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TWO NEW HELLENISTIC DECREES FROM AIGAI IN AIOLIS

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TWO NEW HELLENISTIC DECREES FROM AIGAI IN AIOLIS

In 2004, during the first season of archaeological excavations of Aiolian Aigai, a fortunate find of an opisthographic stele considerably enriched our knowledge of this city's history in the Hellenistic period. The publication of this find was entrusted by Prof. Ersin Doğer, the director of the excavation, to Hasan Malay, who later offered Marijana Riel to join him in deciphering both sides of the stone. With some interruptions, our joint work continued until the early months of 2010. Not wishing to delay any longer the final publication of two important new documents, we offer them here to the scientific community¹.

Decree I (front side):

The City of Aigai Decrees Divine Honours for Seleukos and Antiochos
[Figs. 1–2 and 5]

Tall stele of local hard brownish stone, broken in two fitting pieces. Height 1.75 m. (total); width 0.598 m. (above) and 0.61 m. (below); thickness 0.015 m.; letters from 0.01 to 0.015 m. A with a straight bar; Θ, O and Ω smaller (0.008–0.01 m.) than the other letters and carved above the line; Σ with tilted upper and lower lines; E with the middle hasta shorter; K with divergent hastas; M with inclined hastas; the right verticals of N and Π not reaching the baseline.

The stele was additionally damaged above while being refitted for secondary use as a threshold of an early-Byzantine church (?), with the result that an unknown number of lines are missing at the beginning of the inscription². The stone is also chipped on the left and right sides and the letters in lines 18–35 were almost completely effaced by passers-by. On the right side there are two cavities (0.175 x 0.04; 0.165 x 0.03) hollowed out for fixing the door-posts of the church (?) door. The stone is now kept in the depot of the excavation at Köselier (Aigai)³.

The text is engraved in the *stoichedon* style with thirty-two letters per line in lines 1–15. In line 16 the engraver committed an irregularity on the *stoichedon* style by carving the diphthong EI in the word εἰς in one square. After that, the stone-cutter returned to the regular style until line 22 where the diphthong -AI in καί is carved in a single square, and line 23 where the same diphthong in the word ὑπάρξαι is again carved in one square. The same practice is continued in the following lines, the highest number of letters being forty-one in line 71. That the stone-cutter underestimated the available space on the stele is shown by the free surface left below the last line of the inscription⁴.

¹ We express our thanks to Prof. E. Doğer both for his kind permission for publication of this text and for the hospitality during our work at the excavation site.

² We think that there are not more than 10 lines lost.

³ Further information about the excavations at Aigai is available at “www.Aigai.net”.

⁴ For this kind of irregularity in *stoichedon* practice see R. P. Austin, *The Stoichedon Style in Greek Inscriptions*, Oxford 1938, 38: “Irregularities may be divided into two kinds, those intentionally admitted by the engraver, and those which occur by accident, i.e. mistakes (including correction of mistakes). Of the first kind by far the commonest is the admission of two letters to occupy a single chequer-unit or letter-space, and in the great majority of instances one of these two letters is an iota. This narrow letter was a source of trouble to the engravers throughout the history of *stoichedon* writing.”

0 [. . . κ]αὶ καλω[ς]ΝΑΙ Σελεύκωι κ[αὶ]
 Ἀντιόχωι [.]. ἵνα δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸν π[ά]-
 4 [ν]τα χρόνον [.]Σ ὑπ' ἀν[θ]ρώπων τὴν κ[α]ταξία
 [τ]ῶν εὐεργετημάτων, ἧι θεοὶ οἱ ἐ[πι]φανέ[ν]-
 [τε]ς τιμῶνται Σέλευκος καὶ Ἀντιόχος, να-
 8 [ό]ν τε οἰκοδομήσαι ὡς κάλλιστ[ον] πρὸς τῶ-
 [ι] περιβόλῳ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ [τό]πον πε-
 8 [ρι]βαλέσθαι καὶ ἀγάλματα ἀναθ[εῖ]ναι δύ-
 [ο] ὡς κάλλιστα, ἐπιγράψαντας Σέ[λ]ευκον κ-
 αὶ Ἀντίοχον, καὶ πρὸ τοῦ ναοῦ στήσαι ἄγα-
 [λ]μα καὶ βωμὸν τῆς Σωτείας· ιδρύσασθαι
 12 [δ]ὲ καὶ βωμὸν τοῦ ναοῦ κατεναντίον σωτή-
 [ρ]ων ἐπιγεγραμμένον Σελεύκου καὶ Ἀντι-
 [ό]χου· ἀνεῖναι δὲ καὶ τέμενος ὡς κάλλιστ-
 [ο]ν· ἀνεῖναι δὲ καὶ ταύρους ἐν τῇ ἐκατόμ-
 16 [β]η] εἰς τὸν περίβολον Σελεύκωι καὶ Ἀντι-
 [ό]χωι σωτήρσι καὶ θύειν καθάπερ καὶ τῶι
 Ἀπόλλ[ων]ι τὰς λαχούσας τῶν [.]ΞΙΚΝΙΩΝ· ἄγ-
 [ειν δὲ] κα[ὶ] τὰ μῆνα γ' ἕκαστον δύο θυσία-
 20 [ς] ἐν ἧι ἡμέραι ἐλεύθ[ε]ροι ἐγενόμεθα· ΣΕ[.]
 []ΜΕΝΟΣ τῶν δυσσορησιῶν τῶν ΕΚ-
 []δια]γέμειν δὲ καὶ τὰς φυλάς ὀπ[η]-
 [λί]και εἰς] ἵ ὥστε ἐξ ὑπάρξαι ἀντὶ τῶν τεσσ[ά]-
 24 [ρ]ων ὀνομάσαι δὲ φυλ]ὰς δύο Σελευκίδα καὶ
 Ἀντιοχίδα [Α]Ι καὶ αὐτὰς καὶ τὰς Α[.]
 [] δὲ καὶ Ε[. . .]
 [] κ]αὶ στήσαι ἐν τῶι πρυτανείωι
 28 []
 []-ΝΙΣΤΗΝ καὶ [.]
 []ΑΙ δὲ τὴν ἀνα[γ]-
 []ΣΤΕΤΟΝΑΠΟΛ[.]
 32 [] Σέλευκον καὶ Ἀντίοχον σωτήρας [.]
 [] ἐν τοῖς [Διον]υσίοις καὶ τοῖς
 []Σ βασιλέα Σελευκον καὶ
 Ἀντίοχον? ἱε]ρέας· θύειν δὲ κα[ὶ]
 36 [τ]αῦρον ἐν τῶι μηνὶ τῶι Σελευκεῶνι καθάπ-
 [ερ καὶ τῶι] Ἀπόλλωνι ἐν τῶι Θαξίωι· ἀποδείκνυ-
 [σθαι καὶ] ἱερέα ἐκ πάντων τῶν πολιτῶν κατ' ἐ-
 [νιαυτ]όν, ὃς στέφανόν τε φορήσει δάφνης κ-
 40 αὶ στρόφιον καὶ ἐσθῆτα ὡς λαμπροτάτην καὶ μ-
 [ε]τὰ τῶν τιμούχων ἐμ πάσαις ταῖς θυσίαις συν-
 [θύσ]εται καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις κατάρξεται
 [α]ὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τῶν σωτήρων καθάπερ καὶ τοῖς ἄ-
 44 [λ]λοις θεοῖς: [ca. 9]Α πάντων τῶν κατ' ἕ[τος ?]-

- [ca. 10] ὁ ἱεροκῆρυξ ἐμ πάσαις ταῖς θυ-
 σίαις ταῖς δημοτελέσι τοῖς σωτήρσι Σελε-
 [ύ]κωι καὶ Ἀντιόχωι· κατὰ ταύτᾳ δὲ καὶ ὅταν σπον-
 48 [δ]ὰς ποιῶνται παρὰ τοῖς ἄρχουσι, λίβανον ἐπ-
 [ι]θύσαι καὶ εὐχεσθαι, ἄιδειν δὲ καὶ παιᾶνα ἐ-
 πὶ σπονδαῖς ὃς ἂν νικήσῃ ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι τῆς μο-
 υσικῆς· ἀνοικοδομήσαι δὲ καὶ τὸ πρυτανεῖον
 52 καὶ τὸ στρατήγιον καὶ καλεῖσθαι τὸ μὲν πρ(υ)τα-
 γεῖον Σελεύκεον, τὸ δὲ στρατήγιον Ἀντιόχε-
 ον· ἀπενεῖκα δὲ τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦτο ὅταν ἡ πρώτ-
 η πρεσβεία ἀποστέλληται πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα
 56 Σέλευκον καὶ ἐπαινέσαι αὐτὸν καὶ ἀξιώσαι τὴν
 εὖνοιαν καὶ τὴν φιλίαν διαφυλάσσειν ἀναγγέλ-
 λοντας ὅτι ἀίμνηστον τὴν ἐκείνου εὐεργε-
 [σ]ίαν τοῖς ἐπιγινομένοις παραδώσομεν καὶ π-
 60 ᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἀναγγελοῦμεν καλὸν στέφαν[ο]-
 [ν] τῆς εὐκλείας περιτιθέντες αὐτοῖς· τὸ δὲ ψήφι[σ]-
 [μ]α τοῦτο ἀναγράψαι εἰς στήλας δύο καὶ στήσα[ι]
 [τῆ]ν μὲν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, τὴν δὲ ἐν τῷ[ι]
 64 [τῆ]ς Ἀθηνᾶς παρὰ τὸν βωμὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Σωτήρο-
 ς· δεῖξι δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐπιμελησομένους τῶν ἐψη-
 φισμένων ἤδη ἄνδρας δέκα, ἵνα τὰ ἐψη[φισ]μένα
 συντελεσθῆ(ι) τὴν ταχίστην· ἀπεδείχθη[σα]ν ἄνδρε-
 68 ς Πόλλης Ἀπολλοδώρου, Ἀπελλῆς Διονυσίου, Μητρό-
 [β]ιος, Πόλλιχος Ἀθηναίου, Ἀθήναιος Ἀπο[λλ]οδώρου,
 [Υ]πέρτερος Φαίτα, Ἄθανος Μύκκου, Κλεομ[έν]ης Ἑρμα-
 γόρου, Ἀρισταγόρας Ἀθηναίου, Ἀπολλωνίδης Κ[α]ίκου.

