

ANCIENT ARCHIVES: THE EDICT OF ALEXANDER TO PRIENE, A REAPPRAISAL

(PLATES II, III)

‘THE historical value of an object depends not so much on the nature of the object as on its associations, which only scientific excavation can detect.’¹ The full significance of an inscription may equally rely on knowledge of its archaeological context. In practice, however, users of inscriptions often neglect this aspect. The standard commentaries, new and old, on Alexander’s famous ‘edict to Priene’ (hereafter ‘AE’) tend to ignore the physical context of the inscription (*I.Priene* 1) and to treat the text as an isolated or one-off document.² Consequently no-one reading Dittenberger, Tod or now Heisserer would learn that it is one of a series of public inscriptions with a consistent theme belonging to an ‘archive’ of connected texts. The inscription is not discussed as one of a group of documents, its monumental setting is largely ignored and the rich corpus of Prienian inscriptions is not exploited fully as a control and source for the historical background of the AE. It is the purpose of this article to try to show that the AE cannot be properly studied in this archaeological limbo. ‘The associations’ of the AE are vital. They provide a new perspective from which to study the text.

The main new points about the AE which this study aims to establish are the following:

(i) The AE is neither an edict nor a letter, but a *section* of a longer edict of Alexander dealing with Prienian affairs.

(ii) It was not inscribed on stone in Alexander’s reign, as is commonly supposed, but in the reign of Lysimachus, at a time when at least two important documents relating to Lysimachus were also inscribed.

(iii) The AE belongs to a public ‘archive’ of related texts created in the reign of Lysimachus.

I. PHYSICAL CONTEXT

The new city of Priene was built at the well-known site (modern Turunçlar) at an uncertain date within the third quarter of the fourth century BC.³ The quest for its founder, whether a Hecatomnid or Alexander, has been unsuccessful, but the important part played in the early history of the *polis* by the kings Alexander and Lysimachus was memorialised in the temple of Athena Polias, patron deity of Priene. The temple, a fine building of the Ionic order, is itself an early example of the grandiose, personal and royal patronage of civic religion that Alexander

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¹ L. Woolley, *Digging Up The Past* (Pelican 1937) 16.

² Dittenberger, *OGIS* 1; Tod, *GHI* 184; P. J. Rhodes, *Greek historical inscriptions* 359–323 BC,

LACTOR ix, 19; A. J. Heisserer, *Alexander the Great and the Greeks. The epigraphic evidence* (Oklahoma 1980) 145 ff. The physical context is fully discussed by E. L. Hicks, *GIBM* iii.1 6, but the question of the epigraphic connexions of the AE with the texts below it on the *anta* is raised neither by Hicks in his commentary (*GIBM* 400), nor by any subsequent editor.

³ See F. Hiller von Gaertringen, ed., *Inscriptionen von Priene* (Berlin 1906) (hereafter *I.Priene*) xi on the integration of the temple in the original city plan; cf. S. Hornblower, *Mausolus* (Oxford 1982) 324 n. 250. For the position of the temple see M. Schede, *Die Ruinen von Priene*² (Berlin 1964) 101 (plan of Priene). See also G. Kleiner, ‘Priene’, *RE Suppl.* ix (1962) 1181–1221. See further *Appendix* 2.

developed (and his Hellenistic successors took on) as a 'medium of public relations'⁴ in approaching Greek cities and their gods.⁵ Although no agreement has yet been reached on the exact chronology of the main building phases which the temple underwent in the course of the Hellenistic period, the first can be presumed to have been well in hand by the end of Alexander's reign, as is marked by two main chronological pointers, Alexander's dedicatory inscription and the association of the temple with Pytheos, architect of the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus.⁶ The Prienians permitted (in tears, or perhaps in joy) what the Ephesians had refused in denying to Alexander the dedication of the new temple of Artemis at Ephesus.⁷ What differences in civic pride, attitude and circumstance these different reactions represent is hard to evaluate. But the dedication inscription—'King Alexander dedicated the temple to Athena Polias'—seemingly unprecedented in a Greek *polis* and engraved in excellent lettering on the topmost block of the *anta*, unambiguously announces the fourth-century phenomenon of the intrusion of monarchs on the 'classical corporatism'⁸ of the Greek *polis*.

The group of inscriptions to which the AE belongs was originally inscribed on the front of one of the two *antae* of the doorway of the *pronaos*, at the eastern (i.e. front) end of the temple of Athena Polias, and along the adjoining sidewall of the antechamber of the temple.

All the inscribed blocks from the *anta* and sidewall known after the completion of both the British and the German excavations (1895–9) can be accommodated on one *anta* and adjacent wall.⁹ Chandler long ago observed a concern for the appearance of the documents: 'From the degrees of magnitude in the letter, it may be conjectured, a regard was had to perspective, the greater being higher, and more remote, the smaller nearer to the eye; so that at the proper point of view for reading, all might appear nearly of the same proportion.'¹⁰ This distinct gradation in the size of lettering is by no means the rule in the inscription of 'archives' on the walls of buildings.¹¹ Whether the objective was also to make the texts easy to read is perhaps debatable. However, although the highest text on the *anta* was at a height of over twenty feet, the very generous size and monumental character of the lettering did mean that the upper texts could be read from the floor of the temple.¹² It is not known whether the letters were originally painted and so more conspicuous.¹³ The texts were originally sheltered by the roof of the temple.

For the sake of clarity it is necessary to describe briefly the disposition of the inscriptions on the *anta* and sidewall. FIG. 1 is based on Hiller's revision of Hicks' diagram. The reconstruction shows the supposed position of the inscribed fragments. The *anta* and wall consisted of

⁴ H. A. Thompson's appropriate phrase for a practice studied in his 'Architecture as a medium of public relations among the Successors of Alexander', in B. Barr-Sharrar and E. N. Borza, eds, *Macedonia and Greece in late Classical and early Hellenistic times* (Washington 1982) 173–89; for Alexander at Priene see *ibid.* 180. See also J. J. Coulton, *Greek architects at work* (London 1977) ch. 1.

⁵ See Hornblower (n. 3) 274 ff. for discussion of the pre-Hellenistic origins of this development.

⁶ See J. C. Carter, 'The date of the sculptured coffer lids from the temple of Athena Polias at Priene', in G. Kopcke and M. B. Moore, eds, *Studies in classical art and archaeology: a tribute to Peter Heinrich von Blanckenhagen* (Locust Valley N.Y. 1979) 139–51 (with bibliography); *id.*, *The sculpture of the sanctuary of Athena Polias at Priene*, Reports Soc. of Antiquaries London xlii (London 1983), esp. 25–43. See also H. Schrader in T. Wiegand and H. Schrader, *Priene. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen in den Jahren 1895–1898* (Berlin 1904) 25 ff.; Schede (n. 3) 146.

⁷ Strabo xiv 1.22–3 (641 C). But Alexander helped to fund the temple by diverting the 'tribute' to it (*Arr. An.* i 17.10) and also extended the boundaries of the sanctuary (*Str. loc. cit.* 23).

⁸ See Hornblower (n. 3) 281.

⁹ On the uncertain tradition as to the original location of the archive—on the north *anta* and the north (i.e. exterior) wall of the *pronaos*, or on the south (interior) wall of the entrance hall—see Heisserer (n. 2) 144 with n. 3.

¹⁰ R. Chandler, *Antiquities of Ionia* i (London 1821) 13, quoted by Hicks, *GIBM* iii.1 6.

¹¹ The size of the lettering of the dossier from the archive wall at Aphrodisias is not sharply gradated: see J. Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome*, JRS Monographs i (1982) 33. In the case of the Hellenistic archive of documents from the stoa at Magnesia-Maeander (n. 36) larger lettering was utilised for documents of especial importance, i.e. royal letters; cf. O. Kern, *I. Magnesia* 12. On the high quality of 'royal inscriptions' see also J. and L. Robert, *Bull.* 1980 no. 487.

¹² See n. 31. The inscriptions of the upper part of the *anta* (the Alexander dedication and the AE) and sidewall (the Rhodian arbitration) are now well displayed in the Epigraphy Room in the British Museum.

