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NEW READINGS OF THE DECREE FOR ASKLEPIDES SON OF THEOPHILOS  
ΠΕΡΓΑΜΗΝΟΣ FROM KADIKÖY (SE LYDIA)

aus: *Epigraphica Anatolica* 46 (2013) 91–100

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The relationships between cities and the Hellenistic monarchs who ruled them are fascinating studies in the mediation of power. It is now generally recognized that the discourse of honor was crucial in that mediation, not only involving the king and the royal family but also his circle of Friends (φίλοι) and official age-mates (σύντροφοι). The decree of an anonymous city for Asklepidēs (*SEG* 49 1540), from southeastern Lydia, by virtue of its recent discovery, the lacunose state of the text, and the remote location of the stone, promised potentially rewarding new readings.<sup>1</sup> In July 2013 we had the opportunity to seek it out while generously hosted by the American Exploration of Sardis. We found the stone exactly where Peter Thonemann last reported it to be, in the courtyard of the central mosque in Kadiköy.<sup>2</sup> Autopsy and a series of high-resolution photographs are the basis for the following new transcription of lines 9–41. We have reproduced lines 1–8 from the text of *SEG* 49 1540; numbers of missing letters in lines 9–41 are approximate.

	Γ[ν]ώμη στρατηγῶν καὶ βουλευτῶν· ἐπεὶ Ἀσκλη- πίδης Θεοφίλου Περγαμηνὸς σ[υν]τεθραμμένος Ἀττά- λοι τῷ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀδελφῷ μετήλλαχεν τὸν βίον	non-stoich. 35–46
4	πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας παρειασημένους χρείας, γεγο- νῶς ἄξιος τῆς συντροφίας ἀμενψιμοίρητον ἑαυτὸν ἐτήρησεν, εὐτάκτως καὶ κοσμίως ἀναστρεφόμενος διὰ παντός, τῇ τε εὐνοίᾳ ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς καιροῖς φανε- ρὸν ἑαυτὸν ἐποίει λέγων τε καὶ πράσσων ὑπὲρ τοῦ βασιλέως	
8	[.]A[.]A[.]AI[- - - - - <sup>21–22</sup> - - - - -]N[.]NTHI ν ΒΑΣ[- - - - - <sup>24</sup> - - - - -]B[.]Δ[... ]Σ[... ]IN τοῖς ἐντυγχά[ν]ο[υ]σιν] ἀόκνως ἐπιδιδούς	
12	ΠΡΟΣ[.]AN[- - - <sup>9–10</sup> - - -]Ξ[... ]ΤΑ προῖστάμενος [.]A[- <sup>5</sup> -]ENΣ[... ]ΞΩΙ[... ]NTΑΣ πρὸς τὰ συνφέ- [ροντα - - - - - <sup>19</sup> - - - - -]AI γε[γ]ε[ν]ημένος [- - - - - <sup>35</sup> - - - - -]ΙΣΟΥΝ	
16	[- - - - - <sup>23</sup> - - - - -] δόξαν καὶ ἀρετὴν [- - - - - <sup>20–21</sup> - - - - -] τὴν] ἑαυτοῦ ἀναστρο- [φὴν - - - - - <sup>17</sup> - - - - -] τοῦ]ς καλοῦς καὶ ἀγα- ν [θοῦς - - - - - <sup>15–16</sup> - - - - -]A[- <sup>5</sup> -] ἐπισημασίας τῆς	
20	[- - - - - <sup>25</sup> - - - - -] γεγ]ονότων ΑΞ ν [- - - <sup>11</sup> - - - -] δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ] καὶ τῷ δήμῳ [- - - - - <sup>26</sup> - - - - -] τοῦ]ς πολίτας καὶ τοὺς [- - <sup>6–7</sup> - -]ΑΣ[- - - - - <sup>15–16</sup> - - - - -]Σ[... ]ΣΑΝΤΑΣ πᾶσαν	

<sup>1</sup> The *editio princeps* is Malay (1999, 157–8 no. 182), reported in *SEG* 49 1540 along with the comments and correction of Petzl (2001, 55–6). See also Thonemann (2003, no. II) reported in *SEG* 53 1342, for restorations of lines 16–22.

<sup>2</sup> Thonemann 2008, 50.

