

MICHEL AUSTIN

# The Hellenistic World from Alexander to the Roman Conquest

A Selection of Ancient Sources  
in Translation

Second Edition

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## The Hellenistic World from Alexander to the Roman Conquest

The Hellenistic period (323–30 BC) began with the considerable expansion of the Greek world through the Macedonian conquest of the Persian empire and ended with Rome becoming the predominant political force in that world. This new and enlarged edition of Michel Austin's seminal work provides a panoramic view of this world through the medium of ancient sources. It now comprises over three hundred texts from literary, epigraphic and papyrological sources which are presented in original translations and supported by introductory sections, detailed notes and references, chronological tables, maps, illustrations of coins, and a full analytical index. The first edition has won widespread admiration since its publication in 1981. Updated and expanded with reference to the most recent scholarship on the subject, this new edition will prove invaluable for the study of a period which has received increasing recognition.

MICHEL AUSTIN is Honorary Senior Lecturer in Ancient History at the University of St Andrews. His previous publications include *Economic and Social History of Ancient Greece. An Introduction* (1977). He is the author of numerous articles and was a contributor to the *Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. VI (2nd edition, 1994).



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A selection of ancient sources in translation

Second augmented edition

M. M. AUSTIN

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University of St Andrews



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## Illustrations

The coins illustrated here represent only a minute fraction of what is extant for this period and necessarily give a very limited impression of the potential of numismatic evidence. The selection concentrates on the major monarchies (Plates 1, 3, 4), together with a few examples from Greek leagues and cities (Plate 2), and is unrepresentative in various ways. The coins illustrated have been chosen because of their visual quality and state of preservation, but not all Greek coins were so well crafted and or have survived in good condition. The selection is also mostly from large denominations (tetradrachms unless otherwise stated), which allowed engravers to include more detail, but there existed also a profusion of smaller denominations, essential for small-scale local transactions. Bronze coins are not represented either, though they were widely used by cities and monarchies (cf. **40**, **115** ll. 70 and 140, **123**, **163** n. 8, **252** nn. 16 and 17); their designs are generally less fine than those of coins in precious metals. All coins listed are of silver unless otherwise stated.

The entries below list the issuing authority, the mint and approximate date of issue where known, and a brief description of the types and inscribed legends (*obv* = obverse, the anvil die, and *rev* = reverse, the punch die). The legend always identifies the issuing authority in the genitive case – king, league, or city – but never the deities who were frequently represented on coin types, the identity of which was taken for granted. Modern convention numbers rulers of the same name sequentially (Ptolemy I, Ptolemy II etc.), but the practice is never found on Greek coins; the addition of epithets (the Great etc.) was only introduced late in the period.

### Plate 1: Alexander, the Successors, the Antigonids (p. 10)

1. Alexander the Great. Amphipolis c.324/3, *obv* Heracles with scalp of Nemean lion, *rev* Zeus seated holding eagle, legend *basileos Alexandrou*. On Alexander's use of the royal title cf. **6** n. 1.
2. Philip III Arrhidaeus. Susa after 323, *obv* Heracles with scalp of Nemean lion, *rev* Zeus seated holding eagle, legend *basileos Philippou*. Cf. **26** on Philip Arrhidaeus.
3. Lysimachus. Amphipolis c.288/7–282/1, *obv* Alexander deified with diadem and ram's horn, *rev* Athena seated holding a figure of Nike (Victory),

- legend *basileos Lysimachou*. The ram's horn alludes to Alexander's claimed descent from Zeus Ammon (cf. **9**; Smith [1988], 40). On Lysimachus cf. **56** and on his association with Alexander cf. Stewart (1993), 318–21.
4. Demetrius Poliorcetes. Pella c.292/1, *obv* Demetrius with diadem and bull's horns, *rev* Poseidon with trident, legend *basileos Demetriou*. Cf. **43** n. 3, **57** n. 12. Demetrius and Ptolemy I (Plate 4.25) were the first rulers to put their portraits on their coins.
  5. Antigonos II Gonatas. Amphipolis c.271–265, *obv* Pan on a Macedonian shield, *rev* Athena, legend *basileos Antigonou*. The god Pan had reportedly created terror among the Celtic tribes at the battle of Lysimachea in 277.
  6. Antigonos II Gonatas or Antigonos III Doston. Attribution and date uncertain, *obv* Poseidon, *rev* Apollo on prow of ship, legend *basileos Antigonou*. On the problem of attribution cf. Hammond and Walbank (1988), 594f. Poseidon and the prow recall the maritime symbolism of the coins of Demetrius Poliorcetes (cf. **43** n. 3) and the continued naval ambitions of the Antigonids, in rivalry with the Ptolemies (cf. **61**).
  7. Philip V. Pella? c.220–217, *obv* Philip V with diadem, *rev* Athena, legend *basileos Philippou*. Philip V was the first Antigonid ruler since Demetrius to put his portrait on his coins.
  8. Perseus. Amphipolis? c.178–173, *obv* Perseus with diadem, *rev* eagle of Zeus on thunderbolt within a wreath, legend *basileos Perseos*.

## Plate 2: Greek leagues and cities (p. 11)

9. Aetolian League. c.220–189, *obv* Heracles with scalp of Nemean lion, *rev* figure seated on a pile of shields, legend *Aitolon*. The Heracles type on the obverse is borrowed from Alexander's coinage. The figure on the reverse alludes to the statue personifying Aetolia set up by the Aetolians at Delphi to celebrate the defeat of the Celtic invaders (Pausanias X.18.7, cf. **60**); cf. **64** on the Aetolian League.
10. Achaean League. Half-drachma, Patras c.195–168, *obv* Zeus, *rev* wreath, legend *Achai(on)*. Cf. **67** on the Achaean League.
11. Nabis of Sparta. c.207–196, *obv* Athena with helmet, *rev* Heracles seated with club, legend *Nabios*. Sparta's kingship, though very different in origin and character (**70**), came to be influenced by the major Hellenistic monarchies. Coinage was first introduced in Sparta in the reign of Areus (**61** n. 6). The very rare issues of Nabis (**79**) clearly seek to emulate contemporary royal coinages; on another issue he bears the royal title.
12. Rhodes. Gold didrachm, c.333/2–323, *obv* Helios, *rev* rose, legend *Rhodian*. The sun god Helios was patron of the island, which took its name

- from the rose (*rhodos*). The types go back to the foundation of the unitary state of Rhodes in 407.
13. Samos. 8 obols (1½ drachma), c.270–240, *obv* lion scalp, *rev* forepart of ox, legend *Samion*. Both types are associated with the city's goddess Hera and were used since classical times.
  14. Crete, Hierapytna. Didrachm, c.310–280/70, *obv* Zeus, *rev* eagle and palm tree, legend *Iera(pytinion)*. Cf. **113**, **152** on Hierapytna.
  15. Athens. Gold didrachm, c.297–294, *obv* Athena, *rev* owl, legend *Athe(naion)*. These are the standard Athenian types current since the classical period.
  16. Athens. *obv* Athena, *rev* owl on a Panathenaic amphora within a wreath, legend *Athe(naion)*. This is an example of the 'New Style' Athenian coinage introduced in the second century; cf. **125**, **129** n. 7.

### Plate 3: The Seleucids and Attalids (p. 12)

17. Seleucus I. Seleucia on the Tigris c.292/1, *obv* Zeus, *rev* Athena in chariot drawn by elephants, anchor above, legend *basileos Seleukou*. The elephants will have conveyed a reference to Seleucus' campaign in India in the wake of Alexander; cf. **57** n. 8, **178** and Stewart (1993), 313–17; Houghton and Lorber I (2002), 7. The anchor was a symbol associated with Seleucus; cf. R. A. Hadley, *JHS* 94 (1974), 60f.; Houghton and Lorber I (2002), 5f.
18. Antiochus I. Antioch c.278–268, *obv* Antiochus I with diadem, *rev* Apollo seated on *omphalos*, legend *basileos Antiochou*. From the reign of Antiochus I Seleucid rulers regularly put their portrait on coins; for Apollo and the *omphalos* cf. **175** n. 2.
19. Antiochus II. Apamea c.261–252, *obv* Antiochus II with diadem, *rev* Apollo seated on *omphalos*, legend *basileos Antiochou*.
20. Philetaerus. Pergamum c.274–263, *obv* Seleucus I with diadem, *rev* Athena seated, legend *Philetaerou*. Philetaerus at first issued coins with the name and portrait of Seleucus I; on this coin he now substitutes his own name, though without the royal title, which was not assumed by the Attalids until Attalus I (**231** and n. 1); cf. **224** on Philetaerus.
21. Eumenes I. Pergamum 263–241, *obv* Philetaerus with diadem, *rev* Athena seated, legend *Philetaerou*. Attalid rulers after Philetaerus continued to display the head of the founder of the dynasty on their own coinage.
22. Seleucus II. Antioch c.232–228, *obv* Seleucus II with diadem, *rev* Apollo standing, legend *basileos Seleukou*.
23. Antiochus III. Apamea or Antioch c.223–200, *obv* Antiochus III with diadem, *rev* Apollo seated on *omphalos*, legend *basileos Antiochou*.

24. Antiochus IV. Antioch *c.*173/2–169/8, *obv* Antiochus IV with diadem, *rev* Apollo seated holding a figure of Nike (Victory), legend *basileos Antiochou theou epiphanous*. Cf. **209** and n. 1 on Antiochus IV; the inflation of titles is characteristic of coinages of the late Hellenistic period, civic as well as royal.

**Plate 4: The Ptolemies and Bactrian kings (p. 13)**

25. Ptolemy I, Alexandria *c.*300–283, *obv* Ptolemy I with diadem, *rev* eagle on thunderbolt, legend *basileos Ptolemaiou*. See Plate 1.4.
26. Ptolemy II. Gold octodrachm, Alexandria *c.*261/0–240, *obv* Arsinoe, *rev* double cornucopia, legend *Arsinoes Philadelphou*. Cf. **254** n. 1 on Arsinoe II Philadelphus (the coin was issued posthumously), **255** n. 6 on the wealth of the Ptolemies. The Ptolemies were the first monarchy to advertise queens on their coinage.
27. Ptolemy II. Gold octodrachm, Alexandria *c.*261/0–246, *obv* Ptolemy II with diadem and Arsinoe II, legend *adelphon*, *rev* Ptolemy I with diadem and Berenice. The coin emphasises the brother-sister marriage of Ptolemy II and Arsinoe and the continuity of the dynasty; cf. **254** n. 2.
28. Ptolemy III. Gold decadrachm, Alexandria *c.*246–222, *obv* Berenice II with diadem, *rev* cornucopia, legend *basilisses Berenikes*. Berenice II, wife of Ptolemy III (**265**, **271**), was daughter of Magas of Cyrene (**254**).
29. Ptolemy IV. Gold octodrachm, Alexandria *c.*222–205, *obv* Ptolemy III with radiate crown and trident, *rev* cornucopia, legend *basileos Ptolemaiou*. The portrait uses divine symbols – the crown of Helios, the sun, and the trident of Poseidon; cf. Smith (1988), 42, 44.
30. Ptolemy V. Gold octodrachm, Alexandria *c.*204/3, *obv* Ptolemy V with radiate crown and spear, *rev* cornucopia, legend *basileos Ptolemaiou*.
31. Euthydemus of Bactria. Bactra *c.*230–200, *obv* Euthydemus wearing diadem, *rev* Heracles seated with club, legend *basileos Euthydemou*. See **187**, **188** on Euthydemus.
32. Eucratides I of Bactria. *c.*171–155?, *obv* Eucratides helmeted, *rev* mounted Dioscuri (Castor and Pollux), legend *basileos megalou Eukratidou*. Cf. **188** on the Bactrian kings.



# Maps

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## Preface to the second edition

This is the second and enlarged edition of a book first published in 1981 under the title *The Hellenistic world from Alexander to the Roman conquest. A selection of ancient sources in translation*. Since its original publication there has been a veritable explosion of scholarly work on this period, and the Hellenistic age has moved from a relatively marginal position in academic curricula to one where it is entitled to receive the same kind of attention as any other period in antiquity. I am very grateful to Cambridge University Press for giving me the opportunity to revisit the work after more than twenty years and take into account the development of scholarship that has taken place in the intervening period.

The new edition is similar in scope, purpose and design to the first one, and all the texts previously included have been retained. Nearly 50 texts have been added, some newly discovered or recently published, others already known but not included in the first edition. The book has been completely revised and updated. The structure and presentation of the original has been preserved, though for the sake of clarity chapter 5 (The Seleucids and Asia) is now organised in a single chronological section and chapter 7 (The Ptolemies and Egypt) has been divided into two not three sections, both organised chronologically. Each chapter has been provided with a short introduction to give a conspectus of the texts included. The Table of contents has been enlarged to list all the texts included; there is a new Introduction, and a Concordance between the two editions has been added. The Bibliography now lists all the titles cited in the book, and references have been given throughout according to the standard author–date system.

It is a pleasure to thank those who have assisted in various ways in the preparation of this new edition, notably Kai Brodersen, Peter Derow, John Ma, Graham Oliver, Graham Shipley, Dorothy Thompson, Gregor Weber and Hans-Ulrich Wiemer. Thanks are also due to the anonymous reviewers of the proposal for a new edition, whose suggestions I have sometimes followed and sometimes not. Finally I would like to thank all my colleagues in St Andrews for their continued support over many years. The shortcomings of this book will be evident to them and to all others mentioned here, but they should not

*Preface*

be held in any way responsible, not least because none of them has seen any part of the book in advance of its publication.

*St Andrews, August 2004*

Michel Austin

## Abbreviations

<i>AfP</i>	<i>Archiv für Papyrusforschung</i>
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>AJP</i>	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
<i>AM</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Athenische Abteilung</i>
<i>Annuario</i>	<i>Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene</i>
<i>ASNP</i>	<i>Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa</i>
<i>Barrington Atlas</i>	<i>Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World</i> , ed. R. J. A. Talbert (Princeton, 2000)
<i>BCH</i>	<i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</i>
<i>BD</i>	R. S. Bagnall and P. S. Derow, <i>The Hellenistic period. Historical sources in translation</i> (Oxford, 2003)
<i>BICS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London</i>
<i>BSA</i>	<i>Annual of the British School at Athens</i>
<i>Bull.</i>	<i>Bulletin Epigraphique</i> in <i>REG</i> (from 1938 to 1984 by J. and L. Robert; from 1987 under the direction of Ph. Gauthier); the year is that of the <i>REG</i> , the number that of the entry
Burstein	S. M. Burstein, <i>The Hellenistic Age from the battle of Ipsos to the death of Cleopatra VII</i> (Cambridge, 1985)
<i>CAH</i>	<i>Cambridge Ancient History</i>
<i>CE</i>	<i>Chronique d’Égypte</i>
<i>C. Ord. Ptol.</i>	M. T. Lenger, <i>Corpus des Ordonnances des Ptolémées</i> (Brussels, 2nd edn., 1980)
<i>CJ</i>	<i>Classical Journal</i>
<i>CP</i>	<i>Classical Philology</i>
<i>CQ</i>	<i>Classical Quarterly</i>
<i>CR</i>	<i>Classical Review</i>
<i>CRAI</i>	<i>Comptes rendus de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres</i>
dr., drs.	drachma, drachmas
<i>Entretiens Hardt</i>	<i>Fondation Hardt. Entretiens sur l’antiquité classique</i>
<i>ESAR</i>	T. Frank (ed.), <i>Economic Survey of Ancient Rome</i> , 5 vols. (Baltimore, 1933–1940)
<i>FGrH</i>	F. Jacoby, <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> (Berlin 1923–)
<i>FHG</i>	C. Müller, <i>Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum</i> (1841–1870)
<i>GRBS</i>	<i>Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies</i>

## Abbreviations

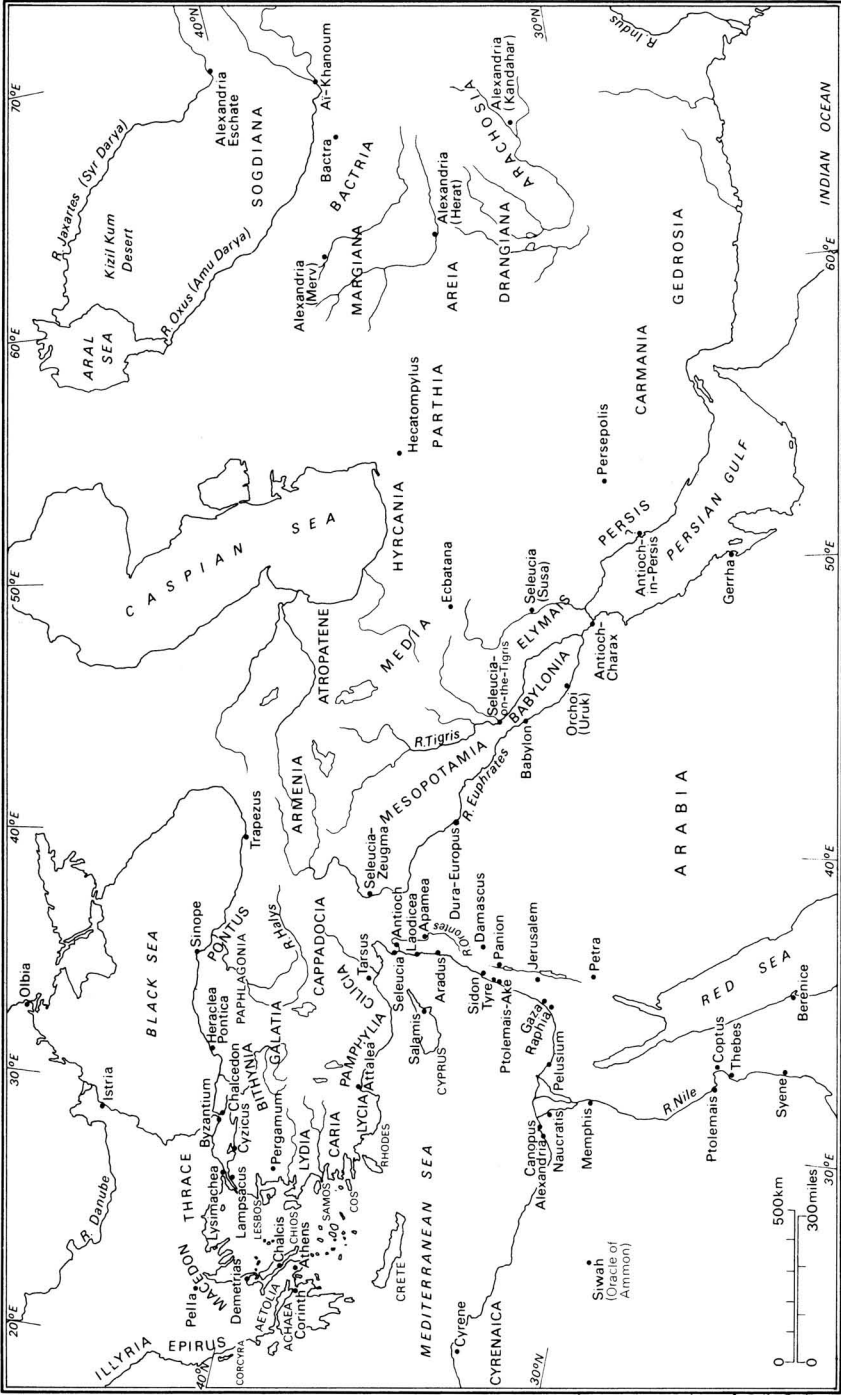
- Holleaux, *Etudes* M. Holleaux, *Etudes d'épigraphie et d'histoire grecques*, ed. L. Robert, 6 vols. (Paris, 1938–69)
- HSCP *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*
- ICret. *Inscriptiones Creticae*, ed. M. Guarducci, 4 vols. (Rome, 1935–50)
- IDélos *Inscriptions de Délos*
- IDidyma A. Rehm, *Die Inschriften, Milet*, vol. 3 (Berlin, 1914)
- I.Ephesos H. Wankel et al., *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, 7 vols. (Bonn, 1979–81)
- I.Erythrai H. Engelmann and R. Merkelbach, *Die Inschriften von Erythrai und Klazomenai* II (Bonn, 1973)
- IG *Inscriptiones Graecae*
- IGLS *Inscriptiones graecae et latinae de la Syrie*, ed. L. Jalabert, R. Mouterde, J. P. Rey-Coquais (Paris, 1929–)
- I.Ilion P. Frisch, *Die Inschriften von Ilion* (Bonn, 1975)
- I.Lampsakos P. Frisch, *Die Inschriften von Lampsakos* (Bonn, 1978)
- JdI *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*
- JEA *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*
- JHS *Journal of Hellenic Studies*
- JJP *Journal of Juristic Papyrology*
- JRS *Journal of Roman Studies*
- LCM *Liverpool Classical Monthly*
- ML R. Meiggs and D. M. Lewis, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1969)
- Moretti I and II L. Moretti, *Iscrizione storiche ellenistiche*, 2 vols. (Florence, 1965 and 1976)
- NC *Numismatic Chronicle*
- ob. obol
- OGIS *Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, ed. W. Dittenberger, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1903–5)
- OMS L. Robert, *Opera Minora Selecta*, 7 vols. (Amsterdam, 1969–1990)
- P Papyrus
- PBSR *Papers of the British School at Rome*
- P. Cairo Zen. *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Zenon Papyri*, ed. C. C. Edgar, 4 vols. (Cairo, 1925–31), vol. 5, ed. O. Guéraud and P. Jouguet (Cairo, 1940)
- P. Col. *Zenon Papyri: Business Papers of the Third Century BC dealing with Palestine and Egypt*, vol. 1, ed. W. L. Westermann and E. S. Hasenoehrl (New York, 1934), vol. 2, ed. W. L. Westermann, C. W. Keyes and H. Liebesny (New York, 1940)
- P. Cornell *Greek Papyri in the Library of Cornell University*, ed. W. L. Westermann and C. J. Kraemer jr (New York, 1926)
- PCPS *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*

- P. Ent.* O. Guéraud, *ENTEUXEIS. Requête et plaintes adressées au roi d'Égypte au IIIe siècle avant J. C.* (Cairo, 1931–2)
- P. Grad.* *Griechische Papyri der Sammlung Gradenwitz*, ed. G. Plaumann (Heidelberg, 1914)
- P. Hib.* *The Hibehe Papyri*, Part I, ed. B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt (London, 1906), Part II, ed. E. G. Turner and M. T. Lenger (London, 1956)
- P. Lond.* *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, vol. 7, *The Zenon Archive*, ed. T. C. Skeat (London, 1974)
- P. Mich. Zen.* *Papyri in the University of Michigan Collection*, vol. I *Zenon Papyri*, ed. C. C. Edgar (Ann Arbor, 1931)
- PP* *Prosopographia Ptolemaica*, ed. W. Peremans and E. van 't Dack, 8 vols. to date (Louvain, 1950–75) Available online at [http://prospitol.arts.kuleuven.ac.be/index\\_i.html](http://prospitol.arts.kuleuven.ac.be/index_i.html)
- PSI* *Pubblicazioni della Società Italiana per la ricerca dei papiri greci e latini in Egitto*, ed. G. Vitelli, M. Norsa et al. (Florence, 1912–)
- P. Tebt.* *The Tebtunis Papyri*, ed. B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, J. G. Smyly et al., 3 vols. in 4 (London, 1902–38), vol. IV ed. J. G. Keenan and J. C. Shelton (London, 1976)
- P. Yale* *Yale Papyri in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library*, ed. J. F. Oates, A. E. Samuel and C. B. Welles (New Haven, 1967)
- REA* *Revue des Etudes Anciennes*
- RC* C. B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period* (New Haven, 1934)
- REG* *Revue des Etudes Grecques*
- Rev. Num.* *Revue de Numismatique*
- RPh* *Revue de Philologie*
- SB* *Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten*, ed. F. Preisigke, F. Bilabel, E. Kiessling (Strasbourg, Berlin, Heidelberg etc. 1913–)
- SEG* *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*
- Sel. Pap.* A. S. Hunt and C. C. Edgar, *Select Papyri* (Loeb edition), 2 vols. (London, 1932 and 1934)
- SGDI* *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften*, ed. H. Collitz and F. Bechtel (Göttingen, 1884–1915)
- Staatsv. II, III* *Die Staatsverträge des Altertums*, vol. II ed. H. Bengtson, *Die Verträge der griechisch-römischen Welt von 700 bis 338 v. Chr.* (Munich, 1962); vol. III ed. H. H. Schmitt, *Die Staatsverträge von 338 bis 200 v. Chr.* (Munich, 1969)
- Syll.*<sup>3</sup> *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, ed. W. Dittenberger, 4 vols. (3rd edn., 1915–24)
- TAPA* *Transactions of the American Philological Association*
- Tod, GHI II* M. N. Tod, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions* vol. II (Oxford, 1948)

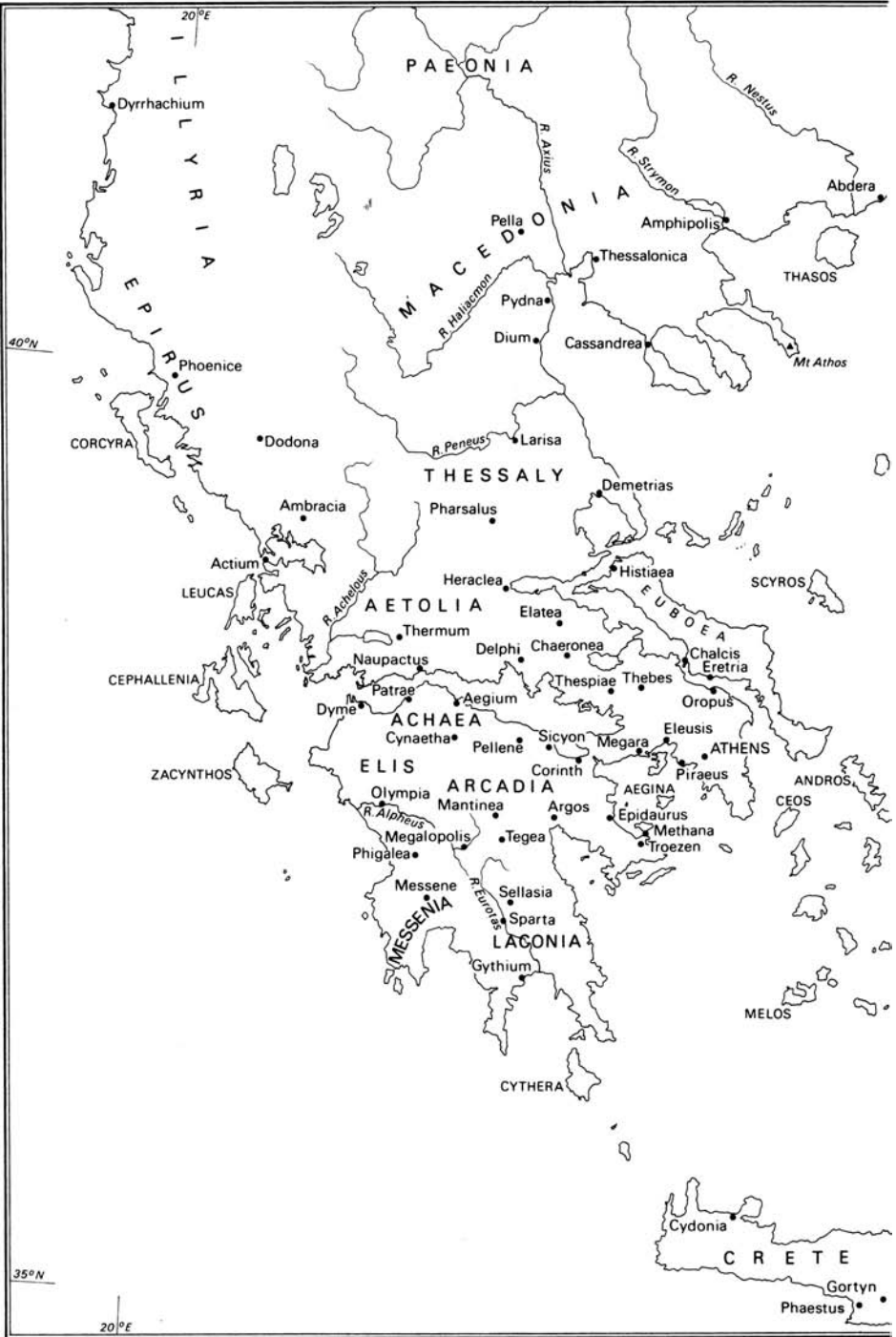
*Abbreviations*

- UPZ U. Wilcken, *Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit*, 2 vols. (Berlin, Leipzig, 1922–7 and 1957)
- W. Chrest. L. Mitteis and U. Wilcken, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde*, 4 vols. (Leipzig, Berlin, 1912) (References are all to Part I, vol. II by U. Wilcken)
- YCS *Yale Classical Studies*
- ZPE *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*





1. The Hellenistic World, adapted from E. Will, *Le Monde grec et l'Orient* (Paris, 1975), pp. 344-5



2. The Greek mainland, the Aegean and Asia Minor, adapted from W. W. Tarn, *Hellenistic Civilization* (London, 3rd edn. 1952), 8–9





## Introduction

The Hellenistic period as conventionally understood is framed by two military conquests: the first, the Macedonian invasion of the Persian Empire under Alexander, rapid and deliberate (334–323 BC), the second, the Roman takeover of much of the Hellenistic world, hardly deliberate but a long-drawn process, which started in the late third century BC but was not complete till 30 BC with the overthrow of the Ptolemaic dynasty after the battle of Actium. War in this period was a constant presence which shaped the history of the times in many ways. Conquest and empire are the leading themes: they have had a long and varied life from antiquity to the present day, and are unlikely to lose their relevance in the foreseeable future.

Hellenistic studies are at present in a thriving condition, as a glance at any bibliography will show.<sup>1</sup> When the first edition of this book was written only one general survey of the Hellenistic age in English was available (Tarn and Griffith (1953)), but since then they have multiplied and there has been a profusion of specialist studies.<sup>2</sup> What George Grote once wrote in the Preface to his great *History of Greece* (12 volumes, first published 1846–56) now seems an outdated curiosity: ‘After the generation of Alexander, the political action of Greece becomes cramped and degraded – no longer interesting to the reader, or operative on the destinies of the world [. . .] As a whole, the period between 300 BC and the absorption of Greece by the Romans is of no interest in itself, and is only so far of value as it helps us to understand the preceding centuries.’ Grote’s Athens-centred view of Greek history was being undermined even as he was writing, thanks to the work of the German historian J. G. Droysen, the modern inventor of Hellenistic history, who published successively histories of Alexander (1833), of the Successors (the *Diadochi*, 1836), and of subsequent rulers down to 220 BC (the *Epigoni*, 1843). Droysen’s impact was initially limited, but a second edition of the work issued as a single study was much more influential (1877), and the great upsurge of epigraphic and papyrological studies at the end of the nineteenth century brought the Hellenistic period to the forefront of scholarly research.

Yet historians of the Hellenistic world still have to reckon with the initial problem of its identity. The ‘Hellenistic period’ is in practice a modern invention and the word ‘Hellenistic’ an artificial coinage designed to provide a label for it. The word is loaded with presuppositions inherited from earlier

scholarship, and though convenient its continued use creates a presumption of distinctiveness which should not be taken for granted. Much attention has rightly been devoted to this question of late, and the identity of the Hellenistic period has been the subject of extensive debate.<sup>3</sup> Greek writers might not have understood the difficulty. For Polybius, writing in the second century, the decisive turning point in world history was not the Macedonian conquest of the Persian empire, though he was aware of its importance (cf. p. 62), but the rise of Roman power, which in his view gave to history a coherence it had previously lacked. He therefore selected as his starting point the 140th Olympiad, that is the years 220–216 BC (I.3):

In earlier times the history of the world had been so to speak a series of fragmented episodes, which lacked unity of purpose, result, and place. But from this point onwards history becomes an organic whole: events in Italy and Africa connect with those in Asia and Greece, and everything converges towards a single goal.

The nearest ancient writers came to a recognition of the separate identity of the Hellenistic period was in the adaptation of the concept of the ‘succession of empires’, first used in the fifth century by Herodotus in relation to the ancient Near East. The notion was subsequently applied to the contemporary world of Alexander and his successors: the Macedonian empire succeeded the Persian empire, and was in its turn overthrown by the Roman (25).<sup>4</sup> The formulation is neat but deceptively simple. There was in reality no single ‘Macedonian empire’; after the death of Alexander it soon became an abstraction as it fragmented into several rival dynasties (Ptolemies, Seleucids, Antigonids), whose leaders came from the Macedonian élite that had participated in the original conquest. Other monarchies, of non-Macedonian origin, also developed: in Anatolia the rulers of Bithynia, Pontus, Cappadocia, and the Attalids of Pergamum, in the far east the rulers of Bactria. The backbone of the major monarchies – the officers, governors, administrators, political and cultural figures, who made them functioning entities – was not specifically Macedonian but was drawn for the most part from an enlarged Greek world. Underneath or side by side with the monarchies were other units that formed the building blocks of the Hellenistic world – numerous different ethnic groups, cities whether of Greek type or indigenous, local rulers of non-royal status, leagues of various kinds, independent sanctuaries – who all had a role to play, whether subservient to the monarchies or with room for independent action in the interstices of monarchical power, rarely as effective in practice as it may have been absolute in theory.

The present book is not a history of the Hellenistic world but a source-book, and its coverage is therefore selective. It is based primarily on

texts – literary, epigraphic, and papyri – not on material and visual evidence, with the partial exception of coinage (see below). It does not therefore claim to give an all-round presentation of the different types of evidence that can be adduced in the study of this period. To do so would require more than one volume by more than one author.<sup>5</sup> Only a small proportion of the available evidence can be reproduced, and any selection is bound to be arbitrary. Translations furthermore are only approximations and no substitute for the originals.<sup>6</sup> The annotation seeks to put the passages cited in context, clarify details, and provide cross-references to related texts. But it is not possible to provide a full commentary and take a position on every controversial point, whether of detail or of general interpretation. Bibliographical references are selective and generally give preference to works in English. It is assumed that the chronological table and the detailed analytical index will be used by the reader to access and utilise all the diverse information that is scattered throughout the book.

The Hellenistic world covers a vast geographical area: even if defined primarily by reference to the Greeks, its dominant component, it would include both the ‘old Greek world’ of the centuries before Alexander, itself far flung, and the ‘new Greek world’ which developed in the east in the wake of the Macedonian conquest. The history of this world covers some three centuries, but for reasons of space only part of it can be included. The starting point is the reign of Alexander (and not, as often, the time after his death). Ideally the coverage should extend at least to the Mithridatic wars in the early first century, a turning point in Rome’s relations with the east. In practice the terminal date has been set earlier, in the mid or late second century, the precise lower limit depending on the region concerned – earlier in the case of Macedon and mainland Greece, later for the Attalids, and later still for the Seleucids and Ptolemies. Geographically the coverage concentrates mainly on Macedon and the mainland of Greece, the Aegean, western Asia and Egypt. The Black Sea regions receive some attention (**114–16, 120**), but the west (Carthage, Sicily, Italy) is largely sacrificed except for a few passing references (**33, 41, 59, 131**).

No attempt will be made here to provide a general characterisation of the period covered or sketch its major themes, which can rather be introduced as the story progresses from chapter to chapter. Readers of this volume will see for themselves how complex the Hellenistic world was. Emphasis could equally be placed on its common features, or on its diversity. Taken as a whole it combined elements of stability (for example in the many links that connected widely scattered Greek communities; cf. **111, 189, 190**) as well as of instability (for example in its political fragmentation and the prevalence of war). The variety of the available evidence allows focus on a multiplicity of different themes. It is thus inappropriate to impose on it any single interpretative framework,

and it is not clear that it should even be considered a single world. Where Droysen once saw the 'fusion of cultures' as the leading characteristic of the period, which he saw as a transitional phase between the classical world and the coming of Christianity, present-day historians are constructing a much more varied picture which emphasises diversity rather than unity and leaves the field wide open to debate.<sup>7</sup>

## The ancient sources<sup>8</sup>

'It is difficult to resist the first impression that there is something wrong with an age which has left an insufficient account of itself' (A. Momigliano, *History and Theory* 9 (1970), 141): one initial problem in the study of the Hellenistic period is the lack of a good literary source to serve as a guide for most of the third century until the beginning of Polybius' account (contrast the availability of e.g. Thucydides for the fifth century, Cicero for the late Roman Republic, or Tacitus for the early Empire). But there are other problems as well. First, the extant written sources for the Hellenistic age are but a fraction of what once existed. Not a single historian of the period has survived complete; many known to have existed are mere names, and many more have perhaps disappeared without trace. The inscriptions and papyri that have survived are a random and possibly unrepresentative selection from a much larger corpus of lost evidence. The history of the Hellenistic age is thus riddled with gaps and uncertainties. Second, our view of the Hellenistic world is largely one-sided. The world conquered by the Macedonians was one of many races and cultures, in which the Greeks and Macedonians, though dominant in political and social life, were nonetheless only a minority. But the evidence for that world is largely of Greek origin; it therefore reflects Greek points of view and characteristically shows only limited interest in the non-Greek world. Greek society was unusually articulate; historical and other forms of literary writing by self-consciously independent authors had a long history before Alexander. Political institutions also played a part; Greek cities functioned on the basis of decision-making by vote in an assembly of citizens after public debate. By the time of Alexander the setting up of inscribed public records was an established practice, and the habit spread together with the multiplication of Greek-style cities in the east. Furthermore Greek was predominantly the language of administration in the new monarchies, which were largely run by a Greek-speaking governing class.

The historian is therefore confronted with a largely Greek view of a world that was only partly Greek and never became fully hellenised, and this limitation can only be partly overcome. The oriental evidence from Mesopotamia,



abundant in previous Near Eastern history, is relatively scanty in the Hellenistic period, though it does open up different perspectives as regards the Seleucid empire (cf. **158, 163, 166**). The principal exceptions otherwise are the Jews and the Egyptians. The Jews had a literary tradition of their own which antedated the Hellenistic age and continued in this period; despite strong Greek influence, the Jews successfully asserted their separate identity (cf. **214–17, 221, 261, 280**). In Egypt writing had a long past. The native temples possessed great wealth and influence, and from the time of Ptolemy III the priesthood met in synods which passed resolutions, a few of which, inscribed in Greek, Egyptian hieroglyphs and demotic, are extant (**271, 276, 283**). More generally, the evidence of published papyri from Egypt, in Greek but also in Egyptian demotic, yields much information about life in the countryside that would otherwise have largely disappeared. This is an exceptional case; elsewhere in Asia it is only rarely that the voice of the indigenous population is heard (cf. **168**; contrast in Egypt **212, 302, 307, 308, 324**).

*1 Alexander* The achievements and personality of Alexander the Great stimulated more historical writing, in his time and after, than any other single figure in antiquity, though quantity was not matched by quality (cf. *FGrH* 117–53).<sup>9</sup> Of all this literature, only four principal accounts are now extant, all of them written well after Alexander, and so ultimately dependent on earlier writers, whether these were used directly or not. DIODORUS of Sicily (1st century BC) devoted Book XVII of his *Library of History* to the reign of Alexander; the account is preserved except for an important gap between chapters 83 and 84, from 330/29 to 327.<sup>10</sup> QUINTUS CURTIUS (1st century AD?) wrote a history of Alexander in ten books, the first two of which are lost (down to early 333).<sup>11</sup> Similarities between Diodorus and Quintus Curtius indicate that they drew, in part at least, on a common source, often identified as Clitarchus (*FGrH* 137), a contemporary of Alexander and a widely read author. PLUTARCH of Chaeronea (2nd half of 1st century AD – early 2nd century) included Alexander in his *Parallel Lives* of Greek and Roman statesmen; he draws on a wide variety of sources of varying value, many of which are named.<sup>12</sup> ARRIAN of Nicomedia (2nd century AD) wrote an account of Alexander's expedition in seven books, and also a separate account of India and Nearchus' journey by sea from the Indus to the Persian Gulf.<sup>13</sup> The account of Alexander is based primarily, as Arrian indicates (I, Preface), on two writers, Ptolemy the founder of the Ptolemaic dynasty (*FGrH* 138) and Aristobulus of Cassandrea (*FGrH* 139), both of them contemporaries of Alexander and regarded by Arrian as trustworthy sources, though perhaps for the wrong reasons. Arrian's account is the fullest and most detailed available for Alexander, though it tends towards blandness and apologetics, as did both

Ptolemy and Aristobulus; it omits or distorts important aspects and episodes of Alexander's career, as comparison with the other sources shows (cf. **10**, **15**, **16**, **19**). In practice most of the central questions concerning Alexander remain a matter of controversy and speculation, and separating the historical person from the figure of legend is a probably impossible task. As the deliberate creator of his own legend Alexander himself is partly responsible for this.

*2 The Hellenistic world after Alexander* For the history of the Hellenistic period as a whole, only one continuous source has survived, the *Épitome* by JUSTIN (Roman Empire) of the *Philippic Histories* of Pompeius Trogus (time of Augustus), a sensationalising and mediocre work which can hardly be used as a trustworthy guide (for the flavour cf. **223**, **291**).<sup>14</sup> Otherwise the coverage of Hellenistic history in the extant sources is very uneven: some periods and areas are known in relative detail, others hardly at all.

For the first two decades after Alexander (down to 302), the survival of Books XVIII–XX of DIODORUS provides a basic narrative of political and military events which can serve as a framework.<sup>15</sup> For this period Diodorus is thought to have relied, not necessarily directly nor exclusively, on a contemporary account, that of Hieronymus of Cardia (*FGrH* 154), who moved in the circles of the Macedonian leaders and thus had access to good information; his narrative covered the period from 323 to (perhaps) 272 (cf. **26** n. 3). Thereafter Diodorus' text is lost, apart from brief excerpts.

This period, and parts of later Hellenistic history, are also partially covered in some of the Lives of PLUTARCH,<sup>16</sup> namely those of Demosthenes, Phocion, Eumenes of Cardia, Demetrius Poliorcetes, Pyrrhus of Epirus, the Spartan kings Agis IV and Cleomenes III, and the Achaean statesmen Aratus of Sicyon and Philopoemen; there is also some material in the Lives of the Roman commanders T. Quinctius Flaminius and L. Aemilius Paullus. Plutarch's Greek Lives for the Hellenistic period are notably fewer than for previous Greek history, and Hellenistic rulers are not represented except for Alexander, Demetrius Poliorcetes and Pyrrhus. This is no accident. Plutarch, in spirit a man of the *polis* though living under the Roman Empire, looked back at past Greek history through Athenian eyes: he regarded the death of Demosthenes as marking the end of free Athens (*Demosthenes* 3; cf. the Athenian viewpoint in e.g. **32**, **54**, **55**, **61**). His perspective has exercised a strong influence on later generations. He had a pronounced aversion for Hellenistic kings and their courts (cf. **44**, **52**, **70**, **71**), and his preferences went to statesmen from Greek cities of the mainland (the Spartan kings; the Achaean statesmen), whose actions seemed to him to recall something of the spirit of the classical *polis*.<sup>17</sup> A series of royal biographies of the Hellenistic rulers would have been invaluable, and its absence leaves a major gap: far too little is known and understood of

the personality of the kings who were the leading actors in this period (cf. **209**, **233**, **243**, **274**; contrast the continuous sequence of biographies available for Roman emperors).

Diodorus' history and Plutarch's *Lives* were derivative sources written long after the event. The history of POLYBIUS of Megalopolis (c.200–after 118 BC) is in a different class altogether; it is to the Hellenistic world of his time (the late 3rd and 2nd centuries) what Thucydides is to the fifth century.<sup>18</sup> Polybius was both a witness and to some extent an agent in many of the events he narrates. An Achaean statesman who was deported to Rome as a hostage in 167, and formed there friendships with important Roman statesmen, Polybius had a deep knowledge and understanding of the Mediterranean world of his time, though his strong likes and dislikes affected his judgement (cf. e.g. **67**, **79**, **82**, **274**, **323**). The theme of his history was the rise of Rome to the status of a world power; it was covered in detail from 220 to 145, with (in the first two books) an outline of the First Punic War (264–241) and a summary of events prior to his main starting point. Of the whole massive work in 40 books, only Books I–V survive intact (down to 216); thereafter only excerpts of varying length are preserved. The gap is filled in part (down to 167) by Books XXI–XLV of the Roman annalist LIVY (time of Augustus), who drew extensively on Polybius for the sections of his narrative that dealt with Greek affairs, though his perspective was purely Roman.<sup>19</sup>

Other sources may be mentioned briefly. The *Geography* of STRABO (time of Augustus), in 17 books, contains a number of valuable descriptions of cities and regions (e.g. **160**, **292**), as well as frequent historical digressions (e.g. **188**, **224**).<sup>20</sup> The same is true of the *Description of Greece* (mainland only) in ten books by PAUSANIAS (2nd century AD; cf. **28**, **56**, **100**, and esp. **254**).<sup>21</sup> Mention should be also made of the Jewish sources alluded to above, notably I and II MACCABEES (**216**, **217**) and Books XII–XIII of *The Jewish Antiquities* by JOSEPHUS (1st century AD);<sup>22</sup> these provide evidence on the Jews in the Hellenistic world and especially on their relations with the declining Seleucids in the second century from a different perspective than the Greek sources.

*3 Inscriptions*<sup>23</sup> Characteristic of the Greek world was what has been called the 'epigraphic habit' – the practice of inscribing on durable material (stone, sometimes metal) and setting up for permanent display many kinds of texts that were felt to be of public interest. The habit originated long before Alexander and spread considerably in the post-classical period. Nearly half of the texts included in this selection are Greek inscriptions, an illustration of the ever increasing importance of inscriptions for the study of the Hellenistic world, as new texts are constantly discovered. The texts selected give emphasis to public

affairs and do not by any means fully convey the range and variety of material available (epitaphs, for example, are not represented). Inscriptions are found widely in the Hellenistic world, but with considerable variations by region or by site. Generally speaking, finds are most abundant in the heartlands of the Greek world, especially the mainland, the Aegean, and western Asia Minor, a particularly rich area,<sup>24</sup> and become scarcer as one moves further to the east, though even remoter regions are occasionally represented (cf. e.g. **186, 268**). Inscriptions were commonly displayed in public buildings and areas, and in sanctuaries, as the provisions for their engraving and publication reveal (cf. e.g. **55** (end), **134, 137** Side A, **138** §7, **173** (a), etc.). The great sanctuaries of panhellenic renown – Delphi, Delos, and others – thus became storehouses of inscribed texts displayed for public scrutiny. Among the profusion and variety of texts certain categories stand out: official letters of kings to cities or to officials (numerous examples, e.g. **6, 38, 48, 74**, etc.);<sup>25</sup> decrees of cities, or leagues, or even private associations, on a wide range of subjects, one very important category being the honorific decrees passed in praise of rulers, magistrates, or individuals for services performed (very numerous examples, e.g. **32, 39, 54, 55, 115, 191** etc.); treaties and alliances of various kinds (e.g. **40, 61, 107, 152** etc.); constitutions (**29, 50**); laws and regulations, on civil or religious matters (e.g. **90, 126, 149, 253**); dedications and offerings to gods (e.g. **141, 231, 281**); lists and accounts (e.g. **122, 207, 294**), etc. Inscriptions, like all other types of evidence, do not of course speak for themselves but need interpretation; they are usually formulaic in character, and there is a constant difficulty in divining the reality behind the words. For instance, decrees of Greek cities invariably convey an impression of unanimity which conceals any divisions there may have been in the community concerned. Where epigraphic and literary evidence are both available they can provide a counterpoint to each other (cf. e.g. **192, 240**). But it is often the case that on many aspects of Greek history inscriptions are the principal or indeed the sole source of information available, with resulting difficulties in interpretation (cf. e.g. **147, 150, 155, 256**).<sup>26</sup>

4 *Papyri*<sup>27</sup> Papyri differ from inscriptions in several ways. Inscribed texts were intended to be publicly visible and permanent; texts on papyrus normally were not, and have survived because they were discarded. Furthermore, while Greek inscriptions are found in most parts of the Hellenistic world, the evidence of papyri is confined almost exclusively to Egypt. Papyrus, though only produced in Egypt, was the standard writing material for everyday use in the Hellenistic world, but Egypt provided climatic conditions suitable for the long-term preservation of papyri in large quantities which were not easily

replicated elsewhere (cf. **161**). Ptolemaic Egypt therefore enjoys a prominent place in accounts of the Hellenistic world. But the survival of papyri is an even more haphazard process than that of inscriptions. Within Egypt itself there are considerable regional variations: parts of the countryside are represented, above all the Fayum (cf. **254** n. 10), but not the populous Delta region (because of its humidity), nor the capital city Alexandria. Chronologically the distribution of finds is also uneven. Very few texts survive from the reign of Ptolemy I, hence the early stages in the development of the Ptolemaic administration are little known. Finds suddenly multiply in the reign of Ptolemy II, and his reign therefore acquires special prominence (cf. e.g. **296, 297**). But this is the result of chance; it was in his time that the practice developed of stuffing human or animal mummies with discarded paper (cartonnage). Generally speaking the evidence of papyri has a parochial perspective and betrays little awareness of the world outside Egypt (though cf. **266, 278** for exceptions). With these restrictions the range of extant papyri is considerable. Comparison of the chapter on the Ptolemies with that on the Seleucids will show how much information has been preserved for Ptolemaic Egypt which elsewhere has almost completely vanished. Apart from literary texts, largely unrepresented in this selection (though cf. **104**), papyri are often classified for convenience into private and public documents, though each category covers a great variety of texts, and the dividing line between the categories is not always clear-cut (for example **326** belongs to neither).<sup>28</sup> As with inscriptions the emphasis in this book is on texts that illustrate the official level and the workings of a government which relied extensively on written documentation for its functioning: for example regulations and edicts issued by the rulers or in their name (**260, 290, 296, 297, 312**), correspondence to or from officials (**299, 311, 314**), petitions (**301, 302, 318**, cf. **212**), and records of many kinds (**309, 313**). Special mention should be made of collections of papers, sometimes misleadingly referred to as ‘archives’, that belonged to individuals in positions of authority. Two of these illustrate contrasting facets of Ptolemaic Egypt at different stages in its history – the papers of Zenon, the personal agent of Apollonius, *dioiketes* of Ptolemy II, which comprise many different texts and reveal the dynamism of the ruling circles at the time (**298–9** and **301–8**), and the papers of Menches, village scribe of Kerkeosiris in the Fayum in the late second century (**325**, cf. from them **290**).

5 *Coinage*<sup>29</sup> (See Plates 1–4.) Both inscriptions and papyri existed for the most part only in single copies. Coins, by contrast, though struck individually by hand from hand-made dies, were produced in large quantities; each die could be used to make several thousand copies of the same



Plate 1: Alexander, the Successors, the Antigonids



Plate 2: Greek leagues and cities



Plate 3: The Seleucids and Attalids





a

25



a

26



a

27



b



b



b



a

28



a

29



a

30



b



b



b



a

31



a

32



b



b

Plate 4: The Ptolemies and Bactrian kings

coin, though anvil dies (the obverse) were more durable than punch dies (the reverse).<sup>30</sup> The survival rate of coins is thus correspondingly higher and the available evidence much more representative of what once existed.

The initial spread of coinage was a largely Greek phenomenon, closely associated with the world of the Greek cities. Coinage had a long history before the Hellenistic period, but the rise of Macedon and the conquest of the Persian empire changed the picture radically. Where civic coinages once predominated – notably that of classical Athens – royal coinages now played the leading role. The shift in balance started in the reign of Philip of Macedon, thanks to his exploitation of Macedon's gold mines and the issue of a regular gold coinage, and accelerated in the reign of Alexander. His seizure of the Persian treasures enabled him to issue coins on an unprecedented scale, in gold, silver and bronze, from a large number of mints and over a greatly enlarged area, with permanent effects for the future (10 n. 1). By being struck on the Attic weight standard his coinage effectively displaced that of Athens as an international currency (122 n. 2). In addition, while previous Macedonian kings had already put their name on coins they issued, Alexander also innovated in adding to his name the royal title *basileus*, a practice adopted by subsequent kings (6 n. 1).<sup>31</sup> In the age of the Successors a further development saw the introduction of royal portraiture, though practice was not uniform among the different monarchies. It was used by Ptolemies and Seleucids from an early date, while the Antigonids followed only later; the Ptolemies also preceded other monarchies in their depiction of queens. Portraiture veered between two opposite tendencies – towards realism, or towards idealisation.<sup>32</sup> Royal portraits were normally placed on the obverse, reserved in the classical age for deities, while deities were now moved to the reverse, an indication of the new status of monarchy and its blurring of the distinction between divine and human.

The cities were generally unable to compete with the volume of royal coinage, but many assumed that they would continue to produce their own currency, as shown by decrees regulating coinage (123–5, 252 ll. 44–9; cf. also 67 ch. 37, 174 l. 55). In the second century Roman favour enabled Athenian coinage to achieve once more wide circulation through the 'New Style' issues (129 n. 7). With some exceptions, notably Ptolemaic Egypt, a closed monetary area with its own weight standard (299), and in the second century the Attalid kingdom, circulation of coins appears to have been subject to few limitations. The grant by Antiochus VII to the Jews of the right to coin does, however, imply at least occasional restrictions of that right by the Seleucid rulers (221).

The majority of Hellenistic coinages were Greek in style, script, and the repertoire of motifs displayed, and made only rare concessions to the

non-Greek world, except in Bactria and India where Indian scripts were occasionally used as well as Greek. Even issues of non-Greek rulers betray Greek influence. The evidence of coinage thus makes the Hellenistic world appear more fully Greek than it was in reality. In general the symbols and texts displayed on Greek coins did not refer to concrete events – unlike Roman coins later – but carried themes and messages of a timeless kind. As well as their numerous utilitarian functions (such as facilitating payments by the state and to the state, and facilitating exchanges),<sup>33</sup> coins were a means for the issuing authorities to assert their identity by displaying their names and distinctive symbols: a city's patron deity, the portrait of the king or founder of the dynasty, symbols advertising the monarchy's military power or wealth, and so on. But the interpretation of particular symbols displayed and their effectiveness in influencing opinion remain a matter of continued debate.

In the second century the major monarchies went into decline as Roman power spread, and this too was reflected in coinage: royal issues were now less abundant for those dynasties that survived into the first century (the Ptolemies and Seleucids), and came to an end altogether for those that did not (the Antigonids, and later the Attalids after an initial period of prosperity with Roman support). As a result some civic coinages enjoyed an unexpected resurgence. Athens has been mentioned. Many cities in western Asia started to advertise their autonomy through the medium of coinage, though practical economic needs may also have been involved (cf. **222** n. 3 – Seleucia in Pieria; **249** n. 3 – Ephesus).<sup>34</sup> The once dominant monarchies all eventually disappeared, but the cities remained, though they were now subject to Roman overlordship.

1. See notably F. W. Walbank, *Scripta Classica Israelica* 11 (1991/2), 90–113 and *Dialogos* 3 (1996), 111–19; P. Cartledge in Cartledge et al. (1997), 1–15; Shipley (2000), 407–21; Erskine (2003).
2. Among single-author surveys: Walbank (1981); Green (1990); Shipley (2000); among collective works: the second edition of *CAH* volumes VII.1 (1984), VIII (1989), and IX (1994); Erskine (2003); and a series of volumes devoted to broad themes, such as Bilde et al. (1993); Bulloch et al. (1993); Bilde et al. (1996); Funck (1996); Cartledge et al. (1997); Archibald et al. (2001); Ogden (2002).
3. See n. 1 and C. Préaux, *CE* 40 (1965), 129–39 with Préaux I (1978), 5–9; A. Momigliano, *History and Theory* 9 (1970), 139–53; Bichler (1983) with E. Will, *Gnomon* 56 (1984), 777–9; P. Cartledge in Cartledge et al. (1997), 1–15; Ogden (2002), ix–xiv.
4. Numbers in bold type refer here and throughout this volume to the numbered sequence of texts.
5. Archaeological evidence is extensively utilised in Rostovtzeff (1941); see also the plate volume to *CAH* VII.1<sup>2</sup> (1984); Archibald et al. (2001); S. E. Alcock, J. E. Gates and J. E. Rempel in Erskine (2003), 354–72.

6. Translations of Greek and Latin texts are all my own, unless otherwise stated; for non-classical sources I have relied on published translations (**158, 163, 166, 178, 212, 276**).
7. For general questions of approach see notably J. K. Davies in *CAH* VII.1<sup>2</sup> (1984), 257–320, in Archibald et al. (2001), 11–62 and in Ogden (2002), 1–21; G. Shipley in Bilde et al. (1993), 271–84; F. W. Walbank (n. 1 above); Erskine (2003), 1–15.
8. See the Index of Ancient Sources. For a fuller discussion than can be provided here see F. W. Walbank in *CAH* VII.1<sup>2</sup> (1984), 1–22; Shipley (2000), 1–32 and generally Crawford (1983).
9. See Pearson (1960); E. Badian, *The Classical World* 65 (1971), 37–42, 46–53; Brunt (1976), Introduction §§10–23; Bosworth (1988), 295–300.
10. Bradford Welles (1963).
11. Yardley (1984); Baynham (1998).
12. Hamilton (1969).
13. Translations by de Sélincourt (1971) and Brunt (1976) and (1983); Stadter (1980); Bosworth (1980), (1988a) and (1995).
14. Yardley (1994).
15. Translation by Geer (1947), (1954) and (1967); Hornblower (1981).
16. Numerous translations, including those in the Loeb series; Talbert (1988).
17. For the intellectual context of Plutarch cf. E. L. Bowie in Finley (1974), 166–209. Studies of Plutarch's *Lives* generally neglect his treatment of the Hellenistic period.
18. Translations by Shuckburgh (1889) and Paton (1922–7); see Walbank (1972), (2002), and his commentary (1957, 1967, 1979).
19. Translations in de Sélincourt (1972) and (with omissions) Bettenson (1976); commentaries by Briscoe (1973) and (1981).
20. Translation by Jones (1917–33).
21. Translation by Jones and others (1918–35) and Levi (1979); see Habicht (1985); Bingen (1996).
22. Translation and notes by Marcus (1943); see Schürer I (1972), 43–63; Vidal-Naquet (1977).
23. Cf. Robert (1961); Woodhead (1981); F. Millar in Crawford (1983), 80–136; *SEG*; and the invaluable *Bulletin épigraphique* by J. and L. Robert in *REG* from 1938 to 1984 (also reprinted separately with index volumes), resumed in 1988 by Ph. Gauthier and others. For all inscriptions in Dittenberger's *OGIS* and *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> consult Gawantka (1977).
24. Cf. the methodological remarks of Ma (1999), 17–22 and his survey of recent work on this area in *AJA* 104 (2000), 95–121.
25. Bradford Welles (1934) for those from Asia, with translation and full commentary. Many more have been discovered since (cf. e.g. **179, 193, 198, 200, 226**).

26. See below, A Note on Inscriptions and Papyri.
27. See Hunt and Edgar (1932, 1934); Turner (1968); and for new perspectives in the historical interpretation of papyri, Bagnall (1995).
28. A larger selection of Ptolemaic papyri than was possible in this book will be found in Bagnall and Derow (2003).
29. See Préaux I (1978), 106–10 and 280–94; Will II (1982), index s.v. ‘monnayages’ (pp. 592f.); J. K. Davies in *CAH* VII.1<sup>2</sup> (1984), 276–82; Carradice and Price (1988); Mrkholm (1991); Howgego (1995); Meadows and Shipton (2001); G. Reger in Erskine (2003), 347–9.
30. On the techniques of production of coins see Mrkholm (1991), 12–19; Howgego (1995), 30–3.
31. Challenges to an established ruler often involved issuing coins with the challenger’s name and royal title (cf. **180** – Achaeus; **181** n. 12 – Molon).
32. See Stewart (1993); Smith (1988).
33. On the functions of coinage see C. J. Howgego, *NC* 1990, 1–25; Howgego (1995), 14–22, 33–8; A. Meadows (next note).
34. On the phenomenon and its interpretation see A. Meadows in Meadows and Shipton (2001), 53–63.

## A Note on Inscriptions and Papyri

In the choice of inscriptions preference has generally been given to texts that are better preserved, as well as informative in content; but many inscriptions are fragmentary or difficult to read, and the texts used are often (to a greater or lesser extent) the result of scholarly reconstruction (the same is true of papyri). To give some indication to the reader of what is original text and what is restoration, the following method has been adopted. Where half or more of a word is restored, the whole word has been enclosed in square brackets, even if the restoration is virtually certain. Where less than half is restored, the whole word is printed without square brackets, unless there is possible doubt about the restoration. The procedure is rough and ready; if anything it slightly exaggerates the degree of restoration. For a more precise indication of what has survived on the stone (or the papyrus) the reader must consult the original Greek text. Angle brackets < > are used to indicate words accidentally omitted by the scribe or stonecutter. An ellipsis with in square brackets [. . .] indicates that words have been omitted from the passage quoted, while an ellipsis with no square brackets . . . indicates a lacuna in the text (the same applies also to literary texts). For most inscriptions and papyri line divisions have been indicated every 5 lines to facilitate references; again, this can only be done approximately in a translation.

# 1 The Reign of Alexander

Histories and surveys of the Hellenistic world commonly begin with the death of Alexander in 323.<sup>1</sup> This may be justified if the subject is to be kept within manageable limits, yet the invasion of the Persian empire is arguably the natural starting point.

Alexander is by himself a large subject, and this chapter can only highlight major episodes and themes in his career, with emphasis on those of particular relevance for Alexander's 'Successors' and the world after him. The conquest of the Persian empire, the most profitable war of its kind in antiquity, was the precondition for the expansion of the Greek world and the influx of Greek settlers into western Asia. The result was not the literal 'hellenisation' of Asia, despite some optimistic generalisations (22), but it changed the face of the east, though Greeks remained numerically a minority amidst the indigenous populations. The movement of colonists during Alexander's time was apparently on a modest scale, and there is evidence of reluctance on their part to settle far away from the Aegean world (27). But the process gathered momentum after Alexander's death, as the consequences of the disappearance of the Persian empire became clear and the new rulers were anxious to attract Greek settlers to their emerging kingdoms (25, 41). Alexander's own city foundations were seemingly few in number and not initially very successful (8, 21), but they were important in starting a movement which his Successors pursued on a larger scale after his death (48).

Many of the leading figures in this period had participated in the expedition and could see the rewards to be gained from military power. They could also apply lessons from Alexander's style of monarchy, which had evolved as a result of the invasion. One common formulation presents Alexander as starting as a 'national' ruler in Macedon, a country with a long monarchical tradition, and gradually evolving into a 'personal' ruler, who based his power on a band of followers tied to him by bonds of mutual services and material rewards (2, 4, 10, 17). Monarchy was thus dissociated from any specific country or people; it was exportable and could adapt to local traditions of monarchy. The distinction between 'national' and 'personal' monarchy is admittedly schematic,<sup>2</sup> but the formulation is convenient. There is an obvious difference between Philip, whose entire reign was spent in a Macedonian environment,

and Alexander himself, who spent almost all his career in Asia.<sup>3</sup> As the invasion proceeded, Alexander's conception of his position was affected by his Asiatic environment, and he struggled to reconcile his Macedonian origins with the Persian traditions he seemed to be adopting, with resulting tensions between himself and the Macedonians (7, 10, 12, 17, 18).

Alexander's reign also highlighted an issue that was to have a long history: the ambiguous relationship between monarchical rulers and the Greek world. Alexander and the Successors, as Philip before them, were deeply influenced by the culture of Greek world, which was for them the civilised world, and they needed to draw on its manpower and skills. But at same time they could not reconcile their autocracy with the traditions of Greek cities that saw themselves as independent and self-governing (3, 5, 6, 19 for Alexander; 35 for the Successors). The Greek cities still had a long history ahead.

Alexander's ultimate intentions were a matter of speculation in antiquity and have remained so ever after (20, 21, 22). What he did not bequeath to following generations was a *pax macedonica*: after him conflict and instability remained the normal state of affairs (23, 24).

1. Thus Préaux (1978), Will I (1979), *CAH VII.1*<sup>2</sup> (1984), Shipley (2000), Erskine (2003).
2. Cf. F. W. Walbank in *CAH VII.1*<sup>2</sup> (1984), 64f. (contrast D. Musti, *ibid.*, 178f.); Sherwin-White and Kuhrt (1993), 118f.
3. For a different view which postulates continuity between the Macedonian monarchy before Alexander and the monarchies of the Successors, see N. G. L. Hammond, *Historia* 49 (2000), 141–60.

## 1 The Parian Marble (264/3): Alexander's reign and the age of the Successors to 301

The following text is part of a chronological list of notable events, political and cultural, from the first (mythical) kings of Athens to the year 264/3, drawn up by an unknown writer and inscribed on stone in the island of Paros, then under Ptolemaic control (hence the name 'Parian Marble' or 'Chronicle'; cf. 256). Each event is dated in relation to the year of writing (264/3; see however Hazzard (2000), 161–7). The latter part of the inscription is lost after the year 299/8. The chronology given by the Parian Marble for events after 323 differs from that in Diodorus, the main narrative account for this period that is extant (see chapter 2). The exact dating of events in the years immediately after Alexander has long been a matter of dispute. A 'low' chronology is defended for the years 323–311 by R. M. Errington, *JHS* 90 (1970), 75–7 and *Hermes*

105 (1977), 478–504, who also argues for the accuracy of the dates in the Parian Marble; E. M. Anson, *GRBS* 43 (2002/3), 373–90. A ‘high’ chronology is advocated by A. B. Bosworth, *Chiron* 22 (1992), 55–81 (for the years 319–316) and P. Wheatley, *Phoenix* LII (1998), 257–81 (for the years 316–311); cf. also Bosworth (2002), 279–84.

B (§1) [From the time when Philip] died and Alexander came to the throne, 72 years, and Pythodelus was archon at Athens (336/5).

(§2) From the time when Alexander marched against the Triballians and Illyrians, and when the Thebans revolted and blockaded the (Macedonian) garrison, he turned back, captured the city and destroyed it, 71 years, and Euainetus was archon at Athens (335/4).<sup>1</sup>

(§3) From the time of Alexander’s crossing to Asia and the battle at the river Granicus, and the battle at Issus fought by Alexander against Darius, 70 years, and Ctesicles was archon at Athens (334/3).

(§4) From the time when Alexander made himself master of Phoenicia, Cyprus and Egypt, 69 years, and Nicocrates was archon at Athens (333/2).

(§5) From the battle which Alexander fought and won against Darius at Arbela,<sup>2</sup> the capture of Babylon, the dismissal of the allies,<sup>3</sup> and the foundation of Alexandria,<sup>4</sup> 68 years, and Nicetes was archon at Athens (332/1).

(§6) From the time when Callippus made public his astronomical cycle,<sup>5</sup> and Alexander captured Darius and hanged Bessus, 66 years, and Aristophon was archon at Athens (330/29).

(§7) From the time when Philemon the comic poet won the prize, 64 years, and Euthycritus was archon at Athens (328/7). And a Greek city was founded on the Tanais.<sup>6</sup>

(§8) From the time when Alexander died and Ptolemy took control of Egypt,<sup>7</sup> 60 years, and Hegesias was archon at Athens (324/3).

(§9) From the Lamian War fought by the Athenians against Antipater,<sup>8</sup> and from the sea battle fought and won by the Macedonians against the Athenians at Amorgos, 59 years, and Cephisodotus was archon at Athens (323/2).

(§10) From the time when Antipater captured Athens, and Ophellas was sent by Ptolemy to take over Cyrene,<sup>9</sup> 58 years, and Philocles was archon at Athens (322/1).

(§11) From the time when Antigonus crossed to Asia, and Alexander was laid to rest in Memphis,<sup>10</sup> and Perdicas invaded Egypt and was killed, and Craterus and Aristotle the philosopher died at the age of 50,<sup>11</sup> 57 years, and Archippus was archon at Athens (321/20). And Ptolemy made an expedition to Cyrene.



(§12) From the death of Antipater,<sup>12</sup> and the withdrawal of Cassander from Macedon, and from the siege of Cyzicus by Arrhidaeus, and from the time when Ptolemy took over Syria and Phoenicia,<sup>13</sup> 55 years, and Apollodorus was archon at Athens (319/18). And in the same year the Syracusans chose Agathocles to be general with full powers over the strongholds in Sicily.<sup>14</sup>

(§13) From the sea battle fought by Clitus and Nicanor near the sanctuary of the Chalcedonians, and the legislation of Demetrius at Athens,<sup>15</sup> 53 years, and Demogenes was archon at Athens (317/16).

(§14) From the time when Cassander returned to Macedon, and Thebes was resettled, and Olympias died, and Cassandrea was founded,<sup>16</sup> and Agathocles became tyrant of the Syracusans,<sup>17</sup> 52 years, and Democles was archon at Athens (316/15). And Menander the comic poet won his first victory at Athens at that time.

(§15) From the time when Sosiphanes the poet died at the age of 45, 49 years, and Theophrastus was archon at Athens (313/12).

(§16) From the time when there was an eclipse of the sun,<sup>18</sup> and Ptolemy defeated Demetrius at Gaza and despatched Seleucus to Babylon,<sup>19</sup> 48 years, and Polemon was archon at Athens (312/11).

(§17) From the time when Nicocreon died and Ptolemy took control of the island (Cyprus),<sup>20</sup> 47 years, and Simonides was archon at Athens (311/10).

(§18) From the time when Alexander [the son of Alexander] died and also another son Heracles from the daughter of Artabazus,<sup>21</sup> and Agathocles crossed over to Carthage<sup>22</sup> . . . 46 years, and Hieromnemon was archon at Athens (310/9).

(§19) From the time when the city of Lysimachea was founded,<sup>23</sup> and Ophellas [marched?] to Carthage<sup>24</sup> . . . and Ptolemy the son<sup>25</sup> was born in Cos and Cleopatra<sup>26</sup> died in Sardis . . . , 45 years, and Demetrius [was archon] at Athens (309/8).

(§20) From the time when Demetrius the son of Antigonus besieged and captured Piraeus [and Demetrius of Phalerum was expelled from Athens,<sup>27</sup> 44 years, and] Caerimus [was archon] at Athens (308/7).

(§21) From the time when Demetrius razed Munychia and captured Cyprus<sup>28</sup> and . . . , 43 [years] and Anaxicrates was archon at Athens (307/6).

(§22) From the time when Sosiphanes the poet was [born (?) and . . . , 42 years, and] Coroebus [was archon at Athens] (306/5).

(§23) From the siege of Rhodes<sup>29</sup> and from the time when Ptolemy assumed royalty<sup>30</sup> [41 years, and Euxenippus was archon at Athens] (305/4).

(§24) [From the] earthquakes which occurred in Ionia, and from the time when Demetrius took over Chalcis by compact and . . . , 40 years, and Pherecles was archon at Athens (§304/3).

(§25) From the time when a comet appeared, and Lysimachus [crossed over to Asia,<sup>31</sup> 39 years, and Leostratus was archon at Athens] (303/2).

(§26) From the time when Cassander and Demetrius made a truce . . . , 38 [years], and Nicocles was archon at Athens (302/1).

Marmor Parium, *FGrH* 239 B §§1–26; Tod, *GHI* II, 205  
(down to B §8 only)

1. See **3, 11**.
2. More correctly Gaugamela.
3. The Greek allies of Alexander were formally dismissed at Ecbatana, though many re-enlisted (Arrian III.19.5f.).
4. Founded during Alexander's stay in Egypt (see **8**), and so misplaced here though not misdated.
5. Cf. Bickerman (1980), 28f.
6. Alexandria on the Jaxartes or Alexandria Eschate (Arrian IV.1.3f. and 4.1), the Jaxartes (Syr Darya) being confused with the Tanais (Don).
7. See **26** §5, **30** §34. Note the emphasis in the inscription on events relating to the Ptolemaic dynasty: at the time of writing Paros was under Ptolemaic control (cf. **256**).
8. See **28, 32**.
9. See **29**.
10. See **292** §8.
11. An error: Aristotle probably died aged 63.
12. See **31**.
13. See **57** ch. 52.
14. An earlier stage in Agathocles' rise to power in Sicily, distinct from his coup of 316 mentioned in §14, but not explicitly attested in the narrative of Diodorus (XIX.1–9).
15. See **28, 42**.
16. See **35**.
17. See **33**.
18. An error: the nearest known eclipse of the sun dates from August 310.
19. See **57** ch. 54.
20. See Bagnall (1976), 39–42 and 273.
21. See **26** n. 1, **35, 37**.
22. See **33**.
23. See **56**.
24. See **41**.
25. The future Ptolemy II Philadelphus; cf. **257**.
26. Cleopatra, Alexander's sister, put to death by a subordinate of Alexander (Diodorus XX.37.3–6).
27. See **42**.
28. See **44, 57** ch. 54.
29. See **47**.
30. See **44, 57** ch. 54.
31. This refers to the campaign which led to the defeat and death of Antigonos at Ipsus; see **54, 56, 57** ch. 55.

## 2 The origins of Alexander's war on the Persians

The idea of a profitable war of aggression by the Greeks against the Persian empire was already familiar in the fifth century before it was publicised in the fourth by Isocrates (cf. esp. Herodotus V.49; C. G. Starr, *Iranica Antiqua* 11 (1976), 48–61). Surprisingly, the extant sources for Alexander's reign offer very little explicit comment on what might have motivated Alexander to undertake his invasion, following a plan started by his father Philip. The fullest available discussion comes not from one of the writers on Alexander, but from Polybius, in a passage in which he considers the origins of the Second Punic War (cf. 76) and takes other historians to task for their superficial approach to the question of the causes of wars. See Austin (1993), also in Worthington (2003), 118–35.

[. . .] I might concede that these events<sup>1</sup> constitute the beginnings of the (Second Punic) War, but I cannot agree that they are its causes. One might just as well say that the crossing of Alexander into Asia was the cause of the Persian war, and the landing of Antiochus (III) at Demetrias was the cause of his war with Rome,<sup>2</sup> neither of which statements would be plausible or true. No one could call these actions the causes of these wars – in the first case many preparations and plans for the Persian war had been made earlier by Alexander, and some even by his father Philip when he was alive, and similarly in the second case by the Aetolians even before the arrival of Antiochus. Such terminology is used by those who cannot grasp how great is the distinction between a *beginning*, a *cause*, and a *pretext*, and who fail to see that a *cause* is the first in a sequence of events of which the *beginning* is the last. My view is that the word *beginning* should refer to the first attempt to carry out a plan that has already been decided upon, and the word *cause* to the events which influence in advance our purposes and decisions. By this I mean the intentions, dispositions and calculations which lead us to make decisions and form plans. All this is illustrated by the instances I mentioned above. Anyone can easily recognise the true causes and origins of the war against the Persians. The first was the return march of the Greeks under Xenophon through the upper satrapies, in the course of which they traversed the whole of Asia, but none of the barbarians dared to face them though they were in hostile territory.<sup>3</sup> The second was the invasion of Asia by the Spartan king Agesilaus, in which he did not meet any serious opposition to his incursions, though he was compelled by disturbances in Greece to abandon his project and return home.<sup>4</sup> All this convinced Philip of the cowardice and indolence of the Persians, as against his own and the Macedonians' efficiency in war. He could also see the magnitude and splendour of the rewards that could be expected from the war, and the popularity it would bring him from the Greeks. He therefore seized the pretext

of avenging the injuries inflicted on the Greeks by the Persians, and devoted all his energies to making intensive preparations for the war. We must therefore consider the events mentioned first to be the *cause* of the war against the Persians, the *pretext* came second, and the *beginning* of the war was marked by Alexander's crossing into Asia.

Polybius III.6

1. The Carthaginian siege of Saguntum in Spain and the crossing of the river Ebro by Hannibal in 220 BC.
2. In autumn 192 Antiochus III landed with a small army at Demetrias in Thessaly which had been captured by the Aetolians; this precipitated a conflict with Rome which had been threatening for several years (see chapter 5).
3. The expedition of the younger Cyrus into the Persian empire in 401 with an army of Greek mercenaries and its return to Greece in 401–400, told at length in Xenophon's *Anabasis*, which formed the literary model for Arrian's account of Alexander (Arrian I.12.3–4).
4. Agesilaus took over command of Sparta's war in Asia Minor in 396 but was recalled to Greece in 394 to face a revolt of Greek states against Sparta (Crawford and Whitehead (1983), nos. 252–5).

### 3 The beginning of Alexander's reign and the sack of Thebes (336/5)

Alexander's accession in violent circumstances was a moment of great danger for the kingdom, as previous Macedonian history had illustrated more than once: hence the need for Alexander to assert his position immediately at home, in the north, and then to quell the incipient rebellion in Greece. See e.g. Hamilton (1969), 27–31; Hamilton (1973), 41–51; Bosworth (1988), 25–35.

#### (a) *Plutarch*

Philip was then murdered by Pausanias, who had been insulted at the instigation of Attalus and Cleopatra and had been unable to obtain justice. Most of the blame for this was attributed to Olympias, who allegedly encouraged and incited the young man's anger, but some suspicion was also attached to Alexander. It is said that when Pausanias came to see him after the insult he had suffered and complained about it, Alexander quoted to him the line from the *Medea*

The bride's father, the bridegroom and the bride.<sup>1</sup>

Be that as it may, he sought out the accomplices in the plot and punished them, and when in his absence Olympias treated Cleopatra with cruelty he showed his displeasure.<sup>2</sup>

(11) And so at the age of twenty Alexander took over the kingdom, which faced dangers on every side, being exposed to great jealousies and deep animosities. For the neighbouring tribes of barbarians would not submit to Macedonian rule, and longed for their ancestral dynasties. As for Greece, Philip had defeated her in the field but had not had time enough to subdue her under his yoke; he had simply introduced change and confusion into the country and had left it in a state of unrest and commotion, unaccustomed as yet to the new situation. Alexander's Macedonian advisers, alarmed at this crisis, took the view that he ought to give up Greece completely, without recourse to arms, and as for the barbarians who were inclined to revolt, he ought to apply conciliation to win them back by handling gently the first symptoms of rebellion. Alexander, however, took the opposite view, and set out to establish the safety and security of his kingdom through boldness and determination, in the conviction that if he was seen to waver in his resolve, all his enemies would be upon him. Accordingly, he put an end to the barbarian unrest and the wars which threatened on that side by conducting a lightning campaign as far as the Danube, and in a great battle he defeated Syrmus, the king of the Triballians. On hearing that the Thebans had revolted and that the Athenians were in sympathy with them, he immediately led his army through Thermopylae, declaring that since Demosthenes referred to him contemptuously as a boy while he was among the Triballians, and as a youngster when he had reached Thessaly, he wanted to show him before the walls of Athens that he was a man. On reaching Thebes he wanted to give the Thebans a chance to change their minds, and so merely requested the surrender of Phoenix and Prothytes, promising an amnesty to those who defected to his side. But the Thebans retaliated with a demand for the surrender of Philotas and Antipater, and issued a proclamation that those who wanted to join in the task of liberating Greece should come and fight on their side. So Alexander ordered the Macedonians into battle. [. . .] The city was captured, plundered and razed to the ground.<sup>3</sup> Alexander's calculation was essentially that the Greeks would be so struck by the magnitude of the disaster that they would be frightened into submission, but he also wished to give the appearance that he was giving in to the complaints of his allies.<sup>4</sup> For the Phocians and Plataeans had denounced the Thebans. So, making an exception for the priests, all the guest-friends of the Macedonians, the descendants of Pindar, and those who had opposed the vote for revolt, he sold the rest into slavery, some 30,000 in all. The dead numbered over 6,000.

Plutarch, *Alexander* 10.6–11

(b) *Diodorus*

[. . .] The king buried the Macedonian dead, who numbered more than 500; he then called a meeting of the delegates (*synedroi*) of the Greeks<sup>5</sup> and referred to the common council the question how to treat the city of Thebes. The debate was then opened, and some of those who were hostile to the Thebans sought to recommend that they be visited with a merciless punishment, and pointed out that they had espoused the cause of the barbarians against the Greeks. [. . .] By producing many arguments of this kind, they stirred the feelings of the delegates against the Thebans, and in the end it was voted that the city should be completely destroyed and the prisoners sold, that the Theban exiles should be liable to extradition from the whole of Greece, and that no Greek should harbour any Theban. In conformity with the decision of the council the king destroyed the city and so struck terror in the minds of those Greeks who were contemplating revolt. He sold the prisoners and raised a sum of 440 talents of silver.<sup>6</sup>

Diodorus XVII.14

1. Spoken by Creon to Medea (line 288 of Euripides' tragedy) when he says he has heard that Medea is planning revenge on himself, his daughter and Jason. The quotation would have conveyed a veiled encouragement to Pausanias to take revenge on Attalus, his niece Cleopatra, and Philip.
2. The fullest account of the insult to Pausanias and Philip's death is in Diodorus XVI.93–4, who makes no mention of Alexander's or Olympias' possible involvement. The question remains as controversial now as it was then; cf. e.g. E. Badian, *Phoenix* 17 (1963), 244–50; Hamilton (1973), 41–3; Hammond and Griffith (1979), 675–91; Bosworth (1988), 22f., 25–9. Whatever the truth about his personal involvement, Alexander moved quickly to exploit the situation to his own advantage.
3. Cf. also **11**.
4. See (b).
5. The Greek allies of the 'League of Corinth' founded by Philip in 338 (Hammond and Griffith (1979), 623–46; Harding (1985), no. 99; cf. **50**); Alexander was appointed their commander-in-chief (*hegemon*) after Philip's death. For Alexander's subsequent relations with the Greeks cf. **5**, **6**, **7**, **19**.
6. Thebes was rebuilt by Cassander in 316 (**1** §14, **35**; cf. **28**, **101** §12; Holleaux, *Études* I (1938), 1–40).

#### 4 The start of the expedition to Asia (spring 334)

Soon after crushing the Theban uprising and thus quelling incipient rebellion in Greece, Alexander pressed ahead with the decision to invade Asia, despite the reported advice of Parmenion and Antipater that he should first secure his own succession (Diodorus XVII.17). See Hamilton (1969), 36–8 and Hamilton (1973), 50–5.

(a) As for the size of his army, those writers who give the lowest figures put it at 30,000 foot and 4,000 horse, while those who give the highest figures put it at 43,000 foot and 5,000 horse.<sup>1</sup> Aristobulus writes that to provision these forces he had no more than 70 talents, while Duris says that he had supplies for only thirty days, and Onesicritus relates that he even had debts amounting to 200 talents.<sup>2</sup> And yet, although he was setting out with such meagre and limited resources, he would not embark before enquiring into the circumstances of his Companions and distributing to one an estate, to another a village, and to another the revenue of some hamlet or harbour. Virtually all crown property had been used up and earmarked for distribution<sup>3</sup> when Perdicas asked him: 'What are you leaving for yourself, Sire?' 'My hopes', replied Alexander, to which Perdicas rejoined: 'Then we, your companions in the expedition, will share these with you.' So Perdicas refused the estate that had been allotted to him, and a few more of his friends did the same. But to those who accepted or asked for presents Alexander gave generously, and in this way he spent in largesse most of his Macedonian estates.<sup>4</sup> Such was his enthusiasm and eagerness when he crossed the Hellespont. He went up to Ilium, sacrificed to Athena and poured a libation to the heroes. At the tomb of Achilles, after anointing himself with oil and taking part in a race naked with his Companions, as is the custom, he deposited crowns and remarked how fortunate Achilles was to have had a faithful friend while he was alive and a great herald of his fame after his death. While he was going sightseeing about the town someone asked him whether he wanted to see the lyre of Alexander (i.e. Paris); he replied that he was not interested in that one, but was looking for the lyre of Achilles, to which he used to sing the glorious deeds of brave heroes.<sup>5</sup>

Plutarch, *Alexander* 15

(b) *Alexander's army*

[. . .] Alexander advanced with his army to the Hellespont and transported it from Europe over to Asia. He sailed himself with 60 warships to the Troad, and was the first of the Macedonians to fling his spear from his ship into the ground and then to leap onto the shore; he declared that he was receiving Asia from the gods as spear-won (*doriktetos*) territory.<sup>6</sup> He honoured the tombs of the heroes Achilles, Ajax and the others with offerings and other marks of respect, and then proceeded to carry out in person a careful review of the army that was following him. Of the infantry there were counted 12,000 Macedonians, 7,000 allies, and 5,000 mercenaries; Parmenion held command over all these. They were accompanied by 7,000 Odrysians, Triballians and Illyrians, and 1,000 archers and the so-called 'Agrianians'. In all the infantry numbered

30,000. Of the cavalry there were 1,800 Macedonians, under the command of Philotas son of Parmenion, 1,800 Thessalians, commanded by Callas son of Harpalus, a total of 600 of the other Greeks, commanded by Erygius, and 900 Thracian scouts and Paeonians, with Cassander as their commander. The total number of cavalry was 4,500. Such was the size of the army that crossed into Asia with Alexander.<sup>7</sup>

Diodorus XVII.17.1–4

1. See (b).
2. Cf. **18** ch. 9.
3. An exaggeration.
4. For Alexander's generosity to his followers cf. **10** ch. 72, **17**, **18** and in general **31** n. 3; **296** n. 15. The Macedonians had already benefited extensively from Philip's conquests, cf. Hammond and Griffith (1979), 366–71 on settlements in Chalcidice.
5. Cf. also Arrian I.11.7–12.1 (with different details) and the following passage; for the Homeric theme in Alexander's career cf. also **8** (b).
6. Compare Justin XI.5.10 and **37** n. 4 for the concept. The gesture may give an indication of Alexander's conquest ambitions from the start – the whole of the Persian empire; compare the story of the Gordian knot early in 333 (Arrian II.3; Plutarch, *Alexander* 18 etc.). See Bosworth (1988), 38f., 53f.
7. This is the only detailed account of Alexander's army; for discussion cf. R. D. Milns, *Entretiens Hardt* 22 (1976), 87–136; Brunt (1976), Introduction §§56–65; Bosworth (1988), 259–77.

## 5 Alexander in Asia Minor, administration and politics (334)

The early victory against the Persian satraps at the river Granicus (May 334) opened up western Asia Minor to the Macedonians. Alexander's approach was quickly established: the existing Persian system of government was taken over, though with a change of personnel at the top. In Greek cities pro-Persian elements were replaced with forms of government that could be expected to be sympathetic. See Badian (1966); Bosworth I (1980), 127–33; Bosworth (1988), 44–6, 252f.

Alexander then<sup>1</sup> appointed Calas satrap of the province which Arsites had governed and ordered the inhabitants to pay the same taxes they had formerly paid to Darius.<sup>2</sup> All the barbarians who came down from the hills and gave themselves up he ordered to go back to their homes. He exempted the people of Zelea from blame, because he knew that it was under duress that they had been fighting on the Persian side. Parmenion he sent ahead to take control of Dascylium, which he did as the garrison evacuated the place.

Alexander himself moved on to Sardis,<sup>3</sup> and when he was within 70 stades (c.12.25 km) of the city there came to him Mithrenes the commander of



the acropolis of Sardis and the leading citizens of the town, who surrendered the city to him while Mithrenes handed over the citadel with its treasures.<sup>4</sup> Alexander pitched his camp on the banks of the river Hermus, which is about 20 stades (= c.3.5 km) from Sardis. Amyntas the son of Andromenes he sent ahead to Sardis to take over the citadel; Mithrenes he took with him and treated with honour, while to the people of Sardis and the other Lydians he granted the use of their ancestral laws and allowed them their freedom.<sup>5</sup> [. . .] He left behind as commander of the citadel of Sardis Pausanias, one of the Companions; Nicias was put in charge of the assessment and collection of tribute,<sup>6</sup> while Asander son of Philotas was to govern Lydia and the rest of the province of Spithridates. He gave to Asander cavalry and light-armed troops in sufficient numbers for present needs. Calas and Alexander son of Aeropus he despatched against the territory held by Memnon, with the Peloponnesians and the majority of the other allies except the Argives, who had been left behind to guard the citadel of Sardis. [. . .] Three days later, on arriving at Ephesus,<sup>7</sup> he brought back the exiles who had been expelled from the city for taking his side, overthrew the oligarchy and set up a democracy; the tribute which they used to pay to the barbarians, he ordered them to contribute to the goddess Artemis. The common people at Ephesus, freed from the fear of the oligarchs, rushed to put to death those who had called in Memnon, those who had plundered the sanctuary of Artemis, those who had cast down the image of Philip which was in the sanctuary<sup>8</sup> and had dug up from the agora the tomb of Heropythes, the liberator of the city. They dragged out from the sanctuary and stoned to death Syrphax, his son Pelagon, and the children of Syrphax's brothers. But Alexander prevented them from hounding down the others any further and inflicting punishment, as he knew that the common people, if allowed to do so, would kill innocent men as well as the guilty, some through hatred and others to seize their property. This action of Alexander's at Ephesus brought him as much credit as anything else he did.<sup>9</sup>

Arrian I.17 (omitting 5–6, 9)

1. Immediately after the battle of Granicus.
2. The substitution of a Macedonian satrap for a Persian remained Alexander's normal practice down to 331. On the administration of Alexander's empire cf. E. Badian, *Greece & Rome* 12.2 (1965), 166–82, and for a different approach, W. E. Higgins *Athenaeum* 20 (1980), 129–52.
3. Residence of the Persian satrap of Lydia, formerly the capital of the Lydian empire of the Mermnads.
4. Berve (1926), no. 524; Mithrenes was the first Persian noble to rally to Alexander, well before the battle of Gaugamela; in 331/0 he was sent by Alexander to become satrap of Armenia (Arrian III.16.5). On the significance of his surrender cf. P. Briant in Carlsen et al. (1993), 12–27.

5. i.e. they received local autonomy, not genuine freedom; in practice Macedonian rule replaced Persian rule.
6. It is not clear whether the appointment of a separate financial official represents a significant innovation by Alexander (thus G. T. Griffith, *PCPS* n.s. 10 (1964), 23–9; *contra*, Badian (1966), 54f.)
7. On Alexander at Ephesus cf. Badian (1966), 40–3, 45.
8. An honorific statue (*eikon*), not a cult statue (*agalma*). On the cult of rulers after Alexander cf. 39.
9. Support for democracies now became Alexander's declared policy with the Greek cities of Asia Minor (Arrian I.18.2; cf. 6), for tactical and not ideological reasons (the Persians had supported tyrants and narrow oligarchies; de Ste Croix (1972), 37–40). Whether the Greek cities of Asia Minor were admitted to the League of Corinth, as the offshore islands were (6), is disputed; in any case, whatever their technical status, Alexander interfered in their affairs (Badian (1966), 37–69). On the relationship between Hellenistic rulers and Greek cities cf. 35.

## 6 Letter of Alexander to Chios (332?)

The disturbed internal history of Chios during the years of the Macedonian conquest of Asia Minor reflects both the vicissitudes of that conquest and the political and social instability which affected many Greek states at that time (compare Ephesus, 5). A pro-Persian oligarchy was overthrown in 336 at the start of the Macedonian offensive, but Chios was then betrayed to the Persians by an oligarchic group early in 333 (Arrian II.1.1), and not recovered by the Macedonians until the autumn of 332 (Arrian III.2.3–7). The original letter of Alexander to Chios is usually dated to 332, after the Macedonian recovery; for an earlier dating, in 334, see H. Hauben, *Ancient Society* 7 (1976), 84–6; Heisserer (1980), 79–95. The inscription, however, was probably set up a few years later. For the context, cf. Badian (1966), 46–53; Bosworth (1988), 192–4.

- [In] the prytany of Deisitheus, from King<sup>1</sup> [Alexander to the] people of Chios. All the exiles from Chios shall return,<sup>2</sup> and the constitution in Chios shall be democratic.<sup>3</sup> Law drafters shall be appointed to record / and correct the laws,<sup>4</sup> to remove all obstacles to the democracy and the return of the exiles. What is corrected or recorded shall be referred back to Alexander.<sup>5</sup> The people of Chios shall provide twenty triremes manned at their own expense, and these shall operate at sea as long as the rest of the Hellenic fleet / follows us.<sup>6</sup> As for those who betrayed the city to the barbarians, those who have already taken to flight shall be banned from all the cities which participate in the peace and are liable to arrest, according to the decree of the Greeks.<sup>7</sup> Those who have stayed behind are to be brought to trial in the council of the Greeks.<sup>8</sup> / If any dispute arises between the exiles who have returned and the men in the city, it shall be judged in our own court. Until such time as the Chians

reach a settlement, an adequate garrison from King Alexander shall remain with them; the Chians shall be responsible for maintaining it.<sup>9</sup>

Tod, *GHI* II, 192; *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 283; Harding (1985), no. 107; BD 2;  
Rhodes and Osborne (2003) no. 84

1. The royal title may have been added here and in l. 18 (contrast l. 7) when the inscription was published; it is not clear how systematic Alexander was (or became) in his use of the title. For a definite example cf. **19** and see generally Aymard (1967), 92f. For the evidence of coinage, cf. Price I (1991), 32f., 35: Alexander's coins do not advertise the title regularly till 325–3 (cf. Plate 1.1), while Babylonian texts called Alexander 'king of the world' as early as 331/0. Cf. further **44**.
2. The democratic exiles.
3. Cf. **5** n. 9.
4. Cf. **48** §8.
5. Throughout the letter Alexander takes for granted his right to interfere in the affairs of Chios.
6. Alexander had disbanded his Greek fleet in 334 after the capture of Miletus (Arrian I.20.1); if the letter is correctly dated to 332 the reference will be to the fleet operating in the Aegean under Hegelochus (Arrian III.2.3–7).
7. The Greek allies of the 'League of Corinth' (**3** (b)).
8. Yet Alexander placed the Chian oligarchs in custody at Elephantine in 332 (Arrian III.2.5 and 7).
9. The garrison was withdrawn in 331 at the request of the Chians (Quintus Curtius IV.8.12).

## 7 Alexander's manifesto to Darius after Issus (332)

The battle of Issus (November 333) opened up to Alexander the possibility of advancing east into Persian Empire, but he preferred for whatever reason to move south to secure first the Levant and Egypt. After the battle Darius made approaches to ransom back his family and settle with Alexander on the basis of a territorial division between the two rulers; the sources differ on the content, timing, and numbers of offers made. Alexander's rejection of these advances implies that by this time he was aiming at the conquest of the whole of the Persian empire – though this may have been his aim from the start (**4** n. 6). See Bosworth I (1980), 227–33, 256.

While Alexander was still at Marathus there came to him envoys from Darius with a letter from him and a request they conveyed verbally to release Darius' mother, wife and children. The letter's contents<sup>1</sup> were to the effect that there had been friendship and alliance between Philip and Artaxerxes,<sup>2</sup> but when Artaxerxes' son Arses came to the throne, Philip was the initial aggressor against Arses, though he had suffered no harm from the Persians.<sup>3</sup> Since Darius' own

accession Alexander had not sent any envoy to confirm the old friendship and alliance, but crossed with an army to Asia and did the Persians much harm. This was why Darius had come down to defend his country and preserve his ancestral rule. The battle had been decided as some god willed, but he, as one king to another, was asking for his captive wife, mother and children, and was prepared to make a treaty of friendship with Alexander and to be his ally.<sup>4</sup> He requested Alexander to send envoys to accompany the Persian emissaries Meniscus and Arsimas and to exchange mutual assurances.

Alexander drafted a reply to this letter and sent Thersippus to accompany the envoys from Darius, with instructions to hand over the letter to Darius but not to engage in any negotiations. Alexander's letter read as follows:<sup>5</sup> 'Your ancestors invaded Macedon and the rest of Greece and did us harm although we had not done you any previous injury. I have been appointed commander-in-chief (*hegemon*) of the Greeks<sup>6</sup> and it is with the aim of punishing the Persians that I have crossed into Asia, since you are the aggressors. You gave support to the people of Perinthus, who had done my father harm, and Ochus sent a force to Thrace,<sup>7</sup> which was under our rule. My father died at the hand of conspirators instigated by you, as you yourself boasted to everybody in your letters,<sup>8</sup> you killed Arses with the help of Bagoas and gained your throne through unjust means, in defiance of Persian custom and doing wrong to the Persians. You sent unfriendly letters to the Greeks about me, to push them to war against me, and sent money to the Spartans and some other Greeks, which none of the other cities would accept apart from the Spartans. Your envoys corrupted my friends and sought to destroy the peace which I established among the Greeks.<sup>9</sup> I therefore led an expedition against you, and you started the quarrel. But now I have defeated in battle first your generals and satraps, and now you in person and your army, and by the grace of the gods I control the country. All those who fought on your side and did not die in battle but came over to me, I hold myself responsible for them; they are not on my side under duress but are taking part in the expedition of their own free will. Approach me therefore as the lord of all Asia. If you are afraid of suffering harm at my hands by coming in person, send some of your friends to receive proper assurances. Come to me to ask and receive your mother, your wife, your children and anything else you wish. Whatever you can persuade me to give shall be yours. In future whenever you communicate with me, send to me as king of Asia; do not write to me as an equal, but state your demands to the master of all your possessions. If not I shall deal with you as a wrongdoer. If you wish to lay claim to the title of king, then stand your ground and fight for it;<sup>10</sup> do not take to flight, as I shall pursue you wherever you may be.'

Arrian II.14

1. According to Diodorus XVII.39.1–2 Alexander concealed the letter of Darius and submitted instead to his council of advisers a forged letter ‘more in accordance with his own interests’ (which secured rejection of Darius’ advances). The letter paraphrased by Arrian may be this forgery (thus G. T. Griffith, *PCPS* n.s. 14 (1968), 33–48; see however Bosworth, *loc. cit.*).
2. Not mentioned by any other source, hence perhaps fictitious; cf. Hammond and Griffith (1979), 485–7; Bosworth, *loc. cit.*
3. The Persians gave support to Perinthus against Philip in 240, cf. below (Hammond and Griffith (1979), 573).
4. There is no mention of the territorial and financial offers recorded by Diodorus XVII.39.1. During the siege of Tyre Darius reportedly made renewed offers to Alexander, this time with territorial concessions, which Alexander also rejected (Arrian II.25.1–3). The offer may belong to 331, before Gaugamela, rather than 332 (thus Bosworth, *loc. cit.*).
5. The wording is Arrian’s not Alexander’s.
6. Cf. **3** (b).
7. Not otherwise attested.
8. This is pure propaganda.
9. The start of Philip’s campaign in Asia Minor in 336 antedates Persian intervention in Greece.
10. For this view of kingship and the rights of conquest cf. **44**. According to Plutarch, *Alexander* 34, Alexander was proclaimed ‘king of Asia’ after Gaugamela, which is often taken to imply that he saw himself as successor to the Persian empire; cf. e.g. Briant (1994) and **5** n. 4. For the argument that Alexander intended rather to set up a new and personal form of absolute monarchy, cf. E. Fredericksmeier in Bosworth and Baynham (2000), 136–66. Cf. also **20**.

## 8 The foundation of Alexandria (332/1)

After the conquest of the Levant in 332 Alexander occupied Egypt, which surrendered to him without a fight; he stayed there during winter 332–331. Characteristically the ancient sources concentrate not on what the bulk of army was doing during the stay, but on two stories which involved Alexander personally, the foundation of Alexandria and the visit to the oracle of Ammon (**9**), both of which they present in picturesque detail. Alexandria was the first major foundation of Alexander in Asia, but the motives behind its creation are left vague by the sources and remain a matter of conjecture. Arrian’s bland account contrasts with Plutarch’s more colourful version. The foundation is usually dated to before the visit to Ammon (**9**), though some place it after. The later prosperity of Alexandria is due not so much to the foundation itself as to the subsequent development of the city by the Ptolemies (cf. **292**). For Alexander’s reputation as a founder of cities see **21** and **22**; on Hellenistic city foundations cf. **48**. See Fraser I (1972), 3–7, 63–5; Bosworth I (1980), 263–6; Huss (2001), 63–69.

(a) *Arrian*

Alexander came to Canobus, sailed round Lake Mareotis, and landed on the site of the present city of Alexandria, which is called after himself. The site seemed to him to be a most favourable one for the foundation of a city and he thought that it would be prosperous. He was therefore seized with a longing (*pothos*)<sup>1</sup> for the task, and marked out himself the main parts of the city, the location of the agora, how many sanctuaries there should be, and of which gods, those of Greek gods and of Egyptian Isis, and the course of the city wall. He offered sacrifice over the plan, and the omens appeared favourable. The following story is also told, and I do not disbelieve it. It is said that Alexander wanted to indicate to the builders the lines of the city wall, but had nothing to mark the ground with. One of the builders suggested making use of the meal which the soldiers carried in vessels, and dropping it on the ground where the king indicated. In this way the circumference of the city wall was marked out according to his wishes. The seers, and especially Aristander of Telmessus, who had made many correct prophecies to Alexander, reflected on this and declared that the city would be prosperous in every way, particularly as regards agricultural produce.

Arrian III.1.5–2.2

(b) *Plutarch*

If what the Alexandrians say on the authority of Heracleides is true, then it seems that Homer was no idle or useless companion to him on his expedition. They say that after his conquest of Egypt he resolved to found and leave behind him a large and populous Greek city which would bear his name. On the advice of his architects he was about to measure out and enclose a certain site, when during the night, as he was sleeping, he saw a remarkable vision. He thought he could see a man with very white hair and of venerable appearance standing beside him and speaking these lines:

Then there is an island in the stormy sea,  
In front of Egypt; they call it Pharos.<sup>2</sup>

He rose at once and went to Pharos, which at that time was still an island a little above the Canobic mouth of the Nile, but which has now been joined to the mainland by a causeway. When he saw that the site was eminently suitable (it is a strip of land similar to a fairly broad isthmus, running between a large lagoon and the sea which terminates in a great harbour), he exclaimed that Homer was admirable in other respects and was also an excellent architect, and ordered the plan of the city to be drawn in conformity with the terrain. Since there was no chalk available, they used barley meal to describe a rounded

area on the dark soil, to whose inner arc straight lines succeeded, starting from what might be called the skirts of the area and narrowing the breadth uniformly, so as to produce the figure of a *chlamys*.<sup>3</sup> The king was delighted with the plan, when suddenly a vast multitude of birds of every kind and size flew from the river and the lagoon onto the site like clouds; nothing was left of the barley meal and even Alexander was much troubled by the omen. But his seers advised him there was nothing to fear (in their view the city he was founding would abound in resources and would sustain men from every nation); he therefore instructed his overseers to press on with the work.<sup>4</sup>

Plutarch, *Alexander* 26.3–10

1. An expression frequently used of Alexander by Arrian (cf. **9**, **20**). This may go back to Alexander himself (V. Ehrenberg in Griffith (1966), 74–83; cf. Brunt (1976), 469f.), but may also be a literary phrase with no special significance.
2. *Odyssey* IV.354f. On Alexander and Homer cf. also **4**.
3. A military cloak; cf. also **292** §8. On this passage cf. Fraser II (1972), 26 n. 64; K. Zimmermann in Ogden (2002), 23–7.
4. On the role of Cleomenes in the building of Alexandria cf. **15**.

## 9 Alexander's visit to the oracle of Ammon (332/1)

Militarily and strategically the visit to the oracle of the Egyptian god Ammon, whom the Greeks identified with Zeus, was of no significance and a diversion from the main business of expedition, yet it meant a great deal to Alexander and receives detailed coverage in the sources. The episode is at once famous and obscure in interpretation. The motives for the expedition, the question (or questions) Alexander put to the oracle, and the answers he received, remain a matter of speculation. At any rate, Alexander's close personal attachment to Ammon and his apparent belief in his descent from him date from this visit (cf. **18** ch. 8; Plate 1.3). Arrian is reticent on what happened at the oracle while the other sources provide conjectures liberally. See Hamilton (1969), 71–3; Hamilton (1973), 75–7; Brunt (1976), Appendices 4 and 5; Bosworth I (1980), 269–74; Badian (1981), 44–47, 65f.; cf. further **12**.

At this point Alexander was seized with a longing<sup>1</sup> to visit Ammon in Libya;<sup>2</sup> his intention was to consult the god, as the oracle of Ammon was reputed to be truthful and it was said that Perseus and Heracles had consulted it, the former when Polydectes sent him against the Gorgon, the latter when he was making his journey to Libya and Egypt in search of Antaeus and Busiris. Alexander wanted to rival Perseus and Heracles, since he was descended from them both, and was also seeking to trace his birth back to Ammon, just as mythology traces that of Heracles and Perseus to Zeus. He therefore set out

for Ammon in this frame of mind, with the intention of finding out more exactly about his origins, or of claiming he had found out. The journey along the coast as far as Paraetionium was through deserted, though not waterless, country, for a distance of 1,600 stades (*c.*280 km) according to Aristobulus (*FGrH* 139 F 13). From there he turned inland, where the oracle of Ammon was to be found. The road is deserted, sandy for the most part and without water. But Alexander had the benefit of heavy rains, and he ascribed this to the divinity. Another occurrence was attributed to divine intervention: whenever a south wind blows in that country, much of the road is covered with sand and the road marks disappear. One is in an ocean of sand, as it were, and it is impossible to tell one's direction, as there are no mountains or trees or solid hills to serve as signs and guide the travellers on their way, just as sailors go by the stars. Hence Alexander's army was advancing aimlessly and the guides could not tell the way. Ptolemy son of Lagus relates (*FGrH* 138 F 8) that two speaking snakes preceded the army and Alexander ordered the guides to follow them and trust in the divinity; the snakes then led the way to the oracle and back again. But Aristobulus (*FGrH* 139 F 4) says (and most writers agree with him) that two crows flew in front of the army and served as guides to Alexander. I can assert that there must have been some divine intervention to help Alexander, because this is what seems probable. But the truth of the matter has been obscured by the conflicting accounts of historians.

(4) The area where the sanctuary of Ammon is situated is circular in shape; it is completely deserted, covered with sand and waterless, but the site itself is small (it has a maximum breadth of 40 stades (*c.*7 km)). It is full of garden trees, olives and palms, and is the only part of the area to catch the dew [. . .] Alexander admired the site and consulted the god, and having received, as he put it, the answer which his heart desired he returned to Egypt by the same road, as Aristobulus says (F 15), though according to Ptolemy (F 9) he followed a straight road to Memphis.

Arrian III.3–4 (omitting 4.2–4)

1. See **8** n. 1.
2. Ammon's oracle lay in the oasis of Siwah in the Libyan desert, to the west of Egyptian Thebes.

## 10 The destruction of Persepolis and its palace (May 330)

The battle of Gaugamela (1 October 331), fought by Alexander after his return from Egypt and invasion of Mesopotamia, resulted in the flight of Darius, the surrender of Babylon and the securing of the Persian capital cities by the Macedonians. What happened at Persepolis illustrates the divergences between



the ancient sources and the resulting problems in interpretation. Arrian's brief account obscures the fact that the army stayed there 4 months in early 330, and does not mention any initial looting of the city by the army; at some unspecified point the palace was set on fire, allegedly as a deliberate act of policy to punish the Persians for their invasion of Greece in 480 (III.18.10–12; on this propaganda presentation of the war cf. 7). Diodorus' version places the sacking of the city shortly after its capture, to be followed at the end of the stay by the burning of the palace, as the result of a wild drinking-party which went out of control, an act of which Alexander soon repented (cf. Plutarch, *Alexander* 38, end). Assuming the destruction of the palace was intentional and not accidental it is not clear whether the gesture was directed towards the Greek world or towards the Persians, whom Alexander was about to start conciliating in an attempt to defuse continued opposition to the Macedonian invaders (**12**, **17**, **18**). For diverging modern interpretations see e.g. Hamilton (1969), 99–101; Hamilton (1973), 88f.; Brunt (1976), Appendix 10; Bosworth I (1980), 329–33; N. G. L. Hammond, *CQ* 42 (1992), 358–364; Briant (1994), 94–8.

As for Persepolis, the capital of the Persian kingdom, Alexander described it to the Macedonians as their worst enemy among the cities of Asia, and he gave it over to the soldiers to plunder, with the exception of the royal palace. It was the wealthiest city under the sun and the private houses had been filled for a long time with riches of every kind. The Macedonians rushed into it, killing all the men and plundering the houses, which were numerous and full of furniture and precious objects of every kind. Here much silver was carried off and no little gold, and many expensive dresses, embroidered with purple or with gold, fell as prizes to the victors. But the great royal palace, famed throughout the inhabited world, had been condemned to the indignity of total destruction. The Macedonians spent the whole day in pillage but still could not satisfy their inexhaustible greed. [. . .] As for the women, they dragged them away forcibly with their jewels, treating as slaves the whole group of captives. As Persepolis had surpassed all other cities in prosperity, so she now exceeded them in misfortune.

(71) Alexander went up to the citadel and took possession of the treasures stored there. They were full of gold and silver, with the accumulation of revenue from Cyrus, the first king of the Persians, down to that time. Reckoning gold in terms of silver, 120,000 talents were found there. Alexander wanted to take part of the money with him for the expenses of war and to deposit the rest at Susa under close guard. From Babylon, Mesopotamia and Susa, he sent for a retinue of mules, partly pack and partly draught animals, as well as 3,000 pack camels, and with these he had all the treasure conveyed to the chosen places.<sup>1</sup> He was very hostile to the local people and did not trust them, and wished to destroy Persepolis utterly. [. . .]

(72) Alexander held games to celebrate his victories; he offered magnificent sacrifices to the gods and entertained his friends lavishly. One day when the Companions were feasting, and intoxication was growing as the drinking went on, a violent madness took hold of these drunken men. One of the women present (she was an Athenian called Thais<sup>2</sup>) declared that it would be Alexander's greatest achievement in Asia to join in their procession and set fire to the royal palace, allowing women's hands to destroy in an instant what had been the pride of the Persians. These words were spoken to young men who were completely out of their minds because of drink, and someone, as expected, shouted to lead off the procession and light torches, exhorting them to punish the crimes committed against the Greek sanctuaries. Others joined in the cry and said that only Alexander was worthy of this deed. The king was excited with the rest by these words. They all leaped out from the banquet and passed the word around to form a triumphal procession in honour of Dionysus. A quantity of torches was quickly collected, and as female musicians had been invited to the banquet, it was to the sound of singing and flutes and pipes that the king led them to the revel, with Thais the courtesan conducting the ceremony. She was the first after the king to throw her blazing torch into the palace. As the others followed their example the whole area of the royal palace was quickly engulfed in flames. What was most remarkable was that the sacrilege committed by Xerxes, king of the Persians, against the Acropolis of Athens was avenged by a single woman, a fellow citizen of the victims, who many years later, and in sport, inflicted the same treatment on the Persians.

Diodorus XVII.70–2 (omitting 70.5; 71.3(end)-8)

1. The capture of the Persian treasures provided the victor with an enormous stock of precious metals, equivalent on one reckoning to 4,680 tons of silver or 468 tons of gold – the largest single haul of precious metals in antiquity (F. de Callataÿ, *REA* 91 (1989), 259–74, at 260–4). This enabled Alexander to issue coinage on an unprecedented scale at a large number of mints from Macedon to Mesopotamia; coins with his types circulated or were imitated long after his death; cf. **6** n. 1, **122** n. 2.
2. Known to have been Ptolemy's mistress, hence perhaps the different and briefer version of events in Arrian (from Ptolemy), which makes no mention of Thais.

## 11 The triumph of the Macedonians: a contemporary Athenian view (summer 330)

The following passage comes from the speech of Aeschines in the famous trial in which he attacked his rival Demosthenes for the failure of his anti-Macedonian

policies; the trial took place in Athens in summer 330. For the political context see G. L. Cawkwell, *CQ* n.s. 19 (1969), 163–80. For other views of the fall of the Persian empire and its consequences, though from a later perspective, cf. **22, 24, 25**.

What strange and unexpected event has not occurred in our time?<sup>1</sup> The life we have lived is no ordinary human one, but we were born to be an object of wonder to posterity. The Persian king, who dug a canal through Mount Athos, who cast a yoke on the Hellespont, who demanded earth and water from the Greeks, who had the arrogance to write in his letters that he was the lord of all men from the rising to the setting sun, surely he is now fighting for his own safety rather than for domination over others?<sup>2</sup> And do we not see that the men who are thought worthy of this glory and of the command against the Persians, are precisely those who freed the sanctuary at Delphi?<sup>3</sup> And Thebes, Thebes the neighbouring city, has been erased in one day from the centre of Greece – a just punishment perhaps, for their misguided policies and for the blindness and folly that afflicted them, divinely inspired rather than human.<sup>4</sup> And the unfortunate Spartans, who were only involved with these events at the beginning when the temple at Delphi was captured, and who at one time claimed to be the leaders of the Greeks, are now about to be sent to Alexander as hostages to parade their misfortune.<sup>5</sup> Whatever he decides, they and their country shall have to endure, the verdict depending on the moderation of the victor whom they offended. And our own city, the common refuge of the Greeks, which formerly embassies from all over Greece would visit, each city seeking its safety from us, is now no longer fighting for the leadership of Greece, but to defend the land of its fathers. And all this has happened from the moment Demosthenes took over control of affairs.

Aeschines III (*Against Ctesiphon*), 132–4

1. Compare **25**.
2. Darius had been defeated at Gaugamela on 1 October 331; news of his murder by Bessus in July 330 had not yet reached Athens.
3. The Macedonians had put an end to the Phocian control of Delphi which had lasted from 356 to 346.
4. See **3**.
5. The Spartans had remained aloof from the ‘League of Corinth’; they revolted against Macedon under King Agis III, but were defeated by Antipater at the battle of Megalopolis (exact date uncertain: at the time of Gaugamela (E. N. Borza, *CP* 66 (1971), 230–5), or later, in 330 (Cawkwell, *op. cit.*, 170–3). Cf. Brunt (1976), Appendix 6; de Ste Croix (1972), 376–8.

## 12 Alexander's attempt to introduce obeisance ('proskynesis') at his court

Among Greeks and Persians, 'obeisance' (*proskynesis*) was a mark of respect performed by kissing one's fingers towards the person honoured. It was an honour paid by Greeks only to the image of a god, but by Persians to social superiors, and especially to the king. For Persians *proskynesis* did not imply that the person honoured was regarded as a god, though Greeks often misleadingly believed so. At the Persian court, prostration (falling on one's knees) was not necessarily a part of *proskynesis* towards the king, at least not for the Persian nobility.

Alexander's motives for attempting (unsuccessfully) to introduce the ceremony to his own court, and making it apply equally to Macedonians, Greeks and non-Greeks, are conjectural and disputed. On a minimum interpretation, Alexander's aim was political and was part of his attempt to bridge the gap between the Persian and the Macedonian nobility, the old and the new rulers of the empire, though this aggravated the growing tensions between Alexander and his Macedonians (see further 17, 18). On a maximum interpretation, Alexander deliberately sought to exalt himself by receiving a quasi-divine honour (this is the view reproduced by Arrian). Whatever the truth about Alexander's intentions, it is likely that he did eventually (in 324) come to demand divine honours from the Greek states, though both fact and interpretation are disputed. See J. P. V. D. Balsdon, *Historia* 1 (1950), 363–88 = Griffith (1966), 179–204; Hamilton (1969), 150–3 and (1973), 105–8, 138–41; Brunt (1976), Appendix 14; Badian (1981), partly modified in Small (1996), 11–26, also in Worthington (2003), 245–62; G. L. Cawkwell in Worthington (1994), 293–306, also in Worthington (2003), 263–72; Bosworth II (1995), 77–90; E. Fredericksmeier in Roisman (2003), 253–78. On the cult of rulers after Alexander see 39.

Concerning the opposition offered to Alexander by Callisthenes over the question of obeisance, there is also the following story.<sup>1</sup> It had been agreed between Alexander, the sophists and the most distinguished of the Persians and the Medes at his court that the subject should be raised during a drinking-party. Anaxarchus launched the topic, saying that Alexander had much better claims to be regarded as a god than Dionysus and Heracles, not so much because of the number and magnitude of his achievements, as because Dionysus was a Theban and was not related to the Macedonians, and Heracles an Argive, only related to them through Alexander's family, since Alexander was descended from Heracles. The Macedonians would have better reason to honour their king with divine honours; there was no doubt that once Alexander departed from men they would honour him as a god. How much more justifiable it would therefore be to honour him in his lifetime rather than wait for his

death, when the honour would be of no benefit to the recipient. (11) After Anaxarchus had spoken to this effect, those who were privy to the plan praised his words and wanted to begin doing obeisance to Alexander, but the majority of Macedonians were displeased and kept quiet. Then Callisthenes intervened with these words:<sup>2</sup> 'Anaxarchus, I declare that there is no honour fitting to man that Alexander does not deserve. But a distinction has been drawn by men between honours fit for mortals and honours fit for gods, for example in the matter of building temples and setting up cult statues and setting apart sacred enclosures for gods, and making sacrifices and libations to them, and offering hymns to the gods but eulogies to men. Most important is the distinction observed in the matter of obeisance. You greet men with a kiss, but since a god is placed higher up and it is sacrilege to touch him, you honour him in this way with obeisance. Dances, too, are held in honour of the gods, and paeans are sung to praise them. No wonder, when one considers that different honours are appropriate to different gods, while heroes receive yet others distinct from divine honours. It is unreasonable, therefore, to obliterate all these distinctions by inflating human beings to excessive proportions through extravagant honours, while inappropriately diminishing gods, as far as is possible, by offering them the same honours as men. Alexander himself would not tolerate for a moment a private individual laying claim to royal honours on the strength of some unjust show of hands or vote. How much more justified would be the displeasure of the gods against men who assume divine honours or allow others to do it for them. Alexander has more than justified the claim that he is and is seen to be the bravest of the brave, the most kingly of kings and the greatest of all generals. More than anyone else, Anaxarchus, you ought to have put forward this point of view and opposed the rival line of argument, because of your position as philosopher and instructor of Alexander. You ought not to have launched this subject. Remember that it is not Cambyses or Xerxes you are associating with and advising, but the son of Philip, descended from Heracles and Aeacus, whose forefathers came from Argos to Macedon, and have since ruled the Macedonians by law and not by force.<sup>3</sup> Why, not even Heracles received divine honours from the Greeks in his lifetime, nor even after his death until Apollo at Delphi gave an oracle instructing Heracles to be honoured as a god. If one must think in foreign ways on the ground that this argument has originated in a foreign land, then do not forget Greece, Alexander. It was for her sake that you launched your whole expedition, to add Asia to Greece. Consider then whether on your return you will exact obeisance from the Greeks, the freest of men, or will you make an exception for the Greeks but inflict this indignity on the Macedonians? Or will you draw a distinction in the matter of honours generally, receiving from Macedonians and Greeks honours fit for men and acceptable to Greeks,

and foreign honours only from non-Greeks? It may be said that Cyrus the son of Cambyses was the first man to receive the honour of obeisance, and that it is this which has kept the Persians and Medes submissive as you can see. But you must remember that the great Cyrus was humbled by Scythians, poor but independent men, and Darius by other Scythians, and Xerxes by Athenians and Spartans, and Artaxerxes by Clearchus, Xenophon and the Ten Thousand, and lastly our opponent Darius by Alexander – who had not yet been the object of obeisance.<sup>7</sup>

(12) These and similar words of Callisthenes greatly irritated Alexander, though the Macedonians were pleased to hear them. Alexander realised this and sent instructions to the Macedonians to forget about obeisance for the future. Silence fell after these words, but the eldest of the Persians came forward to perform obeisance one after the other. Leonnatus, one of the Companions, thought that one of the Persians had not bowed properly, and made fun of the Persian's air of submissiveness. Alexander was angry with him at the time, though later he was reconciled. The following story is also told.<sup>4</sup> Alexander sent round a golden cup, passing it first to those who were privy to the plan about obeisance. The first person would drink from it, stand up and offer obeisance, then receive a kiss from Alexander, and the rest likewise in turn. When it was Callisthenes' turn, he stood up, drank from the cup, and went towards Alexander to kiss him, but without offering obeisance. Alexander was then engaged in conversation with Hephaestion and was not paying attention to whether Callisthenes was going through the act of obeisance or not. But when Callisthenes approached Alexander to kiss him, Demetrius the son of Pythonax, one of the Companions, remarked that he had not made obeisance, whereupon Alexander did not allow himself to be kissed. 'Well then,' exclaimed Callisthenes, 'I shall go away one kiss the poorer.'<sup>5</sup>

Arrian IV.10.5–12.5

1. i.e. the story does not come from Ptolemy or Aristobulus, Arrian's two principal sources. The reliability of the account is questionable; it may be influenced by controversies of the Roman imperial period over the deification of emperors.
2. On the speech of Callisthenes cf. Bosworth (1988a), 113–23.
3. The phrase is conventional (cf. *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 274 no. 6) and hardly implies by itself the existence of a Macedonian 'constitution'; cf. R. A. Lock, *CP* 72 (1977), 91–8; R. M. Errington, *Chiron* 8 (1978), 80–3.
4. From Chares of Mytilene (*FGrH* 125 F 14), court chamberlain of Alexander, as appears from Plutarch, *Alexander* 54.4–6; the story has better credentials than the previous one.
5. Callisthenes was later arrested (spring 327) for alleged complicity in the conspiracy of the Pages; the sources differ on the manner of his death (Hamilton (1973), 107f.;

Bosworth II (1995), 100). On obeisance compare Prusias of Bithynia before the Roman Senate (97). On relations between intellectuals and kings cf. also 255, 322.

### 13 The mutiny at the Hyphasis (326)

Despite expectations, the defeat of Darius and his death in 330 did not mark the end of the expedition, and Alexander pressed on (cf. Diodorus XVII.74.3–5 on the reluctance of the army in 330). Years of arduous campaigning took the Macedonians ever further to the east where they met strong resistance (330–327), and eventually across the Hindu Kush (327–326) to reach the western part of ancient India. After the battle at the river Hydaspes against the Indian ruler Porus (May 326) further advance to the east was halted by the refusal of the weary troops to follow Alexander, a major setback to his leadership. See Hamilton (1969), 170–5 and (1973), 116–18; Bosworth II (1995), 337, 354–7.

When Coenus had spoken<sup>1</sup> the bystanders shouted their approval; many even shed tears, thus making even more plain their reluctance to advance and face yet more dangers, and how anxious they were to turn back. Alexander for the moment was annoyed at Coenus' plain talking and at the lack of courage of the other leaders, and dismissed the meeting. Then he summoned again the same men for the next day and angrily declared that he was going to pursue his advance, but would not compel any Macedonian to follow him against his will; for he would have men to follow their king of their own volition; as to those who wanted to return home, it was open for them to do so and report back that they had returned leaving their king in the midst of enemies. With these words he withdrew to his tent and would not admit to his presence any of his Companions for the whole of that day and for another two days after. He expected that the Macedonians and the allies would experience a change of mind, as often happens in a crowd of soldiers, and would then be more easily brought over to his point of view. But when there was profound silence through the camp and it was clear they were annoyed with his show of temper, though not prepared to change their minds because of it, then, according to Ptolemy the son of Lagus (*FGrH* 138 F 23), he nonetheless offered sacrifice to cross the river, but did not obtain favourable omens. At this he called together the eldest of his Companions and especially those who were closest to him, and since everything was now pointing to withdrawal, he declared to the army that he had decided to turn back. (29) At this there arose a loud shout such as you would expect from a large and joyful multitude, and many of them wept. Some drew near the royal tent and called for many blessings on Alexander,

since he had allowed himself to be defeated by them and them alone. Then he divided the army into twelve parts and gave orders to build twelve altars, as high as the biggest towers and broader even than towers would be. These were meant as thank offerings to the gods for having brought him victorious so far, and as memorials of his labours.

Arrian V.28–29.1

1. Arrian has just reproduced ‘speeches’ by Alexander and Coenus, a Macedonian noble, arguing respectively for and against the advance further east; on the speeches, probably free compositions by Arrian and unrelated to the context, cf. Bosworth (1988a), 123–34.

## 14 ‘Maladministration’ in Alexander’s empire

‘The difficulties of Alexander’s march into the upper country, the wound he had received among the Malli, and the losses suffered by his army, which were said to be considerable, made men doubt his safety and encouraged the subject peoples to revolt. The generals and satraps were incited to commit many injustices, exactions and acts of violence; in short, restlessness and a desire for change spread everywhere’ (Plutarch, *Alexander* 68.3). Loss of control by the central authority had been a recurring problem in the Persian empire and remained so in the Hellenistic kingdoms (cf. e.g. **181**, **290**); the nature and seriousness of the crisis in Alexander’s empire in 325 have led to conflicting estimates. Cf. **16** and see E. Badian, *JHS* 81 (1961), 16–43 = Griffith (1966), 206–33; Hamilton (1969), 189f. and (1973), 128–30; Lane Fox (1973), 540–2; W. E. Higgins, *Athenaeum* 20 (1980), 140–52; Brunt (1983), App. XXIII §9.

When Alexander had reached Carmania Craterus arrived bringing with him the rest of the army and the elephants, and also Ordanes, who had revolted and started a rebellion but whom he had arrested. There also came Stasanor the satrap of Areia and the satrap of the Zarangians, and with them Pharismanes son of Phrataphernes, satrap of Parthyaea and Hyrcania. There arrived also the commanders who had been left behind with Parmenion in charge of the army in Media, Cleander, Sitalces and Heracon, bringing with them the largest part of this army. Both the natives and the army itself made many accusations against Cleander and Sitalces, charging them with plundering temples, rifling ancient tombs, and other unjust and arrogant actions towards their subjects. When this was reported, Alexander put these two to death, to inspire fear in all the other satraps, hyparchs or nomarchs who were left, that they would suffer the same fate as these if guilty of misconduct. This more than anything else kept in order the peoples who had been conquered by Alexander or who had come over to his side, though they were so many in number and so far



apart – that in Alexander’s kingdom the subjects were not to be wronged by their rulers.<sup>1</sup> As for Heracon, he was for the time being acquitted of the charge, but not long after he was convicted by men from Susa of having plundered the sanctuary at Susa, and he too was punished.

Arrian VI.27.3–5

1. An apologetic view; contrast the cases of e.g. Cleomenes (15) and Harpalus (16). For a critical interpretation of Alexander’s action see E. Badian, *op. cit.*

## 15 Cleomenes of Naucratis

The career of Cleomenes of Naucratis (Berve (1926), no. 431; Bosworth (1988), 234f.; Huss (2001), 76–8) sheds a different light on Alexander’s relations with Egypt from the more publicised episodes of the foundation of Alexandria (8) and the visit to the oracle of Ammon (9). Initially appointed by Alexander as one of several officials in charge of Egypt, with specific responsibility for Arabia, i.e. the territory to the east of the Delta, and for collecting tribute from the Egyptian nomarchs (Arrian III.5.2–7 at 4, with Bosworth (1980), 275–8), Cleomenes subsequently became the effective governor of the whole of Egypt, and exploited his position for personal profit, as a series of anecdotes in the Aristotelian *Oeconomica* illustrate (cf. G. Le Rider, *BCH* 121 (1997), 71–93). But he courted the support of Alexander, through his work on the construction of Alexandria and the erection in 324 of a shrine in honour of Alexander’s dead friend Hephaestion, which led Alexander to condone his misdeeds (Arrian VII.23.6–8). While Harpalus was treated differently (16), Cleomenes, it has been suggested, did not present any direct threat to Alexander (E. Badian, *JHS* 81 (1961), 19). Cleomenes was subsequently executed by Ptolemy when he took over control of Egypt (26 n. 5).

(33a) During a famine which afflicted other countries very severely, though Egypt itself was less seriously affected,<sup>1</sup> Cleomenes of Alexandria, the satrap of Egypt,<sup>2</sup> prohibited the export of corn. When the nomarchs kept saying that they would not be able to pay the taxes because of the export ban, he lifted the ban but imposed a heavy tax on corn. This made it possible for him (. . .)<sup>3</sup> to collect a substantial revenue though only a small amount of corn was exported, and to deprive the [nomarchs] of their excuse.

(33b) As he was sailing through the nome of which the crocodile was the god, one of his slaves was snatched away. He summoned the priests and said that as he had been the first to be wronged he would take revenge on the crocodiles, and gave instructions to hunt them. To avoid seeing their god slighted the

priests gathered as much gold as they could and gave it to Cleomenes to deflect him.

(33c) When King Alexander ordered him to found a city<sup>4</sup> near the island of Pharos and to move to it the commercial port (*emporion*) which till then was located at Canopus, Cleomenes sailed to Canopus and told the priests and the local landowners that he had come to make them move their residence. The priests and the settlers collected money and gave it to him to get his permission to keep the commercial port on the spot. On that occasion Cleomenes took the money and went away. Later, when the construction of the new city was completed, he returned and asked them for an exorbitant sum of money: this amounted to the difference he required to avoid changing the location of the port. But when they said they could not afford it, he forced them to move.<sup>5</sup>

[Aristotle] *Oeconomica* II.2.33a–c

1. On the food shortages at this period see the inscription from Cyrene (BD 3; Rhodes and Osborne (2003), no. 96) and Garnsey (1988), 154–62. On the corn supply of Greek cities cf. **130**.
2. All other sources describe him as from Naucratis; he was not initially satrap of Egypt but may have become so subsequently, presumably with Alexander's support.
3. There is a lacuna in the text, which should read e.g. 'if he was not receiving from the nomarchs the usual taxes, at least to'.
4. Alexandria (see **8**).
5. More anecdotes of the same kind follow.

## 16 Harpalus

The career of Harpalus, a boyhood friend of Alexander (Berve (1926), no. 143; Heckel (1992), 213–21; Arrian III.6.4–7), illustrates the tensions in Alexander's court and the uncertainties surrounding them. Shortly before the battle of Issus in 333 Harpalus fled to Greece in mysterious circumstances, but was recalled by Alexander in 331 (Arrian III.6.7 with Bosworth (1980), 284), then in 330 placed in charge of the treasure captured from the Persians, though his precise role is unclear (Arrian III.19.7 with Bosworth (1980), 336f.). He is subsequently found at Babylon exercising great power and abusing his position, an example of the temptations to which the Macedonian conquerors easily succumbed (cf. Plutarch *Alexander* 40 and **14**). Unlike Cleomenes in Egypt, who seems not to have been regarded as a threat by Alexander (**15**), Harpalus fled to Greece in 325/4 with money and a mercenary force which eventually formed part of the forces used by the Athenians in the Lamian War after Alexander's death (**28**). Arrian's account of his falling out with Alexander is lost, though it was apparently brief (Brunt (1983), Appendix XXIII §§8–9). On the context see on **14** above and generally E. Badian, *JHS* 81 (1961), 16–43;

Bosworth (1988), 57, 149f., 215–220, 225, 242–5, 291f.; I. Worthington in Worthington (1994), 307–30, also in Worthington (2003), 90–105.

Harpalus had been entrusted with the custody of the treasury in Babylon and of the revenues, but as soon as the king departed on his campaign to India he judged that Alexander would never return and so gave himself up to a life of luxury. Although he had been appointed satrap<sup>1</sup> of a large country he began by indulging in the abuse of women and illegitimate affairs with the natives and squandering much of the treasure on incontinent pleasures. He fetched a long way from the Red Sea a quantity of fish and settled down to an expensive lifestyle, which brought him into disrepute. Later he summoned from Athens the most conspicuous courtesan of the day, called Pythonice. While she was alive he honoured her with presents worthy of a queen, and when she died he gave her a lavish funeral and set up for her an expensive grave monument in the Attic style. After that he brought in another Athenian courtesan called Glycera and kept her in lavish splendour with an extravagant lifestyle. But at the same time, to provide himself with a refuge against the turns of fate, he lavished benefactions on the Athenian people. When Alexander returned from India and executed many of the satraps against whom charges had been made,<sup>2</sup> Harpalus became fearful of punishment. He collected 5,000 talents of silver, gathered a force of 6,000 mercenaries, departed from Asia and went by sea to Attica. When nobody would listen to him he left his mercenaries at Taenarum in Laconia,<sup>3</sup> took a part of his money and presented himself as suppliant of the Athenian people. Antipater and Olympias asked for his extradition, but after distributing large sums of money to the orators who supported his cause Harpalus escaped (from Athens) and returned to his mercenaries at Taenarum. From there he sailed over to Crete where he was murdered by Thibron, one of his friends.<sup>4</sup> The Athenians conducted an audit of the funds of Harpalus, and Demosthenes and some other orators were convicted of having received money from him.

Diodorus XVII.108.4–8

1. Harpalus was not appointed satrap.
2. See 14.
3. Taenarum served as a recruiting base for mercenaries in this period; see Griffith (1935), 259f.
4. See 29.

## 17 The marriages at Susa and Alexander's generosity (324)

On his return from the far east to Mesopotamia in 324, and before he set out on further conquests, Alexander chose to solemnise the moment by

celebrating mass marriages at the former Persian capital Susa. The interpretation of this ceremony is ambiguous. It can be read as an attempt to reconcile and bring together the old (Persian) and the new (Macedonian) rulers of the empire, but equally can be interpreted as an expression of domination, in two ways at once. The marriages were imposed by Alexander on his followers as well as on the Persians, and they were all one-sided: Macedonian men married Persian noble women, who had no say in the matter. The question of Alexander's attitude to the Persians is wide open; it need not have been consistent or coherent (cf. **10**). See Hamilton (1969), 194–7 and (1973), 133f.; A. B. Bosworth, *JHS* 100 (1980), 1–21, also in Worthington (2003), 208–35; M. Brosius in Roisman (2003), 169–93.

Then he also celebrated weddings at Susa, both his own and those of his Companions. He himself married Barsine, the eldest of Darius' daughters, and, according to Aristobulus (*FGrH* 139 F 52), another girl as well, Parysatis, the youngest of the daughters of Ochus. He had already married previously Roxane, the daughter of Oxyartes of Bactria.<sup>1</sup> He gave Drypetis to Hephæstion, she too a daughter of Darius and a sister of his own wife; his intention was that the children of Hephæstion should be cousins to his own children. To Craterus he gave Amastrine daughter of Oxyartes, brother of Darius, and to Perdikkas the daughter of Atropates, satrap of Media. To Ptolemy the bodyguard and to Eumenes the royal secretary he gave the daughters of Artabazus, Artacama to one and Artonis to the other. To Nearchus he gave the daughter of Barsine and Mentor, and to Seleucus the daughter of Spitamenes of Bactria. Similarly he gave to the other Companions the noblest daughters of the Persians and Medes, some 80 in all.<sup>2</sup> The marriages were celebrated according to Persian custom. Chairs were placed for the bridegrooms in order, and after the drinks the brides came in and sat down, each by the side of her groom. They took them by the hand and kissed them; the king began the ceremony, for all the weddings took place together. More than any action of Alexander this seemed to show a popular and comradely spirit. The bridegrooms after receiving their brides led them away, each to his own home, and to all Alexander gave a dowry. And as for all the Macedonians who had already married Asian women,<sup>3</sup> Alexander ordered a list of their names to be drawn up; they numbered over 10,000, and Alexander offered them all gifts for their wedding.

(5) He also thought this was a suitable opportunity to settle the debts of the army, and ordered a list of individual debts to be drawn up, with a promise to pay them. At first few put down their names; they feared Alexander was testing them to find out who thought the soldier's pay insufficient and who was living above his means. When it was reported that the majority would

not put their names down, but concealed any bonds they had, he condemned the soldiers' lack of trust. A king should not say anything but the truth to his subjects, and they must not imagine their king to be saying anything but the truth to them. So he had tables set up in the camp with gold on them, and men charged with the distribution of money to anyone who could show a bond, and he ordered the debts to be settled but without now drawing up a list of names. In this way they were convinced that Alexander was saying the truth, and their pleasure at not being individually identified was even greater than their satisfaction at seeing their debts paid off. It is said that up to 20,000 talents were distributed to the army on that occasion.<sup>4</sup>

He also made various presents to various men, according to the reputation each enjoyed or the courage which anyone had displayed in dangers. He also crowned with golden wreaths those conspicuous for bravery, first Peucestas who had covered him with his shield, then Leonnatus for the same service<sup>5</sup> and for the dangers he faced among the Indians and the victory he won among the Oriens. With the forces left to him he opposed the rebelling Oreitans and their neighbours and defeated them in battle, and in other respects he seemed to have handled affairs well among the Oriens. In addition Alexander crowned Nearchus for his navigation from India by the great sea; for he had now arrived at Susa. He also crowned Onesicritus the pilot of the royal ship, and Hephaestion and the other bodyguards.<sup>6</sup>

Arrian VII.4.4–5

1. In 327, Alexander's first formally acknowledged marriage (Bosworth, *JHS* 100 (1980), 10f.), conducted according to Macedonian ritual (Quintus Curtius VIII.4.27; M. Renard and J. Servais, *Antiquité Classique* 24 (1955), 29–50), unlike those at Susa in 324.
2. With the exception of Seleucus who retained Apama as his wife and later queen (51, 57 n. 16, 160 n. 2), the marriages are not known to have been lasting after Alexander's death, though some of Alexander's successors, notably the Seleucids, did intermarry with local élites. For Alexander's attempts to reconcile Macedonians and Persians see also 12, 18.
3. This happened independently of Alexander's wishes; Arrian is characteristically reticent on how these 'marriages' are supposed to have taken place – presumably captives distributed to the army or seized by them on the way (Austin (1993), 214–16). After the banquet at Opis (18) Alexander promised to bring up the children from these unions in Macedonian ways and send them back to Macedon (Arrian VII.12.2).
4. Whatever the origin of these debts and whoever were the creditors, Alexander's action placed his men under obligation to himself.
5. During an attack on an Indian village in 325 when Alexander nearly lost his life. On Peucestas and Leonnatus respectively cf. Heckel (1991), 263–7 and 91–106.
6. For Alexander's generosity see 4 n. 4.

## 18 The mutiny at Opis and the feast of reconciliation (324)

The years of campaigning by Alexander deep into western Asia placed heavy demands on Macedonian manpower (cf. Diodorus XVIII.12.2, in 323: 'Macedon was short of citizen soldiers because of the number of those who had been sent to Asia as replacements for the army'). After 331 no more reinforcements reached Alexander from Macedon, hence his increasing reliance on recruitment from peoples in Asia. This raised the question of the status of these troops in relation to the Macedonians, hitherto the dominant and privileged section of the army. It also raised the question of Alexander's conception of his position, which increasingly diverged from that expected by the Macedonians from their king. Matters came to a head at Opis in 324. See Hamilton (1969), 197–9 and (1973), 134f., 142–4; A. B. Bosworth, *JHS* 100 (1980), 14–20 and Bosworth (1988), 174–81, 271–3. For the wider argument that Alexander overstretched Macedonian resources and so caused Macedon's decline cf. A. B. Bosworth, *JHS* 106 (1986), 1–12, partly modified in Bosworth (2002), 64–97; against, N. G. L. Hammond, *JHS* 109 (1989), 56–68; E. Badian in Worthington (1994), 261–8; Billows (1995), 183–217.

On arriving at Opis, Alexander called together the Macedonians and declared that he was discharging from the campaign and sending back to their country those who were unfit for service because of age or wounds suffered. The presents he would give would make them an object of even greater envy at home and would encourage the other Macedonians to take part in the same dangers and hardships.<sup>1</sup> Alexander spoke these words with the clear intention of pleasing the Macedonians, but they felt Alexander now despised them and regarded them as completely unfit for service. It was not unreasonable for them to take exception to Alexander's words, and they had had many grievances throughout the expedition. There was the recurring annoyance of Alexander's Persian dress which pointed in the same direction, and the training of the barbarian 'Successors' in the Macedonian style of warfare,<sup>2</sup> and the introduction of foreign cavalry into the squadrons of the Companions.<sup>3</sup> They could not keep quiet any longer, but all shouted to Alexander to discharge them from service and take his father on the expedition (by this insult they meant Ammon).<sup>4</sup> When Alexander heard this – he was now rather more quick-tempered and eastern flattery had made him become arrogant towards the Macedonians – he leaped from the platform with the leaders around him and ordered the arrest of the most conspicuous troublemakers, indicating to the hypaspists the men for arrest, thirteen in all. He ordered them to be led off for execution, and when a terrified silence had fallen on the others he ascended the platform again and spoke as follows.<sup>5</sup>

(9) ‘Macedonians, my speech will not be aimed at stopping your urge to return home; as far as I am concerned you may go where you like. But I want you to realise on departing what I have done for you, and what you have done for me. Let me begin, as is right, with my father Philip.<sup>6</sup> Philip found you wandering about without resources, many of you clothed in sheepskins and pasturing small flocks in the mountains, defending them with difficulty against the Illyrians, Triballians and neighbouring Thracians. He gave you cloaks to wear instead of sheepskins, brought you down from the mountains to the plains, and made you a match in war for the neighbouring barbarians, owing your safety to your own bravery and no longer to reliance on your mountain strongholds. He made you city-dwellers and civilised you with good laws and customs. Those barbarians who used to harry you and plunder your property, he made you their leaders instead of their slaves and subjects. He annexed much of Thrace to Macedon, seized the most favourable coastal towns and opened up the country to commerce, and enabled you to exploit your mines undisturbed. He made you governors of the Thessalians, before whom you used to die of fright, humbled the Phocians and so opened a broad and easy path into Greece in place of a narrow and difficult one. The Athenians and Thebans, who were permanently poised to attack Macedon, he so humbled (and I was now helping him in this task) that instead of you paying tribute to the Athenians and being under the sway of the Thebans, they now in turn had to seek their safety from us. He marched into the Peloponnese and settled matters there too. He was appointed commander-in-chief of all Greece for the campaign against the Persians, but preferred to assign the credit to all the Macedonians rather than just to himself.

Such were the achievements of my father on your behalf; as you can see for yourselves, they are great, and yet small in comparison with my own. I inherited from my father a few gold and silver cups, and less than 60 talents in the treasury; Philip had debts amounting to 500 talents, and I raised a loan of a further 800.<sup>7</sup> I started from a country that could barely sustain you and immediately opened up the Hellespont for you, although the Persians then held the mastery of the sea. I defeated in a cavalry engagement the satraps of Darius and annexed to your rule the whole of Ionia and Aeolis, both Phrygia and Lydia, and took Miletus by storm. All the rest came over to our side spontaneously, and I made them yours for you to enjoy. All the wealth of Egypt and Cyrene, which I won without a fight, are now yours, Coele Syria, Palestine and Mesopotamia are your possession, Babylon and Bactria and Susa belong to you, you own the wealth of Lydia, the treasures of Persia, the riches of India, and the outer ocean. You are satraps, you are generals, you are captains. As for me, what do I have left from all these labours? Merely this purple cloak and a diadem.<sup>8</sup> [. . .]’

(11) When he had finished Alexander quickly leaped down from the platform, retired to the royal tent and neglected his bodily needs. For that day and the day after he would not let any of his Companions see him. On the third day he invited inside the élite of the Persians, appointed them to the command of all the squadrons, and only allowed those who received the title of 'kinsmen' from him to kiss him. As for the Macedonians, they were at first struck dumb by his speech and waited for him near the platform. No one followed the departing king, apart from the Companions around him and the bodyguards, but the majority were unable to decide what to do or say or to make up their minds to go away. When they were told what was happening with the Persians and Medes, that the command was being given to Persians and the oriental army was being divided into companies, that Macedonian names were being given to them, and there was a Persian *agema* (squadron) and Persian foot-companions and other *asthetairoi*<sup>9</sup> and a Persian regiment of Silver Shields,<sup>10</sup> and a Companion cavalry together with another royal squadron, they could not endure it any longer. They ran in a body to the royal tent, cast their weapons down in front of the doors as a sign of supplication to the king, and standing before the doors shouted to the king to come out. They were prepared to hand over those responsible for the present disturbance and those who had raised the outcry. They would not move from the doors by day or night until Alexander took pity on them.

When this was reported to Alexander, he quickly came out and saw their humble disposition; he heard the majority crying and lamenting, and was moved to tears. He came forward to speak, but they remained there imploring him. One of them, whose age and command of the Companion cavalry made him pre-eminent (he was called Callines) spoke as follows. 'Sire, what grieves the Macedonians is that you have already made some Persians your "kinsmen", and the Persians are called "kinsmen" of Alexander and are allowed to kiss you, while not one of the Macedonians has been granted this honour.' Alexander then interrupted him and said, 'I make you all my "kinsmen" and henceforward that shall be your title.' At this Callines stepped forward and kissed him, and so did everyone else who wished. And thus they picked up their arms again and returned to the camp amid shouts and songs of triumph. Alexander celebrated the occasion by sacrificing to the gods he normally sacrificed to, and offering a public banquet. He sat down and so did everyone else, the Macedonians around him, the Persians next to them, then any of the other peoples who enjoyed precedence for their reputation or some other quality. Then he and those around him drew wine from the same bowl and poured the same libations, beginning with the Greek seers and the Magi. He prayed for other blessings and for harmony and partnership in rule between



Macedonians and Persians.<sup>11</sup> It is said that there were 9,000 guests at the banquet, who all poured the same libation and then sang the song of victory.

Arrian VII.8–9 and 11

1. Cf. 4 n. 4.
2. Probably decided by Alexander in 327 (Quintus Curtius VIII.5.1); they had recently arrived at Susa, causing the Macedonians much resentment (Arrian VII.6).
3. Alexander had recently formed a new cavalry regiment recruited mainly from orientals (Arrian VII.6.3–4; E. Badian, *JHS* 85 (1965), 160f.). On Arrian's text and its interpretation see however N. G. L. Hammond, *JHS* 103 (1983), 139–44.
4. Cf. 9.
5. The speech is of course not literally Alexander's; cf. Bosworth (1988), 101–13.
6. The passage which follows is often taken as an accurate summary of Philip's achievements for Macedon (e.g. Hammond and Griffith (1979), 657–71; N. G. L. Hammond, *Symbolae Osloenses* 70 (1995), 22–9) but it may be no more than a *topos* on the progression from primitive nomadic life to urban civilisation (cf. H. Montgomery, *Symbolae Osloenses* 60 (1985), 37–47 and 72 (1997), 102–4). Further discussion in D. Brendan-Nagle, *TAPA* 126 (1996), 151–72.
7. Cf. 4.
8. Alexander had adopted the diadem as a symbol of royalty; cf. 44 and n. 1.
9. A title used for some of the Macedonian infantry; cf. Hammond and Griffith (1979), 709–13.
10. An élite corps of Macedonian infantry organised by Alexander (though cf. R. A. Lock, *Historia* 26 (1977), 373–8); cf. 30, 34.
11. This does not amount to a prayer for the 'unity of mankind' (E. Badian, *Historia* 7 (1958), 425–44 = Griffith (1966), 287–306 against the view of Tarn, *ibid.*, 243–86). For other ancient views of Alexander's aims cf. 21–24.

## 19 Alexander's decree on the return of Greek exiles (324)

In 325 Alexander ordered his generals and satraps to disband their mercenary armies, thus filling Asia with footloose soldiers (Diodorus XVII.106.2–3; 111.1). The next year he issued a decree ordering Greek states to receive back their exiles, a recurring problem in the Greek world of the time (cf. McKechnie (1989), ch. 2). It has been suggested that the decree was intended to liquidate the problem of the mercenaries. Whatever the motive, Alexander's action violated the charter of the 'League of Corinth' and demonstrated his increasing autocracy (cf. [Demosthenes] XVII.16, perhaps in 331/0). See E. Badian, *JHS* 81 (1961), 25–40 = Griffith (1966), 215–30; Hamilton (1973), 136–8, 140; Lane Fox (1973), 542f.; Bosworth (1988), 220–8.

Not long before his death Alexander decided to bring back all the exiles in the Greek cities, partly to increase his own glory and partly to have in each

city many personal supporters to counteract the risk of revolution and revolt among the Greeks. Consequently, as the celebration of the Olympic Games was imminent, he despatched Nicanor of Stagira to Greece with a letter about the exiles' recall; his instructions were to have it read out by the victorious herald<sup>1</sup> to the assembled crowds. Nicanor carried out the order, and the herald took and read out the following letter. 'King<sup>2</sup> Alexander to the exiles from the Greek cities. We were not the cause of your exile, but we shall be responsible for bringing about your return to your native cities, except for those of you who are under a curse. We have written to Antipater about this matter so that he may apply compulsion to those cities which refuse to reinstate their exiles.' This proclamation was greeted with loud approval by the crowd; for those at the festival joyfully welcomed the king's favour and repaid his generosity with shouts of praise. All the exiles had gathered together at the festival, being more than 20,000 in number. The majority of Greeks welcomed the return of the exiles as a good thing, but the Aetolians and Athenians were incensed with the matter. For the Aetolians had expelled from their country the inhabitants of Oeniadae<sup>3</sup> and expected the punishment that would follow their misdeeds; indeed, the king had threatened that it would not be the children of Oeniadae but himself who would punish them. Similarly the Athenians had divided up Samos into lots among their citizens and were in no way prepared to give up that island. But they were no match for the army of Alexander and kept quiet for the time being, while looking out for a suitable opportunity which chance soon gave to them.<sup>4</sup>

Diodorus XVIII.8.2–7

1. Victorious in the contest of heralds which opened the games.
2. Cf. 6 n. 1.
3. A town in Acarnania. Cf. 77, 86 (end).
4. This was the prelude to the 'Lamian War' which broke out in Greece after Alexander's death (cf. 28, 32). For the effects of Alexander's decree at Mytilene and Tegea cf. Heisserer (1980), 118–39 and 205–29; Rhodes and Osborne (2003), nos. 85 and 101; BD 4 and 5.

## 20 Arrian on Alexander's ultimate aims

Alexander's return to Babylonia in 324 did not mark the end of his conquest ambitions; in 324 he was preparing an expedition to the Persian Gulf and Arabia (Arrian VII.19.3–6, from Aristobulus), but died in Babylon on 10 June 323 leaving many questions in suspense. This abrupt and early end to his career prompted speculation in ancient sources as to what unrealised plans he might have had for the future. Arrian is agnostic and characteristically

down to earth (cf. also V.26 on his conception of Alexander's conquest ambitions).

On reaching Pasargadae and Persepolis, Alexander was seized with a longing<sup>1</sup> to sail down the Euphrates and Tigris to the Persian Gulf, and to see the outlets of these rivers into the sea, as he had done with the Indus, and the ocean nearby. Some historians have even written that Alexander had in mind to sail around most of Arabia, Ethiopia, Libya (Africa), the Nomads who live beyond the Atlas range, as far as Gades, and so return to the Mediterranean.<sup>2</sup> By subduing Libya and Carthage he would then be truly worthy of the title of King of all Asia.<sup>3</sup> The kings of the Persians and the Medes had not ruled the larger part of Asia and had therefore no right to call themselves Great Kings. After that, some say that he intended to sail into the Black Sea to the Scythians and Lake Maeotis (the Sea of Azov), others that he aimed at Sicily and southern Italy; the fame of the Romans was greatly on the increase and this was already causing him concern. As for what Alexander had in mind, I have no means of forming an accurate conjecture, nor do I care to speculate.<sup>4</sup> But I would venture to assert that Alexander's plans had nothing small or mean about them, and that he would not have been able to remain satisfied with his conquests so far, not even if he had added Europe to Asia and the British Isles to Europe. He would always have been seeking out some unknown land, attempting to rival himself if not anybody else.

Arrian VII.1.1–4.

1. Cf. **8** n. 1.
2. On Alexander's reported western plans see Plutarch, *Alexander* 68.1–2; Quintus Curtius X.1.17–19; and **21**.
3. Cf. **7** n. 10.
4. Arrian does not explicitly mention the 'last plans' of Alexander referred to in **21**.

## 21 Alexander's 'last plans'

The authenticity of Alexander's 'last plans', mentioned by Diodorus in relation to events after the king's death, has been much debated. The truth may in fact be irrecoverable, for what we have is Perdikkas' version of what these plans contained, and it was in his interest to have them rejected by the army (so E. Badian). However, the version reported in Diodorus is important in giving at the very least an indication of what the army was prepared to believe as a statement of Alexander's final intentions. See E. Badian, *HSCP* 72 (1967), 183–204; Hamilton (1969), 187–9 and (1973), 154–8; Hornblower (1981), 89–97; Bosworth (1988a), ch. 8.

Now it happened that Craterus, who was one of the leading men, had been sent ahead to Cilicia by Alexander with the soldiers discharged from the army, some 6,000 in number.<sup>1</sup> At the same time he had received written instructions which the king had given him to carry out; but after the death of Alexander the successors decided not to implement what had been decided. For when Perdicas found among the king's memoranda plans for the completion of Hephaestion's funeral monument, a very expensive project,<sup>2</sup> as well as the king's other numerous and ambitious plans, which involved enormous expenditure, he decided that it was most advantageous to have them cancelled. So as not to give the impression that he was personally responsible for detracting from the king's glory, he submitted the decision on the matter to the common assembly of the Macedonians.<sup>3</sup>

The following were the largest and most remarkable of the plans. It was intended to build 1,000 warships larger than triremes in Phoenicia, Syria, Cilicia and Cyprus for the expedition against the Carthaginians and the other inhabitants of the coastal area of Libya (Africa), Spain and the neighbouring coasts as far as Sicily;<sup>4</sup> to build a coastal road in Libya as far as the Straits of Gibraltar, and, as required by such a large expedition, to build harbours and shipyards at suitable places; to build six expensive temples at a cost of 1,500 talents each;<sup>5</sup> in addition, to settle cities and transplant populations from Asia to Europe and vice versa from Europe to Asia, to bring the largest continents through intermarriage and ties of kinship to a common harmony and feeling of friendship.<sup>6</sup> The temples just mentioned were to be built at Delos, Delphi and Dodona, and in Macedon there was to be a temple of Zeus at Dium, one of Artemis Tauropolus at Amphipolis, and at Cyrnus one of Athena. Likewise there was to be built at Ilium a temple of Athena which could never be excelled in size by any other. A tomb for his father Philip was to be constructed which would be as large as the greatest pyramids in Egypt, which some reckon among the seven wonders of the world.

When these plans had been read out, the Macedonians, although they approved highly of Alexander, nevertheless saw that the plans were extravagant and difficult to achieve, and they decided not to carry out any of those that have been mentioned.

Diodorus XVIII.4.1–6

1. Immediately after the reconciliation at Opis, **18** (Arrian VII.12).
2. Alexander's friend Hephaestion had died at Ecbatana in autumn 324.
3. Cf. R. M. Errington, *Chiron* 8 (1978), 115–17.
4. Cf. **20**.
5. Cf. **209** n. 5.
6. For this view of Alexander's aims compare **22**.

## 22 Alexander the bringer of Greek civilisation to Asia?

The following passage comes from the first of two speeches by Plutarch in which the author celebrates the achievements of Alexander, portrays him as a philosopher, and attributes his success to the king's own merits (*arete*) and not to Fortune (*tyche* – on *tyche* see 25). The speeches utilise similar material to that found in Plutarch's *Life of Alexander* but the *Life* does not reproduce the view of Alexander given by the speeches. They may therefore only be rhetorical exercises, not to be taken literally as Plutarch's considered view of Alexander, nor as providing evidence for what Alexander actually set out to do. They are important nonetheless in showing how Alexander's aims and achievements lend themselves to rhetorical amplification: modern theories of Alexander the champion of the 'fusion of races' or of the 'brotherhood of mankind' have their starting point here (cf. also 18 n. 10, 21). For very different assessments of Alexander cf. 23, 24. See Hamilton (1969), xxiii–xxxiii; Hengel (1980), 51–66; A. B. Bosworth, *JHS* 100 (1980), 3f.; F. Millar, *PCPS* 29 (1983), 55f.

But if you consider the effects of Alexander's instruction, you will see that he educated the Hyrcanians to contract marriages, taught the Arachosians to till the soil, and persuaded the Sogdians to support their parents, not to kill them, and the Persians to respect their mothers, not to marry them. Most admirable philosophy, which induced the Indians to worship Greek gods, and the Scythians to bury their dead and not to eat them! We admire the power of Carneades,<sup>1</sup> who caused Clitomachus, formerly called Hasdrubal and a Carthaginian by birth, to adopt Greek ways. We admire the character of Zeno, who persuaded Diogenes the Babylonian to turn to philosophy. Yet when Alexander was taming Asia, Homer became widely read, and the children of the Persians, of the Susianians and the Gedrosians sang the tragedies of Euripides and Sophocles. And Socrates was condemned by the sycophants in Athens for introducing new deities, while thanks to Alexander Bactria and the Caucasus worshipped the gods of the Greeks. Plato drew up in writing one ideal constitution but could not persuade anyone to adopt it because of its severity, while Alexander founded over 70 cities among barbarian tribes,<sup>2</sup> sprinkled Greek institutions all over Asia, and so overcame its wild and savage manner of living. Few of us read Plato's *Laws*, but the laws of Alexander<sup>3</sup> have been and are still used by millions of men. Those who were subdued by Alexander are more fortunate than those who escaped him, for the latter had no one to rescue them from their wretched life, while the victorious Alexander compelled the former to enjoy a better existence. [. . .] Alexander's victims would not have been civilised if they had not been defeated. Egypt would not have had its Alexandria, nor Mesopotamia its Seleucia,<sup>4</sup> nor Sogdiana its Prophthasia, nor India its Bucephalia, nor the Caucasus (the Hindu Kush) a

Greek city nearby; (329) their foundation extinguished barbarism, and custom changed the worse into better. If, therefore, philosophers take the greatest pride in taming and correcting the fierce and untutored elements of men's character, and if Alexander has been shown to have changed the brutish customs of countless nations, then it would be justifiable to regard him as a very great philosopher.

Furthermore, the much-admired *Republic* of Zeno, the founder of the Stoic school, is built around one guiding principle: we should not live in separate cities and demes, each using its own rules of justice, but we should consider all men to be fellow demesmen and citizens, with one common life and order for all, like a flock feeding together in a common pasture. This Zeno wrote, conjuring up as it were a dream or an image of a well-ordered and philosophic constitution, but it was Alexander who turned this idea into reality.<sup>5</sup> For he did not follow the advice of Aristotle and treat the Greeks as a leader would but the barbarians as a master, nor did he show care for the Greeks as friends and kinsmen, while treating the others as animals or plants; this would have filled his realm with many wars and exiles and festering unrest.<sup>6</sup> Rather, believing that he had come as a god-sent governor and mediator of the whole world, he overcame by arms those he could not bring over by persuasion and brought men together from all over the world, mixing together, as it were, in a loving-cup their lives, customs, marriages and ways of living. He instructed all men to consider the inhabited world to be their native land, and his camp to be their acropolis and their defence, while they should regard as kinsmen all good men, and the wicked as strangers. The difference between Greeks and barbarians was not a matter of cloak or shield, or of a scimitar or Median dress. What distinguished Greekness was excellence, while wickedness was the mark of the barbarian; clothing, food, marriage and way of life they should all regard as common, being blended together by ties of blood and the bearing of children.

Plutarch, *De Alexandri Magni Fortuna aut Virtute*, I 328C–329D

1. A philosopher of the second century BC, head of the Academy in Athens.
2. An exaggeration; '70' may be a conventional rhetorical figure. On Alexander's foundations cf. **8**, **21**, **185** and Tarn II (1948), 232–59 = Griffith (1966), 84–101 (in part), though see R. M. Errington, *Entretiens Hardt* 22 (1976), 163–8, cf. 218f.; Bosworth (1988), 245–50. For a minimalist view cf. Fraser (1996), with comments in *CR* 99 (1999), 167f. For a literal defence of Plutarch's presentation of Alexander, cf. N. G. L. Hammond, *GRBS* 39 (1998), 243–69. For city foundations and the 'hellenisation' of Asia after Alexander cf. **48**, **57** ch. 57, **58**, **140**.
3. There are no 'laws of Alexander'.
4. Seleucia on the Tigris was founded by Seleucus, not by Alexander; cf. **57**, **58**.
5. Anachronistic: Zeno belongs to the third century.
6. Contrast **14**, **19**.

## 23 Alexander and the pirate captain

In his two speeches on Alexander (22) Plutarch denied that Alexander had acted as a brigand looting Asia (330C–D). Against this idealised presentation can be set the anecdote related by Augustine (itself probably derived from Cicero; cf. *de Republica* III.14.24, though the text is fragmentary). For other ancient presentations of Alexander as a ‘brigand’ compare Quintus Curtius 9.8.12–30 (esp. 19); Lucan, *Pharsalia* X.20–45. Compare also 24. The characterisation of empires as essentially predatory has an applicability that extends well beyond the ancient world. For antiquity see e.g. Vogt (1974), 78–83; B. Shaw, *Past and Present* 105 (1984), 3–52; M. M. Austin, *CQ* 36 (1986), 450–66. For the contemporary world see e.g. Chomsky (2002).

For if you remove justice from kingdoms, what are they except large robber bands? What are robber bands except small kingdoms? A robber band is also a group of men, ruled by the power of a leader (*princeps*), bound by a social pact, and its booty is shared out according to an agreed law. If by constantly adding desperate men to its ranks this evil grows to the point where it seizes territory, establishes fixed points, occupies cities and subdues peoples, then it arrogates more openly the name of kingdom,<sup>1</sup> a name granted to it in public view not by any renouncing of greed but through enhanced impunity. For it was an elegant and truthful reply that was made to Alexander the Great by a certain pirate he had captured. When the king asked the fellow, what did he think he was doing when he tormented the sea, he replied with defiant outspokenness: ‘The same as you when you torment the world! I do it with a little ship, so I am called a pirate. You do it with a large fleet, and so you are called a king’.<sup>2</sup>

Augustine, *City of God* 4.4

1. This is what Alexander’s successors did (44). Compare also the case of the Sicilian slave kings in the late second century (Vogt, *op. cit.*; Wiedemann (1981), 199–215). On piracy cf. 104.
2. *Imperator* in Augustine’s Latin. Cf. also Augustine *op. cit.* 4.6: ‘To wage war on one’s neighbours, to continue after them against the rest, and to subdue harmless peoples solely through lust for domination, what other name does this deserve than brigandage on a vast scale?’

## 24 A Jewish view of the Macedonian conquest

Most ancient views of Alexander and the Macedonian conquest of Asia come from Greek or Roman writers, i.e. from a western perspective. Writing in the late second century BC the Jewish author of I Maccabees (cf. 217) prefaces

his account of the actions of Antiochus IV in Judaea with a brief summary of Alexander's reign, which he sees as a violent episode which ushered in a period of strife and instability. The presentation recalls that of Augustine in **23**.

Alexander the Macedonian, son of Philip, marched out from the land of Kittim,<sup>1</sup> defeated Darius king of Persia and Media and became king in his place; he was already king of Greece.<sup>2</sup> He waged many wars, conquered strongholds, and slaughtered kings in the land. He marched to the ends of the earth, and seized plunder from a mass of peoples. The earth fell silent before him, he was exalted, and his heart was filled with pride. He gathered a mighty army and ruled over territories, peoples, and despots, and they paid tribute to him. After that he fell ill on his bed and realised that his death was near. He summoned the most distinguished of his followers, men who had been brought up with him from his youth, and divided his kingdom between them while he was still alive.<sup>3</sup> He reigned for twelve years and then died. His followers assumed power, each in his own province, and they all put on the diadem<sup>4</sup> after his death; they were succeeded by their own children over a period of many years.<sup>5</sup> The earth was filled with miseries.

I Maccabees 1.1–9

1. Cyprus, but used more vaguely of distant lands.
2. Alexander was not literally 'king of Greece'.
3. Alexander did not formally divide his kingdom between his followers, and died without making arrangements for his succession (**47** n. 3).
4. Cf. **44** n. 1.
5. See chapter 2.

## 25 The end of Persia and the rise of Macedon: a contemporary view

By contrast with Plutarch (**22**) Demetrius of Phalerum, an Athenian philosopher and statesman contemporary with Alexander, ascribed the extraordinary events that had taken place in his lifetime to the workings of Fortune (*tyche*), a power which exercised a deep influence on religious thought in the Hellenistic age (cf. Shipley (2000), 171–3; on Demetrius of Phalerum cf. **1** §§13 and 20, **28** (end), **42**, **261** and n. 1; Davies (1971), 107–10). Compare **11** for another contemporary view. The passage provides one statement of the view that history consists of a 'succession of empires', a concept of (probably) Greek rather than eastern origin. The idea, first found in Herodotus (I.95–6, 130) in relation to the Assyrians, Medes, and Persians, was subsequently applied to the Macedonians (cf. Arrian II.6.7) and then to the Romans (cf. also Polybius I.2). In



this scheme the emphasis is on the ruling peoples rather than their individual rulers – the conquest of the Persian empire is a Macedonian achievement, rather than just Alexander's. See p. 2 and J. W. Swain, *CP* 35 (1940), 1–21, esp. 5–8; A. Momigliano, *ASNP* 12 (1982), 542–9; Gruen (1984), 329, 339f.; A. Kuhrt in Kuhrt and Sherwin-White (1987), 47f.; F. Millar in Cartledge et al. (1997), 89–104.

One is often reminded of the words of Demetrius of Phalerum. In his treatise on Fortune, wishing to give the world a clear picture of her mutability, he fixed on the age of Alexander when that king destroyed the Persian empire, and writes as follows: 'If you consider not an unlimited stretch of time or numerous years, but merely these last fifty years before us, you will understand there the cruelty of Fortune. For can you imagine that fifty years ago if some god had foretold the future to the Persians or their king, or the Macedonians or their king, they would have believed that the very name of the Persians would now be lost, who at one time were masters of almost the whole inhabited world, while the Macedonians, whose very name was formerly unknown, would now be masters of it all? Nevertheless Fortune, who makes no compact with our lives, causes events to happen in defiance of our expectations, and displays her power by surprises, is now, I think, demonstrating to all mankind that by establishing the Macedonians as colonists amid the prosperity of Persia, she has merely lent these advantages to them until she decides to do something else with them.'

Demetrius of Phalerum, *FGrH* 228 F 39, quoted by Polybius  
XXIX.21.1–6

## 2 The Age of the Successors

Alexander's legacy to the world was a mess. His sudden death in Babylon in June 323 left Macedon in an unprecedented situation: there was no designated successor capable of taking over, and Macedon did not have the constitutional machinery to handle the emergency. The result was an open-ended power struggle between his leading followers which never came to a final conclusion. Within a generation three major monarchies established themselves in a lasting way – the Ptolemies in Egypt (chapter 7), the Seleucids in Asia (chapter 5), the Antigonids in Macedon (chapter 3) – but there was always room for newcomers, such as the Attalids of Pergamum (chapter 6), the Greek rulers in Bactria (188), and non-Greek monarchies, such as the dynasties in Bithynia (66), Pontus (159 §7, 223), and further afield Parthia (177) and India (178).

The surviving literary sources place the leading Macedonians at the centre of the story. They evoke conflicting assessments. 'All those who were associated with Philip, and afterwards with Alexander, showed themselves to be truly royal in their magnanimity, their self-control and their daring. . . . After Alexander's death, when they became rivals for the possession of an empire which covered much of the world, they filled many history books with the glory of their achievements' (Polybius VIII.10). Contrast Plutarch (*Pyrrhus* 12): 'They are perpetually at war, because for them plotting and being envious of each other is second nature, and they use the words war and peace just like current coin, to serve their present needs, but in defiance of justice. Indeed they are really better men when they go to war openly than when they conceal under the names of justice and friendship those periods when they are at leisure and abstain from acts of wrongdoing.' The common classification of the post-Alexander leaders into 'unitarians' (who sought to preserve the integrity of Alexander's empire under their control) and 'separatists' (who aimed at only part of the empire) may be too schematic; they were above all opportunists whose appetite for power grew with success (44; cf. Lund (1992), 52f.).

Squeezed between the rivalries of the leading contenders the Greek world was unable to assert an independent role (28, 29), yet in many ways it remained indispensable to the Macedonian rulers and a constant object of their attentions (35, 38, 42, 47–9, 50, 53). What was lost to the cities collectively

was partly compensated at the individual level by opportunities for settlement and employment in the new monarchies (41, 57 ch. 57), and mechanisms were devised to bridge the gap between cities and rulers to the mutual advantage of both (39, 43, 51, 54, 55). There is no comparable body of information for the non-Greek world, though occasional glimpses (36) suggest it was no less important and not to be taken for granted (cf. further chapters 5 and 7).

## 26 The arrangements at Babylon after the death of Alexander (June 323)

From the moment of Alexander's death the door was open to the conflicting ambitions of the Macedonian leaders. The ultimate fragmentation of Alexander's empire was a likelihood from the start, and the history of the following generation was to see the emergence of several separate kingdoms and dynasties out of his once unified empire. See R. M. Errington, *JHS* 90 (1970), 49–77 (events from 323 to 320); Errington, *Entretiens Hardt* 22 (1976), 137–79 (on the declining influence of Alexander after his death); Errington, *Chiron* 8 (1978), 115–31 (on the political role of the armies in this period); E. Will, *CAH* VII.1<sup>2</sup> (1984), 23–61 and 101–17; Bosworth (2002), 29–63; D. Braund in Erskine (2003), 19–34. For problems of chronology cf. 1.

### (a) *Arrian*

(1) He (Arrian) also wrote an account in ten books of what happened after Alexander. They comprise the sedition in the army and the proclamation of Arrhidaeus, a son of Philip, Alexander's father, from the Thessalian Philine, on the condition that the throne would be shared between him and Alexander, who was about to be born to Roxane from Alexander (the Great); and that is what happened when the child saw the light of day. They proclaimed Arrhidaeus king and changed his name to Philip.<sup>1</sup> (2) Strife broke out between the infantry and the cavalry; the most eminent of the cavalry and of the commanders were Perdikkas son of Orontes, Leonnatus son of Antreas (?)<sup>2</sup> and Ptolemy son of Lagus, after them Lysimachus son of Agathocles, Aristonous son of Pisaeus, Pithon son of Crateuas, Seleucus son of Antiochus and Eumenes of Cardia. These were the commanders of the cavalry, while Meleager commanded the infantry.<sup>3</sup> (3) They then sent numerous embassies to each other, and in the end the infantry who had proclaimed the king and the commanders of the cavalry came to an agreement, to the effect that Antipater should be general of Europe, Craterus protector (*prostates*) of the

kingdom of Arrhidaeus, Perdicas should hold the office of 'chiliarch'<sup>4</sup> which Hephaestion had held (this made him supervisor of the whole kingdom), while Meleager should be Perdicas' lieutenant. (4) On the pretext of purging the army Perdicas arrested the most conspicuous leaders of the sedition, and had them put to death in his presence, alleging orders from Arrhidaeus; this struck terror in the rest of the army. Not long after he also put Meleager to death. (5) As a result mutual suspicions were rife between Perdicas and all the others. Nonetheless Perdicas, pretending to act under the orders of Arrhidaeus, decided to appoint to the satrapies men who were suspected by him. Accordingly Ptolemy son of Lagus was appointed to rule Egypt and Libya and the parts of Arabia that lie close to Egypt, while Cleomenes who had been placed by Alexander in charge of this satrapy was to be Ptolemy's lieutenant;<sup>5</sup> Laomedon was to rule Syria next to Egypt, Philotas Cilicia and Pithon Media; Eumenes of Cardia Cappadocia and Paphlagonia and the territory along the Black Sea as far as the Greek city of Trapezus, a colony of Sinope; (6) Antigonus the Pamphylians, Lycians and Greater Phrygia; Asander the Carians; Menander the Lydians; Leonnatus Hellespontine Phrygia, which Calas had received from Alexander to govern, and which Demarchus had then ruled. Such was the distribution of provinces in Asia. (7) In Europe, Thrace, the Chersonese and all the people who neighbour on the Thracians as far as the sea at Salmydessus on the Black Sea were entrusted to the rule of Lysimachus;<sup>6</sup> the further parts of Thrace as far as the Illyrians, Triballians and Agrianians, Macedon itself and Epirus as far as the Ceraunian Mountains, and all the Greeks, were entrusted to Craterus and Antipater. (8) Such was the distribution of provinces;<sup>7</sup> but many parts remained unassigned, under the control of native rulers, as organised by Alexander.

Arrian, *FGrH* 156 F 1 §§1–8; Harding (1985), no. 125

(b) *Diodorus*

As for the remaining satrapies in Asia Perdicas decided not to disturb them but to leave them under the same governors as before, and likewise to leave Taxiles and Porus in control of their own kingdoms, as Alexander himself had arranged. [To Pithon?]<sup>8</sup> he gave the satrapy next to Taxiles and the other kings; the satrapy lying along the Caucasus,<sup>9</sup> which is called that of the Paropanisadae, he assigned to Oxyartes of Bactria, whose daughter Roxane Alexander had married. He gave Arachosia and Gedrosia to Sibyrtilus, Areia and Drangine to Stasanor of Soli, and assigned Bactriane and Sogdiane to Philip, Parthia and Hyrcania to Phrataphernes, Persia to Peucestes, Carmania to Tlepolemus, Media to Atropates, Babylonia to Archon

and Mesopotamia to Arcesilas. Seleucus he appointed to the command of the Companion cavalry, a most distinguished post, held first by Hephaestion, then by Perdiccas, and thirdly by the aforementioned Seleucus.<sup>10</sup> They appointed Arrhidaeus<sup>11</sup> to look after the funeral cortège and the construction of the chariot which was to bring the body of the deceased king to Ammon.<sup>12</sup>

## Diodorus XVIII.3.2–5

1. There was also a son of Alexander by Barsine called Heracles (1 §18; 37 n. 3), but he had not been recognised by Alexander and his claims to the succession were weak. On these events see also 57 ch. 52. Philip Arrhidaeus struck coins in his own name, though with the types of Alexander (cf. Plate 1.2).
2. The name of Leonnatus' father is uncertain.
3. The fullest account of these events is in Quintus Curtius X.6–10, probably based, like the passages in Arrian and Diodorus, on the history of Hieronymus of Cardia (*FGrH* 154), the principal ancient source for the age of Alexander's Successors, now lost (see 31, 56; Hornblower (1981); Bosworth (2002), 169–209).
4. Originally the commander of the Persian royal bodyguard, whose office (or title) was taken over by Alexander and conferred on Hephaestion; the only subsequent holders were Perdiccas and eventually Cassander (31), after whom it lapsed. Whether it made Perdiccas 'supervisor of the whole kingdom' is debatable; see the discussion by A. W. Collins, *Phoenix* 55 (2001), 55–83.
5. According to one tradition (Pausanias I.6.2) Ptolemy played a leading role in the division of satrapies which led to the fragmentation of Alexander's empire. On Cleomenes see 15; he was subsequently executed by Ptolemy on suspicion of supporting Perdiccas (Pausanias I.6.3; cf. 30).
6. See 56.
7. This omits the eastern satrapies; see Diodorus (*b*).
8. An emendation.
9. The Hindu Kush.
10. See also 57 ch. 57.
11. Not the king.
12. Cf. 292 §8; for the sequel (Diodorus XVIII.4. 1–6) see 21.

## 27 The revolt of the Greeks in Bactria (323)

At Alexander's death the immediate challenge to the Macedonian empire came not from the recently conquered peoples of Asia but from Greeks. For the revolt on the mainland of Greece (the 'Lamian War') see 28. In Bactria, substantial numbers of Greek mercenaries had apparently been settled by Alexander (cf. the oblique reference in Arrian V.27.5; cf. 13). Some of them may already have risen in revolt under Alexander in 325 (Quintus Curtius IX.7 with Badian, *JHS* 81 (1961), 26f., who argues that Diodorus XVII.99.5f. confuses this early revolt

with the later one). On this episode cf. Walbank (1981), 44f.; Holt (1988), esp. 70–91 for a negative view of Alexander's impact on Bactria and Sogdiana; against, E. F. Bloedow, *Parola del Passato* 46 (1991), 44–80.

The Greeks who had been settled by Alexander in the so-called upper satrapies longed for their Greek customs and way of life, as they had been cast out in the furthest reaches of the kingdom.<sup>1</sup> While the king was alive they kept quiet through fear, but when he died they rose in revolt. They took counsel together, elected as their general Philon the Aenianian and raised a considerable force. They had more than 20,000 infantry and 3,000 cavalry, who had all been tested frequently in actual warfare and were of outstanding bravery. When Perdikkas heard of the revolt of the Greeks, he selected by lot from among the Macedonians 3,000 infantry and 800 cavalry. He appointed as commander of this army Pithon,<sup>2</sup> a former Bodyguard (*somatophylax*) of Alexander, a man full of spirit and a capable general, and entrusted to him the soldiers who had been chosen by lot. He gave him letters to the satraps, in which they were instructed to give to Pithon 10,000 infantry and 8,000 cavalry, and despatched him against the rebels. Pithon, who was full of ambition, eagerly accepted to lead the expedition, as he had in mind to bring over to his side the Greeks through benefactions, enlist them as allies and so increase the size of his army, and set himself up as ruler of the upper satrapies.<sup>3</sup> Perdikkas suspected his design and so ordered Pithon to kill all the rebels once he had defeated them and to share out the spoils among the soldiers.

Pithon set out with the soldiers who had been given to him, received the allied troops from the satraps and reached the rebels with his entire force. Through the agency of a certain Aenianian he bribed Letodorus, who had been placed in command of a body of 3,000 soldiers among the rebels, and won a decisive victory. For when the battle was joined and the outcome was as yet uncertain, the traitor abandoned his allies unexpectedly and withdrew to a hill with his force of 3,000 men. The rest of the army, imagining that they had turned to flight, were thrown into confusion, turned round and fled. After overcoming them in battle Pithon issued a proclamation to the defeated army, instructing them to lay down their arms and return to their respective colonies under safeguard. Oaths to this effect were sworn and the Greeks mingled with the Macedonians. Pithon was overjoyed, as matters were proceeding as he had intended, but the Macedonians, mindful of the instructions of Perdikkas and showing no respect for the oaths that had been sworn, broke their agreement with the Greeks. They attacked them without warning, caught them off guard and shot them all down with their javelins, and then plundered their possessions.<sup>4</sup> Pithon, disappointed in his hopes, returned

to Perdikkas together with his Macedonian troops. This was the situation in Asia.<sup>5</sup>

Diodorus XVIII.7

1. But the Greeks soon came to regard the eastern parts of the Macedonian empire as an extension of the Greek world (cf. **186**).
2. Heckel (1992), 276–9.
3. An early indication of the potential for independence of these provinces (cf. later **188**).
4. The antagonism between Greeks and Macedonians subsequently faded, except for continued hostility to Macedonian rule on the mainland of Greece (**61, 67, 78, 84**).
5. What proportion of the Greek mercenary force was killed is unclear; for the view that the massacre may have hastened the decline of Alexander's far eastern foundations cf. Fraser (1996), 193–5.

## 28 The Lamian War of 323/2: Athens under Macedonian domination

In Greece discontent with Macedonian rule, which had been growing during Alexander's last years, broke out in open revolt led by Athens; on the background to the war see **19**, and contrast Diodorus' other version in XVIII.111.1–3. Pausanias' short account reflects the Athenian democratic view of the struggle against Macedon (cf. Habicht (1985), 102–16 and **254**); it is slanted and inaccurate in detail (see also **32, 78** ch. 29). See de Ste Croix (1981), 301f., 609f. (n. 2); E. Will, *CAH* VII.1<sup>2</sup> (1984), 30–3; Harding (1985), nos. 123–4; N. V. Sekunda, *BSA* 87 (1992), 344–55; Habicht (1997), 36–42; Palagia and Tracy (2003), 1–7, 14–29, 40–51.

