Epigraphic Dossier

This dossier, included for ease of reference, contains the texts and translations of a selection of inscriptions cited in this volume, presented in chronological order. In each case, the text is accompanied by core information on the stone and bibliographical details of editions; the edition printed is indicated in **bold**. This is followed by the date, and discussion where major controversy exists. Abbreviations follow *SEG* and the *Liste de Sigles* of *L'Année Philologique*; for all other publications, see the Bibliography.

1 Alexander, Athens, and the Wages of the Hypaspists

Athens, north slopes of the akropolis. Lower left corner of pentelic marble stele. Dimensions: H. 27 cm; W. 28.5 cm; D. 14 cm; letters 4–5 mm. Now in the Epigraphical Museum, Athens. Editions. *Att. Urk.* I, pp. 44–50 (with photo); *GHI* II, no. 183; *Staatsverträge* III, no. 403; *IG* II^2, no. 329; Heisserer 1980, pp. 3–8 (with photo and drawing); Rosen 1982, *Gnomon* 54, p. 24 (restores ll. 5–6); Lambert 2007, *ZPE* 161, pp. 68–9, note 12 (restores l. 4 and l. 6); **IG *II*^{3} 1, 2, 443;** cf. Tronson 1985, *AncW* 12, pp. 15–19, who sees no evidence for a margin to the left.

Date: 336 or 333.

Note. The inscription is often dated to 336, the year of the Common Peace, but Worthington 2004, *ZPE* 147, 59–71 and 2007, *ZPE* 126, 114–16 argues that the *hypaspistai* have no place in the historical context of 336, nor was Pydna of relevance at the time; he therefore believes the inscription concerns a treaty signed in 333 between Athens and Alexander the Great, who was then struggling against the Persian fleet.

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[. . . . .]12[. . . . .] [— — — — — — — — — — — — — — —]
[. . . . .]10[. . . . .]E[·]E[— — — — — — — — — — — — — —]
[. .5. . .]αι π[ο]μπη[— — — — — — — — — — — — — — —]
[. . . . ε]χειν σῖτο[ν το]ὺς [— — — — — — — — — — — — —]
[. . . .]ιν τῶι ἀνδρ[ὶ ἑ]κάσ[τ]ω[ι — — — — — — — — — —]
[. . . .]E, ὁπόσοι ἂν [. .]σιν· ἐὰν δ[ὲ— — — — — — — — —]
[. . . .]ΣΙ[. . . .]οθεμ μὲν ἔχειν Σ[— — — — — — — — — —]
[. . .]ος π[. . .]ου Ἀλέξανδρον παρ[— — — — — — — — — —]
[. . ύ]πασπιστῆι δραχμὴν καὶ τοῖ[ς — — — — — — — — — —]
[. . .]ι ἑκάστης τῆς ἡμέρας· ἀποπέμ[πειν — — — — — — — —]
[. .]ς ἂν χ[ρῶ]νται τῆι στρατιᾶι, ἐάν τ[ι— — — — — — — — —]
[δέ]κα ἡμερῶν δόντας σῖτον ἀποπέμπ[ειν— — — — — — — — τῆι κοινῆι φ]-
[υλ]ακῆι στῆσαι ἐμ Πύτνηι ἐν τῆς Ἀθη[νᾶς— — — — — — —]

[. . .] (5) escort . . . the . . . shall have rations . . . for each man . . . as many as there may be; but if . . . shall have S . . . Alexander . . . a drachma for a hypaspist and for the . . . (10) . . . each day; . . . shall dismiss . . . when they might use the army, if . . . shall dismiss them, having given ten days' rations . . . the common guard . . . shall place (the stele) in Pydna in the . . . (sanctuary) of Athena . . .

2 Agreement between Soldiers, Eupolemos, and the Polis of Theangela

Theangela, slopes of the akropolis. Lower half of white marble stele. Dimensions: H. 54 cm; W. 61 cm; D. 6.5 cm; letters 9–10 mm. Now in Département des Monnaies, médailles et antiques (formerly Cabinet des médailles), Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.

Editions. Hicks 1889, *CR* 3, p. 235, limited to ll. 11–14 and 25–35 (with drawing); Rostovtzeff 1931, *REA* 3, p. 8, no. 1 (full edition, with photo); Robert 1935, *AC*, p. 157; **Robert 1936, *Coll. Froehner*, no. 52** (with photo); *Staatsverträge* III, no. 429; Couvenhes 2004, pp. 107–8.

Date: *c.* 310.

α[— —]
στεφ [— —]
ρου τοῦ δὲ [— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —]
τῶν στρατευομέ[νων— — — — — — — — — — — — — —τῶν]
δὲ ζ′ μηνῶν τελεῖν ἑκαστ[— — — — — — — — — — — — — —]
εἶναι δὲ ἄδειαν καὶ Ἐρειναιεῦσιν [— — — — — — — — — — — —]
Φιλίππωι δὲ καὶ Δαμαγάθωι καὶ Ἀριστοδήμωι [καὶ τοῖς ὑπ᾽ αὐτοὺς τασσο]-
μένοις στρατιώταις ἀποδοθῆναι τὰ ἐνοφειλόμεν[α αὐτοῖς ὀψώνια μηνῶν]

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τεσσάρων καὶ δόμα μηνῶν δύο Ἀριστοδήμωι καὶ τοῖς [ὑπ᾽ αὐτὸν οὖσιν?]
στρατιώταις ὅσοι ἂν μένωσιν παρ᾽ Εὐπολέμωι· ὅσοι δὲ τῶν σ[τρατιωτῶν]
παρεγένοντο εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐκ τῶν Εὐπολέμου ἐν εἰρήνηι ἢ ἐν π[ολέμωι]
εἶναι αὐτοῖς ἄδειαν· τῶν δὲ δούλων ὅσοι μὲν ἐν εἰρήνηι παρεγένοντο
εἶναι αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὰς συνθήκας τὰς Εὐπολέμωι καὶ τὰς Πευκέσται γε-
γενημένας· τοῖς δὲ ἐμ πολέμωι ἐλθοῦσιν ἄδειαν εἶναι· ἀποδοθῆναι δὲ
καὶ τοῖς καταπαλταφέταις ὀψώνια μηνῶν τεσσάρων· τῶν δὲ στρατιω-
[τ]ῶν τοῖς βουλομένοις ἀπίναι ἐξεῖναι ἔχουσιν τὰ αὑτῶν, καὶ εἶναι
[α]ὐτοῖς ἀτέλειαν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἄγουσιν διὰ τῆς Εὐπολέμ[ου·]
ὅταν δὲ ὀμόσηι Εὐ[πόλ]εμος Θεαγγελεῦσιν καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις
ἐμμενεῖν ἐν τοῖς ὡμολογημένοις καὶ τὰ ὀψώνια ἀποδῶι τοῖς στρατιώταις,
παραλαμβανέτω τὴμ πόλιν καὶ τὰς ἄκρας· τοῖς δὲ στρατιώταις τοῖς ἐκ Θεαγ-
γέλων, ἐάν τινες στρατεύωνται παρ᾽ Εὐπολέμωι ὑπάρχειν αὐτοῖς τὰ
Πεντάχωρα.
ὅρκος ὃν ὠμώμοκεν Εὐπόλεμος· ὀμνύω Δία Γῆν Ἥλιον Ἄρη Ἀθηνᾶν
Ἀρείαν καὶ τὴν Ταυροπόλον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς πάντας καὶ
πάσας· ἐμμενῶ οἷς ὡμολόγηκα πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τὴν Θεαγγελέων
καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς ἐν Θεαγγέλοις, καὶ σημανοῦμαι τὰς
συνθήκας ἃς πεποίημαι πρὸς Θεαγγελεῖς καὶ ἀποδώσω ἐσφραγισ-
μένας Θεαγγελεῦσι καὶ οὐ κωλύσω τὴν πόλιν ἀναγράψαι τὰς
συνθήκας καὶ τὸν ὅρκον ὃν ὠμώμοκα ἐν στήληι καὶ στῆσαι ἐν ἱερῶι
ὧι ἂν βούλωνται ἐν Θεαγγέλοις· εὐορκο<ῦ>ντι μέμ οι εὖ εἶναι αὐτῶι καὶ
γένει, ἐπιορκοῦντι δὲ τἀναντία τούτων.

[. . .] of the soldiers . . . (5) But each to end seven months . . . there will also be amnesty for the Ereinaieis . . . To Philippos and Damagathos and Aristodemos, and those soldiers stationed under their command, shall be given the four months' wages owed to them, and a gift of two months' wages shall be given to Aristodemos and to those of the soldiers under his command who remain in the service of Eupolemos.