Translation

“... and good ... to Seleukos and Antiochos ... so that for all eternity (remains the honour award-
 ed?) by mankind, the one worthy of their benefactions, with which Seleukos and Antiochos, gods
 who have manifested themselves, are honoured; moreover, build a most beautiful temple next to
 the precinct of Apollo and surround it with (a free) space and dedicate two cult statues as beau-
 tiful as possible, having inscribed (them with the names of) Seleukos and Antiochos, and in front
 of the temple set up a cult statue and an altar of Soteira; dedicate also an altar opposite (the
 entrance to) the temple inscribed “Of Saviours Seleukos and Antiochos”; dedicate also a sacred
 precinct as beautiful as possible; furthermore, send forth bulls in the hecatomb to the enclosure
 to Seleukos and Antiochos Saviours and sacrifice just as to Apollo the women who have been
 allotted ... and at any rate each month (offer) two sacrifices on the day we became free; ... acts
 of passionateness? ... moreover, [divide] the tribes, [however big or small they are], so that there
 are six instead of four; [name two tribes] Seleukis and Antiochis ... and they themselves and ...
 and ... and set up in the prytaneion ... Apollo’s [sanctuary?] ... Seleukos and Antiochos Saviours
 ... at [Dion]ysia and at ... king Seleukos and [Antiochos] ... priests?; sacrifice also a bull in the
 month of Seleukeon just as to Apollo in (the month of) Thaxios; let also the priest be nominated
 from all the citizens yearly, who will wear a laurel wreath and a headband and a dress as splen-

did as possible, and together with the authorities? at all the sacrifices he will consult the gods, and at the assembly meetings he will begin the sacrificial ceremonies/sacrifice on the altar of the Saviours, in the same manner as (is done) to the other gods ... all the [yearly?] ... the sacred herald at all the sacrifices made at the public cost to the Saviours Seleukos and Antiochos; in the same manner also, when they make drink-offerings before the officials, burn incense and recite vows, and whoever wins the contest of poetry sung to music is to sing a paean over libations; also the town hall and the generals' office are to be rebuilt and the town hall named Seleukeon and the generals' office Antiocheon. Deliver this decree when the first embassy is dispatched to the king Seleukos and commend him and ask him to preserve the goodwill and the friendship, informing him that we shall hand down to posterity the everlasting memory of his benefaction and that we shall make known to the whole mankind that we are crowning them with the beautiful crown of glory; engrave this decree on two stelai and set up one of them in Apollo's sanctuary and the other in that of Athena next to the altar of Zeus Saviour; appoint forthwith ten men who will take care of the voted decisions, in order that the decisions are carried out with the utmost speed; the following men were appointed: Polles son of Apollodoros, Apelles son of Dionysios, Metrobios and Pollichos sons of Athenaios, Athenaios son of Apollodoros, Hyperteros son of Phaitas, Athanos son of Mykkas, Kleomenes son of Hermagoras, Aristagoras son of Athenaios, Apollonides son of Kaikos."

Date of the Inscription

The inscription inscribed on the front side of the stele from Aigai⁵ preserves a city-decree honouring Seleukos and Antiochos and establishing a municipal cult for them⁶. The kings in ques-

⁵ On the remains at Aigai (modern Köselier) see S. Reinach, *BCH* 5, 1881, 131–136; M. A. Clerc, *BCH* 10, 1886, 275–296; H. Lechat – G. A. Radet, *BCH* 11, 1887, 391–404 and 15, 1891, 213–237; R. Bohn – C. Schuchhardt, *Altertümer von Aegae*, Berlin 1889; cf. also L. Robert, *Ét. anat.*, 75–89; P. Herrmann, *Neue Inschriften zur historischen Landeskunde von Lydien und angrenzenden Gebieten*, 1959, 4–6; H. Malay, *GRBS* 24, 1983, 349–353 = *SEG* 33, 1034 (a *stoichedon* inscription probably from the reign of Antiochos I?); *id.*, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions in the Manisa Museum*, *ETAM* 19, 1994, nos. 59 (dedication to Zeus Olympios), 515 (fragmentary decree in Aiolic dialect) and 520 (bilingual, funerary) and *id.*, *Researches in Lydia, Mysia and Aiolis*, *ETAM* 23, 1999, nos. 1–4; Ph. Gauthier, *REG* 112, 1999, 1–11 (= *SEG* 49, 1502). For the city in the Archaic and Classical periods cf. M. H. Hansen – Th. H. Nielsen (eds.), *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis*, Oxford 2004, 1038–1039, no. 801 (L. Rubinstein).

⁶ On the ruler-cult in the Hellenistic period, cf. *RE Suppl.* IV, 1924, s.v. Kaiserkult (Herzog–Hauser); A. D. Nock, Notes on Ruler Cult, *JHS* 1928, 21–43 and Σύνναος Θεός, *HSCP* 1930, 1–62; U. Wilcken, Zur Entstehung des hellenistischen Königskultes, in A. Wlosok (ed.), *Römischer Kaiserkult* (Wege der Forschung 373), Darmstadt 1978, 218–253 (= Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wiss., Phil.-hist. Klasse, Berlin 1938, 298–321); W. Ehrenberg, *Aspects of the Ancient World* (Oxford 1946), 179–198; L. Cerfaux – J. Tondriaux, *Un concurrent du christianisme. Le culte des souverains dans la civilisation gréco-romaine* (Bibliothèque de théologie. Série 3.5), Tournai 1957; F. Taeger, *Charisma: Studien zur Geschichte des antiken Herrscherkultes*, Stuttgart 1957; M. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* II, Munich 1961, 141 ff.; C. Habicht, *Gottmenschentum und griechische Städte* (Zetemata 14), Munich 1970²; E. V. Hansen, *The Attalids of Pergamon* (Ithaca, New York 1971, 2nd ed.), 453–470; P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (Oxford 1972) I, 213–246; C. Préaux, *Le monde hellénistique* (Paris 1978), I 238–271; E. A. Fredrickmeyer, On the Background of the Ruler Cult, *Ancient Mediterranean Studies in Honour of Ch. F. Edson*, Thessaloniki 1981, 145–156; S. Price, *Rituals and Power* (Cambridge 1984), 23–40; F. W. Walbank, *Cambridge Ancient History* (1984, 2nd ed.), VII.1, 87–99 and Könige als Götter, *Chiron* 17 (1987), 365–382; J. R. Hamilton, The Origins of the Ruler Cult, *Prudentia* 16,1 (1984), 3–15; M. Flower, Agesilaus of Sparta and the Origin of the Ruler Cult, *C.Q.* 38,1, 1985, 131–132; D. Thompson, *Memphis under Ptolemies* (Princeton 1988), 125–138; M. Marcovich, Hermocles' Ithyphallus for Demetrius, in M. Marcovich, *Studies in Greco-Roman Religions & Gnosticism* (Studies in Greek and Roman Religion, 4), Leiden/New York 1988, 8–19; P. Green, *Alexander to Actium* (Berkeley 1990), 396–406; B. Funck, Herrscherkult der Seleukiden, *Klio* 73 (1991), 402–407; G.

tion are most probably Seleukos I (Nikator) and his son Antiochos I (Soter)⁷ and the decree must have been voted in the period immediately following their victory over Lysimachos in the battle of Korupedion in Lydia in 281 B.C.⁸ The part of the inscription missing today contained, among other matters, a report on the εὐεργετήματα (cf. lines 4 and 58–59) bestowed on the city by Seleukos and Antiochos. The most important aspect of these benefactions was Aigai's liberation (line 20: ἐν ἧτ' ἡμέραι ἐλεύθη[ε]ρον ἐγενόμεθα [from the detested rule of Lysimachos?]); other were most probably the re-establishment of peace and the confirmation of the city's ancestral constitution and laws. Our hypothesis on the dating of the inscription to the year 281 is also supported by the fact that during the months immediately following their victory at Korupedion⁹ Seleukos and Antiochos did their best to establish friendly relations with the people and temples in their new realm, also including in their efforts, as we see now, the city of Aigai¹⁰.

The Content of the Inscription

At present, the inscription contains seventy-one lines of text composed in the *koine dialektos*. Judging from the scarce Hellenistic material from Aigai, inscriptions composed in Aiolian dialect seem to be more numerous. With the first preserved lines commences a report on the honours voted by the city to their new *euergetai* in return for benefactions received from them.

Lines 5–16 list the following honours:

1. Construction of a temple next to the precinct of Apollo and erection of two cult statues bearing the names of Seleukos and Antiochos;
2. Erection of a cult statue and of an altar of Soteira outside the temple;
3. Dedication of an altar opposite the entrance to the temple inscribed “Of Saviours Seleukos and Antiochos”;
4. Dedication of a *temenos*;
5. Sacrifice of bulls in a hecatomb to Seleukos and Antiochos.

As noted above, the text has suffered severely in the twenty lines following upon line 17. From these patchy preserved lines we gain additional information on two sacrifices offered each month on the day the city became free (lines 19–20).

Shipley, *The Greek World after Alexander* (London 2000), 156–163; C. Wikander, in R. Hägg – B. Alroth (edd.), *Greek Sacrificial Ritual, Olympian and Chthonian*. Proceedings of the Sixth International Seminar on Ancient Greek Cult, organized by the Department of Classical Archaeology and Ancient History, Göteborg University, 25–27 April 1997, Stockholm 2005, 113–120; B. Dignas, *Economy of the Sacred in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor*, Oxford 2002, 56–59.

⁷ There is no historical ground to identify the rulers appearing in our inscription with Seleukos II Kallinikos and his brother Antiochos Hierax. Moreover, the *stoichedon* style of the inscription and the form of letters point to the late fourth or early third century B.C.

⁸ On the date of the battle, which took place in one of the plains around Sardeis, see S. Sherwin-White – A. Kuhrt, *From Samarkhand to Sardis. A New Approach to the Seleucid Empire* (Berkeley 1993), 21: “c. February 281”.

⁹ According to Iust. 17,2,4, Seleukos spent seven months in Asia Minor after the battle, before crossing to Europe.

