

D A L D I S

32 ROYAL DOCUMENTS FROM THE ATTALID CHANCELLERY

[Figs. 32a-b]

Taşkuyucak (W of Daldis). Lower part of a huge marble stele inscribed on both sides. It is now in the Manisa Museum (Inv. no. 7935). 118×65×10.5, L 1.2 to 1.5 (Text A) and 1 (Text B). Date: 165/4 B.C.

- A** [ca. 15]ΤΙ[ca. 10]ιδείξεις ἐν [τῶι πο]-
 λέμωι Κουρνούβευδος· τῶς δ' ἐν τούτῳ τῶι τό-
 πῳ κατοικοῦντας Μυσοῦς [6-7]Ν εἰς Καστωλ-
 4 λὸμ μετάγειν, ἐπεὶ καὶ χώ[ρα ? παν]τελῶς [ὕ]πάρχει
 ἐκεῖ περισσὴ ἐντυχόντων δὲ [8-10] τοῦ Ἀπ[ολ]-
 λωνίου Χάρακος καὶ ΦΑΝ[ca. 12] δ[ἐ] ἐ[πι ?] τῆς χ[ώ]-
 ρας εὐχαριστεῖν ΕΝΕΔ[ca. 10] ἐν τῶι Κ[ουρ]-
 8 νουβευδει Μυσοὶ ΚΑΤ[ca. 9] κ[α]ὶ γεγόνασιν α[ὕ]-
 τοῖς συνήθεις βούλ[ε]σθ[αι ? ca. 10] ΑΙ ὅπως Ν[...]
 δι' ἑαυτοῦς δοκῶσι, ξ[ε] γῶ ? καὶ ? [ca. 12] Ν ἀπ[ο]-
 δεξάμενος τὴν εὐγνωμοσύ[νην καὶ] με[τρι]στ[η]τα α[ὕ]-
 12 τῶν, τοῦτο μὲν συνεχώρησα Ὁ[...]ΟΥΣΑΝ, Λυκίνωι δ[ἐ]
 τῶι γεωδότηι συνετάξαμεν [ca. 6] εἰν ὅθ[ε]ν δ[υ]-
 ναίμεθα χώραμ προσορίσαι αὐτοῖς· ἐπεὶ δὲ κατεφθ[ι]-
 μένοι πέρυσι ὑπὸ τῶμ πολεμίων πολλῆς προμη[θει]-
 16 ας ἄξιοι εἰσίν, συγχωρῶ πρὸς οἷς ἐπεχωρήσα-
 μεμ πένθ' ἔτεσιν ἀτελείαν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἄλλων
 πέντε, καθὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐγ Καδόσις Μυσοῖς συν[ε]-
 χωρήσαμεγ, καὶ ἀπὸ τριῶν τῆγ καταγραφὴν χ[ί]-
 20 νεσθαι· ὅταγ γὰρ ἀναγκαιοτέρα χρεῖα γίνητα[ι],
 αὐτοὶ διὰ τὴμ προθυμίαν καὶ εὐνοίαν οἶδ' ὅτι δῶσ[ου]-
 σιν πλείονας σ(τ)ρατιώτας· καὶ τῆς ἐφ' ἔτους δεκ[α]-
 τείας παρεθήτωσαμ πάντες, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ
 24 οἷς τὰ εἴσφορα ἐπιγέγραπται· ἐπεὶ περὶ τὴν τοῦ χωρί-
 ου οἰκοδομίαν γίνονται, καὶ ἡμεῖς λατόπου[ς]
 ὠμολογήκαμεν αὐτοῖς χορηγήσειν. vac. Γ vac.

1 ἐπιδείξεις ?

2 ἐν τούτῳ τῶι τόπῳ: As is known, τόπος can mean “place” in a general sense or “district”, especially in the Attalid administrative system (for which see H. MALAY, *Ark. Derg.* VI, 1996, 84): cf. L. JONNES - M. RICL, *EA* 29, 1997, 13 with note 64. Here the meaning “place” is to be preferred.

3 [ἔδοξε]ν, [ἔδέησε]ν, [ἑτάξαμε]ν

5 ἐντυχόντων: see note 68.

7 ΕΝΕΔ or ΕΠΕΔ (ἐνέδ[ειξαν or ἐπέδ[ειξαν ὅτι οἱ ?])

8 ΚΑΤ[or ΚΑΙ[

9 ν[ὐν] ?

10-11 ἀποδεξάμενος: For the frequent use in the sense of “*accueillir favorablement*”, “*agréer*” see most recently PH. GAUTHIER, *BCH* 123, 1999, 169, referring to A. WILHELM, *Anz. Akad. Wien* 1928, 132 (*Kl. Schr.* I, 2, 220). Cf. further HOLLEAUX, *Études* II, 192; L. ROBERT, *REA* 62, 1960, 325, note 2 (*OMS* II, 841); *Hellenica* XI/XII, 571, note 2.

11 τὴν εὐγνωμοσύνην καὶ μετριότητα αὐτῶν: The same expressions are used by Polybius V, 10, 2 (on the attitude of Philipp II towards Athens after Chaironeia). -For μετριότης cf. M. WÖRRLE, *Chiron* 22, 1992, 346, note 40; I. SAVALLI-LESTRADE, *Chiron* 26, 1996, 170 with note 97; *SEG* 37, 1006.14.

13 [ἐπιβλέπ]ειν (cf. B 24) or [ἐξετάζ]ειν or another verb with similar meaning (e.g. “*consider, check, examine*” etc.).

14 χώραν προσορίσαι: WELLES, *Royal Correspondence*, 359 defines the meaning of the word προσορίζω as “*to add land to the boundaries of a territory*”. In the same sense L. ROBERT, *A travers l'Asie Mineure* (1980), 201, note 45: “*terme technique pour agrandir le territoire d'une ville en ajoutant celui d'une autre ville ou celui qu'on prend sur on territoire royal*” (cf. *BCH* 102, 1978, 517, note 68 [= *Documents d'Asie Mineure*, 213]; J. et L. ROBERT, *Amyzon*, 190, note 181). But it is doubtful whether the idea of attribution to a civic territory is implied here.

15 πολλῆς προμη[θει]ας ἄξιοι εἰσίν: Some examples for προμήθεια are given by A. WILHELM, *Anz. Akad. Wien* 1924, 156 (*Kl. Schr.* I 2, 198).

19 τὴν καταγραφήν: For the sense of “*enrolment*” see A. MAUERSBERGER, *Polybios-Lexikon* I, 1296. Cf. *SEG* 44, 867B.26 (HOLLEAUX, *Études* II, 187): ἀπο[γεγράφθαι στρατιώτ]ας εἰς τὸν πόλεμον.

22 ΣΠΑΤ lapis

23 (end) καὶ in rasura ? (before: δ' ἐκείνοις ?)

24 περὶ τὴν ... οἰκοδομίαν γίνονται: For the meaning of γίνεσθαι περὶ τι HOLLEAUX (*Études* I, 342) has pointed to Polybios (see now A. MAUERSBERGER, *Polybios-Lexikon* I, 392 (“*sich etw. angelegen sein lassen, auf etw. bedacht sein, etw. in Angriff nehmen*”).