The disaster at Chaeronea was the beginning of misfortune for all the Greeks; in particular it brought about the enslavement<sup>1</sup> of those who had failed to see the threat or who had sided with the Macedonians. Philip captured most of the cities; with the Athenians he nominally came to an agreement, but in practice did them most harm as he deprived them of the islands and put an end to their maritime empire.<sup>2</sup> For some time during the reign of Philip and then of Alexander, the Athenians kept quiet. After the death of Alexander the Macedonians chose Arrhidaeus as their king, though supreme power had been entrusted to Antipater;<sup>3</sup> the Athenians now found it intolerable that the Greeks should forever be under Macedonian domination, and they themselves went to war as well as inciting others to action. The cities which participated in the struggle were, among the Peloponnesians Argos, Epidaurus, Sicyon, Troezen, the Elians, the Phliasiens and Messene, among those beyond the Isthmus of Corinth the Locrians, Phocians, Thessalians, Carystus and the

Acarnanians who belonged to the Aetolian League. As for the Boeotians who occupied the territory of Thebes, then deserted,<sup>4</sup> they were afraid that Athens might harm them by resettling Thebes, and so took no part in the alliance but assisted the Macedonian cause as far as they could. The allied contingents from each city were led by their own generals, while the Athenian Leosthenes was chosen to command the whole army because of the prestige enjoyed by his city and his own reputation for military ability. He had already shown himself a benefactor of all the Greeks. For when Alexander wished to resettle in Persia all the Greek mercenaries serving with Darius and the satraps, Leosthenes got in first and brought them by sea to Europe. On this occasion he performed feats beyond expectation; his death provoked despair and was to a great extent the cause of the Greek defeat.<sup>5</sup> A Macedonian garrison was placed in Athens, occupying Munychia and later Piraeus and the Long Walls as well.<sup>6</sup> After the death of Antipater, Olympias came over from Epirus and reigned for some time after killing Arrhidaeus, but soon afterwards she was besieged and captured by Cassander and handed over to the people.<sup>7</sup> And when Cassander became king<sup>8</sup> – and I shall only relate of him what concerns the Athenians – he captured the fort of Panactum in Attica and Salamis, and set up as tyrant in Athens Demetrius son of Phanostratus, a man who had a reputation for wisdom; his tyranny was brought to an end by Demetrius son of Antigonos, a young man devoted to the Greek cause.<sup>9</sup>

Pausanias 1.25.3–6

1. ‘Enslavement’ in the political not the literal sense (de Ste Croix (1972), 36).
2. Athens’ maritime confederacy was formally dissolved in 338, but had ceased to be of much importance since 356 (G. L. Cawkwell, *JHS* 101 (1981), 40–55); despite Pausanias, Athens retained control of the islands of Samos (see 19), Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyrus (*Staatsv.* III.402).
3. See 26.
4. See 3.
5. Pausanias does not mention the decisive sea battle at Amorgos (1 §9) which marked the end of Athens’ long predominance at sea.
6. Athens’ capitulation involved also the loss of the cleruchy at Samos, the surrender of the anti-Macedonian politicians (Demosthenes committed suicide rather than fall into the hands of Antipater), the overthrow of the democracy after nearly two centuries of existence and its replacement by a timocratic oligarchy (*Staatsv.* III.415 and see 32).
7. See also 35.
8. Cassander did not become ‘king’ till 305/4; see 44.
9. See 25, 42; Demetrius of Phalerum, who ruled in Athens on Cassander’s behalf from 317 to 307, had strictly speaking the title of ‘overseer’ or ‘governor’ (*epimeletes* or *epistates*) and was nominally elected by the Athenians (see *Staatsv.* III.421). On him cf. Davies (1971), 107–10; Habicht (1997), 53–66.



## 29 Ptolemy I and Cyrene (322/1)

Cyrene, the earliest possession to be acquired by Ptolemy I outside Egypt, remained Ptolemaic until bequeathed to Rome by Ptolemy Apion in 96 BC (cf. **291**). The context of the following inscription is probably the first intervention by Ptolemy I in 322–321 (Diodorus XVIII.19–21; cf. also **1** §§10, 11), when Cyrenaean oligarchs appealed to him in a struggle against a Spartan condottiere Thibron and the Cyrenaean democrats. The inscription outlines the new constitution subsequently established for Cyrene, probably by Ptolemy himself acting as mediator in the conflict. The new constitution was oligarchic in character, favouring wealth and age, though more broadly based than the previous constitution. The city preserved its independence nominally, but Ptolemy enjoyed a special personal position in it; Ptolemaic influence was further secured by the imposition of a garrison under Ophellas (cf. **41**), a fact not mentioned in the inscription. By the second century, if not earlier, Cyrene was regarded by the Ptolemies as fully integrated in their kingdom (cf. **254**, **282**, **288**, **289**). See Fraser I (1972), 48f. and II, 132 n. 101; Bagnall (1976), 25–37, esp. 28f.; Bosworth (1988), 291f. on Thibron in Cyrene; Laronde (1987), 41–94 and cf. *SEG* 38.1881.

[Good fortune?]. Shall be citizens<sup>1</sup> [the men] born from [a Cyrenaean father] and a Cyrenaean mother, and [those born from] the Libyan women between Catabathmos and Authamalax,<sup>2</sup> and those born from the [settlers (*epoikoi*)] from the cities beyond Thinis,<sup>3</sup> whom the Cyrenaean sent as colonists [and / those] Ptolemy designates,<sup>4</sup> and those admitted by the body of citizens (*politeuma*),<sup>5</sup> in conformity with the following laws.

(§1) The body of citizens (*politeuma*) shall consist of the Ten Thousand. The members shall be the exiles who fled to Egypt, [whom] Ptolemy shall designate, and any whose permanent property<sup>6</sup> together with that of his wife is estimated at twenty Alexander minas<sup>7</sup> and which the assessors will have declared unencumbered; and any to whom are owed twenty Alexander minas / together with his wife's permanent property (?) if it has been estimated to be worth not less than the debt and the interest – and the debtors shall make a counter-declaration on oath, even if neighbours do not have the (required) census rating<sup>8</sup> – these also shall belong to the Ten Thousand provided they are not below the age of 30. The Elders (*gerontes*) shall choose as assessors from the Ten Thousand 60 men who are not below the age of 30, after swearing the oath prescribed by the law. The men so chosen shall make an estimation as / is written in the laws. For the first year the list of citizens shall be made up from the previous census lists.

(§2) The Council shall consist of 500 men appointed by lot and not below the age of 50; they shall serve as councillors for two years, and in the third

year they shall eliminate by lot half of their number, then they shall let two years elapse.<sup>9</sup> If the number is insufficient, they shall select by lot the others  
20 from those over 40 years of age. /

(§3) There shall be 101 Elders (*gerontes*), appointed by Ptolemy. In case of an (Elder) who dies or resigns, the Ten Thousand shall appoint another man to make up the 101 from those not below the age of 50. It shall not be permitted to appoint the Elders to any office except that of general in war (time). The priests of Apollo shall be appointed from those who have not held  
25 the priesthood / and are not below the age of 50.

(§4) Ptolemy shall be general for life.<sup>10</sup> Besides him five generals shall be appointed from those who have not yet held the office of general and are not below the age of 50; if a war breaks out, (they shall be appointed) from the entire civic body. If another war breaks out outside Libya, the Ten Thousand shall decide [whether / the] same men shall be generals or not; if they decide that they shall not be, (the generals) shall be appointed from the entire body of citizens.<sup>11</sup>  
30

(§5) There shall be nine Guardians of the Law (*nomophylakes*) (appointed) from those who have not held this office, <not below the age of . . . ?> and five ephors (appointed) from those who have not held this office, not below the age of 50.<sup>12</sup>

(§6) The Elders shall have the powers which the Elders had in peace time,<sup>13</sup> [the] / Council those the Council (had), the Ten Thousand those the Thousand<sup>14</sup> (had). The Elders, the Council and the Fifteen Hundred chosen by lot from the Ten Thousand shall judge all capital cases. They shall use the previous laws in so far as they do not conflict with this ordinance (*diagramma*). The magistrates shall be subject to rendering accounts in accordance with the existing laws. Anyone arrested by the generals and facing a  
40 criminal charge before the Elders and the Council / shall have the right to be tried according to the laws or by Ptolemy, whichever he chooses, for a period of three years. In future he shall be tried according to the laws. No exile may be condemned without the consent of Ptolemy.

(§7) Any member of the body of citizens<sup>15</sup> who is in public employment as doctor,<sup>16</sup> gymnastic trainer, teacher of archery, horse-riding or armed combat, or herald at the town hall (*prytaneum*), shall be excluded / from the magistracies reserved to the Ten Thousand.<sup>17</sup> Anyone belonging to these categories [who is chosen by lot shall resign from office]. [. . .] (the rest of the text is too mutilated for continuous restoration and translation)<sup>18</sup>  
45

SEG 9.1; on the text cf. P. M. Fraser, *Berytus* 12 (1958), 120–7; Harding (1985), no. 126

1. Passive citizens, as opposed to the ‘Ten Thousand’ defined below.

2. The boundaries of Cyrene.
3. Location unknown.
4. Ptolemy does not yet have the royal title (cf. 44).
5. i.e. the 'Ten Thousand'.
6. 'Permanent property, such as land or flocks of which the fruits alone are consumed' (*LSJ*<sup>9</sup>, p. 2044).
7. i.e. a talent, not a very high figure.
8. Neighbours act as witnesses.
9. Compressed and ambiguous; it is not clear whether councillors serve normally for two or four years.
10. In practice Ptolemy did not hold office himself but designated a substitute.
11. The 'Ten Thousand'.
12. The functions of both offices, taken over from the previous constitution, are not further defined.
13. i.e. before the strife which prompted Ptolemy's intervention.
14. The previous body of active citizens.
15. The 'Ten Thousand'.
16. See 145.
17. It is not clear whether this clause implies prejudice against the professions indicated or is intended to guarantee the independence of the magistrates.
18. The end of the inscription includes a list of the first set of magistrates to be appointed; cf. Laronde, *op. cit.*, 95–128.

### 30 The settlement at Triparadisus (summer 321)

In the period following the settlement at Babylon (see 26) Perdiccas allegedly sought to secure control of the whole empire for himself; his attempt met with resistance from the other Macedonian leaders and came to an end in 321 with his invasion of Egypt and assassination. After his death Antipater arranged a new settlement at Triparadisus in north Syria; the detail of the two settlements should be compared. See R. M. Errington, *JHS* 90 (1970), 67–72; E. Will in *CAH* VII.1<sup>2</sup> (1984), 37–9.

(34) Antipater in his turn carried out a distribution of provinces in Asia, partly confirming the previous arrangements and partly modifying them when circumstances required. Ptolemy was to control Egypt, Libya and all the expanse of territory beyond it together with any further conquests he made to the west. Syria was entrusted to Laomedon of Mytilene; Philoxenus he appointed to Cilicia, which he held before. (35) Of the upper satrapies he assigned Mesopotamia and Arbelitis to Amphimachus, the king's brother.<sup>1</sup> To Seleucus he gave Babylonia.<sup>2</sup> Antigenes, who had been the first to attack Perdiccas and who commanded the Macedonian Silver Shields,<sup>3</sup> was granted rule over the whole of Susiane. He confirmed Persia to Peucestes, assigned Carmania to Tlepolemus, Media as far as the Caspian Gates to Pithon and Parthia to Philip.

(36) He appointed Stasander governor of Areia and Drangine, Stasanor of Soli governor of Bactriane and Sogdiane, and Sibyrtius governor of Arachosia. He assigned the Paropanisadae to Oxyartes, Roxane's father. As regards India, the land bordering on the Paropanisadae he gave to Pithon son of Agenor; of the adjacent satrapies, that lying along the river Indus and Patala, the greatest of the Indian cities in the region, he assigned to King Porus, while that lying along the river Hydaspes he gave to Taxiles, another Indian ruler. It was difficult to remove them as they had received their provinces from Alexander and controlled substantial military forces. (37) In the regions stretching from the Taurus to the north he assigned Cappadocia to Nicanor; he placed Antigonus as before in charge of Greater Phrygia, Lycaonia, Pamphylia and Lycia. Caria he assigned to Asander. Lydia was given to Clitus and Hellespontine Phrygia to Arrhidaeus.<sup>4</sup> (38) He instructed Antigenes to bring the funds deposited at Susa and entrusted to him about 3,000 of the Macedonians who had engaged in sedition.<sup>5</sup> As Bodyguards of the king he appointed Autodicus son of Agathocles, Amyntas son of Alexander and brother of Peucestes, Ptolemy son of Ptolemy and Alexander son of Polyperchon. His own son Cassander he made 'chiliarch' of the cavalry. Antigonus he appointed commander of the army previously under the orders of Perdiccas, with the mission of guarding and protecting the kings and also, at Antigonus' own request, of concluding the war against Eumenes.<sup>6</sup> Antipater himself, highly praised by everyone for all his exertions, then returned to Macedon.

Arrian, *FGrH* 156 F 9 §§34–8

1. Brother of Philip Arrhidaeus.
2. The starting point of the Seleucid empire; see **36** and **57**.
3. See **18** n. 9.
4. Not the king.
5. Troops who had mutinied over pay demands.
6. Eumenes of Cardia (see **26** §5) had sided with Perdiccas; for the sequel see **31**, **34**, **57** ch. 53.

### 31 The death of Antipater and its consequences (autumn 319)

While already on his death-bed, Antipater appointed Polyperchon guardian (*epimeletes*) of the kings and general with full powers (Polyperchon was nearly the oldest member of Alexander's expedition<sup>1</sup> and was respected by the Macedonians). His son Cassander he appointed 'chiliarch' and second in authority. The office and rank of 'chiliarch' was first raised to fame and repute by the Persian kings, and afterwards under Alexander it achieved great power and prestige when he became an admirer of Persian customs.<sup>2</sup> That is why Antipater,

imitating the precedent, appointed his son Cassander 'chiliarch' in spite of his youth. (49) Cassander, however, was dissatisfied with the arrangement and incensed at the idea that his father's authority should pass to someone who was not related by blood, particularly since Antipater had a son capable of handling affairs who had already given sufficient proof of his merits and bravery. At first he went into the country with his friends,<sup>3</sup> where he had ample opportunity and leisure to converse with them on the subject of supreme command. Then he would take each one of them aside in private and urge him to assist in securing his dominion; by great promises he made them all willing allies in his enterprise. He also sent messengers in secret to Ptolemy, to renew his friendship with him and invite him to be his ally and send with all haste a navy from Phoenicia to the Hellespont. Similarly he sent messengers to the other leading men and the Greek cities to urge them to join his side. But he also organised a hunt for many days to dispel any suspicion that he was about to revolt. Polyperchon, on his side, assumed the guardianship of the kings and held a meeting of his council with his friends. With their approval he summoned Olympias, inviting her to assume the care (*epimeleia*) of Alexander's son who was still a child, and to take up residence in Macedon with royal authority; Olympias had previously fled to Epirus because of her disagreement with Antipater.<sup>4</sup> Such was the state of affairs in Macedon. (50) In Asia, as the news of Antipater's death was noised about, revolutionary stirrings began to be felt, as those in positions of authority sought to work for their own ends. Chief among these was Antigonus.<sup>5</sup> He had previously defeated Eumenes in Cappadocia and taken over his army, and he had overcome Alcetas and Attalus in Pisidia and also taken over their armies.<sup>6</sup> In addition he had been chosen by Antipater general of Asia with full powers,<sup>7</sup> and appointed commander of a large army. All this filled him with self-importance and pride. He was hoping to achieve supreme power and resolved to ignore the kings and their guardians. He reckoned that his superior army would make him master of the treasures in Asia, since there was no one in a position to oppose him. He had at the time 60,000 infantry, 10,000 cavalry and 30 elephants; apart from these he hoped to procure if necessary other armies, since Asia was capable of providing an inexhaustible source of pay for the mercenaries he recruited. With all this in mind he summoned Hieronymus the historian,<sup>8</sup> a friend and fellow citizen of Eumenes of Cardia who had taken refuge with him at the fort called Nora (*FGrH* 154 T 4). He attempted to win him over with lavish gifts and sent him on an embassy to Eumenes: let Eumenes forget about the battle they had fought in Cappadocia, become his friend and ally, receive far more gifts than he had ever done before and a larger satrapy, and in general be ranked the first of his friends and participate in his whole enterprise.<sup>9</sup> Antigonus then immediately called a council of his friends,

communicated to them his ambitions for supreme power, and assigned satrapies to some of his most prominent followers and military commands to others. He filled them all with great hopes and made them enthusiastic for his own plans. For it was his intention to overrun Asia, expel the existing satraps and organise the appointments in favour of his friends.

Diodorus XVIII.48.4–50

1. On this theme cf. **36** (Seleucus) and Errington, *Entretiens Hardt* 22 (1976), 159–62; in appointing Polyperchon instead of his son Cassander, Antipater was clearly seeking to avoid any suggestion of dynastic politics, but the legality of his action was open to challenge.
2. See **26** n. 4.
3. On the role and importance of the ‘friends’ of the leading men, who were to become a recognised institution in all the Hellenistic monarchies, see also **70** (a) and n. 2 (general), **4**, **17**, **18**, **41** (Alexander), **66** (Ziaelas of Bithynia), **90**, **96** ch. 32 and n. 7 (Antigonids), **36**, **132**, **162**, **175**, **181**, **182**, **204**, **206**, **211**, **213**, **215** (Seleucids), **233**, **243**, **244** (Attalids), **275** n. 2 (Ptolemies). See generally F. W. Walbank in *CAH* VII.1<sup>2</sup> (1984), 68–71; M. M. Austin in *CQ* 36 (1986), 461–3; McKechnie (1989), 204–15; G. Herman in Cartledge et al. (1997), 199–224; G. Weber in Winterling (1997), 27–71; Savalli-Lestrade (1998).
4. Olympias was subsequently executed by Cassander (see **28**, **35**) and Roxane and her son Alexander IV placed under arrest by him, then executed (see **35**, **37**).
5. On his career cf. Billows (1990) with P. S. Derow, *CR* 43 (1993), 326–32.
6. A common occurrence in this period (see **40**).
7. After the settlement of Triparadisus (**30**); see Errington, *JHS* 90 (1970), 71.
8. See **26** n. 3, **56**.
9. On Eumenes see **30** n. 6.

## 32 Athens honours Euphron of Sicyon (318/17)

A sidelight on the Lamian War of 323/2 (**28**), concerning a pro-Athenian statesman from the Peloponnesian city of Sicyon (**49**).

- In the archonship of Archippus (318/17), in the [fourth] prytany, of the [tribe Acamantis], for which Thersippus [son of Hippothereses of Acharnae] was secretary, on the [last day] of Maimakterion<sup>1</sup> and the 35th of the prytany;
- 5 Gnosias of Halae [and the other presiding officers] / put to the vote; Hagnonides son of Nicoxenus [of Pergase moved: since Euphron] son of Adeas of Sicyon<sup>2</sup> has [previously on every occasion] continued to show himself a good man towards the people of Athens, both himself and his ancestors; [and
  - 10 during] the Greek / [war] which [the people of Athens began] on behalf of the Greeks,<sup>3</sup> Euphron, returning [from exile] expelled [the] garrison from the [Acropolis with the support of the] Sicyonians and [after freeing] the city (Sicyon) made it a [friend and] ally of the people [of Athens the first of the]

cities [in] / the Peloponnese; and during all the [time] that the people were 15  
 [fighting the war], he collaborated with the people and [gave assistance] to  
 the troops and all others involved in [the war]; and when it happened that  
 Greece suffered [misfortune and garrisons] were sent into the cities which had  
 [expelled them], he / preferred death at the hand of his enemies, [fighting] for 20  
 the democracy, rather than to see his [own native city] or the rest of Greece  
 enslaved; [and] when the people of Athens honoured him with [citizenship]  
 and the other honours which are fitting for [benefactors], / both himself and 25  
 his descendants, because of his [merits and] because of the benefactions of  
 his ancestors, the government of the oligarchy deprived [him] of his privi-  
 leges [and] destroyed the stelae; but now since the people has [come back]  
 and has [recovered] its laws and the democracy,<sup>4</sup> / with good fortune, be it 30  
 resolved by the people, that all the [privileges] granted by the [people] of  
 Athens to Euphron in his honour should be confirmed, both for himself and  
 his descendants, and that [the] secretary of the council should inscribe the  
 [stelae] which were destroyed and in which the privileges were [recorded],  
 and the decree, and dedicate / one copy on the acropolis and the other near 35  
 (the altar of) Zeus the Saviour,<sup>5</sup> just as the people decreed [previously], and  
 should also inscribe the present decree on both the stelae, and that the friends  
 and relatives of Euphron should also attend to the inscription (of the stelae);  
 and that [the] / council which is in office and the generals should take care 40  
 of the descendants of Euphron, and that they should have precedence of  
 access to the council [and the] people after religious matters. And now just  
 as] the people has shown [care] for the child of Euphron / and has passed a 45  
 decree and sent ambassadors [to] the people of Sicyon, so too it [will show  
 care] in future should they need anything, so that all may know [that the  
 people] of Athens, when a good deed is done to it, believes it must honour  
 not only the benefactors but their children as well / and remember the bene- 50  
 factions it has received. For the inscription of the stelae the treasurer of the  
 people shall give 50 drachmas from the people's fund for the expenditure on  
 decrees. [. . .]

*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 317; IG II<sup>2</sup>.448; Harding (1985), no. 123A

1. November 318, but the restoration is uncertain (cf. *SEG* 23.61).
2. Previously honoured in an Athenian decree of 323/2 (*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 310); the earlier decree, destroyed by the Athenian oligarchs, was re-inscribed on the same stele together with this text (*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 310).
3. The Lamian War of 323/2 (28).
4. Deprived of her democracy in 322 (28 n. 6), Athens recovered it briefly in 318, in conformity with an amnesty decree issued by Polyperchon not long after Antipater's death (31) in a bid to secure support from the Greek cities (Diodorus XVIII.55f.; on this move see further 35). The democracy was again overthrown in 317 and Athens

fell under the rule of Demetrius of Phalerum (28). For the tone of the inscription cf. 54, 55, 61.

5. The present text, found in the Agora.

### 33 Agathocles, ruler of Sicily (316–289)

‘No land was more productive of tyrants than Sicily’ (Justin IV.2). After the breakdown in the second generation of the tyranny established by Dionysius of Syracuse (tyrant from 405 till his death in 367), the Corinthian Timoleon sought in the late 340s and early 330s to rid the island of its tyrants and revive the autonomy of the Greek city-states, but although he was successful in reviving the prosperity of Sicily, no long-term political stability was achieved for the island. Social tensions between rich and poor remained alive and led in Syracuse to the rise of Agathocles, whose rule was explicitly based on the support of the lower classes; his ‘reign’ lasted till his death in 289. It was the last time that Sicily was to play a powerful and independent role in the ancient world. See Tillyard (1908); Finley (1979), ch. 8; K. Meister in *CAH* VII.1<sup>2</sup> (1984), 384–411.

#### (a) *Agathocles’ coup in Syracuse (316)*

After this<sup>1</sup> Agathocles summoned an assembly and accused the Six Hundred<sup>2</sup> and the oligarchy they had previously set up. Claiming to have rid the city of the would-be tyrants, he declared he was restoring to the people their full autonomy; his own wish was to be freed from his toils and live the life of a private citizen on equal terms with all.<sup>3</sup> With these words he took off his military dress and exchanged it for civilian dress, and was on the point of walking off after demonstrating that he was one of the many. In behaving so he was playing the part of a man of the people and he knew very well that the majority of the assembly, as they were implicated in his criminal deeds, would never consent to entrust the office of general to anyone else. At once these men, who had plundered the property of their unfortunate victims, shouted not to abandon them but to take over full control of affairs. Agathocles at first said nothing, but when the crowd became more insistent, he said he accepted the office of general provided he did not share it with others; he could not accept having to render accounts as one of a board of generals, as the laws required, for crimes committed by others. As the crowd agreed to let him be sole ruler, he was elected general with full powers and henceforth he ruled openly and controlled the government of the city. As for the Syracusans who had not committed themselves, some were constrained by fear to submit, while others, being no match for the crowd, were deterred from making any hostile



demonstration. There were also many poor and indebted men who welcomed the change of regime; for Agathocles had promised in the assembly to carry out a cancellation of debts and to distribute land to the poor.<sup>4</sup> This done he put an end to massacres and punishments, and undergoing a complete change showed himself considerate to the common people, conferring benefits on many, making encouraging promises to not a few, and by conversing in a friendly fashion with everyone he earned great favour. Although he wielded such great power, he did not assume a diadem, keep a bodyguard or seek to make himself difficult to approach, as is the custom with nearly all tyrants.<sup>5</sup> He also busied himself with the revenues and the manufacture of weapons and missiles and built more warships in addition to the existing ones. He also brought under his control most of the forts and cities in the interior. Such was the situation in Sicily.

Diodorus XIX.9

(b) *The achievements of Agathocles and Dionysius of Sicily*

As I have said, there is no similar need to write at length about such men<sup>6</sup> as there is in the case of the Sicilians Agathocles and Dionysius and a few others who made a name for themselves in government. Of these two, the latter came from a popular and humble background, while Agathocles, as Timaeus<sup>7</sup> says mocking him (*FGrH* 566 F 124 c), started off as a potter and left the wheel, the clay and the furnace when he came as a young man to Syracuse.<sup>8</sup> To begin with, they both in their time became tyrants of Syracuse, a city which enjoyed then considerable fame and was very prosperous, and then they were recognised as kings<sup>9</sup> of the whole of Sicily and even established their control over parts of Italy. Not only did Agathocles launch an expedition against Africa,<sup>10</sup> he even maintained his position of supreme power till his death. And that is why Publius Scipio, the first conqueror of Carthage, when asked who in his opinion had been the wisest and most enterprising statesmen, is said to have replied 'the Sicilians Agathocles and Dionysius'.

Polybius XV.35.1–6

1. The massacre of many Syracusan oligarchs.
2. It is not clear whether this oligarchic body had been set up by Timoleon or had assumed power after him; cf. Talbert (1974), 140–2.
3. Compare the similar tactics of Dionysius' rise to power (Diodorus XIII.94.3).
4. Cf. **108** n. 2.
5. On the character of Agathocles' rule see also Diodorus XX.63; Polybius IX.23.2. Later Agathocles did assume the royal title in imitation of the Successors (**44**, **57** ch. 54), but this does not appear to have modified the character of his rule.
6. Polybius has just related the death of a corrupt minister of the Ptolemies.

7. Timaeus of Tauromenium, the greatest of the Sicilian historians (*FGrH* 566). He was a victim of Agathocles' rise to power (he was exiled from Sicily), and his hatred of the Sicilian tyrants and particularly Agathocles has deeply coloured the surviving historical tradition.
8. An insistent theme in the tradition on Agathocles (Diodorus XIX.1.6f.; XX.63.4f.), though it is unlikely he was a pauper; more probably he owned a pottery establishment staffed by slaves (Finley (1979), 102; Hornblower (1981), 154 n. 209).
9. Dionysius was never 'king' (though cf. S. I. Oost, *CP* 71 (1976), 232–6) and Agathocles only took the royal title after the Successors (n. 5 above). The western corner of Sicily remained always under Carthaginian control.
10. Agathocles' daring expedition against Carthage (310–306), undertaken while Syracuse was besieged by the Carthaginians (cf. 41; Stewart (1993), 266–9); although the expedition failed it was to influence Pyrrhus (see 59) and later the Romans in the Punic Wars.

### 34 The armies of Eumenes and Antigonus at the battle of Paraetacene (autumn 317)

A detailed description of two Hellenistic armies in this period, before the battle of Paraetacene (near Isfahan in modern Iran). For other Hellenistic armies cf. 4, 184, 203, 275. On the battle itself, cf. Scullard (1974), 86–90; Hornblower (1981), 37–9, 110 n. 14; on the armies of the period, Parke (1933), ch. 21; Griffith (1935), ch. 2; Rostovtzeff I (1941), 143–52. For the wider context, cf. Bosworth (2002), 98–168.

The tactical arrangements of the two generals were different, as they vied with each other in military skill. Eumenes had placed on the left wing Eudemus who had brought the elephants from India, with his guard of 150 cavalry, and as an advance guard two companies of selected mounted lancers drawn up 50 deep. These troops were placed in contact with the slopes of the hill, and next to these he stationed Stasander the general with his own cavalry force 950 strong. Next he placed Amphimachus, the satrap of Mesopotamia,<sup>1</sup> with 600 cavalry, and next to these the 600 cavalry from Arachosia, previously commanded by Sibyrtius, but now because of his flight under the orders of Cephalon. Next came 500 men from Paropanisadae and an equal number of Thracians from the settlements in the upper country.<sup>2</sup> In front of all these troops he stationed 45 elephants in a crooked (?) formation, with a sufficient number of archers and slingers in the intervals between the animals. Having strengthened the left wing in this way he placed the phalanx next to it. The extremity of the phalanx was occupied by the mercenaries, more than 6,000 in number, and next to them the troops armed in Macedonian fashion though they were of all races, numbering about 5,000. (28) Next to these were placed

the Macedonian Silver Shields, more than 3,000 in number, men who were undefeated and whose valour was a source of terror to the enemy.<sup>3</sup> Finally the men from the hypaspists, who were more than 3,000, commanded like the Silver Shields by Antigones and Teutamus. In front of the whole phalanx he stationed 40 elephants and filled the intervals between them with detachments of light armed troops. On the right wing he placed the cavalry: close to the phalanx were the 800 from Carmania, commanded by the satrap Tlepolemus, next the 900 so-called Companions and the guard of Peuces-tes and Antigones, comprising 300 men organised in one squadron. At the extremity of the wing was placed the guard of Eumenes with the same number of men, and as an advance guard two squadrons of Pages of Eumenes, each consisting of 50 men, and outside the wing to protect its flank four squadrons composed of 200 selected horsemen. In addition he placed behind his own guard 300 cavalry selected from all the hipparchies for their speed and strength. Along the whole length of his wing he placed 40 elephants as an advance guard. The entire force of Eumenes added up to 35,000 infantry, 6,100 cavalry and 114 elephants.<sup>4</sup>

(29) Antigonus, after observing from a vantage point the enemy's formation, arranged his own army to match it. Seeing that the enemy's right wing was reinforced by the elephants and the best of the cavalry, he placed against them his lightest cavalry, whose task it was to refuse battle at the front, open up their ranks then wheel round and harass the enemy, so as to neutralise in this way the part of the army the enemy was most relying on. On this wing he placed the 1,000 mounted archers and spearmen from Media and Parthia, who were well suited to wheeling movements, next the 2,200 'Tarentines'<sup>5</sup> who had come up with him from the sea, men selected for their skill in ambushes and who were well disposed to him, then the 1,000 cavalry from Phrygia and Lydia, the 1,500 cavalry of Pithon, the 300 lancers of Lysanias, and finally the so-called *asthippoi*<sup>6</sup> and the 800 [Thracian?]<sup>7</sup> cavalry from the settlements in the upper country. The left wing was composed of these, and they were placed under the single command of Pithon. As for the infantry, first came the mercenaries, who numbered more than 9,000, then 3,000 Lycians and Pamphylians, more than 8,000 men of all races armed in Macedonian fashion, and finally not much less than the 8,000 Macedonians given by Antipater at the time when he was appointed guardian (*epimeletes*) of the kingdom. On the right wing, close to the phalanx, the cavalry comprised first 500 mercenaries of all races, then 1,000 Thracians, then 500 men sent by the allies, and next to these 1,000 of the so-called Companions, commanded by Demetrius son of Antigonus, who on that occasion was going to be fighting for the first time with his father. At the extremity of the wing was placed the guard of 300 cavalry, with whom Antigonus himself was fighting the battle; as an advance guard, in front and

parallel to these were three squadrons of his own Pages, equal in number, and 100 'Tarentines' fighting with them. Around the whole wing he arranged in a crooked (?) formation his 300 strongest elephants, and filled the intervals between them with selected detachments of light armed troops. The majority of the remaining animals he placed at the front of the phalanx, and some on the left with the cavalry. Having arranged his army in this way he moved down against the enemy in oblique formation; he was pushing forward his right wing, on which he relied most, while holding back the other one, as he had decided to avoid battle with one and fight with the other.<sup>8</sup>

Diodorus XIX.27.2–29.

1. On this and the following satraps see **26** and **30**.
2. The eastern satrapies (**27**).
3. An élite corps of Macedonian infantry, cf. **18** n. 10, **30**; they submitted with difficulty to the orders of Eumenes, a Greek, not a Macedonian, and eventually betrayed him (Parke (1933), 213–15; Hornblower (1981), 190–3).
4. The totals do not agree with the detailed figures just given.
5. The name, which appears here for the first time, refers to a certain type of cavalry and not to their origin (see Griffith (1935), 246–50).
6. Usually emended to *amphippoi* = 'horsemen with two mounts', but cf. the *asthetairoi* in **18** (n. 9). See N. G. L. Hammond, *CQ* n.s. 28 (1978), 128–35; against, R. D. Milns, *CQ* 31 (1981), 347–54.
7. An emendation, cf. the Thracians mentioned in ch. 27 above.
8. The battle was won by Eumenes, but he was worsted in another engagement not long after, betrayed by the Silver Shields, and killed by Antigonos (winter 316/15). On his career, Westlake (1969), 313–30; Hornblower (1981), 154–64.

### 35 Antigonos denounces Cassander and proclaims the 'freedom of the Greeks' (315)

The rise to power of Macedon, and the predominance after Alexander of individual rulers, raised an insoluble political problem which persisted in one form or another throughout the Hellenistic period: how to reconcile the Greek cities' wish for autonomy with the domination of the kings. For the earlier Macedonian responses see **3**, **5**, **18**, **19** (Alexander), **28**, **32** (Antipater and Cassander). Polyperchon in 319 sought to gain support from the Greek cities by issuing an amnesty decree which aimed at restoring for the Greeks the status quo before the Lamian War (see **32** n. 4), but the bold propaganda stance adopted by Antigonos in 315 was a new departure: he posed as champion of the 'freedom of the Greeks', a posture which he and his son Demetrius subsequently sought to maintain consistently (for the sequel see **37–39**, **42**, **48** (a) §10, **49**, **50**). The

sincerity of Antigonus' policy has been much discussed; it seems clear, however, that his principal consideration was tactical – to embarrass his rivals, especially Cassander, and to win popularity with the Greek cities, an essential source of manpower, skills and revenues. On the subsequent use of the theme, cf. **61** n. 5, **233** n. 10, and by Rome cf. **84**, **96**, **196**, **202**, **234**. See R. H. Simpson, *Historia* 8 (1959), 385–409 and in a wider context Rhodes and Lewis (1997), 531–6, 542–9, qualifying de Ste Croix (1981), 300–26.

Antigonus established friendship with Alexander son of Polyperchon, who had joined him. He also summoned a general assembly of his troops and of the resident foreigners and accused Cassander,<sup>1</sup> invoking the execution of Olympias<sup>2</sup> and the fate of Roxane and the king. Antigonus added that Cassander had forced Thessalonica<sup>3</sup> to marry him, that he was manifestly seeking to appropriate the throne of Macedon, and also that he had settled the Olynthians, the worst enemies of the Macedonians,<sup>4</sup> in the city he named after himself (Cassandra)<sup>5</sup> and had restored Thebes which the Macedonians had razed to the ground.<sup>6</sup> As the crowd shared his indignation he moved a resolution that Cassander should be regarded as an enemy, unless he destroyed the two cities, released from captivity the king and Roxane his mother and restored them to the Macedonians,<sup>7</sup> and in general obeyed Antigonus, the appointed general who had received the supervision of the kingdom. All the Greeks should be free, exempt from garrisons, and autonomous. The soldiers carried the motion and Antigonus despatched messengers in every direction to announce the resolution. He calculated as follows: the Greeks' hopes for freedom would make them willing allies in the war, while the generals and satraps in the upper satrapies, who suspected Antigonus of seeking to overthrow the kings who had succeeded Alexander, would change their minds and willingly submit to his orders when they saw him clearly taking up the war on their behalf. Having done this he gave 500 talents to Alexander and despatched him to the Peloponnese with great hopes for the future. He sent for ships from the Rhodians<sup>8</sup> and, having equipped most of those that had been built, he set sail against Tyre. Through his command of the sea he prevented corn being imported to the city and maintained the blockade for a year and three months. The besieged were starved into submission. Ptolemy's soldiers he allowed to go away with their possessions, and after receiving the surrender of the city he placed there a garrison to defend it. (62) While this was happening Ptolemy heard of the resolution concerning the freedom of the Greeks which the Macedonians with Antigonus had passed, and drafted a proclamation in much the same words to convey to the Greeks that he cared no less for their autonomy than did Antigonus.<sup>9</sup> Each side saw that to gain

the goodwill of the Greeks would carry no little weight, and so they vied with each other in conferring favours on them.

Diodorus XIX.61–62.2

1. See **31**.
2. Olympias returned to Macedon in 317 at Polyperchon's invitation and assassinated Philip Arrhidaeus and his wife Eurydice; Cassander, returning to Macedon, had Olympias condemned by the Macedonian army and executed (spring 316). See **28**, **31**.
3. Daughter of Philip II.
4. Olynthus had been destroyed by Philip in 348.
5. Founded in 315; for other foundations in this period see **48**.
6. See **3**.
7. In fact Roxane and her son Alexander IV were executed by Cassander after the peace of 311 (**37**).
8. At the time in the orbit of Antigonus; cf. H. Hauben, *Historia* 26 (1977), 321–8.
9. Ptolemy had less success with the Greeks than did Antigonus and Demetrius (Simpson, *op. cit.*, 390f.); for the 280s and after see **55**.

### 36 Seleucus returns to Babylon (312)

Appointed in 323 to the command of the Companion cavalry (**26** (*b*)), then satrap of Babylonia in 321/320 (**30**), Seleucus started to build up his position there, though he was expelled by Antigonus in 316 (**57** ch. 54; Diodorus XIX.55). He took refuge with Ptolemy and was active in his support until eventually in 312 he was able to return to Babylon. The moment was reckoned by the Seleucid rulers as the start of their empire, and the recapture of Babylon as the first year of the 'Seleucid era' (cf. **57** n. 5). On the early career of Seleucus cf. Bosworth (2002), 210–45. For the significance of Babylon to the Seleucids cf. S. Sherwin-White in Kuhrt and Sherwin-White (1987), ch. 1; Sherwin-White and Kuhrt (1993), *passim*; Kuhrt in Bilde et al. (1996), 41–54. For a different view cf. F. W. Walbank, *LCM* 13 (1988), 108–12; Ma (1999), 7f. On the Seleucids and Babylonia see further **158**, **163**, **166–7**.

(90) In Asia, after the defeat of Demetrius at Gaza in Syria,<sup>1</sup> Seleucus received from Ptolemy not more than 800 infantry and about 200 cavalry, and set out for Babylon. So high were his expectations that even without any military force at all but accompanied only by his friends<sup>2</sup> and his own slaves he would have undertaken the march into the interior. He reckoned that the Babylonians would readily join his side because of the goodwill they already felt towards him, while Antigonus, by withdrawing his forces a long distance away, had provided him with a suitable opportunity to realise his own ambitions. While he himself was full of eagerness, the friends around him could see that the

troops with them were very few in number but that their opponents had large forces available, abundant supplies and a mass of allies, and they were very discouraged. When Seleucus saw their alarm he encouraged them, reminding them that those who had campaigned with Alexander<sup>3</sup> and who had been promoted by him because of their valour should not, when facing adversity, put their trust solely in armed forces and money but in experience and skill, the means by which Alexander himself had achieved his great and universally admired deeds. They should also trust the forecast of the gods, that the end of the expedition would be worthy of his purpose: for when he had consulted the oracle at Branchidae<sup>4</sup> the god had addressed him as King Seleucus,<sup>5</sup> and Alexander himself appearing to him in a dream had given him a clear sign of the future rule which he was due to achieve in time. He added that all that is good and admired among men is achieved by exertion and taking risks. He also courted the favour of his fellow soldiers and dealt with all of them as an equal, which made everyone respect him and be ready to face willingly the perils of the bold venture.

(91) When in his advance he arrived in Mesopotamia, he persuaded some of the Macedonians settled in Carrhae to join him, while others he compelled to come over to his side. When he entered Babylonia, the majority of the local people came out to meet him, joined his side and declared themselves ready to do whatever he saw fit. He had been satrap of that country for four years, during which he had dealt with everyone in a generous way, eliciting the goodwill of the common people and securing long in advance supporters should he one day be given a chance to strive for supreme power.

Diodorus XIX.90–91.2

1. In 312, through an attack by Seleucus and Ptolemy (Diodorus XIX.80.3–85).
2. Cf. **31** n. 3.
3. Cf. **31** n. 1.
4. On the Seleucid connection with Apollo and his oracle at Branchidae, cf. **56, 175**.
5. Cf. **42** n. 6.

### 37 The peace of 311 and the end of the Argead dynasty

After several years of indecisive warfare Antigonos' ambitions (**31**) were no closer to realisation. The peace of 311 represented a setback for him, though he managed to turn it into a propaganda victory (see **38**). Comparison between the peace of 311 and the earlier settlements of 323 and 321 (**26, 30**) shows the progression in the power of the leading Macedonians. The elimination of the remaining members of the Argead dynasty was made virtually inevitable by an agreement in which the principal contenders for power dealt with each other

as *de facto* sovereign rulers. See R. H. Simpson, *JHS* 74 (1954), 25–31; E. Will in *CAH* VII.1<sup>2</sup> (1984), 49–52.

In the archonship of Simonides at Athens (311/10) [. . .] Cassander, Ptolemy and Lysimachus put an end to the war against Antigonos and concluded a treaty. It was specified in it that Cassander should be general of Europe until Alexander, Roxane's son, should come of age, that Lysimachus should be master of Thrace and Ptolemy master of Egypt and the neighbouring cities in Libya and Arabia, that Antigonos should command the whole of Asia,<sup>1</sup> while the Greeks should be autonomous.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless they failed to abide by this agreement, and each of them put forward fair pretexts and sought to increase his power. Cassander saw that Roxane's son Alexander was growing up and that there were some who were spreading the word in Macedon that one ought to release the boy from custody and hand over to him his father's kingdom. Afraid for his own safety, he instructed Glaucias, who was in charge of the boy's custody, to assassinate Roxane and the king and conceal their bodies, and not to report the deed to any of the others. Glaucias carried out the orders, and this freed Cassander, Lysimachus, Ptolemy and even Antigonos from anticipated fears about the king. For now that there was no one to take over the empire,<sup>3</sup> those who ruled peoples or cities could each entertain hopes of kingship and controlled henceforward the territory under their power like kingdoms that had been conquered in war.<sup>4</sup>

Diodorus XIX.105.1–4

1. The absence of any mention of Seleucus (**36**, **57**) here and in **38** has been variously interpreted: the likeliest explanation is that he was deliberately excluded from the peace by Antigonos, who wanted to have a free hand against him. See Simpson, *op. cit.*
2. Antigonos was probably behind this clause (see **35** and **38**); Diodorus' account does not make clear that the Greek cities participated directly in the ratification of the peace (**38**).
3. The only surviving descendant of Alexander was an illegitimate son Heracles by the Persian Barsine (**1** §18, **26** n. 1); in 309 Polyperchon thought of putting him forward as a rival to Cassander for the throne of Macedon but was then persuaded by Cassander to execute him (Diodorus XX.20.1–2 and 28).
4. Literally 'won by the spear'; for this notion cf. **4** (*b*), **7**, **44**, **183**, **196**.

### 38 Letter of Antigonos to Scepsis in the Troad (311)

On the conclusion of the peace of 311 (**37**) Antigonos promptly sent a manifesto to many Greek cities in his sphere of control, and possibly outside



it as well. Of this manifesto only the copy made of the letter addressed to the city of Scepsis in the Troad has survived in part on an inscription. In it Antigonus refers to the events leading up to the conclusion of the peace, but while he is at pains to emphasise his concern for the 'freedom of the Greeks' (35), he is deliberately vague as to the precise circumstances and calculations behind the signing of the peace and as to the terms of an agreement which the Greek cities were to swear to respect though they had taken no part in its formulation (contrast 37). As a result modern reconstructions of the diplomatic activity leading up to the peace differ substantially and several allusions in the letter remain obscure; see e.g. *RC, ad loc.*; R. H. Simpson *JHS* 74 (1954), 25–31; E. Will in *CAH* VII.1<sup>2</sup> (1984), 49–52.

(The beginning of the inscription is lost)

... we displayed [zeal for the] freedom [of the Greeks] and made [for this purpose] many considerable concessions including [the gift of?] money, and to this end we sent out jointly / Aeschylus [and Demarchus?]. As long as there 5  
 was agreement on [this] point, we took part in the meeting at the [Hellespont],  
 and if [certain] men<sup>1</sup> had not raised difficulties, the matter would have been  
 settled then. [But now] when Cassander and [Ptolemy] were discussing / a 10  
 truce and Prepelaus and Aristodemus came to see us [on] this matter, although  
 we saw that some of Cassander's demands were excessive, we thought we ought  
 to overlook them since there was agreement about the Greeks, / so that the 15  
 essential points (*ta hola*)<sup>2</sup> should be implemented as soon as possible; we should  
 have thought it a great achievement to arrange something for the Greeks as  
 we had wished, but because this would have been a rather lengthy process and  
 delay / can often bring about many unforeseen consequences, and because we 20  
 were anxious to see the affairs of the Greeks settled in our lifetime,<sup>3</sup> we thought  
 it imperative that questions of detail should not prevent the implementation  
 of the essential points. How great is the zeal we have displayed over this will,  
 I think, be clear / to you and to all others from the actual dispositions taken. 25  
 When we had reached agreement with Cassander and Lysimachus, for which  
 purpose they had sent Prepelaus with full powers, Ptolemy sent ambassadors to  
 us / requesting a truce with himself and his inclusion in the same agreement. 30  
 We saw that it was no small matter to give up part of the goal for which  
 we had taken great trouble and spent much money, / and that when we had 35  
 reached a settlement with Cassander and Lysimachus and the rest of the task  
 was easier; nevertheless, because we understood that a settlement with him too  
 (Ptolemy) would speed up a solution to the question of Polyperchon,<sup>4</sup> / since he 40  
 would have no allies, and because of our relationship with him, and also  
 because we saw that you and the other allies were burdened by military service  
 and by expenses, / we thought it was right to give way and to conclude a 45

truce with him too. We despatched Aristodemus, Aeschylus and Hegesias to conclude the agreement; they have returned after receiving pledges, and  
50 the envoys / from Ptolemy, Aristobulus and his colleagues have arrived to receive pledges from us. Know therefore that the truce has been concluded and that peace has been made. We have written a clause into the agreement  
55 that all the Greeks should join together in protecting / their mutual freedom and autonomy, in the belief that in our lifetime they would in all human expectation be preserved, but that in future with all the Greeks and the men  
60 in / power<sup>5</sup> bound by oath, the freedom of the Greeks would be much more securely guaranteed. To join in the oath to protect what we agreed with each  
65 other did not seem to us inglorious or without advantage to the Greeks.<sup>6</sup> / It therefore seems to me right that you should swear the oath which we have sent to you. We shall endeavour in future to achieve whatever is in your interest<sup>7</sup> and that of the other Greeks. Concerning these matters I resolved to write to  
70 you / and to send Acius to discuss them with you; he brings you copies of the agreement we have made and of the oath. Farewell.

*RC* 1; *OGIS* 5; *Staatsv.* III.428; Harding (1985), no. 132; *BD* 6

1. Cf. **151** n. 7.
2. On the phrase cf. Hornblower (1981), 167–71.
3. Antigonus was now 71.
4. By this time Polyperchon (**31**, **37** n. 3) was confined to the Peloponnese and had little influence; he was not one of the signatories of the peace of 311.
5. Literally ‘those in charge of affairs’, i.e. the chief signatories of the peace (**37**); the vagueness of the phrase reflects the vagueness of their constitutional position.
6. Antigonus is virtually admitting that the Greeks are being made to agree to a settlement they had no share in drawing up.
7. Some time after, the people of Scepsis were made to move to Antigonus’ new settlement of Antigonea in the Troad (Strabo 593 and 607).

### 39 Scepsis decrees religious honours to Antigonus on receipt of his letter (311)

The following inscription, found together with **38** and closely related to it, provides the earliest instance known so far in the age of the Successors of divine honours offered by a Greek city to a living ruler. Precedents are however known for both Philip and Alexander, and in fact the earliest attested case concerns the Spartan Lysander at the end of the Peloponnesian War (Plutarch, *Lysander* 18, from Duris *FGrH* 76 F 71, cf. F 26; see however Badian (1981), 33–8). These cults represented a spontaneous expression of gratitude by the cities concerned for benefits received from the rulers, as the following text

makes clear. For further examples in this period see **42**, **43**, **47**, **49**; for the later period cf. **162** n. 9 (Seleucids), **245** n. 8 (Attalids), **256** (Ptolemies). There is no hint of any request for religious honours by the rulers themselves (as there may have been in the case of Alexander; cf. **12**). The cults of rulers set up by Greek cities are distinct from the dynastic cults set up by the rulers themselves (Seleucids and Ptolemies) in the second generation or after (**200**, **255**). See Habicht (1970); Walbank (1981), 210–18 and in *CAH* VII.1<sup>2</sup> (1984), 84–99; Price (1984), 23–40; Shipley (2000), 156–63; A. Chaniotis in Erskine (2003), 431–45.

(The beginning of the inscription is lost)

[. . . since Antigonus has sent] Acius who [in every respect shows himself to be] well disposed [to our city] and continues to [maintain his zeal] and [requests] that the city declares to him its demands; and since he has also sent / news of the agreement concluded by him with Cassander, Ptolemy and Lysimachus, copies of the oath, and news of what has been done concerning the peace and the autonomy of the Greeks; be it resolved / by the people: since Antigonus has been responsible for great benefits to the city and the other Greeks, to praise Antigonus and to rejoice with him in what has been accomplished; let the city also rejoice / with the other Greeks that they shall live in peace henceforward enjoying freedom and autonomy;<sup>1</sup> and so that Antigonus may receive honours worthy of his achievements and the people should be seen to be returning thanks / for the benefits it has received, let it mark off a sacred enclosure (*temenos*) for him, build an altar and set up a cult statue as beautiful as possible, and let the sacrifice, the competition, the wearing of the wreath and the rest of the festival be celebrated every [year] / in his honour as they were before.<sup>2</sup> Let it [crown] him with a gold crown [weighing] 100 gold [staters], and crown Demetrius and Philippus<sup>3</sup> with crowns weighing each 50 drachmas; / and let it proclaim the crowns [at the] contest during the festival; let the city offer a sacrifice for the good tidings sent by Antigonus; let all the citizens wear wreaths,<sup>4</sup> and let the treasurer provide the money / for this expense. Let friendly gifts be sent to Antigonus, and let there be inscribed on a stele the text of the agreement, the letter from Antigonus and the oath which he sent, as he / instructed, and place it in the sanctuary of Athena; let the secretary [supervise] the task, [and] let the treasurer provide the money for the expenditure; let all the citizens [swear] the [oath which was sent], / as [instructed by Antigonus]; and let those who have been chosen . . . (the rest of the inscription is lost)

OGIS 6

1. See 35.
2. This shows that Scepsis was already celebrating an annual festival in Antigonus' honour; the occasion for the establishment of this festival is unknown and it is not clear whether the festival already implied divine honours for Antigonus. At any rate the new honours voted to him (sacred enclosure, altar, cult statue) are divine in character (cf. 12 ch. 11).
3. Antigonus' two sons; on Demetrius see 42, etc. Philippos, the younger son, died in 306/5.
4. Cf. 266 col. III.

#### 40 Treaty between Eupolemus and Theangela on its capitulation (c.310?)

The political history of the age is dominated by the great figures prominent elsewhere in this chapter. No less characteristic of the age, however, were the careers of minor military dynasts, whose existence is often only casually attested in the surviving evidence (cf. also Ophellas, 41). Such is the Macedonian Eupolemus, known as a general of Asander, satrap of Caria, in 314 from a passing allusion in Diodorus (XIX.68.5–7), but who in fact ruled as dynast over part of Caria around this time. This is shown by bronze coins issued by him in his name (Mørkholm (1991), Plate IV nos. 67–8) and by three inscriptions from Caria, one an honorific decree of Iasus (*CIG* 2675), another from Labraunda (J. Crampa, *Labraunda* III.2 (Stockholm, 1972), no. 42), the third the text of a treaty between himself on the one hand and on the other the city of Theangela (near Halicarnassus) and its defenders, to which is appended the oath sworn by Eupolemus. The context is the capitulation of the city to Eupolemus after a siege. For other examples of the 'dynasts' who proliferated in Asia Minor, cf. 174 n. 6. See R. A. Billows, *Classical Antiquity* 8 (1989), 173–206, who dates Eupolemus to 294–286, though see R. Descat, *REA* 100 (1998), 167–190, who also questions the characterisation of Eupolemus as a 'dynast'.

- . . .<sup>1</sup> and there shall also be an amnesty for the people of Erinaea<sup>2</sup> . . . to Philippos, Demagathus and Aristodemus<sup>3</sup> [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
- 10 [under his command?] / who decide to remain in the service of Eupolemus; for all the [soldiers] who came over to the city from the army 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;<sup>4</sup> for those who came over in war there shall be an amnesty;
- 15 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;<sup>5</sup> 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 (two) citadels; any soldiers from Theangela who take up service with Eupolemus shall be allowed to settle at Pentachora.<sup>6</sup> Oath sworn by Eupolemus:<sup>7</sup> I swear by Zeus, the Earth, the Sun, Ares, Athena Areia and the Tauropolus 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.<sup>8</sup> If I abide by my oath may I and my family prosper, / if I break the oath may the opposite happen.<sup>9</sup>

L. Robert, *Collection Froehner I Inscriptions grecques* (1936), 69–86 no. 52; *Staatsv.* III.429

1. The first five lines of the inscription are seriously mutilated; the extant text begins at the end of the provisions applying to Theangela.
2. Probably a small town near Theangela and in alliance with it, otherwise unknown.
3. Also known from an honorific decree of Iasus (*CIG* 2676).
4. Earlier agreements, now lost.
5. Cf. **226** n. 2.
6. Provisions are made for the settlement of the soldiers as colonists; the location of Pentachora (literally ‘the five villages’) is unknown. On the conditions of service of mercenaries cf. **230**.
7. For other oaths cf. **61, 68, 76, 108, 109, 137, 153, 171, 174, 230**.
8. Hence the existence of the present text.
9. There is no reciprocal oath by Theangela, perhaps because Eupolemus controlled the city and could enforce the terms of the treaty.

## 41 The expedition of Ophellas to Carthage (309)

The open-ended adventurism of the period is well illustrated by the story of the expedition from Cyrene of the Macedonian Ophellas in answer to an invitation from Agathocles of Syracuse who had invaded Carthaginian territory in 310 (cf. **33**). The story also gives a glimpse of the pressures that drove large numbers of impoverished Greeks to emigrate abroad in the period after Alexander in search of a better life; this helped to provide the new kingdoms with a demographic basis (cf. Shipley (2000), 54–8). On the episode cf. K. Meister, *CAH* VII.1<sup>2</sup> (1984), 393–400.

After this battle Agathocles,<sup>1</sup> examining in his mind every possible way of subjecting the Carthaginians, sent Orthon the Syracusan as envoy to Ophellas in Cyrene. Ophellas was one of the 'friends' of Alexander who had participated in his expedition; he had secured control of the city of Cyrene and a powerful army, and was aspiring to a more extensive domination.<sup>2</sup> Such was his state of mind when the envoy from Agathocles arrived with the request to join in the war to defeat the Carthaginians. In return for this service he promised that Agathocles would grant Ophellas a free hand in ruling Libya. Agathocles, he said, was satisfied with Sicily, provided he could free himself from danger from Carthage and rule without fear the whole of the island. Should he decide to grasp at more power than Italy was available nearby to increase his empire. Libya was separated by a large and difficult sea and so was very unsuitable for him, and it was not through ambition but out of necessity that he had come there. With this new hope added to his long-standing intention Ophellas gladly welcomed the approach and sent an envoy to arrange an alliance with the Athenians; he was already married to Euthydice, the daughter of Miltiades, namesake of the victorious general at the battle of Marathon. Because of this marriage connection and all the other favours which he had bestowed on the city, many Athenians eagerly joined his expedition.<sup>3</sup> Many of the other Greeks were also anxious to take part in the undertaking, as they had hopes of sharing out the best land in Libya and plundering the wealth of Carthage. The fact is that conditions in Greece were poor and offered no prospects because of the continuous wars and the mutual rivalry of the leading contenders for power. They therefore supposed that they would gain many advantages and would free themselves from their present evils. (41) And so Ophellas, after making magnificent preparations for his expedition, set out with his army. He had more than 10,000 infantry, 600 cavalry, 100 chariots, and more than 300 charioteers and fighters. There also followed no fewer than 10,000 of those who are referred to as non-combatants; many of these brought their children, wives and other belongings, which made the army look like a colonising expedition. [. . .]<sup>4</sup>

Diodorus XX.40–41.1

1. Cf. **33**. Blockaded by the Carthaginians in Syracuse in 310, Agathocles created a bold diversion by invading Carthaginian territory in North Africa.
2. On securing control of Cyrene in 321 (**29**) Ptolemy placed it under control of the Macedonian officer Ophellas.
3. Compare the marriage of Attalus I with Apollonis of Cyzicus (**240**). After the death of Ophellas, Euthydice returned to Athens where Demetrius Poliorcetes married her (Plutarch, *Demetrius* 14, who wrongly calls her Eurydice). For the special status of Athens cf. **42**.

4. Agathocles turned abruptly against his ally, killed him and took over his army (Diodorus XX.42); the non-combatants were sent to Sicily, though some were lost on the way (Diodorus XX.44.7). The expedition to North Africa eventually failed and Agathocles returned to Sicily in 307<sup>1</sup> leaving the remnants of his army behind (Diodorus XX.68–9).

## 42 Demetrius and the liberation of Athens (307)

The liberation of Athens from Macedonian control in 307 is given considerable prominence by Plutarch (cf. p. 6 on his standpoint); his account is further illustrated by Athenian inscriptions. See Habicht (1997), 67–81; Mikalson (1998), 75–105.

As the glory of this achievement was noised abroad,<sup>1</sup> Antigonus and Demetrius were filled with a remarkable eagerness to free Greece,<sup>2</sup> which was all under the sway of Cassander and Ptolemy. None of the kings fought a fairer or more just war than that one. The abundant resources they had gathered together in humbling the barbarians they now spent in search of glory and honour on the Greeks. As soon as they had decided to sail against Athens, one of their friends remarked to Antigonus that, should they capture that city, they must keep it for themselves, as it was the stepping-stone to Greece. But Antigonus would have none of it, and declared that goodwill was a fair and unshakeable stepping-stone and that Athens, the watch-tower of the inhabited world, as it were, would quickly flash to all mankind the message of their glorious achievements. Demetrius set sail for Athens with 500 talents and a fleet of 250 ships; the city was governed on behalf of Cassander by Demetrius of Phalerum,<sup>3</sup> and a garrison had been installed in Munychia. By a combination of good luck and foresight he appeared before Piraeus on the 26th of Thargelion;<sup>4</sup> no one had spotted him beforehand and when his fleet was sighted offshore, they all believed the ships were Ptolemy's and made ready to receive them. The generals were late in realising their mistake and coming to the rescue, and there was confusion as one would expect with a forced attempt to fight off an unexpected landing of enemies. Demetrius found the entrances to the harbour open and sailed in; he was now inside and in full view and signified from his ship that he was asking for quiet and silence. When this had been established, he proclaimed through the voice of a herald near him that his father had sent him with prayers for his success to free the Athenians, expel the garrison and restore to them their laws and ancestral constitution. (9) On hearing this proclamation the majority at once cast down their shields at their feet and applauded, and shouted to Demetrius to disembark, calling him their benefactor and saviour. Demetrius of Phalerum and his followers thought they had in any case to welcome the man who had force on his side, even if there was

no certainty that he would keep his promises, but nonetheless they sent off a deputation to convey their requests. Demetrius met them graciously and sent them back with Aristodemus of Miletus, one of his father's friends. Because of the change of government Demetrius of Phalerum was more frightened of his fellow citizens than of the enemy. Demetrius did not ignore him, but out of regard for the man's reputation and merits, he had him and his friends escorted safely to Thebes as requested. He himself declared he would not cast a glance at the city, despite his wish to do so, before he had freed it entirely and rid it of its garrison. He threw a palisade and ditch around Munychia, and sailed off against Megara, which was garrisoned by Cassander. [ . . . ] (10) Returning to Munychia he encamped, expelled the garrison and razed the fort. The Athenians now welcomed him and called for him, and so he came to the city, called the people together and restored to them their ancestral constitution. He added a promise that his father would send them 15,000 medimni of corn and enough timber to build 100 triremes.<sup>5</sup> And so the Athenians recovered their democracy after fifteen years; in the intervening period since the Lamian War and the battle of Crannon the constitution had ostensibly been oligarchical, but was in actual fact the rule of one man because of the power exercised by Demetrius of Phalerum. Demetrius had shown his magnificence and greatness in his benefactions, but the Athenians proceeded to make him offensive and obnoxious through the extravagant honours they voted to him. They were the first to give the title of king to Demetrius and Antigonos,<sup>6</sup> although they had otherwise avoided the name up till now, and it was the only royal prerogative still left to the descendants of Philip and Alexander which others could not touch or share in. They were the only men to call them Saviour Gods.<sup>7</sup> They abolished the ancestral eponymous archonship and elected every year a priest of the Saviours, and put his (Demetrius') name on the prescripts of decrees and contracts.<sup>8</sup> They also voted to weave their likenesses into the robe of Athena together with the gods,<sup>9</sup> consecrated the spot where Demetrius had first stepped down from his chariot, placed an altar there and called it the altar of Demetrius Cataebates (the descending god).<sup>10</sup> They added two more tribes (to the ten existing ones), Demetrius and Antigonis, and raised the numbers of the Council from 500 to 600, since each one of the new tribes was providing 50 councillors.<sup>11</sup>

Plutarch, *Demetrius* 8–10

1. Demetrius' relief of the city of Halicarnassus from a blockade by Ptolemy.
2. See 35; Plutarch, a patriotic Greek, is inclined to take Antigonos' and Demetrius' aims too literally.
3. See 25.
4. c.10 June 307.



5. Athens' loss of her naval supremacy (see **28**) turned the question of the corn supply into a critical issue (cf. **55** n. 8).
6. Similarly the oracle of Apollo near Miletus addressed Seleucus as king in advance of the assumption of the royal title by the Successors (**36**; cf. **44**, **57** ch. 54 and Hornblower (1981), 170 n. 276).
7. Antigonus and Demetrius are only called 'Saviours' in Attic inscriptions, not 'Saviour Gods'; cf. Mikalson (1998), 80. For divine honours to rulers see **39**.
8. There is no confirmation from inscriptions that the new 'priest of the Saviours' ever replaced the traditional eponymous archonship as Plutarch states.
9. Every four years at the Great Panathenaea a robe was offered to Athena (**54**, **55**).
10. This honour was offered to Demetrius on a later occasion, in 304/3; cf. Mikalson (1998), 86.
11. See also **232**; R. L. Pounder, *Hesperia* 47 (1978), 52f. On Demetrius and Athens see further **43**, **54**, **55**. For other royal receptions cf. **232**, **266**, **276**.

### 43 The 'ithyphallic hymn' in honour of Demetrius (291)

Although belonging to a later context (Demetrius' return from Corcyra to Athens in 291) the 'ithyphallic hymn' in his honour may be placed side by side with the honours mentioned in **42** as giving remarkably explicit evidence on the psychology of ruler worship. It should be noted that only in Athens is there any evidence of opposition to the worship of rulers at this time, and that this opposition was not based on religious grounds (contrast the arguments in **12**) but was the result of political rivalries (the Athenian Demochares was an opponent of Demetrius and of his supporters in Athens, and Duris of Samos was hostile to the Antigonids). For a different Athenian view of their traditional civic religion contrast **54**, **55**. See Ehrenberg (1946), 179–98; Habicht (1997), 92–4; Mikalson (1998), 94–7.

What then is surprising about the fact that the Athenians, the flatterers of flatterers, sang paeans and processional odes in honour of Demetrius himself? For instance Demochares writes in Book 21 of his *History* (*FGrH* 75 F 2): 'When Demetrius returned from Leucas and Corcyra to Athens, the Athenians welcomed him not just with incense, crowns and libations of wine; he was even met by processional choruses and ithyphallic<sup>1</sup> hymns accompanied by song and dance. As they took their places in the crowds they sang and danced, chanting that he was the only true god, that the other gods were asleep or away or did not exist, that he was descended from Poseidon and Aphrodite, that he was surpassingly beautiful and courteous in his kindness to everyone. They would address supplications to him, he says, and would offer him prayers.' So much from Demochares on the flattery of the Athenians. Duris of Samos in Book 22 of his *Histories* (*FGrH* 76 F 13) quotes the actual ithyphallic hymn:

‘How the greatest and dearest of the gods have come to the city! For the hour has brought together Demeter and Demetrius; she comes to celebrate the solemn mysteries of her Daughter (Persephone),<sup>2</sup> while he is here full of joy, as befits the god, fair and laughing. His appearance is majestic, his friends all around him and he in their midst, as though they were the stars and he the sun. Hail son of the most powerful god Poseidon and of Aphrodite!<sup>3</sup> For the other gods are either far away, or they do not have ears, or they do not exist, or do not take any notice of us, but you we can see present here; you are not made of wood or stone, you are real. And so we pray to you: first bring us peace, dearest one; for you have the power. And then, the Sphinx that rules not only over Thebes but over the whole of Greece, that Aetolian sphinx sitting on a rock like the ancient one, who seizes and carries away all our people, and I have no defence against her (for it is an Aetolian habit to seize the property of neighbours and now even what is far afield).<sup>4</sup> Most of all punish her yourself; if not find an Oedipus who will either hurl down that sphinx from the rocks or reduce her to ashes.’

Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* VI.253b–f; Burstein 7

1. So called because the metre is that used in the popular songs of the phallus-bearers in the Dionysiac processions.
2. The Eleusinian Mysteries.
3. ‘Poseidon’ conveys a reference to Demetrius’ maritime ambitions, ‘Aphrodite’ to his amorous exploits. Coins of Demetrius show the god Poseidon on the reverse; cf. Plate 1.4.
4. A reference to Aetolian privateering which was a feature of the third century; cf. Ros-tovtzeff I (1941), 196, 198f. and 1361 n. 14 and **64, 106**.

#### 44 The Successors assume the royal title (306–304)

The assumption of the royal title by Alexander’s Successors marked an important stage in the fragmentation of his empire (for Alexander’s practice cf. **6** n. 1, **7** n. 10). With the disappearance of the legitimate descendants of the royal house of Macedon (**1** §§18 and 19, **35, 37**) the Successors were free to usurp a title that had once been the privilege of the Argead dynasty. The initiative taken by Antigonos and Demetrius may have implied a claim to succeed to the whole heritage of Alexander, and on a dynastic basis (though cf. R. M. Errington, *JHS* 95 (1975), 250f.; Gruen, *op. cit.* below); the Antigonid dynasty subsequently maintained its claim to be related to the Argeads (C. F. Edson, *HSCP* 45 (1934), 213–46), and Demetrius denied the title of ‘king’ to his rivals (Plutarch, *Demetrius* 25.3–5). The response of Ptolemy and the others implied by contrast a refusal to recognise any authority other than their own over any territories they were able to control, and there were no

limits to their ambitions save those arising from the circumstances of the moment.

Yet the significance of the event, and the change in the behaviour of the Successors which is alleged to have resulted, may not be as great as Plutarch suggests. The Successors had long been behaving as individual rulers, concluding treaties (37), founding cities in their own name (48), receiving divine honours from Greek cities (39), and had even on occasion been unofficially addressed as kings by Greeks and in the east (42 and n. 6). Seleucus I reckoned his 'era' as from 312/311 (57 n. 5). The royal proclamations of 306–304 merely consecrated the existing state of affairs.

The precise timing of the proclamations is important. Antigonus and Demetrius took on the royal title after Demetrius' victory over Ptolemy in Cyprus in 306, and despite Plutarch, Ptolemy seems to have delayed his assumption of the title till he had performed a comparable military feat by defeating Antigonus' and Demetrius' invasion of Egypt in 305 (cf. Samuel (1962), 4–11). For this conception of monarchy based on individual merit and military achievements see 37 n. 4, 45, 59 (a), 187, 233, 255 n. 5; M. M. Austin, *CQ* 36 (1986), 450–66. The precise circumstances of the assumption of the title by the other Successors (and also Agathocles in Sicily, 33) are not known.

See E. Will in *CAH* VII.1<sup>2</sup> (1984), 57f.; E. S. Gruen in Eadie and Ober (1985), 253–71; Bosworth (2002), 246–78; D. Braund in Erskine (2003), 29f.

The multitude then for the first time proclaimed Antigonus and Demetrius kings. Antigonus' friends tied at once a diadem<sup>1</sup> round his head, while Demetrius was sent a diadem by his father and addressed as king in a letter he wrote. When the news was reported, Ptolemy's followers in Egypt also proclaimed Ptolemy king, to dispel any impression that his defeat had humbled his pride. And so emulation spread the practice like a contagion among the Successors: Lysimachus began to wear the diadem, and so too Seleucus in his dealings with the Greeks (with the barbarians he had already been behaving as a king).<sup>2</sup> Cassander, however, although the others wrote to him and addressed him as king, continued to write letters in the same style as before, with his name only but no title.<sup>3</sup> Now this practice did not involve merely the addition of a title and a change of fashion; it stimulated the men's pride and raised their ambitions, and made them arrogant and obnoxious in their style of living and in their dealings with others. It is the same as with tragic actors who change their step, their voice, their posture at table and their way of addressing others when they put on their costumes. They became harsher in their judicial verdicts and no longer concealed their power, which had often in the past made them more lenient and gentle with their subjects. Such was the

power of a single word spoken by a flatterer, and so great was the revolution it brought about in the world.<sup>4</sup>

Plutarch, *Demetrius* 18

1. A plain head band, symbol of royalty, regularly shown on the coins of Hellenistic kings (contrast Agathocles, **33**); cf. Plates 1, 3, 4. It is often believed to have been adopted by Alexander from Persian practice (thus explicitly Diodorus XVII.77.5; Quintus Curtius VI.6.4; Justin XII.3.8), though cf. Smith (1988), 34–8; E. A. Fredericksmeier, *TAPA* 127 (1997), 97–109. Cf. **18** ch. 9, **24**, **71**, **159** §8, **180**, **181**, **208**, **276**, **282**, **286**.
2. But not formally recognised as king by them till 305/4; cf. **158**.
3. This statement cannot be tested from the available evidence; cf. R. M. Errington, *JHS* 94 (1974), 25.
4. See also **57** ch. 54.

## 45 The ideology of Hellenistic monarchy

A brief entry under the heading of ‘monarchy’ from the Byzantine compilation known as ‘the Suda’, which emphasises correctly individual merit and military ability as the basis of the new monarchies (**44**). The ultimate source of the passage is unknown. See Rostovtzeff III (1941), 1346 n. 24.

Monarchy. It is neither descent<sup>1</sup> nor legitimacy<sup>2</sup> which gives monarchies to men, but the ability to command an army and to handle affairs competently. Such was the case with Philip and the Successors of Alexander. For Alexander’s natural son was in no way helped by his kinship with him, because of his weakness of spirit, while those who had no connection with Alexander became kings of almost the whole inhabited world.

Suda s.v. *Basileia* (2)

1. Literally ‘nature’.
2. Literally ‘justice’.

## 46 The doctrines of Euhemerus of Messene on the gods and royalty

Striking evidence for the climate of ideas of the age of the Successors comes from the following quotation from the *Sacred Record* of Euhemerus of Messene, a friend of King Cassander (the original work has not survived; see *FGrH* 63). Cast in the form of a travel novel (fictitious, though taken literally by Diodorus), Euhemerus’ work put forward the view that the gods are in reality rulers of the past who were deified for their achievements on earth. The parallel with the

contemporary Hellenistic kings is inescapable (see 39, 44). See Fraser I (1972), 289–95 and notes.

Concerning the gods, then, men of ancient times have handed down to later generations two different conceptions. Some, they say, are eternal and indestructible, such as the sun, the moon and the other stars in the heavens, and also the winds and all other bodies which have the same nature as these. For each of these is everlasting in genesis and duration. Other gods, they say, were earthly beings who achieved immortal honour and fame through their benefactions to mankind, such as Heracles, Dionysus, Aristaeus, and others like them. Historians and mythographers have handed down many varied stories about the earthly gods; of the historians, Euhemerus the author of the *Sacred Record* has written a separate account of them [ . . . ] Euhemerus, then, was a friend of King Cassander, and so had to carry out a number of royal missions and undertake long journeys abroad. He says he travelled south to the ocean; starting from Arabia Felix he sailed for many days through the ocean, and came to islands in the sea. One of these was called Panchaea; there he saw the Panchaeans who inhabit the island, men of great piety who honour the gods with the most lavish sacrifices and remarkable dedications of silver and gold. The island is sacred to the gods, and there are many other objects in it remarkable for their antiquity and the excellence of their craftsmanship; of these we have written severally in previous books.<sup>1</sup> There is in the island, on a very lofty hill, a temple of Zeus Triphylus, founded by himself at the time when he was still among men and was king over the whole world. In this temple there is a golden stele on which are inscribed in Panchaeian characters the main achievements of Uranus, Cronus and Zeus. Euhemerus then says that Uranus was the first king, an honourable man, beneficent and versed in the movement of the stars and who was the first to honour the heavenly gods with sacrifices; that is why he was called Uranus.<sup>2</sup> By his wife Hestia he had two sons Titan and Cronus, and two daughters Rhea and Demeter. After Uranus Cronus was king; he married Rhea and had as children Zeus, Hera and Poseidon. Zeus succeeded Cronus in the monarchy and married Hera, Demeter and Themis; his children by the first wife were the Curetes, Persephone by the second and Athena by the third. He then went to Babylon and was entertained by Belus, and afterwards came to the island of Panchaea which lies in the ocean and founded an altar of Uranus, his own ancestor. From there he traversed Syria and came to Casius, who ruled there at the time and gave his name to Mt Casius. He then went to Cilicia and defeated in war Cilix the governor, visited many other peoples and was honoured by all of them and proclaimed a god.

Diodorus VI.1.2–10

1. V.41–6.
2. Ouranos in Greek = heaven.

## 47 Demetrius and the siege of Rhodes (305/4)

Although eventually unsuccessful, Demetrius' siege of Rhodes in 305/4 made a powerful impression on contemporaries (cf. 1 §23) as a grandiose demonstration of the military inventiveness which earned Demetrius the nickname of Poliorcetes (the Besieger), even though he had actually failed to capture the island. It also provided a flagrant contradiction of the policy of championing the 'freedom of the Greeks' which father and son had long claimed to be pursuing (35 and Diodorus XX.93.7). Diodorus' description of Rhodian policy applies to the Hellenistic period as a whole (down to 167) rather than to the years before 305/4. On Rhodes see also 98, 110–13. On Rhodes under Alexander and the Successors, cf. H. Hauben, *Historia* 26 (1977), 307–39; on the siege, Marsden (1969), 105–8; Hornblower (1981), 30–2, 56–60, 274–6, 280f.; I. Pimouguet-Pédarros, *REA* 105 (2003), 371–92; on Rhodes and Egypt, Fraser I (1972), 162–9.

(a) After this year Euxenippus became archon at Athens (305/4), and Lucius Postumius and Tiberius Minucius consuls at Rome. During their year of office war broke out between the Rhodians and Antigonos for more or less the following reasons. The city of Rhodes had a powerful navy and enjoyed the finest government in Greece, and so was an object of competition between the dynasts and kings, as each sought to win it over to his friendship.<sup>1</sup> Seeing ahead where its advantage lay, it concluded friendship with each of the protagonists separately and took no part in the wars the dynasts fought against each other. And so it happened that it was honoured by each of them with royal presents, and prospered greatly by remaining at peace for a long time. It had reached such a peak of power that it took up on its own, on behalf of the Greeks, the war against the pirates and cleared the sea of that scourge.<sup>2</sup> Alexander, the most powerful man in human memory, honoured it above all cities, deposited there his will concerning the whole kingdom,<sup>3</sup> and in general admired it and enhanced its pre-eminence. The Rhodians, then, by establishing friendship with all the dynasts, kept themselves immune from any justifiable complaint, but their sympathies inclined most towards Ptolemy. For it so happened that they derived the majority of their revenues from the merchants sailing to Egypt and that in general their city was sustained by that kingdom.

Diodorus XX.81

(b) The Rhodians, then, brought the war to a close after a siege of one year. They honoured with appropriate presents those who had shown bravery in

the face of danger and conferred freedom and citizenship on the slaves who had displayed courage. They also set up statues of King Cassander and King Lysimachus, who although they held second place in the general estimation had yet made a great contribution to the salvation of the city.<sup>4</sup> But as for Ptolemy, they wished to repay his favour with an even greater one, and sent sacred ambassadors to Libya (Africa) to ask the oracle of Ammon<sup>5</sup> whether he advised the Rhodians to honour Ptolemy as a god. When the oracle had given its assent they consecrated a square enclosure in the city, which they called the Ptolemaeum, and constructed on each of its sides a stoa one stade long. They also rebuilt the theatre, the parts of the wall that had collapsed and the other buildings that had been destroyed, all far more beautifully than before.

Diodorus XX.100.1–4

1. Rhodes also enjoyed a strategic position on the sea route to the Levant.
2. See further **104**, **110**.
3. This is pure fiction; Alexander left no will. See Hauben, *op. cit.*, 311–16; Bosworth in Bosworth and Baynham (2000), 207–41.
4. Note the absence of Seleucus, at the time campaigning in eastern Asia (57).
5. See **9**; on the worship of rulers see **39** (general), **256** (Ptolemies).

#### 48 Two letters of Antigonus to Teos concerning the projected synoecism with Lebedus (c.303)

The foundation or resettlement of Greek cities by Hellenistic rulers was a characteristic feature of the age and represented a continuation on a larger scale by Alexander's Successors of the precedents he had set (**8**, **21**, **22**). So did the practice of giving such foundations dynastic names. One procedure commonly followed was that of 'synoecism', whereby two or more communities were made to merge into a new and larger state (cf. also **148**, **153**, **154**, **174** II; on the process as a whole cf. G. Reger in Colvin (2004), 145–80). The following two letters addressed by Antigonus to the people of Teos give much the most vivid evidence available of what such a synoecism involved in practical, legal, and human terms for the communities concerned, and also show the complex questions of detail the ruler had to attend to. Lebedus, the smaller city, was to be abandoned altogether, but it was not clear whether the site of Teos was to be moved further west or remain as at present. The letters do not make clear whence came the initiative for the projected synoecism, and outwardly Antigonus pretends to be merely providing advice in answer to delegations sent by the two cities. Yet it seems clear that the plan was that of Antigonus himself, imposed on the reluctant communities, and in fact the synoecism if carried

out was soon nullified by the defeat and death of Antigonus at Ipsus in 301. However, the people of Lebedus were later moved by Lysimachus to Ephesus (56), though they became again an independent community on his defeat by Seleucus (cf. S. L. Ager, *GRBS* 39 (1998), 5–21). For other foundations or resettlements in this period and later see 1 §14, 35 (Cassandra), 1 §19, 56 (Lysimachea), 38 n. 5 (Antigonea in the Troad), 49 (Sicyon – Demetrias), 57 chs. 57–8, 58, 160, 161, 186, 190, 195, 201, 215 (Seleucids), 272, 293 (Ptolemies). See Rostovtzeff I (1941), 155–8; Jones (1940), ch. 1; Jones (1971), *via* index; Préaux II (1978), 401–8; Cohen (1995), esp. 15–71; R. Billows in Erskine (2003), 196–215.

(a) (The beginning of the first letter is lost)

(§1) . . . [whoever is] sent to the Panionion<sup>1</sup> we thought it right [that he should perform all the] common rites for the same period of time, that he should pitch tent, take part in the festival together with [your envoys] and be called a Tean.

5 (§2) We thought it right that every one of the [Lebedians should be given] / a building site in your city equal in size to the one he has left in Lebedus. Until they are built [all] the Lebedians [should be given] accommodation without payment, if the present city is to remain, one [third of the] existing houses, but if one must destroy it, half of the existing houses [are to be left], one third of these given [to the Lebedians] and you will have [the] other two thirds; and  
10 if part of the city is destroyed and [the] remaining [houses are sufficient] / to accommodate both you and the Lebedians, the [Lebedians] shall be given one third [of these]; but if the remaining houses are not sufficient to accommodate both you [and the Lebedians], enough [houses] should be left of those due for destruction, [and when] enough houses [have been completed] in the newly  
15 built city, the [remaining] houses [which] lie outside the perimeter of the city should be destroyed. [All the Lebedians] shall build / houses on their plots within three years; if not, the [plots] shall become public property. [We thought it] right that the roofs of the houses should be given to the Lebedians [to speed up the construction] of the houses, one quarter every [year over] a period of four [years].

(§3) [We thought it] right that a place should be assigned to the Lebedians for the burial [of their dead].

20 (§4) [Whatever sums are] owed by the city of Lebedus [with interest] should be met [every year] from the common [revenues]. / [These] debts [should be taken over] by your city on the same conditions as the [Lebedians].

(§5) Concerning all those who are *proxenoi*<sup>2</sup> of the city of Lebedus or benefactors (*euergetai*) or have received from the Lebedians [citizenship] or some other grant or honour, [they shall enjoy the same privileges in your] city,



and shall be inscribed within one year in the same place where your *proxenoi* [and benefactors are] inscribed.

(§6) As to any lawsuits and contracts [which exist between members of] 25  
 your two communities and others, / they shall be settled by agreement or by  
 trial [according to the] laws [of each state] and our edict within two years of  
 the [issuing of that edict (?)]. As to those suits (you) have against the Lebedians  
 or the Lebedians have [against you, you should both make] an agreement and  
 set it down in writing (?), and should there be any [objection against the] 30  
 agreement, it shall be decided on by the umpire city within six months; the  
 umpire [city is to be] Mytilene [as] / agreed by both of you. [We think it  
 right] that the drafters of the agreement should write up the other provisions 35  
 [according to] their own judgement. But since we hear there is [such a mass  
 of] contracts and accusations that if one were [to settle them according to] the  
 [law, even without] any interruption, no one would be able to wait for the  
 outcome – for up till [now it does not appear that any progress has been made]  
 with these matters nor that the agreements have been executed, as contracts in 40  
 your city [have not been decided upon for a long time] / – and if interests go  
 on adding up [year after year, no one] will be able to pay.<sup>3</sup> We think it right  
 that if [the debtors pay] of their own accord, the drafters of the agreement  
 should lay down that they will not [repay] more than twice the value [of the  
 original debt]; but if the debtors need to be taken to court, they will repay  
 three times its value.

(§7) Whenever the agreement [is ratified], the lawsuits shall be filed and 40  
 decided within a year. Those who do not file a suit [or prosecute] / within the  
 prescribed period, while the courts are in session, shall not be allowed to file  
 suits or [prosecute] subsequently. [If any] of your citizens or of the Lebedians  
 is abroad during the specified period, [it shall be allowed] to serve a summons  
 [on him] at the town hall and at his house by declaring to the [magistrate . . .]  
 in the presence of two qualified witnesses.

(§8) In future you shall pay [and receive penalties according to whatever] 45  
 laws seem equitable to both your cities. [You should each appoint] / three  
 codifiers of the laws aged 40 or more and [above corruption]; let the men  
 chosen swear to draw up laws [they think are] the best and will benefit the  
 city. When they have sworn [let them draw up laws they think] fair to both  
 sides and let them present them within [six months; and let] any one else  
 who wishes draft a law and introduce it; of the laws [that are introduced,  
 all those] / which are agreed on and ratified by the people should be put 50  
 into practice, [but all those which meet with objections] should be referred  
 to us, so that we may either decide on them ourselves [or appoint a city]  
 to give a decision; the [laws] that have been agreed on (by you) should be  
 sent to me, and it should be made clear which laws were introduced by the

codifiers of the laws and which laws [were drawn up by others, so that] if  
it is clear that some of the codifiers have not provided the best laws but  
55 [some which are unsuitable] we shall censure and punish [them];<sup>4</sup> / all this  
should be carried out within one year. [Until such time as the complete code  
of] laws was drawn up, your envoys thought it right [that you should use]  
your own [laws, while the envoys] of the Lebedians requested to send for  
laws from another city [and to use them; and since we] think it more just  
to send for [laws] from another city, [and instructed both] sides to declare  
60 the city whose laws they wished to use, and both sides [agreed] / to use the  
laws of Cos,<sup>5</sup> we decided accordingly, and [invited] the [people of Cos] to  
give you a text of their laws to copy. We think it [right] that three men  
should be [appointed] immediately as soon as [this] answer is read out, and  
be [sent to Cos within] three [days] to take a copy of the laws, and that  
these envoys should [bring back the] laws bearing the seal of the people  
of Cos within [thirty] days; and that [when] the laws [have been brought  
65 back] / you and the Lebedians should appoint the magistrates [within] ten  
[days].

(§9) As to those who have performed the *choregia* or the trierarchy or  
another [liturgy<sup>6</sup> in either] city, we think it right that they should no longer  
[be liable to the same liturgy]. The envoys of the Lebedians also [requested]  
that they should in addition be exempted for some time [from the liturgies  
while] the synoecism is being carried out; we think it right that if you all  
70 [remain in the old] city, / the Lebedians should be exempted from liturgies for  
three years; [and that if some of you] move to the peninsula, they too should  
be exempted [for the same period, but that all of you whose] houses are not  
demolished (?) should assume the liturgies.

(§10) The envoys of the [Lebedians] also said [it was necessary] to set aside  
from the revenues a sum of [fourteen] hundred gold staters [for] the supply  
of [corn, so that] anyone who wished could take this money against security  
75 [and import corn to / the] city and sell it whenever he wished for a period  
of one year, and after [the end of the year] should pay back to the city the  
money, the capital sum and the interest at [the rate fixed for the loan. And  
when they particularly requested] that we should now make this provision, so  
that there would be [a sufficient supply of corn in the city] – for you could  
not grow enough – your envoys also thought it right [that this should be  
done, and requested] that a larger sum be fixed when the synoecism [was in  
80 progress and there were more of you] / gathered together in the same place.  
Now previously we were [unwilling] that [any] city should be given the right  
to import corn and that stocks of corn should be built up, [as we did not  
wish the] cities to spend unnecessarily large sums of money for this purpose;  
[we were still reluctant] to do this now, as the tributary [territory]<sup>7</sup> is near by

[so that if there] is [need] for corn, we believe it is easy to fetch [as much] as one wishes from [it]. / Our concern on this matter [was prompted by the wish to assist] the [cities], since you [know] like every one else that [we gain] no private profit from the matter, and the instructions we give [seek to] free the cities from their debts. For in the belief [that in so far as it lies within our power] we have made [you] free and autonomous in other respects,<sup>8</sup> [we thought] we ought to give some care to [this matter], / so as to relieve you as quickly as possible. [But since] the proposals on the corn supply [seem useful], so that nothing [should be omitted which is just and] advantageous [to the] people, we think it right that the [corn supply] should be organised as the envoys of the Lebedians said, and [think that the sum] made available against security should be fixed at a maximum of [fourteen hundred] gold staters. 85 90

(§11) (We think it right) that the import and export of all [corn] / be declared [in the stoa in the agora] so that if some (dealers) do not find it profitable to bring (the corn) to the [agora and thence to] export it again, it shall be permitted to them to export it after paying the tax on [goods declared in the agora]. As to all the villages and farmhouses which lie outside [your city], we think it right that each man be instructed to register [the quantity of crops] / he wishes to export from the countryside, and after making his declaration [to the *agoranomos*<sup>9</sup> and] paying [the] taxes, to export them. 95 100

(§12) Your envoys [and those from the Lebedians] requested that three men should be appointed on each side to draw up [any proposals that may still have been omitted] which would help the synoecism. [It seems to us useful] that the men should be appointed within thirty days [of the] reading out [of this answer], / and that the men chosen should draw up any proposal that may have been omitted [by us]. Of the proposals made, those [agreed on] by both sides [shall be valid], while disputed ones should be referred to us within the next two [months, so that] we may hear [both sides] and give our decision according to what we believe [to be advantageous to] both. 105 110

(b) King Antigonus to the council and people of Teos, greetings. When we [previously considered] / the quickest ways of completing the synoecism, we could not see where you would find the money [you need] in order to [give] the Lebedians the price of their [houses without delay], because of the [long time] it takes for you to get the income from your revenues; [we received] your envoys and those from the Lebedians and asked [them whether they could show] us any source of revenue, and they said they had none apart from the (usual) taxes; [we examined their views] / and find that among you only the wealthiest always have to make advance contributions;<sup>10</sup> [we therefore think it right] that 'the wealthiest' should be reckoned as numbering 600, 110 115

[and that these . . .] should make advance contributions in proportion to their property, so as to raise quickly one quarter of the price (of the houses) [for the Lebedians], and that repayment be made to these men in priority from the revenues [of the city] after the lapse of one [year], all income being earmarked for that purpose.<sup>11</sup> The men who are to conduct the assessors [of the houses, and the men] / who are to take a copy of the laws of Cos should be appointed as soon as the abrogation (?) [takes place (?)]<sup>12</sup> and should be] despatched within five days of their appointment, and the men [sent] to copy the laws should bring them back from Cos within the number of days specified in our [answer; the men] sent [to fetch] the assessors should bring them back as quickly as possible. [We think it right . . .] that a count of the houses in your city which are to be given to the Lebedians for [residence] should be carried out [within] fifteen [days] / of the reading of this answer, and that the men who are to carry out the count [of the houses and hand them] to their occupants should be elected by each [tribe] at the next meeting of the assembly.

*RC* 3–4; *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 344 (cf. *SEG* 15.717); Ager (1996), no. 13 pp. 61–4; *BD* 7

1. The meeting place for the religious celebrations of the league of Ionian cities in Asia Minor; cf. **149** §1. On the Ionian League cf. **169**, **239**.
2. An honorific title bestowed by a city on a member of another city, and which made him into an official local representative of the interests of the city which honoured him; cf. Walbank (1981), 148f.
3. It was not infrequent for the activity of the courts in Greek cities to come to a virtual standstill; this could provoke royal intervention (cf. **155**). On indebtedness cf. **102** n. 3
4. A clear indication of how the ‘advice’ of Antigonus was meant to be taken. Cf. Alexander and Chios, **6**.
5. Cf. **60**, **153**; Sherwin-White (1978), ch. 5.
6. ‘Liturgies’ were a form of honorific taxation whereby the wealthier members of Greek cities were required to undertake certain civic duties which involved financial outlay, such as the training of a chorus for a dramatic festival (*choregia*) or the maintenance of a trireme (trierarchy). Cf. **117**, **149**.
7. i.e. crown land; Antigonus thus had a vested interest in the corn trade and his claim to be disinterested was open to doubt. He also had additional leverage with Greek cities frequently in difficulties over their corn supply (cf. **130**); compare the case of Samothrace, **269** and n. 6.
8. See **35**; Antigonus evidently did not regard his dealings with Teos and Lebedus as contradicting that claim.
9. Cf. **125** n. 3.
10. Cf. **149** §4.
11. Cf. **115** n. 9.
12. Possibly a mistake by the stonemason for ‘this answer [is read]’.

## 49 Demetrius and the refounding of Sicyon (302)

See Griffin (1982), 5–7, 23f., 78f.

The city of Sicyon was garrisoned by the soldiers of King Ptolemy, and their most illustrious general was Philip. Demetrius made a surprise attack by night and forced his way inside the fortifications. The garrison troops then took refuge in the acropolis, while Demetrius after making himself master of the city occupied the area between the private dwellings and the citadel. He was on the point of bringing forward siege engines<sup>1</sup> when the panic-stricken troops surrendered the acropolis by agreement and sailed back to Egypt. Demetrius moved the Sicyonians to the acropolis and razed the part of the city which adjoined the harbour, as it was strategically a very weak spot.<sup>2</sup> He joined with the body of citizens in the construction work and restored them their freedom,<sup>3</sup> for which benefaction they granted him godlike honours.<sup>4</sup> They called the city Demetrias, voted to celebrate every year sacrifices, festivals and also competitions in his honour and to grant him the other honours of a founder. The passage of time and changing circumstances have obliterated these honours, but the Sicyonians, having moved to a much better site, have continued to inhabit it up to our time.<sup>5</sup> For the area contained by the acropolis is level and spacious and surrounded on all sides by cliffs that are difficult to approach, which makes it impossible to bring forward siege engines at any point. It also has an abundance of springs which has enabled the Sicyonians to lay out numerous gardens. In this way the correctness of the king's foresight has been demonstrated both as regards the enjoyment of peaceful conditions and as regards protection in time of war.

Diodorus XX.102.2–4

1. On Demetrius the 'Besieger' see 47.
2. On such resettlements see 48.
3. See 35.
4. See 39.
5. Contrast the failure of 48. The name Demetrias however was not preserved.

## 50 The Hellenic League of 302

'And when a common council of the Greeks met at the Isthmus of Corinth and a large crowd was gathered together, Demetrius was proclaimed Leader (*hegemon*) of the Greeks as Philip and Alexander before' (Plutarch, *Demetrius* 25.2). This is the only explicit reference in the surviving literary evidence to the foundation by Antigonus and Demetrius of a league of mainland Greek states headed by

themselves, on which inscriptions have shed important though fragmentary light. The charter of the League is partially preserved on many fragments of a large inscription from Epidaurus, the best-preserved part of which is translated here, and the activities of one of the presidents of the League, Adimantus of Lampsacus, are illustrated by several texts (L. Robert, *Hellenica* 2 (1946), 15–33).

The foundation of the League may have been planned by Antigonus and Demetrius as early as 307 (cf. Diodorus XX.46.5), but it was only after Demetrius' successes against Cassander on the Greek mainland in 304 and 303 that conditions became favourable for the attempt. The League was a revival of that founded by Philip of Macedon in 337 (*Saatsv.* III.403; cf. **3, 6, 7, 19**), and was intended to be permanent (lines 140–2 of the Epidaurus inscription). Its aims and chances of development have been variously estimated; while some have seen in it a genuine attempt at founding a 'United States of Greece', others have interpreted it as a convenient constitutional instrument devised by the two kings to gain the moral and material support of the Greeks (see **35**) in their struggle against Cassander in Macedon. The charter of the League makes clear that so long as that struggle was in progress, the kings would control League policy; how the League might have worked in peacetime never came to the test. The disaster at Ipsus in 301 and the death of Antigonus (**54**) consigned the League to irrelevance, forgotten and never revived by Demetrius and the Greeks alike. For the very different Hellenic League of Antigonus Dason, see **72**. For the League of Islanders cf. **256**. See R. H. Simpson, *Historia* 8 (1959), 396–8.

- 61 . . . and it shall not be permissible [to exercise reprisals against] ambassadors  
[coming from the Greeks? to] the councillors, [nor] against ambassadors [sent  
by the] councillors, nor against men sent out on a [military expedition] in the  
common interest [nor against men starting off] on their respective errands,  
nor against men [travelling] back to [their own cities?], nor to kidnap anyone  
65 nor to seize anyone as a security / [for any] reason. If [anyone does this, let the]  
magistrates in each city prevent this and let the [councillors pass judgement?].  
The councillors shall meet in peacetime [during the sacred competitions?], and  
in wartime whenever it seems expedient to the councillors (?)<sup>1</sup> and [the general]  
left in charge by the kings for the common defence. The council shall be in  
70 session for as many days as the presidents / of the council announce. Until the  
common war is brought [to a close],<sup>2</sup> meetings of the council shall take place  
wherever the presidents and the king<sup>3</sup> or the general appointed by the kings  
announce; but when peace is established, wherever the crowned competitions<sup>4</sup>  
are celebrated. The decisions of the councillors shall have [the force of law];  
they shall transact business when over half of them are present, but not if less  
75 than half attend the meeting. / Concerning decisions reached in the council,

the cities shall not be allowed to call to account the councillors they have sent. There shall be five presidents chosen by lot from among the councillors, when the war [has been brought to an end]. No more than one president shall be chosen by lot from any single people or city. The presidents shall [summon] the councillors [and the] secretaries of the treasury (?)<sup>5</sup> [and the] / 80 assistants, and lay before (the council) the matters for deliberation and [hand over the] resolutions to the secretaries, keeping for themselves [legible?] copies, and they shall introduce [all?] the lawsuits (?) and take care [that business is transacted in every way as required?], and shall have authority to punish anyone who causes a disturbance. [Anyone who] wishes [to put forward] anything of advantage to the kings and [the Greeks], or to denounce men acting against interests / of the allies [or] refusing to comply with resolutions passed, or to 85 communicate any other business to the [councillors], shall register with the presidents, and they shall lay the matter before the councillors. The presidents chosen by lot shall [render] accounts for their actions. [Anyone who] wishes to lay a written charge against [them] shall do so before the next presidents chosen by lot. [When they have received] it they shall introduce it / before the 90 [councillors] at the first session which takes place [after their<sup>6</sup> period in office]. Until the common war has been brought to a close [the] representatives of the kings shall [always] exercise the presidency.<sup>7</sup> If any city does not send the councillors to meetings according to the [agreement], it shall pay a fine of two [drachmas] a day for [each] of [these] until the councillors are dismissed unless [a councillor] declares on oath that he has been ill. / And if a city does 95 not send whatever [military contingent] it is instructed to provide it shall [pay a fine] every day of half a mina [for every] cavalryman, 20 drachmas for [every] hoplite, 10 drachmas for every [light armed] soldier and [ten?] for every sailor, until [the expiry of] the period of military service for all the other [Greeks . . .].

*Staatsv.* III.446, lines 61–99; Harding (1985),  
no. 138; BD 8

1. Probably a stonemason's error for 'presidents'
2. The war against Cassander.
3. Possibly a mistake for 'kings', though this may be a deliberate reference to Demetrius with whom the mainland Greeks had all their dealings.
4. Cf. **138** n. 14.
5. Text and meaning uncertain.
6. i.e. the previous presidents.
7. The League therefore never had its own presidents.

## 51 Decree of Miletus in honour of Apama (299/8)

The following decree neatly illustrates the interaction and convergence of interests between a king (Seleucus I) and an important city (Miletus), through the intermediary of one of its leading citizens (Demodamas), who promoted the interests of the monarchy as well as his own both within his home city and outside it. For other examples in this period cf. 54 (Athens, Lysimachus, and Philippides), 55 (Athens, Ptolemy I, and Callias of Sphettus). For this text and its significance cf. Sherwin-White and Kuhrt (1993), 25–7; Shipley (2000), 284 & 306f.

Resolved by the council and the people, Lycus son of Apollodotus [moved]; concerning the proposal submitted to the council by Demodamas<sup>1</sup> son of [Aristeides], that Apama,<sup>2</sup> wife of King Seleucus, should be honoured, resolved  
5 by the council and the people: since Queen Apama / has previously displayed all goodwill and [zeal] for those Milesians who served in the army [with] King Seleucus,<sup>3</sup> and now when [the] ambassadors came [into her presence], whom [King] Seleucus had summoned [from us], she [manifested] no ordinary devo-  
10 tion concerning the construction of the temple of [Apollo] at [Didyma],<sup>4</sup> / and Antiochus [her son], zealously following the policy of his father Seleucus<sup>5</sup> [over the] sanctuary [at Didyma has announced] that he would build [a stoa as quickly as possible in the city] . . . for the god, so that [there might be regular] revenues [from it and that] the sanctuary might be adorned;<sup>6</sup> [resolved by the  
15 Milesians: so that] all [may know] / that the people [of Miletus continues to show appropriate care for the benefactors of the people . . . and the assessors (*anataktai*) in office after Athenaeus] is crown-bearer (*stephanephoros*) of Apollo  
20 [should set aside . . . the money for the] statue from all the sources of revenue. / This decree is to be inscribed on a stone stele [and placed] in the sanctuary of Artemis at Didyma. The commissioners for walls (*teichopoioi*) shall auction the stele and its engraving without exceeding the permitted costs. The treasurers shall provide the cost / from the funds earmarked for decrees. This decree  
25 shall also be inscribed on a whitened board. Commissioners for the [statue]: Demodamas son of Aristeides, Lycus son of Apollodotus, Aristophon son of Minnion.

Holleaux, *Études* III (1942), 110;  
slightly different text in *IDidyma* 480

1. Demodamas also proposed in the same year a decree in honour of Antiochus son of Seleucus (*OGIS* 213; *IDidyma* 479; Burstein 2). He was active in the far east in the service of Seleucus and Antiochus (cf. 57 n. 16), crossed the Jaxartes and set up altars to Apollo of Didyma (Pliny *NH* VI.49; cf. L. Robert, *BCH* 108 (1984), 467–72), and wrote an account of his explorations, now lost (*FGrH* 428; cf. Austin (2001), 96f.).



2. Married by Seleucus in 324 at the time of the mass marriages organised by Alexander (17 n. 2). For her public role in support of Seleucus compare Laodice and Antiochus III (191, 198, 200).
3. A reference to the campaign which led to the battle of Ipsus (54 n. 5).
4. Seleucid interest in western Asia Minor predates its acquisition following the defeat of Lysimachus (159). Cf. already 36 for the Seleucid connection with Miletus and Apollo, and generally 175; Dignas (2002), 40–3.
5. Compare Antiochus and his father Antiochus III, 189 (b).
6. Civic pride and material advantage go hand in hand. For the stoa cf. 138 n. 9.

## 52 Demetrius and the Macedonians

After the death of Cassander in 297, dissension between his two young sons enabled Demetrius to establish himself in Macedon in 294 and secure recognition as king (cf. 56 ch. 10). But unlike many of his older Macedonian rivals (Cassander, Ptolemy, Seleucus, Lysimachus), Demetrius (b. 336) was brought up outside Macedon and lacked direct experience of the country; his style of behaviour eventually alienated the Macedonians and cost him the throne of Macedon in 287 (cf. 54 n. 5 on his career after Ipsus). While the following passage illustrates the difficulties caused in Macedon by Demetrius' behaviour, it also has wider implications for royal ideology: a king was expected to show concern for his subjects on an individual basis, though the practical obstacles to this meant that there would always be tension between ideal and reality (cf. too 70 (a), 245, 272). Compare the saying attributed by Plutarch to Seleucus: 'Certainly monarchy, the most perfect and greatest of all political offices, has the most cares, burdens, and obligations. Seleucus, it is said, would constantly repeat that if people only realised what a great task it was just to read and write so many letters, they would not even pick up a diadem that had been discarded' (Plutarch, *Old Men in Public Affairs* ch. 11; *Moralia* 790a). For the application of this to Roman emperors cf. Millar (1977), 3–12 and *passim*. For Demetrius' period in Macedon cf. Hammond and Walbank (1988), 219–29; Bosworth (2002), 247–68.

It was not just Demetrius' theatrical style of dress that annoyed the Macedonians, for whom it was an unfamiliar experience; they took offence at his ostentatious style of living, and above all at his aloofness and unapproachability.<sup>1</sup> He would either not make himself available at all, or would behave in an unpleasant and arrogant manner towards those who had an audience with him. For instance, he kept an embassy from the Athenians waiting for two years, though he was more devoted to them than to all other Greeks,<sup>2</sup> and when a single ambassador arrived from Sparta he treated this as an insult and flew into a rage. But when he asked whether the Spartans had really sent only one ambassador, the envoy made a neat and concise reply: 'Yes, one ambassador

to one king'. One day (when) he was riding about, conveying the impression of being more approachable and prepared to listen to petitioners graciously, a crowd of people gathered with written requests for him. He accepted them all and collected them in the fold of his cloak, to the delight of the crowd who followed after him. But when he reached the bridge over the river Axios, he opened his cloak and threw all the petitions into the river. This caused deep offence to the Macedonians, who felt insulted and thought they were not being ruled by a true king. They recalled the modest behaviour of Philip, who behaved like a man of the people, whether this was from their own personal recollection or from the memories of others. On one occasion an old woman kept pestering him in the street and insisted on being given a hearing, and when he replied that he did not have time, she shouted to him, 'Then stop being a king!' This stung him so much that he paused and then went back into the house. Putting off all other business in favour of those who wanted an audience he spent many days on such business, giving priority to the old woman.<sup>3</sup> [ . . . ]

Plutarch *Demetrius* 42

1. Cf. **70** n. 1.
2. Cf. **42**.
3. The same story is told of Philip II, Antipater, and the emperor Hadrian (F. Millar, *op. cit.*).

### 53 Letter of Lysimachus to Samos concerning a boundary dispute with Priene (283/2)

After the battle of Ipsus Lysimachus extended his power over western Asia Minor (cf. **54** and n. 5, and **56** for his career as a whole). His relations with Greek cities are illustrated by a wealth of evidence, especially epigraphic (Lund (1992), ch. 5). In 287 Demetrius, expelled from Macedon (**52**), made one last attempt to re-establish himself in Asia Minor (Plutarch, *Demetrius* 46). While Miletus and other Greek cities gave him temporary support, Priene remained loyal to Lysimachus and voted honours to him (*OGIS* 11–12; F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *Inscripfen von Priene* (Berlin, 1906), 14–15; both in BD 11). But Priene seems to have pressed her advantage too far (contrast Smyrna and Seleucus II, **174**). Long embroiled in a border dispute with the island of Samos over territory on the mainland, Priene appealed to Lysimachus to arbitrate (cf. **156–7** on arbitration over border disputes), but overstated her claims to the disputed territory, as the following inscription shows. Although the Samian version of the dispute is not preserved, Lysimachus clearly decided in favour of Samos, from which the inscription comes (contrast Lysimachus' attention to detail with the impatience of Demetrius in Macedon, **52**). The dispute lingered

on, and was only finally settled by a senatorial decree in 135 (*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 688). Cf. Shipley (1987), 31–7 on the Samian territory on the mainland, 54 and 181f. on the arbitration by Lysimachus; Ager (1996), no. 26 pp. 89–93; C. V. Crowther, *Chiron* 26 (1996), 222–6.

King Lysimachus to the council and people of Samos, greetings. Your envoys and those sent by the people of Priene came before us concerning the land about which they had previously argued in our presence. Had we known in advance / that you had held and used this land for so many years before we 5 would not have undertaken to hear the case at all. But as it is we assumed that your [occupation] was only of recent date; for this is how [the] envoys from Priene presented the matter in their earlier [statements]. Nevertheless, since your own [ambassadors] / and those from Priene had arrived, it was necessary 10 to listen to [what each side had to say]. The Prieneans sought to demonstrate on the evidence of history books, other testimonials and documents, including the Six Year [Truce], that the original [possession] of the land of Batinetis was theirs.<sup>1</sup> [Later] they conceded that when Lygdamis<sup>2</sup> invaded [Ionia (or: the land) / with] his army the others left the territory while [the Samians] withdrew 15 [to their] island. (According to them) after Lygdamis had held the land [for three (?) years] he returned to them the same possessions and the [Prieneans took them over], and none of the Samians was [in any way] present [unless one of them] had happened to take up residence with them; such Samians / 20 contributed to the Prieneans [the produce from the land]. Later on the Samians [returned by force] and took over the land. Bias<sup>3</sup> [was therefore sent by the] Prieneans [with full authority] to make a settlement with the [Samians. He] reconciled the cities and [the settlers departed from the] land of Batinetis. (The Prieneans) [claimed] thus that / [matters] had remained in this state in 25 former times and that until recently [they were in possession of] the land. They were now asking us in the light of the original [occupation to return to them] the land. But the [envoys] who had been sent by you [claimed that their possession] of the land of Batinetis had been handed over to them [by their ancestors]. After the [invasion] of Lygdamis / they admitted that the Samians, 30 like everyone else, [vacated the land, and withdrew to] the island. But later . . . a thousand [Samians] settled . . . (the rest of the inscription is lost)

*RC 7 (OGIS 13); Inschriften von Priene 500;*  
Burstein 12; BD 12

1. The land of Batinetis lay in the southern part of Anaia, a territory on the mainland which Samos controlled; cf. **132** and **135** and Shipley, *op. cit.*
2. King of the Cimmerians, overran western Asia Minor around the mid seventh century (Herodotus I.6, 15–16; Strabo I.3.21).

3. Bias of Priene, a wise man mentioned in Herodotus (I.27, 170), reputed later to have been one of the 'Seven Sages' about whom many stories were told (Diogenes Laertius I.82–8).

#### 54 Decree of Athens in honour of the poet Philippides (283/2)

See T. L. Shear, *Hesperia* Supplement 17 (1978), index p. 203 under *IG II<sup>2</sup>.657*; Habicht (1997), 78–82, 100f., 126, 136, 139.

In the archonship of Euthius (283/2), in the [third] prytany, of the [tribe Acamantis], for which Nausimenes son of Nausicydes of Cholargus was secretary, on the 18th of Boedromion and the 19th day of the prytany, at a principal meeting of the assembly; / Hieromnemon son of Teisimachus from Coele and the other presiding officers put to the vote; resolved by the council and the people; Niceratus son of Phileas of Cephale moved: since Philippides<sup>1</sup> has on every occasion continued to show his goodwill towards the people, and / having gone abroad to King Lysimachus and having previously discussed the matter with the king, he brought back to the people a gift of 10,000 Attic measures of wheat for distribution to all the Athenians<sup>2</sup> in the archonship of Euctemon (299/8), and also discussed the question of the mast and yard-arm,<sup>3</sup> which were / to be presented to the goddess (Athena) at the Great Panathenaea together with the robe,<sup>4</sup> and these were brought in the archonship of Euctemon; and when King Lysimachus won [the] battle at Ipsus against Antigonos [and] Demetrius,<sup>5</sup> he secured burial / at his own expense for the citizens who had perished in the [emergency], and [as to all those who] were taken prisoner he interceded with the [king and] secured their release; for those who wished to serve in the army he obtained the right to enrol [in] separate formations with their own commanders, while to those who chose to leave he provided clothes and supplies from / his own resources and sent them each to their chosen destination, more than 300 men altogether; and he also appealed for the release of all the Athenian citizens who had been placed in custody by Demetrius and Antigonos and were captured in Asia, and has constantly shown himself helpful / to any Athenian who meets him and calls on his assistance; and after the people recovered its freedom<sup>6</sup> he has constantly spoken and acted in the interests of the city's safety, and urged the king to help with money and corn, so that the people may continue / to be free and recover the Piraeus and the forts as soon as possible;<sup>7</sup> the king has frequently vouchsafed for all this to the Athenian embassies visiting him; and when he was appointed agonothete<sup>8</sup> in the archonship of Isaeus (284/3), he complied with the will / of the people voluntarily from his own funds, offered the ancestral sacrifices to the gods on behalf of the people, gave to all the

Athenians . . . for all the [contests and] was the first to provide an additional  
 contest for Demeter and Core (Persephone) as a memorial of the people's / 45  
 [liberty, and supervised] the other contests and [sacrifices on behalf of the  
 city] and for all this he spent much money from his own private resources  
 and rendered his accounts according to the laws, and he has never [said or]  
 / done anything contrary to (the interests of) the democracy. Therefore, so 50  
 that it may be manifest to all that the people knows how to return adequate  
 thanks to benefactors for the services they have performed, with good fortune,  
 be it resolved by the council, that the officers chosen by lot to preside over  
 the people, when the days prescribed by law / for the request<sup>9</sup> have passed, 55  
 should introduce these matters at the first assembly according to the law and  
 communicate to the people the decision of the council, viz. that the council  
 resolves to praise Philippides son of Philocles of Cephale for his merits and the  
 goodwill he constantly shows towards / the people of Athens, and to crown 60  
 him with a gold crown according to the law, and proclaim the crown at the  
 tragic contest of the Great Dionysia; and to set up a bronze statue of him in the  
 theatre, and to grant to him and for all time to the eldest of his descendants / 65  
 free meals in the prytaneum and a seat of honour (*proedria*) in all the contests  
 organised by the city; the making of the crown and the proclamation shall  
 be entrusted to the officials in charge of finance. The secretary of the prytany  
 shall be responsible for the engraving of this decree on a stone / stele and the 70  
 placing of it near the temple of Dionysus; the officials in charge of finance  
 shall provide 20 drachmas for the inscription of the stele from the people's  
 fund for decrees.

*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 374; IG II<sup>2</sup>.657; Burstein 11; BD 3

1. An Athenian poet of the New Comedy, friend of King Lysimachus and a wealthy benefactor of his native city (Davies (1971), 541): one example among many of the increasing dependence of Greek cities on such benefactors for economic and other assistance, as well as for mediation in their dealings with Hellenistic kings. Compare in this period Demodamas of Miletus (51) and Callias of Sphettus (55), later Boulagoras of Samos (132), and see generally 115.
2. See 55 and n. 8.
3. Part of the ship used in the procession of the Great Panathenaea.
4. Cf. 42, 55; Shear, *op. cit.*, 39–44.
5. The battle of Ipsus in Phrygia (301) was won in fact by a coalition of Lysimachus, Seleucus and Cassander (cf. 57 ch. 55, also 183). The defeat and death of Antigonus marked the end of the Antigonids' hopes of uniting Alexander's empire under their control, though Demetrius was to remain active for another decade and a half (cf. 52, 55, 56, 57 ch. 55). The Athenians, who had been first to hail Antigonus and Demetrius as kings (42), now pointedly refuse them the royal title (cf. also 55).
6. A reference to the liberation of Athens from Demetrius and the restoration of the democracy in 287 or 286; cf. 55.

7. These were still controlled by Demetrius' troops and may have remained in Macedonian hands till the Chremonidean War (61, 62) and even later; cf. Habicht (1997), 96f., 124f., 138f., 173f.
8. Responsible for the organisation of the city's competitions.
9. Philippides requested his own honours.

## 55 Decree of Athens in honour of Callias of Sphettus (270/69)

See the *editio princeps* of this important text, discovered in 1971, by T. L. Shear, *Hesperia* Supplement 17 (1978); Habicht (1997), 96f., 127f., 139f.

5 The people (crowns) Callias, son of Thymochares, of Sphettus.<sup>1</sup> / In the archonship of Sosistratus (270/69), in the sixth prytany, of the tribe Pandionis, for which Athenodorus son of Gorgippus of Acharnae was secretary, on the 18th of the month Posideon, and the 21st of the prytany, at a principal meeting of the assembly; the motion was put to the vote by Epichares son of  
10 Phidostratus of Erchia and the other presiding officers. /

Resolved by the council and the people; Eucharis son of Euarchus of Conthyle moved: since, at the time of the uprising of the people against those who were occupying the city,<sup>2</sup> when the people expelled the soldiers from the  
15 city, but the fort on the / Mouseion was still occupied,<sup>3</sup> and war raged in the countryside because of the (soldiers) from Piraeus,<sup>4</sup> and Demetrius<sup>5</sup> was coming with his army from the Peloponnese against the city, Callias, on hearing  
20 of the danger threatening the city, selected a thousand of the soldiers<sup>6</sup> / who were posted with him at Andros, gave them their wages and food rations, and immediately came to the rescue of the people in the city, acting in accordance with the goodwill of King Ptolemy (I) towards the people,<sup>7</sup> and leading out  
25 into the countryside the soldiers who were following him, he protected / the gathering of the corn, making every effort to ensure that as much corn as possible should be brought into the city.<sup>8</sup>

And (since), when Demetrius arrived, encamped around the city and  
30 besieged it, Callias in defence of the people attacked with his soldiers / and was wounded, but refused to avoid any risk at any time for the sake of the people's safety; and when King Ptolemy sent Sostratus<sup>9</sup> to act in the city's interests, and  
35 Sostratus summoned ambassadors / to meet him at Piraeus for the conclusion of the peace on behalf of the city with Demetrius, Callias complied with the instructions of the generals and the council, acted as envoy for the people and  
40 defended all the city's interests; he remained in the city with his / soldiers until the conclusion of the peace,<sup>10</sup> and (then) sailed to King Ptolemy, assisting in every way the embassies sent by the people and collaborating for the interests of the city.

And (since), when King Ptolemy the younger (= Ptolemy II Philadelphus) took over the monarchy (283/2), / Callias was staying in the city, and when the generals called on him and described the condition in which the city was, and urged him to make haste to King Ptolemy on behalf of the city to secure the prompt despatch of help to the city in corn / and money, Callias sailed himself on his own account to Cyprus, met the king there and earnestly upheld the city's interests, and brought back for the people 50 talents of silver and a gift of 20,000 medimni of corn, which were measured out from Delos<sup>11</sup> to the envoys sent by the / people.

And (since), when the king celebrated for the first time the *Ptolemaieia*, the sacrifice and the contests in honour of his father,<sup>12</sup> and the people [voted] to send a sacred embassy (*theoria*) and requested [Callias to agree] to be its leader and to lead [the sacred embassy] on behalf of the people,<sup>13</sup> Callias eagerly complied with the request, waived the [50?] minas [which had been voted] / to him by the people to lead the sacred embassy and gave them to the [people], and led himself [the sacred embassy] from his own means in a way that was honourable and [worthy] of the people, [and] looked after [the] sacrifice on behalf of the city and [all] the other appropriate observances together with his fellow ambassadors. [And] (since) the people was about to celebrate the *Panathenaea* for (Athena) Archegetis, then [for the first time / since] the recovery of the city,<sup>14</sup> [Callias] interceded with the king [on the question of] the ropes which needed to be made for the robe,<sup>15</sup> [and] when the king presented them to the city, he endeavoured [that] they be as fine [as] possible in honour of the goddess and that the sacred envoys elected with [him] / should forthwith bring [the ropes back here].

[And] (since), now that he has been posted to Halicarnassus by [King] Ptolemy, Callias continues to exert himself [on behalf of the] embassies and sacred missions sent by the people [to King] Ptolemy, and [in private] to show [all possible] attention [to every] / fellow citizen who calls on him, and to the [soldiers who are posted there] with him, attaching the greatest importance [to the interests] and generally to the dignity of the city; . . . for the fatherland Callias never endured . . . / when the democracy had been overthrown, but during the oligarchy<sup>16</sup> he gave up his [own] property<sup>17</sup> so as not to act [in any way] against the laws or against the democracy of all the Athenians.<sup>18</sup>

Therefore, so that all who wish to show zeal towards the city may know that the people always / remembers those who have benefited it and repays thanks to every one of them: with good fortune, be it resolved by the council that the officials who are chosen by lot to preside, at the meeting of the assembly prescribed by the law, should deliberate about these matters and communicate to the people the view of the council, viz. that the council resolves to praise / Callias son of Thymochares of Sphettus for his excellence and the goodwill

which he constantly shows towards the people of Athens, and to crown him with a gold crown in accordance with the law, and to proclaim the crown at the new tragic contest of the Great Dionysia. The officials in charge of finance 95 shall be responsible for the making of the crown and the / proclamation. The people shall also set up a bronze statue of him in the agora, and he shall have a seat of honour (*proedria*) at all the contests celebrated by the city, and the architect who is appointed in charge of sacred buildings shall assign to him 100 the seat of honour. The people shall elect at once / three men from among all the Athenians who shall be responsible for making and dedicating the statue. The *thesmothetai* shall introduce the scrutiny of his award to the people's court (*Heliaea*) when the days prescribed by law have elapsed. So that there may be 105 a record for all time / of the zealous deeds performed by Callias for the people, the secretary of the prytany shall inscribe this decree [on] a stone stele and place it beside the statue, and the officials in charge of finance shall pay the expense resulting for the inscription and the stele.

T. L. Shear, *Hesperia* Supplement 17 (1978),  
at pp. 2–4; Burstein 55; *SEG* 49.113

1. An Athenian from a wealthy family, prominent in public life; as this inscription shows, much of his career was spent as an officer in Ptolemaic service. Compare Philippides and Lysimachus in 54.
2. The troops of Demetrius who had seized control of Athens in 295/4 and set up an oligarchy (contrast his earlier relations with Athens, 42). On his expulsion from Macedon (52, 56) the Athenians revolted against him in 287 (Habicht, Osborne) or 286 (Shear).
3. A fort on the Mouseion hill, to the south-west of the Acropolis; cf. 136.
4. Cf. 54 n. 7.
5. Cf. 54 n. 5.
6. Mercenary soldiers in Ptolemaic service.
7. The earliest indication of the establishment of Ptolemaic influence in the Aegean; cf. 61, 62, 256. Ptolemaic support for the liberation of Athens was previously unattested. On the Ptolemies and Athens cf. also 254.
8. Cf. 42, 54, 62, 74 and generally 130.
9. Probably Sostratus of Cnidus, cf. 292.
10. The peace may have involved the other kings as well (Pyrrhus, Lysimachus, Seleucus); cf. Shear, *op. cit.*, 76f. *Contra*, Habicht (1997), 62–7.
11. Cf. 133 n. 2.
12. Cf. 256.
13. Cf. Boulagoras in 132.
14. Perhaps in 278.
15. Ropes to secure the mast of Athena's ship, cf. 54.
16. The oligarchy set up by Demetrius in 294/3.
17. It was probably confiscated by the oligarchic government.
18. For the democratic sentiments cf. 32, 42, 61.



## 56 The career of Lysimachus

See 254 on Pausanias as a historical source, and on Lysimachus, Lund (1992); Bosworth (2002), 268–78.

Lysimachus was of Macedonian origin and one of Alexander's bodyguards;<sup>1</sup> one day in a fit of anger Alexander shut him up in a room with a lion and then found he had overpowered the beast.<sup>2</sup> Henceforward he always held him in esteem and honoured him as much as the noblest Macedonians. After Alexander's death Lysimachus became king<sup>3</sup> of the Thracians, who are neighbours of the Macedonians and who had been ruled by Alexander and earlier by Philip; these represent only a small part of the Thracian people. [. . .] Then Lysimachus made war against the neighbouring peoples, first the Odrysaes, then against Dromichaetes and the Getae. As he was engaging with men not lacking experience of war and who outnumbered him heavily, he himself only escaped after facing extreme danger, while his son Agathocles, who was serving with him for the first time, was captured by the Getae. Later Lysimachus suffered other reverses in battle, and as he was seriously concerned about his son's capture, he made peace with Dromichaetes, surrendering to the Getic chieftain the part of his empire that lay beyond the Danube and giving him his daughter in marriage, largely under compulsion. There are some who say that it was not Agathocles but Lysimachus himself who was captured and saved when Agathocles made the pact with the Getic chieftain on his behalf. When he came back he married to Agathocles Lysandra, daughter of Ptolemy son of Lagus and Eurydice.<sup>4</sup> He also sailed across to Asia and joined in destroying the empire of Antigonos.<sup>5</sup> He also founded the present city of Ephesus close to the sea, bringing as settlers to it men from Lebedus<sup>6</sup> and Colophon and destroying their cities, which caused the iambic poet Phoenix to write a dirge over the capture of Colophon. [. . .] Lysimachus also went to war against Pyrrhus son of Aeacides; he waited for his departure from Epirus (Pyrrhus in his career wandered far and wide)<sup>7</sup> and then ravaged the country until he reached the royal tombs. The sequel of the story I find incredible, but Hieronymus of Cardia<sup>8</sup> relates (*FGrH* 154 F 9) that Lysimachus destroyed the tombs of the dead and cast out their bones. But this Hieronymus has the reputation of being a writer hostile to the kings apart from Antigonos (sc. Gonatas), to whom he was unduly favourable. [. . .] Possibly Hieronymus had grudges against Lysimachus, particularly his destruction<sup>9</sup> of the city of Cardia and the foundation in its place of Lysimachea on the isthmus of the Thracian Chersonese.

(10) As long as (Philip) Arrhidaeus was king in Macedon, and after him Cassander and his sons, Lysimachus remained on friendly terms with the

Macedonians; but when the throne fell to Demetrius son of Antigonus, then Lysimachus expecting war from Demetrius decided to take the initiative.<sup>10</sup> He knew that Demetrius like his father wished to extend his power, and he also saw that, though Demetrius had come to Macedon at the invitation of Alexander son of Cassander, when he arrived he assassinated Alexander, and seized the throne of Macedon in his place. For these reasons he engaged Demetrius in battle near Amphipolis and came within inches of being driven out of Thrace, but Pyrrhus came to his help and he secured Thrace and afterwards established his rule over the Nestian Macedonians; Pyrrhus himself secured the greater part of Macedonia, having come with an army from Epirus and being for the present on good terms with Lysimachus. When Demetrius crossed over to Asia and made war on Seleucus, the alliance of Pyrrhus and Lysimachus held good as long as Demetrius' fortunes endured; but when Demetrius fell under the power of Seleucus,<sup>11</sup> Lysimachus and Pyrrhus broke their friendship and went to war. Lysimachus fought against Antigonus the son of Demetrius<sup>12</sup> and Pyrrhus himself, gained a decisive victory and took over Macedon, forcing Pyrrhus to withdraw to Epirus.<sup>13</sup> Now love is a frequent cause of disaster for men. Although he was advanced in years and considered fortunate in his children, and although Agathocles his son had children of his own by Lysandra, Lysimachus nonetheless married Lysandra's sister Arsinoe.<sup>14</sup> This Arsinoe, fearing that on the death of Lysimachus her children would fall under the power of Agathocles, conspired, it is said, against Agathocles for those reasons. Historians have already related how Arsinoe fell in love with Agathocles, and they say that on being rejected by him she plotted his death. They say too that Lysimachus later got to know of his wife's criminal audacity, but could no longer do anything as he was by now completely abandoned by his friends. And so since Lysimachus let pass Arsinoe's murder of Agathocles, Lysandra took refuge with Seleucus together with her children and brothers [ . . . ]<sup>15</sup> Alexander, a son of Lysimachus by an Odrysian woman, escaped with them to Seleucus. They all went up to Babylon and implored Seleucus to go to war against Lysimachus; at the same time Philetærus, who had the charge of Lysimachus' treasure, incensed at the death of Agathocles and apprehensive as to his likely treatment by Arsinoe, seized Pergamum on the Caicus,<sup>16</sup> and sent a messenger to place himself and the treasure in the hands of Seleucus. On hearing this Lysimachus quickly crossed to Asia and, taking the initiative in the war, engaged Seleucus in battle but suffered a total defeat and was killed.<sup>17</sup> Alexander, his son by the Odrysian woman, after much entreaty of Lysandra recovered his body and later took it to the Chersonese and buried it. His tomb is still visible there between the village of Cardia and Pactye.

Pausanias I.9.5–10

1. Cf. Heckel (1992), 267–75.
2. Cf. Lund (1992), 6–8. On the theme of the physical strength of rulers cf. also 57 ch. 57; Préaux I (1978), 193f.
3. See 26, 30, but Lysimachus was not ‘king’ till 305/4; for his subsequent career see 37, 38, 44, 47 (b), 54.
4. In 294; Lysandra had previously (297) been married to Alexander, son of Cassander and briefly king of Macedon.
5. See 54 and n. 5; this led to an extension of his kingdom in Asia Minor.
6. See 48; on Lysimachus’ foundations cf. Lund (1992), 174–7.
7. Cf. 59. The war referred to here is otherwise unknown, if this is not simply a confusion on Pausanias’ part.
8. See 31; cf. Hornblower (1981), 246–8.
9. Cardia was not literally ‘destroyed’ but rather absorbed in the foundation of Lysimachea (309/8 – see 1 §19). On Lysimachea cf. 171 and Cohen (1995), 82–7.
10. In 288 or 287; Demetrius had been king in Macedon since 294. For a revised chronology of the end of his reign cf. T. L. Shear, *Hesperia* Supplement 17 (1978), 72f., 86 n. 235.
11. In 286 or 285.
12. Antigonos Gonatas, the future king of Macedon.
13. In 285/4.
14. Lysimachus married Arsinoe c.300, before his son’s marriage with Lysandra; on ancient accounts of the end of Lysimachus cf. Lund (1992), 184–206.
15. The end of the sentence is corrupt.
16. The beginnings of the later Attalid kingdom; see 224.
17. At Corupedium in Lydia in 281; see also 57 ch. 62, 159. Lysimachus’ kingdom died with him.

## 57 Seleucus and the foundation of the Seleucid empire

‘In my view, it is beyond dispute that Seleucus was the greatest king of those who succeeded Alexander, of the most royal mind, and ruling over the greatest territory, next to Alexander himself (Arrian, *Anabasis* VII.22.5). The outline of the career of Seleucus which Appian appends to his account of the wars of Antiochus III with the Romans – the *Syriake* or ‘Syrian History’ – reads like an elaboration of this view. It magnifies the achievements of Seleucus I at the expense of the role of his son Antiochus I in the establishment and preservation of the Seleucid empire (cf. 159). See generally Brodersen (1989), and on Seleucus’ career cf. Grainger (1990b).

(52) [. . .] After the Persians Alexander was king of the Syrians, as well as of all the people whom he saw. When he died leaving one very young son and another as yet unborn, the Macedonians, being deeply attached to the family of Philip, chose as their king Arrhidaeus, Alexander’s half-brother, although he was believed to be dim-witted, and changed his name from Arrhidaeus to Philip. While the children of Alexander were growing up (they even placed the

pregnant mother under guard), his friends divided the peoples of the empire into satrapies, which Perdiccas shared out among them in the name of King Philip.<sup>1</sup> Not long after, when the kings were put to death, the satraps became kings. The first satrap of the Syrians was Laomedon of Mytilene, appointed by Perdiccas and then Antipater, who after Perdiccas was guardian of the kings. Ptolemy, the satrap of Egypt, sailed against Laomedon and sought to bribe him to hand over Syria, which protected Egypt's flank and was a good base to attack Cyprus. He failed and so arrested him, but Laomedon bribed his guards and escaped to Alcetas in Caria. For some time Ptolemy ruled Syria; he sailed back to Egypt after leaving garrisons in the cities. (53) Antigonus was satrap of Phrygia, Lycia and Pamphylia, and was appointed overseer of the whole of Asia by Antipater when he returned to Europe. He besieged Eumenes, satrap of Cappadocia, whom the Macedonians had voted an enemy, but Eumenes escaped and seized control of Media. Eventually Antigonus captured Eumenes and put him to death,<sup>2</sup> and on his return was received in great pomp by Seleucus the satrap in Babylon.<sup>3</sup> One day Seleucus insulted an officer without consulting Antigonus, who was present, and Antigonus out of spite asked for accounts of his money and his possessions; Seleucus, being no match for Antigonus, withdrew to Ptolemy in Egypt. Immediately after his flight, Antigonus deposed Blitor the governor of Mesopotamia for letting Seleucus escape, and took over personal control of Babylonia, Mesopotamia and all the peoples from the Medians to the Hellespont (Antipater was dead by now). With so much territory in his power he became at once an object of jealousy to the other satraps. And so an alliance was formed between Seleucus, the chief instigator of the coalition, Ptolemy, Lysimachus satrap of Thrace, and Cassander son of Antipater, who ruled the Macedonians in his father's name. They sent a joint embassy to Antigonus to demand that he share out between them and other Macedonians, who had been expelled from their satrapies, the territory he had acquired and his money. Antigonus treated them with scorn, and so they went to war jointly against him, while he made counter-preparations, expelling the remaining garrisons of Ptolemy in Syria and laying his hands on the parts of Phoenicia and Coele Syria, as it is called, that were still under Ptolemy. (54) Crossing the Cilician Gates he left his son Demetrius, then about 22 years old, at Gaza with his army to meet the attacks of Ptolemy from Egypt. Ptolemy won a brilliant victory over him at Gaza and the young man took refuge with his father.<sup>4</sup> Ptolemy immediately sent Seleucus to Babylon to recover his rule, giving him for the purpose 1,000 infantry and 300 cavalry. With such a small force Seleucus recovered Babylon, where the inhabitants received him enthusiastically, and within a short time he greatly extended his empire.<sup>5</sup> Antigonus defeated an attack by Ptolemy, winning a brilliant victory over him at sea off Cyprus; his son Demetrius

was in command. This splendid achievement caused the army to proclaim both Antigonus and Demetrius kings; the other kings were dead by this time, Arrhidaeus the son of Philip, Olympias and the sons of Alexander. Ptolemy's own army also proclaimed him king, so that his defeat should not place him in a position of inferiority vis-à-vis the victors. And so for these men different circumstances led to similar results; the rest immediately followed their example and from satraps they all became kings.<sup>6</sup>

(55) And so it was that Seleucus became king of Babylonia, and also of Media, after he had killed in battle with his own hand Nicanor who had been left by Antigonus as satrap of Media. He waged many wars against Macedonians and barbarians; the two most important were against Macedonians, the latter war against Lysimachus king of Thrace, the former at Ipsus in Phrygia against Antigonus, who was commanding his army and fighting in person although over 80 years old.<sup>7</sup> After Antigonus had fallen in battle, the kings who had joined with Seleucus in destroying him shared out his territory. Seleucus obtained then Syria from the Euphrates to the sea and inland Phrygia. Always lying in wait for the neighbouring peoples, with the power to coerce and the persuasion of diplomacy, he became ruler of Mesopotamia, Armenia, Seleucid Cappadocia (as it is called), the Persians, Parthians, Bactrians, Areians and Tapurians, Sogdiana, Arachosia, Hyrcania, and all other neighbouring peoples whom Alexander had conquered in war as far as the Indus. The boundaries of his rule in Asia extended further than those of any ruler apart from Alexander; the whole land from Phrygia eastwards to the river Indus was subject to Seleucus. He crossed the Indus and made war on Sandracottus (Chandragupta), king of the Indians about that river, and eventually arranged friendship and a marriage alliance with him.<sup>8</sup> Some of these achievements belong to the period before the end of Antigonus, others to after his death. [. . .]

(57) [. . .] Immediately after the death of Alexander he became commander of the Companion cavalry,<sup>9</sup> which Hephaestion and after him Perdikkas had commanded during Alexander's lifetime, then after this satrap of Babylonia<sup>10</sup> and eventually after satrap, king. His great successes in war earned him the surname of Nicator (the Victorious); this explanation seems to me more likely than that it was due to the killing of Nicanor. He was tall and powerfully built; one day when a wild bull was brought for sacrifice to Alexander and broke loose from his bonds, he resisted him alone and brought him under control with his bare hands.<sup>11</sup> That is why his statues represent him with horns added.<sup>12</sup> He founded cities through the whole length of his empire;<sup>13</sup> there were sixteen called Antioch after his father, five Laodicea after his mother, nine named Seleucia after himself, four called after his wives, three Apamea and one Stratonicea. Of these the most famous up to the present are the two Seleucias, by the sea and on the river Tigris, Laodicea in Phoenicia,

Antioch under Mount Lebanon and Apamea in Syria. The others he called after places in Greece or Macedon, or after his own achievements, or in honour of Alexander the king. That is why there are in Syria and among the barbarians inland many Greek and many Macedonian place-names, Berrhoea, Edessa, Perinthus, Maronea, Callipolis, Achaea, Pella, Europus, Amphipolis, Arethusa, Astacus, Tegea, Chalcis, Larissa, Heraea, Apollonia, also in Parthia Soteira, Calliope, Charis, Hecatompylus, Achaea, among the Indians Alexandropolis, and among the Scythians Alexandreschate. Also, called after the victories of Seleucus himself there is Nicephorium in Mesopotamia and Nicopolis in Armenia very near to Cappadocia. (58) They say that when he was undertaking the foundation of the two Seleucias, that of Seleucia by the sea was preceded by a portent of thunder, and that is why he consecrated thunder as their divinity, and the inhabitants continue to worship thunder and sing hymns in its honour up to the present day. They also say that for the foundation of Seleucia on the Tigris the Magi were ordered to select the day and the hour when the digging of the foundations was to begin, but they falsified the hour, as they did not wish to have such a stronghold threatening them. Seleucus was waiting for the given hour in his tent, while the army ready for work kept quiet until Seleucus would give the sign. Suddenly at the more favourable hour they thought someone was ordering them on to work and sprang up; not even the efforts of the heralds could hold them back. The work was completed, but Seleucus in despair questioned the Magi a second time about the city; they asked for a promise of impunity and then spoke: 'Sire, what has been fated, for better or for worse, no man or city can change (for there is a fate of cities as well as of men). It pleased the gods that this city should last a long time, because it came into being at this hour. We feared it would be a stronghold against us and sought to divert the decrees of fate, but they proved stronger than the cunning of the Magi and the ignorance of a king. [. . .] Fortune has smiled on the beginnings of this city of yours; it shall be great and long-lasting. Fear of losing our own prosperity led us into error; we ask you to confirm your pardon to us.'<sup>14</sup> [. . .] (62) Seleucus had 72 satraps under him,<sup>15</sup> so vast was the territory he ruled. Most of it he handed over to his son,<sup>16</sup> and ruled himself only the land from the sea to the Euphrates. His last war he fought against Lysimachus for the control of Hellespontine Phrygia; he defeated Lysimachus who fell in the battle,<sup>17</sup> and crossed himself the Hellespont. As he was marching up to Lysimachea he was murdered by Ptolemy nicknamed Ceraunus (the Thunderbolt) who was accompanying him.<sup>18</sup> This Ceraunus was the son of Ptolemy Soter and Eurydice the daughter of Antipater; he had fled from Egypt through fear, as Ptolemy had in mind to hand over his realm to his youngest son. Seleucus welcomed him as the unfortunate son of his friend, and supported and took

everywhere his own future assassin. (63) And so Seleucus met his fate at the age of 73, having been king for 42 years.<sup>19</sup> [ . . . ]

Appian, *Syrian Wars* 52–5, 57–8, 62–3

1. See **26**, **30**.
2. See **30** n. 6.
3. Appointed to this post in 321 (see **30** §35).
4. In 312; this led to the peace of 311 (**37**, **38**). On the Ptolemies and Syria cf. **260**.
5. Cf. **36**. The Seleucid ‘era’ was reckoned as starting 1 Dios = October 312 in the Macedonian calendar and 1 Nisan = April 311 in the Babylonian. Cf. **158**; Sherwin-White and Kuhrt (1993), 27.
6. See **44**.
7. See **54** and n. 5.
8. The peace treaty (*Staatsv.* III.441; Sherwin-White and Kuhrt (1993), 12f.; Karttunen (1997), 260–3) took place c.305–303 at the end of a long series of campaigns in which Seleucus secured control of the eastern satrapies; the nature of the ‘marriage alliance’ is unclear. Seleucus also received a force of Indian elephants under this treaty; these played a decisive role at the battle of Ipsus. Cf. Plate 3.17, **178**, and on Seleucid elephants cf. **160** §10, **163**, **184**, **187**, **203**, **205** §8, **213**, **215**, **217**, **218**.
9. See **26** (b).
10. See **30** §35, **36**. For his subsequent career see also **37**, **38**, **44**, **47** (b), **56**, **159**.
11. Cf. **56** n. 2.
12. The motif is found on coins of Alexander, Demetrius Poliorcetes (Plate 1.4) and Seleucus himself; cf. Smith (1988), 40f.
13. On ch. 57 see R. M. Errington, *Entretiens Hardt* 22 (1976), 163f., 167f., 218f.; Cohen (1978), esp. 16f., 89; Walbank (1981), 133–9; Briant (1982), 227–79; Grainger (1990); Sherwin-White and Kuhrt (1993), 142–5; K. Brodersen in Schraut and Stier (2001/2), 355–71. Cf. generally **48**, and on Seleucid colonisation see further **58**, **160**, **161**, **186**, **188**, **190**, **195**.
14. On Seleucia on the Tigris and Babylon see further **158**, **163**, **166**, **167**.
15. An error: the total of known or likely satrapies in Seleucus’ empire does not exceed c.20; cf. Sherwin-White and Kuhrt (1993), 44–8.
16. Antiochus, his son by the Persian Apame (**17** n. 2), shared the royal title with Seleucus. §§59–61 reproduce the celebrated story of Seleucus ceding his wife Stratonice to him and placing him in charge of the upper satrapies (cf. Plutarch *Demetrius* 38; Sherwin-White and Kuhrt (1993), 24f., 130; Ogden (1999), 121–3).
17. See **56**, **159** §5, **224**.
18. Cf. also **159** §8.
19. Seleucus was assassinated between 25 August and 24 September 281 (see **158**); his royalty is reckoned (incorrectly) from his appointment as satrap of Babylonia in 321.

## 58 The foundations of Seleucus I

The speeches of Libanius of Antioch (AD 314–c.393) provide a wealth of evidence on Antioch in the writer’s day. Speech XI, the *Antiochicus*, delivered in

AD 360, is in a long tradition of encomiastic works that celebrated the achievements of great cities, in this case the Seleucid foundation of Antioch on the Orontes (cf. A. D. Nock, *JEA* 40 (1954), 76–82, who suggests the author may have been implicitly comparing Antioch with her contemporary rivals, Rome and the recently founded Constantinople). The following excerpt comes from the section outlining the story of Antioch from Alexander to the end of the Seleucid dynasty (69–131). The historical information, frequently selective and even tendentious, should not be taken literally. Libanius emphasises the work of Seleucus I at the expense of his son Antiochus I (cf. 57), and magnifies the importance of Antioch against the other foundations of Seleucus in North Syria (Apamea, Seleucia, Laodicea; cf. 160). What written sources Libanius may have used cannot be identified; he may also have relied on patriotic local lore and his own imagination. Cf. Downey (1961), 40–2, and his translation and commentary on the speech in *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 103 (1959), 652–86.

(101) The other kings pride themselves on destroying existing cities, but what distinguishes this king (Seleucus) is that he raised cities which (previously) did not exist. He set up so many over the world that they were enough to take on the names of the cities in Macedonia and also the names of members of his family; you can see in fact many bearing the same name, and of both men and women.<sup>1</sup> (102) If one wanted to compare him with the Athenians and the Milesians, who are believed to have sent out the largest number of colonies, it would be seen that he was the founder of even more cities, and that each of them surpassed the others in size, with the result that any one of his foundations was the equivalent of ten of theirs. You may go to Phoenicia and see his cities there,<sup>2</sup> and you come here to Syria and see even more and greater cities. (103) He extended this fair enterprise as far as the Euphrates and the Tigris, surrounded Babylon with cities on every side<sup>3</sup> and planted them even in Persia. There was in short no place fit to receive a city that he left bare, but through his work of hellenisation he brought the barbarian world to an end.<sup>4</sup> (104) And yet it is not the case that just as he founded many other cities in addition to this one (Antioch), so he placed another one above her. He established his sceptre here and gave Antioch precedence over the others; these he built to be as it were her servants, and none did he find more suitable for his royal residence.<sup>5</sup>

Libanius XI (*Antiochicus*) 101–4

1. Cf. 57 ch. 57 and n. 13.

2. There are no Seleucid foundations in Phoenicia (cf. in a wider context F. Millar, *PCPS* NS 29 (1983), 55–71 and 140).

3. Babylon was not ‘surrounded with [Seleucid] cities on every side’. Cf. 166, 167.



4. This echoes Plutarch's optimistic presentation of Alexander's work (22), and may reflect the climate of ideas among Syrian Greeks in Libanius' time who self-consciously emphasised their Greekness in a non-Greek context.
5. Anachronistic: it was only from the second century that Antioch could be thought of as the 'capital' of the Seleucid empire (Grainger (1990a), 122–6; Austin (2001), 102).

## 59 Pyrrhus, king of Epirus

The restless career of Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, epitomises the age of Alexander's Successors. A great military king, Pyrrhus sought to expand his power in Macedon and Greece in the 290s and 280s (56), and again from 274 till his death in 272/1. His greatest title to fame, however, was his western expedition, launched in 280 in response to an appeal from Tarentum for help against the expanding power of Rome; this led to the first direct encounter of the Romans with a Hellenistic king at the battles of Heraclea (280) and Ausculum (279). From 278 to 276 Pyrrhus operated in Sicily in answer to a Sicilian request for help against Carthage, then again in Italy in 276–275 against the Romans, who this time gained the upper hand at Beneventum in 275 and so forced Pyrrhus to return to Epirus (though he did not initially abandon his western ambitions). The moralising story related by Plutarch on the eve of Pyrrhus' departure for Italy has been much discussed; the vast and carefully planned conquest aims it credits Pyrrhus with are felt by many to be at variance with the impulsiveness of the rest of his career. But the consequence of Pyrrhus' failure was that henceforward and until the eastward expansion of Rome (see ch. 3) the political history of the western and the eastern Greek world was to run on largely separate lines. See P. R. Franke in *CAH* VII.2<sup>2</sup> (1989), 456–85.

### (a) *Pyrrhus, the military king*

This battle<sup>1</sup> did not so much move the Macedonians to anger and hatred for what they had suffered at his hands as it made them respect and admire his personal courage; it became a talking point among those who had witnessed his exploits and had clashed with him in battle. His appearance, speed and movements reminded them of Alexander, and they believed they could see in him a reflection and imitation of Alexander's dash and fire in battle.<sup>2</sup> The other kings resembled Alexander only by their purple garments, their bodyguards, the way they inclined their head and the arrogant manner of their speech, but Pyrrhus alone did so by his arms and his exploits. His skill and mastery in tactical and strategic matters are readily illustrated by the writings he has left behind on these subjects (*FGrH* 229). It is said that Antigonos, when asked who was the best general, replied 'Pyrrhus, if he lives to grow old'; his remark only applied to contemporaries. Hannibal used to declare that of all generals Pyrrhus came first in experience and skill, Scipio second, and he himself third,

as has been related in the *Life of Scipio*. In fact it seems that Pyrrhus devoted all his practice and study to the art of war, which he thought the most royal of sciences, while other refinements seemed to him to be of no significance. It is said that he was once asked at a banquet whether Python was a better flautist than Caphisias, and he replied ‘Polyperchon<sup>3</sup> is a better general’, the point being that only the art of war was worth investigating and studying by a king.<sup>4</sup>

Plutarch, *Pyrrhus* 8.1–7

(b) *Pyrrhus’ (alleged) western ambitions*

There was a Thessalian called Cineas, who had the reputation of being a wise man; he had been a pupil of the orator Demosthenes and alone of contemporary speakers he could conjure up among his audience a picture of the power and mastery of Demosthenes’ speeches. He was a contemporary of Pyrrhus and on his missions to Greek cities he would prove the rightness of the saying of Euripides (*Phoenissae*, 516f.) that

Speech can remove any obstacle offered by the enemies’ sword.

Pyrrhus in fact used to say that more cities had been won over by the eloquence of Cineas than he had captured himself by force of arms. He constantly treated the man with the greatest honour and had recourse to his services. When Cineas at that time saw Pyrrhus eager to sail to Italy, finding him at leisure he started the following conversation.<sup>5</sup> ‘Pyrrhus, the Romans are said to be good soldiers and to rule many warlike peoples; should a god grant us success over them, how shall we use our victory?’ Pyrrhus replied: ‘Cineas, the answer to your question is obvious; once the Romans are defeated, no barbarian or Greek city there can resist us; we shall immediately secure control of the whole of Italy, and how large, strong and powerful she is I imagine you know better than anyone else.’ Cineas paused a little then said: ‘Sire, once we have taken Italy, what shall we do?’ Pyrrhus, not seeing as yet what Cineas was leading to, replied: ‘Sicily nearby stretches out her hands to us, a wealthy and populous island, very easy to capture; there is nothing there, Cineas, but revolution, anarchy in the cities and excitable demagogues, now that Agathocles is dead.’<sup>6</sup> ‘That seems plausible,’ replied Cineas, ‘but is the capture of Sicily the end of our expedition?’ Pyrrhus answered: ‘May a god grant us victory and success; that will be a preliminary to great achievements. Libya (Africa) and Carthage would be within easy reach, and who could keep us away from them, when Agathocles who secretly escaped from Syracuse<sup>7</sup> and crossed over with a few ships very nearly captured them? Can anyone dispute that once we have conquered these none of our enemies who are at present insulting us

will be able to resist?’ ‘Certainly not,’ replied Cineas; ‘clearly with such power behind us it will be open to us to recover Macedon and to rule Greece. When we have established our domination everywhere, what shall we do?’ Pyrrhus laughed and said: ‘We shall have ample leisure; life, my friend, will be a daily drinking-party and we shall entertain each other with conversation.’ At this point Cineas interrupted Pyrrhus and said: ‘Well then, what is there to prevent us having a drinking-party now and enjoying leisure among ourselves if we so wish? The possibility is already there and costs no effort, so why achieve the same result through blood, toil and dangers, after inflicting on others and suffering ourselves great harm?’ These words of Cineas upset Pyrrhus but did not cause him to change his mind; he realised what happiness he was sacrificing, but was unable to give up the hope of achieving his ambition.<sup>8</sup>

Plutarch, *Pyrrhus* 14

1. In 289, against a general of Demetrius.
2. Pyrrhus was cousin of Alexander.
3. See **31**, **38**.
4. For this conception of monarchy see **44**, **45**.
5. The confrontation of philosopher and king is a recurring theme in Hellenistic literature; the philosopher inevitably has the better of the argument (Préaux I (1978), 226–8).
6. Cf. **33**; Agathocles died in 289 and the powerful monarchy he had established disappeared with him. Pyrrhus had previously married Agathocles’ daughter Lanassa and so could assert a dynastic claim to the island.
7. See **33** (b), **41**.
8. Compare Plutarch, *Demetrius* 52.

### 3 Macedon and the Greek mainland to the Roman conquest

The Antigonids took longer to secure their position than their rivals the Ptolemies and Seleucids. For the Successors possession of the Macedonian kingdom was an irresistible temptation, and competition was intense (cf. **31**, **37**, **50**), especially after the death of Cassander (**52**, **56**). Further instability in Macedon was caused by the Celtic invasion (**60**), but it also gave Antigonus Gonatas the opportunity to establish himself and his dynasty in the country (**159** §8). But Macedonian power remained contested and was never again as dominant as under Philip II and Alexander. Besides constant pressure from the northern hinterland (**78** and n. 9), and the hostility of the Ptolemies who sought to counteract any resurgence of Antigonid power in the Aegean (**47**, **55**, **61** n. 4, **256–7**), the Greek world to the south presented problems of a kind that the monarchies in Asia, ruling over predominantly non-Greek populations, did not face. Though unable to challenge successfully Macedonian overlordship (**61**) Athens could not be reconciled to it (**73** ch. 106, **82**). Sparta under the leadership of ambitious kings obstinately tried to restore her power in the Peloponnese (**61** n. 6, **69**, **70**, **71**, **79**), though with disastrous results in the end (**87**). In regions of the Greek world that had not hitherto played a major role new political organisations emerged: the Aetolian League in north-west Greece (**64**, **72**, **78**) and the Achaean League in the northern Peloponnese, which for a while successfully challenged Macedonian power (**67**, **68**), before being curtailed by Antigonus Doson (**71**, **72**). On the eve of Roman intervention the Greek mainland remained as disunited as before (**73**).

In Italy Roman power had been steadily growing (**59**); the First Punic War (264–241) extended Roman influence to Sicily (cf. **131**), and Roman intervention across the Adriatic in the 220s was seen by Philip V of Macedon as a potential threat (cf. **75**). During the Second Punic War he aligned himself with Hannibal against Rome (**76**), which Rome answered by opening hostilities against him and allying herself to the Aetolian League and others (**77**). The First Macedonian War was inconclusive (**80**), but the end of the long war against Carthage enabled Rome to intervene again on the side of the Greek opponents of Philip V, this time decisively (**81–3**). Rome now proclaimed the Greeks to be ‘free’ (**84**). Philip V sought to rebuild his kingdom though without challenging Rome (**89**), but Rome intervened once more to prevent

the resurgence of Macedonian power under Philip's son Perseus (92–4). The Macedonian monarchy was abolished in 167 (96); in 146 Macedon was placed under a Roman governor, and this became permanent. The Greek allies of Rome also found themselves constrained, some quickly (the Aetolians, 85, 86), others later, after initially benefiting from the Roman alliance (the Rhodians, 91, 98). The Achaeans' desperate challenge to Rome ended in disaster with the destruction of Corinth and what later Greeks saw as the virtual end of Greek independence (100). Within half a century of the proclamation of Greek 'freedom' the Greek mainland had no choice but to bow to Roman orders.

## 60 Thanksgiving of Cos for the repulse of the Celtic invaders and the saving of Delphi (April–July 278)

The expansion of Celtic power in central Europe had a long history before the Greek mainland was directly affected by it (cf. the sack of Rome in 390). The disappearance of the kingdom of Lysimachus in Thrace (56) and the weakening of the Macedonian monarchy (159 §8) helped to make possible the Celtic invasion of 280–279; it had a profound impact on political history and also provided the Greek world with a new image of the alien 'barbarian' in succession to the now defunct Persian empire (cf. 25). Macedon fell into a period of anarchy till Antigonus Gonatas was able to defeat the invaders in 276 and begin the restoration of the kingdom (cf. 159 §8). The Aetolians, who claimed to have played an important part in the defence of Delphi, exploited their role to justify their seizure of Apollo's sanctuary and extend their power in central Greece (cf. 64, 72, 78, 88). In 246/5 (?) they refounded for their own purposes the festival of the *Soteria* (cf. Burstein 62; *SEG* 45.468), originally established by the Delphic Amphictyony to commemorate the saving of Delphi (cf. 141, 143). Part of the invading Celtic tribes eventually settled in Asia Minor (cf. esp. 159, also 112, 114–15), where the Attalids posed as champions of Greek civilisation against the new barbarians (225 n. 6). The decree of Cos is a valuable contemporary source on the invasion, whereas later accounts (e.g. Pausanias I.4, X.19.5–23) embellish the story and elaborate the parallel between Xerxes' attack on Delphi in 480 and the Celtic invasion. See Momigliano (1975), 60–4; L. Hannestad in Bilde et al. (1993), 15–38; Mitchell (1993), 13–19 and in Erskine (2003), 280–93; Shipley (2000), 52–4; Scholten (2000), 31–45; G. Darbyshire, S. Mitchell and L. Vardar, *Anatolian Studies* 50 (2000), 75–97.

Diocles son of Philinus moved: since, after the barbarian expedition against the Greeks and the sanctuary at Delphi, it is reported that the aggressors / 5  
of the sanctuary have been punished by the god (Apollo) and by the men

who came to defend it during the barbarian incursion, that the sanctuary  
10 has been saved and adorned with the / spoils from the enemy and that of the  
remaining aggressors the majority have perished in combat against the Greeks;  
15 so that it may be manifest that the people / shares in the joy of the Greeks  
over the victory and is repaying thank-offerings to the god for manifesting  
himself during the perils which confronted the sanctuary and for the safety of  
20 the Greeks; / with good fortune, be it resolved by the people that the leader  
of the sacred embassy (*theoria*) and the sacred ambassadors who have been  
elected should on arriving at Delphi sacrifice to Pythian Apollo an ox with  
25 gilded horns on behalf / of the safety of the Greeks and address prayers for  
the prosperity of the people of Cos and the harmony (*homonoia*)<sup>1</sup> of their  
democratic government,<sup>2</sup> and for eternal blessings to the Greeks who came to  
30 defend the sanctuary; / that a sacrifice should also be offered by the presiding  
officers to Pythian Apollo, Zeus the Saviour and Nike (Victory). They shall  
sacrifice to each deity an adult victim; the day on which they offer the sacrifice  
35 / shall be a sacred day, and all the citizens and resident aliens (*paroikoi*) and  
other foreigners staying in Cos shall wear wreaths (on that day). The sacred  
40 herald shall proclaim that ‘the people is observing the day as sacred / because of  
the safety and victory of the Greeks; and that all may be for the best for those  
who wore wreaths.’ The sacrifice shall be offered in the month of Panamus;  
45 the treasurer shall give 400 drachmas for the sacrifice at Delphi / and 160 for  
the sacrifice at Cos; the presiding officers shall see that the money is sent to the  
sacred ambassadors and the sacrifices are offered at Cos; the sellers (*poletai*)<sup>3</sup>  
50 shall auction / the inscription on a stone stele of the decree and its dedication  
in the sanctuary of Asclepius.<sup>4</sup>

*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 398; G. Nachtergaele, *Les Galates en Grèce  
et les Sôtéria de Delphes* (Brussels, 1977), 401–3; BD 17

1. On the importance of this notion in the Hellenistic age see **63**.
2. See **48 (a)** §8, **153**.
3. Officials who dealt with state sales and the issuing of state contracts.
4. On the Celtic raid see also **93**.

## 61 Decree of Chremonides on the alliance between Athens and Sparta (between 268 and 265)

The origins of the ‘Chremonidean War’, which aligned a coalition of Greek states and Ptolemy II against Antigonos Gonatas of Macedon (cf. also **62**, **136**, **254**), are obscure and controversial. Ptolemaic alarm at the resurgence of Antigonid naval power, Athenian impatience with Macedonian domination, and the ambitions of the Spartan king Areus may all have

played a part. The conflict is better known on the Greek side; for Athens it marked a major setback, if not the end of her independence (cf. *Staatsv.* III.477; Jacoby (1949), 107–11); cf. 73 ch. 106 and G. Oliver in Meadows and Shipton (2001), 35–52. Sparta's ambitions revived later under Agis IV and Cleomenes III (69, 70, 71) and the Greek resistance against Macedon was taken up by the Achaean League (67). See F. W. Walbank in *CAH* VII.1<sup>2</sup> (1984), 236–43; Hammond and Walbank (1988), 276–89; Gabbert (1997), 45–53; Huss (2001), 271–81; Habicht (1997), 142–9 with modifications in Palagia and Tracy (2003), 52–5; S. V. Tracy, *ibid.*, 56–60.

Gods. In the archonship of Pithidemus,<sup>1</sup> in the second prytany, of the tribe  
 Erechtheis; on the 9th of Metageitnion and the 9th day of the prytany; / at a 5  
 principal meeting of the assembly; Sostratus son of Callistratus of Erchia  
 and the other presiding officers put to the vote; resolved by the people;  
 Chremonides<sup>2</sup> son of Eteocles of Aethalidae moved: since previously the  
 Athenians, the Lacedaemonians, and their respective allies after establishing a  
 common friendship and alliance / with each other have fought together many 10  
 glorious battles against those who sought to enslave the cities,<sup>3</sup> which won  
 them fame and brought freedom to the other Greeks; and now, when similar  
 circumstances have afflicted the whole of Greece because of [those] who seek  
 to subvert / the laws and ancestral constitutions of each city, and King Ptolemy 15  
 following the policy of his ancestor and of his sister<sup>4</sup> conspicuously shows his  
 zeal for the common freedom of the Greeks;<sup>5</sup> and the people of Athens having  
 made an alliance with him and / the other Greeks has passed a decree to invite 20  
 (all) to follow the same policy; and likewise the Lacedaemonians, who are  
 friends and allies of King Ptolemy, have voted to make an alliance with the  
 people of Athens, together with the Eleans, Achaeans, Tegeates, Mantineans,  
 Orchomenians, / [Phigaleans,] Caphyceans, all the Cretans who are in [alliance] 25  
 with the Lacedaemonians and Areus<sup>6</sup> and the other allies,<sup>7</sup> [and] have sent  
 ambassadors chosen from among the members of the council to the [people]  
 (of Athens), and their representatives having arrived declare the zeal displayed  
 by the Lacedaemonians and Areus and the other allies / towards the people (of 30  
 Athens), and have come with the ratification of the alliance; so that, now that  
 a common harmony (*homonoia*)<sup>8</sup> has been established between the Greeks  
 against those who are presently flouting justice and breaking the treaties with  
 the cities, they may prove eager combatants with King Ptolemy and with each  
 other and in future may preserve harmony / and save the cities; with good 35  
 fortune; be it resolved by the people that the friendship and alliance brought by  
 the ambassadors between the Athenians and the Lacedaemonians, the kings of  
 the Lacedaemonians, the Eleans, Achaeans, Tegeates, Mantineans, Orchome-  
 nians, Phigaleans, Caphyceans and all the [Cretans] / who are in alliance with 40  
 the Lacedaemonians and [Areus] and the other allies, should be valid for all

[time]; that the secretary of the prytany should have [it] inscribed on a bronze stele [and placed on] the acropolis near the temple of Athena [Polias and that  
45 the] magistrates should [swear] / to the ambassadors who have arrived [from them the oath] on the alliance according to [ancestral custom (?); and that one should send the ambassadors elected] by the people [to take the] oaths [from the other Greeks; and that the people should elect immediately two]  
50 councillors [chosen from] all [the Athenians] / to deliberate with Areus [and the] councillors sent [by the allies on matters of common] interest; and that the [officials in charge of finance] should pay to those who are appointed a travel allowance for the period of their absence [as] decided [by vote] by the  
55 people; and that one should praise [the ephors of the Lacedaemonians] / and Areus and the allies [and crown them] with a crown of gold according to the law, [and praise the ambassadors] who have come from them, Theom[. . . from Sparta], Argius son of Clinias from Elis [and crown them both] with a crown  
60 of gold according to [the law for the zeal] / and goodwill they show towards [the other allies and] the people of Athens; and that it should be possible for [each of them] to obtain [any other] favour from the council [and the people if they are thought] worthy of it; and that one should invite them [to a meal at the prytaneum] tomorrow; and that [the secretary] / of the prytany should see to the inscription [of this decree and of the treaty] on a [stone stele and] to placing it on the acropolis, and that the [officials in charge of finance] should pay [whatever expense is incurred] for [the inscription and dedication of] the  
70 stele. The following councillors [were elected]: Callippus of Eleusis . . . /

Treaty and alliance [between the Lacedaemonians and] their [allies] and [the Athenians and their allies] for all [time. Both parties are to preserve their territorial integrity], remaining [free] and [autonomous and preserving their]  
75 ancestral [constitution]. If anyone [attacks the territory of the Athenians] / or [subverts their] laws [or attacks the allies] of the Athenians, [the Lacedaemonians and] their [allies will come to their help with all possible strength; if anyone attacks [the territory of the Lacedaemonians or subverts their] laws  
80 [or attacks the allies of the] Lacedaemonians, / [the Athenians and their allies will come to their help with all possible strength . . . the Lacedaemonians] and their allies (to?) the Athenians [and their allies. The following] oath<sup>9</sup> will  
85 be sworn for the Athenians to the Lacedaemonians / [and the representatives of each] city by the *strategoï*, [the council of 600,<sup>10</sup> the] archons, phylarchs, [taxiarchs and hipparchs: I swear] by Zeus, the Earth, the Sun, Ares, Athena Areia, [Poseidon and Demeter]; I will be true to the alliance which [has been concluded; may those who respect the oath] enjoy many blessings, may the  
90 [opposite] happen to those who break it. / A similar oath will be sworn [for the Lacedaemonians] to the Athenians by the [kings, the ephors and] the *gerontes* (elders). A similar oath [will be sworn in (?) the other] cities by the



magistrates. If it [seems best to the Lacedaemonians and] the allies and the Athenians [to add] or to remove [any clause] from the alliance, / [whatever is mutually agreed on will not breach] the oath. [The cities] will inscribe the [alliance on stelae] and place them in a sanctuary wherever they [wish].

*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 434–5; IG II<sup>2</sup>.687; *Staatsv.* III.476; Burstein 56; BD 19

1. Date uncertain; e.g. 268/7, H. Heinen, *Historia Einzelschriften* 20 (1972), 213; Habicht, *op. cit.*; 265/4, B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 50 (1981), 78–99; J. J. Gabbert, *CJ* 82 (1987), 230–5.
2. An Athenian statesman, pupil (like Antigonos Gonatas) of the Stoic philosopher Zeno; he gave his name to the war against Macedon. For his brother Glaucon see **63**. On both cf. Habicht (1997), 136f., 140, 144, 147, 156.
3. Here and below the vague references to the enemies of Greek freedom are aimed at Macedon; for the sentiments see **28**, **32** and generally **78**; for Antigonos Gonatas' policy towards the Greeks (in the Peloponnese) see **67**.
4. Ptolemy II Philadelphus and his sister/wife Arsinoe II (died c.270; on her cf. **254** n. 1); for previous Ptolemaic support of Athens cf. **55**. The theory that the Chremonidean War was planned by Arsinoe for dynastic reasons (Tarn (1913), 290–310) rests on tenuous grounds. In the event Ptolemaic support for the war was seemingly half-hearted. See also **62** (end), and cf. **265** n. 1, **287** n. 1.
5. On this theme and its propaganda exploitation in the age of the Successors see **35**; it was taken up later by the Romans (**84**).
6. King of Sparta 309/8–265/4, sought to revive Spartan power in the Peloponnese and imitated the style of other Hellenistic courts – he was the first Spartan king to strike coins (Cartledge and Spawforth (2002), 28–37, 269; contrast Cleomenes, **70** (a)). Note the absence of any mention in this inscription of the other Spartan king. Areus was killed while trying unsuccessfully to break through the Macedonian defences at Corinth in order to join Athens.
7. Apart from Sparta and Athens, the 'Greek alliance' only comprised a number of small Peloponnesian and Cretan states (the Achaeans were not as yet very powerful; see **67**); the whole of central Greece, including the Aetolians (**64**), was absent.
8. On this theme see **63**.
9. Cf. **40** n. 7.
10. See **42** (end).

## 62 Decree of the Attic deme of Rhamnus in honour of the general Epichares for services during the Chremonidean War

The large deme of Rhamnus on the north-east coast of Attica occupied a strategic location on the crossing to Euboea and housed a military fort. It has generated an unusually high number of inscribed decrees which emanate

not just from the deme itself but from other Athenians living there, including members of the garrison stationed at the fort. See R. Osborne in Murray and Price (1990), 277–85; G. J. Oliver in Archibald et al. (2001), 137–55 (esp. 142–8 on this text).

Gods. Nicostratus son of Epiteles of Rhamnus moved: since Epichares, when elected hipparch in the archonship of Lysithides (272/1), looked after the cavalry force well and in accordance with the laws, and was crowned by  
5 the council, the people, and the cavalry; and again / in the archonship of Pithidemus<sup>1</sup> when the people elected him general and placed him in charge of the coastal region, he carried out his defensive role well and with zeal, and saved the fort for the people during the war<sup>2</sup> and gathered in the crops and fruits within a range of 30 stadia (c.5½ km) . . . set up covered [silos?  
10 in the] land, [kept guard] himself with the soldiers at the [look-outs] / to enable the farmers [to gather in their] crops safely;<sup>3</sup> and he also protected the vines as far as he [was master] of the land; and he constructed at his private expense a portico to provide shelter for all in any emergency, and to make it possible for help to come [quickly]; and he also built two watch towers and provided guard dogs in addition to the existing ones, supplying their food  
15 himself, / to ensure fuller protection; and he also set up his headquarters in the sanctuary [of Nemesis] in such a way that it should be honoured and that the [demesmen] should remain in a state of piety;<sup>4</sup> and he also imported 500 medimni of wheat and 500 of barley, advancing the price himself, and distributed them to the citizens and the soldiers at the usual price; and he also  
20 made a deal about the prisoners who had been captured,<sup>5</sup> / that they should be freed through the mediation of a herald on payment of a ransom of 120 drachmas (each), that none of the citizens should be deported and that the slaves should not be removed; he also punished those who had introduced the pirates into the land, men from the city,<sup>6</sup> arresting and interrogating them [in a way that was fitting] for what they did; and he also provided for the troops who had come from Patroclus<sup>7</sup> to help camp installations so that they should  
25 have sufficient . . . / causing none of the citizens to have troops billeted on them,<sup>8</sup> nor of the . . . (the rest of the inscription is too mutilated for continuous translation)

H. Heinen, *Historia Einzelschriften* 20 (1972), 152–4; *Bull.* 1968, 247; cf. *SEG* 24.154 and 40.135

1. See 61 n. 1.

2. The 'Chremonidean War' (61). On the role of forts in protecting the countryside cf. J. Ma in van Wees (2001), 342f., 349.

3. Cf. 55 and n. 8.

4. i.e. the setting up of the headquarters did not desecrate the sanctuary of Nemesis.

5. Captured by pirates, cf. ll. 21–3. Cf. de Souza (1999), 65f.
6. i.e. from Athens, not Rhannus; the pirates themselves escaped punishment.
7. The admiral of the Ptolemaic fleet which fought on the Greek side in the war (61 n. 4).
8. Cf. 311.

### 63 Decree of the League (*koinon*) of Greeks at Plataea in honour of Glaucon son of Eteocles, of Athens (between 261 and 246)

The following inscription, discovered in 1971, has shown that the joint cult of Zeus Eleutherios (the Liberator) and the Homonoia (Concord) of the Greeks dated from at least the time of the Chremonidean War, and not from Roman imperial times as previously thought. The institution of the panhellenic festival of the *Eleutheria* in honour of Zeus Eleutherios (as opposed to the annual Plataean cult established in 479 after the Persian defeat) dates perhaps from after the restoration of Plataea by Alexander (335; cf. 101 ch. 11), but it is not clear whether the cult of the Concord of the Greeks was created in the same period, or was added later by Glaucon brother of Chremonides, at the time of the Chremonidean War, when Athens and Sparta appealed in their propaganda to their alliances during the Persian Wars and after (61 and n. 2). On *homonoia* in the Hellenistic age and before see Tarn and Griffith (1952), 90f.; W. C. West, *GRBS* 18 (1977), 307–19; C. V. Crowther, *BICS* 40 (1995), 119–23.

In the priesthood of Nicoclididas son of Chaereas, when Archelaus son of Athenaeus was agonothete,<sup>1</sup> resolution of the Greeks; Eubulus son of Panarmostus, of Boeotia, moved: / since Glaucon son of Eteocles of Athens, when  
5  
staying formerly in his native city constantly showed his goodwill publicly to  
10  
all the Greeks and privately to those who came to / Athens, and afterwards  
15  
when he took up service with King Ptolemy (II Philadelphus) he pursued  
the same line of conduct, wishing to make manifest his disposition by his  
goodwill towards the Greeks; / and he has enriched the sanctuary with ded-  
ications and with revenues which must be safeguarded for Zeus Eleutherios  
[and] the Concord of the Greeks; and he has contributed to making more  
20  
lavish the sacrifice in honour of Zeus / Eleutherios and Concord and the  
contest which the Greeks celebrate at the tomb of the heroes who fought  
against the barbarians for the liberty of the Greeks;<sup>2</sup> / therefore, [so that] all  
25  
may know that the federal assembly of the Greeks repays thanks worthy of  
their benefactions to those who honour the sanctuary of Zeus / Eleutherios,  
30  
during their lifetime and after their death, be it resolved by the Greeks to

35 praise Glaucion and to invite him and his descendants for all time to a seat of  
honour when the gymnastic contests / are being celebrated at Plataea, just as  
40 (is the practice with) all other benefactors; let the agonothete have this decree  
inscribed on a stone stele and dedicated near the altar of Zeus Eleutherius /  
and Concord, and let the treasurer of the sacred funds provide the expense for  
this.<sup>3</sup>

R. Etienne and M. Piérart, *BCH* 99 (1975),  
51–75, at pp. 51–3; cf. *SEG* 40.412

1. Cf. **54** n. 8.
2. A reference to the Persian Wars.
3. For other examples of the appeal to ‘concord’ see **60**, **61**, **67**, cf. **108**, **109**, **153**, **155**, **272** (*b*).

#### 64 Decree of Chios in honour of the Aetolians (247/6?)

The Aetolian League in north-west Greece existed already in the classical period, but only rose to importance in the post-Alexander period (cf. D. Mendels, *Historia* 33 (1984), 129–80). The Aetolians participated in the Lamian War against Macedon (**19**, **28**; Diodorus XVIII.24–5, 38), but unlike Athens escaped punishment after the Greek defeat. In the confused years of the early third century they extended their power in central Greece (see **43** n. 4) and secured control over Delphi; their role in defending Delphi against the Celtic invaders provided them with a propaganda justification for their preponderance in the Amphictyonic Council which administered Apollo’s sanctuary (**60**, **78** ch. 35). Unlike the Achaean League (**67**) the Aetolians lacked a sympathetic presentation from native Aetolian writers (cf. **142**) and their reputation in the available sources, especially Polybius, is predominantly negative (de Souza (1999), 70–6). The following decree from Chios illustrates one way in which they extended their influence in the Aegean (Scholten (2000), 105–16): Chios was given immunity (*asylia*, cf. **65**) from Aetolian privateering (on which see **43** n. 4, **67** ch. 43, **72**, **77**, **78** ch. 34, **106**) and a seat in the Amphictyonic Council, and exchanged citizen rights with Aetolia (*isopoliteia*: a citizen of Chios in Aetolia would have the same rights as an Aetolian and vice versa; cf. **131**, **152**, **272**). In return the Aetolians acquired a friendly base in the Aegean. On the institutions and growth of the Aetolian League see Larsen (1968), 195–215 (p. 207 on this inscription), on its role in the third and second centuries *ibid.*, 303–447; F. W. Walbank in *CAH* VII.1<sup>2</sup> (1984), 232–6; Scholten (2000).

Resolved by the [council and people]; the [monthly president (*epiménios*)]  
of the polemarchs . . . son of Philistus and the monthly president [of the

*exetastai*] Aiantides [son of . . . moved]: since the [Aetolian] League, because  
of the ancestral kinship and [friendship] which exist between [our] people  
and the Aetolians, voted previously to grant us citizenship / [and] forbade 5  
all to plunder the property of [the Chians] from whatever starting base [on]  
pain of being liable to prosecution before the [councillors]<sup>1</sup> on a charge of  
harming the common interests of the Aetolians; for this the people graciously  
[accepted] their goodwill and voted that the [Aetolians] should be citizens and  
share in all the rights the Chians share in, and decided that they should have  
priority [of access] / to the council and the assembly, [and] be invited to seats 10  
of honour (*proedria*) at all the contests organised [by the city]; and now the  
sacred envoys and the ambassadors have returned and [reported] to the people  
the goodwill felt [towards our] city by the Aetolian League, which displays  
its anxiety to grant [all] / the requests of the ambassadors, and especially has 15  
granted to our people one vote as *hieromnemon*<sup>2</sup> in the Amphictyonic Council,  
in conformity with the feelings of kinship and friendliness [it has] had before  
towards our city; therefore, so that the people may be seen by [all the] Greeks  
to be honouring those who chose to be its benefactors, [with good fortune],  
be it resolved by the council and the people, to praise the [Aetolian League] / 20  
for the goodwill and zeal it shows on every occasion [towards our people  
and] to crown it with the largest gold crown according to the law, worth  
100 [gold Alexander] coins; and so that all the Greeks may know what [has  
been decreed by the council] and the people, the sacred herald shall make the  
following proclamation at the Dionysia [in the theatre when the] children's  
choruses are about to compete: / [the people of Chios] crowns the Aetolian 25  
League with the largest gold crown [according to the law], worth 100 [gold]  
Alexander coins, for its merits and the goodwill and [zeal (it shows) towards]  
it; the agonothete<sup>3</sup> shall be responsible for the proclamation; when the decree  
has been voted a *hieromnemon* [shall be elected; let the *hieromnemon*] who is  
elected offer with the other *hieromnemones* the [sacrifices] customary among  
the [Chians, / and let him act as judge] in accordance with the law and the 30  
resolutions of the Amphictyonic Council; [in future one shall send] every  
year a *hieromnemon* to the [Amphictyonic Council] at [Delphi . . .]; let one  
not appoint the same person twice; one shall give [to the] *hieromnemon* [an  
allowance for the customary] sacrifices offered on behalf of the city: when the  
*Pythia* [are celebrated] 2,000 [Alexander drachmas], and in [the . . .] fifteen  
[hundred Alexander] drachmas; / and let the [next] sacred envoys appointed 35  
to go to the *Laphrieia*<sup>4</sup> [receive from] the treasurers the [money that has been]  
voted and see to the making of [the crown] as [quickly as possible] and convey  
[with] the *hieromnemon* the decree and the crown [to the *Laphrieia*] and the  
*Thermika*,<sup>5</sup> and [let them] request the Aetolians to make sure the crown [is  
proclaimed in accordance with the] proclamation written in this decree at the

- 40 *Laphrieia* / and at [the *Thermika*]; and let the sacred envoys [sent] to Delphi make sure that the proclamation written in this [decree is proclaimed] at the Pythia; [and so that] the resolutions of the Aetolian [League] and [of the people] of Chios concerning the vote (in the Amphictyonic Council) should be preserved for all time, let [the first *hieromnemon*] who is appointed have it
- 45 inscribed on two stone stelae, [one of these to be] dedicated / [at Delphi,<sup>6</sup> the other in] the sanctuary of Apollo Thermius; let the [expense] for the [stelae and the] inscription be provided by the treasurers; and let the present [decree be promulgated for the] safety of the people. The travel allowance for the [*hieromnemon*] was fixed [at . . . drachmas]. Gannon son of Clytomedes was elected *hieromnemon*.<sup>7</sup>

Moretti II.78 (*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 443); cf. *Bull.* 1977, 231

1. The council of the Aetolian League.
2. The title of the delegates from Greek states participating in the Amphictyonic Council.
3. Cf. 54 n. 8.
4. An Aetolian festival in honour of Artemis.
5. The autumn meeting of the Aetolian League, held at Thermum, the religious centre of the League.
6. The present decree, found at Delphi.
7. First attested as *hieromnemon* at Delphi in a list of 246 or 242.

## 65 Decree of Philippi recognising the *asylia* of Cos (242)

From the 260s to early Roman imperial times a number of Greek cities, mostly in the Aegean and Asia Minor, sought and received from the wider Greek world – cities, kings, leagues – and later from Rome herself (cf. 199) recognition of their *asylia* ('inviolability', literally 'immunity from reprisals (*syle*)'). The *asylia* could be that of an important sanctuary controlled by the city (Cos, this inscription), the city and its territory (Magnesia, 189; Teos, 191), or the city as well as a sanctuary (Smyrna, 174) – individual cases vary. Much of the evidence is provided by inscriptions set up by the beneficiary cities in which they record the recognition of the grant in response to a specific request. The international prestige conferred by such a recognition is evident, and accounts for the trouble cities went to secure it. What concrete benefits the privilege was expected to confer is less clear. The phenomenon has often been interpreted as a response to the insecurity of the age – the cities concerned sought to secure protection against arbitrary violence in peacetime, such as that practised by the Aetolians (64; cf. Walbank (1981), 145–8; J. K. Davies in *CAH* VII.1<sup>2</sup> (1984), 288–90). Compare Diodorus on the Indians (II.36.6): 'The customs of the Indians are a contributory cause of the absence of food shortages among them. For whereas with the rest of mankind the practice is for the enemy to ravage the land and

cause it to be uncultivated, with the Indians the farmers are respected as sacred and inviolable, and so those who are working the land in the proximity of the battle-lines are immune from danger.’ It has, however, been argued that the honorific aspect was paramount (Rigsby (1996), 1–29, esp. 22–5), though this is open to discussion (cf. further Ma (1999), 157, 172f., 261–4; Shipley (2000), 80–3). On the request by Cos and the response, cf. Sherwin-White (1978), 111–14 and 357f. and Rigsby *op. cit.*, 106–53. For other cases of *asylia* cf. 103, 172, 176 (?), 222, 237 and for Egypt cf. 290 l. 84 and n. 22.

(35) Decree of Philippi.<sup>1</sup> Sacred matters. Concerning the sacred embassy sent from Cos. Decision of the assembly. Since the city of Cos, in accordance with ancestral custom and the oracle (concerning) the sanctuary of Asclepius<sup>2</sup> has sent Aristolochus son of Zmendron as chief sacred ambassador and as sacred ambassador Makareus son of Aratus<sup>3</sup> to announce to the assembly the sacrifice in honour of Asclepius and the truce, and they / came before the assembly, declared and renewed the kinship which exists between the city of Cos, the city of Philippi, King Antigonus (Gonatas), and all the other Greeks<sup>4</sup> and Macedonians, and requested that the sanctuary should be considered inviolate (*asylōs*); with good fortune be it resolved by the assembly: the city should accept the proclamation of the *Asclepia* at Cos and the truce / as announced by the sacred ambassadors; the city of Cos should be praised for the honours which it pays to the goddess and for its goodwill towards King Antigonus, the city of Philippi, and the other Greeks and Macedonians; the sanctuary of Asclepius at Cos should be considered inviolate, in accordance with the policy of King Antigonus;<sup>5</sup> the treasurer should provide to the sacred ambassadors for hospitality on behalf of the city / the same amount that is specified in the law to be given in the case of those who announce the Pythian festival; the *archon* should invite on behalf of the city the sacred ambassadors to the town hall to participate in the sacrifices; the treasurer should give to the *archon* for each of the ambassadors the sum of money specified in the law; to ensure their safe journey to Neapolis, the generals should provide them with an escort drawn from the mercenary soldiers in service with the city; Heracleodorus, son of Aristion, / who received the sacred embassy, should be appointed *theorodokos* for the sacred embassy coming from Cos.