(10) For those of the soldiers who came to the city from (the forces) of Eupolemos, whether during the war or during peacetime, there shall be amnesty. For those of the slaves who came during peacetime it shall be in accordance with the agreements that had been made between Eupolemos and Peukestas; for those who came during wartime, there shall be amnesty.

(14) Four months' wages shall also be given to the catapultists. For those of the soldiers who want to leave, they shall be permitted to do so with their possessions, and they shall be exempt from taxes on their possessions as they cross the territory of Eupolemos.

(18) When Eupolemos has sworn to uphold the agreements with the Theangelians and the soldiers, and when he has paid the soldiers their wages, let him take control of the city and the heights; if any of the

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soldiers of the Theangelians wish to take up service with Eupolemos, they shall be allowed to settle in Pentachora.

(22) The oath which Eupolemos has sworn: 'I swear by Zeus, the Earth, the Sun, Ares, Athena Areia, and the Tauropolos, and all the other gods and goddesses. I will abide by what I have agreed with the city of the Theangelians, and the soldiers in Theangela, and I will make public the agreements that I have made with the Theangelians, (26) and I will give sealed (copies of the agreements)to the Theangelians, and I will not forbid the city from inscribing the agreements and the oath that I have sworn on a stele and placing it in whichever temple they choose in Theangela. If I abide by the oath, may I and my family prosper; may the opposite happen if I break the oath.'

3 Agreement between Soldiers, the Polis of Iasos, and Ptolemy I

Iasos. White marble stele with cornice on top; broken into two halves – the upper fragment is in three pieces. Known recorded measurements: upper fragment, H. 85 cm; bottom fragment H. 91 cm. Note that the decree is followed by two independent letters that are not included in the text below.

Editions. Pugliese Carratelli 1967/8, *ASAA* 29/30, pp. 437–55, no. 1A, B ii 1–6 (with photo); Robert, J. and L. 1971, *BE* 84, no. 620; Garlan 1975a, *ZPE* 18, pp. 193–8; Laviosa 1985, Supplement to *BA*, pp. 31–2, 47–54; **Blümel 1985, *I.Iasos* 1, 2;** Hauben 1987, *EA* 10, pp. 3–5; Giovannini 2004, EA 37, pp. 69–87 (with photo); and Migeotte 2005, pp. 189–203.

Date: 309–305.

Note. In l. 25, Blümel prints πρὸ τ]ῶν συμβολαίων; Garlan and Giovannini restore ὑπὲρ τ]ῶν συμβολαίων; Migeotte prefers ἐκ τ]ῶν συμβολαίων. In this instance, the text below follows Garlan and Giovannini and prints ὑπὲρ.

A

[— — — — — — — — — — — — —]ου[— — — — — —]εποσ̣υλ[. . .]
[— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —] Πολεμαῖον
[— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —] δ[ε]δ̣ό̣χθαι [τῆι]
[βουλῆι κ]α̣ὶ̣ τῶι δήμωι τῶ[ν Ἰασέων— — — — — — — — — — —]
5 [— —]
[— — — — — — — — — — — —] Π̣[ολ]ε̣μα̣ῖος ἐλεύθερον [καὶ]

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[αὐτόνομον καὶ ἀφρούρητον καὶ ἀφορολόγητον — Μα]χάων καὶ οἱ
[τούτου στρατιῶται καὶ Ἱ]ερων καὶ οἱ τούτου στ]ρατιῶται καὶ Σώπολις
[καὶ οἱ τούτου] στρα[τιῶται —]αν[.]υσινεαμ[...] ἀξίως [...]
[— — — — — — — — — —] Πολεμαῖον [— — — — —] Πολεμαίωι
Πο[λ]εμαίου [...$^{c.5}$...]
[— — — — — — — — — — — — — Πολ]εμαῖος ἀποδώσει[ν] τὰς ἄκρα[ς]
[καὶ τὴν πόλιν — — — — — — — — — — —·] ἀποδώσειν δὲ [κ]αὶ τὰ ἐν
[ταῖ]ς ἄ[κ]ραις ὄντα πάντα [— — — — — — — — — — — — ·] τὰς δὲ
σιτ[αρ]χίας [κ]αὶ τοὺς
[μ]ισθοὺς τοὺς ὀφειλομένους Μα[χάονι καὶ Ἱ]έρωνι κ]αὶ Σωπόλιδι καὶ
τοῖς τού-
[τ]ων σ[τ]ρ[ατι]ώταις ἀποδοῦναι Ἰασεῖς τοισκυλουσα[.]ο[.] ὅσου αὐτοῖς
ὀφεί-
[λ]ηται[ι] ἐν ἡμέραις δεκαπέντε ἀφ' ἧς ἂν οἱ πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον ἀποσταλέντε[ς]
παραγένωνται, ἀποδόντας δὲ κομίσασθαι παρὰ Μαχάονος τὰς ἄκρας
[καὶ] τὰ ἐν ταῖς ἄκραις ὄντα καὶ τὴμ πόλιν καθάπερ ὡμολόγηται· ἔστω δὲ
[ἀ]σφάλεια Μαχάονι καὶ Ἱέρωνι καὶ Σωπόλιδι καὶ τοῖς τούτων στρατιώταις
[κ]α[τ]οικοῦσιν ἐν τῆι πόλει καὶ ἐπιδημοῦσιν κατὰ τοὺς νόμους τοὺς Ἰασέων
[καὶ] ἀπαλλασσομένοις ὅπου ἂν βούλωνται καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν·
ἀ[φ]ε[ῖ]σ-
θαι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων πάντων αὐτούς τε καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας τῶν
πρὸς Ἰασεῖς καὶ τοὺς ἐν Ἰασῶι [κατοικοῦν]τας, καὶ Ἰασεῖς καὶ τοὺς ἐν
Ἰασῶι [κατ]οι-
κοῦντας τῶν πρὸς αὐτοὺς κα[ὶ] τ[οὺς στρα]τιώτας αὐτῶν τῶν ἐν τοῖς
ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις γεγενη[μένων ὑπὲρ τ]ῶν συμβολαίων· εἶνα[ι] δὲ τὴ[ν]
αὐτὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἥμπερ ε[— — — — — —] προσεῖναι τῆι Ἀριστοκλείους
γυναικὶ καὶ τοῖς Ἀριστο[κλείους — — — — — —]αδι καὶ
τοῖς Μόλωνος παιδίοις
[κ]αὶ Σύρωι καὶ Ἰσχυρ[— — — — — — θυγ]ατρὶ καὶ τῆι
Ἑστιαίου γυναικὶ καὶ τοῖς
παιδίοις καὶ τοῖς [ἐκγόνοις —· ὀμόσ]αι δὲ Ἰασεῖς καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῆι πόλει κατοικοῦν-
τας Πτολεμαί[ωι, ἐλευθέρους ὄν]τας καὶ αὐτονόμους καὶ ἀφρουρήτους καὶ ἀφορο-
λογήτους, συ[μμάχους] ἔσεσθαι Πτολεμαίωι καὶ τοῖς ἐγγόνοις αὐτοῦ ε[ἰς] τὸν
ἀεὶ χρόνον· ὀμόσαι δὲ καὶ Μαχάονα καὶ Ἱέρωνα καὶ Σώπολιν καὶ τοὺς τούτων
στρατιώτας Ἰασεῦσιν, καὶ Ἰασεῖς Μαχάονι καὶ Ἱέρωνι καὶ Σωπόλιδι καὶ τοῖς τού-
των στρατιώταις· ὁ δ' ὅρκος ἔστω Μαχάονι μὲν καὶ Ἱέρωνι καὶ Σωπόλιδι καὶ τοῖς
στρατιώταις ὅδε· ὀμνύω Δία Γῆν Ἥλιον Ποσειδῶ Ἀπόλλω Δήμητρα
Ἄρη Ἀθηνᾶν Ἀρείαν θεοὺς πάντας καὶ πάσας καὶ τὴν Ταυροπόλον·
ἐμμενῶ ταῖς
ὁμολογίαις ἃς πεποίημαι πρὸς Ἰασεῖς καὶ οὐ παραδέξομαι στρατιώτην πα-
ρ' οὐθενὸς ἐν ἡμέραις τέσσαρσιν ἀφ' ἧς ἂν οἱ πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον ἀποσταλῶσιν