26 It is not clear whether the letter Γ added at some distance from χορηγήσειν was designed to give (as an addition ?) the number of λατόποι provided: “*three*”. Likewise, on different parts of the field below the inscription are the letters B and M which are difficult to explain.

B []ΡΕ[το]ύτων δὲ τῶν ΑΝ[]
 [.]ῥριῖ ἐπιγέγραπ[ται 2-3 ὑ]πάρχειν τὰ φιλάνθρωπ[α 7-8]
 ΝΑΣ τῶν συναναφερομένων (λι)ποστρατῆσαι ἐν τῷ β' καὶ λ' ἔτει περι-
 4 ελεῖν· ὑπάρχειν δὲ ταῦτά τοῖς ἄλλοις· τὴν ἀσυλίαν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ
 Στρατίου ὑπάρχειν, ἀντὶ τῶν προσυνκεχωρημένων σταδίων
 ἑπτὰ ἔσται ἐπὶ στάδια δέκα· καὶ ἵνα Βάκχιος ὁ ἱερεὺς προῆι στέφα-
 νον χρυσοῦν· τὰ ἀναφερόμενα ὀφειλήματα τὰ ἐν ἡμῖν ἀργυρικὰ ἢ σι-
 8 τικὰ ἕως τοῦ τρίτου ἔτους ἀπολύσαι, εἰ μὴ τινες πράξαντές
 τινὰ αὐτοῖ κατεισχήκασιν· περὶ τῶν ἐνπευρισμένων καὶ κα-
 θειλκυσμένων οἰκιῶν ἐν τῷ προαστίῳ προνοηθῆναι, ἵν', ἐπεὶ
 δημόται ἐσμέν, μεταδοθῆ τι εἰς τὴν κατασκευὴν αὐτῶν· Σι-
 12 βλόην κώμην τὴν πρότερον οὔσαν ἡμετέραν, περὶ ἧς γέγρα-
 πται, ἵνα διορθωσαμένων ἡμῶν τὴν τιμὴν Μελεάγραι τῷ
 ἡγορακότι αὐτὴν δραχμῶν vac. ΥΜΗ - C ἀποδοθῆ, κομί-
 σασθαι νῦν ἄνευ τιμῆς, ὅπως ὑπάρχωσιν αἱ ἐξ αὐτῆς
 16 πρόσοδοι εἰς τε τὰς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Στρατίου καὶ τὰς ὑπὲρ (ῆ)-
 μῶν συντελουμένας θυσίας καὶ διαμένη ἡμῖν ἱερὰ καὶ ἀτελής·
 τὸ δὲ ἀργύριον δοθῆναι ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἐκ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ τῷ Μελεά-
 γρωι· εἰς τὰ ἐλλείποντα τοῖς κλήροις καὶ προσδόμασιν δο-

- 20 θῆναι κώμας· ἐπ(ε)ὶ αἱ πρότερον ἀφαιρεθεῖσαι ἡμῶν οὐκ ἀ-
ποκατεστάθησαν ὄν τρόπον συνεκεχωρήκεις παραδει-
ξαι Θιλευδον καὶ Πλαξειρα κατοικίας κυνηγῶν· τοὺς δ' ἐν
τούτοις μετὰγειν εἰς ἃς ἂν κρίνη κατοικίας Λυκίνος ὁ γεωδό-
24 τής, συντετάχαμεν γὰρ τούτῳ ἐπιβλέψαντι παραδειξαι.

3 ΝΑΣ at the beginning of the line could be the end of a substantive ending in -νη or ῶν (-ωνος or -ονος). -ΜΠΟ instead of ΛΙΠΟ *lapis*. -τῶν συναναφερομένων λιποστρατήσαι: For the word ἀναφέρομαι in a military context see *OGI*, 338.12 with the remark of L. ROBERT, *Villes d'Asie Mineure* (1962), 265, note 2. There seem to have existed lists of those who had deserted from the army. The verb λ(ε)ποστρατέω occurs in a fragment of Theopompus (*FrgHist*, 115, F 93).

5 τῶν προσυκεχωρημένων: For προσυχωρέω “grant previously” *LSJ Rev. Suppl.*, s.v. refers to an example from *PFam. Teb.*, 21, 22.

7 τὰ ἀναφερόμενα ὀφειλήματα τὰ ἐν ἡμῖν: L. ROBERT has pointed to the formula ἀναφέρειν ἐν λόγῳ (τῆ πόλει) “porter en compte”: *BCH* 50, 1926, 490 and 57, 1933, 497 (*OMS* I 54 and 441); see also M. WÖRRLE, *Chiron* 27, 1997, 457, note 296.

9-10 τῶν ἐνπευρισμένων καὶ καθεικυσμένων οἰκῶν: For the first verb cf. *Sardis* VII, 1, 2.8 (with PH. GAUTHIER, *Nouvelles inscriptions de Sardes* II [1989], 171-178): ἐπελογίσαντι[ο ...] τήν τε πόλιν αὐτῶν ἐνπευρ[ῶσθη]αι (time of Antiochos III, unknown city). καθέλκω or καθελκύω has here the unusual meaning “pull down”, “destroy”. More frequent is the use of κατασκάπτω, for which see L. ROBERT, *Gnomon* 42, 1970, 597 (*OMS* VI, 647); *JSav.* 1976, 190 (*OMS* VII, 334); C.P. JONES, *Chiron* 28, 1998, 260.

10-11 ἐπεὶ δημόται ἐσμέν: We have difficulties in understanding the expression as an argument to provide help to the people hurt by the devastations of the war, if this is being said by the king. The normal meaning of δημότης as “one of the (same) people” (see *LSJ*) makes little sense here. Should we understand the word as an equivalent to δημοτικός “generous, concerned about the people” (“volksfreundlich” suggested by CH. HABICHT) ?

11-12 The village Σιβλόη could be identical as SBLYSTYS (or SBLY STS) appearing in an Aramaic inscription from Kenger in N of Maiona (see A. LEMAIRE, *EA* 2002), 183).

13 διορθωσαμένων ἡμῶν τὴν τιμὴν: Cf. PH. GAUTHIER, *Nouvelles inscriptions de Sardes* II (1989), 20 on διορθοῦσθαι: “payer ou régler une somme due”.

14 The number ΥΜΗ is followed by a horizontal stroke and by the sign C. Does this indicate a fractional amount: one and a half obols ? (For the symbol - see *IvPergamon*, 255.15; for C see M.N. TOD, *BSA* 37, 1936/7, 240). It looks as if the amount had been added later in a space left blank (for the symbol <, probably used for the same purpose, see our no. 70).

16-7 ὕμῶν, *lapis*, but see note 76.

18 δοθῆναι ... ἐκ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ: See H. MALAY, *GRBS* 24, 1983, 351 referring to HOLLEAUX, *Études* II, 106-8.

19 προσδόμασιν: The word πρόσδομα appears to be new, it is probably derived from προσδιδόναι. Cf. in the royal document from Aigai H. MALAY, *GRBS* 24, 1983, 350, B.2-6 (*SEG* 33, 1034B): τοῖς δὲ ἐργαζομένοις τὰ ἐπιτήδεια παρέξουσι ἐ' βασιλικοῦ (MALAY: “seed and agricultural tools”). It seems less likely that the word is to be related to δέμω “build”.