¹³ The letters from lower blocks of the Rhodian arbitration (*I. Priene* 37), stored in the basement of the British Museum, are painted in red, but this colouring is not original.

PRIENE: archive wall

Alex. 156	Rhodian arb. 37a						
lag	37b						
lbcd	37c						
le	37d	37l					
?lf	37e	37m1	m2				
Lys. 14		n1	37n2				
14b	37g	37o					
14cd	37h	37p					
		37q					
14e	37i						
14f	37k	37r1	r2	Senatus consultum: 39a?			
Lysim. lett. 15a		37s		39b?			
15b		(37t)					
15c		u1 37	u2	Senatus consultum: 40			
15d		37x		40			
15e,f		37y	40 41a1	Senatus consultum: 41a2			
Edict Lys. 16d		z1 37	z2 41b1 421	41b2 421	(42r)	42r	42r
16ab?	38d	37	(421)	421	42r	(42r)	
16c		421		42r			
		(421)		42r	42r		

FIG. 1. Priene: archive wall. The numbers refer to the inscriptions in *I.Priene* (n. 3). The figure presents the front and side of one of the two *antae* of the doorway of the *pronaos* at the front end of the temple of Athena Polias, and part of the adjoining sidewall of the antechamber of the temple.

twenty-three courses of blocks of local marble between cornice and base, two thick courses alternating with a narrow one.¹⁴ The block containing Alexander’s dedication of the temple is placed at the top of the *anta*. The AE is placed under this and is followed by fragments from at least three separate texts (*I.Priene* 14–16): (1) the Prienian decree for King Lysimachus;¹⁵ (2) a royal letter of Lysimachus;¹⁶ and (3) a royal edict, possibly also of Lysimachus.¹⁷ The beginning of the Rhodian arbitration, adjudicating a territorial dispute between Samos and Priene (*I.Priene* 37: c. 196–192 BC) was inscribed at the top left-hand side of the sidewall.¹⁸ The beginning is inscribed on the right hand face of the block engraved with Alexander’s dedication inscription (*cf.* PLATE IIc): this guarantees the location of the text. It was a long document, inscribed in two columns, of which over one hundred and fifty lines survive. The first column occupied the upper

¹⁴ Hicks’ plan (*GIBM* iii.1 7) was revised by Hiller von Gaertringen, *I.Priene* plan facing p. 312.

¹⁵ *I.Priene* 14 (*GIBM* 401; *OGIS* 11), *cf.* L. Robert, *Etudes Anatoliennes* (Paris 1937) 183 ff.

¹⁶ *I.Priene* 15 (*GIBM* 402; *OGIS* 12; C. B. Welles,

Royal Correspondence [New Haven 1934] 6).

¹⁷ *I.Priene* 16 (*GIBM* 410; Welles, *RC* 8). For the text see *Appendix* 1B.

¹⁸ *I.Priene* 37 (lines 1–44 = *Syll.*³ 599).

part of the right hand return of the *anta* and the second column was inscribed on the adjacent sidewall of the *pronaos*. The next documents, inscribed to the right of the Rhodian arbitration, near to the bottom of the wall, comprise: (1) a ?letter or decree and a *senatus consultum* (c. 155 BC) concerning the dispute of Priene with Orophernes of Cappadocia,¹⁹ and (2)–(3) two *senatus consulta* (dated to before 135 BC and to 135 BC respectively),²⁰ the effect of which was to confirm the Rhodian decision that had favoured Priene. The latest surviving document, inscribed at the bottom of the wall, still from the second century BC, is an arbitration of a Greek state (*I.Priene* 42) re-affirming the decisions of the Rhodian arbitration.

This arrangement of the surviving blocks takes up under half of one sidewall of the *pronaos*. The remaining area possibly continued the 'archive', but this cannot now be established.²¹ The reconstruction indicates that the documents were arranged in chronological sequence. The creation, development and possible aims of the inscription of the archive are discussed in section III.

The importance attached to the group of documents from the *anta* is clearly signalled, first by the decision to publish them on stone,²² and second by the location authorised by the civic community for their display. Athena Polias was the patron deity of Priene. As was not unusual in Greek town planning, her local pre-eminence was given monumental expression in the dominant position selected for her temple by the planners of the new city of Priene. The terrace of the sanctuary of Athena was used until the middle of the second century BC²³ as the chief showplace for civic monuments and decrees honouring human benefactors of Priene, who included, besides citizens of Priene and other *poleis*, influential contemporary figures such as Antigonus I²⁴ and the Megabyxos, eunuch *neōkoros* of the cult of Artemis at Ephesus.²⁵

II. THE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE ANTA

The date of inscribing the AE and the date at which the 'edict' was actually issued are not necessarily the same, although commentators have generally made this assumption. The date at which the decisions were made is obviously some time within Alexander's reign after his 'crossing to Asia'.²⁶ The date of the engraving of the text is not so automatic. There are several reasons for divorcing from Alexander's reign the publication on stone of the AE: first, the lettering of the AE, which needs to be discussed in some detail.

¹⁹ *I.Priene* 39 (*GIBM* 424 a–b; *OGIS* 351; R. Sherck, *Roman documents from the Greek East* [Baltimore 1969] 6). For the background see Plb. xxxiii 6. On the chronology see F. W. Walbank, *Commentary on Polybius* iii (Oxford 1979) 547–9. For Orophernes' building at Priene, the North Stoa (called the Hiera Stoa) in the agora from which fragments of his architraval dedication survive (*I.Priene* 204), see J. J. Coulton, *The architectural development of the Greek stoa* (Oxford 1976) 277–8, fig. 103.

²⁰ *I.Priene* 40–1 (*GIBM* 404–5; Sherck [n. 19] 10).

²¹ *I.Priene* 27 (*GIBM* 412; Welles, *RC* 46), of second-century date (lettering), consists of fragments of two blocks from the temple wall. The text has not been allocated a place in reconstructions, but there is room for it on the sidewall. The inscription contains the end of a letter and the beginning of an arbitration by Smyrna of a boundary dispute between Miletus and Priene. Although the letter has been attributed to an Attalid king (cf. Welles, *RC* 46), both Hiller and recently R. E. Allen, *The Attalids of Pergamon* (Oxford 1983) 104 n. 115, recognised the probability that it was issued by a Roman magistrate.

²² See A. Wilhelm, *Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde*, Sonderschr. des öst. arch. Inst. Wien vii (1909) 235, 253, on the selectivity practised by Greek *poleis* in publishing copies of public decisions (and other records) on stone. Cf. G. Klaffenbach, *Bemerkungen zum griechischen Urkundenwesen*, SB Berlin 1960.6. It is this which makes it so misleading to generalise (usually adversely) from surviving Hellenistic inscriptions about the nature of political activity in the *ekklēsia* during the Hellenistic period. On state archives see now W. Lambrinudakis and M. Wörrle, *Chiron* xiii (1983) 346–50.

²³ See Schrader (n. 6) 127–8; Schede (n. 3) 49–50.

²⁴ *I.Priene* 2 (Tod, *GHI* 186).

²⁵ *I.Priene* 3 (*Syll.*³ 282 II) and 231 (*Syll.*³ 282 I) (the base of the statue awarded in 3 line 9). The Megabyxos was honoured for his goodwill to the *dēmos* and, significantly, for his demonstration of 'all zeal for helping in the completion of the temple of Athena.' For discussion of the role of the Megabyxos see Carter 1983 (n. 6) 36–8.

²⁶ Cf. *I.Priene* 37.146, 'Ἀλεξάνδρου διαβάντος εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν.