SEG 12.373 lines 35–55; Rigsby (1996), 138–40; Hatzopoulos (1996), II no. 36

1. This is one of four decrees by cities in Macedon which responded to the request of Cos; the others were Cassandrea and Amphipolis, whose decrees were inscribed on the same stone as that from Philippi (SEG 12.373 ll. 1–17 and 18–34; Hatzopoulos II (1996), nos. 47, 41), and Pella, whose decree was inscribed separately (SEG 12.374; Hatzopoulos II (1996), no. 58).

2. On the cult of Asclepius and the Asclepieum at Cos cf. Sherwin-White (1978), 334–59; on Cos cf. esp. **60, 153**.
3. The same envoys visited the other Macedonian cities as well as several Greek cities on the mainland of Greece.
4. The other decrees from Macedonian cities (Cassandra, Amphipolis and Pella) only mention the Macedonians, not the Greeks as well.
5. On the role of Antigonus in ratifying the decision of the cities in Macedon cf. A. Giovannini, in Laourdas and Makaronas II (1977), 465–72; Walbank (1981), 86f.; Errington (1990), 230–2; Hatzopoulos I (1996), 365–9; Shipley (2000), 112. Compare the case of Philip V and the cities of Thessaly, **75**.

## 66 Letter of Ziaelas king of the Bithynians recognising the *asylia* of Cos (242)

Ziaelas, King of the Bithynians,<sup>1</sup> to the council and people of Cos, greetings.

5 Your envoys Diogeitus, Aristolochus, and Theudotus / came and requested that the sanctuary of Asclepius which is established in your city should be accepted by us as inviolate (*asylas*)<sup>2</sup> and that in other respects we should favour

10 your city, just as Nicomedes / our father was well disposed to your people.

15 We actually show care for all the Greeks who come to our country, / as we are convinced that this makes no small contribution to our good reputation.<sup>3</sup> In particular we continue to show high regard for our father's 'friends'<sup>4</sup> and for

20 you, / because of our father's acquaintance with your people, because King

25 Ptolemy (III) is well disposed towards you / (and he is our friend and ally),<sup>5</sup> and also because your envoys recounted with great enthusiasm the goodwill which you have for us. In future / we shall try to the best of our ability to show favour to you both individually and to all collectively just as you request

35 from us, and as for those of you who sail the sea / and happen to land in the countries over which we have power we shall take care to guarantee their safety.<sup>6</sup> In the same way / we shall take the greatest care that no one inflicts any harm on those who suffer an accident in the course of their voyage and

45 are shipwrecked on our shores. We / also accept that your sanctuary should be inviolate in accordance with your request, and concerning these and our other wishes we have given instructions to Diogeitus, Aristolochus and Theudotus

50 to / report to you. Farewell.

*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 456; *RC* 25; Burstein 26; Rigsby (1996), 118–21

1. Son of Nicomedes I (reigned c.279–255), himself son of Zipoetes the founder of the Bithynian monarchy (Zipoetes took the royal title in c.298/7). The title 'King of the Bithynians' (rather than just 'King') is unusual; cf. R. M. Errington, *JHS* 94 (1974),



- 21 n. 7. For the Bithynian monarchy cf. also **97**, **159** and L. Hannestad in Bilde et al. (1996), 67–98.
2. See **65**.
  3. For the motivation cf. Hannestad (n. 1 above); de Souza (1999), 54–6.
  4. Cf. **31** n. 3.
  5. Ziaelas is anxious to present himself as a member of the ‘royal club’ of major monarchies.
  6. It was common for rulers and states to profess a concern for the protection of traders; cf. M. M. Austin in Cascio and Rathbone (2000), 22 n. 6. The Bithynians had a reputation for hostility to foreigners (Xenophon, *Anabasis* 6.4.2).

## 67 The rise of the Achaean League

The rise to importance of the Achaean League, as of the Aetolian (**64**), was a feature of the third century, particularly its second half. Both leagues shared common institutional features and differed from the ‘symmachies’ of the classical age in that they were not dominated by a single powerful city (such as Athens or Sparta) and possessed a capacity to grow organically, though within limits, through the extension of their citizenship (more so in the case of the Achaean League than the Aetolian). Both also originated in areas of Greece that did not have a distinguished *polis* background; significantly Athens refused to be included in the Achaean League (Plutarch, *Aratus* 33–4) and Sparta eventually had to be coerced to join (see **87**). Polybius, himself an Achaean statesman, is biased in favour of the Achaeans and their league, and hostile to the enemies of the Achaeans, notably the Aetolians (see also **72**, **73**, **85**). On the institutions of the Achaean League see Larsen (1968), 215–40, Walbank III (1979), 406–14 and (1985), 20–37; on its history, Walbank (1933) and in *CAH* VII.1<sup>2</sup> (1984), 243–6; Larsen (1968), 303–498; Errington (1969); Urban (1979).

As regards the Achaean people and the (royal) house of Macedon it will be appropriate to go back in time briefly, for the latter has become completely extinct, while the Achaeans, as I have said before, have experienced in our time a remarkable growth in power and a move towards unity. Previously many attempts had been made to unify the interests of the Peloponnesians, but none had succeeded, because everyone was anxious to secure his own power rather than the freedom of all. But in our time this undertaking has progressed and been completed to such an extent that not only do they have a common policy based on alliance and friendship, but they even use the same laws, weights, measures and currency, and have the same magistrates, councillors and judges. In general there is no difference between the entire Peloponnese and a single city except that its inhabitants are not included within the same wall; in other respects, within the League and in each individual city

they all have similar institutions. (38) And first it will be useful to ascertain in what way the Achaean name has established itself for all the Peloponnesians. The original bearers of this ancestral name do not enjoy the advantage of a large territory, numerous cities, great wealth, or the bravery of their men. The Arcadian people, and likewise the Laconian, surpass them greatly in size of population and extent of territory; as far as the prize for bravery is concerned they are second to none of the Greeks. Why then is it that they and the remaining Peloponnesian peoples have consented to adopt both the constitution and the name of the Achaeans? [. . .] In my opinion, the reason is this: nowhere will you find a constitution and an ideal of equality, freedom of speech, and in a word of genuine democracy,<sup>1</sup> more perfect than among the Achaeans. The ideal found many willing converts among the Peloponnesians; many were won over by persuasion and argument; some who were forced to join when an opportunity suddenly arose were eventually made to acquiesce in their position.<sup>2</sup> For none of the original members is allowed to enjoy any special privilege, and equal rights are given to all newcomers; in this way the aim has been quickly achieved with the powerful help of the dual ideals of equality and humanity (*philanthropia*). This then must be looked on as the original cause and reason for the present prosperity of the unified Peloponnese. This ideal and the form of constitution I have described existed already in the past among the Achaeans. [. . .]

(39.11) Such had been their political role at that time, but there was no achievement or notable deed which would have led to an increase in their power; they could not produce a leader worthy of the occasion, and anyone who made such a claim was overshadowed and hampered by the power of Sparta, or, and especially, by that of Macedon. (40) But when at length they found capable leaders, they quickly displayed their power by bringing about that most wonderful achievement, the concord (*homonoia*)<sup>3</sup> of the Peloponnese. Aratus of Sicyon must be regarded as the initiator and guide of the whole policy, Philopoemen of Megalopolis as the man who championed the plan and brought it to completion, while Lycortas<sup>4</sup> and the men of his party ensured its lasting durability. What each of them achieved, by what means and in what circumstances, I will try to show, making mention of them from time to time in such a way as not to conflict with the scheme of this work. The actions of Aratus I will only refer to summarily now and hereafter, as he himself has written very truthful and clear *Memoirs*<sup>5</sup> about his achievements (*FGrH* 231 T 3); what the others did I will relate in more detail and at greater length. I think the most convenient course, and the one my readers will find easiest to follow, will be for me to start at the time when the Achaean League was broken up into cities by the kings of Macedon and the cities then began once more to approach each other; from then on the League grew in power continuously

until it reached its present completion, of which I have just given a partial account.

(41) In the 124th Olympiad (284–280) Patrae and Dyme began to unite, and this was the time when Ptolemy son of Lagus, Lysimachus and also Seleucus and Ptolemy Ceraunus died (they all died during this Olympiad).<sup>6</sup> In the period before this the situation of the Achaeans was more or less as follows. They were ruled by kings from the time of Tisamenus, son of Orestes, who seized control of Achaea when he was expelled from Sparta at the time of the Return of the Heraclids. They remained under the same royal dynasty until Ogyges, when they rose against his sons because of the illegal and despotic character of their rule, and changed the constitution to a democracy. Subsequently in the period down to the reigns of Philip and Alexander their fortunes varied according to circumstances, but they sought, as I have mentioned, to preserve democracy in the institutions of the League. The League consisted of twelve cities, which are still extant, except for Olenus and Helice which was submerged in the sea before the battle of Leuctra (371). They are: Patrae, Dyme, Pharae, Tritaea, Leontium, Aegium, Aegira, Pellene, Bura, Cerynea. In the period after Alexander, before the 124th Olympiad, they fell into such a state of disunity and disarray, particularly because of the kings of Macedon, that all the cities became divided from each other and acted against their common interest. As a result some had garrisons imposed on them by Demetrius and Cassander and later by Antigonus Gonatas, while others fell under the rule of tyrants; for no one set up so many tyrannies in Greece as did Antigonus Gonatas. In the 124th Olympiad, as I mentioned above, they had a change of heart and began to work towards unity (this was at the time of Pyrrhus' crossing to Italy).<sup>7</sup> The first cities to come together were Dyme, Patrae, Tritaea and Pharae; that is why there does not even exist a stele recording the federation (*sympoliteia*) of these cities. About five years later (275/4) the people of Aegium expelled their garrison and joined the federation, and after them the people of Bura, after putting their tyrant to death; at the same time the people of Cerynea rejoined the League. For Iseas, the then tyrant of Cerynea, when he saw the expulsion of the garrison from Aegium, and the execution of the tyrant at Bura by Margus and the Achaeans, and when he saw that he was virtually on the point of being attacked on all sides, he abdicated his rule, received pledges of safety from the Achaeans and joined the city to the Achaean League. [ . . . ]

(43) For the first 25 years the cities I have mentioned constituted the League, electing in rotation a federal secretary and two generals. Thereafter they decided to appoint one general only to whom they entrusted supreme command; the first to hold this office was Margus of Cerynea (255/4). Four years after his tenure of office, Aratus of Sicyon, then only twenty years old,

freed his native city from its tyrant by his bravery and daring, and joined it to the Achaean League, whose political principles he had admired from the start (251/50). Eight years later, elected general for the second time, he made a surprise attack on the Acrocorinth, then held by Antigonos; he captured it and so freed the inhabitants of the Peloponnese from a great fear, liberated Corinth and joined it to the Achaean League (243/2). In his same year of office he secured control of Megara by guile and joined it to the Achaeans. This was the year before the Carthaginian defeat which caused them to evacuate Sicily completely and submit for the first time to paying tribute to the Romans.<sup>8</sup>

Having made such great progress in his aim in a short time, Aratus continued henceforth as leader of the Achaean League and directed all his thoughts and actions to a single goal: the expulsion of the Macedonians from the Peloponnese, the overthrow of the tyrannies, and the preservation for all of their common ancestral freedom. And so, as long as Antigonos Gonatas was alive, he constantly opposed his interference and the Aetolians' lust for plunder,<sup>9</sup> handling every situation like a statesman, though both Antigonos and the Aetolians carried their contempt for justice and impudence so far as to conclude a treaty to break up the Achaean League.<sup>10</sup>

(44) After the death of Antigonos, the Achaeans concluded an alliance with the Aetolians and fought nobly with them in the war against Demetrius;<sup>11</sup> their feelings of estrangement and hostility were provisionally lifted and gave way to a growing sentiment of solidarity and friendship.<sup>12</sup> When Demetrius died after a reign of only ten years (this was at the time of the first Roman crossing to Illyria) conditions became very favourable for the policy the Achaeans had pursued from the beginning. For the tyrants of the Peloponnese were downcast at the death of Demetrius, who had been as it were their leader and paymaster, and at the pressures exercised by Aratus, who wanted them to abdicate their tyrannies, holding out great rewards and honours to those who complied, but threatening those who remained obdurate with even greater perils at the hands of the Achaeans. There was therefore a general movement among them to lay down their tyrannies voluntarily, restore freedom to their cities and join the Achaean League. Thus, while Demetrius was still alive, Lydiades of Megalopolis had the foresight to take the initiative and make the statesmanlike and sensible decision to lay down his tyranny and join the Achaean federation (235). Aristomachus tyrant of Argos (229/8), Xenon tyrant of Hermione and Cleon tyrant of Phlius then laid down their tyrannies and joined the Achaean democracy.<sup>13</sup>

Polybius II.37.7–44 (omitting 38.5; 38.11–39.10; 42)

1. Polybius' insistence on the 'democratic' character of the Achaean League should not be taken literally. By the time of Polybius the word 'democracy' had lost its full meaning

- (cf. 113 §3 and 110; de Ste Croix (1981), 321–3), and the Achaean League, where effective power rested with the wealthy, was in no way comparable to classical Athens.
2. Optimistic: for Sparta's relations with the Achaean League see 71, 79, 87.
  3. See 63.
  4. Polybius' father.
  5. Now lost (*FGrH* 231), but used and referred to by Polybius and Plutarch (71) and so indirectly a major, though apologetic, source for the history of the Achaean League (cf. 73 n. 6).
  6. See 56, 57, 159 §8.
  7. See 59.
  8. The First Punic War (264–241).
  9. See 64.
  10. *Staatsv.* III.490.
  11. King in Macedon 239–229.
  12. For a critical view of the Achaean role in this obscure episode see J. A. O. Larsen, *CP* 70 (1975), 159–72.
  13. For another example of this process see 68.

## 68 Decree of the Achaean League on the admission of (Arcadian) Orchomenus to the Achaean League (c.234)

On Orchomenus cf. Walbank I (1957), 242f.

(The first three lines are too fragmentary for continuous translation)

... [let him be fined] 30 talents which will be consecrated to Zeus [Amarius, and let anyone who wishes prosecute] him on a capital charge / before the 5  
[Achaean] League. [Let] the Orchomenians and Achaeans [swear the same oath], at [Aegium the councillors (*synedroi*)<sup>1</sup> of the Achaeans, the general], hipparch and navarch, at [Orchomenus the magistrates of the Orchomenians], as follows:<sup>2</sup> I swear by Zeus Amarius, Athena Amaria, Aphrodite [and all the gods, to] abide [in] every respect with (the terms of) the stele, the agreement and the decree [passed by the / League] of the Achaeans; and if anyone does not 10  
abide by them, I will obstruct him as far as possible; [and if I abide by my oath] may I prosper, but if I break it may the opposite happen. Any (Orchomenian) who acquires a plot of land or a house at [Orchomenus] from the time when they became Achaeans may not alienate it for a period of twenty years. If there is any charge against Nearchus or his sons<sup>3</sup> relating to the time before the Orchomenians became Achaeans, they shall all be null and void, and let [no / suit be brought] either by anyone against Nearchus or his sons or by 15  
Nearchus or any of his [sons] concerning the charges from the time before the Orchomenians [became] Achaeans; [anyone who] brings a suit will be fined 1,000 drachmas and the suit will be null and void. Concerning the gold [statue

20 of Nike] from the sanctuary of Zeus Hoplosmius which the [Methydrians who moved] to Orchomenus offered as security, subsequently sharing out the money (raised), and which some of them [brought back / to Methydrium], if they do not repay the monetary value to the Megalopolitans, as [conceded by the city] of Orchomenus, let the culprits be liable to prosecution.<sup>4</sup>

*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 490; *IG* V.2.344; *Staatsv.* III.499; *BD* 30

1. Restoration uncertain; perhaps also *damiorgoi* = magistrates.
2. Cf. **40** n. 7.
3. Most probably the ‘tyrant’ ruling at Orchomenus, as in other Peloponnesian cities, before it joined the Achaean League (**67**).
4. An obscure clause: men from Methydrium, a city absorbed by Megalopolis but which claimed its independence, had removed a golden statue from one of their temples; Megalopolis, now a member of the Achaean League (**67** ch. 44), was asking for compensation. The precise circumstances are conjectural.

## 69 Agis IV of Sparta (c.263–241)

The third-century ‘Spartan revolution’ is the best-known example of the social tensions that affected many Greek states in this period (A. Fuks, *Ancient Society* 5 (1974), 51–81; cf. **92**). The ultimate aims of the reformer kings in Sparta were, however, probably political rather than social: the revival of Spartan power in the Peloponnese through the reconstruction of its citizen army. The ‘revolution’ is well known thanks to Plutarch’s *Lives of Agis IV and Cleomenes III*, which are largely based on the history of Phylarchus (*FGrH* 81), a writer criticised by Polybius (II.56–63) for his sensationalism and inaccuracy, but who was nevertheless perhaps the most important of the historians of the third century. Polybius’ critique is motivated in part by political bias – an Achaean, and an admirer of Aratus of Sicyon (**67**), Polybius could not accept Phylarchus’ favourable presentation of the Spartan reformer kings, particularly Cleomenes III, whose action eventually threatened to destroy the Achaean League (**71**). On both kings see Shimron (1972), 4–52; Tigerstedt II (1974), 49–85; F. W. Walbank in *CAH* VII.1<sup>2</sup> (1984), 252–5 and 456–9; Cartledge and Spawforth (2002), 38–58, 269.

### (a) *The concentration of wealth in Sparta after 404*

The beginning of the decline and of the disease in Sparta coincided with the destruction of the Athenian hegemony when they filled themselves with gold and silver. And yet, so long as the number of households remained the same as once fixed by Lycurgus, and the lots of land were passed on from father to son, the preservation of this order and equality somehow managed to compensate

for the other errors committed by the city.<sup>1</sup> But when a powerful man called Epitadeus,<sup>2</sup> who was headstrong and violent in temper, became ephor, as a result of a quarrel with his son he introduced a law allowing one to bestow on whoever one wished one's patrimony and lot of land, either by gift during one's lifetime or by bequest in one's will. In introducing this law he was indulging his own private resentment, but the other citizens welcomed and ratified it through greed and so destroyed the best of institutions. For from this date onwards powerful men accumulated inheritances without limit, pushing aside the claims of the true heirs, and in a short time<sup>3</sup> wealth was concentrated into a few hands and the city as a whole became impoverished. The process brought in its wake servility, indifference to what is honourable, as well as envy and resentment against those who owned property. There were only 700 Spartiates left, no more, and of those perhaps 100 owned land as well as an (ancestral) lot. The remaining mass of people lingered on in the city without resources or political rights, fighting foreign wars without energy or spirit, and always on the lookout for an opportunity for change and revolution. (6) That is why Agis, rightly believing it a fine undertaking to re-establish equality in the city and fill up the citizen body, began to sound out people's feelings.

Plutarch, *Agis* 5–6.1

(b) *The revolutionary proposals of Agis and the opposition to them (243)*

Now at that time the greater part of the wealth of Sparta was in the hands of the women,<sup>4</sup> and this made the task of Agis laborious and difficult. For the women offered resistance when they saw that not only were they being deprived of the luxurious standard of living which their lack of taste made them believe constituted real happiness, but that they would also forfeit the honour and power they derived from their wealth. They turned to Leonidas and urged him as the elder of the two kings to attack Agis and obstruct his plans. Leonidas was prepared to help the rich, but was afraid of the people who were anxious for the change; he therefore made no open resistance but secretly sought to damage and destroy the undertaking. He would engage the magistrates in conversation and slander Agis, saying he was offering to the poor the property of the wealthy as the wages of his tyranny, and by redistributing lands and cancelling debts he was purchasing for himself a large bodyguard, and not citizens for Sparta. (8) However, Agis secured the appointment of Lysander as ephor, and straightaway introduced through him a law before the elders, the chief provisions of which were the abolition of debts and the redistribution of land. The region between the ravines of Pellene and Taygetus, Malea and Sellasia was to be divided into 4,500 lots, and the rest of the country into 15,000; the latter was to be shared out to those of the *perioikoi* who were

capable of bearing arms, while the central region would go to the Spartiates themselves, whose numbers were to be filled up from all those *perioikoi* and foreigners who had received a liberal education, were sound in body and in their prime.<sup>5</sup> The Spartiates would be organised in fifteen public messes<sup>6</sup> of 400 or 200 men, and their style of living would be that pursued by their ancestors.<sup>7</sup>

Plutarch, *Agis* 7.5–8

1. Whether this original equality of land ever existed is open to doubt (see Walbank I (1957), 728–31), but the belief exercised a powerful influence on the Spartan reformer kings.
2. Otherwise unknown, though cf. Aristotle, *Politics* 1270a15–29 for the law and its effects.
3. Plutarch is compressing here a longer evolution and may in any case be exaggerating the impact of Epitadeus' law (cf. de Ste Croix (1972), 331f.).
4. See already Aristotle, *Politics* 1270a23–31.
5. Agis' reforms did not extend to the Laconian helots.
6. A revival of the public messes of the Spartan men; Agis' proposals must also have included the revival of the traditional Spartan education (*agoge*), though Plutarch does not make this explicit (Shimron, *op. cit.*, 20).
7. Agis' proposals failed on the opposition of the Spartan 'conservatives' and he was tried and executed in 241.

## 70 Cleomenes III of Sparta (c.260–219)

See **69**.

### (a) *Cleomenes' lifestyle*

Cleomenes himself was an example to all; his own manner of life was plain, frugal and free from insolence or any affectation of superiority, and it was like a model of self-restraint for all. This gave him some influence over Greek affairs. For when people visited the other kings, they were not so much impressed at their wealth and prodigality as disgusted with their arrogant pretensions and the offensive and haughty way they answered those who met them.<sup>1</sup> But when they came to see Cleomenes, a king in deed as well as in title, there were no purple garments or expensive clothes to be seen around him, no array of couches and litters. He did not surround himself with a crowd of messengers, porters and secretaries to make his approach a difficult and slow task to petitioners. They found him wearing everyday clothes and answering in person the greetings of his visitors, spending time in conversation with them



in a cheerful and friendly way; they were charmed and won over by his popular manner, and called him the only true descendant of Heracles. His daily meals were reduced to three couches and were very strict and Spartan in style; if he was entertaining ambassadors or guests, two more couches were added and the servants would make the table look a little more brilliant, not by serving rich food and cakes, but by making the dishes more abundant and the wine more generous. He once rebuked one of his friends when he heard that he had entertained guests with black soup and barley bread as was customary at the public messes. He said that on such occasions when entertaining guests one should not behave in a too strictly Spartan way. Once the table was removed, a tripod was brought in with a bronze crater full of wine, two silver vases holding a pint each and very few silver cups; anyone who wished might drink from these, but no one was offered a cup which he did not want. There was no music and none was asked for; Cleomenes himself would entertain the company with his conversation, sometimes asking questions of others and sometimes telling stories; when he was serious his words were not lacking in charm, and when he was joking he did so with grace and without rudeness. For the hunt for men conducted by the other kings, who tempted and corrupted them with money and gifts, seemed to him crude and immoral.<sup>2</sup> But to win over and attract those who met him by conversation and words that evoked pleasure and confidence seemed to him a most honourable course of action and one well worthy of a king. The only difference he could see between a friend and a hireling was that the former was won over by what you were like and what you said, the latter by your money.

Plutarch, *Cleomenes* 13

(b) *Cleomenes justifies his action by an appeal to the past* (227)

The next day<sup>3</sup> Cleomenes proscribed 80 citizens, who had to leave the city, and removed the ephors' chairs with the exception of one on which he intended to sit and give audience. He summoned an assembly and defended his actions. Lycinus, he said, had associated the Elders with the kings, and for a long time the city was administered in this fashion, without the need for another magistracy. Later, as the war against the Messenians dragged on, the kings were kept busy by the campaigning and so chose some of their friends to administer justice, leaving them behind as their representatives for the citizens with the title of ephors. At first they continued for a long time to be auxiliaries of the king, then little by little they usurped authority and so turned themselves into an independent magistracy without anyone noticing. [. . .] So long as they acted with moderation, he said, it was better to put up with them, but when they usurped power and destroyed the ancestral form of government,

and went as far as to exile some kings and execute others without trial, and to threaten those who longed to see again in Sparta the fairest and most divine constitution, it could no longer be tolerated.<sup>4</sup> Had it been possible to remove without bloodshed those foreign plagues of Sparta, namely luxury, extravagance, debts and usury, and those still more ancient evils, poverty and wealth, he would have thought himself the happiest king of all to cure his native city painlessly like a doctor. But now, to excuse a necessary recourse to violence, there was the example of Lycurgus, who was neither a king nor a magistrate, but a private citizen, and who sought to act like a king and went to the agora in arms, which caused King Charillus to take refuge in terror at an altar. Charillus was a good and patriotic citizen and so quickly joined in Lycurgus' enterprise and approved the change of constitution, but Lycurgus demonstrated by his action that it is difficult to change a constitution without violence and terror.<sup>5</sup> He himself had made use of such means with the greatest moderation, he said, to remove those who were opposed to the safety of Sparta. To all the others he was now offering the whole land as common property and freeing the debtors from their debts;<sup>6</sup> he would carry out an examination and inspection of the foreigners, so that the best of them might become Spartiates and save the city with their arms. 'And so', he said, 'we shall no longer see Laconia being the prey of the Aetolians<sup>7</sup> and Illyrians for want of defenders.' (11) Then Cleomenes was the first to give his property to the common stock, followed by Megistonous his father-in-law and each of his friends, then all the remaining citizens, and the land was divided up. He assigned a lot to each of the men he had exiled and promised to bring them back when the situation had calmed down. He filled up the citizen body with the élite of the *perioikoi*<sup>8</sup> and raised a force of 4,000 hoplites, whom he taught to use the *sarissa*<sup>9</sup> with both hands instead of the spear and to carry the shield by a band and not by a handle. He then turned to the education of the young and the so-called *agoge*, in the organisation of which he received considerable assistance from Sphaerus<sup>10</sup> who was present in Sparta. The gymnasia and public messes soon recovered their decency and good order; a few submitted under compulsion to the simplicity of the old Spartan way of life, but the majority did so willingly. Nevertheless, to make the name of monarchy more acceptable, he appointed his brother Euclidas to be king with himself; this was the only time that the Spartans had two kings from a single royal house.<sup>11</sup>

Plutarch, *Cleomenes* 10–11

1. Cf. e.g. 52, 96 ch. 32, 274. For Plutarch's attitude to Hellenistic kings, which echoes that of Phylarchus, see 42 (end), 52, 44, 59. For other royal portraits cf. 233 n. 2.
2. On the search for followers by Hellenistic kings see 31 n. 3; Rostovtzeff I (1941), 137 and III, 1339–41.

3. Immediately after Cleomenes' coup in Sparta in which he killed four of the five ephors who opposed his plans.
4. This version of the history of the ephorate is obviously tendentious.
5. See Plutarch, *Lycurgus* 5.5–9; the story is obviously unverifiable.
6. Cf. **108** n. 2.
7. See **64**.
8. Cleomenes, like Agis before him (**69**), did not envisage the freeing of the Helots and only resorted partially to this tactic in 223 as a last expedient (Plutarch, *Cleomenes* 23.1).
9. The weapon of the Macedonian phalanx (**83**).
10. A Stoic philosopher who had taught Cleomenes (Plutarch, *Cleomenes* 2.2).
11. In effect Cleomenes' position in Sparta was virtually that of a tyrant.

## 71 Aratus of Sicyon turns to Antigonus Doson to save the Achaean League from Cleomenes (227–224)

See Walbank I (1957), 245–53 and in *CAH* VII.<sup>1</sup> (1984), 461–73; *Staatsv.* III.506; E. S. Gruen, *Historia* 21 (1972), 609–25.

This ruined the affairs of Greece, which was still able to recover somehow from its present situation and escape from the insolence and rapacity of the Macedonians. Whether it was through distrust and fear of Cleomenes,<sup>1</sup> or because he envied his unexpected success and believed it would be a terrible thing, after holding the front rank for 33 years, to see an upstart interloper destroy his glory and power at once and take over the control of the position he had built up and preserved for so long, Aratus sought at first to apply compulsion and prevent the Achaeans (from yielding the leadership to Cleomenes). But they did not listen to him, amazed as they were at the audacity of Cleomenes and believing even that the pretension of the Spartans to bring the Peloponnese back to the ancestral order was justified. And so Aratus turned to a course of action unworthy of any Greek and most disgraceful for him, and in complete contradiction of his previous actions and policies: he invited Antigonus (Doson) into Greece and filled the Peloponnese with Macedonians, whom he himself as a young man had expelled from the Peloponnese after liberating the Acrocorinth;<sup>2</sup> he had been himself suspect to all the kings and their enemy, and had heaped abuse on this same Antigonus in the *Memoirs* he has left (*FGrH* 231 F 4b).<sup>3</sup> He says he suffered much hardship and faced many risks on behalf of the Athenians, to free their city from its garrison and from the Macedonians; and yet he brought them in arms to his own country, his own hearth and into the women's quarters,<sup>4</sup> and could not accept that a descendant of Heracles and king of Sparta, who was restoring his ancestral constitution, as it were, from a disordered harmony to the plain Dorian rules and way of life of

Lycurgus, should deserve the title of leader of the Sicyonians and Tritaeans.<sup>5</sup> His aversion to the barley bread and plain Spartan coat, and especially (this was his most serious grievance against Cleomenes) to his destruction of wealth and alleviation of poverty,<sup>6</sup> led Aratus to subject himself and Achaea to the diadem and the purple, and to obey the orders of Macedonians and satraps<sup>7</sup> so as not to appear to be executing those of Cleomenes. Aratus sacrificed at festivals named after Antigonus (*Antigoneia*), sang paeans and crowned himself in honour of a man who was wasting away with consumption. This we write not out of a desire to disgrace Aratus (he showed himself on many occasions a true Greek and a great man), but out of pity for the weakness of human nature, which even in characters like this, so worthy and so well disposed to excellence, cannot achieve a perfection that is above reproach.<sup>8</sup>

Plutarch, *Cleomenes* 16

1. See **70**; Cleomenes' reforms and leadership had provided Sparta with a powerful army.
2. See **67** ch. 43.
3. See **67** n. 5.
4. Philip V seduced the wife of Aratus' son (Plutarch, *Aratus* 49.2).
5. A small Achaean town (**67** ch. 41).
6. Aratus' fear of the 'contagion of revolution' in the Peloponnese following Cleomenes' reforms in Sparta is not made clear in Polybius' account (II.46–55).
7. Rhetorical: there were no 'satraps' in the Macedonian kingdom.
8. Cf. also **78**; contrast Polybius' apologetic account of Aratus' action (II.46–55).

## 72 The Hellenic League votes for war against the Aetolians (220)

Antigonus' intervention in Greece at the invitation of the Achaean League (**71**) led late in 224 to the formation under Macedonian leadership of a general Hellenic League (*Staatsv.* III.507) which represented a new approach to the old problem of the relations between Macedon and the states of the mainland (contrast esp. **3**, **28**, **35**, **50**, **61**, **67**). Though the Macedonian king had the presidency and executive power in the League, the member states were granted an important measure of autonomy in that decisions by the federal council were not apparently binding on them. Another novelty of the League was that it comprised federal states (i.e. Achaeans, Boeotians, etc.) and not separate cities, an indication of the success of federal institutions at this time (cf. Hammond and Walbank (1988), 349–54). It is chiefly known from its participation in the so-called 'Social War' (= war of the allies) of 220–217, which aligned the young King Philip V of Macedon and the League against the Aetolians, who were not members of it, and so may have felt threatened by its creation.

Cf. **73**, also **103**. See Larsen (1968), 326–58 and *CP* 70 (1975), 159–72; F. W. Walbank in *CAH* VII.1<sup>2</sup> (1984), 473–81.

And when Philip (V) found the representatives from the allied states gathered together at Corinth, he consulted with them and discussed the measures that ought to be taken to deal with the Aetolians. The Boeotians accused them of plundering<sup>1</sup> in peacetime the sanctuary of Athena Itonia, the Phocians of having attacked Ambrysus and Daulium and sought to capture both cities, the Epirotes of having ravaged their territory. The Acarnanians on their side explained how they had contrived a plot to capture Thyrium, and had even dared to attack the city at night. The Achaeans in addition related how they had seized Clarium in the territory of Megalopolis, ravaged the territory of Patrae and Pharae while passing through it, sacked Cynaetha, plundered the temple of Artemis at Lusi, besieged Clitor, attacked Pylus by sea and Megalopolis by land; Megalopolis was just in the process of restoration, but they (the Aetolians) were seeking with the help of the Illyrians to destroy it completely. When the representatives of the allies heard all this, they decided unanimously to make war on the Aetolians. Prefacing their resolution with the grievances just mentioned, they drew up a decree in which they declared they would give assistance to the allies in recovering any territory or cities seized from them by the Aetolians in the period dating from the death of Demetrius, the father of Philip. Similarly as regards those who had been forced by circumstances to join the Aetolian League against their will, they promised to restore them all to their ancestral form of government; they would have possession of their own territory and cities, be without garrison or tribute and free, and would use their ancestral institutions and laws.<sup>2</sup> Finally they also decreed to help the Amphictyons to recover their laws and their authority over the (Delphic) sanctuary which the Aetolians had usurped, determined as they were to keep in their own hands everything that was connected with the sanctuary.<sup>3</sup>

(26) This decree was ratified in the first year of the 140th Olympiad (220) and so began the so-called ‘Social War’, which was justified by the wrongs committed and was an appropriate response to them. The federal representatives immediately sent envoys to the allies to secure ratification of the decree by the people in each state, and so to get all to wage offensive war against the Aetolians.

Polybius IV.25–26.2

1. Cf. **64**; Polybius’ ascription of the responsibility for the war to the Aetolians is tendentious.
2. For this definition of freedom compare **35**.
3. See **60**.

### 73 The Peace of Naupactus (217)

The 'Social War' (72) is known in detail through the account of Polybius (IV.3–37, 57–87; V.1–30, 91–102). The peace which brought it to an end in 217 is given special emphasis by Polybius, rightly or wrongly, as the point when Greek affairs started to become involved with events in the west. See Walbank III (1979), 774; Gruen (1984), 322–5; Hammond and Walbank (1988), 385–91.

To begin with, the king (Philip V) sent out all the representatives of the allies with instructions to put to the Aetolians as conditions for the peace that each side should keep what they had at present. The Aetolians readily agreed to this, and there then began a continuous interchange of messages to settle points of detail; most of these I shall omit as containing nothing of interest, but I shall record the advice given by Agelaus of Naupactus at the first conference between the king and the allies who were present.<sup>1</sup>

(104) Above all the Greeks should never go to war against each other, he said, but give the gods hearty thanks if speaking all with one voice and joining hands together, as when crossing a river, they managed to repel the attacks of the barbarians and save themselves and their cities. And if this was altogether impossible, they ought for the present to agree and be on their guard when they considered the size of the armies and the magnitude of the war which was being fought in the west.<sup>2</sup> Even now it was clear to anybody with even a slight interest in politics, that whether the Carthaginians defeated the Romans in the war or the Romans the Carthaginians, there was no likelihood that the victors would be satisfied with the empire of Italy and Sicily, but they would go further and extend their operations and their forces beyond the proper limit. And so they, and particularly Philip, must keep a watchful eye on the present critical situation. Philip would be their safeguard, if he gave up the policy of wearing out the Greeks and making them an easy prey to the enemy and instead treated them as he would his own body, and in general took care of all parts of Greece as though part and parcel of his own domains. By following this policy he would secure the goodwill of the Greeks and they would faithfully assist him in his undertakings; while foreigners would be less of a threat to his power as they would be dismayed by the loyalty of the Greeks to him. If he was eager for action he must cast a glance to the west and take note of the wars raging in Italy; let him wait and see and watch for the right time to make a bid for universal power. The present situation was not unfavourable for such a hope. He also exhorted him to put off till quieter times his quarrels and wars with the Greeks, and direct all his efforts to that end: this would give him the possibility of making peace or war with them as he wished. If he waited for

the clouds now gathering in the west to settle on Greece, 'then (he said) it was much to be feared that the truces and the wars, and in short the games we are at present indulging in with each other, will be so completely knocked out of our hands that we shall have to implore the gods to allow us the freedom of making war and peace with each other when we wish, and in short to have the power to settle our own disputes.'

(105) [. . .] This occasion and this conference were the first to involve the affairs of Greece, Italy and even of Africa.<sup>3</sup> For no longer did Philip or the Greek leaders make war or peace with each other solely by reference to Greek affairs; they now all had their eyes on objectives in Italy. And the same soon happened to the islanders and the peoples of Asia; those who were displeased with Philip and some of those who had grievances against Attalus no longer inclined to Antiochus or Ptolemy or looked to the south or the east, but from this time cast their eyes to the west, some sending embassies to Carthage and others to Rome. Rome did the same with the Greeks, alarmed at Philip's audacity and fearing that he might join in the attack on them in their present situation.<sup>4</sup> [. . .]

(106) As soon as the Achaeans had put an end to the war and after the election of Timoxenus as general, they returned once more to their accustomed ways and habits, and together with the other cities of the Peloponnese they set out to restore their private fortunes, to cultivate the land and to renew the traditional sacrifices and festivals and all the local religious celebrations. For in most states these things had almost sunk into oblivion because of the continuous wars that had taken place. It has always somehow been the case that the Peloponnesians, who of all men are best suited to a peaceful and civilised way of life, have in former times at any rate had least enjoyment of it, being rather, as Euripides says (fr. 998 Nauck) 'excessive in labour and never resting with the spear'. It seems to me natural that this should happen to them: their desire for domination and love of liberty<sup>5</sup> involves them in continuous mutual wars, as they refuse to yield the first place to each other. The Athenians on their side were free from fear of Macedon and felt that their independence was now firmly secured. Under the leadership of Eurycleides and Micion they took no further part in Greek affairs but followed the policy and inclination of these statesmen and indulged in flattery of all the kings, and especially of Ptolemy (III). No decree or proclamation went too far for them, and they discarded all sense of decency because of the bad judgement of their leaders.<sup>6</sup>

Polybius V. 103.7–104; 105.4–8; 106.1–8 (cf. *Staatsv.* III.520)

1. The authenticity of this speech is controversial; cf. bibliography above and C. Champion, *TAPA* 127 (1997), 111–28.
2. The Second Punic War (76).

3. Polybius is here anticipating later developments.
4. See **76**.
5. On the conjunction of liberty and domination see J. A. O. Larsen, *CP* 57 (1962), 230–4.
6. Cf. **82** n. 2 on Polybius and Athens. After the death of Demetrius II of Macedon in 229 the Athenians, led by Eurycleides and Micion (**74**), were at last able to secure the removal of all Macedonian garrisons from Piraeus, Munychia, Salamis and Sunium (Plutarch, *Aratus* 34.3–6 and Pausanias II.8.6, exaggerating the role of Aratus: see Habicht (1997), 173–8). Polybius as an Achaean cannot forgive the Athenians for opposing the attempts of Aratus to bring Athens into the Achaean League (Plutarch, *Aratus* 41.3). The influence of Aratus' *Memoirs* on the historical tradition is apparent (cf. **67** n. 5).

## 74 Athens honours Eurycleides for services performed (c.215)

Though the following inscription is fragmentary and the name of the honorand is missing, it is clear from its contents that it refers to Eurycleides who together with his brother Micion exercised a dominant influence in Athenian politics over a long period (**73** ch. 106). On the date and text of the inscription cf. Habicht (1982), 118–27 and on Eurycleides and Micion cf. Habicht (1997), 173–8, 180, 186, 192. Compare previous prominent Athenian leaders (**54**, **55**, **61** n. 2).

- [. . . having become treasurer?] of the military [fund . . . ?]<sup>1</sup> . . . he carried out the duty [and] the [office] of the military [fund] through his son and advanced [himself] substantial sums of money; as agonothete<sup>2</sup> he responded
- 5 (to public expectation) and [spent] / seven talents, and again made his son available [for this] responsibility, [performed] the charge of agonothete well and advanced substantial sums of money; and when [the land] was lying
- 10 idle and unsown [during] the wars,<sup>3</sup> [he was responsible] for them being worked and sown [by providing money]; / and he restored freedom [to the city together] with his brother Micion after those who [returned] Piraeus,<sup>4</sup> and he provided [money] for the crown for the [soldiers who] had restored [the forts] with Diogenes,<sup>5</sup> and he strengthened the harbours, and repaired
- 15 [the walls of the] / city [together with Micion his] brother, and won over (to the side of Athens) Greek cities [and allies?];<sup>6</sup> and as for all those who [owed] money to the people, he devised ways of obtaining a just settlement [from
- 20 them] . . . providing money and . . . / . . . he provided useful things [. . . for the] people, . . . and he introduced [advantageous laws for the people; and he made] the spectacles [for the gods as beautiful as possible, and] instituted a
- 25 [supplementary] contest [in arms as a memorial of freedom]; / he also exalted the [people by establishing sanctuaries and precincts for the gods] and by



[erecting] a stoa, [displaying in everything his zeal] towards all [Athenians . . .]  
(the rest of the inscription is lost)

*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 497; Burstein 67

1. Habicht suggests: [. . . having become strategos] of the [hoplites . . .].
2. Cf. 54 n. 8.
3. Cf. 55 n. 8.
4. The liberation of Athens in 229 (73 n. 6).
5. The Macedonian commander of the garrison in Piraeus who surrendered control to the Athenians in 229 (73 n. 6).
6. Line 16 Habicht suggests: [and kings].

## 75 Two letters of Philip V to Larisa in Thessaly followed by two decrees of the city (217 and 215)

The following inscription neatly illustrates (1) Thessaly's position in relation to Macedon, nominally independent but in practice controlled by the Macedonian kings (cf. Polybius IV.76.2; Livy XXXII.10.7–8); (2) the Macedonian kings' recurring preoccupation with manpower (see 89); (3) Philip's awareness of the Romans and of Roman institutions: the Romans had intervened twice already across the Adriatic in Illyria, in 229–8 and 219 (cf. R. M. Errington, *CAH VIII*<sup>2</sup> (1989), 85–94; P. S. Derow in Erskine (2003), 51–4), the Second Punic War was now in progress, and Philip was soon to conclude an alliance with Hannibal (76).

Ananippus son of Thessalus, Aristonus son of Eunomus, Epigenes son of Jason, Eudicus son of Adamantus, Alexias son of Clearchus held the office of *tagos*;<sup>1</sup> Aleuas son of Demosthenes was gymnasiarch. King Philip sent the following letter to the *tagoi* and the city:

King Philip to the *tagoi* and the city of Larisa, greetings. Petraeus, Ananippus and Aristonus, when they came on their embassy, / declared to me that  
because of the wars your city needs more inhabitants; until I think of others  
who are deserving of your citizenship, for the present I rule that you must pass  
a decree to grant citizenship to the Thessalians or the other Greeks who are  
resident in your city. For when this is done and all keep together because of  
the favours received, I am sure that many other benefits will result for me and  
the city, and the land will be more fully cultivated. Year 4, Hyperberetaeus  
21.<sup>2</sup>

The city passed the following decree: /

On the 26th of Panamus a special assembly was held under the presidency  
of all the *tagoi*, since King Philip had sent a letter to the *tagoi* and the city,  
as Petraeus, Ananippus and Aristonus, when they came on their embassy,

declared to him that because of the wars our city needs more inhabitants; until he thought of others who were deserving of our citizenship, for the present  
15 he ruled that we should pass a decree to grant citizenship to the Thessalians / or the other Greeks who are resident with us. For when this was done and all kept together because of the favours received, he was sure that many other benefits would result for himself and our city, and that the land would be more fully cultivated. The city has voted to act in these matters as the king wrote in his letter, and to grant citizenship to the Thessalians and the other  
20 Greeks residing with us, themselves and their descendants, and to give them the same rights as the Larisaeans, choosing the tribe / they wish to belong to. The decree is to be valid for all time and the treasurers are to hand it over to be inscribed on two stone stelae with the names of those who have been given citizenship, and to place one in the sanctuary of Apollo *Kerdoios* (who brings gain) and the other in the acropolis; they shall provide whatever expense is incurred for this.

Later King Philip sent another letter to the *tagoi* and the city when Aristonus  
25 son of Eunomus, Eudicus son of Adamantus, Alexippus son of Hippolochus, / Epigenes son of Jason, Numenius son of Mnasaeus held the office of *tagos* and Timonides son of Timonides was gymnasiarch, as follows:

King Philip to the *tagoi* and the city of Larisa, greetings. I hear that those who were granted citizenship in accordance with the letter I sent to you and your decree, and whose names were inscribed (on the stele) have been erased.<sup>3</sup> If this has happened, those who have advised you have ignored the interests of your city and my ruling. That it is much the best state of affairs for as many as  
30 possible to enjoy citizen rights, / the city to be strong and the land not to lie shamefully deserted, as at present, I believe none of you would deny, and one may observe others who grant citizenship in the same way. Among these are the Romans, who when they manumit their slaves admit them to the citizen body and grant them a share in the magistracies,<sup>4</sup> and in this way have not only enlarged their country but have sent out colonies to nearly 70 places.<sup>5</sup>  
35 And yet I even now exhort you to approach [the] matter with impartiality, / and to restore to their citizen rights those chosen by the citizens; if [any] have committed an unpardonable offence against the monarchy or the city or are not deserving for some other reason [to be included] on this stele, put off the decision on them till I am back from the [campaign]<sup>6</sup> and can hear the cases. But warn in advance those who intend to lodge accusations against them, that they may not be seen to be acting in this way for [partisan] reasons. Year 7, Gorpiaeus 13.<sup>7</sup>

40 The city voted the following decree: /

On the 21st of Themistius, when Alexippus was presiding over a meeting of the assembly dealing with sacred matters, on the motion of Alexippus, the

city decreed that all those who were granted citizenship and whose names were erased, the *tagoi* should [inscribe] them on a white board and display it themselves in the agora, and they should inscribe on two stone stelae the names of the others who were granted citizenship in accordance with the letter of the king, together with the (two) letters of the king, the earlier decree and the one passed today, and should place one in the sanctuary of Apollo *Kerdoios* / and the other in the acropolis in the sanctuary of Athena; the treasurers shall provide the expense incurred from the common revenues, and this decree is to be valid for all time.

45

The following were granted citizenship in accordance with the letters of the king and the decrees of the city: (there follows a list of names, incompletely preserved, which includes one from Samothrace, 142 from Crannon in Thessaly and over 60 from Gyrtone, also in Thessaly).

*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 543; *IG IX.2.517*; Burstein 65 (second letter only); BD 32

1. The chief magistrates of the city.
2. c. September 217; on the date and context see C. Habicht in Laourdas and Makaronas I (1970), 273–9. For the wars mentioned by Philip V (during the ‘Social War’, cf. 72) see Polybius V.99.1–5.
3. Cf. J. K. Davies in *CAH VII.1*<sup>2</sup> (1984), 268f.
4. Inaccurate, if the reading is correct; only sons of freedmen were admitted to office.
5. An exaggeration; see Salmon (1969), 69.
6. In Illyria (Livy XXIV.40).
7. July–August 215.

## 76 Treaty between Hannibal and Philip V (215)

Shortly after the battle of Cannae (216) Philip V approached Hannibal to secure an alliance; the text of the treaty as reproduced by Polybius is a Greek translation, made in Hannibal’s chancellery, of the Punic original and was probably captured by the Romans from Philip’s envoy Xenophanes. The aims of the signatories appear to be limited (the version of the treaty given by Roman sources (Livy XXIII.33) is distorted and misleading). For Hannibal the treaty opened up a new war front against the Romans, but he clearly did not envisage their total destruction; for Philip the treaty provided a useful ally and a recognition of his claims over parts of Illyria which had fallen under Rome’s protectorate in the Illyrian Wars (§6, cf. 75 intro.). The Roman response was to intervene against Philip – the ‘First Macedonian War’ of 215–205 – and seek allies in the Greek world (77). See E. J. Bickerman, *TAPA* 75 (1944), 87–102 (linguistic analysis) and *AJP* 73 (1952), 1–23 (historical evaluation); Walbank II (1967), 42–56, esp. 42–4; Hammond and Walbank (1988), 391–9.

This is a sworn treaty between Hannibal the general, Mago, Myrcan, Barmocar and all the members of the Carthaginian Senate who are with him and all the Carthaginians who are serving with him, and Xenophanes son of Cleomachus of Athens, the envoy sent to us by King Philip son of Demetrius on behalf of himself, the Macedonians and their allies; the oath<sup>1</sup> is taken before Zeus, Hera and Apollo; before the god of the Carthaginians, Heracles and Iolaus; before Ares, Triton, Poseidon; before the gods that accompany the army, the Sun, the Moon, and Earth; before the rivers, harbour and waters; before all the gods who possess Carthage; before all the gods who possess Macedon and the rest of Greece; before all the gods in the army who are witnesses to this oath.

Hannibal the general and all the members of the Carthaginian Senate who are with him, and all the Carthaginians who are serving with him, propose, subject to our mutual agreement, to make this sworn treaty of friendship and goodwill; we shall be friends, kinsmen and brothers, on the following conditions:

(§1) King Philip and the Macedonians and the other Greeks who are their allies will protect the citizens (?)<sup>2</sup> of Carthage, and Hannibal the general and those serving with him, and the dependants of the Carthaginians who use the same laws, and the people of Utica and all the cities and peoples who are subject to the Carthaginians, and their soldiers and allies, and all the cities and peoples in Italy, Cisalpine Gaul and Liguria who are in alliance with us, or who may join our friendship and alliance in this country.

(§2) On their side King Philip and the Macedonians and their allies among the other Greeks will be protected and defended by the Carthaginians in the army, and by the people of Utica, and by all the cities and peoples who are subject to the Carthaginians, and their allies and soldiers, and by all the peoples in Italy, Cisalpine Gaul and Liguria which may hereafter become our allies in Italy and those regions.

(§3) We will not make plots or lay ambushes against each other, but with all zeal and goodwill and without deceit or hostile intention, we will be enemies of the Carthaginians' enemies, except for the kings, cities and harbours (?)<sup>3</sup> with which we have sworn agreements and friendships.

(§4) And we too will be enemies of King Philip's enemies, except for the kings, cities and peoples with whom we have sworn agreements and friendships.

(§5) You shall be our allies in the war we are fighting with the Romans until the gods give us and you victory; you shall give us such assistance as is necessary and as we mutually agree upon.

(§6) And when the gods have given us victory in the war against the Romans and their allies, if the Romans decide to make a treaty of friendship, we (the

Carthaginians) shall make it and include you in the same treaty of friendship, on the following conditions: the Romans are not to make war against you at any time; they are not to have power over Corcyra, Apollonia, Epidamnus, Pharos, Dimale, the Parthini, nor Atintania; they shall restore to Demetrius of Pharos all his friends who are now in the dominion of Rome.

(§7) If the Romans make war on you or on us, we will give help to each other in the war, according to the need of either.

(§8) Similarly if others do so, except for the kings, cities and peoples with whom we have sworn agreements and friendships.

(§9) If we decide to withdraw or add anything to this sworn treaty, we will make such withdrawals or additions only by mutual agreement.

Polybius VII.9; *Staatsv.* III.528

1. Contrast the Punic oath form with Greek oaths (40 n. 7).
2. Translation uncertain.
3. Probably a scribal error for 'peoples'.

## 77 Alliance between Rome and the Aetolian League (212 or 211)

The treaty between Rome and the Aetolian League, designed to embarrass Philip V and prevent him from joining Hannibal in Italy (76), was Rome's first treaty with a Greek state of the mainland. It is known chiefly from Livy's summary account (from Polybius) and from a fragmentary inscription found at Thyrrheum in Acarnania. On the treaty and on the First Macedonian War, see Badian (1958), 56f., 293f. and *Latomus* 17 (1958), 197–208; Walbank II (1967), 162f., 179f., 599–601 and III (1979), 779 and 789; Gruen (1984), 17–21, 377f., 439–41; Hammond and Walbank (1988), 400–10; R. M. Errington in *CAH VIII*<sup>2</sup> (1989), 94–106. For the argument that Roman aims in the war were not purely defensive as often assumed cf. J. W. Rich, *PCPS NS* 30 (1984), 126–80.

### (a) *Livy*

Such were the words and promises of the Roman commander, and they were confirmed by the authority of Scopas, who was at the time general of the Aetolians, and Dorimachus their leading citizen; they extolled the power and the majesty of the Roman people with less restraint and greater conviction. But the most powerful incentive was the hope of recovering Acarnania.<sup>1</sup> And so terms were drawn up to admit them to the friendship and alliance of the Roman people; and clauses were added (1) that should they so wish the

Eleans, Spartans,<sup>2</sup> Attalus, Pleuratus and Scerdilaedus would be included in the same treaty of friendship (Attalus was king of Asia<sup>3</sup> and the latter two kings of Thrace and Illyria respectively); (2) that the Aetolians should immediately wage war against Philip by land and the Romans should assist them with a fleet of not fewer than 25 quinqueremes; (3) that of the towns from Aetolia as far as Corcyra, the soil, roofs, walls and territory should belong to the Aetolians, and everything else should be the spoils of the Roman people,<sup>4</sup> who should help the Aetolians to secure possession of Acarnania; (4) that should the Aetolians make peace with Philip, they would specify in the treaty that the peace would only be valid if Philip refrained from attacking the Romans, their allies and those under their rule;<sup>5</sup> similarly, if the Roman people made a treaty with the king, they should take care to deny him the right to make war on the Aetolians and their allies.

These terms were agreed to, and were inscribed and deposited two years later by the Aetolians at Olympia and by the Romans on the Capitol, to invest the treaty with sanctity. The cause of the delay was that the Aetolian envoys were held back in Rome for a long time. [. . .]

Livy XXVI.24.7–15; *Staatsv.* III.536

(b) *Inscription*

... [towards] all these . . . let [the] magistrates of the Aetolians [do] as they wish  
5 to be done. And if the Romans capture by force any cities of these / peoples let  
it be permitted to the Aetolian people to have these cities and (their) territories  
as far as the Roman people is concerned;<sup>6</sup> and [whatever] is captured by the  
10 Romans apart from the city and its territory, / let the Romans have it. And if  
any of these cities is captured jointly by the Romans and Aetolians, [let] the  
Aetolians [be permitted] to have these cities and (their) territories as far as the  
Roman people is concerned.<sup>7</sup> And whatever they capture apart from the city,  
15 let it belong jointly / to both parties. And if any of these [cities] join or come  
over to the side<sup>8</sup> of the Romans or the Aetolians, [let it be permitted] to the  
Aetolians to admit [to their] League (*politeuma*) these [men] and cities and  
20 territories / [as far as the] Roman people [is concerned] . . . autonomous . . . (the  
last four lines are too mutilated for continuous restoration and translation)

*IG IX*<sup>2</sup>.1.241; *Staatsv.* III.536; Moretti II.87; BD 33

1. On Aetolia and Acarnania see also **19, 78**.

2. Cf. **78**.

3. Or rather of Pergamum.

4. The clauses on booty are given in fuller detail in the inscriptional fragment of the treaty (next passage); on Aetolian privateering see **64, 78**. Aetolia's alliance with Rome and

- Roman brutalities during the war generated widespread condemnation in the Greek world (cf. Polybius IX.39; X.25; XI.4–6).
5. The slackening of the Roman war effort in Greece after 208 induced the Aetolians to conclude a separate peace with Philip in 206 (Livy XXIX.12.1), which the Romans later declared a breach of the original alliance. On subsequent relations between Rome and Aetolia cf. **80, 85, 86**.
  6. Or 'as far as lies in the power of the Roman people'.
  7. Rome clearly did not envisage any territorial acquisitions in this area.
  8. The difference in the meaning of the two verbs is not clear, but in 198 Flamininus asserted that the Aetolians could only claim as their own cities taken by force (Polybius XVIII.38.8–9), which appears to contradict this clause.

## 78 Conflicting views of Macedon's relations with the Greek world (210)

Rome's alliance with Aetolia (77) sharpened divisions within the Greek world, as shown by the following debate, held before the Spartan assembly in 210. Sparta, with others, was expected to side with the Aetolians and Rome and eventually did (cf. 77), but the pro-Macedonian side hoped to bring Sparta over or at least keep her neutral. Polybius reproduces speeches delivered by the Aetolian envoy Chlaeneas (IX.28–31) and, at greater length, by the Acarnanian envoy Lyciscus (IX.32–39). Both speakers appeal to the past record of Macedon's relations with the Greeks from the time of Philip II to the present, interpreted from conflicting viewpoints – the enmity of Aetolia and Acarnania was of long standing (77 n. 1). How genuine the speeches are has been debated (cf. Walbank II (1967), 163), but they include between them the stock rhetorical arguments used in Greek politics for and against Macedon.

*(Speech of the Aetolian Chlaeneas)* (28) Spartans, I am sure that no one would dare to dispute that the establishment of Macedonian domination was the beginning of slavery for the Greeks. [. . .]<sup>1</sup> (29) As for the policies of the successors (of Alexander), do I need to talk about them in detail? There is surely no one alive who is so unaware of what is happening as not to know how Antipater, after defeating the Greeks in the battle of Lamia, treated the unfortunate Athenians with extreme harshness, and the same is true of the other Greeks.<sup>2</sup> So far did his arrogance and lawlessness go that he instituted exile-hunters and sent them to the cities against all those who had spoken against or had offended in any way the royal house of Macedon. Some were violently dragged from the temples, others torn away from the altars, and they were tortured to death. Others fled and were hounded out of the whole of Greece. They had no other place of refuge left to them than the Aetolian people. Everyone knows what was done by Cassander, Demetrius, and after

them Antigonus Gonatas.<sup>3</sup> These events took place recently, and are therefore fresh in everyone's mind. Some of these rulers introduced garrisons into the cities, others instigated tyrannies, and as a result every city was made to share in the name of slavery. But I will leave these aside, and come to the last Antigonus (Doston), so that some of you may not put an innocent interpretation on his actions and be made to feel under obligation to the Macedonians. For it was not with the aim of saving the Achaeans that Antigonus undertook the war against you, nor because he disapproved of the tyranny of Cleomenes and wanted to liberate the Spartans.<sup>4</sup> If any of you believes this, he is extremely naïve. Rather, he could see that his own domination would be threatened if you recovered your rule over the Peloponnesians. He could see that Cleomenes was just the man to achieve this and that fortune was smiling on your enterprise. He entered the campaign in fear and envy, with no intention of coming to the assistance of the Peloponnesians, but rather to destroy your hopes and bring your supremacy down. You should not therefore be thanking the Macedonians for not plundering your city after they captured it, but should rather hate them like enemies for obstructing on repeated occasions the hegemony of Greece which lay within your grasp. [. . .]<sup>5</sup>

(*Speech of the Acarnanian Lyciscus*) (34) [. . .]<sup>6</sup> As for the successors of Alexander, how do you have the audacity to mention them? Depending on circumstances they were often the cause of good to some and of harm to others. Others might perhaps be entitled to bear them a grudge for this, but you have no right to do so – you have never done any good to anyone, but rather harm to many and on numerous occasions.<sup>7</sup> Who was it who invited Antigonus the son of Demetrius to dismember the Achaean league? Who swore and concluded a pact with Alexander of Epirus to enslave and partition Acarnania? Was it not you? What nation has officially sent out generals such as you have, generals who have dared to lay their hands on inviolate sanctuaries? Men like Timaeus, who ransacked the temple of Poseidon at Taenarum and that of Artemis at Lusi, Pharycus and Polycritus – the first plundered the sanctuary of Hera at Argos, the second that of Poseidon at Mantinea. And what of Lattabus and Nicostratus? Did they not disrupt in peacetime the celebration of the *Pamboeotia*, and behave like Scythians or Gauls? The successors of Alexander never did anything of the kind. (35) Unable to say anything to defend yourselves on these points, you talk pompously about having stopped the barbarians' incursion on Delphi, and claim that the Greeks owe you gratitude for this.<sup>8</sup> But if thanks are due to the Aetolians for this one service, how great is the honour that the Macedonians deserve? They spend most of their lives fighting against the barbarians for the safety of the Greeks. The Greek world would forever be in mortal danger if we did not have the protection provided by the Macedonians and the ambition of their kings.<sup>9</sup> Everyone



knows this. The best proof is that as soon as the Gauls felt contempt<sup>10</sup> for the Macedonians after defeating Ptolemy Ceraunus who had called on their help, Brennus and his band were immediately able to ignore the rest and march with an army into the heart of Greece. This would have happened many times but for the barrier formed by the Macedonians. [. . .]

Polybius IX.29, 34–5

1. Cf. **61** n. 3.; the speaker begins by attacking the record of Philip II and Alexander.
2. Cf. **28**.
3. Cf. **67** ch. 41.
4. Cf. **70–71**.
5. The speaker goes on to attack the actions of Philip V and urge the Spartans to join the Aetolian side.
6. The Acarnanian speaker begins with a defence of the Macedonian record under Philip II and Alexander before turning to an attack on the Aetolians.
7. On the reputation of the Aetolians cf. **64**.
8. Cf. **60**.
9. The same argument is attributed to Flamininus after the battle of Cynoscephalae in 197 when he opposed the Aetolian demand to overthrow the Macedonian monarchy (Polybius XVIII.37.9). On the theme cf. Tarn (1913), 201f.; Walbank (1981), 90–2.
10. On this notion cf. **92**, **181**, **286** (*a*), **291** and M. M. Austin, *CQ* 36 (1986), 459.

## 79 Nabis, tyrant/king of Sparta (207–192)

The Macedonian intervention in the Peloponnese (**71**) resulted in the defeat of Cleomenes at the battle of Sellasia and his flight to Egypt (222). His social reforms in Sparta were apparently left undisturbed by Antigonos Doson, but there were many who had gained nothing from his reforms and social tensions persisted; this forms the background to the rise of Sparta's last and most violent 'tyrant' Nabis, who is presented in very hostile terms in the extant tradition (cf. de Souza (1999), 84–6). See Shimron (1972), 53–78 (after Cleomenes), 79–100 (Nabis); Cartledge and Spawforth (2002), 59–79, 269. Cf. Plate 2.11.

Nabis, tyrant<sup>1</sup> of Sparta, being now in the third year of his reign (205), did not venture on any important undertaking because of the recent defeat of Machanidas<sup>2</sup> by the Achaeans, but busied himself with laying the foundations of a long and oppressive tyranny. He destroyed utterly the last remaining members (of the royal houses?)<sup>3</sup> in Sparta, drove into exile those distinguished for their wealth or the fame of their ancestors, and distributed their property and wives to the most eminent of those who were left and to his mercenaries. The latter were composed of murderers, housebreakers, brigands and burglars.

For generally speaking these were the kinds of men who sedulously flocked to him from every part of the world, men whose own country was closed to them owing to their impiety and crimes. He put himself forward as their champion and king<sup>4</sup> and used them as his attendants and bodyguards; it was clear therefore that his tyranny would be lasting and would enjoy a long reputation for lawlessness. Besides this he was not content to banish the citizens, but left no place secure for the exiles and no refuge safe. Some he caused to be pursued and assassinated on the road, while others he murdered on their return from exile. Finally in the cities where some of the exiles were staying, he would rent the houses next door to them by means of unsuspected agents; he then introduced Cretans<sup>5</sup> into them, to breach the walls and shoot arrows through the existing windows. In this way they killed the exiles, some standing up and others lying down in their own houses. No place was safe and there was not a moment of security for the unfortunate Spartans. In this way he destroyed the majority of them.<sup>6</sup>

Polybius XIII.6

1. Officially Nabis styled himself 'king'; he was descended from the Eurypontid royal house, though he ruled without a colleague.
2. Nabis' predecessor on the Spartan throne, defeated and killed in 207 by the Achaeans (Polybius XI.11–18).
3. Words lost in the text.
4. Ironical.
5. Cretan mercenaries were a feature of the age (cf. 113 n. 4) and Nabis had connections with Crete.
6. Exaggerated; Nabis' following, unlike that of Agis and Cleomenes (69, 70), also included many enfranchised Helots. For the sequel cf. 87.

## 80 The Peace of Phoenice between Rome and Philip V (summer 205)

After years of inconclusive warfare and the Aetolian withdrawal from the war (cf. 77 and n. 5), the Romans eventually concluded peace with Philip V in 205. Whether the peace was meant by them to be anything more than a temporary truce is unclear – immediately after the end of the Second Punic War they were once again at war with Philip V, this time on a larger scale than before (81). On the peace cf. Badian (1958), 58–61; Walbank II (1967), 516f., 552; Gruen (1984), 21, 78, 389f.; J. W. Rich, *PCPS* NS 30 (1984), 147–51 who dates the peace to 206; Hammond and Walbank (1988), 408–10; Errington in *CAH* VIII<sup>2</sup> (1989), 104–6.

Phoenice is a town in Epirus; the king (Philip V) conferred there first with Aeropus, Derdas and Philip, the magistrates of the Epirotes, and afterwards met P. Sempronius.<sup>1</sup> Amynder, king of the Athamanians and other magistrates of Epirus and Acarnania were present at the meeting. Philip the magistrate was the first to speak and requested simultaneously the king and the Roman commander to bring the war<sup>2</sup> to an end and to grant the Epirotes their pardon.

P. Sempronius laid down as conditions for peace that the Parthini, Dimalum, Bargullum and Eugenium should belong to the Romans, while Atintania should be ceded to Macedonia, provided Philip sent a deputation to the Senate and obtained this concession. When peace was agreed on these terms, the king included in the treaty Prusias, king of Bithynia, the Achaeans, Boeotians, Thessalians, Acarnanians and Epirotes; and the Romans included<sup>3</sup> Ilium, King Attalus, Pleuratus, Nabis tyrant of Sparta, the Eleans, Messenians and Athenians.

These terms were written down and sealed, and a truce was made for two months, to give time to send envoys to Rome to ask the people to ratify the peace on these terms; all the tribes agreed to them, as now that the war was moving to Africa they wished to be free from all other wars for the time being. [. . .]

Livy XXIX.12.11–16; *Staatsv.* III.543

1. The Roman proconsul in Macedonia and Greece.
2. Philip's signing of this peace effectively cancelled his earlier alliance with Hannibal (76).
3. It is not clear (1) whether the list of states allegedly included by Rome in the peace is authentic, particularly as regards Ilium and Athens which had not participated in the conflict; and (2) if genuine, what implications it may have had for future Roman intentions in the Hellenistic world.

## 81 Philip V and the siege of Abydus (200)

The origins of the 'Second Macedonian War' of 200–196 tie up with the wider question of the nature of Roman 'imperialism' and the motives pursued by Rome in intervening in the Greek world. On this controversial topic see among others Badian (1958); Harris (1979); Gruen (1984); P. S. Derow in Erskine (2003), 51–70. The view followed here is that the Romans believed they had, in the formulation of Polybius, the right 'to give orders and expect obedience' (III.4.2 and frequently, cf. P. S. Derow, *JRS* (1979), 4–6). The attitude probably derived from the position of unchallenged leadership achieved by Rome in the Italian peninsula over a period of generations, long before

her expansion abroad. On this view Philip V's support for Hannibal (76) was sufficient reason for Rome to punish him when an opportunity arose, as happened after the end of the Second Punic War, though the ultimate consequences for Rome and the Hellenistic world could not be foreseen at the time. On the war see Hammond and Walbank (1988), 416–47; R. M. Errington in *CAH VIII*<sup>2</sup> (1989), 252–74.

Philip now<sup>1</sup> laid siege to Abydus by land and by sea, setting up a palisade in one part and a stockade in another. This action was not remarkable for the importance of the armaments used, nor for the ingenuity displayed in those works with which besiegers and besieged usually try to match each other's skill and craft, but more than any other it deserves to be remembered and recorded for the noble spirit and exceptional courage of the besieged. At first the inhabitants of Abydus, full of confidence in themselves, resisted vigorously Philip's armaments. Some of the engines he brought by sea they struck and dislodged with stones from their catapults, and others they destroyed by fire, so that the enemy had difficulty in pulling their ships out of danger. Against the siege works on land they resisted valiantly for a time, not despairing of prevailing over the enemy. But when the outer wall was undermined and collapsed, and when afterwards the Macedonians through their mines were approaching the wall built by the besieged in place of the fallen one, they then sent Iphiades and Pantagnostus as ambassadors and invited Philip to take possession of the city, on condition that he would allow the troops sent by the Rhodians and by Attalus<sup>2</sup> to depart under truce and would let all free persons find safety as they could, wherever they wished and with the clothes they were wearing. When Philip told them to surrender unconditionally or to fight bravely, they returned to the town. (31) The people of Abydus, on hearing the answer, met in an assembly and discussed the situation in a state of despair. They resolved, first to free the slaves, that they might have loyal auxiliaries on their side,<sup>3</sup> then to gather all the women in the sanctuary of Artemis and the children with their nurses in the gymnasium, then to bring together the silver and the gold in the agora, and similarly put all their valuable clothes on the Rhodian quadrireme and the Cyzicene trireme. After making these resolutions they acted unanimously on the decree, then met again in an assembly, and elected 50 of the older and more trusted men, who were still fit enough to execute the order. They bound them by oath in front of everyone else, that whenever they saw the inner wall being captured by the enemy, they should kill the children and women, set fire to the ships mentioned above and throw the silver and gold into the sea in accordance with the curses. After this they brought the priests forward and all swore either to defeat the enemy or to die fighting for their native city. On top of it all they

slew victims and compelled the priests and priestesses to utter imprecations to meet the situation I have described. Having ratified these decisions they ceased countermining against the enemy and resolved that when the interior wall fell they would fight on the ruins of the wall and resist the enemy to death.<sup>4</sup>

Polybius XVI.30–1

1. Since the Peace of Phoenice (**80**) Philip had been conducting a series of aggressive campaigns in the Aegean, Thrace, the Hellespont and Asia Minor (cf. **82**, **84**, **145**, **153**; Hammond and Walbank (1988), 411–16). On the ‘secret pact’ with Antiochus III, cf. **192**. Rome, solicited by Rhodes and Attalus (next note) had already issued an (unsuccessful) ultimatum to Philip V earlier in 200, enjoining him not to attack any Greek state.
2. Rhodes and Attalus were brought together by their common fear of Philip’s activities since 205 (see C. G. Starr, *CP* 33 (1938), 63–8); their appeal to Rome against Philip V and Antiochus III in autumn 201 helped to bring about the eventual Roman declaration of war. Cf. **192**, **224**, **232**, **234**.
3. A practice frequently resorted to by Greek states in a military emergency (M. I. Finley, *Historia* 8 (1959), 157f.); see also **100**.
4. The spirit of the Greek polis was evidently far from ‘dead’. During the siege a Roman delegation issued another ultimatum to Philip V (autumn 200); its rejection by him was followed by the Roman declaration of war.

## 82 The Athenians cancel honours previously voted to Philip V (201/199)

See Briscoe (1973), 150–2; H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia* 50 (1981), 352–4; Habicht (1997), 194–204; Mikalson (1998), 186–94.

Then the Athenians, who had long kept in check their hatred of Philip,<sup>1</sup> now gave free rein to it as they looked forward to immediate assistance. There is never a shortage there of tongues ready to stir up the crowd; that kind of people is to be found in every free city, but particularly in Athens,<sup>2</sup> where oratory exercises the greatest influence, and it thrives on the support of the multitude. They immediately proposed a motion which the people ratified, to remove and destroy all the statues and portraits of Philip and the inscriptions on them,<sup>3</sup> as well as those of all his ancestors, men and women, to cancel all the holidays, ceremonies and priesthoods instituted in honour of him and of his ancestors;<sup>4</sup> even the places where something had been placed or inscribed in his honour were to be put under a curse and it should be wrong in future to decide to place or dedicate anything there that religion allowed to place or dedicate in a holy spot; whenever the priests of the state offered prayers on

behalf of the people of Athens, their allies, their armies and fleets, they should at the same time curse and execrate Philip, his children and his kingdom, his land and sea forces, and the entire race and name of the Macedonians. A clause was added to the decree, that if anyone hereafter proposed a motion dishonouring or disgracing Philip, the entire Athenian people would ratify it, while if anyone spoke or acted against Philip's disgrace and honoured him, he could be killed by anyone with impunity. A final clause was added that all the decrees once passed against the Peisistratids should be applied to Philip. Thus did the Athenians wage war against Philip with decrees and words, the only weapons they are strong in.<sup>5</sup>

Livy XXXI.44.2–9

1. Philip V had repeatedly attacked Athens in 200; cf. **232**.
2. Livy is drawing his account from Polybius, who was very hostile to the Athenians of his day (cf. **73**, ch. 106; Walbank (1972), 169 n. 81).
3. Contrast the Rhodian behaviour in 304 (Diodorus XX.96.6f.).
4. The Athenians had voted divine honours to Antigonus and Demetrius (**42**) and are known from a decree of Rhamnus (*SEG* 41.75) to have done the same for Antigonus Gonatas at some time after the Chremonidean War (**61**), though this will have lapsed with the liberation of Athens in 229 (**73** n. 6). See C. Habicht, *Scripta Classica Israelica* 15 (1996), 131–4 and I. Kralli in Palagia and Tracy (2003), 61–6.
5. An echo of Demosthenes (cf. III.14f.; IV.30). Contrast this passage with the voting of religious honours to rulers (**39**).

### 83 The strengths and weaknesses of the Macedonian phalanx (197)

Polybius' comments are made in connection with Philip's defeat by the Romans at Cynoscephalae. On the battle see Hammond and Walbank (1988), 432–43.

Many considerations will easily prove that so long as the phalanx keeps its own formation and strength no one can resist it in a headlong clash or withstand its charge. For since a fully armed man occupies in close battle formation a space of three feet; and since the length of the *sarissae*<sup>1</sup> is sixteen cubits (= c.7.40 metres) according to the original design, though in practice it has usually been adjusted to fourteen (= c.6.46 metres), from which one must further subtract four (= c.1.85 metres) for the space between the hands and the counterweight behind the projecting part; it is clear that the *sarissa* must project ten cubits (= c.4.62 metres) in front of the bodies of each soldier whenever he marches against the enemy holding the *sarissa* forward with both hands. And so the

*sarissae* of the second, third, and fourth ranks project more, but the *sarissae* of the fifth rank still project two cubits (= c.0.92 metres) in front of the men of the first rank, so long as the phalanx keeps its own formation as regards both depth and breadth [ . . . ] (30) And so it is easy to picture the likely appearance and strength of the whole phalanx when it moves to the attack with *sarissae* lowered and men drawn up sixteen deep. Of these, all those further back than the fifth rank cannot take part in the action with their *sarissae*; and so they do not level them man against man but hold them inclined above the shoulders of the men in front in order to protect the formation from above. For the *sarissae* are so closely packed together that they keep away any missiles which pass over the heads of the men of the front rank and might fall on those behind. By pressing with the weight of their bodies on those in front the men of the rear ranks make the charge (of the phalanx) very forcible and render it impossible for the men in the front rank to turn back. [ . . . ] (31) Why is it then that the Romans win, and why are those who use the phalanx defeated? The reason is that in war the times and places for action are unlimited, while there is only one time and one kind of place which enables the phalanx to perform at its best. Now if the enemy was obliged to adapt to the times and places of the phalanx when about to fight a decisive engagement, the likelihood would be according to what has just been said that those who used the phalanx would always be victorious. But if it is possible to take evasive action and to do so early, what is left of the formidable character of the phalanx? It is generally agreed that the phalanx needs ground that is level and open, and which in addition is free from obstacles – I mean such things as ditches, ravines, depressions, ridges, and river beds. All these are enough to hinder and break up that formation. Everyone would agree that it is more or less impossible, or at least extremely rare, to find a piece of country of twenty stades (c.3.5 km) and sometimes even more in which none of these obstacles is to be found. But supposing one could find such places, if the enemy refuse to come down to these but go round sacking the cities and the territory of one's allies, what is the use of such a formation? If it stays on the ground that suits it, it is unable to bring assistance to its friends and cannot even defend itself. The enemy will easily prevent the carriage of provisions when they exercise undisputed control over the open country. But if it leaves its proper ground and tries to take some action, it becomes an easy prey for the enemy. And again, even if the enemy does come down to level ground, but instead of engaging his entire army against the single charge of the phalanx at a single point of time, withholds a little of his forces from the conflict, it is easy to see what will happen from what the Romans do at present.

Polybius XVIII.29–31 (omitting 29.6–7; 30.5–11)

1. See M. M. Markle, *AJA* 81 (1977), 323–39; N. G. L. Hammond, *Antichthon* 14 (1980), 53–63.

## 84 The Roman settlement of Greece after the defeat of Philip V (196)

The Roman defeat of Philip at Cynoscephalae (83) opened the way to a settlement designed, among other things, to restore Roman reputation in the Greek world that had been damaged by the First Macedonian War (76 n. 4). The choice of Corinth as the setting for the proclamation was evidently meant to evoke memories of past Greek history (the Persian wars, Philip's league of Greek states). See Badian (1958), 69–75 and (1970); Hammond and Walbank (1988), 443–7; Ferrary (1988), 81–8; R. M. Errington in *CAH VIII*<sup>2</sup> (1989), 268–74.

At about this time there arrived from Rome the ten commissioners who were to carry out the settlement of Greece,<sup>1</sup> with the Senate's decree on the peace with Philip. The main points of the decree were as follows: all the other Greeks in Asia and in Europe were to be free and enjoy their own laws,<sup>2</sup> Philip was to hand over to the Romans before the Isthmian festival the Greeks under his authority and the cities he had garrisoned, and should give their freedom to Euromus, Pedasa, Bargylia and Iasus, and also Abydus, Thasos, Myrina and Perinthus, and remove his garrisons from them.<sup>3</sup> Flamininus was to write to Prusias about the liberation of Cius in accordance with the Senate's decree. Philip should hand over to the Romans at the same time the prisoners and all the deserters, and likewise all decked ships except five and his 'sixteen'; he should pay an indemnity of 1,000 talents, half of this at once and half in instalments over a period of ten years. (45) When this decree was made public, all the other Greeks were filled with confidence and joy, and only the Aetolians, disappointed at not getting what they hoped,<sup>4</sup> sought to disparage the decree; it was nothing but words devoid of substance, they said. [. . .] Everyone could see from this that the Romans were taking over the 'fetters of Greece'<sup>5</sup> from Philip; the Greeks were changing masters and not recovering their freedom [. . .] (46) [. . .] When the time of the Isthmian festival came, the expectation of what was going to happen attracted men of the highest rank from almost the whole of the world. There was much varied talk all over the place of the festival: some said it was impossible that the Romans would withdraw from some of the places and cities, while others declared they would withdraw from the places that seemed most important while retaining others that appeared unimportant but could perform the same



function. They had the ingenuity to provide a detailed list of these out of their own heads. Such was the general uncertainty that prevailed when the crowd had gathered at the stadium for the contest; the herald came forward, ordered the crowd to be silent through his trumpeter, and read out the following proclamation: ‘The Senate of Rome and Titus Quintius the proconsul, after defeating King Philip and the Macedonians, leave the following peoples free, without garrison, without tribute, and in full enjoyment of their ancestral laws: the Corinthians, Phocians, Locrians, Euboeans, Achaeans of Phthiotis, Magnesians, Thessalians and Perrhaebians.’<sup>6</sup> As the herald began to speak a tremendous round of applause broke out; some did not hear the proclamation and others wanted to hear it again. The majority of people were incredulous and felt as though they were hearing the words in a dream, so unexpected was the event; they all shouted on another impulse for the herald and the trumpeter to come to the middle of the stadium and to repeat their message. In my opinion they wanted to see as well as to hear the speaker, so difficult did they find it to believe the proclamation. And when the herald came forward to the middle and silenced the clamour through his trumpeter, and then repeated the same proclamation in the same words as before, the applause was such that those who hear of it today would find it difficult to imagine. When finally the applause died down, no one paid any more attention to the athletes, but they were all talking to each other or to themselves, as men who had gone out of their senses. Indeed, after the competition they were so overjoyed that they nearly killed Flamininus in their display of gratitude. Some wanted to look him in the face and call him their Saviour (*Soter*);<sup>7</sup> others were eager to grasp his right hand; the majority threw garlands and fillets on him, and they very nearly tore the man apart. Though the expression of gratitude seemed extravagant, one could confidently say that it fell far short of the magnitude of the achievement. That the Romans and their general Flamininus should have pursued this policy, sustaining every expense and facing every risk for the freedom of the Greeks, was remarkable; that the power they had brought into action matched their policy was a great thing; but the greatest thing of all was that no accident had foiled their plan, but everything came to a successful issue at the right time, and in a single proclamation all the Greeks living in Asia and in Europe were made free, without garrison, without tribute and enjoying their own laws.

Polybius XVIII.44–45.1; 45.6; 46

1. On them cf. **196**.
2. On the ‘freedom of the Greeks’ cf. **35**, and for Rome’s use of the slogan cf. **96**, **196**, **202**, **234**.

3. Cities conquered by Philip V in the years 202–200; cf. **81**.
4. The Aetolians had demanded the overthrow of Philip and territorial gains, but Flamininus regarded the treaty of 212/11 (77) as obsolete. For the sequel cf. **85, 86, 88**.
5. The fortresses of Demetrias, Chalcis and Acrocorinth, through which the Macedonian king controlled mainland Greece (cf. Polybius XVIII.11.4).
6. These had been controlled by Philip V and now became free as the other Greeks.
7. Numerous Greek states voted divine honours to Flamininus; cf. Sherk (1984), no. 6.

## 85 Aetolian negotiations with the Roman commander (191)

Disappointed by the Roman settlement (**84**), the Aetolians sought to undermine the Roman position in Greece after the removal of their troops in 194; they enlisted the support of Antiochus III (cf. **195–7, 199**), who landed at Demetrias in autumn 192, but was defeated the next year by the Romans at Thermopylae and forced to return to Asia (cf. **202, 203, 205**). His departure left the Aetolians exposed to Roman retribution. See Badian (1958), 84–7; E. S. Gruen, *Athenaeum* 60 (1982), 50–68 and Gruen (1984), 456–62, 631–3 (argues that Polybius' presentation is misleading); R. M. Errington in *CAH VIII*<sup>2</sup> (1989), 280–5; A. M. Eckstein, *TAPA* 125 (1995), 271–89.

After the Roman capture of Heraclea,<sup>1</sup> Phaeneas the general of the Aetolians, seeing the danger that threatened Aetolia on all sides and realising what would happen to the other towns, decided to send an embassy to Manius Acilius<sup>2</sup> to ask for a truce and peace treaty. [. . .] When the truce was granted, Lucius (Valerius Flaccus)<sup>3</sup> came to Hypata and a lengthy discussion took place about the state of affairs. The Aetolians sought to justify themselves by referring to their previous services towards the Romans,<sup>4</sup> but Valerius cut their enthusiasm short by saying that this kind of defence was unsuited to the present circumstances. The old friendly relations had been broken off by them; the Aetolians were responsible for the present state of hostility and those past services were of no help in the present state of affairs. He therefore advised them to stop justifying themselves, adopt a tone of supplication and beg the consul to pardon them for their errors. The Aetolians, after talking at length about the state of affairs, decided to leave the whole matter to Acilius and entrusted themselves to the 'good faith' (*fides*) of the Romans, not realising what this meant but misled by the word 'faith' to expect they would be granted a fuller pardon. But with the Romans 'to entrust oneself to their good faith' is equivalent to 'surrendering unconditionally to the victor'. (10) Having made this decision the Aetolians sent off Phaeneas and others with Valerius to announce it at once to

Acilius. They met the consul and started again to justify themselves as before, and finally declared that the Aetolians had decided to entrust themselves to the good faith of the Romans. Acilius interrupted them, saying, 'Is that really so, men of Aetolia?' And when they answered in the affirmative, he said, 'Well then, first of all none of you must cross over to Asia,<sup>5</sup> whether in a private capacity or by public decision, secondly you must surrender Dicaearchus and Menestratus of Epirus' (who happened at the time to have come to the assistance of the Aetolians at Naupactus), 'and also King Amynder and the Athamanians who deserted to your side with him.' Phaeneas interrupted him, saying, 'What you are asking, consul, is unjust and un-Greek.' To this Acilius answered, not so much because he was angry as because he wanted to make them realise their predicament and thoroughly frighten them: 'Do you still presume to put on Greek airs and talk about what is right and proper, after entrusting yourselves to my good faith? I could throw you all in chains and arrest you, if I wanted.' With these words he ordered a chain and iron collar to be brought and placed on the neck of each. Phaeneas and the others were thunderstruck and stood all speechless, as though paralysed in body and mind by this extraordinary turn of events. Valerius and a few others of the military tribunes there begged Acilius not to inflict any harsh treatment on the men present, as they were ambassadors. He agreed, and Phaeneas began to speak, saying he and the *Apokletoi*<sup>6</sup> were prepared to do as instructed, but they had to consult the general assembly (of the Aetolians) to obtain ratification of the orders. Acilius said he was right, and Phaeneas asked for a truce of ten days to be granted. This was also agreed and they departed with these terms; when they came to Hypata they told the *Apokletoi* what had happened and what had been said. The Aetolians on hearing this realised for the first time their error and the compulsion they were under. They therefore decided to send messages to the cities and summon the Aetolians to discuss the Roman demands.<sup>7</sup> [ . . . ]

Polybius XX.9–10 (omitting 9.2–5; 10.15–17)

1. Heraclea in Trachis, near Thermopylae.
2. Manius Acilius Glabrio, consul in 191.
3. A legate of Glabrio.
4. See 77, contrast their behaviour in 84.
5. To assist Antiochus III.
6. A committee elected from the larger council of the Aetolians, which assisted the executive officials (especially the general) of the League; see Larsen (1968), 200–2.
7. The Aetolians refused to ratify the Roman terms; it was not till 189 that they were induced to submit (86).

## 86 The Senate's peace terms for Aetolia (189)

See **85**.

The Senate passed a decree which was confirmed by a vote of the people, and so the treaty was ratified; its detailed provisions were as follows: 'The people of Aetolia [shall preserve in good faith] the empire and majesty of the Roman people.<sup>1</sup> They shall not allow [enemy forces] to pass through their territory or cities against the Romans, or their allies or friends, and shall not provide them with supplies by public decision. [They shall have the same enemies as the Roman people], and if the Romans go to war against anyone, the people of Aetolia shall do so also.<sup>2</sup> The Aetolians shall surrender to the commander at Corcyra, within 100 days of the swearing of the oaths, all [deserters], runaway slaves and prisoners belonging to the Romans and their allies, apart from those who were captured in war, returned to their country and were captured again, and apart from those who were enemies of the Romans during the war between the Aetolians and the Romans. If any are not found during this period, when they are detected they shall be handed over without deceit; they shall not be allowed to return to Aetolia after the treaty is sworn. The Aetolians shall give to the consul in Greece 200 Euboean talents of silver not inferior to Attic currency; they may if they wish give gold in place of a third of the silver, at the rate of one mina of gold for ten of silver, within the first six years of the day when the treaty is ratified, in annual instalments of 50 talents; they shall deliver the money in Rome. The Aetolians shall provide to the consul 50 hostages, above the age of twelve but below forty, for a period of six years, as chosen by the Romans, but excluding any general or hipparch or public secretary or any who have previously been hostages in Rome; if any of the hostages dies they shall replace him. Cephallenia shall not be included in the treaty. Any territories, cities or men which were in the possession of the Aetolians, and were captured by the Romans or joined their friendship in the consulship of Lucius Quintus and Cnaeus Domitius (192) or subsequently, the Aetolians shall not seize them or anyone residing in them. The city and territory of Oeniadae shall belong to the Acarnanians.<sup>3</sup> The treaty was sworn on these terms and the peace concluded. [. . .]

Polybius XXI.32

1. The first known instance of a formula which later became almost standard in Roman treaties; it made explicit the moral obligations of Rome's clients to her.
2. Aetolia, the first Greek state on the mainland to make a formal alliance with Rome (77), was thus also the first to lose her independence.
3. See **19**.

## 87 The Achaeans abolish Sparta's 'Lycurgan' constitution (188)

The death of Nabis (79), assassinated by Aetolians in 192, gave Philopoemen the opportunity to force Sparta into the Achaean League (192), but the move provoked much internal tension in Sparta, which was not even quelled by the drastic action described in this passage. The continued reluctance of many Spartans to belong to the Achaean League (contrast 67 ch. 38) was aggravated by the social upheavals Sparta had experienced in previous decades (69, 70, 79). The third-century attempts to revive Sparta's 'Lycurgan' constitution finally resulted in its destruction. See Errington (1969), chs. 7–11; Shimron (1972), 99–122; Cartledge and Spawforth (2002), 73–90, 269.

Once the Spartans had been frightened in this way<sup>1</sup> they were ordered first to pull down their walls, then to expel from Laconia all the foreign auxiliaries who had been in the pay of the tyrants. All the slaves freed by the tyrants (there was a large number of them) were to leave before a certain day; the Achaeans would have the right to arrest, take away and sell those who remained. They were to abolish the laws and way of life of Lycurgus and were to adapt themselves to the laws and institutions of the Achaeans; in this way they would all belong to the same body and would agree more easily on all matters. No order was carried out more willingly by the Spartans than the destruction of the walls, and none with greater reluctance than the return of the exiles. A decree on their reinstatement was passed at Tegea in the federal council of the Achaeans, and when it was reported that the foreign auxiliaries who had been discharged and the enfranchised Spartans (this was the name they gave to those freed by the tyrants) had left the city and dispersed in the countryside, it was decided that before the (federal Achaean) army was disbanded the general should go with the light-armed troops to arrest men of that kind and sell them as booty; many were captured and sold. Permission was given by the Achaeans to restore with that money a portico at Megalopolis which the Spartans had destroyed. The Belbinatis, which the tyrants of Sparta had unlawfully occupied, was restored to the same city in accordance with an old decree of the Achaeans passed in the reign of Philip son of Amyntas. These measures broke the back of the Spartan state and made it for a long time subservient to the Achaeans;<sup>2</sup> but nothing did them so much harm as the abolition of the Lycurgan way of life after they had lived by it for 800 years.

Livy XXXVIII.34

1. The treacherous execution of 50 Spartans by Philopoemen at Compasion.
2. The whole account (from Polybius) underestimates the continued opposition in Sparta to the Achaeans.

## 88 Decree of the Amphictyonic Council in honour of a Thessalian (184–3)

An immediate result of the defeat of Antiochus III and the Aetolians by Rome (85) was the end of the long predominance exercised by Aetolia over the Amphictyonic League (60, 64, 72, 78). The Delphians sought successfully to ingratiate themselves with the Romans to recover their independence (see Sherk (1984), 12, 15, 16; BD 41), but competition for influence within the Amphictyonic League remained fierce. The following decree of the Amphictyonic Council (unfortunately obscure in its allusions) attests indirectly the influence the Thessalians sought to exercise in the reorganisation of the League.

In the archonship of Craton at Delphi (184/3), when Mnasidamus of Corinth was secretary of the Amphictyons, resolved [by the council] of the Amphictyons from the autonomous peoples and the democratic cities:<sup>1</sup> since Nicostratus son of Anaxippus, / a Thessalian from Larisa, when sent as *hieromnemon*<sup>2</sup> by the Thessalian League to the Pythian festival in the archonship of Nicobulus at Delphi (186/5), displayed all his zeal together with the men sent by the people of Athens and the *hieromnemes*, so that the council of the Amphictyons should be restored / to its original and traditional form, and presided over the contest and the sacrifices with them, so that they would be performed in the best possible way; and when appointed by the council of the Amphictyons ambassador to Rome together with the Athenian Menedemus, / he approached the Senate, the consuls and the tribunes and spoke about the object of his mission,<sup>3</sup> and achieved everything that was in the common interest of the Amphictyons and the other Greeks who choose freedom and democracy;<sup>4</sup> and when sent / as *hieromnemon* to the session in late autumn in the archonship of Craton at Delphi (184/3), he offered a sacrifice together with the *hieromnemes*, returned with them to the sanctuary, and approached the assembly of the Delphians, and addressed them on the subject of his missions / to the Roman Senate, the consuls and the tribunes, and invited the Delphians to preserve their goodwill towards all the Greeks and not to do anything contrary to the previous resolutions of the Greeks;<sup>5</sup> and / in all other circumstances where the Amphictyons have called upon him he has constantly shown himself zealous and devoted to the common good, and does not seek to evade any hardship or danger which his enemies<sup>6</sup> prepare for him. Therefore, so that all the Greeks may know / that the [Amphictyonic] Council knows how to return adequate thanks to those who confer benefactions on them and on all the Greeks, with good fortune, be it resolved by the

Amphictyonic Council to praise Nicostratus son of Anaxippus, a Thessalian from Larisa / and honour him with the god's crown and with a bronze statue for his merits and for his constant devotion to the Amphictyonic Council [and the] other Greeks, and to place his statue in the sanctuary of Pythian Apollo. / The assembled *hieromnemes* shall proclaim the crown and the statue at the next Pythian festival at the gymnastic contest; they shall also be proclaimed at the *Eleutheria*<sup>7</sup> at the gymnastic contest celebrated by the Thessalians. 40 45

*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 613 A (but see G. Daux, *Delphes au II<sup>e</sup> et au I<sup>er</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1936), 280–92)

1. This seems to be directed at the Aetolians (A. Giovannini in Laourdas and Makaronas I (1970), 147–54), but also by implication at Philip V (F. W. Walbank in Laourdas and Makaronas II (1977), 89–91, against Giovannini).
2. See 64 n. 2.
3. Unspecified.
4. See n. 1.
5. Possibly a conference of Greek states held in 186 discuss the reorganisation of the Amphictyony.
6. Unspecified.
7. A festival at Larisa in Thessaly founded in 196 in honour of the Romans for their liberation of Greece (84).

## 89 Philip's measures to rebuild Macedon (from 185)

After his defeat by Rome (83, 84), Philip V seems to have sought to preserve a degree of independence but without challenging Rome, whom he supported against Antiochus III (85). The presentation of his aims in the Roman sources (derived from Polybius) is evidently coloured by the need to explain and justify the subsequent war between Rome and Philip's son and successor Perseus (92, 93). See Rostovtzeff II (1941), 632–4 and III, 1470–2; Hammond and Walbank (1988), 453–87.

These measures<sup>1</sup> appeased the king's (Philip V) resentment against the Romans. For all that he never relaxed his efforts to build up his power in time of peace, for use in time of war whenever a favourable opportunity offered.<sup>2</sup> He increased the revenues of the kingdom, partly from (taxes on) agricultural produce and harbour dues but partly also from the mines, restarting old ones which had been left idle and opening up new ones in many places. To restore the country's previously flourishing population, which had been depleted in the disasters of the war,<sup>3</sup> besides seeking to increase the birth-rate

by compelling all to have children and to bring them up, he had even settled a large number of Thracians in Macedon.<sup>4</sup> The long respite from wars he had enjoyed enabled him to devote all his care to building up the resources of the kingdom.<sup>5</sup>

Livy XXXIX.24.1–4

1. Interventions by Philip in Athamania, Demetrias and Thrace.
2. Livy's presentation of Philip's intentions as hostile is tendentious (cf. e.g. Errington (1990), 208–12, though see also E. S. Gruen, *GRBS* 15 (1974), 221–46 and Gruen (1984), 401f., 408).
3. Cf. 75; whether Macedon's population could have been described as 'flourishing' at any time during the third century is doubtful (cf. also 18). See also Livy XXIII.3 (Philip's recruitment problems in 197).
4. See 94, 96 n. 4.
5. For the resources of Macedon see 96.

## 90 Regulations on military discipline in the Macedonian army (reign of Philip V)

Livy's brief account of the reforms of Philip V (89) makes no explicit mention of military reforms. The following fragmentary inscription from Amphipolis is one of several texts dating from the reign of Philip, from Macedon and from Macedonian-controlled fortresses in Greece, which record regulations for the Macedonian army. The texts probably date from earlier in Philip's reign rather than from the time after the defeat by the Romans. The order of the fragments (two fragments of a text laid out on at least three columns) is uncertain; Hatzopoulos' text is followed here. See Walbank (1940), 289–94; Rostovtzeff III (1941), 1470 n. 37; Hatzopoulos I (1996), index s.v. 'army code' and *CRAI* 2000, 825–39 (cf. *SEG* 49.722 and 855).

(A1) [. . . the watchmen] must not reply to the patrols, but must keep quiet and show that they are present and on their feet. *Concerning patrols*. In each 5 *strategia*<sup>1</sup> the tetrarchs must go the rounds in turn / without any light and anyone who is sitting down or [sleeping] while on guard duty the tetrarchs shall fine one drachma for every offence and the secretaries (*grammateis*) shall obtain the payment [of the fine . . .]

(A2) [. . . if they do not report] the offenders [to the king] they shall be fined three twelfths of a drachma (?)<sup>2</sup> which shall be given to the hypaspists<sup>3</sup> in the event of their being first to send in a written denunciation of the offenders./ 5 *Concerning the construction of the camp*. When they have completed the enclosure for the king and the rest of his quarters and an interval has been left, they shall straightaway build barracks for the hypaspists . . .



(A3) [. . .] [anyone who has been awarded?] a crown shall receive a double share [of the] booty, but nothing is to be given to the *cheiristes*,<sup>4</sup> [and] the ‘friends’<sup>5</sup> of the king [shall adjudicate?]. / *Concerning the watchwords*. They shall also take the [watchword . . . when?] they close the entrances to the [king’s quarters? . . .]

(B1) . . . they shall punish according to the written rules those who are not bearing the arms appropriate to them: two obols for the *kottybos*,<sup>6</sup> the same amount for the *konos*,<sup>7</sup> three obols for the *sarissa*,<sup>8</sup> the same amount for the dagger, two obols for the greaves, a drachma for the shield. / In the case of officers double the fine for the weapons mentioned, and two drachmas for the corslet and one drachma for the half-corslet. The secretaries and the chief attendants (*archyperetai*) shall receive the fines after reporting the offenders to the king.<sup>9</sup> / *Concerning discipline over war booty*. [If] anyone brings booty to the camp, [the] generals<sup>10</sup> taking with them the speararchs and tetrarchs [and] the other officers, and together with these the [attendants] in sufficient numbers shall go to meet them at a distance of three stades in front of the camp,<sup>11</sup> / [and they shall not allow] those who captured the booty to keep it. And should any insubordination [of this kind] take place, the [generals], speararchs, tetrarchs and chief attendants shall pay a sum equivalent [to what each of them owes?] (the last 4 lines are very mutilated)

(B2) (The first 10 lines are very fragmentary)  
[. . . the superintendent] of the court; and if [. . . they shall fine him] a twelfth of an obol<sup>12</sup> and the superintendent of [the court] shall do [the] same thing . . . *Concerning [foraging]*. / If anyone [forages] in [enemy] territory, [a reward for his denunciation?] shall be promised and given [. . . And if anyone?] burns crops or [cuts] vines [or] is guilty [of any other offence, the generals shall promise?] a reward for his denunciation . . .

Hatzopoulos II (1996), no. 12 (a different arrangement in Moretti II.114; Burstein 66)

1. The different units of the Macedonian army are called (from larger to smaller) *strategia*, *speira* and *tetrarchia* (itself subdivided into four *lochoi*); the exact size of each is uncertain (c.1,000, 250 and 60 respectively?).
2. The precise sum indicated is unclear.
3. The hypaspists appear here as a military police while below they are shown as a royal bodyguard.
4. Probably an official in charge of the division of the booty, who was expected to make a profit from his office.
5. See 31 and n. 3.
6. The only known example of the word, perhaps analogous with the *kossymbos* which protected the belly.
7. A type of helmet.
8. See 83.

9. Here and elsewhere in the inscription the military character of the Macedonian monarchy and court is evident. It is significant that Macedon is the only Greek state to have yielded epigraphic evidence of such regulations (Hatzopoulos).
10. Each general commands a *strategia* (see n. 1).
11. Concealment of booty would be much more difficult in the open field than in the camp (cf. Polybius X.17.1–5).
12. See n. 2.

## 91 Embassy from Lycia to Rome (178)

See Berthold (1984), 167–78; Gabrielsen (1997), 47–53; A. Bresson in Gabrielsen (1999), 98–131.

After sending the consuls Tiberius (Sempronius Gracchus) and Claudius (Pulcher)<sup>1</sup> against the Istrians and the Agrians, the Senate dealt with the business of the ambassadors who had come from the Lycians.<sup>2</sup> It was the end of summer when they arrived in Rome, but the Lycians had already been defeated in the war, and the envoys had been sent a considerable time before. At the time when they were about to embark on war the Xanthians had sent an embassy led by Nicostratus to Achaea and to Rome. When they reached Rome they moved many of the senators to pity by exposing before them the harshness of the Rhodians and their own predicament. In the end they induced the Senate to send ambassadors to Rhodes to convey the message that after consultation of the records of the settlement arranged by the ten commissioners in Asia, which was drawn up at the time when they were dealing with the sequels to the war against Antiochus (III),<sup>3</sup> it was found that the Lycians had been handed over to the Rhodians not as a gift but rather as friends and allies. But very few were satisfied with the Senate's solution. The Romans were giving the impression of wanting to stir up conflict between the Rhodians and Lycians, with the aim of exhausting the financial resources and treasures of the Rhodians, because they had heard of the recent escorting of Perseus' bride<sup>4</sup> by the Rhodians and of their naval exercises. Not long before, the Rhodians had carried out spectacular manoeuvres with all their ships which they had equipped magnificently. Perseus had provided the Rhodians with a quantity of timber for building ships, and had presented with a golden tiara each of the sailors of the ship which had recently brought to him his bride Laodice.<sup>5</sup>

Polybius XXV.4

1. The consuls of 177, though the Lycian envoys were probably heard by the Senate in the summer of 178 (Walbank III (1979), 21f., 277f.).

2. The treaty of Apamea of 188 (205) rewarded Rhodes with a large extension of her territories in Asia Minor, including Lycia which had sided with Antiochus III: it was not just the kings who disposed of territories and peoples as personal possessions. The Lycians resisted Rhodian pretensions and after a prolonged war appealed to Rome to intervene in their favour (cf. C. Habicht in *CAH VIII*<sup>2</sup> (1989), 335f.).
3. Cf. 205.
4. Laodice, daughter of Seleucus IV, offered by him to Perseus of Macedon to be his queen (Livy XLII.12.3; Appian *Mac.* 11.2), and escorted in style by the Rhodians to her husband in 178 (Habicht, *CAH VIII*<sup>2</sup> (1989), 339).
5. After the battle of Pydna Lycia was given its full independence by Rome (98).

## 92 The mood in the Greek world on the eve of the Third Macedonian War (171)

In the consulship of P. Licinius and C. Cassius (171) it was not just the city of Rome and Italy, but all the kings and cities in Europe and Asia who anxiously turned their attention to the (impending) war between Macedon and Rome. Eumenes was moved by his old hatred and also by recent feelings of anger for having very nearly fallen like a sacrificial victim to the plot of the king (Perseus) at Delphi.<sup>1</sup> Prusias the king of Bithynia had decided not to resort to arms and to wait for the outcome; the Romans could not think it right for him to take up arms against the brother of his wife, and should Perseus win he would obtain his pardon through his sister.<sup>2</sup> Ariarathes the king of Cappadocia, besides promising personally to support the Romans, had identified himself with all the policies of Eumenes in war and peace ever since he had become his relative.<sup>3</sup> Antiochus, it is true, was threatening the kingdom of Egypt,<sup>4</sup> and despised<sup>5</sup> the king's youth and the incapacity of his tutors; he believed that by provoking a dispute about Coele Syria he would gain a pretext for war and there would be no obstacle in his way as the Romans would be involved in the Macedonian war. Nonetheless, as regards the war, he had strenuously made every promise to the Senate through his own envoys and in person to their representatives. Ptolemy (VI Philometor) because of his age was still dependent on others; his tutors were preparing the war against Antiochus to stake their claim to Coele Syria, and at the same time were promising everything to the Romans for the Macedonian war. Masinissa<sup>6</sup> was helping the Romans by sending them grain and was getting ready to send to the war auxiliaries with elephants and his son Misagenes. He had laid his plans to meet any eventuality: should victory stay with the Romans his own position would remain the same as before; he would not make any further movement, since the Romans would not suffer him to use force against the Carthaginians. But if the power of Rome, which at the time was protecting the Carthaginians, was shattered, the whole of Africa

would be his. Genthius the king of Illyria had given cause for suspicion to the Romans rather than taken a positive decision as to which side he would support, and gave the impression that he would join one side or the other on impulse rather than through careful consideration.<sup>7</sup> The Thracian Cotys, king of the Odrysians, had long taken the side of the Macedonians. (30) While these were the feelings of the kings about the war, among the free peoples and nations the common people sided, as usually happens, with the worse cause and favoured the king and the Macedonians;<sup>8</sup> the inclinations of the leading men could be seen to vary. Some backed the Romans with so little restraint that their excess of zeal destroyed their authority; of these a few were attracted by the justice of Roman rule, but a greater number believed they would be influential in their own cities if they had shown conspicuous devotion to the Romans. The second group was that of the king's flatterers; some were in debt and despaired for their future if the status quo persisted, and this drove them headlong to general revolution; others acted on their fickle temperament, as popular favour was moving more in the direction of Perseus. The third group consisted of the best and wisest citizens, who preferred to be under the Romans than under the king, if at least they were given the chance to decide which master they preferred; had they been given freedom to choose their fate they wanted neither side to become more powerful through the annihilation of the other, but rather that the forces on each side should remain intact and that peace should be preserved on a basis of equality. Their own states, placed between the two powers, would in this way be in the best position, as one side would always protect the weak against harm from the other. Such were their feelings as they observed in silence and from a position of safety the conflicts of the supporters of the two parties.

Livy XLII.29–30.7

1. Eumenes II of Pergamum had survived an attempt (?) on his life at Delphi in 172, allegedly instigated by Perseus (Livy XLII.15–16 and 18; see also **93**).
2. Prusias II of Bithynia (reigned 182–149 BC) was married to Perseus' sister Apama. For his conduct after the war cf. **97**.
3. Eumenes was married to Ariarathes' sister Stratonice; cf. **247** (c).
4. On Antiochus IV and Egypt see **211**, **212**.
5. Cf. **78** n. 10.
6. A Numidian ruler and client of Rome.
7. Cf. **93**.
8. The exact role of social divisions in the Greek world in determining attitudes towards Rome is controversial; cf. Rostovtzeff II (1941), 611–15; J. Briscoe in Finley (1974), 53–73; E. S. Gruen, *American Journal of Ancient History* 1 (1976), 29–60 (argues for a literary stereotype in Livy); D. Mendels, *Ancient Society* 9 (1978), 55–73; de Ste Croix (1981), 518–29, 659f. (against Gruen). For one illustration of the divisions in Greek states towards Rome see **95**.

### 93 Letter (?) of the Romans to the Delphic Amphictyony, recounting grievances against Perseus (171–170?)

Though highly mutilated (the length of the line is uncertain), and consequently very conjectural in restoration, the nature of the following inscription seems clear; it is a manifesto sent by the Romans (or by a Roman official) to the Delphic Amphictyony, listing the Roman charges against Perseus in the Third Macedonian War. The grievances listed resemble those known from the literary evidence (see especially Livy XLII.11–14, Eumenes' speech to the Roman Senate; Livy XLII.40, speech of Q. Marcius Philippus to Perseus; compare 92). The Roman charges are largely flimsy: Perseus' real crime, in the Roman view, was probably that he sought to behave as an equal of Rome and not as her client. See Harris (1979), 227–33; F. W. Walbank in Laourdas and Makaronas II (1977), 81–94; Hammond and Walbank (1988), 488–504; P. S. Derow in *CAH VIII*<sup>1</sup> (1989), 301–15.

(the first 6 lines are too mutilated for continuous restoration)

[. . .] Perseus, contrary to what is proper [came with his army to Delphi during the sacred truce of the] Pythian festival;<sup>1</sup> [it was altogether] unjust [to allow him to enter or to participate in the offering to the oracle], the sacrifices, the competitions [or the common Amphictyonic Council of the Greeks. For he] / called on the help of the [barbarians who live] across the [Danube, who 10 on a former occasion massed together for] no [good purpose] but to enslave [all the Greeks, invaded Greece and] marched against the sanctuary [of Pythian Apollo at Delphi, with the intention of sacking] and destroying it, but they met [a fitting punishment at the hands of the gods, and most of them were killed].<sup>2</sup> And he (Perseus) broke the [sworn treaty which we made with his father and which he himself renewed]. / And [he defeated and drove from 15 their homes] the Thracians, [our friends and allies]. And [Abroupolis] whom we included in the [treaty with him as our friend and ally], he expelled from his kingdom.<sup>3</sup> Of the ambassadors [sent by the Greeks and the kings] to Rome to conclude an alliance, [he drowned] the [Thebans and sought to remove the others in various ways]. Indeed, he became so deranged [that he planned to poison the Roman Senate (!). And the Dolopians] were deprived / of their 20 freedom through [his attacks. In Aetolia he planned war and massacres] and [threw] the whole people into a state of confusion [and strife. And in the whole of Greece] he constantly acted [in the most detrimental way, planning] various other [crimes including giving refuge to exiles from the cities. And] he corrupted the leading statesmen, [courted at the same time the favour of the masses, promised cancellation of debts and] caused revolutions,<sup>4</sup> [making] clear [his policy towards the Greeks and Romans]. / As a result disasters 25 [beyond repair] have befallen the [Perrhaebi, Thessalians and Aetolians], and

the barbarians [have become an even greater source of terror to the Greeks. He has long desired] war [against us],<sup>5</sup> his aim being to [render us] helpless and enslave [all the Greek cities without anyone opposing him; he bribed Genthius the Illyrian<sup>6</sup> and instigated him against us]. King Eumenes [our friend and ally, he tried to assassinate<sup>7</sup> through the agency of Euander], / at the time when [he went to Delphi] to fulfil [his vow, in complete disregard of the safety guaranteed by the] god (Apollo) to all who come [to visit him and attaching no importance to the sanctity and inviolability of the city of Delphi which has been recognised] by all men, [Greeks] and barbarians from the beginning [of time . . .] (the rest of the inscription is too mutilated for continuous restoration)

*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 643; Sherk (1969) no. 40A (longer line, followed here); Sherk (1984), no. 19; BD 44 (shorter line)

1. In 174.

2. See **60**.

3. Years earlier, in 179; Abroupolis had attacked Perseus; it is not in fact clear that he was a friend and ally of Rome.

4. See **92** n. 8 for this Roman allegation.

5. Cf. **89** for this Roman claim.

6. See **92**.

7. See **92**.

## 94 Perseus' forces in 171

See Hammond and Walbank (1988), 514–16.

The meeting of this council was held at Pella<sup>1</sup> in the old palace of the kings of Macedon. 'Let us therefore wage war with the help of the gods,' the king (Perseus) said, 'since that is your opinion.' He despatched a circular letter to his governors and assembled all his forces at Citium, a town in Macedonia. He himself sacrificed a hundred victims in regal style to Athena whom they call Alcidemus, and departed for Citium with a group of wearers of the purple<sup>2</sup> and attendants. All the troops of the Macedonians and of the foreign auxiliaries had already gathered there. He pitched camp in front of the city and drew up all his armed forces in the plain; they added up to a total of 43,000 men, nearly half of which consisted of soldiers of the phalanx, commanded by Hippias of Beroea. From all the troops carrying a light shield (*caetrati*) 2,000 were selected for their strength and the vigour of their youth; they

themselves call this unit the *agema*, and it had as commanders Leonnatus and Thrasippus, from Euia.<sup>3</sup> The commander of the remaining troops with a light shield, who numbered nearly 3,000 men, was Antiphilus of Edessa. The Paeonians from Parorea and Parastrymonia, districts which neighbour on Thrace, and the Agrianes, to whom were also added Thracian settlers,<sup>4</sup> constituted a force of nearly 3,000 men. Didas the Paeonian, the assassin of the young Demetrius,<sup>5</sup> had armed and brought these together. There were also 2,000 Gauls under arms, under the command of Asclepiodotus. From Heraclea Sintice<sup>6</sup> 3,000 free Thracians had their own commander. An almost equal number of Cretans followed their own commanders, Susus of Phalasarna and Syllus of Cnossus.<sup>7</sup> The Lacedaemonian Leonides commanded 500 troops of mixed origins from Greece. He was said to be of royal blood and to have been exiled and condemned by a general meeting of the Achaean assembly when letters from him to Perseus were intercepted. Lycon the Achaean commanded the Aetolians and Boeotians whose numbers did not exceed 500. From these auxiliaries provided by so many peoples and nations a force of nearly 12,000 men was made up. As for cavalry, Perseus had collected from the whole of Macedon 3,000 men. Cotys, son of Seuthes, king of the Odrysian people, had come to the same place (Citium) with 1,000 picked cavalry and about the same number of infantry. And so the total numbers of the army added up to 39,000 infantry and 4,000 cavalry. It was generally agreed that, next to the army which Alexander took across to Asia,<sup>8</sup> no king of Macedon had ever had such a large number of troops.

Livy XLII.51

1. After the Roman decision to go to war. On the council of kings cf. **181** n. 5.
2. See **96** n. 8.
3. An emendation by P. Meloni.
4. See **89**.
5. The younger brother of Perseus, poisoned by Philip V in 180 for being a puppet of Roman policy (Hammond and Walbank (1988), 471f.).
6. See **96**.
7. See **113** n. 4.
8. See **4**.

## 95 Decree of the Senate concerning Thisbae in Boeotia (170)

In 172, during the build-up to the Third Macedonian War, a Roman delegation succeeded in breaking up the pro-Macedonian Boeotian League, though Haliartus, Coronea and Thisbae remained anti-Roman. Thisbae was induced in 171 to surrender to a Roman army and was placed in the hands of a pro-Roman

faction (Livy XLII.63.12) which then deputised to Rome (in 170) to obtain a ruling from the Senate on numerous matters relating to the city's surrender. The inscription gives vivid evidence of the divisions in Greek cities (see 92 and n. 8) and of the Roman need to protect their followers. See Larsen (1968), 463–6; Errington (1971), 211 and 215–17.

Quintus Maenius son of Titus, praetor, consulted the Senate in the Comitium on the 9th of October. Present at the writing (of the decree) were Manius  
5 Acilius son of Manius, of the tribe Voltinia, / and Titus Numisius son of Titus. Concerning the matters affecting them about which the Thisbaeans spoke, requesting that they, who had remained in our friendship, should be given an  
10 opportunity to explain the matters that affect them; concerning this / matter it was resolved as follows: that Quintus Maenius the praetor should appoint five senators who seem to him suitable as regards the public interest and his own good faith. Accepted. On the 14th of October; present at the writing  
15 (of the decree) / were Publius Mucius son of Quintus, Marcus Claudius son of Marcus, Manius Sergius son of Manius. Likewise concerning the matters about which the same men spoke, viz. (their) territory, harbours, revenues and mountains, it was resolved that what did belong to them they should be  
20 allowed to have as far as we are concerned.<sup>1</sup> / Concerning (their) magistracies, sanctuaries and shrines, that they themselves should control them, about this matter it was resolved as follows: all those who (came over) to our friendship before Gaius Lucretius led his army against the city of Thisbae<sup>2</sup> should control them for the next ten years. Accepted. / Concerning (their) territory, houses  
25 and belongings: it was resolved that whoever owned any of these should be allowed to have their own property. Likewise concerning the matters about which the same men spoke, requesting that their men who had deserted (to the Romans) and were exiles there should be allowed to fortify the citadel and settle there, as they declared, it was resolved as follows: / that they settle there and fortify the place. Accepted. It was resolved that they should not fortify the city. Likewise concerning the matters about which the same men spoke, that the gold which they had contributed for a crown to be dedicated on the Capitol should be restored to them, as they declared, so as to dedicate that crown on  
35 / [the] Capitol; it was resolved to restore the gold on these terms.<sup>3</sup> Likewise concerning the matters about which the same men spoke, that the men who were opposed to our public interests and to theirs should be arrested; about this matter it was resolved to do as seemed to the praetor Quintus Maenius to  
40 be consonant with the public interest and his own good faith. / About their request that all those who departed to other cities and had failed to present themselves before our praetor should not be reinstated in their (former) rank; concerning this matter it was resolved to send a letter to the consul Acilius



Hostilius, that he should give his attention to this matter in whatever way  
 seemed to him consonant with the public interest and / his own good faith. 45  
 Accepted. Likewise concerning the matters about which the same men spoke,<sup>4</sup>  
 viz. the lawsuits of Xenopithis and Mnasis, that these women should be let  
 out of Chalcis and (similarly) Damocrita daughter of Dionysius (should be let  
 out) of Thebes; it was resolved to let these women out of these cities and not  
 allow them to return to Thisbae. Accepted. / Likewise concerning what they 50  
 said about these women having brought vases full of money to the praetor;  
 it was resolved to discuss this matter later in the presence of Gaius Lucretius.  
 Likewise concerning the matters about which the same Thisbaeans spoke,  
 the business partnership in grain and olive oil made by them with Gnaeus  
 Pandosinus;<sup>5</sup> about this matter / it was resolved to give them judges if they 55  
 wish to have them. Likewise concerning the matters about which the same  
 men spoke, requesting that the citizens of Thisbae going to Aetolia and Phocis  
 should be given travel visas; about this matter it was resolved to give travel visas  
 to the citizens of Thisbae and Coronea whenever they wish to go to Aetolia,  
 Phocis, or any other cities.

*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 646; Sherk (1969) no. 2 and Sherk (1984), 21; BD 45

1. i.e. Rome had initially confiscated these and was now returning them to the pro-Roman faction in Thisbae.
2. In 171 (Livy XLII.63.12).
3. i.e. the gold had been confiscated by the anti-Romans.
4. The next two requests are obscurely phrased and conjectural in interpretation.
5. An Italian businessman; the reference is probably to public lands leased to him on condition of paying part of the produce to the city of Thisbae.

## 96 The Roman settlement and partition of Macedon (167)

See J. A. O. Larsen in *ESAR* IV (1938), 294–300; Larsen (1968), 295–300 and 475–82; M. H. Crawford, *Economic History Review* 2nd series 30 (1977), 43–5; Harris (1979), 143–6; Hammond and Walbank (1988), 563–7.

A herald proclaimed silence and Paulus<sup>1</sup> read out in Latin what had been decided by the Senate and by himself in consultation with his council. Cn. Octavius the praetor, who was also present, translated the terms into Greek and repeated them. They were as follows: first of all the Macedonians were to be free,<sup>2</sup> keep possession of their cities and lands, use their own laws, and appoint annual magistrates; they were to pay to the Roman people half of the tribute they had paid to the kings. Then Macedon was to be divided into four regions: the first part would comprise all the territory between the Strymon

and the river Nessus; to this part were to be added across the Nessus to the east the villages, forts and towns which Perseus had controlled, except for Aenus, Maronea and Abdera, and across the Strymon to the west the whole of the land of the Bisaltae, with Heraclea which they call Sintice. The second region was to consist of the territory bounded in the east by the river Strymon, apart from Sintice, Heraclea and the Bisaltae, and in the west by the river Axius, with the addition of the Paeonians who dwell near the river Axius on the eastern side. The third part comprised the territory bounded by the Axius in the east and the river Peneus in the west; to the north Mount Bora forms a barrier; to this part was added the region of Paeonia which stretches from the west along the river Axius; Edessa and Beroea were also included in this part. The fourth region consisted of the territory beyond Mount Bora, bounded on one side by Illyria and on the other by Epirus. The capitals of the regions, where their assemblies would meet, were Amphipolis for the first, Thessalonica for the second, Pella for the third and Pelagonia for the fourth. He ordered that assemblies of each region should be appointed there, money brought in and magistrates appointed. He then ruled that there should be no right of intermarriage and no buying or selling of land or houses between inhabitants of one region and those of another. The gold and silver mines were to be closed down,<sup>3</sup> but the working of the iron and copper mines was allowed. The tax on those working the mines was fixed at half of what they paid to the kings. He forbade the use of imported salt. When the Dardanians asked to be given back Paeonia, on the ground that it had been theirs and adjoined their boundaries, he announced that freedom was being granted to all who had been under the rule of Perseus. But after refusing them Paeonia he granted them the right to import salt; he ordered the third region to bring salt to Stobi in Paeonia, and fixed the price. He allowed the regions which had barbarians as their neighbours (and all had with the exception of the third) to maintain armed guards on their frontiers.

(30) This proclamation on the first day of the gathering met with a mixed response. The unexpected grant of freedom and the alleviation of the annual tax raised men's spirits; but the interruption of relations between one region and another seemed to them like breaking Macedon into pieces and leaving her like an animal torn into parts, each of which needed the other: so completely were the Macedonians themselves unaware of the size of Macedon, how easily it could be divided, how each part could exist on its own. The first region has the Bisaltae, men of great courage (they live across the river Nessus and around the Strymon), and many peculiar kinds of crops, mines, and the strategic town of Amphipolis which forms a barrier on all the eastern routes of access into Macedon. The second part has the very populous cities of Thessalonica and Cassandrea and in addition Pallene, a land which is fertile and productive.

The harbours of Torone, Mount Athos, Aenea and Acanthus also provide good outlets to the sea, some being suitably turned towards Thessaly and the island of Euboea, others towards the Hellespont. The third region has the famous cities of Edessa, Beroea and Pella, and the warlike race of the Vettii, and also a large population of Gauls and Illyrians, who are energetic farmers.<sup>4</sup> The fourth region is inhabited by the Eordaei, the Lyncestians and Pelagonians; next to these there is Atintania, Tymphaeis and Elimiotis. This whole region is cold, difficult to cultivate and harsh; the character of its inhabitants resembles that of the land. The neighbouring barbarians make them fiercer, giving them practice in war and intermingling their customs in peace. In this way the division of Macedon showed, by separating the advantages of its various parts, how great the country was as a whole. [. . .]

(32) After the interruptions caused by these investigations into foreign matters, the council of the Macedonians was again summoned; concerning the organisation of Macedonia it was announced that they must appoint senators (they call them *synhedri*) to form a council to govern the state.<sup>5</sup> Then they read out the names of the leading Macedonians who, it had been decided, were to be sent ahead to Italy together with their children above the age of fifteen.<sup>6</sup> This seemed at first a cruel act but was soon seen by the mass of Macedonians as having been done to protect their freedom. The names were those of the 'friends' of the king<sup>7</sup> and the wearers of the purple,<sup>8</sup> the commanders of the armies, the officers of the navy or of garrisons, men who had been accustomed to be humble in the king's service but to lord it arrogantly over others.<sup>9</sup> Some were immensely rich, others, though they did not possess comparable wealth, equalled them in their expenditure. All enjoyed a royal style of eating and dressing, but were devoid of affability and intolerant of the laws of freedom and equality. And so all who had held any post at court, even those who had served as ambassadors, were ordered to leave Macedon and to proceed to Italy; death was the penalty announced for anyone who disobeyed the order. Paulus gave laws to Macedon with so much care that he seemed to be granting them to loyal allies and not to defeated enemies – laws which not even use over a long period of time, the only real means of improving legislation, could prove by experience to be faulty.<sup>10</sup>

Livy XLV.29.3–30; 32.1–7

1. L. Aemilius Paulus, consul for the second time in 168, defeated Perseus at Pydna (22 June 168).
2. i.e. the Macedonian monarchy was abolished, the first of the Hellenistic monarchies to be overthrown by Rome, though Rome did not take over the country; the Macedonian people had no previous experience of republican self-government.
3. They were reopened in 158 and coinage was reintroduced.

4. An example of the Macedonian policy of settling barbarians in Macedon (see **89, 94**).
5. The detail of the institutions of the four Macedonian republics is controversial; see Larsen, *opp. cit.*
6. After Pydna numerous Greek statesmen were victimised or deported to Italy, among them the historian Polybius; Epirus was devastated and 150,000 prisoners sold into slavery.
7. See **31** n. 3; on the 'friends' of the Antigonids cf. S. Le Bohec, *REG* 98 (1985), 93–124; J. L. O'Neil, *CQ* 53 (2003), 510–22.
8. Hellenistic kings granted to their courtiers the right to wear purple as a mark of status; see Reinhold (1970), 29–36.
9. Contrast Cleomenes of Sparta (**70** (a)).
10. The note of pro-Roman apologia is evident. In practice after the settlement of 167 Macedon proved unstable and after the revolt of the pretender Andriscus (cf. **224**) Rome was obliged to provide for the country's security by sending a regular commander to Macedon from 146. See Kallet-Marx (1995), 11–41.

## 97 King Prusias of Bithynia and the Senate (167/6)

At about the same time King Prusias<sup>1</sup> came to Rome to congratulate the Senate and the generals on their success. His conduct was altogether unworthy of his royal status, as one may judge from the following.<sup>2</sup> To begin with, when Roman ambassadors came to visit him he met them with his head shaved, wearing a white cap, a toga and (Roman) shoes, in short dressed in exactly the same way as recently enfranchised Roman freedmen (the Roman term is *liberti*). On welcoming the ambassadors he exclaimed: 'See, I am your freedman, and I want to do everything to please you and imitate your customs.' It would be difficult to find a more undignified way of speaking. (lacuna) On that occasion, when entering the senate-house he stopped on the threshold facing the assembly, lowered both hands and paid reverence to the floor and to the seated senators,<sup>3</sup> with the words 'Hail, saviour gods!' It would be impossible for anyone to go any further in unmanliness, womanly weakness, and servility. The words he spoke in his audience with the senate were similar in tone, and it would be unseemly to relate them. Having thus behaved in an altogether contemptible way he received a sympathetic answer for precisely that reason.

Polybius XXX.18

1. Prusias had remained uncommitted in the war against Perseus (**92**), but after the defeat of Macedon quickly adapted to the new political reality. On his relations with the Romans cf. D. Braund, *CQ* 32 (1982), 353f. and Braund (1984), 9f., 32 n. 23, 55f., 114; Gruen (1984), 575f. On the Bithynian monarchy cf. **66**. Compare Antiochus IV and the Romans, **209**.
2. Compare Polybius' pronouncements on the behaviour of other kings (**233** n. 2).
3. Cf. **12** on 'obeisance'.

## 98 The Roman treatment of Rhodes after Pydna (165)

Rhodes had initially been on the Roman side against Philip V (81) then against Antiochus III, and increased her power as a result of the settlement of Apamea (205, 234). After Pydna, the Roman attitude changed; it is not clear that past Rhodian actions were sufficient to justify Rome's new policy. On Rhodes' changing relations with Rome from 189 to 164 BC see Gruen (1984), 563–6, 569–72; Berthold (1984), 179–212; C. Habicht in *CAH VIII*<sup>2</sup> (1989), 334–8.

After this the Senate called in the Rhodians and listened to what they had to say. Astymedes came in and adopted a more moderate and better position than on his previous embassy. [. . .] He then went on to give a summary list of the losses the Rhodians had suffered: there was first the loss of Lycia and Caria, territories on which they had from the start spent a considerable amount of money, since they had had to fight three wars against them, and now they had been deprived of considerable revenues they used to draw from them.<sup>1</sup> 'But perhaps', he said, 'this was justifiable; you gave them to the Rhodian people as a favour because you were well disposed to us, and so when you cancelled the gift this seemed a justifiable thing to do, as you were now suspicious and at variance with us. But Caunus, at any rate, we purchased from the generals of Ptolemy and Stratonicea we received as a great favour from Antiochus and (or: son of) Seleucus;<sup>2</sup> from these two cities the Rhodian people drew an annual income of 120 talents. We have been deprived of all these revenues, although it was our wish to obey your instructions. It seems from this that you have imposed a heavier tribute on the Rhodians for their mistake than you have on the Macedonians who have always been your enemies.<sup>3</sup> But the greater disaster to befall our city is the loss of the revenues from the harbour, since you made Delos a free port and deprived our people of the independence which guaranteed that the interests of the harbour and all the other interests of the city were properly defended. The truth of this is easy to see: in former times the harbour tax produced one million drachmas in revenue, but now [you have fixed it] at 150,000, so that your anger, men of Rome, has affected the chief revenues of the city all too severely. [. . .] And so, gentlemen, the Rhodian people, having lost its revenues, its independence and right of free speech, which previously it was prepared to make any sacrifice to defend, and having suffered enough blows, now asks and begs of you all to relax your anger, be reconciled and ratify the treaty (with us). May it thus become clear to all that you have laid aside your anger against the Rhodians and returned to your original attitude of friendship. For this is what the Rhodian people now needs, not an alliance of arms and soldiers.' These and similar words were used by

Astymedes and he was thought to have spoken in a manner appropriate to the circumstances.<sup>4</sup> [ . . . ]

Polybius XXX.31 (omitting 3; 13–15; 19–20)

1. Cf. **91** on Lycia; on Rhodes and Caria cf. G. Reger in Gabrielsen et al. (1999), 76–97.
2. Caunus was acquired c.191/90 from Ptolemy V. Stratonicea was perhaps granted by Antiochus III in 197, though it had been already conceded by him earlier, possibly in 204/3; ‘Seleucus’ could refer either to Seleucus II or to Seleucus IV before he became king. Cf. A. Meadows, *NC* 2002, 118f.
3. Cf. **96**.
4. The Senate granted the alliance (165/4), but it marked in effect the end of the long independence enjoyed by Rhodes in the Hellenistic age (see **47**, **110–13**).

## 99 The depopulation of the Greek world in the second century

An example of a clear-cut generalisation in an ancient writer which turns out on inspection to be problematic. See J. A. O. Larsen in *ESAR* IV (1938), 418–22; Tarn and Griffith (1952), 100–4; Rostovtzeff II (1941), 623–32 and III, 1464–70; Walbank (1981), 165–7; J. K. Davies in *CAH* VII.1<sup>2</sup> (1984), 268f.

In our time Greece was afflicted with a dearth of children and a general decline in population, which caused the cities to be deserted and the land to become unproductive, even though we were free from continuous wars and epidemics. Now if someone had suggested about this that we should send to consult the gods on what we needed to say or do to increase our numbers and make our cities more populous, would he not have seemed a foolish person when the cause is evident and the remedy lies with ourselves? For the evil quickly developed without anyone noticing when men turned to a life of empty pretensions, love of money and even idleness, and became unwilling to marry, or if they did to bring up the children they had, or as a general rule more than one or two so as to leave them wealthy and bring them up in a life of luxury.<sup>1</sup> For when there are one or two children, and war carries one away and illness the other, it is clear that the households must be left empty and, just as is the case with swarms of bees, similarly do the cities decline in numbers little by little and lose their strength. On this matter there is no need to ask the gods how we are to be delivered from such an evil; anybody will tell you that the surest remedy lies with the individuals themselves changing the objects of their ambition, or failing this, passing laws to enforce the rearing of children. There is no need here for prophets or prodigies.

Polybius XXXVI.17.5–10

1. Polybius' moralising view ignores social and economic causes such as the disturbed and uncertain conditions of the time (cf. earlier **41**); moreover his remarks apply primarily to upper-class Greeks like himself and may not be equally true of the whole Greek world. Compare his comments on Boeotia (**102**).

## 100 The sack of Corinth by the Romans (146)

Because of the loss of most of Polybius' account (which was in any case biased against the Achaean leaders), the 'Achaean War' of 147/6 and the Roman settlement of Greece that followed are very imperfectly known. Pausanias, the chief extant source, is writing from the vantage point of the Roman Empire, and his account is inaccurate in many essential details (for his standpoint cf. **28, 254**). The sack of Corinth by the Romans was meant as a deterrent and was the counterpart to the proclamation of Flamininus half a century earlier (**84**). On the Greek side the war was felt by later writers to mark the end of Greek independence. See J. A. O. Larsen in *ESAR* IV (1938), 303–11 and Larsen (1968), 489–504; A. Fuks, *JHS* 90 (1970), 78–89; Gruen (1984), 520–8; P. S. Derow in *CAH* VIII<sup>2</sup> (1989), 319–23; Kallet-Marx (1995), 42–56 and 57–96 on Pausanias' account.

The Achaeans who had taken refuge in Corinth after the battle escaped from the city as soon as night fell, together with the majority of the Corinthians. Although the gates were opened, Mummius<sup>1</sup> first hesitated to enter Corinth, as he suspected some ambush lying within the walls; two days after the battle he stormed and burned Corinth. The Romans put to death the majority of the people found in the city, while Mummius sold the women and children into slavery; he also sold all the slaves who had received their freedom and fought on the side of the Achaeans<sup>2</sup> and had not been killed at once in the war. Mummius carried off the most remarkable votive offerings and other works of art, and gave the less interesting ones to Philopoemen, the general sent by Attalus (II); even in my time there were spoils from Corinth at Pergamum. All the cities which had fought against the Romans had their walls razed and were deprived of their arms by Mummius even before the sending of the senatorial commission of advisers from Rome. When they arrived, Mummius overthrew the democracies and set up constitutions based on wealth;<sup>3</sup> tribute was imposed in Greece<sup>4</sup> and men of wealth were forbidden to acquire property abroad. All the federal councils, in Achaëa, in Phocis, in Boeotia and everywhere else in Greece, were likewise dissolved.<sup>5</sup> A few years later the Romans were moved to pity for Greece, and restored to all their ancient federal councils and the right to acquire property abroad, and they cancelled the fines imposed by Mummius. He had ordered the Boeotians to pay 100 talents to

the people of Heraclea and Euboea, and the Achaeans 200 to the Spartans. And so the Greeks obtained remission of these from the Romans, but a governor has continued to be sent (to Greece) up to my time.<sup>6</sup> The Romans call him governor not of Greece, but of Achaea, because when they subdued the Greeks the Achaeans were then the leading people in the Greek world.<sup>7</sup> This war came to an end in the archonship of Antitheus at Athens, in the 160th Olympiad, at which Diodorus of Sicyon was victorious. (17) It was then that Greece fell to the weakest point in its history, although parts of it had been ruined and devastated by the divinity from the beginning. [. . .]

Pausanias VII.16.7–17.1; in part Sherk (1984), 35

1. L. Mummius, consul in 146.
2. Cf. **81** n. 3.
3. This was probably a temporary measure which applied only to states that had gone to war against Rome; see also **92** n. 8.
4. Despite Pausanias Greece was not made tributary; it was only the Mithridatic wars of the 70s that marked a change in this respect.
5. Another problematic statement for which there is no clear supporting evidence.
6. Greece was not turned into a separate province as Pausanias implies; this only happened in 27 BC. After 146 most of Greece was still theoretically 'free', though subject to occasional intervention by the Roman commander in Macedon.
7. Cf. **67** ch. 38.



## 4 The Greek cities: social and economic conditions

It has often been said that after Alexander, in a world dominated by territorial monarchies, the Greek city was now 'dead' as an institution, but this view has come under considerable critical scrutiny.<sup>1</sup> While it is true that the old leading cities – Athens (**28, 61, 73**), Sparta (**61, 69, 70**), Syracuse in Sicily (**33**), and a few others – could no longer maintain their former predominance, the position of many smaller ones was no more precarious now than before, and the aspiration for independence remained alive (cf. **81**). Rhodes actually became more powerful in this period than she had been before, though this was an exceptional case (**110–11**). Thanks to the foundations of Alexander (**7, 19**) but especially his Successors (**48**) Greek cities multiplied and were to be found scattered over a much larger area which now extended deep inland into Asia (cf. **57–8, 174, 188, 190** in Asia; **232–3** in Egypt). The life and activities of many Greek cities are more fully documented in this period than before thanks to the spread of the 'epigraphic habit' in the post-classical world. It will be seen that the majority of texts in this chapter are inscriptions and not literary sources.

This chapter concentrates on what could be described as the 'old Greek world', centred around the Aegean basin (the west is largely omitted, though cf. **131**); the 'new Greek world' of the monarchies in Asia and Egypt is covered in subsequent chapters. The chapter is divided for convenience into four sections. The first comprises texts arranged geographically: Central Greece (**101–2**), the Peloponnese (**103**), the Aegean and the islands (**104–13**), the Black Sea area (**114–16**). The second deals with economic life: public finances (**117–22**), coinage (**123–5**), market legislation (**126–9**), the corn supply (**130–5**). The third covers aspects of society and cultural life: education (**136–9**), competitions (**140–2**), associations (**143**), medicine (**144–6**), slavery (**147**), religion (**148–51**). The final section deals with relations between cities, from co-operation (**152–4**), through conflict resolution (**155–6**), to confrontation (**157**).

1. See among others J. K. Davies in *CAH* VII.1<sup>2</sup> (1984), 304–20; Ph. Gauthier in Hansen (1993), 211–31; Rhodes and Lewis (1997); Habicht (1997), 366f.; E. S. Gruen in Rosen and Farrell (1998), 339–54; Shipley (2000), 35, 106f.; J. Ma in van Wees

(2001), 337–76, in *AJA* 104 (2000), 107–11 and in *Past and Present* 180 (2003), 9–39; R. Billows in Erskine (2003), 196–215.

## 1 TEXTS ARRANGED GEOGRAPHICALLY

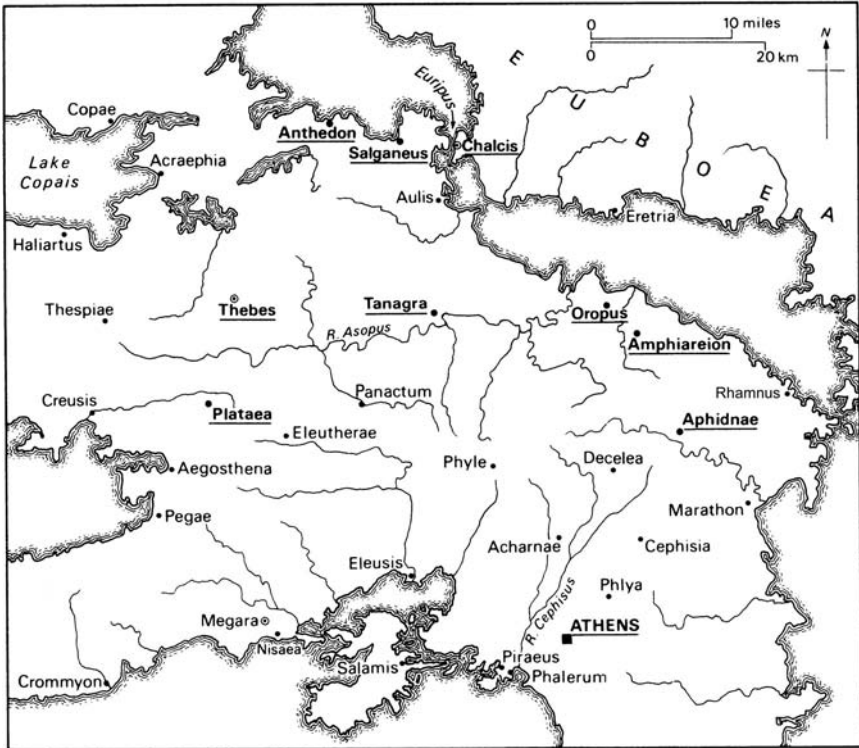
### 101 A third-century description of central Greece

The author of this work is unknown; he is sometimes described as Ps. Dicaearchus and sometimes as Heraclides Creticus, and was probably writing in the third century, though because of the timeless character of his description he is difficult to date more precisely. See Rostovtzeff I (1941), 210f. and III 1368f. (nn. 35 and 36); Walbank III (1979), 72.

(I.1) From here<sup>1</sup> to the city of Athens [is a distance of . . .] The road is pleasant, passes through countryside that is all cultivated, and offers pleasing scenery. The city itself is all dry and does not have a good water supply; the streets are narrow and winding, as they were built long ago.<sup>2</sup> Most of the houses are cheaply built, and only few reach a higher standard; a stranger would find it hard to believe at first sight that this was the famous city of Athens, though he might soon come to believe it. There you will see the most beautiful sights on earth: a large and impressive theatre, a magnificent temple of Athena, something out of this world and worth seeing, the so-called Parthenon, which lies above the theatre; it makes a great impression on sightseers. There is the Olympieum, which though only half-completed is impressively designed, though it would have been most magnificent if completed.<sup>3</sup> There are three gymnasia: the Academy, the Lyceum and the Cynosarges; they are all planted with trees and laid out with lawns. They have festivals of all sorts, and philosophers from everywhere pull the wool over your eyes and provide recreation; there are many opportunities for leisure and spectacles without interruption.

(2) The produce of the land is all priceless and delicious to taste, though in rather short supply. But the presence of foreigners, which they are all accustomed to and which fits in with their inclinations, causes them to forget about their stomach by diverting their attention to pleasant things. Because of the spectacles and entertainments in the city, the common people have no experience of hunger, as they are made to forget about food, but for those who have money there is no city comparable in the pleasures it offers. The city also has many other delights; the cities which neighbour it are suburbs of Athens. [. . .]

(6) From here to Oropus via Aphidnae and the sanctuary of Zeus Amphiaraus is about a day's journey for a traveller without luggage; the road is uphill. But the large number of inns, which have an abundance of all necessities, and the resting places, prevent travellers from feeling fatigue. (7) The city of Oropus



3. Central Greece (to illustrate 101). Places mentioned in the description are underlined.

belongs to Thebes. There are many retail traders here, and the greed of the customs collectors is not to be outdone; it is something which has long been congenital to them, and you could not improve on their wickedness. They collect customs on goods that are imported there. [. . .] (8) From there to Tanagra is a distance of 130 stades (*c.*20 km). The road passes through countryside that is planted with olive trees and is thickly wooded; it is completely free from the fear of robbers. The city lies on a rocky height; its soil is clayey and has a white appearance. The entrance halls of their houses and the encaustic paintings they display give the city a beautiful appearance. The city does not enjoy an abundance of agricultural produce, but it ranks first in Boeotia for its wine. (9) The inhabitants though wealthy are plain in their style of living; they are all farmers and not workmen. They know how to respect justice, good faith and hospitality. To their needy citizens and to wandering strangers they give from what they have and allow them to take freely;<sup>4</sup> they are far removed from

any unjust greed. It is the safest city in Boeotia for foreigners to stay in. You will find there a straight and strict dislike of evil because of the self-sufficiency and industriousness of the inhabitants. [ . . . ] (11) From there to Plataea is a distance of 200 stades (c.35 km). The road is somewhat deserted and stony, stretching towards Cithaeron, but not very dangerous. The comic poet Poseidippus describes the city: 'It has two temples, a stoa, and its name, and the bath and the fame of Serambus.<sup>5</sup> Most of the time it is a desert, and only at the festival of the *Eleutheria*<sup>6</sup> does it become a city.' The citizens have nothing to say except that they are colonists of the Athenians and that the battle between the Greeks and the Persians took place in their territory. They are Athenians among Boeotians. (12) From there to Thebes is a distance of 80 stades (c.14 km).<sup>7</sup> The road is all flat and even. The city lies in the heart of Boeotia and has a circumference of 70 stades (c.11.5 km).<sup>8</sup> It lies on level ground, and is round in shape; the soil is dark in colour. Though an ancient city its street-plan is modern in design as, according to history books, it has already been destroyed three times<sup>9</sup> because of the oppressiveness and arrogance of its inhabitants. (13) The Thebans are excellent horse-breeders; the land is all well watered, green and covered with hills, and has the largest number of gardens of any city in Greece. Two rivers flow through the land and water the whole of the plain below the city. From the Cadmea water also flows in underground channels which they say were built by Cadmus in ancient times. [ . . . ] (23) From there to Anthedon<sup>10</sup> is a distance of 160 stades (c.28 km). It is a side road, though suitable for traffic; the journey goes through fields. The city is not large; it lies on the Euboean sea and has an agora all planted with trees and enclosed (?) by double colonnades. It has plenty of wine and fish, but is poor in corn because of the infertility of the soil. (24) The inhabitants are almost all fishermen who make their living from hooks, fishes, and also from purple shells and sponges; they have grown old on the shore, amid the seaweed and in their huts. They have red hair and are all slim; the tips of their fingernails are worn out, as they are devoted to working at sea. The majority are ferry-men and shipbuilders; they do not cultivate the land and in fact have none to cultivate, and they say they are descended from Glaucus the seaman, who is generally agreed to have been a fisherman. [ . . . ] (26) From Anthedon to Chalcis is a distance of 70 stades (c.11.5 km). The road follows the coastline as far as Salganeus; it is all flat and free from stones. On one side it leads down to the sea; on the other there is a not very high mountain, which is wooded and watered with streams. (27) The city of Chalcis has a circumference of 70 stades (c.11.5 km),<sup>11</sup> more than the distance from Anthedon to it. It is all hilly and shaded, and has many springs, most of them salty; only one of them is somewhat brackish, though it is safe to use and cool, and flows from the spring called Arethusa, which is able to provide enough spring water to all the

inhabitants of the city. (28) The city is well provided with public buildings, gymnasia, porticoes, temples, theatres, pictures, statues and an agora which is excellently situated for all trading purposes. (29) The stream which comes from Salgameus in Boeotia and the Euboean sea flows in the same direction and into the Euripus; it passes along the harbour walls where there is the gate to the mart, which is next to the agora; the agora is spacious and enclosed by three colonnades. As the agora lies near the harbour and the unloading of the cargoes from the ships is quickly done, there is a large number of people who come by sea to the mart. The Euripus has two entrances and so it attracts the trader to the city. (30) Their land is all planted with olive trees; the sea is also productive. [. . .]

Heraclides Creticus (?) I, 1–2, 6–9, 11–13, 23–4, 26–30  
 (ed. F. Pfister, *Die Reisebilder des Herakleides* (Vienna, 1951));  
 see also K. Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum* II  
 (Paris, 1848), 254–61; Müller, *Geographi Graeci Minores* I  
 (Paris, 1855), 97–106

1. The starting point in the description is not specified.
2. On the description of Athens cf. E. Perrin, *REG* 107 (1994), 192–202; Habicht (1997), 170–2. Contrast the description of Thebes in §12; on Hellenistic town planning cf. Shipley (2000), 86–96; R. Billows in Erskine (2003), 199–209.
3. Cf. **209** (b).
4. For support of the poor by the rich see **110**.
5. The identity of Serambus is obscure.
6. See **63**.
7. Overestimated, in fact *c.* 10 km.
8. Overestimated, in fact *c.* 7 km.
9. See **3**; the two other destructions belong probably to the mythical period.
10. Cf. N. Purcell in Murray and Price (1990), 51f.
11. Overestimated.

## 102 Chaos of public affairs in Boeotia (192)

See Rostovtzeff II (1941), 611f.; Feyel (1942), esp. 273–83; D. Hennig, *Chiron* 7 (1977), 119–48; Walbank III (1979), 66, 72.

Public affairs in Boeotia had fallen to such a low state that for nearly twenty-five years justice had not been administered there, whether in private or in public cases.<sup>1</sup> The magistrates kept issuing orders for the despatch of garrisons or of national expeditions, and thus kept putting off the administration of justice; some of the generals would give allowances to the needy out of public funds.<sup>2</sup>

The masses learnt in this way to listen to and invest with high office those who would enable them to escape punishment for their crimes and unpaid debts, and to expect occasional gratuities from the public funds as a favour from the magistrates.<sup>3</sup> No one contributed more to this [bad state of affairs] than Opheltas, who was always thinking up some new scheme apparently calculated to benefit the masses for the moment while sure to ruin everybody in future. To this was added another unfortunate craze. Men who died childless would not leave their property to their relatives, as had formerly been the custom in the country, but assigned it for feasts and drinking-parties to be shared in by their friends. Even many who had children apportioned the larger part of their property to their table mates, and as a result there were many Boeotians who had more feasts provided for them in the month than there were days in it.<sup>4</sup>

Polybius XX.6.1–6

1. On this problem see further **48 §6, 155, 245.**
2. Compare the Rhodian policy (**110**).
3. On class divisions in Boeotia in the second century see **95** (Thisbae) and generally **92** and n. 8; on the problem of individual indebtedness cf. **48 §6, 115**; J. K. Davies in *CAH* VII.1<sup>2</sup> (1984), 293f. See further **108**.
4. Compare **99**. Polybius' account of Boeotia is probably coloured by Achaean prejudice and its reliability is disputed.

### 103 The wealthy gentry of Elis in the third century

[. . .] During the devastation of the country<sup>1</sup> a large number of captives were made, but an even larger number made their escape to the neighbouring villages and strongholds. For the land of Elis happens to be thickly populated; it has an abundance of slaves and farm-stock, more so than the rest of the Peloponnese.<sup>2</sup> Some of the inhabitants are so fond of life in the country that, though they enjoy great wealth, they have not visited the law-court at all for two or three generations. This happens because those in government devote great care and attention to the country-dwellers to make sure that justice is dispensed to them on the spot and that they do not lack any of the necessities of life. It seems to me that this policy was thought up long ago and legislated for because of the extent of their territory, but especially because of the 'sacred' life they have led from the time when the Greeks granted them this concession owing to the Olympic Games; the land of Elis became holy and inviolate, and they have been sheltered from every danger and act of war.<sup>3</sup> (74) Later, because of the Arcadian claims over Lasion and the whole territory of Pisa,<sup>4</sup> they were compelled to defend their country and change their way of life; they no longer troubled themselves in the least about recovering from the Greeks their ancient

and traditional immunity (*asylia*), but remained as they were. In my opinion they were wrong to neglect the future.

Polybius IV.73.5–74.2

1. In 219, during the ‘Social War’ (72, 73).
2. Cf. Xenophon, *Hellenica* III.2.26.
3. The immunity Elis is supposed to have held is probably a fiction of fourth-century Elean propaganda. On *asylia* cf. 65.
4. In 365–363.

## 104 Pirates and the slave trade

Though fictitious, this passage from the prologue of one of Menander’s plays shows how completely ‘piracy’ and the slave trade were taken for granted as a reality of everyday life in the late fourth and early third centuries, and this remained true for the whole of Hellenistic history. For other examples, see **62, 64, 105–7, 110, 114, 116, 220**. It should be said that the connotations of the word ‘pirate’ are anything but precise; the word was often used not descriptively but rhetorically as a term of abuse against enemies. Piracy was in practice one among several forms of predatory activity which all ancient states commonly practised: the ‘raid mentality’ had a long history and violence was a normal method of acquisition (cf. **23**). There is much to be said for the view that between ‘pirates’ and naval powers such as Rhodes (**110**) there was in practice as much interdependence as antagonism. For a range of views see Ormerod (1924); Rostovtzeff I (1941), 195–204 II, 607–10, 771–4, 783–6, 948–55; J. K. Davies in *CAH* VII.1<sup>2</sup> (1984), 285–90; Garlan (1988), 48–55; Pritchett (1991), 312–63; de Souza (1999), 43–96; V. Gabrielsen, *REA* 103 (2001), 219–40 and in Erskine (2003), 389–404.

When they (the pirates) had seized the three of them, they did not think it worth their while to take away the old woman, but the child and the slave they took to Mylasa in Caria<sup>1</sup> and there offered them for sale in the market.<sup>2</sup> The slave was sitting there, holding his little mistress on one arm. [As they were being offered for sale] an officer came up, and asked their price. He was told it, he agreed, he [bought them]. A local slave, who was being sold a second time nearby, said to the slave: ‘Cheer up, my friend, the Sicyonian officer has bought you, a very good and rich man.’

Menander, *The Sicyonian*, lines 3–15 (OCT)

1. An inland market (cf. **179**). Caria was a regular source of supply of slaves.
2. ‘The pirate had a most useful place in the economy of the old world; he was the general slave merchant’ (Tarn (1913), 88). There were, however, other sources of supply of slaves apart from ‘piracy’.

## 105 Decree of Amorgos in honour of two men for help during an incursion of pirates (third century)

Resolved by the council and the people; Soterides son of Phidias of Cosyllus was president, Philoxenus son of Philothemis of Alsus moved: since, when  
5 pirates<sup>1</sup> / made an incursion into the countryside at night and captured a  
total of more than 30 girls, women and other persons both free and slave, and  
10 scuttled the ships in the harbour / and captured the ship of Dorieus, in which  
they sailed off with their captives and the rest of their booty; when all this  
had happened, Hegesippus and Antipappus, the sons of Hegesistratus, who  
15 were themselves prisoners, / persuaded Soclidas, the captain of the pirates, to  
release the free persons and some of the freedmen and slaves, and volunteered  
20 to act as hostages on their behalf, / and showed great concern that none of the  
citizen women or men should be carried off as booty and be sold, nor suffer  
25 torture or hardship, / and that no free person should perish;<sup>2</sup> thanks to these  
men the prisoners were saved (and returned) home without suffering harm;  
30 therefore be it resolved by the people, to crown Hegesippus and / Antipappus  
each with an olive wreath for their merits and the concern they showed for the  
35 citizens who were taken prisoners, and to proclaim this decree / at the Dionysia  
during the tragic contest; let the herald proclaim that the people crowns  
Hegesippus and Antipappus for their merits and the concern they showed for  
40 their / fellow prisoners. Let this decree be inscribed on a stele and placed in  
the sanctuary of Athena Polias, and let Hegesistratus<sup>3</sup> be responsible for the  
inscription.

*Syll.*<sup>4</sup> 521; *IG XII.7.386*

1. The identity of the pirates (e.g. Aetolians or Cretans) is not specified. On piracy see **104**.
2. Note the distinction drawn between the free prisoners and the slaves or ex-slaves. Cf. **125** l. 6, **129** §1, **137** l. 27, **253** ll. 189–95.
3. The father of the men honoured; the inscription does not make clear how they secured their release.

## 106 Athens honours Eumaridas of Cydonia in Crete for rescuing victims of Aetolian pirates (217/16)

See Rostovtzeff II (1941), 199; Pritchett (1991), 144–7; de Souza (1999), 66f.

Gods. In the archonship of Heliodorus (229/8), in the eleventh prytany, of  
the tribe Cecropis, in the month Thargelion; Lysistratus son of Phylarchides  
5 of Oene moved: since Eumaridas both previously, / and at the time when



Bucris<sup>1</sup> overran the countryside and carried off to Crete a large number of the citizens and of the others from the city, performed many great services for the people and contributed money from his own pocket for the twenty talents that had been agreed (as ransom) for / the prisoners; and (since) he 10  
lent money to the captives for their travel expenses; and (since) now, when the people (of Athens) has sent ambassadors so that good relations may be preserved with all the Cretans and so that this might be achieved, if anywhere the right to plunder (*laphyron*)<sup>2</sup> has been given to those who descend on our shores, this right is abrogated, he pleaded his case so that everything should be done in the best interest / of the people; and (since) he also took part in an 15  
embassy to Cnossus and her allies, and also gave letters to the ambassadors for his friends in Polyrrhenia, so that they would cooperate with them over the interests (of the people); and (since) he undertakes to show every care to ensure the preservation of good relations between the people (of Athens) / and all the 20  
inhabitants of Crete; therefore, so that it may be manifest that the people is honouring those who display their favourable attitude in every circumstance, with good fortune, be it resolved by the people, to praise Eumaridas son of Pancles of Cydonia, and to crown him with a gold crown according to the law because of his goodwill / and zeal towards the council and people of Athens, 25  
and to place a bronze statue of him on the acropolis. And it shall be possible for him in future to be honoured for the services he provides in a way that is fitting for the benefits conferred. The secretary of the people shall inscribe this decree on a stone stele / and place it beside the statue. The treasurer of 30  
the military fund and the officials in charge of financial administration shall pay for the expense incurred in the dedication of the statue and of the stele.<sup>3</sup>

*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 535; *IG* II<sup>2</sup>.844.1

1. An Aetolian from Naupactus; on Aetolian piracy see **64**, on piracy in general see **104**.
2. i.e. the home state grants its nationals the right to seize booty from any member of another state. On Cretan piracy see also **107**, **113**; Brulé (1978); P. Perlman in Gabrielsen et al. (1999), 132–61 for a nuanced view of Crete's reputation on this score.
3. This inscription is the first of a group of three in honour of Eumaridas and his son Charmion attesting their friendly relations with Athens over several years (*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 535–7); cf. Habicht (1997), 164.

## 107 Treaty between Miletus and Cretan cities against the purchase of citizens and slaves (after 260)

The agreements with the cities in Crete. (Decree) of the Cnossians. Resolved by the *kosmoi* and the city of Cnossus: concerning the matters about which

the Milesians sent the ambassadors Alcmeonides and Evagoras, to reply to the  
5 ambassadors that / formerly when your ambassadors came here we made the  
agreement, as the Milesians requested,<sup>1</sup> and we placed it in the sanctuary of  
Apollo; and when the sanctuary was burnt down you did well in sending the  
10 embassy so that / the same agreement should be inscribed in your own city;  
[it remained in force?] even though the agreement was not inscribed.<sup>2</sup> For we  
think that you will receive from us all the concessions (detailed below) and we  
15 shall preserve the friendship and goodwill which exists from former times /  
towards each other as is just. And so that the other Cretans should themselves  
make a treaty with you with greater willingness, we think it necessary to make  
a treaty as you have requested. A Cnossian shall not knowingly purchase a  
20 Milesian who is a free man nor a Milesian / a Cnossian. Anyone who purchases  
knowingly shall forfeit the price paid and the person (bought) shall be free. If  
he purchases unknowingly, he shall return the person and get back the price  
25 he paid. If anyone buys a slave, he shall get back the price / he paid and return  
the person. If he does not return it, he shall be brought at Cnossus before  
the *kosmoi* and at Miletus before the presiding magistrates (*prytaneis*). The  
magistrates in each state shall compel him to return the person to whoever  
30 (rightfully) claims him, in accordance with the agreement. / If any dispute  
arises about anything, a verdict shall be given at Cnossus by the *kosmoi* and  
the council, and at Miletus by the overseers of the mart within five days of  
the disputants coming before the magistrates. The execution of the sentence  
against those convicted shall take place at Cnossus in accordance with the law  
35 about *proxenoi* and at Miletus / according to the law about the mart. Similar  
(decisions were taken by) the Tylisians, Rhaucians, Chersonesians, Milatians,  
Eltynians, Heracleotes, Priansians, Apolloniates, Petraians, Itanians, Praisians,  
Istronians, Olountians, Drerians, Latians, Eleuthernaian, Axians, Cydoniates,  
Phalasarnians.<sup>3</sup>

*Staatsv.* III.482 lines 1–39; *ICret.* I, pp. 60f. no. 6

1. The initiative comes from the Milesians, anxious to protect themselves against Cretan pirates (**106** n. 2); on the slave trade see **104**.
2. The Cnossians are reassuring the Milesians that the earlier treaty remained in force even though the inscription recording it was lost in the fire.
3. There follow two further decrees on the same lines by Gortyn and Phaestus and their respective allies.

## 108 Itanos (Crete): oath of loyalty to the state (third century)

‘Everywhere in Greece it is customary for the citizens to swear to preserve concord (cf. **63**) and everywhere they swear that oath’ (Xenophon, *Memorabilia*,

IV.4.16). The context of the following oath from Itanos in Crete seems to be the enlargement of the citizen body by the ruling oligarchy, which sought to protect itself against revolutionary demands by the imposition of the oath on the new citizens. Cf. **109**, **153**, **174** ll. 64–78. See Willetts (1955), 128f., 182, 184f., 226.

[God] is beneficent. [The following] oath<sup>1</sup> was sworn [by all] the Itanians, in  
 the name of Zeus of Dicte, Hera, the [gods] at Dicte, Athena / Polias, all the 5  
 gods to whom sacrifices are offered in the sanctuary of Athena, Zeus Agoraeus  
 and Pythian Apollo, over newly burnt offerings: I will not betray the city of  
 Itanos / nor the territory or islands of the Itanians, and I will not introduce 10  
 [enemies] (in the land) nor betray the ships [of] the Itanians, [and] I will  
 [not] betray [any] of the citizens / nor any of the belongings of the citizens. 15  
 [And] I will not provoke an assembly or [conspiracy] for the harm of [the  
 city] or of the citizens, nor will I associate with anyone [else] who / [wishes] 20  
 to do any of these things, [but] I will declare it to the magistrates. And I  
 will not initiate a redistribution [of land] or of houses [or of] dwelling-sites  
 nor a [cancellation] of debts,<sup>2</sup> nor will I [bring] a corrupt suit / against [any] 25  
 citizen for usurpation of citizen rights under [any] pretext. I will not plan any  
 evil against [the city], and I will exercise my civic rights on a basis of fairness  
 and equality as regards all matters [sacred] / and human, [according to] the 30  
 existing laws we use [concerning] sacred matters, the laws we have now passed  
 [and any] others we may pass in future / concerning either [sacred matters] 35  
 or civil affairs, and I [will not desert] the city either in [war] or in [peace] as  
 far as is [possible]. May those who [honour] and respect the oath / be blessed 40  
 with children, see their land produce crops and their flocks flourish, and may  
 they and their children enjoy [many other] blessings; but for those who break  
 the oath / may their land be infertile, and may they be denied children and 45  
 flourishing flocks, and may they perish miserably in their wickedness together  
 with their [descendants].

*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 526; *ICret.* III, pp. 89–91 no. 8

1. For oaths see **40** n. 7.
2. For these revolutionary demands see **33(a)**, **69–71**, **92**, **93**, cf. **102** and de Ste Croix (1981), 608 n. 55; Walbank (1981), 167–70; Shipley (2000), 132f. Contrast the emphasis on *homonoia* (**63**).

## 109 Oath of Dreros in Crete (c.220?)

War between rival cities was endemic in Cretan history (cf. **113** §§15, 18), as shown for instance by the ‘war of Lyttus’ of 221/20 described by Polybius (IV.53.5–55), which may be the context of the following inscription (cf. also

144). Whereas the oath of Itanos (108) does not refer to any specific foreign threat, the oath of Dreros explicitly links loyalty to the state with the conflict of Dreros and Cnossus with another city, Lyttus. See Willetts (1955), 119–21, 173, 182–5, 187; Walbank I (1957), 508–11. On wars between Greek cities cf. generally J. Ma in van Wees (2001), 349–62.

5 God. Fortune. With good fortune. The *kosmoi* from the tribe Aithaleis /  
10 were Cydilas, Cephalus, Pylus, Hippius, Bision; Philippus was secretary; / the  
following oath was sworn by 180 ephebes (*agelai*) after putting aside their  
15 boyhood garments (*panazostoi*);<sup>1</sup> I swear / by the hearth in the prytaneum,<sup>2</sup>  
20 by Zeus Agoraeus, by Zeus Tallaeus, / by Apollo Delphinus, by Athena  
25 Poliouchus, by Pythian Apollo, / by Lato, by Artemis, by Ares, by Aphrodite, by  
30 Helios (the Sun), by Britomartis, / by Phoenix, by Amphiona, by the Earth,  
35 by Heaven, by the heroes, by the heroines, by the springs, by the rivers, /  
and by all the gods and goddesses, that I will never be well disposed to the  
40 Lyttians in any way or manner, / by night or by day. I will endeavour to do  
whatever harm I am able to the city of Lyttus.<sup>3</sup> And I will not be bound by  
45 any oath in lawsuits and [transactions]. / And I will be friendly to Dreros and  
50 friendly to Cnossus, and I will not betray the city / of the Drierians nor their  
55 forts nor those of the Cnossians; / and I will not betray men of Dreros or of  
60 Cnossus to the enemy, / and I will not initiate factional strife (*stasis*), and I  
65 will oppose anyone who does, and I will not form a conspiracy / in the city  
70 or outside it, and I will not join anyone who does; / and if I hear that any  
75 are conspiring, I will report it to the majority of the *kosmoi*; / and if I do not  
observe these undertakings, may all the gods and goddesses by whom I swore  
80 be wroth against me, / and may I die a most miserable death, myself and all my  
85 belongings, / and may the earth not bear crops for me [nor] women [give birth]  
90 according to [nature nor] flocks (give birth), / but if I [honour my oath] may  
[the] gods by whom [I swore] be favourable [and grant many] blessings. And I  
95 swear / by the same gods, that if the *kosmoi* do not bind by the same  
oath which we have sworn the band of ephebes (*agela*) when they are putting  
100 aside their boyhood garments,<sup>4</sup> / I will denounce them to the council when /  
they lay down office, during the month of Comnocarius or of Haliaeus;  
110 the council will fine each / of the *kosmoi* 500 staters within three months  
115 of the day of the denunciation; / if they are insolvent, (the council) will  
120 inscribe in the Delphinium the sum they have not collected, / naming the  
individuals with their father's name and the sum of money; any sum they  
125 have not collected they shall distribute to the *hetaireiai*<sup>5</sup> / in the city and to any  
130 Drierians who happen to be on guard duty (away from the city). If the  
(members of) the council do not collect the fine, they shall themselves / be

[fined] twice the amount; the collectors of the public funds will collect the fine and distribute it / to the *hetaireiai* in the same way. [. . .]

135

*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 527, lines 1–136; *ICret.* II, pp. 84–8 no. I; cf. *Staatsv.* III.584

1. See Willetts (1955), 120f.
2. For the oath see Willetts (1962), index s.v. oaths, Drierian. For other oaths see 40 n. 7.
3. Cf. Aristotle, *Politics* 1310a8: ‘In some oligarchies nowadays they swear “I will be hostile to the common people (*demos*) and plan whatever harm I can against them”’ (cf. de Ste Croix (1981), 73).
4. i.e. the oath is to be renewed annually by each new band of ephebes (on which cf. 136–7).
5. Clubs of adult citizens similar to the Spartan *sysitia*.

## 110 Strabo on Hellenistic Rhodes

Rhodes was exceptional among other Greek states in the Hellenistic world in being more powerful, prosperous and stable than she had been in the classical period. In the age of the Successors she successfully exploited the rivalry of the kings who preferred to see Rhodes independent rather than dominated by any one of them (47). Rhodes was also effective in enhancing and using her reputation in the Greek world to her own advantage (111), and is always favourably presented in the extant sources, themselves influenced by (now lost) Rhodian writers, notably Zenon (*FGrH* 523; early second century BC). See Rostovtzeff I (1941), 195–204, 225–30; II, 607–10, 676–91 and 771–8; Berthold (1984), 38–58; Gabrielsen (1997), (1999), and in Archibald et al. (2001), 215–44; Wiemer (2002).

The city of Rhodes lies on the eastern promontory (of the island); it surpasses other cities so far in its harbours, streets, walls and other constructions that I am unable to mention any other city that equals, let alone surpasses this one. It is also remarkable for its good order (*eunomia*) and for the care it devotes to the rest of its administration and especially to naval matters; as a result it controlled the seas for a long time and destroyed piracy,<sup>1</sup> and became a friend to the Romans<sup>2</sup> and to those of the kings who were well disposed both to the Romans and to Greeks. Consequently it has preserved its independence and been adorned with numerous votive offerings, the majority of which are in the (sanctuary of) Dionysus and in the gymnasium, though there are others elsewhere. [. . .] The Rhodians care for the common people (*demos*), although they do not live under a democracy;<sup>3</sup> they wish nonetheless to maintain the goodwill of the mass of the poor. And so the common people are provided with food and the wealthy support those in need according to an old tradition;<sup>4</sup> they have liturgies through which the poor are provided with food,<sup>5</sup> with the

result both that the poor receive sustenance and the city has no lack of available manpower, particularly as regards the fleet. Some of the ship-sheds were kept secret and access to them was forbidden to most people, and the penalty for spying or going inside was death. In Rhodes, too, as at Massilia and Cyzicus, they devote considerable attention to building works, the construction of war engines and the provision of stores of weapons and other equipment, even more so than anywhere else.<sup>6</sup>

Strabo XIV.2.5 (652–3)

1. See **47**, **112**, **113**. Rhodes did not actually ‘destroy piracy’ (on which cf. **104**), though it was a useful reputation to have and a source of protection charges (cf. Diodorus XX.25.2; de Souza (1999), 48–53, 80–4, 86–92; V. Gabrielsen, *REA* 103 (2001), 228–38 and in Erskine (2003), 396f.).
2. See **98**.
3. Yet the Rhodians described their constitution as a democracy, as did ancient writers; while democratic in form, the Rhodian government was controlled by a naval aristocracy. Cf. J. L. O’Neil, *Athenaeum* 59 (1981), 468–73; Gabrielsen, *opp. cit.* above.
4. Cf. **101** §9, **102**, **132** l. 52 and on this passage L. Migeotte, *REG* 102 (1989), 515–28. For the food supply of Greek cities see **130**.
5. See **48** n. 6.
6. Strabo derives the prosperity of Rhodes from her political and social stability and her consequent military power, but makes no mention of Rhodes’ revenues from trade (**47**, **98**) nor of her imperial income from tributary territories (**91**, **98**, **234**).

## 111 The earthquake at Rhodes and the donations from foreign rulers and cities (227/6)

See Gabrielsen (1997), 74–8.

At about the same time the Rhodians, seizing the occasion presented by the earthquake which had taken place shortly before and in which the great Colossus and the larger part of the walls and dockyards had collapsed, used the incident in such a skilful and practical way that the disaster became a source of advantage to them rather than of damage.<sup>1</sup> [...] Rhodian diplomacy enhanced the magnitude and importance of the disaster, while their envoys conducted themselves with dignity and seriousness in public audiences and at private meetings. In this way they made such an impression on the cities, and especially on the kings, that not only did they receive presents beyond measure but they even made the donors feel under obligation to them.<sup>2</sup> Hiero and Gelo<sup>3</sup> gave them 75 talents of silver [for the rebuilding of the walls? and] for the provision of oil in the gymnasia,<sup>4</sup> part at once and the rest very shortly after. They dedicated in addition silver cauldrons with their stands, and some water vessels, and added to all this (a sum of) ten talents for sacrifices and another ten

for the enrichment of the citizens, with the intention that their present should add up to 100 talents. They granted furthermore exemption from customs to Rhodians sailing to their ports and presented Rhodes with 50 three-cubit catapults.<sup>5</sup> After making all these presents they still regarded themselves as under obligation and set up statues in the Exchange<sup>6</sup> at Rhodes showing the people of Rhodes being crowned by the people of Syracuse. (89) Ptolemy (III Euergetes) also promised them 300 talents of silver, a million artabas of wheat, timber for the construction of ten quinqueremes and ten triremes, consisting of 40,000 cubits of squared pine planking, 1,000 talents of bronze coinage, 3,000 talents of tow, 3,000 pieces of sail-cloth, 3,000 talents (of bronze?) for the repair of the Colossus, 100 architects with 350 workmen, and fourteen talents every year for their wages,<sup>7</sup> and in addition 12,000 artabas of wheat for competitions and sacrifices, and 20,000 for the supplying of ten triremes. Most of this he gave at once, as well as a third of the money promised.<sup>8</sup> In the same way Antigonus (Doson) promised to them 10,000 pieces of timber, varying from sixteen to eight cubits in length for use as rafters, 5,000 cross beams seven cubits long, 3,000 talents of iron, 1,000 talents of (solid) pitch and 1,000 (liquid) measures of tar, and in addition to all this 100 talents of silver.<sup>9</sup> His wife Chryseis also promised 100,000 (measures) of wheat and 3,000 talents of lead. Seleucus (II Callinicus) the father of Antiochus, besides granting exemption from custom dues to Rhodians sailing to his kingdom,<sup>10</sup> and besides giving ten quinqueremes fully equipped and 200,000 medimni of corn, gave them also 10,000 cubits of timber and 1,000 talents each of resin and hair.<sup>11</sup> (90) Similar gifts were made by Prusias (of Bithynia) and Mithridates (II of Pontus), and also by the dynasts ruling in Asia at the time, Lysanias, Olympichus<sup>12</sup> and Limnaeus. As for the cities which contributed, each according to its ability, it would be difficult to reckon their number.<sup>13</sup> In fact, if one looks at the period at which the city of Rhodes began to be once more habitable, one would be very surprised at the great improvement achieved in a short time in regard to both private and public wealth. But when one considers the natural advantages of the site and the contributions from outside which have restored its former wealth, one is no longer surprised and in fact one feels that the result falls somewhat short of expectations.<sup>14</sup>

Polybius V.88–90.4

1. This fits in a tradition of panhellenic donations to relieve disasters suffered by other Greeks (cf. the rebuilding of Thebes in 315, **3** n. 6).
2. This was unusual: the acceptance of a gift was normally felt to create an obligation, cf. the rejection by the Achaeans of gifts from the kings (Polybius XXII.7–9) and cf. **70** (a).
3. Hiero II and his son Gelo, rulers of Syracuse.
4. Cf. **137**.

5. Catapults which could fire arrows three cubits long.
6. *Deigma*, a place for the display of goods and for trading.
7. Cf. **238** end.
8. For the relations between Rhodes and Egypt see **47**.
9. On Antigonus' gifts cf. Meiggs (1983), 144–6; on pitch, *ibid.*, 467–71. For the resources of Macedon see **96**.
10. Cf. **205** §11.
11. For use in catapults.
12. There is no mention of Attalus I of Pergamum. On Olympichus cf. **179**; the other two are unknown. On dynasts in Asia Minor cf. **174** n. 6.
13. Ostentatious generosity was not limited to kings and dynasts; cf. **115** for the role of individuals.
14. Although munificence was one of the qualities expected of, and practised by, Hellenistic kings (**209** (b), **225–6**, **255**), their generosities were not indiscriminate and disinterested, but were addressed in the first instance to sanctuaries or states important enough to be worth courting, such as Hellenistic Rhodes. On royal generosities cf. Préaux I (1978), 202–7; K. Bringmann in Bulloch et al. (1993), 7–24 (with F. W. Walbank, *ibid.*, 115–20), in Archibald et al. (2001), 205–14, and the collection of material in Bringmann and von Steuben (1995).

## 112 The war of Rhodes against Byzantium to protect the freedom of the seas (220)

The importance of the Black Sea trade to the Greek world (**114**) is illustrated by the war against Byzantium undertaken by Rhodes at the request of other Greek states in 220; the war is noteworthy in that it was a conflict largely between Greek cities with little royal involvement.

It was at this time that being hard pressed by the payment of the tribute,<sup>1</sup> the Byzantines started by sending embassies to the Greeks asking for their help and assistance in the present crisis; but when the majority paid no attention, they were compelled to introduce the levying of dues from ships sailing into the Black Sea. (47) The exaction by the Byzantines of a duty on goods brought from the Black Sea caused great loss and inconvenience to everyone.<sup>2</sup> There was general indignation and all the traders complained to the Rhodians, as they were thought to be the leaders (*prostatai*) of those who use the sea.<sup>3</sup> This was the origin of the war we shall now relate. The Rhodians were roused to action by their own losses as well as by those incurred by their neighbours, and they started by sending an embassy with their allies to the Byzantines, demanding the abolition of the duty. The Byzantines rejected their demands, convinced as they were of the justice of their cause from the arguments put forward at their meeting with the Rhodian ambassadors by Hecatodorus and Olympiodorus, who headed the government of Byzantium at the time. The



Rhodians then departed after achieving nothing, and on their return voted to go to war against Byzantium for the reasons stated above.<sup>4</sup>

Polybius IV.46.5–47.6 (cf. *Staatsv.* III.514 and 516)

1. Imposed on them by the Celts (60) who settled in Thrace with their capital at Tylis near Byzantium.
2. On Byzantium and the Black Sea trade see 114.
3. Cf. 47, 110. The idea of the ‘freedom of the seas’ goes back to the fourth century at least (cf. *Staatsv.* II.329, in 346; [Demosthenes] XVII.19–21, in 337). Note that Rhodian intervention was prompted in the first instance by the appeal of non-Rhodian traders.
4. The war ended when Byzantium agreed to abolish the duty they had introduced (Polybius IV.52.5; *Staatsv.* III.516).

### 113 Treaty between Rhodes and Hierapytna in Crete (c.200?)

God. With good fortune.

(§1) Resolved by the people, with good fortune: the priests and the sacrificers shall pray to the Sun and to Rhodos and to all the other gods and goddesses and to the founding deities and to the heroes who possess the city and territory of the Rhodians, that what has been resolved concerning the alliance may be of advantage to the Rhodians and / the Hierapytnians; when the prayer has been completed a sacrifice and a procession shall be offered, as resolved by the people. 5

(§2) When the alliance has been ratified and the oaths have been sworn according to the written treaty, there shall be an alliance <between the Hierapytnians> and the people of Rhodes, and the Hierapytnians shall assist / the people of Rhodes, and make available their city, harbours and naval bases, and shall be well disposed, friendly and allied for all time.<sup>1</sup> 10

(§3) And if anyone attacks the city or territory of the Rhodians or subverts their laws, revenues or their established democracy,<sup>2</sup> the Hierapytnians shall assist the Rhodians / with all possible strength. And if the people of Rhodes demands an auxiliary force from the Hierapytnians, the Hierapytnians shall provide that force within thirty days of the request of the Rhodians, consisting of 200 armed men, unless the Rhodians need less; at least half of the men sent / shall be Hierapytnians.<sup>3</sup> 15 20

(§4) And if the Hierapytnians find themselves at war, they shall send as many men as they are able.

(§5) To the men sent by the Hierapytnians the Rhodians shall provide transport for the journey from Crete to Rhodes. And if the Rhodians demand an auxiliary force / within the first four years (after the signing of the treaty), from the day of the allies’ arrival at Rhodes the Rhodians shall pay to every 25

man a daily wage of nine Rhodian obols, and to every officer who commands  
30 at least 50 men a daily wage of two drachmas each. /

(§6) And if the Rhodians demand an auxiliary force after the specified time,  
the other arrangements shall be the same, but from the day the allies sent by the  
Hierapytnians arrive at Rhodes, the Hierapytnians shall provide their wages  
to the allies sent by them for (the first) thirty days, while the Rhodians shall  
35 give them for the rest of the time, / as specified.

(§7) And if a war arises between the Rhodians and a state in alliance with the  
Hierapytnians, if the Rhodians are victims of aggression, the Hierapytnians  
shall send an auxiliary force to the Rhodians, but if the Rhodians are the  
aggressors, it shall not be compulsory for the Hierapytnians to send an auxiliary  
40 force to the Rhodians. /

(§8) And if the Rhodians need (to recruit) a mercenary army in Crete,<sup>4</sup>  
the Hierapytnians shall provide safe conduct to the mercenary army in the  
city and also in their territory and the islands they control, to the best of  
their ability, and they shall do everything to assist the Rhodians in recruiting  
a mercenary army. They shall not provide anyone else with a mercenary army  
45 for use against the Rhodians / under any pretext, and no Hierapytnian shall  
take part in a campaign against the Rhodians under any pretext, or he shall  
be liable to the same penalties as if he had taken part in a campaign against  
the city of Hierapytna, with the exception of those who have taken the field  
before (the conclusion of) this treaty.

(§9) The Hierapytnians shall give every assistance to the troops sent by the  
50 Rhodians, to the best of their ability, and shall take every care of them / as  
though they were their own citizens.

(§10) And if pirates establish bases in Crete<sup>5</sup> and the Rhodians wage war  
at sea against the pirates or those who provide shelter or assistance to them,  
55 the Hierapytnians shall take part in the operations by land and by / sea with  
all possible strength at their own expense. The pirates who are captured shall  
be handed over to the Rhodians together with their ships, while each of the  
allies shall take half of the rest (of the booty).

(§11) On these terms the Rhodians shall be well disposed, friendly and  
60 in alliance with the Hierapytnians for all / time, and the officers sent by  
the Rhodians in command of the naval forces shall take care of the city of  
Hierapytna as though their own, doing everything that will assist the security  
65 and safety of the city of Hierapytna. And if any king or dynast<sup>6</sup> or anyone else /  
attacks the city of Hierapytna, (the Rhodians) shall come to the assistance of  
the Hierapytnians in their city with all possible strength.

(§12) And if anyone deprives the Hierapytnians of their lawful revenues  
from the sea,<sup>7</sup> or subverts the established democracy of the Hierapytnians,  
70 and the Hierapytnians ask for an auxiliary force, / the Rhodians shall send

two triremes to the Hierapytnians; the Rhodians [shall provide the expenses for the triremes for a period of two months]; for the rest of the time [the Hierapytnians shall give for each] trireme 10,000 drachmas every month.

(§13) And if [the Rhodians] find themselves at war [they shall send] whatever auxiliary force they are able.

(§14) And if the Hierapytnians go to war [against anyone without] the agreement of the Rhodians, the Rhodians shall not be obliged to send an auxiliary force.

(§15) The Rhodians shall send an auxiliary force / within thirty days of the Hierapytnians requesting it, with the exception of the war which has broken out between the Hierapytnians and the Cnossians and their allies; the Rhodians shall not be allies of the Hierapytnians in this war. 75

(§16) No Rhodian shall take part in a campaign against the Hierapytnians under any pretext, or he shall be liable to the same penalties as if he had taken part in a campaign against the territory of Rhodes, with the exception of those who have taken the field before (the conclusion of) this treaty.