- 24 [ - - - - - - - - - - <sup>26</sup> - - - - - - - - - - ] τὸ γυμνάσιον ἐν  
 [ - - - - - - - - - - <sup>27</sup> - - - - - - - - - - ] τῆν ἀγορὰν καὶ τὰ ἐρ-  
 [ γαστήρια - - - - - - - - - - <sup>20-21</sup> - - - - - - - - - - ] ΤΩΤΩΝΤΙΜΗΝ  
 [ - - - - - - - - - - <sup>27-28</sup> - - - - - - - - - - ] ὅπως διαμένηι  
 28 ἡ μνήμη αὐτῆς [ - - - - - - - - - - <sup>19</sup> - - - - - - - - - - ] ΕΠΙΘΥΟΝ  
 [ - - - - - <sup>7</sup> - - ] ΓΥΜΝΑΣ[ - - - - - <sup>11</sup> - - - - - καθ' ἕκα] στον ἔτος  
 [ - - - - - - - - - - <sup>36</sup> - - - - - - - - - - ] ΔΗΜΩΙ μηνὶ  
 Τ[.]ΕΝΜΕ[ - - - - - <sup>20</sup> - - - - - ] Α[.]ΤΟΙΣΝ[.]  
 32 ΣΑ[.]ΙΝΕ[.]Σ[ - <sup>4</sup> - ] ΕΝ[ - - - - - <sup>27</sup> - - - - - ] ΜΕ  
 [ - <sup>4</sup> - ] ΑΝ[ - - - - - <sup>22</sup> - - - - - ] Σ[.]Ε[.]Η[.]ΠΡΟΣ  
 [ - - <sup>8</sup> - - ] ΝΕΩΝ[ - - - - - <sup>16-17</sup> - - - - - ] ΤΕΙΠΑΡΑΓΕ  
 [ - - - - - - - - - - <sup>34-35</sup> - - - - - - - - - - ] ΘΗΣΕ  
 36 [ - - - - - - - - - - <sup>27</sup> - - - - - - - - - - ] στή]λην λευ-  
 [.]ΥΟΛ[ - - - - - <sup>18</sup> - - - - - τῶι] τῶν νέων γυ-  
 [μνα]σίωι [ - - - - - <sup>19</sup> - - - - - ] τὸ ἀνήλωμα  
 [ - - - - - - - - - - <sup>25</sup> - - - - - - - - - - ] ΕΑ τοῦ δήμου  
 40 [ - - - - - <sup>13</sup> - - - - - ] ΣΜ[ - - <sup>7</sup> - - ] Σ[ - <sup>4</sup> - ] Σ[.]Ο[.] καθό-  
 [τι - - - <sup>9-10</sup> - - - ] ΠΡΕΣ[ - <sup>5</sup> - ] ΣΠ[ - - <sup>7</sup> - - ] Σ[.]ΑΠΠΟΥ  
 traces?

#### Epigraphical Notes

7 παντός, εὐνοίαι, ed. pr. || 9 ---] Α[---], ed. pr. || 10 [.]ΑΣ, ed. pr.; ---]Α[.]Ν, ed. pr. || 11 τοῖς ἐν Τ[---, ed. pr.; ---] ἐπιδιδούς, ed. pr. || 12 ΠΡΟΣ[.]Α[---, ed. pr.; ---]ΤΑ προϊστάμενος, ed. pr. || 13 ---]ΕΝΣΩ[...]ΑΝΤΑ, ed. pr. || 14 ---] ΑΙΑΓΑ[...]| γε[γ]ε[ν]ημένος, ed. pr. || 15 ---]ΙΣΟΥ vac.?, ed. pr. || 16 πρὸς] δόξαν, Thonemann || 17–18 τὴν] ἑαυτοῦ ἀνατρολ[φὴν], ed. pr.; τῆς] ἑαυτοῦ ἀνατρολ[φῆς], Thonemann || 19 ]Σ[.]ΜΑΣΙΑΣ τῆς, ed. pr., [καὶ ἐπι]σ[η]μασίας τῆς, Thonemann || 20–21 γεγ]ονότων [.]Ε[.], ed. pr.; γεγ]ονότων [(?)ἐξ] [ἀν]τῶν, Thonemann || 22 τοὺς πολ]ίτας, ed. pr. and Thonemann || 23 [---, ed. pr.; ---]ΣΑΝΤΑΣ, ed. pr. || 24 τὸ γυμνάσιον Ε[1-2], ed. pr. || 25 τὴν ἀ]γορὰν, ed. pr. || 26 ---]ΩΤΩΝΤΙΜΗ, ed. pr. || 28 [---, ed. pr. || 29 [--- καθ' ἕκα]στον ἔτος, ed. pr. || 30 τῶι] δήμωι μηνὶ, ed. pr. || 31 ---]Α[.]ΤΟΙΣΝ[.], ed. pr. || 32 [---]ΜΕ, ed. pr. || 33 [---]Ε[.]ΤΗΝ ΠΡΟΣ, ed. pr. || 34 [---]Α[.]ΑΓΕ, ed. pr. || 35 ---]ΘΕΣΕ, ed. pr. || 37 [κοῦ λίθου καὶ στήσαι ἐν τῶι] τῶν [ν]έων γυ-, ed. pr. || 38 [μνασίωι ---]Σ τὸ ἀνή(λ)ωμα, ed. pr. but the stone reads Λ || 39 --- τοῦ] δήμου, ed. pr. || 40 [---]Σ[...]]ΑΘΟ, ed. pr. || 41 [---]Σ[...]]ΑΠΠΟΥ, ed. pr.

#### Commentary

Lines 9–21 should contain the elaboration of Asklepidēs' good deeds, since the resolution clause appears in line 21. Lines 20–1 may contain a motivation clause, along the lines of “as we always do for men who have become worthy ...”

L. 9 [κ]α[ι] α[?] would introduce the continuation of the adjectival phrases with Asklepidēs as subject that began in line 4.