The script of the dedicatory inscription of Alexander (PLATE II*d*) is different from that of the AE (PLATE II*c*). Individual letter shapes are different, e.g. the top and bottom strokes of *sigma* are sloping in the dedication and nearly horizontal in the AE.²⁷ The middle bars of *alpha*, *epsilon* and *eta* tend to slope down to the right in the dedication but are horizontal in the AE. *Upsilon* is cut with full upper curves in the dedication, while in the AE the upper strokes are less curved and set at a flatter angle. *Kappa* is cut with longer sidestrokes in the dedication than in the AE.²⁸ Apices are used in the AE but are totally absent from the dedicatory inscription, where letter strokes end with a neat thickening instead of the developed apices which became characteristic of monumental inscriptions in the third century, and which decorate the letters of the AE. The lettering of the dedicatory inscription has a close parallel in another roughly contemporary royal inscription of the same category, the beautifully inscribed architraval dedication of Philip III and Alexander IV from Samothrace.²⁹ The lettering of the AE differs not only from the script of the Alexander dedication but also from that of several other public decrees of the later fourth century from Priene cut in 'monumental' (and therefore comparable) style.³⁰

The script is in fact very close to that of the texts inscribed below the AE on the *anta*—the decree for King Lysimachus and the letter of Lysimachus (PLATE III*a, b*). All the inscriptions on the *anta* share careful inscription in attractive, large, monumental lettering, made easier to read by the generous interlinear space. A comparison of the three texts below the dedication reveals the close similarity of the script (PLATES II*c, IIIa, b*).³¹ Individual letter shapes, use of apices, attitude to spacing and monumental style are similar.

The implication of the physical appearance of these documents is striking. The AE is inscribed in lettering very like that of the decree for Lysimachus (the mason was probably the same) and the king's letter (*I.Priene* 14–15).³² Obviously an inscription engraved in Alexander's reign should not look the same as texts inscribed over forty years later. The answer to this puzzle is that the AE was published in Lysimachus' reign, at approximately the same time as *I.Priene* 14–15. A further indication of the chronological gap between the dedication and the AE, which

²⁷ Heisserer (n. 2) 154, noted some of the differences between the lettering of the dedication and the AE and saw that the inscriptions had been cut by two different masons. Since he did not compare the AE with the inscriptions below it on the *anta*, or discuss the relation of the texts as a group, he did not discover the similarity of the lettering of these texts or the chronological problem this posed for the traditional dating of the publication of the AE in Alexander's reign.

²⁸ Several letter forms are common to the AE and the dedication: e.g. deep *nu* and *xi* with intersecting vertical hasta (the latter feature, as Welles observed, *RC* lii is not of chronological significance). *Omicron* and *theta* are consistently large. Generally (cf. Welles, *RC* li–lii) the large form of *omicron* and *theta*, and *nu* with the second vertical reaching the base line, tend to be later but are found also in early Hellenistic texts (late fourth and early third centuries BC).

²⁹ J. R. McCredie, *Hesperia* xxxvii (1968) 222, pl. 66b; *id.*, *Hesperia* xlvi (1979) 8.

³⁰ E.g. *I.Priene* 2, which though described as 'Schrift noch einfacher als die Alexanderbriefes' is not apicated and has small *omicron* and *theta*; *I.Priene* 5 (dated before the return of Samos to the Samians, probably shortly before 326/5; cf. Hiller von Gaertringen, comm. line 19) also has small *omicron* and *theta*, and *nu* is shallow. On the distinction between 'monumental' and 'cursive' (sometimes called documentary) epigraphic styles see L. Robert, 'Une bilingue gréco-araméenne d'Asoka', *J.Asiatique* 1958, 8–9.

³¹ Allowance has to be made for: (i) the different size of the lettering—the average size of the letters is about 1.5 cm smaller in nos 14–15 than in the AE. In the AE the large letters are c. 4 cm, occasionally 5 cm, and the small (*omicron*, *theta*, *omega*) c. 3.5 cm; the size of the large letters in the decree for Lysimachus is c. 2.5 cm (in the heading c. 3.5 cm) and of the smaller c. 2–2.2 cm; in the letter of Lysimachus the large letters are slightly bigger at c. 2.6–2.8 cm (*phi* is 2.8–3 cm), and the small are c. 2.2 cm. The large letters of the AE are approximately 1 cm smaller than those of the dedication at c. 5–5.5 cm. (ii) The different state of preservation of the three inscriptions. With the exception of the lower portion of block III of the AE, the surface of the surviving parts is well preserved. The majority of the fragments of the decree are also well preserved. This cannot, however, be said of much of the letter (except fragment b), the surface of which has suffered badly from weathering.

³² Apart from the difference of size, the script of the AE is especially close to that of the decree; individual letter forms and style of apices are alike. Both inscriptions are likely to be the work of the same mason. The comparison with the letter is made more difficult because of its worse state of preservation. There is no doubt about the general similarity of the main letter forms and overall style. Two differences, I note, are that the cross-bar of *alpha* is consistently higher than in either the AE, or the decree, and *phi* is not as oval as in the AE. It is possible that another mason designed the letter.

is in *koinē*, is the disappearance of the traces of Ionic dialect present in Alexander's dedicatory inscription.³³ It seems remarkable that no-one before has discovered the epigraphic relationship between the AE and the inscriptions inscribed below it on the *anta*. This neglect of the 'associations' of the AE is probably to be explained by the overriding importance attached to Alexander and to one of the rare examples of an 'edict' of his.

III. ARCHIVES

It seems clear, therefore, that these documents form an 'archive' built up over time. The first stage is represented by the group of documents inscribed on the *anta* below the dedication inscription of Alexander. 'Archive' is traditionally used for this type of collection of texts, and is therefore a convenient term to employ, but it is misleading if an archive is thought of in the modern sense firstly as a repository of public documents that are not necessarily 'published', and secondly as a complete collection of official records. The state record office, characteristic of the fourth-century and Hellenistic Greek *polis*, filled this latter function as the place for the regular deposit of the original copy (on parchment, papyrus or tablets) of public records which might, or might not, also be published on stone.³⁴ This practice is also attested at Priene from the later fourth century BC on.³⁵

A feature of certain of these 'archives' in the Hellenistic period seems to be that they are selections of public documents, picked out by the community (or responsible authority) to create and broadcast a particular theme and message. Decisions adverse to the *polis* naturally have no place among the texts. This characteristic is of obvious importance in the interpretation of the constituent documents of an archive. The creation of an archive or dossier of this sort can legitimately be regarded as a public act in that it required authorisation by the civic assembly of the *polis* and to this extent therefore represented the policy of the civic community. It follows that the history of an archive of this type is in a real sense part of the history of the civic community. Its genesis tends to be in events affecting the corporate life of the community in some important respect.

The best known are the archive from the stoa in the agora of Magnesia-on-Maeander, concerning the panhellenic festival for Artemis Leukophryene (dating from c. 205 BC),³⁶ the dossier from the temple state of Pessinus in Galatia,³⁷ and now the archives from Aphrodisias in Caria recently published by Joyce Reynolds.³⁸ Since the constituent documents are usually the sole source, reconstruction of the purposes behind the creation of an archive is not always straightforward or even possible. In the case of Magnesia-Maeander the archive relates entirely to the institution of the panhellenic festival, the cult of Artemis and agreements on the *asylia* of *polis* and *chōra* and/or patronage of the festival by contemporary powers (kings, *poleis* and leagues). The civic motives behind publication seem to have included the advertisement of civic prestige and unity, and therefore, it was hoped, the protection of the 'rights' of the sanctuary and *polis*.³⁹ The archive from Pessinus consists entirely of correspondence between the Attalid kings—Eumenes II (197–159 BC) and Attalus II (159–139 BC)—and the High Priest of Cybele,

³³ See Heisserer (n. 2) 143.

³⁴ See Klaffenbach (n. 22) esp. 24 ff.

³⁵ For this in the early third century BC at Priene see Ph. Gauthier's discussion, *J. Sav.* 1980, 35–50, of the Larichos dossier (*I. Priene* 18), esp. 48 ff. For the keeping of public records see also *I. Priene* 4.5 ff., 14 ff.; *I. Priene* 114.29 ff. (honouring Zosimus *inter alia* for service as *grammateus* of *boulē* and *dēmos*: after 86 BC).

³⁶ *I. Magnesia* nos 16–64, 66–84, 87. For a plan of the disposition of 35–87 on the west return of the stoa wall see *I. Magnesia* pl. II; 16–34 were inscribed on the other end. On the date see O. Kern, *Hermes* xxxvi (1901) 495;

L. Robert, *REA* xxxviii (1936) 13–15. See Ph. Gauthier, *Symbola. Les étrangers et la justice dans les cités grecques* (Nancy 1972) 270 ff. for the politics.