¹⁰ On their benefactions to the cities and temples and the honours bestowed on them see J. D. Grainger, *Seleukos Nikator. Constructing a Hellenistic Kingdom* (London 1990), 185 and *id.*, *A Seleucid Prosopography and Gazetteer* (Mnemosyne Supplement 172), Leiden/New York 1997, 56–7. Other inscriptions attesting a municipal cult of Seleukos I originate from Miletos (*Milet* I 3, 123 = *Syll.*³, 322), Erythrai (*SEG* 4, 626; F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure*, Paris 1955, 24; *IErythrai*, 205), Ilion (*OGIS*, 212 = *Illion*, 31; cf. L. Robert, *Ét. anat.* 172 ff., *SEG* 4, 664), Kolophon (B. D. Meritt, *AJPh* 56, 1935, 380, no. 6), Priene (*IPriene*, 18 = *OGIS*, 215), Magnesia on the Maiandros (*IMagnesia am Maeander*, 5), Lemnos (*Athen.* 6, 254 F, after Phylarchos [*FgrHist* 81 F 29]; *IG* II², 672 and E. Schweigert, *Hesperia* 10, 1941, 338–339); cf. Habicht, *op. cit.*, 82–90.

6. Two sacrifices offered each month on the day the city became free (lines 19-20).

7. Reorganisation of civic *phylai* so that their number is raised from four to six and two new *phylai* are named after Seleukos and Antiochos (lines 22–25).

In lines 33–34 we hear of:

8. Sacrifices offered to Seleukos and Antiochos (?) during at least two festivals celebrated at Aigai: Dionysia and an unidentified festival¹¹.

Lines 36–37 inform us of:

9. The sacrifice of a bull to Seleukos and Antiochos in the month renamed Σελευκεών in Seleukos' honour; this sacrifice will be a replica of the one performed to Apollo in the month of Thaxios.

Lines 37–44 are concerned with:

10. The yearly nomination of a priest of Seleukos and Antiochos among all the citizens, his attire and duties.

Lines 50–51, by mentioning winners in the contest of poetry sung to music show that one of the honours decreed to Seleukos and Antiochos was an:

11. Ἀγὼν τῆς μουσικῆς.

The last honour is specified in lines 51–54, namely that:

12. The town hall (*prytaneion*) and the generals' office (*strategion*) are to be rebuilt and the new town hall be named *Seleukeon* and the generals' office *Antiocheon*.

The decree ends in the usual manner: the first embassy sent to king Seleukos will ask him to preserve the goodwill and the friendship for the city, informing him at the same time of the honours voted by the city. Ten citizens are appointed to see to it that the decreed honours are translated into reality as soon as possible, and with a list of their names the new text ends.

Notes on the Text

The lost lines at the beginning of this inscription explained the circumstances which occasioned the voting of the decree and commenced the enumeration of honours bestowed upon Seleukos and Antiochos.

2–3 Judging from the phrase ἵνα δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸν π[ά/ν]τα χρόνον, the inventory of decreed honours meant to immortalize Seleukos' and Antiochos' εὐεργετήματα to the city here begins.

Ἄνθρωποι and their honours seem to be contrasted with θεοί in the next line.

The epithet κατάξιος defines the honour (τιμή, χάρις) awarded to Seleukos and Antiochos.

4–5 Although some slight doubt still remains in our minds about the readings at the end of line 4, it seems that Seleukos and Antiochos are actually styled θεοὶ οἱ ἐ[πι]φανέ[ν/τε]ς “gods who have manifested themselves”¹². The occasion of this manifestation was their victory over Lysimachos.

5–7 (cf. also 35–37; 62–63) For the connection between Apollo and Seleukos see Diod. 19. 90; App. Syr. 56; Just. 15,4,3; C. B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period*, nos. 5 and 22; A. Mehl, *Seleukos Nikator und sein Reich*, Leuven 1986 (= *Studia Hellenistica* 28), I, 5 f., 304 f. On the celebration of Seleukos as the son of Apollo at Erythrai (*IErythrai*, 205) see J. D. Grainger, *Seleukos Nikator*, 165 and 185; S. Sherwin-White – A. Kuhrt, *op. cit.*, 27. On the

¹¹ For comparable cases of inclusion of diverse aspects of a royal cult into major existing city festivals cf. Habicht, *op. cit.*, 149–150.

¹² Cf. *RE Suppl.* IV, 1924, s.v. Epiphanie (Pfister); Habicht, *op. cit.*, 156–159; S. R. F. Price, *JHS* 104, 1984, 86–87.

claim that Apollo was the ἀρχηγός of the Seleukids see *Illion*, 31 and 36, cf. also E. R. Bevan, *The House of Seleucus* (New York 1935, 2nd ed.), I, 121.

7 Apollo was the tutelary deity of Aigai, Apollo Chresterios, whose precinct stood at some 45 minutes walking distance to the east of the city¹³. The prevailing opinion is that his temple was built after the city came under the rule of the Attalids.

11 The divine epithet *Soteira* is given to many goddesses – Artemis, Athena, Hygieia, Demeter, Kore, Aphrodite, Hekate Enodia, Hera, Tyche, Isis, Atargatis, Nymphai, Mother of gods¹⁴. In this case, it designates either Athena (cf. line 64) or Artemis.

12 (cf. also 17, 32, 43 and 46) The references to Seleukos and Antiochos as σωτήρες must be related to their victory at Korupedion. For the same epithet bestowed upon Seleukos at Lemnos after the removal of Lysimachos see J. D. Grainger, *Seleucid Prosopography*, 57.

14 For the verb ἀνίημι used in this meaning cf. *SEG* 39, 1284 (Sardis) and *IGR* IV 292 (Pergamon).

15–18 The hecatomb (not necessarily consisting of one hundred oxen/bulls)¹⁵ and the precinct in question belong to Seleukos and Antiochos and the sacrifice of bulls to the new gods is to be performed in the same manner as that to Apollo Chresterios.

18 The phrase τὰς λαχούσας τῶν [.]ΞΙΚΝΙΩΝ remains a mystery for us. The participle λαχούσας should refer to a specific group of women (priestesses ?) who make a more substantial sacrifice to Apollo. As a horizontal stroke is visible above the line, the letter after τῶν can only be an *epsilon* or a *gamma* or a *pi*. This fact leads us to think τῶν could have been followed by [ἐ]ξ, itself followed by a toponym in the form of genitive plural.

20 For the phrase (ἐν) ἧι ἡμέραι cf. *IG* II², 1076; A. G. Woodhead, *Inscriptions. The Decrees, The Athenian Agora* 16 (Princeton 1997), 341; *SEG* 38, 1237; M. Holleaux – P. Pierre, *BCH* 10, 1886, 226–228 no. 8.

21 The noun δυσοργησία seems to appear only once, in Hippocrates, also in the plural form¹⁶, and the related epithets (δυσόργητος, δύσοργος) are likewise rare. It is impossible to say to what or whom it refers. This negative connotation reminds one of a contemporary inscription from the territory of Aigai mentioning people whose land and vineyards and houses were taken away (γῆν καὶ ἀμπέλους καὶ οἰκίας ὅσα ἀφηρεμένα ἦσαν)¹⁷.

22 This is the first appearance of urban tribes at Aigai. We see that their number was four and that on this occasion it was raised to six by internal distribution of tribesmen¹⁸.

22–23 ὄπ[ηλικά]ι εἰσί *exempli gratia*.

27 The town hall reappears in lines 52–53. The object(s) that are to be set up in the *prytaneion* was perhaps a statue, or rather, statues of Seleukos and Antiochos¹⁹.

¹³ Cf. R. Bohn – C. Schuchhardt, *op. cit.*, 46–49; M. Clerc, *BCH* 10, 1886, 291–294; Ph. Gauthier, *op. cit.*, 8; H. Malay, *Researches in Lydia, Mysia and Aiolis*, 21–23 and L. Boffo, *I re ellenistici e i centri religiosi dell'Asia Minore*, Pavia 1985, 223–225.

¹⁴ *RE* III A 1, 1927, s.v. Σωτήρ (Dornseiff).

¹⁵ *RE* V 2, 1905, s.v. ἑκατόμβη (Stengel).

¹⁶ *Hr. Hum.* 9, where it is paired with λῶπαι and ἐπιθυμίαι.

¹⁷ H. Malay, *GRBS* 24, 1983, 349 ff.

¹⁸ Tribes named after Seleukos and Antiochos are attested in Kolophon, Magnesia on the Maiandros, Nysa, Antiocheia on the Maiandros [royal foundation] (Habicht, *op. cit.*, 153) and Klaros (*SEG* 39, 1244).

¹⁹ The setting up of a statue of Antiochos III in the *bouleuterion* of Teos is envisaged in the famous inscription from Teos (P. Herrmann, *Anadolu* 9, 1965, 36–41, col. II, line 32).

24 [ρων· ὀνομάσαι δὲ φυλ]άς *exempli gratia*.

29 ἀγω]νιστήν?

31–32]Σ τε (or εἰς?) τὸν Ἀπόλ[λ/ωνος ἱερόν?

33 The Dionysia at Aigai are already known from a decree dated to the third century²⁰. The second festival, whose first letter was carved last in this line, remains unknown.

34–35 Concerning the fact that only Seleukos is named ‘king’ cf. Welles, *op. cit.*, no. 9.1, on which Welles commented (p. 58): “The singular of βασιλεύς need not mean that Antiochos did not use the royal title when acting alone. He was merely not king in the presence of his father.”

36 The same month name is probably correctly supplied in the decree from Ilion introducing divine honours for Seleukos and Antiochos (*Illion*, 31.11–12: ἐν τῷ μηνὶ τῷ Σελευκε/[ῶνι), while the same month later reappears in the calendar of the same city as Σελεύκειος (*Illion*, 10 [77 B.C.]). A month named Ἀντιοχεών is attested at Laodikeia on the Lykos (*Laodikeia am Lykos*, 2, 4 and 5) and Smyrna (*ISmyrna*, 203)²¹.

37 For the month Θάξιος in Aiolis cf. *SEG* 33, 1041.57 (Kyme).

37–39 We are denied additional details on the nomination of a priest for Seleukos and Antiochos, apart from the fact that all the citizens are candidates for this yearly post. It is a reasonable assumption that they were regarded as civic officials and therefore chosen by public vote in the assembly. In line 41 the priest is envisaged as joining the τιμοῦχοι in sacrificing at all the sacrifices.