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οὐθ᾽ ὕστερον ἄνευ Ἰασέων· ἄνευ δόλου καὶ ἀπάτης· εὐορκοῦντι μέμ
μοι εὖ εἴη,
ἐπιορκοῦντι δὲ τἀναντία τούτων· ὀμόσαι δὲ καὶ Ἰασεῖς
Μαχάονι καὶ Σωπόλιδ[ι]
καὶ Ἱέρωνι καὶ τοῖς τούτων στρατιώταις τὸν αὐτὸν ὅρκον· ὀμόσαι δὲ
καὶ Πτολεμαῖον
τὸν ὅρκον τόνδε· ὀμνύω Δία Γῆν Ἥλιον Ποσειδῶ Ἀπόλλωνα Δήμητρα Ἄρη
Ἀθηνᾶν Ἀρείαν θεοὺς πάντας καὶ πάσας καὶ τὴν Ταυροπόλον· διαφυλάξω τὰς
ὁμολογίας ἃς πεποίηνται Ἰασεῖς πρὸς Μαχάονα καὶ Ἱέρωνα καὶ
Σώπολιν καὶ τοὺς
τούτων στρατιώτας καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ὁμολογίαις
γεγραμμένους·
ἄνευ δόλου καὶ ἀπάτης· εὐορκοῦντι μέμ μοι εὖ εἴη, ἐπιορκοῦντι δὲ
τἀναντία τούτων·
ὀμόσαι δὲ καὶ Ἰασεῖς Πτολεμαίωι καὶ Πτολεμαῖον Ἰασεῦσιν· ὁ δ᾽ ὅρκος ἔστω
ὅδε· ὀμνύω Δία Γῆν Ἥλιον Ποσειδῶνα Ἀπόλλωνα Δήμητρα Ἄρη Ἀθηνᾶν Ἀρείαν
θεοὺς πάντας καὶ πάσας καὶ τὴν Ταυροπόλον· εὐνοήσω Πτολεμαίωι
καὶ συμμαχήσω
ϙαὶ αὐτῶι καὶ ἐγγόνοις εἰς τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον, ἐλεύθερος ὢν καὶ
αὐτόνομος καὶ ἀφρούρη-
τος καὶ ἀφορολόγητος· ἄνευ δόλου καὶ ἀπάτης· εὐορκοῦντι μέμ μοι
εὖ εἴη καὶ
γένει, ἐπιορκοῦντι δὲ τἀναντία τούτων· Πτολεμαῖον δὲ ὀμόσαι Ἰασεῦσι
[τὸν ὅρ]-
κον τόνδε· ὀμ[νύω Δία Γῆν Ἥλ]ιον Ποσειδῶ Ἀπόλλωνα Δήμητρα
Ἄρη Ἀ[θηνᾶν Ἀρείαν]
θεοὺς πάν[τας καὶ πάσας καὶ τ]ὴν Ταυροπόλον· διαφυλάξω [τὴν
πόλιν τὴν Ἰασέων]
[— — — — — — — — — — — — — ἐλευθέραν καὶ αὐτόνομ]ον καὶ
ἀφροὐρητον κα[ὶ ἀφορολόγητον — — — — — — — — — — —]
[— — — — — — — — — —]ν[— — — — — — — — — — — —]
[— — — — — — — — —]εωσδε[— — — — — — — — — — —]
[— — — — — — — — —]διοσ[— — — — — — — — — — —]
[— — — — — — —]τοὺς νεωποίας ἀνϙ[γράψαι — — — — — — —]
[— — — — — —]οϙτϙ[— — — — — —]σ[— — — — — — —]
[— — — — — — — — — — — —]καὶ στῆϙαι ἐν τῶι τοῦ Διὸς ἱερῷ̣ι.

[. . .] Polemaios . . . it was resolved by the Council and the people of the Iasian . . . Polemaios . . . the city free and autonomous and ungarrisoned and exempt from tribute – Machaon and his soldiers, and Hieron and his soldiers, and Sopolis (and his) soldiers . . . worthily . . . Polemaios . . . to Polemaios son of Polemaios . . . (11) Polemaios . . . the citadel and the city is to be restored . . . everything located in the citadel is also to be restored . . .

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The rations and wages owed to Machaon and Hieron and Sopolis, and to their soldiers, are to be rendered by the Iasians [ΤΟΙΣΚΝΛΟΥΣΑ Ο(?)] as much as is owed to them within fifteen days from the day on which those sent to Ptolemy are again present; once these have been rendered, they (sc. the Iasians) are to recover from Machaon the citadel, and everything located therein, and the city, as agreed.

Let there be an assurance of safety for Machaon and Hieron and Sopolis, and for those of their soldiers who are settled in the city and reside there in accordance with the laws of the Iasians, and for those who depart to wherever they want by land or by sea. (21) They (sc. the commanders) and the soldiers are to drop all charges brought against the Iasians and those settled in Iasos, and the Iasians and those settled in Iasos (are to drop the charges brought against) them (sc. the commanders) and their soldiers, which had previously arisen concerning the contracts.

(25) The same safety as that which . . . should be granted to the wife of Aristokles and . . . of Aristokles, and to the children of Molon, and to Syros, and to . . . the daughter of Ischyros, and to the wife of Hestiaios, and to the children and their descendants . . . (29) The Iasians and those settled in the city are to swear to Ptolemy that, being free and autonomous and ungarrisoned and exempt from tribute, they will be allies of Ptolemy and his descendants in perpetuity.

(32) Machaon and Hieron and Sopolis and their soldiers are also to swear an oath to the Iasians, and the Iasians to Machaon and Hieron and Sopolis and their soldiers. The oath for Machaon and Hieron and Sopolis, and their soldiers must be as follows: 'I swear by Zeus, the Earth, the Sun, Poseidon, Apollo, Demeter, Ares, Athena Areia, by all the gods and goddesses, and by the Tauropolos: I will abide by the agreements I have made with the Iasians and I will not receive a soldier from anyone within four days of some being sent to Ptolemy, nor later on without (the consent of) the Iasians. (39) Without treachery and deceit. May good things happen to me when I abide by the oath, and the opposite if I go against the oath.'

The Iasians are to swear the same oath to Machaon and Sopolis and Hieron and their soldiers.

Ptolemy is to swear the following oath: 'I swear by Zeus, the Earth, the Sun, Poseidon, Apollo, Demeter, Ares, Athena Areia, all the gods and goddesses, and the Tauropolos: (44) I will guard the agreements which the Iasians have made with Machaon and Hieron and Sopolis and their soldiers, and with the others included in the agreements. Without treachery and deceit. May good things happen to me when I abide by the oath, and the opposite if I go against the oath.'

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The Iasians are also to swear an oath to Ptolemy, and Ptolemy to the Iasians. The oath must be as follows: (48) 'I swear by Zeus, and the Earth, and the Sun, by Poseidon, Apollo, Demeter, Ares, Athena Areia, by all the gods and goddesses, and by the Tauropolos: I will be benevolent to Ptolemy and will be allied to him and his descendants in perpetuity, being free, and autonomous, and ungarrisoned, and exempt from tribute. (52) Without treachery and deceit. May good things happen to me when I abide by the oath, and the opposite if I go against it.'

And Ptolemy is to swear the following oath to the Iasians: 'I swear by Zeus, the Earth, the Sun, Poseidon, Apollo, Demeter, Ares, Athena Areia, by all the gods and goddesses, and the Tauropolos: (54) I will guard the city of the Iasians . . . free, and autonomous, and ungarrisoned, and exempt from tribute . . .'

The temple officials . . . are to inscribe . . . and to place in the temple of Zeus . . . (= Van Regenmortel 2023a)

4 Confirmation of a Land Grant by Cassander

Cassandreia. Flat-topped stele with small moulding, broken off at bottom; now lost but recorded by C. Edson (see Hatzopoulos 1996, vol. II, p. 43). Max. dimensions: H. 95.1 cm; W. 35.5 cm; D. 9.5 cm; letters: 17 mm, omicron-omega *c.* 10 mm.

Editions. Duchesne 1876, *RA*, pp. 106–10 (the only edition based on autopsy of the stone); Dimitsas 1896, p. 633, no. 763; Michel 1900, 321; Dareste, Haussoullier, and Reinach 1898, pp. 116–18, no. XXV A; ***Syll.*^{3} no. 332**; Hatzopoulos 1988, pp. 22–6 and Hatzopoulos 1996, vol. II, pp. 43–5, no. 20; the latter two publications both with photo of the squeeze).

Date: 306–297 (the decision recorded was likely taken in 316; Thonemann 2009, 365).