L. 9–10 Perhaps ἐν τῆι βασιλικῆι, cf. *I. Didyma* 254, line 3 (130 or 138 C.E.); [ἐ]ν τῆι | βασι[λει]αί, *ID* 1517, lines 23–4 (ca. 154 B.C.E.); or even ἐν τῆι Βασιλέως Εὐμένου ἡμέραι, cf. *CIG* 3068 A, line 18 (Hellenistic Teos). The first possibility seems most attractive, as it would relate Asklepidēs' benefactions in Apollonia (?) to royal territory, βασιλικῆ (χώρα/γῆ) – or possibly βασιλεία with the second comparandum – indicating perhaps that he obtained royal land for the city.<sup>3</sup> But the third possibility is also interesting since it would place his benefactions tem-

<sup>3</sup> For the formulation βασιλικῆ χώρα, in use at least as early as Seleukid rule in Asia Minor, see Mileta (2008, 40–6). For the Ptolemaic βασιλικῆ γῆ, see Mileta (2008, 60–1). Against the reading of ἐν τῆι βασιλείαι is the fact

porally on the (birth)day of the king, perhaps the day of his yearly honors (line 29).

L. 11 This line will contain some variation of the common phrase, e.g. κοινῆι καὶ ἰδίαι τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν τῶν πολιτῶν εὐχρηστον αὐτὸν παρασκευάζει, cf. *IMT LApollon/Milet* 2353, lines 6–8 (2nd cent. B.C.E.). This formulation would work well with ἐπιδιδούς at the end of the line. For τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι used without τῶν πολιτῶν, cf. *SEG* 34 1256, line 3 (Priapos in Mysia, 240–221 B.C.E.). For ἀόκνως instead of the more common προθύμως, cf. *FdD* 3.4 108, lines 4–6: ἐ[αυτὸν ἀό]κνως τοῖς ἐντυγχ[άνουσιν] παρέσχεν (1st cent. C.E.).

The line as we have restored it is short – only 32 letters – but we are confident in the reading. The letters are somewhat larger than in other lines, and the spaces between them wider. What is troubling here is that ἐπιδίδωμι ought to take a reflexive pronoun as object, but we cannot find a good place to restore ἑαυτόν. One remote possibility would be to restore the beginning of line 12 as προσ[τ]άν[τα ἑαυτὸν κτλ.], tentatively: “having eagerly provided himself as a leader to those (of us) that encountered (him)”. This restoration does have the virtue of linking up with the participle προϊστάμενος later in line 12.

L. 12 πρὸς [π]άν[τας?] Such generalizing prepositional phrases are not uncommon in honorific language, cf. *TAM* V.1 514, lines 10–11: τὴν πρὸς πάντας τοὺς πολίτας ἐκτένειαν (61/0 B.C.E.). προσ[τ]άν[τα is also possible – see commentary above.

For προϊστάμενος used absolutely, though with a prepositional phrase, cf. *SEG* 23 448, lines 11–12: προϊστάμενος ἐν πᾶσι τοῦ δικαίου (Thessalian Koinon, 150–100 B.C.E.).

L. 13 ΞΥΡ is also possible; the *xi* is fairly certain but the other letters are not.

L. 14 [ροντα τοῦ δήμου?] Cf. *SEG* 3 710, lines 5–6: ἐπιδεδωκότες ἑαυτοὺς εἰς τὰ συμφέροντα τοῦ δήμου (Lesbos, 2nd cent. B.C.E.).

Perhaps [κ]αὶ γε[γ]ε[ν]ημένος?

L. 19 We read ἐπισημασίας, confirming the restoration of Thonemann 2003, 98–9.

L. 20–21 [τῶν γεγ]ονότων ἀξί[[των]?

L. 21 This restoration, first proposed by Malay, is almost certainly correct, as Attalid decrees normally were proposed by a γνώμη of the στρατηγοί, and enacted by both βουλή and δῆμος.<sup>4</sup> The formula is also found in contemporary Lydia, cf. *I.Magnesia ad Sipyllum* 7 (second half of the 2nd cent. B.C.E.); *Sardis* 7.1 no. 4 (ca. 155 B.C.E.).

L. 23 There is not enough space at the beginning of the line for [κατοικούντ]ας or [ἐνοικούντ]ας, but there is just enough space for [οἰκούντ]ας, to be followed by some prepositional phrase. E.g., *I.Smyrna* 573, line 95: τοὺς οἰκούντας ἐν τῷ χω[ρ]ίῳ (245/3 B.C.E.). A locative is possible but unlikely given the remoteness of our city, but cf. *SEG* 22 274, line 7: τοὺς ξένο[υ]ς τοὺς οἰκούντας Ἀθήνησι (Attica, 300–265 B.C.E.). The participle could also take an accusative object, for which cf. *SEG* 26 1307, lines 24–5: τοὺς οἰκούντας] τὴμ πόλιν ἡμῶν (Teos, 203/190 B.C.E.).

L. 24 τὸ γυμνάσιον ἐγ, followed by a location presumably to distinguish it from the other gymnasium/a. Cf. *Milet* I.9 368, lines 18–19: τὸ γυμνάσιον ἐν τῇ διαδρο[μῆι] (ca. 100 B.C.E.). Cf. also *IMT Kyz LDascyl* 2073, lines 20–1: πρὸ τοῦ γυμνασίου ἐν τῇ κατασκευαζομένῃ στοᾷ (1st cent. B.C.E.); and *IG* XII 9 234, line 44: ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ ἐν τῷ ἐπιφανεστάτῳ τόπῳ (ca. 100 B.C.E.).