40 For the priests’ headband, made of different materials in different colours, cf. *SEG* 29, 127; *IG* V 1, 1390; *IG* XII Suppl., 365; *IPriene*, 201a–d, 202 (στροφίσκος). In *Ilasos* 4 (honorary decree for Antiochos III and Queen Laodice) it is said of a priestess [ἐν δὲ] ταῖς ἐξόδοις ἐχέτω στρόφιον μεσόλευκο[v]. Suidas mentions *strophion* as a characteristic part of a priest’s attire (s.v. Στρόφιον: ὃ οἱ ἱερεῖς φέρουσι)²².

41 The plural οἱ τιμοῦχοι probably stands for οἱ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔχοντες, *the authorities* (cf. οἱ ἄρχοντες in line 48)²³. *Timouchoi* are attested in Aiolian Eresos (*IG* XII Suppl., 139.2: 19: τιμῶχοι).

41–42 On this meaning of the form θύομαι cf. *LSJ*, s.v. θύω.

45 For ἱεροκήρυκες cf. *Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum V: Personnel of Cult/Cult Instruments*, J. Paul Getty Museum, 2006 (= *ThesCRA*), 47–49 (S. Georgoudi).

45–46 On θυσία δημοτελεῖς see V. Pirenne-Delforge, in V. Dasen – M. Pierart (edd.), *Ἰδίαι καὶ Δημοσίαι. Les cadres ‘privés’ et ‘publics’ de la religion grecque antique* (Liège 2005), 55–68 (*non vidimus*).

48–49 The infinitive ἐπιθύειν is equal to ἐπιθυμιῶν as in *OGIS*, 332.12 (ἐπιθυέτωσαν λιβανωτόν), 29 (καὶ ἐπιθύοντας τὸν λιβανωτόν), or *Diod.* 18.61.2.

50 The *iota adscriptum* in νικήσηι was later added in the form of a short vertical line between H and E, visible on the photograph (cf. line 67: συντελεσθῆι with the omission of the *iota adscriptum*).

50–51 The newly instituted ἀγὼν τῆς μουσικῆς was most probably just one component of the games celebrated at Aigai in honour of Seleukos and Antiochos, possibly in the month of

²⁰ Ph. Gauthier, *op. cit.*, 3.

²¹ Cf. Habicht, *op. cit.*, 148 and note 43.

²² Cf. *RE* IV A 1, 1931, s.v. Strophium (Bieber).

²³ Cf. *RE* VI A 2, 1937, s.v. Τιμοῦχοι (Schulthess).

Seleukeon. Pentaeteric games for Seleukos celebrated in the same month were previously attested in Pion (*Illion*, 31.13: ἀγῶνα μουσικὸν] καὶ γυμνικὸν καὶ ἵππικόν)²⁴.

51–52 For the construction of a στρατήγιον at Laodikeia see *ILaodikeia am Lykos* I, no. 2.4 (third century B.C.).

51–54 Judging by the verb ἀνοικοδομήσαι, Aigai's *prytaneion* and *strategion* were, for unknown reasons, in need of repair, and the present occasion was deemed suitable for undertaking their reconstruction and consecrating them in the names of Seleukos and Antiochos. The ongoing archaeological excavations at the site have not yet uncovered any traces of either building²⁵.

52 ΠΡΟΤΑΝΕΙΟΝ on the stone.

54 The form ἀπενεῖκα is originally Ionian; cf. *LSJ*, s.v. φέρω, A.IV.

60–61 Cf. the distich σοφροσύνην ἐνὶ κλα[δὶ σ]μίλα[κος ὃς φορεῖ]/ [οὔτος ἐλε]υθερίας καλὸν ἔχει στέφανον (*SEG* 29, 75).

64 In view of the considerable distance between the temple of Apollo Chresteros and the acropolis of Aigai, the stele presently available to us is probably the one that was set up in Athena's sanctuary situated on the acropolis itself²⁶.

65–66 The use of the shortened form δεῖξαι instead of ἀποδεῖξαι is not uncommon in Aiolian regions, as attested by the following Hellenistic inscriptions: *IG* XII Suppl. 139.14–15 (Eresos): δεῖξαι δὲ ἐν τᾷ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἤδη καὶ τὸν συναποκαταστάσοντα αὐτοῖς; *ibid.* 50: δεῖξαι πρεσβευτᾶν ἐν τᾷ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἤδ[η]; *IG* XII 2, 500.23 (Methymna); *ibid.* 508[1].8 (Methymna), *ibid.* 143.31 (= *ILampsakos*, 34.31, Eresos or Methymna).

68–71 Some of the rarer names listed at the end of the inscription have an unmistakable Aiolian flavour: Πόλλης, Ἀπελλῆς and Φαίτας are already attested at Aigai²⁷, while the form Ἄθανος first appears in this inscription²⁸. The genitive Ἀθάνου of *IKyme*, 34 has long been supposed to be a genitive form of Ἀθάνης, itself unattested²⁹. The other rarer names Πόλλιχος³⁰, Ὑπέρτερος³¹, Μύκκας³² appearing in our inscription were not previously attested in Asia Minor.

²⁴ Cf. Habicht, *op. cit.*

²⁵ On *prytaneia* in general see *RE* Suppl. XIII (1973), s.v. *prytanis*, cols. 801–808 (F. Gschnitzer).

²⁶ Bohn – Schuchhardt (*op. cit.*, 35 ff.) describe a Doric temple in the north-west corner of the acropolis surrounded by stoas on its east and south sides, which could be Athena's temple. For some coins of Aigai bearing the representation of this goddess see e.g. *BMC Troas, Aeolis, and Lesbos*, 95, nos. 1, 11 and 15.

²⁷ Cf. *LGN V.A.*, s.vv.

²⁸ However, its variant Ἀθάνναος is well known at Aigai, Kyme and its surroundings, see *LGN V.A.*, s.v.

²⁹ *LGN V.A.*, s.v.

³⁰ *LGN I.*, s.v.

³¹ *LGN I.*, s.v.

³² *LGN I.*, s.v.

Decree II (reverse side)

Decree of Thessalians Granting *ateleia*, *politeia* and *epigamia* to Aiolians, Koans and Magnesians on the Maiandros³³

[Figs. 3–5]

The inscription on the reverse side of the new opisthographic stele from Aigai is carved in the *stoichedon* style with thirty-five or thirty-six letters per line. It is broken above and most of the first nine preserved lines are nearly illegible. This part of the inscription seems to belong to a decree passed by the cities of Aiolis, Kos and Magnesia on the Maiandros (or Aigai?).

Letters 0.01–0.016; A with a straight bar, E with the middle hasta shorter, Θ and O smaller than the other letters and carved above the line, K with short divergent hastas, the right verticals of N and Π not reaching the baseline, Σ with tilted upper and lower lines.

The new inscription preserves a decree of Thessalians in their native dialect³⁴ granting *ateleia*, *politeia* and *epigamia* to Aiolians, Koans and Magnesians on the Maiandros in return for their decision to institute a festival and a sacrifice for Zeus Olympios and Thessalos.

The text was most probably engraved after the decree for Seleukos and Antiochos inscribed on the front side of the stele, possibly in the second half of the 3rd century B.C., but undoubtedly before 196 B.C., i.e., the date of the establishment of the Thessalian Koinon (see below on line 14).

	[]
	[.IIM[.	.]TO[. . .	ὄνγρ]άψαι καὶ τοῦτο ἐν στάλαγ
	[λ]ιτθίαν [ca. 8]] [ca. 16
4	ἂ	ὀνάλουμα ἐς ταῦτα ἔμμεν ἀυτοῦν [.]AN[. . .]
	[.E[]
	[]
	[]
8	[]
	[]
	Σπεύδουν ὁ λείτορας τὰν εὐχαριστίαν Πετ-		
	θαλοῦν ἐν Ὀλυμπίοις τοῖς Πετθαλοῖ ἀγοῦσι		
12	ὀπειδεῖ ἐξάγγελλε Σπεύδουν ὁ λείτορας τ-		
	οῖ Διὸς τοῖ Ὀλυμπίοι τὰν εὐνοίαν τὰν εἴχοι-		
	ν ποτὶ Πετθαλὸς Αἰολεῖες, Κοῦοι, Μάγνειτες		
	οἱ ἀπὸ Μαιάνδροι - τοῦ τε γὰρ Δι τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου		
16	καὶ εἴροῦι Πετθαλοῦ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς		
	τελετὰν καὶ θυσίαν πεποεῖσθαι τὰς πόλεις π-		
	άνσας καὶ εὐξασθαι Πέτθαλοῖς πάντεσσι καὶ		
	τοῦ δάμου τοῦ ἑαυτοῦν κοινᾶ σουτειρίαν, εὐ-		
20	τυχίαν, εὐγονίαν -, ἐψάφισαν οἱ Πετθαλοῖ ἀτέ-		

³³ We are very grateful to B. Helly, J. L. García-Ramón and W. Blümel for their generous help with the Thessalian dialect and Thessalian *realia*. We of course remain responsible for possible errors and omissions.

³⁴ On the Thessalian dialect, cf. F. Bechtel, *Die griechischen Dialekte* I, Berlin 1921, 133–212; C. D. Buck, *The Greek Dialects*, Chicago and London 1955; A. Thumb – A. Scherer, *Handbuch der griechischen Dialekte* II, Heidelberg 1959, 48–76; W. Blümel, *Die aiolischen Dialekte. Phonologie und Morphologie der inschriftlichen Texte aus generativer Sicht*, Göttingen 1982.

