly damaged at the sides, tapers towards the top. Found in Yaylaköy (province of İzmir), now in a private collection in Bergama. H 1.18 m; W 0.41-0.46 m; D 0.14-0.15 m; letter height 0.02-0.025 m.

Ed. H. Müller, *Chiron* 40 (2010) 427-458.

2nd century BC.

Ἐπὶ Δημητρίου φρου-
ράρχου τοῦ κτίσαν-
τος τὸ ἱερὸν ν᾿ ἀγαθῇ
τύχῃ ν᾿ συνῆλθον οἱ πρ-
5 ὧτοι Ἀσκληπιασταί·
Δημήτριος Σεύθου,
Μικαδίων Ἀρισταγόρου,
Μητρόδωρος Ἀφάρου,
Ἀσκληπιάδης Γλαυκίου,
10 Μητροφάνης Ἀρτεμιδώ-
ρου, Μακεδὼν Ἀνδρέσ-
του, Νικάνωρ Μικαδίωνος,
Ἀρτέμων Ἀθηναίου,
Ἡρακλείδης Βακχίου,
15 Κάλας Γλαυκίου, ου
Ἀπολλώνιος Δημητρί-
Σώνικος Διονυσοδώ-
ρου, Ἀγήνωρ Βακχίου,
Πυρρίας Δημέου.

21. List of names, probably of soldiers, from Charakipolis

Stele of white marble broken at the top. Found in the village of Karayakup (province of Manisa). H 1.68 m; W 0.645 m; D 0.11 m; letter height 0.012-0.015 m.

Eds. *TAM* V,1 677 (P. Herrmann, with photograph, Tab. XXII).

Cf. M. Robert, *Coll. Froehner* 94ff.; M. Launey, *Recherches* 1212ff.

2nd century BC.

- 1 Γλαύκιππος Ἑρμογένου, Φίλιππος Τηλέφου,
 Νουμήνιος Παρμενείδου, Διογένης Ἀπολλοφάνου,
 Ἀνδρόνικος Διοκλείους, Γλαυκίας Θεοξένου,
 Μητρόδωρος Διοδώρου, Μενέστρατος Ἀπελλείους,
- 5 Ἑρμοκράτης Ἀρτεμιδώρου, Μηνόδοτος Μενάνδρου,
 Ἀριστόβουλος Ἀριστοβούλου, Μηνογένης Θεοδότου,
 Ἀπολλώνιος Ταυρέου, Παγκράτης Ἀσκληπιάδου,
 Πάμφιλος Μούσωνος, Νικόμαχος Ἀνδρομάχου,
 Ἑρμογένης Δαίππου, Μητροφάνης Θεοδώρου,
- 10 Τίμαρχος Πρωτομάχου, Σωκλῆς Ἀπολλωνίου,
 Μητρόδωρος Δημοφῶντος, Μενέλαος Διοδώρου,
 Μένανδρος Δαιμένου, Θράσων Δαμέου,
 Μένανδρος Ἀπολλωνίου, Μένανδρος Μητροδώρου,
 Κάδμος Ἑρμογένου, Ἀττίνας Ἰόλλου,
- 15 Ἀττίνας Φιλίσκου, [Ἀθ]ήναιος Ἀλεξάνδρου,
 Μηνόφιλος Δημητρίου, Μόσχος Μηνογένου,
 Χαρίδημος Κλεάρχου, Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀρχελάου,
 Μητ[— — —].

22. Ephebic list from Apollonis (Lydia)

Shaft of a column of blue marble, now next to the entrance of the mosque in Seyitoba. H 0.735 m; W 0.71 m; letter height 0.009 m, lines 16-21 0.019 m.

Eds. A. Fontrier, *BCH* 18 (1894) 158 no. 3; K. Buresch, *Aus Lydien* (1898) 28; J. Keil and A. von Premerstein, *Bericht* I (1906) 47 no. 96; *TAM* V,2 1203 (P. Herrmann, with photography, Tab. XVIII).

Cf. L. Robert, *Villes*² 24ff, 29a, 251; G. Cohen, *The Hellenistic settlements in Europe, the islands and Asia Minor* (1995) 202; S. Hin, *AncSoc* 37 (2007) 149-153.

1st century BC.

	I	II
	M— — —	
	Ἀπελ[λᾱς — — —]	Δ.....ς Ἀπ[ολ]λωνίδ[ου]
	Ἡρᾱς Μ[ενεκρά(?)]τους	Διό[φαν]τος Διοφάντου
	Διογένης Ἀπολλοδότου	Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀπολλωνίου
5	Νουμήνιος Δημητρί[ου]	Μένανδρος Ζηνοβίου
	Πρεπέλαος Μητροδώρου	Ἀρτεμίδωρος Δημητρίου
	Δημήτριος Σαδάλου	Λάμπων Ἀσκληπιοδώρου
	Ὀλυμπος Μηνοφάνους	Ποσιδώνιος Μενεκράτους
	Δαμᾱς Φιλίππου	Μηνόφαντος Ἀπολλωνίου
10	Δημήτριος Δημητρίου	Ἀπολλοφάνης Γλαύκου
	Ἀμύντας Μηνοδότου	Ἄτταλος Ἀττάλου
	Μηνόφιλος Σωστράτου	Κράτιππος Δημητρίου
	Καρίων Δημητρίου	Ἡλιόδωρος Διοδώρου
	Μενέμαχος Μηνοφίλου	Οὐέττιος Οὐεττίου
15	Διογένης Δημητρίου	Τιμόθεος Μηνοφάντου
	γυμνασιαρχοῦντος Δαμονίκου τοῦ Δημητρίου, τοῦ δὲ αὐτοῦ	
	καὶ ἐφηβεύοντος, ἀλῖφοντος δὲ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ Δημητρίου τοῦ Δαμονίκου	

	Διόφαντος Δ[η]μ[ητρίου(?)]	[— — —] Ἀσκληπιάδου
	Ἀσκληπιάδης Δια[— — —]ας Ἀσκληπιάδου
	[Δι]όδωρος Τειμο[κρ]άτου[ς]	Μηνοφάνης Ἀπολλωνίου
	Ἀγαθίων Μηνοφάντου	Μηνόδωρος Μενεκράτους
15	Χρυσοφάνης Μηνοφάντου	Ἀπολλώνιος Μενεκράτους
	Θεόφιλος Ἰολάου	Μενεσθεὺς Ἀσκληπιάδου
	Μένανδρος Ἀπολλωνίου	Ἀσίων Ἀντιπάτρου
	Μηνογένης Ἀπολλωνίου	Μάρ[α]θος Ἀντιπάτρου
	Νίκανδρος Ἀπολλωνίου	Μεν[οί]δαςσου
20ΛΦ/...ος Ἀπολλωνίου	Νικά[ρ]α[τ]ος Ἀτ[τ]άλου
οδης Ἴ[ο]λάου	Σ[ύ]ν[τ]υχος Μανίου
	Ἀσκ....Κ.....ασίου	

FIGURES

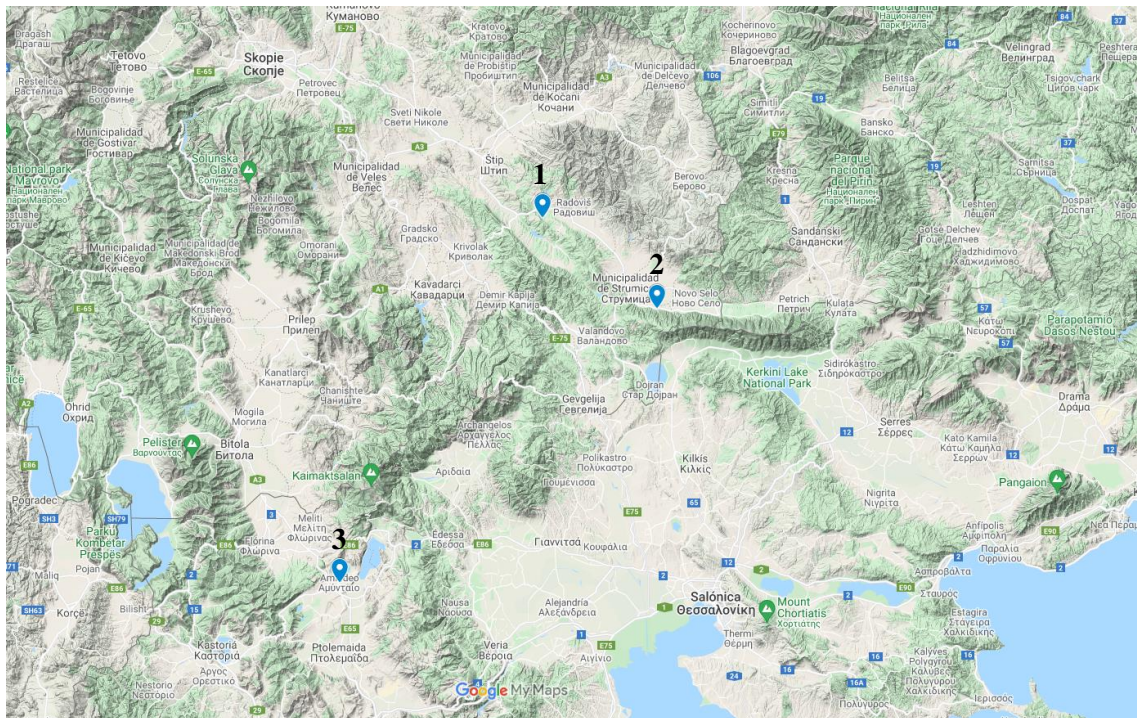


Figure 1. Garrisons in northern Macedonia. 1. Astraea (Damjan); 2. Doberus (Bansko); 3. Kellion (Amyntaio).



Figure 2. Aerial view of the palace of Pella from the south (image from Εφορεία Αρχαιοτήτων Πέλλας - Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο Πέλλας, pella-museum.gr).

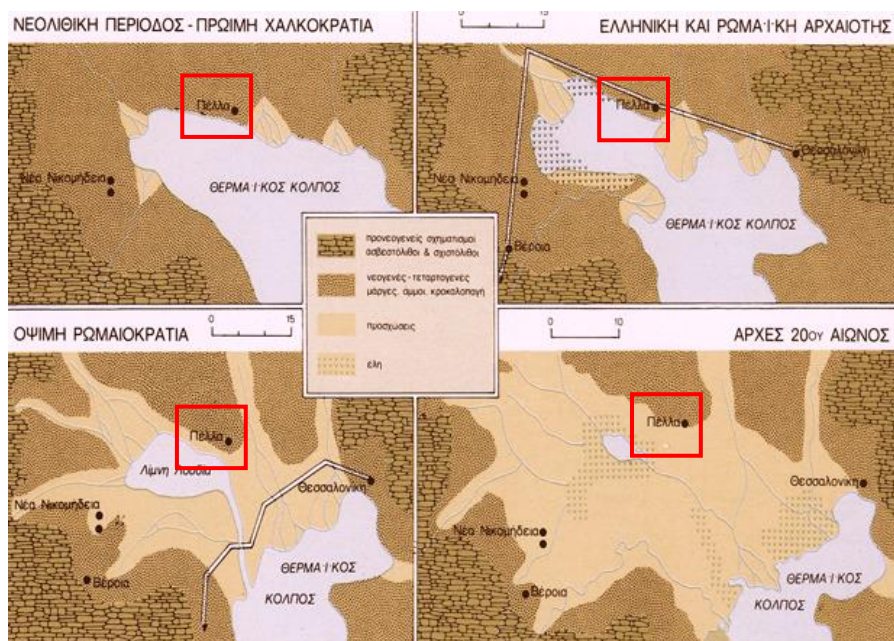


Figure 3. Evolution of the sedimentation of the Thermaic Gulf with the location of Pella highlighted in red. Clockwise left to right: Neolithic period, Greek and Roman period, Late Imperial period and 20th century (image from Εφορεία Αρχαιοτήτων Πέλλας - Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο Πέλλας, pella-museum.gr).

