

THE CITY OF DIONYSOS: A SOCIAL AND HISTORICAL STUDY OF THE
IONIAN CITY OF TEOS

by

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Abstract

The present study focuses on tying together all the archaeological, architectural, and epigraphic research on the ancient Greek *polis* of Teos in Ionia. The work falls into two distinct parts. The first section surveys the geography, the political history, and the society and government of Teos. These chapters will draw upon sources from the full history of the ancient city, from its foundation down until the abandonment of the site. The second part comprises of four separate studies. The first of these will deal with the cult of Dionysos at Teos and will examine the mythology, architecture, and cult practices for the god. The inscription recording a pirate attack on Teos will serve as the starting point for a chapter exploring the recurring problem of piracy in the general area of Teos and the social developments that came about because of it. The Teian call for territorial inviolability (*asylia*) will comprise the third historical study. This chapter will analyze the decrees recognizing the territorial inviolability of the city for Dionysos from the point of view of the Teians themselves. The last chapter will explore the complicated relationship between the Dionysiac guild of artists (*technitai*) and the city during the course of the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC.

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Acknowledgments

The Ionian city of Teos was not my first choice for a dissertation topic. I arrived in Greece with notions of researching a topic on Antigonid Macedonia. This idea was quickly quashed by the state of publication and research in the area. Much of the material was unpublished. Some inscriptions were tied up in the bequests of long-since dead archaeologists. Other material was restricted or controlled by uncooperative researchers. The cultural politics of Greece quickly led me to believe that I would never gain access to the research material that I needed. So I started anew. I began by re-examining all the epigraphic documents that had sparked my interest throughout my graduate studies. More often than not, these inscriptions came from the ancient Greek city of Teos in modern day Turkey. This realization was the spark that led to my current research topic. The material had been published in disparate journals and books. Archaeological finds were most often given only preliminary notice. I quickly realized that what was needed was a study of the local history of Teos, one that placed all the important sources, documents, and finds into one easily accessible place. I believe that I have achieved this goal.

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Introduction

The ancient Ionian city of Teos is rarely discussed in books and monographs concerning ancient history. This is unsurprising. With only a handful literary references and a scattering of extant buildings and structures, the city has been overshadowed by the impressive remains of other Ionian cities, such as Ephesos, which played a much grander role in the political history of classical antiquity. This is not to say that great men did not come to Teos and perform daring deeds; all places have some claim to fame. Nonetheless, at Teos, this happened less often, and, for various reasons, we know less about it. And so, the city has remained at the periphery of the study of ancient Ionia.

While the history of Teos as a whole has not been the subject of a centralized study in over a century, many aspects of the city have received some attention. The temple of Dionysos has a special place in the history of Hellenistic architecture. Inscriptions from the city have been cited as evidence for religion and literacy. Teos has produced important evidence for Hellenistic ruler cult. Even the study of piracy in the ancient world would be much in the dark without the discussion of material from Teos. Indeed, as one begins to investigate areas of social history, there are few subjects where a stray reference to Teos does not show up. The evidence from the city has continually proven to be important for our understanding of the ancient Greeks and the Ionians in particular.

Up till now, Teos has remained a point of comparison and never the point of reference. There is some danger in this. All the evidence from Teos, particularly the information gathered from inscriptions, is embedded in a deep local history. Without an understanding of the city's individual history, it is possible to misinterpret facts or to

overlook something of import. The present study is an effort to correct some misunderstandings and to make the wealth of material from Teos more accessible to the scholarly public. Teos has long suffered from a lack of centralized study and the present work is aimed to be not only a local history of the site, but also a piece in the regional puzzle of Ionia and the greater Greek world.

1. An Orientation to the Site

In the present day, anyone heading towards Teos will leave the Izmir-Çeşme autoroute on the exit heading south to Seferihisar. Arriving at Seferihisar, the familiar historical brown sign informs the driver to turn onto a small road heading west to Sığacık. After about four kilometers on this road, the reader will pass by a large rock outcrop to the right of the road. This marks one of the important marble quarries of the ancient city that became very important during the Roman period. About two hundred meters beyond this rock outcrop, a small dirt road runs north leading to Karagöl, where significant quarrying traces can still be found (Plate 1). The road near the quarry is littered with discarded marble blocks, many of them bearing Latin inscriptions relative to the Imperial marble trade (Plate 2).

Proceeding another kilometer, you will arrive at the small port of Sığacık. The most striking feature of the town is the large Ottoman enclosure wall within which the houses are ensconced. This wall and the fort at the northwest corner of the town were built largely from the remains of ancient Teos. Architectural blocks and even inscriptions abound in the wall. Skirting it, you arrive at the town's most charming touristic attraction: the harbor. This was the ancient port known as the Gerraïdai, the north harbor of Teos

and a central part of the city's economic life and success. Up into the first half of the 20th century, the Roman-era harbor installations were still visible here, but these have been built over by newer concrete installations.

At Sığacık, another brown sign will inform you to turn left and skirt the harbor's southern side. The road then ascends a gentle slope up over the crest of the Teian peninsula. To the right as you head across the peninsula, you will pass along a small sheltered bay surrounded by tourist resorts. This is the resort area of Akkum. In antiquity, it was also a bit of resort area and the Makria Akra hot water spring baths were located here. Visible still in the late 19th century, these too have perished under the massive push for tourist development.

The road continues south along the crest of the Teian peninsula, through one of the ancient necropoleis of the city. Through the scrub and the maquis, sporadic tomb monuments and inscriptions can still be found, although most have long-since disappeared or been reincorporated into new buildings in the area. The southern end of the Teian peninsula is now a bustling area of construction. It is popular area for holiday villages for Turkey's wealthier families, especially those from Izmir. A new brown sign will direct you to turn left back over the crest of the peninsula. Passing through a small picnic area nestled in a grove of red pine, you will gently descend a small series of switchbacks until you arrive at a final brown sign proclaiming that you have arrived at the ancient city of Teos.

The most significant archaeological remains will sprawl immediately before you. Descending from the dirt road, you can look back to see the Hellenistic city walls (Plate 3). A small stretch has been excavated here for study, but the line of the unexcavated

portions is clear around the entire site; indeed, the wall serves as a sort of retaining wall for farmers' fields along much of the west end of the site. The city wall, however, pales in comparison to the dilapidated ruins of the temple of Dionysos (Plate 4). Once the largest temple to the god in the Greek world, it is now mostly a field of Hellenistic and Roman architectural blocks. In the 1960s, the Turkish excavators did some anastylosis in the northwest corner of the temple, but this is heavily restored and depends upon a cement stylobate. Much of the platform of the temple is gone, but its plan can be traced in the cuttings of the rock outcrop upon which it was founded. On all sides of the temple platform, architectural blocks uncovered from the various excavations litter the ground. Column capitals, pediment blocks, and even some inscriptions are among the more interesting stones on display.

After exploring the ruins of the temple, the view to the rest of the site is open. The site has been protected from large-scale construction and the local inhabitants still farm the fields, which are often small and surrounded by field walls built from the stones of the ancient city. Indeed, looking across the fields, the beauty of the area is striking. This is the joy of ruins. There is a thrill of discovering something ancient and beautiful amongst the leaves and the shrubs.

To the northeast, the bowl of the theater, built into the southern slope of the acropolis hill, is the most visible ruin from the temple (Plate 5). Skirting a couple of grain fields, you arrive at the *skene* and the *parodoi* of the structure. Unearthed in the 1920s, they are the only parts of the building to remain largely intact. Looking up at the *cavea*, you can see only the curve of the hill and parts of the rubble foundation courses hidden poking out from under the shrubs. The seating of the theater has long since been

completely robbed out for local building material. At the top, Roman-era relieving arches extended the seating even higher and these also remain. From the top of the theater, it is possible to look south across the entire site as far as the south harbor.

A dirt path skirts the acropolis hill to the west, and leads to some scattered traces of building, most probably domestic in nature, along with a block from an ancient olive press. The line of the Hellenistic fortification wall is still clear in this area. Few people, however, will choose to explore this region. More probably, those having climbed to the top of the theater will wish to explore the acropolis itself. Crossing a short field to the north of the theater, you find traces of a highly over-grown, polygonal wall encircling the acropolis area itself (Plate 6). The wall was fixed up at a later period using other architectural members. The best place to view the wall is on its east face, where it stands more than a meter high.

Climbing across the acropolis wall, you first come across the foundation course of a large archaic altar (Plate 7). It is a peculiar structure, built right up against the northeastern corner of the acropolis wall and surrounded by a small enclosure. A few meters to the west, built up against a small rock outcrop, are the remains of a large late 8th-century BC *hekatompedon* temple (Plate 8). The acropolis contains the only remains on the site from the period of Teos' most famous citizen, the lyric poet Anakreon. It is also from the acropolis that you are afforded the best view of the site. You can look south past the ruins of the temple of Dionysos to the south harbor of the city. On a clear day, you can even see the island of Samos far to the south. From the north end of the acropolis, you can view the second harbor of the city at Sığacık, little more than a kilometer away.

The area just to the east and north of the acropolis is now an orange orchard. At the northwestern corner of the orchard, a small lapidarium has accumulated of stones moved out of the field over the years. This was the area where part of the Polythrous school dedication inscription was found and, still today, many blocks from the city's gymnasium can be found heaped in the stone pile. Just to the north of the orchard, some small remains of the city's Hellenistic fortification wall can be found as well as the traces of an arcade from the city's aqueduct, no doubt joining the remains of the aqueduct some thirty kilometers east at Beyler (Plate 9).

Moving again back through the orchards, heading to the southeast of the theater, you pass by wells and field walls containing many architectural blocks and more inscriptions. Finally, exiting the orchard, you find yourself at the *bouleuterion* (Plate 10). Uncovered by the French in 1924, this is the most remarkably well-preserved structure from the ancient city. Located near the northeastern corner of the agora, there is no mistaking the identification of this building. A couple of scattered honorific decrees from the Roman Imperial era still remain *in situ*. The benches and the steps leading up are also well preserved, up to seven seats high. The orchestra of the *bouleuterion* remains to be fully excavated. The tourist should be careful since the local farmers often tie up their skittish horse here and he is not very fond of strangers.

Heading southwest from the *bouleuterion*, you immediately encounter a very overgrown fountain-house, which may be the very one named for Queen Laodike, the wife of the Seleukid king, Antiochos III (Plate 11). Only the brave and thick-skinned will venture very close to the structure, since it is covered by thorny shrubs and bushes. Further south, you enter the broad open area of the agora, which is now divided into four

fields for grain and vegetables. The field walls disguise the scattered ruins of the ancient stoas, which bordered the agora. Fragments of inscriptions and column drums can be seen throughout the area. Skirting the farmer's fields to the center of the agora, the remains of a small late Hellenistic temple have been uncovered (Plate 12). This was probably the temple to Aphrodite and Queen Apollonis, the wife of the Pergamene ruler, Attalos I. The floor plan of the temple can be traced clearly and several column drums can be found nearby. The area now doubles as a pen for a small herd of goats.

Exiting the agora area at the east, you can follow a small dirt road south towards the harbor area. To the east, beyond the extent of the ancient city, the remains of some of the city's eastern necropolis are still visible in the field just north of the ancient harbor. One is particularly prominent, a large rectangular structure, about 5 by 8 m and it must have been rather elaborate since some marble column fragments lie nearby (Plate 13). The use of cement suggests a late date in the Roman period. It remains unexcavated but can easily be spotted from the road by the two trees growing at its center, the only ones in the field.

Continuing south along the road, you will notice that much of the ancient harbor has been silted up by the Yassidere river, which used to run from the Mastousion mountains, but has been dammed to the east of Seferihisar in the last century. Even now, the area remains very marshy. A shallow harbor still exists and is used by small fishing boats operated by the local families. Reaching the harbor, you can walk along the mole. Traces of the Hellenistic fortification wall extend the entire length of the mole, even a small distance out into the sea (Plate 14). On the north face of the mole, the ancient tie-holes built into the harbor are still above water and these are occasionally used by the

locals to tie up their own boats (Plate 15); this is clear testimony that the sea levels have not risen noticeably at the site. The sea here is rather cool and open to sweeping currents.

Retreating back along the mole and following some further traces of the Hellenistic fortification wall, you arrive at another dirt road leading back north towards the temple of Dionysos. The traces of the Hellenistic wall can be seen in the east embankment of the road. The southwest corner of the ancient city was primarily industrial and some remains of ancient installations are still extant, including the substantial remains of a late Roman reservoir (Plate 16). As one nears the temple of Dionysos, the fields stretching up the hill to the west, now prime grazing areas for several herds of sheep, contain scattered blocks from the city's western necropolis.

Finally, you arrive back at the temple of Dionysos, the start and end point for any perambulation of Teos. It is clear that not much remains of the ancient city, but, at the same time, the topography and the great natural advantages of the site are very evident. Perhaps the most striking feature of the tour is how little standing architecture is visible. Unlike most sites, the wealth of information we have concerning the city of Teos does not come through archaeological excavation, but through the long history of epigraphic research on the site. Indeed, the dilapidation of the site has actually promoted our knowledge of its epigraphic record. Early travelers were able to copy many inscriptions, since they were reused prominently in towns and cemeteries in the area around the ancient city.

2. History of Research

The first Western antiquarian to visit the ruins of Teos was William Sherard, who served as the British Consul to Smyrna between 1703 and 1716. Although his interests were primarily botanical, Sherard visited Sığacık and the nearby archaeological site in 1709 and transcribed the inscriptions he found there. His careful notes became the basis for the Teian inscriptions listed in Chishull's *Antiquitates Asiaticae* (1728).¹ This was the first time that material from Teos was presented to the scholarly public.

It was not long before many other travelers made their own tours and copies of the inscriptions around Teos. The Belgian consul Jean de Hochepped copied down several inscriptions at Sığacık during a trip in 1719. These transcriptions eventually found their way into the hands of Hessel, who included them in his addenda to Gude's *Antiquae Inscriptiones* (1731). The famous antiquarian and traveler, Richard Pococke, also made a visit to Teos in 1739 and included some of his observations in his *Inscriptionum Antiquarum Liber* (1752).

Nonetheless, it was not until Richard Chandler was commissioned to tour Asia Minor by the Society of Dilettanti that Teos began to receive the attention it deserved. Between 1764 and 1766, Chandler and the well-known architect and artist Nicholas Revett journeyed throughout the area around Smyrna. Familiar with Sherard's work at Teos and interested in Vitruvius' discussion of the temple of Dionysos, they visited Teos and made the first archaeological observations about the site, already largely robbed out. Chandler wrote his description in the first volume of the *Antiquities of Ionia* series (1769) and in his more narrative *Travels in Asia Minor* (1775). The observations made by

¹ Sherard's original notebooks are now held in the British library alongside Chishull's manuscript under the catalogue number Additional Manuscripts 10101-10102.

Chandler concerning the temple of Dionysos began a long-standing interest in the building by the Society of Dilettanti that would continue over the next century.

Given its proximity to Smyrna, Teos remained a casual stop for many Western antiquarians on their grand tour of Asia Minor. The account of the geologist and antiquarian, William Hamilton, who toured Teos in 1837, provides one of our best descriptions of the site before the 20th century in his *Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus, and Armenia* (1842). Geography and topography were the central facets of Hamilton's study. He toured the entire site of Teos and made important observations concerning many monuments, some of which have since been lost. He even analyzed the southern harbor of the city, noting that the ancient harbor installation was still above water level and noted that the sea level had not risen noticeably since antiquity.

The most important epigraphic research at Teos since the time of Sherard was undertaken by Philippe Le Bas. Following his appointment to the French Académie des Inscriptions et Belle-Lettres in 1838, Le Bas journeyed throughout Asia Minor and the Near East making many important drawings of inscriptions and ruins. During his tour, he stopped at Teos and documented the most thorough collection of inscriptions from around the ancient city. His squeezes and drawings were published posthumously by the French statesman and antiquarian, William Henry Waddington, in the *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et Asie Mineure* (1868-1877).

The Society of Dilettanti returned to Teos in 1862 to carry out the first excavations at Teos. Under the direction of Richard Pullan, the entire northern side of the temple of Dionysos was excavated. Pullan was attracted by the fame of the architect Hermogenes, who was known to have made the plans for the temple. He quickly realized

that there were many inconsistencies in the design of the temple and that the construction was Roman in date. This was the first indication of the complicated later history of the temple. Several inscriptions and parts of the temple frieze were removed to England, where they now reside in the British Museum. The drawings and notebooks from Pullan's excavations remain essential to later study of the temple, since they preserved a record of the architecture before further dilapidation of the site.² Many of the stones uncovered during the course of the excavation went missing after an industrialist from Smyrna took out a marble concession on the temple.

Pullan's excavations and the epigraphic research by Sherard and Le Bas formed the basis for Carolus Scheffler's 1882 doctoral dissertation "De Rebus Teiorum." Scheffler was the first scholar to treat the history of Teos as a whole, focusing in particular on the mythological foundation of the site and its important cult of Dionysos. This study remained the central study of the site until Ruge published an extended article in a supplement to the *Pauly Wissowa Reäl Encyclopedie* in 1934. Beyond having access to more recent research on the site, Ruge approached the material much more systematically. He gathered together a bibliographic list of all the known inscriptions for the site and used this as the basis for his work.

Meanwhile, the site attracted the attention of several French scholars. In 1880, Pottier and Hauvette-Besnault traveled area around Teos and transcribed some new inscriptions. In 1912, Picard and Plassart returned to the site briefly. It was at that time that they decided that the city deserved more archaeological attention. In particular, Picard felt that the Society of Dilettanti had explored the sanctuary of Dionysos only

² Pullan's notebooks for his excavations at Teos are held in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities at the British Museum (no. 65a I and II). Many drawings, photographs, and reconstruction drawings are also held at the archives of the Royal Institute of British Architects (no. AF 47).

superficially and that a more thorough excavation might reveal many new important inscriptions. Unfortunately, the advent of the First World War postponed further study for over a decade. The French were able to briefly return during 1921 to survey the area for excavation, but had to postpone their excavation yet again because of the Greek invasion of Asia Minor. Béquignon and Laumonier were finally able to return to the site in 1924. While the greatest part of their excavation focused upon clarifying the plan of the temple of Dionysos, the two scholars also undertook research on the topography of the site as a whole. They were the first to investigate the area of the acropolis, noting some archaic remains. They also made some trenches around the theatre and uncovered the *bouleuterion*, which they believed to be the chapterhouse of the Dionysiac *technitai*. At the sanctuary of Dionysos itself, the French excavated much of the surrounding stoas. They clarified what Pullan had discovered; the temple was Roman, but it followed the plan of its Hellenistic predecessor, the temple built by Hermogenes. The French team also exposed a small portion of the Hellenistic fortification wall to the west of the temple.

During the 1960s, the temple of Dionysos was excavated by a team of Turkish archaeologists from the University of Ankara led by Boysal and Öğün. They excavated in the southwest part of the cella and along the southern part of the temenos wall of the sanctuary. Their work helped to clarify the complicated phases of the sanctuary, but, due to funding restrictions, the excavations were halted prematurely and never published in more than preliminary notices. The Turkish excavations were notable in that they uncovered several decrees and letters between Teos and the Seleukid ruler, Antiochos III, adding an entire new dimension to the history of the site. These were published by Peter Herrman in 1965. Preliminary trenches were also dug in the area to the south of the

theater and in the agora, but these added very little to the history of Teos beyond clarifying the ceramic chronology of the site. Mustafa Uz finally compiled the findings of the Turkish excavations at the temple of Dionysos into a centralized study in the 1980s when he became the superintendent of the site.

The last third of the 20th century saw more survey work in the territory around Teos. The prominent French epigraphist, Louis Robert, toured the countryside many times in the company of Musa Baran, the director of the Archaeological Museum at Izmir. His work remains the only historical survey of the eastern half of the territory. Georg Petzl and Musa Baran undertook an informal archaeological survey in the mountainous valley around Beyler in 1977. During the 1980s, two widespread archaeological surveys were undertaken in the central peninsular area by Numan Tuna and Recep Meriç, both adding smaller sites to our larger picture of the territory of the city of Teos. It was also at this time that Clayton Fant explored the Roman era marble quarries at Karagöl, only a few kilometers to the northeast of Teos.

After the untimely death of Mustafa Uz in 1991, control of the site of Teos was passed on to Numan Tuna. A colleague of Uz at the Middle Eastern Technical University at Ankara, Tuna had access to all of his research notes. Realizing the dearth of knowledge on the site beyond the temple of Dionysos, he began a three-season project to survey the site with hopes of producing accurate plans. This was accomplished admirably. Thanks to Tuna, we now have not only a plan of the entire site that accurately represents the Hellenistic fortification wall, but we also have plans of the *bouleuterion*, the theater, the south harbor installations, and the agora temple. Furthermore, Tuna made architectural plans of the temple and altar that were first noted on the acropolis by Uz in the 1980s. In

the last season of his campaign, Tuna began geophysical prospection in the southwest quarter of the site, noting the presence of industrial kilns and furnaces. Unfortunately, the data from this project has never been published.

Although the last decade has seen no new archaeological research at Teos, the site has not fallen from public attention. In 2004, Teos was the center of an ambitious cultural resource management project. The Seferihisar KMT Project focused on clearing shrubbery from the area of the temple, the theater, and the *bouleuterion*.³ Samples of ceramics and small fragments of inscriptions were also gathered for a local study collection. The main goal of the project was to maintain the site for viable tourism and to protect the antiquities from encroaching shrubs. The project managers, however, sought to involve the local populace at all turns and offered seminars on the history of the site for the inhabitants of the area and the local gendarmerie. In this, they hoped to instill the importance of the material remains at Teos for Turkish national heritage and to promote local interest in developing tourism. The project was an overall success in making the residents around Teos more aware and respectful of the archaeological importance of their site. This will undoubtedly ensure that Teos remains secure from modern encroachment and intact for future archaeological study in the 21st century.

3 The Scope of the Present Study

A great deal of work has been undertaken on the site of Teos since the last centralized study. We are now in a position to know more concerning the history of the entire site and its territory. The present study will focus on tying together all the

³ The Seferihisar KMT Project website has sadly gone defunct because of lack of funding. I note the URL at www.chprojects.org/projeler_en.htm (last viewed December 2004) should any interested reader with access to an Internet archive disc be interested.

archaeological, architectural, and epigraphic research on Teos. Unfortunately, given the disparate nature of all the evidence involved, it is not possible to write a straightforward history of the site. It is better to let the evidence speak for itself rather than to force it into an artificial structure. And so, each chapter of the present work represents a distinct study of an aspect or character of the history of the site. The reader will find that some sections depend upon research laid out in other chapters. This is unfortunately unavoidable, but I hope that the benefit of treating these topics distinctly will be clear.

This work falls into two distinct parts. The first will survey the geography, the political history, and the society and government of Teos. These chapters will draw upon sources from the full history of the ancient city, from its foundation down until the abandonment of the site. In many respects, this will prove the most useful section of the dissertation for students and scholars seeking a general knowledge of the city and its history. The second part will be more piecemeal, comprising four separate studies. The first of these will deal with the cult of Dionysos at Teos and will examine the mythology, architecture, and cult practices for the god. The next two chapters will each focus on a specific historical episode at the city. The recently discovered inscription recording a pirate attack at Teos will serve as the starting point for an exploration into the recurring problem of piracy in the general area of Teos and the social developments that came about because of it. The Teian call for territorial inviolability (*asylia*) will comprise the second historical study. The *asylia* recognition decrees represent by far the largest number of inscriptions at the site and have been discussed frequently in general studies about *asylia*. Nonetheless, no study has investigated the corpus of inscriptions from the point of view of the Teians themselves and this will be the focus in the present study.

Finally, the last chapter will explore the complicated relationship between the Dionysiac guild of artists (*technitai*) and the city. While there has been a great deal of scholarship on the Dionysiac artists in general, the relationship between the guild and the city has yet to be explored satisfactorily.

There can be no definitive history of Teos. Too much has been lost since antiquity. The present work represents the first attempt to bring together all the important epigraphic and archaeological finds into a single synthetic study. By focusing on such diverse aspects of the history of the city, I hope to create a fuller picture of Teian culture and society, especially during the Hellenistic period. My goal is to make the interesting material from the city more accessible for future comparative studies. More generally, I hope to help fill out our understanding of Ionian society. Teos was neither a unique nor isolated city and the epigraphic record of Teos is an important starting point for understanding many aspects of Asia Minor in antiquity.

PART ONE

Chapter One The Geography of Teos and its Environs

A study of the local geography of Teos is important for our understanding of the region and its history. The ancient Greek *polis* was not divorced from its territory. Rather, it was blended seamlessly into one unit, consisting of both the urban city (*asty*) and the rural countryside (*chora*). The territory, resources and topography of the *polis* determined its historical possibilities, its potential, and perhaps even its downfall. It was the inhabitants themselves who chose from these possibilities. They chose how to inhabit the land and how to use its resources to best suit the needs of their society. The historian could not easily describe the history of Teos without referring to its particular geography and the choices of the inhabitants concerning its use, even if these decisions did not leave any tangible marks upon the land. This chapter will focus upon the physical setting of Teos and the Erythraian (the modern Çeşme) peninsula during the classical period of its inhabitation.

The aim of these pages is to create a physical setting for the history and society of Teos. It is intended to be a more personal understanding of the land, such as a visitor or an inhabitant might have. I will draw upon the writings of past and modern travelers, together with my own experiences, as source material. To write a more in-depth landscape history, the tale of mountains and coastlines, would bring us no closer to understanding the ancient condition of the Teians. Consequently, complicated issues such as geological formation will be discussed only in terms that relate to their use by or effect on the human inhabitants of the land. Historical issues will also be introduced where they become appropriate to our understanding of the geography. Beginning with a discussion of the situation of Teos, the present study will expand into issues of territory, topography,

climate, natural resources, and agriculture. The full historical importance of these topics will become clearer as they recur in later chapters, but they must be outlined here first.

1. *The Site and Territory of Teos*

Teos was more than just a city. It was also an entire region. The city possessed a large hinterland that supplied it with agricultural produce, timber, and other goods. The boundaries of this territory were well defined in antiquity, when Teos had to compete with other nearby Ionian cities, notably Klazomenai and Kolophon, to safeguard its resources. Borders were just as important to the definition of the Greek *polis* as they are for nation states today. These borders were not mere lines upon a map, but rather occupied and inhabited places, such as streams, hills, and valleys. We cannot know the limits of Teian territory as precisely as we do for modern nations, but it is important to know generally where they lay and what other cities laid claim to adjacent land. Only by exploring the full region around Teos can we come closer to understanding the ancient condition of the city. This first section attempts to situate Teos and its territory in relation to both ancient and modern places. The ancient names will always be preferred to modern ones except when the modern name confers more precision. Turkish names, however, will also be listed at the first discussion of a site or a mountain in order to place it in its present-day context and to make it easier to locate on accurate modern maps.

The ancient city of Teos was situated at the center of Ionia in Asia Minor (Fig. 1). Stretching from Phokaia in the north to Miletos in the south and including the large offshore islands of Chios and Samos, Ionia was a culturally unified but geographically divided area. Communication between the Ionian cities was better conducted by sea than

by land and this is certainly reflected in the relatively few inland settlements (*e.g.* Kolophon and Magnesia on the Maiandros). The entire mainland area can be generally characterized as a series of coastal river valleys divided by large mountain ranges.

At the heart of Ionia lies the Erythraian peninsula upon whose south coast the city of Teos is situated. This area remains today a very defining feature in Ionian geography. Situated just south of Smyrna and north of Ephesos, the peninsula projects west out into the Aegean Sea towards the Greek island of Chios (Fig. 2). The shape of the Erythraian peninsula is complicated, consisting of many smaller peninsulas and bays. The north side has a small peninsula, projecting into Smyrnaic gulf just west of the ancient site of Klazomenai (Urla İskelesi). The larger Mimas (Karaburun) peninsula likewise projects north, closing off the gulf of Smyrna to a large extent. The city of Erythrai (Ildır), which gives its name to the entire peninsula, lies in a large gulf on the western side, which is enclosed to the north by the Mimas peninsula and to the south by a westward projecting peninsula near where the modern resort city of Çeşme is located. The large Greek island of Chios lies about eight kilometers off the westernmost part of the Turkish coast, forming a narrow strait near Çeşme. Rounding the area to the south is the rocky and treacherous Korykos (Kıran) peninsula. The Korykos peninsula bounds the wide and shallow bay of Teos to the west and Teos itself is situated at its east end. From Teos, the coast drops south to Cape Makris (Doğanbey) and then heads east into the gulf of Ephesos; the ancient cities of Lebedos (Ürkmez) and Notion (Ahmetbeyli) are situated along this southern coast. What quickly becomes clear is that the Erythraian peninsula, with its various physical and often mountainous projections into the Aegean, serves more to divide the central area of Ionia than to unite it.

The ruins of Teos are situated on the neck of a small peninsula jutting east into a gulf on the south side of the Erythraian peninsula (Fig. 3). There is a harbor sheltered by a mole at the south, but this has been silted up to a large extent by the Yassidere River (also known as the Seferihisar Çayı), rendering it mostly unusable except for small fishing craft.¹ The urban settlement stretched across the neck of the peninsula to the north, where it gently ascended to a tall hill, the *acropolis* of the ancient city.

The site is now under cultivation and inhabited by a few Turkish families. On the peninsula just to the west of the ruins, several modern seaside residences have sprung up in the last thirty years. Chandler, traveling in 1765, also recorded the small settlement of Bodrum at Teos.² The site has obviously been occupied in recent modern times, although not intensely by any means. There are no traces of an intermediary Byzantine settlement and the ancient site is relatively well preserved, although it was heavily pillaged for building material from the 15th century AD onwards.

A larger tourist town, Sığacık, lies two kilometers to the north at the second harbor of the ancient city, the Gerraïdai mentioned in Strabo (14.1.30; *cf.* Livy 37.28.7).³ The harbor there remains excellent today and at least one 19th-century traveler expressed surprise that the harbor at Sığacık was not used more often instead of the more poorly situated one at Smyrna.⁴ The modern town of Sığacık lies inside 15th-century Ottoman

¹ The south harbor was already largely silted up when Hamilton investigated it in 1836. Unlike other parts of the Ionian coast, however, Hamilton noted that the sea level at Teos was the same as in antiquity, since the ring fixtures on the mole were still at the right height to tie up boats; 1842: 2.15-16. These are still visible today.

² Chandler 1817: 110.

³ The harbor is also referred to in the inscription recording the arbitration of Eumenes II between Teos and the Dionysiac technitai; Aneziri no. D12 Col IIC l. 11-12 (= *IvPerg* 163 and *RC* 53).

⁴ Hamilton 1842: 2.11. The comment was made with specific reference to the long difficult trip up the Smyrnaic gulf, since the harbor at Smyrna is unquestionably one of the best on the Aegean coast of Asia Minor. See also Freely 2000: 154.

fortification walls built from the ruins of Teos.⁵ The area of the north harbor must have had ancient installations, but today there are only traces of a mole dating from the Roman era.⁶ On Cape Makria, just to the northwest of Sığacık on the Teian peninsula, there were both natural and man-made hot baths in antiquity.⁷ These are described in Pausanias as: “τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ κλύδωνι ἐν πέτρᾳς χηραμῶν - those situated where the waves wash into the hollows of the rock” (7.5.11).

About five kilometers to the east of Sığacık is the town of Seferihisar, the main administrative seat of this district in the present-day province of Izmir. The town is first mentioned in 1588 in the *Odoiporiko* of Jacob Miloitis, but dates back to the campaigns of Suleyman the Magnificent in the region.⁸ Stones from Teos were also used in the construction of this town. It is tempting to equate the modern region of Seferihisar with the ancient territory of Teos, but this could be misleading. The territory of Seferihisar is, in fact, the same as the late Byzantine region of Hypsile. The fort of Hypsile, situated about fifteen kilometers south of Teos on the ancient site of Myonnesos, is mentioned by Doukas in his *Historia Turcobyzantina* (27.12-14), when the rebel Ottoman general Juneid fortified it against Murat II in 1421.⁹ Its territory was apparently larger than that of Teos, incorporating the area of Lebedos as well. The Ottoman principality that replaced it

⁵ The fort has been often misinterpreted as a Genoese construction paired with the fortress at Çeşme. This does not hold up to historical or architectural scrutiny. The 17th-century Turkish travel writer, Evliya Çelebi, clearly records that the fort at Sığacık was built later in 1521-22 during Suleyman the Magnificent's preparations for the siege of Rhodes; 1935: 129. See also Müller-Wiener 1962: 98-104.

⁶ Freely 2000: 154.

⁷ This identification for the Makria baths was made by Hirschfeld after his discovery of the hot springs near Akkum (1875: 26). These have disappeared over the course of the 20th century. While this remains the most persuasive attribution for the Makria baths, it should be noted that there are many different hot springs throughout the Erythraian peninsula since the entire region is tectonically active. Cf. Chandler 1817: 109.

⁸ Çelebi 1935: 129. See Koromila *et al* for the reference to the *Odoiporiko* (1997:134). The name “Seferihisar” notably means “campaign fort” in Turkish.

⁹ Cf. Müller-Wiener 1962: 98 n. 10.

kept these larger boundaries and the Greek inhabitants of the area continued to call it Hypsile until they were expelled in 1922.¹⁰ Nonetheless, we can generally assume that the modern area of Seferihisar incorporated the entire Teian territory and that the principality of Urla to the north is about the same as that of ancient Klazomenai.

At its greatest extent, the southern boundary of the Classical *chora* of Teos was the town of Myonnesos.¹¹ We know precious little about Myonnesos.¹² Hekataios mentions that it was a city halfway between Teos and Lebedos (*FGH* 1 F 232). It has been identified with the small island of Çıfıt Kale (literally Jew's Castle) just north of Cape Makris.¹³ The offshore island of Myonnesos is an impressive promontory with steep cliffs towards the sea, particularly on its southern side (Plate 17). From the mainland, it can be approached via a shallow causeway. The Romans operating against Antiochos III in 190 BC found Myonnesos as a den of pirates (Livy 37.27).¹⁴ Later in the 2nd century, it is unclear whether Teos controlled the area. Following the expulsion of the Dionysiac *technitai* from Teos, Attalos III settled them at Myonnesos and the Teians appealed to Rome in order to stop them from fortifying the settlement against them (Strab. 14.1.29).¹⁵ The Romans did move the *technitai* further east to Lebedos, however, so it is obvious that Teos still exerted some control over the area. Teos then controlled the entire eastern littoral of the bay and the border with Lebedos must have lain somewhere

¹⁰ Koromila *et al* 1997: 133.

¹¹ Myonnesos is listed as a Teian dependency in Thucydides (3.32.1). For a more thorough discussion of the site, see Chapter 5§4.

¹² See *IGCP* no. 855.

¹³ Bean 1966: 144-46.

¹⁴ For the 4th century BC, Ephoros records that Myonnesos was a base of piracy associated with the more notorious pirate havens off of Korykos across the bay of Teos (*FGH* 70 F 27).

¹⁵ These events are discussed in more detail in Chapter 7§5.

in the hills to the west of the Karakoç hot springs.¹⁶ The territory of Lebedos was very small and restricted to the narrow coastal plain of the bay of Ephesos from Cape Makris to the Dereboğaz gorge.¹⁷ It could not have penetrated much further than the southern slopes of the Mastousion range, and the Roman and Byzantine ruins at Karakoç are the northernmost remains in Lebedian territory.

To the east, the territory of Teos ran into the Mastousion mountain range (Kızıldağ). Although we do not know precisely where the boundaries of Teos lay in the mountains, they met with those of Lebedos and Kolophon (the last situated near modern Değirmendere). The southern area of the Mastousion is unfortunately poorly explored since it was a militarized zone until the 1970s. The land was marginal in most historical periods, but we have some testimony that the area was occupied in antiquity. A fragment of the Delphic *theorodokoi* lists from the 2nd century BC mentions the town of Oroanna, an independent town between Teos and Kolophon.¹⁸ This town has recently been identified with the fortified hill settlement at Karatepe near Küner Köy in the Cumaovası plain at the eastern edge of the Mastousion range.¹⁹ The site at Karatepe was only briefly explored during survey work, which found pottery dating from the 5th century BC through the 1st century AD.²⁰

¹⁶ These hot springs definitely lay within the *chora* of Lebedos and are alluded to by Pausanias (7.5.11). They are located about eight kilometers from Lebedos and seventeen kilometers southeast of Seferihisar on the road to Ürkmez. See also Bean 1966: 153 and Koromila *et al* 1997: 17.

¹⁷ For the Dereboğaz gorge as the boundary of Lebedos and Kolophon, see *SEG* 39:1244 Col. 1.22-23 and the discussion of the place name τὰ Στενά in Robert's commentary of the inscription; 1989: 75-77.

¹⁸ Robert 1946: 521-3 and Robert 1976: 171-74. Given the non-Greek toponym, Robert interprets Oroanna as a Hellenized Carian or Lelegian settlement.

¹⁹ Meriç 1986: 301-2 and 1988: 385.

²⁰ The survey of the fortified site found nearby at Şaşal Kale also revealed archaic pottery and this may have been the predecessor to classical Oroanna. Tuna 1989: 280-1.

The location of the town of Kyrbissos, which undertook a synoecism with Teos in the mid-3rd century BC, remains elusive (*SEG* 26: 1306).²¹ Meriç has proposed that the ancient settlement at Asar near Yeniköy could be associated with the town, but this remains very tentative.²² Kyrbissos probably also lay in the Mastousion Range close to the border Teos shared with Kolophon in the Hellenistic period. The Kyrbissos inscription discusses the appointment of a garrison commander, so we should envision a fortified settlement guarding the frontier from overzealous neighbors or bandits.²³

On the western side of the Mastousion, an inscription found in the cemetery at Ulamiş may also shed some light on the territory of Teos (*SEG* 26:1305). Robert interprets the inscription as a sympolity treaty and dates it towards the end of the 4th century BC.²⁴ Although the stone does not preserve the name of the town joining Teos and was not found *in situ*, it is possible that the settlement was located not far from its find spot. The inscription records a number of natural products granted tax exemption under the terms of the treaty. The mention of wood and charcoal may provide us some clue to the location of the settlement involved. The present-day village of Ulamiş lies at the end of the wagon road from the mountain settlement of Beyler in the Yassidere valley, where large amounts of wood and charcoal are still stockpiled today. Indeed, our latest evidence for Teian occupation in the area of the Mastousion range comes from the

²¹ Robert and Robert 1976: 154-174.

²² 1988: 385. The site at Asar remains to be adequately explored.

²³ See the extensive commentary in Robert 1976: 196-223 and also Sokolowski 1980.

²⁴ Robert 1976: 175-188. Brodersen *et al*, *HGIU* 298 list this inscription as a treaty between Teos and Klazomenai but do not justify this attribution. Ager, arguing that the synoecism of Teos and Lebedos mentioned in the letters of Antigonos Monophthalmos (*RC* 3-4) actually took place, proposes that this same inscription is the finalized treaty (1998: 9-12). This is unconvincing since, as Ager herself does acknowledge, the length of the tax exemptions mentioned in the two documents differs (three years in Antigonos' letter (*RC* 3.70) and four and ten years in the Ulamiş decree (*SEG* 26: 1305 lines 1 and 19 respectively). Moreover, Robert has sufficiently demonstrated that the natural resources under discussion in the Ulamiş decree are more suited to the remote mountain range of the Mastousion than to coastal Lebedos.

area around Beyler. Roman era finds include a section of an aqueduct, marble quarries, and a sacred cave with several rock-cut inscriptions to Apollo (Plates 18-20).²⁵ Given the testimony of the natural resources, the route of the present-day wagon road, and the presence of archaeological finds, it seems probable that the unknown settlement of the Ulamiş decree was probably situated near Beyler just north of the western edge of the pass heading across the Mastousion range to Oroanna.

In the more immediate area of the ancient city, the Seferihisar plain stretches immediately east and north, providing the main agricultural territory for the city. To the north of this, the isthmus of the Erythraian peninsula stretches between Mt. Korykos and the Mastousion mountain range. The region referred to by Strabo as the Chalkideis covered the southern part of the isthmus (14.1.31). It consists mostly of inland valleys with fertile soil and sloping upland plains, which provide extensive pasturage.²⁶ In the same passage, Strabo also mentions that there was a grove sacred to Alexander the Great above this area, still in Teian territory.²⁷ The Ionian League celebrated a festival to Alexander there and Teos probably managed the sanctuary much as Priene did for the Panionion sanctuary on Mt. Mykale.²⁸

The territory of the isthmus must have been contested between Teos and Klazomenai from a very early date. The fortified hill settlement recently discovered at Yarentepe was strategically placed between the two cities. Tuna's survey of the site recorded pottery from the Geometric through classical periods.²⁹ We do not know why

²⁵ Baran and Petzl 1977-8: 301-308.

²⁶ Koromila *et al* 1997: 131.

²⁷ Robert 1929: 148, places the grove in Teian territory. In this, he follows Dittenberger *OGIS* 3 note 2 and Scheffler 1882: 24.

²⁸ The festival is recorded on inscriptions at Erythrai (*IErythrai* 30.23; 87.6 and maybe 89.6) and at Klazomenai in the honorary decree for Antiochos I by the Ionian League (*SEG* 41.988.25).

²⁹ 1989: 282-83.

this settlement went out of use, but the answer may lie in an unfortunately fragmentary late 4th-century BC dispute settlement decree found at the Asklepieion on Kos (*SEG* 28.697). The first editor of the inscription, Pugliese Caratelli, thought that the decree was a settlement between Klazomenai and Kolophon.³⁰ More recently, Ager has correctly realized that the only suitable border is the one lying between Klazomenai and Teos.³¹ If the two cities regularized their border, it is possible that the fort at Yarentepe was no longer needed. The decree seems to have settled the boundary in favor of the Klazomenians and, if the fort at Yarentepe had been a Teian garrison, it may have had to be abandoned at that time. Given the fragmentary nature of the text, we are unable to draw exact information, but the joint border of the two cities began at the territory of Kolophon within the Mastousion range and crossed level plains and springs, ridges and narrows, quarries and vineyards, the properties of Klazomenian and Teian citizens alike, until it reached the Erythraian boundary on Mt. Korykos near someplace named Gonia. This description is consistent with the area that extends from about ten kilometers south of the Turkish town of Urla towards Seferihisar.³² Without more precise information, we can only imagine a border running somewhere in these hills, perhaps in the area of five

³⁰ Pugliese Caratelli 1978: 153-56.

³¹ Ager 1991 and also *Arbitration* no. 15. Brixhe (*BE* 1992: 498-99) voices some hesitation, more pertinently concerning the historical circumstance, but the preserved text of the inscription preserves mentions of both the Kolophonian (A11) and the Erythraian (B10) territories which is a clear indication of an east to west boundary cutting across the isthmus, an area jointly occupied by Teos and Klazomenai. I do not agree with Ager's more recent interpretation that Teos and Kolophon could only have had a shared border if Lebedos had temporarily ceased to exist (1998: 9-12). This theory rests on the incorrect assumption that the Ulamiş inscription actually outlines the synoecism agreement of Teos and Lebedos. Moreover, as we have already discussed above, the territory of Lebedos was very small and restricted to the south coastal area.

³² Chandler's description, in particular, is worth quoting: "As we crossed the mountain, the island Samos rose to view at a distance, and we opened the sea on the south side of the peninsula. We passed many small pleasant spots, well watered, and green with corn, or with myrtles and shrubs" (1817: 107). *Cf.* Stark 1954: 24.

kilometers to the south of Urla, although this is still very speculative.³³ At the least, the inland valley of Hereke, about five kilometers north of Seferihisar, must have been part of the territory of Teos. The considerable amount of *spolia* from Teos incorporated into the village of Hereke, starting in mediaeval times, are testimony enough to the close ties the valley has with the south coast.³⁴

Following the coastal plain to the west, we reach the town of Airai (the village of Urla near Demircili). In the time of Strabo, Airai was a small town (πολίχνιον; 14.1.32) belonging to Teos, but this was not always the case. The settlement was the site of a Teian garrison in the early 5th century BC.³⁵ Nonetheless, it appears to have been an independent political entity during much of the classical period and we have a 4th-century honorific decree found at Demircili (*PEP Teos* 268) and a very fragmentary decree from the 5th century BC (*PEP Teos* 28).³⁶ This coincides very well with the archaeological survey of the site, which documented surface sherds from the Geometric period down into the first half of the 4th century BC.³⁷ We should then consider that Airai lost its independent existence and became part of Teian territory at some point in the 4th century, a move which also eclipsed the habitation of the settlement. Following the incorporation of Airai, the western extent of the *chora* of Teos ended at the mountainous Korykos peninsula. This is a fierce and wooded area with steep slopes of tumbling rock. According to Strabo, Korykos was a famous haunt for pirates (14.1.32; *cf.* Ephoros, *FGH*

³³ It is interesting to note the late 3rd-century AD milestone (*PEP Teos* 137) marking a distance of five miles from Teos although this was found out of context at Urla.

³⁴ Robert in Devambez 1962: 5-6. Robert also argues that the modern toponym Hereke must be a corruption of the ancient one, Charax.

³⁵ *Nomima* 104.b16-17 (spelled as Ἀροίη).

³⁶ See also the discussion in the *IGCP* no. 837.

³⁷ Meriç 1986: 303 and 1987: 248. Tuna 1987: 307-309, also records some *terra sigillata* at the site, which may represent some later Roman era re-inhabitation.

70 F 27). The area has also served as a refuge point for the people of the Erythraian peninsula during various wars and invasions throughout its history.³⁸

As we have seen, the territory of Teos grew over time. The original *chora* of the *polis* may have been completely limited to the Seferihisar coastal plain but it began to expand very early on down the coast to incorporate Myonnesos. During the 4th century, Teos incorporated Airai to the west. The second half of the 4th century may also have seen an expansion towards the northeast, if the Ulamiş decree did not travel far from its find-spot. At the end of the same century, the synoecism of Teos with Lebedos sanctioned by Antigonos Monophthalmos would have given Teos the larger boundaries of late Byzantine Hypsile, but this was never completed (*RC* 3-4).³⁹ It becomes clear that Teos was actively expanding its hinterland during this time. More generally, we can say that by the end of the 4th century BC, the western and northern borders of the territory of Teos were stabilized. The sympolity agreement between Teos and Kyrbissos in the middle of the 3rd century BC represents a last stage of expansion into the Mastousion mountain range.

2. Topography and Climate

Our best ancient testimony for the geography of Ionia is Herodotus. The historian says (1.142):

οἱ δὲ Ἴωνες οὗτοι, τῶν καὶ τὸ Πανιώνιον ἐστὶ, τοῦ μὲν οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῶν
ὠρέων ἐν τῷ καλλίστῳ ἐτύγχανον ἰδρυσάμενοι πόλις πάντων
ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν· οὔτε γὰρ τὰ ἄνω αὐτῆς χωρία τῶν τούτων

³⁸ Koromila *et al* 1997: 33.

³⁹ *Contra* Ager 1998: 9-12. Ager would also like to date the Koan land arbitration between Klazomenai and Teos, discussed above, to the same royal intervention (1991: 96-97). This is quite probable if one keeps in mind that Antigonos also involved Kos in the arbitration between Lebedos and Teos (*RC* 3.60-66 and 4.11-14).

ποιέει τῆ Ἴωνίῃ οὔτε τὰ κάτω, οὔτε τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἠῶ οὔτε τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἑσπέρην, τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ ψυχροῦ τε καὶ ὑγροῦ πιεζόμενα, τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ θερμοῦ τε καὶ ἀρχμώδεος.

Now these Ionians, who possessed the Panionion, of all the men whom we know, happened to found their cities in a place with the best climate and seasons. For neither to the north of them nor to the south does the land produce the same as in Ionia, nor to the east or to the west, affected in the former by cold and wet, and in the latter by heat and drought.

Herodotos' near contemporary, Hippokrates, relates much the same thing in more detail (*Airs, Waters and Places* 12). In short, the medical writer records that Ionia is removed from excessive cold and heat. It is well wooded, fruitful, and enjoys the best water. Most important, its climate is ideal for bountiful harvests and healthy flocks.

As there has been no appreciable climatic change since antiquity, our modern observations of the area are informative.⁴⁰ The central Aegean coast of Turkey experiences hot and dry summers. These are substantially relieved by the cooling Imbat breezes off the Aegean. During the winters, this same eastward-blowing wind collects moisture off the sea, which, cooling on the mountain slopes of Ionia, gives ample precipitation.⁴¹ In general, winters are brief and sunny. In the Erythraian peninsula, the annual average temperature is an ideal 16.4°C and temperatures rarely reach freezing during the winters.⁴²

The region around Teos itself consists of many different topographical areas. The Seferihisar plain itself is good arable land. Heading north into the Chalkideis and the isthmus, low sloping hills alternate with flat valleys. The area provides both excellent land for oleo- and viticulture, but also has much pastureland. Mountains bound the Teian

⁴⁰ Meiggs 1982: 40 and Greaves 2002: 9.

⁴¹ The average yearly rainfall in the region is 588 mm. During the summer, there is virtually no rain and 70% of total rainfall occurs during the winter months, November through March. Soykal and Emekli 2004: 46.

⁴² Soykal and Emekli 2004: 45.

land to the east and the west. The Mastousion range was heavily wooded in antiquity and even today has many red pine, oak, and plane trees. Communication through the area is difficult and it remains remote.⁴³ Although modern settlement has eschewed the Mastousion range as agriculturally marginal, the mountainous valleys, as we have seen above, were inhabited in antiquity. To the west, Mt. Korykos is stony and more forbidding.

Teos itself sits on a bedrock of flysch sediments consistent with the geological zone which stretches from Izmir to Ankara and differs from that of the Menderes valley zone further south where Ephesos and Miletos lie.⁴⁴ This sedimentary deposit corresponds to the area of the fertile Seferihisar plain and the Mastousion mountain range. There are some substantial blocks of older limestone, sometimes as large as twenty kilometers long, included in the flysch and these form some of the more noticeable peaks in the Mastousion range. The area is tectonically active with a north-south fault passing directly across the little peninsula of Teos itself. Earthquakes, as will be seen, were a recurring factor throughout the history of Teos.⁴⁵ This tectonic activity is due to the northward thrust of Menderes massif. Part of the metamorphic Menderes rock actually protrudes near Teos and was quarried extensively in Roman times.⁴⁶ This breccia, used mostly in Italy and North Africa, was called Marmor Africano (sometimes referred to as Marmor Luculleum).⁴⁷ The most important quarry, east of Sığacık on the road to

⁴³ For much of the second half of the twentieth century, the southern part of the Mastousion range was a militarized zone.

⁴⁴ Higgins and Higgins 1996: 130-32.

⁴⁵ Uz 1991: 59. The last major earthquakes to hit the region in 1881 and 1883 ruined much of the southern part of the peninsula and coastal Chios. See Koromila 1997: 28.

⁴⁶ Higgins and Higgins 1996: 142.

⁴⁷ The best discussion of the ancient sources on this marble remains Gnoli 1971: 174-78.

Seferihisar, was worked out in antiquity and is now the lake known locally as Karagöl.⁴⁸ The tectonic nature of the peninsula also expresses itself in the large number of hot springs in the area. These are described by Pausanias (7.5.11). The Karakoç hot springs further to the east are still popular with the inhabitants of Seferihisar today.⁴⁹ The most important of these thermal springs for Teos, of course, were the Makria Akra baths discussed above.

A wide and comparatively flat bed of Neogene sediment, excellent for agriculture, covers the general area of the Chalkideis and the isthmus and this reveals itself in the slightly hilly topography of the area. This sediment is susceptible to a higher rate of erosion, although this has not occurred as significantly as in the larger coastal river valleys such as the Hermos (Gediz) to the north or the Kaïstros and the Maiandros (the Küçük and Büyük Menderes respectively) to the south.⁵⁰ The craggy and barren peak of Mt. Korykos to the west is an older limestone formation, which has more in common geologically with the island of Chios.

This brief discussion of the physical topography of the region around Teos shows just how divided the internal geography of the Erythraian peninsula really is. Teos was effectively closed off to both the east and west by mountains and Klazomenai lay around thirty kilometers, or a day's journey, across the isthmus over some hilly terrain, making inland trade unattractive although possible.⁵¹ Like most Ionian cities, Teos turned towards the sea for contact. Its own bay was shallow and sheltered and its double harbor

⁴⁸ Fant notes that a hard blue-grey limestone was also quarried extensively along with the more famous colored marble (1987: 391).

⁴⁹ Koromila 1997: 17.

⁵⁰ Higgins and Higgins 1996: 132.

⁵¹ As is evidenced by two Roman milestones on the road to Klazomenai (*PEP Teos* 137 and 138).

attractive for merchants and smaller coastal traders. Teos was, in fact, the best harbor between the important trade centers at Chios and Samos.

3. Agriculture and Natural Resources

Certainly, the most important geographical factors for the history of Teos are the agricultural and natural resources of its territory. The self-sufficiency of Ionian cities is, in general, an important area of discussion for the period of the 7th and 6th centuries BC, when many Ionian cities sent out colonies throughout the Mediterranean and Black Sea regions. As noted above in the passages of Herodotos and Hippokrates, the initial settlers chose to inhabit Ionia on account of its exceptional fertility. Scholars such as Roebuck, however, believe that the Ionian cities were already over-populated by ca. 700 BC and that this stimulated their involvement in trade and colonization.⁵² In more recent years, other economic scholars have challenged this view and believe that the Ionian cities could easily grow enough food to support themselves.⁵³ The evidence for Teos deserves special consideration, since the two colonies of Teos, Abdera and Phanagoreia, were both relatively late in the period and were sent out to escape the Persian domination of Asia Minor. Certainly, the other Ionian cities in the vicinity of Teos did not have a good record of colonization either. There are none known to have been sent out by Lebedos. Klazomenai had only the failed colony at Abdera in Thrace that was later re-colonized by Teos.⁵⁴ Colonies obviously did not play a significant role in the economy of the Erythraian peninsula before the end of the 6th century. It must be maintained that local

⁵² 1959: 19-21.

⁵³ Most recently Möller 2000: 75-88.

⁵⁴ The Greek excavations of the cemetery of the Klazomenian settlement at Abdera suggest that the settlement was generally very poor. Skarlatidou even suggests that it probably only survived by continued support from Klazomenai; 2004: 258.

supplies remained vital for the inhabitants in all periods. These next pages will survey the evidence for agriculture and herding in the territory of Teos. Since literary and epigraphic testimonies alone are insufficient, we will also draw partially on ethnology and modern observations.⁵⁵

A brief tour around the archaeological site of Teos today shows agriculture much as it would have been over two thousand years ago. Farm animals still pull the ploughs. Fields are small and grow a variety of traditional produce. Olive trees grow at the corners of various fields and in small groves. Chandler's description of the site in the 18th century is still relevant today.⁵⁶ He writes (1817:110):

“Instead of the stately piles which are impressed ideas of opulence and grandeur, we saw a marsh, a field of barley in ear, buffaloes ploughing heavily by defaced heaps and prostrate edifices, high trees supporting aged vines, and fences of stones and rubbish, with illegible inscriptions, and time-worn fragments.”

Chandler's words reflect the current situation of Teos perfectly, although viticulture plays a much less important role in the region under Islamic stricture. Irrigation, larger farm plots, and cash cropping, not to mention the use of mechanical farm equipment, all of which have changed the face of agriculture elsewhere in Turkey since the 1950s, have had relatively little effect on the site of Teos.⁵⁷ This lack of agricultural machinery can only be explained by the fact that modernization has favored larger unified plots of land. The immediate area of Teos is less attractive now than it was in ancient times.

Cash crops aside, the main staples of the Aegean farmer are still the same today as they were in antiquity. A large section of farmers' fields at Teos would have been set

⁵⁵ More detailed studies in this vein have been undertaken for Chios by Merousis 2001: 26-41 and for Miletos by Greaves 2002: 15-33. There is also the more general survey of Mediterranean agriculture in Holden and Purcell 2000: 175-230.

⁵⁶ See also Hamilton 1842: 12-14 and Stark 1954: 28-29 for more romantic impressions.

⁵⁷ Greaves 2002: 15 and Akşit 1993.

aside for grains, particularly wheat and barley.⁵⁸ Grain was certainly an important preoccupation for Teos. In the 5th century BC, the Teian imprecations specifically cursed those who impeded the importation of grain or who re-exported it (*Nomima* 104.a6-12). It seems unavoidable that the inscription must be interpreted as an indication of a grain shortage. The first half of the 5th century was undoubtedly a trying time for the city; the historical circumstance behind this clause may have to do with the Persian destruction of the city after the Ionian Revolt or the move to re-colonize Teos by Adbera, both complicated issues that will be explored in the next chapter.

The other main epigraphic testimony showing a grain shortage at Teos is the first letter of Antigonos Monophthalmos near the end of the 4th century. The king allows the formation of a fund to help the importation of grain, since the Teians could not produce enough to support both themselves and the Lebedians (*RC* 3.72-94). It should be noted, however, that the Marmor Parium records that an earthquake struck Ionia in 304/3 BC (*IG* 12.5.444.125). Moreover, Antigonos was ordering the synoecism of Teos with Lebedos and this involved a large population shift. The economic hardship of this move is noted by Antigonos. But it is interesting that the next section of the same letter provides instruction for simplifying the export of grain (*RC* 3.94-101). Clearly, neither of our testimonies justifies the belief that Teos could not regularly support itself with grain.⁵⁹ On the contrary, Antigonos believed that, in normal circumstances, the city would have been able to support itself and even actively participate in the grain trade.

⁵⁸ Teian barley bread, at least, is mentioned in Athenaios (4.160c).

⁵⁹ Certainly, Teos does not appear in the Cyrenaian grain donation of the 320s BC, nor does any Ionian city for that matter (*GHI* 96). If a grain shortage occurred in Greece during these years, it is notable that it does not seem to have affected any Ionian city. For a discussion of the Cyrenaian grain donation, see Laronde 1987: 33.

Grain imports may have been occasionally necessary and, in better times, may have also created a competitive price market.⁶⁰

The other two pillars of the Mediterranean diet were wine and olives. We would most certainly be surprised to find no wine production at a city whose patron god was Dionysos and whose most famous citizen, Anakreon, was a renowned drunk.⁶¹ Confirmation for wine production fortunately comes down to us in a fragment of Alkaios that names Teian wine (Athen. 11.481a). Another indication of the importance of the wine industry was the Anthesteria festival at the city, the yearly spring celebration at the time when the new wine was first uncasked.⁶² Local vineyards are possibly mentioned in the late 4th-century border dispute between Teos and Klazomenai (*SEG* 28: 697 A.25). Teian coins sometimes depict bunches of grapes and amphoras with grapes.⁶³ Indeed, the region around Teos continued to have a long history of winemaking into modern times. At the end of the 19th century, the wine from the area around Urla was one of the premier vintages of Turkey. When the Greeks were expelled from the peninsula in the 1920s, many emigrated to California where they started perhaps the best-known wine industry in North America.⁶⁴

There is far less evidence for oleoculture. Certainly, olive trees are a familiar sight in the present-day landscape and olive oil continues to be a dominating staple in daily diet. Lacking direct evidence for Teos, it is possible to examine the surrounding areas.

⁶⁰ Our only other testimony for grain import is in an honorary of Augustan date and represents an import τοῖς ἀνακαίτατοις καιροῖς – in dire times (*PEP Teos* 128.7-8).

⁶¹ *E.g.* Leonidas of Tarentum's poem on Anakreon the drunk, *Anth. Plan.* 306. There are many other such testimonia.

⁶² Our earliest testimony for the Anthesteria is in the Teian imprecations: *Nomima* 104.b32-33; and 105.d1-2. For a discussion of the festival, see Bremmer 1994: 46-50.

⁶³ Two 6th-century BC coins depict bunches of grapes on the vine (*BMC Ionia* 4 and 15). Similar depictions also occur on Roman-era coins (*e.g.* *BMC Ionia* 52). The depiction of an amphora with grapes is attested on a Roman-era coin (*BMC Ionia* 51).

⁶⁴ Koromila *et al* 1997: 125.

There is the famous anecdote about Thales of Miletos who, during an over-productive year, made a fortune by leasing all the oil presses at Miletos and Chios in advance (Arist. *Pol.* 1259a 5-21). Economic scholars argue over whether this passage can really be used to prove that olive oil was being produced on an industrial scale.⁶⁵ Until recently, there were no large-scale olive oil presses known from Ionia. Recent excavations at Klazomenai, however, have uncovered two large olive press facilities dating to the last half of the 6th century BC.⁶⁶ To some extent, these exciting new finds vindicate the historic probability of the story found in Aristotle. Thus, we can assume that the regions surrounding Teos were producing olive oil on a large scale and we must then expect that oleoculture was also important at Teos, even if it only supplied the local market demand.⁶⁷

Beyond the three great pillars of the Mediterranean diet, other produce and livestock must have been available at Teos. We are very fortunate to have the sympolity treaty found in the cemetery at Ulamiş, already mentioned above, which discusses many natural resources in the area of Teos including livestock, timber, and gardening. The inscription reads (*SEG* 26.1305):

[– – – ὧν κ]αὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Τηίοις μέτεστιν, ὡς ἐπὶ τετρα[ετίαν]
 [ἀφειμένοι]ς ? τῶν τελέων· ἀτελεῖς δὲ αὐτοὺς εἶναι καὶ χορηγ[ιῶν]
 [καὶ – ca. 6 –]οχιῶν καὶ βοηγιῶν καὶ λαμπαδαρχιῶν καὶ ἐπιγρα[φῆς]
 4 [τῶν τε βοῶν] τῶν ἀρούντων ὅσοι ἔωσι αὐτοῖς πάντων καὶ περιζύγ[ων]
 εἶναι δὲ α]ὐτοῖς τοὺς ἐργάτας βοῦς ἀτελεῖς τῶν ἔργων ὧν ἂν ἐ[κτε]-
 [ληι ? ἡ πόλις πά]ντων· δεδόσθαι δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀτέλειαν καὶ ὑποζυγίων [καὶ]
 [ἀνδραπόδων κ]αὶ μισθαρνεόντων καὶ ξυληγεόντων καὶ ἄλλο ὅτι ἂν ἐρ-
 8 [γάζωνται κ]αὶ πωλέωσιν ὅσα ἐς τὴν ξυλοπωλίην τελεῖ καὶ προβάτω[ν]

⁶⁵ Most recently Greaves 2002: 26-7. Roebuck 1959: 41 points to an increase in amphora production in Chios already from the early 7th century BC.

⁶⁶ Koparal and İplikçi 2004.

⁶⁷ I viewed a stone from an ancient olive press in the northwestern quarter of the city, on the path running west from the theater. This is sufficient testimony for local production at Teos.

[-- ca. 8 -- ἐ]ξεῖναι δὲ τοῖς βουλομένοις καὶ ὕς τρέ[φει]ν ἐς τὸν ἀριθμὸ[ν]
 [τὸν τεταγμέν]ον προβάτων καὶ εἶναι αὐτάς ἀτελεῖς· εἶναι δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ
 [τῶν ἄλλων τελέ]ων ἀτελεῖς πλὴν ἰατρικοῦ· ὅσα δ' ἂν τῶν ἀνδραπόδων
 12 [ἄνθρακας] ἢ ἄλλο τι πωλῆι ὅσα ἐς τὴν ξυλοπωλίην τελεῖ, ἀτέλειαν [αὐ]-
 [τοῖς εἶνα]ι τούτων· καὶ ὅποσοι ἂν χλάνδια ἐργάζωνται ἢ α-- --
 [----] ἢ ἄλλο τι ἐξ ἐρίων μιλησίων ἢ τρηχείων ἢ μα[λακῶν]
 [----] τούτων αὐτοὺς ἀτελεῖς εἶναι καὶ αὐτοῦ πωλέ[οντα]ς
 16 [καὶ ἐξάγοντα]ς· καὶ ὅσα ἂν ἐσάγωσι ἐπ' ἐργασίῃ τῶν χλανδίων ε[---]
 [-----] ἀλοργίην, εἶναι αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀτέλειαν [τούτων]·
 [-----] καὶ κήπων καὶ σημηνέων· εἶναι δὲ αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀτέ[λειαν]
 [-----] πάντων, εἰὰμ βουλέωνται ἐξάγειν [-----]
 20 [----] εἶναι δὲ αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀτέλειαν δέκα ἔτεα· ἄρχ[ειν δὲ]
 [τῆς ἀτελείας] μῆνα Λευκαθεῶνα καὶ πρύτανιν Ἀρίστιππον.

...of which there is for the other Teians, namely a four year reprieve from taxes; and let them be exempt from *choregia*, [...]*ochia*, *boegia*, *lampadarchia* and the inscribing of their ploughing oxen, as many as belong to them, and also all their stock oxen. Let their work oxen be exempt from all the work that the city undertakes. And let them also have exemption for all their draught animals and slaves and waged workers and animals which transport wood and any other that they use or sell, as many as work in selling wood. And let it be permitted for any that wants to [...] sheep and to raise as many pigs as the appointed number of sheep and let these be exempt from all other taxes except the medical tax. And as many of the slaves who sell charcoal or anything else, as many as work in charcoal retail, let these be exempt from tax for those. And let those who make coats or [...] whatever else from Milesian wool either coarse or soft [...] be exempt from taxes on those, whether they sell them locally or export them. And however much they import to the coat workshops [...] for purple-dyeing, let them be exempt to the taxes on those. [...] and gardens and apiaries, let them be exempt on the taxes for those. [...] of all, if they want to export [...] let them be exempt from taxes for ten years. And let the start of the exemptions begin in the month of Leukatheon in the prytany of Aristippos.

The tax exemptions granted here involve the unknown community that was located by the mountainous slopes of the Mastousion near Ulamiş, possibly at Beyler. The resources mentioned in the inscription are appropriate for the marginal hill land, but all of them, except for wood and charcoal, would have been found easily throughout the territory of Teos. The text mentions many different natural products, which we will examine in turn.

A walk around Seferihisar and Sığacık reveals many small gardens and orchards. Legumes, beans, and vetch are standard produce. Trees in the area today also grow figs, pomegranates, almonds, mulberries, and pistachios.⁶⁸ These are the sorts of products that must have been exempted under the general term of gardens (κήπων) in the inscription above (l. 18).⁶⁹ On the same line, we also hear mention of beehives (σμηνέων).

Apiculture obviously has a long-standing history in the area. We know that the 17th-century Turkish traveler, Evliya Çelebi, specifically lauded the honey at Seferihisar.⁷⁰ If we turn back to our inscription, it is interesting that the section mentioning gardens and beehives, discusses a tax exemption on exports. It is possible that, even in antiquity, the garden products and honey of Teos were well respected and exported, if only to nearby cities such as Klazomenai and Kolophon.

Most farmers in antiquity would have been involved in mixed agricultural and pastoral farming. Indeed, the modern inhabitants of the site of Teos still rely on herds to supplement their agricultural produce. A quick detour to the southwest of the temple of Dionysos, for example, leads the modern traveler to a small sheepfold. Animals were integral to the survival of the ancient city. The Ulamiş inscription mentions oxen, sheep and goats (under the generic name τὰ προβάτα), and also pigs. Two kinds of oxen are distinguished in the inscription: work oxen (οἱ βοῦς οἱ ἀρούντες; οἱ ἐργάται βοῦς) and stock oxen (οἱ περιζύγοι), which could be used for sale, breeding, and sacrifice.⁷¹ Work oxen were apparently normally subject to conscription for civic projects (ll. 5-6).

⁶⁸ Koromila *et al* 1997: 28.

⁶⁹ Wörrle's suggested emendation of κτήνων (1988: 464 n.196) instead of κήπων for this line cannot be accepted since all editions of the stone clearly read the latter.

⁷⁰ 1935: 131.

⁷¹ Chandezon 2003: 210 and Tréheux 1958: 90.

Our inscription also shows the importance of sheep in the area. One section deals specifically with the wool coat industry and, in particular, with Milesian wool (ἐρία μιλησία) (ll. 13-17). Milesian wool was extraordinarily well regarded in antiquity.⁷² The sheep were not, however, limited to the territory of Miletos and were apparently found here at Teos and also in the Fayum in Egypt.⁷³ Wool production was generally widespread on the Erythraian peninsula and Pliny mentions that Erythraian wool was well known for its reddish hue (*HN* 8.191).⁷⁴ Beyond wool, sheep would have also been valuable for producing milk products such as cheese and yoghurt.⁷⁵

Pigs are now notably and understandably absent from the modern landscape of Teos due to Islamic prohibition. Nonetheless, the acorns of the Vallonia Oak, which flourishes in the area, would have supplied them with an excellent source of food. We must imagine that there were numerous pig herds in antiquity and, indeed, the Ulamiş inscription seems to permit having as many pigs as sheep or goats (ll. 9-10).

This inscription is also the greatest testimony for timber and charcoal resources in the area of Teos. We learn that slaves, hired workers, and animals were all involved in cutting, transporting and selling wood from the territory around Teos (ll. 6-8).⁷⁶ Wood would have been needed for various undertakings: shipbuilding, furniture, and housing. It would have also been important as firewood. If we accept the likely restoration of ἄνθρακας (l. 12), many slaves would have been involved in the charcoal industry,

⁷² *E.g.* *Ar. Lys.* 730. See also Orrieux 1983: 91 and Greaves 2002: 31.

⁷³ *P. Cair. Zen.* 59195 and 59430.

⁷⁴ The sale of Erythraian wool was also subject of a mid 4th-century BC inscription monitoring its sale by the *agoranomos* at Erythrai (*IErythrai* 15). The wool industry on the peninsula was clearly well established by this time.

⁷⁵ The modern inhabitants of Seferihisar, however, obtain most of their milk products from cows. For a more in-depth discussion of sheep rearing, see Greaves 2002: 21-22 and 31.

⁷⁶ The attention to wood supply in the Ulamiş inscription is echoed in the mid-4th century BC land leases of the Klytidai on nearby Chios (*SEG* 22.508).

carbonizing wood for heating. Although deforestation occurred throughout much of the Aegean during antiquity, substantial trees still grow in the area around Teos. The Mastousion range is home to olive trees and Vallonia oak and the more rugged terrain also has many red pine and plane trees.⁷⁷ Indeed, the mountain town of Beyler still has an important timber and charcoal industry today.

This very brief survey of the agricultural and natural resources shows the abundant landscape into which the original Ionian settlers installed themselves and which their descendants still enjoyed over a thousand years later. It is hard to believe that the Teians were not self-sufficient. Their local territory was fertile and certainly able to produce more than enough food to support the local populace.⁷⁸ Moreover, as the city grew, it also expanded its territory to incorporate other agricultural areas such as Airai to the west. What the city did not have, it could easily obtain through local trade contacts. Sympolity agreements such as the Ulamiş decree helped to grease the wheels of trade and ensured that a healthy supply of food, timber, and other goods reached the city. Teos was certainly an affluent and self-sufficient *polis*.

Bounded in by mountain ranges and the sea, Teos still had a substantial territory with varied resources. Much of this land came at the cost of adjacent towns such as Airai, Myonnesos, and Lebedos. Some of these became incorporated into the Teian *chora*, while Lebedos just became territorially marginal. More than self-sufficient, Teos must have played some part in the regional economy of Ionia, exporting grain, wool products,

⁷⁷ Philippson's description from his 1901 travels in the area also emphasizes the wooded nature of these slopes (1912: 41-42). For a discussion of Philippson, see Robert 1976: 167-172.

⁷⁸ Fishing in the Bay of Teos must have also provided food resources. Athenaios mentions red mullets at Teos (7.325e).

and perhaps also timber. Stable, secure, and prosperous, it was not until the seat of the Roman province was created at Ephesos that Teos began to become marginalized in its own turn. It is now easier to understand the story in Herodotos that Thales of Miletos encouraged the Ionian League to establish a common council at Teos and to relegate the rest of the Ionian cities to a lesser status, much like the demes of Attica (1.170.3). Thales recommended this move because Teos was the central city of Ionia, but the story could only make sense if it was also a viable and affluent centre in the 6th century BC. As we have seen in this chapter, this must certainly have been the case.

Chapter Two A Historical Outline of Teos

Teos poses certain challenges when the scholar sets the task of composing an historical outline. With only a handful of literary sources mentioning the city, a history of events, names, and dates appears out of the question. Nonetheless, as part of the greater region of Ionia, Teos was involved directly and indirectly in some of the greatest events in Greek history, from the migration to the Anatolian coast down to the Roman conquest of the area.

Our historical sources are certainly varied. Literary references are biased towards the early period. Our great knowledge of the city in Hellenistic times is largely due to the inscriptions found in and around the ancient city. Some periods can be discussed only through the stray coin that has found its way into museum collections. This creates new challenges. The historian must strive to put Teos in its place without letting it be subsumed by the larger and better-documented histories of other polities. In our dearth of sources, we are fortunately spared this dilemma. The period of Athenian hegemony in the 5th century BC, for example, assuredly had an effect on Teos but, as we shall see, there are only a couple of references to this time. Of course, while this absence of literary testimonies spares us having to fully reconsider topics such as the Athenian Empire yet one more time, it leaves us with our second challenge: Do we have enough evidence to survey the history of Teos without prioritizing certain time periods to the point of being unbalanced? This is the more important challenge faced in this chapter.

The task cannot be avoided. The cultural and social topics that are the subject of later chapters did not exist in a vacuum of historical events. These were long processes, shaped by politics, both domestic and foreign. Moreover, the traditions and culture of the

Teians sometimes directly affected the city's political decisions. So it remains to write a rough historical outline of the city that takes into account all time periods, from its mythical foundation down to the 4th century AD.

1. Mythologies of Foundation

The earliest history of Teos, like that of many of the Ionian *poleis*, was a series of semi-mythological migrations that took place over a generation. The Dorian invasion of mainland Greece near the end of the mythological cycle, signaled the massive population shift that occurred after the fall of the Mycenaean palace centers. According to later historical sources, many of the peoples displaced by the Dorians ended up in Ionia. The list of these colonizers preserved in Strabo and Pausanias describes both a real and imagined process. It was real insofar as it represents a migration of Greek populations to the coast of Asia Minor and the union of various *ethne* in the process. But, as I have mentioned, it was also an imagined process, constructed at a later date to represent the genealogies of various aristocratic families resident in the Ionian cities.

Ionia was not uninhabited before the Greek migration, nor did the ancients pretend that it was. According to Pausanias, the territory around Teos was initially inhabited by Carian and Lelegian populations (7.3.6). Pausanias adds that the Carians mixed with the Greeks who installed themselves at Teos. The process in northern Ionia appears to have been more peaceable than the situation further south at Miletos, where the colonists murdered and exiled the Carian men and took their women as brides (Hdt. 1.146). Strabo records that the Carians abandoned the area of southern Ionia and migrated further south (14.1.3). This contrasts strongly with the situation in and around Teos,

where there is good evidence for the continuity of indigenous populations. Even as late as the Hellenistic period, the presence of towns with pre-Greek names, such as Kyrbissos and Oroanna, in the mountain fasts east of Teos are evidence to the continued presence of these populations. In the city itself, there is some testimony of naming the city's *pyrgoi* using pre-Greek names.¹ The first settlers to arrive at Teos from the Greek mainland did not try to drive out the local populations and must have relied heavily on their support during the early years of the settlement.

The colonization of Teos was considered by the Greeks to have happened in several successive waves. The credit of founding Teos, however, goes back to a group of Minyans from Boiotian Orchomenos. According to later tradition, the origin of the city's name stems from a story about the daughter of Athamas, the founder of the city (Pherekydes, *FGrHist* 3 F 112). While Athamas was looking for a suitable place to found a colony, he left his daughter, Area, to play. She gathered together some stones and built playhouses. When Athamas returned and asked her what she was doing, Area replied: “Τέως σὺ ἐζήτεις, ἵνα πόλιν κτίσης, εὖρον – While you were looking, so that you might found a city, I discovered one.” Teos was founded on the site of her stone houses and named after the first word she had spoken, “Τέως” or “Meanwhile.” The story, fashioned at a far later date, hides the possible pre-Greek origins of the city's name.² The memory of Athamas' foundation, however, persisted throughout the history of the city. The poet Anakreon, a native of Teos, would sometimes refer to the city as Athamantis (Strabo 14.1.3). In the Roman period, the title Neos Athamas was granted more than once

¹ Thompson 1949: 169 citing the Hellenistic *pyrgos* list (*CIG* 3064), which preserves such un-Greek names as Skebeïdes, Bebon, and Daddos. On the *pyrgoi* at Teos, see Chapter 5§5.

² So also Scheffler 1882: 7-8.

as a civic honor.³ Despite later influxes of population, the myth of the Minyan foundation was never forgotten.

Greek populations soon came to join the Orchomenians. Strabo, who also reports the account of Pherekydes cited above, records that at the time of the Ionian colonization, Teos was settled by Nauklos, a bastard son of Kodros (14.1.3). Nauklos was in turn joined by the Athenians Poikes and Damasos and by the Boiotian Geres.⁴ Pausanias' account varies slightly here (7.3.6). He reports that Apoikos, a grandson of Kodros, was the first to arrive after Athamas. The Ionians apparently took no action against the Carian and Minyan populations living at Teos, but settled peacefully alongside them. Pausanias then continues to relate that, a few years later, the Athenian contingent arrived under Naoklos and Damasos and the Boiotians under Geres. Apoikos received these latecomers as *synoikoi*. The difference between the two stories are minor, but the account in Strabo is preferred because of its more straightforward genealogy; in Pausanias' account, we are to believe that a grandson of Kodros had more standing and arrived some years earlier than the sons of the same man. Nonetheless, in all accounts, Athamas and the Minyans were considered the original founders and, a generation or so later, a host of new Greek colonists, who were said to have come from Athens and Boiotia, arrived in short but distinctive waves. The Ionians must have been by far the greatest population since they

³ Athamas appears on a late 2nd-century AD coin from Teos (*LIMC* s.v. Athamas no.12). During the principate, Teos also honored Tiberios Klaudios Mnasimachos with the term "new Athamas" (*CIG* 3083 and *SEG* 51: 1615 and 1616). For a discussion of the term and other examples of this heroic honoring in Greek cities see Herrman 2000: 90, Strubbe 1984-1986: 297-98, Merkelbach 1983: 29-30, and Robert 1981: 354-56.