λείαν ἔμμεν αὐτοῖς πάντων πλὴν εἰ πόσσα κ-
 ε ἐπ ἐμπορία ἄγουνθι εἰ ἔξ᾿άγουνθι, καὶ πολι-
 τεῖαν πάντεσσι πᾶ γὰ κε βέλλουνθαι Πετθαλί-
 24 ας καὶ ἔμμεν αὐτοῖς καὶ πόλις καὶ ἱερὰ κοιν-
 ᾶ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα καττάπερ Πετθαλοῖς ἔνθι·
 καὶ ἐπιγαμίαν ἔμμεν Αἰολεῖεσσι, Κοοῖς, Μα-
 γνεῖτεσι τοῖς ἀπὸ Μαιάνδροι πᾶ γὰ κε βέλλο-
 28 υνθαι Πετθαλίᾳς· ὀγγράψαι μὰ τὸ ψάφισμα Σπ-
 εῦδουνα τὸν λείτορα ἐν στάλας λιθίας καὶ
 [. .]ΤΕΘΕΙΜΕΝ ἐν Ὀλύμπιον καὶ ἐν Ἴτουνον καὶ
 32 ἐν Λάσσαν ἐν [τὸ ἱε]ρὸν τοῖ Ἄπλουνος τοῖ Κερδ-
 οῖοι· ἐγγράφειμεν αὐτ[εῖ] καὶ πόλιν τὰ ὀνύ-
 ματα πανσᾶν τᾶν κοινανενσᾶν τᾶς θυσίᾳς Δι-
 ὸς τοῖ Ὀλυμπίοι καὶ τοῖ ἀγῶνος· ἐγράφει τὸ
 ψάφισμα ἐν Ὀλυμπίοις, λειτορεύοντος δις τ-
 36 οῖ Ὀλυμπίοι Σπεύδουνος, ταγευόντων ἐν Λά-
 σσα Τιμουνίδα Ἀλεξία, Ἀστονόοι Λαγέτα, Ἴππ-
 ᾶρχοι Σουκράτεος, Ἴπποδρόμοι Πανταπόνοι,
 Κλεάρχοι Δεινίπποι.

Translation

“... inscribe this one as well on a stone stele ... the cost for this will be (covered by) ... Speudoun the priest (will make known?) the gratitude of Thessalians at the Olympic festival, during the games in honour of Thessalos; since Speudoun, the priest of Zeus Olympios, made known the goodwill that Aiolians, Koans and the Magnesians on the Maiandros had towards Thessalians, on the basis of the fact that all the cities have established a festival and a sacrifice for Zeus Olympios and for hero Thessalos and for all the other gods and have prayed that all Thessalians and their own citizens jointly enjoy security, prosperity, fertility, the Thessalians have decreed that they be exempt from paying duties on everything except on what they might import or export for trade purposes, and also that they all be granted citizenship anywhere in Thessaly they might wish, and that they have in common cities, cults and all the other things as Thessalians do; and that Aiolians, Koans and Magnesians on the Maiandros have the right of marriage wherever they want in Thessaly; and let Speudoun the priest see to it that the decree is inscribed on stone stelai and [set up] in Olympion and in Itounos and in La(ri)ssa in the sanctuary of Apollo Kerdoios; let [there] also be inscribed the names of the cities taking part in the sacrifice to Zeus Olympios and the games; the decree was proposed at the Olympic festival, when Speudoun was priest of (Zeus) Olympios for the second time, and in La(ri)ssa tagoi were Timounidas son of Alexias, A(ri)stonoos son of Lagetas, Hipparchos son of Soukrateis, Hippodromos son of Pantaponos, Klearchos son of Deinippos.”

Notes on the Forms of Thessalian Dialect³⁵ and the Content of the Inscription

1, 11, 27, 29 στάλα, ἀγοῦσι, Μαγνεῖτεσι are not genuine Thessalian forms.

2 [ὄνγρ]άψαι = ἀναγράψαι (cf. below line 28), but ὄνγράψειν would be the correct form in Thessalian³⁶; τοῦτο, s.c. τὸ ψάφισμα; ἐν = εἰς³⁷.

3 [λ]ιθίαν = λιθίνην (cf. line 29: λιθίας).

3–4 μά = δέ.

4 ὀνάλουμα = ἀνήλωμα (a variant of the more common Thessalian form ὀνάλα³⁸); ἔμμεν = εἶναι, αὐτοῦν = αὐτῶν.

10 For the name Σπεύδων (Thess. Σπεύδουν) cf. *LGPN* III.B, s.v.; the form λείτορας is a variant of λείτορ³⁹. From lines 35–36, we learn that Speudoun was serving his second term as priest of Zeus Olympios.

10–11 Πετθαλοῦν = Θεσσαλῶν.

11 Πετθαλοῖ = Θεσσαλοῦ; ἀγοῦσι = ἀγῶσι.

Aiolian cities, Koans and Magnesians on the Maiandros had demonstrated their appreciation of the ties of kinship bonding them to Thessalians by instituting a festival and a sacrifice for Zeus Olympios⁴⁰ and hero Thessalos; in return, they received proofs of Thessalians' gratitude (εὐχαριστία Πετθαλοῦν), namely, ἀτέλεια, πολιτεία, ἐπιγαμία. The same festival in honour of Zeus Olympios, consisting of a sacrifice to Zeus and games for Thessalos, reappears in lines 33–34. Speudoun was instructed to make known (the relative finite verb stood in the preceding line) the proofs of Thessalians' gratitude during the games in honour of Thessalos held in Thessaly itself (see the commentary below on lines 30 and 35).

Mythology knows of several heroes named Thessalos who were supposed to have given their name to the region. One was the son of Herakles and Chalkiope, daughter of Eurypylos, king of Kos and son of Poseidon whom Herakles killed on his way back from Troy because he did not want to let him land on his island. This Thessalos became king of Kos as had been his grandfather and had two sons, Pheidippos and Antiphos, who took part in the Trojan War (*Il.* II 577–579) and, after coming back, settled in Thessaly, giving the region its name in memory of their father. Another Thessalos was a son of Iason and Medea who escaped his mother's wrath and fled to Iolkos to become king of the place at the death of Akastos, the son of Pelias. Finally, there is also Thessalos, son of Haimon, according to the Greek mythology, one of the first kings in Thessaly, former Haimonia, to which he gave his name. Thessalos reappears in line 16 of the new inscription as a *hero*⁴¹.

³⁵ For more information on the Thessalian dialect one should consult the works adduced in this article. Since we do not pretend to be experts on Greek dialectology, we thought it appropriate to restrict ourselves to minimal explanations sufficient to make the Thessalian text understandable to those used to the Attic form of Greek and the *koine*.

³⁶ This form appears in *IG* IX 2, 517.21 and in the new inscription from Larissa published by A. Tziafalias, J. L. García-Ramón and B. Helly in *BCH* 130, 2006, 436–437.36.

³⁷ For the use of accusative with ἐν, characteristic of North-west dialects, cf. C. D. Buck, *op. cit.*, 106–7, § 135.4; Y. Béquignon, *BCH* 59, 1935, 43; B. Helly, *Chiron* 36, 2006, 178 note 12.

³⁸ Cf. J. L. García-Ramón, in *Katà diálekton. Atti del III Colloquio Internazionale di Dialettologia Greca*, Napoli-Faiano d'Ischia, 25–28 settembre 1996, Napoli 1997, 531.

³⁹ Cf. B. Helly, *BCH* 94, 1970, 179–180; J. L. García-Ramón, *op. cit.* in the preceding note, 537 with bibliography.

⁴⁰ For a dedication to Zeus Olympios from the territory of Aigai see H. Malay, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions in the Manisa Museum*, no. 59 (Roman imperial period).

⁴¹ Cf. *RE* VI A 1, 1936 (Schachermeyr); *LIMC* 8, 1–2, s.v. (K. Liampi).

12 ὀπειδεί = ἐπειδή.

13 τοῖ = τοῦ; for parallels to the third person plural of the Thessalian *imperfectus obliquus*⁴² εἴχοιεν recognized at the end of this line and the beginning of the next one cf. ἐνεφανίσσοεν in *IG IX 2*, 517, ἐλλάβοιεν in G. Daux, *BCH* 66–67, 1942–43, 114, and ἐπαγ]γέλλοεν in *SEG* 53, 851.A1/2.

14 ποτί = πρός, instead of the Thessalian form πότ⁴³; Πετθαλός = Θεσσαλούς; Αἰολεῖς = Αἰολεῖς; Κοῦοι = Κῶοι; Μάγναιτες = Μάγνητες.

For amicable relations between Thessaly and Aiolian cities cf. Y. Béquignon, *BCH* 59, 1935, 55 no. 2 = *IAlexandreia Troas*, T 96–97 = B. Helly, *Chiron* 36, 2006, 172–173, 200–201 (honours for Bombos and Leukios from Alexandreia Troas); the new honorary inscription from Larissa for Bakchios son of Kaikos from Mytilene contains a confirmation of the relations between Mytilene and the Thessalian cities in the past, prior to the establishment of the Thessalian Koinon in 196 B.C. (A. Tziafalias – B. Helly, *BCH* 128/129, 2004–2005, 378–402 no. 1 = *SEG* 55, 605); for Kos and Thessaly cf. D. Bosnakis – K. Hallof, *Chiron* 33, 2003, 229–231; K. J. Rigsby, *Boreas* 28, *Actes d'un séminaire international, Uppsala University 11–13 May 2000*, ed. K. Höghammar, Uppsala 2004, 9–14 (*non vidimus*); A. Tziafalias – J. L. García-Ramón – B. Helly, *BCH* 130, 2006, 456 mention an unpublished decree of Larissa for three citizens of Kos; also I. Sherwin-White, *Ancient Cos. An Historical Study from the Dorian Settlement to the Imperial Period*, 1978, 141–142. Podaleirios, son of the god Asklepios, a doctor from Thessaly, settled on the island after a shipwreck⁴⁴. From this time, the family of the Asklepiadaí lived on the island (Hippokrates was introduced as the 18th descendant); for Magnesia on the Maiandros cf. the dossier of the games Leukophryena *IMagnesia am Maeander*, 26 (unknown Thessalian city), 33 (Gonnoi).

15 ἀπό = ἀπό; Μαιάνδροι = Μαιάνδρου; τοῦ = τῷ; Ὀλυμπίου = Ὀλυμπίῳ.

16 εἴρουι = ἥρωϊ⁴⁵.

17 πόλις = πόλις.

17–18 πάνσας = πάσας.

18 πάντεσσι = πᾶσι.

19 τοῦ = τῷ; δάμου = δήμῳ (the δᾶμος in question belongs to Aiolian cities, Kos and Magnesia on the Maiandros); ἐαυτοῦν = ἐαυτῶν; κοινᾶ = κοινῆ; σουτειρίαν = σωτηρίαν.

20 The reading εὐγονία is certain. It can refer to the fertility of plants, animals and humans.⁴⁶ The word is unattested in inscriptions.