ἐφ' ἱερέως Κυδία, βασιλε-
ὺς Μακεδόνων Κάσσαν-
δρος δίδωσι Περδίκκαι
Κοίνου τὸν ἀγρὸν τὸν
ἐν τῆι Σιναίαι καὶ τὸν ἐ-
πὶ Τραπεζοῦντι, οὓς ἐ-
κληρούχησεν Πολεμο-
κράτης ὁ πάππος αὐτοῦ
καὶ ὃν ὁ πατὴρ ἐπὶ Φιλίππου, κα-
θάπερ καὶ Φίλιππος ἔδ[ω]-

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κεν ἐμ πατρικοῖς καὶ αὐτ-
οῖς καὶ ἐκγόνοις κυρίοι-
ς οὖσι κεκτῆσθαι καὶ
ἀλλάσσεσθαι καὶ ἀ-
ποδόσθαι, καὶ τὸν ἐμ Σ-
παρτώλωι ὃμ παρὰ Π-
τολεμαίου ἔλαβεν
ἐν ἀργυρίωι, δίδωσι κ̣α̣[ὶ]
τοῦτον ἐμ πατρικοῖς
καὶ αὐτῶι καὶ ἐκγόνοις
κυρίοις οὖσι κ̣α̣ὶ κεκτῆσ-
θαι καὶ ἀλλάσσεσθα-
ι καὶ ἀποδόσθαι, καθά-
περ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος
ἔδωκεν Πτολεμαί-
ωι τῶι πατρὶ τῶι Πτολε-
μαίου· δίδωσι δὲ καὶ ἀ-
τέλειαν αὐτῶι καὶ ἐ-
κγόνοις καὶ εἰσάγον-
τι καὶ ἐξάγοντι τῶν
ἐπὶ κτήσει.

When Kydias was priest: the King of the Macedonians, Cassander, gives to Perdikkas son of Koinos the land at Sinaia and that at Trapezous, which Polemokrates, his grandfather, was allotted, (9) as well as that which his father was allotted during the reign of Philip, on the same terms as Philip had given it – as hereditary possession – to them and their descendants, who have the authority to possess and exchange and alienate it; (15) and also the land at Spartolos, which he (sc. Perdikkas) bought with silver off Ptolemaios, (Cassander) gives this too as hereditary possession, to both him (sc. Perdikkas) and his descendants, who have the authority to possess and exchange and alienate it, on the same terms as Alexander gave it to Ptolemaios, the father of Ptolemaios. He (sc. Cassander) also gives him (sc. Perdikkas) and his descendants fiscal immunity to both import and export things on the property.

5 A Grant of Land from Lysimachus

Cassandreia. White marble stele with small moulding at the top. Max. dimensions: H. 91.5 cm; W. 33.5 cm; D. 9 cm; letters 14– 16 mm. Now in the Epigraphical Museum, Athens (Inv. 13476).

Editions. Duchesne 1987, *RA* 1, 106–8; Dimitsas 1896, 764; Michel, no. 323; *Syll.*[3], no. 380; Robinson 1928, *TAPA* 59, 227, no. 2; Feissel and

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Sève 1979, *BCH* 103, 299–300, no. 34 (=*SEG* 29: 600); **Hatzopoulos 1988, pp. 17–21** and Hatzopoulos 1996, vol. II, pp. 45–6, no. 22 (both with photo).

Date: 285/284.

ἐφ᾽ ἱερέως τοῦ Λυσιμάχου
Τιμησίου, βασιλεὺς
Λυσίμαχος δέδωκεν
Λιμναίωι Ἁρπάλου ἐμ
πατρικοῖς τοὺς ἀγρούς,
τόν τε ἐν τῆι Σερμυλιαί-
αι, γῆς ἐνδένδρου πλέθρα
χίλια διακόσια, ὧι γείτο-
νες Ἀγαθοκλῆς Λυσι-
μάχου, Βίθυς Κλέωνος,
καὶ τὸν ἐν τῆι Ὀλυνθίαι
ἐπὶ Τραπεζοῦντι, γῆς
ἐνδένδρου πλέθτρα τρι-
ακόσια ἑξήκοντα, ὧι γεί-
τονες Μένων Σωσικλέους,
Πύλων Ἐπιτέλους, καὶ
τὸν ἐν τῆι Στρεψαίαι,
γῆς ἐνδένδρου πλέθρα
ἐνακόσια καὶ ἀμπέλων
εἴκοσι, ὧι γείτονες Γού-
ρας Ἀννύθεος, Χιωνίδης,
Εὐάλκης Δημητρίου, καὶ
αὐτῶι καὶ ἐγκόνοις κε- *vac*
κτῆσθαι κυρίοις οὖσι κα[ὶ]
πωλεῖν καὶ ἀλλάσσεσθα[ι]
καὶ διδόναι οἷς ἂν βού- *vac*
λωνται. *vacat.*

When Timesios was priest of Lysimachus: King Lysimachus has given Limnaios son of Harpalos as hereditary possession the (following) estates: (6) in the territory of Sermylia, 1,200 plethra of forest land, to which Agathokles son of Lysimachus and Bithys son of Kleon are neighbours; (11) and in the territory of Olynthos, by Trapezous, 360 plethra of forest land, to which Menon son of Sosikles and Pylon son of Epiteles are neighbours; (16) and in the territory of Strepsa, 900 plethra of forest land and 20 (plethra of) vines, to which Gouras son of Annythes and Chionides and Eualkes sons of Demetrius are neighbours (22) and (he has given these lands) to him (sc. Limnaios) and his descendants, who have the authority to possess them, to sell them, to exchange them, or to give them to whomever they want.

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6 Agreement between Eumenes I and the Soldiers Stationed at Philetaireia and Attaleia

Pergamon. Blue-grey marble stele; in two pieces, with text broken off at the bottom. Max. dimensions: H. 66 cm; W. 38.3 cm; D. 11 cm; letters 9–7 mm. Now in Pergamon Museum, Berlin.

Editions: ***IvP*, no. 13** (with drawing); Michel 1900, no. 15; Reinach 1908, *RA* 12, pp. 176–80; *OGIS*, no. 266; *Staatsverträge* III, no. 481; Biagio 1983, *SCO* 32, pp. 98–102 (with photo and drawing).

Date: 261–224.

Note. The difficulties of this inscription lie in questions of interpretation; for commentary or detailed discussion, see Griffith 1935, 282–5; Launey 1950, 738–46; Biagio 1983, *SCO* 32, 97–140; and Trundle 2008.