³⁷ *OGIS* 315 (Welles, *RC* 55–61, pls IX–XI); B. Virgilio, *Il tempio stato di Pessinunte fra Pergamo e Roma nel II–I Secolo A.C.* (C. B. Welles, *Royal Corr.* 55–61) (Pisa 1981) with photos of squeezes of all the texts.

³⁸ Reynolds (n. 11).

³⁹ See F. Dunand, 'Sens et fonction de la fête dans la Grèce hellénistique', *Dialogues d'Histoire Ancienne* iv (1978) 201 ff.

Attis, dating from year 34 of Eumenes (163 BC) and the first years of Attalus' reign. The documents that survive were inscribed on marble blocks which came originally from a public building, possibly the temple of Cybele.⁴⁰ Unlike the Magnesia archive, the Pessinus dossier was inscribed at least a century (or more) after the individual documents were originally issued. The date of their inscription is usually given as the second half of the first century BC,⁴¹ though Paepcke, an early expert on the lettering of Pergamene inscriptions, dated the lettering to the first century AD.⁴² This uncertainty as to the date constitutes a major obstacle to any attempt to deduce the motives behind the publication on stone of these documents:⁴³ what stage of Roman power in Asia Minor was Pessinus experiencing at the time?⁴⁴ Other obstacles are our ignorance of the original scope of the archive and therefore of any theme in it, and uncertainty whether these inscriptions are re-inscribed copies (that is certainly possible). These uncertainties mean that the Pessinus inscriptions are particularly intractable as comparative material for reconstructing what could be termed the 'archive mentality'. The excavations at Aphrodisias uncovered two archives of documents, inscribed on features of the theatre, concerning 'the official relationship between Rome and the city of Aphrodisias in Caria from the late Republic to the middle of the third century AD'.⁴⁵ 'In the early third century AD, perhaps during the reign of Severus Alexander, documents 7–19 and probably, as I shall argue, doc. 6, were inscribed on the south wall of the north parodos, described hereafter as the archive wall; subsequently docs. 20 and 21 were added on the wall, while doc. 22 certainly, and docs. 23–5 probably, continued the series on neighbouring walls.'⁴⁶ The main objective of the archive appears clearly to record the conferment of the freedom, autonomy, immunity and other privileges first granted to Aphrodisias in the triumviral period.⁴⁷ And on the particular historical context of the engraving of the archive Reynolds, with due caution, concludes: 'If the inscription of the archive was commissioned under Septimius Severus the main intention would surely be to demonstrate what were the Aphrodisian privileges confirmed by the new dynasty; later the essential purpose would be, I suspect, to proclaim them as a warning to other cities of Asia, which might be inclined to overlook them.'⁴⁸ How far is the Prienian archive linked in theme and objective, sharing in these respects a basic feature of the Magnesian archive and of the documents of the archive wall at Aphrodisias?

The Priene archive

First, the disposition of the documents below the AE (FIG. 1). The decree for Lysimachus originally occupied at least five blocks of the *anta*, two of which were not shipped with the other stones to England and have not been seen since the British excavations.⁴⁹ Hiller's reconstruction of the *anta* allocates hypothetically another three blocks to the decree, making a total of eight.⁵⁰ On this allowance the decree was over sixty lines long, thirty-six of which survive in varying degrees of completeness. Four blocks attributed to the letter of Lysimachus⁵¹ are placed below the decree. The order of the first two blocks (*GIBM* 402a, b) is assured by the content; since

⁴⁰ See Welles, *RC* introd. to 55 (with bibliography).

⁴¹ Cf. F. S. Stähelin, *Geschichte der kleinasiatischen Galater*² (Leipzig 1907) 85; A. Wilhelm, *Neue Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde* i, Sitz. Ak. Wiss. Wien, Philol.-hist. Kl. clxvi (1911) 36, = *Kleine Schriften* I (Leipzig 1974) i 54; Welles, *RC* 247.

⁴² C. Paepcke, *De Pergamenorum Litteratura* (Diss. Rostock 1906) 26.

⁴³ See Welles' comments, *RC* 247.

⁴⁴ Virgilio (n. 37) 125 ff., associates the publication with the incorporation in 25 BC of Galatia as a Roman province.

⁴⁵ Reynolds (n. 11) v. The dossier honouring Artemidorus, patriot and adherent of Rome in the

period of the Mithridatic war (nos 2–4), was inscribed at the NE corner of the stage, after remodelling of the theatre dated to the middle and second half of the second century AD: see Reynolds xv, 38 ff.

⁴⁶ Reynolds (n. 11) xv, 33–7 (with plan of the archive wall at 34–5), 107 ff.

⁴⁷ See nn. 45, 46.

⁴⁸ Reynolds (n. 11) 36.

⁴⁹ *GIBM* 401 b 1 and e were left behind in Priene; *GIBM* 401 a, b 2, c, d and f are in the BM, as are the fragments g–n associated in Hiller with this decree.

⁵⁰ *I.Priene* p. 20, and plan facing p. 312.

⁵¹ *I.Priene* 15 (*GIBM* 402; *OGIS* 12; Welles, *RC* 6).

GIBM 402 b is a narrow block, it follows that the block below, of which the right hand corner only survives (*GIBM* 402 c), was large, as was the block below it (*GIBM* 402 d). All are in the British Museum except d, which was copied in Priene by Murray and not taken to England, and f, which was found in the German excavation of 1898. Hiller allowed another block to the letter; after two large courses it has to be a narrow one; he attributed a group of very small fragments from the wall to it.⁵²

The decree in honour of Lysimachus and his letter reveal a serious crisis—a war from which Priene has been saved only by Lysimachus' military intervention. When diplomacy could resume, a Prienian embassy was sent to congratulate Lysimachus on his success and (*inter alia*) to announce substantial *timai* reciprocating Lysimachus' help: a gold crown of 1000 staters, a bronze *agalma* of the king and the institution of a civic cult with a *bomos* of Lysimachus in the agora, annual sacrifices and a procession (with *stephanēphoria*) of citizens, priests and magistrates.⁵³ This, the first fully articulated royal cult attested at Priene,⁵⁴ is a fair index of the communal perception of Lysimachus as the saviour of the Prienians.

In his letter Lysimachus mentioned the arrival of the Prienian ambassadors, his receipt of the decree and their congratulations on the well-being of the king, his *philoī*, army and cause.⁵⁵ It is this close convergence with the beginning of the decree (*I.Priene* 14) that has made it possible to identify no. 15 as the response of Lysimachus to the Prienian embassy mentioned in no. 14.⁵⁶ Both inscriptions deal with the same crisis. Several relevant new details emerge from Lysimachus' description of the embassy's speech:⁵⁷

- a [Βασιλεὺς Λυσίμαχος Πριηνέων τῆι βουλῆι]
[καί] τῶι δῆμῳ χαίρει[ν· οἱ παρ' ὑμῶν πεμφθέντες]
[πρ]εσβευταὶ Ἀντισθένη[ς καὶ — — — πρὸς ἡμᾶς]
[ἀφ]ικ[ό]μ[ενοι τ]ό τε ψήφισμ[α ὑμῶν ἀπέδοσαν]
5 [ἡ]μῖν κ[αὶ αὐτ]οὶ συνησθέντες ἐ[πὶ τῶι διὰ παντὸς]
ἐρρῶσθαι ἡμᾶς τε καὶ τοὺς φίλ[ους ἡμῶν καὶ τὰς]
δυνάμεις καὶ τὰ πράγματα κατὰ [τὴν ἡμετέραν]
χώραν διελέγησαν παραπλησίως τοῖς ἐν τῶι
[ψηφί]σματι γεγραμμένοις, ἐ[μ]φανίζοντες περὶ
10 [τε τῆ]ς εὐνοί[ας] ἧς ἔχει ὁ [δῆ]μος εἰς ἡμᾶς, καὶ ὅ[τι]
b ἐπιστειλά[ντ]ω[ν ἡμ]ῶν πειθαρχεῖν Σω[σθένου τοῦ]
στρατηγοῦ [ὑπ]ήκουσεν προθύμως καὶ ο[ὔ]θενός]
ἀφίσταται τῶν ἡμῖν χρησίμων, καί[περ πορθου]-
μένης τῆς [χ]ώρας ὑπὸ τε Μαγνήτω[ν καὶ Πεδιέων]
15 [κ]αὶ τῶν στ[ρατιω]τῶν τῶν συνεπιπορ[ενομένων].
c [βουλό]μενοι οὖν καὶ κοινῆι πάντων καὶ ἰδίᾳ[ι]
[ἐκ]άστου ὑμῶν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, λυσιτ]ελὲς δὲ ἡμῖν
[ἡγ]ούμενοι, ὑμᾶς ἡμῖν ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερο[ν]
[φί]λους εἶναι, συγχωροῦμεν, ὥ[σπερ ἡξίω]σαν]
20 [οἱ παρ' ὑμῶν πρ]εσβευταὶ — — — — —]
c. 5 lines missing

