

ROYAL POLIS POLICY IN THE SELEUKID HEARTLAND

by

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ABSTRACT

In the Hellenistic Period most of the Greek *poleis* (city-states) came under the control of the Greco-Macedonian kings. The ideology of the *poleis*, which stressed the importance of autonomy, conflicted with the reality of royal domination. In Western Asia Minor, this conflict was resolved by presenting the relationship between king and *polis* as one of free association, in which the *poleis* were allowed a large amount of autonomy. The kings used ideas of reciprocity to tie the *poleis* to them and worked to make their rule as amenable as possible, while the *poleis* of Western Asia Minor continued to aspire to complete independence.

This was not the only possible resolution of the conflict between *polis* autonomy and royal dominance, however. In the Seleukid heartland of Syria and Mesopotamia the Seleukids founded and maintained new *poleis*. By means of names, myths, and symbols, the identities of these *poleis* were closely linked to the Seleukid dynasty. As a result, expressions of *polis* identity were expressions of loyalty to the dynasty, rather than of opposition. Their internal structures were based around an alliance between the royally-appointed *epistatēs* and the magistrates of the city, who represented a small civic elite. Royal support was thus important to the internal power structure of these *poleis*.

The *poleis* of the Seleukid heartland did not pursue full independence, even when the Seleukid royal power collapsed at the end of the Hellenistic period because, entirely unlike the *poleis* of Western Asia Minor, submission to a higher power was a central part of their identities and internal structures.

ΑΝΑΘΕΣΙΣ

Συγγραφέως Χριστοφέρου Νήσου γνώμη

ἐπεὶ οὗτοι αἴτιοι πολλῶν μὲν ἀρίστων οὐδὲ κακῶν οὐδενὸς τῆς χωρὶς τῆς τούτων ὠφέλειας ἀτελευτήτου τῆσδε τῆς θέσεως,

Ἀρρίετή τε τῶν Κερρῶν, ἥς ὁ χαριεντισμὸς καὶ τὸ φρόνιμον τῷ ἀληθεῖ τόπῳ περὶ τῆς θέσεως φόβους ἐτίθεσαν, καὶ Αἰμίλια Σίμωνος, ἥς γενέθλια ἄριστων ἐν τῷ ἔτει ἡμερῶν ἦν, τήνδε ὅλην θέσιν ἐξαναγνοῦσαι βουλεύσασαι πολλὰ ἐμοὶ πειθομένῳ πλεῖστα,

οἱ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Νίκης ἐν Ἑλληγτεία Σοφιστηρίου τῶν ἀρχαίων φιλόσοφοι: Καῖσαρ τε Τάτων ὁ σοφώτατος τοῦ πόνου διδάσκαλος, καὶ Ἰοῦδι Μονομαχοῦσα ἡ φιλογράμματος, καὶ Ματθαῖος Ὀπλίτης (καίπερ οἰχόμενος πρὸς ἀρκτικά) Ἄρτεμῖς τε Κιρκαιαπόλεως ἡ ἡμᾶς Ἑλληνικὴν διδάξασα καὶ Σίμων Ἀπίου ὁ ἡμᾶς Ῥωμαικὴν διδάξας, καὶ Μάρκος Ἀνακτίδης ὁ ἐκατέραν διδάξας καὶ οἱ τοῦ Σοφιστηρίου καὶ τῆς βιβλιοθήκης ἄρχοντες (πλὴν οὐ τῶν κακῶν αἰτίων τῆς ἔξω τῆς θυρίδος τῆς θορυβώδους καὶ δυσώδους τῶν αἰσχυρῶν στοῶν πᾶν τὸ ὅλον ἔτος ποιήσεως),

οἱ δὲ συσχολασταὶ τε καὶ συμπόται: Ἀλέξανδρός τε Φιλιακὸς ὁ πολύγλωσσος, Δανιήλ τε Σκάπτων ὁ πολλὰ λοξικὰ σκώμματα φᾶς, Ἄννα Λιθουργή τε καὶ Ιουλία Σίμωνος καὶ Καμέρων Στάντων καὶ Σαμουήλ Δῆλος, σὺν οἷς ἀναγινώσκω Ἑλληνιστὶ τε πολλὰ καὶ Ῥωμαιστὶ μουσοποιῶ,

τοῦ ἐμοῦ δὲ γένους, οἱ μὲν πάπποι: Αὐβρης μὲν τε καὶ Μαρία Νήσου, Θωμᾶς δέ τε καὶ Δωροθέα Μαυρῶν, οἱ δὲ γονεῖς: Μάρκος τε καὶ Ἰὼ Νήσου, ὁ δὲ ἀδελφὸς Μαρτίνος τε Νήσου καὶ ἡ αὐτοῦ φίλη Αἶδι Θζιοῦ, οἱ ἐν τῷ δαπέδῳ καθεύδειν με εἶων, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Αὐκλαντίδος: ἄδηλος Ἰωάννης τε Γρᾶντός τε Μάρκος τε καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρα Νήσου, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἡοῦς τῆς χώρας: Μαρτίνος τε Μίωκώ τε Ξάνδρος τε καὶ Οὐάλτηρ Μαυρῶν

μεγάλων τιμῶν ἀξιῶνται,

ὅπως ἐμὴν χάριν γινώσκωσιν καὶ τὴν δικαίαν τιμὴν δέχωνται,

δέδοχθαί μοι τοὺς ἀναγραφομένους μὲν εὐχαριστικῶς τιμᾶν, ὑπισχνεῖσθαι δὲ δώσειν ἐκάστοις ξέστην τινὰ πίνου ἢ κύλικά τινα οἴνου ἢ ὁποίας πόσεως δέωσιν, ἀναγραφῆναι δὲ ἐν τῇδε σχέδῃ τὰ αὐτῶν ὀνόματα.

ἔτους ‘γι καὶ χιλιοστοῦ ‘β μηνὸς Ξανθικοῦ ‘δ

CONTENTS

Abbreviations:	viii
Figures:	
One: Places Mentioned, Asia Minor.....	ix
Two: Places Mentioned, Syria.....	x
Three: Places Mentioned, Near East.....	xi
Four: Seleukid Genealogy.....	xii
Introduction	1
Chapter One: Kings and Cities in the Hellenistic Period	4
The Hellenistic King.....	4
The Hellenistic <i>Polis</i>	12
The Relationship between Kings and <i>Poleis</i> in Seleukid Asia Minor.....	21
Civic Status in Practice.....	26
Conclusion.....	38
Chapter Two: The Seleukid Heartland & Reasons for Colonisation	40
Overview of the Heartland.....	40
Were the Foundations of the Heartland <i>Poleis</i> ?.....	51
Role of the Foundations.....	55
Coinage and Minting.....	69
Conclusion.....	76
Chapter Three: The King & His <i>Poleis</i>	78
Royal Interference in <i>Polis</i> Affairs.....	78
Epigraphic Evidence.....	83
Officials and Institutions within the <i>Poleis</i>	89
The End of the Seleukid Kingdom.....	103
Conclusion: The Seleukid <i>Polis</i>	111
Appendix One: Inscriptions Used	113
Appendix Two: Coins Used	162
Bibliography:	172

ABBREVIATIONS

- AD:** Sachs & Hermann Hunger. 1988. *Astronomical Diaries and Related Texts from Babylonia*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen.
- BCHP:** Finkel I. & R.J. van der Spek. Forthcoming. *Babylonian Chronicles of the Hellenistic Period*.
- BMC:** Gardner, Percy. 1878. *A Catalogue of Greek Coins: The Seleukid Kings of Syria in the British Museum*. London: British Museum Press.
- ESM:** Newell, Edward Theodore. 1938. *The Coinage of the Eastern Seleucid Mints from Seleucus I to Antiochus III*. New York, NY: American Numismatic Society.
- F. Amyzon:** Robert Jeanne & Louis Robert. 1983. *Fouilles d'Amyzon en Carie, I. Exploration, histoire, monnaies et inscriptions*. Paris: De Boccard.
- GCS:** Wroth, Warwick William. 1899. *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Galatia, Cappadocia and Syria*. London: British Museum Press.
- Hefzibah:** Landau, Y.H. 1966. "A Greek Inscription Found near Hefzibah." *Israel Exploration Journal* 16(1): 54-70.
- I. Erythrae:** Engelmann, Helmut & Reinhold Merkelbach. 1973. *Die Inschriften von Erythrai und Klazomenai*. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt Verlag.
- I. Priene:** Fredrich, C. et al. 1906. *Inschriften von Priene*. Berlin: Verlag von Georg Reimer.
- IGLS:** Jalabert, Louis, René Mouterde et al. 1870-1970. *Inscriptions Grecques et Latines de la Syrie*. Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner.
- Inscription d'Iran:** Robert, Louis. 1949. "Inscriptions Séleucides de Phrygie et d'Iran." *Hellenica* 7: 5-29.
- OGIS:** Dittenberger, W. 1903-1905. *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*. Leipzig: Herzl.
- P.Dura:** Perkins, Ann. 1959. *The Excavations at Dura-Europos: Final Report V Part I: Parchments and Papyri*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- RC:** Welles, Charles Bradford. 1966. *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period*. Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider.
- SEG:** *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*.
- SC:** Houghton, Arthur & Catharine Lorber. 2002. *Seleucid Coins: A Comprehensive Guide*. New York, NY: American Numismatic Society.
- SdT:** Le Rider, Georges. 1998. *Séleucie du Tigre: Les Monnaies Séleucides et Parthes*. Florence : Casa Editrice Le Lettere.
- Syll³:** Dittenberger, W. 1915-1924. *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*. 3rd Ed. Leipzig : Herzl.
- WSM:** Newell, Edward Theodore. 1941. *The Coinage of the Western Seleucid Mints from Seleucus I to Antiochus III*. New York, NY: American Numismatic Society.

All other abbreviations conform to those used by the 4th edition of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*.

FIGURE ONE: PLACES MENTIONED, ASIA MINOR



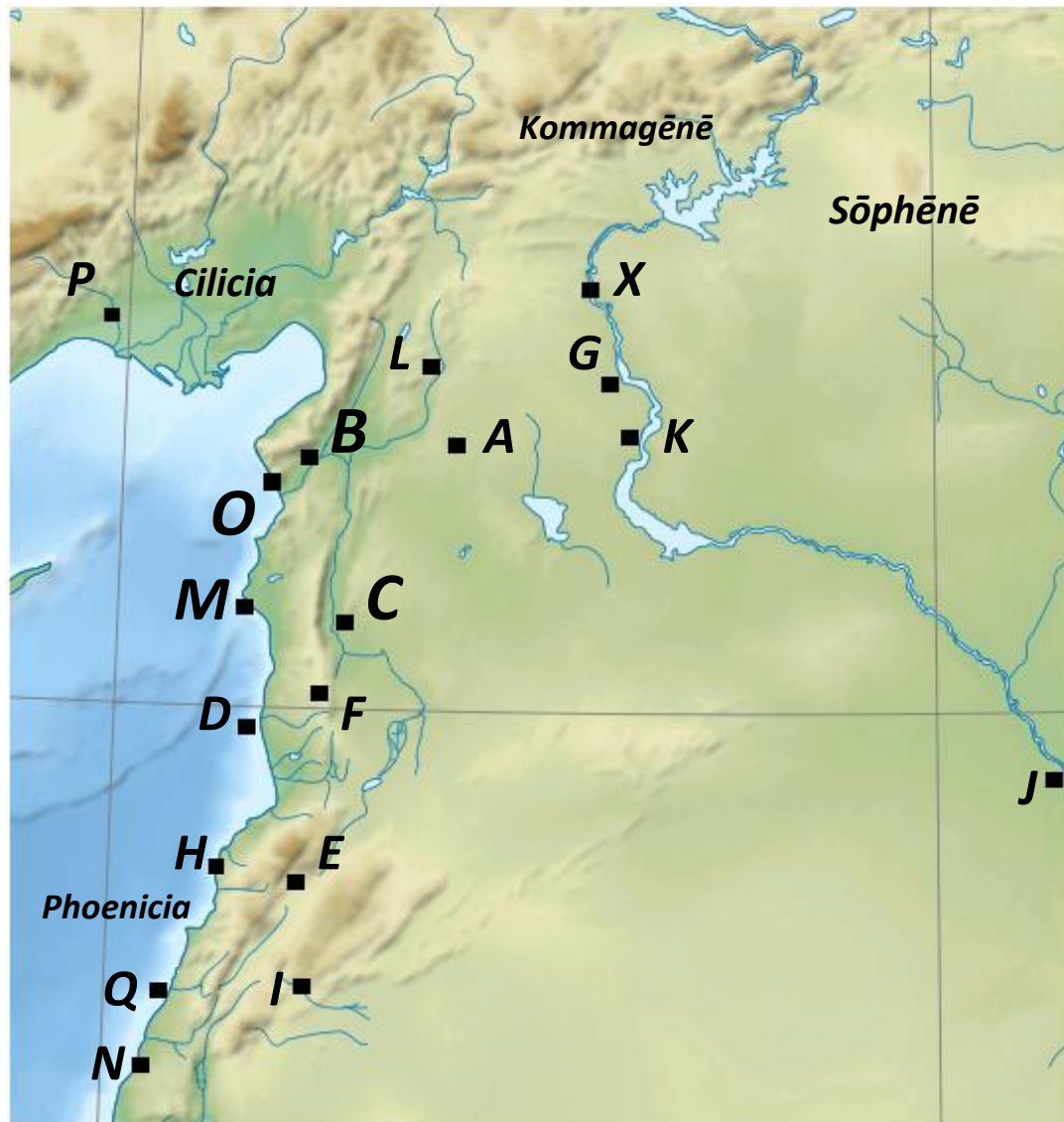
(base map sourced from http://commons.wikimedia.org/Near_East_topographic_map-blank.svg)

A: Alabanda
B: Aspendos
C: Chios
D: Ephesos
E: Erythrai
F: Hērakleia Pontikē
G: Kōs

H: Lampsakos
I: Lebedos
J: Lysimacheia
K: Magnēsia
L: Milētos
M: Pednelissos
N: Pergamōn

X: Priēnē
O: Rhodes
P: Sardis
Q: Selgē
R: Smyrna
S: Stratonikeia
T: Teōs

FIGURE TWO: PLACES MENTIONED, SYRIA



(Base map sourced from http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Middle_East_topographic_map-blank.svg)

- | | | |
|---------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------------|
| A: Aleppo (Beroia) | G: Bambykē | M: Laodikeia-by-the-Sea |
| B: Antioch | H: Byblos | N: Ptolemais-Akē |
| C: Apameia | I: Damascus | X: Seleukeia Zeugma |
| D: Arados | J: Doura-Eurōpos | O: Seleukeia-in-Pieria |
| E: Baalbek | K: Jebel-Khalid | P: Tarsos |
| F: Baitokaikē | L: Kyrrhos | Q: Tyre |

FIGURE THREE: PLACES MENTIONED, NEAR EAST



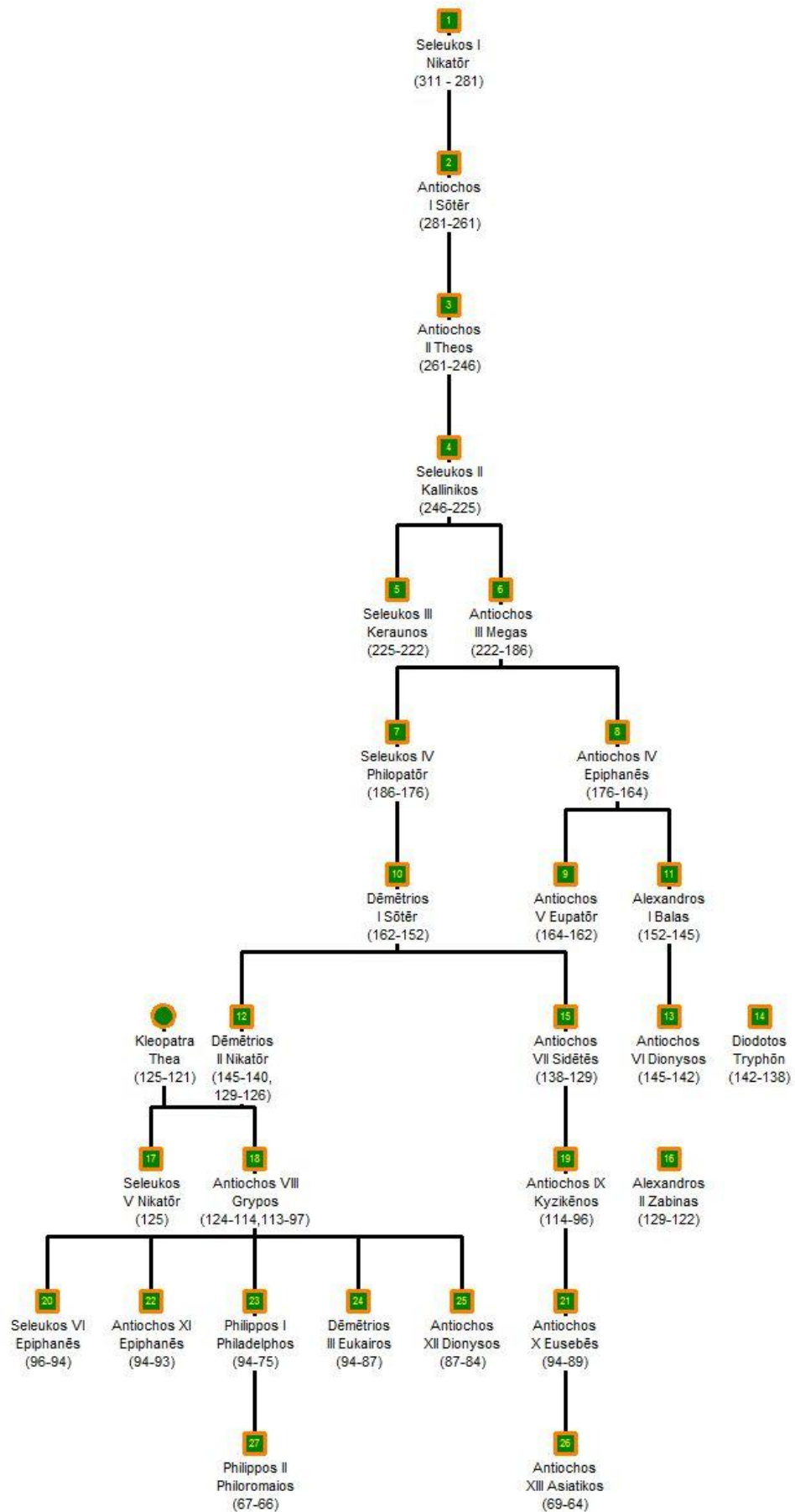
(Base map sourced from http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Middle_East_topographic_map-blank.svg)

A: Askalōn
B: Baalbek
C: Babylon
D: Borsippa
E: Damascus

F: Doura-Eurōpos
G: Ekbatana
H: Jerusalem
I: Laodikeia-in-Mēdia
J: Ptolemais-Akē

K: Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris
L: Susa/Seleukeia-on-the-Eulaios
M: Tarsos
N: Tigranakerta
X: Uruk

FIGURE FOUR: SELEUKID FAMILY TREE



INTRODUCTION

In the Hellenistic period (323-30 BC)¹ the Greeks spread across the east, taking their traditional political communities, the *poleis* (πόλεις), with them. *Poleis* were traditionally self-sufficient and independent entities, but most existing *poleis* and all new *poleis* now came under the rule of the absolute monarchs (βασιλεῖς) of three vast kingdoms: the Seleukids in the east, the Ptolemies in Egypt, and the Antigonids in Macedon.

The relationship between the kings and *poleis* in Seleukid Asia Minor has long been the focus of scholarship on the Hellenistic *polis* (and a major focus of Hellenistic scholarship in general). This relationship was a complex one in which the *poleis* enjoyed a great deal of independence from the kings. This thesis argues that the relationship between the Seleukid kings and the *poleis* in the Seleukid heartland of Syria and Mesopotamia was very different. These *poleis* were institutionally and ideologically bound to the Seleukid dynasty to a degree that the *poleis* of Asia Minor were not.

The first chapter of this thesis is concerned with explaining the relationship between kings and *poleis* in Asia Minor. To that end, I first detail the ideological concerns of each party. The kings were primarily and personally concerned with warfare, had divine or semi-divine status, and modified their self-presentation in order to better suit individual groups of their subjects. The *poleis* highly valued their *autonomia* and *eleutheria*, flexible concepts which could imply total independence or be used to justify extensive interference within a *polis*. These ideological concerns shaped the unique relationship between the kings and the *poleis* of Asia Minor, alongside the practical difficulties the Seleukids had in maintaining control over the region. I use an inscription from Erythrai, *OGIS* 223, as an example of how this relationship was presented by the kings and the *poleis*. The king worked to depict himself as an ally, friend, and benefactor of the *poleis*, and the *poleis* worked to maintain as much independence as possible. When the *poleis* gave the king honours and resources, they represented them as motivated by gratitude for royal benefactions – not because they considered themselves the king's vassals. To maintain this relationship, the kings avoided interfering in the internal affairs of the *poleis* as a matter of course and they also offered frequent gifts to the *poleis* so that

¹ Unless otherwise noted, all dates in this thesis are BC. All names are transliterated from Greek according to the system used in *Brill's New Pauly* (minus the indication of stress accents), unless such would be truly intrusive, e.g. Alexander, Philip II, Antioch, Damascus – in these cases use of the traditional anglicisations also serves to differentiate them from homonymous individuals and cities.

they remained in the royal debt. One particularly counterintuitive outcome of this relationship was that the kings often granted freedoms to *poleis* in Western Asia Minor in order to keep them in debt and therefore under control. These freedoms were not just a pretence – the *poleis* maintained control over their internal affairs and there is even evidence of them continuing to operate independently in foreign affairs and military matters. Thus the *poleis* in Asia Minor enjoyed a very large degree of freedom from the Seleukid monarch.

Chapter two moves the discussion to the Seleukid heartland of Syria and Mesopotamia, where Seleukos I founded (and his successors maintained) a system of cities, whose scale far exceeded the efforts of any of the other successor kingdoms. These cities formed two nodes: the Tetrapolis in Syria and Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris in Mesopotamia. These cities were *poleis* in the political sense; like the *poleis* in Asia Minor they possessed their own territories, their own sense of identity, and organs of self-government. However, whereas the *poleis* in Asia Minor were difficult for the kings to control and were ultimately not essential to the kingdom, the *poleis* in Syria and Mesopotamia had a central role in the kingdom from their foundation. Several elements of the *poleis* were designed to tie them to the Seleukid dynasty: they contained large royal garrisons, were closely modelled on Macedon in order to discourage defections, and were given names, myths, and symbols which associated them with the Seleukid dynasty so that expressions of *polis* identity would also be expressions of loyalty and indebtedness to the dynasty. These Seleukid dynastic symbols were a major part of the *poleis*' identities, as shown by their survival in Syria well into Late Antiquity and by Antiochos IV's attempts to expand the system by giving similar names, myths, and symbols to native communities. A clear example of the way civic and royal symbols worked together is offered by the semi-civic semi-royal bronze coinages issued under Antiochos IV.

Chapter three moves on to consider the relationship between Seleukid kings and the *poleis* of the Seleukid heartland, paying especial attention to the civic institutional structures with which the kings interacted. The kings interfered in the internal affairs of these *poleis* both personally and institutionally, but *IGLS* 4.1261, an inscription from Laodikeia-by-the-Sea, shows that the *poleis* dealt with at least some internal matters themselves. Another inscription, *IGLS* 3.2.1183 from Seleukeia-in-Pieria, records an official interaction between king and *polis*. The submission of Seleukeia-in-Pieria to the king is made very clear: the king's letter is direct and the *polis* explicitly acknowledges it

as a command. Within the royal aegis, however, Seleukeia-in-Pieria also presents itself as an autonomous actor. The crux of the relationship between the Seleukid kings and the *poleis* of the Seleukid heartland was the office of *epistatēs*, which the kings seem to have viewed as a royal official and the *poleis* as a chief magistrate. The *epistatai* maintained a close alliance with the civic archons, and together they controlled the *polis* – their power over the *polis* was based on the harmony between royal and civic spheres. The Syrian and Mesopotamian *poleis*’ relationship with the king was thus a central part of their internal political structure as well as their civic identities. In the final, tumultuous years of the Seleukid dynasty, the kings became increasingly reliant upon the Syrian *poleis* and the *poleis* became more assertive in their interactions with the kings, but they did not seek complete independence. In fact, once the dynasty ceased to exist, the *poleis* invited Tigranēs of Armenia in as a replacement rather than become independent.

Thus, while still *poleis*, the cities of the Seleukid heartland were different from those of Asia Minor – their relationship with the king was a central part of the identities and political structure in a way which was inconceivable to the *poleis* of Asia Minor.

The thesis is followed by two appendices. Full text and translations of all the inscriptions quoted in this thesis are included in appendix one (page 113). Details of all coins cited are included in appendix two (page 160).

CHAPTER ONE: KINGS AND CITIES IN THE HELLENISTIC PERIOD

The relationship between kings and *poleis* in the Hellenistic Period was shaped by the conflicting ideological interests of both parties. The kings desired both taxes to fund their campaigns and acknowledgement of their supreme status, but they were flexible about how that acknowledgement was to be given. On the other hand, the *poleis* placed enormous value on the idea that they were self-governing and autonomous, but they also had precedents which allowed them to reconcile those ideas with being under foreign rule. Kings and *poleis* were thus able to develop a unique relationship in which the king addressed the *poleis* as if they were his autonomous allies, rather than his subjects, and he allowed them to manage their own affairs. The *poleis* were even allowed to carry on a semi-independent foreign policy, so long as they continued to acknowledge that these freedoms were a gift of the king, to whom they were thus deeply indebted. This relationship has been reconstructed largely on the basis of evidence from Asia Minor, and many of the factors which encouraged its development were specific to that region: Asia Minor was distant from the royal centre of power, was contested with the other Hellenistic kingdoms, and frequently drifted out of royal control altogether. As a result, the Seleukid king's relationship with the *poleis* of Asia Minor need not have been typical of his relationship with the *poleis* elsewhere in his realm.

The Hellenistic King

All three Hellenistic monarchies mostly conformed to a single model of kingship, which coloured the actions and attitudes of those interacting with the king and of the king himself.² As a result, this model was a central factor in the relationships between kings and *poleis*. Under this model, the king was an absolute monarch, primarily and personally concerned with warfare, who held divine or semi-divine status and presented himself in a number of different guises depending on his audience. In many ways these characteristics were a natural development of the Macedonian kingship exercised by Philip II and Alexander,³ but they also reflect the process of experimentation which occurred during the *diadochoi's* struggle for power and survival after Alexander's death.⁴ The duties and rights which the kings held according to this model of kingship significantly affected the ways in which they interacted with their subjects, rivals, and *poleis*.

² Davies (2002) 1-4.

³ Bell (2004) 116; Hammond (1993b) 12ff.; Pollitt (1986) 19ff.

⁴ Ehrenberg (1969) 159.

Military Prowess

Alexander was the paradigm which the *diadochoi* and the later Hellenistic kings aspired to emulate.⁵ By dint of his ancestry and in particular his personal achievements, he had clearly out-ranked all other Macedonians and had therefore been able to exercise essentially absolute authority over them. After his death nobody was similarly dominant, so the top-ranking Macedonians were largely unwilling to obey anyone and began to act independently.⁶ This independent spirit passed down the ranks – why should the district governors and lieutenants obey the satraps and generals who had themselves refused to obey (and eventually slaughtered) Perdikkas, the Regent in Babylon? In order to assert their authority over their Macedonian subordinates (and those Macedonians whom they wished to make their subordinates) it was natural and necessary for the *diadochoi* to present themselves as dominant figures in the same mould as Alexander.⁷ To do that, it was necessary for them to stress their personal military prowess, even more than it had been for Alexander because they had no royal ancestry to emphasise.⁸ As one of the *Suda* entries on βασιλεύς, which has a Hellenistic source,⁹ puts it:

Neither individual character, nor justice gives kingdoms to men, but [they are given] to those who can lead an army and manage affairs sensibly: such were Philip and the successors of Alexander.

οὔτε φύσις οὔτε τὸ δίκαιον ἀποδίδουσι τοῖς ἄνθρωποις τὰς βασιλείας,
ἀλλὰ τοῖς δυνάμενοις ἡγεῖσθαι στρατοπέδου καὶ χειρίζειν πράγματα
νουνεχῶς · οἷος ἦν Φίλιππος καὶ οἱ διάδοχοι Ἀλεξάνδρου.
(*Suda* B147)

The test presented in this passage is a very practical one – those who received and kept kingdoms were those who managed to get their states operational and fight off the other *diadochoi*. Those *diadochoi* who failed to accomplish this were eliminated, regardless of how virtuous or noble they were. Hellenistic monarchy thus gained a distinctly military character,¹⁰ which never disappeared; every time a new Ptolemy or Seleukid came to the

⁵ Ehrenberg (1969) 141.

⁶ Dunn (2012) 9; Grainger (2010) 15; Heckel (2002) 81-96.

⁷ Dunn (2012) 45; Sherwin-White & Kuhrt (1993) 120.

⁸ Kratēros and Dēmētrios Poliorketēs also emphasised their heroic youth as Alexander had – they were the only *diadochoi* young enough for this to be a realistic option.

⁹ Billows (1990) 21; Sherwin-White & Kuhrt (1993) 120 & 129.

¹⁰ Chaniotis (2005) 57; Ma (1999) 108.

throne, they would launch a new war over Syria, largely in order to establish their right to rule within their own kingdom.¹¹ Hellenistic kings regularly justified their authority over their land on the grounds that it was “spear-won” (δορίκτητος).¹² They expected, and were expected to, lead from the front – their personal military ventures and credentials were emphasised in statues,¹³ paintings,¹⁴ inscriptions,¹⁵ and propaganda accounts.¹⁶ All other duties of the king were subordinate to his role as a military commander.¹⁷ For example, Antiochos III spent four or five years campaigning in the east,¹⁸ during which time his contact with the core of his kingdom would have been intermittent.¹⁹ Similarly, the Babylonian Astronomical Diaries imply that Antiochos IV was only intermittently in contact with Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris and Babylon during his campaign to Armenia, Iran, and the Persian Gulf in 165.²⁰ Thus, this focus on military expeditions had implications for the degree of control which the kings could exercise over the operation of their realm.²¹ The military campaigns must also have been enormously expensive in money, food, and men – and therefore had implications for what the kings demanded of their subjects.

Royal Divinity

The second important element of Hellenistic kingship was its divine element. Hellenistic kings were regularly portrayed as gods and given cult worship as gods. Links between royalty and the divine were rapidly adopted by Alexander’s successors.²² When Dēmētrios Poliorkētēs entered Athens in 307, he was greeted by the Athenians as a god, complete with his own hymn.²³ The kings also took epithets which implied divinity; the epithet “saviour” (σωτήρ), for example, was adopted by Ptolemaios I and Antiochos I,

¹¹ Grainger (2010) 89.

¹² e.g. Polyb.18.51.4. Aalders (1975) 17.

¹³ Smith (1988) 33; Pollitt (1986) 31ff.

¹⁴ Pollitt (1986) 41ff.

¹⁵ e.g. The Adulis Inscription (*OGIS* 54).

¹⁶ e.g. The Garoub Papyrus *BNJ* 160 F 1, a letter from the front during the Third Syrian War, in which Ptolemaios III recounts and aggrandises his personal role in events.

¹⁷ Billows (1995) 20.

¹⁸ He is already in Mēdia fighting against Arsakēs at Polyb.10.27, simultaneous with the death of Claudius Marcellus in 208, and the siege of Bactra is at Polyb.11.34, after Hasdrubal Gisco was driven out of Spain in 206. After the conclusion of that siege he proceeded to India and then wintered in Karmania – he cannot have returned before 205. Ma makes it six years: (2003) 178.

¹⁹ Contrast, for example, Justinian who had to send Belisarios and Narsēs to fight his wars in Peria, Africa, and Italy because his presence at Constantinople to answer appeals and issue rescripts was essential to the continued operation of his bureaucracy.

²⁰ Gera & Horowitz (1997) 241, 244-5, analysing AD -164 Obv. B15, C13ff.

²¹ Dmitriev (2005) 301.

²² Dunn (2012) 53.

²³ Ath. 253C-F; Diod. Sic. 20.46 & Plut. *Demetr.* 10-13.

which had previously been attached to figures like Dēmētēr,²⁴ Apollo,²⁵ and, especially, Zeus.²⁶ Antiochos II's epithet left no room for doubt – he was literally called “god” (Θεός).²⁷ The kings were not passive recipients of these divine honours; they actively propagated them. For instance, the story that Seleukos' father was Apollo (mimicking Alexander's descent from Zeus) was first revealed by Seleukos himself, and was actively referenced on his coins, a medium over which he had total control.²⁸ At least initially, being depicted on coins at all implied divine status for, before Alexander, only civic deities, the Great King (who, so far as the Greeks were concerned, presented himself as divine),²⁹ and the occasional (over)-ambitious satrap had been depicted on coinage.³⁰ The divine implications are unmistakable when the kings are depicted in the guise of a deity – with Heliote rays or horns projecting from their heads, for example.³¹ Moreover, like the gods, they engaged in boundary-crossing, as in Antiochos I's marriage to his stepmother Stratonikē, Ptolemaic sibling-marriage, and the kings' lavish and conspicuous luxury – acts which marked them as superior beings, wielding great power and free from normal codes of conduct.³²

Royal divinisation probably results from the same initial factors which lie behind royal militarism. In practice, the various Macedonians in positions of authority after Alexander's death had no more right to royal power than anybody else.³³ Thus, each had to assert that they were the best candidate for rule on account of their personal superiority over their rivals. This was the portion of the Hellenistic kingship model which the philosophers concentrated their discussions on, following Aristotle's declaration about the only circumstance in which monarchy would be just:

Should it happen that either a whole family or even a single individual in a society bears himself with so much excellence that it exceeds that of

²⁴ e.g. *Hymn. Hom. Dem.* 22.5.

²⁵ e.g. *Soph. OT* 150.

²⁶ e.g. Menander exclusively uses the word as an epithet of Zeus: *Dys.* 690; *Epit.* 907; F532.2; F536.7; F581.2; F656.7.

²⁷ *App. Syr.* 11.65.

²⁸ *Just. Epit.* 15.4.3; Dunn (2012) 50; Grainger (1990b) 3; Howgego (1995) 66.

²⁹ Howgego (1995) 65.

³⁰ Erickson & Wright (2011) 164.

³¹ Dunn interprets the depiction of Alexander (for the first time) on coins of the Diadochoi as part of their *apotheosis* of him: (2012) 58; Pollitt (1986) 32ff.

³² Ager (2006) 166, 176-178.

³³ Dunn (2012) 9; Grainger (2010) 15; Heckel (2002) 81-96.

everyone else, then it is just for that family to be royal and in charge of everything or for that single individual to be king.

ὅταν οὖν ἡ γένος ὅλον ἢ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἓνα τινὰ συμβῇ διαφέροντα γενέσθαι κατ' ἀρετὴν τοσοῦτον ὥσθ' ὑπερέχειν τὴν ἐκείνου τῆς τῶν ἄλλων πάντων, τότε δίκαιον τὸ γένος εἶναι τοῦτο βασιλικὸν καὶ κύριον πάντων, καὶ βασιλέα τὸν ἓνα τοῦτον.

(Arist. *Pol.* 1288a 15-19)

Alexander and the Hellenistic kings after him regularly presented themselves as men of this sort, who utterly exceeded everyone else in every way.³⁴ Such constant assertion of superiority had been a major element of Alexander's kingship and exceeding Alexander in any matter, no matter how minor, was therefore very dangerous, as the page Hermolaos discovered when he killed Alexander's quarry in 327.³⁵ Just like the emphasis on military prowess, this aspect of kingship flowed on and was amplified by the *diadochoi* – stories and images were produced which emphasised that the *diadochoi* were the strongest,³⁶ the richest,³⁷ the most generous,³⁸ and the most merciful.³⁹ They were presented as delivering justice with such perfection that they were “law in living form” νόμος ἔμψυχος – the very epitome of law on earth.⁴⁰ The idea of royal superiority stressed the kings' competence was a source of legitimacy, just as the emphasis placed on military prowess did. However, this approach also attempted to make the case for moral legitimacy – that it was just for the kings to rule.

The kings' superiority was so marked compared to other people that it was as if they were gods.⁴¹ In fact, the gods who ruled over the universe presented a useful analogy for the new absolute kingship, especially as the Greeks had no earthly metaphor for power both absolute and legitimate.⁴² When people wielded absolute power in a *polis*, they were tyrants, unfairly dominating people who ought to be their equals; by definition

³⁴ Downey (1941) 165; Smith (1988) 38ff.

³⁵ Arr. *Anab.* 4.13.2. On the importance of hunting in particular for establishing royal excellence: Carney (2002) esp.68; Pollitt (1986) 38ff.; & Plut. *Alex.* 40.4.

³⁶ e.g. The story of Seleukos single-handedly wrestling a bull to the ground: App. *Syr.* 9.57.

³⁷ e.g. The opulent dinner at Daphnē of Antiochos VIII: Ath. 12.540a-b.

³⁸ e.g. *ibid.*, and also “[Ptolemaios I] said that enriching is more regal than being rich,” τοῦ πλουτεῖν ἔλεγε τὸ πλουτίζειν εἶναι βασιλικώτερον (Plut. *Reg. Imp. Apo.* 181F.34).

³⁹ e.g. Seleukos surrendering his wife to his lovestruck son: Lucian, *Syr.D.* 18.

⁴⁰ Aalders (1975) 26; e.g. Ps.Archytas Frag.33; Ps.Philo *De Vita Mosis* 2.4

⁴¹ Chaniotis (2003) 433.

⁴² Aalders (1975) 31.

their power was illegitimate.⁴³ The absolute kingship which the Greeks perceived as the Achaimenid model was off-limits for similar reasons.⁴⁴ Macedonian kingship had historically been one in which the king's power was open to at least some challenge by the nobility.⁴⁵ Even the Homeric heroes failed to furnish a perfect model – the central tension of the *Iliad* is the result of Agamemnōn's illegitimate (and ineffectual) attempt to control Achilles. On the other hand, a precedent for presenting a legitimate sovereign as divine already existed in the fifth and fourth century Athenian depictions of their *dēmos* as a divine king on the model of Zeus.⁴⁶ Only one who was utterly superior, like Zeus or the lord of a household,⁴⁷ could legitimately exercise absolute power over others.⁴⁸

That this analogy was the central aspect of the kings' claims to divinity can be seen from the fact that the kings' divinity seems to have been mostly ideological and honorific. The kings' divine honours were often described as “equal to the gods,” – implicitly maintaining a distinction between the king and the gods.⁴⁹ No *polis* would refer to, say, Apollo as receiving “honours equal to the gods.” In life, the kings did not wear the horns and other accoutrements of divinity that they were depicted with in art, both of which suggest that they only took their claims to divine status so far.⁵⁰ It was the metaphor that was essential, for while legitimate absolute monarchs were new, the gods were not – the metaphor gave the kings a precedent for the legitimate exercise of absolute power (one which also flattered their egos). As will be discussed on page 20 it also gave the kings' subjects a model for interactions with him, one which the *poleis* adopted eagerly.

Combination of Roles

The aforementioned military and divine elements were significant aspects of Hellenistic kingship. The third major aspect of the Hellenistic king was that he legitimated his power towards different audiences by tailoring his self-presentation to each audience's particular expectations of their ruler.⁵¹ Philip II foreshadowed this element in his combination of the

⁴³ “and should someone rule by trickery or force, nowadays that is thought to be tyranny” (ἀν δὲ δι’ ἀπάτης ἄρξῃ τις ἢ βίας, ἥδη δοκεῖ τοῦτο εἶναι τυραννίς); Arist.*Pol.* 5.1313a 9-10; MacLaren (1941) 80.

⁴⁴ Davies (2002) 4.

⁴⁵ Hatzopoulos (1996) 267.

⁴⁶ Ehrenberg (1969) 98; Glowacki (2003) 450ff.

⁴⁷ Arist. *Pol.* 1285b 31-33 (Frequently also paralleled with the gods).

⁴⁸ Anagnostou-Laourtides (2012) 6; Bevan (1901) 632.

⁴⁹ Chaniotis (2003) 433. For a similar argument regarding Babylonian records: Linssen (2004) 128.

⁵⁰ Grant (1982) 98; Smith (1988) 38-39.

⁵¹ Anagnostou-Laoutides (2012) 2; Bosworth (2002) 4; Ma (1999) 7.

roles of *hēgemōn* of the Corinthian League, Thessalian *tagos*, and Macedonian king, all of which remained quite separate offices.⁵² The Achaimenid kings were probably a major model, also.⁵³ Each of the kings ruled over different sets of audiences and therefore each king combined different sets of roles. For example, the Seleukid king was simultaneously a Macedonian-style *basileus* and a Babylonian king (𒂍𒀭 LÚ.GAL / *šarru*),⁵⁴ fulfilling the customary roles of that office. For example, Antiochos I personally moulded bricks and performed a traditional Babylonian foundation ceremony for the reconstruction of Nabû's Ezida temple at Borsippa.⁵⁵ The Ptolemaic king ruled his Macedonian subjects as a *basileus*, like the Seleukid kings, but was a Pharaoh (𓆎𓅓𓏏𓏂 *nswt-bjty*) to his Egyptian subjects, and *hēgemōn* to the Greeks of the Aegean Islands.⁵⁶ In each role, the source and theoretical nature of the king's authority was different – as Pharaoh he was the son of Amen-Re and incarnation of Horus, personally sustaining the universe,⁵⁷ while as *hēgemōn* he managed a league according to treaty.⁵⁸ The degree to which the king was able to keep all these roles separate is unclear;⁵⁹ there was at least some permeance, especially as time went on.⁶⁰ The different combinations of roles in each kingdom may thus account for the differences which developed between the three monarchies; the less absolute rule of the Antigonids reflecting the importance of hegemonies among their combination of roles, while the strongly institutional nature of Pharaonic kingship might be responsible for the degree to which the Ptolemaic kingdom centred on the institution of the king, rather than his person. The kings encouraged different audiences to view them according to their particular preferences, but they may not have had much choice; native Egyptians, who remained an important part of the Ptolemaic administration,⁶¹ would not easily accept – or even understand – a king who was not a Pharaoh.⁶²

⁵² Perlman (1985) 155. It is, in this respect, different from the 'policy of fusion' attributed to the late reign of Alexander, in which roles were merged.

⁵³ Briant (1990) 41, 53.

⁵⁴ e.g. AD -260 Upper Edge 1; Boiy (2011) 3-4.

⁵⁵ Borsippa Cylinder 1.5-1.14, in Kuhrt & Sherwin-White (1991) 74-77.

⁵⁶ Bagnall (1976) 156.

⁵⁷ Koenen (1993) 114; Lloyd (1982) 48.

⁵⁸ Bagnall (1976) 136ff.; Merker (1970) 157.

⁵⁹ Sherwin-White & Kuhrt (1993) 144.

⁶⁰ e.g. Even depictions of the Ptolemies in traditional Pharaonic guise show some Greek influence from the reign of Ptolemy I: Bothmer (1952) 56; the Ptolemaic ruler cult, intended for a Greek audience, may be based on (a Greek interpretation of) the Egyptian Pharaonic cults: Dunn (2012) 61 n.321; Hellenistic royal palaces incorporate both Greek and Near Eastern elements: Kutbay (1998) 82, 140; .Nielsen (1996) 209-212.

⁶¹ Lloyd (2002) 180.

⁶² Dundas (2002) 439, 442.

Royal iconography sometimes emphasised a specific role – the depictions of Ptolemaios XII on the pylons of the Temple of Horus at Edfu, for example, put him in the traditional Egyptian role of the Pharaoh personally slaying the barbarians⁶³ and are almost indistinguishable from Karnak and Abu Simbel's depictions of Ramesses II fighting at Qadesh, made a thousand years before.⁶⁴ At other times royal iconography was constructed to appeal to multiple audiences simultaneously – common on silver and gold coinage, which could pass from one audience to another in the course of commerce. The widespread Seleukid coin-type depicting Apollo sitting on an *omphalos* is an example – for Greco-Macedonian audiences the design recalled the Seleukid dynasty's relationship with Apollo (the aristocratic Greek god *par excellence*), for his Iranian subjects the image could also recall the Achaimenid royal archer,⁶⁵ and for his Mesopotamian subjects the patronage of Šamaš (god of justice and the Sun).⁶⁶ The result of this facet of Hellenistic kingship was that everybody understood that the king was in charge, but they understood him to be in charge for different reasons in different places. It was, therefore, completely open to the *poleis* to interpret the king in a role which fitted their needs – as long as they acknowledged his authority, he did not mind how they justified that acknowledgement.

Thus the Hellenistic royal ideology enabled and legitimised the absolute power of the kings. It also placed demands on them. Justification by military prowess, for example, required that the king spend a great deal of time on campaign. This meant that he needed as much money, resources and men as he could get from his subjects, including the *poleis*, while also limiting his ability to micromanage their affairs. He presented himself as superior in every way, encouraging his Greco-Macedonian subjects to make analogies between him and the divine, but allowed individual groups of subjects to negotiate how they would acknowledge his superiority according to their specific ideological needs and interests. Therefore, the particular ideological needs of the *poleis* are of central importance to understanding their relationship with the kings.

⁶³ Delia (1993) 203; Siani-Davies (1997) 333. Cf. also the careful identification of Berenikē II with the goddess Hathor in art and epigraphy intended for an Egyptian audience, Llewellyn-Jones & Winder (2011) 257ff.

⁶⁴ Personal Observation (2011).

⁶⁵ Erickson & Wright (2011) 163 & Iossif (2011) 257. contra. Zahle (1990) 133.

⁶⁶ Anagnostou-Laoutides (2012) 3, who proposes, also, that Zeus imagery would have recalled the Bēl Marduk.

The Hellenistic *Polis*

The *polis* (πόλις) was a cornerstone of Classical Greek civilisation, and, like all fundamental ancient concepts, it has proven exceptionally difficult to define.⁶⁷ As pointed out by Mogens Herman Hansen and the Copenhagen Polis Centre, modern scholars speaking of the *polis* have a much more specific concept in mind than what the Greeks meant by πόλις. For the Greeks, the term had multiple topographical, urban and political meanings. As a result, they often used the term vaguely; they were perfectly comfortable referring to the Near Eastern cities, such as Babylon, as *poleis*, even though such cities were definitely not *poleis* in the political sense.⁶⁸ For the political sense of the word, Pausanias 10.4.1 provides the best example of a Greek attempting to define the term – confronted with the *polis* of Panopeus in Phōkis, which was no more than a collection of shacks by a mountain stream, Pausanias was unsure whether it could rightly be called a *polis*. Pausanias noted that Panopeus lacked a town hall, *gymnasion*, theatre, *agora*, even a well. But he concluded:

Nevertheless, there are boundaries to their territory with their neighbours and they even send delegates to the Phōkian Assembly. And they say that the name of their *polis* comes from the father of Epeios, and that they are not Phōkeians, but Phlegyans in origin...

ὁμως δὲ ὅροι γε τῆς χώρας εἰσὶν αὐτοῖς ἐς τοὺς ὁμούς, καὶ ἐς τὸν σύλλογον συνέδρους καὶ οὗτοι πέμπουσι τὸν Φωκικόν. καὶ γενέσθαι μὲν τῇ πόλει τὸ ὄνομα λέγουσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἑπειοῦ πατρός, αὐτοὶ δὲ οὐ Φωκεῖς, Φλεγύαι δὲ εἶναι τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς...

(Paus. 10.4.1)

These three factors: a defined territory, political agency manifested as self-government, and a communal mythic history, ultimately convinced Pausanias that this collection of hovels was indeed a *polis* politically, even if it seemed inadequately urbanised.⁶⁹ When modern scholarship speaks of the *polis*, it is almost invariably this distinctively Greek

⁶⁷ Hansen, *Polis* (2006) is the definitive work, summing up twenty years of active investigation of this issue by the driving force behind the Copenhagen Polis Centre.

⁶⁸ Hansen (2000) 180-181.

⁶⁹ The passage is sometimes taken to be listing the buildings necessary for a settlement to be a *polis*: e.g. Steele (1992) 59. I do not find that reading persuasive because Pausanias decides that, despite lacking those buildings, Panopeus is indeed a *polis*.

socio-political institution which is meant – the city-state.⁷⁰ In political terms, then, the *polis* had a territory, a sense of community, and self-government.⁷¹ The *polis* as a socio-political institution was not a static entity, but a dynamic one, which developed from the unique circumstances of the Greek Archaic Period. Initially dominated by aristocrats, the portion of the populace which was involved in government progressively widened throughout the Classical Period. In the Hellenistic period *poleis* continued to evolve, widening the franchise further in some ways, and narrowing it in others: for example, the public roles available to women and foreigners increased dramatically,⁷² but offices, duties, and major decision-making power were increasingly concentrated in the hands of the very richest citizens.⁷³

The advent of the Hellenistic king caused a more fundamental change – *poleis* ceased to be the dominant political forces in the Greek world. But the *polis* did not become extinct: it remained “the normative political institution in international affairs,”⁷⁴ and political philosophy continued to assume that the *polis* was the default, in part because it was dangerous to question the nature and limits of royal power, but largely because the *polis* continued to be what most Greeks experienced on a day-to-day basis.⁷⁵ The *poleis*’ continued vitality under the Hellenistic kings is not so surprising; the Anatolian *poleis* had survived, even prospered, under the rule of the Persian Empire and under the hegemonic leagues of the fifth and fourth centuries.⁷⁶ However, the exact fate of a given *polis* in this new age of royal dominance could differ substantially. In many places, *poleis* were either strong enough or distant enough from centres of power that they remained free actors – Rhodes,⁷⁷ Syracuse,⁷⁸ and (to a lesser extent) Sparta fall into the former category;⁷⁹ Hērakleia Pontikē,⁸⁰ and Massalia into the latter.⁸¹ Other *poleis*

⁷⁰ Murray (2000) 233–235. Modern scholarly terms generally have more precise meanings than the equivalent terms in the classical languages – Nevett notes that the various terms for Greek pottery types were used far more flexibly by the Greeks than they are by modern scholars: (1999) 41.

⁷¹ Hansen (2006) 56–65 is the definitive treatment of the issue.

⁷² Hansen (2006) 132; van Bremen (1996) 1, 25 & 34

⁷³ Jones (1940) 164ff.; Lambert (2012) 78 & 83 provides an example in which both the trend towards widening and towards narrowing manifested simultaneously.

⁷⁴ Green (2007) xx.

⁷⁵ Hammond (1951) 30 & 40f.; Manicas (1982) 678. Plut. *Prae. Ger. Reip. & An Seni* show that *polis* politics remained philosophically important under Roman rule (and practically important – both are couched as advice for contemporaries engaging in *polis* politics). His fragmentary *De Monarchia* continues the standard Greek debate about monarchy, oligarchy, and democracy – apparently the discussion is *still* set in the *polis*.

⁷⁶ Starr (1975) 84–87.

⁷⁷ Berthold (1984) 44, 47 & 199.

⁷⁸ Meister (1984) 384–411.

⁷⁹ Cartledge & Spawforth (2002) 26–28.

were subject to strong royal influence but still retained the ability to operate as independent actors some of the time – Athens⁸² and most of the Peloponnese fell in this category.⁸³ Yet another group were subsumed within the new kingdoms; *poleis* in this category included Thessaly,⁸⁴ Cyrene,⁸⁵ and, most significantly, the *poleis* of Western Asia Minor.

Western Asia Minor

It is these *poleis* in Western Asia Minor, subordinate to the Seleukid monarchs, on which scholarly discussion of the Hellenistic *polis* has focused. This focus has arisen in large part because there is a great deal of data for *poleis* in Asia Minor, in a period infamous for lack of data. The region is comparatively well-excavated⁸⁶ and inscriptions are very common, allowing scholars to study the internal operations of the *poleis* and their interactions with the kings directly, rather than through references in the literary sources. As a result, the relationship between the king and the cities of Asia Minor is the most intensively studied element of all the aspects of the Seleukid kingdom – probably out of all proportion to its relevance to the actual operation of the kingdom as a whole (see Figure one for a map of Western Asia Minor).⁸⁷

Further, the literary sources are sufficiently interested in Asia Minor that it is possible to construct a coherent narrative of the region's history – something which cannot be done in Syria, for example. The *poleis* of the region had been under foreign rule since the Archaic period – first of the Lydians and then of the Persians. Persian rule was frequently interrupted due to the great distances involved and the rebelliousness of the satraps.⁸⁸ Even when the Persians were fully in control, they allowed the *poleis* significant self-government and patronised their temples.⁸⁹ Nevertheless, the liberation of the *poleis* of Asia Minor came to be incredibly important in Greek political thought,

⁸⁰ Burstein (1976) 90.

⁸¹ Morel (2006) 411.

⁸² Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens* (1911) is the foundational text.

⁸³ Larsen (1968) 215-312.

⁸⁴ Martin (1985) 132-165.

⁸⁵ Will (1982) 1.36-38.

⁸⁶ Ephesos, for example, was first excavated in 1863, and now lies almost entirely uncovered: Ephesus Foundation, "Excavation History," <http://www.ephesus-foundation.org/about-ephesus-excavation-history.aspx> (accessed 7th November 2012); Personal Observation 2010.

⁸⁷ Davies (2002) 4.

⁸⁸ Bevan (1902) 1.78 & 1.87; Starr (1975) 70.

⁸⁹ Lund (1992) 111; Starr (1975) 42.

partially justifying the Athenian naval empire, Spartan expansion under Agēsilaios II, and the campaign of Alexander.⁹⁰ Each of these attempts to liberate the *poleis* of Asia Minor from Persian rule saw them brought briefly under the control of Greek overlords who were at least as onerous as the Persians – often, once the lustre of liberation wore off, the Greek overlords looked unfavourable in comparison.⁹¹ Thus their experience under Persian rule conditioned the *poleis*' expectations of the sort of overlord which the new Hellenistic kings would be: distant, loosely in control, and willing to allow substantial or complete freedom.

After Alexander's death, Asia Minor was the base for Antigonos I Monophthalmos, and thus at the very heart of the conflict between the *diadochoi*.⁹² It passed to Lysimachos after Ipsos (301)⁹³ and to Seleukos after Koroupedion (281), but Seleukos was assassinated a few months later.⁹⁴ Seleukos therefore never had any opportunity to incorporate the territory into the Seleukid state in the way he had in Syria and Mesopotamia.⁹⁵ Any organisation that might have been inherited from Antigonid rule was seriously damaged by the invasion of the Gauls (280) and by the reassertion of strong regional tendencies. Local potentates presided over defences against the Gauls, who continued to raid the lowlands from their stronghold in what came to be known as Galatia, which sat between Western Asia Minor and the Seleukid heartland, further complicating Seleukid attempts to control the territory. The local potentates quickly developed independent or autonomous kingdoms, such as Kappadokia, Pontos, Bithynia, and Pergamōn. Many *poleis*, notably Smyrna and Hērakleia Pontikē, acted similarly. Antiochos I retook parts of the region in the late 270s,⁹⁶ but his control remained highly contested and he never had the opportunity to properly settle matters in the region.

The remaining territories in Asia Minor centred on Sardis and Ephesos and were connected to the rest of the Seleukid Empire by the ancient royal road. Flanked on either side by potentially hostile tribes and kingdoms, this tenuous connection was easily severed. It was natural, therefore, that the territories tended to be entrusted to a single

⁹⁰ Bevan (1902) 1.87.

⁹¹ Lund (1992) 111; Starr (1975) 84.

⁹² Billows (1990); Will (1984a) 27 & 39-61.

⁹³ Diod. Sic. 20.108-21.4; Plut. *Demetr.* 28-30; Will (1984a) 60.

⁹⁴ App. Syr. 10.62; Nep. 21.3; Will (1984b) 113.

⁹⁵ Bevan (1902) 1.122.

⁹⁶ App. Syr. 11.65.

viceroy, someone whom the king trusted deeply, often a relative.⁹⁷ Inevitably, the personal relationship between king and viceroy did not pass on to the next generation, and, as a result, these governors tended to drift towards independence and outright rebellion after the death of the monarch who first appointed them.⁹⁸ Thus with Antiochos Hierax, who was appointed by his father Antiochos II and later rebelled against his brother Seleukos II. Thus too with his replacement, Achaïos, a maternal uncle of Seleukos III,⁹⁹ who organised Antiochos III's succession but then drifted into rebellion against him. Had Asia Minor not been lost to the Romans in 189, the pattern might well have been repeated with Antiochos III's appointee,¹⁰⁰ Zeuxis, whom Antiochos referred to as "father,"¹⁰¹ stressing the close personal relationship between them. In total, in the ninety-two year period between Seleukos I's conquest of Asia Minor and Antiochos III's loss of it, the region was actually under the control of the Seleukid monarchs for a little over fifty years, with two major intermissions and several minor ones.¹⁰²

Even when Asia Minor was under royal control, that control was shaky and mostly exercised through the viceroy rather than directly. The region's distance from the major centres of royal power in Syria and Mesopotamia made it difficult to control either the viceroy or the *poleis*. For the king to enforce his will in person would require a major expedition, which proved difficult in several cases,¹⁰³ and fatal in that of Seleukos III. Furthermore, control of the region was contested with the other kings, particularly the Ptolemies; if the Seleukid king offended a *polis*, it might switch sides, making it dangerous for the kings to assert their authority.¹⁰⁴ On the other side of the equation, the *poleis* were old and, as a result of extended periods of foreign rule, were particularly sensitive to authority being asserted over them in unprecedented ways. As autonomous entities, they were among the most complex administrative structures in the ancient world – they could collect taxes, supply goods, and muster new troops and administrators for the king, freeing him from the need to expend time and money creating and maintaining

⁹⁷ Capdetrey (2007) 295.

⁹⁸ A persistent problem for the Seleukid dynasty: Mørkholm (1966) 103.

⁹⁹ Some claim that he was also an agnate Seleukid for which there is absolutely no evidence either way – Grainger, for example, has taken both sides on this issue (1997) 5 vs. (2010) 68 n.30.

¹⁰⁰ In fact, the pattern seems to be an inevitable result of attempting to rule Western Asia Minor from Asia, for examples of the same pattern occur in earlier times, e.g. Cyrus the Younger under the Achaimenids, and in later times, e.g. the formation of Sultanate of Rûm under the Seljuq Turks.

¹⁰¹ Joseph. *AJ* 12.148: "King Antiochos to Zeuxis, his father, greetings." βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος Ζεύξιδι τῷ πατρὶ χαίρειν.

¹⁰² Grainger (2002) 56.

¹⁰³ Bevan (1902) 1.101.

¹⁰⁴ Billows (1995) 108; Jones (1940) 13.

his own administrative structures.¹⁰⁵ The *poleis* of Asia Minor also offered a less tangible commodity, the approval of Old Greece – of immense ideological importance in the contest between the Hellenistic kings, none of whom wished to be thought to have lost their Hellenicity and gone native.¹⁰⁶ The *poleis* of Asia Minor were, therefore, an audience whose approval was important to the kings.¹⁰⁷ Thus, as a result of the difficulties of controlling the region and the value of its approval for royal propaganda, Asia Minor was an atypical region, which had much to offer the kings, but which at times they struggled to command any authority over at all.¹⁰⁸ If the kings wished to extract resources, troops, and deference from it, they had to be receptive to the particular needs and interests of its *poleis*. As these factors were in many ways unique to Asia Minor, the relationship between the king and the *poleis* of Asia Minor was also largely unique.