20 ΕΠΣΙ *lapis*

21 and 24 παραδείξαι: For the sense cf. L. ROBERT, *Monnaies antiques en Troade* (1966), 29, note 5 (“indiquer”); *Bull. épigr.* 1967, 651 (“designer”). ἐπιβλέψαντι παραδείξαι can be compared with WELLES, *Royal Correspondence*, no. 11.14-16: σὺ οὖν ἐπισκεψάμενος, εἰ μὴ δέδοται ἄλλῳ πρότερον αὕτη ἢ Πέτρα, παράδειξον αὐτὴν καὶ τὴν πρὸς αὐτῆι χώραν Ἀριστοδικίδηι.

At a distance beneath the original text there are the traces of a line, engraved in higher letters and deleted afterwards: .ΥΤΟΣΞΞΟΨΑΙΕΡ.ΩΝ = [α]ὐτὸς ξξοψα Ἰέρων ? (a kind of signature or an unauthorised addition ?)

Translation:

Side A: “- - -] in the war Kournoubeudos [- - -] to transfer the Mysians settled in this place to Kastollos, since surplus land is altogether available there. But when [- -], the son of Apollonios Charax and Phan[- -] approached [me ? - -] to offer thanks [for ?] the land [- - -] the Mysians in Kournoubeudos [- - -] and have become familiar with them [- - -] that ? they are

resolved (?) themselves [- - -] having approved their reasonable attitude [and] moderation, I have conceded this [- - -] and we have given orders to the land-distributor Lykinos [to consider ?] from where we could mark out land for them. Since they deserve much consideration, having been ruined last year by the enemies, I concede them in addition to the exemption from taxation for five years already granted exemption for another five years, as we have conceded also to the Mysians at Kadooi, and (I allow) that the enrolment should be made out of three (?). For I am sure that they will themselves provide more soldiers as a result of their eagerness and good will, if there should be a more pressing need. And they all shall be freed from the collection of the tithe (?) for this year (or: from the annual tithe), and equally those (shall be freed) on whom the contribution (?) is imposed. Since they are about to construct houses at the place, we too have promised to provide masons for them. (Three)”.

Side B: *“- - -] is registered [- - -] the privileges shall be conceded. [The - -] of those registered as having deserted from the army in the year 32, shall be cancelled. The same (?) shall be conceded to the others. The inviolability of (the sanctuary of) Zeus Stratios shall be valid; it shall be for ten stadia instead of the seven stadia conceded before. And the priest Bachios shall furnish a golden wreath. The debts in money or in cereals registered with us shall be remitted till the third year, unless some persons have already collected some of them and have sequestered (?) them. As for the houses in the suburb which have been burned and pulled down, care shall be taken that assistance is given for their reconstruction, since we are concerned about the people (?). Concerning the village of Sibloë, which formerly belonged to us, it has been written that it shall be restored when we have repaid Meleager the price he paid for it - 448 drachms 1 1/2 obols (?). Now (they) shall receive it free of charge, so that the income from the village will be available as a contribution to the common sacrifices accomplished for Zeus Stratios and for us, and the village itself shall be for us sacred and free from taxation. The money for it shall be given to Meleager from the royal treasury. For the remaining needs of the allotments of land and the additional furniture (or: buildings on them ?) villages shall be granted. Since those which were previously taken from us have not been restored in the way you agreed, assign Thileudos and Plazeira, the settlements of the huntsmen. Transfer the people living there to the settlements which Lykinos the land-distributor will choose, since we have ordered him to assign them after looking into the matter”.*

Letter Forms and Dating:

The character of the script shows some differences between side A and B: side B is a little more “crowded” and the letters are smaller. Besides, the assimilation of consonants at the end of words observed in A is absent in B. So it cannot be excluded that two different masons were at work. Both sides have in common that the writing is not very regular and gives a somewhat “hasty” impression. The ends of the strokes are sometimes marked by a slight thickening, but there is no real tendency to adorn the letters by apices. The letter forms show a general conformity, but also a few differences:

A tends to have a broken cross-bar on side A, whereas on B the cross-bar is normally straight.

E, especially on side A, often has the vertical stroke extending beyond the line at both ends. The middle horizontal stroke is always shorter.

Z occurring only in B 2, has the vertical central stroke.

Θ is always marked by a dot, not a cross-bar, in the middle of the circle.

M shows in general slightly divergent outside hastae.

N has the right vertical stroke going down to the bottom of the line on side A; on B it tends to be a little “*in the air*”.

E is once (A 11) written with a central vertical line, in all other places there are only three horizontal strokes (the central one being shorter).

Π shows some variations on side A: the right hasta can be shorter, not reaching the bottom line; the horizontal stroke projects on both sides. On B normally both hastae are of equal length (the right one reaching the bottom).

P sometimes (A 15, 20) presents the vertical line little prolonged upwards.

Σ varies on side A, with the horizontals tending to be parallel; on side B they diverge more frequently.

Ω is sometimes wide open on side A (19); on B it is often smaller than the other letters.

The most pertinent parallel appears to be the script of the Korragos-decree from Bursa, analysed in great detail by HOLLEAUX (*Études* II, 75-81) and now illustrated by an excellent photo in CORSTEN, *IvPrusa ad Olympum* II, p. 86. HOLLEAUX argued for dating this document in the IInd century B.C., after 188; the king mentioned several times in that text was identified by him as Eumenes II or Attalos II. It will be shown that a similar date is to be recommended for our inscription too.

Commentary:

In spite of the loss of the heading of the stele, of textual deficiencies on side A and of difficulties of interpretation on both sides, some general characteristics are clearly discernible. The double-sided inscription may be defined as a document from the royal chancellery of the Attalids; the details and the problems of authorship will be discussed later. The main subject is regulations concerning Mysian soldiers or military colonists (A 3, 8; not mentioned on B)⁴³, and the background is a recent war (A 1) which has seriously affected them (A 14-15 and B 9-10). Measures of relief are inaugurated, most important being allotments of land (A 12-14 and B 19-24). In this context, the figure of the land-distributor (γεωδότης) Lykinos constitutes a link between sides A and B (A 12 and B 23).

The historical circumstances can be inferred from a dating which is introduced in B 3: soldiers who have deserted in the year 32 (λιποστρατήσσαι ἐν τῷ β' καὶ λ' ἔτει). It turns out that only an Attalid regnal date comes into consideration, year 32 of Eumenes II: 166/5 B.C.⁴⁴ Since the text mentions damage caused by the enemy “*last year*” (A 15: πέρυσσι), the date of our inscription should be the following year, i.e. 165/4. The war mentioned in our text must therefore be the disastrous invasion of the Galatian Celts into the Pergamene kingdom of 168-166 B.C., the Γαλατικὸς πόλεμος (WELLES, *Royal Correspondence*, no. 54.4), which was finally repelled by a

⁴³The characteristic term is in A 3: κατοικοῦντας; cf. also κατοικίας appearing in B 22 and 23. For this kind of settlements see G.M. COHEN, *AncSoc* 22, 1991, 41-50 and his monograph *Hellenistic Settlements*, and most recently the penetrating study of SCHULER, *Ländliche Siedlungen*, 33-41 with the lists 297-303 and 307 (“*Hellenistische Garnisonen oder Militärkolonien im ländlichen Raum*”).