⁴ It is important to note that the name Poikes was emended by Casaubon to Apoikos, which is listed in Pausanias' account (7.3.6). The manuscripts, however, preserve variously Ποίκης, Ποίκνης and Πύκνης. The name Poikes also appears in an inscription at Teos, and so this reading is preferred (*PEP Teos* 79.5). As for Geres, it is also possible that that it could be Geren since the manuscripts of Strabo preserve γᾶρ ἦν. For a discussion, see Sakellariou 1958: 174-175.

were able to take control of the city and peaceably exist beside the Carian, Minyan, and Boiotian settlers.

The inclusion of a separate wave of Athenian colonizers is troubling and unique in the tradition of the Ionian migration. In both Strabo and Pausanias, the Ionian migrants to Teos were led by a descendant of Kodros. The leaders of the Athenians are given no such pedigree. It is implied that the Ionian colonists to Teos set out from Athens like all the other Kodridai. So why do we have two separate waves of colonists from Athens? The tradition concerning the Ionian foundation of Teos appears to preserve two separate mythologies. The first is the traditional Ionian story of the Kodridai. The second is the later Attic tradition that all the cities of the Ionians were founded by missions sent from Attica. It is only in the Teian tradition that the vestiges of the two variant stories can be discerned, with both an Ionian and an Attic contingent mentioned. The fusion of the two mythologies in the other Ionian cities is much more complete, and so Teos provides an interesting check on the standard myth passed down to us in the historical sources. Obviously, in the early tradition, Athenians were held distinct from the Ionian settlers. It was only later, probably in the 5th century BC when Athenian cultural ambitions sought to encompass Ionia, that the two mythologies were combined.⁵

It is clear that numerous populations joined together in the settlement at Teos. Herodotos, deriding the purity of the Ionian stock in Asia Minor, conceded that in his day all were considered Ionian who were descended from the Athenians and celebrated the Apatouria festival (1.146-147). This suggests that even in later times, traces of the various *ethne* were evident. Sakellariou's study on the names of Teos and their relation

⁵ So also the opinion of Sakellariou 1958: 176.

back to the Greek mainland is informative here.⁶ For Teos, he drew upon the names attested in the 2nd century BC for the various *symmorai* and *pyrgoi*.⁷ Links can be established, for example, between the name of the symmory of the Philaïdai at Teos and the Attic deme of the same name near Brauron, between the Echinadai and the Maliadai and the Minyan heartland in southern Thessaly, and between the *pyrgoi* of Sthenelos and Kopreus with heroes of Argos. This last connection is important since the area known later as Achaia was the traditional homeland of the Ionian race. Further onomastic ties might be made with other regions of Greece, but this adds little to our overall picture of the multi-ethnic composition of Teos at the time of its foundation. It is clear that the Greeks believed that Teos' population was heterogeneous. Evidence from the city itself, mainly in the form of the city's pride in Athamas and the names preserved in the *pyrgos* list, suggest that, even in the Hellenistic period, the diverse origins of the city were accepted and honored. The stories of the foundation of the city preserved in Pausanias and Strabo naturally reflect this same condition.

If mythology can be used for historical purposes, the early city was very successful and provided further colonists to other Ionian cities. Teians were undoubtedly part of the force of Ionians that occupied the nearby city of Erythrai (Paus. 7.3.7). This may be inferred by the tradition that Phokaia received three Kodrid rulers from both

⁶ 1958: 176-185. Sakellariou is particularly interested in relating the names found at the Ionian cities back to areas of the Greek mainland. He does this in order to explain the diverse ethnic origins of the various *poleis*. His study succeeds too well and there are no regions of Greece that are not associated with a migration to Ionia. No doubt, there is some truth in this. However, I cannot agree with the positivism with which Sakellariou undertook his work. For example, he combines sources to prove that the Minyans moved first from Orchomenos to Phthiotis, then to Athens, and finally to Teos. He also concocts a link between the Attic deme Philaïdai near Brauron and the Molossians and then attributes the symmory Philaïdes at Teos to Molossian migrants. Both of these interpretations are overzealous. It is best just to accept the testimony that there were Minyans at Teos and that Ionian and Athenian colonists had ties with Achaia and Attica. Cf. Scheffler 1882: 39-48.

⁷ The *symmorai* are discussed in Chapter 3§3 and the *pyrgoi* are discussed in Chapter 5§5.

Erythrai and Teos (Paus. 7.3.10).⁸ It is not possible to date either of these events, since they are part of the mythological history of the Ionian cities, but they would have been fashioned during the first generations after the final wave of colonists. These stories are an indication that Teos was a prosperous city from its very beginning and able to influence the politics and myth-histories of nearby cities.

2. *The Archaic Period*

The history of Teos, as far as more concrete facts are concerned, begins in the 7th century BC. At that time, the city entered history as a fully formed *polis* with established social and political structures and religious identity. Trade connections were made with near and far off lands. And, if the poet Anakreon is any measure of the city, Teos was also an important center of art and culture.

Physical remains on the site from this period are unfortunately few. When the French surveyed the site in the 1920s, they rightly recognized that the only archaic remains were located on the acropolis of the city above the theater.⁹ A nicely constructed wall of polygonal masonry surrounds the upper hill of the acropolis, forming an oval enclosure with an east-west diameter of about 125 m. (Plate 6). It is constructed out of hard local limestone and poros stone. The wall can easily be traced on all sides, except to the south where much of it has eroded. This same southern stretch was repaired at some later date to form a field wall, using architectural members from various acropolis buildings. The entrance to the acropolis was most probably located on this southern side;

⁸ It is generally accepted that Ionians occupied Phokaia from the 9th century. Archaeologically, this is interpreted by a shift from Anatolian grey ware (also known as Aiolian) to Protogeometric pottery at this time. See MacInerney 1999: 160-161.

⁹ Béquignon and Laumonier 1924: 284-286.

it has the easiest access to the acropolis and the other three sides reveal no obvious traces of a gateway. The polygonal wall was augmented and repaired at a later date with blocks of pseudo-isodomic masonry. This is most clearly visible at the eastern edge of the acropolis, in the area just below the archaic altar. At the west end of the acropolis, a *diateichisma* of identical construction to the repairs can be traced running northwest from the acropolis to the city's Hellenistic fortification wall. This suggests a date for the re-fortification of the acropolis in the late 3rd century BC.

A *hekatompedon* temple and an archaic altar have been uncovered on the acropolis.¹⁰ While these have never been thoroughly studied, preliminary research on the temple indicates that it was built near the end of the 8th century BC. Not much remains of the structure, which was built up along a rock outcrop at its southern edge (Fig. 5, Plate 8). Indeed, the rock outcrop appears to have been leveled at the north to make room for the temple and the ground level at its western edge was raised nearly 3 m to provide a sufficient platform for the building. It is preserved only up to the lowest course of the stereobate foundation of the walls. The stone used for these courses was a local white marble. The euthynteria is composed of both large and small stones. The cella walls were quite thick, measuring 1.75 m across. The entire cella measured 38.46 x 7.30 m, making it larger than the comparable first *hekatompedon* temple of Hera at Samos, which we know to have been one of the wealthier sanctuaries in this time period.¹¹ Like the structure at Samos, the *hekatompedon* at Teos appears to have been supported by a row of columns down the middle of the cella.

¹⁰ The following is a summary of the preliminary report made by Tuna 1996: 220-221.

¹¹ For a brief description of the First Hekatompedon at the Samian Heraion, see Berve and Gruben 1961: 237-238.

Some architectural sculpture was located in the area to the east of the acropolis during the French survey in 1924.¹² An archaic lion's head sculpture, made in fine white island marble, appears to have been an *acroterion* for some building. Likewise, a fragment of an Ionic capital, similar to those from the 6th-century BC Heraion at Samos, was found 100 m to the east of the acropolis. Neither of these pieces can be related to the *hekatompedon* structure, but they may belong to the same later building.

A monumental altar was located to the east of the temple (Fig. 6, Plate 7). Béquignon and Laumonier called the building “the bastion” and believed that it was the propylon entrance to the acropolis.¹³ It was only with the Turkish investigations in the 1990s that the foundations were properly associated with the *hekatompedon* and identified as an altar. During the architectural survey, Tuna noted that the euthynteria blocks at the southwest end of the altar were built of the same stone used for the temple and he proposed that the initial phase of the altar was contemporary.¹⁴ The altar was later rebuilt, extending it to the north and east. The extension disturbed the original alignment of the altar with the temple. In its final form, the altar measured 9.56 x 18.20 m. The date of this second phase is difficult to assess. It involved the terracing of the eastern edge of the acropolis and Tuna believes it to be contemporary with the polygonal enclosure wall that surrounds the acropolis. Although only the foundation course of the altar is preserved, some stylistic considerations of the cut of the stone are comparable to the Rhoikos altar at the Samian Heraion, which dates to around 550 BC. This would provide us a date for the final phase of the altar and the polygonal wall in the first half of the 6th century BC.

¹² Béquignon and Laumonier 1924: 285-286. The current location of these fragments is unknown.

¹³ Béquignon and Laumonier 1924: 285.

¹⁴ Tuna 1996: 221-222.

The late Geometric and archaic remains on the acropolis of Teos are among our few testimonies of the society of Teos in its early history. Above all, they represent an organized social structure, capable of marshalling the manpower and resources necessary for the construction of monumental buildings. The acropolis was apparently the focal point for Teian society during the 8th through 6th centuries BC. Test trenches have uncovered a continuous ceramic sequence in other areas such as the temple of Dionysos, but it is only on the acropolis that we can see the physical expression of Teian social organization from this period. The Teians focused great effort on delineating the acropolis space through the construction of its polygonal wall. The *hekatompedon* and its associated religious buildings were the mark of joint religious practices that marked the Teians as a distinct community. It is impossible to know if these early religious practices centered upon the later famous cult of Dionysos, but the lyric poet Alkaios gives testimony to the importance of wine and drinking at Teos; the city was apparently well known for its fine *kylikes*, used no doubt in symposia and perhaps even religious festivals for the wine god (Athenaios 11.481a).

Absolute testimony of Teian identity in this time period cannot be found at Teos, but rather abroad in Egypt. Mercenaries employed during Psammetichos II's military campaign in 591 BC left graffiti on the leg of the southern colossus of Ramses II at Abu Simbel. Among these, one mercenary proudly marked himself as Helesibios the Teian (ML 7b). Teian citizens living and working abroad definitely felt a proud civic identity and identified themselves with their parent city.¹⁵

¹⁵ For the assertion of civic identity of Greek mercenaries and traders working abroad, see Demetriou 2005, especially her chapter on Naukratis and Egypt. See also Hansen 1996: 177, 180, and 195.

Teos had other strong connections with Egypt. Herodotos' account of the foundation of the Hellenion at Naukratis in, or shortly after, 570 BC is one such testimony (2.178). According to the historian, Teos was one of the founders of the sanctuary to the Greek pantheon, alongside Chios, Klazomenai, Phokaia, Rhodes, Knidos, Halikarnassos, Phaselis, and Mytilene.¹⁶ Naukratis, of course, predated the grant of the Pharaoh Amasis mentioned in Herodotos; archaeology points to a foundation date near the end of the 7th century, between 615-600 BC.¹⁷ This coincides with the account of Strabo, who records that it was not during the time of Amasis but rather Psammetichos I that the Kanobic port was established for Greek traders (17.1.18).

Of all the artifacts recovered at Naukratis, the votive finds from the various sanctuaries are among the most interesting for the study of the civic identity of Greeks working in Egypt. The votive offerings, mostly pottery, are often marked by an inscription noting the dedicator. Many of these note the city-ethnic alongside the name. We have objects dedicated by Greeks from various northern Ionian cities including Chios, Klazomenai, Phokaia, and, of course, Teos. At Naukratis, Teian cult activity was apparently not restricted to the Hellenion. Teian cult dedications were found for Aphrodite Pandemos¹⁸ and Milesian Apollo.¹⁹

It is clear that Teians were actively trading in Egypt. It is unclear, however, precisely how important trade with Egypt was for the Teian economy during the Archaic

¹⁶ Fragmentary inscriptions have been found in the sanctuary which have been restored as θεοῖσι τοῖς Ἑλληνῶν and θεῶν τῶν Ἑλληνῶν (Hogarth 1898-1899: 53-55 no. 18 and 1905: 116 nos. 1-4). The formula is epigraphically unattested elsewhere in the Greek world at this time. For a recent discussion of the worship at the Hellenion, see Demetriou 2005: 242-252.

¹⁷ For the foundation date, see the discussion in Demetriou 2005: 201-206. The date is based on pottery found at the sanctuary of Aphrodite, which was excavated down to the sterile subsoil. See also the discussion of the pottery in Cook 1937: 227-237.

¹⁸ Petrie 1886: 62 no. 700 pl. 35 and 64 no. 757 pl. 21. Gardner 1888: 64 no. 758 pl. 21 and 65 no. 779 pl. 21.

¹⁹ Petrie 1886: 61 no. 209 pl 32. Gardner 1888: 68 no. 876 pl. 20.

period. Teos did not send out colonies like many other Ionian cities such as Miletos. The emporion at Naukratis is the only evidence we have for the city's foreign trade interests. Without a doubt, Teians were actively trading for Egyptian grain. The 5th-century BC Teian imprecations, with their curse against anyone interfering with the grain trade, have been used to show that Teos was perennially short of grain (*Nomima* 104a.6-12).²⁰ But, as we saw in the previous chapter, Teos had ample land and the few documented cases of grain shortage appear to have arisen during difficult times in the city.²¹ In the case of the imprecations, this occurred after the destruction of the city in the Ionian revolt, a period of time when much of the population had left to colonize Abdera in Thrace. By contrast, all indications appear to point to an economically successful city during this period. This does not mean that Teos did not obtain grain from Egypt. It is quite probable that the Teians saw an opportunity to specialize their economy by trading in wine, pottery, and, later on, silver from Thrace. Ceramic studies for Teos are sadly lacking. Nonetheless, eminent scholars have suggested, for lack of a better candidate, that Teos was one of the major North Ionian centers of pottery production during the Archaic period.²² Tuna's discovery of a ceramic waste area near the south harbor, covering nearly 2 hectares, may support this interpretation.²³ Wine appears to have been an important product at Teos during all periods. A fragment of the 6th-century BC poet Alkaios mentioning wine and drinking cups at Teos may be relevant to this wine production (preserved in Athenaios 11.481a). The Teian trade of silver from Thrace probably only dates from the time after

²⁰ *E.g.* Roebuck 1950: 240-241.

²¹ *Cf.* Möller 2000: 75-88, especially 81. See also Chapter 1§3.

²² Cook and Dupont 1998: 51 and Boardman 2003: 166. A very recent Neutron Activation Analysis (NAA) study of the clay sources along the Ionian coast has determined that much of the pottery previously attributed to Klazomenai in fact comes from Teos (Personal Communication, G. Schaus, January 6th, 2007).

²³ 1996: 224-225 and 1998: 327.

Teos had established the colony at Abdera.²⁴ Selling these goods in Egypt allowed Teian merchants to purchase grain, while, at the same time, making a handsome profit.

This newfound wealth from trade with Egypt may have been expressed in the construction projects on the city's acropolis during the first half of the 6th century BC. The population appears to have grown quite sizeable; a large group of Teian colonists was recruited by the Ephesians in their war against the descendants of Androklos (Ephoros, *FGrHist* 70 F 126). This last story has some later historical corroboration insofar as one of the five *phylai* of Ephesos was named the Teioi.²⁵ This event should perhaps be dated in the second half of the 7th or early 6th century BC.²⁶ Anecdotal evidence from Herodotos also seems to prove that Teos was a successful and affluent *polis* at this time; the philosopher Thales proposed that Teos become the seat of a common council for the entire Ionian league (1.170.3). Such a proposal would make sense only if Teos was an economically viable center. As we have seen from the limited archaeological material from Teos and Naukratis, this must have been the case.

Our greatest testimony for culture and learning at Teos from this period is the lyric poet Anacreon. Unfortunately, little is known about the life of this most illustrious poet. It is generally agreed that he was born ca. 575-570 BC.²⁷ Anacreon was raised and educated at Teos, but left the city alongside his fellow citizens to colonize the city of Abdera in Thrace on the eve of the Persian invasion. From there, Anacreon journeyed throughout the Aegean, residing at the courts of various tyrants. He worked at Samos

²⁴ For the use of Thraco-Macedonian silver in Egypt, see Roebuck 1950: 236-247.

²⁵ Abundantly documented, but see the discussion in Jones 1987: 311-315.

²⁶ *Contra* Roebuck 1961: 504 n. 19, who considers the Teian migrants to have arrived at Ephesos at the time of the Persian conquest.

²⁷ The most detailed account of Anacreon's life remains Bowra 1961: 284-316. Cf. Hutchinson 2001: 256-260.

until the death of Polykrates in 522 BC (Hdt. 3.121-122). After this, he went to work for Hipparchos in Athens and remained there until the end of the Peisistratid tyranny. It is even possible that he journeyed to Pharsalos in Thessaly and served the Aleuadai.²⁸ At some point, Anakreon returned to Teos, where he spent the rest of his days. Later anecdotes recorded that he passed away choking on a grape pip at the ripe age of 85.²⁹ While this story is more than a little apocryphal, Anakreon's age would place his death in the period following the failed Ionian revolt, sometime around 485 BC. Two different epitaphs attributed to the contemporary poet Simonides record his grave at Teos (*Anth. Graeca* 7.24-25). Anakreon's tomb became a focal point of civic pride and of the artistic and cultural patrimony of Teos. Indeed, the Teians never forgot the poet and depicted him on coins of the city during the Roman period.³⁰

It is hard to summarize the great contributions that Anakreon made to Greek culture during his lifetime and afterwards. The words of Kritias, who knew the poet as a young boy, are perhaps the best testimony to the man's achievement (Athenaios 13.74):

τὸν δὲ γυναικείων μελέων πλέξαντα πότ' ὤδα
 ἤδ' ἄν' Ἀνακρείοντα Τέως εἰς Ἑλλάδ' ἀνῆγεν,
 συμποσίων ἐρέθισμα, γυναικῶν ἠπερόπεια,
 αὐλῶν ἀντίπαλον, φιλοβάρβιτον, ἤδ' ἄλυπον.
 οὐ ποτέ σου φιλότῃς γηράσεται οὐδὲ θανεῖται,
 ἔς τ' ἂν ὕδωρ οἴνω συμμιγνύμενον κυλίκεσσι
 παῖς διαπομπεύῃ, προπόσεις ἐπιδέξια νωμῶν,
 παννυχίδας θ' ἱερὰς θήλεις χοροὶ ἀμφιέπωσιν,
 πλάστιγξ θ' ἢ χαλκοῦ θυγάτηρ ἐπ' ἄκραισι καθίζῃ
 κοττάβου ὑψηλαῖς κορυφαῖς Βρομίου ψακάδεσσι.

²⁸ This part of the poet's career is reconstructed from two epigrams attributed to him addressing the King Echekrates of Pharsalos and his wife. (Loeb Anakreon fr. 107d-108d). Cf. Hutchinson 2001: 260

²⁹ Lucian records that Anakreon lived for 85 years (*Macr.* 26). The account of the grape pip is recorded in Pliny *HN* 7.7.

³⁰ *BMC Ionia* 50 and 55 and *SNG Cop. Ionia* 1486.

Teos brought sweet Anacreon to Greece,
 who once wove songs for women's melodies
 the exciter of *symposia*, cozener of women,
 the rival of flutes, fond of the lyre, sweet, causing no grief.
 Never will love of you grow old or die,
 As long as a boy carries round cups of water
 mixed with wine, toasts from left to right as by custom,
 Or as long as female choruses keep their holy nightlong festivals,
 Or as long as the disk, daughter of bronze, sits upon the high
 tops of the *kottabos*-pole for the flicking of the best drops of Bromios' wine.

In Kritias' estimation, Anacreon embodied all that was blessed and cultured about *symposia* and festivals of Dionysos. These were not things that Anacreon invented; they were part of his cultural learnings from growing up in Teos.³¹ The wealthy city of his childhood must have been the setting for many aristocratic *symposia*. The elaborate rituals of drinking and wine, central to much of Anacreon's poetry, should be considered a testimony to the important cult of Dionysos at Teos, which is amply documented in later periods.

All indications seem to show that, by the first half of the 6th century BC, Teos was a wealthy and cultured city. The citizens must have feared that they had much to lose when Cyrus the Great stormed out of the East and defeated Kroisos of Lydia. Enraged that the Ionians had not supported him prior to his defeat of Kroisos, Cyrus appointed his general Harpagos to take the Greek cities by force. These events happened ca. 545 BC. The Ionians responded by hastily erecting walls around their cities and preparing for the siege. If the Ionians had stood united, perhaps they would have stood a better chance. Unfortunately, each city chose to stand and fight on their own. Harpagos began in the north by besieging Phokaia and soon arrived at Teos.

³¹ For the importance of Teos in Anacreon's poetry, see Hutchinson 2001: 257.

Herodotos' account of the events at Teos is brief (1.168). In the time leading up to the siege, the Teians had managed to build a circuit wall to protect their city.

Unfortunately, their defensible position was not favorable and Harpagos soon managed to raise an earthwork by which to take the city. Fearing enslavement, the Teians made the same bold choice as the Phokaians before them. The entire citizen body took an oath to abandon the city and sailed away to re-colonize the city of Abdera in Thrace. It was the end of the first great period of the city. Some citizens would later return to rebuild, but it would be a long time before Teos would again rise to the wealth and prominence that it had held during the first half of the 6th century BC.

3. *The Re-Founded City*

After the siege of Harpagos and the flight of the Teians to Abdera and Phanagoreia, some of the Teians returned to re-found the city.³² It is difficult to assign a date for the re-colonization. Since the Teians were active in the Ionian revolt, this must serve as a *terminus ante quem*. One possible date for their return is shortly before Megabazos conquered the Greek cities of Thrace in 512/510 BC. Scholars who advocate this date argue that once the Persians took over the Thracian coast, some of the Teians decided to return to Ionia since they would be living under the yoke of Persian rule either way.³³ There are two problems with this date. First, archaeological test trenches at the site have not found a break in the ceramic chronology, which would be evident in an absence of occupation of nearly 30 years. Second, as we will see below in the discussion of the coinage of Abdera, Teos began minting coins by around 520 BC at the latest. These two

³² This is left understood in the passage of Herodotos (1.168) and explicitly mentioned in Strabo (14.1.30).

³³ Veligianni-Terzi 1992: 693-695 and Chryssanthaki 2001: 396-397.

facts argue for a somewhat earlier date, almost certainly a mere matter of years after the city was abandoned. It is interesting to note that Herodotos parallels the flight of the Teians with that of the Phokaians. The Phokaians had also abandoned their city just before Harpagos breached the walls, but despite taking an oath never to return, more than half the citizens were overcome by a longing for their city and immediately sailed back (Hdt. 1.165). And so, it is probable that many Teians found life difficult in their new colony at Abdera. Pindar's Second Paian is testimony to constant wars against local Thracian tribes.³⁴ It is not surprising that many Teians decided to return to their homeland, preferring to live under Persian rule rather than struggle to survive in a hostile territory.

Our next mention of Teos is during the Ionian Revolt. The city was once again a substantial enough power and contributed 17 ships to the Ionian naval force at Lade in 494 BC (Hdt. 6.8).³⁵ The Ionians were defeated and the cities were then re-conquered, many being burnt in the process (Hdt. 6.32). Teos no doubt suffered severely under this defeat and it is probably at this time that the Abderites sent more colonists to help rebuild their former homeland.³⁶ This was perhaps the darkest chapter in the city's long history and it took a long time for Teos to recover.

³⁴ The Abderite struggle against the Paionians is the subject of Pindar's second Paian. The war appears to have gone on over some period of time, involving an initial victory, followed by a setback, and then a final battle at Melamphyllon in which the Abderites drove the Thracian tribe from their territory. There is no precise chronology for the war but the events must have occurred during the first generation of the Teian colony. Following the establishment of the satrapy of Thrace, the Paeonians were deported by the Persians, sometime between 520 and 512 BC (Hdt. 5.12-14.1). See the discussion in Graham 1992: 49-51. For the civic context of Pindar's Second Paian at Abdera, see Stehle 1996: 127-132 and Dougherty 1994.

³⁵ According to Roebuck's calculation of 200 men per trireme, we might expect a complement of 3400 Teian men at Lade; 1953: 12. Assuming a ratio of 1:4 adult males to total populace, we can figure on a population close to 14,000 at the time of the Ionian revolt. Of course, this is only a guess, but it does provide an idea of the probable scale of the population of Teos a little over a generation after it was re-founded.

³⁶ The reference to the city burning in relationship to Abderite re-colonization of Teos in Pindar's Second Paian (29-31) appears to be a reference to the destruction of the city at the end of the Ionian revolt.

Following the Ionian revolt, Teos undoubtedly received a pro-Persian tyrant. This figure has generally been associated with the political office of *aisymnetes*, which was later banned in the Teian imprecations (*Nomima* 104.b5-10).³⁷ Shortly after the defeat of the Persian navy at Mykale in 479 BC, the Teians overthrew their tyrant and instituted a democracy. It has been suggested with good reason that Abdera also languished under a Persian tyrant during this time. Indeed, the Teian imprecation against the abuse of any political office was also in force at Abdera (*Nomima* 105 A5-24). An interesting, but fragmentary, passage in Pindar's Second Paian refers to some sort of *stasis* at Abdera, possibly resulting from a second wave of Teian migrants to the city.³⁸ Two different circumstances have been proposed for this return of Teian citizens to Abdera. D'Alessio believes that this political strife could have taken place after the Ionian revolt, when anti-Persian Teians were forced to relocate to Abdera. A less certain but very attractive theory has recently been proposed by Veligianni-Terzi.³⁹ In her opinion, the strife at Abdera took place between 479 and 476 BC, when the Persian garrison at Eion was finally defeated and Abdera was able to rebel. She proposes that pro-Persian Teians fled to Abdera, after their city had expelled their tyrant. In both of these scenarios, the conflict at Abdera arose between pro- and anti-Persian factions. The later date, however, is more attractive if we accept Veligianni-Terzi's dating of the two different imprecations found at Teos. The older fragment makes no mention of Abdera at all (*Nomima* 104). By contrast, Abdera and Teos are jointly mentioned throughout the more recently discovered

See D'Alessio 1992 and Rutherford 2001: 267-269. Graham (1991: 177) skeptically notes that Teos was probably also burned when it was taken by Harpagos ca. 545 BC, making it impossible to determine which of these destructions Pindar was referring to.

³⁷ For a discussion of the post of *aisymnetes* at Teos, see Chapter 3§1.

³⁸ Strophe B of the poem is too fragmentary to reconstruct, but the scholion to line 48 mentions circumstances of both *stasis* and attacks on newcomers. These newcomers (οἱ ἐπιήλυδες) are generally accepted to be Teians. See Rutherford 2001: 270 and D'Alessio 1992: 275-277.

³⁹ 1997: 696-700.

inscription (*Nomima* 105). According to Veligianni-Terzi, it is possible that the first imprecation was inscribed at Teos in the interim period after Mykale, but before Abdera had been liberated. The second set of imprecations would then date after Abdera had expelled their pro-Persian party and re-established ties with their mother city, some time after 476 BC.⁴⁰ Notably, this would establish the date for Pindar's Second Paian after his return from Sicily in 474 BC.⁴¹ All this remains uncertain, but, whichever interpretation is accepted, the concrete fact remains that the Teians had established themselves as a democratic body after the victory at Mykale and had re-established strong ties with the community of Abdera in, or shortly after, 476 BC.

Despite their newfound freedom from under the yoke of Persian rule, this was a difficult time for Teos. A close reading of the Teian imprecations shows fear of real and imagined dangers from within their own community (*Nomima* 104-105). The inscriptions, which were to be recited by the *timouchoi* three times a year at the Anthesteria, the festival of Herakles, and the festival of Zeus, invoke curses on individuals for a wide array of crimes. These included poisoning the community or an individual, threatening the grain supply of the city, establishing a tyranny, partaking in treason, and aiding or undertaking banditry and piracy. The public reading of the inscriptions served two purposes. It functioned as a sacral threat against would-be malefactors and as an invocation of protection against actual threats.⁴²

And these threats were not completely imagined. The imprecations represented social anxiety about recent events and trends in the city. It is evident from the

⁴⁰ Cf. Herrmann 1981: 5-6, who prefers a date between 480-450 but closer to 450 BC.

⁴¹ Willamowitz-Moellendorff (1913: 253) proposed this later date. See, however, Rutherford's preference for an earlier date, shortly after the battle of Lade (2001: 275).

⁴² Herrmann 1981: 3.

imprecations that the Teians had problems in their territory. The countryside had become a dangerous place, where bandits and pirates were free to operate (*Nomima* 104.b17-28).⁴³ The Teians were not merely concerned with the protection of their own citizens, but also of all those who inhabited and worked the land in their territory. This is evident by the inclusion of barbarians alongside Greeks as potential victims of the bandits cursed in the imprecations, and suggests that the city continued to count on the support of indigenous villages of Carians and Lelegians in their territory (104.b25-27).⁴⁴ Nonetheless, despite this strong interest in protecting their territory, the reality was that, following the destruction of the city at the end of the Ionian revolt, much of the population was centered in the city itself and great tracts of land lay fallow. Indeed, Teos was no longer able to support its need for grain. This is clear from a provision in the imprecations that cursed anyone who interfered with the importation of grain and against anyone who re-exported it (104.a6-12).⁴⁵ All told, it was a period of low central authority throughout the territory. Unable to assert their authority over the territory, it is no wonder that the Teians resorted to divine curses as a form of protection.

Substantial sections of the imprecations also reveal a fear of an abuse of political power. Having recently been liberated from a tyranny, the Teians must certainly have worried that another tyrant might try to install himself. And so, part of the imprecations focuses on outlawing the office of *aisymnetes* and any possible abuse of power by the

⁴³ See also Chapter 5§4 on the local history of banditry and piracy.

⁴⁴ Greeks and barbarians are also protected in the citizenship oath of Chersonesos in the Black Sea (*IosPE* 1² 401.10-12; beginning of the 3rd century BC). Notably, however, this only extends to the security of the land. Later in the oath, the Chersonesitans swear that they will not reveal state secrets to either a Greek or a Barbarian (ll. 25-28). Clearly, non-citizens of either Greek or Barbarian were important to the wealth and prosperity of the land, but they were not to be trusted like fellow citizens.

⁴⁵ *Cf.* Garnsey 1988: 76. He interprets this passage slightly differently, suggesting that the Teians were not cursing the re-exportation of grain but citizens who hoarded grain to drive up the price.

current officials (104.b3-9 and 105.a5-24).⁴⁶ The very act of reading out the imprecations three times a year was also a reminder to the *timouchoi* and *tamiai*, who were responsible for the recitation, that they held their office in sacred trust for the community of Teos and dared not abuse their power. If they failed to do so, they too would be cursed (104.b29-35 and 105.b11-23). It was their duty to make sure that the imprecations always remained “ἐπὶ μνήμηι : καὶ δυνάμει – for memory and power” (105.d17-19).⁴⁷

4. *Mother-city and Colonies*

When the Teians abandoned their city at the time of Harpagos’ siege, they sailed north across the Aegean and established themselves at Abdera on the coast of Thrace. The city was located on a shallow bay some 16 km to the east of the mouth of the Nestos River, which formed the western boundary of its territory.⁴⁸ The territory of the city also extended to Lake Bistonis in the east and up north into the foothills of the Rhodope Mountains. It was an extremely fertile area, well suited for producing both grain and vines.⁴⁹ In a very short period of time, Abdera became one of the leading Greek cities in the region and an important trade port for goods and silver coming out of Thrace.⁵⁰

Abdera was not a new foundation when the Teian exiles arrived. The most precise testimony for the original foundation is found in Eusebios, who provides a date of 654

⁴⁶ Cf. van Effenterre and Ruzé 1994: 368.

⁴⁷ Cf. *Nomima* 104 B 31. The stelai of the imprecations also held a sort of sacral power to curse those who attempted to disregard them. Anyone who attempted to chip away or erase the lettering was also cursed (*Nomima* 104 B 35-41). See also Thomas 1992: 81.

⁴⁸ For a full listing of the archaeological sources for the territory of Abdera, see Loukopoulou *et al* 2005: 167-169.

⁴⁹ Pindar notes the fertility of the area in his Paian for Abdera (2.25 and 60).

⁵⁰ There are no good sources for silver in the territory of Abdera, so the city must have established good trade relations with the Thracians. The city started minting silver coins from near the beginning of the Teian settlement. See May 1966: 1-4 and Graham 1992: 53.

BC (*Chron.* 2.86 (Schoene)).⁵¹ The historical record does not provide much information concerning the circumstance of the foundation. Herodotos records that the city was founded by Timesios of Klazomenai (1.168). Later sources tell the story of another Klazomenian, Timesias, undoubtedly a reference to the same man (Plut. *Moralia* 812A and Aelian, *VH* 12.9). In these accounts, Timesias was a good man and politician, but he became unpopular in his city because he always took the city's administrative tasks as his own. Timesias only realized how deep-seated this hatred had become when he heard the sentiment expressed by a small child. Fearing for his life, he decided to flee the city. According to Plutarch, at some point Timesias journeyed to Delphi to obtain an oracle for the foundation of a colony. The Pythia responded that he would lead a swarm of bees soon to be followed by wasps (*Moralia* 96B). According to Plutarch, the meaning of the oracle was that in excessively seeking the goodwill of his fellow Klazomenians, Timesias unwittingly inspired their ire. Nor did Timesias' story end well. According to Herodotos, soon after founding Abdera, he was forced out of the city by the Thracians (Hdt. 1.168). These sparse facts are the supposed historical context for the original foundation of Abdera.

Archaeological excavations have supported Eusebios' foundation date. The archaic settlement was located further inland, to the north of the classical settlement (Fig. 7).⁵² Traces of a 7th-century BC fortification wall have been located. An early necropolis, spanning the late 7th century to the mid-6th century BC, was located just outside the northwest corner of the settlement.⁵³ The cemetery consisted of 282 burials, including

⁵¹ Cf. Solinus *Coll.* 10.10.

⁵² For a summary of the finds from the Klazomenian settlement, see Loukopoulou *et al* 2005: 176 with full bibliographical references to the preliminary archaeological reports.

⁵³ The finds from the 1982 excavation are reported in Skarlatidou 2004: 249-259.

239 amphora burials and 22 pit graves. The jar burials were all infants and children, indicative of the high level of infant mortality. Only 27% of the graves had any offerings at all and these were most often ceramics imported from Klazomenai itself. Generally, it can be said that the Klazomenian settlement was extremely poor and had only the most limited of trade contacts with northern Ionia, specifically its mother city. These would be the remains of the original colony founded by Timesios.

While archaeology confirms the original foundation of Timesios, the material evidence contradicts the historical record. The original colony appears to have endured after the expulsion of its founder. Moreover, the material record from the site shows continued trade contacts with Klazomenai throughout this time period. This naturally leads us to be skeptical about the historical sources. Was the foundation of Abdera the sole effort of Timesios, a Klazomenian outcast? Or was it an effort sanctioned by Klazomenai itself? It seems that history may have been rewritten by the Teian colonists.⁵⁴ Herodotos informs us that the Teians continued to honor Timesios as the founding hero at Abdera (1.168). It is probable that in taking on the cult of Timesios, the Teian colonists at Abdera wanted to distance him and consequently the city he founded from Klazomenai. This was properly achieved by making Timesios an outcast and an exile. Of course, it took time for this revisionist story to take seed and this could be why it escapes Herodotos' notice in his account of the original foundation of Abdera; the tale had either not yet been crafted or was too recent for it to have gained much validity.

⁵⁴ Parke and Wormell believed that the Delphic oracle was invented by the Teian colonists (1956: I.61). Cf. Malkin 1987: 54-56.

The Teian migration to Abdera is clearly represented in the archaeological record.⁵⁵ The fortification wall of the original settlement shows a second phase of construction in the second half of the 6th century BC. The new rampart enclosed a smaller area than its predecessor. At the northwest corner of the wall, a small open-air shrine has been uncovered with votive finds dating as early as the third quarter of the 6th century.⁵⁶ Excavations also uncovered harbor installations, including a ship shed, and some 6th-through 4th-century BC houses. Finally, the late archaic and classical cemetery was situated to the north of the fortification wall. Several painted Klazomenian sarcophagi dating to the late 6th and early 5th centuries BC were uncovered during the cemetery excavations.⁵⁷ These sarcophagi may represent continued contact with Abdera's original mother-city, but it should be noted that several similar sarcophagi were also recovered during rescue excavations in the eastern necropolis of Teos in the 1990s.⁵⁸

Abdera was not the only Teian colony at the time of the Persian invasion. Later sources also testify to the migration of Teians to Phanagoreia in the Kimmerian Bosphoros (Ps-Skymnos 886). Arrian mentions that the *oikistes* was Phanagoras of Teos, who established the city in order to escape Persian domination (*FGrHist* 156 F 71).⁵⁹ Kuznetsov, the most recent excavator of the site, has challenged the testimonies for direct colonization from Teos.⁶⁰ In particular, he finds it troubling that neither Herodotos nor Strabo mentions that Phanagoreia was a colony of Teos. Consequently, Kuznetsov proposed that the reason for this oversight was that Phanagoreia was colonized from

⁵⁵ For a summary of the finds from the archaic and classical Teian settlement, see Loukopoulou *et al* 2005: 178 with full bibliographical references to the preliminary archaeological reports.

⁵⁶ This shrine is often interpreted as a cult place for Demeter and Kore. *E.g.* Chryssanthaki 2001: 390, who cites the mention of the Thesmophoria festival at Abdera in Diogenes Laertius 9.43.

⁵⁷ Personal autopsy of the finds in the museum at Abdera (September 2004).

⁵⁸ Personal autopsy of the finds at the Archaeological Musuem at Izmir (April 2006).

⁵⁹ *Cf.* Hekataios, *FGrHist* 1 F 212.

⁶⁰ 2003: 899 and (under the variant spelling of Kuznecov) 2002: 60.

Abdera. It is an attractive theory, made more so if we follow his suggestion that Phanagoreia was a further refuge for Teians fearing the Thracian attacks on Abdera soon after their colonization of that city. Whether Phanagoreia was colonized directly from Teos at the time of the Persian invasion of Ionia or a few years later from Abdera, the colony had a strong Teian presence. Situated on the Taman Peninsula, across the strait from Pantakapaion, Phanagoreia was one of the most important cities in the Bosporan territory.⁶¹ Finds of Ionian and Attic pottery from the second half of the 6th century BC show that the city had far-reaching trade contacts from its very foundation.⁶²

The site of Phanagoreia is situated across two plateaus, running east-west, and bounded on both sides by ravines (Figure 8). The late archaic settlement appears to have been settled on the lower plateau along the shore. It formed a rectangular plan about 400 x 500 m and covered around 22 hectares.⁶³ Remains of houses, ceramic and bronze workshops, and a few public buildings in the Doric order have been excavated in this area. The initial colonial settlement, however, appears to have been located on the highest hill of the site on the outermost part of the upper plateau.⁶⁴ The remains of five mud brick houses were uncovered in this area, the earliest dating to the third quarter of the 6th century BC. All the houses are aligned on cardinal points. This shows that there was a sense of urban planning and developed social organization from the very beginning of the colony. Even more interesting is the fact that all the houses seem to have doubled as workshops. Traces of pottery wasters, moulds for terracotta statues, and even fragments

⁶¹ Indeed, Strabo directly contrasts Phanagoreia with Pantakapaion (11.2.10). He considered Phanagoreia the metropolis of the Asian Bosporos, while Pantakapaion was the main city of the European side.

⁶² Morgan 2004: 151-152, Kuznecov 2002: 67, and Kuznetsov 2001: 324. The earliest substantial context of finds dates around 550-530 BC. Some earlier finds, dated in the first half of the 6th century BC, suggest that, like Abdera, Phanagoreia was not a completely new foundation.

⁶³ Kuznetsov 2003: 908.

⁶⁴ Kuznetsov: 2003: 910-915 and Morgan 2004:225.

of a mould for a life-size bronze sculpture were found in the houses, which were destroyed by fire at some point in the first half of the 5th century BC. The earliest settlement was evidently already quite organized and able to produce goods for its own domestic use and, possibly, for trade.

Phanagoreia does not appear to have maintained strong contacts with either Teos or Abdera. Indeed, it is possible that the Phanagoreians felt politically isolated from the two cities after their conquest by Persia. This led the city to join the other cities of the Bosphoros in a symmarchy around 480 BC, under the rule of the Archeanaktid dynasty based in Pantakapaion.⁶⁵ While this resulted in a loss of independent policy, Phanagoreia continued to prosper well into the Roman period.

Although Phanagoreia failed to keep close contact with Teos, the opposite can certainly be said for Abdera. At some point, a number of the colonists to Abdera decided to return to Teos. The two cities remained very close and, when a generation later Teos was destroyed at the end of the Ionian revolt, it appears that another wave of Abderites decided to migrate to Teos to help rebuild their ancient homeland. This is surely the meaning of Pindar's enigmatic statement in his Second Paian (ll. 27-30):

νεόπολις εἰμι· ματρὸς
 δέ μάτερ' ἐμᾶς ἔτεκον ἔμπαν
 πολεμίῳ πυρὶ πλαγεῖ-
 σαν·

I am a new city; yet
 I gave birth to the mother of my mother
 When she was struck by enemy fire;

⁶⁵ Diod. 12.31.1 and Morgan 2004: 18.

The meaning of the passage has long been clearly understood, namely that “my mother” is a reference to Abdera, and “the mother of my mother” must be Teos.⁶⁶ The passage is thus an oblique testimony to the Abderites sending colonists back to their parent city, apparently after a disastrous fire. The occasion of this re-colonization, as discussed in the previous section, was probably after the destruction of Teos during the Ionian revolt. What is important to note for the present discussion is that, in the 5th century BC, the Abderites considered themselves particularly close to the Teians.

There is substantial epigraphic evidence from Teos to support this close relationship. An imprecation from around 470 BC, a time following the rebuilding of Teos and its liberation from Persian domination, shows joint legislation between the two cities (*Nomima* 105). In the first part of the text, a curse is invoked against any magistrate who abuses his power (a5-10):

: ὅς ἄν τιμῆ-
 ν : ἔχων : [σ]υνθέτοισιν
 [Τ]ηί[ο]ι[σ]ιν : τὸμ πλησί-
 8 [ο]ν : δολ[ῶ]ται : τοῦτον : ἄ
 [π]όλλυσθαι : καὶ αὐτὸ-
 [ν κα]ὶ γένος : τὸ κένο :

Should whoever holding office for the united Teians harm
 a neighbor, let him perish, both himself and his kin.

The term συνθέτοισιν Τηίοισιν has puzzled scholars. The first editor of the inscription suggested the restoration σύν θέτοισιν Τηίοισιν, but could find little meaning in the expression.⁶⁷ The term θέτος is a standard word meaning “adopted” and this led Graham to suggest that the “adopted Teians” in this passage referred to Abderite colonists who

⁶⁶ Radt 1958: 33-39 and Huxley 1984: 149-152.

⁶⁷ Herrmann 1981: 14.

had returned to Teos.⁶⁸ If we accept this reading for the term, we would have to translate the above lines as: “Should whoever holding office, along with the adopted Teians, harm a neighbor.” This infers some level of distrust by the Teians for the new Abderite colonists. A better solution was proposed by Van Effenterre and Ruzé, who suggested that σύν should not be read as a preposition but rather as part of the word συνθέτοισιν.⁶⁹ They suggest that this word is a sort of proper name, meaning “the Teians in their entirety,” that is both at Teos and at Abdera. There is good internal evidence from the inscription to support this interpretation. The two communities are always mentioned together throughout the inscription. No citizen is to be punished unless he is publicly condemned by either the Teian or the Abderite assembly (a10-24). The imprecations were to be read three times of year at festivals in both Teos and Abdera (d1-11). The inscription also mentions joint geographical boundaries for banishments (b5-12):

: τοῦτον
 [ἀ]πόλλυσθα-
 ι : ἐκ Τέω : κ[α]ῖ
 8 Ἀβδήρ[ω]ν : [κ]α-
 ἰ γῆς : [Τη]ίη[ς]
 καὶ α[ὐ]τὸν κ
 αὶ γένο[ς] τὸ
 12 κείνο :

Let this man perish outside of Teos and of Abdera
 and of Teian territory, both himself and his kin.

There is no mention in the inscription of the territory of Abdera. Given that the Teians appear to be co-legislating for their colony, the simplest answer is that there was no need to mention the territory of Abdera because it was considered part of the Teian land.

⁶⁸ Graham 1981: 176-178. Cf. Merkelbach: 1982: 212-213.

⁶⁹ In the commentary for *Nomima* 105.

In the first half of the 5th century BC, it is clear that the Teians were able to pass a law that was also sovereign in Abdera. This tradition apparently continued down into the middle of the 3rd century BC, when we find a similar passage in the treaty between Teos and Kyrbissos. The relevant text reads (*SEG* 26.1306.21-27):

ὅς δ' ἄν παραλαβὼν

τὸ χωρίον μὴ παραδῶ[ι τ]ῶι φρουράρχω[ι] τῶ[ι] ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀποσ[τελ]-
 λομένωι ἀεὶ καθ' ἑκάστην τρετράμη[νο]ν, φ[ε]ύγειν τε αὐτὸν ἀραῖον
 24 ἐκ Τέω καὶ ἐξ Ἀβδήρων καὶ ἐκ τῆς χώρας καὶ τῆς Τηίων καὶ τῆς Ἀβδηρ[ι]-
 τῶν καὶ τὰ ὄντα αὐτοῦ δηπ[μό]σια εἶ[ν]αι, καὶ ὅς ἄν ἀποκτείνῃ αὐτὸν μ[ὴ]
 μιὰρὸς ἔστω· ἐὰν δὲ μαχόμενος [ἀποθάνῃ, ὑπάρχ]ε[ι]ν αὐτοῦ δημόσια τὰ ὄν-
 τα·

Whoever receiving the garrison does not hand it over to the phourarch sent by the city on each occasion every four months, let the accursed one flee from Teos and Abdera and the territories of both Teos and Abdera, and let his property be made public. And let whoever kills him be free from pollution. And if he dies fighting, let his property become public.

The circumstance is the same as in the 5th-century BC imprecations; the document outlines the exile of an official attempting to seize power over part of the population of Teos, which in this case is represented by the garrisoned community of Kyrbissos. The term “ἀραῖον” or “accursed” (l. 23) could even be a direct reference to the imprecations, although we have no way of knowing if the same curses were still recited over two centuries later. The only thing that is different between the two inscriptions is that the territory of Abdera is now explicitly mentioned alongside that of Teos.

There is no question that Abdera would have enforced these laws. It was not that Teos and Abdera were bound in some sort of *sympoliteia*. The two separate assemblies mentioned in the imprecations argue against this interpretation.⁷⁰ Instead, it must be

⁷⁰ *Nomima* 105 A 13-22 mentions that no citizen may be prosecuted without the approval of at least 500 citizens at Abdera and, if restored correctly, 200 citizens at Teos. While this is not explicit testimony of an assembly, it would only be possible to undertake this action if such a body existed. See Veligianni-Terzi 1997: 700-702. Cf. Graham 1992: 57-59, who notes that the closest parallel for the

understood that the filial ties that the city shared with Teos bound the city to respect Teian criminal law and, in particular, to shun political refugees.⁷¹ The two cities had close cultural and religious ties, but remained two separate political entities.

Further evidence of the cultural ties between Teos and Abdera is evidenced in the coins minted by the two cities. Both cities depicted a griffin on their coins and they differ only in the orientation of the beast, which faces to the left at Teos and to the right at Abdera. In his original study of the coins of Abdera, May proposed that Teos began minting coins soon after its re-foundation, sometime around 540 BC, and that Abdera began issuing coins soon thereafter.⁷² This long-established view has recently been challenged by Chryssanthaki based on her study of newly published coin hoards.⁷³ In her estimation, Abdera did not mint coins before to 520-515 BC. More importantly, stylistic concerns and the low presence of Teian coins in the earliest dated hoards leads Chryssanthaki to believe that Teos started to mint coins shortly after Abdera. This is certainly an acceptable interpretation. After all, the newly refounded Teian colony undoubtedly faced some initial financial difficulties. For its part, Abdera became an affluent trade port largely because of the silver trade undertaken with the Thracian tribes to the north. While the style of the coins shows close cultural contact, it is also clear that Abdera and Teos operated in two different economic spheres. Abderan coins were minted on the Thrako-Makedonian weight standard to facilitate local trade.⁷⁴ Teian coins, on the

relationship between Teos and Abdera is that of Paros and Thasos during the same time period. He concludes: "In both cases, we find a Greek colony and mother city, which were independent states, but were so closely linked together that they admitted institutions and arrangements that effectively placed their political unity above their political independence."

⁷¹ Cf. Robert 1976: 213.

⁷² May 1966. 49-51.

⁷³ Chryssanthaki 2001: 394-397.

⁷⁴ On the weight standards of early Abderite and Teian coinage, see Chryssanthaki 2001: 394 n. 70.

other hand, were made on the Aiginetan standard, which no doubt facilitated more far-reaching trade, including at the emporion of Naukratis in Egypt where Teos still had active trade interests.⁷⁵

The close relationship between Teos and Abdera continued into the late Hellenistic period. We have two Abderite decrees from Teos honoring the city and its citizens for their diplomatic efforts with the Romans. The first decree honors the Teians for intervening during a crisis at the city when many citizens were taken captive and killed (*EΘA* E6 (= *SEG* 47.1646)). This most probably happened at the time of the siege of Abdera in 170 BC during the Third Macedonian War. Livy records that the Roman general Hortensius followed the capture of the city by executing a number of citizens and enslaving the rest (43.4.8-13). Although Livy makes no mention of a Teian attempt at arbitration with the Romans and makes the repatriation of the Abderites an entirely Roman affair, the historical circumstances do match the description of events in the text.⁷⁶

At some point in the last quarter of the 2nd century or the beginning of the 1st century BC, the Abderites were once more forced to appeal to the Teians to intervene on their behalf (*EΘA* E5 (= *SIG*³ 656)). At this time, a certain Thracian king, by the name of Kotys, had laid claim to some of their land. This is most probably the Kotys mentioned in Diodoros, who defused a rebellion in the province of Macedonia somewhere between 93

⁷⁵ For Teian coins at Naukratis, see Roebuck 1950: 241 and n. 62. One Teian coin, perhaps among the earliest minted, has been found minted on the Milesian weight standard (Antilebanon hoard, Chryssanthaki 2001: 395 n. 78). This still supports that Teians minted coins for long-distance trade, since the Milesian standard, like the Aiginetan, was widely used in trade.

⁷⁶ Marek 1997 supposes that the Abderites who managed to escape the slaughter may have fled to Teos. The Teians then successfully petitioned the Romans to repatriate the enslaved population and the exiles. *Cf.* Eilers 2002: 118-119, who is skeptical about the date and notes that the First Mithradatic War could equally fit the historical circumstances detailed in the inscription.

and 87 BC (37.5a).⁷⁷ Enjoying good relations with the Romans, Kotys made a claim to territory of Abdera. The Abderites responded by calling upon the Teians to present their cause to the Romans. Two Teian ambassadors journeyed west to Rome and convinced their patrons to support the Abderite cause. The people of Abdera responded by voting extended honors for the two Teians and paid to erect honorary stelai at Abdera and at Teos. Although the decision of the Roman Senate most likely favored the Thracian king, the important thing for the present study is that Abderites could always count on the Teians to defend their best interests. After all, in the Abderites' own words, the Teians are described as: “πατέρες ὄντες τῆς πόλεως – the parents of our city” (l. 4). This was a relationship that time could never diminish.

5. *Caught Between Empires: The 5th and 4th Centuries BC*

The 5th and 4th centuries BC were a trying time for Ionia in general. Liberated from Persian domination, the cities still suffered from the aftermath of their defeat at the end of the Ionian revolt. But there was new hope. The foundation of the Delian League formed an effective maritime alliance against the Persians. No cities were more eager for this to succeed than those in Asia Minor, who were among the first members to join. Unfortunately, Athens soon dominated the league and moved the treasury from Delos to Athens around 454 BC.

The Athenians used their control over the league finances to begin rebuilding their acropolis, which had been destroyed during the Persian occupation of the city in 480 BC. It was at this point that the Athenian Tribute Lists began. The stelai do not record the

⁷⁷ Chiranki 1982: 470-481. *Contra*, most recently, Marek 1997: 173-177, who argues for an earlier date shortly after 168 BC. For a full survey of the bibliography concerning the debate over the date of this inscription, see Loukopoulou 2005: 195-197.

total sum paid by each city, but rather the 1/60 of the tribute from the Delian League that was dedicated to Athena. Teos is preserved or restored in thirteen entries between 451/50 and 430/29 BC, making regularly contributions of 600 drachmas.⁷⁸ This would result in a total tribute of 6 talents, among the higher sums of the Ionian region and the same amount as Ephesos.⁷⁹ The Athenian Tribute Lists are not our only indication of the economy of Teos during this time. It is clear from numismatic evidence that Teos minted silver coins continuously throughout the 5th century BC.⁸⁰ Among the other Ionian cities, this is paralleled only at Chios and Samos.⁸¹ These facts seem to indicate that, by the second half of the 5th century, Teos had recovered financially from the destruction of 494 BC.

New evidence from the Tektaş Burnu shipwreck, found off the Korykos peninsula to the west of Teos, may also shed some light on the general economy of Ionia under the Athenian empire.⁸² The wreck dates between 440 and 425 BC. The cargo consisted mainly of Mendeian, Chian, and pseudo-Samian amphoras, the last probably from Erythrai. Various other northern Ionian wares were also found in the wreckage. The ship was a small coastal trader, no more than 10 - 12 m in length, carrying a cargo of about 7 tons. This makes it a much smaller shipwreck than the near contemporary wreck from

⁷⁸ *IG I³* 262 col. II.12 (451/50 BC), 263 col. II.10 (450/49 BC), 264 col. IV.6 (448/47 BC), 265 col. II.63 (447/46 BC), 266 col. I.15 (446/5 BC), 268 col. I.24 (444/43 BC), 269 col. I.15 (443/42 BC), 270 col. I. 16 (442/41 BC), 272 col. I.10 (440/39 BC), 273 col. I.15 (439/8 BC), 279 col. I.44 (433/32 BC), 280 col. I.9 (432/31 BC), 281 col. I.50 (430/29 BC).

⁷⁹ Only Erythrai and Miletos contributed more, a total of 9 and 10 talents respectively. Chios and Samos supplied ships and did not contribute funds. After the Athenian subjection of Samos in 439 BC, the city was forced to pay a war indemnity (Thuc. 1.117.3), but there is no record of the city paying tribute in the Athenian tribute lists. On tribute in general, see Meiggs 1972: 234-254. See also Rhodes 2006: 173-174.

⁸⁰ For a discussion of Teian coins during the 5th century, see Mattingly 2003: 16-23 and Figueira 1998: 114-116.. See also the useful summary in Lang 2003: 539-546.

⁸¹ For a summary table of 5th century BC Ionian coinage, see Robinson 1949: 330-331.

⁸² For a preliminary report of the 1999-2001 excavations, see Carlson 2003.

Alonnesos, which has been estimated to have carried as much as 120 tons of cargo.⁸³ The evidence from the Tektaş Burnu shipwreck shows that the economy of Ionia was on a much more reduced scale than that of the 6th century BC. The ship had been traveling from either Chios or Erythrai along the coast, probably intending to stop at Teos on its journey further south.

The evidence indicates that Teos was an economically viable *polis* in the 5th century BC. The city minted silver coins and participated in local trade. Its annual 6 talent contribution to the Delian League was not small. Nonetheless, the complete absence of archaeological finds dated to this period is troubling. We must conclude that the city was only moderately prosperous in the 5th century BC.⁸⁴ This agrees better with its tribute to Athens and the modest economic activities as testified by the Tektaş Burnu wreck.

Teos steadfastly maintained its position in the Athenian alliance until the beginning of the Ionian phase of the Peloponnesian War. Following the revolt of Klazomenai, Chios, and Erythrai from Athens, Teos became the new focus of the war between Athens and Sparta. It was vital to maintain control of Teos, if the Athenians were to stop the rebellion from spreading further south to other Ionian cities. Early in the summer of 412 BC, the Athenian admiral Strombichides sailed to Teos with nine ships in order to quell any thought of rebellion (Thuc. 8.16.1-2). When Strombichides learned that the Spartan Chalkideus was sailing towards the city with a fleet of Chian ships, he

⁸³ Hadjidaki 1996.

⁸⁴ Indeed, it has often been suggested that the tribute paid to Athens during this time period kept the cities too impoverished to undertake any building projects of their own. *E.g.* Meiggs 1972: 270-271. In his excursus on the archaeology of the Athenian Empire, Osborne concludes that the absence of monumental temple architecture in Ionia is not evidence of economic decline (1999). Indeed, since the Delian League fostered a new pan-Hellenic identity, Osborne suggests that the Ionian cities made a conscious choice to spend their money on in this political expression. The truth probably lies somewhere in between the traditionalists and Osborne. At Teos, coinage is certainly testimony to an active economy.

abandoned the city and set sail back to Samos. This allowed the Klazomenian and Erythraian land forces to lay siege to the city. At first, the Teians resisted and refused the enemy entry into their walls. However, when they realized that the Athenians were not returning, they had no choice but to surrender.

While waiting for Chalkideus to arrive at Teos, the occupying troops began to dismantle the land wall that the Athenians had built to protect the city (Thuc. 8.16.3). It is possible that this wall spanned the peninsula and was built to deter a landward attack on the city.⁸⁵ When the Greek forces finally left Teos later that same summer, Tissaphernes brought his army to complete the destruction of the wall and then left the city ungarrisoned (Thuc. 8.20.2). Once the Persians had departed, the Athenian admiral Diomedon sailed into Teos with ten vessels. He arrived at a city open and defenseless, with enemies on all sides. He established an agreement whereby Teos would receive the Athenians just as they had all the others. It is no surprise that the Teians were unwilling to return whole-heartedly to the Athenian cause. Strombichides had abandoned the city at the time of the siege. Worse still, although Tissaphernes had left no garrison, the Persian satrap had made sure to completely destroy the land wall so that he could return at any time to take the city. Diomedon could offer no assurances of aid to the Teians and no help to rebuild the city's defenses. And so, the Teians took the measured course of remaining neutral to all parties.⁸⁶

⁸⁵ *HCT* 16.3. We do not know when the wall was built, but it was probably intended by the Athenians to defend the city against a possible Persian attack and need not be a recent construction. The Persians had held nearby Kolophon since 430 BC (Thuc. 3.34.1).

⁸⁶ Westlake 1979: 12-14.

We do not hear of Teos again until 406 BC. Diodoros records that the Spartan admiral, Kallikratidas, attacked the city by night (13.76.4).⁸⁷ Having breached the walls, the Spartans looted the city. It was another dark chapter in the history of Teos. From the summary account, it is evident that Teos had not received another Athenian garrison. The city had steered an independent course through the Ionian war and apparently managed to repair the land wall. Unfortunately, the city's neutrality and relative wealth in this time period also made them an attractive target for Kallikratidas, who needed to obtain funds to pay his large naval force. If he had approached the city openly, we must imagine that the Teians would have received him and his army, just like Diomedon in 412 BC, and the Spartan admiral would not have been able to sack the city and maintain honor.⁸⁸

Approaching by night and by stealth, the Spartan army quickly overran the city and took all the booty they needed to continue their war against the Athenians. Teos' neutrality and wealth made the city the perfect sacrificial lamb.

For the next decade, Teos remained subject to the Spartans. Indeed, the great resentment the Teians must have felt on account of their subjugation made it an ideal target for revolt against the Lakedaimonians. It is unsurprising that Teos was among the first cities that the Athenian admiral, Konon, removed from Spartan control following his victory over the Spartan fleet at Knidos in 394 BC (Diod. 14.84.3). Teos' independence, however, was short-lived. In the Peace of Antalkidas in 387 BC, the Greek cities of the

⁸⁷ Xenophon records that following their capture of Delphinion, the Spartans took Eion (Ἐἰονα). It has been suggested, with good reason, that this should be emended to Teos (Τεῖον). See Scheffler 1882: 22-23 and Westlake 1979: 13 and n. 4. Scheffler also suggests that a passage in Aeneas Tacticus should be related to this attack. The tactical writer describes a failed attempt by Temenos, a Rhodian mercenary captain, to take the city by stealth by bribing the gatekeeper (18.13-19). McNicoll (1997: 159) rightly notes that, since Temenos' attempt failed, it cannot be related to the above incident. It remains the single undated event in Teos' history. Still, I suspect the Ionian War (412-405 BC) is the most suitable time period for the failed attack.

⁸⁸ Westlake 1979: 13-14.

mainland and the islands were forced to declare that all the cities in Asia Minor belonged to the Persian King.

We know nothing of the city during the final half-century of the Persian Empire. Certainly, it must have been less tumultuous than the previous decades. But that period of relative stability ended when Alexander the Great crossed the Hellespont and defeated the Persian army at the battle of the Granikos River. The Macedonian ruler quickly swept down the Ionian coast, liberating the Greek city-states. The ancient historians preserve no mention of Alexander's army crossing through Teian territory, but two later testimonies may justify such a claim. Strabo records that the Ionians established a sacred grove to Alexander in the Teian territory (14.1.31). The grove was the setting for the Panionian *Alexandreia* festival, recorded from the middle of the 3rd century BC onward.⁸⁹ The second testimony is apocryphal. Alexander is also said to have planned a canal linking the bay of Teos to the Smyrnaic gulf, circumventing the long treacherous journey around the Mimas peninsula (Pliny *HN* 5.31 and Paus. 2.1.5). While this smacks of so many grand plans attributed to Alexander, it does lend some credence to Alexander traversing through Klazomenian and Teian territory, perhaps on his way to Ephesos.

Unfortunately, just as in the preceding century, there are few archaeological traces of the city during 4th century BC. Indeed, our sole testimony is a sculptured frieze block in the Archaeological Museum at Izmir, which displays an *Amazonomachy*.⁹⁰ Stylistically, this block dates to the last half of the 4th century BC. It is evidence for monumental architecture at the city during this time period and it is tempting to wonder if

⁸⁹ The festival is recorded on inscriptions at Erythrai (*IErythrai* 30.23; 87.6 and maybe 89.6) and at Klazomenai in the honorary decree for Antiochos I by the Ionian League (*IErythrai* 504.25).

⁹⁰ Devambez 1962.

this frieze perhaps belongs to the predecessor of the Hellenistic temple of Dionysos. Unfortunately, there is no way of establishing this.

In the final years of the 4th century BC, it is clear that Teos was a strong and autonomous city. The city exerted greater control over its territory, incorporating Airai and the lands up to Mt. Korykos in the west and up into the foothills of the Mastousion Mountains in the east.⁹¹ The sympolity treaty found at Ulamiş shows a newfound strong central authority over the countryside, with established taxes over animals and other natural products (*SEG* 26.1305).⁹² The constitution of the city in the Ulamiş decree is admirably democratic. The inscription exhibits a full complement of liturgies (ll. 1-4) and there is also a reference to public works (ll. 5-6).

By the end of the 4th century, Teos was on the path to once again becoming a vibrant and affluent Ionian city. But the gods seldom gave mortals the respite they deserved. In 304/3 BC, Teos was struck by a severe earthquake.⁹³ Teos was left standing, but the earthquake was a portent of the societal tremors that would mark the city's entrance into the Hellenistic period.

6. *The Hellenistic City*

Following the dissolution of Alexander the Great's empire, Teos came under the control of Antigonos Monophthalmos. Our first testimony of the Hellenistic city comes in two long letters sent to the Teians arbitrating a synoecism between Teos and Lebedos (*RC* 3-4). It is clear from the content of the letters that there is some friction between the

⁹¹ See the discussion of Teian territory in Chapter 1§1.

⁹² Robert dates the inscription near the end of the 4th century BC (1976: 180-181). See also the discussion of the text in Chapter 1§3.

⁹³ Listed in the *Marmor Parium*, *FGrHist* 239 B24. See Welles commentary to *RC* 3-4, page 25.

two populations and this makes it probable that the idea to move the Lebedians to Teos should be attributed to Antigonos and not the cities themselves.⁹⁴ Antigonos' letters must date between 306 BC, when he assumed the title of king, and 302 BC, when Prepelaus captured Teos (Diod. 20.107.5).⁹⁵ These are the widest time parameters. Some scholars have argued that the earthquake that struck Ionia in 304/3 might have had something to do with the decision to join the two cities.⁹⁶ It must be quickly pointed out that the inscription does not leave the impression that Teos lay in ruins. The text mentions that, until the Lebedians can build their houses, they are to be furnished homes in existing ones (3.5-6). Moreover, if the Teians decided to abandon the old city and rebuild anew, on the peninsula just west of Teos, Antigonos advises them to leave at least half of the houses in the existing city standing until there is sufficient housing in the new settlement (3.6-14 and 69-72). Finally, the Lebedians were to be repaid the value of the houses that they were leaving behind in their own city (*RC* 4.3-5 and 11-12). These indications all argue that the cities had weathered the earthquake. The earthquake cannot have been the direct cause of the synoecism with Lebedos.⁹⁷

Even if we cannot use the earthquake as a *terminus post quem*, it is clear that Antigonos' letters should date in late 303 or early 302 BC. Many of the clauses in the letters indicate that there was a rapid time frame set to complete the synoecism. Lawsuits were to be settled within two years (3.24-26), unresolved disputes between the two cities were to be submitted to Mytilene within six months (3.28-30), and a draft of the city's

⁹⁴ *Contra* Billows 1990: 213-215.

⁹⁵ The second letter names Antigonos as king (*RC* 4.1). Antigonos and his son only assumed the title in 306 BC (*Plut. Dem.* 18).

⁹⁶ Most recently reasserted by Billows 1990: 213-215. The earthquake is noted in the Marmor Parium *FGrHist* 239 b24.

⁹⁷ So Bencivenni 2003: 182-183. This is not to say that minor destruction caused by the earthquake may not have been one of many driving factors towards the synoecism.

new law code was to be submitted within six months and ratified within a year (3.43-55). And this is not to mention the fact that Antigonos expected the houses at Lebedos to be appraised (4.11-15), temporary housing to be assigned (4.15-18), and money raised to pay for the Lebedians an initial installation of the value of their former property (4.9) as soon as was possible. The fact that little progress was made towards these goals before the synoecism was called off suggests that the letters date to the period shortly before Antigonos was driven out of Ionia. While the only secure date for the dissolution of the union is that Lebedos was its own *polis* when Lysimachos moved the population to the new city of Ephesos-Arsinoe around 294 BC,⁹⁸ it remains likely that Teians and Lebedians abandoned the synoecism almost immediately following Antigonos' defeat at Ipsos in 301 BC.⁹⁹ And so, while Lebedos may have temporarily ceased to exist for a year or two at most, full synoecism proved to be unachievable without the guiding hand of Antigonos.

Following Seleukos I's victory over Lysimachos at Korupedion in 281 BC, the Ionian cities fell under the rule of the Seleukids. There are few testimonies for Teian interaction with the Seleukids during this period of rule. The Ionian League, of which Teos was a member, established a festival for Antiochos I Soter and his son Antiochos II Theos (*SEG* 41.988).¹⁰⁰ We also have a fragment of an honorary decree at Teos for Antiochos I and his wife Stratonike (Kotsidu no. 238). Further evidence for a favorable

⁹⁸ On the date of the founding of the new city of Ephesos, see Cohen 1995: 177-180.

⁹⁹ The fact that the letters of Antigonos were inscribed at all is evidence enough that the synoecism was at least *en route* to completion. Bencivenni (2003: 185 n. 16) suggests that the absence of Lebedos in Diodoros' account (20.107.4-5) of the cities defecting to Prepelaus in 302 may support that the city had ceased to exist in this time period. Ager (1998: 9-12) suggests that the shared border between Teos and Kolophon, mentioned in a fragmentary land arbitration (*Arbitration* no. 15), could only have existed during the short period of the synoecism, but her argument does not take into full consideration the geography of the territories of Teos and Lebedos. See Chapter 1§1.

¹⁰⁰ Piejko 1991b.

relationship between the city and the Antiochos I is found in an honorary decree of Bargylia for Tyron the son of Polythrous (*I.Iasos* 608). The decree states that the Teians sent Tyron as a judge at the command of the monarch (ll. 3-5). Seleukid power in Asia Minor, however, was soon broken by the outbreak of the War of the Brothers (240/39 – ca. 237 BC), which was fought between Seleukos II and his rebel brother, Antiochos Hierax.

The period following the dissolution of Seleukid power was a time of low central authority in northern Ionia. It is most probably to this period that we should assign the sympolity treaty with nearby Kyrbissos (*SEG* 26. 1306).¹⁰¹ Fearing attacks through the central mountain pass of the Mastousion Mountain range, Teos established a garrison at the town. Indeed, the longest provisions in the inscription detail the duties and responsibilities of the phrourach and his soldiers. The oaths of the two citizen bodies concern themselves with the security of the fort at Kyrbissos. The town was now the advance defense of the Teian territory towards the chaotic Asian interior. Teos certainly did have cause to fear an attack. Unfortunately, when it came, it did not march through the mountains. Around 230 BC, Teos was stormed by pirates, who took many of the inhabitants of the city captive (*SEG* 44.949).¹⁰² The ransom appears to have been exceptionally high and the city made all the inhabitants give an enforced loan to the city in order to secure the release of the prisoners.

¹⁰¹ The inscription is dated by letterforms to the second half of the 3rd century BC; Robert 1976: 156-159, but it should date slightly earlier than the pirate attack inscription. See Chapter 5§1 for a discussion of the dating.

¹⁰² The pirate attack inscription is the subject of Chapter 5.

It is apparent that Teos suffered financial difficulties in the period following the attack.¹⁰³ The city willingly received the Pergamene king, Attalos I, in or shortly after 229 BC. Attalid rule promised new stability to the war-torn region. In an effort to secure the goodwill of the city, Attalos made a donation to Teos to help rebuild its infrastructure.¹⁰⁴ It was also during this first period of Attalid rule that the city invited the Asian chapter of the Dionysiac *technitai* to relocate to Teos (Aneziri D2).¹⁰⁵ Although the move caused further financial difficulties, the Teians were hopeful that, in the long run, the Dionysiac artists would bring new sources of income and fame for the city. The *technitai* established their headquarters at Teos. Although they located themselves in the city, the *technitai* were governed by their own laws and officials. A *koinodikion* was established as a joint court to regulate disputes between the city and the Dionysiac artists.

The Teians did not keep faith with Attalos for very long. Antiochos III sent his general Achaios to re-conquer Seleukid territory in Asia Minor in 222 BC. Achaios was successful and the Teians quickly rallied to his side out of fear for their security. Only a few short years later in 218 BC, Attalos retook much of north coastal Asia Minor and the Teians sent an embassy to the monarch. The king received them according to their former agreement, but he also took hostages to ensure that they did not break faith again (Plb. 5.77). The second period of Attalid rule at Teos was apparently marked by higher taxes and contributions to the Pergamene treasury. When Antiochos III arrived at the city in late 204 or early 203 BC, the city received him with open arms largely because the

¹⁰³ The *ktematonia* decree of the city for the Dionysiac *technitai* shows desperate re-allocation of funds from several civic funds in order to raise the money necessary to purchase the land for the artists. Aneziri D2 and the discussion in Chapter 7§1.

¹⁰⁴ Aneziri D2.17-18.

¹⁰⁵ For a discussion of the arrival of the *technitai* at Teos, see Chapter 7§1.

Seleukid monarch promised to abolish the heavy tribute it had been forced to pay to Attalos.¹⁰⁶

The next decade was a high point in the history of Teos. Following Antiochos' recognition of the territorial inviolability of the city and its territory for Dionysos, the Teians sent embassies to Crete and mainland Greece and received many further recognitions.¹⁰⁷ The city commissioned the famous architect Hermogenes to build a large new temple for Dionysos.¹⁰⁸ Teos even issued gold coinage for the first and, so far as we know, only time in the history of the city.¹⁰⁹ The Teians enjoyed a particularly close relationship with Antiochos and established several elaborate cult rituals for the king and his wife, including a festival called the Antiocheia and Laodikeia.¹¹⁰ Relations between the Teians and the Seleukid court extended beyond honors for the royal couple; the city asked Antiochos' ambassador to Rome in 193 BC to present their request for territorial inviolability to the Senate (*Asylia* no. 153.).¹¹¹

Although Rome recognized Teos' inviolability, this did not protect the city during the war between Antiochos and the Romans. In 190 BC, the theater of the war had shifted to the sea around Teos. The Teians kept faith with the Seleukid monarch, and, when called upon, promised 5,000 jars of wine to Antiochos' general, Polyxenidas (Livy 37.27-28). When the Romans heard of this, they sailed to the city to seize the supplies for

¹⁰⁶ *Antiochos* no. 17.10-22. On the date of the Antiochos documents, see Ma 1999: 260-265. *Contra* the date of 197 BC proposed by Piejko 1991: 17-20 and Giovaninni 1983.

¹⁰⁷ Two embassies are recorded for 203 BC. Apollodotos and Kolotas journeyed to Crete and Pythagoras and Kleitos to mainland Greece. See the discussion of the Teian call for *asylia* in Chapter 6.

¹⁰⁸ On the construction and date of the temple, see Chapter 4§2.

¹⁰⁹ A single coin from this issue survives; Jenkins 1965. On the reverse it notes that the minting official was Polythrous, who should probably be identified with one of the Teian ambassadors to Antiochos (*Antiochos* no. 19.4) and the donor of a large fund to pay for education of the citizen children in the city (*SIG*³ 578). Rigsby (1996a: 291) associates the issue of gold coinage with the liberation of the city by Antiochos from the harsh taxes under Attalos.

¹¹⁰ *Antiochos* nos. 17.44-52 and 18.1-90 and the discussion in Ma 1999: 219-226. See also the discussion in Chapters 3§7 and 4§3.

¹¹¹ *Cf.* Livy 34.57.6-59

themselves. The Romans dropped anchor at the Teos' north harbor and immediately began to ravage the territory. The Teians sent suppliants to the Roman commander, Aemilius Paulus, asking how they could prove that the city held no hostility to the Roman people. Aemilius replied that unless the Teians provided the same amount of supplies to the Roman forces, he would regard them as enemies. After a short debate, the Teians acquiesced to the Roman demands. In doing so, the city practiced the same policy that had protected them in 412 BC; they remained neutral and intended to receive all parties equally. It was a prudent course that spared the city further suffering during the course of the war.

Following the treaty of Apameia, all the Greek cities that had supported Antiochos were turned over to the Pergamene kingdom. Teos was no exception. The city managed to re-establish good relations with the Attalid rulers. This was due in no small part to the favor that the Dionysiac *technitai* had at the royal court.¹¹² Indeed, the royal family appears to have visited the city at some time between 188 and 184 BC.¹¹³ A cult was established to the Attalid queens, Apollonis and Stratonike (Kotsidu no. 240).¹¹⁴ Since the priestess of Aphrodite was to undertake the cult rituals for Apollonis, it is a safe assumption that the queen had been made *synnaos* with the goddess. The temple of

¹¹² See Chapter 7§4.

¹¹³ An altar for the goddess Apollonis Eusebes Apobateria was also established in the agora (Kotsidu no. 240.14-15). The epithet ἀποβατηρία, or “the one who disembarks (from a boat)” surely means that the queen visited the city in person, although since she is regarded as a goddess, the cult must date from after her death in 184 BC. See Robert 1937: 20 and n.1.

¹¹⁴ Although no parallel cult for the Attalid kings is attested, it is hard to imagine that it did not exist, especially since the city continued to honor Seleukid rulers throughout the 2nd century BC (Kotsidu no. 356). At any rate, the Dionysiac *technitai* at Teos certainly had many cultic honors for the Pergamene rulers. See Chapter 7§4.

Aphrodite may tentatively be associated with the small 2nd-century BC temple located in the center of the city's agora.¹¹⁵

Although the city prospered under Attalid rule, trouble was never far on the horizon. The city began to have problems with the Dionysiac *technitai*, particularly concerning the city's sovereignty and rights at the time of the guild's yearly *panegyris*. This led the city to appeal to Eumenes II for arbitration (Aneziri D12).¹¹⁶ The king addressed all the immediate concerns, but foreseeing future discord, he also proposed that the two parties undertake a synoecism so that they would share a single administration.¹¹⁷ We do not know whether the two parties moved to adopt his plan, but the conflict between the two certainly continued. The Teians were finally forced to drive the *technitai* out of the city following their attempt at *stasis* (Strabo 14.1.29).

Most of the architectural remains at the site date from this time period. The theater in the southern slope of the acropolis dates in its original phase to the 3rd century BC. It was renovated during the 2nd century AD, when the *parodoi* and the height of the *cavea* were extended (Fig. 9, Plate 5).¹¹⁸ The city fortification wall was begun in the 220s BC (Plate 3).¹¹⁹ The greatest architectural achievement of the city, the temple of Dionysos built by Hermogenes, was largely constructed by ca. 200 BC (Figs. 10-11, Plate 4).¹²⁰ The agora was a particularly busy area of construction. The remains of a fountain

¹¹⁵ The temple has never been excavated but it measures 8.10 by 19.30 m. from the stylobate. It is a tetrastyle amphiprostyle temple bearing some stylistic similarities to the temple of Athena at Priene and the Zeus Sosipolis temple at Magnesia on the Maiander. Tuna 1998: 323-325.