The Autonomy of the Αὐτόνομοι and the Freedom of the Ἐλευθέριοι

The negotiation of a relationship between the king and the *poleis* of Asia Minor was complicated by the assumption, shared by both parties, that a *polis* ought to possess *autonomia* (αὐτονομία) and *eleutheria* (ἐλευθερία) – two terms which have proven remarkably difficult to define, particularly because their meaning shifted over time.¹⁰⁹ The word *autonomia*, the ancestor of our word autonomy, in the narrowest sense simply meant “the right of a city to use its own laws.”¹¹⁰ In a wider sense, it entailed the freedom of the *polis* to decide for itself about the disposal of funds, control its own territory, have exclusive jurisdiction, and control of its foreign affairs.¹¹¹ The closely aligned concept of *eleutheria*, in origin the opposite of slavery, meant freedom from any restriction on the *polis*’ actions. It could include restrictions imposed indirectly – by debt, for example.¹¹² In the widest definitions, it even included the right to limit the freedom of others.¹¹³ In narrower definitions, it simply signified non-subject status and could become little more

¹⁰⁵ Bevan (1902) 1.101; Davies (2002) 6f.

¹⁰⁶ Buraselis (1993) 259. The importance of Hellenism in the Hellenistic has often been over-stressed, particularly in the works of early scholars, but the desire of the far-flung Greeks of the Hellenistic for links back to Old Greece is clearly demonstrated by the set of Delphic maxims inscribed in the sanctuary of Kineas at Aï-Khanoum: Mairs (Forthcoming) 13.

¹⁰⁷ Bell (2004) 115; Bevan (1902) 1.100.

¹⁰⁸ My presentation here is a middle ground between Bevan (1902) 1.150, for whom “[Asia Minor] was the part of their dominions to which the Seleukid kings attached the greatest value” and Sherwin-White & Kuhrt, for whom Asia Minor while not minor, but had no special value to the Seleukid kings: (1993) 1

¹⁰⁹ Dmitriev (2005) 291.

¹¹⁰ Idem. (2011) 118.

¹¹¹ Hansen (1995) 27.

¹¹² e.g. *Syll*³ 344 l.87-88, from Teos: “so that the *poleis* might become free of those whom they owe” ὅπως ὦν ὁφ]εῖλουσιν αἱ πόλεις ἐλεύθεραι γένωνται.

¹¹³ Finley (1976) 7ff.

than a buzz-word. The flexibility of these terms was a central aspect of the relationship between kings and *poleis* – the *poleis*' *autonomia* and *eleutheria* were often maintained by shifting the definitions of the terms.

Theoretically, there was no reason why being in alliance with a stronger party should vitiate a city's *autonomia*, or even its *eleutheria*. From the time of the Peloponnesian War, free *poleis* had been joining larger leagues without foreseeing any impact on their status as free *poleis*.¹¹⁴ In practice, of course, completely autonomous allies were not necessarily very convenient for a league's *hēgemōn*. An example of this sort of objection is provided by Brasidas' exclamation on finding that Akanthos, a Spartan ally, had closed its gates against him:

If you have something else in mind or if you are going to act against your own freedom and that of the other Greeks, that would be a terrible thing. Not only would you yourselves oppose [me], but also, wherever I go on to, they will side with me less eagerly...

ὁμεῖς δὲ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἐν νῶ ἔχετε ἢ εἰ ἐναντιώσεσθε τῇ τε ὑμετέρᾳ αὐτῶν
ἐλευθερίᾳ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων, δεινὸν ἂν εἴη. καὶ γὰρ οὐ μόνον ὅτι
αὐτοὶ ἀνθίστασθε, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἷς ἂν ἐπίω, ἥσσόν τις ἐμοὶ πρόσεισι...
(Thuc.4.85.5-6)

Allowing subsidiary allies complete freedom was against Spartan interests – as *hēgemōn* they wanted to be able to require their allies to help them. Brasidas' speech also shows how *autonomia* and *eleutheria* were developed in order to allow *hēgemones* to demand obedience – by reference to the interests of the Greeks as a whole and the better interests of the *polis* itself. Brasidas eventually concludes that these causes will justify deploying force against Akanthos.¹¹⁵ *Eleutheria* was, thus, deployed against the *polis*.

Autonomia could also justify interference in the *polis* in order to remove a tyrant. It was frequently held that tyranny, even a tyranny chosen by the people, vitiated the right of a *polis* to use its own laws, since by nature tyrants overthrew and ignored the laws of the *poleis* they ruled.¹¹⁶ It was not a giant leap from there to declare, as Philip II did after Chairōneia, that the *poleis*' right to *autonomia* demanded that their laws be frozen as they

¹¹⁴ Bosworth (1992) 122; Hansen (1995) 34.

¹¹⁵ Thuc. 4.87.2-3.

¹¹⁶ Hansen (1995) 34. e.g. Arist. *Pol.* 5.1313a 9-10.

were at that very moment – and to forbid anyone from changing them, even the *polis* itself.¹¹⁷ Protecting *autonomia* might even require such intensive intervention as the abolition of a *polis*’ constitution in order to restore an ancestral one (which might never have actually existed). Alexander granted *autonomia* to many of the *poleis* of Asia but along with the grant he saw fit, in several cases, to determine what their ancestral laws were.¹¹⁸ *SEG* 35.925, for example, records his establishment of a democracy at Chios, in the course of rescuing one of his friends from local justice. In these cases, the *poleis* right to their own laws apparently justified making those laws for them. In 314, the *diadochoi* declared that “all the Greeks are to be free, ungarrisoned, and autonomous” εἶναι δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἅπαντας ἐλευθέρους, ἀφρουρήτους, αὐτονόμους (Diod. Sic. 19.60.5).¹¹⁹ Thereafter, the freedom of the Greeks became a royal watchword, particularly for Antigonos Monophthalmos.¹²⁰ Part of the reason why the kings were willing to make this sort of guarantee was that there were clear precedents that, as guarantors of the *autonomia* and *eleutheria* of the *poleis*, they were entitled to actively intervene in the *poleis*’ internal affairs whenever they considered it necessary.¹²¹

So the cities of Asia Minor, which were at the core of Antigonos’ domain, were thoroughly reassured of their freedom. But their freedom was definitely of the kind which was amenable to extensive royal interference – in a decree enforcing a synoikism and a constitution on Teōs and Lebedos against their wills,¹²² Antigonos noted, apparently without irony, that:

we are organising these things [relating to debt and grain supply]. For we think that we have made [you] free and autonomous in everything else...

συντάσσομεν ταῦτα... νομίζον[τες γὰρ ὑμᾶς...] εἶναι τᾶλλα ἐλευθέρους
καὶ αὐτονόμους πεποιηκέν[αι...
(*Syll*³ 344 l.88-89)

¹¹⁷ Bosworth (1992) 147. Dem. *On the Accession of Alexander*, 8, 15.

¹¹⁸ Carlsson (2010) 83. O’Neil (2000) 424f.

¹¹⁹ *OGIS* 5, a letter from Antigonos to Skepsis reports the same event.

¹²⁰ Billows (1990) 189.

¹²¹ Dmitriev (2011) 118.

¹²² Ager (1991) 89, 97; Ager (1998) 6; Derow (1993) 329; Welles (1966) 25: “The many difficulties and excuses for delay show that the measure was far from popular with either city.” Cf. Polyaeus, *Strat.* 8.57 for the homicidal rage that the Ephesians and Kolophonians bore against Lysimachos & Arsinoë as a result of being synoikised.

To Antigonos, then, utterly reconstituting the legal and physical nature of the cities of Teōs and Lebedos did not violate the *poleis'* *eleutheria* or *autonomia*, but was on the contrary justified by it. Moreover, Antigonos, Lysimachos, and finally Seleukos, all used the chaotic warfare of the times to justify acts that were universally agreed to violate autonomy, such as installing garrisons and extracting tax.¹²³ After the wars were over, and Asia Minor was in Seleukid hands, the Gallic invasion occurred, then the Syrian Wars, and, somehow, the garrisons never left and the taxes never ended.¹²⁴

Royal Cults

In many of these *poleis*, the kings were honoured not as overlords but as gods with their own dedicated cults, altars, and priests. The civic cults for the kings in the cities of Asia Minor were distinct from other royal cults. Civic cults were granted and administered by the cities and are attested from the very beginning of the Hellenistic Period, whereas royal cults were propagated by the kings and are first attested later. In the Hellenistic period, these civic cults were an exclusively Greek phenomenon, mostly attested in Asia Minor.¹²⁵ They were, as discussed above (page 6), a development which the kings were clearly amenable to, since being compared with the divine both legitimated their power and flattered their egos.

However, treating the king as divine was also in the interest of the *poleis*. Because kings were a new phenomenon, the *poleis* had no precedent for how to interact with them.¹²⁶ Having promoted the king to the status of a god, the *poleis* could use their interactions with the gods as a model for how to interact with the king.¹²⁷ From the *polis'* perspective, interactions with the gods were a useful model because acknowledging the *polis'* subservience to the gods, and the gods' right to receive tribute from the *polis* was not mutually exclusive with the *polis* having *autonomia* and *eleutheria* – even the freest *poleis* had these obligations.¹²⁸ On the contrary, being able to offer wealth to the god was

¹²³ Billows (1990) 231; Lund (1992) 116; Bevan (1902) 1.122.

¹²⁴ By the time Livy wrote, the disconnect between declaring a place free and garrisoning troops in it was not even noted: “[Q. Antonius] restored their city, fields and laws to them, and since winter was now taking hold, he chose the harbour of Phocaea for wintering of the fleet.” *urbem agrosque et suas leges iis restituit; et, quia hiems iam appetebat, Phocaeae portus ad hibernandum classi delegit* (Livy 37.32.14)

¹²⁵ Sherwin-White dismisses the idea of a civic ruler cult in Babylon: (1984) 161. Linssen is more equivocal (2004) 125ff. Either way, this would probably be better understood as a third distinct type of ruler cult.

¹²⁶ Cf. Mitchell (1997) 164ff. for an analysis of how Athens utterly failed to work out how to interact with Philip II. Unlike the archaic tyrants who could be understood as a type of aristocrat: Price (1984) 25.

¹²⁷ Price (1984) 30.

¹²⁸ Bevan (1901) 632; Ehrenberg (1969) 76.

a sign of the *polis*' prestige.¹²⁹ Moreover, the *poleis* were used to having a beneficial relationship with the gods,¹³⁰ in which the gods were expected to be efficacious, repaying worship with supernatural or financial support in times of trouble¹³¹ – money from the temple treasuries could be appropriated to meet expenses (as a loan)¹³² and if no one could afford to serve in an expensive magistracy, the patron god could be enlisted.¹³³ The priests represented god and *polis* to each other with little power over either,¹³⁴ in much the way the Hellenistic royal *philo*i were to mediate between king and *polis*. The use of the analogy of king with god, granted the kings a claim on the *poleis*' income and resources, but also imposed the obligation to interfere rarely and to support the *polis* in times of trouble. The clearest example of this dynamic seems to be the Athenians' interactions with Dēmētrios I Poliorkētēs, to whom the Athenians granted a residence in the Parthenon.¹³⁵ The Athenians' (in)famous Ithyphallic hymn, just like a normal hymn to a god, welcoming Dēmētrios to the city, praises him, indirectly encourages him to be efficacious in general, and then makes a specific request – that he attack the Aitōlians.¹³⁶ Seleukos received similar treatment, for a fragmentary inscription of a similar ithyphallic hymn addressed to him was found at Erythrai.¹³⁷ These civic cults remained a central part of the *poleis*' interactions with the king throughout the Hellenistic Period, but increasingly those interactions were part of a new and unique form of relationship.

The Relationship between Kings and *Poleis* in Seleukid Asia Minor

The relationship which the kings and the *poleis* developed was a peculiar one, and its exact details remain the subject of scholarly debate. The usual model for the relationship between the king and *polis* in the Hellenistic was first formulated by A.H.M. Jones in *The Greek City* (1940).¹³⁸ According to Jones' model, the kings had complete control of the cities and could crush them with their armies if the cities acted up. But, Jones argued, the king chose to maintain the illusion that the cities were his autonomous allies, not his

¹²⁹ Potter (2003) 414.

¹³⁰ Burkert (1995) 202 & 206.

¹³¹ Chaniotis (2003) 433; idem (2011) 181. Antiochos II's efficacy as a liberator seems to have been responsible for Miletos hailing him θεός; Parke (1985) 57.

¹³² Kallet-Marx (1994) 232.

¹³³ Sherk (1991) 229.

¹³⁴ Bremer (2012) 220; Horster (2012) 11.

¹³⁵ Plut. *Demetr.* 23.3.

¹³⁶ Ath. 253C-F; Diod. Sic. 20.46 & Plut. *Demetr.* 10-13; Chaniotis (2011) 173 & 181.

¹³⁷ *I. Erythrae* 205.

¹³⁸ Although foreshadowed by Bevan (1902) 1.124 & Rostovtzeff (1941) 3.1347 n.15.

subjects, because he preferred to have his army free and bore a soft spot for the Greeks as his kinsmen.¹³⁹ Therefore, the kings presented themselves not as ruling by force, but as a benevolent friend, ally, and donor – to whom, implicitly, the *poleis* were deeply indebted.¹⁴⁰ Such circumlocutions were not necessarily new – P. Low has recently argued that even the relatively naked empire of the Athenians sometimes employed such diplomatic language in its interactions with its subject allies.¹⁴¹

A.H.M. Jones' model has not gone unmodified in the past seventy years, however. Recently, several critiques have appeared, mostly concentrating their criticism on the illusion aspect of Jones' hypothesis. Typical of this trend is Carlsson's (convincing) argument that the *poleis* continued to operate democratically; i.e., they were autonomous in the most literal sense, at least until the arrival of Rome in the region.¹⁴² The most recent major appraisal of the relationship between king and *polis*, John Ma's *Antiochos III and the Cities of Western Asia Minor* also takes this tack, using speech-act theory to stress the agency of the *poleis* in an ongoing negotiation of status.¹⁴³ According to Ma, the *poleis* worked to maintain a degree of agency, by, for example, incorporating the king into their political and ideological structures.¹⁴⁴ Their leverage was the fact that the king ultimately needed the *poleis* to acknowledge him as sovereign in order to actually be sovereign. This acknowledgement could only be obtained by maintaining the illusion that the *poleis* remained autonomous, which required the kings to actually treat the *poleis*, most of the time, as if they were autonomous. Thus, Ma's position significantly alters the tenor of Jones' model.

The Jones-Ma model is largely based on close analysis of inscriptions from the *poleis* of Western Asia Minor. Increasing sophistication in the way in which scholars interpret these inscriptions is largely responsible for the changing evaluation of the relationship between king and *poleis*. In the past, it was sometimes assumed that epigraphic evidence, unlike the literary record, was true primary evidence and could therefore be taken at face value. In some ways this is true – inscriptions accurately reflect political decisions of *poleis* and kingdom, insofar as they are the actual decrees and edicts

¹³⁹ e.g. Jones (1940) 111.

¹⁴⁰ Ma (1999) 199.

¹⁴¹ Low (2005)

¹⁴² Carlsson (2010).

¹⁴³ Ma (1999) 158ff.; Shipley (2000)78;

¹⁴⁴ Ma (1999) 227ff.; foreshadowed by Billows (1995) 75: "[it] should not be overlooked: that the cities in turn manipulated the kings."

which resulted from those decisions. Because of their immediacy to the events they describe, inscriptions are less likely to be mistaken on matters of fact,¹⁴⁵ though they might misrepresent them and they may leave out important matters which were obvious to their audience.¹⁴⁶ Epigraphic evidence is not unbiased.¹⁴⁷ Inscriptions represent the final, official, view of the decisions they record – their orders might not have been carried out, their claims might not have been sincere, and, ultimately, they reflect attitudes, not completely objective facts.¹⁴⁸ The negotiations which led to an agreement are entirely obscured – identical inscriptions would be produced by a decision reached by genuine negotiation and by a decision imposed on a *polis* but presented as negotiation.¹⁴⁹ Moreover, since the idea that the *polis* was free was important to civic pride and royal reputation, both the *polis* and the king had a vested interest in presenting a given city as a self-governing *polis*, regardless of whether that was the reality.¹⁵⁰ Pursuant to this, *poleis* in Asia Minor seem to have avoided inscribing letters from the king, other than royal grants, which were inscribed as proof of grants.¹⁵¹ Thus, the main evidence in the discussion of the independence of the *poleis* is not a neutral record, but on the contrary, works to present a certain position on that very issue. Inscriptions must, therefore, be approached critically.

An Exemplar: *OGIS 223*

Thus, discussion of the Jones-Ma model requires careful analysis of the epigraphic material. *OGIS 223* is an entirely typical example of the sort of inscription that the Jones-Ma model is based upon. It is an inscription from Erythrai (modern Litri in Western Asia Minor), originally inscribed in the time of Antiochos II (281-246). Erythrai had sent an embassy to Antiochos, with gifts, to ask him for privileges – perhaps at the time of his accession to the throne. He was persuaded and the Erythraians inscribed his response, which granted the Erythraians autonomy and tax-free status, on a stele. This background demonstrates the degree to which the *poleis* were active agents in the relationship – the interaction between king and *polis* was apparently initiated by the Erythraians, their envoys presented the *polis*' gift, flattered the king, emphasised the positive examples of

¹⁴⁵ Cook (1987) 7-8; Walbank (1984a) 11.

¹⁴⁶ McLean (1972) 2.

¹⁴⁷ Bagnall & Derow (2004) xxv-xxvi.

¹⁴⁸ Bodel (2001) 46f.; Woodhead (1967) 4.

¹⁴⁹ Ma (1999) 21f.

¹⁵⁰ Carlsson (2010) 18.

¹⁵¹ Roueché & Sherwin-White (1985) 34.

his predecessors (presumably in the hope that he would imitate them), and presented the legal case for Erythrai's autonomy and exemption from tax. The king's role was largely reactive. Significantly, however, he reacted to the *polis* directly, which was not how he generally interacted with his subjects – in most cases the king sent orders down the chain of command and received reports in the same way.¹⁵² Not so with cities like Erythrai – they apparently expected and merited direct royal attention. This attention reflects the close, personal relationship (or, at least, the appearance of one) which the king strove to maintain between himself and the Erythraians.

An essential part of this close personal relationship was the effort that the king's letter expended to conceal the power imbalance between the king and the city. When Antiochos announced his acceptance of the city's gifts, he said:

We have indeed accepted the honour and the crown, as is proper, and likewise also the presents, and we applaud you for being grateful in everything...

τάς τε δὴ τιμὰς καὶ τὸν στέφανον δεδέγμεθα οἰκεῖως, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰ ξένια, καὶ ὑμᾶς ἐπαινοῦμεν εὐχαρίστους ὄντας ἐμὲ πᾶσιν...

(OGIS 223 l.13-14)

Antiochos did not call the city's gifts tribute, but στέφανον, “a crown,” a form of civic honour, and ξένια, gifts implying a friendly relationship with mutual duties. He thereby presented their relationship as one of friendship, in which the cities honoured the king rather than submitted to him. Since a relationship of this sort was exactly what the Erythraian envoys were seeking to have acknowledged, it seems likely that these were the terms which they had used for their gifts – in which case both parties were complicit in representing their relationship in this way. That the relationship between king and *polis* is a voluntary friendship was further emphasised by the way in which the king carefully phrased his wishes to avoid giving orders. This practice can be seen in Antiochos' use of phrases like “we encourage you to be mindful that” παρακαλοῦμεν ... ὑμᾶς μνημονεύον[τας] (OGIS 223 l.30). By contrast, letters to royal officials make frequent use of imperatives – in a letter organising a land transfer near Kyzikos, for example, Antiochos II tells his official Mētrophanēs, “arrange to hand Laodikē's property over to

¹⁵² Walbank (1984b) 71. cf. *Hefzibah*.

Arrhidaios the steward” σύνταξον παραδείξαι Ἀρριδαίῳ τῷ οἰκονομοῦντι τὰ Λαοδίκης (OGIS 225 l.20), with an aorist imperative.¹⁵³ Such imperatives are exceptionally rare in letters to the *poleis* of Asia Minor.¹⁵⁴

On the other hand, the manner in which the king acknowledged the Erythraians’ gifts also served to reinforce his superior position by emphasising the symbolic signification of the gifts – the special relationship he had with the city – rather than their economic value. The inscription carefully presents a relationship in which the city offers “gratitude” (εὐχαρις) for the king’s “good deeds” (εὐεργέται).¹⁵⁵ The relationship is not an equal one – Antiochos applauds the Erythraians for their gift, but he is not grateful. He gives no indication that he needs anything from Erythrai. Mitchell argues that the monarchies of the Persians and of Alexander were based on constantly doling out gifts to subordinates, so that they remained eternally indebted to the monarch.¹⁵⁶ OGIS 223 is an excellent example of how this system of benefaction was a central part of the Hellenistic kings’ relations with their subjects, too.¹⁵⁷ Antiochos II, having received gifts from Erythrai, reciprocated with guarantees of privileged status, tax-exemptions, and *autonomia* – boons which the Erythraians could never repay.¹⁵⁸ Thus, Antiochos established and maintained an uneven relationship in which he was the benefactor *par excellence*,¹⁵⁹ and the Erythraians were his beneficiaries, honour-bound to support him.¹⁶⁰

Evidence from Polybios suggests that contemporaries also interpreted this sort of interaction in this way. According to him, when, before the Syrian War, the Romans demanded that Antiochos III set free the *poleis* of Asia Minor, Antiochos responded that:

The autonomous *poleis* in Asia must not achieve freedom (*eleutheria*) through Roman command, but through his [i.e., Antiochos II’s] own grace.

τὰς δ’ αὐτονόμους τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν πόλεων οὐ διὰ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐπιταγῆς δέον εἶναι τυγχάνειν τῆς ἐλευθερίας, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ χάριτος.
(Polyb.18.51.9)

¹⁵³ cf. also *Hefzibah* l.2 & 34.

¹⁵⁴ Ehrenberg (1969) 166.

¹⁵⁵ Ma (1999) 185ff.

¹⁵⁶ Mitchell (1997) 172ff.

¹⁵⁷ Bringmann (1993) 24; idem (2001) 206; Parke (1985) 57; Walbank (1993) 120.

¹⁵⁸ These grants have a potential parallel with the Assyrian grants of privileges (*kidinnūtu*) to Mesopotamian cities, analysed by Van De Mieroop (1997) 136ff.

¹⁵⁹ Erskine, (1994) 71.

¹⁶⁰ Capdetrey (2007) 212; Ma (1999) 153; Shipley (2000) 73.

As Polybios has Antiochos present it,¹⁶¹ both parties wanted the cities of Asia Minor to be free – but it was vitally important to Antiochos that he be the emancipator. Raaflaub suggests that the newly freed cities would be considered free in the same way that freed slaves were – they would certainly have more rights, but an enormous obligation would remain.¹⁶² They could hardly support Rome or Pergamōn against the king who had freed them, which is why Polybios had Antiochos stress that the grant of freedom must come from him. Ironically, by freeing the Iōnian cities, Antiochos III would assert his sovereignty over them. This idea dominated the interaction between kings and *poleis* and stands behind much of the royal beneficence.

Civic Status in Practice

Since, despite their literal meaning, grants of *autonomia* and *eleutheria* could indicate a *polis*' dependence on the king, the relationship presented in the inscriptions does not necessarily reflect the degree of autonomy which the *poleis* enjoyed in reality. Whether they were highly autonomous or entirely dependent is contentious. Central to Jones' original formulation of the relationship between kings and *poleis* was the opinion that "the kings did all in their power to rob the cities of any effective means of rejecting [royal] advice,"¹⁶³ and thus, in practice, the free cities were hardly different from the unfree ones.¹⁶⁴ There is substantial evidence to support the idea that the Hellenistic kings' grants of freedom could be hollow. The clearest example is the omnipresence of royal garrisons. When Antiochos III arrived in Asia Minor to free the local cities:

The majority sided with him and let in his garrisons because of their fear of conquest, but the Smyrnaians, Lampsakans, and others still held out.

οἱ μὲν πλείονες αὐτῷ προσετίθεντο καὶ φρουρὰς ἐσεδέχοντο δέει τῷ τῆς ἀλώσεως, Σμυρναῖοι δὲ καὶ Λαμψακηνοὶ καὶ ἕτεροι ἔτι ἀντέχοντες.

(App. Syr. 1.2)

In addition to placing the *poleis* deeply in the king's debt, being freed by Antiochos apparently involved receiving a royal garrison. A *polis* with a royal garrison could not,

¹⁶¹ There is good reason for thinking that, like many historical speeches, Antiochos' words reflect what Polybios thought that he ought to have said, rather than what he actually said: Grainger (2002) 93-95. This makes no difference to my argument.

¹⁶² Raaflaub (2004) 171.

¹⁶³ Jones (1940) 111.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid. 102.

realistically, act independently of the king – even if the garrison did not actively interfere on the king’s behalf, its passive influence would act as a check on the *polis*’ freedom of action. The Smyrnaians and the Lampsakans wanted nothing of this kind of freedom.

The grants of autonomy themselves provide another indication that *autonomia* did not mean as much as it once had. When the king recognised the autonomy of cities, he often granted other freedoms as well, which ought to have been implicit in autonomous status but, apparently, no longer were. In the letter to Erythrai, for example, Antiochos declares that:

Since those with Tharsynōn, Pythēs, and Bottas demonstrated that your *polis* was *autonomos* and free from tribute under Alexander and Antigonos, and that our ancestors always pursued this ... we will carefully guard your *autonomia* and we agree for you to be exempt from all the other tributes and from the anti-Gallic levies.

ἐπειδὴ οἱ περὶ Θαρσύνοντα καὶ Πυθῆν καὶ Βοττᾶν ἀπέφαινον διότι ἐπὶ τε Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Ἀντιγόνου αὐτό[ν]ομος ἦν καὶ ἀφορολόγητος ἡ πόλις ὑμῶν, καὶ οἱ ἡμέτεροι πρόγο[νοι] ἔσπευδον αἰεὶ ποτε περὶ αὐτῆς ... τὴν τε αὐτονομίαν ὑμῶν συνδιατηρήσομεν καὶ ἀφορο[λογ]ήτους εἶναι συγχωροῦμεν τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀπάντων καὶ [τῶν εἰς] τὰ Γαλατικὰ συναγομένων.

(OGIS 223 l.21-28)

In this inscription, Antiochos was, ostensibly, not granting autonomy, but recognising a pre-existing autonomous status. “Freedom from tribute” (ἀφορολόγητος)¹⁶⁵ is repeatedly noted as separate from autonomy – though Erythrai was and allegedly had long been both, it was conceivable to the Erythraian envoys and the king for a *polis* to be autonomous without being exempt from tribute. Yet “tribute” (φόρος) had been associated with vassal status since the Peloponnesian War and represented a real block on a *polis*’ ability to dispose of its funds as it pleased – a central aspect of *autonomia*.¹⁶⁶ Further, the king specifically freed the Erythraians from an obligation to supply him with troops – again, apparently, such an obligation could have been imposed on a *polis* with *autonomia*. Thus, OGIS 223 provides an example of how the term *autonomia* was increasingly restricted to

¹⁶⁵ Welles (1966) 319.

¹⁶⁶ Raaflaub (2004) 137; Ma (1999) 154f.

its narrowest meaning – the right of the *polis* to its own laws. By the 250s it seems to have become so depreciated in value that it ceased to be used.¹⁶⁷ Thereafter, royal grants either specify the exact exemptions which they grant or refer to *eleutheria*, often in conjunction with titles like holy and inviolate (ἱερὰ καὶ ἄσυλος) which had value as prestigious honours, but little if any practical significance.¹⁶⁸ Grants of immunity from taxation were exceedingly rare,¹⁶⁹ so if freedom from tribute were understood as a central part of *autonomia*, very few of the *poleis* of Western Asia Minor had *autonomia*.

This dismal picture of the practical freedom of the cities of Asia Minor flows from contrasting the wide theoretical definitions of *autonomia* with a narrower practical reality. However, even Jones accepted that the *poleis* of Asia Minor, though limited by the king, retained *polis*-style governments with a substantial amount of control over their internal administration and, thus, *autonomia* according to the narrower, more literal definitions.¹⁷⁰ *Poleis* continued to possess their own laws, under which they were managed by assemblies, *boulai*, and collections of magistrates¹⁷¹ – Nawotka’s study of Milētos demonstrates the type of complex civic constitution which continued to operate.¹⁷² At least in terms of their epigraphic output, *polis* organs of self-government appear to have been busier than ever.¹⁷³ The exact degree to which the internal affairs of the *polis* were carried out independently of the king remains contentious, as does the degree to which the ostensibly democratic governments of the *poleis* were dominated by the civic elites.¹⁷⁴ But the basic fact that the *poleis* of Asia Minor retained competence over their internal affairs is widely accepted.¹⁷⁵ Since internal matters were most of the business of the *poleis*, this was probably the most important form of freedom to the *poleis*. But it is increasingly apparent that *polis* autonomy could also extend beyond internal self-government into the interstate relations and military affairs which were important to wider definitions of *autonomia* and *eleutheria*.¹⁷⁶

¹⁶⁷ Carlsson (2010) 98.

¹⁶⁸ Rigsby (1996) 22.

¹⁶⁹ Bickerman (1938) 148.

¹⁷⁰ Jones (1940) 48.

¹⁷¹ Dmitriev (2005) 13-15.

¹⁷² Nawotka (1999) esp. 130-171. They are well-attested in the Roman period too and even into Late Antiquity: Hansen (2006) 50.

¹⁷³ Dmitriev (2005) 32-33.

¹⁷⁴ Green (2007) xx; Hansen (2006) 132; Jones (1940) 166; Ostwald (2000) 390.

¹⁷⁵ e.g. Billows (2003) 211; Parke (1985) 64; Shipley (2000) 3; Walbank (1992) 136.

¹⁷⁶ e.g. Carlsson (2010); Ma (2000a).

Independence in Foreign Affairs

Even historians who see Seleukid rule as light and essentially benevolent usually hold that it meant the end of independent foreign policies for the *poleis*.¹⁷⁷ However, to a limited degree, the *poleis* of Asia Minor continued to interact with other *poleis* independently of the Seleukid monarch. Some *poleis* in Asia Minor maintained some form of foreign policy, at least some of the time. They formed and reinforced direct links with other *poleis*, stressing and reinforcing kinship links, arbitrating disputes, granting honours like *asylia*, and forming leagues, in much the same manner as free *poleis* would.

Poleis often sent envoys to each other, independently of the king – one particularly well-attested example is *OGIS* 233.¹⁷⁸ This inscription records Magnēsia-on-the-Maiandros' establishment of quinquennial crown games for their local manifestation of Artemis and the result of a mission to Antiocheia-in-Persia, inviting them to adopt the games also. Magnēsia claimed kinship (συγγένεια) with Antiocheia because, when the king had requested colonists for its foundation, they had contributed “enthusiastically to increase the *dēmos* of the Antiochenes.” σπουδάζοντες συναυξῆσαι τὸν τῶν Ἀντιοχέων δῆμον (*OGIS* 233 l.20). Kinship between *poleis* was generally understood as colonial ties (whether real or mythical)¹⁷⁹ and the Magnēsians were conforming to the traditional mother-city role by “renewing their kinship and friendship.” ἀνανεωσάμενοι τὴν συγγένειαν καὶ τὴν φιλίαν (*OGIS* 233 l.34-35) and encouraging the Antiochenes to recognise their goddess and her games. The end of the inscription lists several other cities in Seleukid Mesopotamia and Iran which the Magnēsians contacted in a similar manner, including Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris and Seleukeia-on-the-Eulaios (Susa),¹⁸⁰ demonstrating that this was a wide-ranging effort at building inter-*polis* relationships, apparently conducted independently of the king and his administration. Magnēsia's freedom in foreign affairs was not limited to interactions within the kingdom; *Syll*³ 560 records a similar Magnēsian embassy concerning the games for Artemis which was dispatched to Epidamnos in Illyria. Though this embassy used different points to make their case, emphasising the games' approval by Delphian Apollo rather than kinship through colonisation (obviously inapplicable to Doric Epidamnos), the decree is otherwise extremely similar to that which resulted from the mission to Antiocheia-in-Persia (*OGIS*

¹⁷⁷ e.g. Grainger (2002) 58.

¹⁷⁸ Bikerman (1938) 142.

¹⁷⁹ Jones (1999) 14 & 60.

¹⁸⁰ Presumably, therefore, their citizens had been called upon to settle in those *poleis*, also.

233), which suggests that both missions presented essentially the same case in essentially the same way. In both cases, three envoys (*OGIS* 233 l.31-32; *Syll*³ 560 l.5-6) explained the “manifestation” (ἐπιφάνειαν) of Artemis Leukophryēnē (*OGIS* 233 l.35-36; *Syll*³ 560 l.8), Magnēsia’s connection with the target *polis* in particular (*OGIS* 233 l.14-20; hints of this at *Syll*³ 560 l.3 & 21) and the good things they had done for the Greeks generally (*OGIS* 233 l.20-25; *Syll*³ 560 l.8-14), with more emphasis on the former at Antiocheia-in-Persia and on the latter at Epidamnos (probably reflecting the fact that there was little specific connection with Epidamnos to emphasise). This was followed by a request pursuant to a decree from Apollo at Delphi (*OGIS* 233 l.39; *Syll*³ 560 l.16-17), for the target *polis*:

“to recognise the sacrifices, festivities, holiday, and the Pythian-grade crown games in arts, athletics and horsemanship, which the Magnēsiāns celebrate for Artemis Leukophryēnē.”

ἀπ[ο]δέξασθαι δὲ τὴν θυσίαν καὶ τὴν πανήγυρι[ν] | καὶ τὴν ἐκεχ[ειρίαν καὶ
τὸν ἁγῶνα στεφανίτην ἰσοπύθιον] | τὸν τε μου[σικὸν καὶ γυμνικὸν καὶ
ἵππικὸν, ὄν] | συντελοῦ[σι Μάγνητες τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι τῇ Λευκοφρυηνῇ
(*OGIS* 233 l.56-60)

Compare *Syll*³ 560 l.19-21, 28-30, which uses very similar wording. The image is of two missions sent out with very similar briefs and conducted in a very similar manner. Thus, the form of Magnēsia’s interactions with *poleis* inside and outside the Seleukid sphere was much the same.¹⁸¹

Grants of *asylia*, another mainstay of Hellenistic civic interaction, support this conclusion. Between c.260 BC and AD 23, *poleis* throughout the Greek world regularly appealed to other *poleis*, kings, and the Romans to recognise their cities or their sanctuaries as “holy and inviolable” (ἱερὰ καὶ ἄσυλος).¹⁸² Traditionally, the meaning of these grants has been difficult to pin down. Some argued that being named holy and inviolable granted freedom from arrest to those who made it to the city’s altar.¹⁸³ Others

¹⁸¹ The Magnēsiāns did not limit their interactions in this matter to *poleis*, either. They requested and received recognition of the Pythian status of their games from Antiochos III (*OGIS* 282), Ptolemaios IV (*RC* 33), and Attalos I (*OGIS* 282).

¹⁸² Rigsby (1996) 3.

¹⁸³ Bikerman (1938) 149 & Welles (1966) 53f., on the basis of *I.Macc.*10.43, in which a fugitive seeks sanctuary at an altar but is nevertheless slaughtered by royal forces.

argued that *asylia* marked a state off-limits to military depredation and piracy.¹⁸⁴ Rigsby argues that the Hellenistic Greeks themselves had no consistent idea of what these titles meant, and that they were usually contradictory or redundant – a city's temples were, by definition, already holy and inviolable, and in practice no one seems to have displayed special compunction against violating the territory of *poleis* with *asylia*. He argued that the primary purpose of grants of *asylia* was honorific – to be recognised as *asylos* was to be recognised as important on the international stage.¹⁸⁵ These grants regularly ignore the boundaries between the Hellenistic kingdoms. Kōs, for example, received recognition of its *asylia* from six different kings and thirty-six *poleis* in 242 (while a Ptolemaic vassal), including places like Naples, for which matters of asylum and depredation were unlikely to arise.¹⁸⁶ There was great prestige for Kōs in receiving recognition from a figure as powerful and busy as the king, but there was also great prestige in receiving recognition from distant *poleis* like Naples, which suggested that Kōs' fame was widespread. Grants of *asylia*, therefore, provide an example of how *poleis*' foreign relations continued to cross kingdom boundaries.

The *poleis* could also operate on the international stage in more significant political matters, but the degree of independence they had in these matters is less clear. An example is provided by *Syll*³ 560's praise of the Magnēsians for:

... the good deed which they carried out for the League of the Cretans [by]
putting an end to the internecine war...

... τὰν εὐε[ργ]εσίαν, ἣν [συ]νετελέσαντο εἰς τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Κρηταιέ[ων]
δι[α]λύσαντες τὸν ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον...
(*Syll*³ 560 l.10-12)

Ager interprets this as a reference to peaceful arbitration of inter-*polis* disputes.¹⁸⁷ The submission of conflicts to arbitration was one of the cornerstones of Hellenistic international relations – Ager's comprehensive compilation contains 171 attempted arbitrations between the 338 and 90 BC.¹⁸⁸ In this process, the arbitrator chosen was usually a neutral power with enough prestige and power that its ruling would be respected

¹⁸⁴ Burkert (1995) 210.

¹⁸⁵ Rigsby (1996) 20-23.

¹⁸⁶ Rigsby (1996) 112-153.

¹⁸⁷ Ager (1996) 161.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

by both parties – often one of the kings or the Romans. Magnēsia must have had significant prestige for the Cretans to accept it as an arbitrator, which is not consistent with Magnēsia being viewed by third parties as a subject community with no freedom in foreign affairs.¹⁸⁹ Sometimes kings, when asked to arbitrate disputes, were willing to delegate the matter to subordinates, including subject *poleis*¹⁹⁰ – that may be what happened in this case. However, arbitrating personally allowed a king to begin the cycle of beneficence and the enforcement of his decision gave the king a justification for further interference in the *poleis*' affairs.¹⁹¹ As Crete sat loosely within the Ptolemaic sphere at this time and arbitrating personally would have offered the Seleukid monarch the opportunity to bring Crete into his own sphere, it seems unlikely that the Seleukid king would have passed up the opportunity to arbitrate personally, if Eleutherna and the Cretan League had requested arbitration from him. Alternatively, the appeal may have come at a time when the Seleukid king was unwilling to antagonise the Ptolemies, but in that case it would be strange for the Cretans to approach the Seleukid king at all. Thus it seems likely that the Cretans approached Magnēsia directly and that they believed that it had sufficient independence in foreign affairs to respond. They thereby received an arbitration from a power which they could respect, without giving the Seleukid king a foothold on Crete.. There are more examples of subject *poleis* arbitrating – around 200 BC, a conflict between Hermionē and Epidauros was decided jointly by Milētos, subject to Antiochos III, and Rhodes, which was *de jure* and *de facto* independent, but allied to Rome.¹⁹² In this case, however, the two arbitrators were probably chosen so that the arbitration would have the backing of both of the major powers in the Aegean. Rhodes was frequently useful to the Romans as a proxy in matters of this sort, principally because it had a largely autonomous foreign policy. If Milētos was the Seleukid analogue, it might have enjoyed a similar degree of freedom in its foreign policy also. These two arbitrations thus provide evidence that, at times, the *poleis* of Asia Minor were able to interact with states outside the Seleukid realm in the manner of independent *poleis*, but especially in the latter case, the degree to which this interaction was actually conducted independently of the king is unclear.

¹⁸⁹ Dmitriev (2011) 105.

¹⁹⁰ Billows (1990) 232.

¹⁹¹ Carlsson (2010) 110.

¹⁹² Ager (1996) 170ff.

Some of the *poleis* in Western Asia Minor even organised themselves into leagues. The best attested of these is the Iōnian League. Leagues could be tools for royal control:¹⁹³ the various incarnations of the Hellenic League established by the Tēmenid and Antigonid kings were intended to work this way;¹⁹⁴ the Ptolemaic League of the Islanders actually did.¹⁹⁵ However, leagues were not necessarily instruments for external control; they often took on *polis*-like characteristics, but, being larger, were far more capable of countering royal power,¹⁹⁶ especially when they were able to rally their constituent *poleis* with common ethnic, religious, political, or historical traditions, as in the case of the Achaian and Aitōlian Leagues in Mainland Greece.¹⁹⁷ The Iōnian League certainly had the potential to call on such traditions – it was a revival of the ancient religious and ethnic union of the Dōdekopolis, which had had met at the Paniōnion since the ninth century.¹⁹⁸ That the League maintained an institutional identity separate of the king is suggested by *OGIS* 222, a decree issued for Antiochos I's birthday:

In order that [King Antiochos and] Queen Stratonikē [may] know [the goodwill of the league] of the Iōnians from these honours...

And [the League] will inscribe on a stele both this decree and the names and patronymics of the *synedroi* who came from the *poleis* and set it up in the sanctuary near the altar of the kings.

ὅπως δὲ καὶ [τὴν προαίρεσιν τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν] Ἰώνων περὶ τῶν τιμῶν εἰ[δῶσιν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος καὶ ἡ] βασίλισσα Στρατονίκη...

ἀναγράψαι δὲ καὶ εἰστ[ήλ]ην τὸ ψήφισμα τόδε καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα πατρόθεν τῶν ἡκ[όν]των συνέδρων ἐκ τῶν πόλεων καὶ στῆσαι ἐν τῷ τεμέν[ει] παρὰ τὸ μ βωμὸν τῶν βασιλέ[ω]ν
(*OGIS* 222 l. 6-8; 40-43).¹⁹⁹

On the one hand, this decree suggests a League with substantial independence. The League refers to its decree as a *psēphisma* – the same term used to refer to *polis* decrees,

¹⁹³ Jones (1940) 102; Rostovtzeff (1941) 1.154; Shipley (2000) 133, 139.

¹⁹⁴ Dmitriev (2011) 75-90.

¹⁹⁵ Bagnall (1976) 156.

¹⁹⁶ Carlsson (2010) 106; Davies (2002) 10; Hammond (1951) 30.

¹⁹⁷ Walbank (2000) 20ff.

¹⁹⁸ Roebuck (1959) 30.

¹⁹⁹ Piejko (1991) updates the reconstruction of this decree significantly, but these passages are unaffected.

indicating that the League had taken on *polis*-like characteristics. Further, the League has its own councillors, the *synedroi*, who represent the individual *poleis* and are listed by name at the end of the decree. The decree makes no mention of any royal official overseeing the League's meetings as the *nēsiarchos* did in the League of Islanders (which was definitely under royal control).²⁰⁰ Together, these items suggest a large self-governing organisation, able to direct itself as it wished. On the other hand, the subject matter of the decree and the reference to an altar of the Seleukid kings in the League's sanctuary, do not imply that the League exercised great independence from the kings.²⁰¹ There do not seem to be any later attestations of the League either, which might be an accident of preservation, but could indicate that it lapsed or was suppressed.

Scanty evidence relating to the Chrysaorian League in Karia, suggests that Leagues' relationships with the monarch could change over time. Under Antiochos I and II, the Chrysaorian League seems to have been subservient to the kings; during their reigns one of the League's centres, Alabanda, was renamed Antiocheia-of-the-Chrysaorians and a new foundation, named Stratonikeia after the Seleukid queen,²⁰² was placed in charge of the League's main cult centre.²⁰³ After their reigns, however, when Seleukid power in Asia Minor waned, the League was maintained, presumably by the Chrysaorians themselves. It is hard to believe that the Chrysaorians would have done this if the League were simply a mechanism for royal control – compare the rapid disappearance of the League of Corinth after the death of Alexander. When strong royal power returned to Asia Minor under Antiochos III, the League's *poleis* were split between the Seleukid and Rhodian spheres, with its cult centre in Rhodian territory, but the League continued to be active²⁰⁴ – presumably independently of the Seleukid kings, or one would expect the Rhodians to have removed their cities from it.²⁰⁵ Thus, it seems that Leagues in Asia Minor could relate to the king in much the same way as individual *poleis* could – potentially subservient to, potentially independent of, the royal will. As they contained and organised multiple *poleis*, however, they potentially stood in a stronger position relative to the kings.

²⁰⁰ Merker (1970) 157.

²⁰¹ Capdetrey (2007) 202.

²⁰² Strabo 14.2.25.

²⁰³ Capdetrey (2007) 105; Sherk (1992) 237.

²⁰⁴ *F.Amyzon* 16.

²⁰⁵ Ma (1999) 175.

Thus, the *poleis* of Asia Minor continued to pursue an independent foreign policy (or the form of one), when they could, grasping for as much *autonomia* as they could get. *Poleis* reached across the borders of the kingdoms regularly and apparently without compunction in matters of religion, ceremony, and prestige such as invitations to new games and grants of *asylia*. These matters can easily be dismissed as minor matters, irrelevant beside the paucity of evidence for *poleis* entering into treaty negotiations or carrying out arbitrations independently of the kings, which do point to limits on the *poleis*' freedom in foreign affairs. However, this under-rates the significance of matters of religion, ceremony, and prestige in ancient diplomacy.²⁰⁶ It remains significant that *poleis* received and sent embassies on their own and competed for prestige on their own behalf on the international stage.

Independence in Military Matters

While, as discussed above, many of the cities in Asia Minor received royal garrisons both at the time of Antiochos III's reconquest and on earlier occasions, in many cases these garrisons were transient.²⁰⁷ It seems that the Seleukids preferred to garrison strategic points in the countryside and only a few key *poleis*, such as Lysimacheia, Ephesos and Sardis.²⁰⁸ The ungarrisoned *poleis* were not left defenceless either. Most of the cities had walls, most of which were built during one of two periods of heightened negotiation between the kings and the *poleis* - the initial Wars of the *Diadochoi* (323-281) or Antiochos III's rule over Asia Minor (213-189). Carlsson, investigating the process concludes that, where the construction of these walls is attested, they mostly seem to have been motivated by the *poleis* not the kings.²⁰⁹ Maintenance of these walls also seems to have been carried out by the *poleis* in at least some cases. At Erythrai, for example, a very short inscription records that:

When Damalos was *hieropoios*, the overseers of the walls for damp-proofing the wall were...

ἐφ' ἱεροποιοῦ Δαμάλου τειχῶν ἐπιστάται τῆς ἀντιπλάδης τοῦ τείχους...

(I. Erythrae 23)

²⁰⁶ Rigsby (1994) 24ff.

²⁰⁷ Grainger (2002) 63.

²⁰⁸ Bikerman (1938) 53; Ma (1999) 114f.; The Antigonids' "fetters of Greece" might offer a parallel.

²⁰⁹ Carlsson (2010) 112-128; McNicoll (1997) 46.

The fact that the eponymous official is mentioned means the overseers held an annual office, the hallmark of the civic official,²¹⁰ and the context suggests a municipal liturgy. It is, perhaps, not surprising that the kings were content for the *poleis* to defray the expenses of their defences, but it might be expected that they would be less keen to see the *poleis* controlling those defense. Yet, at least in some cases, it is clear that the *poleis* did exactly this. In an inscription from Priēnē, for example:

Nymphōn, son of Prōtarchos who was formerly appointed *phourarchos* of the citadel by the *dēmos*, maintained the guard attentively and correctly along with the guardsmen, and return[ed it] to the *dēmos*, just as he received it...

[N]ύμφων Πρωτάρχου πρότερόν τε φρούραρχος ἀποδει[χ]θεὶς τῆς ἄκρας ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἐπιμελῶς τε καὶ δι[κ]α[ί]ως διαφυλάξας μετὰ τῶν φρουρῶν παρέδω[κεν αὐ]τὴν τῷ δήμῳ καθότι καὶ παρέλαβεν...

(I. Priene 22, l.2-7)

This inscription clearly indicates that Nymphōn was a civic official, required to maintain the city's garrison. The fact that he is said to have served alongside the guardsmen and to have returned the commission to the *dēmos* shows that “maintaining the garrison” meant commanding civic troops, not paying for a royal garrison. Part of the reason that Priēnē was allowed such control of its defences might be that it was a very minor settlement;²¹¹ if Priēnē acted up, the royal army could easily reduce it to submission (or to rubble). Therefore, allowing Priēnē to defend itself was the most economical option for the king. From the Seleukid king's perspective, though, this would be true of most *poleis* in Asia Minor, so it may be that the amount of control which Priēnē had over its defences was normal. It may also be that, while defences were maintained, they were not very good. In most *poleis* pre-existing walls were maintained, but were not modified to take account of third century developments in siege warfare,²¹² suggesting either that the cities could not afford to upgrade their walls or that the walls were more important for ideological reasons than military ones. Symbolically, walls could demonstrate a *polis*' ability to carry out a substantial public works project and to protect itself. By most definitions, a *polis* which was able to defend itself had *autonomia* and *eleutheria* and one that could not did

²¹⁰ McNicoll (1997) 64.

²¹¹ Wycherley, (1951) 184.

²¹² McNicoll (1997) 74.

not.²¹³ Herodotos 1.164 offers an example of this attitude; in that passage, the Persians demand the demolition of a small section of Phōkaia's city wall as a symbol of submission and the Phōkaians refuse, abandon their whole city, and sail west, because they were "aggrieved by this slavery," περιημεκτέοντες τῇ δουλοσύνῃ. If the *poleis* were building and maintaining their own fortifications, then the kings were allowing the *poleis* a significant aspect of independence.

In addition to defences, the cities also retained their own offensive forces which engaged in attacks on rival *poleis*.²¹⁴ Such forces were an important aspect of a free *polis*.²¹⁵ One example of such forces in Asia Minor can be seen in Polybios 5.72-3, which recounts the siege of the Pisidian *polis* of Pednēlissos by Selgē, a neighbouring *polis*, during the period in which the Seleukid governor, Achaios, was ruling as king in Anatolia. The Selgians, "having sent out a general with a force" στρατηγὸν ἐξαποστείλαντες μετὰ δυνάμεως (Polyb. 5.73.1), attacked the army of Achaios, who was only able to defeat the Selgians with the help of "eight thousand hoplites," ὀκτακισχιλίους ὀπλίτας sent from the *polis* of Etenna, and four thousand from the *polis* of Aspendos (Polyb. 5.73.3-4). The *poleis* must have had a significant ongoing military organisation in order to train and equip such a substantial number of hoplites – clearly quite capable hoplites given Achaios' helplessness against the Selgian contingent and reliance on the Etennan reinforcements. These civic forces are not attested once Antiochos III had re-established control over Asia Minor, but they clearly were not abolished, because they reappear immediately after the Battle of Magnēsia and the withdrawal of the Seleukids from Asia Minor. Livy reports that, in 189, as Gnaeus Manlius Vulso marched through Pisidia on his way to Galatia, settling matters:

He reached the three fortresses of Taba ... as the forces of this region remained whole, it had men bruising for a fight. And then, an attack was made on the Roman column, [their] horsemen created confusion by their first, extraordinary assault.

ad Tabas tertiis castris perventum... integris viribus regionis eius feroces ad bellandum habebat viros. tum quoque equites in agmen Romanum eruptione facta haud modice primo impetu turbavere

(Livy 38.13.11-12).

²¹³ Ibid., 71; Wycherley (1962) 37f.

²¹⁴ Ma (2000a) 343ff.

²¹⁵ Hansen (2006) 116.

It is difficult to believe that these horsemen were a newly formed regiment – they were competent and organised enough to (temporarily) throw the Roman army into disorder.²¹⁶ It seems far more likely that these forces, and presumably the militias elsewhere, had been in existence throughout the period of Seleukid rule.²¹⁷ Military roles were of central importance in Greek understandings of *eleutheria*, and the possession of an army – the ability to use force to defend against attack, avenge insults, and assert the city's will – was basically the definition of civic freedom for the Greeks.²¹⁸ Antiochos III's lightning conquest of the Thracian Chersonese, to almost no opposition,²¹⁹ shows that civic forces could not oppose the full force of the Seleukid royal army,²²⁰ so *poleis* with their own military forces were not really capable of asserting their will against the king by force. Nevertheless the possession of walls and forces of their own gave the *poleis* some means of defending themselves and compelling others – a central aspect of *eleutheria* in theory and (potentially) in fact.

Conclusion

The ideological requirements of the kings and *poleis* thus shaped the relationship between them: the kings demanded recognition of their supreme status from the *poleis*, while the *poleis* desired freedom. These demands, though apparently antithetical, could be reconciled; the kings were flexible about how the *poleis* acknowledged their supremacy and the *poleis* were willing to settle for narrow definitions of freedom. The *poleis* initially modelled this relationship on their interactions with the gods, but increasingly developed a unique system. The kings were presented as benefactors and allies – superior partners rather than overlords. *Polis* loyalty was made conditional on continued royal efficacy and was based on honouring their debts to the kings, rather than on unconditional submission. The kings were complicit in this presentation of their relationship. Not only did Hellenistic kingship encourage kings to adopt multiple roles, but there were also personal reasons: it was flattering to be honoured as a god. Perhaps the idea that the *poleis* obeyed freely and willingly was even more flattering to the kings, whose every wish was a command.

²¹⁶ Xen. *Eq. Mag.* describes the intensive training that cavalry forces required to be effective.

²¹⁷ Ma (2000a) 343ff.

²¹⁸ Austin & Vidal-Naquet (1977) 126.

²¹⁹ Livy 33.38.9.

²²⁰ Grainger (2002) 69.

This presentation of the relationship coincided with reality to a certain degree, but not entirely. The *poleis* would not have been subject to the kings at all if not for the kings' overwhelming military power – they were fairly quick to switch their allegiances when it seemed more politick and those few *poleis*, like Smyrna, which considered themselves strong enough to pursue complete independence, did so regardless of their debts to the Seleukid dynasty. On the other hand, the kings theoretically could have retained the façade of a friendly relationship while actually demanding complete submission, as they did with their officials whom they referred to as their friends (φίλοι) even as they gave them orders.²²¹ But the kings actually did allow the *poleis* significant autonomy, even in such important spheres as foreign affairs and military matters. The reasons for this lie in the nature of Seleukid control of Western Asia Minor: intermittent, threatened by Ptolemaic and Gallic raids, and challenged by sheer distance. These factors, unique to Asia Minor, all encouraged the Seleukids to take a conciliatory approach to the *poleis* in fact as well as word.

²²¹ Herman (1982) 103.

CHAPTER TWO: THE SELEUKID HEARTLAND AND REASONS FOR COLONISATION

In Western Asia Minor it is clear that *poleis* enjoyed substantial freedom in their internal and even external affairs. Except in extraordinary circumstances such as military campaigns, the kings took pains to treat these cities as if they were allies, not subjects. The *poleis* of Asia Minor were sometimes able to leverage that simulacrum of freedom into freedom in fact. But Western Asia Minor was in many ways aberrant and, while important to the empire, was only a province, not the heartland – that was Syria and Mesopotamia. Many of the factors which encouraged the Seleukids to take a hands-off approach in Western Asia Minor did not apply to Syria and Mesopotamia: distance was not a factor, royal control of (most of) the region was constant, and the region was far more important to the continued existence of the kingdom as a whole. The cities in this region, founded by Seleukos I and settled by Macedonian veterans and Greek migrants, did not have the same desire for independence as those of Asia Minor. They had no long history of autonomy and their communal identities were closely tied to their position within the Seleukid Empire. Nevertheless, the new foundations were indeed *poleis*, and from their foundation they were essential to the kings' control of the region. The sparse epigraphic, literary, and numismatic evidence suggests that the Greek cities in Syria and Mesopotamia, like those in Asia Minor, engaged in status negotiation with the Seleukid kings and achieved a degree of autonomy – but a significantly narrower degree than the cities in Asia Minor enjoyed. The *poleis* possessed their own civic institutions, but their internal affairs were subject to intensive, undisguised royal interference. In the final period of the Seleukid empire after the loss of Mesopotamia in 140 BC, the kings became increasingly reliant on the *poleis*, which gained more autonomy as a result but never sought to leave Seleukid rule altogether, even as the dynasty self-destructed around them.

Overview of the Heartland

There was no single capital of the Seleukid kingdom in the modern sense,²²² nor even in the sense that the Ptolemies had Alexandria or the Attalids had Pergamōn. Polybios and Diodoros' accounts usually present Antiochos IV as residing at Antioch,²²³ because that is where visitors from the Western Mediterranean usually found him, but in fact the

²²² That degree of institutionalisation did not yet exist: Billows (1990) 242; Sherwin-White (1987) 16.

²²³ Polyb. 26.1ff & 30.25ff; Diod. Sic. 31.16ff

Seleukid court was peripatetic.²²⁴ Antiochos III and Antiochos IV spent large portions of their reigns on campaign, and even in peacetime they tended to travel widely; the Babylonian astronomical diaries record the king residing in Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris and Antioch,²²⁵ and making ceremonial visits to Babylon.²²⁶ Tours elsewhere are mentioned in *II Maccabees*.²²⁷ Thus, rather than being based on a core city, the Seleukid kingdom was based on a core region. The prevailing view used to be that this core was Syria alone.²²⁸ But, it has become increasingly clear that, before the loss of Mesopotamia in 140, there was a dumbbell-shaped heartland with two central nodes, Syria and Mesopotamia, which were separate but very strongly linked (see Figure two for a map of Syria and Figure three for a map of Mesopotamia and the Near East).²²⁹

Both nodes were centred on new cities, founded by the kings in comparatively under-developed regions and settled by Greco-Macedonian elites; both nodes had a roughly comparable total population; and both nodes were surrounded by centres of the native populations, which continued to thrive. However, the two nodes of the dumbbell differed in a few important ways. Functions were more disparate in Syria, though Antioch clearly dominated; there were multiple mints and mint-standards in Syria, for example, as opposed to the single mint in Mesopotamia. The most important distinction, however, was the orientation of each node in relation to the wider world – people of the Syrian cities are well-attested in inscriptions from further west and later Greek and Roman sources tend to think of it as the core of the kingdom. By contrast, the Mesopotamian node looked east – Mesopotamian Greeks are very rarely attested in the west, and eastern sources, such as the Babylonian astronomical diaries, considered this region the core of the kingdom, calling Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris “the royal city” (URU LUGAL-tú / *āl šarrūti*)²³⁰ and very rarely mention Syria. Janus-like, the two nodes faced in opposite directions – a major strength of the empire. Significantly, while the Seleukids survived the loss of Asia Minor to the Romans without serious issue, they collapsed into utter chaos almost immediately after the loss of Mesopotamia. The system was based on the connection that bound the two cores together – the route passing along the Euphrates,

²²⁴ Kuhrt (1996): 45; Ma (1999) 7.

²²⁵ AD -181 Rev. 8-9; -155 Upper edge 1-2

²²⁶ AD -204 C Rev. 14-18.

²²⁷ *II Macc.* 4.18 & 4.43

²²⁸ E.g. Bevan (1902) 1. 208-209; Seyrig (1970) esp. 301ff.; Welles (1966) 283. Cohen remains of this opinion: (2006) 81, as does Ma, to the extent that he allows the empire to have a heartland at all, (1999) 7.