But as in lines 9–10 of our inscription, a temporal specification is possible, cf. *EKM Beroia* 1, lines 90–1: ἐκθέτω ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ ἐν μηνὶ Δίῳ (early 2nd cent. B.C.E.).

that in lines 16–7 of the decree of Colophon for Menippos, *SEG* 56 1227 (after 120/119 B.C.E.), the term Ἀτταλικὴ βασιλεία refers to the court/personage of the king, not royal territory.

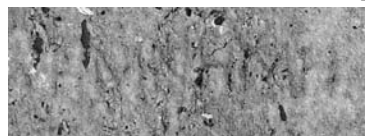
<sup>4</sup> Rhodes and Lewis 1997, 491 and 555.

L. 25 We are dubious about the reading of ed. pr. ἀγοράν, but accept it as we cannot read anything else there. However, if ἀγοράν is not to be read in this line, then the completion of ἐργαστήρια in line 26 becomes less certain as well.

L. 26 [καθεσ]τώτων? Cf. *SEG* 26 677, line 21: τῶν ἐν [τι]μ[ῆ] καὶ δόξῃ καθεστώτων (Larisa, 2nd cent. B.C.E.). Other prefixes are possible as well, such as [έφεσ]τώτων or [προεσ]τώτων. Here, τιμήγ would be an accusative of respect, though admittedly this is not a very satisfying restoration.

L. 27–8 For comparanda cf. *I.Magnesia* 101, lines 49–50: ἵνα δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐπιγυνομ[έ]νοις [δ]ι[α]μένηι ὑπ[ό]μνημα τῆς τε τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀρετῆς (later 2nd cent. B.C.E.). Cf. also *I.Pergamon* I 160, line 51: ἵνα δὲ καὶ τὸ ὑπόμνημα διαμένει συμφανέ[ς] (ca. 175 B.C.E.). For μνήμη rather than ὑπόμνημα cf. *I.Thesp.* 37, lines 22–3: ὅπως εἰς τὸν [χ]ρόνον πάντ[α] τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος προθυ[μ]ηθέντων νέ[ω]ν μνήμη διαμένη (170/1 C.E.); and *SEG* 23 489, lines 18–20: ὅπως καὶ τοῖς ἐπιγυνομέ[νοις] εἰς αἰὲ διαμένη ἢ μ[ν]ήμη τῶν βοηθησάντων [τῶ]ι δῆμῳ (Pharos in Dalmatia, mid-2nd cent. B.C.E.).

The word μνήμη is cut deep into the stone (deeper even than the very legible first 8 lines, see photo), yet it was not transcribed in any previous edition of this inscription. It may be that earlier editors simply overlooked this part of the stone since most of the left side is very badly preserved. A very remote possibility is that the stone was cut or recut by someone in the years between Malay's autopsy and our own. If the stone did not originally read μνήμη then this vandal must have known enough Greek to compose a plausible subject for διαμένηι in the previous line; if it did read μνήμη then the vandal will have simply chosen a particularly important word to recut.



In our view, it is more interesting to posit that although it escaped transcription, the word μνήμη appeared on the stone in antiquity. In this case it may have been originally cut more deeply than the rest of the inscription, indicating a concern from the beginning with the μνήμη of Asklepidēs and the very purpose of the stele, as well as an understanding of the weathering of inscriptions on stone. Alternatively, it was recut, perhaps repeatedly, after its initial inscription, an act of literally preserving Asklepidēs' memory after his death. It is also possible that the word was recut by early Christian inhabitants of the area, who would have recognized the word μνήμη as an important concept in the early church.<sup>5</sup>

There may be an iota adscript at the end of line 27 but it is far from clear.

The antecedent of αὐτῆς ought to be the τιμήν of line 26 or some other abstract feminine noun like ἀνδραγαθία, ἀνδρεία, εὐνοια, ἀρετή, etc.

L. 28–9 With Thonemann 2003, 99 n. 18, we expect a participial form of ἐπιθύω, giving an action to be taken before or concurrently with a main instruction not preserved on the stone. Most probable is the accusative plural ἐπιθύοντας, for which cf. *I.Pergamon* I 246, line 29 (138–33 B.C.E.), coming in a series of instructions with accusative-infinitive construction. Thus the lines should read something like τοὺς πολίτας ἐπιθύοντας ἐν τῶι γυμνασίῳ αὐτὸν ὑμνεῖν. The word in question could also be the genitive singular ἐπιθύοντος, for which cf. *IG* IV<sup>2</sup> 1 126, line 24 (after 117 C.E.), perhaps referring to a priest; or nominative plural ἐπιθύοντες, for which cf. *SEG* 26 1623, line 17 (66–64 B.C.E.) to be followed by an imperative. Finally, it could itself be the present plural imperative ἐπιθύόντων: an imperative from the simple verb θύω appears in *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 672, line 49: θυόντων δὲ οἱ ἐπιμεληταί (Delphi, 160/159 B.C.E.). Whether the verb is to be translated

<sup>5</sup> Our thanks go to Nikolaos Papazarkadas for this observation.

“make additional sacrifices” or “burn incense” is not clear.

There is perhaps just enough room at the beginning of line 29 for ἐπιθύον[τας/των ἐν τῶι] γυμνασ[ίωι] – instructions for some group to “burn incense [or “make additional sacrifices”] in the gymnasium”. Both a present imperative and a present participle (with accompanying present infinitive) are consistent with the temporal phrase καθ’ ἕκαστον ἔτος at the end of line 29.