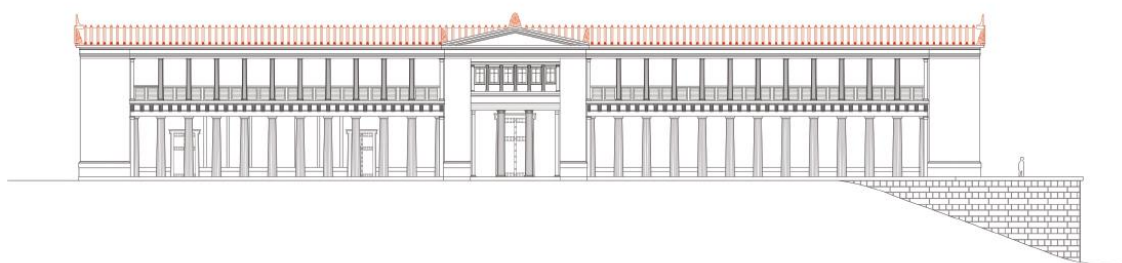


Figure 4. Reconstruction of the monumental entrance and façade of the palace of Aigai (Vergina). Image from Kottaridi 2011, Fig. 34a.



Figure 5. Floor plan of the palace of Aigai (Vergina). Image from A. Kottaridi 2011, Fig. 32b.



Figure 6. Silver coin of Arsinoe Ephesos with the bust of Alexander with the horns of Ammon on the obverse and an Athena Nikephoros seated on the reverse (Thompson 166).



Figure 7. Bronze coin minted by Antigonos I Monophthalmos in an uncertain mint of western Asia Minor ca. 323-310 BC. Macedonian shield with a boss decorated with head of Herakles wearing the lion skin on the obverse; a Macedonian helmet on the reverse (Robert A. Weimer Collection (Classical Numismatic Group 72, 14 June 2006), lot 368).



Figure 8. Coin of Pleistarchos struck under Kassandros with helmet on the obverse and spearhead on the reverse (*HGC* III 998).



Fig. 5. — Pointe de
lance A (1 : 3).

F
de

Figure 9. Sarissa-head found in Vergina by Manolis Andronikos (1970).



Figure 10. Bronze coin from Miletos, struck by Asandros under Philip III Arrhidaios ca. 323-319 BC, with a Macedonian shield with a gorgoneion on the boss on the obverse and a Macedonian helmet and a labrys on the reverse (Coin Archives: <https://bit.ly/34h7Cpj>).



Figure 11. Bronze coin from Mylasa struck by Eupolemos with three overlapping Macedonian shields on the obverse and a sheathed sword with a double axe on the reverse (*SNG Keckman 223*).



Figure 12. Bird's-eye view of Theangela (Google Earth).

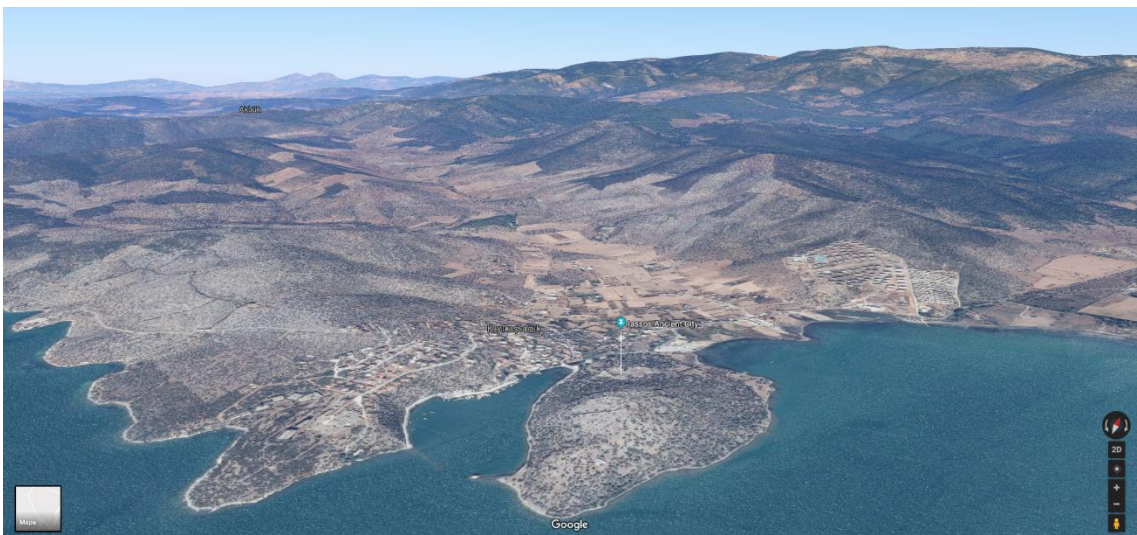


Figure 13. View of Iasos from the SW (Google Earth).

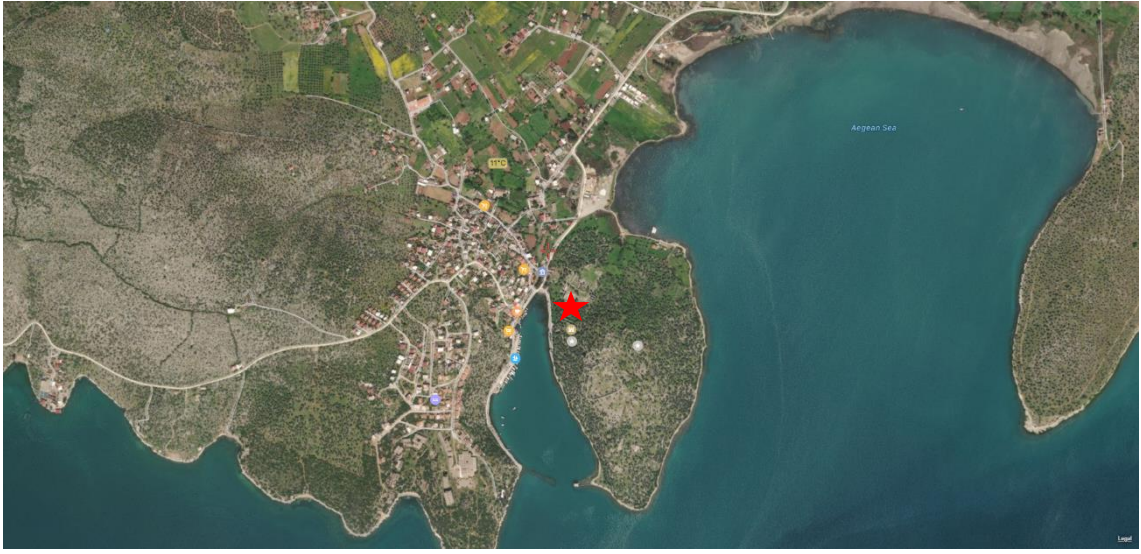


Figure 14. Iasos (marked with a red star) and the surrounding area (Google Earth).



Figure 15. Taşkuyucak (Apolloniou Charax) and surroundings in Lydia and significant locations in Phrygia.

1. Taşkuyucak (Apolloniou Charax); 2. Topuzdamları (Emoddi?); 3. Encekler; 4. Bebekli; 5. Alaşehir; 6. Afyonkarahisar; 7. Şuhut (Synnada).

Figure 16 (A and B). Stele with opisthographic inscriptions found in Taşkuyucak. Image by P. Herrmann and H. Malay, *New Documents from Lydia* (2007) no. 32, Figs. 32a-b.

PLATE 17

A)

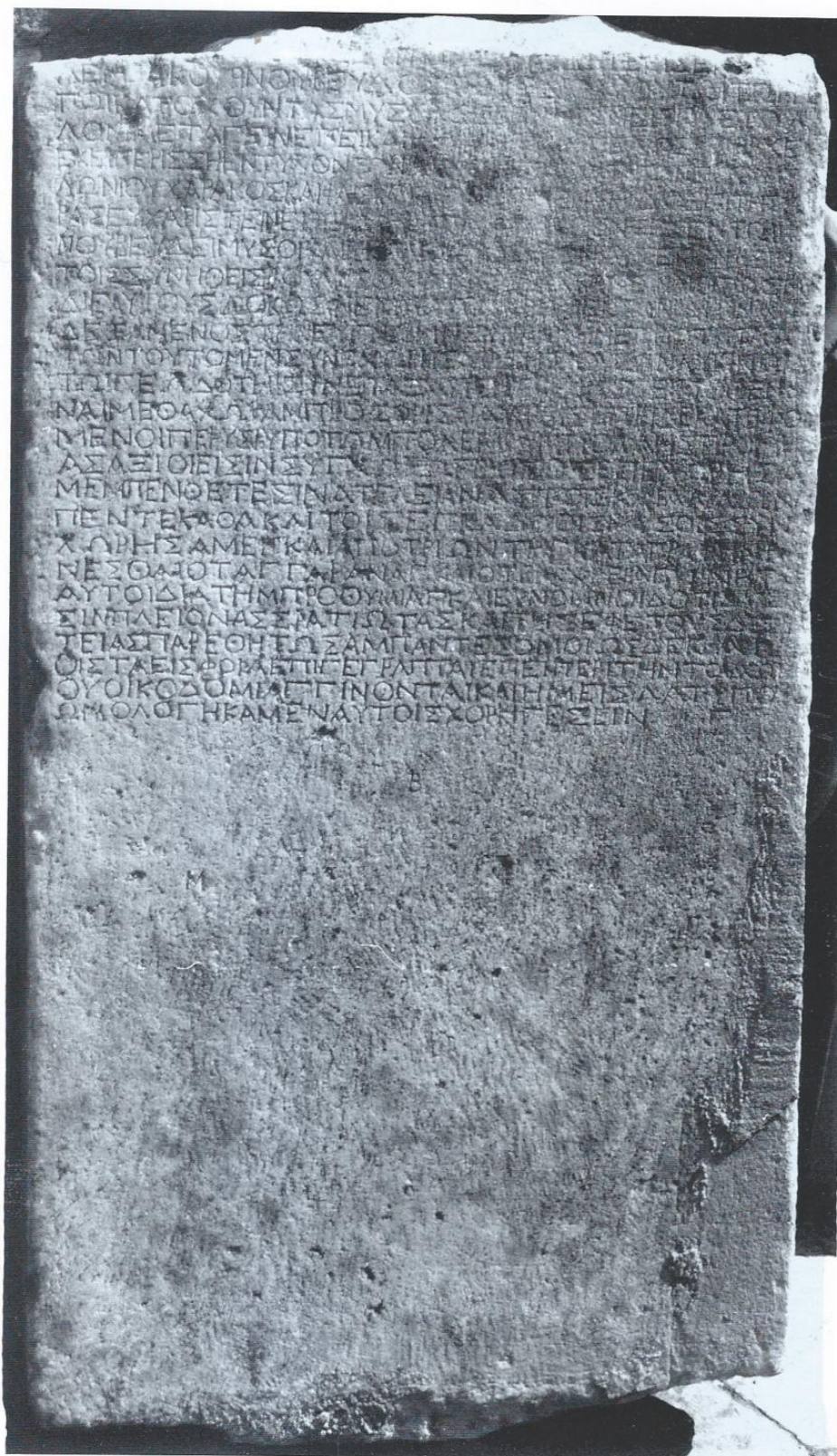


Fig. 32a, Inscr. 32a

B)