²²⁹ Billows (1995) xv; Ehrenberg (1969) 145; Invernizzi (1993) 234; Sherwin-White (1987) 17.

²³⁰ e.g. AD, -273 B rev 31.

through cities like Seleukeia Zeugma, Doura-Eurōpos, and Jebel Khalid.²³¹ Bronze coins were not usually accepted far from their mint of origin, but at Doura-Eurōpos the majority of the bronzes were from Antioch – proof of the deep commercial links along the route.²³² The route itself survived the division of the Seleukid kingdom between Rome and Parthia; Isidōros of Charax recorded it in detail in his itineraries around the time of Augustus.²³³

The Tetrapolis of Syria

The western end of the dumbbell, Syria, was composed of a system of cities centred on four major cities, known as the Tetrapolis, which consisted of two port cities: Seleukeia-in-Pieria and Laodikeia-by-the-Sea, and two inland ones: Antioch by Daphnē and Apameia.²³⁴ All four cities were founded by Seleukos I in 300,²³⁵ all, apparently, on a common plan – excavations show that the *insulae* at Antioch and at Laodikeia were of nearly identical dimensions.²³⁶ Seleukeia-in-Pieria and Antioch were clearly intended to be a pair – they are only half a day’s travel from each other on foot, and the river Orontēs is navigable between them. Laodikeia and Apameia are sometimes taken as a second pair, but the Bargylos mountain range (the modern an-Nuṣayriyah / al-‘Alawīyin) would have made communication between them difficult – they are better seen as a south-western and south-eastern extension of the northern pair, guarding the approaches from Ptolemaic Koilē-Syria. Three further cities attached the Tetrapolis to the wider world: Kyrrhos to Kommagēnē and Armenia in the northeast, Arados to Phoenicia in the south, and Beroia (Aleppo) to Mesopotamia and the east.²³⁷

From Strabo 16.2.4-10, it is clear that the cities were carefully planned, with specific functions. The two coastal cities served as ports, while the two inland cities enabled communication with Mesopotamia.²³⁸ The northern pair, Seleukeia and Antioch, had administrative functions and each has been referred to, anachronistically, as Seleukos’

²³¹ Nixon (2002) 291; Seyrig (1970) 292.

²³² Bellinger (1949) 196.

²³³ Isidōros of Charax, *Parthian Stations* 1.

²³⁴ Strabo, 16.2.4 (on the Tetrapolis); 16.2.5-6 (on Antioch); 16.2.9 (on Laodikeia); 16.2.10 (on Apameia).

²³⁵ Malalas 8.199 provides exact dates.

²³⁶ The city blocks in Antioch and Laodikeia were of almost exactly the same size (Antioch: 112 x 58 metres and Laodikeia 112 x 57 metres): Downey (1961) 70. Due to modern cities on the sites of Antioch and Laodikeia and the complete reconstruction of all the cities after earthquakes in Roman and Late Antique times, excavations tell us practically nothing else about the state of the Tetrapolis in the Hellenistic Period.

²³⁷ Seyrig (1970) 299.

²³⁸ McNicoll (1997) 83 ; Rostovtzeff (1941) 478.

intended capital.²³⁹ Laodikeia and Apameia, closer to the border with Ptolemaic Koilē-Syria, had a pronounced military character; much of the fleet was berthed at Laodikeia,²⁴⁰ while Apameia and its satellite towns were the home barracks for much of the army and stabled the empire's elephants.²⁴¹ Strabo reports that there was line-of-sight from the Bargylos Mountains to both Laodikeia and Apameia,²⁴² and that this was known suggests the presence of watchtowers in the mountains. Laodikeia also had pronounced commercial functions,²⁴³ and minted a special coinage for Mediterranean trade.²⁴⁴

We have little indication of the population of these cities. By the time of the Roman Empire, Antioch was very large. Strabo puts Antioch in the top tier of settlements:

... not much behind Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris and Alexandria-by-Egypt in power and size.

... οὐδὲν πολὺ τελείπεται καὶ δυνάμει καὶ μεγέθει Σελευκείας τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ
Τίγρει καὶ Ἀλεξανδρείας τῆς πρὸς Αἰγύπτῳ.
(Strabo 16.2.5)²⁴⁵

This scale dates back at least as far as the reign of Antiochos IV (175-163), who doubled the size of the city when he added the new quarter, Epiphaneia.²⁴⁶ *I Maccabees* and Diodoros record (separate) massacres of Antiochenes under the later Seleukids, numbering in the hundreds of thousands²⁴⁷ – not accurate figures, obviously, but indicative of the authors' impressions of Antioch in their time as a very large city. On the other hand, the other cities of the Tetrapolis seem to have been quite small. Polybios reports that, when Antiochos III recaptured Seleukeia-in-Pieria after several decades as a Ptolemaic exclave:

²³⁹ Grainger (1990a) 60; Seyrig (1970) 302.

²⁴⁰ Cic. *Phil.* 9.4.

²⁴¹ Strabo 16.2.10.

²⁴² Ibid., 16.2.9.

²⁴³ Ibid.

²⁴⁴ Houghton (1999) 180.

²⁴⁵ Diod. Sic. 17.52 claims that civic officials told him that the registers of Alexandria in his time recorded 300,000 free people, which Downey takes as an indication of the sort of scale that Strabo had in mind: (1958) 86. For logistical reasons, I doubt that Alexandrian officials would have been able to produce such a total with any degree of accuracy. Even if this number did accurately reflect the contents of the registers, it would be significantly larger than the free population residing in the city, for Alexandria's registers included most of the substantial number of Macedonians settled on *kleruchies* throughout the Egyptian countryside: McEvedy (2011) 5-6.

²⁴⁶ Malalas, 8.205.

²⁴⁷ *I Macc.* 11.45 & Diod. Sic. 34/35.17.

The king ... agreed to give safety to those who were free: these were around six thousand. After he took the city, he not only spared those who were free, but also brought back those who had fled from Seleukeia, and restored both their citizenship and their property.

ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ... συνεχώρησε δώσειν τοῖς ἐλευθέροις τὴν ἀσφάλειαν: οὗτοι δ' ἦσαν εἰς ἑξακισχιλίους. παραλαβὼν δὲ τὴν πόλιν οὐ μόνον ἐφείσατο τῶν ἐλευθέρων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς πεφευγότας τῶν Σελευκέων καταγαγὼν τὴν τε πολιτείαν αὐτοῖς ἀπέδωκε καὶ τὰς οὐσίας.

(Polyb. 5.61.1-2)

The natural meaning of ἐλευθέροις would be the free male population of the city, which would make Seleukeia relatively small. Perhaps the city had become heavily depopulated under Ptolemaic rule – Polybios' six thousand cannot include the exiles whom Antiochos resettled in the settlement, because they would not have needed a guarantee that they would be protected during the sack of a city which they were not in. The number of initial settlers at Antioch given by Malalas would seem to fit with the small number of free men Polybios reports at Seleukeia:

After the destruction of Antigonía,²⁴⁸ Seleukos made the Athenians living in Antigonía resettle to the *polis* of Antioch the Great, which he had built... as well as some Macedonian men: in total 5,300 men.

ὁ δὲ Σέλευκος μετὰ τὸ καταστρέψαι τὴν Ἀντιγονίαν ἐποίησε μετοικῆσαι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους εἰς ἣν ἔκτισε πόλιν Ἀντιόχειαν τὴν μεγάλην τοὺς οἰκοῦντας τὴν Ἀντιγονίαν... καὶ ἄλλους δὲ ἄνδρας Μακεδόνας, τοὺς πάντας ἄνδρας ,ετ'.

(Malalas 8.201)

So, the free population of Seleukeia, given a small amount of population growth and the absence of exiles, could be the descendants of a similar number of Greek and Macedonian colonists – assuming Malalas' figures are accurate. On the one hand, Malalas is late, muddled, and in his manuscripts the numbers are frequently corrupt.²⁴⁹ On the other hand, numbers are not necessarily as prone to corruption as is generally

²⁴⁸ Antigonos I Monophthalmos' Syrian capital, upstream of Antioch. Exact location unknown.

²⁴⁹ Jeffreys (1986) xxii.; Treadgold (2007) 721f.

assumed,²⁵⁰ and the *apparatus critici* show no disagreement between the manuscripts on this particular figure.²⁵¹ There are good reasons why Malalas might have had access to the correct figure: Antioch was Malalas' hometown and he or his sources used a local history which drew on an official record of the cities' foundation²⁵² and also supplies such information as the exact date on which each of the *poleis* were founded.²⁵³

It is probable that each of the foundations received a similar number of settlers, which seems likely given that the four cities were otherwise built on the same plan and had similar initial intramural areas.²⁵⁴ This could be supported by the agreement between Malalas' figure and that of Polybios 5.61. In that case, at their foundations the total free male population of Tetrapolis would have been a little over twenty thousand and the total population could have been over a hundred thousand people, if Polybios and Malalas' figures exclude women, children, and slaves.²⁵⁵ This is a very large number of people to have been added to a region suddenly. Of the Tetrapolis, Antioch, at least, grew consistently, receiving new quarters under Seleukos II and Antiochos IV (the aforementioned Epiphaneia), as well as one built by "the mass of colonists," τοῦ πλήθους τῶν οἰκητόρων (Strabo 16.2.4.). The latter in particular implies organic growth as a result of urban migration. The other *poleis* show less signs of growth and the correlation between Malalas' foundation figure and Polybios' late third century BC one suggests that at Seleukeia, at least, population remained stable, rather than shrinking. That the new foundations maintained their populations and, further, that Antioch was able to grow indicates that Syria had proven capable of feeding the initial influx of settlers, with enough surplus for new migrants to survive also.

It is usually assumed that large non-free Syriac and Jewish populations lived in the *poleis* alongside the citizens of Greco-Macedonian descent. However, it is unclear how large these Syriac and Jewish populations were, and it seems likely that they formed

²⁵⁰ Even the alphabetic numerals which Malalas uses: Develin (1990) 42. Many of the unreliable numbers in Malalas seem to arise from copyists trying to fix his chronology, which is not internally consistent. This pressure would not apply to the population figure under discussion here.

²⁵¹ Jeffreys (1986) 106; Thurn (2000) 152, n. 94.

²⁵² Treadgold (2007) 737.

²⁵³ Seleukeia on the 23rd Xanthikos: Malalas 8.199, and Antioch on the 22nd Artemisios: Malalas 8.200. Malalas does not offer exact dates often and never for events outside of the Tetrapolis. Note also that the order of the dates preserves the fact that Seleukeia was founded first, which a later invention would not be inclined to do.

²⁵⁴ Cf. Antioch in McEvedy (2011) 20 and Laodikeia-by-the-Sea in Owens (1991) 82.

²⁵⁵ Downey uses Malalas' figure to estimate 17,000-25,000 as the total population of Antioch at foundation: (1958) 85.

as the result of a slow process of urban migration rather than being settled in the *poleis* when they were founded. They could not have been pulled from native cities, for Syria under the Achaimenids seems to have been overwhelmingly rural.²⁵⁶ There is little question that Damascus in Koilē Syria was a city under the Achaimenids,²⁵⁷ and almost everyone assumes some habitation at Aleppo, though the archaeological evidence for urbanisation is meagre.²⁵⁸ Otherwise, neither archaeology, nor contemporary Greek sources (principally Xenophon's *Anabasis*) provide evidence for large-scale settlements in Achaimenid Syria.²⁵⁹ Unlike anywhere else east of the Tauros Mountains, the smaller-order settlements received Greco-Macedonian names, implying that they were settled for the first time as Greek foundations, rather than being pre-existing Syriac towns.²⁶⁰ At Doura-Eurōpos, also a foundation of Seleukos I (indirectly), the first generations of settlers almost all had Macedonian names.²⁶¹ The initial influx of Greco-Macedonian settlers into Syria would have been a heavy burden on Syria's carrying capacity without also decreasing the region's crop yields by pulling people off the land. The Syriac sanctuary sites of Baalbek and Bambykē already existed at the beginning of Seleukid rule,²⁶² and it is probable that they formed central markets and administrative meeting places for an entirely rural Syriac population – just as the Temple in Jerusalem did in Achaimenid Judaea.²⁶³ Indeed, this is the role envisaged for the sanctuary of Baitokaikē in a letter from an uncertain Antiochos which is inscribed there.²⁶⁴ From Seleukos I onwards, the Seleukids poured money into these sanctuaries,²⁶⁵ implying that the Seleukids wished for the sanctuaries to continue to perform their administrative role in a traditional manner, not to disrupt things by uprooting masses of Syriacs and moving them into the new *poleis*. Syriacs did move into the cities of the Tetrapolis over time (as did the

²⁵⁶ Millar draws attention to the complete lack of data on the period: (1998) 111ff.. Several scholars take it as given that the area had not been urbanised hitherto: Grainger (1990a) 7: "exclusively rural" and "almost a blank when Alexander's army invaded," 28; Musti (1966) 185: "Esse [città nuove] sorgevano in quell'angolo settentrionale della Siria per cui non si conosce un notevole sviluppo cittadino, per l'età anterior alla conquista macedone..." (These [new cities] arose in the northern quarter of Syria, in which one does not perceive significant urban expansion during the period before the Macedonian conquest...)

²⁵⁷ Arr. *Anab.* 2.11.9-10.

²⁵⁸ e.g. Shipley (2000) 303; Cohen (1978) 17; vs. Millar (1998) 112.

²⁵⁹ Millar (1998) 116.

²⁶⁰ Sherwin-White & Kuhrt (1993) 114.

²⁶¹ Rostovtzeff (1941) 487.

²⁶² Ragette (1980) 27-28; Bambykē had been issuing coinage for some time: Houghton & Lorber (2002) 1.1.27.

²⁶³ Schaper (1995) 528-539; Sherwin-White & Kuhrt (1993) 60. They did not become urban centres until the Late Seleukid or Early Roman period.

²⁶⁴ *IGLS* 7.4028 l.26.

²⁶⁵ Lucian, *Syr. D.* 19-21.

Jews), but they did so gradually, as part of a process of urban migration. As such, they might have been more inclined to Hellenise than if they had arrived as a single large group. In this regard, it is notable that none of the cities of the Tetrapolis featured Syriac deities on their coinage at any stage, while the coins of Damascus, which definitely had a continuous existence as a Syriac city, and of the Syriac-dominated sanctuary sites did.²⁶⁶

Thus, it seems probable that at their foundation the cities of the Tetrapolis had a largely Greco-Macedonian demographic character.²⁶⁷ The initial influx of Greco-Macedonian settlers may have been fairly large and, at Antioch in particular, the population grew throughout the Hellenistic, with the migrants whether Greek, Jewish, or Syriac probably being largely assimilated into the dominant culture.

Mesopotamia

The Seleukid presence in Mesopotamia dates back even further than in Syria – Seleukos I had served at Babylon under Perdikkas and was appointed Satrap of Babylon at Triparadeisos in 322.²⁶⁸ The Seleukid calendar era counted the years from Seleukos’ dramatic reconquest of the city from Antigonos in 311, indicating Mesopotamia’s central importance to the Seleukid dynasty. In contrast to the Syrian Tetrapolis, Seleukos’ colonising efforts in Mesopotamia were focused on the single city of Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris, founded on the site of Ōpis.²⁶⁹ Some of the other cities in the region received some Greco-Macedonian settlers, as in the case of the old Persian capital, Susa (which was renamed Seleukeia-on-the-Eulaios), but many other pre-existing cities did not, including the important administrative and cultural centre of Uruk.²⁷⁰ Though the Seleukid colonising efforts in Mesopotamia were focused primarily on one foundation, it was a massive one. Archaeological surveys of the site show that, at its foundation, Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris covered 550 hectares and had exceptionally large *insulae* of 75x150 metres – Antioch-by-Daphnē at its foundation occupied only 75 hectares, with *insulae* of 58x120 metres.²⁷¹ As mentioned above, Strabo cited Seleukeia-on-the Tigris as

²⁶⁶ Wright (2009/10) 198-199.

²⁶⁷ Rostovtzeff (1941) 1.487.

²⁶⁸ Diod. Sic. 18.39.6; Phot. *Bibl.* 92.

²⁶⁹ At the eastern end of the Royal canal which linked the Euphrates and Tigris and famous for the mutiny against Alexander which took place there in 324 BC.

²⁷⁰ Uruk seems to have gradually absorbed some of the institutions of *polis* life, however: McEwan (1988) 413f.

²⁷¹ Seleukeia: Invernizzi (1993) 235; Antioch: Downey (1961) 20 & McEvedy (2011) 20.

an example of the largest order of city in the East, on par with Alexandria-by-Egypt.²⁷² Pliny the Elder claims that in his time it was thought to have a population of six hundred thousand,²⁷³ which is improbable,²⁷⁴ but would reflect a general impression among its contemporaries that Seleukeia was a very large city indeed. In the time of Strabo and Pliny the city was primarily significant because of its connection with the Parthian winter capital, Ktēsiphōn, across the river, but Strabo saw the city as having had a major role within Seleukos' empire too, saying that:

... [Seleukos] and all those after him zealously supported that city and transferred the royal palace there...

... καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτὸν ἅπαντες περὶ ταύτην ἐσπούδασαν τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸ βασίλειον ἐνταῦθα μετήνεγκαν...

(Strabo 16.1.5)

βασίλειον, here, means the primary residence of the king and the administrative functions that went with that, particularly the treasury.²⁷⁵ This seems to imply that Strabo thought of Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris as the sole Seleukid capital. Since it was founded before the Syrian cities, for a time it may have been. It did not stay that way, for at 16.2.5 he mentions that there was also a *basileion* at Antioch, and the kings became highly peripatetic once their kingdom expanded beyond Babylonia. Since it was the capital of the satrapy of Babylonia, the Babylonians treated Seleukeia as the king's primary residence, consistently referring to it alone as "the royal city" (URU LUGAL-tú / *āl šarrūti*), a term for the king's main city which dated back to Neo-Assyrian times.²⁷⁶ This reflects the Babylonian diaries' highly parochial view of the world, rather than indicating that it was actually the Seleukids' sole capital.²⁷⁷ Nevertheless, the diaries and the archaeological evidence confirm the impression given by Strabo and Pliny of a

²⁷² Strabo, 16.2.5.

²⁷³ Plin. *NH.* 6.122.

²⁷⁴ Excavations to date suggest that Seleukeia continued to cover roughly 550 hectares, or 5.5km², a relatively large area for an ancient city. However, 600,000 inhabitants would give a population density of 109,000 people/km² – over six times the density of modern Hong Kong Island! (16,230 people/km² : Hong Kong Census & Statistics Dept. *Population & Vital Events*, www.censtatd.gov.hk/FileManager/EN/Content_803/population.pdf, accessed 27th Oct. 2012). If there is any truth to Pliny's figure, perhaps it applies to the whole Parthian settlement complex, including Ktēsiphōn, Volagesocerta, and large (archaeologically unattested) outer suburbs.

²⁷⁵ *LSJ*, sv. βασίλειον.

²⁷⁶ Ikida (1979) 76f.

²⁷⁷ Kuhrt (1996) 44; Sherwin-White (1983) 270. The extant diaries mention Antioch only twice: -155 A Upper edge 1-2 & -149 A Rev. 3-13; less often than they report the presence of escaped dogs on the streets of Babylon.

persistently enormous settlement – in the ancient world, such large-scale settlements could only be maintained by the on-going patronage of the central government.²⁷⁸

Mesopotamia, unlike Syria, was heavily urbanised and Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris was, from the first, settled in part by inhabitants from Babylon. A strong tradition, represented by Pliny, Pausanias, and Strabo, holds that Seleukos transferred the entire population of the city except for the priests to Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris.²⁷⁹ However, cuneiform records and archaeology show that, if Babylon declined during the Seleukid period, it did so gradually,²⁸⁰ and the extensive royal patronage of Babylon seems incongruent with a policy of depopulation.²⁸¹ Further, Josephos mentions that a large group of Jews were driven out of Babylon by the Babylonians in the first century AD, which implies that the city remained populated well into Parthian times.²⁸² Given that Babylon was not the only native city in Babylonia, it seems implausible that the new foundation would have drained Babylon exclusively. The story that Babylon had been depopulated by Seleukeia probably reflects the telescoping of a gradual process of population shift,²⁸³ first-century AD concerns among the Seleukeians about the Parthian patronage of the cities of Ktésiphōn and Vologesocerta,²⁸⁴ and the power of the image as a symbol for the Hellenisation of the East.

While Babylon was not depopulated, it is nevertheless certain that Mesopotamians were resettled at Seleukeia (in addition to those who already lived at Ōpis); the scale of the initial foundation makes clear that Seleukos intended that Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris be a massive city, and it seems highly unlikely that he was able to ship the bulk of its inhabitants all the way from Greece and Macedon. Seleukos probably founded the city while he was still at war with Antigonos, and thus could not afford to settle vast numbers of his soldiers in the foundation.²⁸⁵ At that time, Antigonos still controlled Syria and the

²⁷⁸ Van Dam (2010) 6-10.

²⁷⁹ Plin. *NH.* 6.122; Paus. 1.16.3; Strabo 16.1.5.

²⁸⁰ Boiy (2004) 136 & 142; van der Spek (1993) 98;

²⁸¹ Kuhrt & Sherwin-White (1991) 82; Sarkisian (1969) 319; Sherwin-White (1987) 18.

²⁸² Joseph. *AJ* 18.373.

²⁸³ McEwan (1988) 413.

²⁸⁴ Plin. *NH.* 6.122 asserts that the Parthians only founded these cities (which were satellite settlements of Seleukeia) “to empty out [Seleucia] in turn” *invicem ad hanc exhaustiendam*. There is no archaeological evidence for this and the population of the region grew throughout the period, so there the foundation of these cities need not have been at the demographic expense of Seleukeia. They did, however, take its political predominance.

²⁸⁵ The foundation date of Seleukeia is uncertain. Invernezzi (1993) 235 dates it to before 306/5 BC on numismatic grounds (*ESM* 1-8 = *SC* 115.2, 117.1, 125.1, 125.2, 126), but these coins have been redated to c.300 and after by Houghton & Lorber (2002) 52ff.. Strabo 16.1.5, discussed above, says the Seleukos

Levant, blocking Seleukos' access to the Mediterranean, so Seleukos could not import Greeks from the west either.²⁸⁶ The large Mesopotamian population is reflected by the enormous cuneiform archive in the city's agora – the largest archive from the Hellenistic period.²⁸⁷ Thus, unlike the Syrian cities, the bulk of the population of Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris was non-Greek from the start, and in choosing to found a city when he did, where he did, on the scale he did, Seleukos must have known and intended that it would be so.

Throughout the east, the natives must have far outnumbered Greco-Macedonians,²⁸⁸ whose numbers were very limited – Billows calculates that only twenty-five thousand Macedonian men were available to be settled in the new Hellenistic kingdoms.²⁸⁹ When the natives stayed in the countryside or in traditional cities, their taxes were redirected to profit the new Greek centres rather than the old Persian ones, but things otherwise remained much the same.²⁹⁰ When natives moved to the new Seleukid foundations (as at Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris) they were allowed to incorporate a *politeuma* (association) of their own under the aegis of the *polis*, giving them some civic rights and also a discrete identity.²⁹¹ Relations between the Greek elite, who were full citizens, and these *politeumata* were often less than cordial; Josephos describes relations between Greeks and the Mesopotamians in Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris in the first century AD:

The norm much of the time is for there to be *stasis* and discord between the Seleukeian Greeks and the Syrians,²⁹² and the Greeks dominate.

transferred the royal palace to Seleukeia, weakly implying that he was already king (i.e. after 306 BC) when he founded the city, and his assumption of the diadem would have been a natural time for Seleukos to found a city named after himself: Hopkins (1972) 5. Hadley (1978) 230, argues that the war with Antigonos makes a foundation before 300 BC improbable, but Seleukos founded the Tetrapolis, including its coastal cities, when war loomed with Ptolemaios and was still ongoing with the sea-king Dēmētrios Poliorketēs. Grainger (1990b) 100, argues that the city was most easily founded after Antigonos' attack on Babylon (309 BC), when there would have been large numbers of refugees in need of settling. The only surviving Babylonian astronomical diaries for the period discuss, of all things, astronomy, and offer no assistance in resolving this issue.

²⁸⁶ Aperghis (2004) 94.

²⁸⁷ Centro Ricerche Archeologiche e Scavi di Torino, "Seleucia on the Tigris: The Archives" <http://www.centroscavitorino.it/en/progetti/iraq/seleucia-archivi.html>. (Accessed 25/9/2012).

²⁸⁸ Aperghis (2004) 94; Ehrenberg (1969) 153; Jones (1940) 161.

²⁸⁹ Billows (1995) 154ff. But estimates vary widely, e.g. Jones (1940) 23-25 calculated that there were only fifteen thousand Macedonians available for colonisation, that each city must have had at least five thousand (Presumably on account of Malalas 8.201), that not many Greeks can have been settled because the sources are always emphasising the settlement of Macedonians, and that the Macedonians must therefore have been the majority of the colonists (which does not necessarily follow). He thus concludes that the kings cannot actually have founded very many cities at all.

²⁹⁰ Eddy (1961) 110.

²⁹¹ Cohen (1978) 86.

²⁹² Josephus calls the Mesopotamians "Syrians" because they were Aramaic speakers (i.e. Syriacs).

Σελευκέων τοῖς Ἑλλησι πρὸς τοὺς Σύρους ὡς ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐν στάσει καὶ
διχονοίᾳ ἐστὶν ὁ βίος καὶ κρατοῦσιν οἱ Ἕλληνες.
(Joseph. *AJ* 18.374)

The passage suggests that, by that time, Greek dominance was fragile, because the arrival of the aforementioned group of Jews from Babylon supposedly upsets the bases of Greek control. Cohen argues that the Greeks “functioned as an exclusive group” to avoid being absorbed,²⁹³ but this exclusion was not total, for later in Josephos’ narrative above, the Greeks go out individually to speak to “their acquaintances among the Syriacs” τῶν Σύρων τοὺς αὐτοῖς συνήθεις (Joseph. *AJ* 18.375). Exclusivity cannot explain the Greek strength in the Seleukid period, either, since the passage shows that their power had weakened, but gives no reason to think that their expression of ethnic identity had changed. The Greeks’ weakness by the time of Josephos is most naturally explained as a result of decreased support under Parthian rule – by then they were one ethnic group among many rather than the dominant culture of the empire. In that case, the Greeks’ previous strength under the Seleukid rule indicates the importance of the military, ideological, and financial support which they received from the Seleukid king.

Thus, the new foundations of the Seleukid Empire fell into two major categories. In the west, there was the Tetrapolis of Syria, composed of four major settlements and several minor satellites, which were (initially) rather small and predominantly Greek, surrounded and supported by Syriac peasantry. In the east there was Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris, which was always massive, and, though ruled by a Greek elite, had a large Mesopotamian population. The two centres were linked by a chain of foundations along the Euphrates.

Were the Foundations of the Heartland *Poleis*?

All of the Seleukid foundations had Greek elites and a Greek flavour, but scholars differ substantially on whether they properly counted as *poleis*. Some early scholarship saw the Hellenistic foundations as full *poleis*, essentially mini-Athenses in the east, but an equally substantial current maintained that the *polis*, especially in the political sense, had become completely extinct after the Battle of Chairōneia in 338. More recent scholarship has tended to take a middle ground, emphasising continuity between the Classical and Hellenistic periods and the on-going vitality of the *polis* in the Hellenistic, while also

²⁹³ Cohen (1978) 33; Jones (1940) 160.

emphasising that most Classical *poleis* were not like Athens. These scholars interpret the new Hellenistic foundations, such as the cities of Syria and Mesopotamia, as being in much the same mould as less exceptional Classical *poleis*. However, the alternate view that either the *polis* was entirely extinct or, at least, that the new foundations were not *poleis* persists, and there is really no agreement in the literature.²⁹⁴

The cities were referred to as *poleis* both by themselves and by the Seleukid king. An example of this is *IGLS* 1183, from Seleukeia-in-Pieria, which includes a decree of the city and a letter from the king. Both decree and letter explicitly refer to Seleukeia-in-Pieria as a *polis*.²⁹⁵ As mentioned on page 12, this does not necessarily mean that the cities of the Seleukid heartland were *poleis* in the political sense, because the Greeks used the term with topographical and urban meanings aside from the specific socio-political meaning invariably meant by modern scholars.²⁹⁶ When the Greeks spoke of the *polis* in the socio-political sense, as discussed on page 12, they expected it to have the following characteristics: a territory, a sense of community, and self-government. I shall address these three aspects successively, arguing that the new Seleukid foundations also possessed each of these characteristics and were, therefore, *poleis* in the political sense.

Territory

There can be no question that the cities of Syria and Mesopotamia possessed territories of their own – a significant amount of modern scholarship is concerned with the distinction between royal and civic land.²⁹⁷ Though most of the evidence for the existence of civic land arises from Asia Minor or later periods, there is plenty of evidence that Syrian cities possessed their own territories in the Hellenistic Period. Strabo provides an example in the case of Apameia when he says that the usurper Diodotos:

... received his initial support from that *polis* and its dependent towns:
Larisa, Kasiana, Megara, Apollōnia and others, which all paid tribute to
Apameia...

²⁹⁴ Foundations were *poleis*: Bevan (1902) 1.222; Giovannini (1993) 269; Jouget (1928) 89; Rostovtzeff (1941) 1.483; van der Spek (1987) 57.

Foundations were not *poleis*: Downey (1961) 112; Ehrenberg (1969) 203; Ma (1999) 229; Runciman (1990) 348.

²⁹⁵ As does Ptolemaios III in the Garoub Papyrus: *BNJ* 160 col.2 & 3.

²⁹⁶ Hansen (2000) 180-181.

²⁹⁷ e.g. Aperghis (2004) 88ff.; Bikerman (1938) 160; Rostovtzeff (1941) 179, 465ff., 481, 493ff.

... ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης ἔσχε τὰς ἀφορμὰς καὶ τῶν περιοικίδων, Λαρίσης τε καὶ τῶν Κασσιανῶν καὶ Μεγάρων καὶ Ἀπολλωνίας καὶ ἄλλων τοιούτων, αἱ συνετέλουν εἰς τὴν Ἀπάμειαν ἅπασαι...

(Strabo 16.2.10)

While περιοικίδων on its own is capable of meaning simply ‘neighbouring towns,’ συνετέλουν, which has implications of either tax or tribute, makes it clear that these communities formed part of a civic territory of some sort.²⁹⁸ Polybios provides another example, which also shows that these hinterlands could be substantial, when speaking of Antiochos III’s war prospects after capturing Tyre and Skythos:

...the territory subject to these *poleis* could easily supply his entire army and provide the full requirements for his expedition.

... τὸ τὴν ὑποτεταγμένην χώραν ταῖς πόλεσι ταύταις ῥαδίως δύνασθαι παντὶ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ χορηγεῖν καὶ δαψιλῇ παρασκευάζειν τὰ κατεπείγοντα πρὸς τὴν χρείαν.

(Polyb. 5.70.5)

The idea of non-royal land was definitely not alien to the Syria-Mesopotamian context – the large temples of the region had possessed significant land-holdings since at least the neo-Babylonian period (626-539).²⁹⁹ So, Greco-Macedonian precedent was for cities to have territory; local precedent did not contradict that, and there is plenty of evidence that Greek precedent was followed in the case of the Seleukid foundations.

Community of citizens

The cities of Syria and Mesopotamia, were without a doubt communities of citizens.³⁰⁰ In *IGLS* 3.2.1183, an inscription in Seleukeia-in-Pieria made in 186, Aristolochos, one of the king’s friends is made a citizen of the city. This was accomplished by enrolling him in a tribe and deme, just as in Classical Athens:

... he is to be enrolled, by the secretary, as the son of Aristolochos, in the deme of Olympieus and the tribe of Laodikis.

²⁹⁸ *LSJ* sv. Περιοικίς; sv. Συντελέω.

²⁹⁹ Schaper (1995) 528.

³⁰⁰ Giovannini (1993) 269 & 283.

... ἀναγραφῆναι δὲ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ γραμματέως, πατρὸς Ἀριστολόχου εἰς
μὲν δῆμον, Ὀλυμπία, φυλὴν δὲ Λαοδικίδα.
(IGLS 3.2.1183 l.24-25).

The fact that citizenship was given as an honour suggests that it was valued highly, and the need to record Aristolochos' patronymic when he was enrolled further implies that citizenship was determined by descent and was thus exclusive. The Syrian and Mesopotamian cities also regularly made use of ethnic designations, such as "the Antiochenes" and "the Seleukeians." The ethnics occur in inscriptions from the time of Antiochos III onwards and appeared on coins as soon as the first municipal bronzes were issued under Antiochos IV.³⁰¹ Such ethnics are a strong indication that they viewed themselves as community of citizens, rather than simply people at a place.³⁰² The case of Ptolemais-Akē provides an example of the strength of these civic identities. Captured from the Ptolemies in 198 and renamed Antiocheia-in-Ptolemaia, the old name of the city lived on and reasserted itself in the middle of the first century BC.³⁰³ The endurance of the old name suggests a communal identity entirely distinct from Seleukid rule, which the Seleukids were unable to suppress.³⁰⁴ Finally, the civic myths of Antioch, including successive foundations by Orestēs, Alexander, and Seleukos, which are well-attested in Libanios, Malalas, and in art, all date back to the Seleukid period, suggesting a desire for myths of identity in that period.³⁰⁵ It seems clear, therefore, that the new Seleukid foundations behaved as a community of citizens with a strong communal identity.

Self-Government

As discussed in chapter one, the classical Greek *polis* was by nature a self-governing community with some degree of independent action. Many communities of classical Greece which otherwise might have qualified as *poleis* were usually not viewed as such by their contemporaries because they were simply a subordinate part of a larger community, with no independent sovereign power. The settlements of the Spartan *perioikoi* are a well-known example.³⁰⁶ Strictly following such a definition, no settlement subject to a king, including those of the Seleukid heartland, could ever meet the

³⁰¹ BMC: Antiochos IV #38 – 88 (These will be discussed at length in chapter three).

³⁰² Hansen (1996) 170 & 190.

³⁰³ Akē, whence the modern day name of the city, Acre, is derived.

³⁰⁴ Bagnall (1976) 238; Kindler (1978) 51-53.

³⁰⁵ See page 64ff.

³⁰⁶ Hansen (1995) 25.

requirements to be a *polis* in the political sense. Even in the Classical Period, however, very few communities possessed *eleutheria* according to the wider definitions – most were subject, to a greater or lesser extent, to the most powerful *poleis*, such as Athens, Sparta, and Thebes.³⁰⁷ In practice, the Greeks used the political meaning of *polis* to refer to any settlement with at least some freedom of action in internal matters.³⁰⁸ This included the subordinate allies/subjects of Athens and the Greek cities under Persian rule.³⁰⁹ So long as a community had institutions of internal self-governance with some theoretical ability to act according to their own discretion, the community was considered to be a *polis*.³¹⁰

It is clear that the cities of the Seleukid heartland contained an array of institutions for internal self-governance.³¹¹ Two decrees, one from Seleukeia-in-Pieria (*IGLS* 3.2.1183), and another from Laodikeia-by-the-Sea (*IGLS* 4.1261), indicate that these cities possessed magistrates and assemblies. Both decrees were (officially) enacted by their Assemblies, implying that, in theory, the latter possessed final decision-making power. The forms of a self-governing *polis* were maintained (the details and independence of these institutions will be discussed in chapter three).³¹² Thus, the Seleukid core cities display evidence of a sense of community, possession of a hinterland, and institutions of self-government. They were *poleis*, both in the general sense of large conurbations and in the specifically political sense.

Role of the Foundations

As the Syrian and Mesopotamian *poleis* were royal foundations, their very existence represents a royal *polis* policy – they were founded because Seleukos I and Antiochos I thought it to be in their interest to transplant the *polis* system to the east and they were maintained because their successors thought it in their interests to maintain that *polis* system. Exactly why they thought that that system was in their interest has been the subject of debate. It is clear that there was an element of self-aggrandisement, of mimicking Alexander and the other *diadochoi*,³¹³ but the locations and scale of the

³⁰⁷ Carlsson (2010) 61.

³⁰⁸ Hansen (1995) 37.

³⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 22, 24, & 25.

³¹⁰ Grainger (1990a) 63-65; Hansen (1995) 23.

³¹¹ Bikerman (1938) 143; Mørkholm (1966) 110.

³¹² Bikerman (1938) 157.

³¹³ Dunn (2012) 119.

foundations, which far exceed those of the other *diadochoi*, are not fully explained by this motivation alone. Several other factors have been mooted, none of which are satisfactory on their own and not all of which seem to have been in the minds of the founders, but which together demonstrate the essentiality of the Syrian and Mesopotamian *poleis* to Seleukid rule.

A common view in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was that Hellenistic foundations were primarily intended to spread Greek civilisation. The most notable proponent of this view in relation to the Seleukids was their first modern historian, Bevan, who saw a connection between the Seleukid foundations and the then contemporary colonial venture, explicitly stating “the work being done by European nations... in the East is the same work which was begun by Macedonia and Rome.”³¹⁴ The popularity of this view declined in tandem with the popularity of the European colonial venture, and it was thoroughly attacked by Sherwin-White and Kuhrt, who were influenced by Edward Saïd’s 1978 book, *Orientalism*.³¹⁵ It can now be considered discredited, though it is unquestionable that the foundations were partially responsible for the spread of Greek art, culture, and technology to the east.

Another old view, partially inspired by analogy with the Roman Late Republic, holds that the foundations were intended for the retirement of veterans.³¹⁶ The Seleukid colonists were indeed veterans, and their settlement did ensure that the Seleukids possessed a source of new Greco-Macedonian soldiers, rather than having to import them from the Aegean basin.³¹⁷ But, Jones notes, there was no reason why they had to be settled in *poleis*;³¹⁸ in Egypt they were largely settled in rural estates.³¹⁹ In the Seleukid system, it appears from evidence at Doura-Eurōpos that veterans received both an urban plot and a rural plot.³²⁰ That this was a general policy is supported by the letter in Josep. AJ 12.148-52 concerning the settlement of Babylonian Jewish colonists in Lydia and Phrygia under Antiochos III.³²¹ In that latter case, the settlement was motivated by Antiochos III “learning about rebels in Lydia and Phrygia” πυνθανόμενος τοὺς ἐν Λυδίᾳ

³¹⁴ Bevan (1902) 1.10.

³¹⁵ Sherwin-White (1987); Kuhrt (1987); Sherwin-White & Kuhrt, (1993).

³¹⁶ Cohen (1991) 41.

³¹⁷ Billows (1995) 22. Cohen (1978) 8-9; Rostovtzeff (1941) 1.499ff.

³¹⁸ Jones (1940) 9.

³¹⁹ Cohen (1991).

³²⁰ P. Dura 12 & 15; Cohen (1978) 51ff. discusses the controversies about whether the rural plot was alienable and whether it carried an obligation to military service.

³²¹ Cohen (1978) 5-9.

καὶ Φρυγία νεωτερίζοντας (Josep. *AJ* 12.149). The earlier settlements of Seleukos I and Antiochos I might have had a similar motivation and the fact that Antiochos III deployed colonisation to deal with rebellions in Lydia and Phrygia implies that they were at any rate perceived to have had a positive affect on maintenance of order in the Seleukid heartland. Once the decision had been made to settle the veterans in *poleis* and *kōmai*, however, these settlements became important to the Seleukid military and the need for soldiers was a major factor in the maintenance of these communities. However, both Doura-Eurōpos and Antiochos III's Jewish colonies were far smaller than the Tetrapolis and Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris;³²² the settlement of veterans alone does not explain these foundations' scale, which as noted above, required that Greeks be imported from the west and natives be resettled in the new settlements alongside the colonists. Nor can the provision of soldiers really be seen as the sole function of the larger foundations for the Seleukid dynasty.

Aperghis argues that the foundations were concentrated in areas which were less heavily urbanised and were “part of a systematic effort to intensify economic activity and generate more silver for the royal treasury” by introducing coinage to the new territories and developing a cash economy which would allow the Seleukid king to collect tax in coin rather than produce.³²³ Aperghis shows that this was a result of the new foundations, in the locations where *poleis* were established. Aperghis' theory is not a complete explanation, however. It does not explain the foundation of Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris, for Mesopotamia was already full of cities, and surely it would have been cheaper to spearhead the development of a cash economy in Mesopotamia using the mint at Babylon, which had been important since Alexander. Instead the Babylonian mint was phased out in favour of Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris and the Babylonian Astronomical Diaries, which include the daily price of goods at the market, and the cuneiform contracts from Uruk show that the Babylonians continued to use their old system, based on weights of silver rather than coins, throughout the Seleukid period.³²⁴ Nevertheless, Aperghis demonstrates that the *poleis* were central to the form of the Seleukid economy in Syria and in northern Mesopotamia – two regions which under the Achaimenids had not been economically important became essential parts of the Seleukid royal economy as a result of the *poleis*.

³²² Doura-Eurōpos was about 45 hectares at its height – a bit over half the size of the Tetrapolis cities at their foundations: Aperghis (2004)

³²³ Aperghis (2005) 27; idem (2004) 89-99. Foreshadowed by Rostovtzeff (1941) 157-160.

³²⁴ *AD passim*, but especially volume 3; Doty (1979) 52.

Grainger took a similar, but more generalised and less economic, approach when he argued that the new foundations were principally intended to solidify control over the new Seleukid territories.³²⁵ At the foundation of the Tetrapolis, Syria had only just come under Seleukid control, having previously been an Antigonid territory, and was open to attack from Ptolemaic Koilē Syria. It was essential for Seleukos to solidify his control over Syria, ideologically, administratively, and militarily, especially as Antigonos' heir Dēmētrios remained at large.³²⁶ All accounts emphasise that the inhabitants of Antigonos' Syrian capital, Antigoneia, were resettled in either Seleukeia-in-Pieria or Antioch. The fact that the sources cannot agree which city they were resettled in perhaps indicates that they were split among the new settlements. The foundation legends recorded by Malalas and Libanios also mention a large number of local Greeks who were resettled into the new foundations.³²⁷ Although there had been some Greek settlement along the coast since the eighth century (and some presence since Mycenaean times),³²⁸ the large number of local Greek settlements which Malalas records is difficult to accept. Perhaps they were actually smaller Antigonid settlements, dressed up with mythic pasts by later generations. The presence of such settlements is supported by the case of Apameia, which was founded on top of a pre-existing settlement called Pella, the Macedonian name of which implies that it was an Antigonid settlement.³²⁹ By splitting the Antigonid partisans in the region among the new foundations and settling them alongside Seleukid veterans, Jews, and some native Syriacs,³³⁰ Seleukos diluted their influence in Syria, while working to transfer their loyalty to him.³³¹

This factor was probably not at play in the foundation of Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris, because Babylon was notably loyal to Seleukos, revolting in his favour in 311.³³² Perhaps, however, Babylon's loyalty was constricting.³³³ Babylonian history provided many

³²⁵ Grainger (1990a) 54ff & idem (2010) 57ff. Followed by Billows (1990) 304; Capdetrey (2007) 60; Cohen (2006) 24 & Sherwin-White & Kuhrt (1993) 158; Shipley (2000) 289.

³²⁶ Will (1984b) 103-108.

³²⁷ Malalas, 8.202 & Lib. *Or.* 11.91

³²⁸ Boardman (2002) 2-3.

³²⁹ Cohen (2006) 94.

³³⁰ Diod. Sic. 20.47.6 & 21.1.6; Lib. *Or.* 11.92; Malalas 8.201.

³³¹ The process has parallels with the transportation and resettlement of conquered populations practiced by the Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian kings.

Dunn suggests Seleukos adopted Dēmētrios' symbols (particularly bull iconography) as his own: (2012) 79. This could reflect Seleukos' efforts to transfer the Antigonid partisans' loyalty to him, alongside his eventual marriage to Dēmētrios' daughter Stratonikē.

³³² Diod. Sic. 19.90.

³³³ Grainger (1990b) 100.

precedents for the acceptance of foreigners as kings of Babylon,³³⁴ but a high degree of assimilation to Babylonian mores was expected.³³⁵ The Seleukids were keen to play the part of a Babylonian king,³³⁶ but they probably did not want to do so constantly, especially as that would interfere with fulfilling the kingship roles expected by their other subjects. Moreover, the city had not had a king permanently in residence since Nabonidus abandoned the city over two hundred years earlier.³³⁷ Since that time, the priests of the Esagila and the citizenry had been able to run the city on a day-to-day basis without direct royal involvement.³³⁸ As a result, they might also have had mixed feelings about the return of the king.³³⁹ Finally, by moving his palace to a new foundation, Seleukos could avoid giving the other Mesopotamian cities the impression that they were controlled by Babylon.³⁴⁰ So, the foundation of Seleukeia was unlikely to displease any party.

Seleukeia was established right on the very edge of the inhabited region in Mesopotamia, bordering the Diyala Plain, between the Tigris and the Zagros Mountains. The meticulous programme of archaeological surveys collated by Robert McC. Adams shows that the Diyala Plain was then almost entirely depopulated and had been for over a thousand years, since the Kassite invasions of the sixteenth century BC.³⁴¹ In the Seleukid-Parthian period, however, its population exploded, increasing by almost 1500% and its inhabitants moving from nomadic pastoralists to intensive agriculturalists.³⁴² The Diyala Plain's transformation from wasteland to breadbasket³⁴³ was enabled by the improved irrigation technology developed in the Hellenistic and the demand for food created by Seleukeia. Whether Seleukos foresaw that his new foundation would cause the

³³⁴ Nearly all Babylonian royal dynasties were of non-Babylonian origin, including that of Hammurabi (Amorite) and Nebuchadnezzar II (Chaldean).

³³⁵ Van De Mieroop (1997) 46.

³³⁶ *AD* -245 A Obv.12-13; *BCHP* 5 Obv. 1.9; *BCHP* 6; Rostovtzeff (1941) 1.437; Kuhrt & Sherwin-White (1991) 71-86; Linssen (2004) 19, 85, 108.

³³⁷ Van De Mieroop (1997) 224.

³³⁸ *Ibid.*, 137ff.

³³⁹ The story of the foundation of Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris, in which the priests attempt to mislead the king, have often been taken to represent conflict between Seleukos and his priesthood: Bevan (1902) 253.

³⁴⁰ On the parochialism of Mesopotamian cities: Van de Mieroop (1997) 43. The last Babylonian ruler, Nabonidus had held unorthodox religious views and took the gods of all the Mesopotamian cities to Babylon, which posterity viewed very unfavourably (with Achaimenid encouragement): Nabonidus Chronicle: Grayson (1975) 7.iii.9-12; Cyrus Cylinder: Lendering et al. (2010) 32-33; Beaulieu (1993) 243, 254.

³⁴¹ Adams (1965) 53ff.

³⁴² *Ibid.*, 63. This transformation had massive long-term consequences – the centre of gravity in Mesopotamia permanently shifted north, and its produce fed, in turn, Seleukid Seleukeia, Parthian & Sassanid Ktēsiphōn, Umayyad Kufa, and Abbasid Baghdad.

³⁴³ Plin. *NH*. 6.122 calls it “the most fertile farmland in the whole east” *agrum totius orientis fertilissimum*.

development of the Diyala Plain is uncertain – it was not an obviously fertile region and the pre-existing settlement of Ōpis had not had such an affect.³⁴⁴ If Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris was founded while Antigonos was still a major threat, shorter term goals may have been important also.³⁴⁵ In that case a major motive for the foundation would have been to rival Antigoneia, which was founded in Syria in 307 (itself, in part, a response to Ptolemaios' Alexandria).³⁴⁶ The foundation's placement also allowed it to form part of Seleukos' eastern policy, with the city at the terminus of a redirected Royal Road, which would henceforth pass directly from Babylonia, along the Diyala River through Ekbatana to Mēdia and Bactria.³⁴⁷ The location was particularly appropriate on account of the presence of the royal canal, which connected it to the more heavily populated Euphrates valley.³⁴⁸ Bactria and Mēdia supplied essential troops and resources (particularly gold),³⁴⁹ so the routes from these territories to Seleukos' borders with the other *diadochoi* needed to be as efficient and secure as possible. The fact that further *poleis* were subsequently founded in Mēdia and Bactria supports this analysis.³⁵⁰ The foundation of Seleukeia, thus entrenched the shift of the administrative centre of the Near East from Susa and Persis to northern Mesopotamia, which had been begun under Alexander. There was no longer any reason for the royal road to detour through Susa and Persis, or to have administrative machinery in those locales.³⁵¹

Thus, many factors encouraged the foundation and maintenance of *poleis*, most of which boil down to establishing control and establishing structure in military, political, and economic spheres. The network of fortified settlements created and maintained the essential artery of the kingdom – the route which linked the Mediterranean to Inner Asia,

³⁴⁴ The region is alternately dry and very wet, requiring a great deal of irrigation to conserve water, manage floods, and prevent rises in salinity: Adams (1965) 3ff. There is one potential Mesopotamian precedent for founding a city to develop a new region, in Sargon of Assyria's description of the foundation of Dur-Sharrukin: Van De Mieroop (1997) 60. That city did not outlast its founder and it is unlikely anyone knew of it in Seleukos' day.

³⁴⁵ On the uncertainty surrounding the date of Seleukeia's foundation see page 49, note 285, above.

³⁴⁶ Grainger (1990b) 100; Rostovtzeff (1941) 157.

³⁴⁷ The Ekbatana route, "one of the few natural east-west passes through the long barrier of the Zagros range," had long been in use, but the Seleukids lavished attention on it, razing Ekbatana to the bedrock and rebuilding it from the ground up Stronach (2012) 53 & 55.

³⁴⁸ Hopkins (1972) 5.

³⁴⁹ AD -273 B obv. 31 mentions the passage through Seleukeia of several war elephants from Bactria during the First Syrian War. The enumeration of troops before the Battle of Raphia, at Polyb.5.79, makes clear the reliance of the Seleukid army on forces from Mēdia and northeastern Iran. Seleukid gold mostly derived from Siberia: Rostovtzeff (1941) 1.447.

³⁵⁰ Ibid., 1.479.

³⁵¹ Which became something of a backwater in this period, but remained part of the Seleukid realm: Wiesehöfer (2011) 110f.

not just militarily, but also commercially and socially. Seleukos' colonisation programme may also have included shorter-term goals, which explain the differences between the two ends of the dumbbell: the desire to match Antigoneia (and Alexandria) encouraged the foundation of a single megalopolis in Mesopotamia, while the need to dilute the Antigonid settlers and block both invasion routes from Koilē Syria encouraged the foundation of several smaller *poleis* in Syria. The foundations had long-term macro-historical consequences: the introduction of currency to the east and the revitalisation of the Diyala Plain and these long term benefits were also significant to the *poleis*' foundations and to the kings' continued patronage of the *poleis*.

Tying *Polis* to King

If these *poleis* were intended to solidify and maintain Seleukid control over new regions and potentially unruly populations, then we might expect to see elements in the *poleis* designed to ensure loyalty and obedience to the Seleukid dynasty. Such elements do exist: the cities were designed so that they could not easily withstand royal force; to recall Macedon so that the colonists would have less inclination to desert; and their civic identities were tied closely to the Seleukid dynasty, such that expression of *polis* identity could be achieved by loyalty to the dynasty rather than through opposition to it.

The very design of the cities ensured that the royal garrisons were in control. None of the Syrian cities were defenceless – Ptolemaic armies and Arab raiders frequently ravaged the region, after all. But in all cases, Grainger observed, the citadel, which was home to a royal garrison, commanded by an *epi tōn akrophthlakiōn*³⁵² or an *akrophylax*,³⁵³ was external, such that it could be reinforced from outside the city in the case of revolt (unlike, for example, the Athenian acropolis).³⁵⁴ The citadel of Antioch, provides an example. A plan of the city in the Roman period sourced from McEvedy is supplied at right.³⁵⁵ The city of Antioch sat at the bottom of the steep slope of Mount Silpios. The citadel was located at the top of the slope, so a force threatening the citadel

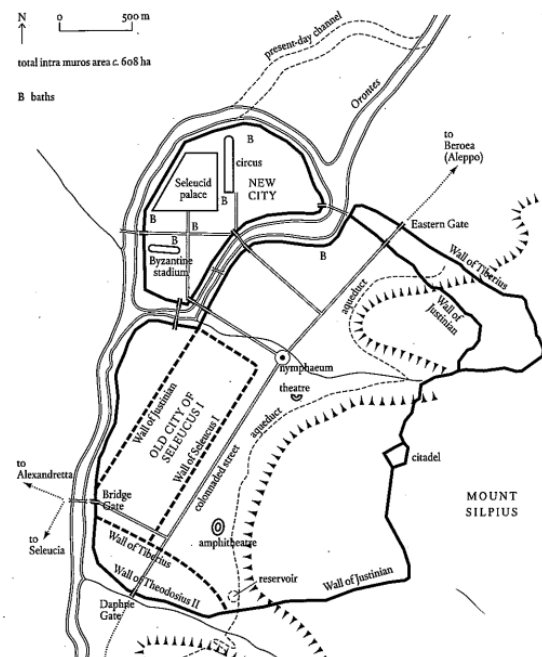
³⁵² *OGIS* 254.

³⁵³ Joseph.AJ.13.388; Polyb.5.50.10f. Bickerman (1938) 54 claims that the title *phrourarchos* was also used, but none of his citations support that.

³⁵⁴ Grainger (1990a) 62. The only exception is the citadel of the small town on the Euphrates at Jebel Khalid, (just barely) within the city walls on a huge limestone bluff, which provides the best position for monitoring river traffic: Clark (2002a) viii & 47.

³⁵⁵ McEvedy (2011) 20. The walls of Tiberius, Theodosius II and Justinian all post-date the Seleukid period, but the wall of Tiberius largely reflects the boundaries of the city by the end of the Seleukid period, except that they (and the walls of Justinian) also enclose a large portion of the slope of Mount Silpios, which has never been inhabited owing to its steepness.

from the city would be utterly unable to dislodge the garrison.³⁵⁶ The slope on the other side of Mount Silpius is very shallow, making it easy to reinforce the citadel from outside the city, but also meaning that the citadel was only really effective for countering attacks from the city. Antioch was completely indefensible against external attack – down to the time of the Crusades, there is not a single example of the city withstanding a siege.³⁵⁷ It is difficult to believe that Seleukos, hardened general that he was, unintentionally established an indefensible city – apparently, the ability to dominate the settlement was more important than being able to defend it against external attack (it is the furthest of the Tetrapolis from the Ptolemaic border, so this would not be entirely unreasonable). In Mesopotamia Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris seems to have been poorly defended – it could not have survived very long under siege on account of its size, anyway.³⁵⁸ In other cases, defence against external attack appears to have assumed a higher priority. For example, Seleukeia-in-Pieria's citadel, sitting atop the Koryphaion, a massive massif, was “a remarkable stronghold, and too strong to be forced” ἔρυμα δέ ἐστιν ἀξιόλογον καὶ κρείττον βίας (Strabo 16.2.8),³⁵⁹ its strategic position made such defences a necessity.³⁶⁰



Antioch in the Roman period:

McEvedy (2011) 20

But again, the prime defensive position was occupied by the citadel, which would have held a royal garrison. The city was far below and separately walled, linked to the citadel by a single narrow staircase carved into the cliff-face³⁶¹ – a situation which Antiochos III

³⁵⁶ Downey (1961) 17 & 65; an Arabic chronicle of the eight century incorrectly assumes that the entire mountain must have been included within the walls from the beginning, because the alternative (the reality that at its foundation the citadel was fortified separately) was unbelievable on tactical grounds: *Codex Vaticanus Arabicus* 286, 2.5ff.

³⁵⁷ Downey (1961) 17 & 65.

³⁵⁸ McNicoll (1997) 102. He suggests that mudbrick walls probably existed (none have yet been found) and that the Tigris would have formed a defensive barrier against attacks from the east. There is no evidence for a citadel – the land is too flat (aside from what is either a free-standing theatre or a ziggurat). Mesopotamian practice would be to garrison troops in the (as yet unexcavated) palace – perhaps that model was followed at Seleukeia.

³⁵⁹ Cf. Polyb. 5.59.4-10.

³⁶⁰ Downey (1961) 62; McNicoll (1997) 83; Pompey refused to even attempt a siege: Strabo 16.751.

³⁶¹ Elderkin, Stillwell & Waage (1941) 3.5.

was able to exploit to recapture the city from Ptolemaic control in 219.³⁶² The design of the cities, fortified against their own inhabitants as much or more than against external attack, thus “says volumes about the expectations of king and citizens.”³⁶³ Should it come to it, the design of the *poleis* would enable the king to compel them by force.

However, compulsion by force is hardly a sustainable long-term policy – it tends to cause a great deal of collateral damage, beget further unrest, and occupy armies which could be better deployed elsewhere – it was a last resort, not the ideal.³⁶⁴ Seleukos worked to make the new *poleis* not gaols but homes to the settlers – Syria would be a New Macedon.³⁶⁵ Making Syria feel familiar would prevent homesick colonists from defecting, as the Bactrian colonists had after the death of Alexander.³⁶⁶ The Seleukids thus strongly identified themselves, their foundations, and their regime with Macedon – their efforts are reflected by later historians’ frequent references to the Seleukid realm as “Macedonian,” a term which they did not use for the Ptolemaic kingdom.³⁶⁷ Many landmarks, places and sub-regions were renamed after Macedonian analogues, such as Pieria, named after the region around the Axios delta in Macedon.³⁶⁸ The place names perhaps owe as much to the colonists as Seleukos, but the Macedonian elements were not limited to place names; the cities were *poleis* on the Greek model (with which the Macedonians were familiar by the fourth century),³⁶⁹ and made use of Macedonian magistrates like the *epistatēs* and the *peliganes* (discussed in detail in chapter three). These elements also existed at Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris, but from the beginning, the latter also had non-Greco-Macedonian elements. That city was, from the outset, settled in part by inhabitants of Babylon and many aspects of the city were designed to appeal to them – there was an archive for cuneiform contracts, for example.³⁷⁰ These aspects represent the same policy with a different audience³⁷¹ – a New Babylon as well as a New Macedon.³⁷²

³⁶² Polyb. 5.60.

³⁶³ Grainger (1990a) 87.

³⁶⁴ Ma (1999) 9.

³⁶⁵ Dunn (2012) 123; Rostovtzeff (1941) 479.

³⁶⁶ Diod. Sic. 18.7.

³⁶⁷ Edson (1958) 164. Musti strongly criticises taking this as indicating the Seleukid empire had a greater “grado di macedonicità” (*degree of Macedonian-ness*) than the other kingdoms, but accepts Edson’s conclusions as far as I have taken them here: (1966) 112-138.

³⁶⁸ Cohen (2006) 26; Jones (1940) 9; Rostovtzeff (1941) 479.

³⁶⁹ Hatzopoulos (1996) 70, 108, & 219.

³⁷⁰ Centro Recherche Archeologiche e Scavi di Torino, “Seleucia on the Tigris,” www.centroscavitorino.it/en/progetti/iraq/seleucia.html (Accessed 25/9/2012).

³⁷¹ An example of the king’s willingness to conform to the expectations of multiple audiences, as discussed above, pages 9-11.