⁴⁴The dating followed here assumes that Eumenes' first year was 197/6 and that his fortieth and last year has to be put in 158/7: see G. PETZL, *ZPE* 30, 1978, 264-7 with the assertion of CH. HABICHT, *CAH*² VIII (1989), 334, note 34; D. MULLIEZ, *Topoi* (Lyon) 8, 1998, 239.

decisive victory of Eumenes, possibly in Phrygia⁴⁵. From an inscription from Delphi we learn that Sardeis itself once had “*escaped [the biggest] danger*” during this war⁴⁶. If we assume that the προόστιον mentioned in B 10, where houses had been burned and destroyed, is a suburb of Sardeis (see below), we obtain a concrete detail concerning the events alluded to in the Delphian inscription. It is known, besides, that Eumenes’ final victory was the reason for the creation of the festival of Panathenaia and Eumeneia in Sardeis in the same year (166/5 B.C.)⁴⁷.

The enrolment of Mysian mercenaries in the Pergamene army is otherwise well known⁴⁸, and that Eumenes had recourse to engaging mercenaries (ξενολογήσας) especially in the war of 168-6 is attested by Diodorus, XXXI, 14. One of the main concerns of our text is the settlement and attribution of land to the Mysians concerned, under the special conditions caused by the troubles of the recent war. It is tempting to identify the person engaged in this task, the γεωδότης Λυκῖνος (A 12 and B 23), with a man attested in the same function in Eumenes’ regnal year 36 (162/1) by a dedication discovered near Encekler and issued by οἱ ἐκ Εμοῦδι Μυσοί⁴⁹. We may reasonably regard these Mysians as military colonists, and several details, such as the mention of κλήροι (B 19), ἀτέλεια (A 17), also the βασιλικόν (B 18), call to mind a fragmentary inscription from Pergamon republished once by C.B. WELLES under the heading “*Letter of an Attalid to military cleruchs, conferring various grants*” and dated in the IInd century B.C. (*Royal Correspondence*, no. 51)⁵⁰. The military character of the settlers is underlined by the interesting statement in A 19-22: the reduction of the enrolment rate to one third -if we understand the expression in the right way⁵¹- is combined with the assertion that the settlers will augment the number of soldiers of their own accord in case of need⁵².

⁴⁵F. STÄHELIN, *Geschichte der kleinasiatischen Galater* (21907), 66-72; MAGIE, *Roman Rule*, 22-4 and 766, note 62; E.V. HANSEN, *The Attalids of Pergamon* (21971), 120-4; CH. HABICHT, *loc. cit.*, 333-4; MITCHELL, *Anatolia* (1993) I, 25-6. To Eumenes’ final victory is referred the dedication *IvPergamon*, 165 in its more complete form *MDAI(A)* 27, 1902, 90, no. 74.

⁴⁶*OGI* 305; G. DAUX, *Mélanges G. Glotz* (1932), 296; *FDelphes* III, 3, no. 241.10: Σαρδιανοὶ διαφυγόντες / [τὸν μέγιστον] κίνδυνον μετὰ τε τὰς τῶν [θεῶν] εὐνοίας καὶ [μετὰ τὰς τοῦ βασιλέως Εὐμένους ἀρετὰς καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας]. The date of this event is discussed by HOLLEAUX, *Études* II, 162, note 5; MAGIE, *Roman Rule*, 766, note 62.

⁴⁷Attested by the inscription quoted in the preceding note. Cf. J. et L. ROBERT, *Hellenica* IX (1950), 19; P. HERRMANN, *Chiron* 19, 1989, 145.

⁴⁸Cf. M. LAUNEY, *Recherches sur les armées hellénistiques* (1949), 436-444; HERRMANN, *NOLydien*, 60; H. MALAY, *EA* 16, 1990, 66, note 7. Cf. the ἡγεμῶν Μυ[σῶν] in *TAM* V, 1, 690. Best known is the grant of citizenship to Macedonian and Mysian soldiers in the Pergamene decree of 133 B.C. (*IvPergamon*, 249.14; *OGI*, 338). As for the Μυσοί in the Delphian lists of the Attalid garrison at Lilaia from ca. 208 B.C. (*FDelphes* III, 4, 132-5), O. MASSON has recently questioned their ethnic character and pleaded for a specialized corps of cavalrymen designed by a pseudo-ethnicon (*REG* 106, 1993, 163-7).

⁴⁹H. MALAY, *EA* 16, 1990, 65-7 (*SEG* 40, 1062). On the damaged surface of the stone the name could not be read: ὑπέ[ρ .]ΥΜ...Υ Ἠγησίου.

⁵⁰The inscription, *IvPergamon*, 158, has been discussed by B. VIRGILIO, *SCO* 32, 1982, 136-140 = *id.*, *Epigrafi e storiografia. Studi di Storia Antica* I (1988), 152-7 (“*Sui modi di una assegnazione agraria attalide*”).

⁵¹In this interpretation it is supposed that ἀπό is used in a partitive sense (*LSJ*, s.v. ἀπό I 6) and that the expression is a shortening of ἕνα ἀπὸ τριῶν. With an alternative explanation proposed to us by M.R. ERRINGTON: “*after three (years)*” it would be difficult to adjust this details with the following causal clause (γάρ!) mentioning an eventual increase in the provision of soldiers. Moreover, ἀπὸ τριῶν (ἐτῶν) would be unusual instead of ἀπὸ τοῦ τετάρτου ἔτους (cf. e.g. in the letter concerning the Kardakes [below note 53] 13; *Sardis* VII, 1, 2.16).

⁵²The royal document found near Aigai (H. MALAY, *GRBS* 24, 1983, 349-353; *SEG* 33, 1034), concerning regulations for rural settlers (ἐργαζόμενοι), might have contained a detail referring to military obligations falling on them: A.16: εἰς δὲ λητουργίας παρέξονται [πρὸς] στ[ρ]α[τε]ίαν - -], cf. SCHULER, *Ländliche Siedlungen*, 187.

In view of the difficulties caused by the destructions during the war and also by the burdens of the resettlement, several benefits and privileges are granted to the persons concerned⁵³: An already existing ἀτέλεια for five years is doubled to ten years (A 16-19)⁵⁴. Besides, the settlers are freed from an obligation called δεκατεία (A 22-23), obviously some kind of tithe⁵⁵, but here is not clear whether the wording ἐφ' ἔτους is to be understood as “for the current year” or “annual”⁵⁶. Finally, a third act of remission, perhaps granted only to a limited group of people, concerns some kind of taxes called τὰ εἴσφορα⁵⁷. Unfortunately there is no possibility to specify the different kinds of obligations mentioned here nor to define their character: taxes in kind or in cash? ⁵⁸ If it is right to assign the details of side B to the same or at least parallel circumstances, we find an additional measure there, the retrospective cancellation of debts in cash or in kind (cereals) for at least three years (B 7-9)⁵⁹. Active help is to be given for the (re)construction of houses (A 25: οἰκοδομία, B 11: κατασκευή)⁶⁰; even masons (λατύποι) are to be made available for this purpose (A 25)⁶¹.

⁵³From this point of view two other Attalid documents can be compared: the decision of Eumenes II concerning the Kardakon Kome from 181 B.C. (M. SEGRE, *Clara Rhodos* IX [1938], 190-207; F.G. MAIER, *Griechische Mauerbauinschriften* [1958], no. 76) and the letter of Attalos II to the city of Amlada from about 160 B.C. (OGI, 751; WELLES, *Royal Correspondence*, no. 54).