L. 30–1 No months known to us end in -δημος or -ημος. Perhaps τῶι δήμωι is a discrete dative, and the month name follows μηνί? But no month name fits T[.]E[.]M[.]-, either.<sup>6</sup> It is possible that the month is described rather than named, with an adjective like εὖσημος, ἐπίσημος, etc., or perhaps δημός – “fat, rich”.

L. 33–4 προσ[τάτην τῶν] νέων, the accusative subject of another indirect command? Cf. *IG XII 3 331*, lines 33–5: τὴν ἐν τῶι προδεδηλωμένωι χρόνωι τῶν νέων προστασίαν (Thera, 153/2 B.C.E.); cf. also *I.Milet 730a*: προστασία νέων (lost and undated).<sup>7</sup> In a gymnasial or ephobic context, προστατής is attested in mainland Greece only during the Roman Empire, though in Egypt it appears earlier.<sup>8</sup>

L. 34–5 The word beginning at the end of line 34 should be some form of παραγενόμενος or παραγεγώνως. Someone is supposed to be present somewhere, but without the ending of the participle it is difficult to say who. If, broadly speaking, the decree calls for collective action from ca. lines 22–9 and moves on to directions for individuals from ca. line 33 (see the suggestion of a προστατής in lines 33–4), then perhaps this ought to be a singular participle, instructing an official to be present for some purpose.

L. 35 Cf. *MDAI(A) 35* (1910) 401 no. 1, lines 15–16: καὶ ταῦτα ἀναθήσειν ἐν τῶι γυμνα[σίωι] (Pergamon, 125 or 121 B.C.E.). Other compounds of τίθημι are possible, and while the stele of line 36 *may* be the object of this verb, there could easily be another, perhaps a statue, as suggested by Thonemann (2003, 99).

L. 36–7 λευ[κοῦ] {ο} λι[θου]? There is space for about three letters before the omicron, if the line begins at the same left margin as the following line, where we must restore [μνα]σίωι. The normal Attalid formula is στήλη λευκοῦ λίθου, for which cf. *I.Pergamon I 156*, lines 22–3 and 161 B, lines 9–10; this formula can be accommodated by assuming that the omicron was inscribed in error. The adjective λευκόλιθος cannot be accommodated. We refrain from questioning the judgement of the magistrates about what qualified as white stone.

L. 37–8 [ἐν τῶι] τῶν νέων γυμνασ[ίωι]? Cf. *OGIS 764*, line 18: ἐν τῶι τῶν νέων γυμνασίωι (Pergamon, 139–133 or 1st cent. B.C.E.); *IGR 4 293*, lines 61–2: τοῦ τῶν νέων γυμνασίου (Pergamon, after 69 B.C.E.).

L. 39 [τὸν γραμματ]έα τοῦ δήμου seems to be the only possible restoration. Whether the γραμματεὺς was the sole official responsible for the inscribing and setting up the stele, setting up the putative statue, and obtaining the funds, is not clear.

L. 40–1 καθό[τι] seems to be the only possible restoration.

L. 41 πρεσ[βευτήν?] or πρέσ[βεις?]. It would make sense, since this is a local decree, for our city to send one or more ambassadors to Eumenes to announce it and seek his approval. The sin-

<sup>6</sup> Month names collected in Trümpy 1997.

<sup>7</sup> On the Milesian inscription see Chankowski (2010, 502–3, cat. no. 264).

<sup>8</sup> The following citations are from the index of Kennell 2006. Amphipolis: *SEG 33 501* (76/7 or 192/3 C.E.). Athens: *IG II<sup>2</sup> 2113, 2130, 2201, 2208–9, 2223, 2227, 2235, 2239* (late 2nd to mid 3rd cent. C.E.). Nomos Krokodeilopolites (Fayoum): *OGIS 178* (95 B.C.E.). Theadelphia (Fayoum): *IG Fayoum 2 119* (2nd or 1st cent. B.C.E.).

gular accusative is too long for the space and in any case plural ambassadors are more common in decrees such as this. πρέσ[βεις εἰς Π[έργαμον]? Cf. *ID* 1498, lines 36–7: πρέσβεις εἰς Ἀθήνας (160–150 B.C.E.). Cf. also *IG* VII 21, lines 2–3: ἀποστειλάντων ἁμῶν πρέσβεις [ἐ]ς Μέγαρα (Megara, early 2nd cent. B.C.E.). In support of this reading, cf. also the final lines of the decree from Attalid Olbasa for Sotas, *SEG* 44 1108, lines 18–22 (159 B.C.E.).

The last word is a mystery, but appears to be the genitive ending of a personal name, the patronymic of an ambassador: Σ[ερ]απίου? Ἀ[σ]κ[κλ]απιουῶ? Π[α]πίου? If, however, the last word of the inscription is a patronymic, then the word directly preceding it should be the personal name of the ambassador, and the restoration πρέσ[βεις εἰς Π[έργαμον] must be rejected.

### Historical Commentary

Hasan Malay identified our Asklepiades son of Theophilos as the Asklepiades son of Theophilos honored by the city of Larisa in 170 B.C.E., thereby placing him in a well-documented family with close ties to the Attalids.<sup>9</sup> If the identification holds, that date is a terminus post quem; Attalos' description here as “the brother of the king” indicates that Eumenes is still alive, and Attalos has not yet ascended the throne.<sup>10</sup> Thus Malay dated this inscription to 170–159 B.C.E., which seems certain.