[ἀξ]ιώματα ἃ ἐπεχ[ώρη]σεν Εὐμένης Φιλεταίρο[υ τοῖς]
[ἐ]μ Φιλεταιρείαι στρατ̣ιώταις καὶ τοῖς ἐν Ἀτταλείαι·
[σ]ῖτου τιμὴν ἀποτίνειν τοῦ μεδίμνου δραχμὰς τέσσ[α]-
[ρ]ας, οἴνου τοῦ μετρητοῦ δραχμὰς τέσσαρας. ὑπὲρ τοῦ
ἐνιαυτοῦ· ὅπως ἂν ἄγηται δεκάμηνος, ἐμβόλιμον δὲ
οὐκ ἄξει. ὑπὲρ τῶν τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἀποδόντων τὸν κύριον
καὶ γενομένων ἀπέργων· ὅπως τὸ ὀψώνιον λαμβάνωσι
τοῦ προειργασμένου χρόνου. ὑπὲρ ὀρφανικῶν· ὅπως ἂν
οἱ ἄγχιστα γένους λαμβάνωσιν ἢ ὧι ἂν ἀπολίπηι. ὑπὲρ τελῶν·
ὅπως ἂν ἡ ἀτέλεια ὑπάρχηι ἡ ἐν τῶι τετάρτωι καὶ τεσσαρα-
κοστῶι ἔτει. ἐάν τις ἄπεργος γένηται ἢ παραιτή[σ]ηται, ἀφιέ̣σ̣-
[θ]ω καὶ ἀτελὴς ἔστω ἐξάγων τὰ αὑτοῦ ὑπάρχοντα. ὑπ[ὲρ]
τ̣οῦ ὀψωνίου, οὗ ὡμολόγησεν τῆς τετραμήνου· ἵνα δοθῆι [τὸ ὁ]-
μόλογον, καὶ μὴ ὑπολογιζέσθω εἰς τὸ ὀψώνιον. ὑπὲρ τῶν λευ[. .]-
νων· ὅπως καὶ τὸν σῖτον λάβωσιν τοῦ χρόνου, οὗ καὶ τὸν στέφανον.
τὸν ὅρκον δὲ καὶ τὴν ὁμολογίαν ἀναγραψάτω εἰς στήλας λιθί-
[ν]ο̣ας τέσσαρας καὶ ἀναθέτω μίαμ μὲν ἐμ Περγάμωι ἐν τῶι τῆς
Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερῶι, μίαν δὲ ἐγ Γρυνείωι, μίαν δὲ ἐν Δήλωι, μίαν δὲ ἐμ Μιτυ-
λήνηι ἐν τῶι τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ. ὅρκος ὃν ὤμοσεν Παράμονος καὶ οἱ
ἡγεμόνες καὶ οἱ ὑφ᾽ αὐτοὺς στρατιῶται οἱ ὄντες ἐμ Φιλεταιρείαι
τῆι ὑπὸ τὴν Ἴδην καὶ Πολύλαος καὶ οἱ ὑφ᾽ αὐτὸν ἡγεμόνες καὶ στ[ρα]-
τιῶται οἱ ὄντες ἐν Ἀτταλείαι καὶ Ἀττινᾶς ἱππάρχης καὶ οἱ ὑφ᾽ αὐ-
τὸν ἱππεῖς καὶ Ὀλώιχος καὶ οἱ ὑφ᾽ αὐτὸν Τραλεῖς· ὀμνύω Δία, Γῆν,
Ἥλιον, Ποσειδῶ, Δήμητρα, Ἄρη, Ἀθηνᾶν Ἀρείαν καὶ τὴν Ταυροπόλον
κ̣αὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς πάν̣τ̣ας καὶ πάσας· διαλύομαι ἀπὸ τοῦ
[βε]λ̣τίστου πρὸς Εὐμένη τὸν Φιλεταίρου καὶ εὐνοήσω αὐτῶι καὶ
[τοῖς ἐ]κείνου καὶ οὐκ ἐπιβ[ο]υλ[εύ]σω Εὐμένει τῶι Φιλεταίρου οὐδὲ ὅπλα
[ὑπενα]ντία θήσομαι [οὐ]δ᾽ ἐγκαταλείψω Εὐμένη, ἀλλὰ μαχοῦμαι
[ὑπὲρ α]ὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν̣ πραγμάτων τῶν ἐκείνου ἕως ζωῆς καὶ θανά-

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[του. παρ]έξομαι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην χρείαν εὐνόως καὶ ἀπροφα-
ṣί[σ]τως μετὰ πάσης προθυμίας εἰς δύναμιν εἶναι τὴν ἐμήν.
ἐάν τέ τινα αἰσθάνωμαι ἐπι[β]ουλεύοντα Εὐμένει τῶι Φιλεταίρο[υ]
[ἢ ἄ]λλο τι πράσσοντα ἐναντίον ἐκείνωι ἢ τοῖς πράγμασιν αὐτο-
[ῦ, οὐ]κ ἐπιτρέψω εἰṣ δύναμιν εἶναι τὴν ἐμὴν καὶ ἐξαγγελῶ πα-
[ραχρ]ῆμα ἢ ὡς ἂν τάχιστα [δ]ύνωμαι τὸν τούτων τι ποιοῦντα
[Εὐμέ]νει τῶι Φιλεταίρου ἢ ὃν ἂν ὑπολαμβάνω τάχιστα τούτωι
[ἐμφανι]εῖν. <δ>ιαφυλάξω δὲ κ̣αί, ἐάν τι παραλάβω παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ, ἢ πόλιν ἢ φρού-
[ριον ἢ ν]αῦς ἢ χρήματα ἢ ἄλ̣λο ὁ ἄμ μοι παραδοθ̣ῆι, καὶ ἀποδώσω ὀρθ̣ῶς
[καὶ] δικαίως Εὐμένει τῶι Φιλετ̣αίρου ἢ ὧι ἂν οὗτος προστάσσηι, ποιοῦντος
[αὐτ]οῦ τὰ ὡμολογημένα. οὐ λήψο[μ]αι δὲ παρὰ τῶν ἐναντίων οὐδὲ γράμμ[α]-
[τα ο]ὐδὲ πρεσβευτὴν προ[σ]δέξομ[α]ι οὔτε αὐτὸς ἀποστελῶ πρὸς αὐτούς·
ἐάν τέ τις ἐνέγκηι μοι, τά τε γράμματ᾽ ἀνοίσω κατεσφραγισμένα καὶ
τὸν ἐνεγκόντα ἀνάξω ὡς ἂν τάχιστα δ̣ύνωμαι πρὸς Εὐμένη τὸν Φιλε-
ταίρου, ἢ πρ[ὸ]ṣ ὃν ἂν ὑπολαμβάνω τάχιστ᾽ [α]ὐτῶι ἐμφανιεῖν πρὸς τοῦτο[ν]
ἀνάξω καὶ ἀνοίσω. οὐδὲ κακοτεχνήσω περὶ τὸν ὅρκον τοῦτον οὐθὲν
οὔτε τέχνηι οὔτε παρευρέσει οὐδεμιᾶι. παραλύω δὲ καὶ Εὐμένη τὸ[ν]
Ἀττάλου τοῦ ὅρκου καὶ τοὺς μεθ᾽ αὐτοῦ ὀμωμοκ[ό]τας συντελεσθέν̣-
των τῶν ὡμολογημένων. εὐορκοῦντι μέμ μοι καὶ ἐμμένοντι ἐν τῆι
πρὸς Εὐμένη τὸν Φιλεταίρου εὐνοίαι εὖ εἴη καὶ αὐτῶι κ̣αὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς,
εἰ δ᾽ ἐφιορκοίην καὶ παραβαίνοιμί τι τῶν ὡμολογημένων, [ἐ]ξώλης ε[ἴην]
καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ γένος τὸ ἀπ᾽ ἐμοῦ. ὅρκος Εὐμένους· ὀμνύω Δ[ία, Γ]ῆν̣,
Ἥλιον, Ποσειδῶ, Ἀπόλλω, Δήμητρα, Ἄρη, Ἀθηνᾶν Ἀρείαν καὶ τὴν [Τ̣αυροπό]-
λον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς πάντας καὶ πάσας· εὐνοήσω Παραμ[όνωι]
καὶ τοῖς ἡγεμόσι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς ἐμμίσθοις, τοῖς ἐν τῆι στρατη̣ί[αι]
τ̣ῆι ἐμ Φιλεταιρείαι τῆι ὑπὸ τὴν Ἴδην ὑπὸ Παράμονον ταχθε̣ῖ̣σ[ι]ν καὶ
Ἄρκητι καὶ τοῖς ὑφ᾽ αὐτὸν φρουροῖς καὶ Φιλωνίδηι, καὶ τοῖς ἀμίσθοις τοῖς
[σ]υ̣νομωμοκόσι, τούτοις καὶ τοῖς τούτων πᾶσι, καὶ Πολυλάωι καὶ τοῖς
[ἡγ]εμόσι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις στρατιώταις τοῖς ὑφ᾽ αὐτὸν τασσομένοις
[ἐν Ἀ]τταλείαι πᾶσι καὶ πεζοῖς καὶ ἱππεῦσι καὶ Τράλεσιν, ἕως ἂν
[σὺν ἡ]μῖν στρατεύωνται καὶ οὐκ ἐπιβουλεύσω οὐδὲ ἄλλος δι᾽ ἐμ[οῦ]
[οὐθείς. ο]ὐδὲ προδώσω ὑπεναντίωι οὐθενὶ οὔτε αὐτοὺς οὔτε αὐτῶ̣[ν τὰ]
[πράγματα] τούτων οὐδὲ τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ αἱρεθ̣έντας τρόπωι οὐ̣[θενὶ]
[οὐδὲ παρε]υ̣ρέσει οὐ̣[δε]μιᾶι, οὐδὲ [ὅπλ]α̣ ἐναντία θ̣ήσομαι οὐδ̣ὲ [– - –]

The demands which Eumenes son of Philetairos conceded to the soldiers in Philetaireia and in Attaleia:

That they will pay four drachmas for a medimnos as the price of grain, and four drachmas for a measure of wine. Concerning the year: that it will be considered as ten months, and that he (sc. Eumenes) will not insert an intercalary month. (5) Concerning those who have served the appointed number (of months (?)) and are no longer employed: that they will receive their wages for the year. (8) Concerning the orphans: that the closest kin or the one to whom they are left behind will take them over. Concerning taxation: that there will be immunity from taxation in the 44th year. (11) If someone is no longer employed or

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asks leave, they must be dismissed and be free from taxation when taking his possessions. Concerning the wages which he agreed for the four months: that the agreed amount be given, and that this will not be counted towards the (other) wages. (14) Concerning the decorated soldiers: that they receive the rations for the period for which they were granted and the crown.