ἐψάφισαν = ἐψήφισαν:⁴⁷ the Thessalians voted the decree during their own Olympic games, after hearing Speudoun's report on the proofs of *eunoia* received from Aiolians, Koans and Magnesians on the Maiandros. We should probably recognize in this appellation the federal assembly of the Thessalian League under Macedonian domination. The wording here suggests that the col-

⁴² We are grateful to J. L. García-Ramón for sending us a summary of his paper “The Secondary Desinence 3 pl. -(i)εν and the Optative” read at a symposium in honour of Anna Morpurgo Davies in Oxford (29–30 June 2007).

⁴³ B. Helly, *Chiron* 36, 2006, 178.

⁴⁴ Cf. *RE* XXI 1, 1951, s.v. Podaleirios (Kenner).

⁴⁵ *SEG* 35, 532: εἰρούισσα Atrax, c. 250–200 B.C.; *ibid.*, 584, Krannon, c. 200 B.C.; *SEG* 45, 612, Krannon, 4th century B.C., cf. εἴρουι *SEG* 27, 205.1 (Larisa, middle of the 3rd century B.C.), *SEG* 35, 584 (Krannon, c. 200 B.C.).

⁴⁶ Xen. *Lac.* 1.6; Pl. *R.* 546a; Ph. *Decal.* 160.2, *Spec.* 1.92.4; 1.138.2: χαριστήρια εὐτεκνίας καὶ εὐγονίας.

⁴⁷ ἐψάφισαν: the aorist stem ψαφιξ- is well attested in Thessalian, cf. ψαφιξαμένας, ψα[φ]ίξασθαι[ν] (*IG IX 2*, 517), ἐψαφίξατο (*SEG* 31, 572.10/11, Krannon, ca. 200 B.C.), ψαφίζουθεν, ψαφίξαστειν, ψαφίζουσι (*SEG* 47, 940).

lecting of customs duties in Thessalian cities was a prerogative of the federal government, along with the granting of citizenship and *epigamia*, as will appear from the rest of the text⁴⁸.

21 ἔμμεν = εἶναι; πάντων = πάντων; πλάν = πλήν.

21–22 κε = ἄν; ἄγουνθι = ἄγωσι; ἐξάγουνθι = ἐξάγωσι.

For this restriction of *ateleia* granted to Aiolians, Koans and Magnesians on the Maiandros cf. e.g. the similar wording in an inscription from Kassandreia recording Kassander's grant of *ateleia* to one Chairephanes (I. Vokotopoulou, *Μνήμη Μανόλη Ανδρόνικου*, Thessaloniki 1997, 39–50 = *Bull. épigr.* 1998, 269 = *SEG* 47, 940): ἀτέλειαν ἔδωκε πάντων αὐτῶι καὶ ἐγγόνοις καὶ εἰσάγοντι καὶ ἐξάγοντι καὶ παλοῦντι καὶ ὠνουμένωι πλὴν ὅσα ἐπ' ἐμπορίαι.

23 πᾶ = πῆ; νᾶ = νή (particle of strong affirmation, *LSJ*, s.v.); βέλλουνθαι = βούλωνται.

24 πόλις = πόλεις.

25 καττάπερ = καθάπερ; ἔνθι = εἰσί.

24–25 The whole phrase καὶ ἔμμεν αὐτοῖς καὶ πόλις καὶ ἱερὰ κοινὰ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα καττάπερ Πετθαλοῖς ἔνθι is equivalent in meaning to, e.g., the clause [μετέχειν αὐτοὺς ἐν Ἑλατ]εῖαι τῶν κοινῶν θυσιῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τιμίῶν καὶ φιλανθρώπων πάντων⁴⁹, adduced in B. Helly's discussion of the phrase Τρικκαίων ἢ [πόλις ἔδωκεν] ... ἰσομοιρί[αν τῶν τιμίῶν πάντων εἰς] ἅπαντα χρόνον encountered in a honorary inscription from Triikka dating from the same period as the new text published here (*BCH* 115, 1991, 332–333). It stands for “l'égalité complète”, to use Helly's phrase, of all the new citizens who should settle in a Thessalian city of their choice. Cf. also B. Helly, *BCH* 125, 2001, 253 and note 43.

25 Αἰολεῖεσσι = Αἰολεῦσι; Κούοις = Κόοις.

28 ὄνγράψαι = ἀναγράψαι (cf. above line 2).

29 ἐν = εἰς; λιθίας = λιθίνας (cf. line 3: λιθίαν).

30 [.]ΤΕΘΕΙΜΕΝ, the first word of this line, consisting of ten letters, engraved on the spot where the stele is broken today, is difficult to make out; one expects an active infinitive form of a verb meaning “to set up, place” referring to the stone *stelai* mentioned in the previous line⁵⁰.

The word Ὀλύμπιον probably stands for the *temenos* on the peak of Mt. Olympus known today as Agios Antonios, wherefrom come three dedications to (Zeus) Olympios found in a layer of burned earth containing bone fragments and a number of antiquities⁵¹. A scholiast of Apollonios Rhodios, *Arg.* I 598–599, refers to the games Ὀλύμπια on Mt. Olympus: Ὀλυμποι δὲ εἰσιν ἔξ· Μακεδονίας, Θετταλίας, ἐν ᾧ καὶ Ὀλύμπια φησιν Ἀπολλόδωρος ἄγεσθαι, καὶ Μυσίας καὶ Λυκίας καὶ Ἀρκαδίας⁵². For the form (τὸ) Ὀλύμπιον instead of (τὸ) Ὀλυμπιεῖον

⁴⁸ Cf. J. A. O. Larsen, *Class. Phil.* 55, 1960, 244–245.

⁴⁹ *SEG* 25, 445.

⁵⁰ Anyway, we are inclined to supply [ὄν]τεθεῖμεν (inf. aor. pass. = ἀνατεθῆναι) in spite of the need of an active infinitive here.

⁵¹ *SEG* 24, 408–10; *Bull. épigr.* 1968, 323, 3rd century B.C.; cf. also Philodamos 53–6: [Ἔ]ν[θεν ἐ]π' ὀλβίας χθονὸς Θεσ[σαλίας] ἔκελσας ἄστη, τέμενός τ' Ὀλύμπι[ον], [Πτερ]ίαν τε κλειτάν (Powell, *Coll. Alex.* 165–71); M. K. Langdon, *A Sanctuary of Zeus on Mount Hymettos*, *Hesperia Supplement XVI*, 1976, 110–111, citing the original publication by V. Kyriazopoulos and G. Livadas, *Arch. Delt.* 22, 1967, Mel. 6–14 (*non vidimus*); E. Voutriras, in *Rois, cités, nécropoles: Institutions, rites et monuments en Macédoine*. Actes du colloque de Nanterre (décembre 2002) et d'Athènes (janvier 2004) (*Μελετήματα* 45), Athens 2006, 335–345 (*non vidimus*).

⁵² Cf. *RE* XVIII, 1939, s.v. Olympia (Ziehen). For the comparable cult of Zeus Akraios, the tutelary deity of Demetrias and the Magnesians, whose sanctuary was situated on the Plisiadi peak of Mt. Pelion, cf. A. S. Arvanitopoulos, *PAE* 1911, 305–312; E. Aston, *CQ* 56, 2006, 355–357. This sanctuary is mentioned by the third-century author Herakleides (*FgrHist* 2 F 60) and it appears in inscriptions together with its priest (*IG* IX 2, 1103; 1105 II; 1108; B. Helly, *BCH* 95, 1971, 544–554; A. S. Arvanitopoulos, *Polemon* 1, 1929, 28 no. 419; *SEG* 25, 687). Just

cf. Diod. XIII, 82, 1; XX 29, 3; XXIII 18, 3; Theophr. *Caus. Plant.* 5, 14, 2; Cass. Dio XLIX 16; Paus. II 7, 3.

Ἴτουνοϝ = Ἴτωνοϝ⁵³. The sanctuary of Athena Itonia at Itonos is the federal sanctuary of Thessalians at modern Philia Karditsis in Thessalotis⁵⁴.

31 Λάσσα = Λάρισσα⁵⁵; Ἄπλου = Ἀπόλλων. Apollo Kerdoios was the tutelary deity of Larissa, his sanctuary appearing in several inscriptions as a repository of public inscriptions⁵⁶.

32 For ἐγγράφειμεν (inf. aor. pass.) cf. Y. Béquignon, *BCH* 59, 1935, 37, face 2.32, Krannon, second half of the 2nd century B.C.: ὀγγράφειμεν; ἀὐτ[εῖ] = ἀὐτοῦ (this reading was suggested to us by W. Blümel, while Helly – García-Ramón prefer to read ἀὐτ[άς]).

32–33 ὀνύματα = ὀνόματα.

33 πανσᾶν = πασᾶν; κοινανενσᾶν = κοινονουσᾶν.

34 ἐγράφει = ἐγράφη.

35 The games *Olympia* were most probably celebrated in Thessaly, if we put our trust in the scholiast of Apollonios Rhodios, on Mt. Olympos itself. In any event, this is their first attestation in inscriptions.

37–39 None of the five *tagoi* from Larissa is previously attested. On the chief office of *tagoi* in general, in Thessaly and in individual cities, cf. B. Helly, *BCH* 94, 1970, 184–185 and *id.*, *L'État thessalien. Aleuas le Roux, les tétrades thessaliennes et les tagoi*, Lyon 1995, 329 ss. Although the new decree concerns all the Thessalians and their cities, only Larissean *tagoi* are named, no doubt because they belonged to the foremost city in Thessaly, the seat of the Thessalian league.

For the names Τιμουníδας, Ἀστόνοοϝ, Ἰππόδρομοϝ and Παντάπονοϝ, cf. *LGPN* III.B s.vv., and for the change from the patronymic adjective to the genitive of the father's name, noticeable in the Thessalian dialect since the 3rd century B.C., cf. B. Helly, *BCH* 94, 1970, 176–177.

Özet

Makalede, Aiolis bölgesinde yer alan Aigai (Köseler) kentinde yürütülen arkeolojik kazıların ilk yılında (2004) bulunmuş olan, yerel taştan yontulmuş bir stelin ön ve arkasında yer alan iki adet Hellenistik dekret yazıt dünyasına tanıtılmaktadır. Stel, geç devirdeki bir yapıda (Kilise ?), üst kısmı kesilmek suretiyle kapıtaşı olarak kullanıldığı için, her iki yazıtın üstten yaklaşık 10 kadar satırı noksan durumdadır. Ayrıca, ön yüzdeki yazıtın özellikle sol-orta kısmındaki yazılar

like the Thessalian Olympion, it served as repository of public inscriptions and statues (B. Helly, *BCH* 95, 1971, 544–554).