Essentially then these new settlements had everything that the colonists might miss from home, but bigger and better,³⁷³ encouraging the settlers to remain in place rather than attempt to return to Macedon.

Giving the *Poleis* a Seleukid Identity

It was important that the colonists stay put, but it was vital that they did so as loyal subjects of the Seleukid dynasty. To that end, Seleukos and his successors worked to connect the *poleis*' identities to the nascent Seleukid dynasty, so that expression of *polis* identity and loyalty to the dynasty could be one and the same thing. An obvious but important manifestation of this strategy was the very names of the communities. Of the Tetrapolis, Seleukeia and Antioch were named after Seleukos and his son, the future Antiochos I.³⁷⁴ Each came to be the cult centre for one of dynasty's patron deities: Zeus at Seleukeia and Apollo at Antioch, who were identified with Seleukos and Antiochos respectively.³⁷⁵ The other two *poleis* were named after Seleukos' mother Laodikē and his wife Apama (Antiochos' mother). All used the Seleukid royal dating system.³⁷⁶ Most of the many other foundations received similar names, with the populace referring to themselves as "Seleukeians" (Σελευκεῖς) and "Antiochenes" (Ἀντιοχεῖς), in whatever location they found themselves: for example, "Seleukeians in Pieria" (Σελευκεῖς οἱ ἐν Πιερίᾳ)³⁷⁷ creating an ethnic identity which was based on loyalty to the dynasty.³⁷⁸ This strategy is also visible in the ongoing Seleukid practice of renaming native cities as Seleukeia or Antiocheia, which did not necessarily involve actually settling many (or any) Greeks in the city.³⁷⁹

This loyalist identity was more than just a name: a nexus of myths was established emphasising the Seleukid role as founders. These myths are most fully recorded in the sixth century chronographer Malalas, who represents a local tradition, as discussed above

³⁷² The lack of similar Syriac elements in the *poleis* of the Tetrapolis would then suggest that Syriacs were not resettled thither in the same quantity.

³⁷³ Poseidonios, *FHG* 3.258.

³⁷⁴ App. Syr. 57 and Strabo 16.2.4 say that Antioch was originally named for Seleukos' father, but he was an absolute historical non-entity, and if the city ever was identified with him, that identification co-existed with an identification with Antiochos I from the reign of Antiochos I. The Antiochenes' foundation legend identified Antiochos I as their namesake: Malalas, 8.200.

³⁷⁵ *IGLS* 3.1184 lists a priest of "Seleukos Zeus the Victor and Antiochos Apollo the Saviour (Σελεύκου Διὸς Νικάτορος καὶ Ἀντιόχου Ἀπόλλωνος Σωτῆρος).

³⁷⁶ Laodikeia: *IGLS* 3.2.1183; Seleukeia-in-Pieria: *IGLS* 4.1261.

³⁷⁷ e.g. *IGLS* 3.2.1183 l.29-30 & *OGIS* 257 l.19 (Σελευκέων τῶν ἐν Πιερίᾳ).

³⁷⁸ Compare the use of similar *ethnē* for actual ethnic groups, e.g. "The Sidonians at the Port of Jamnia" (τῶν ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἰαμνίας λιμένι Σιδωνίων): Isaac (1991) 132.

³⁷⁹ E.g. Susa (Seleukeia-on-the-Eulaios), Jerusalem (Antiocheia), Ptolemais-Akē (Antiocheia in Ptolemais).

(page 45). His account of the Tetrapolis foundation myths is in accord with the more abbreviated versions found in art and Libanios *Oration* 11. Of the foundation of Seleukeia-in-Pieria, Malalas records:

[Seleukos] came to sacrifice on Mount Kasios to Zeus Kasios, and having completed the sacrifice and cut the meat, he prayed, asking where he ought to found a *polis*. Suddenly, an eagle snatched [the meat] away from the sacrifice ... Seleukos ... ran down after it and found the meat thrown by the sea below the ancient *polis*, in the trading station of the area called Pieria. Immediately he surrounded it with walls, threw down foundations, and named this *polis* Seleukeia – after his own name.

ἦλθε θυσιάσαι εἰς τὸ ὄρος τὸ Κάσιον Διὶ Κασίῳ· καὶ πληρώσας τὴν θυσίαν καὶ κόψας τὰ κρέα ἠϋξάτο ποῦ χρή κτίσαι πόλιν. καὶ ἐξαίφνης ἦρπασεν ἀετὸς ἀπὸ τῆς θυσίας ... καὶ κατεδίωξεν ὀπίσω Σέλευκος ... καὶ ἦρε τὸ κρέας ῥιφὲν παρὰ θάλασσαν κάτω τῆς παλαιᾶς πόλεως ἐν τῷ ἐμπορίῳ τῆς λεγομένης Πιερίας. καὶ περιχαράξας τὰ τεῖχη εὐθέως ἔβαλε θεμελίους, καλέσας αὐτὴν Σελεύκειαν πόλιν εἰς ἴδιον ὄνομα.

(Malalas 8.199)

The same story is repeated, with slight variations, for each of the *poleis*. The account does a couple of important things. Firstly, it associates the local cult of Mount Kasios with Seleukos and his dynasty – Seleukos and his foundations are divinely favoured.³⁸⁰ Secondly, it associates the *polis* with the eagle, which as the animal of Zeus was a prominent Macedonian and Seleukid symbol.³⁸¹ Libanios adds that Seleukos used elephants, another prominent Seleukid symbol, to mark out the walls of the new city of Antioch.³⁸² Both animals were already Seleukid symbols, for they regularly appear on royal coinage from the time of Seleukos I.³⁸³ The link between these symbols and the cities was commemorated by monuments and on items associated with the city, such as

³⁸⁰ Rostovtzeff (1941) 1.437.

³⁸¹ Dunn (2012) 48, who cites Just. *Epit.* 12.16.4-5 as an example of the eagle's earlier use to legitimise Alexander.

³⁸² Lib. *Or.* 11.90: "Sketching out the city, he stood his elephants at intervals throughout the territory of towers to be" ὑπογράφων δὲ τὸ ἄστυ τοὺς μὲν ἐλέφαντας κατὰ τὴν χώραν δίιστη τῶν ἐσομένων πύργων.

³⁸³ Early examples: eagle, SC 36 (Seleukos I, Laodikeia-by-the-Sea); elephant: SC 35 (Seleukos I, Apameia) & SC 14 (Seleukos I, Antioch). Both symbols also serve to link Seleukos with Alexander, Dunn (2012) 48 & 63.

weights.³⁸⁴ Each king was added to the foundation cult in their lifetimes – the obligations which the cities owed to Seleukos as founder thus vested in Seleukos’ successors.³⁸⁵ The depth to which these myths and founder cults penetrated the civic psyche can be seen by their endurance – in the second century AD, Laodikeia-by-the-Sea and Doura-Eurōpos still had priests of the Seleukids,³⁸⁶ at which time the name Seleukos was still popular among the leading families of Doura-Eurōpos;³⁸⁷ monumental representations of the Seleukid foundation myth have been found from the first or third century AD near Laodikeia-by-the-Sea and at Doura-Eurōpos;³⁸⁸ and Malalas himself lived in the sixth century.

There is some evidence for Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris and Mesopotamia (none of it narrated by a local, unfortunately), from which it seems likely that the same strategy was used there as well. For example, Pliny claims that:

The placement of the walls [of Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris], truly,
[resembles] the outstretched wings of an eagle...

situm vero moenium aquilae pandentis alas...

(Plin.NH.6.122)

In fact, the outline of the *polis* bears very little resemblance to an eagle,³⁸⁹ so it seems likely that the resemblance was not a natural observation, but an idea propagated by the Seleukid kings. Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris also had its own foundation legend, mentioned by Appian, in which the magi give an inauspicious hour for the foundation of the city, but Seleukos’ soldiers are miraculously inspired to begin building the city on the auspicious hour.³⁹⁰ This story, then, also focuses on showing that the king and his new foundation are favoured by the local gods, but, as preserved by Appian, contains no Seleukid symbols. Nevertheless, this myth (and those told in Syria) firmly tied the *poleis*’ identities to the Seleukid dynasty and served to remind the *poleis* of the enormous debt which they owed to the dynasty. Later kings stressed their links with the founding kings of the

³⁸⁴ Rostovtzeff (1941) 1.452 and eventually coins, see page 69-76.

³⁸⁵ *IGLS* 3.1184, a priest list from Seleukeia-in-Pieria in the reign of Seleukos IV includes two priests of the kings from Seleukos I to Seleukos IV, who are listed in full in the priests’ titles.

³⁸⁶ Laodikeia: *OGIS* 263; Doura-Eurōpos: Rostovtzeff (1935) 58.

³⁸⁷ Johnson (1932) 17ff.

³⁸⁸ Seyrig (1940) 343; Rostovtzeff (1941) 1.424.

³⁸⁹ Hopkins devotes a whole paragraph and a diagram (of an eagle trussed rather than rampant!) trying to work out how the outline of Seleukeia’s walls could possibly be taken for an eagle: (1972) 1f.

³⁹⁰ App. Syr. 9.58.

dynasty by reusing the names Seleukos and Antiochos and the early Seleukid epithets and thereby maintained this personal relationship.³⁹¹ Whereas the dynasty had to make gifts of special status to put the cities of Asia Minor deep in their debt (as discussed in Chapter one), the Syrian and Mesopotamian *poleis* were constantly reminded that they were indebted by the very fact of their foundation.

Antiochos IV's New Foundations

It seems that the desire to extend this special relationship throughout his realm was behind Antiochos IV Epiphanēs' renaming of a number of Mesopotamian and Syrian native cities as Antiocheias and Epiphaneias.³⁹² The significance of these name changes is hotly debated; they were once held up as evidence of Antiochos' efforts to spread Hellenism,³⁹³ but it is now often doubted whether they were anything more than a rebranding exercise.³⁹⁴ They seem to have indicated at least the nominal refoundation of these cities as Seleukid *poleis* (or the foundation of *poleis* within the native city),³⁹⁵ and they were accompanied by building works, such as the renovation and expansion of the theatre at Babylon.³⁹⁶ Whether they involved the settlement of Greeks is unclear; Antiochos potentially had partisans to resettle from Asia Minor, which had been lost to the Romans under his father. The Babylonian Astronomical Diaries make reference to a group called *lūpu-li-ṭa-nu*,³⁹⁷ a transliteration of the Greek *politēs* (πολίτης), citizen, suggesting a group of Greek speakers in a *polis*.³⁹⁸ In other cases, however, there seem to have been only Hellenising locals.³⁹⁹ Although this is the context from which the verb Ἑλληνίζειν gained the meaning of “to Hellenise,”⁴⁰⁰ the focus on the introduction of the

³⁹¹ e.g. *OGIS* 253, discussed below, in which Antiochos IV is given the epithets Θ[εοῦ] and σωτήρ, shared with Antiochos II and I respectively.

³⁹² Mørkholm (1966) 116.

³⁹³ Rostovtzeff (1941) 1.64.

³⁹⁴ Musti (1984) 200.

³⁹⁵ Rostovtzeff (1941), 2.703.

³⁹⁶ Mørkholm (1966) 118.

³⁹⁷ *AD* -162 Rev. 11-12 (163 BC) is the earliest instance.

³⁹⁸ Kuhrt (1987) 66. The continued activity of the traditional Babylonian officials and of the Esagila Temple implies that for the city's native inhabitants, Babylon continued to operate much as before, leading Sherwin-White & Kuhrt to suggest that Babylon had not been refounded as a Greek *polis*, but had had a *polis* founded within it: (1993) 256-258.

³⁹⁹ The most conspicuous example is Jerusalem, whose refoundation as an Antioch is described in *I Macc.* 1.13-15 and *II Macc.* 4.9-14. Like everything relating to Jerusalem, the meaning and accuracy of these accounts is extremely contentious. There are many discussions, but most treat Antiochos' Jerusalem policy in isolation from his policy to other centres and assume that Jerusalem loomed as large for Antiochos as it does for us, e.g. Gruen (1993); Morgan (1993).

⁴⁰⁰ Earlier it meant “to speak proper Greek” *LSJ* sv. Ἑλληνίζω.

dynastic names, the cult of Zeus Olympios,⁴⁰¹ and the Macedonian-style *petasos* hat⁴⁰² suggest that the process is better understood as Seleukidisation;⁴⁰³ the intention seems to have been to create the same coincidence of civic and dynastic identities which had already been established in the Tetrapolis and Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris. The clearest example of the centrality of this link to the whole project is *OGIS* 253, which was inscribed somewhere in north or central Mesopotamia⁴⁰⁴ to commemorate games held in conjunction with the Festival at Daphnē,⁴⁰⁵ says:

During the reign of Antiochos [IV] the g[od], saviour of Asia and foun[der] of the *polis*, at the thanksgiving games of the year [1]44, on the [third day] from the end of Hyperberetaios, Philip dedicated a [gift] to [Antiochos] the god manifest[t]...

Βασιλεύοντος Ἀντιόχου Θεοῦ, σωτῆρος τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ κτίστου τῆς πόλεως ἔτους ζμ' καὶ [ρ', τῶι] ἀγῶνι χαριστηρίοις ὑπὸ [τρίτην] ἀπιόντος Ὑπερβερεταίου, [Ἀντιόχῳ] Θεῷ Ἐπιφαν[εῖ δῶρο]ν ἀνέ[θηκεν] Φίλιππος...
(*OGIS* 253 l.1-7)

This inscription makes clear the central role which the king could have in a *polis* as its founder: it is an inscription about an offering made to Antiochos, during a festival for Antiochos, dated by reference to the reign of Antiochos, and it especially emphasises his role as founder (and saviour – an inflated reference to his failed invasion of Egypt). The reception of this policy among the native populations who made up the majority of the inhabitants of these cities varied. In the Mesopotamian cities, it might have suggested an equation of the Seleukid king with the local patron deity, the traditional founders of these cities, with whom their fates were intimately intertwined.⁴⁰⁶ At Jerusalem the local

⁴⁰¹ *II Macc.* 6.2. There is dispute about whether this cult was instituted in all Antiochos IV's refoundations, or just at Jerusalem, for the same passage reports that the sanctuary of the Samaritans at Gerezim was re-consecrated to Zeus *Xenios*: Gruen (1993) 252.

⁴⁰² *II Macc.* 4.12.

⁴⁰³ Rigsby (1980) 238.

⁴⁰⁴ This inscription, along with *OGIS* 254, is traditionally attributed to Babylon. However, as it was purchased from a dealer in Baghdad in the nineteenth century (who would profit for items from Babylon more than from elsewhere), that provenance is not at all secure: Sherwin-White (1982) 65.

⁴⁰⁵ Mørholm (1966) 100.

⁴⁰⁶ Van De Mieroop (1997) 47. All Mesopotamian cities were understood to have been founded by their gods – There was no native tradition of mortals founding cities (Sargon of Assyria's description of the foundation of Dur-Sharrukin represents only a partial exception in that though he stressed his role as founder, the city did not survive him): *ibid.*, 53-61.

response, especially among those who dwelt in the city's hinterland was extremely negative.⁴⁰⁷ There, the policy sparked the Revolt of the Maccabees and ultimately led to the complete independence of Judaea from Seleukid control. Jerusalem seems to be the only place where the policy provoked such a strong negative response, however. Even if things did not go according to plan in Jerusalem, the fact that Antiochos IV tried to extend the Seleukid *polis* model from the new foundations to the native settlements implies that the model was functioning to encourage loyalty to the dynasty in the new foundations. He would hardly try to spread the *polis* model if it had proven disloyal elsewhere.

Coinage and Minting

Coinage was a potential indicator of *polis* identity which became increasingly important in the Hellenistic period. Significantly, coinage of Syria and Mesopotamia was overwhelmingly royal in iconography and minting was controlled by the kingdom. A result of the way that the Seleukid kingdom was stitched together from the realms of several different *diadochoi* was that, from the very beginning, there were mints throughout the Seleukid realm – Houghton and Lorber identify at least thirty-nine separate mints operating under Seleukos I, which were slowly consolidated under his successors.⁴⁰⁸ Most scholars agree that, for the Greeks, the minting of coinage was bound up with ideas of the *eleutheria* and *autonomia*.⁴⁰⁹ It is important, therefore, that these early Seleukid mints produced their coins in the name of the king. Production of coinage in the early Hellenistic seems to have been instigated by the kings, controlled by the kings, and for the benefit of the kings, whether the specific benefit be the payment of mercenaries, encouraging colonisation,⁴¹⁰ assertion of authority,⁴¹¹ or as part of an effort

⁴⁰⁷ Why this should have been so is well beyond the purview of this thesis (Jerusalem is not in the Seleukid heartland) and has been discussed inconclusively and at length in the scholarship. For a review see Shipley (2000) 307-312.

⁴⁰⁸ Houghton & Lorber (2002) 1.1.11ff.

⁴⁰⁹ An influential exception, Martin (1985) will be addressed on page 74.

⁴¹⁰ Houghton & Lorber (2002) 1.1.5.

⁴¹¹ Ibid. e.g. Seleukos I's issues in Syria, which had already been flooded with Alexander-types by a succession of *diadochoi* and "had no particular need for new money." Asserting sovereignty in this way was an especial concern for illegitimate rulers: Antiochos Hierax (SC 873-886), Molōn (SC 949-951), and Achaïos (SC 952), all took care to produce silver/gold issues of exceptional quality. By contrast, Antiochos III did not even bother to mint silver in his newly spear-won territories of Koilē-Syria & Judaea: Houghton & Lorber (2002) 1.1.409.

to replace the payment of tax in kind.⁴¹² There were no civic coins in the Seleukid heartland until late in the period, and then only very erratically.

There is some evidence that there was local demand for coinage: during the disordered period following the death of Seleukos I, the minor, but well-excavated, colony of Doura-Eurōpos seems to have run out of bronzes and “a crude and possibly unofficial local mintage”⁴¹³ was issued locally to fill the gap. This implies that even at this very early stage in Doura-Eurōpos’ history, coinage had already established itself as an economic necessity and minting cannot, therefore, be viewed as an entirely ideological phenomenon. Local factors did have important practical impacts on coinage, as demonstrated by Kitt’s massive statistical analysis of all the Seleukid royal bronzes, which shows that the denominations issued varied wildly, both geographically and chronologically. In Kitt’s view, this must indicate the influence of local and temporal circumstances.⁴¹⁴ Nevertheless, the supply of these coins was entirely controlled by royal officials, as demonstrated at Doura-Eurōpos by the fact that every coin was countermarked by royal officials before entering circulation.⁴¹⁵ The picture, then, is one of royal dominance and control of minting.

However, there is some regional variation in coin designs, often taken to indicate some kind of local involvement or control over the minting process, which could then have been connected to *polis* sovereignty. It is clear that Greeks of Asia Minor took pride in being able to put their own civic symbols on their coins – a decree from very early Roman Sestos in Asia Minor records that the decision to mint bronzes was taken, partially, “in order to make common use of the distinctive coin-type of the *polis*” τοῦ νομειτεύεσθαι μὲν τὸν τῆς π[όλ]εως χαρακτῆρα (*OGIS* 339 l.44-45). A similar attitude presumably existed elsewhere.⁴¹⁶ There are two kinds of regional variation on Seleukid coins: variation of the main motifs and the use of local civic symbols as mintmarks. Variation of the main obverse and reverse motifs is common on issues from Asia Minor and Bactria – especially from the reign of Antiochos II.⁴¹⁷ In the case of Bactria, they indicate the gradually increasing independence of the satrap Diodotos from royal

⁴¹² Aperghis (2004) 29-32.

⁴¹³ Kitt (2002b) 1.2.41.

⁴¹⁴ Idem (2002a) 1.2.6-36.

⁴¹⁵ The fact of local issue is based on the uniqueness of the countermarks and their discovery at, and only at, Doura-Eurōpos: Bellinger (1949) 197; *SC* 363-368.

⁴¹⁶ Melville-Jones (1972) 40.

⁴¹⁷ Houghton & Lorber (2002) 1.1.168.

power.⁴¹⁸ Unlike these loosely-held regions, the issues of the Seleukid heartland almost always used standard royal motifs for their main images. Minting and the selection of main motifs was directed from the centre, as shown by the fact that the same motifs often occur throughout all or most of the kingdom.⁴¹⁹ Central control of numismatic motifs is further demonstrated by the kings' ability to quickly change coin motifs throughout the empire – for example, Antiochos II completely replaced the Apollo-omphalos type with the Apollo-tripod type throughout the realm almost immediately after his accession.⁴²⁰ The main motifs, then, were firmly under the control of the Seleukid kings.

The second type of variation was the use of *parasēma* (civic emblems) as mintmarks on the royal silver minted at a particular centre and was particularly common in Asia Minor.⁴²¹ These tiny symbols appear only at some mints and only under some kings. For instance, they all spontaneously disappear at the beginning of Seleukos II's reign, only to reappear in some cases under his rebellious brother, Antiochos Hierax.⁴²² The implication is that they reflect an ongoing process of status negotiation, undertaken afresh with the accession of each new king.⁴²³ There are relatively few cases of this practice east of Taurus – mostly from old native communities: the foreparts of a horse at Ekbatana in Mēdia,⁴²⁴ a bucranium at the sanctuary of Bambykē,⁴²⁵ and a grape cluster or a club on Tarsian coins.⁴²⁶ The most persistent of these, the Ekbatanan horse, was also a Seleukid royal symbol.⁴²⁷ The only example from a new foundation is Laodikeia-by-the-Sea, which displayed a dolphin mintmark from its foundation in 300 until c.245.⁴²⁸ But Laodikeia-by-the-Sea's coins are generally unusual – they were consistently modelled on the types issued under Alexander and were issued in greater quantity than any other mintage of the period; oddities which are probably related to their status as the Seleukid

⁴¹⁸ Holt (1999) 97ff.

⁴¹⁹ e.g. Seleukos I's bronze bull & Medusa-types found in the 280s at almost every mint between Sardis (SC 6) and Ai Khanoum, Bactria (SC 290).

⁴²⁰ Houghton & Lorber (2002) p. 232.

⁴²¹ e.g. Lysimacheia's lion (SC 481-483); Ilion's Athena Ilias (SC 488) vs. Sardis, which under Antiochos II had no mintmark on silver and gold (SC 517-19) and various royal symbols as mintmarks on bronzes (SC 520-31).

⁴²² Houghton & Lorber (2002) 1.1.231; examples: 239ff & 297ff.

⁴²³ Ibid., 1.1.166.

⁴²⁴ SC 200-216 onwards: Horses from Nēsaia in Mēdia had been famous since Achaimenid times: e.g. Hdt. 3.106.2 & 7.40.4

⁴²⁵ SC 38: Continuing a pre-Seleukid local coinage issue: Houghton & Lorber (2002) 1.1.27.

⁴²⁶ SC 330 & SC 332.1, respectively

⁴²⁷ The Seleukid horned horse motif, in particular, however, seems to be concentrated at first in the issues from Ekbatana – perhaps it was a local emblem which was rapidly appropriated by the dynasty?

⁴²⁸ Beginning with SC 36-37 and ending with SC 576. Image of SC 36 overleaf, from WildWinds.com http://wildwinds.com/coins/greece/seleucia/seleukos_I/SC_036@4.jpg (Accessed 23/06/2013)

trade currency in the Eastern Mediterranean.⁴²⁹ In place of *parasēma*, many royal bronze issues from the Seleukid heartland were countermarked with the Seleukid anchor – if the



Dolphin at left: SC 36 obverse, from wildwinds.com

grant of *parasēma* indicates some sort of sovereignty, then these Seleukid emblems would presumably indicate the opposite.⁴³⁰

However, the *parasēma* are tiny and to take them as central indications of civic status seems to exaggerate their importance. More likely, their absence from the coins of the new foundations simply reflects the fact that the new foundations had no traditional civic emblems aside from Seleukid symbols like the anchor. Thus the presence of anchors and other Seleukid symbols in place of *parasēma*

may be a result of the the Seleukid dynasty's efforts to make royal symbols a central part of civic identity.

Civic Coinage

The significance of using local *parasēma* on coins for the cities of Asia Minor is believed



One of the monograms at left: SC 335.4c obverse, from wildwinds.com.

to be the fact that they symbolised some sort of civic involvement in the minting process. Despite lacking *parasēma*, it appears from Antiochene issues under Antiochos I and II that the new foundations did sometimes enjoy such involvement in fact. Each year's issue of these coins bears a unique monogram.⁴³¹ Monograms usually indicate the royal official in charge of the mint in question. They typically appear for several issues and are often attested from

multiple mints as the official was transferred from one mint to another. Thus, the consistently annual monograms at Antioch are quite

⁴²⁹ Houghton (1999) 180.

⁴³⁰ e.g. SC 339 from Antioch under Antiochos II.

⁴³¹ SC 335; SC 571-2. Image of SC 335.4c from WildWinds.com http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/greece/seleucia/antiochos_I/SC_335@4c.jpg (accessed 24/06/2013)

odd. Houghton and Lorber argue that they point to a period in which there was an annual mint magistracy – and annual terms are the hallmark of civic magistracies.⁴³² These coins, then, indicate some civic involvement in the production of the royal coinage at Antioch.⁴³³ If such a boon was granted by kings Antiochos I and II, then it was targeted at the civic elite, who could potentially hold the magistracy and advertise themselves. The kings before Antiochos IV pointedly did not grant a civic coinage bearing the community's symbols and ethnic, which would have proclaimed that the *polis* was in control of its own finances.

The only possible examples of civic coinage of that type in the Seleukid heartland, at this early stage, were minted from 300 BC at Arados, the Phoenician island city, and they are the exception that proves the rule. A number of factors, including its naval power, defensible island location, and the Seleukid conflict with Dēmētrios Poliorkētēs, had allowed Arados to gain extensive autonomy from a very early date.⁴³⁴ It also had pre-existing traditions of self-rule and civic coinage,⁴³⁵ which Seleukos' foundations lacked.⁴³⁶ Further, the early Seleukids had some interest in allowing Arados some autonomy, in order to act as an intermediary in the trade between the Seleukid realm and the other cities of Phoenicia, which were wealthy but under Ptolemaic control.⁴³⁷ Despite all these factors, in the early period, even the Aradian coins were blazoned with the Seleukid anchor, and the ethnic of the community did not appear. Seleukos II granted Arados *autonomia* in 242, in the aftermath of the war he waged to take the Seleukid throne. Thereafter, Arados issued coins in the name of Alexander (SC 927), dated by a unique Aradian era.⁴³⁸ By 138/7 Arados was issuing its municipal silver coins on its own weight standard and in its own name.⁴³⁹ These coin issues were thus fairly clearly civically organised. However, Arados is the only city in the Seleukid heartland for which coinage suggests an early and complete movement towards independence from the

⁴³² Houghton & Lorber (2002) 1.1.xxi.

⁴³³ Rostovtzeff (1941) 1.448

⁴³⁴ Capdetrey (2007) 212; Grainger (1990a) 65 & 145ff.

⁴³⁵ Grainger (1990a) 53.

⁴³⁶ Rostovtzeff (1941) 1.156.

⁴³⁷ Seyrig (1970) 300.

⁴³⁸ These coins might have been permitted by the king, in part, to replace the Alexander-type trade coins of Laodikeia-by-the-Sea which had ceased by this time, though those had always been issued in the name of the Seleukids: Houghton (1999) 181.

⁴³⁹ Mørkholm (1984) 102.

Seleukid monarchy⁴⁴⁰ and this movement reflects circumstances which did not apply to the other *poleis* of the heartland.

Semi-Civic Coins of Antiochos IV and Alexandros I

The only comparable phenomenon for the other cities of Syria is some brief but enigmatic issues of Antiochos IV. These appeared, suddenly and briefly, in 169/8 at the beginning of Antiochos IV's reign. Nineteen of the Syrian cities began issuing bronze coins bearing their civic *ethnē* and civic symbols (in some cases quite unusual) on the reverse, and the king's image, but not his name, on the obverse.⁴⁴¹ Before this issue there had been no civic coinage in Syria, and the issues only lasted a few years in most places and none lasted into the reign of Antiochos V. A second batch was issued between 151 and 148, in the early reign of Antiochos IV's supposed son, Alexandros I Balas.⁴⁴² That they were issued all at once implies an initiative of the central government; that the designs and weights differ implies that the individual cities chose the designs.

The connotations of these issues are debated. According to the so-called *lex Seyrig*, Greek cities only issued coins in their own name if they were free or highly autonomous.⁴⁴³ Downey, therefore, thought that these issues represent weakening Seleukid control over the Syrian cities and prefigure the collapse of the Seleukid realm.⁴⁴⁴ It is difficult to believe that these coins represent grants of complete independence because all these civic coins depict Antiochos IV on their obverse, because many of the mints continued to issue normal royal bronzes alongside these civic issues,⁴⁴⁵ and because of the short duration of the issues.⁴⁴⁶ Martin attacked the *lex Seyrig*, using evidence from Macedonian-ruled Thessaly to argue that coinage was issued primarily for economic reasons and had almost no ideological significance whatsoever.⁴⁴⁷ In that case, there ought to be clear economic reasons for these issues. Bronzes could be lucrative for the *poleis*, because the nominal value of the coins exceeded the cost of the materials and labour required to make them, a link which the Greeks were aware of, as demonstrated by

⁴⁴⁰ Grainger (1990a) 145.

⁴⁴¹ *BMC*: Antiochos IV #58-85; Mørkholm (1966) 129.

⁴⁴² *BMC*: Alexander I #59-69; Hoover (2001) 23.

⁴⁴³ Thus named by Mastrocinque (1980-1981) 62, and popularised/attacked by Martin, (1985).

⁴⁴⁴ Downey (1961) 121.

⁴⁴⁵ Mørkholm (1961) 66.

⁴⁴⁶ Idem (1984) 101.

⁴⁴⁷ Martin (1985) esp. 163; Accepted by Oliver, "Politics of Coinage," 38.

an inscription from early Roman Sestos in Asia Minor.⁴⁴⁸ The coins might then represent a royal gift of this means of income to the cities.⁴⁴⁹ However, Heuchert notes that, in general, the profits from issuing bronzes might not be spectacular, as they were “only small change.”⁴⁵⁰ Profits would have been particularly limited in this case, because the kings continued to issue royal bronzes alongside the civic ones (eating into the potential profits) and because many of these issues were extremely limited: those of Cilicia and Askalōn are now attested by only one or two coins each.⁴⁵¹ Nor does it explain the novel iconography.⁴⁵² As discussed above, civic officials seem to have been put in charge of minting royal bronzes in earlier times – why not simply do this again and assign the profits from those issues to the cities? It thus seems unlikely that potential profits were the sole reason for the production of the coinage.

Thus, the imagery on these coins must be significant. The audience for this imagery must have been the *polis* of origin in most cases, because bronze coinage generally circulates locally.⁴⁵³ Significantly, the imagery recalls both the royal and civic spheres simultaneously. For example, the obverses all display the image of Antiochos IV, a clear expression of loyalty to him. However, on most of the issues Antiochos is depicted wearing a radiate crown, a symbol of divinity,⁴⁵⁴ which for the Syrian *poleis* was closely linked with his status as their founder’s heir. Most of them depict Zeus on the reverse,⁴⁵⁵ a patron of the Seleukid dynasty, in forms familiar from royal coinage. He was also identified with the gods of the many Syriac cult centres of the region, including that of Zeus Kasios who features prominently in Malalas’ rendition of the Tetrapolis’ foundation myths and could therefore be interpreted as a local symbol.⁴⁵⁶ Other *poleis*’ issues have reverses which are apparently civic emblems. For instance, some of Seleukeia-in-Pieria’s coins feature the thunderbolt,⁴⁵⁷ which was the object of a civic cult. The issues of Laodikeia-by-the-Sea consistently depict Zeus-Poseidon holding a

⁴⁴⁸ Bellinger (1949) 6.188; *OGIS* 339 l.45: gives, as one reason for minting, “the accompanying profit from such decision” (τὸ δὲ λυσίτελές τὸ περιγινόμενον ἐκ τῆς τοιαύτης προσόδου). Countermarks as a way for local administrations to protect these profits: Kitt (2002b) 1.2.42.

⁴⁴⁹ Hoover (2001) 23; Mørkholm (1984) 102.

⁴⁵⁰ Heuchert (2005) 32.

⁴⁵¹ Mørkholm (1961) 64.

⁴⁵² The issues of the Phoenecian cities and Syrian sanctuaries, in particular, feature many unprecedented symbols: Wright (2009/2010) 296.

⁴⁵³ Of the Syrian *poleis*, the only exception is Antioch, whose bronze issues were used by smaller settlements, even at some distance, such as Doura-Eurōpos: Bellinger (1949) 11.

⁴⁵⁴ Pollitt (1986) 32ff; Smith (1988) 42.

⁴⁵⁵ *BMC*: Antiochus IV #61-81; 86-87; Alexander #59, 63-65; 68-69.

⁴⁵⁶ Malalas 8.199.

⁴⁵⁷ *BMC*: Antiochus IV #83-84

dolphin,⁴⁵⁸ appropriate for a city whose connection with the sea was embedded in its very name. Several of Alexandros' issues from Seleukeia-in-Pieria and Antioch bear the legend "of the brother *dēmoi*" ἀδελφῶν δῆμων on the reverse, and busts on the obverse, which may be Zeus and Apollo and/or personifications of the two *dēmoi*.⁴⁵⁹ All of these images would resonate as civic symbols, but also as royal symbols. The Seleukeian cult of the thunderbolt had been founded by Seleukos I at that *polis*' foundation,⁴⁶⁰



Top: Laodikeia-by-the-Sea:

BMC #82 courtesy of BMC

Bottom: Seleukeia-in-Pieria:

BMC #83 courtesy of BMC

Laodikeia's Zeus-Poseidon and dolphin recalled a similar image used on her royal bronzes,⁴⁶¹ and Seleukeia and Antioch were only brothers because of their shared foundation by Seleukos I.⁴⁶² These images contrast quite strikingly with the simultaneous issues of the Phoenician cities which were part of the same phenomenon and likewise featured Antiochos IV on the obverse, but largely

featured images recalling their pre-Seleukid history and cults on the reverse.⁴⁶³ The imagery on the Syrian *poleis*' coins is significant, therefore, as an example of

how the Syrian *poleis* could express their identity as *poleis* and their loyalty to the Seleukid dynasty simultaneously. They affirm the centrality of Seleukid-ness to the Syrian *poleis*' identities.

Conclusion

There were three aspects to the Seleukid *polis* policy. The garrisons and structure of civic fortifications meant that obedience could be maintained by force, if necessary, but this was a poor basis for ensuring ongoing loyalty to the dynasty. That was better achieved by structuring the new foundations in the familiar form of the *polis* and particularly by

⁴⁵⁸ *BMC*: Antiochos IV #82; Alexander I #66-67.

⁴⁵⁹ *GCS*: Antioch on the Orontes #1-11. Rigsby convincingly quashes the idea that these represent an ephemeral Syrian League: "Seleukid Notes" 242ff.

⁴⁶⁰ *App. Syr.* 9.58.

⁴⁶¹ From *SC* 36 (her very first issues) onwards.

⁴⁶² "the four *poleis* [πόλεις]... which were called siblings of each other on account of their concord, as foundations of Seleukos Nikatōr" τέτταρες... αἵπερ καὶ ἐλέγοντο ἀλλήλων ἀδελφαὶ διὰ τὴν ὁμόνοιαν, Σελεύκου τοῦ Νικατόρος κτίσματα (Strabo 16.2.4). In general, when *poleis* spoke of kinship links, they understood those links as reflecting colonisation: Jones (1999) 14 & 60.

⁴⁶³ e.g. Byblos' issues featuring Kronos-El in the strikingly non-Seleukid and non-Greek form of a seraph: Wright (2009/2010) pl.6.5.

linking symbols of *polis* identity to the Seleukid dynasty so that expressions of *polis* identity were also expressions of loyalty and indebtedness to the dynasty. The program was extended to a number of native cities under Antiochos IV. The semi-civic coins of Antiochos IV and Alexandros I are a clear example of this form of expression in practice. While the dynastic names of the foundations of Alexander and the other *diadochoi* might reflect a similar policy, the Seleukid programme far exceeds these others in scale. It would only be matched by the *coloniae* founded in the names of Caesar and the Roman emperors in the Imperial period.

CHAPTER THREE: THE KING AND HIS *POLEIS*

This chapter analyses the ways in which the relationship between the new foundations and their king functioned. Although the Seleukid foundations were *poleis* in form, and by their nature were therefore entitled to a degree of self-government,⁴⁶⁴ it is, as Grainger notes, “remarkably difficult to find any Syrian city which *acts* in an independent way.”⁴⁶⁵ To a certain extent, this depends on the degree of independence we look for; if compared to Classical Athens, the Seleukid foundations are always going to look subservient; if on the other hand they are compared to what we know of Alexandria and Ptolemais-Hermiou in Ptolemaic Egypt, which apparently had no organs of self-government whatsoever,⁴⁶⁶ the Seleukid foundations look significantly more independent. The king could and did interfere deeply with the inner operations of the *poleis*, apparently without outcry,⁴⁶⁷ but the cities sought – and achieved – a degree of independent agency. In this respect they were similar the *poleis* of Asia Minor, but unlike the *poleis* of Asia Minor they sought only limited self-government, not full independence.

Royal Interference in *Polis* Affairs

The most obvious manifestation of royal power in the *poleis* were the Seleukid garrisons. As discussed above, the garrisons were the ultimate means of ensuring royal control over the *poleis*. In Western Asia Minor, some cities were left ungarrisoned,⁴⁶⁸ but in Syria and Mesopotamia garrisons seem to have been everywhere and were often massive. They exercised a great deal of control over their communities. An example is offered by Polybios, who recounts that, at the beginning of Antiochos III’s reign, the chief minister Hermias plotted against Epigenēs, a prominent royal friend and resident of Apameia by planting a treacherous letter in his house:

After this had been done, Alexis [the garrison commander, or *akrophylax*, of Apameia] was on the scene immediately and cross-examined Epigenēs, asking whether a letter had been brought from [the rebel] Molōn. When Epigenēs strongly denied this, Alexis asked to search the premises. Quickly entering, he found the letter, which he used as grounds to execute

⁴⁶⁴ Mørkholm (1966) 110.

⁴⁶⁵ Grainger (1990a) 65.

⁴⁶⁶ Bagnall (1976) 8.

⁴⁶⁷ Musti (1984) 205.

⁴⁶⁸ Ma (1999) 118f.

Epigenēs on the spot. Afterwards, the king was persuaded that Epigenēs had been justly killed and the men of the court, though suspicious of the affair, stayed silent out of fear.

οὗ γενομένου παρῆν εὐθέως Ἄλεξις, καὶ διηρώτα τὸν Ἐπιγένην μή τινας ἐπιστολάς κεκόμισται παρὰ τοῦ Μόλωνος. τοῦ δ' ἀπειπομένου πικρῶς ἐρευνᾶν ἤτει. ταχὺ δὲ παρεισελθὼν εὔρε τὴν ἐπιστολήν, ἣ χρησάμενος ἀφορμῇ παραχρῆμα τὸν Ἐπιγένην ἀπέκτεινεν. οὗ συμβάντος ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς ἐπείσθη δικαίως ἀπολωλέναι τὸν Ἐπιγένην, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὴν αὐλήν ὑπώπτευσον μὲν τὸ γεγονός, ἥγον δὲ τὴν ἡσυχίαν διὰ τὸν φόβον. (Polyb. 5.50.10-14)

The tenor of the passage and, particularly, its repeated emphasis on the speed with which Alexis acted (εὐθέως... ταχὺ... παραχρῆμα) make it clear that Alexis' actions were inappropriate. However, the affair is presented as an outrage on account of the disregard shown for natural justice, not because royal forces had interfered in the civic sphere. Further, the decision of what to do about the outrage fell entirely to the king, which does not bespeak civic freedom. The lack of response from the Apameians might indicate that such interferences were normal or unobjectionable to them,⁴⁶⁹ or it might simply be that Polybios did not care to record the city's response. That the case was brought to the attention of the king probably reflects the fact that Epigenēs had been a royal friend rather than any concerns about Alexis' jurisdiction. Thus, the passage demonstrates how severely royal agents could interfere in the *polis*, but not whether this instance was typical or atypical.

Antiochos IV, *Agoranomos*

Royal intervention was not limited to acts of terror. Kings could also engage in campaigns of official interference. The reign of Antiochos IV provides several examples of such interference. The most infamous are Antiochos' attempts to be elected as a municipal official of Antioch:

And often, disregarding kingliness and donning the toga, he went through the agora, canvassing for a magistracy and, shaking hands with some and embracing others, he exhorted them to give him their vote, sometimes to

⁴⁶⁹ Bikerman takes this passage as evidence that the *akrophylakes* had authority over civic justice: (1938) 163.

be *agoranomos*, sometimes to be *dēmarchos*. Having achieved the magistracy and sitting on an ivory chair, according to Roman custom, he witnessed the contracts of those who happened to be in the *agora* and made judgments with great zeal and enthusiasm. By these things, he led the reasonable people into confusion: Some assumed that he was stupid and others that he was insane.

πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τὴν βασιλικὴν ἀποθέμενος ἐσθῆτα τήβενναν ἀναλαβὼν περιήει κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἀρχαιρεσιάζων καὶ τοὺς μὲν δεξιούμενος, τοὺς δὲ καὶ περιπτύσσων παρεκάλει φέρειν αὐτῷ τὴν ψῆφον, ποτὲ μὲν ὡς ἀγορανόμος γένηται, ποτὲ δὲ καὶ ὡς δήμαρχος. τυχὼν δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ καθίσας ἐπὶ τὸν ἐλεφάντινον δίφρον κατὰ τὸ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἔθος διήκουε τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν γινομένων συναλλαγμάτων καὶ διεκρίνε μετὰ πολλῆς σπουδῆς καὶ προθυμίας. ἐξ ὧν εἰς ἀπορίαν ἤγε τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοὺς ἐπικειεῖς· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀφελῇ τινα αὐτὸν εἶναι ὑπελάμβανον, οἱ δὲ μαινόμενον.

(Polyb. 26.1.5-7).

Mørkholm saw this is part of an effort “to instil in the minds of the citizens that kind of public spirit which [Antiochos] had seen in Rome”⁴⁷⁰ and, thus, a deep intervention into Antioch’s civic sphere. However, it is hard to know how seriously to take this story – the conclusion of the passage, “some assumed that he was stupid and others that he was insane” does not inspire confidence in the account’s neutrality. If someone had wished to subvert Antiochos, this story was an effective way to do it, for it neatly combines the two major criticisms of his character – that he did not behave with sufficient dignity and that he was a Roman sympathiser. Both charges are highlighted in the opening line of Polybios’ rendition of the story, “disregarding kingliness and donning the toga...” Moreover, the civic roles which Polybios says Antiochos took on were low status and labour intensive. The description of Antiochos “witness[ing] the contracts of those who happened to be in the *agora* and mak[ing] judgments,” broadly agrees with the description of the *agoranomoi* in Aristotle⁴⁷¹ and with their presence on a number of

⁴⁷⁰ Mørkholm (1966) 40.

⁴⁷¹ At Athens, according to Arist.[*Ath.Pol.*] 51.1, *agoranomoi* were appointed “to manage all the sales” (τῶν ὀνίων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι πάντων)

Seleukid civic weights.⁴⁷² It is hard to believe that Antiochos would take on such a mundane role or that he would have had the time to fulfil its duties. However, in the Hellenistic Period, *agoranomos* could be given as an honorific title to someone who provided grain for the populace – the city might (speculatively) have awarded him the title in gratitude for a gift of grain and the appointment have been twisted subsequently by his enemies. Finally, even if Antiochos did do these things, it is unclear that Antioch was the main audience. Like his later Festival at Daphnē, this pageant might well have been intended for a Roman audience.⁴⁷³ If, for example, the event's place in Polybios' narrative reflects its chronology, Antiochos IV might have been intending to advertise his philo-Romanism so that the Romans would not object to his seizure of the throne or his campaign against Egypt.

The *Chreophylax* and Royal Tax

As a slur, the story could also indicate dissatisfaction with another, more institutional, type of royal intervention in the *polis*. This was the requirement, extended by Antiochos IV, that certain types of contract be witnessed – and taxed – by a royal agent, called the



Seal on clay bulla: Rostovtzeff (1932) #67

chreophylax. We know of this arrangement from archaeological evidence: bullae belonging to *chreophylakes* have been found at Uruk, and roughly ten thousand more in the archive at Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris; these bullae are rolls of clay which were wrapped around papyrus contracts in order to seal them – they are essentially sealings.⁴⁷⁴ The practice of sealing contracts with bullae was limited to Babylonian communities (and Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris), but a regular sealing found at

Jebel Khalid demonstrates that the office of *chreophylax* was more widespread.⁴⁷⁵ Many of the bullae from Uruk and Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris also bear stamps reflecting taxes on transactions, though not all – for which reason, Aperghis argues that the *chreophylakes*

⁴⁷² Rostovtzeff (1941) 1.454.

⁴⁷³ Antiochos IV seems to have been frequently concerned with Roman opinion: Morgan (1990) 51.

⁴⁷⁴ The Uruk seals are collated in Rostovtzeff (1932). On the Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris bullae see Bollati, Messina & Mollo. 2004. *Seleucia al Tigri: Le impronte di sigillo dagli Archivi*. Alessandria, Italy: Edizioni dell'Orso, which I have not been able to consult.

⁴⁷⁵ Clark (2002b) 202.

were just municipal witnesses of contracts, like those known from Parthian Doura-Eurōpos, whom contracting parties could optionally make use of in order to provide greater surety to their transactions.⁴⁷⁶ However, the seals clearly belonged to a royal official – not only do many depict Antiochos IV, but they do so in the same style as royal coins, as in the example at left.⁴⁷⁷ Furthermore, there are references at Uruk to *lú**mukin šarri*, “royal witnesses”⁴⁷⁸ – either the *chreophylakes* were municipal officials and the *lú**mukin šarri* were a separate set of royal witnesses at Uruk (who would then have left no archaeological trace), or *lú**mukin šarri* was the Akkadian term for the *chreophylakes* (who would otherwise be unattested in cuneiform records).⁴⁷⁹ The latter seems far more likely – in which case, the meaning of the Akkadian title confirms that the *chreophylakes* were royal officials. The contracts which the *chreophylakes*’ bullae sealed do not survive, but Doty correlated the sealings on bullae with the sealings on contemporaneous cuneiform contracts stored in the temple archive at Uruk and shows that different types of seal (which also appear on the bullae) reflect different types of contract. Doty notes that the cuneiform contracts for the sale of slaves disappear suddenly in the reign of Antiochos IV, while bullae for slave sales continued, and suggests that this disappearance was caused by Antiochos IV making the witnessing of contracts for sale of slaves obligatory in order to facilitate a royal tax on the slave trade.⁴⁸⁰ He further notes that the variety of contract types represented in the later cuneiform contracts is very limited, suggesting that the number of kinds of contract which did not have to be registered in Greek on papyrus with the *chreophylax* was eventually highly restricted.⁴⁸¹ Especially given that cities had their own civic institutions for witnessing contracts, forcing the use of a royal system represented a substantial interference in the everyday life of the *poleis*.

The Seleukid kings, then, could interfere in the inner life of the new foundations with an impunity that strongly contrasts with their careful approach to the *poleis* of Asia Minor. The cases of Alexis at Apameia and Antiochos IV at Antioch are prominent examples of the king and his officials interfering in the civic sphere, though it is difficult to judge how typical they are. In practice, the kings clearly felt no compunction interfering deeply in the internal affairs of these *poleis* by installing their own agents to

⁴⁷⁶ Aperghis (2004) 286.

⁴⁷⁷ Rostovtzeff (1932) 63.

⁴⁷⁸ Kuhrt (1996) 54.

⁴⁷⁹ Kuhrt (1996) 54.

⁴⁸⁰ Doty (1977) 333.

⁴⁸¹ Ibid.

oversee civic commerce and collect royal taxes. However, though royal interference could be deep and intensive, it was limited. The new foundations all possessed their own, non-royal institutions and, therefore, had the ability to administer themselves and their affairs independently of the kings.

Epigraphic Evidence

While the tentacles of the Seleukid monarchy undoubtedly interfered in the internal functions of the Seleukid foundations, both arbitrarily and institutionally, the Seleukid foundations did have their own internal institutions mimicking those of the traditional *poleis* (as discussed above, page 54). However, those institutions did not necessarily operate as they had in Classical *poleis*. The extent to which these institutions possessed jurisdiction over important matters and operated independently of the kingdom is unclear.

Two decree inscriptions, *IGLS* 4.1261 from Laodikeia-by-the-Sea and *IGLS* 3.2.1183 from Seleukeia-in-Pieria, are of particular relevance for determining the independence of the *poleis*' institutions. The two decrees show a number of parallels which suggest that the institutional systems of the two *poleis* were broadly similar. *IGLS* 4.1261 concerns the implications of a civic tax, and provides evidence for civic autonomy in internal matters. *IGLS* 3.2.1183 of 186 BC, already referred to above on page 54, concerns honours to Aristolochos, a royal friend and official granted by Seleukeia-in-Pieria in response to a letter from the king; in the process, several institutions are mentioned or seen in action. The decrees were both ostensibly issued by the *polis* in question. They both take the structure of an ordinary civic decree. In and of itself, this need not be deeply significant – in the Hellenistic Period, many *polis*-like communities, such as military colonies, produced inscriptions vaguely modelled on civic decrees.⁴⁸² The spread of the decree model testifies to the vitality of the *polis* ideology and its infiltration of new and lower-order communities, but the forms found in such smaller order communities tend to be far less elaborate and generally interact with satraps and *hyparchoi* (district governors) of the kingdom's hierarchy than the decrees of full *poleis*.

IGLS 4.1261 and *IGLS* 3.2.1183, on the other hand, are not shallow imitations of civic decrees, but as elaborate as any decree of Hellenistic Athens or Milētos.⁴⁸³ Both

⁴⁸² E.g. Wörle (1975) 59-87. Further discussion: Cohen (1978) 25ff.

⁴⁸³ On the formulae of Hellenistic decrees, Cf. Ma (1999) 183; McLean (1972) 218-232; Woodhead (1967) 38-39.

consist of a single, exceptionally long sentence, presented as the indirect speech of the decree's proposer, who is named at the head of the decree. The language used in such decrees is very elaborate and formulaic – particularly for honorific decrees, like *IGLS* 3.2.1183, in which the impressiveness of the decree's language formed part of the honour. Both consist of a preamble in two very long clauses, the first, which begins with ἐπεὶ (“whereas” or “since”), provides specific background for the decree, while the second, beginning with ὅπως, is the hortatory, which provides the general reason for action, e.g. why the city honours people; by its nature this section tends to be very formulaic. The hortatory is followed by an enactment formula, usually ἔδοξεν τῷ δήμῳ (“it seemed good to the people”), which officially brought the decree into force. Often, as in both of these decrees, this enactment formula was elided into the following section, which begins with the citation formula δεδόχθαι (“be it resolved”), and states what action the *polis* has decided will be taken. Both decrees are dated by the Seleukid calendar and era, another indication of the way in which Seleukid symbols were incorporated into the identities of these *poleis* – cities in Asia Minor generally used their own individual dating systems, or a special Anatolian calendar.⁴⁸⁴ Thus, *IGLS* 4.1261 and *IGLS* 3.2.1183 are proper civic decrees of some complexity, not mere imitations – yet more evidence that the Seleukid foundations were actual *poleis*.

***IGLS* 4.1261 of Laodikeia-by-the-Sea**

IGLS 4.1261, from Laodikeia-by-the-Sea is the less elaborate of the two decrees, probably because it is concerned with an internal legal matter, whereas *IGLS* 3.2.1183 is a flowery gift of honours. Sosin reconstructed the context for the decree as follows: the *polis* had passed a law, requiring people to pay a fee for dedicating theoric statues on public land. Rather than comply, people flocked to dedicate their statues in a private sanctuary, whose owners, fearing that their sanctuary would be ruined by overcrowding, petitioned the civic magistrates and the *epistatēs* to act. The decree itself is the response of the *epistatēs* and magistrates – they amended the law so that a fee would also have to be paid to dedicate statues in the private sanctuary.⁴⁸⁵ The inscription thus demonstrates that the Laodikeians were permitted to make and amend laws on some internal matters, including religion and taxation. This control was real enough for the owners of the sanctuary, who were in need of real relief, to appeal to the *polis* officials in the first place.

⁴⁸⁴ Bikerman (1938) 145; McLean (1972) 169.

⁴⁸⁵ Sosin (2005).

This should not be seen as just jurisdiction over matters too minor for the king to care about. The ability to levy taxes implies control over a treasury (potentially substantial given that the decree was motivated by the vast amount of dedications being made).⁴⁸⁶ Moreover, religious matters were of central importance to classical *poleis*,⁴⁸⁷ as they were essential to the prosperity of the community and included often contentious matters of public welfare and entertainment.⁴⁸⁸ Thus, Laodikeia possessed real power to act autonomously in regard to matters of central concern to its inhabitants.⁴⁸⁹

IGLS 3.2.1183 of Seleukeia-in-Pieria

IGLS 3.2.1183 is also a decree, honouring Aristolochos, a royal friend, with citizenship and a statue in the *bouleutērion*. Unlike *IGLS 4.1261*, it is the response to a letter from king Seleukos IV – and therefore provides evidence of the degree of independence that Seleukeia-in-Pieria had in its interactions with the king. It demonstrates both explicit submission to royal authority, and a limited assertion of civic sovereignty.

In the decree, Seleukeia-in-Pieria makes its submission to royal authority very clear. The decree refers to the letter from the king which motivated it as a *prostagma* (πρόσταγμα), rather than an *epistolē* (ἐπιστολή). Although both words can mean “letter,” in the language of Hellenistic chanceries, *epistolē* was used for letters in general, including those written to other kings, states and autonomous entities (such as the cities of Western Asia Minor), while *prostagma* specifically referred to letters sent to officials and other subordinate entities.⁴⁹⁰ Regardless of whom he was addressing, the king usually referred to his own letters as *epistolai*,⁴⁹¹ but for a recipient to use the term *prostagma*, as the Seleukeia-in-Pieria decree does, was to explicitly acknowledge an inferior status.⁴⁹² A particularly clear example of this distinction comes from an inscription of Laodikeia-in-Mēdia (modern Nahāvand), concerning the establishment of a cult for Queen Laodikē. In that, King Antiochos III wrote a letter to an official, which he expressly refers to as an *epistolē*. When, however, the official passed that letter on to Laodikeia-in-Mēdia he said, “attached is a copy of the *prostagma* written to us by the king” τοῦ [γ]ραφέντος πρὸς

⁴⁸⁶ Cf. the importance of the theoric fund in classical Athens.

⁴⁸⁷ Hansen (2006) 118ff.

⁴⁸⁸ Sosin (2005) 139.

⁴⁸⁹ The degree to which it actually was autonomous depends on one’s interpretation of the office of *epistatēs* (to be discussed below, page 89ff.).

⁴⁹⁰ Bikerman (1938) 145; Holleaux (1933) 14; Cotton & Wörrle (2007) 195; Ma (1999) 107.

⁴⁹¹ e.g. *Hefzibah* l.34

⁴⁹² Cotton & Wörrle (2007) 195; Ma (1999) 104.

ἡμᾶς προστάγματος [παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ὑποτέτακται [τὸ ἀντί]γραφον (*Inscription d'Iran*, l.2-5). Laodikeia-in-Mēdia simply inscribed the order without even passing a decree, demonstrating its lack of choice in the matter. No doubt many of the decrees of cities in Asia Minor were also issued in response to royal letters, but as the *poleis* there went out of their way to disguise royal influence, they generally did not include letters from the king except to keep a record of royal benefactions (useful should an official or later king attempt to ignore or rescind the gift). The *poleis* in Asia Minor always refer to royal letters as *epistolai*, and they very rarely acknowledge them as a motivating factor in civic decision-making. Thus, scholars such as Capdetrey have interpreted *IGLS* 3.2.1183, in which the royal letter is included on the inscription and referred to as a *prostagma* as representing “the integration of Seleukeia-in-Pieria into the Seleukid power structure and the total submission of the subject cities.”⁴⁹³

Further evidence of Seleukeia-in-Pieria’s subjugation might be seen in the king’s letter, which proclaims:

Because Aristolochos of our honoured friends furnished the needs of our father, brother, and ourselves with total goodwill, and in most fraught times has eagerly demonstrated his devotion to our affairs, and in other respects we consider him worthy of the goodwill which he embodies and we have honoured him with a bronze statue...

Ἀριστόλογον τῶν τιμωμένων φίλων παρεισχημένον τὰς χρείας μετὰ πάσης εὐνοίας τῷ τε πατρὶ ἡμῶν καὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ καὶ ἡμῖν, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις καίροις πεποιημένον ἀποδείξεις ἐκτενεῖς τῆς πρὸς τὰ πράγματα αἰρέσεως, καὶ κατὰ τὰ λοιπὰ μὲν προμηθούμεθα ἀξίως ἥς προσφέρεται [εὐνοί]ας καὶ εἰκόνι δὲ χαλκῇ ἐστεφανώσαμεν... (*IGLS* 3.2.1183 l.31-37)

All of these reasons for honouring Aristolochos are related to his service to the Seleukid king and dynasty. The letter is not phrased as a recommendation to the city – there is no indication that Seleukeia-in-Pieria has any option other than obedience. The king’s perspective was clearly that the city had no choice.⁴⁹⁴

⁴⁹³ Capdetrey (2007) 217: «l’intégration de Séleucie de Piérie à la structure de pouvoir séleucide et la totale soumission des cités sujettes.»

⁴⁹⁴ e.g. Holleaux (1933) 15: “it is clear that the decree has been brought about by command and was only passed by vote in order to satisfy the wishes more or less expressly declared by the king in his letter” «il est

As the main decree shows, the city *did* obey the king's command and it acknowledged that that was what it had done by using the word *prostagma* in the preamble. However, the preamble's justification of the honours voted to Aristolochos does not leave it at that. Instead, it claims that Aristolochos deserved honour because:

in many cases [he] has both been of advantage to the city and has voluntarily aided the citizens publicly and individuals privately, and, moreover, Konōn, Zēthos, Androklēś, [and] Artemidōros, the ambassadors who were sent to the King and have returned, reported how much trouble he went to with the King regarding the matters for which they were sent...

ἐν τε πλείοσιν τῶν τῇ πόλει συμφερόντων καὶ κοινῇ τοῖς πολίταις καὶ ἰδίαί ἐκάστῳ συνεμβαίνοντος ἀπαρακλητῶς, ὥς καὶ οἱ πεμφθέντες πρεσβευταὶ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Κόνων, Ζῆθος, Ἀνδροκλῆς, Ἀρτεμίδωρος ἐπαναγαγόντες ἀπήγγειλαν ἦν [προ]σηνέγκατο σπουδὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλέως περὶ ὧν ἐτύγχανον ἀπεσταλμένοι...