(16) Let him inscribe the oath and the agreement on four stone stelai, and place one in Pergamon in the temple of Athena, one in Gryneios, one in Delos, and one in Mitylene in the temple of Asklepios.

(19) The oath sworn by Paramonos and the commanders, and their soldiers who are stationed in Philetaireia under Mount Ida, and by Polylaos and his commanders and the soldiers stationed in Attaleia, and by the hipparch Attinas and his cavalrymen, and by Oloichos and the Tralleis under his command (is as follows):

(23) 'I swear by Zeus, the Earth, the Sun, Poseidon, Demeter, Ares, Athena Areia, and the Tauropolos, and all the other gods and goddesses: I reconcile with Eumenes son of Philetairos in best faith, and I will act kindly to him and his, and I will not plot against Eumenes son of Philetairos, nor will I take up arms against him, and I will not abandon Eumenes, (28) but I will fight for him and their interests during life and until death; and I will attend to his other demands with goodwill and without hesitation, with all the power I can muster.

(32) And if I notice anyone plotting against Eumenes son of Philetairos, or doing anything else against him or his interests, I will not permit this with all the power I can muster, but I shall reveal the person who is doing any of these things at once, or as soon as I am able to, to Eumenes son of Philetairos or to the person whom I think can disclose it to him most quickly.

(37) And I shall protect anything I receive from him, whether a city, or a garrison, or ships, or money, or anything he might entrust to me, and I shall give it back correctly and justly to Eumenes son of Philetairos or to the person he appoints, as long as he honours the agreements. (40) I shall not accept any letters from enemies, nor shall I receive an ambassador, nor shall I send either of these to them. If someone brings letters to me, I shall take these sealed up and bring their bearer as soon as I can to Eumenes son of Philetairos, or I shall lead and bring (their bearer) to the person whom I think can disclose it to him most quickly.

(45) I shall not distort this oath in any way, by no scheme nor by any pretext. I release Eumenes son of Attalos and those who have sworn with him from the oath as soon as the agreements have been honoured. (48) If I abide by the oath and maintain my goodwill towards Eumenes son of Philetairos, may good happen to me and my family, but if I have sworn falsely and were to go against any aspect of the agreements, may it be ruinous for me and my kin.'

(51) The oath of Eumenes [is as follows]: 'I swear by Zeus, the Earth, the Sun, Poseidon, Apollo, Demeter, Ares, Athena Areia, and the Tauropolos, and all the other gods and goddesses:

(53) I will act favourably to Paramonos, and the commanders and the others who receive wages, to those in the army at Philetaireia under Mount

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Ida, who are under the command of Paramonos, and to Arkes and the guards under his command and to Philonides, and to the unwaged soldiers who have joined in the oath, to these and to all those who belong to them, (57) and to Polylaos, and to the commanders and all the other soldiers who are under his command in Attaleia, the infantry, and the cavalry, and the Tralleis; for as long as they serve with us, and I shall not plot against them, nor shall anyone (do so) through me. I shall not betray them, nor their possessions to any enemy, nor those chosen by their collective in any way or by any pretext; nor shall I take up arms against them, nor . . .'

7 A Grant of Land from Antigonus Used as Security for a Loan

Sardis, wall of the western chamber of the Temple of Artemis. White block of marble; the text is inscribed in two columns, intact at the bottom, but damaged by chiselling at the top (see Buckler and Robinson 1932, *I.Sardis* VII.i, 1 for detailed description). Max. dimensions: H. 88 cm; W. 27.5 cm; D. 95 cm; letters 8–12 mm.

Editions. Buckler and Robinson 1912, *AJA* 16, pp. 12–82 (= **Buckler and Robinson 1932, *I.Sardis* VII.i,** 1); Atkinson 1972, *Historia* 21, pp. 45–72; Billows 1995, pp. 137–45; Scheibelreiter 2013, *ZRG* 130, pp. 40–71 (only Col. 1, ll. 1–3; and Col. II).

Date: 214 (the land may have been donated as early as 316; see Diod. Sic. 19.25.3).

Col. I

[— — —$^{c.36}$— — —] ἐπερωτήσαντος Χαιρέο[υ . .]ε[. . . . .]ω[. . . . .]
εσε[.$^{c.2}$.]
[. . . . .]ς καὶ ὕστερον ἐπέκρινέ μοι τὸν οἶκον Ἀντίγονος· ἐπειδὴ νῦν οἱ
νεωποῖαι τὸ χρυσίον τῆς
[παρακαταθή]κης τὸ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἀπαιτοῦσιν παρ' ἐμοῦ, ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἔχω
πόθεν ἀποδώσω αὐτοῖς, ἔστι οὖν
[τὸ καθ' ἓν το]ῦ οἴκου κῶμαι αἵδε <αἱ> καλοῦνται Τοβαλμουρα κώμη ἐν
Σαρδιανῶι πεδίωι ἐν Ἴλου ὄρει· προσκύρουσιν δὲ
[πρὸς τὴν κώ]μην ταύτην καὶ ἄλλαι κῶμαι ἣ καλεῖται Τανδου καὶ
Κομβδιλιπια, φόρος τῶν κωμῶν εἰς τὴν Πυθέου
[. . . . . χ]ιλιαρχίαν τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ χρυσοῖ πεντήκοντα· ἔστι δὲ καὶ κλῆρος
ἐν Κιναροα πλησίον Τοβαλμουρα,
[φόρος το]ῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ χρυσοῖ τρεῖς· ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλη κώμη Περιασασωστρα
ἐν Μορστου ὕδατι, φόρος εἰς τὴν
[. . . . .]αρίου χιλιαρχίαν τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ χρυσοῖ πεντήκοντα ἑπτά· ἔστι
δὲ καὶ <ἐν> Μορστου ὕδατι κλῆρος

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ἐν Νᾳγριοα, φόρος εἰς τὴν Σαγαρίου Κορειδος χιλιαρχίαν χρυσοῖ τρεῖς ὀβολοὶ χρυσίου τέσσαρες· ἔστι δὲ
καὶ ἄλλη κώμη ἐν Ἀττούδδοις ἣ καλεῖται Ἴλου κώμη, φόρος τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ χρυσοῖ τρεῖς ὀβολοὶ χρυσίου τρεῖς·
ἐκ πασῶν οὖν τῶν κωμῶν καὶ ἐκ τῶν κλήρων καὶ τῶν οἰκοπέδων προσκυρόντων καὶ τῶν λαῶν πανοικίων
σὺν τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν καὶ τῶν ἀγγείων τῶν οἰνηρῶν καὶ τοῦ φόρου τοῦ ἀργυρικοῦ καὶ τοῦ λητουργικοῦ καὶ τῶν
ἄλλων τῶν γινομένων ἐκ τῶν κωμῶν καὶ χωρὶς τούτων ἔτι πλέον, τῆς διαιρέσεως γενομένης,
ἐξαίρημα ἔλαβεν Πύθεος καὶ Ἄδραστος ἐν Τβαλμουροις αὐλήν, καὶ ἔξω τῆς αὐλῆς εἰσιν οἰκίαι τῶν
λαῶν καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν καὶ παράδεισοι δύο σπόρου ἀρταβῶν δεκαπέντε, καὶ ἐν Περιασασωστροις
οἰκόπεδα σπόρου ἀρταβῶν τριῶν καὶ παράδεισοι σπόρου ἀρτα<β>ῶν τριῶν καὶ οἰκέται οἱ κατοικοῦντες
ἐν τούτωι τῶι τόπωι, ἐν Τβαλμουροις Ἔφεσος Ἀδράστου, Καδοας Ἀδράστου, Ἡρακλείδης Βελετρου,
Τυιος Μανεου Καΐκου, ἐν Περιασασωστροις οἱ κατοικοῦντες Καδοας Αρμανανδου, Ἄδραστος Μανεου