PLATE 18

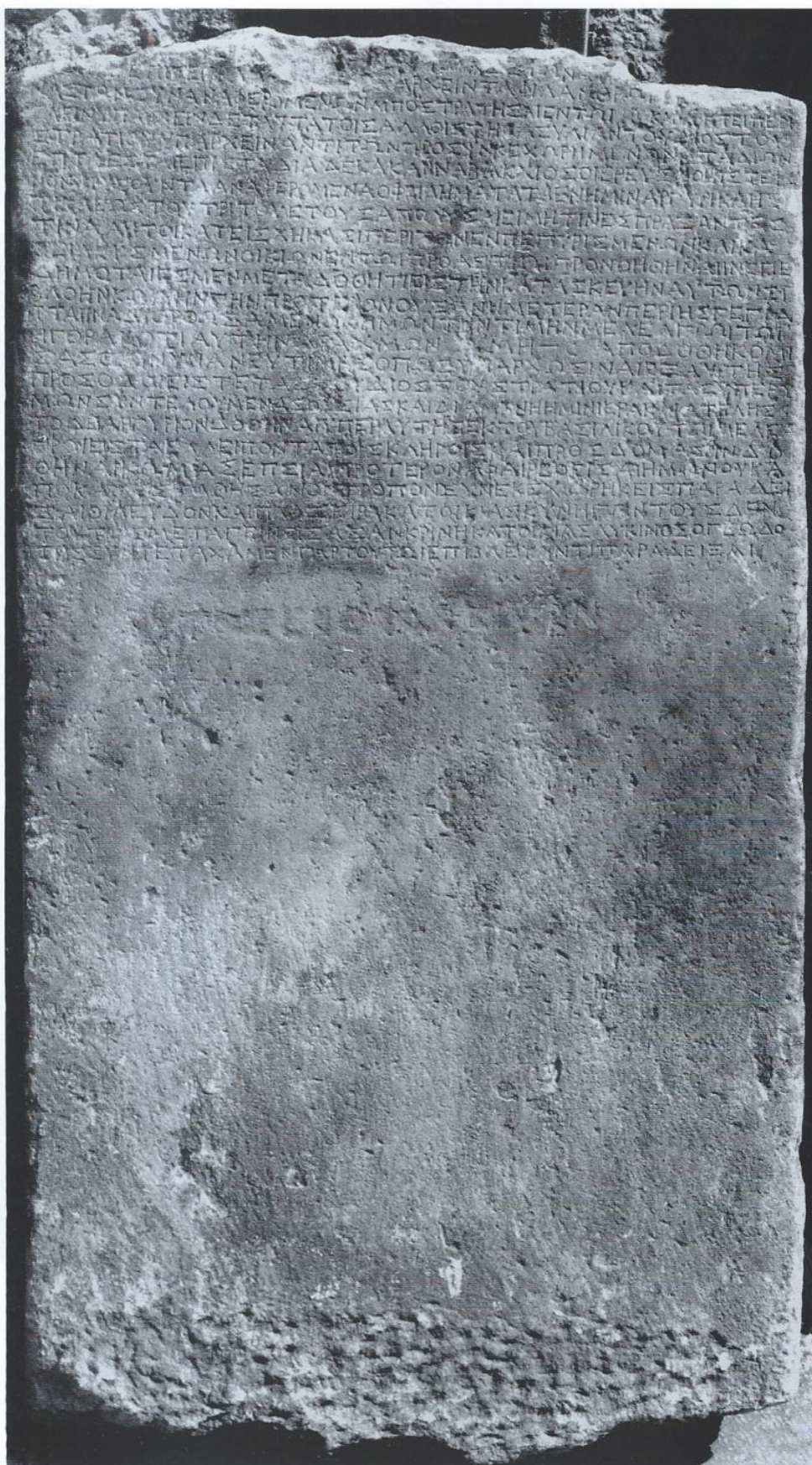


Fig. 32b, Inscr. 32b

Figure 17. Acetate copy of the Apolloniou Charax inscription (made by C. Mestre González from an enlarged photograph).

FACE A

ΛΕΜ ΙΚΟΥΡΝΟΥΒΕΥΔΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΔΕΙΞΕΙΣ
 ΠΩΙΚΑΤΟΙΚΟΥΝΤΑΣ ΜΥΣ Σ ΝΕΙΣ ΚΡΑΣΤΩΑ
 ΛΟΜ ΜΕΤΑΓΕΙΝΕ ΠΕΙΚΑΙΛ - ΕΛΩΣ ΡΥΕΙ
 ΕΚΕΙ ΠΕΡΙΣ ΣΗΕΝΤΥΧΟΝ ΤΩΝ Δ ΥΛ
 ΛΩΝΙΟΥ ΧΑΡΑΚΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΑ Ν Δ ΔΕ ΤΗΣ Χ
 ΡΑΣ ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΝ ΕΙ ΝΕ ΕΝΤΩΙΚ
 ΝΟΥΒΕΥΔΕΙ ΜΥΣΟΙΚΑΙ Κ Ε - ΓΕΓ ΝΑ Ι
 ΤΟΙΣ ΣΥΝΗΘΕΙΣ ΒΟΥΛ ΣΘ ΙΟΠΩΣ Ν
 ΔΙΕ ΑΥΤΟΥΣ ΔΟΚΩΣ ΝΕ Ν Ν
 ΔΕ ΞΑΜΕΝΟΣ ΤΗΝ ΕΥΓΝΩΜΝΕΥ Α ΜΕΤ ΡΙΟΤΗΤΑ ΑΥ
 ΤΩΝ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΜΕΝ ΣΥΝΕΧΩΡΗΣΑΘΕ Η ΤΩΣ ΑΝΛΥΚΙΝΩΙΔ
 ΤΩΙ ΓΕΛΩΔΟΤΗΣ ΥΝΕΤΑΞΑΙ ΙΙ Ε ΕΙ ΙΩΘΕΝ
 ΝΑΙ ΜΕΘΑΧΩΡΑΜ ΠΡΟΣΟΡΙΣΑΙ ΑΥΤ ΙΣ ΕΙΔΕΚΑΤΕ ΦΟ
 ΜΕΝΟΙΤ ΠΕΡΥΣΙ ΥΠΟΤΩ ΜΠΟΛΕΜΙ ΜΠΟΛΛΗ ΣΤΙΡΟΜΗ
 ΔΣ ΔΕΙΟΙΕΙΣ ΙΝ ΣΥΓΧ 2 - ΙΤΡΟΣ ΟΙ Ε ΠΕ ΧΩΡΗΣΑ
 ΜΕΜΠΕΝΘΕΤΕ ΣΙΝ ΑΤΕΛΕΙΑΝ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΛΛΩΝ
 ΠΕΝΤΕ ΚΑΘΑΚΑΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΕΓΚΑΔΟΟΙΣ ΜΥΣΟΙΣ ΣΥΝ
 ΧΩΡΗΣΑΜΕΓΚΑΙ ΑΠΟΤΡΙΩΝ ΤΗ ΚΑΤΑΤΡΑΦΗΝ Ι
 ΝΕ ΣΘΑΙΟΤΑΓ ΓΑΡ ΑΝΑΓΚΑΙΟΤΕΡΑ ΧΡΕΙΑ ΓΙΝΕΤ
 ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΙΑΤΗΜ ΠΡΟΟΥΜΙΑΓΚΑΙ ΕΥΝΟΙΑΝ ΟΙΔΟΤΙ ΔΩ
 ΣΙΝ ΠΛΕΙΟΝΑΣ ΣΡΑΤΙΩΤΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΕΦΕΤΟΥΣ ΔΕΙ
 ΤΕΙΔ ΣΠΑΡΕΘΗ ΤΩΣ ΑΜΠΑΝΤΕΣ ΟΜΟΙΩΣ ΔΕΚ ΑΙ
 ΟΙΣ ΤΑΕΙΣ ΦΟΡΑ ΕΠΙΓΕΓΡΑΤΤΑΙ ΕΠΕΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΝ ΤΟΥ ΧΩΡΙ
 ΟΥ ΟΙΚΟΔΟΜΙΑ ΓΙΝΟΝΤΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΗΜΕΙΣ ΛΑΤΥΠΤΟΙ
 ΩΜΟΛΟΓΗΚΑΜΕΝ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΧΟΡΗΓΕΣΕΙΝ Γ

FACE B

ΕΠΙΓΕΓΡΑΤΤΗ
 ΝΑΣΤΡΩΝ ΣΥΝΑΝΑΦΕΡΟΜΕΝΩΝ ΙΑΡΧΕΙΝ ΤΑ ΦΙΛΑΝΘΡΩΠΙΑ
 ΤΙΝΟΥ ΠΑΡΧΕΙΝ ΔΕ ΤΑΥΤΑ ΤΟΙΣ ΑΛΛΟΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΑΣΥΛΙΑΝ ΤΟΥ ΔΙΟΣ ΤΟΥ
 ΣΤΡΑΤΙΟΥ ΥΠΑΡΧΕΙΝ ΑΝΤΙ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣΥΝΚΕΧΩΡΗΜΕΝΩΝ ΣΤΑΔΙΩΝ
 ΕΠΤΑ ΕΣΤΑΙ ΕΠΙ ΣΤΑΔΙΑ ΔΕΚΑ ΚΑΙ ΝΑΒΑΚΧΙΟΣ ΟΙ ΕΡΕΥΣΙ ΙΘΙΣΤΕ Φ
 ΝΟΝ ΧΡΥΣΟΥΝΤΑ ΑΝΑΦΕΡΟΜΕΝΑ ΟΦΕΙΛΗΜΑΤΑ ΤΑ ΕΝ ΗΜΙΝ ΑΡΓΥΡΙΚΑ Η ΣΙ
 ΤΙΚΑ ΕΛΣ ΤΟΥ ΤΡΙΤΟΥ ΕΤΟΥΣ ΑΠΟΛΥΣΑΙ ΕΙΜΗΤΙΝΕ ΣΠΡΑΞΑΝΤΕΣ
 ΤΙΝΑ ΑΥΤΟΙ ΚΑΤΕΙΣΧΗΚΑΣΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΠΕΠΥΡΙΣ ΜΕΝΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΑ
 ΤΕΙ ΑΚΚΣ ΜΕΝΩΝ ΟΙΚΙΩΝ ΕΝ ΤΩ ΠΡΟΑΣΤΙΩ ΠΡΟΝΟΗΘΗΝΑΙ ΕΠΕ
 ΔΗΜΟΤΑΙ ΕΣΜΕΝ ΜΕΤΑ ΔΟΘΗΤΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΚΑΤΑΣΚΕΥΗΝ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΣΙ
 ΒΛΩΝ ΚΩΝ ΜΗΝΤΗΝ ΠΡΟΤΕΡΟΝΟΥΣ ΑΝΗΜΕΤΕΡΑΝ ΠΕΡΙ ΗΣ ΓΕΓΡΑ
 ΠΤΑΙΝΑ ΔΙΟΡΘΩΣΑΜΕΝ ΩΝ ΗΜΩΝ ΤΗΝ ΤΙΜΗΝ ΜΕΛΕΑΓΡΩ ΤΩ
 ΗΓΩΡΑ ΚΟΤΙΑΥ ΤΗΝ ΔΡΑΧΜΩΝ ΥΜΗ - Σ ΑΠΟ ΔΟΘΗΚΟΜΙ
 Σ ΔΣΘ ΝΥΝ ΑΝΕΥ ΤΙΜΗΣ ΟΠΩΣ Υ ΙΑΡΧΩ ΣΙΝΑΙ ΕΞ ΑΥΤΗΣ
 ΠΡΟΣΟΔΟΙ ΕΙΣ ΤΕ ΤΑ ΓΟΥΣ ΔΙΟΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΑ ΣΥΠΕΡΥ
 ΜΩΝ ΣΥΝΤΕΛΟΥΜΕΝΑ ΣΘ ΣΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑΜΕΝΗ ΜΙΝΙΕΡΑ ΚΑΙ ΑΤΕΛΗΣ
 ΤΟ ΔΕ ΑΡΓΥΡΙΟΝ ΔΟΘΗΝΑΙ ΥΠΕΡ ΑΥΤΗΣ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΥ ΤΩ ΜΕΛΕΑ
 ΓΡΩΙΕΙΣ ΤΑ ΕΛΛΕΙΠΟΝΤΑ ΤΟΙΣ ΚΛΗΡΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΣΔΟΜΑΣΙΝ ΔΟ
 ΘΗΝΑΙ ΚΩΜΑ ΣΕ ΠΣΙΑΙ ΠΡΟΤΕΡΟΝ ΑΦΑΙΡΕΘΕΙΣ ΑΙ ΗΜΩΝ ΟΥΚΑ
 ΠΟΚΑ Σ ΓΛΩΗΣΑΝΟΝ ΤΡΟΠΟΝ ΣΥΝΕΚΕΧΩΡΗΚΕΙΣ ΠΑΡΑ ΔΕΙ
 ΞΑΙ ΟΙΛΕΥΔΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΑ ΕΙΡΑΚΑΤΟΙΚΙΑΣ ΚΥΝΗΓΩΝ ΤΟΥΣ ΔΕΝ
 ΤΟΥΤ ΣΜΕΤΑΓΕΙΝΕΙΣ ΑΣ ΑΝΚΡΗΝΗΚΑΤΟΚΙΑΣ ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ ΟΓΕΛΩΔ
 ΤΗΣ ΣΥΝΤΕΤΑΧΑΜΕΝ ΓΑΡ ΤΟΥΤΩΙ ΕΠΙΒΛΕΨΑΝΤΙ ΤΑ ΡΑ ΔΕΙΞΑΙ