⁵² *I.Priene* 15 fr. f = *GIBM* 402 e; this was a new fragment found on the terrace of the temple in the German excavations of 1898. Welles is mistaken in his statement, *RC* p. 40, that the remains belong to six different blocks. He appears to have taken e and f as originally from different blocks.

⁵³ *I.Priene* 14 (for text see *Appendix* 1 A). On the cult cf. C. Habicht, *Gottmenschentum und griechische Städte*² (Munich 1970) 38–9.

⁵⁴ For the building named the Alexandreion, under renovation at Priene in the second half of the second century BC, see *I.Priene* 108.75. There is no corroborating evidence that this was a cult building and no other evidence as to its date of construction.

⁵⁵ *I.Priene* 15.1 ff.

⁵⁶ See n. 66 below.

⁵⁷ *I.Priene* 15.1 ff.

d ————— ἡμῖν —————
 ————— τῆι τε θ[ε]ωρ[ίαι] ———
 ————— ὑμᾶς ποιούμ[εν] ———
 ————— εὐχαρίστους ———
 [————— θυγ]ατρὸς καὶ υἱῶ[ν] ———
 [————— φιλανθρ]ώπων βασ[ιλ] ———
 ————— αμ[ε]να ———
 ————— ἡμ[εῖ]ς —————

[Your] ambassadors, Antisthenes [and those with him, came and delivered] to us [your] decree and themselves rejoiced at [the fact that] we are in good health and (likewise) our friends [and] forces and affairs through [the entire] land, and they spoke along the lines of what is written in the decree, declaring [the] good-will which the *dēmos* holds towards us and that, when we sent instructions to obey, (the *dēmos*) obeyed So[sthenes? the] *stratēgos* with enthusiasm and [in no way] stood apart from what was useful to us, although the land was being [ravaged] by the Magnesians [-----] and the soldiers marching with them. [Wishing therefore to exercise care for] all [of you in common] and [each one] individually, and [considering it to be] to our advantage [that you should be our friends as] also previously, we grant, as your ambassadors requested-----.⁵⁸

Lysimachus' position as suzerain is revealed by his orders to the Prienian *dēmos* to obey his *stratēgos*, which the *dēmos* had done in difficult circumstances (12). The identity of Priene's enemies was also given in more detail by Lysimachus (14–15). One group is identified as Greek neighbours of Priene, the Magnesians of Magnesia-on-Maeander. There is room for the name of a second group in the lacuna in line 14. A third group, the *stratiōtai*, is referred to in line 15. Two of the enemies attacking Priene had been named in the decree, but only the name of the second (τοὺς ἄλλους Πεδιεῖς) survives (16). Each proper name therefore tends to be restored in the text in which it does not appear⁵⁹—a procedure which is supported by the reoccurrence of the names Magnesia and the Pedieis in another approximately contemporary royal settlement, possibly dealing with the same crisis.⁶⁰ The omission of one of the three groups in the Prienian decree is as likely to have arisen from Greek practice in the drafting of public records⁶¹ as from any other cause.⁶² The Pedieis, also neighbours of Priene, were *laoi*, the (probably) non-Greek dependent cultivators of royal land and Prienian territory in the surrounding areas of the lower Maeander valley.⁶³ The evidence on their relations with Priene, which tends to be crisis-oriented and therefore not necessarily typical, attests a sharp hostility.⁶⁴

Lysimachus then moved to the diplomatic formulae that were used to express in benevolent terms a king's reasons for acceding to ambassadors' requests (16 ff.), and referred to specific requests of the Prienians (19). Unfortunately Lysimachus' decisions and the Prienian requests are in the now lost portion of his letter. Nevertheless, something can be said about the content of the lacuna.

⁵⁸ Translation of R. S. Bagnall and P. Derow, *Greek historical documents: the Hellenistic period*, Sources for Biblical Study xvi (1981) no. 11 (with slight alterations).

⁵⁹ Hicks, Hiller, Dittenberger and Welles restore *Μάγνητας* in the decree. Hiller and Dittenberger restore *Πεδιεῖς* in the letter.

⁶⁰ *I. Priene* 16 (GIBM 410; Welles, RC 8); for the text see Appendix 1 B.

⁶¹ See Klaffenbach (n. 22) 34 for the difference between ancient and modern attitudes on copy making—the former did not require verbatim accuracy; A. S. Henry, *The prescripts of Athenian decrees*, Mnemos. Suppl. xlix (1977) 105–6.

⁶² Welles, RC 43–4, gives a more elaborate explanation; the *stratiōtai*, identified as part of the invasion force of Demetrius in 287/6 BC (see n. 86) were omitted

because the Prienians thought the mention of Lysimachus' enemy would be 'unwelcome'. The *stratiōtai* are not further identified because of Lysimachus' hatred of Demetrius. This seems to me very unlikely, especially in view of Lysimachus' own reference to them, which he need not have made.

⁶³ For discussion of the dependent position of the *laoi* see P. Briant, *Rois, tributs et paysans* (Paris 1982) 96–135 (= *Actes du Colloque 1971 sur l'Esclavage*; *Ann. Litt. U. de Besançon* cxl [1973] 94–133); H. Kreissig, *Actes du Colloque 1973 sur l'Esclavage*, *Ann. Litt. U. de Besançon* clxxxii (1976) 237 ff.

⁶⁴ See, however, *I. Priene* 3 (n. 25) 14 ff. forbidding the Megabyxos the acquisition of property (*kiēmata*) belonging to the Pedieis.

There are several reasons, as Welles first saw,⁶⁵ to suspect that the Prienians had asked in reward for their loyalty some perquisite such as recognition of the status of Priene (freedom, autonomy and/or immunity) and/or recognition of Prienian frontiers and territory. This would fit the king's emphasis on Prienian war-time loyalty (9–15) and his concern to perpetuate a beneficial relationship with the Prienians (16–17). Otherwise one has to suppose that he simply announced his acceptance of the *timai* to which he had as yet not even referred. In addition, the prominent place of publication furnishes another reason⁶⁶ to believe that the content of his letter as a whole was positive and promoted Prienian interests. Since the AE was placed above it, and inscribed at about the same time, it is possible to infer that Lysimachus upheld Alexander's disposition as documented in the published clauses of the AE. The diplomatic procedures of the Hellenistic Greek cities in securing recognition or amelioration of their status, well documented in inscriptions, was to use previous royal grants as evidence for the contemporary 'rights' of a *polis*, as suzerains or circumstances altered.⁶⁷ Alexander's settlement was part of the Prienians' negotiating 'evidence'. Hence (in part) its publication.⁶⁸

Similarity of lettering suggests that four fragments from another three inscribed blocks from the wall also belong to a ruling by Lysimachus on Priene (*GIBM* 410; *I.Priene* 16; Welles, *RC* 8).⁶⁹ The original position of one of these (and therefore of the whole group) on the *anta* is guaranteed by the fact that the preserved right hand face was also inscribed (*I.Priene* 38), showing both that the block came from the *anta* and that the text of its face (*I.Priene* 16) was originally from the front of the *anta*. For some unexplained reason Hicks did not include *GIBM* 410 in his reconstruction of the *anta*.⁷⁰ The positioning of this text below Lysimachus' letter is the work of Hiller and his colleagues.⁷¹ The lettering is agreed to belong to the third century BC;⁷² Hiller described it with more precision as a good script of the first half of the third century BC.⁷³ The attribution to Lysimachus began with the remarks of the first editor, Hicks: 'It is natural to connect the depredations mentioned in lines 10 ff. with those which were referred to in the decree in honour of Lysimachus, no. 401. If so, this document can hardly be anything else than an edict of Lysimachus (or perhaps rather of Seleucus) in protection of Priene.'⁷⁴ Dittenberger⁷⁵ and Hiller accepted that this inscription referred to the same crisis as the letter

⁶⁵ Welles, *RC* 44 (*cf.* 45).