Col. II

[— — —$^{c.16}$— — — μηθ]ᾐ[ν ἐξέστω μή]τ̣ε̣ ἐμοὶ μήτ̣ε̣ [τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἐκγόνοις μήτ]ε̣ [— —$^{c.10}$— —]
μήτε ἄλ<λ>ωι μηθενὶ μηκέτι ἀπολύσασθαι· καὶ ἐάν τις ἐμποιῆται ὑπέρ τινος τῶν κωμῶν ἢ τῶν κλήρων
ἢ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ὧδε γεγραμμένων ἐγὼ καὶ οἱ ἐμοὶ ἔκγονοι βεβαιώσομεν καὶ τὸν ἀντιποιούμενον
ἐξαλλάξ<ο>μεν, ἐὰν δὲ μὴ βεβαιώσωμεν ἢ παρὰ τὴν συγγραφὴν παραβαίνωμεν τήνδε γεγραμμένην
ἐπ[ὶ] τὰς κώμας καὶ τοὺς κλήρους καὶ τὰ χωρία καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας ἅπαντας εἰς τὰ Ἀρτέμιδος ἐχέτωσαν,
καὶ οἱ νεωποιοὶ ὑπὲρ τούτων ἐκδικαιούσθωσαν καὶ κρινέσθωσαν πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιποιουμένους
ὡς ἂν βούλωνται, καὶ ἐγὼ Μνησίμαχος καὶ οἱ ἐμοὶ ἔκγονοι ἀποτείσομεν εἰς τ<ὰ> Ἀρτέμιδος
χρυσοῦς δισχιλίους ἑξακοσίους πεντήκοντα, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν γενημάτων καὶ τῶν καρπῶν
ἐὰν μὴ καρπεύσωνται ἐν ἐκείνωι τῶι ἔτει εἰς τὰ Ἀρτέμιδος ὁπόσου οὖν χρυσίου ἄξια ἦι καὶ ταῦτα
ἀποδώσομεν, καὶ τῶν οἰκοδομη<μά>των καὶ φυτευμάτων τῶν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἢ ἄλλο τι ὅ τι ἂν ποιήσωσιν

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ὅσου χρυσίου ἄξια ἦι τὴν ἀξίαν ἀποδώσομεν, μέχρι δὲ ὅσου μὴ ἀποδῶμεν ἔστω ἡμῖν ἐν παρακαταθήκηι
τέως ἂν ἅπαν ἀποδῶμεν· ἐὰν δὲ τὰς κώμας ἢ τοὺς κλήρους ἢ τῶν ἄλλων τι τῶν ὑποκειμένων
ἐὰν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀφέληται τῆι Ἀρτέμιδι διὰ Μνησίμαχον, τὸ χρυσίον οὖν τὸ ἀρχαῖον τὴν παρακαταθήκην
τοὺς χιλίους τριακοσίους εἰκοσιπέντε χρυσοῦς αὐτοὶ παραχρῆμα ἀποδώσομεν εἰς τὰ Ἀρτέμιδος
ἐγὼ Μνησίμαχος καὶ οἱ ἐμοὶ ἔκγονοι, καὶ τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων καὶ φυτευμάτων τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος
ὅσου ἂν ἄξια ἦι τὴν ἀξίαν ἀποδώσομεν παραχρῆμα, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν γενημάτων καὶ τῶν καρπῶν
ἐὰν μὴ καρπεύσωνται ἐν ἐκείνωι τῶι ἔτει εἰς τὰ Ἀρτέμιδος ὁπόσου ἂν χρυσίου ἄξια ἦι καὶ ταῦτα
ἀποδώσομεν, μέχρι δὲ ὅσου μὴ ἀποδῶμεν ἔστω ἐν ἐμοὶ ἐν παρα<κα>ταθήκηι καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἐκγόνοις
ἕως ἂν ἅπαν ἀποδῶμεν εἰς τὰ Ἀρτέμιδος· καὶ ἡ πρᾶξις τέως ἂν ἐξ ἡμῶν μήπω γένηται ἐξεῖναι.

Col. 1 . . . Chaireas having inquired . . . and afterwards Antigonus awarded the estate to me. Since the temple wardens are now asking for the gold lent on deposit belonging to Artemis, and I do not have the funds from which to pay it to them, the following villages make up the whole of the estate: Tobalmoura, a village in the Sardian plain on the Hill of Ilos, and attached to this village also other villages, (5) which are called Tandos and Kombdilipia, the tribute of these villages to the chiliarchy of Pytheos . . . is 50 gold staters per year. There is also an allotment at Kinaroa near Tobalmoura, its tribute is 3 gold staters per year. There is also another village, Periasasostra, by the Water of Morstas, with a tribute to the chiliarchy of . . . son of . . .-arios of 57 gold staters per year. By the Water of Morstas there is also an allotment at Nagrioa; its tribute, payable to the chiliarchy of Sagarios son of Koreis, is 3 gold staters and 3 gold obols. There is also another village in Attoudda, called Village of Ilos; its tribute is 3 gold staters and 3 gold obols. (11) Now, from all the villages and from the allotments and dwellings attached (to them), and from the serfs with all their households and belongings, and from the wine vessels, and from the tribute paid in coin and labour, and from the other things produced in the villages, and still more besides these, when the division took place, Pytheos and Adrastos received as separate property a dwelling at Tbalmoura; and apart from the dwelling are the houses of the serfs and slaves, and the two gardens needing 15 artabas of seed, and at Periasostra (16) dwelling plots requiring 3 artabas of seed, and gardens requiring 3 artabas of seed, as well as the slaves living in that place: at

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Tbalmoura, Ephesos son of Adrastos, Kadoas son of Adrastos, Herakleides son of Beletras, Tuios son of Maneas Kaikos; those dwelling at Periasostra, Kadoas son of Armanandes, Adrastos son of Maneas . . .

Col. II It shall not be permitted either for me or for my descendants, or for . . . or for anyone else to redeem anything. Should anyone lay claim to any of the villages or of the allotments or to any of the other things here specified in writing, I and my descendants will act as warrantors and will get rid of the claimant; (4) but if we do not act as warrantors, or if we should break this written contract in respect of the villages and the allotments and the lands and all the slaves, these shall belong to Artemis, and the temple wardens shall bring legal proceedings concerning these and obtain judgement against the claimants however they wish, (7) and I, Mnesimachos, and my descendants will pay to the treasury of Artemis 2,650 gold staters; and with regard to the produce and the fruits if they have not been enjoyed that year, we shall also pay to the treasury of Artemis whatever their value may be in gold; (10) we will also pay in gold whatever may be the value of any buildings and plantings of Artemis or anything else the temple wardens may do, and so long as we shall not have paid, this shall be for us as a deposit-loan until we shall have paid it all. (12) If the king should, because of Mnesimachos, take away from Artemis the villages or allotments or any of the other things offered as deposit, then the gold of the original deposit-loan, the 1,325 gold staters, we ourselves, I, Mnesimachos and my descendants, shall pay to the treasury of Artemis immediately; (15) and we will pay immediately the value of the buildings and plantings of Artemis, however much their value may be; and as to the produce and fruits, if they are not enjoyed that year, we will also pay in gold to the treasury of Artemis whatever their value may be, and so long as we shall not have paid it, let it stand for me and for my descendants as a deposit-loan until we shall have paid it all; (19) and let recovery (of the loan) be allowed so long as it is not yet had from us. (translation: Buckler and Robinson 1932, *I.Sardis* VII.i, 1, lightly adapted)

8 Eumenes II and Apolloniouchara

Taşkuyucak (Manisa). White marble stele inscribed on both sides. Dimensions: H. 118 cm; W. 65 cm; D. 10.5 cm; letters: 12–15 mm (Face A), 10 mm (Face B). Now in the Archaeological Museum of Manisa (Inv. no. 7935).

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Editions. Herrmann and Malay 2007, pp. 49–58, no. 32 (with photo) (=*SEG* 57.1150); **Thonemann 2011, pp. 19–21.**

Date: 165/4.

Note. Thonemann prints a very different text: a new construal of ll. 5–6 replaces the patronymic Ἀπ[ολ]-|λωνίου Χάρακος of the first edition with the toponym Ἀπ[ολ]-|λωνιουχάρακος. Thonemann reads Face B as a petition of Apolloniouchara, hence the restoration of ll. 16–17 <ύ>|μῶν, in favour of the ed. pr.'s <ή>|μῶν.