¹¹⁶ For a full discussion of the arbitration, see Chapter 7§5.

¹¹⁷ The relevant section of the text lies at Block IIIA.

¹¹⁸ Tuna 1996: 222-223.

¹¹⁹ See the discussion of the city wall in Chapter 5§4.

¹²⁰ See the discussion of the temple of Dionysos in Chapter 4§2.

are located just north of the agora, towards the *bouleuterion* (Plate 11).¹²¹ This may be the fountain dedicated to Laodike, the wife of Antiochos III, around 200 BC. The *bouleuterion* dates to the first half of the 2nd century BC, although we have epigraphic testimony for a predecessor (Fig. 12, Plate 10).¹²² Finally, a small Ionic temple, probably dedicated to Aphrodite and Apollonis, was constructed on a raised terrace in the middle of the agora (Fig 13, Plate 12).¹²³

Teos clearly excelled during the Hellenistic period. From the earthquake of 304/3 BC onwards, the city not only reclaimed its former glory, it exceeded it. The city maintained excellent relations with the Hellenistic monarchs and, through various treaties, with other Greek cities. Teos' century-long association with the Dionysiac *technitai* brought the city wealth and international recognition. The Teians did not waste this opportunity, but parleyed it into establishing the reputation of their home as the city of Dionysos.

7. The City under the Romans

Following the bequest of the Attalid kingdom to the Romans in 133 BC, Teos became a part of the Roman province of Asia. It was probably around this time that the city established a cult of Roma and Pistis.¹²⁴ Relations between the city and the Roman Senate appear to have always been amicable. Sometime shortly after the acquisition of

¹²¹ The fountain-house is largely overgrown and difficult to study, but measures approximately 3 by 7 m. The fountain pool is still used for modern irrigation. Personal observation, January 2006.

¹²² The *bouleuterion* is largely unexcavated but the *cavea* measures roughly 4-16 m. and is surrounded by a semi-circular *analemma*. In form and date, it most strongly resembles the *bouleuterion* from Priene. Tuna 1996: 223-224. Cf. Kockel 1995. An older *bouleuterion* is testified in the Kyrbissos inscription in the third quarter of the 3rd century BC (*SEG* 26.1306.59).

¹²³ See above n. 114.

¹²⁴ *PEP Teos* 81 (2nd century BC) records the appointment of priest to the cult. Rome is also honored alongside Zeus Ktesios in a near contemporary inscription (*PEP Teos* 96).

Asia, perhaps around the time of the revolt of Aristonikos, the Teians appealed to the Romans to relocate the Dionysiac *technitai* from Myonnesos to somewhere further away from the city, where they would be less of a threat (Strabo 14.1.29). The Romans responded favorably and moved the artists to Lebedos.¹²⁵

By the end of the 2nd century BC, Teos had made strong contacts at Rome. This was, of course, necessary in order for the city to ensure that it maintained the autonomy of its territory and government. In a late 2nd- or early 1st- century BC honorary decree from the Abderites to the Teians, the colony praised its mother city for sending ambassadors on their behalf to its patrons at Rome (*EΘA* 5, esp. ll. 22-24).¹²⁶ At that time, Abdera faced rival claims to their territory from the Thracian king, Kotys. The Abderites sought the support of the Teians not only because they had long-standing ties to the city, but also because they believed that the Teians had greater influence at Rome. Although the decision of the Senate was probably against the Abderites, the colony's faith in their strong kinship ties with Teos was not misplaced. The fact that Abdera voted extended honors for the two Teians ambassadors sent to lobby the Romans means that they must have swayed at least some of the senators. In this circumstance, the Teians were willing to help their colony not just on account of their longstanding historical ties; they acted because they believed their good contacts with Rome put them in a position to do so.

Following the creation of the province of Asia and the beginning of the Roman Principate, Teos maintained good relations with the emperors. Coins from the city honor

¹²⁵ On the significance of this episode, see Chapter 7§5.

¹²⁶ For the date of the document, see Chiranki 1982: 470-481. For a discussion of Teos' relationship with their patrons at Rome, see most recently Eilers 2002: 114-119.

Augustus as a founder.¹²⁷ The emperor Tiberius was made *synnaos* with Dionysos, following in the footsteps of Antiochos III before him (*LSAM* 28).¹²⁸ The city also made a dedication to Titus and Vespasian (*PEP Teos* 107). Hadrian visited the city and helped to fund the reconstruction of the temple of Dionysos, which had probably been damaged by an earthquake towards the end of the 1st century AD.¹²⁹ A statue base for Hadrian's wife Sabina has also been found at Teos and may be related to her visit to Asia Minor in 125 AD (*PEP Teos* 107).

Teian citizens were active in the religious life of the province of Asia. Tiberios Klaudios Pheseinos served as the archpriest of Asia under Domitian (*I.Ephesos* 232).¹³⁰ His daughter, Klaudia Tryphaina, followed in his footsteps and not only served as the archpriestess of Asia, but also of the Teian cult of Dionysos (*PEP Teos* 118). Another important contemporary family, the Mnasimachi, was also active in both civic and international affairs. Tiberios Klaudios Mnasimachos was honored by the city as a new Athamas (*CIG* 3083 and *SEG* 51: 1615-1616).¹³¹ It was an important honor to equate a citizen with the mythological founder of Teos and the title was probably given to him for great benefactions to the city. The same man appears in an honorary decree from the Dionysiac *technitai*, who laud Mnasimachos not only for his service as agonothete and

¹²⁷ E.g. *SNG Cop. Ionia* nos. 1514-1515. See Chapter 4§2 for a discussion of these coins in relationship to a refurbishment of the temple of Dionysos in this time period.

¹²⁸ For a discussion of this inscription in relation to the cult of Dionysos at Teos, see Chapter 4§3.

¹²⁹ Hadrian's name and extended epithets were inscribed in the nominative on the architrave of the newly refurbished temple (*PEP Teos* 76 and Robert 1946b). On Hadrian's architectural donations in the east, see Boatwright 2000, especially 130-132. The architectural details of the Hadrianic phase of the temple are discussed in Chapter 4§2. There is another dedication to Hadrian on an architrave block found at Hereke, but its original provenance is unknown (*PEP Teos* 75).

¹³⁰ Cf. *PEP Teos* 114.5, which is an honorary inscription on a statue base set up in the *bouleuterion* at Teos by Pheseinos for his father, Tiberios Klaudios Kalobrotos. Pheseinos himself was also honored with a statue in the *bouleuterion* (*PEP Teos* 115.5).

¹³¹ The two latter inscriptions can still be viewed in the theater at Teos. For a discussion of the family, see Herrmann 2000.

his great benefactions, but also because of his goodwill towards the imperial family (*CIG* 3082). Teos undoubtedly honored him for the same reasons, for benefactions and for bringing the goodwill of the imperial family upon the city.

Teos continued to prosper under the Roman Empire. The theater, the temple of Dionysos, and the *bouleuterion* all have phases of construction dating to the 2nd century AD. This is all in stark contrast to the statement of Dio of Prusa that Teos was a city that was not prosperous, despite its wealth in colored marble (*Or.* 79.2). The Romans had been quarrying the marble at Teos, popularly known as Africano, since the 1st century BC.¹³² The quarries have been identified at Karagöl (Plates 1-2), some 3 km. northeast of Teos, and near Beyler in the foothills of the Mastousion Mountain range to the east (Plate 20).¹³³ The quarries at Karagöl operated until AD 166, when the area appears to have been worked out.¹³⁴ From inscriptions found on abandoned blocks at Karagöl, it is clear that the quarry was an imperial concession. Although this means that Teos did not benefit directly from the exportation of its natural resources, the city would have seen some increase in economic traffic. Indeed, the industrial quarter of the city near the south harbor was still in use during this period.¹³⁵ The city also continued to mint both civic and Greek Imperial bronze coins well into the 3rd century AD.¹³⁶

¹³² Pliny (*HN* 36.49-50) refers to the marble as Luculleum and believed it to be from Chios, but the general scholarly consensus is that it should be identified with Africano marble from Teos. Gnoli 1971: 174-178.

¹³³ On the quarries at Karagöl, see the survey of Fant 1987. The quarries at Beyler were much more extensive. See Baran and Petzl 1977-8. The Romans quarried not only Africano, which is black with red and white striations, but also a grey-white marble at Teos.

¹³⁴ The abandonment of the quarry can be dated by Latin inscriptions with consular dates between AD 163 and 166 on the blocks left on the roadside near the quarry (Fant 1987: 392-393 and *PEP Teos* 266).

¹³⁵ I noted a reservoir using Roman hydraulic cement in the southwest quarter of the city (personal observation, January 2006). This may have provided water needed for various activities in this area, including ceramic production. Tuna's geophysical survey of the area in the 1990s led him to believe that the area was the center of ceramic production (1996: 224-225).

¹³⁶ A survey of the Greek imperial coins at Teos can be found in Lang 2003: 541-543. The latest dated Imperial coin of the city was minted under Valerian II.

Teos clearly weathered the transition to Roman rule quite well. The city even underwent a brief renaissance at the time of Hadrian, when the temple of Dionysos was reconstructed and the theater was expanded. Nonetheless, Teos was slowly relegated to the economic status of a small town. Although Teos maintained certain rights and honored the Imperial family in inscriptions and on their coinage, they eventually became just one more Greek city among all the cities of the Roman Empire.

The epigraphic record at Teos ends at the turn of the 4th century AD. The last decree of the city honored Augusta Galeria Valeria.¹³⁷ The city shows no signs of building or inhabitation during the Late Antique period.¹³⁸ Moreover, Teos does not appear to be represented in any of the Christian councils or church records from this time period. This does not surprise. Teos had largely succeeded during Hellenistic and early Roman periods by promoting itself as the city of Dionysos. The temple of Dionysos remained its greatest attraction even in the 2nd century AD. When Christianity came to dominate the Roman Empire, the city could no longer depend upon its proud pagan heritage to attract visitors. Moreover, the more successful harbors at Ephesos and Smyrna had already eclipsed the economic importance of Teos, which had long since become a backwards town. While we will never know when the site of Teos was abandoned, its history ended just as the rise of Christianity began.

¹³⁷ *PEP Teos* 110 (AD 306-311). There are also two fragmentary inscriptions from this time period, honoring two Augusti (*PEP Teos* 102) and two Augusta (*PEP Teos* 109) respectively.

¹³⁸ In the area around Teos, a single Christian votive monument dating to the 4th and 5th centuries has been found out of context at Hereke (*PEP Teos* 263). More interesting are the two Christian inscriptions from Demircili near Airai (*PEP Teos* 264-265). These may represent a stronger Christian presence in the territory outside the actual city.

Nonetheless, the city's earlier importance assured that it a place, albeit a surreptitious one, in later mediaeval sources. In a 10th-century AD list of the twenty most important cities of Asia, that is the Thrakesian theme of the Byzantine Empire, Teos was listed as nineteenth (Konstantinos VII Porphyrogenitos *De Them.* 3.39). It has been well understood that the imperial author of this text was using some older and long lost list of *poleis episemoi*, but we should nonetheless take note that Teos was mentioned in the historical sources long after its abandonment.¹³⁹ The city also appears on the Peutinger Table (IX.5), a 13th century AD map that is clearly a copy of an older Roman map. What are we to make of such sources? Unfortunately, the answer appears to be not much. They testify that Teos once existed. It seems best to state merely that the city was unforgotten, but not remembered terribly well. This was how it snuck its way into Porphyrogenitos' list. The emperor simply did not remember Teos enough to remove it.

Indeed, there was clearly no place for Teos in the Christian empire. The city had built no churches and had continued its proud pagan heritage down to the end. Christian populations were either dispersed to larger population centers such as Ephesos or moved out of the city into the countryside. The pagan city began to crumble and in time the city that had existed for nearly 1,500 years lay in ruins. Vines and other plants slowly took root among the tumbled stones of the buildings. The city was quiet and songs for Dionysos were no longer sung at the temple. The god was no longer remembered. And Teos, once renowned as the city of Dionysos, perished along with him.

¹³⁹ Foss 1977: 471.

Chapter Three Society and Government at Teos

We can say remarkably little about the constitution of Teos from its foundation. Given the testimony of the mythological sources, Teos apparently went through an initial period of monarchy, just as the other Ionian cities.¹ The sources portray the monarchies of the early Ionians as hereditary positions. The kings ruled their respective cities by the legitimacy of their title and their inherited right. This is the essence of kingship in Homer.² Some scholars have challenged the traditional view of kingship in Geometric Greece, asserting that the cities were dominated rather each by its own local cluster of competing nobles.³ There is no doubt some truth to this, but without literary testimony, any conclusion remains speculative. Whatever the case, by the end of the 8th century BC, power was more evenly divided between aristocratic families, who were unified in the desire to protect the privileges of their class.⁴ These aristocrats established political structures to jointly govern their city. This was the beginning of the *polis* of Teos.

1. *The Early Constitution*

Our earliest evidence of the social organization of Teos is restricted comes from the Hellenistic period. In two 2nd-century BC honorary decrees, we find reference to the *phyle* or tribe of the Geleontes (*CIG* 3078 and 3079).⁵ Accordingly, we should imagine that Teos had all four of the traditional Ionian tribes, including the Geleontes, the

¹ Strabo 14.1.3 and Pausanias 7.3.6. See Chapter 2§1.

² On kingship in Homer, see van Wees 1992 and Carlier 2006.

³ Most notably Drews 1983.

⁴ Coldstream 2003: 314-315. *Cf.* Donlan 1997.

⁵ The tribe Geleontes is testified elsewhere in Ionian cities. See Roebuck 1961: 497 n.4 to whose list might be added Athens (*SEG* 21.540 IB col. I ll. 35 and 47, date 410-399 BC).

Hopletes, the Aigikoreis, and the Argadeis.⁶ The political function of these tribes at Teos is unclear. In the letter of Antigonos Monophthalmos to the Teians, the king advised that the citizens chosen to find temporary housing for the Lebedians be elected from each tribe (*RC* 4.18).⁷ However, by the later Hellenistic period, the *phyle* appears to have become a purely religious institution left over from the earlier divisions of the Teians.

These tribes would have represented fundamental civic divisions, subdivided further into *gene* or clans. Is there evidence for *gene* at Teos? The question centers upon the meaning of the fragmentary 2nd-century BC *pyrgos* list at Teos (*CIG* 3064). The list contains forty entries, each including a name and *symmory* in the nominative and a related *pyrgos* in the genitive case. Hunt proposed that the *pyrgoi* referred to old aristocratic estates dating back to the early history of the city.⁸ If this were true, the names of the *pyrgoi* could represent various *gene* at Teos. There are many problems with this argument but the most damaging are the ten anarchies listed in the inscription. Hunt would have us believe that these anarchies represented estates left uninhabited and in disrepair.⁹ This is a usage of the adjective ἀναρχος unattested elsewhere in the Greek world. The simplest explanation for these anarchies is that we are dealing with an official record of elected or appointed officials. As it will be shown in a later chapter, the *pyrgos* inscription preserves a list of yearly officials in charge of marshaling the citizens for the defense of the city wall.¹⁰ The sudden appearance of this new civic division in the 2nd

⁶ Roebuck (1961: 497 and n. 4) considers these to be the four ethnic Ionian tribes, to which he adds two Asiatic tribes, the Oinopes and Borieis.

⁷ The word φυλῆς is completely restored, which may cast some doubt on the restoration. However, the selection of land-distributors (*geonomoi*) by the Athenians at Brea was undertaken according to each tribe (*IG* I³ 46.10-11). This gives more credence to the restoration. See Jones 1987: 306.

⁸ Hunt 1947.

⁹ See the strong criticism in Jones 1987: 309.

¹⁰ For a full discussion of this inscription in its historical context, see Chapter 5§5.

century BC has much more to do with the construction of the Hellenistic fortification wall following the pirate attack on the city. There is no evidence for the “forty families” of Teos.¹¹ This is not to say that there were not aristocratic *gene* at Teos; we simply do not have the testimony for them.

The re-foundation of Teos following the abandonment of the city at the time of Harpagos’ siege around 545 BC may have entailed some constitutional reforms. Unfortunately, we have no testimonies for the constitution of Teos until the liberation of the city following the defeat of the Persian navy at Mykale in 479 BC.

The Teian imprecations give us some testimony for the government of the city under the Persians (*Nomima* 104-105). The city invoked a curse upon anyone who exercised the function of *aisymnetes* (104.b8-12). The same curse was invoked upon anyone who voted to establish an *aisymnetes* or helped to establish an *aisymneteia* by force (104.b3-8). The office of *aisymnetes* is listed by Aristotle as a type of tyrant who is popularly elected (*Pol.* 1285a29-b3) and Dionysios of Halikarnassos compared the office to the Roman practice of electing dictators (*Ant. Rom.* 5.73.2-3). The oldest use of the word, however, is in Homer, where it appears meaning a “referee” (*e.g. Od.* 8.258). Hence, the underlying meaning of the Greek political office employed at Teos would have been something like “the one who judges what is right.”

Aristotle’s historical example of an *aisymneteia* is that of Pittakos at Mytilene. Following a victory over Athens, the Mytilenaians elected Pittakos as *aisymnetes* to end *stasis* in their city. He then spent the next ten years putting the constitution of Mytilene in good order before abdicating.¹² Pittakos was not so different from Solon at Athens. The

¹¹ A term recently employed by Thomas and Conant 1999: 83.

¹² The traditional date for this reign is ca. 590-580 BC. See Romer 1982: 37 n. 33.

comparison of these two statesmen, however, poses a problem for Aristotle's technical definition of Pittakos as a tyrant and his censure of the Mytilenaians for electing the man.¹³ The situation becomes less clear as we consider other historic examples of *aisymneteia*. For example, the Athenian Aristarchos, who was elected as *aisymnetes* for a five-year period at Ephesos during the mid-6th century BC, is said to have ruled the city with care (Suda s.v. Ἀρίσταρχος).¹⁴ Clearly, the archaic Greeks considered *aisymneteia* necessary from time to time to put their cities in order. While Aristotle is correct in terming it a tyranny, his harsh censure of *aisymneteia* does not accurately describe the examples that have come down to us through the literary sources. It is apparent from Dionysios' late testimony that *aisymneteiai* were common during the archaic period, but it was no longer an acceptable form of government when Aristotle composed his *Politics*.¹⁵ It is no wonder that, with no examples from his own day to draw upon, Aristotle developed his own definition as he saw it and chose to discuss Pittakos since he was the most famous example.

Returning to Teos, if we are to date the earliest imprecation prior to 476 BC, then the most probable occasion for the election of an *aisymnetes* would be in the period of Persian rule between 494 and 479 BC.¹⁶ That the city had a tyranny under Persian domination is more attractive if we remember the predominance of pro-Persian tyrannies

¹³ So Romer 1982.

¹⁴ Suda s.v. Ἀρίσταρχος.

¹⁵ Mossé has gathered all the literary evidence for *aisymneteia* in the archaic period (1979: 376 n. 2). The office should not be confused with the official of the same name known at Miletos, who was a sort of priest of Apollo alongside the *Molpoi* (Gorman 2001: 94-100). Furthermore, according to a fragment in the Aristotelian corpus, *aisymnetai* were the leaders of an Archaic oligarchy of a hundred men at Aiolian Kyme (fr. 525 Rose). Megara apparently established a board of *aisimnatai* in the archaic period, which still served in relation to the council in the 2nd century BC (*Paus.* 1.43.3 and *IG* 7.15.1). This institution was transmitted to many Megarian colonies, and is evident at Kalchedon (*I.Kalchedon* 7.6) and Selinous (*IvO* 22). Finally, two *aisymnetai* are also found at Naxos in the Hellenistic period (*SIG*³ 955.1).

¹⁶ On the dating of the Teian imprecations, see Chapter 2§3.

in the cities of Asia Minor prior to the Ionian Revolt.¹⁷ When the Teians found their city burnt and their population decimated following the defeat at Lade, it must have made good sense for the remaining citizens to elect an *aisymnetes* to heal the rifts that had formed in their society. Newly subject to the Persians, they selected a citizen who the King would accept, someone whose interests reflected those of the Achaemenid Empire.¹⁸

It is clear from the later set of imprecations that the *aisymneteia* at Teos was not as benevolent as that of Pittakos at Mytilene a century earlier. The text curses any magistrate who harms a fellow citizen (*Nomima* 105.a5-10). The curse is then followed by the oath in the first person.¹⁹ The civic oath reads as follows (105.a10-24):

'Ε-

πανάστ[α]σιν : οὐ βολε-
 12 ὑσῶ : οὐδὲ ποιήσω : οὐδ-
 ἐ λυ[ή]σῶ : ο[ὐ]δέ διώξω : ο-
 [ύ]δὲ [χρ]ήμ[α]τα δημιώσ-
 16 [ω : οὐ]δὲ δήσω : οὐδὲ κατ-
 [ακ]τε[ν]έω : ἄμ μὴ σ[ύ]ν [δι]-
 [ακοσ]ί[ο]ισιν : ἐν Τέωι
 [ἦ] πλέσσι : [κ]αὶ ἄμ μὴ ὑ-
 20 π[ὸ] πόλεω[ς] : ὑ[ό]μο : κατα-
 λαφθεν[τ]α : ἐν δὲ Ἀβδή-
 [ρ]οισιν · [σ]ὺμ π[ε]ντακ[ο]-
 [σ]ίοισιν : ἢ πλ[έ]οισιν : α-
 ισμνήτην : οὐ στήσω
 24 [ο]ὔτε : σύμ πολλοῖσι[ν]

I will not plan an insurrection, nor will I make or cause division. I will not prosecute or confiscate property or arrest or execute anyone, unless by a vote of 200 or more at Teos, and not unless in keeping with the law of the

¹⁷ On pro-Persian tyrannies in Ionia prior to the Ionian Revolt, see Tozzi 1978:118-121 and, the more recent discussion in Cawkwell 2005: 30-45, especially 33-34 and Gorman 2001: 132-133.

¹⁸ Cf. Chryssanthaki 2001: 391.

¹⁹ Other examples of oaths mixed with imprecations are found at Athens (Hdt. 1.19 and *Ath. Pol.* 7.1 with Dio of Prusa 80.6) and at Itanos on Crete (*IC* 3.4.7.16-18). See Herrmann 1981: 13-14.

city, and unless by a vote of 500 or more at Abdera. Nor will I set up an *aisymnetes*, neither with many...

Although only the last preserved part of the oath mentions establishing an *aisymnetes*, the clauses that precede it are certainly relevant. The oath was written with recent history in mind. It is not hard to imagine that many Teians suffered under the *aisymneteia*. In order to quell the *stasis* that had led to the revolt against the Persians, the person appointed as *aisymnetes* had sought to stamp out any thought of future rebellion through the most efficacious means possible. Citizens who had advocated revolt against the Persians found themselves prosecuted, their property confiscated, or, worse still, executed. The *aisymneteia* at Teos certainly fits Aristotle's censure much better than the example he provided from Mytilene.

After the defeat of the Persians at Mykale, the Teians rebelled and abolished the office of *aisymnetes* once and for all. More important, they vowed never to undergo internal revolt in the future. The Teian imprecations are a strong indication of a democratic government. For Herrmann, the presence of a civic oath was testimony enough for a democratic constitution.²⁰ The imprecations were intended to be a safeguard for the community (*ξυνόν*) of the Teians.²¹ It is not clear if the *ξυνόν* at Teos should be considered an assembly. Nonetheless, the provision in the oath that a quorum of 200 citizens was needed to prosecute a fellow citizen is evidence enough that the city did have a civic court if not an assembly.²²

We are fortunate to have information concerning the governing officials of this new democratic constitution. The most important officials were the *timouchoi*, who

²⁰ 1981: 15. See also Thomas 1992: 80-81.

²¹ Mentioned at *Nomima* 104.a3 and b2 and 25 and *Nomima* 105.c2.

²² See Lewis 1982 on the democratic importance of the quorum of 200 citizens at Teos.

functioned as the leaders of the city's council in later times.²³ The imprecations name them as the primary officials responsible for the public recitation of the curses on three festival occasions each year (104.b29-35 and 105.d11-19). Although, the sanctions against anyone “τιμῆν ἔχων,” or “holding public office,” who harms the community of the Teians is phrased generally to encompass all civic officials, it was undoubtedly intended primarily for the *timouchoi* (105.a5-6).²⁴ After all, in later times, they were the ones in the position to propose decrees and laws that could be potentially harmful to the community. The second set of imprecations also preserve reference to *tamiai* or treasurers (105.d13), and a *phoinikographos* or secretary (d19-21).²⁵ While the *tamiai* primarily concerned themselves with the city's finances, it is clear from the inscription that they too could be responsible for reading the imprecations. The imprecations also explicitly mention that the *phoinikographos* was subordinate to the *timouchoi* and received his orders from them (d21-23).

From a legal perspective, perhaps the most important testimony in the imprecations is the reference to the law of the city (105.a19). Indeed, we should not be surprised at the reference to a code of laws in the imprecations. The curses invoked by the Teians depended not only upon the divine will of the gods, but also upon secular justice. The laws at Teos must have covered the same diverse array of crimes and deeds listed in the imprecations, including establishing a tyranny (104.b3-8), betraying the city and its territory (b11-17), aiding and abetting pirates and brigands (b17-23), employing magic against the community (a1-5), and impeding the grain supply (a6-12). These were

²³ This was their role in the Hellenistic constitution of the city. See below §2.

²⁴ Cf. Herrmann 1981: 14.

²⁵ On the interpretation of *phoinikographos* as “secretary,” see Herrmann 1981: 12. The office is also attested at Mytilene (*IG* 12.2.96.10 and 97.2).

all capital crimes that could result in exile, confiscation of property, and even the annihilation of the malefactor's place in the community through the razing of his household.²⁶ We need not perceive any conflict between the laws of the city and the imprecations; the curses were an effective measure to deter anyone from doing wrong in the city, but the laws were still necessary to exact proper punishment should any crime actually be committed.²⁷ Indeed, in a special sense, the imprecations were a very visible reminder of the city's laws. The text was inscribed on several stelai, set up in a public place, and then protected by a final curse against anyone who chiseled out, broke or otherwise rendered the letters unreadable (b34-41). The stelai were meant to stand and be read as a visible reminder of the divine punishments that existed alongside the city's own secular law.²⁸

2. *The Hellenistic Constitution*

We have no further testimony for the city and its government until the end of the 4th century BC. At that time, it is quite evident that Teos was governed by a strong democracy.²⁹ We have a wealth of epigraphic documents recording proposals, decrees, and laws passed by the city. It remains to examine these from a constitutional perspective in order to understand the various political bodies and offices that managed and worked towards the prosperity of the city.

²⁶ *Nomima* 105 B 1-12 curses the individual to perish outside of Teos and Abdera and their territory. As Parker has noted, this clearly presupposes exile (2005: 77 n. 46). That the formula parallels the wording of the curses elsewhere could be an indication that the regular curse formula is a shortened form of these lines and also sanctions exile. On the destruction of the homes of exiled traitors at Athens, see Connor 1985, especially 87-88 and n. 27.

²⁷ Parker 2005: 77.

²⁸ Thomas 2005: 54-55 and 1992: 71-72.

²⁹ In a letter to the city, Antiochos III mentions τὴν δημοκρατίαν (*Antiochos* no. 19 B.9, dating between 203 and 190 BC).

The primary voting body was the *demos*, which met regularly in the *ekklesia* or assembly.³⁰ It is possible that the citizen body at the *ekklesia* was divided into their respective tribes.³¹ The *demos* was responsible for the yearly election (*archairesiai*) of civic offices and this was undertaken by a public vote.³² Any citizen could nominate a person for office in front of the assembly, but he was also subject to an oath that he had done so acting piously and without malice towards the city.³³ The assembly was further responsible for the appointment of *epistatai* or overseers to undertake individual projects.³⁴ Ultimately, the main responsibility of the *demos* was to vote upon decrees brought to them from the *boule* or from other civic officials.³⁵ In our corpus of inscriptions, the greatest number of these decrees are honorary.³⁶ It is clear that the public assembly did not meet often. This is implicit in the occasional tabling of motions to be proposed at the next elections.³⁷ Finally, the *demos* was the public face of Teos,

³⁰ RC 4.17-18, Aneziri D2.3-4 and SEG 26.1306.11. Antiochos III appeared before the *ekklesia* in 204/3 BC (*Antiochos* no. 17.17).

³¹ Antigonos orders the Teians to elect housing for the Lebedians at the next assembly and recommends that this be done by tribe (RC 4.15-18). Cf. Goldhill 2000: 62 for the tribal division of seating at the theater of Dionysos at Athens.

³² SIG³ 578.7-8. In same law, elected officials are referred to as χειροτονηθέντι (l. 10), which means voted by hand and hence in public view.

³³ SEG 26.1306.11-15 mentions the oath in the case of the election of the phrourarch sent to Kyrbissos.

³⁴ *Antiochos* no. 18. 59-62 detailing two *epistatai* appointed from the entire *demos* to make and set up a bronze statue of Antiochos III at the *bouleuterion*.

³⁵ E.g. *Antiochos* no. 18.100-102 where the assembly is to vote upon the proposal of the *strategoï* and the *timouchoi* and LSAM 28.7, where the *boule* and the *demos* are recorded decreeing religious ceremonies for Tiberius. Cf. RC 3.50, where the *demos* must ratify the new code of laws being written by the *nomographoi*.

³⁶ E.g. CIG 3094.

³⁷ E.g. *Antiochos* no. 18. 100-102. This was particularly done when expenses were to be defrayed from the public coffers: *Antiochos* no. 18.17-19, Aneziri D2.11, and SIG³ 578.23. Cf. *I.Magnesia* 97.24-25 where the *demos* of Teos is to allot the travel allowance for the ambassadors to Magnesia.

responsible for electing and receiving ambassadors.³⁸ It is probable that the assembly was also present at the public reading of letters and decrees sent to the city.³⁹

The council or *boule* at Teos consisted of two colleges of officials, the *timouchoi* and the *strategoï*. While the *boule* was always addressed alongside the *demos* in decrees and letters sent to the city, the Teians only referred to their governing council as a *boule* when using the most general terms.⁴⁰ This is evident from a late testimony where the *boule* is specifically attested as being under the control of the *timouchoi*.⁴¹ A *bouleuterion* is epigraphically attested at the city from the end of the 3rd century BC, although the reference to *archeion* or magistrates' office in the letters of Antigonos Monophthalmos should probably be considered a testimony for the building already in the 4th century.⁴² From the second Teian decree for Antiochos III, it is clear that the *bouleuterion* served as the seat for the *strategoï*, the *timouchoi*, and the *tamiai*. The decree states that the three colleges are to perform an *eisiteria* (entrance ritual) for the king in the *bouleuterion* when they assume their office at the start of the new civic year on the first of Leukatheon (*Antiochos* no. 18.33-37).⁴³

The council of the *timouchoi* and the *strategoï* was responsible for proposing decisions (*gnomai*) to the assembly, which would then ratify them.⁴⁴ They were also to

³⁸ Sending ambassadors: E.g. *I.Magnesia* 97.7-8. cf. *RC* 4.11-13 (appointing men to go to Kos to copy laws) and *I.Iasos* 608.9-12 (sending a judge to Bargylia at the request of Antiochos I). Receiving ambassadors: *SEG* 4.601.2-3.

³⁹ *RC* 4.17 mentions the public reading of Antigonos' answer.

⁴⁰ E.g. *LSAM* 28.7

⁴¹ *LW* 3.1559 (AD 170 or later).

⁴² *RC* 3.42.

⁴³ Other testimonies also argue that Leukatheon was the first month of the civic year. Tax exemptions for an unknown town and for the Dionysiac *technitai*, both began in Leukatheon: *SEG* 26.1305.20-21 and *Aneziri* D2,19-20 respectively. The *bouleuterion* was also multi-functional building and we have testimony for music examinations for the city's youth taking place in the building: *SIG*³ 578.32-34.

⁴⁴ E.g. *I.Magnesia* 97.29-47 (an honorary decree of Teos for Glaukos of Magnesia) and *Antiochos* no. 18.100-102.

preside over oaths taken in the city.⁴⁵ The council had considerable power, as is evident in at least one case, when a decree was to be enacted as ordered by them and not by the assembly.⁴⁶ It is likely that only the wealthy elite of the city could run for the office of *strategos* or *timouchos* because they were responsible for defraying the costs of some of the city's festivals.⁴⁷

It is difficult to tease out the individual responsibilities of the two colleges since they are so often represented together. We know that in the Hellenistic period the *timouchoi* were to recite the public imprecations, just as they had been in the 5th century BC.⁴⁸ They were responsible for inscribing the lists of officials and posting them on bulletins at the *bouleuterion*.⁴⁹ In the case of the synoecism with Kyrbissos, the *timouchoi* were also called upon to have the decree inscribed and set up in the agora at Kyrbissos and at the temple of Dionysos at Teos (*SEG* 26.1306.59-61). While the testimonies are sparse, they may indicate that the college of the *timouchoi* was more concerned with aspects of civil administration and justice. We would then expect that the separate duties of the *stratego*i involved the security of the city and its territory and, perhaps, dealing with criminal law. This is how they are presented in Eumenes II's arbitration between the city and the Dionysiac *technitai* (Aneziri D12 IIC 13-16).⁵⁰ It is clear from two 2nd-

⁴⁵ *SEG* 44.949.50-55 and *SEG* 26.1306.16-18 and 54-57, which notably mentions the attendant sacrifice of a bull, ram and boar.

⁴⁶ *Antiochos* no. 18. 59-62. Cf. Rhodes and Lewis 1997: 394.

⁴⁷ We know of this only from an early 2nd-century BC inscription where the two colleges are listed as responsible for paying for the costs of the celebration on Queen Apollonis' festival day (Kotsidu no. 240.12).

⁴⁸ *SIG*³ 578.61-65 (dated to the 190s BC) adds a new curse to the city's established imprecations for anyone who diverts or abuses the funds given to the city for an education fund. The logical interpretation here is that the 5th-century imprecations are still in force (Herrmann 1981:22). Cf. the curses in *SEG* 44.949.60-62 and *SEG* 26.1306.23-26.

⁴⁹ *SEG* 26.1306.16-18

⁵⁰ For a discussion of this passage, see Chapter 7§5,

century BC honorary decrees that the board of the *strategoï* was led by a chief archon.⁵¹ Over time, the college of the *strategoï* appears to have gained more influence at Teos. Coins from the 2nd century AD onwards are dated by the office of the head *strategos*.⁵²

The *tamiai* or treasurers represent a third board of magistrates at Teos. The *tamiai* were the officers in charge of the city's finances. They were the ones to collect taxes and duties. The *tamiai* were also responsible for diverting revenues into various civic funds and then disbursing money to cover expenses. These expenses included such various things as the cost of setting up *stelai*, wages for soldiers, and the maintenance of public fountains.⁵³ In the case of endowments to the city, it was also the duty of the *tamiai* to lend the money at interest in order to perpetuate the funds.⁵⁴ The *tamiai* managed and sold civic contracts, such as the right to supply sacrificial animals or the right to sell crowns.⁵⁵ Ultimately, however, they were responsible to see that these contracts were filled. For example, it was their job to obtain animals from the contractors and have these present for sacrifices.⁵⁶ It was also their duty to make sure that ambassadors in the city received *xenia* in the *prytaneion* whenever it was granted.⁵⁷ Other duties of the *tamiai* included obtaining a proper head count per age group of all the members inscribed in each symmory so that they could disburse the proper amount of funds during public feast

⁵¹ *PEP Teos* 120 and 241.

⁵² Scheffler 1882: 56-57. See also *CIG* 3129, which is a small fragment of a Roman era inscription, which appears to be dated by the head *strategos*.

⁵³ For the expense of setting up *stelai*: Aneziri D2.27-28 and *Antiochos* no. 18.106-107. For soldiers' wages: *SEG* 26.1306.27-29. For the maintenance of the Laodike fountain in the agora: *Antiochos* no. 18.87-90.

⁵⁴ *SIG*³ 578.66-69. There was a stiff penalty of 2000 drachmas for anyone found negligent in this duty.

⁵⁵ For contracts for sacrificial animals: *Antiochos* no. 18.44-46. For the contract to sell crowns: *Idem* ll. 57-59.

⁵⁶ *SEG* 26.1306.57 and *Antiochos* no. 18.44-46. On officials responsible for public sacrifice at Athens, see Rosivach 1994.

⁵⁷ *SEG* 4.601.14-16.

days.⁵⁸ Finally, it was their responsibility to oversee the seizure and sale of property for the city when a citizen was condemned.⁵⁹

There was also a board of *euthynoi* or public examiners. The principal responsibility of the *euthynoi* was to review the misconduct of civic officials. At Teos, this may have also involved reviewing the monthly financial accounts submitted by officials.⁶⁰ This appears likely since, although prosecution of civic officials embezzling money was left to citizen volunteers, the *euthynoi* were responsible for collecting the fines from those found guilty.⁶¹

Two other offices related to the financial operation of the city are attested. Hellenistic coins from the city bear the name of a minting official, who was responsible for designing and issuing of coinage. Finally, if a passage in a letter of Antigonos Monophthalmos has been restored correctly, we should also expect an *agoranomos* or superintendant of the agora.⁶² His responsibilities would have included ensuring supplies for the city, determining the accuracy of weights and measures, and establishing prices.⁶³

Other administrative offices at Teos included the *grammateis* or secretaries.⁶⁴ These served as scribes for the *timouchoi*, the *strategoï*, and the assembly. A board of

⁵⁸ *Antiochos* no. 18.44-46.

⁵⁹ *SEG* 44.949.58-59.

⁶⁰ Monthly accounts are attested at *SIG*³ 578.54.

⁶¹ *SIG*³ 578.52-60. At Athens, the *euthynoi* did not involve themselves in financial affairs, which were the domain of the *logistai*. See, however, Macdowell (1978: 170-172), who speculates that the *euthynoi* may have had this power in the 5th century BC at Athens.

⁶² *RC* 3.100.

⁶³ Macro 1980: 679. Cf. *SEG* 44.949.36-37, which mentions tested (*episemon*) coinage. Testing foreign coinage for circulation at Teos may have been another responsibility of the *agoranomos* or a related official.

⁶⁴ *SIG*³ 578.8 and *SEG* 2.584.10-11.

grammatophylakes is attested from a single 2nd-century BC inscription.⁶⁵ Such boards of officials, responsible for the city archives, are known from many other Greek cities.⁶⁶

The eponymous magistrate of Teos, as in most other Ionian cities, was the *prytanis*.⁶⁷ It was recognized by scholars from as early on as Fustel de Coulanges that the *prytanis* was a sort of religious and symbolic replacement for the king in many Greek cities.⁶⁸ The *prytanis* was the priest of the public hearth and undertook sacrifices on behalf of the community. There was a *prytaneion* at Teos where the city kept its sacred hearth and received honored guests.⁶⁹ On sacred days, the city magistrates and high religious officials would meet with the *prytanis* for a feast in the *prytaneion*.⁷⁰ The *prytanis* was involved in most aspects of the city's civic religion. The hearth of the city was moved to the *bouleuterion* on the first day of the civic calendar year, when the new magistrates took their office, so that the *prytanis* and the priest of Dionysos could lead the officials in a sacrifice.⁷¹ On the festival day for Queen Apollonis at the city, the *prytanis* superintended the sacrifice alongside the priests of Apollonis and Stratonike, the *hieropoioi* (temple-overseers), and the rest of the city's priesthood.⁷² Clearly, the *prytanis* was among the most important religious figures in the city. A board known as the *paraprytaneis* is also attested from the 2nd century BC, created no doubt to assist the

⁶⁵ *PEP Teos* 241.

⁶⁶ *E.g.* Thera: *IG* 12.3.330.279-287. Smyrna: *I.Smyrna*. 573.52 and 85-86.

⁶⁷ First attested in the late-4th century sympolity treaty found at Ulamiş (*SEG* 1305.21).

⁶⁸ Fustel de Coulanges 1864: 202-204, which is based largely upon Aristotle *Pol.* 1322b28.

⁶⁹ *SEG* 4.601.13-14.

⁷⁰ Such a gathering is attested in the *ktematonia* decree (Aneziri D2.2-3) The feast of the magistrates and *technitai* during the Antiocheia and Laodikeia festivals no doubt took place there as well (*Antiochos* no. 18.7-9).

⁷¹ *Antiochos* no. 18.33-38. The sacrifice was made for king Antiochos, the Graces and Memory. On the significance of this sacrifice for ruler cult and the social memory of the city, see Ma 1999: 219-226. On more flexible arrangements for the civic hearth, see Cole 2004: 83 n. 108.

⁷² Kotsidu no. 240.4-7.

prytanis in his responsibilities.⁷³ It is not surprising that this development came about during the Hellenistic period, when the ruler cult had dramatically swelled the number of religious occasions at Teos.

One last religious official is attested, the *hierokeryx* or sacred herald. It was his job to announce honors in front of the assembly during festivals such as the Dionysia.⁷⁴ The *hierokeryx* was also responsible for prayers on behalf of the city. These included praying for good things on behalf of the Dionysiac *technitai*.⁷⁵ The *hierokeryx* also prayed for those taking a civic oath, wishing benefits for those who held to it and destruction upon those who broke it.⁷⁶ In this regard, he complemented the *timouchoi* who were responsible for witnessing and registering oaths and announcing the public imprecations.

Other officials were appointed by the city to fulfill specific roles in the *polis*. One such official was the phrourarch for the garrison at Kyrbissos.⁷⁷ The office was a four-month term and no individual could assume the post more than once every five years. To be eligible for the office, a man had to be at least 30 years of age and have landed property in the city worth four talents and free from security. As Robert has noted, the property restriction was very high and was undoubtedly put in place to guarantee that the phrourarch would not rebel from the city.⁷⁸ It is clear that the position was not a liturgy since the phrourarch was allotted a daily allowance of four Alexander drachmas, from which his sole expense was the care of the guard dogs. The responsibilities of the

⁷³ *PEP Teos* 235 and 242.

⁷⁴ *SEG* 44.949.10.

⁷⁵ Aneziri D2.3-5. The *prytanis* performed the same things as the *hierokeryx* in front of the high civic officials in the *prytaneion*.

⁷⁶ *SEG* 44.949.60-62.

⁷⁷ *SEG* 26.1306.8-40.

⁷⁸ 1976: 196-197.

phourarch are quite clear. He was to oversee the security of the city's border region at Kyrbissos and to maintain discipline among his soldiers.

The city also took a hand in the election of officials related to the training and education of the city's youth. These included the yearly appointment of a gymnasiarch and a *paidonomos*. It is specified that the latter must be forty years of age and it is probable that there was a similar age restriction for the gymnasiarch.⁷⁹ It was their stated responsibility to make sure that the children and the ephebes pursued their studies carefully, and this included making sure that the instructors attended to their duties. The *paidonomos* and the gymnasiarch were further responsible for the selection of a weapons master (*hoplomachos*) and a teacher of archery and javelin-throwing, but their choices had to be ratified by the assembly.⁸⁰ The rest of the instructors were elected directly by the assembly at the yearly *archairesiai*.⁸¹ These included three schoolmasters (*grammatodidaskaloi*), two physical trainers (*paidotribai*), and a *kithara* player (*kitharistes*). Unlike the gymnasiarch and the *paidonomos*, who were unpaid civic officials, all the instructors were assigned salaries.

3. *Public Organization under the Polis*

The population at Teos in the Hellenistic period was clearly not small. The fact that Antigonos Monophthalmos could order that 600 wealthy citizens be chosen to loan money to the *polis* indicates that there must have been sizable population (*RC* 4.8). Gauthier has proposed that the actual number of citizens must have been 2000-3000

⁷⁹ *SIG*³ 578.1-3. Age restrictions for the gymnasiarch are attested elsewhere. At Beroia, he had to be between thirty and sixty years of age: *EKM* 1.1.22-24.

⁸⁰ *SIG*³ 578.21-23.

⁸¹ *SIG*³ 578.4-20.

men.⁸² If we accept this number and assume a modest four-to-one ratio between the number of citizens and the total population, we arrive at a total number somewhere in the range of 10,000. The *polis* superstructure could not adequately serve such a large number on its own, and so the population was divided into smaller units known as symmories.⁸³

The symmories at Teos functioned much in the same way as the demes in Attica. In the organization of the Antiocheia and Laodikeia festival, we learn that the citizen population celebrated the festival in the *topos* of their respective symmory (*Antiochos* no. 18. 12-17).⁸⁴ The place of the symmory was furnished with an altar of the *symmoria* and it is clear that the citizens regularly gathered there on festival days to undertake sacrifice. This is implicit insofar as the rites for the Antiocheia and Laodikeia were modeled upon the Leukothea.⁸⁵ Obviously, as a civic division, the symmories played an important role in marshaling the entire citizen body for religious events. The symmories were further responsible for keeping a register (*apographe*) of all their members and their respective age-class.⁸⁶ This register was submitted regularly to the *tamiai* so that they could disburse the proper amount of money to each symmory for publicly mandated sacrifices.

Although we have record of at least 29 *symmoriai* at Teos, substantial decrees have been preserved only for the Echinadai.⁸⁷ In all three of the texts, the *koinon* of the symmory honors the four annual *prostatai* or presidents. These *prostatai* were honored

⁸² Gauthier 1990: 86.

⁸³ Symmories as a civic division are otherwise only attested at Nysa (*SEG* 4.418.25)

⁸⁴ The edict further stipulates that each *symmoria* is to build an altar to Antiochos III and Laodike next to the altar of the *symmoria*.

⁸⁵ *Antiochos* no. 18.16-17. Cf. a gathering of the Echinadai at the Leukothea (*CIG* 3066.24-25).

⁸⁶ *Antiochos* no. 18.17-23.

⁸⁷ We have three honorary decrees of the Echinadai (*CIG* 3065-3066 and *SEG* 35.1152). The list of magistrates in the *pyrgos* list (for which see Chapter 5§5) preserves complete and partial names for 26 symmories (*CIG* 3064). Ruge (1934: 553-554) expresses some doubt that the patronymics in this inscription refer to symmories, but see Jones 1987: 306-307. The symmory of Datylos is preserved as an honorary party on a funerary inscription (*PEP Teos* 235 with Şahin: 1985a : 15 n.3). In one further inscription, the Phaniadai are listed next to the Pollidai, who are also mentioned in the *pyrgos* list (*PEP Teos* 136).

for performing all the sacrifices to the gods and the benefactors and for having defrayed all the expenses related to the annual meeting (*hypodochē*) of the symmory.⁸⁸ It is apparent that the office of *prostates* was a sort of liturgy undertaken for the symmory.⁸⁹ From the inscriptions of the Echinadai, it is clear that the symmories gathered at least twice a year, at the annual meeting and at the Leukothea, if these were not in fact the same occasion.⁹⁰ Beyond these few sparse facts, we know little concerning the operation of the symmories at Teos. The groups may have been governed by their own laws. However, the single reference to sacrifices being undertaken according to the law is more likely to refer to the law of the city, especially since the city legislated the sacrifice for the symmories in the case of the Antiocheia and Laodikeia festival.⁹¹ Each symmory had its own sacred plot in the city, where the altar and the decrees of the group were set up, but there is no evidence for them holding any other corporate property.⁹² In all our preserved records, the symmories were clearly financially dependent upon funds issued by the city and upon their own benefactors.

4. *Laws and Legal Procedure*

As we saw in the imprecations, Teos had its own code of laws already from the 5th century BC. This code of laws was important because it outlined, above all else, the democratic constitution of the city. Of course, the city was always changing and adapting

⁸⁸ *E.g.* CIG 3066.9-16.

⁸⁹ See CIG 3066.11 where the *epistatai* are said to have served as *choregoi*.

⁹⁰ The inscriptions record that the honors and the crowns be announced after the libation at the annual meeting in two cases (CIG 3065.28-29 and SEG 35.1152.23-25) and after the libation at the Leukothea in the third (CIG 3066.24-25).

⁹¹ CIG 3066.8. *Cf.* Jones 1987:307.

⁹² Jones notes the boundary marker for the sacred area of Apollo Koureos of the Pollidai and Phainiadai (*PEP Teos* 136) and suggests that this could have represented the boundary of the sacred *topos* for these symmories (1987: 305-306).

its code of laws to meet new circumstances. During the interim period of the synoecism with Lebedos, the city's laws were temporarily suspended. By the command of Antigonos Monophthalmos, the laws of Kos were adopted temporarily until a new joint code of laws could be written by a council of *nomographoi* and approved by the assembly (RC 3.43-66). Following the synoecism, we do not know if the Teians returned to their old code of law or adapted a new one. To some extent, this does not matter because all of our testimonies for legal matters at Teos date to the two centuries following the synoecism.

The assembly ratified the *gnomai* (proposals) made to them by the *timouchoi* and the *strategoï*. Any proposal made by a citizen had to go to the *timouchoi* and the *strategoï* for discussion and approval before these issued their *gnome* to the assembly.⁹³ Once the *gnomai* were ratified, they were either made into *psephismata* (decrees) or *nomoi* (laws).⁹⁴ There was no difference between the process for voting a *psephisma* and that for a *nomos*. *Psephisma* was a general word for any decree of the city, while the word *nomos* was reserved for documents with religious or constitutional importance. A sacred law regulating the cult of Dionysos and Tiberius from the 1st century AD, for example, refers to itself as a *psephisma* having the rank of *nomos* (LSAM 28.18-19). The situation may be similar in the *psephisma* of the city outlining religious honors for Antiochos III and

⁹³ This process at Teos is recorded in a single Teian honorary decree found at Magnesia on the Maiandros (I.Magnesia 97). Melanippos the son of Apollonios is said to have approached the *archontes* and the *ekklesia* with a proposal to honor Glaukos of Magnesia. The inscription does not preserve the actual text of the *psephisma* of the Teians, but rather summarizes the content of the decree and the verbal testimony of Melanippos himself, who was also one of the ambassadors sent to the city. Rhodes and Lewis (1997: 390) are quite right in their suggestion that Melannippos' proposal must have been referred to the *timouchoi* and the *strategoï* prior to being ratified by the *ekklesia*. A comparable process is attested in the letter of Antigonos to the Teians, where any citizen could propose a law, but it still had to be discussed and agreed upon by the *nomographoi* before it was brought before the assembly for approval (RC 3.49-50.).

⁹⁴ For documents referring to themselves as *psephismata*: Antiochos no. 18.104-107 and SEG 26.1306.59. For *nomoi*: SIG³ 578.43.

Laodike. The *psephisma* was to be inscribed on the parastades of the temple of Dionysos and consecrated, an act that no doubt gave it the rank of a sacred law (*Antiochos* no. 18.104-106). In our surviving corpus of inscriptions, the Teians refer to existing laws only when they specify the duties of officials or when they outline a specific penalty.⁹⁵

We have records for both public and private lawsuits at Teos.⁹⁶ For public cases, the city depended upon citizen volunteers to undertake prosecution.⁹⁷ If these volunteers were successful, they stood to claim half of the fine assessed by the law, the other half going to the city. While such practices encouraged the public to vigilantly police their officials, it also led to litigiousness. We are far less informed about private lawsuits. In his letter to the Teians, Antigonos noted that the most common lawsuits were accusations of financial injury and breach of contract (*RC* 3.31-37).⁹⁸

There was a statute of limitations (*prothesmia*) on civil crimes, but this did not apply to sacrilege and, probably, murder.⁹⁹ If the accused did try to evade prosecution by absenting himself from the city until the statute of limitations had passed, it was possible to issue a summons upon him. This was done by notifying the proper official and by

⁹⁵ The letter of the law was specified for the *tamiai*, with regard to their role in supplying *xenia* to Tyrian ambassadors (*SEG* 4.601.15-16). The *epistatai* (project overseers) of the construction of the Laodike fountain were ordered to execute the work following the law written concerning the work on honors (*Antiochos* no. 18.88-90). Presumably, this last law concerns both procedure for ensuring the project is completed in a timely manner and punishments for failure. In a third example, anyone who proposed or did anything against the law for the school endowment was said to be cursed according to the laws written concerning *hierosylia* or sacrilege (*SIG*³ 578.48-51).

⁹⁶ *SIG*³ 578.54.

⁹⁷ *Eg.* *SEG* 44.949.56-58 and *SIG*³ 578.68-69.

⁹⁸ Antigonos felt that the cases were so numerous that if left to regular legal process, no one would be able to afford the interest that accrued. He proposed a temporary measure that, if the guilty party willingly paid his debt from loans or breached contracts, he would not be liable for more than double the original amount. If the case went to trial and the accused was found guilty, he was liable to three times the value of the original amount. This is ample testimony for the litigiousness of the Teians.

⁹⁹ For example, there was no statute of limitation for prosecuting anyone who contravened the law concerning the school endowment at Teos (*SIG*³ 578.55-56). It is apparent that the funds were held in sacred trust to Hermes, Herakles, and the Muses (ll. 57-59 with 46-47). This was why the violation of the law was considered sacrilege (ll. 48-52). In Attic law, the statute of limitations for most crimes was five years but this did not apply in cases of murder and sacrilege. See Charles 1938.

making an announcement in front of two witnesses at the appropriate civic office and at the house of the accused (*RC* 3.31-36).¹⁰⁰

5. *City Finances*

When Antigonos Monophthalmos asked the Teians how they might find the funds to repay the Lebedians for the houses that they were to leave behind, they replied that they had no other means of raising money than to assess τὰ τέλη or taxes (*RC* 4.4-6). While this was not entirely true, it did represent the most substantial source of income for the city.¹⁰¹ The city did not regularly draw its revenues from head taxes or assessments of land and property, but instead preferred to assess taxes on economic activities.

Our greatest source of information concerning the taxes of Teos comes from the 4th-century sympolity treaty between the city and an unknown town somewhere near Ulamiş (*SEG* 26.1305).¹⁰² The new citizens received a ten-year reprieve on taxes. The document goes on to detail some of the various taxes assessed by the city.¹⁰³ There was a tax on sheep (l. 8), pigs (l. 9), cattle (l. 4), and pack animals and slaves (ll. 6-8). The city could also requisition oxen for public works (ll. 5-6). Gardens and apiaries were further subject to tax (l. 18). Slaves involved in the transport or sale of charcoal and wood were taxed (ll. 7-8 and 11-13). There were further taxes on wool coats, apparently different values if the coats were sold in the city or exported (ll. 13-17). Indeed, the only tax that the new citizens were required to pay was the medical tax to supplement the income of

¹⁰⁰ *RC* 3.41-43.

¹⁰¹ *Cf.* Migeotte 1984: no. 86.

¹⁰² The inscription is dated by letterforms to the second half of the 4th century BC, but probably dates prior to the interest of Antigonos Monophthalmos in the city (Robert 1976: 180-181). For the full text and translation, see the discussion on natural resources in Chapter 1§3.

¹⁰³ It is clear from the statement on ll. 10-11 that the list in the treaty is incomplete, since it records that they are also exempt from other taxes.

doctors resident in the city (l. 11).¹⁰⁴ Obviously, there was no shortage of revenue-making opportunities at Teos.¹⁰⁵ The document clearly shows that the Teians had a strong economic policy.¹⁰⁶ While they sealed their sympolity treaty with the town in the Ulamiş decree through massive tax exemptions, the city certainly hoped to stimulate the local economy and reap the rewards when the ten-year period came to an end.¹⁰⁷

The revenues of the city were divided by the *tamiai* into various civic funds in order to cover expenses.¹⁰⁸ The most basic of these were the funds for the administration of the city (*diokesis*).¹⁰⁹ This fund was disbursed for the salaries of officials and the maintenance of public buildings.¹¹⁰ Other regular funds that may have existed were for inscribing public decrees and financing the cost of undertaking publicly mandated sacrifices.¹¹¹ Some funds were created to meet specific needs of the city. In the late 3rd century, one such fund was created for the construction of the city fortification wall.¹¹² There was evidently a separate fund to cover the expense of royal honors.¹¹³

¹⁰⁴ The medical tax is also attested at Delphi (*SIG*³ 437.5). The Ptolemies apparently instituted a medical tax on a much larger scale and subject cities from as far away as Halikarnassos were expected to pay it to the royal treasury (*P.Cair.Zen* 1.59036). See also Nutton 2004: 151.

¹⁰⁵ Gallant attributes the high number of taxes at Teos to a need to raise money to pay the high tribute demanded by various dynasts (1989, especially p. 411).

¹⁰⁶ One practical economic initiative is noted in the treaty. The Teians had established a fixed amount for the number of sheep and pigs that could be raised (ll. 9-10). This was undoubtedly due to a shortage of pasture and a desire to keep the herds healthy.

¹⁰⁷ The sympolity treaty between Miletos and Pidasas contains many similar exemptions from taxes and liturgies (*I.Miletos* 1.3.149.18-44 and Reger 2004: 156-161). On the date of the inscription in 188/7, see Errington 1989: 288.

¹⁰⁸ This is most clearly seen in the *ktematonia* decree, Aneziri D2.11-18.

¹⁰⁹ *Antiochos* no. 18.63. Following the pirate attack on Teos, Attalos I temporarily helped to supplement the city administration (Aneziri D2.15-18). See Chapter 5§1.

¹¹⁰ For the pay of officials: *SEG* 26.1306.27-31. For the maintenance of a public building: *Antiochos* no. 18.87-88.

¹¹¹ The *tamiai* are to allot money for both of these expenses, but the exact source of the money is not specified. For covering the expenses of inscribing documents: Aneziri D2.27-28 and *Antiochos* no. 18.106-107. For allotting money to the *symmoriai*: *Antiochos* no. 18.44-46.

¹¹² Aneziri D2.14-15. Several accounts for the construction of the various sections of the wall have also been preserved. Maier nos. 62-67 and *SEG* 35.1151.

¹¹³ *Antiochos* no. 18.63.

The revenue of the city also had to cover the tribute and financial impositions placed upon the city by Hellenistic monarchs and, later, the Romans. When Antiochos III arrived at Teos in 204/3 BC, he declared the city free from the tribute and contributions they had paid to Attalos I (*Antiochos* no. 17.17-20). In the words of the Teians, this action “λυσιτελεῖς τὰς ἐν τῇ χώρῃ μετ’ ἀσφαλείας πεποιήκεν ἐργασίας καὶ τὰς καρπείας - made the working and harvesting in the land profitable and safe” (*Antiochos* no. 18.52-53). If this statement is taken literally, it is probable that the Teians had endured a royal tax on agriculture.¹¹⁴

The state was particularly interested in controlling the grain supply. A further tax was assessed on the export of grain. It is clear from a passage in Antigonos’ letters that the city government kept a close watch over the grain trade and that all grain was to be brought into the agora for evaluation and taxation (*RC* 3.94-101).¹¹⁵ Antigonos felt that this was an ineffective and labor-intensive process so he suggested that the farmers be allowed to register and pay the taxes on their grain in the agora without having it present, allowing them to export it directly. Taxing the export of grain was one way to encourage a proper grain supply for the city. During times of economic distress, Teos had other mechanisms for ensuring that grain was cheap and plentiful. At the time of the synoecism with Lebedos, when the population temporarily swelled, Teos established a grain fund to the value of 1,400 gold staters out of the city revenues (*RC* 3.72-80).¹¹⁶ Anyone who wanted could take the money on security in order to import and store grain at the city and sell it throughout the year. At the end of the year, this money was to be returned with interest. The reason for establishing this fund was to ensure, above all else, a cheap

¹¹⁴ For further examples of Seleukid taxes on agriculture, see Aperghis 2004: 148-150

¹¹⁵ Cf. Francotte 1909: 17.

¹¹⁶ See the commentary at Migeotte 1984: no. 86. Cf. Migeotte 1991.

supply of grain. After all, as Antigonos noted before relenting to the Teian demands, there was plenty of grain on nearby royal lands, although clearly not at competitive prices.¹¹⁷ A similar fund is noted in the period shortly following the pirate attack on the city (Aneziri D2.15).

Some of the city's expenses were covered by liturgies paid for by the wealthy elite.¹¹⁸ The 4th-century sympolity treaty found near Ulamiş granted the new citizens temporary exemption from four such liturgies (*SEG* 1305.2-3).¹¹⁹ These included the *choregia* for putting on the plays at the city Dionysia, the *lampadarchia* (torch-race), and the *boegia*.¹²⁰ Unfortunately, the name of the fourth liturgy is not fully preserved, but it was undoubtedly related to some religious festival like the others. The letter of Antigonos also mentions a trierachy, a liturgy for outfitting a trireme (*RC* 3.66). Although not specifically a liturgy, the gymnasiarch also incurred personal expenses during his tenure of office.¹²¹ At Teos, this is clear from the large number of honorary inscriptions for gymnasiarch.¹²²

Revenues from taxes, as Antigonos noted in his second letter, were collected over a long period of time (*RC* 4.4). In times of financial stress, the city could not hope to raise funds quickly through taxation and so it depended upon an advanced contribution of funds (*proeisphora*) from its wealthy citizens. Those assessed could expect to be repaid

¹¹⁷ Cf. Aperghis 2004:185.

¹¹⁸ For a brief survey of the most common liturgies, see Kelen 2001: 11-13.

¹¹⁹ A similar exemption from liturgies was also mandated in Antigonos' letter to the Teians concerning the synoecism with Lebedos (*RC* 3.66-72).

¹²⁰ While the first two forms of liturgy are widely attested elsewhere, the *boegiai* as a liturgy are unique to Teos. A festival known as the Boegia was celebrated for Apollo and Zeus at Didyma; *I. Didyma* 199 and Fontenrose 1944. The victors of the contest dedicated *phialai*, expressing themselves much in the way as a victorious *choregos*; (Robert 1976 179 n. 99. We must then imagine a similar religious event at Teos, where the *boegiai* are mentioned alongside *choregiai* and *lampadarchiai*.

¹²¹ Van Nijf 2004: 208-209.

¹²² E.g. *SEG* 2.600 and *CIG* 3087.

out of the city's revenues before all else.¹²³ In one extreme case of financial crisis, the Teians required all the citizens and residents of the city to make an enforced loan at ten percent interest (*SEG* 44.949). In this case, it is explicitly stated that the money from the loans would not be assessed an *eisphora* or emergency tax, assuring those who contributed funds could expect to be fully repaid (ll. 27-29).

Endowments were another source of income, although they did not affect the economic life of the city directly.¹²⁴ The 34,000 drachmas given by Polythrou to fund the education of the citizen children were held in trust by the city and dedicated to Hermes, Herakles, and the Muses (*SIG*³ 578). Of course, the costs associated with hiring all the necessary instructors was high, totaling 3,900 drachmas per year. To ensure that the endowment served the city in perpetuity, the *tamiai* were to lend the money out at interest (ll. 66-69). The city took the management of the endowment quite seriously. If the *tamiai* failed to protect the capital of the investment through loans, they were subject to a 2,000 drachma fine.

Although fines did not make up a considerable part of the city's revenues, their contribution should not be ignored. Fines could be assessed for sacrilege, proposing unconstitutional laws, damages, and withholding money due to the city. Beyond the example just cited above, we have two further recorded instances where fines were legislated. During the period of enforced loans following the pirate attack on the city, anyone found withholding property from the assessment was liable to have it seized and

¹²³ *RC* 4.6-11. In this instance, the Teians chose 600 citizens to advance money towards the costs of the synoecism and these were assessed according to their property. The contributors were to be repaid the full sum from the revenues of the city after a period of a year, before the city allotted money to any other expenditure. This is far different than the system of *proeisphora* at Athens. There, the three wealthiest citizens of each symmory (a tax collection unit of propertied citizens) could be called upon to advance the sum of the *eisphora* (war tax on property) to the state and then collect the *eisphora* from the other members. Cf. Wallace 1989.

¹²⁴ Salmon 1996: 164.

then sold off by *tamiai* with the profits being split between the city and the prosecutor (*SEG* 44.949.56-60).¹²⁵ There was also a 10,000 drachma fine for contravening the law concerning the school foundation, a very steep fine because the funds were considered sacred (*SIG*³ 578.52-53).¹²⁶

In the late Hellenistic and early Roman periods, the city also prospered from benefactions undertaken by wealthy citizens. One such example comes to us from an inscription dating to the reign of Augustus (*PEP Teos* 128). The benefactor, whose name is not preserved, was honored for building and outfitting bath buildings and a stoa for the *gerousia* (assembly of elders). He also used his own money to create a fund to support the *gerousia* and met a financial imposition placed upon the city by the emperor. Finally, he undertook the *sitonia*, the purchasing of grain, for the city during a time of need.¹²⁷ Obviously, benefactors were able to undertake many of the expenses that the city could not afford, including providing buildings, meeting pressing financial demands, and subsidizing the grain supply for the benefit of the people.

¹²⁵ Cf. *SEG* 26.1306.25 for the public confiscation of property of an exiled individual.

¹²⁶ From a financial perspective, the donation of Hermeias at Ilion to fund a procession and sacrifice to Athena during the Ilieia shows the stringent lending procedure for sacred funds (*I.Ilion* 52). Unfortunately, the stone breaks just as it begins to discuss fines. See the discussion of the inscription in Bogaert 1968: 237-238 and Debord 1982: 205-206. Exciting new inscriptions from Kos also give testimony of fines for the abuse of sacred funds. There was 1000 drachma fine for misuse of funds sent from the treasury of Aphrodite to the bank (*SEG* 50.766.16-22 and 29-35). Another fragmentary inscription mentions a fine for the abuse of the sacred funds of Asklepios by either public officials or private individuals (*SEG* 51.1066.31-35). For a general, if dated, discussion of fines for abusing funds, see Laum 1914: 193-211.

¹²⁷ The *sitones* was a liturgical office in many Greek cities. While the duties originally involved seeing to the storage and supply of grain for the city, by the late Hellenistic period it often involved actively importing and subsidizing the price of grain. On the *sitonia* in Asia Minor during the Roman period, see Erdkamp 2005: 268-283.

6. Education, Women, and Age Groups at Teos

Teos created communities for its children, women, and elderly. We have a fair amount of evidence for the incorporation of youth into Teian society. Certainly, the *prostatai* of the symmories were required to keep an account of their members according to their age categories (*Antiochos* no. 18.22-23.). In the instance where this is recorded, the account was to be given to the *tamiai* so that they could disburse appropriate funds for the sacrifices required during the Antiocheia and Laodikeia festival. It is therefore possible that children were included in the celebration. Their participation is more explicitly mentioned elsewhere. On the festival day for Queen Apollonis, the citizen boys were to sing the *parabomion* while a group of young girls chosen by the *paidonomos* were to sing a hymn and dance (*Kotsidu* no. 240.8-13).¹²⁸ And in the sacred law regulating the cult of Dionysos and Tiberius, the ephebes and the priest of the boys were to sing each day at the opening of the temple of Dionysos (*LSAM* 28.7-10). Here, the figure of the priest of the boys is rather enigmatic.¹²⁹ Robert suggested that he may have been chosen from the *paides* of the city.¹³⁰ Given the involvement of the *paidonomos* in selecting the girls in the festival of Apollonis, I suspect that the priest of the boys may have been a similar adult in charge of organizing the cult activities for the youth of the city. In any regard, it is clear that the citizen girls and boys were thoroughly involved in civic cult.

¹²⁸ For a discussion of the *peribomion*, Alonge 2006: 165 n. 77. For another example of *paides* singing a hymn, *I.Stratonikeia* 1105.7-10 (for Zeus Panamaros and Hekate). For *Parthenoi* singing and dancing: *I.Magnesia* 100a.28-29 (at the Leukophrynea). For depictions of *parthenoi* singing and dancing in classical Greek art, see Dillon 2003: 67-69.

¹²⁹ The post is also attested at Tabai (Robert 1954 no. 24) and Herakleia at Salbake (Robert 1954: 135, 145-146, 194-196).

¹³⁰ Robert 1954: II. 115.

The Teians paid great attention to the education of their youth. When Polythrous established an endowment for the education of all free children, the Teians made a law about its operation (*SIG*³ 578).¹³¹ The education of children was the domain of the gymnasiarch and the *paidonomos*. These officials supervised a host of instructors. Reading, writing, and rhetoric was prescribed for the citizen boys and girls (ll. 8-13).¹³² There appear to have been three course levels since three *grammatodidaskaloi* were hired at different levels of pay. Musical education on the *kithara* was prescribed for the ephebes and the upper class of the *paides*, along with those students of the middle class who were just a year younger (ll. 14-20). Physical trainers were appointed for the *paides* (ll. 13-14). For the ephebes and the children old enough to be enrolled in the music class, instruction was also provided in weapons, archery, and javelin-throwing (ll. 21-28).

There were regular reviews of the *paides* in the musical and rhetorical arts (ll. 32-34).¹³³ By chance, we have a victor's list from one of these reviews (*CIG* 3088). The *paides* were apparently divided into three age categories: older, middle and younger. Tripartite age-categories are known elsewhere at Athens and at Didyma.¹³⁴ While the list is fragmentary, it does give us an idea of the wide array of subjects studied by the *paides* at Teos. Rhetorical contests included handwriting, public reading, a test of knowledge, and a contest in capping verses.¹³⁵ The musical contests included playing the lyre (with

¹³¹ The foundation of a library at Teos is of related importance; *SEG* 2.584 (dating to the 1st century BC). There is also a comparable 2nd century BC school foundation law for Miletos: *SIG*³ 577.

¹³² See also Cole 1981: 219-245.

¹³³ Reviews were also undertaken by the *paidotribai* at Beroia three times a year and it is specified that the victor was to receive a crown. *EKM* 1.1.23-26. See also the commentary in Gauthier and Hatzopoulos 1993.

¹³⁴ Athens for the victors of the Theseia: *IG*² 2.956-58. Didyma for the victors at the Didymeia and Paneia: *I.Didyma* 179.3-10. See also Kennell 1999.

¹³⁵ Children's contests in handwriting, public reading, and knowledge are attested at Mylasa (*I.Mylasa* 909.19). Contests in reading are also attested at Chios (*CIG* 2214.8). There were also contests in knowledge at Kos (*Iscr. Cos* EV215) and Erythrai (*I.Erythrai* 81.4).

and without a plectrum), singing to the lyre, and two different contests of songwriting.¹³⁶ There were also contests for painting, comedy, and tragedy.¹³⁷ The curriculum was clearly diverse. The fact that the list of victors from these examinations was inscribed shows that the city administration took the education of their youth seriously. It was also a visible reminder to the youth of the city that their studies could result in rewards.

When the *ephebes* finished their course of education, they were ready to take their place as full citizens of the *polis*. At Teos, this occasion was marked by a sacrifice at the *bouleuterion* made by the *ephebes* and the gymnasiarch before their procession to the agora. The practice is mentioned in the second decree of Antiochos (*Antiochos* no. 18.40-44). The relevant passage reads:

40 ἵνα μηθὲν πρότερον ἄρξονται πράσσειν τῶν κοινῶν πρὶν ἢ χάρι-
[τα]ς ἀποδο[ο]ῦναι τοῖς εὐεργέταις καὶ ἐθίζομεν τοὺς ἐξ ἡαυτῶν πά[ν]-
[τα] ὕστερα καὶ ἐν ἐλάσσοι τιθεσθαι πρὸς ἀποκατάστασις χάριτος
[καὶ] τῆμ πρῶτην αὐτοῖς εἴσοδον εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐπὶ ταῦτὰ καλλίστην
44 [ποι]ήσο[μ]εν·

So that none first begins to handle public affairs before giving gratitude to the benefactors and so that we accustom our progeny to value everything less than the returning of gratitude and so that we make their first entrance into the agora as fine as possible in the same spirit.

A ceremony of this kind must have predated the cult practices established for Antiochos. The only part that is new is the incorporation of a sacrifice to the king alongside those made to the Graces, Memory, and all the other gods of the city.¹³⁸ In accomplishing this sacrifice, the *ephebes* showed by their respect to the divine and mortal powers that protected the city that they were ready to assume the mantle of citizenship.

¹³⁶ Contests for the *paides* on the lyre are similarly attested on Kos (*NSER* 445 and Paton-Hicks no. 59) and Chios (*CIG* 22214.10), for singing on the lyre and composing music at Magnesia (*I.Magnesia* 107.2.4-9),

¹³⁷ There was also a children's contest for painting at Mylasa (*I.Mylasa* 909.19). Contests for tragedy and comedy are well attested in the Greek world, but nowhere else in a contest for the *paides*.

¹³⁸ On the importance of incorporating Antiochos into this ritual, see Ma 1999: 219-226.

Many of the young men who had just left the *ephebeia* joined the association of the *neoi*. Attested in many Greek cities from the Hellenistic period onward, the *neoi* were a college of young men who continued to meet and practice athletics at the gymnasium.¹³⁹ Although they are attested only in Teian decrees as granting honors,¹⁴⁰ their importance as a social and political group in the city should not be underestimated. Since most public offices would have had age restrictions, the *neoi* would have been important in marshalling the public opinion of the younger sector of the population. Nor were the *neoi* the only such group at Teos. Two inscriptions record a group known as the *apalestrois*.¹⁴¹ This was another group of young men, characterized as not meeting in the gymnasium. This clearly put the group in opposition to the *neoi*, at least with regards to their everyday interests. Both groups provide testimony to the political and social mobilization of the younger section of the population at Teos.

While women did not have the same political rights as men, they had definite social importance at Teos. We have testimony of a sacral college of unwed women as an honoring party in a funerary inscription dating to the first half of the 1st century BC (*CIG* 3098). Juxtaposed with the ephebes and the *neoi*, this was clearly an organization of some importance at Teos. While the sacral college clearly did not incorporate all the young women of the city, it indicates that in the early Roman period at least young women had ritual activities in Teian society. Nor were they forgotten when organizing civic ritual. Among the specified uses of the fountain established for Laodike, the wife of Antiochos III, was the provision of water for bridal baths (*Antiochos* no. 18.72-83). The ritual ties

¹³⁹ Macro 1980: 681 and Forbes 1933. Cf. *CIG* 3085 where they honor an *ephebarch* alongside the ephebes and the other users of the gymnasium.

¹⁴⁰ Eg. *SEG* 2.600 and *CIG* 3087.

¹⁴¹ *PEP Teos* 112 and 246. Groups of *apalaistroi* are attested elsewhere in Asia Minor at Smyrna (*I.Smyrna* 709.9) and Magnesia on Sipylus (*TAM* 5.2.1367).

that the women made with Laodike on their wedding day parallel those that the ephebes made with Antiochos on the day they became enfranchised adult males. The water from this fountain was also considered sacred and was used for sacrifices in the city. And so, underlying the tie that was made with the Seleukid queen, we can see a religious process whereby the young female became a woman eligible to marry a citizen. Women were certainly considered to be members of Teian society. Following the pirate attack, prayers for the oath-takers were to be undertaken by the *hierokeryx* at two occasions: the city Dionysia and the Thesmophoria (*SEG* 44.949.60-62). This last occasion was a festival where large groups of women gathered in one place. By giving special attention to this occasion, the city acknowledged that women were an important segment of the population.¹⁴² Undoubtedly, many women had made personal sacrifices of wealth and jewelry following the pirate attack and their contribution did not go unnoticed.

One final group merits discussion. From the 1st century BC onwards, we have testimony for a *gerousia*, or council of elders, at Teos. The *gerousia*, an honorary body of senior citizens, appears in many *poleis* of Asia Minor during the period of Roman rule.¹⁴³ At Teos, we have no evidence for the involvement of the *gerousia* in politics, although their membership undoubtedly included many former prominent politicians. Inscriptions record that the *gerousia* granted honors to the city's benefactors.¹⁴⁴ From one such decree, we learn that the *gerousia* had corporate funds and met at the stoa of the *gerousia* in the agora (*CIG* 3080). Given the testimony for *gerousia* finances, it appears safe to

¹⁴² Cole 2004: 96.

¹⁴³ For a general discussion of the *gerousia* in the Greek state, see Oliver 1941. Cf. Dmitriev 2005: 30-33, for their involvement with civic administration.

¹⁴⁴ *CIG* 3098 and 3112.

assume that there were administrative offices governing the council.¹⁴⁵ Alongside the *neoi*, the *gerousia* formed a complimentary body to the *demos*, marshaling an important segment of the population with significant experience in the administration of the city.

7. Civic Religion

In an oath sworn by the two citizen bodies at the time of the treaty of sympolity with Kyrbissos, the Teians invoked the names of gods they believed most able to protect the sanctity of the occasion (*SEG* 26.1306.44-45 and 52-53). They named Zeus, Helios, Poseidon, Apollo, Athena, and all the other gods. While Dionysos was by far the most important god of the city and the one for whom we have the most testimony, the Teians showed here that there were other gods that were central to civic ritual and, in general, the life of the city. This section will survey the evidence for the worship of the gods at Teos other than Dionysos. The cult of Dionysos is too important to survey briefly and will be treated separately in the following chapter.

From our limited evidence, it appears that the cult of Poseidon was of central importance to the city. Indeed, Poseidon Helikonios was also the patron god of all the Ionians at the Panionion sanctuary (Paus. 7.24.5).¹⁴⁶ The worship of Poseidon was second only to the Apatouria in terms of common religious practice among the Ionians. At Teos, the priest of Poseidon is recorded to have overseen the sacrifices at the Leukathea, a festival for the sea-nymph Ino-Leukothea, the progenetrix of Teos.¹⁴⁷ This festival served

¹⁴⁵ Governing officials of *gerousia* are attested, for example at Magnesia on the Maiandros (*I.Magnesia* 116 with reference to funds) and Tralleis (*I.Tralleis* 147).

¹⁴⁶ On the cult of Poseidon Helikonios in the Ionian cities, see Farnell 1907: 4.29-33.