The family of Asklepiades was closely involved with the Attalids for generations, though there has been some disagreement about the exact placement of each family member within the stemma. The evidence consists entirely of epigraphic data. An Athenian inscription *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 947, dated to 190/89 B.C.E., honors X son of Theophilos, Pergamene (line 1: [ἐ]πανέσαι [... 13–14 letters ... Θ]εοφί[λ]ου Π[ε]ργαμηνόν), and a Theophilos without patronymic, Pergamene (lines 14–5: Θεό[φιλ]ος Περγ[α]μηνός), the latter of whom is explicitly said to have been among the friends of Eumenes II (lines 15–6: διατρίβων [παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ Ἐυμένει] καὶ ἐν τιμεῖ[ν] ὧν παρ' αὐτῷ καὶ προαγωγῆι μεγ[άλ]ει). An inscription at Pergamon (*OGIS* 334) records the dedication by the people of a statue of Apollonides son of Theophilos, σύντροφος of the king (lines 2–3: Ἀπολλωνίδην Θεοφίλ[ου] | τὸν σύντροφον τοῦ βασιλ[έ]ως). Another statue base, this one in Delos (*ID* 1554), was dedicated by a king Attalos for his σύντροφος Apollonides son of Theophilos, from [the Athenian deme] Halai (lines 3–5: Ἀπολλων[ίδ]ην Θεοφίλ[ου] Ἀλαιέα | [τὸν ἑαυτοῦ σ]ύντροφον). A statue base in the Athenian Agora (*Agora* 18 H328) was dedicated by Attalos II for his σύντροφος Theophilos son of Theophilos, of Halai (lines 3–4: [Θ]εόφιλον Θε[οφί]λου Ἀλ[α]ιέα | τὸν ἑαυτοῦ σύντροφον). Finally, the honorific decree (*SEG* 31 575) of Larisa for Asklepiades, son of Theophilos, Pergamene (lines 25–6: Ἀσκαλαπιάδαν Θεοφίλου Περγαμεινόν, cf. lines 12–13) attests the presence of our Asklepiades in the expedition of Eumenes II and Attalos II to Thessaly during the Third Macedonian War (171–167 B.C.E.).

On the basis of the above, Christian Habicht proposed a stemma in which Theophilos (I) had three sons: Asklepiades, Apollonides, and Theophilos (II).<sup>11</sup> He tentatively followed Osborne's restoration of Θεόφιλος in line 1 of *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 947, apparently agreeing that “the stele contained

<sup>9</sup> Malay 1999, 158; cf. Habicht 1990, 565–67 and Savalli-Lestrade 1998, 129; Larisa inscription: *SEG* 31 575, cf. 574.

<sup>10</sup> Thonemann (2003, 104–5) argues that the designation “Attalos the brother of the king” for Attalos II in *MAMA* 6 173 may place that inscription after the birth of Attalos III ca. 168 B.C.E., but he does not connect the dots and explicitly suggest that the present inscription should be dated after 168.

<sup>11</sup> Habicht 1990, 567.



two successive decrees in honor of one and the same individual”, the first granting *enktesis* and *proxeny*, and the second granting citizenship.<sup>12</sup> Whether Theophilos (I) was the honorand of the first decree in 190/189, or whether one of his sons was, is however not terribly important. His two sons Apollonides and Theophilos (II) were *σύντροφοι* of Attalos II (*ID* 1554 and *Hesperia* 23 no. 33), and later received Athenian citizenship before the erection of the statues which bore their demotics. Asklepiades was in the king’s service in Thessaly (*SEG* 31 575), and as we now know from our own inscription, was also a *σύντροφος* of Attalos II. Habicht does not say so explicitly, but the base at Pergamon *OGIS* 334 will then refer to the same Apollonides honored in Delos.

This scenario has been largely accepted, and in itself attests an intimate connection between the descendants of Theophilos and the Attalid royal family.<sup>13</sup> Ivana Savalli-Lestrade affirms its basic accuracy, though she favors the reconstruction of Apollonides in line 1 of *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 947 and the identification of Theophilos in lines 14–15 as his brother not his father, suggesting “il est peut-être superflu de maintenir l’existence de Théophilos I, Ami d’Eumène II.”<sup>14</sup> There was clearly a Theophilos (I), but perhaps Savalli-Lestrade is correct to doubt that he was the honorand in 190/189. Still more interesting is her proposal that the *σύντροφος* Apollonides of *OGIS* 334 was not the son of Theophilos (I) but the son of Theophilos (II), and that he was *σύντροφος* not of Attalos II but of Attalos III.<sup>15</sup> She actually backs away from the possibility, though we are not sure it is too much to imagine that Theophilos (II) was *σύντροφος* of Attalos II and Apollonides (II) was *σύντροφος* of Attalos III. If correct, this would extend the relationship between the two families into another generation, but we do not insist on it being so, since clearly the royal connections of this family were strong in either case.