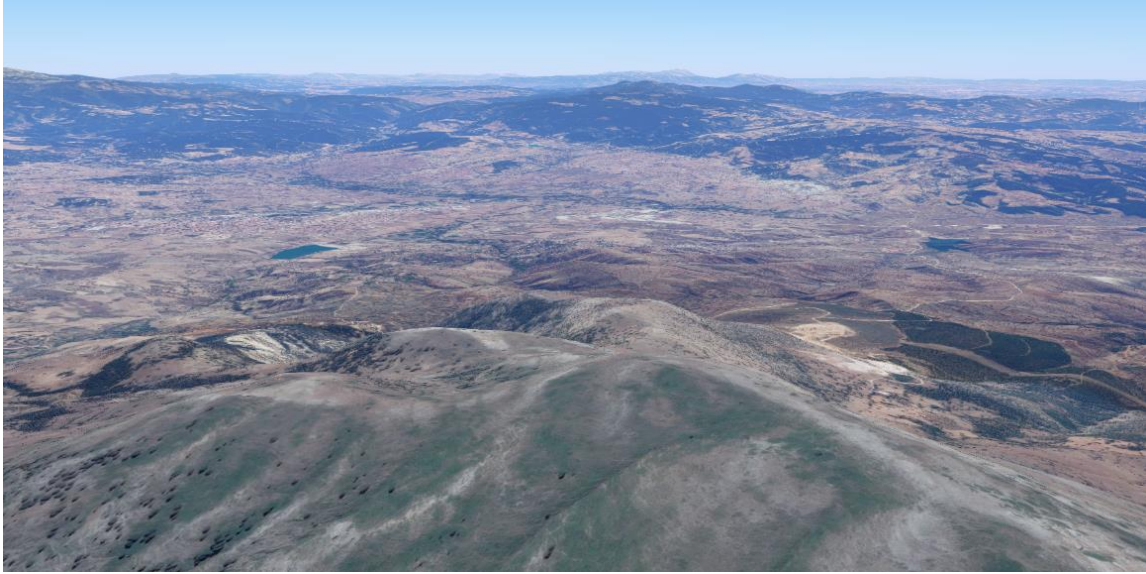


Figure 18. View towards the north of Burçak Ovası/Kastolou pedion from the elevation south of Bebekli (Google Earth).



Figure 19. Plain of Kastoloupedion (modern Burçak Ovası) between Philadelphia and Saittai, with Bebekli marked with a red star (Google Earth).

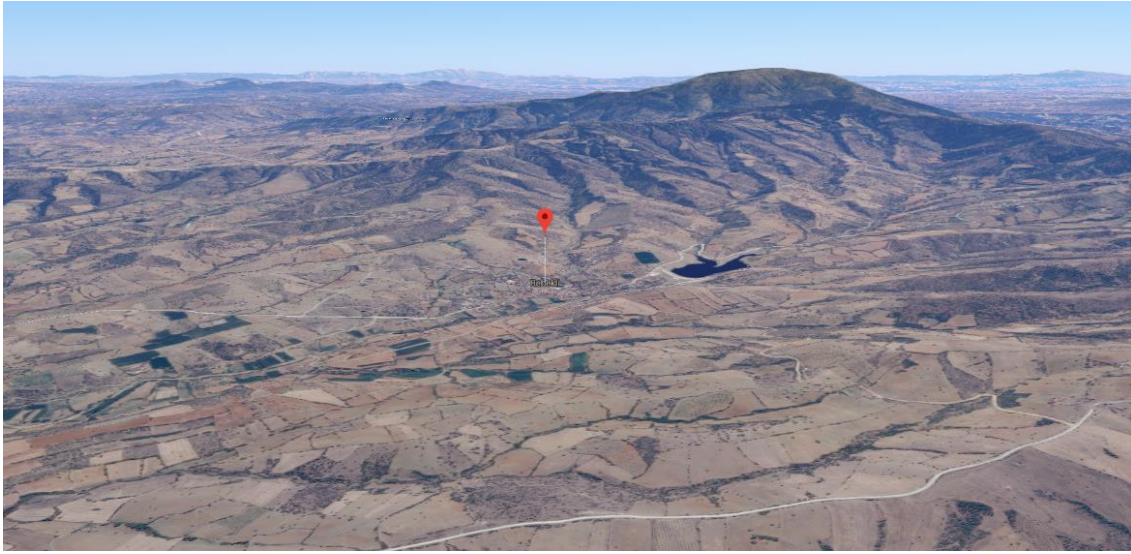


Figure 20. Aerial view of Bebekli from the north (Google Earth).



Figure 21. Apolloniou Charax, Kadoi and Sardis.

1. Taşkuyucak (Apolloniou Charax); 2. Salihli (Sardis); 3. Gediz (Kadooi).



Figure 22. View of Gediz from the hill to the west (Google Earth).

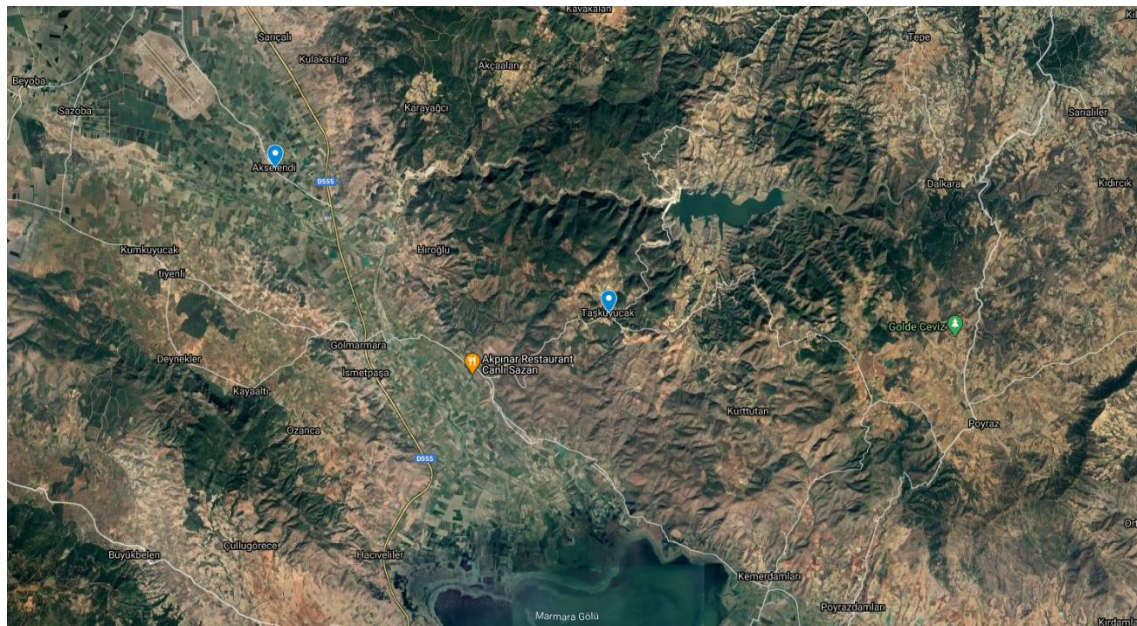


Figure 23. Akselendi (Kadou Kome, left) and Taşkuyucak (Apolloniou Charax, right).



Figure 24. Lake Marmara and surrounding territories.

1. Taşkuyucak (Apolloniou Charax); 2. Karayakup (Charax/Charakipolis); 3. Yeniköy (Pleura); 4. Salihli (Sardis).



Figure 25. Aerial view of Taşkuyucak and Lake Marmara looking towards the SW (Google Earth).



Figure 26. Panoramic view of Lake Marmara from the south of Taşkuyucak (photograph credit: C. Mestre González).



Figure 27. View of Taşkuyucak from the northeast (photograph credit: C. Mestre González).



Figure 28. View of Taşkuyucak from the west (photograph credit: C. Mestre González).



Figure 29. View of Taşkuyucak from the east (photograph credit: C. Mestre González).

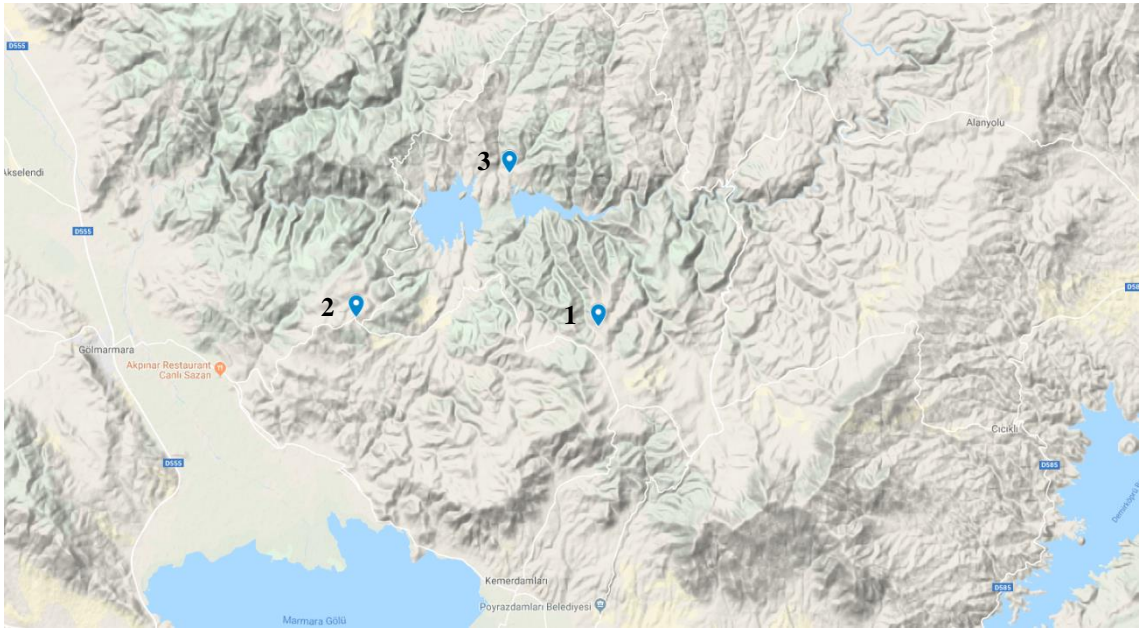


Figure 30. Charakipolis and Daldis.