¹⁴⁷ On the importance of Ino at Teos, see Chapter 4§1.

as the model when the Teians established the Antiocheia and Laodikeia.¹⁴⁸ Moreover, the month of Leukatheon began the new calendar year at Teos. Poseidon's connection with the cult of Leukothea serves as an important reminder to his importance in the city. Poseidon also appeared on coins from the city during the Roman period.¹⁴⁹

The cult of Zeus was well established at Teos from an early period. In the Teian imprecations, the *Dia* provided one of the three occasions for the pronouncement of the public curses.¹⁵⁰ Apart from his appearance in the oath of the Kyrbissos inscription mentioned above, our only other testimony for Zeus at Teos come from a 2nd-century BC household altar, which names Zeus Ktesios (the protector of house and property), Zeus Kapetolios (*i.e.* Jupiter Capitolinus), and Roma (*CIG* 3074).

Much better attested is the cult of Herakles. The festival of Herakles was also an occasion for the pronouncement of the 5th-century imprecations.¹⁵¹ An altar of Herakles is attested on two occasions as a place of publication for decrees honoring Teian citizens.¹⁵² It is clear that the cult of Herakles at Teos was closely linked with that of Hermes in the Hellenistic period. The funds for the school endowment were considered sacred to Herakles, Hermes, and the Muses (*SIG*³ 578.57-58). Certainly, the gods were important for the education of the youth. No god represented the physical contest expected of the gymnasium better than Herakles. An honorary decree for a gymnasiarch also specifies that the ephebes and the *neoi* will set up a statue at the Hermeia and Herakleia festival (*CIG* 3087). Finally, we have a dedicatory altar set up by a gymnasiarch to Herakles and Hermes (*SEG* 41.1007).

¹⁴⁸ *Antiochos* no. 18.7-17.

¹⁴⁹ *SNG Cop. Ionia* 1501-1502 and *BMC Ionia* 58-59.

¹⁵⁰ *Nomima* 104.b34 and 105.d4-5.

¹⁵¹ *Nomima* 104.b33 and 105.d2-3.

¹⁵² *I.Iasos* 608.40-41 and *SEG* 44.949.65-68.

A temple of Apollo is attested as the location for setting up another law concerning education (*CIG* 3060.19-23). We may infer from this that the much better known law about Polythrous' foundation (*SIG*³ 578) was probably set up in the same place. Apollo appears on some Teian coins as a seated figure from the Hellenistic period onwards.¹⁵³ More important, the gryphon that figures on early coins of Teos and Abdera is a possible sign of the importance of Apollo at the two cities.¹⁵⁴ Apollo may have had an important role in civic cult. Herodotos (1.147) mentions that the Apatouria was among the most central institutions of the Ionian cities. The month of Apatourion is attested at Teos.¹⁵⁵ Unfortunately, relatively little is known of the festival in Ionia. At Athens the Apatouria was a three-day event sacred to Apollo Patröos.¹⁵⁶ It was also the occasion where newborns were presented to the community and young men were registered with their phratry in preparation for their ephebic training.¹⁵⁷ At Teos, the symmories were responsible for inscribing new members. By chance, Apollo Koureos is the only god associated with a cult place of the symmories.¹⁵⁸ This makes it likely that Apollo was associated with the Apatouria at Teos and that the Teians used the occasion to have the symmories inscribe new members.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵³ *SNG Cop. Ionia* 1485.

¹⁵⁴ Ruge 1934: 564. Scheffler 1882: 73 believed that the gryphon was an attribute of Dionysos. For a discussion of the possible relation of the gryphon to Dionysos, see Brown 1877: 58-59.

¹⁵⁵ *SEG* 44.949.97.

¹⁵⁶ Nilsson 1972: 165-170 and Parke 1977: 88-92.

¹⁵⁷ For a discussion of the role of the civic importance of the Apatouria at Athens, see Lambert 1993: 143-190.

¹⁵⁸ *PEP Teos* 136. On the role of the *symmoriai* in inscribing citizens, see the discussion above §4.

¹⁵⁹ See, however, the doubts expressed in Farnell 1907: 4.171. I might add that the epithet of Aphrodite at the Teian colony of Phanagoreia was Apatouron, so she could have been part of the festival at Teos (Strabo 11.2.10).

Female divinities at Teos are less well attested. There was a temple of the Eleusinian gods, Demeter and Kore.¹⁶⁰ The Thesmophoria for Demeter is mentioned with the Dionysia as an occasion for the pronouncement of a prayer for the city.¹⁶¹ A priestess of Aphrodite and queen Apollonis is attested, although the cult of the goddess undoubtedly goes back much further since Aphrodite Apatouron was the patroness of the Teian colony at Phanagoreia (Strabo 11.2.10).¹⁶² Aphrodite also appears on some coins from the city.¹⁶³ The only testimony for civic worship of Athena at Teos is in the oath for the treaty with Kyrbissos, but there was also a private religious association known as the Panathenaïstai.¹⁶⁴ Last of all, Artemis appears on coins issued by the city.¹⁶⁵ She must have been important at Teos too.

We are much better informed about ruler cult at Teos. Antiochos III and Laodike were made *synnaos* with Dionysos (*Antiochos* no. 17.44-55).¹⁶⁶ The Teians also established the Antiocheia and Laodikeia for the Seleukid royal couple modeled on the festival for Leukothea (*Antiochos* no. 18.4-29). Cult honors were also paid to a bronze statue of Antiochos in the *bouleuterion* at seasonal harvests and at the beginning of the civic year when the new magistrates took office and the ephebes joined the ranks of the citizen (II. 29-63). Parallel honors were given to Laodike, for whom the Teians established an eponymous fountain at the agora intended for drawing water for sacrifices

¹⁶⁰ *SEG* 4.598.53-54.

¹⁶¹ *SEG* 44.949.60-62. On the Thesmophoria in general, see Burkert 1985: 242-246.

¹⁶² Kostidu no. 240.4-5.

¹⁶³ *BMC Ionia* 81.

¹⁶⁴ *CIG* 3073. I read the Panathenaïstai as a group celebrating “All-Athena festivities.” A large number of Panathenaia festivals came to be established in Asia Minor during the Hellenistic period. Two give just two examples, the festival is attested at Mylasa (*I.Mylasa* 632) and Priene (*e.g. I.Priene* 113.84-89). The rise in the local importance of these festivals resulted in the Athenian festival occasionally being referred to as the “Panathenaia in Athens” (*e.g. SIG*³ 1064.8 at Halikarnassos and *I.Ephesos* 1131.4).

¹⁶⁵ *BMC Ionia* 76 as Ephesian Artemis.

¹⁶⁶ See the discussion in Chapter 4§3.

and bridal baths (ll. 64-90). A list of deified Seleukids from the second half of the 2nd century BC shows that Seleukid royal cult continued long after their rule in Asia had been curtailed (Kotsidu no. 356).¹⁶⁷ Honors were also paid to Attalid rulers.¹⁶⁸ There was a priest of Aphrodite and the goddess Apollonis Eusebes, wife of Attalos I, and a priestess for Stratonike, the wife of Eumenes II (Kotsidu no. 240). The birthday of Apollonis was to be a general holiday in the city with sacrifices performed by all the priestly officials. The festival was accompanied by a song sung by the *paides* and a chorus and dance performed by selected girls. The Teians also founded an altar for Apollonis Apobateria in the agora.

A cult for Roma and the Roman emperors was established at Teos.¹⁶⁹ From the late 2nd century BC, there was a priest of Roma and Pistis (*PEP Teos* 81). At some point, the city built a Sebasteion for the worship of the emperors (*PEP Teos* 217). The emperor Tiberius became *synnaos* with Dionysos, just like Antiochos and Laodike before him, and the priesthood of the god was renamed jointly for Dionysos and Tiberius (*LSAM* 28).¹⁷⁰ The priest of the boys and the epebes were to sing a hymn each day at the opening of the temple and the priest of Dionysos and Tiberius performed rituals of libation, fumigation, and lamp-lighting at both the opening and closing. Finally, the city officials were to make a sacrifice to Tiberius on the seventh of each month and pray for the prosperity of the city.

Perhaps the most tantalizing fact concerning the civic religion at Teos was the *hiera byblon* or holy book. The second decree for Antiochos states that the Antiocheia

¹⁶⁷ See also Piejko 1982 and Mastrocinque 1984.

¹⁶⁸ See the discussion in Chapter 7§2.

¹⁶⁹ On the imperial cult in Asia Minor in general, see Price 1984.

¹⁷⁰ For a text, translation, and discussion of this inscription, see Chapter 4§3.

and Laodikeia be inscribed into this book (*Antiochos* no. 18.28-29). This both served as a sacred calendar for the city and as a written record of the city's obligation to carry out the festivals and rituals described within. The sacred book that contained all the vital information concerning the religious practices at Teos was closely guarded and protected until the 4th century AD, when all the pagan temples in the Empire were ordered shut. At that time, the book was either destroyed or hidden in a safe place. Either way, it is long since vanished and many of the details concerning civic religion at Teos have disappeared along with it.

8. *Foreign Relations*

Teos was not a city in isolation. Political, religious, and economic reasons brought the Teians into constant contact with other Greek cities near and far. There are substantial indications for high levels of Teian interaction with other cities in the Aegean. Evidence from proxeny decrees and *theorodokoi* lists, treaties with other cities, and even arbitration in legal dispute, shows that Teos participated in the society of the greater Aegean world while promoting its interests at home. The following pages will analyze the various categories of evidence for Teians interacting with other *poleis* with an eye to understanding the city's foreign relations.

In Antigonos' first letter to the Teians, the king commanded the Teians to inscribe the list of *proxenoi* and benefactors of Lebedos alongside their own (*RC* 3.21-24). By the end of the 4th century, the Teians had already established relationships with many other cities throughout the Aegean. *Proxenia* was an important honor bestowed by a Greek city upon foreign ambassadors and benefactors. The recipients of this honor were expected to

host official delegates from the granting city and represent that city's interests in their home state. This responsibility could involve anything from helping an ambassador present a decree to providing legal assistance.¹⁷¹ Although we have testimony for Teos granting proxeny, we sadly have no record of a specific grant. We do, however, have several cases of proxeny being granted to citizens of Teos by other cities. Bargylia honored Tyron the son of Polythrous, sent as a judge by the Teians, and made him their *proxenos* (*I.Iasos* 608). There are also mentions of Teian *proxenoi* for Chios and Delos.¹⁷² During the city's first call for *asylia*, the ambassadors to Knossos were granted proxeny.¹⁷³ The two brothers who went to Delphi received a great number of privileges, including proxeny, legal rights and freedom from taxes.¹⁷⁴ Finally, when a new embassy was sent to Crete to renew ties of friendship and obtain more privileges during the 2nd century BC, four more cities granted proxeny to the Teian ambassadors.¹⁷⁵ Proxeny was far from a hollow honor. It represented a keen interest of these states in having a representative for themselves at Teos and, to some extent, mirrored their economic interests in the city.¹⁷⁶

An institution related to proxeny was *theorodokia*. This was the practice of having an appointed individual at a city to receive and care for religious ambassadors who were coming to announce festivals. Teian citizens are recorded as *theorodokoi* for the Delphian ambassadors announcing the Pythais and for Argos announcing the Nemean games.¹⁷⁷

We can safely expect that, if Teos had *theorodokoi* to receive the embassies, they also

¹⁷¹ For a general discussion of proxeny decrees, see Marek 1984 and MacLean 2002: 233-236.

¹⁷² Chios: *PEP Chios* 52 and 53. Delos: *IG* 11.4.78 and 698.

¹⁷³ *Asylia* no. 136.15-17.

¹⁷⁴ *FD* 3.2.134d.

¹⁷⁵ *Asylia* nos. 155 (Eranna) 46-49, 156 (Biannos) 37-38, 159 (Arkades) 48-49, and 160 (Hyrtakina) 10-14.

¹⁷⁶ Archibald 2001: 261-264.

¹⁷⁷ Delphi: Robert 1946: 512, l. 12. Argos: Charneux 1966: 157, col. 2.5

sent *theoroi* to witness and participate on behalf of the *polis*. We do have some direct evidence for Teian embassies to religious festivals in other Greek cities. Teian *theoroi* are recorded at Samothrace.¹⁷⁸ They must also have sent *theoroi* to Magnesia on the Maiandros for the Leukophryeneia, since they are listed among the Ionian cities that recognized the festival.¹⁷⁹ From all these testimonies, it is clear that the Teians actively participated in many of the important religious festivals throughout the Aegean.¹⁸⁰

The city also sent embassies to other cities in order to issue honorary decrees concerning their citizens. For example, the Teians sent two ambassadors to Magnesia on the Maiandros to publicly honor Glaukos the son of Admetos (*I.Magnesia* 97). The Teian ambassadors presented a crown to Glaukos at the Magnesian Dionysia festival and arranged to have the decree inscribed and set up at the most visible place in the city. Glaukos was named a benefactor of the city of Teos, which apparently also gave him tax exemption, and it was also announced that a crown would be given to him each year at the Teian Dionysia festival. Although the decree does not specify the deed or benefaction that Glaukos bestowed upon the Teians, to some extent this does not matter. What is important is that the Teians chose to affirm their traditional ties of friendship with Magnesia by publicly honoring one of its citizens at their city. The Magnesians responded in like kind, issuing a decree honoring the Teians for their existing friendship and for the honors that they had just granted to Glaukos. An inscription similar to the Magnesian decree was issued by the Teians for the city of Tyre (*SEG* 4.601). In this case, the Tyrians had sent an honorary decree of some sort to the Teians. We know this because the Teians allotted a place to set up the stele. The Teians then issued a decree

¹⁷⁸ *IG* 12.8.163.b30 and 171.30. See also Cole 1984.

¹⁷⁹ *Asyilia* no. 102.73.

¹⁸⁰ On *theorodokia* and *theoria* in general, see Perlman 2000 and Dillon 1997: 1-26.

reconfirming their friendship with the Tyrians and renewing their existing benefactions towards them. Their relationship went back some time since the Teians claimed that that they held goodwill and friendship towards the Tyrians “ἐκ παλαιῶν χρόνων – from ancient times.” Such ties of reciprocal honor reaffirmed political relations between the two cities and assured future goodwill.

Greek cities occasionally depended upon the assistance of other states for judges to settle internal disputes.¹⁸¹ At the request of Antiochos I, the Teians sent Tyron the son of Polythrous to settle matters at Bargylia (*I.Iasos* 608). Once their civic disorder had been put to rest satisfactorily, the Bargyliots voted honors for Tyron, including citizenship and proxeny. They also sent an embassy back to the Teians honoring them for choosing Tyron and asking to set up their decree by the altar of Herakles. On account of Tyron’s good work, the Bargyliots established ties of friendship and goodwill with Teos, which they intended to guard in the future. In a similar situation, the Thessalian League used a decree honoring Teos for sending judges as a means to reestablish ancient kinship ties, perhaps a reference to their joint Minyan heritage (Curty 1995: no. 19). Teos itself used this technique on other cities. In a decree honoring Mylasa for sending a judge, the Teians used the opportunity to reaffirm ties of friendship with Mylasa in order to ensure future favors, and perhaps favorable decisions, for the city and its citizens. No opportunity was missed to reaffirm ties of friendship with other Greek states.

Closely related to the act of sending judges were requests for arbitration. During the period of the synoecism with Lebedos, the Teians and Lebedians agreed to have the city of Mytilene settle any dispute that could not be resolved by the two parties (*RC*

¹⁸¹ The seminal study on Greek foreign judges remains Robert 1973.

3.30). More notable, however, was the role played by Kos. Not only did Antigonos feel it best that the newly synoecised community temporarily adopt their democratic law code, he also sanctioned that Koans be brought in as a neutral party to independently evaluate the properties left behind at Lebedos (*RC* 4.11-15). The Koans were again brought in, probably under further orders by Antigonos, to settle the territorial dispute between Teos and Klazomenai (*Arbitration* no. 15).¹⁸² Just over a century later, the Teians were likewise called upon by Magnesia on the Maiandros and Miletos to help settle their long territorial war (*Arbitration* no. 109). In this case, however, Teos was but one of thirteen states involved in the arbitration and it appears likely that Rhodes was the primary mover. Clearly, peace was in the interest of the arbitrating states. Although they had no direct stakes in the territorial or constitutional disputes of the cities for which they arbitrated, the disruption of local economic activities did affect the Teians.

One final form of international relations remains to be discussed. While Greek cities under Hellenistic rulers did not have the right to make alliances with other cities, they did have the ability to establish isopolity treaties.¹⁸³ Having an isopolity treaty with a city meant that the citizens of a foreign city could enjoy full citizen rights if they chose to migrate there. These grants were often accompanied by statements that the people of the treaty would enjoy rights to own property, marry women of the city, have equal legal representation, and be free from taxation. The earliest isopolity treaties recorded for Teos were with Antiocheia by Daphne, Seleukia in Pieria and Laodikeia by the sea (*Antiochos* no. 18.100-104). These were part of the honorary decrees for Antiochos III and should be considered as such. Nonetheless, the idea of issuing joint citizenship with the cities of the

¹⁸² See also Ager 1991.

¹⁸³ On isopolity in general, see Gawantka 1975 and Gauthier 1972: 285-346.

Syrian heartland of the empire undoubtedly envisioned a new era of Seleukid rule with increased economic interaction between Teos and the east. Seleukid rule, of course, was fleeting and Teos undoubtedly never saw much profit from the arrangement. There is better evidence for Teian isopolity treaties much closer to home. In the 2nd century BC, the Teians, using the renewal of their *asylia* as a pretext, requested further rights from various Cretan cities. These included isopolity, the exemption from taxes, and the right to own property.¹⁸⁴ While it could be argued that these treaties, formed in association with *asylia*, were more honorary than real, a contemporary decree of Temnos for Teos provides an independent check to the grants issued in the Cretan decrees (*SEG* 29.1149).¹⁸⁵ The Temnitans outlined similar grants to those from the Cretan cities, namely legal and property rights, but they also went further by specifying that any Teian could join a *phyle* in the city. It seems that there was a belief that some Teians would seriously entertain the idea of migrating and living at Temnos. We should also assume this motivation is an issue in the Cretan isopolity treaties. Although some isopolity treaties were no doubt more honorary in scope (*e.g.* those with the cities of Syria), in many cases isopolity was a goal specifically sought after and prized by the city and its citizens. Isopolity ensured that Teian citizens and merchants abroad had adequate representation in foreign cities and encouraged far-reaching economic activities that no doubt benefited the city.

From all these decrees, treaties, and embassies, it is evident that Teos had an active foreign policy with respect to the other Greek cities. The city had the political

¹⁸⁴ Isopolity and the exemption from taxes are recorded for Biannos (*Asylia* no. 157.25-26), Malla (no. 157.14-15), and Hyrtakina (no. 160.3-5), while Arkades (no. 159.35-38) and Erannos (no. 155.39-41) also grant property rights.

¹⁸⁵ For commentary, see Herrmann 1979: 242-249.

mechanisms to promote itself throughout the Aegean and did so successfully. It is also clear from the fact that other Greek cities called upon the Teians called on them. We should not envision the *polis* in a bubble occasionally popped by marauding armies and warlords. Teos actively participated in the greater society of the Aegean world in all areas: legal, religious, and economic.

The city of Teos displayed social and political complexity throughout its history. Although Teos was subject to the rule of various Hellenistic monarchs and, eventually, Rome, the citizens themselves exercised autonomy over their city and its territory by means of their own government. The constitution of the city was clearly important not only to define and replicate the citizen body, but also for the manner in which the city interacted with other cities and rulers.

PART TWO

Chapter Four The City and Dionysos

Of all the gods worshipped at Teos, Dionysos was by far the most important. He was the *archagetes* of the city, its founder and protector. The relationship between Dionysos and Teos was so important that, at the end of the 3rd century BC, the city and its territory were declared sacred and inviolate to the god.¹ The cult of Dionysos had a long history at the city. The Anthesteria, a festival of Dionysos celebrating new wine, was already one of the chief religious occasions at Teos in the early 5th century BC.² From the 4th century onwards, the god appeared on civic coinage.³ The city was home to the Asian chapter of the Dionysiac *technitai* during the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC.⁴ Dionysos continued to be important to the city down into the Roman Imperial period, by which time the city Dionysia was a Panhellenic festival.⁵ The city owed its prosperity to Dionysos and proudly identified itself as his city.

At first glance, Dionysos may seem to be an odd choice for a patron divinity. After all, the god was hardly associated with the protection or safety of cities, nor was he a god who protected the civic institutions so vital for the definition of the *polis*.⁶ The Teians recognized this, but there were other gods who readily served them in these regards. The 5th-century BC imprecations from Teos show that Zeus and Herakles figured

¹ The decrees and letters recognizing the *asylia* of Dionysos at Teos are by far the largest set of inscriptions preserved from the ancient city. See Chapter 6 for a full discussion of the evidence.

² *Nomima* 104.b32-3 and 105.d1-2.

³ Dionysos appears on Teian coins from the 4th century (Head 1911: 595, *BMC Ionia* Teos no. 25 *SNG Cop. Ionia* no. 1444 and 1483-84, Bernhart no. 446) and becomes very prominent in the Roman period (e.g. *BMC Ionia* 309-313, *SNG Cop. Ionia* nos. 1497-1500 and 1507-10, Bernhart nos. 253, 542, 641). The god also appears on early coins from Abdera suggesting another close connection between the colony and its mother-city (Bernhart nos. 656-7 and May 1966: no. 204). For the close relationship of Teos with Abdera, see Chapter 2§4.

⁴ The Ionian-Hellespontine chapter of the Dionysiac *technitai* and their relationship with Teos are discussed in Chapter 7.

⁵ *Inscr. Cos* EV 218.21 lists the Dionysia of Teos among other Panhellenic athletic competitions.

⁶ For a discussion of this, see Cole (1995: 313) who argues the Greek *poleis* did not have a singular patron deity.

just as prominently as Dionysos in their religious calendar (*Nomima* 104.b33-34 and 105.d2-5). Moreover, in our best example of a civic oath from Teos, the gods invoked were Zeus, Helios, Poseidon, Apollo, Athena, and all the other gods (*SEG* 26.1306.12-15 and 40-54).⁷ If it is strange for the patron god of the city to be left understood amongst the host of other gods, we must remember that the stele upon which these oaths were inscribed was most probably set up in his sanctuary and considered to be under his protection.⁸

That Dionysos was not an appropriate god for oath ceremonies does not lessen the fact that the Teians honored and held him higher than the other gods.⁹ The city heaped many titles upon Dionysos, emphasizing his status. He was called ὁ ἀρχαγέτης τῆς πόλεως,¹⁰ ὁ τῆς πόλεως θεός,¹¹ ὁ προεστῶς θεός,¹² ὁ καθηγεμῶν θεός,¹³ and ὁ προκαθηγεμῶν θεός.¹⁴ Titulature was not the only way that the city honored the god. Around the turn of the 2nd century BC, the Teians built a new temple of Dionysos.¹⁵ They hired the greatest architect of their day, Hermogenes, who was also responsible for the temple of Artemis at Magnesia on the Maiandros.¹⁶ The new temple of Dionysos, like its

⁷ See also the discussion of the oaths in Robert 1976: 224.

⁸ *SEG* 26.1306.60-61 mentions setting up two inscriptions, one in the agora and the other at a temple. The name of the god is lost but I am in agreement with Robert (1976: 230-232) that it must be the temple of Dionysos.

⁹ Cole 1995: 308-9.

¹⁰ E.g. *Asyilia* no. 154 (Aptera) 20-21. Cf. the common use of this title at Magnesia on the Maiandros (e.g. *Asyilia* no. 66).

¹¹ *PEP Teos* 118.4-5. Also used in reference to Dionysos at Dionysopolis in Thrace (IGBulg 1² 15(2).4-5).

¹² *PEP Teos* 217.8-9. This title was also used for Athena Polias at Priene (*I.Priene* 46.21) and Artemis at Ephesos (*I.Ephesos* 24B.8).

¹³ *PEP Teos* 100. It is also notable that the Dionysiac Technitai, who were resident at Teos, entitled themselves, were called “οἱ περὶ τὸν καθηγεμόνα Διόνυσσον τεχνῖται” (e.g. *PEP Teos* 25.4-5). For a discussion of Dionysos Kathegemon, see von Prott (1902) and Musti (1986 esp. 117-125).

¹⁴ *LSAM* 28.8-9. Also used extensively for Asklepios at Kos (e.g. *Iscr. Cos* ED 176.1-2). See also the use for Apollo Didymeos at Miletos (*LSAM* 53.6-8) and Artemis at Ephesos (*SEG* 41.981.3).

¹⁵ For a discussion of the history of the temple of Dionysos, see §2 below.

¹⁶ *Vitr.* 3.3.6-8

predecessor, was the central place for publication of decrees at Teos, and its walls were adorned with inscriptions about royal honors, international treaties, and cult practices. Anyone reading the inscriptions on the walls of the temple quickly understood that Teos was internationally acclaimed for its cult of Dionysos.¹⁷ The temple and its god remained important down to the time of Hadrian when the structure was largely rebuilt.¹⁸

Grand temples and festivals, as essential as they were to the Teians, were not the reason for the city's importance to Dionysos. The ties between the city and the god ran far deeper, into the very myth-history of the city's foundation and its *raison d'être*. It remains, therefore, to explore the bond between Dionysos and the city of Teos. We need to first understand the mythology that tied the god to the city. The city's renown as a center for the cult of Dionysos depended upon this mythology and its recognition by the rest of the Greek world. Once the historical importance of the cult of Dionysos has been discussed, we will examine the physical remains of the cult and survey the history of the temple of Dionysos. Finally, the civic cult of Dionysos at Teos deserves special treatment, for that is where Teos' very self-conception as the city of Dionysos was developed and reinforced.

1. *The Mythology of Dionysos at Teos*

The primary source for the Teian mythology of Dionysos comes from a comment in Diodoros' account of the birth of the god. The historian asserts that the son of Zeus and Semele was removed from Boiotia and raised in Arabian Nysa, but that several Greek

¹⁷ It is important to note that all the inscriptions on the temple are international in scope. Honorary decrees for Teian citizens were not inscribed at the temple of Dionysos, but rather at the altar of Herakles (e.g. *SIG*³ 29; *SEG* 44.949).

¹⁸ Uz 1990.

cities, such as Elis, Naxos, Eleutherai, and Teos, argue that they were the place of his birth. For the last, Diodoros writes (3.66.2):

καὶ Τήιοι μὲν τεκμήριον φέρουσι τῆς παρ' αὐτοῖς γενέσεως τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν τεταγμένοις χρόνοις ἐν τῇ πόλει πηγὴν αὐτομάτως ἐκ τῆς γῆς οἴνου ῥεῖν εὐωδία διαφέροντος·

The Teians advance as proof that the god was born among them the fact that, even to this day, at fixed times in their city, a spring of wine, of unusually sweet fragrance, flows of its own accord from the earth.

This statement is the basis for our understanding of the mythological relationship between Teos and Dionysos.

Diodoros was following a long tradition concerning the disputed birthplace of Dionysos. Our oldest testimony concerning this problem is the *Homeric Hymn to Dionysos*.¹⁹ The poem acknowledges that Ikaros, Naxos, Elis, and Thebes all laid claim to the divine birth, but, like Diodoros, it concludes that the true birthplace was the mythical city of Nysa.²⁰ The question naturally arises as to whether Teos' claim was as old as that of the cities mentioned in the Homeric hymn. The list in Diodoros is short and obviously selective. If he chose four cities, it was because they were among the oldest and most venerable claimants. Certainly, the claims of Elis and Naxos should be viewed this way, since they were already listed in the *Homeric Hymn*. Eleutherai had an important cult of Dionysos from at least the 6th century BC, when its *xoanon* of Dionysos was removed to Athens.²¹ Although we have no early testimony for Teos, its inclusion by Diodoros alongside these other three cities strongly suggests that it was equally as old.

Comparisons with Naxos are important. Teos and Naxos alone of the older Greek

¹⁹ The dates of many of the Homeric Hymns are disputed, but the Hymn to Dionysos is generally considered to be no later than the 6th century BC. See Crudden 2001: 137 and Athanassakis 2004: 85.

²⁰ Fragment 1 lines 2-10 also quoted in Diodoros 3.66.3.

²¹ Scholia to Aristophanes *Acharnians* 243a and the discussion in Prandi, who dates the move to 519 BC at the latest (1987: 57-62).

cities established Dionysos as their tutelary god.²² Naxos' claim is certainly easier to understand. The island could also claim to be the site of the marriage between Dionysos and Ariadne.²³ By contrast, we have no indication of any other mythological story linking the god directly with Teos other than the passage of Diodoros given above.

It is possible that Teos' link with Dionysos goes back to the city's early Boiotian origins. The 5th-century BC Athenian historian Pherekydes records that Teos was initially founded by Minyans from Orchomenos, led by Athamas, a descendent of Athamas the son of Aiolos (*FGrHist* 3 F 102).²⁴ This tie naturally gives rise to the question as to whether these original Boiotian colonists composed an alternate myth-history that tied their new land to their ancestral home, the more traditional birthplace of Dionysos.²⁵ The connection is certainly worth exploring, but requires an examination of the place of Orchomenos in the vulgate narrative of the birth of Dionysos.

The story of Dionysos' birth is a familiar one. The following is the most canonical account, as recounted in Apollodoros' *Library* (3.4.3).²⁶ Semele, already with child by Zeus, was tricked by Hera into asking her divine lover to see him in his true form. The sight of the god wielding thunderbolts caused her to prematurely give birth before she

²² The god appears on Naxian coins (*e.g.* Head 1911: 488, *SNG Cop. Aegean Islands* 702-9). The priest of Dionysos was also the eponymous magistrate at Naxos.

²³ Catullus 64-50-266, Plutarch Theseus 20, Ovid *Art of Love* 1.525-64, Nonnos *Dionysiaka* 47.265-471. Paus. 10.29.4, Hyginus *Fables* 42-3, Diodoros 4.61 and 5.51. Aglaosthenes of Naxos (*FGrHist* 499 F 3) also records that Dionysos was raised by nymphs on Naxos.

²⁴ The story is also reported in Strabo (14.1.3) and Pausanias (7.3.6). Both later authors also state that during the Ionian migration from Athens, a Boeotian contingent led by Geres settled alongside the Ionians and Minyans at Teos. See the discussion of the city's foundation in Chapter 2§1.

²⁵ In later history, colonies often preserved religious cults and practices from their founder cities. Abdera, one of Teos' colonies, certainly kept many important cult practices for Dionysos. See Loukopoulou, L *et al* 2005: 169-170, Similarly, the cult of Apollo Delphinios, the patron god of Miletos, is found in almost all of its many colonies. On this last cult, see Ehrhardt 1983: 130-147.

²⁶ See also the careful account in Dalby (2003) with fuller source references.

died.²⁷ Zeus sewed the baby into his thigh and delivered it a second time at term. Zeus then gave the newborn child to Hermes and ordered him to convey it to Ino, the sister of Semele, wife of King Athamas of Orchomenos. Ino nursed the child, but Hera finally caused her to go mad. Ino then jumped from a cliff into the sea, taking her own son with her. Following this tragedy, the child Dionysos was taken to Nysa where he was raised by nymphs.

The most important Orchomenian aspect of the myth is the involvement of Ino as the nurse of Dionysos.²⁸ It is also at this point in the narrative that we notice important variants. Oppian, for example, recounts a version where Ino put the baby Dionysos in a pine casket and took the child to Mt. Meros in Euboia where Aristaios, the student of Chiron, raised him (*Cyneg.* 4.237-277).²⁹ Elsewhere, Pausanias records that Brasiai in Laconia had a local legend that Kadmos, discovering Semele after she gave birth to Dionysos, put her and the baby in a *larnax* and threw it into the sea (3.24.3). The casket washed up at Brasiai where the locals buried Semele. The Brasiaians managed to rescue Dionysos. In her wanderings, Ino soon arrived to nurse the infant god in a cave.³⁰

The Minyan colonists at Teos may well have told a similar myth. The baby Dionysos somehow ended up in Teos, perhaps thrown into the sea by Kadmos as in the story at Brasiai. Later, Ino arrived and nursed him in a grotto. It would be hard to imagine a Teian version of the story that did not involve Ino, the figure who best ties Dionysos to

²⁷ Pausanias records that the Thebans revered the chamber of Semele in the sanctuary of Dionysos in the Kadmeia and, presumably, this was the room in which she was struck by lightning 9.12.3. For a discussion of all the sources on this sanctuary, see Schachter 1981: I.187-8.

²⁸ The best survey of Ino and her divine incarnation Leukothea, remains Farnell (1921: 35-47).

²⁹ Eleutherai, which is another place that Diodoros lists as claiming the birthplace of Dionysos (3.66.2), probably had a story very similar to the variant preserved in Oppian. Pausanias records a story of Antiope nursing her children in a cave there (1.38.8-9).

³⁰ For a discussion of this passage, see Farnell 1909: 5.189-90. Farnell also discusses another myth concerning Dionysos in a *larnax* at Patrai in Achaia but the story lacks a reference to Ino.

the Minyan founders of the city. In content, such a story has similarities to a variant myth about Telephos.³¹ When the unmarried Tegean princess Auge became pregnant and gave birth, her father put both the mother and her baby in a chest and cast it into the sea. The chest washed up in Asia near the Kaikos river, and Auge then married Teuthras and raised her son Telephos. The Pergamenes later held that Auge founded their cult of Athena.³² What is notable here is that Athena was an important goddess at both Tegea and Pergamon. The Telephos legend thus served as an explanation for the foundation of the cult of Athena as the patron goddess of Pergamon by linking it back to mainland Greece. Our story may explain the same for the cult of Dionysos at Teos.³³

Unlike Auge at Pergamon, we lack evidence for the precise relationship of Ino to Dionysos at Teos. In mythology, Ino was later transformed by Poseidon into the sea nymph Leukothea. It is clear from the fact that the priest of Poseidon was in charge of her festival at Teos, that Leukothea's sea incarnation was prominent in the city. This was certainly justified by the double harbors and the city's maritime interests. Moreover, the festival for the goddess was important an important occasion in the city and the Teians later created a festival for Antiochos III and Laodike alongside it.³⁴ Nonetheless, her importance as a sea goddess at Teos should not discount her importance for the cult of

³¹ The following is a summary of Paus 8.4.9.

³² *I.Pergamon* 156.23-24.

³³ The political and cultural connotations of the Telephos myth at Pergamon are discussed in Gruen 2000: 22-23. The variant of the myth in Apollodoros (2.7.4), where Auge is shipped off to Mysia and Telephos comes later to join her is also depicted on the Great Altar at Pergamon. See Stewart 1997: 43-45.

³⁴ *Antiochos* no. 18. 4-16. For a discussion of the importance of this festival, see §3 below.

Dionysos. She is closely associated with vegetation, just like Dionysos.³⁵ Ino was also traditionally the leader of the mainads around Dionysos.³⁶

One point of the Teian myth of Dionysos is worth exploring in further detail. The wine-spring at Teos mentioned by Diodoros is a *topos* in many local myths about the infancy of Dionysos. This would indicate that the Teian Dionysos was nursed in a local cave or grotto.³⁷ Our best description of the cave of the infant Dionysos comes from the account of the grand Dionysiac procession of Ptolemy II preserved in Athenaios (*Deipn.* 200 B-C). The procession consisted at one point of carts carrying dioramas of scenes from the myth of Dionysos. The second cart showed the infant, tended by Hermes and the nymphs in a grotto shaded by ivy and yew, where two springs gushed forth, one with sweet wine and the other with milk.³⁸ The island of Naxos, likewise a contender for the birthplace of Dionysos, also claimed to have a spring flowing with sweet wine (Steph. Byz. s.v. Naxos). The Teian miracle spring belongs to this tradition.³⁹

The story I have outlined above is only one plausible version of the Teian mythology of Dionysos and it assumes a Minyan connection. The Minyan colonists, led by a descendant of Ino's husband Athamas, may have created such a story to justify their claim to the land. This could have been done early on, as an assertion of territorial rights in face of the native Carian and Lelegian populations. It could equally have been crafted later to assert the Minyan origins of Teos once the Ionian and Athenian colonists arrived.

³⁵ The balance between Leukothea's marine and fertility aspects is delicately explored by Farnell 1921: 36-39.

³⁶ Magnesia on the Maiandros would later request professional mainads from Boiotia who were of the race of Ino (*I.Magnesia* 215.24-27).

³⁷ The cave shows up in most versions of the Dionysos story. For a general discussion of Dionysiac caves and grottoes, see Nillson 1957: 61-62.

³⁸ For a discussion of this passage, see Rice 1983: 81-82. Hermes is important in all versions of the myth and he is also depicted carrying the baby Dionysos on a coin from Teos (*BMC Ionia* 50).

³⁹ For a discussion of a possible depiction of this wine-spring in the Izmir Archaeological Museum, see §3 below.

Certainly, in Pausanias' time, it was still remembered that the city had been founded initially by Minyans. Their continued prominence in the history of the city may be linked with their relationship to the nursemaid of Dionysos.⁴⁰

2. *The Temple of Dionysos at Teos*

Without a doubt, the most important evidence for the cult of Dionysos at Teos is the god's temple. The remains of the sanctuary are situated on the western slope of the city, about 400 m. south of the acropolis. At its full height, the temple would have been visible from the acropolis theater, the agora, and perhaps even the south harbor. It commanded a central place in the city, both architecturally and socially.

The site of the temple has received more archaeological attention than any other building at Teos. Attracted by the references in Vitruvius, Pullan undertook the first trial excavations at the temple in 1862.⁴¹ He uncovered extensive remains of the structure and made detailed drawings that still remain indispensable for study. This is very fortunate because, in the late 19th century, a marble concession was taken out on the temple and many of the architectural blocks subsequently vanished.⁴² The French excavators returned in 1924, seeking to explore the *cella* further and to search for earlier temple

⁴⁰ Paus. 7.3.6. Athamas appears on a late 2nd-century AD coin from Teos (*LIMC* s.v. Athamas no.12). During the Principate, Teos also honored Tiberios Klaudios Mnasimachos with the term "new Athamas" (*CIG* 3083 and *SEG* 51: 1615 and 1616). For a discussion of the term and other examples of this heroic honoring in Greek cities see Herrman 2000: 90, Strubbe 1984-1986: 297-98, Merkelbach 1983: 29-30, and Robert 1981: 354-56.

⁴¹ The accounts of this excavation were published in the Society of Dilettanti's *Antiquities of Ionia* IV, 1881: 35-55. The temple was already much dilapidated, having been used to build the walls at Sığacık and as tomb markers for Muslim burials.

⁴² Béquignon and Laumonier 1925: 292 n. 2. Some figural blocks were also moved to the museum at Smyrna during this time period but most were lost.

foundations.⁴³ The University of Ankara undertook excavations during the 1960s. Boysal and Ögün extended the excavated area to include the surrounding temenos and stoas.⁴⁴ Their work became the basis for the important architectural study by Uz in the 1980s.⁴⁵ The ruins uncovered through this long excavation show a complicated construction history for the temple, beginning in the 3rd century BC and extending to the 2nd century AD. The temple underwent numerous repairs and refurbishments during this period and the temenos area was slowly built up with surrounding stoas.

The earlier history of the temple of Dionysos is relatively poorly known. We have no indications that there was an archaic temple for Dionysos in the city. It should be noted that foundations of an 8th-century BC *hekatompodon* have recently been uncovered on the acropolis, but there is no evidence to connect this construction with Dionysos.⁴⁶ In the 5th-century BC imprecations, Dionysos seems to have shared equal importance with Zeus and Herakles and the acropolis temple may have belonged to any one of these important deities.

Our earliest source for the temple of Dionysos occurs in the *ktematonia* decree for the Dionysiac *technitai*, between 229 and 222 BC (Aneziri D2).⁴⁷ This is rather late and we might expect that the temple mentioned in the decree dates back into the classical

⁴³ Béquignon and Laumonier 1925 esp. pp. 291-298. Although the French excavators were primarily interested in the temple of Dionysos, the report remains the best topographical study of the site as a whole.

⁴⁴ Regular preliminary reports appeared in the *TAD* from 1962 to 1965 (Boysal 1962, Boysal and Ögün 1963, Ögün 1965). Mellink's archaeological survey in the *American Journal of Archaeology* (*AJA* 68 (1964) 163, *AJA* 69 (1965) 14, *AJA* 70 (1966) 157, *AJA* 71 (1967) 169, *AJA* 72 (1968) 141) and Cook and Blackman's surveys in *Archaeological Reports* (*AR* (1964/65) 45-46, (1970/71) 41-43) for the corresponding years also offer a useful survey in English.

⁴⁵ The architectural study of the temple of Dionysos was the subject of his doctoral dissertation at the University of Izmir. Sadly, Uz died at a young age having only published two preliminary reports, both of which, however, are remarkably thorough (1985, 1990).

⁴⁶ Although the remains of the altar on the acropolis were known since the French survey of the site, the remains of the temple were first identified by Uz in the 1980s. Tuna studied and drew plans of the altar and temple during his architectural survey of the site (1994 and 1996: 219-222).

⁴⁷ This inscription and its historical context and date are discussed in Chapter 7§1.

period, or, at the least, the late 4th century BC.⁴⁸ The French excavators dug a trench beneath the temple of Dionysos but were unable to locate any earlier foundations.⁴⁹ Given the fact that the Hellenistic temple was built upon a rocky outcrop, which was trimmed down, we must assume that if the earlier temple had been on the same site, its foundations had to be completely cleared away for the later structure.⁵⁰ The lowest excavated levels in the area contained Protogeometric through archaic sherds but there was no evidence for cult.⁵¹ It seems probable that the sanctuary of Dionysos was only sited on the western plateau after the city was refounded from Abdera in the late 6th century.

The temple mentioned in the *ktematonia* decree, wherever it was located, was replaced by the building designed by the master architect Hermogenes. This temple is praised by Vitruvius as the first example of Ionic eustyle (3.3.6-8 and 4.3.1).⁵² According to the Roman architect, Hermogenes even wrote a book concerning his work on the temple of Dionysos at Teos. Unfortunately, although this temple is of great historical interest, there are few remains from the building. The scarcity of Hellenistic architectural members at Teos and the historical ambiguities surrounding the career of Hermogenes have led to serious problems in dating the construction of the building. Nonetheless, the question of the date is important because this sanctuary was the central place for

⁴⁸ There is an extremely fragmentary inscription concerning a temple dating somewhere in the 4th century BC (*PEP Teos* 267). The inscription does not mention Dionysos, but it is tempting to take this as an early testimony of the cult. McCabe considers the inscription of dubious provenance, but provides no explanation.

⁴⁹ Laumonier and Béquignon 1925: 294.

⁵⁰ Deep soundings in the area of the temenos, however, did reveal some 4th-century architecture. Uz 1990: 61.

⁵¹ The Turkish excavations found a near continuous ceramic history from the Hellenistic through the Protogeometric periods. Cook and Blackman 1970-1971: 41.

⁵² The architectural principles of the Ionic eustyle consisted of a wider than normal intercolumniation of 2 1/4 column spaces. Uz noted that the remains of the later Hadrianic phase of the temple had a spacing of 2 1/6 (1990: 51).

displaying public inscriptions. It was adorned with the decrees of *asylia* and the texts about Antiochos III. The problem of the date has further consequences because the date of Hermogenes' other famous work, the temple of Artemis Leukophryene at Magnesia on the Maiandros is also not known. The temple of Artemis at Magnesia has been at the center of a dispute about architectural sculpture in Asia Minor and has been dated anywhere from the late 3rd century down to the 120s BC. The date of the temple of Dionysos at Teos fluctuates with the changes in the date of the Magnesian temple.

When the temple of Artemis at Magnesia on the Maiandros was excavated at the end of the 19th century, the archaeologists also explored the agora and uncovered many important inscriptions. Kern first suggested a date for the temple between the Magnesians two calls for *asylia* for the goddess, giving a date between 221/220 to 206/205 BC.⁵³ This date was subsequently challenged by von Gerkan, who believed that the building should be dated later.⁵⁴ Von Gerkan noticed that the decree recording the call for *asylia* (*I.Magnesia* 16) did not mention a temple. Other epigraphic material supported his late date, in particular the two decrees concerning the Isiteria, a festival commemorating the installation of the cult statue in the temple of Artemis (*I.Magnesia* 100a-b). Two decrees are inscribed on the stone. Kern had dated the letterforms of the inscriptions to the 2nd century BC. Von Gerkan was particularly interested in the new epithet, Nikephoros, given to Artemis Leukophryene in the second decree.⁵⁵ With the goal of relating the new title to a historical event, von Gerkan suggested that the epithet was given to the goddess to commemorate the victory of Perperna over Aristonikos in 130/29 BC.⁵⁶ Accordingly,

⁵³ *I.Magnesia* 16 with Kern's commentary.

⁵⁴ 1929: 24-33.

⁵⁵ *I.Magnesia* 100b.41

⁵⁶ Livy *Peri.* 59.

he dated the remains of the temple at Magnesia to the 120s BC and the temple of Dionysos at Teos to the 2nd half of the 2nd century.⁵⁷

Von Gerkan's interpretation was challenged by Hahland. He noted that the first *Isiteria* decree (*I.Magnesia* 100a) lacked the Nikephoros epithet and must therefore date earlier than the second decree. He suggested dating the first decree back 75 years, putting Hermogenes' work at the end of the 3rd century BC.⁵⁸ At the same time, Schehl independently re-dated the first *Isiteria* decree, but his date was in the 140s BC.⁵⁹ Hoepfner, trying to reconcile the historical and epigraphic records with the architectural remains, suggested that Hermogenes began the Artemis temple in the late 3rd century with construction continuing in stages over the next century.⁶⁰ Von Gerkan's dating, however, continued to receive support and it was upheld by Yaylali, who restudied the frieze of the temple of Artemis and suggested a stylistic date between 140 and 120 BC.⁶¹ This date was in accord with Hoepfner's date of the column capitals from the temple.

Recent research on architectural sculpture in Asia Minor, however, now favors an earlier date for the Magnesian material. Özgan rejected Yaylali's stylistic arguments, preferring a date for the altar in the late 3rd century. He noted that the *asylia* decree of 206/5 mentions an altar and this provided the *terminus ante quem* for that structure.⁶² Özgan then further suggested that the sculpture of the altar and the temple were stylistically contemporary. Stampolidis also reexamined the architectural sculpture at Teos and Magnesia and he provided a date for the reliefs towards the end of the 3rd

⁵⁷ E.g. Akurgal 1970: 142.

⁵⁸ 1950: 101.

⁵⁹ 1951: 152.

⁶⁰ 1968: 221.

⁶¹ 1976: 107-160.

⁶² *I.Magnesia* 16. 21.

century BC.⁶³ The re-dating of the relief sculpture, however, did not explain the date of the *Isiteria* decrees. This problem has been plausibly resolved by Gros, who suggested that the title Nikephoros had nothing to do with the victory over Aristonikos.⁶⁴ Instead, he related the title to the victory of the Romans over Antiochos III at the battle of Magnesia under Sipylos in 190 BC. This battle was certainly a more urgent occasion. Scipio Asiaticus must have recognized the *asylia* of the temple of Artemis Leukophryene at this time.⁶⁵ After the Peace of Apameia, Magnesia on the Maiandros fell under Attalid control. If we associate the title Nikephoros with the cult of Athena Nikephoros at Pergamon, it could have been adopted by the Magnesians at that time.⁶⁶ According to Gros, *I.Magnesia* 100a must date no earlier than 190 BC and 100b after 188 BC, when the terms of the peace were ratified.

If these dates are plausible, we would be left with the following chronology for the Magnesian temple. The altar had to be finished by 205 BC. The *sekos* of the temple of Artemis, at the least, was finished before 190 BC and a festival of *Isiteria* was established at the installation of the cult statue. If the rest of the temple was constructed in stages, this would also explain Hoepfner's date for the column capitals.

Up until now, dating of the temple of Dionysos at Teos has depended upon the dates provided from the evidence at Magnesia on the Maiandros. Only two scholars, Hahland and Stampolides, have examined the sculptured frieze from Teos. Their separate analyses suggest a relative date towards the end of the 3rd century BC. It is possible to be more precise if we focus now on the material from Teos. The first depiction of the cult

⁶³ 1987: 197-212 and 1990: 115-121.

⁶⁴ 1978.

⁶⁵ Tac. *Annals* 3.62. Rigsby dates the Roman grant in 189 BC (1996: 183).

⁶⁶ Livy 37.45 and 55. For a survey of the cult of Athena Nikephoros at Pergamon, see Rigsby 1996: 363-366.

statue of Dionysos from Teos on a coin appears on the reverse of an Alexander tetradrachm found in the Mektepini hoard, buried around 190 BC.⁶⁷ Davesne related this new coin type to the construction of the Hermogenes temple.⁶⁸ Since Teos did not mint Alexanders under Pergamene rule, the coin issue must date from the interim period of Seleukid rule at Teos between 204/3 BC and 190 BC. The evidence from the coins suggests a new temple, but we cannot be certain that the coin type was linked with the Hermogenes temple.⁶⁹

More central to the debate are the Antiochos III decrees. Many scholars have debated whether the Antiochos decrees were inscribed on the Hermogenes temple or on the earlier temple.⁷⁰ All these debates have rested upon the stylistic dating of reliefs and the epigraphic evidence from Magnesia on the Maiandros. No scholar, however, has examined the excavation context of the decrees and their associated finds. The Antiochos inscriptions about Antiochos were found built into the temenos wall of the sanctuary, 20 m from the southwestern corner of the temple.⁷¹ The date of the temenos wall is not secure, but it should be related to the same activity that raised the terrace around the temple since it takes the higher ground level of the area into account. The presence of Roman mortar in the fill of the terrace allows us to determine that it was raised at the earliest during the 1st century AD and could be connected with the Hadrianic rebuilding of the temple. The same fill contains many Hellenistic architectural pieces from the Hermogenes temple and there are, notably, no blocks from an earlier temple in this fill or

⁶⁷ The coin in question was found in the Mektepini hoard which dates to about 190 BC. See Olcay and Seyrig 1965 no. 342.

⁶⁸ Davesne 1987:18-19.

⁶⁹ Cf. Mitchell 1989-1990: 98.

⁷⁰ See *SEG* 40.999 for a useful summary of the debate with references to earlier work.

⁷¹ Herrmann 1965: 331-33.

in the temenos wall.⁷² If we accept that the temenos wall, with the Antiochos decrees and the terrace with its Hellenistic architectural fragments in the fill, were constructed as part of same overall activity, then the decrees about Antiochos must have belonged to the Hermogenes temple and not its little-known predecessor. Since these decrees were inscribed on the parastades of the temple, they provide the Hermogenes temple with a *terminus ante quem* of 204/3 BC or soon thereafter. This is completely in accord with Halhland's and Stampolides' stylistic date for the reliefs and Davesne's numismatic evidence. And so, we have a date for the temple of Dionysos at about the same time as the first call for *asylia* in 203 BC.

This date gives rise to certain important historical questions. Did the temple exist before Antiochos visited the city? Was the temple erected soon after? It is tempting to take into consideration Vitruvius' story that the temple was already under construction when Hermogenes decided to change the plan from a Doric to an Ionic temple (4.3.1). It has even been suggested that Hermogenes was not the original architect, but was hired later.⁷³ If one had to suggest a historical reason for the sudden change in architectural plan, the liberation from Pergamene rule is a plausible occasion. The Attalids built almost exclusively in the Doric order and the Teians may have felt better able to switch to the traditional Ionic style after Antiochos took control of the city.⁷⁴ Moreover, if Hermogenes was indeed hired later, it is possible that the influx of money associated with Antiochos and the declaration of *asylia* allowed the Teians to hire a more famous architect. All told, the historical evidence from Vitruvius suggests that the construction of the temple was well advanced when Antiochos arrived and completed a few years later,

⁷² Uz 1990: 51, Uz 1985.

⁷³ Suggested by Tomlinson 1963: 142.

⁷⁴ Tomlinson 1963: 142.

say, around 200 BC. It was at this time that the recognitions of *asylia* and the decrees about Antiochos were inscribed on the temple walls.⁷⁵

The Hermogenes temple underwent several repairs. We have, in fact, no less than six different sets of sima fragments for the roof, the most fragile part of the building.⁷⁶ It should be remembered that Teos lies directly over a north-south fault line and the roof would have been the part of the building most susceptible to earthquakes. Dating these repairs can be tricky. It appears that one period of repair took place under the patronage of Augustus. Coins from Teos name Augustus as a “founder” of the city, a title that suggests a benefaction to the city and could be related to one phase of repair for the temple.⁷⁷ Davesne also points out that the cult statue of Dionysos appears prominently on the reverse of a coin of Augustus from Teos.⁷⁸ On this coin, the statue of the god stands holding a *kantharos* and a *thyrsos* with ribbons blowing in the wind. The image of the god changes soon after. In Teian imperial coins of Agrippina the Younger and Nero, Dionysos holds the *thyrsos* just below the pine cone, with a griffon or panther depicted at his feet. Davesne suggests that the Teian temple, and the cult statue in particular, suffered damage during the earthquake of 46/47 AD and repaired towards the end of the reign of Claudius.⁷⁹ Finally, the temple was largely rebuilt under Hadrian.⁸⁰ Whether the temple suffered another earthquake prior to the Hadrianic reconstruction is difficult to say, but it

⁷⁵ Another argument for inscribing the Antiochos and the *asylia* decrees a few years later is that Chishull thought the latter were inscribed in the same hand as the Roman letter dating from 193 BC. Cf. Rigsby 1996a: 291 and n. 42. Mason’s hands are difficult to identify, especially over such a short period of time but, given the other evidence, we should not necessarily completely dismiss Chishull’s autopsy.

⁷⁶ Uz 1990: 59.

⁷⁷ E.g. *SNG Cop. Ionia* nos. 1514-1515. See also Magie 1950: 449 and n. 36.

⁷⁸ Davesne 1987: 19 and no. 7.

⁷⁹ Davesne 1987:19-20 and *SNG Cop. Ionia* nos. 1517-1519.

⁸⁰ The architrave of the temple was inscribed with a dedication to Hadrian, reconstructed by Robert 1946b.

is certainly possible. The temple walls also show signs of having been given a marble veneer during the 2nd century AD renovation.⁸¹

The Hadrianic temple most probably followed the plan of Hermogenes' construction. This final phase remains visible today (Figs. 10-11, Pl. 4).⁸² The temple was a 6 x 11 distyle *in antis* Ionic temple with an exceptionally deep *pronaos*. Measuring approximately 18.5 x 35 m, it was the largest temple of Dionysos in the Aegean world. The entire structure was built from local Teian blue-grey marble. The temple was set on top of a podium cut into a rocky protuberance. In the Roman period, the area around the temple and to the west was terraced with old architectural blocks, rubble, and lime mortar. Steps were added at the east end of this terrace, and both the steps and the terrace appear to be Hadrianic in date. The *temenos* of the sanctuary was enclosed by a trapezoid formed by three stoas of the Doric order on the north, west and south sides. The differences in the capitals within the stoas suggest that they were built at various times between the 2nd century BC and the Imperial period. The area between the temple and the monumental altar to the east was paved and some stone seats lined the path in between.

The temple of Dionysos at Teos was the city's most important and impressive building. It monumentalized the city's relationship with the god. The walls of the Hermogenes temple were inscribed with decrees showing the honor that the city had accumulated for the god. But the temple was merely an ornate shell for the ceremonies and rituals that truly defined the tie between the people of Teos and the god. It remains then to explore the cult practice surrounding Dionysos at Teos.

⁸¹ Uz 1990: 55.

⁸² The following is summary of Uz 1990 and 1985.

3. *Wine, Mainads and Song: The Cult of Dionysos at Teos*

The cult of Dionysos at Teos has left surprisingly few pieces of direct evidence. The temple, as magnificent and massive an architectural wonder that it was, was merely a home for the god in the city. Since, the god was such a central part of Teian life, we would ideally like to understand the various cult practices that the Teians undertook for him. These were undoubtedly central to the city; so much so that the Teians rarely made reference to the cult and no inscription preserves explicit reference to any cult practice relative to the god. Indeed, the frieze of the temple of Dionysos remains the sole secure depiction of Teian cult practice and it is in very poor condition. Nonetheless, it is possible to understand the scope and nature of the cult of Dionysos if we work under the scholarly assumption that many later religious honors were modeled upon his cult. As we shall see, this was certainly the case. The cult of Dionysos was at the center of religious life at Teos and practices were replicated to suit new needs in areas such as royal cult. And so, exploring the honors and practices given to Hellenistic monarchs, Roman emperors, and even Teian citizens can provide us a glimpse of not only the cult practice for the god, but also the religious sentiment that the Teians held for him.

A visit to the temple of Dionysos at Teos would never fail to stress the local importance of his cult. During the first half of the 2nd century BC, a viewer approaching the temple would have skirted the monumental altar, and looked up at the sculpted frieze of the temple.⁸³ The frieze, from the northern and southern sides of the temple, depicts mainads and centaurs.⁸⁴ The figures are participating in a procession, approaching the

⁸³ The altar is still largely unexcavated but see the discussion in Uz 1990: 51-53 and Yavis 1949: 191. Cf. Linfert 1995.

⁸⁴ For a full description of the figures, see Hahland 1950: 75-83. The frieze was later re-cut for the Hadrianic temple and the few blocks that are still extant are weather-worn and fragmentary.

eastern front of the temple and carrying various drinking vessels and musical instruments. At the eastern end of the frieze, Dionysos is depicted reclining and receiving the mythical procession (Plate 21a). It seems clear that the frieze represents a Dionysiac festival at Teos.⁸⁵ In his study of the frieze, Hahland tentatively suggested that the missing portion to the right of Dionysos would have depicted the miracle wine spring mentioned by Diodoros. This is plausible enough since the central theme of the frieze clearly centers upon wine. The mystical wine fountain at Teos was probably a rock outcrop that was mechanically engineered to pour wine. A similar miracle wine fountain has been excavated in the classical levels of the agora at Corinth.⁸⁶ Although Diodoros does not mention the time of year when the Teian fountain miraculously sprang forth with wine. A likely time would be during the Anthesteria. The entire frieze with its wine-imagery, whether it depicted the miracle fountain or not, would have reminded the viewer of this most important calendar date.⁸⁷ The Anthesteria was a festival of new wine and, as we have already discussed in the first chapter, wine was one of the most important products in the territory of Teos.⁸⁸ The frieze, with its central theme of wine and music, is assuredly a testimony of this central and important festival.

Of course, without the actual depiction of the wine spring on the frieze, much of this interpretation remains tentative. Hahland noted a possible depiction of this spring in a relief now located in the Archaeological Museum at Izmir (Plate 21b).⁸⁹ The relief

⁸⁵ Our closest parallel to the composition is the frieze of the great altar of Asklepios at Kos although Stampolidis (1987) interprets the latter as the battle of Dionysos against the Indians. Hahland (1950) was under the belief that this frieze, built into the Kastro at Kos, had been taken from the temple of Dionysos at Knidos where two similar blocks were found.

⁸⁶ Bonner 1929.

⁸⁷ The festival figures in the Teian imprecations from the 5th century (*Nomima* 104-105) For a discussion of the Anthesteria at Athens, see Deubner 1932: 93-123.

⁸⁸ See chapter 1§3.

⁸⁹ Inv. no. 241, Hahland 1950: 85-86

depicts Dionysos reclining on top of a rock outcrop with a deep cleft. At the left side of the relief, Ariadne sits facing the god. Both are holding drinking vessels and there is a basket of food between the two. At the right hand side, a small boy fills a jug from a spring coming out of the cleft in the rock. There can be no doubt that this relief depicts a wine spring. That the frieze depicts a mature Dionysos, and not the baby known from the myth, need not trouble us. The frieze may depict the god participating in a religious feast by his sacred spring; gods were often invoked through their pre-existing relationship with a place.⁹⁰ The provenance of the relief is unfortunately unknown, but Hahland suggests that given that it is now located in Izmir and depicts a wine-miracle similar to the one mentioned in Diodoros, it most likely comes from the vicinity of Teos. If this is so, we have a depiction of the Teian wine spring and an important image from the cult of Dionysos at Teos.

These are the only two depictions of the cult of Dionysos at Teos. By themselves, they provide very little evidence for actual cult practice. Fortunately, there are several honorary decrees at Teos, which preserve indirect testimony for the rituals held for the god. Of these, perhaps the most detailed are the decrees concerning Antiochos III (*Antiochos* nos. 17-18). These inscriptions were carved along the parastades of the *pronaos* of the temple. Any Teian approaching the *cella* of the Hellenistic temple had only to look to the left or right to read the decrees. While their placement was certainly prominent in relation to the cult center of Dionysos, the decrees themselves stood out for the elaborate honors they granted the Seleukid king and his wife in the context of the cult of the god. The most central indication of this was the following clause (*Antiochos* no. 17.44-52):

⁹⁰ See Alonge 2006: 78-106.

44 ...τύχη ἀγαθῆ· π[α]ραστῆσαι
 τῶι ἀγάλματι τοῦ Διονύσου ἀγάλματα μαρμάρια ὡς κάλλιστ[α καὶ ἱε]-
 ροπρεπέστατ[α] τοῦ τε βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου καὶ τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐ[τ]οῦ [βα]-
 σιλίσσης Λαοιδίκης, ὅπως ἀφέντες τῆμ πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἱεράν
 48 καὶ ἄσυλον καὶ [π]αραλύσαντες ἡμᾶς τῶμ φόρων καὶ χαρισ[ά]μενοι ταῦ-
 τα τῶι τε δήμ[ω]ι καὶ τῶι κοινῶι τῶμ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν πα-
 ρὰ πάντων τ[ὰς] τιμὰς κομίζωνται κατὰ τὸ δ[ι]νατὸν κ[α]ὶ ναοῦ καὶ τῶν
 ἄλλων με[τέχ]οντες τῶι Διονύσῳ κοιν[οὶ σωτῆρ]εῖς ὑπάρχωσι τῆς
 52 [πό]λε[ως ἡ]μῶν καὶ κοινῆ διδῶσιν ἡ[μῖν ἀγ]αθά·

“With good fortune, (it seemed good) to set up, alongside the cult-image of Dionysos, marble cult-images, as beautiful and as fitting for sacred matters as possible, of King Antiochos and his sister, Queen Laodike, so that, for having granted that the city and the territory should be sacred and inviolate and having released us from the tribute and having accomplished these actions as favors to the people and the corporation of the Dionysiac *technitai*, they should receive from everyone the honors, as much as possible, and that they should share in the temple and the other rituals of Dionysos and be the common saviors of the city and in common bestow favors upon us.”

Reading this, the careful mediation and imposition of Seleukid imperial space through the city’s central cult becomes clear.⁹¹ The Seleukid royal couple had been voted the status of *synnaoi* to Dionysos by the Teians.⁹² They shared in his cult-place and, according to the careful wording of the decree, in his cult.

Such relationships were not unusual in Ionia. For example, in the 4th century BC, the city of Erythrai had erected a statue of the Hekatomnid Queen, Artemisia, in their temple of Athena.⁹³ *Synnaoi theoi* did not usurp rituals, but shared in the cult of the god whose temple was hosting their statues. The grant of such parallel divine honors was particularly associated with the expression of a city’s gratitude.⁹⁴ There was no need to create new and extravagant royal honors at Teos when the customary honors for

⁹¹ Ma discusses the important discursive value of this act on the part of the Teians (1999: 219-226). In recognizing the king in this way, the Teians were constraining Antiochos to be their benefactor and protector, just as Dionysos protected them in the divine realm.

⁹² For an extended discussion of the concept of *synnaoi theoi*, see Nock 1930.

⁹³ *I.Erythrai* 8. 11-14.

⁹⁴ Cf. *OGIS* 90.34-35 for Ptolemy V.

Dionysos were already well established.⁹⁵ In this light, the Antiochos decrees are perhaps our best testimony for the cult of Dionysos at Teos.

The statues of Antiochos and Laodike, flanking the cult statue of Dionysos, were merely the most physical representations of the status they enjoyed in relation to the god. The second Teian decree for the Seleukid couple outlines the extended honors granted the royal couple and provide clearer testimony for many aspects of the cult of Dionysos. A festival, called the Antiocheia and Laodikeia, was instituted in the month of Leukatheon (*Antiochos* no. 18.1-29).⁹⁶ The Antiocheia and Laodikeia took place alongside the festival for Leukothea, the divine reincarnation of Ino, nursemaid of Dionysos. The priest of Antiochos officiated at the new festival, but the nature of the occasion had important ties to the cult of Dionysos.⁹⁷ The main sacrifice must have occurred at the sanctuary of Dionysos, since this is where the cult images of the royal couple were located.

The most important detail is the description of the Antiocheia and Laodikeia and incorporation of every resident of Teos. The city magistrates and the Dionysiac artists were to assemble together for the feast. Every division of the city was to group according to their symmory and sacrifice to the Seleukid monarchs. This sacrifice was to occur by the altar of the symmories and the celebration likely occurred at the point of their local assembly. All the other residents of Teos were ordered to sacrifice and celebrate the event in their own homes. The costs of the sacrifices for the officials and the symmories were to be covered by the state budget. The royal cult thus disseminated from the highest

⁹⁵ Cf. Price 1984: 30-31. Cole 1995: 314-315.

⁹⁶ *Synnaoi* were often given their own festivals, held alongside those of their host god. Such was the case for Berenike, the daughter of Ptolemy III Euergetes. Her statue was set up in the temple of Osiris at Kanopos and she was given a separate festival at the same time as the Kikellia (*OGIS* 56.64-70).

⁹⁷ The decree specifically states that the priest of Antiochos will oversee the festival just as the priest of Poseidon at the Leukothea. *Antiochos* no. 18. 13-17. We have already outlined the probable importance of Ino in the cult of Dionysos at Teos in §1 of this chapter.

levels throughout the entire city and no part of the population was left out.⁹⁸ We would expect no less for the Anthesteria and the city Dionysia, festivals of the cult of Dionysos of long-standing importance for constructing civic identity at Teos. Cult practice for the Seleukids and, by extension, for Dionysos obviously transcended a specific place within the area of the *polis*.

Nor did the Teians end with the cult statues in the temple of Dionysos and an elaborate festival. Antiochos was further honored with a bronze cult-statue inside the *bouleuterion*, a focal point for civic ritual (*Antiochos* no. 18.29-63). The *bouleuterion* was an important place for exhibiting honorific statuary, but, by erecting a statue there, the Teians also marked the spot where the king had granted *asylia* to the city and promised relief from taxes (ll. 30-31).⁹⁹ The city's governing officials and the priest were to perform a sacrifice at the hearth of the *bouleuterion* for the king, the Graces and Memory (ll. 32-38). This was to occur when they entered office on the first of Leukatheon, the beginning of the new year at Teos. At the same time, the young men leaving the ranks of the ephebes were to offer sacrifices alongside their gymnasiarch as part of their procession to the agora, where they were to become official citizens (ll. 38-45). This was to be done, as noted by the Teian decree, so that they would begin their citizen life by giving thanks to the city's benefactors. Victors from the stephanitic games were also to crown the statue of Antiochos as soon as they entered the city (ll. 45-50). The king was integrated in all levels of civic ritual.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ For the celebration of festivals in private homes, see Schmitt-Pantel 1992: 325-326.

⁹⁹ See, however, Hamon's recent thoughts on the development of royal cult in *bouleuteria* during the Hellenistic period (2005: 320-321).

¹⁰⁰ Ma 1999: 219-226.

The statue of Antiochos in the *bouleuterion* was honored with more than just ritual surrounding the civic body. The statue received first-fruit offerings from the trees and crowns were made from these according to each season of the harvest.¹⁰¹ This linked the king to the fertility of the land. Although the exact epithet of Dionysos at Teos is unknown, the association of the god with the fruitfulness of the land is clear. Certainly, Dionysos was associated with the production of wine at Teos. Wine, as we have noted, was the central theme on the frieze of his temple. But it is clear that Dionysos was the god of all trees and plants that produced fruit.¹⁰² These included grape vines, but also olive and other fruit trees, all important staples at Teos. Assimilated into the cult of Dionysos, the statue of Antiochos received the same fitting honors as the god, crowns from the vines and trees in the land, fashioned at the time of the harvest of each type of plant. The cult honors for Antiochos were completely in accord with the worship of Dionysos in his aspect as fertility god. By receiving these crowns, the king became tied to the success and the fertility of the land, the same as Dionysos.

All the honors granted Antiochos were aspects from the cult of Dionysos as much as they were of the royal cult.¹⁰³ Although we lack specific mention for such honors for Dionysos at Teos, it is truly improbable that there were not parallel practices to those recorded for the Seleukid king. Officials could not enter office without paying the god honor. The youth of the city could not properly join the citizen body without

¹⁰¹ *Antiochos* no. 18. 50-63. Cf. the first-fruit offerings given to the statue of Berenike in the Kanopos decree (*OGIS* 56.68).

¹⁰² Diod. 3.63.2. Wood-stemmed plants were referred to in antiquity as ξύλινοι κάρποι, in contrast to σιτικοὶ κάρποι which were the province of Demeter. These are sometimes contrasted as, for example, in *IG II²* 2492.18-20. For a discussion of the terminology, see Robert *BE* 1969.496. Cf. Henrichs 1975.

¹⁰³ Cf. Price 1984: 30-32.

acknowledging and sacrificing to the god, if only among all the gods of the city.¹⁰⁴ For the athlete, victory was a time to remember and honor the victories of Dionysos. The cult of Dionysos was enmeshed in every aspect of civic life of the city. The city owed its fertility, prosperity, and renown to the god. Even the resident foreigners were not forgotten and were expected to pay homage to the god in their own way.

At some point, the cult practices for the Antiochos ceased to be practiced at Teos. We have no way for knowing when this may have occurred, but there is good evidence that the cult of the Seleukid monarchs continued down through the 2nd century BC.¹⁰⁵ It is perhaps only with the passing of the Syrian kingdom that these practices became irrelevant.

It is not surprising that our next reference to the civic cult of Dionysos shows that the Teians elected to combine it with the Imperial cult. In the 1st century AD, Tiberius received joint cult practices with Dionysos. It is possible that the Teians instituted these rituals for Tiberius because he upheld the *asylia* of Dionysos at the same time when other cities were presenting their cases at Rome in AD 22. Tacitus does not specifically mention Teos in his account concerning the Senate's renewal of *asylia*, but this is the most probable occasion for the establishment of honors for Tiberius at the temple of Dionysos (*Ann.* 3.60-63 and 4.14.1).¹⁰⁶ The emperor had been reluctant to take up divinity but this was inevitable in the east, where the Greek cities had a long history of

¹⁰⁴ For a similar *eisiteria* ritual at Athens for the ephebes, see Cole 2004: 81-82. *Cf.* the list of gods in the ephebic oath from Athens during the 240s BC (*SEG* 33.115).

¹⁰⁵ Kotsidu no. 356 records a list of crowned Seleukid kings in the genitive. According to Piejko (1982), the final preserved entry should be read as Ptolemy VI Philometor, who was crowned in Syria between 129-125 BC. *Cf.* Mastrocinque 1984.

¹⁰⁶ Rigsby suggests that the *asylia* of Teos was renewed at this time and also notes that honors were also established for Tiberius at Klaros, another local temple with a history of *asylia* (1996a: 290-291). See Chapter 6§5 for a discussion of the evidence.

worshipping royal figures.¹⁰⁷ At Teos, Tiberius followed in the footsteps of Antiochos III in sharing these honors. The text reads (*LSAM* 28):¹⁰⁸

[----- τῶ] δῆμῳ τῶ [Τηϊων -----]
 [-----]ονιος [. . .]ο[-----]
 [--- ἐβ]δόμη . ν ἐπει προσῆκ[όν ἐστι τοῖς -----]
 4 [ἀνθ]ρώποις ἐφεικτὸν λε[-----]
 [--- ἡ πε]ρὶ τὰ θεῖα θρησκείας προσ[-----]
 [---] ὑπ' αὐτῶν εὐεργασίας τι[-----]
 [δεδόχθαι] τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῶ δήμῳ ὕμνους [ἄδεσθαι]
 8 [καθ' ἐκά]στην ἡμέραν τοῦ προκαθηγεμ[όνος τῆς]
 [πόλεω]ς θεοῦ Διονύσου ἐν τῇ ἀνοίξει τ[οῦ νεῶ ὑπὸ]
 [τῶν ἐ]φήβων καὶ τοῦ ἱερέως τῶν παί[δων· ἐπὶ]
 [δὲ τῆ]ς ἀνοίξεως καὶ κλείσεως τοῦ νε[ῶ τοῦ θεοῦ]
 12 [ὑπὸ τ]οῦ ἱερέως Τιβερίου Καίσαρος σ[πένδεις]-
 [θαι] καὶ θυμιασθαι καὶ λυχναπτεῖσθαι ἐκ τῶν ἱε]-
 [ρ]ῶν τοῦ Διονύσου πόρων· τοὺς τε ἄρχο[ντας τῆς]
 πόλεως ἀεὶ θύειν ἐκάστου μηνὸς ἰσταμέν[ου ἐ]-
 16 βδόμη, εὐχομέν[ους] ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως τὰ κάλ[λιστα]
 τὸν δὲ εἷς τι τούτων πλημμελήσαντα εἶν[αι ἀσε]-
 βῆ· ἐνχαρᾶσθῆναι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα ἐ[ν τῶ ἱε]-
 ρῳ τοῦ Διονύσου, νόμου τάξιν ἔχων.

...the people of Teos ... on the seventh. Since it is proper... and fitting for the men ... of the worship concerning the divine...benefactions by them ... It was decreed by the council and the people that hymns be sung each day by the ephebes and the priest of the boys at the opening of the temple of Dionysos, the lead god of the city. And at the opening and closing of the temple of the god, let there be libations, incense-burning and lamp-lighting by the priest of Tiberius Caesar, (paid) from the holy funds of Dionysos. And let the officials of the city always sacrifice at the beginning of each month on the seventh day, praying for the best things on behalf of the city, but if any person offends any of these requirements, let that person be considered impious. And let this decree be inscribed in the sanctuary of Dionysos, having the status of law.

¹⁰⁷ Tiberius' reluctance to accept divine honors is recorded in Tacitus (*Ann.* 4.38) but there is ample evidence for priests of Tiberius in the east. For a full survey of priests of Tiberius, see Seager 2005: 121.

¹⁰⁸ The text was inscribed on the wall of the temple and is still present at the site of temple, just east of the steps ascending the platform to the stylobate. The text is unfortunately lying face up and exposed to the elements and has become much worn over the years.

This sacred law gives us explicit details concerning daily ritual at the temple of Dionysos. In point of fact, it is our only description of cult-practice taking place at the temple. The law orders a daily opening ritual involving the ephebes and the priest of the boys singing a morning hymn.¹⁰⁹ We have already seen that the involvement of the ephebes in civic and royal cult was considered important on the part of the city, so their inclusion here is understandable. It is clear that the entire citizen body was involved with the earlier Seleukid cult, so the fact that similar practices continued down into the Imperial period is not surprising.

A central question arises from the text of this law. Does the phrase [καθ' ἐκά]στην ἡμέραν (l. 9) signify that the temple was opened every day or does this law only refer to the days when the temple did open? Robert believed that the phrase must mean every day.¹¹⁰ Sokolowski, however, felt that the rituals outlined above would only occur on a certain festival.¹¹¹ The latter suggestion, however, infers a festival, which is in no way specified in the text. It remains more prudent to stick with Robert's interpretation even though we have little other direct evidence for the daily opening of temples in the Greek world.¹¹² It must be noted, however, that since Dionysos was the patron god of the city, there would be very few religious occasions when his temple would not be opened.¹¹³

¹⁰⁹ For youths singing at the opening of a temple, see Call. 2.6-8 and Ael. Arist. 1.280. See also *I.Stratonikeia* II.1.1101.15-17. For hymns in general, see Bremmer 1981: 200-203. For other examples of opening rituals, see *LSAM* 5.23-24 (the temple of Asklepios at Kalchedon) and Apul. *Met.* 11.20.2 and 22.7 (the temple of Isis at Kenchreai).

¹¹⁰ 1937: 31.

¹¹¹ *LSAM* 28 commentary to line 8.

¹¹² Pausanias records a daily ritual at the Itonion sanctuary for Athena (9.34.9). Daily temple openings are also listed among the duties of the priest of Asklepios at Kos, although this is in the text restored by Herzog (*SEG* 51.1066.17)

¹¹³ For a useful discussion of access to temples, see Corbett 1970.

The priest of Tiberius was to oversee several minor offerings during the opening and closing of the temple. These included libation, fumigation and lamp-lighting. Such regular ritual practices are mostly attested in the Imperial period.¹¹⁴ The best parallel to the law at Teos is a fragmentary inscription from the Aphrodiseion at Epidauros, which records lamp-lighting and a ritual shout at the opening of the temples and libations and fumigation in the evening.¹¹⁵ In another inscription of the imperial cult from Pergamon, Augustus was to receive a cake, incense and lamp-lighting at a monthly celebration of his birthday.¹¹⁶ Although these sorts of rituals only appear during the Roman period in association with the Imperial cult, it is important to note that, at Teos, they all took place at the temple of Dionysos and are important testimonies to the continued central position of the cult space within the fabric of the city and within the matrix of Teian society and daily life. We cannot fully disassociate the cult practices for Tiberius from those of Dionysos, since the Teians chose to honor the Roman emperor in the context of their patron god. The fact that the rituals appear to be daily shows the complete integration of Dionysos and Tiberius into the everyday life of the Teians.

The Teian sacred law further commanded the city officials to attend and make sacrifice to the emperor on the seventh day of every month for the success of the city. The punishment listed for failing to do this is impiety (*asebeia*).¹¹⁷ We do not know what punishment *asebeia* carried at Teos but, since it is not listed, it must have been a well-

¹¹⁴ Some scholars, such as Nilsson, believe that they are late developments (*GGR* II² 81-83). For a useful survey of the roles of lamps in ritual, see Nilsson 1960: 192-209. For incense-burners, see Gros and Theodorescu 1987: 701-707.