(IGLS 3.2.1183 l.7-14)

The central idea is that Aristolochos was worthy of honour, not for services to the king which are left unmentioned, but for his services *to the city*, both general and specific. Despite the concession that honouring Aristolochos is the king's command, the decree expends much more effort establishing that it is also in the city's interest. The trend continues in the hortatory section, where it is said that Seleukeia-in-Pieria honours people:

in order that others also (learning what comes from our city to those who endeavour to love goodness) might become imitators of [him in] aiding the citizens...

ὅπως καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἐπιγινώσκοντες τὰ παρὰ τῆς πόλεως ἀπαντῶμενα τοῖς φιλαγα{γα}θεῖν πειρωμένοις, συνσωΐζειν τοὺς πολίτας ζηλῶται γινόμενοι...

(IGLS 3.2.1183 l.16-19)

manifeste que le décret a été rendu par ordre et n'a été voté qu'afin de satisfaire aux volontés plus ou moins expressément signifiées par le roi dans son écrit»

Though hortatory sections are usually extremely formulaic, this hortatory still demonstrates a focus on the reasons why *the city* chooses to honour Aristolochos. The decree never claims to honour him “for his services to the king” or “so that others also might seek to emulate him by rendering service to the king.” Thus Seleukeia-in-Pieria here claims independent agency, just as a city of Western Asia Minor might.⁴⁹⁵ When it comes to the actual action, the city goes even further:

It is resolved by the people to commend Aristolochos for such conduct
and to grant our citizenship to him.

δεδόχθαι τῷ δήμῳ ἐπαινέσαι τε Ἀριστόλοχον ἐπὶ τῇ τοιαύτῃ προαιρέσει
καὶ ὑπάρχειν αὐτῷ παρ’ ἡμῖν πολιτείαν.
(IGLS 3.2.1183 l.20-22)

The decision to grant Aristolochos citizenship is presented as deriving from the city. It is not mentioned in the extant portion king’s letter and the verb ὑπάρχειν is typically used in Hellenistic inscriptions to indicate that something granted by the authority of the issuer of the decree.⁴⁹⁶ This implication is strengthened by the contrast with the dedication of the statue, mentioned immediately thereafter, and explicitly identified as a grant of the king: “the statue given by his *prostagma*” διὰ τοῦ προστάγματος δ<ιδ>ομένην εἰκόνα (IGLS 3.2.1183 l.22-23). The decree then finishes by discussing the logistics of enrolling Aristolochos as a citizen. Thus all focus is on the city as an independent actor, which suggests a desire on the city’s part to be such an actor. The decree as a whole suggests a process of negotiation between royal and civic wills, like the decrees of the *poleis* of Western Asia Minor, but with the balance falling far more in the king’s favour than in Asia Minor. The *polis*’ presentation of itself as an autonomous actor would be pleasing to all parties: Aristolochos received honours from two groups instead of one, the city was

⁴⁹⁵ Note the parallel phrasing of OGIS 339 l.90 from Sestos: “that they might become emulators of his greatness” ζηλωταὶ μὲν τῶν καλλίστων γίνονται.

⁴⁹⁶ e.g. OGIS 223 l.28, from Seleukos II to Erythrai “... also will be granted to you and whatever other benefaction we think of or you [ask for]” ὑπάρξει δὲ ὑμῖν καὶ ἡ [... καὶ ἐὰν τι ἄλλο φιλόανθρωπον ἢ ἡμεῖς ἐπινοήσωμεν ἢ ὑμεῖς ἀξιόσητε]ε ... ;

RC 25 l.36-39 from Ziaēlas of Bithynia to Kōs “to consider those who dock at the places which we rule in order that [our] protection be granted to them” προσβάλλοντες τοῖς τόποις ὧν ἡμεῖς κρατοῦμεν φροντίζειν ὅπως ἡ ἀσφάλει[α] αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχη;

RC 26 l.8-12, from (probably) Seleukos II to Kōs, “they asked that *asylia* be granted from us to those coming to the Asklepieia [...] and to the temple itself,” ἡξίουσαν ἀσυλίαν τοῖς ἐπὶ τὰ Ἀσκληπίεια παραγινομένοις [...] καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ ἱερῷ παρ’ ἡμῶν ὑπάρξαι.

This usage is independent of the meanings “pre-existing” and “friendship/relationship,” which only occur in Hellenistic inscriptions when the verb is an appositive participle and a substantive participle respectively.

able to claim agency, and, if the king ever had occasion to hear the decree, he would be gratified to hear that the wishes and interests of the *polis* coincided with his own.

Officials and Institutions within the *Polis*

The decrees and the civic coins both suggest a desire to act as free agents under the kings. They also provide insight into the political structure of the *poleis*. *IGLS* 3.2.1183 and *IGLS* 4.1261 both mention an *epistatēs*, who acted as interface between king and city; a group of magistrates, the archons; and a small Assembly. These similarities make it fairly likely that both decrees represent a similar constitutional system. It is not surprising that two cities of the Syrian Tetrapolis should show constitutional similarities given that they were founded on the same physical model at the same time.⁴⁹⁷ The similarities between their constitutional structures presumably date back to their initial foundation.⁴⁹⁸ Supplemented by other, shorter inscriptions and incidental references in the literary evidence, it is possible to make some generalisations about the internal political structures of the Seleukid foundations, the way those structures functioned, and the degree to which they were dependent on the king and his officials.

The *Epistatēs*

For the purpose of understanding the relationship between king and *polis*, the *epistatēs* and archons are the most important officials. The *epistatēs* has often been understood as a royal governor and commander of the local royal garrison.⁴⁹⁹ This is an inaccurate characterisation.⁵⁰⁰ The *epistatēs* did not generally have command of military forces and his position was more complex than ‘governor’ implies. He was, at once, both the royal representative appointed over the *polis* and a magistrate of the *polis* exercising power according to the laws.

The *epistatai* are prominent in the two decrees discussed above (*IGLS* 3.2.1183 and *IGLS* 4.1261). The *epistatēs* of Seleukeia-in-Pieria, Theophilos, was an addressee of the Seleukos IV’s letter, alongside the archons of the city. With them, he drafted and officially proposed the decree. The Laodikeia-by-the-Sea decree was also proposed by

⁴⁹⁷ See discussion of insulae above (page 42 & 47).

⁴⁹⁸ Rostovtzeff (1941) 1.487.

⁴⁹⁹ E.g. Holleaux (1933) 27; McDowell (1972) 152; Mørkholm (1966) 110ff.; Musti (1966) 186; Roueché & Sherwin-White (1985) 31; Sherwin-White & Kuhrt (1993) 165; Shipley (2000) 75; Walbank (1984) 72; On the lack of criticism in the scholarly literature on this point: Haztopoulos (1996) 377.

⁵⁰⁰ Grainger (1990a) 62; Hammond (1999) 374 sees the *epistatēs* as more of a ‘royal agent’, which seems more accurate, as will be discussed below.

the city's *epistatēs*, Asklēpiadēs, along with the archons. *Epistatai* are also attested at Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris,⁵⁰¹ Doura-Eurōpos,⁵⁰² and Jerusalem from the time of Antiochos IV.⁵⁰³ Recipients of royal letters at other cities also appear to be *epistatai*: the inscription from Laodikeia-in-Mēdia has identical phrasing to *IGLS* 3.2.1183 and is therefore likely addressed to an *epistatēs*.⁵⁰⁴ The *paḥatu* at Babylon and the *šaknu* at Uruk have been interpreted as *epistatai* or analogues.⁵⁰⁵ In most cases, however, the identification is uncertain, as the Seleukid kings rarely employed the titles of their subordinates in correspondence. The office seems to have been associated with the new foundations, for there is no evidence of *epistatai* in the old cities of Asia Minor.⁵⁰⁶

It seems highly likely that the Seleukid *epistatai* derive from the homonymous office in the cities of coastal Macedon in the fourth century, itself a continuation of an office in the Chalkidian League.⁵⁰⁷ Hatzopoulos' definitive study of Macedonian institutions concluded that in fourth-century Macedon, these *epistatai* were eponymous annual civic magistrates, citizens of the city in question, whose role was to chair a board of magistrates (usually called archons, like the magistrates at Seleukeia-in-Pieria and Laodikeia-by-the-Sea) and to receive messages from the king and others on behalf of that board and the city.⁵⁰⁸ In Hatzopoulos' schema, then, the *epistatēs* represents a city with substantial self-rule.

Hatzopoulos denies that the Macedonian *epistatai* were royal officials, on account of the number of cities that had them and the annual nature of the office. The nature of Macedonian and Hellenistic officialdom means that the king simply cannot have had enough officials within his court: in the Hellenistic system, royal officials were presented

⁵⁰¹ Polyb. 5.48.12.

⁵⁰² *P.Dura* #16B; #17A; #17C; #25: These are all of Parthian date, but presumably reflect the continuation and development of an earlier office: Rostovtzeff (1941) 856.

⁵⁰³ *II Macc.* 5.22.

⁵⁰⁴ *Inscription d'Iran I.1.*

⁵⁰⁵ Babylon: Hammond (1999) 374. The *paḥatu* is always associated with the *politai* of Babylon and one Babylonian chronicle refers to an official who is apparently the *epistatēs* of Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris as a *paḥatu*: Boiy (2004) 206. It therefore seems highly likely that he was the *epistatēs* of the Greek community within Babylon.

Uruk: Walbank (1957, 1967, 1979) 1. 579; Doty (1977) 24, is more cautious. Even if the *šaknu* were the analogue of an *epistatēs* from the king's perspective, Uruk was not organised on the *polis* model and its internal political structure remained largely as it was before the Macedonian conquest: Linssen (2004) 168, so the *šaknu* cannot be used as evidence for the internal role of the *epistatēs* in the Seleukid *poleis*.

⁵⁰⁶ Bikerman (1938) 145; Cohen (1978) 81. There were *epistatai* at Miletos, but they formed a board, pre-date the Hellenistic period, and are not the same magistracy: Nawotka (1999) 104. They are also attested in Asia Minor as sanctuary managers: Aperghis (2004) 284.

⁵⁰⁷ Hatzopoulos (1996) 156-166 & 371-427.

⁵⁰⁸ Hatzopoulos (1996) 156-166 & 371-427.

as royal friends or *philoī* (φίλοι), assisting, not serving, the king, in order to avoid the shameful implication that they were servants.⁵⁰⁹ Since royal officials derived their authority from the strength of their personal friendship with the king, the number of officials in the kingdom was limited by the number of personal friendships which the king could possibly have. In light of Hatzopoulos' argument, Bikerman's interpretation of the Seleukid *epistatai* as citizens of their *poleis* seems reasonable.⁵¹⁰ But Hatzopoulos' point need not hold for the Seleukid *epistatai*. The Seleukid kings had a far larger pool of courtiers than the Tēmenids and, increasingly, the idea that these courtiers were just friends helping the king out was more notional than actual.⁵¹¹ Moreover, whereas the Macedonian *epistatai* had to be annual positions because their names were used as the name for each civic year, the Seleukid cities used the Seleukid royal dating system instead and could therefore have the same *epistatēs* indefinitely.⁵¹² The trend was definitely towards long term tenures: by AD 51, the *epistatēs* at Doura-Eurōpos was a hereditary dynast.⁵¹³ When the office became hereditary is unclear, but Doura-Eurōpan *epistatai*'s frequent use of the name Seleukos and maintenance of the Seleukid cults strongly suggests that their family traced their roots to the Seleukid period. It would not be surprising if the Seleukid *epistatai* were basically hereditary in general; several important Seleukid royal governorships were *de facto* hereditary.⁵¹⁴ Therefore, it seems likely that the Seleukid *epistatai*, unlike their earlier Macedonian forebears, were in charge of their *poleis* for long periods of time, potentially inheriting the office for many generations.

The Seleukid kings consistently maintain a distinction between the *epistatēs* and the cities' magistrates, marking the *epistatēs* as separate from the city.⁵¹⁵ For example, the salutation of Seleukos IV's letter to Seleukeia-in-Pieria in *IGLS* 3.2.1183, firmly separates the *epistatēs*, Theophilos, from his city and magistrates, by both a καὶ and an intervening genitive:

⁵⁰⁹ Herman (1982) 119ff.

⁵¹⁰ Bikerman (1938) 163.

⁵¹¹ Herman (1982) 124f.

⁵¹² Bikerman (1938) 145. The royal dating system can be seen in use in *IGLS* 3.2.1183 l.27; *IGLS* 4.1261 l.1; *OGIS* 257 l.18.

⁵¹³ Johnson (1932) 17.

⁵¹⁴ The best attested example is the line of Thrased governors in Cilicia (later promoted given control of all Koilē-Syria): Jones & Habicht (1989) 342.

⁵¹⁵ Hammond (1999) 374, e.g. *IGLS* 3.2.1186.

King Seleukos to Theophilos and to the archons and city of the Seleukeians-in-Pieria, greetings.

βασιλεὺς Σέλευκος Θεοφίλῳ καὶ Σελευκέων τῶν ἐμ Πιερία τοῖς ἄρχουσι
καὶ τῇ πόλει χαίρειν
(IGLS 3.2.1183 l.28-29)

Referring to an individual at all is unusual – letters to *poleis* in Asia Minor were invariably “to the council and people” (τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ).⁵¹⁶ A much later inscription, which purports to free Seleukeia-in-Pieria and will be discussed in more detail below, follows this format, implying that the kings viewed the office as incompatible with civic freedom. Further, the king’s letter refers to Theophilos without a title, the usual way for the king to refer to his officials; using titles would imply shameful servitude and an impersonal relationship, not the friendship which was supposed to exist between a king and his *philoî*. As a result, kings addressed their officials only by name and terms of endearment.⁵¹⁷ There is a strong implication, then, that Seleukos viewed Theophilos as a royal *philos*, which is not necessarily mutually exclusive with Theophilos also being viewed by the *polis* as a civic magistrate.

There are three parallel cases which suggest that the Seleukid kings viewed civic leaders as royally appointed *philoî*. These cases also suggest, however, that the kings selected these leaders from among the inhabitants of the *polis* in question. The first of these cases is the *kohén gadól* (כֹּהֵן גָּדוֹל), the High Priest of Jerusalem. Antiochos IV appointed a series of individuals to this office,⁵¹⁸ all drawn from the group eligible as (alleged) descendents of Aaron, brother of Moses. When Antiochos mentions one of his appointees, Menelaos, in a letter to Jerusalem, he is untitled, in the manner of a royal friend.⁵¹⁹ However, it is unclear how far the unique situation at Jerusalem can be generalised. The second example comes from the Astronomical Diaries, which explicitly mention that the *paḥatu* of Babylon was appointed from among the *pulite* (i.e. *politai*).⁵²⁰ If the *paḥatu* was the *epistatēs* of the Greek/Hellenised community of Babylon, then this

⁵¹⁶ e.g. OGIS 214; 223; 227; 231; 232.

⁵¹⁷ e.g.; Joseph. AJ 12.148 to Zeuxis (in charge of Asia Minor); Hefzibah letters to *stratēgos* Ptolemaios and other local officials; *Inscription d’Iran* to Menedēmos (*stratēgos*?); OGIS 221 to Meleagros (*stratēgos* of the Hellespontine satrapy).

⁵¹⁸ e.g. Joseph. AJ 12.237-240.

⁵¹⁹ II Macc. 11.29 & 11.32. Habicht, argues persuasively that the letter is genuine, “Royal Documents in Maccabees II,” 12.

⁵²⁰ AD -129 A₂ Obv.17,

offers fairly explicit evidence for the *epistatēs* as an official appointed from the local populace.⁵²¹ The *paḥatu* is repeatedly mentioned in the diaries as the person to whom messages from the king were read,⁵²² so this evidence might also support the idea that the *epistatēs* was a *philos* from the king's point of view. Again, though, it is difficult to know whether it is possible to generalise from Babylon. The third piece of evidence is *OGIS* 254, an inscription of Mesopotamian provenance, in which the *Epistatēs* Dēmokratēs is honoured by the (unidentified) city in which he serves.⁵²³ Dēmokratēs is called the son of Byttakos, an exceptionally rare name which is otherwise only attested in Polybios,⁵²⁴ as the name of one of Antiochos III's generals during the Fifth Syrian War, Byttakos the Macedonian, who led a contingent of troops from throughout the kingdom and was certainly a royal *philos*.⁵²⁵ His son would have been likely to become one too, so this inscription would be good evidence that the kings appointed *philoī* as *epistatēs*. Like the other two examples, there is a slight snag in that the date on the inscription is partially destroyed. Some have argued that the inscription actually dates to the Parthian period (129 BC-AD 228), on the grounds that Dēmokratēs also holds the title of *stratēgos*, and the combination of that title with *epistatēs* is otherwise attested only at Parthian Doura-Eurōpos.⁵²⁶ But *stratēgos* is a very common title and the combination of offices could have Seleukid roots or have occurred independently in Dēmokratēs' case.⁵²⁷ Thus, though these three items of evidence are individually rather weak, together they make a strong case for the *epistatai* having been royal *philoī*. They also suggest that the *epistatai* tended to be locals, could form part of a dynasty, and could be civic officials from the *polis*' perspective.

Of the *epistatai* of the new foundations the only one about whom we have any evidence at all is the aforementioned Theophilos of Seleukeia-in-Pieria and he seems to conform to this pattern insofar as he seems to be addressed as a royal *philos*, as discussed above. It is possible that he was an inhabitant of the *polis* before his appointment like Menelaos and the Babylonian *paḥatu*. A Theophilos is honoured for holding games in an inscription of 197 BC as a native of Seleukeia: "Theophilos, son of Diogenēs, the

⁵²¹ Hammond (1999) 374.

⁵²² e.g. AD -132 B Rev. 23-25, -124 B Rev. 17.

⁵²³ Sherwin-White (1982) 65.

⁵²⁴ And in inscriptions relating to an Athenian family of the first century BC: Lambert, "Greek Inscriptions on Stone," 507.

⁵²⁵ Polyb. 5.79.4. Identification derives from Köhler, "Zwei Inschriften aus der Zeit Antiochos' IV," 1107.

⁵²⁶ *P.Dura* #16b; # 17A & C; #25; Johnson (1932) 17ff.; Rostovtzeff & Welles (1931) 54.

⁵²⁷ Rostovtzeff (1941) 856.

Seleukeian from Pieria” Θεόφιλον Διογέ[νους Σελ]ευκέα ἀπὸ Πιερίας (*SEG* 36.1280 l.2-3). Another “Theophilos, son of Ant...” Θεόφιλος Ἀντ[— — —] (*IGLS* 3.1184 B l.9) occurs as the *polis*’ annual priest of Apollo in an inscription from the reign of Seleukos III (187-175 BC). Unfortunately, these two examples only serve to underline the fact that Theophilos is a very common name; either of these could have later become Theophilos the *Epistatēs*, or he could be a third individual. If the office was, as suggested above, a semi-hereditary one, however, the possibility of Theophilos the *Epistatēs* being a local is increased, however. As we shall see, however, there is a fair amount of evidence supporting the idea that, as in the three cases above, Seleukeia-in-Pieria viewed its *epistatēs* as in some manner a local magistrate.

Role within the City

What, then, was the role of the *epistatai* within the *poleis*? On this point, Cohen frankly declared, “we do not know what, if any, powers... [they] had.”⁵²⁸ One reason for this uncertainty is that *epistatēs* is a vague word. Its literal meaning, “one who is set over,” is a concept capable of many meanings. In Classical Athens it was the title of several magistrates, including annual chairmen of various boards, managers of extra-ordinary projects, and the daily president of the prytany.⁵²⁹ In all these cases it was a civilian office with limited, constitutional, authority, but the word could also indicate strong commands with an autocratic military flavour. Many authors use it to refer to someone in charge of a body of troops,⁵³⁰ it was the title of the rulers of the region of Kommagēnē while they were still marcher vassals of the Seleukid king,⁵³¹ Josephos uses the word to translate the title of the Roman Prefects of Syria,⁵³² and Diodoros uses it to refer to the royally-appointed dictator of Athens, Dēmētrios of Phalēron.⁵³³ So the term has a wide range of meanings – from chairman or manager through to master and commander. As a result, the term on its own could be taken to indicate a city with either a great deal of autonomy, or absolutely none. Nevertheless, Cohen’s statement is overly pessimistic. It is possible to draw out a limited idea of how *epistatai* operated in practice from the source material. In

⁵²⁸ Cohen (1978) 81.

⁵²⁹ Hammond (1999) 370.

⁵³⁰ e.g. Xen. *Anab.* 3.11; Arr. *Tact.* 6.4.

⁵³¹ Diod. Sic. 31.19a.1.

⁵³² Joseph. *AJ* 16.280.

⁵³³ Diod. Sic. 20.45.5: “for he was set over the *polis* for ten years” οὗτος μὲν οὖν ἔτη δέκα τῆς πόλεως ἐπιστατήσας. Diodorus usually calls him “overseer of the city” ἐπιμελητῆς τῆς πόλεως (e.g. Diod. Sic. 18.74.3) and his actual title is highly uncertain, but may have been “lawgiver” (νομοθέτης): Rhodes & Lewis (1997) 40.

doing so, it is important not to be too legalistic, for neither the *epistatēs* nor any other Hellenistic official had codified powers – their competencies contracted and expanded as circumstances and personalities allowed.⁵³⁴

It does not appear to have been the norm for the *epistatēs* to hold military duties or the command of any soldiers – as discussed on page 78f., command of the garrison seems to have belonged to separate officials, such as the *epi tōn akrophthlakiōn* or the *akrophylax*.⁵³⁵ Apparently, there was an intention to keep administrative and military powers separate, which, however, was not necessarily maintained in practice. On the contrary, the Seleukid kings regularly invested as much power as possible in individuals whom they trusted entirely – the viceroys of Asia Minor are an example of this tendency.⁵³⁶ In the civic sphere, the multiple offices held by Dēmokratēs of *OGIS* 254 are evidence for the same practice – not only was he *epistatēs* and *stratēgos*, as discussed above, he was also *epi tōn akrophthlakiōn* (commander of the city's garrison). However separate all these offices might have been in theory, together Dēmokratēs' offices would have given him near absolute power over the city.

But when *epistatai* did not hold military authority, they were not necessarily very powerful officials. Philippos, *epistatēs* of Jerusalem, shared authority over the city with a *stratēgos* appointed over the region, and the *Kohén Gadól* Menelaos.⁵³⁷ It is clear from the subsequent narrative in *II Maccabees* that the prime movers in Jerusalem were Menelaos and the *stratēgos*. *Epistatēs* Philippos reappears only to support Menelaos in enforcing Antiochos IV's law against Judaism and later to beg the central government for aid when the Jews rebel.⁵³⁸ Philippos is not mentioned in any of the royal letters to Menelaos and the Jews found in *II Maccabees* at 11.27-33, which are very likely to be genuine.⁵³⁹ In such circumstances, the *epistatēs*' only source of power and authority might be his personal connection with the king as a royal *philos*.⁵⁴⁰ But that personal connection cannot have been strong in all instances – the king can only have had a strong personal connection with a limited number of people, and there were many cities in the

⁵³⁴ Badian (1968) 198. Cf. Billows (1990) 243f.

⁵³⁵ Polyb. 5.50.10; Walbank (1957, 1967, 1979) 1.579.

⁵³⁶ See page 16.

⁵³⁷ *II Macc.* 5.22.

⁵³⁸ *II Macc.* 6.11; 8.8.

⁵³⁹ Habicht (1976) 12.

⁵⁴⁰ Even that seems to have been pre-empted in the case of Philippos at Jerusalem, because, as mentioned above, Menelaos the *kohén gadól* was apparently a royal *philos* himself.

Seleukid heartland. The kings would have had so-called *philoī* in a number of cities, many of whom they might have met only once, if ever – Dēmokratēs of *OGIS* 254, for example, might have been a *philoī* more on account of his accomplished father, Byttakos, than any personal connections of his own. Thus, the degree to which any given *epistatēs* would have been able to have recourse to a personal relationship with the king might have been very limited. Those with very little personal relationship with the king (i.e. those who could least rely on this as a source of authority) would also have been, by that very fact, the ones whom the king would be least likely to entrust with substitute sources of authority, such as troops. In that case, they had to look for support within the civic sphere to buttress their royal authority.

The civic archons seem to have been that buttress. The king viewed them as entirely civic magistrates, not *philoī* – insofar as the salutation of the king’s letter to Seleukeia-in-Pieria in *IGLS* 3.1186 separates the *epistatēs* Theophilos from the city, it associates the archons with the city. However, the *polis* makes very little distinction between the *epistatēs* and the archons. In both the Seleukeia-in-Pieria decree and that from Laodikeia-by-the-Sea, the *epistatēs* is consistently mentioned before the archons and is the only civic official whose name is recorded – he clearly had primacy. However, he is only depicted acting in unison with the archons. Both decrees were proposed by the *epistatēs* and the archons jointly as “proposal of the *epistatēs* and the archons” (ἐπιστάτου καὶ ἀρχόντων γνώμη).⁵⁴¹ In the Seleukeia-in-Pieria decree, even the decision as to where the statue shall go was to be made jointly:

The *epistatēs* and the archons shall assign a place for the statue given by [the royal] *prostagma*, in the town hall...

τὸν δὲ εἰς τὴν διὰ τοῦ προστάγματος δ[ιδ]ομένην εἰκόνα τόπον ἀποδεῖξαι
τὸν ἐπιστάτην καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἐν τῷ ἀρχεῖῳ...
(*IGLS* 3.2.1183 l.23-25)

Does this close co-operation indicate that the *epistatēs* completely dominated the archons or does it represent a true partnership between them? This probably depended on the specific personalities involved, but the different royal and civic perspectives in *IGLS* 3.2.1183 (discussed above, pages 85-89) imply that the *epistatēs* and the archons were

⁵⁴¹ *IGLS* 3.2.1183 l.1 & *IGLS* 4.1261 l.2.

genuinely working together – otherwise, whence came the civic perspective? Further, the amount of stress put on demonstrating concord between *epistatēs* and archons implies that they might not always have agreed in fact.

By working together, the *epistatēs* and the archons were able to dominate the rest of the *polis*. Their dominance is suggested by the phrase “proposal of the *epistatēs* and the archons” (ἐπιστάτου καὶ ἀρχόντων γνώμη), which opens both decrees. In civic decrees, the word γνώμη indicated the decree’s origin as a proposal put to the Assembly,⁵⁴² but it came to be associated particularly with *probouleusis*, the procedure whereby a matter had to be discussed by the *boulē*, or a section of it, before it could be discussed in the Assembly.⁵⁴³ Often, though not inevitably, *probouleusis* gave the smaller body extensive control over the Assembly – the smaller body would write up a decree and present it to the Assembly, which would be given no opportunity to discuss or amend the proposal, only the bare power to accept or reject it.⁵⁴⁴ The magistrates and *epistatēs* seem to have held this dominance at Seleukeia-in-Pieria,⁵⁴⁵ considering the prominence which Seleukos IV’s salutation to the city gives to its archons, rather than to its *dēmos*.⁵⁴⁶

The central feature of the office of *epistatēs*, then, with regards to the relationship between king and *polis*, was that the office was perceived and presented very differently by king and *polis*. The king acted as if the *epistatai* were his trusted *philoι*, but they were often locals of their *poleis*, which presented them as part of their civic system. Together with the archons, the *epistatēs* bridged the gap between royal and civic spheres acting as the agent of each to the other. This role as an intermediary made the *epistatai* important to both parties, and was their avenue to independent power. By the Parthian period they had turned this influence into hereditary rule at Doura-Eurōpos and possibly elsewhere – still stressing their close personal link to the Seleukid dynasty.⁵⁴⁷

⁵⁴² This is the reason why decrees are in indirect speech, hanging off, “the opinion of the *epistates* and archons holds it well that...” ἐπιστάτου καὶ ἀρχόντων γνώμη ... καλῶς ἔχει; the idea is that the rest of the decree reports the words that they spoke to the assembly.

⁵⁴³ Rhodes & Lewis (1997) 487.

⁵⁴⁴ Rhodes & Lewis (1997) 488; Ehrenberg (1969) 58.

⁵⁴⁵ Cohen (2006) 127.

⁵⁴⁶ *IGLS* 3.1183 l.29.

⁵⁴⁷ Johnson (1932) 18ff.

Peliganes and Restrictive Citizenship

Typically, the final decision-making power⁵⁴⁸ in a *polis* belonged to some form of assembly of citizens, with a *boulē* administering the *polis*' day-to-day affairs. These two organs appear to have existed in the new foundations as well, but the archons and *epistatēs* seem to have dominated them. The existence of some sort of Assembly is implied by the citation formula “it has been resolved” (δεδόχθαι), in *IGLS* 3.2.1183 and 4.1261. This formula is a standard element of decrees indicating what action is to be taken and under whose authority.⁵⁴⁹ But the two decrees use different words for the body which is responsible for the legislation.

At Laodikeia-by-the-Sea the assembly was called the *peliganes* (πελιγῶνες),⁵⁵⁰ an obscure word of Macedonian origin, which is only attested elsewhere in Hēsychios, a fragment of Strabo, and Polybios. The fifth century lexicographer Hēsychios defines *peliganes* as “The notables – among the Syrians, the councilmen” οἱ ἔνδοξοι - παρὰ δὲ Συρίοις οἱ βουλευταί (Hsch. *II*.1329).⁵⁵¹ An abbreviated fragment of Strabo discusses the use of the word in Macedon, connecting the term with similar words used for elders among the Thesprōtians and Molossians, and equating them with the *gerontes*, the members of the Spartan *gerousia*.⁵⁵² The word is not attested in Macedonian epigraphy and its relationship to Molossian and Thesprōtian terms suggests that it derived from northwest Macedon, which is a poorly attested region even by the standards of Macedon. A far later inscription from AD 193 shows that the tiny communities of this region combined the roles of *boulē* and *ekklesia* in a single body – perhaps the *peliganes* were the members of such councils – if having a council at all was not a later development.⁵⁵³ *Peliganes* probably existed, also, at Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris, if Roussel is correct that the “*adeiganes*” (ἀδειγᾶνας) mentioned in Polybios 5.54 are an ancient orthographic error for *peliganes*,⁵⁵⁴ as has been widely accepted.⁵⁵⁵ They also seem to occur in a chronicle at Babylon, in which they apparently confront a Parthian prince shortly after the Parthian conquest, alongside Babylon's Greco-Macedonian *pulite/politai* (Notably, both *politai*

⁵⁴⁸ Not the same as sovereignty in the sense used in modern political science: Davies (1994) 53ff.

⁵⁴⁹ McLean (1972) 223; Rhodes & Lewis (1997) 5.

⁵⁵⁰ *IGLS* 4.1261 l.21-22.

⁵⁵¹ Roussel (1942-1943) 28ff; followed without acknowledgement by Cohen (1978) 81.

⁵⁵² Strabo 7 fr.2. Hammond (1972, 1979, 1988) 2.648; Roussel (1942-1943) 28ff.

⁵⁵³ Hatzopoulos (1996) 79ff. Making reference to earlier, more fragmentary inscriptions, Hatzopoulos speaks frequently of the “remarkable continuity” of institutions in this region.

⁵⁵⁴ Roussel (1942-1943) 28ff.

⁵⁵⁵ Cohen (1978) 81; Walbank (1957, 1967, 1979) 1.583. Hammond (1993) 53 n.12 is alone in dissenting and he does not offer any rationale.

and *peliganes* are written with the determinative for things connected with the king).⁵⁵⁶ The fact that the term is attested separately in Syria (by Hesychios) and Mesopotamia (by Polybios and the Astronomical Diaries) suggests that the *peliganes* were among the Macedonian institutions introduced to the Seleukid *poleis* at the time of their foundations, like the *epistatēs*. The implication, then, is that the Seleukid foundations were founded with and retained assemblies and councils of a Macedonian flavour.⁵⁵⁷

Important as the link with Macedon is, the Seleukid *peliganes* cannot have been identical to the tiny village councils of Upper Macedon – the massive cities of the Seleukid heartland were an entirely different sort of *polis*. In *IGLS* 4.1261, as mentioned above, the *peliganes* are the ultimate legislative organ, while the *epistatēs* and archons appear to be the ones performing the role of *boulē* in exercising *probouleutic* powers over it, implying that the *peliganes* were the supreme legislative body of the *polis*. And yet, the evidence from the Babylonian chronicle implies that they were distinct from the *politai* and Hēsychios explicitly calls the *peliganes* “council members” (βουλευταί).⁵⁵⁸ Further, Polybios’ narrative at 5.54 implies that the *peliganes* were relatively few in number. He mentions them in the aftermath of Antiochos III’s re-conquest of Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris from the rebel Molōn, when Hermeias was charged with settling matters in Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris. Among many harsh measures, Hermeias attempted to banish the *peliganes*, presumably for collaborating with Molōn. This was considered too harsh and King Antiochos rescinded the order. The fact that the *peliganes* were singled out for banishment implies that they bore particular responsibility for Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris’ collaboration (i.e. that they held some sort of power) and that they were a small enough group for banishment to be contemplated – they cannot have been a general assembly of all inhabitants of Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris. This would tend to indicate that they were the members of Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris’ *boulē*. The importance of Seleukeia’s *boulē* as the main institutional organ of the city is demonstrated by the series of Parthian coins from

⁵⁵⁶ *BCHP* 18.B3, “*pe-li-ga-na-a-n[u...]*.”

⁵⁵⁷ Billows sees an Antigonid precedent: (1990) 304 & 323, of which Derow is highly critical: (1993) 330.

⁵⁵⁸ Musti notes this as “an issue of interest for determining the political structure of Laodikeia, Seleukeia, and those other Seleukid cities in which such an institution may have existed...” “un problema d’interesse per la valutazione della struttura politica di Laodicea come di Seleucia, come delle altre città seleucidiche in cui tale organo sia esistito...” but instead addresses his attention to the implications of the *peliganes*’ survival for the ethnic composition of the new foundations: (1966) 124.

the early first century AD which bear name and image of an anthropomorphised *boulē*,⁵⁵⁹ and also by Tacitus, who says of Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris:

Three hundred are selected as a *senate* for their power or wisdom, while the people have their own strength...

trecenti opibus aut sapientia delecti ut senatus, sua populo vis...

(Tac. *Ann.* 6.42)

The implication of the latter half of the sentence is that, while the multitude were politically active, their power was not institutionalised. If Tacitus' three hundred senators are the *peliganes*, then it was a very small body indeed and institutional power within this very large *polis* was concentrated in the hands of a very restricted elite (and, presumably, likewise at the other Seleukid foundations). However, the Roman senate was also traditionally composed of three hundred members,⁵⁶⁰ and this, along with the overall narrative of the passage, in which division between senate and people leads the city to fall under the control of a tyrant, suggests that Tacitus' *Seleucenses* have more to do with Rome than Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris. So Tacitus' senate need not indicate that the *peliganes* were so few as three hundred. Nevertheless, it does seem likely that the *peliganes* were a relatively small subset of the city's inhabitants.

It further seems likely that the *peliganes* were a comparatively small body, because they formed a subset of the citizen body, which itself seems to have been restricted to a small portion of the new foundations' inhabitants. After all, an ever-increasing number of the inhabitants in the new foundations would have been immigrant Syrians, Babylonians, and Jews, who enjoyed only limited enfranchisement in their own *politeumata* – generally not citizenship.⁵⁶¹ Greek migrants were probably not citizens automatically, either. The large number of non-citizen inhabitants of these *poleis* is demonstrated by a reference in the *Suda*. Praising Antipatros of Late Hellenistic Damascus it mentions his beneficence to “thousands, not only his common citizens, but also many of the *astoi*” μυρία τούτων οὐ τῶν κοινῶν μόνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἀστῶν συχνοῦς (*Suda*, A2705), indicating that there were many people who belonged to the settlement (the ἄστυ) but lacked full citizen rights. Polybios 5.61's reference to a citizen population

⁵⁵⁹ *SdT* 1#31-32, 2#542-554 & 2#602-625.

⁵⁶⁰ Livy 2.1.

⁵⁶¹ Cohen (1978) 86.

of a mere six thousand at Seleukeia-in-Pieria in the time of Antiochos III, roughly the same as the number of initial settlers (as discussed above, pages 43-45) implies that very few immigrants after the initial foundation received citizenship. Likewise, Dio Chrysostomos called on the Tarsians to enrol a dangerously large, similarly unenfranchised group AD c.100, there called “the linen-workers” (λινουργοί).⁵⁶² Thus, the picture of the internal structure of the new foundations is of a tiered structure. There was a mass of unenfranchised natives and Greeks. Above them were the actual *politai*, who presumably had rights of some sort, but did not necessarily get any right to make decisions. Above or drawn from the citizens were the *peliganes* in the supreme decision-making body. The *peliganes* themselves seem to have been dominated by the *epistatēs* and archons. These were communities in which power was ultimately concentrated in the hands of a very small elite.

Another indication of the Seleukid foundations’ small elites is the size of their militias. In Classical *poleis*, service in the militia was correlated with prestige within the *polis*. This can only have been more so in the Seleukid kingdom, where prestige derived from Macedonian status,⁵⁶³ which was theoretically determined by descent, but in practice came to include all those equipped and able to fight in the Macedonian fashion.⁵⁶⁴ The civic militias seem to have been small. During the procession preceding Antiochos IV’s great games at Daphnē, “three thousand citizen... horsemen” ἱππεῖς ... πολιτικοὶ δὲ τρισχίλιοι (Polybios 30.25.6.), decked in gold and silver armour took part in the parade. Their provenance is not indicated: Bikerman takes them as Antiochene alone, while Griffith takes them to represent a wider array of settlements throughout Syria.⁵⁶⁵ In the former case the three thousand horsemen imply a rather large militia, since cavalry was traditionally reserved for the wealthiest members of the *polis*.⁵⁶⁶ But Griffith’s position that the horsemen represent the civic cavalry of all the settlements of the Syrian Tetrapolis seems more likely, because limiting participation in the festival at Daphnē to the Antiochene militia would have been a slight to the other cities of Syria.⁵⁶⁷ In that case,

⁵⁶² Dio. Chrys. *Or.* 34.21.

⁵⁶³ Edson (1958) 164.

⁵⁶⁴ Cohen (1978) 31; Musti (1966) 121.

⁵⁶⁵ Bikerman (1938) 59; Griffith (1935) 146.

⁵⁶⁶ However, pasturing horses was less expensive and there was more money available for it in Syria than it had traditionally been in Classical Athens. On the wealth of the Syrian *poleis* see: Ath. 12.527e-f.

⁵⁶⁷ *OGIS* 253 seems to attest parallel festivals held in Mesopotamia, but Daphnē was the main event and the elites of the Tetrapolis could easily have made it to Daphnē, which is only half a day’s walk from Seleukeia-in-Pieria and not that much more distant from the other Syrian cities.

the foundations' militias look a lot more modest – suggesting that very few people belonged to the upper ranks of the *poleis* of the Seleukid heartland.

There is a further complication in this discussion of the Seleukid foundations, for, where *IGLS* 4.1261 says, “it has been resolved by the *peliganes*” δεδόχθαι τοῖς πελιγᾶσιν, the inscription from Seleukeia-in-Pieria instead uses the far more normal phrase, “it has been resolved by the *dēmos*” δεδόχθαι τῷ δήμῳ (*IGLS* 3.1183 l.19). This is exactly the same phrase as used in old *poleis* such as Athens and Milētos and it could be that the phrase refers to the same body as the *peliganes* at Laodikeia, with a more classically Athenian turn of phrase. However, *dēmos* generally means the entire citizen body, which the *peliganes* seem not to have been, so it would be a little strange if the terms were interchangeable. The Seleukeian Assembly could have been a more open one, allowing all citizens like the Athenian and Milēsiān Assemblies, which would not be entirely surprising as Athens' forms were influential and the initial colonists at Seleukeia-in-Pieria probably included a large contingent of the Athenians who had been settled in Syria by Antigonos I.⁵⁶⁸ But, even if Seleukeia-in-Pieria had an Assembly open to all citizens, that Assembly clearly did not wield the power of the Athenian and Milēsiān Assemblies – as discussed above, the archons and *epistatēs* seem to have used their *probouleutic* powers to control the *polis*. Nor would an Assembly open to all citizens have been a very large body, because the number of citizens at Seleukeia-in-Pieria was very small.⁵⁶⁹ Moreover, the sort of Athenians who would settle in Syria in the first place might very well be the sort of Athenians who had left Athens on account of a partiality to a more oligarchic style of government. Thus, even if Seleukeia-in-Pieria's *dēmos* signifies a different, broader institution than the *peliganes*, it is unlikely to indicate a popular democracy which institutionally incorporated the masses.

From an analysis of the *poleis*' internal structure, then, it appears that power was concentrated in the hands of a small elite, itself dominated by the *epistatēs* and archons. A small elite would have looked to the king for support in controlling the masses – they had nothing to gain and potentially everything to lose from challenging the status quo. The king would have had an investment in maintaining that small elite's position of power. As a tactic for controlling cities, there was nothing new about this – it was

⁵⁶⁸ Diod. Sic. 20.47.6 & 21.1.6. Other sources (mostly Antiochene) say the Athenians were moved to Antioch: Malalas 8.201.

⁵⁶⁹ Polyb.5.61, though that tally did follow a siege and an extended period as a Ptolemaic exclave. Walbank notes that this is surprisingly small: (1957, 1967, 1979) 1.587.

essentially the same philoligarchic strategy used or attempted in Asia Minor by the Achaimenids and in Mainland Greece by the Spartans in the fifth century, the Antipatrids in the fourth, and the Antigonids in the third. But in the Seleukid foundations, where there was no tradition of popular democracy,⁵⁷⁰ and the masses were divided into many different cultures, it proved a much more successful tactic than it had in mainland Greece.

The End of the Seleukid Kingdom

The final phase of Seleukid history, from the loss of Mesopotamia to Elymais and Parthia in 140, was marked by the restriction of the kingdom to Syria and increasingly intensive civil war. In the twenty years between 115 and 96, Antiochos VIII and IX each seized Antioch from the other on three different occasions.⁵⁷¹ After their elimination in 96, five separate individuals laid claim to the Seleukid throne simultaneously.⁵⁷² The final result was the kingdom's complete implosion sometime around 80 BC.⁵⁷³ There are two competing schools of thought on how the kings and *poleis* interacted in this final period. In the older view, advanced by Jones and Rostovtzeff, the *poleis* used the civil war to extract increasing privileges from rival kings, to the detriment of the kingdom – that is, the self-serving behaviour of the cities was partially responsible for the final collapse of the Seleukid realm.⁵⁷⁴ Jones' position was largely inspired by the narrative of *I Maccabees*, in which the Hasmonean kings of Judaea use the Seleukid civil war to extract ever more independence from rival Seleukid kings.⁵⁷⁵ Grainger's position is effectively the opposite – he argues that the Seleukid foundations showed conspicuously little desire for independence and that what autonomy they did assume was either illusory or forced upon them as a result of the breakdown of order.⁵⁷⁶

The final period is marked by grants of special status, freedom, and minting rights to the *poleis* of Syria. *OGIS* 257 provides evidence of the sort of grants which kings were making in this final period. This inscription preserves two letters of 109 BC from an Antiochos (VIII or IX),⁵⁷⁷ one to both Ptolemaios IX and X and part of one to Seleukeia-in-Pieria, both declaring Seleukeia-in-Pieria “to be free for all time” [εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα

⁵⁷⁰ Rostovtzeff (1941) 1.156.

⁵⁷¹ Hoover (2007) 284ff.

⁵⁷² *Ibid.*, 288ff.

⁵⁷³ 82 BC: Sherwin-White (1994) 238; Mid-70s BC: Hoover (2007) 290ff..

⁵⁷⁴ Jones (1940) 26; Rigsby (1996) 21; Rostovtzeff (1941) 2.843.

⁵⁷⁵ E.g the bidding war between Demetrios II and Alexandros II for Jonathan Maccabee's favour: *I Mac.* 10.

⁵⁷⁶ Grainger (1990a) 164. Followed by Rigsby (1996) 28.

⁵⁷⁷ Both were reigning in various parts of Syria in 109. Grainger prefers Antiochos VIII: (1990a) 171.

χρόνον ἐλευθέρους [εἶναι] (*OGIS* 257 l.14). This sort of grant obviously seems to support the view that the cities were tearing the kingdom apart.⁵⁷⁸ There are a number of reasons why either Antiochos might have wanted to buy Seleukeia-in-Pieria's loyalty – as a rich port and ideologically important centre Seleukeia would be a valuable prize for either of the kings, but, because they were locked in a civil war and it was unusually well-fortified, neither king was really capable of forcing it to join their camp. Further, by accepting the grant, the Seleukeians would implicitly accept the donor as the legitimate king, rather than one of his rivals. This factor led Ma to characterise these Late Seleukid decrees as “pleas for recognition.”⁵⁷⁹ There is probably some of that in this decree, but it was not its primary purpose.⁵⁸⁰ If it had been, then one might expect, given that both contenders for the throne were named Antiochos, that the inscription would specify at some point whether the grantor was Antiochos VIII or IX (either by patronymic or by epithet). If the decree is the end result of a bidding war between the two cousins, then it is also fairly restrained – the king does not explicitly release Seleukeia from tax duties, which probably means that he did not, and, therefore, that Seleukeia retained tax obligations towards him – in decrees elsewhere, it was usual to make such a grant explicit, because in the Hellenistic Period being politically free did not mean being tax-free.⁵⁸¹

That *OGIS* 257 was found on Cyprus suggests that its primary audience was not Seleukeia-in-Pieria at all, but the Ptolemies. This grant of freedom was an assertion of sovereignty. The letter to the Ptolemies stresses the city's ongoing links to the Seleukid dynasty, saying that the Seleukeians:

... were attached to our father and retained their goodwill [towards hi]m to the end, [and they maintain]ed their affection towards us and showed th[is through many] good deeds and especially in those most [desperate] times...

... τῷ πατρὶ ἡμῶν προσκληρωθεντας καὶ τὴν [πρὸς αὐτ]ὸν εὖνοιαν μέχρι τέλους συντηρήσαν[τας, ἐμμείνα]ντας δὲ τῇ πρὸς ἡμᾶς φιλοστοργίαι καὶ ταύ[την διὰ πολλῶ]ν καὶ καλῶν ἔργων καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς ἐπει[ληφόσιν ἀναγκαι]οτάτοις καιροῖς...

(*OGIS* 257 l.5-10)

⁵⁷⁸ Rostovtzeff (1941) 2.846.

⁵⁷⁹ Ma (2000b) 101.

⁵⁸⁰ Grainger (1990a) 171.

⁵⁸¹ E.g. *OGIS* 223, or *IMac.* 10.25-45.

Later in the inscription, Antiochos strengthens this impression further by calling Seleukeia his “fatherland” πατρίδα (*OGIS* 257 l.16.). The assertion of these links is particularly significant because Seleukeia-in-Pieria had been ruled by the Ptolemies from 246-219. Thus, Ptolemaios IX actually had a claim to the place as his dynasty’s spear-won land,⁵⁸² and the middle of a “most desperate” civil war in Syria would have been an opportune time to act on that claim. Therefore, Seleukeia-in-Pieria might not be the primary audience of the grant in *OGIS* 257. Other cities that were less vulnerable received fewer gifts and show fewer signs of autonomy. Antioch only began to mint its own silver coins in 92/91,⁵⁸³ a step which Downey interprets as a royal concession,⁵⁸⁴ and as there were four rival Seleukid pretenders in that year,⁵⁸⁵ it is certainly plausible that one of them granted Antioch coining rights in exchange for support or funding. Alternatively, the mintmaster at Antioch may have decided that minting coins in the name of the *polis* was easier than trying to pick a winner from the four pretenders. Thus, the same phenomenon can be interpreted as the *polis* seizing power or reluctantly assuming it.

Increased Military Reliance

There is some evidence that the cities were increasingly asserting themselves against the kings. *I Maccabees* 11.45 records the earliest instance of mass-action by the people of a *polis* of the Seleukid heartland. According to the passage, King Dēmētrios II faced a rebellion from the multitude of Antioch and was only saved by the intervention of the Jews. The focus of the passage is clearly on the military strength of the Jews and, as a result, the passage, without doubt, exaggerates the number of Antiochene rebels (who, exactly, was counting them?) and perhaps also the seriousness of the revolt, while offering little context, except that Dēmētrios had replaced his troops with mercenaries and that Tryphōn’s revolt was ongoing.⁵⁸⁶ If there is a causal relationship between the dismissal of the soldiers by Dēmētrios and the Antiochenes’ revolt against him, then the dismissed soldiers might have been locals. It does seem that the Syrian cities provided

⁵⁸² Hellenistic kings regularly employed such claims. In Polyb. 18.51.4, for example, Antiochos III asserts his ownership of Thrace based on Seleukos I’s supposed conquest of the region in 281 BC. It seems that spear-won land remained spear-won even once lost to the spears of others.

⁵⁸³ Hoover (2007) 289f.

⁵⁸⁴ Downey (1961) 134.

⁵⁸⁵ Antiochos X Eusebēs, Antiochos XI Epiphanēs, Dēmētrios III Eukairos, and Philippos I Philadelphos. The extreme disorder left ancient and modern historians extremely uncertain as to which of these were in charge of Antioch in that year: Hoover (2007) 290.

⁵⁸⁶ *I Mac.* 11.38-44.

large numbers of troops to the king in the final years of the Seleukid kingdom. For example, when Antiochos IX died in battle in 96, Diodoros claims that:

Three hundred thousand had died, including those who had gone along outside of the battle-array [i.e. as camp followers], such that no house could be found without a part in the misfortune.

τριάκοντα γὰρ μυριάδων ἀπολομένων σὺν τοῖς ἐκτὸς τῆς τάξεως ἀναβεβηκόσιν οὐκ ἦν εὐρεῖν οἰκίαν ἄμοιρον ἀτυχήματος.

(Diod. Sic. 34/35.17)

The number of dead must be very greatly exaggerated, but there is no reason to dismiss the idea that the city provided a great deal of the royal troops. More Antiochene soldiers were taken as prisoners of war in 95 when Dēmētrios III was defeated by the Parthians.⁵⁸⁷ Another example is found in *I Mac.* 10.71, when Apollōnios the governor of Koilē-Syria is campaigning against Jonathan Maccabee for Dēmētrios II, he boasts, “the force[s] of the cities are with me” (μετ’ ἐμοῦ ἐστὶν δύναμις τῶν πόλεων), implying that his force was mainly or entirely recruited from the Syrian cities.

This contrasts strongly with the Seleukid army in earlier periods. Polybios’ outline of Antiochos III’s army during the Fourth Syrian War (219-217) is a good example of this earlier army.⁵⁸⁸ Out of a total of 62,000 infantry and 6,000 cavalry, about half – the “10,000 men, armed in the Macedonian fashion, called from all parts of the kingdom” ἐκ πάσης ἐκλελεγμένοι τῆς βασιλείας, καθωπλισμένοι δ’ εἰς τὸν Μακεδονικὸν τρόπον, ἄνδρες μύριοι (Polyb. 5.79.4.), and the 20,000 mass of the phalanx were probably drawn in whole or in part from the foundations of the Seleukid heartland. The cavalry are not provenanced – but the cavalry at the festival at Daphnē in 166 consisted of both Mēdian and citizen horsemen.⁵⁸⁹ There is no reason to think that the source of the cavalry in Antiochos III’s army was different. Antiochos III, then, could wage a perfectly good war without the Syrian and Mesopotamian cities. But, once Asia Minor (189 BC), Iran and Mesopotamia (139? BC) had been lost, the kings were forced to rely more heavily on their Syrian cities for troops. So the royal *polis* policy became increasingly conciliatory, and the *poleis* increasingly assertive, because the kings needed the *poleis*

⁵⁸⁷ Joseph. *AJ* 13.385.

⁵⁸⁸ The numbers are “beyond dispute,” Bar-Kochva (1976) 8.

⁵⁸⁹ Polyb. 30.25.6. On the Festival at Daphnē as a reliable guide to the Seleukid army: Paltiel (1979) 32.

more. But the *poleis* were still negotiating their status under the Seleukid king as before, not trying to free themselves from him.

Tigranēs the Seleukid King

The way in which the Syrian and Mesopotamian *poleis* reacted to the final collapse of the Seleukid dynasty indicates that they remained interested in maintaining the *status quo*, not in obtaining full independence. The civil war in Syria becomes extremely difficult to follow after 95 BC, as Syria grows ever more fragmented between ever more pretenders, but it is clear that Tigranēs the Great of Armenia (95-55 BC) gained control of the region sometime around 80 BC.⁵⁹⁰ Justin, summarising the account of Pompeius Trogus for whom these events would have been within living memory, records:

There was mutual hatred between the brothers and then their sons continued the hostilities of their parents, until the kings and kingdom of Syria were consumed by unquenchable war. So the people sought outside aid and began to investigate foreign kings for themselves. And so, although some proposed the Pontic Mithridates [VI Eupatōr] and others Ptolomeus [IX] of Egypt, in the end everyone agreed on Tigranes, King of Armenia, because Mithridates was entangled in war with the Romans and Ptolemeus had always been an enemy to Syria. Moreover, in addition to his personal power, [Tigranes] had both friendship with Parthia and a marriage alliance with Mithridates. So he was called to the kingdom of Syria and ruled over a peaceful kingdom for 17 years...

Mutuis fratrum odiis et mox filiis inimiciis parentum succedentibus cum inexpiabili bello et reges et regnum Syriae consumptum esset, ad externa populus auxilia concurrit peregrinosque sibi reges circumspicere coepit. Itaque cum pars Mithridatem Ponticum, pars Ptolomeum ab Aegypto arcessendum censeret, occurreretque quod et Mithridates implicitus bello Romano esset, Ptolomeus quoque hostis semper fuisset Syriae, omnes in Tigranen, regem Armeniae, consensere, instructum praeter domesticas vires et Parthica societate et Mithridatis adfinitate. Igitur accitus in regnum Syriae per X et VII annos tranquillissimo regno potitus est...
(Just.Epit. 40.1)

⁵⁹⁰ 82 BC: Sherwin-White (1994) 238; Mid-70s BC: Hoover (2007) 290ff..

So, once existence free from the Seleukid yoke was achieved, the Syrian *poleis* reacted by searching for a new overlord.⁵⁹¹ If the Syrian *poleis* desired and pursued full independence like the *poleis* of Western Asia Minor, they would not have brought in a new king. On the contrary, it suggests that they viewed existence under the Seleukid royal aegis as normative and desirable. The candidates were all affiliated with the Seleukid line: Ptolemaios IX was a cousin of the Seleukids and also the brother and ex-husband of Kleopatra Selēnē, who had become a symbol of legitimacy, married in turn to Antiochos VIII, IX, and X;⁵⁹² Mithridatēs VI was a maternal grandson of Antiochos IV.⁵⁹³ Tigranēs is not known to have had a genealogical link to the Seleukid dynasty, except as Mithridatēs VI's son-in-law (a point which Justin specifically draws attention to). However, Tigranēs' family tree is very uncertain and it is therefore possible that he was also a Seleukid by descent⁵⁹⁴ – perhaps via the daughter of Antiochos III who was married to Xerxēs of Sōphēnē.⁵⁹⁵ Not only were the *poleis* seeking a king, they were specifically seeking a Seleukid king.

The tenor of Justin's account is contradicted by the most extended account of Tigranēs' rule, Plutarch's *Life of Lucullus* which depicts him as a stereotypical Oriental tyrant and enemy of the Seleukid dynasty, whose subjects want rid of him. This characterisation cannot be taken as accurate.⁵⁹⁶ Plutarch's Tigranēs is introduced thus:

Over Armenia sits Tigranēs, King of Kings, possessing forces with which he deprives the Parthians of Asia, carries the Greek *poleis* away to Mēdia, rules over Syria and Palestine, slaughters the Seleukid kings and takes their daughters and wives inland.

ὕπὲρ Ἀρμενίας κάθηται Τιγράνης, βασιλεὺς βασιλέων, ἔχων δύναμιν ἥ Πάρθους τε περικόπτει τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ πόλεις Ἑλληνίδας εἰς Μηδίαν

⁵⁹¹ Downey argues that this invitation was mostly motivated by the native Syriacs, with many of the Greeks working for independence: (1961) 137. However, *populus* probably reflects δῆμος and the context appears to be a debate in the Assembly or Council, all institutions which were largely restricted to elite Greeks (see page 98-103 above).

⁵⁹² Kleopatra apparently maintained a claim on behalf of her son (subsequently a Roman client king, who reigned as Antiochos XIII between 69 and 64), since Tigranēs besieged her in Ptolemais-Akē (an obvious stronghold for a Ptolemaic princess) some time in the reign of Alexandra Salōmē of Judaea (76-67 BC): Josephos *AJ.* 13.419-420, and she visited Rome to press her sons' claim to the Seleukid throne in the late 70s: Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.61; Downey (1951) 146.

⁵⁹³ Ogden (1999) 143.

⁵⁹⁴ Lang (1970) 130.

⁵⁹⁵ Polyb. 8.23.

⁵⁹⁶ Lang (1970) 136; Redgate (1998) 75.

ἀνακομίζει καὶ Συρίας κρατεῖ καὶ Παλαιστίνης καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ Σελεύκου
βασιλεῖς ἀποκτινύνει, θυγατέρας δ' αὐτῶν ἄγει καὶ γυναῖκας ἀνασπάστους.
(Plut. *Luc.* 14.6)

Tellingly, this is part of a speech of Lucullus, Tigranēs' eventual conqueror. Lucullus' characterisation of Tigranēs is upheld throughout the rest of Plutarch's narrative.⁵⁹⁷ Throughout the *Life*, Tigranēs is presented as a case study in the self-destructive tendencies of barbarian tyranny.⁵⁹⁸ His pomposity towards Appius Clodius brings the Roman onslaught upon him,⁵⁹⁹ his savagery towards his subjects prevents him from being properly informed and encourages his subjects to betray him,⁶⁰⁰ and his inability to control his passions or to distinguish friends from flatterers leads him to defeat.⁶⁰¹ Ultimately, Tigranēs is saved only by dissension among the Romans.⁶⁰² Depicting Tigranēs thus helps establish parallelism between Lucullus and Kimōn, whose war against Xerxēs, the Oriental tyrant *par excellence*, was similarly interrupted by dissension among the Greeks.⁶⁰³ Plutarch appears more concerned with making moral points about barbarian despotism and the proper character of a statesman, than with portraying Tigranēs' rule accurately.⁶⁰⁴

The limited contemporary evidence for Tigranēs' rule supports Justin's account, indicating that Tigranēs behaved as a typical Seleukid king in his relations with the Syrian *poleis*.⁶⁰⁵ He adopted the common Seleukid epithet "god" (Θεός) for his Syrian coins and restricted the title "king of kings" (βασιλεύς βασιλέων), which had Achaemenid or Parthian connotations, to the coins he issued in Armenia.⁶⁰⁶ Tigranēs' Syrian coinage generally follows Seleukid models very closely,⁶⁰⁷ but his Antiochene issues innovate, by depicting the famous *Tychē* of Antioch carved by Eutykidēs in the reign of Seleukos I (depicted at left courtesy of wildwinds.com).⁶⁰⁸ This prominent Antiochene civic symbol

⁵⁹⁷ Swain (1992) 311.

⁵⁹⁸ This fits naturally into the philosophy of Plutarch, who generally equates Hellenisation with virtue and coined the derisive term φιλοβάρβαρος for Herodotos: Duff (1999) 59, 298ff. Mossman (2010) 159.