1. Nardi Kale (Daldis); 2. Taşkuyucak (Apolloniou Charax); 3. Karakayup (Charax/Charakipolis).



Figure 31. Kale Tepe near Charax/Charakipolis (Karayakup), marked with a red star (Google Earth).



Figure 32. Xystis (Körteke Kalesi, photograph credit: Aydın Çağırıyor).



Figure 33. Area of Sardis. 1. Çömlekçi; 2. Taşkuyucak (Apolloniou Charax); 3. Salihli (Sardis).



Figure 34. Copper coin from Daldis with the laureate head of Trajan on the obverse and Zeus Lydios on the reverse (98-117 AD, Ex. Gitbud & Naumann auction 39 lot 613).

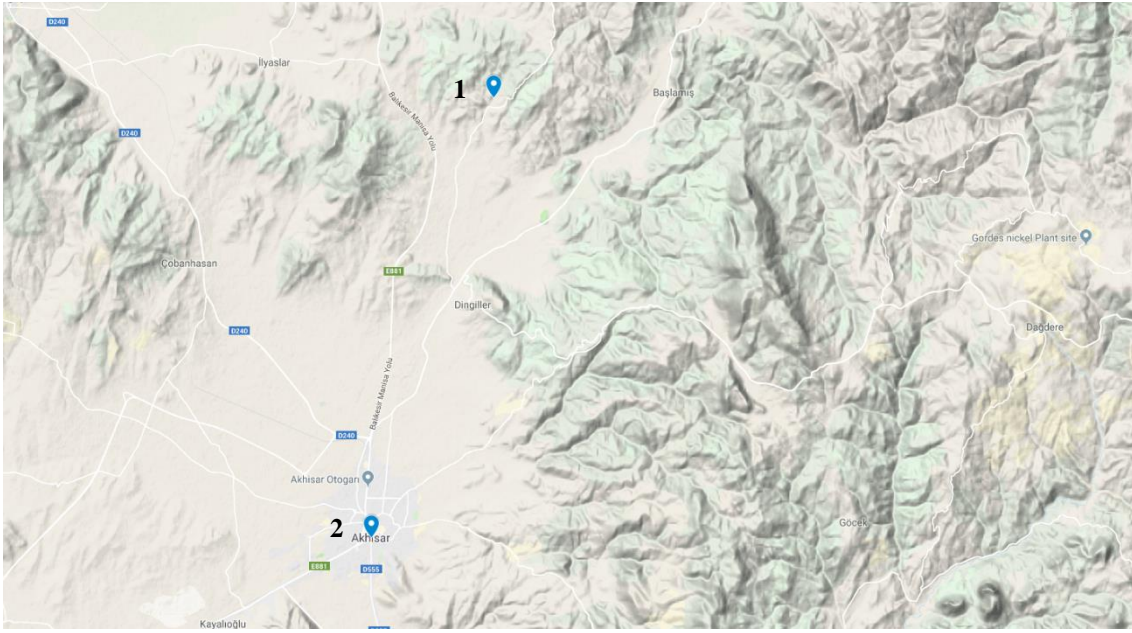


Figure 35. Attaleia and Thyateira. 1. Selçikli (Attaleia); 2. Akhisar (Thyateira).

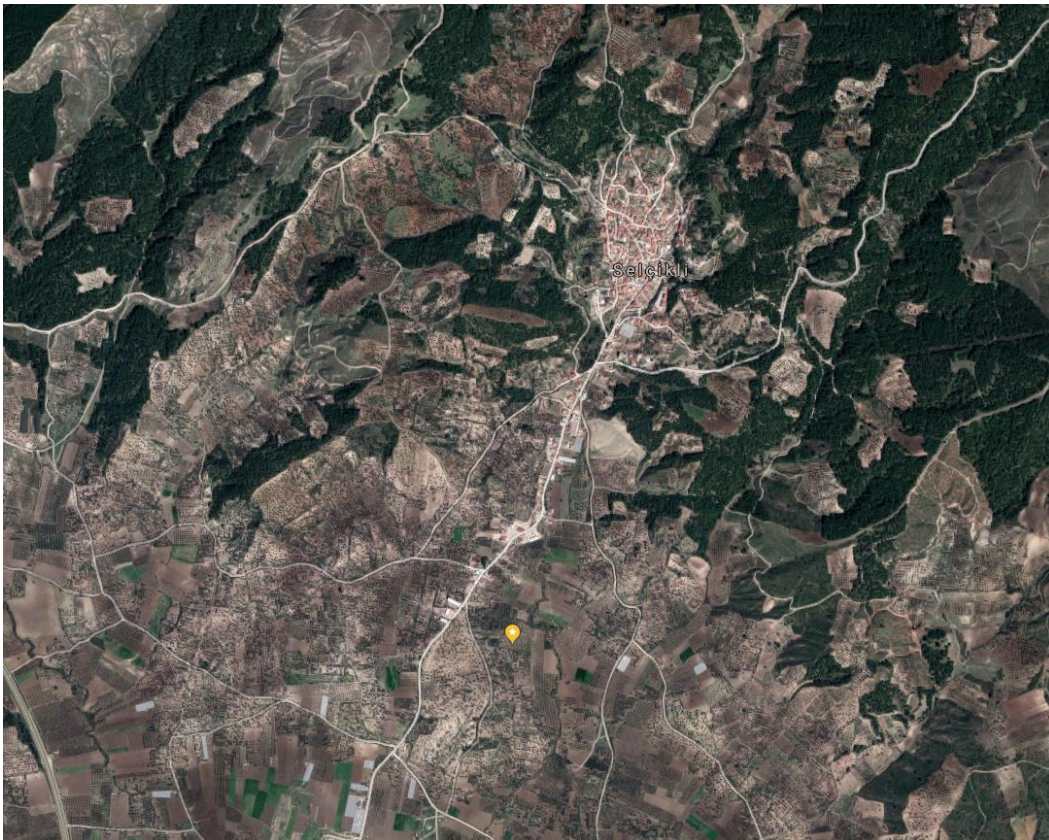


Figure 36. Yaran (Selçikli), marked with a red star (Google Earth).



Figure 37. Olive fields at Yaran (Selçikli, photograph credit: R. Hedo Berrocal).



Figure 38. Column base or capitel from Yaran (Selçikli, photograph credit: R. Hedo Berrocal).



Figure 39. Column base fragment from Yaran (Selçikli, photograph credit: R. Hedo Berrocal).



Figure 40. Terracotta pottery from Yaran (Selçikli, photograph credit: R. Hedo Berrocal).

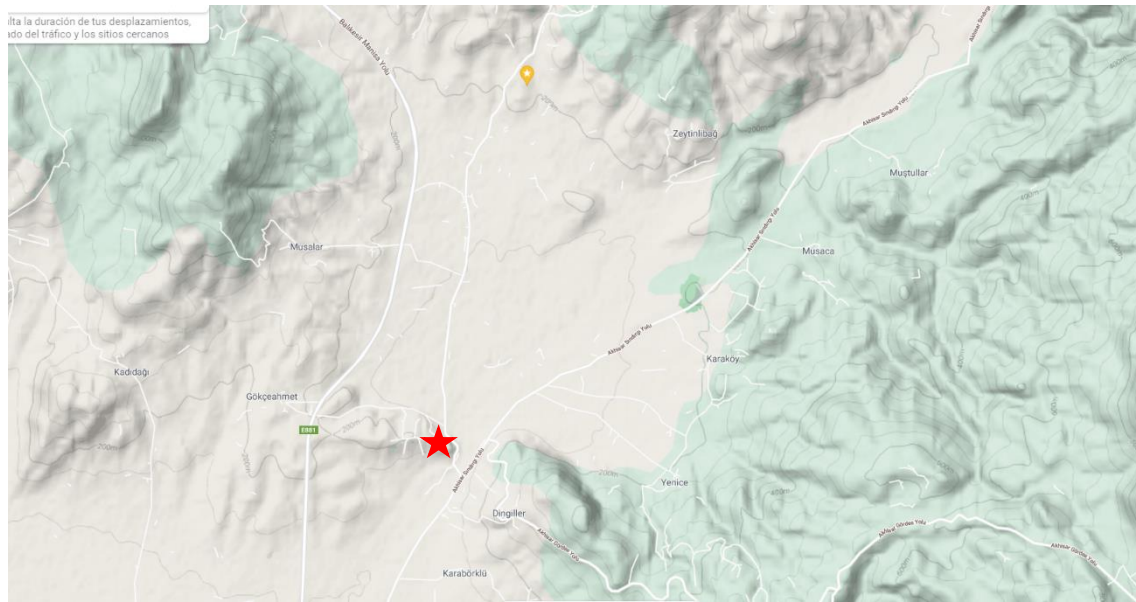


Figure 41. Gördük Kale (marked with a red star) near Attaleia (Selçikli, marked with an orange point).

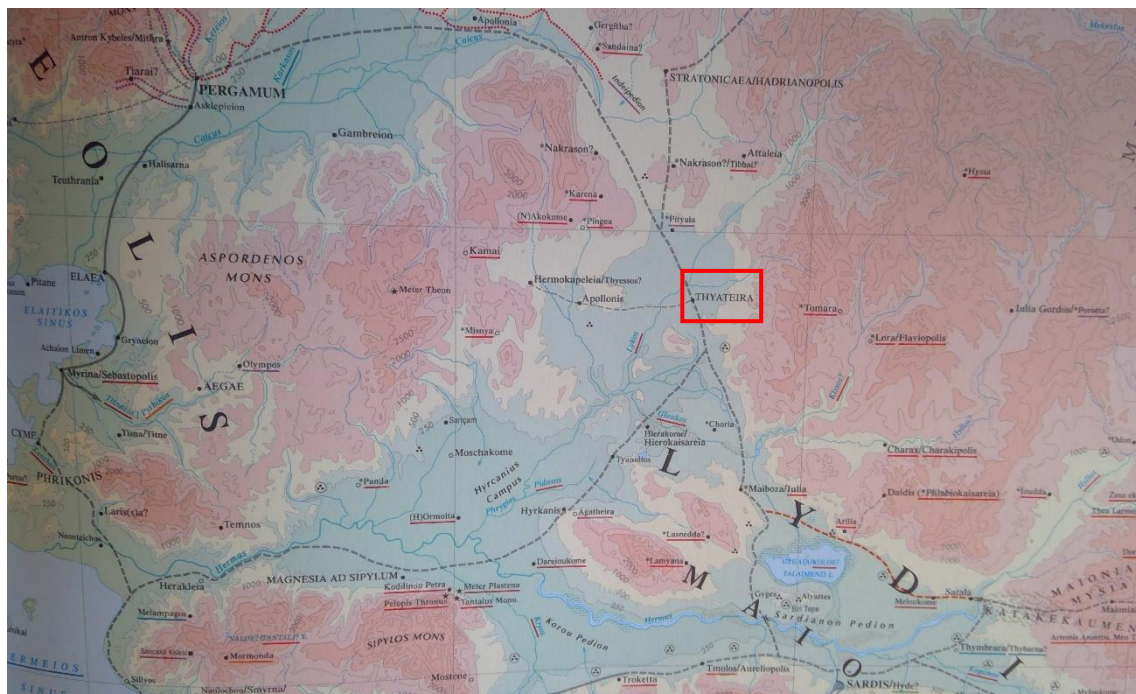


Figure 42. Location of Thyateira in the valley of the river Lykos (Barr. 56 F4).