¹¹⁵ *LSCG Suppl.* 25 from the 2nd or 3rd century AD.

¹¹⁶ *IvPerg* 374.B.14-20 and Pleket 1965: 342. See also the lighting of lamps in the morning at the Asklepieion at Pergamon (Ael. Arist. 1.276).

¹¹⁷ For other epigraphic examples of *asebeia* as a punishment, see *LSCG* 150.A.6 (Kos, end of 5th century BC), *LSCG Suppl.* 90.43-44 (Lindos, after AD 22), and *LSAM* 53.26 (Miletos, end of 1st century AD).

known legislated punishment and may have included a fine or some form of exclusion from civic life.¹¹⁸ The rituals were clearly designed to honor Tiberius but, like Antiochos before him, the Roman emperor had been smoothly grafted into the cult of Dionysos. The requirements on the ephebes and the officials were not so different from the offerings outlined for the statue of Antiochos in the *bouleuterion*. It is highly probable that the imperial cult was based in the temple of Dionysos. A near contemporary epitaph threatens anyone who damages the tomb with a fine to be paid to the cult of the emperors and Dionysos jointly (*PEP Teos* 217). We also have mention from a 1st-century AD inscription that the penteteric competition of the Dionysia had been renamed the Dionysia and Kaisareia (*CIG* 3082.7-8). The Teians had now assimilated the emperors into the cult of Dionysos, but the god, his temple, and his festivals remained the focal points of civic religion.¹¹⁹

This is a point worth stressing. The location of the Imperial cult in the temple of Dionysos shows that the Teians considered making Tiberius *synnaos* with the god the highest honor they could confer. And if the honors for Tiberius were great, those for Dionysos had to be of a similar or greater magnitude. We would have to assume an erosion in religious spirit to think otherwise and there is definitely no evidence to support that contention. The cult of Dionysos, now tied to the Roman emperors, still presided over all aspects of government in the city. The sacred law also stipulated that the city's officials are to attend to the god and make sacrifice once every month in order to secure the very best state of affairs for the Teians. The wording τούς ἄρχο[ντας] is general

¹¹⁸ For a survey of the concept and public perception of *asebeia* in Classical Athens, see Cohen 1994: 203-217.

¹¹⁹ For a dedication involving the emperors and Dionysos Kathegemon, see *PEP Teos* 100. It was set up to honor the people of Airai and dates to the late 1st century AD or later.

but these are assuredly the same officials who made sacrifice at the statue of Antiochos in the *bouleuterion*: the *strategoï*, and the *timouchoi*, the *tamiai*, and the *prytanis*.¹²⁰ If they did not, they risked being prosecuted for *asebeia*. The city depended upon the goodwill of the god as much as upon the Roman emperors to assure its prosperity and continued existence.

So far, we have examined cults of royal persons assimilated to Dionysos. Private religious associations also played an important role in the worship of Dionysos at Teos and provide us with important testimony for his cult. We know of several groups that were active at Teos in the late Hellenistic and Roman periods. These include, amongst others, the Dionysiastai and the *mystai* of Dionysos Setaneios.¹²¹ The practices of these Dionysiac associations reflected the practices and beliefs of the civic cult and we can infer a number of useful details. In particular, the inscription of the *thiasos* of the Dionysiastai for the priestess, Hediste, shows the breadth of activity of one such association. It reads:¹²²

ἀγαθῆι τύχηι· ἐπὶ πρυτάνεως Περιγένου, μηνὸς Ἀνθεστηριῶνος, ἔδοξεν
τῶι
 [κοι]γ[ῶι τῶι Διονυσιαστ]τ[ῶν· ἐπειδὴ Ἡδίστη [ίε]ρεια τ]οῦ Διονύσου τῆι
 εὐδόξωι ἐπ[ο]μένη φιλαγαθίαι, συνε]χῆς ἐπιτελοῦσα τὰ νόμι[μα τῶι θε]-
 4 ῶι [- c. 38 -----] δέκατον ἐ[π'] ἔτη [- -]
 [- c. 35 -----] ατατ[. . .]τ[- c. 12 ----- -]
 [- c. 25 ----- τὸ ἱερὸν [. . φιλ]αγαθί[αι -- c. 8 --]ο [- - -]
 [- c. 6 -] κ . να[- c. 6 -] προ[. . . ο]ὔ[δ]᾽ ἐνλείπουσα κατὰ δύναμ[ιν] τὸ
[συμ]-

¹²⁰ *Antiochos* no. 18.33-36.

¹²¹ There were many private religious associations active at Teos. The Dionysiastai certainly centered upon the worship of Dionysos (*CIG* 3073 and *PEP Teos* 36), as did the *mystai* of Dionysos Setaneios (*PEP Teos* 117). Other associations, which probably centered upon the god, were the *thiasos* of Anaxipolis (*PEP Teos* 235), the *orgeones* of Metrodoros (*PEP Teos* 242), and the *mystai* of Metrodoros (*PEP Teos* 242). For a survey of all the religious associations at Teos, see Poland 1909: 66.

¹²² I have adopted Cole's unpublished reading of the text. Earlier editions include *GIBM* 1032 and *SEG* 4.598 (G. Crönert's reading). Included here are the first 36 lines. The rest of the text is concerned with publication, management of the sacred funds and penalties for non-observance. It dates somewhere in the 1st century AD.

- 8 πόσιον τοῦ θιάσου [π]λέον]α ἔτη [χρήμ]ατά τε τῷ θιά[σ]ω δραχμάς
 ἄρ[γυρίου]
 [- -]αῖς ἱεράν ἐπώνυμον Ἡδίστης ἡμεραν οἰνοποσίαν μέχρις ζῆ, δεδό[χθαι]-
 [ἐπηνη]σθαί <τ>ε τ[ῆν] ἰέρειαν Ἡδίστην καὶ πρὸς ταῖς προὔπαρχ[ούσαις]
 [τιμαῖς τιμᾶν αὐτήν θ]υσί[α]ῖς καλαῖς [κ]α[ἰ ἐ]νδόξοις καὶ ἀξίαις τοῦ [Διονύ]-
 12 [σου καὶ] τοῦ θιάσου [καὶ] Ἡδίστης· [ψη]φίσασθαι δ[ὲ ἄ]λλας [τιμὰς ἕνεκα]
 [τ]οῦ τὸν θίασον ἐν χάριτος ἀποδόσει μὴ λε[ί]π[ε]σθαι· [- - - - -]
 [οὔν εἶν]αι δεδο[γ]μένον ἐπ[- - - - - c. 22 - - - - -]δι· ἄγειν
 [δὲ ταύτην τῆν] ἡμεραν προσαγορευο[μένην] Ἡδίστης ἀνά π[ᾶ]ν [ἔτ]ο[ς]
 16 [ἐπὶ τοῦ] Ἀνθεστηριῶνος [μη]ν[ὸς τῆι] τρ[ισ]καιδεκάτη καὶ [κοσμεῖν]
 [- - - c. 11 - - -] ὡς κάλλ[ιστα] ἀπὸ τῶν πιπτ[ου]σῶν προσ[όδων] εἶναι
 [δὲ τοὺς ἐπι]δεδομένο[υς] ἀφόρους [ἀ]τελεῖ[ς] ἐκά[σ]το[τε - - - - -]
 καὶ ὄργια [π]αντὸς ἱεροῦ τοῦ Διονύσου κατοικομένου ἔτους
 20 [. . .]εων[- - - c. 8 - - -] ταῖς θυσί[α]ῖς ἐπ[ισ]τᾶ[σα] τῷ τε κοινῷ τοῦ θ[ι]άσου
 [. . . ἡ] ἰέρεια Ἡδίστη [ἢ] [τὰ ἐπι]δεδομένα χρήμ]ατα ὑπὸ Ἡδίστ[ης - - -]
 ἅπασα π[άντ]ων πρ[- - - - c. 14 - - - - καὶ] μηδενὶ τῶν θιασ[ωτῶν]
 [- - - - - c. 34 - - - - -] μῆτ' ἐπιτρεπέσθω ταῦτα
 24 [τ]ὰ χρήματα [εἰς ἄλλο τι μετενεγκεῖν ἢ καταχρήσασθαι μῆ]τε τρόπῳ
 [μῆ]τε παρευ[ρέσει] μηδεμίᾳ· ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δὲ προ[σ]τάτας καὶ τα[μίας]
 [Ἡ]δίστης ἢ [τῶν κληρονόμων αὐτῆς [- - - c. 13 - - - καὶ Ἀπολλ[ο]-
 [- - - -]]IE[- - - - -]]ΛΟΑ[- - -]
 28 [- - - - -]]ΣΘΩ
 [- - - - -]]ΤΑ[- - - - -]]ΟΕ
 [- - -]]Τ[.]]ΟΑ[- - - - -]]Ο[- - - - -]]ΗΙ
 [- - - - -]]Ο[- - -]]ΣΡΙΣ[- - - -]]Ν
 32 [- - - - -]
 [- - - - -]]ΜΕΤΑΚΑ[- - - - -]]ΙΑΝΔ[- - -]]ΛΛ
 [κηρυσσέτω] δὲ· [ὁ] θιάσος [ἐπ]αι[νεῖ καὶ] στεφανοῖ Ἡδίστην Κλείτου
 [ἰέρειαν]
 [ἀρετ]ῆς [ἕνεκ]εν καὶ εὔσει[βε]ίας τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ τῆς πρ[ὸς]
 36 [τὸν] θίασον [φιλα]γα[θ]ίας·

With good fortune. When Perigenes was *prytanis*, in the month of Anthesterion, the *koinon* ... resolved: Since Hediste, priestess of Dionysos...pursuing honored benevolence, and having performed continuously the customary (services) for the god ... for ten (?) years ... (2 lines missing) ... as far as in her power failing the symposion of the *thiasos* in nothing for many years, and ... money for the *thiasos*, ... drachmas of silver, (to name) the sacred day of *oinoposia* eponymous for Hediste as long as she lives. And let it be decreed that Hediste be praised, and in addition to the honors formerly bestowed, to honor her with sacrifices, noble, honorable, and worthy of Dionysos and of the *thiasos* and of Hediste. And further to decree other honors so that the *thiasos* does not omit anything in return for her favor ..., therefore, has been contributed for ... And let it be decreed that the sacred day be observed for Hediste every year during the month of Anthesterion, on the thirteenth day, and to decorate [the statue?] as beautifully as possible from

the incoming revenues. And let those who have already made their own contribution be, on each occasion, exempt from tribute and free from tax, and that the *orgia* of every *hieron* of Dionysos, in the month ... when the year is past...because she is in charge of sacrifices for the *koinon* of the *thiasos* ... the priestess Hediste, the money contributed by Hediste, all of it of all...and to none of the *thiasotai* ... and this money is not to be committed to transfer to any other purpose or to be used for anything else neither in any manner nor for any pretext. And let the *prostatai* and the treasurers be in charge of Hediste and of her heirs ... and Apollo[---] ... (7 lines missing). And let him announce: “The *thiasos* praises and crowns the priestess Hediste, daughter of Kleitos, on account of her excellence, her reverence to the gods, and her benevolence towards the *thiasos*.”

The activities of the *koinon* of the Dionysiastai did not differ greatly from the state cult, but merely gave further opportunity for personal religious expression and participation. The honors bestowed upon Hediste are certainly in line with those granted by the Teians to Antiochos. The Dionysiastai renamed the sacred day of the *oinoposia* after the priestess and this is a similar, albeit lesser, honor to the festivals that were established for the Seleukid king and his wife.¹²³ Sacrifices were also instituted for the priestess. If the verb *κοσμεῖν* (l. 16) is restored correctly, it is possible that a statue or an altar for Hediste received special attention on her festival day. All of these things were present in the honors granted to Antiochos as *synnaos* of the god. As priestess of Dionysos, all the honors granted to the Hediste were directly related to the Teian cult practice for the god.

The *oinoposia* is outlined as one of the central events of the association of the Dionysiastai.¹²⁴ Although nominally a festival of drinking, it was undoubtedly some form *symposion*. Certainly, *symposia* are well attested for religious associations elsewhere.¹²⁵ Such meetings were important for uniting the *thiasos*. The text is peculiar insofar as it

¹²³ We have another parallel for renaming a festival after an individual at Teos. The Attalistsai renamed a festival day for Kraton of Chalkedon (*CIG* 3069. 35-36). For the text and translation of this inscription is discuss Chapter 7§2.

¹²⁴ For *oinoposia* elsewhere, see *TAM* IV 1.16-18 and 68 and *I.Ephesos* 3216.

¹²⁵ The best documented procedure for the *symposia* of a private religious association is recorded for Iobackhoi at Athens. *IG* II² 1368 (= *LSCG* 51) dating between AD 161 and 178.

associates a *symposion* with a woman; *symposia* were undoubtedly gatherings of the male members of the association. As a woman, Hediste would not be able to participate in the event, but the text makes it clear that she must have attended and undertaken all the sacred duties accompanying it. The date of the *oinoposia* at Teos is listed in the month of Anthesterion and it is probable that it is the same festival day as the Choes at Athens.¹²⁶ The Choes was the second day of the Anthesteria, an occasion of silent drinking. At the end of the Choes, the participants crowned their empty wine jugs, which were then collected by the priestess of Dionysos, who removed and dedicated them in the temple of Dionysos in Limnais, opened for this single festival day (Phanodemos *FGrHist* 325 F 11.). At Teos, Hediste may have undertaken similar duties at the *oinoposia*. Celebrating and honoring the god during the Anthesteria, the *Dionysiastai* practiced their cult alongside the civic cult of Dionysos. Their sacred rites, centered upon wine and feasting, were all familiar aspects of the cult of the god.

Our second important private religious association at Teos was the group of the *mystai* of Dionysos Setaneios. They are recorded in a single 2nd-century AD inscription, an honorary decree for their benefactor, the *asiarch* Tiberius Claudius Italicus Pisoninus (*PEP Teos* 117). The dedication is not as informative as the epithet given to Dionysos. Many early scholars took the name Setaneios to be the epithet of the civic cult of Dionysos at Teos,¹²⁷ but since it is attested only in this single, late occurrence, it is more probable that it was a cult name used solely by this association. It is one of the more obscure epithets for the god and is worth some attention. The meaning of the word

¹²⁶ For a general description of the Anthesteria and the Choes, see Burkert (1985: 237-241). For an overview of the ancient literary sources, see Hamilton (1992: 10-33). The Choes were not exclusively celebrated at Athens. Themistokles purportedly introduced the festival at Magnesia on the Maiandros (Possis, *FGrHist* 480 F1).

¹²⁷ E.g. Ruge 1934: 560.

σητάνειος is debated. Athenaios uses the word to modify words that mean fruit, but the lexicographers, apply the word to grain that has been sifted.¹²⁸ Scheffler took the word to mean “fruit of this year’s crop.”¹²⁹ Merkelbach very tentatively suggested that the stone, which is now lost, may have read πηγανείου, an adjective meaning “of rue,” and this epithet may have something to do with the *mystai* adding the herb to a certain wine.¹³⁰ Whatever the correct reading, it is clear that the epithet refers to Dionysos as a god associated with the fertility of plants. If we remember the crowns given to the statue of Antiochos at the *bouleuterion* in association with Dionysos, we can see that this is a familiar aspect of the god at Teos.

The number of private associations of Dionysos and the scope of their cult practices at Teos argue that the Teians took the worship of the god seriously. They organized activities around events in the civic cult calendar. Various associations constructed altars and *hiera* for the god throughout the city. Most importantly, they regularly assembled to honor and glorify Dionysos. In both civic and private religious spheres, Teos belonged to the god. The citizen body knew this. Dionysos was so central to the success of their city that we should not be surprised that the private religious associations chose to further reinforce the same values as the civic cult.

The epigraphic and archaeological evidence from Teos points to Dionysos’ involvement at every level of the city, from individual households to the divisions of the

¹²⁸ Athen. *Deipn.* 381a. Suda *s.v.* σητάνειος ἄρτος, Hsch. *s.v.* Σητάνιοι.

¹²⁹ Scheffler 1882: 78 and Quandt 1913: 244.

¹³⁰ Merkelbach via Cole, personal communication, June 20th, 2006. I would like to thank Dr. Cole for sharing her unpublished commentary on this inscription with me. We do know, elsewhere, of a Greek wine flavored with rue, although this was served warm as an antidote for certain poisons (*Geop.* 8.13). Rue is an exceptionally bitter and acrid plant and, if added to wine, it may have been suitable for initiatory rituals.

citizen body to the governing officials of the city. Men, women, and youths alike all participated in the cult. The imprint of the god on Teos was so strong that when cult practices were established for various rulers, these were joined with the cult of Dionysos and shared in his temple. Dionysos was the founder, the leader, and the protector of the city. The origins of Teos were tied to the god's birth. The fame and wealth of the city during the Hellenistic period stemmed from the international renown of the god's cult at Teos. Every aspect of the society and government at Teos was guided and shaped under the god. The city very much declared him the protector of their prosperity, as much as any earthly king or emperor who had sovereignty over the city. Teos neglected the god in no part of the city and at no time of year.

Chapter Five A History of Piracy

One grim night in the late 3rd century BC, while the inhabitants of Teos were sleeping peacefully, a menace swept into the town off the crests of the dark sea. Pirates had come to Teos. The Teians must have feared this day would come. Pirates had always lurked at the edge of their world. Indeed, everyone would have known some story, some evil tale of the robbers that came by sea. That night, however, the fear that they had long nurtured since childhood was set loose. As foreign men stormed their homes, the danger was real and present. The sun rose the next day to cast light down on a city both morally and physically devastated.

It is a grim picture but not a unique one. Teos was but one of many cities subjected to a pirate attacks in the course of the 3rd century BC.¹ In a time when profit was made just as easily by violence as by trade, such things were expected. The evidence for the attack on Teos, however, is among the more detailed accounts of such incidents. Furthermore, the rich literary and epigraphic testimonies about the city should lead us to consider the historical context of this incident and its effect on the Teians. Who attacked them? Did the Teians make a claim of *asylia*, a declaration of territorial inviolability, to stave off future attacks? What sort of effects did this have on their society? All of these are important questions that merit further exploration.

The facts have to be gathered first. The story of the attack is worth telling as far as it can be reconstructed. The usual suspects need to be scrutinized. The motives of the assailants, certainly premeditated, must also be matched with opportunity and means. As of yet, not all the pieces of this puzzle have been fully collected. Only when all the

¹ For a nearly complete list of all the possible pirate attacks over the course of the 3rd century, see Pritchett 1991: 340-346.

evidence lies before us can the true nature of the Teian response to the pirate attack be understood.

1. *The Pirate Attack Inscription*

Scholars studying the territorial *asylia* sought by Teos at the end of the 3rd century BC have often assumed that piracy was a major impetus for seeking that special status.² However, until a chance find in 1992, no pirate attack on the city had ever been documented. The long inscription discovered by chance at a construction site in nearby Seferihisar finally gave solid evidence. The stone does not record the events of a pirate attack, but it did contain a pair of decrees and a subscription list. It is the smoking gun everyone had been looking for. Unfortunately, the names and ethnic identities of the pirates are not mentioned.

Şahin rushed to publish the inscription and it appeared in press two years later.³ Other scholars quickly took note of the important text and suggested new restorations.⁴ The restorations were problematic because of the state of the stone itself. Re-used at least once since antiquity, the stone was damaged on both sides, preserving only the central part of the text. Nonetheless, the studies and comments on the inscription have gone a long way towards establishing a working text. Although many details are lost to history, the surviving text provides us with strong evidence for the cohesion of the Teian community, working together to secure the future of their city.

² Most recently argued by Kvist 2003. On the link between *asylia* and piracy in general, see Pritchett 1991: 125-132, who provides thorough references to earlier scholarly literature.

³ 1994 (= *SEG* 44.949 with further suggestions by Pleket).

⁴ Gauthier *BE* (1996) no. 353, Merkelbach (2000), and further comments in *SEG* 49.1535.

The documents from Teos do not, as we might like, outline the actual events of a pirate attack. Instead, we have the civic response in two documents and a subscription list. The first decree honors the *stratego*i and the *timouchoi* for their actions during this time of emergency, namely negotiating a ransom with the pirates and marshalling the citizen body to collect the money (ll. 1-19). The second decree is longer and outlines the procedure for collecting the money to pay off the pirates. The text of the second civic decree reads (ll. 21-27):

ἀγ[αθῆι τύχηι καὶ]

[ὑπὲρ τῆς [σω]τηρίας καὶ] αὐτῶν καὶ] τέκνων [καὶ γυν]α[ικῶ]ν καὶ
 τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ ἐν]
 [τῇ χώρ]αι· δε[δο]χθ[α]ι τῶι δήμωι· ὅπως συντελεῶμεν τὰ
 ὠμολο[γημένα χρέα τοῖς πειραταῖς]
 24 [τοὺς πολί]τα[ς π]άντας καταξιοῦν δανείζειν τόκων δεκάτων
 τῶι δήμωι πᾶν ἀργύριον καὶ χρυσίον]
 [κατὰ πάντα τὰ ἐ]ν τῇ] πόλει καὶ ἔγγεια καὶ ναυτικὰ καὶ τὴν χώραν
 καὶ []
 [εἰς τὴν κομιδ]ῆν [τῶ]ν ἐλευθέρων σωμάτων ἕως κομίσωνται αὐτὰ
 καὶ []
 [χρέα τὰ] ἀπ[ὸ] τῆς τιμῆσεως γινόμενα κατὰ τὸ ψήφισμα.

And with good fortune, on behalf of the preservation of themselves and the children and the women and all the others (dwelling) in the city and in the countryside, it was decreed by the people: In order that we may jointly pay the agreed upon sum to the pirates, let all the citizens deemed worthy give a ten percent loan to the assembly, of all the silver and gold, according to all that is in the city, with respect to the property, the naval things and the land and --- towards the recovery of the free captives until (the assembly) pays back these debts resulting from the assessment according to the decree.

All the wealthy citizens and *paroikoi* at Teos were required to make this deposit to the city at a fixed 10% interest rate.⁵ The text continues after this passage to specify that all

⁵ Şahin suggested that the reference to the τόκοι δέκατοι in line 24 (and also lines 66 and 69) might be a reference to the δεκάτη, or “tenth,” sometimes dedicated to the gods from war booty (1994: 18-20). He further proposed that this may be evidence for Cretan involvement in the attack, since Dekataphoros is a common epithet of Apollo on the island (Apollonia: *Asylia* 147.9, Lato: *IC* 1.16.3.27, Hierapytna: *IC* 3.3.9.1). The epithet, however, is not limited to Crete and is also evidenced at Megara

gold and silver, coins and objects, were subject to this enforced loan (ll. 35-36). Finally, from an oath to be sworn by the residents, we also learn that precious metal, women's clothing, and, probably, jewelry were further subject to evaluation (ll. 37-50). The oath was not the only measure employed to ensure that everyone declare their full wealth in order to aid the community. Legal procedure was set in place to prosecute anyone who dared to break the oath (ll. 50-61). Destruction was further invoked upon the entire family of anyone who dared to ignore their vow (l. 62). Every tactic was employed to emphasize that the security of the community depended upon everyone's compliance with the decision of the people.

The decrees also outlines honors for the citizen body for securing the safety of citizens. The names and contributions of those who gave at least one *mna* were to be inscribed and set up by the altar of Herakles (ll. 34, 64-68).⁶ The wealthiest donors were to receive the same honors bestowed upon the benefactors of the city: *proedria* at the city's festivals and a gold crown at the city Dionysia. Extravagant honors such as these encouraged the Teians to be honest and forthcoming with their wealth. But all the citizens recorded in the list were honored, and this should not be understated. Verdant crowns were bestowed upon them and the very act of inscribing of their names next to inscriptions of other renowned citizens of the past, such as Tyron the son of Polythrous, was an honor in itself.⁷

(Paus. 1.42.5). Moreover, Gauthier notes that the mention of the τόκοι, or percentage, makes it very clear that this has nothing to do with any δεκάτη dedicated by the pirates, but refers to the rate of interest assessed on the loans given by the Teians to the city (*BE* 1996 no. 353).

⁶ Şahin had restored the word for temple (ἱερῶν) at line 68, but Gauthier prefers to restore βωμῶν since the only other testimony to an inscription set up at the sanctuary of Herakles mentions an altar (*I.Iasos* 608.40-41).

⁷ The altar of Herakles appears to have been the space in the city reserved for honoring its own citizens. This is where the decree of Bargylia for Tyron was published (*I.Iasos* 608). The temple of Dionysos was reserved for honors and decrees relating to the Hellenistic rulers and other *poleis*.

The subscription list follows immediately after the second decree. Twenty-three days had been allotted to collect the money (l. 36).⁸ We have the record only for the first and part of the second day (ll. 69-102). Several *stelai* must have been erected but only the initial one survives. There are 19 entries on the first day of the collection and at least 5 for the following. Already, in this small percentage of the sum raised for the pirates, we have the record for over 300 gold coins, nearly 20,000 Alexander drachmas, over 2,000 epichoric drachmas, and assorted vessels and weights of gold along with their value in coin.⁹

The date of the documents is not clear. The prescripts of the two decrees are the most damaged parts of the text, and so the inscription can only be dated by letterforms. Şahin, comparing the text to two other well-published inscriptions from Teos, suggested a date near the end of the 3rd century BC, shortly before the Cretan recognitions of the *asylia* of Teos for Dionysos. He dated the pirate attack inscription by comparing it to the well-published Kyrbissos and Antiochos III decrees.¹⁰ The Kyrbissos decree has been dated somewhere towards the middle of the 3rd century.¹¹ For the Antiochos decrees, Şahin implicitly followed Piejko's late date around 197 BC.¹² There are a few problems with Şahin's interpretation of the letterforms. While he is correct that the letterforms of the pirate inscription stylistically fall between the Kyrbissos and Antiochos decrees, by his own analysis they are much closer in style and form to those of the Kyrbissos decree.

⁸ Şahin read “έν ήμέραις τρισίν καὶ εἴκ[οσι]” on the stone. Gauthier, feeling that twenty-three days was far too lengthy a time to collect the ransom, restored the final word as “εἴν[α].” Unfortunately, he had the disadvantage of working from the photograph of the squeeze in Şahin's article. At line 53, we learn that any of those being away from the city are subject to the oath and subscription if they arrive within the next twenty days, which suggests that Şahin's original reading and restoration has greater merit.

⁹ See the useful table summarizing all the deposits in Şahin 1994: 31-33.

¹⁰ 1994: 12-14.

¹¹ Robert 1976: 156-160.

¹² Piejko 1991: 17-20. Cf. Giovaninni 1983.

We would expect that those two decrees should date closer together. Şahin dated the pirate inscription a few years before the Antiochos decrees, around 205/4 BC, because he wanted to directly relate the pirate attack to the Teian call for *asylia*.¹³ In doing so, however, he ignored the general scholarly consensus that the Antiochos decrees date to the earlier time of 204/3 BC.¹⁴ This is a date immediately prior to the Teian call for *asylia* and, by Şahin's own reckoning, the pirate inscription would then have to date still earlier.

Aneziri has recently noted that the letterforms of the inscription about the pirate attack closely match those of the *ktematonia* decree for the Dionysiac *technitai*.¹⁵ Certainly, the reference to the fortification funds in the latter decree is a good indication that the two inscriptions are almost contemporary (Aneziri D2.14-15). As we shall see, the city was probably unfortified at the time of the attack and so the *ktematonia* decree, along with its reference to the fortification funds, likely dates some few years later when the city was strengthening its defenses. The *ktematonia* decree has important internal evidence for a date immediately after the pirate attack, but must date to a period of Attalid rule over the city and hence can be no earlier than 229 BC.¹⁶ If I am correct that the *ktematonia* decree dates only a few years later than the pirate assault, this would leave us with a date for the attack in the late 230s or early 220s. This date for the pirate attack is much closer to the Kyrbissos decree. And this is not to mention that the letterforms of the latter clearly bear greater resemblance to those of the pirate attack inscription than the decrees about Antiochos.

¹³ 1994: 34-36.

¹⁴ Herrman's discussion is still invaluable (1965: 106-118), but see now Ma (1999: 71-72 and especially 260-65).

¹⁵ Aneziri 2003: 376.

¹⁶ See the discussion on the date of the inscription in Chapter 7§1.

Importantly, the period around 230 BC was also a time of low central authority along the Ionian coast, precisely the sort of time when a successful massive pirate assault might take place. If this chronology is accepted, the pirate attack happened in the turbulent period following the War of the Brothers when Attalos first began taking the cities of Asia Minor from Antiochos Hierax.¹⁷ We are, of course, dealing with a relative chronology. There are no secure dates. It is important to note, however, that this relative chronology uncouples the pirate attack from the Teian call for *asylia*. The disassociation of the two events is of obvious importance to the discussion on *asylia*, but that is a matter for the following chapter.

2. *The Events of the Attack*

The documents I have just described have been popularly labeled the pirate attack inscription. In matter of fact, they describe only the aftermath of the assault and the response of the citizen body. Nonetheless, we can extrapolate some important details from the text in order to outline the operation undertaken by the pirates against Teos. The subscription list begins on the last day of the month Trygeter (l. 70) and then continued on into the month of Apatourion (l. 97). Although the name Trygeter was previously unattested as a month, it does occur in Greek literature referring to the harvest of the grapes.¹⁸ In the Mediterranean, the grape harvest takes place during the month of September, and so it is likely that the month of Trygeter fell in September. Apatourion, on the other hand, is a month attested in many cities. It was traditionally the time when the city held its Apatouria festival, which took place in the month of Pyanepsion in

¹⁷ This is also the opinion of Ma 1999: 48.

¹⁸ E.g. Hesiod, *The Shield of Herakles* line 293.

Athens.¹⁹ Pyanepsion corresponds to a time in and around October, and the month of Apatourion at Teos must fall around the same time. So the pirate attack took place in late September, near the end of the sailing season. This would mean that the attack was the last great haul of the season and an extremely bold move on the part of the pirates.

The pirates most assuredly approached the city at night. This detail can be inferred from the descriptions of similar pirate attacks upon Thera and Amorgos. In the case of Thera, we know that the pirates attacked the North harbor and briefly occupied Oia before being repulsed (*IG* 12.3.1291). At Amorgos, we hear the additional detail that the pirates scuttled many of the ships of the harbor and seized one of them to carry off captives and booty (*IG* 12.7.386). The situation at Teos must have been similar. The south harbor was a particularly vulnerable point for the city, because it had relatively easy access and would have permitted the pirates immediate entry into the city. Indeed, in the late 3rd-century fortification of the city, the south harbor was equipped with stronger defenses than the other sections of the defense wall. The city wall extended along the entire length of the mole, and continued further into the sea than the mole itself. The building account for a section of the harbor wall records that there were two towers as well as crenellations.²⁰ The Teians had come to realize that the south harbor was a weak point in their city's defense and put correspondingly greater effort into securing the area against future attacks.²¹

¹⁹ Hdt. 1.147. On the time and role of the Apatouria at Athens, see Lambert 1999: 143-189.

²⁰ Şahin 1985b (= *SEG* 35.1151). On the term προμαχώνες for crenellations, see the discussion in McNicoll 1999: 160.

²¹ The building inscription for the section of the harbor wall records that 3422 drachms and 5 obols were spent as well as another 37 Alexander drachmas and 3 obols (ll 10-11). The next highest price recorded in the wall building records at Teos is 2200 drachms, which is significantly lower (Maier no. 63.10 and his commentary). The harbor inscription also provides more detail concerning its section of the wall than the rest of the accounts. Şahin speculates that the second, lesser amount of money may have been

Alternatively, it is possible that the pirates could have sailed towards Teos from the west and landed at a small bay on the far coast of the Teian peninsula, where the modern resort area of Akkum is located. This approach has great advantages. The bay at Akkum provides decent anchorage. Moreover, if they had chosen this latter route, they would have been out of the line of sight from the city as they sailed. It would have been only a short walk of a couple of kilometers over a small ridge and through the city's necropolis, where they could have quickly descended and overpowered the western edge of the city around the temple of Dionysos. Any other approach to the city would have been too difficult or open for such a stealthy attack.

As soon as the pirates fell upon the city, they seized as many men, women and children as they could and herded them back to their ships. These captives were then taken away to some nearby pirate haunt. Some attention may have been given to looting, but much of the wealth of the city remained intact for the evaluation that followed. It seems more likely that the pirates had intended to make off with captives rather than weighing themselves down with booty.

After the attack, some pirates remained or returned to the city to enter into negotiation with the *strategoï* and the *timouchoi* for the ransom of the captives. Ransoming was definitely easier and more profitable than selling the individuals into slavery.²² A sum was agreed upon and the city officials quickly mobilized the citizen body to raise the money needed, forcing all the citizens and resident foreigners of means to make a loan to the city. That naval equipment (l. 25: ναυτικά) were part of the items

for decorative stone such as marble (1985b: 18). The Teian wall building inscriptions are discussed in more detail at §5.

²² Gabrielsen 2003: 393-395 and Chaniotis 2005: 136. For a comprehensive survey of ransoms paid, see Pritchett 1991: 245-290.

considered worthy of being assessed suggest that the pirates did not scuttle or make away with the ships and may also be an indication that the pirates did not attack through the south harbor. The citizens had 23 days to make their payment to the pirates, who then left the city mostly unharmed but significantly poorer.

From these scant details, two things become clear. First of all, the pirates had easy access to the city. They sailed into the harbor or descended into the city from the western necropolis with such speed that no warning was issued to the city at large. People were captured as they ran into the streets, feebly trying to organize themselves against the attack. It is possible that the city was betrayed, although we have no such indications from the two decrees that have passed down to us. It seems rather likely that a lack of a fortification wall allowed the pirates quick and easy access to city. The grand success of the attack would not have been possible if the city had been organized and surrounded with a perimeter defense. Our evidence for the wall, a few scattered building inscriptions and a reference to a fortification fund in the *ktematonia* decree, all point to a late 3rd-century date for the construction.

The second detail that becomes clear is that the pirates were operating out of a local base. A large number of hostages were removed to a secure location and held there for at least 23 days while the Teians raised the ransom. There would be little sense in taking the hostages to a distant place only to return them in a matter of weeks. The difficulties of billeting and feeding so many hostages, whose number we can barely begin estimate from the high ransom, suggests the pirates would require a base no more than a day's journey away from Teos. There were many places and anchorages, some very close to Teos, where the pirates could establish a haven capable of withstanding any Teian

attack. Moreover, the pirates had to have had large enough headquarters, stocked with provisions, to handle the captives for a period exceeding three weeks. Such a base could not spring up overnight but must indicate a longstanding presence of pirates in the area of Teos. As we shall see, there is good evidence that piracy had long been an endemic problem to the area. The need for a local power base inferred from the details of the pirate attack inscription highly suggests that these pirates were a local menace and not distant raiders from Crete.

3. *The Usual Suspects: The Cretans and the Aitolians*

In his historical interpretation of the pirate attack on Teos, Şahin suggested that the Cretans were the best candidates for the marauders.²³ In making this suggestion, the scholar was familiar with the large number of recognition decrees for the *asylia* of Teos solicited from the cities of Crete around 203 BC. This led him to suggest that the Cretans had attacked the city only a few years before. In particular, he proposed that such an attack could have taken place in the course of the First Cretan War (206-203 BC). This was a war in which certain cities of the island fought against Rhodes and its allies. Şahin's proposal also reinforced the common supposition that the Teians had targeted the island during their call for *asylia* in order to stave off future pirate attacks. This has led one recent scholar to argue more forcefully for a direct link between the Cretan's reputation as a pirate nation and the Teian campaign to pressure Cretan cities to recognize their *asylia*.²⁴

²³ Şahin 1994: 34-36.

²⁴ Kvist 2003. Cf. De Souza 1999: 67-69.

As we have seen, however, Şahin's arguments for a date during the First Cretan war force the evidence from Teos in favor of this attractive date. The letterforms suggest a date earlier in the 3rd century. Even if the letterforms were only a decade older than those of the decrees about Antiochos dated to 204/3 BC, we are still left with a date well before the First Cretan war. Moreover, the ease with which the pirates overran the city suggests the absence of city fortification walls at the time of the attack. This means that the earliest testimony for the city walls should provide a *terminus ante quem* for the attack. The mention of the fortification funds in the *ktematonia* decree, although not securely dated itself, is best situated in the early 220s. All of these conditions indicate that the pirate attack was not connected to the Teian call for *asylia*.

An earlier date, however, does not imply that the Cretans could not have undertaken the attack or even that the request for *asylia* sent out by the Teians might not have been an attempt to curb piratical attacks by the islanders in their territory. Certainly, there are too many literary and epigraphic testimonies that the Cretans did indulge in piracy for anyone to deny their reputation for raiding, but this hardly makes them responsible for all the pirate attacks in the Aegean during the course of the 3rd century BC. Recent scholarly works have emphasized that the Cretan *poleis* were as involved in trade and treaty alliances as the rest of the Greek world.²⁵ A careful reanalysis of the evidence for Cretan pirate attacks shows that they were in fact geographically limited to the south Aegean, more specifically to an area from Cape Malea to Rhodes and no further north than the southernmost Cycladic islands.²⁶

²⁵ Perlman 1999 and Viviers 1999.

²⁶ The list of attacks listed in Brulé (1978: 66-67) is too inclusive and contains references to pirates that are clearly not Cretan, such as the Myonnesians, or whose origins are unspecified. The

In the end, the two main reasons for believing that the Cretans were responsible for the attack, namely the coincidence of the date for the attack with the date of the large number of *asylia* decrees from the Cretan cities, are unconvincing. Cretan pirates were certainly a problem in the Aegean, but they do not seem to have operated in the area of Teos. Moreover, the *asylia* decrees were simply too temporally distant from the pirate attack to be directly related. Although the Cretans had motive and reason to attack the Teians, they had somewhat limited means and opportunity.

The Aitolians are the other usual suspects for pirate attacks during the Hellenistic period. Already in Thucydides' time the Aitolians were described as a people who were disposed to banditry. They lived a particularly barbaric life on the edge of the Greek world (1.5.3-6.2). In the Hellenistic period they were no longer liminal but stood at centre stage. Their reputation, however, remained poor. Nonetheless, their negative image and reputation as brigands and pirates make the Aitolians an object of suspicion.²⁷

Present-day historians should tread carefully to avoid applying an ancient ethnic stereotype across all the evidence. Surprisingly, scholars have only recently begun to give such care to source analysis. Grainger's reexamination of the Aitolian reputation for piracy is particularly enlightening.²⁸ First of all, he notes that the Aitolian state had relatively limited naval means, and that almost every incident of piratical attacks by the Aitolians can be explained as having taken place during wartime.²⁹ While Grainger's approach is refreshing, one has to admit that there is some evidence for Aitolian piracy in

geographical spread noted above is based on the attacks in Brulé's list that can be securely related to the Cretans.

²⁷ For a thorough study of the sources on the Aitolians and their image in antiquity, see Antonetti 1990: 43-143.

²⁸ Grainger 1999: 3-25.

²⁹ Including the attack by Boukris (Bielman no. 31 = *IG* 2² 844), which he attributes to raiding during the Demetriatic war (Grainger 1999: 21-22).

the Aegean. The Aitolian attack on the island of Naxos is without a doubt the best example (Bielman no. 26).³⁰ But, again, through a careful examination of the evidence, we can say that Aitolian attacks in the Aegean were confined to a limited area including Attika, Euboia, and the Cyclades. There is, however, no evidence for Aitolian raids along the coast of Asia Minor.³¹

Scholars continue to assume Aitolian piracy along the Ionian coast on the basis of the proliferation of Aitolian grants of *isopoliteia* and *asylia* to various *poleis* in the eastern Aegean.³² But are these treaties evidence for piracy? If we start with the latest in the series, there is the grant of *asylia* for the sanctuary of Athena Nikephoros at Pergamon in 182 BC (*Asylia* no. 178). It is hard to believe that Eumenes II had an actual fear of an Aitolian attack. The decree forbids the Aitolians from seizing anyone within the boundaries of the sanctuary, but the choice of technical terms is striking. In particular, one of the verbs used, διεγγυᾶν (l. 20), has the meaning of “to seize as security for debt.”³³ There is no guarantee against piracy in the decree. Rather, the Aitolians were preventing their citizens from taking reprisals against refugees in the sanctuary. The Aitolian grant of *asylia* to Magnesia on the Maiandros is in similar vein (*Asylia* no. 67). Magnesia was an inland city and hence did not fear Aitolian pirate attacks. The decree specifies that the Aitolians were forbidden from seizing anyone from the land of the

³⁰ The inscription is from the town of Aulon and records the ransoming of 280 Naxians following an Aitolian attack. Grainger suggests that this too may have taken place during some incident of war, but there is no evidence to support his claim (1999: 20 and 24).

³¹ Some would advance the depredations of Dikaiarchos in the islands and the coast of the Hellespont (Diod 28.1 and Plb. 18.54.10). But it should be carefully noted that Dikaiarchos was in the employ of Philip V to destabilize the area and open up a new front against the Rhodians during the first Cretan war. Dikaiarchos may have been an Aitolian but his actions were far divorced from those of his people.

³² Most recently Scholten 2000: 110-114.

³³ Lines 18-23, particularly line 20: “εἰ δέ τις κα ἄγη ἢ ῥυσιάξη ἢ ἀποβιάξαιτο ἢ διεγγυάση.” See Rigsby’s commentary on this passage (1996: 374).

Magnesians, either by land or by sea, from wherever they set out.³⁴ In the decree from Magnesia, the description of seizure of persons is vague, but it becomes more explicit in other Aitolian grants. In a treaty with the Mytilenians, the Aitolian document specifies that none of the league members may act in reprisal against the people of Mytilene, either on an Amphiktyonic or any other claim (Bielman no. 33).³⁵ The same clause is repeated again in the treaties with Chios and Keos.³⁶

The treaties with the island *poleis* allow us to envision both legitimate and pseudo-legitimate reasons for seizing members of these communities. Moreover, with the exception of the treaty with Pergamon, none of these documents focuses upon a specific geographical center where an attack of reprisal might occur. Instead, the documents contain grants of personal *asylia* from the Aitolians to privileged foreigners, wherever they might be. Specific evidence of this viewpoint may come from grant to Mytilene, which also informs us that the Aitolians ransomed some Mytilenaian citizens seized in the Peloponnesos.³⁷ Furthermore, as Gauthier has noted, these grants do not necessarily set out to stop such attacks, but set forth a procedure whereby the offended communities can appeal to the Aitolian *stratagoi* at the league headquarters at Thermon.³⁸ The utility

³⁴ Lines 12-15: “μηθενὶ ἐξουσίαν εἶμεν Αἰτωλῶν μηδὲ τῶν ἐν Αἰτωλίαι κατοικούντων ἀγρεῖν μηθένα ἐκ τᾶς χώρας τᾶς Μαγνητῶν μηδαμόθεμ ὀρμωμένους μήτε κατὰ γᾶν μήτε κατὰ θάλασσαν”

³⁵ Lines 4-6: “μηδαμόθεν ὀρμώμενον μήτε ποτ’ Ἀμφικτυονικὸν μήτε ποτ’ ἄλλο ἐγκλημα μηθέν”

³⁶ Chios: *ISE* 78.4-7. Keos: *Stsv.* 508.1.1-5. Cf. the *symbola* between Miletos and the Aitolian league (*Stsv.* 564.11-17), which grants *asphaleia* and *asylia* to any Milesian seized on land or on sea, wherever the Aitolians have set out from. Gauthier interprets this as evidence for piracy (1972: 263-265), but it probably stems from the same concerns of reprisal attacks expressed in the treaties with the islands.

³⁷ Bielman 33.30-32 (=IG 12.2.15). It is not certain that the Mytilenians were seized by Aitolians in the first place, but its place in the inscription highly suggests that they were. See also Bielman’s commentary on this text.

³⁸ Gauthier 1972: 265-266.

of such legal procedure presupposes high levels of interaction between the eastern Aegean and central Greece.

We might ask ourselves why the Ionians and their neighbors suddenly came into contact with the Aitolians from the mid 3rd century BC. The answer is that, after the Aitolians defeated the Gallic invasion in 279 BC, they had increasing control over the sanctuary at Delphi through their seats on the Amphiktyony.³⁹ Moreover, the *Soteria* festival at Delphi, which commemorated the Aitolian victory over the Gauls, was reorganized into a Panhellenic festival during the 240s and would have attracted many travelers from all over the Greek world.⁴⁰ The sanctuary and the festival were two factors that definitely would have brought Greeks from Asia Minor and eastern Aegean islands into more frequent dealings with the Aitolians. In particular, merchants from the eastern Aegean *poleis* would have been the largest group traveling to northwestern Greece. They were precisely the sort of people who would have been at risk of seizure and attacks of reprisal in Aitolian-controlled areas. The treaties with the Greek cities of the eastern Aegean were largely designed to protect the right of these traders.⁴¹ And so, although we have some evidence for Aitolian piratical activities in Attika and the Cycladic islands, there is no good evidence that their attacks extended into the sphere of Ionia. Thus, given the lack of direct testimony for raids in the area, the Aitolians make poor candidates for the pirate attack on Teos.

³⁹ The Aitolians increased from 2 seats on the Amphiktyony in 278 to 14 seats in 225/4 BC. On the Aitolian influence over Delphi, see Grainger 1999: 105-109 and 236-238.

⁴⁰ On the reorganization of the Delphic *Soteria*, see Nachtergaele 1977: 328-372. The festival was definitely advertised in Asia Minor and we have the recognition of Smyrna (Nachtergaele's appendix no. 25) and Chios (no. 22).

⁴¹ Gauthier 1972: 284.

Other more distant pirates were active in the Aegean at various times during the Hellenistic period. Many of these did sail quite a distance to raid. Etruscan pirates were a particular problem at the start of the 3rd century BC.⁴² Kilikian corsairs were also active in the Aegean, but only from the late 2nd century BC.⁴³ The *floruit* of the piracy of these two non-Greek peoples in the Aegean is outside the time period proposed for the Teian attack and so we can easily discount them. It is interesting to note, however, that both of these peoples were non-Greek and set out for long-distance raids only after the Romans destabilized the area and made distant raiding more profitable. It does not appear to have been the Greek norm to raid at great distances. Privateering during wartime, however, was always a different matter. War destabilized large areas and provided great opportunity for profit. Greek pirates, on the other hand, generally operated locally out of established bases. There is evidence for established centers of piratical activity throughout the Aegean.⁴⁴ We should perhaps envision that the sea was divided up between different regional players, all of whom had their own areas of activities. Modern scholars have emphasized the piratical activities of the Cretans and Aitolians because these two groups are mentioned most in the ancient sources. In doing so, they have ignored other groups of pirates, whose infamy has yet to be explored.

⁴² *E.g.* a Rhodian dedication for sailors who died fighting Tyrrhenians, early 3rd century (*SIG*³ 1225) and the Delians borrowing money from Apollo for protection against the Tyrrhenians, 298 BC (*IG* 11.2.148.73). See also De Souza 1999: 50-53.

⁴³ For a discussion on the origin of Cilician piracy, see De Souza 1999: 98-100.

⁴⁴ *E.g.* Early in the Hellenistic period, the Athenians won a victory over the pirate Glauketas at Kythnos (*IG* 2² 682.10). Samothrace and Thracian barbarians in the 3rd century, Pritchett 1991: 342-3 with reference to *I.Samothrace*, Decrees, Appendix 1, pages 39-40.

4. Piracy in the Vicinity of Teos

Scholars have readily assumed that the Cretans were responsible or, at the very least, able to have undertaken the attack on Teos. As I have already shown, pirates from Crete had the motive of profit, but Teos lay quite outside their normal sphere of operation. If the Cretans are consistently pointed out as the guilty party in this case, it is because not all suspects have been identified. If a suspect was determined solely on the basis of means and opportunity, a more locally based candidate would be the most attractive. The success of the pirates and the fact that they were able to billet their hostages somewhere nearby for over three weeks strongly suggests that the Teians were dealing with a group of local criminals familiar with their city and territory. Indeed, when examined more closely, the history of the bay of Teos becomes rife with references to local pirates. The means and opportunity of the attack on Teos may much more readily fall upon them.

The territory around Teos lent itself well to brigandage. The territory of the city was divided from the other Ionian *poleis* by ridges of hills and mountains with many remote valleys. In the area around Teos, it is clear that even in the Hellenistic period, native Lydian and Lelegian populations persisted in mountainous areas dividing the territory of one *polis* from another. To the east of Teos, the territory of the city ran straight into the Mastousion mountain range, an area that Teos was very much invested in securing and protecting from banditry. During the 4th century BC, the city brokered a sympolity treaty with an unknown settlement possibly located near the modern village of Beyler (*SEG* 26.1305).⁴⁵ Later, in the 3rd century BC, the city annexed the indigenous settlement of Kyrbissos (*SEG* 26.1306). The treaty with Kyrbissos involved the

⁴⁵ See the discussion on this inscription in Chapter 1§4.

appointment of a Teian phrourarch to garrison the town. Kyrbissos has been recently identified with Asar Tepe near Yeniköy in the mountain pass leading between Teos and the fertile plain to the south of Smyrna.⁴⁶ The territory in this area would have made it easy for bandits to operate and, as this is the only pass through the central Mastousion mountain range, it was an important trade and travel corridor. There must have been fear of bandits operating in the mountains there.

Brigandage and piracy were undoubtedly able to flourish in the area around Teos during the 5th century BC, a difficult time for Ionia in general.⁴⁷ We hear of banditry and piracy in the famous Teian imprecations. Among those outlined for the curse, the following excerpt is pertinent to the present discussion. It reads (*Nomima* no. 104.B.11-28):

[εἶδ]-

12 ὡς : προδο[ίη . . .] τή[ν] πό-
 λ[ιν καὶ γῆν] τὴν Τηί-
 ων : ἢ τὸ[ς] ἄνδρας [: ἐν ν]-
 ήσωι : ἢ θα[λάσσηι :] τὸ

16 μετέ[πειτ' : ἢ τὸ] ἐν
 Ἄρο[ίηι] : περιπό[λιον] : ἢ τὸ
 λοιπὸ : προδο[ίη] : ἢ κιξα]-
 λλεύοι : ἢ κιξάλλας : ὑπο-

20 δέχοιτο : ἢ ληίζοιτο : ἢ λ-
 ηιστὰς : ὑποδέχοιτο : εἶ-
 δὼς : ἐκ γῆς : τῆς Τηίης : ἢ [θ]-
 ἀλάτης : φέροντας : ἢ [τι κ]-

24 ἀκόν : βολεύοι : περὶ Τηί]-
 ων : τὸ ξυνὸ : εἰδὼς : ἢ π[ρὸς]
 Ἑλληνας : ἢ πρὸς βαρβάρο-
 υς : ἀπόλλυσθαι : καὶ αὖ-

28 τὸν : καὶ γένος : τὸ κένο :

⁴⁶ Meriç 1988: 385.

⁴⁷ For a more thorough discussion of the social ramifications of the Teian imprecations for our understanding of 5th-century Teos, see Chapter 2§3 and 3§1.

Anyone who... hereafter knowingly betrays the city and land of the Teians or the men on the island or in the sea or the garrison in Aroie, or henceforth betrays or commits banditry or receives bandits or plunders or receives brigands knowing that they come from the land or the sea of the Teians, or knowingly does something harmful to the community of the Teians or to the Hellenes or to the Barbarians, let him perish, both himself and his kin.

There is a significant preoccupation here with troubles in the territory of the city. It should be noted that the city of Teos had seriously declined in population and influence since the Persian invasion. Most of the city's population had left to re-found the city of Abdera in Thrace and to colonize the city of Phanagoreia in the Bosporos. Furthermore, Teos was sacked by the Persians after the failed Ionian revolt. The polis that survived all these events was seriously weakened, barely able to police its countryside.⁴⁸

The mountains to the east of Teos certainly had a problem with bandits, but relations and treaties with towns and villages in the area helped to bring this area under control. If we were to turn to the west and explore the coast of the bay of Teos, we would discover a sparsely inhabited area with many bays and coastal valleys, where small enclaves of pirates might find harbor. The west end of the bay of Teos was closed off by the treacherous Mt. Korykos. The Turkish name for the mountain, Kiran, translates roughly into English as the "destructive" place. There are few good anchorages in the area and the seas can be quite dangerous. In a recent ethno-historical study of the Erythraian peninsula, the authors noted that the Korykos peninsula tended to be a refuge point for the Greek inhabitants of the area during the more troubled times of the Ottoman period.⁴⁹ In antiquity, the situation was no different. Only the most desperate and dangerous individuals lived there.

⁴⁸ See the discussion on Teos in the 5th century in Chapter 2§3.

⁴⁹ See the ethno-historical discussion in Koromila *et al* 1997: 32-33.

In 2001, the Institute of Nautical Archaeology conducted a survey in the area off of the Korykos peninsula and charted over ten shipwrecks, spanning from the classical through the Byzantine period.⁵⁰ The sheer number of wrecks uncovered in this area between Chios and Erythrai at the west and the bay of Teos to the east is clearly very high and we must imagine that even more have not been found or have not survived in the archaeological record. During the sailing season, the Etesian winds blow persistently from the north and northwest but, on occasion, a brisk south wind can pick up, creating serious storms in the area. The area is precarious with few good places to anchor, but it is not completely inhospitable.⁵¹ The surveyors noted that the number of shipwrecks off Mt. Korykos far exceeded what they expected. They repeatedly refer to the area as an “Anatolian Bermuda Triangle.” The only explanation they had for the number of wrecks was a suggestion that foolhardy merchant captains tried to brave local storms rather than seek safe anchorage.⁵² This is, of course, possible. The mystery of the Korykos peninsula, however, is only amplified by the low number of Roman-era wrecks. The INA surveyors found only one shipwreck dating in the period from the 1st century BC to the 4th century AD. This stands in stark contrast to the earlier and later periods. There are three shipwrecks during the much shorter time period from the 5th through 2nd centuries BC and numerous late antique and Byzantine wrecks. This hardly seems a coincidence. The

⁵⁰ The wrecks charted by the INA-SOA project in 2001 were primarily dated by amphora types. The wrecks include the 5th-century BC Tektaş Burnu wreck, a 4th-century BC wreck, a 1st-century BC “Column” wreck, a 1st century AD merchant trader, a 2nd-century AD merchant carrier the 5th-7th-centuries AD “Church” wreck, two 7th-century AD “Byzantine” wrecks, the Byzantine “Millstones” wreck, a Byzantine amphora carrier, a 8th-9th century AD Byzantine trader, 19th-century AD Ottoman steamer “Inayet.” Stray amphora finds also suggests that there is a possible 2nd-century AD wreck underlying one of the 7th-century AD wrecks. This list of wrecks was compiled from the SOA online diary for the 2001 season (http://www.diveturkey.com/soa/english/SOA_progress.html).

⁵¹ For example, one entry pertaining to a storm reads: “As it happens, there is a sheltered anchorage a few bays to the south that would have served in almost any weather, which only makes the number of shipwrecks in the southern lee of Cakil (*sic*) Burnu more puzzling.” (http://www.diveturkey.com/soa/english/sept06_2001en.htm).

⁵² In the same journal entry as the storm just noted.

Roman era was a period of great prosperity and trade in the area. The intense exploitation of the Roman marble quarries at Karagöl and Beyler near Teos is but one indication. If the shipping trade had increased in the area, what had changed in the region around Korykos? Certainly not the weather.

We are speaking of the period of the *Pax Romana*. From the time of Pompey, pirates had virtually been eliminated from the area. It may be more than coincidence that shipwrecks seem to have stopped during this time period. Indeed, the greatest number of wrecks took place between the 5th and 1st centuries BC and the again from the 5th century AD onwards. These were times when central authorities were unable to prevent piracy from flourishing. Storms may account for some of the wrecks, but it is very probable that we have a situation where pirates attacked ships and drove them into the dangerous rocks of the coast.

There is no physical evidence for pirate attacks. Shipwrecks are identified by cargo and without the hulls, we cannot identify places where an attack occurred.⁵³ But the reputation of the inhabitants of Korykos in antiquity was not a good one. A passage in Strabo describes the criminal activities of the Korykaians (14.1.32).

φασὶ δὲ τὸν παράπλουν τοῦ Κωρύκου πάντα ληστήριον ὑπάρξαι τῶν Κωρυκαίων καλουμένων, εὐρομένων τρόπον καινὸν τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς τῶν πλοιζομένων· κατεσπαρμένους γὰρ ἐν τοῖς λιμέσι τοῖς καθοριζομένοις ἔμποροις προσφοιτᾶν καὶ ὠτακουστῆν, τί φέροιεν καὶ ποῦ πλέοιεν, εἶτα συνελθόντας ἀναχθεῖσι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐπιτίθεσθαι καὶ καθαρπάζειν· ἀφ' οὗ δὴ πάντα τὸν πολυπράγμονα καὶ ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ διαλεγόμενων Κωρυκαῖον καλοῦμεν, καὶ ἐν παροιμίᾳ φασὶν· «τοῦ δ' ἄρ' ὁ Κωρυκαῖος ἠκροάζετο,» ὅταν δοκῇ τις πράττειν δι' ἀπορρήτων ἢ λαλεῖν, μὴ

⁵³ Very few shipwrecks preserve any sign of attack. The Kyrenia shipwreck off of Cyprus is a good exception. Iron spearheads were found underneath the excavated hall, meaning they could not have been part of the cargo.

λανθάνη δὲ διὰ τοὺς κατασκοποῦντας καὶ φιλοπευστοῦντας τὰ μὴ προσήκοντα.

The waters along the coast of Mt. Korykos, they say, were everywhere the haunt of pirates, the Korykaians, as they are called, who had found a new way of attacking vessels; for, they say, the Korykaians would scatter themselves among the harbors, follow up the merchants whose vessels lay at anchor in them, and overhear what cargoes they had aboard and where they were bound, and then come together and plunder their vessels; and hence it is that we call every person who is a busybody and tries to overhear private and secret conversations a Korykaian; and that we say in a proverb: “Well then, the Korykaian was listening to this,” when one thinks that he is doing or saying something in secret, but fails to keep it hidden because of persons who spy on him and are eager to learn what does not concern them.

Apparently, the treachery of the Korykaians was proverbial. The 4th-century BC comic writers, Menander and Dioxippos, even introduced a divine character, Korykaios, who spied on mortals and informed on them to the gods (Suda s.v. Κωρυκαῖος).⁵⁴ The 4th-century BC historian Ephoros also mentions the Korykaians. In his account, they were a rag-tag group, assembled from various cities and towns, who settled themselves in a small town in the shadow of Mt. Korykos in an area stretching out to the sea (*FGrHist* 70 F 27). Most interesting, however, is that Ephoros records that they were in league with the pirates of Myonnesos, which lay just across the bay. The Korykaians would talk to merchants in the area and then report to the Myonnesians, who conducted actual attacks. In return, the Korykaians received a share of the loot.

All of this points to the greatest pirate threat in the area: Myonnesos. Myonnesos is a small offshore island near Doğanbey Point on the coast about 25 km. to the south of Teos. Livy describes the island almost perfectly (37.27):

⁵⁴ In the Suda entry, it is unclear if this god was a creation named after the mountain in Pamphylia or in Ionia. Both had inhabitants with a reputation for spying and banditry. There is also the Korykos peninsula to the north of Phalasarna on Crete, yet another area known for piracy. In antiquity, the name Korykos was apparently inauspicious.

Myonnesos promunturium inter Teum Samumque est. Ipse collis est in modum metae in acutum cacumen a fundo satis lato fastigatus; a continenti artae semitae aditum habet, a mari exesae fluctibus rupes claudunt, ita ut quibusdam locis superpendentia saxa plus in altum, quam quae in statione sunt naves, promineant. circa ea appropinquare non ausae naves, ne sub ictu superstantium rupibus piratarum essent, diem trivere.

Myonnesos is a promontory between Teos and Samos. It is itself a hill in the shape of a cone, sloping from a fairly broad base up to a sharp peak. The approach from the mainland is by a narrow path, and on the seaward side it is closed in by cliffs worn away by the waves so that, in some places, the overhanging rocks project out, rising to a greater height than the ships riding at anchor there. The (Romans) wasted a day, not daring to bring their ships close, for fear of coming within striking distance of the pirates perched on the cliffs.

In 192 BC, the Romans, mistaking the pirates for part of the fleet of Antiochos III, followed some raiders returning from raiding the island of Chios. The Romans found Myonnesos a vicious pirate haven that posed a serious problem during their operations against Antiochos III. The settlement had also long-troubled Teos. Our first mention of the site comes from a fragment of Hekataios of Miletos, who mentions that it was a *polis* halfway between Teos and Lebedos (*FGH* 1 F 232). The same fragment mentions that Artemidoros considered Myonnesos to be simply a town, an indication that Myonnesos probably never succeeded in developing its own constitutional entity. Teos tried to control the dangerous settlement during the 5th century BC and must have at least temporarily succeeded; the island is listed as a dependency of the city in Thucydides (3.32.1). Nonetheless, it must have broken away from Teos near the end of the Peloponnesian war. It was at this point, in the 4th century BC, that we first hear that Myonnesos had become a notorious base for pirates.

Not much remains on the site, which now goes by the name of Çifit Kale, the Jew's Castle (Plate 17). There is a tiny flat plain across from the island where a

settlement could easily have existed, but there are no visible remains of architecture or pottery in this area. The sea level has risen marginally but you can still easily wade across to the island. Once there, there are some rubble and cement walls fortifying the east side. Just south of the causeway, you can make out part of the ancient harbor installations under the water. The climb to the top of the hill is precipitous and overgrown. There are scatters of surface sherds and exiguous traces of walls.⁵⁵ There is a deep cleft that cuts through the entire promontory of the island, running east-west. This cleft would have served to cut off the high flat promontory on the southern half of the island, which would have been an advantageous defensible position. With water and provisions, a substantial nest of pirates could operate easily there with no real danger of being successfully attacked or expelled.

A walk to the north or south ends of the island make the precipitous cliffs very evident. It would have been very easy to defend the island against any ships coming to attack the island from here. The threat to the Roman ships in 192 BC is readily apparent. But Myonnesos was more than just an unassailable island. On a clear day, the island has an unparalleled view of the entire gulf of Teos, the city of Teos, the coast to the west at Airai, and Mt. Korykos directly across the gulf, where the inhabitants would have been eager accomplices to the pirate haven. Even the island of Samos, far to the south, is visible from Myonnesos. In the wrong hands, Myonnesos posed a serious threat to any and all ship traffic in the area.

⁵⁵ I located a few sherds of black glaze ware on the north slope of the island. These are the only secure antique remains on the site. Personal autopsy, January 2006. The most substantial remains are a series of cisterns, which are no doubt contemporary with the rubble and cement harbor fortifications. In the late Byzantine period, long after Teos had ceased to exist, there was the important fort of Hypsile here and, in AD 1421, it was refortified by the rebel Ottoman general Juneid against Murat II (Doukas, *Historia Turcobyzantina*, 27.12-14). Many of the remains on the island probably date from this later period.

Myonnesos was a particular thorn in the side of Teos. Because Teos had failed to keep control of the city in the 5th century, the inhabitants felt no qualms about raiding and interfering with trade in the area. More than that, in the 2nd century BC, the Myonnesians willingly received the Dionysiac *technitai* after they were forcibly expelled from Teos for inciting a rebellion (Strabo 14.1.29).⁵⁶ The Teians were alarmed by this relocation. They appealed to the Romans to intervene to prevent the island from becoming fortified against them. The Teians won their case and the Romans resettled the *technitai* just a little east at the very small *polis* of Lebedos.

Lebedos is not much further and could also have been equally useful as a base operating against Teos. The Teians were fearful of their enemies settling at Myonnesos, in particular, because there could have been a union of the hostile *technitai* with the pirate denizens of the island. It seems that Myonnesos received the *technitai* under the auspices of the Attalid monarch. If so, we must consider that by the second half of the 2nd century BC, the island had become a benign, if despised, community in the bay of Teos. The memory of Myonnesian piracy was still very recent and, if the city was reinforced by the *technitai* recently expelled from Teos, the Teians must have feared that a new reign of piracy would sweep through their territory.

Teos was threatened by pirates on two sides, from Myonnesos and Korykos. Moreover, this threat had been a problem for the area ever since the Persian invasion of the area in the 6th century BC. References in the literary sources suggest that both were actual settlements and not merely outposts of foreign pirates such as the Cretans. The Teians had done their best to control the problem, but it was only with Roman control of the eastern Mediterranean that pirates truly ceased to be a threat to the *polis*. Unlike the

⁵⁶ For a further discussion of the expulsion of the Dionysiac *technitai* from Teos, see Chapter 7§5.

Cretans and the Aitolians, local pirates had the means, the motive, and the opportunity to strike at Teos. While we do not know the identity of the band of pirates that struck the city in the mid-3rd century BC, we need to look no further than the bay of Teos itself to locate the probable candidates.

5. *Teos after the Pirate Attack*

The pirate attack on Teos left devastation, poverty, and fear in its wake. There is no doubt that the attack had an effect on Teian society. But how did the Teians react? What changes came about at Teos? The documents about *asylia* have long been associated with pirate activity against the city. But, as we have seen, these documents belong to a different period and the granting cities are hardly the best candidates for the malefactors. The grants of *asylia* by Cretan *poleis* certainly did moderate the potential effect of piracy but, as we shall see in the next chapter, protection from piracy was not their primary goal. The response of the Teians to the pirate attack should be considered in other contexts. First and foremost to consider is the construction of the Hellenistic fortification wall.⁵⁷ The second development is the creation of a new civic division: the *pyrgoi*.

⁵⁷ There were earlier fortifications at Teos. The polygonal masonry from the acropolis probably dates back to the Archaic settlement. The city was also walled in 412 BC, at which time the walls were largely dismantled (Thuc. 8.16.3). McNicoll suggests that the wall mentioned in Thucydides was probably only a land wall or small fort built by the Athenian garrison (1997: 159). This is probable because only a few years later, in 406 BC, Kallikratidas was faced with walls when he sacked the city (Diod. 13.76.4). Finally, Aeneas Tacticus records an incident, which may date during the later years of the Peloponnesian War, where the Rhodian general Temenos attempted to gain entry through the walls of the city by bribing the gatekeeper (18.13-19). It is clear that this wall had been dismantled or fallen into disrepair in the third century. It is possible that the earthquake that struck the city in 304 BC also damaged the classical wall (Marmor Parium, *FGrHist* 239 B.24).

We are fortunate to have seven of the wall-building inscriptions, which were built into various sections of the wall itself.⁵⁸ The fortification wall can be traced around most of the circuit of the city. The feature has not been excavated extensively, and there is no part of the site where it is significantly exposed. The French excavated a small section of the inner face of the wall was excavated in 1924 just to the west of the temple of Dionysos (Plate 3). This remains the best place to examine the fortifications. At that point, the wall survives up to eight courses measuring ca. 3.30 m in height. The stonework is “well-nigh” isodomic ashlar masonry in limestone.⁵⁹ The full height of the wall is impossible to guess. The uppermost preserved course is definitely not the top of the wall, which may have been made of mud brick.⁶⁰ The width of the wall is 4.25 - 4.50 m.

The wall was on a restrained scale, and its near 3 km. circuit surrounds the settlement and extends along the harbor mole (Fig. 14, Plate 14). The design of the fortification wall has been misunderstood and under-appreciated in scholarly studies. The plan is often described as almost rectangular.⁶¹ Tuna’s survey work in the 1990s shows that the wall does follow certain contours of the site. It is only along the low-lying eastern side of the city that the wall extends in an almost dead-on straight line. The eastern edge of the city would have been the most vulnerable part of the wall to attack. The Teians recognized this, and the wall was jogged at points, to allow for increased use of artillery

⁵⁸ These have been collected in Maier nos. 62-68. One of these inscriptions (no. 65) was recently rediscovered and re-edited (*SEG* 35.1151). The inscriptions were built into the wall in order that any enquiring citizen could see the building specifications as they were looking at the wall. It was not an uncommon practice to publish building contracts at their construction site (Robert Pitt, Royal Holloway University, personal communication, April 2006).

⁵⁹ McNicoll 1997: 159.

⁶⁰ Various course heights are referred to in the wall building inscriptions. *E.g.* One section is listed as being six courses in height, while another is eight. See *SEG* 35.1151.

⁶¹ *E.g.* McNicoll 1997: 159.

in enfilade defense. Both the eastern and western sections of the walls were equipped with numerous small towers, some of which had sally ports.⁶² The high ground to the west of the city was not incorporated within the circuit, but this was probably because that was the area of one of the city's major necropoleis. In short, the Teians laid out a modest plan, incorporating only the urban matrix of the city. The wall was designed to be thick in order to minimize the effect of artillery fire, since enemies could easily approach the city on the east and take advantage of the heights to the west. The numerous towers along the wall increased its defensibility.⁶³

The building inscriptions describe the construction of individual sections of the walls. Two or three *epistatai* appointed from the citizens to oversee each part of the construction are listed at the beginning of every account. The concluding sections of the texts record the budget for the project. These two sections are standard among all the inscriptions. Sometimes, the number of wall courses is described or the length of the section is specified.⁶⁴ Features such as towers and arches are listed when they were relevant to a given section of the wall.⁶⁵ Accounting procedures are inconsistent among the inscriptions.⁶⁶ These differences are highly indicative of the individuality of the overseers in charge of the walls. Due to financial difficulties, Teos probably constructed the walls were in sections over a period of a number of years. The *ktematonia* decree is

⁶² McNicoll noted a false-arched sally port on the eastern stretch of the wall. We also have a mention of an arch in one of the wall building inscriptions, which may indicate another sally port or postern gate (Maier no. 62).

⁶³ For example, this compares with the long, straight, and low-lying walls, at Mantinea in Arkadia, which has over one hundred towers.

⁶⁴ Courses: Maier no. 67 and *SEG* 35.1151. Length: Maier nos. 62-64 and 66.

⁶⁵ Towers are mentioned in Maier nos. 63, 66 and 68 and *SEG* 35.1151. A gate is mentioned in Maier no. 66. An arch is mentioned in Maier no. 62.

⁶⁶ Acrophonic numbers are used in three of the accounts (Maier nos. 62, 64 and *SEG* 35.1151). Maier no. 63 uses a different system of numeric symbols. Maier no. 66 uses full words for numbers. Accounting procedures are possibly recorded on Maier no. 62, which records two sums, by letter and by number. Holland *et al* suggests that the account by letter was the sum encumbered and the account by number was the actual sum spent (unpublished manuscript: page. 2147).

good evidence for the diversion of funds from the fortifications project (Aneziri D2.12-15).

The date of the wall construction is hard to ascertain with precision. The letterforms of the inscriptions have been dated to the late 3rd or 2nd centuries BC. The earliest testimony for the construction of the walls is in the *ktematonia* decree, which most probably dates to the early 220s BC. The walls must have been completed by 190 BC. In that year, shortly before their naval victory over the forces of Antiochos III in the bay of Teos, the Romans ravaged the territory of the city (Livy 37.27.9-28). The walls prevented the Romans from overrunning the city. However, faced with the prospect of besieging city walls, they chose the easier tactic of sacking farmsteads and villas near the city. The Roman attack, therefore, provides a plausible *terminus ante quem* for the city walls.⁶⁷

The construction of city fortification walls was not the only change at Teos. It is interesting that around the same period, a new social unit appears in the documents of the city: the *pyrgoi* or “towers.” References to the *pyrgoi* occur in three inscriptions: a list of individuals from the late 3rd or 2nd centuries BC and two honorific decrees from the Roman period.⁶⁸ The first of these documents, the so-called *pyrgoi* list, is our most extensive piece of evidence (CIG 3064). It is a fragmentary list of individuals listed by name, the tower with which they are associated, and an adjectival form of their respective symmories.⁶⁹ An example of a typical entry on this list is the following: Ἀρίστιππος,

⁶⁷ McNicoll also uses the Roman attack on Teian territory as evidence that the walls were completed before that time (1997: 158).

⁶⁸ The Hellenistic *pyrgoi* list has long since been lost and the only two copies of it were compiled and corrected by Boeckh in CIG 3064. The Imperial dedications: *PEP Teos* 271 and 272.

⁶⁹ Ruge dismisses the idea that the patronymic adjective at the end of each entry refers to the symmories (1934: 553-554). Cf. Guarducci 1937: 69-74. However, we have reference to the *symmory* of

τοῦ Μαλίου πύργου, Μαλιάδης (l. 33). The text as we have it consists of 35 entries, of which 29 *pyrgoi* can be read at least partially, none occurring twice. We lack the beginning of the text, which might have clarified precisely what exactly the *pyrgoi* list details and this has led to varying interpretations.

A relationship between the *pyrgoi* and the symmories can be established in the homonymy of certain towers to the names of established symmories. For example, one entry reads: Βα[θυκλ]έων, τοῦ Πρύου πύργου, Πρυ[ίδης] (l. 4). In every example of a tower with a homonymous symmory, the two are associated. We can see this in the case of the tower of Pryos above. Twelve out of the twenty-five entries that preserve both the name of the *pyrgos* and the symmory share this eponymy. Consequently, it is tempting to reconstruct a direct relationship between the two social groups. But careful examination of the *pyrgoi* list also reveals that the towers do not correspond exactly to the *symmorai*. The Bruskidai are associated with two different towers in the *pyrgoi* list: that of Sintys (l. 24) and that of Merades (l. 31).⁷⁰ Moreover, the tower of Philaios, is found in association with the Philaïdai in the *pyrgoi* list (l. 9), but is later found listed with a member of the Kydonidai (*PEP Teos* 272). And so a symmory might be larger than the unit of a *pyrgos* and, unless we postulate that the symmory Philaïdai ceased to manage the Philaios tower, a *pyrgos* can also encompass more than one symmory. Nonetheless, the close relationship of the symmories with their homonymous towers must stand since there is no example of

Enichos also being listed as the Echinadai. While the Echinadai do not occur on the fragmentary *pyrgoi* list, most of the patronymic adjectives likewise end in -ίδης. See Jones 1987: 306-307. For a discussion of the role and nature of the symmories, see Chapter 3§4.

⁷⁰ Jones tentatively suggests that the Bruskidai may be found in two towers because their symmory was not eponymous for a tower (1987: 308). This is not really tenable since it is our only example of the phenomenon. Better to imagine that the Bruskidai were placed in charge of two small towers or that they were one of the larger symmories.

the two occurring without being connected in the *pyrgoi* list. These *pyrgoi* must have been named in conjunction with their eponymous symmories.

The introduction of the *pyrgoi* as a social unit at around the same time as the construction of the wall, with its own physical *pyrgoi*, suggests that the new social unit had something to do with the defense of the city. Aristotle suggests that because the populace of any city could be divided into *syssitia*, it would be advantageous to position some of these in the guard-posts and towers of the city wall (*Politics* 7.10.8 (1331a)). Aeneas Tacticus, in his manual on siege warfare, also advised dividing up sections of the city fortifications among the citizen body and placing each group underneath the command of a street commander (3.1-5). In Asia Minor, both Smyrna and Stratonikeia had such a system in place; they divided their citizens into wards (*amphoda*), each of which were responsible for a section of the fortification walls.⁷¹ It is therefore probable that the situation at Teos was similarly disposed.⁷² Each symmory was assigned to an area of the wall. Some areas, such as the tower of Philaios, were shared by two symmories and other symmories were assigned more than one area to defend.

This system raises the question concerning the position of the individuals listed in the *pyrgoi* list. Following Aeneas Tacticus, each section of the wall should have some commander. In his analysis of the inscription, Béquignon made the reasonable suggestion that there must have been an official in charge of the entire fortification.⁷³ In his interpretation, the *pyrgoi* list is an account of these officials starting from some unknown year. The suggestion holds merit since, at intervals in the list, there are gaps listed as “anarchies” or periods without officials. These are marked simply ἀναρχον (ll. 11 and

⁷¹ *I.Smyrna* 613c. and *I.Stratonikeia* 1003-1004. For further discussion, see Chaniotis 2005:23.

⁷² Béquignon 1928: 197-198.

⁷³ 1928: 200-202.

25), ἀναρχα δύο (ll. 13 and 23) and even ἀναρχα <τ>έσ<σ>ε<ρ>α (l. 18), and this leaves the expected noun ἔτος to be understood. The *pyrgoi* list, as it is preserved, could represent a 40-year period of such a head magistrate of the fortification defense.

The mention of these “anarchies” is troubling. Hunt felt that having no less than ten “anarchies” in the central twenty years of the text was improbably large for an official responsible for the defense of the city.⁷⁴ He also found it peculiar that, in a 40-year span, the Teians did not elect an individual from the same, *pyrgos*, *symmory*, or family. This is true enough but we have no idea if the officials would have been elected or if each *pyrgos* took turns selecting a commander. Given the evidence, the latter is more probable. Hunt further cited the absence of the name of the tower listed in one of the building inscriptions. This last point is weak since the Teians may not have assigned names until the walls were completed and inaugurated.

Rejecting Béquignon’s suggestion, Hunt preferred to see the *pyrgoi* as old aristocratic estates in the countryside. He suggested that the “anarchies” were estates that were then in disrepair or left vacant and without an owner. The problem with this suggestion is that there is no parallel for such a usage of ἀναρχον, nor did Hunt suggest what the implied noun should be.⁷⁵ A further problem is that Hunt proposed an aristocratic land-tenure system that would go back to near the foundation of the city. This proposal, however, makes the relatively late appearance of any mention of the *pyrgoi* rather startling. We would expect them to have appeared in the letters of Antigonos Monophthalmos arbitrating the *synoecism* of Teos with Lebedos. Surely some of these

⁷⁴ Hunt 1947.