Face A

[— c.15 —]ΤΙ[— c.8 — ἀπο]δείξεις ἐν [τῶι πο]-
λέμωι Κουρνουβευδος· τ̣ο̣ὺς δ ἐν τούτωι τῶι τό-
πωι κατοικοῦντας Μυσοὺς [ἐπενόου]ν εἰς Καστωλ-
λόμ μετάγειν, ἐπεὶ και[νὴ γῆ (?) παν]τ̣ελῶς [ὑ]πάρχει
ἐκεῖ περισσή· ἐντυχόντων δ' ἐ[μοὶ e.g. τῶν ἀπὸ] τοῦ Ἀπ[ολ]-
λωνιουχάρακος καὶ φασ̣[κόντων ἐπὶ (?) — c.4 —]δ[— c.4 —] τῆς χ[ώ]-
ρας εὐχαριστεῖν, ἐπ̣ε̣ὶ δ̣ὲ ο̣[ἱ κατοικ]ο̣ῦν̣τ̣ε̣ς̣ ἐν τῶι Κ[ουρ]-
νουβευδει Μυσοὶ κα̣τ̣[— c.9 —]κ̣α̣ὶ γεγόνασιν α[ὐ]-
τοῖς συνήθεις, βούλε̣σ̣θ̣[αι — c.10 —]αι ὅπως ἂ[ν]
δι' ἑαυτοὺς δοκῶσ̣ι̣ν̣. · ἐγὼ (?) καὶ [— c.12 —]ν ἀπ̣̣[ο]-
δεξάμενος τὴν εὐγνωμο̣σύ[νην καὶ με[τρι]ότ[η]τα α[ὐ]-
τῶν, τοῦτο μὲν συνεχώρησα ὡς ἠξ̣ίουσαν, Λυκίνωι δ[ὲ]
τῶι γεωδότηι συνετάξαμεν [φροντίζ]ειν ὅθεν δ[υ]-
ναίμεθα χώραμ προσορίσαι αὐτοῖς· ἐπεὶ δὲ κατεφθ[ι]-
μένοι πέρυσι ὑπὸ τῶμ πολεμίωμ πολλῆς προμη[θεί]-
ας ἄξιοι εἰσίν, συγχωρῶ π̣ρὸ̣ς οἷς ἐπεχωρήσα-
μεμ πενθ' ἔτεσιν ἀτελείαν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἄλλων
πέντε, καθὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐγ Καδοοις Μυσοῖς συν[ε]-
χωρήσαμεγ, καὶ ἀπὸ τριῶν τὴγ καταγραφὴν γ[ί]-
γνεσθαι· ὅταν γὰρ ἀναγκαιοτέρα χρεία γίνητα[ι],
αὐτοὶ διὰ τὴμ προθυμίαγ καὶ εὔνοιαν οἷδ' ὅτι δ̣ώσ̣[ου]-
σιν πλείονας σ⟨τ⟩ρατιώτας· καὶ τῆς ἐφ' ἔτους δεκ[α]-
τείας παρεθήτωσαμ πάντες, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ
οἷς τὰ εἴσφορα ἐπιγέγραπται· ἐπεὶ περὶ τὴν τοῦ χωρί-
ου οἰκοδομίαγ γίνονται, καὶ ἡμεῖς λατύπου[ς]
ὡμολογήκαμεν αὐτοῖς χορηγήσειν. *vac.* Γ *vac.*

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Face B

[—[10] —]PE[— [12] — το]ύτων δὲ τῶν AN[— [12]—]
[.]δριαι ἐπιγέγραπ[ται . . [3-4] . . ὑ]πάρχειν τὰ φιλάνθρωπ[α — [8] —]
νας τῶν συναναφερομένων λιποστρατῆσαι ἐν τῶι β′ καὶ λ′ ἔτει περι-
ελεῖν, ὑπάρχειν δὲ ταὐτὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις· τὴν ἀσυλίαν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ
Στρατίου ὑπάρχειν, ἀντὶ τῶν προσυνκεχωρημένων σταδίων
ἑπτὰ ἔσται ἐπὶ στάδια δέκα· καὶ ἵνα Βάκχιος ὁ ἱερεὺς ποῆι στέφα-
νον χρυσοῦν, τὰ ἀναφερόμενα ὀφειλήματα τὰ ἐν ἡμῖν ἀργυρικὰ ἢ σι-
τικὰ ἕως τοῦ τρίτου ἔτους ἀπολῦσαι, εἰ μή τινες πράξαντές
τινα αὐτοὶ κατεισχήκασι· περὶ τῶν ἐνπεπυρισμένων καὶ κα-
θειλκυσμένων οἰκιῶν ἐν τῶι προαστίωι προνοηθῆναι, ἵν', ἐπεὶ
δημόται ἐσμέν, μεταδοθῆ τι εἰς τὴν κατασκευὴν αὐτῶν· Σι-
βλοην κώμην τὴν πρότερον οὖσαν ἡμετέραν, περὶ ἧς γέγρα-
πται, ἵνα διορθωσαμένων ἡμῶν τὴν τιμὴν Μελεάγρωι τῶι
ἠγορακότι αὐτὴν δραχμῶν vac. ΥΜΗ – C ἀποδοθῆ, κομί-
σασθαι νῦν ἄνευ τιμῆς, ὅπως ὑπάρχωσιν αἱ ἐξ αυτῆς
πρόσοδοι εἴς τε τὰς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Στρατίου καὶ τὰς ὑπὲρ ὑ-
μῶν συντελουμένας θυσίας καὶ διαμένῃ ἡμῖν ἱερὰ καὶ ἀτελής·
τὸ δὲ ἀργύριον δοθῆναι ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἐκ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ τῶι Μελεά-
γρωι· εἰς τὰ ἐλλείποντα τοῖς κλήροις καὶ προσδομ⟨ήμ⟩ασιν δο-
θῆναι κώμας· ἐπ⟨ε⟩ὶ αἱ πρότερον ἀφαιρεθεῖσαι ἡμῶν οὐκ ἀ-
ποκατεστάθησαν ὅν τρόπον συνεκεχωρήκεις, παραδεῖ-
ξαι Θιλευδον καὶ Πλαζειρα κατοικίας κυνηγῶν, τοὺς δ' ἐν
τούτοις μετάγειν εἰς ἃς ἂν κρίνῃ κατοικίας Λυκῖνος ὁ γεωδό-
της. – συντετάχαμεν γὰρ τούτωι ἐπιβλέψαντι παραδεῖξαι.

Face A . . . Kournoubeudos . . . made demonstrations . . . in the war; (I was intending) to move the Mysians living in this place to Kastollos, since fresh land certainly exists there in an uncultivated condition. (5) But (ambassadors) from Apolloniocharax came to meet me and said that they were grateful for the . . . of their territory; they also said that, since the Mysian settlers at Kournoubeudos were . . . and had become friendly with them, they wished to . . ., in whatever way they might decide among themselves. And so, in recognition of their good sense and moderation, I have granted this just as they have requested. (12) I have also ordered Lykinos the land-distributor to (take thought) whence we might be able to add a further stretch of land to their territory. Since they deserve great consideration, having been destroyed last year by the enemy, I grant another five years' exemption from customs dues in addition to the five years granted previously, just as I have done for the Mysians at Kadooi. (19) Registration for compulsory military service will fall only on one man in three, for I know that if some emergency occurs, they will provide more soldiers of their own accord because of their eagerness and goodwill. (22) They shall all be exempted from the collection of the tithe on produce for the current year, and those on whom poll taxes (?) are levied are also exempted for the

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current year. Since they are making a start on the rebuilding of the settlement, I have also agreed to provide masons for them.

Face B . . . of these . . . registered . . . (4) (we request that) these privileges should persist, and (we request that you) annul the (punishments?) of those reported as having deserted from the army in Year 32, and that they should have the same (privileges) as the others. (We request that) there should be inviolability for Zeus Stratios, and instead of the seven stadia previously granted, it should extend to ten stadia. In order that the priest Bacchios might make a golden wreath, (we request that) our registered debts, both in silver and grain, should be remitted until the third year, unless anyone has already exacted and sequestered them. (9) Concerning the houses in the suburb (of Apolloniocharax) which were burned and pulled down, (we request that you) take care that, because we are poor, some grant be given for their reconstruction. (11) (We request that) the village of Sibloë, which was formerly ours – concerning which it is written that 'it will be restored when we repay to Meleagros the price at which he bought it, . . . 448 drachmas, 1.5 obols' – that we should now receive this village without repayment, in order that the revenues from it may be used for the sacrifices we perform for Zeus Stratios and those on your behalf, and that we may retain it sacred and free from taxation; (18) (we request that) the money to pay for the village should be given to Meleagros from the royal treasury. (We request that) villages should be granted to meet the shortfall of *klēroi* and associated buildings. (20) Since those (villages) which were previously taken from us have not been restored in the way in which you promised, (we request that you) mark out for this purpose Thileudos and Plazeira as hunters' settlements and move the inhabitants of these villages to whatever settlements Lykinos the land-distributor may decide. (Royal official) – 'For we have ordered him to investigate the matter and mark them out.' (translation: Thonemann 2011, 19–21, lightly adapted)

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