⁶⁶ *Cf.* Welles, *ibid.*

⁶⁷ See e.g. Welles, *RC*, 15 (*OGIS* 223) 21 ff. (letter of Antiochus I(?) to Erythrae).

⁶⁸ See further below.

⁶⁹ Hicks, comm. on *GIBM* 410.

⁷⁰ *GIBM* iii. 7 (plan).

⁷¹ *I.Priene*, plan facing p. 312. Hiller's text is superior to that of Welles, who adopted Hicks' arrangement of the fragments (ABCD). Hiller's order (DABC) is to be preferred. The bottom edge of fragment D is complete. Since there is a *vacat* of 8 cm above the letters inscribed at the bottom of D, D is from the beginning of the text, not from the end. The alternative (*cf.* Welles, *RC* 54), that D belongs to a new column of the same text, would only be possible if the text was continued on the right return of the *anta*. This is not feasible because the Rhodian arbitration occupied the upper area of the right return of the *anta*, while—lower down—the right return of *fr.* B of this edict was inscribed with *I.Priene* 38 d. Welles' objection to D as the beginning of the text is based on his assumption that the text was a letter, which should therefore have begun with a greeting. There is, however, no reason to identify the document as a letter. D is perfectly compatible with the beginning of an edict (see below). C can be placed at the end of the text on the basis of the *vacat* below the last preserved letters. A is from the upper part of a block, having a complete upper edge, and B from the lower, complete

at bottom and right hand side. Hicks and Hiller saw that if the two fragments A and B came from the same block, their combined height (29+27 cm = 56 cm), greater than the height of the wide course of blocks (53 cm), meant that there was an overlap of one line—the last line of A with the first line of B. Welles' objection to this (54), that the combined line length would be too long by a few letters, is not very convincing. In view of our ignorance of the average line length of this text and of the exact amount of space (and so of letters) preceding the preserved letters of A line 7, it seems foolish to rule out the obvious possibility that A and B do overlap and that the participle—*ψάμενοι* (*RC* 8.7) of A line 7 belongs to the same line as, and was followed (after a short gap) by that (*ὑπολαμβάνοντες*) in B line 1 (= *GIBM* 410.7; *I.Priene* 16.9). Hiller's ordering of the fragments has the great merit of placing the beginning and the end of the text in the right position. The text began immediately with the king's rulings because it was, as Hiller saw, an edict.

⁷² *Cf.* Hicks on *GIBM* 410 ('The characters are firm and good, belonging to the third century BC'); Hiller (n. 73).

⁷³ Hiller on *I.Priene* 16. Examination of *fr.* a and d in the British Museum confirmed the general similarity of the lettering of this inscription to that of the letter of, and decree for, Lysimachus.

⁷⁴ Hicks on *GIBM* 410.

⁷⁵ *OGIS* 11 n. 4.

and decree. With due qualification Hiller named Lysimachus as the author of the settlement.⁷⁶ Seleucus is much less likely than Lysimachus, primarily because of the extreme shortness of his suzerainty of Ionia between his victory over Lysimachus at Curopedium (c. February 281 BC) and his assassination in the late summer of the same year.⁷⁷

Although much is uncertain about this fragmentary text, it is clear that the king *began* with a ruling concerning the *kōmai* as the place of residence of *paroikoi*.⁷⁸ This is followed by a reference to the king's grant to the Pedieis (11) and by a description of the slaughter by Pedieis of many Prienians and their pillaging of Prienian territory.⁷⁹ It is most probable that the category of inhabitants to whom the status of *paroikein* here applies is the unenfranchised *laoi*.⁸⁰ They included the Pedieis.⁸¹ In the case of *kōmai* in the areas around Priene part belonged to Priene and part to the king.⁸² What grant (line 11) the king made for the Pedieis is uncertain.⁸³ The reference to the attacks on the Prienians and their land, coupled with the reference to Magnesia towards the end of the text (19), recalls, as Hicks noted, the collaboration of the Magnesians and Pedieis in ransacking Prienian territory.⁸⁴ In the last section the king appears to be arranging for redress for the Prienians for losses from the pillage.⁸⁵ The Pedieis, their status and place of residence, emerge as one of the themes running through the archive, as we shall see.

The events referred to in the decree for Lysimachus and in Lysimachus' reply can be dated to 287/6 BC.⁸⁶ The strong arguments for this date are based on the following points. The whole tenor of the texts indicates that the situation was more than a purely local affair of raiding neighbours. The specific reference to *stratiōtai* shows that regular soldiers were involved in the invasion of Priene.⁸⁷ The fighting has therefore to be identified with one of the wider conflicts

⁷⁶ *I.Priene* 16, 'Erllass eines Herrschers (Lysimachos?) über Priene und Magnesia'; cf. plan facing p. 312, 'Erllass des Lysimachus'.

⁷⁷ On the date of Curopedium see A. J. Sachs and D. J. Wiseman, 'A Babylonian king list of the Hellenistic period', *Iraq* xvi (1954) 205 ff; for the date of Seleucus' death see *ibid.* 205 ff.; for the King List, *ibid.* 203 (BM 35603) obv. 6–8.

⁷⁸ Cf. below.

⁷⁹ Welles assumed that the grant referred to in line 11 (= RC 8 B3) was an earlier grant to the Pedieis and that the king dealt with business in chronological order. The slaughter is then a sequel to the grant. This reconstruction also assumed that the king's solution was given in D in a part of the text now lost. Hiller's re-ordering of the fragments (n. 71), recognising that C (= *I.Priene* 16 IV) was the end of the edict, established the probable original length of the text (20 lines). The important consequence of this is that these fragmentary 20 lines constituted the whole of the king's settlement of this upheaval between the Pedieis and the Prienians. The grants referred to in lines 4 and 11 are therefore more likely to contain part of the king's *present* settlement; reaffirmation of the residence in *kōmai* of *paroikoi*, a ruling on the condition of the Pedieis and penalties for those Pedieis (11 ff.) guilty of hostilities against Prienians. That not all the Pedieis were involved is perhaps implied by the language of the Prienian decree (*I.Priene* 14.6); text *Appendix* 1 A.

⁸⁰ See n. 63; for recent attestation of *paroikoi* at Aphrodisias see Reynolds (n. 11) no. 2 b 2 (decree of Plarasa/Aphrodisias: 88 BC), with comm. See M. Wörle, *Chiron* viii (1978) 236–46, esp. 241 ff., on the analogous condition of the *perioikoi* of Lycian cities.

⁸¹ Cf. *I.Priene* 1 and above.

⁸² Cf. Hiller on *I.Priene* 16 I (=D); *I.Priene* 3 (n. 64) indicates the dependence of some Pedieis on the *polis* of Priene in as much as the Prienian *dēmos* acts to keep

intact property of the Pedieis.

⁸³ Confirmation of rights to residence in the *kōmai* and to work the land? The Pedieis are not named again in Prienian inscriptions.

⁸⁴ Hicks, comm. on *GIBM* 410. E. Meyer's view, *Die Grenzen der hellenistischen Staaten in Kleinasien* (Zurich/Leipzig 1925) 36, that this text merely attests perennial upheaval between Priene and the Pedieis, and permanent border problems with Magnesia, is unconvincing since it seems clear that this occasion was something special, requiring royal intervention.

⁸⁵ Hicks, comm. on *GIBM* 410.