⁵⁹⁹ Plut. *Luc.* 21.7.

⁶⁰⁰ Ibid. 22, 25.1, 29.2.

⁶⁰¹ Ibid. 26.

⁶⁰² Ibid. 34.

⁶⁰³ On the importance of moral and thematic unity between the pairs in Plutarch's *Parallel Lives*, see Tatum (2010) 2ff.

⁶⁰⁴ Cf. Plut. *Alex.* 1; Pelling (2011) 102.

⁶⁰⁵ Rostovtzeff (1941) 2.856.

⁶⁰⁶ Lang (1983) 528; Redgate (1998) 75.

⁶⁰⁷ Rostovtzeff (1941) 2.856.

⁶⁰⁸ Stansbury-O'Donnell (1994) 55.

had not previously appeared on coinage, but it became closely associated with Tigranēs; he also depicted it on coins issued at his new capital, Tigranokerta.⁶⁰⁹ Thus, Tigranēs identified the *Tychē*, an expression of *polis* identity, with himself – allowing it to also be an expression of loyalty to him as king, just as the early Seleukids had with their symbols. In accordance with the practice of Hellenistic kingship, Tigranēs adapted his self-presentation to accord with the expectations of the Syrian *poleis* and adopted the same sort of relationship with the Syrian *poleis* as they had had with their Seleukid overlords. To Plutarch, this relationship probably did not look very different from Oriental tyranny, but if the *poleis* had not appreciated Tigranēs’ style of rule, they could have acted against him. In their interactions with Tigranēs, the Syrian *poleis* had many of the advantages which Asia Minor had possessed relative to the Seleukid kings: Syria was a newly absorbed territory of the Armenian kingdom, distant from the kingdom’s core, and contested with a number of other powers (Parthians, Ptolemies, Nabataeans, and various Seleukid pretenders). If the *poleis* had wanted Tigranēs to treat them as independent allies, they were in as good a bargaining position as the *poleis* of Asia Minor had been under the Seleukids. Tigranēs presented himself to the Syrian *poleis* in the manner of a Seleukid king because that was still the style of rule which they desired. Thus, while the *poleis* clearly became more assertive in their interactions with the kings as the Seleukid dynasty weakened, they still wished to exist under the aegis of Seleukid royal power.

⁶⁰⁹ Ibid.

CONCLUSION: THE SELEUKID *POLIS*

For the *poleis* of the Seleukid heartland, dependence on the king seems to have had a value which outweighed its disadvantages. These disadvantages were not inconsiderable: the kings interfered deeply in their affairs both informally and institutionally. This interference affected everyday life in a substantial way: royal soldiers were garrisoned in the cities and royal officials witnessed – and taxed – everyday commercial transactions. Aside from these practical expenses, subordination had an ideological cost which the *poleis* of Asia Minor found very expensive. In Asia Minor, the kings and the *poleis* worked very hard to present Seleukid overlordship as alliance – the kings recognised the *poleis*' right to extensive freedom of action and the *poleis* strove to act as independently as possible. In Syria and Mesopotamia, however, the *poleis* were on a far shorter leash and did not strain on it nearly as hard.

For most of the Hellenistic Period, the *poleis* of Syria and Mesopotamia did not really have a choice. Sitting in the heartland of the Seleukid realm, they were essential to the kings' rule in a way that the *poleis* of Asia Minor simply were not. The *poleis* of the heartland were essential hubs for the transport of resources, money, and troops across the empire. They were showcases for the prosperity of their overlords. They became centres from which the wealth of the countryside could easily be extracted and converted into cash wealth. They were a place where defeated peoples could be integrated into the realm. For these *poleis* to be or have striven to be independent would have threatened a major basis of Seleukid royal power. The kings installed massive garrisons, to force the cities' loyalty, but from their foundation the kings also endeavoured to make the *poleis* amenable to royal control, so that control did not require force. They constructed their new foundations to be like the *poleis* of Asia Minor and Mainland Greece in form and institutional structure, but built concord between city and king into their ideological and administrative structures.

Subordination to the kings was not absolute: the *poleis* of the Seleukid heartland were allowed a limited degree of agency. *IGLS* 4.1261 from Laodikeia-by-the-Sea shows that the *poleis* were generally allowed to manage their own affairs in matters in which the king was not interested, which might nevertheless be matters of great import to the *polis* in question. When the king interfered directly, as in *IGLS* 3.2.1183 from Seleukeia-in-Pieria, the *poleis* acknowledged royal letters as commands, but they could still assert

agency by presenting obedience as being in their own interest. Thus, the *poleis* exercised sufficient internal self-government to consider themselves *poleis*.

The identities of the *poleis* in Asia Minor were based on a long history of local names, myths, and symbols. These referred to a time (mythical or historical) when the *poleis* had been independent and their expression was thus in opposition to the kings. The Seleukids' new *poleis* in Syria and Mesopotamia were different. They were named after the kings, their founder-myths centred on their settlement by the kings, and their symbols were largely those of the dynasty. These symbols did not recall an independent existence. On the contrary, they reinforced the idea that the *poleis* were dependent on the kings and that they were Seleukid. When the *poleis* asserted their local *polis* identity, they expressed a Seleukid identity as well, not their independence. The semi-civic coinage issued under Antiochos IV and Alexandros I is a clear example of this synthesis of civic and royal symbolism in practice. The endurance of these Seleukid symbols and myths long after the Seleukid dynasty had fallen indicates how entrenched they were as part of the *poleis*' identities.

Furthermore, subordination to the kings was in the interest of the civic elites. The civic governments of the *poleis* were based upon a partnership between the royally-appointed *epistatēs* and the civic magistrates. The *epistatēs* straddled the royal and civic spheres – voice of the king to the city and voice of the city to the king, his power in each sphere predicated on the idea that he was the representative of the other sphere. The magistrates represented a small citizen body and needed the support of an external source of authority, too, to help maintain their position. Concord between *epistatēs* and the magistrates – between the royal and civic spheres – was thus essential for both parties and is therefore stressed in *IGLS* 3.1183 and *IGLS* 4.1261.

The Seleukids had not killed the *polis* in bringing it to Syria and Mesopotamia, but they had significantly altered it. The Syrian and Mesopotamian *poleis* were, therefore, distinct from those of Asia Minor – their symbols of identity and internal structures encouraged them to desire subordination to an external sovereign, in a way that the *poleis* of Asia Minor found very difficult. It was this new Seleukid model, which allowed the *polis* to have a local identity and to submit to a higher power which represented the *poleis*' future – they would continue to enjoy wealth and prosperity on a scale hitherto undreamt, but they would never be completely free again.

APPENDIX ONE: INSCRIPTIONS USED

	Source	Date(BC)	Concordance	Full Text on Page
F. Amyzon 16	Amyzon, Karia	c.200 BC	<i>PH</i> 256814	117
Hefzibah	Jordan River Valley	202-195	Landau (1966)	118
I. Erythrae 23	Erythrai	330-315	<i>SEG</i> 19.697	120
I. Erythrae 205	Erythrai	281	<i>PH</i> 251553	120
I. Priene 22	Priēnē	262	<i>PH</i> 252959	121
IGLS 3.2.1183 Theophilos Decree	Seleukeia-in-Pieria	186	Holleaux (1933) ; Köhler (1900) ; <i>PH</i> 243366; RC 45; <i>SEG</i> 7.62	122
IGLS 3.2.1184	Seleukeia-in-Pieria	187-175	<i>OGIS</i> 245; <i>PH</i> 243367	124
IGLS 4.1261	Laodikeia-by-the-Sea	174	<i>PH</i> 243485 ; Sosin (2005)	125
IGLS 7.4028	Baitokaikē	????	<i>OGIS</i> 262; <i>PH</i> 245340; RC 70	126
Inscription d'Iran	Laodikeia-in-Mēdia	193	<i>PH</i> 314705 & 314706; Robert (1949)	128
OGIS 222	Klazomenai	268-262	<i>I. Erythrae</i> 504; Piejko (1991); <i>PH</i> 251881	130
OGIS 223	Erythrai	261-246	<i>PH</i> 251595; RC 15	132
OGIS 225	Didyma (Milētos)	253	<i>PH</i> 247011; RC 18	134
OGIS 233	Magnēsia-on-the-Maiandros	c.195	<i>PH</i> 260454	136
OGIS 253	Mesopotamia	166	<i>PH</i> 321688	140
OGIS 254	Mesopotamia	????	<i>PH</i> 314545	140
OGIS 257	Seleukeia-in-Pieria	109	<i>PH</i> 310762 ; RC 71	141
OGIS 339	Sestos	133-120	<i>PH</i> 166666	142
SEG 35.925	Chios	c.330	<i>PH</i> 246413; <i>SEG</i> 22.506 ; <i>Syll</i> ³ 283	148
SEG 36.1280	Seleukeia-in-Pieria	197		149
Syll³ 344	Teos	303	<i>PH</i> 256448; RC 3/4	150
Syll³ 560	Magnēsia-on-the-Maiandros	c.195?	<i>PH</i> 260467	158

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F. Amyzon 16 : Amyzon, Karia : c.200 BC

[— | — καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπ]άντων ὧν καὶ Ἀμ[υζο|νεῖς μετέχουσιν ἐν] ταῖς Χρυσαιορέωμ πόλε[σιν· |

ἐλέσθαι δὲ ἄνδρ]ας οἱ ἀφικόμενοι πρὸς Νικομήδῃ[ν |5| τὸ] ψήφισμα ἀποδώσουσιν καὶ ἀσπασάμενοι αὐτ[ὸν | πα]ρὰ τοῦ δήμου παρακαλέσουσιν ὄντα εὐεργέτην πειρᾶσθαι ἀείτινος ἀγαθοῦ παραίτιον γίνεσθαι τῷ δήμῳ· |

ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε ψήφισμα ἐν τῷ ἐπιφανεστάτῳ τό|πῳ τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος·

ἐπιμεληθῆναι δὲ τῆς ἀ|10|ναγραφῆς τοὺς προστάτας ὅπως ἢ πᾶσι φανερόν | ὅτι ὁ δῆμος εὐεργετηθεὶς ἀποδίδωι χάριτας ἀξία[ς] | τοῖς εὐεργετοῦσιν αὐτόν·

τὸ δὲ ἀνήλωμα εἰς ταῦτα | δότω ὁ καθεσταμένος ταμίας ἀπὸ τῶν κοινῶν | προσόδων.

ἡρέθησαν Μυωνίδης Ἱεροκλείους, Μένιπ|15|πος Νικασικλείους.

[The *dēmos* decides]:

- [To grant Nikomēdēs citizenship? and all other] things also which the Am[yzonians share with] the *poleis* of the Chrysaoreans
- To choose men] who will go to Nikomēdēs and give him this decree and greeting him kindly on behalf of the *dēmos* will encourage him, as a benefactor, to always try to be the cause of something good for the *dēmos*,
- To inscribe this decree in the most prominent place in the temple of Artemis
- That the *prostatai* are to take care of the inscription so that it may be apparent to all that when the *dēmos* receives beneficence it repays the benefactor with gratitude worthy of itself

Let the man who has been appointed treasurer provide the cost of these things from the common income.

The men chosen: Myōnidēs of Hierokleios, Menippos of Nikasikleios

Hefzibah : Jordan River Valley, south of Galilee : 200-195 BC

A

[Ba]σιλεὺς Ἀν[τί]οχος Πτολεμαίωι χαίρειν. — — — — — | ας σύνταξ[ον
ἀνα]γράψαν[τα]ς ἐν στήλαις λιθ[ίναις ἢ δέλτοις λευκαῖς | τὰ]ς ἐπιστολὰ[ς ἀναθ]εῖναι ἐν
[ταῖς] ὑπαρχούσαις [κώμαις. γεγράφαμε]ν δὲ | πε[ρὶ] τούτων Κλέωνι καὶ Ἡλι[ο]δώρῳ
τοῖς δ[ι<ι>ο]μκηταῖς ἵνα ἐπακολούθωσιν]. βιρ' Ὑπερβερετα[ίου —]

King Antiochos to Ptolemaios, greetings. — — — — — arrange for the *epistolai* to be engraved on stone steles or [white tablets] and se[t up] in the [villages] under your control. [We have written] abo[ut these things to Kleōn and] Hēliodōros the *dioikētai*, in order to follow it up. — Hyperberetaios, 112 SE [200 BC]

B

[5] [Ba]σιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος [Κλέ]ων[ι] χαί[ρ]ε[ι]ν. τὰ καταγ[ε]γραμμένα παρ' ἐμοῦ τῷ στρατηγῷ | — ηω — — — καὶ ἀπι[σ]τ[ῶν] ἐνέσ[χ]εν ἐν κτή[μασιν] — —]ω αὐτῷ κατὰ τὸ | — δοθέν διὰ — — ντω ν — δουπ — — — ειε — — α τω ο μενη γώ[ραι].

[K]in[g Antio]chos [to Kle]ōn, Greetings. The things w[ritten] below to the *stratēgos* [by me] — — — — and he, disobeying, held on to the properties — — to him below — — thing given by — — — — — — — — — — la[nds].

C

8| [Ba]σιλεὺς [Ἀντίοχος Κλέωνι] χαίρειν. τοῦ ὑπομνή[ματος οὗ ἔδωκ]ε[ν ἡ]{ιν
Πτολ[εμαῖος | ὁ σ]τρατηγ[ὸς] [καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς ὑπο]τέτακται τὸ ἀντ[ί]γ[ραφον. γεν]έσθω
[οὗ]ν ὥσπερ ἀξιοῖ. α[ἰρ'] — — —]

[10] [Βαρ]ιλᾷ Ἀν[τιόχῳ ὑπ]όμνημα παρὰ Πτολεμ[αίου] στρατηγοῦ καὶ ἀρχιερ[έως. | τῶν
μ]ὲν ὦν[ιων χρη]μάτων ἀξίῳ γραφῆναι [ταῦθ’] ὅσα μὲν ἂν ᾦ ἐν ταῖς κόμαις [μου | το]ῖς
λαοῖς π[ρὸς α]ὐτοὺς εἶναι ἔξα[λόγῳ] ἐπὶ τῶν παρ’ ἐμοῦ, ὅσα δ’ ἂν ᾦ πρὸς τοῦ[ς | τῶν]
ἄλλων κωμῶν [ὅ] τε οἰκονόμ[ος καὶ ὁ —]ου πρ[ο]εστηκὼς ἐπισ[κ]οπῶσιν. ἐὰν δε — | —
φο—υηὶ ἢ καὶ μείζονα δοκῇ — — — — πέμπηται ἐπὶ τὸν ἐν Σ[υ]ρίαι κ[αὶ] Φ[ο]ινίκῃ
[15] [στ]ρατηγόν. τοὺς δὲ φρουράρχους [καὶ τοὺς ἐ]πὶ τῶν τόπων τεταγμέν[ους] μὴ
περισ[τεῖλαι] μηθένα τρόπον τοὺς παρη[γουμένους]. τὴν [α]ὐτὴν Ἑ[λ]ιοδώρῳ.

[K]ing [Antiochos to Kleōn], greetings. Attached is a copy of the *hypomnēma* which [Ptolemaios the] *stratēgos* and archpriest [gav]e to us. So, let it be done as he thinks best [11]1 SE [201 BC]

Hypomnēma to [Kin]g An[tiochos] from *Stratēgos* and Archpriest Ptolemaios. About goods on sale, I think best to write [these things]: whatever is exp[orted] by the commoners in [my] villages to themselves be administered by my officials, but the *oikonomos* and the — administrator would oversee whatever is [exported] to commoners of other villages. And if — — — or he wishes more — — — — he would send to the *stratēgos* of Syria and Phoenicia. And that the *phrourarchoi* and those set over the places should not pro[tect] in any way those who are led astray. The same (letter) to Hēliodōros.

D

17| [Βα]σιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος Κ[λέω]νι χαίρειν. [τοῦ ὑπ]ομνήματος οὗ ἔδω[κεν ἡμῖν | Πτο]λεμαῖος ὁ στρατηγὸς καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς ὑποτ[έτακται] τὸ ἀντίγραφον. | [γεν]έσθω οὖν καθάπερ ἄξιοι. βιβ' Αὐδαίου δ'

[20] [Βα]σιλεῖ μεγάλῳ Ἀντίοχῳ ὑπόμνημα [παρὰ Πτολ]εμα[ίου] στρατηγοῦ | [καὶ] ἀρχιερέως. ἄξιῶ, ἐάν σοι φαίνεται, βασιλεῦ, — — — — — προς τε [Κλέ]ωνα καὶ Ἡλιόδω[ρο]ν [τοῦ]ς διοικητὰς εἰς τὰς ὑπ[αρχ]ούσας μοι κώ[μα]ς | [ἐγ]κτῆσει καὶ εἰς [τ]ὸ πα[τρ]ικὸν καὶ εἰς [ἄς] σὺ προ[σ]έταξας καταγράψ[αι], [μη]θενὶ ἐξουσίαν εἶναι ἐπισταθμεύειν κατὰ μ[ηδε]μίαν [π]αρεύρεσιν [25] μηδ' ἑτέρους ἐπαγαγὼν μηδ' ἐπιβολὴν ποιήσας [κ]αὶ ἐπὶ τὰ κτήματα, | μηδὲ λαοὺς ἐξάγειν. τὴν αὐτ[ή]ν Ἡλιοδώρῳ.

[K]ing Antiochos to K[leō]n, greetings. Attached is a copy of the *hypomnēma* which [Ptolemaios the] *stratēgos* and archpriest [gav]e to us. So, let it be done as he thinks best. 4th Audanios, 112 SE [200 BC]

Hypomnēma to King Antiochos the Greatest [from] *Stratēgos* [and] Archpriest Ptol]ema[ios]. I think best, if it should seem so to you, King, — — — — — that there be no authority for the *dioikētai* [Kle]ōn and Hēliodō[ro]s to billet in the villages belonging to me by tenure, in my hereditary land, and in the land which you commanded to be deeded to me under any pretext, nor for bringing in others, nor for making requisitions (even for property), nor to take away the commoners. The same (letter) to Hēliodōros.

E

27| Β[α]σιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος Μαρσύαι χαίρειν. ἐν[ε]φ[ά]νισεν ἡμῖν | [Π]τολεμαῖο[ς] ὁ στρατηγὸς καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς [ς] πλείονας τ[ῶν] διοδε[υ]ομένων | καταλύειν τε μετὰ βίας ἐν ταῖς κώμα[ις] αὐτοῦ [καὶ] ἄλλα ἀδικήματα [30] οὐκ ὀλίγα συντελεῖσθαι μὴ προσέχοντας τ[οῖς] παρ' ἡμ[ῶ]ν ἐπιστά[θμοις]. περὶ τούτων [ἐ]πιμέλειαν οὖν ποιο[ῖς], ὅπως μὴ μόν[ον] κ[ω]λύω[ν]ται — | [ἀ]λλὰ καὶ ζημ[ι]ῶνται δεκαπλα[σ]ίσ<ι>αίς, ἃν ποιῶνται βλάβαι. | ἡ αὐτὴ [Λυ]σανία, Λέοντι, Διονίκῳ.

[K]ing Antiochos to Marsyas, greetings. [P]tolemaio[s the] *stratēgos* and archpries[t] reported to us that the majority of those passing through ignored our quartermasters and encamped by force in his villages and carried out not a few other crimes. So you should issue an order about these things that not only are they to be stopped — but also that they are to be finided tenfold, should damage be done. The same (letter) to [Lysa]nias, Leōn, Dionikos.

F

34| βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος Ἡλιοδ[ώ]ρω[ι] χ[αίρ]ειν. τῆς ἐπιστ[ολῆς] ἧς [35] γ[ε]γράφαμεν πρὸς Μαρσ[ύ]αν ὑποτέτακται τὸ ἀντίγραφ[ον]. σὺ δ' οὖν | ἐπακολούθει. ζιβ' Ξανδ[ικοῦ] | [ὑ]πετάγ[η ἡ] πρὸς] Μα[ρ]σύαν ἡ αὐτή. Θεοδότῳ τ[ῇ]ς [πρ]ὸς Λυσανία[ν]. | Ἀπολλοφάνει τῆς πρ[ὸς] Λέο[ντα]. Πλουτογένει τῆς πρὸς] Διόνικον.

King Antiochos to Hēliodōros, greetings. Attached is a copy of the *epistol[ē]* which] we have written to Marsyas. [So] comply with it. Xandikos, 116 SE [195 BC] The same (letter) to Marsyas (attached above); to Theodōtos of the one for Lysanias; to Apollopānēs of the one to Leōn; to Ploutogenēs of the one to Dionikos.

I. Erythrae 23 : Erythrai : 330-315 BC

Ἐφ' ἱεροποιοῦ Δα|μάλου τειχῶν ἐ|πιστάται τῆς ἀν|τιπλάδης τοῦ |5| τείχους...

When Damalos was *hieropoios*, the overseers of the walls for damp-proofing the wall...

I. Erythrae 205 : Erythrai : 281 BC

Appended to an early fourth century BC inscription on the cult of Asklēpios and Apollo

|75| ὕμνεῖτ<ε> ἐπὶ σπονδαῖς Ἀπόλλωνος κυανοπλοκάμου | παῖδα Σέλευκον, ὃν αὐτὸς
γείνατο χρυ[σ]ολύρας | [— 7 —]νεῖτε μὴ διαθέσθε [—]

Sing with libations of Seleukos, son of dark-haired Apollo, who himself made golden
lyres — — lest you arrange —

I. Priene 22 : Priēnē : 262 BC

[N]ύμφωνι Πρωτάρχου. |

[ἐπὶ στ]εφανηφόρου Λεωμέδοντος, μηνὸς Ταυρεῶ|νος, Λ]υσίας Πολυχάρους εἶπεν·

ἐπειδὴ Νύμφω[ν | Π]ρωτάρχου πρότερόν τε φρούραρχος ἀποδει[5][χ]θεις τῆς ἄκρας ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἐπιμελῶς τε καὶ δι[κ]α[ί]ως διαφυλάξας μετὰ τῶμ φρουρῶν παρέδω[κεν] αὐ]τὴν τῷ δήμῳ καθότι καὶ παρέλαβεν, καὶ π[ά]λ[ιν τὸ] δεύτερον ἀποδειχθεις φρούραρχος ὑπὸ τοῦ [δ]ήμου τῆς ἄκρας διέμεινέ τε πάντα τὸν χρόνον |10| [ἐν τῷ φρ]ουρίῳ κατὰ τὸν νόμον καὶ παρέδωκεν τῷ | [δ]ήμῳ, καὶ τ]οῖς φρουροῖς ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως χρώμενος | [ἐμ παντὶ] καθότι καὶ πρότερον, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις | [ἐαυτὸν δι]ατελεῖ παρεχόμενος εἰς τὰ συμφέ[ροντα τῆς πόλεως·]

τύχῃ ἀγαθῇ ·

δεδοχθαι τῇ βουλῇ |15| [καὶ τῷ δήμῳ· στεφ]ανῶσαι Νύμφωνα Πρωτάρχου | [τοῖς πρώτοις Διονυ]σίο[ις] τῷ ἀγῶνι τῶν τραγω[ι]δῶν χρυσέῳ στεφάν]ῳ τῷ ἐκ τοῦ νόμου, καὶ δη[λῶσαι δι' ἧς αἰτίας στε]φανοῦται, τῆς δὲ ἀναγγ[ε]λίας ἐπιμεληθῆναι τὸν ἀγ]ωνοθέτην· ὅπως δ' ἂν ἦ[ι] |20| [φανερὰ ἢ τοῦ δήμου πρ]οαίρεσις ἦν ἔχων [ὑπὲρ | τῶν ἀνδρῶν καλῶν καὶ ἀ]γαθῶν ὄντων δια[τελεῖ —] κοινῶν ἐπιστα[— μν]ημονεύων[ται, ἀναγράψαι ταῦτα εἰς στή]λην λιθί[25][ν]ην καὶ στήσαι εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς· τὸ δὲ] ἀνά[λωμα τὸ εἷς τε τὸν στέφανον —]

For Nymphōn son of Prōtarchos.

[When] Leōmedōn was crownbearer, in the month of Taureōn, Lysias son of Polycharos said:

Since Nymphōn son of Prōtarchos who was formerly appointed *phourarchos* of the citadel by the *dēmos*, maintained the guard attentively and correctly along with the guardsmen, and return[ed it] to the *dēmos*, just as he received it and again, when appointed *phourarchos* of the citadel by the *dēmos* a second time, continued to behave according to the law for the whole time in the garrison and returned it to the [*dēmos*, and] managed the guards correctly and justly [in everything] just as before, and in other matters continued to offer [himself] for the benef[it of the *polis*].

Good Fortune!

It has been resolved by the *boulē* [and the *dēmos*] to crown Nymphōn son of Prōtarchos [in the first days of Dionysios] at the tragedy contest, [with a gold] crown as from custom, and to make known the [the reasons why] he is crowned, and for the organiser of the contest to organise the proclamation. And so that [the *dēmos*'] goodwill, which it continues to have [for men who are well and good] may be apparent — [and so that that these deeds?] may be remembered in common know[ledge? —, to write these things on a] stone stel[e and set it up in the temple of Athena. And the expense for the crown and —

IGLS 3.2.1183, Theophilos Decree : Seleukia Pieria : 186 BC

Θεοφίλου ἐπιστάτου καὶ ἀρχόντων γνώμη· |

ἐπεὶ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπεδόθη πρόσ|ταγμα περὶ Ἀριστολόχου τῶν τιμωμένων | φίλων
παρ' αὐτῷ, οὗ τὸ ἀντίγραφον ὑποτέ|5|τακται, καλῶς δ' ἔχει, τοῦ ἀνθρώπου αἰρετικῶς
ἔχοντος πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ προτεθει|μένου κατοικήσιν ἐνταῦθα ἐν τε πλείοσιν τῶν τῇ
πόλει συμφερόντων καὶ κοινῇ | τοῖς πολίταις καὶ ἰδίαί ἐκάστωι συνεμβαίνον|10|τος
ἀπαρακλητῶς, ὥς καὶ οἱ πεμφθέντες πρεσ|βευταὶ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Κόνων, Ζῆθος,
Ἀνδροκλῆς, | Ἀρτεμίδωρος ἐπαναγαγόντες ἀπήγγειλαν | ἣν [προ]σηνέγκατο σπουδὴν ἐπὶ
τοῦ βασιλέως | περὶ ὧν ἐτύγχανον ἀπεσταλμένοι,

φαίνεσθαι | καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀποδεχομένην φιλοφρόνως τὴν τῶν |15| τοιούτων ἀνδρῶν
προθυμίαν καὶ εὐεργεσίαν, ὅπως | καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἐπιγινώσκοντες τὰ παρὰ τῆς πόλε|ως
ἀπαντώμενα τοῖς φιλαγα|γα|θεῖν πειρωμένοις, συν|σωίζειν τοὺς πολίτας ζηλωταὶ
γινόμενοι, ἀντέχων|ται τῆς παρ' ἡμῖν πολιτείας,

δεδοχθαι τῷ δήμῳ ἐπαι|20|νέσαι τε Ἀριστόλοχον ἐπὶ τῇ τοιαύτῃ προαιρέσει καὶ
ὑπάρ|χειν αὐτῷ παρ' ἡμῖν πολιτείαν, τὸν δὲ εἰς τὴν διὰ τοῦ| προστάγματος δ[ιδ]ομένην
εἰκόνα τόπον ἀποδείξαι | τὸν ἐπιστάτην καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἐν τῷ | ἀρχεῖῳ, ἀναγραφῆναι
δὲ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ γραμματέως, |25| πατρὸς Ἀριστολόχου εἰς μὲν δῆμον, Ὀλυμπία, φυλὴν
| δὲ Λαοδικίδα. |

ἔτους 5κρ', μηνὸς Δαισίου λ' |

βασιλεὺς Σέλευκος Θεοφίλῳ καὶ Σελευκέων | τῶν ἐμ Πιερίαι τοῖς ἄρχουσι καὶ τῇ πόλει
χαίρειν· |30| Ἀριστόλοχον τῶν τιμωμένων φίλων παρειαχημένον τὰς χρείας μετὰ πάσης
εὐνοίας τῷ τε πατρὶ | ἡμῶν καὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ καὶ ἡμῖν, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαι|οτάτοις καίροις
πεποιημένον ἀποδείξεις ἐκτε|νεῖς τῆς πρὸς τὰ πράγματα αἰρέσεως, καὶ κατὰ τὰ |35| λοιπὰ
μὲν προμηθοῦμεθα ἀξίως ἧς προσφέρεται | [εὐνοί]ας καὶ εἰκόνι δὲ χαλκῇ ἐστεφανώσαμεν
| [— — — — —] ἣν βουλόμεθα σταθῆναι παρ' ὑ|[— — — — —]
— — —]ντες εἰς αὐτήν.

Proposal of *Epistatēs* Theophilos and the Archons:

Since a *prostagma* was delivered from the king concerning Aristolochos, one of the honoured friends near to him (of which a copy is appended below) it is appropriate that, as this man, acting with goodwill to this city and having chosen to settle down here, in many cases [he] has both been of advantage to the city and has voluntarily aided the citizens publicly and individuals privately, and, moreover, Konōn, Zēthos, Androklēs, [and] Artemidōros, the ambassadors who were sent to the King and have returned, reported how much trouble he went to with the King regarding the matters for which they were sent,

And, so that the *polis* be seen to welcome the goodwill and beneficence of such men, in order that others also, learning what comes from our city to those who endeavour to love goodness and becoming imitators of [him in] preserving the citizens, might care for our community,

It has been resolved by the *dēmos*:

- To commend Aristolochos for such conduct and to grant our citizenship to him,
- To consecrate, for the statue given [to him] by your command, the place [of] the *epistatēs* and archons in the Town hall,
- And that he is to be enrolled, by the secretary, as the son of Aristolochos, in the deme of Olympieus and the tribe of Laodikis

Year 126, 30th of Daisios

[186 BC, 31st May]

King Seleukos to Theophilos and to the archons and city of the Seleukeians-in-Pieria, greetings. Because Aristolochos of our honoured friends furnished the needs of our father, brother, and ourselves with total goodwill, and in most fraught times has eagerly demonstrated his devotion to our affairs, and in other respects, we consider him worthy of the goodwill which he embodies and we have honoured him with a bronze statue [— — — — —] which we wish to erect in y[our city — — — — —] for it.

IGLS 3.1184 : Seleukeia-in-Pieria : 187-175 BC

A

[ἔτους — — —] καὶ ἑκατοστοῦ | ἱερεῖς | Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου | καὶ Διὸς Κορυφαίου |5|
 Νικήρατος Νικηράτου, | Απόλλωνος τοῦ ἐπὶ Δά[φν]ῃ | Καλλικλῆς Διογ[ένους], |
 Απόλλωνος | Ζηνόβιος Ζήνωνος, |10| Σελεύκου Διὸς | Νικάτορος καὶ Ἀντιόχου |
 Ἀπολλῶνος Σωτήρο[ς] | καὶ Ἀντιόχου θεοῦ | καὶ Σελεύκου |15| Καλλινίκου | καὶ
 Σελεύκου Σωτήρος | καὶ Ἀντιόχου καὶ | Ἀντιόχου Μεγάλου | [Δι]ογένεις Ἀρτέμωνος, |20|
 [βασι]λέως Σελεύκου | [Εὐ]κράτης Ἀναξίωνος, | [σκηπ]τροφόρος | [— — — — —
 Δ]ημητρίου.

Priests in the hundred and [— — —]th year: Of Zeus Olympios and of Zeus the Chief:
 Nikēratos son of Nikēratos; of Apollo at Daphnē: Kalliklēs son of Diogenēs; of Apollo...:
 Zēnobios son of Zēnōn; of Seleukos [I] the Victorious Zeus, Antiochos [I] the Saviour
 Apollo, Antiochos [II] the God, Seleukos [II] the Beautiful Victor, Seleukos [III] the
 Saviour, Antiochos, and Antiochos [III] the Greatest: Diogenēs son of Artemōn; of King
 Seleukos [IV: Eu]kratēs son of Anaxiōn; [sceptre?]bearer: [— — — — —] son of
 Dēmētrios.

B

[ἔτους — — —] καὶ ἑκατοστοῦ | ἱερεῖς | Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου | τῶν θεῶν τῶν |5| Σωτήρ[ων]
 καὶ Διὸς | Κο[ρυφα]ίου | Ἀ[νδ]ρων Φιλόφι[α—], | Απόλλωνος | Θεόφιλος Ἀντ[— — —],
 |10| Σελεύκου Διὸς | Νικάτορος καὶ Ἀντ[ιόχου] | Ἀπολλῶνος Σωτήρος | καὶ Ἀντιόχου
 θεοῦ | καὶ Σελεύκου Σωτή[ρος] |15| καὶ Ἀντιόχου καὶ | Ἀντιόχου μεγάλου | Ἀριστία<ς>
 Ὀμέ[ρος?] | τοῦ Ἀριστάρ<χ>ου, | βασιλέως Σελεύκου |20| Νουμήφος Νου[μήφ]ου, |
 [σ]κηπτροφόρος | | | Θόας <Π>υθοκλέως, |25| κεραυνοφόροι | Ἰέρων
 Σώ<ζ>ον[τος] | Ἰάτρ]ω[v Ἰα]τρα<γ>όρου.

Priests in the hundred and [— — —]th year: Of Zeus Olympios of the Saviour Gods and
 of Zeus the Chief: A[nd]rōn son of Philophi[a—]; of Apollo: Theophilos son of Ant[—
 — —], of Seleukos [I] the Victorious Zeus, Ant [iochos I] the Saviour Apollo, Antiochos
 [I] the God, Seleukos [III] the Saviour, Antiochos and Antiochos [III] the Greatest:
 Aristias son of Home[ros?] grandson of Aristarchos; Of King Seleukos [IV]: Noumēphos
 son of Nou[mēph]os. Sceptrebearer: Thoas son of Pythoklēs; Thunderbearers: Hierōn son
 of Sōzōn, [Iatr]ō[n] son of [Ia]tra[g]oros

IGLS 4.1261: Laodikeia by the Sea : 174 BC

ἔτους ηλρ', μηνὸς Αὐδναίου λ', |

Ἀσκληπιάδου ἐπιστάτου καὶ ἀρχόντων | γνώμη·

ἐπεὶ Ὡρος καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος | καὶ Ἀντίοχος, οἱ ἱερεῖς τοῦ Σαράπιδος |5| καὶ τῆς Ἴσιδος
ἀπελογίζοντο ἄμφοδον | ἐν ᾧ ἔστιν καὶ τὸ τέμενος τῶν | προγεγραμμένων θεῶν ὑπάρχειν |
αὐτοῖς τε καὶ τοῖς Ἀπολλοδώρου υἱοῖς, | τοῖς ἀνεψίοις αὐτῶν παππώιαις, |10| ιδιόκτητον·
ψηφίσματος δὲ εἰσενή|νεγμένου τοὺς αἰτουμένους παρὰ τῆς | πόλεως τόπον εἰς ἀνάθεσιν
εἰκόνας | διδόναι τὸ ἐκτεταγμένον διάφορον, | καὶ αἰτουμένων τινῶν τόπους καὶ ἐν τῷ |15|
ἱερῷ, ὑφορώμενο<ι> μὴ ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου τρόπου ἀνασκευάζεται τὰ τῆς | κτήσεως αὐτῶν,
παρεκάλουν προ|νοηθῆναι περὶ τούτων,

καλῶς ἔχει | ὅπως μὴ διὰ τοῦ τοιούτου αἱ κτήσεις |20| αὐτῶν ἅς προσηγνέκαντο
ἀνα|σκευάζονται·

δεδόχθαι τοῖς | πελιγαῖσιν· τοὺς βουλομένους ἰστάνειν | ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τόπῳ διδόναι, μὴ τοῦ
τόπου, αὐτῆς δὲ τῆς εἰκόνας τὸ ψηφισθὲν |25| πλῆθος.

Year 138 [174 BC] 30th of Audanios.

Proposal of *Epistatēs* Asklēpiadēs and the archons:

Since Hōros, Apollodōros and Antiochos, the priests of Sarapis and Isis rendered an account of their city-block in which there is the sanctuary of the aforementioned gods controlled by them and their first cousins, the sons of Apollodōros, which is their private property and as a motion has been passed that those asking for civic land for dedication of statues are to give a fixed sum of money and some have asked for places in their temple, they suspect that their possessions will be wrecked by such practices and they called for provision to be made in these matters.

It is appropriate that their possessions, which they have offered up, not be wrecked through such practices;

[so] it has been resolved by the *peliganes*: that those wishing to set up [statues] in their sanctuary are to give the amount decreed, not for the site, but for the statue itself.

IGLS 7.4028 : Baitokaikē : ???= OGIS 262 = RC 70

A letter in Latin from the Emperors Valerian and Gallienus (r.AD 253-259) precedes

[15] ἐπιστολὴ Ἀντιόχου βασιλέως |

βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος Εὐφύμῳ χαίρειν· ἐδόθη ὁ κατακεχωρισ|μένος ὑπομνηματισμός· γενέσθω οὖν καθότι δεδήλωται περὶ ὧν δεῖ διὰ σοῦ | συντελεσθῆναι.

προσενεχθέντος μοι περὶ τῆς ἐνεργείας θεοῦ Διὸς Βαιτοκαικης | ἐκρίθη συνχωρηθῆναι αὐτῷ εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον, ὅθεν καὶ ἡ δύναμις τοῦ [20] θεοῦ κατάρχεται, κώμην τὴν Βαιτοκαι[κη]νὴν, ἣν πρότερον ἔσχεν Δημήτριος | Δημητρίου τοῦ Μνασαίου ἐν Τουργωνα τῆς περὶ Ἀπάμιαν σατραπίας, σὺν τοῖς | συνκύρουσι καὶ καθήκουσι πᾶσι κατὰ τοὺς προϋπάρχοντας περιορισμοὺς | καὶ σὺν τοῖς τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους γενήμασιν, ὅπως ἡ ἀπὸ ταύτης πρόσοδος | ἀναλίσκῃται εἰς τὰς κατὰ μῆνα συντελουμένας θυσίας καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ πρὸς αὐξ[25]σιν τοῦ ἱεροῦ συντείνοντα ὑπὸ τοῦ καθεσταμένου ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἱερέως, ὡς εἴθισται, ἄγωνται δὲ κατὰ μῆνα πανηγύρεις ἀτελεῖς τῇ πεντεκαιδεκάτῃ καὶ | τριακάδι, καὶ εἶναι τὸ μὲν ἱερὸν ἄσυλον, τὴν δὲ κώμην ἀνεπί<τα>θμον μηδεμιᾶς | ἀπορρήσεως προσενεχθείσης· τὸν δὲ ἐναντιωθησόμενόν τισι τῶν προγε|γραμμένων ἔνοχον εἶναι ἀσεβείᾳ ἀναγραφῆναί τε καὶ τὰ ἀντίγραφα ἐν [30] στήλῃ λιθίνῃ καὶ τεθῆναι ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἱερῷ.

δεήσει οὖν γραφῆναι οἷς εἴθισται, ἵνα γένῃται ἀκολούθως τοῖς δηλουμένοις.

Letter of King Antiochos:

King Antiochos to Euphēmos, greetings. The *hypomnēmatismos* recorded below was granted. So let it be just as it has been instructed in regards to these things, which must be accomplished by you.

As I was informed about the efficacy of divine Zeus of Baitokaikē, it was decided:

- for him to be granted for all time the village of Baitokai[kē]nē, which Dēmētrios son of Dēmētrios of Mnasaioi in Tourgōn of the satrapy around Apameia formerly held, from which the power of the god may receive sacrifices, with the contiguous [land] and everything which belongs to it according to the archived surveys and with the harvest of the current year, in order that the income from the land might be used for performing sacrifices each month and in order that the other contributions be used for the expansion of the temple by the priest appointed for the god, as is customary, and in order that untaxed fairs may be held each month on the fifteenth and the thirtieth,
- And that the temple is to be a sanctuary, and for the village to be exempt from billeting (no objection having been offered),
- And that anyone who opposes any part of this proclamation shall be guilty of impiety,
- And that copies are to be inscribed on a stone stele and placed in the temple itself.

So it will be necessary to write to those who are normally written to, so that it is done in accordance with these instructions.

Inscription d'Iran : Laodikeia-in-Mēdia : 193 BC

Μενέδημος Ἀπολλοδώρῳ καὶ Λαοδικέων | τοῖς ἄρχουσι καὶ τῷ πόλει χαίρειν ·

τοῦ | [γ]ραφέντος πρὸς ἡμᾶς προστάγματος | [παρὰ το]ῦ βασιλέως ὑποτέτακται | [τὸ
ἀντί]γραφον · κατακολουθεῖτε οὖν |5| τοῖς ἐπεσταλμένοις καὶ φροντίσατε | ὅπως
ἀναγραφὴν τὸ πρόσταγμα εἰς στήλην | λιθίνην ἀνατεθῇ ἐν τῷ ἐπιφανεστάτῳ | τῶν ἐν τῇ
πόλει ἱερῶν. |

Ἑρρωσθέ. θιρ' Πανήμου ι' |10|

Βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχο[ς Μ]ενεδήμῳ χαίρειν ·|

[βου]λόμενοι τῆς ἀδ[ε]λφῆς βασιλίσσης | Λαοδίκης τὰς τιμὰς ἐπὶ πλεῖον αὔξειν | καὶ
τοῦτο ἀναγκαιότατον ἑαυτοῖς | νομίζοντες εἶν[αι] διὰ τὸ μὴ μόνον ἡμῖν φιλοστόργως |15|
καὶ κηδεμονικῶς αὐτὴν συμβιοῦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ | πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβῶς διακεῖσθαι, καὶ τὰ
ἄλλα μὲν | ὅσα πρέπει καὶ δίκαιόν ἐστιν παρ' ἡμῶν [αὐτ]ῇ | συναντᾶσθαι διατελοῦμεν
μετὰ φιλοστοργίας | ποιοῦντες, κρίνομεν δὲ, καθάπερ ἡμῶ[ν] |20| ἀποδείκνυνται κατὰ
τὴν βασιλείαν ἀρχιερεῖς, | καὶ ταύτης κ[αθ]ίστασθαι ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς το[ποῖς] | ἀρχιερείας
αἱ φ[ορ]ήσουσιν στεφάνους χρυ[σοῦς] | ἔχοντας εἰκόν[α]ς αὐτῆς, ἐνγραφῆσονται δὲ [καὶ]
| ἐν τοῖς συνα[λ]λάγμασιν] μετὰ τοὺς τῶν προ[γόνων] |25| καὶ ἡμῶν ἀρχι[ερ]εῖς ·

ἐπεὶ οὖν ἀποδέδεικτ[αι] | ἐν τοῖς ὑπὸ σ[ε] το[ποῖς] Λαοδίκη, συν[τελείσθω] | πάντα τοῖς
προγεγραμμένοις ἀκολο[ύθως] | καὶ τὰ ἀντίγραφα τῶν ἐπιστολῶν ἀναγραφέν[τα] | εἰς
στήλας ἀνατεθήτω ἐν τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις το[ποῖς], |30| ὅπως νῦν τε καὶ εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν
φανερὰ γ[ίν]ηται ἡ ἡμε[τέρα] | καὶ ἐν τούτοις πρὸς τὴν ἀδελφὴν π[ροα]ίρεσις. |

θιρ' Ξαν[δικοῦ].

Menedēmos, to Apollodōros & the archons & city of Laodikea, Greetings.

Attached is a copy of the *prostagma* written to us by the king, so follow these instructions and ensure that the command is written up on a stone stele and set up in the most prominent of the temples in the city.

Farewell. 10th Panēmos, 119 SE [June/July 193 BC]

King Antiochos [III], to Menedēmos, Greetings.

Wishing to further increase the honours of our Sister-Queen Laodikē and considering this most important to us, not only because she lives affectionately and attentively in marriage with us, but also [because] she is piously disposed towards the divine. So we continue with affection the other things which seem fitting and just for her to receive from us and we judge that just as archpriests are appointed throughout the kingdom for us [i.e. the King], archpriestesses will be established in those places for her. [These archpriestesses] shall wear golden crowns and hold statues of her [Laodikē], and also they will be named in contracts after the archpriests of our ancestors and ourself.

So as Laodikē has been appointed to those places under you, let everything be as written above and let a copy of this letter be set up inscribed on a stele in the most prominent places so that now and hereafter our affection for our sister in these matters may be clear.

Xandikos, 119 SE [March/April 193 BC]

OGIS 222 : Klazomenai : 268-262 BC

[(e.g.) τὸν δὲ ἀγῶνα καὶ τὴν θυσίαν | καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν πανήγυριν συντε]λε[ῖν καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυ]τὸν (e.g.) Μεταγειντιῶνος μηνὸς τηι τε]τράδι ἰσταμένου, ἵνα τῇ[ν | ἡμέραν ἐν ἧι Ἀντίοχος ὁ βασιλεὺς] ἐγεννήθη μετ' εὐφημί[ας καὶ ἀγαθῆς τύχης κατὰ πόλεις ἀγ]ωμεν. δίδοσθαι δὲ τῷ |5| [πανηγυριζουσῶν πόλεων ἐκάστη] ὅσον καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἀλε[ξάνδρου πανήγυριν πρὸς τὴν θυσ]ίαν δίδοται. ὅπως δὲ καὶ | [τὴν προαίρεσιν τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν] Ἰώνων περὶ τῶν τιμῶν εἰ[δῶσιν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος καὶ ἡ] βασιλίς Στρατονίκη, | [ἐλέσθαι ἐκ τῶν παρόντων συνέδρ]ων δύο ἀφ' ἐκάστης πόλε|10|[ως πρέσβεις, οὓς ἐλομένους πρεσ]βεύσαντας πρὸς τὸν βα[σιλέα καὶ ἀσπασαμένους αὐτὸν τ]ό τε ψήφισμα τόδε ἀποδοῦ[ναι τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ τὴν εὐνοίαν] τῷ πόλεων τῶν Ἰάδων ἐμ[φανίσαι, τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν, καὶ ὃ τι ἄ]ν ἀγαθὸν δύνωνται τῷ κοι[νῷ περιποιῆσαι. παρακαλείτω]σαν δὲ οἱ πρέσβεις τόμ βασι|15|[λέα τὴν προσήκουσαν ἤδη ἐπιμ]έλειαν ποιεῖσθαι τῷ πόλε[ων τῶν Ἰάδων ὅπως εἰς τὸ λοιπὸ]ν ἐλεύθεροι οὔσαι καὶ δημο[κρατούμεναι μεθ' ὁμονοίας πολι]τεύωνται κατὰ τοὺς πατρί[ους ἐκάστους νόμους· δηλώσουσι]ν δὲ αὐτῷ οἱ πρέσβεις διότι | [ταῦτα ποιούμενος πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν αἴτιος ἔσται ταῖς πόλε|20|[σιν ἅμα τε ἀκόλουθα πράξει τῇ τ]ῶν προγόνων αἵρέσει. παρακα[λείτωσαν δὲ οἱ πρέσβεις βασι]λέι' Ἀντίοχον ἀποφίνασθαι | [τόπον ὃς ἂν αὐτῷ κάλλιστος φ]αίνεται εἶναι, ἐν ᾧ τὸ τέμε[λινος αὐτοῦ κατασκευσθήσεται] καὶ ἡ πανήγυρις συντελε[σθήσεται.

ὅταν δὲ πάλιν συνέλθ]ωσιν αἱ πρεσβεῖαι τῇ πόλιν |25| [ἐν ἧι θύειν δεῖ τὴν ἐσομένην θυσ]ίαν τῶν Ἀλεξανδρείων | [παρακαλέσαι πάντας τοὺς δήμ]ους τοὺς μετέχοντας τῆς | [θυσίας, ὅπως κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τὸ τ]οῦ συνεδρίου βουλευσῶνται | [περὶ τῆς τοῦ τεμένου οἰκοδόμ]ης καὶ τῆς κατασκευῆς καὶ | [περὶ τοῦ τε ἀγῶνος καὶ τῶν θυσ]ιῶν καὶ περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν καθ|30|[ὅτι προγέγραπται, ὥστ' ἐν οἷς δ]εῖσει χρόνοις συντελεῖσθ[αι | πάντα. κυρωθέντος τοῦδὲ τοῦ ψη]φίσ[μα]τος τοὺς συνέδρους τοῦ[ς] | παρόντας ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων [συ]ντελέσαι θυσίαν τοῖς θε[οῖς πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις καὶ τοῖς β[α]σιλεῦσιν Ἀντιόχῳ <καὶ Ἀντιόχῳ> καὶ τῇ | βασιλίσση Στρατονίκη, καὶ [θῦ]σαι ἱερεῖα τέλεια καὶ στεφα|35|[νηφορῆσαι τοὺς τε συνέδρ]ους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ἐν | τῇ πόλει πάντας· ἀνοῖξαι δ[ὲ] τοὺς ἱερεῖς καὶ τὰς ἱερείας | τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ ἐπιθύειν ἐπευχομ[έ]νους συνενεγκεῖν τὰ δεδογμένα τοῖς τε βασιλεῦσι Ἀ[ν]τιόχῳ καὶ Ἀντιόχῳ καὶ τῇ | βασιλίσση Στρατονίκη καὶ [πᾶσι τ]οῖς μετέχουσι τῶν τι|40|[μῶν·

ἀναγράψαι δὲ καὶ εἰστ[ήλ]ην τὸ ψήφισμα τόδε καὶ τὰ | ὀνόματα πατρόθεν τῶν ἡκ[όν]των συνέδρων ἐκ τῶν πόλε[ων καὶ στή]σαι ἐν τῷ τεμέν[ει] παρὰ τὸν βωμὸν τῶν βασιλέ[ων]· ἀναγράψαι δὲ καὶ τοὺς δ[ήμ]ους ἐν ταῖς ἰδίαις πόλεσιν | [τ]ό τε ψήφισμα τόδε καὶ τ[ῶν σ]υνέδρων τὰ ὀνόματα πατρό|45|[θεν καὶ στή]σαι ἐν οἷς ἂν τόποις] φαίνεται ἐπιφανέστατον. | [εἶναι. οἶδε συνεδρευσαν · παρὰ Ἐ]φεσίων Ἀρτεμίδωρος Γόργω[ν]νος, — — 16 — — παρὰ Λε]βεδίων· Κάπ[ω]εας ? — — —

[e.g....it was resolved to h]ol[d games, sacrifices and other festivities each year as (e.g.) Metegeitniōn] comes to an end, on the [th]irtieth, in order that we might [celebrate] the [day on which King Antiochos I] was born with honou[r and good fortune throughout the *poleis*, and the same amount] is to be given [for the sacrifice to each of the *poleis* holding these festivities] as is given for the [festiv]al of Ale[xander]. And in order that [King Antiochos and] Queen Stratonikē shall know [the decree of the league of the] Iōnians about the honours, two [envoys are to be selected out of those councillors who are present], from each *polis* [and the ones chosen are to go as envoys] to ki[ng Antiochos, to greet him and to] give this decree [to the king and to demonstrate the goodwill] of the *poleis* of the Violets [towards him] so that the envoys might be able [to gain] profit for the leagu[e of *poleis*]. And [let] the envoys [encourage] Kin[g Antiochos] to increase [the care already belonging] to the *poleis* [of the Violets in order that in all other matters] they, being free and demo[cratic], may be governed [in harmony] according to their ancestr[al laws. And] the envoys [will demonstrate] to him that, on account of [doing these things] he will be the cause [of many good things] for the *poleis* [and also that he would be acting consistently with the] policy of his ancestors. [Let the envoys] encourage King Antiochos to declare [the place, which] seems best to him, in which [his] sanctuary [may be built] and the fairground [may be] set up.

[And when] the embassies for the *polis* [meet again in the place where the next sacrifice] of the Alexandria [is to be celebrated, they are to summon all of the *dēmoi* who participate in the [sacrifice, so that, in accordance with the decree] of the council, they may decide [about the construction of the sanctuary] and its provisioning and [about the games and sacrifice]s, etc. just [as written above, so that] it may be decided in which time everything will be carried out. When this decree [is ratified], the councillors who are present from the *poleis* are to celebrate the sacrifice for all the gods and goddesses and for King Antiochos <and King Antiochos II> and Queen Stratonikē, and to sacrifice perfect victims, and both the councillors and everyone else in the *polis* will wear crowns. And the priests and the priestesses are to open the temples and to sacrifice also, praying that the things decided benefit King Antiochos, King Antiochos and Queen Stratonikē and [all] those participating in these honours.

And also [they] will copy this decree and the names (with patronymics) of the councillors who came from the *poleis* onto a stele and set it in the sanctuary near the altar of the kings. And also the *dēmoi* in their own *poleis* will copy both this decree and the councillors' names (with patronymics) [and set them in whichever places] appear to be the most prominent. [These were the councillors: from the E]phesians: Artemidōros son of Gorg[ōn] — — — — from the Lebedians: Kap[ōeus?]

OGIS 223 : Erythrai : 261-246 BC

βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος Ἐρυθραίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ | χαίρειν·

Θαρσύνων καὶ Πυθῆς καὶ Βοττᾶς οἱ παρ' ὑμῶν πρεσβεύονται τό τε ψήφισμα ἀπέδωκαν ἡμῖν καθ' ὃ ἐψηφίσασθε | τὰς τιμὰς, καὶ τὸν στέφανον ἀνήνεγκαν ᾧ ἐστεφανώ|5|σατε ἡμᾶς, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὸ χρυσίον τὸ εἰς τὰ ξένια, καὶ | αὐτοὶ ἀπολογισάμενοι περὶ τῆς εὐνοίας ἣν διὰ παντὸς | εἰσχήκατε εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν οἰκίαν, καὶ καθόλου περὶ τῆς εὐχαριστίας τοῦ πλήθους ἣι χρῆται πρὸς ἅπαντας τοὺς εὐεργέτας, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὴν προαγωγὴν ἐν ἣι γέγονεν ἡ πόλις ἐπὶ τῶν πρό|10|τερον βασιλευσάντων, ἡξίου μετὰ πάσης σπουδῆς τε καὶ | προθυμίας φιλικῶς διακεῖσθαι ὑμῖν καὶ <ὁ>μοῦ πᾶσιν τοῖς ἀνή|κουσι πρὸς τιμὴν καὶ δόξαν συναύξειν τὰ τῆς πόλεως·

τάς | τε δὴ τιμὰς καὶ τὸν στέφανον δεδέγμεθα οἰκείως, ὁμοίως δὲ | καὶ τὰ ξένια, καὶ ὑμᾶς ἐπαινοῦμεν εὐχαρίστους ὄντας ἐμ πᾶ|15|σιν· φαίνεσθε γὰρ καθόλου ἀγωγῇ ταύτῃ χρῆσθαι· διὸ καὶ ἐν ἀρχῇ | τε αἰρούμενοι διατελοῦμεν τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς εὖνοιαν, θεωροῦν|τες ἀπλάστως καὶ ἀληθινῶς ἐμ πᾶσι προσφερομένους, καὶ νῦν | πολὺ τι μᾶλλον ἐπεσπᾶσμεθα, κατανοοῦντες τὸ εὐγενὲς | ὑμῶν καὶ ἐξ ἐτέρων μὲν πλεόνων, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ ἔκ τε τοῦ ψη|20|φίσματος τοῦ ἀποδοθέντος ἡμῖν καὶ ἐκ τῶν ῥηθέντων ὑπὸ | τῆς πρεσβείας· καὶ ἐπειδὴ οἱ περὶ Θαρσύνοντα καὶ Πυθῆν καὶ Βοτ|τᾶν ἀπέφαινον διότι ἐπὶ τε Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Ἀντιγόνου αὐτό|^νομος ἦν καὶ ἀφορολόγητος ἡ πόλις ὑμῶν, καὶ οἱ ἡμέτεροι πρόγο|^νοι ἔσπευδον ἀεὶ ποτε περὶ αὐτῆς, θεωροῦ<ν>τες τούτους τε κρί|25|^νοντας δικαίως καὶ αὐτοὶ βουλόμενοι μὴ λείπεσθαι ταῖς εὐερ|^γεσίαις, τὴν τε αὐτονομίαν ὑμῖν συνδιατηρήσομεν καὶ ἀφορο|^λογήτους εἶναι συγχωροῦμεν τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀπάντων καὶ | ^{τῶν} εἰς τὰ Γαλατικὰ συναγομένων· ὑπάρξει δὲ ὑμῖν καὶ ἡ | [— c.5 — καὶ ἐά|^ν τι ἄλλο φιλάνθρωπον ἢ ἡμεῖς ἐπινοήσωμεν ἢ |30| ^{ὑμεῖς} ἀξιώσητ|ε. παρακαλοῦμεν δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς μνημονεύον|^{τας} ἡμῶν ἀεὶ τ|^{ήν} ἐκτενεστάτην πεῖραν εἰληφόντων ασδια| [— — c.13 — —] εὖνοιαν καθάπερ δίκαιόν ἐστι καὶ υ| [— — — c.16 — — —] τε καὶ τοῖς προγεγενημένοις ὑμῖν ἀκο|^λουθ — — c.11 — — ὑφ' ὧν ε|^{ὐε}ργέτησθε μνημονεύσειν ἀξίως· |35| ^{τὰ} δὲ πλείονα περὶ τούτων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὧν συλλελαλή|^{καμεν} ἀναγελοῦσιν ὑμῖν οἱ] πρεσβευταί, οὓς διὰ τε τὰ ἀλ|^{λα} ᾧ ἔπραξαν ἐπαινοῦμεν καὶ δι|^ὰ τὴν σπουδὴν ἣν ἐποιοῦν|^{το} περὶ τῶν συμφερόντων τῷ δήμῳ.] ἔρ<ρ>ωσθε.

|40| ^{θεοί}· ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δή|^{μῳ} ^{στρατηγῶν, | ^{πρυτανέων, ἐξεταστῶν} γνώμη· ἐπειδὴ β|^ασιλεὺς Ἀν|^{τί}οχος Βασιλέως —] καὶ ενδο[— | —] καὶ πολ[— | —]πολε[—]}

King Antiochos [II] to the *boulē* & *dēmos* of the Erythraians, greetings.

Tharsynōn, Pythēs, and Bottas, your envoys, delivered your decree to us according to which you voted honours [for us] and they brought the crown with which you crowned us, and likewise also, the friendly gift and they gave an account of the honours which you have extended to our house through everything and about the gratitude of the masses in general, which is proclaimed for all our good deeds, and further also the prosperity which the *polis* came into under the previous rulers, they asked with all fervour and enthusiasm that [we] be friendlily disposed to you and also to all those to whom belong honour and glory for increasing the affairs of the *polis*.