⁵⁴The inscription mentioned in note 50 has τὴν ἀτέλειαν αὐτῶν ἐπεχώρησα (line 23), perhaps referring to the τεμένη of line 21, and again line 28 ἀτέλειαν, but there the context is lost. For examples of ἀτέλεια granted for a fixed time cf. PH. GAUTHIER, *Nouvelles inscriptions de Sardes* II (1989), 127-8 with note 1. Three years are “une durée normale”: HOLLEAUX, *Études* II, 112; in the lines 21-24 of the Korragos-decree (CORSTEN, *IvPrusa ad Olympum*, 1001) two more years are added to an ἀτέλεια granted for three years. Ten years of ἀτέλεια (the length reached in our case) are granted by Antiochos III to Jewish families settled in Lydia and Phrygia (Ios., *Ant.* XII, 151). Unlimited prolongation of an existing ἀτέλεια seems to be confirmed to the persons garrisoned in the fortress of Palaimagnesia for their three κλήροι in their treaty with Smyrna (OGI, 229.102; H.H. SCHMITT, *Die Staatsverträge des Altertums* III, 1969, 492; PETZL, *IvSmyrna*, 573).

⁵⁵It is suggested that δεκατεία means here “collection of the δεκάτη” (otherwise the word is only attested for the Roman *decimatio* as a military punishment: see *LSJ*). In the treaty between Smyrna and Palaimagnesia (see the preceding note) it is granted (line 101): τούς τε κλήρους αὐτῶν (*scil.* the οἰκοῦντες ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ) ... εἶναι αὐτοῖς ἀδεκατεύτους (cf. IHNKEN, *IvMagnesia am Sipylos*, p. 118). In the Pergamene document quoted above (note 50), if ROBERT's restoration (in WELLES, *Royal Correspondence*, no. 51, 17) is right, the cleruchs have to pay the εἰκοστή for the vineyards and ἐκ τοῦ τε σίτου καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν καρπῶν δεκά[την]. For the δεκάτη cf. M. WÖRRLE, *Chiron* 8, 1978, 223, note 112; M. CORSARO, *REA* 87, 1985, 86; F. PIEJKO, *Chiron* 18, 1988, 62 (ascribing WELLES, *Royal Correspondence*, no. 41 to Eumenes II); L. JONNES - M. RICL, *EA* 29, 1997, 27 (Tyriaion) with note 163.

⁵⁶The meaning “this year” (“*heuer*”) has been explained by A. WILHELM (SAWW 142, 4 [1900], 3f. = *Kl. Schr.* I, 2, 11) for ἐπ' ἔτους in TAM III, 1, 4.16 (more common is ἐφ' ἔτος: see also M. WÖRRLE, *Chiron* 27, 1997, 456, note 289). But we cannot exclude the possibility that the sense is “annual”, as has been stated for καθ' ἔτος by J. - L. FERRARY - D. ROUSSET, *BCH* 122, 1998, 334, note 201.

⁵⁷The term τὰ εἴσφορα seems to be unique: is it the same as ἡ εἴσφορά? For the problems of defining the character of the εἴσφορά see PH. GAUTHIER, *Chiron* 21, 1991, 67 with note 93 and its conclusion: “*La plupart du temps ..., les modalités d'assiette de ces contributions nous restent inconnues*”. From the wording of our inscription (οἷς τὰ εἴσφορα ἐπιγέγραπται [A 24]) one can guess that it did not concern every person.

⁵⁸The two inscriptions quoted in note 53 give other terms concerning taxation: for the Kardakon Kome σύνταξις (line 10), for Amlada φόρος and τέλεσμα (line 13); cf. R.H.J. ASHTON, *ZPE* 104, 1994, 57-60.

⁵⁹Remission of debts is also one of the measures in the documents quoted in note 53: for the Kardakon Kome (F.G. MAIER, *Griechische Mauerbauinschriften* (1959-1961 [Vestigia 1-2], 76.7-13) concerning a χώρα and the σύνταξις, for Amlada (WELLES, *Royal Correspondence*, no. 54.6 and 14) 9.000 drachms.

⁶⁰It is known that κατασκευάζειν, κατασκευή can mean “build, construct” as well as “repair, reconstruct”: D. KNOEPFLER, *Chiron* 16, 1986, 76, note 27; NOLLÉ, *IvSelge*, p. 93, note 24; M. WÖRRLE, *AA* 1995, 722, note 15; PH. GAUTHIER, *REG* 109, 1996, 15.

⁶¹Compare the allocation of a τεχνίτης to the Kardakon Kome by Eumenes II (F.G. MAIER, *op. cit.*, 76.20) or the help given by the same king to the Delphians: *FDelphes* III, 3, 237.9 (ὅτι ἀποστελεῖ ... τοὺς

An interesting detail within these measures is the support concerning the cult of Zeus Stratios which obviously is a deity to whom the soldiers are especially attached (B 4-7 and 16)⁶². We learn that this sanctuary enjoys the right of *asylia*, which is now expanded in its radius up to ten *stadia*. This seems to be a new detail within the range of the Hellenistic institution of *asylia*⁶³. We even learn of a village (κώμη) declared ἱερὰ καὶ ἀτελής, the revenues of which are to be used for the sacrifices to Zeus Stratios and in favor of the king (? see note 76)⁶⁴.

Both sides of the inscription contain topographical details related to the settlements of the Mysian mercenaries⁶⁵, but they present special difficulties of interpretation. At the beginning of side A a name Κουρνουβευδος is mentioned twice (A 2 and 7), which in all probability is to be taken as a place-name⁶⁶. Because of the devastations of the war, it appears, the Mysians established there were to be transferred to Kastollos, where sufficient land is said to be available (A 3-5). It is well known that the Καστωλοῦ πεδῖον north of Philadelphia had served since the Persian period as a military rallying point (see TAM V, 1, p. 72, cf. now also G. PETZL - C. TANRIVER, EA 36, 2003, 24ff.: κώμης Ἀκροκαστωλλοῖ[ο]). A few years after the date of our inscription, in 163/2 B.C., a settlement of 'Macedonians' is attested there: οἱ ἐκ Κοβηδύλης Μακεδόνες (TAM V, 1, 221)⁶⁷. As for the presence of Mysians, L. ROBERT (*Études Anatoliennes*, 1937, 160) pointed to an Athenian epitaph recording a Μυσὸς ἀπὸ Καστωλοῦ (IG II², 997). However, our inscription was not set up in the region of Kastol(l)os, but was discovered to the north of Sardeis, at a place more than 80 km distant from the Καστωλοῦ πεδῖον

οἰκοδομήσοντα) and 239.11-13 (ἀπέσταλκε ... σώματα ... καὶ τὰν ἄλλαν [χορ]αγίαν). Cf. L. ROBERT, *Études Anatoliennes*, 1937, 86.