⁵³ Str. IX 5, 14; Steph. Byz., s.v. Ἴτων; N. I. Giannopoulos, *BCH* 16, 1892, 473–478.

⁵⁴ B. Helly, *L'État thessalien. Aleuas le Roux, les tétrades thessaliennes et les tagoi*, Lyon 1995, 89; *id.*, *BCH* 125, 2001, 243 and note 16; A. Tzifalias – B. Helly, *BCH* 128–129, 2004–2005, 396–399 = B. Helly, *Chiron* 34, 2004, 95–98; B. Intzesiloglou, in *Αρχαιολογικό έργο Θεσσαλίας και Στερεάς Ελλάδος, Πρακτικά επιστημονικής συνάντησης Βόλος 27.2/3.2003*, University of Volos 2006, vol. I, 221–237 (*non vidimus*).

⁵⁵ For the syncope of ⟨ι⟩ in the syllable ⟨ρι⟩ after a vowel and the assimilation of ⟨ρσ⟩ into ⟨σ(σ)⟩ cf. J. L. García-Ramón, *Verbum* 10, 1987, 135 ss. (*non vidimus*) and B. Helly, *Chiron* 36, 2006, 176 note 6; also Hesych. s.v. Λάσαν· τὴν Λάρισσαν; Y. Béquignon, *BCH* 59, 1935, 37 face 2.3 (Λασσαίτοι); *IG* IX 2, 517.19 (Λασσαίτοις); *SEG* 31, 575.24 (Λασ[σ]αίτου); A. Tzifalias – B. Helly, *BCH* 128–129, 2004–2005, 378–402 no. 1.1 (= *SEG* 55, 605): ψάφισμα Λασσαίου.

⁵⁶ *IG* IX 2, 512; 517; Y. Béquignon, *BCH* 59, 1935, 55 no. 2 = *IAlexandria Troas* T 96–97 = B. Helly, *Chiron* 36, 2006, 172–173; *SEG* 35, 549; cf. D. Axenidis, *Pelagis Larissa* II, Athens 1949, 166–170 (*non vidimus*); B. Helly, *Mnemosyne* 23, 1970, 293.

okunamayacak kadar aşınmıştır. Her iki yüzdeki yazıt da, bazı istisnalar olmakla birlikte, her satırda eşit sayıda harf kullanılmak suretiyle (*stoikhedon* stilinde) yazılmıştır.

Dekret I: Taşın ön yüzünde yer alan yazıt, Aigai meclisinin aldığı bir onurlandırma kararıdır. Bu kararda, Suriye Kralları Seleukos ile Antiokhos tanrısal sıfatlarla onurlandırılmakta ve kentte onlar adına bir kült tesis edilmektedir. Burada adı geçen krallar, Seleukos I Nikator ile onun oğlu Antiokhos I Soter olup, bu dekret onların İ.Ö. 281 yılında Lysimakhos ile yaptıkları Korupedion (Salihli ovası ?) Savaşı'nda kazandıkları zaferi izleyen aylarda hazırlanmış olmalıdır. Nitekim yazıtta, bu kralların Aigai kentine yaptıkları iyiliklerin yanısıra '*kentin özgürlüğe kavuştuğu gün*'den söz edilmektedir ki bu, Lysimakhos'a karşı yapılan savaşın kazanıldığı günü ifade etmektedir. Bu dekretin çevirisi şöyledir:

“... ve iyi bir şekilde (?) ... *Seleukos ve Antiokhos'a ... öyle ki, yaptıkları iyiliklerle kendilerini bize gösteren tanrı Seleukos ile Antiokhos'a sunmakta olduğumuz bu onurlar sonsuza kadar sürsün. Bunun dışında, Apollon (tapınağının) kutsal alanının yanında (onlar için) mükemmel bir tapınak inşa edilsin ve bu tapınağın çevresi boş bırakılsın ve adak olarak onlara mümkün olduğunca güzel iki kült heykeli sunulsun ve bunların üzerine Seleukos ve Antiokhos'un adları yazılsın ve tapınağın karşısına bir kült heykeli ve (Tanrıça) Soteira'nın bir altarı yerleştirilsin. Ayrıca tapınağının girişinin karşısına, üzerinde “Seleukos ve Antiokhos'un altarı” diye yazılsın ve burada ayrıca, mümkün olduğunca güzel bir kutsal alan hazırlansın. Dahası, Kurtarıcı Seleukos ve Antiokhos için hekatomb'dan kutsal alana boğalar sevkedsin ve bunlar, aynen Apollon için yapıldığı gibi, kura ile seçilen kadınlar tarafından kurban edilsin ... ve mutlaka her ay, özgürlüğe kavuştuğumuz günde iki kurban sunulsun ... öfkeli davranışlar (?) ... dahası, mevcut dört olan kabile sayısı altıya çıkarılsın ve yeni kurulan iki kabileye Antiokhis ve Seleukis adları verilsin. ... ve kendileri ... ve prytaneion'a dikilsin ... Apollon (tapınağı ?) ... Kurtarıcı Seleukos ve Antiokhos ... Dionysia ve ... şenliklerinde kral Seleukos (ve Antiokhos ?) ... rahipler (?) ... Ayrıca Seleukeion ayında, Thaksios ayında Apollon için yapıldığı gibi, bir boğa kurban edilsin. Ayrıca, tüm vatandaşlar arasından bir yıllığına atanacak olan ve başında bir taç ve bant taşıyan ve mümkün olduğunca gösterişli bir elbise giyen bir rahip, yöneticilerle (?) birlikte, her kurban töreninde tanrılara danışsın ve meclis toplantılarında, aynen diğer tanrılara yapıldığı gibi, Kurtarıcılarımızın altarının üzerinde kurban kesme törenlerini başlatsın. ... ve tüm yıllık (?) ... Kurtarıcı Seleukos ve Antiokhos için şehir parası ile düzenlenen tüm kurban törenlerinde kutsal tellal ... Ve aynı şekilde, yöneticilerin huzurunda içki sunusu yapılırken tütsü yakılsın ve dualar edilsin ve (düzenlenen) müzik yarışmasını kazanan kişi içki sunusu sırasında bir ilahi okusun. Ayrıca yönetici ve komutanların binaları yeniden inşa edilsin ve (bundan böyle) yönetici binasına Seleukeion, komutanların binasına da Strategion adı verilsin. Bu dekret, kendisine gönderilecek ilk elçi vasıtasıyla kral Seleukos'a iletilsin ve yaptığı iyilikleri sonsuza kadar unutmayacağımızı ve onları mükemmel bir şeref tacı ile taçlandırdığımızı tüm insanlığa duyuracağımız bildirilsin ve (bize karşı olan) iyiniyet ve dostluğu sürdürmesi konusundaki ricamız arzedilsin. Bu dekret iki stel üzerine yazdırılsın bunlardan biri Apollon tapınağına, diğeri de Athena tapınağındaki Kurtarıcı Zeus heykelinin yanına dikilsin. Burada kabul edilen kararların en hızlı bir biçimde uygulanması için 10 görevli atansın. Atanan kişiler (şunlardır): Apollodoros oğlu Polles, Dionysios oğlu Apelles, Athenaios'un oğulları Metrobios ve Pollikhos, Apollodoros oğlu Athenaios, Phaitas oğlu Hyperteros, Mykkas oğlu Athanos, Hermagoras oğlu Kleomenes, Athenaios oğlu Aristagoras (ve) Kaikos oğlu Apollonides.”*

Dekret II: Stelin arka yüzündeki, yine üst kısmı noksan olan yazıtta, Yunanistan'daki Thessaliaların kendi dialektlerinde yazdıkları bir karar yer almaktadır. Bu kararda Thessalialılar, Zeus

Olympios ve ortak ataları olan Thessalos için bir festival ve kurban töreni düzenleme kararı almış olan Aiollere, Koslulara (İstanköy) ve Maiandros (Büyük Menderes nehri) kıyısındaki Magnesialılara (Tekin/Ortaklar), bu davranışlarının karşılığı olarak, vergi muafiyeti (*ateleia*), vatandaşlık (*politeia*) ve evlenme (*epigamia*) hakları tanımaktadırlar. O halde, yazıtın noksan ya da okunamayacak durumdaki üst kısmında muhtemelen Aiol, Kos, Maiandros (Büyük Menderes nehri) kıyısındaki Magnesia ya da belki Aigai kentlerinin daha önceden almış oldukları, Zeus Olympios ve Thessalos için bir festival ve kurban töreni düzenlenmesine ilişkin bir karar yer almaktaydı. Stelin ön yüzünde yer alan, Seleukos ile Antiokhos'un onurlandırılmasına ilişkin yazıttan daha sonraya ait olan bu yazıt olasılıkla İ.Ö. III. yüzyılın ikinci yarısına, ama kuşkusuz İ.Ö. 196 yılından önceki bir döneme tarihlenmelidir. Yazıtın çevirisi şöyledir:

“... bu (karar) bir taş üzerine yazdırılsın ... bunun ücreti ... tarafından ödensin ... Rahip Speudoun, Olympik festival sırasında Thessalos onuruna düzenlenen yarışmalarda Thessialıların şükranlarını (ifade etsin ?). Mademki Zeus Olympios rahibi Speudoun duyurdu ki, Aiolisliler, Koslular ve Maiandros (Büyük Menderes nehri) kıyısındaki Magnesialılar (bize karşı olan) iyi-niyetlerini, Zeus Olympios ve kahraman Thessalos ve diğer tüm tanrılar için bir festival ve kurban töreni düzenlemek ve tüm Thessialıların ve kendi vatandaşlarının güven, refah ve bolluk içinde olmaları için dua etmek suretiyle göstermişlerdir, (o halde) Thessialılar karar vermişlerdir ki, onlar ticarî amaçlarla ithal ve ihraç edecekleri mallar dışında vergi ödemekten muaf tutulsunlar ve ayrıca Thessalia'nın neresine gitmek isterlerse orada kendilerine vatandaşlık hakkı verilsin ve bu kentlerde, gerek din ve gerekse diğer konularda Thessialılar gibi davranabilsinler ve Aiolisliler, Koslular ve Maiandros (Büyük Menderes nehri) kıyısındaki Magnesialılar Thessalia'nın neresinde isterlerse orada evlenebilsinler. Rahip Speudoun, bu kararın taş üzerine yazdırılarak Olympion, Itounos ve Larissa'da, Apollon Kerdoios tapınağına dikilmesi işini takip etsin. Kendisi aynı zamanda Zeus Olympios için düzenlenen kurban törenlerine ve yarışmalara katılan kentlerin adlarını da yazdırsın. Bu kararlarla ilgili öneri, Olympik festivalin düzenlendiği ve Speudoun'un ikinci kez (Zeus) Olympios rahibi olarak görev yaptığı ve La(ri)ssa'daki Aleksias oğlu Timounidas, Lagetas oğlu Aristonoos, Soukrateis oğlu Hipparkhos, Pantaponos oğlu Hippodromos (ile) Deinippos oğlu Klearkhos'un tagos oldukları sırada yapıldı.”