We have indeed accepted the honour and the crown, as is proper, and likewise also the friendly gift and we applaud your gratitude in regards to everything – for you clearly act this way always. And therefore, we continue holding goodwill towards you, [as we have since] the beginning, observing that you contribute unaffectedly and genuinely in everything, and we are encouraged now more than ever, recognising your nobility also from many different things, but not least from the decree delivered to us and the things said by your embassy. Since those with Tharsynōn, Pythēs, and Bottas demonstrated that your *polis* was *autonomos* and free from tribute under Alexander and Antigonos, and that our ancestors always pursued this, we, recognising that these things were justly decided and also wishing not to cease from our good deeds, will carefully guard your *autonomia* and we agree for you to be exempt from all the other tributes and from the anti-Gallic levies. There will be for you also, the [— — — and] any other benefaction we think of or you ask for. We encourage your persistent mindfulness of us, which we have always taken as proof of friendliness, | [— — — — —] goodwill just as is just and [— — — — —] also for our ancestors [and we encourage you to continue?] to remember suitably those by whom you have benefitted. And the envoys, whom we praise for the other things which they did and for the devotion which they have for the profit of their *dēmos*, will inform to you about these matters and the other things which we have settled. Farewell.

[O gods! The proposal of] the *stratēgoi*, [*pytaneis* and *exetastai* seemed good to the *boulē* and the *dēmos*]: Since K]ing Antiochos, son of King — — — — —

OGIS 225 : Didyma, Milētos : 253 BC

17| Δαισίου. Βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος Μητροφάνει χαίρειν.

πεπ[ρά]|καμεν Λαοδίκῃ Πάννουκώμῃν καὶ τὴν βᾶριν καὶ τὴν προσο[ῦ]|σαν χώραν τῇ
κώμῃ

ὅρος τῇ τε Ζελεϊτίδι χώραι καὶ τῇ Κυζικ[η]|20|[ν]ῇ καὶ τῇ ὁδοῖ τῇ
ἀρχαίαι, ἥ ἡμὲν ἐπάνω Πάννουκώμῃς, συ|νηροτρίατα[ι δὲ ὑπὸ τ]ῶν
γεωργούντων πλησίον ἔνεκεν τοῦ ἀ|ποτεμέσθαι τὸ χωρίον
(τὴμ μὲν Πά[ν]νου κώμῃ ὑπ[α]ρχουσας συμβα[ί]|νει ὕστερον γεγενῆσθαι)

καὶ εἴ τινες εἰς τὴν χώ[ρα]ν ταύτην ἐμ[πί]|πτουσιν τόποι καὶ τοὺς ὑπάρχοντας αὐτό[θι
λ]αοῦ[ς πα]|25|νοικίους σὺν τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν πᾶσιν καὶ σὺν ταῖς τοῦ [ἐ]|νάτου καὶ
πεντηκοστοῦ ἔτους προσόδοις ἀρ[γυ]|ρίου ταλάντων τριάκοντα, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ εἴ τινες
ἐ|[κ] τῆς κώμῃς ταύτης ὄντες λαοὶ μετεληλύθασιν εἰς ἄλλου[ς] τόπους· ἐφ' ὧ οὐθὲν
ἀποτελεῖ εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν καὶ κυρία ἐ[σ]|30|ται προσφερομένη πρὸς πόλιν, ἣν ἂν
βούληται· κατὰ ταῦτα δ[ὲ] | καὶ οἱ παρ' αὐτῆς πριάμενοι ἢ λαβόντες αὐτοὶ τε ἔξου|σιν
κυρίως καὶ πρὸς πόλιν προσοίσονται, ἣν ἂν βούλω[ν]ται, | ἑάμπερ μὴ Λαοδίκη τυγχάνει
πρότερον προσενηνε|γμένη πρὸς πόλιν, οὕτω δὲ κεκτήσονται, οὗ ἂν ἡ χώρα ἦ
προ|35|σωρισμένη ὑπὸ Λαοδίκῃς. τὴν δὲ τιμὴν συντετάχα|μεν ἀνενεγκεῖν εἰς τὸ † κατὰ
στρατείαν γαζοφυλάκ[ι]|ον ἐν τρισὶν ἀναφοραῖς, ποιουμένου<ς> τὴμ μὲν μίαν ἐν τῷ
Αὐδναίῳ μηνὶ τῷ ἐν τῷ ἐξηκοστῷ ἔτει, τὴν δὲ ἐτέραν ἐ[ν] | τῷ Ξανδικῷ, τὴν δὲ
τρίτην ἐν τῇ ἐχομένῃ τριμήνῳ. |40|

σύνταξον παραδείξαι Ἀρριδαίῳ τῷ οἰκονομοῦντι τὰ Λαοδί|κης τὴν τε κώμην καὶ τὴν
βᾶριν καὶ τὴν προσοῦσαν χώραν | καὶ τοὺς λαοὺς πανοικίους σὺν τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν αὐτοῖς
| πᾶσιν καὶ τὴν ὠνὴν ἀναγράψαι εἰς τὰς βασιλικὰς γραφὰς | τὰς ἐν Σάρδεσιν καὶ εἰς
στήλας λιθίνας πέντε· τοῦ|45|των τὴμ μὲν μίαν θεῖναι ἐν Ἰλίῳ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, |
τὴν δὲ ἐτέραν ἐν τῷ<ι> ἱερῷ τῷ ἐν Σαμοθράκῃ, τὴν δὲ ἐτέ|ραν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ
τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, τὴν δὲ τε|τάρτην ἐν Διδύμοις ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, τὴν | δὲ
πέμπτῃ ἐν Σάρδεσιν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος· εὐ|50|θέως δὲ καὶ περιορίσαι καὶ
στηλῶσαι τὴν χώραν καὶ [προσ|αναγράψ]αι τὸν περιορισμὸν εἰς τὰς στήλας τὰ[ς
προ|ειρημένους. ἔρρωσο.

[νθ'] Δίου ε'

Daisios. King Antiochos [II] to Mētrophanēs, greetings.

We have sold to Laodikē: Pannoukōmē, the manor and the land around it:

Boundary: the Zeleitian land, the Kyzikēne land, the old road, which was above Pannoukōmē, but was plowed up by the neighbouring farmers together in order to appropriate the land (the current road to Pannoukōmē was made later)

And any places that fall within this land and any household serfs who possess [land] in that place, with all their possessions and with the incomes of the fiftieth-ninth year [254 BC], for thirty talents of silver. Likewise, any commoners from this village who have migrated to other places. From it she will pay nothing to the royal treasury and she will be authorised to convey [the land] to a *polis*, whichever she wishes. And in the same way, those who buy or receive the land will have the same authority and will convey the land to a *polis*, whichever they wish, except if Laodikē happens to have already conveyed it to a *polis*, thus they will get the land which has been surveyed for Laodikē. And we have arranged to pay the price to the *gazophylakion* in the service in three payments, the first in Audanios in the sixtieth year [253 BC], the next in Xandikos, the third in the following three months.

Organise to hand over to Arrhidaios the *oikonomos* of Laodikē's property: the village, the manor, the land around it, and the household serfs with all their possessions and to record the sale in the royal ledger in Sardis and on five stone steles. Of these, set up the first in Ilion in the temple of Athena, the next in Samothrakē, the next in Ephesos in the temple of Artemis, the fourth in Didyma in the temple of Apollo, the fifth in Sardis in the temple of Artemis. And quickly mark out the land and set up boundary stones and record the boundary on the [aforementioned] steles. [Farewell].

[Year 59 [253 BC]] 5th Dios

OGIS 233 : Magnēsia-on-the-Maiandros : 193 BC (Part one)

[π]αρά Ἀντιοχέων τῶν Π[ερσίδος·

| ἐ]πὶ ἱερέως Σελεύκου Νικάτορος καὶ Ἀντιόχου | Σωτῆρος καὶ Ἀντιόχου Θεοῦ καὶ
Σελεύκου Καλλινίκου καὶ βασιλέως Σελεύκου καὶ βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου |5| καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ
αὐτοῦ βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου Ἡρακλείτου | τοῦ Ζωέους τῆς πρώτης ἐξαμήνου· δόγματα
ἐκκλησίας κυρίας τὰ ἀπενεχθέντα ὑπὸ Ἀσκληπιάδου τοῦ | Ἐκαταίου τοῦ Δημητρίου τοῦ
γραμματέως τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας μηνὸς Πανθέου τρίτηι φθίνον|10|τος ἔδοξε
τῇ ἐκκλησίαι πρυτάνεων εἰπάντων·

ἐπειδὴ Μάγνητες οἱ ἀπὸ Μαιάνδρου συγγενεῖς ὄντες | καὶ φίλοι τοῦ δήμου καὶ πολλὰς
καὶ ἐπιφανεῖς χρεῖας παρειαχθέντο[ι] τοῖς [Ἑλλ]ησιν [τῶν εἰς εὐδοξί]αν ἀνηκουσῶν
πρότερόν τε Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Σωτῆρος |15| φιλοτιμο[υ]μένου ἐπα[υξ]ῆσαι τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν
οὔσαν | αὐτοῦ ἐπώνυμον καὶ πέμψαντος πρὸς αὐτοὺς περὶ | ἀποικίας, καλὰ καὶ ἔνδοξα
ψηφισάμενοι καὶ εὐχὰς καὶ | θυσίας ποιησάμενοι ἀπέστειλαν ἄνδρας πλήθει | ἱκανοὺς καὶ
ἀρετῇ διαφέροντας, σπουδάζοντες |20| συναυξῆσαι τὸν τῶν Ἀντιοχέων δῆμον,
διατηροῦν[τές τε τὴν πρὸς ἅπαντας τοὺς Ἑλληνας εὐνοίαν | καὶ φανερόν θέλοντες ποιεῖν,
ὅτι πᾶσιν τοῖς προσήκ[ου]σιν μεταδιδόασιν σπονδῶν τε καὶ θυσιῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
τιμίων τῶν ἀνηκόντων εἰς τὸ θεῖον, ἐγδοθέντος |25| αὐτοῖς χρησμοῦ ἀνέδειξαν κατὰ
πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα συντελοῦντες τῇ ἀρχηγέτιδι τῆς πόλεως θυσίᾳ καὶ πανήγυριν καὶ
ἐκεχειρίαν καὶ ἀγῶνα στεφανίτην διὰ πενταετηρίδος μουσικόν τε καὶ γυμνικόν | καὶ
ἵππικόν, δικαίαν ἀποδιδόντες χάριν τῇ εὐεργέ|30|τιδι, καὶ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ἀπεστάλκασιν
πρεσβευτὰς | Δημοφ<ῶ>ντα Λυκιδέως, Φιλίσκον Φιλίου, Φέρητα | Φέρητος, οἱ καὶ
ἐπελθόντες ἐπὶ τε τὴν βουλὴν καὶ | τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ψήφισμά τε ἀπέδωκαν παρὰ
Μαγνή[των] καὶ ἀνανεωσάμενοι τὴν συγγένειαν καὶ τὴν φι|35|λίαν ἀπελογίσαντο διὰ
πλειόνων τήν τε τῆς θεᾶς ἐπιφάνειαν καὶ τὰς χρεῖας ἃς παρέσχηνται Μάγνητες | πολλαῖς
τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων καὶ παρεκάλουν | ἀποδέξασθαι τὸν ἀγῶνα στεφανίτην ὃν
συντελοῦ[σιν] Ἀρτέμιδι Λευκοφρυηνῇ κατὰ τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ χρησμόν· |40| ὁ δὲ δῆμος
σεβόμενος μὲν τοὺς κοινούς θεοὺς αὐτοῦ τε | καὶ Μαγνήτων, προαιρούμενος δὲ αὔξειν
τὴν ἐ[αυτοῦ] | εὐνοίαν πρὸς τοὺς συγγενεῖς καὶ ἄλλων δὲ πόλεων | [πολλῶν τὰ αὐτὰ
π]ροεψ[η]φ[ισ]μένων [— — — — 18 — — — —]το | — σιν πρὸ παντὸς οἶται δεῖν
καιρὸ[ν] μηδένα] παρα[λεί]ν[45]πε[ιν] πρέ[πον]τα ἐν ᾧ [καὶ] καθ' ἰδίαν ἐκ[άστῳ κ]αὶ κοινῇ
πᾶσιν ἐ[να]ποδείξεται τὴν σπουδὴν ἥ[ν] ἔχ[ων] διατελεῖ | [εἰς τὸ συ]μφέρον τὸ τῶν
Μαγνή[των·]

From the Antiochenes of Persia.

In the first six months of Hērakleitos son of Zōeos' [tenure as] priest of Seleukos [I] Nikatōr, Antiochos [I] Sōtēr, Antiochos [II] Theos, Seleukos [III] Kallinikos, King Antiochos [III] and his son King Antiochos, decrees of the sovereign assembly were affirmed under Asklēpiadēs son of Hekataios son of Dēmētrios, the secretary of the council and assembly in the latter third of the month of Pantheos, that seemed good to the assembly, when the *prytaneis* had said:

Since the Magnēsians on the Maiandros are kin and friends of the *dēmos*, and have also provided many conspicuous services to the Greeks, they are among those who have risen to glory, and, formerly [in the time of] honour-loving Antiochos [I] Sōtēr, our *polis* (which was named after him) was to be enlarged, and when he contacted them about colonisation, they voted good and glorious things, made prayers and sacrifices sent men who were ample in number and lived with excellence, as they were eager to join in increasing the *dēmos* of the Antiochenes. They maintain goodwill towards all the Greeks and wish to make it clear that they give all their relations a share of libations, sacrifices, and other honours which reach up to the divine, which they proved to all Greece when gold was donated to them, by celebrating sacrifices, festivities, a holiday, and quinquennial crown games in arts, athletics, and horsemanship for the foundress of their *polis*, giving just gratitude to their benefactrix, and dispatched these ambassadors to our *dēmos*: Dēmoph<ō>n son of Lykideus, Philiskos son of Philios, and Pherēs son of Pherēs, who addressed the council and Assembly and delivered the decree of the Magnēsians. After renewing our kinship and friendship, they gave an account for most of their time of the manifestation of the goddess and the services which the Magnēsians provided to many of the Greek *poleis* and encouraged us to acknowledge the crown games, which they celebrate for Artemis Leukophryēnē according the oracle of the god. And since the *dēmos* worships the gods shared by them and the Magnēsians, and wishes to increase their goodwill to their kin, and many other *poleis* having voted the same things — — — — — — — — — — for all, it thinks it must be right [not] to waste an opportunity in which to show the gratitude which it has held all along for the gift of the Magnēsians, for each of them individually and all of them in common.

OGIS 233 : Magnēsia-on-the-Maiandros : 193 BC (Part two)

ἀγαθῇ τύχη[ι·

| δ]ε[δ]ό[χθα]ι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ[ι· ἐπαι]γέσαι μὲν Μά[γνη]τας τῆς τε πρὸς τὸ θεῖον
εὐσεβείας ἔνεκεν καὶ τῆς |50| πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Ἀντίοχον φιλίας καὶ εὐνοίας καὶ | τὸν
δῆμον τὸν Ἀντιοχέων, καὶ δ[ι]ότι τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀγαθ[οῖς] | καὶ τῇ εὐημερίᾳ [τ]ῆς πόλεως
καλῶς χρώμενοι δι[αφ]υ[λά]σσουσιν τῇ πάτριον πολιτείᾳ, εὐξασ[θ]αι δὲ τοὺς | ἱερεῖς
θεοῖς πᾶσιν καὶ πάσαις, διαμένειν Μ[άγ]νησιν |55| εἰς τὸ[ν] ἅπαντα χρόνον ἐπὶ τύχῃ
ἀγαθῇ τῇ[ν] πολε[ιτεί]αν ἀπ[ο]δέξασθαι δὲ τὴν θυσίαν καὶ τὴν πανήγυρι[ν] | καὶ τὴν
ἐκεχ[ειρίαν] καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα στεφανίτην ἰσοπύθιον | τὸν τε μου[σικὸν] καὶ γυμνικὸν καὶ
ἵππικὸν, ὄν] | συντελοῦ[σι] Μάγνητες τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι τῇ Λευκοφρυηνῇ |60| διὰ τὸ
πάτρι[ον —] | φίλων τίμια [— —] | καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἃ [— —] | καὶ τῇ Μαγνήτ[ων] πόλει —
| καθ' ἐκάστην [— ἀποστεῖλαι δὲ καὶ θεωροὺς] |65| εἰς Μαγνησίᾳ[ν] τοὺς θύσοντας τῇ
Ἀρτέμιδι Λευκο[φ]ρυηνῇ ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ[ι] τοῦ τε βασιλέως καὶ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν | πόλεων,
δίδοσθαι δὲ α[ὐ]τοῖς καὶ ἐφόδιον ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου | ὅσον ἂν ὁ δῆμος ψηφ[ί]ζεται ἱκανὸν
εἶναι καὶ πρέπον | τῇ[ι] πόλ[ε]ι αἰρεῖσθαι δὲ τοὺς θεωροὺς τῇ — τοῦ Ἑρα[ῖ]70| κλείου μηνός,
[ὅταν καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι ἀρχαὶ αἱ πολιτικαὶ] | σταθῶσιν, τοὺς δὲ [αἰρεθέντας ἀποστέλλεσθαι] |
ἀπὸ τῆς ἐστίας τῆς [κοινῆς τοῦ δήμου. τοῖς δὲ παρα]γινομένοις θεωροῖς ἐκ Μαγνησίας
πρὸς ἡμᾶς δίδοσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ταμιῶν ξ[έ]νια ὅσα δίδο[ν]75|ται καὶ ταῖς παρὰ Ἀρ[τέμιδος]
τῆς Ἐφεσίας θεωρίαις | συνθυέτωσαν δὲ οἱ θ[ε]ωροὶ — τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι τῇ
Λευκ[ορ]ρυηνῇ τὰ [—] | τοῖς δὲ νικῶσιν τῶν [πολιτῶν τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Λευκο[φ]ρυηνῶν
εἶναι τὰς α[ὐ]τὰς τιμὰς καὶ τὰ φιλάνθρωπα παρὰ |80| τῆς πόλεως καθὰ κ[αὶ] τοῖς τὰ Πύθια
νικήσασιν ἐκ τῶν | νόμων ὑπάρχει, τὰ α[—]κου ἐφιέμενοι, πειρώ[μενοι] δὲ ἄ[γ]γεσθαι
τοὺς ἀγῶνας [—] | ε[—]σε[—] καὶ τῶν παρα[—] |85| αἱ τιμαὶ τῷ νικήσαν[τι] — | καὶ
τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς [— ἔτα]ξεν ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ[ν] κοινὴν [διοίκησιν] ἡρημένος — | τοὺς
πρυτάνεις αἰε[ῖ] — κατὰ τὰ ὑπὸ | τοῦ δήμου ἐ[ψ]ηφισμέν[α] — οἱ ἀφι[90|]κνούμενοι παρὰ
Μα[γνήτων] — | πάσης προεδρ[ί]ας τ[—] | ἵνα καὶ ἡ φιλία ταῖς πό[λ]εσιν ὑπάρχῃ εἰς τὸν
ἅπαντα | χρόνον, αἰρεθῆναι δ[ὲ] καὶ θεωροδόκον ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, | ὅστις ὑποδέξεται
τ[οὺς] θεωροὺς τοὺς παραγινομένους πα[ρὰ]95| Μαγνήτων, εἶνα[ι] δὲ — | τὸν θεωροδόκον
ε[—] | δέδεκται ὁ δῆμος [—] | προεψηφισμένο[ις] — ἐπὶ — | ἱερ[έων] ἡ[ι]ε[θ]ῆ[ν] — — 11
— — Ἑ[ρ]η[σ]άν[δρου].

|100| ὁμο[ί]ως δὲ ἔδοξεν καὶ | Σελευκεῦσιν τοῖς | πρὸς [τ]ῷ Τίγρει, | Ἀπαμεῦσιν τοῖς |
[π]ρὸς τῷ Σελεύει, |105| Σελευκεῦσιν τοῖς | πρὸς τῇ ἐρυθρᾷ | θαλάσσει, | Σελευκεῦσιν
τοῖς | πρὸς τῷ Εὐλαίῳ, |110| Σ[ε]λευκ[εῦσι]ν τ[οῖς] | π[ρὸς] τῷ Ἡδυφῶντι |

Good Fortune!

It has been resolved by the *boulē* and the *dēmos*:

- to honour the Magnēsians on account of their piety to the divine, on account of their friendship and goodwill towards King Antiochos and the *dēmos* of Antiochenes, and because they have acted well for the private good and the prosperity of the *polis*, maintaining the ancestral constitution.
- That the priests are to pray to all the gods and goddesses, that the Magnēsian state persist in good fortune for all time
- To recognise the sacrifices, festivities, holiday, and the Pythian-grade crown games in ar[ts, athletics and horsemanship, which] the Magnēsians celebrat[e for Artemis Leukophryēnē], because of the ancestral —, honour of friends — etc., which — and to the Magnēsian *polis* — for each —
- [And to send *theōroi*] to Magnēsia, [to sacrifice to Artemis Leuko]phryēnē for the salvation [of the king and of both] *poleis*, and also to give them a travel allowance from the public funds, however much the *dēmos* dec[rees to be sufficient and appropriate fo]r the *po[lis*. And the *theōroi* are to be chosen on — of the month of Hērakleios [when the other public magistrates] are appointed, and those [chosen are to be sent] from the [common] hearth [of the *dēmos*].
- And a guest-gift is to be [given] to the *theōroi* who came [from Magnēsia to us], by the treasurers o[f the public funds, such as is giv]en to the [*theōroi* of Artemis of the Ephesians]. And let the *theōroi* sacrifice with us — to Artemis Leukophryēnē —
- And for those among [our citizens] who win [at the games of Leuko]phryēnē, there will be the s[ame honours and benefactions from] the *polis* as there are by custom [for the victors at the Pythian games],

— allowing, attempting to win the games — and of those near — the honours for the victor — and the one [appointed over] the common [treasury] arranged the ambassadors — the *prytaneis* always [— according to the things] decreed by the *dēmos* — those arriving from the Ma[gnēsians —] front-seat-privileges in everything — so that also the friendship of the *poleis* [might continue for all] time, and also [a *theōrodokos* is] to be chosen [by the *dēmos*], who will billet t[he *theōroi* who came fr]om Magnēsia, and the *theōrodokos* is to be — — the *dēmos* has received — by decrees — having been chosen from the priests [— — 11 — — Hēg]ēsan[dros —]

And it likewise seemed good also to: the Seleukeians by the Tigris, the Apameians by the Seleia, the Seleukeians by the Red Sea, the Seleukeians by the Eulaios [Susa], the Seleukeians by th[e Hēdyphōn....

OGIS 253 : Mesopotamia : 166 BC

Βασιλεύοντος Ἀντιόχου Θεοῦ, | σωτήρος τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ κτίς[του] | τῆς πόλεως, ἔτους
ςμ' καὶ [ρ', τῶι] | ἀγῶνι Χαριστηρίοις ὑπὸ [τρίτην] |5| ἀπιόντος Ὑπερβερεταίου,
[Ἀντιόχῳ] | Θεῶι Ἐπιφαν[εῖ δῶρο]ν ἀνέ[θηκεν] | Φίλιππος Δια[— — γενόμενος] | ἐν
τῶι δμ'[καὶ ρ'ἔτει — —]

When Antiochos [IV] the G[od], saviour of Asia and foun[der] of this city was king, in
the year [1]46 (i.e. 166/7 BC) at the Thanksgiving Games running from the 3rd of
Hyperberetaios, Philippos son of Dia.... consecrated a gift to [Antiochos] the God
Manifest [having been — —] In [the year 1]44 — —

OGIS 254 : Mesopotamia : ????

ἡ πόλις | Δημοκράτην Βυττάκου, | τὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ ἐπιστά|την τῆς πόλεως,
τεταγμέ|5|νον δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀκρο|φθλακίων, καλοκάγαθίας | ἔνεκεν

The *polis* [honours] Demokratēs (son) of Byttakos, the *stratēgos* and *epistatēs* of the *polis*,
appointed also over the citadel guards, on account of his general excellence

OGIS 257 : Seleukeia-in-Pieria : 109 BC

[B]ασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος Βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίου τῷ καὶ | [Ἀλ]εξάνδρῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν ·

εἰ ἔρρωσαι, εἴη ἂν ὥς βου[λόμε]θα · καὶ αὐτοὶ δὲ ὑγιαίνομεν καὶ σοῦ ἐμνημονεύομεν |
[φιλοστ]όργως. Σελευκεῖς τοὺς ἐν Πιερίαι τῆς ἱερᾶς καὶ ἀσύλου |5| [ἐξ ἀρχῆς] μὲν τῷ
πατρὶ ἡμῶν προσκληρωθεντας καὶ τὴν | [πρὸς αὐτ]ὸν εὖνοϊαν μέχρι τέλους
συντηρήσαν[τας, ἐμμείνα]ντας δὲ τῇ πρὸς ἡμᾶς φιλοστοργίαι καὶ ταύ[την διὰ πολλῶ]ν
καὶ καλῶν ἔργων καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς ἐπει[ληφόσιν ἀναγκαι]οτάτοις καιροῖς
ἀποδειξαμένους καὶ κα|10|[τὰ τὰ ἄλλα μεγαλ]οψύχως καὶ αὐτῶν ἀξίως ἐπαυξήσαντες |
[εἰς ἐπιφανέστερον πρ]οηγάγομεν ἀξίωμα καὶ νυνὶ δὲ τῆς πρώ[της καὶ μεγίστης
εὐεργ]εσίας καταξιῶσαι σπουδάζοντες | [αὐτούς, ἐκρίναμεν εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον
ἐλευθέρους | [εἶναι, καὶ περιελάβομεν αὐτοῦ]ς αἷς ἐποιησάμεθα πρὸς ἀλλή|15|[λους
συνθήκαις νομίζοντες οὕτ]ως καὶ τὸ πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα | [εὐσεβὲς καὶ μεγαλομερὲς ἡμῶν]
ἐκφανέστερον ἔσεσθαι. | [ὅπως δὲ καὶ σὺ τὰ συγχωρηθέντα παρα]κολουθῆς, καλῶς ἔχειν |
[ἐκρίναμεν ἐπιστεῖλαί σοι. ἔρρω]σθε. ...γς' Γορπιαίου κθ' |

[Βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος Σελευκέων τ]ῶν ἐν Πιερίαι τῆς ἱε|20|[ρᾶς καὶ ἀσύλου τοῖς ἄρχουσι
καὶ τῇ βο]υλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ | [χαίρειν ·

εἰ ἔρρωσθε ὑμεῖς καὶ ἡ πόλις εἴη ἂν] ὥς βουλόμε[|θα. ἐπέμψαμεν ὑμῖν ἀντίγραφον τῆς τε
ἐπιστολ]ῆς ἧς γε|[γράφαμεν πρὸς βασιλέα Πτολεμαῖον καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὴν Ῥ]ωμαί|[ων
σύγκλητον, ἵνα παρα]κολου|25|[θῆτε]

[K]ing Antiochos to King Ptolemaios [IX], and to Alexandros [X], his brother, greetings.

If you are well then things are as we w[is]h. And likewise, we are in good health and have been thinking of you with [affect]tion. The Seleukeians-in-Pieria, holy and inviolate [since long ago], were attached to our father and retained their goodwill [towards hi]m to the end, [and they maintain]ed their affection towards us and showed th[is through many] good deeds and especially in those most [desperate] times [which have overtaken us], and in other matters we have supported them, as they deserve, and raised their reputation [to greater heights]. And now, eager to deem [them] worthy of the fore[most and greatest beneficence], we have declared them to be free for all time, [and we have included them in the treaties] which we have made with each [other, thinking that our piety and magnificence] for our fatherland would be more clearly demonstrated [thereby. And in order that you, too], might kn[ow of these grants, we judged it appropriate to write to you. Farew]ell
Year 203 [109 BC], 29th Gorpiaios

[King Antiochos to the archons, *bo]ule* and *dēmos* [of the Seleukeians] in Pieria, ho[ly and inviolate, Greetings!

If you and the city are well, it is] as we wish. [We send to you a copy of both the lette]r, which we have [written to King Ptolemaios and to the senate of the R]oma[ns, in order that you might know.....

OGIS 339 : Sestos : 133-120 BC (Part One)

[ἐπὶ ἱερ[έ]ως Γλαυκίου [το]ῦ Κιλλαίου, μηνὸς Ὑπερβερεταίου — — —]
[ἔδοξε τῇ | βο]υλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ, Μένανδρος Ἀπολλᾶ εἶπεν· ἐ[πειδὴ Μηνᾶς Μένητος]
ὑπ[άρχει ἐκ τῆς | π]ρώτης ἡλικίας κάλλιστον ἡγησάμενος εἶναι τὸ [τῇ πατρ]ίδι
χρήσι[μο]ν ἑα[υτὸν | π]αρέχεσθαι, οὔτε δαπάνης καὶ χορηγίας οὐδεμιᾶς φειδόμενος, οὔτε
κακοπαθία[v] | 5| [κ]αὶ κίνδυνον ἐκκλίνων οὔτε τὴν ἀπαντωμένην καταφθορὰν τῶν ιδίων
τοῖς ὑπὲρ | τῆς πόλεως πρεσβεύουσιν ὑπολογιζόμενος, πάντα δὲ ταῦθ' ἡγούμενος δεύτερα
καὶ | πρὸ πλείστου θέμενος τὸ πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα γνήσιον καὶ ἐκτενές, βουλούμενός τε τῷ |
μὲν δήμῳ διὰ τῆς ἰδίας σπουδῆς αἰεὶ τι τῶν χρησίων κατασκευάζειν, ἑαυτῷ δὲ | καὶ τοῖς
ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ διὰ τῆς ἀπαντωμένης ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους εὐχαριστίας δόξαν ἀίμνησ[10] | τον
περιποεῖν,

πολλὰς μὲν πρεσβείας ἐπιτελέσας [π]ρὸς τοὺς βασιλεῖς, ἐν αἷς πάντα | τὰ συμφέροντα
κατηργάσατο μετὰ τῶν συμπρεσβευτῶν τῷ δήμῳ, τὰς τ' ἐνχειρι[σ]||θείσας ἑαυτῷ
πίστεις ὁσίως διεφύλαξεν, πραγματευθεὶς δὲ καὶ παρὰ Στράτωνι τῷ[ι] | στρατηγῷ τῆς
Χερρονήσου καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Θράικην τόπων καὶ τῆς καλλίστης | ὑποδοχῆς ἀξιούμενος
παρ' αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς πιστευομένοις καθαριότητα ἐ[15] | κείνόν τε παρείστατο
χρήσιμον γείνεσθαι τῇ πόλει, αὐτός τε πᾶσι τοῖς πολίταις | ἐκτενῶς προσηνέχθη, τῶν τε
βασιλέων εἰς θεοὺς μεταστάντων καὶ τῆς πόλεω[ς | ἐ]ν ἐπικινδύνῳ καιρῷ γενομένης διὰ
τε τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν γειννίωντων Θρακῶν φόβον | καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐκ τῆς αἰφνιδίου
περιστάσεως ἐπιστάντων χαλεπῶν, Μηνᾶ[ς] | καὶ λέγων καὶ πράσσων διετέλει τὰ ἄριστα
καὶ κάλλιστα, διδούς ἀπροφασίστως ἐ[20] | αὐτὸν εἰς πάντα τὰ συμφέροντα τῇ πόλει, τὰς τε
πρεσβείας ἀνεδέχετο προθύμῳ πρὸς τε τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τοὺς ἀποστελλομένους ὑπὸ
Ῥωμαίων εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ τοὺς πεμπομένους πρεσβευτάς, ἐν αἷς ἐν οὐδενὶ
καθυστέρησεν ὁ δῆμος, ἀλλὰ πάντα κατ'οικονομήσατο διὰ τῆς τῶν πρεσβευόντων
κακοπαθίας, [πρὸς οὓς τε ἐπρέσβευσεν δήμους ἐν καιροῖς ἀναγκαίους τὰ λυσιτελῆ τῇ
πατρίδι με[25] | τὰ τῶν συμπρεσβευτῶν κατεσκεύασεν·

ἐν τε ταῖς πολεμικαῖς περιστάσε[σιν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ὢν διατετέλεκεν περὶ τὸν δῆμον·

- ἱερεὺς τε ἀποδειχθεὶς το[ῦ] | βασιλέως Ἀττάλου ἀξίως ἀνεστράφη τοῦ δήμου, πᾶσαν
ὑπομείνας φιλαγάθω[ς] | τὴν ἐν τοῖς δαπανωμένοις χορηγίαν, ἐπιστραφεὶς οὐ μόνον
τῶν πολιτῶν [καὶ] | τῶν ἄλλων τῶν κατοικούντων τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν
παρεπιδημούντων[v] | 30| ξένων, περιτιθεὶς τὴν ἐκ τῶν ξένων εὐφημίαν τῇ πατρίδι·
- γυμνασί|αρχός τε αἵρεθεὶς τῆς τε εὐταξίας τῶν ἐφήβων καὶ τῶν νέων προενοήθη, | τῆς
τε ἄλλης εὐσχημοσύνης τῆς κατὰ τὸ γυμνάσιον ἀντελάβετο καλῶς κα[ὶ] | φιλοτίμως,
- κατεσκεύασεν δὲ τὸν τε λουτρῶνα καὶ τὸν ἐφ[ε]||ξῆς οἶκον, ἀνέθηκεν δὲ καὶ ἄγαλμα
λευκοῦ λίθου, τὰ τε ἐλλείποντα καὶ ὄντα ἀ[35] | ναγκαῖα προσκατεσκεύασεν·

ἐν τε τοῖς γενεθλίοις τοῦ βασιλέως καθ' ἕκαστον | μῆνα θυσιάζων ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου,
διαδρομὰς ἐτίθει τοῖς τε ἐφήβοις καὶ τοῖς | νέοις, συνετέλει δὲ καὶ ἀκοντισμοὺς καὶ
τοξείας, ἐτίθει δὲ καὶ ἐπαλείμματα διὰ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ φιλοδοξίας, προτρεπόμενος εἰς
ἄσκησιν καὶ φιλο|πονίαν τοὺς νέους, ἀνθ' ὧν ὁ δῆμος, ἀποδεχόμενος αὐτοῦ τὸ
φιλόσπουδον καὶ | 40| ἐκτενές, συνεχώρησεν μὲν αὐτῷ τὰς ἐπιγραφάς, ἡξίωσεν δὲ
ἐπαίνου διὰ | τῶν ψηφισμάτων, οἳ τε ἔφηβοι καὶ οἱ νέοι ἐστεφάνωσαν αὐτόν τε καὶ τὸν |
ἐφήβαρχον, ὧν ἀποδεξάμενος τὴν τιμὴν τῆς δαπάνης αὐτοὺς παρέλυσεν, τὰς | δὲ τῶν
ὀπλων ἀναθέσεις ἐκ τῶν ιδίων ἐποιήσατο·

When Glaukios son of Killaios was priest, in the month of Hyp[er]beretaios — — — it seemed good to] the *boulē* and the *dēmos*, Menandros son of Apollas said that: S[ince Mēnas, son of Menēs] has been excellent [from the b]eginning of his life, working to make himself of service to the fatherland, neither sparing any expense or *chorēgia*, in any way, nor avoiding labour and risk, nor taking into account the damage done to his private wealth by serving as an ambassador for the *polis*, but treats all these things as secondary and made being noble and friendly to his homeland his highest goal, and always wishes through his personal zeal to provide something of service to the *dēmos*, and to bring about everlasting glory for himself and his descendants through the gratitude received from the populace,

He performed many embassies to the kings, in which he achieved everything profitable for the *dēmos* with the help of his fellow-ambassadors, and guarded piously the trust handed to him, and he also dealt with Stratōn the *Stratēgos* of the Chersonese & the places in Thrace and was deemed worthy by him of the most amazing hospitality, because of his scrupulousness in matters of trust, and induced Stratōn to be of service to the *polis*. He also dealt with all the citizens warmly, and after the kings went to the gods and the *polis* was in a hazardous position, because of fear of the neighbouring Thracians and because of other difficulties which came about from the unforeseen situation, Mēnas continued to say and do the best and greatest things, giving himself without hesitation for every benefit to the *polis*, and he eagerly undertook embassies to the generals sent out by the Romans to Asia and to the ambassadors they sent, in which the *dēmos* fared not at all badly, but was successful in everything, thanks to the labour of the ambassadors, and in desperate times he negotiated advantageous deals for his fatherland with the *dēmoi* to which he went, with the help of his fellow-ambassadors.

In these hostile circumstances, he continued to be a good man for the *dēmos*. When he was appointed priest of King Attalos, he conducted himself in a manner worthy of the *dēmos*, virtuously undertaking all the *chorēgia* in his expenses, considering not only the citizens and those dwelling around the *polis*, but also the resident foreigners, giving his fatherland a good reputation with foreigners. Chosen as *gymnasiarchos*, he took care of the training of the ephebes and the youths, and took part in the other maintenance of the *gymnasion*, well and generously. He constructed the bath-house and the attached dwelling, set up a statue of white stone, and provided the shortfall and necessary expenses as well. Each month, on the birthdays of the king, he would perform sacrifices for the *dēmos*, he held races for the ephebes and youths, and also organised javelin-throwing and archery, and also gave oil, for his own glory, encouraging the youths to exercise and industry, in return for which the *dēmos*, approving of his enthusiasm and generosity, granted him honorific inscriptions and in a decree deemed him worthy of a commendation, and the ephebes and youths crowned him and [made him] ephebarch. And when he accepted the honour of these things, he freed them from the expense, and made the dedication of arms from his private wealth.

OGIS 339 : Sestos : 133-120 BC (Part Two)

τοῦ τε δήμου προελομέ|νου νομί|σµατι χαλκί|νῳ χρῆσθαι ἰδίῳ χάριν τοῦ νοµειτεύεσθαι
µέν τὸν τῆς π[ό]|45|[λ]εως χαρακτῆρα, τὸ δὲ λυσιτελές τὸ περιγινόμενον ἐκ τῆς τοιαύτης
προσόδου | λαμβάνειν τὸν δῆμον, καὶ προχειρισαμένου τοὺς τὴν πίστιν εὐσεβῶς τε καὶ |
δικαίως τηρήσοντας,

Μηνᾶς αἰρεθεὶς μετὰ τοῦ συναποδειχθέντος τὴν κα|θήκουσαν εἰσηνέγκατο ἐπιμέλειαν, ἐξ
ῶν ὁ δῆμος διὰ τὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν δικαιοσύνην τε καὶ φιλοτιμίαν χρῆται τῷ ἰδίῳ
νομί|σµατι, ἔν τε ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀ[ρ]|50|χαῖς καὶ λειτουργίαις, εἰς ἃς ὁ δῆμος αὐτὸν
προκεχειρίσται, ἴσον ἑαυτὸν καὶ δίκαιον παρείσχηται, βουλόμενος στοιχεῖν τοῖς ὑφ'
ἑαυτοῦ πρassoμένοις καὶ κα|τὰ μῆθὲν ἐνλείπειν τῇ πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος εὐνοίαι, φυλάσσειν
δὲ ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως τὰς ἐνχειριζόμενας αὐτῷ πίστεις·

τό τε δεύτερον παρακλη|θεὶς γυμνασιαρχῆσαι ὑπέμεινεν ἐν καιροῖς δυσκόλοις,
τεθλειμμένων ἡμ[ῶν] |55| ἐξ ἐτῶν πλειόνων διὰ τε τὰς Θραικίους ἐπιδρομὰς καὶ τοὺς
περιστάντας τὴν | πόλιν πολέμους, ἐν οἷς ἀπήχθη μὲν τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγρῶν πάντα, ἄσπορος
δὲ ἡ πλε[ίς]|τῇ χώρα ἐγένετο · αἱ τ' ἐπιγενόμεναι κατὰ τὸ συνεχές ἀφορίαι τοῦ σίτου εἰς
ἀπορίαν κατὰ κοινόν τε τὸν δῆμον ἤγαγον, καθ' ἰδίαν τε ἕκαστον τῶν πολιτῶν·

ἐν[θα] | καὶ Μηνᾶς ἐν πολλοῖς τεθλειμμένος, πάντα δὲ ταῦτα παραιτησάμενος τῷ
θεῷ60|[ρ]εῖν τὸν δῆμον εὐχάριστον ὄντα καὶ τιμᾶν τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας ἐπιστάμενον |
[ύ]περέθετο ἑαυτὸν ταῖς τε δαπάναις καὶ τῇ λοιπῇ φιλοδοξίαι· εἰσελθὼν γὰρ εἰς | τὴν
ἀρχὴν τῇ νομηνίαι, συνετέλεσεν μὲν θυσίας τῷ τε Ἑρμεῖ καὶ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ[ι] | τοῖς
καθιδρυμένοις ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ θεοῖς, ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῆς τῶν νέων σωτηρίας,
ἐπετέλεσεν δὲ καὶ διαδρομὰς καὶ θέσεις ἀκοντισμοῦ καὶ τοξείας, τῇ δὲ ἐχομ[έ]|65|νῇ
καλλιερήσας ἐκάλεσεν ἐπὶ τὰ ἱερὰ οὐ μόνον τοὺς μετέχοντας τοῦ ἀλείμματος, | ἀλλὰ καὶ
τοὺς λοιποὺς πάντας, ποιούμενος τὴν μετάδοσιν τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ τοῖς ξένοις·

καθ' ἕκαστόν τε μῆνα ἐπιτελῶν τὰς πρεπούσας θυσίας ὑπὲρ τῶν νέων τοῖς |
προεστηκόσιν τοῦ γυμνασίου θεοῖς φιλαγάθως καὶ μεγαλομερῶς ἐχρῆτο, τιθεὶς
ἀ|κοντισμούς τε καὶ τοξείας καὶ διαδρομὰς ἐπιτελῶν, μεταδιδούς μὲν τοῖς νέοις τῶν |70|
καλλιερουμένων ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἱερῶν, προτρεπόμενος δὲ διὰ τῆς τοιαύτης φιλοδοξία[ς] |
πρὸς ἄσκησιν καὶ φιλοπονίαν τοὺς νέους, ἐξ ὧν αἱ τῶν νεωτέρων ψυχαὶ πρὸς ἀνδρείαν
ἀμιλλώμε|ναι καλῶς ἄγονται τοῖς ἡθεσιν πρὸς ἀρετὴν, μετεδίδου δὲ τοῖς ἀλειφομένοις
τῶν ἱερῶν | [τ]ῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀλείμματος εἰς οἶκον, κοινὴν ποιούμενος τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν
καὶ τοῖς ξένο[ις] | [τ]οῖς μετέχουσι τοῦ ἀλείμματος, προσηνέχθη δὲ φιλανθρώπως καὶ τοῖς
τὰς ἀκροάσει[ς] |75| ποιησαμένοις πᾶσιν, βουλόμενος καὶ ἐν τούτοις διὰ τῶν
πεπαιδευμένων τὸ ἐνδοξον π[ε]|ριτιθέναι τῇ πατρίδι, ἐπεμελήθη δὲ καὶ τῆς τῶν ἐφήβων
καὶ νέων παιδείας τῆς τε λοιπῇ[ς] | εὐσχημοσύνης τῆς κατὰ τὸ γυμνάσιον προενοήθη,
ἐχορήγησεν δὲ καὶ ξύστρας καὶ ἐπα|λείμματα ἔθηκεν, συνετέλεσεν δὲ καὶ ἀγῶνα τῷ
Ἑρμεῖ καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ ἐν τῷ Ὑπερβερεταίῳ μ[ηνί], | τιθεὶς ἄθλα πάντων τῶν ἀθλημάτων
τοῖς τε νέοις καὶ τοῖς ἐφήβοις ὅπλα ἐπίσημα ἐνδεδεμένα |80| ἐν ὀπλοθήκαις, ἐφ' ἃ
ἐπιγράψας τοὺς νικήσαντας τὴν ἀνάθεσιν αὐτῶν παραχρῆμα ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ ἐποίησατο,
ἔθηκεν δὲ καὶ δευτερεῖα θέματα, ἔθηκεν δὲ καὶ παισὶν ἄθλα καὶ ὀπλομαχία[ς] | θέματα
ἐφήβοις τε καὶ ἀνδράσιν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ διατοξείας καὶ διακοντισμοῦ·

When the *dēmos* decided to use its own copper currency, in order to make common use of the distinctive coin-type of the *polis*, and so that the *dēmos* take the accompanying profit from this income, and appoint those who would maintain that trust piously and justly,

Mēnas was chosen, and with his co-apointee he contributed proper care and, as a result of the righteousness and ambition of these men, the *dēmos* uses its own coinage, and in other magistracies and public services, for which the *dēmos* chose him, he offered himself fairly and justly, wishing to match his earlier deeds and in no way to abandon his goodwill towards the multitude, and to correctly and justly guard the trust handed to him.

When he was summoned to be *gymnasiarchos* a second time he served in troubled times, as we were oppressed for many years by Thracian raids and hostile sieges of the *polis*, in which everything was carried off from the fields – the majority of countryside went uncultivated. The unceasing dearth of grain led the *dēmos* in general and each of the citizens individually into difficulty.

Then, too, Mēnas though oppressed in many ways, was responsible in everything for seeing the *dēmos* grateful and able to honour the good men and he exceeded himself by his expenditure and the other aspects of his love for glory. For he entered the magistracy on the new moon, carried out sacrifices for Hermēs and Heraklēs (the gods consecrated in the *gymnasion*) for the salvation of the *dēmos* and of the youth, and he also completed the races, and held [contests of] javelin-throwing and archery, and when he received favourable omens for it to be held, he summoned to the temple not just those sharing in the oil [i.e. the youth], but also everyone else and included a portion of the sacrifices even for the foreigners.

Each month he performed the proper sacrifices for the youth to the gods set over the *gymnasion* virtuously and sumptuously, held javelin-throwing and archery and held the running race, distributing his good-omened share to the youth and out of such love of glory he urged the youth to exercise and industry, as a result of which the spirits of the younger ones compete in bravery well and are lead to excellence in character, and he distributed the sacrifices of the oil that were for the anointed ones [i.e. the youth] to their households. He made this benefaction a shared one even with the foreigners sharing in the oil, and he behaved generously also to all those giving lectures, wishing in these things too to bestow glory on the fatherland as a result of the youth being educated, and he organised also the education of the ephebes and the youth and the other refinements which are provided in the *gymnasion*. And he also paid for the strigils and got the perfume and carried out the games for Hermēs and Heraklēs in the month of Hyperberetaios, providing to the youth and the ephebes, as the prizes of all the contests, inscribed shields contained in a shield-case, on which he inscribed the victors and dedicated them in the *gymnasion* on the spot. He provided the second place prizes also and he provided prizes for the kids and the prizes in the *hoplomachia* for the ephebes and men, and likewise also for the archery and the javelin-throw.

OGIS 339 : Sestos : 133-120 BC (Part Three)

ἔθηκεν δὲ κα[ῖ] | ὄπλα μακροῦ δρόμου καὶ εὐταξίας καὶ φιλοπονίας καὶ εὐεξίας, συντελέσας δὲ καὶ θυσίαν τοῖς | προγεγραμμένοις θεοῖς καὶ κατατροχάσας τὴν εὐανδρίαν κατὰ τὸν νόμον, ἐκάλεσεν ἐπὶ τὰ |85| ἱερὰ τοὺς ἀλειφομένους πάντας καὶ τοὺς ξένους τοὺς μετέχοντας τῶν κοινῶν, λαμπρὰν | ποιησάμενος τὴν ὑποδοχὴν καὶ ἀξίαν τῶν θεῶν καὶ τοῦ δήμου·

ἵνα οὖν καὶ ὁ δῆμος φαίνηται τοὺς καλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς τῶν ἀνδρῶν τιμῶν καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἡλικίας φιλοτίμους γινομένους περὶ τὰ κοινὰ καὶ φιλοδοξεῖν προαιρουμένους ἀποδεχόμενος καὶ ἐν χάριτος | [ἀ]ποδόσει μὴ λείπηται,

θεωροῦντές τε καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τὰς περιγινομένας τιμὰς ἐκ τοῦ δήμου |90| τοῖς καλοῖς καὶ ἀγαθοῖς, ζηλωταὶ μὲν τῶν καλλίστων γίνονται, προτρέπονται δὲ πρὸς ἀρετὴν, | ἐπαύξεται δὲ τὰ κοινὰ παρορμωμένων πάντων πρὸς τὸ φιλοδοξεῖν καὶ περιποιούντων ἀεί τι τῇ | πατρίδι τῶν καλῶν·

τύχηι τῇ ἀγαθῇ

δεδοχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ, ἐπηνῆσθαι Μηνᾶν | Μένητος ἐπὶ τε τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις πᾶσιν καὶ ἐφ' ἧ | ἔχων εὐνοία διατελεῖ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον, | συνκεχωρῆσθαι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν τῶν ὄπλων ἀνάθεσιν ἐπιτελέσαι ποιούμενῳ τὰς ἐπιγραφὰς καὶ |95| ὅτι ἐστεφάνωται ὑπὸ τε τῶν ἐφήβων καὶ τῶν νέων, στεφανοῦσθαι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἀνὰ πᾶ[v] | ἔτος τῆς πανηγύρεως ἐν τῷ γυμνικῷ ἀγῶνι χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ, τὴν ἀναγόρευσιν τοῦ κήρυκος | ποιούμενου κατὰ τάδε· ὁ δῆμος στεφανοῖ Μηνᾶν Μένητος γυμνασιαρχήσαντα δις καλῶς κα[ῖ] | φιλοδόξως ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς εἰς ἑαυτόν.

στῆσαι δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰκόνα χαλκῇν | [ἐ]ν τῷ γυμνασίῳ, ἐφ' ἧς ἐπιγραφῆσεται· ὁ δῆμος καὶ οἱ νέοι Μηνᾶν Μένητος γυμνασιαρχήσαν[100] | [τ]α δις καλῶς καὶ φιλοδόξως καὶ ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα γεγονότα περὶ τὸν δῆμον. καλεῖσθαι δὲ αὐ[τ]ὸν καὶ ἐκγόνους εἰς προεδρίαν ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἀγῶσιν, οἷς ἂν ἐπιτελῇ ὁ δῆμος, ποιεῖσθαι δὲ | τοῦ στεφάνου τὴν ἀνάρρησιν τὸν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν γινόμενον {ον} ἀγωνοθέτην.

ἐπεὶ δὲ | βουλόμενος διὰ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν περὶ τὰ κοινὰ στενοχωρίαν χαρίζεσθαι καὶ ἐν τούτοις | τῇ πόλει ἀναδέχεται ἐκ τῶν ιδίων τὸ ἀνήλωμα τὸ εἰς τὸν ἀνδριάντα, προνοηθήτωι |105| ἵνα ὡς κάλλιστος σταθῇ, ἀναγραψάτωι δὲ καὶ εἰς στήλην λευκοῦ λίθου τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα καὶ στησάτωι εἰς τὸ γυμνάσιον.

He also made the shields of the long race, and created discipline, industry, and good health, carried out the sacrifice for the aforementioned gods, promoted their physical fitness according to law, and summoned to the sacrifices all the annointed ones, and the foreigners, who shared them in common, and made a brilliant feast, worthy of the gods and the *dēmos*.

Therefore, so that the *dēmos* may be seen to honour the great and good men and those who have been honour-loving with respect to the common things from the beginning of their lives and may be seen to welcome those who choose to love glory and so that [the *dēmos*] does not fall short in repayment of favours,

And so that others, seeing the honours which come from the *dēmos* to the great and the good, might become emulators of his greatness and be urged on to excellence and so that the *dēmos* might be strengthened, with everyone eager to seek glory in communal service and to be great by always supplying something to the fatherland:

Good Fortune!

It has been resolved by the *boulē* and the *dēmos*,

- That Mēnas son of Menēs has been praiseworthy in all the aforementioned things and in the goodwill which he continues to hold towards the *dēmos*,
- That it was allowed by him also to carry out the dedication of the shields and to make the inscriptions, as a result of which he was crowned by the ephebes and the youth,
- That he should be crowned by the *dēmos* too, with a gold crown in the *gymnasion* contests at the festivities throughout the whole year, with the herald making the announcement thus, “The *dēmos* crowns Mēnas son of Menēs, who twice served well as *gymnasiarchos* with love of glory, on account of his excellence and his goodwill towards it,”
- And also to set up a bronze statue of him in the *gymnasion*, on which will be written, “The *dēmos* and the youth [honour] Mēnas son of Menēs, who twice served well as *gymnasiarchos* with love of glory, who has been a good man for the *dēmos*.”
- And to summon him and his descendents to the front-seats at all the contests the *dēmos* will hold, and the man in charge of the games that year is to arrange the announcement of his crown.

Since the *dēmos* wishes to show the gratitude it holds during the difficulties which surround the community and in these things he provided the cost of the statue for the *polis* from his private wealth, let care be taken that he be confirmed to be brilliant and let this decree be copied onto a stele of white stone and let it be set up in the *gymnasion*.

SEG 35.925: Chios : c.330 BC

— — — — 20 — — — — δῆ]μος. [— | — — 9 — — μη] δὲ [δυσ]άρεστα π[ρά]γματα
 πράσσειν κατ’] αὐτοῦ· ὅσοι δ’ ἂν τῶ[ν | ζημιῶν ἅς ἂν ἐπιτά]ξι οἱ δῆμος μὴ
 κατασ[5][τήσωσι τοὺς μὲν ἐγ]γύους, φυλασσέτω ἢ ἀ[ρχ]ή τοιούτους δεδ]εμένους· ἂν
 δ’ ἀποδρᾶ[ι τις τὰ ὁρισμένα ἐπ]ίτιμα ἀποτίνειν τ[οὺς ἐγγυωμένους· τῶ]ν δ’ ἄλλων Χίων
 μηδέ[ινα τοῦ λοιποῦ διώκει]ν ἐπὶ βαρβαρισμῶ[10][ι μηδ’ ἐπὶ μηδενὶ τούτ]ων, μηδ’
 Ἀλκίμαχο[ν | ἐν ὑπονοίαι ἔχειν· ἐπ]ειδὴ διεμαρτυρή[θη αὐτὸς μὲν ὁ Ἀλκίμαχ]ος ἐξελθεῖν
 πρὸ[ς βίαν ἀγόμενος, οὗτος] δὲ ἐμός τε φίλος |[γέγονεν καὶ εὖνους ὦν τ]ῶι πλήθει τῶι
 ὑ[15][μετέρῳ διετέλεσε· τοὺς] μὲν γὰρ φεόγο[ντας ἐσπούδασε καταγα]γεῖν, τὴν δὲ
 πόλ[ιν ὑμῶν ἀπαλλαχθῆναι τ]ῆς ὀλιγαρχίας | [τῆς κατασταθείσης πρότ]ερον παρ’ ὑμ[ῖν |
 αἴτιος ἐγένετο λέγων καὶ πράσσων τὰ σ[20]υμφέροντα·

καλῶς δ’ οὖν οἶμαι ἔχειν ἀ[ν]θ’ ὧν αὐτὸς ἔπραξεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ δῆ]μου καὶ συ[ν]ήργησέ μοι
 ἐμ παντὶ καιρῶι περὶ ὑμᾶς, | [ἀκυρῶσαι μὲν ὅσα ἐψηφίσθ]η κατὰ τοῦ πα[τ]ρὸς αὐτοῦ,
 ὅσα [δ’ ἀφείλετο] ἢ πόλις ἀποδ[25]οῦναι πρῶτοι τ[ῶν ἐπανιό]ντων καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς
 φίλους [προτ]ιμ[ᾶ]ν καὶ πιστεύειν ὡς ὄντι φιλοπό[λει ἀεί]· ταῦτα γὰρ ποιοῦντες
 χαρ[ιζοῖσθ]ε κἂν ἐ]μοι καὶ εἴ τ[ι] | ἐμοῦ δέοισθε προ[θυμό]τερον ἂν ὑμῖ[30]ν ὑπηρετοίην.

— — — — 20 — — — — *dē]mos*. [— | — — 9 — — Nor] to make [affairs un]pleasant
 to him, and whoever does not [arrange gua]rentees of the [fine, which] the *dēmos* shall
 [comm]and, let the board imprison them, and should [one] of them escap[e, the
 guarantors] must pay [the decreed am]ount. No one of the other Chians are to [prosecute
 the remainder] for barbarising [or prosecute them for anything], or [hold] Alkimachos [in
 suspiscion], since [Alkimachos himself] was testified to been forced to act excessively in
 [response to force] and he is my friend and [remains friendly to your] populace.
 Furthermore, [he was eager for] the exiles to [return], and by saying and doing beneficial
 things he was responsible [for your] *polis* [being set free from] the oligarchy, [which was
 formerly established over you].

Therefore, I [i.e. Alexander the Great] think it is appropriate, in [exchange for the things
 he did for the *dē]mos* and for ass[isting me in every matter] of yours, [to cancel the
 things decr]eed against his fa[the]r and to give back those things which the *polis* [took] at
 first from [those who are returning], [to h]on[our] him and his friends and to trust him as
 always being a friend of his *polis*. By doing these things, you [would] gratify me and if
 you should need something from me I would serve you more eagerly.

SEG 36.1280 : Seleukeia-in-Pieria : 197 BC

[Μεν]έδημος ὁ ἀρχιθέωρος | [καὶ οἱ] θεωροὶ Θεόφιλον Διογέ[νους | Σελ]ευκέα ἀπὸ
Πιερίας | [τὸν] ἀγωνοθετήσαντα ἐν τῷ εἴ κα[ὶ ρ' (ἔτει) |5| φιλ]οτιμίας ἔνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας
| [τ]ῆς εἰς βασιλέα μέγαν Ἀντίοχο[ν | κ]αὶ Ἀντίοχον τὸν υἱὸν | [κ]αὶ βασίλισσαν Λαοδίκην
|10| [κ]αὶ τὰ παῖδια καὶ αὐτοῦς

Architheōros Menedēmos and the *theōroi* [honour] Theophilos son of Diogenēs, the
Seleukeian from Pieria president of the games in [1]15 [197 BC], on account of his love
of honour and his goodwill towards Great King Antiochos [III], Antiochos the Son,
Queen Laodikē, the children, and themselves.

Syll³ 344 : Teos : 303 BC (Part One)

[—]ντε πε[— |— ὅστις δ' ἄν] εἰς τὸ τὸ Πανιώνιον ἀποστέ[λλεται, ὡίό]μεθα δεῖν [πράττειν πάντα τὰ | κο]ινὰ τὸν ἴσον χρόνον, σκηνοῦν δὲ τοῦτον καὶ πανηγυράζειν μετὰ τῶν παρ' [ὕμῶν ἀπεσταλμέ]νων καὶ καλεῖσθαι Τηῖον.