⁶²We find Ζεὺς Στράτιος as especially related to soldiers in Plut. *Eumen.*, 17, 8. The cult, without particular affinity to the military field, is attested in several regions of Asia Minor: see V. GEBHARD, RE IV A (1931), 256-262; H. SCHWABL, RE X A (1972), 361 and Suppl. XV (1978), 1474. A. LAUMONIER, *Les cultes indigènes en Carie* (1958), proceeding from a Carian origin (p. 46) according to Herodotos V, 119, 2, asserts that the cult of Zeus Stratios "Avait dû d'ailleurs être répandu par les rois de Pergame, qui l'invoquaient dans leurs serments" (p. 61), but we cannot find any record of this. A Pontic tradition of the cult of Zeus Stratios is reflected in the sacrifices offered to him by Mithridates VI (App., *Mithr.*, 66, 276 and 70, 295). The one piece of Lydian evidence for the priest of Zeus Stratios from 146/7 (?) found at Karayakup near Charakipolis (TAM V, 1, 681) could be a reminiscence of the Mysian's settlement.

⁶³A possible parallel, to a certain degree, could have been the *asylia* granted to the rural sanctuary of the Περσική [θεά] at Sarçam to the north of Magnesia on the Sipylus (TAM V, 1, 1396). But K.J. RIGSBY, in *Asia Minor Studien 17: Forschungen in Lydien* (1995), 77-83 has tried to prove that the sanctuary located there was the famous temple of the Persian Artemis situated within the boundaries of Hierakome/Hierokaisareia (cf. *id.*, *Asylia. Territorial Inviolability in the Hellenistic World* [1996], 438-441). The assumed *asylia* of the sanctuary of Ἄρτεμις Κολονηή north of Sardeis (P. HERRMANN, *Chiron* 19, 1989, 134, line 50 with p. 147) may likewise be unfounded, if we follow RIGSBY's new restoration of the text (*Asylia*, 436).

⁶⁴For the concept of ἱερὰ κώμη see L. et J. ROBERT, *La Carie II* (1954), 294-5; RIGSBY, *Asylia*, 400.

⁶⁵We do not enter here into the much debated problem of the location of the κατοικίαι τῶν Μυσῶν reached by Attalos I in his campaign of 218 (Polybius V, 27, 7): For this see the most recent discussion by S. DMITRIEV, *Klio* 81, 1999, 397-401.

⁶⁶In A 2 the context is not clear, but in A 7 it is far more plausible to read ἐν τῷ Κ[ουρ]νουβευδει (the article being used in anaphoric sense: the already mentioned K.) than to take -ev as the ending of a verb and regard Κουρνουβευδος as a person. -The word is to be related to the Phrygian place-names Παλαιὸν Βευδος, Βευδου Οἶκος ? (ZGUSTA, *Ortsnamen*, p. 121), to the Phrygian Μήτηρ Τιειοβευδηνή (TH. DREW-BEAR, *Nouvelles inscriptions de Phrygie* [1978], 43, no. 11) and especially the Ζεὺς Βευδηνός from the region of Encekler (CH. NAOUR, EA 2, 1983, 128; H. MALAY, EA 16, 1990, 66) as well as a personal name Βευδινός/Βευδινός (see G. PETZL, EA 30, 1998, 28, no. 11). CH. NAOUR has thought of a village (κατοικία) Beudos or Beudoï to be localized near Encekler. Note that one of the attestations of Ζεὺς Βευδηνός is the dedication in honor of the γεωδότης Lykinos (see above).

⁶⁷Cf. KEIL - v. PREMIERSTEIN, *Zweite Reise*, 116; COHEN, *Hellenistic Settlements*, 214.

as the crow flies. This provokes the question whether in the destroyed passage of A 5-10 a modification of the original intention could have been recorded, following the intervention of two envoys⁶⁸. Then the γεωδότης Lykinos would have been charged to do his work of distribution in the region north of Sardeis. This argument could perhaps be strengthened by a detail on side B: the προάστιον (B 10) mentioned there is most easily explained as a suburb of Sardeis (see above), whose territory extended well to the north of the Gygaean Lake, as we now know⁶⁹. On side B three names of villages occur which were unknown till now: Sibloë (B 11), Thileudon (or -os) and Plazeira (B 22). They too could have been in the region where the inscription was found. To complete this list of Mysian settlements, the οἱ ἐν Καδόις Μυσοί of A 18 must be included, cited in comparison as recipients of ἀτέλεια. It is plausible to identify this place with Kadoi (modern Gediz) situated to the north of Lydia in the Mysia Abbaitis⁷⁰.

Besides the geographical extension of the measures in favor of the Mysian mercenaries, another aspect of the activities and decisions recorded in our text is worth stressing: the possible changes of ownership (Sibloë: B 11-19) as well as resettlement of the inhabitants of these villages. In order to make the villages of Thileudon and Plazeira available for the mercenaries' settlement, the persons living there are to be transferred to other "colonies" (κατοικίαι: B 21-24). Both villages are called κατοικίαι κυνηγῶν, settlements of hunters-men. This order affects a special category of people or soldiers in the service of the king⁷¹, who are equally dependent on his decisions. This last point leads to the delicate questions postponed until now: the problem of authorship and the character of the document(s) presented on our stele. For side A, there are enough details which point to a royal document: the writer uses the first person, alternating between singular and plural⁷², and the overall tone as well as some specific terms are characteristic

⁶⁸For ἐντυγχάνειν in A 5 see the explanations by WELLES, *Royal Correspondence*, p. 65: "used technically ... of appearing before a king to make a request" and WÖRRLE, *Stadt und Fest*, 165, note 76: "mit einem Gesuch bei jemand vorstellig werden". It is not clear, whom the two envoys of A 5-6 represented. The remark about the developed familiarity with other residents (A 8: γεγόνασιν αὐτοῖς συνήθεις) could have been an argument in favor of a change of the original plan.

⁶⁹Cf. H. MALAY, *Ark. Derg.* IV (1996), 81 with note 18. The find-spot of our inscription, Taşkuycak, lies approximately in the middle between the villages of Yeniköy and Çömlekçi, where inscriptions proving the extension of the territory of Sardeis have been found (cf. MALAY, *Manisa Museum*, map at the end of the volume).

⁷⁰The literary tradition, starting from Polybius, 33, 12, 2, always has Κάδοι. Steph. Byz. gives the ethnic Καδηνός (thus also the inscription *CIG*, 3850b, cf. now also G. PETZL - C. TANRIVER, *EA* 36, 2003, 26-7 with note 13 where the present discovery is announced, but the coins, beginning with Claudius, have Καδοιγῶν; in the Flavian list from Ephesos it is given as Καδοιγείς (*IvEphesos*, 13.6). The earlier assumption based on Plinius, *NHV*, 111 that Kadoi was a Macedonian colony had to be abandoned on the basis of the Ephesos list: see CH. HABICHT, *JRS* 65, 1975, 72; COHEN, *Hellenistic Settlements*, 213. It may be noted that Gediz is the find-spot of an inscription issued by ὁ δῆμος ὁ Μυσῶν Ἀββαειτῶν (*OGI*, 446; see also L. ROBERT, *JSav.* 1978, 41 [*OMS* VII, 419]; P. DEBORD, *REA* 87, 1985, 349).