⁷⁵ Cf. the strong criticism in Jones (1987: 309) with reference to earlier scholarly work on the problem.

old estates would have lain fallow by that point and, anyway, the Lebedians needed land to live on. The absence of any mention of the *pyrgoi* in that inscription is a strong indication that *pyrgoi* were not estates.⁷⁶

It seems best to take a *pyrgos* as a unit of defense formed by allotment from the symmories of the city. The term first occurred around the same time as the city wall equipped with many towers. The total number of towers attested in the *pyrgoi* inscription is 29, a fairly high number. But, as we have seen, the defense strategy of the fortifications at Teos required many straight-running sections on low-lying ground. It is a typical feature of such walls to have a large number of towers. The coincidence of the Hellenistic fortification walls and the first reference to the *pyrgoi* is too significant to dismiss.

The evidence for piracy and banditry in the region of Teos is abundant. There is no need to assume that the Cretans were behind the attack. And, whatever party attacked the Teos, the true worth of the inscription lies in the manner in which the citizen body marshaled together all of their resources to preserve their fellow citizens and the other inhabitants of the city. Those who loaned the money were honored at the city Dionysia as the other benefactors of the city. And life in the city went on, forever changed. The male citizens were organized into new guard units, the *pyrgoi*, to defend the city during future times of trouble. The fact that we hear of the *pyrgoi* as late as the Roman era reflects how deeply one night of danger could affect the entire social order of the city.⁷⁷ And,

⁷⁶ Specifically, we lack reference to any aristocratic estates when Antigonos sanctions a registry of all the villages and farmsteads in the countryside. *RC* 3.98.

⁷⁷ Hunt 1948: 70 would also use the 1st century AD references to the *pyrgoi* as evidence that they cannot be defensive units. His argument supposes that there would be no need for city defense under the *Pax Romana*. This may be true, but Francotte also presupposed that the *pyrgoi* evolved into cult associations in the city (1907: 137-138). This may not be totally convincing. Perhaps it is better to suggest

importantly, the walls that were soon erected around the city became forevermore a testimony of the bandit that lurked outside in the night.

that the importance of the *pyrgoi* at the time of their genesis in the late 3rd century BC saw their continued importance in the social order of the city long after the city's defense was at stake.

Chapter Six *Asyilia* for Dionysos

Antiochos III arrived at Teos sometime in late 204 or early 203 BC and ushered in a new era for the city. Interested in securing Teos as part of his empire, the king met with city officials and listened to their requests. There were the usual complaints about high taxes and tribute, but the Teians also wanted something more; they wanted their city and territory to be recognized as holy and inviolate for their patron god Dionysos.

Territorial inviolability, or *asyilia*, was a particular honor that many cities in the Aegean islands and Asia Minor sought to claim during the Hellenistic period.¹ *Asyilia* was most often initiated by a ruler and accompanied by special oracles or the establishment of Panhellenic games or both. In order to be effective, *asyilia* had to be individually recognized by cities, kings and other political entities. So, in effect, Antiochos' grant was only the beginning of a new strategy by the Teians to proclaim their city to the rest of the Greek world. Following Antiochos' grant, the city sent embassies across the Aegean to solicit other recognitions for the god. The Teians brought the same ardor with which they had convinced the Dionysiac *technitai* into relocating to their city, as well as the initiative they had shown in contracting the most famous architect of their day, Hermogenes, to design their new temple of Dionysos. The embassies announcing the Teian declaration of *asyilia* were but the latest campaign to publicize the city's place in the Hellenistic world. Teos aimed to be remembered for Dionysos.

At Teos, the *asyilia* recognition decrees are by far the largest group of inscriptions in the city's dossier. In fact, only Magnesia on the Maiandros and Kos have generated more. Scholars, applying their study of the Teian documents to the phenomenon of

¹ The evidence for territorial *asyilia* has been collected by Rigsby 1996a.

asylia, have often maintained that the honor of *asylia* was a form of protection against pirate attacks.² Because Teos targeted so-called pirate nations, namely Aitolia and Crete, commentators assumed that the city needed protection from pirates. This is not the case for other assemblages of *asylia* decrees, which show cities canvassing the entire Greek world. It is not obvious that Teos requested *asylia* as a remedy against piratical attack. Indeed, as we saw in the last chapter, the Teian fear of piracy was much more locally based. We should ask instead whether the Teians themselves were using *asylia* as a measure to prevent attack.

The Teian documents are not like the *asylia* decree of other cities. In order to understand their purpose, it is necessary to understand what other cities expected from a declaration of *asylia* and then examine the Teian situation in this context. It is also important to understand the nature of the Teian requests and the motivation of the cities that responded. Two parties, each with its own interests, were involved in each recognition decree. This, of course, means that it will be necessary to study the actions of the Teian embassies, so far as we can reconstruct them, and the responses according to region and interests. Only by taking this two-sided approach can we truly begin to understand the underlying nature of the Teian declaration of *asylia* for Dionysos.

1. Defining *Asylia*

Relations between Greek *poleis* were strengthened through honorific decrees and treaties. In the archaic and classical periods, alliances were indicated by treaties of unity

² *E.g.* Pritchett with reference to earlier scholars (1991: 127-131). Gauthier sees *asylia* as a grant often sought in connection with the establishment of a festival (1972: 226-230). In the case of Teos, however, since no festival was announced in the decrees, he interpreted the establishment of territorial *asylia* as an effort to reduce the effects of piracy (1972: 276). *Cf.* Rigsby 1996a: 13-19.

(*symbola*). Cities practiced mutual exchange of rights and guarantees with other *poleis* and recognized *proxenoi*, individuals who represented the interests of a foreign *polis* in their own home state.³ One of the important rights often granted in agreements between two cities was the privilege of *asylia* or inviolability.

Specifically, the right of *asylia* meant that a person was immune from seizure or *sylon*. *Sylon* was a declared act of reprisal by one city against another. Cities that had been infringed upon, either by violence or by unpaid debts, could seize property or persons in restitution.⁴ Acts of *sylon* did not have to be directed against the original malefactor, but could be waged against anyone from the malefactor's community. Such situations could easily get out of hand and escalate into outright warfare. This is why we have extensive accounts of the granting of *asylia*, *symbola* and *proxenia* in the literary and epigraphic record. *Asylia* was a particularly important grant since, without it, individuals outside their own community could easily be seized in other *poleis* for even minor infractions on the part of their fellow-citizens.

Asylia of individual persons was also important with regards to Greek sanctuaries. There was, of course, the long-standing tradition of *hikesia*, the inviolability of suppliants at a temple or altar.⁵ Sometimes, sacred truces (*ekecheiriai* and *spondai*) were announced

³ Gauthier's (1972) study on treaties and inter-state justice remains the definitive volume on the subject.

⁴ There have been many studies on *sylon*. Bravo suggested an interpretation that the term applied only to goods and slaves (1980: 705-750). Pritchett has thoroughly rebutted this position, correctly assessing that *sylon* refers to the seizure of both goods and people (1991: 116-132 esp. 126-127). Cf. Davies 1984: 285-288.

⁵ A good analysis of *hikesia* can be found in Freyburger 1988: 502-515 and Sinn 1993: 88-109. By the Hellenistic period, some sanctuaries were specifically designated as refuge points for suppliants. The temple of Artemis at Ephesos was a particularly renowned, and abused, place for suppliants. See the discussion in Rigsby 1996a: 385-393. Other examples include Delphi (*FD* 3.4 512A) and possibly the sanctuary of Apollo Pythios at Kalchedon (*Asylia* no. 62). A problem with places designated as *phuktimon* or *asylon* was that they might attract thieves and runaway slaves. The boundary at Ephesos later had to be reduced, since it had expanded to encompass part of the city and thieves were able to operate freely (Strabo

before extra-regional games and events associated with cults.⁶ A sacred truce prevented anyone from making war during the period of the festival, and made it illegal to seize individuals as they were making their journey to the sanctuary. By the classical period, it is evident that this practice had expanded from a temporal to a territorial status. It was the common Greek custom to hold Olympia, Delphi and Plataia as inviolate places.⁷ Of course, it must be noted that this did not stop all three of these places from being involved in various wars and skirmishes. Nonetheless, the custom associated with the territorial inviolability of early sites of Panhellenic importance gave rise to a different kind of *asylia* during the Hellenistic period: declared inviolability of a temple or territory for a god.

The earliest testimony for this practice appears in the early 3rd century BC at the sanctuary of Plouton and Kore near Nysa in Asia Minor.⁸ Over the next century, the quest for *asylia* became a central goal of many cities in the Aegean islands and Asia Minor. There were two steps to establishing *asylia*.⁹ The first was the dedication (*kathierosis*) of the land to a particular god. The dedication was then followed by a declaration of *asylia*. In areas under the control of a Hellenistic monarch, it was customary for the king to grant the dedication of the area to the patron god.¹⁰ Very often, an epiphany or an oracle also

14.1.23). Rampant abuse of asylum eventually led to Roman renunciation of right at many sanctuaries (Tac. *Ann.* 3.60).

⁶ The practice is best known for the games at Olympia and Delphi and also for the Eleusinian mysteries. See Rougemont 1973. In the Hellenistic period, many cities would announce a sacred truce in association with new games. E.g. the Asklepieia at Kos (*Asylia* no. 9.8-10) and the Leukophryeneia at Magnesia on the Maiandros. See Rigsby 1996a: 12.

⁷ See the discussion of these early inviolate places in Rigsby (1996: 41-51).

⁸ Van Bremen 2004: 221-222, who attributes the grant to Seleukos I. Rigsby had assigned a much later date for the *asylia* of the Plutonion, under Antiochos III (1996a: 401). Consequently, he concluded that the earliest example of *asylia* was for the Itonion sanctuary near Koroneia and dating in the 260s (1996a: 54-59).

⁹ The separation of these two steps was first noted by Seyrig in his numismatic study of the terms *hiera* and *asylia* on coins from the Levantine area (1939: 35-39). The Seleukid administrative grant of *hiera* status to a city could precede *asylia* by some years. However, see the criticism of Seyrig in Rigsby 1996a: 34-37.

¹⁰ Ma 1999: 261-264. See also the discussion in Herrmann 1965: 121-138, especially 126-128.

spurred the claim for *asylia*.¹¹ This is best seen in the well-known case of Magnesia on the Maiandros. The Magnesians received multiple divine signs from Artemis, including an epiphany, and repeatedly consulted Delphi for an oracle.¹² Royal and divine sanctions added legitimacy, but other factors also added popularity to a city's call for *asylia*. An important part of many *asylia* declarations was the establishment of Panhellenic games.¹³ Again, Magnesia on the Maiandros, lacking success in its first attempt to gain *asylia* for Artemis Leukophryene, established isopythian games in order to attract more attention.¹⁴ This leads us to the last aspect of declared *asylia*. After a place was dedicated to a god, embassies had to be sent around the Greek world in order to solicit recognitions of the fact. Many of these recognitions took the form of honorific decrees and treaties with the now sacred and inviolate city.

By the end of the 3rd century BC, it was customary for the city and the territory in which the sanctuary was sited to be declared holy and inviolate for the god.¹⁵ This was the case at Teos as well as at many other *poleis* including Smyrna, Kos, and Magnesia on the Maiandros. Indeed, the effort to make an entire *polis* inviolate, alongside the focused geographical distribution of the *poleis* seeking to acquire *asylia*, mostly in the area of the Aegean islands and coastal Asia Minor, is yet another factor that has led many scholars to believe that declared territorial *asylia* was an effort to restrict or stave off pirate attacks.¹⁶ This point of view is perhaps strengthened by the Cretan and Aitolian grants of *asylia*,

¹¹ Ma 1999: 261.

¹² *Asylia* no. 66.1-24 with Rigsby's commentary on lines 1-4.

¹³ Rigsby 1996a: 26-27.

¹⁴ Their first call for *asylia* had included a moneyed contest (*Asylia* no. 66.22-23). When this failed, they established the crowned contest, hoping to attract more attention (ll. 28-29). Rigsby also speculates that the Leukophryneia games were placed in the same year as the Didymeia in order to attract more competitors (1996a: 184).

¹⁵ This first happened at Smyrna in the 240s but quickly became part of the regular formula for *asylia*. See Rigsby 1996a: 20.

¹⁶ E.g. Pritchett 1991: 343. Cf. Chaniotis 2005: 156-157.

which often include treaty clauses for *asylia* of persons and property.¹⁷ Both of these peoples were notorious for banditry and piracy during the Hellenistic period. However, it must also be noted that almost all of the Cretan grants of *asylia* were found at Teos and represent the request of Teos alone.¹⁸ And, as we saw in the previous chapter, although both regions had their fair share of pirates, neither Cretan nor Aitolian pirates were likely to have operated in the area of Teos. We know that the Aitolians were not a significant naval power in the eastern Aegean.¹⁹ Their particular brand of *asylia* stemmed from their influence over the Delphic Amphiktyony and was modeled upon the extensive *proxeny* relationships already established throughout the Aegean.²⁰ And so, it is clear that the special grants of the Cretans and the Aitolians cannot be used as convincing evidence for piracy in the eastern Aegean. Their grants of personal *asylia*, however, were important for Teians traveling and working abroad and it will be argued that they were part of the Teian request at the time of the call for territorial *asylia*.

In his recent study of territorial *asylia*, Rigsby has strongly argued against the interpretation of the grant of inviolability as a means of deterring piracy and attacks.²¹

¹⁷ Rigsby 1996a: 19-20. It should also be noted that the four Cretan recognition decrees recently published for Kos contain no clauses for personal *asylia*, and only mention the inviolability of the sanctuary of Asklepios itself (*SEG* 51.1056). This argues that the Cretans considered the grants of personal *asylia* a separate matter. Certainly Kos had more reason to fear attacks by the Cretans than the Teians did, so the absence of the clause is striking.

¹⁸ Kvist has collected an appendix of all the known Cretan grants of *asylia* (2003: 214-222). Teos represents almost half of the collection. The grants from Mylasa, the next largest set, are very fragmentary and even Rigsby wonders if they may not be military alliances rather than declarations of inviolability (1996a: 407). The latter may make more sense given that they date in the 2nd century BC and Mylasa was subject to attacks by the Rhodians in 167 BC (*Plb.* 16.24.7, 30.5.15). The six decrees for Tenos are again largely fragmentary, but are similar in tenor and vocabulary to the Teian documents (*Asylia* nos. 55-60). Kvist lists eight other Cretan recognitions over six cities. Without the decrees from Mylasa, the list is certainly not very robust and, in any regard, all interpretation rests on the Teian documents.

¹⁹ Grainger's analysis of Aitolian sea power is overstated but sobering (1999: 3-25). See also Chapter 5§3.

²⁰ Scholten, although using this evidence as proof of Aitolian aggression in the eastern Aegean, provides a good discussion of Aitolian foreign policy in the latter half of the 3rd century (2000: 97-116).

²¹ Rigsby's book was the first attempt to gather together all the epigraphic, literary and numismatic evidence for territorial *asylia*. See in particular his discussion of previous scholarly work (1996a: 1-40).

Rigsby's analysis is informed by his careful study of all the available evidence. The grants for Magnesia on the Maiandros and Kos, for example, vary greatly from those at Teos because as those cities solicited decrees from all over the Greek world. To pick one example, the Neapolitan recognition of *asylia* for Kos could not be the result of a fear of direct reprisal because Neapolis was simply too far away.²² Moreover, Magnesia on the Maiandros was an inland *polis* and the city would not have feared attack by sea. Bandits, certainly, may have posed a problem, but the recognitions of *asylia* for the city come from all over the Greek world. It is difficult to imagine that Magnesia feared attacks, for example, from Syracuse or Antioch in Persis.²³ Instead, Rigsby puts forth the suggestion that the primary reason for a declaration of *asylia* was to increase honor for the god and, by extension, honor for the city.²⁴ This seems reasonable enough and makes *asylia* an important means of establishing relations with far-flung places.²⁵ It is notable that the process of declaring *asylia* belongs to a time when Hellenistic monarchies restricted the external politics of Greek *poleis*. Nonetheless, interaction between the Hellenistic *poleis* in the cause of trade meant that it was important to establish ties of respect and honor.

Rigsby's interpretation of *asylia* has recently been challenged. Kvist argues that, although *asylia* is nominally a symbolic grant of honor, that same inviolability could still be used to establish treaties and rights in an effort to restrict piracy.²⁶ Kvist's argument is based on the Cretan grants of *asylia* to Teos and she asserts that these grants were a byproduct of Cretan piracy. The offended community resorted to embassies in order to

²² *Asylia* no. 46.

²³ Syracuse, *Asylia* no. 120. Antioch in Persis, *Asylia* no. 111.

²⁴ 1996: 22-25.

²⁵ See also Chaniotis, who notes further the diplomatic, economic and social ramifications of *asylia* (2005: 156).

²⁶ 2003: 185-212.

contain the problem. For Kvist, the request for *asylia* is an alleged cause for the embassies. The underlying or real reason for the embassies is an immediate need for increased security against Cretan attacks.

The problem with Kvist's argument is that she assumes that the *asylia* documents constitute testimony in and of themselves for pirate attacks against the Teians. In fact, there is no evidence for Cretan attacks in the area of Teos. Moreover, while Kvist has collected a list of Cretan *asylia* grants for other cities, she admits that these documents are too fragmentary for the same analysis as the decrees from Teos.²⁷ Nonetheless, she has noted something important. The Cretan documents from Teos have two parts: the recognition of *asylia* itself and the establishment of formal rights against seizure for the Teians. The exact relationship between the two, however, is not clear and, in any case, neither part is connected with Cretan depredations in Teian territory.

A further problem lies in Kvist's interpretation of the military alliance clauses with Teos in the second series of *asylia* decrees from the cities of Crete.²⁸ According to her, these clauses represent a real security arrangement where the Cretans were able to attack aggressors against Teos, profiting from this new arrangement instead of resorting to piracy. However, we have no evidence that the military alliances were ever carried out or even intended seriously. The absence of oaths argues against taking them literally. The interstate relations outlined by Kvist certainly did exist, but between the cities of Crete themselves. It is preferable to see the relationship developed between Crete and Teos as

²⁷ 2003: 214-222 and n. 18 above. Her appendix includes, beyond Teos, documents from Tenos, Kos, Miletos, Anaphe, Magnesia on the Maiandros, Paros and Mylasa. Kvist omits the treaties between Miletos and Crete (*Stsv.* 3.482). Although these are not *asylia* documents by type, they might have further strengthened her argument since they deal with forbidding the capture of Milesians and included provisions for repatriation of captives. See the discussion in Brulé 1978: 6-12.

²⁸ *Asylia* nos. 154 (Aptera) 42-46, 155 (Eranna) 31-37, 159 (Arkades) 38-42, and 160 (Hyrtakina) 4-9. Biannos also grants this protection but the wording is different (no. 156.26-30).

both diplomatic and economic. The fact that many of the Cretan cities appointed the Teian ambassadors as their *proxenoi* further supports this belief.²⁹

2. *The Teian Call for Asyilia*

The Teians saw *asyilia* as a means to promote their city in the competitive Hellenistic world. They considered their claim to Dionysos as being one of the strongest; of the older Greek poleis, only the Naxians claimed Dionysos as its tutelary god.³⁰ Obtaining *asyilia* for a god, however, was a difficult matter and required widespread acceptance by both monarchs and Greek cities. The Teians knew this. They had recently witnessed the difficulty that the city of Magnesia on the Maiandros had had in establishing *asyilia* for Artemis Leukophryene. Despite claiming both an oracle and an epiphany of the goddess, the first attempt of the Magnesians in 221/20 BC was, in their own words, “fobbed off.”³¹ Later, in 208 BC, when the city established isopythian games, the city’s administrators sent out another call to recognize their *asyilia*. This second effort met with great success. The Teians were certainly aware of all this before they set out on their own call for *asyilia*; they themselves had responded to the Magnesians’ second appeal.³²

Teos set out to claim *asyilia* for Dionysos because the city knew it could justify it. Antiochos’ arrival in the city acted as a catalyst to start the process. As has been noted above, cities in Asia Minor typically solicited the approval of their king before pursuing

²⁹ For the appointment of Herodotos and Menekles as *proxenoi*, see *Asyilia* nos. 155 (Eranna) 46-48, 156 (Biannos) 37-38, 159 (Arkades) 48-49, and 160 (Hyrtakina) 10-12.

³⁰ The god appears on Naxian coins (e.g. Head 1911: 488, *SNG Cop. Aegean Islands* 702-709).

³¹ The word used is *παρηλύσθησ[αν]* at l. 24 of *Asyilia* no. 66. See Rigsby’s discussion (1996a: 180) and Ebert’s commentary on the line (1982: 204-206).

³² *Asyilia* no.102. The Magnesians only inscribed the decree from Klazomenai, but the Teian recognition is appended under the decree alongside the other Ionian cities at l. 75.

international recognition for their *asylia*. Such a process is clear in Seleukos II's dealings with Smyrna. Seleukos not only recognized *asylia* for the temple of Aphrodite Stratonikis, but also wrote letters to cities and kings promoting it.³³ The arrival of Antiochos III in Teos presented the Teians with the perfect opportunity to seek such approval.³⁴ Teos was his northernmost acquisition in his campaign of 204/3 BC. Because he was surrounded on all sides by Attalid and Ptolemaic holdings, the king was willing to grant extravagant honors in order to secure his hold over the city. The reply of the king is mentioned in a Teian honorary decree (*Antiochos* no. 17.14-19):

...βουλόμενος

τά τε πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐσεβῶς διακεῖσθαι ᾧ καθιέρωσεν ἡμῶν τὴν πόλιν
 16 καὶ τὴν χώραν <καὶ> θέλων χαρίζεσθαι τῷ τε δήμῳ καὶ τῷ κοινῷ τῶν
 περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν παρελθῶν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν αὐτὸς
 ἀνῆκε τῆ[ν] πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν ἱερὰν καὶ ἄσυλον καὶ ἀφορολό-
 γητον...

...wishing to be piously disposed towards the god to whom he has consecrated our city and our land, and wishing to favor the people and the association of the Dionysiac *technitai*, coming into the assembly he personally granted that our city and land be sacred and inviolate and free from tribute...

Antiochos' reply speaks of piety for the god and honor and favor for the people, but it brings us little closer to understanding the Teian justification for sanctifying their city and territory and making them inviolate. The reason must be that the king clearly understood that the city was important for Dionysos and had a long mythological and historical tradition of honoring the god.³⁵ This was assuredly the same reason that the association of the Dionysiac *technitai* decided to reside in the city.³⁶

³³ *I.Smyrna* 573. 10-12.

³⁴ *Contra* Piejko (1991: 17-20) and Giovannini (1983: 181-82) who argue that the *asylia* recognitions must predate Antiochos' decree.

³⁵ On the mythology of Dionysos at Teos, see Chapter 4§1.

³⁶ See Chapter 7§1.

Following Antiochos' decree, Teos sent embassies to the Greek cities. We know of two embassies. Armed with a *psephisma* from the Teian people inviting the Greek cities to recognize their *asylia* for Dionysos, the ambassadors Apollodotos and Kolotas were sent to Crete and traveled to every part of the island. Their embassy was fortunate enough to receive the aid of two royal agents during their tour of Crete. Hagesander, a Rhodian agent sent by Antiochos to arbitrate the recent Cretan war, spoke on their behalf at three cities.³⁷ Perdikkas, an agent of Philip V, intervened more often.³⁸ The Cretan cities certainly favored Perdikkas and more than one noted approval of the Teian request: “βουλόμενοι χαρίζεσθαι Περδίκκαι – wishing to please Perdikkas.”³⁹ Philip's intervention in this case can be easily explained since we know that the Antigonid monarch was the honorary *prostates* of Crete (Plb. 7.11.9).⁴⁰ The second Teian embassy consisted of two brothers, Pythagoras and Kleitos. They traveled to northwestern Greece and delivered the Teian *psephisma* to the Aitolian League, the Delphic Amphiktyony, the city of Delphi, and the Athamanian kings.⁴¹ This embassy happened during the archonship of Megartas at Delphi in 203/02 BC.⁴² The Aitolian document further mentions that the embassy addressed the Aitolian assembly at the Panaitolikon festival, providing a more precise date around March/April of 203 BC.⁴³ This is our only secure

³⁷ *Asylia* nos. 138 (Rhaukos) 9, 143 (Lappa) 9, and 149 (Eleutherna) 14. Antiochos' involvement is easy to understand since the Teian call for *asylia* began with his own decree. Nonetheless, the fact that Hagesander only appears at three cities, means that the king did not specifically order his agent to represent the Teian cause. Nonetheless, the favored position of the Teians with regard to the monarch, allowed them to convince Hagesander to aid their appeal to the Cretans whenever it was convenient.

³⁸ *Asylia* nos. 140 (Axos) 12, 141 (Sybarita) 3, 142 (Lato) 22, 148 (Istron) 19, 150 (Arkades) 20, 151 (Allaria) 15, 152 (Lato by Kamara) 19. Perdikkas is also recorded as having Teian citizenship.

³⁹ E.g. *Asylia* no. 148 (Istron) 29-30.

⁴⁰ See also Walbank's commentary (*HCP* v.2: 58-59). Prior to the discovery of the Antiochos III decrees at Teos, it was thought that Philip V had suzerainty over Teos during this time period (Holleaux 1913: 144-145).

⁴¹ *Asylia* nos. 132-135 respectively.

⁴² For the date, see Lefèvre 1995: 204-5 and n. 166. *Contra* Piejko 1991: 20-21.

⁴³ *Asylia* no. 132.2.

date for the entire relative chronology concerning the declaration of *asylia* at Teos.⁴⁴

Though we have only the evidence of these two embassies, Teos in all certainty appealed to other cities during their initial call. These other cities either rejected the appeal or their replies have not been preserved.⁴⁵

The Teians did not stop with this first call for *asylia*. When Antiochos sent his agent Menippos on an embassy to Rome in 193 BC, the Teians asked the envoy to present their *psephisma* inviting the Romans to recognize the *asylia* of their city. The Roman Senate eagerly accepted the decree and declared Teos inviolable. Their letter of recognition was inscribed on the temple of Dionysos alongside the earlier decrees.⁴⁶

Finally, at a later date in the 2nd century BC, Teos sent another embassy to the cities of Crete.⁴⁷ The precise date of this second series of decrees is hard to ascertain, but scholarly consensus seems to prefer a date shortly after 170 BC.⁴⁸ Enough time had passed for the Cretans to refer to the earlier honors as having been granted by their ancestors.⁴⁹ These documents, which were again inscribed on the walls of the temple, are generally referred to as renewal decrees, but this is a bit of a misnomer.⁵⁰ Ties of kinship and friendship were certainly renewed, but the main thrust of the embassies was to ask

⁴⁴ See Ma's appendix on the date of the Teian documents (1999: 260-65).

⁴⁵ The bottom two preserved lines of one decree, for example, may come from the city of Knidos, although it should be noted that it belongs to a later series of "renewal" decrees after 170 BC (*Asylia* no. 158).

⁴⁶ *Asylia* no. 153 (= *Antiochos* no. 38)

⁴⁷ Apta (Asylia no. 154), Errana (no. 155), Biannos (no. 156), Malla (no. 157) Arkades (no. 159), Hyrtakina (no. 160), an unidentified Cretan city (no. 161), Knossos (*IC* 1.18.11) and Priansos (*IC* 1.24.1). Rigsby does not include the last two decrees since they do not mention *asylia* but they do refer to the same Teian ambassadors.

⁴⁸ Rigsby 1996a: 289-90 and Gauthier 1982: 280 n. 204.

⁴⁹ E.g. Eranna, *Asylia* no. 155.11: οἱ πρόγονοι. See also Rigsby 1996a: 289-290 for a discussion of the possible significance of the term in the Teian *asylia* documents.

⁵⁰ Rigsby refers to these decrees as "reminders" (1996a: 289). Gauthier speculates that the earlier decrees had lapsed through time (1972: 280) and Kreuter considers that there may have been violations in the intervening time (1992: 58). Rigsby also notes that the island of Tenos and Athens had reason to remind the Cretan cities of past decrees.

the cities to inscribe the earlier decrees and to increase honors for the god and the city of Teos.

The decrees were inscribed on the walls of the temple of Dionysos according to the individual embassies, but in no specific geographical order. We cannot guess what other cities may be missing. The Teian *asylia* decrees were found scattered throughout the area around Teos, reused in various buildings. A fair number were used in the *hamam* at Sığacık and another large block was found at Tepecik.⁵¹ The French excavators found two other decrees near the acropolis by the theater as well as some more fragments around the temple itself during their work in 1924.⁵²

It is certainly interesting to note that the Teian request for *asylia* are not typical. Teian ambassadors mentioned no oracle and no epiphany. It was only later, when seeking further honors from the Cretan cities, that the Teian ambassadors cited oracles from both Delphi and Didyma. Of course, it is possible that cities simply neglected to mention the oracles in their reply. Indeed, of the nine inscriptions preserved from the second series, only the decree from Malla mentions them.⁵³ It is also possible that oracles were consulted only when the embassies arrived at an oracular site during their journeys. Such was the case at Alabanda, a city that obtained an oracle at Delphi only just as it presented the decree for *asylia* to the Amphiktyony.⁵⁴ The Teian ambassadors, however, would have passed through both Didyma and Delphi before they arrived at Crete or northwest

⁵¹ Most of the Cretan documents were reused as seats in the *hamam* at Sığacık. These were purchased in the late 19th century by Lord Dufferin, who replaced them with new blocks. According to Ward, the women of the town were upset at the exchange because the *asylia* blocks were felt to have special virtues (1902: 323-324). These documents can still be found in the Clandeboye House collection in Northern Ireland. Many of the other documents have long since disappeared, including the block from Tepecik.

⁵² Béquignon and Laumonier 1925: 298-303 and 308.

⁵³ *Asylia* no. 157 (Malla) 9.

⁵⁴ *Asylia* no. 163.16 and Rigsby's comments at 1996a: 283.

Greece and so the lack of any mention of these oracles in the twenty-one decrees extant from the first series remains troubling. It is possible that the Teians decided to seek *asylia* for Dionysos without depending upon an oracle. Even if they had consulted an oracle before the first embassies, oracles were clearly not an integral part of the cases presented to other cities. After all, only one of the nine renewal decrees mentions oracles.

By now, it should be clear that the Teian call for *asylia* differs from that of other cities in a number of respects. First the cities invited were restricted geographically. This cannot be due to an accident of preservation of these decrees; there are simply too many decrees and remarkably little evidence for other grantors. So, without a doubt, Crete and Aitolia were the predominant granting parties. Nonetheless, there are indications that Teos did canvass a larger area.⁵⁵ A second problem in the Teian appeal for *asylia* is the lack of a claim of divine power to legitimate it. There was no epiphany and it was only little more than a generation later that we find evidence for an oracle. Furthermore, the city did not announce a Panhellenic festival in conjunction with their call for *asylia*.⁵⁶ The city appears to have sent out embassies relying solely on the reputation of their city's importance for Dionysos. Nevertheless, this strategy did have returns and it is worth examining the evidence to determine what part of the Teian invitation attracted the Cretans, Aitolians and the rest of the granting parties to recognize Teian *asylia*.

⁵⁵ Namely, the last two lines of a decree from Knidos (*Asylia* no. 158) and the testimony for an oracle from Didyma (*Asylia* no. 157.9).

⁵⁶ In the Roman period, Teos did hold a penteteric Dionysia festival, which is listed alongside other Panhellenic festivals in an inscription from Kos (*Iscr. Cos* EV 218.21), but this does not appear to have been the case during the Hellenistic period.

3. The Cretan Documents

An initial call for *asylia* was sent by the Teians to Crete in 203 BC. The replies from the Cretan *poleis* were formulated as decrees or letters and, although they vary somewhat in language and word choice, they were all replying to the same set of demands presented to them by the Teian ambassadors, Apollodotos and Kolotas.

The first series includes seventeen documents.⁵⁷ We can be certain that three other cities approved the grant at this time since we have decrees from them in the second series, aimed at cities that had already recognized Teos' *asylia*.⁵⁸ The letter sent by the Kydoniatans is typical of the longer replies and will serve as an example (*Asylia* no. 139):

Κυδωνιατᾶν

Κυδωνιατᾶν ἄ πόλις καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες Τηίων τᾶι βωλ[ᾶι]
καὶ τῶι δάμωι χαίρειν· ἐπειδὴ [Τή]οι φίλοι καὶ συγγενεῖς
4 ὑπάρχοντες διὰ προγόνων τᾶι πόλει ψάφισμα καὶ πρεσ-
βευτὰς ἀπεστάλκαντι Ἄπολλόδοτον καὶ Κωλώταν, οἱ
ἐπελθόντες ἐπὶ τὰν ἐκκλησίαν τό τε ψάφισμ(α) ἀπέδω-
καν καὶ αὐτοὶ διελέγην ἀκολούθως τοῖς γεγραμμένοις,
8 τὰν ἐκτενεστάταν σπουδάν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν ποιόμε-
νοι περὶ τῶ γενέσθαι τὰν καθιάρωσιν τῶι Διονύσωι τᾶς
τε πόλιος καὶ τᾶς χώρας τᾶς Τηίων καὶ τὰν ἀσυλίαν, ἔτι
δὲ καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτοῖς ἔνδοξα καὶ τίμια εἰς
12 τὸν θεὸν ψαφιξαμένος καὶ αὐτὸς συναύξεν καὶ αἰεὶ τι-
νος ἀγαθῶ παραιτίος γενέσθαι τῶι δάμωι, καὶ ὅτι ταῦτα
ποιήσαντες ἀκολουθα πράξομεν τᾶι τε [συγγενεῖαι? καὶ τᾶι]
ποτὶ τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβεῖαι καὶ τὰ μέγιστα χαριζιόμεθα τῶι
16 δάμωι· ἀποκρίνασθαι Τηίοις φίλοις καὶ οἰκείοις οὔσιν δι-
ὅτι τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ αὐτοὶ σεβόμεθα καὶ τὸν Τηίων δᾶμον
συγγενέα ὄντα ἀσπαζόμεθα καὶ ἐπαινώμεν δι[ι]ό[τι] κ[α]-
λῶς καὶ ἐνδόξως καὶ καταξίως τῶι θεῶι προεστάκαντι,
20 ἔνεκα ὧν καὶ παρ' ἁμῶν τὰ καλὰ καὶ τίμια δίδοται τῶι θεῶι
καὶ Τηίων τὰν τε πόλιν καὶ τὰν χώραν ἀνιέμεν ἱερὰν καὶ
ἄσυλον νῦν τε καὶ εἰς τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον πάντα, καὶ πει[ρα]-
σόμεθα αἰεὶ τινος ἀγαθῶ παραιτίοι γίνεσθαι τῶι δάμωι

⁵⁷ *Asylia* nos. 136-152. The respective cities are: Knossos, Polyrrenia, Rhaukos, Kydonia, Axos, Sybarita, Lato, Lappa, Hierapytna, Aptera, Biannos, Apollonia, Istron, Eleutherna, Arkades, Allaria, and Lato by Kamara.

⁵⁸ These shadow grants can be inferred for Malla (*Asylia* no. 157), Hyrtakina (no. 160), and Priansos *IC* 1.24.1.

24 καὶ κοινᾶ καὶ ἰδίαι· εἴ κά(ι) τινες ἄγωντι Τηίος ἢ τὸς κατοικόν-
 τας παρ' αὐτοῖς, οἱ κόσμοι καὶ ἄλλος ὄλων Κυδωνια-
 τᾶν ἢ Τηίων ἀφελόμενοι καὶ διδόντες τοῖς ἀδικη-
 μένοις κύριοι ἔστωσαν. ἔρρωσθε.

(The letter) of the Kydoniatans. The city and the officials of the Kydoniatans send greetings to the council and the people of Teos. Since the Teians, being friends and kin through ancestry, have dispatched to the city a decree and the ambassadors Apollodotos and Kolotas, who coming into the assembly handed over the decree, and the same men, in accordance with what was written, showed the most earnest zeal and public spirit about establishing the consecration to Dionysos and the *asylia* of both the city and the land of the Teians, and still also about us voting to increase the other existing distinctions for them and honors for the god and being always ready to do some good for the people, and that by doing these things, we would be acting in accordance to [our kinship?] and with piety toward the divine and we would greatly gratify their people. Let it be answered to the Teians, being friends and family, that since we also worship Dionysos and that since the Teian people are kin, we salute and commend them since they have acted well and honorably and worthily for the god, on account of which good and worthy things are given from us to the god, and we grant that both the city and the land of the Teians are to be holy and inviolate both now and for all time, and we will attempt to be the cause of some good for the people, both publicly and privately. And if any should seize Teians or inhabitants of Teos, the *kosmoi* or another of all the Kydoniatans or Teians coming are sovereign to remove and give back those having been done injustice. Farewell.”

The documents are all structured in a similar fashion: greetings, recapitulation of the Teian embassy and demands, recognition of Teos' territorial *asylia*, and a final additional grant of personal *asylia*. The bulk of each document, however, deals with friendship and honors for the Teians on account of their shared ancestry and piety towards the gods. Along with the other Cretans, the Kydoniatans saluted the Teians as φίλοι and συγγενεῖς διὰ προγόνων, confirming a long-standing mythological relationship which united the two. They also made a distinct statement of their own piety towards Dionysos. The phrase “τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ αὐτοὶ σεβόμεθα – we also worship Dionysos,” which occurs in many of the decrees, is an important affirmation that the Cretans saw their

recognition of the Teian *asylia* as a matter of divine respect. Kinship and shared respect for the divine show up in all the documents from Crete and it must be this aspect of communality that the Teian embassy presented to them.⁵⁹

The kinship bond is obviously not a tie to any particular city on Crete but rather to the island as a whole. This would, of course, mean that these were claims that stem back to the time of Minos and his thalassocracy over the Aegean. But what link could there have been between the Teians and Minos? There is no definite answer, but the tie probably goes back through Oinopion, mythical founder of Chios and son of Dionysos and Ariadne, the daughter of Minos.⁶⁰ Oinopion had a son, Athamas, and the doublet with Athamas, the founder of Teos, suggests an alternate Cretan myth in which the son of Oinopion founded Teos.⁶¹ Such a mythological ancestry would also tie Teos to Cretan myths of Dionysos, although this should not be stressed too much since the sentiment in the line “we also worship Dionysos” seems to be a reminder to the Teians of their own distinct cult.⁶² The genealogy of Oinopion is an attractive link between Teos and Crete. The Teians were well aware of the different stories concerning their foundation and were equipped to exploit them in their own favor.

The heart of the Teian embassy, of course, lay in the appeal for recognition of *asylia*. The Teians asked the Cretan cities to recognize the consecration and the *asylia* of both their city and territory, and to increase existing distinctions and honors for Dionysos.

⁵⁹ On the use of kinship diplomacy in the Greek world, see Jones 1999: 50-65.

⁶⁰ Ion of Chios, *FGrHist* 392 F1 and Plutarch, *Theseus* 20.2-5.

⁶¹ Jacoby's commentary for Ion of Chios, *FGrHist* 392 F 1.

⁶² The Orphic poems preserve a very different account of the god on Crete where the infant Dionysos is torn apart by the Titans on Mt. Ida. The narrative reconstruction of the poems by West is helpful (1983: 70-75 esp. 74). Jeanmaire discusses this other myth in connection with regular Cretan cult practice (1951: 371-85). It is important to note that other Cretan myths did gain some mainstream appeal. Pherekydes (*FGrHist*, 3 F 148) and Hyginus (*Fables* 42-3 and *On Astronomy* 2.5.1) preserve an account that Dionysos had previously visited Ariadne at Knossos and had gotten her with child. This variant account for the birth of Oinopion, who then later settled the island of Chios.

All the extant Cretan recognition decrees contain these clauses.⁶³ Several, as the Kydonia decree does, also promise personal *asylia* to the Teians as well.⁶⁴ This is an important political concession and it very well may have been one of the primary goals of the Teian embassy to obtain it.⁶⁵

The protection clauses fall into two groups. The shorter formula, as seen in the Kydoniatan decree above, offers very little. The Teians, the *kosmoi*, and any willing citizen of Kydonia, are allowed to seize and hand back any Teians who have been wronged.⁶⁶ The longer formula, seen in many of the documents, is more specific.⁶⁷ The text from Istron is a good example (*Asylia* no. 48.33-40):

εἰ δέ τινές κα τῶν ὀρμιομένων ἐξ Ἰστρωνος ἀδικήσωντί τινα Τηίων ἢ κοιναῖ ἢ ἰδίαι παρὰ τὸ γραφὲν δόγμα περὶ τᾶς ἀσυλίας ὑπὸ τᾶς πόλιος τᾶς
 36 Ἰστρωνίων, ἐξέστω τῶι παραγενομένωι Τηίων ἐπιλαβέσθαι καὶ τῶν σωμάτων καὶ χρήματα, εἴ τις κα ἄγηι· οἱ δὲ κόσμοι οἱ τόκα ἀεὶ κοσμοῦντες ἐπαναγκαζόντων ἀποδιδόμεν τοὺς ἔχοντας,
 40 ἀζήμιοι ὄντες καὶ ἀνυπόδικοι·

And if any of those at anchor from Istron should wrong any of the Teians, either publicly or privately, contrary to the written decree concerning *asylia* by the city of the Istronians, it is permitted for a Teian being present to take back the persons and property, if anyone has taken them. And the *kosmoi* in office are to force those having them to hand them over, being immune from fine and free from legal procedure.

⁶³ The fragmentary decree from Biannos (*Asylia* no. 146) preserves only the personal guarantees but we also have a decree from the city in the second series (no. 156) that explicitly states that these legal rights were granted.

⁶⁴ Short formula, such as the Kydoniatan decree, are found in the replies of Allaria (*Asylia* no. 151) and Apta (no. 145). The decrees from Knossos (no. 136), Sybarita (no. 141), Lato (no. 142), Hierapytna (no. 144), Biannos (no. 146), Apollonia (no. 147), Istron (no. 148), Arkades (no. 150), and Lato by Kamara (no. 152) have longer formula. Four of the decrees make no mention of personal *asylia*: Rhaukos (no. 138), Polyrrhenia (no. 139), Axos (no. 140) and Eleutherna (no. 149) and the decree from Lappa (no. 143) breaks off so that we cannot know.

⁶⁵ Brulé (1978: 93-102) and Gauthier (1972: 276) argue as much.

⁶⁶ The Kydonia formula for personal *asylia* is also used in the decrees from Apta (*Asylia* no. 145.8-12) and Allaria (no. 151.28-31).

⁶⁷ See the list in n. 64 above.

The formula here differs from that at Kydonia insofar as, while a Teian is still allowed to take back persons and property by force, now the *kosmoi* are compelled to take their fellow citizens to task. Two other pertinent details come to light. The first is that the Cretans were legislating against both public and private wrongs. Private wrongs could no doubt result from piratical attacks. The public ones could arise from a number of factors including reprisals against Teians stemming from mercantile misdealings as well as privateering during the course of war. The possible location where such injustices might occur is not mentioned. The Cretan decrees use the verb ὀρμίζω meaning “at anchor.” Kvist interpreted this to mean “at anchor (at Teos)” but Teos is not specified and it certainly does not need to be the case.⁶⁸ Indeed, as we saw in the previous chapter, there is no evidence for Cretan piratical activity in the area of northern Ionia. I suspect that, although this clause is appended to the grant of territorial *asylia*, the Cretans were granting a separate judicial process in Crete to Teians who had been seized or attacked in the southern Aegean. In order for the clause to be effective, a Teian had to be present at the Cretan city to demand restitution. This presupposes a certain level of interaction between Teos and the island that can be explained only by Crete’s central position with regards to all southern Aegean shipping and trade. This was an area where Teians would have been vulnerable to attacks and seizures. The grants of personal *asylia* by the Cretan cities do not discourage piracy. This lay outside of the control of the *kosmoi*, but the Cretan *poleis* did offer to moderate some of its effects. The Teians undoubtedly chose to

⁶⁸ 2003: 197-198. Previous scholars tended to translate ὀρμίζειν as “to operate from the naval bases,” which would require the verb ὀρμάομαι (e.g. Rigsby 1996a: 303-304). Aitolian documents traditionally use the latter verb (e.g. *Asylia* 132.11 for Teos, *IG* 12.5.526.3 for Keos). The choice of the verb ὀρμίζειν by the Cretans is problematic and vague. It is consistently used not only at Teos but also for other grants (e.g. *Asylia* no. 175.19 for Anaphe) and may represent a different phraseology common to the Cretans.

demand this right, already granted to other cities like Miletos. They appended it to their demand for territorial *asylia*, knowing that it was less likely to be refused in that context.⁶⁹

The second series of decrees emanating from Crete, probably dating to some time after 170 BC. demonstrates that the Teians had reasons to develop good relationships with the cities of Crete. Two more Teian ambassadors, Herodotos and Menekles, canvassed the island and probably also the city of Knidos. There are nine extant decrees from the second series. Of these, seven acknowledge the previous grants and extend further rights to the Teians.⁷⁰ The decree from Arkades is particularly detailed concerning the embassy (*Asylia* no. 159):

Ἄρκάδων

ἔδοξεν Ἄρκάδων τοῖς κόσμοις καὶ ταῖ πόλει· ἐπει-
 δὴ Τήϊοι φίλοι καὶ συγγενεῖς καὶ εὖνοοι ὑπάρχοντες
 4 ταῖ πόλει διὰ προγόνων ψάφισμα καὶ πρεσβευτὰς
 ἀπέσταλκαν Ἡρόδοτον Μηνοδότου, Μενεκλῆν Δι-
 ονουσίου, οἱ καὶ ἐπελθόντες ἐπὶ τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἄρ-
 κάδων τό τε ψάφισμα ἀπέδωκαν καὶ αὐτοὶ διελέ-
 8 γεν μετὰ πάσας σπουδᾶς καὶ φιλοτιμίας ἐνφανί-
 ζοντες τὰν εὖνοϊαν τοῦ δάμου ἂν ἔχει πρὸς Ἄρ-
 κάδας καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς Κρη[τα]ίεας, τὰν τε εὐσέ-
 βειαν ἂν ἔχετε πρὸς πάντας τοὺς θεοὺς μά-
 12 λιστα δὲ πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον τὸν ἀρχαγέταν ὑ-
 μέκων ὦν ἅ τε πόλις καὶ χώρα ὑμῶν καθιερω-
 ται, περὶ τε τῶν ἄλλων τῶν συμφερόντων
 ταῖς πόλεσιν διελέγησαν ἀξίως ἀμφοτε-
 16 ρᾶν τὰν πόλεων, παρεκάλεον δὲ ἀμὲ καὶ ἀνα-
 γράψαι τὸ πρότερον δοθὲν ὑμῖν δόγμα περὶ
 τᾶς ἀσυλίας ἐν ὁποίῳ τε κρίνωμεν ἱερῶν· δε-
 [δ]όχθαι ἀποκρίνασθαι τοῖς πρεσβευταῖς τῶν
 20 [Τ]ηῖων καὶ ταῖ πόλει διότι τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἄρ-
 κάδων καὶ ἐν τοῖς πρότερον χρόνοις ἀπ' οὐδε-

⁶⁹ In the middle of the 3rd century, Miletos established a series of bilateral treaties with many of the cities on Crete. These accords forbade the purchase of Milesians on Crete, and vice-versa, and also established means of repurchase and repatriation. *Stsv.* 3.482 and the discussion in Brulé 1978: 6-12.

⁷⁰ *Asylia* nos. 154-157 and 159-162. The respective cities are: Aptera, Eranna, Biannos, Malla, Arkades, Hyrtakina, and an unidentified city.

[νός] ἀπέστα τῶν συμφερόντων τῶι δάμωι
 [τῶι] Τηίωι, διά τε τὸν Διόνυσον τὸν ἀρχαγέταν
 24 [ἔοντα] τᾶς πόλεως καὶ διὰ τοὺς λοιποὺς θεοὺς,
 [καὶ ἀνανεω]σαμένων τῶν παρ' ὑμῶν πρεσβευ-
 [τᾶν τάν] τε φιλίαν καὶ συγγένειαν καὶ ἀποδει-
 [ξαμένων] τὴν εὐνοίαν ἃν ἔχετε διὰ παντὸς
 28 [ἔς τοὺς Κρ]ηταιεῖς πάντας καὶ τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀρ-
 κάδων· βωλόμενοι οὖν καὶ ἡμεῖς τοῖς εὐνόως
 διακειμένοις ἐν χάριτος μέρει μὴ λείπεσθαι, τό
 τε πρότερον δόγμα ὃ ἔχετε παρ' ἡμῶν περὶ τᾶς
 32 ἀσυλίας καὶ τᾶς καθιερώσιος τᾶς τε πόλιος καὶ τᾶς
 χώρας ἀναγράφομεν, καθότι παρακαλεῖτε διὰ τοῦ
 ψαφίσματος, εἰς τὸ ἱερόν τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ, καὶ συν-
 τηρήσομεν τὰ δεδομένα ὑμῖν φιλάνθρωπα· πα-
 36 ρακαλεσάντων δὲ ἀμέ τῶν πρεσβευτᾶν δοῦναι
 ὑμῖν ἰσοπολιτείαν καὶ ἐνκτησιν γᾶς καὶ οἰκίας καὶ ἀτέ-
 λειαν, ταῦτά τε δίδομεν ὑμῖν, καὶ ἐάν τινες ἀδικώσιν
 ὑμᾶς ἢ ταν χώραν παραίρωνται τὴν καθιερωμέ-
 40 ναν τῶι Διονύσῳ καὶ πολεμέωσιν κατὰ γᾶν
 ἢ κατὰ θάλασσαν, βοαθήσομεν ὑμῖν καθότι ἃν ἔω-
 μεν δυνατοί· εἶναι δὲ καὶ τὰ φιλάνθρωπα Τηίοις πα-
 ρ' Ἀρκάσι πάντα ὅσα καὶ Ἀρκάσιν ἔσται· ἐπαινέομεν
 44 δὲ καὶ τὸς πρεσβευτὰς Ἡρόδοτον καὶ Μενεκλέα
 ἐπὶ τῶι σπεύδειν ὑπὲρ τᾶς πατρίδος ἐκτενῶς
 καὶ τὴν παρεπιδαμίαν πεποιῆσθαι ἀξίως ἀμφοτε-
 ρᾶν τᾶμ πόλεων, δοθῆμεν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ξένια τὰ
 48 ἐκ τῶν νόμων, εἶναι δὲ Ἡρόδοτον Μηνοδότῳ καὶ
 Μενεκλῆ Διονυσίῳ προξένος τᾶς πόλεος ἀμῶν.
 ἔρρωσθε.

(The letter) of the Arkadians. The *kosmoi* and the city of the Arkadians decided. Since the Teians, being friends and kin and well-disposed to the city through ancestry, sent a decree and the ambassadors, Herodotos the son of Menodotos and Menekles the son of Dionysios, who coming before the assembly of the Arkadians, handed over the decree and the same men spoke with all zeal and public spirit, revealing the goodwill which the people hold for the Arkadians and the rest of the Cretans, and the piety which they have for all the gods but especially for Dionysos, your founder, for whom your city and your land is sanctified, and they spoke concerning the other advantages for the cities, worthy of both cities, and they were inviting us to inscribe the earlier decree given by us concerning the inviolability in whatever temple we decide. Let it be decreed to answer to the ambassadors and the city of the Teians that the people of the Arkadians have lapsed in no ways from grants given to the Teians in former times, on account of Dionysos being your founder and the remaining gods, and with the ambassadors from you renewing friendship

and kinship and receiving the goodwill which you have on behalf of all in all Crete and the assembly of the Arkadians. And so not wishing to be left out in our share of grace for the things settled in goodwill, we will inscribe the earlier decree which we have for ourselves concerning the inviolability and the sanctification of the city and the land, just as you invited in your decree, in the temple of Asklepios, and we will preserve the good things granted for you. And since the ambassadors have invited us to give you isopolity and property rights of land and houses and tax exemption, we grant these things to you, and if any should wrong you or remove things from the land sanctified to Dionysos and war upon you by land or by sea, we will help you in any way we are able. And let there be good things for the Teians from all the Arkadians, as many as there are for the Arkadians. And we also honor the ambassadors Herodotos and Menekles for striving in all effort on behalf of their fatherland and for being an inhabitant worthy of both cities, and we have given them guest friendship according to the laws, and let Herodotos the son of Menodotos and Menekles the son of Dionysios be *proxenoi* for the our city. Farewell.

The Teian embassy to the Cretans again relied on their shared ancestry and piety for Dionysos. The Teians were also counting on a new factor: the memory of the Cretan cities. This was not lost on the Cretans. They often made reference to the decree of their ancestors and stressed that their city had not lapsed with regard to this in any way. The Teian embassy was not attempting to renew *asylia* for Dionysos. After all, how could the status actually lapse? The Teians were rather seeking a concretization of the earlier decrees and an increase in the honors for the god and their city. After reminding the Cretans of their previous embassy, the Teian ambassadors asked that the former decree be inscribed in whatever temple the city chose.⁷¹

The old decrees were far from *lettre morte*, as some scholars choose to believe.⁷²

Indeed, the Cretans themselves stress that they had not lapsed from the former agreement

⁷¹ The decrees of the first series rarely had provisions for publication. The two cities, however, that had specifically stated that they had previously published them, Biannos and Arkades, were subject to the same request.

⁷² E.g. Pritchett 1991: 128.

and the Teians brought no specific grievance against them.⁷³ The Teians were rather seeking to extend their rights in Crete. If these decrees took place after the Third Macedonian War, it is possible that the Teians hoped to make further political inroads with the Cretan cities. After all, Crete had much more political and economic sway in the region following the demise of the Rhodian thalassocracy. The Teians certainly succeeded. In four of the Cretan decrees, the Teians were granted isopolity and immunity from taxes.⁷⁴ At Arkades, Eranna and Hyrtakina, the Teians were also granted property rights.⁷⁵ Aptera was more reticent, but did specifically mention that if any Apteran wronged a Teian by land or by sea, he would be subject to the law concerning sacrilege or *hierosylia*, a more explicit grant than that in their earlier decree.⁷⁶

The Cretan cities also promised military aid should Teos be attacked by land or by sea.⁷⁷ Such a line is common in military treaties, but seems out of place here. Although the offer is more honorary than real, since no Cretan city was in a position to provide military assistance. Moreover, any real military treaty would have been enforced by an oath, but no oaths are mentioned.⁷⁸ A political fiction designed to reflect piety for the god and friendship towards the Teians satisfied both parties.⁷⁹

⁷³ The Mytilenaians, for example, cited a specific case against the Aitolians in 208/7 BC, when they reconfirmed their rights of personal *asylia* (*IG* 9.1².190). Cf. Gauthier 1972: 259.

⁷⁴ *Asylia* nos. 155 (Eranna), 156 (Biannos), 157 (Malla), and 160 (Hyrtakina). A decree from an unknown Cretan city does not preserve the end of the text but may also have had this clause (no. 161).

⁷⁵ *Asylia* nos. 155 (Eranna), 159 (Arkades), and 160 (Hyrtakina).

⁷⁶ This is the only occurrence of the term *hierosylia* in Rigsby's corpus of *asylia* decrees. The Apterans were invoking a penalty already in their canon of laws. Although the punishment for *hierosylia* at Aptera is not known, the penalty in Attic law was quite severe and included death, loss of property, and a restriction from burial on Attic soil (MacDowell 1978: 149).

⁷⁷ *Asylia* nos. 154 (Aptera) 42-46, 155 (Eranna) 31-37, 159 (Arkades) 38-42, and 160 (Hyrtakina) 4-9. Biannos also grants this protection but the wording is different. No. 156.26-30.

⁷⁸ E.g. the late 3rd century treaties between Rhodes and Hierapytna (*Stsv.* 551.III.a1-b1) and Olous (*Stsv.* 552.a25-31). Both of these decrees preserve an oath for the citizen bodies, which is a proper characteristic of military treaties. Military alliances between Cretan cities always contained an oath. See Chaniotis 1996: 66 and n. 343.

⁷⁹ *Contra* Kvist 1996: 185-212. See §1 above.

Military aid, isopolity, and proxeny were all important rights but, in and of themselves, they did no honor for Dionysos. So why are there so many references to the piety of the Teians in this second series of decrees? It might seem that, *asylia* had just become a vehicle for demanding extended honors. Fortunately, the decrees from Knossos and Priansos differ greatly from those just discussed.⁸⁰ They are the most informative of the second series of decrees about the Teian embassy, a surprise since they do not mention *asylia* at all. The two decrees merely voted honors to the city of Teos and the ambassadors Herodotos and Menekles. The decree from Priansos reads (*IC* 1.24.1):

Πριανσίων.

ἔδοξε Πριανσίων τοῖς κόσμοις καὶ τᾷ πόλει.
 ἐπειδὴ Ἡρόδοτος Μῆνοδοτοῦ καὶ Μενεκλῆς Διονυ-
 4 σίω ἔξαποστάλεντες πρεγγευταὶ πορτὶ ἄμε πα-
 ρὰ Τητίων, οὐ μόνον ἀνεστρά[φεν] <πρ>επ(ό)ντω(ς) ἐν τᾷ
 πόλει καὶ [διελέγ]εν περὶ τᾶ[ς]ΤΟ[. .]ας, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ ἐπεδείξατο Μενεκλῆς μετὰ κιθάρας τὰ τε Τι-
 8 μοθέου καὶ Πολυίδου καὶ τῶν ἁμῶν παλαιῶν ποιη-
 τᾶν καλῶς καὶ πρεπόντως, εἰσκήνεγκε δὲ κύκλον
 ἱστορημέναν ὑπὲρ Κρήτας, κα[ὶ τ]ῶν ἐν [Κρή]ται γε-
 γονότων θεῶν τε καὶ ἡρώων, [ποι]ησάμενο[ς τ]ᾶν
 12 συναγωγᾶν ἐκ πολλῶν ποιητᾶ[ν] καὶ ἱστοριογρά-
 φων· διὸ δεδόχθαι τᾷ πόλει ἐπαινέσαι Τητίος ὅτι
 πλεῖστον λογον ποιῶνται περὶ παιδείας, ἐπαι-
 νέσαι δὲ καὶ Ἡρόδοτον καὶ Μενεκλῆν ὅτι καλὰν
 16 καὶ πρέπονσαν πεποίηνται τὰν παρεπιδημίαν
 ἐν τᾷ πόλει ἁμῶν, διασαφῆσαι τε ταῦτα καὶ Τητί-
 οῖς ὄ(κ)πως ἐπιγιγνώσκωντι.
 ἔρρωσθε.

(The letter) of the Priansians. The *kosmoi* and the city of the Priansians decreed: Since Herodotos the son of Menodotos and Menekles the son of Dionysios, having been sent as messengers to us from the Teians, not only exhibited themselves in a fitting manner in the city and spoke concerning...but Menekles performed well and fittingly with his lyre the works of Timotheos and Polyides and our other ancient poets, and he

⁸⁰ *IC* 1.8 (Knossos) 11 and *IC* 1.24 (Priansos) 1. It is worth stressing, however, that they were inscribed on the temple of Dionysos at Teos alongside the more formal *asylia* recognitions. While the decrees fail to state that the rights are still in force, their relationship is clearly understood.

carried into the historic cycle⁸¹ concerning Crete and the gods and heroes who have been in Crete, having made a collection from many poets and historians. Wherefore the city decreed to honor Teos since they put the greatest value on education, and to further honor Herodotos and Menekles since they made a good and fitting stay in our city. And let these things be quite clear in order that the Teians know it. Farewell.

The embassy, as described in this decree, was apparently not completely dependent upon a *psephisma* of the Teian assembly or the special pleading of the ambassadors. The Teians sent along a musician, Menekles, who was perhaps a member of the Dionysiac *technitai*.⁸² He performed the works of poets and historians to the Cretan assemblies.⁸³ The Priansos decree specifically informs us that Menekles presented a collection of stories outlining the deeds of Cretan gods and heroes. It is likely that the performance must have emphasized the myth-historical relationship between the two cities through Oinopion and his son Athamas. A performance of this kind would have been very popular. In the late Hellenistic period, citing ancient writers was one way to garner support for various historical claims.⁸⁴ Here, myth-historical sources were used to bolster kinship ties. The musical performance would have been a good medium to convey the

⁸¹ It seems very clear that the term κύκλον ιστορημένων is being used as “historic cycle” but it is an unusual phrase. Dionysios of Miletos wrote a history under the name Κύκλος ἱστορικός (*FGrHist* 687 T1 and 2). A work by the same name is known for Dionysios of Rhodes (*FHG* 2 pp. 9-11), but it was a periegetic work. Cf. *AP* 9.559 for a similar reference to an ἱστορα κύκλον.

⁸² Chaniotis 1988 348-349 (E71). However, it should also be noted that the education law from earlier in the same century specifically provides musical instruction on the lyre for the Teians youths (*SIG*³.578.14-19). There were undoubtedly Teians who were quite proficient on the lyre who did not join the Dionysiac *technitai*.

⁸³ Two poets are singled out. Timotheos is undoubtedly the 4th century BC lyric poet from Miletos, who is known to have written many works concerning Dionysos, some of which may have involved the Cretan cycle (*PMG* (Page) 777-804). Polyides is not well known but he was contemporary with Timotheos (*TGF* 78). A further passage in Athenaios suggests that Polyides and Timotheos were in competition with each other (*Deipn.* 8.352b).

⁸⁴ Curty 1994: 105-6. It is not inappropriate to compare this performance with the Lindian Chronicle, which cites poems and historical works to justify the ancient grandeur of sanctuary of Athena Lindia on Rhodes. See the new edition and commentary of this inscription in Higbie (2003). See also Higbie’s chapter discussing the reason behind the citation of sources in the Chronicle (2003: 243-288).

message behind the Teian claim. It is no wonder that the decrees of the second series almost always mention the offer of *xenia* to the ambassadors.

The basis for the Teian call for *asylia* on Crete is readily apparent. The ambassadors of the first series must have stressed this mythological and historical connection between the cities. This connection would have been the strongest part of their claim to *asylia* and would have been especially framed for the cities of Crete. The Cretans responded positively because the myths of Dionysos at Teos were linked to their own. For their part, the Teians gained valuable political concessions and some aid against periodic pirate attacks in the area around Crete. The *asylia* decrees do not provide testimony for a history of piratical attacks on Teian territory, but they do offer an important glimpse at Teos' preoccupation with security in the area Crete, central for all trade and traffic in the southern Aegean.

4. *The Northwest Greek Documents*

Turning to the Greek mainland, we have four decrees. The Teian ambassadors, brothers Pythagoras and Kleitos, approached the Aitolian League, the Delphic Amphiktyony, the Delphians, and the Athamanian kings. The embassy first approached the Aitolians at the spring festival of the Panaitolika before traveling towards Delphi.⁸⁵ At some point, either before or after approaching the Aitolians, they journeyed north to Athamania, but it is unclear if they did this. The archonship of Megartas at Delphi provides us with the only clue for the date of the embassy, which took place in 203/2 BC, shortly after Antiochos consecrated Teos to Dionysos.

⁸⁵ It is clear that the Aitolians were canvassed before Delphi because the Teian ambassadors showed the Aitolian recognition to the Amphiktyony (*Asylia* no. 133.10-11).

The Aitolian and Delphian documents were inscribed at Teos on the temple of Dionysos and at Delphi on the inner face of the north parastade of the Treasury of the Athenians. These recognition decrees differ in tone and content with those issued by the cities of Crete. The language is legal and offers few glimpses of piety. The Aitolian document reads (*Asyilia* no. 132):

Αἰτωλῶν
στραταγέοντος Ἀλεξάνδρου Καλυδωνίου, Παναιτωλικοῖς
ἐπεὶ Τηῖοι πρεσβευτὰς ἀποστείλαντες Πυθαγόραν καὶ Κλεῖτον τὰν τε
ὀικειότατα
4 καὶ τὰν φιλίαν ἀνενηοῦντο καὶ παρεκάλεον τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς ὅπως τὰν τε
πόλιν
αὐτῶν καὶ τὰν χώραν ἐπιχωρήσωντι ἱερὰν εἶμεν καὶ ἄσυλον τοῦ
Διονύσου·
δεδόχθαι τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς, ποτὶ τοὺς Τηῖοὺς τὰν φιλίαν καὶ οἰκειότατα
τὰν ὑπάρχουσαν
διαφυλάσσειν, καὶ τὰ ψαφίσματα τὰ πρότερον γεγονότα αὐτοῖς περὶ
πάντων τῶν φιλαν-
8 θρώπων κατάμονα εἶμεν· ὑπάρχειν δὲ αὐτοῖς παρὰ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν τᾶς
τε πόλιος καὶ τᾶς
χώρας τὰν ἀνιέρωσιν καὶ ἄσυλίαν, καθὼς καὶ οἱ πρεσβευταὶ ἀξίου, καὶ
μηθένα Αἰτωλῶν μηδὲ
τῶν ἐν Αἰτωλίαι κατοικούντων ἄγειν τοὺς Τηῖοὺς μηδὲ τοὺς ἐν Τέωι
κατοικέοντας μηδαμόθεν
ὀρμωμένους, ἀλλὰ τὰν ἀσφάλειαν καὶ ἄσυλίαν εἶμεν αὐτοῖς τὰ ἀπ’
Αἰτωλῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν Αἰ-
12 τωλίαι κατοικούντων· εἰ δὲ τίς κα ἄγχι ἢ αὐτοὺς ἢ τὰ ἐκ τᾶς πόλιος ἢ
χώρας, τὰ μὲν ἐμ-
φανῆ ἀναπράσσειν τὸν στ[ρ]ατα[γόν] καὶ τοὺς συνέδρους αἰεὶ τοὺς
ἐνάρχους, τῶν δὲ
ἀφανέων ὑποδίκους εἶμεν τοὺς ἀχνηκότας, γινομένας τοῖς Τηῖοις τᾶς
ἐγδικάσιος
καὶ τᾶς λοιπᾶς οἰκονομίας, καθὼς καὶ τοῖς Διονυσιακοῖς τεχνίταις ὁ
νόμος τῶν
16 Αἰτωλῶν κελεύει· ὅπως δὲ καὶ εἰς τοὺς νόμους καταχωρισθῆι ἅ
ἀνιέρωσις καὶ ἅ ἄσυλία
τοὺς κατασταθέντας νομογράφους καταχωρίξαι, ἐπεὶ κα αἱ
νομογραφίαι γίνωνται,
ἐν τοὺς νόμους.

(The letter) of the Aitolians. When Alexandros the Kalydonian was *stratagos* at the Panaitolika. Since the Teians, sending the ambassadors Pythagoras and Kleitos, were renewing their familiarity and friendship and were inviting the Aitolians so that they would concede that their city and territory be holy and inviolate of Dionysos, it was decreed by the Aitolians to guard their existing friendship and familiarity to the Teians, and that the former decrees given them concerning all sorts of favors be made permanent. And let there be consecration and *asylia* of the city and its territory for them from the Aitolians, just as the ambassadors were expecting, and let no Aitolian or inhabitant of Aitolia setting out from anywhere seize Teians or anyone dwelling in Teos, but let there be security and *asylia* for them from the Aitolians and those dwelling in Aitolia. And if any should seize either them or property from the city or the land, the *stratagos* and the *synedroi* in office are to confiscate the visible goods, but of the invisible⁸⁶ let those having committed the seizure be liable to trials, right to prosecute and remaining procedures being available to the Teians, just as the law of the Aitolians commands for the Dionysian *technitai*. And in order that the dedication and the *asylia* be recorded into the laws, let the appointed *nomographoi* record it, whenever the legislation comes into law.

The Aitolian document lacks the religious sentiment of the decrees from Crete. Indeed, Dionysos is mentioned only one time specifying that the Teians were asking for their city to be holy and inviolate for the god.⁸⁷

But the document is rich in detail concerning the relationship between Teos and northwest Greece. The Aitolians made specific reference to a series of former decrees that they had made concerning the Teians. The privileges previously granted were now to be made permanent. It is possible that the Teians came into contact with the League at the time of the reorganization of the Delphic *Soteria* in the 240s BC, when ambassadors from the Aitolians canvassed the eastern Aegean.⁸⁸ It was at this time that the Aitolians began to make diplomatic overtures, establishing proxeny relations, and formal treaties with

⁸⁶ *I.e.* "sold."

⁸⁷ *Asylia* no. 132 l.5.

⁸⁸ The recognitions of the Aitolian *Soteria* are collected in Nachtergaele 1977: Actes no. 21-28. In the area around Teos, Chios (no. 22) recognized the festival early on and Smyrna (no. 25) a few years later in 241. On the date of the Smyrna decree, see Elwyn 1990: 177-180. The Teian colony of Abdera also recognized the festival (no. 26).

many cities in the area of Teos.⁸⁹ The Teians also had an ace up their sleeve: the Dionysiac *technitai*. The Aitolians had previously granted personal *asylia* to the Ionian-Hellespontine chapter of the *technitai* in the 230s.⁹⁰ Now that the *technitai* were resident at Teos, it made good diplomatic sense for their home city to be granted *asylia*. And that was precisely what the Aitolian League did. They specifically granted Teos the same right of *asylia* that they had given to the Dionysiac *technitai* and then left the matter to their legislators, who were to sort out the exact recording of the law.

The fact that the Teians were granted personal *asylia* on the same terms of the Dionysiac *technitai* is important. The Aitolians were notorious bandits and plunderers, but they were not militarily active in the eastern Aegean. The *technitai* and the Teians had been granted *asylia* wherever they happened to be with regards to the Aitolians. This was certainly an important concession given that the Aitolians controlled much of northwest and central Greece and had controlling interest over the sanctuary of Delphi, undoubtedly a common destination for Ionians and Dionysiac *technitai* alike.⁹¹ The legal aspect of the grant presupposes high-levels of contact between the city and League territory. A citizen of Teos would have had to present his case to the Aitolian officials at Thermon in order to have persons and property restored or to begin a suit to reclaim money from goods already sold. Such provisions would have been of little utility to the Teians unless they had regular contact with Delphi and the Aitolian League. The Teians must have requested the grant in order to protect the interests of their traders in the area

⁸⁹ See Scholten 2000: 97-116.

⁹⁰ On the Aitolian grant of inviolability to the Ionian-Hellespontine chapter of the Dionysiac *technitai*, see chapter 7§1.

⁹¹ The Aitolians increased from 2 seats on the Amphiktyony in 278 to 14 seats in 225/4 BC. On the Aitolian influence over Delphi, see Grainger 1999: 105-109 and 236-238.

from bandits and pirates, but it does not follow that the Aitolians were a threat to the territory of Teos itself.

The recognition of the Aitolian League has been associated with recognitions from the Cretan cities because both were notorious “pirate nations” and because both offered personal rights against seizure to the Teians. It is for this reason that the Teian *asylia* documents have been consistently interpreted as an effort of the city to combat piracy.⁹² It is assumed that the Aitolians were a piratic sea power operating in the eastern Aegean, but as we have seen there is remarkably little evidence for this.⁹³ Instead, we learn that the Aitolian League formed treaties with cities and established an extensive system of proxeny relations throughout the Greek world.⁹⁴ The recognition of the *asylia* of Teos for Dionysos fits into this context of complex international ties.

The influence of the Aitolians quickly led to recognition of the Teian *asylia* by the Delphic Amphiktyony and the city of Delphi (*Asylia* nos. 133-134). The Teian ambassadors Pythagoras and Kleitos even presented the Aitolian decree to the Amphiktyony as part of their appeal (no. 133.11-14). It is no surprise that the Amphiktyony replied in similar terms and granted the same honors that had already been given to the Dionysiac *technitai* (ll. 16-19).⁹⁵ The Delphians followed suit and granted the same.⁹⁶ In all these cases, the pre-existing relationship between the Dionysiac *technitai* and mainland Greece served as a model for the recognition of the *asylia* of Teos. The Aitolian, Amphiktyonic and Delphian recognitions list personal inviolability as

⁹² E.g. Gauthier 1972: 276 and Pritchett 1991: 343.

⁹³ Grainger 1999: 1-26 esp. 17-19.

⁹⁴ Grainger 1999: 126-28. Scholten (2000: 105-116), citing the economic crisis that ensued after Aitolia was cut off from the Aegean, suggests that these treaties only marginally affected the large independent privateering of League members.

⁹⁵ The reply of the Amphiktyony to Alabanda contains no such personal honors (*Asylia* no. 163).

⁹⁶ *Asylia* no. 134. Delphi also issued a proxeny decree for Pythagoras and Kleitos, (*FD* 134d (= *SIG*³ 564)).

a grant beyond the *asylia* of the city and its territory, but they contain none of the honorific speech that is expected in an *asylia* recognition decree. In contrast to the Cretan recognitions, these texts do not contain religious sentiment.

When the Teian ambassadors Pythagoras and Kleitos moved further north to Athamania, they entered a new political arena. Although there were longstanding ties between the Teians and the Aitolians, the Teian relationship with the Athamanians was a new one required special attention of the ambassadors. The reply of the Athamanian kings, Amynder and Theodoros, granted that the city be holy, inviolable and free from tribute (*Asylia* no. 135 (= *RC* 35)).⁹⁷ These were the same words used by Antiochos III in 204/3 BC and the Romans in 193 BC (*Asylia* no. 153.20-21).⁹⁸ Unlike the Seleukid king, however, the Athamanians were in no position to exact tribute from the Teians. This has led some scholars to suggest that the wording reflects the decree sent out from Teos to powers whose constitutions would permit the extraction of tribute.⁹⁹

The most interesting part of the decree is the Athamanian insistence on their Greek descent from Hellenos.¹⁰⁰ The Athamanians were by tradition descended from Athamas, the son of Aiolos, the same as the Teians. Their insistence on claiming Hellenos as their eponymous ancestor denies the view common to the Greeks that the Athamanians were barbarians.¹⁰¹ The letter from the Athamanian rulers unfortunately breaks off just as they begin to speak of gaining the favor of the god. The Teian appeal to the Athamanians apparently focused on a myth-historical genealogy that linked them

⁹⁷ On the Athamanians in general, see. For the Athamanian kings see Oost 1957, Welwei 1965 and Baslez 1987. Piejko (1988) proposes that Theodoros and Amynder be read as two parts of the name of the same king and composes extensive restorations for this inscription *exempli gratia*.

⁹⁸ For the politics around the Roman decree, see Chapter 4§3. The honorary decree for Antiochos is discussed above.

⁹⁹ *E.g.* Herrmann 1965: 141.

¹⁰⁰ *Asylia* no.135.10-11 (= *RC* 35).

¹⁰¹ Strab. 7.7.1 lists them as an Epeirote tribe.

with the Teians as well as honor for the god. Making such a claim is characteristic of petitions in the Hellenistic period.¹⁰² The Teian ambassadors on Crete employed similar tactics.

The Athamanian decree allows us to better outline the activities of Pythagoras and Kleitos. The Teians had several strategies for obtaining the recognition of *asylia*. They shaped their strategy to the political entity they were approaching. In the area around Aitolia and Delphi, this meant brokering existing relations into new and more extended grants. In Athamania, the Teian embassy relied on mythological kinship ties. The tactics employed show the versatility of the Teian diplomacy during their call for *asylia*, tailor-made to various regions.

5. *The Roman Response*

In the winter of 194/3 BC, Antiochos III sent his ambassadors, Menippos and Hegesianax, to Rome in order to maintain the formal ties of friendship between the Seleukids and the Roman Senate (Livy 34.57.6-59).¹⁰³ The Romans, however, immediately challenged this friendship and accused the Seleukids of enslaving free cities of Asia. They did this because Rome had formal treaties and ties of friendship with them. Flamininus issued a warning to Antiochos to leave the Greek cities alone and the embassy was dismissed to report back to Antiochos for further negotiation. This was the last embassy sent by the Seleukid monarch to the Romans concerning this matter. The following year the Aitolians managed to embroil Antiochos in a war against Rome.

¹⁰² See the collection of inscriptions invoking kinship diplomacy in Curty 1995.

¹⁰³ Cf. Diod. 28.15.2-4 and Appian *Syr.* 6.

An interesting event also took place during this embassy, one not recorded by Livy. The Teians had asked Menippos to present their case for *asylia* to the Roman Senate. The reply of the Senate was inscribed at Teos on the temple of Dionysos alongside the earlier recognition decrees. It reads (*Asylia* no. 153 (= *Antiochos* no. 38 and *RDGE* 34)):

Ῥωμαίων

Μάρκος Ουαλάριος Μάρκου στρατηγός καὶ
 δήμαρχοι καὶ ἡ σύνκλητος Τηϊῶν τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι
 4 δήμωι χαίρειν· Μένιππος ὅ τε παρ' Ἀντιόχου τοῦ βα-
 σιλέως ἀποσταλεὶς πρὸς ἡμᾶς πρεσβευτής, προ-
 χειρισθεὶς καὶ ὑφ' ὑμῶν πρεσβεῦσαι ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως,
 τό τε ψήφισμα ἀνέδωκεν καὶ αὐτὸς ἀκολούθως τούτῳ
 8 διελέχθη μετὰ πάσης προθυμίας· ἡμεῖς δὲ τὸν τε ἄν-
 δρα ἀπεδεξάμεθα φιλοφρόνως καὶ διὰ τὴν προγεγενη-
 μένην αὐτῶι δόξαν καὶ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν καλοκἀ-
 γαθίαν περὶ τε ὧν ἡξιοῦ διηκοῦσαμεν εὐνόως· καὶ ὅτι
 12 μὲν διόλου πλεῖστον λόγον ποιούμενοι διατελοῦ-
 μεν τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσεβείας, μάλιστα ἂν τις στο-
 χάζοιτο ἐκ τῆς συναντωμένης ἡμεῖν εὐμενείας
 διὰ ταῦτα παρὰ τοῦ δαιμονίου· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξ ἄλ-
 16 λων πλειόνων πεπίσμεθα συμφανῆ πᾶσι γεγονέναι
 τὴν ἡμετέραν εἰς τὸ θεῖον προτιμίαν, διὸ καὶ διὰ τε ταῦ-
 τα καὶ διὰ τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς εὐνοίαν καὶ διὰ τὸν ἡξιω[μέν]ον
 πρεσβευτὴν κρίνομεν εἶναι τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χῶ-
 20 ραν ἱεράν, καθὼς καὶ νῦν ἐστίν, καὶ ἄσυλον καὶ ἀφορο-
 λόγητον ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων καὶ τὰ τε εἰς
 τὸν θεὸν τίμια καὶ τὰ εἰς ὑμᾶς φιλάνθρωπα πειρασό-
 μεθα συνεπαύξειν, διατηρούντων ὑμῶν καὶ εἰς τὸ
 24 μετὰ ταῦτα τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς εὐνοίαν. ννν ἔρρωσθε.