(§17) And if / during a campaign which the Hierapytnians are waging with the Rhodians to destroy a pirate base, any of those who provide shelter or assistance to the pirates wage war on the Hierapytnians because of this campaign, the Rhodians shall come to the help of the Hierapytnians with all possible strength, and anyone who acts in this way shall be an enemy of the Rhodians. 80

(§18) And if the Hierapytnians recruit mercenaries from Asia for a war of their own, the Rhodians shall assist them in every possible way to ensure the safe journey of the mercenary force to Hierapytna, but the Rhodians shall not assist in providing anyone with a mercenary force for use against the Hierapytnians under any pretext. / 85

(§19) And it shall be permitted to amend the treaty, if both cities so decide and send embassies to each other; whatever is mutually agreed upon shall be valid.

(§20) And when the treaty is ratified the people shall elect at once five men; the men elected, together with the envoys who have come from Hierapytna, shall administer the customary oath on all the Rhodians of age, to abide by the alliance and the agreement concluded with the people of Hierapytna, without deceit or evasion; if they abide by their oath / may all be well, but if they break it may the opposite happen.<sup>8</sup> The *prytaneis* shall forthwith administer the oath on the same terms to the envoys of the Hierapytnians in the assembly; the priest in charge of sacrifices shall provide the offerings, and the treasurers shall pay the sum specified by the law. So that the Hierapytnians may swear (the oath) to the people an envoy shall be elected; the person elected shall go to the Hierapytnians and administer the oath to them, on the same terms 90

as specified for the Rhodians, and shall make clear the goodwill felt for the  
95 Hierapytnians / by the people of Rhodes.

(§21) And so that the resolutions concerning the alliance and the treaty  
may be inscribed on stelae and made manifest for all time, the people (of  
Rhodes) shall dedicate a stela at Rhodes in [the] sanctuary of Athena, and the  
sellers (*poletai*)<sup>9</sup> shall auction a contract, as instructed by the director of works,  
for making it out of ‘Lartian’ stone and for inscribing and dedicating in the  
sanctuary what was resolved by the cities concerning the alliance, at a cost of  
not more than 100 drachmas. The treasurers shall provide the expense from  
100 the fund for expenses on decrees. / The Hierapytnians shall also inscribe (the  
alliance) and place it in their city in any sanctuary they wish at Hierapytna.<sup>10</sup>

(§22) Diogenes son of Aristondas was elected as envoy to go to Hier-  
apytna. Those who administered the oath in Rhodes were Hierombrotus son  
of Agesitimus, Aristolochus son of Peisistratus, adopted son of Archyllus,  
Timaratus son of Nicotimus, Nicomachus son of Aristarchus, Spartion son of  
Pheidianax.<sup>11</sup>

*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 581; *ICret.* III, pp. 31–6 no. 3A; *Staatsv.* III.551

1. The treaty was probably concluded at the end of a war between Cretan cities (including Hierapytna) and Rhodes (Polybius XIII.4.1f. and 5.1). Rhodes is throughout the dominant partner in the treaty. Cf. Gabrielsen (1997), 53–6; de Souza (1999), 80–4.
2. Rhodes was not a democracy in the fifth-century Athenian sense (cf. 67 n. 1, 110).
3. i.e. the rest may be mercenaries.
4. Crete was an important recruiting ground for mercenaries (cf. 79, 94, 219 n. 2, 265, 275 ch. 65), mercenary service and piracy (next note) being two aspects of the same phenomenon; see e.g. Willetts (1955), 241–8.
5. On Cretan piracy see also 106 and n. 2, 107; on Rhodes and piracy see 110.
6. Cf. 174 n. 6.
7. Such as custom or harbour dues as opposed to piracy.
8. See 40 n. 7.
9. See 60 n. 3.
10. The present text.
11. For a similar treaty between Rhodes and another Cretan city (Olus) see *Staatsv.* III.552; Gabrielsen (1997), 54.

## 114 Byzantium and the Black Sea trade

See Rostovtzeff II (1941), 585–602, esp. 589–91; D. Braund in Ogden (2002), 207–12, and cf. 115.

As far as the sea is concerned, the Byzantines occupy a position that is more secure and more advantageous than that of any other city in our part of the world, but as regards the land that position is in both respects most

unfavourable. Their situation by sea at the entrance to the Black Sea enables them to prevent any trader from sailing into or out of the Black Sea against their will.<sup>1</sup> Since the Black Sea has an abundance of products which are of use to the rest of the world, the Byzantines have control over all of these. For those commodities which are indispensable to life, cattle and slaves,<sup>2</sup> are supplied to us by the countries around the Black Sea, as is generally agreed, in greater quantity, and of better quality than by any others; and as far as luxuries are concerned, they supply us with honey, wax and salt-fish in abundance. In return they receive from our part of the world the surplus olive oil and every kind of wine.<sup>3</sup> With corn there is interchange; they give us some on occasion and sometimes import it from us.<sup>4</sup> Now the Greeks would have been deprived of all these resources or would have found trading in them quite unprofitable if the Byzantines had shown hostility and combined with the Celts, or still more with the Thracians, or had given up the place altogether. Because of the narrowness of the straits and the large number of barbarians living along its shores, the Black Sea would by common consent have become closed to navigation. The Byzantines probably draw themselves the greatest practical benefits from the peculiar situation of their town. Any surplus products they have are easily exported, while they can import easily and profitably anything they lack, without incurring any hardship or danger; but, as I have said, others derive many great advantages thanks to them. Hence as common benefactors of all, as it were, they deserve to gain not only gratitude but concerted support from the Greeks, in the dangers they face from the barbarians.<sup>5</sup>

Polybius IV.38.1–10

1. See **112**, **159** §11.
2. On the Black Sea slave trade see M. I. Finley, *Klio* 40 (1962), 51–9; M. H. Crawford, *JRS* 67 (1977), 122 n. 33 and cf. **115**; D. C. Braund and G. R. Tssetskhladze, *CQ* 39 (1989), 114–25. On the slave trade in general cf. **104**.
3. Cf. D. Gibbins in Archibald et al. (2001), 286–8.
4. The Black Sea regions were seemingly less important for the corn trade than in the fifth and fourth centuries. Cf. Rostovtzeff III (1941), 1462 n. 20; Moretti II.128 and 132; see however Braund and Tssetskhladze, *op. cit.*, 208f. On the corn trade in general see **130**.
5. The Byzantines failed to get any support from the Greeks when faced with increasing pressure from the Celts (see **112**). On the Thracians cf. **116**, **195**, **252**; on the Scythians, not mentioned by Polybius, cf. **115**.

## 115 Olbia honours Protogenes for many services to the city (late third–early second century)

Characteristic of the Hellenistic age was the new and growing dependence of Greek cities on wealthy benefactors (*euergetai*), a phenomenon attested

especially by numerous honorific decrees (cf. 54–5, 116, 120, 128, 132, 138, 139, 252). Probably most eloquent of all is the following decree from Olbia, a colony of Miletus on the Black Sea, where Protogenes, the citizen honoured, ‘almost seems to carry the city on his shoulders’ (Tarn and Griffith (1952), 108f.). The situation of Olbia, at the time under severe barbarian pressure, may have been extreme, though it was typical of many Greek cities with a barbarian hinterland (see 112, 114, 116, 252). As usual the inscription reveals little of the basis of Protogenes’ (hereditary) wealth, beyond the fact that he was obviously a great landed magnate, and though there are indications in the text of other wealthy men at Olbia, no one could compete with him. One source of his wealth may have been the slave trade (104), conducted in association with barbarian chieftains (cf. 114 and Préaux II (1978), 520–4). Olbia was in practice in his dependence, which makes all the more striking the outward observance on both sides of civic values and institutions; Protogenes, and others like him elsewhere, was simply honoured by his city for being a good citizen (on royal munificence cf. 111 and n. 14). See Minns (1913), esp. 460–3 (cf. p. 641); Hands (1968); Gauthier (1985); Veyne (1990), 101–56; Shipley (2000), 96–102; D. Braund in Ogden (2002), 199–219, esp. 202–5 on this inscription. Contrast 271 in an Egyptian context.

*Side A*

Resolved by the council and the people, on the twentieth (of the month); the magistrates and the Seven<sup>1</sup> moved: Heroson, father of Protogenes, has performed many great services for the city which involved the expenditure  
5 of money / and personal exertion, and Protogenes, having taken over his father’s goodwill towards the people has throughout his life constantly said  
10 and done what was best (for the city). First when King Saitaphernes<sup>2</sup> came / to Cancytus and asked for the gifts due for his passage, and the public treasury was exhausted, he was called upon by the people and gave 400 gold pieces.  
15 When the magistrates pawned the sacred vessels / to repay the city’s debt to Polycharmus for 100 gold pieces and could not redeem them<sup>3</sup> and the foreign (creditor) was taking them to the moneyer,<sup>4</sup> he himself paid in addition the 100  
20 gold pieces and redeemed (the vessels). When Democon / and his colleagues in office bought wine cheaply for 300 gold pieces, but could not pay the price, he was called upon by the people and gave the 300 gold pieces. In the priesthood of Herodorus when there was a shortage of corn<sup>5</sup> and grain was  
25 being sold at five medimni for a gold piece, / and because of the danger that was threatening the people thought it necessary to build a sufficient stock of grain, and invited those who had (grain) to do this, he was the first to come forward  
30 and promised<sup>6</sup> 2,000 medimni at ten medimni for a gold coin, and / whereas

the others collected the price on the spot he himself showed indulgence for a  
 year and did not charge any interest. And in the same priesthood when the  
 Saii<sup>7</sup> came along to collect the gifts, / and the people was unable to give them, 35  
 and asked Protogenes to help in this crisis, he came forward and promised 400  
 gold pieces. When he was elected one of the Nine<sup>8</sup> he made an advance of not  
 less / than 1,500 gold pieces to be repaid from future revenues,<sup>9</sup> from which 40  
 many chieftains<sup>10</sup> were conciliated in good time and not a few presents were  
 provided for the king (Saitaphernes) advantageously. / When the equipment 45  
 destined for the king's (palace) was auctioned in accordance with the decree  
 (?),<sup>11</sup> which required that those who bought it should receive 300 gold pieces  
 from the city, Conon bought it, but since the magistrates were unable to give  
 the money / as it was in the hands of the tax collectors,<sup>12</sup> Conon (and his 50  
 associates) cancelled the contract. Because of this the contract was sold three  
 times, and Phormion bought it the third time; Protogenes then, seeing that / 55  
 the city was risking great danger, came forward himself to the assembly and  
 gave the 300 gold pieces. Again in the priesthood of Plistarchus, when there  
 was a severe shortage of corn and / grain was being sold at a medimnus and 60  
 two thirds for a gold coin, and it was clear that the price would rise further,  
 and in fact the medimnus immediately reached the price of one gold coin and  
 two thirds, and because of this the people was in deep distress and thought  
 it / necessary to appoint a corn commission (*sitonia*),<sup>13</sup> and that the wealthy 65  
 should render services for this purpose,<sup>14</sup> when the assembly met he was the  
 first to promise 1,000 gold pieces for the purchase of corn, which he brought  
 and gave on the spot. Of these 300 were free from interest / for a year, and 70  
 400 which he gave as gold he got back as copper coins; and he was the first  
 to promise 2,500 medimni of corn, 500 of which he gave at a rate of four  
 medimni and a sixth for a gold coin, and 2,000 at the rate of / two medimni 75  
 and seven twelfths for a gold coin. And whereas the others who had promised  
 (grain) in this crisis collected the price on the spot from the fund that had  
 been set up, he himself showed indulgence for a year and collected the price / 80  
 without charging any interest, and because of the eagerness of Protogenes a  
 great deal of money and a substantial amount of grain was provided for the  
 people. When King Saitaphernes came along to the other side of the river<sup>15</sup>  
 to receive favours,<sup>16</sup> and the magistrates / called an assembly and reported 85  
 on the presence of the king and on the fact that the (city's) revenues were  
 exhausted, Protogenes came forward and gave 900 gold pieces, and when the  
 ambassadors, Protogenes<sup>17</sup> and Aristocrates, took the money and / met the 90  
 king, and the king took the presents but flew into a rage and broke up [his]  
 quarters,<sup>18</sup> [ . . . treated?] the magistrates [unworthily? and so] / the people 95  
 met together and [were] terrified [and sent?] ambassadors to . . .

*Side B*

100 The largest part of the city along the river was not fortified, and (neither was)  
the whole of the part along / the harbour and the part along the former fish  
market as far as (the sanctuary or statue of) the hero Sosias. Deserters were  
105 reporting that the Galatians (Celts) and the Sciri had formed an alliance, that  
a large force had been collected and would be coming during the winter, / and  
in addition that the Thisarnatae,<sup>19</sup> Scythians and Saudaratae were anxious to  
seize the fort,<sup>20</sup> as they themselves were equally terrified of the cruelty of the  
110 Galatians. Because of this many were in despair and prepared / to abandon  
the city. In addition many other losses had been suffered in the countryside, in  
that all the slaves<sup>21</sup> and the half-Greeks<sup>22</sup> who live in the plain along the river  
115 bank had been lost to us, no fewer than / 1,500 in number, who had fought  
on our side in the city in the previous war, and also many of the foreigners and  
not a few of the citizens had left. Because of this the people met in an assembly  
120 in deep despair, as they saw before them the / danger that lay ahead and the  
terrors in store, and called on all who were able-bodied to help and not allow  
their native city, after it had been preserved for many years, to be subjected  
125 by the enemy. When no one would volunteer / for all or part of the demands  
of the people, he promised he would himself build both the walls and would  
advance the whole cost of the construction, although not less than 1,500 gold  
130 pieces had been advanced by him.<sup>23</sup> / At once he brought to the assembly  
500 gold pieces as deposits for the contractors, and auctioned the whole work  
through a herald,<sup>24</sup> and because the contractors made the payment from the  
135 available money he procured the city a substantial sum; and also when many /  
of the contractors were abandoning the work Protogenes completed the work  
himself for the city, and did not cause any loss to the people. After spending for  
140 both walls 1,500 gold pieces and having paid most of this sum, / he received  
back copper coins for 400 gold pieces. He restored the towers that were in bad  
condition, both towers near the great gates, the tower of Cathegetor, the tower  
145 near the carriageway and the tower of Epidaurius; he also repaired / the granary,  
and repaired the gatehouse on the mart. Moreover, as the city was paying a  
freight charge to the private individuals who transported the stones, since the  
public (transport) ships were in bad condition and did not have any tackle, he  
150 promised / to supply these too, and having spent on all this 200 gold pieces he  
produced an account forthwith. For this the people, after crowning him many  
times in the past, crowned him then as well for showing the account. Then,  
155 as the rest of the wall / near the tower of Posis up to the hill was incomplete,  
the people called on him to complete this and three other walls, Protogenes,  
160 not wishing to disoblige, undertook this / construction as well, for which he  
advanced 100 gold coins. When he was put in charge of the public finances



and managed the city's most important revenues, he did not dispossess any of  
 the tax collectors of what they had, and did not deprive anyone / of his means; 165  
 and showing understanding for all the difficulties they were facing,<sup>25</sup> some he  
 freed from their debts while to others he showed indulgence and remitted the  
 interest (on the loans they had contracted) for as long as they wished. Having  
 handled most of the city's affairs, he managed everything for three years in  
 succession / in an upright and just way, submitting accounts at the specified 170  
 time, receiving the income from the public revenues during his period in office  
 as repayment (for his loans), although this had not in fact happened,<sup>26</sup> / and 175  
 so freed the city from its debts and exempted it from the payment of interests.  
 As affairs in the city were in a bad state because of the wars and the dearth of  
 crops, and there were no resources available, and the people sought to meet  
 this / by delaying the payment of debts month by month<sup>27</sup> and to provide 180  
 usefully for creditors and debtors alike, although 6,000 gold pieces were owed  
 to him and to his father, he was the first to leave it to the people to decide how  
 they wanted [to deal] with him. When (the people) asked that [the debtors]  
 should be freed from their debts, / he freed everyone from all debts and did 185  
 not [charge] any (interest), believing it more [glorious] for himself to enjoy  
 [the] goodwill [of all] than [his private advantage? . . .](the last 5 lines are too  
 mutilated for continuous restoration)

*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 495; Maier (1959), no. 82 (Side B only); *SEG* 49.1041

1. Officials in charge of sacred matters.
2. A barbarian chieftain ruling on the eastern side of the river Hypanis (Bug), who extorted regular 'gifts' from Olbia.
3. On the public indebtedness of Greek cities see **118–21**; on private debts cf. **102** n. 3.
4. To be melted down and coined; on the practice cf. Howgego (1995), 33f.
5. On this problem see **130**.
6. The publicly made offer of help regularly precedes the help itself (cf. **121**, **128**, **132**, **138**).
7. Probably the tribe ruled by Saitaphernes.
8. Probably a board of financial officials.
9. For this method of repaying public debts see also **48B**, **118**, **122**.
10. Probably petty rulers subjected to Saitaphernes.
11. The meaning of this clause is obscure (cf. Bull. 1981, 344).
12. They were in debt to the city, as the sequel of the decree shows (side B).
13. Cf. **132** n. 13.
14. The assumption that the wealthy had a duty to spend for their community lies behind the phenomenon of the 'benefactors'; cf. **48 (b)**, **119**, **121**.
15. The Hypanis (Bug).
16. Euphemistic.
17. It is not clear whether this is the same Protogenes.

18. i.e. made ready for hostile action, as the sequel shows.
19. This tribe and the Soudaratae were probably on the western bank of the Bug, between Olbia and the Celts and Sciri further inland. On the Celts cf. **60**.
20. The city of Olbia.
21. Probably a native servile people who worked the land for the Greeks (cf. D. M. Pippidi in Finley (1973), 63–82, esp. 75f.).
22. A people half-Greek and half-Scythian, cf. Herodotus IV.17.
23. The sum mentioned above (line 40).
24. On the auctioning of contracts for public works cf. **122**.
25. The tax collectors.
26. i.e. he falsified the city's accounts in its favour to show a nominal repayment of the money he had advanced (cf. n. 9).
27. Debts were repaid on a monthly basis.

### 116 Istria honours Agathocles for many services in defence of the city (c.200–150)

Resolved by the council and the people; Dionysius son of Bianor was *epimenios*;<sup>1</sup> Apollonius son of Cleombrotus moved: since Agathocles son of Antiphilus, born of a father who was a benefactor, continues to be a good and honourable man towards the city / and the citizens, showing himself zealous in all the crises faced by the city, and constantly says and does what is best for the people in all the magistracies, commissions and appointments as *synedros*<sup>2</sup> which he holds; and when the [city] was in [a state of confusion] and a [large] number of Thracian pirates<sup>3</sup> were attacking / the land and the [city, and the harvest] was imminent and the citizens were in distress, he was [elected] commander of the archers and took (with him) mercenaries, and [protected] the land and enabled the citizens to gather in the crops without harm;<sup>4</sup> and when the Thracians [under Zoltes came with] / a larger force [to] Scythia and the Greek cities [under the rule of King] Rhemaxus,<sup>5</sup> he was elected ambassador and [travelled across] enemy territory, passing through many tribes without [avoiding any] danger, and persuaded the barbarians [not only not to do any] harm / to our city but even to seek out [and return] all the [flocks which] had been taken away [previously] by the pirates under the command of [King] Zoltes, [and with] these he urged them (?) . . . the city, to give five [talents? to make] a compact with the city / to protect its livelihood;<sup>6</sup> and after this, when they (the Thracians of Zoltes) [invaded] the land, laid siege to Bizone<sup>7</sup> and ravaged the land, and the harvest was imminent, he was elected ambassador and travelled to the (Thracian) army, and as the citizens had given him instructions to redeem the land and the crops at [all] / cost, he persuaded Zoltes and the Thracians at a cost of 600 gold pieces [not to invade] the land nor to approach the city, which enabled [the] citizens to secure all the [crops] from

the land; again when elected ambassador to Thrace [and to] / their commander 35  
 [Zoltes] he renewed the agreement and [treaty that had been] concluded [with]  
 them; and noticing that a large force of [pirates] was assembling, he [pointed  
 it out] to Zoltes and revealed it to the [citizens] on his [return], which caused  
 their plot to [be] unsuccessful; / and [when] the Thracians [broke] their 40  
 oath and the [agreement, and] made continuous raids, he was elected by the  
 [people] general over the land with full powers, and took volunteer troops  
 from among [the] citizens and the barbarians<sup>8</sup> who had taken refuge [in the]  
 city, and defended and protected the land, / the flocks, [and the] crops until 45  
 King [Rhemaxus] could cross (the Danube); and when the king crossed back  
 to the [other side] (of the river), but did not leave a guard force [through  
 fear], and sent messengers [and asked] for the tribute while the land [was]  
 in a state of war, he (sc. Agathocles) was [elected] ambassador and travelled / 50  
 [on] a boat, and persuaded [King] Rhemaxus to provide 100 cavalymen to  
 serve [as an advance guard]; and when a heavier attack of the Thracians fell  
 on the advance guards and they retreated [across the river] through fear, and  
 the land was unprotected, he was [elected] ambassador to [Phradmon] the 55  
 [son] of the king, and / [persuaded] him to provide an advance guard of 600  
 cavalymen; [they overcame] the (enemy) armies, [defeated their commander]  
 Zoltes and . . . of the Thracians . . .

Moretti II.131; cf. *SEG* 24.1095; Burstein 68.

1. President of the board of twelve *epimenioi*, a magistracy of Milesian origin (Istria was founded from Miletus; cf. **120**), analogous to the Athenian *prytaneis*.
2. A magistracy, again of Milesian origin, probably concerned with the preparation and submission of decrees.
3. On piracy see **104**; for the situation compare **115**.
4. Compare **55**, **62**.
5. This chieftain was probably based to the north of Istria across the Danube. As the sequel shows, the Greek cities had established a *modus vivendi* with him which they failed to secure with Zoltes and his Thracians, who appear in the inscription as newcomers in the picture.
6. Or: 'to provide for their (the Thracians') livelihood'.
7. A Greek city on the coast, some 120 km to the south of Istria.
8. Perhaps natives under Greek rule, cf. **115** n. 21.

## 2 ECONOMIC LIFE

### 117 Exemption from taxes for new citizens at Teos (c.300)

The context of the following inscription is the incorporation of new citizens in the city of Teos, and the granting to them of exemption from various taxes and obligations for a period of a few years (compare **48** (a) §9, **154**). The identity

of the new citizens is unknown (there is probably no connection with the synoecism of Teos and Lebedos in 48, though cf. S. L. Ager, *GRBS* 39 (1998), 10f.). Though fragmentary and conjectural in restoration the inscription gives valuable evidence on the finances, society and economy of Teos and the new citizens. See Rostovtzeff II (1941), 181f.; III, 1355 n. 45 and 1374 n. 71; J. and L. Robert cited below.

[. . . in which] the other Teans share, [being exempted?] from taxes for a period of four [years]. They shall be exempted from the *choregia*, the . . . , the *boegia*, the *lampadarchia*,<sup>1</sup> and the tax (*epigraphē*) on all [the oxen] for ploughing they  
5 have and those which do not form part of a team. / [And] their working oxen shall be exempted from (requisition for) all the public works which [the city carries out?]. And they shall be given exemption from taxes on pack animals and [slaves], whether they are hired labourers or wood carriers, and whatever they [do or] sell which is connected with the sale of timber, and from the tax  
10 on sheep [up to a number of . . .?]. Those who wish may raise pigs up to [the specified] number / of sheep and they shall be exempt from tax. And they shall be exempt from [the other taxes] except the tax for the maintenance of doctors.<sup>2</sup> All the slaves who sell [charcoal?] or anything else which is connected with the sale of timber shall [be] exempted<sup>3</sup> from those taxes [as well]. And all those who make mantles or [woollen shawls?] or anything else from 'Milesian'  
15 wool whether rough or [fine / or any other material?], shall be exempt from the tax on these whether they sell them on the spot [or export them]. Whatever they import for the making of the mantles . . . purple-dyeing, they shall be exempt [from the tax on these. And they shall be exempt from?] the tax on gardens and on beehives; and they shall be [exempt . . .] of all if they wish to  
20 export . . . / they shall be exempt for ten years, and [the exemption is to run from] the month Leucatheon and the prytany of Aristippus.

*SEG* 2.79; Pleket I (1964) no. 22; J. and L. Robert, *Journal des Savants* (1976), 175–88

1. These are liturgies (48 n. 6) of a religious character: the *choregia* involved the training of a chorus for a dramatic festival, the *boegia* probably the provision of oxen for a procession followed by a sacrifice, the *lampadarchia* the expenses for the organisation of a torch race (cf. 137 ll. 71–83).

2. Cf. 144–5.

3. i.e. their owners are exempted.

## 118 Decree of Halicarnassus for the repayment of a public debt contracted for the building of a stoa (third century)

The considerable role played by wealthy benefactors in the life of Greek cities (115) is an indication of the weakness of their public finances; the prosperity

of Rhodes (110) was an exceptional case. Lacking resources and vulnerable to external circumstances, Greek cities usually budgeted on a short-term basis for specific needs, the most important of which were (in order) war-related (119), the food supply (130), construction work (this text), and religious purposes (54–5). Inscriptions provide numerous illustrations. See Jones (1940), 241–50; Tarn and Griffith (1952), 116–19; G. Reger in Erskine (2003), 342–5. On public borrowing and subscriptions cf. Rostovtzeff III (1941), 1463f.; Migeotte (1984) and (1992).

(The beginning and end of the inscription are lost)

. . . Callicles to the treasurers, and the treasurers shall give (the money) at once to the commissioners (*epimeletai*)<sup>1</sup> and the commissioners shall give it to the contractors in accordance with the plans. And so that those who have advanced money for the stoa which the people is dedicating to Apollo and to King Ptolemy<sup>2</sup> should be known to all, the / controllers (*exetastai*) in whose 5 period of office the stoa is completed shall inscribe on the side wall of the stoa the names and patronymics of all those who have advanced without interest sums of not less than 500 drachmas, prefacing the list with the words ‘The following men gave to the people money without interest for the construction of the stoa.’ They shall inscribe first the person who gave most. So that those who have advanced money should recover (their loans), / the revenues which 10 have been earmarked for (the construction of) the council house shall be assigned to them, once the former creditors have been refunded.<sup>3</sup> There shall also be assigned to them the revenues earmarked for the statues, viz. the two per cent tax<sup>4</sup> and the tax for recording oaths,<sup>5</sup> once the former creditors to whom the revenues had been assigned by decree have been refunded. There shall also be assigned to them from the public revenues one talent every year after / the creditors to whom six talents were assigned from the budget of the 15 city have received it with interest; the surplus is to go to the public revenues. In addition shall be assigned to them the sum raised from the stoa after the sale of the columns, the timber, the tiles and the bricks.<sup>6</sup> Let those who farm out the construction works sell the columns up to the court of justice / [at] 20 the same meeting of the assembly, and let the buyer pay the [money] within [thirty] days to the treasurers, and the [treasurers . . .]

*OGIS* 46; Pleket I (1964), no. 26; Migeotte (1984), no. 103

1. The commissioners supervising the construction of the stoa.
2. Ptolemy II or III.
3. On this practice cf. 115 n. 9; here the public revenues have already been assigned to other creditors who have a prior claim.
4. A tax on imports and exports, common to many Greek cities (cf. 98, 122, 127).

5. In sales between individuals the seller had to swear he was the legal owner of the goods he was selling; such oaths were publicly recorded.
6. Perhaps materials from an older building which was being demolished to make way for the new stoa.

### 119 Oropus opens a subscription for the construction (or repair) of a fortification (third century?)

See **118** and Hands (1968), 51f. On the defences of Greek cities cf. J. Ma in van Wees (2001), 337–76, esp. 339–43 on fortifications.

Gods. Lysander moved: so that a source of money may be found for the construction (or: repair) of the wall, and when the walls are completed we  
5 may be of help / to ourselves and to the Boeotian League, be it resolved by the people that the commissioners for the walls and the polemarchs should raise a loan from any available source, at the lowest possible rate of interest and  
10 should repay the money to the lenders / in the year following the priesthood of Oropodorus, the capital sum and the interest thereon. Those who have lent to the city for the construction (or: repair) of a wall a talent or more at an (annual)  
15 rate / of ten per cent are to be (called) *proxenoi* and benefactors (*euergetai*) of the city of Oropus, themselves and their descendants, and shall be granted the right to acquire land and a house, equality of taxation (*isoteleia*), personal  
20 security (*asphaleia*), inviolability (*asylia*) in peace and war, by land / and by sea and all the other rights enjoyed by citizens; their names shall be inscribed with their father's name on a stone stele and placed in the sanctuary of Amphiaraus. As to those who lend to the city less than a talent, the people shall consider  
25 in their case / what honours each of them deserves to receive from the city. The polemarchs shall inscribe the decree on a stone stele and place it in the sanctuary of Amphiaraus; the treasurer shall provide the expense.

The following (were made) *proxenoi* and benefactors in accordance with the decree: Nicon son of Charmis.<sup>1</sup>

*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 544; *IG VII.4263*; Maier (1959), no. 26

1. There is only one name: any other subscribers there may have been contributed less than a talent.

### 120 Decree of Itria in honour of Hephaestion of Callatis for remission of a debt (c.200–150)

Resolved by the council and the [people]; Dionysius [son of] Hieron was  
5 *epimenios*;<sup>1</sup> the magistrates [moved]: since Hephaestion [son of Matris] / from

Callatis<sup>2</sup> when the city owed him for [many] years for a [loan] made by his father 300 gold pieces [according to] a written agreement, and [considerable] interests had accumulated, / he proved himself a good and honourable man and showed [understanding] for the difficulties facing the city, and remitted [the] interest which amounted to 400 [gold pieces],<sup>3</sup> and [agreed] to recover the sum that was owed to him / according to the [written] agreement, which amounted to 300 gold pieces, without interest [over] a period of two [years]; for [these services] Hephaestion son of Matris from [Callatis] should be praised . . .

Moretti II.130

1. See **116** n. 1.
2. A Greek city some 70 km to the south of Istria (**116**) on the Black Sea coast.
3. The interest is higher than the original loan; at a rate of 8 1/3 per cent simple interest the loan would have been sixteen years old.

## 121 Decree of Crannon (Thessaly) to eliminate debts by raising a subscription (c.168–142?)

On Thessaly see Rostovtzeff III (1941), 1467.

On the second day of the month Homoloios,<sup>1</sup> when Crateraeus son of Diodorus of Larisa was general of the Thessalians, and Pheidon son of Cratippus, Antiphanes / son of Cratippus, Pheidon son of Eudoxus, Pantauchus son of Agasicrates, and Anaxippus son of Marsyas were *tagoi*, and Menander son of Philocles and Philocles son of Aristodamas were treasurers; since the city / has numerous debts because of the wars which have afflicted it<sup>2</sup> [and] the debts have now been dragging on for a long time; Anaxippus son of Marsyas moved; the community (*koinon*) of the city resolved / that it would be fitting and advantageous that all the citizens should come to the help of the city, each according to his private means, so as to free it if possible from all debts, and if not, from / the majority; and that those who wish should declare to the city in the assembly<sup>3</sup> the sum each wishes to contribute as a gift for the aforementioned debts; that the declaration should be made / while Crateraeus holds the office of general, and that the city should praise those who made such a declaration so that it should be manifest to all that the city remembers its benefactors;<sup>4</sup> that the treasurers should take / care that those who have declared (they would give money) should give the money to the city as declared; that those who have declared (they would give money) should be inscribed on a stone stele, each with his father's name, as / they have made their declaration, the first to have done so being inscribed first, and [then] the others who followed, according [to the] sum offered [and] that the stele

40 should be placed on [the acropolis in the most] distinguished place;<sup>5</sup> / [. . . the] treasurers shall take care [that a copy of the decree] should be inscribed [wherever it seems] suitable; [the resulting expense shall be inscribed in the accounts of the city].

Moretti II.99; Migeotte (1992), no. 34

1. May–June.
2. Thessaly suffered from the war between Rome and Antiochus III in 192–1 and then from the war between Rome and Perseus in 171 and after.
3. See **115** n. 6.
4. The city has nothing to offer except gratitude.
5. The list of donors has not survived.

## 122 Extracts from the temple accounts of the Delian *hieropoioi* (279)

The small Aegean island of Delos with its famous sanctuary of Apollo enjoyed nominal independence for much of the Hellenistic period (from 314 to 167, after which the Roman Senate restored it to Athenian control and made it a free port; see **98** and Habicht (1997), 246–63). The wealth of Apollo’s sanctuary, which included land, houses, cash, animals, offerings etc., as well as the temple buildings, was administered by an annual board of (usually) two *hieropoioi* who published their accounts on stone every year. This series of texts forms one of the most important sources of information on the economic life of Delos and the Aegean in this period. Many of the inscriptions are fragmentary or even lost altogether, but some are extensively preserved, including the accounts for the year 279 (cf. BD 157 for the accounts of 179; further excerpts in Migeotte (1984), no. 45). Although calculations of the total wealth of Apollo are approximate, it is clear that all told it was on a modest scale, and the island was in no position to be a great international money-lending centre, despite the fame of Apollo’s sanctuary. Cf. Bogaert (1968), esp. 131–65, 279–304 and see generally Reger (1994) and in Erskine (2003), 331–53, who stresses the local character of Delos’ economy in reaction to the approach of Rostovtzeff and others who saw the island as integrated in a large international market (cf. J. A. O. Larsen in *ESAR* IV (1938), 334–57; Rostovtzeff I [1941], 190f. and 230–6 with III, 1371–3). For other texts on the economic life of Delos see **127**, **133–4**, **220**.

### *Side A*

[Gods. Account] of the *hieropoioi* who held office in the archonship of Hypsocles (279), Aristotheus son of Timothalus, Xenocles son of Philarchides. We



received from the *hieropoioi* who held office in the archonship of Charmus (280), Hegias son of Phocaeus, Anaschetus son of Theoxenus, in the presence of the councillors, the secretary of the city Timesidemus son of Anticrates and the secretary of the *hieropoioi* Lysimachides son of Lysus: 18,648 drachmas and 1 obol of silver coins; 10 drs. 1 ob. of gold (coins); 2 Ptolemaic gold 'cicadas',<sup>1</sup> a Phocaeian gold coin; miscellaneous silver coins reckoned as 8 drs. of Alexander silver;<sup>2</sup> / from Aristocles son of Philon, 100 drs.; from Philaethus and Euclides who were *hieropoioi* in the archonship of Glauciades (281), 600 drs. 5

The following persons paid rent<sup>3</sup> for temple lands during our period of office: Apollodorus son of Xenomedes for the land of Porthmus, 1,320 drs.; Dorcon for the land at Pyrgi, 1,220 drs. ½ ob.; Aristetas son of Amphoterus for the land at Limnae, 397 drs. ½ ob.; Antigonos son of Anectus for the land at Rhamnus, 429 drs. [. . .]<sup>4</sup>

The following rents<sup>5</sup> from temple property were paid in: from Ephesus for the buildings in which Ephesus carries on a retail trade, 51 drs.; from Isus for the men's apartment in the house (called) Chareteia, 65 drs.; from Anapsychtides for the women's apartment, 95 drs.; from Soteles for the men's apartment which is one of those near the sea, 50 drs.; from the children of Diophantus for the men's apartment next to these, 17 drs.; from Autosthenes for the house which belonged to the children of Aristobulus, 39 drs. 4½ ob. [. . .]<sup>6</sup> 16

The following sums were also paid in: for the repayment of the money which the city owes to the god,<sup>7</sup> from the councillors in the archonship of Hypsocles (279): from the tax of one fiftieth (two per cent)<sup>8</sup> together with the duty<sup>9</sup> on it, 14,910 drs.; from the ten per cent tax on houses<sup>10</sup> on behalf of Teisicles,<sup>11</sup> 600 drs.; for the fishery rights on behalf of Phillis, 530 drs.; for the ten per cent tax on wheat<sup>12</sup> on behalf of Gnosidicus, 120 drs.; the duty paid on these, 61 ½ drs.; and the subvention for the Dionysiac festival,<sup>13</sup> 2,056 drs. 4 ob. 25

The following persons paid interest<sup>14</sup> during our period in office: Geryllus son of Pistoxenus, 100 drs.; Athenis son of Eurymanthes for the lands at Passirus, 60 drs.; Mnesalcus son of Telesarchides for the lands at Passirus which formerly belonged to Sosipolis, / 60 drs.; Andromenes son of Xenon, 20 drs. 5 ob.; Alexicratea on behalf of Arignotus, 20 drs. 5 ob. [. . .]<sup>15</sup> 30

The following sums were also paid in: from Calodicus for the fish in the (sacred) lake,<sup>16</sup> 60 drs.; the surplus from the regular taxes, 272 drs.; from the collection boxes:<sup>17</sup> in the temple, 19 drs. 4 ob.; 1 Aeginetan (drachma), 2 Rhodian obols, 3 Epidaurian obols; from (the collection box) in the Asclepion, 26 drs. 24 ob.; from (the collection box) in the Aphrodision, 41 ob. and 1 gold stater; for a dead goose,<sup>18</sup> 5½ drs.; for an Egyptian goose and the 36

eggs of a goose, 1 dr. 2 ob.; for a partridge, 1 ob.; for the sale of timber from the gateway,<sup>19</sup> 81 drs.; from the councillors in the archonship of Charmus (280) from the subvention for the Dionysiac festival,<sup>20</sup> 1,482½ drs.; from the councillors and the *hieropoioi* / in the archonship of Charmus (280), a further 200 drs., which Hypsocles son of Archestratus paid (in full) for the surety he provided for Amphistratus<sup>21</sup> son of Hypsocles; from the councillors in the archonship of Hypsocles (279), a further 175 drs. which Arignotus son of Antipater paid (in full) for the surety he provided for Diaetus son of Apollodorus for the construction around the theatre;<sup>22</sup> and from Anticrates son of Timesidemus in exchange for old silver,<sup>23</sup> 100 drs.; from Phaneas for the palm wood left over from the model, 6 drs.; from the pigeons' dung, 6 drs.; from the purple, 12 drs.; from the mulberries . . .

We auctioned the following contracts for works<sup>24</sup> in accordance with decrees of the people with the architect and the commissioners appointed by the people and in accordance with the written contracts: / Phaneas son of Caicus and Pisibulus of Paros contracted for making fifteen coffered compartments in the ceiling of the peristyle in front of the roof of the temple of Apollo, each compartment at a cost of 300 drs., on condition that they supply themselves everything that is needed for the work except the timber; we gave to them on the instructions of the commissioners and the architect the first payment of 2,250 drs., and when they had completed half of the work in accordance with the contract we gave them a second payment of 1,800 drs., and when they had completed the (whole) work and supplied it in good order in accordance with the contract we paid them on the instructions of the architect and the commissioners the (remaining) tenth, 450 drs. Salary to Nikon for dressing the top course of the / temple of Apollo, 5 drs. (Salary) to Dinocrates for placing the fillet on the top course of the temple, 38 drs.<sup>25</sup> [ . . ]

And we made the following payments on the instructions of the architect and the commissioners for contracts for works issued before our period of office: to Croesus the contractor for the stones for the temple of Zeus Cynthius, for bringing and measuring the stones which were due up to the length of 1,004 feet, we made the second payment of 1,994 drs. ob. To Dinocrates for completing the roof of the temple of Asclepius we gave the (remaining) tenth, / 55 drs. On behalf of Theophilus who contracted for making the tiles of the temple of Artemis, to Sosimenes and Timesidemus his sureties who completed the work in accordance with the contract, we paid the (remaining) tenth, 135 drs. Salary to the hired workers for cleaning the orchestra and the seats of the theatre and removing the pile of dust, as directed by the architect, 7 drs.

We also made the following payments: salary to the architect, 720 drs.; to the slave woman for her food, 120 drs.; to Dorus the servant, 156 drs.; to

Leptines and Bacchius the stone workers for their food, 480 drs.; for their clothing, 34 drs.; salary to the secretary,<sup>26</sup> 80 drs.; to the herald, 60 drs.; to the temple warden of the Asclepieion, / 180 drs.; to the temple warden of the god (Apollo), 60 drs.; to the overseer of the walls, 90 drs.; salary for the flute-girl who plays for the chorus of women, 120 drs. [. . .]

And we also spent the following sums in accordance with decrees of the people: to Hermon for making watertight the roof of the banqueting hall in the island, / 12 drs.; to Hermon for plastering the roof of the stage building, 12 drs.; to Dionysius for making watertight the roofs of the houses at the landing, 16 drs.; we also spent for the Thesmophoria in addition to what we received from the treasurer 75 drs.; for the sacrifice to Eilythua, 25 drs.; in addition to the monthly revenue 'from the bowl'<sup>27</sup> we spent for the cleansing of the temple a further 14 drs. 1½ ob.; a cloak for Dorus the servant, 24 drs.; a stele from Philonides, 25 drs.; for the men who took the stele from the Asclepieion and brought it to the temple (of Apollo), 1½ dr.; for Dinomenes who inscribed the stele, at 300 letters a drachma, a total of 30,000 letters, salary 100 drs.; lead, 5 drs.; timber, 1 dr.; to the men who set up the stele, 2½ drs.; / for repairing the collapsed part of the house in which Antigonus son of Timocrates lives, 10 drs.; a board of elm from Dinocrates for the fillet under the roof of the temple of Apollo, 15 drs.; salt, 221 drs.; timber for the treenails, 4 ob.; half an amphora of pitch from Amphithales, 20 drs.

Total of the money we received and which was paid in during our period in office, 54,162 drs.; miscellaneous silver coins reckoned as 11 drs. of Alexander silver, 10 drs. 2 ob. of gold coins, 2 golden 'cicadas' and a Phocaeen coin. Total of expenditure, 12,720 drs. The balance we handed over to the *hieropoioi* in the archonship of Menecrates (278), Demon son of Nicon, Pistes son of Xenon, in the / presence of the councillors and the secretaries, Antipater son of Demetrius (secretary) of the city and Clinodicus son of Clinodicus (secretary) of the *hieropoioi*, amounting to 41,442 drs. 21 ob. of silver, together with the 24,630 drs. which the people voted that the *hieropoioi* who are in office should always receive [during the transfer],<sup>28</sup> also the 'cicadas', 2 ob., the Phocaeen coin, [11 drs.] of miscellaneous silver coins [and] 10 drs. 2 ob. [of gold].<sup>29</sup>

*IG XI.2.161 A* (extracts)

1. Coins with the type of a cicada, or possibly ornaments.
2. Silver coined with Alexander types and on the Attic weight standard, issued not just by Alexander himself (cf. **6** n. 1, **10** n. 1) but by many of his successors and even some Greek cities, and which circulated widely in the Hellenistic world (cf. **65**, **225**, **242**; J. K. Davies in *CAH VII.1*<sup>2</sup> (1984), 277f.; Howgego (1995), 50f., 99; for western

- Asia G. Le Rider, *Journal des Savants* (1986), 3–56, cf. M. Aperghis in Archibald et al. (2001), 90–5). Contrast the restrictive Ptolemaic practice, **299**.
3. Annual rent on 10-year leases.
  4. A further 16 entries follow, with sums ranging from 60 to 1,800 drs.
  5. Annual rent on 5-year leases.
  6. A further eleven entries follow, with sums ranging from 25 to 136 drs., total 882 drs. 21 ob.
  7. The city of Delos had ‘borrowed’ a large sum from Apollo and was repaying it out of its regular revenues (cf. **115** n. 9).
  8. See **118** n. 4.
  9. A duty paid by the tax farmer.
  10. A tax paid by foreigners for renting accommodation (only Delians could own real estate in Delos).
  11. Probably the tax farmer, as in the cases which follow.
  12. From the small sum indicated this can only have affected a very small part of the grain sold in the island.
  13. Probably money intended for dramatic festivals but not spent.
  14. This rubric refers to arrears of interest due.
  15. A further nineteen entries follow, with sums ranging from 2 drs. 2 ob. to 120 drs., total 638 drs.
  16. i.e. fishing rights.
  17. Collection boxes placed in the temples for individual offerings.
  18. Animals kept by the temple; the *hieropoioi* made money for Apollo out of anything, however small.
  19. Timber from the builder’s model for the gateway, left unused and sold.
  20. See n. 13.
  21. A defaulting tenant; his surety paid for him. For loans and sureties cf. **242**.
  22. A defaulting builder; see n. 24.
  23. Probably débris of silver objects.
  24. Building contracts are known from a number of Greek sanctuaries and follow a common pattern (cf. P. H. Davis, *BCH* 61 (1937), 109–20 for Delos; in general Burford (1969), ch. 4). At Delos contracts were issued by the ‘architect’ (in practice a master of works, cf. **253** l. 152 at Pergamum) and the board of commissioners; half of the sum due to the contractor was paid before he started work (and sometimes the state had to provide materials as well), the other half less one tenth was paid half way through, and the rest on completion of the work. The implication is that the contractors had little capital or resources of their own. They had to provide sureties (cf. n. 22 and see below): the state made sure to protect its interests.
  25. Some works were carried out and paid for on a daily basis or by piece.
  26. The secretary of the *hieropoioi*; the sum is too small to represent a full salary. The same applies to the herald, the temple warden of Apollo and the overseer of the wells. These posts probably had an honorific character which explains the lower payment.
  27. An indemnity paid for sacrifices: the sacrifices involved the use of sacred vessels and the participation of the official clergy.
  28. A reserve fund: the people decided that the sums in hand with the *hieropoioi* should not fall below a certain figure.

29. Side B of the inscription is a long inventory of sacred objects (cups, bowls, etc.) and materials owned by the god.

### 123 Decree of Gortyn on the use of bronze coins (mid-second half of third century)

The context of the following inscription is probably the issuing by Gortyn of a new bronze coinage to replace silver denominations below the drachma; the decree was needed to combat the suspicion against the new coins which, unlike silver, had no intrinsic metallic value. Cf. 252 ll. 43–9. On this text see Willetts (1955), 131f., 187–91; A. E. Jackson, *NC* (1971), 37–51; J. R. Melville Jones, *NC* (1972), 39f. On coinage in the Hellenistic world see pp. 9–15 and the List of Illustrations.

[Gods. The following decision was taken by] the [city] after a vote with three [hundred] men being present:<sup>1</sup> one must use the bronze coinage which the city has issued; one must not accept the / silver obols. If anyone accepts (the silver obols) or refuses to accept the (bronze) coinage or sells anything in exchange for grain,<sup>2</sup> he shall be fined five silver staters. Information (about such cases) is to be laid / before the *neotas* (the body of young men),<sup>3</sup> and from the *neotas* the Seven chosen by lot shall give their verdict on oath in the agora.<sup>4</sup> Whichever party wins a majority of votes shall win, and the Seven shall exact the fine from the losing party, give one half [to the winning party] and the other half [to the city].

*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 525; *ICret.* IV, pp. 222–5 no. 162; R. Bogaert, *Epigraphica* III (Leyden, 1976), no. 22

1. A quorum for decisions.
2. This implies that payments in kind are still being practised.
3. A formally organised body of young men above the age of nineteen (ex-ephebes), such as existed in many Greek cities; see Willetts, *loc. cit.* Cf. 132, 137, 225, 235–6, 252.
4. Or: ‘the Seven in the agora chosen by lot shall give their verdict on oath’.

### 124 List of convictions for the counterfeiting of coins, from Dyme in Achaia (third–second century)

When Philocles was priest (*theokolos*), Damocritus registrar (*grammatistes*), Cleon president of the [council]; the city condemned [the following men] to / [death] for stealing sacred property [and] striking [bronze] coins:<sup>1</sup> Thracian whose name may be [Antiochus], [Cratis] the goldsmith, / [Cyllanias]

whose name may be Pantaleon or something else, Moscholaus son of Moscholaus.

15 When Euphanes was president of the council: [Asclepiades] son of Dromas. /

When Phileas was president of the council: . . . ias son of Olympichus.

*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 530; Pleket I (1964), no. 11

1. Probably bronze coins plated with silver, cf. J. R. Melville Jones, *NC* (1972), 42f. Death was the normal penalty for counterfeiting coins (cf. Demosthenes XXIV.212).

## 125 Amphictyonic decree concerning the Athenian tetradrachm (c.140–130?)

Whereas Gortyn was merely concerned with the local enforcement of her own bronze coinage (124), the following decree of the Delphic Amphictyony (cf. 60, 64, 88) seeks to secure acceptance of the Athenian silver tetradrachm (but not other Athenian denominations) by all the Greeks. The measure may be less ambitious than appears at first sight, for it seems that by the time of the decree the ‘New Style’ Athenian tetradrachms (129 n. 7) were in any case being widely used and Athens at this period was well in with the Delphic Amphictyony. See Rostovtzeff III (1941), 1503 n. 9; Habicht (1997), 242–5, 275–9; A. Meadows in Meadows and Shipton (2001), 56.

When Polyon was archon at Delphi, on the thirteenth of the [month] of Daedaphorius,<sup>1</sup> it was resolved by the Amphictyons who came to Delphi, that all the Greeks should accept the Athenian tetradrachm for four drachmas of silver. If any of those who live in the cities, whether foreigner, citizen or  
5 slave, whether man / or woman, does not accept or give in payment (the Athenian tetradrachm) as has been prescribed, the slave shall be scourged by the magistrates and the free man shall be fined 200 drachmas of silver.<sup>2</sup> The magistrates in the cities and the *agoranomoi*<sup>3</sup> shall [give] help in collecting from those who disobey the resolution the [specified] sum of money; half of the sum collected shall belong [to the person who brought] before the  
10 authorities the offending person / and the other half shall belong to the city. If the magistrates [who hold office in] the cities or at the national festivals do not give help to those who bring [the offenders] before [them], they shall be tried before the Amphictyons [after an] investigation [has been made] in accordance with [the] laws of the Amphictyons. [Likewise] if the money [changers<sup>4</sup> who operate in the cities] and at the national festivals do not obey the resolution, it shall be permitted [to anyone who wishes to bring  
15 them before the] magistrates; / any (magistrate) who [refuses to give help

to persons who bring (offenders before them)] shall be prosecuted [in the same way as] is specified [against the other magistrates. Each of the *hieromnemes*<sup>5</sup> shall bring a sealed] copy of the resolution [to] his own city, and [the secretary] shall send [(copies of) the decree to all the Greeks, and inscribe it at] Delphi on the treasury of the Athenians<sup>6</sup> [in the sanctuary of the god, and similarly at Athens on the acropolis so that all] may know what [arrangements the Amphictyons] have made [in this matter].

*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 729; Pleket I (1964), no. 13

1. November.
2. Cf. 105 n. 2.
3. Officials concerned with the policing of markets; see 128–9, 132, 236.
4. The multiplicity of coinages circulating in the Greek world (cf. 122) required the presence of money changers in many Greek cities. Cf. 242 l. 32.
5. See 64 n. 2.
6. The present text.

## 126 Harbour regulations at Thasos (third century)

It is forbidden to haul up<sup>1</sup> a ship beyond the signposts, beyond the first one if the ship [has a tonnage of less than] 3,000 talents (*c.*78 tons), beyond the second one if it has a tonnage of less than five [thousand talents] (*c.*130 tons);<sup>2</sup> anyone who hauls up his ship in contravention of these rules shall pay a fine of five [staters] to the city; the *epistatai*<sup>3</sup> shall exact the fine. Should any dispute arise, / [the] *apologoi* [shall take them to court] before a jury; 5 they shall [communicate to the] *epistatai* the sentence (and the amount of the fine), and the *epistatai* shall exact it. If they do not exact it, [they shall owe the fine themselves]. If the *apologoi* do not take (the culprits) to court, or do not communicate (the sentence and the amount of the fine) to the [*epistatai*], they shall be liable to prosecution by the incoming *apologoi* . . . [. . . the] *epistatai* (missing verb) those who haul up [a ship beyond the signposts] in contravention of the decree; / [let anyone who] wishes [denounce? . . . ]<sup>4</sup> 10

*IG XII Supplement*, 348; Pleket I (1964), no. 9

1. The hauling up of ships within the harbour was still practised at Thasos.
2. On the size of ancient freighters cf. L. Casson in Pagani (1956), 231–8 (p. 234 on this inscription) and Casson (1971), 171 n. 23, 183f.
3. On the *epistatai* and *apologoi* at Thasos cf. F. Salviat, *BCH* 82 (1958), 204–6; Duchêne (1992), 68–71.
4. The measure seems designed as a policing operation (to prevent the harbour being cluttered up with smaller craft) with possible fiscal overtones (larger ships would mean higher import dues). There is no trace of protectionism in the text: it says nothing about the nationality of the ships or the nature of their cargoes.

127 Law regulating the sale of wood and charcoal at Delos  
(c.250–200)

[No one may sell] charcoal or logs<sup>1</sup> or [wood without using] the (official) measures for wood.<sup>2</sup> [No one] may sell these if he has bought them on Delos, nor even if he has bought any of these [on board] ship. He may sell (these  
5 goods) only after making the (statutory) declaration in his own name. / He must not sell goods (i.e. wood or charcoal) which have been publicly auctioned after bidding successfully for them,<sup>3</sup> nor sell wood, logs or charcoal belonging to someone else. No one is allowed to sell except the importers themselves  
10 and they must not sell at a higher or lower price than / they stated in their declaration to the collectors of the two per cent tax (*pentekostologi*).<sup>4</sup> Before selling the importers must declare to the *agoranomoi*<sup>5</sup> the price stated in their declaration to the *pentekostologi*. And if anyone sells (his goods) / in violation of the regulations, he shall be fined 50 drachmas, and any citizen who wishes may bring an accusation against him before the *agoranomoi*. The *agoranomoi* shall introduce the cases before the / Thirty One during the month in which the accusation was made. The accuser must pay the (statutory) deposit to the court. If (the defendant) is found guilty, he shall pay back the deposit to the accuser as well as two thirds of the prescribed fine, / and (shall pay) the remaining third to the public treasury. The 25 *agoranomoi* shall collect the fines from the defendant within ten days of his condemnation, and they may not be called to account (for their action). If they are unable (to collect the fines), they shall declare so under oath and shall hand over the defendant and  
30 his possessions to the accuser, and they shall inscribe (these facts) on / the board where the other written statements are kept and shall hand it over to the council (to be deposited) in the record office.

Those who enjoy freedom from taxes (*ateleia*) (at Delos) and who import wood or logs or charcoal for sale according to the (official) measures for wood,  
35 shall declare to the *agoranomoi* / the prices they intend to charge before they begin selling, and they shall not be allowed to sell (their goods) at a higher or lower price than they stated in their declaration. Should anyone contravene the regulations, the *agoranomoi* shall not provide them with scales or with /  
40 measures for charcoal,<sup>6</sup> and they (the importers) shall pay to the city a fee of one drachma a day for the place where they store their wood, charcoal or logs until they remove them. The *agoranomoi* shall collect the fee from them, and they may not be called to account (for their action).<sup>7</sup>

*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 975; *IDélos* 509; Pleket I (1964), no. 10

1. Wood and charcoal were the normal fuels for heating and cooking; they were not available at Delos and needed to be imported.



2. On measures compare **129**, **290** n. 25.
3. On this clause see P. Gauthier, *BCH* 101 (1977), 203–8.
4. See **118** n. 4.
5. See **125** n. 3.
6. Compare **129**.
7. The intention of the law seems clear: the Delians wish to enjoy stable prices for wood and charcoal and to protect themselves from speculation. See however Reger (1994), 172–6, who suggests a primarily fiscal purpose, and against him R. Descat, *REA* 103 (2001), 125–30, who also emphasises the role of the transit trade through Delos.

## 128 Decree of Paros in honour of a man for services especially as *agoranomos* (second century)

Good fortune. Resolved by the council and people; Myrmidon son of Eumenes moved: since Cillus son of Demetrius is a good [man] and a benefactor of the city; and (since) previously / when he was *agoranomos*<sup>1</sup> he discharged 5  
his office [well] and justly and in accordance with the [laws], for which the people awarded him fitting honours; and (since) when he was elected to the same [office] in the archonship of Gorgus / he showed himself exceedingly 10  
industrious, and made every effort to ensure that the people should enjoy prosperity and abundance and be supplied with bread and barley at the lowest prices and of the highest quality,<sup>2</sup> and as regards the wage / labourers and their 15  
employers, he made sure that neither would be unfairly treated by compelling, in accordance with the laws, the labourers not to misbehave but to get down to work and the employers to pay their wages to the / workers without having 20  
to be taken to court; and (since) he showed proper care for all the other duties of his office, avoiding no hardship, but behaving in conformity with the laws and his whole mode of life and the / offices he held before he was 25  
*agoranomos*; therefore, so that the people may be seen to be rendering worthy honours to those who show surpassing zeal for the people, with good fortune, be it resolved to praise Cillus son of Demetrius and / to honour him with 30  
a gold crown [and] a marble statue for his merits and for the zeal which he continuously displays for the people [and] to proclaim the crown at the tragic contest during the Great Dionysia, proclaiming / [the] reasons why [the] 35  
people has crowned him; the magistrates in whose term of office the Great Dionysia are next celebrated shall take care of the proclamation of the crown. And Dexiochus came forward and said he was grateful to the people for the honours / voted to his father, and that he would [give] himself the money for 40  
the statue and its dedication;<sup>3</sup> therefore, so that the statue should be made and placed as soon as possible in the office of the *agoranomos* / wherever they 45  
wish, without disturbing [any] of the dedications, and the [decree] should be

inscribed on a stone stele and [placed near] the statue, let Dexiochus see to this [as he] promises.

50 Dioscuri. / Resolved by the council and the people; Eumenes son of Eumenes moved: since Cillus son of Demetrius has in the past constantly  
55 publicly and those who meet him privately, / and now when he was elected polemarch and happened to be serving as priest of the Dioscuri at the sacrifice of the Theoxenia, [wishing] to make more magnificent the festival in honour of the gods [and] to have everyone sharing in the sacrificial offerings, he has  
60 come forward / [to] the people and promises<sup>4</sup> to give a public feast at the Theoxenia, be it resolved by the people to praise Cillus son of Demetrius for his piety to the gods and his goodwill to the people, [and] let him hold the public feast in the gymnasium.<sup>5</sup>

*IG XII.5.129*

1. See **125** n. 3.

2. On the food supply of Greek cities see **130**.

3. Cf. **252** n. 15.

4. See **115** n. 6.

5. On the wealthy benefactors of Greek cities see **115**.

## 129 Athenian decree concerning weights and measures (late second century)

On the interpretation of this text see Habicht (1997), 291f.; Shipley (2000), 385f.

(§1) . . . [the measure? in the Skias<sup>1</sup>] or at Piraeus or [at Eleusis . . .] the owner of the measure shall be arrested . . . disputing about the measure . . .  
5 [the] magistrates [shall . . .?] the measure to the public bank . . . [the] / list of the goods to be auctioned; if he is a slave, he shall receive [fifty strokes] of the lash,<sup>2</sup> and they (the magistrates) shall destroy [the measure]; if the magistrates do not give assistance to individuals,<sup>3</sup> the Council of Six Hundred [shall compel them (to act)].<sup>4</sup>

(§2) The magistrates whose legal responsibility it is shall make standard measures corresponding to the copies that have been made, for liquid measures, dry measures and weights, and shall [compel those who] sell goods in the  
10 agora or the workshops or the retail shops or the [wineshops] / to use these measures and weights, measuring all liquid produce with the same [measure], and henceforward it shall not be allowed for any magistrate to make measures or weights [larger] or smaller than these; if any magistrate does this or fails to compel [the sellers] to sell with [these] he shall be fined 1,000 drachmas which

will be consecrated to Demeter and Core, and any Athenian who wishes may make an inventory of his property to secure payment of the fine. [Similarly / they must make] equal and inspect the measures and weights in future, and the Council of Six Hundred which is in session during the month of Hecatombaeon shall take care that no seller or buyer uses a measure [or] weight that is not true to standard, but only the correct ones. 15

(§3)<sup>5</sup> Those who sell Persian nuts (walnuts), dried almonds, hazelnuts of Heraclea, pine-nuts, chestnuts, Egyptian beans, / dates and any other dried fruits that are sold with these, and (also) lupines, olives and pine kernels, shall sell them with a measure of a capacity of three half *choinikes* of grain levelled off, selling them with this *choinix* heaped up, with a depth of five fingers and a width at the rim of one finger; similarly those who sell fresh almonds, [newly] picked [olives] and dried figs must sell them with a *choinix* heaped full, twice the size of the previously [mentioned one, / with a] rim three half fingers (wide), and they must use measures (*choinikes*) made of wood; if [anyone] sells fresh almonds, newly picked olives or dried figs [in another way?] or with another type of measure [he must not sell less] than a medimnus of grain; if he [sells] in a smaller type of measure, the magistrate under whose [supervision he is] shall immediately sell [the] contents by auction, pay the price to the [public bank] and destroy the measure. 20 25

(§4)<sup>6</sup> The commercial mina shall weigh 138 [drachmas of wreath-bearing<sup>7</sup> (silver)] / according to the weights at the mint and a make-[weight] of twelve drachmas of wreath-bearing (silver), and everybody shall sell all other goods with this mina except for those expressly specified to be sold according to the silver (coin standard), and they shall place the beam of the scales level at a weight of 150 drachmas of [wreath-] bearing (silver); [the] commercial weight of five minas shall have a [make-]weight of one commercial mina, so that when the beam of the scales is level it shall weigh six commercial / minas; the commercial talent [shall have] a make-weight of five commercial [minas], so that when the beam of the scales is level it shall weigh one commercial [talent and] five commercial minas; they must all correspond to the [measures] and [weights] in the mint. 30 35

(§5) [So that] the measures and weights may remain for [future] time, [the person] appointed to [provide] the measures and weights, Diodorus son of Theophilus [of Halae], shall hand [them over] to the public slave [appointed] in the Skias / and to the one at Piraeus along with the [overseer?<sup>8</sup> and to the one at] Eleusis; they shall preserve [them] and shall give copies of the [measures and weights] to the magistrates [and to] all [others] who need them, and they shall not be allowed to [alter? them] nor to remove [anything from the] buildings provided except the leaden [and bronze] copies that have been made . . . 40

45 (§6) If they (the public slaves) charge anybody money . . . / . . . the *prytaneis* [who are in office] and the general in charge of [the] soldiers shall [punish] the (public slave) [appointed] at the [Skias] with strokes of the lash, [punishing] him according to [the] seriousness of the offence; the overseer [of the harbour] who is appointed (shall punish) the (public slave) at [Piraeus]; the hierophant [and the] men [who] are appointed every [year] for the festival<sup>9</sup> (shall punish) the (public slave) at Eleusis.

50 (§7) [The public] slaves shall hand [over] to the public slaves [appointed after] them / all the [measures and weights] together with an inventory; if there is anything they do not hand [over], they shall [be made to provide it] by those appointed to supervise them in accordance with the decree, and [if they destroy any item, they] shall be made [to provide other similar ones] in place of those destroyed; [they shall also deposit in] the [Metroon]<sup>10</sup> a written statement of the items they have received and [handed over; if they do not] deposit [this statement they] shall not be allowed to receive wages for any public service.

55 (§8) Copies [are to be deposited in] the acropolis of the commercial [talent] / the ten mina weight, the five mina weight, the double mina, [the mina], the half mina, the quarter mina, the *chous* [and the *choinix*].

60 (§9) If anyone is caught committing an offence concerning the measures and weights deposited [in the Skias], at Eleusis, at [Piraeus] and on the acropolis, whether he is a magistrate or [a private citizen] or a public slave, he will be punished in accordance with the law passed on [the punishment] of wrongdoers. [The council] of the Aeropagus shall be responsible and shall punish anyone who has committed an offence [in these matters] / in accordance with the laws passed about wrongdoers. [The] man appointed to provide the [measures and] weights shall inscribe [this decree on stone] stelae and place them in the buildings in which the measures and weights are deposited.

From the same decree:<sup>11</sup>

[The] officials shall use the same measure with the [lead] symbol, corresponding to that in the Skias, and must not charge more than three obols; the magistrates shall use the previously stamped measures, unless any of the sellers [or buyers] uses a stamped measure.<sup>12</sup>

Pleket I (1964), no. 14; *IG II*<sup>2</sup>.1013 with *Hesperia* 7 (1938), p. 127 no. 27

1. The Tholos, a round building in the agora where the *prytaneis* took their meals; see *The Athenian Agora* XIV (Princeton, 1972), 41–6.
2. Cf. **105** n. 2.
3. Individuals who denounce culprits to them.
4. This first clause is concerned with the use of false measures.
5. On this clause see M. Crosby, *Hesperia* 18 (1949), 108–13.

6. The clause is obscurely phrased; a mina of 150 drs. is introduced in addition to the existing mina of 138 drs. which is kept for certain transactions. See Lang and Crosby (1964), 2–4. For the probable intention cf. n. 12 below.
7. A reference to the so-called ‘New Style’ Athenian coinage introduced by Athens probably in 164/3 (for date and interpretation see Habicht (1997), 242–5, 275–9); the reverse of the coin shows an olive wreath surrounding Athena’s owl and a Panathenaic amphora (given as a prize in the Panathenaic games), hence the designation of the coins as ‘wreath-bearing’ (*stephanephoroi*); cf. Plate 2.16. The coinage, the most prolific to be issued by Athens since the fourth century, achieved wide circulation; cf. **125**.
8. See clause §6.
9. The Eleusinian Mysteries.
10. The repository of state archives (see *The Athenian Agora* XIV (Princeton, 1972), 35–8).
11. On these last lines see M. Crosby, *Hesperia* 18 (1949), 111f.
12. The inscription does not make clear the purpose of the legislation on weights and measures. It is likely that it went beyond the normal one of market-policing and was intended to facilitate exchanges between Athens and Italy by bringing Athenian measures (the commercial mina and the choinix) into line with Roman measures; see Habicht, *op. cit.* above. On measures cf. **127**, **290** n. 25.

### 130 Ephesus honours Agathocles of Rhodes for selling corn cheap (c.300)

In principle Greek cities were assumed to be able to feed themselves from corn grown on their own territory. In practice they were vulnerable to many hazards, whether natural or man-made, local or external – drought (**271**, in Egypt), pests and diseases, invasions and the ravages of war (**62**, **72**, **74**, **191**, **225**, **235**, **252**, **270**; cf. Diodorus II.36.6 cited on **75**), storms (cf. D. Gibbins in Archibald et al. (2001), 273–312 on shipwrecks), insecurity on the high seas (**104**), or organised profiteering (**15**). Preoccupation with their food supply – and above all their grain supply – figures prominently in the evidence for Greek cities, which shows a multiplicity of responses to the problem; cf. **42** and n. 5, **48** (a) §§10 and 11, **54–5**, **62**, **110**, **114** and n. 3, **115**, **128**, **131–5**, **198**, **269** and n. 6. See Rostovtzeff II (1941), 1248–52 and index svv. corn, grain; L. Casson, *TAPA* 85 (1954), 168–87; Hands (1968), ch. 7; D. Rathbone in Garnsey and Whittaker (1983), 45–55; Garnsey (1988); Reger (1994), 83–126 and in *Classical Antiquity* 12 (1993), 299–334, partly questioned by J. D. Sosin, *Museum Helveticum* 60 (2003), 65–79; G. J. Oliver in Archibald et al. (2001), 137–55 esp. 137–42.

Resolved by the council and the people; Dion son of Diopithes moved: since Agathocles son of Hegemon of Rhodes,<sup>1</sup> when he was importing corn to the city amounting to 14,000 *hekteis*<sup>2</sup> and found that the grain in the agora was being sold at more than 6 drachmas (a medimnus), he was persuaded by the *agoranomos*<sup>3</sup> and wished / to do a favour to the people, and sold all his

grain more cheaply than it was being sold in the agora, be it resolved by the people, to grant citizenship to Agathocles of Rhodes on a basis of full equality, to himself and his descendants; the priests (*essenes*) shall allot him a tribe and *chiliastys*<sup>4</sup> and the temple administrators (*naopoioi*) shall inscribe these honours in the sanctuary of Artemis, where the other grants of citizenship / are inscribed, so that all may know that the people knows how to return thanks to its benefactors. He was allotted the tribe Bembine and the *chiliastys* Aegoteus.

Syll.<sup>3</sup> 354

1. Honoured in a proxeny decree from Arcesine, *IG XII.7.9* (c.300); on Agathocles cf. Gabrielsen (1997), 78f.
2. 6 *hekteis* to 1 *medimnus*.
3. See **125** n. 3.
4. A subdivision of the tribe, cf. **135**, **155** (Samos).

### 131 Entella (in Sicily) honours cities and individuals for the provision of grain (early third century?)

Entella in western Sicily, originally an Elymian community, was forcibly taken over in 404 by Campanian mercenaries in the service of Dionysius of Syracuse (Diodorus XIV.9.9). It continued as an Oscan community, chiefly known for its occasional involvement in the many Sicilian wars of the fourth century (Diodorus XIV.48.5, 53.5, 61.5–6; XV.73.2; XVI.67.3–4 and 73.2). Fresh light has been shed on its history by the discovery of several decrees of the city, written in Greek and inscribed on bronze tablets. The texts revolve around one central event, the desertion of the city and subsequent resettlement (*synoikismos*) as a result of a military conflict (on *synoikismos* cf. **48**, though the circumstances here are different). The exact occasion is unclear, though is probably to be associated with the conflicts between Rome and Carthage over the island in the third century (cf. *SEG* 32.914). A more precise context not long before the first Punic War has been suggested (cf. *Bull.* 1990, 864; 1996, 567). The following decree differs from the many texts relating to problems in the grain supply (**130**) in that the cause of the shortages was here a major upheaval which led to a temporary suspension of normal agricultural activity and the reliance on supplies from neighbouring communities (cf. G. Panessa, *ASNP* 12 (1982), 905–15). It is noteworthy that while Entella preserved her Oscan character she also adopted Greek civic and constitutional forms: one example of the progressive hellenisation of the island in this period (compare **140**, **168**).

5 In the archonship of Artemidorus son of Eielus and of Gnaeus son of Oppius,<sup>1</sup> on the first day of Panamus. / Since some of the cities have provided assistance

with grain for the settlement (*synoikismos*) of the city, and some individuals have made gifts of grain, while others provided it, and showed great goodwill towards the people of / Entella and brought about abundance in place of a shortage of grain, it was resolved by the council that all the cities<sup>2</sup> which assisted with grain or money or in some other way the settlement of the city should be shown goodwill and receive *isopoliteia*<sup>3</sup> with the people of Entella for all time and / should be invited to the competitions and to a seat of honour (*proedria*), and as for the individuals who assisted the city with grain for the settlement they should be *proxenoi* of the city of Entella, both themselves and their children. The resolution was also ratified by the assembly. The community (*koinon*) of the Petrinoi provided 250 medimni of corn. / The community of the Kytattarinoi gave a present of 60 (medimni) of corn and 50 of barley. The community of the Scherinoi<sup>4</sup> gave a present of 30 (medimni) of corn and 30 of barley. The community of the Macellinoi provided 100 medimni of corn. Individuals from Petra who provided grain were as follows:<sup>5</sup> Theodorus son of Praton of Sanneion, 150 (medimni) of corn. / Aeschuus son of Praton of Sanneion, 120 (medimni) of corn. Heracleius son of Heracleides, 100 (medimni) of corn. Arimnastus son of Simus, 50 (medimni of corn). Sosandrus son of Ariston, 50 (medimni) of corn. Minatus son of Corvius a Mamertine, 30 (medimni) of barley. The archons shall inscribe this resolution on a bronze tablet and dedicate it in the / council chamber.

SEG 30.1121 (cf. 32.914, 47.1418–19)

1. The archons at Entella may reflect Campanian presence or influence (cf. SEG 47.1418).
2. These are all small cities in Sicily, otherwise little known.
3. Cf. 64.
4. For the reading cf. SEG 47.1419.
5. Note the mixture of Oscan and Greek names.

### 132 Decree of Samos in honour of Boulagoras for many services (240s)

See Shipley (2000), 98–101.

Resolved by the council and the people, proposal of the prytaneis, concerning [the] motion put forward by Hippodamas son of Pantonactides, that Boulagoras son of Alexis, who has performed many services publicly for the city and privately for many of the citizens,<sup>1</sup> should be honoured and crowned as resolved by the council and the / people; since Boulagoras, when previously estates in the territory of Anaia<sup>2</sup> which at the time was under the authority of

King Antiochus<sup>3</sup> were being contested, and the citizens who had been deprived of their estates turned for help to the people and asked for an embassy to (be sent to) Antiochus to make them recover their property,<sup>4</sup> Boulagoras was appointed ambassador and travelled / first to Ephesus, but when Antiochus broke camp he followed him as far as Sardis, and displayed every zeal and enthusiasm in opposing in his embassy the most illustrious of the ‘friends’<sup>5</sup> of Antiochus, who happened to be in possession of the contested estates, so that the people might get back the estates which had been claimed at that time and restore them / to those who had been deprived of them unjustly, and concerning these matters he brought back letters from Antiochus to our city and to the commander under his orders at Anaia and to the financial official (*dioiketes*),<sup>6</sup> thanks to which those who had been deprived (of their estates) at the time recovered their possessions and subsequently none of the subordinates of Antiochus ever tried to lay claim to / what belonged to the citizens; and (since) when chosen by the people on several occasions to be advocate (*proegoros*) in public trials<sup>7</sup> he constantly showed himself eager and zealous and procured many benefits and advantages to the city from the verdicts; and (since) when elected by the people superintendent (*epistates*) of the gymnasium in accordance with the law because of the failure of the gymnasiarch,<sup>8</sup> he directed with fairness [and] / excellence the good discipline (*eukosmia*) of the ephebes and the *neoi* (young men),<sup>9</sup> and (since) during the present year a delegation of sacred envoys had to be sent to Alexandria,<sup>10</sup> knowing that the people attaches the greatest importance to the honours paid to King Ptolemy (III) and to his sister Queen Berenice, since funds for their crowns<sup>11</sup> and the sacrifices which the sacred envoys had to perform in Alexandria / were limited, and there was no money to pay for the travel expenses of the leader of the sacred embassy and the sacred envoys who were to bring the crowns (to Alexandria) and perform the sacrifices, and no immediate source of money was available, (Boulagoras) wishing that none of the honours previously decreed to the king, the queen, their parents and ancestors should be omitted, promised that he would advance from his own pocket the money for that purpose / which amounted to little less than 6,000 drachmas; and when the people was suffering from a shortage of corn<sup>12</sup> and the citizens because of the urgency of the need had appointed three corn commissions (*sitionia*),<sup>13</sup> in all of these he was never short of zeal and enthusiasm, but in the first corn commission he advanced all the money for the deposit as voted by the people, and for / the second he promised a sum equal to that provided by the most lavish contributors, while for the third he not only contributed from his own pocket all the money for the deposit, but also when the grain had been brought to the city and the corn commissioner had lent money for it, he came forward in the assembly and promised<sup>14</sup> that since there were no



resources available to refund the money, he himself would pay back the loan  
 on behalf of the city together with the interests / and all other expenses, and 45  
 he did this quickly and refunded the creditor without imposing any written  
 contract for these sums on the city and without requesting the nomination of  
 guarantors, but attaching the greatest importance to the common good and  
 the enjoyment of abundance by the people; and (since) on all other occasions  
 he continues to show himself eager and well disposed, / giving the best [advice] 50  
 to the people publicly and privately to every citizen, reconciling those who  
 have disputes and advancing loans from his own private means to many of  
 the needy;<sup>15</sup> therefore so that we may be seen to be honouring good men  
 and [encouraging] many citizens to follow the same course of action, be it  
 resolved by the people to praise Boulagoras son of Alexis for his [excellence] / 55  
 and for his goodwill towards the citizens, and to crown him with a gold  
 [crown] at the Dionysia during the tragic contest; the agonothete<sup>16</sup> shall see  
 to the proclamation; the controllers (*exetastai*) shall inscribe this decree on a  
 stone stele and dedicate it in the sanctuary of Hera; the treasurer of the sacred  
 monies [shall provide] for the expense from the money available to him from  
 fines; / Hyblesius, Herodotus, Monimus, Demetrius were [present]. 60

SEG 1.366; Migeotte (1984), no. 67 (in part); BD 76

1. On benefactors see 115.
2. See 53, 135 §§3–4. Compare the case of Samothrace, 269.
3. Antiochus II or possibly Antiochus Hierax.
4. Compare the mediation of Philippides in 54.
5. See 31 n. 3.
6. Cf. 198 n. 5.
7. Trials which involved the interests of the city against individuals, e.g. over loans or state property.
8. i.e. the liturgy was proving too burdensome for its holder. On gymnasia cf. 137.
9. See 123 n. 3.
10. To the *Ptolemaieia*, cf. 256.
11. Crowns of gold, cf. 170 n. 2, 290 l. 59 and n. 15.
12. See 130.
13. Their function was to purchase grain for the state; cf. 115, 133–5.
14. See 115 n. 6.
15. See 110 n. 4.
16. See 54 n. 8.

### 133 Decree of Delos in honour of Aristobulus of Thessalonica, *sitones* of Demetrius II of Macedon (239–229)

See Reger (1994), 119–22.

[Resolved by the] council and the people; . . . son of Teleson moved; [since Aristobulus] son of Athenaeus [of Thessalonica], who is *proxenos* and benefactor / [of the] sanctuary and of the Delians, when sent [by] King Demetrius (II of Macedon) as corn commissioner (*sitones*),<sup>1</sup> stayed (in Delos) for a long time behaving in a way that was [dignified] and worthy of the sanctuary, [of the king] and of the people of Delos / [and] has [displayed] every zeal and enthusiasm [over] the [interests of the sanctuary], of the king [and] of the people of [Delos] and [provides] benefits publicly to the city and privately to [those who] meet / him, whatever [request any] Delian makes from him; so that all may know that the people knows how [to honour good men], be it resolved [by the council] and the people, to [praise] him and crown him with a laurel wreath / [and] that the sacred [herald] shall make the following proclamation in [the] theatre at the festival of Apollo when the choruses of boys are competing: the people of Delos crowns Aristobulus son of Athenaeus of Thessalonica / with a laurel wreath for his excellence, his [piety] towards the sanctuary and his goodwill [towards] King Demetrius and the people of Delos. Antipater son of Callias put the motion to the vote.<sup>2</sup>

Dürnbach (1921) no. 48

1. See **132** n. 13.

2. The exact importance of Delos as a centre of the corn trade in the Hellenistic world is debated; it is emphasised e.g. by Rostovtzeff but doubted by Casson and Reger, all cited on **130**. See also **55** ll. 53–5 with T. L. Shear, *Hesperia* Supplement 17 (1978), 30–2.

### 134 Decree of Histiaea found at Delos, in honour of a Rhodian in connection with the corn supply (c.230–209)

See Reger (1994), 119.

#### *Side A*

5 (In a crown) The people of Histiaea (crowns) Athenodorus son of Pisagoras. / The archons proposed that the council should submit to the people the following resolution: since Athenodorus son of Pisagoras of Rhodes continues to show his goodwill to the people and provides services privately to any citizen who is in need and publicly to the city, and (since) in every way he provided ready assistance to the corn commissioners (*sitonai*)<sup>1</sup> sent by the city / to Delos<sup>2</sup> and lent them money without interest,<sup>3</sup> and enabled them to discharge their duties as quickly as possible, preferring the good of the city to his private gain;

therefore, so that all may know that the people of Histiaea / knows how to 15  
honour its benefactors and more people may compete to provide benefits to  
the city when they see worthy men being honoured; with good fortune, be  
it resolved by the people, to honour Athenodorus son of Pisagoras of Rhodes  
for his goodwill towards the city and to crown him with an olive / wreath for 20  
his excellence and his goodwill towards the people of Histiaea, to proclaim  
the crown at the procession of the *Antigoneia*,<sup>4</sup> and that the agonothete<sup>5</sup>  
shall see to the proclamation; to grant him and his descendants citizenship  
according to the law and precedence of access to the council / and the people 25  
after sacred matters; to inscribe this decree on a stone stele and dedicate  
it here (i.e. in Histiaea) in the sanctuary of Dionysus and at Delos in the  
sanctuary of Apollo<sup>6</sup> after asking the community (*koinon*) of the Delians for  
a place; the expense for the inscription shall be provided by the / presiding 30  
treasurer.

*Side B*

Resolved by the council and the people; Parmenion son of Polybulus moved; to  
grant to the Histiaeans the place in the sanctuary [which] they are requesting,  
between the statues of Ophell[ . . . and . . . ]ikis for the dedication of the stele on 5  
which are [inscribed] / the honours granted by the Histiaeans to Athenodorus;  
Theophas son of Cleosthenes put to the vote.

Dürnbach (1921), no. 50; *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 493; Migeotte (1984), no. 72

1. See **132** n. 13.
2. See **133** n. 2; the importance of Rhodes in the corn trade is emphasised by Casson, *TAPA* 85 (1954), 168–87; Gabrielsen (1997), 77–80. Histiaea was a link on the trade route to Macedon; cf. Robert (1951), 179–216.
3. Athenodorus need not have been a banker (Bogaert (1968), 171f.).
4. A festival in honour of either Antigonus Gonatas or Antigonus Dason; cf. *SEG* 46.973.
5. See **54** n. 8.
6. The present text.

### 135 A Samian corn law (c.200)

The following inscription gives the most detailed evidence available of the setting up of a permanent fund by a Greek city, by public subscription, for the purchase of corn. The corn was to be distributed free to Samian citizens, without any apparent restriction (cf. §7). The funds were to be lent out at interest to private borrowers and the interest from these loans (or, in case of default, the interest from the sale of the security) was to finance the purchase of corn. The fund was managed by commissioners (*meledonoi*; see §§ 1–3, 5, 8–9), elected annually, who lent the money, collected the interest and made

payments to two men ‘in charge of the corn supply’ elected annually (§5) to purchase corn from a local source, the domains of the goddess Hera from Anaia on the mainland (§§3–4), and to distribute it on a monthly basis to all citizens (§7). In addition there was a corn commissioner (*sitones* – see **132** n. 13) in charge of the purchase of corn from all other sources (§§3–5). Estimates of the sums involved in the Samian fund suggest that the law could not have been intended as a measure of social welfare (as thought by e.g. Tarn and Griffith (1952), 107f.; cf. *SEG* 40.735). A fund of 8 1/3 talents could have generated an annual interest of 5,000 drs, enough to purchase corn for distribution to part of the citizen body for part of the year – 7,200 citizens for three months or 5,400 for four months. The likely size of the rations, 2 *choinikes* per recipient, could not cover a family’s food requirements. The law may therefore have been intended to benefit the better off who set up, contributed to, and managed the fund (Shipley (1987), 218–21, cf. Shipley (2000), 100), possibly also to benefit the administration of the estates of the goddess Hera on the mainland (G. Gargola, *Phoenix* 66 (1992), 12–28; *Bull.* 1993, 392). For the food supply of Greek cities see **130**. On foundations cf. **138–9**, **198**, **242**.

(The beginning of the inscription is lost)<sup>1</sup>

(§1) . . . from the wealthiest. They shall hold the election (of magistrates) during the month Cronion at the second meeting of the [assembly]. The presiding magistrates (*prytaneis*) shall summon the assembly [in the] theatre and order the members of the assembly to sit [according] / to their *chiliastys*,<sup>2</sup> after placing signs and marking off [a spot] for each *chiliastys*; anyone who disobeys and does not sit in his own *chiliastys*, they shall fine one Samian stater. If he claims to have been unjustly fined he shall appeal, and judgement shall be given in the citizens’ court / within twenty days. The proposal and election<sup>3</sup> shall be carried out by members of the *chiliastys* themselves.

(§2) At this assembly the *chiliastys* shall approve after examination the securities and the guarantors. The *prytaneis* shall inscribe the securities and the guarantors they (the *chiliastys*) have approved / in the public records. Similarly they shall enter in the public records (the names of) the commissioners (*meledonoi*) who have been appointed. When [the] election is about to take place, the herald of the city shall pray for the prosperity of those who have elected men they believe will / manage the funds in the best way.

(§3) (The commissioners) who are elected shall collect the interest from the borrowers and pay it to the men who have been appointed in charge of the corn supply. The latter shall purchase the corn that is collected from

the tax of one twentieth / from Anaia,<sup>4</sup> and shall pay the goddess (Hera) a 25  
 price that is not less than that previously fixed by the people, (namely) five  
 [drachmas] and two obols (a medimnus). The money that is left over, if the  
 people decides not to buy any more corn, they shall keep themselves until the  
 appointment of others in charge of the corn supply; they shall then pay the  
 money to them. But if (the people) / decides to buy more corn they shall imme- 30  
 diately make the payment to the corn commissioner (*sitones*) who has been  
 appointed.

(§4) The latter shall purchase corn from the territory of Anaia in the way  
 which seems to him most advantageous for the city, unless the people thinks it  
 more advantageous to buy corn from another source. If not, / (the purchase) 35  
 shall be made as the people decides. The *prytaneis* in office during [the] month  
 of Artemision shall put this matter on the agenda every year and introduce a  
 motion.

(§5) The people shall appoint every year, on the first day of the elections  
 to magistracies, after the elective magistracies have been filled, / two men, 40  
 one from each tribe, to be in charge of the corn supply, each of them with  
 property worth not less than three talents. They shall receive the interest from  
 the commissioners (*meledonoi*) and shall pay the price of the corn together  
 with any other expense incurred, and they shall measure out / the corn. The 45  
 people shall elect a corn commissioner (*sitones*) at the same assembly, with  
 property worth not less than two talents.

(§6) If (the people) so decides, the money from the interest shall be  
 lent, if anyone wishes after providing adequate security and naming guar-  
 antors to anticipate / and provide corn more advantageously. The men 50  
 appointed in charge of the corn supply shall accept such security at their own  
 risk.

(§7) They shall distribute all the corn that has been bought to the citizens  
 who are in residence according to their *chiliastys*, measuring out free to each  
 citizen every month / two measures.<sup>5</sup> They shall begin the distribution in the 55  
 month of Pelusion and shall measure out (the corn) continuously for as many  
 months as (the corn) suffices. They shall not measure out (corn) to anybody  
 on behalf of anybody else except in case of illness. They shall carry out the  
 distribution from the new moon until the tenth (of the month), and until the  
 thirtieth to citizens who are abroad if they come back. / They shall provide 60  
 every month a register of the beneficiaries of the distribution and shall lodge it  
 in the office of the public auditor with the names of the beneficiaries arranged  
 according to their *chiliastys*.

(§8) The members of each *chiliastys* shall be permitted to appoint the same  
 man as commissioner (*meledonos*) successively for five years.

65 (§9) If any of the / borrowers does not pay back the money, in whole or  
in part, the *chiliastys* shall sell the security; if there is a surplus it shall give  
it to the person who provided the security, but if there is a deficit it shall  
70 recover it from the guarantor. The *chiliastys* shall give the interest that is due  
to those who have been appointed in charge of the corn supply. If it does not, /  
the members of the *chiliastys* shall not receive the corn that is due until they  
have paid the debt. If any of the commissioners (*meledonoî*) who have been  
appointed takes the money which he is supposed to lend but instead of lending  
it keeps it unjustly for himself, he shall owe (a fine of) 10,000 drachmas to  
75 the city. Similarly if he does not give the interest / to the men appointed in  
charge of the corn supply, he shall pay the same fine, and the public auditors  
(*exetastai*) shall inscribe his property as being confiscated up to the amount  
of money he ought to have paid. In addition to the fine they shall inscribe  
him as deprived of his civic rights, and he shall remain so until he has paid.  
80 The members of the *chiliastys* shall not receive / the corn that is due to them  
if they appoint a commissioner (*meledonos*) who has not paid the money. The  
members of the *chiliastys* may if they wish pay themselves the money which  
was not given to the city by the commissioner (*meledonos*) or the borrower,  
either all of them or sharing it out between some of them; and when they have  
85 paid the money they shall receive distributions / of corn from the time when  
they pay.

(§10) It shall not be permitted to anyone to use these funds nor the revenue  
from them for any other purpose than the distribution of free corn. If any  
*prytanis* puts forward a motion, or any orator proposes, or any president  
puts to the vote that these funds should be lent or diverted to any other  
90 purpose, they shall each be fined / 10,000 drachmas. Similarly if any treasurer  
or commissioner (*meledonos*) or any of those appointed in charge of the corn  
supply, or any corn commissioner (*sitones*) gives or lends (these funds) for any  
other purpose than the distribution of free corn.<sup>6</sup> [. . .]<sup>7</sup>

*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 976; Migeotte (1992), no. 62; BD 75

1. The lost part of the inscription will have dealt with the setting up of the fund.
2. A subdivision of the tribe, cf. **130, 155**.
3. Of the *meledonoî*, cf. next §.
4. A district on the mainland, controlled by Samos (cf. **53, 132**), where the goddess Hera had extensive estates.
5. The 'measure' distributed is more likely to have been the *choinix* than the medimnus, otherwise the distribution would have reached a very small number of recipients.
6. Cf. the similar safeguards in **138–9, 242**.
7. There follows a list of *c.*120 contributors to the corn fund (cf. **145** n. 1); the sums given range from 50 to 1,000 drs., 100 being the most frequent figure.

## 3 SOCIAL AND CULTURAL LIFE

136 The Athenian *ephebeia* in the Hellenistic age (266/5)

In the years after the battle of Chaeronea in 338 the Athenian *ephebeia* was reorganised as a system of civic and military training, supported by the state and compulsory for all Athenian citizens between the ages of 18 and 20. After a gap in the epigraphic record from 303/2 to 267/6, the institution re-emerges into light in a modified form: it has become annual (instead of lasting two years), voluntary, and in practice restricted to the children of wealthy citizens, as is implied by the considerable fall in numbers (from *c.*600–700 ephebes annually in the late fourth century to *c.*20–40 in the period after 267/6). In the second century the *ephebeia* acquired elements of literary and philosophical education, and its original character was further modified in the latter part of the second century when non-Athenians began to be admitted. For educational institutions elsewhere in the Greek world cf. 137–9 (on the education of kings cf. 246). See Pélékidis (1962); Habicht (1997), 16f., 137, 233–7, 262, 288–90, 344.

[In] the archonship of Nicias [of the deme Otryne] (266/5), in the third prytany, of the tribe Acamantis, for which Isocrates of the deme Alopeke was secretary; on the twenty-[sixth] of Boedromion, and the twenty-sixth day of the prytany; [assembly]; of the presiding magistrates (*proedroi*) Leocrates son of Leostratus [of the deme Oene] put the motion to the vote / together with 5 his colleagues in office; resolved by the council and the [people, . . . s]tratus son of Mynniscus of the deme Pergase moved: since [the ephebes, who] have undergone their training in the archonship of Meneclēs (267/6) when the city was [at war],<sup>1</sup> all held their ground, [keeping] good order [and] obeying the laws / [and] the *kosmetes*,<sup>2</sup> and [continued] throughout the year to perform the 10 [guard duties and all] the instructions given by [the] general for the guarding of the Mouseion,<sup>3</sup> as [ordered] by the people; therefore, since the others who [held their ground] have also been honoured, so that [they] too may be honoured [for] their deserts: / with good fortune, resolved by [the] council, 15 that the presiding magistrates [who] are in charge of the [next] meeting of the assembly should bring forward the *kosmetes* after sacred matters and raise this question, and communicate to the people [the opinion of] the council, viz. that [the] council [resolves] to praise [the] ephebes who have undergone their training / [in] the archonship of Meneclēs, [and] to crown them [with 20 a gold crown] in accordance with the law for their [good] discipline and the zeal they constantly [show] towards the people; they shall be granted a seat of honour in the [competitions] celebrated by the city. Aminias son of

- 25 Antiphanes of the deme Cephisia, their [*kosmetes*], shall also be praised; / [so too] Hermodorus son of Heortius [of the deme Acharnae, the] physical trainer (*paidotribes*),<sup>4</sup> Philotheus son of Stratius of the deme Lampra, [the javelin] thrower, Mnesitheus son of Mnesitheus of the deme Copros, [the artilleryman] and Sondrus [of Crete], the archer,<sup>5</sup> [and] they shall be crowned with an olive crown / [for their] good discipline [and] the careful attention they constantly show towards the [ephebes]; the secretary of the prytany shall inscribe this decree on a [stone] stele [and] place it in the agora, and the officials in charge of financial [administration] shall provide the [expense] required for the stele. [. . .]<sup>6</sup>

*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 385; *IG* II<sup>2</sup>.665

1. The Chremonidean War (61, 62).
2. The supervisor of ephebic education, similar in function to gymnasiarchs elsewhere.
3. Cf. 55 n. 3.
4. Cf. 137 n. 11.
5. These were all involved in training the ephebes in physical and military exercises.
6. There follows a list of names of the officials and the (33) ephebes honoured.

### 137 A gymnasiarchy law from Beroea (first third of second century)

The gymnasium was perhaps the most characteristic institution of Greek society, a focal point for physical training and for civic education in general. Its spread in the post-Alexander world thus documents the extent of Greek emigration and settlement in the east (cf. 266, in Syria; 292, 318, in Egypt), and reveals at the same time the adoption of Greek ways by non-Greeks (cf. 216–17 at Jerusalem, 236 at Tyriaion). Gymnasia and gymnasiarchs are frequently mentioned in inscriptions (cf. esp. 101 §1, 111, 132, 139, 193 n. 1, 252, 287, 295), but the following law from Macedon is the most informative single text; see Gauthier and Hatzopoulos (1993); Hatzopoulos (1996), 131–8 and no. 60; cf. *SEG* 27.261, 43.381 and 46.730. On education in the Hellenistic world see Jones (1940), 220–5; Rostovtzeff II (1941), 1058–61; Tarn and Griffith (1952), 95–8; Marrou (1956), part II; Hands (1968), 116–30.

#### *Side A*

- When Hippocrates son of Nicocrates was strategos, on the 19th of Apellaeus, at a meeting of the assembly, Zopyrus son of Amyntas, the gymnasiarch,
- 5 Asclepiades son of Heras and Callipus / son of Hippostratus moved: since all the other magistracies are exercised in accordance with the law,<sup>1</sup> and in the



cities<sup>2</sup> in which there are gymnasia and anointing is practised the laws on gymnasiarchs are deposited in the public archives, it is (therefore) appropriate that the same should be done among us and that the law which we handed over to the auditors (*exetastai*) should be inscribed on a stele and placed / in the gymnasium and also deposited in the public office; for when this is done, the young men (*neoteroi*) will feel a greater sense of shame and be more obedient to their leader,<sup>3</sup> and their revenues will not be wasted away as the gymnasiarchs who are appointed / will discharge their office in accordance with the law and will be liable to render accounts.<sup>4</sup>

The city resolved that the law on the gymnasiarchy which Zopyrus son of Amyntas, the gymnasiarch, Asclepiades son of Heras and Callipus son of Hippostratus introduced, should be valid and be deposited in the public archives, and that the gymnasiarchs should use / it, and that the law should be inscribed on a stele and placed in the gymnasium. The law was ratified on the first of Peritius.

#### THE LAW ON THE GYMNASIARCHY

The city shall appoint a gymnasiarch [at the same time] as the other magistrates, and he shall not be below (the age of) [30] nor above 60. The gymnasiarch who is appointed / . . . shall swear the following oath: [I swear by . . . Heracles] (and) Hermes<sup>5</sup> that I shall discharge the office of gymnasiarch in accordance with the law on the gymnasiarchy; as for all the things that are not [written] in the [law . . .] with the [greatest possible fairness . . .] without showing favour to a friend or / harming an enemy unjustly, nor will I appropriate any of the revenues which belong to the young men (*neoi*), nor will I knowingly allow anyone else (to do so) in any way or under any pretext; if I abide by my oath may I enjoy many blessings, but if I break it may the opposite happen.

The gymnasiarch [who is appointed], when he enters / office, [shall summon] an assembly on the first of the month [of Dios] in the [gymnasium], shall propose three men who once elected and after swearing the following oath shall join in supervising the [young men (*neoteroi*)] as they are assigned to them and shall accompany the [gymnasiarch] in the gymnasium every day / . . . [ . . . ]<sup>6</sup>

#### *Side B*

No one under the age of 30 may take off his clothes while the signal is lowered,<sup>7</sup> unless the leader gives his assent. When the signal is raised, no one else may do so unless the leader gives his assent, and no one may anoint himself in another wrestling school (*palaistra*) in the / same city. If he does, the gymnasiarch shall prevent him and fine him 50 drachmas.

All those who frequent the gymnasium shall obey whoever is appointed by the gymnasiarch to act as leader, as is specified for the gymnasiarch; whoever does not obey (the leader), the gymnasiarch shall punish him with flogging, 10 [and] he shall fine the / others.<sup>8</sup>

The ephebes<sup>9</sup> and those about the age of 22 shall practise javelin-throwing and archery every day, when the boys have anointed themselves, and similarly if any other exercise appears to be necessary.

Concerning the boys: none of the youngsters (*neaniskoi*)<sup>10</sup> may enter among 15 the boys, nor talk to the boys, otherwise the gymnasiarch / shall fine and prevent anyone who does any of these things. The physical trainers<sup>11</sup> shall present themselves at the gymnasium twice every day at the time determined by the gymnasiarch, except in the case of illness or some other unavoidable impediment; if not, they shall report to the gymnasiarch. If any of the physical 20 trainers appears to show disrespect and not to present himself / before the boys at the appointed hour, he (sc. the gymnasiarch) shall fine him 5 drachmas every day. The gymnasiarch shall have the power to flog the boys and the physical trainers who show indiscipline, if they are not free, and to fine those who are free. He shall compel the physical trainers to make a review<sup>12</sup> of the boys / 25 three times a year every four months and shall appoint judges for them; he shall crown [the] winner with an olive branch.

Those who may not take part in the gymnasium: no one may (enter) the gymnasium and take off his clothes (if he is) [a slave], a freedman, or a [son] of these,<sup>13</sup> if he has not been to the wrestling school (*palaistra*), if he is a paederast, or has practised a vulgar trade,<sup>14</sup> or is drunk, or mad. If / 30 the gymnasiarch knowingly allows any of these to anoint himself, [or] (does so) after someone has reported to him and pointed (this) out, he shall be fined 1,000 drachmas. To secure exaction of the fine, the informer shall hand over a report to the auditors (*exetastai*) of the city, and they shall lodge his name with the collector of public debts. [If] they do not lodge his name, or if the collector does not exact (the fine), they shall also be fined the / 35 sum, and one third shall be given to the successful prosecutor. If the gymnasiarch believes his name has been unjustly lodged, he may challenge the decision within [ten] days and be judged before the appropriate tribunal. The future gymnasiarchs shall also prevent those who appear to be contravening the law from anointing themselves. [If] not, they shall be liable to the same fines.

40 No one may insult the gymnasiarch / in the gymnasium, otherwise (the gymnasiarch) shall fine him 50 drachmas. If anyone strikes the gymnasiarch in the gymnasium, those present shall prevent him and not allow him, and (the gymnasiarch) shall likewise fine [the] person who struck (him) 100 drachmas, and in addition he shall be liable to prosecution by the gymnasiarch in

accordance with the public laws. Any of those present who do not give help though able to do so shall be fined / 50 drachmas. 45

Concerning the *Hermaia* (festival of Hermes): the gymnasiarch shall hold the *Hermaia* in the month of Hyperberetaeus; he shall sacrifice to Hermes and offer as prizes a weapon and three others for fitness (*euexia*), good discipline (*eutaxia*) and hard training (*philoponia*) for those up to the age of 30. The gymnasiarch shall draw up a list of seven men from those on the spot, who are to judge (the contest of) good discipline;<sup>15</sup> he shall draw lots for these and make the three who are selected swear / by Hermes that they will judge fairly who seems to them to be in the best physical condition, without favouritism or hostility of any sort. If the judges chosen by lot do not do their duty and do not state on oath their inability (to be judges), the gymnasiarch shall have power to fine the recalcitrant the sum of 10 drachmas, and shall draw lots among the rest to replace the defaulter. As for (the contests of) good discipline and hard training, the gymnasiarch shall swear / by Hermes and judge for good discipline who seems to him to be most well-behaved of those up to the age of 30, and for hard training who seems to him to have trained hardest during the year of those up to the age of 30. The winners shall wear crowns on that day and it shall be allowed to tie a headband on anyone who wishes. At the *Hermaia* the gymnasiarch shall also hold a torch race of the boys and of the youngsters. The money for the / weapons shall come from the existing revenues. The *hieropoioi* (religious officials), when celebrating the *Hermaia*, shall receive from each of those who frequent the gymnasium not more than two drachmas and shall feast them in the gymnasium, and they shall designate in place of themselves others to serve as *hieropoioi* in future. The physical trainers shall also celebrate the sacrifice to Hermes at the same time as the *hieropoioi*; / they shall receive from each of the boys not more than one drachma, and they shall divide up in shares the raw meat from the sacrifice. The *hieropoioi* and the gymnasiarch shall not introduce any performers<sup>16</sup> during the drinking. The winners shall dedicate the prizes they have received under the following gymnasiarch within eight months. If not, the gymnasiarch shall fine them 100 drachmas. The gymnasiarch shall have power to flog and fine those who cheat and do not take part fairly / in the competitions, and similarly if anyone hands the victory to another. 60 65 70

Selection of lampadarchs:<sup>17</sup> the gymnasiarch shall appoint from among those on the spot three lampadarchs in the month of Gorpiaeus, and those who have been chosen shall supply oil to the youngsters, each for ten days. He shall also appoint three lampadarchs of the boys; those who are chosen shall supply oil / for the same number of days. If any of those chosen objects, or his father objects, or his brothers, or the guardians of orphans, alleging that he is not able to be lampadarch, he shall state on oath his inability 75

within five days of being chosen. If the person appointed does not perform his duties or does not state on oath his inability, he shall be fined 50 drachmas and shall all the same provide oil and be lampadarch. Likewise if the person who has declared his inability on oath is shown to have done this without  
80 good reason, and is convicted by the / gymnasiarch and the young men, he shall be fined 50 drachmas and shall nonetheless be compelled to provide the oil and be lampadarch. In place of a person who has declared on oath his inability with good cause, the gymnasiarch shall appoint someone else. He shall hold the torch race of the boys from among those who frequent (the gymnasium) who seem to him suitable, and similarly with the young men.

Concerning umpires: the gymnasiarch shall appoint umpires who seem to  
85 him / suitable, for the torch race at the *Hermaia*, the long race and the other contests. If anyone complains against one of the umpires and says he has been unfairly treated by one of them, he shall call him to account in accordance with the public laws.

The gymnasiarch shall have control of the funds available for the young men and shall spend from them; when he leaves office he shall inscribe on a tablet the sum of the revenues together with any income from fines or convictions /  
90 and what has been spent from these, and he shall display it in the gymnasium in the month of Dios of the following year; he shall hand it over within four months to the auditors (*exetastai*) of the city, and any who wish may examine his accounts with them. The balance of the revenue he shall hand over to the succeeding gymnasiarch within 30 days of departing from office. If he does  
95 not hand over his accounts or the / balance as is prescribed, he shall pay a fine of 1,000 drachmas to the young men; the collector of public debts shall exact the fine from him when the *exetastai* have lodged his name; the gymnasiarch shall nonetheless hand over his accounts and the balance. The person who has purchased the revenue from the dirt<sup>18</sup> shall provide the service of keeper of the wrestling school (*palaistra*), carrying out the instructions of the gymnasiarch for everything that is appropriate in the gymnasium. If he does not obey or is in any way disorderly, he shall be flogged by the gymnasiarch.

100 Anyone who / steals anything from the gymnasium shall be liable to prosecution for sacrilege and shall be convicted before the appropriate tribunal. The gymnasiarch shall inscribe the motive for all the fines he inflicted and shall proclaim them in the gymnasium, and shall display (the names of) [all those] fined on a whitewashed board; he shall report them to the collector of public debts who shall exact the fines and hand them over to the gymnasiarch  
105 in office. If anyone claims to have been fined unjustly, he may / lodge a complaint and be tried before the appropriate magistrates; if the person fined wins his suit, the gymnasiarch shall pay to him one and a half times (the fine) and

he shall be fined in addition one fifth and one tenth. Anyone who wishes may call the gymnasiarch to account within 24 months after his year of office, and suits about this shall be decided before the appropriate tribunals. / [ . . . ]

110

Hatzopoulos (1996) no. 60; BD 78

1. Laws regulating the duties of particular magistrates were common in Greek cities; cf. **138, 253**.
2. The cities of Macedonia rather than Greek cities generally.
3. Cf. side B, lines 6–10.
4. The sequel of the text implies the existence of disorders and irregularities in the gymnasium; these prompted the revision and publication of the law.
5. Patrons of gymnasia and education, cf. **138, 139, 252** l. 78. On oaths cf. **40** n. 7.
6. More than twenty fragmentary lines.
7. The gymnasium remains closed until the signal is raised.
8. The distinction is between free and unfree persons, cf. side B ll. 23f.
9. Three consecutive age groups are distinguished according to normal Greek practice, boys (*paidēs*), ephebes, and young men (*neoi*); cf. **123** n. 3.
10. Here and below probably = the ephebes.
11. *Paidotribai*, cf. also **136, 138–9**.
12. Cf. **139**.
13. On this restriction cf. **138–9** (cf. also **105** n. 2).
14. Literally ‘a trade of the agora’.
15. An engraver’s error for ‘fitness’.
16. Lecturers, singers, players, artists; cf. **252** ll. 74f.
17. Cf. **117** n. 1, **149** §4.
18. *Gloios*: a mixture of oil and dirt scraped off the athletes’ bodies, which had medical uses and was sold for revenue.

### 138 Foundation of a school at Miletus (200/199)

Ephebic institutions in the Hellenistic world were organised by the Greek cities, which appointed officials to supervise their education and constructed the necessary buildings (cf. **136–7**). On the other hand schools for primary education are shown by the evidence to have been either privately run, or as in this and the following text, to have owed their existence to the generosity of a wealthy benefactor, be he a member of the city concerned (cf. **115**), or a king (cf. **242**; Polybius XXX1.31). See Hands (1968), 120–7.

(§1) Resolved by the people, proposal of the *synedroi*: since Eudemus son of Thallion has chosen to benefit the people and to perpetuate for all time the memory of his own love of glory, and has promised<sup>1</sup> to give for the education of the free children<sup>2</sup> ten talents of silver / on behalf of himself and his brothers Menander and Dion, the Milesians have voted: to praise Eudemus for his zeal

5

for the most worthy pursuits, and to commend him to the attention of the council and of the people.

(§2) So that the management of these funds may be administered in the proper way,<sup>3</sup> Eudemus shall pay / the sum of money mentioned to the treasurers of the regular revenues at the time fixed in his promise, and the treasurers shall forthwith hand it over to the officials appointed to the management of the public bank,<sup>4</sup> and they shall enter it in the city's account under the heading 'the money given by Eudemus for the education / of the free children'; they shall inscribe the sum given and shall guard it carefully, and shall hand it over to the bankers appointed to succeed them, until the people decides about the revenue which is expected from it; if they fail to hand it over as prescribed, they shall owe to the people twice the amount.

20 The assessors (*anataktai*) who administer / the revenues of the city shall put aside every year in their assessment 300 staters for the expected revenue from the money, and shall pay every month in their disbursements the sum due to each of the treasurers. If they fail to put it aside as prescribed, they shall each be fined 500 staters which shall be consecrated / to Hermes and the Muses.<sup>5</sup>

(§3) Those who wish to be gymnastic trainers<sup>6</sup> or schoolteachers<sup>7</sup> shall register with the *paidonomoi*<sup>8</sup> appointed for the following year, and the registration shall take place every year from the full moon to the twentieth of the month of Artemisium, and they (the *paidonomoi*) shall publish their names in the stoa of Antiochus;<sup>9</sup> on the 28th / of the same month, when the assembly meets, they shall place a tripod and a censer in the orchestra (i.e. in the theatre), and the priests of Hermes Enagonius<sup>10</sup> in the wrestling school (*palaistra*) of the boys, and of the Muses, and the sacred herald, and the *paidonomoi* who have been elected and are about to enter office, and Eudemus so long as he lives and after that / the eldest of Eudemus' descendants, shall burn frankincense to Hermes, the Muses and Apollo Musagetes.<sup>11</sup> The sacred herald shall pray before the assembly that all may be for the best for those who elect gymnastic trainers and schoolteachers who they believe will best look after the boys, and who declare their opinion without unjust partisanship; / if not, may the opposite happen. After this the *paidonomoi* shall hand over to the secretary of the council the names of those who have registered, and he shall introduce them one by one; the priests and the sacred heralds shall administer an oath on each of those who comes forward. The oath sworn by the gymnastic trainers shall be as follows: 'I swear by Hermes that I have not solicited any / Milesian for his vote, nor have instructed anyone else to canvass for me'; and he shall pray that those who honour their oath may prosper, but that the opposite may happen to those who break it. The schoolteachers shall swear a

similar oath, except that they shall swear by Apollo and the Muses. The people shall elect and appoint from the candidates four gymnastic trainers / and four schoolteachers. 50

(§4) The salary for each of the gymnastic trainers shall be fixed at 30 drs. a month, and for each of the schoolteachers at 40 drs. a month.<sup>12</sup> They shall perform such displays and other activities as are specified in the law concerning *paidonomoi*.<sup>13</sup> The gymnastic trainers who have been elected, / if they wish to go abroad and take athletes to one of the ‘crowned’ competitions,<sup>14</sup> may do so provided they obtain leave of absence from the *paidonomoi* and leave someone in charge of the boys in their place who is acceptable to the *paidonomoi*. And so that each of them may be paid his due regularly, the treasurers shall give the salary stipulated / to the gymnastic trainers and the schoolteachers on the first of every month; if any (of the treasurers) does not give it, he shall be fined 500 staters which shall be consecrated to Hermes and the Muses, and the gymnastic trainers and schoolteachers may exact their salary from them in accordance with the law on *agoranomoi*.<sup>15</sup> The money set aside for this purpose in the / assessment may not be transferred to any other purpose in any way; should anyone mention, propose or put to the vote (such a motion), or transfer (the money) or set aside less than is proposed, he shall be fined 500 staters which shall be consecrated to Hermes and the Muses. 60 65

(§5) Once the salaries have been paid the *paidonomoi* shall take the balance of the money set aside for these purposes, and shall send / to Apollo of Didyma as fine a bull as possible at the *Didymaea* every five years<sup>16</sup> and in the other years at the *Boegia*; they shall take part in the procession themselves together with the boys they have chosen, the supervisors of the boys who have been elected, Eudemus so long as he lives, and after this the eldest of Eudemus’ descendants; / the *paidonomoi* shall sacrifice the victim they have sent and shall share it out among all the boys and the others who are required to take part in the procession.<sup>17</sup> 70 75

(§6) The boys shall be released from their studies on the fifth of every month, and the *paidonomoi* shall inscribe this day too together with the others as one of the school holidays, as / is prescribed in the law on *paidonomoi*. 80

(§7) So that the favourable disposition of the people and the love of glory displayed by Eudemus in this matter may be manifest to all, the *teichopoioi*<sup>18</sup> together with the director of works shall see to it that this decree is inscribed on [two stone] stelae, and one is placed in the wrestling school of the boys, in the [place] which seems to them suitable, / and the other in the sanctuary of [Apollo] Delphinus<sup>19</sup> in the arcade dedicated by [Eudemus] son of Thallion; the people shall deliberate at the [appropriate] time on how Eudemus [is to 85

be honoured worthily] for the zeal he has shown in this. The people resolved to inscribe [the decree] on a whitewashed board.<sup>20</sup>

*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 577; Pleket I (1964), no. 34

1. Cf. **115** n. 6.
2. Cf. **137** B ll. 26–9, **139**.
3. For other foundations cf. **135**, **139**, **242**.
4. This public bank, attested by several inscriptions, seems to have had as its chief function the investment of funds from foundations such as that of Eudemus; cf. Bogaert (1968), 256–62.
5. i.e. paid into the treasury of Hermes and the Muses, patrons of education (cf. also on Hermes **137** n. 5).
6. *Paidotribai*, cf. **137** n. 11.
7. Literally ‘teachers of letters’ (*grammatodidaskaloi*).
8. Supervisors of education; cf. **139**, **250** (end).
9. Built by Antiochus I (cf. **51**).
10. Who presides over contests.
11. Leader of the Muses.
12. The salaries mentioned here and in **139** are relatively low.
13. Cf. **137** n. 1.
14. The ‘sacred’ competitions in which the prize was a crown, as opposed to the far more numerous, but less prestigious, competitions in which money prizes were given (cf. Jones (1940), 231f.); cf. **50** l. 72, **189**.
15. Cf. **137** n. 1; on *agoranomoi* cf. **125** n. 3.
16. Inclusively reckoned = every four years.
17. Participation by boys and ephebes in religious and other processions celebrated by the cities was common; cf. **242** ll. 55–60, **250** (end), **252** l. 36, **266** col. III. On royal processions cf. **213**.
18. Officials who looked after the city walls.
19. The present text.
20. For temporary display in addition to permanent exhibition on an inscription.

## 139 Foundation of a school at Teos (second century)

### *Fragment A*

(§1) [. . . and after the] selection [of the] gymnasiarch a *paidonomos*<sup>1</sup> is to be appointed not below [the age] of 40.

5 (§2) And so that all the free children<sup>2</sup> might be educated just as Polythrus son of Onesimus in his foresight promised / to the people, wishing to establish a most fair memorial of his own love of glory, he made a gift for this purpose of 34,000 drachmas.

(§3) Every year at the elections, after the selection of the scribes, three schoolmasters<sup>3</sup> are to be appointed, who will teach the boys and the girls;<sup>4</sup> /  
10 the person appointed to the first class (literally ‘task’) shall be given 600 drs.



a year,<sup>5</sup> the person (appointed) to the second (class) 550 drs., and the person (appointed) to the third (class) 500 drs. Two physical trainers<sup>6</sup> are also to be appointed, and the annual salary of each is to be 500 drs. A lute-player, one who plucks the strings or who uses a plectrum, is also to be appointed, / and the annual salary of the person elected is to be 700 drs. He shall teach music and playing the lute by plucking the strings or using a plectrum to the children whom it is appropriate to select for the higher class and those who are a year younger than them, and (he shall teach) music to the ephebes. The *paidonomos* shall decide about the age of these children. / Should we add an intercalary month (sc. to the calendar)<sup>7</sup> a supplement of the salary shall be paid for the month. The *paidonomos* and the gymnasiarch shall also hire a drill-sergeant and a teacher of archery and javelin-throwing, subject to ratification by the people; they shall teach the ephebes and the children who have been registered to learn music. / The teacher of archery and javelin-throwing shall be given a salary of 250 drs., and the drill-sergeant 300 drs. The drill-sergeant shall teach for not less than two months. The *paidonomos* and the gymnasiarch shall see to it that the children and the ephebes practice their studies carefully, as each of them / is instructed to do according to the laws. If the schoolmasters disagree with each other about the number of children, the *paidonomos* shall decide, and they shall obey his instructions. The reviews<sup>8</sup> which are to take place shall be held in the gymnasium by the schoolmasters and by the music teachers in the council chamber . . .

*Fragment B*

(§4) . . . if they do not pay the fine, they [may be compelled to do so]. Concerning the drill-sergeant and the teacher of archery and javelin-throwing the procedure shall be as written above. If the treasurers in office or those in charge at any time / do not hand over the money as is prescribed, or another magistrate or private citizen submits a motion, or acts, or proposes, or puts to the vote, or submits a law in contravention of this, or cancels this law in any way or under any pretext, (suggesting) that the money must be diverted or not spent for the purpose specified by the law, or allocated to [any] other ends than those laid down in this law,<sup>9</sup> the action / shall be invalid and the subsequent treasurers shall earmark for this account in accordance with this law the equivalent sum of money [from the] revenues of the [city], and shall carry out all the other provisions in accordance with this law. [Anyone who] proposes or [does] anything in violation of this law or does not carry out any of the instructions (laid down) in this law shall be accursed, himself and his family, and shall be held guilty of sacrilege, and every step shall be taken / against him which is prescribed in the laws concerning sacrilege. Anyone who does anything in contravention of this law concerning this money or

does not carry out the instructions shall owe to the city (a fine of) 10,000 drs. Anyone who wishes may go to law against him whether in a private or a public suit, after the submission of the monthly accounts and at any time he wishes; no one may reject any of these suits on the grounds that it does  
55 not meet the official time limit / or in any other way. The person convicted shall be fined double the amount, half of which shall belong to the city and be consecrated to Hermes, Heracles and the Muses,<sup>10</sup> and be earmarked to the above-mentioned account, and half to the successful prosecutor. The *euthynoi* (public examiners) shall carry out the collection of fines (arising) from these  
60 suits, as with the other public suits. /

(§5) The *timouchoi*<sup>11</sup> who are in office shall proclaim in addition to the curse, that anyone who diverts in any way or under any pretext the money given by Polythrus son of Onesimus for the education of the free children, or who allocates it to any other purpose than the one prescribed by the law, or does not carry out the instructions of the law, shall be accursed, himself and  
65 his family. /

(§6) If the [treasurers] do not lend the money (at interest) as is prescribed or do not pay the (money due) to those in charge of the (children's) studies [in accordance with this] law, each of them shall owe to the [city] 2,000 [drs.], and [anyone who] wishes may take him to court . . . [the person convicted] shall be fined twice the amount, and [half . . .] (the rest of the inscription is lost)

*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 578; BD 77

1. Cf. **138** n. 8.
2. Cf. **138** n. 2.
3. Cf. **138** n. 7.
4. The Milesian foundation (**138**) does not explicitly include girls as well as boys; the education of girls was relatively neglected, though less so than in the classical period, cf. S. B. Pomeroy, *American Journal of Ancient History* 2 (1977), 51–68.
5. Cf. **138** n. 12.
6. Cf. **137** n. 11.
7. Greek calendars were based on the lunisolar year and so required periodic adjustment by means of intercalary months (Bickerman (1980), 27–33). Cf. **230** §2.
8. Cf. **137** B l. 24.
9. Cf. the provisions in **135**, **138**, **242**.
10. Cf. **137** n. 5, **138** n. 5.
11. A title of public officials who at Teos pronounced public curses on behalf of the city (ML 30: fifth century).

## 140 Victory at the Nemean Games of a Sidonian prince (c.200)

Inscriptions recording victories of athletes in the innumerable competitions celebrated throughout the Greek world (cf. **141**) are legion; the following text

(from Sidon) is unusual in that it records the victory in a Greek competition of a Phoenician from Sidon, and thus illustrates indirectly the outward hellenisation of the Phoenician cities in the Hellenistic age; cf. also **256** n. 1 and F. Millar, *PCPS* 29 (1983), 55–71. On Palestine cf. **193**, **216–17**, **280**.

(1) The city of the Sidonians (honours) Diotimus son of Dionysius,<sup>1</sup> judge,<sup>2</sup> who won the chariot race at the Nemean Games.

(2) Timocharis of Eleuthernae<sup>3</sup> made (the statue).

(3) When [in the vale] of Argos all the [competitors] drove from their seats [their swift horses] for the competition, [the people] of Phoronis<sup>4</sup> [bestowed on] you, Diotimus, a fine distinction, and you received the ever-memorable [crown]. For you were the first<sup>5</sup> of our citizens to bring back from Greece<sup>6</sup> the glory of a victory in the chariot race to the house of the noble sons of Agenor.<sup>7</sup> The sacred city of Cadmean Thebes<sup>8</sup> also exults when she sees her mother city made famous by victories. As for your father Dionysius, [his prayer] about the competition was fulfilled when Hellas raised this clear [cry]: ‘Not only do you excel in your ships,<sup>9</sup> [Sidon], but also in your yoked [chariots which bring] victory.’

Moretti (1953), no. 41; cf. E. Bickerman in *Mélanges R. Dussaud I* (Paris, 1939), 91–9; Burstein 34

1. Both names are Greek.
2. ‘Judge’ = the Phoenician office of ‘sufet’; Sidon retained her native institutions.
3. In Crete, a sculptor known from inscriptions to have been active in Rhodes and elsewhere in the late third century.
4. Argos.
5. A frequent theme in agonistic inscriptions.
6. The panhellenic competitions were open to Greeks only; admittance to them was therefore a mark of acceptance by the Greek world.
7. The first ruler of Sidon according to Greek mythology.
8. In Greek mythology Thebes was founded by Cadmus son of Agenor. Diotimus is anxious to integrate his native city into the framework of Greek legends (cf. in a wider context E. J. Bickerman, *CP* 47 (1952), 65–81).
9. Sidon had long been a powerful maritime state (cf. **256** n. 1).

## 141 Victories of a tragic actor (Tegea, between 276 and 219)

The following is a series of dedications made by a tragic actor at his native city of Tegea, in commemoration of victories won at various competitions in the Greek world: one example among many of the mobility of the Greeks in the Hellenistic world, extensively documented in the available evidence (cf. e.g. **186**, **190**), and contrasting with the apparent lack of mobility of the majority of the native populations of Asia and Egypt, though this may partly reflect the

preponderance of evidence of Greek origin (compare **140**, **151**). See Rostovtzeff II (1941), 1032–48, 1086–9, 1112f.; J. K. Davies in *CAH* VII.1<sup>1</sup> (1984), 264–9.

- (1) At [the] Great Dionysia [at] Athens, in the *Orestes* of Euripides.<sup>1</sup>
- (2) At the *Soteria* [at] Delphi,<sup>2</sup> in the *Heracles* of Euripides and the *Antaeus* of Archestratus.
- (3) At the *Ptolemaieia* at Alexandria,<sup>3</sup> in boxing in the men's category.
- (4) At the *Heraea* (at Argos), in the *Heracles* of Euripides and the *Archelaus* of Euripides.
- (5) At the *Naia* at Dodona, in the *Archelaus* of Euripides and the *Achilles* of Chaeremon.
- (6) And 88 prizes in the dramatic contests at the Dionysia in the cities<sup>4</sup> and in any other festivals celebrated by the cities.

*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 1080; *IG* V.2.118

1. Extant, as also the *Heracles*; the other plays mentioned are lost.
2. Cf. **60**.
3. Cf. **256** and n. 4.
4. i.e. Greek cities.

## 142 Lamia (in Aetolia) honours a poetess from Smyrna (218/17)

Poets were one more category among the many travelling professionals of the period (**141**); their services were welcomed by rulers and states. Compare e.g. Theocritus at the court of Ptolemy II (**255**), or Simonides of Magnesia who wrote a poem in praise of Antiochus I (?) and his war against the Galatians (Burstein 18; cf. **168**). Aristodama of Smyrna, honoured by the Aetolians in this decree, was unusual in that she was a woman – though she travelled accompanied by her brother. Cf. Rostovtzeff II (1941), 1086 with III, 1596 (n. 41); Walbank (1981), 73, and on the apparently freer status of women in this period cf. Shipley (2000), 102–6.

- When Agetas of Kallipolis<sup>1</sup> was general (*strategos*) of the Aetolians. With good fortune. Resolved by [the city] of Lamia. Since Aristodama, daughter of Amyntas, of Smyrna, an epic poetess from [Ionia], came to the city and gave
- 5 several [readings] / of her own poems, in which she made worthy mention of the Aetolian people [and] of the ancestors of the nation,<sup>2</sup> delivering her performance with all zeal, that she should be made [*proxenos*] and benefactor (*euergetes*) of the city and that she should be granted citizenship, the right to acquire land and [property], the right of grazing (*epinomia*), immunity (*asylia*)
- 10 and security by land and by [sea] / both in war and in peace, for herself, her children and possessions for [all] time, as well as all the rights which are

granted to other *proxenoi* and benefactors. Let *proxenia*, citizenship and *asylia* be granted also to O . . . her brother<sup>3</sup> and his children. In the archonship of Python, Neon and Antigenes, when Epigenes was general (*strategos*), and Cylus hipparch. Guarantor of the *proxenia* was / Python son of Athenaeus.

15

*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 532; Burstein 64; *SEG* 49.556

1. Agetas is known as *strategos* of the Aetolians in spring 217 (Polybius V.91.1).
2. With a negative reputation in the Greek world (64) and lacking cultural accomplishments of their own the Aetolians would have welcomed this kind of literary praise.
3. He accompanied Aristodama on her tour; there is no mention of a husband.

### 143 Decree of the Dionysiac artists in honour of a benefactor (between 197 and 166)

A development of the period after Alexander was the foundation of associations of travelling actors and artists; the Athenian was the earliest, followed by the Isthmian and Nemean, and in Asia Minor the association of Ionia and the Hellespont, together with other associations in the Hellenistic east. Like the proliferating private clubs and associations characteristic of the Hellenistic age and after (150), the ‘Dionysiac artists’ modelled their organisation on the institutions of the democratic polis: they had magistrates and assemblies which passed resolutions, despatched or received envoys, and dealt with states and rulers as independent sovereign bodies. In Asia (or at least in Ptolemaic Egypt (cf. *OGIS* 51) and in the Pergamene kingdom), the associations were brought under royal control and used by the kings as instruments for the promotion of dynastic cults. See C. B. Welles on *RC* 53, pp. 231–3; Rostovtzeff II (1941), 1048–50, 1085f. and index s.v. ‘Dionysiac *technitai*’, III, p. 1684; Hansen (1971), 460–4.

The association (*koinon*) of the Dionysiac artists (*technitai*) of [Ionia] and the Hellespont, and of those under the patronage of [Dionysus] Cathegemon<sup>1</sup> (crowns) Craton son of Zotichus,<sup>2</sup> their benefactor, for his merits and [the goodwill] which he constantly displays towards the association of the Dionysiac [artists]. /

5

[Resolved] by the association of the Dionysiac artists of Ionia and the [Hellespont and of those under the patronage of] Dionysus [Cathegemon]: since Craton son of Zotichus, the flautist, who was previously [priest of Dionysus and] agonothete,<sup>3</sup> performed his duties [as priest] with honour and glory, [and when judged] worthy of this honour by the assembly of the artists was appointed [a second time priest] of Dionysus and agonothete during the same year, and surpassed [all the] agonothetes [who preceded him] / in his spending, his generosity and his [magnificence, and has conducted himself in a way that

10

is fitting] and worthy of the association, and [has performed] everything that relates to honour and glory [for Dionysus], the Muses, Pythian Apollo and all the other gods [and similarly for the kings], the queens and the brothers of King Eumenes (II),<sup>4</sup> and the [association of the Dionysiac] artists, displaying  
15 his excellence, piety [and emulation on every occasion] / and being always responsible for some benefaction both privately and publicly; so that the immortal glory conferred by the artists<sup>5</sup> [may be made manifest for all] time, whom (sc. the artists) the gods, the kings [and all the] Greeks honour, having granted to all [the] artists freedom from seizure (*asylia*) and security (*asphaleia*) [in war and] peace,<sup>6</sup> in conformity with the oracles of Apollo, in accordance with which [they compete in the contests of] Pythian Apollo, the Muses  
20 of Helicon, and [Dionysus, (being) at Delphi the] / *Pythia* and *Soteria*, at Thespieae the *Mouseia*, at Thebes the [*Agriana*,<sup>7</sup> as they are reputed to be] the most pious of all the Greeks; with good fortune; resolution: so that [the company may be seen to be honouring] its benefactors in a way worthy of their benefactions, to crown [Craton son of Zotichus, the flautist,] their benefactor, every year for all time in the theatre, on the day when the [assembly of the association is] celebrated, after the crowning of the cities,<sup>8</sup> with a crown in  
25 accordance with the law [for his merits and the goodwill] / which he constantly displays towards the association of the Dionysiac artists; the agonothete who is in office on each occasion shall be responsible [for the proclamation of the crown]; three [statues of him are to be dedicated], one at Teos<sup>9</sup> in the theatre, so that the [agonothetes] every year, [during the] assembly [of the association] and when the city of Teos celebrates the Dionysia or any other [contest may crown the statue] of Craton with the crown specified by the law, with which  
30 the [artists] traditionally [crown their] / benefactors; the second at Delos, so that it [may be] crowned there too [by the association of the Dionysiac] artists; the third wherever Craton dedicates it, so that [he may have] for all [time a memorial of his] piety [towards] the gods and of [his emulation] towards the kings and queens [and towards the brothers of King Eumenes (II) and the association of the Dionysiac artists, [and also] of the gratitude of the company, seeing that [it honoured Craton] its benefactor and repaid / thanks worthy of his benefactions; [the honours that have been granted shall be] inscribed on a stone stele and placed next to the statues [of] Craton; two [envoys are to be sent] to the people of Teos to ask for a place [in the theatre for setting up] the statue of Craton, and others to the people of Delos [who on arriving at Delos will] approach the people and the council and request [the Delians, who are  
35 our friends and kinsmen] / to grant to the association of the artists the place for [setting up the statue of Craton].<sup>10</sup>

G. Daux, *BCH* 59 (1935), 210–30 (Dürnbach (1921), 75)

1. Created by the Attalids for their cult of Dionysus Cathegemon (cf. 247, 250 ll. 45f.), then amalgamated with the association of Ionia and the Hellespont which the Attalids brought under their control; cf. Allen (1983), 148–50.
2. From Calchedon, known from several inscriptions to have been also priest of the cult of Eumenes II and founder of an association of *Attalistai* dedicated to the cult of Attalus I or II (*OGIS* 325, 326).
3. Organiser of the competitions celebrated by the association.
4. The references are to the Attalid family, the kings = Attalus I and Eumenes II, the queens = Apollonis and Stratonice (cf. 240); on the brothers of Eumenes II cf. 224.
5. The reference is now to all the Dionysiac artists in general, not just the associations of Asia Minor.
6. Attested for the Athenian association by a decree of Delphi, *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 399.
7. In honour of Dionysus (L. Robert, *BCH* 59 (1935), 193–8).
8. Literally ‘peoples’; this refers to honours voted by the association for Greek cities.
9. The headquarters of the association of Ionia and the Hellespont till the mid second century (cf. 191); the association was distinct from the city of Teos, as may be seen from the present text. See Sherk (1969), no. 49 and (1984), no. 62.
10. This text originates from Delos.

## 144 Decree of Cnossus in honour of a doctor from Cos (221–219)

The *kosmoi* and the city of Cnossus to the council and people of Cos, greetings. Since, when the people of Gortyn sent an embassy to you concerning a doctor,<sup>1</sup> and you responded with zealous eagerness by sending to them Hermias the doctor, and when there was a revolution / at Gortyn<sup>2</sup> and we came  
5 in accordance with our alliance to the battle [which took place at Gortyn] in the [city] and it happened that some of the citizens [and] of the others of our own number who had come to [the] battle were wounded and that many [fell] seriously ill from [their] / wounds, Hermias being a good man  
10 showed then all his zeal on our behalf and saved them [from] great dangers, and otherwise he constantly gives assistance without stint to those who call upon [him], / and on another occasion when a battle took place near Phaestus  
15 [many] were wounded and similarly many were in danger because of their ailments, he displayed all his [zeal] in looking after them and [saved them] from great dangers, and [otherwise he shows / himself helpful to those who  
20 call upon him . . . ]<sup>3</sup>

*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 528; *ICret.* I, p. 62 no. 7

1. Cos had a famous school of doctors, and Coan doctors were in great demand in the Greek world; requests for their services were addressed to the state of Cos (cf. Sherwin-White (1978), 256–89; L. Robert, *RPh* 52 (1978), 242–52; Craik (1980), 107–31). Hermias worked in Gortyn as a public doctor (145); his activity there is mentioned in

a decree from Gortyn which refers to the same events (*ICret.* IV, pp. 230–2 no. 168; see further Sherwin-White, *op. cit.*, 267f.). Both inscriptions emanate from Cos, which advertised in this way the services of its doctors.

2. For the context of these events cf. **109**.

3. The decree of Gortyn (n. 1) shows that Hermias asked for leave to return home after five years of absence.

## 145 Decree of Samos in honour of a public doctor (201–197)

Doctors in the Greek world were in great demand for their skills but in short supply. To palliate the deficiency many Greek cities kept doctors in public service; they were paid a retainer, but their services were not free (unless they waived their fees). The institution therefore fell significantly short of a state ‘health service’ and modern analogies are not applicable. For other examples in the Greek world cf. **29** §7, **117**, **144**. See Rostovtzeff II (1941), 1088–94 and III, 1597–1600; Cohn-Haft (1956), cf. *Bull.* 1958, 85; Hands (1968), 131–9; N. Massar, *Revue Belge de Philologie et d’Histoire* 79 (2001), 175–201. On royal doctors cf. **165**. On Hellenistic medicine cf. R. Flemming in Erskine (2003), 449–63.

[Resolved by the council and the people, proposal of the presiding magistrates (*prytaneis*); concerning the] motion put [by . . . that Diodorus<sup>1</sup> son of Dioscurides] who has been a doctor in public service [among us for many years?], and has provided his services irreproachably in accordance with his  
5 skill, / and during the restoration of the city<sup>2</sup> and the siege of the high points, when many were wounded, provided his services, should be praised and honoured, as resolved by the council and the people. The council also  
10 passed a motion to introduce these matters / before the assembly held for the elections: since Diodorus son of Dioscurides, who took over among us the task of public doctor, has first for many years in the previous period through his own skill and care looked after and cured many of the citizens  
15 and of the others in the city who had fallen seriously ill / and was responsible for their safety, as has frequently been vouched for by many among the people at the time when contracts are issued,<sup>3</sup> and when the earthquakes took place and among us many suffered painful wounds of every  
20 sort / because of the unexpectedness of the disaster and were in need of urgent attention, he distributed his services equally to all and assisted them, and when the judges who had been invited<sup>4</sup> came to our city and some of  
25 them were taken ill, and the people instructed him / to take care of them, in their case too he showed himself fair and blameless, and when the city was restored to the empire<sup>5</sup> of King Ptolemy (V), and many were wounded



during the siege of the high points and during the daily encounters, he considered no hardship / or expense to be of greater importance than the safety of all, and as for those who were [constantly] in need of [help], from his own means . . .

C. Habicht, *AM* 72 (1957), 233–41 at pp. 233f.

1. A Samian, also attested as a contributor to the Samian corn fund (135): the medical profession could be lucrative.
2. To the Ptolemaic empire, cf. below.
3. The auctioning of contracts by the state was a public occasion.
4. Judges invited from another city to settle disputes, cf. 155.
5. *Pragmata*, cf. 162 n. 3; taken over by Philip V and garrisoned by him in 201, Samos was restored to Ptolemaic rule (cf. 256 n. 3) some time between 201 and 197 (cf. Walbank II (1967), 505f.).

## 146 The miraculous cures at Epidaurus (late fourth century)

‘In former times there stood many stelae within the precinct (of Asclepius at Epidaurus) [. . .] The names of men and women who have been cured by Asclepius are written on them, and also what disease each of them suffered from, and how it was cured’ (Pausanias II.27.3). The following are some of the texts seen by Pausanias at Epidaurus; similar miraculous cures are attested at other sanctuaries of Asclepius in the Greek world (e.g. at Cos). Contrast 144–5: in Greek medicine rational human skill and supernatural divine agency coexisted side by side. See Edelstein (1945), with full collection and translation of sources; Guthrie (1950), 242–53; Cohn-Haft (1956), 26–31; Shipley (2000), 164f.; Rhodes and Osborne (2003), cited below.

God. Good fortune.

Cures of Apollo<sup>1</sup> and Asclepius.

(S1) [Cleo] was pregnant for five years. After already five years of pregnancy she came as a suppliant to the [god] and went to sleep<sup>2</sup> in the innermost sanctuary. As soon as / she came out of it and was outside the sanctuary,<sup>3</sup> she gave birth to a boy, who as soon as he was born washed himself from the fountain and walked about with his mother. After being granted this favour she wrote the following inscription on her dedication: ‘It is not the greatness of the tablet that deserves admiration, but the divinity, as Cleo was pregnant with child in her womb for five years, until she went to sleep (sc. in the sanctuary), and the divinity restored her to health.’<sup>4</sup>

(S2) A three-year / [pregnancy]. Isthmonice of Pellene came to the sanctuary for offspring, and having gone to sleep saw a vision:<sup>5</sup> she thought she was

asking the god that she should give birth to a [daughter], and Asclepius said she would be pregnant and he would fulfil any other request she made, but she said she did not demand anything else. She became pregnant and was  
15 with child in her womb for three years, until she approached / the god as a suppliant about the birth. She went to sleep and saw a vision: she thought that the god was asking her whether she had not been granted everything she asked for and was pregnant. She did nothing about the birth, even though the  
20 god asked her whether she required anything else and said that he would do that as well; since she had now come to him as a suppliant about this / he said he would also grant this to her. After this she came out of the innermost sanctuary hurriedly to be outside the temple, and gave birth to a daughter.

(§3) A man with the fingers of his hand paralysed except for one came as a suppliant to the god, and when he saw the tablets in the sanctuary he would  
25 not believe the cures and was rather contemptuous of the inscriptions,<sup>6</sup> / but when he went to sleep he saw a vision: he thought that as he was playing dice below the sanctuary and was about to throw the dice, the god appeared, sprang on his hand and stretched out his fingers, and when the god moved away, the man thought he bent his hand and stretched out the fingers one by  
30 one, and when he had straightened them all out, the god asked him / whether he still did not believe the inscriptions on the tablets in the sanctuary, and the man said he did. The god said: ‘Since previously you would not believe them, although they are not incredible, in future let [your name] be “Incredulous”’. When day came he went away cured.

(§4) Ambrosia from Athens, [blind in one eye]. She came as a suppliant to  
35 the god, and as she walked about / the sanctuary she ridiculed some of the cures as [being] incredible and impossible, that persons who were lame and blind should be restored to health [merely] by seeing a dream. But when she went to sleep she saw a vision: she thought the god was standing next to her [and saying] that he would restore her to health, but she must [dedicate in] the sanctuary as a reward a silver pig, as a memorial of her stupidity.<sup>7</sup> Having  
40 said / [this] he split open the diseased eye and [poured in a medicine]. When day came she went away cured. [. . .]

*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 1168, ll. 1–41; *IG IV*<sup>2</sup>.1.121; Rhodes and Osborne (2003), no. 102

1. Mentioned as father of Asclepius and possessor of the sanctuary, though the particular cures are not in fact credited to him.
2. The normal practice of ‘incubation’ in the sanctuary.
3. ‘No death or birth may take place within the precinct’ (Pausanias II.27.1).
4. The inscription was probably the source of the account.

5. Cf. Serapis, **151, 300, 301**, also **276**.
6. A recurring theme: the god confounds his detractors.
7. Cf. n. 4.

## 147 The Delphic manumission records

The practice of manumitting slaves through a fictitious 'sale' to a god or goddess is widely attested in the Greek world through numerous inscriptions; the institution was even imported by the Greeks to the Near East (cf. *SEG* 7.15–26 recording manumissions at Susa through 'consecration' to the oriental goddess Nanaia). The largest single group of texts originates from Delphi, and comprises some 1,000 preserved texts recording over 1,200 manumissions; they span the last two centuries BC and the first century AD, with the majority of texts dating from the second century BC. The inscriptions provide much evidence, e.g. on prices and origins of slaves, and on the institution of 'conditional release' (*paramone*) whereby some slaves only gained their full freedom after the death of their owner. Manumission, whether in its full or its conditional form, offered an incentive to good behaviour for slaves, and for slave owners a means of replacing older slaves with new ones. 'Manumission reinforced slavery as an institution'; 'manumission and the slave market grew hand in hand' (Hopkins and Roscoe, *op. cit.* below, 148, 170). See Westermann (1955), 31–7; Hopkins and Roscoe (1978), 133–71; J. K. Davies in *CAH* VII.1<sup>2</sup> (1984), 262; Garland (1988), 51f., 73–84.

### (a) *Unconditional manumission*

In the archonship of Tharres, in the month of Panagyrius, as reckoned by the people of Amphissa, and in the archonship of Damostratus at Delphi, in the month of Poitropius (144 BC), Telon and Cleto, with the approval of their son Straton, sold to Pythian Apollo a male slave<sup>1</sup> / whose name is Sosos, of Cappadocian origin, for the price of 3 minas of silver.<sup>2</sup> Accordingly Sosos entrusted the sale to the god, on condition of his being free and not to be claimed as a slave by anyone for all time. Guarantor in accordance with the law and the contract: Philoxenus son of Dorotheus of Amphissa. The previous / sale of Sosos to Apollo which took place in the archonship of Thrasycles at Delphi, and the provisions of the sale, namely that Sosos should remain with Telon and Cleto for as long as they live,<sup>3</sup> shall be null and void. Witnesses: the priests of Apollo, Praxias and Andronicus, and the archon Pyrrhias / son of Archelaus, and the Amphissians Charixenus son of Ecephylus, Polycritus, Aristodamus son of Callicles, Euthydamus son of Polycritus, Dorotheus son of Timesius, Demetrius son of Monimus. The contract is kept by the priest

Praxias and Andronicus, and the Amphissians Polycritus and [Charixenus] /  
20 son of Ecephylus.

SGDI II.2143

(b) *Conditional manumission*

When Panaetolus and Phytæus were generals of the Aetolians, in the month  
of Homoloius, and in the archonship of Xeneas at Delphi and the month  
Bysius (167 BC), Critodamus son of Damocles, of Physce, sold to Pythian  
5 Apollo / a male slave whose name is Maiphatas, of Galatian origin, and a  
female (slave) whose name is Ammia, of Illyrian origin, for the price of seven  
minas of silver.<sup>4</sup> Maiphatas and Ammia shall remain with Critodamus for as  
10 long as Critodamus lives, doing for Critodamus what they are told to; / if they  
do not remain and do what they are told to, the sale shall be null and void.  
When Critodamus dies, Maiphatas and Ammia shall be free and the sale shall  
15 remain with the god / on condition that they are free and not to be claimed  
as slaves by anyone for their whole life, doing whatever they wish and going  
wherever they wish. Guarantors in accordance with the law and the contract:  
Philon son of Aristéas, Astoxenus son of Dionysius. Witnesses: the priests /  
20 Amyntas and Tarantinus; private citizens: Dextrates, Sotimus, Callimachus,  
Euangelus, . . . chæus, of Delphi, Lyciscus and Menedamus, of Physce.

SGDI II.1854

1. Here and elsewhere literally 'body'.
2. = 300 drs. The prices paid by slaves for their freedom appear to correspond to the purchase price of slaves; it is not known how slaves were able to raise the money for their manumission, nor what proportion of the servile population did this.
3. Sosos had first been conditionally manumitted (cf. next text). Unconditional manumissions predominate in the second century but decrease in the first, with a corresponding increase in conditional manumissions, the terms of which become more stringent. Similarly the price paid by slaves for full freedom increases, while the price of conditional release remains more stable. This indicates that the supply of slaves at and near Delphi in this period was not keeping pace with demand. See Hopkins and Roscoe, *op. cit.*
4. = 700 drs. for the two slaves.

## 148 A calendar of sacrifices (Myconos, c.200)

Laws regulating cults are common in the Greek cities (cf. also 149), and help to cast doubt on the assumption that civic religion in the post-Alexander world was in 'decline' as a result of the assumed 'decline' of the Greek city itself (cf. index s.v. 'cults'). See J. K. Davies in *CAH* VII.1<sup>2</sup> (1984), 314–16; Shipley (2000), 170f., 175f.

Gods. With good fortune. In the archonship of Cratinus, Polyzelus (and) Philophron, when the cities united together,<sup>1</sup> the people of Myconos resolved to offer the following sacrifices in addition to those previously (existing) and the following changes were made concerning the previously existing sacrifices: /

On the fifth of (the month of) Poseidon, to Poseidon Temenites<sup>2</sup> a white ram of the finest quality, uncastrated; the ram is not brought into the city;<sup>3</sup> the chine and the shoulder blades are cut off; the shoulder blades are dedicated as offerings (to the god); the priest gets the tongue and a shoulder.<sup>4</sup> On the same day, to Poseidon Phykios, a white uncastrated lamb; women may not participate (in the ceremony); and / from the tax on fishing<sup>5</sup> the council shall purchase sheep for twenty drachmas and provide them.<sup>6</sup> On the same day, to Demeter Chloe, two sows of the finest quality, one of them pregnant; the chine of the pregnant one is cut off. The [council shall select] the sows; the magistrates shall give to the [sacrificer] the loin and a thigh bone of the other sow, two *choinikes* of barley groats / and three *kotylai* of wine.

On the tenth of (the month of) Lenaion, for the crops, to the accompaniment of a hymn, to Demeter, a pregnant sow who is bearing her first litter, to Core (the Maiden), a full-grown boar, to Zeus Bouleus,<sup>7</sup> a pig; the religious officials (*hieropoioi*) shall provide these from the sacred funds, and they shall provide wood and barley groats. The magistrates and the priests shall make sure that the victims are of good quality; / if there is need to sacrifice anything to obtain good omens, the *hieropoioi* shall provide it; any woman of Myconos who wishes may come to the festival and so too all the women living in Myconos who have been initiated into (the Mysteries of) Demeter.

On the eleventh (sc. of Lenaion) on the . . . to Semele, a sheep every year; a ninth part of it is burnt.<sup>8</sup> On the twelfth (of Lenaion), to Dionysus Leneus, a sheep every year; for the / crops, to Zeus Chthonios and Ge Chthonia, black flayed sheep<sup>9</sup> every year; foreigners may not participate (in the ceremony); they shall have the feast on the spot.<sup>10</sup>

On the tenth of (the month of) Bacchion, at Deiras, to Dionysus Baccheus, a he-goat of the finest quality; the *hieropoioi* shall provide the cost and take part in the feast; they shall have the feast on the spot.

On the seventh of (the month of) Hekatombaion, / to Apollo Hekatombios, a bull and ten lambs; the chine of the bull is cut off, the priest is given the tongue of the bull and a shoulder; of the lambs sacrificed by the children a tongue (is given) to the priest and a tongue (is given) to each of the (two) children; of the lambs sacrificed by the bridegrooms a tongue (is given) to the priest and to each of the (two) bridegrooms.

35 On the / same day, to Acheloius, a fully grown sheep and ten lambs; [three] of these, the fully grown and two others, [are slaughtered] at the altar, [and] the others in the river. The person working [the plot of land] at Sa . . . (which is consecrated to) Acheloius shall pay the rent [for it to Acheloius . . . and] shall consecrate this [in the treasury].

On the fifteenth, to Archegetes, a sheep every year . . . [. . .]

*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 1024; Sokolowski (1969), no. 96

1. Myconos was originally divided between two separate cities; their union (cf. 154) provided the occasion for the revision of the calendar of sacrifices.
2. Who has a *temenos* (a sacred enclosure), but no temple.
3. To be led back in procession to the shrine outside the city.
4. It was regular practice for priests to receive a share of the sacrificial animals; cf. 149.
5. Cf. 122 l. 27.
6. Only the lamb is sacrificed to the god; the sheep are used for a collective feast following the sacrifice (cf. 150).
7. Zeus as lord of the underworld.
8. The rest is eaten by the participants in the sacrifice.
9. Curiously the number of animals is not specified.
10. Cf. 252 n. 22.

## 149 Law of Priene on the priesthood of Dionysus (second century)

By the classical period it had become common for Greek cities to treat priest-hoods as normal magistracies, to be filled by election or lot, though certain cults (such as the Eleusinian Mysteries near Athens) remained the preserve of ancient families. Priesthoods conferred both status and material advantages on their holders. The practice of the sale of priesthoods seems to have been largely confined to Asia Minor and the neighbouring islands and never spread to main-land Greece. This in itself makes it difficult to explain it purely as a fiscal device to raise money. For priesthoods of the dynastic cults of rulers cf. 200, 204, 207, 247, 271 n. 3; for native Egyptian priesthoods cf. 271, 276, 283, 290, 308; index s.v. 'priests'. See Jones (1940), 227–9; Craik (1980), 193–208. On the frequently ill-defined relationship between cities and their cults, the 'public' as opposed to the 'sacred' sphere, cf. Dignas (2002), 1–12, 106–9.

Rules for (the priesthood of) Dionysus Phleos. With good fortune. We are selling the priesthood of Dionysus Phleos on the following conditions:

- 5 (§1) The purchaser (of the priesthood) shall be priest for life, and he shall also be priest / of Dionysus Catagogius.<sup>1</sup> He shall be free of obligations on his person.<sup>2</sup> He shall also be granted free meals every day in the *prytaneum* (town

hall) and in the Panionion.<sup>3</sup> He shall receive from the animals sacrificed by the city a leg, the tongue and the hide as shares from the altar.<sup>4</sup> / 10

(§2) He shall provide burnt-offerings, barleycorns, frankincense, and flat cakes, for an ox of a *tetarteus*, for a sheep of a half-*hekteus*, and for a sucking pig of two *choinikes*. He shall also have the right to a seat of honour in the theatre and may wear any dress he wishes and / a golden ivy 15 crown.

(§3) He shall also perform the sacrifices in the theatre for Dionysus Melpomenus, and shall place frankincense (on the altar) and shall begin the libation, and shall offer the prayers on behalf of the city of Priene. He may wear any dress he wishes / and a golden crown during the months of 20 Lenaion and Anthesterion, and at the *Katagogia* he shall lead those who are escorting Dionysus back,<sup>5</sup> and may wear any dress he wishes and a golden crown.

(§4) If the priesthood fetches more than 6,000 drs.<sup>6</sup> / its purchaser shall 25 be exempt from the liturgies of lampadarch,<sup>7</sup> agonothete, *hippotrophos*,<sup>8</sup> the *architheoria*<sup>9</sup> and the gymnasiarchy.<sup>10</sup> If he purchases it for more than 12,000 drs., he shall be exempt from the trierarchy,<sup>11</sup> the *oikonomia*,<sup>12</sup> the *neopoiia*<sup>13</sup> / and the advance of money (to the state).<sup>14</sup> 30

(§5) The purchaser shall pay to the *neopoiios* immediately one tenth (of the price), and of the rest of the price (he shall pay) half during the month of Metageitnion in the same year, and half during the month of Anthesterion when Cleomenes is crown-bearer (*stephanephoros*). / 35

(§6) Athenopolis son of Cydimus bought (the priesthood) for 12,002 drs.<sup>15</sup> and the tenth (is) 1,200 drs. 1 obol and 3 chalci.

*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 1003; Sokolowski (1955), no. 37.

1. Cf. n. 5 below.
2. Including perhaps military service.
3. Cf. 48 n. 1.
4. Cf. 148 n. 4.
5. In procession to his temple, hence the name Dionysus Catagogius.
6. = 1 talent, a large sum.
7. Cf. 137 B ll. 71–83; on liturgies cf. 48 n. 6.
8. This involved the obligation to keep horses.
9. The leadership of a sacred embassy; cf. 55, 132.
10. Cf. 137.
11. This must be an ancient rule, since the harbour of Priene had long been silted up.
12. Precise functions unknown, but clearly a burdensome obligation like the other liturgies involved.
13. The office of commissioner for the maintenance of temples.
14. Cf. 48 (b).
15. Just over 2 talents, an indication of the demand for the priesthood.

## 150 Decree of an Attic cult association (307/6)

The proliferation of private associations and clubs, religious and social in function, was characteristic of the whole of the Greek world after Alexander. The phenomenon is attested almost entirely by epigraphic evidence. The organisation of these associations, which were mostly very small (rarely more than 100 members), was modelled on that of the democratic polis (cf. also 143). See Tod (1932), 71–96; Rostovtzeff III (1941), index p. 1668 s.v. Associations; W. S. Ferguson in *Harvard Theological Review* 37 (1944), 61–140, esp. 80f., 127–30; Tarn and Griffith (1952), 93–5; J. K. Davies in *CAH* VII.1<sup>2</sup> (1984), 318–20.

[Gods]. The *orgeones*<sup>1</sup> leased the sanctuary of Egretes<sup>2</sup> to Diognetus son of  
5 Arcesilas of the deme Melite for ten years, at 200 drachmas every year, / to use  
the sanctuary and the houses which have been built there as a sanctuary.<sup>3</sup>  
Diognetus shall whitewash the walls which require it; he shall build and  
10 construct / anything else whenever he wishes. When the period of ten years  
elapses, he shall go away taking the timber, the tiles and the doorways,<sup>4</sup> but  
15 he shall not remove anything else. He shall also look after / the trees planted  
in the sanctuary, and should any be missing, he shall replace them and hand  
20 over the same number. Diognetus shall pay the rent to whoever is treasurer /  
of the *orgeones* every year, half of it, 100 drs., on the first of Boedromion, and  
the remaining 100 drs. on the first of Elaphebolion. When the *orgeones* are  
25 sacrificing / to the hero (Egretes) in the month of Boedromion, Diognetus  
shall open the house, where the shrine is, and give access to it, and provide a  
30 covered shelter, an oven, couches, and tables for two sets of three / couches.<sup>5</sup>  
If Diognetus does not pay the rent at the prescribed time or fails to carry out  
35 the provisions of the lease, the lease shall be cancelled and he shall forfeit / the  
timber, the tiles and the doorways, and the *orgeones* may lease the sanctuary to  
anyone they wish. Should a property tax be raised, it shall fall on the *orgeones*  
40 in accordance with the assessment.<sup>6</sup> Diognetus shall inscribe / this lease on the  
stele which is in the sanctuary.<sup>7</sup> The lease comes into effect in the archonship  
following that of Coroebus (306/5).

Syll.<sup>3</sup> 1097; *IG* II<sup>2</sup>.2499

1. Members of a religious association, 'sacrificing associates' (W. S. Ferguson).
2. A little-known Attic hero.
3. i.e. use the sanctuary in such a way as not to interfere with its religious function when required. The need of the *orgeones* to lease the sanctuary of Egretes is indicative of the lack of financial resources of such associations, which made them frequently dependent on the generosity of wealthy benefactors.
4. The sanctuary is leased without these, which the tenant supplies himself.



5. All these are required for the banquet of the *orgeones* (up to 30 in all), which follows the sacrifice (cf. 148).
6. The obligation to pay property tax when raised by the state sometimes fell on the tenant.
7. The text was inscribed on a previously used stele which was erased for the purpose.

## 151 The introduction of the cult of Serapis to Delos (c.200)

Greek religion was open-ended and had therefore always admitted the introduction of new cults which crossed political boundaries. In the post-Alexander world one of the most prominent was that of Serapis from Egypt; as the following text shows, the spread of the cult was due to the initiative of individuals and not to royal policy. Cf. further 210, 300–1, 320; Nock (1933), 48–56; Habicht (1997), 255f.; Shipley (2000), 165–70.

Apollonius the priest had (this text) inscribed in accordance with an injunction from the god.<sup>1</sup> For Apollonius, my grandfather, who was an Egyptian from the priestly class,<sup>2</sup> came from Egypt with his god, / and continued to celebrate the cult in accordance with ancestral tradition; he lived, it is thought, to the age of 97.<sup>3</sup> My father Demetrius succeeded him and worshipped the gods in the same way; because of his piety he was honoured by / the god<sup>4</sup> with a bronze statue which is dedicated in the temple of the god. He lived 61 years. When I inherited the sacred objects and devoted myself carefully to his cult, the god told me in my sleep<sup>5</sup> that a Serapeum of his own must / be dedicated to him and that he must not be as before in a rented building; he said he would find a spot himself where he should be set and that he would point it out. And that is what happened. Now this spot was full of dirt,<sup>6</sup> and was advertised for sale / on a little notice (displayed) in the passage to the agora. As the god wanted this the purchase was completed and the sanctuary was rapidly built in six months. And when some men<sup>7</sup> joined against us and the god, and introduced a public suit against the sanctuary / and me,<sup>8</sup> involving a penalty or a fine, the god promised to me in my sleep that we would be victorious. Now that the trial is completed and we have won a victory worthy of the god, we praise the gods and repay them adequate thanks.<sup>9</sup>

This is what Maiistas<sup>10</sup> writes about the sanctuary. [. . .]

*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 663; *IG XI.4.1299*; *SEG 24.1158*; Burstein 102

1. Serapis.
2. Yet the whole family bears Greek names; the inscription is entirely in Greek, and the cult imported by Apollonius to Delos is that of the hellenised Serapis rather than the original Osor-Hapi of Memphis (cf. 320).
3. The introduction of the cult to Delos thus dates from the early third century.

4. The god expressed his approval of the honour through an oracle.
5. Cf. **300–1**.
6. A conventional theme, to contrast with the greatness of the god; in practice this quarter of Delos was not poor (cf. P. Bruneau, *BCH* Suppl. I (1973), 111–36; *Bull.* 1974, 393).
7. Deliberately vague, cf. **38, 259**.
8. Hardly on religious grounds, but through jealousy of Apollonius.
9. A dedication by Apollonius and his followers is extant (*IG* XI.4.1290); this was not in fact the end of their tribulations; cf. *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 664; Sherk (1984) no. 28 and Habicht, *op. cit.* above.
10. An ‘*aretalogos*’, i.e. a professional expounder of the ‘virtues’ (*aretai*) of the god; his poem which follows enlarges in Greek poetic style on the narrative of the inscription. The name Maiistas is unique; he need not have been an Egyptian.

#### 4 RELATIONS BETWEEN CITIES

### 152 Treaty between Hierapytna and Praisos in Crete (early third century)

Sharing of their citizenship by two cities, while not unexampled in earlier Greek history, is more frequently attested in the post-Alexander world where the boundaries of citizenship were becoming more permeable than before. This could take different forms in individual cases (on this text cf. Willetts (1955), 134f.). See index s.v. ‘citizenship’ and Tarn and Griffith (1952), 84f; Walbank (1981), 150–2; Riet van Bremen in Erskine (2003), 313–26.

(*Side A* illegible)

*Side B*

- 5 . . . after settling his own private affairs<sup>1</sup> each in his / home state, (a citizen of  
either state) who belongs to a tribe<sup>2</sup> may thus exercise political rights (in the  
10 other state) with full participation / in all things divine and human, provided  
15 he gives up his citizen rights / in his city of origin;<sup>3</sup> if a citizen of one state  
20 moves to the other state to exercise political rights there, / a vote shall be  
25 taken at a plenary session of the assembly to decide whether / he should [be  
30 granted] citizen [rights] or not; and if three votes are cast in opposition / he  
shall not be a citizen;<sup>4</sup> the right of pasturage (*epinoma*) shall be granted to  
35 40 the / Hierapytnian at Praisos, except for the sacred enclosures / at Ardaniton  
45 and at Daron, and to the Praisian at / Hierapytna; they shall not be harmed  
50 and shall be allowed to return / each to their own land;<sup>5</sup> if the Hierapytnian  
55 wishes to set up a farmstead / in the territory of Praisos, he must have a  
60 Praisian as assessor; similarly / if the Praisian wishes to set up a farmstead

at Hierapytna / he must have a Hierapytnian as assessor;<sup>6</sup> dance choirs and 65  
 race contests / are to be common to both, to the Hierapytnians at Praisos 70  
 / and to the Praisians at Hierapytna. (the rest of the inscription is mutilated) 75

*Staatsv.* III.554; *ICret.* III, pp. 78–81 no. 1; *SEG* 46.1224.

1. Or: ‘disposing of his property’.
2. Formal registration in a tribe was a precondition of citizenship, cf. e.g. **130**, **155**.
3. Or: ‘provided he asks for permission from his city of origin’, but in any case taking up actively the citizenship of another state normally implied forfeiting one’s original citizenship.
4. i.e. this falls short of a full grant of *isopoliteia* (see **64**) whereby the right of taking up another state’s citizenship once granted was not subject to scrutiny in individual cases.
5. Text partly restored.
6. A citizen of one state who wishes to pasture in the other state for a longer period of time will be supervised by a citizen of the other state to prevent disputes arising; disputes over pasturing rights are a recurring feature of Greek history.

### 153 *Homopoliteia* of Cos and Calymnus (between 205 and 201/0?)

The *homopoliteia* of Cos and Calymnus illustrated by the following inscription is similar to the commonly attested *sympoliteia* whereby two cities decided to fuse together politically, but unlike the situation in **154** where two small states merge on a basis of equality, Cos in this text is the larger and dominant partner. The detailed clauses of the *homopoliteia* (the only occurrence of the word so far) are unfortunately lost. See Bagnall (1976), 103–5; Sherwin-White (1978), 124–31; J. Ma in van Wees (2001), 352. On the process as a whole, with reference to Asia Minor, cf. G. Reger in Colvin (2004), 145–80.

Stasilas son of Lycophron moved: two commissioners shall be appointed from each tribe who shall administer the oath to the citizens in the agora in front of the town hall, and also a scribe for each tribe and a man to dictate (the terms of) the oath; one commissioner shall be appointed from each tribe to go to Calymnus / (and administer the oath) with a secretary for them; 5  
 they shall administer the oath where the general sent by the people instructs them; the sellers (*poletai*)<sup>1</sup> shall farm out now the provision for the citizens of two sets of sacrificial victims for the swearing of the oath here and in Calymnus; the sacrificial victims shall consist of a bull, a boar and a ram, all of them uncastrated; / the citizens shall all swear from the young men upwards, 10  
 beginning with the presidents and generals; of the others those who are present (shall swear) before the commissioners appointed here, the rest before the commissioners who are being sent to Calymnus; the commissioners shall

15 administer the following oath:<sup>2</sup> I will abide by / the established democracy,<sup>3</sup>  
the restoration<sup>4</sup> of the *homopoliteia*, the ancestral laws of Cos, the resolutions  
of the assembly and the provisions of the *homopoliteia*; I will also abide by  
20 the friendship and alliance with King Ptolemy<sup>5</sup> and the treaties / ratified by  
the people with the allies; I will never set up under any pretext an oligarchy  
or a tyranny or any other constitution apart from democracy, and if anyone  
else establishes (such a regime) I will not obey, but I will prevent (him) as  
far as possible, and I will not take over under any pretext any of the forts  
25 or the acropolis, whether for my own / possession or in collaboration with  
someone else, and I will not allow the territory of Cos to be diminished,  
but I will increase it to the best of my ability;<sup>6</sup> I will be a just judge and  
a fair-minded citizen, taking part in elections and casting my vote without  
favouritism, according to what seems to me to be in the interest of the people;<sup>7</sup>  
30 all this is true by / Zeus, Hera and Poseidon; if I abide by my oath may all be  
for the best, if I break it may the opposite happen. The [commissioners shall  
swear]<sup>8</sup> at once in the [assembly] over [burning] victims [in accordance with  
the] resolution of the [assembly . . .] (the rest of the inscription is lost)

*Staatsv.* III.545

1. See **60** n. 3.

2. Cf. **40** n. 7; compare especially **108**, **174** ll. 64–78, both concerned with the same question of the loyalty of newly incorporated citizens (cf. Aristotle *Politics* V, 1303a28–b3).

3. Cf. **48** (a) §8, **60**.

4. The original *homopoliteia* probably took place by 205 and was then broken by the campaigns of Philip V in the Aegean (cf. **81**, **145** end).

5. Probably Ptolemy V. On Cos and the Ptolemies cf. also **257**.

6. Compare the Athenian ephobic oath (Crawford and Whitehead (1983), no. 306).

7. The oath gives a definition of the ‘model citizen’.

8. On the text cf. Ph. Gauthier, *RPb* 70 (1996), 47f.

### 154 *Sympoliteia* of Stiris and Medeon in Phocis (second century)

(*Side A*) God. Good fortune. When Zeuxis was general of the Phocians, in  
5 the seventh month, convention / between the city of Stiris and [the] city  
of Medeon.<sup>1</sup> The Stirians and Medeonians have formed a single city, with  
10 their sanctuaries, their city, their territory, their harbours all / unencumbered<sup>2</sup>  
on the following conditions: the Medeonians are all to be Stirians, equal and  
enjoying the same rights; they shall take part in the same assembly and the same  
15 elections for magistracies as the / city of Stiris, and those who reach the proper  
age shall judge all the cases which come before the city; a *hierotamias* shall

be appointed from among the Medeonians / who shall offer the traditional 20  
 sacrifices for the Medeonians which are (specified) in the law of the city,  
 together with the archons established at Stiris. The *hierotamias* shall receive / 25  
 the money which [the] archons (sc. in Medeon) used to receive, half a mina  
 and the share of the contributions to religious festivals which falls to the  
*hierotamias*. The *hierotamias* shall judge together with / the archons the suits 30  
 which the archons judge, and he shall draw lots for the courts if it is nec-  
 essary to draw lots with the archons. It shall not be compulsory / for those 35  
 Medeonians to hold magistracies in Stiris who in Medeon have been archons,  
 judges of foreigners (*xenodikai*), collectors of debts (*prakteres*), *demiourgoi*,  
 priests, high priests (*hierarchai*), and among / women those who have held 40  
 priesthoods, unless someone undertakes them willingly.<sup>3</sup> Magistracies shall  
 be filled from the Medeonians who have not performed public functions and  
 from the Stirians. The administration / of the sanctuaries at Medeon shall 45  
 be carried out as required by the laws of the city. The [territory] of Medeon  
 shall all be Stirian and (the territory) of Stiris / shall [all] be Medeonian and 50  
 jointly owned. The Medeonians shall participate in all the sacrifices at Stiris  
 and the Stirians in all the sacrifices at Medeon. It shall not be permissible / 55  
 for the Medeonians to break away from the Stirians nor the Stirians from  
 the Medeonians. Whichever of the two sides does not abide by the written / 60  
 agreement shall pay to the side which does ten talents (*Side B*) and they shall  
 be liable to prosecution. / The convention shall be inscribed on a stele and 65  
 dedicated in the sanctuary of [Athena], and a sealed copy of the convention  
 shall be deposited with a private individual. / The convention (is) [with] Thra- 70  
 son of Lilaea. Witnesses: Thrason son of Damatrius of Elatea, Eupalidas son  
 of Thrason of Lilaea, Timocrates / son of Epinicus of Tithorea.<sup>4</sup> The Stirians 75  
 shall give to the phratry of the Medeonians<sup>5</sup> within four years five minas of  
 silver and / the place called Damatrea. 80

*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 647; Salviat and Vatin (1971), 77–80

1. Two small neighbouring cities, both members of the Phocian League (Larsen (1968), 300–2); proximity and kinship will have facilitated their political union (*sympoliteia*). The inscription does not specify the aims the two cities had in mind, but it is likely that for Medeon, which was in full decline, the move was intended to preserve her from total extinction. On ‘synoecism’ cf. 48.
2. On this clause cf. Migeotte (1984), no. 28. In extreme circumstances Greek cities sometimes had to offer their own public buildings as security for loans; cf. Appian, *Mithridateia* 63 (Asia Minor, cf. Migeotte (1984), no.114); Strabo XIII.3.6 (Cumae); Athenaeus XI.508f (Lampsacus).
3. Compare 48 A §9.
4. These are all Phocian cities.
5. Presumably some cult association; the details are obscure.

## 155 Decree of Samos in honour of judges from Myndus (c.280)

The recurring failure of many Greek cities to provide for the regular functioning of their own justice was characteristic of the Hellenistic age (cf. 48 (a) §6, 102, 245). To palliate this deficiency there developed the institution of calling on other cities to provide a panel of judges to settle the lawsuits in suspense; Hellenistic rulers often acted as mediators in inviting such panels and may in fact have been responsible for promoting the practice in the generation after Alexander (cf. *OGIS* 7, Antigonus and Cumae), as a means of securing the internal stability of Greek cities (cf. 48 (a) §6, 145 ll. 23–5, 257). The institution is known from over 250 inscriptions honouring the judges after the completion of their mission. See Tarn and Griffith (1952), 88–91; L. Robert in von Caemmerer (1973), 765–82 (*OMS* V, 136–54); Walbank III (1979), 335f. and (1981), 144f.; P. Gauthier, *Journal des Savants* (1994), 195–8; C. V. Crowther, *BICS* 40 (1995), 91–138; Ma (1999), 162, 179–82, 345–8 (no. 32).

Resolved by the council and the people, proposal of the *prytaneis* concerning the matters on which the council put forward a motion, that the judges who came from Miletus, Myndus and Halicarnassus<sup>1</sup> to settle the contracts  
5 (*symbolaia*) in suspense should be honoured; / since, when the citizens were in disagreement with each other over the contracts in suspense, Philocles king of the Sidonians,<sup>2</sup> wishing the city to be in a state of concord (*homonoia*),<sup>3</sup>  
10 wrote a letter requesting the people of Myndus to send a panel of judges to settle the contracts in suspense, and the Myndians / showing every goodwill and eagerness to (see) the citizens reconciled, appointed excellent men and sent them to the city, Theocles son of Theogenes and Herophantus son of Artemidorus, and (since) they settled the suits brought before them with  
15 fairness and justice, / some by giving a verdict and others by conciliation, wishing the citizens who were in disagreement reconciled and living in a state of concord after being freed from mutual grievances, be it resolved by the  
20 council and the people, to praise the people of Myndus / for sending the men, and to praise the men who came, Theocles son of Theogenes and Herophantus son of Artemidorus, for settling the suits fairly and advantageously, some by conciliation and others by giving a verdict, and to crown them with a gold  
25 crown and to proclaim / the crown at the *Dionysia* during the tragedies, and to make them *proxenoi* and benefactors of the city, and to give them citizenship with full and equal rights, and to allot them to a tribe, a *chiliastys*, a *hekatostys*  
30 and a family (*genos*)<sup>4</sup> as the other Samians, and to grant / them a seat of honour at the contests celebrated by the city and to give them precedence of access before the council and the people after religious matters and matters concerning the kings,<sup>5</sup> and the right of entry and exit from the port [in] war

and peace without reprisal or the need for a formal treaty; / the magistrates 35  
 who are in office shall look after them should they need anything; and so  
 that the people of Myndus may know what has been decreed, an ambassador  
 shall be appointed to go to Myndus and give the decree to the council [and]  
 the people; the decree shall be inscribed on a stone stele / and dedicated 40  
 in the sanctuary of Hera; the secretary of the council shall be responsible for  
 the inscription; the treasurer shall pay for the expense of the stele and the  
 inscription; a travel allowance will be provided to the ambassador as fixed by  
 the people. / Aeschylus son of Ampalidas was appointed ambassador. 45

SEG 1.363

1. The judges from Miletus and Halicarnassus were probably honoured in another inscription.
2. A Phoenician ruler, allied to the Ptolemies (256 n. 1).
3. See 63.
4. Subdivisions of the tribe, *chiliastys* (cf. 135) = a ‘Thousand’, *hekatostys* = a ‘Hundred’.
5. Royal affairs are thus a formalised heading in the political agenda.

## 156 Megarian arbitration in a border dispute between Epidaurus and Corinth (242/1–235/4)

Unlike the different institution of foreign judges which developed in this period (155), the practice of interstate arbitration had roots as far back as Archaic Greek history. Such arbitrations, known from literary evidence but especially from inscriptions, concerned particularly the settlement of boundary disputes, one of the most common sources of friction between Greek cities (cf. 53, 157; de Ste Croix (1972), 218–20). See Tod (1913), p. 14 no. XV and references p. 191; Tod (1932), 39–68; Walbank (1981), 143f.; Shipley (2000), 80; Ager (1996), esp. 3–26.

When Aegialeus was general of [the] Achaeans,<sup>1</sup> and Dionysius priest of Asclepius at Epidaurus,<sup>2</sup> the following verdict was given by the Megarians for the Epidaurians and Corinthians over the disputed land, the Sellanyon and the Spiraeon, when in accordance with the resolution of the Achaeans / they sent 5  
 a panel of 151 judges; and when the judges came on the spot and judged  
 that the land belonged to the Epidaurians, and the Corinthians contested the  
 delimitation, the Megarians sent again 31 men from the same panel of judges  
 to fix the boundaries in accordance / with the resolution of the Achaeans; 10  
 they went on the spot<sup>3</sup> and fixed the following boundaries:<sup>4</sup> from the top of  
 Cordyleion to the top of Halieion; from the Halieion to the top of Ceraunion;  
 from the Ceraunion to the top of Corniatas; from the top of Corniatas to the

- 15 road over the crest of / Corniatas; from the crest of Corniatas to the crest of  
Aneiae above Scolleia; from the crest above Scolleia beneath Aneiae to the  
summit which overlooks the carriage-road which leads to Spiraeon; from the  
summit which overlooks the carriage-[road] to the summit on top of Mount  
20 Phagas; from / the summit on top of Mount Phagas to the summit on top of  
Mount Aegipyra; from the summit on top of Mount Aegipyra to the summit of  
Mount Araea; from the summit of Mount Araea to the summit beneath Petra;  
from the summit beneath Petra to the summit which overlooks Schoenus;  
25 from the summit which overlooks Schoenus to the summit / which is over  
against Euorga; from the summit which overlooks Euorga [to] the crest which  
overlooks Sycousia; from the crest which overlooks Sycousia to the summit  
which overlooks Pelleritis; from the summit which overlooks Pelleritis to the  
summit of Panion; from Panion to the crest which overlooks [Holcus]; from  
30 the crest / which overlooks Holcus to the crest of Apollonion; from [the] crest  
which overlooks Apollonion to Apollonion. The judges who gave the verdict  
were the following: (151 names arranged according to the three Dorian tribes).  
85 Boundary commissioners chosen from among the same judges: (31 names).

*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 471; *IG* IV.1.7I; Ager (1996), no. 38 II, pp. 113–17

1. Both Epidaurus and Corinth belonged to the Achaean League (67) and so turned to the League first, which then referred them to Megara, also (at the time) a member of the League.
2. The inscription comes from Epidaurus.
3. Not every arbitration was decided by on-the-spot inspection (contrast Sparta and Messenia in *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 683; Burstein 80; Ager (1996), no. 159, pp. 446–50).
4. The disputed land is near the sea, in the mountainous area on the Saronic Gulf; cf. Wiseman (1978), 136–8.

### 157 Decree of Oropus in honour of an Achaean for help in the feud with Athens (c.154–149)

While some inter-city disputes were settled peacefully by arbitration (53, 156), others led to violence. Such was the feud between Athens and the Boeotian border town of Oropus (101 §7), regularly claimed by Athens as her own and intermittently controlled by her. Though the events alluded to in the following inscription are related in Pausanias VII.11.4–8, obscurities remain. In 164 Athens sacked Oropus, whose inhabitants appealed to the Roman Senate for help; the Senate decided against Athens and instructed Sicyon (an Achaean city) to assess a fine, which was fixed at 500 talents. An Athenian embassy at Rome obtained a reduction of the fine (in 155), but trouble continued until



the Achaean League intervened and secured the restoration of the Oropians.  
See Habicht (1997), 264–9, 271f.

Olympichus son of Hermodorus moved: since Hieron son of Telecles of Aegira<sup>1</sup> has constantly shown his goodwill towards the people of Oropus, speaking and acting in their interest on every occasion, and when the greatest of calamities / and breaches of faith befell the Oropians and the magistrates 5  
and we (Olympichus) had come to the meeting (*synodos*) (of the Achaean League) in Corinth, he organised a collection for us, and by his advice he 10  
induced the Achaeans to show every concern for / our city and the sanctuary of Amphiaraus, since we also (i.e. like the Achaeans) continue to remain in the friendship and faith of the Romans; and (since) when the Achaeans resolved to call a meeting (*synkletos*) (of the Achaean League) at Argos about these matters, Hieron, wishing to demonstrate on every occasion / his good- 15  
will and excellence, welcomed into his own house all the Oropians who had come and sacrificed to Zeus the Saviour on our behalf, and [spoke] against the Athenians and the other ambassadors who had come to oppose [us] / 20  
and induced the Achaeans not to allow a Greek city to be enslaved, (a city) which was in the friendship and faith of the Romans; and (since) through his concern and excellence we have recovered our native city and have returned / 25  
with our children and wives; therefore, so that the Oropians may be seen to be mindful of the benefits which anyone has conferred on them, and that others may emulate the same conduct, in the knowledge that they will receive honours appropriate for their benefactions, with good / fortune, be it resolved 30  
by the people of Oropus to honour Hieron son of Telecles of Aegira with a bronze statue for his merits and the excellence which he continues to show to the people of Oropus, and to proclaim the erection of the statue at the great festival of Amphiaraus / during the athletic contest. 35

*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 675; *IG* VII.411

1. An Achaean city (67 ch. 41).

## 5 The Seleucids and Asia

The Seleucid empire, created by Seleucus I through conquest (57), was territorially the largest and most diverse of all Hellenistic empires. Starting from Babylonia (36), Seleucus expanded eastwards as far as Bactria (188), added North Syria (160) after the battle of Ipsus, and at the end of his career western Asia Minor as well as a foothold in Thrace (159). Later Antiochus III added Coele Syria which he captured from Ptolemy V (193). Though comprising a multiplicity of non-Greek peoples and cultures, the Seleucid empire is known predominantly from Greek or Graeco-Roman evidence. Non-Greek perspectives are only rarely available (168), except for those parts of the empire that had their own literary or documentary traditions, notably Babylonia (158, 163, 166) and Judaea (215–17, 221). The empire was a conglomerate of many peoples and entities (174 n. 6). The kings promoted the settlement of Greek-type cities (e.g. 57–8, 160, 167), imported manpower from the Greek world (190) as well as their own cults (204, 207), but did not attempt to impose any cultural or religious uniformity on their empire (e.g. 166, 172, contrast 217). The unifying element was provided by the king himself and his dynasty (158, 166, 200), his close followers, most of them apparently of Greek/Macedonian origin or culture (e.g. 51, 164–5, 182, 193, 203 n. 6 etc.), and his military forces, more mixed in composition (184, 203, 213). The kings were primarily warriors in action who campaigned personally throughout their empire (e.g. 57, 159, 187, 195) and handled relations with subject states and foreign powers, either in person (e.g. 175, 191, 196), or through their officials (e.g. 173, 193, 200, 215). What is known of the imperial administration shows varying degrees of complexity as well as efficiency, depending on the context (164, 173, 193). Taxation of subjects in various forms was the norm except for special dispensations, though detailed information is scanty (e.g. 170, 191, 201, 215, 221).

The size of the empire presented obvious problems, and the successors of Seleucus I struggled to retain control. Asia Minor (e.g. 164, 174, 179, 180, 195) and the far eastern provinces (177, 181, 187, 188) presented throughout special difficulties. Rivalry with the Ptolemies was a constant feature of Seleucid history: periods of peace alternated with conflicts. Modern convention has arranged these into a neat series of ‘Syrian Wars’, a misleading

designation since the conflicts involved more than just control of Syria (163, 173–4, 182–4, 193, 211). The two dynasties also intermarried at times, with unpredictable political consequences (173, 196, 211, 219). A grandiose attempt at reviving the empire was made by Antiochus III (185, 187, 195), but his reign also brought about the clash with Rome and his defeat (196, 199, 202–3). The resulting treaty of Apamea (205) weakened the empire without fatally undermining it, but the attempt of Antiochus IV to reassert his position met with Roman hostility (211–12) and resistance in Judaea (216–17). After Antiochus IV the rulers faced increasing internal challenges to their position (218–20), which undermined their ability to meet growing outside threats (221–2). By the late second century the empire was reduced to North Syria and was eventually taken over by Rome (223).

## 158 A Babylonian king list

The preservation of lists of kings was a centuries-old tradition in Babylonia, but the following text, dating from the late second century, is the first known list of this kind for the Hellenistic period, and has provided important chronological evidence for the Seleucid kings – appropriately, as Babylonia was the starting point of the Seleucid dynasty which subsequently cultivated a close link to the ancient city and its traditions (cf. 36, 163, 166). See A. J. Sachs and D. J. Wiseman, *op. cit.* below; Parker and Dubberstein (1956), 20–4 and Tables pp. 36ff.; Aymard (1967), 263–72; E. Grzybek *Historia* 41 (1992), 190–204.