⁷¹Our inscription provides the first evidence for a corps of κυνηγοί in the Attalid kingdom; till now they were attested only for the Ptolemies and the Antigonids (see F.W. WALBANK, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius* III, 512 on Polyb., 31, 29, 5: τοὺς κυνηγοὺς ... τοὺς βασιλικούς). As for their purpose and functions there have been discussions by P. ROUSSEL, *REG* 43, 1930, 361-371 ("Les κυνηγοί a l'époque hellénistique et romaine"); L. ROBERT, *JSav.* 1976, 206-209 (*OMS* VII, 350-3); M. HATZOPOULOS, *Cultes et rites de passage en Macédoine* (1994), 102-111. Perhaps they were used for hunting as well as for handling the watchdogs in military forts.

⁷²We have ἐγώ (?) in A 10, συνεχώρησα (12), συγχωρῶ (16), on the other side συνετάξαμεν (13, if it is not συνέταξα μέν), δυνάμεθα (13), ἐπεχωρήσαμεν (16), συνεχωρήσαμεν (18), ἡμεῖς ... ὁμολογήκαμεν (25). For this kind of mixture of singular and plural forms in royal documents see A. WILHELM, *JÖAI* 2, 1889, 167 (*Kl. Schr.* II, 1, 51); K.J. RIGSBY, *TAPhA* 118, 1988, 143, note 82, and most recently L. JONNES - M. RICL, *EA* 29, 1997, 17.

of the royal chancellery⁷³. No addressee and no greeting formula appear, so that we could think of decisions clad in the form of a *πρόσταγμα*, perhaps directed to some subordinate local functionary⁷⁴. Side B has the peculiarity that all details which seem to contain decisions are in the infinitive form (from *ὑπάρχειν* in line 2 to *μετάγειν* in line 23)⁷⁵, save one single *ἴνα*-construction (line 6). There is only once *συντετάχαμεν* (B 24), recalling *συνετάξαμεν* in A 13, but *συνεκεχωρήκεις* (B 21) makes clear that a single person is addressed. The author's part is indicated in a series of statements in the first person plural, with variants of *ἡμεῖς* or *ἡμέτερος*⁷⁶. All of this gives the impression of a report on decisions or measures taken, addressed to a subordinate official, and so the document would not be essentially different from the one on side A. If we suppose that the author is again a king, then the details concerning change ownership, sale and repurchase of villages (B 11-21) gain special interest: Do these transactions refer to parts of the *χώρα βασιλική*⁷⁷, and how could the king have been “*deprived*” of some villages (*αἰ πρότερον ἀφαιρεθεῖσαι ἡμῶν*) which then “*have not been restored*” (*οὐκ ἀποκατεστάθησαν*) in the way the functionary (and addressee of this document) had agreed (*ὄν τρόπον συνεκεχωρήκεις*) ? Was the recent war the cause of these changes and disturbances ? Speculation is unprofitable, but the complexity of the problems raised by these passages should now be clear.

33 DEDICATION TO ASKLEPIOS

[Fig. 33]

Yeniköy (S of Daldis). *Tabula ansata* of marble. It is now in the Manisa Museum. Dimensions omitted. Date: Roman imperial period.

Θεῷ ἐπηκόῳ
Ἄσκληπιῷ Σω-
τήρι κατ' εὐχὴν
4 Μίδιππος.

4 The name Μίδιππος seems to be new. Its connection with Μειδιπίδης (BECHTEL, *HP*, s.v.) is obvious.

“*In fulfillment of a vow, M(e)idippos dedicated this to the god Asklepios, the saviour, who hears prayers*”.

For another dedication to Asklepios see *infra* no. 82 (Kollyda).

⁷³For *ἐντυγγάνω* (A 5) see note 68; for *συγχωρέω* (12, 16, 18) and *ἐπιχωρέω* (16) cf. HOLLEAUX, *Études* II, 113; for *συντάσσω* (13) cf. J. et L. ROBERT, *Amyzon*, 140, note 14; K. HALLOF - CH. MILETA, *Chiron* 27, 1997, 268, note 51; for *ἀποδέχομαι* (10) see WELLES, *Royal Correspondence*, p. 316.

⁷⁴On the character of the *πρόσταγμα* and its relation to the *ἐπιστολή* see HOLLEAUX, *Études* III, 205-211; for the Ptolemies: J. MODRZEJEWSKI, *JJP* 5, 1951, 187-206; for the Attalids: L. et J. ROBERT, *Clarus I: Décrets hellénistiques* (1989), 39 with note 167.

⁷⁵This series of infinitives could have depended on a preceding *συνετάξαμεν* or a similar expression. In the document concerning the Kardakon Kome (see note 53) a series of infinitives follows a *σύνταξον* (line 7).

⁷⁶We have in B *ἐν ἡμῖν* (7), *ἐσμέν* (11), *ἡμετέραν* (12), *ἡμῶν* (13), *ἡμῖν* (17), *ἡμῶν* (20). In B 16 *ὑμῶν* must be a mason's error for *ἡμῶν*. On confusions of this type see K. RIGSBY, *AJPh* 100, 1979, 405, referring to A. WILHELM, *Griechische Königsbriefe*, 47 and 60.

⁷⁷For the problems concerning the *χώρα βασιλική* see SCHULER, *Ländliche Siedlungen*, 160-180, who stresses (162) the fact that nearly all pertinent documents refer to the Seleucid monarchy. Best known is the “*sale*” of Pannou Kome to Laodike by Antiochos II (REHM, *IvDidyma*, 492.7: *πρᾶσις*, 15 and 43: *ὠνή*). -The Meleagros mentioned as buyer of the village Sibloë (B 13, 18) is unknown. It must be a pure chance that we find another Meleagros as (former) owner of a place Petra in the Hellespontine region under Antiochos I (WELLES, *Royal Correspondence*, 11.5).

34 FUNERARY INSCRIPTION FOR GLYKON AND AMMIAS [Fig. 34]

Kemer (Daldis). Marble stele. On a platform above the inscription are three standing female figures: on the left a woman, in the middle a girl holding a bird, on the right a servant (?) holding a box. The servant and the girl are clasping hands (note that the husband Glykon is not represented on the stone). It is now in the Manisa Museum (Inv. no. 8380). 93×65×14, L 1. 7 to 2. Date: 161 Sulla = 76/7 or Actium = 130/1 A. D.⁷⁸

relief

Ἔτους ρξά', μη(νός) Πανήμου·
Γλύκων Βουξακου καὶ Ἀμμιάς
ἡ γυνή.

2 The name Βουξακος (or -ης) does not seem to be attested elsewhere.

"In the month Panemos of the year 161, Glykon son of Bouxakos (-es ?) and his wife Ammias".

35 FUNERARY INSCRIPTION FOR ATHENAIOS [Fig. 35]

Taşkuyucak (W of Daldis). Marble stele with triangular pediment. The pediment is damaged and the top acroterion is missing. Between the second and the third lines are represented a vase on the left, an ivy-leaf on the right and a wreath between them. It is now in the Manisa Museum. 115×48×15, L 2 to 2. 5. Date: 237 Sulla = 152/3 or Actium = 206/7 A. D.⁷⁹

Ἔτους σλζ,
μη(νός) Λώου ε' ἀπ(ιόντος)
vase wreath ivy-leaf
Δαμάς Ἀθηνα[ί]-
4 φ τῷ υἱῷ, Ἀμμιάς
ἡ ἀδελφή καὶ οἱ πά-
τρως καὶ οἱ σύντρο-
φοι καὶ οἱ συγγε-
8 νεῖς κατὰ κοινὸν
μνείας χάριν.