İzmir
Belgrade

Hasan Malay
Marijana Riel

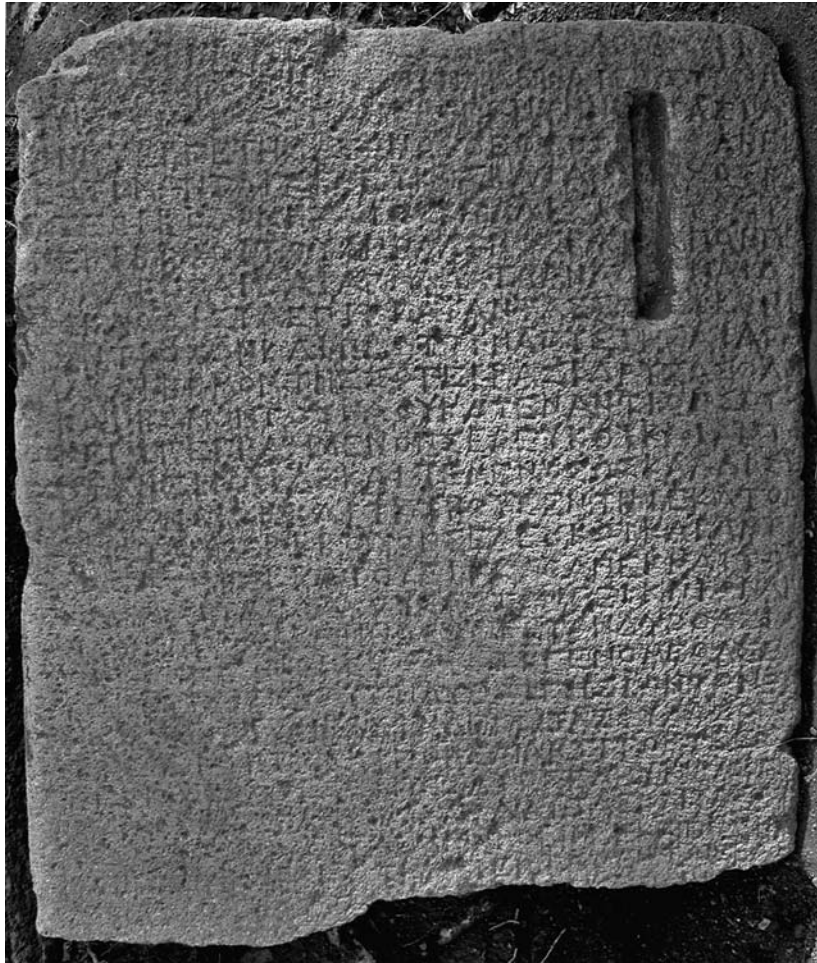


Fig. 1. Decree I (front side), upper piece

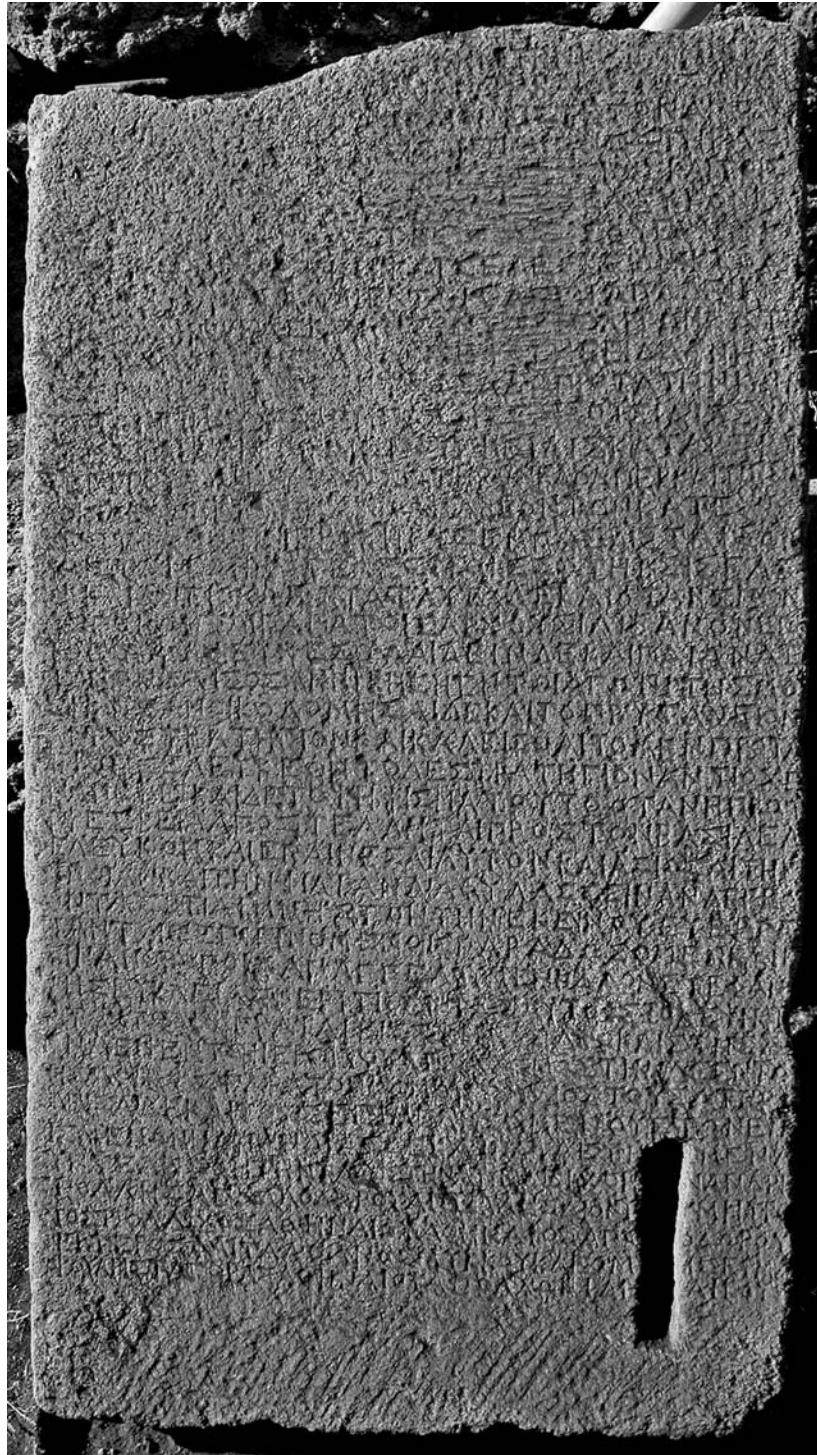


Fig. 2. Decree I (front side), lower piece

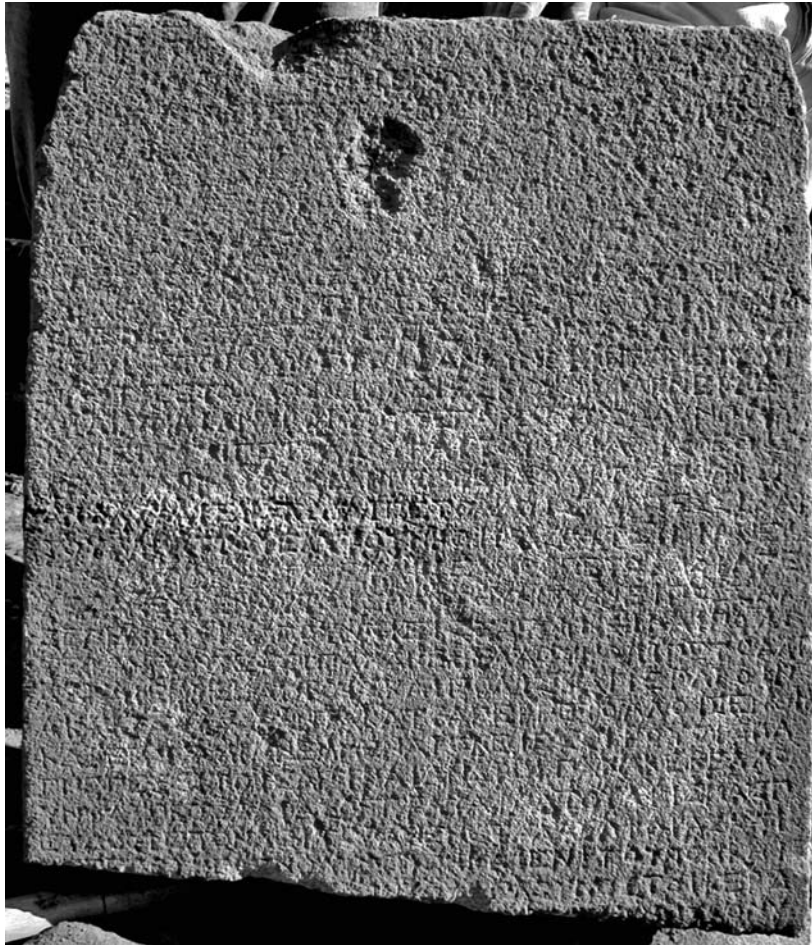


Fig. 3. Decree II (reverse side), upper piece



Fig. 4. Decree II (reverse side), lower piece



Fig. 5. The stele *in situ*