ὡίόμεθα δὲ δεῖν καὶ οἰκόπεδον ἐκάστωι τῶν Λ[εβεδίων δοθῆναι] |5| παρ' ὑμῖν ἴσον ὧι ἂν καταλίπηι ἐν Λεβέδωι· ἕως δ' ἂν οἰκοδομήσωνται, [ιδίας? δοθῆναι | ο]ικίας τοῖς Λεβεδίοις ἀμισθί, ἐὰν μὲν διαμένῃ ἢ ὑπάρχουσα πόλις τὸ τ[ρίτον μέρος τῶν] | ὑπάρχουσῶν οἰκιῶν· ἐὰν δὲ δεῖ κατασκάπτειν τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν πόλιν [ὅλην,? καταλειφθῆναι | με]ν τῶν ὑπάρχουσῶν τὰς ἡμισείας, τούτων δὲ τὸ τρίτον μέρος δοθῆ[ναι τοῖς Λεβεδίοις, τὰ | δ]ὲ δύο μέρη ἔχειν ὑμᾶς· ἐὰν δὲ μέρος τι τῆς πόλεως κατασκάπτηται, [καὶ ἱκαναὶ ὧσιν αἱ κατα] |10| λειπόμεναι δέξασθαι καὶ ὑμᾶς καὶ τοὺς Λεβεδίους, δοθῆναι τοῖς Λεβεδίοις τούτων τὸ | τρ]ίτον μέρος· ἐὰν δὲ αἱ καταλειπόμεναι μὴ ἱκαναὶ ὧσι δέξασθαι ὑμᾶς [τε καὶ καὶ τοὺς Λεβεδίους, οἰκί]ας καταλειφθῆναι τῶν μελλουσῶν κατασκάπτεσθαι τὰς ἱκανά[ς, ὅταν δὲ συντελεσθῶσιν | ἱκ]αναὶ οἰκίαι ἐν τῇ κατασκευαζομένῃ πόλει, κατασκάψαι τὰς οἰκίας τὰ[ς καταλειφθεῖσας,?, ὅ[σαι] ἂν ἔξω πίπτωσι τῆς περιβαλλομένης πόλεως· οἰκοδομ[εῖσθαι δὲ τὰς οἰκίας τοὺς λα]15|βόν]τας τὰ οἰκόπεδα ἐ[ν] ἔτεσιν τρισίν, εἰ δὲ μὴ, δημόσια εἶναι τὰ [οἰκόπεδα.

ὡίόμεθα δὲ] | δεῖν καὶ τὰ στέγας τῶν οἰκιῶν ἀποδοθῆναι τοῖς Λεβεδίοις [ὅπως τάχιστα κατασκευά]ζω]νται αἱ οἰκίαι, [ἐν ἔτε]σιν τέσσαρσιν πρὸς μέρος ἐκάστου ἐν[αυτοῦ.

ὡίόμεθα | δὲ] δεῖν καὶ τόπον ἀποδειχθῆναι τοῖς Λεβεδίοις οὗ θάψουσι το[ὺς νεκρούς.

ὅσα δὲ εἰς τόκους | ὀ]φεί<λ>ει ἡ Λεβεδίων πόλις, ταῦτα διορθωθῆναι ἐκ τῶν κοιν[ῶν προσόδων κατ' ἐνιαυτόν, |20| τὰ] δὲ δάνεια ταῦτα ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν ὑμετέραν πόλιν, ὅπως οἱ Λεβ[έδιοι ὠφείλον, παραλαβεῖν]. |

καὶ ὅσοι δὲ πρόξενοί εἰσι τῆς Λεβεδίων πόλεως ἢ εὐεργ[έται ἢ πολιτεῖ]αν] ἢ ἄλλην τινα δωρεὰν ἢ τιμὴν ἔχουσιν παρὰ τῶν Λεβεδίων τ[ὰ αὐτὰ ἔχειν καὶ παρ' | ὑ]μῖν καὶ ἀναγραφῆναι τούτους, ὅπου καὶ οἱ ὑμέτεροι πρόξεν<ο>ι [καὶ εὐεργέται εἰσὶν ἀνα]γε]γραμμένοι, ἐν ἐνιαυτῷ.

τὰ δὲ ἐγκλήματα καὶ τὰ συμβόλαια [τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ἐκα]25|τέ]ροις αὐτοὺς πρὸς αὐτοὺς διαλυθῆναι ἢ διακριθῆναι κ[ατὰ τοὺς ἐκατέρων | ν]όμους καὶ τὸ παρ' ἡμῶν διάγραμμα, ἐν δυσὶν ἔτεσιν ἀφ' οὗ ἂ[ν τὸ διάγραμμα? προ]τ[εθῇ· ὅσα δὲ <ὕμῖν> ἐστὶν πρὸς τοὺς Λεβεδίους ἢ τοῖς Λεβεδίοις π[ρὸς ὑμᾶς, ποεῖν ἀμφοτέ]ρ]ους συνθήκην, γράψασθαι δὲ τὴν συνθήκην καὶ ἂν τι ἀντιλ[έγεται πρὸς τὴν | σ]υνθήκην, ἐπικριθῆναι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλήτῳ <ἐν> ἑξαμήνῳ· ἑκκλητον [δὲ πόλιν γενέσθαι, κα]30|θᾶ] ἀμφοτέροι συνωμολόγησαν Μιτυλήνην.

[— — — — whoever of the Lebedians? is] sent to the Paniōnion, we think it necessary that they [do all the common things] for equal time, encamp there and celebrate with those [sent by you] and be called Tēan.

And we thought it necessary that a household plot [be given] to each of the L[ebedians] by you, equal to what they left in Lebedos. And that [private? houses be given] to the Lebedians rent-free, until they have built themselves houses, if the existing *polis* retains the t[hird part of the] existing houses, but if it is necessary to raze the [whole?] existing *polis*, that half of the existing people [be left in place], the third part be given [to the Lebedians], and you hold the other two parts, but if some part of the *polis* is razed [and the remaining bits are sufficient] to be received by you and the Lebedians, the third part [of those] should be given [to the Lebedians], but if the remnants should not be sufficient for you [and also the Lebedians too] to receive, enough of the houses about to be razed are to be retained, [and when] enough houses [have been finished] in the new *polis*, destroy the [leftover?] houses, if they are outside the walls built around the *polis*, and those [taking] plots are to build [their houses] within three years, and if not, the [plots] are to belong to the *dēmos*.

[And we thought] it necessary that the roofs of the houses be given to the Lebedians, [so that] the houses [might be built quickly], within four years before the e[nd] of each.

[And we thought] it necessary that the place for the burial of the [deceased] be paid for by the Lebedians.

And however much the Lebedian *polis* owes in interest, will be rendered from the common [incomes each year,] and you [are to take] these loans into your *polis*, as the Leb[edians owe them].

And those who are guest-friends of the *polis* of the Lebedians or who, as benefactors, hold [citizenship] or some other gift or honour from the Lebedians [are to have the same from y]ou and you are to record them where your guest-friends [and benefactors are recorded, within a year.

And [the existing] charges and contracts [in each *polis*] are to be discharged for each and every one or to be judged [according to the laws of each *polis*] and our ordinance, within two years from when [this ordinance is rendered]. The cases <of yours> against the Lebedians or of the Lebedians aga[inst you, both *poleis* are to make an agreement, and the agreement is to be written out and should anything [be disputed in the a]greement, it is to be decided in the Assembly, within six months. And the arbitrating [*polis* is to be, as] both agreed, Mitylēnē.

Syll³ 344 : Teos : 303 BC (Part Two)

τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα ὑπ[ολαμβάνομεν ἐπὶ τοιούτοις | γ]ράφειν τοὺς συνθηκογράφους οἷς ἂν ποτε γινώσκωσιν· ἐπεὶ [δὲ τοσαῦτα τὸ πλῆθος ἀ]κούομεν εἶναι τὰ συναλλάγματα καὶ τὰ ἐγκλήματα, ὥστε, ἂν τῷ [νόμῳ διακριθῇ, διὰ παν]|τὸς τοῦ χρόνου, μηθένα ἂν δύνασθαι ὑπομεῖναι· καὶ γὰρ ἕως το[ῦδε οὐ δοκεῖ προκοπὴν εἶ]|ληφέναι ταῦτα ἅπερ οὐδὲ αἱ συν[θηκ]αι συντελέσθαι διὰ τὸ ἐ[κ πολλοῦ ἀδίκαστα] |35| εἶναι ὑμῖν τὰ συναλλάγματα, καὶ ἂν προστιθῶνται οἱ τόκοι π[ά]ντων τῶν ἐτῶν?, μηθενὶ | δ]υνατὸν εἶναι ἀποτεῖσθαι, οἰόμεθα δὲ δεῖν, ἃμ μὲν ἐκόντες ἀπο[τείσωσιν οἱ ὀφείλο]ντες, γράφειν τοὺς συνθηκογράφους μὴ πλεῖον διπλασίου ἀποδ[οῦναι τοῦ ἀρχαίου·] | ἂν δὲ εἰς δίκην ἐλθ<ό>ντες ὀφείλωσι, τριπλάσιον· ὅταν δὲ ἡ συνθήκη [ἐπικυρωθῇ, γρά]ψασθαι τὰς δίκας καὶ ἐγδικάσασθαι ἐν ἐνιαυτῷ· ὅσοι δ' ἂν μὴ γράψων[ται ἢ ἐγδικάσω]40[τα]ι ἐν τῷ γεγραμμένῳ χρόνῳ, δικῶν οὐσῶν, μηκέτι εἶναι γράψασθαι μηδ' [ἐγδικάσασθαι· ἐὰν δέ | τι]ς τῶν ὑμετέρων ἢ τῶν Λεβεδίων μὴ ἐπιδημῇ ἐν ταῖς προθεσμίαις, ἐξ[έστω τὸν ἀποδημοῦντα | πρ]οσκαλέσασθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρχαίου καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας, δηλοῦντα τῷ [ἄρχοντι —]|ἢ ἐναντίον κλητόρων δύ[ο] ἀξιό[χ]ρεων,

εἰς δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν καὶ διδόναι [καὶ λαμβάνειν δίκας κατὰ νό]μους οὓς ἂν ὑπολαμβάνοιτε ἴσους ἀμφοτέροις εἶναι. ἀ[ποδειξαι δὲ ἐκατέρους] |45| νομογράφους τρεῖς μὴ νεωτέρους ἐτῶν τεσσεράκοντα [ὄντας ἀνεριθευ|τ]οὺς· οἱ δὲ αἰρεθέντες ὁμοσάντων γράψειν νόμους οὓς ἂν νομίσωσιν βελ[τί]στους εἶναι καὶ συνοίσειν τῇ πόλει· ὅταν δὲ ὁμόσωσιν, [γραψάντων οὓς ἂν ἡγή|σω]νται ἴσους ἀμφοτέροις ἔσεσθαι καὶ ἐνεγκάντων ἐντὸς ἑξαμήνου· εἶναι δὲ | κ]αὶ ἄλλῳ τῷ βουλομένῳ γράψαντι νόμον ἐσφέρειν· τῶν δὲ [εἰσενεχθέντων ὅσα] |50| μὲν ἂν ἐξ ὁμολογουμένων ὁ δῆμος ἐπικυρώσῃ, χρᾶσθαι τού[τοις, ὅσα δὲ ἀντιλεγό]μενα ἢ ἀναπεμφθῆναι πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ὅπως ἢ αὐτοὶ ἐπικρίνωμεν [ἢ πόλιν ἀποδείξω|μ]εν τὴν ἐπικρινούσαν· ἀναπέμψαι δὲ καὶ τοὺς συνομολογηθέν[τας νόμους, καὶ δια]|σαφεῖν τοὺς τε ὑπὸ τῶν νομογράφων εἰσενεχθέντας καὶ τοὺς [ὑπ' ἄλλων γραφέντας, | ὅπ]ω, ἐάν τινες φαίνωνται μὴ τὰ βέλτιστα νομογραφοῦντες ἀλλ' [ἀνεπιτήδεια, αὐτοῖς] |55| ἐπιτιμῶμεν καὶ ζημιῶμεν· ταῦτα δὲ συντελέσαι ἐν ἐνιαυτῷ.

[ἕως δ' ἂν οἱ σύμπαν|τε]ς νόμοι συντελεσθῶσιν, οἱ μὲν παρ' ὑμῶν ὥιοντο δεῖν τοῖς παρ' ὑμῖν [νόμοις χρᾶσθαι, οἱ δὲ δὲ παρὰ | τ]ῶν Λεβεδίων ἡξίουσιν ἐξ ἐτέρας τινὸς πόλεως μεταπεμψαμένους [χρᾶσθαι· ἐπεὶ δὲ δικαί]|ότερον ὑπολαμβάνομεν εἶναι ἐξ ἄλλης πόλεως μεταπέμψασθ[αι νόμους, κελεύσαντες μὲν ἃμ]|φοτέρους λέγειν ἐκ ποίας πόλεως βούλονται χρᾶσθαι νόμοις, συνο[μολογησάντων δὲ] |60| ἀμφοτέρων ὥστε τοῖς Κώϊων νόμοις χρῆσθαι, ἐπικεκρίκαμεν, τοὺς [δὲ Κώϊους παρεκαλέσα|μ]εν πρὸς τοὺς νόμους ὅπως δῶσιν ὑμῖν ἐγγράψασθαι. οἰόμεθα δὲ [δεῖν ἀποδειχθῇ]|ναι τρεῖς ἄνδρας εὐθὺς ὅταν [ἢ] ἀπόκ[ρι]σις ἀναγνωσθῇ, καὶ ἀποστ[αλῆναι ἐς Κῶν ἐν ἡμέ|ρα]ις τρισὶν ἐκγράψασθαι τοὺς νόμους, τοὺς δὲ ἀποσταλέντας ἐ[π]α[νεγκεῖν τοὺς νό]μους ἐσφραγισμένους τῇ Κώϊων σφραγίδι ἐν ἡμέραις τρι[άκοντα· ἐπανε]νεχθέν|65[τω]ν δὲ τῶν νόμων ἀποδείξαι τὰρχεῖα ὑμᾶς τε καὶ τοὺς Λεβε[δίους ἐν ἡμέραις] | δέκα.

We t[hink] that the notaries should rule on other things additional to these however they should decide them. However, since we hear that the contracts and charges are [so great a multitude], that [should they be judged by law], it would not be possible to deal with them all, [in the wh]ole time [available], for up to n[ow] these agreements of yours, which have not been executed on account of not [being judged in so long] and which, if the interest [of all the years?] were added to them, no one would be able to pay, [do not seem] to have made [progress]. And we think it necessary that the notaries rule that those who willingly pay should pay no more than double [the principal], but should they go to court in debt, three times as much. When the agreement [is confirmed], they may indict and challenge their contracts within a year. Should they not indict or [challenge] the existing contracts within the aforementioned time, they will be binding and no longer to be indicted or [challenged]. And if someon[e] of you or the Lebedians should not be in town within the appointed time, [allow the absent one] to be charged at the town hall or their house, and notify the [archon], before two worthy arbitrators.

In future people are to give and [receive justice according to] whichever [l]aws you undertake to apply fairly for both [and each *polis* is to assign] three [uncorrupt]ed law-writers, no younger than forty years of age. Those chosen should swear to write laws which [they think to be be]st and beneficial to the *polis*. When they have sworn, they [should write laws which believe] will be fair to both and they should do this within [six months. I]t is permissible for any other willing writer to contribute a law. When the draft laws [are returned], the *dēmos* should use those of the laws which it confirms by common consent, but those which are contested should be sent away to us, so that we may arbitrate [or select a *polis*] to arbitrate. Send the agree[d laws] also, and make clear which were produced by the law-writers and which by other writers, so that if some of the law-writers seem have drafted things which are unfair instead of being the best, we can penalise and fine them. These things are to be done within a year.

[Until all the] laws are done, your envoys thought it necessary [to use] your [laws, but the] Lebedian [envoys] preferred to [use] laws transferred from some other *polis*. [Since] we think that it is more [just] that [laws] be transferred from another *polis*, [we called upon] both parties to discuss which *polis* they want to use the laws of. When both agreed to use the laws of the Kōans, we agreed and [we contacted] the Kōans about their laws, so that they might give a transcription to you. And we thought [it necessary] for three men to be [chosen] immediately, when the answer was known and to send them [to Kōs within] three [days] to transcribe the laws. Once dispatched, they were to [bring] back [the] laws sealed by the Kōan seal within th[irty days]. When the laws are returned, you and the Lebe[dians] are to fill the magistracies [within] ten [days].

Syll³ 344 : Teos : 303 BC (Part Three)

ὅσοι δὲ κεχορηγήκασιν ἢ τετρηραρχήκασιν ἢ ἄλλην [λητουργίαν παρ' ἑκα]||τέροις
λελητουργήκασιν, τούτους οἰόμεθα δεῖν μηκέτι τῇ [αὐτῇ λητουργίᾳ ἐνέχεσθαι· ἡξί|ο]υν
δὲ οἱ παρὰ τῶν Λεβεδίων καὶ χρόνον τινα αὐτοὺς ἀφεθῆναι [τῶν λητουργιῶν ἐν ὧ] |
συνοικίζονται· ἡμεῖς δὲ οἰόμεθα δεῖν, ἂμ μὲν ὑμεῖς πάντες μέ[νητε ἐν τῇ παλ]|70|αιᾷ,
ἀτελεῖς εἶναι τοὺς Λεβεδίους τῶν λητουργιῶν ἔτη τρία· ἐ[ὰν δέ τινες ὑμῶν] |
μετοικίζωνται εἰς τὴν Χερσόνησον καὶ τούτους ἀτελεῖς εἶναι τὸν [αὐτὸν χρόνον, ὅσων | δ'
ἂν αἰ] οἰκία<ι> μὴ <κα>θαιρῶνται?, τούτους λητουργεῖν.

ἔφασαν δὲ οἱ παρὰ τῶν Λ[εβεδίων δεῖν ἐς σί|τ]ου παράθεσιν ἐξαιρεῖσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν
προσόδων χρυσοῦς τετρακοσί[ους καὶ χιλίους, | ὥσ]τε τὸμ βουλόμενον λαβόντα τὸ
χρυσίον τοῦτο εἰς ὑποθήκην, [εἰσάγειν σῖτον εἰς |75| τῇ]μ πόλιν καὶ πω[λ]εῖν τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν
ὁπόταν βούληται, ὅταν δὲ ὁ ἐ[νιαυτὸς τελευτήσῃ, ἀ|π]οδίδοσθαι τὸ χρυσίον τῇ πόλει
αὐτὸ καὶ τοὺς τόκους ἐφ' ο[ἷς ἂν λάβῃ· ὧν ἀξιούντων συν]|τάξαι ἡμᾶς καὶ νῦν τοῦτο
γίνεσθαι, ὅπως ὑπάρχει σί[του πληθὸς ἱκανὸν ἐν τῇ πό|λ]ει· οὐ γὰρ ποεῖν ὑμᾶς ἱκανόν.
ὦιοντο δεῖν καὶ οἱ παρ' ὑ[μῶν ταῦτο γενέσθαι, ἡξίου]ν δὲ | καὶ τὸ χρυσίον πλεῖον
συνταχθῆναι ἐπειδὴ ὁ συνοικ[ισμὸς συντελεῖται καὶ πλέο|80|ν]ες γίνεσθε εἰς ταῦτο
ἐλθ[ό]ντες· ἡμεῖς δὲ πρότερον μὲν οὐ[κ ἐβουλόμεθα μηδεμιᾷ πό]|λει δίδοσθαι τὰ
σιτηγήσια μηδὲ σίτου γίνεσθαι παράθε[σιν, οὐ θέλοντες τὰς | π]όλεις εἰς ταῦτα
ἀναλίσκειν χρήματα συχνὰ οὐκ ἀναγκαῖα [ὄντα, ἐβουλόμεθα δὲ | ο]ὑδὲ νῦμ ποεῖν τοῦτο,
πλησίον οὔσης τῆς φορολογουμέ[νης χώρας ὥστε ἐὰν χρεῖα | γ]ίνηται σίτου, εὐχερῶς
οἰόμεθα εἶναι μεταπέμπεσθαι ἐκ [ταύτης ὁπόσ|85|ο]ν ἂν τις βούληται. ἐσπουδάζομεν δὲ
ὑπὲρ τούτων ταῖς [πόλεσιν βουλόμενοι συν|ε]νεγκεῖν, ἐπεὶ ὅτι γε ἰδία ἐκ τοῦ πράγματος
οὐθὲν γί[νεται ἡμῖν, γινώσκετε | ὑ]μεῖς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες· ἀλλὰ συντάσσομεν ταῦτα
θε[ωροῦντες ὅπως ὧν ὁ|φ]εῖλουσιν αἱ πόλεις ἐλεύθεραι γένωνται. νομίζον[τες γὰρ ὑμᾶς
τό γε ἐφ' ἡμῖν] | εἶναι τᾶλλα ἐλευθέρους καὶ αὐτονόμους πεποιηκέν[αι, ἐφροντίζομεν
ὅπως τοῦ|90|τ]ων ἐπιμέλειάν τινα ποιώμεθα, ἵνα ἀποδοθῇ τὴν ταχίστ[ην]. ἐπεὶ δὲ
συμφέροντα φαί]νεται, τὰ περὶ τὴν παράθεσιν τοῦ σίτου, ὥστε μηθὲν δια[λιπεῖν ὁ
δίκαιον μὲν τῶι] | δὲ δήμῳ συμφέρον ἐστίν, οἰόμεθα δεῖν γίνεσθαι τὰ[ς παραθέσεις τοῦ
σί|του, ὥσπερ οἱ πρέσβεις τῶν Λεβεδίων ἔλεγον, ὑπο[λαμβάνοντες χρυσί|ο]ν δίδοσθαι
εἰς ὑποθήκην τὸ πᾶν χρυσοῦς χιλίου[ς καὶ τετρακοσίους. τῶν δὲ σίτων] |95| καὶ
εἰσαγωγὴν καὶ ἐξαγωγὴν πάντων ἀποδειχθῆνα[ι ἐν τῇ στοᾷ τῆς ἀγο]|ρᾶς, ὅπως ἐὰν τισι
μὴ λυσιτελεῖ κατὰγουσιν εἰς τὴν ἀ[γορὰν ἀπὸ ταύτης ποιεῖσ]θαι τὴν ἐξαγωγὴν, ἐξουσία
ἢι θεῖσιν τὰ τέλη ἐπὶ τῶν [ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἀποδει|χθέντων ἐξάγειν· ὅσαι δ' ἂν κῶμαι ἢ
ἐπαύλια ὧσιν ἔξ[ω τῆς πόλεως | ὑ]μῶν, νομίζομεν δεῖν προσαφορισθῆναι ἐκάστωι
ἐγγρ[άφῃ μὲν ὁπόσους ἂν καρ|100|ποῦ]ς ἐξάγειν βούληται ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγροικίας,
ἐπαγγεῖλαν[τα δὲ τῶι ἀγορανόμῳ καὶ τὰ | τ]έλη διορθωσάμενον ἐξάγειν.

ἡξίου]ν δὲ οἱ παρ' ὑμῶν [καὶ οἱ παρὰ τῶν Λεβε|δίων καὶ ἄνδρας ἀποδειχθῆναι παρ'
ἑκατέρων τρεῖς, οἵτιν]ες εἴ τινα ἔτι παραλέλειπ[ε]ται τῶν συμφερόντων εἰς τὸν
συνοικισμὸν γράψουσιν. [ἡμῖν οὖν συμφερόντως δο|κε]ῖ ἔχειν ἀποδειχθῆναι τοὺς ἄνδρας
ἐν ἡμέραις τριάκοντ[α ἀφ' ἧς ἂν ἡ ἀπόκρι|105|σ]ις ἀναγνωσθῇ· τοὺς δὲ αἰρεθέντας
γράψαι τὰ παραλελε[ιμμένα ἐντὸς μηνός?·] | τῶν δὲ {τῶν δὲ} γραφέντων τ<α> μὲν ὑπ'
ἀμφοτέρων συνομ[ολογηθέντα κύρια εἶ]ναι, τὰ δὲ ἀντιλεγόμενα ἀναπεμφθῆναι ἐφ' ἡμᾶς
ἐν ἄλλῃ διμ[ήνῳ], ὅπως ἀμφοτέρων | ἀ]κούσαντες ἐπικρίνωμεν καθ' ἂν
ὑπολαμβάνωμεν ἀμφο[τέροις συμφέρειν. |

Those who have been *chorēgos* or *triērarchos* or have performed another [liturgy for either *polis*, we think it necessary that they not [be subject to that same liturgy]. But the Lebedian envoys thought also that for some time they ought to be released from [liturgies in the] synoikism. And we think that it is necessary, should you all rem[ain in the] old *polis*, that the Lebedians be exempt from liturgies for three years. But i[f some of you] transfer to the peninsula, these too are to be exempt for the same period, but [those whose] houses are not <tran>sferred are to perform liturgies.

The L[ebedian] envoys said that [it was necessary] to transfer [one thousand] four hund[red] gold [*statērs*] from the incomes [into the] grain reserve fund, [so that] someone willing could take this gold as a deposit and [bring grain into the] *polis* and sell it within the year, whenever he should wish, and when [the year ends, he would return the same amount of gold to the *polis* and interest w[hich he took] from it. [They thought it best] that we arrange this and do it now, so that [sufficient plenty of gr]ain be available [in the *pol*]is, because you do not produce enough. [Your] envoys thought it necessary [to do the same, but preferred] that more gold be arranged, since when the synoik[ism is completed, more] people will have come in and settled in the same place. Earlier, we [wished] that the wheat-importing-right not be given to any *polis* nor that there be a grain reserve fund, [because we did not want the *po*]leis to spend much money on this when it was not necessary. [We did not wish] to do this now, either, since the tribute-paying [land] is near, [such that should a need] for grain occur; we thought [however much] grain is desired could easily be brought in by [this method]. We were anxious about these things, [wishing to benefit the *poleis*], that you and everyone else [ensure] that nothing [be taken] from your public affairs for private interests. But, obs[erving] these things, we arranged that the *poleis* be free from being in debt. [For] we think that we have made [you] free and *autonomos* in everything and we [were anxious that] we take care of these things, so that it be paid off in the quickest way possible. [But since] the grain fund seemed [profitable], and so that nothing which is just or profitable to the *dēmos* cease, we think it best to make the [grain fund] as the Lebedian envoys said, under[taking] that the whole one thousand[d four hundred] gold *statērs* be given as a deposit. The import & export of [grain] should all be declared [in the *stoa* of the *ago*]ra, so that if bringing it into the *a*[gora and from there] to export does not profit individuals, the right to export would exist for those paying the dues on the things [decl]ared [in the agora]. We think it necessary in whatever villages and hamlets there should be ou[tside your *polis*] for each person be ordered to rec[ord how much produce] he wishes to export from the countryside and to record the amount announced to the *agoranomos* and make the export after paying the duty.

Your envoys [and the Lebedian envoys] also thought that three men from each *polis* ought to be appointed, to make a ruling [if something] of profit to the synoikism [remains neglected. Thus it seemed profitable to us] to have the men appointed within thirty days [from the] reading [of this decision] and those chosen are to rule on the remain[ing things within a month?] Of the things {of the things} written, the thing[s consented in common] by both are to be [binding] and the contested things are to be sent to us within two [months?, so that hearing from both] we may judge what we think [profitable] to both.

Syll³ 344 : Teos : 303 BC (Part Four)

Βασ[ιλεὺς Ἀντίγονος Τηίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν.

ἡμεῖς τὸ [πρότερον σκοποῦντες δι' οὗ |110| τρ]όπου τάχιστ' ἂν συντελεσθεῖν ὁ
συνουικισμός, οὐκ ἑωρῶμεν τὰ [ἀναγκαῖα ὑμῖν | χ]ρήματα πόθεν πορισθῇ, τοῦ ἔχειν
Λεβεδίο[ι]ς τὰς τιμὰς τῶν οἰ[κιῶν ἐξ ἐτοίμου ἀποδι[δό]ναι, διὰ τὸ τὰ ἐκ τῶν προσόδων
γινόμενα κατὰ χρόνους προσπορεύ[εσθαι ὑμῖν μακροτέρους· δεξάμε]νοι δὲ τοὺς τε παρ'
ὑμῶν καὶ τοὺς παρὰ τῶν Λεβεδίων διαπνυθανόμε[νοι αὐτῶν εἴ τινα ἔχουσιν | ἡ]μῖν πόρον
εἰσηγεῖσθαι, ο[ὐ φ]αμένων ἔχειν ἔξω τῶν περὶ τὰ τέλη ἐπισ[κεψάμενοι τὰ εἰθισμένα]
|115| αὐτοῖς, εὐρίσκομεν ἀεὶ μ[όν]ον [πρ]οεισενεγκεῖν ὑμῶν τοὺς εὐπορωτά[τους, ἡμῖν
οὖν καλῶς δο[κ]εῖ ἔχειν,

τοὺς μὲν γε εὐποροῦντας εἶναι ἑξακοσίους, προεισενεγκεῖν [δὲ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα χρήματα] |
κατὰ τὰς οὐσίας, ὥστε γενέσθαι τὸ τέταρτον μέρος τῶν τιμῶν τάχιστ[α τοῖς Λεβεδίοις,] |
τὴν δὲ κομιδὴν γενέσθαι τοῖς προεμπορίσασιν πρώτοις ἐκ τῶν προσόδω[ν τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ
τοῦ ἐ]ν]εστῶτος πασῶν συντασσομένων.

τοὺς μὲν ἄξοντας τοὺς τιμήσοντα[ς τὰς οἰκίας καὶ τοὺς |120| ἐκ]γραφομένους τοὺς
νόμους ἐκ Κῶ αἰρεθῆναι εὐθὺς, ὅταν ἡ ἀποψήφισι[ς] γένηται, καὶ ἀπο[στ]αλῆναι ἐν
ἡμέραις πέντε ἀφ' ἧς ἂν αἰρεθῶσι[ν, κ]αὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς νόμο[υς ἀποσταλέντας
κομι[σ]αμένους ἐκ Κῶ ἀνενεγκεῖν ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις αἷς γεγράφαμεν ἐν τῇ ἀπο[κρίσει· τοὺς
δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς | τι]μητὰς ἀποσταλέντας ἄγειν τοὺς τιμητὰς ὡς ἂν ἐνδέχεται τάχιστα.

ο[ι]όμεθα δὲ δεῖν ὅσον οὐ[π]ω ἐξαριθμηθῆναι τὰς παρ' ὑμῖν οἰκίας ὥς δεῖ Λεβεδίοις εἰς
π[α]ροικίαν ἐν ἡμέραις |125| δεκάπεντε ἀφ' ἧς ἂν ἡ ἀπόκρισις ἀναγνωσθῇ, τοὺς δὲ
ἐξαριθμήσοντ[ας τὰς οἰκίας καὶ δώ[σ]οντας τοῖς παροικιζομένοις αἰρεθῆναι ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ
ἐκκλησίᾳ παρ' ἐκάσ[της φυλῆς.]

King Antigonos to the *boulē* and the *dēmos* of the Tēans

[Considering the earlier thing, by which] means the synoikism may be carried out, we did not see whence the [necessary money for you] would be provided, for the value of the houses held by the Lebedians [to be paid in cash-at-hand], because the money from income happens to come in over [too long] a time [for you]. We received envoys from you and from the Lebedians, inquiring [of them, if they had anything] to suggest to us. Since they did not mention anything other than dues, we investi[gated the arrangements] of them and we find that only your richest people ever pay these, [so it seems appropria]te that:

The rich are to be six hundred and are to pay [the necessary things], according to their property, so that the fourth part of the payment may be rendered [to the Lebedians] as soon as possible. The repayment is to be made to these payes first of all arrangements from the income [when the next year] has begun.

Those who will carry out the valuation of [the houses and] the transcription of the laws of Kōs are to be chosen immediately when the final vote [is done] and sent within five days from their selection. The men [sent] for the laws are to submit the laws brought from Kōs within the number of days which we have written in the ju[dgment. Those sent for the valuations] are to do the valuations as quickly as is possible.

We think it necessary that] it be determined [how many] of your houses are needed for [the Lebedians as temporary accommodation within] fifteen [days] from the reading of this judgment, and those determining [the number of houses needed and giv]ing them to the people who are to be temporarily accommodated are to be chosen at the first assembly of the nex[t *phylē*]

Syll³ 560 : Magnēsia-on-the-Maiandros : c.200 BC (Part One)

παρὰ Ἐπιδαμνίων· |

[ἔ]δ[οξε τῶι δάμωι ἐπ' ἄρχοντος Φ]αλακρ[ί]ωνος τοῦ — c.5 —]φῶντος μη[ν]δς
Ἀλι[ο]|τροπίου·

[ἐπειδὴ Μ]άγ[νητες] οἱ ἐπὶ Μαι[ά]νδρ[ου] συγγ[ενεῖς] ὄντες καὶ φίλοι τῶν Ἐπίδαμνίων
εὐ[σεβ]έως [διακείμ]ενοι ποτὶ τὸ θεῖον κα[ὶ τὰ κάλ]ιστα αἰρ[ούμ]ενοι τῶ[ν] |5| κατ'
ἀνθρώπο[υς] ἀφεστάρ[κα]ντ[ι] πρεσβευτάς, τ[ο]ὺς δὲ αὐ[τοῦ]ς καὶ θια[ρ]οὺς, Σωσικ[λῆ] |
Διοκλέος, Ἀρι[σ]τ[όδαμ]ον Διοκλ[έ]ος, Διότιμον Μηνοφί[λου, ο]ἱ ποτελθόντες ποτὶ | τὰν
βουλὰν καὶ [τὸν] δᾶμ[ον] ἁμῶν τὸ ψάφισμα ἀπέδωκα[ν καὶ αὐτ]οὶ διελέχθην μετὰ πά[σας
φ]ιλοτιμία[ς] ἐμφανίξ[αντες τὰν] τᾶς Ἀρτέμι[δος ἐπιφάν]ειαν καὶ τὰν γεγεννημέν[αν] |
βοάθειαν ὑπὸ τ[ῶ]ν π[ρ]ο[γόνων α]ὐτῶν [εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν Δελφ[οῖς], νικασάντων μάχαι
τοὺς |10| βαρ[β]άρους το[ῦ]ς ἐπιστ[ρατεύ]σαντας ἐπὶ διαρπαγαῖ τῶ[ν το]ῦ [θ]εοῦ
 χρημάτων, καὶ τὰν | εὐε[ργ]εσίαν, ἃν [συ]ντελέσαντο εἰς τὸ κοινὸ[ν] τῶν Κρηταιέ[ων]
δι[α]λύσαντες τὸν ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον, ἐνεφάνιζαν δὲ καὶ τὰς εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους [Ἑλ]λανας
γεγεννημένας | εὐε[ρ]γεσίας διὰ τε τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ χρησμῶν καὶ διὰ τῶ[ν ποιητᾶν καὶ διὰ
τῶν ἱ[σ]τορ[ι]αγράφων τῶν συγγεγραφότ[ων] τὰς Μαγνήτων πρ[άξ]ει[ς], παρανέγνωσαν
δὲ |15| καὶ τὰ ψαφίσματ[α] τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτοῖς παρὰ ταῖς πόλ[ε]σιν, ἐν οἷς ἦν
καταγε[γραμμ]ῆναι τιμαὶ τ[ε] καὶ στέφαν[ο]ι εἰς δόξαν ἀνίκοντα <ταῖ> [πό]λ[ε]ι, τοῦ
θεοῦ τοῦ ἐν | Δελ[φ]οῖς χρήσαντος λῶϊον εἴμ[εν καὶ ἄ]μεινον τοῖς σε[βομέ]νοις Ἄρτεμιν
Λευκοφ[ρ]υηνὰν καὶ τὰν πόλιν καὶ τὰ γ[ὰρ] χώραν τ[ῶ]μ [Μαγ]νήτων ἱ[ερὰν κ]αὶ ἄσυλον
νομίζόντ[ε]σσι, τὸν δᾶμον ἐψαφίσθαι ταῖ ἀρχαγέτιδι τᾶς πόλιος [Ἀρ]τέμιτι συντελεῖν
θυσ[ί]20|α[ν] τε καὶ πανάγυριν καὶ ἀγῶνα στεφανίταν ἰσοπύθιον μου[σι]κόν τε καὶ
γυμνικόν κα[ὶ] | ἱ[π]πικόν, παρεκάλουν δὲ καὶ ἀμὲ ὄντας οἰκείους καὶ φίλους
[ἀ]ποδέξασθαι τὰν τε θ[υ]σίαν καὶ τὰν ἐκεχ[ε]ρίαν καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα στεφανίταν
ἰσο[πύ]θιον ταῖς τιμαῖς· |

From the Epidamnians

It seemed [good to the *damos*⁶¹⁰ in the archonship of Ph]alacr[iōn son of — —]phōn, in the month of Hali[o]tropios:

[Since the M]ag[nēsians] on the Mai[a]ndros are kin and friends of the Epidamnians, are pious to the divine and they chose the virtuous among them and sent them among men as ambassadors; these ambassadors and *thiōroi*⁶¹¹ were: Sōsik[lēs] son of Dioklēs, Arist[odam]os son of Dioklēs, Diotimos son of Mēnophi[los], who came to [our] *boula*⁶¹² and *damos* and delivered a decree [and th]ey spoke with distinction and explained their manifestation of Artemis and the help given by their ancestors to the temple at Delphi, when they defeated the barbarians, who were marching to plunder the goods of the god, in battle and the good deed which they carried out for the League of the Cretans [by] putting an end to the internecine war, and also announced the good deeds which have occurred for the other Greeks through the oracles of their god and through their poets and through the historians who have described the deeds of the Magnēsians, and they read out the decrees already sent to them from the *poleis*, in which were the honours written below and crowns for the glory belonging to their *polis*. When the god of Delphi proclaimed that it be more desirable and better for those who worship Artemis Leukoph[ry]ēna and recognise the *polis* and land of the Magnēsians as h[oly] and inviolate, their *damos* voted to carry out sacrifices, festivities and Pythian-grade crown games in the arts, athletics and horseracing for Artemis the foundress of the *polis* and they summoned us as family and friends to recognise the sacrifices, the holiday and the Pythian-grade crown games with honours.

⁶¹⁰ Doric for *dēmos*

⁶¹¹ Doric for *theōroi*.

⁶¹² Doric for *boulē*.

Syll³ 560 : Magnēsia-on-the-Maiandros : c.200 BC (Part Two)

[ἔ]δοξε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δάμῳ τῷ Ἐπιδαμνίων τύχ[αις] ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀρίσταις
ἀπ[ο|κ]ρίνασθαι Μάγνησιν, ὅτι ὁ δᾶμος ὁ τῶν Ἐπιδαμνίων [αὐτ]ός τε ποτὶ τὸ θεῖον
εὐ[25]σεβέως τυγχάνει διακείμενος, πάτριόν τέ ἐστιν αὐ[τῷ] καὶ τὰς τῶν οἰκείων | τιμὰς
συναύξειν, ἐπαιν[έ]σαι δὲ καὶ τ[ὸν] δᾶμον τὸμ Μαγ[νή]των ἐπὶ τε τῇ ποτὶ | τοὺς θεοὺς
εὐσεβείαι καὶ ἐπὶ τ[ᾶ]ι ποτὶ τοὺς [Ἑλλαν]ας εὐνοί[αι] καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ εὐεργεσίαι | τῇ τε εἰς τὸ
ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς καὶ εἰ[ς] τ[οὺς] ἄλλους Ἑλλα[νας], δέχεσθαι δὲ καὶ τὸν | ἄγῳνα, ὃν
συντελοῦντ[ι] Μάγν[η]τες τῇ Ἀρτέμι[τ]ι τ[ᾶ]ι Λε[υκ]οφρυηνῇ στεφανίταν
ἰσο[30]πύθιο[ν, καθὼς] ἐπαγγ[έ]λλοντι ὅ τε ἀρ[χι]θ[έ]ω[ρος καὶ οἱ] θε[ωροί,] καὶ ὑπάρχειν
τοῖς νικῶν[τεσ]σι τοῦτον τὸν ἄγ[ῳνα φιλάνθ]ρ[ωπα] ὅσα κ[αὶ] τοῖς τὰ Πύθια
[νικ]ώντεσσι παρὰ τῆς πόλι[ος δέδοται,] εἴμεν δ[ὲ] τὰν πόλιν κα[ὶ] τὰ γ[χ]ώραν τὰ[ν
Μαγ]ν[ή]των ἱερὰν καὶ ἄστυ[λλον, καθότ]ι ὁ Απόλλων ὁ ἐν [Δελφοῖς] ἔχρησεν, ἐπαινέ[σαι
δὲ τ]όν τε ἀρχιθέρον | [Σωσικλῆ] καὶ τοὺς [θι]αροὺς Ἀριστόδαμον, Διότιμο[ν ἐπὶ τ]ε τῇ
ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρί[35][δος φιλο]τιμί[αι καὶ] ἀ[ναστροφαῖ] ἃ ἐποίησαν[το ἀξ]ίως ἀμφοτερῶν
τῶν πο[λ]ίων καὶ εἴμεν δ[ὲ] αὐτ[οὺς] προξένους κα[ὶ] εὐεργ[έ]τας τῆς πόλιος τῶν |
[Ἐπιδαμνίων· ὅπως δὲ τὰ ἐνηφισ]μένα μετὰ τῆς τῶν θε[ων] εὐ[νοίας νῦν τε καὶ εἰς | [τὸν
ἀεὶ] χρό[νον ἐπ’] ἀγαθῷ συντ[ελή]τα τῷ [τ]ε Μα[γνή]των καὶ Ἐπιδαμνίων, τὸμ |
πρύ[τα]νιν [κατεύχεσθαι τᾶ]ι Ἀρτέμιτι τῇ Λε[υκοφρυη]νῇ καὶ τῇ Ἑστίαι,
καλέ[40]σα<ντα> δ’ αὐτ[οὺς] εἰς τὸ πρυταν[εῖο]ν ἐπὶ τὰν κοινὰν ἐστ[ίαν], ἱερεῖον θῦσαι
ἐφέστ[ι]ον [καὶ δίδο]σ[θαι αὐτοῖς τὰ σ]κέλη καὶ τὸ νάκος καὶ ἐ[νεκέ]ηρον ἀργυρίου
Κορινθίου | [ἡμιμναῖον, δόμεν δὲ καὶ τῇ θεᾷ ἀργυ]ρίου ἡμιμναῖον, [ὑπάρχεν] δὲ καὶ τὰ
κατάλοιπα | [ὥσπερ καὶ τοῖς θιαροῖς τοῖς ἀεὶ ἡκόντεσσι]ν εἰς ἀ[μέ· ὅτε δέ κα] ἐς καιρὸν ἦι
τῶν συν[τελου]μενῶν θυσιῶν κ[αὶ] τοῦ ἄγῳνος, [ἀποστέλλεν] τοὺς συνθύσοντας· ἵνα δὲ
καὶ ἡ ὑποδοχὰ τῶν ἀεὶ |45| ἀποστελλομένων ἐγ Μαγνησίας ἀξία γίνηται τᾶμ [π]ολίω[ν
ἀμφ]οτερῶν θεωρ[οδόκον | παρ’] ἀμὶν ἐλέσθαι· ἀ[ναγράψαι] δὲ καὶ τὸ ψάφισμα ἐμ
βουλευτηρίῳ.

It seemed good to the *boula* and the *damos* of the Epidamnians:

- To answer the Magnēsians, in their excellent fortune, that the *damos* of the Epidamnians is pious to the divine and is able to augment the fatherland and the honours of the inhabitants,
- And to applaud the *damos* of the Magnēsians for their piety to the gods and for their goodwill to the [Greek]s and for their good deeds for the Temple at Delphi and the other Greeks,
- And to accept the Pythian-grade crown games which the Magnēsians hold for Artemis L[e]uk[oph]ryēna, just as was called for by the *architheōros* and the *theōroi*,
- And to take the initiative in granting victors of these games the same privileges as are [given by the] *polis* to [victors of the Py]thian games, and that the *polis* and land of the Magnēsians is holy and invio[late, just a]s Apollo at Delphi proclaimed
- And to applaud the *architheōros* Sōsiklēs and the [*thi*]ōroi: Aristodamos & Diotimos for their distinction on behalf of their fatherland and the behaviour, in which they showed themselves worthy of both *po[leis]* and they will be guest-friends and [bene]factors of the *polis* of the Epidamnians
- And so that the decrees about the games, with the goodwill of the gods, be maintained by the Ma[gnēsians] and the Epidamnians now and for all time, the prytany [vows to] Artemis Le[ukophryē]na and to Hestia, and calling [the *thiōroi* into the *prytan*]eio[n], to the common hearth, sacrifices a holy victim by the hearth [and gi]v[es them the l]egs and the fleece and [a half-mina travel allowance] of Korinthian silver [and gave] a half-mina of sil[ver to the goddess], and everything else [was done, just as always happens when *thiaroi* come] to us.
- And whenever it is the time for the cele[bration of the sacrifices] and [the] games, [to send men to join in the sacrifices]
- [And so that the reception of those sent to] Magnēsia will always be worthy of both *poleis*, to choose a *theōr*[odokos from among us]
- And to inscribe the decree in the *bouleutērion*.

APPENDIX TWO: COINS USED

Coin Catalogues

Bellinger, A.R. 1949. *The Excavations at Dura-Europus conducted by Yale University and the French Academy of Inscriptions and Letters: The Coins VI*, edited by M. I. Rostovtzeff et al. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

BMC: Gardner, Percy. 1878. *A Catalogue of Greek Coins: The Seleukid Kings of Syria in the British Museum*. London: British Museum Press.

ESM: Newell, Edward Theodore. 1938. *The Coinage of the Eastern Seleucid mints from Seleucus I to Antiochus III*. New York, NY: American Numismatic Society.

GCS: Wroth, Warwick William. 1899. *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Galatia, Cappadocia and Syria*. London: British Museum Press.

SC: Houghton, Arthur & Catharine Lorber. 2002. *Seleucid Coins: A Comprehensive Guide*. New York, NY: American Numismatic Society.

SdT: Le Rider, Georges. 1998. *Séleucie du Tigre: Les Monnaies Séleucides et Parthes*. Florence : Casa Editrice Le Lettere.

WSM: Newell, Edward Theodore. 1941. *The Coinage of the Western Seleucid Mints from Seleucus I to Antiochus III*. New York, NY: American Numismatic Society, 1941.

There are two convenient online databases:

Kurth, Dane. *WildWinds*. <http://www.wildwinds.com/>

Department of Coins and Medals, The Fitzwilliam Museum. *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum*. <http://www.sylloge-nummorum-graecorum.org/>

BMC: Gardner. 1878.

Catalogue of Greek Coins: The Seleukid Kings of Syria

Antiochos IV, page 34ff.

BMC:	Mint	Issuer	Date (BC)	Denomination
38		Antiochos IV	175-164	Bronze
39		Antiochos IV	175-164	Bronze
40		Antiochos IV	175-164	Bronze
41		Antiochos IV	175-164	Bronze
42	Egypt?	Antiochos IV	175-164	Bronze
43		Antiochos IV	175-164	Bronze
44		Antiochos IV	175-164	Bronze
45		Antiochos IV	175-164	Bronze
46		Antiochos IV	175-164	Bronze
47		Antiochos IV	175-164	Bronze
48		Antiochos IV	175-164	Bronze
49		Antiochos IV	175-164	Bronze
50	Sidon	Antiochos IV & Sidon	175-164	Bronze
51	Sidon	Antiochos IV & Sidon	175-164	Bronze
52	Sidon	Antiochos IV & Sidon	175-164	Bronze
53	Sidon	Antiochos IV & Sidon	175-164	Bronze
54	Sidon	Antiochos IV & Sidon	175-164	Bronze
55	Tyre	Antiochos IV & Tyre	175-164	Bronze
56	Tyre	Antiochos IV & Tyre	175-164	Bronze
57	Laodikeia in Koile Syria	Antiochos IV & Laodikeia	175-164	Bronze
58	Mopsos	Mopsos	175-164	Bronze
59	Hieropolis Kyrrhestika	Hieropolis	175-164	Bronze
60	Hieropolis Kyrrhestika	Hieropolis	175-164	Bronze
61	Antioch	Antioch	175-164	Bronze
62	Antioch	Antioch	175-164	Bronze
63	Antioch	Antioch	175-164	Bronze
64	Antioch	Antioch	175-164	Bronze
65	Antioch	Antioch	175-164	Bronze

BMC: Gardner. 1878.

Catalogue of Greek Coins: The Seleukid Kings of Syria

Antiochus IV, page 34ff.

BMC:	Mint	Issuer	Date (BC)	Denomination
66	Antioch	Antioch	175-164	Bronze
67	Antioch	Antioch	175-164	Bronze
68	Antioch	Antioch	175-164	Bronze
69	Antioch	Antioch	175-164	Bronze
70	Antioch	Antioch	175-164	Bronze
71	Antioch	Antioch	175-164	Bronze
72	Ptolemais-Ake	Ptolemais-Ake	175-164	Bronze
73	Ptolemais-Ake	Ptolemais-Ake	175-164	Bronze
74	Antiocheia in Kalliroe	Antiocheia in Kalliroe	175-164	Bronze
75	Antiocheia in Kalliroe	Antiocheia in Kalliroe	175-164	Bronze
76	Antiocheia in Kalliroe	Antiocheia in Kalliroe	175-164	Bronze
77	Antiocheia in Kalliroe	Antiocheia in Kalliroe	175-164	Bronze
78	Antiocheia in Kalliroe	Antiocheia in Kalliroe	175-164	Bronze
79	Antiocheia in Kalliroe	Antiocheia in Kalliroe	175-164	Bronze
80	Antiocheia in Kalliroe	Antiocheia in Kalliroe	175-164	Bronze
81	Apameia	Apameia	175-164	Bronze
82	Laodikeia-by-the-Sea	Laodikeia-by-the-Sea	175-164	Bronze
83	Seleukeia Pieria	Seleukeia Pieria	175-164	Bronze
84	Seleukeia Pieria	Seleukeia Pieria	175-164	Bronze
85	Antiocheia Mygdonia	Antiocheia Mygdonia	175-164	Bronze

BMC: Gardner. 1878.

Catalogue of Greek Coins: The Seleukid Kings of Syria

BMC Alexander I, page 51ff.

BMC:	Mint	Issuer	Date (BC)	Denomination
59	Kyrrhos	Kyrrhos	148	Bronze
60	Kyrrhos	Kyrrhos	148	Bronze
61	Kyrrhos	Kyrrhos	148	Bronze
62	Kyrrhos	Kyrrhos	148	Bronze
63	Antioch	Antioch	152-144	Bronze
64	Apameia	Apameia	147	Bronze
65	Apameia	Apameia	147	Bronze
66	Laodikeia - by-the-Sea	Laodikeia -by- the-Sea	152-144	Bronze
67	Laodikeia - by-the-Sea	Laodikeia -by- the-Sea	152-144	Bronze
68	Seleukeia Peria	Seleukeia Peria	146	Bronze
69	Seleukeia Peria	Seleukeia Peria	146	Bronze

GCS: Wroth. 1899.

Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Galatia, Cappadocia and Syria.

Antioch on the Orontes, page 151ff.

GCS:	Mint	Issuer	Date (BC)	Denomination
1	Antioch	Antioch	149	Bronze
2	Antioch	Antioch	149	Bronze
3	Antioch	Antioch	149	Bronze
4	Antioch	Antioch	148	Bronze
5	Antioch	Antioch	148	Bronze
6	Antioch	Antioch	148	Bronze
7	Antioch	Antioch	148	Bronze
8	Antioch	Antioch	148	Bronze
9	Antioch	Antioch	148	Bronze
10	Antioch	Antioch	147	Bronze
11	Antioch	Antioch	147	Bronze

SC: Houghton & Lorber. 2002.
Seleucid Coins: A Comprehensive Guide.

SC#	Mint	Issuer	Date (BC)	Denomination	Concordance
6	Sardis	Seleukos I	282-281	Bronze	WSM1357a-g WSM1627-8
14	Antioch	Seleukos I	300-281	Silver Hemiobol	
35	Apameia	Seleukos I	300-281	Bronze	WSM1128
36	Laodikeia-by-the-Sea	Seleukos I	300-281	Silver Tetradrachm	WSM1202-4
37	Laodikeia-by-the-Sea	Seleukos I	300-281	Silver Drachm	
38	Bambyke	Seleukos I? Bambyke?	298-294	Silver Obol	
200	Ekbatana	Seleukos I	311-281	Gold Stater	ESM428 ESM433 ESM438 ESM458 α - β ESM463 ESM472
201	Ekbatana	Seleukos I	311-281	Gold Stater	ESM499
202	Ekbatana	Seleukos I	311-295	Silver Tetradrachm	ESM429 ESM443 ESM446-7 ESM453-4 ESM457 ESM464 ESM473 ESM475 ESM485 ESM491
203	Ekbatana	Seleukos I	295	Silver Tetradrachm	ESM475

SC: Houghton & Lorber. 2002.
Seleucid Coins: A Comprehensive Guide.

SC#	Mint	Issuer	Date (BC)	Denomination	Concordance
204	Ekbatana	Seleukos I	295-281	Silver Tetradrachm	ESM480; ESM484; ESM492; ESM493; ESM496; ESM497; ESM498; ESM500; ESM503; ESM506
205	Ekbatana	Seleukos I	295-281	Silver Tetradrachm	ESM508; ESM510; ESM512
206	Ekbatana	Seleukos I	311-281	Silver Didrachm	ESM435; ESM448; ESM465; ESM476
207	Ekbatana	Seleukos I	311-281	Silver Didrachm	WSM480A
208	Ekbatana	Seleukos I	311-295	Silver Drachm	ESM444 ESM449 ESM458 ESM466 ESM474 ESM477
209	Ekbatana	Seleukos I	295	Silver Drachm	ESM481
210	Ekbatana	Seleukos I	295-281	Silver Drachm	ESM488 WSM507A
211	Ekbatana	Seleukos I	295-281	Silver Drachm	ESM507 ESM511 ESM514 ESM515

SC: Houghton & Lorber. 2002.
Seleucid Coins: A Comprehensive Guide.

SC#	Mint	Issuer	Date (BC)	Denomination	Concordance
212	Ekbatana	Seleukos I	311-295	Silver Hemidrachm	ESM430 ESM436 ESM441 ESM450 ESM467 ESM478 ESM494
213	Ekbatana	Seleukos I	295	Silver Hemidrachm	ESM482
214	Ekbatana	Seleukos I	295-281	Silver Hemidrachm	ESM483 ESM489 ESM505
215	Ekbatana	Seleukos I	295-281	Silver Hemidrachm	
216	Ekbatana	Seleukos I	311-281	Silver Obol	ESM431 ESM437 ESM451 ESM468 ESM471 ESM479 ESM495
290	Ai Khanoum	Seleukos I	285-281	Bronze	
330	Tarsos	Antiochos I	281-260	Silver Tetradrachm	WSM1294
332.1	Tarsos	Antiochos I	281-260	Bronze	WSM1299
335	Antioch	Antiochos I	281-260	Silver Tetradrachm	WSM937 WSM939 WSM938 WSM940 WSM941 WSM957 WSM958
339	Antioch	Antiochos I	270s?	Bronze	WSM942-4 WSM946
363	Doura-Eurōpos	Antiochos I	281?	Bronze	WSM878

SC: Houghton & Lorber. 2002.
Seleucid Coins: A Comprehensive Guide.

SC#	Mint	Issuer	Date (BC)	Denomination	Concordance
364	Doura-Eurōpos	Antiochos I	281?	Bronze	WSM879
365	Doura-Eurōpos	Antiochos I	281?	Bronze	WSM880
366	Doura-Eurōpos	Antiochos I	281?	Bronze	WSM881
367	Doura-Eurōpos	Antiochos I	281?	Bronze	WSM882
368	Doura-Eurōpos	Antiochos I	281?	Bronze	WSM883
481	Lysimacheia	Antiochos II	261-246	Silver Tetradrachm	
482	Lysimacheia	Antiochos II	261-246	Silver Tetradrachm	WSM1610-3
483	Lysimacheia	Antiochos II	261-246	Silver Tetradrachm	WSM1616-20
488	Ilion	Antiochos II	261-246	Silver Tetradrachm	WSM1560
517	Sardis	Antiochos II	261-246	Gold Stater	
518	Sardis	Antiochos II	261-246	Silver Tetradrachm	WSM1385-8
519	Sardis	Antiochos II	261-246	Silver Tetradrachm	WSM1406
520	Sardis	Antiochos II	261-246	Bronze	WSM1379-81
521	Sardis	Antiochos II	261-246	Bronze	WSM1382-3
522	Sardis(b)	Antiochos II	261-246	Bronze	WSM1389-91 WSM1395-6 WSM1398-9 WSM1403 WSM1405
523	Sardis(b)	Antiochos II	261-246	Bronze	WSM1404
524	Sardis(b)	Antiochos II	261-246	Bronze	
525	Sardis(b)	Antiochos II	261-246	Bronze	WSM1407 WSM1409-11 WSM1413
526	Sardis(b)	Antiochos II	261-246	Bronze	WSM1412

SC: Houghton & Lorber. 2002.
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SC#	Mint	Issuer	Date (BC)	Denomination	Concordance
527	Sardis(b)	Antiochos II	261-246	Bronze	WSM1400 WSM1402
528	Sardis(b)	Antiochos II	261-246	Bronze	WSM1392 WSM1397 WSM1401 WSM1408
529	Sardis(b)	Antiochos II	261-246	Bronze	
530	Sardis(b)	Antiochos II	261-246	Bronze	WSM1384
531	Sardis(b)	Antiochos II	261-246	Bronze	
571	Antioch	Antiochos II	261-246	Silver Tetradrachm	WSM970-2 WSM975 WSM980
572	Antioch	Antiochos II	261-246	Bronze	WSM967
576	Laodikeia-by-the-Sea	Antiochos II	261-246	Silver Tetradrachm	WSM1219 WSM1221-6
873	Alexandreia Troas	Antiochus Hierax	242-227	Gold Stater	
874	Alexandreia Troas	Antiochus Hierax	242-227	Silver Tetradrachm	WSM1561 WSM1565
875	Alexandreia Troas	Antiochus Hierax	242-227	Silver Tetradrachm	WSM1567-72 WSM1574α
876	Alexandreia Troas	Antiochus Hierax	242-227	Silver Tetradrachm	WSM1573 WSM1574β
877	Alexandreia Troas	Antiochus Hierax	242-227	Silver Tetradrachm	WSM1580-4
878	Alexandreia Troas	Antiochus Hierax	242-227	Silver Tetradrachm	WSM1575-9
879	AlexandreiaTroas	Antiochus Hierax	242-227	Silver Tetradrachm	WSM1585-7

SC: Houghton & Lorber. 2002.
Seleucid Coins: A Comprehensive Guide.

SC#	Mint	Issuer	Date (BC)	Denomination	Concordance
880	AlexandreiaTroas	Antiochus Hierax	242-227	Silver Tetradrachm	WSM1588
881	AlexandreiaTroas	Antiochus Hierax	242-227	Silver Tetradrachm	
882	AlexandreiaTroas	Antiochus Hierax	242-227	Silver Tetradrachm	WSM1589-91
883	AlexandreiaTroas	Antiochus Hierax	242-227	Silver Tetradrachm	
884	AlexandreiaTroas?	Antiochus Hierax	242-227	Silver Tetradrachm	
885	AlexandreiaTroas?	Antiochus Hierax	242-227	Silver Tetradrachm	
886	AlexandreiaTroas?	Antiochus Hierax	242-227	Silver Tetradrachm	WSM1592
927	Arados	Arados	226-223	Silver Tetradrachm	
949	Seleukeia-Tigris	Molon	222-220	Gold Stater	ESM225-8
950	Susa	Molon	222-220	Silver Tetradrachm	
951	Ekbatana	Molon	222-220	Bronze	ESM574
952	Sardis	Achaïos	220-214	Gold Stater	WSM1439

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