### *Obverse*

... Alexander ... Philip, Alexander's brother ... years there was no king in the land. Antigonus, the chief of the army ... / Alexander the son of Alex(ander)<sup>1</sup> 5  
 was reckoned as king until year? 6 (= 306/5).<sup>2</sup> Year 7 (= 305/4), which  
 is (his) first year, Seleucus (I) (ruled as) king. He reigned 25 years. Year 31,  
 month VI (= late August–September 281), Se(leucus) the king was killed  
 in the land (of the) Khāni.<sup>3</sup> Year 32 (= 280/79), An(tiochus) (I) the son of  
 Se(leucus ruled as) king. He reigned 20 years. / Year 51, (month) II, (day) 16 10  
 (= 1 or 2 June 261): An(tiochus) the great king died. Year 52 (= 260/59),  
 An(tiochus) (II) the son of An(tiochus ruled as) king. (In month) V of year 66  
 (= August 246), the following was heard in Babylon: 'An(tiochus) the great  
 king [died ...]'. Year 67 (= 245/4), Se(leucus) (II) [the son of Antiochus (II)  
 ruled as king. / He reigned 20 years. He died month . . . , day . . . , year 86 15  
 (= 226/5)].<sup>4</sup>

*Reverse*

[Year] 87 (= 225/4), Se(leucus) (III) [ruled as king. He reigned 3 years]. [Year] 90 (= 222/1), An(tiochus) (III) the king sat on the throne. He reigned 35  
5 [years. From year] 102 until year 119 (= 210/9 to 193/2), / An(tiochus) and An(tiochus), the sons of the king.<sup>5</sup> Year 125, month III, the following was heard in Babylon: ‘(On) day 25 (= 3 or 4 July 187), An(tiochus) the king was killed in the land of Elam.’ The same year Se(leucus) (IV) his son sat on the throne. He ruled 12 years. Year 137, month VI, day 10 (= 2 or 3 September  
10 175), Se(leucus) the king died . . . / The same month An(tiochus) (IV) his son<sup>6</sup> sat on the throne. He reigned 11 years. The same [year], month VIII (= 22 or 23 October 175), An(tiochus) (IV) and An(tiochus) his son (ruled) as kings. [Year 1]42, month V (= between 30 July and 30 August 170), at the command of An(tiochus) (IV) the king, An(tiochus) the (co-)regent, his son, was put to death.<sup>7</sup> [Year 14]3 (= 169/8), An(tiochus ruled as) king (alone). [Year 148, month] IX (= between 19 November and 19 December 164), it was heard that King An(tiochus) [died . . .] [. . .]<sup>8</sup>

A. J. Sachs and D. J. Wiseman, *Iraq* 16 (1954), 202–11

1. Respectively Alexander the Great, Philip Arrhidaeus, Antigonus the One-Eyed and Alexander IV; see ch. 2.
2. The dates are computed according to the Seleucid era (57 n. 5). Alexander IV had in fact been killed in 310/9 (cf. 37), but his reign was probably fictitiously extended.
3. See 57 (end), 159 n. 6.
4. There is no mention of Antiochus Hierax (cf. 176, 207 n. 5).
5. An error: Antiochus III was brother and not son of Seleucus III. The co-regency of Antiochus III and his son between 209 and 193 (cf. 189, 190, 207) follows a frequent pattern in Hellenistic kingdoms, cf. also 163, 166, 168–9, 242, 245.
6. Antiochus IV was not son of Seleucus IV but his younger brother; cf. 208.
7. This Antiochus may have been son of Seleucus IV rather than of Antiochus IV; cf. Walbank III (1979), 284f.
8. The last five lines are seriously mutilated.

## 159 From Seleucus I to Antiochus I: the coming of the Galatians to Asia Minor (278/7)

Memnon of Heracleia on the Black Sea (first or second century AD), the last in a series of local historians of Heracleia which stretched back to the classical period, wrote a history of his native city which is known in outline from a ninth-century Byzantine abridgement. A principal source, cited by Memnon several times (cf. §7 below), was a certain Nymphis of Heracleia, who was politically

active in the affairs of his native city in the early third century BC and wrote a work on Heracleia which gave 'a general history of Anatolia and the Pontus, as viewed from the perspective of Heracleia' (Burstein (1974), p. 2–3).

(§5) [. . .] (7) By killing his son Lysimachus earned the justified hatred of his subjects. On learning this Seleucus (I) realised that it would be easy to destroy his empire as the cities were revolting from him, and he went to war against him. Lysimachus fell in the war struck by a missile, thrown by a man from Heracleia of the name of Malakon who was serving for Seleucus. With the fall of Lysimachus his empire fell to the share of Seleucus.<sup>1</sup> At this point Book 12 of the history of Memnon ends.

(§6) (1) In Book 13 he relates how the people of Heracleia, on learning of the death of Lysimachus at the hands of a man of Heracleia, were encouraged to yearn for the freedom which they had lost for 84 years because of their native tyrants and after them because of Lysimachus. (2) They had previously approached Heracleides<sup>2</sup> and sought to persuade him to leave the city: not only would he not suffer harm, but they would give him splendid presents on his departure. But they could not persuade him, and he became angry and subjected some of them to punishment. The citizens then made an agreement with the garrison troops, according to which they received citizen rights and the wages that had not been paid to them. They arrested Heracleides and kept him in custody for a while. This gave them an excellent guarantee of immunity, and they pulled down the walls of the acropolis down to their foundations. They then sent an embassy to Seleucus (I) and put Phocritos in charge of the city. (3) Zipoetes, the ruler of the Bithynians,<sup>3</sup> who was at enmity with the people of Heracleia, first because of Lysimachus, then because of Seleucus (he was hostile to both of them), made a raid against them with hostile intent. But they did not go unscathed in their encounter with his army, but suffered even more harm than they inflicted.

(§7) (1) Meanwhile Seleucus sent Aphrodisios the *dioiketes*<sup>4</sup> to the cities in Phrygia and those lying above Pontus. He did what he intended to and came back, but while he received praise in the other cities, he accused the people of Heracleia of not being well disposed to Seleucus' interests. Seleucus was angry at this, and treated the envoys who came to him with contempt and terrified them with threatening language. But Chamaileon, one of the ambassadors, was not frightened by the threats and said, 'Heracles is stronger [*karron*], Seleucus' (*karron* means stronger in Doric). Seleucus did not understand what he said, and went away in anger. The envoys did not think it useful either to return home or to stay and wait for him. (2) On learning this the people of Heracleia prepared themselves in other ways and went about collecting allies; they sent

envoys to Mithridates king of Pontus and to the peoples of Byzantium and Chalcedon. (3) Among the surviving exiles from Heracleia was Nymphis,<sup>5</sup> who wanted to bring about their return and suggested this would be easy, so long as they were eager to recover what their ancestors had been deprived of; he had no difficulty in convincing them. The return took place as planned, and both the exiles and the city which received them were delighted, as those in the city welcomed them warmly and none of their needs was neglected. (4) In this way the people of Heracleia recovered their former dignity and constitution.

**(§8)** (1) Seleucus was elated by his successes over Lysimachus and hastened to cross to Macedonia, as he longed for his native country which he had left when he went on the expedition with Alexander.<sup>6</sup> He intended to end his life there, as he was already an old man, and wanted to entrust Asia to his son Antiochus (I). (2) But Ptolemy Ceraunus,<sup>7</sup> at the time that Seleucus made himself master of Lysimachus' power, was in the following of Seleucus, not despised as a prisoner, but enjoying the honour and esteem of a king's son. He prided himself in the promises which Seleucus made to him, that his father would bring him back to rule in Egypt, his fatherly inheritance. (3) But while he was treated with such care, the benefactions he enjoyed did not make his wickedness any better: he plotted against Seleucus, attacked his benefactor and killed him. He mounted a horse and fled to Lysimachea, where he put on a diadem<sup>8</sup> and presented himself before the army with a splendid guard: they were forced to accept him and proclaimed him king, after previously obeying Seleucus. (4) On learning of this Antigonus (Gonatas) the son of Demetrius (Poliorcetes) tried to cross to Macedon with an army and fleet, as he was anxious to arrive before Ptolemy; Ptolemy, with the fleet of Lysimachus, met him and drew up in formation against him. (5) Among his ships were some that had been summoned from Heracleia, ships with five and six banks of oars as well as undecked vessels, and one ship with eight banks of oars which was called the *leontophoros* and presented a remarkable sight for its size and beauty. [ . . . ] (6) The battle took place and Ptolemy prevailed when he routed the fleet of Antigonus; the ships from Heracleia fought more bravely than the rest. Among these the *leontophoros*, the ship with eight banks of oars, received the prize for valour. As his expedition had met with disaster Antigonus retreated to Boeotia, while Ptolemy crossed to Macedonia and secured his rule. (7) He immediately went on to display his evil nature: he married his sister Arsinoe, as is the custom with the Egyptians,<sup>9</sup> and killed the children that had been born to her from Lysimachus; he then exiled her from the kingdom. (8) In two years he committed many lawless acts. But when part of the Galatian people,<sup>10</sup> driven out of their country by hunger, seized control of Macedonia and joined battle with him, he ended his life in a way that fitted his cruelty:

the elephant on which he was riding was wounded and threw him down, and he was captured alive and torn apart by the Galatians. Antigonus the son of Demetrius, who had been defeated in the sea battle, seized power over the Macedonians after the death of Ptolemy.

**(S9)** (1) Antiochus (I) the son of Seleucus (I) fought many wars and managed to save his father's empire, though with difficulty and not in its entirety. He sent Patrocles<sup>11</sup> the general with an army to the lands on this side of Mount Taurus.<sup>12</sup> Patrocles further enlisted the help of Hermogenes, a man from Aspendos, who proceeded to invade the territory of various cities including Heracleia. (2) When the people of Heracleia sent an embassy to him he withdrew from the land and concluded a pact, and turned towards Bithynia, crossing through Phrygia. He was ambushed by the Bithynians, and was destroyed together with his army, but not before making a show of gallantry against the enemy. (3) Because of this Antiochus (I) decided to march against the Bithynians, but Nicomedes their king sent an embassy to Heracleia asking for an alliance, which he obtained, as he promised to support them in return should they find themselves in a similar emergency. (4) In the meantime the people of Heracleia recovered control of Cieros, Tios and the land of Thynis, at great expense to themselves. Amastris had also been taken away from them together with the other cities; they wanted to recover it by war or by money, but were not successful; it was held by Eumenes<sup>13</sup> who was motivated by an unreasonable hostility to them and preferred to give it as a present to Ariobarzanes son of Mithridates than to the people of Heracleia, though they offered money for it. (5) In the same period started the war between the people of Heracleia and the Bithynian Zipoetes, who ruled Thynian Thrace; in this war many Heracleians fell fighting nobly. Zipoetes was victorious in the battle, but when an allied force came to the rescue of the Heracleians, he was put to flight and disgraced his victory. The Heracleians, though defeated, picked up their dead without fear and cremated them. They were left in control of all they had fought the war to secure, brought back to the city the bones of their dead and gave them a splendid burial in a memorial for the brave.

**(S10)** (1) In the same period war started between Antiochus (I) the son of Seleucus (I) and Antigonus (Gonatas) the son of Demetrius (Poliorcetes); large forces were drawn up on each side, and the conflict went on for a long time. Nicomedes, king of Bithynia was in alliance with Antigonus, while Antiochus had many other allies on his side. (2) Antiochus clashed thus with Antigonus, and took charge of the war against Nicomedes. Nicomedes gathered forces from various quarters, sent an embassy to the people of Heracleia with a view to concluding an alliance, received 13 triremes in assistance, and then opposed the fleet of Antiochus. For some time they faced each other, but neither side started a battle, and they eventually dispersed without achieving anything.

(§11) When the Galatians arrived at Byzantium and ravaged the larger part of its territory, the Byzantines, weakened by the war, sent an embassy to their allies<sup>14</sup> asking for help. They all provided support within their means, and the people of Heraclea provided 4,000 gold pieces (the sum requested by the embassy). The Galatians who had made the attack on the Byzantines<sup>15</sup> repeatedly tried to cross into Asia but failed every time on the opposition of the Byzantines, but not long after Nicomedes<sup>16</sup> made a treaty with them with a view to bringing them across. The treaty was as follows: the barbarians were to be always well disposed to Nicomedes and his descendants, and would not make any alliance with anyone who sent embassies to them without the consent of Nicomedes, but would always be friends of his friends and enemies of those hostile to him; they would also if necessary be allies of the peoples of Byzantium, Tios, Heraclea, Calchedon, Cieros and a few other tribal leaders. In conformity with this treaty Nicomedes brought over to Asia the mass of the Galatians. Their most conspicuous leaders were seventeen in number, and among these the most eminent and distinguished were Leonorius and Luturius. At first it was believed that this crossing of the Galatians into Asia would bring about the ruin of the inhabitants, but the end result turned out to be to their advantage; for though the kings were anxious to destroy the democracy in the cities,<sup>17</sup> their action tended to strengthen it as they opposed the hostile Galatians. Nicomedes, by arming the barbarians against the Bithynians at first, with the alliance of the people of Heraclea, established control over the country and massacred the inhabitants,<sup>18</sup> while the Galatians shared out the rest of the booty among themselves. The latter roamed over a vast area of country and then withdrew, and from the territory they had seized they cut off for themselves the country now called Galatia, dividing it into three parts and calling the inhabitants of each respectively the Trogmi, Tolostobogii and Tectosages. The Trogmi built the city of Ancyra, the Tolostobogii Tabia and the Tectosages Pisinus.<sup>19</sup>

Memnon of Heraclea, *FGrH* 434 F 11 §§5.7–11;  
on §11 cf. *Staatsv.* III.469; Burstein 16

1. On the career of Lysimachus cf. 56; on the career of Seleucus cf. 57.
2. A governor placed in charge of Heracleia by Arsinoe, wife of Lysimachus.
3. On Zipoetes and the Bithynian kings cf. 66 and n. 1.
4. Cf. 198 n. 5.
5. Author of a history of Heracleia used by Memnon as a source for this period (*FGrH* 432).
6. A Babylonian chronicle concerning the end of the reign of Seleucus I has the following entry on these events: 'The thirty-[first] year: [In the month . . . , that same month, . . .] his [troops] from Sar[dis] he mustered and took across the se[a . . .] with him to

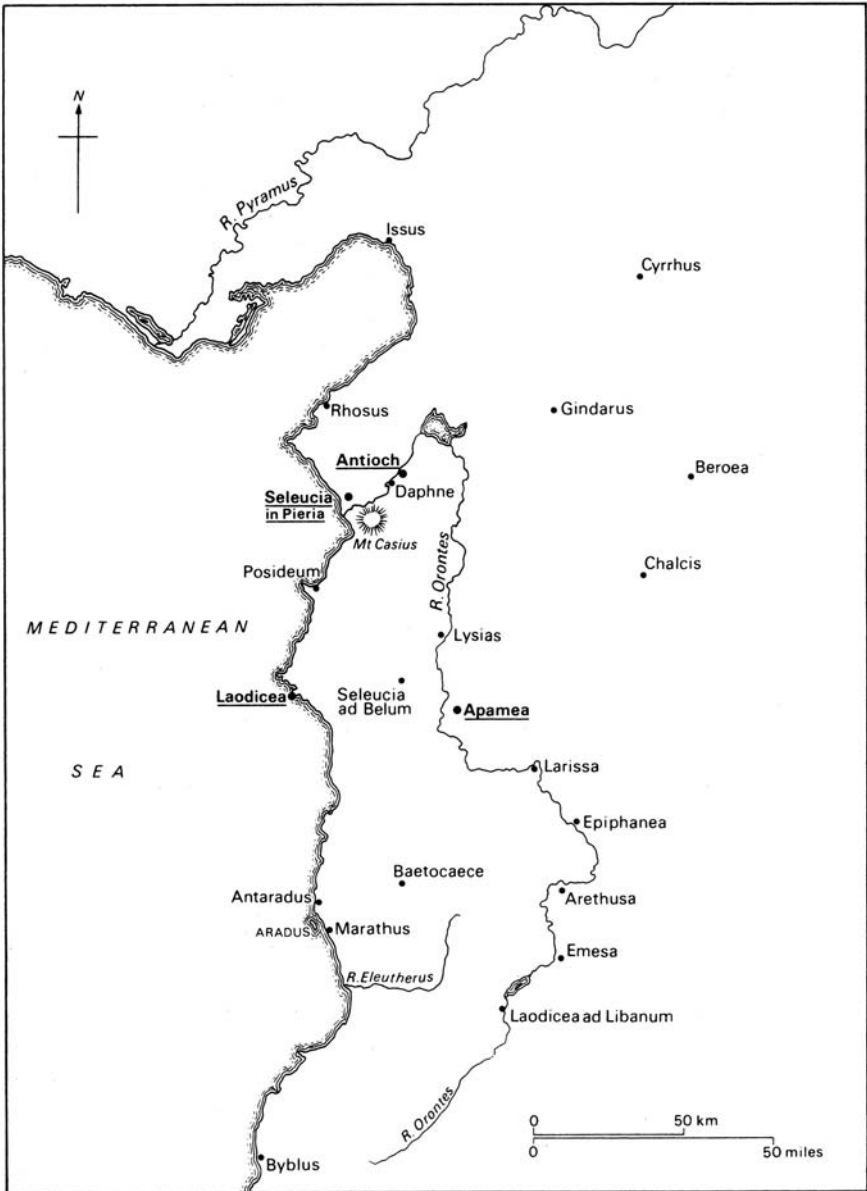


- Macedonia, his land' (Grayson (1975), no. 12, Reverse lines 1–3 (p. 122)). On the terminology and its significance cf. P. Briant in *Topoi* 4.2 (1994), 463–67.
7. On Ptolemy Ceraunus cf. also **57** (ch. 62).
  8. Cf. **44** n. 1.
  9. Cf. **254** n. 2.
  10. i.e. the Celts, for whose coming cf. **60**.
  11. Patrocles has a long record of service with the Seleucid dynasty. First mentioned as a general of Seleucus I in 312 (Diodorus XIX.100.5–6: he was placed in charge of Babylonia), he later explored the Caspian sea for Seleucus and wrote an account of his expedition (*FGrH* 712). Cf. Savalli-Lestrade (1998), 9 and 14; Austin (2001), 96.
  12. The phrase regularly used to describe what in Roman times came to be referred to as 'Asia Minor'; cf. Ma (1999), 28 and 125 and also **162**, **180–1**, **187**, **191**, **234** ch. 21.
  13. Brother of Philetaerus of Pergamum; cf. **224**.
  14. A league of Greek cities (listed below) formed in 281 after the death of Lysimachus and in opposition to the Seleucids (cf. §7 above).
  15. On Byzantium cf. **112**, **114**.
  16. Nicomedes of Bithynia was in conflict with his brother Zipoetes.
  17. Contrast **169**, **174**.
  18. Only in part.
  19. There is no mention here of Antiochus I's war against the Galatians (cf. **168**). For the impact of the Galatians in Asia Minor cf. also **164**, **170**, **225** n. 6; for their use as mercenaries cf. also **184**, **203**, **236** n. 2, **254**.

## 160 The 'Seleucis': North Syria

After the decisive battle of Ipsus (**54**) Seleucus took over control of North Syria where he initiated a major project of settlement and city foundations; he sought to impose his identity on the region, which he renamed 'Seleucis', a name which survived after him (**162**, **174**; cf. also his reported attempt to name the Indian Ocean after himself and his son Antiochus, Pliny *HN* 2.167–8). Whether North Syria was actually the 'centre' of the Seleucid empire and Seleucia or Antioch its 'capital' is debatable. More realistically, the large and diverse Seleucid empire did not have any single centre or capital for the whole of its fluctuating history (cf. Sherwin-White and Kuhrt (1993), 38, 135; Austin (2001), 102; W. Held, *JdI* 117 (2002), 217–49). In the event, it was in North Syria that the dynasty's history eventually terminated, after the loss in the late second century of the other parts of the empire (**222–3**). See Downey (1961), esp. 54–86; H. Seyrig in Ward (1968), 53–63 (more fully in French in *Syria* 47 (1970), 290–311); Jones (1971), 241–6; Briant (1982), 276–8; F. Millar in Kuhrt and Sherwin-White (1987), 110–33; Grainger (1990a), esp. 31–66.

- (4) The Seleucis is the best of the parts (of Syria) I have mentioned; it is called Tetrapolis and is so in fact because of its most prominent cities.



4. North Syria (to illustrate **160**), adapted from A. H. M. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* (Oxford, 2nd edn. 1971)

There are actually more cities there, but four are the largest, Antioch near Daphne, Seleucia in Pieria, Apamea and Laodicea; they were said to be sister cities because of the concord between them, and were founded by Seleucus (I) Nicator.<sup>1</sup> The largest was called after his father, the strongest after himself and of the others Apamea was called after his wife Apama<sup>2</sup> and Laodicea after his mother. Appropriately for the Tetrapolis the Seleucis was divided into four satrapies,<sup>3</sup> as Poseidonius says (*FGrH* 87 F 65; Edelstein-Kidd F 251), as many as Coele Syria, while Mesopotamia forms one satrapy. Antioch is itself a tetrapolis as it consists of four parts; it is fortified both by a common wall and by a wall for each of the foundations. The first was brought together by Seleucus (I) Nicator when he moved the settlers from Antigonea, which Antigonus the son of Philip had built nearby shortly before,<sup>4</sup> the second was founded by the mass of the settlers, the third by Seleucus (II) Callinicus and the fourth by Antiochus (IV) Epiphanes.

(5) Antioch, then, is the metropolis of Syria, and that is where the rulers of the country established their royal capital; in power and size it does not fall far short of Seleucia on the Tigris<sup>5</sup> and Alexandria near<sup>6</sup> Egypt. Nicator also brought together there the descendants of Triptolemus, whom I have just mentioned;<sup>7</sup> that is why the Antiochenes honour him like a hero and celebrate a festival on Mount Casius near Seleucia. [. . .] (6) Forty stades (c.7 km) away towards the sea lies Daphne, a small settlement, and a large shaded grove watered with springs, in the middle of which there is an inviolate enclosure and temple of Apollo and Artemis.<sup>8</sup> It is a custom of the Antiochenes and their neighbours to hold a religious festival there. The grove has a perimeter of 80 stades (c.14 km). (7) Near the city flows the river Orontes, which has its source in Coele Syria, then goes underground and reappears at the surface; it flows through the territory of the Apameans towards Antioch, comes near the city and continues towards the sea near Seleucia. [. . .] (8) Near the sea there is Seleucia and Pieria, a mountain which adjoins the Amanus, and Rhosus which is situated between Issus and Seleucia; Seleucia was formerly called Water Rivers (*Hydatos Potamoí*). The city is a powerful stronghold which cannot be stormed.<sup>9</sup> [. . .] (9) Then there is Laodicea, a city most beautifully built on the sea and with a good harbour; its territory besides being fertile for other crops produces much wine. It supplies most of their wine to the Alexandrians,<sup>10</sup> and the mountain which lies above the city is completely planted with vines almost up to the summits. While the summits are a great distance away from Laodicea, as they slope up gently and gradually away from it, they dominate Apamea rising up to a sheer height above it. [. . .] (10) Apamea also has an acropolis<sup>11</sup> that is well walled for the most part; for it is a well-fortified hill in a hollow plain, which is made into a peninsula by the Orontes and a large lake that lies around it and empties itself (?)<sup>12</sup> into broad marshes and extremely large

meadows suitable for pasturing cattle and horses. The city, then, enjoys this secure position (in fact it used to be called Chersonesus (= peninsula) because of this occurrence) and it has a large and fertile territory through which the Orontes flows; there are many townships in it. That is where Seleucus Nicator and the later kings kept the 500 elephants and the larger part of their army. It used to be called Pella by the first Macedonian settlers because most of the Macedonian troops lived there, and because Pella, the native city of Philip and Alexander, had become as it were the metropolis of the Macedonians. The war office and the royal studs were kept there, and they consisted of more than 30,000 mares and 300 stallions; and here too were the horse-breakers, drill-sergeants and all the military instructors who served for pay.

Strabo XVI.24–7, 8–10

1. See too 57 ch. 57, 58; on the ‘sister cities’ cf. K. J. Rigsby, *TAPA* 110 (1980), 242–8.
2. An Iranian princess married by Seleucus in 324 (cf. 17 and n. 2).
3. Cf. Rigsby, *op.cit.*, 253f.
4. Antigonus the One-Eyed, in 307/6 (Diodorus XX.47.5–6; Billows (1990), 297).
5. On Antioch cf. also W. Held, *JdI* 117 (2002), 241–5; on Seleucia on the Tigris cf. 57 ch. 58, 167.
6. ‘Near Egypt’, not ‘in Egypt’; see 292.
7. XVI.1.25.
8. Cf. on Daphne 204, 207, 208 (end), 213.
9. Cf. on Seleucia in Pieria 57 chs. 57–8, 182–3, 206–7, 222, 266; for a fuller description see Polybius V.59 (Sherwin-White and Kuhrt (1993), 171). Seleucus I was buried there (Appian, *Syrian History* 63). On the site cf. McNicoll (1997), 81–9; Held, *op. cit.*, 240f.
10. Hardly before late Ptolemaic times; cf. Fraser I (1972), 167–9.
11. An emendation.
12. Text uncertain.

## 161 Law on inheritance from Dura-Europus

Europus, a foundation of Seleucus I on the upper course of the Euphrates (cf. 57 ch.57), has been excavated and though most of the evidence recovered dates from later times it is possible to reconstruct a picture of the city under the Seleucids. The following parchment dates from Roman times but probably reproduces a law of the original colony. See Rostovtzeff I (1941), 482–9; C. Bradford Welles, *loc. cit.* below; Cohen (1978), 19f., 66f., 69f.; Briant (1982), 264–7, 275; McNicoll (1997), 89–94.

Concerning [inheritance? . . .] law of the [registry office].

- 5 The inheritances of the deceased are to be handed down to the nearest of kin. / The nearest of kin are as follows:

(§1) If the deceased has not left any [children] or if he has not adopted a son in accordance with the laws, his father or his mother if she has not married another man.

(§2) If neither (is alive), the paternal brothers of the father.

(§3) If there are none / of these, the paternal brothers (of the deceased). 10

(§4) If there are none of these, but the father of his father (is alive), or the mother of his father, or the cousin on his father's side, the inheritance shall belong to them.

(§5) If / there are none of these, the property shall fall to the crown.<sup>1</sup> 15

The same rules shall also apply for the (other) rights and obligations of the next of kin.

C. Bradford Welles, *The Excavations at Dura-Europos*, Final Report  
V.1: *The Parchments and Papyri* (New Haven, 1959), 70–9 no. 12

1. i.e. the king retained a right of *escheat* (cf. 314 for Ptolemaic Egypt).

## 162 Decree of Ilium in honour of Antiochus I after his accession

Although the following inscription does not identify specifically the King Antiochus who is honoured, it most probably refers to Antiochus I, not Antiochus III as argued by some; see Ma (1999), 254–9.

When Nymphius son of Diotrephes was *epimenios*, and Dionysius son of Hippomedon was president (*epistates*), Demetrius son of Dies moved: since King Antiochus (I) son of King Seleucus (I), having in the beginning taken over the kingdom and pursued a glorious and honourable policy, has sought to bring back to peace and their former prosperity the cities of the Seleucis<sup>1</sup> / 5 which were suffering from difficult times because of the rebels from his cause,<sup>2</sup> and after attacking those hostile to his interests,<sup>3</sup> as was just, (has sought) to recover his ancestral rule;<sup>4</sup> and therefore has embarked upon an honourable and just enterprise, and with not only the ready assistance of his 'friends' and his military forces<sup>5</sup> in his fight for / his interests but also the good- 10 will and collaboration of the deity, has restored the cities to peace and the kingdom to its former state; and (since) now he has come to the provinces (*topoi*) this side of Mount Taurus<sup>6</sup> with all zeal and enthusiasm and has at once restored peace to the cities and has advanced his interests and the king- 15 dom to a more powerful and more brilliant position, / most of all through his own excellence but also through the goodwill of his 'friends' and his military forces; and therefore, so that the people may be seen to be well disposed to the king and to hold the same attitude, since previously at the time when he took over the kingdom it offered continuously prayers and

sacrifices on his behalf<sup>7</sup> to all the gods, with good fortune, be it resolved by  
20 the council and the / people, that the priestess, the temple-wardens and the  
*prytaneis* should pray to Athena of Ilium together with the ambassadors, that  
his presence (this side of Taurus) should be to the advantage of the king, his  
sister<sup>8</sup> and queen, his friends and his military forces, and that every other  
prosperity should attend the king and the queen, and that their interests  
25 and the kingdom should remain for them and prosper / as they themselves  
intend; and (be it resolved) that the other priests and priestesses should pray  
together with the priest of King Antiochus<sup>9</sup> to Apollo, the ancestor of his  
family,<sup>10</sup> to Nike, to Zeus and to all the other gods and goddesses. [After] the  
prayers the temple-wardens and the *prytaneis*, together with the priestess and  
the (royal) ambassadors, shall perform the customary [ancestral] sacrifice,<sup>11</sup>  
while the generals together with the other priests (shall perform the sacrifice)  
30 to Apollo / and the other gods. When they are offering [the] sacrifice, the  
citizens and all the resident foreigners (*paroikoi*) shall wear crowns, and shall  
gather [in front of their homes] and offer sacrifices to the gods on behalf of  
the king and the people.<sup>12</sup> [And so that] the people [may be] seen [by all] to  
be helping in promoting what relates to honour and glory, (be it resolved) to  
praise him for the excellence and manliness he [constantly] displays, [and to  
35 set up] a golden equestrian statue [of him] / in the sanctuary of Athena in  
the [most] distinguished [place] on the step of white stone with the following  
inscription: ‘The people of [Ilium (honours) King Antiochus] son of King  
Seleucus for his piety towards the sanctuary<sup>13</sup> (and) for being [the benefac-  
tor and] saviour of the people.’ And (be it resolved) that the agonothete<sup>14</sup>  
and the [*synedroi*] should proclaim at the [*Panathenaea* during the] gym-  
40 nastic contest [when the] city [of Ilium] / and the other cities crown with  
the [crown of valour Athena of] Ilium, making the proclamation . . . and  
(be it resolved) that [three] envoys should be appointed from among [all  
the men of Ilium, to] convey to him the greetings of [the people, and con-  
gratulate him on the good] health enjoyed by him, his [sister and queen,  
45 his children], / his friends and [military forces, and to convey (to him) the]  
honour [that has been voted to him], and to discourse on [the goodwill the  
people has constantly] shown [towards] his father [Seleucus and the whole  
royal household] and to invite [him to . . .]<sup>15</sup> (the end of the inscription is  
lost)

OGIS 219; L. Robert, *American Studies in Papyrology* 1  
(1966), 175–211; *I.Ilion* no. 32; Burstein 15 (in part); BD 16

1. See 160.

2. A vague reference to serious disturbances in North Syria at the accession of Antiochus I; whether Ptolemaic intervention played any contributory part is not established.

3. Literally 'affairs' (*pragmata*); there was no way of describing the kingdom without reference to the king's person; cf. **145** l. 26, **164** (*b*) (3), **174** l. 5, **175**, **189**, **204**, **206** (*b*), **230** l. 29, **236**, **239** l. 32, **245** l. 32, **289**.
4. Cf. **255** n. 8.
5. The conjunction of king, 'friends' (cf. **31** n. 3) and army is frequent; cf. **191** ll. 23f. and M. M. Austin *CQ* 36 (1986), 461–5.
6. Cf. **159** n. 12.
7. Cf. **269** n. 8.
8. An honorific title, cf. **198**, **200**. The reference is to Stratonice, daughter of Demetrius Poliorcetes and wife first of Seleucus I then of Antiochus I (cf. **57** n. 16, **166**, **169**, **174** ll. 12, 83).
9. This shows the existence of a cult of Antiochus I at Ilium (a cult of Seleucus I is attested by *OGIS* 212 (*I.Ilion*, no. 31), if correctly attributed); for other examples of cults of Seleucid rulers by Greek cities see **169**, **174**, **191**; for the cult of themselves set up by the Seleucids see on **200**.
10. See **175**.
11. To Athena of Ilium.
12. Cf. **270**, **295**.
13. On this theme see **209** n. 5.
14. Cf. **54** n. 8.
15. For Antiochus I and Ilium cf. too **164–5**; for the Seleucids and the Greek cities of Asia Minor see also **159**, **169**, **170**, **174–5**, **189**, **191**, **195–9**, **202**; Walbank (1981), 133–9; D. Musti, in *CAH* VII.1<sup>2</sup> (1984), 204–9; Ma (1999).

## 163 Babylonian records of the reign of Antiochus I for the years 274–273

Officials of the temple complex of Esagila in Babylon traditionally kept detailed records of their observations of the sky and the weather in Babylonia, and also of prices and the level of the river Euphrates. The records, carefully inscribed on clay tablets, served an astrological not a historical purpose, and were written from a local perspective. References in them to historical events are infrequent, though the following excerpt provides unusual information about a major conflict between Seleucids and Ptolemies in the reign of Antiochus I and its impact on the local population. It also provides a glimpse of the Seleucid attitude to their new foundation of Seleucia on the Tigris (**167**). See P. Bernard, *BCH* 114 (1990), 532–9; R. J. van der Spek, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* L (1993), 93–101. On the economy of Mesopotamia under the Seleucids cf. M. Aperghis in Archibald et al. (2001), 69–102.

### *Reverse*

(29) [. . .] That year,<sup>1</sup> the king (Antiochus I) left his . . . , his wife and a famous official<sup>2</sup> in the land Sardis<sup>3</sup> to strengthen the guard. He went to Transpotamia<sup>4</sup>

against the troops of Egypt<sup>5</sup> (30) which were encamped in Transpotamia, and the troops of Egypt withdrew before him. Month XII (Adar), the 24th day (= 27 March 273), the satrap of Babylonia brought out much silver, cloth, goods, and utensils (31) from Babylon and Seleucia, the royal city,<sup>6</sup> and 20 elephants,<sup>7</sup> which the satrap of Bactria had sent to the king, to Transpotamia (32) before the king. That month, the general gathered the troops of the king, which were in Babylonia, from beginning to end, and went to the aid of the king in month I (Nisan = April 273) to Transpotamia. (33) That year, purchases in Babylon and the (other) cities were made with copper coins of Ionia.<sup>8</sup> That year, there was much *ekketu*-disease (scabies) in the land.

(34) Year 37 (= 275/4), (kings) Antiochus (I) and Seleucus,<sup>9</sup> month XII (Adar), the 9th (= 23 March 274), the satrap of Babylonia and the appointees of the king, who had gone before the king to Sardis in year 36 (= 276/5), (35) returned to Seleucia, the royal city which is on the Tigris. Their message (written on a) leather (scroll) came to the citizens of Babylon. The 12th day (of the same month Adar, i.e. 26 March 274), (36) the citizens of Babylon went out to Seleucia.<sup>10</sup> That month, the satrap of Babylonia . . . the fields which had been given in year 32 (= 280/79) at the command of the king for sustenance of the people of Babylon, (37) Nippur, and Cutha. Bulls, sheep everything of the [cities] and religious centres at the command of the king before the citizens (38) . . . of the house of the king, he made. That year, a large number of bricks for the reconstruction of Esa[ngila]<sup>11</sup> were moulded above Babylon and below Babylon . . .

### *Upper edge*

(1) . . . there was famine in Babylonia; people sold their children. People died of . . . That year, there was *ekketu*-disease [in the land? . . .] (2) Purchases in Babylon and the (other) cities were made with copper coins of Ionia. Year . . . kings Antiochus (I) and Seleucus . . . (3) Diary from month VII (Teshri) of year 38 (= 274/3) to the end of month XII (Adar) of year 38, kings Antiochus (I) and Seleucus.

Translation from Sachs and Hunger (1988), no. -273 pp. 345, 347

1. The 38th of the Seleucid era in the Babylonian reckoning (see **158**), i.e. 274/3.
2. Identification unclear.
3. Sardis in Lydia (cf. **173**, **194**).
4. Syria.
5. i.e. the forces of Ptolemy II Philadelphus; the reference is to the 'First Syrian War' between Ptolemies and Seleucids; cf. **254** and n. 8.
6. Seleucia on the Tigris, cf. **167**.
7. Cf. **57** n. 8. Bactria at the time was still in the Seleucid empire (contrast **188**).



8. i.e. there was a scarcity of silver and bronze coins, first introduced in Babylonia by Seleucus I, were used instead; cf. Houghton and Lorber I (2002), 51, 56f., 64–6 (all struck at Seleucia on the Tigris).
9. The eldest son of Antiochus I, Seleucus was co-regent from 279 to 268/7 (cf. **158** n. 4) but was then executed by him, allegedly for conspiracy (cf. Trogus, *Prologus* 26; John of Antioch fr. 55 in *FHG* IV p. 558; Brodersen (1989), 173; Ogden (1999), 125), and replaced as co-regent by his younger brother Antiochus II; cf. **165, 168–9**.
10. The reference seems to be to a transfer of colonists from Babylonia to Seleucia on the Tigris; a similar transfer was carried out by Seleucus I, according to Pausanias I.16.3 (on Seleucid policy cf. further **167**). The lands the colonists had originally received in Babylonia reverted to the crown.
11. The great temple at Babylon, cf. **166**.

## 164 Letters concerning gifts of land by Antiochus I to Aristodicides of Assos (c.275?)

### (a) *Letter of Meleager to Ilium*

Meleager<sup>1</sup> to the council and people of Ilium,<sup>2</sup> greetings. Aristodicides of Assos<sup>3</sup> has handed to us letters from King Antiochus (I), copies of which we append below. He also came to us in person and / said that although many others were approaching him and offering him crowns<sup>4</sup> – and we ourselves have information on this point as embassies have come to us from certain cities – he wished that the land given to him by King Antiochus / should because of the sanctuary and because of his goodwill towards you be attached to your city.<sup>5</sup> What he wishes to be granted to him by the city, he will explain to you himself. You would do well therefore to vote him all the privileges,<sup>6</sup> to inscribe the terms of the grant he will make to you / and exhibit them on a stele to be placed in the sanctuary, so that you may securely preserve for all time the grant that has been made to you. Farewell.

### (b) *Copies of three letters of Antiochus I*

(I) King Antiochus to Meleager, greetings. We have given to Aristodicides of Assos / 2,000 *plethra*<sup>7</sup> of arable land, to be attached to the city of Ilium or of Scepsis. Do therefore give instructions to assign to Aristodicides from the land which borders on Gergis or Scepsis,<sup>8</sup> wherever you decide, the 2,000 *plethra* of land, and attach it to the city of Ilium or of / Scepsis. Farewell.

(II) King Antiochus to Meleager, greetings. Aristodicides of Assos came to see us requesting that we give him in the Hellespontine satrapy Petra, formerly held by Meleager,<sup>9</sup> and in the territory of Petra / 1,500 *plethra* of arable land and a further 2,000 *plethra* of arable land from the territory bordering on the portion already given to him. And we have given to him

35 Petra, unless it has previously been given to someone else,<sup>10</sup> and the land /  
next to Petra, and a further 2,000 *plethra* of arable land because he as our  
'friend' has performed for us all the services he could with all goodwill and  
zeal.<sup>11</sup> Do you therefore investigate whether this Petra has not been previously  
40 given to someone else, and designate / it with its neighbouring territory to  
Aristodicides, and from the royal land which neighbours on the land previously  
given to Aristodicides give instructions to measure out and assign to him 2,000  
45 *plethra*, and to allow him<sup>12</sup> to attach it / to any city he wishes in the country  
(*chora*) and the alliance (*symmachia*).<sup>13</sup> Should the royal peasants (*basilikoi*  
*laoi*)<sup>14</sup> from the region of Petra wish to live at Petra for their own security,  
we have given instructions to Aristodicides to allow them to reside there.<sup>15</sup>  
50 Farewell. /

(III) King Antiochus to Meleager, greetings. Aristodicides came to see us  
and said that he had not yet received the place called Petra and the land  
attached to it, concerning which we previously sent letters giving it to him,  
as it had been assigned to Athenaeus the commander of the naval base, and  
55 he has requested / that in place of the territory of Petra be designated to  
him the same number of *plethra*, and that a further 2,000 *plethra* be granted  
to him, to be attached to any city he wishes in our alliance, as we have  
previously written. Seeing therefore that he / is well disposed and zealous for  
60 our interests<sup>16</sup> we wish to treat the man with great consideration and have  
acquiesced in these matters too. He says that the land granted to him in the  
territory of Petra amounts to 1,500 *plethra*. Do therefore give instructions  
65 to measure out / and designate to Aristodicides the 2,500 *plethra*<sup>17</sup> of arable  
land and in place of the territory of Petra a further 1,500 *plethra* of arable  
70 land from the royal land which neighbours on the land originally given / to  
him by us. And (give instructions) to allow Aristodicides to attach the land  
to any city he wishes in our alliance, as we have written in the previous letter.  
Farewell.

*RC* 13, 10–12; *OGIS* 221; *I.Ilion* no. 33; Burstein 21; BD 18

1. The Seleucid governor of the Hellespontine satrapy; cf. **165** and **235** n. 3.
2. On Ilium and the Seleucids cf. **162** and n. 13.
3. A Greek city in the Troad: Aristodicides enjoyed local influence (cf. Savalli-Lestrade (1998), 11f. and the family of Thraseas in **272**). On the places mentioned in this inscription see Cook (1973).
4. Not literally, but refers to honours and presents of all kinds.
5. Royal land granted to a favourite and 'attached' to the territory of a city became the irrevocable property of the beneficiary, while the city to which the land was attached could derive fiscal advantages from this land besides the gain in prestige; cf. also **173**. Whether this improved in any way the status of the native peasants (thus e.g. Tarn and Griffith (1952), 134–8; cf. de Ste Croix (1981), 157f.) is doubtful; cf. K. M. T.

- Atkinson, *Antichthon* 2 (1968), 32–57, esp. 37–42 and in a wider context Briant (1982), 227–79. On Seleucid royal land cf. Walbank (1981), 126–30; Ma (1999), 130f. and generally de Ste Croix (1981), 150–8; C. Mileta in Ogden (2002), 157–75. On Ptolemaic ‘gift’ land cf. **296** n. 15.
6. This will have included citizenship at Ilium; cf. Metrodorus in **165**, Aristolochus in **206**.
  7. 1 *plethron* = 10,000 sq ft = c.950 m<sup>2</sup> (depending on the size of foot).
  8. Royal land, cf. below. On Scepsis cf. **38–9**.
  9. Not the governor.
  10. The inefficiency and rudimentary character of the royal administration are astonishing, though this may reflect disruption caused by the Galatian invasion (cf. **159**, **168**); contrast the more complex and efficient administration in **173**, **193**, **201**.
  11. Aristodicides makes all the demands and is rewarded for his loyalty, not his competence (cf. also the third letter). On royal favourites cf. **132**, **204**, **206**, and generally **31** n. 3.
  12. Attaching the land to the territory of a city is an option, not a requirement (though it clearly was a privilege). Cf. the following letter (III) and **173**.
  13. It is not clear whether the words ‘country’ and ‘alliance’ are used in a technical sense and show that cities in the Seleucid empire fell into two distinct legal categories; in the next letter Antiochus I only refers to the ‘alliance’.
  14. On these cf. too **168**, **172–3**, **194**. For Ptolemaic Egypt cf. **290** n. 38.
  15. Another probable indication of the Galatian threat (n. 10).
  16. Cf. **162** n. 3.
  17. More than Aristodicides asked, if this is not an engraver’s error. The total size of his estate amounts to 8,000 *plethra*, nearly 2,000 acres (800 hectares).

## 165 Ilium honours Metrodorus, doctor of Antiochus I (c.275–268/7)

Since King Antiochus (I) has written that when he was wounded in the neck during the battle<sup>1</sup> he was treated by the doctor Metrodorus<sup>2</sup> / and is now safe, 5  
and (since) Meleager<sup>3</sup> the *strategos* has also written about him with thought for the interest of the city, be it resolved by the council and the people: to 10  
praise / Metrodorus son of Timocles of Amphipolis for his excellence and the goodwill he shows towards Kings Antiochus (I) and Seleucus<sup>4</sup> and the people, 15  
to nominate him *proxenos* / and benefactor (*euergetes*) of the city; to grant him citizenship, the right to acquire land, and priority of access to the council and 20  
the people after sacred matters; and to allow him / to [enrol] in any tribe and phratry that he wishes<sup>5</sup> . . .

*OGIS* 220; *I.Ilion* no. 34; Burstein 20; BD 79

1. Which battle is unknown (during the war against the Galatians? cf. **168**), but Ilium assumes the reference is clear.

2. On Metrodorus cf. Savalli-Lestrade (1998), 13f. On the influential role of doctors at the Seleucid court cf. also Apollophanes of Seleucia (182) and generally Austin (2001), 97f.
3. Probably the same official as in 164. On Ilium and the Seleucids cf. 162 n. 13.
4. Cf. 163 n. 9.
5. Like Aristodicides of Assos (164) and other royal favourites, Metrodorus could be expected to exercise his influence locally on behalf of the king and the dynasty.

## 166 Antiochus I as king of Babylon (268)

The following cuneiform text comes from a barrel-shaped cylinder found in the main temple complex of Ezida at Borsippa near Babylon; the temple was dedicated to Nabu, the patron god of Borsippa. This type of cylinder was deposited only in the foundations of public structures, especially temples. It is the earliest text to show a Seleucid king identifying with the ancient monarchy of Babylon and its traditions – Antiochus I may in fact have gone further here than his father Seleucus (cf. U. Scharrer in Brodersen (1999), 95–128). It invites comparison with the different style and terminology of the many Greek texts in this chapter. For a full discussion see A. Kuhrt and S. M. Sherwin-White, *JHS* 111 (1991), 71–86. On the site of Seleucid Babylon cf. W. Held, *Jdl* 117 (2002), 218–21.

I am Antiochus, the great king, the legitimate king, the king of the world, king of Babylon,<sup>1</sup> king of all countries, the caretaker of the temples Esagila and Ezida,<sup>2</sup> the first (-born) son of King Seleucus, the Macedonian,<sup>3</sup> king of Babylon.

When I conceived the idea of (re)constructing Esagila and Ezida, I formed with my august hands (when I was still) in the country Hatti<sup>4</sup> the (first) brick for Esagila and Ezida with the finest oil and brought (it with me) for the laying of the foundation of Esagila and Ezida. And in the month of Addaru, the 20th day, the 43rd year,<sup>5</sup> I did lay the foundation of Ezida, the (only) true temple of Nebo which is in Borsippa.

O Nebo, lofty son, (most) wise among the gods, splendid (and) worthy of all praise, first-born son of Marduk, child of Erua, the queen who fashioned all creation, do look friendly (upon me) and may – upon your lofty command which is never revoked – the overthrow of the country of my enemy, the fulfilment of (all) my wishes against my foes, constant predominance, a kingdom (ruled) in justice (to all), an orderly government, years of happiness, enough progeny be your permanent gift to the (joint) kingship of Antiochus and his son,<sup>6</sup> King Seleucus!

When you, Prince Nebo, born in Esagila, first-born of Marduk, child of Erua the queen, enter – under jubilant rejoicings – Ezida, the (only) true

temple, the temple (befitting) your position as Anu (i.e. highest of the gods), the seat which gladdens your heart, may – upon your trusty command which cannot be made void – my days (on earth) be long, my years many, my throne firm, my rule lasting, under your lofty sceptre which determines the borderline between the heaven and the nether world. May (only words of) favour be on your sacred lips with regard to me, and may I personally conquer (all) the countries from sunrise to sunset,<sup>7</sup> gather their tribute and bring it (home) for the perfection of Esagila and Ezida.

O Nebo, foremost son, when you enter Ezida, the (only) true temple, may there be on your lips (words of) favour for Antiochus, the king of all, countries, for Seleucus, the king his son (and) for Stratonice,<sup>8</sup> his consort, the queen!

Pritchard (1969), p. 317

1. On the Seleucids and Babylon cf. also **36**, **158**, **163**. While Alexander treated Babylonian cults with respect (**167**), he did not identify with the Babylonian monarchy (cf. Scharer, *op. cit.*, 119–23).
2. Cf. **163**; on the Seleucids and native cults cf. **172**, **215**.
3. Cf. **167** n. 3; the emphasis on Macedonian descent in a Babylonian context is unusual.
4. Syria.
5. = March 268.
6. Cf. **163** n. 9.
7. Compare the claim of Persian kings (**11**) and the tone of **268**.
8. The mention of the queen Stratonice (on whom cf. **162** n. 8) is unusual in such a text.

## 167 Seleucia on the Tigris

Cf. **36** and see A. Invernizzi in Bilde et al. (1993), 230–50; W. Held, *Jdl* 117 (2002), 221–36.

[. . .] Here too (in Babylon) is the tomb of Belus,<sup>1</sup> which is now completely in ruins; it is said that Xerxes destroyed it.<sup>2</sup> It was a square-based pyramid of baked brick, a stade (c.175 m) high and each of its sides also measured a stade. Alexander intended to restore it, but it was a great and time-consuming task (merely to clear away the heap of dust would have taken 10,000 men two months), and so the undertaking was not brought to completion; for the king soon fell ill and died, and none of his successors showed any interest. Even what was left of the city was neglected and ruined, partly by the Persians, partly by time, partly by the disdain shown by the Macedonians<sup>3</sup> for these matters, particularly after the foundation by Seleucus (I) Nicator of Seleucia on the Tigris, near Babylon, some 300 stades away (c.52.5 km).<sup>4</sup> For he and all the kings after him lavished their attention on this city and transferred their royal

capital there.<sup>5</sup> Hence it has now grown larger than Babylon while Babylon is largely deserted, so that one would not hesitate to apply to it the words of a comic poet about Megalopolis in Arcadia: ‘Megalopolis (= the great city) is a great desert’.<sup>6</sup> [. . .]

Strabo XVI.1.5

1. Bel Marduk.
2. Thus also Arrian III.16.4 and VII.17.2, but the claim is disputed; cf. e.g. A. Kuhrt in *CAH IV*<sup>2</sup> (1988), 133–5.
3. The Seleucids, frequently referred to by Strabo and other sources as the ‘Macedonians’ (cf. C. F. Edson, *CP* 53 (1958), 153–70).
4. Cf. 57 ch. 58; exact date uncertain, cf. R. A. Hadley, *Historia* 27 (1978), 228–30.
5. Seleucia is referred to in Babylonian texts as ‘the royal city’ (cf. 163), and was ‘capital’ only for the eastern part of the empire (cf. 160).
6. Contrast 166; Seleucid policy was seemingly ambivalent, cf. also 57 ch. 58 though for a different view cf. A. Kuhrt and S. M. Sherwin-White, *JHS* 111 (1991), 82f. With Strabo compare the similar presentation in Pliny *NH* VI.122: ‘The temple of Jupiter Belus in Babylon is still standing [. . .] but in all other respects the place has gone back to a desert, having been drained of its population by the proximity of Seleucia, founded for that purpose by (Seleucus) Nicator.’ For a view of Seleucia on the Tigris under the Roman empire, cf. Tacitus *Annals* VI.42: ‘a powerful city, surrounded by walls, which had not been corrupted by barbarian ways but preserved the spirit of Seleucus its founder. Three hundred citizens chosen for their wealth or wisdom make up its senate, while the people has its share of power.’ Cf. de Ste Croix (1981), 536f.

## 168 Decree of two native villages in Asia Minor (January 267)

See D. Musti in *CAH VII*.1<sup>2</sup> (1984), 195f.

In the reigns of King Antiochus (I) and King Seleucus,<sup>1</sup> in the 45th year, in the month Peritius,<sup>2</sup> when Helenus was overseer (*epimeletes*) of the district (*topos*),<sup>3</sup> a meeting of the assembly was held and it was resolved by the people of Neoteichos / and Kiddiokome:<sup>4</sup> since Banabelos<sup>5</sup> the manager of the estates of Achaeus,<sup>6</sup> and Lachares son of Papus, the accountant (*eklogistes*)<sup>7</sup> of the estates of Achaeus, have been their benefactors on all occasions and both publicly and in private / have given assistance to every individual during the war against the Galatians,<sup>8</sup> and as many of them had been taken prisoner by the Galatians, they reported (the matter) to Achaeus and [ransomed them], / (it was resolved) to praise them and to inscribe their benefaction on a stone stele, and to place it in the sanctuary of Zeus at Babakome and that of Apollo at Kiddiokome, / and to grant them and their descendants for all time a seat of honour (*proedria*) at the public festivals, and to sacrifice to Achaeus the lord of the district and saviour every year / an ox in the sanctuary of Zeus,

and to Lachares and Banabelos their benefactors two rams, <and?> in the sanctuary of Apollo at Kiddiokome three sheep, so that others may know that the people of Neoteichos / and Kiddiokome know how to repay honours to those who have done them a favour.<sup>9</sup> 30

M. Wörrle, *Chiron* 5 (1975), 59–87; J. and L. Robert, *Bull.* 1976, 667; Burstein 19; *SEG* 47.1739

1. See **163** n. 9.
2. January 267: this places the victory of Antiochus I over the Galatians in c. 269–268.
3. The first attested example of this title in Seleucid administration.
4. Two native villages in Asia Minor; the Greek character of the inscription and the hellenisation of the two native communities are noteworthy.
5. A semitic name; cf. Sherwin-White and Kuhrt (1993), 122f.
6. Grandfather of the Achaeus who revolted from Antiochus III (**180**, **224**); for other large estates in Asia Minor worked by native peasants (*laoi*), cf. **164**, **173**, **194**.
7. Cf. **201**.
8. Cf. **159**.
9. This is the first text to show the native peasantry of Asia Minor speaking with its own voice; contrast **164**, **173**, **194**.

## 169 Decree of the League of Ionians for Antiochus I (c.267–261)

Celebration of the king's birthday (**271** n. 6) was an obvious way for Greek cities to conciliate rulers and seek to limit royal interference; whether any concrete benefit actually followed on this occasion is not known.

... on the fourth day of the beginning (of the month) ... , so that we should [pass the day on which King Antiochus (I)] was born<sup>1</sup> in ... reverence [ ... To each person participating in the festival (?)] shall be given / [a sum] equivalent 5 to that given for [the procession and sacrifice? for Alexander].<sup>2</sup> And so that [King Antiochus and] Queen Stratonice<sup>3</sup> [might know of the resolutions (?)] of the League of] Ionians<sup>4</sup> concerning the honours, two [ambassadors shall be appointed . . .] from each city, / . . . as ambassadors to King [Antiochus, 10 and they] shall hand over the present decree [to the king from the League] of the Ionian cities as [ . . . and shall do (?) whatever] good they can to the [League of cities]. The ambassadors [shall] also [invite] King / [Antiochus] 15 to take [every] care of the [Ionian] cities [so that in future] they may be free and under [democracies,<sup>5</sup> and may enjoy harmony (?)] in their political life according to (their) ancestral [laws]. The ambassadors [shall] also [represent] to him that [if he does this] he will be the cause [of many blessings] to the cities / [and will at the same time follow the] policy of his ancestors.<sup>6</sup> [The 20

ambassadors shall also ask [King] Antiochus to point to [the spot that] seems [to him . . .], in which [his] sacred enclosure [will be established (?)] and the religious festival (*panegyris*) [will be] celebrated.<sup>7</sup> [And when] the ambassadors  
25 [have returned], the city / [. . . the] sacrifice of the *Alexandria* [will invite all the peoples] who participate in the [sacrifice] to discuss [in accordance with the resolution] of the council . . . and the furnishing . . . , the [contest (?), the  
30 sacrifices] and the other arrangements / [to be made and the] time when they are to be celebrated. [When the] decree [is ratified] the delegates who are present from the cities shall offer a sacrifice to all the gods and goddesses, and to the kings Antiochus <and Antiochus><sup>8</sup> and to Queen Stratonice, and shall sacrifice perfect victims, and the delegates and all the others in the city  
35 shall wear wreaths. / The priests and priestesses shall open the sanctuaries and sacrifice with a prayer that the resolutions may bring advantage to Kings Antiochus and Antiochus, to Queen Stratonice and [to all] those who have a share in the honours.<sup>9</sup> / This decree shall be inscribed on a stele with the names and patronymics of the delegates who have come from the cities, and shall be placed in the sacred enclosure next to the altar of the kings. The peoples in each city shall also inscribe this decree and the names and patronymics [of  
40 the] delegates, / [and set it up in the place (?) which] seems to them most distinguished.

. . . Ephesians: Artemidorus son of Gorgo

. . . Lebedians: Cap . . . (the rest of the inscription is lost)

*OGIS 222; I.Erythrai II, no. 504; BD 20*

1. On the celebration of the king's birthday cf. **271** n. 6.
2. This festival, celebrated by the League of Ionians (n. 4), was probably established in Alexander's lifetime.
3. Cf. **162** n. 8.
4. The ancient League of Ionians in Asia Minor, dissolved under the Persians, was seemingly revived by Alexander, cf. **48** n. 1.
5. Cf. **174**.
6. 'Ancestors' may only refer to Antiochus' father Seleucus I.
7. For divine honours paid to the Seleucids by Greek cities see **162** n. 9.
8. Antiochus II, son of Antiochus I, associated on the throne with him; cf. **163** n. 9.
9. This includes the followers of the king, cf. **162**.

## 170 Letter of Antiochus I or II to Erythrae

See Ma (1999), 267f.

King Antiochus (I or II) to the council and people of Erythrae, greetings. Tharsynon, Pythes and Bottas, your envoys, handed over the decree<sup>1</sup> to us



in which you voted the honours, and brought the crown with which you  
 crowned / us, and likewise the gold offered as a present,<sup>2</sup> and they themselves 5  
 spoke about the goodwill which you have constantly felt towards our house,  
 and in general about the gratitude felt by the people towards all benefactors,  
 and also about the eminent position enjoyed by the city under the former / 10  
 kings, and they requested with every earnestness and zeal that we should be  
 well disposed to you and that at the same time we should help in increasing  
 the city's privileges in all that relates to honour and glory. We have graciously  
 accepted the honours and the crown, and likewise the present (of gold), and  
 we praise you for your gratitude in all matters; / for you seem in general 15  
 to pursue this line of conduct. And therefore from the beginning we have  
 constantly maintained our goodwill towards you, as we can see the sincerity  
 and honesty of your conduct, and now we are even more attracted to you, as  
 we recognise your nobility from many other proofs, and not least from the  
 decree / which was handed over to us and from the words spoken by your 20  
 ambassadors. And since Tharsynon, Pythes and Bottas declared that under  
 Alexander and Antigonus (the One-Eyed) your city was autonomous and free  
 from tribute,<sup>3</sup> and our ancestors<sup>4</sup> were constantly zealous on its behalf, and  
 since we see that their decision / was just and we ourselves wish not to fall 25  
 short in (our) benefactions, we shall help to preserve your autonomy and  
 we grant you exemption from tribute, including all the other taxes and [the]  
 contributions [to] the Gallic fund.<sup>5</sup> You will also have the [. . . and any] other  
 privilege which we shall think of or / [you will request from us]. We also invite 30  
 you, remembering [that you have always?] most earnestly tried . . . goodwill  
 as is just and [. . . in conformity?] with your previous actions . . . that you  
 will remember worthily [those from whom] you have received benefactions. / 35  
 [Your] envoys [will report to you at greater length on these matters and] on the  
 other subject of our discussion, and [we praise] them for all the other [things  
 they did and] because of the zeal they showed [for the people's interests].  
 Farewell.<sup>6</sup>

*RC 15; OGIS 223; I.Erythrai no. 31; Burstein 23; BD 22*

1. For fragments of this decree cf. *I.Erythrai* no. 30.
2. 'Presents' of gold to rulers on special occasions (e.g. accession, victories) were customary in the East and in the Hellenistic period often took the form of crowns; cf. **132, 215** §142, **290** n. 15.
3. Tribute was the norm unless the city was specially exempted; cf. **171, 191, 215, 221**.
4. Perhaps simply = 'father', if the letter is from Antiochus I; the letter is strikingly silent on Lysimachus, who had controlled the city in the early third century.
5. Probably a special tax to meet in some way Galatian pressure (cf. **159**).
6. Fragments of a decree of Erythrae follow the king's letter.

## 171 Treaty between Lysimachea and Antiochus I or II

Located in the Thracian Chersonese (cf. 56 n. 9), Lysimachea had a connection of long standing with the Seleucids. It was near the city that Seleucus I was assassinated during his incursion on the European mainland in 281 (159 §8). Antiochus II is known to have campaigned in Thrace (Polyaenus 4.16). Starting in 197 Antiochus III made several campaigns there during which he resettled Lysimachea (195–6). The exact context of the following inscription is uncertain, though the king mentioned is probably Antiochus I or II and not Antiochus III (thus Ferrary and Gauthier cited below; Ma (1999), 266f.). The text is unusual in providing the only example known so far of a bilateral treaty of alliance between a Seleucid king and a city (Sherwin-White and Kuhrt (1993), 41f.). In this treaty the relationship between Lysimachea and the ruling king appears more equal than later under Antiochus III when he was laying claim to Thrace as part of his imperial inheritance (195–6).

[I swear<sup>1</sup> by Zeus, the Earth, the Sun . . . and by all the gods and goddesses that I shall abide] by the [friendship and alliance] which I have concluded . . .  
5 of the descendants / . . . as [I have] agreed [and] I shall preserve the city [in  
10 autonomy and] democracy . . . and ungarrisoned [and free from tribute], and  
if anyone makes war / [either on the city] of Lysimachea [or on the forts in  
15 the] countryside<sup>2</sup> I shall come to their assistance as I have [agreed], making  
use of the harbours of Lysimachea as bases, by means of whatever forces I shall  
designate [and] in accordance with what I have defined in the agreement, / and  
I shall not abandon the alliance [which] I have made with the Lysimacheans in  
any way or under any pretext, provided they themselves abide by their alliance  
20 with me. / If I abide by my oath may I prosper, but if I [break the oath] may  
the opposite happen.

Oath of the Lysimacheans.

[I swear] by Zeus, the Earth, the Sun, Poseidon, [Demeter], Apollo,  
25 Ares, Athena / [Areia], the Tauropolus and all the [other] gods and goddesses  
that I shall [abide] by the friendship and alliance which [I have concluded]  
with King Antiochus (I or II) [and] his descendants, and if any-  
30 one / [wages war on him] I shall fight as his ally and shall not abandon  
the alliance [which I have concluded] with King Antiochus in any way or  
35 under any pretext, provided King Antiochus also abides by / the alliance. If  
I abide by my oath may I prosper, but if I break the oath may the opposite  
happen.

*I. Iliou* 45(B); J. L. Ferrary and P. Gauthier,  
*Journal des Savants* 1981, 327–45; Burstein 22

1. On oaths cf. **40** and n. 7.
2. Attacks by the Thracians were a constant risk (cf. later **195**); cf. **62** n. 2.

## 172 Letter of a Seleucid king about grants to Zeus of Baetocaecae (date uncertain)

While acceptance of native cults was clearly the normal policy of the Seleucids (cf. **163**, **166**, **215**), their policy towards the landed wealth of many native sanctuaries has been variously interpreted. It was at one time assumed that the earlier Seleucids appropriated much of this wealth but that the policy was reversed by later rulers (thus e.g. *RC*, *ad loc.*, Tarn and Griffith (1952), 134–41), though this view is no longer accepted. The date of the present text, part of a dossier from the sanctuary of Zeus at Baetocaecae re-inscribed in Roman imperial times, was for long disputed. Often assigned to the late Seleucid period and interpreted as a reversal of earlier Seleucid policy (thus e.g. Welles), an earlier date, in the reigns of Antiochus I or II, was also advocated (H. Seyrig, *Syria* 28 (1951), 200–2). The arguments for a late date, however, now seem conclusive; cf. K. J. Rigsby, *TAPA* 110 (1980), 248–54, and for a detailed discussion of this inscription in relation to Seleucid policy towards sanctuaries cf. Dignas (2002), 74–84, 109.

Letter of King Antiochus. King Antiochus to Euphemus,<sup>1</sup> greetings. I have issued the memorandum which is appended below. Let action be taken as instructed on the matters which you are to carry out.

A report having been brought to me about the power of the god Zeus of Baetocaecae,<sup>2</sup> / I have decided to concede to him for all time the source of the god's power, (namely) the village of Baetocaecae,<sup>3</sup> formerly held by Demetrius, son of Demetrius and grandson of Mnaseas,<sup>4</sup> (who lived) at Tourgona (?) in the satrapy of Apamea, together with everything that appertains and belongs to it, according to the existing surveys,<sup>5</sup> and including the revenues of the present year, so that the revenue from this village / may be spent for the celebration of the monthly sacrifices and the other things that increase the prestige of the sanctuary by the priest designated by the god, as is the custom. Fairs exempt from taxation<sup>6</sup> are also to be held every month on the fifteenth and the thirtieth; the sanctuary is to be inviolate<sup>7</sup> and the village exempt from billeting,<sup>8</sup> as no objection has been lodged against this. Anyone who opposes any of the above-mentioned instructions / shall be held guilty of impiety. A copy (of the instructions) is to be inscribed on a stone stele and placed in this same sanctuary. It will therefore be necessary to write to the usual officials so that action is taken in accordance with these instructions.

*IGLS* VII.4028 B and C; *RC* 70

1. An official, precise status unknown.
2. A native sanctuary in north Syria (cf. map 4); whether it was in the territory of the Phoenician city of Aradus (176) is not clear, and Aradus is not named in this text (cf. Rigsby, *op. cit.*), but it seems very likely that Aradus was seeking to control its lucrative revenues and that the king was siding here with the sanctuary against the city – a dispute which continued into Roman times (Dignas, *op. cit.*; compare the dispute between Labraunda and Mylasa, 179).
3. For native villages cf. 164, 168, 173, 174 1. 45, 194, 201; cf. also 249 n. 4.
4. Otherwise unknown, but probably a royal favourite who had been granted a large estate, cf. 164, 168, 173, 194. There is no indication that the village of Baetocaecae had previously belonged to the god.
5. Cf. 164, 173.
6. Cf. Sherwin-White and Kuhrt (1993), 65.
7. See 65.
8. An important privilege; cf. 311.

### 173 A sale of land by Antiochus II to his divorced queen Laodice (254/3)

The context of this inscription is the conclusion of the ‘Second Syrian War’ of 260–253 between Antiochus II and Ptolemy II (cf. 175, 260; Huss (2001), 281–7), as a result of which Antiochus married Berenice, daughter of Ptolemy (cf. BD 24), and demoted his previous wife Laodice, who nevertheless received a large estate, presumably to provide her with financial security. (For the sequel, the ‘Laodicean’ or ‘Third Syrian War’ of 246–1, cf. 174.) The following dossier deals with that transaction and comprises three documents: (a) a covering letter by Metrophanes, governor of the Hellespontine satrapy (cf. 164, 235 n. 3) to Nicomachus, a subordinate finance official (*oikonomos*), (b) a letter of Antiochus II to Metrophanes, (c) a report of a *hyparch* (full name lost), an official in charge of a subdivision of the satrapy. The lost portion of the text at the beginning comprised a letter from Nicomachus to the *hyparch*, attested by the last document. (For a different view of the contents of the stele cf. P. N. Lockhart, *AJP* 82 (1961), 188–92 but see *SEG* 19.676). With this text, which gives important information on Seleucid administration and land tenure in Asia Minor, compare 164, 168, 172, 194.

- (a) [. . . the copy of the edict written] by him . . . and to the others . . . [to  
5 place] the stelae . . . / [and] in accordance with the letter sent by [the king]  
issue a contract<sup>1</sup> and give instructions to inscribe the sale and the survey<sup>2</sup> on  
two stone stelae, and to place [one] of these at Ephesus in the sanctuary of  
10 Artemis, and the other / at Didyma in the sanctuary of Apollo,<sup>3</sup> and to provide  
the money needed for this from the royal treasury. Take care that the erection  
of the stelae is carried out as quickly as possible, and write to us when it has

been done. We have also written to Timoxenus the keeper of the records to enter / the sale and the survey in the royal archives at Sardis,<sup>4</sup> as instructed by the king. [Year 59], in the month of Daesius.<sup>5</sup> 15

(b) King Antiochus (II) to Metrophanes, greetings. We have sold to Laodice<sup>6</sup> Pannucome the manor house, and the land which is attached to the village – it is bounded by the territory of Zelia and Cyzicus / and the ancient road, which was above Pannucome, [but] has been ploughed up [by] the peasants nearby so that they might appropriate the place (the road which now exists for [Pannucome] was constructed later) – together with any hamlets which are found in this region, the peasants (*laoi*) who live there with all their household / and belongings,<sup>7</sup> and with the revenues of the 59th year,<sup>8</sup> at a price of 30 talents of silver,<sup>9</sup> and also any of the peasants from this village who have moved to other places,<sup>10</sup> on condition that she pays no taxes to the royal treasury and that she will have the right / to attach the land to any city she wishes.<sup>11</sup> And similarly any who buy (the land) or receive it from her will own it lawfully and will attach it to any city they wish, unless Laodice has previously attached it to a city, in which case they will exercise their property rights where the land has been attached / by Laodice. We have given orders to pay the price into the treasury at . . . in three instalments, the first in the month of Audnaeus<sup>12</sup> in the 60th year, the second in the month of Xandicus,<sup>13</sup> and the third within the next three months. / Give instructions to transfer to Arrhidaeus, the manager<sup>14</sup> of the property of Laodice, the village, the manor house, the land which is attached to it, the peasants, with their households and all their belongings, and to inscribe the sale in the royal archives at Sardis and on five stone stelae, the first of these / to be placed at Ilium in the sanctuary of Athena,<sup>15</sup> the second in the sanctuary at Samothrace, the third at Ephesus in the sanctuary of Artemis, the fourth at Didyma in the sanctuary of Apollo<sup>16</sup> and the fifth at Sardis in the sanctuary of Artemis.<sup>17</sup> And (give instructions) to survey the land at once / and mark it off with boundary stones, and to [inscribe] the survey in the stelae . . . in the month of Dios, year . . . 20 25 30 35 40 45 50

(c) . . . [Pannucome, the manor house, the land and the peasants living there. Transferred] / to Arrhidaeus, the manager of the property of Laodice, [by . . . c) rates the *hyparch*, the village, the manor house and the [land] attached to it, in accordance with the instructions of Nicomachus the *oikonomos*, [to which] were appended the written instructions from Metrophanes and from the king to him, according to which it was necessary to carry out the survey. From / the east, from the land of Zelia which adjoins that of Cyzicus, the ancient royal road which leads to Pannucome, above the village and the manor house, as pointed out by Menecrates the son of Bacchius of Pythocome and Daos 55 60

- 65 son of Azaretus and Medeios son of Metrodorus both of Pannucome,<sup>18</sup> / but which has been ploughed up by those living near the place; from this to the altar of Zeus which is above the manor house and which is, like the tomb, on the right of the road; from the tomb the royal road itself which leads through the Eupannese up to the river Aesepus. [The territory] was marked off with pillars according to the boundaries which have been pointed out.

*Didyma* II (Berlin 1958), 492 A–C, *RC* 19, 18, 20;  
*OGIS* 225 (B and C only); Burstein 24 (B only); BD 25

1. For the engraving of the stelae.
2. The following two texts.
3. The present inscription.
4. Cf. **194**.
5. *c.* May 253.
6. Note the absence of royal titles for Laodice.
7. Compare **194**.
8. In the Seleucid era = 253.
9. A nominal sum, i.e. the sale was fictitious.
10. Though the native peasants are not literally tied to the soil, they cannot escape their fiscal obligations by moving from the village in which they are registered.
11. See **164** nn. 5 and 12.
12. December 253–January 252.
13. March 252.
14. Cf. **168**.
15. Cf. **162**, **164**.
16. Cf. **175**.
17. Cf. **194**. Note the extensive publicity given to the transaction.
18. Note the mixture of Greek and non-Greek names; cf. **168**.

## 174 Smyrna under Seleucus II (*c.*241)

The context of this inscription is the time after the ‘Laodicean’ or ‘Third Syrian War’ of 246–241 between Seleucus II and Ptolemy III (cf. **175**, **266–8**, **271**, **273**; H. Heinen in *CAH* VII.1<sup>2</sup> (1984), 420f.). While Magnesia near Mount Sipylus and the troops stationed there were clearly on the Ptolemaic side, Smyrna remained loyal to Seleucus II and is seen here reaping the resulting benefits. The inscription comprises three documents: (*a*) lines 1–33, decree of Smyrna on the treaty with the inhabitants of Magnesia near Mount Sipylus; (*b*) lines 34–88, treaty between the inhabitants of Smyrna and those of Magnesia; (*c*) lines 89–108, decree of Smyrna concerning the soldiers at Old Magnesia and others not included in the treaty. See Cadoux (1938), 113–27; Cohen (1978), 60–3, 77f. (though cf. S. Sherwin-White, *JHS* 100 (1980), 259f.); Ma (1999), 44f., 49f.

(a) Resolved by the people, proposal of the generals: since previously at the time when King Seleucus (II) crossed into Seleucis,<sup>1</sup> and many great dangers were threatening our city and territory,<sup>2</sup> the people preserved its goodwill and friendship towards him, and was not daunted at the enemies' invasion and gave no thought to the destruction of its property, but considered everything secondary to the maintenance / of its policy of friendship and to defending the king's interests<sup>3</sup> to the best of its ability as it initially promised; and so King Seleucus, who shows piety towards the gods<sup>4</sup> and affection towards his parents, being generous and knowing how to repay gratitude towards his benefactors, honoured our city because of the goodwill and zeal displayed by the people towards his interests and because of the establishment in our city of the cult of his father Antiochus (II) Theos (the god) and his father's mother Stratonice Thea (the goddess), in which are offered to them / great honours publicly by the people and in private by each of the citizens,<sup>5</sup> and he guaranteed to the people its autonomy and democracy, and wrote to the kings, the dynasts, the cities and the peoples (*ethne*)<sup>6</sup> requesting that the sanctuary of Aphrodite Stratoniceis<sup>7</sup> be recognised as inviolate and our city as holy and inviolate.<sup>8</sup> And now that the king has crossed over (the Taurus) into Seleucis, the generals, being anxious that the king's interests should be safeguarded, sent a delegation to the settlers (*katoikoi*) at Magnesia<sup>9</sup> and to the cavalry and soldiers in the camp (*hypaithroí*), and despatched from among themselves / one man, Dionysius, to urge them to preserve for all time their friendship and alliance with King Seleucus, and they promised that if they (i.e. those at Magnesia) defended (the king's) interests and had the same enemies and friends (as the king), they would receive from the people and from King Seleucus every privilege and advantage, and gratitude worthy of their friendship would be repaid to them.<sup>10</sup> The men at Magnesia, being thus invited and being themselves anxious to maintain their friendship and alliance with the king and to defend his interests, eagerly accepted the requests of the generals and promised / to show the same favourable attitude as our people towards all the interests of King Seleucus, and they have sent to us as ambassadors Potamon and Hierocles from the settlers and Damon and Apollonicetes from the soldiers in camp, to negotiate with us and to bring the agreement for the friendship they wish to be concluded. And when the ambassadors were brought before the people they conversed on all matters in conformity with the terms of the agreement. With good fortune, be it resolved to conclude the (treaty of) friendship with the men at Magnesia in furtherance of all the interests of King Seleucus, and to appoint three ambassadors to be sent to them, / who will bring them the agreement as resolved by the people and will discourse about its terms and will urge them to accept and observe the terms of the agreement, and if the men at Magnesia do observe it, the ambassadors who are to be appointed will administer to them the oath

written in the agreement. When the men at Magnesia have accepted this and have jointly sealed the agreement and sworn, and when the ambassadors have returned, let all the other provisions written in the agreement be carried out, and let this decree be inscribed in accordance with the law; let it be  
30 inscribed [on] / the same stele as the agreement will be; and let the monthly presidents (*epimenioi*) of the council invite the ambassadors who [have come] from Magnesia to a meal at the town hall; let Callinus the treasurer give to the ambassadors who are appointed journey money from the city's revenues in accordance with the [law] for the number of days laid down by the people. The number of days was fixed at five, and the ambassadors appointed were Phanodemus son of [Micion], Dionysius son of Dionytas, Parmeniscus son of Pytheas.

(b) When Hegesias was priest, Pythodorus *stephanephoros* (crown-bearer),  
35 in the month of Lenaion, with good fortune: friendship was concluded on the following terms by the people of Smyrna / and the settlers at Magnesia, the cavalry and the infantry in the city, and [the men] in the camp and the other inhabitants,<sup>11</sup> and the people of Smyrna granted citizenship to the settlers at Magnesia, the cavalry and the infantry in the city, and the men in the camp and the [other] inhabitants of the city, on condition that the men at Magnesia preserve the alliance with King Seleucus and goodwill towards his interests with all zeal for all time, and that what they have received from King Seleucus they shall preserve to the best of their ability and shall restore to King Seleucus. They shall enjoy citizen rights together with the people of  
40 Smyrna in accordance with the laws of the city, / without causing any civil disturbance,<sup>12</sup> with the same enemies and friends as the people of Smyrna. The men at Magnesia shall swear to the people of Smyrna and the people of Smyrna to the men at Magnesia the oath appended to the agreement. And when the oaths have been completed the grievances which arose between them during the war<sup>13</sup> shall all be lifted and neither side shall be allowed to accuse the other about what took place during the war, whether through action at law or in any other way. If the clause is violated, any accusation which is brought will be invalid. The settlers at Magnesia, the cavalry and the infantry in the city, and the men in the camp shall be granted citizen rights at Smyrna on a basis of full equality with the other citizens. Similarly citizen rights [shall be  
45 granted] / to the other inhabitants of Magnesia who are free and Greek.<sup>14</sup> The present secretaries of the divisions shall bring to the people the muster-rolls of the cavalry and infantry in the city at Magnesia and of the men in the camp, and the men appointed by the settlers at Magnesia (shall bring) the register of the [other] inhabitants. When the secretaries submit the muster-rolls and the men appointed the register of the other inhabitants, the auditors (*exetastai*) shall administer an oath at the Metroon with newly burnt offerings [on the



secretaries], to the effect that they have submitted to the best of their ability the register of the cavalry and [infantry] settlers who are with them, [those in the city and those who are in the] / camp, and on the men who are submitting the register of the [other inhabitants, to the effect that they have submitted to the best of their ability the register of the] inhabitants of Magnesia who are free and Greek. [The] auditors shall hand over to the keeper of the records of the council and people the [registers which have been submitted], and he shall deposit them in the public record office. [The auditors] shall allot all the names which have been submitted among the tribes and will inscribe them on the citizen-lists, and those who have been inscribed [on the] citizen-lists shall share in all the privileges enjoyed by the other citizens. Those who are enrolled as citizens at Magnesia shall use the laws of the people of Smyrna in their [contracts] with and accusations against people of Smyrna. / They shall accept in Magnesia the [legal] coinage of the city. The men at Magnesia shall welcome the governor (*archon*) appointed by the people to take charge of the keys and to command the garrison of the city, and to preserve the city for King Seleucus. The people at Smyrna shall give as quarters for those who pack up and leave Magnesia houses with as many beds as the people decides,<sup>15</sup> from the time when the agreement is jointly sealed for a period of six months. The treasurer of the sacred revenues shall hire the houses together with the generals and shall provide the expense from the revenues of the city. The settlers at Magnesia, the cavalry and the infantry in the city, and the soldiers in the camp and / the others who are entered in the citizen body shall swear the following oath:<sup>16</sup>

I swear by Zeus, the Earth, the Sun, Ares, Athena Areia, the Tauropolus, the Sipyrene Mother, Apollo at Panda, all the other gods and goddesses, and the Fortune of King Seleucus:<sup>17</sup> I will abide by the treaty concluded with the people of Smyrna for all time, and I will maintain the alliance and the goodwill towards King Seleucus and the city of Smyrna, and what I have received from King Seleucus I will preserve to the best of my ability and return to King Seleucus, and I will not transgress any of the terms of the agreement and I will not distort its written provisions in any way or by any means. I will behave as a citizen in a spirit of / concord (*homonoia*),<sup>18</sup> without causing any civil disturbance, in accordance with the laws of the people of Smyrna and the decrees of the people, and I will help to preserve the autonomy and the democracy (of Smyrna) and all the other privileges granted to the people of Smyrna by King Seleucus, with all zeal at all time and I will not do harm to any of them nor suffer anyone else to do so to the best of my ability. If I notice anyone conspiring against the city or the lands of the city, or subverting the democracy and its equality (*isonomia*), I will inform the people of Smyrna, and I will help vigorously and with all zeal, and I will not abandon (the people

of Smyrna) as far as I can. If I abide by my oath may I prosper, but if I break it may I be destroyed, myself and my [descendants].

70 The people of Smyrna shall swear to the men from Magnesia the following oath: /

I swear by Zeus, the Earth, the Sun, Ares, Athena Areia, the Tauropolus, the Sipyrene Mother, Aphrodite Stratoniceis and all the other gods and goddesses: I will abide by the treaty concluded with the settlers at Magnesia, the cavalry and infantry in the city, the men in the camp and the others included in the [citizen] body for all time, without transgressing any of the terms of the agreement or distorting its written provisions, in any way or by any [means]. And I will be well disposed to King Seleucus and the settlers from Magnesia, those in the city and those in the camp, and the other [inhabitants of] Magnesia who are free and Greek, and I will make them all / citizens, and their  
75 descendants as well, on a basis of full equality with the other [citizens], and I will allot them into tribes and enter them into any tribe they have drawn, and I will not do harm to any of them myself nor suffer anyone else to do so to the best of my ability. If I notice anyone conspiring against them or their descendants or their property, I will inform them as soon as possible and I will give help zealously. I will give them a share in the magistracies and the other public affairs of the city in which the others participate. If I abide by my oath may I prosper, but if I break it may I be destroyed, myself and my descendants.

The people of Smyrna and the men from Magnesia shall appoint men to the number they each think sufficient, to administer the oath to the mass  
80 of citizens / in Smyrna and in Magnesia. They shall [administer the oath after giving public notice] on the previous day that those in the city should stay at home as the oath is about to be taken as laid down in the agreement. The men from Magnesia who have been appointed shall administer [the prescribed oath] to the people of Smyrna, and the men from Smyrna similarly to the men at Magnesia. Callinus [the treasurer shall provide] the sacrificial victims for the taking of the oath at Smyrna from whatever funds the people votes, and likewise at Magnesia the treasurers to whom the people assigns the task. The people of Smyrna shall inscribe the agreement on stelae [of white stone and] consecrate them in the sanctuary of Aphrodite Stratoniceis and at Magnesia on the Maeander in the sanctuary of Artemis [Leucophryene],<sup>19</sup> and the settlers in Magnesia (shall consecrate them) in the  
85 agora next to the altar of / Dionysus and the statues of the kings, and at Panda in [the sanctuary of] Apollo and at Gryneon in the sanctuary of Apollo. The keeper of the records of the council and of the people shall inscribe copies of the agreement (and deposit them) [in the public record office]. The agreements shall be jointly sealed, the one that is given to the people of Smyrna

by whoever is appointed by the state (*koinon*) of Magnesia with their own signet and the existing state signet, and the one that is to be given to Magnesia by the generals and the auditors with the signet of the city and with their own. Let these arrangements be carried out by both peoples with good fortune.

(c) Resolved by the people, proposal of the generals: since the people continues to show concern for all the interests of King Seleucus and formerly helped to increase his kingdom / and preserved his interests as far as possible, and had to suffer the loss and destruction of many of its possessions, and incurred many dangers in order to preserve its friendship with King Seleucus, and now being anxious to help in preserving and maintaining his interests as far as possible, has concluded a friendship with the settlers at Magnesia, and with the cavalry and infantry in the camp and the other inhabitants of Magnesia, so that they should preserve the alliance and the goodwill towards King Seleucus; and believing it necessary for the city to take over also the fort (called) Old Magnesia and to provide for its garrisoning, so that when it has been taken over by the city all the interests of King Seleucus in the vicinity might be more securely preserved, / they sent an embassy to the inhabitants of the fort and invited them to opt for friendship with King Seleucus and to hand over the keys to the governor sent by the people, and to admit a garrison which would help them to preserve the fort for King Seleucus, promising that if they did this they would receive from the city every privilege and advantage, and the inhabitants of the fort, opting for friendship with King Seleucus with all zeal accepted the requests of the people and handed over the keys to the governor sent by the people and admitted the garrison sent by the city into the fort; with good fortune, be it resolved that they should be citizens / and that they should enjoy the same rights as the other citizens, and that their two lots (*kleroi*), the one granted to them by Antiochus (I) Theos Soter (the god and saviour) and the one about which Alexander<sup>20</sup> wrote, should be exempt from the tithe and if the territory occupied by the former settlers at Magnesia is added to our city, the three lots shall remain as a free concession and they shall continue to enjoy their present exemption from taxation. Those of them who do not have a lot shall (each) be given a cavalryman's lot as a free concession from those lying near the fort. Timon and the infantrymen under Timon's command who were detached from the phalanx to guard the fort shall be granted citizen rights and the same exemption from taxation enjoyed by the others, and they shall remain in the fort. Omanes and the Persians under Omanes and the men sent from Smyrna to guard the fort, Meneclis and those under his command, shall be granted citizenship and the other privileges which have been voted to the others from Magnesia, and the people will see to it that they are given from the royal treasury their rations

and pay and everything else which is normally given to them from the royal treasury.<sup>21</sup>

The decree is to be inscribed on the stelae to be consecrated in the sanctuaries by the people (of Smyrna) and [by the] men from Magnesia. It shall also be inscribed in the public records.

*OGIS 229; Staatsv. III.492; BD 29*

1. Cf. **160**.
2. A reference to the 'Third Syrian War'.
3. Cf. **162** n. 3.
4. Cf. **209** n. 5.
5. On the cult of Seleucid rulers by Greek cities cf. **162** n. 9.
6. A shorthand description of the types of state known to the Hellenistic world. Kings = Antigonids, Seleucids, Attalids, Ptolemies; dynasts = petty rulers, as those frequently attested in Asia Minor (cf. **4**, **111** n. 12, **113** §11, **180**, **187**, **231** n. 7, **238** n. 2, **274**; Allen (1983), 12f.; Billows (1995), 81–110; Ma (1999), 175f.); cities = Greek and other self-governing city-states; peoples = nations not organised on a city basis, as e.g. the Jews (cf. **214–17**). For the resulting complexity of relationships cf. J. K. Davies in Ogden (2002), 1–21.
7. On the assimilation of rulers and gods cf. **207**.
8. On *asylia* cf. **65**; a decree of Delphi recognises Smyrna as 'holy and inviolate' (*OGIS* 228; BD 28).
9. The exact identity of these 'settlers' (*katoikoi*) is much disputed; they are regarded by many as military settlers who have been granted land allotments in return for military service (cf. **215**), *katoikoi* and *katoikia* being used in a technical sense (cf. e.g. Bar-Kochva (1976), 22f.; Walbank (1981), 130–3). For Ptolemaic military settlers cf. **314**.
10. Here as below Smyrna is implicitly claiming to speak for the king; under a profession of loyalty to Seleucus II the city is in effect extending its influence in the region.
11. i.e. the civilian population at Magnesia.
12. On the problems posed by the incorporation of new citizens cf. **153**.
13. Cf. n. 2 above.
14. Note the exclusions: all slaves and all the non-Greek natives.
15. Compare Teos and Lebedus in **48**.
16. See **40** n. 7.
17. Note the inclusion of the king's 'Fortune' in the oath.
18. Cf. **63**.
19. Cf. **189**, **190**.
20. A Seleucid official.
21. Cf. n. 10 above. Smyrna is later found opposing Antiochus III (**195**).

## 175 Letter of Seleucus II to Miletus (246–241)

King Seleucus (II) to the council and people of Miletus, greetings. Whereas our ancestors and our father conferred many great benefits on your city<sup>1</sup> because

of the oracles rendered from the sanctuary (you have) / of Apollo Didymeus, 5  
 and because of their kinship with the god himself,<sup>2</sup> and also because of the  
 gratitude shown by your people; and whereas we can see ourselves, from the  
 policies you have constantly pursued towards our interests,<sup>3</sup> which our father's  
 'friends' have pointed out to us,<sup>4</sup> and from the speech / made by Glaucippus 10  
 and Diomander, your envoys who have brought the sacred crown from the  
 shrine with which your people has crowned us, that you remain sincere and  
 firm in your friendships and (that you) remember the benefactions you have  
 received, we welcomed the policy of your people, and / since we are anxious and 15  
 attach the greatest importance to raising [your city] to a more distinguished  
 position [and to increasing?] the privileges [you now have? . . .] (the rest of  
 the letter is lost)

*Didyma II* (Berlin, 1958), 493; *RC 22*; *OGIS 227*

1. On the Seleucid connections with Miletus and Apollo at Didyma, cf. **36, 51** and Rostovtzeff I (1941), 174; Parke (1985), 44–68. Miletus was in the Ptolemaic orbit, at least intermittently, in the 270s and 260s (cf. **259**), then returned to the Seleucid fold in 259/8 during the 'Second Syrian War' (**173**) when Antiochus II helped to free the city from the Ptolemaic officer Timarchus (Appian, *Syrian History* 65; cf. *OGIS 226*).
2. Cf. **36, 42 n. 6, 51, 160 §6, 162, 204, 207**. From the reign of Antiochus I Seleucid coins frequently show on the reverse Apollo seated on the *omphalos* (the round stone at Delphi which marked the centre of the earth); cf. Houghton and Lorber I (2002), 115f. and Plate 3.18, 19, 22, 23.
3. Cf. **162 n. 3**.
4. Note the influence of the 'friends' (cf. **31 n. 3**) of Antiochus II on the young ruler. The context of this inscription may be the display of loyalty by Miletus to Seleucus II during the 'Laodicean War' (cf. **173**).

## 176 Aradus in Phoenicia in the Seleucid empire

See F. Millar, *PCPS* 29 (1983), 61–3; Grainger (1991), 83–9.

In former times the people of Aradus were ruled by their own kings, just like each of the other Phoenician cities. Subsequently, first the Persians, then the Macedonians<sup>1</sup> and now the Romans changed their situation to the present state of affairs. The people of Aradus, then, together with the other Phoenicians were subjects of the Syrian kings (i.e. the Seleucids), who were friendly to them.<sup>2</sup> Then during the conflict between the two brothers Seleucus (II) Callinicus (the Victorious) and Antiochus called Hierax (The Hawk),<sup>3</sup> they joined the side of Callinicus and made a compact with him, which allowed them to receive refugees from his kingdom and not to surrender them against their will, though they were not to allow them to sail out (of their city) without

the king's permission.<sup>4</sup> This was the source of great advantages to them; for the men who took refuge with them were no ordinary individuals but men in positions of great trust who feared for their lives. Being entertained by them they regarded their hosts as benefactors (*euergetai*) and saviours (*soteres*), and would remember the favour especially on returning to their own country. As a result the people of Aradus acquired much territory on the mainland,<sup>5</sup> most of which they still have today, and they prospered in other respects. In addition to their good luck they displayed foresight and were industrious in exploiting the sea; when they saw the neighbouring Cilicians acquiring pirate bases they never once collaborated with them in such an enterprise.<sup>6</sup>

Strabo XVI.2.4; cf. *Staatsv.* III.491

1. Cf. **167** n. 3.
2. A powerful naval city, Aradus was essential to the Seleucids in their struggles against the Ptolemies for the control of Coele Syria (cf. map 4 and **183**); the 'era' of Aradus dates from October 259 and probably reflects a grant of autonomy by Antiochus II. See also **172**, and cf. generally Rey-Coquais (1975), esp. 149–61.
3. The 'fratricidal war' of c.241–239 (?) which weakened the Seleucid empire (cf. **177**, **231**), and left it divided until 226 between Antiochus Hierax in Asia Minor and Seleucus in the rest of the empire; cf. Ma (1999), 45–7.
4. Whether this privilege is equivalent to a grant of *asylia* (see **65**) is disputed.
5. Aradus was located on an island some 2 km from the coast; compare Samos, **53**.
6. Cf. **220**. Polybius V.68.7 mentions a treaty of alliance between Aradus and Antiochus III during the 'Fourth Syrian War' in 218 (cf. **183–4**; Grainger (1991), 90–4).

## 177 The origins of the Parthian kingdom

The beginnings of the Parthian kingdom are obscure; no reliable ancient account survives, and modern reconstructions diverge on essential points, notably chronology and the impact of the rise of Parthia on the 'upper satrapies' of the Seleucid empire in the third century (cf. also **185**, **188**; on the second-century expansion of Parthian power cf. **220**, **223**). See D. Musti in *CAH* VII.1<sup>2</sup> (1984), 213f., 219f. with K. Brodersen, *Historia* 35 (1986), 378–81; Sherwin-White and Kuhrt (1993), 84–90; E. Will, *Topoi* 4.2 (1994), 436–42 and P. Bernard, *ibid.*, 474–7 and 481–507; J. Wiesehöfer in Funck (1996), 29–56; Lerner (1999), 13–31; Holt (1999), 48–66.

When the peoples beyond the Taurus revolted as the kings of Syria and Media, who also controlled those parts, were fighting with each other (?),<sup>1</sup> Bactria and all the territory near it was the first to be made independent by the men who enjoyed the confidence of the kings, namely Euthydemus<sup>2</sup> and his followers. Then Arsaces, a Scythian, at the head of some of the nomad tribes of the

Dahae, who are called the Parni and live along the Ochus,<sup>3</sup> invaded Parthia and established control over it. Initially he was weak as he and his successors had to fight against men dispossessed of their territory, but later they became so powerful by seizing neighbouring lands through continuous successes in war that in the end they became masters of all the territory within (i.e. to the east of) the Euphrates. They also seized part of Bactria by reducing the Scythians, and even before this Eucratidas and his followers;<sup>4</sup> at present they rule so much territory and so many peoples that they have become as it were rivals of the Romans for the extent of their empire. The reason for this is their life-style and customs, which have many barbarian and Scythian elements, but which also have much that is conducive to leadership and success in war. (3) They say that the Parnian Dahae are migrants from the Dahae who live above Lake Maeotis,<sup>5</sup> whom they call Xandii or Parii; but it is not quite agreed that the Dahae are Scythians from above Lake Maeotis. At any rate some say that Arsaces derived his origin from them, while others say he was a Bactrian who was escaping from the growing power of Diodotus and his followers and so caused Parthia to revolt. [. . .]

Strabo XI.9.2–3

1. Text uncertain; the reference is presumably to the war of Seleucus II and Antiochus Hierax, cf. **176** and n. 3. The Parthian royal 'era' started in 247, but this could easily be later retrojection.
2. Presumably an error for 'Diodotus', the first Greek king of Bactria mentioned below, since Euthydemus ruled years later, cf. **187–8**. From the evidence of coins the secession of Diodotus may date from the reign of Antiochus II, not Seleucus II as stated by Justin XLI.4, though the chronology remains disputed (O. Bopearachchi, *Topoi* 4.2 (1994), 513–19; Lerner (1999), 89–108; Houghton and Lorber I (2002), 218–23).
3. Distinct from the larger and better-known Oxus = Amu-Darya; the location is problematic, cf. Bosworth II (1995), 110 and *Barrington Atlas* Map 98, E2.
4. King of Bactria in the second century, cf. **188**.
5. Presumably the Aral Sea rather than the Sea of Azov (the more frequent use of the name 'Lake Maeotis').

## 178 King Aśoka of India and the Greek world (mid third century)

Alexander's incursion into India (**13**) stimulated Greek interest in the country and led to closer relations, though India remained for the Greek world a distant land full of exotic marvels (cf. Strabo XV.1.2–3 and frequently in Book XV). Another result was that elephants became an obligatory part of royal warfare (cf. **57** n. 8 for the Seleucids, **263** for the Ptolemies, index s.v. 'elephants', and cf. Plate 3.17.). But unlike Egypt, Syria, Mesopotamia, and

even the 'upper satrapies', India did not become integrated politically in the post-Alexander world (cf. **26** (b), **30** on the arrangements after Alexander). The powerful native dynasty of the Mauryas soon established itself. During his eastern campaigns Seleucus faced Chandragupta (Greek Sandracottus), the first ruler in the dynasty, but eventually settled for an alliance (**57** ch. 55 and n. 8). Greek sources mention Chandragupta (c.321–297) and his son and successor Bindusara (Greek Amitrochaetes; c.297–272), but are silent on Aśoka, the third ruler in the dynasty (c.269–232). His reign is illustrated by a large number of inscriptions set up by Aśoka in many parts of India; in some of these, as well as implying the presence of Greeks in India, he mentions the Greek world to the west (cf. also **186**). For the sequel of Seleucid and Greek relations with India cf. **187–8**. See generally P. M. Fraser, *Afghan Studies* 2 (1979), 9–21 esp. 12f.; Sherwin-White and Kuhrt (1993), 91–103 with J. P. Salles, *Topoi* 4 (1994), 597–604 (though on Megasthenes (*FGrH* 715) cf. A. B. Bosworth, *CP* 91 (1996), 113–127); Karttunen (1997), esp. 253–320. On Aśoka cf. Thapar (1997).

(a) *Extracts from the 13th Rock Edict (256–255)*

When he had been consecrated eight years<sup>1</sup> the Beloved of the Gods, the king Piyadassi,<sup>2</sup> conquered Kalinga. A hundred and fifty thousand people were deported, a hundred thousand were killed and many times that number perished. Afterwards, now that Kalinga was annexed the Beloved of the Gods very earnestly practised *Dhamma*,<sup>3</sup> desired *Dhamma*, and taught *Dhamma*. On conquering Kalinga the Beloved of the Gods felt remorse, for, when an independent country is conquered the slaughter, death, and deportation of the people is extremely grievous to the Beloved of the Gods, and weighs heavily on his mind. What is even more deplorable to the Beloved of the Gods, is that those who dwell there, whether brahmanas, *sramaṇas*,<sup>4</sup> or those of other sects, or householders who show obedience to their teachers and behave well and devotedly towards their friends, acquaintances, colleagues, relatives, slaves, and servants – all suffer violence, murder, and separation from their loved ones. Even those who are fortunate to have escaped, and whose love is undiminished, suffer from the misfortunes of their friends, acquaintances, colleagues, and relatives. This participation of all men in suffering, weighs heavily on the mind of the Beloved of the Gods.<sup>5</sup> Except among the Greeks, there is no land where the religious orders of brahmanas and *sramaṇas* are not to be found, and there is no land anywhere where men do not support one sect or another. Today if a hundredth or a thousandth part of those people who were killed or died or were deported when Kalinga was annexed were to suffer similarly, it would weigh heavily on the mind of the Beloved of the Gods [. . .].



The Beloved of the Gods considers victory by *Dhamma* to be the foremost victory. And moreover the Beloved of the Gods has gained this victory on all his frontiers to a distance of six hundred *yojanas*,<sup>6</sup> where reigns the Greek king named Antiochus (II), and beyond the realm of that Antiochus in the lands of the four kings named Ptolemy (II), Antigonus (Gonatas), Magas (of Cyrene), and Alexander (of Corinth or Epirus);<sup>7</sup> and in the south over the Çoḷas and Pāṇḍyas as far as Ceylon. Likewise here in the imperial territories among the Greeks and the Kambojas, Nābhakas and Nābhapanktis, Bhojas and Pitinikas, Andhras and Pārindas, everywhere the people follow the Beloved of the Gods' instructions in *Dhamma*. Even where the envoys of the Beloved of the Gods have not gone, people hear of his conduct according to *Dhamma*, his precepts and his instruction in *Dhamma*, and they follow *Dhamma* and will continue to follow it [. . .].

13th Major Rock Edict of King Aśoka;  
translation from Thapar (1997), 255–7

(b) *Rock-cut inscription from Kandahar, in Greek and Aramaic*

Ten years having elapsed<sup>8</sup> King Piodasses<sup>9</sup> revealed piety<sup>10</sup> to men. And from this time he made men more pious and everything / prospers on the whole 5  
earth. The king abstains from (the flesh of) living creatures, and all other men,  
and the hunters and fishermen of the king have ceased hunting. Those who  
could not control themselves have ceased to be lacking in self-control / as far 10  
as is possible. They have become obedient to their father and mother and to  
their elders, contrary to what happened before. And henceforward by acting  
in this way they will live better and more profitably in every respect.<sup>11</sup>

D. Schlumberger and L. Robert, *Journal Asiatique* 246 (1958),  
1–18; Burstein 50; Thapar (1997), 260–1; *SEG* 48.1842

1. 260 BC; chronology from Thapar (1997), ch. 2.
2. A royal title, on which cf. Thapar (1997), 226f.
3. The central religious concept in Aśoka's conversion; cf. Thapar (1997), 137–181, 276.
4. A religious sect, comparable in status to the brahmins; cf. Thapar (1997), 59f., 166f.
5. On these sentiments, not echoed by Hellenistic kings, cf. Austin (2001), 92f.
6. About 1,500 miles.
7. For the identifications cf. Thapar (1997), 40–1, 129–30, 167–8.
8. 258 BC.
9. The Greek rendering of the Sanskrit title Piyadassi, cf. n. 2 above. The existence of this Greek text implies the presence of a Greek population at Kandahar (Fraser, *op. cit.*, 12f.).
10. *Eusebeia*, the Greek rendering of *Dhamma* (n. 3 above).
11. The Greek text is followed by a version in Aramaic.

## 179 Seleucus II, Olympichus, and Mylasa (c.240 and after)

The career of Olympichus, known already from a mention in Polybius (111 with n. 12) as one of the semi-independent 'dynasts' in Asia Minor in the 220s (cf. 174 n. 6), has been illuminated by a series of inscriptions from the sanctuary of Zeus at Labraunda in Caria. The sanctuary, located in the territory of Mylasa (104), the capital of the fourth-century Hecatomnid rulers who raised it to importance, lay some 8 miles (13 km) outside the city (compare Miletus and Didyma), and was joined to it by a sacred way (Strabo XIV.2.23; on the site cf. Bean (1980), ch. 4). As the inscriptions reveal, control over the sanctuary and its revenues led to recurring friction between Mylasa and the priest of Zeus at Labraunda (though he was appointed from among notables of Mylasa); both sides appealed to outside powers in order to press their claims (compare the case of Baetocaece and Aradus, 172). The inscriptions also shed light on the fluctuating political situation as the major monarchies – Ptolemies, Seleucids, Antigonids – competed for influence in the region. Olympichus, whose power was based at Alinda in Caria, is first attested as a *strategos* of Seleucus II in about 240, but later under Antigonus Doston and Philip V is found in the Antigonid orbit. Whatever his nominal allegiance he preserved throughout a large measure of independence and was regarded by Mylasa as the effective power in the region. See generally Crampa (1969) with J. and L. Robert, *Bull.* 1970, 542–53 and Robert I (1983), 147–50; S. Isager in Bilde et al. (1990), 79–90 esp. 84–8; C. Crowther, *BICS* 40 (1995), 109–12; Ma (1999), 42, 47, 69f., 116, 168f.; G. Reger in Gabrielsen (1999), 82, 86, 91; Dignas (2002), 2–6, 12, 59–69.

### (a) *Letter of Seleucus II to Olympichus (c.240?)*

[King Seleucus (II) to Olympichus, greetings.] Korris, the priest of Zeus Labraundus, wrote to us<sup>1</sup> that parts of the sacred land which previously had been administered by him in virtue of his ancestral rights have been taken  
5 away by the Mylasans / unjustifiably and that the perquisites which are due to him from those who sacrifice are refused only by the Mylasans [who choose] to behave in an insulting manner. If this is in fact the case, it seems to us that it is not right. At any rate do not even now allow the Mylasans to encroach in any way on what [belongs to the sanctuary] and the priest. For we rule that  
10 the concessions granted / [to Korris by virtue of his ancestral] rights should remain and in [all] other matters . . .

Crampa (1969), no. 1

### (b) *Letter of Olympichus to Mylasa (c.240?)*

[. . .] and the people feeling [gratitude] will try to repay to me deserved [honours]. The envoys also showed me other documents and the

correspondence of Sophron with / [you] and of Ptolemy the brother of king 5  
 Ptolemy (III),<sup>2</sup> and similarly the arrangements made by us [at the time] when  
 king Seleucus (II) wrote to us [to free] your city,<sup>3</sup> and we [ourselves made] a 10  
 copy for the people of the oath, in which I had written / [among other] things  
 that I would preserve for the Mylasans, [as] they request, what belongs to them  
 in the country, the [sacred belongings] in the sanctuary of Zeus Labraundus,  
 all the other things, the territory around Labraunda and the other land that 15  
 belongs [to them] and all the other concessions that they had received. They /  
 themselves spoke with all zeal in accordance with the written statements, and  
 in the presence of Korris the priest. Since therefore your envoys instructed us  
 [at great length] that Korris had falsely written [a letter] to the king, and that 20  
 the people had / [never refused] to give him the privileges and [allows him to  
 administer the sacred] land [in accordance with his ancestral prerogatives and  
 in other respects performs its duties zealously; wishing to] inform you [among  
 other things? that] Korris [had falsely claimed that] he had been deprived [of  
 his privileges] by you, [we] have written a letter to [the king], a copy of which / 25  
 [is appended] for you. You know that formerly we have constantly preserved  
 for you [in the same way] and (will continue to preserve) [in future] what  
 belongs to you in respect of the sanctuary of Zeus [Labraundus], the land,  
 and the other matters in accordance with the [concessions granted] and the 30  
 oaths we swore to the people, and we shall try / to help you in preserving  
 your democracy, your land and everything, as you think necessary, and in  
 the other matters we shall not depart from what is to the advantage of the  
 people.<sup>4</sup> We have given instructions to the envoys to report to you on these  
 matters.

Crampa (1969), no. 3

(c) *Letter of Olympichus to Mylasa (220)*

[ . . . and that the people, having obtained everything it requests] will hon-  
 our me [and my wife Nicaea and my children] with appropriate honours.  
 [Previously, when Korris] wrote to king Seleucus (II) [that he was being injured  
 by you] and (the king) wrote to me about [these matters and / you] sent to me 5  
 envoys on this subject,<sup>5</sup> [and they spoke to the *patra*]<sup>6</sup> of Korris, I wrote [a  
 letter] to king [Seleucus], a copy of which I made for you, and I will assist in  
 protecting for the city [what belongs to you], as you request. [I restore] to you  
 the place, the land and the revenues [related] / to Labraunda, both the sacred 10  
 and [all] the other revenues. I also [hand] over to you Petra near Labraunda,  
 [which previously] we were forced to take control of for no other [reason than  
 because] this was to the advantage of the city.<sup>7</sup> And I am writing [to king]  
 Philip (V) concerning all these matters,<sup>8</sup> as you request [and in future] / I 15

will try to secure for you, [as you may request from me] and through my own initiative, whatever [pertains] to honour and [glory . . .]

Crampa (1969), no. 4

1. The priests of Zeus at Labraunda (in this case Korris with Seleucus II, later Hecatomnus with Philip V) regularly appeal to the more distant kings to support their claims, while Olympichus, nearer at hand, always sides with Mylasa against the priests.
2. Mylasa adduces in support documentary evidence, while the claims by Korris were purely verbal. Sophron is probably the Seleucid commander attested at Ephesus in 246 (Crampa, *op. cit.*, 121f.); the identity of the Ptolemy mentioned is disputed (cf. Crampa, *op. cit.* 120; Ma (1999), 41 n. 55; *SEG* 48.1954; M. D. Gygax, *Chiron* 30 (2000), 353–66).
3. The context of this is the Seleucid drive to restore and extend control in Asia Minor against their Ptolemaic rivals; cf. Ma (1999), 39–43.
4. Olympichus has no hesitation in following the opposite line to Seleucus II and offering guarantees to Mylasa in his own name.
5. See the two previous texts.
6. A group based on real or fictitious kinship and called after its most senior male member (Crampa, *op. cit.*, 25f.).
7. The truth of this claim is unverifiable.
8. Two letters of Philip V are extant, the first at the start of his reign to Mylasa in response to an embassy from the city (Crampa, *op. cit.*, no. 5), the second dating from the third year of his reign to Olympichus, instructing him to support the claim of Mylasa to the sanctuary (Crampa, *op. cit.*, no. 7). These confirm the Antigonid hold on the region established under Antigonus Doson: Olympichus now appears as subordinate to the Macedonian king (F. W. Walbank, *CAH* VII.1<sup>2</sup> (1984), 459–61; Le Bohec (1993), 327–49, 361).

## 180 The usurpation of Achaëus in Asia Minor (220–213)

On the career of Achaëus see Ma (1999), 54–63; on his coinage, Houghton and Lorber I (2002), 347–50.

[. . .] Achaëus was a relation<sup>1</sup> of the Antiochus (III) who had taken over the kingdom in Syria;<sup>2</sup> he had secured the position of power I have mentioned more or less as follows. When Seleucus (II) the father of this Antiochus (III) died, and Seleucus (III) the eldest of his sons succeeded to the kingdom,<sup>3</sup> he (Achaëus) accompanied him on his expedition over the Taurus because of his kinship (this was about two years before the events I am relating). For as soon as the younger Seleucus had succeeded to the throne, on hearing that Attalus (I of Pergamum) had already reduced all the country this side of Taurus<sup>4</sup> under his power,<sup>5</sup> he was eager to restore his position. He crossed the Taurus with a large army but was treacherously killed by Apaturius the Gaul and Nicanor.

Because of his family connection Achaeus at once avenged his murder and put to death Nicanor and Apaturius, and took charge of the military forces and of the whole administration with prudence and generosity. For though he had the opportunity, and the support of the common soldiers was pressing him to assume the diadem,<sup>6</sup> he chose not to do this but to safeguard the royalty for Antiochus the younger of the sons, and by an energetic march he regained all the country this side of Taurus. But as he met with success beyond expectation, having shut Attalus up in Pergamum and secured control of everything else, he was carried away by success and drifted off the proper course. He assumed the diadem, called himself king, and was at the time the most powerful and feared of the kings and dynasts<sup>7</sup> this side of Taurus.<sup>8</sup> [ . . . ]

Polybius IV.48

1. Probably cousin. On the elder Achaeus cf. **168, 224**. The context of this passage is the appeal to Achaeus by Byzantium in the war against Rhodes (**112**).
2. See **181**.
3. In 225.
4. Cf. **159** n. 12.
5. As a result of the 'fratricidal war' (**176** n. 3).
6. Cf. **44** n. 1.
7. Cf. **174** n. 6.
8. See also **181–2**. Achaeus' assumption of the royal title dates from 220; it was only after the 'Fourth Syrian War' that Antiochus III moved to overthrow Achaeus in Asia Minor (216–213).

## 181 The accession of Antiochus III and the revolt of Molon (223–220)

[ . . . ] Antiochus (III) was the younger son of Seleucus (II) called Callinicus; when his father died and his brother Seleucus (III) succeeded to the throne because of his age, he at first went to live in the upper (i.e. eastern) provinces, but when Seleucus was treacherously killed while crossing the Taurus with his army, as I have mentioned before, he took over the kingdom and ruled himself, entrusting control of affairs this side of Taurus to Achaeus,<sup>1</sup> and placing the upper provinces of the kingdom in the hands of Molon and Alexander, Molon's brother, Molon being satrap of Media and his brother of Persis. (41) They viewed Antiochus with contempt because of his youth,<sup>2</sup> and hoped that Achaeus would be an accomplice in their undertaking. They were particularly afraid of the cruelty and evil-doing of Hermeias, who at the time was the chief minister of the whole kingdom<sup>3</sup> and so undertook to revolt and detach the upper satrapies. Hermeias was a Carian who was 'in charge

of affairs', having been appointed to that position of trust by Seleucus (III) brother of Antiochus at the time when he made his expedition against Attalus (I of Pergamum). Invested with this authority he was jealous of all those who held an eminent position at court, and being cruel by temperament he would punish the mistakes of some by placing a sinister interpretation on them and would bring trumped up and false charges against others, showing himself a pitiless and harsh judge. But his chief ambition, to which he attached great importance, was to remove Epigenes, the man who had brought back the army which had gone with Seleucus, as he could see that he had eloquence and practical ability and enjoyed great popularity with the soldiers. With this aim in mind he kept vigilant, always ready to seize any opportunity or pretext against Epigenes.<sup>4</sup> When a meeting of the council<sup>5</sup> was held to discuss the revolt of Molon, and the king asked each member to give his opinion on how to deal with the rebels, Epigenes gave his view first, saying that it was essential to take control of the situation without delay, and in particular the king must proceed immediately to the provinces (*topoi*) and meet the crisis face to face. In this way (he said), Molon and his followers either would not even dare to stir up trouble, the king being present and showing himself to his peoples with an adequate army, or even if they had the audacity to pursue their attempt, they would rapidly be seized by the soldiers and handed over to the king. (42) While Epigenes was still speaking in this way, Hermeias in a fit of anger declared that he had long been scheming secretly to betray the kingdom, but now he had done a service in revealing his true intentions, by being anxious to expose the king's person, with few followers, to the rebels. For the time being he was content, as it were, to ignite suspicions and let them smoulder, and let go of Epigenes, having made an ill-timed show of bad temper rather than of real hatred. As for his own advice, he counselled against the expedition against Molon, being terrified of the danger because of his lack of military experience, but he urged a campaign against Ptolemy (IV), believing this would be a safe war because of Ptolemy's indolence.<sup>6</sup> On that occasion he overawed all the members of the council; he despatched against Molon Xenon and Theodotus 'Hemilius'<sup>7</sup> with an army, and kept inciting Antiochus to take in hand the problem of Coele Syria,<sup>8</sup> with this one thought in mind, that if the young ruler was surrounded by war on all sides, he (Hermeias) would escape punishment for his former crimes and would avoid being deprived of his position of authority, because of the services he rendered and because of the trials and dangers that would continuously surround the king. In the end he forged<sup>9</sup> a letter supposedly sent by Achaëus and showed it to the king, to the effect that Ptolemy was encouraging him to make a bid for power and promising him naval and financial help in all his undertakings should he wish

to assume the diadem<sup>10</sup> and display openly his claims to sovereignty, which he already enjoyed in practice while grudging himself the glory by refusing the crown that fate offered to him. The king was convinced by the letter and became prepared and anxious for the campaign against Coele Syria. (43) [ . . . ] In the meantime Molon had turned the troops from his satrapy into an army prepared for anything, by raising their hopes of profit and by the fears he inspired in their leaders as a result of showing them forged letters from the king that were threatening in tone. He had a ready ally in his brother Alexander and had secured his position in the neighbouring satrapies by winning the goodwill of their governors through bribery. He now marched out with a large army to meet the king's generals. Xenon and Theodotus were terrified at his approach and retreated to the cities. Molon secured control of the territory of Apolloniatis and was now provided with supplies in considerable quantities. Even before this the extent of his power made him formidable. (44) For all the royal herds of horses are entrusted to the Medes,<sup>11</sup> and they have incalculable quantities of corn and cattle. As to the strength and size of the country no one could easily give a fair idea. Media lies centrally in Asia but surpasses in size and altitude all the provinces in Asia when compared to them. And again it neighbours on the largest and most warlike peoples.<sup>12</sup> [ . . . ]

Polybius V.40–4 (with omissions)

1. See **180**.
2. Cf. **78** n. 10.
3. Literally 'in charge of affairs' (cf. **162** n. 3), an official post with powers equivalent to those of a viceroy, as Polybius' account shows.
4. Polybius' account is based on a source obviously hostile to Hermeias.
5. The king's council of 'friends' was a regular institution in all Hellenistic monarchies, cf. **31** n. 3, **94**, **182**, **211**, **215** ch. 149, **244**. Polybius' account of the early years of Antiochus III, clearly based on an (anonymous) contemporary source, gives a valuable insight into court politics.
6. Ptolemy III, though Polybius is thinking of Ptolemy IV (cf. **274**).
7. Literally 'one and a half', probably a reference to his size (cf. **236** n. 11).
8. This led to a short and unsuccessful campaign by Antiochus III in Syria in 221 (Polybius V.45–6); the war over Coele Syria was only resumed in earnest after the overthrow of Molon (see **182–4**).
9. The letter could be genuine.
10. Cf. **44** n. 1.
11. For Median cavalry cf. **183**, **185**, **203**.
12. On Media cf. also Polybius' description in **185**. Coins issued by Molon show that he assumed the royal title; cf. Mørkholm (1991), plate XXIV no. 361; Houghton and Lorber I (2002), 343–5. He was eventually defeated in 220 and committed suicide. Hermeias fell out of favour in the same year and was assassinated by Antiochus III (Polybius V.45–56).

## 182 Debate at court on the decision for war against Ptolemy IV (219)

The king was fully aware of all these events,<sup>1</sup> and kept sending threatening messages to Achaeus, as I have mentioned earlier. But now he was devoting all his attention to the preparations against Ptolemy (IV). At the beginning of spring he therefore gathered all his forces at Apamea<sup>2</sup> and summoned his friends (*philoi*) for a discussion of the invasion of Coele Syria.<sup>3</sup> Many views on the question were put forward, concerning the terrain, the forces required, and the support to be provided by the fleet, until Apollophanes, a native of Seleucia whom I have mentioned earlier,<sup>4</sup> cut short all this talk. He said that it was absurd to covet Coele Syria and to march against it, while overlooking the fact that Seleucia was in the hands of Ptolemy – the mother-city (*archegetis*) and so to speak hearth of the king's own dynasty.<sup>5</sup> Apart from the shame brought to the monarchy by seeing it garrisoned by the kings in Egypt, the city provided great advantages and the best possible base of operations. So long as it was in the hands of the enemy it was a considerable obstacle to all the king's designs. For whatever direction he decided to move in, the fear it caused would force him to devote as much care to the protection of his own territory as to his preparations against the enemy. But should he gain control of it, not only would the security of his home base be ensured, but its favourable location would greatly assist his designs and plans whether by land or by sea. All were convinced by what Apollophanes said, and it was decided to start by capturing this city.<sup>6</sup> As it was, Seleucia was at the time still held by a garrison of the kings in Egypt, which dated back to the time of Ptolemy called Euergetes (III). It was the tragic fate of Berenice that had caused him to invade Syria in revenge, in the course of which he captured that city.<sup>7</sup>

Polybius V.58

1. Achaeus' assumption of the diadem and the royal title; cf. **180**.
2. Cf. **160** section 10.
3. Cf. **181** n. 5.
4. V.56; an influential doctor at the Seleucid court (compare Metrodorus, **165**), Apollophanes is known from an inscription of Cos to have served Seleucus II and Seleucus III as well; cf. Savalli-Lestrade (1998), 19–21, 24f. On this occasion his personal intervention on behalf of his native city influenced the course of the war.
5. On Seleucia cf. **160** n. 9. The city was captured by Ptolemy III during the 'Third Syrian War' (**266**).
6. On the siege and capture of Seleucia cf. Polybius V.60. On the 'Fourth Syrian War' cf. **183–4** for the Seleucid side, **275–7** for the Ptolemaic side; H. Heinen in *CAH* VII.1<sup>2</sup> (1984), 435–8.
7. The 'Third Syrian War' of 246–241; cf. **266**.



## 183 The conflicting Seleucid and Ptolemaic claims to Coele Syria (winter 219/18)

In fact at the time the ambassadors came back, Sosibius<sup>1</sup> and his followers were ready for every eventuality while Antiochus (III) was extremely anxious to secure as much diplomatic advantage over the envoys from Alexandria in his conferences with them as he had in force of arms. Hence when the ambassadors arrived at Seleucia<sup>2</sup> and began to discuss the detailed clauses of the treaty in accordance with the instructions of Sosibius, the king in self-justification minimised the recent disaster and the manifest injustice involved in the seizure of Coele Syria. In fact he did not even consider his action to be a breach of justice, as he was laying claim to places that belonged to him; the first conquest by Antigonus the One-Eyed and the rule exercised by Seleucus (I) over these places constituted, he said, the most solid and justifiable title to possession in virtue of which Coele Syria belonged to them and not to Ptolemy.<sup>3</sup> Ptolemy (I) had gone to war against Antigonus not for himself but to secure for Seleucus the rule over those places. He laid particular emphasis on the general agreement of all the kings, made at the time of their victory over Antigonus<sup>4</sup> when they met in conference and Cassander, Lysimachus and Seleucus all decided of one accord that the whole of Syria should belong to Seleucus. Ptolemy's envoys tried to establish the opposite point of view; they exaggerated the existing injury and emphasised its seriousness, and assimilated the betrayal of Theodotus<sup>5</sup> and the invasion of Antiochus to a breach of treaty; they put forward the rights of possession established under Ptolemy (I) son of Lagus, claiming that Ptolemy had collaborated in the campaign of Seleucus on the understanding that sovereignty over the whole of Asia would be attributed to Seleucus while Coele Syria and Phoenicia would fall to his own share. These and similar arguments were put forward frequently by both sides in their diplomatic exchanges and conferences, but nothing at all was achieved as the negotiation was conducted through common friends and there was no one in between to check and control the pretensions of the side which might appear to be in the wrong.<sup>6</sup> [ . . . ]

Polybius V.67; cf. *Staatsv.* III.447

1. The most influential figure at the Ptolemaic court (cf. **275** and n. 1). These negotiations were conducted during a four-month armistice in winter 219/18; Antiochus III had already occupied Coele Syria in 219.
2. Cf. **160** n. 9, **182**.
3. Cf. **37** n. 4 for this view of the rights of conquest and inheritance; compare the wills of Attalus III (**248**) and Ptolemy VIII (**289**), and cf. **195–6**, **221**, **255** n. 8. In the negotiations of 219/18 there was apparently no documentary evidence available to verify the truth of the claims made by both sides; cf. **254** n. 8.

4. See **54** n. 5.
5. The Ptolemaic governor of Coele Syria, whose treachery enabled Antiochus III to invade Coele Syria (Polybius V.61–2).
6. For the sequel see **184**.

## 184 The army of Antiochus III at the battle of Raphia (217)

On the battle of Raphia see Griffith (1935), 143f.; Bar-Kochva (1976), 128–41 and index s.v. Raphia. On the composition and recruitment of the Seleucid army cf. also **203**, **213** and the contrasted views of Bar-Kochva (1989), 90–115 and Sherwin-White and Kuhrt (1993), 53–6, 212–14.

At the beginning of spring (217), Antiochus (III) and Ptolemy (IV) having completed their preparations were intent on bringing the campaign to an end by a decisive battle. Ptolemy and his men departed from Alexandria with about 70,000 infantry, 5,000 horses and 73 elephants.<sup>1</sup> Antiochus perceiving their approach assembled his troops. These consisted of Dahae, Carmanians and Cilicians lightly armed numbering about 5,000; the Macedonian Byttacus had the charge and command of them. Under Theodotus the Aetolian, the man who had betrayed Coele Syria (to Antiochus),<sup>2</sup> were placed 10,000 men picked from the whole kingdom and armed in the Macedonian fashion, the majority of them Silver Shields.<sup>3</sup> The numbers of the phalanx amounted to 20,000 commanded by Nicarchus and Theodotus called ‘Hemiolius’.<sup>4</sup> After them came 2,000 Agrianes and Persians, archers and slingers. With them were 1,000 Thracians, commanded by Menedemus of Alabanda. There were also Medians, Cissians, Cadusians and Carmanians adding up to about 5,000 men and placed under the orders of Aspasianus the Mede.<sup>5</sup> The Arabs and some of their neighbours numbered about 10,000, under the command of Zabdibelus. The Thessalian Hippolochus commanded the mercenaries from Greece, and they numbered about 5,000; he also had 1,500 Cretans with Eurylochus and 1,000 Neocretans under the orders of Zelys of Gortyn. They were joined by 500 Lydian javelin-men and 1,000 Cardaces under Lysimachus the Galatian. The total number of cavalry amounted to about 6,000 men, 4,000 of whom were commanded by Antipater, the king’s nephew, while Themison was in charge of the remainder. The army of Antiochus amounted to 62,000 infantry, 6,000 cavalry and 102 elephants.<sup>6</sup>

Polybius V.79

1. For the Ptolemaic side see **272**.
2. See **183** n. 5.
3. The élite royal guard; see Bar-Kochva (1976), 59–66. Cf. **18** n. 10 for the time of Alexander.

4. See **181** n. 7.
5. On Media cf. **181** (end), **185**.
6. Antiochus' defeat at this battle postponed Seleucid hopes of reconquering Coele Syria for nearly two decades (cf. **193**, **196**, **215**).

## 185 A description of Media and Ecbatana (211–210)

The rise of the Parthian and Bactrian kingdoms (cf. **177**, **188**) effectively amputated the eastern provinces of the Seleucid empire. An attempt by Seleucus II to check Parthia failed, and it was not until 212 that Antiochus III was able to embark on his eastern expedition (the 'Anabasis', 212–205; cf. Sherwin-White and Kuhrt (1993), 189–201; Lerner (1999), 45–62). Polybius' account of this grandiose campaign, reminiscent of Alexander's, is only preserved in fragments. In 212 Armenia was forced to recognise Seleucid overlordship and pay tribute (Polybius VIII.23). In 211–210 Media was invaded; the description which follows is all that has survived of this part of Polybius' account. For the sequel cf. **187**.

In terms of the size of its territory Media is the largest of the principalities of Asia, and so too in respect of the number and excellence of its men and also of its horses.<sup>1</sup> In fact it supplies virtually the whole of Asia with these animals, as the royal herds for breeding have been entrusted to the Medes because of the excellence of their pastures.<sup>2</sup> It is surrounded with a ring of Greek cities which were built on Alexander's initiative in order to protect it from the neighbouring barbarians.<sup>3</sup> The exception is Ecbatana, which is built in the northern region of Media, in the parts of Asia which border on the Maeotis and Euxine. Originally it was the royal capital (*basileion*) of the Medes, and is believed to have surpassed all other cities in its wealth and the lavishness of its buildings. It lies on the skirts of Mount Orontes; it does not have any walls, though it contains a citadel built by hand, and fortified in such a way as to give it astonishing strength. Beneath this lies the royal palace, which presents a difficulty whether one wishes to say something about it or pass it over in silence. To those writers who aim at sensation in their accounts and make a habit of indulging in rhetorical exaggeration this city provides the perfect material; but to those who proceed with caution when dealing with anything out of the ordinary it is a source of difficulty and embarrassment. Be that as it may, the palace is nearly seven stades (1,200 m) in circumference, and the lavishness of the separate buildings gives an eloquent idea of the wealth of its original founders. All its woodwork was of cedar wood or cypress, and not a single plank was left uncovered, as the beams, the compartments of the ceilings, and the columns in the arcades and peristyles were all plated with

silver or gold. The tiles were all of silver. Most of these were stripped off during the invasion of Alexander and the Macedonians, and the rest during the reigns of Antigonus and Seleucus Nicanor.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless at the time of Antiochus' arrival the temple of Aena as it is called still had its gilded columns, and a large number of silver tiles had been stored inside. A few gold bricks and many of silver were still remaining. It was from all this that enough metal was collected to strike coins for the royal treasure which amounted to nearly four thousand talents.<sup>5</sup>

Polybius X.27

1. Cf. also Polybius V.44, partly in **181**.
2. Cf. **203** at the battle of Magnesia.
3. On Alexander's foundations cf. **22** and n. 2. The motive in this case is explicitly strategic and military. On Seleucid activity in western Iran, cf. Sherwin-White and Kuhrt (1993), 74–9, esp. 74 on the foundation of Laodicea (**200**).
4. Though attested elsewhere, the name 'Nicanor' may be a manuscript error for 'Nicator' (cf. **57** ch. 57).
5. Issues of coins often depended on chance windfalls of bullion, though it is not certain that the haul from Ecbatana was immediately struck as coin; cf. Houghton and Lorber I (2002), 354. Compare Alexander's haul of Persian treasure (**10**), the capture by Ptolemaic forces of the treasure deposited at Soloi during the 'Laodicean War' in 246 (**266**) or the plundering of the sanctuary at Jerusalem by Antiochus IV in 169 (**217**).

## 186 Delphic maxims from Ai-Khanoum in Bactria

The interest of this inscription lies not just in its contents (a set of maxims of conventional Delphic wisdom), but in the identity of its author, plausibly identified with the philosopher Clearchus of Soloi, a pupil of Aristotle, and in its place of origin. It is one of the Greek inscriptions found in the excavations of the Greek city at Ai-Khanoum in Bactria on the river Oxus (Amu-Darya), conducted between 1965 and 1978 and reported in *CRAI*, which have begun to reveal the Greek presence deep in central Asia, and its contacts with the Aegean world several thousand kilometres away (cf. too **27**, **178**, **188**). The Greek name of the city, founded probably by Alexander or Seleucus I, is still unknown. See P. Bernard, *Proceedings of the British Academy* 53 (1967), 71–95 and in *CRAI* 2001, 971–1029; L. Robert, *op. cit.* below; Walbank (1981), 60–2; Sherwin-White and Kuhrt (1993), 177–9; W. Held, *Jdl* 117 (2002), 237–40.

These wise sayings of men of former times, the words of famous men, are consecrated at holy Pytho;<sup>1</sup> from there Clearchus copied them carefully, to set them up, shining afar, in the precinct of Cineas.<sup>2</sup>

When a child show yourself well behaved; when a young man, self-controlled; in middle age, just; as an old man, a good counsellor; at the end of your life, free from sorrow.<sup>3</sup>

L. Robert, *CRAI* 1968, 416–57; Burstein 49

1. Delphi.
2. A Thessalian name, perhaps the founder of the city who received a posthumous cult.
3. The original text was much longer.

## 187 The eastern expedition ('Anabasis') of Antiochus III (212–205)

After the invasion of Media (**185**) Antiochus III campaigned in 209 against the Parthians (**177**) but had to settle with them (Polybius X.28–31). In 208–6 he then attacked and besieged unsuccessfully Euthydemus the Greek king in Bactria (Polybius X.49; cf. **188**), and so was ready for an arrangement. On Antiochus' return journey cf. also **190**.

Euthydemus himself was a Magnesian<sup>1</sup> and he replied to (Teleas) the envoy that it was not right for Antiochus (III) to try to expel him from his kingdom. He had not himself revolted from the king, but had destroyed the descendants of others who had: that was how he had secured rule over Bactria.<sup>2</sup> He added further arguments to that effect and urged Teleas to show goodwill in mediating a settlement by inviting Antiochus not to refuse him the title and position of king. Should Antiochus refuse the request, there would be no security for either of them: large hordes of nomads were at hand who presented a threat to both of them, and the country would certainly be barbarised if they allowed them in.<sup>3</sup> With these words he sent Teleas back to Antiochus. The king had long been anxious to resolve the situation, and on hearing the report of Teleas he readily consented to a settlement for the above-mentioned reasons. After much toing and froing between the two sides by Teleas, Euthydemus finally sent his son Demetrius to ratify the agreement. The king received him and thought the young man worthy of royalty on account of his appearance, his dignified bearing and conversation; he first promised to give him one of his daughters (in marriage) and secondly he conceded the royal title to his father. On the other matters he concluded a written treaty and a sworn alliance,<sup>4</sup> and then broke camp after generously supplying his army with provisions and adding to his forces the elephants which Euthydemus had. He crossed the Caucasus<sup>5</sup> and descended into India, renewed his friendship with Sophagenus king of the Indians and received more elephants,<sup>6</sup> raising their number to a total of 150, provisioned his army once more on the spot, and he himself

broke camp with his troops while leaving behind Androsthenes of Cyzicus to bring back the treasure which the king (i.e. Sophagasenus) had agreed to give him. He traversed Arachosia, crossed the river Erymanthus,<sup>7</sup> passed through Drangene and reached Carmania, where he established his winter quarters as winter was now at hand (206/5). This was the extreme limit of the march of Antiochus into the interior, through which he subjected to his rule not only the satraps of the interior but the coastal cities and the dynasts on this side of Taurus,<sup>8</sup> and in a word he strengthened his kingdom by overawing all his subjects with his daring and energy. For it was this campaign which made him appear worthy of royalty, not only to the peoples of Asia but to those in Europe as well.<sup>9</sup>

Polybius XI.34

1. i.e. like Teleas; which Magnesia is uncertain.
2. Euthydemus had overthrown Diodotus II, son of Diodotus I the founder of the Greek kingdom in Bactria (cf. 177, 188 and Plate 4.31).
3. The major threat to Greeks and Iranians alike in Bactria.
4. The terms are unknown; in effect Antiochus III was recognising the independence of Bactria. After Antiochus' departure the Bactrian kingdom went its own way (188), and this was the last Seleucid expedition to the far east of their empire.
5. The Hindu Kush.
6. Cf. Seleucus I before, 57 n. 8. The identity of Sophagasenus is unclear, cf. Thapar (1997), 184, 190.
7. The Helmand.
8. Cf. 159 n. 12; on dynasts cf. 174 n. 6. For Antiochus III in Asia Minor cf. 191, 195–6.
9. For this conception of royalty cf. 44–5, 59 (a). It was probably after this campaign that Antiochus III assumed the title 'The Great', cf. Ma (1999), 272f. and see further 193 with n. 7.

## 188 The Greek kingdom in Bactria

The history of the Greek kingdom in Bactria, which began in the mid third century and continued into the first century BC, was perhaps equal in importance to the other Hellenistic kingdoms, yet it remains a largely lost chapter of Hellenistic history. No ancient account of the kingdom appears to have existed. References in the surviving literary sources are scanty (cf. also 177, 187; Burstein 51), archaeological and epigraphic evidence is as yet limited compared to the western part of the Hellenistic world (though cf. 186), and the most important source of information remains the coins issued by the Bactrian kings, which include some of the finest of all Greek coins (cf. Plate 4.31 and 4.32). For the time down to Antiochus III cf. Lerner (1999); Holt (1999), and cf. in general Tarn (1951) (very speculative); A. K. Narain in *CAH VIII*<sup>2</sup> (1989), 388–421.

Parts of Bactria adjoin Areia to the north, but most of it stretches beyond it to the east; it is a large country and produces everything except olive oil. The Greeks who made Bactria independent<sup>1</sup> became so powerful because of the wealth of the country that they established control over Ariane and India, according to Apollodorus of Artemita (*FGrH* 779 F 7a),<sup>2</sup> and they subdued more peoples than Alexander did, especially Menander<sup>3</sup> (if it is true that he crossed the Hypanis (the Beas) towards the east and advanced as far as the Imaos), the conquests being due partly to himself and partly to Demetrius son of Euthydemus<sup>4</sup> king of the Bactrians. They not only controlled Patalene but also along the rest of the coast the kingdom of Saraostus and Sigerdis as it is called. In sum, says Apollodorus, Bactria is the ornament of the whole of Ariane; what is more, they extended their rule as far as the Seres and Phryni. (2) As to their cities, they possessed Bactria which they also call Zariaspa, through which flows a river of the same name which empties into the Oxus (the Amu-Darya), and Adrapsa and many others; one of these was Eucratidea, called after its ruler. The Greeks who established control of Bactria divided it into satrapies, two of which, those of Aspiones and Tapuria, were taken away from Eucratides<sup>5</sup> by the Parthians. They also controlled Sogdiana which lies above Bactria to the east, between the river Oxus, which is the boundary between Bactria and Sogdiana, and the Jaxartes (the Syr-Darya). The latter separates the Sogdians from the nomads.

Strabo XI.11.1–2

1. From the Seleucids.
2. First century BC, author of a *Parthian History* used and cited several times by Strabo; he mentioned the Bactrian kings, but only in the context of Parthian history.
3. Ruled c.155–130? (Narain, *CAH VIII*<sup>2</sup> (1989), 420).
4. See 187.
5. Eucratides I, ruled c.171–155? (Narain, *ibid.*).

## 189 Letters of Antiochus III and other kings to Magnesia on the Maeander recognising the festival of Artemis Leucophryene (c.208/7)

After an apparition of Artemis in their city, the Magnesians secured an oracle from Delphi in 221/20 which prompted them to raise the status of their festival in honour of Artemis Leucophryene and have Magnesia recognised as 'holy and inviolate' (on *asylia* cf. 65). This first attempt was unsuccessful, perhaps in part because no monetary prizes were offered to competitors. Some fourteen years later, probably in 208 (cf. Rigsby (1996), 182), the Magnesians made

a fresh attempt. A large new temple of Artemis was built (Strabo XIV.1.40), monetary rewards were offered, and envoys sent widely all over the Greek world asking for recognition of the festival as 'isopythian' (equal in rank to Apollo's festival at Delphi), and of the city and territory of Magnesia as 'holy and inviolate'. The story is known solely from inscriptions – a narrative of events (*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 557; Burstein 30; BD 153) and a dossier of over 60 inscriptions recording the responses of kings and cities (cf. *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 558–62, BD 155 and the texts below, also 190). With one exception from Aetolia (*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 554; Burstein 31) the texts all originate from Magnesia, which publicised in this way the success of the initiative. Recognition of the status of the festival was widespread, but the request for inviolability provoked different responses: accepted by the majority of cities, it was not even mentioned by the kings, except for Ptolemy IV. This has been construed as a refusal by the kings concerned (Antiochus III, Attalus I) to renounce territorial ambitions in the region (cf. *RC*, pp. 57f., 146f.; A. Giovannini cited 190 n. 5); for a different interpretation see Rigsby (1996), 179–85.

(a) *Letter of Antiochus III*

King Antiochus (III) to the council and people of Magnesia, greetings. Demophon, Philiscus and Pheres, the sacred ambassadors (*theoroi*) sent to us by you / to announce the contest and the other celebrations voted by the people in honour of Artemis Leucophryene, the patron goddess of your city, met me at Antioch / in Persis,<sup>1</sup> handed me the decree and spoke themselves with enthusiasm in accordance with the terms of the decree, urging me to recognise as 'crowned'<sup>2</sup> and 'isopythian' / the contest which you are celebrating in honour of the goddess every five years.<sup>3</sup> Since therefore we have had from the beginning the friendliest disposition [towards] your people because of the goodwill it has shown to us / and our interests<sup>4</sup> in all circumstances, and wish to make clear our policy, we recognise the honours you have voted to the goddess, and intend to increase these in whatever respects you invite us or / we ourselves think of.<sup>5</sup> We have also written to those in charge of affairs<sup>6</sup> so that the cities may recognise (the celebrations) in the same way. Farewell.

*RC* 31; *OGIS* 231; BD 154

(b) *Letter of King Antiochus son of Antiochus III (on the same block as the letter of Antiochus III)*

King Antiochus (son of Antiochus III) to the council and people of Magnesia, greetings. Demophon, Philiscus and Pheres, the sacred ambassadors (*theoroi*) sent by you to my father / to announce the contest and the other celebrations which the people voted to celebrate every five years in honour



of Artemis Leucophryene, the patron goddess of your city, / handed me the 10  
 decree and spoke themselves with enthusiasm in accordance with the terms of  
 the decree, urging me to recognise as ‘crowned’ and ‘isopythian’ the contest  
 which you are celebrating in honour of the goddess.<sup>7</sup> / Since therefore my 15  
 father has had from the beginning the friendliest [disposition] towards your  
 people and has given his approval, [wishing] myself to follow [his] policy,<sup>8</sup> I  
 accept the honours / you [have voted] to the goddess, and in future I shall 20  
 endeavour following [the] example of my father to increase these [in whatever  
 respects] you invite me or I think of myself. Farewell.

*RC 32; OGIS 232; BD 154*

(c) *Letter of Ptolemy IV*

King [Ptolemy] (IV) [to the council] and people of Magnesia, [greetings.]  
 Your envoys / Diopeithes . . . and Ithalides . . . delivered to me the decree 5  
 of the people in which . . . the contest of the [Leucophryena / which you 10  
 celebrate] in accordance with the oracle of the [god] in honour of Artemis  
 [Leucophryene and] concerning [the request that the city and the] territory  
 should be [considered] holy and [inviolat<sup>9</sup> . . . and] I too [was asked? to  
 accept the contest as] / ‘crowned’ and [‘isopythian’ in rank] as [you have 15  
 proclaimed] it to us. The [envoys] you [sent] spoke also themselves with [all]  
 zeal [and in accordance with] the other terms of [the decree for which they  
 had] / instructions. [I have therefore] accepted [the contest] as ‘crowned’ as 20  
 [you have requested] and . . .

*RC 33; BD 154*

(d) *Letter of Attalus I*

King Attalus (I) to the council and people of Magnesia, greetings. Pythion  
 and Lycomedes, your envoys, brought / me a decree in which you invite me to 5  
 accept the musical, gymnastic and equestrian contest which you celebrate in  
 honour of Artemis Leucophryene as being ‘crowned’ and / ‘isopythian’, and 10  
 they themselves spoke in accordance with what was written (in the decree).  
 They also requested that the cities under my rule should similarly accept the  
 contest. Seeing that your people are mindful of the / benefactions I conferred 15  
 on them and are zealous in the service of the Muses, I accept the contest as  
 you request and have [instructed] that a contribution should be made (to it),  
 and the cities which [obey] / me will do likewise. [I have written] to them 20  
 instructing them to do so.<sup>10</sup> And . . . as your people [requests], I shall help in  
 furthering the contest . . .

*RC 34; OGIS 282; BD 154*

1. Cf. **190**; this represents a journey of well over 2,000 km. The ambassadors who met Antiochus III are the same as in the decree from Antioch in Persis; Antiochus was returning from his eastern 'Anabasis' (**185, 187**).
2. Cf. **138** n. 14.
3. Reckoned inclusively = every 4 years.
4. Cf. **162** n. 3.
5. Cf. **209** n. 5.
6. i.e. governors and officials.
7. The same ambassadors who visited Antiochus III (previous text and cf. **190**); it is not clear where Antiochus the son was at the time, though he clearly had the text of his father's reply with him.
8. Antiochus, barely a teenager at the time, is anxious not to take any initiative of his own (cf. **158** n. 5).
9. Since alone of the kings Ptolemy IV mentions the inviolability of Magnesia it is likely that he went on to accept it, though the preserved part of his letter does not state this. Welles (*RC*, p. 147) suggests the acceptance implies a lack of Ptolemaic territorial ambitions in the region at this time; against cf. Rigsby (1996), 182f.
10. Attalus deals with the cities under his influence in person, while Antiochus III communicates through the provincial governors. In their communications with individual cities the Attalid rulers were normally more tactful (cf. **234** n. 10).

### 190 Decree of Antioch in Persis on its links with Magnesia on the Maeander (late third century)

(Decree) from the people of Antioch in [Persis]. When Heraclitus son of Zoes was priest of Seleucus (I) Nicator and Antiochus (I) Soter and Antiochus (II) Theos and Seleucus (II) Callinicus and King<sup>1</sup> Seleucus (III) and King  
5 Antiochus (III) / and his son King Antiochus,<sup>2</sup> in the first half-year, resolutions  
of a sovereign meeting of the assembly which were handed in by Asclepiades  
son of Hecataeus and grandson of Demetrius, the secretary of the council and  
10 the assembly, on the third of the waning month of Pantheus. / Resolved by  
the assembly on the motion of the *prytaneis*. The people of Magnesia on the  
Maeander are kinsmen and friends of our people and have performed many  
distinguished services for the Greeks [which] relate [to glory]. Formerly, when  
15 Antiochus (I) Soter / was eager to increase our city, as it was called after him,  
and sent (an embassy) to them about (the sending of) a colony, they passed an  
honourable and glorious decree, offered a sacrifice and sent a sufficient number  
20 of men of great personal excellence, as they were anxious / to help in increasing  
the people of Antioch.<sup>3</sup> As they were preserving their goodwill towards all the  
Greeks and wished to make manifest that they are admitting all deserving  
25 an oracle was rendered to them, / they proclaimed it throughout the whole

of Greece and celebrated in honour of the patron goddess of their city sacrifices, a religious festival, a truce, and a 'crowned' competition to be held every five years<sup>4</sup> which would consist of musical, gymnastic and equestrian events, (thereby) repaying just thanks to their benefactress. / They have sent as ambassadors to our people Demophon son of Lycideus, Philiscus son of Philius and Pheres son of Pheres,<sup>5</sup> who approached the council and the assembly, handed over the decree from the people of Magnesia, and after 'renewing' their kinship<sup>6</sup> and friendship (with us) / spoke at length about the apparition of the goddess and the services provided by the people of Magnesia to many of the Greek cities, and invited (us) to recognise the 'crowned' competition which they celebrate in honour of Artemis Leucophryene, in accordance with the oracle of the god.<sup>7</sup> / The people in its reverence for the gods we share with the Magnesians, and its wish to augment [its] goodwill towards its kinsmen, and since [many] other cities have previously voted [the same decisions] . . . believes it a matter of great importance not [to let] pass [any suitable] opportunity / for displaying privately [to each individual and] publicly to all the zeal [which] it continuously displays [for the] interests of the people of Magnesia. With good fortune, [be it resolved] by the council and the people, to [praise] the people of Magnesia for their piety towards the gods and / for their friendship and goodwill towards King Antiochus (III) and the people of Antioch, and because if they make good use of their own advantages and of the prosperity of the city, they will preserve their ancestral constitution, and (be it resolved) that the priests should pray to all the gods and goddesses that their [constitution] should forever abide with the people of Magnesia / for their good fortune, and (be it resolved to) recognise the sacrifice, the religious festival, the [truce, the 'crowned' competition as 'isopythian'] and the [musical, gymnastic and equestrian competition which the people of Magnesia] celebrate [in honour of Artemis Leucophryene] / because of the ancestral . . . [. . .]<sup>8</sup> [and to send sacred ambassadors] / to Magnesia [who will sacrifice to Artemis] Leucophryene for the safety [of the king and of both the] cities, and [also] to give them [journey money from the public treasury] to the amount [voted] by the people [to be adequate and fitting for the] city [and to appoint the sacred ambassadors in the . . . of the] month of Heraclius / [when the other political offices] are appointed, and that those [who have been appointed should be sent] from the [common] hearth [of the people; and that presents should be given] by the treasurers [from the public treasury to the] sacred ambassadors who have come [from Magnesia to us, just as they are given] / to [embassies] from [rulers and cities]. Let the sacred [ambassadors] join in the sacrifice [. . . in

honour of Artemis Leucophryene . . .]. The [citizens] who are victorious [in the contest of the] Leucophryena shall have the [same honours and privileges from] / the city as exist [for the victors at the Pythian festival according to the] laws . . . [. . .]<sup>9</sup> . . . so that friendship [may remain between] the [cities for all] time. [A *theorodokos*]<sup>10</sup> shall be appointed [by the people] to receive the 80 [sacred ambassadors who have come from] / the people of Magnesia . . . [. . .]<sup>11</sup>

Similar decrees were passed by the people of Seleucia on the Tigris, the 90 people of Apamea on the Seleia, / the people of Seleucia on the Red Sea, the 95 people of Seleucia on the Eulaeus, / the people of Seleucia [on] the . . . the people of [Antioch] on . . . the people of [Alexandria . . .]<sup>12</sup>

*OGIS* 233; Burstein 32

1. An incorrect use of the royal title for a dead king, cf. **207** and n. 7.
2. Cf. **158** n. 5.
3. One of the few indications of the origins of the settlers in the Seleucid foundations in the east (Antioch in Persis = possibly Bushire on the Persian Gulf). Note the (implicit) compulsion exercised by the king, cf. **48**, **215** and Briant (1982), 271–3.
4. Cf. **189** n. 3.
5. The same envoys as in **189** (a) and (b); Antiochus was returning from his eastern expedition (**187**).
6. Cf. Curty (1995), 108f. and 117–19. The appeal to kinship is common in diplomatic relations; cf. **76**, **140**, **143**, **197** and A. Erskine in Ogden (2002), 97–115; in a wider context cf. J. Ma, *Past and Present* 180 (2003), 9–39.
7. On all this cf. **189**. The decree is silent about the recognition of Magnesia as ‘holy and inviolate’: this was a question of foreign policy which only the king could pronounce on (A. Giovannini, in Laourdas and Makaronas II (1977), 465–72, esp. 471); cf. **65**. It is not clear whether the decree of Antioch was passed at the suggestion of Antiochus III.
8. Several fragmentary lines.
9. Several fragmentary lines.
10. A person appointed to receive officially the sacred ambassadors (*theoroi*).
11. Several fragmentary lines.
12. These are all Greek cities founded in the eastern part of the empire (Seleucia on the Eulaeus = Susa); cf. Rhodes and Lewis (1997), 454f. On Seleucia on the Tigris cf. **167**.

## 191 Antiochus III and Teos (c.204/3)

See Ma (1999), 71f., 172f., 219–23, 228–30, 260–5.

- [Proposal of the] *timouchoi* [and generals: since King] Antiochus (III) . . .
- 5 favourable policy [and preserving . . . / . . . the] goodwill he shows and which he inherited from his [ancestors], and . . . intends to . . . manifold, and intends

to be the common [benefactor] of the other Greek [cities and] of our own city.<sup>1</sup> Previously, when staying in the region beyond the Taurus, he was the cause of many benefits / to us; when he came to our region<sup>2</sup> he settled affairs in an advantageous way, and when he stayed in our city he saw that we were exhausted both in our public and our private affairs because of the continuous wars and the great burden of contributions we were bearing. Wishing / to display piety towards the god<sup>3</sup> to whom he consecrated our city and territory, and wanting to do a favour to the people and the association of Dionysiac artists,<sup>4</sup> he came forward in person in the assembly and granted to our city and territory (to be) holy (*hiera*), inviolate (*asylos*)<sup>5</sup> and free from tribute (*aphorologetos*), and undertook to free us himself from the other contributions we pay to King Attalus (I),<sup>6</sup> / so that by bringing about an improvement in the city's fortunes he would receive the title not only of benefactor of the people, but of its saviour. He stayed in the city with his friends and the military forces which accompanied him,<sup>7</sup> and gave ample evidence of the good faith he already shows / towards all men, and after this has constantly been responsible for many favours to us, thereby giving an example to all the Greeks of how he treats those who are his benefactors and who are well disposed towards him; some of the blessings which resulted in prosperity for our city he is now bringing about, while others he will bring about in future. He wrote a letter to the people in which he suggested the sending of an embassy [to / him] to discuss the matters he said he was convinced would [benefit] the people as well, and when the people sent as ambassadors Dionysius son of Apollo . . . , Hermagoras son of Epimenes, Theodorus son of Zopyrus, he declared to them [that] he had freed the city for all time as he had promised of the tributes which we paid to King Attalus. Concerning these matters he sent a letter in which he said he had instructed the / [ambassadors] to report to us, and the ambassadors reported these matters [to the people]. In the same way his sister<sup>8</sup> and queen Laodice<sup>9</sup> constantly shares the same view as the king in [all circumstances] and . . . and in good deeds towards the city she shows [herself] eager and zealous to perform benefactions, and the people has received the greatest / [blessings] from both of them. Therefore, so that we may be seen in every [circumstance] to be returning adequate thanks to the king and to the queen and to be surpassing ourselves in the honours paid to them in proportion to the benefactions received, and so that all may see that the [people] is fully disposed to repay gratitude, with good fortune, (be it resolved) to place side by side with / the statue of Dionysus marble statues<sup>10</sup> of King Antiochus and of his sister and queen Laodice, as beautiful [and as] majestic as possible, so that since they have granted to (our) city and territory (to be) holy and inviolate and have exempted us from taxation and have granted these favours to the people and to the association of Dionysiac artists,

50 they may receive from / all [the] honours as far as [possible, and] may  
share in the temple<sup>11</sup> and the other honours enjoyed by Dionysus and be  
the joint [saviours] of our [city] and bestow blessings [on our] commu-  
nity. So that [these resolutions] may be put into effect two [commissioners]  
shall be appointed from all [the citizens to] supervise [the] making [and  
55 the] dedication of the [statues]. / The [money] for this shall be provided . . .<sup>12</sup>

P. Herrman, *Anadolu* 9 (1965), 29–159 at pp. 34–6 and  
*SEG* 41.1003; Burstein 33; Ma (1999), no. 17, pp. 308–11

1. Cf. **162** n. 15.
2. Before the discovery of this inscription (in 1963) Seleucid activity in Asia Minor in 204/3 was only attested in Caria (Ma (1999), 66–71, 292–4) and the allegiance of Teos to the Seleucid cause was not attested before 190 (Livy XXXVII.27f.).
3. See **209** n. 5.
4. See **143** and n. 9.
5. See **65**. On the *asylia* of Teos cf. Rigsby (1996), 280–325. The recognition of a city as ‘holy and inviolate’ did not necessarily make it politically ‘neutral’: Teos is found in 190 actively supporting Antiochus III in his war against the Romans and being treated by them as a normal combatant city, though they had previously recognised her *asylia* (cf. **199** and Livy XXXVII.27f.).
6. Teos was previously under Attalid rule, cf. Polybius V.77.5 (in 218); see Ma (1999), 58f. against Allen (1983), 45–58.
7. See **162** n. 5; hardly a comfortable experience for the population (cf. **311**), though Teos is too polite to comment.
8. See **162** n. 8.
9. See **198**, **200**.
10. These are cult statues (*agalmata*); on the cult of Seleucid rulers by Greek cities see **162** n. 9.
11. On this notion cf. **247** (c) and A. D. Nock, *HSCP* 41 (1930), 1–62.
12. There follows another decree regulating the religious honours to be paid to Antiochus III and Laodice; cf. Ma (1999), 311–17.

## 192 The ‘secret pact’ between Antiochus III and Philip V (203/2)

The authenticity of the ‘secret pact’, in which Philip V and Antiochus III allegedly agreed to partition the kingdom of the infant Ptolemy, has been much debated and modern views range from scepticism (e.g. R. M. Errington, *Athenaeum* 49 (1971), 336–54) to qualified acceptance; for a summary of the debate cf. Gruen (1984), 387f.; Ma (1999), 74–82. While Polybius believed in the historicity of the pact, he apparently knew nothing of its contents (cf. too III.2.8), nor does he seem to have regarded it as a cause of the Roman declaration of war against Philip V in 200 (cf. **81**). But elsewhere he implies the existence

of an agreement between Philip V and Zeuxis, Antiochus' representative in the area (cf. **203** n. 6), at the time of Philip's campaigns in Asia Minor in 201 (XVI.1.8f. cf. 24.6). New light has been shed on the question by the discovery of a Rhodian inscription from near Bargylia in Caria, which probably records a Rhodian arbitration in favour of Bargylia in a land dispute. As well as alluding to the 'Fifth Syrian War' (**193**) the text clearly implies an understanding between the two kings, since Philip V is described as handing over to Antiochus III a Carian city he had just conquered in this campaign: 'when a war arose with King Antiochus (III) against King Ptolemy (V) who is now king, the troops sent by King Antiochus took possession of . . . sa and Thodasa before Theangela was handed over by King Philip (V) to (King) Antiochus' (lines 10–13). The reality of the pact is thereby strengthened, though it may have applied only to Ptolemaic possessions in Asia Minor rather than to the whole of Ptolemy's kingdom. See H.-U. Wiemer, *Epigraphica Anatolica* 33 (2001), 1–14.

Is it not astonishing that when Ptolemy (IV) was alive and had no need of their help, they (sc. Antiochus III and Philip V) were prepared to assist him, but when he died leaving a young son,<sup>1</sup> the preservation of whose kingdom fell on them according to the ties of nature, they urged each other on to partition the child's kingdom and to destroy the orphan without even putting forward the slightest pretext to justify their iniquity, as tyrants do, but acted in such a violent way like beasts of prey that they deserve to be said to live the life of fishes, among which it is said that though they are of the same species the destruction of the smaller is the food and livelihood of the larger? Who can look at this treaty as into a mirror and not see the impiety to the gods and the cruelty to men, as well as the unbounded ambition displayed by these two kings? [. . .]<sup>2</sup>

Polybius XV.20; *Staatsv.* III.547

1. Ptolemy was 5 years old at his accession in 204 (**282**).
2. Philip V proceeded to campaign in Thrace, the Aegean and Asia Minor in 202–201 (cf. **81**), while Antiochus III invaded Coele Syria in the 'Fifth Syrian War' (c.202–200), this time successfully (cf. **193**), then moved into Asia Minor in 198–197 (see **195**).

## 193 The conquest of Coele Syria by Antiochus III: a dossier of inscriptions from Scythopolis in Palestine (between 202/1? and 195)

The 'Fifth Syrian War' (c.202–200), which resulted in the conquest by Antiochus III of Coele Syria from Ptolemy V, is the least-known of the many conflicts

between the two rival monarchies (cf. **282** and Polybius XVI.18–19, 22a, 39; Gera (1998), 20–34). Indirect light on the conquest is cast by a letter of Antiochus III preserved in Josephus (**215**; cf. also **192**) and by the following dossier of inscriptions, discovered at Beth-Shean (ancient Scythopolis) in Palestine in 1960. The damaged condition of the inscription leaves many uncertainties and makes it difficult to establish the chronological sequence of the texts. The translation below follows mainly the text of Th. Fischer, *ZPE* 33 (1979), 131–8 (whence *SEG* 29.1613; cf. J. and L. Robert, *Bull.* 1970, 627 on the original publication by Y. Landau, *Israel Exploration Journal* 16 (1966), 54–70). The text and interpretation of lines 11–17 follow J. M. Bertrand, *ZPE* 46 (1982), 167–74. Cf. too *SEG* 41.1574 for other (speculative) readings.

As well as shedding further light on a family active over several generations in the service of kings (the Ptolemies, then the Seleucids; see n. 1 below), the dossier illustrates various points: (a) the wealth and power of the governor locally, and his influence in initiating policy decisions taken by the king; (b) the king's inability to enforce compliance with his own edicts on the billeting of troops (cf. **311**); (c) the multiplicity of subordinate officials involved, and the corresponding proliferation of paperwork (cf. Sherwin-White and Kuhrt (1993), 48–50). Compare the relations of Antiochus I and Aristodicides of Assos (**164**), and also the ordinances of Ptolemy II concerning Syria and Phoenicia (**260**).

(A) King Antiochus (III) to Ptolemy,<sup>1</sup> greetings . . . give instructions to [inscribe] the letters on [stone] stelae . . . and set up in [the villages] which belong [to you]. We have also written to Cleon and Heliodorus the *dioiketai*<sup>2</sup> concerning [these] so that [they may comply]. Year 112, Hyperberetaeus . . . (= September 200).<sup>3</sup>

5 (B) / King [Antiochus (III)] to [Cleon], greetings. [Our written instructions] for the *strategos* . . . (traces of letters) . . . the [same letter to Heliodorus?].

10 (C) King [Antiochus (III) to Cleon], greetings. A [copy] of the memorandum [given] to us by [Ptolemy / the] *strategos* [and high priest]<sup>4</sup> is appended. It shall [therefore be done] as he requests. [Year 111 (= 202/1)].<sup>5</sup>

(D) To King [Antiochus (III)], memorandum from Ptolemy the *strategos* and high priest; [concerning any disputes that may arise]: I request that written instructions be sent [so that] disputes arising in [my] villages and involving peasants [with] each other should be [settled] by my agents, but those arising with peasants from [the] other villages should be investigated by the *oikonomos* [and the official] in charge [of the district (*topos*)], and if / [they concern murder] or appear [to be] of greater significance they should be referred to the *strategos* in Syria [and] Phoenicia; the garrison commanders [and those] in charge of the districts (*topoi*) should not [ignore] in any way those who call for their [intervention]. The same letter to Heliodorus.



(E) King Antiochus (III) to [Cleon], greetings. A copy of the memorandum [given to us] by Ptolemy the *strategos* and high priest is [appended]. / It shall therefore be done as he requests. Year 112, 4 Audnaeus (= December 201).<sup>6</sup> 20

(F) To the Great King<sup>7</sup> Antiochus (III) memorandum [from Ptolemy] the *strategos* [and] high priest. I request, King, if you so please, [to write] to [Cleon] and Heliodorus [the] *dioiketai* that as regards the villages which belong to my domain, crown property, and the villages which you instructed should be registered, / no one should be permitted under any pretext to billet himself, 25  
nor to bring in others, nor to requisition property, nor to take away peasants. The same letter to Heliodorus.

(G) King Antiochus (III) to Marsyas,<sup>8</sup> greetings. Ptolemy the *strategos* and high priest reported to us that many of those of those travelling / are forcibly billeting themselves in his villages [and] many other acts of injustice are committed as they ignore [the instructions] we sent about this.<sup>9</sup> Do therefore make sure that not only are they prevented (from doing so) but also that they suffer tenfold punishment for the harm they have done . . . The same letter to [Lysanias], Leon, Dionicus. 30

(H) / King Antiochus (III) to Heliodorus, greetings. Appended is the copy 35  
of the letter [which] we have written to Marsyas. Follow [therefore] the instructions. Year 117, Xandicus . . . (= March 195).

(I) Attached is [the letter to] Marsyas. To Theodotus a copy of the letter to Lysanias; to Apollphanes a copy of the letter [to Leon], to Plutogenes a copy of the letter to Dionicus.

SEG 29.1613 (see references above)

1. On Ptolemy son of Thraseas cf. C. Habicht, *Phoenix* 43 (1989), 337–46. He belonged to a family from Aspendus active in Ptolemaic service for two generations; on his grandfather Aetus and father Thraseas cf. 272. He is mentioned by Polybius in 219 as a Ptolemaic general (275), after which he probably became Ptolemaic governor of Syria and Phoenicia before deserting to Antiochus III, perhaps before the ‘Fifth Syrian War’ (D. Gera, *Ancient Society* 18 (1987), 66–73 and Gera (1998), 28–34). He then became the Seleucid *strategos* of Coele Syria and Phoenicia (this text), known already as the recipient of a letter of Antiochus III concerning the Jews (215). He later made a dedication in the gymnasium at Soloi in Cilicia: ‘Ptolemy son of Thraseas, *strategos* and high priest of Coele Syria and Phoenicia, to Hermes, Heracles and the great king Antiochus’ (*OGIS* 230; Ma (1999), no. 21 pp. 321–3). An Apollonius son of Thraseas mentioned in II Macc. 3.5–7 (216) under Seleucus IV may be a brother or relative. A certain Bithys son of Thraseas who made a dedication at Delos in honour of Antiochos VIII (*OGIS* 259; Dürrbach (1921), no. 120, dated to 125–113) may be a grandson.
2. Cf. 198 n. 5; Cleon and Heliodorus are otherwise unknown (Heliodorus is unlikely to be the same person as the well-known minister of Seleucus IV, 216).

3. Thus Landau; Fischer suggests Year 117 or 115, i.e. 195 or 197 BC.
4. On the title 'high priest' cf. D. Musti, *CAH* VII.1<sup>2</sup> (1984), 187f.; Ma (1999), 27 and n. 5.
5. Thus Landau; Fischer suggests Year 114, i.e. 198/7 BC.
6. Thus Landau; Fischer suggests Year 114, i.e. December 198 BC
7. On the use of this title by Antiochus III cf. Ma (1999), 272–6. The evidence suggests that Antiochus called himself 'the Great' after his eastern expedition (187 n. 9), but it was only the conquest of Coele Syria from the Ptolemies that led him to assume the title 'Great King' in emulation of the Ptolemies (cf. 268 for Ptolemy III).
8. Nothing further is known of Marsyas or his functions; the same applies to the six other officials mentioned in this text and in (I) below.
9. Cf. Austin (2001), 92 and n. 8.

### 194 Loan (?) of money by the temple of Artemis at Sardis on the security of an estate (late fourth century or c.200?)

The following inscription is valuable for giving a detailed description of a large estate in Asia Minor comprising several native villages and the revenues from them (cf. also 164, 168, 173), but the detailed interpretation of the text has many uncertainties, notably (1) the date and circumstances of the grant of the estate to Mnesimachus (if Antigonus in l. 2 is Antigonus the One-Eyed, as is quite possible, then the original text will have been re-inscribed after the destruction of the temple in 214 – the lettering of the inscription belongs to this time); (2) the nature and purpose of the large loan by the temple of Artemis at Sardis to Mnesimachus which he is unable to repay; (3) the exact nature of the contract in col. II whereby the estate is made over to the temple. For a range of interpretations see K. M. T. Atkinson, *Historia* 21 (1972), 45–74; Debord (1982), 244–51; Billows (1995), 111–45, esp. 137–45; Dignas (2002), 70–3, 279–87.

#### *Column I*

- . . . Chaereas having enquired . . . and later Antigonus awarded the estate (*oikos*) to me. But now since the temple wardens are asking back from me the gold lent on [deposit] which belongs to Artemis, and I have no means of paying it back to them, these then are [the particulars of the] estate. The villages with the following names: Tobalmoura, a village in the plain of Sardis
- 5 on the hill of Ilos; [to] this [village] also belong / other villages, one called the village of Tandos, and Kombdilipia; the annual revenue (*phoros*) of the villages to the 'chiliarchy'<sup>1</sup> of Pytheas . . . is 50 gold pieces. And there is also a lot (*kleros*) at Kinaroa near Tobalmoura, with an annual [revenue] of

three gold pieces. And there is another village Periasasostra in the Water of Morstas, with an annual revenue to the 'chiliarchy' of . . . arius of 57 gold pieces. And there is also a lot <at> the Water of Morstas at Nagrioa, with a revenue to the 'chiliarchy' of Sagarius son of Koreis of three gold pieces and four gold obols. And there is / another village at Attoudda called the village of Ilos, with an annual revenue of three gold pieces and three gold obols. 10

Now from all the villages, from the lots, from the dwelling-plots which belong to them, from the peasants (*laoi*) with all their households and belongings, from the wine vessels, from the dues paid in silver and in labour,<sup>2</sup> and from the other revenues from the villages and even more besides, when the division was made,<sup>3</sup> Pytheus and Adrastus received as a separate estate a farmstead at Tobalmoura, outside of which are the houses of the / peasants and the slaves and two gardens (requiring) fifteen *artabas* of seed, 15 and at Periasasostra dwelling-plots (requiring) three *artabas* of seed, and slaves living in this place, at Tobalmoura Ephesus son of Adrastus, Kadoas son of Adrastus, Heraclides son of Beletrus, Tuius son of Maneas Caecus; those dwelling at Periasasostra, Kadoas son of Armanandes, Adrastus son of Maneas.<sup>4</sup>

### *Column II*

[. . . it shall] no longer [be permitted] to me or [to my descendants nor . . .] nor to anyone else to redeem [anything]. And if anyone lays a claim to any of the villages or lots or any of the other things listed here in writing, I and my descendants shall guarantee possession and turn out the rival claimant. If we do not guarantee possession or transgress this written contract / in respect 5 of the villages, the lots, the lands and all the slaves, they shall fall to the treasury of Artemis, and the temple wardens shall conduct legal proceedings and secure judgement on these matters against the claimants as they wish, and I, Mnesimachus, and my descendants shall pay to the treasury of Artemis 2,650 gold pieces,<sup>5</sup> and for the produce and the fruit, if they (the temple wardens) do not receive the fruits that year for the treasury of Artemis, we shall also pay whatever price in gold they are worth, / and for the buildings 10 and the plants belonging to Artemis or anything else they may do, we shall pay whatever price in gold they are worth; and so long as we have not paid, (the loan) will remain for us as a 'deposit' (*parakatatheke*) until we have paid in full. And if the king takes away from Artemis through<sup>6</sup> Mnesimachus the villages or the lots or any of the other securities offered, I, Mnesimachus, and my descendants shall immediately pay to the treasury of Artemis the original amount in gold of the 'deposit', (namely) 1,325 gold pieces, / and we shall 15 pay at once whatever is the value of the buildings and of the plants of Artemis,

and for the produce and the fruit, if they do not receive the fruits that year for the treasury of Artemis we shall also pay whatever price in gold they are worth; and so long as we have not paid (the loan) will remain for me and for my descendants as a 'deposit' until we have paid in full to the treasury of Artemis. The recovery (of the loan) so long as (repayment) has not been made by us, is to be enforceable.

W. H. Buckler and D. M. Robinson, *Sardis* VII.1  
(Princeton, 1932), 1–7 no. 1; R. Bogaert, *Epigraphica* III  
(Leyden, 1976), no. 36

1. A territorial division to which the estate of Mnesimachus paid taxes; the inscription implies that the estate remained subject to royal taxation if it passed to the temple of Artemis.
2. i.e. the *laoi* owe corvées to their masters. For Ptolemaic Egypt see **313**.
3. Circumstances unknown.
4. Note the mixture of Greek and non-Greek names.
5. Double the original loan, cf. below.
6. The implication of this is not clear.

## 195 Antiochus III in Asia Minor and at the Hellespont (197/6)

See Ma (1999), 2–6, 82–105.

In the same year<sup>1</sup> King Antiochus, after wintering at Ephesus, sought to bring all the cities of Asia back to their former status within the empire.<sup>2</sup> He could see that the remainder would submit to his rule without difficulty, either because of their position in a plain or because they could place little reliance on their walls, weapons and soldiers, but Smyrna and Lampsacus were asserting their freedom and there was a danger that if they were granted what they sought, other cities might follow the example of Smyrna in Ionia and Aeolis, and of Lampsacus in the Hellespont.<sup>3</sup> And so he himself sent an army from Ephesus to besiege Smyrna and ordered the troops stationed at Abydus to proceed to the siege of Lampsacus leaving only a small garrison behind. In fact he was not relying so much on the fear inspired by force, but through envoys he would send them conciliatory messages and reproach them for their rashness and obstinacy; he sought in this way to raise the hope that they would soon have what they were seeking, but only when it was sufficiently clear to themselves and to all others that it was from the king that they had obtained their freedom and that they had not seized it in favourable circumstances.<sup>4</sup> The reply to all this was that Antiochus should be neither surprised nor angry that they should not lightly accept seeing their hopes of freedom being put off.

Antiochus himself sailed at the beginning of spring from Ephesus and made for the Hellespont, and ordered his land forces to cross from Abydus to the Chersonese. The land and sea forces made their junction near Madytus, a city on the Chersonese, which shut its gates to him and so he surrounded its walls with troops; the city surrendered when he started to move up his siege engines. The same fear induced the inhabitants of Sestus and the other cities in the Chersonese to surrender. From there he reached Lysimachea<sup>5</sup> simultaneously with all his sea and land forces. He found it deserted and almost completely lying in ruins (a few years before the Thracians had captured and sacked the city and set it on fire), and he became anxious to restore a distinguished city which enjoyed a favourable position.<sup>6</sup> And so he started work on every part of the project at once, the reconstruction of the roofs and walls, redeeming those of the people of Lysimachea who had fallen into slavery, searching out and bringing together those who had scattered in flight throughout the Hellespont and Chersonese, and enlisting new settlers whom he attracted by the hope of advantages and sought in every way to make as numerous as possible.<sup>7</sup> At the same time, in order to dispel the fear of the Thracians, he set off in person with half of his land forces to ravage the neighbouring parts of Thrace, while the other half he left together with all his naval allies to work on the reconstruction of the city.<sup>8</sup>

Livy XXXIII.38.

1. 196, but the reconquest will have started earlier in 197/6; cf. Ma (1999), 86–8.
2. On Antiochus III's hopes of reconstructing his ancestral kingdom cf. **183**, **187**, **196**; on the pretence cf. Ma (1999), 26–33, 50–2.
3. On Lampsacus cf. **197**; on Smyrna cf. **174**.
4. Cf. **196**.
5. Cf. **56** n. 9, **171**.
6. On kings as founders or restorers of cities cf. **48**.
7. Cf. Antiochus III and Jerusalem, **215**.
8. On the Thracians cf. **114** n. 5. On Antiochus III in Thrace cf. J. D. Grainger, *Historia* 45 (1996), 329–43; Ma (1999), 90f.

## 196 The conference at Lysimachea between Antiochus III and the Roman envoys (196)

The war between Antiochus III and Rome only broke out after the king landed in Greece at the invitation of the Aetolians in autumn 192 (cf. **85**, **202**). The seeds of potential conflict were sown earlier, with Rome's defeat of Philip V and settlement of Greece in 196 (**84**) and Antiochus' determination to restore what he regarded as his ancestral inheritance in Asia Minor and Thrace (**195**). For

discussion of the origins and course of the war see E. Badian, *CP* 54 (1959), 81–99; Harris (1979), 219–23; Gruen (1984), 611–43; R. Errington in *CAH* VIII<sup>2</sup> (1989), 274–89; Sherwin-White and Kuhrt (1993), 210–16; Ma (1999) *passim*, esp. 94–102; Grainger (2002).

[. . .] just as Antiochus' designs in Thrace were going as he wished, Lucius Cornelius and his colleagues sailed into Selymbria; they were the ambassadors sent by the Senate to arrange a peace between Antiochus and Ptolemy (V).<sup>1</sup> (50) At the same time there arrived three of the ten commissioners,<sup>2</sup> Publius Lentulus from Bargylia and Lucius Terentius and Publius Villius from Thasos. Their presence was promptly reported to the king and they all met together a few days later at Lysimachea; and Hegesianax and Lysias, the envoys sent to Titus (Flamininus) also happened to arrive at this time.<sup>3</sup> The private meetings of the king and the Romans were quite informal and friendly, but afterwards when they met in public council to discuss matters of state policy things took a very different turn. Lucius Cornelius demanded that Antiochus should give up all the cities in Asia under the rule of Ptolemy (V) which he had just captured, and he earnestly requested him to evacuate those under Philip (V). He also advised him to keep away from the autonomous cities.<sup>4</sup> Finally, he said he could not understand why he had crossed to Europe with such a large army and fleet: there was no other reasonable interpretation of his action than that he was seeking to attack the Romans. With these words the Romans fell silent. (51) The king on his side said he could not understand on what grounds they were arguing with him over the cities in Asia; the Romans had less right to do this than anyone else. He next asked them not to meddle at all in the affairs of Asia; he himself had not interfered in any way in Italian affairs. He said he had crossed into Europe with his army to recover possession of the Chersonese and the cities in Thrace: sovereignty over those parts belonged to him more than to any other. At first Lysimachus held power over this area, but when Seleucus waged war on him and was victorious,<sup>5</sup> the whole kingdom of Lysimachus fell to Seleucus as the spoils of war.<sup>6</sup> Subsequently, because of the distractions which hindered his predecessors, first Ptolemy (III) then Philip (V) had wrested this country from him and made it their own.<sup>7</sup> He had not acquired the country by taking advantage of Philip's difficulties but had recovered possession of it in virtue of his rights. The people of Lysimachea had been expelled by the Thracians unexpectedly and he was not doing any injustice to the Romans in bringing them back and resettling them;<sup>8</sup> he did this, he said, not with the intention of attacking the Romans but to provide a residence for (his son) Seleucus.<sup>9</sup> As for the autonomous cities of Asia they must obtain their freedom not from an injunction of Rome but through an act of favour on his part.<sup>10</sup> As for Ptolemy, he said he would be settling matters

amicably with him; he intended not only to conclude friendship with him but to seal it with a marriage alliance.<sup>11</sup>

Polybius XVIII.49–51.

1. Antiochus III had defeated Ptolemy V in the ‘Fifth Syrian War’ (cf. **193**).
2. See **84**.
3. On Hegesianax cf. Walbank II (1967), 615f.; Savalli-Lestrade (1998), 29.
4. The Roman declaration of freedom for the Greeks included those in Asia (**84**), which conflicted with Antiochus’ own claims (**195**).
5. See **56–7**.
6. Cf. **37** n. 4.
7. In c.245–241 (cf. **174**, **266**) and 200 respectively (cf. **81**).
8. See **195**.
9. The future Seleucus IV Philopator, installed as governor of the Seleucid possessions in Thrace; cf. **252** n. 3.
10. Cf. **195** and see generally **162** n. 15.
11. Peace was concluded between Antiochus III and Ptolemy V in 195, Ptolemy marrying Antiochus’ daughter Cleopatra.

## 197 Decree of Lampsacus in honour of an ambassador to Massalia and Rome (196/5)

Lampsacus, one of the cities which resisted Antiochus III in 197 (cf. **195**), is shown by this inscription to have sought the help of Rome through the agency of Massalia, like Lampsacus a colony of Phocaea, and a city which had a long-standing treaty with Rome. See Walbank (1981), 233–6; Gruen (1984), 65f.; Ma (1999), 94–6, 173f.

(The beginning of the inscription is lost)

... [in the decrees] inscribed above. [And when the people was seeking] with all [earnestness] and calling upon [men] to offer their services, and had voted [that / the] men who went on a mission on behalf of the city to the [Massalioes] 5 and the Romans should receive some honour from the [people] and that when they returned [the] council [should introduce a motion] on the honours to be granted to them, and when [some persons] had been put forward but refused, 10 and some had actually been appointed / [and had declined] on oath because of the magnitude of the journey [and of the expenses involved], Hegesias was put forward and instead of declining on oath [he was appointed] and deemed worthy by the people; [he gave no thought to] the dangers involved in the journey abroad, but [attached less importance] to his own personal affairs than to the [interests] of the city / [and accepted] the embassy; he travelled 15 abroad and [came to] Greece and together with his fellow [ambassadors]

he met [Lucius]<sup>1</sup> the Roman general in command of the naval [forces] and  
discoursed at length to him to the effect that the people (of Lampsacus), [who  
20 were related and] friendly to the Roman people,<sup>2</sup> had [sent / them] to him, and  
that [with] his fellow ambassadors he urged and [beseeched] them since we  
are kinsmen of the [Romans, to take thought] for our city so as to bring about  
[whatever seemed] advantageous to the people, for it was incumbent on [them  
always to] champion the interests of the city because of [the] kinship [which  
25 exists] / between them and us, which [they] too [recognised] and because  
the Massalioes are our brothers [and are friends] and allies of the Roman  
people; [and when] they had received [from him] a suitable reply, they were  
30 to transmit [them all to the city]. These raised the spirits of the [people; /  
for in them] he (Flamininus) declares that he recognises the [close kinship]  
which exists between us and the [Romans, and he promised] that if he should  
conclude friendship or an alliance with anyone, he would include [in them]  
our city, and would protect [the democracy], autonomy and peace (of the  
35 city) [and / that he would do anything in his] power to favour us, and that if  
anyone [tried to harass us] he would not allow this but would prevent it. And  
when (Hegesias) [with his fellow] envoys met the quaestor in charge of the  
fleet [. . . and persuaded] him always to be responsible for some favour, [he  
40 also received] a letter from him to [our] people / [which he saw] was in our  
favour and deposited in [the public archives]. He then travelled . . . [. . . and  
wishing to carry out fully] the mission for which he had the decrees, he [sailed  
45 to Massalia], a long and dangerous journey, [presented himself before / the  
Six] Hundred<sup>3</sup> and won them over to his side, and secured [the appointment  
of ambassadors] to accompany [him from Massalia to] Rome; and believing it  
would be useful, they [requested and received from the] Six Hundred a suitable  
letter [on behalf of our people to the people] of the Tolostoagian Galatians.<sup>4</sup>  
50 He then sailed [to / Rome together with] his fellow ambassadors and the  
envoys [sent] with [him from Massalia] and negotiated with the Senate with  
[them, and listened to the Massalioes declaring] the goodwill and support  
they [constantly show towards] them, and renewing the [friendship] which  
55 exists [with them], and discoursing to them [about us, / to the effect that  
they (the Romans)] ought to be brothers of our people, [and that their policy]  
should be in harmony with their kinship. He gave himself a report [on the  
present state of affairs] and about the aims of the people [in sending off the]  
embassy, and together with [his fellow ambassadors] he urged them [to show  
60 concern] for the [security] of their other close friends, / [and] to take care of  
our city, [because of our kinship and] because of the [friendliness] which exists  
between them and us [and because of the] introduction [provided] to us by  
the [Massalioes, and asked] to be given [a letter] favourable to the people;  
and when [the ambassadors earnestly requested] that we should be included



[in the / treaty] made between the Romans and the [king (Philip V)],<sup>5</sup> the 65  
 Senate included] us in the treaty [with the king, as] they themselves state in  
 their letter, and concerning [all other matters] the Senate [referred] them to  
 Titus (Flamininus) the [Roman proconsul] and the ten commissioners [in  
 charge of Greek affairs].<sup>6</sup> / And having come to Corinth with [. . . and] 70  
 Apollodorus he met the commander [and the ten commissioners, and spoke]  
 to them on behalf of the people, and [urged them with all] zeal to take thought  
 [for us and to help] in preserving [the autonomy] / and democracy of [our] 75  
 city; on these matters he [received a friendly resolution] and letters to the kings  
 [. . . and recognising that they were favourable] to him he sent them [. . . the  
 people], as it had voted . . .<sup>7</sup> (the end of the inscription is lost)

*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 591; M. Holleaux, *Etudes V* (1957), 141–55;  
*I.Lampsakos*, no. 4; BD 35

1. L. Quinctius Flamininus, brother of Titus, praetor in 199 and legate under his brother in Greece 198–194 BC.
2. Cf. Curty (1995), 78–82. This fictitious connection rests on Lampsacus' membership of the league of cities of the Troad (or on a local tradition), and on Rome's alleged Trojan origin; cf. Erskine (2001), 168–172 and **190** n. 6.
3. The aristocratic council of Massalia; cf. de Ste Croix (1981), 536.
4. The precise object of this appeal to the Galatians is unclear; Massalia, a city with friendly relations with the Celts in the west, was a suitable mediator.
5. The peace treaty which concluded the 'Second Macedonian War'.
6. See **84**, **196**.
7. The preserved part of the inscription makes no explicit reference to Antiochus III, who is only alluded to indirectly.