(The letter) of the Romans. Marcus Valerius (Messala), son of Marcus, praetor, and the tribunes and the Senate, to the council and the assembly of the Teians, greetings. Menippos, who having been sent as ambassador to us by Antiochos the king, and who was also voted by you to act as an ambassador on behalf of your city, gave us the decree and spoke himself accordingly with all zeal. We received the man in a friendly spirit, both on account of his previous reputation and on account of his inherent excellence, and we listened with goodwill concerning what he requested. And that we constantly attach the greatest importance to piety towards the gods, one may easily infer from the favor, which attends us from the divine on account of this. For many other reasons besides, we are

persuaded that our honor towards the divine is clear to all. So for this reason and out of goodwill to you and because of your worthy ambassador, we judge that your city and territory be holy, just as it is now, and inviolable and immune from tribute with regards to the Roman people, and we shall attempt to increase honors for the god and privileges for you, so long as in the future you preserve your goodwill to us. Farewell.

Given the quick dismissal of the Seleukid embassy in Livy's account, the Roman praise for Menippos in this letter at first seems puzzling. It is obvious that Menippos and Hegesianax spent some time in Rome and were treated well. Furthermore, negotiations were not as succinct as the account in Livy would have us believe. The subject matter of the official meeting was the liberty of the Greek city-states in Asia Minor, a matter that had involved the Romans ever since the Isthmian declaration. In an effort to resist Antiochos, some cities, such as Lampsakos and Smyrna, had appealed to the Romans (Livy 33.38.1-7).¹⁰⁴ It is a little perplexing to see Teos, a city that had welcomed Antiochos whole-heartedly just a decade before, become embroiled in this situation. Assuredly, the Teians were trying to establish relations with a new power in the Aegean. But why would Menippos, on an embassy against Roman intervention in Seleukid territory, provide another opportunity for the Romans to interfere by presenting the decree from Teos?

The politics surrounding this confrontation are complex, but it is possible that the Seleukid ambassador saw the Teian request the Romans for *asylia* as a means of demonstrating the freedom and autonomy of the Greek *poleis* within the Seleukid Empire.¹⁰⁵ This policy did not work. The Roman reply is a veritable propaganda piece. They spend more words on vaunting their own piety and displaying the favor of the gods

¹⁰⁴ For a discussion of the political and discursive importance of this passage, see Ma 1999: 2-25.

¹⁰⁵ Ma suggests that the Teians may have approached Menippos as a benefactor while he was based in the region (1999: 209-210). The Seleukid official could have felt obliged to represent the Teians since the Teian request would have included particular honors for him.

than on the Teian demand itself. When they do address the Teian request, they grant that the city and its territory will be holy and inviolate and free from tribute from the Romans. These are exact same words that were used in Antiochos' decree from the city, but they should not be interpreted as Roman interference with a Seleukid city; these words also appear in the Athamanian decree. They must have emanated from the Teian request itself.¹⁰⁶

That is not to say that the Roman reply is free from interference. The final line of the letter urges the Teians to remain in good faith with them. This clause put the Teians in a bind. No royal reply to a request of *asylia* preserves such a clause. Both Menippos and the Teians expected that the right be either granted or refused. In their reply, the Romans sought to make a more binding relationship with Teos.¹⁰⁷ Even if the Romans were unfamiliar with the formula or process of *asylia*, this attempt went too far, especially since the Teian request was presented to them by a Seleukid ambassador. The reply claimed Rome as a dominant power over Teos and meddled inside Seleukid imperial space. The Teians may have gladly extended friendship to the Romans, but such conditional goodwill was more than they bargained for. It made the city an unwitting pawn in the struggle between Rome and Antiochos.

As war broke out between Antiochos and the Romans, it became impossible for the Teians to maintain neutral territory. In 190 BC, the battle showed up on their very doorsteps.¹⁰⁸ While not participating directly in the war, the Teians offered supplies to

¹⁰⁶ Antiochos: *Antiochos* no. 17.18-19. Athamanians: *Asylia* no. 139.5-6. Both Sherk (*RDGE* no. 34 pp. 215-216) and Rigsby (1996: 287) suggest that the term "immune from tribute" resulted from the Teian request itself.

¹⁰⁷ So Ma 1999: 100-102. I agree with his overall assessment, but disagree that the Roman grant of immunity from tribute was itself an interference. Cf. Errington (1980) for a more political assessment of Antiochos and Flamininus' policies with regard to this decree.

¹⁰⁸ Livy 37.27-28. See also the Rigsby's comments on this episode (1996: 286).

Antiochos' forces. The Romans, arriving in the area and seizing the north harbor, began to ravage Teian territory until the city agreed to surrender the supplies to the Romans. Faced with spear and dagger, Teos was forced to keep its goodwill with the Romans and turn its back on Antiochos. Nevertheless this move did pay off. Teos kept the honor the Romans had given them for Dionysos. Furthermore, Teos also developed a good relationship with the Romans at this time. Later in the 2nd century BC, Teos apparently had patrons at Rome, and Abdera was able to solicit its mother-city to intercede with the Romans on their behalf.¹⁰⁹

Roman recognition of the *asylia* of Teos continued down into AD 22, when a Senate committee met to decide whether *asylia* should be allowed to continue in many of the cities in Asia Minor. The account of the proceedings given by Tacitus records that *asylia* was continued for Ephesos, Magnesia on the Maiandros, Pergamon, Kos, and many other cities (*Annals* 3.60-63, 4.14).¹¹⁰ No mention is made of Teos, but it seems unlikely that they would have been unable to prove the status the Romans had already recognized. It is beyond question that the Teians had the records to submit to the Senate; after all, the inscriptions are still extant today. Nonetheless, while this is an argument *e silentio*, some further evidence may support a Roman renewal at this time. Tiberius was honored at Teos with an elaborate sacred law and it is evident that he had been made *synnaos* with Dionysos (*LSAM* 28).¹¹¹ It is interesting to note that Tiberius was similarly honored at Klaros, which notably received recognition of its *asylia* from Rome in 190/89

¹⁰⁹ We have two Abderitan decrees honoring Teian ambassadors to Rome on Abdera's behalf after incursions by the Thracian king Kotys threatened the city in either 168 or 166 BC (*SEG* 47.1646 and *SIG*³ 656).

¹¹⁰ For a recent discussion of the passage of Tacitus and the Senate committee of AD 22-23, see Derlien 2003: 288-327.

¹¹¹ See the discussion of this sacred law in Chapter 4§3.

BC, only a few years after Teos.¹¹² Both Teos and Klaros had clear cause and a precedence of Roman recognition. It seems hard to believe that they would be denied the status of *asylia*. Nonetheless, our only evidence for their renewal in AD 22 was the fact that we have the record of their early recognition by the Romans and that both parties established cults for Tiberius early in his reign.

The geographical spread of the parties recognizing the *asylia* of Teos remains puzzling. The Teian *asylia* documents are the third largest corpus of granting decrees trailing only after Magnesia on the Maiandros and Kos. The decrees for the latter two cities come from the entire the Greek world and there is no possibility of interpreting them as an appeal against piracy and depredation. By contrast, the Teian recognitions are geographically centered on Crete and northwest Greece. Nonetheless, piracy cannot have been the primary characteristic that tied these two regions together. Certainly, there was no fear of Athamanian piracy and there is no historical source that even suggests that this northern Greek people indulged in banditry. The exiguous decree, most probably from Knidos, is further outstanding in this regard.¹¹³

Politics may have played a role. Rigsby tentatively suggests that the cities that recognized the *asylia* for Teos belonged to the military alliance between Philip and Antiochos against Ptolemy V.¹¹⁴ In 203/202 BC, the Aitolians were not at odds with the Antigonid monarch. The Athamanians may well have been united with the Aitolians but

¹¹² Rigsby 1996a: 290-291.

¹¹³ *Asylia* no. 158. The final two lines of this decree are preserved on the same stone as the second series of decrees from Crete and probably belong to the same appeal.

¹¹⁴ Rigsby (1996: 288) follows the tentative suggestion laid out by Holleaux (1913: 154-56). The alliance is most clearly stated at Plb. 15.20 but see also the source-based discussion of this alliance in Walbank (1940: 113).

this remains impossible to prove.¹¹⁵ Philip's influence on Crete was certainly great and his representative Perdikkas would have made his will known. Indeed, the assembled decrees could be explained by this grand alliance. What is troubling about the suggestion are the absences. We would expect many cities under Antiochos III to recognize Teos, but we have none. There is no explicit mention that Philip was behind the drive in Crete; we have only his ambassador Perdikkas who was himself, it should not be overlooked, an honorary Teian citizen.¹¹⁶ Only a few years prior, during the time of the Magnesians embassies, Philip had written to the cities in his kingdom ordering them to accept their appeal. His letter has been preserved in the recognition decree from Chalkis.¹¹⁷ With regard to Teian *asylia*, we have no such letter from the Antigonid monarch, nor do we have any decrees from cities directly under his control. The areas targeted by the Teian appeal could be explained by this political alliance but the absences strongly argue against it.

So how can the geographical spread be explained? What did the various regions that recognized the city's *asylia* have in common? The Teian call for *asylia* depended upon different tactics in each new area. Teos was unusual in not obtaining an oracle before undertaking the venture. It is possible that, for this reason alone, many cities chose to ignore their appeal. Nonetheless, their link with Dionysos was strong enough to justify it in some regions. The myth-historical association of Teos with Crete and Athamania is abundantly clear and the Teians used this to their advantage. When it came time to appeal to the Aitolian League, it was better to approach them on established political terms.

¹¹⁵ Amynder is mentioned in the fragmentary peace treaty between Philip and the Aitolians found at Delos (*JG* XI.4.1066, ca. 205 BC). See the useful discussion in Ager 1996 no. 57.

¹¹⁶ *Asylia* no. 148 (Istron) 24-25.

¹¹⁷ *Asylia* no. 97.1-8.

They had already respected similar rights for the Dionysiac *technitai* and it made sense that the city in which they resided deserved equal treatment.¹¹⁸ Delphi and the Amphiktyony followed the Aitolian example. And so, following this rationale, it is possible that Teos did canvass many other cities but were “fobbed off” much like the Magnesians had been earlier. Of course, this reasoning means that the Teians had only a mixed success to their embassies to the Greek cities.¹¹⁹ They did not let this bother them. Why should they? They had achieved greater success in their undertaking than Magnesia on the Maiandros on its first attempt and undoubtedly fared better than most cities. There was no need to feel rejected. Instead, the Teians persevered and built a new temple for their god, the largest temple of Dionysos in the Greek world.¹²⁰ Working together with the Dionysiac *technitai*, they continued to promote their Dionysia festival to new heights. After all, they had achieved their primary goal, establishing greater honor for the god and letting the peoples of Greece know their strong claim to Dionysos.

¹¹⁸ Cf. Champion 2004: 131 n.19.

¹¹⁹ This situation was not unique to Teos. Most of Rigsby’s examples of declared *asylia* contain but a handful of recognition decrees.

¹²⁰ For a discussion of the work of Hermogenes at Teos, see Uz 1991. The temple and its date are also discussed in Chapter 4§2.

Chapter Seven The Dionysiac *Technitai* at Teos

The Ionian and Hellespontine chapter of the Dionysiac *technitai* were in residence at Teos during the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC. In many regards, this was the high point of the history of the city and the *technitai* were an important part of the renaissance. Relations with the Hellenistic monarchs and favors from the other Greek cities greatly depended upon the artists, an international force in their own right. Despite being resident at Teos, the association of musicians and artists formed an independent body within the *polis*. This unique situation offered great advantages to both the city and the association, but it also contained the seeds of future dissent and strife.

During the Hellenistic period, there was an explosion of musical and dramatic contests throughout the Greek world. Professional specialization of actors and musicians created a new class of performers, mobile and unattached to any particular city. These artists traveled over large geographical areas to compete in festivals and contests. Associations (*koina*) of dramatic and musical performers sprang up. These associations referred to themselves as Dionysiac *technitai* and offered their services and competed professionally in festivals and contests spanning the entire Aegean. Understandably, different associations sprang up in various regions. From the middle of the 3rd century BC the Ionian and Hellespontine association was one of the largest and most active of the regionally organized groups known as the Dionysiac *technitai*.

The Ionian and Hellespontine association of the Dionysiac *technitai* have a rich history of their own and have been the focus of several recent studies.¹ In this chapter, we will examine the close relationship of the *technitai* with the city of Teos during the period

¹ Two recent comprehensive studies have been published on the Dionysiac *technitai* in general. See Aneziri 2003 and Le Guen 2001.

of their residency. The officials and festivals of the artists, while distinct from those of Teos, made an important contribution to the social life of the city. Benefits, both direct and indirect, can be traced back to the presence of the *technitai*. There is most certainly a direct correlation between the presence of the Dionysiac artists and the success of the city during this period.

1. *The Foundation of the Ionian and Hellespontine Association of the Technitai*

Our earliest testimony for the association of Dionysiac *technitai* in Asia Minor comes from a decree inscribed on three *stelai* and issued by the Aitolian League in 237/6 BC (*SIG*³ 507).² One copy was to be set up in the temple of Apollo at Delphi and the other two were perhaps sent for display at Chios, a city that had recently joined the Delphic Amphiktyony (ll. 2-5). The Aitolian decree is short and to the point. The Ionian and Hellespontine chapter of the *technitai* were granted the same rights of *asphaleia* and *asylia* that had previously been granted to the Isthmian and Nemean chapter (ll. 5-8). These two grants are later mentioned in the Aitolian decree of 203 BC recognizing the *asylia* of Teos. The earlier decree was referred to as “τοῖς Διονυσιακοῖς τεχνίταις ὁ νομος τῶν Ἀιτωλῶν – the law of the Aitolians for the Dionysiac *technitai*” (*Asylia* 132.15-16.).

The Aitolian decree, unfortunately, provides us only a *terminus ante quem* for the formation of the Asian association. Nonetheless, for our purposes, the decree does mark the beginning of the success and international renown of the chapter. The activities of the association were already widespread enough to influence recognition from such

² Grainger 2000: 221.

international powers as the Aitolian League and the Delphic Amphiktyony. The reorganization of the Delphic Soteria in 246/5 may have had something to do with recognition of the *technitai*.³ By offering personal advantages to the *technitai* in Asia, the Aitolians hoped to attract as many actors as possible to secure the success and renown of their festival.⁴ Even from this early date, the activities of the Ionian and Hellespontine chapter were not limited to the eastern Aegean. The well-documented career of the flute-player, Kraton of Kalchedon, is the clearest indication of just how widespread the activities of the Teian chapter had become.⁵

The Ionian-Hellespontine association of the Dionysiac *technitai* was first formed at some point towards the middle of the 3rd century BC. We do not know where the *technitai* were based during this initial period. The stele upon which the Aitolian decree was inscribed, however, contained two other decrees: one from the Amphiktyons and another from the Delphians. Both honored Timokrates, the *hieromemnon* sent by Chios to the Amphiktyony. According to Klaffenbach, the reason all three documents were inscribed on the same stele was because Timokrates presented the request of the new chapter of the Dionysiac *technitai*.⁶ He further suggested that Timokrates was a member of the *technitai* and therefore had an interest in promoting their rights at Delphi. Unfortunately, we cannot prove this hypothesis. Perhaps the Chians were involved because the Asian chapter of the *technitai* were connected in some way to their city. It is even possible that they were resident on Chios at this time.

³ For the date of the reorganization, see Nachtergael 1977: 279-281.

⁴ Le Guen 2001: 1.201 and Nachtergael 1977: 336.

⁵ For a discussion of the life and activities of Kraton, see below §4.

⁶ 1914: 72. See also Le Guen 2001: 1.200-201.

Whatever the date of the formation of the Ionian and Hellespontine association, it is clear that they were not originally based at Teos. They came to Teos in the last third of the 3rd century BC and we are fortunate to have a decree from the city that must date close to the beginning of the artists' residency at Teos. The document, referred to as the *ktematonia* decree, was discovered by the French in a Turkish cemetery to the southeast of Seferihisar. The decree reads (Aneziri D2):

[- - - - -]οι[- - - - - εὔχεσθαι]
 [τὸν ἱερ]ῆα το[ῦ Διονύσου ἐν τοῖς Διονυσί]οις καὶ [τὸν]
 [πρ]ύτανιν ἐν τῶι πρυ[τανείωι καὶ τὸν ἱε]ροκήρυκα [ἐν]
 4 [τ]αῖς ἐκκλησίαις (*sic*) γίνεσθαι τάγαθὰ καὶ τῶι κοινῶι τῶ[ν πε]-
 [ρὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν· ἀγοράσαι δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ κ[τῆ]-
 [μα] ἔγγεον ἐν τῇ πόλει ἢ τῇ χώρῃ ἀπὸ δρα(χμῶν) ϜΧ
 καὶ] προσαγορεύεσθαι τὸ ἀγορασθὲν κτῆμα ἱερὸν ὃ ἀν[έθη]-
 8 [κε] ὁ δῆμος τῶι κοινῶι τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τ[ε]-
 [χ]νιτῶν, ὃν ἀτελὲς ὦν ἡ πόλις ἐπιβάλλει τελῶν· ἀ[πο]-
 δεῖξαι δὲ καὶ ἄνδρας δύο, οἵτινες κτηματωνήσου[σιν]
 [ἐπ'] ἀναφορᾷ τῇ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον· ἵνα δὲ τὸ ἀργύριον]
 12 [ὑπ]άρχηι εἰς τὴν κτηματωνίαν, τοὺς ταμίαις τοὺς [ἐ]-
 [ν]εστηκότας δοῦναι τοῖς ἀποδειχθησομένοις δρα(χμᾶς)
 [Χ]Χ ἐκ τοῦ μετενηνεγμένου ἐκ τοῦ λόγου τῆς ὀ[χυ]-
 [ρ]ώσεως, ὃ δέδοται εἰς τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ σίτου· τὸ δὲ ὑπ[ο]-
 16 [λι]πὲς δρα(χμᾶς) ΧΧΧ δότωσαν οἱ εἰσιόντες ταμίαι ἐκ τ[ῶν]
 [πρ]ώτων δοθησομένων αὐτοῖς ἐγ βασιλικοῦ εἰς τ[ῆν]
 [τῆ]ς πόλεως διοίκησιν· δεδόσθαι δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐπο-
 [χῆν] ἔτη πέντε ἀπὸ μηνὸς Λευκαθεῶνος καὶ πρυτ[άνε]-
 20 [ως] Μητροδώρου· ὅπως δὲ καὶ τὰ δόξαντα τῶι δήμ[ωι]
 [π]άντες εἰδῶσιν, ἀναγράψαι τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα εἰς [στή]-
 [λη]ν λιθίνην καὶ τὸν στέφανον καὶ ἀναθεῖναι παρὰ
 [τὸν νεώ] τοῦ Διονύσου· ἀναγράψαι δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν παρ[α]-
 24 [στά]δα τοῦ θεάτρου τὸ ψήφισμα τόδε καὶ τὸν στέφαν[ον]·
 [τῆ]ς δὲ ἀναγραφῆς τῶν στεφάνων {I} καὶ ψηφισμάτ[ων]
 [καὶ τῆ]ς στήλης τὴν κατασκευὴν τὴν ἔγδοσιν π[οι]-
 [εῖσθ]ωσαν οἱ ἐνεστηκότες ταμίαι καὶ τὸ ἀνάλωμ[α]
 28 [δ]ότ]ωσαν οἱ ἐνεστηκότες ταμίαι· τοὺς δὲ πρεσβ[ευ]-
 [τὰς] τοὺς ἀποδειγμένους ἀποδοῦναι τὸ ψήφι[σ]-
 [μα τὸδ]ε τοῖς περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνίταις καὶ ἐπ[αι]-
 νέσαι α]ὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ εὐνοίᾳ, ἣν ἔχοντες διατε-
 32 [λοῦσι] περὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Τητίων. Ἀπεδείχθη[σαν]
 [κτ]ηματωνήσοντες ννν

.....ς Ἐπιτιμίδου υ, Θερσίων Φάνου.

“...let the priest of Dionysos at the Dionysia, and the prytanis in the prytaneion, and the herald in the assemblies, pray for good things for the association of the Dionysiac *technitai*. And let us also buy for them property in the city or in the countryside, of a value of 6000 drachmas and let the purchased property be declared sacred, which the people dedicate to the association of the Dionysiac *technitai*, being exempt from the tax which the city assesses. And let there be two men who undertake the purchase with referral to the assembly. And so that there is the money for the purchase, let the appointed treasurers give the appointed men 3000 drachmas from the money transferred from the account of the fortifications which has been given for the price of grain, and let the remaining 3000 drachmas be given from the treasurers coming into office from the first funds which are given to them from the royal funds for the administration of the city. And let there be given to them a five-year delay in repayment from the month of Leukatheon, in the prytany of Metrodoros. And in order that the all should know the things decreed by the people, let this decree and crown be inscribed upon a stone stele and let it be set alongside the temple of Dionysos. And let this decree and crown also be inscribed on the parastade of theater. And let the appointed treasurers undertake the arrangements with respect to the inscription of the decree and of the stele and hand over the sum. And let the appointed ambassadors give this decree to the Dionysiac *technitai* and honor them for the goodwill, which they continue to have for the people of Teos. And the men appointed for the purchase are: --- the son of Epitimidos and Thersion the son of Phanos.

The *ktematonia* decree shows a keen interest on the part of the Teians to install the Ionian and Hellespontine association of the *technitai* in their city. The fact that the city appointed ambassadors to send their decree to the *technitai* suggests that they were not yet resident in the city. Every part of this decree should then be interpreted as a move to convince the *technitai* to settle at Teos.

Robert was the first to recognize that the words “γίνεσθαι τὰγαθὰ” (l. 4) were part of a prayer of the city for the wellbeing of the *technitai*. He consequently restored “εὔχεσθαι” on the first line.⁷ The formula that survives in our inscription is more

⁷ 1937: 39-42 with copious other examples of the formula.

complex than other such offers of prayer. The *technitai* are singled out for prayers in three circumstances. A prayer was made at the *prytaneion* for the city officials, at the assembly for the entire *demos*, and also at the city Dionysia, so that all the participants, which no doubt included many other residents and foreigners, would be aware of the goodwill extended by the Teians to the *technitai*. The decree sent by the Teians to the artists clearly displays that they would be honored, presumably also in the future, at all levels of the *polis*. Our closest parallel for this formula is a decree nearly a century later at the city of Elaia, near Pergamon, which honors the Romans for the salvation and good fortune of the city (Le Guen no. 54). The association of the *technitai* for Dionysos Kathegemon were also included in this prayer, together with the Romans and the *demos* of Elaia. In the decree of Elaia, the *stephanophoros*, the priests and priestesses, and city magistrates along with the citizens were to offer a prayer at the opening of the temples. This would emphasize the participation of all tiers of the city in the ritual act (ll. 40-44.). This document comes from a period when the Dionysiac *technitai*, who had been resident at Pergamon, appear to have moved to the port town of Elaia. This prayer is very similar in structure to the one offered at Teos that also included the *technitai*.⁸ In order to assure that the Teian decree was well publicized, it was exhibited in two of the most public places at Teos: the temple of Dionysos and the theater. This text is our earliest evidence for both these buildings. The temple of Dionysos must be the predecessor of the Hermogenes temple.⁹ The importance of the cult of Dionysos at Teos and the presence of a theater were probably both selling points for the *technitai*.

⁸ For a more thorough discussion of the *technitai* and Elaia, see §5 below.

⁹ For a discussion of the sparse evidence for the early temple of Dionysos, see Chapter 4§3.

The funds required to purchase a plot of land for the *technitai* was substantial, and the Teians did not have all the money readily available. Money was immediately reallocated from fortification funds budgeted to moderate the price of grain. Payment of the second half of the money from the city was postponed until an installment of royal funds arrived in the next financial year. The city considered this contribution an investment and allowed five years before the *technitai* would be required to pay for the land.¹⁰ And, even though the land was not an outright gift, the Teians made it exempt from tax, grating a substantial benefit to the group when resident in the city. The Teians were gambling that their move, although creating financial hardship for the city in the short run, would pay off in income later.

The historical date of the *ktematonia* decree is difficult to assess. Aneziri has noticed that the letterforms are almost identical to the decrees about the pirate attack at Teos, dating somewhere in the second half of the 3rd century BC.¹¹ Certainly, the reference to the fortification funds (l. 14-15) is a good indication that the two inscriptions are nearly contemporary. I have already discussed elsewhere that Teos was probably unfortified at the time of the attack.¹² Because it refers to fortification funds and displays money problems in the city, the *ktematonia* decree probably dates a few years later, at a time when Teos was still recovering financially from the attack and also strengthening the city's defenses. At the other extreme, the inscriptions about Antiochos III provide a *terminus ante quem* for the arrival of the artists, who are well established at Teos in the decrees honoring Antiochos in 204/3 BC (*Antiochos* nos. 17.17, 18.7-9, 19E.1).

Our inscription must then date to a period of Attalid rule. This is confirmed by the

¹⁰ Robert 1937: 43-44.

¹¹ Aneziri 2003: 376.

¹² See Chapter 5.

reference to the funds expected from the *basilikon* (l. 17). There are two early periods of Attalid rule at Teos. Attalos I took control of the city, along with many others in the area, somewhere between 229 and to 222 BC. The city was then temporarily lost to the rebel Seleukid satrap, Achaios, from 222 to 218 BC. When Attalos again accepted the surrender of the city and subjected it “ἐπὶ ταῖς συνθήκαις αἷς καὶ τὸ πρότερον – according to the treaties which they had in former times” (Plb. 5.77.5-6). The *ktematonia* decree must then date between 229 and 222 or between 218 and 204 BC.¹³

The nature of the payment from the *basilikon* in this inscription has inspired surprisingly little discussion. Holleaux noted that because the Teians expected funds from the royal treasury in the new year, a regular payment was made by the Attalids to the city.¹⁴ The problem with this interpretation is that there is no other city is known to have received a regular payments from a Hellenistic monarch.¹⁵ Payments from the royal treasury were always designated for specific projects. Indeed, our closest parallel to the Teian grant is an honorary decree from Prusa, which mentions benefactions from Eumenes II (*SEG* 2.663).¹⁶ The king is honored for having restored the city’s laws and constitution and for having provided money for sacred and civil administration and oil for the *neoi* (ll. 9-12). There are differences between the two situations though. While the latter decree is a generous and general enough grant, it still lists specific items that the

¹³ The original editors of the inscription, Demangel and Laumonier, had suggested a date in the middle of the 2nd century (1922: 315), but Holleaux was the first to notice that it must date earlier, most probably within these two periods of rule (1924: 25 n. 2). This dating has been followed by Robert (1937: 43 n.2), Herrmann (1965: 102 n. 105), Yaylali (1976: 117-118) and Aneziri (2003: 375-376). Le Guen gives a date ca. 210 BC, based on unconvincing prosopographical grounds (2001: 1.202 and 208-209). Both Ruge (1934: col. 562) and Hahland (1950: 96-97) preferred a date in the 220s. Allen’s proposal for a date after 188 BC ignores the political situation at Teos during the last third of the 3rd century (1983: 53-55).

¹⁴ 1924: 24-25.

¹⁵ Indeed, this is very clear in all the examples that Holleaux cites in his discussion of the term *basilikon* (1924: 36-40).

¹⁶ Cf. Allen 1983: 88-90.

king subsidized. Moreover, there is no indication that there was more than a single payment from the treasury to Prusa. From the Teian decree, we know only that the Teians were expecting money from the royal treasury and were, therefore, perhaps receiving installments over several years.

The answer cannot be that Teos was somehow special in receiving annual subsidies. At the time of the *ktematonia* decree, they had not yet built their famous temple to Dionysos, nor had they achieved recognition of *asylia* for Dionysos, nor had the Dionysiac *technitai* become resident at their city. The Teians must have somehow expressed a desperate financial need to the Attalid monarch. The financial troubles of the Teians in the *ktematonia* decree are clear. They had trouble finding funds for the land purchase, they reallocated money from the fortification funds to create a grain fund, and they raided these monies again for a new cause. While the finances of the Greek cities were notoriously fluid, Teos is an extreme case. In any case, the presence of a grain fund is testimony enough to the poverty in the city at that time.¹⁷ If we were to go looking for a cause for such financial difficulties at Teos, we have one very good candidate: the pirate attack. I have already noted that the lettering of the *ktematonia* and pirate attack decrees are very similar and that they should be dated closely together. Moreover, the ransom paid to the pirates would have drained the resources of the city. We know that Teos was forced to take a 10% loan from all wealthy citizens and resident foreigners (*SEG* 44.949.24-27.). The attack also exposed the need to build a wall for defense of the city. The fortification fund for the construction of this wall is mentioned in the *ktematonia* decree. If I am correct, the pirate attack probably took place during a period of strife and

¹⁷ While many cities had to import extra grain, Teos only imported grain during times of crisis. See chapter 1§3.

low central authority along the coast, either in the period following the War of the Brothers, shortly before Attalos was first taking the Ionian cities from the Seleukids in 229 BC, or later during his campaign against Achaïos between 222 and 218 BC. After the Teians surrendered to Attalos, they appealed to the king for money to help pay down their debt and to fortify their city. If this hypothesis is correct, the funds from the *basilikon* expected by the Teians would not have been a regular payment made by the king to the city, but part of a large grant to help put the city back on its feet. This is no different the other grants made to cities by Hellenistic monarchs.

Of the two periods of Attalid rule, the earlier one is preferable for the *ktematonia* decree. When the Teians surrendered to Attalos in 218, the old accords were invoked but there is no indication of goodwill. Polybius records that the king even took hostages (5.77.6). While hostage-taking was certainly common practice, the inscriptions honoring Antiochos III reveal that the Teians were oppressed by the heavy taxes and special tributes levied by Attalos (*Antiochos* no. 17.18-20 and 33-34.). The Seleukid monarch's grant of immunity from such taxation was one of the main reasons the city readily accepted Antiochos and heaped honors upon him. All of this suggests a date for the *ktematonia* decree in the earlier period of Attalid rule, probably before 225 BC.¹⁸ It also leaves only a decade between the recognition of the Ionian and Hellespontine association of the Dionysiac *technitai* by the Aitolians in 238/7 and their move to Teos.

One last point of discussion arises from the *ktematonia* decree and that is the nature of the *ktema hieron* granted to the *technitai* by the Teians. Although they did not refer to this decree, Béquignon and Laumonier were the first to associate the

¹⁸ This was already the conclusion of Herrmann (1965: 102 n. 105) in support of an earlier statement by Ruge (1934: col. 562).

bouleuterion, which they called the “little theater,” and the remains in its immediate area with the seat of the association of the Dionysiac *technitai*.¹⁹ Following up their suggestion, Hahland took this interpretation to its extreme.²⁰ Attempting to calculate land prices from inscriptions outside of Teos, he came up with the suggestion that the Teians spent 60 drachmas per plethra of land. Using this calculation and the mention of the 6,000 drachmas in the *ktematonia* decree, he arrived at a figure of 100 plethra of land purchased by the Teians. In Hahland’s estimation, the only suitable site of this size at Teos was the open area bounded by porticoes that lies immediately adjacent and to the south of the *bouleuterion*. Hahland’s interpretation is unfortunately fraught with problems. First of all, it assumes that the *bouleuterion* was in fact a theater for the use of the *technitai*. The inscriptions found there suggest that the area was devoted to local politics.²¹ Moreover, the area near the *bouleuterion* must be part of the city’s agora, much better attested epigraphically than the *ktema* of the *technitai* and easily accommodated in no other part of the ancient city.²² Finally, Hahland’s interpretation ignores chronology and find spots of inscriptions. His estimate of the size of the plot of land therefore remains problematic.

Stampolides further confounded the issue by associating the temple of Dionysos with the *ktema hieron* of the Dionysiac *technitai*.²³ Such an identification had already been rejected by Hahland and Yaylali.²⁴ The civil nature of the epigraphic documents

¹⁹ 1925: 288.

²⁰ 1950: 94- 97.

²¹ Herrmann 2001: 91-92.

²² The region of the site has been little explored but it consists of an area two fields wide by two fields long. There are significant traces of architectural blocks in the four field walls suggesting that the area was surrounded by stoas and buildings. I have personally noted the extremely fragmentary remains of a civil decree in this area, of which only the first line could be made out “[ἡ β]ουλῆ κ[α]ὶ ὁ δῆμος[--]”

²³ Stampolides 1987: 197-205. Yaylali 1976: 119.

²⁴ Hahland 1950: 94.

uncovered at the temple alone is enough to discount this association.²⁵ Even though Yaylali rejected the Hermogenes temple as a candidate for the *hieron*, he also envisioned that a temple of the *technitai* could be located somewhere else near the edge of the city or in the nearby adjacent countryside.

It should be stressed that, in spite all these theories, there is currently no known building or area in either the city or countryside that can be associated directly with this grant. Although archaeological investigation has been limited at Teos, we must consider that perhaps the interpretation of the term *ktema hieron* as a temple or building is incorrect. Aneziri was the first scholar to note that the term *hieron* as used here did not have to refer to a temple structure. Indeed, the term had common currency as land that, although considered holy and exempt from taxes, as it is in the *ktematonia* decree, can also be built upon, farmed, used as pasturage, or even rented out for profit.²⁶ Following Aneziri, the Teians may have bought pasture or fields, whose rent or produce would have been a good source of income for the association of the *technitai* at Teos. This is definitely more attractive than all the previous suggestions. The artists must have been concerned about having a steady source of income in any city in which they were resident. The Teian offer to assign them land for income would be quite generous and the five-year term to pay back the money could almost certainly have been recouped during that time. The specification, however, that the land purchased may be in the city or the countryside does leave us with uncertainty about defining the type or location of property granted to the *technitai*.

²⁵ To give only one example, the Antiochos III documents uncovered there do not take into consideration the *technitai* when the Seleukid royal couple were voted *synnaoi* in the temple. *Antiochos* no. 17.44-52.

²⁶ 2003: 178-179. Cf. Debord 1982: 172.

The *ktematonia* decree is an informative document about the establishment of the Ionian and Hellespontine association of *technitai* at Teos. The city, although fairly impoverished, strove to reallocate funds and even territory to attract the Dionysiac artists to their city. Teos honored the *technitai* at all levels of the *polis* and widely publicized their generous grant. Even the use of the present tense in the words “ἔχοντες διατε[λοῦσι]” (ll. 31-32) encouraged the artists to maintain their goodwill towards the city now and in the future.²⁷ The Dionysiac *technitai* must have been enthusiastic. They had been an internationally recognized body for only a decade and they had likely been looking for an advantageous location for permanent settlement in Asia Minor. Teos’ special relationship with Dionysos and its excellent harbors likely played as great a role in attracting the association as the honors and grants the city extended to them. If the Teians exhausted all their resources in courting the Dionysiac *technitai*, they must have been confident in future benefits for the city. In this, they would have been most certainly correct.

2. *The Structure of the Association of Dionysiac Technitai at Teos*

The Ionian and Hellespontine chapter of the Dionysiac *technitai* was an independently governed body, distinct from that of Teos. As such, it had a full complement of officials and its own system of laws and customs. The *technitai* also undertook their own festivals at Teos. These were undoubtedly attended by Teians and foreigners alike, just as the *technitai* were invited to participate in certain Teian festivals. With all this complicated interchange, and since the bulk of all our epigraphic documents

²⁷ Le Guen 2001: 1.206.

for the association come from Teos, it is necessary to distinguish the government, laws, and festivals of the *technitai* from those of the city, in order that no confusion arises between the two.

The primary voting assembly of the *technitai* was the *koinon*. This is clear as early as the decree of the association for the *asylia* of Magnesia and remains consistent throughout the history of the Ionian-Hellespontine association.²⁸ The body did not distinguish between referring to itself as a *koinon* or a *synod* and sometimes used both interchangeably in the same decree.²⁹ The *koinon* consisted of every member of the *technitai*. According to the Aitolian grant of *asylia* to the *technitai*, members were inscribed into the association.³⁰ *Theoroi* and ambassadors were voted from the entire assembly of the artists.³¹ Almost all the votes that we have recorded were undertaken by hand.³²

The head official of the *technitai* was the agonothete.³³ The first occurrence of this title occurs in a decree for the Magnesians from near the end of the 3rd century BC.³⁴ The post was modified sometime in the first third of the 2nd century, so that the agonothete could also serve as priest of Dionysos for the association.³⁵ Shortly thereafter, we hear of two different officials, a priest of Dionysos and an agonothete who also served

²⁸ *E.g.* *Asylia* no. 103.22-23 (decree for Magnesia, ca. 208/7 BC), Aneziri D10.5 (honorary decree for Kraton, between 171 and 167 BC), and *CIG* 3068a.2 (honorary decree for Kraton, ca. 167-158 BC).

²⁹ The two terms are used interchangeably, for example, in *I.Magnesia* 89.38-39 and *CIG* 3067.11-13.

³⁰ *SIG*³ 507.7.

³¹ *Theoroi*: *Asylia* no. 103.34-36; Ambassadors: *I.Magnesia* 89.40 and *Iscr. Cos* ED 79.10. Ambassadors are even once referred to as being sent to the Teians (*CIG* 3067.36-38), but this is in direct apposition to ambassadors being sent abroad to the Delians.

³² *Asylia* no. 103.36-37 and Aneziri D12.IC.16-17.

³³ For a discussion of this official in comparison with the priestly officials of other *technitai* associations, see Aneziri 2003: 128-132. In contrast, the head official of the Athenian *technitai* was the epimelete (*e.g.* Aneziri A3.27-33 and discussion at 2003: 138-143).

³⁴ *Asylia* no. 103.33.

³⁵ Aneziri D10.6-7, 7, and 8-9 (between 171 and 167 BC).

as the priest of King Eumenes II.³⁶ During the 2nd century BC, these two officials became the eponymous archons in official documents issued by the *technitai*. This is also our only indication that these officials were elected for one-year terms. The only further change documented is that, after the death of the king, the priesthood was named for the god Eumenes.³⁷

The responsibilities of the agonothele were many. First and foremost, he was to put on an *agon*. The exact occasion of this yearly contest is uncertain,³⁸ but it was considered a choregy and Kraton was consistently honored for his lavish expenditures in fulfilling it.³⁹ The laws of the *technitai* apparently specifically outlined the procedure for undertaking the *agon*.⁴⁰ Other responsibilities were heaped upon the agonothele. He came to be in charge of crowning and fumigating the statue of Kraton during the yearly festival for Eumenes.⁴¹ Presumably, since he was also the priest of the king, he was responsible for similar honors at the cult statue of Eumenes. In another decree, we also learn that the agonothele was in charge of crowning Kraton's statue during the *panegyris*, the Teian Dionysia, and any other *agon* that may take place at the city.⁴²

There is the related problem of the panegyriarch, an official that only appears in the letter of Eumenes II to the *technitai* (Aneziri D12). The *panegyris* is the oldest festival attested for the Ionian-Hellespontine association and, given the wealth of information we have for the career of Kraton of Kalchedon, it is strange that he is never

³⁶ First attested in *CIG* 3068a.1-2 (before 158 BC).

³⁷ *CIG* 3070.3

³⁸ The only contest we can directly relate to the *technitai* is a very fragmentary victors' list from an *agon* held for Attalos II or III, which is dated by the eponymous officials of the association (*LW* 3.93). The occurrence is late and this contest is surely a late addition to the cult calendar of the *technitai* and perhaps even a reworking of the yearly festival that was previously held for Eumenes II (*CIG* 3068a.16-19).

³⁹ E.g. Aneziri D10.10 and *CIG* 3068b.9.

⁴⁰ *CIG* 3068b.11-12.

⁴¹ *CIG* 3068a.16-19 and 22-26.

⁴² *CIG* 3067.25-26, 27-30

recorded to have served as panegyriach.⁴³ Fortunately, since Eumenes was involved in an arbitration, which partly concerned the *panegyris*, some particular details were mentioned. First and foremost, we learn that the panegyriarch was elected by the assembly of the artists (Aneziri D12 IC.5-6). Furthermore, if the restoration of “τῶν Διονυσίων” at a later point in the letter is secure (IC.10-11), the panegyriarch was sovereign over the Dionysia of the *technitai*. The restoration is not an overly problematic one and it would reveal that the *panegyris* was also referred to as the Dionysia. Festivals called Dionysia were normally accompanied by musical and dramatic *agones*, something we would expect from a festival put on by the Dionysiac *technitai*. All the evidence seems to suggest that the panegyriarch in the letter of Eumenes was actually the agonothete. Certainly, the official most often associated with the Dionysia elsewhere is the agonothete. There are two possible reasons that the king may have eschewed the official name of the post. The first was modesty, since the agonothete was also his priest. The second, and more probable, explanation was that his arbitration specifically concerned the *panegyris* and so he used the term panegyriarch generically for the official in charge of the festival. There are a host of other legal and financial issues that are raised from the letter of Eumenes, but these are best reserved for the discussion of the inscription below.⁴⁴

The only other officials known for the Ionian-Hellespontine chapter of the Dionysiac *technitai* are the *meristai*, or treasurers, who are mentioned one single time, in a late 3rd-century decree for the Magnesians.⁴⁵ The board of treasurers presumably

⁴³ Attested in 208/7 BC in *Asyilia* no. 103.32. Also restored in Aneziri D10.23.

⁴⁴ See §5.

⁴⁵ *Asyilia* no. 103.36. For a discussion of financial officials in the various associations of the *technitai*, see Aneziri 2003: 143-147 esp. 147.

oversaw the finances of the association and issued money for ambassadors, sacrifices, crowns or any other expense decreed by the assembly.⁴⁶ Given their involvement in all sorts of contests and celebrations from Delphi to Iasos and Pergamon, the revenues of the association must have been substantial and required several officials to manage. This would have required specific laws governing the board of treasurers.

Although we lack any reference to these laws, we do have testimony for financial legislation on the part of the *technitai*, from the decree of the association for the city of Iasos, towards the middle of the 2nd century. The decree reads (*I.Iasos* 152.19-25):⁴⁷

ὅς δὲ τῶν

20 νεμηθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους μὴ παραγένηται εἰς Ἴασόν ἢ μὴ [ἐπιτε]-
 λ[έ]σῃ τοὺς ἀγῶνας, ἀποτεισάτω τῶι κοινῶι τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τε-
 χνιτῶν Ἀντιοχ[εῖ]ας δραχμὰς χιλίας ἱερὰς ἀπαραιτήτους τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐὰν μὴ
 τις δι' ἀσθένειαν ἢ διὰ χειμῶνα ἀδύνατος γένηται· τούτῳ δὲ ἔστω παραί-
 24 τησις τῆς ζημίας ἀπολογισαμένῳ ἐπὶ τοῦ πλήθους καὶ ἐμφανεῖς τὰς
 δειξείεις εἰσενεγκαμένῳ καὶ ἀπολυθέντι ψήφῳ κατὰ τὸν νόμον·

And who among those selected from the assembly does not go to Iasos or does not undertake the contests, let him be fined by the association of the Dionysiac *technitai* the sum of one thousand Antiochos drachmas, which will be holy and inalienable of the god, unless anyone was unable on account of sickness or bad weather. And let there be an exemption of the fine for that one having defended before the assembly and having brought clear evidence and having been absolved by vote according to the law.

The law informs us that part of the treasury of the association was held sacred for Dionysos. The reference to Antiochos drachmas, almost a half-century after the Seleukids had withdrawn from Asia Minor, is odd.⁴⁸ Le Guen is probably correct to suggest that the law outlined here was originally created under the period when Antiochos III was

⁴⁶ In the decree for Magnesia, the assembly decreed the amount for the sacrifice and ordered the *meristai* to provide it (ll. 36-37). For the term *meristês* as treasurer, see Rigsby 1996a: 247.

⁴⁷ The law probably dates in the 150s. Crowther (1995: 232) proposes a date after 156/5, and Migeotte (1993: 286) notes that it could equally date later in the third quarter of the 2nd century BC.

⁴⁸ For a discussion of Antiochos drachmas, see Blümel *I.Iasos* page 24.

sovereign over Teos and not later updated.⁴⁹ The fine for missing a contest was severe and the reversal of the fine was a difficult matter. The individual was forced to give a defense before the assembly, who then voted by ballot whether to overturn the fine. The clear reference to a vote by ballot, different from the other more open voting procedure evident for the association, can be explained by the fact that the *technitai* were judging a fellow member and wished voting to be discreet and honest.

Sadly, we have little indication of the full canon of laws of the *technitai*. Beyond the law for missing a contest and the laws governing the agonothete, our most consistent reference to a *nomos* is the law concerning crowns.⁵⁰ The bias that promotes our knowledge of this law is the prevalence of honorary decrees in our corpus. The wording of the various references to the law always fails to mention the amount of money to be spent on the crown, and this suggests that the law stipulated a set amount for this. The law did not specify the sort of individual or activities that demanded the occasion of a crown; this was left to the assembly to vote. The various different occasions a crown might be announced, sometimes at the *panegyris*,⁵¹ sometimes the anniversary day of Eumenes,⁵² and even at the supper of the Synagonistai,⁵³ informs us that the law did not stipulate any particular festival or event at which to announce the crown. The law concerning crowns merely covered a fixed amount of money for the honor.

The honorary decrees, which detail these crowns, are also our best indications of the religious practices of the association. The central *panegyris* of the *technitai* was in

⁴⁹ Le Guen 2001: 1.269-270.

⁵⁰ First attested at the end of the 3rd century in *Asyria* no. 103.29-31. See also the reference to the crowning law at *I.Magnesia* 89.37.

⁵¹ Aneziri D10.23-24.

⁵² *CIG* 3068a.15-19.

⁵³ *CIG* 3068b.15-20

honor of Dionysos and, as we have already pointed out, could be referred to as the Dionysia. This should not be confused with the city Dionysia of the Teians and the two festivals are juxtaposed nicely in the honorary decree for Kraton published at Delos.⁵⁴ In that same decree, we further learn that the priest of Dionysos of the association was in charge of sacrifices for Dionysos, the Muses, Apollo Pythios, and all the other gods.⁵⁵ This representation of the pantheon, focusing upon the gods important for music and dramatic contests, is predictable for an association like the Dionysiac *technitai*.

We do not know exactly where the cult practice of the association of the *technitai* took place. For a long time, scholars attempted to associate the *ktema hieron*, established by the Teians for the *technitai*, with various temples and areas in the city. As we saw above, this need not be the case.⁵⁶ Nonetheless, it is clear that religious practices were undertaken at Teos by the *technitai*. The temple and altar of Dionysos built by the Teians was no doubt used for some of their ceremonies and sacrifices. It is possible that this was where the Magnesians made their sacrifice when visiting the *technitai* in 207 BC.⁵⁷ During the second quarter of the 2nd century BC, however, we have the mention of a Dionysion in the decree of the Synagonistai for Kraton.⁵⁸ The Teians never referred to the temple of Dionysos in this manner, always preferring the precision of νεώς or ἱερόν τοῦ Διόνυσου.⁵⁹ Therefore, it is possible that the Dionysion referred to by the Synagonistai was a temple or shrine built by the *technitai*.

⁵⁴ Aneziri D10.27-28.

⁵⁵ Line 12.

⁵⁶ See the discussion of the *ktematonia* decree in §1.

⁵⁷ *I.Magnesia* 89.33

⁵⁸ *CIG* 3068b.26 and 27.

⁵⁹ νεώς: Aneziri D2.23, *Antiochos* 18.105; ἱερόν: *LSAM* 28.18-19, *CIG* 3061.5.

A thorny issue remains surrounding the *technitai*, and that is their relationship to the *koinon* of the Synagonistai just mentioned. For Poland, the Synagonistai were merely *technitai* who came from different regions and attached themselves to the Teian association for large contests.⁶⁰ Von Prott, Ohlemutz, and Hopp suggested that they were members of the *technitai* who came to Teos from the Pergamene chapter of the association.⁶¹ A third grouping of scholars interpreted the Synagonistai as a group of subordinate performers, such as pantomimes and dancers, affiliated with the larger association of the *technitai*.⁶² With such a diverse array of opinions in the secondary literature, it is best to examine each in turn, referring back to the primary sources. The opinion that the Synagonistai came from different regions to aid the *technitai* during larger festivals can be easily discounted. It is obvious from their decree that they were in fact resident at Teos. The casual reference to buildings in the city, namely the theater and the Dionysion, without any geographical precision is evidence enough for this. The same argument works against the second interpretation, since, if the Synagonistai were from the Pergamene chapter, why would they be resident at Teos? And, moreover, if they had originally been from Pergamon and moved to Teos why would they not simply have been inscribed into the Teian *koinon*? We know that they were members of the larger joint association. The third interpretation, that the synagonistai were specialists in secondary arts like mime, ignores one crucial piece of evidence. One of the ambassadors sent by the Dionysiac *technitai* to Iasos in the 150s was Nikostratos, a *synagonistes* and tragic actor (*I.Iasos* 152.36-37). Acting was definitely not a subsidiary art for the *technitai*; it was the

⁶⁰ *RE* s.v. synagonistai (Poland) col. 2487.

⁶¹ Von Prott 1902: 170-171, Ohlemutz 1968: 99-102, and Hopp 1977: 114.

⁶² Pleket 1973: 210 n.46, Robert *BE* 1976: 314, Lavagne 1986: 131, Ghiron-Bistagne 1990/1: 66, and Roueché 1993: 53.

bulk of what their association provided at festivals. Aneziri, in her careful analysis, proposes that the Synagonistai were the members of the *technitai* who assisted the performers who were eligible for prizes during contests.⁶³ That is, they would not have won prizes for themselves but were essential to the success of their fellow *technitai* who did. Certainly, the very fact that one of the Synagonistai was sent as an ambassador of the *technitai* can only mean that he was also a member of the larger *koinon*. It is obvious then that there must be a much closer relationship between the two associations than has been previously considered.

It is useful to review the facts concerning the association of the Synagonistai. They were based in Teos. The fact that one of their members was also selected as an ambassador for the association of the *technitai* strongly suggests that the Synagonistai were also members of the greater association. This is further corroborated by the fact that they honor Kraton of Kalchedon in his role as priest of the larger association (*CIG* 3068.b1-7).⁶⁴ The Synagonistai were not subsidiary artists but obviously specialists in musical and dramatic arts central to the practices of the *technitai*. This is clear not only from Nikostratos' profession as a tragic actor, but also from the fact that Kraton himself, a flute-player, was acknowledged “ἐξ ἑαυτῶν – among their number” (l. 13). Lastly, the association of the Synagonistai exhibits some parallel organization to the larger association. Most particularly, they cite the law of crowning, well attested in the association of the *technitai* (l. 18). They had their own officers (l. 21), and were empowered to issue their own decrees (l. 24). All these facts together do not bring us closer to understanding what role the association of the Synagonistai played in relation to

⁶³ Aneziri 1997: 60-63.

⁶⁴ The priesthood must be the joint agonothetship and priesthood that Kraton was also honored for in the decree of the *technitai* published at Delos (Aneziri D10.5-8).

the greater group of the *technitai*. It must be concluded, however, that they were an important subset of the *koinon* of the *technitai*, either completely independent, with members drawn from the *technitai*, or an association within the *koinon* of the *technitai*, which was organized in an independent manner.⁶⁵

The association of the Ionian-Hellespontine *technitai* and those organized around Dionysos Kathegemon had all the same apparatus of government as a *polis*. They had laws and eponymous officials, religious practices and customs, and even financial infrastructure. The consistent reference to the assembly and votes from all the *technitai* is clear indication to the democratic principals that governed the association.⁶⁶ The existence of this completely independent infrastructure within Teos, which had its own government, religious practices, and customs, was a tricky business. The Teians made a great effort to accommodate the *technitai*, but the conflict between two independent and competing governments eventually led to dispute and, finally, exile for the *technitai*.

3. *Kraton of Kalchedon*

Much of our evidence for the Dionysiac *technitai* comes from the dossier of inscriptions concerning one man, Kraton of Kalchedon. He is the best-known individual ever resident at Teos. In point of fact, we know more concerning the career of Kraton than we do for most Hellenistic kings. We would be remiss if we did not have a brief excursus on this remarkable man, who directly and indirectly shaped the history of the Dionysiac *technitai* and Teos during the course of the 2nd century BC.

⁶⁵ So also the conclusion of Aneziri 1997: 60-62.

⁶⁶ E.g. *I.Magnesia* 89.40. Also occasionally referred to as οἱ πλῆθοι (e.g. Aneziri D10.8).

Kraton was, by profession, a flute-player.⁶⁷ Little is known of his background. He was the son of Zotichos and was originally from the city of Kalchedon in Bithynia. Kraton was an aristocrat of the best sort, wealthy and civic-minded. In his legacy to the Attalists, he left behind a spear and a shield, obvious accoutrements of an ephebic training.⁶⁸ Early in his adult life, he left behind his home city and joined the Ionian-Hellespontine association of the *technitai* based out of Teos. Our earliest epigraphic testimony for the flute-player is in the victor's lists inscribed on the theater at Iasos (*I.Iasos* 163.9). The inscription can date no earlier than 193/2 BC, giving us a *terminus post quem* for the beginning of the long and illustrious career of the man, presumably then in his twenties.⁶⁹ After this victory at Iasos, Kraton competed in a vast array of international contests, including the Pythia and Soteria at Delphi, the Mouseia at Thespiiai, and the Agrionia at Thebes.⁷⁰ This is no doubt only the smallest selection of the great successes that Kraton had over the years.

His professional skill and wealth soon saw him rise to the upper echelons of the association of the *technitai*. Kraton served as the agonotheite and priest of Dionysos, the chief office of the *technitai*, twice before 166 BC.⁷¹ In fulfilling these roles, he was consistently honored for his *choregia*, expenses, and benefactions.⁷² Great costs were undoubtedly incurred by the agonotheite during the *panegyris*, but Kraton apparently outdid himself on both occasions, spending a great deal of his own money in fulfilling his duties. This earned him the title of benefactor of both the association and the

⁶⁷ A decree of the Isthmian and Nemean *technitai* goes so far as to specify that he was an αὐλητῆς κύκλιος, a dithyrambic flute-player (*CIG* 3068c.2-3).

⁶⁸ Rigsby 1996b: 139 rightly notes that these objects have no symposiastic purpose.

⁶⁹ Crowther 1995: 228.

⁷⁰ Aneziri D10.18-20 with Le Guen (2001) 1.238 n. 697. Le Guen also gives a useful discussion of all these festivals.

⁷¹ Aneziri D10.5-9.

⁷² E.g. Aneziri D10.10 and *CIG* 3068a.13

Synagonistai. The *technitai* honored him with three statues, one in the theater at Teos, another at Delos, and a third wherever Kraton wished.⁷³ The statue at Teos later received cultic attentions on the festival day of Eumenes.⁷⁴ The Synagonistai, likewise, dedicated a painted portrait of Kraton in the Dionysion at Teos inscribed with the words “Τὸ κοινὸν τῶν συναγωνιστῶν στεφανοῖ Κράτωνα Ζωτίχου Καλχηδονίου ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς εἰς αὐτούς – the association of the Synagonistai crowns Kraton, the son of Zotichos, of Kalchedon on account of his excellence and goodwill toward them” (CIG 3068b.27-30). As we have already seen above, Kraton received many crowns from the *technitai* and these were to be announced at the various important festivals of the association. His memory came to permeate the entire religious calendar of the *technitai* at Teos.

At some early point in his career, Kraton came into contact with the Attalid royal family. Both the *technitai* and the Synagonistai honored him for his religious practices for Eumenes II and his family.⁷⁵ Shortly after this, we first hear of the new *technitai* position of the priest of Eumenes and Kraton must have been either directly or indirectly responsible for the creation of this post. Certainly, he was always at the forefront of the royal cult. He specially chose and collected together a group of *technitai* to form the association of Attalistai, who held religious ceremonies and *symposia* in honor of the Pergamene ruler. Our earliest testimony for this association is from 152 BC but it may have been created some years earlier (CIG 3070).⁷⁶

⁷³ Aneziri D10.26-40.

⁷⁴ CIG 3068a.19-25.

⁷⁵ Aneziri D10.12-13 and CIG 3068.6-7 respectively.

⁷⁶ Von Prott speculates that Kraton had originally founded the association as the Eumenistai, but there is no evidence for this (1902: 174) Cf. Allen 1983: 152.

Kraton's association with the Attalid monarch eventually led him to move to Pergamon. It was probably from here that he addressed his first letter to the Attalistsai (CIG 3070).⁷⁷ As at Teos, Kraton was a man of some importance in the city and soon received Pergamene citizenship.⁷⁸ Although now resident at Pergamon, Kraton continued to exhibit considerable influence on behalf of the *technitai* at Teos and abroad.⁷⁹ Certainly, his personal relationship with the king continued to develop. He managed to get several benefactions from the Attalid ruler on behalf of the Attalistsai (CIG 3069.8-10). His last will and testimony was entrusted to the king, who, after Kraton's death, forwarded it on the Attalistsai (l. 18). Sometime before his death, Kraton dedicated the Attaleion at Pergamon and acquired a house near the palace on the acropolis, where perhaps he lived during the last years of his life (ll. 20-23). Both of these were left to the Attalistsai in his will.

Kraton passed away sometime between 145 and 133 BC. At the time of his death, he was still resident at Pergamon, living close to the king to whom he had devoted so much time and energy (CIG 3069.15-16). No doubt he continued to live on in the memory of the *technitai* and the Attalistsai for many years to come. He also lived on in the memory of the Teians. It is again from Teos that we see the last memorials of the life and achievements of Kraton. A funerary monument honors the man, a cenotaph dedication, adorned with three wreaths, which reads quite simply but elegantly (LW 3.1558.):

⁷⁷ The document preserves only the prescript, but it is dated by the regnal year of Attalos II and the Macedonian month of Dystros.

⁷⁸ This is mentioned only in decree of the Isthmian and Nemean *technitai* (CIG 3068c.2).

⁷⁹ He is mentioned in the fragment of a letter of Mummius to the Ionian-Hellespontine chapter of the *technitai* (SEG 32.491).

οἱ νῦν
ἔφηβοι οἱ ὑ
πὸ γυμνα-
σίαρχον <Ζ>η-
νόδοτον.

The ephebes
under the
gymnasiarch
Zenodotos.

οἱ στρα-
τηγοὶ οἱ
σὺν Εὐπο-
λέμωι.

The board of
generals with
Eupolemos.

ὁ δὴ
μος
Κράτω-
να.

The people
for Kraton.

At Teos, the citizens, ephebes, and their magistrates set up a fitting reminder for the man who had spent much of his life in their city and brought much royal favor to Teos.⁸⁰

4. *The Dionysiac Technitai and their Relations with the Greater Greek World*

The Ionian and Hellespontine association of the Dionysiac *technitai* had a status and political structure on the scale of a reduced *polis*. The association clearly had an assembly of some sort with voting procedure. The independence of the association at Teos becomes clear in a document from Magnesia on the Maiandros (*Asyilia* no. 103 ll. 24-34).⁸¹ During the Magnesians second call for *asyilia*, around 207 BC, the *technitai* were clearly an independent political power. Perhaps most interesting is the fact that the ambassadors sent by the Magnesians to the *technitai* are not the same as those sent around to Teos and the other Ionian cities.⁸² This suggests that a special embassy was

⁸⁰ Another important tomb marker was found in 1880 (Pottier and Hauvette-Besnault 1880: 161-167). It does not preserve the name of the deceased, but had an incredible fifteen inscribed crowns. Among the preserved dedicants were the Attalistsai. The marker preserves the names of several other religious associations, several founded by Metrodoros and Athenodotos, the sons of Metrodoros. The number of crowns must make it an important individual and it is possible that it was for Kraton, who enhanced the religious life of Teos so much in his time. Alternatively, it could be a monument for either Athenodotos and Metrodoros, who, although unknown outside of this inscription, obviously created many new religious associations in their time.

⁸¹ I note especially the participle χειροτονηθέντες on lines 37-38. The theoroi from the *technitai* were later accorded *proedriai* by the Magnesians at the musical contests

⁸² The Teians are listed at the bottom of the recognition from Klazomenai and the implication is that they were approached by the same embassy as the other Ionian cities listed together (*Asyilia* no. 102).

sent for the sole purpose of soliciting the Dionysiac artists. The *technitai* chose to send three *theoroi* to the Leukophryeneia festival and these were to be provided money from the treasurers for the sacrifice on the part of the artists.⁸³ The Magnesians obviously recognized the association as an independent corporate body. Because the *technitai* maintained their own government and religious structure, they were approached and honored by the Magnesians as such.⁸⁴

The case of the Magnesians displays the independence of the artists, but the politics of the Ionian and Hellespontine association of the *technitai* often intersected with those of the Teians. When Antiochos III granted tax relief and recognized the *asylia* for Teos, he did so “θέλων χαρίζεσθαι τῶι τε δήμῳ καὶ τῶι κοινῶι τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν – wanting to please both the people and the association of the Dionysiac *technitai*” (*Antiochos* no. 17.16-17). The question as to whether the king granted the favor because the artists were resident at Teos and intervened on behalf of the Teians is an interesting one. Unfortunately, the motivations behind the king’s decision are hard to decipher from the Teian public documents alone.

More interesting is the manner in which the Teians represent the Dionysiac *technitai*. They are careful in their reply to the king to repeat that the honors bestowed upon them were granted both for the city and for the association (*Antiochos* no. 17.48-49). The Teians further involved the artists at the highest level of the Antiocheia and Laodikeia festival established in gratitude for the Seleukids. The *technitai* were invited to participate in a feast alongside the city’s officials, a position of particular honor

⁸³ For *meristai* as treasurers, see below §3.

⁸⁴ For the structure and organization of the *technitai*, see §3 below. For the extended honors bestowed upon the *technitai*, see *I. Magnesia* 89 where proedriai at the *mousikos agon* are announced for the *theoroi* sent by the Dionysiac artists, as well as a crown and public praise.

(*Antiochos* no. 18.7-9.).⁸⁵ Clearly, the Teians decided that the artists, although a distinct body at their city, should be involved in the important festivals of the city.⁸⁶

The *technitai* certainly also profited alongside the Teians. Antiochos' move into Asia Minor promised to bring about a new era of prosperity. The relief from taxes and tribute at Teos would have also benefited the association (*Antiochos* no. 17.18-20, 33-34, and 48.). Moreover, the promise to bring about an end of continual wars (ll. 13-14), although from our point of view ephemeral, certainly would have worked in the favor of the *technitai* who counted on peacetime and prosperity to travel and put on shows for the various cities and sanctuaries of the Aegean.

The presence of the *technitai* must have improved the Teian efforts to secure *asylia* for their city and territory for Dionysos. As has been previously discussed, the Teians sent out their initial call for *asylia* without any oracles and without establishing a special festival or games.⁸⁷ Antiochos' recognition of the *asylia* of Teos may have been a political one, because he was attempting to secure the goodwill of a city newly returned to his kingdom, but this is not a satisfactory motive to attribute to the rest of the cities and political bodies that recognized it. In particular, the decrees from the Aitolians, the Delphic Amphiktyony, and the Delphians all say that *asylia* was granted to the Teians “καθὼς καὶ τοῖς Διονυσιακοῖς τεχνίταις ὁ νόμος ... κελεύει – just as the law...commands for the Dionysiac *technitai*” (*Asylia* no. 132 (Aitolian League) 15-16).⁸⁸

⁸⁵ The rest of the citizens and inhabitants gathered in their symmories or celebrated at home (ll. 9-25).

⁸⁶ The relationship established here between the *technitai* and the Seleukid royal cult is very different from the sort of relationship that existed under the Ptolemies. In Egypt, there were groups of *technitai* organized specifically around the worship of the royal family alongside Dionysos. See San Nicolo (1913) I. 49-61.

⁸⁷ See chapter 6§2.

⁸⁸ A similar formula is employed by the Delphians (*Asylia* no. 134.11-12) and the Amphiktyony (*Asylia* no. 133.18-19).

On the one hand, it was politically expedient for these powers to grant the same rights that they had already granted to the *technitai*.⁸⁹ But it also goes without saying that, in the area of mainland Greece, the Dionysiac artists were the most easily recognised group from Teos and they represented a further testimony of the city's important cult of Dionysos.

The *technitai* may have actively supported the Teians in their call for recognition of *asylia*. The later testimonies for the second call to the cities of Crete involved the activities of Herodotus and Menekles. As we have seen, the two decrees from Priansos and Knossos record that Menekles even gave a recital about Cretan gods and heroes, accompanied by the lyre (*IC* 1.8 (Knossos) 11 and *IC* 1.24 (Priansos)).⁹⁰ Chaniotis takes this as a strong indication that he was a member of the Dionysiac *technitai*.⁹¹ There is good reason to believe that the *technitai* had an interest in the Teian attempt to gain *asylia*. Recognition of *asylia* increased the honor of the patron god they shared with their home city and generally drew international attention to them. The success of the Teian call for *asylia*, although a mixed one, was to a large degree a confirmation of the *asylia* already granted to the *technitai*. In this regard, the *technitai* would have benefited from the city's status as much as the Teians themselves.

All indications point to a close symbiotic relationship between the association of the Dionysiac *technitai* and Teos at the turn of the 2nd century BC. Later, when the city returned to Attalid control after the Peace of Apameia, it depended upon the international connections of the *technitai* even more. The Attalids had a strong interest in the Dionysiac *technitai*; they needed the artists to supply talent for the important festivals at

⁸⁹ Le Guen no. 38 discussed above in §1 of this chapter.

⁹⁰ Also discussed in 6§3.

⁹¹ 1988: 348-349 (E71).

Pergamon. The loss of Teos and its chapter of the *technitai* to Antiochos III in 204/3 BC struck the Attalids particularly hard, and they appear to have established their own local chapter, known as τὸ κοινὸν τῶν περὶ τὸν Καθηγεμόνα Διόνυσον τεχνίτων. The epithet Kathegemon for Dionysos, although not exclusive to Pergamon, does appear to have an important association with the city and with the Attalids in particular.⁹²

The evidence for Pergamene chapter is a single decree dated shortly after 129 BC (Le Guen no. 54.45-47),⁹³ but a connection between the Teian and Pergamene *technitai* is evident earlier. The titlature of the Ionian and Hellespontine chapter of the Dionysiac *technitai* incorporated the title of the Pergamene chapter in all of their decrees from after 188 BC. The resulting title was the cumbersome τὸ κοινὸν τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν ἐπ' Ἰωνίας καὶ Ἑλλησπόντου καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν Καθηγεμόνα Διόνυσον.⁹⁴ The question that naturally comes to mind concerns the nature of this relationship. Were the two chapters of *technitai* in Asia Minor independent of each other during this period, with only nominal ties,⁹⁵ or were they truly united into one larger *koinon*?⁹⁶ If we take into consideration the activities of Kraton of Kalchedon, definitely active at Pergamon, but closely attached to the association at Teos, the probable answer presents itself.⁹⁷ An independent chapter was established at Pergamon by the Attalids soon after they lost Teos in 204 BC and, when Eumenes regained control of the city

⁹² Le Guen 2001: 1.235-236. She notes, among many other inscriptions, the joint dedication to Attalos I and Dionysos Kathegemon (*SEG* 39.1334 and the discussion in Müller 1989: 539-553). Attalos II and Attalos III both had a direct involvement with the appointment of the priesthood (*RC* 65 and 66 respectively). See also von Prott 1902: 162-166 and Musti 1986 esp. 117-125.

⁹³ See the discussion of this decree in §5 below.

⁹⁴ E.g. Aneziri D10 (= *IG* 11.4.1061+1136) ll. 1-2.

⁹⁵ This is the opinion of Le Guen 2001: 1.236.

⁹⁶ So Aneziri 2003: 72-76.

⁹⁷ For the career of Kraton of Calchedon, see below §3.

following the Peace of Apameia, the two chapters were either united or forced to unite, with the Teian chapter remaining the main seat of the new association.

The third period of Attalid rule at Teos appears to have been tempered by the presence of the artists at the city. Given the new importance of the *technitai* for the Attalid royal cult, it was hard for Eumenes II to fault their home city, even though Teos had fought on the side of his enemy, Antiochos III. The Teians realized their new precarious position and, rescued to some extent by the *technitai*, they launched themselves into involving the Attalids in the city's cult. We have a sacred law from Teos recording the cults instituted for Apollonis, the widow of Attalos I, and for Stratonike, the wife of Eumenes II (Kotsidu 240). Apollonis is listed as a goddess in the inscription. Because Stratonike receives no title, the wife of Attalos must have died by this time. This fact provides us with a date for the inscription somewhere after 184 BC,⁹⁸ although given the swiftness with which the Teians voted religious honors for Antiochos III and Laodike, there must have been cult activity for the Attalids almost immediately after the city returned to their control. The foundation of an altar for Apollonis Eusebes Apobateria, either in the harbor or the agora, is an indication that the queen visited the city prior to her demise, a sign that good relations existed between the new rulers and the Teians from very early on (ll. 13-15).⁹⁹ The Attalids appear to have been mollified and Teos continued to prosper.

After the two chapters of the *technitai* joined together, they played an important role in the Attalid royal cult, as reflected in the epigraphic dossier found at Teos. The relationship between the Dionysiac artists and the Pergamene kings is made particularly

⁹⁸ The date of Apollonis' death is uncertain but see Allen (1983: 150-151) for a discussion of her chronology.

⁹⁹ For a discussion of the term ἀποβητήρια, see Robert 1937: 20 n.1.

clear in the extensive documents we have concerning the flute-player Kraton of Kalchedon. The earliest of the inscriptions concerning Kraton is an honorary decree erected at Delos by the Asia Minor association of the *technitai* (CIG 3067).¹⁰⁰ The document can be dated with some precision. The reference to the people and the council of the Delians (ll. 38-39) requires a date before 167 BC, the year when Athens took control of the island. The *terminus post quem* is, according to Knoepfler, 172/1 BC. He notes that the mention of the Mouseia at Thespiiai together with other stephanitic games coincides with a simplification of the festival after the Romans abolished the Boiotian League.¹⁰¹

In the decree from Delos, the association honors Kraton in particular for his service as agonotheite and priest of Dionysos. The duties of the priest involved performing rites for Dionysos, the Muses, Apollo Pythios, and all the other gods, but the decree further mentions that Kraton undertook cult activities for: “[ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοῖς τε βασι]λεῦσι καὶ ταῖς βασιλίσσαις καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς βασιλέως Εὐμένου – similarly for the kings and queens and the brothers of king Eumenes” (ll.12-13 and 32-33). Given the reference to the brothers of Eumenes, the kings must be Attalos I and Eumenes II, and the queens Apollonis and Stratonike.¹⁰²

The *technitai* must have undertaken an entire range of cult activities for the Attalids. The best of these is yet another inscription honoring Kraton, this time published at Teos itself. It reads (CIG 3068.1-26):¹⁰³

¹⁰⁰ The inscription can also be found in two parts in *IG* 11.4.1061 (dedication) and 1136 (decree). Now at the Louvre, Catalogue Clarac no. 584.

¹⁰¹ 1996: 165. See also the discussion in Le Guen 2001: 1.145 and 235.

¹⁰² Austin 1981: no. 123 n. 4.

¹⁰³ Now located in Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge (Accession number GR.39.1865). The decree is the first of three published on a stone found nearby at Sığacık. The document is followed by two

Ἐπὶ ἱερέως Σατύρου, καὶ ἀγωνοθέτου κ[αὶ]
 ἱερέως βασιλέως Εὐμένου Νικοτέλου[ς,]
 ἔδοξεν τῶι κοινῶι τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνι-
 4 τῶν τῶν ἐπ' Ἴωνίας καὶ Ἑλλησπόντου καὶ τῶν πε[ρὶ]
 τὸν Καθηγεμόνα Διόνυσον· ἐπειδὴ Κράτων Ζωτίχου
 ἀύλητῆς εὐεργέτης ἔν τε τῶι πρότερον χρόνῳ τῆ[ν]
 πᾶσαν σπουδὴν καὶ πρόνοιαν εἶχεν τῶν κοινῆι συμφε-
 8 ρόντων τῆι συνόδῳ, καὶ τιμηθεὶς ἀξίως ὧν εὐεργέτη-
 κεν ὑπερτίθεται τῆι εὐνοίᾳ καὶ φιλοτιμίᾳ τῆι εἰς τοὺς
 τεχνίτας, πάντα πράττων τὰ συμφέροντα· νν δεδόχθαι
 τῶι κοινῶι τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν ἐπαινεῖσαι
 12 μὲν Κράτωνα Ζωτίχου ἀύλητὴν εὐεργέτην ἐπὶ τῶι τὴν
 αὐτὴν ἔχειν αἰεὶ προαίρεσιν τῆς εὐεργεσίας τῆς εἰς
 ἅπαντας τοὺς τεχνίτας, προσδοῦναι δὲ αὐτῶι πρὸς
 ταῖς προὔπαρχούσαις τιμαῖς ἀνακήρυξίν τε στεφά-
 16 νου τοῦ ἐκ τοῦ νόμου, ἥμ ποιήσεται αἰεὶ ἐν τῶι θεάτρῳ ὁ
 ἐκάστοτε γινόμενος ἀγωνοθέτης καὶ ἱερεὺς βασιλέως
 Εὐμένου ἐν τῆι βασιλέως Εὐμένου ἡμέραι ὅταν ἢ τε πομπὴ
 διέλθῃ καὶ αἱ στεφανώσεις συντελῶνται· ὁμοίως δὲ
 20 καὶ παρὰ τὸν πότον γινέσθω τῆι αὐτῇ ἡμέραι μετὰ τὰς
 σπονδὰς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἢ ἀναγγελία τοῦ στεφάνου.
 παρατίθεσθαι δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς θέαις καὶ ἐν ταῖς πομπαῖς πα-
 ρὰ τὸν ἀνδριάντα τὸν Κράτωνος τὸν ἐν τῶι θεάτρῳ τρίπο-
 24 δά τε καὶ θυμιατήριον, καὶ τῆς ἐπιθυμιάσεως τὴν ἐπιμέλει-
 αν καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος αἰεὶ ποιεῖσθαι τὸν ἀγωνοθέτην καὶ
 ἱερέα βασιλέως Εὐμένου γινόμενον.

When Satyros was priest and Nikoteles was agonothete and priest of King Eumenes, the association of the Dionysiac *technitai* of Ionia and the Hellespont and of Dionysos Kathegemon decreed. Since Kraton, the son of Zotichos, flute-player and benefactor, has shown in former times all his zeal and attention of the interests for the common association, and having been honored worthily for his benefactions, he exceeds in goodwill and love for honor for the *technitai*, doing all the fitting things. The association of the Dionysiac *technitai* decreed to honor Kraton, the son of Zotichos, flute-player and benefactor, for always having this disposition of benefaction towards all the *technitai*. And let us give to him, besides the previous honors, a proclamation of a crown in the theatre, according to the law, which each agonothete and priest of King Eumenes shall give heretofore in the theater on the anniversary day of King Eumenes, when the

further decrees for Kraton, one by the Synagonistai and the other by the Isthmian and Nemean association of the *technitai*. There was a space of about eleven lines between the first two decrees, and a small distance between the second two. The decrees were inscribed, however, at the same time and the space between the first two decrees may be explained by the space needed for painted crowns, whose paint has faded with time (Steve Tracy, personal communication, March 2005).

procession has taken place and the crownings occur. And, similarly, let there be a pronouncement of the crown by the officials during the drinking festivities on the same day after the libations. And let there be placed, during the spectacles and processions, by the statue of Kraton in the theater a tripod and an incense-burner, and let the agonothete and the priest of King Eumenes in office each year undertake the fumigation.

The inscription must date later than the decree from Delos since it refers to the statue erected by the *technitai* in that decree (*CIG* 3067).¹⁰⁴ And it must date before the death of Eumenes II in 158 BC, since the king is not yet referred to as θεός.¹⁰⁵

Two interesting facts concerning the royal cult come to light in this inscription. The first is that the agonothete of the *technitai* also fills the role of the priest of Eumenes. The agonothete was the most important official for the Dionysiac *technitai*, so the fact that the priesthood of the king was appended to the position demonstrates just how central the royal cult had become for the association. One of the duties of the agonothete, and this is the second interesting fact that we take from this inscription, was to organize a yearly festival on the birthday of King Eumenes.¹⁰⁶ The event took place at Teos and was a lavish affair. Processions and spectacles were organized. The crowns for the association's benefactors were announced in the theatre at the same time. Another important aspect of the festival was the libation poured for the king. This ceremony was

¹⁰⁴ Lines 26-30: “[ἀναθεῖναι δὲ αὐτοῦ εἰκόνας] | [τ]ρεῖς· τὴν μὲν μίαν ἐν Τέωι ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ. ὅπως οἱ καθ’ ἕκαστον ἔτος ἀγ[ωνο]θέται ἐν τῇ τοῦ κοινοῦ | [π]ανηγύρει καὶ ὅταν ἡ Τηϊῶν πόλις συντελῇ Διονύσια ἢ ἄλλον τινὰ [ἀ]γῶν[α] στεφανῶσι τὴν εἰκόνα | τὴν Κράτωνος στεφάνῳ τῷ ἐκ τοῦ νόμου ὧι πάτριον ἐστὶ τοῖς τεχνίταις στεφανοῦν τοὺς αὐ]- | των εὐεργέτας.” See also ll. 36-38 which refer to ambassadors sent to the Teians in order that the statue be erected.