⁸⁶ For the date 287/6 see the discussions, utilised here, of W. W. Tarn, *CAH* vii 87–8; Welles, *RC* 43–4; H. Bengtson, *Die Strategie in der hellenistischen Zeit* i (Munich 1937) 221–3, esp. 222 n. 2. Cf. Habicht (n. 53) 38–9, who notes (38 n. 3) that the arguments of Welles and Bengtson against Meyer's dating of the occasion to 289 BC had been neglected by D. Magie, *Roman rule in Asia Minor* ii (Princeton 1950) 922 n. 13, who (still) regarded the affair as local. Welles (43) and Bengtson (222 n. 2) pointed to the significance of lines 5 ff., where the safety of Lysimachus' realm is mentioned. The chronology and extent of Lysimachus' control of Ionia is problematic. *Syll.*³ 368 (289/8 BC), honouring Lysimachus' *στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τῶν πόλεων τῶν Ἰώνων*, gives the *terminus ante quem*. In 302/301 BC Lysimachus appointed Prepelaus as 'general over Aeolis and Ionia' (Diod. xx 107.4) and probably from 294 BC, when Lysimachus took over remaining possessions of Demetrius Poliorcetes in Asia Minor (Plut. *Demetr.* 35.5), he was able to organise the administrative basis of his control in Ionia: see Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*² iv.1 (Leipzig 1925) 234–35; Bengtson i 219–20; Magie i 89 ff.

⁸⁷ For the *stratiōtai* see Welles, *RC* p. 43; Habicht (n. 53) 39.

of the Successors. The only suitable occasion between the battle of Ipsos (301 BC) and Lysimachus' death at the battle of Curopedium (281 BC) is the war which broke out between Demetrius and Lysimachus when Demetrius returned from Athens to Asia Minor in 287 to begin, from his base at Miletus south of Priene, his unsuccessful attempt to rebuild his father's empire.⁸⁸

A suitable historical context for the decision of the *dēmos* to publish this archive on the *anta* of the temple of Athena Polias is the period after the end of these hostilities (i.e. c. 285). After these upheavals the *dēmos* had every motive to establish and publicise their 'rights' (cf. below) and (apotropaically) to advertise their good relations with their protector and suzerain Lysimachus.

Lysimachus again played an important role in c. 283/2 when he arbitrated over a new stage in the four-centuries-old territorial dispute with Samos.⁸⁹ The Prienians apparently tried to exploit Lysimachus' favour by claiming the area of the southern part of the Samian *peraiia* named Batinetis,⁹⁰ and persuaded the king that there was a case to be heard. Lysimachus, however, decided in favour of Samos after a second hearing at which the Samians presented full evidence of their long entitlement to and possession of the land.⁹¹ This arbitration settled finally the dispute over Batinetis, but was not totally adverse for Priene since Prienian claims to another disputed area, the fort Karion with its surrounding *chōra*, were not challenged.⁹² Nothing could illustrate better the selectivity of the Prienian archive than the omission from it of Lysimachus' unfavourable judgement, awarding Batinetis to Samos.⁹³ It was the beneficiaries, the Samians, who published on stone Lysimachus' decision and provided our record of it.⁹⁴

IV. THE ALEXANDER 'EDICT': ALEXANDER AND PRIENE

It is necessary now to look at the Alexander 'edict' against this background. The first questions to be discussed are how the AE relates to the other documents of the group and what type of document it is. Next, particular problems arising from the text of the AE are considered, before discussion of the possible functions of the *anta* archive as a whole. For convenience a text of the AE is given below. This follows, with small exceptions, that proposed in Heisserer's recent publication,⁹⁵ which in turn drew on Hiller's improved version of the editions of Hicks and Dittenberger. The position of the inscribed blocks (see FIG. 1), numbered by editors I–IV, on the upper part of the *anta* is guaranteed by the texts inscribed on their right hand face, which come from the beginning of the Rhodian arbitration (*I.Priene* 37; *GIBM* 403a–e).

Βασιλέως Ἀλ[εξάνδ]ρου.
 τῶν ἐν Ναυλόχῳ κ[ατοικούν]-
 των ὅσοι μὲν εἰσι [Πριηνεῖ]ς, αὐτο-
 [νό]μους εἶναι κα[ὶ ἐλευθ]έρους,
 5 ἔχ[οντ]ας τήν τε γῆν καὶ τὰς οἰκι-

⁸⁸ Demetrius crossed to Miletus (Plut. *Demetr.* 46) with his fleet after the revolt of Athens and his conclusion of a peace treaty with Ptolemy I, newly revealed by the decree for Callias of Sphettus, published by T. L. Shear, *Callias of Sphettos and the revolt of Athens*, *Hesperia* Suppl. xvii (1978). For the dating of the revolt (and the peace) in 287 BC, not (with Shear) in 286, see M. Osborne, *ZPE* xxxv (1979) 181 ff; C. Habicht, *Unters. zur politischen Geschichte Athens im 3. Jahrh. v. Chr.*, *Vestigia* xxx (Munich 1979) 45 ff.

⁸⁹ For the long history of the territorial dispute between Samos and Priene see Kleiner, *RE* Suppl. ix s.v. 'Priene' 1184–5; Welles, *RC* 48–50. On Lysimachus' arbitration, referred to frequently in the Rhodian

arbitration (*I.Priene* 37), see M. N. Tod, *International arbitration among the Greeks* (Oxford 1913) 135 ff. On the date see Hiller, comm. on *I.Priene* 37.126.

⁹⁰ *RC* 7.2–9.

⁹¹ *RC* 7.9 ff.

⁹² See *I.Priene* 37, where the Samians' acceptance of Prienian possession of Karion and the *chōra* at the time of Lysimachus' *krisis* is used by the Prienians as an argument against Samian claims to it in the 190s.

⁹³ Cf. Welles, *RC* 48.

⁹⁴ For Lysimachus' letter to the Samians see Welles, *RC* 7 (*OGIS* 13; *I.Priene* 500).

⁹⁵ Heisserer (n. 2) 145 ff.

ας τὰς ἐν τ[ῆι π]όλει πά[σα]ς καὶ τῆγ
 χώραν, ὧ[σπερ οἱ] Πριηνε[ῖς αὐτοί·]
⁸ . . . αἷς ἂν δέω[νται . . .⁴⁻⁵ . . .]
 το δε καὶ Μυρσ[ηλείωγ]
 10 [κ]αὶ Π[ε]διέωγ — — — — —^{c. 9-10} — —] χώραγ
 [γ]ινώσκω ἐμὴν εἶναι, τοὺς δὲ κα-
 τοικούντας ἐν ταῖς κώμαις ταύ-
 ταις φέρειν τοὺς φόρους· τῆς
 δὲ συντάξεως ἀφίημι τῆμ Πριη-
 15 νέωμ πόλιν, καὶ τῆμ φρουρ[ᾶ]ν ἐ-
 φ[. εἰ]σάγει[ν. . .]
 ----- δια . . .
 ----- ΟΜΜΙΑΠΟ τὰς δίκας . .
 ----- [κρί]νει ὑμᾶς
 20 ----- δικαστήριον
 ----- δ' ἡμᾶ[ς. . .]
 ----- ὑμᾶς . . .

(Of) King Alexander. Of those residing in Naulochon, as many as are [Prieniens] are to be independent and free, possessing the [land] and all the houses in the city and the countryside [like the] Prieniens [themselves]; But the [? villages] of the Myrs[eloi] and the Pe[diens] and the countryside I decree to be mine, and those dwelling in these villages are to pay the tribute; I release from the *syntaxis* the city of (the) Prieniens, and the garrison to bring in⁹⁶

The heading was not part of the constituent document but was added at the time of publication.⁹⁷ This use of headings is a typical feature of the epigraphy of archives.⁹⁸ In the layout of the *anta* archive, so far as it can be reconstructed, headings are used twice—once for the AE and once for the decree for King Lysimachus, where the heading again consists of the royal title and personal name of the king.⁹⁹

The archival function of the AE

The main clauses of the AE can be summarised as follows:

- (i) Recognition by Alexander (2–4) of the civic status of Prienian citizens residing at Naulochon (and therefore of their legal entitlement to the rights described in 5–8, 14–15).
- (ii) An affirmation of the status of the domains of certain villages as the king’s (i.e. royal land) and therefore of the villagers’ liability to tribute.
- (iii) A declaration of the fiscal immunity (see below) of the *polis* of the Prieniens (and therefore of the Prienian citizens at Naulochon).