## 198 Letter of Laodice to Iasus in Caria (c.196/5)

On Iasus and Antiochus III see C. Crowther, *BICS* 40 (1995), 91–138; Ma (1999), 161–3, 180–2, 216f., 223f., 329–37.

When Kydias son of Hierocles was crown-bearer (*stephanephoros*), letter. In the month of Elaphebolion. Queen Laodice to the council and people of Iasus, greetings. Having often heard my brother<sup>1</sup> recall the / help he constantly 5  
 provides to his friends and allies, and how when he recovered<sup>2</sup> your city  
 which had been afflicted by unexpected natural disasters,<sup>3</sup> he restored to you  
 your freedom and your laws, and for the rest he intends / to increase the 10  
 citizen body<sup>4</sup> and bring it to a better condition, and since it is my policy to  
 act in accordance with his zeal and eagerness and because of this to confer a  
 benefaction on those citizens who are destitute, which would be of general

15 advantage / to the entire people, I have written to Strouthion, the financial  
official (*dioiketes*),<sup>5</sup> to have brought to the city every year for ten years 1,000  
Attic medimni of corn to be delivered to the people's representatives.<sup>6</sup> You  
20 would do well therefore to instruct the treasurers to receive / (the corn) and  
to utilise the proceeds from the sale of a fixed amount of it, and (to instruct)  
the presidents (*prostatai*) and any others you select to make sure that they  
deposit the sum raised from this (to serve) as dowries for the daughters of  
needy citizens,<sup>7</sup> giving to each of the brides not more than 300 Antiochene  
25 drachmas. / If you continue to be (well) disposed towards my brother and  
in general towards our house as is fitting, [and] gratefully remember all our  
benefactions, I will try to help in securing in every way the other benefits I  
30 intend to confer, acting in accordance with / the wishes of my brother. For  
I know that [he] is very eager to bring about the restoration [of the] city.  
Farewell.<sup>8</sup>

G. Pugliese-Carratelli, *Annuario* 45–6 (1967–8), 445–53;  
J. and L. Robert, *Bull.* 1971, 621; *SEG* 26.1226;  
Burstein 36; Ma (1999), no. 26 pp. 329–35

1. Antiochus III; the title is honorific, cf. **162** n. 8.
2. It is not known when Iasus was previously in Seleucid possession; for Antiochus III in Asia Minor see **191**, **195–6**.
3. Probably a reference to an earthquake in 199/8.
4. Simply = 'improve their condition', not literally as in **190**.
5. Hardly the chief finance minister of the kingdom but a local official; cf. also **132**, **193**, **201**.
6. Cf. **130** on the corn supply of Greek cities.
7. An unusual benefaction, but suitable for a queen; cf. Diodorus XIX.59.4 (Phila) and 67.1 (Cratesipolis), with S. B. Pomeroy, *Mnemosyne* 35 (1982), 115–35. On foundations cf. **135**.
8. There follows a (mutilated) decree of Iasus in honour of Laodice (Ma (1999), 331–4); on Laodice cf. also **191**, **200** and Sherwin-White and Kuhrt (1993), 126–8, 202–10.

## 199 Letter of M. Valerius Messala to Teos (193)

On Antiochus III and Teos cf. **191** and on this text Ma (1999), 100–2, 209f.

(Letter) from the Romans. Marcus Valerius (Messala), son of Marcus, praetor,  
and the tribunes and the Senate, to the council and people of Teos, greetings.  
5 Menippus the envoy sent to us by King Antiochus (III)<sup>1</sup> / and who was  
appointed by you to act as ambassador for your city, handed over the decree  
(to us) and spoke himself with all zeal in conformity with it. We received the  
10 man in a friendly spirit, both because of his previous / reputation and because

of his inherent excellence, and we listened with goodwill to his requests. That we constantly attach the greatest importance to piety towards the gods may best be inferred from the favour which attends us / on the part of the divinity because of this. Nonetheless we are convinced that there are many other signs which have demonstrated clearly to all the high honour we pay to the divinity. And so for these reasons, because of your goodwill towards us and because of the request of your ambassador, we decide that your city and territory / are sacred, as at present, inviolate (*asylōs*)<sup>2</sup> and free from taxation by the Roman people, and we shall endeavour to assist in increasing the honours paid to the god<sup>3</sup> and the privileges granted to you, provided you preserve in future your goodwill towards us. Farewell.

*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 601; Sherk (1969), 34; Sherk (1984), 8; BD 39; Ma (1999), no. 38 pp. 356–8

1. Antiochus III was still formally at peace with Rome. On Menippus cf. Savalli-Lestrade (1998), 30f.
2. Cf. **191** and n. 5; this is one of several inscriptions recording acceptance of the *asyllia* of Teos (cf. *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 563–6).
3. Dionysus.

## 200 Letter of a Seleucid governor to Laodicea in Media, with copy of an edict of Antiochus III (193)

The worship of living rulers by Greek cities is attested already in the time of Alexander and his successors (cf. **39**, and **162** n. 9 for the Seleucids). The setting up of dynastic cults by the rulers themselves was slower to develop. Antiochus I deified his father Seleucus after his death, and subsequent Seleucid rulers followed the practice, deifying their predecessors (cf. **190**, **207**), but there is so far no proof of a cult of the ruler or his queen being established by that ruler in his lifetime before the reign of Antiochus III (for Ptolemaic practice see **255** and n. 12). This is known from three different copies of an edict of Antiochus III of 193: (1) the text below from Nehavend in Iran; (2) another copy found in the Zagros range in Iran, on the road from Ecbatana to Seleucia on the Tigris, sent by the same official Menedemus (L. Robert, *CRAI* 1967, 281–96); and (3) a previously known copy from Phrygia (*RC* 36–7, where the date should be corrected to 193; BD 158; Ma (1999), no. 37 pp. 354–6). The edict, issued in March 193 (it is not known exactly where), reached Phrygia in May, and Iran in June or June/July. What may have prompted the timing of the decision is unclear. The king's stated motives are simply to honour his consort; in the process he publicised the power of the dynasty empire-wide, and the move provided the king's followers with a means of displaying loyalty and achieving promotion through the tenure of

priesthoods. See Sherwin-White and Kuhrt (1993), 202–10; Ma (1999), 147–50.

5 Menedemus<sup>1</sup> to Apollodorus<sup>2</sup> and the magistrates and city of Laodicea, greet-  
ings. Appended below is [the] copy of the edict sent to us in writing [by the  
king]. / Do you therefore conform to the instructions given and see to it  
10 that the edict is inscribed on a stone stele and dedicated in the most distin-  
guished sanctuary in the city. / Farewell. Year 119, on the 10th of the month  
of Panemus.<sup>3</sup>

King Antiochus (III) to Menedemus, greetings. Wishing to increase further  
the honours of our sister<sup>4</sup> and queen Laodice, and believing this to be most  
15 imperative for us, / not only because of the affection and care she shows in  
her life with us, but also because of her piety towards the deity,<sup>5</sup> we continue  
to perform affectionately everything that is fitting and just [for her] to receive  
20 from us, / and in particular it is our decision that just as chief priests (*archiereis*)  
of ourselves are appointed throughout the kingdom<sup>6</sup> so too chief priestesses  
should be set up in the same [provinces] who shall wear gold crowns with  
25 her portrait on them, and who shall [also] be inscribed / on (business) con-  
tracts after the chief priests of our [ancestors] and ourselves.<sup>7</sup> Therefore since  
Laodice<sup>8</sup> has been appointed in the provinces under [your] command,<sup>9</sup> [let]  
30 everything [be done] in conformity with what is written above and let the  
copies of the letters be inscribed on stelae / and dedicated in the most dis-  
tinguished [places], so that [our good disposition] towards our sister should  
be made manifest in these matters too now and for the future. Year 119, [on  
the . . . of the month of Xandicus].<sup>10</sup>

L. Robert, *Hellenica* 7 (1949), 5–22

1. Governor of the satrapy.
2. The royal governor (*epistates*) at Laodicea, cf. **206**, **210**, **245**.
3. June–July 193.
4. Cf. **162** n. 8; on Laodice cf. **191**, **198**. The daughter of King Mithridates II of Pontus, Antiochus III married her in 222 (Polybius V.43). Compare Apollonis in **240**.
5. Cf. **209** n. 5.
6. i.e. Antiochus III had established a cult of himself before this, but the exact date is uncertain – perhaps at the conclusion of his eastern expedition (**187**; cf. Ma (1999), 356).
7. On the use of dynastic priesthoods for dating purposes cf. **190**, **271** nn. 3, 14. On priesthoods generally cf. **149**.
8. Daughter of Antiochus III; in the text from Phrygia the chief priestess is the daughter of a local dynast descended from Lysimachus (**238** n. 2).
9. i.e. every satrapy of the empire would have its chief priestess.
10. March–April 193.

## 201 Decree of Apollonia under Salbake in honour of a Seleucid official (reign of Antiochus III)

On Seleucid officials and administration cf. Ma (1999), 122–47, 206–11.

[. . . and in former] times [he has constantly shown himself] well [disposed publicly to the people]<sup>1</sup> and privately to each [of the citizens; and when he was appointed cavalry] commander in charge of the [soldiers (stationed)] among [us], he [secured] perfect discipline,<sup>2</sup> [and when ambassadors] / were sent concerning the [interests of the] people to Ctesicles the . . . and to Menander the financial official (*dioiketes*),<sup>3</sup> he devoted [himself zealously] when the ambassadors [departed and] after travelling [with] them he was anxious that [all] / our demands should be granted. And furthermore when [Demetrius] the accountant (*eklogistes*)<sup>4</sup> summoned the ambassadors about the report made to him by [Demetrius] the official in charge of the sanctuaries<sup>5</sup> and [discussed] with them the question of the ‘sacred’ villages, the Saleioi / of the mountains and the Saleioi of the plains<sup>6</sup> . . . he urged Demetrius not to modify in his administration any of the [previously] existing possessions of the people . . . but to allow them to remain as at [present], and not only did he deliver to the [ambassadors] sent after this / [concerning] the villages just mentioned a [letter] for Demetrius [consonant with] the resolutions (of the people), but he even met [him] and spoke with enthusiasm, as the [ambassadors] who heard him witnessed. And [in general] / he never ceases to be responsible for some good to the citizens. Be it resolved by the council and People of Apollonia: to praise Philo . . . for his merits and for the goodwill he [constantly] displays towards the people; to grant him [and] / his descendants citizen rights and exemption from all taxes [over which the] city has control;<sup>7</sup> and to invite him every year to [a seat of honour (*proedria*)] and to crown him with a gold crown during the gymnastic competition celebrated in honour of King [Seleucus].

Robert (1954), 285–302, no. 166; Ma (1999), no. 44 pp. 364–6

1. The decree emanates from Apollonia in Caria, founded (or at least established as a Greek city) by Seleucus I or Antiochus I.
2. Cf. **311**.
3. Cf. **198** n. 5.
4. Cf. **168**.
5. In 209 Antiochus III set up a post of ‘chief priest in charge of all sanctuaries this side of Mount Taurus’, with powers of supervision over the administration and finances of temples; Demetrius may be the successor to Nicanor, the first holder of the post.

Cf. Ma (1999), 26–8, 135–7; Dignas (2002), 45–56, and 66–8 on this text. Cf. **204** for a chief priest of the sanctuaries at Daphne.

6. The point at issue concerned probably the question of revenues from native ‘sacred’ villages, i.e. villages built around a native sanctuary (cf. **172**).
7. This implies that some of the taxes of the city were controlled by the king; cf. Rostovtzeff III (1941), 1475 n. 4; Ma (1999), 154f.

## 202 Letter of L. Cornelius Scipio and his brother to Heraclea under Mount Latmus (190)

For the context cf. Ma (1999), 246f.

[Lucius Cornelius Scipio], consul of the Romans, [and Publius Scipio his brother],<sup>1</sup> to the council and [people] of Heraclea, [greetings]. Your envoys Dias, Dies, Dionysius, . . . amandrus, Eudemus, Moschus, Aristides, Menes,  
5 [excellent] men, [met] us / and handed over your decree and spoke themselves in conformity [with the] detailed provisions of the decree, and showed no lack [of zeal]. We [happen to] be favourably disposed to all the Greeks<sup>2</sup> and we shall endeavour, since you have placed yourselves in our [trust],<sup>3</sup> to show  
10 all possible care (for you), and always [to be responsible] for some good. / We grant you your freedom, as we have to [the] other cities which have placed themselves under our care, and you will keep [under your control] the administration of [all] your own affairs in accordance with your laws, [and in] other matters we shall endeavour to be of help to you and to be always [responsible] for some good. We accept the gifts and the [pledges]<sup>4</sup>  
15 you are offering, / and we shall endeavour ourselves not to fall short in returning gratitude. We have also [sent] to you Lucius Orbius to look after your [city and] territory and to make sure that no one harasses you. Farewell.

Sherk (1969), 35 (*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 618, misattributed);  
Sherk (1984), no. 14; BD 40; Ma (1999), no. 45 pp. 366–7

1. P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus, who was legate to his brother. War had broken out between Antiochus III and Rome in 192 (cf. **196**); Antiochus’ invasion of Greece, incited by the Aetolians (cf. **85**), was repulsed (192–191) and the war shifted to Asia Minor (cf. **203**, **205**).
2. For this propaganda pose cf. **84** n. 2.
3. i.e. *fides*, cf. **85**.
4. Ma (1999), 367 suggests [honours].

## 203 The army of Antiochus III at the battle of Magnesia (early 189)

See **184** and Griffith (1935), 144–6; Bar-Kochva (1976), 163–73 and see index s.v. Magnesia (battle of).

The king's battle line was more varied (sc. than the Roman), as it was made up of many peoples who differed in their weapons and their auxiliary forces. There were 16,000 infantry armed in the Macedonian way, who are called the *phalangitae* (members of the phalanx). They held the centre of the battle line, and their front was divided into ten parts, each part being separated by a gap where two elephants were positioned. The battle line extended from the front to a depth of 32 men. These were the best troops in the king's army, and in general presented a frightening appearance, especially because of the elephants towering so high above the troops. The elephants themselves were huge, and their appearance was enhanced by their frontlets and crests, and by the towers placed on their backs, on which stood four soldiers in addition to the driver. To the right of the *phalangitae* the king placed 1,500 'Gallo-Greek' cavalry,<sup>1</sup> and next to these 3,000 mail-clad cavalry (they called them *cataphracti*). To these was added a squadron of about 1,000 cavalry, called the *agema*; they consisted of picked Median troops, and mixed cavalry of many races from the same region.<sup>2</sup> Next to these was placed a herd of 16 elephants in support. On this side was the royal guard, with its wing slightly forward; they were called Silver Shields from the kind of weapons they used.<sup>3</sup> Then came 1,200 Dahae, who were mounted archers, then 3,000 light-armed troops, consisting of Cretans and Trallians in almost equal numbers. Next to these came 2,500 Mysian archers. The extreme right wing was formed by a mixture of Cyrtaeon slingers and Elymaean archers, to a total of 4,000. On the left wing, next to the *phalangitae* came 1,500 'Gallo-Greek' cavalry, and 2,000 Cappadocians armed in the same way; these had been sent to the king by Ariarathes. Then came a mixture of auxiliary forces of all kinds, 2,700 in all, and 3,000 mail-clad cavalry, and another 1,000 cavalry, the royal squadron, with lighter protection for themselves and their horses but otherwise equipped in the same way (as the mail-clad cavalry); they were mostly Syrians, with an admixture of Phrygians and Lydians. In front of this body of cavalry were chariots armed with scythes and camels of the kind they call dromedaries. They had as mounts Arab archers, with slender swords four cubits long, which allowed them to reach the enemy from such a height. Then came another host, equal in numbers to the host on the right wing, consisting first of 'Tarentines',<sup>4</sup> then of 2,500 'Gallo-Greek' cavalry, then of 1,000 Neocretans and 1,500 Carians and Cilicians armed in

the same way, and the same number of Trallians, and 3,000 men armed with a *caetra*<sup>5</sup>; these were Pisidians, Pamphylians and Lycians. Then were placed auxiliary forces of Cyrtaeans and Elymaeans in equal numbers to those on the right wing. (41) The king himself was on the right wing; Seleucus (his son) and Antipater (the son of his brother) he put in command of the left wing. The centre of the battle line was placed under three men, Minnion, Zeuxis and Philippos the master of the elephants.<sup>6</sup> [. . .]<sup>7</sup>

Livy XXXVII.40–1

1. i.e. Galatians, cf. **159**.
2. On Media cf. **181** (end), **185**.
3. See **184** n. 3.
4. See **34** n. 5.
5. A short Spanish shield.
6. On Minnion cf. Savalli-Lestrade (1998), 31f.; on Philippos *ibid.*, 36; on Zeuxis, a close follower of Antiochus III for much of his career, and the king's viceroy in Asia Minor from 213 to 190 (cf. **215**) cf. Savalli-Lestrade (1998), 36–8 and Ma (1999), 123–30.
7. Antiochus' defeat led to the Peace of Apamea (**205**).

## 204 Letter of Antiochus III concerning the appointment of a chief priest at Daphne (October 189)

(The beginning of the inscription is lost)

- . . . he had been held in honour [and trust] by our brother<sup>1</sup> [and] has zealously given many great proofs of his devotion to us and our interests,<sup>2</sup> and has
- 5 spared neither his life nor his property / to promote our interests and has carried out all the tasks entrusted to him as was fitting, and for the rest has conducted himself in a manner worthy of his previous services to our interests;
- 10 we (therefore) wished to keep him with us as our collaborator, / but since he frequently pleaded his physical infirmity which resulted from the continuous strains he was under, and requested us to allow him to enjoy rest so that
- 15 he could spend the remainder of his life in uninterrupted / good health, we yielded to his entreaties, as we wished to show the esteem we have for him. Therefore it shall be our concern that in future he may receive all that pertains
- 20 to honour and / glory, (and) since the chief priesthood<sup>3</sup> of Apollo, Artemis Daittae and the other sanctuaries whose sacred enclosures are at Daphne,<sup>4</sup>
- 25 requires a man who is our 'friend'<sup>5</sup> and who will be capable / of holding the post worthily of the zeal which our ancestors and ourselves have shown for the place and of our piety towards the gods,<sup>6</sup> we have appointed him
- 30 chief priest of these sanctuaries in the conviction that their administration / would be fully and properly carried out by him. Give instructions (therefore)



to enter him in public documents<sup>7</sup> as chief priest of these sanctuaries and to honour the man worthily of our / decision, and should he request that assistance be given in the performance of any of the duties concerned, to recommend those who are connected with the sanctuaries and the others who are under his orders, with instructions / to comply with any written or spoken order he gives; and (give instructions) that a copy of this letter be inscribed on stelae and dedicated in the most distinguished places. Year 124, Dios 14.<sup>8</sup>

*RC 44; IGLS III.2.992*

1. Seleucus III, predecessor of Antiochus III (180–1).
2. See **162** n. 3.
3. To be distinguished from the chief priesthoods of the dynastic cults (cf. **200**); cf. Ma (1999), 26f. and cf. **201** n. 5 for the origins of this type of office.
4. See **160** n. 8. The inscription is from Daphne.
5. Cf. **31** n. 3.
6. Cf. **209** n. 5.
7. i.e. use his name for dating purposes, cf. **200** n. 7.
8. 12 October, 189, i.e. after the defeat at Magnesia (**203**). With this text compare **164** and **247**.

## 205 The Peace of Apamea between Antiochus III and the Romans (188)

The Peace of Apamea was a turning point for the Seleucid empire, which was henceforward excluded from interference in western Asia Minor (the lands ‘this side of Mount Taurus’), to which it had asserted a claim of long standing (**159**, cf. **51**). Both the Attalids (**224**, **234**, **236**) and the Rhodians (**81**, **91**, **98**, **110**, **232**, **234**) were the chief beneficiaries. But the settlement did not mark the beginning of the ‘decline’ of the Seleucid empire, which remained powerful for years to come. See Mørkholm (1966), 22–32; Walbank III (1979), 156–62; Gruen (1984), 546–50; Sherwin-White and Kuhrt (1993) 214–16; Ma (1999), 245–53, 282f.

The detailed provisions of the treaty were as follows:

(§1) There shall be peace for all time between Antiochus (III) and the Romans provided he carries out the terms of the treaty.

(§2) King Antiochus and his subjects shall not allow any enemies to pass through their territory to attack the Romans and their allies and shall not supply them with anything; and similarly for the Romans and their allies with those attacking Antiochus and his subjects.

(§3) Antiochus shall not make war against the islanders and the people of Europe.

(§4) He shall evacuate the cities and territory . . . ;<sup>1</sup> his soldiers shall not take anything out except the arms which they carry; should they happen to have removed anything, they shall restore it to these same cities.

(§5) They shall not give shelter to refugees from King Eumenes,<sup>2</sup> be they soldiers or anyone else.

(§6) If there be any from the cities captured by the Romans present in the army of Antiochus, they shall deliver them up at Apamea. If there be any <from the kingdom of Antiochus> present with the Romans and their allies, they will be allowed to stay if they wish or to leave.

(§7) Antiochus and his subjects shall surrender the slaves belonging to the Romans and their allies, whether war captives or deserters, and any captive taken from anywhere. Antiochus shall surrender, if it is in his power to do so, Hannibal son of Hamilcar, of Carthage,<sup>3</sup> Mnasilochus of Acarnania, <Thoas> of Aetolia, Eubulidas and Philon of Chalcis, and all the Aetolians who have held public office.<sup>4</sup>

(§8) He shall surrender all the elephants at Apamea,<sup>5</sup> and shall have none henceforth. He shall surrender his ships of war, their tackle and fittings, and in future shall not have more than ten undecked vessels, [and of these] none shall be driven [by more] than 30 oars nor with one man to each oar for the purposes of a war started by himself.<sup>6</sup>

(§9) He shall not sail to this side (i.e. west) of the river Calycadnus <and> the promontory <of Sarpedon>, except for the purpose of bringing tribute, ambassadors or hostages.

(§10) Antiochus shall not be permitted to recruit mercenaries from the territory subject to Rome nor to receive refugees from it.

(§11) Any houses belonging to the Rhodians or their allies in the territory subject to King Antiochus shall belong to the Rhodians as before the outbreak of war.<sup>7</sup> Any money owed to them shall likewise be recoverable; and any property left behind by them shall be sought for and restored. Merchandise destined for the Rhodians shall be free from duty, as before the war.<sup>8</sup>

(§12) If Antiochus has given to others some of the cities which he is required to surrender, he shall remove from them his garrisons and his troops. And if any wish hereafter to desert to him, he shall not receive them.

(§13) Antiochus shall give to the Romans 10,000 talents of best Attic silver over a period of ten years in annual instalments of 1,000 talents; each talent shall weigh not less than 80 Roman pounds. And he shall give 540,000 *modii* of corn.

(§14) <He shall give to King Eumenes> 350 <talents> over the next five years, in annual instalments of <70> talents, at the same time as he makes his payments to the Romans, and in place of corn, as assessed by King Antiochus, 127 talents and 1,208 drachmas, which Eumenes agreed to accept as a satisfactory payment to himself.<sup>9</sup>

(§15) Antiochus shall provide <twenty> hostages, over eighteen years of age but under 45, and shall change them every three years.<sup>10</sup>

(§16) Any deficit in the money paid shall be made good the following year.

(§17) If any of the cities or peoples who have been instructed not to make war on Antiochus take the initiative in hostilities, Antiochus shall be allowed to go to war. But he shall not exercise sovereignty over these peoples and cities and shall not receive them into his alliance.

(§18) Any complaints arising between the two parties shall be referred to arbitration.

(§19) If both parties wish by common agreement to add or subtract anything from the treaty, it shall be lawful to do so.<sup>11</sup>

Polybius XXI.43

1. The key words are missing; Livy's version (XXXVIII.38.4–5) reads here 'beyond the Taurus as far as the river Tanais and along that valley of the Taurus as far as the heights where it faces towards Lycaonia'. The exact details are controversial (cf. A. H. McDonald, *JRS* 57 (1967), 1–8; A. Giovannini, *Athenaeum* 60 (1982), 224–36).
2. Eumenes II of Pergamum, Rome's ally in the war against Antiochus.
3. Hannibal had taken refuge with Antiochus III in 195; he then fled to the court of Prusias I of Bithynia, and committed suicide in 183 rather than be handed over to the Romans.
4. The Aetolians had incited Antiochus III to invade the Greek mainland in 192 (**85**).
5. Cf. **160**, **218**. On the Seleucid elephants cf. **57** n. 8; it took the Romans more than two decades to enforce this clause (**218**).
6. On the text of this clause cf. A. H. McDonald and F. W. Walbank, *JRS* 59 (1969), 30–9.
7. The Rhodians, like Eumenes II, had fought on the Roman side.
8. See **111** ch. 89.
9. These heavy war indemnities, combined with the loss of territory (and hence of revenue), may seriously have affected Seleucid finances, cf. **216–17** (though cf. G. Le Rider in Price et al. (1993), 49–63). Antiochus III was killed in 187 while plundering a native sanctuary in Elymais (cf. Sherwin-White and Kuhrt (1993), 215).
10. Cf. **208**, **217–18**.
11. The treaty did not in any way regulate Seleucid relations with the Ptolemies; on this cf. **211**, **212**, **217**.

## 206 Decree of Seleucia in Pieria and part of a letter of Seleucus IV (186)

In contrast to the ambitious and active Antiochus III, relatively little is known of the reign of his son and successor Seleucus IV, whose scope for action was necessarily constricted by the outcome of the war against Rome (cf. Gruen (1984), 644–6; C. Habicht in *CAH VIII*<sup>2</sup> (1989), 338–41). The following inscription from Seleucia in Pieria (cf. **160** and n. 9) contains the only extant royal letter of this ruler. On Seleucus IV cf. also **91** n. 4, **207**, **216**.

(a) Proposal of Theophilus the governor (*epistates*)<sup>1</sup> and of the magistrates: since an injunction (*prostagma*) was handed to us from the king (Seleucus IV) concerning Aristolochus, one of his ‘honoured friends’<sup>2</sup> in residence with him,  
5 of which a copy is appended below, / and that it is fitting, since the man is well disposed to our city, that he has resolved to come and settle here, and that on many occasions which affected the interests of the city he has spontaneously  
10 offered his help publicly to (all) the citizens and privately to individuals, / and (since) the ambassadors sent to the king, Conon, Zethus, Androcles and Artemidorus, have reported on their return the zeal he has displayed before the king concerning the object of their mission, (it is fitting that) the city should  
15 display / its gracious welcome of the zeal and benefactions of such men, so that others, realising what returns those who seek to do good obtain from the city, may be anxious to help the citizens and may be desirous / of acquiring  
20 citizenship in our city;<sup>3</sup> be it resolved by the people, to praise Aristolochus for his good disposition and to grant him citizenship in our city; the governor and the magistrates shall determine a place in the magistrates’ office for the  
25 statue granted to him in the (king’s) injunction; / the secretary shall register him as son of Aristolochus, in the deme of Olympius and the tribe Laodicea. Year 126, on the 30th of the month Daisius.<sup>4</sup>

30 (b) King Seleucus to Theophilus and to the magistrates of Seleucia / in Pieria and to the city, greetings; Aristolochus, one of our ‘honoured friends’, has performed services with all goodwill to our father, our brother and ourselves,<sup>5</sup>  
35 and in the most critical circumstances has given assiduous proofs / of his zeal for our interests;<sup>6</sup> in all other respects we show our care for him in a way worthy of the [goodwill] he displays, and we have honoured [him] with a bronze statue . . . which we wish to have set up in [your city . . .]

*RC 45; IGLS III.2.1183*

1. Cf. **200** n. 2. The inscription illustrates both royal control of the city and respect for civic forms by the king. Compare the relations of the Attalids with Pergamum, **229**.
2. A formal rank within the larger order of royal ‘friends’; cf. **31** n. 3.

3. Access to citizenship was carefully regulated; cf. Briant (1982), 279.
4. June 186.
5. i.e. a loyal servant of Antiochus III as the man honoured in **204**.
6. Cf. **162** n. 3. Aristolochus could be expected to exert his influence at Seleucia on behalf of the king; cf. too **164–5**.

## 207 List of annual priesthoods at Seleucia in Pieria under Seleucus IV

### *Column A*

. . . priests of the year one hundred and . . . ;<sup>1</sup> (priest) of Zeus Olympius and Zeus Coryphaeus,<sup>2</sup> / Niceratus son of Niceratus; (priest) of Apollo of Daphne,<sup>3</sup> Callicles son of Diogenes; (priest) of Apollo, Zenobius son of Zenon; / (priest) of Seleucus (I) Zeus Nicator<sup>4</sup> and Antiochus (I) Apollo Soter and Antiochus (II) Theos and Seleucus (II) / Callinicus<sup>5</sup> and Seleucus (III) Soter and Antiochus<sup>6</sup> and Antiochus (III) the Great, [. . .]ogenes son of Artemon; / (priest) of [King] Seleucus (IV),<sup>7</sup> [. . .]crates son of Artaxion; [sceptre-bearer . . . son of Demetrius. 5 10 15 20

### *Column B*

. . . priests of the year one hundred and . . . : (priest) of Zeus Olympius, the Saviour Gods / and Zeus Casius and Zeus Coryphaeus, Andron son of [Philophron]; / (priest) of Apollo, Theophilus son of Ant . . . ; (priest) of Seleucus (I) Zeus Nicator and [Antiochus] (I) Apollo Soter / and Antiochus (II) Theos and Seleucus (II) [Callinicus and Seleucus (III)] Soter and Antiochus and Antiochus (III) the Great, / Aristias son of . . . grandson of Aristarchus; (priest) of King Seleucus (IV), Numenius son of [Numenius]; sceptre-bearer, / Thoas son of Pythocles; thunder-bearers, Hieron son of [Sozon, Iatron son of Iatragoras]. 5 10 15 20 25

*SEG 35.1521 (IGLS III.2.1184; OGIS 245)*

1. Here and in column B the exact date is lost but lies within the reign of Seleucus IV.
2. i.e. ‘Zeus of the mountain peak’, the peak overhanging Seleucia (cf. **160**). On the Seleucid cults of Zeus cf. K. J. Rigsby, *TAPA* 110 (1980), 233–8.
3. See **160**, **204**.
4. These are dynastic cults of deceased kings set up by their successors, cf. **200**; for the assimilation of kings and gods cf. **174** ll. 12, 83.
5. Note the omission of Antiochus Hierax (cf. **158** n. 4).
6. Cf. **158** n. 5.
7. The cult of the living king (cf. **200**), identified by the royal title.

## 208 The accession of Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175)

Antiochus, the younger brother of Seleucus IV who succeeded his father Antiochus III in 187, was detained as a hostage at Rome after the treaty of Apamea (cf. 205) until eventually replaced by Demetrius, eldest son of Seleucus IV. In 175 Seleucus IV was assassinated by his minister Heliodorus (cf. 216 and n. 6), and the opportunity was taken by Antiochus, with Attalid backing, to occupy the Seleucid throne. This was the origin of the split in the Seleucid dynasty which accelerated its disintegration (cf. 218–23). The following decree, found at Pergamum, probably originates from Athens, where Antiochus IV had resided before his accession, though it has also been attributed to Seleucid Antioch. See Mørkholm (1966), 38–50.

(The first lines are too mutilated for continuous restoration)

- 10 . . . when Seleucus (IV) died [and since the calamity] invited this, as they<sup>1</sup>  
saw that the occasion was providing [an opportunity] for them to lay in store  
a favour as benefactors, they considered everything else to be of no relevance  
15 and placed themselves at his disposal, and accompanying him / as far as the  
frontiers of his own kingdom, providing him with money, furnishing him with  
troops, crowning him with the diadem<sup>2</sup> and all other suitable apparel, offering  
20 sacrifices and exchanging pledges of faith / with each other with all goodwill  
and affection, they helped in restoring King Antiochus (IV) to his ancestral  
kingdom in a memorable way. Therefore, so that the people may be seen to be  
foremost in repaying gratitude and may be seen to be honouring those who  
25 confer benefits on itself and its friends / without being invited to do so, and  
to be raising fine deeds to everlasting memory now as previously, with good  
fortune, be it resolved by the council, that the presidents (*proedroi*) who are  
chosen by lot should lay the matter for discussion at the next meeting of the  
30 assembly, and should communicate the opinion of the council / to the people,  
viz. that the council resolves to praise King Eumenes (II) son of King Attalus  
(I) and Queen Apollonis and to crown him with a gold crown for merit in  
accordance with the law, for his excellence, goodwill and the devotion which  
35 he has shown / towards all men by his eagerness on behalf of King Antiochus  
and by the help he provided in reinstating him in his ancestral [kingdom];  
and in the same way to crown Attalus<sup>3</sup> for assisting his brother Eumenes in  
everything with diligence and in disregard of risk; and to praise his brothers  
40 / Philetaerus and Athenaeus, and to crown each of them with a gold crown  
for the goodwill and zeal which they displayed during the return of King  
45 Antiochus; and to praise his parents, King Attalus and Queen / Apollonis,  
and to crown them with a gold crown for merit for the excellence and good  
qualities which they bequeathed to their sons by looking after their education  
in an excellent and wise way;<sup>4</sup> and to proclaim these crowns in the contests

which [we celebrate], / and likewise in those celebrated by King Eumenes 50  
 with his brothers and the people of Pergamum, and also in those celebrated  
 by King Antiochus at Daphne,<sup>5</sup> as is their custom. And so that the memory of  
 this might remain manifest for all time, (be it resolved) to inscribe this decree  
 on stone stelae / and to place one in the agora next to the statues of King 55  
 Antiochus, another one in the sanctuary of Athena Nicephorus and another  
 in the sanctuary of Apollo at Daphne,<sup>6</sup> and to entrust to the generals the  
 sending of the decree to the king, his mother and his brothers, / this task to 60  
 be carried out by them carefully and as soon as possible.<sup>7</sup>

OGIS 248; M. Holleaux, *Etudes* II (1938), 127–47; Burstein 38

1. The Attalids, cf. below. Attalid help in the accession of Antiochus IV was otherwise only briefly known from Appian, *Syrian History* 45. Athens had close relations with the Attalid dynasty since Attalus I, cf. 232.
2. Cf. 44 n. 1.
3. The future Attalus II.
4. See esp. 224, 240.
5. See 160, 204, 207, 213.
6. Cf. n. 5.
7. On Athens and Antiochus IV see further C. Habicht, *Chiron* 19 (1989), 18–22; Habicht (1997), 222–4, 252. Seleucid relations with Athens remained close till the late second century.

## 209 Portrait of Antiochus IV Epiphanes

For his contemporaries, as for modern scholars, Antiochus IV has seemed a bizarre and controversial ruler (for a Jewish view of him, cf. 217). The following characterisation is valuable not just as the portrait of an eccentric personality, seemingly resentful of the constraints of royalty, but also for showing by implication the type of behaviour normally expected from kings. But allowance has to be made for Polybius' hostile presentation. For other royal portraits see 233 and n. 2. See Mørkholm (1966), esp. 55–63, 130, 181–3; Gruen (1984), 189f., 646f.; C. Habicht in *CAH VIII*<sup>2</sup> (1989), 341–3; A. Meadows in Meadows and Shipton (2001), 59–61.

### (a) *Polybius*

Antiochus Epiphanes, nicknamed from his actions Epimanes,<sup>1</sup> would sometimes steal from the royal palace leaving his attendants behind, and appear wandering about any part of the town with two or three companions. He was especially to be found among the silversmiths and goldsmiths, discussing like an expert questions of art with the workers in relief and the other craftsmen.

He would also be found joining groups of common people and would drink in the company of foreign visitors of the humblest kind. Whenever he found any young men feasting together, he would come and join the party unannounced with fife and band, and most people would be so taken aback that they would get up and run away. Often he would take off his royal dress, put on a *tebenna* and go about the agora canvassing for office, shaking hands with some and embracing others and urging them to vote for him, sometimes as aedile (*agoranomos*) and sometimes as tribune (*demarchos*).<sup>2</sup> And when he got the office and sat on the ivory chair in accordance with the Roman custom, he would listen to the suits which took place in the agora and would give his verdict with great seriousness and attention. This was a source of embarrassment to respectable people, some of whom thought him easy-going, but others mad. In regard to giving presents, too, his behaviour was similar; to some he would give dice made of antelope bone, to others dates, to others gold. People he happened to meet and whom he had never seen before he would present with unexpected gifts.<sup>3</sup> [ . . . ]

Polybius XXVI.1

(b) *Livy*

[ . . . ] However, there were two important and honourable activities in which he showed a truly royal spirit, namely gifts to cities<sup>4</sup> and worship of gods.<sup>5</sup> To the people of Megalopolis in Arcadia he promised he would build them a wall around their city, and paid the biggest part of the expense. At Tegea he began the construction of a magnificent marble theatre. At Cyzicus he deposited golden vases to cover one table in the Prytaneum – the town hall where those who are granted this honour are fed at public expense. To the Rhodians he gave no particular present that was outstanding, but he lavished on them all manner of things as their needs required. As to his generosity towards the gods, the temple of Olympian Zeus at Athens can bear witness, the only temple in the world undertaken on a scale commensurate with the greatness of the god.<sup>6</sup> But he also embellished Delos with magnificent altars and numerous statues, while at Antioch he promised to build among many other buildings in various places a magnificent temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, which would not merely have a ceiling panelled with gold but would even have its walls all covered with gold leaf; but he did not complete these as his reign was very brief.<sup>7</sup> He also surpassed all previous kings in the magnificence of the shows of every kind he offered.<sup>8</sup> Most of them conformed to his usual style and were staged by a large number of Greek artists, but he also put on a gladiatorial show in the Roman style. At first this caused more alarm than pleasure to men who were not used to such a spectacle, but later by multiplying the shows, and



sometimes allowing the fighters to go only as far as wounds while sometimes even having fights without quarter, he familiarised men with this spectacle and made it popular, and filled most young men with an enthusiasm for arms. [. . .]

Livy XLI.20

1. *Epiphanes*: ‘conspicuous, distinguished’, of deities ‘god manifest’; *epimanes* = ‘mad’. Cf. Plate 3.24.
2. Roman magistracies; Antiochus IV had been a hostage in Rome (cf. **208**, **217**). For Roman influence on him, cf. also **213** and Mørkholm, *op. cit.*, 39f.; Sekunda (1994). The extent of the influence is not clear. Compare the behaviour of Prusias II, **97**.
3. On Antiochus’ ‘unroyal behaviour’ cf. also Polybius XXX.26.
4. Cf. **111** and n. 14.
5. For this theme, cf. **21**, **162**, **166**, **172**, **174**, **189**, **191**, **200**, **204**, **215**, **237**, **240**, **242**, **247**, **255** n. 9; Dignas (2002), 36–59.
6. Cf. **101** §1.
7. 175–164/3.
8. Cf. **213**.

## 210 Decree of Laodicea by the sea (174)

Inscriptions and decrees from the Seleucid foundations in North Syria are comparatively rare (cf. **204** from Daphne, **206–7** from Seleucia; Rhodes and Lewis (1997), 456–60). The following text from Laodicea by the sea (cf. **160** ch. 9) was re-inscribed in Roman times, probably in order to safeguard the property rights of the sanctuary of Sarapis and Isis in the city.

Year 138, the 30th of the month of Audnaios (= January 174). Proposal of Asclepiades the *epistates* and the magistrates.<sup>1</sup> Since Horus, Apollodorus and Antiochus, the priests of Sarapis / and Isis,<sup>2</sup> have submitted that the quarter, 5  
in which is also found the sanctuary of these gods, belongs to them and to the sons of Apollodorus, their cousins, / as their private property; and (since) 10  
a decree has been passed that those who request from the city a spot for setting up a statue should pay a fixed sum, and some persons are requesting a place 15  
in the / sanctuary; (the petitioners) fear that in this way their property will be reduced to nothing and have asked that care should be taken over the matter. 20  
It is appropriate (to do this) so that the property / they have acquired is not in this way dilapidated. Resolved by the *peliganes*:<sup>3</sup> those who wish to set up a statue in this same place should pay the money that has been decreed, not for the place, but for the statue.

IGLS IV.1261

1. Cf. **200** n. 2.
2. On the spread of the cult of Sarapis and Isis cf. **151**. The establishment of the cult and of a sanctuary at Laodicea was clearly due to private initiative.
3. A magistracy of Macedonian origin, introduced by the Seleucids in a number of their foundations (cf. Polybius V.54.10 for Seleucia on the Tigris, where the text is emended). Cf. M. B. Hatzopoulos, *CRAI* 1998, 1195f. on a new inscription from Macedon with the comments of P. Bernard, *ibid.*, 1208–10.

## 211 The Roman ultimatum to Antiochus IV in Egypt (summer 168)

After Antiochus III's conquest of Coele Syria and the settlement with Ptolemy V in 195 (cf. **196, 215**), peace reigned between the two monarchies until the reign of Antiochus IV, when the conflict flared up again in circumstances which are unclear (cf. **92**), though the initiative seems to have belonged to the Ptolemaic side (the 'Sixth Syrian War', 170–168). Antiochus invaded Egypt a first time in 169, posing as a champion of the young Ptolemy VI Philometor (nephew of Antiochus) against his brother Ptolemy VIII (on whom cf. **286, 288–9, 322–3**), but in his second invasion in 168 he seems to have intended the annexation of Egypt pure and simple, issuing coins and an edict in Egypt as king (*P. Tebt.* III. 698; *C. Ord. Ptol.*, 32) and perhaps being crowned Pharaoh at Memphis (*FGrH* 260 F 49a; cf. Burstein 39). At this juncture he was faced by the Roman delegates; Rome had just defeated Perseus at Pydna. See Mørkholm (1966), 64–101; E. Paltiel, *Latomus* 41 (1982), 229–54; Gruen (1984), 648–60; C. Habicht in *CAH VIII*<sup>2</sup> (1989), 343–6; M. Gwyn Morgan, *Historia* 39 (1990), 37–76.

When Antiochus (IV) had advanced against Ptolemy (VI) in order to take control of Pelusium, he was met by the Roman commander (C.) Popilius (Laenas). The king greeted him by voice from a distance and offered to him his right hand, but Popilius presented to him the tablet he had in his hand which contained the Senate's decree, and asked Antiochus to read it first. In my opinion, he did not want to display any mark of friendship before finding out the intentions of the recipient, whether he was a friend or an enemy. When the king had read it, he said he wanted to consult with his friends on these new developments,<sup>1</sup> but Popilius in reply did something which seemed insolent and arrogant to the highest degree. With a vine stick which he had in his hand he drew a circle around Antiochus and told him to give his reply to the message before he stepped out of that circle. The king was astounded at this arrogance and after hesitating for a moment said he would do everything the Romans asked from him. Thereupon Popilius and his colleagues shook him by the hand and all welcomed him graciously. The decree of the Senate required him

to put an end at once to the war with Ptolemy. And so within a stated number of days Antiochus withdrew his army to Syria, deeply distressed at what had happened but yielding to present circumstances. Popilius and his colleagues settled matters in Alexandria and urged the kings to preserve harmony. [. . .] In this way the Romans saved the kingdom of Ptolemy while on the brink of ruin. Fortune so arranged matters with Perseus and the Macedonians, that after being reduced to the last extremity Alexandria and the whole of Egypt were given a fresh lease of life by the fact that Perseus' fate was the first to be decided. For if this had not happened or had not been certain, I do not believe that Antiochus would have obeyed the injunction.<sup>2</sup>

Polybius XXIX.27

1. Cf. **181** n. 5.

2. For an Egyptian view of these events cf. **212**, **326** (?), for a Jewish view cf. **217**.

## 212 The retreat of Antiochus IV seen through Egyptian eyes

The following text comes from a private archive in Egyptian demotic which belonged to an Egyptian priest contemporary with Antiochus IV, Ḥor of Sebenytos. The text is one of several drafts from this archive which refer to Antiochus' expulsion from Egypt in 168 (cf. **211**), an event which Ḥor claims to have foreseen in a dream. It was probably intended for inclusion in a petition to the Ptolemaic king to establish Ḥor's trustworthiness (the precise circumstances are unknown). See Ray (1976), esp. 7–32, 125–9; D. J. Thompson in Erskine (2003), 116.

### *Recto*

From Ḥor the scribe, a man of the town of Isis, lady of the cavern, the great goddess, in the nome (of) Sebenytos. The dream which told me of the safety of Alexandria / (and) the journeyings<sup>1</sup> of Antiochus (IV), namely that he 5  
 would go [[that he would go]] by sail<sup>2</sup> from Egypt by year 2, Paoni, final  
 day.<sup>3</sup> I reported the said matter (to) Irenaeus (?), who was *strategos*, (in) year 10  
 2, Paoni, day 11.<sup>4</sup> Cleon (or Creon?), the agent of Antiochus, had not yet /  
 left Memphis.<sup>5</sup> (But) the said matters were revealed immediately. He did not  
 speak of them further, (but) he sent in the hour (?) a letter. I gave it <(to)  
 the Pharaohs><sup>6</sup> in the Great Serapeum which is in Alexandria,<sup>7</sup> in year 2,  
 Epeiph, final day.<sup>8</sup> For every matter which refers to this was compensation  
 for you (at) the time in question (for) that which concerns me, namely, the  
 greatness towards that which concerns the gods (in) your heart. / I brought it 15

before you, for I came to Alexandria with Diodotus the *strategos*, namely . . .  
(the rest is erased)

*Verso*<sup>9</sup>

From Ḥor the man (of) the town of Isis, lady of the cavern, the great goddess,  
(in) the nome (of) Seb(enntyos). (Erasures) Irenaeus sent within the hour (?).  
5 Account of a letter: I gave it to the Pharaohs / (in) the Great Serapeum which  
is in Alexandria, in year 2, Epeiph, final day, (namely), the blessings which  
I reported in year 2, Paoni, day 11 (when) Cleon, the agent of Antiochus,  
had not yet left Memphis. I read out the salvation of Alexandria and every  
10 man who was within it, / which happened through the good disposition (of)  
the Pharaohs. None could controvert that which referred to the journeyings  
of Antiochus and his army, namely, that he would leave Egypt <by sail> by  
year 2, Paoni, final day. For there was a great matter measured within the  
words written (in) the letter, (at) the time of paying heed to the utterance  
15 in question. There came about the counsel of Isis, the great goddess, / and  
Thoth, the three times great, in every matter which concerned these things . . .  
(more erasures)<sup>10</sup>

Ray (1976), 14–20

1. i.e. the expulsion.
2. This detail is not mentioned in Polybius, cf. **211**.
3. 30 July 168.
4. 11 July 168. On the Ptolemaic *strategoí* cf. **290** n. 26.
5. Probably a governor installed by Antiochus IV at Memphis.
6. Ptolemy VI and VIII.
7. Cf. **292** §10.
8. 29 August 168.
9. A different draft of the same events.
10. Ḥor makes no explicit reference to the Roman intervention, though in another draft (Ray, *op. cit.*, 26) he refers to the sending of an embassy from Egypt to Rome known from literary evidence (Polybius XXX.16).

## 213 The pageant of Antiochus IV at Daphne (166)

Processions and pageantry played a central role in the Greek world (cf. **138** n. 17 for Greek cities) and were also used by the monarchies as a demonstration of power and wealth (cf. **258** for Ptolemy II Philadelphus). The festival held by Antiochus IV at Daphne in (probably) 166 is most naturally interpreted as an assertion of Seleucid power after the rebuff in Egypt (**211–12**) and before Antiochus' expedition to the east; the king ensured that it received widespread

publicity in the Greek world. See in general J. G. Bunge, *Chiron* 6 (1976), 53–71; R. J. van der Spek in Kuhrt and Sherwin-White (1987), 67f.; Sherwin-White and Kuhrt (1993), 220f.; Walbank (2002), 79–90, esp. 85–9. On the army specifically and the question of Roman influence cf. Sekunda (1994), esp. 12–32, and compare the description of the armies of Antiochus III at Raphia (184) and Magnesia (203).

(a) This same king (Antiochus IV), on hearing of competitions celebrated in Macedon by the Roman proconsul Aemilius Paulus,<sup>1</sup> conceived the wish to outdo Paulus in the splendour of his liberality, and sent ambassadors and sacred envoys to the cities to announce the competitions that were to be held under his authority in Daphne;<sup>2</sup> there was great eagerness among the Greeks to come and attend. The beginning of the festival consisted of a procession which was arranged as follows. At its head came 5,000 men in the prime of life, wearing Roman-style armour and clad in chain breastplates,<sup>3</sup> and after them 5,000 Mysians. They were closely followed by 3,000 lightly-armed Cilicians wearing golden crowns. Then came 3,000 Thracians and 5,000 Galatians. They were followed by 20,000 Macedonians, of whom 5,000 were armed with brass shields, and the others with silver shields, after which came 240 pairs of gladiators. Behind these were 1,000 Nisaeen cavalry and another 3,000 raised from the cities; the majority of these had trappings and crowns of gold, while others had silver. After them came the so-called Companion Cavalry, who numbered 1,000, all of them with gold trappings. Next to them was the corps of the ‘friends’<sup>4</sup> who were comparable in numbers and equipment. Then came 1,000 picked men, followed by the so-called *agemata*, which was considered to be the élite of the cavalry, numbering about 1,000. At the rear came the ‘cataphract’ cavalry, rightly so designated because of the protective armour worn both by the horses and the men; they numbered 1,500. All the cavalry listed wore purple upper garments, many of them embroidered with gold and adorned with figures. Behind them came 100 chariots with six horses and 40 with four horses, then a chariot drawn by four elephants and another drawn by a pair, then in a single file 36 splendidly decorated elephants.

It is difficult to describe the rest of the procession, so only the chief points can be mentioned. 800 young men (*epheboi*) took part in the procession wearing gold crowns, about 1,000 fat oxen, about 300 sacred delegates,<sup>5</sup> and 800 ivory tusks. It is impossible to list in full the numbers of images of the gods; for representations were carried of every god or spirit that men talk about or believe in, and of heroes as well, some of them gilded and others clad in robes embroidered with gold. Representations of the myths which relate to all these deities according to received traditions were displayed in rich materials. They were followed by images of Night and Day, Earth and Heaven, and

Dawn and Noon. The following might give an idea of the enormous quantity of gold and silver objects on display. One of the king's 'friends',<sup>6</sup> Dionysius the secretary, had 1,000 slaves taking part in the procession with silver vessels, none of which was less than 1,000 drachmas in weight. 600 royal slaves marched next to them, carrying gold vessels. Then came some 200 women sprinkling the crowd with perfumes from gold pitchers. Following them were 80 women sitting in litters with gold feet, and 500 in litters with silver feet, all very expensively adorned. These were the most conspicuous features of the procession.

Polybius XXX.25

(b) When he (Antiochus IV) celebrated the competitions he followed a policy contrary to that of the other kings. They, while building up the military power and wealth of their own kingdoms, tried as far as possible to conceal their intentions because of the superior power of Rome. Antiochus however followed the opposite course and brought together to his festival all the most distinguished men from virtually the whole inhabited world, adorned all parts of his capital city in lavish fashion, and having assembled in one place the entire kingdom and as it were put it on a stage he made sure that no one was unaware of anything that concerned him.

Diodorus XXXI.16.1

1. After his defeat of Perseus and the reorganisation of Macedon (96), Aemilius Paulus held lavish competitions at Amphipolis (Livy XLV.32.8–11).
2. Cf. **160** section 6 and n. 8.
3. On the Roman influence on Antiochus IV cf. also **209** with n. 2.
4. Cf. **31** n. 3.
5. The reading is uncertain.
6. Cf. **31** n. 3.

## 214 A Greek view of the Jews in early Hellenistic times

While the Greeks had long been acquainted with the other ancient civilisations of the Near East, it was only in the Hellenistic age that they became aware of the Jews. To Hecataeus of Abdera, an adviser of Ptolemy in his campaign in Palestine c.320–318, we owe what is probably the earliest reference in Greek literature to the Jews (c.315?; for the date cf. O. Murray against M. Stern, *JEA* 59 (1973), 159–68). See Stern I (1974), 20–35; Momigliano (1975), 74–96, esp. 83f.

Now that we are about to relate the war against the Jews,<sup>1</sup> we think it appropriate to begin by summarising the main facts concerning the establishment

of this people from the beginning and the customs which prevail among them. When in former times a pestilence broke out in Egypt, the common people ascribed the cause of their evils to divine intervention. For with many foreigners from all over the world living in their midst and using different customs concerning religion and sacrifices, their own ancestral cult of the gods had fallen into abeyance. And so the natives of the land assumed that unless they removed the foreigners they would never solve their troubles. The aliens were therefore immediately driven out of the country, and the most distinguished and energetic joined together and were cast ashore, as some say, in Greece and other places; they had outstanding leaders, most conspicuous of whom were Danaus and Cadmus. But the mass of the people were expelled into the land now called Judaea, which is not far from Egypt, and which at that time lay completely deserted. The colony was led by a man called Moses, who was outstanding both in wisdom and bravery. On taking possession of the country he founded many cities including the one which is most conspicuous, which is called Jerusalem. He also founded the Temple which they hold in greatest honour, introduced the honours and ritual paid to (their) god, established laws and organised the form of their state. He also divided the mass of the people into twelve tribes as he believed this to be the most perfect number, corresponding to the number of months which make up the year. But he did not fashion any images of the gods at all as he did not believe that God existed in human shape, but thought that only Heaven which surrounds the earth is divine and lord of the universe. The forms of sacrifice he established differ from those of other peoples, and so does their way of living. Because of their own expulsion from Egypt he introduced a way of life that was unsociable and hostile to foreigners. He picked out the men of greatest accomplishment who would be most able to lead the entire nation and appointed them priests, and prescribed how they should occupy themselves with the Temple and the honours and sacrifices (paid) to God. He also appointed them to be judges in the most important cases, and entrusted to them the guardianship of the laws and customs (of the nation). That is why the Jews have never had a king, but the leadership of the mass of the people is always vested in the priest who appears to excel in wisdom and virtue. They call him the High Priest, and believe him to be the mediator of God's commands to them. According to (Hecataeus), it is he who in their assemblies and their other meetings proclaims what is ordained, and the Jews are so obedient in such matters that they immediately fall to the ground and do obeisance to the High Priest who expounds (these commands) to them. The statement is even added at the end of their (code of) laws that 'Moses heard from God these words which he declares to the Jews.' The lawgiver also devoted much attention to the arts of war, and he compelled the young to practise bravery and endurance, and in general to put

up with every kind of hardship. He also made military expeditions against the neighbouring peoples, and acquired much land which he distributed in lots, making the lots equal for private individuals but larger for the priests, so that they might have more considerable revenues and so might devote themselves continuously and without interruption to the worship of God. Private individuals were not allowed to sell their lots, to prevent some from greedily buying them up, and so causing hardship to poorer people and bringing about a decline in the population.<sup>2</sup> He compelled those who lived on the land to rear children,<sup>3</sup> and as the offspring were brought up at little expense the Jewish people was always very populous. He also made their customs with regard to marriage and the burial of the dead, which differ considerably from those of the rest of mankind. But when later they fell under foreign domination as a result of mixing with outsiders, under the rule of the Persians and of the Macedonians who overthrew them, many of the ancestral customs of the Jews were disturbed. Such is the account given by Hecataeus of Abdera concerning the Jews.

Diodorus XL.3 from Hecataeus of Abdera, *FGrH* 264 F 6

1. Pompey's capture of Jerusalem in 63.
2. The account is influenced by Greek experiences, notably the case of Sparta (cf. 69).
3. Whereas Greeks practised the exposure of children.

## 215 Antiochus III and the Jews

As a result of the 'Fifth Syrian War', Judaea passed to the Seleucids after over a century of Ptolemaic rule (cf. 193, 260–1, 280). Josephus has preserved three documents of Antiochus III relating to the Jews, the authenticity of which is widely accepted, though it has sometimes been questioned (cf. J. D. Gauger, *Hermes* 118 (1990), 150–64 and 121 (1993), 63–9; against him Ma (1999), 267). See E. Bickerman, *Revue des Études Juives* 100 (1935), 4–35 and *Syria* 25 (1946–8), 67–85; R. Marcus, *Josephus* VII (Loeb edition, 1943), 743–66; Tcherikover (1959), 79–89, 287f.

(138) King Antiochus (III) to Ptolemy,<sup>1</sup> greetings. Since the Jews, when we entered their country, at once displayed their enthusiasm for us, and when we arrived at their city received us magnificently and came to meet us with their senate, and have provided abundant supplies to our soldiers and elephants, and assisted us in expelling the Egyptian<sup>2</sup> garrison in the citadel, (139) we thought it right on our part to repay them for these services and to restore their city which had been destroyed by the accidents of war, and to repeople it by bringing back to it those who have been scattered abroad. (140) In the



first place we have decided because of their piety to provide them with an allowance for sacrifices consisting of sacrificial animals, wine, olive oil and frankincense, to the value of 20,000 silver pieces, and sacred artabas of the finest flour in accordance with their native law, and 1,460 medimni of wheat, and 375 medimni of salt. (141) I wish these grants to be made to them in accordance with my instructions, and the work on the Temple to be completed together with the stoas and anything else which needs to be built. The timber required for the woodwork shall be brought from Judaea itself, from the other nations and from Lebanon, and no one shall charge any duty on it. Similarly for the other materials needed for repairing the Temple in a more splendid way. (142) All the people of the nation shall govern themselves in accordance with their ancestral laws, and the senate, the priests, the scribes of the Temple and the Temple singers shall be exempted from the poll tax, the crown tax and the salt tax.<sup>3</sup> (143) To hasten the re-peopling of the city, I grant to the present inhabitants and to those who come back before the month of Hyperberetaeus (c.October) freedom from taxes for three years. (144) We also remit for the future one third of their taxes to make good the injuries they have sustained. As for all those who were carried away from their city and are now slaves, I grant their freedom to them and to their children, and order the restoration of their property to them.

(145) Such was the content of the letter. And out of respect for the Temple he issued a proclamation throughout the whole kingdom<sup>4</sup> in the following terms: 'No foreigner shall be allowed to enter the precinct of the Temple which is forbidden to the Jews, except for those who are accustomed to doing so after purifying themselves in accordance with ancestral custom. (146) Nor shall anyone bring into the city the flesh of horses, mules, wild or tame asses, leopards, foxes, and hares, and generally of any of the animals forbidden to the Jews. Nor is it allowed to bring in their skins, nor even to rear any of these animals in the city. Only the sacrificial animals used by their ancestors, necessary for a propitious sacrifice to God, shall they be allowed to use. Whoever transgresses any of these rules shall pay to the priests a fine of 3,000 drachmas of silver.'

(147) He also gave witness to our piety and good faith when during his stay in the upper satrapies<sup>5</sup> he heard of the revolt of Phrygia and Lydia, and wrote to Zeuxis, his general and one of his closest 'friends',<sup>6</sup> with instructions to send some of our people from Babylon to Phrygia. He writes as follows: (148) 'King Antiochus to Zeuxis, his father,<sup>7</sup> greetings. If you are in good health, it is well; I too am in good health. (149) On hearing that the people in Lydia and Phrygia are in revolt, I thought this required great attention on my part, and after discussing with my friends what ought to be done,<sup>8</sup> I resolved to move 2,000 Jewish families with their chattels from Mesopotamia and Babylonia to

the strongholds and the most strategic places. (150) For I am convinced that they will be loyal guardians of our interests because of their piety to God, and I know that my ancestors have given witness to their loyalty and eagerness for what they are asked to do. I wish therefore to transfer them, although this is a laborious task, with the promise that they shall use their own laws. (151) When you have brought them to the places I have mentioned, you will give them each a place to build a house and a plot of land to cultivate and plant vines, and you will grant them exemption from taxes on agricultural produce for ten years. (152) Until such time as they obtain produce from the soil, corn shall be measured out to them to feed their servants.<sup>9</sup> To those who perform services (?)<sup>10</sup> shall be provided everything they need, so that by receiving this favour from us they may show themselves more devoted to our interests. (153) Show concern for their people as much as possible, so that they may not be troubled by anyone.’ Concerning the friendliness of Antiochus the Great towards the Jews let the proofs we have given suffice.<sup>11</sup>

Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* XII.138–53;  
Burstein 35 (§§138–44) and 29 (§§148–53)

1. On Ptolemy son of Thraseas cf. **193** and n. 1. Antiochus’ decisions are communicated to his local representative, not directly to the High Priest Simon the Just who is not even mentioned (according to *Ecclesiasticus* 50.1–21 Simon restored the Temple).
2. i.e. Ptolemaic.
3. Poll tax: this is the only evidence for the Seleucid empire (cf. **238** l. 10, Attalids); crown tax: see **170** n. 2; salt tax: also attested in Seleucid Babylonia (Rostovtzeff I (1941), 469–71; *SEG* 46.1757). On Seleucid taxation cf. generally van der Spek (2000).
4. Hardly likely: this applied only to Jerusalem.
5. Antiochus’ great eastern expedition (see **185**, **187**).
6. Cf. **31** n. 3; on Zeuxis see **203** n. 6.
7. A courtesy title.
8. Cf. **181** n. 5.
9. This passage gives the most explicit information available on the establishment of a military colony in the Seleucid empire; see Cohen (1978), 5–9. Cf. also **238** n. 2 and on royal compulsion cf. **48**, **190** n. 3.
10. Meaning uncertain.
11. Toleration of native customs and religions was the norm in the Seleucid empire; cf. **163**, **166**, **172**, and there was as yet no Seleucid attempt to favour the ‘hellenising’ Jews. For the sequel cf. **216–17**, **221**.

## 216 II Maccabees: Seleucus IV and the Jews

Despite the new Greek awareness of the Jews (cf. **214**), the record of Jewish history after Alexander and under the Ptolemies is very patchy, as may be seen

from Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities* Books XI and XII (cf. further **260–1**, **280** on the Ptolemies and the Jews). The conquest of Coele Syria by Antiochus III (193) was to change this. The crisis that erupted in the reign of Antiochus IV provides the focal point; it led eventually to the emancipation of the Jewish nation from Seleucid rule and the assertion of its separate identity despite the assimilation of Greek influences.

The story of the conflict is known almost solely from Jewish sources (though cf. Diodorus XXXIV.1), notably I and II Maccabees. Despite their name, the two accounts are independent of each other and not consecutive in their coverage, and they differ in character (cf. Schürer III.1 (1986), 180–5 and 531–7). I Maccabees, which covers the years 175–135, is the work of an anonymous author, written originally in Hebrew or Aramaic before being translated into (unidiomatic) Greek. It dates probably from between 135 and 104 BC, some time after the events it relates (no sources are named), and emphasises the achievements of the Maccabees – Mattathias and his sons Judas Maccabaeus and Jonathan – in resisting the Seleucid kings. II Maccabees covers a shorter period (187–160) but starts earlier in the reign of Seleucus IV. Neither work gives a full account of developments in Judaea before the explosion under Antiochus IV. II Maccabees has a complex origin: the original was based on a work in 5 books written (probably) in Greek by one Jason of Cyrene, i.e. a Jew of the diaspora (cf. II Macc. 2.19–22), which was subsequently abridged by an anonymous writer (II Macc. 2.23–32). A later editor, also anonymous, added two letters addressed by Jews in Judaea to those in Egypt, the first of which is dated to 124 (II Macc. 1.1–2.18). In II Maccabees the role of divine intervention is much more prominent than in I Maccabees. Despite their differences, the gaps they leave, and their hostility to the Seleucid rulers, the two Jewish sources make clear that the problems had their origin in local tensions and developments which invited royal intervention: competing leaders in Judaea accepted the reality of Seleucid power and tried to use it for their own ends. Modern bibliography on the subject is vast. See among others: Tcherikover (1959), 152–203, 381–402, 404–9; Mørkholm (1966), 135–65; Schürer I (1972), 137–63; Hengel I (1974), 277–309, and against him F. Millar, *Journal of Jewish Studies* 29 (1978), 1–21, cf. also in Cartledge et al. (1997), 89–104; Momigliano (1975), 97–122; Bickerman (1979); C. Habicht in *CAH VIII*<sup>2</sup> (1989), 346–50; Gera (1998); Shipley (2000), 307–12; E. S. Gruen in Erskine (2003), 264–79.

While Onias was High Priest,<sup>1</sup> the holy city enjoyed unbroken peace and the laws were most faithfully observed, thanks to his piety and hatred of wickedness. It even happened that the kings themselves honoured the place and embellished the sanctuary with the most magnificent presents. Seleucus (IV) the king of Asia<sup>2</sup> actually provided from his own revenues all the expenses involved in the performance of sacrifices. But a certain Simon, from the tribe of Balgea,<sup>3</sup> was appointed manager of the temple and quarrelled

with the High Priest over the administration of the city market. Unable to prevail over Onias he approached Apollonius son of Thraseas, who was at the time governor (*strategos*) of Coele Syria and Phoenicia,<sup>4</sup> and alleged that the treasury in Jerusalem was full of untold wealth which amounted to an incalculable sum. But the moneys were not entered into the account for the sacrifices, and it was possible to bring them under the king's control.<sup>5</sup> Apollonius approached the king and told him about the revelations concerning the funds; the king appointed Heliodorus,<sup>6</sup> his chief minister, and sent him with instructions to remove these treasures. Heliodorus set off on his journey at once; ostensibly his purpose was to make a tour of inspection of the cities of Coele Syria and Phoenicia,<sup>7</sup> but in reality he was to carry out the king's purpose. He arrived at Jerusalem and was kindly welcomed by the High Priest; he told about the disclosure that had been made, explained the reason for his presence, and asked whether the allegations were in fact true. The High Priest declared that there were deposits held for widows and orphans, as well as some money belonging to Hyrcanus the Tobiad, a very prominent person<sup>8</sup> – so greatly had the impious Simon misrepresented the truth – and this all amounted to four hundred talents of silver and two hundred of gold. It was altogether inconceivable, he said, that any wrong should be done to those who had placed their trust in the holiness of the place and the dignity and inviolability of the sanctuary which was honoured throughout the world. But Heliodorus had his instructions from the king and declared that the deposits simply had to be confiscated for the benefit of the royal treasury.<sup>9</sup>

II Maccabees 3.1–13

1. Onias III, son of Simon the Just, who was High Priest at the time of the conquest by Antiochus III (215 and n. 1). After the accession of Antiochus IV Onias was supplanted as High Priest by his brother Jason who gained support from the king in return for a promise to increase the tribute and introduce Greek customs and a gymnasium in Jerusalem (II Macc. 4.7–17; cf. 217).
2. One common designation of the Seleucid rulers (cf. e.g. Josephus *Jewish Antiquities* XII.119, 129, 233) though they are more frequently referred to as 'Kings of Syria' or 'Syrian Kings' (cf. 176–7, 180, 220, 223). The Seleucid rulers regarded Asia as their domain (cf. 183, 195, 196).
3. Or Benjamin; the reading is disputed. Simon's brother Menelaus later became High Priest (in 171/0) by supplanting Onias' brother Jason (n. 1 above) and making even greater promises to Antiochus IV (II Macc. 4.23–9).
4. See 193 and n. 1.
5. Cf. 205 n. 9.
6. Heliodorus of Antioch, a very influential figure at the court of Seleucus IV, known also from inscriptions and monuments at Delos; he was later responsible for the assassination of Seleucus IV (208; on him cf. Savalli-Lestrade (1998), 44–6).
7. For such tours of inspection cf. 279, 305, 319.

8. Son of Joseph the Tobiad, who had been tax collector in Syria under the Ptolemies (280).
9. According to II Macc. 3.14–30 Heliodorus' attempt to despoil the temple treasury was stopped by a divine apparition.

## 217 I Maccabees: Antiochus IV and the Jews

See 216.

From them<sup>1</sup> came forth a sinful shoot, Antiochus Epiphanes, son of King Antiochus (III), who after being a hostage in Rome<sup>2</sup> became king in year 137 of the kingdom of the Greeks.<sup>3</sup> In those days there came forth from Israel a lawless generation who persuaded many others by saying, 'Come, let us make a treaty with the peoples around us, since many evils have fallen upon us from the time we separated from them.' This proposal seemed good in their eyes, and some of the people eagerly went to the king, who granted them permission to practise the customs of the heathen. And they built a gymnasium<sup>4</sup> in Jerusalem in accordance with the customs of the nations. They became uncircumcised, gave up the holy covenant to join the yoke of the gentiles, and sold themselves to cause evil.<sup>5</sup> And when Antiochus felt his kingdom was firmly established, he decided to become ruler of the land of Egypt so as to reign over both kingdoms.<sup>6</sup> He invaded Egypt with a massive army of chariots and elephants and a large fleet. He waged war on Ptolemy king of Egypt, and Ptolemy turned away before him and fled, and many men were wounded and fled. They seized the Egyptian strongholds and captured the spoils of the land of Egypt. After defeating Egypt Antiochus returned in the year 143 (= 169); he marched against Israel and entered Jerusalem with a massive army. In his arrogance he penetrated the sanctuary, and seized the golden altar and the lamp for the light with all its fittings, and the table for the offering of the loaves, the libation vases, the cups, the golden censers, the veil, the crowns, the golden ornaments on the façade of the Temple which he stripped off completely. He seized the silver and gold and the precious vessels and took away the hidden treasures he found. He went away to his country taking everything,<sup>7</sup> shedding much blood and uttering words of extreme arrogance. [ . . . ]

The king then<sup>8</sup> issued a proclamation to the whole of his kingdom that they should all form one people and that they should each give up their own customs.<sup>9</sup> All the nations acquiesced in the royal edict. Many Israelites accepted his worship and sacrificed to idols and profaned the Sabbath. The king also sent letters by messenger to Jerusalem and the cities of Juda that they should follow customs alien to their land, banish holocausts, sacrifices

and libations from the sanctuary and profane the sabbaths and festivals, defile the sanctuary and the holy men, build altars and sacred enclosures and idols' temples, sacrifice pigs and unclean animals, leave their sons uncircumcised, defile themselves with every kind of impurity and abomination, so as to forget the Law and change all their ordinances. Anyone who did not conform to the king's edict would be punished with death. In accordance with all these instructions he sent letters to the whole of his kingdom; he set up inspectors over the whole people and ordered the cities of Juda to sacrifice in each and every city. Many of the people joined with them, whoever abandoned the Law, and they caused great evil in the land, and drove Israel into all its secret hiding places. On the 15th day of Chislew in the year 145 (= December 167), he (Antiochus) built the 'abomination of desolation',<sup>10</sup> on the altar, and in the cities of Juda around they built altars, and offered incense at the doors of houses and in the streets. Any books of the Law that were found were torn up and burnt.<sup>11</sup>

I *Maccabees* 1.10–25 and 41–56

1. The successors of Alexander the Great; cf. **24**.
2. Cf. **208**.
3. i.e. the Seleucid era (cf. **57** n. 5, **158**) = 176/5. I and II Maccabees do not distinguish between Greeks and Macedonians.
4. Characteristic of Greek social life; cf. **137**, **236**.
5. For a much fuller account of the internal divisions among the Jews and the activities of the Jewish 'hellenisers' who prompted Seleucid intervention, see II Maccabees 3–4 (cf. **216**). It is not clear whether Jerusalem was transformed partly or wholly into a Greek polis; this depends on the translation of Jason's request to Antiochus IV in II Macc. 4.6 as the permission to set up 'a gymnasium, an *ephebeion* and to register the Antiochenes in Jerusalem' or 'to register those in Jerusalem as Antiochenes'.
6. Antiochus' first invasion of Egypt (**211**).
7. This is as much a sign of Antiochus' financial difficulties (cf. **205** n. 9; explicitly Josephus *Against Apion*, II.83–4) as of his wickedness. Cf. also **185**.
8. In 167, after the second invasion of Egypt (**211–12**).
9. Both the scope and the intention of Antiochus' proclamation are enormously controversial, being interpreted by some as an attempt to impose Greek cultural and religious uniformity over his whole kingdom (which would represent a drastic departure from the usual Seleucid policy), by others as a measure of purely local character designed to break the Jewish rebellion against him. See the works cited on **216**.
10. Under this phrase may lurk a reference to an altar of the Syrian god Baal-Shamen, worshipped by the troops left as garrison in the Citadel by Antiochus in 168; if correct, Antiochus' aim will not have been the enforcement of Greek cults on Jerusalem. Cf. e.g. Hengel I (1974), 294–7.
11. The Jewish resistance led by Mattathias and his sons (the Maccabees) caused Antiochus to rescind his proclamation (March 164); in December 164 Judas Maccabaeus purified

and restored the Temple, but the struggle continued till the eventual liberation of Judaea from Seleucid rule (221).

## 218 Demetrius I and the policy of the Senate towards the Seleucids (164)

The death of Antiochus IV in 164 while on his eastern expedition (cf. C. Habicht in *CAH VIII*<sup>2</sup> (1989), 350–3) left the issue of Parthia (177) in suspense as well as a contested succession between two rival branches of the dynasty (208). The responsibility of Rome in the weakening of the Seleucid dynasty is disputed. Roman policy towards the Seleucids after the treaty of Apamea (205) has been variously interpreted as apathetic (Gruen (1984), 663–71), or as deliberately hostile (e.g. Habicht in *CAH VIII*<sup>2</sup> (1989), 353–73, 382–7; Sherwin-White and Kuhrt (1993), 218–23). Cf. also 220 and 288.

Demetrius (I) son of Seleucus (IV), who had been long detained at Rome as a hostage,<sup>1</sup> had for a long time felt that his detention was unjust. He had been given by his father Seleucus as a sign of his good faith, but after Antiochus (IV) had succeeded to the throne, he felt there was no reason why he should act as hostage for Antiochus' children.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless up till this time he kept quiet, especially since he was powerless (he was still a child). But now having reached the prime of manhood he approached the Senate and made a speech in which he urgently requested them to restore him to his kingdom: it belonged to him, he said, rather than to the children of Antiochus. He spoke at great length on this theme and particularly appealed to the fact that Rome was his country and had nursed his youth, that the sons of senators were all his brothers, that the senators were his fathers because he had come to Rome as a small child, and that he was now 23 years old. All the senators on hearing this were inclined in their hearts to take his side, but the Senate as a body resolved to detain Demetrius and to help in securing the throne for the boy left (by Antiochus). In my opinion the Senate acted thus out of distrust of Demetrius' age and a belief that the youth and weakness of the boy who had succeeded to the throne<sup>3</sup> would be of greater advantage to their interests. This became clear from what followed. For they at once appointed as ambassadors Cnaeus Octavius, Spurius Lucretius and Lucius Aurelius and sent them to settle matters in the kingdom as decided by the Senate, since no one would oppose their instructions, as the king was still a boy and the leading men were glad that power had not been entrusted to Demetrius, which is what they had most expected to happen. Cnaeus Octavius and his colleagues set out with

instructions to burn the decked ships, then to hamstringing the elephants and in general to weaken the forces of the kingdom.<sup>4</sup> [. . .]

Polybius XXXI.2

1. Cf. **205** §15, **208**.
2. Cf. **208**.
3. Antiochus V, still a minor.
4. Cf. **205** §8. Demetrius eventually escaped from Rome in 162 and secured the Seleucid throne; the young Antiochus V and his chief minister Lysias were executed (this terminated the line of descent from Antiochus IV). Compare the policy of the Senate towards Ptolemy VI and VIII, **288**.

## 219 Dynastic struggles in the Seleucid kingdom under Demetrius II (145)

The overthrow of Demetrius I (**218**) in 151/0 after an insecure reign marked the re-entry of the Ptolemaic dynasty in Seleucid politics, reversing the advantage achieved under Antiochus III (**193, 196**) and Antiochus IV (**211**). The next ruler, Alexander Balas (150–145), who claimed to be a son of Antiochus IV, came to power with the support of Ptolemy VI, whose daughter Cleopatra Thea he married. But Ptolemy soon transferred both his support and his daughter to Demetrius II son of Demetrius I (147), who defeated Balas in a battle in which Ptolemy himself suffered a fatal wound (145). See Downey (1961), 119–24; Gruen (1984), 663–8; C. Habicht in *CAH VIII*<sup>2</sup> (1989), 356–65.

Demetrius (II), now that the kingdom of Egypt was weakened and he alone was left, assumed that he was free of all danger. And so he refused to seek the favour of the populace,<sup>1</sup> as was customary, and showed himself increasingly oppressive in the injunctions he issued. His behaviour became that of a cruel tyrant and he indulged in extravagantly lawless conduct of every kind. The cause of his behaviour was not just his own personality but the man who was in charge of the kingdom, an impious and unscrupulous man who incited him to every kind of wrongdoing, by flattering the young man and encouraging him to all the basest deeds.<sup>2</sup> In the first place Demetrius was not content to punish his opponents in the war with moderate penalties but heaped unusual punishments on them. Then when the people of Antioch behaved towards him in their usual way, he gathered a large mercenary force against them, took away their weapons and of those who refused to hand them over some he killed in open combat and others he shot down in their homes with their children and wives. The disarming of the citizens caused a great disturbance, and so he set fire to the largest part of the city. He punished many of those who had



been charged and confiscated their property for the royal exchequer. Such was the fear and hatred he inspired that many of the Antiochenes fled from their country and wandered about the whole of Syria, waiting for the right time to attack the king. Demetrius, openly hostile to them, carried out without interruption, massacres, exiles and confiscations of property, and surpassed by far the cruelty and bloodiness of his father. For his father had emulated not the moderation of a king but the lawlessness of a tyrant<sup>3</sup> and had involved his subjects in disasters beyond remedy. And so the kings from this house were hated for their lawlessness while those from the other house were loved for their moderation. Hence at this time there were continuous conflicts and wars in Syria, as the princes of each house constantly lay in wait for each other. The populace actually readily accepted the changes of rulers since the kings who returned (to power) always sought to ingratiate themselves (with the people).<sup>4</sup>

Diodorus XXXIII.4

1. Cf. **209**.
2. Lasthenes, a Cretan mercenary captain: Demetrius II had recruited a force of Cretan mercenaries (cf. **113** n. 4).
3. A stock contrast.
4. For examples of this outside Antioch, cf. **221–2**.

## 220 The revolt of Diodotus Tryphon and the spread of piracy

Demetrius II had barely established himself (**219**) when he was faced by a challenge from Diodotus, a former officer of Alexander Balas, who installed the young son of Balas as Antiochus VI (145), but then murdered him and openly proclaimed himself king without any pretence of belonging to the Seleucid line (142/1). Demetrius II in the meantime led an expedition (141–139) against the Parthians (**177**) whose power in the east was rapidly expanding – from July 141 documents in Babylon are dated by the Parthian king Arsaces (cf. Sherwin-White and Kuhrt (1993), 223–5). Demetrius was captured by the Parthians though he was to return to the Seleucid throne in 129–126/5 after the death of his brother Antiochus VII (**221**). See C. Habicht in *CAH VIII*<sup>2</sup> (1989), 365–9.

The first place in Cilicia, then, is the fort of Coracesium, situated on top of a sheer cliff. Diodotus called Tryphon used it as a base at the time when he detached Syria from the (Seleucid) kings and waged war on them, with a mixture of success and failure. Antiochus (VII) son of Demetrius (I) shut him up in a certain place and forced him to commit suicide. It was Tryphon,

together with the worthlessness of the kings who succeeded each other in ruling Syria and also Cilicia, which caused the Cilicians to begin to organise pirate fleets.<sup>1</sup> For his own revolt provoked others to revolt at the same time, and the conflict between brothers resulted in making the country a prey to invaders. The export trade in slaves was a great incitement to wrongdoing, as it was very lucrative; prisoners were an easy catch, and the island of Delos provided a large and wealthy market not far away, which was capable of receiving and exporting 10,000 slaves a day. Hence the proverb: 'Merchant, sail in, unload, everything is sold.' The reason was that after the destruction of Carthage and Corinth the Romans became wealthy and used many slaves; the pirates seeing the easy gains to be made, blossomed forth in large numbers, acting simultaneously as pirates and as slave traders. They were assisted in this by the kings of Cyprus and of Egypt (i.e. the Ptolemies) who were hostile to the Syrians (i.e. the Seleucids); the Rhodians were not friendly to them either and so provided no help. At the same time the pirates, pretending to be slave dealers, carried on their misdeeds without interruption. Nor did the Romans concern themselves as yet very much with affairs beyond the Taurus, but they sent Scipio Aemilianus,<sup>2</sup> and others after him, to inspect the peoples and cities, and decided that it was the inadequacy of the rulers which had caused the problem to arise, though they were too ashamed to put an end to the line of succession descended from Seleucus Nicator which they themselves had recognised. This made the Parthians masters of the country; they took control of the land beyond the Euphrates, and finally so did the Armenians, who acquired the land outside the Taurus as far even as Phoenicia, and overthrew the kings and the whole royal family as far as possible,<sup>3</sup> though they conceded the sea to the Cilicians. Then when the pirates had grown powerful the Romans were compelled to destroy them by war with an army,<sup>4</sup> though they had not hindered their growth. It is difficult to accuse them of negligence: they had other more pressing business on hand nearer to them and were unable to keep an eye on more distant matters. [. . .]

Strabo XIV.5.2

1. On piracy cf. **104**. For conflicting interpretations of Cilician piracy, cf. A. Aviodov, *Mediterranean Historical Review* 10 (1997), 5–55; de Souza (1999), 97–101; V. Gabrielsen in Erskine (2003), 400.
2. In 140–139; see Astin (1967), 127, 138f, 177.
3. In 83; cf. **223**.
4. A reference to Pompey's campaign in 67; on Roman policy towards piracy in the east cf. Sherk (1984), no. 55. Strabo's account is probably derived from Poseidonius, cf. H. Strasburger, *JRS* 55 (1965), 40–53.

## 221 Antiochus VII Sidetes and the independence of the Jews (139)

After the disastrous action of Antiochus IV (217), the increasing weakness and divisions within the Seleucid kingdom enabled the Jews to extort more and more concessions from rival Seleucid rulers – Demetrius I, Alexander Balas, Demetrius II, Diodotus Tryphon; these are detailed in I Maccabees, the following being the last to be mentioned in that work. See Schürer I (1972), 197–209.

Antiochus (VII) son of King Demetrius (I Soter) sent a letter from the islands of the sea<sup>1</sup> to Simon, priest and ethnarch of the Jews, and to the whole nation. Its contents were as follows:

King Antiochus to Simon, the High Priest and ethnarch, and to the Jewish nation, greetings. Since some pernicious men have seized the kingdom of our fathers and I wish to lay claim to the kingdom, so as to restore it to its former position,<sup>2</sup> and I have raised a mercenary army and equipped warships, and I wish to land in the country to take vengeance on those who have devastated our land and laid waste many cities in my kingdom, I therefore now confirm to you all the remissions of tribute conceded to you by the kings before me, as well as all the other donations they have granted to you. I grant you the right to strike coins with your own types to be legal tender in your country.<sup>3</sup> Jerusalem and the Temple are to be free. You will keep all the weapons you have made and the strongholds you have built and which you control. Let everything which you owe to the royal treasury now and in future be remitted to you for the present and for all time.<sup>4</sup> When we have restored our kingdom we will confer on you, your people and the Temple such great honours that your glory will be manifest all the world over.<sup>5</sup>

I Maccabees 15.1–9

1. Rhodes. The letter dates from 139; Antiochus VII, younger brother of Demetrius II (219), took over as king after the capture of his brother by the Parthians and was still engaged in his struggle with Diodotus Tryphon (220). On his reign cf. C. Habicht in *CAH VIII*<sup>2</sup> (1989), 369–73.
2. Cf. 183 n. 3.
3. A special concession; for its significance cf. Howgego (1995), 40; A. Meadows in *Meadows and Shipton* (2001), 61f.
4. Cf. 290.
5. In fact once in power Antiochus VII turned against the Jews, eventually capturing Jerusalem in 131, but his death in the Parthian expedition of 130–129 deprived the Seleucids of their last ruler of stature and finally ended their control over Judaea.

## 222 Letter of Antiochus VIII concerning the freedom of Seleucia in Pieria (summer 109)

After the death of Antiochus VII (221) the return of his elder brother Demetrius II from Parthian captivity could not stabilise a Seleucid monarchy which was now in terminal decline through a proliferation of rival candidates for the throne, aggravated by Ptolemaic involvement in Seleucid royal politics (cf. 219, 223).

King Antiochus (VIII) to King Ptolemy (X) also called Alexander, his brother, greetings. If you are well, it would be as we [wish]; we ourselves are in good health and remember you [affectionately]. The people of Seleucia in Pieria,<sup>1</sup>  
5 the city holy and inviolate,<sup>2</sup> / have [from the beginning] been devoted to our father, and have preserved their goodwill towards him steadfastly throughout, and [maintained] their affection towards us and displayed it [through many] fine deeds, especially in the [most critical] circumstances which have  
10 [overtaken us].<sup>3</sup> In / [other respects] we have advanced them generously and worthily and have brought them [to more conspicuous] honour. And now being anxious to deem [them] worthy of the [first and greatest benefaction, we have decided that for] all time they [shall be] free [and we have included  
15 them in the treaties] we have made with each [other, / in the belief that in this] way our [piety and generosity] towards our native city would be more clearly demonstrated. [So that you too may be] acquainted [with these concessions, it seemed to us] fitting [to write to you. Farewell]. Year 203, Gorpiaeus 29.<sup>4</sup>

*RC 71; OGIS 257; T. B. Mitford, BSA 56 (1961), 3f. no. 3; BD 55*

1. Cf. 160 n. 9.

2. Cf. 65; Seleucia received the title 'holy' c.145 and was 'holy and inviolate' by 138 (Grainger (1990a), 162–4).

3. Civil war between the two half-brothers Antiochus VIII and IX (cf. 223).

4. Summer 109, from which time Seleucia dated a new 'era'. On the consequences for the city's coinage cf. A. Meadows in Meadows and Shipton (2001), 57. For the wider context cf. also Howgego (1995), 41, 52 and compare the case of Ephesus in 134/3 (249 n. 3).

## 223 The end of the Seleucids

(1) The mutual hatred of the brothers,<sup>1</sup> soon followed by that of the sons<sup>2</sup> in succession to the hostility of the parents, caused the kings and the kingdom of Syria to exhaust themselves in an implacable war. The people (of Antioch) turned to outside help and began to look around at foreign kings to rule them.

One group was for calling in Mithridates (VI) of Pontus, another Ptolemy (IX) from Egypt, but they also realised that king Mithridates was implicated in a war with the Romans,<sup>3</sup> while Ptolemy also had always been an enemy of Syria. They therefore all agreed on Tigranes the king of Armenia, who in addition to his strength at home had the benefit of an alliance with the Parthians and a marriage connection with Mithridates.<sup>4</sup> He was therefore summoned to the kingdom of Syria and reigned there very peacefully for eighteen years.<sup>5</sup> He saw no need to inflict war on anyone nor did he have to invade any country in response to aggression. (2) But although Syria was safe from enemies, it was devastated by an earthquake, in which 170,000 people perished and many cities were destroyed. The seers when consulted answered that this omen portended a revolution in the world. Accordingly, when Tigranes was defeated by Lucullus,<sup>6</sup> Antiochus (XIII), the son of Cyzicenus,<sup>7</sup> was summoned by the same Lucullus to be king of Syria. But what had been given by Lucullus was subsequently taken away by Pompey.<sup>8</sup> When Antiochus asked for the throne, Pompey replied that he would not set him up as king even if Syria wanted him, and still less if Syria was opposed to his return, seeing that Antiochus was hiding in a corner of Cilicia during the eighteen [fourteen] years that Tigranes had been in control of Syria. Now that the same Tigranes had been defeated by the Romans, Antiochus was asking for a reward that had been gained by the efforts of others. Pompey was not taking away from Antiochus a kingdom that was his, and would not give what had been conceded to Tigranes, as Antiochus would be unable to protect it: the danger was that he would once more make Syria a prey to plundering by Jews and Arabs.<sup>9</sup> Pompey therefore turned Syria into a province, and little by little the East became the possession of the Romans through the discord of kings who were of the same blood.<sup>10</sup>

Justin, *Epitome of Pompeius Trogus* Book XL

1. The half-brothers Antiochus VIII Grypus and Antiochus IX Cyzicenus (cf. **222, 291**), sons of Cleopatra Thea and respectively Demetrius II (**219**) and Antiochus VII Sidetes (**221**).
2. Antiochus VIII Grypus had no fewer than six sons, five of them from Cleopatra Tryphaina: Seleucus VI, the twins Antiochus XI and Philip I, Demetrius III, Antiochus XII Dionysus; Antiochus IX had only one son, Antiochus X Eusebes.
3. Mithridates VI of Pontus had in fact just been defeated by the Romans and expelled from Greece and western Asia Minor (the first Mithridatic War, 89–85); cf. McGing (1986), 108–31; J. G. F. Hind in *CAH IX*<sup>2</sup> (1994), 144–64.
4. Tigranes had become king of Armenia in 96/5 with the support of Mithridates II of Parthia and had married Cleopatra, daughter of Mithridates of Pontus (McGing, *op. cit.* 56 and 78).
5. Manuscript readings differ; the figure should perhaps be amended to fourteen – Tigranes ruled in Syria from 83 to 69 (on his rule cf. Grainger (1990a), 175–7, 188f.).

6. L. Licinius Lucullus, commander against Mithridates and Tigranes from 73 to 68, defeated Tigranes in 69.
7. Grandson in fact, set up by Lucullus in 69/8.
8. After the pirate campaign of 67 (cf. **220** n. 6) Cn. Pompeius Magnus became commander against Mithridates and Tigranes in 66; he deposed the last Seleucid ruler Antiochus XIII in 64 and created the province of Syria (Grainger, *op. cit.*, 190–200).
9. The rival Seleucid rulers had appealed for support to local Arab chieftains and the Jewish rulers in Palestine. On the latter cf. **221**; on the emerging role of Arab tribes and chieftains cf. Grainger (1990a), 177–81, 191–8.
10. The underlying theme of Justin's account of post-Alexander history: Macedonian rule destroyed itself through greed and internecine struggles (cf. Austin (1993), 216f.). Compare also **291** on the decline of the Ptolemies.

## 6 The Attalids of Pergamum

The Attalids differed in several ways from the Antigonids, Seleucids and Ptolemies. Like the rulers of Bithynia, Pontus and other monarchies (chapter 3, Introduction), they were not part of the Macedonian ‘royal club’ of the first generation after Alexander (chapter 2), but started under Philetaerus as local rulers in Pergamum with initially limited territory, and only achieved their royal status under Attalus I, the third ruler in the dynasty (224, 231, 233). The dynasty prided itself on its cohesiveness (233, 240) and freedom from internal challenges, in contrast to the Seleucids (e.g. 176, 180–1, 208) and Ptolemies (254, 286–91). Unlike the Seleucids (200, 207) and Ptolemies (255), the Attalid rulers avoided deification of themselves in their lifetime. They sided with Rome in her intervention against Philip V (81) then Antiochus III (85) and as a result achieved their greatest power and prosperity when those monarchies had been curtailed by defeat at Roman hands (205, 234, 236). It was therefore appropriate that Rome should eventually inherit the kingdom she had helped to build up (248–51). Pergamum, the Attalids’ capital city, maintained civic forms but was closely controlled by the rulers (229, 253) and lavishly beautified by them (224, 231). From the beginning the Attalids cultivated their reputation in the Greek world, locally in Asia Minor (225–6), and further afield in the Aegean (228) and on the mainland (227, 232, 237, 242). Adapting the pose of classical Athens against the ‘barbarians of Asia’, they presented themselves as champions of the Greek world against the Celtic invaders in Anatolia (231, 233, 239). The reputation they enjoy in Greek sources is, not surprisingly, predominantly favourable (233). The primary source of their wealth was probably taxation of tributary territory and peoples in various forms (235–6, 238, 241), as well as other imperial prerequisites (239), though the evidence for this is limited and often indirect: the Attalids appear in the sources more as dispensers of generosity than as raisers of revenues (225–6, 242–3).

### 224 An outline of Attalid history

See Allen (1983), 2f., 9–14 on Strabo and 181–94 on Attalid genealogy.

Pergamum exercises a kind of preponderance over these places;<sup>1</sup> it is a famous city and prospered a long time together with the Attalid kings.<sup>2</sup> I must begin my next section here, and show briefly how the kings originated and the end to which they came. Pergamum was the treasury of Lysimachus the son of Agathocles, one of Alexander's successors; the top of the mountain is densely settled with people, while the mountain is conical in shape and ends in a sharp peak. Philetaerus, a man of Tieum, who was a eunuch from childhood,<sup>3</sup> had been entrusted with the custody of this fort and of the money, which amounted to 9,000 talents. [. . .] He was brought up well and proved worthy of this trust. For a while he remained well disposed to Lysimachus, but then quarrelled with Arsinoe his wife, who was slandering him, and so caused the place to revolt and pursued a policy of opportunism, as he saw that circumstances favoured a change. Lysimachus had become embroiled in a domestic crisis and was forced to assassinate his son Agathocles, then Seleucus (I) Nicator intervened and overthrew him but was then overthrown in his turn when Ptolemy Ceraunus treacherously killed him.<sup>4</sup> While such crises were taking place the eunuch remained in charge of the fort, and pursued a policy of making promises to and courting whoever was powerful and at hand. He remained in control of the fort and of the money for twenty years.<sup>5</sup> (2) He had two brothers, the eldest being Eumenes and the youngest Attalus.<sup>6</sup> To Eumenes was born a son called Eumenes like his father, and he took over Pergamum. He was already ruler (*dynastes*) of the places around and so he even defeated in battle near Sardis Antiochus (I) the son of Seleucus (I).<sup>7</sup> He died after ruling for 22 years. Attalus, the son of Attalus and Antiochis, the daughter of Achaeus,<sup>8</sup> then took over power, and was the first (Attalid ruler) to be proclaimed king after defeating the Galatians in a great battle.<sup>9</sup> He became a friend of the Romans and fought on their side against Philip (V) together with the Rhodian fleet.<sup>10</sup> He died an old man after a reign of 43 years,<sup>11</sup> and left behind four sons by Apollonis, a woman from Cyzicus,<sup>12</sup> Eumenes, Attalus, Philetaerus and Athenaeus. The (two) younger sons remained private citizens, while Eumenes the eldest of the others became king. He fought on the side of the Romans against Antiochus (III) the Great and against Perseus, and received from the Romans all the territory within the Taurus which had been under the rule of Antiochus.<sup>13</sup> Previously the territory around Pergamum did not include many places as far as the sea along the gulfs of Elaea and Adramyttium. This ruler embellished the city, planted the Nicephorium with a grove, and it was he who beautified the city with dedications and libraries and increased the settlement of Pergamum to its present size.<sup>14</sup> He reigned for 49 years<sup>15</sup> and left his rule to his son Attalus (III), whose mother was Stratonice, daughter of Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia.<sup>16</sup> He appointed his brother Attalus (II) as guardian of his son, who was very young, and of his empire (*arche*). After a



reign of 21 years, Attalus died an old man after achieving many successes; for he helped Alexander (Balas) son of Antiochus (IV) to defeat Demetrius (I) son of Seleucus (IV),<sup>17</sup> and fought on the side of the Romans against the Pseudo-Philip,<sup>18</sup> and marched into Thrace and subdued Diegylis king of the Caeni,<sup>19</sup> and he killed Prusias (II of Bithynia) having incited his son Nicomedes against him,<sup>20</sup> and left the empire to Attalus his ward. The latter reigned five years and was called Philometor; when he died of illness he left the Romans his heirs. They turned the country into a province, giving it the same name as the continent of Asia.<sup>21</sup> [. . .]

Strabo XIII.4.1–2

1. Western Asia Minor as far as the Taurus.
2. On Pergamum under the Attalids see **229**.
3. The fact has been doubted.
4. On these events cf. **56, 57** (end), **159** §5.
5. On Philetaerus' policy cf. **225–7**. Cf. Plate 3.20 and 21.
6. Attalus father of Attalus I may have been nephew and not brother of Philetaerus; cf. Hansen (1971), 26 n. 2. On Eumenes cf. **159** §9.
7. In 262.
8. The elder Achaeus, cf. **168**.
9. Cf. **233** and on the Attalids and the Galatians cf. **225** n. 6.
10. Cf. **232, 234, 236**.
11. 44 years, according to Polybius (cf. **233**).
12. Cf. **240**.
13. Cf. **234, 236**.
14. On the building activity of Eumenes II at Pergamum cf. Hansen (1971), 245–84, cf. Allen (1983), 157–77; on the Nicephoria cf. **231** n. 2.
15. A manuscript error for 39 years.
16. On Stratonice cf. **240, 247** (c).
17. In 151/50; cf. **218, 219**. The statement that Balas was son of Antiochus IV is misleading.
18. The pretender Andriscus who passed himself off as a son of Perseus and raised a revolt in Macedon against Rome (149–148), after which Rome turned Macedon into a province.
19. In 145; Diegylis had given support to Andriscus and to Prusias II.
20. In 149.
21. See **248–51**.

## 225 Gifts of Philetaerus to Cyzicus (280/279 to 276/5)

Public munificence was characteristic of all Hellenistic monarchies (**111** and n. 14) as well as of wealthy private individuals (cf. **115**), and this was true of the Attalids from the start, all the more so as compared with the other monarchies they were an upstart dynasty of doubtful social and political origins (**224**). On

Attalid munificence cf. also **226**, **232**, **237**, **239**, **242–3** and generally Robert (1937), 84–6. On this text cf. K. M. T. Atkinson, *Antichthon* 2 (1968), 44–9. On Philetaerus' policy cf. McShane (1964), 30–42; Hansen (1971), 14–21; Allen (1983), 14–20, 137f.

The following gifts were presented by Philetaerus son of Attalus to the people:<sup>1</sup>

5 When Gorgippides son of Apollonius was cavalry commander (280/79), for (the celebration of contests, 20 Alexander talents of silver / and 50 horses for the defence of the territory.

10 When Bouphtides (was cavalry commander) (279/8), when the land had been ravaged by war,<sup>2</sup> exemption from taxation of the flocks / and of the other things which they sent away (to safety)<sup>3</sup> and of the cattle which they bought and took out of his territory.

15 When Phoenix (was cavalry commander) (278/7), a force to defend the territory and the expenses incurred for this. /

When Poseidon (was cavalry commander) (277/6), for (the provision of) olive oil and a banquet for the young men (*neoi*),<sup>4</sup> 26 Alexander talents of silver.<sup>5</sup>

20 When Diomedon (was cavalry commander) (276/5), during the war against the Galatians,<sup>6</sup> / . . . medimni of wheat [ . . . and . . . ] medimni of [barley . . . ] (the rest of the inscription is fragmentary)

*OGIS* 748; cf. M. Holleaux, *Etudes* II (Paris, 1938), 1–8

1. Of Cyzicus on the Propontis, a city with close Attalid connections, cf. **240** and n. 1; the city founded a festival in honour of Philetaerus, the *Philetaereia*. Generosities of Philetaerus are also attested at Delos and on mainland Greece, cf. **227–8** (Hansen (1971), 19; Allen (1983), 15).

2. Possibly a war between Antiochus I and Nicomedes of Bithynia (cf. **159** §§10–11).

3. i.e. to the territory of Philetaerus, who did not tax them; cf. **40**.

4. Cf. **123** n. 3.

5. Cf. **122** n. 2

6. On the Galatians cf. **60**, **159** and for the Attalid struggles against them cf. **224**, **226**, **228**, **231**, **233**, **236** n. 2, **239**, **241**, **244** (*b*). See Allen (1983), 136–44; E. Kosmetatou in Erskine (2003), 170–2.

## 226 Decree of Cyme and letter of Philetaerus (c.280–278?)

Discovered in 1998 at the site of Cyme in Aeolis, this inscription (in Aeolic) provides further evidence of the policy of Philetaerus of gaining support from Greek cities in the region (cf. **225**). Cyme had recognised past benefactions by Philetaerus by establishing a sanctuary named after him (line 27, the

*Philetaireion*) and celebrating a festival in his honour (line 42, the *Philetaireia*). The city could therefore expect that he would respond favourably to their approach.

(*Decree of Cyme*) [Resolved by the people], with Good Fortune and for the [safety of the] city and of the citizens. Since [it happens] that the city has need of weapons so that both the territory (*chora*) and the possessions in the city should be guarded [as quickly as possible] with more citizens placed under arms,<sup>1</sup> (be it resolved) to appoint two ambassadors to Philetaerus who will approach and invite him, just as in all previous circumstances / he continues 5 to show goodwill to the democracy and to provide many great services on every occasion, so now to help in procuring for the city and the territory what is needed for defence and security, by agreeing to give as present expenditure 600 pieces of armour from the bronze shields (*peltai*) which he has in stock, so that 50 may be assigned to each tribe, and for future expenditure to provide 10 as source of revenue the income from the tax on corn in transit,<sup>2</sup> / once the sums voted earlier in the prytany of Lysanias have been given to the priests, the archons and the other officials. The archons are to send an account of these to the ambassadors. Ambassadors. Menecrates son of Menon, Asclepiodorus son of Artemon. The *strategos* Zopyrus son of Tharriar presided over the assembly, on the 16th of the month of Terpheus, in the prytany of Lysanias son of Menander.

(*Letter of Philetaerus*) Philetaerus to the council and people of Cyme, greetings. Your ambassadors Menecrates and Asclepiades<sup>3</sup> came before us, / handed 15 over the decree and explained in person the need you have for weapons to face the present situation, and requested that we should assist the people in procuring them; the workshop which produces weapons for us is closed, though as 1,000 shields (*peltai*) are available to us and we wish to do a favour to the people we have given you as a gift from them 600 shields, and the ambassadors will report to you about these. Farewell. On the 26th of the month of Terpheus.<sup>4</sup>

G. Manganaro, *Chiron* 30 (2000), 404–14

1. The nature of the threat to the city and its territory is not made clear, but may involve the Galatians (cf. 225 n. 6).
2. For taxes on goods in transit cf. also 40, 112, 225.
3. The name should read Asclepiodorus (as given also in the second decree, line 23); either Philetaerus or the stonemason made the mistake.
4. Omitted is a second decree of Cyme, of which only the first part is preserved (lines 20–37); in it Cyme votes a crown and statue in honour of Philetaerus (lines 20–29) and organises the distribution of the shields donated by him (lines 29–37).

## 227 Delphi honours Philetaerus and his family (between 283 and 262)

Gods. The Delphians<sup>1</sup> have granted [to Philetaerus and to his son] Attalus and to his brother [Eumenes,<sup>2</sup> citizens of] Pergamum proxeny (*proxenia*), the right of first consultation of the oracle (*promanteia*), the right [to a seat of honour  
5 (*proedria*), the right of priority in] a trial (*prodikia*), inviolability (*asylia*) / and all other privileges which are granted to [other] *proxenoi* and [benefactors (*euergetai*)]. In the archonship of . . . when the councillors were Ainesilas, [Menander, Timogenes], Zakynthius, Nicodamus.

Holleaux, *Etudes* II (1938), 9–16;  
*Fouilles de Delphes* III.1 (Paris, 1910), 432; Burstein 84

1. Cf. **225** n. 1. For Attalid cultivation of Delphi cf. also **237**, **242**; Allen (1983), 70f., 77, 157f.
2. Attalus was adopted son of Philetaerus; on Eumenes cf. **224**.

## 228 Monument in honour of Philetaerus at Delos

The following inscription comes from a base which probably supported a series of statues of members of the Pergamene dynasty, which may have been set up by Attalus I, cf. Allen (1983), 31 n. 8. See generally McShane (1964), 38f.; Allen (1983), 22 n. 46, 30f.

Blessed<sup>1</sup> Philetaerus, you are a source of inspiration, O Prince, for divine  
singers and for skilful sculptors. They proclaim your great power, some in  
5 their hymns, others in works that display the skill of their hands. / They  
tell how you once unleashed impetuous Ares on the warlike Galatians, and  
drove them back far beyond the borders of your land.<sup>2</sup> In recognition of this  
Sosicrates set up in sea-girt Delos these masterworks of Niceratus,<sup>3</sup> a memorial  
10 to be celebrated by future generations. Not even Hephaestus / himself, should  
he see them, would dispute their workmanship.

*IG* XI.4.1105; Dürrbach (1921), no. 31

1. The use of this adjective (*makar*) indicates that Philetaerus was dead at the time the monument was set up.
2. Cf. **225** n. 6.
3. Probably the Athenian sculptor whose work is attested otherwise at Delos (Dürrbach, *op. cit.*, no. 32; *IG* XI.4.1212).

## 229 Letter of Eumenes I to Pergamum and decree of Pergamum in honour of the generals

On Pergamum under the Attalids cf. Hansen (1971), 23f., 187–203; Allen (1983), 159–77 (166–8 on this text).

### (a) *Letter of Eumenes*

[Eumenes son<sup>1</sup> of Philetærus to the people<sup>2</sup> of Pergamum, greetings; Palamander, Scymnus, Metrodorus, Theotimus,] Philiscus [the generals (*stratēgoi*) appointed<sup>3</sup> during the priesthood of . . .] appear [to have discharged] their official duties [well in all circumstances]; for they have justly performed their / 5  
 [duties and everything else, and] have [not only] administered [all the] revenues of the city and the sacred revenues [in] their period of office in a way that was advantageous to the people and the gods, but have also sought out (debts) passed over by the previous boards of generals, and by not sparing anybody who had kept anything back / they have restored these to the city. 10  
 They have also cared for the restoration of the sacred dedications, and so by restoring to order the departments mentioned have made it easy for the generals who succeed them to administer the public affairs by following their example. Therefore as we consider it just / not to pass over magistrates who act 15  
 in this way, so that those appointed after them may try to govern the people properly, we have decided ourselves to crown them at the Panathenaea and we thought we ought to write to you about them, so that you may consider the matter in the meantime and honour them as / you think they deserve. 20  
 Farewell.

*RC 23; OGIS 267 I*

### (b) *Decree of Pergamum*

Resolved by the people; Archestratus son of Hermippus moved:<sup>4</sup> since the generals appointed by Eumenes – Palamander, Scymnus, Metrodorus, Theotimus, Philiscus – have discharged their official duties well, in accordance with Eumenes' instructions, be it resolved by the people / to praise Eumenes, 25  
 because in all circumstances he shows care for the interests of the people and honours and crowns those citizens who give assistance towards this end, as he wishes to make the officials (*archontes*) who are appointed more zealous to devote care to sacred and civilian affairs. And so that the people / may clearly 30  
 display to Eumenes their zeal for such men, be it resolved by the people to crown them at the *Panathenaea* with a gold crown for their excellence and

35 their devotion towards Eumenes and the people. The treasurers who are in office shall give to them every year at the *Eumeneia*<sup>5</sup> a sheep, which they / shall take and sacrifice to Eumenes the benefactor, so that the people may be seen by all to be showing its gratitude. The letter from Eumenes and the decree shall be inscribed on a stone stele and placed in the agora, and the treasurers (in office) in the priesthood of Arkeon shall provide the money for the stele and the inscription.

OGIS 267 II; BD 80

1. Adopted son, cf. 224.
2. Addressed to the people only, not to the magistrates and council as well.
3. On the generals of Pergamum cf. also 248, 253; they were appointed directly by the Attalids, not elected by the people, had wide supervisory powers over government and administration and the exclusive right of introducing measures to the assembly, except when the Attalid ruler gave a direct personal recommendation, as in this case. On Pergamum and the Attalids cf. too 224, 231, 247 (c). Compare Seleucid relations with Seleucia, 206.
4. A private citizen acting on Eumenes' advice.
5. An annual festival in honour of Eumenes.

### 230 Agreement between Eumenes I and his mercenaries, with reciprocal oaths (263–241)

The following inscription records a settlement between Eumenes I and his mercenary troops at Philetaerea and Attalea after a mutiny (precise circumstances unknown); the inscription gives valuable evidence on the conditions of service of mercenaries (cf. 40), though the interpretation of several clauses is controversial. See Griffith (1935), 172f., 282–8, 312f. and generally 171–82 on Attalid armies; Launey II (1950), 738–46; Hansen (1971), 22f., 231f.; Allen (1983), 23–5; *Bull.* 1983, 320.

The demands which Eumenes (I) son<sup>1</sup> of Philetaerus granted [to the] soldiers [at] Philetaerea and those at Attalea:

(§1) (Eumenes *or* the soldiers) will pay as the price of corn 4 drachmas a medimnus, (and) as the price of wine 4 drachmas a *metretes*.<sup>2</sup>

5 (§2) Concerning the / campaigning year: it will last a period of ten months, and (Eumenes) will not introduce an intercalary month.<sup>3</sup>

(§3) Concerning those who have fulfilled the regular number (of months or years?) and have become idle (or: unfit for service?): they shall receive pay for the period of time previously worked.<sup>4</sup>

(§4) Concerning the money for the orphans (or: the rights of orphans):<sup>5</sup> the next of kin shall receive (it *or* them) or anyone to whom (the soldier) leaves (it *or* them by will).

(§5) Concerning the taxes: / the freedom from taxation (granted) in the 44th year<sup>6</sup> shall apply; if any soldier becomes idle or seeks discharge, he shall be released and may take his belongings out of the country tax-free. 10

(§6) Concerning the pay which (Eumenes) agreed to pay for the period of four months:<sup>7</sup> [the] pay agreed shall be given and shall not be reckoned as part of the (normal) pay.

(§7) Concerning the soldiers decorated with crowns:<sup>8</sup> / they shall receive 15  
their grain ration for the same period that they are awarded the crown.

The oath and the agreement are to be inscribed on four stone stelae, one of these shall be dedicated at Pergamum in the sanctuary of Athena,<sup>9</sup> another at Gryneum, another at Delos, and another at Mytilene in the sanctuary of Asclepius.

Oath sworn by Paramonus and the / officers and the soldiers under their 20  
command at Philetaerea under Mount Ida, and Polylaus and the officers under his command and the soldiers at Attalea, and Attinas <the> hipparch and the cavalry under his command and Holoichus and the Trallians<sup>10</sup> under his command:

I swear<sup>11</sup> by Zeus, the Earth, the Sun, Poseidon, Demeter, Ares, Athena 25  
Areia, the Tauropolis, / and all the gods and goddesses. I am fully reconciled with Eumenes son of Philetaerus and I shall be well disposed to him and [to his] descendants and I shall not conspire against Eumenes son of Philetaerus nor shall I bear arms [against him, nor] shall I desert Eumenes, but I shall fight [for] him and his interests<sup>12</sup> and sacrifice my life for him.<sup>13</sup> / And I 30  
shall perform all other services with goodwill and without hesitation, with all enthusiasm as far as I am able. If I discover anyone conspiring against Eumenes son of Philetaerus [or] acting [in any] way against him or his interests, I will [not] endure this, but I shall denounce at / [once] or as soon as I am able the 35  
person who does any of these things to [Eumenes] the son of Philetaerus or to anyone I think [will reveal] the matter to him most quickly. I shall guard anything I receive from him, whether a city or a [fort or] ships or money or anything else which is handed to me, and I shall restore it correctly [and] justly to Eumenes son of Philetaerus or to anyone he orders, so long as [he] 40  
carries out / the terms of the agreement. I shall not accept from the enemy any letters and shall not receive any ambassadors nor shall I send any to them.<sup>14</sup> 45  
If anyone brings (letters) to me, I shall take the letters sealed up, and deliver their bearers to Eumenes son of Philetaerus as quickly as possible, or shall take and deliver them to anyone I think will reveal the matter to him most quickly. / I shall not distort this oath in any way or by any means. I release

Eumenes son of Attalus<sup>15</sup> and those who have sworn with him from the oath once the terms of the agreement have been carried out. If I abide by the oath and maintain my goodwill towards Eumenes son of Philetaerus may I and my  
50 descendants prosper, / but if I break the oath and violate any of the terms of the agreement, [may] I and my family perish.

Oath of Eumenes: I swear [by Zeus, the Earth,] the Sun, Poseidon, Apollo, Demeter, Ares, Athena Areia, the [Tauropolus] and all the other gods and goddesses. I shall be well disposed to Paramonus, the officers, and the other  
55 mercenaries in the *strategia*<sup>16</sup> / of Philetaerea under Mount Ida who are under the orders of Paramonus, and to Arces and the guards under his command and to Philonides, and to the unpaid troops<sup>17</sup> who have sworn with them, to all these and to those who belong to them, and to Polylaus, the officers and all the other soldiers under his command [in] Attalea, the infantry, cavalry and the  
60 Trallians, for as long as / they serve [with] us, and I shall not conspire (against them) nor shall [anyone] (conspire) through me. And I shall not betray them nor [any] of their possessions to any enemy, [nor (shall I betray) those who command?] them nor those appointed by their assembly (*koinon*) in [any] way [or by any means], nor shall I take up [arms] against them nor . . . (the rest of the inscription is lost)

OGIS 266; *Staatsv.* III.481; BD 23

1. Cf. **229** n. 1.
2. Either Eumenes is substituting money payments for rations, or the price soldiers pay for rations is being fixed. The prices mentioned for corn and wine are substantially lower than those attested elsewhere at this period.
3. Cf. **139** n. 7.
4. It is not clear whether this refers to a period of months or years of service; the clause may therefore concern either pensions for veterans or simply regular annual pay paid in arrears.
5. It is not clear whether this refers to a fund for orphans or to the guardianship of orphans. By protecting the orphans of soldiers Eumenes may have had in mind the future recruitment of troops.
6. 269/8, if this refers to the Seleucid era (the Attalids had not yet officially broken with the Seleucids); circumstances unknown.
7. Probably the period of the mutiny.
8. Literally 'crowns of white poplar'; the reference is probably to bonuses for distinguished service.
9. The present text.
10. Thracian mercenaries; cf. **269** l. 13.
11. See **40** n. 7.
12. See **162** n. 3.
13. Literally: 'and I shall fight as far as life and death'.
14. A possible indication of Seleucid involvement in the rebellion.



15. A cousin of Eumenes, not mentioned in the extant literary tradition (cf. **224**) and somehow compromised with the mutineers.
16. A military unit.
17. Probably a body of irregular troops not party to the oath of the regular troops which precedes.

## 231 Dedications by Attalus I to Athena at Pergamum for victories in battle (c.238–227?)

Seven fragments from the top of a large statue base. See E. J. Bickerman, *Berytus* 8 (1943–4), 76–8; Magie II (1950), 737–9; Hansen (1971), 34–8, 242f., 302; McShane (1964), 59–61; Allen (1983), 28–36, 195–9.

King<sup>1</sup> Attalus (dedicates) to Athena<sup>2</sup> (these) thank-offerings for battles waged in war:<sup>3</sup>

[From the] battle [in] Phrygia on the [Hellespont against] Antiochus (Hierax).<sup>4</sup>

[From the] battle [near the] Aphrodision<sup>5</sup> against the Tolistoagian [and Tectosagian] Galatians<sup>6</sup> and Antiochus (Hierax).

From the battle near the springs of the river Caicus against the Tolistoagian Galatians.

From the battle near [. . . against] Lysias<sup>7</sup> and the [generals of Seleucus (III)].

[From the] battle [near Coloe against Antiochus (Hierax)].

[From the battle on the Harpasus in] Caria [against Antiochus (Hierax)].<sup>8</sup>

*OGIS* 273–9; Burstein 85

1. Attalus was the first Attalid to assume the royal title, cf. **224**, **233**.
2. Not called '*Nicephorus*'; the institution of the *Nicephoria* of Pergamum is usually dated to the late 220s. On them and on their reorganisation in 182/1 cf. **224**, **237**, **240** n. 2, **245** n. 9, **247** (c) and C. P. Jones, *Chiron* 4 (1974), 184–9; Allen (1983), 121–9 (with a different chronology).
3. The exact sequence and chronology of these battles is conjectural; the monument itself dates from 226–223.
4. On Antiochus Hierax cf. **132**, **176**, **177**, cf. **233** n. 7; Hierax relied initially on the alliance of the Galatians. Note that Attalus refuses the royal title to his defeated Seleucid rivals.
5. Just outside the city wall of Pergamum.
6. Cf. **225** n. 6.
7. Probably an independent dynast in Asia Minor (**174** n. 6).
8. On the subsequent struggles between Attalus I and the Seleucids see **180–1**, **191**.

## 232 The visit of Attalus I to Athens (200)

On Athenian relations with the Attalids cf. **208** and C. Habicht, *Hesperia* 59 (1990), 561–77; Habicht (1997), 224–7; Mikalson (1998), 188f.

The people of Athens sent ambassadors to King Attalus<sup>1</sup> to thank him for what had happened and at the same time to urge him to come to Athens to examine with them the present situation. A few days later the king, on hearing that Roman ambassadors had sailed into Piraeus<sup>2</sup> and believing it to be imperative to have a meeting with them, put to sea in haste. The people of Athens, being informed of his presence, passed generous resolutions about the reception and general entertainment of the king.<sup>3</sup> Attalus then sailed into Piraeus; the first day he spent in negotiations with the ambassadors from Rome, and he was extremely pleased to see them recalling their former partnership in arms and being ready for the war against Philip.<sup>4</sup> Next morning he went up to the city in great pomp, accompanied by the Romans and the Athenian magistrates; for they were met not only by the magistrates together with the knights, but by all the citizens with their children and wives. And when they came together there was such a display of friendliness on the part of the crowd towards the Romans and still more towards Attalus that it could not have been exceeded. When he entered by the Dipylon Gate they placed the priestesses and priests on each side (of the street). They then opened all the temples, placed victims at all the altars and asked him to offer sacrifice. Finally they voted him honours greater than they had readily bestowed on any of their previous benefactors; for in addition to other distinctions they called a tribe after Attalus<sup>5</sup> and enrolled him among the eponymous tribal heroes. (26) They next summoned a meeting of the assembly and invited the king to speak, but when he declined and said it would be in bad taste to come before them and recount his benefactions to those who had received them, they ceased to demand his presence but asked him to state in writing what he thought to be the best course of action in the present circumstances. Attalus agreed and wrote a letter which the presiding magistrates presented to the assembly. The main points of his letter were as follows: he recalled his former benefactions to the people, enumerated his actions against Philip (V) during the present crisis, and finally urged them to take part in the war against Philip and solemnly declared that if they did not choose now to join resolutely the Rhodians, the Romans and himself in a policy of hostility, but threw away the opportunity and then wished to share in the peace which others had brought about, they would be failing to achieve the interests of their country. After this letter had been read out the people was ready to vote for war, both on account of Attalus' words and because of their goodwill towards him. And when the Rhodians came before them and

spoke at great length on the same theme, the Athenians resolved to go to war against Philip.<sup>6</sup> [. . .]

Polybius XVI.25–6

1. In Aegina at the time (cf. **245** n. 1); Attalus and the Rhodians had assisted Athens against the attacks of Philip V (cf. **81** n. 2).
2. The sources give conflicting versions of the purpose of this embassy; cf. Gruen (1984), 392–8.
3. Compare the reception of Demetrius over a century earlier, **42**.
4. But the formal decision for war had probably not yet been passed by the *comitia* in Rome.
5. Cf. **42** (end); the Athenians had recently abolished the tribes Antigonis and Demetrias created in 307.
6. For Athens' reaction to Philip V see **82**.

### 233 Portrait of Attalus I on his death (197)

Concerning King Attalus (I), who died at this time,<sup>1</sup> it is right that I should say something appropriate, as has been my practice with others.<sup>2</sup> Originally he had no other external advantages for royalty except wealth,<sup>3</sup> which when used with intelligence and boldness is indeed of great assistance in any undertaking, but without these qualities is usually the cause of disaster for most people and in fact of total ruin. [. . .] That is why one ought to admire this man's greatness of spirit, because he never sought to use his advantages for anything except the acquisition of royalty, and no greater or fairer goal can be mentioned than that. Moreover he took the first step in achieving this design not just by conferring benefactions and favours on his friends,<sup>4</sup> but also by achievements in war.<sup>5</sup> For it was by defeating the Galatians in battle,<sup>6</sup> the most violent and warlike people in Asia at the time, that he secured his position and first assumed the royal title.<sup>7</sup> And though he achieved this honour, and lived 72 years, 44 of these as king,<sup>8</sup> he lived a life of the utmost decency and respectability with his wife and children,<sup>9</sup> and preserved good faith with all his allies and friends, and died in the midst of a most glorious campaign, while fighting for the freedom of the Greeks.<sup>10</sup> Most of all, although he left four grown-up sons,<sup>11</sup> he had so secured his rule that the kingdom was handed down to his grandchildren without any disturbance.<sup>12</sup>

Polybius XVIII.41

1. Attalus I was taken ill at Thebes in spring 197 and died after being brought back to Pergamum.

2. For other royal portraits cf. **70** (*a*), **209**, **240**, **243**, **274**; see also Eumenes II's eulogy of his predecessor, **234**. Polybius' references to the Attalids are frequently complimentary, cf. **232**, **240** (*b*), **243** and Allen (1983), 3f.; the alliance formed in 198 between the Attalids and the Achaean League against Philip of Macedon may be relevant here.
3. Polybius does not mention here the work of Attalus' predecessors Philetaerus and Eumenes I (cf. **224**).
4. Cf. **31** n. 3, **243**.
5. Cf. **44**.
6. See **225** and n. 6.
7. Cf. **224**; it has however been suggested that it was Attalus' defeat of Antiochus Hierax (**231**) rather than of the Galatians which provided the justification for his assumption of royalty (E. J. Bickerman, *Berytus* 8 (1943–4), 76–8).
8. Born 269 or 268, succeeded Eumenes I in 241.
9. Cf. **240** on the well-publicised family loyalty of the Attalids, in pointed contrast to the dynastic conflicts of the Seleucids (**176–7**, **218–23**, **266**) and Ptolemies (**286–91**).
10. On this theme cf. **35**, and for the Attalids as self-proclaimed champions of the Greeks cf. especially **225**, **231**, **237**, **239**, **243**.
11. See **208**, **224**, **240**.
12. A reference to Attalus III, the last Attalid king, cf. **248–51**.

## 234 Eumenes II and the Rhodians at Rome (189)

The debate in the Senate described here preceded the Treaty of Apamea imposed on Antiochus III after his defeat by the Romans (**205**). For its impact on the Attalids cf. **235** n. 3, **236**, **238** n. 2, **252** n. 3 and Allen (1983), 84–135.

At the beginning of summer following the Roman victory over Antiochus (III)<sup>1</sup> there arrived (in Rome) King Eumenes (II), the envoys from Antiochus and from the Rhodians, as well as those from the other states. For immediately after the battle nearly all the states in Asia began sending ambassadors to Rome, because at that time all hopes for the future for everybody lay with the Senate. The Senate gave a gracious welcome to all who arrived, but the most splendid reception both in the escort sent out to greet him and in the gifts provided for his stay was granted to Eumenes, and after him to the Rhodians. When the time for the audience came, they invited the king first and asked him to declare freely what he wanted to obtain from the Senate.<sup>2</sup> [. . .] (19) He said therefore that he would not say anything further about his own concerns, but would keep <to his view> and leave the decision entirely to them; but there was one point which worried him about the Rhodians, and it was this which prompted him to speak about the present situation. They had come to defend the interests of their country with no less eagerness than that with which he himself wished to promote his own kingdom in the present circumstances;

but their words gave an impression quite different from their real purpose, and this was easy to discover. 'When they enter they will say that they have come not to request anything from you nor with the wish of harming me in any way, but are ambassadors for the freedom of the Greeks who live in Asia. They will say that this is not so much a favour to them as a duty which is incumbent on you and which follows from what has already been achieved.<sup>3</sup> Such will be the impression their words seek to convey, but their true intentions will be shown to be the exact opposite. For if the cities are set free, as they urge, their power will be increased many times over, while my own will in a way be destroyed. For the name of freedom and autonomy would completely draw away from my rule not only those who are to be freed now but even those previously subject to me, when it will be clear that you are pursuing this policy, and it will bring them all over to the side of the Rhodians.' [. . .] (20) 'As for me', he continued, 'though on every other matter I would, if necessary, be prepared to yield without argument to my neighbours, as far as your friendship and my goodwill towards you are concerned I will never, so far as I can, yield to anyone alive. I imagine that my father<sup>4</sup> if he were alive, would have said the same. For he was the first of nearly all the peoples of Asia and Greece to become your friend and ally,<sup>5</sup> and he preserved that friendship most nobly till his last day, not only in intention but in actual deeds. He took part in every one of your wars in Greece and provided the highest number of infantry and naval forces of all your other allies, contributed the largest amount of supplies and faced the greatest dangers, and finally ended his life while actively involved in the war against Philip (V), as he was urging the Boeotians to join your friendship and alliance. When I took over the kingdom, I maintained my father's policy – it was not possible to take it any further – but I surpassed him in what I did. Circumstances brought me to a more burning test than happened in his case. Antiochus (III) was anxious to offer me his daughter in marriage and to bind together (our kingdoms) through ties of blood;<sup>6</sup> he offered to hand over at once the cities which had previously been detached from me;<sup>7</sup> he then promised to do everything if I took part in the war against you. Yet far from accepting any of these offers I fought on your side against Antiochus with the largest number of infantry and naval forces of all your other allies, I contributed the largest share of supplies to meet your needs in the most critical circumstances, and I exposed myself without hesitation to all dangers together with your commanders. Finally I submitted to being cut off and besieged in Pergamum itself, and risked my life and my kingdom because of my goodwill towards your people. (21) [. . .] What then am I asking for, and what do I claim to obtain from you? I will tell you frankly, since you have invited me to speak my mind to you. Should you decide yourselves to continue holding certain parts of Asia this side of Mount Taurus,<sup>8</sup> which were previously subject

to Antiochus, this is what I would most wish to see happening; for I believe the best guarantee of safety for my kingdom would be for me to have you as neighbours and especially to share in your power. But should you decide not to do this but to evacuate Asia completely, there is no one to whom you could yield more justly the prizes won in the war than to me. It may be objected that it is more honourable to free those who are enslaved. Yes, if only they had not dared to fight with Antiochus against you, and since they submitted to do this it is much more honourable to show proper gratitude to your true friends than to do a benefaction to those who have been your enemies.’

(22) After making this effective speech, Eumenes withdrew; the Senate was favourably impressed by the king and what he had said and was anxious to favour him in every possible way. [. . .] After them<sup>9</sup> the Rhodians entered, and after a few brief words (of introduction) about their particular services to the Romans, they quickly went on to speak about their own country. It was a very unfortunate accident, they said, that in their embassy the nature of the problem should place them in opposition to a king with whom they had the friendliest relations in public and in private. It was the belief of their country that the most honourable course of action and the one most appropriate for the Romans was that the Greeks in Asia should be liberated and obtain their autonomy, mankind’s most prized possession; but this was least in the interest of Eumenes and his brothers. For it was the nature of monarchy to hate equality and to seek to reduce all, or at least the majority, to the status of obedient subjects.<sup>10</sup> Yet though this was the case, they were confident, they said, of achieving their objective, not because they had more influence with the Romans than Eumenes, but because their suggestions were clearly more just and obviously of greater advantage to all. If it was not possible for the Romans to repay Eumenes except by handing over to him the autonomous cities, they might well be at a loss in the present circumstances: they would either have to slight a true friend or to neglect their own honour and duty and so obscure and nullify the purpose of their own actions. But if it were possible to cater adequately for both alternatives, who could be in any further doubt about the matter? In fact, as at a lavish banquet, there was enough and to spare for everybody.<sup>11</sup> [. . .] (23) It was open to the Romans, therefore, to strengthen their friends substantially without forfeiting the glory of their own policy. Their purpose in war was different from that of other men; all other people went to war with the intention of conquering and seizing cities, supplies, and ships, but the gods had freed the Romans from the desire for these, by placing the whole world under their power.<sup>12</sup> [. . .] Therefore, the most splendid of all their achievements was the liberation of Greece; if they now brought that work to completion, their fame would reach its height, but

if they neglected to do so, even their previous achievements would be clearly diminished.[. . .]

## Polybius XXI.18–23 (with omissions)

1. At the battle of Magnesia, cf. **203**.
2. The authenticity of the arguments attributed by Polybius to Eumenes and to the Rhodians is doubted by some (cf. McShane (1964), 149f.; against, Gruen (1984), 547).
3. On the ‘freedom of the Greeks’ cf. esp. **35**, and for Roman use of the theme cf. **84** n. 2.
4. Attalus I, on whose policy cf. too **224**, **232–3**.
5. It is not certain whether there was any formal treaty of alliance.
6. c.193–191.
7. See **191**, **195–6**.
8. Cf. **159** n. 2.
9. A delegation from Smyrna.
10. With this view of Attalid relations with the Greek cities cf. **189** n. 10 and contrast **233**, **237**, **239**, **243**.
11. On the ‘empire’ of Rhodes and her gains after Apamea see **91**, **98**.
12. A remarkably disingenuous assertion.

### 235 Decree of Apollonia on the Rhyndacus (?) in honour of an Attalid governor (after 188?)

See Hansen (1971), 108f.; Walbank III (1979), 527f.; Allen (1983), 88–91.

Resolved by the council and the people;<sup>1</sup> Menemachus son of Archelaus moved: since Corragus son of Aristomachus, the Macedonian,<sup>2</sup> when he was appointed general (*strategos*) of the regions (*topoi*) about the Hellespont,<sup>3</sup> continuously applied all his / enthusiasm and goodwill to the improvement of the  
5  
people’s condition and made himself serviceable both publicly and in private to all the citizens who had dealings with him, and when he took over<sup>4</sup> the city he requested from the king<sup>5</sup> the restoration of our laws, / the ancestral  
10  
constitution, the sacred precincts,<sup>6</sup> the funds for cult expenses and the administration of the city,<sup>7</sup> the oil for the young men (*neoi*)<sup>8</sup> and everything else which originally belonged to the people,<sup>9</sup> and as the citizens were destitute  
15  
because of the war,<sup>10</sup> he supplied at his own expense / cattle and other victims for the public sacrifices and after mentioning the matter to the king he secured the provision of corn for sowing and for food, and he enthusiastically assisted (the king) in preserving the private property of each of the citizens /  
20  
and in providing those who had none with some from the royal treasury, and as exemption from all taxes had been granted by the king for three years,<sup>11</sup>

25 he secured a further exemption for two years, wishing to restore the citizens to a state of prosperity and increase, / acting in conformity with the king's policy; so that the people may be seen to be rendering adequate thanks to its benefactors, be it resolved by the people, [to praise] Corragus the general and [to crown him] with a gold [crown . . .]<sup>12</sup>

Holleaux, *Etudes* II (1938), 73–125 (*SEG* 2.663)

1. City unknown, perhaps Apollonia on the Rhyndacus.
2. Note the emphasis on Macedonian descent; Corragus may be identical with the Attalid officer mentioned in Livy XXXVIII.13.3 (in 189) and XLII.67.4 (in 171).
3. The technical administrative designation for Hellespontine Phrygia, added from the Seleucid to the Attalid kingdom by the Peace of Apamea (**205**, **234**), previously under the Seleucids designated as a satrapy (cf. **164** (*b*)); cf. Allen (1984), 91–8.
4. Probably simply as governor, not through capture in war.
5. Probably Eumenes II or Attalus II.
6. Confiscated by the king.
7. Apparently the king had been providing subsidies to the city.
8. Cf. **123** n. 3, **137**.
9. Although the inscription does not say so, these requests will probably have been granted.
10. Probably the war against Antiochus III (cf. **234**), though possibly one of the wars between the Attalids and their neighbours in Asia Minor (Bithynia, the Galatians).
11. A normal period for tax exemptions, cf. **48** (*a*) §9, **215** §143, **238**.
12. For other texts on Attalid governors and administration see **238**, **241**, **245**.

## 236 Letters of Eumenes II to the inhabitants of Tyriaion (after 188)

Found in 1997 at Mahmuthisar, a village in south-eastern Phrygia, the following inscription gives an illustration of the considerable extension of Attalid power as a result of the Roman settlement of Apamea in 188 (cf. **205**, **234**). It also shows the process of transition through royal grant of an originally non-Greek community to a Greek-style *polis* (compare the case of Jerusalem under Antiochus IV, **217** and in a different context Antigonos and Teos-Lebedus, **48**, also **235**). Tyriaion may have been originally a Seleucid military settlement (cf. **174** n. 9) which passed to Attalid control and then became a *polis* (Jonnes and Riel, *op. cit.* below, 9f.). The preserved part of the inscription contains three letters of Eumenes II (though the third is mostly lost), but not the messages which the inhabitants of Tyriaion will have sent to the king which prompted his response. See L. Jonnes and M. Riel, *Epigraphica Anatolica* 29 (1997), 1–30; Shipley (2000), 315f.; Riet van Bremen in Erskine (2003), 318f.



*(First letter of Eumenes)*

With good fortune. King Eumenes (II) to the inhabitants of Toriaion,<sup>1</sup> greetings. Your men<sup>2</sup> Antigenes, Brennus, and Heliades, whom you sent to congratulate / us on accomplishing everything and arriving in good health at the place (topos)<sup>3</sup> – for which you paid thanks to the gods and performed the appropriate sacrifices – and to request that, in view of the goodwill which you have towards our interests<sup>4</sup> you should be granted a civic constitution (*politeia*), / your own laws, a gymnasium<sup>5</sup> and all the other rights which follow; they spoke about this with great enthusiasm and recounted their eagerness to do without hesitation whatever is in our interest, and asked us to accede to the request. They said that in all respects I would receive suitable thanks / from the people, and that you would not depart from what is advantageous and necessary to me. For my part I observed that granting the request would be a matter of no small importance but would affect major and numerous issues; a grant from me / would enjoy security, as I exercise unchallenged possession (of the land) having received it from the Romans who have prevailed in war and through treaties,<sup>6</sup> and would not be emanating from those who do not have power; such a favour would rightly be judged by all to be empty and deceitful. Nevertheless because of the goodwill / which you have towards us and which you have displayed at the right time, I grant to you and to those who are living with you (*synoikountes*) in the fortified places (*choria*)<sup>7</sup> to be brought together in one political body (*politeuma*) and to use your own laws; if you are satisfied with some of them, bring them to us so that we may examine them to make sure they contain / nothing that is contrary to our interests, if not, indicate this and we shall provide you with suitable men who will set up the council (*boule*) and magistrates, divide and distribute the people into tribes, and set up a gymnasium and provide oil for the young (*neoi*).<sup>8</sup> As for the recognition of your political body (*politeuma*), I have myself / addressed this at the beginning of my second letter. Now that you have received such great privileges from me, try to display sincerely through your deeds your goodwill in all circumstances.

*(Second letter of Eumenes)*

King Eumenes (II) to the council and people of Toriaion,<sup>9</sup> / greetings. Since we have granted to you a constitution and a gymnasium, we wish to [make] clear [our eagerness] by increasing these privileges, and we grant you for the oil for the present the revenue from the office of *agoranomos*<sup>10</sup> until such time as Herodes ‘one and a half’<sup>11</sup> investigates the matter and determines other sources of income, / whether from some property or piece of land or any

other he might choose, on which a tenth of all the produce would be levied. In general be assured that if you preserve your goodwill towards us you will receive even more numerous benefactions (*philanthropia*). [. . .]  
(Only the start of a third letter of Eumenes is preserved)

L. Jonnes and M. Ricl, *Epigraphica Anatolica* 29 (1997),  
1–30; *SEG* 47.1745; *BD* 43

1. First mentioned in Xenophon *Anabasis* I.2.14 and next in Strabo XIV.2.29, Tyriaion (the form of the name in both) has otherwise no recorded history in this period.
2. ‘Men’, not formally appointed ‘ambassadors’ such as would be sent by a *polis*; contrast the second letter of Eumenes II (compare 241). Brennus is a Celtic, not a Greek name, possibly from Celtic mercenaries in royal service (cf. 159 n. 19, 225 n. 6).
3. The exact reference is unclear.
4. Cf. 162 n. 3.
5. Cf. 137, 217 and n. 4.
6. Eumenes’ emphasis on the legitimacy of his possession carries an implied contrast with Antiochus III; cf. J. Ma, *AJA* 104 (2000), 105, 107.
7. The meaning of *synoikountes* and *choria* is unclear, cf. Jonnes & Ricl, *op. cit.*, 19f.
8. Cf. 123 n. 3, 137.
9. In the second letter of the king Tyriaion now has the institutions of a *polis*.
10. Cf. 125 n. 3.
11. Perhaps a reference to his size (cf. 181 n. 7 and 184), though the editors interpret this as connected with his activities as taxman (Jonnes and Ricl, *op. cit.*, 25f.).

### 237 Decree of the Delphic Amphictyony in honour of Eumenes II (182)

[In the archonship at Delphi] of Demosthenes. Resolution of the [Amphictyons. Since King] Eumenes (II) [having inherited] from his father King Attalus (I) [his piety towards the gods<sup>1</sup> and his] goodwill towards the Amphictyons,<sup>2</sup> and preserving his friendship [towards the Romans]<sup>3</sup> always continues to be responsible for [some] good to the Greeks,<sup>4</sup> [and having participated] / in the same [dangers] for the sake of their common safety has made gifts to many [Greek cities]<sup>5</sup> in order to preserve [their] existing good order (*eunomia*); for which reason the [Romans] seeing his policy [have] increased his kingdom, believing that all the kings who plot [against the Greeks should] meet the appropriate punishment, while those who have not  
5 been [responsible] for any evil / deserve to enjoy their highest trust;<sup>6</sup> and he has sent sacred ambassadors (*theoroi*) to invite the Amphictyons to join him in proclaiming the sanctuary of Athena [Nicephorus] inviolate (*asylos*),<sup>7</sup> and  
10 as for the ‘crowned’ competitions which he has decided to institute, to declare

the musical competition to be equal in status to the Pythian Games and the gymnastic and [equestrian] competition to be equal in status to the Olympian Games. The sacred ambassadors also recounted the goodwill which the king / continues to have [generally] towards all the Greeks and individually [towards] the cities. [Therefore, so that the] Amphictyons may be seen to be attending to those who are worthy [and showing thought for] the kings who preserve their [friendship] towards the Romans, the common [benefactors], and are always responsible for some good to [the] Greeks. With good [fortune, may it be resolved] by the Amphictyons to praise King Eumenes the son of King / [Attalus and to] crown him with a laurel crown sacred to Pythian Apollo where it is ancestral custom to crown benefactors, for his excellence and his goodwill towards the Greeks, and to set up an equestrian bronze statue of him at Delphi, and to proclaim the sanctuary of Athena Nicephorus at Pergamum to be inviolate for all time, according to the boundaries determined by King Eumenes, / and that no one is to be taken from the place so defined whether in war or in peace . . . and the [two crowned] contests are to be proclaimed [as the king requests, and as regards the ages and honours for the victors the] musical contest should be [equal in status to the Pythian Games, and the gymnastic] and equestrian should be [equal in status to the Olympian. The decree is to be inscribed] at [Delphi on the base of the] statue of [the king / in front of the temple], and at [Pergamum in the sanctuary of] Athena [Nicephorus. The] crown [of the king and the inviolability] of the sanctuary [will be proclaimed] at the [competitions of the *Pythia* and the *Soteria*].

Holleaux, *Etudes* II (1938), 63–72; *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 630;  
Allen (1983), no. 10 p. 214–15; Burstein 87

1. Cf. 209 n. 5.
2. Cf. 227 n. 1.
3. Cf. 224 and n. 10. The emphasis in this decree on the role of the Romans is noteworthy.
4. Cf. 233 n. 10.
5. Cf. 225.
6. The 'bad' kings: Philip V, Antiochus III, Nabis of Sparta, Prusias of Bithynia; the 'good' kings: Attalus I, Eumenes II.
7. On the Nicephoria cf. 231 n. 2; on *asylia* cf. 65.

## 238 Letter of Eumenes II to an official concerning remission of taxes (181)

See Rostovtzeff II (1941), 645–8 and III, 1477 n. 61; Hansen (1971), 184f.; Walbank III (1979), 173f.; Allen (1983), 95f.; Ma (1999), 94.

King Eumenes (II) to Artemidorus.<sup>1</sup> I have read the comments you appended to the petition submitted by the settlers in the village of the Cardaces.<sup>2</sup> Since  
5 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<sup>3</sup> and the price they did not pay because most of them have no resources left,  
10 and (give instructions) not to exact the money; / and since they must pay for each adult person a poll tax (*syntaxis*)<sup>4</sup> 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 (= 182/1), and of one Rhodian drachma and one obol<sup>5</sup>  
15 from the seventeenth year (= 181/80); and for all those / whom they (i.e. the Cardaces) introduce<sup>6</sup> from the outside,<sup>7</sup> (give instructions) that they be granted exemption from all taxes for three years,<sup>8</sup> and for those who have previously left the area (*topos*) but now wish to return, exemption for two years; and (give instructions) that they may repair the fort they previously had, so as to have a stronghold, so long as they [provide] themselves the rest of  
20 the expenditure, / while I myself will pay for a skilled craftsman (*technites*).<sup>9</sup> (Year) 17, the 4th day from the end of (the month of) Dios.

M. Segre, *Clara Rhodos* IX (Rhodes, 1938), 190–207; Maier I (1959), no. 76

1. The Attalid governor of the region of Telmessus in Lycia.
2. Non-Greek mercenaries (cf. **184** at Raphia), probably settled in the region of Telmessus by Antiochus III after his conquest of the area from the dynast (cf. **174** n. 6) Ptolemy son of Lysimachus (cf. **200** n. 8 and esp. **270**; Walbank, *loc. cit.* above and II (1967), 481). Compare the settlement of Jews in Lydia (**215**). After the Peace of Apamea (**205**, **234**), Telmessus was attributed by the Romans to Eumenes II.
3. Perhaps the grandson of Ptolemy son of Lysimachus (previous note).
4. Cf. **215** n. 3; possibly imposed by Eumenes in 182/1.
5. Translation uncertain; it is not clear whether the poll tax is being reduced *by* 1 dr. 1 ob. or *to* 1 dr. 1 ob.
6. As settlers; cf. Antiochus III and the re-peopling of Jerusalem, **215**.
7. From outside the kingdom of Eumenes.
8. Cf. **235** n. 11.
9. For the provision of workmen by kings cf. **111**.

### 239 Letter of Eumenes II to the Ionian League (winter 167/6)

Although Eumenes II had consistently followed his father Attalus' pro-Roman policy (cf. **92–3**, **234**), the growth of Attalid power resulting from the Peace of Apamea (**205**) led to increasing Roman suspicion of Eumenes and attempts

to undermine his kingdom in Asia Minor (cf. too 244). But, as Polybius noted (XXXI.6.6, in 163), Rome's hostility towards Eumenes increased his popularity in the Greek world, as shown for instance by the following decree of the Ionian League passed shortly after the Senate had insulted Eumenes by refusing him admission to Italy. See Badian (1958), 98–100, 102–5, 294f.; McShane (1964), 177–86; Walbank III (1979), 415f.; Allen (1983), 80f., 115f.; C. Habicht in *CAH VIII*<sup>2</sup> (1989), 332–4.

King [Eumenes (II) to the League of Ionians,<sup>1</sup> greetings]; of the ambassadors sent by you Meneclis did not come before me,<sup>2</sup> but Irenias and Archelaus met me at Delos and handed over / a fine and generous decree, in which you began 5  
by stating that I had chosen from the start the finest deeds and showed myself the common benefactor of the Greeks,<sup>3</sup> that I had faced many great battles against the / barbarians,<sup>4</sup> displaying all zeal and care to make sure that the 10  
inhabitants of the Greek cities should always live in peace and enjoy the best state of affairs, receiving [glory] in exchange [for] the [attendant] danger and [hardship, / and] choosing to [stand firm in] what [concerned the] League, 15  
in conformity with the policy of my father, (and that) I had demonstrated on many occasions my attitude in these matters, both in public and in private, being well disposed to each of the cities and helping each of them to achieve many of the things that relate to distinction / and glory, which through my 20  
actions [demonstrated?] my love of glory and the gratitude of the League. And you passed a resolution, in order that you might always be seen to be repaying worthy honours to your benefactors, / to crown me with a gold crown for 25  
valour, and to set up a golden statue in any place in Ionia I wished, and to proclaim these honours both in the competitions you celebrate and in those celebrated in each of the cities, / [and to convey to me the greetings] of the 30  
League, [and to rejoice in the fact] that both I [and] my advisers<sup>5</sup> are in good [health and that] my interests<sup>6</sup> [are] in a satisfactory state, and to urge [me when seeing] the gratitude of the people to show [proper] care for ways of [increasing the prosperity] of the League of [Ionians] / and ensuring that it 35  
constantly enjoys the [best condition]; in this way and in future I [would obtain everything] that relates to honour and glory. [And in conformity with all] the detailed provisions (of the decree) your [ambassadors] spoke [with] great enthusiasm, [relating] the [great] eagerness [and] purity of the goodwill felt by the whole / people towards me. I [accept graciously] the honours 40  
(voted) and having never failed so far as lies [in my] power to secure some [glory and honour] both [to all in common] and to every individual in each city, / I shall try now not to depart from this purpose. May events turn out 45  
as I wish, for in this way my actions themselves will demonstrate my policy more convincingly to you. / And so that in future by celebrating a day in my 50

55 name at the festival of the *Panionia* you may make the whole festival more distinguished, I shall assign to you sufficient sources of revenue / which will enable you to [celebrate] my memory in a fitting way. As to the gold statue [I shall make it] myself, since I wish [the] favour [not to cost anything] to the [League.<sup>7</sup> I wish] it to be consecrated [in the] sacred [enclosure] which 60 has been voted / to me by the Milesians. For since you were celebrating the festival in that city when you voted the honour to me, and Miletus is the 65 only Ionian city to date to have dedicated a sacred enclosure to me, / and regards itself as related to me on account of the people of Cyzicus,<sup>8</sup> and has performed many famous and memorable actions on behalf of the Ionians, I thought it most suitable that the dedication (of the statue) should be made 70 there. As to a detailed statement of my goodwill towards all of you together / and towards each city, your ambassadors have heard me and will report to you. Farewell.<sup>9</sup>

*RC 52; OGIS 763; M. Holleaux, Etudes II (Paris, 1938), 153–78; Burstein 88; BD 47*

1. See **48** n. 1, **169** n. 4.
2. The reason for this is unknown.
3. On this Attalid posture cf. **233** n. 10; on ‘benefactors’ cf. generally **111** and n. 12, **115**.
4. The Galatians, cf. **225** n. 6. They had started a new war against the Attalids in 168, received indirect encouragement from Rome in 167, and though defeated in 166 were granted their autonomy by the Senate. Cf. further **244**.
5. Literally ‘relatives’.
6. Cf. **162** n. 3.
7. For Attalid financing of honours to themselves cf. **242** (cf. too **252** n. 15).
8. See **240** n. 1.
9. For honours paid by Greek cities to the Attalids see **245** n. 8.

## 240 A model family: Apollonis of Cyzicus, wife of Attalus I

See Hansen (1971), 44f, 100, 455f.; Walbank III (1979), 211f.; Allen (1983), 149–52.

### (a) *Decree of Hierapolis* (c.167–159)

Decision of the generals Apollonius son of Matron, Apollonius son of Hermogenes, Apollonides son of Phalangites: since Queen Apollonis<sup>1</sup> Eusebes (the pious), wife of King Attalus (I) the god and mother of King Eumenes (II) 5 Soter (the saviour),<sup>2</sup> has departed to the gods,<sup>3</sup> after displaying in a glorious / and fitting way among men her own virtue, because of her piety towards the gods<sup>4</sup> and her reverence towards her parents, [just as] her life with her

husband was distinguished and she consorted with her children in (a spirit of) complete harmony, and being blessed with beautiful children born in wedlock she left behind great sources of praise of her glory / having earned conspicuous gratitude from her children; and so having displayed in her life everything that relates [to honour] and glory, she has lived a distinguished and fitting life, having reared children with the help of fortune and having consorted nobly with King Eumenes Soter and Attalus Philadelphus and Philetaerus / and Athenaeus, and left no small proof of her piety towards the gods by a [most] magnificent deed, and left a most beautiful and praiseworthy [sign] of her own excellence in her harmonious relations with her children, and [always behaved] with goodwill in all circumstances towards Queen Stratonice<sup>5</sup> [wife] of King Eumenes [Soter], / believing that the woman who shared her son (also) [shared] in her own [affection]; and so submitting to . . . she achieved immortal honour . . . to all the Greeks [and especially to King] Eumenes Soter and her [other children . . .]

OGIS 308

(b) *Polybius*

Apollonis, the wife of Attalus (I) father of Eumenes (II), was a native of Cyzicus, and a woman who for many reasons deserves to be remembered and honoured.<sup>6</sup> Though born in a citizen family she became a queen and maintained this exalted position to the very end, not through any seductive or meretricious act but by displaying an integrity and dignified restraint worthy of a citizen. That is why she is worthy of being mentioned with honour. What is more, she was the mother of four children and preserved towards them the most perfect affection and motherly love till her last day, even though she outlived her husband by quite a few years. And so Attalus (II) and his brother gained for themselves a fine reputation when they stayed in the city (Cyzicus), by showing their mother proper respect and honour. For standing each on one side of her and holding her by the hand they led her on a visit to the temples and the town, accompanied by their retinue. At this sight all the bystanders gave a warm reception to the young men and praised their action. They recalled the story of Cleobis and Biton<sup>7</sup> and drew a comparison with them – if in any degree they fell short of the devotion shown by the Argives, they were thought to have compensated for this by their own exalted regal position. This took place in Cyzicus after the conclusion of the peace made with Prusias.<sup>8</sup>

Polybius XXII.20.1–8

1. A woman from Cyzicus, a city with close Attalid connexions, cf. **224–5**, **239**, **247**; on her cf. also **143**, **208**, and on the Attalids as a ‘model family’ that paraded its bourgeois virtues, in pointed contrast to the Ptolemies and Seleucids, cf. **224**, **233**, **243**, **247**. Compare Antiochus III and Laodice, **200**.
2. Eumenes II assumed this title not later than December 184 for a victory over Prusias of Bithynia and the Galatians in the war of 186–183. This provided the occasion for the reorganisation of the *Nicephoria* (**231** n. 2).
3. A regular formula to describe the death of rulers, cf. **248**, **252** l. 16, **271** ll. 48, 55; the exact date of Apollonis’ death is uncertain.
4. Cf. **209** n. 5.
5. Cf. **224**, **247(c)**.
6. Cf. **233** n. 2.
7. This alludes to the well-known story in Herodotus I.31.
8. Spring 183.

## 241 Letter of Attalus (future II) to Amlada in Pisidia (c.160)

See Hansen (1971), 203, 206f.; Allen (1983), 83, 102.

Attalus<sup>1</sup> to the city and elders of Amlada,<sup>2</sup> greetings. Your envoys Oprasates son of Cila . . . nus, Nalagloas son of Cilarius, and Menneas<sup>3</sup> came before [us] and spoke about the object of the mission you entrusted to them, and requested / that your hostages should be released and that we relieve you of the debt of 9,000 drachmas you incurred in the war against the Galatians<sup>4</sup> [for the purpose of] repairs<sup>5</sup> and of the 2 talents which you pay annually, since you are hard pressed in many ways and are [at present] in a weak condition.

5 Therefore as I saw that you had repented of your / former errors and that you were carrying out my instructions zealously, [I showed] care for you [and] as a favour to Oprasates and to the [city, I gave] instructions to exempt you from 3,000 drachmas of the tribute (*phoros*) and the [payment] (*telesma*), and of 15 the other 9,000 drachmas [which] / you owed to us [in addition]. And I have freed your hostages . . . (the rest of the inscription is lost)

*RC 54; OGIS 751*

1. The future King Attalus II, brother and collaborator of Eumenes II.
2. A Pisidian city, only partially hellenised, as shown by the non-Greek names and the absence of the normal institutions of the council and the people (compare **236**).
3. The only Greek name, possibly a second name of Nalagloas.
4. Amlada had revolted against the Attalids in the Galatian war of 168–166 (**239** n. 4).
5. Allusion unclear.



## 242 A foundation by Attalus II at Delphi (160/59)

See Hansen (1971), 292–5, 395, 459f. and cf. 227.

Resolved by the city of Delphi in a plenary assembly and with the legal number of votes: since King Attalus (II)<sup>1</sup> son of King Attalus (I), when we sent as envoys to him previously Praxias son of Eudocus and Callias son of Emmenidas concerning the education of the children, and a second time Praxias son of Eudocus / (and) Bacchius son of Agron,<sup>2</sup> and he is our friend 5 by ancestral tradition and well disposed to our city, and shows a pious and holy disposition towards the gods,<sup>3</sup> he listened favourably to our requests and sent to the city 18,000 Alexander drachmas of silver for the education of the children<sup>4</sup> and 3,000 drachmas for the honours and sacrifices,<sup>5</sup> so that his donation might remain / in perpetuity and the salaries of the teachers 10 might be regularly paid and the expense for the honours and the sacrifices might be provided from the interest on the loan of the money;<sup>6</sup> with good fortune, be it resolved by the city, that the money should be consecrated to the god and that it should not be allowed to any magistrate or any private individual to use (this money) for any other purpose and in any way, / whether 15 by a decree or by a resolution;<sup>7</sup> if anyone whether a magistrate or a private individual does any of these things, he shall be prosecuted by the *mastroi*<sup>8</sup> for stealing sacred money, and the *mastroi* shall register him for recovery of eight times the sum of money involved in the decree or otherwise transferred, and the decree or resolution shall be null and void; any surplus left over from the interest after the salaries have been paid / to the teachers as is laid down 20 shall be brought to the *probouloi*<sup>9</sup> and the people and the resolution passed shall be final. The three commissioners appointed by the people shall lend the money at a rate of interest of 1 in 15 (= 6.66 per cent) in the month of Amalios (= January) in the archonship of Amphistratus; those who wish to borrow money shall register their names with the commissioners who are appointed / and provide a field as security;<sup>10</sup> loans shall be of a minimum of 25 5 minas; the borrowers shall provide sureties approved by the commissioners; the same persons shall be sureties and guarantors of the securities provided; when (the commissioners) have lent (the money) and inscribed the (names of the) borrowers and the securities provided on two whitewashed boards, they shall read them out in the assembly; the securities offered shall be / 30 substantial and free from servitude;<sup>11</sup> (the commissioners) shall deposit one of the boards in the temple and the other in the public archives; the expenses and the travel money may be paid for from the profits of exchange<sup>12</sup> and those who have handled (the exchange) shall render an account to the city.

In future the appointment of the commissioners and the administration (of the fund) are to be as follows: the interest from the 18,000 drachmas shall be spent on [the] / teachers, while from the (interest from the) 3,000 drachmas the honours and sacrifices shall be carried out by the commissioners for [the] *Attaleia* as follows: the magistrates in office shall draw up in the month of Poitropius (= December) at the statutory meeting of the assembly every year a list of three commissioners from the names put forward and chosen by a vote of the people; the commissioners who are appointed shall swear an oath like the other magistrates and shall collect / the interest on the money in the month of Endyspoitropius (= April) before the fifteenth, and they shall deposit the sum for the teachers in the temple in the month of Heracleius (= May), and the following year they shall pay the teachers every month and render an account to the city; if they do not act as is prescribed . . . (gap of 4 lines) . . . [they shall perform] the [sacrifice, the honours and the public banquet on the thirteenth of] the [month of Heracleius / and] shall render an account [to the *mastroi* during the same] month; if they fail to do this, the *mastroi* shall [bring an action] against them for stealing [sacred money] in accordance with the [law of the *mastroi*]; the commissioners shall sacrifice three full-grown oxen which the citizens shall provide for Apollo, Leto / and Artemis together with the other victims [as is] prescribed,<sup>13</sup> (sacrificing) in the name of King Attalus and calling the sacrifice *Attaleia*; they shall use the meat at the public banquet and 40 measures of wine, and they shall have the victim ready on the twelfth of the month of Heracleius (= May), and on the / thirteenth<sup>14</sup> the priests of Apollo and of the other gods, the *prytaneis*, the magistrates (*archontes*) and the children wearing crowns shall take part in the procession, and the procession shall go from the threshing floor<sup>15</sup> to the temple; and when the priests of Apollo have taken part in the procession, they shall make a prayer and proclaim the name of the sacrifice as being the *Attaleia* / as is customary; so that these resolutions may be conspicuous, the decree shall be inscribed on the statue (base) of King Attalus; the borrowers shall pay back to the city all the money in the fifth year; if they do not pay it back as is prescribed, their securities shall belong to the city / and the commissioners who lend the money shall have authority to sell them; if the sale of the securities does not realise the sum of money which was pledged to the city, the borrower himself and his sureties shall be liable to action by the commissioners in office for recovery of the deficit, / in any way they wish, just as they do with other public and sacred matters; if the borrowers do not pay the interests to the commissioners before the fifteenth of the month of Endyspoitropius (= April), they shall be liable to action by the commissioners for recovery / of the interest on each loan plus one half; the commissioners shall hand over to the city the money raised in the month of Boathous

(= September) as the law lays down for other surplus income; the commissioners who are appointed shall lend the money again / at a rate of interest of 1 in 15; if the commissioners do not hand over the money at the prescribed time, they shall be deprived of their civic rights and shall be registered by the succeeding commissioners for recovery of this sum plus one half; loans take effect from the month of Amalios (= January) / in the archonship of Amphistratus; Praxias son of Eudocus, Bacchios son of Agron,<sup>16</sup> Xenon son of Boulon were appointed commissioners for five years. 80 85

*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 672; Daux (1936), 686–92, cf. 497–511 and 682–98; Sokolowski (1969), no. 80 (in part); Burstein 89

1. Associated on the throne by his brother Eumenes II by 161/60.
2. These embassies also visited Eumenes II and obtained gifts from him (*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 671 and Daux, *op. cit.*); the insistence and cynicism of the Delphians are noteworthy. On Attalid generosity to the Greeks cf. **225**.
3. Cf. **209** n. 5.
4. On educational foundations in Greek cities cf. **138–9**; on Alexander-type coinage cf. **122** n. 2.
5. On Attalid financing of honours to themselves cf. **239**.
6. On foundations and their administration cf. **135**, **138–9**, **198**.
7. A decree of the people or a resolution of the council.
8. Delphic magistrates who supervised finances.
9. The council at Delphi.
10. On loans and securities cf. **122**, ll. 40ff.
11. i.e. they may not be claimed by someone else.
12. Delphi used a different (Aeginetan) coin standard from that of the Attalids; on money changers cf. **125** n. 4.
13. This refers to a previous decree on the *Eumeneia* and *Attaleia*.
14. The day after the celebration of the *Eumeneia*.
15. The open space below the terrace of Apollo's temple; on processions cf. **138** n. 17.
16. Two of the envoys originally sent to Attalus II, cf. above.

## 243 An estimate of Eumenes II on his death (159)

King Eumenes (II) was completely exhausted in bodily strength, but the brilliance of his mind remained unimpaired. He was a man who in most respects was second to none of the kings of his time, and who in the most serious and honourable matters was greater and more distinguished than them.<sup>1</sup> First, he received a kingdom from his father which was reduced to a very few insignificant towns and raised his power to rival that of the greatest dynasties of his time; in this he did not for the most part have the helping hand of fortune, nor did he rely on any sudden new turn of events, but he owed it to his intelligence, industry and political skill.<sup>2</sup> Then he was very anxious to win a good

reputation, and conferred benefactions on more Greek cities than the other kings of his time, and enriched privately very many men.<sup>3</sup> In the third place, although he had three brothers who were grown up and active he kept them all obedient to himself, acting as his guards and preserving the prestige of the kingdom. And that is something which is rarely seen to happen.<sup>4</sup>

Polybius XXXII. 8

1. Cf. the portrait of Attalus I, **233**.
2. Polybius does not make explicit here that the increase in the size and power of Eumenes' kingdom was due to the Roman settlement after the defeat of Antiochus III (**205**, **234**).
3. On the generosities of Eumenes II cf. **235–9**, **242**.
4. On this theme cf. **240** and n. 1.

## 244 Letter of Attalus II to Attis, priest of Cybele (156)

The following text is the last and most explicit from a series of letters addressed by Eumenes II and Attalus II to Attis, a Galatian priest of the native cult of Cybele at Pessinus in Phrygia, and dating from 163 to c.156. The letters are unusual in being genuine private letters not meant for publication, unlike most of the preserved royal letters of the Hellenistic period which were official in character; as a result they are frequently allusive in content and seemingly very frank. (The reasons for the publication of this dossier about a century later are unknown.) The background to this letter is the continued attempt by the Attalids to check the Galatians (cf. **239** n. 4) in collaboration with the priest Attis, a supporter of the Attalids. The implied attitude of Rome to the Attalids is open to different interpretations. See McShane (1964), 186f.; A. N. Sherwin-White, *JRS* 67 (1977), 64; Allen (1983), 133, 142–4; Gruen (1984), 591f.; C. Habicht in *CAH VIII*<sup>2</sup> (1989), 373f.

[King Attalus (II) to Attis the priest, greetings; if you were well, it would be] as I wish; I too was in good health. When we came to Pergamum I called together not only Athenaeus,<sup>1</sup> Sosander,<sup>2</sup> and Menogenes<sup>3</sup> but also many  
5 others / of my advisers,<sup>4</sup> laid before them what we had discussed at Apamea<sup>5</sup>  
and told them what we had decided. A very elaborate discussion ensued,<sup>6</sup> and  
to begin with everybody inclined to the same view as we did, but Chlorus was  
extremely insistent in emphasising the Roman factor and advising that in no  
10 way should anything / be done without consulting them. At first few shared his  
point of view, but after this as we kept examining the matter day after day, his  
advice made a greater impression on us, and to go ahead without consulting  
them seemed to involve considerable danger. If successful, the result would

be jealousy, displeasure and hostile suspicion, as / they had felt towards my brother,<sup>7</sup> and if we failed, certain destruction. For (it seemed that) they would not stir a finger but would look on with satisfaction, as we had undertaken such a great project without (consulting) them. But now should we suffer any reverse – may heaven forbid – we would get help as we had acted in everything with their assent and would fight back / with the goodwill of the gods. I have therefore decided to send to Rome on every occasion messengers to report continuously [doubtful] cases, while [we] ourselves make [careful] preparations [to defend] ourselves [in case of need . . .]

RC 61; *OGIS* 315 VI; Sherk (1984), 29; BD 50

1. Younger brother of Attalus II, cf. **208**, **224**, **240**.
2. See **247**.
3. A high-ranking courtier, cf. *OGIS* 290–6; Allen (1983), 129f. On the followers of the Attalids cf. Savalli-Lestrade (1998), 123–70, 403–5.
4. Literally ‘relatives’, a court title.
5. Apamea on the Maeander; the decision mentioned was to take military action against the Galatians.
6. Cf. the meeting of Antiochus III’s council, **181** with n. 5, **182**.
7. Cf. **239**.

## 245 Decree of Aegina in honour of a governor under Attalus II

See Hansen (1971), 167, 204, 463; R. E. Allen, *BSA* 66 (1971), 1–12 and Allen (1983), 74f., 104–6, 135.

With good fortune, resolved by the council and the people:<sup>1</sup> the people has obeyed all those who have been sent to (govern) the city and has complied as far as was possible with the wishes of each of them, and Cleon one of the ‘bodyguards’ (*somatophylakes*)<sup>2</sup> of King Attalus (II) Philadelphus came to the island / and stayed for sixteen years, and in that period he demonstrated his orderliness in his conduct of public affairs and in his personal life and dealt with everybody in a fair and [just way] with complete integrity, / and did not lay hands on any private property or show any willingness to act improperly or abuse his authority, but sought to settle most disputes, and as for those who would not be reconciled he referred them to the fine and just laws dispensed to us by the kings, according to the (royal) injunctions (*prostagma*) which are recorded [in the public archive] / and to the laws,<sup>3</sup> so as to secure fair jurisdiction for the weakest [against] the strongest [and] for the humblest against the richest;<sup>4</sup> and of the lawsuits which were brought in during those

20 years, the majority he brought to a settlement [while those which] were referred  
[to him] he settled / so that [those] who had lawsuits were [all] satisfied; and  
he [conducted himself] otherwise in a way that was orderly and worthy of the  
king and of the city, wishing as far as possible not to cause harm to anyone,  
25 but to do good as is just both publicly and privately to [each] citizen, in  
conformity with / the policy which our kings constantly maintain towards the  
[city], making himself easy of access to those in the city, to those who came  
from the king and to the foreigners in [residence] here;<sup>5</sup> for these reasons the  
people has frequently sent envoys to the kings and requested them to confer  
30 the greatest of favours / on the [people] by allowing him to remain in charge  
of the city. For these reasons and because he has behaved [honourably] and  
justly towards the king's interests,<sup>6</sup> [as in all] other matters, [with] excellence  
and justice, be it resolved by [the] council and the people, to praise Cleon /  
35 son of Stratagus, [of Pergamum, the governor (*epistates*)]<sup>7</sup> of the city, and to  
honour him with a gold [crown and] a bronze statue for his excellence [and]  
the goodwill he [constantly] displays [towards] King Eumenes (II) and King  
[Attalus] (II) Philadelphus and Queen Stratonice and Attalus [son of King]  
40 Eumenes and the people of Aegina, / and [to proclaim the crown] at the  
[theatrical contest] of the *Attaleia*, the *Eumeneia*<sup>8</sup> and the *Nicephoria*<sup>9</sup> and at  
the tragic performances at the *Dionysia*, [and] to entrust this responsibility to  
the generals [who are in] office; he shall be a citizen (of Aegina) [and so too]  
45 his [descendants], and he shall be enrolled in any tribe and deme he [wishes];  
he shall enjoy the right of free meals (*sitesis*) / at the town hall for life. The  
secretary of the people shall inscribe (this decree) [on a] stele to be set up in the  
Attaleum, and the treasurer shall provide the expense for the engraving and the  
dedication (of the stele); the generals shall be responsible for the dedication (of  
50 the stele), so that when these arrangements are so executed it will be seen that  
the people will honour worthily / to the best of its ability those who deserve  
well of the king and conduct themselves well and justly towards the people.  
The generals shall convey [this] decree to the king, so that the resolutions may  
be implemented with his assent.  
55 The council / (and) the people (honour) Cleon, son of Stratagus, of  
Pergamum.<sup>10</sup>

OGIS 329; IG IV.1

1. Of Aegina; the island was purchased by Attalus I from the Aetolians for 30 talents in c.210 and became a naval base (Polybius XXII.8.10; cf. McShane (1964), 107; Allen, *opp. cit.*).
2. A court title in the Hellenistic monarchies, in Cleon's case obviously devoid of practical functions. Cf. 317 n. 1 for Ptolemaic Egypt. On Cleon's career cf. I. Savalli-Lestrade, *Chiron* 26 (1996), 154–8.

3. For the text and interpretation of this passage cf. Ph. Gauthier, *RPh* 67 (1993), 41–8.
4. On this problem cf. **102** and n. 1. Cleon’s judicial functions obviously were (or became) regular and not merely incidental to his office; cf. **201** and Ma (1999), 206–11.
5. Cf. **70** (a), contrast **52**, **274**.
6. Cf. **162** n. 3.
7. Cf. **200** n. 2.
8. For the honours paid by Greek cities to Attalid rulers cf. **225** n. 1, **232**, **239**, **240**, **242**, **252** ll. 26–30.
9. A festival instituted on the model of the *Nicephoria* of Pergamum (cf. **231** n. 2).
10. Compare **235**. The implication of such decrees is that governors could be expected to be oppressive.

## 246 Letter of Attalus II to Ephesus concerning the tutor of Attalus III (c.150–140)

Ephesus was given to the Attalids in 188 by the treaty of Apamea (**205**, **234**). On its relations with the monarchy cf. Allen (1983), 83, 87, 98, 100f., 120f., 135 and K. J. Rigsby, *Phoenix* 33 (1979), 39–47, esp. 45f. on this text; cf. further **249** with n. 3. On the education of kings cf. Fraser I (1972), 308f. (Ptolemies), Préaux I (1978), 214f. (general). On education in Greek cities cf. **136–9**.

[King Attalus (II)] to the council and people of Ephesus, greetings. Aristod[. . .], your fellow citizen,<sup>1</sup> having been judged worthy by us [to be entrusted with the care] of Attalus (III) [the son of] our brother, was invited by us and introduced to him, and [took charge] of the appropriate education. He was appointed by us in particular because not only he surpassed many in his experience of speaking / and ability to teach it, but also because through his character he seemed worthy of all [praise] and the most suitable person to associate with a young man. For it is clear to all that young men endowed with a natural excellence of character imitate the manners of those in charge of them. And this is why, having been welcomed not only by us but also by Attalus himself in a most gentle manner, he has received from us and him the distinction he deserves.

*I.Ephesos* 202; *Bull.* 1968, 464; Allen (1983), no. 24 pp. 225–6 (cf. p. 81 n. 24); *SEG* 47.1625

1. On him cf. I. Savalli-Lestrade, *Chiron* 26 (1996), 171f.

247 Letters of Attalus II and III concerning the priesthoods  
of a friend (142–135)

See Hansen (1971), 440f., 451f., 469; Allen (1983), 174f.

(a) *Letter of Attalus II to Athenaeus*

5 [ . . . ]<sup>1</sup> / King Attalus (II) to Athenaeus his cousin, greetings. Sosander,<sup>2</sup> our  
'comrade'<sup>3</sup> and your son-in-law, was appointed by my brother the king<sup>4</sup> priest  
of Dionysius Cathegemon, and performed the rites in very many triennial<sup>5</sup>  
10 festivals with piety and worthily of the god, and with affection towards my  
brother and towards us / and towards all others. It had happened that in  
previous (triennial) festivals he suffered from a disease of the tendons, and  
though he was able to perform the sacrifices with us he could not perform  
the processions and some of the other religious rites, and so we decided that  
15 his son Athenaeus should take over as priest so that he might perform all the  
rites that Sosander was unable to perform. / Since therefore the appropriate  
rites were celebrated on that occasion in a pious way [as was fitting], and  
Sosander has now died, and it is necessary for a priest to be appointed, I and  
Attalus my brother's son<sup>6</sup> have decided that Athenaeus his son should preserve  
20 this priesthood as well, since it so happened / that he was [initiated] into the  
priesthood while his father was still alive, and since we believe that Dionysus  
himself has so wished, and that the man is worthy both of this charge for the  
god and of our whole house. So that you too may know that we have conferred  
25 [this] honour as well on Athenaeus, I have decided to write to you. / Year 18,  
Audnaeus 19.<sup>7</sup> Athenagoras (brought the letter) from Pergamum.<sup>8</sup>

(b) *Letter of Attalus III to Cyzicus*

King Attalus (III) to the council and people of Cyzicus,<sup>9</sup> greetings. I am  
sure that you are aware that Athenaeus son of Sosander, the former priest of  
Dionysus Cathegemon and the 'comrade' of my father, is our kinsman, since  
30 Sosander married the daughter of Athenaeus / son of Midias – Athenaeus the  
cousin of my father – and begot him. As he was worthy of our house, Attalus my  
uncle gave him first – with my approval and when Sosander was still alive –  
the hereditary priesthood of Zeus Sabazius<sup>10</sup> which we hold in the highest  
35 honour, and later – after the death of Sosander, / because of his personal  
excellence and his piety towards the deity and his goodwill and faith towards  
us – we thought him worthy of the priesthood of Dionysus Cathegemon as  
well, as we believed, I and Attalus my uncle, that he deserved this honour too,  
and would conduct such great mysteries in a fitting manner, as is made clear  
40 in (the records for) the / eighteenth year of his reign.<sup>11</sup> Knowing therefore



that on his mother's side he is one of your citizens I have decided to write to you enclosing the other instructions and the benefactions made in writing by us concerning him, so that you may know how affectionately we feel towards him.<sup>12</sup> Year 4, Dius 7.<sup>13</sup> Menes (brought the letter) from Pergamum. /

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(c) *Letter of Attalus III to Pergamum*

King Attalus (III) to the council and people of Pergamum,<sup>14</sup> greetings; since Queen Stratonice my mother,<sup>15</sup> the most pious of all women and one who showed the greatest affection towards my father and towards myself, displayed piety to all the gods<sup>16</sup> and in particular to Zeus Sabazius, whom she introduced as an ancestral god<sup>17</sup> / to our native city, and whom, as he stood by and assisted us in many actions and through many dangers, we decided because of his manifestations,<sup>18</sup> to include in the sanctuary together with Athena Nicephorus.<sup>19</sup> We believed this place to be worthy and fitting for him, and we gave instructions in accordance with this concerning the sacrifices, processions and mysteries / which are to be celebrated in his honour before the city at the appropriate time and place. We have also appointed for him a hereditary priest, my friend Athenaeus, who is outstanding in piety and excellence and in his constant good faith towards us.<sup>20</sup> Therefore, so that the honours to the god and the benefactions made to Athenaeus may remain undisturbed and unchanged for all time, we decided that the instructions (*prostagmata*) we have issued in writing / should be included in your sacred laws.<sup>21</sup> Year 4, Dius 4.<sup>22</sup> Lytus (brought the letter) from Pergamum.

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RC 65–7; OGIS 331 II–IV

1. The preserved part of the inscription contains the very end of a decree of Pergamum passed in accordance with the request of Attalus III (cf. letter (c)).
2. Cf. also **244**.
3. Literally 'brought up with' (*syntrophos*), an honorific title; cf. Allen (1983), 130–3.
4. Eumenes II.
5. Inclusively reckoned = biennial. On Dionysus Cathegemon cf. **143** n. 1.
6. The future Attalus III, officially regarded as Eumenes' son, though his descent is disputed; cf. Allen (1983), 189–94.
7. 25 December 142.
8. From the royal archives.
9. See **240** n. 1.
10. See next letter.
11. This shows the existence of an official royal 'diary'.
12. Attalus III makes no explicit request from Cyzicus, but the city would be expected to honour Athenaeus in consequence.
13. 8 October 135.
14. For the Attalids and Pergamum see **229**.
15. Cf. **224**, **240**; Allen (1983), 200–6. Compare the case of Laodice, **198**.

16. Cf. **209** n. 5.
17. From Cappadocia.
18. On divine epiphanies cf. too **189**, **190**.
19. i.e. make him 'share the temple' (*synnaos*; cf. **191** n. 11) of Athena Nicephorus, on whom cf. **231** and n. 2.
20. Compare **204**. On priesthoods cf. **149**.
21. To be given the permanence of city laws; cf. Allen (1983), 175f. Pergamum duly passed a decree, cf. n. 1 above.
22. 5 October 135.

## 248 Decree of Pergamum after the death of Attalus III (133)

Much the most noteworthy feature of the short reign of Attalus III (139/8 to 134/3) was the will by which he left the Roman people heir to his kingdom, yet Attalus' motives for this decision are far from clear (the ancient sources provide no explanation, cf. **224** end). Suggested possibilities include (a) the wish to deny the succession to Aristonicus (cf. **249** – Attalus was himself childless); (b) the wish to pre-empt serious social disturbances (such as actually broke out) if a strong power did not take over; (c) the wish to ensure himself against assassination by rivals, assuming the terms of the will were public knowledge beforehand (cf. the analogy of the will of Ptolemy VIII in 155, **289**), but this does not seem to have been the case. It should not be assumed that the will necessarily represented Attalus' ultimate intentions; it merely came into force through his premature death (contrast the long reigns of other Attalid rulers, **224**). Modern literature on the end of the Attalid kingdom and the revolt of Aristonicus which followed is very bulky, by contrast with the scantiness of the ancient sources, though new epigraphic evidence adds some detail. On this and the following texts see Magie I (1950), 30–3, 147–58 and notes; Hansen (1971), 147–63; Vogt (1974), 93–102 and index s.v. Aristonicus; C. P. Jones, *Chiron* 4 (1974), 190–3; V. Vavřínek, *Eirene* 13 (1975), 109–29; A. N. Sherwin-White, *JRS* 67 (1977), 66–70 and Sherwin-White (1984), 80–92; Gruen (1984), 592–608; Garlan (1988), 185–9; C. Habicht in *CAH VIII*<sup>2</sup> (1989), 376–80; Kallet-Marx (1995), 97–122.

In the priesthood of Menestratus son of Apollodorus, on the nineteenth of the month Eumeneius,<sup>1</sup> resolved by the people, motion of the generals:<sup>2</sup> [since] King Attalus (III) Philometor and Euergetes, having [departed] from  
5 among men,<sup>3</sup> / left our [native city] free, having attached to it also the [civic] land (*chora*) which he designated,<sup>4</sup> and (since) it is necessary for the will to be ratified by the Romans, and it is [essential] for the safety of all that the [undermentioned] classes (of men) should share in citizen rights because  
10 of the [complete] goodwill / which they have showed towards the people;<sup>5</sup>

with good [fortune, be it resolved] by the people, to grant citizen rights to the [undermentioned classes]: to those who are registered in the lists of the resident [foreigners], to the soldiers who are settled in [the city] and the countryside (*chora*),<sup>6</sup> and similarly to the Macedonians and [Mysians] / and to the settlers (*katoikoi*) who are registered in the citadel and in [the] old [city], and to the Masdyeni and . . . and to the policemen (*paraphylakitai*) and to the other mercenary soldiers (*epikouroi*) who are settled or own property in [the city] or the countryside, and similarly to their wives and children. / The descendants of freedmen shall be transferred to the class of resident foreigners, and so too the royal slaves, both the adults and the young men, and similarly the women<sup>7</sup> except for those who were bought in the reigns of King Philadelphus (Attalus II) and King Philometor (Attalus III) and those who were taken over / from property which became royal,<sup>8</sup> and similarly the public slaves. All the settlers, both men and women, who have left at the time of the <death> of the king or leave the city or the countryside, shall be deprived of their rights and their property confiscated by the / city.<sup>9</sup> On the fourth day of the end of the month, resolved by the people, motion of the generals: since in the decree [which was passed] concerning the grant of citizen rights [to those registered in] the lists of the resident foreigners [and / to the other classes] mentioned in the [decree, and concerning the transfer to (the category of)] resident foreigners of the [descendants of freedmen and the royal slaves and] the public slaves . . . (the rest of the inscription is lost)

OGIS 338; cf. *SEG* 28.960; Burstein 91 (in part)

1. Named after Eumenes I or II. K. J. Rigsby, *TAPA* 118 (1988), 130–7, argues the decree emanates not from Pergamum but from another city; see however *Bull.* 1989, 279 (Ph. Gauthier) and *SEG* 38.1266.
2. See **229**.
3. See **240** n. 3.
4. i.e. Attalus III granted freedom to Pergamum and its civic territory. The sources do not specify whether any other Greek cities in the Attalid kingdom were similarly treated (cf. Plutarch, *Tiberius Gracchus* 14.2), though this may have been the case and it is very likely that Ephesus was; cf. **249** n. 3.
5. Although Aristonicus is not mentioned (cf. **249**), Pergamum's move is an obvious bid for support in the struggle that broke out on Attalus' death; it is not known whether the unrest had started even before Attalus died.
6. It is not clear whether this refers to the territory of Pergamum or the whole of the Attalid kingdom; on these various categories of soldiers, see Griffith (1935), 177–82; Launey II (1950), 664–9.
7. Who belong to these categories.
8. Property confiscated by the crown.
9. A hint that Aristonicus may have had supporters in the city of Pergamum and not just in the countryside (**249**).