1 Σ for Ζ lapis

7-8 On the formula (τιμῶν) κατὰ κοινόν see *infra* no. 92.

"In the year 237, on the fifth day from the end of the month Loos, Damas (made this) for his son Athenaios; (likewise) his sister Ammias and his paternal uncles and his foster-brothers and his relatives collectively (honoured him), in memory".

⁷⁸For the eras used in Daldis see above nos. 70 and 77.

⁷⁹However the Actian era is here preferable (see LESCHHORN, *Antike Ären*, 305ff.), cf. also our no. 92.

36 FUNERARY INSCRIPTION FOR MACRINUS

[Fig. 36]

Taşkuyucak (W of Daldis). Marble stele with mouldings between the acroteria. The first two lines are engraved within the wreath. It is now in the Manisa Museum. 104×47×11, L 1.5 to 2. Date: 269 = 184/5 (Sulla) ?

| | | |
|---|------------------------------|---------|
| | Ἔτους | |
| | σξθ', | |
| | μη(νός) Λώου ζ· | άνθυ- |
| 4 | πάτω Ἄν wreath | τωνίω· |
| | Μακρείνω | Ἡρακλε- |
| | [ίδ]ης υἱός αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ γυνή | |
| | αὐτοῦ Σατορνείλα | |
| 8 | ἐπόησαν μνείας χά- | |
| | Χαίρε. ριν· | |

3 The number Z is engraved above *Omega*.

6 The letters TOY are inserted above the line.

“In the year 269, on the seventh day of the month Loos, in the time of the proconsul Antonius, his son Herakleides and his wife Satorneila honoured Makreinos, in memory. Farewell”.

A *proconsul* named Antonius, who served either in 238/9 or 184/5 A. D., is unknown. Regarding that the confusion between Antonius and Antoninus is quite common, here C. Arrius Antoninus, who served *“sub Commodo (mediis annis, exclusis 185/6 et 186/7 ...)”* [B. THOMASSON, *Laterculi praesidium* I, 1984, 232, no. 162], may have been intended. If so, this would mean that the date on the stone (7 Loos 269) is counted on the basis of the Sullan era (i.e. 29 June 185) and that the *proconsul* C. Arrius Antoninus served in 184/5 A. D.

On the eras used in Daldis see MALAY, *Manisa Museum*, no. 465 referring to LESCHHORN, *Antike Ären*, 305ff. (cf. also MALAY, *Researches*, nos. 72, 73, 74, 77).

37 FRAGMENT OF A FUNERARY INSCRIPTION

[Fig. 37]

Taşkuyucak (W of Daldis). Lower part of a marble stele. 42×51×7, L 2. 5. Date: Roman imperial period.

| | | |
|---|--------------------------------|-------------|
| | [|] |
| | ΕΡΜΩΝΙΑ[| οί θρέψαν]- |
| | τες, Ἡρακλείδης, Ἀκυλεῖνα | |
| | οἱ κύριοι, Ἰουλιανός τὴν σύν- | |
| 4 | τροφον, Φρούκτος, Ἀμμιάς | |
| | τὴν θυγατέρα, Νεικηφόρος, | |
| | Τελεσφόρος, Τελεσφορία, Φρό- | |
| | ντις, Φρούκτος τὴν ἀδελφὴν, οἱ | |
| 8 | συνγενεῖς. Χαίρε. | |

1-2 E.g. Ἑρμωνία[νός οἱ θρέψαν]τες or Ἑρμων, Ἰά[σων οἱ θρέψαν]τες ?

7 Φρούκτος = Fructus

“... her foster-parents, Herakleides (and) Aqu(i)lina her masters, Ioulianos his foster-sister, Fructus (and) Ammias their daughter, Neikephoros, Telesphoros, Telesphoria, Phrontis (and) Fructus their sister, the relatives (honoured her). Farewell!”.

38 FUNERARY INSCRIPTION FOR ATHENAIOS

[Fig. 38]

Taşkuyucak (W of Daldis). Lower part of a marble stele. 51×48×7, L 1. 5. Date: Roman imperial period.

[N]εικόπολις Ἀθήναιον τὸν ἄν-
δραν, Ἀθήναιος, Ἀπολλωνίδης,
Μητρόδωρος, Τατας, Νεικόπο-
4 λης τὸν πατέρα, Μελτίνη καὶ
Μελτίνη τὸν ὑκερόν, Μητρόδω-
[ρ]ος, Ἀθήναιος, Ἀπολλωνίδης,
Ἀλέξανδρος τὸν πάππον, Μη-
8 τρόδωρος καὶ Τατας τὸν μή-
τρως, Τρυφωνᾶς τὸν ἀδελ-
φόν, Τρύφων, Ἀρτεμίδωρος, [Τρύ]-
φων, Τατας, Ἀμμιάς τὸν [-τ]-
12 ρως, Ἀθήναιος, Μένανδ[ρος τὸν]
πάτρως, Ζοίλος τὸν πε[νθερόν],
Μυσεὸς καὶ Παρμεγ[- τὸν]
πάππον, οἱ συγγενε[ῖς].

2 and 4 Note the vulgar accusatives ἄνδραν and πατέρα (for this phenomenon, which is common throughout the imperial period, see L. ROBERT, *Nouvelles Inscriptions de Sardes*, 1964, 31, note 1 and BRIXHE, *Grec Anatolien*, 66), cf. also the following instances occurring *infra*: πατέρα (73), μητέρα (46, 88, 90), γυναῖκα (64, 65, 89), Τείμωναν (95), ἄνδραν (53) and θυγατέρα (64).

5 ὑκερόν for ἐκυρόν (see J. et L. ROBERT, *Hellenica* VI, 103 with note 2, cf. also our no. 95).

11-2 Either μήτ[ρ]ως or πάτ[ρ]ως (for these indeclinable terms see our no. 57).

13 Σ for Ζ

14 Μυσεὸς stands for Μουσαῖος⁸⁰. -something like Παρμεν[ίδης, Παρμεν[ίσκος, Παρμε[νίων etc.

15 οἱ συγγενε[ῖς] would have been followed by ἐτ(ε)ῖμησαν or Ἀθήναιον or κατὰ κοινόν.

“*Neikopolis (honoured) Athenaios her husband, Athenaios, Apollonides, Metrodoros, Tatas (and) Neikopolis their father, Meltine and Meltine their father-in-law, Metrodoros, Athenaios, Apollonides (and) Alexandros their grandfather, Metrodoros and Tatas their maternal uncle, Tryphonas his brother, Tryphon, Artemidoros, Tryphon (?), Tatas (and) Ammias their (maternal/paternal) uncle, Athenaios (and) Menandros their paternal uncle, Zoilos his father-in-law, Myseos and Parmen- their grandfather, the relatives ...*”.

The names Νεικόπολις, Ἀθήναιος, Μητρόδωρος and Μελτίνη may point to a connection between this family and that of MALAY, *Manisa Museum*, 525.

⁸⁰Cf. SEG 37, 1206, 1271 and 44, 1365. For other examples of the usage of ε for αι see our nos. 26 (ἐ ἀδελ[φ]έ ?), 91 (Ἀπελέου, γυνέκα) and 93 (γυνεκί).