Malay’s identification of the honoring city as Lydian Philadelphia was justly criticized by both Georg Petzl and Peter Thonemann on historical and topographical grounds.<sup>16</sup> It is unlikely that Philadelphia was founded before the reign of Attalos II (159–138 B.C.E.), who in our text is still referred to simply as the king’s brother (lines 2–3). There are other candidates in the lower Kogamos valley, such as Kobedyale, which was a *πόλις* by 163/2 BCE (*TAM* 5.1 221), or even Philadelphia’s forerunner, its phantom *παλαιὰ πόλις*.<sup>17</sup> However, the stone was actually found, according to information supplied to both Petzl and Thonemann, about a kilometer SE of where it sits today in Kadıköy, in a village called Derbent. That means that the findspot of this substantial stone was around 36 km SE from the presumed site of Philadelphia (Alaşehir). This fact led Thonemann to abandon his earlier conjecture of Lydian Tabai, perhaps to be located in the upper Kogamos valley near Sarıgöl, since a steep ridge separates the Kogamos from the vale of Derbent. He conjectured instead that the unlocated settlement of Sala authored the decree, which by this logic is to be sited in the hill country SE of the Kogamos valley. On his view, the later foundation of Philadelphia obliterated the modest urban center at Sala from history, though

<sup>12</sup> Habicht (1990, 566) referencing Osborne (1983, 103–4). However, Habicht (1990, 566 n. 24) concedes that Theophilos may be too short a name for the lacuna of 13–14 letters in line 1, and is pessimistic about adding particles to fill the space. G. A. Stamires proposed restoring Apollonides in line 1, for which see Merritt (1954, 253 n. 11). Bruno Helly proposed restoring Asklepiades, for which see Helly (1980, 297–98).

<sup>13</sup> On the role of *σύντροφοι* like Apollonides son of Theophilos in the Attalid king’s inner circle, see Allen (1983, 130–33).

<sup>14</sup> Savalli-Lestrade 1998, 140 and 170 (‘Stemma II’). Thonemann (2003, 103) notes that the Kadıköy inscription “brilliantly confirms Habicht’s conjectural stemma.”

<sup>15</sup> Savalli-Lestrade 1998, 144–5 and 169 (‘Stemma I’).

<sup>16</sup> Petzl 2001, 56; Thonemann 2003, 100–2.

<sup>17</sup> Keil and von Premerstein 1915, 22–3 no. 20.

it had been an important Attalid city when it issued the decree for Asklepidēs, as evidenced by its possible appearance in a so-called cistophoric countermark.<sup>18</sup> Yet we prefer rather to return to Petzl's identification of the city as Apollonia-on-the-Maeander (Tripolis).<sup>19</sup> We have several hints in the text that we should be imagining a more substantial settlement than a *κατοικία* such as Tabai; or even a *κατοικία* on its way to becoming a *πόλις* like Sala. The body politic in this city very likely included a substantial non-citizen population, the restored *οἰκοῦντες* of line 23. Moreover, the existence of multiple gymnasia, which is the implication of the existence of one gymnasium singled out as the gymnasium of the *νεοί* (*τῶν νέων γυ-* in lines 37–8), strengthens this conclusion.<sup>20</sup> Apollonia was a pre-Attalid polis located on a strategic interchange between the Kogamos and Maeander plains. One recalls that Apollonia, as the name Tripolis implies, was the product of a large synoikism. Perhaps, the inscription was erected in a rural shrine over which the synoikized *πόλις* continued to maintain control.<sup>21</sup>

This would fit nicely with the original suggestion of Thonemann that our Asklepidēs son of Theophilos is to be identified with that Asklepiades attested as an Attalid *οἰκονόμος* overseeing the rural shrine of Apollo Pleurenos north of Sardis (*SEG* 46 1519).<sup>22</sup> Yet leaving aside still another problem of whether the *οἰκονομία* district around Sardis could have also stretched that far south, Thonemann himself has since questioned whether a courtier of this stature could have occupied so humble an office.<sup>23</sup> Given the fragmentary state of those parts of the text in which more biographical details would have been recounted, we must be cautious, but lines 9–20 certainly contain enough room for the multiple offices of a long career. We see no reason why Asklepidēs should not have passed from the office of *οἰκονόμος* in the district around Sardis to another position that cemented his relationship with the city that honored him.<sup>24</sup> It is worth considering which higher rank Asklepidēs may have held since it bears directly upon issues such as the origins of the Attalid administrative class, as well as the capacity of local communities to absorb imperial outsiders. If Asklepidēs the Pergamene had been governor of this city, as either its *ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως* or its *ἐπιστάτης*, this would imply that Attalid city governors were just as likely to be outsiders, such as Hikesios of Ephesos and Kleon the Pergamene in Aigina, as they

<sup>18</sup> Thonemann (2008, 50–1) revising Thonemann (2003, 102–3).

<sup>19</sup> Petzl 2001, 56.

<sup>20</sup> In addition to the examples cited above in the epigraphical commentary for line 24, see the differentiation of gymnasia space in a major city of the Attalid kingdom such as Colophon, *SEG* 56 1227 lines 26–31.

<sup>21</sup> Petzl (2001, 56) also adduces a Roman milestone found in Kadıköy from 201 C.E. (*CIL* 3 Suppl. 14201) marking 11 miles from Tripolis. The implication is that, then at least, the region belonged to the territory of Apollonia. The site of Apollonia is roughly 20 km SE from the findspot of our stone. For current excavations, see: <http://www.pau.edu.tr/tripolis/en>. Two other inscriptions may be mentioned here, which may eventually help us make sense of the issue. *SEG* 35 1170, found in old Badınca, 3 km SE of Alaşehir (later Philadelphia), is evidence for a dispute between an unnamed polis (Apollonia?) and the estate of Apollo Toumoundes. *RC* 41 from Aydın (Tralles) also mentions Apollonia in the context of land distribution and the fiscal reorganization of the Maeander. For the case that Eumenes II is its author, see Piejko 1988.