## 249 The revolt of Aristonicus

After Smyrna there is the small fort of Leucaea, which Aristonicus caused to revolt after the death of Attalus (III) Philometor.<sup>1</sup> Aristonicus was reputed to be a member of the royal family and intended to seize the kingdom for himself.<sup>2</sup> He was expelled from there after being defeated in a sea battle near the territory of Cyme by the Ephesians,<sup>3</sup> but went into the interior and quickly collected a large band of destitute men and of slaves whom he had incited with a promise of freedom, and he called his followers the *Heliopolitai* (citizens of the sun-state).<sup>4</sup> He first stole into Thyatira by surprise, then secured control of Apollonis, then sought to gain other fortresses, but he did not hold out for long and the cities promptly sent a large force (against him). Nicomedes of Bithynia came to the rescue and so did the kings of Cappadocia.<sup>5</sup> Then five Roman ambassadors arrived,<sup>6</sup> followed by an army and the consul Publius Crassus,<sup>7</sup> then by Marcus Perperna who put an end to the war by capturing Aristonicus alive and sending him to Rome.<sup>8</sup> Aristonicus ended his life in prison while Perperna died of illness, and Crassus was killed in battle when some people attacked him near Leucaea. Manius Aquillius (then) came as consul with ten envoys<sup>9</sup> and organised the province in the form of government which survives to this day.

Strabo XIV.1.38

1. Strabo makes no mention here of the will of Attalus III; cf. **224** (end), **248**.
2. A bastard of Eumenes II (?), Aristonicus assumed the title of Eumenes (III) and issued coins under that name for four years (E. S. G. Robinson, *NC* 14 (1954), 1–8); his aims were thus initially dynastic before he turned to social revolution to gain support in his struggle.
3. Ephesus (**246**), like Pergamum, was probably given its ‘freedom’ by Attalus III, as shown by coins which show that the city started dating by a new era in 134/3; Ephesus thus stood to gain from the will of Attalus, and her intervention had the effect of arresting the spread of Aristonicus’ revolt. Cf. K. J. Rigsby, *Phoenix* 33 (1979), 39–47; A. Meadows in Meadows and Shipton (2001), 58.
4. A tantalising indication, and the starting point of much modern speculation; cf. e.g. Rostovtzeff II (1941), 808 and III, 1523f. (n. 81); Vogt (1974), 69–71; Vavínek, *Eirene* 13 (1975), 121–9. Whatever the exact nature and sincerity of his appeal to the dispossessed and the rural classes of Asia Minor (on whom cf. **172** n. 3), Aristonicus’ following was (or became) a varied one, cf. **248** n. 9. The coins he issued (n. 2 above) originate from the upper Caicus valley, an area of intensive Graeco-Macedonian military settlement from which he must have drawn support (Robert (1962), 261–71): the soldiers thus had an interest in the continuation of the dynasty.
5. Also the rulers of Pontus and Paphlagonia; after the war they all received from Rome territorial grants from the former Attalid kingdom.

6. In 132; note the slowness of the Roman response (though the Senate accepted the bequest of Attalus not later than that year, cf. 251).
7. In 131.
8. In 130. Disturbances continued for some time, as shown by an inscription from inland Caria (Ph. Gauthier, *Bull.* 2002, 385).
9. In 129. Aquillius celebrated a triumph in Rome in November 126 and may therefore have remained active in Asia till that year. Another recently published inscription (from Pergamum) honours a certain Menodorus for defending as *strategos* of Pergamum the interests of the city before Aquillius and his commissioners (M. Wörrle, *Chiron* 30 (2000), 543–76).

## 250 Decree of Pergamum after the revolt of Aristonicus

[. . . resolved by the council] and the [people / . . .] son of Nicanor, . . . 5  
 son of Dionysius, . . . son of [Archias . . .] son of Menander, Polystratus son 10  
 of Menon, / the generals moved: [since] our people, [preserving] from the 10  
 beginning its [goodwill] and friendship towards the Romans, [has] provided 15  
 [many great proofs] of its policy in the most [critical circumstances], / and 15  
 similarly in [the war against] Aristonicus<sup>1</sup> applied [all] zeal and [faced] great 15  
 [dangers] both on land and [at] sea, [wherefore] the people of Rome, observing 20  
 the [policy] / of our [people] and [welcoming] its goodwill, has [admitted] 20  
 our people to [friendship] and alliance, and (since) a bronze tablet has been 25  
 dedicated at [Rome] in the temple [of] Jupiter Capitolinus / on which have 25  
 been recorded the decree passed by the [Senate] concerning the alliance and 30  
 also the [treaty], and it is fitting that [they] should also be inscribed [among] 30  
 us on two bronze tablets, to be [placed] in the sanctuary / of Demeter and [in 30  
 the] council chamber [next] to the statue of [Democracy]; be it resolved by 30  
 [the] council and the [people], that the auditors of public accounts (*exetastai*) 35  
 should issue a [contract] through the appropriate officials for the making of 35  
 [the] tablets and for their / [engraving, and] similarly for two marble stelae 35  
 into which [the] tablets shall be fitted once completed. A copy of [this] decree 40  
 shall be inscribed [verbatim on the] stelae, and [when] the dedication / [of the 40  
 stelae] has been completed, [the] crown-bearer (*stephanephoros*), [the] priests 40  
 and the [priestesses] and the magistrates shall [open] the temples [of the gods] 45  
 and make an offering of frankincense with (the following) [prayer on behalf] 45  
 of the citizens: ‘For the good fortune [and safety] of / our people [and the] 45  
 Romans and the [association of artists] of Dionysus [Cathegemon],<sup>2</sup> may 45  
 the friendship and [alliance] with the Romans remain for us for [all] time.’ 50  
 A sacrifice [as magnificent] as possible shall be offered to / Demeter and to 50  
 Core, [the] patron goddesses of [our] city, and [likewise] to [Rome]<sup>3</sup> and to 50  
 all the other [gods] and goddesses. The day (of the sacrifice) [shall be] a [holy

55 day] and [the] children shall be released from their [lessons] and the slaves /  
from their work. After the sacrifice a parade shall be held by [the] children  
and the young men (*neoi*),<sup>4</sup> to be supervised by the *paidonomos*<sup>5</sup> [and] the  
gymnasiarch. [The] resulting expense [for] the making [of the] tablets and  
60 for everything else / shall be provided by the treasurers Eucles and [Dionysius  
from] the [revenues] they administer.

*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 694; Sokolowski (1955), no. 15  
(lines 31–61 only); Sherk (1984), 44

1. See **248–9**, **252**.
2. See **143** and n. 1.
3. i.e. the deified goddess Rome, a cult which spread in the Greek world in the second century BC, first attested at Smyrna in 195 (Tacitus, *Annals* IV.56); see Mellor (1975).
4. Cf. **123** n. 3, **138** n. 17.
5. See **138–9**.

## 251 Decree of the Senate concerning Pergamum (132)

See T. Drew-Bear, *Historia* 21 (1972), 75–9, 86; A. N. Sherwin-White, *JRS* 67 (1977), 68; Gruen (1984), 603–8; M. Wörrle, *Chiron* 30 (2000), 566–8 and pl. 4 p. 576.

[Decree of] the Senate.<sup>1</sup>

[Publius] Popillius, son of Caius, [consul]<sup>2</sup> consulted with [the Senate] on  
5 the . . . / . . . of . . . ;<sup>3</sup> concerning the speech [he made about the] affairs [of  
Pergamum?], and the instructions [to be given to the commanders] who are  
setting off to Asia, that [all the] regulations, gifts, exemptions and penalties laid  
10 down [in Asia] by the [kings up to] the death of Attalus (III), [should be] /  
valid, concerning this matter the Senate [resolved] as follows; [concerning  
the matters] about which [Publius] Popillius, son of Caius, [consul spoke],  
(the Senate) [made the following resolution] about this matter: [that] all the  
regulations, penalties, [exemptions (and) gifts] made by King Attalus and the  
15 [other kings],<sup>4</sup> / in so far as they were made up to one [day before] the death  
of Attalus (III), that these [should be valid] and that [the commanders] going  
to Asia [should not disturb the will] but allow (the provisions) to remain [all]  
valid [as the Senate] decided. [. . .]

Sherk (1969) no. 11; Sherk (1984), no. 40;  
*OGIS* 435; cf. *SEG* 28.1208

1. This copy of the Senate's decree was set up at Pergamum in Greek: the Senate's ratification of the will of Attalus III involved confirmation of Pergamum's autonomy (see 248).
2. The date of this decree was long controversial (cf. Kallet-Marx (1995), 353–5), but a new reading of the text has established the identity of the magistrate as Publius Popillius (Laenas), consul in 132; see M. Wörrle, *op. cit.* This decree will have been one of probably a number of senatorial decisions needed to regulate affairs in the former Attalid kingdom.
3. A date in the latter part of the year around October.
4. Text uncertain, perhaps: '[that] all the [gifts], regulations . . . made by King Attalus and the other (rulers)' (Drew-Bear, *op. cit.*, 86).

## 252 Decree of Sestus in honour of Menas (after the end of the Attalids)

[In the priesthood] of Glaucias son of Cillaeus, in the month of [Hyperberetaeus . . . resolved] by the council and the people; Menander son of Apollas moved: [since Menas son of Menes] has [from] his earliest manhood believed it the finest course of action to make himself useful [to his native city],<sup>1</sup> and has not spared any cost or expense, and has not avoided any hardship / or danger, nor has taken into account the losses to his private fortune 5 which those serving as envoys suffer,<sup>2</sup> but considered all these things of secondary importance and attached the highest priority to loyalty and devotion to his native city, and wished always to achieve some useful advantage for the people through his own enthusiasm and to secure for himself and his descendants everlasting fame through the gratitude of the people; / and he [served] 10 on many embassies [to] the kings, in which together with his fellow envoys he achieved everything to the advantage of the people, and held loyally the positions of trust assigned to him; and when he was negotiating with Strato the general (*strategos*) of the Chersonese and of the Thracian districts (*topoi*)<sup>3</sup> and received the most favourable reception from him because of his integrity in matters of trust, / he induced him to do a service to the city<sup>4</sup> and he himself 15 showed enthusiasm in his dealings with all the citizens; and after the kings had departed to the gods,<sup>5</sup> and when the city was in a dangerous situation through fear of the neighbouring Thracians<sup>6</sup> and because of the other difficult circumstances arising out of the sudden emergency,<sup>7</sup> Menas constantly said and did what was best and most honourable, exerting himself unhesitatingly / 20 for all the city's interests, and he readily undertook the embassies to the generals sent to Asia by the Romans and to the envoys who were despatched,<sup>8</sup> and in these embassies the people did not fare badly in any matter, but was

successful in everything because of the hardships endured by the envoys, and when he was despatched to other peoples in critical circumstances together with his fellow envoys, he secured favourable results for his native city, / and in wartime conditions he has constantly shown himself a good man towards the people, and when he was appointed priest of King Attalus<sup>9</sup> he behaved in a way worthy of the people, sustaining nobly every expense that fell on him, showing consideration not only for the citizens [and] the other inhabitants of the city, but also for the foreigners in residence, / conferring on his native city the good reputation (he enjoyed) with the foreigners; and when he was appointed gymnasiarch, he showed concern for the good discipline of the ephebes and the young men (*neoi*),<sup>10</sup> and took charge of the general good order of the gymnasium honourably and in a spirit of emulation;<sup>11</sup> and he built the bathing-room and the building [next to it], and he dedicated a statue of white stone, and he built in addition the unfinished parts which were required; / and at the birthday feast of the king<sup>12</sup> when sacrificing every month on behalf of the people he instituted parades (or: races) for the ephebes and the young men,<sup>13</sup> and celebrated javelin and archery contests, and provided oil for anointing, and through (the example of) his own emulation he encouraged the young men to exercise and train hard, for which the people welcomed his zeal and eagerness / and allowed him to commemorate his deeds in inscriptions,<sup>14</sup> and deemed him worthy of being praised in decrees, and the ephebes and young men crowned him and the ephebarch, and though he accepted the honour he freed them from the expense involved, and made the dedication of the weapons at his own expense;<sup>15</sup> and when the people decided to use its own bronze coinage,<sup>16</sup> so that the city's coin type should be used as a current type / and the people should receive the profit resulting from this source of revenue,<sup>17</sup> and appointed men who would safeguard this position of trust piously<sup>18</sup> and justly, Menas was appointed and together with his colleague in office showed suitable care, as a result of which the people thanks to the justice and emulation of these men has the use of its own coinage, and in the other magistracies / and liturgies to which the people had appointed him, he has shown himself impartial and just, wishing to act in accordance with his achievements and not to fall short in any way of his goodwill towards the people, and to preserve with dignity and justice the positions of trust assigned to him; and when he was invited a second time to act as gymnasiarch he submitted to this in difficult circumstances, as [we] had been worn out / for many years because of the incursions of the Thracians and the wars which were engulfing the city,<sup>19</sup> in the course of which everything in the fields was carried off, and most of the land was not sown, and the dearth of crops which recurred continuously reduced the people publicly and every individual citizen privately to penury, and Menas was one of the many to be afflicted; but he put aside all this, as



[he could see] / that the people was grateful and knew how to honour good 60  
 men, and he surpassed himself in the expenses he incurred and in his zeal; for  
 when he entered office on the new moon he celebrated sacrifices for Hermes  
 and Heracles, the gods consecrated in the gymnasium,<sup>20</sup> on behalf of the safety  
 of the people and of the young men, and he organised races and contests of  
 javelin and archery, and on the last day / he offered a sacrifice and invited to 65  
 the sacrificial rites not only those who have access to the gymnasium<sup>21</sup> but all  
 the others as well, giving a share in the sacrificial rites even to the foreigners;  
 and every month when celebrating the appropriate sacrifices on behalf of  
 the young men, he treated the gods who preside over the gymnasium with  
 generosity and magnificence, by instituting javelin and archery contests and  
 organising races, giving to the young men a share in the / victims sacrificed 70  
 by him, and encouraging through his zeal the young men to exercise and  
 train hard, which would cause the minds of the younger men by competing  
 for bravery to receive a suitable training in moral excellence; and he gave a  
 share in the offerings connected with the gymnasium to those undergoing  
 gymnastic training for use at home,<sup>22</sup> extending his beneficence even to the  
 foreigners who have admission to the gymnasium; and he dealt in a friendly  
 way with all those who gave lectures,<sup>23</sup> / wishing in this too to secure for his 75  
 native city glory through men of education; and he looked after the education  
 of the ephebes and the young men, and showed care for the general good order  
 of the gymnasium, and he provided scrapers<sup>24</sup> and supplied oil for anointing,  
 and celebrated a contest in honour of Hermes and Heracles in the month of  
 Hyperberetaeus, offering as prizes for the competitions for the young men and  
 ephebes weapons with an inscription and bound / in shield-cases, on which 80  
 he inscribed the names of the victors and (which he) immediately dedicated  
 in the gymnasium; and he offered second prizes; and he offered prizes for  
 the boys and prizes for armed combat for the ephebes and the men,<sup>25</sup> and  
 similarly for archery and javelin-throwing; and he offered weapons as prizes  
 for the long race, for good discipline, hard training and fitness (*euexia*); and  
 after celebrating a sacrifice to the gods mentioned and after organising the  
 parade in arms (*euandria*) in accordance with the law,<sup>26</sup> he invited to the / 85  
 sacrificial rites all the members of the gymnasium<sup>27</sup> and the foreigners who  
 share in the common rights (*koina*),<sup>28</sup> entertaining them in a magnificent way  
 and worthily of the gods and of the people. Therefore, so that the people may  
 be seen to be honouring excellent men and to be welcoming those who from  
 their earliest manhood have shown zeal concerning matters of public interest,  
 and not to be falling short in returning gratitude, and so that others seeing the  
 honours which are paid by the people / to excellent men, should emulate the 90  
 finest deeds and be encouraged towards excellence, and public interests may be  
 furthered when all are striving to achieve glory and are always securing some

benefit to their native city; with good fortune, be it resolved by the council and the people, to praise Menas son of Menes for all the services mentioned and for the goodwill which he constantly displays towards the people, and to  
95 allow him to dedicate the weapons with his name inscribed and / (mention of the fact) that he was crowned by the ephebes and the young men; and to have him crowned by the people every year at the gymnastic contest during the religious festival with a gold crown, with the following proclamation being made by the herald: 'The people crowns Menas son of Menes, who held the  
100 office of gymnasiarch / twice honourably and zealously, and showed himself a good man towards the people.' He and his descendants are to be invited to a seat of honour (*proedria*) at all the competitions celebrated by the people; the agonothete who is in charge every year shall organise the proclamation of the crown; and since he wishes in these matters too to do a favour to the people on account of the present tight circumstances of the public finances and (is willing to) assume the expense for the statue from his private means,<sup>29</sup>  
105 he shall take care that / the statue set up is as beautiful as possible, and shall inscribe the present decree on a stele of white stone and place it in the gymnasium.

*OGIS 339; Bull. 1981, 328*

1. On 'benefactors' cf. generally **115**.
2. Cf. **197**.
3. Organised as a satrapy by Antiochus III (**195–6**), then handed over to the Attalids by the Peace of Apamea (**205, 234**) and placed under a 'general' (*strategos*), cf. **235**.
4. Perhaps the sending of a force to defend Sestus.
5. Cf. **240** n. 3.
6. Cf. **114** and n. 5.
7. The war of Aristonicus, cf. **248–50**.
8. Cf. **249**.
9. Attalus II or IV; cf. **245** n. 8.
10. Cf. **123** n. 3.
11. Cf. **137**; see Marrou (1956), 280–4 on this inscription.
12. Cf. **271** n. 6.
13. Cf. **138** n. 17.
14. The people allowed him to put his name and mention of the office he held on dedications to the gods.
15. It was not uncommon for the honorand to finance his own honours, cf. below; see **128** and for the kings themselves **239, 242**.
16. As opposed to an imported coinage; note the combination of civic pride and fiscal profit in the issue of coinage. On this passage cf. J. R. Melville-Jones, *NC* (1972), 39–43, (at p. 43); L. Robert, *Rev. Num.* (1973), 43–53; A. Meadows in Meadows and Shipton (2001), 59, 61.

17. By issuing token bronze coins and not silver (cf. **123**).
18. The duties of mint-masters involved the choice of types which were religious in character (e.g. heads of deities).
19. See nn. 6 and 7.
20. See **137** with n. 5.
21. Here and below, literally ‘those who share in the (athlete’s) oil’.
22. Normally the meat from the sacrificial victims was consumed on the spot and not to be removed elsewhere; cf. **148** l. 26.
23. Public lectures from itinerant speakers; cf. **137** ll. 66f.
24. For cleaning oneself.
25. Boys, epebes, men: age groups in athletic competitions. Cf. **294**.
26. Cf. Ph. Gauthier, *Rev. Phil.* 56 (1982), 226–9.
27. Literally ‘the anointed’.
28. The right to anoint themselves with oil and share in the activities of the gymnasium; cf. Ph. Gauthier, *Rev. Phil.* 56 (1982), 229–31.
29. See n. 15.

## 253 The municipal administration of Pergamum under the Attalids

The following inscription dates from late Hellenistic or Roman imperial times (cf. *Bull.* 1956, 243), but the law itself dates from the Attalid period (on such laws cf. **137** and n. 1). See Hansen (1971), 191–8; Allen (1983), 170–6.

... one of the *astynomoi*, dedicated the royal law at his private expense.<sup>1</sup>

### *Column I*

...<sup>2</sup> [they (the *astynomoi*) shall make an inspection and give a verdict as appears to them] just. [And if] they do not obey even so, / [the] generals (*strategoî*)<sup>3</sup> 5  
shall inflict on them [the] legal punishment and assign to the collector of fines (*praktor*) the task of collecting the fine; the *astynomoi* shall issue a contract for the restoration of the place to its original condition within / ten days, and 10  
shall exact from the offenders one and a half times the cost, and shall pay the sum due to the contractors and the rest to the treasurers. And if the *astynomoi* do not act / as the law lays down, the generals shall issue the contract, and the 15  
*astynomoi* shall be charged the [[remainder of the]]<sup>4</sup> cost and shall be fined in addition / 100 drachmas. The guardians of the law (*nomophylakes*) shall exact (this sum) from them immediately. The same procedure shall apply in the case of other offenders. Concerning the roads in the territory (of the city) the / main roads shall be not less than twenty cubits (c.30 ft) wide and the 20  
others not less than eight (c.12 ft), except if some people use footpaths in 25

30 their neighbourhoods to communicate with each other. [Those] who own  
property along the [roads] shall keep them / clean and passable [and also] the  
neighbourhood up to a distance of . . . stadia, [contributing] to the costs and  
35 to the [repairs. And] if they do not [obey, the . . .] shall take securities / [from  
them . . .]

*Column II*

50 [. . . the *amphodarchai*<sup>5</sup> shall] compel [those who have] thrown out [. . .<sup>6</sup> /  
to clean up the] place, as [the law lays down. If they fail to do this], they (the  
*amphodarchai*) shall report (them) [to the *astynomoi*]. The *astynomoi* [shall  
issue a contract together with the] *amphodarches* and shall exact [the result-  
55 ing expense / from the offenders immediately] and [shall] fine (them) [10  
drachmas?]. If any of the [*amphodarchai* fails to carry out any] of his written  
instructions [he shall be fined by] the *astynomoi* 20 drachmas for [each offence].  
60 The / sums [collected] from the fines [shall be given] from month to month  
[to the treasurers] and they shall be available should [the need arise?] for the  
purpose of cleaning [the streets], but they [shall] not be transferred [to] any  
65 other purpose. / The *astynomoi* shall have charge of collecting [the] fines and  
of [everything] else. [If] they fail to carry out any of the written instructions,  
they shall be fined by the generals and the overseer of the city<sup>7</sup> 50 drachmas for  
70 each / offence and this fine shall also be assigned to the purposes mentioned  
above. *Concerning digging up (the streets)*. If anyone digs up soil or stones on the  
75 streets or makes clay or bricks or lays out open / drains, the *amphodarchai* shall  
prevent them. If they do not comply, the *amphodarchai* shall report them to  
80 the *astynomoi*. They shall fine the offender 5 drachmas for each offence and /  
shall compel (him) to restore everything to its original state and to build under-  
ground drains. If private citizens still refuse to obey, they shall issue a contract  
(for repairs) within ten days and shall exact from the offenders one and a half  
85 times the resulting expense. / Similarly they shall compel already existing drains  
to be built underground. If the *astynomoi* fail to do any of this they shall them-  
selves be liable to the same / fines. *Concerning payments*. If anyone fails to pay his  
90 share of the cost of the contract for (removing) the refuse from the streets which  
are cleaned at public expense, or (fails to pay) the fines, the *amphodarchai* shall  
95 seize securities from them / and lay them as a pledge before the *astynomoi* on the  
same day or the day after, and if no one has sworn within five days to claim back  
the goods seized as securities, they shall sell them either in the phratry<sup>8</sup> or in  
100 the agora when it is full / in the presence of the *astynomoi*, and they shall pay the  
proceeds . . .

*Column III*

They shall make an inspection<sup>9</sup> and if they (the walls) seem to them to be in  
 need of repair, the owners shall repair them. / If any of them refuse to do this, 105  
 the *astynomoi* shall issue a contract together with any of the injured parties who  
 is willing. They shall exact immediately three fifths of the resulting expense  
 from / the offender and two fifths from the other person, and shall pay (the 110  
 money) to the contractors. As regards party walls which are in need of repair  
 or have collapsed, if the neighbours use the whole walls / to the same extent, 115  
 they shall contribute equally to the building costs. But if one neighbour has  
 a building along the party wall while the other has an open space, the former  
 shall contribute two thirds to the building costs / and the latter one third. 120  
 They shall pay in the same proportions if one has a two-storey building along  
 the wall and the other a single-storey building. If anyone destroys party walls, / 125  
 summons shall be lodged before the *astynomoi*, and if they are shown to be  
 guilty and lose their case, they shall pay the cost for the damage done. It shall  
 not be permissible to put up additional buildings against party walls / nor to dig 130  
 through them nor to do any other damage to them without the consent of the  
 owners. As for neighbouring walls which cause offence to the residents, if the  
 owners wish to lay out open passages (*peristaseis*) on the side of the neighbours'  
 free-standing (walls), / provided they cause no offence to the neighbours, they 135  
 [shall] not be prevented from doing so provided they make them not more than  
 a cubit wide and cover them immediately with stone blocks, after the outer  
 wall of the / open passage has been securely built, if there are no rocks where 140  
 the blocks are to be placed. When covering it (the builders) shall not make the  
 foundation higher than the rest of the open ground except for what is needed  
 to allow the water to drain away. The builders shall be owners / of the open 145  
 passages, though the neighbours shall be owners of the spaces above them once  
 they are covered up, provided they do not use it for any purpose detrimental  
 to others' walls. They (the builders) shall lay out the entrances to the open  
 passages / from their own houses. But if that is not possible according to the 150  
 verdict of the architect<sup>10</sup> together with the *astynomoi*, the neighbours shall provide  
 access to those who enter for the purpose of cleaning, and similarly when  
 there is a collapse / and (open passages) need to be repaired. Concerning those 155  
 who enter with spiteful intent the *astynomoi* shall decide and if they convict  
 him they shall fine him 5 drachmas. No one shall dig a trench against someone  
 else's wall / or a party wall, nor place wine jars, nor plant anything nor do 160  
 anything which would damage the wall. If anyone does and the owner brings  
 a charge (against him), the *astynomoi* shall examine the case and give a verdict / 165  
 according to what seems just to them. Concerning the walls of other peoples'

houses which threaten to collapse, when the neighbours give notice of the damage . . .

*Column IV*

170 / They shall [compel] (them) to clean the water pipes. *Concerning the fountains.*  
Concerning the fountains in the city and in the suburbs it shall be incumbent  
175 on the *astynomoi* to make sure they are clean / and that the pipes which bring  
and remove the water flow freely. If any need to be repaired, they shall notify  
the generals and the superintendent of the sacred revenues, so that contracts  
180 (for repair work) are issued by these (officials). / No one shall be allowed to  
water animals at the public fountains nor to wash clothes or implements or  
185 anything else. Should anyone do any of these things, if he is a free man<sup>11</sup> / his  
animals, clothes and implements shall be confiscated and he shall be fined 50  
drachmas, but if he is a slave and if he has done any of these things with the  
190 consent of his master, the same goods shall be confiscated and / he himself shall  
receive 50 strokes of the whip in the pillory, while if he has acted without his  
master's consent, everything he has<sup>12</sup> shall be confiscated and he shall receive  
100 strokes of the whip in the pillory and he shall be held in the stocks for  
195 ten days and on his release / he shall receive not less than 50 strokes of the  
whip before being released. Anyone else who wishes may arrest those guilty of  
offences concerning the fountains, and anyone who brings an offender or who  
200 lays the goods seized before the *astynomoi* / shall receive half of the proceeds  
from these goods, while the rest shall be assigned to the repair of the sanctuary  
of the Nymphs. *Concerning the cisterns.* The *astynomoi* who are in office shall  
205 draw up a list of the cisterns then existing in the houses / and shall hand over  
the list in the month of Pantheios to the generals and they shall make sure  
that the owners make (the cisterns) watertight and that none of the existing  
210 cisterns get choked. They shall fine those who commit any of these offences /  
100 drachmas for each cistern [and] compel them to clean them up. If any of  
the cisterns happen to be already choked, they shall notify this to the owners  
215 so that they clean them up / within eight months. If they (sc. the owners)  
fail to do this, they (the *astynomoi*) shall fine them the same sum and shall  
compel them to clean up (the cisterns). They shall hand over the proceeds  
from the fines from month to month to the treasurers, and this money shall  
220 be available for the cleaning / and construction of cisterns, but shall not be  
transferred to any other purpose. As to those who own cisterns and cause  
damage to their neighbours by not [making] them watertight, the *astynomoi*  
225 shall [compel] them to comply by [fining] them, and if / any lawsuits arise as  
a result, the *astynomoi* shall exact reparation and pay it to the injured parties.  
Should any of the *astynomoi* fail to deposit at the town hall the list of cisterns

for which he is responsible, or fail to act in accordance with / the provisions of the law, the guardians of the law shall fine him 100 drachmas and assign these to the same revenues. *Concerning the public toilets.* The *astynomoi* shall take care of the public toilets / and of the sewers which run from them, and [any sewers which] are [not] covered and . . . (the rest of the inscription is lost) 230 235

Klaffenbach (1954), reproduced in *SEG* 13.521  
cf. 45.1674; *OGIS* 483

1. *Astynomoi* are attested in several Greek cities, including classical Athens (Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens* 50.2); the Pergamum inscription is much the most informative source on their functions.
2. The inscription is laid out on four columns; a large part of the first two is lost. The preserved part of column I concerns roads.
3. On the *strategoï* of Pergamum cf. **229** and n. 3.
4. These words may be intrusive (Klaffenbach).
5. Officials entrusted with the care of streets (*amphodon* = street).
6. Refuse, probably.
7. A royal appointment, a post probably created in the second century (he is absent in **229**), and comparable to the Attalid governor in Aegina (**245**) and in other cities of the Attalid kingdom.
8. A kinship group; sale in the phratry would make it easier for the goods to be redeemed by the family of the offender.
9. This section concerns walls.
10. A public official with the duties of a master of works; cf. at Delos **122** n. 24.
11. For other cases of grading of statuses cf. **105** n. 2.
12. When he was at the fountain.

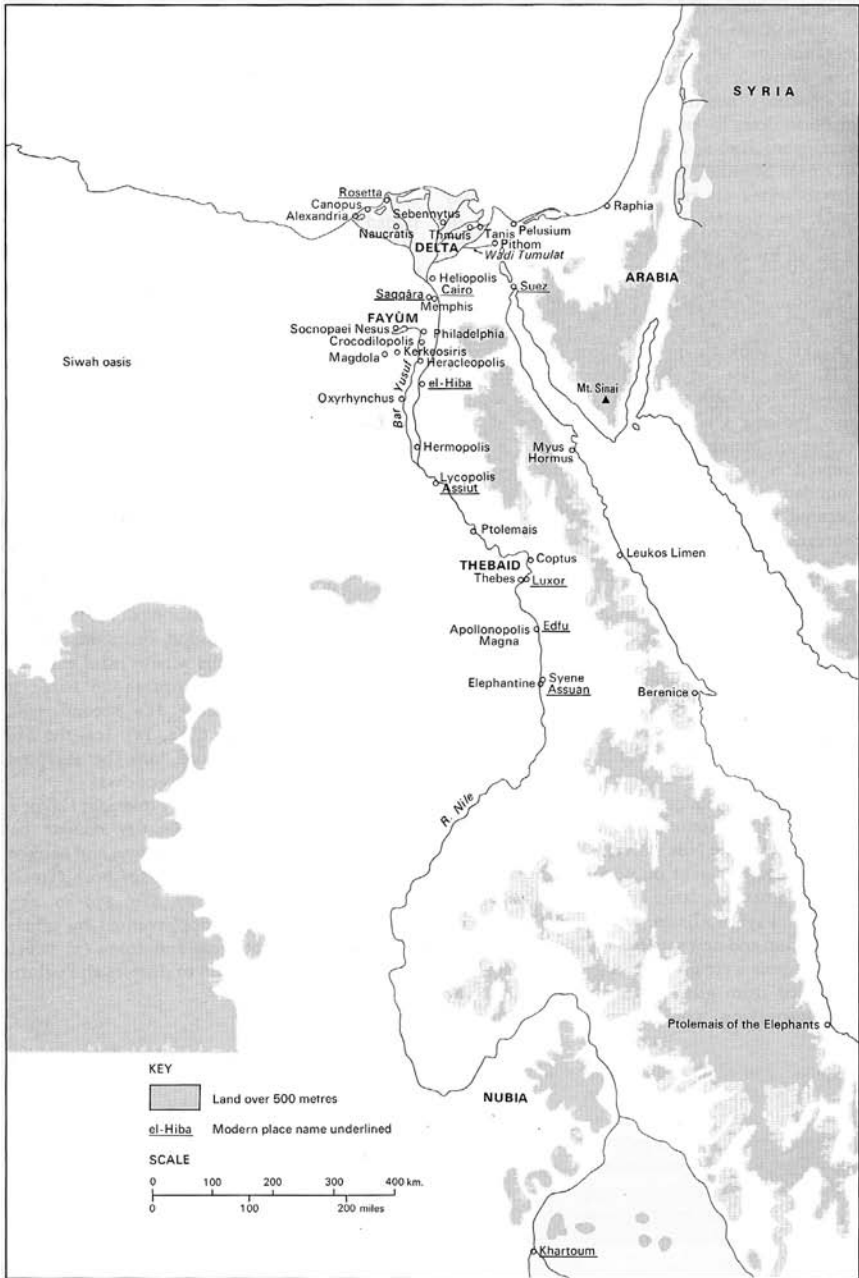
## 7 The Ptolemies and Egypt

While sharing features common to all the monarchies of the age, the Ptolemaic dynasty was peculiar in several respects because of its location in Egypt and its position in the world of the time. The monarchy was double-faced and thus ambiguous in character; the rulers were successors to the Pharaohs in Egypt, but at the same time Greek-style kings in a wider international context. The availability of a wealth of evidence from Egypt, especially papyri, which supplements Greek literary and epigraphic sources, means also that Ptolemaic history is more fully documented than that of its rivals.

Based in an ancient land with a strong identity, the Ptolemies could not avoid adapting to Egyptian traditions of monarchy and conciliating the powerful native priesthood (271, 276, 283). The occasional incidence of brother-sister marriage in the dynasty may have reflected Egyptian influence (254 n. 2). The foundation of Ptolemaic prosperity was the agricultural wealth of the sheltered Nile valley (cf. esp. 255 and n. 2, 296–7, 319) and the labour of the large Egyptian population (302, 313, 319, 324–5).

Yet in parallel with this the Ptolemies were seen as members of the international ‘royal club’, active in the wider Greek world (255 n. 4), anxious to patronise Greek culture (255, 292) and promote themselves to Greek audiences (256, 258), and involved in a protracted rivalry with the Antigonids in Macedon (61) and the Seleucids in Asia (for the so-called ‘Syrian Wars’ cf. successively 163, 173, 266, 275, 193, 211). ‘The kings of Egypt liked to be called Macedonians, as in fact they were,’ notes Pausanias (X.7.8, cf. VI.3.1). The dynasty closely identified with Alexander (271 nn. 1 and 3), and intermarried not with Egyptians but with dynasties outside Egypt (173, 196, 211, 219). Manpower was imported to Egypt particularly from the Greek world (though cf. also 261), to settle in the two new cities Alexandria and Ptolemais (292–3) and in the countryside of Egypt (294, 298), notably as military colonists (311, 314, 318). But no attempt was made to ‘hellenise’ the country as a whole, and Alexandria the new foundation, not Egyptian Memphis, was the royal capital (292). Thanks mainly to papyri the Ptolemaic running of Egypt, which combined imported Greek and traditional Egyptian methods, is documented in considerable though fragmentary detail. Taxation and revenues, a veritable obsession of the monarchy, figure prominently





5. Egypt, from the Plate volume to *CAH* VII.1<sup>2</sup> (1984), p. 4

(cf. **270**, **278**, **280** outside Egypt, and for Egypt esp. **290**, **296–7**, **319**), administered by a pervasive bureaucracy steeped in paperwork (e.g. **299**, **309**, **319**, **325** and much of Part II).

Ptolemaic history is conventionally divided into an early period of outward strength and prosperity, followed by a longer period of ‘decline’: the division, though not wholly false, is based initially on Polybius, for whom the reign of Ptolemy IV marked a turning point (**274**, **277**). Of the early rulers Ptolemy II Philadelphus is much the most conspicuous in the record (**254–5**), together with his sister-wife Arsinoe (**254** n. 1); it is also during the reign of this ruler that papyri begin to survive in large numbers. After Ptolemy IV the monarchy lost its prominent position on the international scene, weakened by court intrigues (**282**) and dynastic struggles (**286**, **288**, **290–1**); it was challenged in various ways by Egyptians (**277**, **283–4**), though not overthrown by them (**236**). The Romans, who had a long-standing association with the Ptolemaic dynasty, saved it from Seleucid intervention in 168 (**211**) and in 155 were made heirs to Ptolemy VIII’s kingdom (**289**). In the event the Ptolemaic dynasty outlasted all its rivals and was the last to be absorbed into the Roman empire (**291**).

This chapter is divided for convenience into two parts, each arranged chronologically. The first deals with the history of the dynasty as a whole inside and outside Egypt (**254–91**) and the second with aspects of the Ptolemaic running of Egypt (**292–326**). It goes without saying that the division is somewhat arbitrary and that a number of texts could be placed in either category; it is unrealistic to draw clear distinctions between ‘external’ and ‘internal’ history.

## 1 THE PTOLEMIES IN EGYPT AND THE WIDER WORLD

### 254 Ptolemy II Philadelphus

The following passage is one of several historical digressions inserted by Pausanias in connection with Athenian monuments described by him in his guide-book on Greece (cf. also **28**, **100**). The individuals singled out for treatment usually had some special connection with Athens, reflected in monuments built by them or in their honour: Attalus I (I.8.1), Lysimachus (**56**), Pyrrhus (I.11–13), Seleucus I (I.16), and especially several Ptolemaic rulers (I.6–7, 9.1–3). Pausanias comments: ‘The Egyptian rulers (i.e. the Ptolemies) received their honours (from the Athenians) through sincere respect and because they were genuine benefactors, while Philip and Alexander received theirs through flattery on the part of the people, since they dedicated a statue for Lysimachus not so much out of goodwill as because they thought this would serve an immediate purpose’ (I.9.4). The outline below of the reign of Ptolemy II omits

much. For other aspects of this many-sided ruler cf. **255**, **258**, **261–3** with E. G. Turner in *CAH* VII.1<sup>2</sup> (1984), 136–41; for the administration of Egypt cf. **296–7**. On the Ptolemies and Athens cf. **55**, **61–2** and C. Habicht, *Classical Antiquity* 11 (1992), 68–90; Habicht (1997), 182–4, 220–2. On the value and limitations of Pausanias as a historical source cf. Habicht (1985), 95–116.

This Ptolemy (Ptolemy II Philadelphus) was in love with Arsinoe,<sup>1</sup> his sister from both parents, and married her, thus acting in violation of Macedonian customs but in conformity with the customs of the Egyptians he ruled.<sup>2</sup> Secondly he executed his brother Argaeus who was plotting against him, as the story goes,<sup>3</sup> and it was he who brought down the corpse of Alexander from Memphis;<sup>4</sup> he also killed another brother, who was born from Eurydice, on discovering that he was inciting the Cypriots to revolt.<sup>5</sup> Then Magas, half-brother of Ptolemy, who had been placed in charge of Cyrene by his mother Berenice – he had been borne to Berenice from Philip, a Macedonian but one of no repute and from the common people – Magas caused the people of Cyrene to revolt from Ptolemy and marched against Egypt.<sup>6</sup> (2) Ptolemy fortified the approaches to Egypt and faced the Cyrenean attack, but while Magas was on his way he was informed of a revolt by the Marmaridae, a tribe of Libyan nomads. He then retreated to Cyrene. Ptolemy determined to follow him in pursuit, but was held back for the following reason. At the time he was preparing to resist the attack of Magas he enlisted a number of mercenaries, including some four thousand Gauls.<sup>7</sup> He discovered that they were plotting to seize control of Egypt, and so took them through the river to a deserted island, where they perished, either through internecine fighting or through hunger. (3) Magas was already married to Apama, daughter of Antiochus (I) the son of Seleucus (I); he persuaded Antiochus to break the treaty<sup>8</sup> concluded between his father Seleucus and Ptolemy (I) and to invade Egypt. As Antiochus was setting out on his invasion, Ptolemy sent forces against all Antiochus' subjects, partly freebooters to overrun the land where resistance was weak, and partly armies to keep the stronger in check; the result was that Antiochus never even had a chance to march against Egypt. This Ptolemy, as I have said before, sent a fleet to assist the Athenians against Antigonus (Gonatas) and the Macedonians, though this did very little to save the Athenians.<sup>9</sup> His children were not from Arsinoe (II) his sister, but from Arsinoe (I) the daughter of Lysimachus. It so happened that his sister who had married him had died before this without leaving any children, and there is a district in Egypt called the Arsinoite nome after her.<sup>10</sup>

Pausanias I.7

1. Arsinoe II Philadelphus (c.316–270), the most conspicuous of all Ptolemaic queens, receives frequent mention in many different contexts; cf. **61** n. 4, **255**, **271** and n. 2, **272**, **295–6**, **311** n. 4 and the studies collected in Melaerts (1998). On the disputed question of her real influence cf. S. Burstein in Adams and Borza (1982), 197–212; Hazzard (2000), 81–100, and 101–59 on the role of queens in Ptolemaic history. Cf. Plate 4.26 and 27.
2. Ptolemy II was first married (c.285–3) to Arsinoe I, daughter of Lysimachus, from whom he had several children, including Ptolemy III. He then married his full sister Arsinoe II (c.276), though did not have children by her. Arsinoe II had already been married to her half-brother Ptolemy Ceraunus (**159** §8), which may have provided a precedent for Ptolemy II, if any was needed. Both Memnon and Pausanias emphasise the influence of Egyptian practice; cf. Fraser I (1972), 117f., 217; Ogden (1999), 73–80.
3. The multiple marriages and children of Ptolemy I were an inevitable source of dynastic conflict, notably (1) the marriage to Eurydice, daughter of Antipater, in 322/1, from whom were born among others Ptolemy Ceraunus, subsequently dispossessed in favour of Ptolemy II (**57** ch. 62, **159** §8), perhaps Argaeus, as well as the anonymous son mentioned below; and (2) the later marriage to Berenice, a relative of Antipater, from whom were born Arsinoe II Philadelphus, Ptolemy II Philadelphus and another daughter Philotera (cf. **273** n. 2, **293** n. 3). Berenice herself had already children from a previous marriage, as mentioned below in the case of Magas. See Ogden (1999), 68–73.
4. Cf. **292** §8.
5. There is no further information on this; on Cyprus and the Ptolemies cf. **285**.
6. On Cyrene and the Ptolemies, cf. **29**. Pausanias is the only source to provide any detail about this revolt; cf. H. Heinen, *CAH* VII.1<sup>2</sup> (1984), 416.
7. On the use of Gallic (Celtic) mercenaries, cf. **159** n. 19.
8. If there was a ‘treaty’ between Seleucus I and Ptolemy I, its terms were a matter of dispute between the two dynasties later; cf. **183** and M. M. Austin, *CQ* 36 (1986), 461. On the ‘First Syrian War’ cf. also **163**; Huss (2001), 265–71.
9. On the Chremonidean War, cf. **61–2**.
10. The Fayum, a depression to the south-west of Memphis, and an area of intensive land reclamation and settlement under the Ptolemies, where numerous papyri have been found. Cf. map 7 and **298**, **302–3**, **306–7**, **309**, **314**, **318**, **325**; D. J. Thompson in Bowman and Rogan (1999), 107–22 and 123–38; Manning (2003), 38f., 99–125.

## 255 A poem in praise of Ptolemy II Philadelphus (late 270s)

The Syracusan poet Theocritus was active at the Alexandrian court under the reign of Ptolemy II. The following is an example of official poetry composed under royal patronage for the glorification of the rulers and the propagation of their self-image. See Fraser I (1972), 666f. and II, 933f. (n. 388); Griffiths (1979), esp. 71–82; Hunter (2003). On the ambivalent relationship between men of letters and kings see generally G. Weber, *Ancient Society* 29 (1998–9), 147–74; cf. **12**, **322**.

[. . .] Zeus son of Cronus cares for august kings,<sup>1</sup> but pre-eminent is the one whom Zeus has loved from the moment of his birth. Prosperity attends him in abundance, and vast is the territory he rules, and vast the sea.

Countless countries, and countless nations, helped by the rain of Zeus, cause their crops to grow, but none is as productive as the lowlands of Egypt when the Nile in flood waters and breaks up the soil,<sup>2</sup> nor does any have as many towns of men skilled in work. Three hundred cities are built there, then three thousand in addition to thirty thousand, and twice three and three times nine besides;<sup>3</sup> over all these mighty Ptolemy rules as king. In addition he cuts off for himself a part of Phoenicia, Arabia, Syria, Libya and of the dark-skinned Ethiopians. He gives orders to all the Pamphylians, to the Cilician spearmen, to the Lycians and to the warlike Carians, and to the islands of the Cyclades, since his are the finest ships that sail the seas.<sup>4</sup> All the sea and land and the roaring rivers are ruled by Ptolemy, and about him gather a host of horsemen and a host of shielded warriors, equipped with glittering bronze.<sup>5</sup>

In wealth he could outweigh all the kings, so great are the riches that come daily from everywhere to his opulent home;<sup>6</sup> his people go about their occupations in security.<sup>7</sup> No enemy by land has crossed the teeming Nile to raise the battle cry in villages that do not belong to him, nor has he leaped in arms on to the shore from a swift ship with hostile intent to seize the herds of Egypt. So great is the man who reigns over the broad plains, fair-haired Ptolemy, a skilled spearman, who as a good king cares deeply for the preservation of his fatherly inheritance,<sup>8</sup> and adds to it himself. And yet in his wealthy house the gold does not lie useless in piles like the wealth of the ever-toiling ants. Much of it is received by the glorious homes of the gods,<sup>9</sup> where he always offers first fruits together with other offerings, and many are the gifts he has made to mighty kings, many to cities, and many to his trusted companions.<sup>10</sup> Nor has any man come to the sacred competitions of Dionysus,<sup>11</sup> skilled in raising a harmonious song, to whom he has not presented a gift worthy of his art. And so the spokesmen of the Muses (i.e. poets) celebrate Ptolemy in return for his benefactions. For a man blessed with wealth what more beautiful goal could there be than to win a good reputation among men? [. . .] Alone of men of former times and of those whose footsteps are still warm in the dust they trod, he has founded temples fragrant (with incense) to his dear mother and to his father;<sup>12</sup> in these temples he has set up beautiful statues (of them) in gold and ivory, as helpers<sup>13</sup> to all men living on earth. And as the months come round he burns on the reddened altars many fat thighs of oxen, he and his noble wife, the best of women, who holds in her embrace her husband in their palace, cherishing with all her heart her brother<sup>14</sup> and husband. [. . .]

1. Cf. also **294** n. 3.
2. Egypt, in the well-known formulation, was the 'gift of the Nile' (Herodotus II.5); references to the life-giving flood and the need to control irrigation are naturally frequent. Cf. **258**, **271** ll. 13–15, **283** ll. 24f., **292** §7, **304**, **313**, **319** ll. 169–73, **324** n. 4, **326**; see generally Bowman and Rogan (1999); Manning (2003), 27–30, 183f. and in *Annales* 57 (2002), 611–23.
3. i.e. 33,333 (villages rather than 'cities'), but such statements are unreliable. Cf. also Diodorus I.31.7–8: 'In ancient times (Egypt) had more than 18,000 large villages and cities, as one may see from entries in their sacred records, while under Ptolemy son of Lagus they numbered more than 3,000 [ . . . ] It is said that in former times the total population was about seven million while even in our time it is not less than three million.' On the population of Egypt cf. D. Rathbone, *PCPS* 36 (1990), 103–42; Manning (2003), 47–9.
4. On the 'empire' of the Ptolemies outside Egypt cf. generally **256**, **268**, **274**, **278**, **291** and for particular areas cf. **29** (Cyrene), **285** (Cyprus), **257**, **269**, **287** (Aegean islands), **259** (Miletus), **260** (Syria and Phoenicia), **262** (Red Sea), **265** (Crete), **267** (Caria), **269** (Thrace), **270** (Lycia), **272** (Cilicia). Theocritus' list is not strictly complete or accurate. On the Ptolemaic navy cf. **258**, **312** n. 1.
5. On the military character of the Ptolemies cf. also **258**, **266**, **268**, **274**, **276**.
6. On the wealth of the Ptolemies cf. also **258**, **292**; generally Rostovtzeff I (1941), 407–11. Ptolemaic coins often display a cornucopia as symbol of abundance, cf. Plate 4.26, 28–30.
7. Cf. **258** (last §), **274**.
8. On this notion cf. also **162** (beginning), **195** n. 2, **221**, **268**, **274**.
9. Cf. **209** n. 5, **256** ll. 22f., and for the Ptolemies' relations with native Egyptian cults cf. **271**, **276**, **283**, **290**, **296**.
10. On royal munificence cf. **111** and n. 14, and on the king's 'friends' cf. **31** n. 3, **275** n. 2.
11. i.e. dramatic festivals. The Ptolemies claimed descent from Dionysus, cf. **258**, **268**, and generally Fraser I (1972), 201–7. For the Ptolemies as patrons of the arts cf. also **292** §8.
12. Antiochus I did deify his father Seleucus, cf. **200**, but Ptolemy II went further and deified his sister-wife Arsinoe and himself. For the dynastic cults of the Ptolemies cf. **256**, **258**, **268**, **271** and n. 3, **283**, **290** l. 78, **296**, and see generally Fraser I (1972), 213–46; Hölbl (2001), 90–105; L. Koenen in Bulloch et al. (1993), 25–115, with F. W. Walbank *ibid.*, 120–4; Melaerts (1998).
13. Ptolemy I and Berenice were deified as *Theoi Soteres*, i.e. 'Saviour Gods'.
14. Literal: cf. **254** and n. 2.

## 256 Decree of the League of Islanders on the acceptance of the *Ptolemaieia* (c.280)

The 'League of Islanders', which included the smaller islands of the central Aegean (cf. **1**, **257**) was founded by Antigonos the One-Eyed in 315/14 as part of his attempt to enlist the support of the Greek world (**35**). It was subsequently

controlled by his son Demetrius Poliorcetes before passing into Ptolemaic hands by c.286 where it remained for some 30 years. The League is not mentioned in extant literary sources and the evidence for it is purely epigraphic. Like other Leagues founded under royal patronage (cf. 50), it was used as an instrument of royal control. See I. L. Merker, *Historia* 19 (1970), 141–60; Fraser I (1972), 224, 231f.; Bagnall (1976), 136–58; T. L. Shear, *Hesperia* Supplement 17 (1978), 30–44. For a lower dating of this inscription (263) cf. Hazzard (2000), 47–58 and 168–75.

[Resolved] by the delegates (*synedroi*) of the Islanders; concerning the matters about which [Philocles] king of the Sidonians<sup>1</sup> and Bacchon the [nesiarch<sup>2</sup> wrote] to the cities, that they should send delegates to Samos<sup>3</sup> to / discuss the 5 (question of the) sacrifice, the sacred envoys (*theoroi*) and the contest which King Ptolemy (II) is instituting in honour of his father in Alexandria,<sup>4</sup> to be equal in rank with the Olympic Games [and (concerning which)] Philocles and Bacchon have [now conversed] with the [delegates] who have arrived from the cities, be it / resolved by the common body (*koinon*) of the delegates, 10 since King Ptolemy (I) Soter (the Saviour) has been responsible for many great blessings to the Islanders and the other Greeks, having liberated the cities,<sup>5</sup> restored their laws, / re-established to all their ancestral constitution 15 and remitted<sup>6</sup> their taxes, and (since) now King Ptolemy (II), having inherited the kingdom from his father, continues to show the same goodwill and concern for the Islanders and / the other Greeks, and is offering a sacrifice in honour 20 of his father and instituting a gymnastic, musical and equestrian contest to be equal in rank with the Olympic Games, preserving his [piety] towards the gods<sup>7</sup> and maintaining his goodwill towards his [ancestors], and (since) for this purpose he is inviting / [the] Islanders and the other Greeks to [vote] that 25 the contest should be equal in rank with the Olympic Games, and (since) it is fitting that all the Islanders, who were the [first] to have honoured Ptolemy Soter with godlike honours<sup>8</sup> [both because] of his [public benefactions] and because of his [services] to individuals, / should collaborate [in other matters 30 with King] Ptolemy (II) at his invitation and should now [vote with all] zeal in accordance with [his wish . . . to grant] worthy honours / [. . . of] their goodwill, 35 [to accept] the sacrifice and [to send] the sacred envoys at the [appropriate season for] all time to come, as instructed by the king; [and] that the contest should be equal in rank with the Olympic Games, and that the victors / [from 40 the Islanders] should enjoy the same honours which are [written down in] the laws among each of the Islanders for the victors at the Olympic Games; and to crown king Ptolemy son of King Ptolemy Soter with a [golden] crown for merit / [worth] a thousand staters, for his excellence and his goodwill 45 towards the Islanders, and that the delegates should inscribe this decree on a

stone stele and [set it up at] Delos next to the altar of [Ptolemy] Soter. [In] the same way let the cities participating in the council (*synedrion*) pass this / resolution, inscribe it on stone stelae and consecrate it in the sanctuaries in which the other honours are inscribed in each city. The delegates shall appoint three sacred envoys to go / to Alexandria, sacrifice to Ptolemy Soter on behalf of the League (*koinon*) of Islanders and hand over [the] crown to the king. The money for the crown, for the journey and expenses of the sacred envoys shall be contributed by the cities, each / [according to] its share, and they shall give it to the person [designated by Bacchon]. Glaucou of [Cythnus, . . . of] Naxos, Cleocritus of Andros were appointed sacred envoys.

*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 390; Burstein 92

1. A hellenised ruler of Sidon, allied to the Ptolemies and admiral of their fleet; cf. **155**, BD 73 and Merker, *op. cit.*, 143–50; Bagnall (1976), index s.v. Philokles; M. Wörrle, *Chiron* 8 (1978), 225–30.
2. On Bacchon cf. **257** and Merker, *op. cit.*, 150–2; Bagnall (1976), index s.v. Bacchon; K. J. Rigsby, *AJP* 101 (1980), 194–6. The ‘nesiarch’ was (probably) a royal appointee who acted as the king’s delegate towards the islanders; it is not clear that he was subordinate to Philocles the admiral.
3. The council of the League usually met on Delos; it is not clear whether Samos, a naval base of the Ptolemies, formally belonged to the League (Bagnall (1976), 80 and n. 2). Cf. **132**, **145**.
4. i. e. the quinquennial *Ptolemaieia*, cf. **55**, **132**, **141**, **255** nn. 12 and 13, **258**, **294** n. 5. The attempt to raise the status of the *Ptolemaieia* to equal that of the Olympic Games and to involve the Greek world in its celebration was far more ambitious than anything practised by the other Hellenistic monarchies.
5. A reference to Ptolemy I’s campaigns in Greece and the Aegean in 310–308 when he posed as ‘champion of the Greeks’ (**35** and n. 9).
6. The Greek word could mean either ‘lighten’ or ‘remove’, cf. Merker, *op. cit.*, 151 n. 46.
7. Cf. **255** n. 9.
8. Presumably therefore earlier than Rhodes (cf. **47(b)**); cf. too **265** and see generally **39**.

## 257 Decree of Naxos in honour of the Ptolemaic ‘nesiarch’ and the island of Cos (c.280)

See Bagnall (1976), index s.v. *dikastes*, esp. 232; Sherwin-White (1978), 90–108 on Cos and Ptolemy II Philadelphus.

[Since Bacchon son of Nicetas, the ‘nesiarch’,<sup>1</sup> came to the city of Cos<sup>2</sup> in accordance with the instructions of King] Ptolemy (II) and [the League of



Islanders, and asked for] judges and [arbitrators to] decide on the contracts which were [disputed],<sup>3</sup> and the city of / [Cos] sent excellent men, [who 5 came] to us and concerning the disputes arising [from the contracts] and the other [matters entrusted] to them by the city, reconciled [advantageously the] 10 majority of the disputants by [inviting] / them many times before them, while they gave a verdict for the others with all [justice], and as they had spent [much] time [on] the lawsuits and the [judges] wished [to go back] to their homes, [our] people / [invited] them together with Bacchon [the nesiarch] to 15 stay [in the city *or*: with us] and to [assist] the Naxians by carrying out [to the end] the [other matters entrusted to them], and they being desirous [of doing us a favour in these matters] as well / showed [every zeal for our people 20 in order to carry out everything] in a way worthy [of both our cities and of the mission entrusted to them . . . ]<sup>4</sup>

Holleaux, *Etudes* III (1942), 27–37 fragment A; *OGIS* 43

1. The restoration is virtually certain; on Bacchon and the League of Islanders cf. **256**.
2. On Cos and the Ptolemies cf. also **153**; Ptolemy II was born there, cf. **1** §19.
3. On this institution cf. **155**.
4. Fragment B (from the same decree?) records honours voted to the judges from Cos.

## 258 The great procession at Alexandria (279/8?)

The following passage, reproduced by Athenaeus from a work by Callixinus of Rhodes entitled *On Alexandria* (*FGrH* 627; cf. Fraser I (1972), 513 and II, 738f. n. 152), describes a procession held in Alexandria which may have been part of a celebration of the *Ptolemaieia* (**256**) in the 270s, and perhaps the first one in 279/8, though both identification and date have been disputed. Like the procession staged by Antiochus IV at Daphne over a century later (**213**), the celebration was an assertion of Ptolemaic power and wealth, and was aimed in the first instance at the Greek world. See Fraser (1972), index s.v. Ptolemy Philadelphus, ‘Pompe’ (vol. III, p. 65); Rice (1983) with F. W. Walbank, *LCM* 9 (1984), 52–4 and Walbank (2002), 79–90, esp. 81–5; D. J. Thompson in Mooren (2000), 365–88; Hazzard (2000), 59–79 (dates the procession to 262); S. von Reden in Meadows and Shipton (2001), 66–70.

After speaking of very many other things and enumerating herds of animals, he (Callixinus of Rhodes) adds: 130 Ethiopian sheep, 300 Arabian, 20 Euboean; 26 Indian oxen, all white, eight Ethiopian, one large white she-bear, 14 leopards, 16 panthers, four lynxes, three young panthers, one giraffe, one Ethiopian rhinoceros.<sup>1</sup> Next, on a four-wheeled carriage Dionysus<sup>2</sup> at the altar of Rhea, having taken refuge when pursued by Hera, with a golden crown, and Priapus

standing next to him wearing a golden ivy crown. (Then) statues of Alexander<sup>3</sup> and Ptolemy, wearing ivy crowns made of gold. The statue of Virtue standing next to Ptolemy, had an olive crown made of gold. Priapus stood next to them with a golden ivy crown. The city of Corinth,<sup>4</sup> standing next to Ptolemy, was crowned with a golden diadem. Beside all these were placed a stand for drinking vessels full of golden cups and a golden mixing bowl with a capacity of five measures. This four-wheeled carriage was followed by women wearing expensive clothes and ornaments; they were given the names of cities, some from Ionia and the rest the Greek cities which were established in Asia and the islands and had been under Persian rule; they all wore golden crowns. On other four-wheeled carts were carried a (Bacchic) thyrsus of gold, 90 cubits long (= 135 ft) and a silver lance 60 cubits long (= 90 ft), and on another one a golden phallus 120 cubits long (= 180 ft), painted over and bound with golden fillets, with a gold star at its extremity, the circumference of which was six cubits (= 9 ft).

Though the things that have been mentioned in these processions were many and varied, we have selected only those which contained gold and silver. For there were many objects displayed worth mentioning, a multitude of wild animals and horses, and 24 huge lions. And there were other four-wheeled carts carrying not only statues of kings but many of gods as well. [. . .] (202f) After these marched the cavalry and infantry, all of them equipped in wonderful fashion.<sup>5</sup> The infantry numbered about 57,600, and the cavalry 23,200. All of these took part in the procession wearing each their appropriate uniform and the panoply suitable to each.' But apart from the panoplies these troops were all wearing, there were very many others stored away. Merely to set down the number of them is not easy; but Callixinus gave a list. 'In the contest men were honoured with gold crowns and even with statues. Ptolemy (I) was the first, then Berenice, and they were honoured with three statues in golden chariots and with sacred precincts at Dodona. The total expense in <Rhodian> currency amounted to 2,239 talents and 50 minas, and all this money was counted to the officials in charge before the end of the spectacle thanks to the enthusiasm of those who awarded the crowns. Ptolemy (II) Philadelphus their son (was honoured with) two golden statues in chariots of gold, mounted on columns one of six cubits (= 9 ft), five of five cubits (= 7½ ft) and six of four cubits (= 6 ft).'

What monarchy [. . .] has ever been so rich in gold?<sup>6</sup> Certainly not any that seized the wealth of the Persians and of Babylon, or worked mines, or owned the Pactolus (in Lydia) which carries down gold dust. It is only the Nile, a river truly called 'streaming with gold', which with its unlimited provision of food carries down pure gold which is harvested without danger,<sup>7</sup> so that all men have sufficient supplies, (gold) that in the manner of Triptolemus is sent

forth to every land. [. . .] Philadelphus surpassed many kings in wealth, and applied himself enthusiastically to all kinds of equipment, so that he surpassed all in the number of ships as well. The largest ships he had were two ‘thirties’, one ‘twenty’, four ‘thirteens’, two ‘twelves’, fourteen ‘elevens’, thirty ‘nines’, thirty-seven ‘sevens’, five ‘sixes’, and seventeen ‘fives’.<sup>8</sup> He had twice as many ships ranging from ‘fours’ to war galleys (?). The ships sent to the islands and to the other cities he ruled<sup>9</sup> and to Libya numbered more than 4,000. Need I even mention the number of volumes, the building of libraries and the gathering at the Museum,<sup>10</sup> when these things are in everyone’s memory?

Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* V. 201b–f, 202f–203e  
(= Callixinus of Rhodes *FGrH* 627 F 2)

1. For Ptolemy II’s interest in animals cf. **263**, **281**.
2. Cf. **255** n. 11.
3. On the Ptolemies’ exploitation of the fame of Alexander cf. **271** n. 1.
4. i.e. a personification, symbolising perhaps the Greek mainland.
5. Cf. **255** and n. 5.
6. Cf. **255** and n. 6. On the Ptolemies’ gold mines cf. **264**.
7. Cf. **255**, nn. 2 and 7.
8. The exact types of ships involved are uncertain. They probably had several rowers per oar (up to 8?), and in some cases superimposed banks of oars (up to 3), and the very largest ships (the ‘thirty’ and the ‘twenty’) may have been double-hulled. Ptolemy II’s fleet represented the culmination of the naval ‘arms race’ which flourished in the early Hellenistic period. See Casson (1971), 97–123, 137–40; Meiggs (1983), 136–9.
9. Cf. **255** n. 4.
10. Cf. **261**, **292** §8.

## 259 Letter of Ptolemy II to Miletus (c.262/1)

See **175** and Bagnall (1976), 173–5; Ma (1999), 41f.

King Ptolemy (II) to the council and people of Miletus, greetings. I have previously showed all zeal on behalf of your city, both through a gift of land<sup>1</sup> and by showing concern in all other matters, as was fitting since I saw that our father was favourably disposed to your city / and had been the cause of many benefits to you, as he had released you from harsh and burdensome taxes and from harbour duties which some of the kings had imposed.<sup>2</sup> And now, as you have preserved dutifully your city and your friendship and alliance with us<sup>3</sup> – for my son and Callicrates<sup>4</sup> and my other ‘friends’ who are with you<sup>5</sup> have written about the display / you have made of your goodwill towards us – we acknowledge this and give you unstinted praise, and we shall try to repay the people with benefactions, and we urge you to preserve for the future the same

15 favourable attitude to us, so that we may show even greater care for your city in the light of your good dispositions. We have given instructions more fully to Hegestratus / to discuss these matters with you and to convey to you our greetings. Farewell.<sup>6</sup>

RC 14; Burstein 95; BD 21

1. In 279/8 (Burstein 25); no details are known.
2. It is not clear to what date in Ptolemy's reign these benefactions belong. 'Some of the kings' probably refers, with studied vagueness (cf. 151 n. 7), to Lysimachus (cf. Lund (1992), 128; BD 14).
3. Miletus at the time was under attack by the Seleucids and Ptolemaic control was waning; cf. 175 n. 1.
4. Callicrates of Samos, admiral of Ptolemy II; see Hauben (1970); P. Bing, *GRBS* 43 (2002/3), 243–66; see also 295 n. 3.
5. Cf. 31 n. 3, 275 n. 2; note the influence of the king's 'friends' who are present on the spot.
6. There follows a decree of Miletus in praise of Ptolemy II and his son, the citizens and ephebes all taking an oath of loyalty to him (BD 21 B and C).

## 260 Two ordinances of Ptolemy II on the registration of livestock and of natives in Syria and Phoenicia (April 260)

The census of people and survey of land and resources were fundamental institutions of Ptolemaic Egypt; they followed pharaonic precedents but were adapted to serve as a basis for taxation (cf. 296–7, 319, 325; Burstein 97 with Manning (2003), 146–56; D. J. Thompson in Cartledge et al. (1997), 242–57; Clarysse and Thompson (2005)). Here the practice was extended to Syria and Phoenicia, which were under Ptolemaic control until taken over by Antiochus III (193). The context is that of the 'Second Syrian War' (cf. 173; J. T. Winnicki, *JJP* 21 (1991), 87–104). On the Ptolemies and Syria see also 1 §12, 57 ch. 52, 183, 255, 268, 273–5, 280, 307. See Rostovtzeff I (1941), 340–51; Bagnall (1976), 11–24; S. Schwartz, *Journal of Jewish Studies* 45 (1994), 157–68.

(a) . . . (the owners of flocks shall declare) to the [*oikonomos*<sup>1</sup> sent out] to each hyparchy,<sup>2</sup> within a period of 60 days from the date of publication of the [ordinance], the [livestock] which is subject to taxation and that which is  
5 exempt . . . get a receipt.<sup>3</sup> If / anyone [does not act in accordance] with these instructions, their livestock [shall be confiscated and] they shall be [liable] to the [fines] fixed in the ordinance. [As regards] the livestock which has not been registered prior [to the] publication [of the ordinance, they shall be exempted] for the previous years [of the] pasture tax (*ennomion*), the

[crown]<sup>4</sup> / and the [other fines], [but] from [the 25th (year) they shall] pay the taxes village [by village] . . . All those who . . . [make their] declaration [under] other names, the [king] shall decide [on their] case [and their] / belongings shall be confiscated. [Similarly . . .] . . . [Those] who have bought the tax contracts for the [villages],<sup>5</sup> and the village chiefs (*komarchai*) shall also declare within [the] same period [the] livestock which [is in] their villages, whether subject to taxation / or exempt, the names of their owners, their fathers' names, their place of origin and the names of those who tend the cattle, and similarly all (the livestock) they know has not been registered up to the month of Dystrus in the 25th year; the declaration is to be made under oath in the king's name. Henceforth (the tax-payers) shall make their declaration every year at the same time, and they shall pay the taxes as / is laid down in the king's letter, during the appropriate months in accordance with the ordinance. Anyone who does not carry out any of the above-mentioned prescriptions shall be liable to the same fines as those who declare [their] livestock under the names of others. Anyone who wishes may give information (against culprits), in which case he shall receive, from the fines collected in accordance / with the ordinance, the amount prescribed in this ordinance, and one third of the property confiscated for the crown.

*C. Ord. Ptol. 21; BD 64*

(b) By order of the king. All those in Syria and [Phoenicia] who have purchased a free native or [have] seized [and] detained him or [acquired him] in another way<sup>6</sup> . . . / (shall declare him) to [the *oikonomos*] set up [in each] hyparchy within twenty days of the date of publication of the ordinance. If anyone does not declare (him) or does not produce (him), the slave shall be confiscated from him and he shall further be fined 6,000 drachmas<sup>7</sup> for each slave, to be paid into the royal exchequer / and the king shall give a verdict on his case. Any informer shall be given . . . (drachmas) for each slave. All those who demonstrate that the slaves they have declared and produced were already slaves when they (purchased them), shall have these returned to them. As to the / slaves sold [in] the royal public auctions, should any of them claim to be free, their [possession] shall be guaranteed to the purchasers. All the soldiers and other settlers<sup>8</sup> in Syria and Phoenicia who live with native women / [whom] they have taken need not declare them. And in future no one shall be allowed to purchase or to accept as security free natives under any pretext, except for those handed over by the manager of the revenues in Syria and Phoenicia for execution (of a debt), / against whom execution may be carried out even on their person, as is laid down in the law on tax farming.<sup>9</sup> Otherwise (offenders) shall be liable to the same fines (sc. as those mentioned above), and similarly for the sellers and those who give (sc. free natives) as securities. To

- 30 the / informers shall be given 300 drachmas for every person from the sums raised.

*C. Ord. Ptol.* 22; BD 64

1. Cf. **319**.
2. The basic administrative unit in Syria–Phoenicia.
3. On the registration of livestock in Egypt cf. **319** ll. 165–73.
4. Cf. **290** n. 15.
5. Cf. **296** n. 3.
6. Cf. **290** ll. 221–30 (in Egypt); de Ste Croix (1981), 152f.
7. = 1 talent.
8. Soldiers on active duty and military settlers (cf. **314**).
9. i.e. only royal officials may ‘enslave’ natives in execution of crown debts; the prohibition against the enslavement of natives implies that the practice did take place.

## 261 The Ptolemies and the Jews

Greeks and Macedonians formed the most important immigrant element in Ptolemaic Egypt, but other foreign settlers were also represented. Jews had in fact been settled in the country before Alexander. Under the Ptolemies there was a Jewish quarter in Alexandria and papyri attest the presence of Jews in the Egyptian countryside as military settlers, farmers, tax gatherers, policemen, etc. Palestine was under Ptolemaic control for over a century until taken over by the Seleucids (cf. **214–17**, **221**, **260**, **280**). The ‘Letter of Aristeas to Philocrates’ is the work of an Alexandrian Jew writing in Greek under a pseudonym in (probably) the mid second century. It includes the famous (though probably fictitious) story of the translation by royal command of the Pentateuch into Greek (the Septuagint). See Tcherikover and Fuks I (1957), 1–47; Fraser I (1972), 320–35 (on the Library at Alexandria), 697–703 (on ‘Aristeas’); Schürer III.1 (1986), 474–93 (on the Septuagint); Kasher (1985), 29–74 and in Bilde et al. (1992), 100–21.

(a) (9) When Demetrius of Phalerum<sup>1</sup> was placed in charge of the king’s Library he was provided with large sums of money to collect, if possible, all the books in the world. He purchased some and transcribed others, and brought to completion the king’s<sup>2</sup> design as far as he was able. (10) When he was asked in my presence, ‘How many thousands of books are there?’ he replied, ‘Over 200,000, Sire, and I shall endeavour in a short while to bring up the number to 500,000 with the remainder. I have been told that the laws of the Jews deserve to be transcribed and included in your Library.’<sup>3</sup> (11) ‘What then prevents you from doing this?’ the king said; ‘everything you need is at your disposal.’ Demetrius replied, ‘A translation is needed; in their country the Jews use their own script, just as the Egyptians use their arrangements of

letters, and they also have their own language. They are believed to use Syrian (= Aramaic), but this is not so, and their dialect is different.' When the king learnt of these details he said a letter would be sent to the High Priest of the Jews to bring the above-mentioned design to completion. [. . .]

(b) (35) King Ptolemy to Eleazar the High Priest, greetings and good health. Since it happens that many Jews have been settled in our country, some of whom were transplanted from Jerusalem by the Persians during their period of rule, and others came as captives to Egypt in our father's train – (36) of these he enrolled many in the army at high rates of pay, and similarly when he judged their leading men<sup>4</sup> to be reliable he founded fortresses which he gave them, in order to keep the Egyptian people in fear; and since we have taken over the kingdom, we deal with all men in a very humane way, but particularly so with your own countrymen – (37) we have given their freedom to over 100,000 prisoners of war,<sup>5</sup> paying their owners the proper value in money and putting right any harm done through the impulses of the crowd. It was our intention to perform a pious deed and to dedicate a thank-offering to the greatest god, who has kept our kingdom in peace and in the greatest renown throughout the whole inhabited world. We have enrolled in the army those in the prime of age, and those capable of being in our service and who are deserving of trust at the court we have appointed to official positions. (38) Now as we wish to show favour to them, to all the Jews in the inhabited world and to those of future generations, we have decided to have your Law translated from the Hebrew language you use into Greek, so that they too may be available in our Library together with the other royal books. (39) It would therefore be a good action on your part and one worthy of our zeal if you selected elders of distinguished life, experienced in the Law and capable of translating, six from each tribe, so that agreement may be reached among the majority, since the enquiry concerns a matter of great importance. We believe that the completion of this task will bring us great fame. (40) Concerning this matter we have sent Andreas, one of the *archisomatophylakes*,<sup>6</sup> and Aristeas, men we hold in esteem, to discuss the question with you, and to bring dedications to the Temple and 100 talents of silver for sacrifices and other expenses. You would do us a favour and do a friendly act if you wrote to us about anything you desire, and your wishes shall be fulfilled as quickly as possible. Farewell.

'Aristeas to Philocrates' (ed. M. Hadas, New York, 1951),

I.9–11; V.35–40

1. Philosopher, man of letters and politician (cf. 25), Demetrius went to the Ptolemaic court after his expulsion from Athens. He may have advised Ptolemy I on the establishment of the Library at Alexandria (292 n. 7), though he did not hold the post of Librarian.

2. Ptolemy II, but this is impossible since Ptolemy II exiled Demetrius on his accession.
3. The intention is not implausible, but there is every reason to believe that the translation was carried out by Jews for the benefit of the many Jews who had adopted Greek as their language (cf. **216–17**).
4. Or: 'the Jews already in the country'
5. The figure is inflated, but the fact may be correct.
6. Cf. **317** n. 1; the form of the title is anachronistic for the reign of Ptolemy II, cf. Mooren (1975), 27–31, 78f.

## 262 Ptolemy II and the Red Sea

Then there is an isthmus which reaches to the Red Sea near the city of Berenice;<sup>1</sup> the city has no harbour, but provides suitable landing places thanks to the favourable configuration of the isthmus. It is said that Philadelphus was the first to open up this road, which is waterless, with an army and to provide stations, as though for merchants travelling on camels,<sup>2</sup> and that he did this because the Red Sea is difficult to navigate, especially for those who sail out from the innermost recess.<sup>3</sup> Experience showed how very useful this was, and nowadays<sup>4</sup> all the goods from India and Arabia, and those from Ethiopia which are carried along the Arabian Gulf, are brought to Coptus, which is the emporium for merchandise of this sort. [. . .]

Strabo XVII.1.45

1. Berenice Trogydice on the west coast of the Red Sea, connected by a desert road to Coptus in southern Egypt, and the most important of Philadelphus' foundations aimed at developing Egypt's eastern trade; cf. Préaux (1939), 353–66; Fraser I (1972), 176–9; G. Reger in Erskine (2003), 350; J. E. Gates *ibid.*, 363–7. Cf. also **263**.
2. Possibly an intrusive gloss.
3. The Gulf of Suez; Ptolemy opened the canal from the Red Sea to the Nile.
4. The use of the direct sea route from Arabia to the Indus mouth, and the consequent growth of Indian trade, did not start till the late second century with the discovery of the monsoon; cf. Fraser I (1972), 180–4; Walbank (1981), 202–4.

## 263 The animal hunts of Ptolemy II

Ptolemy II's interest in the Red Sea fulfilled a variety of purposes, economic (**262**) and military. While the Seleucids had access to elephants from India (**57** n. 8), the Ptolemies had to look to Africa for their supply; this involved a major effort, the primary credit for which seems to belong to Ptolemy II (thus L. Casson, *TAPA* 123 (1993), 247–60). The hunts continued till Ptolemy IV (**281**) and gradually moved further south, possibly because of the depletion of



herds due to the search for ivory (thus S. M. Burstein, *Topoi* 6 (1996), 799–807). On the Ptolemies' use of elephants cf. also **258**, **268**, **276**, **309** n. 4 and BD 120; Préaux (1939), 34–7; Fraser I (1972), 178f. and notes; Scullard (1974), 123–37.

The second Ptolemy, who was keenly interested in the hunting of elephants and who offered great rewards to those who performed the exploit of capturing the most valiant beasts, spent a great deal of money on this pursuit and collected a large number of war elephants, but also made known to the Greeks other animals they had never seen and which astonished them.<sup>1</sup> And so some of the hunters, seeing the generosity of the king's presents, gathered together in sufficiently large numbers and decided to risk their lives, and to capture one of the large snakes and bring it back to Alexandria to Ptolemy. It was a great and amazing undertaking, but fortune smiled on their designs and brought about a successful outcome to their venture [ . . . ] They brought the snake back to Alexandria and presented it to the king, an astonishing spectacle which those who hear about it cannot believe. By starving the snake of food they wore down the beast's strength and gradually tamed it so that it became astonishingly domesticated. Ptolemy gave the hunters the rewards they had deserved, and kept the snake which was now tamed and offered the greatest and most remarkable spectacle to the foreigners who came (by sea) to his kingdom.<sup>2</sup>

Diodorus III.36.3–5; 37.7–8

1. For Ptolemy II's interest in animals cf. also **258**; BD 65.
2. Egypt was famous for its tourist attractions; for the Ptolemaic period cf. e.g. *P. Tebt.* 33 (*Sel. Pap.* II.416; BD 69); *P. Lond.* 1973.

## 264 The gold mines in southern Egypt

See Préaux (1939), 253–61; Rostovtzeff I (1941), 381–3; Fraser I (1972), 173–6; Healy (1978), index s.v. Agatharchides.

At the extremity of Egypt and in the territory which adjoins both Arabia and Ethiopia there is a place which has many large gold mines, where gold is extracted in large quantities but with much hardship and expense. For the earth is naturally black and contains veins and seams of marble which are extremely white and surpass in brilliance everything which shines naturally, and the overseers of the mining activity produce the gold with the help of a multitude of workmen. For the kings of Egypt assemble there those condemned for criminal offences, prisoners of war and even those who have been convicted

on unjust charges and placed under custody because of their hostile attitude, and not only these individuals but sometimes all their relatives as well, and they condemn them to the gold mines. In this way they punish those found guilty and procure considerable revenues from their toil.<sup>1</sup> Those who have been condemned – they form a great multitude and are all bound in chains – labour ceaselessly by day and through the whole night, without any respite, and they are carefully cut off from any chance of escape. They are watched over by guards of barbarian soldiers who speak different languages, which makes it impossible for anyone to corrupt any of the guards by conversation or some friendly contact.<sup>2</sup>

Diodorus III.12.1–3

1. The Nubian mines had been exploited by the rulers of Egypt before the Ptolemies; though the most important gold mines available to them, they were costly to exploit, and in any case the Ptolemies had to look to foreign trade to supplement their supply of gold (cf. 299). On Nubia and the Ptolemies cf. Hölbl (2001), 55f.
2. A detailed description of the mining activity follows; the passage is derived from the second-century writer Agatharchides' lost work *On the Red Sea*.

## 265 Decree of Itanos in Crete in honour of Ptolemy III (c.246)

On Crete and the Ptolemies see Bagnall (1976), 117–23.

With good fortune. Since King Ptolemy (III), having received the city of Itanos and its citizens from his father King Ptolemy (II) and his ancestors,<sup>1</sup>  
15 continues to benefit (the citizens) well and gloriously, / and to preserve with  
goodwill their enjoyment of the same laws they had when he took them over,  
resolved by the council and the assembly: the park next to the gate shall be  
20 consecrated as a sacred enclosure<sup>2</sup> of King Ptolemy and Queen Berenice / the  
sister<sup>3</sup> and wife of King Ptolemy; the city shall offer a sacrifice every year at  
their birthday festival<sup>4</sup> in honour of King Ptolemy and Queen Berenice, and  
shall celebrate a race. The *kosmeteres* in office with Soterius shall inscribe this  
25 decree / on a stone stele and dedicate it in the sanctuary of [Athena Polias].  
The expense shall be paid [from the] revenues of the city.

*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 463; *ICret.* III, pp. 83–5 no. 4

1. It is not clear how literally this is to be taken; Ptolemaic presence at Itanos is only first attested in 266 (*OGIS* 45) under Ptolemy II during the Chremonidean war (61–2), when a garrison may have been established. There is much evidence for Ptolemaic relations with Crete, an important source of mercenaries (cf. 113 and n. 4), but it is only at Itanos at the eastern end of the island that regular Ptolemaic control is attested.

2. Itanos is unable or unwilling to pay for the construction of a temple. No specific service is mentioned to motivate the honours, which are now becoming a routine at the accession of a new king (contrast 39). On divine honours for the Ptolemies cf. 256 and n. 8.
3. Cousin.
4. Cf. 271 n. 6.

## 266 The opening stages of the Laodicean (or 'Third Syrian') War (246/5)

By the treaty which ended the 'Second Syrian War' Antiochus II repudiated his wife Laodice by whom he had two children and married Berenice, daughter of Ptolemy II Philadelphus and sister of Ptolemy III Euergetes, by whom he had a son (cf. 173). At the death of Antiochus II war over the succession broke out between the sons of the two wives (the precise circumstances and responsibilities are unclear); Berenice appealed to her brother Ptolemy III and this provided the starting point of the 'Third Syrian War' (246–241). The following is an account, preserved on papyrus, of the opening stages of the war when Ptolemy III invaded Syria, ostensibly written by the king himself (or at least in his name), as appears from internal evidence. On the war, which resulted in an increase in Ptolemaic power in Asia Minor and the Aegean, cf. also 174 (a), 182, 267–8, 270–3; Daniel XI.6–8 with F. Millar in Cartledge et al. (1997), 89–104. See H. Heinen in *CAH* VII.1<sup>2</sup> (1984), 420f.; H. Hauben, *AfP* 36 (1990), 29–37; Ogden (1999), 128–32; Hölbl (2001), 48–50; Huss (2001), 338–52.

### *Column II*<sup>1</sup>

[. . .] . . . and having sailed along the coast to Soloi in [Cilicia] they seized  
the [money] which was deposited [there] and brought it / to Seleucia.<sup>2</sup> This 5  
amounted to 1,500 (talents) [of silver which] Aribazus the [general] in Cilicia  
intended to send to Ephesus to Laodice, but the men of Soloi and <the>  
[soldiers] on the spot had agreed among themselves, and Pythagoras and  
Aristocles and their men had [vigorously] come to the rescue / and . . . and 10  
they had all shown themselves gallant men, and so these funds were seized and  
the city and its citadel came into our hands . . . Aribazus escaped and sought to  
cross the Taurus, / but some of the local people cut off his [head] and brought 15  
it to Antioch.<sup>3</sup> [As for us], after getting the [ships ready], at the beginning of  
the first watch we embarked on as many ships as the harbour at Seleucia was  
likely to admit and we sailed along the coast / to the fort called Posideum, 20  
and we dropped anchor at about the [eighth] hour of the day. From there we  
sailed at dawn and reached Seleucia. The priests, the [magistrates, the] other

25 citizens, the officers and the soldiers were all wearing crowns / and came to meet us at the harbour.<sup>4</sup>

*Column III*

... goodwill [towards us] and ... into the city ... [the] offerings [which  
5 were ready ... on the altars] they had / [set up] ... and the honours in the  
mart ... During that day ... but on the next day ... as far as is possible  
10 (?) ... in which (ships?) we received / ... [all] those [who had sailed] with  
us [and the local] satraps and [generals and the other] officers who were not  
15 [on duty ... in] the city and the [citadel] ... allowing / ... for they were  
astonishing ... [After] this [we came] to Antioch and [there] we [found] such  
preparations and ... that [we] were amazed. For outside the gate [there came  
20 to meet] us / the ... satraps and the other officers [and soldiers], the priests,  
the boards of magistrates and [all the] young men [from] the gymnasium<sup>5</sup>  
and the rest of the [crowd] ... wearing [crowns], and they brought out all the  
sacred objects to the road in front of [the gate]. Some of them greeted us with  
25 their right hand, / while others ... with applause and shouting.

*Column IV*

(12 lines missing) ... next to each house ... they (or: we?) never ceased  
15 to / ... since for us there were many who ... Nothing pleased us so much  
as the enthusiasm [they showed]. Then since ... the offerings which were  
20 ready ... and of private individuals, we poured libations, and now / that  
the sun was setting we immediately went in to see (our) sister,<sup>6</sup> and after this  
we turned to practical business. We gave audience to the officers and soldiers  
25 and the other authorities in the land, and held council on [matters of state]. /  
Furthermore, for a few days ... (the rest of the papyrus is lost)

*FGrH* 160; cf. Holleaux, *Etudes* III (1942), 281–310; Burstein 98;  
BD 27

1. Column I concerns the attack and capture of (probably) a Cilician city; the text is very mutilated.
2. Cf. **160** n. 9.
3. Cf. **160** §§4 and 5.
4. For such royal receptions cf. **42**, **232**, **276**; L. Robert *BCH* 108 (1984), 482–6; Gauthier (1985), 50.
5. Cf. **138** n. 17.
6. i.e. Berenice, yet according to Justin 27.1.7 she had been murdered by Laodice before the arrival of Ptolemy III; it may be that the official Ptolemaic account of the war deliberately suppressed the fact to preserve the propaganda justification for Ptolemy's invasion (cf. also Polyaeus VIII.50).

## 267 Letter of Tlepolemus to Kildara in Caria (246)

Discovered in 1992, the following inscription, though badly preserved and consequently unclear in detail, provides a contemporary sidelight on the opening of the ‘Third Syrian War’ or ‘Laodicean War’ (cf. **266**, **268**): it gives the first epigraphic mention of the young son of Antiochus II and Berenice in whose name Ptolemy III attacked the Seleucid empire.

(Fragment A) Tlepolemus<sup>1</sup> to the people of Kildara,<sup>2</sup> greetings. Your ambassadors Iatrocles, Ouliades, Pindarus and Ischyrius met us and delivered the [decree of the people and the] gifts, and spoke themselves [in accordance with the terms of the decree]. / We became acquainted with your friendly disposition to the interests of King Ptolemy (III) and Queen Berenice his sister and King Antiochus,<sup>3</sup> the son of King Antiochus (II) and Queen Berenice, and we met graciously your envoys. And as for all your requests . . . / . . .

(Fragment C, right column) . . . and for the sacrifices [made on behalf of King] Ptolemy (III) and his [sister Queen Berenice] and the other [gods (?) . . .] . . . / from which you bring . . . [. . . every year] . . . drachmas . . .

(Fragment D) . . . exempt for seven days . . . you perform a sacrifice as [previously . . .] . . . of which you owe repayment and . . . and for those concerning the harbour . . . / . . . and what happened under Bias . . . we will consider and take thought . . . exceedingly; realising therefore that . . . we have done for you; and for the rest . . . so long as you and each of your [fellow citizens continue to] . . . / you would therefore do [well] to maintain your favourable disposition [to King Ptolemy] (III) and [his] sister [Queen] Berenice and her son King [Antiochus born from King] Antiochus (II) and . . . showing zeal for them . . . / you will receive the privileges from them; [as for us] . . . we shall . . . and we have given instructions to the ambassadors concerning [the matters which . . . I have sent] to you. [Farewell?].

W. Blümel, *Epigraphica Anatolica* 20 (1992), 127–33 (SEG 42.994, 46.1413); *Bull.* 1994, 528 (P. Gauthier)

1. Tlepolemus, the Ptolemaic governor in the area, belonged to a family of notables of Iranian origin from Xanthus in Lycia which retained its local roots even when serving the Ptolemies (cf. Robert (1983), 168–71). An Olympic victor in 256 (Pausanias V.8.11; Habicht (1985), 87f.), he was eponymous priest of Alexander and the deified Ptolemies in Alexandria in 247–5 (*PP*, no. 5288 and 17243). Other members of his family are known, notably a grandson of the same name active in Alexandrian court politics in the late second century (Polybius XV.25–7 and XVI.21–2) and known also from inscriptions from Delphi and Xanthus.

2. Kildara, a city to the south-west of Mylasa (104) and about 10 km from sea, was on the Ptolemaic side against Seleucus II and his mother Laodice, though it is not clear whether it joined it only then (thus Blümel, *op. cit.*) or was already Ptolemaic before (thus P. Gauthier, *Bull.* 1994, 528). Kildara approached Tlepolemus with various requests but the details are mostly lost.
3. The use of the royal title for the young Antiochus shows that the Ptolemaic side regarded him as rightful king. Both mother and son were killed in Antioch later in the year by Seleucus II and Laodice in the course of the war.

## 268 An epigraphic account of Ptolemy III's 'Third Syrian War'

This inscription, copied by the traveller Cosmas Indicopleustes at Adulis on the Red Sea in the sixth century A.D., but now lost, gives an account of the 'conquests' of Ptolemy III during the 'Third Syrian War' (266). Though written in Greek the inscription is more reminiscent of the grandiloquent victory reports and records of the achievements of eastern kings than of any Greek texts (compare 166 and 276).

The Great King<sup>1</sup> Ptolemy (III), son of King Ptolemy (II) and Queen Arsinoe, the Brother-Sister Gods (*theoi adelphoi*), children of King Ptolemy (I) and Queen Berenice the Saviour Gods (*theoi soterai*), descended on his father's side  
5 from Heracles son of Zeus and on his mother's side / from Dionysus<sup>2</sup> son  
of Zeus, having taken over from his father the kingdom of Egypt, Libya,<sup>3</sup>  
10 Syria, Phoenicia, Cyprus, Lycia, Caria and the Cyclades islands,<sup>4</sup> marched out  
into Asia with a force of infantry and cavalry, a fleet / and elephants from the  
Troglodytes and Ethiopia, which his father and he himself were the first to  
hunt from these places, and (which) they brought to Egypt and equipped for  
15 use in war.<sup>5</sup> Having secured control of all the territory within (i.e. to the west  
of) the Euphrates and of Cilicia, Pamphylia, Ionia, the Hellespont, / Thrace,  
and of all the forces in those places and of the Indian elephants,<sup>6</sup> and having  
reduced to his obedience all the rulers in the provinces (*topoi*), he crossed  
20 the river Euphrates, and having subdued Mesopotamia, Babylonia, Susiana,  
Persis, Media and all the remaining territory as far as / Bactria,<sup>7</sup> and having  
sought out all the sacred objects that were removed from Egypt by the Persians  
and having brought them back to Egypt<sup>8</sup> together with the rest of the treasure  
from the provinces (*topoi*), he sent his forces across the dug out rivers (i.e.  
canals)<sup>9</sup> . . . (the rest of the inscription is lost)

OGIS 54; Burstein 99; BD 26

1. Cf. 193 n. 7

2. See **255** n. 11.
3. i.e. Cyrene (**29**).
4. See **255** n. 4.
5. Cf. **263**.
6. i.e. the Seleucid elephants (**57** n. 8).
7. The reality of these grandiose (and ephemeral) ‘conquests’ is usually doubted (though cf. Dittenberger’s commentary); Ptolemy III may not have advanced further into the Seleucid empire than Babylon (Appian, *Syrian History* 65) and will have only received a nominal submission of territories beyond that.
8. Cf. **271**, l. 11, **276** l. 22; the theme is common in Ptolemaic texts and should perhaps be taken at face value, cf. H. Heinen, *CAH* VII.1<sup>2</sup> (1984), 417, 421; J. K. Winnicki, *JJP* 24 (1994), 149–90; Hölbl (2001), 81–3. Jerome, *FGrH* 260 F 43, alleges Ptolemy brought back from this campaign 40,000 talents of booty and 2,500 images of the gods once removed by the Persian king Cambyses (cf. M. M. Austin, *CQ* 36 (1986), 465).
9. Reference unclear, but perhaps to the canals in Egypt, to which Ptolemy III was recalled by internal disturbances (Justin 17.1.9; cf. B. McGing *AJP* 43 (1997), 274–7 and see further **277**). Ptolemy’s return enabled Seleucus II to regain the initiative: he was recognised as king in Babylon in July 245.

## 269 Decree of Samothrace in honour of a Ptolemaic governor (reign of Ptolemy III)

See Bagnall (1976), 159–68 with P. Gauthier, *Historia* 28 (1979), 76–89.

### *Side A*

. . . Hegesistratus [. . . moved; since Hippomedon] son of Agesilaus, the Lacedaemonian,<sup>1</sup> [appointed by] King Ptolemy (III) [general (*strategos*) of the] Hellespont and the Thracian provinces (*topoi*),<sup>2</sup> is [piously] / disposed towards 5  
the gods and honours the [sanctuary] with sacrifices and dedications, and when he came to the island he was eager to take part in the [Mysteries],<sup>3</sup> and (since) [he shows] every care for the security of the fort<sup>4</sup> by sending to guard it cavalry [and] / infantry, missiles and catapults [and] men to operate them, and (since) 10  
when requested to advance money for the salary [of the] Trallians<sup>5</sup> he [gave it], and (since) he wishes [always] to oblige our city in everything it requests and is [favourably] disposed towards the people, / and shows every concern 15  
both publicly for the city and in private to those individuals who approach him, acting in conformity with the king’s policy, and (since) the [council] has passed a preliminary motion concerning praise for him to the effect that the citizenship and the other privileges granted by [the] citizens / should 20

be inscribed on a stele [and] consecrated in the sanctuary of [Athena]; with good [fortune],

*Side B*

[be it voted by the people, to praise Hippomedon . . .] . . . (6 mutilated lines) . . . [and the] presidents (*proedroi*) and the [agonothete shall be responsible for the proclamation] when [the people celebrates . . . the contest . . .] . . . (3 mutilated lines) . . . in conformity with the [policy] of the king and of the / queen and to grant to our city the export of corn tax-free, from the Chersonese and from any other place which seems suitable to him (Hippomedon);<sup>6</sup> and the ambassadors shall discuss with him the question of the fortress<sup>7</sup> and shall invite him to cooperate with our city, so that once it is completed citizens should be settled / who shall receive land allotments and cultivate the land, so that from the revenues (sc. from these settlements) sacrifices may be celebrated and first fruits may be consecrated to the gods on behalf of the king and the [queen . . .]<sup>8</sup> (the rest of the inscription is lost)

*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 502; *IG XII.8.156*; P. M. Fraser, *Samothrace* II.1 (1960), 39f.

1. Hippomedon's father was adviser to Agis of Sparta (Plutarch, *Agis* 6 and 16; cf. **69**); on Hippomedon cf. R. S. Bagnall, *JEA* 61 (1975), 179f.
2. Acquired under Ptolemy III, cf. **268**, **274**, **278**. The island of Samothrace was not in fact under direct Ptolemaic control, but had possessions on the mainland (compare Samos, **53**, **132**, **135**) which formed an enclave in Ptolemaic dominions.
3. The Mysteries of the 'Great Gods' of Samothrace (the Cabiri), widely respected in the Greek world though of non-Greek origin.
4. On the mainland.
5. Thracian mercenaries (cf. **230** l. 23) hired by Samothrace.
6. This is commonly taken since Rostovtzeff (I (1941), 335 and III, 1399 n. 131) to imply that the Ptolemies normally controlled the corn trade in their foreign possessions (i.e. imposed Ptolemaic produce on them); but the passage merely shows that the export of corn from places controlled by the Ptolemaic governor was regulated, a practice commonly found elsewhere (cf. Antigonus in **48** §10). See Gauthier, *op. cit.* On the corn supply of Greek cities cf. **130**.
7. On the mainland.
8. For the offering of honours to the gods 'on behalf of' rulers, cf. **162** ll. 19, 32, **270**, **281**; Fraser I (1972), 226f. with notes; S. R. F. Price, *JRS* 70 (1980), 38f.

## 270 Decree of Telmessus in Lycia in honour of a Ptolemaic official (February 240)

Ptolemaic control of Lycia was for long attested only from the time of Ptolemy II (cf. **255**, **268**, **278**), but new inscriptional evidence has shown the presence



of a Ptolemaic administration already in 288, and the dynasty's interest in the region dated as far back as Ptolemy I's campaign in 309 (Diodorus XX.27.1). Lycia was finally taken away from the Ptolemies by Antiochus III in 197 (cf. **91, 195**). See Bagnall (1976), 105–10; M. Wörrle, *Chiron* 7 (1977), 43–66 and 8 (1978), 201–46, esp. 218–25; I. Savalli, *ASNP* 17 (1987), 129–37; Ma (1999), 39–41.

With good fortune. In the reign of Ptolemy (III) son of Ptolemy (II) and Arsinoe, the Brother–Sister Gods, in the seventh year, in the month of Dystrus, in the second year of the priesthood of Theodotus / son of Heraclides, at a ple- 5  
 nary meeting of the assembly, resolved by the city of Telmessus: since Ptolemy son of Lysimachus,<sup>1</sup> when he took over the city<sup>2</sup> from King Ptolemy<sup>3</sup> son of Ptolemy (and found it) in a bad / [condition] because of the wars,<sup>4</sup> and (since) 10  
 in [other matters] he continues to show care publicly for the [citizens] and in private for each individual, and seeing that the citizens were [hard pressed] in every way he gave them exemption<sup>5</sup> from [taxes] on fruit trees and on 15  
 pasturing; and whereas previously they were harshly taxed on the / corn dues, all pulses, millet,<sup>6</sup> sesame and lupine, he made them pay a tithe in accordance with the law,<sup>7</sup> measuring out . . . [to the] farmer and the collector of the tithe, 20  
 and he exempted (them) from all other taxes / attached to the [tax] on corn; be it resolved by the people of Telmessus, to praise Ptolemy [the Epigone]<sup>8</sup> for the goodwill he continuously shows towards the city of Telmessus, and to 25  
 set up on his [behalf]<sup>9</sup> / an altar to Zeus the Saviour in the most conspicuous place in the agora, and to sacrifice every year on the 11th of the month Dys- 30  
 trus a three-year-old ox; all the citizens and the resident foreigners (*paroikoi*) shall assemble together for the sacrifice.<sup>10</sup> [And] if / the magistrate (*archon*) and the citizens do not perform the sacrifice every year, they shall be guilty 35  
 in the eyes of all the [gods], and the magistrate shall be fined 1,000 drachmas which shall be consecrated to Zeus the Saviour, [unless] he is [prevented] by war from [performing] the sacrifice. / The magistrate shall inscribe this 35  
 decree on a stone stele and place it in the sanctuary of Artemis in the most conspicuous place, and the resulting expense shall be charged to the city.

*OGIS* 55; *Tituli Asiae Minoris* II (Vienna, 1920), 1; Burstein 100

1. Cf. **238** n. 2.

2. Probably as a 'gift' (*en doreai*) from the king (cf. **296** n. 15), yet a decree from Telmessus of 279 praises Ptolemy II for exempting the city from being made a *dorea* (M. Wörrle, *Chiron* 8 (1978), 201–46).

3. Most probably Ptolemy III Euergetes.

4. A reference to (probably) the 'Third Syrian War' (**266**).

5. Ptolemy son of Lysimachus appears in the inscription to be acting on his own authority.

6. Two kinds of millet are referred to in the text.

7. The sense of the passage is disputed. The words ‘in accordance with the law’ might go with ‘they were harshly taxed’; nor is it clear whether a new tithe is being substituted for an older and more complex system of taxes.
8. i.e. son of Lysimachus.
9. Cf. **269** n. 8.
10. Cf. **162**.

## 271 The Canopus Decree: the Egyptian priests honour Ptolemy III and Berenice (4 March 238)

Temples and priests in Egypt possessed great wealth and influence, and the Ptolemies as successors to the Pharaohs were anxious to conciliate native institutions and traditions while seeking to preserve their own control. The character of the resulting relationship is not easily defined; it should not be assumed that the Egyptian priesthood necessarily acted as a united body, though given the official character of much of the available evidence it is probably inevitable that cooperation should be more fully documented than opposition (cf. Thompson (1988), 106–54; Huss (1994); Hölbl (2001), 77–90; and with reference to Upper Egypt, Manning (2003), 68–71, 238–41). One striking development from the time of Ptolemy III was the practice of the priesthood to meet in synods and pass decrees in praise of the kings, a practice previously unknown in Egyptian history which seems to reflect Greek influence. While set in a context of Egyptian cultic traditions, the decrees strikingly recall in their form and language the honours voted by Greek cities for individual benefactors (cf. **115**): the kings are honoured for conferring material benefits, not for preserving the cosmic order, their normal role according to Egyptian thinking. Among such decrees preserved for the Ptolemaic period are (1) the following text, complete in all three versions, hieroglyphs, demotic, and Greek (the latter is translated here; see Simpson (1996), 224–41 for the demotic version); (2) the decree passed after the battle of Raphia in 217 (**276**), of which the demotic version is the best preserved; and (3) the celebrated Rosetta Stone of 196 (**283**), preserved in part or complete in all three versions. It has been suggested that the drafting of the decrees was due to Egyptian priests, of whom some will have been fluent in Greek after three generations of Ptolemaic rule, though whether the drafting was done initially in Greek or demotic remains a debated issue. See W. Clarysse in Valbelle and Leclant (1999), 41–65, with a listing of all known such texts; Simpson (1996), 22–4; Hölbl (2001), 105–12. Contrast a different Egyptian reaction to foreign rule in the Potter’s Oracle (**326**).

In the reign of Ptolemy (III) son of Ptolemy (II) and Arsinoe, the Brother–Sister Gods (*theoi adelphoi*), in the ninth year, when Apollonides son of Moschion was priest of Alexander<sup>1</sup> and of the Brother–Sister Gods and of the Benefactor Gods (*theoi euergetai*), when Menecratea was basket-bearer

(*canephoros*)<sup>2</sup> of Arsinoe Philadelphus, on the 7th of the month Apellaeus  
 and the 17th of the Egyptian month Tybi (= 4 March 238);<sup>3</sup> decree; the  
 high-priests, the prophets, those who enter the holy of holies for the robing  
 of the gods, the *pterophoroi*,<sup>4</sup> the sacred scribes and / the other priests who 5  
 have assembled from the temples throughout the land<sup>5</sup> for the 5th of Dios  
 (= November), when the birthday of the king is celebrated,<sup>6</sup> and for the  
 25th of the same month, when he received the monarchy from his father,  
 and who held a session on that day in the temple of the Benefactor Gods  
 at Canopus, declared: since King Ptolemy son of Ptolemy and Arsinoe, the  
 Brother–Sister Gods, and Queen Berenice his sister and wife, the Benefactor  
 Gods, constantly confer many great benefactions on the temples throughout  
 the land and increase more and more the honours of the gods,<sup>7</sup> and show  
 constant care for Apis and Mnevis<sup>8</sup> and all the other famous sacred animals in  
 the country / at great expense and outlay, and (since) the king on a campaign 10  
 abroad<sup>9</sup> brought back to Egypt the sacred statues that had been taken out of  
 the country by the Persians and restored them to the temples from which they  
 had initially been taken,<sup>10</sup> and (since) he has maintained the country at peace  
 by fighting in its defence against many nations and their rulers, and (since)  
 they have provided good government (*eunomia*) to all those in the country  
 and to the other subjects of their kingdom, and (since) when on one occasion  
 the rise of the river (i.e. the Nile)<sup>11</sup> was insufficient and all the inhabitants of  
 the country were terrified at what had happened and remembered the disaster  
 that occurred / under some of the previous kings, under whom it happened 15  
 that all the people living in the land suffered from a drought, they showed their  
 care for the residents in the temples and the other inhabitants of the country,  
 and showed much foresight and sacrificed a large part of their revenues for the  
 salvation of the population, and by importing corn<sup>12</sup> into the country from  
 Syria, Phoenicia and Cyprus and many other places at great expense, they  
 saved the inhabitants of Egypt, bequeathing to men of today and to posterity  
 an immortal benefaction and the greatest memorial of their own excellence.  
 In return for this the gods have granted them a stable rule / and will bestow 20  
 all other blessings in future. With good fortune, be it resolved by the priests  
 in the country to increase the honours which already exist<sup>13</sup> in the temples for  
 King Ptolemy and Queen Berenice, the Benefactor Gods, and to their parents  
 the Brother–Sister Gods, and to their grandparents the Saviour Gods, and (be  
 it resolved) that the priests in all the temples throughout the land should also  
 be called priests of the Benefactor Gods and should be inscribed in all public  
 documents,<sup>14</sup> and that the priesthood of the Benefactor Gods should also be  
 engraved on the rings they wear; and (be it resolved) that in addition to the  
 four ‘tribes’ of the body of priests living in each temple which exist at present  
 another one should be designated, to be called the fifth / tribe of the Benefactor 25

Gods, since, with good fortune, it happened that the birth of King Ptolemy son of the Brother–Sister Gods took place on the 5th of Dios, which has been the beginning of many blessings for all mankind; shall be enrolled in this tribe those who have held the priesthood since the first year and those who will have been assigned to it up to the month of Mesore in the 9th year, and their descendants for all time; those who have previously been priests up to the first year shall remain in the same tribes in which they were before, and similarly from now on their descendants shall be assigned to the same tribes as their fathers. In place of the twenty priest councillors who are chosen / every year  
30 from the existing four tribes, five being appointed from each tribe, there shall be twenty-five priest councillors with the addition of five from the fifth tribe of the Benefactor Gods. The members of the fifth tribe of the Benefactor Gods shall participate in the purification and all the other rites in the temples, and they shall have a head of the tribe as exists for the other four tribes. And since festivals of the Benefactor Gods are celebrated every month in the temples in accordance with the previous decree, on the 5th, the 9th and the 25th, and since festivals and public religious assemblies are celebrated every year for the  
35 other greatest gods, / a public religious assembly shall be celebrated every year in the temples and throughout the whole country in honour of King Ptolemy and Queen Berenice, the Benefactor Gods, on the day when the star of Isis rises, which the holy books consider to be the new year, and which takes place at present in the ninth year on the first day of the month Payni (= 19 July), when the Little and the Great *Boubastia* are celebrated, the crops are gathered and the river (Nile) rises.<sup>15</sup> And should it happen that the rise of the star moves to another day within four years, the religious assembly shall not be moved but shall be celebrated in the same way on the first day of Payni, when it originally took place in the 9th year; the celebration shall last for five days  
40 / and shall include a wearing of wreaths (*stephanephoria*), sacrifices, libations and the other appropriate rites.

And so that the seasons should always correspond to the established order of the universe, and that it should not happen that some of the popular festivals which take place in winter are celebrated in summer, as the sun changes by one day in the course of four years, while others that take place in summer are celebrated in winter, in times to come as has happened previously and would happen if the arrangement of the year continued to consist of 360 days plus the five customary days that have been subsequently added, (be it resolved) to add from now onwards one festival day in honour of the Benefactor Gods  
45 every four years to the five / additional days, before the new year, so that all may know that the former defect in the arrangement of the seasons, the year, and the beliefs concerning the whole order of the universe has been corrected and filled up by the Benefactor Gods.<sup>16</sup>

And since it happened that the daughter who was born to King Ptolemy and Queen Berenice, the Benefactor Gods, and was called Berenice and immediately proclaimed Queen,<sup>17</sup> suddenly departed into the everlasting world<sup>18</sup> while still a virgin, and as the priests who gather every year from the country to the king were still present with him, immediately made great mourning for what had happened, approached the King and the Queen and persuaded them to set up the goddess together with Osiris in the / temple at Canopus, which is not only ranked among the temples of the first class, but is also among those held in greatest honour by the King and all the population in the country, and the bringing up of the sacred boat of Osiris to this temple from the temple of Heraclion takes place every year on the 29th of Choiak, when all the priests from the temples of the first class perform sacrifices on the altars which they have set up for each temple of the first class on each side of the entrance avenue. After this they performed the customary rites for her deification and the ceremony of mourning with the magnificence and care which it is customary to display also for Apis and Mnevis. 50

Be it resolved to perform everlasting honours for Queen Berenice, the daughter of the Benefactor Gods, in all the / temples in the land. And since she departed to the gods in the month of Tybi, in which the daughter of the Sun ended her life, whom her loving father called at one time his 'crown' and another his 'sight', and they celebrate in her honour a festival and boat procession in the majority of temples of the first class in this month, in which her apotheosis originally took place, (be it resolved) to celebrate for Queen Berenice the daughter of the Benefactor Gods a festival and a boat procession in all the temples in the country in the month of Tybi for four days from the 17th, when the procession and the conclusion of the lamentation for her took place originally; and to make a sacred statue of her of gold inlaid with precious stones in each of the temples of the first and second class and set it up in the holy place; the prophet or one of the priests who enter the shrine / for the robing of the gods shall carry it in his arms, at the time when the processions and festivals of the other gods take place, so that it may be seen by all and be honoured and receive obeisance under the name of Berenice the Mistress of Virgins. The crown placed on the head of her statue shall be different from those placed on the head of the statues of her mother Queen Berenice, and shall be made of two ears of corn with in the middle a serpent-shaped crown and behind it a sceptre, shaped like papyrus and proportionate in size, such as is customary for goddesses to hold in their hands; round this sceptre the tail of the crown shall be wound, so that from the arrangement of the crown the name of Berenice shall stand out according to the inscription in hieroglyphic writing. 55 60

And when the *Kikellia* are celebrated in the month of Choiak before the  
65 boat procession of Osiris, / the daughters of the priests shall make another  
statue of Berenice the Mistress of Virgins, to which they shall likewise perform  
a sacrifice and all the other customary celebrations for this festival. In the same  
way it shall be permitted to other virgins who wish to perform the customary  
rites for the goddess; hymns shall be sung to her by the specially chosen holy  
virgins who minister to the gods, and they shall place on their heads the crowns  
which are peculiar to the gods whose priestesses they are held to be; and when  
the early sowing is near the holy virgins shall bear ears of corn to be placed  
70 in front of the statue of the goddess, and the men and women singers shall  
sing every day at the festivals and feasts of the other gods the hymns which  
the sacred scribes shall have written down / and given to the singing master,  
copies of which shall also be placed in the sacred books.

And when provisions of food are given to the priests out of temple revenues  
when they are brought for the whole body (of priests), provisions shall be given  
from the sacred revenues to the daughters of priests, dating from the day they  
were born, as assessed by the councillor-priests in each temple in relation to  
the sacred revenues available; and the bread given to the wives of the priests  
shall have its own special shape and shall be called the 'Bread of Berenice'.

The *epistates* in charge in each temple<sup>19</sup> and the high priest and the scribes  
of the temple shall inscribe this decree on a stone or bronze stele in sacred  
75 letters (i.e. hieroglyphs), Egyptian letters (i.e. demotic), and Greek letters,<sup>20</sup>  
and shall consecrate it / in the temples of the first, second and third rank, so  
that it may be seen that the priests in the country honour the Benefactor Gods  
and their children, as is just.

*OGIS 56; BD 164*

1. Alexander was buried at Alexandria where he received a divine cult (note the absence of the predicate '*theos*', otherwise used of deified Hellenistic rulers: Alexander was thought of as a full god). Cf. **292** §8 and n. 9, also **254**, **258** (beginning); Fraser I (1972), 212, 215f. On the Ptolemies' exploitation of the fame of Alexander cf. Stewart (1993), 229–62.
2. A gilded sacred basket was carried in the procession in honour of Arsinoe Philadelphus, cf. also **283**, **295**, **306**, **310**; Fraser I (1972), 225, 229f.; M. Minas in Melaerts (1998), 43–60.
3. For similar prescripts cf. **283**, **306**, **310**, and for the dynastic cults of the Ptolemies cf. **255** n. 12. The priests and priestesses of these dynastic cults were appointed by the kings themselves from among their Greek and Macedonian entourage (no native Egyptians are attested); cf. Fraser I (1972), 222f. On priesthoods generally see **149**.
4. Priests wearing a hawk's wing on their heads.
5. The Egyptian priesthood was the only organised and articulate native body in Ptolemaic Egypt; cf. **276**, **283**, **290**.

6. On the celebration of the king's birthday cf. **169**, **252** l. 35, **265**, **283**, **294** n. 3.
7. Cf. **255** n. 9.
8. The sacred bulls at Memphis and Heliopolis respectively, frequently singled out from among other Egyptian sacred animals; cf. **283** l. 31, **290** l. 77; Thompson (1988), 191–207, 284–96.
9. A reference to the 'Third Syrian War' (**266**).
10. Cf. **268** n. 8.
11. Cf. **255** n. 2.
12. Egypt was otherwise a regular grain exporter to the Greek world.
13. i.e. divine honours were already being paid by the Egyptian priests to the Ptolemies; cf. J. Quaegebeur, *Ancient Society* 20 (1989), 93–113.
14. For the practice cf. **200** n. 7, **283** l. 51 and above n. 3.
15. Cf. **255** n. 2.
16. On this paragraph cf. Bickerman (1980), 40f.; Hölbl (2001), 108. The reform was not successful.
17. This Berenice is also mentioned in **272** l. 33.
18. For the phrase cf. **240** n. 3.
19. Cf. **290** n. 17.
20. Cf. **283** l. 53f. On demotic cf. Manning (2003), 173–7.

## 272 Letter of Thraseas, *strategos* of Cilicia, to Arsinoe and decree of Nagidus (238–221)

Discovered in 1979, this is the earliest text to provide detailed evidence of the fluctuating Ptolemaic presence in Cilicia during the third century, a presence otherwise known from general references (**255**, **268**; cf. later **279** and Bagnall (1976), 114–16). The background to the two documents here is the foundation in c.270–260 by the Ptolemaic governor of Cilicia of the city of Arsinoe, named after Arsinoe Philadelphus, sister and wife of Ptolemy II (**254** n. 1); the foundation encroached on territory belonging to the nearby city of Nagidus and caused inevitable friction. During the 'Second Syrian War' (**173**) Ptolemaic loss of control enabled Nagidus to assert herself at the expense of Arsinoe, but after the 'Third Syrian War' (**266**) Ptolemaic power was established once more. A few years later, the Ptolemaic governor of Cilicia, who happened to be the son of the founder of Arsinoe, was able to intervene on behalf of Arsinoe and compel Nagidus to acquiesce. See C. P. Jones and C. Habicht, *Phoenix* 43 (1989), 317–46.

### (a) Letter of Thraseas

[Thraseas] to the city and magistrates of Arsinoe,<sup>1</sup> greetings. We have received your letter and have listened to your envoys Andromenes and Philotheus on the subject of the territory. Since the Nagidians have marked off the land in accordance / with our request, so that it is yours without room for any

further challenge, you would do well to work and plant the whole of it to ensure your own prosperity and to pay greater revenues to the king (Ptolemy III) than was the case originally.<sup>2</sup> We ourselves are devoted to you and wish to make your city worthy of its name (*eponymia*), and assist in providing all that is / advantageous and beneficial both in public and in private to each of your citizens. You would therefore do well to conduct yourselves as citizens in an appropriate way and to celebrate at the appointed time the customary sacrifices for the king and the queen (Berenice). We have also appended / for you a copy of the decree concerning these matters sent to us by the Nagidians, so that you may follow what is written there. We have discussed at length the remaining details with your ambassadors Andromenes and Philotheus and instructed them to report to you. Farewell.

*(b) Decree of Nagidus*

Leosthenes was chairman (*epistates*), proposal of the presidents (*prostatai*).  
20 Since Aetus son of Apollonius, / a citizen of Aspendus and of our own city,<sup>3</sup> when appointed *strategos* of Cilicia occupied a suitable location and founded a city called Arsinoe after the mother of the king, [and established] settlers in the place and divided the territory which is ours,<sup>4</sup> expelling the barbarians who were encroaching on it; and (since) now his son Thraseas, who was sent  
25 by the king as *strategos* / of Cilicia, is anxious to increase our city's reputation, and has requested [from us] that we should concede the public land to the settlers for them to [possess] for all time, themselves and their descendants; and (since) he wishes that magistracies should be established, that they should have their own laws, and that the territory should be recorded for them in . . . ;  
30 resolved by the council and the people: to give [the] public land to him / and to the settlers, and to any others Thraseas should settle [in future]; to praise Thraseas, and to make them (i.e. give them the title of) colonists [of the Nagidians];<sup>5</sup> let them celebrate the honours for the king and Arsinoe [and] Berenice,<sup>6</sup> and let them send a sacred envoy (*theoros*) at their own expense. They shall exercise their rights as citizens and use the laws which they themselves have established, and let them enjoy / the rights of *isopoliteia*<sup>7</sup> with the Nagidians. Let them also have a share in the sacred rites they attend. Let each of them be inscribed in the tribe [he gets] by lot and pay the regular due. Let them also be invited when the city sacrifices to Concord (*Homonoia*),<sup>8</sup>  
35 and let them bring the regular due. And likewise, when the Arsinoeans sacrifice to the Brother–Sister Gods (*Theoi Adelphoi*), let / the Nagidians attend and pay the same due. Let it no longer be allowed to the Nagidians under any pretext to raise a dispute about the territory which is given to them by the terms of this decree. If any of the magistrates proposes such a decree or  
40 any speaker moves one, the magistrate shall be fined a compulsory 10,000



drachmas which shall be consecrated to Arsinoe, and the speaker 1,000 drachmas, and his proposal / shall be invalid. Concerning any private grievances which might arise between individuals, should an [Arsinoean] inflict or suffer harm at Nagidus, let him seek or [give] justice according to the laws of the Nagidians, and should a Nagidian inflict or suffer harm at Arsinoe, let him seek or give justice according to the [laws] of the Arsinoeans. For all offences committed all shall be granted / a year's grace (to prosecute) [dating from the] time of the offence. Should [anyone after this lapse] of time initiate a public or private lawsuit, [that lawsuit] shall be invalid. This decree is to be inscribed on two stone stelae, [one of which] is to be consecrated in the sanctuary of Aphrodite, and the other at [Arsinoe in] the precinct of Arsinoe.<sup>9</sup> The expense [for the stelae shall be paid] / for the stele at Nagidus by the treasurer [of the Nagidians, and for that at Arsinoe by the] treasurer of the Arsinoeans.

C. P. Jones and C. Habicht, *Phoenix* 43 (1989), 317–46; G. Petzl, *ZPE* 139 (2002), 83–8; *Bull.* 1990, 304 and 1999, 137; *SEG* 39.1426 and 47.2092

1. Arsinoe in Cilicia lay on the coast; Ptolemaic foundations of that name were often chosen for their suitability as ports. On the site cf. Jones and Habicht *op. cit.*, 328–35, and on the association of Arsinoe Philadelphus with sailors cf. **295** n. 3.
2. Cf. **299** n. 8.
3. Aetus and his descendants had a long record of service for the Ptolemies (cf. Jones and Habicht, *op. cit.*, 337–46 and **193** n. 1). With local roots in the area they were well placed to act as governors on behalf of the Ptolemies; cf. Aristodicides in **180**.
4. Here and below the lingering resentment of Nagidus is evident.
5. The fiction that the settlers at Arsinoe were colonists of Nagidus was presumably intended to mollify the Nagidians.
6. The deceased daughter of Ptolemy III who is honoured at length in **271** ll. 45–73.
7. Cf. **64**.
8. Cf. **63**.
9. Probably the present text, though the exact find place is not known.

## 273 Mercenaries in Ptolemaic service in Syria (second half of the third century?)

From comparison with similar inscriptions the following list of names, found just north of Laodicea in Syria, is most probably from a dedication made jointly by a group of mercenaries. Internal evidence and the origins of the mercenaries indicate that they were probably in Ptolemaic service during the second half of the third century. Their presence may well be connected with the ‘Third Syrian War’ (**266**).

- ... from Cyrene
- ... from Etenna<sup>1</sup>
- ... from Cyrene
- ... from Boeotia
- 5 ... from Philotera<sup>2</sup>
- ... from Aspendus
- ... from Phocis
- ... from Thrace
- ... from Miletus
- 10 Diotimus from Salamis<sup>3</sup>
- Nicanor from Boeotia
- Menippus
- Demagoras from Salamis
- Onetor from Salamis
- 15 Philippus from Cyrene
- Heraclitus from Pisidia
- Micion from Heraclea
- Theocretus from Cyrene
- Agis from Lysimachea
- 20 Pyrrhichus from Macedon
- Simonides from Thessaly
- Agessimachus from Athens
- Bithys from Thrace
- Damasis from Salamis
- 25 Cleon from Thessaly
- Apollonius from Etenna
- Dion from Cyrene<sup>4</sup>

J. P. Rey-Coquais, *Syria* 55 (1978), 313–25; *SEG* 27.973bis

1. In Pisidia, cf. **281**; see G. E. Bean, *Klio* 52 (1970), 13–16; *Bull.* 1984, 485.
2. On Lake Tiberias, a foundation of Ptolemy II named after one of his sisters (**254** n. 3); cf. M. Wörrle, *Chiron* 9 (1979), 105 n. 127.
3. In Cyprus.
4. Cf. also **275** on Ptolemaic mercenaries.

## 274 Ptolemy IV Philopator and the policy of his predecessors (221)

Polybius' negative presentation of the reign of Ptolemy IV has often been used to divide Ptolemaic history into two contrasted periods – one of strength and

success under the first three rulers, followed by gradual decline, with the outcome of the battle of Raphia in 217 as the turning point. But the division may be too schematic; see 277.

After his father's death, Ptolemy (IV) who was called Philopator put to death his brother Magas and his followers and took over power in Egypt. He felt freed from internal threats thanks to his efforts and to the action just mentioned, and felt that fortune had released him from foreign perils, as Antigonus (Doson) and Seleucus (III) had died, and Antiochus (III) and Philip (V), who had succeeded them on the throne, were very young and had barely reached manhood. Consequently he felt secure in his present position and conducted his reign with too much ostentation; he made himself invisible and difficult of access<sup>1</sup> to his courtiers and to the other officials who governed Egypt, and showed himself indifferent and frivolous towards those in charge of foreign affairs, though his predecessors had devoted not less but more care to them than to their rule in Egypt itself.<sup>2</sup> For they threatened the kings of Syria (i.e. the Seleucids) by land and by sea, as they were masters of Coele Syria and Cyprus; their sphere of control included the dynasts<sup>3</sup> in Asia and also the islands, as they were masters of the most important cities, strongholds and harbours along the whole coast from Pamphylia to the Hellespont and the region of Lysimachea.<sup>4</sup> They kept a watch on affairs in Thrace and Macedonia through their control of Aenus and Maronea and of even more distant cities.<sup>5</sup> In this way, having extended their reach so far and having shielded themselves at a great distance with these possessions, they never worried about their rule in Egypt.<sup>6</sup> That was why they rightly devoted much attention to foreign affairs. [ . . . ]

Polybius V.34

1. Cf. 245 n. 5.
2. On the Ptolemies' foreign possessions cf. 255 n. 4. Contrast Polybius' favourable royal portraits, 233, 243.
3. Cf. 174 n. 6.
4. Cf. 171.
5. Cf. 269.
6. On the security of Egypt cf. 255 n. 7. However, Ptolemy I faced the threat of an invasion of Egypt twice, by Perdiccas in 321/20 and by Antigonus the One-Eyed in 305; cf. too 268 n. 9. Whether the foreign policy of the Ptolemies in the third century was 'offensive' or 'defensive' in intention has been much discussed (cf. Will I (1979), 153–208; Walbank (1981), 100–3; H. Heinen, *CAH* VII.1<sup>2</sup> (1984), 442–5). Whatever the truth, and whether the antithesis is correct or not (cf. P. Vidal-Naquet, *RPh* 41 (1967), 271f.; Préaux I (1978), 336f.), Ptolemaic propaganda emphasised the military character of their dynasty's achievements, cf. 255 n. 5. On the applicability of the concept of the 'balance of power' to the third century, cf. M. M. Austin, *CQ* 36 (1986), 455f.

## 275 Preparations for the 'Fourth Syrian War' by the ministers of Ptolemy IV (219/18)

On the 'Fourth Syrian War', cf. also **276** and for the Seleucid side **183–4**. See Griffith (1935), 118–25; H. Heinen in *CAH* VII.1<sup>2</sup> (1984), 433–42; Hölbl (2001), 129–32; Huss (2001), 386–404.

Agathocles and Sosibius, at that time the chief ministers in the kingdom,<sup>1</sup> then held council together and took what steps they could from the means at their disposal to meet the present crisis. They decided to proceed with the preparations for the war and in the meantime to slow down Antiochus' (III) advance by sending embassies and pretending to confirm him in his previous opinion of Ptolemy (IV), namely that he would not fight, but would negotiate and use his 'friends'<sup>2</sup> to try to persuade him to evacuate Coele Syria. When these decisions were taken, Agathocles and Sosibius were assigned to this mission and carefully sent off the embassies to Antiochus. At the same time they sent envoys to Rhodes, Byzantium and Cyzicus, and also to Aetolia, and invited them to send delegates to discuss a settlement. The arrival of these embassies, by going backwards and forwards between the two kings, gave them ample opportunity to secure a breathing space and the time needed to prepare for the war. They established themselves at Memphis and kept on negotiating with them, but also received the envoys from Antiochus and displayed every sign of courtesy in their meetings. Meanwhile they summoned and concentrated at Alexandria the mercenaries in their pay from the cities abroad.<sup>3</sup> They also despatched recruiting officers<sup>4</sup> and gathered pay for the soldiers present and to come. They were no less active with the remaining preparations, taking turns to go on continuous flying visits to Alexandria, to make sure nothing was missing in the preparations for the projected undertaking. The manufacture of weapons and the choice of men and their distribution they entrusted to Echecrates of Thessaly and Phoxides of Melite, and also to Eurylochus of Magnesia and Socrates of Boeotia; Cnopias of Allaria (in Crete) was also with them. They were very fortunate to secure these men, as they had served with Demetrius (II) and Antigonus (Dodon) and had acquired some experience of real war and in general of operations in the open field. They took in hand the troops and trained them as best they could in military operations. [. . .] (65) Each of these men held a command appropriate to his personal experience. Eurylochus of Magnesia commanded about 3,000 of what is called the Royal Guard (*agema*). Socrates of Boeotia had 2,000 peltasts under his command. Phoxidas the Achaean and Ptolemy son of Thrasesas,<sup>5</sup> and with them Andromachus of Aspendus, were associated in the task of training the phalanx and the Greek mercenaries to the same use, while Andromachus and

Ptolemy commanded the phalanx and Phoxidas the mercenaries; the phalanx numbered about 25,000 men<sup>6</sup> and the mercenaries 8,000. The palace cavalry, who numbered about 700, were trained by Polycrates, and similarly those from Libya and the native cavalry; they numbered about 3,000 and Polycrates commanded them all. Echecrates of Thessaly who had given excellent training to the cavalry from Greece and the entire body of mercenary cavalry, who numbered about 2,000, performed the greatest services in the battle itself. Cnopias of Allaria was second to none in the dedication he showed to those under his orders: he had all the Cretans, who numbered about 3,000, including 1,000 Neocretans over whom he had set Philon of Cnossus.<sup>7</sup> They also armed 3,000 Libyans in the Macedonian way, commanded by Ammonius of Barce. The Egyptian contingent constituted a phalanx of about 20,000, under the orders of Sosibius.<sup>8</sup> A force of Thracians and Galatians had also been collected, some of them from the military settlers (*katoikoi*) and their descendants, numbering about 4,000,<sup>9</sup> while the others were recently recruited; they numbered about 2,000 and were commanded by the Thracian Dionysius. Such was, in its numbers and in its different elements, the army that was being got ready by Ptolemy.<sup>10</sup>

Polybius V.63 and 65

1. On Sosibius cf. **183**, **282**, on Agathocles cf. **282**.
2. Cf. **31** n. 3 and for the king's 'friends' in the Ptolemaic kingdom cf. **255**, **259**, **280**, **286**, **292** n. 2, **301**, **320**, **324**, **325** (c); see generally Fraser I (1972), 101–5 and Mooren (1975), with prosopography.
3. i.e. in the Ptolemies' foreign possessions (**255** n. 4).
4. Cf. **282** and Griffith (1935), 254–63.
5. Cf. **193** n. 1.
6. Polybius' figure has been questioned (Griffith, *op. cit.*, 122f.; Walbank *ad loc.*); see however Walbank III (1979), 773.
7. On Cretan mercenaries cf. **113** n. 4; on the Ptolemies and Crete cf. **265**.
8. For the effects of this cf. **277**.
9. On the Ptolemaic system of military settlements in Egypt cf. **314**.
10. For mercenaries in Ptolemaic service cf. also **273**.

## 276 Decree of the Egyptian priests in honour of Ptolemy IV (15 November 217)

The following is part of the demotic version of the decree passed by the Egyptian priests assembled at Memphis (cf. **271**) after the battle of Raphia in which Ptolemy IV defeated the attack of Antiochus III in the 'Fourth Syrian War' (**275**); only part of the Greek version is preserved. The demotic text is obscure in

places and translations differ; the version given below is only an approximation. The decree gives an account of the war from the Ptolemaic side in traditional Pharaonic terminology, which emphasises the personal prowess of the divinely assisted king in defending Egypt and protecting religion (compare **271** and **283**). It also supplements the version of Polybius over the sequel to the battle, at the point where the Greek historian becomes sketchy (V.86–7) after giving a detailed account of the war up to that point (V.68–71, 79–85). Whether preference should be given to the Egyptian or the Polybian account remains a debated issue. See Walbank I (1957), 611–13 and III (1979), 773f.; Thissen (1966); H. Heinen, *CAH* VII.1<sup>2</sup> (1984), 437f.

[. . .]<sup>1</sup> Since it has happened that the beneficence of Pharaoh [Ptolemy (IV) the son of] Ptolemy and (Queen) Arsinoe,<sup>2</sup> the Benefactor Gods, has conferred benefits on the service of the gods, and has shown concern at all times for what relates to their worship, it has come to pass that [all] the gods [of Egypt] and their goddesses were present with him, and showed him the road, and protected him at the time when he was marching to the country of the Syrians and to the country of the Phoenicians.<sup>3</sup> They caused him to see visions and hear announcements, and gave him an oracle through a dream,<sup>4</sup> saying that he would overcome his enemies, and [that they would never] / be far away from him in times of danger, but would be a protection to him to keep him safe.

On the first day of the month of Pachon, in the fifth year [of his reign],<sup>5</sup> he marched out from Pelusium and fought with King Antiochus (III) at a town called Raphia near the frontier of Egypt, which lies to the east of Bethlema and Pasanufer. On the tenth day of the same month he defeated him in a great and splendid manner.<sup>6</sup> Those of his enemies who in the course of this fight drew close to him he slew himself, even as in the past Horus, the son of Isis, had done with his foes. He pressed Antiochus so closely that he was obliged to throw away his diadem and his royal cloak. He fled with his bodyguard (?), and only a very few [men] stayed with him after his defeat in a miserable and sad manner. The greater number of his soldiers suffered severe want. He saw the best of his friends perish in a miserable fashion. They suffered hunger and thirst. Everything that he left behind him was seized as booty. Only with the greatest exertion was he able to reach his home, and he suffered bitter grief.<sup>7</sup>

Pharaoh took as spoil many people and all the elephants.<sup>8</sup> He made himself master of much gold and silver, and valuable possessions, which / were found in the various places which Antiochus had captured, and which had been brought there from his kingdom. Pharaoh caused them all to be carried to Egypt.

Pharaoh made progress through the other regions which were in his kingdom. He went in to the temples which were there. He offered burnt offerings

and libations, and all the inhabitants who were in the cities received him with joyful hearts and celebrated feasts. They came to meet him with the shrines of the gods – in whose hearts is strength (?) – and they crowned themselves with crowns, and made burnt offerings and sacrifices. Many people brought him a gold crown, and announced that they would set up a royal statue in his honour and build him a temple, as the King was acting in a pious manner.

The statues of the gods which were in the temples, and had been damaged by Antiochus, Pharaoh commanded others to be made in their stead, and set in their places. He gave much gold and silver and precious stones for them, and also for the equipment of the temples which those men had carried off, and he concerned himself to have them replaced. The things which previously were given to the temples, and which had been reduced, Pharaoh ordered to be restored at their original value, so that nothing might be wanting from the customary worship of the gods. As soon as he heard that much injury had been done to the images of the Egyptian gods, / he issued a splendid order to the regions over which he ruled outside Egypt, that no further injury should be done to them, as he wished all foreign peoples to understand the greatness of the care that was in his heart for the gods of Egypt. Those whose bodies were found there he caused to be transported to Egypt, and he had them prepared for burial with honour and placed in their tombs. Moreover, those who were found to be damaged he caused to be brought back to Egypt with due honour and conducted to their temples. He took good care for the images of the gods that had been carried out of Egypt to the territory of the Syrians and that of the Phoenicians, at the time when the Medes caused destruction to the temples of Egypt.<sup>9</sup> He commanded that careful search should be made for them. Those which were found, in addition to those which his father had brought back to Egypt,<sup>10</sup> he restored to Egypt and celebrated a feast with burnt offerings before them. He had them returned to the temples from which they had been previously removed.

He then went to the territories of his enemies and caused a fortified camp for his troops to be built, and stayed there as long as one wanted him to.<sup>11</sup> As those who repulsed his enemies wished to fight together with him (?), he spent many days outside that same place. As they did not come again (?) he let his troops loose, so that they plundered their cities. As they were unable to protect their territories they were destroyed. He made it clear to all men that this was the work of the gods / and that it was not good to fight against him. He marched away from that region after he had made himself master in twenty-one days of all their territories, after the acts of treachery which the leaders of the troops had committed. He made a treaty with Antiochus after two years and two months.<sup>12</sup>

20

25

He returned to Egypt on the additional days, on the Birthday of Horus, after a campaign of four months.<sup>13</sup> The inhabitants of Egypt welcomed him and were glad because he had protected the temples and had also saved all the people in Egypt. They did everything which was necessary for his reception, in the lavish and splendid fashion which was appropriate to his heroic deeds. He journeyed through Egypt, while those in the temple waited for him at the landing places with the equipment and the other objects which are customarily brought for such a voyage.<sup>14</sup> They wore garlands, celebrated a festival, and brought burnt offerings, libations and many sacrificial gifts. He went into the temples and made a burnt offering. He granted many revenues in addition to those he had given earlier. The images of the gods, which had been missing for a long time among those which were in the shrines, and also those which had been damaged, he caused to be restored to their places as they were formerly. He spent much gold and precious stones on these and on all the other things which were needed. He caused much temple furniture and equipment to be made of gold and silver, although he had spent a vast sum for that campaign, and had given 300,000 pieces of gold as a reward / to his army. He bestowed upon the priests, the temple staff, and the rest of the people throughout Egypt many benefactions, and at the same time thanked the gods, because they had fulfilled everything for him which they had promised. [. . .]<sup>15</sup>

Translation adapted from Wallis Budge (1929), 298–309  
with amendments from Simpson (1996), 242–57 and  
J. K. Winnicki, *JJP* 31 (2001), 136f.

1. Lines 1–5: date of the decree; lines 5–7: assembly of the priests at Memphis.
2. An error for Berenice.
3. A reference to the ‘Fourth Syrian War’.
4. Cf. **146** n. 5.
5. 13 June.
6. 22 June.
7. With this one-sided account of the battle, which emphasises the personal prowess of the king, compare the much more detailed version in Polybius V.82–5.
8. The statement has been doubted, though cf. Walbank III (1979), 773f. On the Ptolemaic elephants cf. **263**.
9. Cf. **268** n. 8.
10. Ptolemy III, cf. **271**.
11. Lines 23–5 are uncertain in interpretation and obscurely phrased, perhaps deliberately so if the ‘acts of treachery’ mentioned in l. 25 refer to an unexpected revolt by officers of Ptolemy which the king then had to put down; see J. K. Winnicki, *JJP* 31 (2001), 133–45.
12. Polybius’ account of the war only mentions a one-year truce (V.87.4), which is probably different from the treaty mentioned here, and which Polybius refers to later in his account (XV.25.13, **282**); cf. Walbank (1957), 611–13.



13. 12 October.
14. The Greek text is preserved from this point and provides a check on the demotic version.
15. Lines 31–40: decree of the priests in honour of the king. The rest of the text is mutilated.

## 277 The internal consequences of the battle of Raphia

Internal unrest in Egypt is attested earlier in the third century (268 n. 9; 319 n. 19), as is friction between Egyptians and the Greek immigrants (302, 307, 312), but the reign of Ptolemy IV marked the start of a prolonged period of revolts and disturbances for which the evidence is much more abundant (283–4, 286, 290, 320; cf. 326). Polybius' ascription of responsibility to Ptolemy IV (274) is evidently too simple; a wide range of factors can be invoked – weak rulers, overuse of Egyptian resources for non-Egyptian ends, an oppressive bureaucracy, native resistance, nationalism, and so forth – and the interpretation of the revolts has received extensive discussion. See among others C. Préaux *CE* 11 (1936), 522–52 and Préaux I (1978), 389–98; W. Peremans in Maehler and Stročka (1978), 39–50; E. G. Turner in *CAH* VII.1<sup>2</sup> (1984), 155–67; B. McGing *Aff* 43 (1997), 273–314; Shipley (2000), 230–4; Thompson in Erskine (2003), 115–18; Manning (2003), 164–71.

(a) Immediately after this<sup>1</sup> Ptolemy (IV) became involved in the war against the Egyptians. For this king, by arming the Egyptians for the war against Antiochus (III), took a decision which though acceptable for the present involved a miscalculation for the future. For they were elated by the success at Raphia and could no longer endure to take orders, but looked out for a figure to lead them as they believed they were now able to fend for themselves. And that is what they achieved not long after.

Polybius V.107.1–3

(b) After the conclusion of the war over Coele Syria, King Ptolemy (IV) Philopator, of whom I am now speaking, gave up all honourable pursuits and turned to a life of abandonment such as I have just described.<sup>2</sup> But late in life<sup>3</sup> he was compelled by circumstances to become involved in the war I have mentioned, a war which apart from the savagery and lawlessness each side displayed to the other, involved no regular battle, sea-fight, or siege, nor anything else worth mentioning.<sup>4</sup>

Polybius XIV.12.3–4

1. The 'Fourth Syrian War' (275), but the war against the Egyptians only started much later, as the next passage states correctly.

2. Cf. **274**.
3. The war started in 207/6; upper Egypt escaped from Ptolemaic control till 186.
4. i.e. a guerrilla-type war.

## 278 Taxes in Egypt's foreign possessions (late third century, 219/8 or 202/1?)

The following papyrus consists of a series of abstracts of letters from the office of the *dioiketes* (**296** n. 8) to officials in the Ptolemies' foreign possessions (**255** n. 4). It is unique of its kind, but obscure in detailed interpretation through its brevity and the gaps in the text. It shows at least the close and regular supervision exercised by the office of the *dioiketes* over the taxation of the Ptolemaic empire (cf. **287**; **309** in Egypt). See R. S. Bagnall, *JEA* 61 (1975), 165–80; Bagnall (1976), 108–10, 162, 166f., 224–9.

[. . .] To Aphrodisius:<sup>1</sup> concerning the money and grain and the other revenues which exist in the districts (*topoi*) in Lesbos and Thrace,<sup>2</sup> to inform me whether  
10 he has received part of them, / and concerning Heraclitus and the (accounts?) to send so that it may be executed (?).

To Callimedes: (to send) the (copy) (of this letter) and to send the  
15 (revenues?) from Ca . . . /

To Nicostratus: (we) have written that the sale of the contract for the money revenues in Lycia<sup>3</sup> for the 4th (year) has increased to 6 (talents) 1,312 (drachmas) and 4 obols,<sup>4</sup> (and that) we have given our assent for the future as well (?).

Another (letter): concerning the gate toll (*diapylon*),<sup>5</sup> about which (we)  
20 have written that the sale fell short / by 2 (talents) 1,366 (drachmas), to [send] the account of the wine imported by the merchants from the 16th (year) every year [so that it may be set] against the deficit. [. . .]

30 To . . . : concerning Zethus and . . . es / [who] undertook the contract for purple<sup>6</sup> in Lycia for five (years), (and) concerning whom it was written that they had raised the annual revenue of 1 (talent) 1,800 (drachmas) of silver and the (revenue) of the 4th year . . .

R. S. Bagnall, *JEA* 61 (1975), 168f. (*P. Tebt.* 8; *W. Chrest.* 2)

1. The precise title and functions of this and the other officials below are not known.
2. Cf. also **269**.
3. Cf. also **270**.
4. On the issuing of contracts for the collection of taxes cf. **280**.
5. Cf. **298** at Alexandria.
6. A tax on the production of purple or possibly a monopolised industry.

## 279 Letter of Ptolemy IV (?) to an official at Soloi in Cilicia

See 272.

. . . <sup>1</sup> that you did not have any time and had not carried out an inspection, and that the city was oppressed in no small way in this fashion, for (they said that) in addition the soldiers camping in disorder / were occupying not only the outer but the inner city as well, which even under King Alexander was never subjected to billeting,<sup>2</sup> and that they were especially pressurised by the supernumeraries,<sup>3</sup> for they are the men who occupy the greater part of the houses. / Now I believe that I gave you instructions [on] these matters face to face;<sup>4</sup> even [if] this is not so, you [ought to have shown the greatest care . . .]

RC 30

1. The beginning of the letter (lost) probably detailed the complaints made by Soloi to the king. On maladministration in the Ptolemaic kingdom cf. 290.
2. Cf. 311.
3. Non-combatants who provided supporting services.
4. Cf. 308 n. 8.

## 280 A tax collector in Syria

The story of Joseph the tax collector in Josephus (*Jewish Antiquities* XII.155–236) is problematic: full of circumstantial but fictitious detail, chronologically misplaced, unclear in its purpose, it sits awkwardly in the rest of Josephus' account and its historical interpretation is debated. See Tcherikover (1959), 127–34; Gera (1998), 36–58. On the Ptolemies and Syria cf. 260.

(168) Now Joseph,<sup>1</sup> after sending to his friends in Samaria and borrowing money, prepared what he needed for his journey, clothes, cups and beasts of burden (this cost him about 20,000 drachmas), and he came to Alexandria. (169) It so happened at that time that all the leading men and magistrates from the cities of Syria and Phoenicia were coming there to bid for the collection of taxes. The king would sell these rights every year to the influential men in each city.<sup>2</sup> [ . . . ] (175) When the day came on which the (right to collect the) taxes of the cities were to be sold, the men with the greatest influence in their native lands put in their bids. When the taxes for Coele Syria, Phoenicia and Judaea together with Samaria added up to 8,000 talents,<sup>3</sup> (176) Joseph came forward and accused the bidders of conspiring to offer the king a low price for the taxes, and undertook to pay himself twice the sum and to send to the

king the property of those who had offended against his house; for (the king) sold this right together with the taxes. (177) The king was pleased to hear this and said he would confirm to him the sale of the (right to collect the) taxes, as he would increase his revenues, (178) and when he asked whether he had sureties to provide,<sup>4</sup> Joseph made a very clever reply: 'Yes,' he said, 'I will provide excellent persons whom you will not distrust.' When the king asked him to say who they were, Joseph replied 'Yourself, King, and your wife, as sureties for each other's share.' Ptolemy laughed and gave him the (right to collect the) taxes without sureties. (179) This annoyed greatly those who had come from the cities to Egypt, for they felt they had been upstaged. And so they returned in shame each to their own country.

(180) But Joseph received from the king 2,000 infantry (he had requested a military force to bring compulsion on any persons in the cities who looked down on him), and after borrowing 500 talents from the 'friends'<sup>5</sup> of the king in Alexandria, he set out for Syria. (181) When he came to Ascalon and asked the people for the tribute, they refused to give him anything and insulted him as well; he then arrested some twenty of their leading men and put them to death, and sent their property, which added up to 1,000 talents, to the king, telling him also what had occurred. (182) Ptolemy was impressed by his determination and praised him for his actions, and allowed him to do anything he wished.<sup>6</sup> The Syrians were terrified at the news, and with the execution of the men of Ascalon as a grievous example before them of (the risks of) disobedience, they opened their gates, admitted Joseph readily and paid the tribute. (183) When the people of Scythopolis tried to insult him and refuse him the tribute which they used to pay without argument, he executed their leaders as well and sent their property to the king. (184) Having thus collected a great deal of money and made considerable profits from farming the taxes, he used his means to perpetuate his existing power, thinking it wise to preserve the origin and basis of his present good fortune from the riches he had himself acquired. (185) And so he sent many gifts secretly to the king and to Cleopatra<sup>7</sup> and to their 'friends' and to all influential figures at court, purchasing their goodwill by these means. (186) He enjoyed this good fortune for 22 years. [. . .]

Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* XII.168f., 175–86

1. From the influential Jewish family of the Tobiads, and nephew of the High Priest Onias who had fallen out with the Ptolemies. The story of Joseph illustrates the penetration of Greek influences in Judaea: Joseph was himself an example of a hellenised Jew, deliberately 'international' in outlook (cf. 216–17, also 140). The story is placed by Josephus under Ptolemy V (cf. n. 7) but must belong to the third century, before

- the Seleucid conquest of Syria (**193**, **215**); two letters of Tobias to Apollonius (**296** n. 8) are preserved among the Zenon papyri (BD 65). On Tobias' son Hyrcanus cf. **216**.
2. On tax farming in Egypt cf. **296** n. 3; unlike the system described in the 'Revenue Laws', the tax farmers in Josephus' account both underwrite and collect the taxes in Syria.
  3. The figure is impossibly high.
  4. Cf. **296** col. 34, **297** col. 56.
  5. Cf. **275** n. 2.
  6. This can hardly be literally true; contrast the official denunciations of maladministration in **279**, **290**, **319** ll. 224–33, **321**.
  7. Ptolemy V and Cleopatra, daughter of Antiochus III; see n. 1.

## 281 Dedication of the elephant hunters (reign of Ptolemy IV)

See **263**.

On behalf of<sup>1</sup> King Ptolemy (IV) and Queen Arsinoe and Ptolemy the son,<sup>2</sup> Parent-Loving Gods, descended from Ptolemy (III) and Berenice, Benefactor Gods, / to Ares Nicephorus<sup>3</sup> Euagrus,<sup>4</sup> Alexander son of Syndaeus of 5  
Oroanda,<sup>5</sup> the deputy sent out together with Charimortus the general in  
charge of the hunting of elephants,<sup>6</sup> and / Apoasis son of Miorbollus from 10  
Etenna,<sup>7</sup> the leader, and the soldiers under his command (made this dedica-  
tion).

*OGIS* 86

1. Cf. **269** n. 8. The find place of this inscription is unknown.
2. The future Ptolemy V Epiphanes.
3. Who brings victory.
4. Who brings success in the hunt.
5. In Pisidia.
6. Mentioned by Strabo XIV.4.15 and Polybius XVIII.55.2.
7. Cf. **273** n. 1.

## 282 The accession of Ptolemy V (204)

The premature death of Ptolemy IV had as a result the accession of Ptolemy V while still under age: this encouraged Antiochus III to attack Egypt (**192**) and conquer Coele Syria from the Ptolemies (**193**). This marked the start of a prolonged period of weakness for the Ptolemaic dynasty (cf. **284**, **286**, **288–90**).

Two or three days later, having constructed a platform in the largest court of the palace, they<sup>1</sup> called together the bodyguard and the household troops, and also the officers of the infantry and cavalry. When these had come together, Agathocles and Sosibius ascended the platform and began by acknowledging the death of the king and queen<sup>2</sup> and proclaiming the customary period of mourning for the people. Then they placed a diadem<sup>3</sup> on the boy and proclaimed him king, and read out a forged will,<sup>4</sup> in which it was written that the king left Agathocles and Sosibius guardians of the child. They exhorted the officers to show goodwill towards the child and preserve his throne. They then brought in two silver urns, one of which was supposed to contain the king's bones and the other those of Arsinoe; in fact one of them did have the king's bones, but the other was full of spices. Having done this they immediately completed the funeral ceremony, and now the whole truth about Arsinoe's fate was made clear to the world. For now that her death was revealed men asked how it had come about. [. . .] No one cared about the king, but only about Arsinoe; some recalled her orphanhood, others the insults and maltreatment she had suffered from her earliest years, and on top of all this, her miserable end. The people fell into such a state of despair and grief that the city was filled with groans, tears and unending lamentations. Yet prudent observers could see that this was not so much a sign of their goodwill towards Arsinoe as rather of their hatred for Agathocles. The latter, after depositing the urns in the royal vaults, gave instructions to put off mourning, and at first gave two months' pay to the soldiers in the conviction that the hatred felt by the common soldiers would be blunted by their desire for gain. He then administered to them the oath they were accustomed to swear at the proclamation of the kings. He sent away Philammon, who had been in charge of the murder of Arsinoe, by appointing him 'Libyarch'<sup>5</sup> of the province of Cyrene, and entrusted the child (the young Ptolemy V) to Oenanthe and Agathoclea.<sup>6</sup> After this he despatched Pelops son of Pelops to Asia to King Antiochus (III), to urge him to preserve their alliance and not to transgress the treaty with the child's father,<sup>7</sup> and Ptolemy son of Sosibius to Philip (V) to arrange matters concerning the marriage alliance<sup>8</sup> and to ask for help should Antiochus attempt a serious breach of his compact with them. He also chose Ptolemy son of Agesarchus as ambassador to Rome,<sup>9</sup> not with a view of his hastening to carry out his mission, but because he thought that once he reached Greece and met the friends and relatives he had there, he would stay on the spot; for it was his (i.e. Agathocles') aim to remove all men of distinction. He also sent Scopas the Aetolian to recruit mercenaries in Greece,<sup>10</sup> giving him a large sum in gold for advance payments.<sup>11</sup> He did this with two objectives in mind: one was to use the mercenaries so recruited for the war with Antiochus,<sup>12</sup> another was to send away the existing mercenary troops to the forts in the

country (in Egypt) and the military settlements (*katoikiai*),<sup>13</sup> while he used the fresh recruits to fill up and renew the household troops, the palace guards and similarly the guards in the rest of the city (i.e. Alexandria). It was his belief that the men recruited and paid by him would not sympathise with the previous soldiers as they knew nothing of them, but would place in him all their hopes of safety and success, and so would readily assist him and execute his instructions.<sup>14</sup>

Polybius XV.25.3–18

1. Probably Agathocles and Sosibius, on whom cf. **275** n. 1.
2. Ptolemy IV had died prematurely aged 35 (on the chronology cf. Walbank II (1967), 435–7). Arsinoe had been murdered by Agathocles' sister Agathoclea.
3. Cf. **44** n. 1.
4. On royal wills cf. **248**, **289**.
5. It is not clear whether this is a technical term referring to an established post; cf. Bagnall (1976), 33f., 239 and on Cyrene **29**.
6. Respectively mother and sister of Agathocles.
7. The treaty concluded after the battle of Raphia (**276**).
8. Perhaps a proposal for a marriage between Ptolemy V and a daughter of Philip V.
9. Probably to warn Rome of the danger presented by Antiochus III to Egypt.
10. Cf. **275** n. 4.
11. On this practice cf. Griffith (1935), esp. 292f.
12. The anticipated 'Fifth Syrian War' (**193**).
13. Cf. **314**.
14. In fact Agathocles, his mother and sister were all to be lynched by the Alexandrian crowd, the first instance of its active interference in Ptolemaic politics (Polybius XV.26–33); this was to become a regular feature of the decline of the Ptolemies (cf. **286**, **291**, **323**). See Fraser I (1972), 81f., 118f., 130f. who follows Polybius' negative presentation of the role of the crowd; against him cf. P. M. Mittag, *Historia* 52 (2003), 161–208.

## 283 The Rosetta stone: decree of the Egyptian priests in honour of King Ptolemy V (27 March 196)

The following is a translation of the Greek version of the trilingual inscription discovered in 1799 by Napoleon's army and now in the British Museum, which made possible the decipherment of hieroglyphs (for the demotic version cf. Simpson (1996), 258–71). It consists of a decree of the Egyptian priesthood in honour of the young Ptolemy V Epiphanes, similar in character to the earlier decrees from Canopus (**271**) and Memphis (**276**). Comparison with these texts has suggested to many an increasing 'egyptianisation' of the Ptolemaic dynasty from the time of Ptolemy IV, and the need of the Ptolemies to conciliate the powerful native priesthood. See Rostovtzeff II (1941), 713–15; Walbank II

(1967), 435–7, 624f.; B. McGing, *AfP* 43 (1997), 278–83; Valbelle and Leclant (1999) with the remarks of W. Clarysse, 58–62.

In the reign of the young one,<sup>1</sup> who has received royalty from his father, the lord of crowns, whose glory is great, who established Egypt and is pious towards the gods<sup>2</sup> the conqueror of his enemies,<sup>3</sup> who restored the life of men, the lord of the Thirty-Year festivals,<sup>4</sup> like Hephaestus (i.e. Ptah) the Great, a king like the Sun (= Rā), the great king of the upper and lower regions,<sup>5</sup> son of the Father-Loving Gods (*theoi philopatores*), approved by Hephaestus, to whom the Sun granted victory, the living image of Zeus (= Amun) son of the Sun, Ptolemy the ever-living, beloved of Ptah, in the 9th year, when Aetus son of Aetus was priest of Alexander, the Saviour Gods, the Brother–Sister Gods, the Benefactor Gods, the Father-Loving Gods and / the God Manifest and Beneficent (*theos epiphanes eucharistos*), when Pyrrha daughter of Philinus was *athlophoros*<sup>6</sup> of Berenice Euergetis, when Areia daughter of Diogenes was basket-bearer (*canephoros*) of Arsinoe Philadelphus, when Irene daughter of Ptolemy was priestess of Arsinoe Philopator, on the 4th of the month Xandicus and the 18th of the Egyptian month Mecheir (27 March 196);<sup>7</sup> decree; the chief priests, the prophets, those who enter the holy of holies for the robing of the gods, the *pterophoroi*, the sacred scribes and all the other priests who assembled before the king from the temples throughout the land to Memphis for the festival of the reception of royalty to the ever-living Ptolemy, beloved of Ptah, God Manifest and Beneficent, which he received from his father, having come together in the temple at Memphis on this day, declared: since King Ptolemy the ever-living, beloved of Ptah, God Manifest and Beneficent, born of King Ptolemy and Queen Arsinoe, Father-Loving Gods, has conferred many benefits on the temples and / those who dwell in them and on all the subjects in his kingdom, being a god born of a god and goddess – just as Horus son of Isis and Osiris, who avenged his father Osiris – and being benevolently disposed towards the gods, has dedicated to the temples revenues in money and corn, and has sustained many expenses to bring Egypt to a state of prosperity and to establish the temples, and has given away freely from his own means, and of the revenues and dues he receives from Egypt some he has completely remitted and others he has reduced,<sup>8</sup> so that the people<sup>9</sup> and all others might enjoy prosperity during his reign, and he has remitted the debts to the crown which were owed by the people in Egypt and those in the rest of his kingdom, which were considerable, and he has freed those who were in the prisons and who were under accusation for a long time from the charges against them; and he has ordered that the revenues of the temples and the grants which are made to them annually in corn / and



money, and also the proper quota (*apomoira*) which is assigned to the gods from vineyards and gardens and the other possessions of the gods,<sup>10</sup> should remain as they were in his father's time; and with regard to the priests he has ordered that they should pay no more as their fee for consecration<sup>11</sup> than they were required to pay under his father and up to the first year (of Ptolemy V's reign); and he has released the members of the priestly class from the annual obligation to sail down the river (Nile) to Alexandria;<sup>12</sup> and he has ordered that men<sup>13</sup> shall no longer be press-ganged for the navy, and has remitted two thirds of the tax on byssus cloth paid by the temples to the royal treasury,<sup>14</sup> and has restored to order whatever things were neglected in former times, taking care that the customary celebrations should be offered to the gods as is fitting; and he has also dispensed justice to everybody, just like Hermes (i.e. Thoth) the Great and Great; and he has ordered further that those soldiers (*machimoi*)<sup>15</sup> who come back, and the others who were rebellious / during the period of disturbances,<sup>16</sup> should return and keep possession of their own property; and he has made sure that the cavalry and infantry forces and ships should be sent out against those attacking Egypt by sea and by land<sup>17</sup> and has sustained great expenses in money and corn so that the temples and all the people in the land might be in safety; and having gone to Lycopolis in the Busirite nome, which had been occupied and fortified for a siege with an abundant stock of weapons and other supplies<sup>18</sup> – for the disaffection was now of long standing among the impious men who had gathered there and who had done much harm to the temples and the inhabitants of Egypt – and having encamped against it he surrounded it with mounds and trenches and massive fortifications; and when the Nile rose to a great height in the 8th year (198/7) and was about to flood the plains as usual,<sup>19</sup> / he held it in check by damming in many places the mouths of the canals, for which he spent no small sum of money, and having stationed cavalry and infantry to guard them, in a short while he took the city by storm and destroyed all the impious men in it, just as Hermes (= Thoth) and Horus, the son of Isis and Osiris, subdued formerly those who had rebelled in the same places. When he came to Memphis to avenge his father and his own royalty, he punished in a fitting way all the leaders of those who rebelled in his father's time, who had [disturbed] the country and done harm to the temples, at the time when he came there for the performance of the appropriate ceremonies for his reception of royalty;<sup>20</sup> and he has remitted the debts of the temples to the royal treasury up to the 8th year (198/7), which was no small amount of corn and money, [and] similarly the dues on the byssus cloth which had not been delivered to the royal treasury / and of those delivered (he has remitted) the cost of checking them, up to the same period; and he has freed the temples from the (tax of one) artaba for

each arura of sacred land, and also the (tax of one) jar of wine for each arura of vineyards; and he has bestowed many gifts on Apis and Mnevis and the other sacred animals in Egypt,<sup>21</sup> much more than the kings before him, showing consideration for what belonged [to] them in every respect, and for their burials he gave what was needed lavishly and splendidly, and what was paid to their special shrines, with sacrifices and religious assemblies and the other [customary observances], and he has maintained the privileges of the temples and of Egypt in accordance with the laws, and has adorned the temple of Apis with lavish work, spending on it no small sum of gold [and silver] and precious stones, and he has founded temples and shrines and altars, and has restored those in need of repair, in the spirit of a beneficent god in matters relating  
35 [to] / religion; and having discovered what temples were held in the highest honour, he has restored them during his own reign, as is fitting; in return for these things the gods have granted him health, victory, power and [all] other blessings, and his royalty shall remain with him and his children for all time.

With good fortune. The priests of all the temples throughout the land have resolved to increase greatly the [honours] existing [in the temples] for King Ptolemy the ever-living, beloved of Ptah, God Manifest and Beneficent, and also those for his parents the Father-Loving Gods, and those for his grandparents the Benefactor Gods [and those] for the Brother–Sister Gods and those for the Saviour Gods. A statue of King Ptolemy the ever-living, God Manifest and Beneficent, shall be set up in each temple in the [most] distinguished [place], to be called (statue) of Ptolemy the avenger of Egypt, and beside it shall stand the chief god of each temple presenting to him the  
40 weapon of victory, which shall be constructed [in the Egyptian] / fashion, and the priests shall worship the statues three times a day and shall put upon them the sacred dress, and perform the customary rites as for the other gods at [festivals and] religious assemblies. A statue and a [golden] shrine shall be established for King Ptolemy, God Manifest and Beneficent, born from King Ptolemy and Queen Arsinoe, the Father-Loving Gods, [in each] temple and they shall be placed in the innermost sanctuaries together with the other shrines, and in the great religious assemblies, in which the shrines are carried in procession, the [shrine] of the God Manifest and [Beneficent shall also] be carried. And so that the shrine may be clearly marked now and in future, it shall be surmounted by the ten golden crowns of the king, with an asp fixed on them [as with all] the crowns with asps in the other shrines. In the centre of them shall be the crown called *Pschent*, which he (the king) put on when  
45 he entered the [temple] at Memphis [to] celebrate [there] / the ceremonies for the reception of royalty. And there shall be placed on the square around the crowns, beside the above-mentioned crown, [golden] symbols [which shall proclaim that] they are those of the king who made illustrious the upper

and the lower country.<sup>22</sup> And since the 30th of Mesore (c.7 October), on which the king's birthday is celebrated,<sup>23</sup> and also [the 17th of Phaophi] (c.28 November) on which he received the royalty from his father, have been recognised as name-days in the temples, for they were the sources of many blessings, these days shall be celebrated as festivals [and religious assemblies in the] temples [throughout] Egypt every month, and in them sacrifices, libations and the other customary celebrations shall be performed, as in other religious assemblies . . . in the temples. And a festival and religious assembly shall be celebrated every [year] for the ever-living, beloved of Ptah, King Ptolemy, God Manifest and Beneficent [in the temples throughout the] / country from the first day of Thoth for five days, during which they shall wear wreaths as they perform the sacrifices, libations and other appropriate rites. And [all the priests] shall also be called priests of the God Manifest and Beneficent in addition to the other names of the gods whom they serve, and his priesthood shall be entered in all documents<sup>24</sup> and [engraved on the rings they wear]. And private individuals may also celebrate the festival and set up the shrine mentioned above and keep it in their houses, celebrating [the customary rites in the monthly and] annual [festivals], in order that it may be well known that the people in Egypt magnify and honour the God Manifest and Beneficent, as is customary [for them. This decree shall be inscribed on stelae] of hard stone, in sacred, native and Greek letters,<sup>25</sup> and placed in every [temple] of the first, second [and third rank, next to the statue].

50

SB 8299; OGIS 90 (cf. SEG 18.634); Burstein 103 (excerpts);  
BD 165

1. Ptolemy V was 13 at the time.
2. Cf. 255 n. 9.
3. Cf. 268.
4. Identification uncertain.
5. This refers to the sun, not to Ptolemy V.
6. Literally 'prize-bearer', but the precise functions are unknown; cf. Fraser I (1972), 219, 225.
7. On such prescripts cf. 271 n. 3.
8. On these remissions and 'benefactions' characteristic of the decline of the Ptolemies, cf. 290.
9. *Laos*: the native Egyptians.
10. Cf. 296; on this passage see W. Clarysse and K. Vandorpe in Melaerts (1998), 16f. who suggest the tax farmers were not in practice returning the *apomoira* to the temples (cf. too 290 ll. 50–3).
11. Cf. 290 ll. 80–2.
12. The precise purpose of the journey is not clear (possibly celebration of the king's birthday, cf. 271 n. 6); it may have involved expensive 'presents' to the rulers.

13. Probably men working on temple land; on press-ganging for the Ptolemaic navy cf. **312** n. 1.
14. Weaving was a royal monopoly, but the temples were allowed to produce a certain amount of cloth for their own uses, as with oil, though subject to a tax (cf. **319** ll. 86–117 and n. 8).
15. A word used of the native Egyptian soldiers, on whom cf. also **290** ll. 44–8; it is not clear whether it refers here specifically to those recruited by Ptolemy for the ‘Fourth Syrian War’ (**275**).
16. The disturbances in Egypt which spread after the battle of Raphia (**277**).
17. There is no mention here of the loss of Syria as a result of the ‘Fifth Syrian War’ (**193**).
18. Cf. **284**.
19. Cf. **255** n. 2.
20. The first attested case of a Ptolemaic ruler being crowned Pharaoh at Memphis according to Egyptian rites.
21. Cf. **271** n. 8.
22. The Pharaohs were kings of ‘Upper (i.e. southern) and Lower (i.e. northern) Egypt.’
23. Cf. **271** n. 6.
24. Cf. **271** n. 14.
25. Cf. **271** l. 74.

## 284 Suppression of a rebellion in Egypt (197–185)

When Ptolemy (V Epiphanes) *the king of Egypt*<sup>1</sup> was besieging Lycopolis,<sup>2</sup> the Egyptian leaders, terrified at what was happening, surrendered to the king’s good faith. *But he treated them cruelly and exposed himself to many dangers.* Much the same thing happened when Polycrates<sup>3</sup> subdued the rebels. Athisis, Pausiris,<sup>4</sup> Chesouphos and Irobastos, that is the leaders who were still alive, yielded to circumstances and came to Sais to surrender to the king’s good faith. But Ptolemy broke the pledges he had given, had the men tied naked to chariots and dragged around, and then tortured them to death. He then went to Naucratis with his army, took charge of the men who had been enlisted in Greece by Aristonicus,<sup>5</sup> and sailed off to Alexandria. He had not taken part in any of the actions of the war, although he was now twenty-five years old, and this was because of the machinations of Polycrates.

Polybius XXII.17

1. Passages in italics are the words of the excerptor, not Polybius.
2. In 197; cf. **284** lines 19–28 and Walbank III (1979), 203–5; Walbank (2002), 70–8. On revolts in Egypt cf. **277**.
3. *PP* E0209. Polycrates has a long record of service for the Ptolemaic dynasty, from the ‘Fourth Syrian War’ (Polybius V.64.4) till the reign of Ptolemy V. The events referred to here took place in 185, at a later stage in the prolonged disturbances.
4. An emendation for Pausiras. The leaders are all Egyptian and otherwise unknown.

5. *PP* 2194; characterised by Polybius (XXII.22) as a eunuch who had been brought up with the king and had a taste for military life.

## 285 A Ptolemaic governor in Cyprus (180–165)

The strategic location of Cyprus, and its mineral and agricultural wealth (cf. 271 ll. 16–18), led to Ptolemaic intervention in the island from the earliest days of the dynasty (cf. 1 §17). Lost to Demetrius and Antigonos in 306 (cf. 1 §21, 44, 57 ch. 54), Cyprus was regained by Ptolemy I in 294 (Plutarch, *Demetrius* 35), and remained thereafter in the possession of the dynasty (cf. 254, 288, 291) till annexed by Rome in 58 BC (it was temporarily restored to Cleopatra VII by Caesar and Mark Antony). Epigraphic evidence for the Ptolemaic presence (governors and military forces) is abundant, though it reveals little of the administration of the island. See Bagnall (1976), 38–79 and Appendices A and B; A. Mehl, *Rivista di cultura classica e medioevale* 38 (1996), 215–60.

Ptolemy, the general (*strategos*) in command of Cyprus,<sup>1</sup> was in no way like an Egyptian,<sup>2</sup> but was a prudent man who displayed practical ability. For having taken charge of the island when the king (Ptolemy VI) was still a child, he showed himself very careful in the collection of money, but would not give anything to anybody, though he was frequently asked to by the king's financial officials (*dioiketai*)<sup>3</sup> and was the subject of bitter abuse for refusing to give anything away. But when the king came of age,<sup>4</sup> he collected a large sum of money and sent it on (to Egypt), with the result that Ptolemy (VI) himself and the members of his court praised him for his previous financial stringency and refusal to give anything away.

Polybius XXVII.13

1. The supreme Ptolemaic official in the island; the post is attested as a regular one from Ptolemy IV and may well have existed before.
2. On Polybius' prejudices cf. 323.
3. Either local representatives of the *dioiketes* in Alexandria (cf. 296 n. 8), or successive holders of the post of *dioiketes*.
4. In 169.

## 286 The revolt of Dionysius Petosarapis (early 160s) and disturbances in Upper Egypt

See Fraser I (1972), 119f.; Walbank III (1979), 468; B. McGing, *AJP* 43 (1997), 289–95.

(a) Dionysius called Petosarapis,<sup>1</sup> one of the 'friends'<sup>2</sup> of Ptolemy, sought to seize power for himself and so caused great danger to the kingdom. For as he was the most influential man at court and surpassed all the Egyptians on the field of battle, he despised both of the kings because of their youth and lack of experience.<sup>3</sup> Pretending that he had been incited by the elder brother to murder his kinsman, he spread a story among the masses to the effect that the younger Ptolemy was the target of a plot by his brother. When the crowd<sup>4</sup> rushed to gather at the stadium and tempers were raised to such a pitch that they were making ready to kill the elder brother and hand over the kingdom to the younger, news of the disturbance was brought to the palace. The king sent for his brother and defended himself with tears in his eyes, begging him not to place any trust in a man who was seeking to appropriate the kingdom and who had nothing but contempt for their youth. If he still had any doubts and was apprehensive, he urged him to take over both the diadem<sup>5</sup> and the realm. The youth quickly cleared his brother of any suspicion, and the two of them put on royal dress and came out before the crowd, making a public demonstration of harmony. Dionysius, foiled in his attempt, took himself out of the way, and at first by sending messages to those soldiers who were ready to revolt he sought to persuade them to share his hopes, but then withdrew to Eleusis<sup>6</sup> and welcomed all those who were turning to revolution, and when a group of seditious soldiers had been collected, numbering about 4,000 . . . The king marched against them and was victorious, killing some and pursuing others, and forced Dionysius to swim naked across the river and to withdraw among the Egyptians, where he incited the masses to revolt.<sup>7</sup> Being an energetic man and finding himself enthusiastically welcomed by the Egyptians, he soon found many willing followers.

Diodorus XXXI.15a

(b) Yet another disturbance took place in the Thebaid, as a revolutionary fervour fell on the masses.<sup>8</sup> King Ptolemy advanced against them with a large army and easily restored control over the other parts of the Thebaid. But the town called Panopolis<sup>9</sup> is situated on an ancient mound and because it is difficult of access it is thought to be a strong position; so the most active of the rebels gathered there. Ptolemy <seeing?> the desperation of the Egyptians and the strength of the place, laid siege to it and after enduring every kind of hardship he captured the city, punished the culprits and returned to Alexandria.

Diodorus XXXI.17b

1. Otherwise unknown (*PP* 14.600), and a seemingly rare example of a high-ranking Egyptian or Graeco-Egyptian at the Ptolemaic court.

2. Cf. 275 n. 2.
3. The two brothers Ptolemy VI and Ptolemy VIII, now in their twenties, had been temporarily reconciled by Roman intervention (cf. 211). For their subsequent relations cf. 288–9. On ‘contempt’ cf. 78 n. 10.
4. On the growing political role of the Alexandrian populace cf. 282 and n. 14, 323.
5. Cf. 44 n. 1.
6. A suburb of Alexandria.
7. On disturbances in Egypt cf. 277.
8. This need not be directly connected with the previous passage.
9. Cf. 290 l. 154 and n. 32.

## 287 Letter of Ptolemy VI to an officer at Thera concerning the payment of troops (13 August 163)

See Bagnall (1976), 123–34.

King Ptolemy (VI) to Apollonius,<sup>1</sup> greetings. We have received the letter to which you had appended the copy of the memorandum handed over by the soldiers stationed at Thera, / and in conformity with their request we have 5  
 given instructions to Diogenes the *dioiketes*<sup>2</sup> to give to them the lands seized 10  
 by the *oikonomos*<sup>3</sup> for the royal treasury, / (namely) the Teisagoreion, the 10  
 Carcineion, the lands called Callistratea and those which Timacrita had, the  
 annual revenues from which he declared to be 111 Ptolemaic drachmas, so  
 that they may spend these on the sacrifices / and the oil.<sup>4</sup> Farewell. Year 18, 15  
 Audnaeus 15, Epeiph 15.<sup>5</sup>

*C. Ord. Ptol.* 33; *OGIS* 59; *IG XII.3.327*

1. The commander of the Ptolemaic garrison at Thera; Ptolemaic presence on the island is attested epigraphically from the time of the Chremonidean war (61–2) and was probably continuous till 145.
2. Cf. 296 n. 8.
3. The chief financial official in the island, answerable to the *dioiketes* himself and not to the garrison commander; on the post of *oikonomos* in Egypt cf. 319.
4. For the gymnasium (where the inscription was found); on the connection between gymnasia and military life cf. 318.
5. Appended is a long list of names of officers and soldiers of the garrison who contributed to the restoration of the gymnasium.

## 288 Rivalry between Ptolemy VI and Ptolemy VIII and partition of the kingdom (163/2)

See Badian (1958), 108–10; Gruen (1984), 692–702.

After the (two) Ptolemies had partitioned the kingdom,<sup>1</sup> the younger Ptolemy (VIII) arrived in Rome wishing to cancel the partition he had made with his brother; he said that it was not of his own free will but under the force of circumstances that he had carried out what he had been told to. He urged the Senate to assign Cyprus to him; for if this were done he would (still) have a share far inferior to his brother's. Canuleius and Quintus testified in favour of Menyllus, the envoy from the elder Ptolemy (VI), by saying that the younger Ptolemy owed Cyrene and his life to them (the senators), so great was the anger and resentment felt by the common people against him; and that when control of Cyrene was granted to him against his hope and expectation, he was only too glad to accept it, and slaughtered victims and exchanged mutual oaths about this with his brother. Ptolemy (VIII) contradicted all this. The Senate, seeing that the partition had been completely [ineffective?], but wishing at the same time to make a division of the kingdom that would be politically effective, since they<sup>2</sup> were responsible for it, granted the demands of the younger Ptolemy for their own self-interest. Decisions of this kind are now very frequent with the Romans; they rely on the mistakes of others to increase and secure their own empire in a statesmanlike way, by doing favours and appearing to confer benefactions on the offenders. That is why, seeing the greatness of the Egyptian kingdom and fearing that should it ever find a leader he might become excessively arrogant,<sup>3</sup> they appointed as ambassadors Titus Torquatus and Cnaeus Merula to establish Ptolemy in Cyprus and carry out at once the king's design and their own. They despatched them immediately with instructions to reconcile the brothers and to secure Cyprus for the younger without recourse to arms.<sup>4</sup>

Polybius XXXI.10

1. On their earlier relations cf. **211**, **286**. Strife broke out again between them and was temporarily settled in 163 by the partition here described; it is not clear whether Rome played any direct role in this partition.
2. The phrase is ambiguous, cf. Walbank *ad loc.*
3. Compare Roman dealings with the Seleucids, **218**; Polybius' interpretation is debatable, cf. Gruen, *op. cit.*
4. In fact Ptolemy VI refused to give up Cyprus; whether Ptolemy VIII then tried to secure it by force is not clear. For the subsequent relations of the two brothers cf. **289**, **322**.

## 289 The will of Ptolemy VIII (March 155)

The prolonged conflict between the two Ptolemies (**211**, **286**, **288**, **322**) culminated in an (alleged) assassination attempt in 155 by Ptolemy VI on his elder



brother. This probably provides the context for the will of Ptolemy VIII, by which he bequeathed his 'kingdom' to the Romans in case he died childless, the first such example of a will by a Hellenistic ruler in favour of Rome (cf. **183** n. 3, **248** and for the practice cf. D. Braund, *PBSR* 51 (1983), 16–57; on Rome's earlier relations with the Ptolemies cf. Gruen (1984), 672–85). Ptolemy's intention was probably to insure himself against future assassination attempts. The will remained in fact invalid; Ptolemy VI died in 145 and Ptolemy was able to restore the unity of the kingdom (for the sequel cf. **290–1**). See Walbank III (1979), 477, 553f.; Gruen (1984), 702–8.

In the fifteenth year, in the month of Loios (March 155). With good fortune. This is the will<sup>1</sup> of King Ptolemy (VIII) the younger, son of King Ptolemy (V) and Queen Cleopatra (I), Gods / Manifest (*theoi epiphaneis*), a copy of which has been sent to Rome. May I with the favour of the gods exact suitable vengeance from those who hatched against me this impious plot and decided / to deprive me not only of my kingdom but even of my life.<sup>2</sup> Should any mortal fate befall me before I can leave behind heirs to the throne, I bequeath the kingdom that belongs to me<sup>3</sup> to the Romans, / for whom I have from the beginning preserved our friendship and alliance with sincerity.<sup>4</sup> To them also I entrust the task of protecting my interests,<sup>5</sup> praying to them in the name of all the gods and with their own consent, that if any (enemies) / attack either the cities or the country (*chora*), they should give help with all their power in accordance with the friendship and alliance we concluded with each other and (in accordance with) justice. I make witnesses of these arrangements Capitoline Jupiter, / the Great Gods, the Sun and Apollo Archegetes, with whom the text of these arrangements is consecrated. With good fortune.

*SEG* 9.7; Burstein 104; Sherk (1984), 31; BD 51

1. Or rather an abridged version published epigraphically for propaganda purposes.
2. A reference to the assassination attempt mentioned by Polybius XXXIII.11.2.
3. The scope of this is ambiguous; Ptolemy VIII only controlled Cyrene at the time. On Cyrene and the Ptolemies cf. **29**.
4. For Ptolemy VIII's relations with Rome cf. **211**, **288**.
5. Cf. **162** n. 3.

## 290 The 'amnesty decree' of Ptolemy VIII, Cleopatra II and Cleopatra III (118)

The end of Ptolemy VIII's prolonged conflict with his brother (**289**) was but one stage in his turbulent reign. Much of the latter part of it was taken up with a grim dynastic struggle between himself, his sister-wife Cleopatra II and

his niece-wife Cleopatra III (cf. Fraser I (1972), 121–3; D. J. Thompson in *CAH IX*<sup>2</sup> (1994), 310–14; Hölbl (2001), 194–204). The struggle was only officially terminated in 124 with a formal reconciliation between the royal trio, after which they issued in 118 a long series of ‘benefactions’ or ‘indulgences’ (*philanthropa*) substantially preserved (though perhaps in an abridged form) in a papyrus from the archives of the village scribe Menches (325). This long text is but one in a series of such royal edicts which goes back to the reign of Ptolemy IV and sought to arrest the spread of disturbances and abuses in the country (cf. 283). The royal proclamations provide abundant evidence for the disturbed conditions in Egypt in the second century, further aggravated by the long civil war which had divided the country: brigandage and insecurity, accumulated arrears of taxes, usurpations of royal land, and especially corruption and oppression by the government’s own officials. In response the royal authority proclaims a general amnesty, remission of taxes and arrears, condemnation of official abuses, privileges to those whose labour contributes to the royal treasury, and concessions to the growing power of the native clergy (cf. 283). It goes without saying that the proclamations of 118 were no more effective than those which preceded them. On ‘maladministration’ in the Ptolemaic kingdom, and the official attitude to the problem, cf. also 279, 280, 285, 307–8, 319 ll. 224–33, 321, 324–5. The evidence is unusually abundant and explicit compared to the other monarchies (cf. e.g. 14–16, 201, 245). See Préaux (1939), index p. 633; Rostovtzeff II (1941), 713–36, 870–914 (esp. 878–906 for a commentary on the text); E. G. Turner in *CAH VII.1*<sup>2</sup> (1984), 162–7.

[King] Ptolemy (VIII), and Queen Cleopatra his sister, [and Queen] Cleopatra his wife, grant an amnesty to all their subjects [in] the [kingdom], for involuntary and voluntary offences, [accusations, condemnations] and suits  
5 of all kinds up to the 9th of [Pharmouthi in the] 52nd year / except for [those] guilty of wilful [homicide] and sacrilege.

They have also decreed that those who have fled [because they were charged] with brigandage and other offences shall return to [their homes], resume their former occupations [and recover those] of their belongings [which were seized]  
10 for [these reasons] but which [have] not yet been sold. /

And [they remit to all] the arrears [for the] period [up to the] 50th year, in respect of taxes in kind and [money taxes] except for hereditary lessees who have provided a security.<sup>1</sup>

Likewise for those who are in arrears in respect of the (half-artaba tax?)  
15 and . . . / and the (two-artaba tax),<sup>2</sup> the tax for guards (*phylakitikon*),<sup>3</sup> the *naubion*,<sup>4</sup> [similar] taxes of this kind and the tax on embankments (*chomatikon*)<sup>5</sup> up to the [same period].

25 [. . .] And [they have decreed that] . . . / (customs officials) shall not seize goods unless they discover at the harbours in Alexandria, on the wharf, goods

on which tax has not been paid or prohibited merchandise;<sup>6</sup> [these] they shall bring to the *dioiketes*.<sup>7</sup>

Similarly for those who [travel] on foot from the city (Alexandria) inland along the land route which leads . . . , and those (who travel) from one tongue of land / [to] another, no toll is to be [requested] or exacted in any way [except for] the legal duties . . . 30

[Similarly concerning] those who import goods through the market for foreigners . . . [except if . . .] the seizure takes place [at] the gate . . . / 35

And they have decreed that all the cleruchs<sup>8</sup> and all the holders of sacred land<sup>9</sup> or other 'relinquished' land (*en aphesei*),<sup>10</sup> both those who have encroached on royal land<sup>11</sup> and the others who hold more land than they are entitled to, shall evacuate / all the excess land they hold, declare themselves 40 and pay a year's rent; they shall then be released from arrears up to the 51st year, and shall retain legal possession . . . (sc. of what they have).

[The élite native corps], the native soldiers with holdings of 10 aruras or 7 aruras, [and their] / officers and the other members [of the native corps, and 45 the] native marines and those of . . . [shall have possession] of the holdings (*kleroi*) they have occupied up to the [52nd year] and shall [not be liable to accusation] or confiscation.<sup>12</sup>

And [they remit] to all the arrears of the work tax (*leitourgikon*).<sup>13</sup> / 50

And they have decreed that [the sacred land] and [the] other sacred [revenues] which belong to the temples shall remain their [legal] possession, and that they shall [also receive] the quota (*apomoiria*) which they used to receive from vineyards, orchards and other land.<sup>14</sup>

Similarly the sums allocated to them or what they have received from the royal treasury as subsidies to the temples and the other sums granted to them / 55 up to [the] 51st year shall be paid regularly as [with] the other revenues, and no one shall be allowed to take anything from them.

[No one] shall forcibly seize anything which is consecrated to the gods, nor shall apply compulsion to those in charge of the sacred revenues, nor shall appropriate villages or lands or other sacred revenues, nor shall exact the tax on associations, the 'crowns'<sup>15</sup> or the artaba tax / on what is consecrated to 60 the gods,<sup>16</sup> nor shall exercise illegal patronage over the sacred land under any pretext, but its management shall be left to the priests.