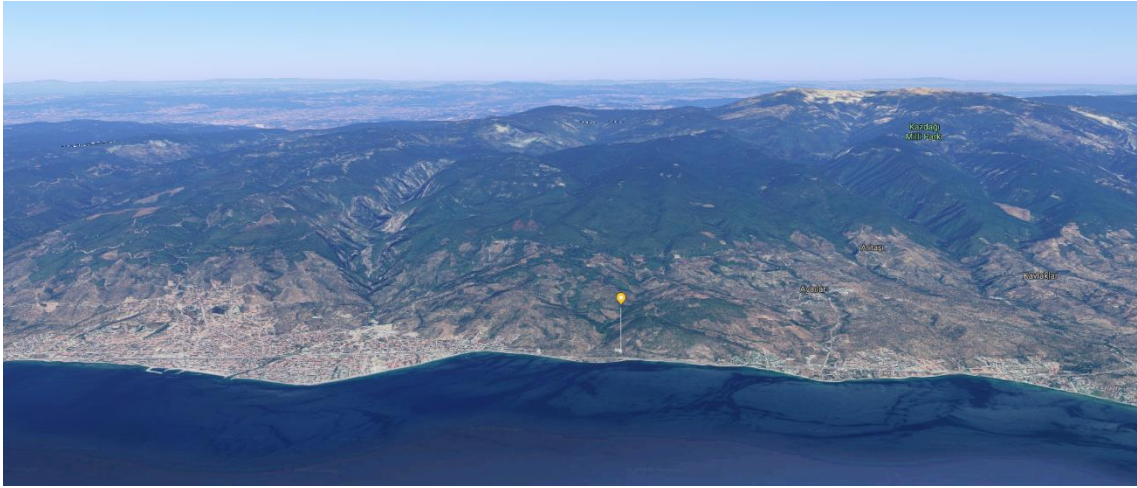


Figure 43. Close-up of Antandros (Altınoluk; Google Earth).

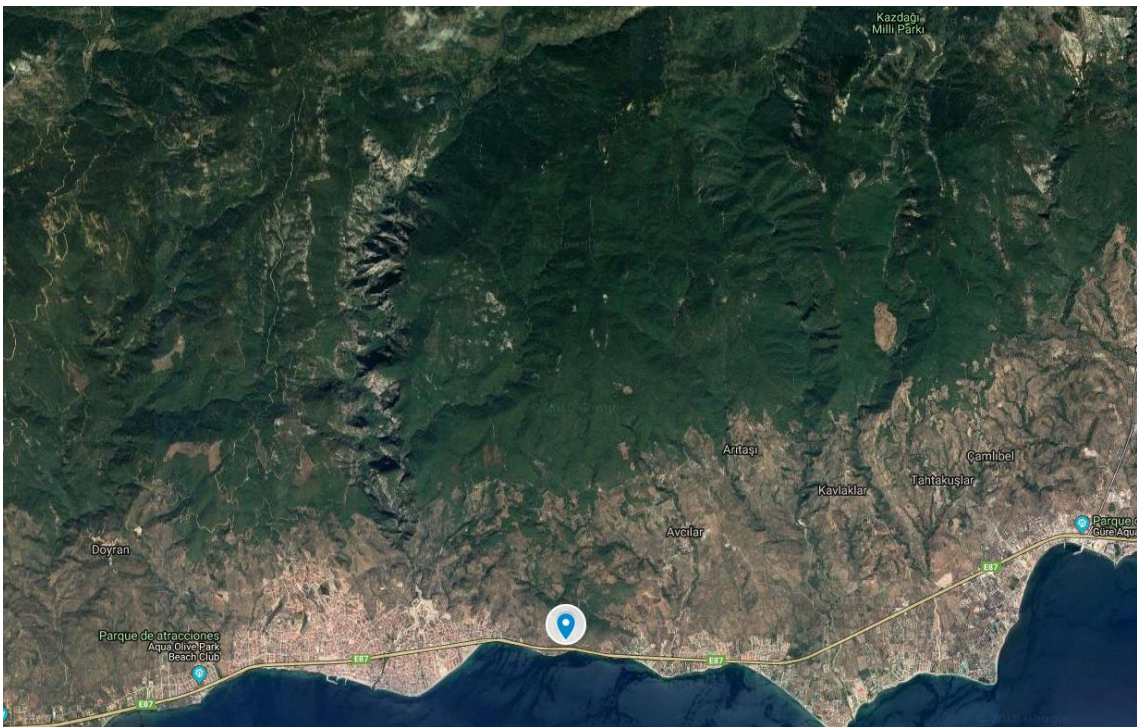


Figure 44. Antandros and the valley in the Kaz Dağı (Google Earth).

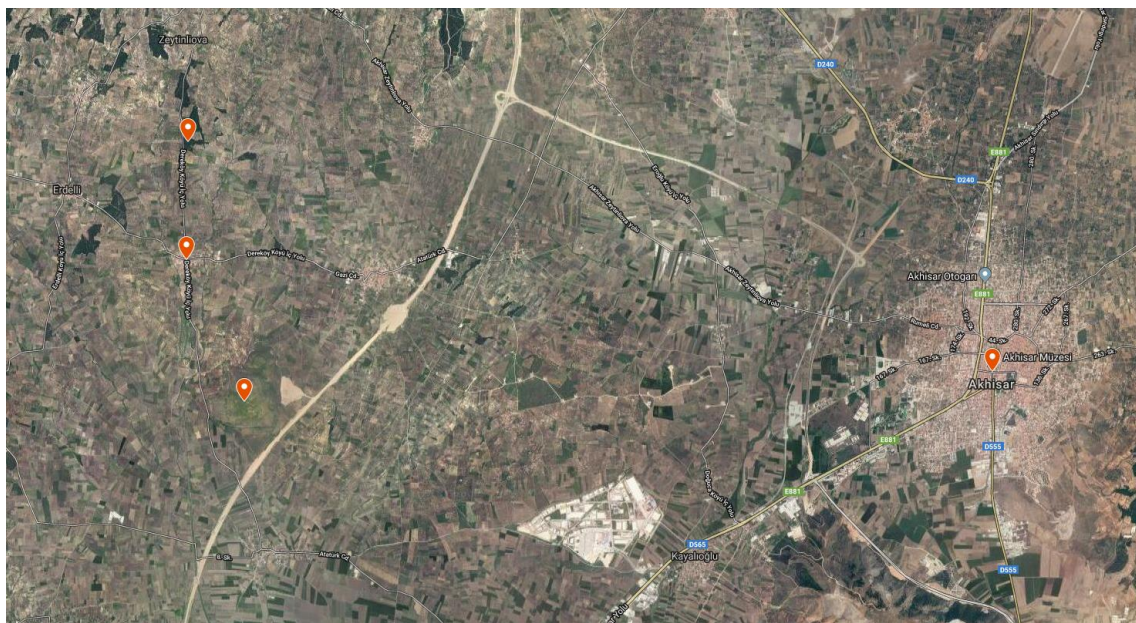


Figure 45. Dereköy and Palamut near Akhisar. Anticlockwise, north to south and west to east: [...]espourai, Doidye, Apollonis and Thyateira.



Figure 46. Bronze coin from Apollonis with a Macedonian shield on the obverse and a club on the reverse (2nd-1st centuries BC; *SNG Cop.* 16).



Figure 47. Bronze coin from Apollonis with a Macedonian shield on the obverse and a club on the reverse (2nd-1st centuries BC; *SNG München* 32).



Figure 48. Remains of Apollonis. The perimeter of the mound can be clearly seen in contrast to the cultivated fields and the secondary mound to the north (Google Earth).



Figure 49. Remains of the main mound of Apollonis taken from the west (photographic credit: R. Hedo Berrocal).



Figure 50. Halitpaşa (left) and Büyükbelen (right) on the slopes of Cal Dağı (Google Earth).



Figure 51. Panoramic view of the east of Hyrkanis (N, photograph credit: C. Mestre González).

Figure 52 (A and B). Views (A towards the east, B towards the west) of the surrounding plain from Cal Daği (Google Earth).

A)



B)





Figure 53. Orichalcum coin from Hyrkanis, with the legend MAKEΔONΩ-N on the obverse and YPKANΩN on the reverse (*BMC Lydia* 122). 2nd-3rd century AD.



Figure 54. View of Lasnedda towards the east (photograph credit: C. Mestre González).

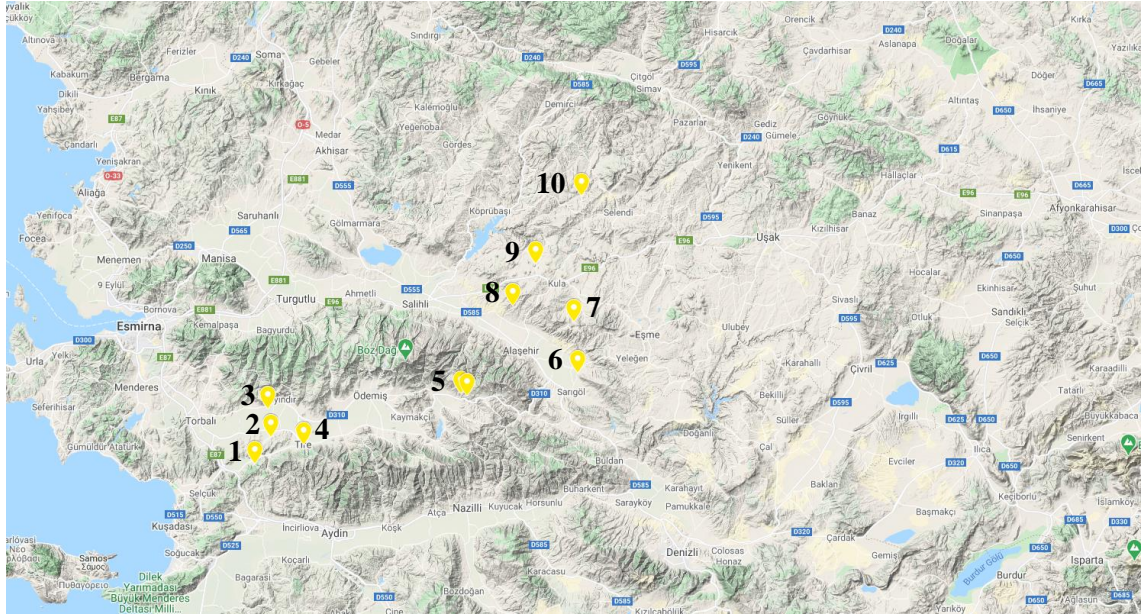


Figure 55. Map of fortifications in the Kayastro and upper Hermos valleys.

1. Büyük Kale. 2. Eskioba. 3. Furunlu. 4. Tire. 5. Karaburç and Çayağzı. 6. Çimentepe.
7. Yeniköy. 8. Hayalli. 9. Saraçlar. 10. Selmanhacılar.



Figure 56. View of Smyrna (red star) from Mount Sipylus towards the NE (Google Earth).



Figure 57. View of the Hyrkanian plain from Mount Sipylos, looking towards the east (Google Earth).



Figure 58. Location of Palaimagnesia (the “Lower City”; Google Earth).



Figure 59. View of the road Manisa-Akhisar and the plain of Akhisar from Palaimagnesia, looking towards the north (photograph credit: C. Mestre González).



Figure 60. Panoramic view of Fethiye from the west (Google Earth).