<sup>22</sup> Thonemann 2003, 103–4.

<sup>23</sup> Thonemann (2013, 9 n. 17) has since withdrawn his earlier suggestion. We too are unsure of the identification on onomastic grounds: can the Asklepiades of *SEG* 46 1519 be the Asklepidēs of our inscription? It is true that our man was designated Askalapiades in the Thessalian inscription, but that may simply be due to the dialectal divine name Askalapios. It is difficult to believe that a city that worked so closely with this Attalid courtier could have failed to inscribe his name correctly on the stele honoring his memory. The *οἰκονόμος* inscription should therefore either refer to a different man, or carry an incorrect transcription of Asklepidēs' name.

<sup>24</sup> After all, very little is known of the Attalid *οἰκονόμος*. See *SEG* 52 1197 line 11.

were to be recruited from within the local aristocracy.<sup>25</sup> What we can state with confidence is that this city treated with the capital Pergamon as a peer polity, and that it strove not only to socialize on its own terms a very powerful royal official, but even to embed his memory in the city's lore after his death.<sup>26</sup>

Toward its end, the decree enumerates the specific honors awarded to Asklepidēs after his death, most of which are illegible. However, the grant of an inscribed stele is recorded, and a statue is likely lurking in line 35 or 36. Yet a more impressive round of honors was envisioned by Malay in the ed. pr.: “The decree seems to indicate that Askelpi(a)des spent the latter part of his life at Philadelphia where he was honoured after his death by a public funeral, burial in the gymnasium, and yearly celebrated cultic honours.”<sup>27</sup> Annual sacrifices are indeed called for in lines 28–9. These are very much like what, for example, Cyrene accorded Barkaios in the late first century BCE, also to be performed in the context of the gymnasium.<sup>28</sup> By contrast, it would seem hasty to posit Asklepidēs himself as the recipient of cult here. In fact, what Malay proposes is a package of extraordinary honors, or μέγιστα τιμαί, which would be altogether very surprising to find so early in the second century.<sup>29</sup> Public funerals for civic benefactors together with burial in the gymnasium have been seen as later developments, which only appeared in the first century B.C.E., as cities sought new ways of compensating second founders, as it were, like Diodoros Paspáros of Pergamon or Zosimos of Priene as the gymnasium became in Louis Robert's expression, the “second agora”.<sup>30</sup> Public burial in the gymnasium is one of the hallmarks of a fundamental change in the social fabric of the polis that took place as the great monarchies of the Hellenistic world were collapsing, so to discover it here in the time of Eumenes II would be very significant indeed. It should be noted that some earlier evidence does exist for public burial in the gymnasium, notably from third-century Messene, and if it could be shown that the decree from Kadiköy attests such honors, it would strengthen the case that Miletos too engaged in the practice before the first century.<sup>31</sup> Nevertheless, on the present state of the evidence, we can support no such reading of the text. Rather, what is most significant in terms of the history of euergetism is the focalization of honors at this early stage in the gymnasium, a civic institution that the Attalids had a hand in sustaining and in fact probably also in building up.

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<sup>25</sup> Thonemann (2013, 13–17), discussing only Asia Minor, argues for recruitment of local strongmen as the norm; Hikesios: *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 642; Kleon: *IG* IV 1.

<sup>26</sup> On socializing royal officials, see Ma (1999, 206–13); also relevant, but treating an earlier period and excluding Asia Minor is Paschidis (2008, 486–93); of course Hellenistic kings themselves also had an interest in embedding their courtiers inside cities – see the paradigmatic case of Philip V and the cities of Aegean Thrace, Polyb. 2.13.4–6.

<sup>27</sup> Malay 1999, 158.

<sup>28</sup> Robert 1969, 1309–16.

<sup>29</sup> On μέγιστα τιμαί, see Gauthier 1985.

<sup>30</sup> On this issue, see Chiricat 2005.

<sup>31</sup> Messene: Fröhlich 2008; Miletos: Chiricat 2005, 207–11.

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### Özet

Makalede, Alaşehir'in güneydoğusundaki Kadıköy köyünde bulunup 1999 yılında yayınlanan, ancak ilk 8 satırdan sonrası büyük ölçüde aşınmış olan bir onur dekreti yeniden ele alınarak bazı yeni tamamlama ve yorumlar getirilmektedir. Yazarlar, İ.Ö. 170–159 yılları arasına tarihlenen bu yazıtta onurlandırılan Asklepiades adındaki Pergamon kraliyet görevlisinin Pergamon kraları ile yakın dostluk içindeki ailesi hakkında bilgiler vermekte, bu dekretin Apollonia/Tripolis ad Maeandrum (bugünkü Yenice) kentine ait olabileceğini ve Asklepiades'in burada bir kraliyet görevlisi olarak hizmet verdiğini ve bu hizmetleri nedeniyle ölümünden sonra onurlandırıldığını ve ayrıca kentteki gymnasionlardan birinde onun için anma törenleri düzenlendiğini belirtmektedirler.

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