And they have remitted to the overseers (*epistatai*) of the temples<sup>17</sup> and to the chief priests and priests [the] arrears both for the tax for overseers and the valuations [of the] linen cloths up to the 50th year.<sup>18</sup> / 65

Similarly (they have remitted to) those who hold in the temples priestly positions, or posts as prophet or scribe, [or any other] functions, the arrears up to the 50th year in respect of the emoluments demanded on certain occasions.

Similarly (they have remitted to) those who have made excessive profits (sc.  
70 from office) the fines up to the same period. /

Similarly for those in the lesser temples, shrines of Isis and feeding places of  
ibises and hawk shrines and Anubis shrines [and] others of the same kind, . . .  
up to the same period.

[. . .] And they have decreed that the expenses for the burial of Apis and  
Mnevis<sup>19</sup> shall be met from the royal treasury, [as] with those (i.e. members  
80 of the royal family) deified after their death.<sup>20</sup> Similarly with the sums for the  
other sacred animals. /

The posts of prophet, the priestly offices, and the posts of scribe which have  
been purchased for the temples from the sacred revenues, and for which their  
holders have paid the price, shall remain the legal possession of the temples,  
but the priests [may] not make these over to others.<sup>21</sup>

And they have decreed that nobody shall be [removed] or forcibly taken  
85 away from places which enjoy the right of asylum<sup>22</sup> under any pretext. /

And since it is reported that those holding the posts of *sitologoi*<sup>23</sup> and of  
*antigraphais*<sup>24</sup> [make use of] larger measures than the standard bronze mea-  
sures deposited in every nome<sup>25</sup> . . . in measuring what is due to the royal  
treasury, [and] that consequently the peasants are asked (an incorrect amount  
of) [*choinikes*], they have decreed that the *strategoï*,<sup>26</sup> those in charge of the  
revenues<sup>27</sup> and the royal scribes (*basilikogrammateis*)<sup>28</sup> shall test the mea-  
90 sures as exactly as possible in the presence of those concerned in (paying) the  
revenues, the peasants, the priests, / the cleruchs and the other holders of  
'relinquished' land . . . and they shall not hold more than two . . . allowed  
for errors . . . , and those who break these rules shall be punished [with  
death].

And they have decreed that the peasants who cultivate vineyards [or]  
orchards throughout the country, if they plant them in land that has been  
95 flooded or is dry / between the 53rd and 57th year, shall be exempt from  
taxation for a period of five years from the time of planting, and that [from  
the] sixth year for a further three years they shall be taxed in the fourth year a  
reduced amount, and that from the ninth year they shall pay the same taxes as  
the other owners of taxable (or: productive) land.<sup>29</sup> Cultivators in the territory  
of Alexandria shall be granted a [further] three years' extension in addition to  
the privileges (granted) to those in the countryside.

And they have decreed that those who have bought from the crown houses  
100 or vineyards or orchards / or other . . . or boats or anything else in any  
way, shall remain their legal owners, and their houses shall be exempt from  
billeting.<sup>30</sup>

[Similarly] the leases in kind concluded [with the peasants] shall remain  
[valid . . .]

[. . .]<sup>31</sup> And they have decreed that the owners of houses which have been destroyed or burnt shall be allowed to rebuild them according to the prescribed / measurements. 150

And (they have decreed) to allow those . . . [from the] villages in the same way . . . to rebuild the private houses and the temples up to a height of 10 (cubits) except for the inhabitants of Panopolis.<sup>32</sup> / 155

No one shall collect any contributions from the peasants, the workers in government monopolies (*hypoteleis*), those involved with the revenues, bee-keepers and the others, for the benefit of *strategoï*, the chiefs (*epistatai*) of the policemen (*phylakitai*), the chief policemen (*archiphylakitai*),<sup>33</sup> the *oikonomoi*,<sup>34</sup> their agents / or the other officials, in any way. 160

Neither the *strategoï* nor those in official positions nor their subordinates nor any other persons / shall appropriate royal land of good quality from the cultivators or cultivate it of their own choice. 165

Exemption from billeting is granted to the Greeks serving in the army, [the] priests, the cultivators / of royal land, the . . . , the wool-weavers, [all] the other weavers, the swineherds, the gooseherds, the . . . , the makers of sesame oil and castor oil, the [bee-keepers], the beer-brewers, provided they pay their dues to the royal treasury, each of them / for one house in which he lives; as for the other houses liable to billeting not more than half shall be occupied.<sup>35</sup> 170

And they have decreed that the *strategoï* and the other officials shall not pressurise / any of the inhabitants of the countryside for personal services, nor requisition any of their animals for their own private purposes, nor impose on them the feeding of calves or sacrificial animals, nor compel them to provide geese, fowl, wine / or grain for payment or for the renewal of their office<sup>36</sup> 180  
nor force them to work without payment, under any pretext. 185

And they remit to the policemen in the country the penalties entered against them for negligence in the royal inspections and for / the loss of crops, and the sums given to them for arrears and for other reasons and which have disappeared up to the 50th year. 190

And (they have decided to) free from the consequent (penalties) those who have not delivered to the royal treasury against payment the oil-yielding produce<sup>37</sup> from cleruchic, sacred / and other land up to the same period, and those who have failed to provide transport for the assembly (?). Likewise those who have failed to supply reeds and light material for the embankments. / 200

Likewise (they free) the royal peasants<sup>38</sup> and the . . . and the [holders] of 'relinquished' land who have not planted the [required . . .]<sup>39</sup> up to the 51st year from the consequent penalties, provided the planting is done starting from the 52nd year. / 205

Likewise (sc. they offer amnesty to) those who have cut down trees on their own property in violation of the published ordinances.<sup>40</sup>

And they have decreed concerning suits brought by Egyptians against Greeks, viz. by Greeks against Egyptians, or by Egyptians against Greeks,<sup>41</sup>  
210 with regard to all categories of people / except those cultivating royal land, the  
workers in government monopolies and the others who are involved with the  
revenues, that the Egyptians who have made contracts in Greek with Greeks  
215 shall give and receive satisfaction before the *chrematistai*, while the Greeks /  
who have concluded contracts in Egyptian (i.e. with Egyptians) shall give satisfaction  
before the *laokritai*<sup>42</sup> in accordance with the laws of the country (i.e.  
Egyptian laws). The suits of Egyptians against Egyptians shall not be taken by  
the *chrematistai* to their own courts,<sup>43</sup> but they shall allow them to be decided  
220 before the *laokritai* in accordance with / the laws of the country.

And they have decreed that the collectors of private debts must not under  
any pretext arrest the royal peasants, the workers in the government monopolies  
225 nor the others whom the previous ordinances forbid / to be brought up for  
accusation (? or: to be enslaved?)<sup>44</sup> but that the exactions of their debts shall  
230 be made on their goods in so far as they are not excluded by this ordinance. /

And they have decreed concerning the royal peasants that (the collectors of  
debts) shall not sell at least one house in which their agricultural implements  
235 are stored (?), nor their cattle, nor their other implements for / cultivation,  
whether [as arrears to the royal treasury?] or to the temples, nor for any other  
debt, under any pretext. In the same way (they must not sell) the workshops  
240 of the weavers in linen, byssus and wool,<sup>45</sup> / nor of other similar workers,  
under any pretext; others may not acquire them nor use the implements for  
weaving linen and making byssus, except the workers in the royal monopolies  
245 [and] the / byssus-makers, and they shall use them in the temple themselves  
for the provision of royal dues and the dressing of the other goods.

Those in official positions and others may not impose on the linen-weavers, /  
250 the byssus-makers and the makers of clothes work without payment or at  
reduced wages.

And they have decreed that no one may requisition boats under any pretext  
255 for his own personal use. /

Neither the *strategoï* nor all the other officials in charge of royal, city or sacred  
matters shall arrest anyone for some private debt or offence or in pursuit of  
260 a private enmity, nor shall they keep him [imprisoned] in their / houses or  
in other places under any pretext. If they have a grievance against someone,  
they shall bring it before the tribunals appointed in each (case *or* nome), and  
they shall receive and give satisfaction in accordance with the ordinances and  
regulations.

*C. Ord. Ptol.* 53; *P. Tebt.* 5; cf. *Sel. Pap.* II.210; Burstein 107  
(excerpts only); BD 54

1. Other leases being for fixed and limited periods; cf. Préaux (1939), 496.
2. Various taxes on land.
3. A tax for guarding the public granaries (Préaux (1939), 131f.).
4. Cf. **313**.
5. Cf. Préaux (1939), 182, 398f. On the maintenance of embankments cf. also **304**, **313**, **319** ll. 197–211.
6. On taxation of foreign imports at Alexandria cf. **297** col. 52, **298**.
7. Cf. **296** n. 8.
8. On the Ptolemaic cleruchs (military settlers) cf. **314**.
9. Land belonging to native temples, cf. **283** l. 30, **296** col. 36; cf. Rostovtzeff I (1941), 280–4 and III, 1383f.; Préaux (1939), 480–91; Préaux I (1978), 378f. On the various types of land in Ptolemaic Egypt cf. Manning (2003), 54–6.
10. This category of land is controversial in interpretation; cf. Crawford (1971), 93–5; J. C. Shelton, *CE* 46 (1971), 113–19; *P. Tebt.* IV (1976), p. 3.
11. Land ‘owned’ by the king, cf. also **315**, **319**, **324**. See Rostovtzeff I (1941), 277–80 and III, 1382; Préaux (1939), 491–514; Préaux I (1978), 370–2; Manning (2003), 157–60.
12. i.e. the holdings become in effect private property and do not revert to the crown; contrast **314**.
13. Probably a payment from cleruchs in place of personal service (Préaux (1939), 398).
14. Cf. **283** l. 15 with n. 10, **296**.
15. On the ‘crowns’ see also **170** n. 2, **260** (a); cf. Préaux (1939), 394f.
16. This concession was ignored in practice; cf. Crawford (1971), 99 n. 10.
17. Officials appointed by the kings to supervise the administration of temples; cf. **271** l. 73 and Rostovtzeff I (1941), 282.
18. Cf. **283** n. 15.
19. Cf. **271** n. 8.
20. Cf. **255** n. 12.
21. Priestly appointments had important revenues and perquisites attached to them; they were purchased from the crown (cf. **283** l. 16) and treated in practice by their holders as their private possession. Cf. Préaux (1939), 489f.
22. See Rostovtzeff II (1941), 899–903 on the spread of grants of *asylia* by the kings to native Egyptian temples in the second century; cf. **65**.
23. Keepers of the royal granaries, cf. **319** l. 126.
24. Checking clerks, controllers, cf. **296**–7.
25. Cf. **296** col. 25, **297** col. 40, **310**, **325** (c). See also on measures **127**, **129**; R. P. Duncan-Jones, *Chiron* 9 (1979), 347–75.
26. The governor of the nome, the largest administrative unit in Ptolemaic Egypt; his functions, initially military as the title indicates, became civilian in character from the reign of Ptolemy III. Cf. **212**, **318** and n. 5, **320**, **324**.
27. A title which appears in the second century, frequently combined with the post of *strategos*.
28. Scribes of the nome (cf. **296** cols. 33 and esp. 36, **310**, **315**), as opposed to the scribes of the subdivisions of the nome, the toparchy (*topogrammateis*, cf. **325** (b)) and the village (*komogrammateis*, cf. **306** (end), **319** l. 46, **325**); cf. Manning (2003), 52.
29. On the anxiety of the authorities to get the land cultivated cf. **324**, **325**(b); Lewis (1986), 107–11.
30. Cf. also below ll. 168–77 and **311**.

31. Lines 103–33 largely lost, lines 134–46 repeat lines 147–67.
32. Cf. **286** (*b*), but this need not explain the exception here.
33. The former were chiefs of police for the whole nome, the latter for a single village; on the latter cf. **296** col. 37, **308**, **312**, **315**.
34. See **319**.
35. Cf. **311**.
36. See **325** and nn. 1, 2.
37. See **297**.
38. The ‘royal peasants’ were the cultivators of crown land; cf. **315**, **324**. For the Seleucid empire cf. **164** n. 14.
39. A possible reference to the ‘sowing schedule’ (**315**).
40. Cf. **319** ll. 191–211.
41. Often corrected to ‘Egyptians’, but see J. Modrzejewski (next note).
42. *Chrematistai*: tribunals of Greek judges active in the countryside of Egypt (cf. **318**); *laokritai*: tribunals of Egyptian judges applying native Egyptian law. On this passage see J. Modrzejewski in Bingen et al. (1975), 699–708; Manning (2003), 53f. The legislation in favour of the Egyptian tribunals was in practice ineffective.
43. Even if written in Greek.
44. Cf. **260** (*b*).
45. Cf. **319** ll. 87–117 and n. 8.

## 291 Internal strife and the decline of the Ptolemies

The following excerpt gives a flavour of Justin’s lurid and moralising presentation of the decline of the Ptolemies (compare **223** on the Seleucids): the writer concentrates on the personalities of the protagonists, especially the domineering queen Cleopatra III, and revels in the murderous conflicts within the dynasty while pretending to be shocked by them. The divisions within the ruling house were further aggravated by its dynastic links with the rival Seleucids; the decline of the two dynasties was intertwined. The detail of what happened in this confused period of Ptolemaic history is often unclear; cf. D. J. Thompson in *CAH IX*<sup>2</sup> (1994), 310–26; Shipley (2000), 211–13; Hölbl (2001), 204–14.

(4) In Egypt Cleopatra (III),<sup>1</sup> incensed at having to share the throne with her (elder) son Ptolemy (IX), stirred up the populace against him.<sup>2</sup> She also took away from him his wife (Cleopatra) Selene, an act all the more cruel as he already had two sons from her, and forced him into exile, summoning her younger son (Ptolemy X) Alexander and setting him up as king in his place. Not content with having banished her son from the kingdom she waged war against him while he was in exile in Cyprus. When he was driven out she killed the commander of her army for letting him escape from his hands alive, though the truth was that Ptolemy (IX) had left the island because he was ashamed of fighting his mother, not because his forces were weaker. (Ptolemy X) Alexander, terrified at such cruelty on the part of his mother,



then abandoned her himself, preferring a secure and safe life to a dangerous kingdom. But Cleopatra, fearing that her elder son Ptolemy (IX) might receive military assistance from (Antiochus IX) Cyzicenus<sup>3</sup> to recover Egypt, sent huge forces to (Antiochus VIII) Grypus together with (Cleopatra) Selene to be his wife; she was thus going to marry the enemy of her previous husband. Cleopatra also arranged through envoys the recall of her son (Ptolemy X) Alexander to his kingdom, but he caught her plotting his death in a secret conspiracy and executed her; she thus surrendered her last breath not to fate but to parricide.<sup>4</sup> Such an infamous death was a deserved punishment; she had driven her own mother from her marriage bed, deprived her two daughters of their husbands by marrying them to their brothers in succession, driven one of her sons into exile and waged war on him, and plotted death on the other after depriving him of his throne.

(5) But (Ptolemy X) Alexander was not allowed to escape the punishment for such a horrible murder. For as soon it was discovered that the mother had fallen victim to her son's crime, the people rose up and he was driven into exile. Ptolemy (IX) was recalled and reinstated in his kingdom,<sup>5</sup> after refusing to fight a war against his mother and recover by force from his brother his previous possessions. While this was happening, his brother died;<sup>6</sup> the son of a concubine, his father had left him by will the kingdom of Cyrene, but he now made the Roman people his heirs.<sup>7</sup> By now the fortune of Rome had started to extend to the eastern kingdoms and could no longer be contented with the boundaries of Italy. In this way that part of Libya was made a province; subsequently Crete and Cilicia were conquered during the war against the pirates and turned into provinces.<sup>8</sup> As a result the kingdoms of Syria and Egypt were constricted by the proximity of Rome. They had formerly sought to enlarge their possessions through wars at the expense of their neighbours, but now that they were deprived of room for movement they turned their energies to mutual destruction. They therefore exhausted themselves through constant struggles, became an object of contempt<sup>9</sup> to their neighbours and fell prey to the previously unwarlike Arab peoples. Herotimus their king, emboldened by the 700 sons which he had from his concubines, divided his forces and attacked Egypt and Syria in turn, and by wearing down the strength of his neighbours brought greatness to the Arab name.

Justin XXXIX.4–5

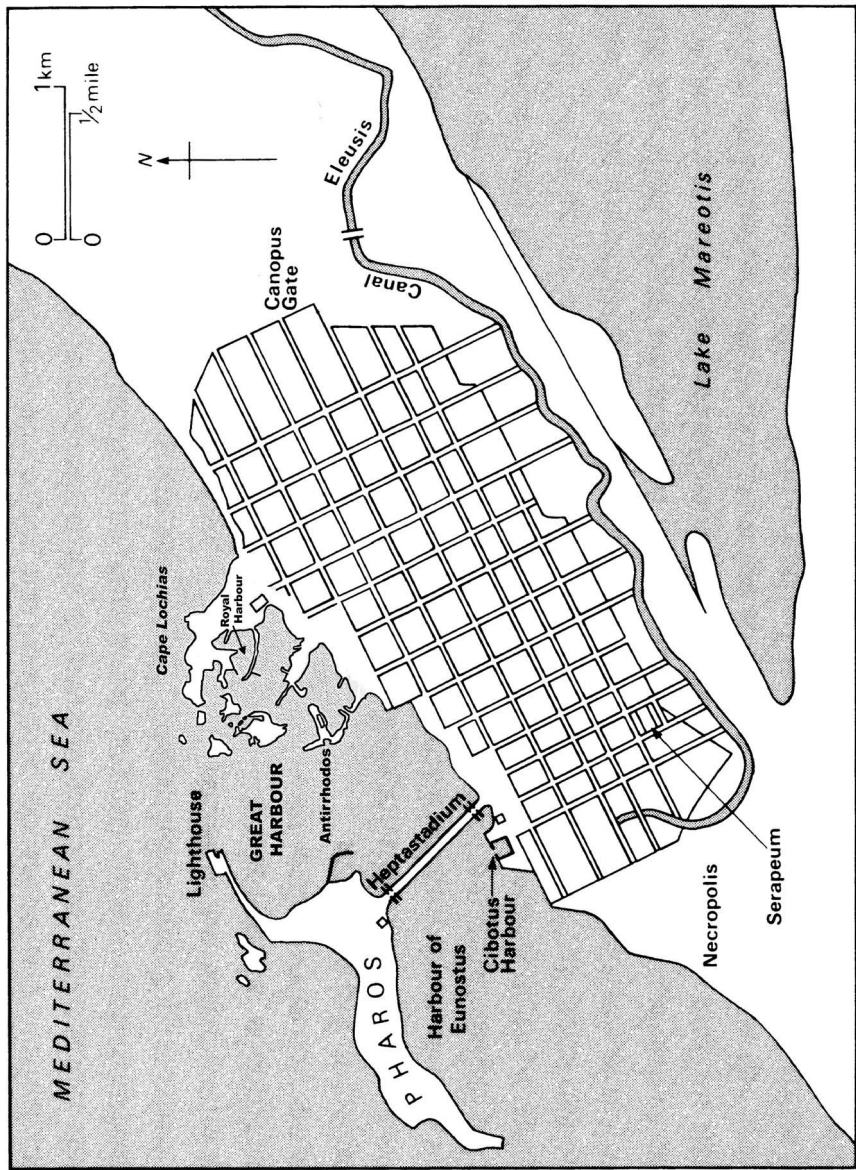
1. Ptolemy VIII died in 116 (cf. **290**), leaving the throne to his widow Cleopatra III and to a son to be designated by herself. Cleopatra favoured the younger of his two sons Ptolemy X Alexander as against the elder Ptolemy IX (they may have been half-brothers rather than brothers). Ptolemy X, placed in charge of Cyprus not long before the death of Ptolemy VIII, was recalled by her to become king, while Ptolemy IX took his place

- in exile in Cyprus. On them cf. Ogden (1999), 93–9. On Cyprus and the Ptolemies cf. **285**.
2. On the political role of the crowds in Alexandria in later Ptolemaic history cf. **282** n. 14.
  3. On Cyzicenus and Grypus cf. **223** n. 1.
  4. In 101.
  5. Ptolemy X was expelled in 89; Ptolemy IX then ruled till his death in 80.
  6. Ptolemy Apion, a bastard of Ptolemy VIII; on him cf. Ogden, *op. cit.*, 92. Ptolemy Apion and his two half-brothers Ptolemy IX and Ptolemy X are referred to as ruling simultaneously in the three main parts of the Ptolemaic empire in a Roman law of 101/100 dealing with piracy in the east: (the Roman consul is to send letters) ‘to the king who rules on the island of Cyprus (Ptolemy IX), and to the king who rules in Alexandria and Egypt (Ptolemy X), and to the king who rules in Cyrene (Apion), and to the kings who rule in Syria (the Seleucids)’ (Sherk (1984), no. 55, lines 8–9).
  7. In 96 (cf. previously **289**), though Rome did not claim Cyrene till 75/4. On his side Ptolemy X left Egypt and Cyprus to Rome in his will. Rome only took over Cyprus in 58–56 and Egypt in 30.
  8. Cf. **220**.
  9. Cf. **78** n. 10.

## 2 ASPECTS OF EGYPT UNDER THE PTOLEMIES

### 292 A description of Alexandria

Ancient Egypt had two major capital cities, Thebes in Upper Egypt and Memphis in Lower Egypt which both maintained their importance in the Ptolemaic period (for Memphis cf. **276**, **283**, **320**, **326** and index; Thompson (1988)). Ptolemy I counterbalanced these by founding Ptolemais in the south (**293**) and promoting the development of Alexandria in emulation of Athens. Alexandria quickly grew to become the most brilliant of all Hellenistic royal capitals; located on the edge of Egypt, it was oriented towards the Greek world (cf. **256**, **258**, **294**) and predominantly Greek in character despite a cosmopolitan population (**261**, **323**; for an Egyptian perspective cf. **326**). The topography and appearance of the ancient city were for long known mainly – and inaccurately – from the descriptions in ancient writers (notably Strabo, who visited the city): the ancient city is largely buried under the modern one, and the ground level has subsided considerably since ancient times (by some 8 metres in the eastern harbour area). Underwater surveys and excavations conducted in the 1990s have yielded significant results in plotting much more accurately the contours of the submerged royal quarters and eastern harbour area. Numerous finds of Egyptian objects in that area have also shown that parts of the city had a more Egyptian look than could have been imagined. See Empereur (1998); Goddio et al. (1998), esp. 245–53 for a summary; R. S. Bagnall, *AJA* 105 (2001), 229–31 and for a general view J. Rowlandson in Erskine (2003), 251–4. For earlier accounts before the



6. Ptolemaic Alexandria (to illustrate 292). Contours are approximate; for the area around the royal palaces see F. Goddio et al. (1998)

most recent explorations see Rostovtzeff I (1941), 415–20; Fraser I (1972), 7–37 and *passim*.

Since Alexandria and its vicinity form the largest and most important part of this work, I must begin with them.<sup>1</sup> The coast from Pelusium as one sails towards the west as far as the Canobic mouth is about 1,300 stades long (c.227.5 km); this is what I have called the base of the Delta. From there to the island of Pharos is a further 150 stades (c.26.25 km). Pharos is an oblong island, very close to the mainland, and forms with it a harbour with two entrances. The shore has the shape of a bay, as it has two promontories jutting out into the sea; between these lies the island which closes the bay, for it stretches lengthwise along the shore. Of the extremities of Pharos the eastern one lies closer to the mainland and to the promontory which faces it (this promontory is called Lochias), and this makes the entrance of the harbour narrow; in addition to the narrowness of the channel there are also rocks, some under water and others above, which at all times roughen the waves that strike them from the open sea. The extremity of the islet (Pharos) is also a rock, washed all round by the sea, with on top of it a tower magnificently built of white stone, several storeys high, which bears the same name as the island. This was dedicated by Sostratus of Cnidus, a ‘friend’<sup>2</sup> of the kings, for the safety of sailors, as the inscription declares. For since the coast was harbourless and low on both sides, and also had rocks and shallows, those who were sailing there from the open sea needed a tall and conspicuous sign to enable them to make straight for the entrance of the harbour. The western entrance does not offer easy access, though it does not demand so much caution. It too forms another harbour, that of Eunostus (i.e. ‘of happy return’) as it is called; it lies in front of the closed harbour which was dug out artificially.<sup>3</sup> The harbour which has its entrance on the side of the tower of Pharos which I have mentioned is the Great Harbour, while the (other harbours) lie continuously with it in their recess, being separated from it by the embankment called the Heptastadium (i.e. 7 stades in length = 1,225 m). This embankment forms a bridge stretching from the mainland to the western part of the island, and leaves only two passages into the harbour of Eunostus, which are bridged over. This work formed not only a bridge to the island but also an aqueduct, at least when the island was inhabited. But in our time the deified Caesar (Julius Caesar) reduced it to a desert during the war against the Alexandrians,<sup>4</sup> as it was on the side of the kings. But a few seamen do live near the tower. As for the Great Harbour, in addition to being excellently closed by the embankment and by its natural shape, it is so deep near the shore that the largest ship can be moored at the stairs, and it is split up into several harbours. [. . .] (7) The

advantages of the site are many; for first the place is washed by two seas, in the north by the so-called Egyptian sea and in the south by Lake Marcia, also called the Mareotis. Many canals from the Nile fill it, from above and on the sides, and through these far more goods are imported than from the sea, with the result that the harbour on the lake was much wealthier than that on the sea; and here the exports from Alexandria are greater than the imports. [. . .] In addition to the wealth of the goods carried in both directions, to the harbour on the sea and to that on the lake, the purity of the air is also worthy of note. This is also a result of (the site) being washed by two seas, and of the favourable timing of the Nile's rise.<sup>5</sup> For in the other cities that are situated on lakes the air is heavy and stifling during the heat of summer. [. . .] But at Alexandria at the beginning of summer the swelling Nile fills up the lake as well and prevents any stagnant water from fouling the rising air. It is also then that the Etesian winds blow from the north and from this vast open sea, so that the Alexandrians enjoy a most pleasant time in summer. (8) The shape of the area of the city is like a cloak (*chlamys*);<sup>6</sup> the long sides of it are those that are washed by the two seas, and have a diameter of about 30 stades (c.5.25 km) while the isthmuses form the short sides, each of them 7 or 8 stades wide (c.1,225 to 1,400 m) and cut off on one side by the sea and on the other by the lake. The whole city is criss-crossed with streets suitable for the traffic of horses and carriages, and by two that are very wide, being more than 1 plethrum (c.30 m) in breadth; these intersect each other at right angles. The city has magnificent public precincts and the royal palaces, which cover a fourth or even a third of the entire city area. For just as each of the kings would from a love of splendour add some ornament to the public monuments, so he would provide himself at his own expense with a residence in addition to those already standing, so that now, to quote Homer (*Odyssey* XVII.266) 'there is building after building'. All however are connected with each other and with the harbour, even those that lie outside it. The Museum also forms part of the royal palaces; it has a covered walk, an arcade with recesses and seats (*exedra*) and a large house, in which is the dining hall of the learned members of the Museum.<sup>7</sup> This association of men shares common property and has a priest of the Muses, who used to be appointed by the kings but is now appointed by Caesar (i.e. the emperor). The so-called *Sema* (tomb) is also part of the royal palaces; this was an enclosure in which were the tombs of the kings and of Alexander. For Ptolemy son of Lagus got in ahead of Perdiccas and took the body from him when he was bringing it down from Babylon.<sup>8</sup> [. . .] He gave it burial in Alexandria,<sup>9</sup> where it now lies, though not in the same sarcophagus. The present one is made of glass, while Ptolemy placed it in one made of gold. [. . .]

(9) In the Great Harbour at the entrance on the right there is the island and the tower Pharos, and on the other side are the rocks and the promontory Lochias with the royal palace. As one sails into the harbour there are on the left the inner royal palaces, which are joined to those on Lochias and have groves and many colourful lodges. Below these lies the artificially dug harbour which is not visible and is the private property of the kings, and Antirrhodos, a small island in front of the dug harbour which has both a royal palace and a small harbour. They gave it this name as being a rival of Rhodes. Above it lies the theatre, then the Posideum, a kind of headland jutting out from the so-called Emporium, with a sanctuary of Poseidon. [. . .] Then come the Caesareum, the Emporium and the storehouses; after them the shipyards as far as the Heptastadium. So much for the Great Harbour.

(10) Next after the Heptastadium comes the harbour of Eunostus, and above this the artificial harbour which is also called Cibotus (the 'Chest'); it too has shipyards. Further beyond this there is a canal fit for ships which stretches as far as Lake Mareotis. Beyond the canal only a little of the city is left. Then there is the suburb Necropolis in which are many gardens and tombs and installations suitable for the embalming of corpses. Within the canal there is the Serapeum<sup>10</sup> and other ancient precincts which have been virtually abandoned because of the construction of the new buildings at Nicopolis; for example there is an amphitheatre and a stadium and the quinquennial<sup>11</sup> competitions are celebrated there, while the old buildings have fallen into neglect. In a word, the city is full of dedications and sanctuaries; the most beautiful building is the Gymnasium which has porticoes over a stade (*c.*175 m) in length. In the middle (of the city) are the law-courts and the groves. There is also the Paneium, an artificially made height, conical in shape and resembling a hill, and ascended by a spiral stair. From the top one has a panoramic view of the whole city lying below. The broad street which runs lengthwise stretches from Necropolis along the Gymnasium as far as the Canopus gate; then there is the so-called Hippodrome and the other . . . that lie parallel as far as the Canobic canal. After passing through the Hippodrome one reaches Necropolis; it has a settlement on the sea no smaller than a city. [. . .]<sup>12</sup>

Strabo XVII.1.6–10 (with omissions)

1. On the foundation of Alexandria cf. **8**.
2. Cf. **275** n. 2; on Sostratus cf. also **55**; Fraser (1972), 19f.; T. L. Shear, *Hesperia* Supplement 17 (1978), 22–5. From underwater finds the foot of the lighthouse is now believed to have displayed massive statues of several Ptolemaic rulers in the guise of Egyptian pharaohs; cf. Empereur (1998), 64f. and 76–81; Stanwick (2003), 17f.
3. The 'Cibotus' mentioned in §10.

4. In 48–47 BC.
5. Cf. **255** n. 2.
6. Cf. **8** n. 3.
7. On the Museum cf. Fraser (1972), 312–19; on the Library, not mentioned by Strabo, cf. **261**. Cf. generally A. Erskine, *Greece & Rome* 42 (1995), 38–48.
8. Cf. Diodorus XVIII.28; Pausanias I.6.3 and **254**. The name of the tomb may in fact have been *Soma* (Body), cf. Erskine (next note).
9. According to the Parian Marble (I §11) and Pausanias (previous note), Alexander's body was first buried at Memphis before being brought to Alexandria, where he was provided with a divine cult, linked to the Ptolemies' own dynastic cult; cf. **271** nn. 1 and 3; Hornblower (1981), 40–6, 90–2; A. Erskine, *Greece & Rome* 49 (2002), 163–79.
10. Cf. **212**, **300**.
11. Inclusively reckoned = every 4 years.
12. Strabo's description does not deal with the constitution of Alexandria (on which cf. Fraser (1972), ch. 3), or its population (on which cf. **323**). On the economic life of Alexandria cf. also **160** §9, **290** ll. 25–35, **298–9**, **310**.

## 293 Decree of Ptolemais in honour of its magistrates (reign of Ptolemy II or Ptolemy III)

While the Macedonian conquest of Asia brought about the spread of Greek-type cities in Asia, especially thanks to the Seleucids (cf. **48**, **57** ch. 57 and n. 13, **58**), the Ptolemies followed a different line in Egypt (though cf. **272** outside Egypt). Large-scale city foundations would have required massive displacement of the Egyptian population, and fresh land for settlement in the Fayum was assigned on an individual basis (**254** n. 10). Apart from the old treaty port of Naucratis in the Nile Delta (cf. **294** n. 7) and the development of Alexandria (**292**), only one new Greek city was added by Ptolemy I, Ptolemais in Upper Egypt, founded probably as a counterweight to the ancient Egyptian city of Thebes, though it never achieved the status of Alexandria (for a decree referring to its foundation and augmentation with fresh Greek colonists, cf. P. M. Fraser, *Berytus* 13 (1960), 123–33 and *SEG* 20.665). Strabo (XVII.1.42) describes Ptolemais as 'the largest of the cities in the Thebais, no smaller than Memphis, with a form of government of Greek character'. The civic life of Ptolemais is illustrated by a number of inscriptions (Rhodes and Lewis (1997), 466–8). See Fraser III (1972), index s.v. Ptolemais Hermiou (p. 64); Manning (2003), 36f.

Resolved by the council and the people; Hermas son of Dorcon of (the ward) Megistos<sup>1</sup> moved: since the presiding magistrates (*prytaneis*) who were colleagues of Dionysius son of Musaeus in the eighth year,<sup>2</sup> Dionysius son of Musaeus of (the ward) Hyllus, Hippias son of Dion of (the ward) Megistos, / 5  
Cratius son of Procritus of (the ward) Philotera,<sup>3</sup> Cissus son of Nearchus

of (the ward) Andania, Heliodorus son of Nicomachus of (the ward) Danae, Neoptolemus son of Theodorus of (the ward) Caranus, have governed the city well and worthily, (and) when they saw some citizens not behaving properly and causing a considerable uproar / at sessions of [the] council [and] meetings of the assembly, particularly during [elections] when they had gone [as far as resorting to violence and] impiety, they took note of this [depravity, inflicting (on them) the] penalties prescribed by the laws, which caused the [city to return to better order];<sup>4</sup> they [then] voted that the council [and the] law-courts [should be recruited] from pre-selected men; the younger men were incensed at this / but the other [citizens who were selected thought that?] the city would be better [governed] and concerning the matters they thought would benefit the city . . . (the last line is seriously mutilated and the rest of the inscription lost)

OGIS 48

1. The names of the wards are derived from gods, heroes, and the royal family (n. 3).
2. 278/7 or 240/39.
3. A sister of Ptolemy II; cf. 254 n. 3, 273 n. 2.
4. Cf. de Ste Croix (1981), 304.

## 294 List of victors in a competition (267)

To King Ptolemy (II), son of the Saviours (*Soteres*),<sup>1</sup> Heraclides son of Leptines from Alexandria, who organised the competition (as agonothete) and was the first to offer bronze vessels as prizes, in the eighteenth year, on the twelfth of Dystros,<sup>2</sup> on the birthday festival (of the king), when Amadocus instituted the *Basileia*,<sup>3</sup> (dedicated) the list of victors. /

Trumpeters:	Boxing, boys:
Theodorus son of Straton, Thracian	Chrysermos son of Amadocus, Thracian
Heralds:	<i>Ptolemaikoi</i> :
Hephaestion son of Demeas, from Tarentum	Demetrius son of Artemon, from Naucratis <sup>7</sup>
In the torch race, first lap:	Beardless:
10 /Ptolemy son of Amadocus, Thracian	Stratippus son of Menoetius, Macedonian
In the torch race, (last lap):	Men:



Dionysius son of Stephanus, from Halicarnassus	Bastakilas son of Amadocus, Thracian	
In the long race ( <i>dolichon</i> ), boys: <sup>4</sup>	Boxing and wrestling ( <i>pankration</i> ), <i>Ptolemaikoi</i> :	
Aenesis son of Patamusus, Thracian / Men:	Amadocus son of Satocus, Thracian	15
Ptolemy son of Bubalus, Macedonian	Beardless:	
In the sprint ( <i>stadion</i> ), boys:	Stratippus son of Menoetius, Macedonian	
Ptolemy son of Amadocus, Thracian	Men:	
<i>Ptolemaikoi</i> : <sup>5</sup>	Ptolemy son of Hadymus, Macedonian	
/ Cineas son of Alcetas Thessalian <sup>6</sup>	In the armed race:	
Beardless:	Mnesimachus, son of Aminocles, Boeotian	20
Cineas son of Alcetas, Thessalian	Dressage:	
Men:	Ptolemy son of Amadocus, Thracian	
/ . . . son of Parmenion, Macedonian	In the <i>stadion</i> race, foals:	
In the double stade race [children]:	Lycomedes son of Ctesicles, from Samos <sup>8</sup>	25
...	Adult horses:	
	...	

Koenen (1977), cf. *Bull.* 1977, 566; *SEG* 27.1114

1. Ptolemy I and Berenice.
2. 8 March 267.
3. A festival of Zeus celebrated in Alexandria and founded to commemorate the birthday of Ptolemy II (Fraser I (1972), 194f., 232); cf. **255** for Zeus as protector of kings and **271** n. 6 for the celebration of royal birthdays. The festival mentioned in this inscription was organised by Amadocus (probably the father of several of the victors listed below) in the Egyptian countryside on the model of the Alexandrian festival; the participants were Ptolemaic cleruchs (cf. **314**) who demonstrated in this way their loyalty and gratitude to the dynasty.
4. Boys, beardless, men: age groups in competitions. Cf. **252**.
5. Competitors admitted under the rules in force for the *Ptolemaieia* (**256**).
6. Probably identical with a priest of Alexander in 263/2 (*PP* 17.215).
7. A citizen from Naucratis, one of the three Greek cities in Egypt (cf. **293**); the other victors identify themselves by their country or city of origin outside Egypt.
8. Probably honoured in a decree from Ptolemais for his devotion to Ptolemy II or III and to the city (*OGIS* 47, cf. *PP* 17.219).

## 295 Law of Alexandria on the cult of Arsinoe Philadelphus (c.267)

The following is an excerpt from a fragmentary papyrus text of the work of the writer Satyrus *On the Demes of Alexandria* (late third century). The passage deals with regulations for the performance of a cult in honour of Arsinoe Philadelphus (for whose exceptional status cf. esp. **254** n. 1, **272**). Cf. L. Robert, *op. cit.* below; Fraser I (1972), 225f., 229f.

- 10 . . . let no one walk . . . to the basket-bearer<sup>1</sup> . . . of Arsinoe Philadelphus . . . /  
[together with] the prytaneis, the priests, [the gymnasiarchs], the epebes and  
the rod-[bearers. Those who] wish to sacrifice to Arsinoe [Philadelphus] shall  
15 sacrifice in front of their [private doors] or on their [houses] or [on the] / road  
along which the basket-bearer walks;<sup>2</sup> everyone should sacrifice either a bird  
[or whatever victim] each wishes except for a male or female goat; everyone  
20 shall construct [the] altars out of sand;<sup>3</sup> should any persons / [have] altars  
made of bricks they shall spread sand on top of them, and shall place [on] it  
the firewood on [which] they shall burn the pulses [ . . . ]

*The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* XXVII (London, 1962), 2465, lines 7–23 with the corrections and commentary of L. Robert, *American Studies in Papyrology* I (1966), 192–210; Burstein 93

1. Cf. **271** n. 2.

2. Compare **162** at Ilium (lines 30ff.) where citizens and foreigners participate in a public cult by offering sacrifices in front of their homes.

3. The choice of victims and altars shows that Arsinoe was assimilated to Aphrodite. The prohibition on the use of goats distinguishes her from the vulgar cult of Aphrodite Pandemos (L. Robert, *op. cit.*, 198), while the use of sand altars shows that Arsinoe was equated with Aphrodite Euploia, the patroness of sailors, as she was in a temple dedicated to her by the Ptolemaic admiral Callicrates of Samos at Cape Zephyrium near Alexandria (L. Robert, *op. cit.*, 199–202; P. Bing, *GRBS* 43 (2002/3), 255–66 with new evidence from poems in honour of Callicrates). Small plaques inscribed ‘Of Arsinoe Philadelphus’ found on sites in the Aegean may be connected with this cult (L. Robert, *op. cit.*, 202–8), so too a series of small jugs from Egypt and elsewhere on which Arsinoe is equated with *Agathe Tyche*, Good Fortune (L. Robert, *op. cit.*, 208–10).

## 296 The *apomoira* for Arsinoe Philadelphus (263 and 259)

The so-called ‘Revenue Laws’ of Ptolemy II Philadelphus are not a systematic royal enactment but a compilation of regulations concerning the farming of various royal revenues (cf. **297** on the Ptolemaic system of taxation). The long

papyrus is not fully preserved and there is a gap of several lines at the top of each column which makes interpretation often difficult (for a complete translation see BD 114). The best-preserved parts concern (1) a royal decision to assign a fixed quota (*apomoira*) of produce from vineyards and orchards to the cult of Ptolemy II's deceased and deified sister-wife Arsinoe (the following passage; on her special status cf. 254 n. 1); and (2) regulations for the oil monopoly (297). The scope of the decision concerning the *apomoira* has been debated. Earlier scholarship assumed that prior to 263 all vineyards and orchards used to pay the quota to the temples, and that it was diverted to the cult of Arsinoe after this date (e.g. Grenfell and Mahaffy (1896); Préaux (1939), 165–81). More recently it has been suggested that prior to 263 only temple lands and certain other cultivators 'on the tax list' (not clearly defined, cf. col. 33) paid the quota to the temples; these continued to receive the quota from temple lands after that date, though the administration of this went through the hands of tax farmers (which led to abuse, alluded to in later texts; cf. 283 l. 15, 290 ll. 50–3). It was only on vineyards and orchards not on temple land that the *apomoira* for Arsinoe Philadelphus was to be levied. See L. Koenen in Bulloch et al. (1993), 66–9; W. Clarysse and K. Vandorpe in Melaerts (1998), 5–42, whose interpretation involves rejecting the restoration [to (Arsinoe) Philadelphus] at the beginning of col. 34 (pp. 12–13).

[In the reign] of Ptolemy (II) son of Ptolemy [and his son] Ptolemy, year 27 (259/8) . . . (gap of *c.*7 lines) . . . (they shall receive) [the] sixth of the wine [produced . . .], and from the [cleruchs] who are performing military service<sup>1</sup> and who have planted their [own] holdings (*kleroi*) (with vines), and from the land [in the] Thebaid which requires special irrigation and all . . . administered . . . Simaristos . . . used to administer, (they shall receive) [the] tenth. 24

For the orchards, in accordance with the [annual] valuation, the sixth in silver . . . <sup>2</sup>

[Concerning] the gathering and collection (of the grapes). [The] cultivators shall gather the grapes when the season [comes], and when they begin to do so they shall report to the manager of the farm or (col. 25) [to the] tax farmer,<sup>3</sup> 25 and if he wishes to inspect [the vineyards] they shall show them to him . . . (gap of *c.*7 lines) . . . When the cultivators wish to make the wine, they shall summon the manager of the farm in the presence of the *oikonomos*<sup>4</sup> and of the [*antigraphheus*]<sup>5</sup> or of their agents, and when he has come, the cultivator shall make wine and measure it with the measures available at each place once they have been tested and sealed [by the] *oikonomos* and the *antigraphheus*, [and] he shall pay the *apomoira* in accordance with the result of the measuring.

If the cultivators do not comply with [any of] these regulations in accordance with the law, they shall pay double the *apomoira* to the tax farmers.

26 [Those who own] implements for making wine shall register [with the manager] of the farm when . . . (gap of *c.7* lines) . . . [and when] they are about [to make wine, they shall exhibit] the seal placed on them to show it is intact. [Anyone who fails] to register, or to produce his [implements in accordance] with the law, or to bring them for [sealing] when the farmer wishes to seal them, or to [exhibit the] seal placed on them, shall pay forthwith to the tax farmers the amount of the loss they estimate they have made. If the cultivators gather the grapes ahead of time and make wine . . . the wine in the vats or in . . . and when [they hear?] the first notice of the auction<sup>6</sup> announced in the town or village in which they [live], the cultivators shall register on the same day [or on the] day after, and they shall point out the wine [and the] vineyard from [which] they gathered the grapes ahead of time.

27 *Agreements* [The] tax farmer, when . . . (gap of *c.7* lines) . . . he [shall seal the copy of the] agreement and [give it] to the cultivator. In the agreement (the tax farmer) shall declare under the [royal] oath that he has entered [in the] agreement the whole produce and the wine made ahead of time [and] reported to him by the cultivator, and has not taken away or let out of his hands any of it. The *oikonomos* or his representative shall keep the other agreement, once it has been sealed by the cultivator. The cultivator shall [declare] under the royal oath that he has exhibited all the produce and declared all the wine made ahead of time, and that he has honestly entered the resulting *apomoira*. And there shall also be [copies] (of the agreements), (col. 28) which shall not be sealed. . . . (gap of *c.7* lines) . . .

[But if] a dispute arises (between the cultivator and the tax farmer) about the greater or [smaller] amount of the produce, the *oikonomos* and the *antigraphheus* shall decide, and the agreements shall be sealed in accordance with their decision.

If the tax farmer fails to make an agreement with one of the cultivators, when the cultivator wishes to do so, he shall not exact payment of the tax.

But the *oikonomos* or the *antigraphheus* shall make an agreement with the cultivator, and having brought the resulting *apomoira* to the royal treasury they shall enter it, but shall not put down its value to the credit of the tax farmers.

29 *Against confusion of produce.* If (the tax farmers) mingle taxable produce with produce which is tax-free . . . (col. 29) as though belonging to this category . . . (gap of *c.7* lines) . . .

The owners [of orchards shall register] with [the] tax farmer [and the] local [representative] of the *oikonomos* and the [*antigraphheus*], stating their name, the village in which they live, and [their assessment of the value] of the revenue from their [orchard, and if] the tax farmer agrees, they shall [draw up] with

him a double agreement which shall be sealed as is prescribed [in] the law, and the *oikonomos* shall exact the sixth on this basis.

But [if] the tax farmer objects to the assessment he may seize the crop, and shall pay (the cultivator) by instalments from what he sells from day to day. When the cultivator has received the equivalent of his assessment, the surplus shall belong to the tax farmer, and the cultivator shall pay the sixth to the [*oikonomos*]. Should the sale of the crop fail to reach the value of [the] assessment, the *oikonomos* shall exact (the difference) [from] the tax farmer and . . .

. . . (gap of *c.9* lines) . . . [. . .] . . . [Should] they (the tax farmers) fail 30  
to be present themselves at the [right time] or fail to send their qualified  
representatives in accordance with the law, or hold back the cultivators [in  
any other way] even though the latter [are giving] notice, summoning them  
and carrying out their [obligations], the cultivators may [in accordance] with  
the provisions (of the law) act in the presence of the agent of the *oikonomos*  
and of the *antigraphheus* without incurring any penalty. When [the] tax farmer  
comes, they shall show him [the produce and] shall furnish [at once] all  
particulars of everything they have done. The [agent] of the *oikonomos* and of  
the *antigraphheus* shall give (the tax farmer) a written statement of the produce  
and of the *apomoira*, cultivator by cultivator.

*Transport of the apomoira.* The cultivators (shall transport) the resulting  
*apomoira* of the . . . (gap of *c.7* lines) . . .

. . . he shall [pay] to [the tax-] farmers [the] cost of [transport] which is 31  
owed to them. [. . .]<sup>7</sup>

*Stamping of receipts.* The *oikonomos* shall set up stores in each village, and  
shall give himself a stamped receipt to the [cultivator?] for what [he has]  
received . . . (corrector's hand: [the *oikonomos*] shall transport (the wine) from  
[the vats? . . .]).

. . . (gap of *c.7* lines) . . . (The cultivator) shall provide [pottery for the] 32  
store and wax; the pottery shall be of watertight jars, sealed with [pitch] and  
sufficient for the wine [collected for the] tax farmers.

The *oikonomos* and the *antigraphheus*, [. . . days before] the cultivators gather  
the grapes, shall pay to the cultivators the price of the [pottery] which each  
must provide for the *apomoira* on his own produce, at a rate fixed by the  
*dioiketes*,<sup>8</sup> who shall pay them the price through the royal [bank]<sup>9</sup> in the  
nome. [The cultivator] on receiving the price, shall supply [pottery] of the best  
quality. If [the] price is not given to him, he shall supply the pottery, and shall  
recover the price for it from [the *apomoira*] which he has to pay, [at a price  
of . . . drachmas] for a [*metretes*] of wine of eight *choes* . . . (gap of *c.7* 33  
lines) . . .

All the [surplus wine] shall be examined [by the *oikonomos*, and] with the assistance of the tax farmer, the *antigraphheus* and [his] agent, he shall sell it with them, giving [time] for the [purchasers] to settle their accounts. He shall exact [payment and shall enter it] in the account of the tax farmers to their credit.

The royal scribes<sup>10</sup> shall notify [to the] tax farmers within 10 days of the [opening of the public auction]<sup>11</sup> the number of vineyards or of orchards [in] each nome, the [number] of aruras they contain, [and] the number of vineyards or of orchards, belonging to persons on [the tax list], which paid taxes to the temples before the [22nd] year.

If they fail to give this notice or are shown to have done it incorrectly, they shall be tried and condemned, and shall pay to the tax farmers 6,000 drachmas for each offence of which they have been convicted and twice the amount of the loss.

34 All the owners of vineyards [or] orchards who are on the [tax list] and [paid] to the temples the sixth [up to] the 21st year, (shall pay the) sixth . . . (gap of *c.*5 lines) . . .

[The tax-farmers shall appoint sureties for a sum one twentieth above (the price for the tax)] within 30 days of their purchasing (the tax). [Payments?] of the money shall be [made every] month from the month of Dios to . . .

The value of the wine received from them [for the royal] treasury shall be credited (to them) in the instalments (due from them).

*Balancing of accounts.* When all the produce relating to the tax has been [sold], the *oikonomos* shall take with him the tax [farmer], his associates and the *antigraphheus* and shall balance the accounts with the (chief) tax [farmer and his] associates, and if there is a profit, he [shall pay] to the chief tax farmer and his associates through the royal bank the amount of the profit due to each of them according to his share in the company. But if there is a deficit, he shall exact from the chief tax farmer, his associates and their sureties the amount each of them owes.<sup>12</sup> These payments shall be due within the [first] three months of [the] following year. [If he fails to . . .] (col. 35 omitted)

36 . . . (gap of *c.*6 lines) . . . [make sure that these] prescriptions are [observed]. Farewell. Year 23, Daisius 5 (= 13 June 263).

The royal scribes in the [nomes throughout the] country shall draw up a list, each for the nome of which [he is] scribe, of the number of aruras of vineyards [and] orchards, and of the produce from these cultivator by cultivator, from year 22. They shall set apart the sacred [land]<sup>13</sup> and its produce so that [the] rest . . . (may be determined) from which the sixth must be paid to (Arsinoe) [Philadelphus], and they shall hand over to the agents [of Satyrus]<sup>14</sup> a written statement of these. Similarly the [cleruchs] who have vineyards or orchards in the holdings they received from the king and all the other owners of vineyards

or orchards, or holders of them *en doreai*,<sup>15</sup> or who cultivate them in any other way, must each for his part register the amount of land (they have) and its produce, and pay the sixth of the produce to Arsinoe Philadelphus for sacrifices [and] libations. . . . (gap of c.7 lines)

37

[King] Ptolemy [to all the] *strategoï*, [hipparchs], officers, nomarchs, [toparchs],<sup>16</sup> *oikonomoi*, *antigraphais*, royal [scribes], Libyarchs<sup>17</sup> and chiefs of police,<sup>18</sup> greetings. We have sent to you copies of the [ordinance which] requires payment of the sixth to (Arsinoe) Philadelphus. [Take care therefore] that these instructions are carried out. Farewell. Year 23, Dios 2. (= November–December 263)

[All those who] have vineyards or orchards, [whatever] their tenure, shall all give to the agents of Satyrus [and to] the accountants (*eklogistai*) appointed as agents of Dionysodorus, [nome by] nome, a written statement, drawn up by themselves, or their managers, or [those cultivating] their property, from year 18 to [year 21], (indicating) the amount of produce and to which temple they used to give the sixth, and the annual amount. Similarly the priests (shall make a statement) from which property they used to receive (the sixth), and the annual amount of wine or money. Similarly the royal scribes and the . . . shall give . . . written statements of these . . .

*Revenue Laws of Ptolemy Philadelphus* (ed. J. Bingen,  
*SB Beiheft I*, 1952), cols. 24–37; for cols. 36–7 see also *C. Ord. Ptol.*  
17–18; BD 114

1. See **314**; the cleruchs are more favourably treated, paying a quota of one tenth instead of one sixth. On this section cf. Clarysse and Vandorpe, *op. cit.*, 19f.
2. Vineyards are taxed in kind, orchards in money.
3. The tax farmers do not actually collect the taxes themselves but underwrite the king's revenues and protect him against loss (cf. col. 34). See Rostovtzeff I (1941), 328–30 and for tax farmers in the Ptolemaic kingdom see also **278**, **297**, **319**, **321** and (outside Egypt) **260**, **270**, **280**.
4. See **319**.
5. Cf. **290** n. 24.
6. The auction of the tax farming contracts.
7. Omitted is a list of different rates for different nomes.
8. The manager of the finances of the Ptolemaic kingdom; Apollonius, the powerful *dioiketes* of Ptolemy II, is the best-known case, though his prominence was perhaps untypical; the post may have been held at times by more than one person. Cf. in Egypt **290** l. 27, **297** cols. 38, 41, 46, 51, **298–9**, **301–9** (Apollonius), **315**, **317**, **319**, **321**, **325**; outside Egypt cf. **278** and **260** (Syria), **285** (Cyprus), **287** (Thera). On the Seleucid *dioiketai* cf. **201** and n. 3.
9. Cf. **316**.
10. Cf. **290** n. 28.
11. See n. 6.

12. This makes clear the function of the tax farmers from the king's point of view.
13. Cf. **290** n. 9; for col. 36 cf. Burstein 94.
14. The *dioiketes* (n. 8 above).
15. 'Gift' land granted by the king to favourites, on a revocable basis; cf. **297** col. 43f., **302–3** and (outside Egypt) **270** n. 2. Cf. **4** (*a*) for Alexander and **164** for Seleucid practice. See generally Rostovtzeff III (1941), index s.v. *Doreai* (p. 1685).
16. Chiefs of the nomes and chiefs of the toparchies respectively; cf. **297** cols. 41–42, **319** ll. 131–3.
17. Identification uncertain; possibly officials in charge of law and order in the nome on the edge of the Libyan desert.
18. Cf. **290** n. 33.

## 297 The oil monopoly of Ptolemy II Philadelphus (259)

Ptolemaic taxation combined taxes in kind levied on the agricultural wealth of the country, which built on traditional Pharaonic practice, and taxes in money, introduced by the Ptolemies from Greek experience (cf. **316**). The system required an elaborate bureaucracy, from the office of the *dioiketes* in Alexandria (**296** n. 8), through the officials of the nomes (**290** nn. 26, 28), down to the village level (**325**). Thanks to the survival of papyri, Ptolemaic taxation and its administration are known in considerably more detail than for any other monarchy of the age. Monopolies were a feature of the system; the technique was already known in the Greek world (cf. Aristotle *Politics* I 1259a18–36). The best-known of these, and one of the most important, was the oil monopoly, described at length in the 'Revenue Laws' of Ptolemy II (cf. **296**). The monopoly extended to all kinds of oil-bearing plants (though not to olive oil) and affected every kind of land in Egypt, with only nominal concessions to the native Egyptian temples' own production of oil. The royal administration prescribed in detail what surface of land was to be sown with what oil-bearing plants, at least as far as royal land was concerned (cf. **315**, **319** ll. 49–62). Every stage in the process, from planting to production and retailing was supervised by royal officials and tax farmers, and the royal administration fixed all the prices to be paid or charged. How effectively the system worked in practice is debatable, and in any case the intention of these elaborate regulations was clearly purely fiscal: to ensure the king's revenues, not to improve production. Cf. also **319** ll. 87–117 and n. 8. See Préaux (1939), 65–93; Rostovtzeff I (1941), 302–5 and for the Ptolemaic system in general see E. G. Turner in *CAH* VII.1<sup>2</sup> (1984), 145–54; D. J. Thompson in Cartledge et al (1997), 242–57; Manning (2003), 141–6.

- 38 Year 27, Loius 10 (= 1 September 259). We will correct (*altered to*: we have corrected) this in the office of Apollonius the *dioiketes*.<sup>1</sup>



... (gap of *c.*5 lines) ... (the cultivators shall be paid as follows:) for an artaba [of sesame] containing [30] *choinikes*, [prepared] for grinding, [8] drachmas, for an artaba of croton containing 30 [*choinikes*], prepared for grinding, 4 dr., for an artaba of cneus, prepared [for] grinding, 1 dr. 2 obols, for an artaba of colocynth, 4 ob., and for linseed, 3 ob. 39

If the cultivator does not wish to [provide] produce ready for grinding, he shall measure it out from the threshing-floor after cleaning it with a sieve, and he shall measure out in addition, for the further preparation for grinding, 7 artabas of sesame for every [100], the same amount of croton and 8 artabas (for every 100) of [cneus].

They shall receive from the cultivators for the tax of 2 dr. payable on sesame and for the tax of 1 dr. payable on croton, sesame and croton at the price fixed [in] the tariff, and they shall not exact payment in silver.

The cultivators shall not be allowed to sell sesame or croton to anyone else (than to the tax farmers).<sup>2</sup>

... (gap of *c.*5 lines) ... [of the *antigraphheus*]<sup>3</sup> from [the komarch<sup>4</sup> and they shall] give [to the] komarch a sealed receipt for what [they received] from each [cultivator]. If they fail to give the receipt the komarch shall not let (the produce) out of the village. If he does, he shall pay a fine of 1,000 dr. to the royal treasury and five times the amount of the loss incurred because of this by the tax farmers. 40

They shall sell the oil in the countryside at a rate of 48 dr. in copper for a *metretes* of sesame oil or of cneus oil containing [12] *choes*, and at a rate of 30 dr. for a *metretes* of castor oil, [colocynth] oil and lamp oil (*corrected to*: They shall sell the oil in the countryside both sesame and cneus oil, and castor oil, colocynth oil and lamp oil at the rate of 48 dr. in copper for a *metretes* containing 12 *choes*, and 2 ob. for a *kotyle*).<sup>5</sup>

In Alexandria [and] the whole of Libya (they shall sell it) at a rate of 48 dr. for a *metretes* of sesame oil and 48 dr. for a *metretes* of castor oil (*corrected to*: a rate of 48 dr. for a *metretes* of sesame oil and castor oil, and 2 ob. for a *kotyle*), and they shall provide [an adequate supply] for those who wish to buy oil, selling it [throughout] the country in all the cities [and] villages ... with [measures]<sup>6</sup> which [have been] tested by [the *oikonomos*<sup>7</sup> and the] *antigraphheus*.

... (gap of *c.*5 lines) ... [...] They shall show the land sown to the tax farmer together with the *oikonomos* and the *antigraphheus*, and if after measuring it they find that the (right) number of aruras has not been sown, the nomarch, the toparch,<sup>8</sup> the *oikonomos* and the *antigraphheus* shall, each of them who is responsible, pay 2 talents to the royal treasury, and to the tax farmers 2 dr. for every artaba of sesame which they ought to have received, and 1 dr. for every artaba of croton, together with the profit (they would have made) on 41

the (sesame) oil and the castor oil. The *dioiketes* shall exact payment from them. [. . .]

Before the season comes for sowing the sesame and the croton, the *oikonomos* shall give to the nomarch in charge of the nome or to the toparch, if he wishes, for the sowing of [each arura] of sesame 4 dr., and for each arura of croton 2 dr. And he shall receive from the threshing-floor in return for . . .

42 . . . (gap of c.5 lines) . . . When the [season] comes for collecting the sesame, the croton and the cneus, the cultivators shall give notice to the nomarch and the toparch, and where there are no nomarchs or toparchs, to the *oikonomos*; and they shall summon the tax farmer. The tax farmer shall go with them to the fields and assess (the crops).

The [native peasants (*laoi*)] and the other cultivators shall assess their [own] crops each by kind before they gather them, and they shall draw up an agreement on the estimate with the tax farmer, in duplicate and sealed. The native peasants shall state in writing on oath the area of land they have each sown, and with what kind of crops, [and] the amount of each peasant's estimate, and they shall seal the agreement, and the representative of the nomarch or [of the] toparch shall also seal it.

43 . . . (gap of c.5 lines) . . . [. . .] The nomarch or the person in charge of the nome shall give out the seed for the fields, cultivator by cultivator, 60 days before the crop is gathered. If he fails to do this or does not show the cultivators who have sown the prescribed number (of aruras), he shall pay to the tax farmer the prescribed fine, and shall exact payment himself from the disobedient cultivators.

[All] those throughout the country who enjoy exemption from taxes, or who hold villages and land [*en doreai*<sup>9</sup> or] as a source of revenue, shall measure out all the sesame and croton they produce, and the other kinds of produce included in the oil (monopoly), leaving aside a sufficient amount for seed, and shall receive the value of it in copper at a rate of 6 dr. for an artaba of sesame, 3 dr. 2 ob. for an artaba of cneus.<sup>10</sup> If they do not measure out all [the] sesame . . .

44 . . . (gap of c.5 lines) . . . to be a factory, and shall designate their choice by putting a stamp on it.

No oil factory shall be set up in villages which are held *en doreai*.

They shall deliver to each factory a sufficient quantity of sesame, croton and cneus.

They shall not give permission to the oil-workers appointed in each nome to move to another nome. [Should] any of them move, they may be arrested by the tax farmer, the *oikonomos* and the *antigrapheus*.

No one shall harbour oil-workmen. If anyone harbours them knowingly, or fails to bring them back when told to do so, he shall be fined 3,000 dr. for every oil-worker and the worker shall be liable to arrest.

. . . (gap of *c.*5 lines) . . . and from [the] surplus of the oil that is sold (corrected to: produced) he (the *oikonomos*) shall divide up to the oil-workers 3 dr. for a *metretes* containing 12 *choes* (corrected to: 2 dr. 3 ob.); of this sum the oil-workers and those who pound the crop shall receive 2 dr. (corrected to: 1 dr. 4 ob.) and the tax farmers 1 dr. (corrected to: 5 ob.). 45

But if the *oikonomos* or his representative does not give to the oil-workers their wages, or their share in the profits of the sale, he shall pay to the royal treasury a fine of 3,000 dr., their wages to the workmen, and (to the tax farmers) double of whatever loss they suffer because of them.

If the *oikonomos* and the *antigraphheus* fail to set up the oil factories as prescribed or do not deliver a sufficient quantity of crops and the tax farmers suffer because of this, they shall pay the resulting deficit [and] (shall pay) to the tax farmers twice the amount [of their loss].

[The] *oikonomos* and [the] *antigraphheus* [shall supply the tools] in each [factory].

. . . (gap of *c.*5 lines) . . . when he (the *oikonomos*) comes (to the factory) to pay the wages (?) he shall not cause any hindrance to the detriment of the tax contract. 46

If he fails to provide (the tools) or harms the interests of the tax contract, he shall be judged by the *dioiketes* and if condemned shall be fined 2 talents of silver and twice the amount of the damage caused.

The tax farmers and the clerk appointed by the *oikonomos* and the *antigraphheus* [shall have] authority over all the oil-workers in [the] toparchy, [the] factories and the tools, [and] they shall place [seals] on the tools [when] they are not being used.<sup>11</sup>

They shall compel the oil-workers to work [every] day and shall stay beside them. They shall make into oil every day not less than 1 1/3 artaba (corrected to: 1 artaba) of sesame for every mortar, or 4 artabas of croton, or 1 artaba of cneus. They shall pay as wages [. . . dr. for] 4 [artabas] of sesame, 4 dr. for . . . artabas of [croton] and 8 [dr. for . . .artabas] of cneus.

. . . (gap of *c.*5 lines) . . . Neither the *oikonomos* nor the tax farmer shall under any pretext make [an arrangement] with [the] oil-workers [concerning the] flow of the oil,<sup>12</sup> nor shall they leave the tools in the factories unsealed when they are not in use. If they make an arrangement with some of the oil-workers or leave the tools unsealed, each guilty person shall pay to the royal treasury a fine of 1 talent of silver plus the amount of any loss made by the tax farmers. 47

The clerk appointed by the *oikonomos* and the *antigraphheus* shall draw up a list of the names of the dealers in each city and of the retailers, and shall arrange with them together with the tax farmers [how much] oil and castor oil they must take and sell every day, and in Alexandria they shall make an arrangement with the traders and draw up a contract [with] each of them, [on a monthly basis] with those in the [countryside, and with those in Alexandria . . .]

48 . . . (gap of *c.*5 lines) . . . The amount of oil and *cici* (castor oil) which the dealers and retailers have agreed to dispose of in every village shall be supplied in full of each kind by the *oikonomos* and the *antigraphheus* before the beginning of the month to every village, and they shall measure it out every five days to the dealers and the retailers and collect the price on the same day, if possible, and if not within five days, and they shall pay it into the royal bank,<sup>13</sup> and the expenses for the transport shall be paid for from the tax contract.

The oil which it has been arranged that each (of the dealers and retailers) shall take, shall be offered for auction ten days before the beginning of the month and they shall write out and publish the highest bid every day for ten days in the capital of the nome and in the village, and they shall make a contract with the successful bidder.

49 [. . .] . . . (gap of *c.*4 lines) . . . [Nor shall they . . .] under any pretext . . . mortars . . . nor presses nor any other implements used in the [manufacture] (of the oil). If not, they shall pay to the royal treasury 5 talents and to the tax farmers five times the amount of the loss. Those who already have any of these shall register within 30 days with the tax farmer and the representative of the *oikonomos* and the *antigraphheus* and shall exhibit the mortars and presses.

The tax farmers and the representative of the *oikonomos* and the *antigraphheus* shall transfer these to the royal oil factories.

If anyone is found manufacturing oil from sesame, croton or *cnecus* in any way, or purchasing the oil and *cici* (castor oil) (*corrected to*: sesame oil, *cnecus* oil, or castor oil) from anywhere except from the tax farmers, the king shall judge his case, and he shall pay to the tax farmers 3,000 dr. and shall be deprived of the oil and the produce. The payment shall be exacted by the *oikonomos* and the *antigraphheus*; if he is unable to pay, he shall surrender himself to . . .

50 . . . (gap of *c.*3 lines) . . . under any [pretext] nor to bring it (oil) to [Alexandria] apart from the royal store (?). Any persons who import more than they require for their personal needs for three days shall be deprived both of the goods and of the means of transport, and shall pay in addition a fine of 100 dr. for every *metretes*, and for more or less in proportion.

The cooks shall use up the lard every day in the presence of the tax farmer. They shall not sell it on its own to anyone under any pretext, nor melt it down, nor store it away.<sup>14</sup> If they do, they shall each (*corrected to*: both the seller [and the] buyer) pay to the farmer of the oil tax for every day (*corrected to*: for every piece bought) 50 dr.

The oil-workers in the temples throughout the country shall register with the tax farmer and with the representative of the *oikonomos* and of the *antigraphheus* the number of oil factories in each temple, and the number of mortars [and presses] in each factory, (col. 51) and [shall exhibit the factories and provide the] mortars and [presses to] be sealed. 51

[. . .] . . . (gap of c.3 lines) . . . If [they fail to] register [or do not] exhibit or provide (the mortars and presses) to be sealed, those in charge of the temples shall pay, each of them who is guilty, 3 talents to the royal treasury and to the tax farmers five times the amount of the loss they estimate they have incurred. When they wish to manufacture sesame oil in the temples, they shall summon the tax farmer and the representative of the *oikonomos* and of the *antigraphheus* and manufacture the oil in their presence. They shall make in two months the amount of oil they registered they would use in a year, and shall obtain the castor oil they use from the tax farmers at the established price.

The *oikonomos* and the *antigraphheus* shall send to the king an account of both the *cici* (castor oil) and the (sesame) oil used for each temple, and shall also give (one) to the *dioiketes*. No one may sell to anybody oil manufactured for the temples; if they do, [they shall be] deprived (col. 52) [of the oil] and shall also be fined [100 dr. for a *metretes* and for] more) or [less in proportion].<sup>15</sup> 52

[. . .] . . . (gap of c.2 lines) . . . [it shall not be allowed] to bring (imported oil) into the country for sale, whether from Alexandria, Pelusium or anywhere else. Any persons who do so shall be deprived of the oil and shall be fined in addition 100 dr. a *metretes*, and for more or less in proportion.

As for persons who bring foreign oil for their private needs, those who bring it from Alexandria shall register in Alexandria, pay a duty of 12 dr. a *metretes*, and for <more or> less in proportion, and shall obtain a voucher before they import it.<sup>16</sup>

Those who bring it from Pelusium shall pay the duty at Pelusium and obtain a voucher.

The collectors at Alexandria and Pelusium shall credit the duty to the nome into which the oil is imported.

Any persons who bring (foreign oil) for their private needs and do not pay the duty or obtain a voucher shall be deprived of the oil and shall in addition be fined 100 dr. a *metretes*. [. . .]

[. . .] But if when they give up the contract they leave behind more (oil), they shall receive from the *oikonomos* as price for sesame oil 31 dr. 4½ ob. a 53

*metretes* (corrected to: 28 dr. 3 ob.), for castor oil 21 dr. 2 ob. a *metretes* (corrected to: 20 dr.), for cneus oil 18 dr. 4 ob. a *metretes* (corrected to: 17 dr. 1 ob.), for sesame 8 dr. an artaba, for croton 4 dr. an artaba, for cneus 1 dr. 3 ob. (corrected to: 1 dr. 2 ob.).<sup>17</sup> [ . . . ]

54 [ . . . ] The tax farmers shall also appoint clerks at Alexandria and Pelusium for [the] oil imported [from] Syria to [Pelusium] and Alexandria, and they shall seal the stores and supervise the issue of the oil.

The clerk of the oil contract appointed by the *oikonomos* shall hold a balancing of accounts every month [with] the tax farmer in the presence of the *antigraphheus*. He shall enter in his books the amount of the different kinds of produce he has received and the amounts (of oil) (col. 55) he has produced and [sold] (*corrector's addition*: [at the price] specified [in the] tariff) [ . . . except] the (oil) which is [set] apart, and the price of the [produce received] which is [prescribed] in [the] tariff . . . together with the [jars] and the other [expenses], at a rate of 1 dr. an artaba of sesame, . . . for [croton], 2 ob. for cneus, [ . . . for colocynth, . . . for linseed, . . . dr. for . . . artabas made into sesame oil], 1 [dr.] 1 ob. for 5 [artabas made into castor oil, . . . dr.] for 9 artabas made into cneus oil, 1 dr. for 7 artabas made into lamp oil, 1 dr. 1 ob. for 12 artabas made into colocynth oil, and the share of the surplus which it is instructed to divide between the oil-worker and the tax farmer, and all the expenses for the transport of the produce.

The pay for the tax farmers shall be given to them from their share of the surplus.

*Added by corrector*: In Alexandria the wages for (the manufacture of) sesame oil and the brokerage and the pay (of the tax farmers) shall be given in accordance with the proclamation made at the time of the sale.

*Search*. If the tax farmers or their subordinates wish to make a search, alleging that [some people] have contraband oil or (illegal) oil factories,<sup>18</sup> they shall conduct a search in the presence of the [representative] of the *oikonomos* or of the *antigraphheus*. If [the] representative of the *oikonomos* or of the *antigraphheus* does not comply when summoned or does not stay until the search is conducted, he shall pay to the tax contractors twice the amount (of the oil) they estimate (to be concealed) and the tax farmers may (col. 56) conduct [a search within . . .] days [ . . . ]

If he (the tax farmer) fails to find [what] he said he was seeking, he may be required by the person whose property is being searched to take an oath in a temple that he has not made the search for any other than its declared purpose and the interests of the oil contract.

If he fails to take the oath on the same day or the day after, he shall pay the person who demands the oath twice the value he estimated (the contraband oil) at before he made the search.

The tax farmers shall appoint sureties for a sum greater by one twentieth (than that which they have undertaken to pay), and they shall pay the taxes they collect<sup>19</sup> every day to the bank, and the monthly instalment before the middle of the following month.

The oil-workers shall receive their wages from the (oil) that is manufactured, not from the (oil) that is stored.

*Revenue Laws of Ptolemy Philadelphus* (ed. J. Bingen, *SB Beiheft*, I 1952), cols. 38–56; *W. Chrest.* 229; *Sel. Pap.* II.203; BD 114

1. Cf. **296** n. 8.
2. Cf. **296** n. 3.
3. Cf. **290** n. 24.
4. The village chiefs; cf. **319** n. 3.
5. These prices are more than double those current in the Greek world outside Egypt; cf. cols. 50 and 52 below for the restrictions and customs barriers on imported oil.
6. Cf. **290** n. 25.
7. Cf. **319**.
8. Cf. **296** n. 16.
9. Cf. **296** n. 15.
10. Though exempted from the tax mentioned in col. 39 they are paid at a lower rate for their produce.
11. Cf. **319** ll. 136–59.
12. The point of this prohibition is not clear.
13. Cf. **316**.
14. To prevent lard being used as a substitute for oil.
15. On the Ptolemies and the native temples cf. also **271**, **283**, **290**, **296**.
16. The earliest known example of a protective customs barrier (as opposed to a purely fiscal device); for taxes on imports to Egypt cf. **298**.
17. Compare the prices in col. 40.
18. These and other abuses are in fact known to have taken place; cf. **319** ll. 136–64, and *W. Chrest.* 300–3; BD 115–16.
19. Allusion unclear.

## 298 Valuation of goods imported to Egypt by Apollonius (May–June 259)

The largest single find of Ptolemaic papyri is the collection of papers of Zenon, the personal agent of Apollonius, *dioiketes* (**296** n. 8) of Ptolemy II Philadelphus – nearly 2,000 texts, mostly in Greek (see also **299**, **301–8**). They provide much evidence on the running of the large estate held by Apollonius at Philadelphia (**302–3**, **306**). In general they shed remarkable light on the dynamism and entrepreneurial spirit of the new governing class of Egypt in the early Ptolemaic period. But whether this spirit was characteristic of the whole of Ptolemaic

Egypt, let alone throughout its history, is very unlikely. The standard account of Rostovtzeff (1923), also I (1941), esp. 420–2, was too optimistic in this respect. Cf. e.g. J. Bingen in Finley (1973), 215–22; D. J. Crawford, *ibid.*, 223–51; E. G. Turner in *CAH* VII.1<sup>2</sup> (1984), 140–4; Orrioux (1983) and (1985); Manning (2003), 110–18.

The following papyrus consists of an account of goods imported into Egypt for the benefit of Apollonius and others on two ships, captained by Patron and Heraclides respectively, together with the details of the taxes paid on them. The goods are listed according to the rates of tax levied, respectively 50%, 33 1/3%, 25% and 20%. These rates are far higher than those practised elsewhere in the Greek world (cf. **118** n. 4), though in line with the high rate of taxation internally in Egypt. The small sums on the left-hand side refer to an inland toll (*diapylion*) paid between Pelusium and Alexandria. Cf. also **290** ll. 25–35, **297** col. 52. See Préaux (1939), 371–9; Fraser I (1972), 148–50; Orrioux (1983), 56–8.

*Column I*

Valuation [at Pelusium] of the goods [imported] . . . for [Apollonius] and the others on the boats captained by Patron and Heraclides.

Year 27, Artemisius.

- 5 Belonging to Apollonius, [on the boat captained by] Patron:  
2 dr. 3 ob. 5 [jars of] grape syrup at 12 dr., 60 dr.  
3 dr. 4 ob. 11 half [jars] at 4 dr., 44 dr.  
And [on the boat captained by Heraclides]:
- 10 3 ob. 1 [jar] of filtered wine, 12 dr.  
1 dr. [2 jars of] ordinary wine at 3 dr., 6 dr.  
[1 dr. 2 ob.] [4 half jars of grape syrup at] 4 dr., 16 dr.  
[1 ob.; 1 dr. 3 ob.] [1 half jar of white oil], 30 dr.<sup>1</sup>  
[1 ob.; 1 ob.] [1 jar], 4 dr.
- The 50 % tax on these goods, (total value) [172 dr.]
- 15 The 50 % tax on this sum, [86 dr.]  
On the boat captained by Patron:  
[33 dr.] [70] Chian jars of wine [at 18 dr.], 1,260  
[dr.]  
1 dr. [4] Chian half jars [at 9 dr., 36 dr.]  
[1 dr. 3 ob.] [3] Thasian jars [at 20 dr., 60 dr.]
- 20 [And] on the boat captained by [Heraclides]:  
3 dr. [9 jars] of dried figs [at 8 dr.], 72 dr.  
30 dr. 3 ob. [61] Chian jars of wine at 18 dr., 1,098 dr.  
3 ob. [2] Chian half jars [at 9 dr., 18 dr.]  
2 dr. [4] Thasian jars at 20 dr., 80 dr.



The 33 % tax on these goods, (total value) 2,624 dr.	25
The 33 % tax on this sum, 874 dr. [4 ob.]	
84 dr.	

*Column II*

On the boat captained by Patron:

2 dr. 2 ob.	7 half jars of honey from Theangela at 12 dr., 84 dr.	
2 ob.	1 of Rhodian honey, 12 dr.	
2 ob.	1 jar of Attic honey, 20 dr.	30
2 ob.	1 half jar of Lycian honey, [12 dr.]	
1 dr.	smaller (jars) . . .	
1 dr. 2 ob.	[4 half jars] of Coracesian honey, [48 dr.]	
5 ob.	. . . of Chalybonian honey . . .	
	Small jars [containing 3 <i>kotyloi</i> ?]	35
	of Chian cheese . . .	
	of other cheese . . .	
1 dr.	of dried fish . . .	
	of fish pickled in the season . . .	
5 dr.	5 jars of [belly of tunny fish] / at 20 dr., [100 dr.]	40
3 dr.	. . . of salted fish at 16 dr., . . .	
2 dr.	. . . of mullet at dr., . . .	
	2 earthenware jars of wild-boar meat at 2 dr., [4 dr.]	
	2 jars of Samian earth at 10 dr., 20 dr	45
And on the boat captained by Heraclides:		
2 ob.	1 half jar of honey, 12 dr.	
$\frac{3}{4}$ ob.	1 Chian jar containing 10 <i>choinikes</i> of Pontic nuts,	
	6 dr. $1\frac{1}{2}$ ob.	
	1 basket of hard nuts containing $1\frac{1}{4}$ artaba	
	1 half full basket [containing $\frac{3}{4}$ artaba]	50
	(total) 2 artabas at 12 dr. an artaba, 24 dr.	
	[4 large baskets] of pomegranate seeds (total)	
	2 artabas at 2 dr. an artaba, 4 dr.	

*Column III*

	1 jar of wild-boar meat, 5 dr.	
	1 pot (of the same), 2 dr. 3 ob.	
	2 jars of venison at 3 dr., 6 dr.	
	2 small pots of goat meat, 4 dr.	55
	1 basket of hard sponges, 8 dr.	

- (1) of soft (sponges), 12 dr.  
1 jar of Chian [cheese], 5 dr.  
The 25 % tax [on these goods, (total value) 859 dr.  
4½ ob.]
- 60 The [25 % tax on this sum, 214 dr. 5½ ob., 1  
chalcus]
- On the boat captained by Patron:  
1½ chalcus [221 minas] of pure wool in [a chest], at 2 dr. [3  
ob.] a mina, [56 dr.], 1½ ob.  
The 20 % tax on these goods, [(total value) 56 dr.  
1½ ob.]
- 65 The 20 % tax on this sum, [11 dr. 1½ ob.]  
Total value of the goods [which pay the 50 % tax  
172 dr.]  
The 50 % tax on this sum, 86 dr.  
(Total value) of the goods which pay [the 33 % tax],  
2,624 dr.  
The 33 % tax on this sum, 874 dr. 4 ob.
- 70 (Total value) of the goods which pay the 25 % tax,  
859 dr. 4½ ob.  
The 25 % tax on this sum, 214 dr. 5½ ob. 1 chalcus  
(Total value) of the goods which pay the 20 % tax,  
56 dr. 1½ ob.  
The 20 % tax on this sum, 11 dr. 1½ ob.  
(Total tax paid) 1,186 dr. 5 ob. 1 chalcus  
The *trierarchema*,<sup>2</sup> 1½ ob.
- 75 The *diapylon*, 112 dr. 3 ¼ ob. 1 chalcus  
The 1 % tax,<sup>3</sup> 37 dr. ¼ ob.  
(Total of these) 149 dr. 5 ob. [1 chalcus]  
Grand total, 1,336 dr. 4 ob. ¼  
Less the rebate of ¼,<sup>4</sup> 9 dr. 1¼ ob.  
Leaves 1,327 dr. 2 ob. ¾ [. . .]

*Verso:* Year 27, Artemisius. The valuation we have received from Bubalus of the goods imported / for Apollonius from Syria<sup>5</sup> to Pelusium.

*P. Cairo Zen.* 59.012, lines 1–79

1. Cf. 297 col. 52.
2. A tax for the upkeep of the navy.
3. Perhaps a local harbour tax.

4. On the 1 % tax.
5. i.e. goods from the Aegean or beyond will have been re-exported from Syria.

## 299 Letter to Apollonius concerning the gold coinage of Ptolemy II (c.24 October 258)

Whereas all the other successor monarchies followed Alexander's practice in basing their coinage on the Attic standard (122 n. 2), Ptolemy I settled in stages for a different (lighter) standard. Ptolemy II then instituted a monopoly of Ptolemaic coins in Egypt (as already practised by some Greek cities before; it seemingly applied also in Syria, Cyprus and Cyrene). Hence traders bringing foreign coins to Egypt had to get them reminted at a rate fixed by the authorities. The following papyrus illustrates the bureaucratic confusions which resulted from the decision. See Préaux (1939), 267–80; Rostovtzeff I (1941), 402 and III, 1417 n. 201; Bagnall (1976), 176; Will I (1979), 175–9; Orrioux (1983), 28–40; Howgego (1995), 52–4.

Demetrius<sup>1</sup> to Apollonius, greetings. It is well if you are in good health and everything else is as you wish. As for me, I am devoting myself to what you wrote me to do: / I have received 57,000 (drachmas?) of gold which I minted 5 and returned. We would have received many times as much, but as I have written to you before, the foreigners / who come here by sea, the merchants, 10 the forwarding agents,<sup>2</sup> and others, bring their own fine local coins and the *trichrysa*,<sup>3</sup> to get them back as new coins, in accordance with the ordinance which instructs / us to take and mint them, but as Philaretus (?)<sup>4</sup> does not 15 allow me to accept them, we have no one to refer to on this matter, and are compelled / not to accept them. The men are furious since we refuse (the 20 coins) at the banks<sup>5</sup> and at the . . . and they cannot send (their agents) into the country / to purchase merchandise, but they say their gold lies idle and that 25 they are suffering a great loss, since they brought it from abroad and cannot easily dispose of it to others even at a lower price. As for the people in the city (Alexandria) they are all reluctant to use the worn / gold coins.<sup>6</sup> For none 30 of them knows to whom he can refer and after adding a little<sup>7</sup> get back fine gold or silver in exchange. In the present circumstances, / I see that the king's 35 revenues are suffering no small loss.<sup>8</sup> I have therefore written to inform you, and if you think fit, write to the king about it and tell me / to whom I can 40 refer on these matters. For I believe it is advantageous that as much gold as possible should be imported from abroad and that the royal coinage should always be fine and / new, at no expense to the king.<sup>9</sup> It is not proper for me 45 to say in writing how some people are treating me, but as soon as you are

50 back you will hear . . . Write / to me on these matters that I may follow your instructions. Farewell. Year 28, Gorpiaeus 15.

*P. Cairo Zen.* 59.021; *Sel. Pap.* II.409; BD 102

1. Probably the master of the mint in Alexandria.
2. *ekdocheis*, precise meaning uncertain, cf. Fraser II (1972), 319f. n. 428.
3. Gold pentadrachms of Ptolemy I, now superseded by a new issue of gold coins. For some Ptolemaic gold coins cf. Plate 4.26–30.
4. Reading uncertain.
5. Cf. **316**.
6. Cf. n. 3.
7. i.e. paying a supplement.
8. A regular preoccupation with the royal administration, cf. **272, 280, 297, 319** ll. 233f., **324**.
9. Cf. also **258, 264**; the Ptolemies were even more dependent on foreign supplies for their silver.

### 300 The (alleged) introduction of Serapis to Egypt by Ptolemy I

The rapid spread of the cult of Serapis through much of the Greek world after Alexander is a remarkable phenomenon of the Hellenistic age, but the question of the 'origins' of his cult is surrounded with legend, as may be seen from the following passage. Despite Tacitus' account, it is most probable that Serapis was derived from native Egyptian traditions: the sacred Apis bulls of Memphis (cf. **271** n. 8) were after their death identified with Osiris and worshipped as Osor-Hapi = Serapis in Greek. In what sense this god was 'created' by Ptolemy I is not clear, nor is it certain that any deliberate political intention lay behind his introduction to Alexandria – to promote a mixed cult that would provide a bridge between Greeks and Egyptians – although this has often been postulated. See also **151, 210, 292** §10, **301, 320** and Fraser I (1972), 246–76 and notes; III (Index), p. 70 s.v. Sarapis; Huss (1994), 58–68.

The origin of the god (Serapis) has not yet been related by Roman writers; the account of the Egyptian priests is as follows. King Ptolemy, the first of the Macedonians to establish firmly the power of Egypt, while he was providing Alexandria, which had recently been founded,<sup>1</sup> with walls, temples and cults, saw in a dream a young man of exceptional beauty and of more than human size, who instructed him to send his most trusted friends to the Pontus (the Black Sea) to bring back his image. This would bring prosperity to his

kingdom, and the home which welcomed him would be great and famous. At the same time the young man seemed to him to rise up in the sky enveloped in a mighty conflagration. Ptolemy was struck by the portent and the miracle, and revealed the night's apparition to the Egyptian priests who are accustomed to understanding prodigies of this kind. And since they knew too little about the Pontus and the outside world, the king turned to Timotheus of Athens, a member of the family of the Eumolpids whom he had summoned as being a priest of the Eleusinian Mysteries, and asked him what was this cult and who was this deity. After searching for persons who had been to the Pontus, Timotheus learnt that there was a city there, Sinope, with nearby a temple of Jupiter Dis which had long been famous among the (local) inhabitants, and that next (to the image of the god) stood one of a woman generally called Proserpine (= Demeter). But Ptolemy, as kings do, was quick to take fright, but when he had recovered a sense of security, he turned more to pleasure than to religion, gradually neglected (the matter) and turned his attention elsewhere, until the same apparition, but now more frightening and urgent, predicted doom for him and his kingdom if his orders were not carried out.<sup>2</sup> Then Ptolemy ordered the sending of envoys with gifts to King Scydrothemis, who at that time ruled Sinope, and instructed the envoys as they were about to depart to consult Pythian Apollo (i.e. at Delphi). They journeyed safely by sea, and the answer of the oracle was clear: they must go and bring back the image of his father, but leave that of his sister. (84) When they reached Sinope they produced the gifts, the prayers and the instructions of their king to Scydrothemis, who hesitated, being at times fearful of the deity and at times terrified by the threats and the opposition of the people, and often he would be influenced by the gifts and the promises of the envoys. Three years elapsed in the meantime and Ptolemy did not relax his zeal or his prayers, and kept increasing the dignity of his envoys, the number of ships and the amount of gold (offered). Then Scydrothemis saw a threatening apparition which enjoined him not to delay any further the execution of the god's orders. As he still hesitated he was harassed by various calamities, by diseases and clear signs of divine anger which increased every day. He summoned an assembly and recounted the orders of the deity, the visions he and Ptolemy had had, and the disasters that were falling on them. The crowd rebuffed the king, and was jealous of Egypt; they feared for themselves and surrounded the temple. This is what gave rise to the widespread report that the god himself had boarded the ships moored to the shore, and remarkably, three days later after crossing such a large expanse of sea, they landed at Alexandria. A temple commensurate with the size of the city was built in the district called Rhacotis;<sup>3</sup> there had existed a small shrine dedicated from of old to Serapis and Isis. Such is the

most widespread account of the origin and coming of the god. I am well aware that there are some who say that he was brought from Seleucia, a city in Syria, in the reign of the third Ptolemy, while others relate that the same Ptolemy was responsible for introducing him from his ancient home of Memphis,<sup>4</sup> a city formerly famous and a pillar of ancient Egypt. As for the god himself many liken him to Asclepius for his healing powers,<sup>5</sup> some to Osiris, the most ancient deity of that people, many to Jupiter (= Zeus) as lord of the universe, and the majority to Dis because of his own obvious attributes or through elaborate interpretations.

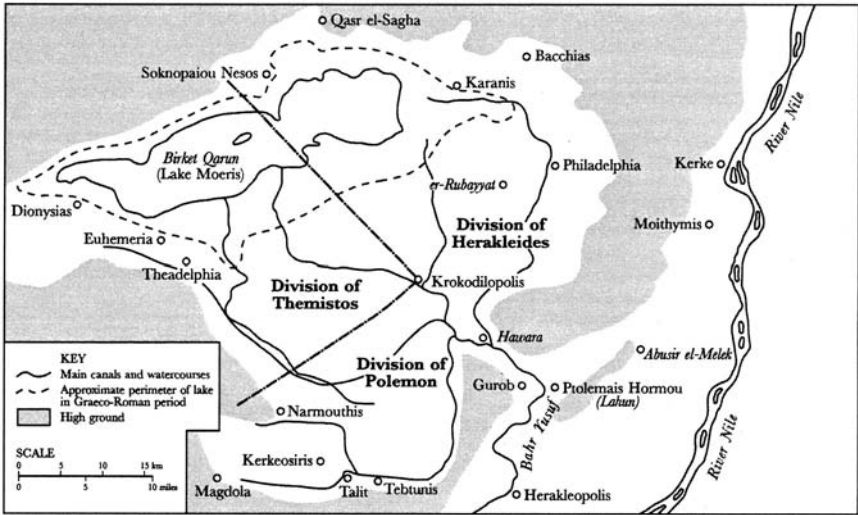
Tacitus, *Histories* IV.83–4

1. Cf. 292.
2. Cf. 146, 151, 301.
3. Cf. 292 n. 10.
4. Cf. 320; this version is probably nearest the truth.
5. Cf. 146.

### 301 Petition to Apollonius concerning the building of a sanctuary to Serapis (c.12 February 257)

See 300 on Serapis and Fraser I (1972), 116f., 257–9, 273.

To Apollonius, greetings from Zoilus of Aspendus, [one of . . .] and who was also introduced to you by the ‘friends’<sup>1</sup> of the king. As I was worshipping the god Serapis (and praying for) your good health and the prosperity of King  
5 Ptolemy (II), it happened that Serapis [enjoined] to me several times / in my dreams to sail to visit you and [tell you about] this injunction: a . . . must be built to him together with a precinct (*temenos*) in the Greek quarter near the harbour,<sup>2</sup> and [a priest] must be appointed, [and] sacrifices performed at the altar on your behalf. As I [beseeched him . . .] to release me from [this task]  
10 here, he caused me to fall seriously ill / so that [I] was in danger for my life. I prayed [to him (saying) that if] he restored [me] to health I would undertake the obligation and carry out his instructions. As soon as I had recovered, there arrived somebody from Cnidus who set about to build a Serapeum on this spot and who brought stones along. Later the god told him not to build (the  
15 sanctuary), and he / went away. When I came to Alexandria and hesitated to approach you about these matters but (only discussed) the business you had agreed about, I had another relapse for four months. That is why I was unable to come and see you immediately. It is therefore right, Apollonius, for you to



7. The Arsinoite nome (Fayum – cf. 254 n. 10), from Manning (2003), p. xxi

follow the god's commands so that Serapis may be merciful to you and may greatly increase your / standing with the king and your prestige, and make you 20  
 enjoy good bodily health. Do not therefore fear that the expense will prove to  
 be great, for it will cost you very little; I shall jointly supervise all these works.  
 Farewell.

*Verso:* From Zoilus about Serapis. To Apollonius. Year 28, Audnaeus 9. At  
 the harbour of Berenice.

*P. Cairo Zen.* 59.034

1. Cf. 275 n. 2.
2. Exact location unknown.

### 302 Petition from Egyptian peasants to Apollonius (October–November 257)

See Rostovtzeff (1923), 73f.

To Apollonius the *dioketes* greetings from the farmers from [the] Heliopolite  
 nome, from the village of Philadelphus<sup>1</sup> in the Arsinoite nome, from your  
 10,000 aruras.<sup>2</sup> After you gave us 1,000 [aruras] from the 10,000, and we  
 had worked and sown these, Damis<sup>3</sup> took away from us 200 (?) aruras, and

when [we] objected, he arrested three of our elders<sup>4</sup> until he compelled them to sign an act of renunciation.<sup>5</sup> And though [we were] willing to vacate the 1,000 aruras and asked / him to allow us time to work and sow them, even then he would not agree, but allowed the land to remain unsown. And there is another scribe, an Egyptian, [one of the] wicked men,<sup>6</sup> who does not allow the city to be settled but chases away those who are there. And there are many mistakes in the 10,000 aruras as there is nobody who knows anything about agriculture.<sup>7</sup> We therefore urge you, if you think fit, to call some of us in and listen to what we want to tell you. For twenty days have elapsed since our arrival. [We] wish . . . we are unable to . . . , but have spent everything we had / when we arrived. Farewell.

*P. Lond.* 1954

1. i.e. Philadelphia.
2. The large estate (c.2,500 ha.) granted by Ptolemy II to Apollonius the *dioiketes*, well known through the Zenon papyri (298); cf. also 303, 306 and 296 n. 15 on *ge en doreai*. The estate returned to the crown early in the reign of Ptolemy III.
3. Later attested as nomarch (*PP* 881 and 10.071; cf. 306), but he does not appear to have an official position here.
4. Cf. 313 ll. 23f.
5. Of the contract between the peasants and Apollonius for the cultivation of the estate.
6. Possibly Anosis, village scribe of Philadelphia, cf. 306 (end).
7. An indication of the resentment felt by the Egyptian peasants against the attempts of the Greek immigrants to upset their traditional methods of agriculture; cf. 315, 319 ll. 49–59; Manning (2003), 115f.

### 303 The estate of Apollonius the *dioiketes* at Philadelphia (26 December 257)

Artemidorus<sup>1</sup> to Panacestor,<sup>2</sup> greetings. As I was coming from Boubastis to [Memphis], Apollonius ordered me to visit you if possible, and if not to send one of my men to convey you his instructions. For he had heard that the 10,000 aruras<sup>3</sup> were not being sown all over. He therefore instructed me to tell you to have the wood cleared away and the land irrigated, / [and if possible] to sow the whole of the land, but if not that as much as . . . should be sown with sesame and that no part of the land should be left uncultivated. Since [then] I [am] unable to come in person through pressure of work,<sup>4</sup> I have sent you a letter so that you may know and [act] accordingly. For he gave instructions to hire and put to work numerous . . . men to do the hoeing and sowing (?) and



others to assist them. Do this, then, while it is still time / to sow. I have also told Zenon and Artemidorus at [Memphis], as Apollonius instructed me, to supply you with as much copper as you need for the purpose. Take delivery of it, for it will be given to you. And they said . . . (that they had given) 10,000 drachmas to Maron.<sup>5</sup> Farewell. Year 29, Apellaeus 2. [. . .]

*P. Cairo Zen.* 59.816

1. A doctor in the service of Apollonius (*PP* 10.160 and 16.582).
2. Zenon's predecessor at Philadelphia (*PP* 100).
3. See **302**.
4. Or: through illness.
5. A manager of the estate (*PP* 10.289).

### 304 A tender to Apollonius the *dioiketes* for repairing embankments at Memphis (257)

See Rostovtzeff (1923), 53f., 62; on the topography of Memphis cf. Thompson (1988), 10–20 with fig. 3 p. 14 (p. 13 on this text).

[. . .] To Apollonius the *dioiketes*, greetings from Harmais.<sup>1</sup> At the city of Memphis the [various] / embankments (measure) 100 *schoinia*.<sup>2</sup> Of these, those of the Syro-Persian (district) (measure) 12 *schoinia*, those of Paasu 7, those above [the] quay of Hephaestus and those below 4, those in the city together with the king's palace 23, those of the Carian (quarter) . . . , those of the Hellenion 3, beyond Memphis those to the west of the royal garden 20, and those to the [east . . .], and those to the north 5 (*schoinia*) 30 (cubits). For heaping up these embankments a sum of 1 (talent) 5,500 (drachmas) was given in [the 28th (year)] when the rise (of the river) was 10 cubits, 3 palms, 1 1/6 fingerbreadths, and in the 27th (year) a sum of 1 (talent) 1,300 (drachmas) was given when [the] / river rose 10 (cubits) 6 (palms), 23 fingerbreadths.<sup>3</sup> I now undertake to heap up for you these same embankments, starting from the base of the embankments to a rise of 12 cubits, to the satisfaction of the *oikonomos*<sup>4</sup> and the director of works,<sup>5</sup> for a payment of 1 (talent) from the royal treasury. According to established practice we shall be provided with spades, which we will return. Farewell.<sup>6</sup>

*PSI* 488 lines 9–19; *Sel. Pap.* II.346

1. An Egyptian.
2. 1 *schoinion* = c.45 m.

3. Note the precision of the measurements, officially recorded by the 'Nilometer' at Memphis (Diodorus I.36.11f.; Strabo XVII.1.48; Thompson (1988), 12); on the Nile flood cf. **255** n. 2.
4. See **319**.
5. The director of works (*architecton*) in the nome.
6. On embankments cf. **290** n. 5.

### 305 Record of lamp oil assigned to the retinue of Apollonius (January 256)

The following text is part of a record of daily disbursements of lamp oil made to the large retinue of Apollonius the *dioiketes* (**296** n. 8) during his travels of inspection in Egypt. It is one of (probably) many such lists of materials assigned from the stores of Apollonius to his retainers. For the life-style of a *dioiketes* cf. also **317**.

Year 28, Apellaeus.

Daybook of the castor oil<sup>1</sup> spent for daily disbursement.

5	1st	For the accounting office of Athenagoras	1 cotula
		And for that of Demetrius	1 cotula
		For that of Dionysodorus	$\frac{1}{2}$ cotula
		For the scribe's office of Iatrocles	1 cotula
10		For that of Artemidorus	$\frac{1}{2}$ cotula
		To Philon for the bakery	$\frac{1}{2}$ cotula
		To Bannaeus for the storeroom for the silverware	$\frac{1}{4}$ cotula
		For the steward's house	$\frac{1}{4}$ cotula
15		To Philistus and Menodorus	$\frac{1}{4}$ cotula
		To Pyron, for the steward's record books	cotula
		To Herophantus	cotula
20		To Heraclides the groom, / for the horses	$\frac{1}{4}$ cotula
		To Solon, for the horses of Amyntas	$\frac{1}{4}$ cotula
		To Eubulus	$\frac{1}{4}$ cotula
		Total for the day	$6\frac{1}{4}$ cotulas
25	2nd	To the same	$6\frac{1}{4}$ cotulas
	3rd	To the same	$6\frac{1}{4}$ cotulas
	4th	To the same	$6\frac{1}{4}$ cotulas
	5th	To the same	$6\frac{1}{4}$ cotulas
	6th	To the same	$6\frac{1}{4}$ cotulas

	To Philon the baker, for the man preparing food for the festival <sup>2</sup>	1 cotula	30
	Total	7¼ cotulas	
7th	To the same	7¼ cotulas	
	And that added for Philon	1 cotula	35
	Total	8¼ cotulas	
8th	To the same	8¼ cotulas	
9th	For the Isis festivals		
	Subtracting that given for the accounting offices of Athenagoras, Demetrius / and Dionysodorus, and the ½ cotula for the scribe's office of Iatrocles, to the rest 3¼ cotulas		40
	And to Helenus for a hand lamp, / 8 cotulas		45
	Total	11¼ cotulas	
10th	To the same, subtracting from that given to Helenus for a hand lamp, 3 cotulas, remainder	8¼ cotulas	
	And that reassigned for the scribe's office of Iatrocles	½ cotula	50
	Total	8¼ cotulas	

*P. Cornell* 1, lines 1–52

1. Cf. 297 on the oil monopoly.
2. The Isis festivals mentioned below, a four-day Egyptian festival celebrated by Apollonius and his retinue.

### 306 A lease of land from the estate of Apollonius (August 256)

In the reign of Ptolemy (II) son of Ptolemy (I) Soter, in the 30th year, when Alexander son of Leonidas was priest of Alexander and of the Brother–Sister Gods, and Prepusa daughter of Demetrius was basket-bearer (*canephoros*) of Arsinoe Philadelphus, in the month of Panemus, and the 10th of the Egyptian month Epeiph.<sup>1</sup> Hegesarchus son of Theopompus and Theopompus son of Hegesarchus and Nicodemus son of Hegesarchus, all three Macedonians ‘of the *epigone*’,<sup>2</sup> have contracted to work / for one year, from Zenon son of Agreophon, of Caunus, [in the service of] Apollonius the *dioiketes*, from the 10,000 aruras given by the king to Apollonius the *dioiketes* at Philadelphia in the Arsinoite nome,<sup>3</sup> 100 aruras of seed-land in the 3rd basin<sup>4</sup> which stretches

from north to south, at a rent of 7 1/8 artabas of wheat for every arura, free from risk and not subject to any deduction. There shall be given as seed for the land bearing wheat 1 artaba to the arura, / and for the land bearing barley an amount in proportion, and for expenses 1 artaba of barley for each arura, and for weeding 1/2 an artaba of barley and for wood-cutting, should brushwood be found, whatever amount is judged sufficient to be given for each arura. Hegesarchus, Theopompus and Nicodemus shall measure out the corn for rent at the granary in Philadelphia, in accordance with the ordinance on corn collection<sup>5</sup> in the month of Daesius in the 31st year, and they shall similarly repay whatever corn they receive for seed, / for weeding, for expenses and whatever money they may borrow for the brushwood, or corn instead of money, at the rate of 1 artaba of wheat for 1 dr. 2 ob. of copper, and a proportionate amount for barley. Hegesarchus, Theopompus and Nicodemus shall sow two thirds of the land they have contracted to work with wheat and one third with barley.<sup>6</sup> If they fail to carry out the terms of the agreement, Zenon may let the land to others. Any loss they cause to the / income of Apollonius, or whatever they may owe by way of rent and loans, they shall pay forthwith one and a half times the amount to Zenon, and Zenon or his representative may enforce exaction on them, their sureties and all their belongings, both on one and on all, as in the case of (debts) to the crown.<sup>7</sup> Sureties for payment in full of the obligations in the contract: the contracting parties for each other, and Ammonius son of Theon, of Cyrene, one of the assistants (?).<sup>8</sup> / This contract shall be valid wherever produced. Witnesses: Damis son of Cleon,<sup>9</sup> Sostratus son of Cleon, both of them from Helena, Theopompus son of Aristion, from Thessaly, doctor, Diodorus son of Zopyrus, from Magnesia, in the service of Apollonius the *dioiketes*, Agathinus son of Pyrrhus, from Cyrene, one of the assistants, Anosis son of Totorchois, from Sais, village scribe of Philadelphia.<sup>10</sup> Keeper of the contract: Damis.

*P. Col.* 54, lines 1–29

1. Cf. **271** nn. 2 and 3.
2. A status designation frequently found in the papyri, but its precise meaning is quite uncertain (= simply 'private individual', 'civilian?'); cf. J. F. Oates, *YCS* 18 (1963), 5–129 and Fraser (1972), 49f. and II, 134 n.110.
3. Cf. **302**.
4. An area enclosed by dykes.
5. Cf. **319** ll. 131–3; the full scope of this is unknown.
6. It is not certain that there is any official policy behind this.
7. Cf. **260** (b).
8. Exact meaning uncertain.
9. Cf. **302** n. 3.
10. Cf. **302** n. 6.

### 307 Letter of complaint to Zenon from a non-Greek (c.256–255)

This text gives one instance of the innumerable acts of individual pettiness that would not normally get into the historical record but for the evidence of papyri. It is not known whether the petitioner obtained redress. Cf. Walbank (1981), 114–18; Lewis (1986), 59–68.

. . . to Zenon, greetings. You do well if you are keeping in good health. I too am in good health. You know that you left me in Syria with Crotus, and that I carried out all the instructions in connection with the camels and that I was blameless towards you. And when you gave orders / to pay me 5  
my salary (Crotus) gave me nothing of what you had ordered. And when I requested many times that Crotus should give me the salary you had ordered but he gave me nothing at all and told me to go away, I held out for a long time waiting for you,<sup>2</sup> but when I ran out of necessities / and was unable to 10  
obtain these from any source, I was compelled to run away to Syria to avoid dying of hunger. I have therefore written to you to inform you that Crotus is responsible. And when you sent me again to Philadelphia to Jason, and I did everything I was told to, / for nine months now he gives me nothing of what 15  
you ordered, neither oil nor grain, except every two months when he also pays the (allowance for) clothing. And I am in distress summer and winter. And he tells me to accept ordinary wine for salary.<sup>3</sup> But they have treated me with contempt because I am a barbarian.<sup>4</sup> I therefore request you, if you please, to order them to let me have what is owed to me / and in future to pay me 20  
regularly, so that I do not die of hunger because I do not know how to speak Greek (*hellenizein*).<sup>5</sup> You would therefore do well to treat me with respect. I pray to all the gods and to the spirit (*daimon*) of the king that you may be in good health and come quickly to me so that you may find out for yourself 25  
that I am blameless. / Farewell.

(*Verso*) To Zenon.

*P. Col.* 66; BD 137 (with photo)

1. An agent of Apollonius in Syria and Palestine (*PP* 16418); the writer of the letter was connected with Apollonius' camel trade in Syria and Palestine (cf. **260**).
2. Zenon returned from Syria to Egypt in spring 258 and did not come back.
3. A calculated slight.
4. The writer's exact nationality (Egyptian, Arab, etc.) is not clear.
5. Or perhaps: 'act like a Greek'. The letter is written in Greek, but was presumably the work of a bilingual scribe. On tensions between Greeks and Egyptians cf. **277**. On literacy and the use of Greek in Egypt cf. D. J. Thompson in Bilde et al. (1992), 39–52 and in Bowman and Woolf (1994), 67–83.

### 308 Letter to Zenon from two *hierodouloi* of Boubastis

To Zenon, the *hierodouloi*<sup>1</sup> of Boubastis, who are feeders of cats,<sup>2</sup> greetings. The king<sup>3</sup> rightly granted exemption from compulsory labour<sup>4</sup> to men of this  
5 profession throughout the country / and Apollonius<sup>5</sup> did the same. We are men from Sophthis. But Leontiscus<sup>6</sup> forcibly sent us to work at the harvest, and in order to avoid troubling you, we carried out the work / imposed on us. But now Leontiscus has sent us a second time to go and make bricks. There are two of us. He is protecting the brick-makers at Sophthis, Amerois and  
10 Besas, who ought to be doing the work now, / as it suits his own ends.<sup>7</sup> Please therefore conform yourself to the order issued by the king and Apollonius the  
15 *dioiketes*.<sup>8</sup> For apart from you we have no one else present here to appeal to.<sup>9</sup> / Farewell.

*P. Cairo Zen. 59.451*

1. Members of the personnel of the native temples.
2. See **313** l. 25.
3. Ptolemy II Philadelphus.
4. On compulsory labour see **313**.
5. The *dioiketes* (**296** n. 8).
6. *PP* 4583; the *archiphylakites* of the nome, cf. **290** n. 33.
7. On maladministration by officials cf. **290**.
8. On the frequent ineffectiveness of official edicts cf. esp. **279, 290, 311, 321, 324**.
9. The men may have been forced to work on Apollonius' estate (**302**).

### 309 Register of an official postal station (c.255)

The following text is part of the daybook of an official postal station (exact location unknown), recording the despatches handed in by couriers to the station masters and forwarded by the latter to other couriers. The rolls or letters from the north of the country emanate from the king and Apollonius the *dioiketes* to various officials, those from the south from officials to (mainly) the king and Apollonius. It will be seen that Apollonius' correspondence is almost as extensive as that of the king himself (cf. also **278, 319** ll. 244f.).

. . . 6 rolls, of which 3 were for the king together with a [letter],  
. . . for Theogenes the money-carrier, . . . for Apollonius the  
[*dioiketes* . . . ]

- 16th . . . [delivered] / to Alexander 6 rolls; of these 1 roll was for [King] Ptolemy (II), 1 roll for Apollonius the [*dioiketes*] and 2 letters were received in addition to the roll, 1 roll for Antiochus the Cretan, 1 roll for Menodorus, 1 roll wrapped in another (?) for Chel . . . ,<sup>1</sup> / and Alexander delivered them to Nicodemus. 55  
60
- 17th Morning hour, Phoenix the younger, son of Heraclitus, a Macedonian holding 100 aruras<sup>2</sup> delivered to Aminon 1 roll and the price for Phantias,<sup>3</sup> and Aminon delivered it to Theochrestus. 60
- 18th At the first hour, Theochrestus delivered to Dinias 3 rolls from the upper (i.e. southern) country; of these 2 rolls were for King Ptolemy, 1 roll for Apollonius the *dioiketes*, and Dinias delivered these to Hippolytus. 65
- 18th At the sixth hour, Phoenix the elder, son of Heraclitus, a Macedonian holding 100 aruras in the Heracleopolite nome, one of the first soldiers in the company of E . . . , delivered 1 roll for Phantias, and Aminon delivered it to Timocrates. 70
- 19th At the eleventh hour, Nicodemus delivered to Alexander from the lower (i.e. northern) country . . . rolls; of these 1 roll was from King Ptolemy to Antiochus in the Heracleopolite nome, 1 roll for Demetrius the officer in charge of the supply of elephants / in the Thebaid,<sup>4</sup> 1 roll for Hippoteles the agent of Antiochus [left in charge?] at Apollonopolis the Great, 1 roll from King Ptolemy to Theogenes the money-carrier, / [1 roll] for Heracleodorus in the Thebaid, [1] roll for Zoilus, banker<sup>5</sup> in the Hermopolite nome, [1 roll] for Dionysius, *oikonomos*<sup>6</sup> in the Arsinoite nome, . . . (3 lines missing) . . . 75  
80  
85
- 20th At the . . . hour, Lycocles delivered [to Aminon] 3 rolls; of these 1 roll was for [King Ptolemy from . . . ] the elephant country below Th . . . , 1 roll for Apollonius the *dioiketes*, 1 roll for Hermippus member of [the] / company of workmen (?), and Aminon [delivered] them to Hippolytus. 90  
95
- 21st At the sixth hour, . . . delivered to Phantias from the lower country two letters . . . And Horus delivered to Dionysius . . . 95
- 22nd At the first hour, A . . . delivered to [Dinias] 16 rolls; of these . . . rolls were for King Ptolemy from the elephant country below Th . . . , 4 rolls for Apollonius the *dioiketes* . . . , 4 rolls for Antiochus the Cretan, and Dinias [delivered] them / to Nicodemus. 100  
105

- 22nd At the twelfth hour, Leon delivered [to Aminon] from the upper country [. . . rolls] for King Ptolemy, and Aminon delivered them to [Hippolysus].
- 23rd At the morning hour, Timocrates [delivered . . . ] rolls from the upper country / [. . . to Alexander]; of these [. . . rolls] were for King Ptolemy, 1 roll [for Apollonius] the *dioiketes*, 1 roll for . . . the money-carrier, [1 roll for . . . ] and Alexander [delivered them to . . . ]

110

*P. Hib.* 110, lines 51–114; *W. Chrest.* 435; *Sel. Pap.* II.397; BD 86

1. The identity and status of these three men is unknown.
2. A cleruch like his brother (l. 71), cf. **314**, but it is not clear why they have the right to use the official post.
3. Allusion unclear.
4. On him cf. Fraser I (1972), 178 with II, 305f. n. 365. On the elephant hunts of the Ptolemies cf. **263**.
5. Cf. **316**.
6. Cf. **319**.

### 310 Receipt from a boat captain for transporting barley to Alexandria (251)

The supplying of Alexandria with grain was a priority for the royal administration (**319** ll. 70–87); this text illustrates one stage in the process. See Préaux (1939), 143–7; Fraser I (1972), 147; D. J. Thompson in Garnsey et al. (1983), 64–75 (65f. on this text).

- [. . .] In the reign of Ptolemy (II) son of Ptolemy (I) Soter, in the 34th (year), when Neoptolemus son of Kraisias was priest of Alexander and of the [Brother]–Sister Gods, and Arsinoe daughter of Nicolaus was basket-bearer (*canephorus*) of Arsinoe Philadelphus, / on the 24th of the month of Mesore (= 13 October 251).<sup>1</sup> Dionysius the boat captain acknowledges that he has loaded [on to] the boat of Xenodocus and Alexander, on [which the pilot] is Ekteuris son of Pasis, of Memphis, through / Nechthembes the agent of the royal scribes,<sup>2</sup> for conveyance to the royal granary at Alexandria, with a sample,<sup>3</sup> four thousand eight [hundred] artabas [of barley, pure, unadulterated and sifted] grain, with the measure [and smoothing-rod]<sup>4</sup> / which he [himself] brought from [Alexandria], with [just] measurement,<sup>5</sup> and [I make] no [complaint].

*P. Hib.* 98 (*W. Chrest.* 441; *Sel. Pap.* II.365); BD 112



1. Cf. **271** nn. 2 and 3.
2. Cf. **290** n. 28.
3. Designed to show that the cargo had not been tampered with in transit.
4. For levelling grain in a measure.
5. Cf. **290** n. 25.

### 311 Letter of Ptolemy II Philadelphus on the billeting of troops (mid third century)

The practice of billeting government officials and especially troops on the local population, widely used in the ancient world (cf. **62, 172, 191, 193, 201**), was particularly needed in Ptolemaic Egypt because of the limited space available for permanent habitation owing to the annual Nile flood. The burden was not restricted to the native population, though it fell most heavily on them. Though conceived as a personal and revocable privilege granted by the king, the entitlement to billeting came to be regarded by the beneficiaries as a hereditary right, and was open to obvious abuse, despite repeated royal legislation. Cf. **290** ll. 99–101, 168–77, **279** (in Cilicia), and on the Ptolemaic cleruchs cf. **314**. See Préaux (1939), 387–92, 477–80; Rostovtzeff III (1941), index s.v. Billeting; *C. Ord. Ptol.* 1, 5–10, 84; Lewis (1986), 21–4, 33–5.

King Ptolemy (II) to Antiochus,<sup>1</sup> greetings. Concerning the billeting of soldiers we hear that there has been increased violence as they (the soldiers) are not receiving lodgings from the *oikonomoi*<sup>2</sup> but break into the houses themselves, / expel the inhabitants and settle there by force. Give instructions 5  
therefore that in future this is not repeated, but that preferably they provide themselves with accommodation.<sup>3</sup> If nevertheless the *oikonomoi* must give them quarters, let them give only what is strictly necessary; and when the soldiers leave these quarters, / they must vacate them after putting them back 10  
in good order, and must not leave them until they return, as [we hear] is happening at present: they let out the houses or place seals on them when they leave. Be particularly [careful] about Arsinoe near / Apollonopolis, so 15  
that [should] soldiers come none is billeted there,<sup>4</sup> but that they stay rather in Apollonopolis. Should there be any need for them to stop in Arsinoe, let them build themselves huts, as their predecessors have done. / Farewell. 20

*C. Ord. Ptol.* 24; *Sel. Pap.* II.207; BD 124 (p. 209)

1. Precise position uncertain.
2. Or: 'as they do not occupy lodgings assigned to them by the *oikonomoi*'. On the *oikonomoi*, cf. **319**.
3. i.e. construct barracks.
4. Arsinoe, named after Ptolemy's sister-wife (**254** n. 1), is privileged for that very reason.

### 312 Ordinances of Ptolemy II concerning internal security in Egypt (late 240s)

The evidence for internal insecurity in Egypt from the end of the third century is abundant and explicit (cf. 277). The following measures edicted by Ptolemy II show the problem to have been endemic in Ptolemaic Egypt even in the period of its greatest prosperity. See *P. Hib.* II (1955), pp. 97–103; E. G. Turner in *CAH* VII.1<sup>2</sup> (1984), 158f.

. . . and if he (the policeman) does not bring (the culprit to the police station) he shall be liable to the [same] fine as the brigand. Similarly with [the] sailors who are branded and the . . . of the fleet,<sup>1</sup> the policemen . . . shall bring all those who are caught to [the] commanders [of the] / guard posts.<sup>2</sup> If they do not bring them and have been convicted (of this) [themselves], they shall be sent to the ships.<sup>3</sup> [Those] who harbour<sup>4</sup> the sailors shall be liable to prosecution by the crown.<sup>5</sup> Brigands, other criminals and royal sailors are to be arrested wherever they are and no one shall protect [them] from arrest;<sup>6</sup> / whoever prevents or . . . shall himself be liable to the same fines as the [brigand] or the deserter from his [ship]. Similarly with those who receive [stolen property] from brigands or (any other) criminal or [harbour] them, [they shall be liable to] the same fines [as] / prescribed . . . no one shall free them or he [shall be liable to . . .] they shall conduct a search . . . (3 fragmentary lines). . . / [no] one shall go at night . . . (4 lines mostly lost) . . . a verdict on [them] shall be given by [the judges]<sup>7</sup> / to whom the duty [has been assigned] of judging brigands; [those] who sail [on] the river are to moor before . . . at the [appointed] places; at night . . . (i.e. they are not to sail); [those] who are overtaken [by] bad weather . . . (and forced) / to [moor] on the bank are to go to [the . . .] relevant authorities and report to the [policemen the] reason [and] the place where they have moored. The chief of police<sup>8</sup> shall provide them with an adequate [guard] to protect them where they are moored [from any] / violence. Any envoys sent by the [king] on an urgent boat trip who [wish to sail] at night shall receive an escort from them (the police) and . . .

*P. Hib.* 198, lines 85–122; BD 122

1. Sailors for the Ptolemaic fleet were recruited from free natives and also from various pressed men; cf. 283 l. 17, 313 l. 30, 319 l. 219.
2. Guard posts placed throughout the country.
3. i.e. they shall take the place of the sailors.
4. Cf. 297 col. 44.
5. Or: 'shall be liable to the penalties for theft from the crown'.
6. i.e. they may not enjoy the right of asylum, cf. 290 n. 22 and cf. 319 ll. 215–22.
7. Identity unknown.

8. Cf. **290** n. 33.

### 313 Compulsory labour on canals and dykes (242/1?)

Compulsory labour was traditional in ancient Egypt and continued under the Ptolemies (see also **194** n. 2 on Asia Minor). The following text is a report from an official to the *oikonomos* of the Theban toparchy concerning compulsory labour on canals and dams (cf. **290** n. 5 on embankments). The official reckons (in col. I, omitted here) 1,080 persons in the toparchy each owing 30 *naubia* a year (a cubic measure = a little over 1 m<sup>3</sup>, but also used as a unit of reckoning labour), i.e. 32,400 *naubia*, to which a further 60 are added (the reason for this is not clear). There follows a list of persons exempted from (or unable to provide) *naubia*, which are subtracted from the total, then a list of *naubia* actually performed. See Préaux (1939), 395–400; Lewis (1968).

#### *Column II*

The elders <sup>1</sup> who guard the dams and embankments	53	
The elders, the infirm, and the young <sup>2</sup>	61	
The inhabitants of Somphis who bury the cats <sup>3</sup>	21	25
Those assigned to the receiving measures of the state granaries <sup>4</sup>	5	
Those who have discharged their obligations in the Pathyrite nome	15	
Those assigned to the fleet <sup>5</sup>	2	30
Among the Greeks <sup>6</sup>	1	
Runaways	37	
Also the keepers of mummies	21	
Dead	7	35
Subtract	<hr/> 282	
Whose <i>naubia</i> (total)	8,460	
This leaves as <i>naubia</i>	24,000	
Labour has been performed on the following up to Payni 30th: /		40
On the canals:		

#### *Column III*

On the canal of Philon, as it is called, whose outlet lies in the Pathyrite nome *naubia* 4,120

*The Ptolemies and Egypt*

	On Paneiomis	2,240
45	On that of Amasis	670
	On Pabebynis	1,555
	On that of Philon in the city	335
	On that of Dorion	60
	On the canals (total)	<hr/> 8,980
50	On the dams:	
	On that at Godoba	1,150
	On that at Godobera	70
	On that at the frontier	280
	On that leading to Coptus	90
55	On the potter's dam	300
	On the dams (total)	<hr/> 1,890
	On the embankments:	
	On that to the east of Somphis	540
	On that to the west of the same	660
60	On that to the east of the marshes	180

*Column IV*

	On that on the land of Pachnumis son of Portis	150
	On that on the land of Callibius	100
65	On the embankments (total)	<hr/> 1,630
	Total	<i>naubia</i> 12,500
	And for the quarters of the <i>strategos</i> <sup>7</sup> are expended	<i>naubia</i> 1,200
	For the same (total)	<i>naubia</i> 13,700
70	This still leaves	10,300
	From these the labour performed by the cultivators on the	4,150
75	locks of the canals and on the embankments, which we shall add up to Mesore 30th <sup>8</sup>	
	This leaves	6,150 <sup>9</sup>

UPZ II.157, cols. II–IV

1. Cf. 302.

2. All unable to work.
3. Cf. **308**.
4. Measures prescribed for use by officials in charge of revenue; cf. **290** n. 25.
5. Cf. **312** n. 1.
6. Perhaps soldiers serving in the Greek ranks; it is not clear whether this shows that Greeks in general were altogether exempted from *corvées*.
7. Perhaps guard duties.
8. i.e. 2 more months (*c.* August–October). The translation is uncertain.
9. How these are to be used is not explained.

### 314 Official correspondence concerning cleruchs (December 239–January 238)

While the Ptolemies shared with the other Hellenistic kings in the east the same need to attract and fix in their lands a permanent military force, the technique they adopted was different. Military settlers (cleruchs) in Ptolemaic Egypt were not established as communities, as in the Seleucid empire (cf. **174** n. 9), but were granted as individuals the use of plots of land, varying in size according to rank (up to 100 aruras = 27.5 hectares); many of these were in the Fayum (**254** n. 10). In the second century the system was extended to Egyptians recruited in the infantry (cf. **277**). The plots were frequently leased by the cleruchs to others to provide an income. Initially the holdings were conceived as precarious and revocable, e.g. in case of death as the following text shows, but in practice they gradually became the hereditary possession of their owners, a development eventually sanctioned by the kings themselves, cf. **290** ll. 36–48. For evidence on cleruchs and cleruchic land cf. also **260(b)**, **275**, **282**, **294**, **296**, cols. 24, 36, **309** ll. 61, 70, **318** and on billeting cf. **311**. See Préaux (1939), 463–77; Rostovtzeff I (1941), 284–7; Crawford (1971), 53–85; Lewis (1986), 20–5, 27–35; Manning (2003), 38f., 56, 117, 122, 178–81.

Artemidorus. I have written below a copy of the letter to Nicanor [for your] information. [Year 9], Phaophi [29]. /

5

To Nicanor. The cavalrymen listed below have died; therefore take back [their] holdings (*kleroi*) for the crown. At Boubastis, of the corps of Epimenes, Sitalces [son of . . .], captain . . . ; at Thegonis, of the corps of Lacon, . . . machus son of Sca . . . , captain; at Tebetnu, of the corps of Sosipolis, / Ammonius son of A . . . Year 9, Phaophi 29.

10

Choiak 4. Artemidorus to Asclepiades, greetings. The cavalrymen listed below have died; therefore take back their holdings for the crown. At Heraclea / in the division of Themistes, of the corps of Damon, Leagrus son of Dionysophanes, captain, of the same corps, Philonides son of Artemidorus, officer; at

15

Hiera Nesus in the division of Polemon, of the corps of Lichas, Ebryzemis son of Ziochorus, officer. Year 9, Athur 28. [. . .]

*P. Hib.* 81

### 315 Preliminary reports for the sowing schedule (September 232)

The 'sowing schedule' (*diagraphé sporou*), an important institution in the economy of Ptolemaic Egypt, illustrates at once the extent of administrative control over agriculture in Egypt and the limited effectiveness in practice of that control (it is not clear whether it applied to all categories of land or only royal land (290 n. 11)). Every year at the time when the Nile flood was receding (i.e. when the surface of irrigated land could be precisely determined), a schedule was drawn up locally by government officials (toparchs, royal scribes, chiefs of police), but not by the cultivators themselves, laying down what surfaces were to be sown with what crops. The reports were then passed upwards to the nome level and then to Alexandria to enable forecasts of the expected tax revenue. Several papyri attest the importance attached to the schedule by the administration, including the *dioiketes* himself (cf. 297, 319 ll. 49–62), but they also show clearly the reluctance of the Egyptian peasantry to be restricted to the prescribed crops and the difficulties of enforcing the schedule in practice (cf. 290 ll. 200–3). See Vidal-Naquet (1967); Crawford (1971), 25–8; Manning (2003), 153–6.

#### *Recto*

Apollonius<sup>1</sup> to Leon,<sup>2</sup> greetings. Appended is a copy of the (letter) from Athenodorus the *dioiketes*. Complete therefore the sowing schedule with the usual officials and in conformity with his [instructions], and have it ready so  
5 that [we] ourselves may give it before the appointed time / to Leucippus the chief of police;<sup>3</sup> (do this) in the knowledge [that should] a delay occur you will be sent before the *dioiketes*. Farewell. (Year) 15, [Mesore . . .]

Athenodorus to Apollonius, greetings. Complete the sowing schedule of the land [in the district?] for the 16th (year) with the help of the [royal] /  
10 scribe<sup>4</sup> and other suitable persons, and send [it] preferably sooner, but at the latest [by the . . .] of Mesore,<sup>5</sup> drawn up by individual and by village and in [summary], to Leucippus the chief of police. For we have written to him [that] you would send him [these] documents at that date, to be forwarded /  
15 to us in the city (i.e. Alexandria) together with people [to] bring them back. (Year) 15, Epeiph . . . (August–September 232).

*Verso*

To Leon.

(Year) 15, Mesore 9, Apollonius. Copy of the (letter) from Athenodorus the (*dioiketes*) concerning the sowing schedule for the 16th (year).

*P. Yale 36; BD 106*

1. Precise official position unknown (an *oikonomos*?).
2. Brother of Apollonius and toparch (cf. **290** n. 28) of Philadelphia; on him cf. R. S. Bagnall, *GRBS* 15 (1974), 215–20.
3. Cf. **290** n. 33.
4. Cf. **290** n. 28.
5. Mid October at the latest.

### 316 Oath of office of an Egyptian assistant to a banker (c.230)

The Ptolemies introduced to Egypt a monetary economy with their own currency in gold, silver and bronze which was the only one to circulate in Egypt (cf. **299** and generally S. von Reden in Meadows and Shipton (2001), 65–76). Payments to and from the royal treasury were handled by banks, the majority of which were controlled by the crown; there were also a small number of concessionary banks which were farmed out to individual contractors, but they only handled private transactions. Royal banks were distributed throughout the country at every administrative level down to the village. Most known bankers in Egypt were Greeks in the service of the monarchy, though their assistants might be Egyptians, as in the following text. As well as serving as agencies for payments to and from the crown, banks also received private deposits and engaged in money-lending at high rates of interest (24 % was the legal maximum, over twice the rates found elsewhere in the Greek world). For the activities of the banks cf. **296** cols. 32 and 34, **297** cols. 48 and 56, **299**, **309** l. 86, **319** ll. 117–34, and see Préaux (1939), 280–97; Rostovtzeff I (1941), 404–6 and II, 1282–8; Lewis (1986), 46–55.

[In the reign of Ptolemy (III) son of Ptolemy (II)] and Arsinoe the Brother–Sister [Gods], year 8 (?), Epeiph 28. Oath sworn [and] subscribed by Semtheus son of Teos of Heracleopolis, one of the assistants, also called Heracleodorus. I swear by King Ptolemy, the son of King Ptolemy, and Queen Berenice / and the Brother–Sister Gods and the Benefactor Gods their ancestors, and 5  
Isis and all the other gods and goddesses of the land, that I will perform my duties under Clitarchus the agent of the banker Asclepiades in the office located at Phebikhis in the Coite nome, and that I will deposit all payments

- 10 to the royal treasury accurately and justly [and any] / money I receive from Clitarchus, except for what I receive (as salary) . . . and that I will deposit it in the bank at Heracleopolis. Should I have incurred any expense in the district I shall give an [account] of all the payments to Clitarchus, whether receipts or expenditure, together with the receipts for anything I spend. And  
15 should I owe anything more / for my management, I will pay it to the [royal] bank [within] five days, and recovery of my debts shall be at my expense from all [my possessions]. I shall not [alienate] any of my [possessions, or this] contract [shall be held] against me. I shall be available to Clitarchus [and  
20 his] agents outside sanctuary, altar, precinct, and all form of shelter.<sup>1</sup> / If I abide by my oath may I prosper, but if I break my oath may I be liable for [sacrilege].

*P. Grad.* 4; Lewis (1986), 49f.

1. Cf. **319** n. 19.

### 317 Preparations for the visit of a *dioiketes* (January 225)

Requisition of supplies, transport and lodging (cf. **311**) for government officials was an ancient custom in Egypt, and in Ptolemaic times affected all classes of the population. Goods requisitioned were sometimes paid for, sometimes not (as here); the practice was open to obvious abuse (cf. **290** ll. 178–87). See Préaux (1939), 392–4; Rostovtzeff I (1941), 315f. and index s.v. ‘requisitions’.

- 5 Amenneus to Asclepiades, greetings. In accordance with your letter we have got ready for the visit of Chrysippus [the *archisomatophylax*]<sup>1</sup> and *dioiketes*<sup>2</sup> 10 white-headed birds, 5 domestic geese, 50 fowls; of wild birds (we have) 50 geese, 200 fowls, 100 pigeons; we have also borrowed / riding donkeys and their . . . , and we have got ready the 40 pack asses; we are now making the road. Farewell. (Year) 22, Choiak 4.

*Verso.*

To Asclepiades. Year 22, Choiak 7. Amenneus about the gifts prepared.

*W. Chrest.* 411; *Sel. Pap.* II.414

1. Literally ‘commander of the (king’s) bodyguard’; this became in the second century a court title. Cf. **261**; Fraser (1972), 103.  
2. Cf. **296** n. 8.



### 318 A petition to Ptolemy IV concerning a gymnasium (27 February 221)

As the centres of physical and intellectual education of the Greeks (137), gymnasia became in the Hellenistic east the distinguishing mark of Greek social life. In Ptolemaic Egypt they appear to have been privately founded and maintained, though with royal blessing. As well as being centres of Greek culture they were closely connected with military life and the cult of the kings (cf. also 287, at Thera), hence devotion to the life of the gymnasium was a means of expressing loyalty to the dynasty (cf. also 294). The following text is a type of petition (*enteuxis*) of which numerous examples are known (see *P. Ent.*), nominally addressed to the king as the supreme dispenser of justice (52, 319 ll. 222–32), but in practice handled by the office of the *strategos* (290 n. 26, and for other petitions cf. 320, 324). See Rostovtzeff I (1941), 324f. and II, 1058–61; Launey II (1950) ch. 14 (pp. 836–69 on the Ptolemies).

To King Ptolemy (IV) greetings from Aristomachus, a Macedonian of the corps Eteoneus, a cleruch with an 80 arura holding.<sup>1</sup> I am wronged by [Dallus]. Apollodorus, who was registered as a Nagidian from the corps of Chrysermus, a commander of 500 men and a cleruch, [built] a gymnasium [at Samaria], where he had his holding, and consecrated it with the following inscription: To King Ptolemy, Apollodorus (dedicated) the gymnasium. When Apollodorus died and left property situated partly at Alexandria / and partly in the village 5 mentioned above, Polyclitus inherited this property, and I represent Polyclitus at law as manager of the property [left] at Samaria, in accordance with a decision of the *chrematistai*<sup>2</sup> who judged current suits in the district Alpha,<sup>3</sup> Leonidas, Hegesianax, . . . ophius, with the assistance of Hegesippus the *eisagogeus*,<sup>4</sup> in year 20, the 21st. Already previously, before this decision . . . as I was managing [the buildings?] and they [were decaying?] after the death of Apollodorus, I pulled down the apartment built above the [gymnasium] / as 10 it was collapsing, with the agreement of Aphthonetus the former *strategos*, in year 16 through a petition. I built buttresses against the buildings, and instead of the . . . and others which were worn out I added props . . . next to the porch on [which is the] inscription, I rebuilt it after it collapsed so that . . . with a prop. In the same way, after the decision I am repairing everything which is [decaying / . . . and I represent?] Polyclitus after the decision mentioned above. 15 Now Dallus and the woman who is said to be his wife . . . in the gymnasium itself, which is no concern of theirs . . . and as I [was telling?] them to get out . . . (gap of 2 lines) . . . [I therefore] urge [you, Sire, to instruct / 20 Diophanes<sup>5</sup> the *strategos* to write] to Agathocles the chief police officer to

summon Dallus before him . . . (and compel him) to get out and to pay a fine . . . when this is done thanks to you, Sire . . . Farewell.

[To Agathocles: reconcile them if possible; if] not send them so that justice is done to them in accordance with the laws. Year 1, Gorpiaeus 30, Tybi 13.

*Verso.*

Year 1, Gorpiaeus 30, Tybi 13. Aristomachus against Dallus, concerning build-ings.

*P. Ent.* 8

1. Cf. 314.
2. Cf. 290 n. 42.
3. One of the five quarters of Alexandria; cf. Fraser I (1972), 34f.
4. The magistrate who introduced the case before the 3 *chrematistai*.
5. Diophanes, *strategos* of the Arsinoite nome (254 n. 10) from 222 to 218 BC, is the best-known of Ptolemaic *strategoï* through over 125 petitions addressed to him which have survived; cf. Lewis (1986), 56–68.

### 319 The duties of an *oikonomos* (late third century)

This text, one of the most instructive of all Ptolemaic papyri, is a memorandum from (probably) a *dioiketes* (296 n. 8) to a subordinate *oikonomos* appointed by him, and conveying instructions of a general kind as to his duties (Pharaonic precedents are known for instructions of this type to officials). The document is more a set of moral exhortations to good behaviour than a practical handbook of technical instructions, and provides a revealing self-portrait of the Ptolemaic administration and its values. Little imagination is needed to detect the gap between aspiration and performance (contrast 290). On the role of the *oikonomos* see also 290 l. 159, 296–7, 304, 309, 311, 313, and outside Egypt 260, 287. See M. Rostovtzeff on *P. Tebt.* 703; D. J. Crawford in Maehler and Strocka (1978), 195–202; E. G. Turner in *CAH VII*.<sup>12</sup> (1984), 147–52, 158; Manning (2003), 141–3.

[ . . . ]<sup>1</sup> (You must inspect) . . . and the water ducts which run through [the]  
30 fields, / whether the intakes into them have the prescribed depth and whether  
there is sufficient space in them; the peasants are used to [leading] water from  
35 these to the land each of them sows. Similarly / with the canals mentioned  
from which the intakes go into the above-mentioned water ducts, (you must  
inspect) whether they are solidly made and whether the entries from the river  
40 are kept as clean as possible <and> whether in general / they are in good  
condition.

During your tour of inspection try as you [go] about to encourage everybody and make them feel happier; you should do this not only by words, but also should any of them / have a complaint against the village scribes<sup>2</sup> or the village chiefs (*komarchai*)<sup>3</sup> about anything to do with agriculture, you should investigate the matter and as far as possible put an end to such incidents. 45

When the sowing has been completed, / it would not be a bad thing if you made a careful tour of inspection; for in this way you will get a precise idea of the sprouting (of the crops), and you will easily see what has not been properly sown or left altogether unsown,<sup>4</sup> and you will [know from] this those who are guilty of negligence, / and it will be known to you [whether anyone] has used the seeds for other purposes.<sup>5</sup> 50 55

You must consider it one of your most imperative duties to make sure that the nome is sown with the crops specified in the sowing schedule. / 60

And if there are any who are in difficulties because of their rents or are even [completely] worn out, you must not [let the matter pass] without making an enquiry.

You must draw up a list of both the royal and the private cattle used in cultivation / and show all possible care that the [calves] of the royal herds, as soon as they are old enough to eat hay, are placed in the [calf] byres.<sup>6</sup> / 65 70

You must take care that the corn in the nomes – apart from the corn which is used on the spot [for] seed and that which cannot be transported by water – is conveyed . . . ; in this way / [it will be easy to load it onto] the first [ships] to arrive, and you must [never] show any laxity in dealing with this matter . . . (3 fragmentary lines) . . . / You must also take care that the prescribed cargoes of corn, of which we are sending you a list, are brought down to Alexandria at the right time, / [not] only in the right numbers but also tested and suitable for use.<sup>7</sup> 75 80 85

Visit also the weaving-houses in which the linen is woven and devote the utmost care / to ensure that [as many] of the looms are in use as possible, and that the weavers provide the woven materials prescribed for the nome.<sup>8</sup> And if any of them are in arrears with the items ordered / they must be charged the prices specified in the ordinance for each kind. Show particular care that the linen is of good quality [and] has (the number of) threads prescribed in the ordinance. Visit / also [the washing] houses in which [the] raw [flax] is washed and the . . . [and] make a list, and report so that castor oil and natron may be supplied for washing. 90 95 100

. . . (several fragmentary lines) . . . and should there be any surplus / from the amount booked in the first month, it shall be booked in the next month as part of the monthly quota. All the looms which are not being used should all be taken to the / capital of the nome, deposited in the storehouses and sealed up. 110 115

Audit the accounts of revenues, if possible village by village (and this does  
120 not seem impossible / if you devote yourself earnestly to the matter), but if  
not, by toparchies. Allow in the audit only what is paid to the bank<sup>9</sup> in the  
125 case of money taxes / and (only) what has been measured to the *sitologi*<sup>10</sup> in  
the case of corn dues and of oil-bearing produce. Should there be any deficit  
130 in these, compel / the toparchs and the tax farmers,<sup>11</sup> to pay to the banks  
the prices specified in [the] ordinance in the case of the corn debts,<sup>12</sup> and in  
the case of the oil bearing produce according to the liquid product for each  
kind.

135 You must / devote care to all the matters written in the [memorandum],  
and especially to what concerns the oil factories.<sup>13</sup> For if you give sufficient  
140 attention to them, you will increase considerably the sale in the nome / and  
the thefts will be stopped. Such a result would be achieved if on every occasion  
you inspected the workshops in [the] locality and the storehouses for both dry  
145 and liquid produce, [and] sealed them up. / And (make sure) that the amounts  
measured out to the oil-workers are not greater than what is going to be used in  
the oil presses which exist in the factories. You must take care that as far as possible  
150 all [the presses] are used, and if not, as many as possible, and keep an eye  
as closely as possible on [the] remainder; for . . . stuffing them with straw . . .  
155 place a seal on them, / and the superfluous implements of the presses which are  
not being used must be brought to [the same] spot and sealed up [in] the store-  
160 houses. And if . . . / know that apart from the payments . . . you will fall into considerable  
disrepute, which it will [not] be easy for you to [dispel] . . . (2 obscure  
165 lines) . . . /

And since the revenue from the pasture tax (*ennomion*) is also one of the most  
important, it would be particularly increased if you [carry] out the registration  
(of cattle)<sup>14</sup> in the best possible way. The most suitable season for doing this  
170 is the month of Mesore (*c.* August); for at this time / since the [whole] land is  
covered by water,<sup>15</sup> the cattle-breeders send their herds to the highest spots,  
since they are unable to scatter them in [other] places.

175 Take care also that goods offered for sale / are not sold at a higher price than  
those prescribed.<sup>16</sup> All those which do not have fixed prices, and for which  
the dealers may fix any price they wish, you must also inspect carefully, and  
180 after fixing a reasonable / profit for the goods that are being sold, you must  
compel the . . . to dispose of them.

Take care to inspect the calf byres, and devote special care to ensure that /  
185 corn is supplied in them until (the time for) green food, and that the amount  
prescribed is used for the calves every day and . . . is provided correctly, from  
190 the locality itself and, should / they need additional supplies from outside,  
from other villages as well.

You must also take care that the planting of the native trees is done at the right season, in case of the mature ones, / willows and mulberry trees, 195  
 but around the month of Choiak (c.December) for acacias and tamarisks.<sup>17</sup>  
 Of these some must be planted on the royal embankments, while [others] 200  
 must be placed [in] beds [so that] they may be treated with all possible / care  
 at [the time] of watering, and when necessary [and] the time for planting 205  
 comes, then . . . place (them) [on?] the royal embankments.<sup>18</sup> The contractors  
 must look after them / and make sure that the plants are not damaged by 210  
 sheep or by anybody else. In your other tours of inspection check whether  
 there are [any] cut trees on the embankments or in the fields, / and make a  
 list of them.

Make a list also of the royal houses and the gardens attached to them, and  
 what each needs by way of attention, and report to us. / 215

Take care also that the question of the native soldiers (*machimoí*) is settled  
 in accordance with the memorandum which we drew up concerning the men  
 who abandoned their work and . . . sailors,<sup>19</sup> in order that . . . / . . . those 220  
 who fall into your hands may be held until they are sent to Alexandria.

Take especial care that no act of extortion or any other misdeed is commit-  
 ted. / For everyone who lives in the country must clearly know and believe 225  
 that all such acts have come to an end and that they have been delivered from  
 the previous bad state of affairs, / and that [nobody] is allowed to do what he 230  
 wishes, [but] everything is arranged for the best.<sup>20</sup> And (so) you will make the  
 countryside safe and . . . (will increase) the revenues in no small way<sup>21</sup> . . .

Now it is not easy to include everything / and to convey it to you through 235  
 memoranda, [because of the] complexity of the circumstances arising from  
 the present situation. And so that as far as possible nothing [is neglected]  
 and concerning / the instructions set down in the [memorandum] . . . and 240  
 concerning unforeseen circumstances that arise report (to me) in the same  
 way so that . . . (2 fragmentary lines). For since / it is necessary to transact 245  
 [everything] through letters<sup>22</sup> . . . (2 fragmentary lines) . . . you must arrange  
 for them to write . . . about each of the / instructions sent, especially . . . , and 250  
 if not, stating the reason, so that . . . and that none of the [instructions given  
 here] is [neglected]. If [you] do this / you will carry out your duty and your 255  
 whole security will be assured.

Enough about these matters; I thought it well to set down in writing in the  
 memorandum what I said to you when sending you to the nome. / I thought 260  
 it was your most important duty to [behave?] with special care, integrity, and  
 in the best possible way . . . (several obscure lines) . . . and after this, to  
 behave in an orderly and upright way in your district, to avoid bad company,  
 to steer away from [all] disreputable collusion, / to believe that if you show 275  
 yourself to be above reproach in these matters you will be held worthy of

higher offices,<sup>23</sup> to keep the memoranda in your hands, and to report on everything as has been ordered. /

*P. Tebt.* 703 (cf. *Sel. Pap.* II.204); Burstein 101 (excerpts); BD 103

1. Column I almost completely lost.
2. Cf. **325**.
3. Cf. **260(a)**, **297** col. 40.
4. A reference to the 'sowing schedule' (*diagraphē sporou*), cf. **315**.
5. Cf. **297** cols. 41–3.
6. Cf. also ll. 183–91 below.
7. Cf. **310**.
8. The control of the linen industry described in ll. 87–117 is reminiscent of the organisation of the oil monopoly (**297**). See also **283** ll. 17f., **290** ll. 63f., 239, 249f. Egyptian linen was famous in antiquity.
9. Cf. **316**.
10. Cf. **290** n. 23.
11. Cf. **296** n. 3.
12. Cf. **306** n. 5.
13. On this section cf. generally **297**.
14. Cf. **260(a)**.
15. Through the Nile flood (**255** n. 2).
16. As with oil (**297** col. 40).
17. On this section cf. B. Kramer, *ZPE* 97 (1993), 135–7. Trees were in short supply in Egypt (Meiggs (1983), 57–62), hence the administration's interest in them; cf. **290** ll. 205f.; *P. Cairo Zen.* 59.157; Manning (2003), 92–6.
18. On the maintenance of embankments cf. **290** n. 5.
19. Cf. **312** and n. 1, and for flight from work by Egyptians cf. **290** ll. 6–9, **313** l. 33, **316** l. 19. What precise disturbances are referred to here and in the next lines is not clear; cf. **268** n. 8, **275** for possible contexts.
20. A recurring profession by the royal administration, cf. **290**, **321**.
21. Cf. **299** n. 8.
22. On the paperwork of the Ptolemaic administration cf. **309**.
23. The *dioiketes* controlled administrative appointments, cf. **325(b)**.

## 320 The 'recluses' of the Great Serapeum at Memphis (161/60)

One of the most intriguing series of second-century papyri is a group of texts (just over 100) relating to a group of persons, mostly Greeks and Macedonians though Egyptians are also found, who describe themselves as 'recluses' (*katochoi*) who are 'held in detention' in the great temple of Serapis at Memphis (on Serapis cf. **151**, **210**, **300–1**). During their period of 'detention', which may be anything from a brief period to many years, they may not leave the precinct of the sanctuary though they continue to communicate with the outside world. They are not priests themselves, though they take part in temple and cultic activities

and receive remuneration accordingly. How and why this ‘detention’ begins and ends is not made clear, and the problem has eluded a definitive solution. A plausible analogy is that of the religious novitiate of worshippers of Isis described (some three centuries later) in Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* XI. On this view the *katochoi* at Memphis are novices of the god Serapis, whose ‘detention’ is ordered by the god appearing to them in a dream (cf. 146, 151, 300–1), and comes to an end in the same way when they are ready for initiation. As well as illustrating the life of the great sanctuary the texts give incidental evidence on tensions between Greeks and Egyptians at this period (cf. 286 and generally 277). See *UPZ* I (1927); Rostovtzeff II (1941), 734–6; Fraser I (1972), 250, 253f. and II, 403 n. 505; Lewis (1986), 69–87; Thompson (1988), 212–65.

To Dionysius, *strategos*<sup>1</sup> and one of the ‘friends’ (of the king)<sup>2</sup> from Ptolemy son of Glaucias, a Macedonian, one of those ‘held in detention’ for twelve years in the great Serapeum in Memphis.<sup>3</sup> As I have suffered grave injustice / 5  
and my life has been frequently endangered by the temple cleaners whose names are listed below, I am taking refuge with you in the belief that in this way I would best secure justice. For on Phaophi 8th in the 21st year (= 9 November 161) they came to the Astarteum, which is in the sanctuary,<sup>4</sup> and in which / I have been living ‘in detention’ for the number of years mentioned 10  
above; some of them had stones in their hand and others sticks, and they tried to force their way in, in order to seize the opportunity to plunder the temple and to put me to death because I am a Greek, like men laying a plot / against my life. But when I anticipated them and shut the door of the temple, and 15  
shouted to them to withdraw in peace, they did not go away even so. When Diphilus, one of the worshippers held ‘in detention’ by Serapis besides me, / 20  
expressed indignation at their conduct in such a temple, they pushed him back, handled him very roughly and beat him up, so that their lawless brutality was clear for all to see. When these same men treated me in the same way on Phaophi of the 19th year (= November 163), I immediately addressed a petition to you,<sup>5</sup> / but as I had no one to look after the matter further, they 25  
were let off scot-free and became even more arrogant. I therefore ask you, if you please, to order them to be brought before you, so that / they may receive 30  
the punishment they deserve for all these misdeeds. Farewell.

Mys, clothes-dealer; Psosnaus, yoke-bearer; Imouthes, baker; Harembasnis, corn-dealer; Harchebis, doctor for internal diseases; Po . . . , carpet-weaver; Stotoetis, porter; and others with them, whose names / I do not know.<sup>6</sup> 35

*UPZ* I.8; BD 138

1. Cf. 290 n. 26 and 318 on petitions to the *strategos*.  
2. Cf. 275 n. 2.

3. On Ptolemy see Lewis and Thompson, *opp. citt.* and BD 171–2; his detention lasted *c.*20 years.
4. A precinct of the goddess Astarte, of Phoenician origin, within the temple complex, where the ‘recluses’ lived.
5. Cf. **318, 324**.
6. The names are all Egyptian, though Mys could be a Carian.

### 321 Maladministration by officials (25 October 156)

Dioscorides<sup>1</sup> to Dorion,<sup>2</sup> greetings. Appended is a copy of the letter to Dorion.<sup>3</sup> In the knowledge that the same instructions are directed to you, make sure that nothing is done in violation of them and no evil action is kept

5 hidden from us. Farewell. Year 26, Xandicus 1, Thoth 25. /

To Dorion. The king and the queen<sup>4</sup> attach great importance to justice being done to all their subjects in the kingdom.<sup>5</sup> Now many people are coming down the river (the Nile) to the city (Alexandria) and are lodging complaints against you, your subordinates and especially the tax farmers<sup>6</sup> for abuses of

10 power / and fraudulent exactions, and some even allege blackmail. We wish you not to lose sight of the fact that all this is incompatible with our rule of conduct and no less with your safety, should anyone be convicted of having done harm to one of the people concerned. Therefore take care yourself that

15 no action of this kind is repeated / and that no one suffers any harm from anybody, and particularly from tax farmers who try to use blackmail, and send instructions to the same effect to all concerned without fail.<sup>7</sup>

UPZ I.113

1. The *dioiketes* (cf. **296** n. 8).
2. A *hypodioiketes*, subordinate to the *dioiketes*.
3. Probably financial manager (*epimeletes*) of the Memphite nome.
4. Ptolemy VIII and Cleopatra II (**290**).
5. Cf. **319** n. 20.
6. Cf. **296** n. 3.
7. On maladministration in the Ptolemaic kingdom, especially in the second century, cf. **290, 308** n. 8.

### 322 The persecution of intellectuals by Ptolemy VIII (145)

For you do not know that Meneclis of Barca the historian,<sup>1</sup> and also Andron of Alexandria in his *Chronicle* (*FGrH* 246 F 1),<sup>2</sup> have related that it was the Alexandrians who educated all the Greeks and barbarians,<sup>3</sup> at a time when



general education had broken down because of the continuous disturbances which took place in the period of Alexander's Successors.<sup>4</sup> There was then a revival of all education in the time of Ptolemy VIII the king of Egypt, the ruler who was aptly nicknamed Malefactor (*kakergetes*)<sup>5</sup> by the Alexandrians. He slaughtered many Alexandrians and drove into exile not a few who had grown up with his brother.<sup>6</sup> The result was that he filled the islands and cities with grammarians, philosophers, geometers, musicians, painters, athletic trainers, doctors and many other skilled professionals, who were compelled by poverty to teach their knowledge and thus made many men famous.

Meneclēs of Barca *FGrH* 270 F 9, cited by Athenaeus IV  
184b–c; Burstein 105

1. Mid second century BC, one of the few writers from Greek Libya not to originate from Cyrene.
2. Probably first century BC, but otherwise unknown.
3. 'Barbarians' may refer in the first instance to the Romans. On the cultural life of Alexandria cf. **262**, **292** §8.
4. On the impact of political events on cultural history in this period cf. Shipley (2000), 365–7; Austin (2001), 90–109; and G. Weber cited on **255**.
5. A distortion of *euergetes*, 'benefactor'; cf. Antiochus IV, **209** n. 1.
6. A reference to the long civil war between Ptolemy VI and Ptolemy VIII (**288**). The persecution of intellectuals took place after the death of Ptolemy VI in 145 when Ptolemy VIII returned to Alexandria after being in exile since 163. For the scope and significance of this persecution see Fraser I (1972), 86–8 with notes and III (index) s.v. 'Ptolemy Euergetes II, expulsion of intelligentsia' (p. 67). Cf. also **323**.

### 323 The population of Alexandria (second half of the second century)

During a visit to the city I was disgusted by the state of affairs there.<sup>1</sup> Three groups of people inhabit the city.<sup>2</sup> There is the native Egyptian element, volatile and resistant to civil control; the mercenary soldiers, an overbearing, numerous and uncultivated set (for it was an old-established practice to maintain foreign soldiers, who have been taught to rule rather than to obey because of the insignificance of the kings); the third group is the Alexandrians, who for the same reasons have never become properly used to civil life, but are nevertheless better than the second group. For though they are now a mixed race, they are all the same of Hellenic origin and have retained some of the characteristics common to the Greeks.<sup>3</sup> But at the time when I came to Alexandria this part of the population had been obliterated, not least by the action of (Ptolemy VIII) Euergetes Physcon: faced with popular uprisings he

frequently exposed the crowds to the soldiers and so decimated them.<sup>4</sup> Such being the situation in the city the words of the poet (Homer, *Odyssey* IV.483) were to the point:

The journey to Egypt is long and arduous.

Polybius XXXIV.14

1. Polybius' visit probably took place after 146. Cf. **292** on Alexandria and on Polybius' attitude to Alexandria and Egypt cf. Walbank (2002), 53–69.
2. On the population of Alexandria cf. also **261**, and generally Fraser I (1972), ch. 2, esp. 86f. on this passage.
3. Polybius' prejudices are apparent (cf. **285**): the only 'sound' part of the population is the Alexandrian, in so far as it has retained its Greek identity. This reflects widespread Greek assumptions: race mixture is equated with debasement, and what we would call 'acculturation' is not judged positively (cf. M. Dubuisson, *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 60 (1982), 5–32 and *RPh* 57 (1983), 203–25). Compare **167** n. 6 and the rhetorical statement in Livy XXXVIII.17 (in the mouth of the Roman commander Manlius Vulso in 189): 'The Macedonians who hold Alexandria in Egypt, who dwell in Seleucia and Babylonia and in other colonies scattered throughout the world, have degenerated into Syrians, Parthians, Egyptians.' On the mercenaries in Alexandria cf. Griffith (1935), 126–31. On the role of the crowds cf. **282** n. 14, **286** (a).
4. Cf. **322**.

### 324 Petition to the *strategos* from the royal peasants of Oxyrhyncha (c.138)

Cf. **318** on petitions to the *strategos*.

- To Phantias, [one of the] 'first friends',<sup>1</sup> *strategos* and manager of the revenues,<sup>2</sup>  
5 from the royal peasants<sup>3</sup> at Oxyrhyncha.<sup>4</sup> We have done our best / to follow  
your exhortations, and we have sown the royal land<sup>5</sup> which we cultivate. We  
10 have borrowed much money to prevent any delay (in our payments); we have  
brought our crops / to the royal threshing-floor and have delivered them to  
the royal store. But we are wary of the illegal exactions practised by some  
15 (officials) whose conduct is not / of the best and who transgress the existing  
ordinances relating to the peasants and the letters to the police chiefs (*epistatai*)  
20 on the same matters emanating from you.<sup>6</sup> / We (therefore) beseech you, if  
you think fit, to assist us and the royal (revenues)<sup>7</sup> and to give instructions  
25 to write to Demetrius and Stephanus the police chiefs to comply / with the  
(ordinances) mentioned and not to allow anyone to make illegal exactions from  
30 us nor to force their way into the threshing-floors, but to send such men /  
before you, without excuses of any kind, so that you may examine their case

publicly. If this is done we shall be able to pay our rents in full / thanks to your help, and [the] king [shall] suffer no loss. [Farewell.]<sup>8</sup> 35

*P. Tebt.* 786

1. Cf. 275 n. 2.
2. Cf. 290 nn. 26, 27.
3. Cf. 290 n. 38.
4. The village of Oxyrhyncha was situated high up and so received less benefit from the Nile flood (cf. *P. Tebt.* 787). By the late second century the number of royal peasants there had dropped from 140 to 40 (*P. Tebt.* 803) owing to difficulties in cultivation and pressure from officials.
5. Cf. 290 n. 11.
6. Cf. 308 n. 8.
7. Cf. 299 n. 8.
8. The Egyptian peasants made use of a Greek scribe versed in the official style.

### 325 Menches, village scribe of Kerkeosiris

The village was the basic building block of Egyptian society and it was at the village level that the administration of the country started (cf. 290 nn. 28, 33). A collection of papers which once belonged to Menches, a partly hellenised Egyptian who was village scribe (*komogrammateus*) of Kerkeosiris in the Fayum from before 119 to 111/10, has survived for accidental reasons; it provides important information on the life of an Egyptian village in late Ptolemaic times (cf. 290). Menches' duties included providing his superiors with regular reports on lands, crops and rents due in his village, supervising public works and irrigation, and a concern for law and order, though he himself had no powers of jurisdiction. See *P. Tebt.* I (1902) and IV (1976); L. Criscuolo, *Aegyptus* 58 (1978), 13–101; Crawford (1971) and *JHS* 99 (1979), 221f.; Lewis (1986), 104–23; Verhoogt (1997); Manning (2003), 119–22, 146–56.

#### (a) Menches' application for the post (25 May 119)

From Menches the village scribe of Kerkeosiris.<sup>1</sup> On being appointed to the post of village scribe previously held by me / I will pay at the village 50 artabas of wheat [and] 50 artabas of pulse, consisting of 20 artabas of lentils, / 10 of bruised corn, 10 of pease, 6 of mixed seeds, 3 of mustard, 1 of parched pulse, total 50. Total 100 artabas. / Year 51, Pachon 6. And Dorion<sup>2</sup> (will pay) 50 artabas of wheat and 10 of pulse, (consisting of) 3 of bruised corn, 3 of pease, 3 of mixed seeds, 1 of mustard, total 10. Total 60 artabas. 5 10 15

*P. Tebt.* 9; BD 83

*(b) Menches' appointment (20 August 119)*

Asclepiades<sup>3</sup> to Marres, greetings. Menches has been appointed by the *dioiketes*<sup>4</sup> to the post of village scribe of Kerkeosiris on the understanding that he shall cultivate at his own expense 10 aruras of the land around the village which has been registered as uncultivated at a rent of 50 artabas, which  
5 he shall pay / in full every year from the 52nd year to the royal treasury, or he shall make up the deficit from his private means.<sup>5</sup> Give him the papers of his office (*or*: 'the certificate of his appointment') and take care that he carries out what he has promised. Farewell. Year 51, Mesore 3. (*Verso*) To Marres the *topogrammateus*.

*P. Tebt.* 10; *Sel. Pap.* II.339; BD 83

*(c.) Receipt from Menches to Dorion (119)*

Menches son of Petesuchus, village scribe of Kerkeosiris in the division of Polemon, in the Arsinoite nome, to Dorion son of Irenaeus, one of the '(first)  
5 friends'.<sup>6</sup> I acknowledge that there has been measured out (to me) / from you in the 51st year 100 artabas [of wheat] by the official standard<sup>7</sup> and justly [measured], (the wheat) being new, pure and [sifted], and also 20 (artabas) of lentils, [13] of bruised corn, [13 of pease], 10 of mixed seeds,<sup>8</sup> [4] of mustard,  
10 [1 of parched pulse], / total 61 of pulse, 100 (of wheat). And from the 52nd year you will [measure out] (to me) every [year] 50 (artabas of wheat), pure and [sifted], by the official standard [and justly measured] as written above  
15 [without lawsuit] / or judgement or any [. . . or] twice [the above-mentioned] amount or [as price for each artaba] 2,000 drachmas (of copper) and [. . . to be consecrated] to the Benefactor [Gods. This receipt] shall be valid wherever [it is produced].

*P. Tebt.* 11

1. The addressee is unidentified, perhaps deliberately so if Menches' promise is correctly interpreted as a bribe to secure his reappointment (cf. next note).
2. As can be seen from (c), where he is identified, Dorion paid this amount to Menches and in addition the amounts promised by Menches himself. He may have been purchasing in this way the favour of Menches (cf. **290** ll. 184–6, where the practice is denounced, also **308**).
3. The royal scribe of the nome (**290** n. 28).
4. Cf. **296** n. 8.
5. The administration is anxious to have the land fully cultivated (cf. **290** ll.93–8, **324**) and Menches on his side is anxious to secure a post he obviously regarded as worthwhile.
6. Cf. **275** n. 2.
7. Cf. **290** n. 25.
8. There is an extra artaba of mixed seeds; the reason is unknown.

## 326 The Potter's Oracle

Egyptian resistance to rule by the Macedonians and Greeks took many forms (cf. 277). It found literary expression in the form of the 'apocalyptic prophecy', in which a national figure of the past is made to forecast a period of misery, to be followed by the demise of the foreign oppressors and the return of the country to its natural order and prosperity under a native king (cf. generally Eddy (1961); compare also 212). Such texts emanated probably from elements in priestly circles which saw themselves as protectors of national traditions threatened by the invading foreigners (contrast 271). The following text, ironically a Greek translation from an Egyptian original, dates from the third century AD and shows the continued circulation of such texts generations after they were written (the original dates from Ptolemaic times and probably reached its final version around 130–116 BC). The prophecy survives in fragmentary form in 3 papyri; the first gives the narrative framework (the meeting of a potter who recites his prophecy to the king), and the other two the prophecy itself. The second and fullest text is translated here and incorporates supplements from the third. The element of wishful thinking in all such prophecies is self-evident: the Ptolemies were not overthrown by native revolts, and Egypt, conquered by the Macedonians in 331, then by the Romans in 31, and later by the Arabs, remains to this day under foreign occupation. See L. Koenen, *op. cit.* below; Fraser I (1972), 71, 680–4, 716; A. B. Lloyd, *Historia* 31 (1982), 33–55, esp. 50–5 on this text; Huss (1994), 165–79; Shipley (2000), 233; Manning (2003), 166.

[*Column I*] . . . and lawless. And the river<sup>1</sup> [will rise not having sufficient] water but only little, so that [the land . . .] will be scorched, but against nature. In the [time] of the Typhonians<sup>2</sup> / [they will say:] 'Wretched Egypt, you [have been] wronged [by the terrible] ill-treatment inflicted on you'. The sun will grow dim as it cannot bear to witness the evils perpetrated in Egypt. The earth will not agree with the seeds. These will contribute to its blight. [The] farmer will be charged for taxes (on) crops he did not sow. Fighting will break out in Egypt because the people are in need of food. / [Another] will harvest and take away what they cultivate. There will be [war and slaughter] of this race, and it will [kill] their brothers and [wives.] For [this will happen] when the great god Hephaistus<sup>3</sup> wishes [to return] to the [city], and the Girdle-Wearers will destroy each other [as they are Typhonians . . .] will be harmed. And he will pursue them with his feet / [towards] the sea [in his] anger and destroy many of them as they [are] impious. [And] (the king) shall come from Syria,<sup>4</sup> who shall be hateful to all men, [and . . .] being . . . and from Ethiopia [he shall come . . .] himself from the unholy ones to Egypt and will [settle in the city, which] later will be deserted.<sup>5</sup> / (two fragmentary lines) . . . Their children [will be] made weaker. The country will be made unstable and [not a

few] of those who inhabit Egypt will abandon their home and travel to foreign lands. <There will then be slaughter among friends.> People [will] shed tears over their own misfortunes although they are less than those of others.  
25 [Men / will] perish at the hands of each other. Two of them [will come] to the same place to give assistance to one (?). There will be much death among women who are pregnant. The Girdle-Wearers will destroy each other as they are Typhonians themselves. And then Agathos Daimon<sup>6</sup> will abandon the city  
30 that was founded and will come to Memphis and / the city of foreigners which was founded will be deserted. This will happen at the end of the (period of) evils, when a crowd of foreigners like fallen leaves came to Egypt. The city of the Girdle-Wearers will be deserted in the same way as my furnace<sup>7</sup> because  
35 of the lawless acts which they perpetrated in Egypt. [*Column II*] The statues which had been transported there will return to / Egypt. The city by the sea will be a drying place for fishermen because Agathos Daimon and Knephis have gone to Memphis, so that passers-by will say: ‘This city was all-nurturing, and every race of men was settled there.’ And then Egypt will be increased,  
40 when the fifty-five-year friendly / ruler appears,<sup>8</sup> the king from Helios, the giver of blessings, who has been established by the greatest goddess, so that the living will pray that the dead should rise again so as to share in the blessings. At the end of this the leaves will fall. The Nile, which had been short of water, will fill up, and winter, which had unnaturally changed its dress, /  
45 will run its proper cycle; summer will then resume its own course, and the breezes of the winds will be orderly, which had previously been weak and diminished. For in the <time> of the Typhonians the sun was dimmed to illuminate the nature of the evils (and) to show the emptiness of the Girdle-Wearers. And Egypt . . . having spoken up to this point he (the potter) fell  
50 silent. / King Amenophis,<sup>9</sup> distressed by the many disasters he had recounted, gave burial to the potter at Heliopolis, deposited the book in the sacred  
55 archives there, and revealed it unstintingly to all men. Speech of the potter / to King Amenophis, (translated) as far as possible. Concerning [future] events in Egypt.

L. Koenen, *ZPE* 2 (1968) 178–209 at pp. 200–8, with supplements in *ZPE* 13 (1974), 313–19 and 54 (1984), 9–13; Burstein 106

1. The Nile, cf. 255 n. 2.
2. The followers of Typhon/Seth, brother and implacable opponent of Osiris, with whom the Greeks and Macedonians are identified (they are the ‘Girdle-Wearers’ mentioned below).
3. i.e. Ptah.
4. Possibly a reference to Antiochus IV and his invasions of Egypt (211–12).

5. Here and below Alexandria is referred to, but the writer studiously avoids naming it and does not think of 'the city by the sea' as an integral part of Egypt; contrast **292** for a Greek view.
6. A deity identified early as the patron god of Alexandria, and also assimilated with Knephis, a snake-form manifestation of Amon (below); cf. Fraser I (1972), 209–11.
7. The potter's furnace.
8. Since Ptolemy VIII reigned for one year less (170–116, counting his reign as continuous), the suggestion is that the present version of the Potter's Oracle reflects a revision made just after that king's death (L. Koenen, *ZPE* 54 (1984), 13).
9. Amenophis (Amenhotep) is the name of four different kings of the XVIIIth Dynasty, which was reckoned as the peak of Egyptian power (c. 1543–1292, though chronological systems differ).

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## Table of rulers

Note: The years are regnal years, i.e. years during which the rulers had the royal title. The numbering of rulers within a dynasty is mostly a modern convention. The lists are simplified and show only the main facts.

### The ANTIGONIDS of Macedon

Antigonus I Monophthalmus	306–301
Demetrius I Poliorcetes	306–283
Antigonus II Gonatas	283–239
Demetrius II	239–229
Antigonus III Doson	229–221
Philip V	221–179
Perseus	179–168

Note: Antigonus I never ruled Macedon, Demetrius I only 294–288/7, and Antigonus II only from 276.

### The SELEUCIDS (see **158** for fuller details)

Seleucus I Nicator	305–281
Antiochus I Soter	281–261
Antiochus II Theos	261–246
Seleucus II Callinicus	246–225
Seleucus III Soter	225–223
Antiochus III the Great	223–187
Seleucus IV Philopator	187–175
Antiochus IV Epiphanes	175–164
Antiochus V Eupator	163–162
Demetrius I Soter	162–150
Alexander Balas	150–145
Antiochus VI Epiphanes	145–142
Antiochus VII Sidetes	138–129
Demetrius II Nicator	129–125
Cleopatra Thea	126

Cleopatra Thea and Antiochus VIII Grypus	125–121
Seleucus V	125
Antiochus VIII Grypus	121–96
Antiochus IX Cyzicenus	115–95

Note: The last rulers in the dynasty are omitted (cf. **223**).

### The ATTALIDS of Pergamum (cf. **224**)

Philetaerus	283–263
Eumenes I	263–241
Attalus I Soter	241–197
Eumenes II Soter	197–159
Attalus II	159–138
Attalus III	138–133
(Eumenes III, i.e. Aristonicus	133–129)

Note: Neither of the first two Attalids assumed the royal title, cf. **224**, **233**; on Eumenes III/ Aristonicus cf. **249** n. 2.

### The PTOLEMIES

Ptolemy I Soter	305–283
Ptolemy II Philadelphus	283–246
Ptolemy III Euergetes I	246–222
Ptolemy IV Philopator	222–204
Ptolemy V Epiphanes	204–180
Ptolemy VI Philometor	180–145
Ptolemy VII Neos Philopator	145–144
Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II Physcon	145–116
Ptolemy IX Soter II	116–107
Ptolemy X Alexander	107–88

Note: The last rulers in the dynasty are omitted (cf. **291**).

## Chronological table

Note: The chronology of the Hellenistic period is riddled with uncertainties, particularly as regards much of the third century; many of the dates listed below are approximate and subject to revision. For discussion of problems of detail see Will I (1979) and II (1982), and in general Bickerman (1980), with numerous chronological tables, and *CAH*.

356	Birth of Alexander
336	Assassination of Philip; accession of Alexander. Alexander <i>hegemon</i> of the 'Corinthian League' (3)
335	Alexander campaigns in Thrace and Illyria. Revolt and destruction of Thebes (3)
334	(Spring) Start of Alexander's invasion of Asia. Battle of the Granicus. Conquest of Asia Minor (4–6)
334/3	Alexander winters at Gordium
333	(November) Battle of Issus
332	Alexander rejects Darius' peace offers (7). Siege of Tyre. Alexander conquers Syria. Surrender of Egypt to Alexander
331	Foundation of Alexandria (8). Alexander visits the oracle of Ammon at Siwah (9). (1 October) Battle of Gaugamela (cf. 11). Agis III of Sparta defeated at Megalopolis (cf. 11)
330	Destruction of Persepolis (10). Darius murdered by Bessus. Execution of Philotas and Parmenion
329	Alexander in Bactria
328	Murder of Clitus. Execution of Callisthenes (or 327) (cf. 12)
327	Alexander marries Roxane. Invasion of India
326	Battle of the Hydaspes, defeat of Porus. Mutiny of the troops at the Hyphasis (13)
325	Alexander crosses Gedrosia. Nearchus sails to the Persian Gulf. Unrest in Alexander's empire (14, 16)
324	Alexander returns to Susa. Mass marriages (17). Decree on the restoration of Greek exiles (19). Mutiny at Opis (18). Death of Hephaestion at Ecbatana
323	(10 June) Death of Alexander at Babylon. Settlement at Babylon (26)
323–322	Revolt of Greeks in Bactria (27). Lamian War in Greece (28, 32)

- 322 Cyrene conquered by Ptolemy (29). Perdiccas conquers Cappadocia
- 322–321 Coalition against Perdiccas. Death of Perdiccas in Egypt
- 321 Settlement at Triparadisus (40)
- 319 Death of Antipater; regency of Polyperchon (31)
- 318–316 Coalition of Cassander and Antigonus against Polyperchon and Eumenes (cf. 34)
- 317 Demetrius of Phalerum set up by Cassander as ruler in Athens (28, cf. 42). Death of Philip Arrhidaeus
- 316 Agathocles seizes power in Syracuse (33). Antigonus executes Eumenes (57 ch. 53). Cassander executes Olympias (cf. 35). Seleucus expelled from Babylon by Antigonus (36, 57 ch. 53). Cassander rebuilds Thebes (cf. 35)
- 315–311 Coalition against Antigonus
- 315 Antigonus proclaims the ‘freedom of the Greeks’ (35). Foundation of the League of Islanders (cf. 256)
- 312–311 Seleucus recovers Babylon; beginning of the Seleucid era (36, 57 ch. 54, 158)
- 311 Peace treaty between the Diadochi except Seleucus (37–9)
- 311–306 Agathocles at war with Carthage; invasion of Africa (cf. 33, 41)
- 310 End of the Argead dynasty (37). Ptolemy annexes Cyprus (cf. 285)
- 309 Expedition of Ophellas to Carthage (41)
- 308 Seleucus begins the reconquest of the east (cf. 57, ch. 54–5)
- 307 Demetrius liberates Athens from the control of Cassander. Demetrius of Phalerum exiled (42, cf. 261)
- 306 Demetrius defeats Ptolemy at Cyprus. The Successors assume the royal title (306–304) (44, 57 ch. 54)
- 305–304 Demetrius’ fruitless siege of Rhodes (47)
- c.303 Seleucus settles with Chandragupta in India (57 ch. 55, cf. 178)
- 302 Demetrius refounds the ‘League of Corinth’ (50)
- 301 Defeat and death of Antigonus at Ipsus (54, 57 ch. 55); partition of his kingdom (cf. 183)
- 300–299 Foundation of Seleucia in Pieria and Antioch (58, 160)
- 297 Death of Cassander in Macedon (cf. 56)
- 294–288/7 Demetrius king in Macedon (52, cf. 56)
- 288/7 Coalition against Demetrius; Demetrius expelled from Macedon (cf. 55, 56)
- 287 or 286 Athens revolts from Demetrius (55)
- 285–281 Lysimachus king in Macedon (56)
- 284–281 Achaean League reconstituted (67)
- 283 Death of Demetrius. Death of Ptolemy I (cf. 254)

Chronological table

- 281 Defeat and death of Lysimachus at Corupedium. Assassination of Seleucus I. Ptolemy Ceraunus ruler in Macedon (**56, 57** ch. 62, **159, 224**). Accession of Antiochus I (**159, 162**)
- 280–275 Campaigns of Pyrrhus in Italy and Sicily (**59**)
- 280–279 Celtic invasion of Macedon and Greece (**60**)
- 278–277 The Celts cross into Asia (**159**)
- 277 The Aetolians secure control of the Delphic Amphictyony (cf. **64**)
- 276 Antigonus Gonatas king of Macedon
- 274–1 ‘First Syrian War’ (**163, 254**)
- c.267–262 Chremonidean War (**61, 62**)
- 264–241 First Punic War
- 260–253 ‘Second Syrian War’ (cf. **173, 259**)
- 252 Antiochus II marries Berenice II (cf. **173, 267**)
- 251 Aratus frees Sicyon (**67**)
- 248/7 Beginning of the Parthian era (cf. **177**)
- 246–241 ‘Third Syrian (Laodicean) War’ (**174, 266–8, 271**)
- 244–241 Agis IV king in Sparta; attempted reforms (**69**)
- 243 Aratus and the Achaeans capture the Acrocorinth (**67**)
- c.241–235 Fratricidal war between Seleucus II and Antiochus Hierax (cf. **132, 176, 231**)
- c.240–239 Diodotus of Bactria takes the royal title (cf. **188**)
- c.238 Invasion of Parthia by Parni (**177**)
- 238/7 Attalus of Pergamum takes the royal title (**224, 231, 233**)
- 235–222 Cleomenes III king in Sparta (**70**)
- 235 Megalopolis joins the Achaean League (**67, end**)
- 231 Expedition of Seleucus II against the Parthians
- 229 Beginning of the war of Cleomenes III against the Achaean League
- 227 Reforms of Cleomenes III at Sparta (**70**)
- 227/6 Earthquake at Rhodes (**111**)
- 227–224 Aratus of Sicyon negotiates and allies with Antigonus Doson (**71**)
- 224/223 Antigonus Doson forms the Hellenic League (cf. **72**)
- 223 Accession of Antiochus III (**181**)
- 222 Defeat of Cleomenes III at Sellasia
- 222–220 Antiochus III puts down the revolt of Molon (**181**)
- 221 Death of Antigonus Doson and accession of Philip V. Death of Ptolemy III and accession of Ptolemy IV (cf. **274**)
- 220 War of Rhodes and Prusias against Byzantium (**112**)
- 220–217 The ‘Social War’ in Greece (**72**)
- 220–213 Usurpation of Achaeus in Asia Minor (**180**)
- 219–217 ‘Fourth Syrian War’; defeat of Antiochus III at Raphia (217) (**182–4, 275–7**)
- 218–202 Second Punic War (cf. **73**)



217	Peace of Naupactus terminating the ‘Social War’ ( <b>73</b> )
216–213	Antiochus III puts down Achaean in Asia Minor
215	Alliance of Philip V and Hannibal ( <b>76</b> )
214–205	First Macedonian War: Rome against Philip V
212/11	Roman alliance with Aetolia ( <b>77</b> )
212–205	‘Anabasis’ of Antiochus III ( <b>185, 187</b> )
209	Attalus I allied with Rome against Philip V (cf. <b>232, 234</b> )
207–192	Nabis ruler in Sparta ( <b>79</b> )
206–185	Revolt of the Thebaid in Egypt ( <b>277, 283–4</b> )
206	Aetolian peace with Philip V
205	Peace of Phoenice between Rome and Philip V ( <b>80</b> )
204	Accession of Ptolemy V Epiphanes ( <b>282</b> )
204–203	Antiochus III in Asia Minor ( <b>191</b> )
203/2	(Alleged) secret pact of Antiochus III and Philip V against Ptolemy V ( <b>192</b> )
203–200	Campaigns of Philip V in northern Greece, at the Straits and in the Aegean (cf. <b>81</b> ). Appeal of Rhodes and Attalus I to Rome (cf. <b>232, 234</b> )
202–200	‘Fifth Syrian War’; Antiochus III gains Coele Syria from Ptolemy V (cf. <b>193, 215</b> )
200–196	Second Macedonian War: Rome against Philip V
197	Philip V defeated at Cynoscephalae (cf. <b>83</b> ). Antiochus III in Asia Minor ( <b>195</b> , cf. <b>196–7</b> )
196	Flamininus proclaims the ‘freedom of the Greeks’ ( <b>84</b> ). Antiochus III in Thrace ( <b>195–6</b> ). Ptolemy V consecrated Pharaoh at Memphis ( <b>283</b> )
195	Peace between Antiochus III and Ptolemy V (cf. <b>196</b> )
194	The Romans evacuate Greece
192–188	War of Rome against Antiochus III. Antiochus III invades Greece, invited by the Aetolians ( <b>85</b> )
192	Sparta forced into the Achaean League (cf. <b>87</b> )
191	Defeat of Antiochus III at Thermopylae; he evacuates Greece ( <b>85</b> )
	Roman armistice with the Aetolians ( <b>85</b> )
189	Defeat of Antiochus III at Magnesia ( <b>203</b> ). Aetolia submits to Rome ( <b>86</b> ), loses control of Delphic Amphictyony (cf. <b>88</b> )
188	Treaty of Apamea between Rome and Antiochus III; settlement of Asian affairs ( <b>205</b> , cf. <b>236</b> )
185 onwards	Philip V rebuilds Macedon ( <b>89</b> , cf. <b>90</b> )
180	Philip V executes his son Demetrius (cf. <b>94</b> )
175	Accession of Antiochus IV Epiphanes ( <b>208</b> )
172	Eumenes II denounces Perseus of Macedon at Rome
171–167	Third Macedonian War: Rome against Perseus ( <b>92–5</b> )

## Chronological table

- 170–168 ‘Sixth Syrian War’: Antiochus IV Epiphanes invades Egypt twice (211–12)
- 168 Perseus defeated at Pydna. End of the Macedonian monarchy. Delos declared a free port by Rome (98). Pergamum and Rhodes weakened (98, 239). Antiochus IV expelled from Egypt by Rome (211–12)
- 167 Epirus plundered by the Romans. Macedonia divided into four republics (96)
- 167 Rising of the Maccabees in Palestine (216–17)
- 164 The Temple at Jerusalem rededicated
- 163 Roman mission to Syria (218). Partition of the Ptolemaic kingdom between Ptolemy VI and Ptolemy VIII (288)
- 160 Defeat and death of Judas Maccabaeus
- 155 Will of Ptolemy VIII bequeathing Cyrene to Rome (289)
- 149–148 Fourth Macedonian War: rising of the pretender Andriscus (cf. 224)
- 146 War between Rome and the Achaeans; sack of Corinth (100). Macedon receives a regular Roman commander
- 142 Independence of the Jews (cf. 221)
- 142–137 Revolt of Diodotus Tryphon (220)
- 141 The Parthians annex Babylonia (cf. 220)
- 133 Death of Attalus III; his kingdom bequeathed to Rome (248)
- 132 Revolt of Aristonicus of Pergamum (249, 250). Roman organisation of Attalus’ bequest in Asia (cf. 251)
- 130 Defeat of Aristonicus by Rome. Defeat and death of Antiochus VII against the Parthians (cf. 221)
- 118 ‘Amnesty decree’ of Ptolemy VIII, Cleopatra II and Cleopatra III (290)
- 96 Cyrene bequeathed to Rome (291)
- 83–69 Tigranes of Armenia takes over Syria (223)
- 75/4 Rome accepts the bequest of Cyrene (291)
- 67 Pompey’s pirate campaign (cf. 220)
- 64 Pompey annexes Syria for Rome (223)
- 58–56 Roman annexation of Cyprus
- 30 Octavian annexes Egypt for Rome (cf. 291)

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