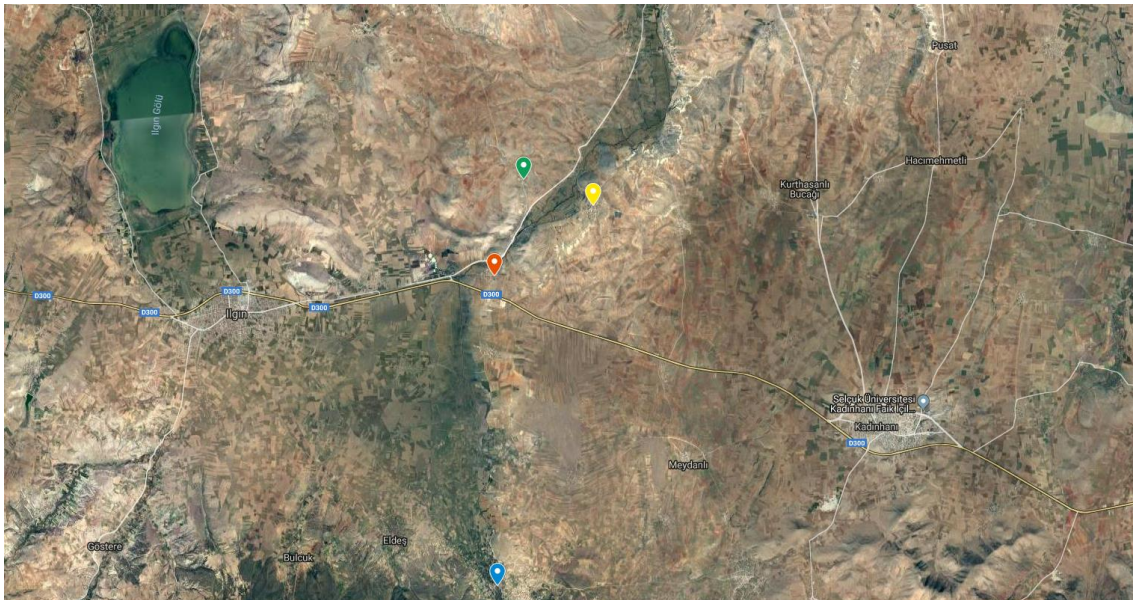




Figure 63. Kale Tepesi from the air (Google Earth).



Figure 64. View of Kale Tepesi and the pass from the south, with Kaleköy and Kayaköy beyond (Google Earth).

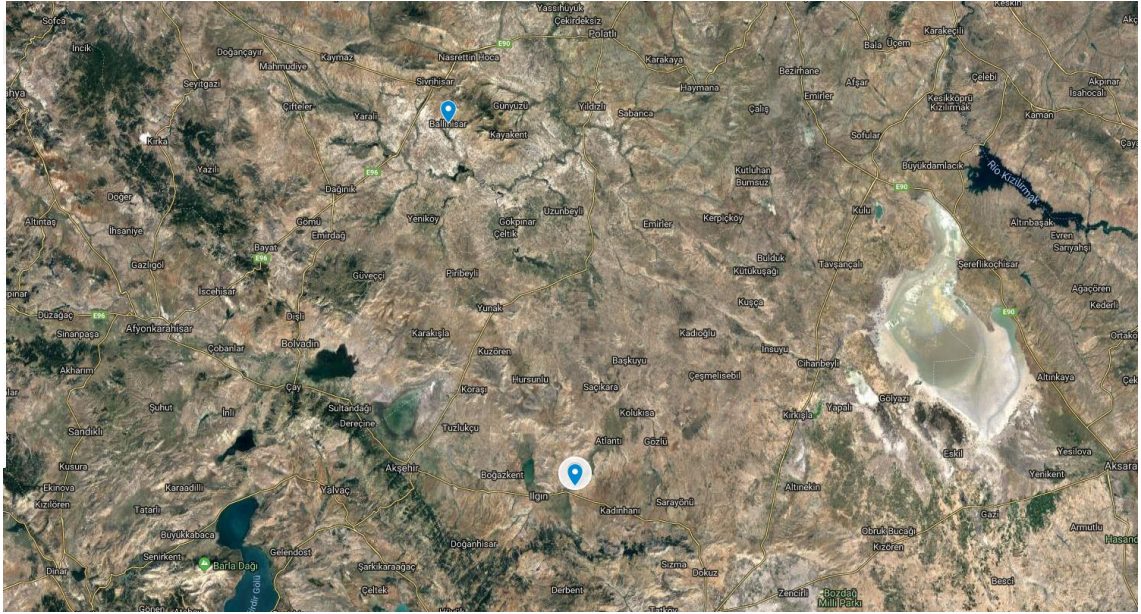


Figure 65. Ballıhisar (Pessinous, north) and Iğın (Toriaion, south).



Figure 66. Ballıhisar (north) and Hamzahacı-Hisarköy (south).



Figure 67. Aerial view of Amorion (Google Earth).



Figure 68. View of the mound in Amorion (photograph credit: Torsten61, retrieved from Wikimedia Commons).



Figure 69. Remains of the Byzantine fortress at Amorion (photograph credit: Torsten61, retrieved from Wikimedia Commons)



Fig. 34 Inscr. 70

Figure 70. Lower part of a marble bust of Zeus holding his right hand across his breast. Second/third century AD. Image from H. Malay, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions in the Manisa Museum* (1994), no. 70.

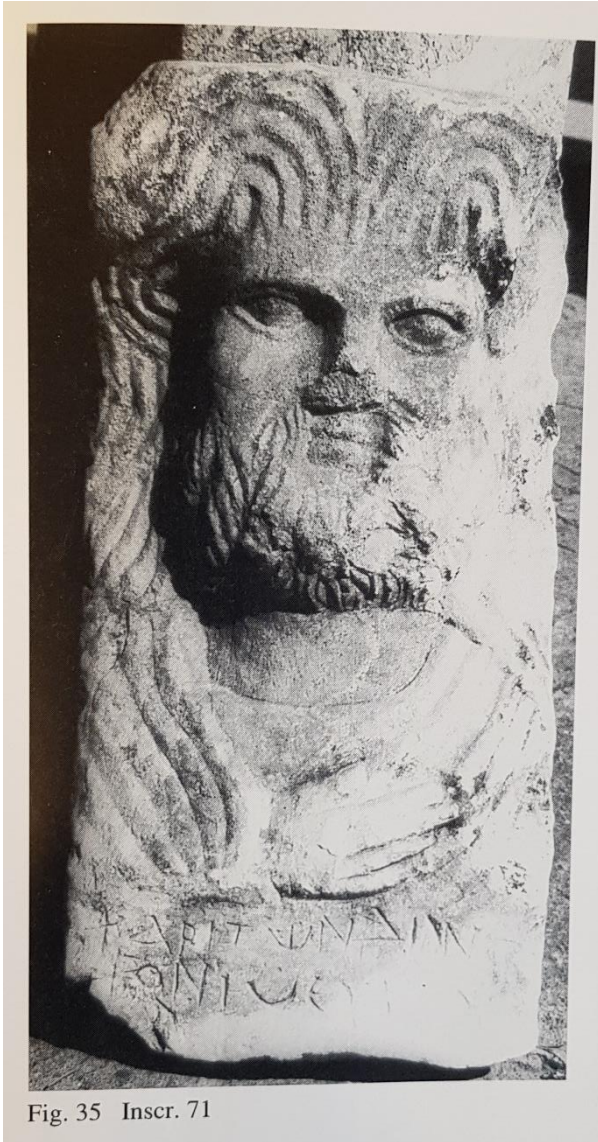


Figure 71 (left). Marble bust of Zeus holding his right hand across his breast. Second/third century AD. Image from H. Malay, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions in the Manisa Museum* (1994), no. 71.

Figure 72 (right). Marble statue of a standing male; the head is missing. Second/third century AD. Image from H. Malay, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions in the Manisa Museum* (1994), no. 72.



Fig. 37 Inscr. 73

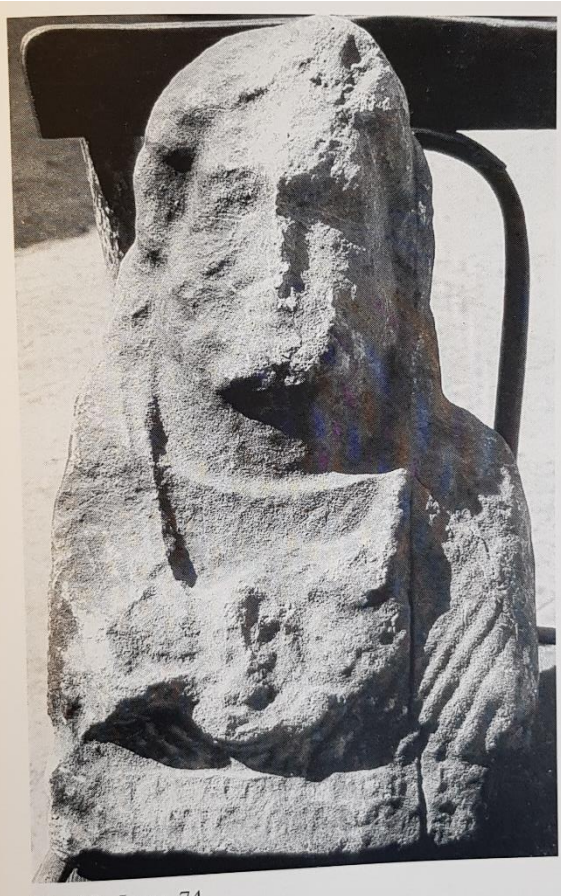


Fig. 38 Inscr. 74

Figure 73 (left). Marble statue of a boy holding a *phiale* in his right hand and a bag (?) in the left; the head is missing. Second/third century AD. Image from H. Malay, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions in the Manisa Museum* (1994), no. 73.

Figure 74 (right). Marble bust of Zeus holding his right hand across his breast. Second/third century AD. Image from H. Malay, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions in the Manisa Museum* (1994), no. 74.



Figure 75. Coin of Amphipolis with the bust of Artemis Tauropolos surrounded by Macedonian shields on the obverse and a club, a thunderbolt and an oak wreath on the reverse (SNG (Cop.) 1314). Second half of the 2nd century BC.

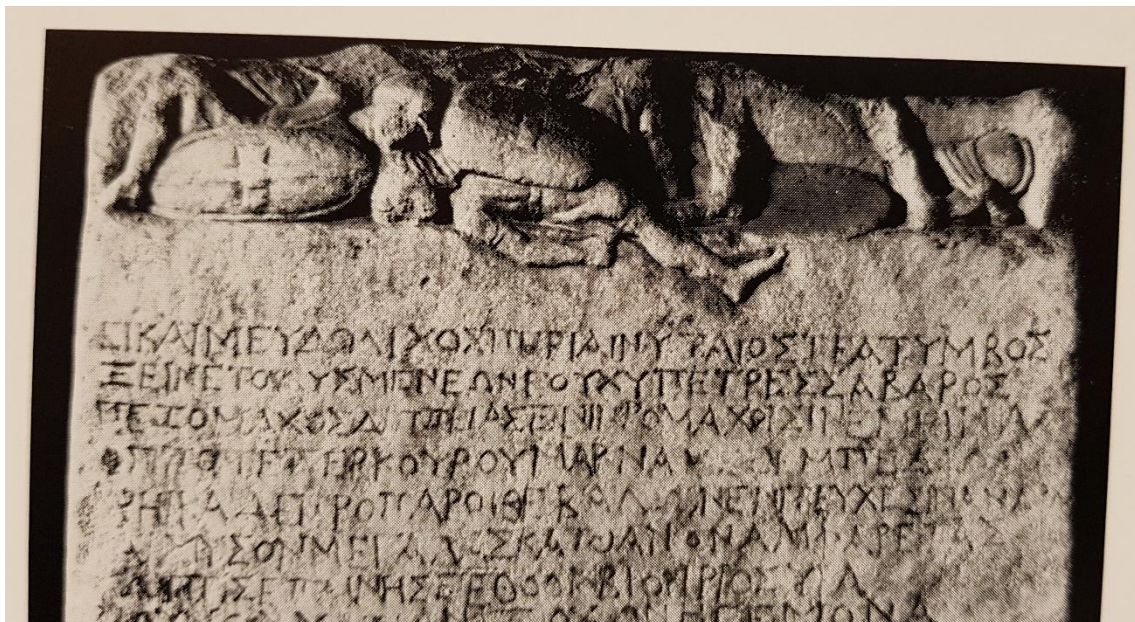


Figure 76. Detail of the upper section of the funerary relief for the Bithynian officer Menas with a defeated Thracian and Mysian. Image from E. Pfuhl and H. Mobius, *Die ostgriechischen Grabreliefs* (1977-79) no. 1269.