¹⁰⁵ The king was apotheosized soon after his death and is already referred to as θεὸς Εὐμενης in a letter of Kraton to the Attalists in 152 BC (Le Guen no. 49.3).

¹⁰⁶ Eumenes was also honored with an eponymous day during the Panionian festival (*RC* 52.51-55 and 59-60).

followed by a drinking celebration for all the participants at the event.¹⁰⁷ The drinking may have been open to all those attending because it was considered another opportunity to announce Kraton's crown. During the daylong activities, special religious attention would have been paid to the statue of Eumenes. The ritual can be inferred from the lavish attention paid to Kraton's statue, namely the tripod and incense burning that took place there for the duration of the processions and spectacles (Il. 23-24).¹⁰⁸

The Dionysiac *technitai* were obviously at the forefront of the royal cult at Teos. Unfortunately, we know nothing about the former cult practices of the *technitai* for the Seleukids are unknown. The association had been specially recognized by the Syrian monarchs. A fragment of a letter in the dossier about Antiochos III, possibly written by Queen Laodike, is addressed to the *technitai* (*Antiochos* no. 19E). Whoever wrote the letter, it is undoubtedly a response to some honor undertaken for the rulers by the artists. The *technitai* were involved in the Antiocheia and Laodikeia festival established by the Teians and we must believe that they established their own parallel cult practices for the Seleukids. This is all the more probable when we examine the relationship between the *technitai* and the Attalids. The united grand association of the *technitai* of Ionia and the Hellespont and those organized under Dionysos Kathegemon devoted themselves to religious practices for the Attalid monarch at Pergamon, but also in their home city. The association of Dionysiac artists at Teos were exploited by the rulers of Pergamon to

¹⁰⁷ *Contra* Le Guen 2001 1.253, who interprets “παρὰ τὸν πότον ... μετὰ τὰς σπονδὰς” on line 12 as a feast for the magistrates of the *technitai*. Cf. the drinking festival for Hediste. *SEG* 4.598.9. Discussed in chapter 4§4.

¹⁰⁸ Such an incense offering was given to the cult statue of Ariarathes V by the *technitai* at Athens (ca. 130 BC, *IG* 2² 1330.37). We might also think of the throne of Alexander, set up by the Macedonians after his death, in front of which incense was burned (Polyainos 4.8.2). Cf. the reference to burning incense in the sacred law for the cult of Tiberius. *LSAM* 28.13. Discussed in chapter 4§4.

spread Attalid political and cultural hegemony over the entire territory of Asia Minor.¹⁰⁹

The spread of the royal cult of the Attalids clearly coincides with areas where the *technitai* were active and where festivals and contests would have required their presence.¹¹⁰ The Teians, for their part, responded to the *technitai*'s involvement in royal cult and became one of the first Greek cities to establish a cult for the Pergamene rulers.

The involvement of the *technitai* in organizing private associations for the worship of the Attalids is demonstrated by a decree honoring Kraton. The decree was voted by a group known as the Attalistai. It reads (*CIG* 3069):

Ψήφισμα Ἀτταλιστῶν

Γνώμη τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἀτταλιστῶν· ἐπειδὴ ὁ (ἰρ)εὸς
 τῆς συνόδου Κράτων Ζωτίχου ἔν τε τῶι ζῆν
 4 πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας ἀποδείξεις ἐποιεῖτο τῆς πρὸς
 τοὺς Ἀτταλιστὰς εὐνοίας καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν ὑπερ ἑκάσ-
 του καὶ κατὰ κοινὸν τῶν ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ συνηγμένων καὶ κε[κρι]-
 μένων τὴν πλείστην ποιούμενος πρόνοιαν, σπου-
 8 δῆς καὶ φιλοτιμίας οὐθὲν ἐλλείπων, καὶ πολλὰ μέ[ι]ν
 [κα]κ[λ]ὰ καὶ φιλόανθρωπα τῆι συνόδωι παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων
 ἐποίησεν, ἀποδεχομένων αὐτῶν τὴν τε ἐκείνου [κατ]-
 ἅ πάντα τρόπον πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς εὐνοίαν καὶ τὴν ἡμετ-
 12 ἔραν αἴρεσιν καὶ συναγωγὴν ἀξίαν οὔσαν τῆς ἑαυτ-
 ῶν ἐπωνυμίας, οὐκ ὀλίγα δὲ καὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἐπιδιδούς καὶ
 χορηγῶν διετέλει, βουλόμενός τε τοῖς προὔπηργμένο-
 ις ἀκόλουθα πράσσειν καὶ μεταλλάσσω τὸν βίον ἐν Πε-
 16 ργάμωι προενοήθη τῆς συνόδου καὶ γράψας ἐπιστολὴν
 πρὸς τοὺς Ἀτταλιστὰς καὶ νόμον ἱερὸν ἀπολιπών,
 ὃν ἐξαπέστειλεν ἡμῖν βασιλεὺς Ἀτταλος, ἐπισημο-
 τέραν ἐποίησεν τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν ἐς τὴν σύνοδον εὐνοια-
 20 ν, δι' ὃν τό τε Ἀττάλειον τὸ πρὸς τῶι θεάτρωι, ὃ καὶ
 ζῶν καθιερώκει, τοῖς Ἀτταλισταῖς ἀνατίθησιν καὶ τὴν συν-
 οικίαν τὴν πρὸς τῶι βασιλείωι, τὴν πρότερον οὔσαν Μικ[κά]-
 24 ρου· ἀνατίθησιν δὲ καὶ καθιεροῖ τῆι συνόδωι καὶ ἀργυρίου
 Ἀλεξανδρείου δραχμὰς μυρίας καὶ πεντακοσίας,

¹⁰⁹ So also Aneziri 2003: 105-107.

¹¹⁰ Indications of cult activity for the Attalids is widespread: Cult for Apollonis at Teos (Kotsidu 240), the Philetairaia at Kyzikos (*CIG* 3660.15 with Robert 1937:199-201, Habicht 1970:124), the Attaleia at Kyme (*SEG* 29.1216.9); *agon* for King Eumenes Soter in Tralles (*I.Tralles* 23.11 with Robert 1934:279-291); Panatheneia and Eumeneia in Sardis (*CIG* 3070.7-9 and *FD* 3.3.342); eponymous day at Miletos during the Panionia fest (*RC* 52.51-54); procession at Kos (*Iscr. Cos* ED 45.b5 and Habicht 1970: 125).

ἀφ' ὧν ἐκ τῆς προσόδου θυσίας τε καὶ συνόδους [πε]οιή-
 μεθα, καθὼς αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ νομοθεσίᾳ περὶ ἐκάστων
 δια[τέ]ταχεν· ἀνατίθησιν δὲ καὶ σώματα τοῖς Ἀτταλισταῖς,
 28 περὶ ᾧ τὰ <α> κατὰ μέρος ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων ἐν τῷ καθιερωμέ-
 νῳ ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ νόμῳ δεδήλω<κ>εν· ἀ(πέ)λιπεν δὲ καὶ τὰ
 πρὸς εὐσχημοσ(ύ)ν(η)ν τῷ τεμένει χρηστήρια ἱκανά, παρ-
 αλῦσαι βουλόμενος καὶ τῆς εἰς ταῦτα δαπάνης καὶ χορη-
 32 γίας τοὺς Ἀτταλιστάς· ἵνα οὖν καὶ ἡ σύνοδος τῶν Ἀττα-
 λιστῶν ἀξίας φαίνεται τοῖς εὐεργέταις ἀπονέμουσα
 χάριτας, δεδόχθαι τοῖς Ἀτταλισταῖς, κυρῶσαι μὲν τὸν
 ἱερὸν νόμον τὸν ἀπολελειμμένον ὑπὸ Κράτωνος, συν[τε]-
 36 [λεῖσθαι δ]᾽ ἐπωνύμους ἡμέρας Κράτωνός τε καὶ [— — —]

Decree of the Attalists. The proposition of the association of the Attalists. Since the priest of the association, Kraton the son of Zotichos, gave during his lifetime many and great displays of his goodwill towards the Attalists, having given the greatest forethought, both privately and publicly, on behalf of each of those gathered and chosen by him, leaving nothing with regard to zeal or love of honor, and he brought about many good things and gifts for the association from the king, having accepted these with respect to the goodwill of that man (Attalos) in all respects to them and with respect to our conduct and our assembly being worthy of its eponymy, and also, giving not a small amount from his own funds, he undertook *choregia*, wanting to act in accordance with the benefactions he had granted beforehand, and ending his days in Pergamon, he provided for the association, writing a letter to the Attalists and leaving behind a sacred law, which King Attalos sent to us, he (Kraton) made more remarkable his existing goodwill to the association, through which (law) he dedicated the Attaleion by the theater, which he dedicated while he was still alive, to the Attalists and also the house by the palace, which formerly belonged to Mikkaros. And he dedicated and consecrated for the association 10,500 Alexanders from which revenues we have made sacrifices and gatherings, just as he himself had ordained according to each thing in his testament. And he also dedicated slaves to the Attalists, concerning which he set forth in turn on all of them in his sacred law. He also left the necessary objects sufficient for the maintenance of the temenos, wanting to free the Attalists of the expenses in these things and the *choregia*. And so that the association of the Attalists appears worthy, apportioning favor to their benefactors, it was decreed by the Attalists that the law left behind by Kraton be sovereign and to celebrate a day eponymous for Kraton and ...

The document records the death of Kraton and his final benefaction for the association,

which, if we have understood correctly the choice of the word κε[κρι]μένων (ll. 6-7), he

personally formed out of hand-picked men. The document should date shortly after the great benefactor's death, sometime after 146 but before the death of Attalos III in 133 BC.¹¹¹

This text is our only decree from the association of Attalists. We do have, however, the short prescript of a letter sent to them by Kraton, presumably from Pergamon, dating to 152 BC (*CIG* 3070). This document is dated not only by the regnal year of Attalos II, but also by the two head officials of the Ionian-Hellespontine association of the *technitai*: the priest of the *technitai* together with the agonothete and priest of Eumenes the god. The inclusion of the two officials from the *technitai* are our only indication, beyond Kraton's own long-standing membership in the *technitai*, that the group of the Attalists are to be associated with the Dionysiac artists.¹¹² In this regard, they are no different than the association of the Basilists recorded on the island of Dionysos at Setos in Egypt for the Ptolemies (*OGIS* 130).

It has been disputed whether the Attalists were based at Teos or Pergamon. The prime argument for Teos is that the present decree and the letter from Kraton to the association were both found there. Nonetheless, it can and has been argued that the association was based in Pergamon and the documents were sent to Teos for publication because it was the seat of the *technitai*.¹¹³ The issue concerning the residence of the Attalists is unclear because, in both the letter and decree, Kraton is writing to the group from Pergamon and his will probably indicates property located at Pergamon. The verb ἐξαπέστειλεν (l. 18), however, leads us to believe that Kraton's will was sent some

¹¹¹ Kraton is attested, and hence presumably alive, in a fragment of a letter from the consul Mummius to the Ionian-Hellespontine association of *technitai* in 146 BC (*SEG* 32.491). It is unclear which Attalos, II or III, is honored in our inscription. See the extensive commentary in Le Guen 2001: 1.256-260.

¹¹² Hansen 1971: 462-464 and Préaux 1987: 264.

¹¹³ Von Prott (1902) 166-173.

distance.¹¹⁴ Moreover, taken together with the publication site of the two documents mentioning them, it seems unescapable to conclude that the Attalistsai did have a base in Teos. It could be further argued that if the Attalistsai were based in Teos, their cult activity would be restricted from taking place in Pergamon. However, the words used by the association in describing themselves, “τῶν ὑφ’ ἑαυτοῦ συνηγμένων καὶ κε[κρι]μένων” (ll. 6-7), inform us that it was a small group personally gathered by Kraton.¹¹⁵ A small group could have easily made the annual pilgrimage to Pergamon to honor the king.

Intricately tied up with the residence of the association, is the question concerning the location of the Attaleion by the theater and the house by the palace (ll. 20-23) If the theater is the one at Pergamon, the natural candidate for the Attaleion is the so-called niched building on the slope just south of the theater.¹¹⁶ The building, accessed by a porch with two ramps, consists of a large room with benches on the sides, ideal for gatherings and feasts. At the rear of the building, towards the east, there is a niched area that would have been ideal for a cult statue of Attalos. There is also a small side room that could have served for the storage of the items bequeathed by Kraton to the Attalistsai.¹¹⁷ The association of this building with the Attaleion, however, has been challenged, most recently by Schwarzer. He believes that the building should be

¹¹⁴ This is the cautious interpretation of Le Guen 2001: 1.262.

¹¹⁵ Le Guen suggests, based on the number of linens listed in Kraton’s legacy, that there were perhaps ten members (1991: 2.31). While I feel that suggesting such a number is over-confident, the fact that the members of the Attalistsai were specially chosen by Kraton suggests to me that they were small in number and hence could have easily traveled between Teos and Pergamon for a festival.

¹¹⁶ Boehringer and Krauss 1937: 91 with n. 3. Cf. Ohlemutz (1968) 101-103 and Wensler (1989) 41-42.

¹¹⁷ The back of the same stele as the decree of the Attalistsai preserves part of the Kraton’s testament (*SEG* 46.1489).

associated with Dionysiac *technitai* at Pergamon, but not with the Attalists.¹¹⁸ Schwarzer would rather see the Attaleion located at Teos and further suggests that there was a royal palace there.¹¹⁹ The problem with this proposal is that, outside of this inscription, we have no other testimony for a palace at Teos. Moreover, no large building remains have been located near the theater. Faced with a situation where there is evidence at Pergamon and none for Teos, it would seem more prudent to choose the former. We must acknowledge that the niched-building at Pergamon is an incredibly well suited candidate for the Attaleion and that any number of buildings at the east end of the acropolis could have served as the house near the palace. Kraton spent the last decade of his life at Pergamon and it only seems natural that he would have acquired property suitable for his beloved Attalists there.

Of course, what often escapes a discussion of the Attalists is the question: what exactly did this association do? Their decree lets us know specifically that they were holding meetings and making sacrifices for the Attalid monarch (l. 25). These meetings definitely included some form of banqueting, as the extensive list of equipment in Kraton's legacy makes clear (*SEG* 46.1489).¹²⁰ Kraton specifically bequeathed these items: “ὥστε ὑπάρχειν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ στρώματα καὶ τὰ σκ[ε]ύη οἷς καὶ ἐπ' ἐμοῦ [ἐ]χρ[ῶ]ν(τ)ο – so that they possess the coverings and furnishings that they used in my time” (ll. 3-4).¹²¹ However, the 10, 500 Alexanders left behind by Kraton were far in excess of the needs of the association for sacrifices and feasts. This brings us to the

¹¹⁸ 1999: 265-272.

¹¹⁹ 1999: 272 and n. 178. Cf. Allen (1983: 53) who suggests that there may have been a palace at Teos as at Tralles.

¹²⁰ Objects include: carpets, elbow cushions, linen, tables, tripods, various vessels, a footpan, lampstand and lamp, and a stool. For a discussion of the text and the objects, see Rigsby 1996b.

¹²¹ See the discussion in Rigsby 1996b.

specific mention of *choregia* that were to be undertaken by the Attalistsai (ll. 31-32). The practice of *choregia*, long since abandoned at Athens, was a specific form of liturgy in relation to the production of a drama.¹²² From these indications, it seems likely that the *Attalistsai* had a yearly festival for the Attalid monarch. I suggest that they journeyed from Teos and stayed in the house near the palace at Pergamon, made sacrifices, put on a dramatic performance, and, finally, that they retired to the Attaleion adjacent to the theater for a drinking party.

The interaction of the Dionysiac *technitai* with the Hellenistic monarchs was definitely extensive. There can be no doubt that Teos benefited from the presence of the *technitai* during their call for *asylia*. While we can only speculate on the interaction between the association and the Seleukid kings, it is evident that Antiochos expressed goodwill. At least one letter was sent to the *technitai* from a member of the royal family. However, it is only in the final period of Attalid rule that the *technitai* best served the city of Teos. The new joint association, with bases in both Teos and Pergamon, created a vital tie between the city and the royal court. The artists spearheaded the central celebrations of the royal cult in the city. Some *technitai* even went further and formed a private association to honor the Attalid kings. Although much of the activity of the Attalistsai took place in Pergamon, they were almost certainly based in Teos. Their association represented the general goodwill that existed between the artists and the king, but also between Pergamon and the city where they resided. Although once more tributary to the king, Teos received special attention from the Attalids. Indeed, the concerns of the city were not ignored by Eumenes II in his later arbitration between Teos and the *technitai*.¹²³

¹²² For a discussion of the operation of *choregia* at Athens, see Wilson 2000 especially 50-103.

¹²³ See §5 below.

Although the Dionysiac artists had championed his cult at Teos and elsewhere, the Teians had also responded favorably towards the king over the years. Faced with two groups who had been faithful and devoted to him, his arbitration proved not to be an easy one.

5. The Parting of Ways: The arbitration of Eumenes II and its aftermath

The *technitai* had been an integral part of the revitalization of Teos over the course of the 2nd century BC. The city had catered to the Dionysiac artists from the start and had laid open their city to receive them. But the difficulties of having two autonomous political bodies in one city proved to be a difficulty by the third generation. Things had started to seem unfair to both sides and resources were not adequately shared. The relationship was starting to sour. In desperation, the Teians and the *technitai* were forced to turn to Eumenes II for arbitration.

Eumenes addressed a letter in reply to the *technitai* (Aneziri D12). The letter poses certain interpretation problems. The text is written in a rhetorical style, with long and involved sentences. This would not be such a difficult challenge if the inscription had not been broken up and incorporated into the early Turkish fortifications on the acropolis at Pergamon.¹²⁴ Three large blocks, one with the full four columns of the text, were discovered during the German excavations in the 1880s, along with many other little fragments. Over half the original document is missing and the extant text is often lacunary. There have been problems organizing the three extant blocks into their original

¹²⁴ For a physical description of the blocks and their findspots, see the introduction to RC 53, pages 219-221.

order. Aneziri's organization of the text poses the least interpretation problems and is followed in the discussion below.¹²⁵

The precise date of the document is hard to ascertain, but it has been placed by its letterforms towards the middle of the reign of Eumenes II. The letter is addressed from the king to the Dionysiac *technitai* at Teos.¹²⁶ The subject varies but it concerns Eumenes' reply to a call for arbitration between the artists and the city of Teos. Despite having relatively strong relations with the Attalid king, it is obvious from the very start of the missive that the *technitai* were not considered completely blameless. The first section reads:

One Course Missing

IB Three Lines Missing
 [— — — — —] εως ἔσεσ-
 [θαι — — — — — ἀν]αφέρουσιν αἱ ἀντιλογί-
 [αι — — — — —] εἰς πολυχρόνια γράμ-
 4 [— — — — — διορθ]ῶσαι δὲ μόνον
 [— — — — —] γνώμη καὶ δι-
 [— — — — —] οὔτε

One Course Missing

IA [— — — — — δυσφημί]-
 αι μὰ[λισ]τ' ἐκ τοσο[ύ]του φθόνου καὶ βα]σκανίας,
 ἐὰμ μή τινες αὐταῖ τ[η]ρεῖν τὰ δέοντ]α ἐπιστρέ-
 4 πτωσ] ἔχουσιν ἀλλ' ἀν[ιστῶ]σι τὰς δει]νὰς ἐν ἀλλή-
 λαις διαφοράς, ἐξ ὧν ταραχὴ [τε καὶ] κοινὰ βλάβαι
 συμβαίνουσιν σφόδρα θεῶι [ζημιω]δῶς, καὶ μά-
 λιστα μὲν δι' ἑαυτῶν θέλειν [συλλῦσθ]αι· εἰ δὲ μή, διδό-
 ναι οὕτως ἑμαυτὸν ὅπως εἰς ὁ[μόνοια]ν ἀποκατα-
 στήσας βεβα[ῖ] ὧ ὑμῖν εἰς τὸν λοιπ]ὸν χρόνον
 [τὰ ε]ἰς εἰ[ρήνην καὶ εὐνομίαν συντείνοντα — — —]

¹²⁵ She outlines her organization of the text at page 391 (Aneziri D12). This differs from Welles organization in RC 53.

¹²⁶ The *technitai* never appear in the preserved text but Boeckh (CIG 3063) realized that the nature of the text could only refer to the association at Teos.

[...(you realize that there will arise) ill fame] especially from such [envy and] malignity, if some do not hold themselves diligently [to guard the proper things] but [raise terrible] disputes against each other from which both tumult and common damages very [ruinous] to the god, and you wish very much that they would [reconcile] on their own. But if this is not the case, that I should offer myself so that restoring you to [harmony] and secure [for you for all] time [peace and good order] ...

Eumenes began his letter with an invective against the nature of the dispute that has raised some tension between the *technitai* and Teos. The term αὐτὰ (IA.3) probably refers to a general situation when cities come into conflict;¹²⁷ the use of the feminine pronoun precludes a joint reference to Teos and the association. The dispute risked bringing damages to the god, a general reference to Zeus and the divine, not to Dionysos, the shared patron god of both the Teians and the *technitai*. The language is heavy-handed, with references to παραχή and κοινὰ βλάβαι (IA.5), and is meant to stress the gravity of the dispute between the two bodies. As we shall see, however, the malignity (IA.2: βασκανίας) falls more squarely upon the Dionysiac *technitai*.

The next part of the text refers to the history of the dispute between the Teians and the *technitai*. It reads:

One Course Missing Between IA and IC

IC [.....] τις Α[— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —]
σ[υγ]κεχ[ω]ρημεν [— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —]
σ[ει]ν. κα[τ]αξιοῦ[ν δ' ἐμέ γράψαι ὅπως ἐὰν — — — ἐν]
4 τῆι χώρῃ πανηγ[υρι]ν — — — — — — — — — — ἢ ἄλ]-
λο τι συναλλάσσ[η]τε . . . προεστῶσιν οἱ αἰρεθέντες]
ύφ' ὑμῶν πανηγυριάρχαι κατὰ τε τὴν ὑμ[ῶν αὐτῶν]
τῆς πανηγύρεως ἐπαγγελία καὶ κα[τὰ τὰ προστάγμα]-
8 τα τῶν βασιλέων, ἕτερος δὲ μηδεὶς τ[αύτης τῆς]

¹²⁷ Le Guen interprets αὐτὰ to suggest that the *technitai* were in general dispute with several *poleis* (2001: 1.249, cf. Welles commentary for RC 53 at page 233). The general nature of the king's statement argues against such an interpretation.

- ἀρχῆς ἀντιποῆται. φροντίσαι δὲ ὡσαύτ[ως καὶ περὶ]
 τῶν ἄλλων τῶν κατακεχωρισμένων ἐν τ[ῶ]ι ψηφίσματι]
 ὡς καταπλεονεκτουμένων ὑμῶν, ταῦτ[α δ' ἐν οἷς ἡμάρ]-
 12 τανε ποήσῃς ἀκόλουθα τῇ πρὸς τοὺς Τηίους προαι]-
 ρέσει. οἱ δὲ Τηίοι διὰ τοῦ ψηφίσματος ἀν[αδεξάμει]-
 νοι τὰ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ διασαφηθέντ' αὐτοῖς ἐν τ[ῇ] πρώ]-
 τη ἐπιστολῇ δι' ἧς ἐμφανισάντω μο[ι τῶν παρ' ὑ]-
 16 μῶν πρεσβευτῶν ὅτι κεχειροτόντ[αι — — — — —]

... I have granted ... And you bid [me to write so that if ... in] the countryside ... a *panegyris* [... or] anything else you enter into contract ... the panegyriarchs [appointed] by you [may direct] according to your [own] announcements of the *panegyris* and according to [the edicts] of the king, and that no other may lay claim to [that] office. And you also considered in like manner [concerning] the other things which were mentioned in [the decree] as instances of your arrogance, and would amend such things [in which (the association)] erred according to my [policy] towards the Teians. And the Teians [submitted] through a decree to the things pointed out by me to them in the [first] letter in which, after your envoys had made clear that there were elected [...]

Beginning of the Second Column. One Course Missing

- ΠΒ [. . .] ΑΙΩΝΛΕ ΤΩΝ[— — — — — οἱ]-
 [κ]ονομήσασθαι, ἅ δὲ παρ' αὐτῶν τῶν Τηίων οὐ κοινήν
 [πο]ησαμένων τὴν συντέλειαν αὐτῆς ἀλλ' ὑμετέ-
 4 ραμ μὲν κεκρικότεων ἰδίαν, εἰ δέ τι πρὸς τὰς προσ-
 ὄδους συνέτεινε τῆς πόλεως τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν τοιού-
 των συγχώρησιν πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς διειληφότων ἀν-
 ἤκειν, ὅ καὶ ἦν δίκαιον· καὶ τὰ μὲν ὀλοσχερῇ πρὸς τὴν
 8 ἀμφισβήτησιν ἦν ἐδόκει μοι διάνοιαν ἔχειν καὶ
 ἀφ' ἧς αἰτίας ἕκαστα συνσταθῆναι ταῦτ' ἐστίν. τῶν
 [δὲ — — — — —] Φ [— — — —] Σ [— —]

... to manage, what on the part of the Teians themselves who have not made the undertaking of this (*panegyris*) a common affair but have judged this to be your own private affair. But if anything contributed to the revenues of the city, those considered that decision concerning such things belonged to themselves, which was in fact just. This is the understanding, as it seems to me, of the general outline of your dispute and from what cause each thing arose.

The dispute centered primarily upon the yearly *panegyris* held by the association of the *technitai* at Teos. The revenues (τὰ προσόδους, IIB.4-5) were particularly singled out as a sticking point between the two parties. In consequence of this, the Teians called into question the practices of the panegyriach. It is doubtful that the Teians had contested the right of the *technitai* to elect the official, but the king confirmed the right, in accordance with a demand from the association. Later, the king set forth that the Teians had never, not at that time or in the past, attempted to interfere with the management of the festival. The Teians had acted in accordance to a first letter sent by the king, where Eumenes apparently clarified some points concerning the panegyriarch, but the dispute obviously did not end there. The king took a hard stance against the *technitai* and we must presume that they had further disputed points in his first letter. He specifically pointed out a streak of arrogance (καταπλεονεκτουμένων, IC.11) on the part of the *technitai* and condemned them for acting against his general policy towards the Teians.¹²⁸ In the king's opinion, the association had acted in error towards their host city, a problem he hoped to solve in this present letter.

The management of the *panegyris* is the central part of the dispute, but in the process of trying to settle the matter, a second point of disagreement arose between the Teians and the *technitai*. The document continues:

One Course Missing Between IIB and IIA

IIA τούς νόμους [.]ΙΝΣ[. ^{ca. 15}]ΕΙΣ
 τῆμ πρόνοιαμ ποεῖσ[θ]αι πρὸς τ[ὸ διατηρηθῆνα]ι πάν-
 τα τὸγ χρόνον αὐτοῖς. διοικείσθα[ι] δὲ καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸ
 4 *koinodikion* ὡσπερ συνέθεντο πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ὀρκίζο-

¹²⁸ The verb καταπλεονεκτέω is very rare, but is not used so much for emphasis here, but rather as an exercise of the extensive rhetorical vocabulary of the royal chancery. See Welle's commentary on the vocabulary of the inscription (RC 53 page 237).

μένων τῶν δικαστῶν ὄν τρόπον καὶ ἔμπροσθεν.
 εἰ δὲ προσδεῖται διορθώσεως ὁ ὑπὲρ τούτου νόμος,
 καὶ πρότερον ἐτοίμως ἔχειν συνδιορθοῦσθαι καὶ
 8 νῦν τὸ αὐτὸ ποιοῦντα[ς μεθ’] ἡμῶν εὐρεθήσεσθαι
 [ἀμέμπτους ὄντας — — — — —]

... the laws ... that they were taking forethought to [the preservation] of these things for all time. And that they were administering things according to the common court, just as they had agreed on with you, with the judges swearing in the same manner as before. And if the law concerning this needed correction, they were prepared already to work together to correct this, and now having done this [with] us, they would be found [beyond reproach...]

The *technitai* had also brought a dispute concerning the *koinodikion*, which is clearly a common court to settle disputes between the Teians and the *technitai*.¹²⁹ This secondary disagreement must have arisen after the Teians resorted to the *koinodikion* for the first dispute.¹³⁰ The *technitai* were disputing the validity and impartiality of the court, probably resulting from a verdict granted against them. The common court was obviously part of the first letter of the king since the Teians had already legislated changes from their side and issued a decree back to the king. For his part, Eumenes lauds the Teians for their goodwill and cooperation. The king was definitely of the opinion that the *technitai* had not acted similarly. The greater share of the envy and malignity mentioned earlier in the letter must have fallen squarely upon the *technitai* for their intractability.

After reviewing the history of the dispute and making clear to the *technitai* that they had indeed acted out of line, Eumenes proceeded to issue his judgment. The letter continues:

¹²⁹ Of course, we do not know much more about the *koinodikion*. Ager speculates that it was a body, composed jointly of Teians and *technitai*, specifically put in place for disputes between the two (1994: 10-11).

¹³⁰ So also Aneziri 2003: 99-100.

One Course Between IIA and IIC, Perhaps Represented in Fragment D

- II C [— — — — —]νεως αὐτῶ[ν]
 [— — — — —]ΕΙΝ τὰ ἐπιβαλλό-
 [μενα χρήμ]ατ[α τ]ῶν ἐγγυητῶν ἢ πρα-
 4 [ξ]χετω[. πρὸ τ]ῆς πανηγύρεως ἐν ἄλ-
 [λαις ἡμ]έραις δέ[κα . . . πρασσ]όντων ὧι ἂν τρόπῳ
 [δύνω]νται, ὅπως μ[ηδεὶς τῶ]μ παραγινομένω γ ξέ-
 [νων] εἰς τὴμ πανή[γυριν ἐγκα]λέσας τινὶ τῶν τοιού-
 8 τωγ καὶ μὴ τυχ[ῶν τῶν δικαίω]ν ἀπαλλάσσηται, μη-
 δ' ἢ πανήγυρις κ[ατὰ τοῦτο τὸ μέ]ρος διαβάλληται. ἄρ-
 χειμ μ[έντο]ι γε τ[οὺς πανη]γυριάρχας αὐτῶν τῶν
 Διογ[υσίων — — — — — ἐν τοῖ]ς περικειμένοις λι-
 12 μέσ[ιν εἰς οὓς οἱ ἀφικνού]μενοι εἰς τὴμ πανήγυριν κα-
 θορμ[ίζονται ἐν δὲ τῆ]ι ἐκτὸς χώραι πολυπρα-
 γμο[νεῖν ὡς καὶ ἔμ]προσθεν τοὺς] τῆς πόλεως ἄρχον-
 τας [— — — — —]κρίνω δὲ καὶ τοὺς στρα-
 16 τηγ[οὺς τῶν περὶ τὴν παν]ήγυριν οἰκονομουμένων

... the attendant moneys ... of the guarantors or ... [before] the festivals within ten days [... exacting payment] in whatever way they are [able], so that none of the strangers attending the festival bringing a charge against any of these (officials?) may go away not having received [justice], and so that the *panegyris* not be tarnished [in this respect.] And let the panegyriarchs control the Dion[ysia ... in the] neighboring harbors [in which those arriving to] the *panegyris* put in [... and in the] surrounding land let the city officials have a care for [as before.] And I also consider the *strategoï* [... while the affairs for the *pan*]egyris are being arranged...

New Column; One Course Missing above IIIB

- IIIB [— — — — — τοὺς πανηγυριάρχας ἐκ τῶν ὑμετέ]-
 ρων νόμῳ καὶ ἐθισμ[ῶμ μόνον συντελεῖν τὴν]
 πανήγυριν μὴ ὑπευθύνους [ὄντας τοῖς τῆς]
 4 πόλεως εἰς ἡμ πάρειςιν κε[ιμένοις νόμοις]
 οὐ φαίνεται μοι ἀγνωμονεῖ[ν. περὶ δὲ καὶ τοῦ]
 ὄρκου ὁμ πρότερον εἴθιστο τ[οὺς δικαστὰς ὁρ]-
 κίζεσθαι περιέχοντα δικάσ[ειν κατὰ τοὺς]
 8 νόμους καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς τ[ῶμ βασιλέω]γ καὶ
 τὰ ψηφίσματα τοῦ δήμου κ[ρίνω ὡς καὶ ἐν]
 πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ἔμπροσθεν [— — — — —]

[... that the panegyriarchs undertake] the *panegyris* [alone from your] laws and customs, not being accountable to [the laws of the] city in which they

are, does not seem to me to be unreasonable. [Concerning the] oath which it was formerly custom that [the judges] swear, holding that they judge [according to the] laws and the letters [of the kings and] the decrees of the people, I think that in may years prior...

The overall judgment concerning the panegyriarch is favorable to the *technitai*.

Nonetheless, some points are clarified. The panegyriarch is listed as being in control of the two harbors at Teos for the duration of the festival. No doubt, this was an area of the dispute brought by the Teians, who would not want to lose the revenue from the harbor dues. A small conciliation may be seen in the reaffirmation that the Teian *stratego*i remained in charge of the countryside. Travelers from Klazomenai, Smyrna, Kolophon, and other inland cities may have chosen to take this route and it was a matter of security and autonomy that required the Teians to continue to control their borders. The precise responsibilities of the *stratego*i during the *panegyris* were apparently to be detailed, but the stone breaks away right as the king began to describe them.

Eumenes was also concerned with the problems of crime and corruption in association with the *panegyris*. Certainly, the influx of foreigners into Teos for the duration of the festival was a concern. Festivals were more than just religious ceremonies and contests; they were also an opportunity to set up trade marts and to conduct all sorts of small enterprises. There was certainly money to be made and it would have had to be controlled by the magistrates in charge of the *panegyris*.¹³¹ This situation may have resulted in some misdealings and corruption. No doubt, some lawsuits had been brought

¹³¹ This is perhaps clearest in the long and detailed inscription from Oinoanda from the mid 2nd century AD outlining the thymelic *panegyris* for Iulius Demosthenes (*SEG* 38.1462). The inscription outlines that the three panegyriarchs appointed by the agonothete are to have charge of the market and have the power to write up the prices for the purchase of provisions for the festival and to inspect all the things for sale (ll. 59-61). The council of the Oinoandans also moved that there should be no taxes on goods sold, sacrificed, imported, introduced or exported during the festival (ll. 87-89). The Demostheneia was definitely an occasion for trade. See the commentary on these passages in Wörrle (1988: 209-215). Of related interest are the regulations concerning the annual leases of the shops at the Samian Heraion (ca. 246-221 BC, *SEG* 27.545).

in the past. Eumenes judgment ordered that the law courts remain available for the ten days after the festival in order to expedite legal process.¹³² The good reputation of the *technitai*, the Teians, and the festival were all caught up in this judgment.

The king proceeded to lay judgment concerning the oath of the judges in the *koinodikion*, but the text unfortunately breaks off at this point and we are missing the next course. When the text next picks up, the king proposed a novel solution to avoid future misunderstandings between the *technitai* and the Teians. The text reads:

III A [— — — — —]
 κα εἰθισμέναις δ' ἀμφοτέρ[αις οἰκεῖν μεθ' ἑτέ]-
 ρωγ γενῶγ καὶ οὐδὲν ἦσσον τα [— — — —]
 4 ταις καὶ ἐν ἑτέροις πλείοσιν ἐπί[οσις ἐτοί]-
 μη ἀμφοτέροις ἐστίν, ὅμοια καὶ ταῦτα [φαίνον]-
 τα τοῖς μὴ ἀπαιδευτοῖς. τὸ αὐτὸ δὴ κ[αὶ ἀεὶ]
 σχεδὸν ἐώρωγ γεγονὸς κατὰ τὴν ἐξ [ἡμῶν αἰ]-
 8 ρεσιν, διὰ τε τοῦτο καὶ συνθήκηγ γρα[φῆναι κέκρι]-
 κα παρ' ἐκ[ατέρων εἰ]ς τὸν συνοικισμὸγ [— — —]
 [— — — — —]σταθὲν οἷς εἰ [— — — — —]

... and with both accustomed [to dwell with] another people and nothing less ... and there is [ready profit] for both in many other respects, and these things [appear] the same to the uneducated. Indeed, I have nearly always seen the same thing according to our proposal and, on account of this, I have [decided] that an agreement will be written by [both] towards a synoecism...

Eumenes is very keen on proceeding with his plan of a synoecism and pleads for the clear advantages that this will bring the two communities, advantages that even an uneducated man could see. But his proposal is unique. All the other examples of synoecism that have passed down to us involve the union two or more *poleis*. Synoecism involved the union of neighboring territories and, on occasion, the transplant of a group of people into the

¹³² Cf. The practice of *probole* at Athens that allowed for charges to be brought the day after various festivals (MacDowell 1978: 194-197 and Dem. 21 esp. 175-180).

larger city.¹³³ Sometimes, as in the famous example of Rhodes, the communities would even found a new city. Our case, however, is the only circumstance ever attested of a synoecism between a *polis* and an association resident within a city.

It is hard to envision precisely what the king intended to accomplish and our text breaks off precisely where he would have outlined this. The situation is odd from the very beginning because the *technitai* had no territory of their own, one of the prime characteristics of all such unions.¹³⁴ Nonetheless, the main goal of a synoecism was to unite two or more groups into a joint political, financial, and cultic group, governed under a single law code. Since the *technitai* were distinct and independent from the Teians in all these regards and since these parallel systems were the source of the conflict at hand, Eumenes' solution could have provided a plan for continued peaceful existence between the two. Joint cult practice would, presumably, not have proven difficult since both bodies esteemed Dionysos as their tutelary god and had similar provisions for royal cult. Combining these religious practices would have been expedient. Other issues would have been more difficult. Assuredly, the officials of the *technitai* would have had to be accommodated in this new joint system.¹³⁵ Certainly, the agonothete would have continued to be responsible for the *panegyris*. A joint system of laws and financial organization, the areas where a single code would be most advantageous and even necessary, would only have come about through long negotiation.¹³⁶ Eumenes' proposal

¹³³ The latter was the circumstance for Teos and Lebedos in the synoecism organized by Antigonus at the end of the 4th century (*RC* 3 and 4).

¹³⁴ For a survey and commentary of the testimonia for synoecisms up to the Hellenistic period, see Moggi 1976.

¹³⁵ On Rhodes, the local administration of the three original poleis continued to function in the areas of local administration throughout the Hellenistic period (Berthold 1984: 41-42). Similarly, the *technitai* at Teos need not have completely surrendered their entire administration.

¹³⁶ When Teos and Lebedos were in negotiation over the new law code, they were forced to temporarily borrow the laws from Kos (*RC* 3.55-63).

was a bold one and it might have helped to resolve future disputes between the two groups, abolishing the need for the *koinodikion*. Nonetheless, we have no indication that a synoecism did take place between the *technitai* and Teos. And if it did, it was not successful in healing the rift between the two groups.

Whether the synoecism was just a suggestion on the part of king or forcefully intended, he continued to make provisions for easing future negotiations between the two parties. The final parts of the preserved text conclude:

One Course Missing Between IIIA and IIIC

IIIC [— — — — —]ΙΣΑΙ ιερέως
 [— — — — —] Σ ἀγωνοθέτης
 [— — — — — καὶ] Δίφιλος δο-
 4 κιμάζω[σι — — — — — συ]γγραφέντι
 ὑπ' Ἀριστομάχου [τοῦ Περγε]μηνοῦ τοῦ παρ' ἡ-
 μῶν ἀποσταλέντος καὶ τῶν προχειρισθέν-
 των ὑφ' ὑμῶν τε καὶ τῶν Τηίων ἐξ ἑκατέ-
 8 ρων τριῶν ἀνδρῶν, κεκυρωμένωι δ' ὑφ' ὑ-
 μῶν, ὅπερ κρίνω ἀναγραφῆναι εἰς τὸ ἱερόν
 τοῦ Διονύσου, ὅπως ὑμῖν ἀσφαλὲς καὶ ἴσον
 τοῖς νόμοις εἰς τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ὑπάρ-
 12 χηι. τὸ δὲ συνυποκείμενον ἄκυρον εἶ-
 ναι. προσαναγράφεσθαι δὲ καὶ ἐάν τι-
 να μετὰ ταῦτα κοινῆι κρίνοντες μετὰ
 τοῦ πεμπομένου αἰεὶ ἐπὶ τὴν διεξαγωγὴν.

... priests ... agonothete ... Diphilos approves ... written by Aristomachos of Pergamon who was sent by us and by those elected by you and by the Teians, three men from each, and ratified by you, which I think should be inscribed on the temple of Dionysos, in order that it may remain safe and equal for you with your laws for all time. And let the attached document be invalid. And inscribe also if anything after these are decided jointly with the current (official) sent for dispute settlement.

Five Courses missing between IIIC and IVC

IVC (8 lines lost)
 [— — — ἀναγράψαι ἐμ Περγάμωι ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι τῆς]
 Ἀθη[ναῶς καὶ ἐν τ]ῶι τ[εμένει — — — — —]

Ἀρτέμιδος· οὕτω [γὰρ εἰς τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἀσφα]-
 4 λεστέραν ὑπολα[μβάνω διαμεῖναι ἄν τὴν τῶν μελλόν]-
 των ἔσεσθαι [— — — — —]

[...let it be inscribed in Pergamon in the temple of] Athena [and in] the
 [temenos ...] of Artemis. For thus [in the future] I suppose [there would
 remain] more secure [the ... of] future [generations ...]

Eumenes outlined the body to undertake negotiations. It consisted of an official sent from the royal court, three *technitai* and three Teians. The royal official, known as ὁ πεμπομένος ἐπὶ τὴν διεξαγωγὴν, was apparently a regular post at the Pergamene court whose kingdom must have overseen many cases of arbitration between the various *poleis* and *ethnai*.¹³⁷ In order that the decisions of the committee would be enforced with some authority, the king ordered that they be inscribed on the temple of Dionysos at Teos. There is a significant gap in the text between IIC and IVC.¹³⁸ Any number of new topics may have been introduced, but sadly, we have only the final provision of the letter that it was to be inscribed at Pergamon. The present document was found not far from the temple of Athena, and so this must be the copy that has come down to us.

The letter of Eumenes is long and involved and it would be useful to review everything that we have learned from it. The Teians and the *technitai* came into conflict over the management of the yearly *panegyris* held by the association at Teos. Two points of the dispute are very clear. The Teians were contesting the right of the *panegyriach* to govern the harbors and the territory of the city during the festival since this was an infringement on their autonomy. There is also some dispute over the revenues derived from the festival for the city and this may further be related to the income derived

¹³⁷ Hansen 1971: 172

¹³⁸ Aneziri suggests that two of the small fragments, Q and R, might fill this gap (2003: 104 and n.67). Fragment R, which preserves the word “ὄρκου,” could be placed in the context of the discussion of the oath of the *koinodikion*. Unfortunately, none of the fragments bring us closer to understanding the content of the missing blocks.

through the control of the harbors and the countryside.¹³⁹ A lesser point is also addressed by Eumenes and that is the problem with charges brought against the festival officials. In answer to this, he ordered the court of the *technitai* to be in operation for the ten days following the festival. It is unclear whether this charge was brought by the Teians or whether it was ancillary to the entire dispute.

The Teians originally tried to resolve the dispute through recourse to the *koinodikion*, a joint court composed by Teians and *technitai*. Whatever the decision of this court was, it proved unsatisfactory to the Dionysiac artists. They appealed to Eumenes on the grounds that the oath of the judges was not sufficient to secure the impartiality of the judges. The Teians also sent to the king for arbitration and Eumenes sent a first letter of judgment. In this, he upheld the right of the *technitai* to appoint the panegyriarch. The Teians issued a decree back to the king, which noted that they did not contest the right of management of the *panegyris* but rather that the *technitai* had infringed upon the autonomy of the city by collecting revenues that did not rightfully belong to them. Eager to resolve the problem, and perhaps also timorous that the artists had brought in their great benefactor to mediate, the Teians also set about reforming the *koinodikion* to the greater satisfaction of both groups.

The dispute continued to trouble the two parties, and the *technitai* further voiced their dissatisfaction to the king. This resulted in the present letter. The king summarized the nature of the dispute, as he had learned it, and outlined the fault and improper behavior of the association towards the Teians, behavior not in accord with his own policy towards the city. Eumenes issued his judgment concerning the role of the panegyriarch and the management of the *koinodikion*, upholding rights for both the Teians

¹³⁹ So Aneziri 2003: 99.

and the *technitai*. Tired by the feud between the two, the king finally proposed that they synoecize and form one common system of laws and finance that would avoid future conflict and give them joint revenues.

The arbitration by the king was clearly provisional.¹⁴⁰ Wishing to satisfy both sides, he sent his chief arbiter, Aristomachos, who was to join an arbitration panel alongside three Teians and three *technitai*. Whatever this arbitration was, either for the present dispute or the proposed synoecism, it was expected to take some time. Provisions were made for the board of Teians and *technitai* to act with future arbiters sent from the Attalid court. Moreover, the king had appended a document, which was to become invalid. This document was either the original settlement of the king or a copy of the older arrangement that had existed between the *technitai* and the Teians. The topic of these continued arbitrations were the subject of the missing courses immediately preceding and following block IIC and so we are left, unfortunately, in the dark. Indeed, we have no evidence that supports the completion of a synoecism between the association of the *technitai* and the Teians. Nonetheless, some of the effects of the arbitration with Eumenes may be seen in the decree of the association for the city of Iasos. The *technitai* specify that they will accomplish the Dionysia in accordance with the laws of the Iasians (*I.Iasos* 152.19.). This is a surprising reversal on policy and may represent a greater desire for transparency in the aftermath of their dispute with Teos.

The *technitai* continued to be resident at Teos until the final years of the Attalids. But the problems between the two were apparently irreconcilable. Strabo records the conflict between the Teians and the *technitai* (14.1.29):

¹⁴⁰ So Aneziri 2003: 103.

ἐνταῦθα τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν ἢ σύνοδος καὶ κατοικία τῶν ἐν Ἴωνία μέχρι Ἑλλησπόντου, ἐν ἣ πανήγυρις τε καὶ ἀγῶνες κατ' ἔτος συντελοῦνται τῷ Διονύσῳ. ἐν Τέῳ δὲ ζῶκου πρότερον τῆ ἐφεξῆς πόλει τῶν Ἰώνων, ἐμπεσοῦσης δὲ στάσεως εἰς Ἔφεσον κατέφυγον Ἀττάλου δ' εἰς Μυόννησον αὐτοὺς καταστήσαντος μεταξύ Τέῳ καὶ Λεβέδου, πρεσβεύοντα Τήιοι δεόμενοι Ῥωμαίων μὴ περιδεῖν ἐπιτειχιζομένην σφίσι τὴν Μυόννησον, οἱ δὲ μετέστησαν εἰς Λέβεδον δεξαμένων τῶν Λεβεδίων ἀσμένως διὰ τὴν κατέχουσαν αὐτοὺς ὀλιγανδρίαν.

There (Lebedos) is the association and dwelling of the Dionysiac *technitai* in Ionia as far as the Hellespont, in which they accomplish the *panegyris* and contests each year for Dionysos. They formerly lived in Teos, the next city of the Ionians, but inciting rebellion, they fled to Ephesos. And when Attalos settled them in Myonnesos, between Teos and Lebedos, the Teians sent ambassadors, begging the Romans not to allow Myonnesos to be fortified against them, and they moved them to Lebedos with the Lebedians receiving them gladly on account of the dearth of population that afflicted them.

Evidently, the conflict between Teos and the artists escalated until an incendiary event sparked outright violence between them. The Teians won this conflict and the *technitai* were forced to flee to Ephesos. The interim period, when Attalos II or III settled them at Myonnesos, is hard to explain. The island, as has been discussed in a previous chapter, was a notorious pirate haven and had none of the resources that the *technitai* must have required.¹⁴¹ Certainly, there are no traces of a theater at the site and the harbor is only suited for low-draught pirate vessels. The sole possible reason the association could want to settle on the island would be to fortify it against the Teians. Their presence at Myonnesos would have threatened all the trade in the gulf of Teos. Consequently, the Teians were justifiably alarmed and their appeal to the Romans was completely understandable.

¹⁴¹ Chapter 5§4. Although, it must be noted that, if Attalos was able to settle the artists there, the island must have been under his control and a benign, if hated, force in the area.

The Teian appeal to the Romans assuredly took place immediately after the revolt of Aristonikos. It is apparent that the Pergamene chapter of the *technitai* was also facing problems around the same time. A decree associated with the city of Elaia, the harbor town of Pergamon, lists the association of the *technitai* under the patronage of Dionysos Kathegemon in the prayer of the city offered at the time they concluded a treaty with the Roman people around 129 BC.¹⁴² This has traditionally been interpreted as an indication that the *technitai* were forced, at least temporarily, to leave Pergamon.¹⁴³ Two things argue for this interpretation. First of all, this is the only time that the chapter organized under Dionysos Kathegemon is listed on its own and we next encounter it again associated with Ionian-Hellespontine chapter in a letter from Sulla found on Kos.¹⁴⁴ The individual title of the association indicates a temporary split between the two chapters, possibly brought on by the political instability of the time and the forced relocation to which both had been recently subjected. The other argument for the move of the Pergamene chapter is that they were included in the ceremony at Elaia. This involvement argues for a familiar presence in the town and differs from the invited participation of the artists at such festivals as the Leukophryeneia at Magnesia on the Maiandros.¹⁴⁵ Indeed, the closest parallel is the way the Ionian-Hellespontine chapter had been included in the Antiocheia and Laodikeia festival while resident at Teos.¹⁴⁶ It is not known what caused the expulsion of the *technitai* from Pergamon. It is probably not the sort of turbulence that pitted the Teians against the association, but rather on account of their relationship

¹⁴² Le Guen no. 54.

¹⁴³ Robert 1984: 495-496, Rigsby 1988: 127-130. Le Guen (1997 and 2001: 1.273-282) argues strongly that the *technitai* did not leave Pergamon and were merely participant at the festival. Against this, see below.

¹⁴⁴ *RDGE* no. 49.A6-8.

¹⁴⁵ *I. Magnesia* 89.

¹⁴⁶ *Antiochos* no. 18.7-9.

with the Attalid dynasty and perhaps even their support for Aristonikos.¹⁴⁷ Along with the Elaians, they needed to win the favor and goodwill of the Romans to secure their continued place in Asia Minor. The *technitai* from Pergamon had obviously lost favor with the Romans and it was an excellent opportunity for the Teians to proclaim their own difficulties with the Dionysiac artists. This was the context behind the Roman decision for the Teians against the Ionian and Hellespontine association of the Dionysiac *technitai*, who were closely tied to the chapter that had recently opposed them in the north.

The split between Teos and the Dionysiac *technitai* ended a century-long relationship that had seen great profit and changes for the two bodies. The *technitai* were instrumental in Teos' quest for *asylia* and in the city's good relationships with various Hellenistic monarchs. While the relationship between the Teians and the *technitai* lasted, Teos had its period of greatest wealth and success. We can see the evidence for this wealth in the construction of the magnificent temple of Dionysos by Hermogenes. The fateful parting of ways could be seen as the end of Teos' importance in the Hellenistic world, but Teos continued to flourish. The city was an important center for the cult of Dionysos in the Imperial period and even the *technitai* were forced to acknowledge this.¹⁴⁸ Hadrian's lavish restoration of the temple of Dionysos during the Roman era suggest that Teos continued to be vibrant, and was only marginalized later in the early Christian era. As for the *technitai*, they continued to practice their craft for festivals, rulers and conquerors. They are mentioned in relation to Marc Antony's festival on Samos in 32 BC (Plut. *Ant.* 56.6-57.1). Interestingly, Plutarch mentions that they were

¹⁴⁷ So Rigsby 1988: 129-130.

¹⁴⁸ There is an honorary decree from the *technitai* for Tiberios Klaudios Mnasimachos of Teos from the late 1st or early 2nd century AD (CIG 3082).

then resident at Priene. If this is correct, perhaps some further discord had followed the *technitai* to Lebedos. Whatever their later troubled history, the *technitai* continued to practice their art throughout Asia Minor well into the Imperial period.

Abbreviations

- AST* *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı*, 1983-ongoing, T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı.
- Aneziri* Aneziri, S., 2003. *Die Vereine der dionysischen Techniten im Kontext der hellenistischen Gesellschaft*, *Historia* suppl. 163.
- Antiochos* Ma., J., 1999. *Antiochos III and the Cities of Western Asia Minor*, Oxford University Press (Oxford).
- Arbitration* Ager, S., 1996. *Interstate Arbitration in the Greek World, 337 – 90 B.C.*, University of California Press (Berkeley).
- Asylia* Rigsby, K., 1996. *Asylia: Territorial Inviolability in the Hellenistic World*, University of California Press (Berkeley).
- BE* *Bulletin Épigraphique*. (supplement in the *REG* referred to by year and page number).
- Bielman* Bielman, A., 1994. *Retour à la liberté: Libération et sauvetage des prisonniers en Grèce ancienne*, Université de Lausanne (Lausanne).
- BMC Ionia* Head, B.V., 1892. *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Ionia*, British Museum (London).
- CIG* Boeckh, A. (ed.), 1828-1877. *Corpus inscriptionum graecarum*, (Berlin).
- Choix* Durrbach, F., 1921. *Choix d'inscriptions de Délos*, Éditions Ernest Leroux (Paris).
- EΘΑ* Loukopoulou, L.D. *et al*, 2005. *Επιγραφές τῆς Θράκης τοῦ Αιγαίου*, KERA (Athens).
- EKM 1* Gounaropoulos, L. and Hatzopoulos, M.B. (edd.), *Επιγραφές Κάτω Μακεδονίας*, Hypourgeio Politismou (Athens).
- FD 3* *Fouilles de Delphes. Tome III Épigraphie*. 1909-1985.
- FGrHist* Jacoby, F., 1923 - 1954, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, Weidmann (Berlin).
- GGR* Nilsson, M. P., 1974. *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft 5,2 (Munich).
- GHI II²* Rhodes, P.J. and Osborne, R., 2003. *Greek Historical Inscriptions, 404-323 BC*, Oxford University Press (Oxford).
- GIBM* Newton, C., Hicks, E.L., Hirschfeld, G., and Marshall, F.M., 1874-1916. *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, 4 v., (Oxford).
- HCP* Walbank, F.W., 1957-1979. *A Historical Commentary on Polybius*. 3 v., Clarendon Press (Oxford).
- HGIU* Brodersen, K. *et al*, 1992-1999. *Historische griechische Inschriften in Übersetzung*, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft (Darmstadt).
- IC* Guarducci, M. (ed.), 1935-1950. *Inscriptiones Creticae*, Libreria dello Stato (Rome).
- I.Didyma* Wiegand, Th., Rehm, A., and Harder, R. (edd.) *Didyma: 2. Teil. Die Inschriften*, Mann (Berlin).
- I.Ephesos* Wankel, K., *et al* (edd.), 1979-1981. *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, 8 v. Habelt (Bonn).

- I.Erythrai* Engelmann, H. and Merkelbach, R., 1972. *Die Inschriften von Erythrai und Klazomenai*, Habelt (Bonn).
- IG* *Inscriptiones graecae*, 1873 - ongoing (Berlin)
- IGBulg* Mihailov, G. (ed.), 1970. *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria Repertae*, 4 v., Academiae Litterarum Bulgaricae (Serdica).
- IGCP* Hansen, M.H., et al (edd.), 2004. *Inventory of the Greek Classical Poleis*, Oxford University Press (London).
- I.Iasos* Blümel, W. (ed.), 1985. *Die Inschriften von Iasos*, 2 v., Habelt (Bonn).
- I.Ilion* Frisch, P. (ed.), 1975. *Die Inschriften von Ilion*, Habelt (Bonn).
- I.Kalchedon* Merkelbach, R., Dörner, F.K., and Şahin, S. (edd.), 1980. *Die Inschriften von Kalchedon*, Habelt (Bonn).
- I.Magnesia* Kern, O (ed.), 1900. *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander*, W. Spemann (Berlin).
- I.Miletos* Rehm, A. (ed.), 1914. *Das Delphinion in Milet*, vol. 1.3, G. Reimer (Berlin).
- I.Mylasa* Blümel, W., 1987-1988. *Die Inschriften von Mylasa*, 2 v., Habelt (Bonn).
- IosPE 1²* Latyshev, B., 1885-1916. *Inscriptiones antiquae orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini Graecae et Latinae*, 4 v., 2nd edition, Georg Olms (Hildesheim).
- I.Priene* von Gaertringen, H. and Freiherr, F., 1968. *Inschriften von Priene*, Walter de Gruyter (Berlin).
- I.Samothrace* Fraser, P.M., 1960. *Samothrace II, I: The Inscriptions on Stone*, Pantheon Books (New York).
- Iscr. Cos* Segre, M. (ed.), 1993. *Iscrizioni di Cos*. Erma di Bretschneider (Rome).
- I.Smyrna* Petzl, G. (ed.), 1982. *Die Inschriften von Smyrna*, Habelt (Bonn).
- ISE* Moretti, L. (ed.), 1967-76, *Iscrizioni storiche ellenistiche*, 2 v. Nuova Italia (Florence).
- I.Stratonikeia* Şahin, M. Ç. (ed.), 1981-1990. *Die Inschriften von Stratonikeia*, 3 v., Habelt (Bonn).
- I.Tralles* Poljakov, Fj. B., 1989. *Die Inschriften von Tralleis und Nysa*, Habelt (Bonn).
- IvPerg* Fränkel, M. (ed.), 1890-1895. *Die Inschriften von Pergamon*, *Altertümer von Pergamon* 8, 2 v., (Berlin)
- IvO* Dittenberger, W. and Purgold, K. (edd.), 1896. *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, Asher (Berlin).
- Kotsidu* Kotsidu, H., 2000. *TIMH KAI ΔΟΞΑ: Ehrungen für hellenistische Herrscher im griechischen Mutterland und in Kleinasien unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der archäologischen Denkmäler*, Akademie Verlag (Berlin).
- Le Guen* Le Guen, B., 2001. *Les associations de technites dionysiaques à l'époque hellénistique*, 2 v., De Boccard (Nancy).
- LIMC* *Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae*, 1981-1997, 8 v. (Zurich).
- LSAM* Sokolowski, F., 1955. *Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure*, de Boccard (Paris).
- LSCG* Sokolowski, F. 1969. *Lois sacrées des cités grecques*. de Boccard (Paris).
- LSCG Suppl.* Sokolowski, F. 1962. *Lois sacrées des cités grecques: Supplément*.

- de Boccard (Paris).
- LW 3* Le Bas, Ph. and Waddington, G., 1843. *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure, Tome III, Inscriptions*, Firmin Didot (Paris).
- Maier* Maier, F.G., 1959. *Griechische Mauerbauinschriften*, Quelle & Meyer (Heidelberg).
- ML* Meiggs, R. and Lewis, D., 1969. *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century B.C.*, Clarendon Press (Oxford).
- Nomima* van Effenterre, H. and Ruzé, Fr., 1994. *Nomima: Recueil d'inscriptions politiques et juridiques de l'archaïsme grec*, CEFR 188 (Rome).
- NSRC* Maiuri, A., 1925. *Nuova Silloge epigrafica di Rodi e Cos*, Le Monnier (Florence).
- OGIS* Dittenberger, W. (ed.) 1903-1905. *Orientalis graeci inscriptiones selectae* (Leipzig).
- Paton-Hicks* Paton, W.R., and Hicks, E.L., 1891. *The Inscriptions of Cos*, (Oxford).
- P.Cair.Zen* Edgar, C.C., 1925-1940. *Zenon Papyri*, 5 v., Imprimerie de l'Institut Français (Cairo).
- PEP Chios* McCabe, D. and Brownson, J.V., 1986. *Chios Inscriptions: Texts and List*, Princeton Epigraphic Project (Princeton).
- PEP Teos* McCabe, D. and Plunkett, M., 1985. *Teos Inscriptions: Texts and List*, Princeton Epigraphic Project (Princeton).
- PMG (Page)* Page, D. (ed.), 1962. *Poetae melici graecae*. Clarendon Press (Oxford).
- RC* Welles, C.B., 1934. *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period*, Yale University Press (New Haven).
- RDGE* Sherk, R.K., 1969. *Roman Documents from the Greek East*, Johns Hopkins Press (Baltimore).
- RE* *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, J.B. Metzler (Stuttgart).
- SEG* *Supplementum epigraphicum graecum*, 1923 – onward (Leiden).
- SIG³* Dittenberger, W. (ed.), 1915-1924. *Sylloge inscriptionum graecarum*, 3rd ed., (Berlin).
- SNG Cop.* Breitenstein, N. and Schlabacher, W., 1942-79. *Sylloge nummorum graecorum: Danish National Museum*, Munksgaard (Copenhagen).
- Stsv.* Schmitt, H.H. (ed.), 1969. *Die Staatsverträge des Altertums, III: Die Verträge der griechisch-römischen Welt von 338 bis 200 v. Chr.*, Beck (Munich).
- TAM* *Tituli Asiae Minoris*, 1901 – ongoing (Vienna).
- TGF* Snell, B (ed.), 1971-2004. *Tragicorum graecorum fragmenta*, Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht (Göttingen).

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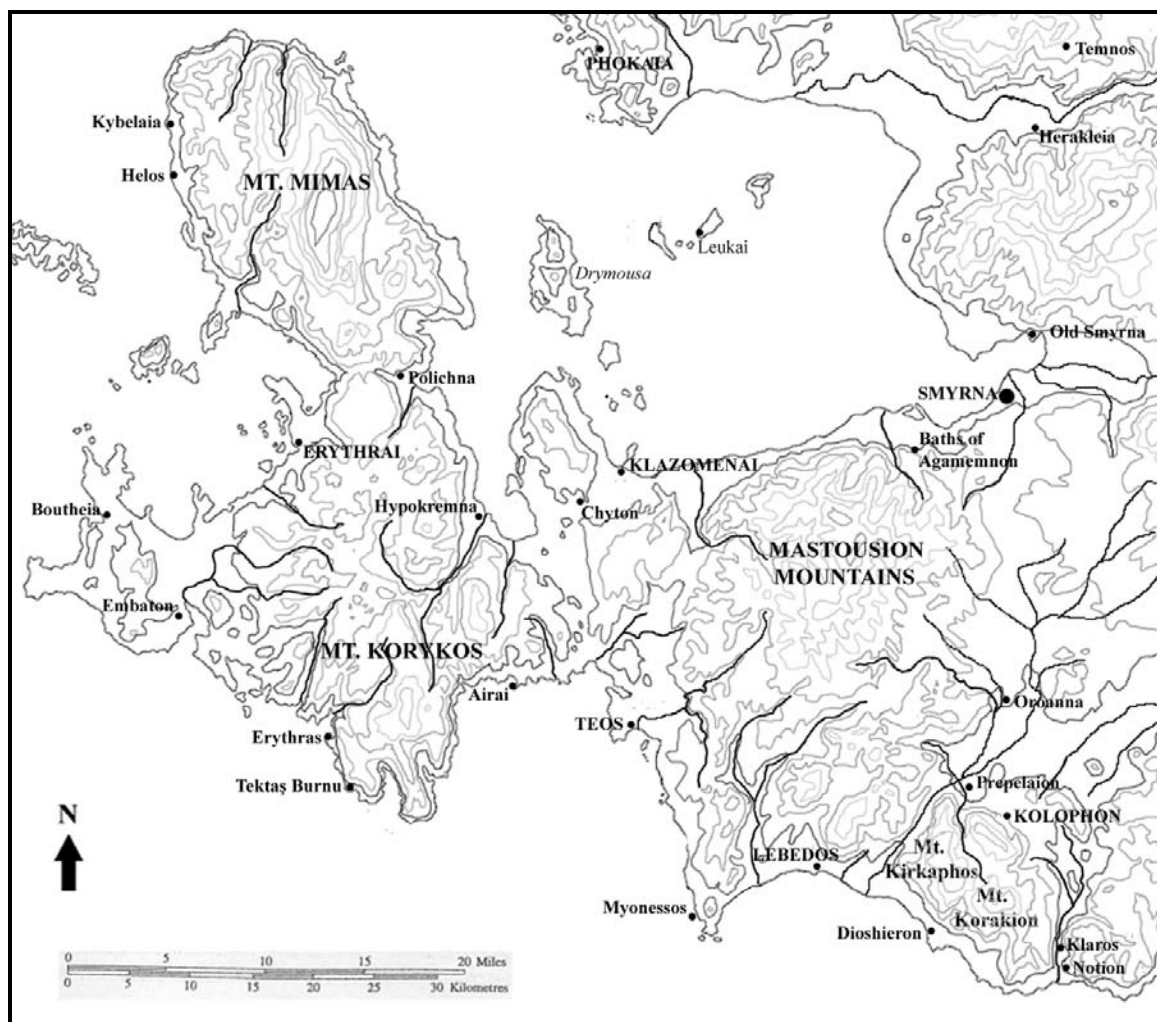
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Figure 1



Map of Ionia

Figure 2



Map of the Erythraian Peninsula

Figure 3

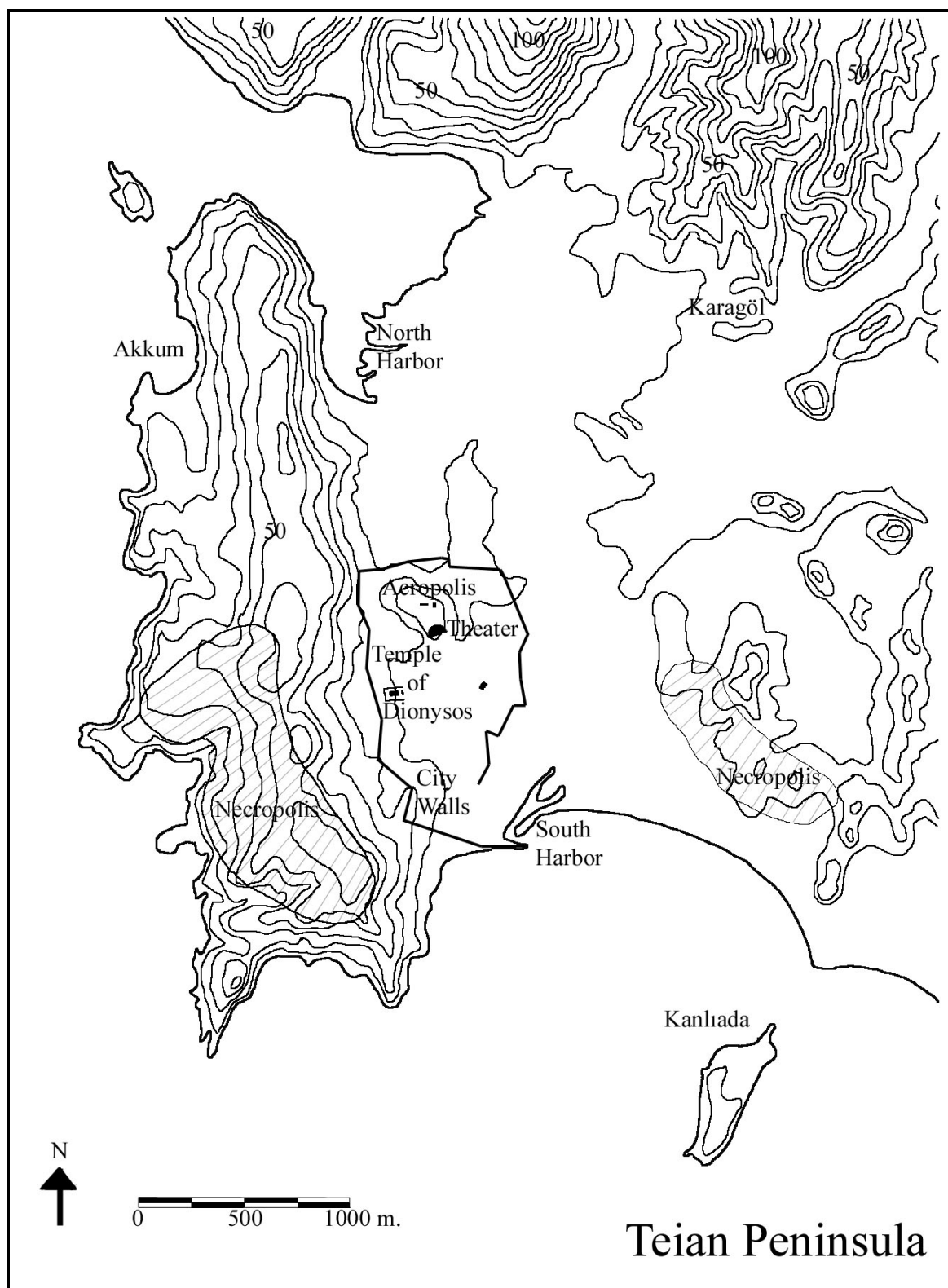
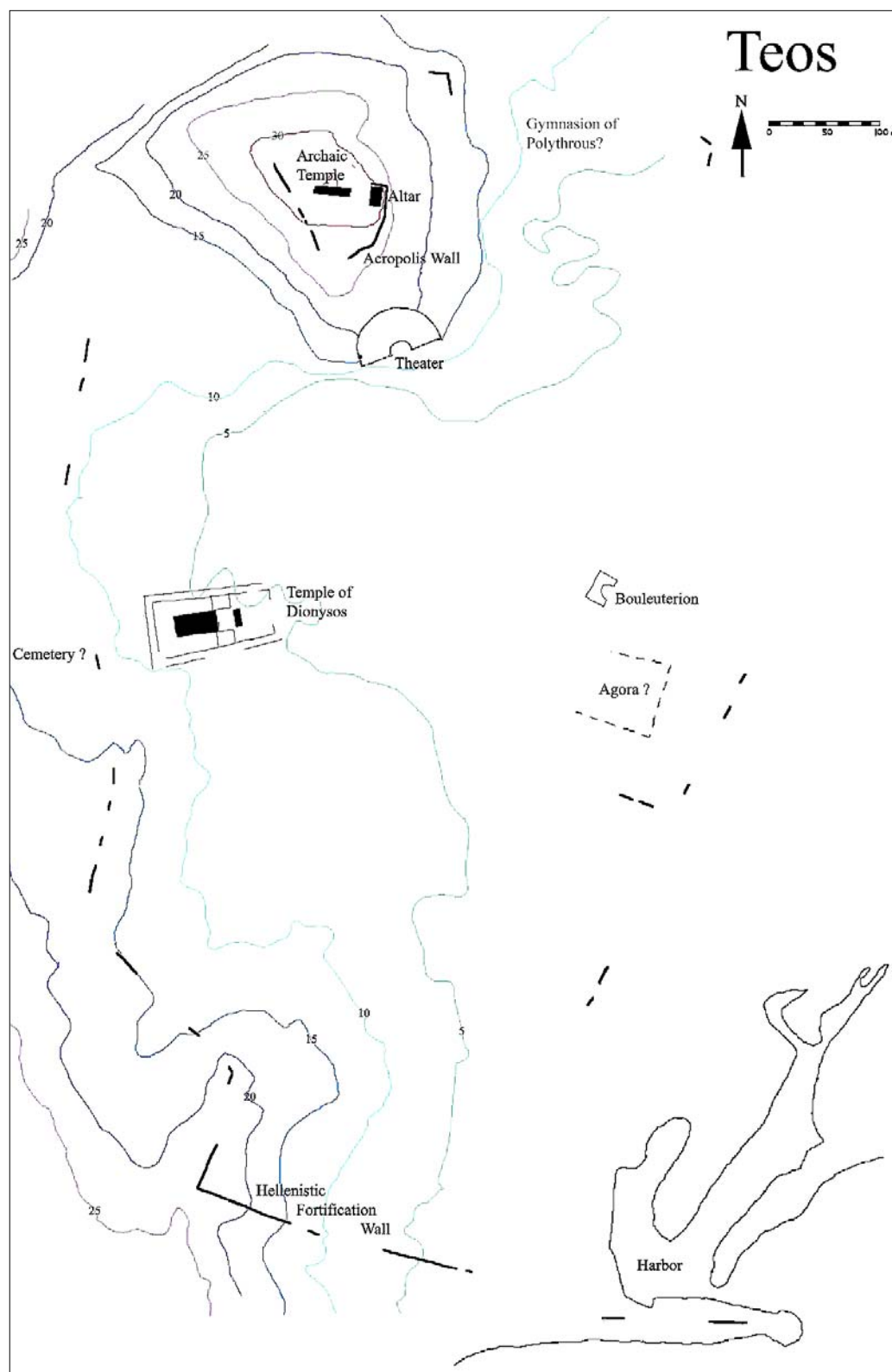


Figure 4



FIGURES

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MATERIAL

Plate 1



Quarries at Karagöl, Facing South

Plate 2

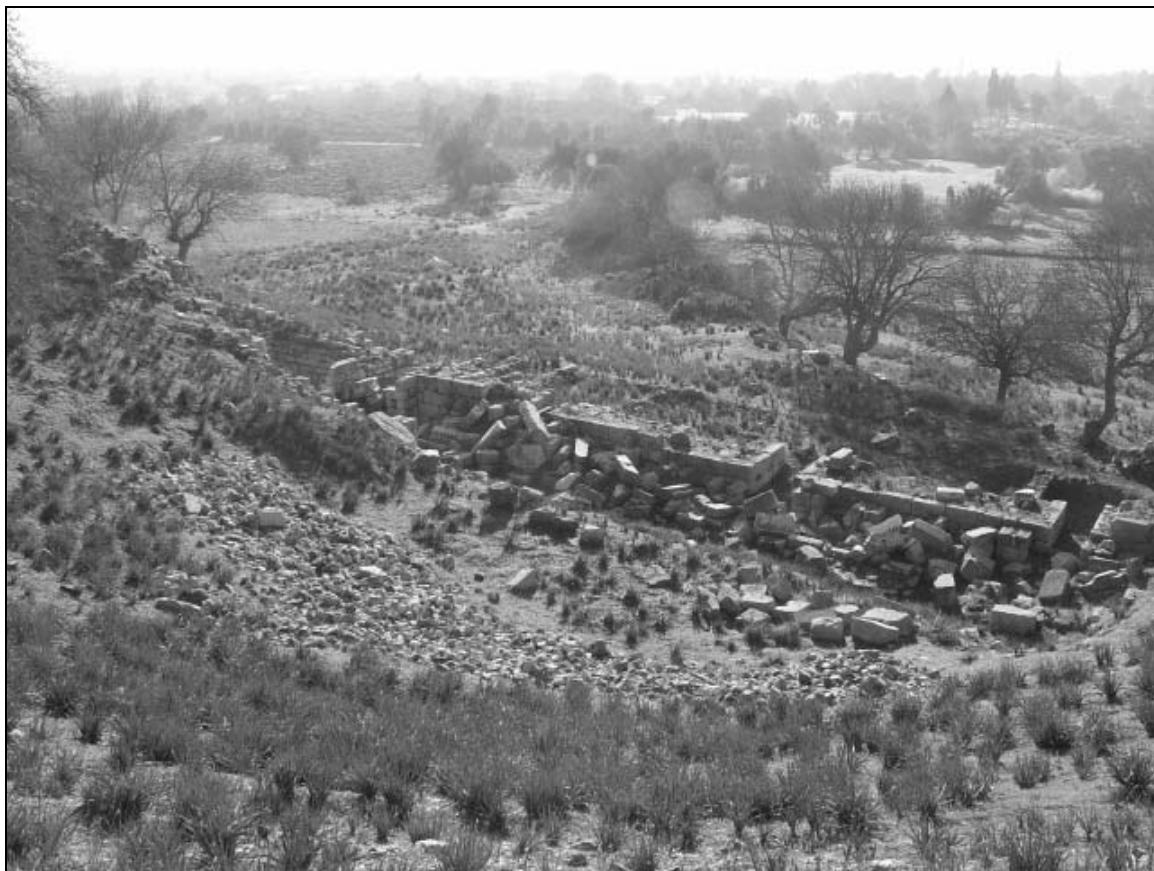
Abandoned Blocks at Karagöl, Facing West

Plate 3

Hellenistic Fortification Wall near the Temple of Dionysos, Facing West

Plate 4

Temple of Dionysos, Facing East

Plate 5

Theater, Facing Southeast

Plate 6

View of Polygonal Wall next to the Archaic Alter, Facing Northeast

Plate 7

Archaic Altar, Facing East

Plate 8

Hekatompedon, Facing West

Plate 9

Remains of Roman Aqueduct at the North End of the Site, Facing North

Plate 10

Bouleuterion, Facing West

Plate 11

Remains of Hellenistic Fountain House, Facing South

Plate 12

Agora Temple, Facing East

Plate 13

Funerary Monument Outside the City Walls to the West of the Agora, Facing Southeast

Plate 14

Hellenistic Fortification Wall at Harbor, Facing Northeast

Plate 15



Harbor Installations, Facing East

Plate 16

Roman Era Reservoir, Southwest Quarter of Teos, Facing East

Plate 17



Myonnesos, Facing South

Plate 18

Roman Aqueduct near Beyler, Facing West

Plate 19

Quarry at Beyler, Facing South

Plate 20

Cave of Apollo at Beyler, View from Inside the Entrance

Plate 21

A) Block (R1) from the East Facade of the Temple of Dionysos, British Museum



B) Dionysos Relief from the Archaeological Museum at Izmir (Inv. no. 241)