Figure 77. Two *thyreoi* in a Boeotian tomb of the third century BC. Image from N. Sekunda in *The Cambridge History of Greek and Roman Warfare*. Volume I: Greece, the Hellenistic World and the rise of Rome (2007), p. 342 Fig. 11.8.



Figure 78. Detail of a funerary stele with a *thyreophoros*, found in Bursa. First half of the second century BC. Image from E. Pfuhl and H. Mobius, *Die ostgriechischen Grabreliefs* (1977-79) no. 1273.



Figure 79. Funerary stele from Yigitler. Image from G. Petzl, *EA 18* (1990) Taf- 3 no. 1.

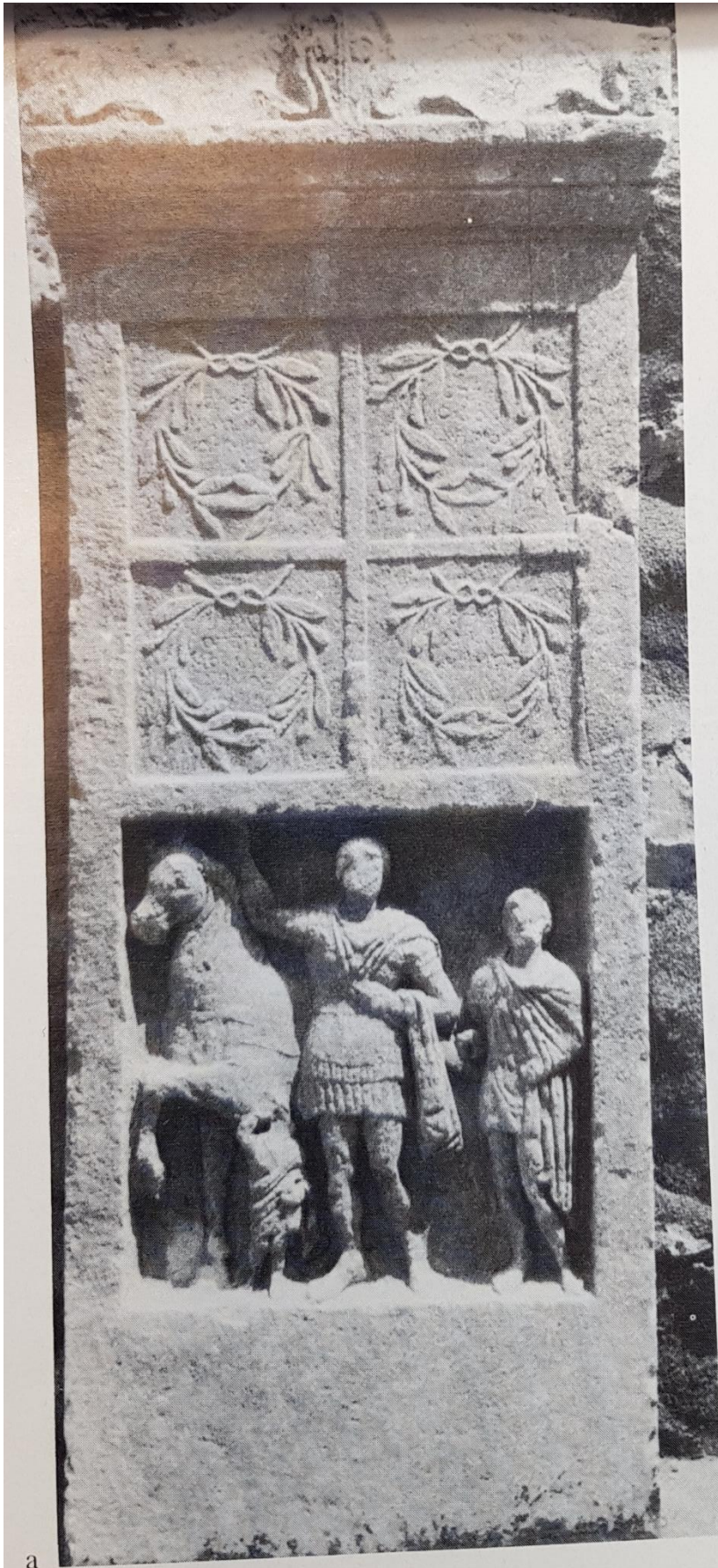


Figure 80.
Honorary stele from
Yiğitler. Image from
H. Malay, *EA* 1
(1983) Taf. 3 a-b.



Figure 81. Possible location of the *χωρίον* Mysia in Macedonia between the lakes Koroneia (left) and Volvi (right).

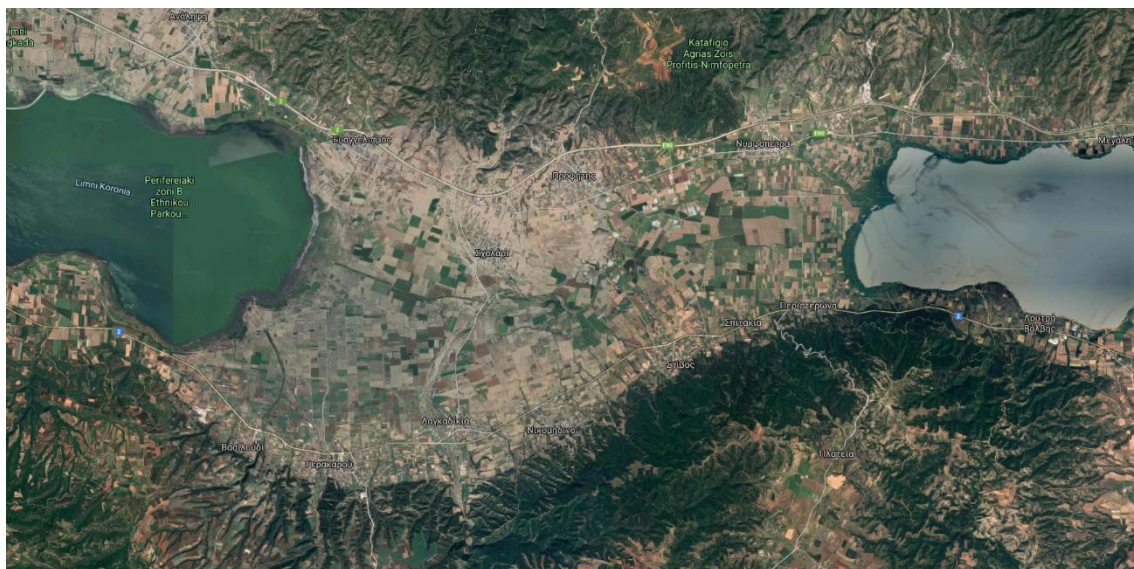


Figure 82. Fields between lakes Koroneia and Volvi (Google Earth).



Figure 83. Field east of lake Koroneia. Photograph credit: Giannis Cholidis.

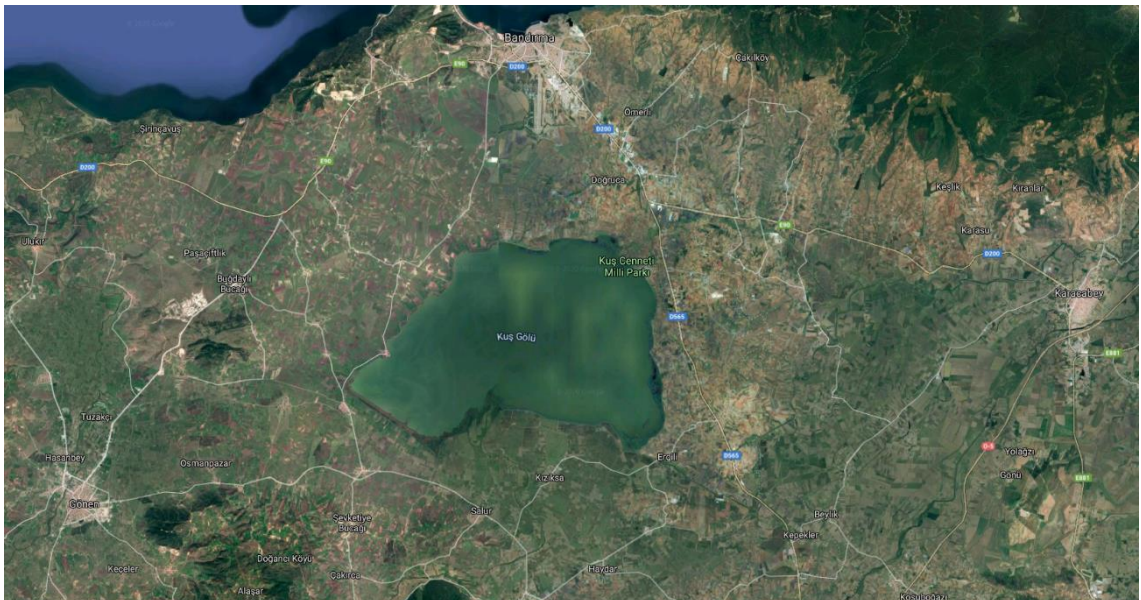


Figure 84. Lake Kuş (Daskylitis) in the province of Balıkesir, Turkey (Google Earth).



Figure 85. Fields in the area of Lake Kuş (Daskylitis). Photographic credit: R. van Bremen.



Figure 86. Bronze coin, on the obverse, with the legend $\Sigma\epsilon\beta\alpha\kappa\theta\eta$, a female figure seated on a throne, holding a scepter and a branch. On the reverse, with the legend $M\upsilon\kappa\omicron\mu\alpha\kappa\epsilon\lambda\omicron\nu / \Omega - N$, a facing statue of Artemis Ephesia. *RPC Supp.* 1 2568.3.

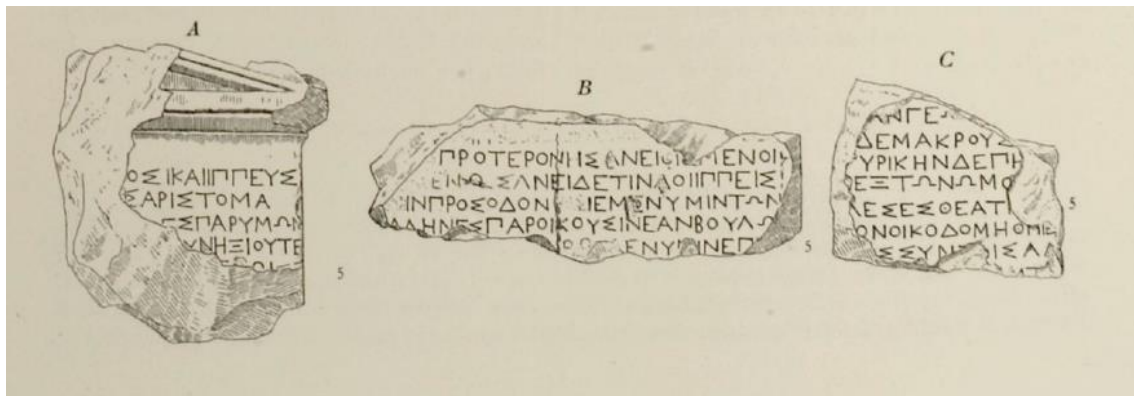


Figure 87. Three fragments from an early Attalid inscription found at Pergamon (*I. Perg.* 7 = *RC* 16). Drawing by Max Fränkel from *Inschriften von Pergamon* (1890).



Figure 88. Military settlements of Lydia. 1. Attaleia 2. Thyateira 3. Apollonis, Doidye, [...]espourai 4. Lasnedda 5. Hyrkanis 6. Apolloniou Charax, Partheura 7. Charakipolis 8. Emoddi 9. Yiğliter.