In these clauses Alexander seems primarily to be concerned with fiscal status, both that of the Prieniens and that of the inhabitants of specific communities outside the urban setting of Priene: in effect he was laying down which were and which were not subject to the king and to royal taxation. The name of the community Π[ε]- is of particular note since it can with near certainty be completed as Π[ε]διεῖς.¹⁰⁰ From the Prienian viewpoint the value of the AE at the time of its

⁹⁶ Trans. Heisserer, with some alterations.

⁹⁷ Welles, *RC* p. 258 n. 3.

⁹⁸ P. Roesch, *Etudes Béotiennes* (Paris 1982) 78–9; examples include the archive of decrees and royal letters from the stoa of Magnesia–Maeander (n. 36), the Coan *asylia* decrees published by G. Klaffenbach and R. Herzog, *Asylieurkunden aus Kos*, *Abh. deutschen Akad. Wiss.* Berlin 1952.1, and the dossier of the late fourth century from Lesbian Eresos (*IG* xii. 2 526; *OGIS* 8;

GHI 191; Heisserer (n. 2) 27 ff.). The headings give in the genitive case the proper name of the authority (king/*polis/koinon*) from which the document originated.

⁹⁹ *I.Priene* 1.1; 14.1. The lack of evidence of another heading at the beginning of the royal edict *I.Priene* 16 is a further indication that the author was Lysimachus.

¹⁰⁰ Only a small part of the top of a vertical and the beginning of a horizontal stroke to the right are

inscription, in c. 285 BC, would seem to have consisted in part in Alexander's specification of the zones under Prienian possession and those occupied by certain *laoi* (including the Pedieis). These clauses 'proved' both the king's responsibility for these *laoi* and also their proper place of abode ('these villages'), two facts which became of crucial relevance at a time when the *laoi* were wreaking havoc in Prienian territory. Hence the royal edict on the *anta* below (*I.Priene* 16) began with their place of residence. Another obvious use of the AE is as prime evidence for the claims of Priene to privileged status as autonomous, free and immune from tribute, which it was the Prienians' natural concern to continue under succeeding rulers.

The AE as a section of an edict

There has been little discussion about what type of document the AE is since this problem was first recognised by Welles over fifty years ago.¹⁰¹ The AE has been referred to as a letter by some authors¹⁰² and as an edict by others.¹⁰³ Welles rightly saw that the AE was not a letter.¹⁰⁴ All characteristic features of the opening of a Greek royal letter are absent, such as the names of author and addressee and greetings. 'The text began abruptly, like identifiable royal edicts and contains instructions of Alexander expressed as orders in jussive infinitives.'¹⁰⁵ Welles showed that the AE shares the characteristics of the category of royal ordinances referred to as *diagraphai* and *diagrammata* in the age of Alexander and the Successors. An underlying assumption of Welles and of Bickerman, who appreciated the force of Welles' arguments,¹⁰⁶ was that what the Prienians had originally inscribed was a whole *diagramma* of which only fragments now survive.

The discovery that the AE is part of an archive inscribed decades after it was originally issued adds a new dimension which any interpretation of the document now has to accommodate. It suggests that the AE is simply an extract from a longer ordinance of Alexander, chosen because of its especial relevance to the contemporary historical situation long after Alexander's death (*cf.* above). This solves several of the peculiarities of the text. The beginning alone strongly indicates that the AE does not represent the complete record of Alexander's regulations for Priene. On any normal criteria Alexander could be expected to have opened an edict for Priene by dealing first and directly with the status of Priene, not that of an outpost or of surrounding *kōmai*. The political status of Priene features only indirectly in Alexander's ruling (lines 2 ff.) on the status of Prienians at Naulochon. Edicts can and do begin 'abruptly',¹⁰⁷ as several examples show, in the sense that they launch immediately into the orders or rulings which they convey without introductory formulae. Details as to the author, addressee, orders for publication and date were usually in a covering note, which was not always published on stone.¹⁰⁸ The start of the AE would not only be 'abrupt', but also eccentrically indirect if, as is usually supposed, the central focus of it was the *polis* of Priene. The current interpretation, based on the conjectural sequence of Alexander's dealings with Priene, interprets the AE as a second 'settlement' (c. 330 BC?) after an earlier settlement (334).¹⁰⁹ There are several reasons why this explanation is unsatisfactory.

preserved after *pi*; the traces are compatible with either *rho* or *epsilon*: Heisserer (n. 2) 152 pl. 22 (*fr.* IIb). The context—of non-Prienian communities—and the independent evidence for Pedieis in the region of Priene make *Π[δ]ι[ε]ίς* the best supplement. Heisserer's new supplement is based on the occurrence of the toponym Myrsileia and a reference to *agrois* there in *I.Magnesia* 116.53 (reign of Hadrian); Heisserer 156.

¹⁰¹ C. B. Welles, *AJA* xl (1938) 245–60 at 258, with n. 3.

¹⁰² E.g. Hiller, *I.Priene* 1; Hornblower (n. 3) 163–4.

¹⁰³ Tod, *GHI* 185; Rhodes (n. 2) no. 19; Heisserer (n. 2) 145 ff.

¹⁰⁴ Welles (n. 101).

¹⁰⁵ Welles (n. 101).

¹⁰⁶ Bickerman, *REA* xlii (1940) 25 n. 5.

¹⁰⁷ *Cf.* Welles (n. 101) 258 n. 3.

¹⁰⁸ E.g. Welles (n. 101) 249–50 is an extract from an edict of Philip V (lines 10 ff.), preceded by a covering note of an Antigonid official, = L. Moretti, *Iscrizioni storiche ellenistiche* ii. (Florence 1975) 111: 187 BC; Welles 251–3 is a stele containing (extracts from?) an edict on the duties of royal *oikonomoi*, perhaps part of a general army code of Philip V, but without any covering note.

¹⁰⁹ E. Badian, 'Alexander and the Greeks of Asia', in *Ancient society and institutions. Studies... V. Ehrenberg* (Oxford 1966) 46–53. This interpretation has won wide acceptance. As a sampling see Rhodes, *loc. cit.* (n. 2); J. R. Hamilton, *Alexander the Great* (London 1973) 59; Heisserer (n. 2) 61–2. Badian's argument that the inscription represents a second settlement is based on his particular interpretation of *syntaxis* (*cf.* below) and

There is no independent evidence, as there is for example in the case of Chios,¹¹⁰ that Alexander revised an earlier settlement; and it is unnecessary to resort to hypotheses of this sort to explain peculiar features of the AE or its evident incompleteness as Alexander's regulation of Prienian affairs. There is a much simpler alternative. It is incomplete because it is only an extract from a *diagramma* of Alexander selected decades later from the Prienian state archives.¹¹¹ There are good Hellenistic parallels for the publication on stone of an extract of a royal edict without specific mention that it is only a section.¹¹² This solution has the merit of offering an explanation of the subject matter of the AE, while also accommodating the epigraphic context and form of the document itself, which current treatments ignore.

Some particular problems in the AE

Line 6. The *polis* referred to can only be Priene in a public inscription placed on the *anta* of the Prienian temple of Athena.¹¹³

Lines 9 ff. Alexander is not claiming (and taking over) the *chōra* of Priene as has recently (and rather surprisingly) been claimed,¹¹⁴ nor is this evidence that the *chōra* of the city is being regarded by Alexander as royal land.¹¹⁵ The Prienians would never have celebrated this clause by publication had that been so! There is solid epigraphic evidence to show that in the late fourth and third century BC the Prienians possessed full legal control, i.e. the right of disposal by sale (or grant) of their *chōra* outside the *polis*,¹¹⁶ and the right to tax it. Even in the AE the Prienians' legal title to their *chōra* is recognised (2–5). As is often the case, *chōra* is used here both of the land of the *polis* (7) and of land that is royal land (10).¹¹⁷

Lines 7–11. Heisserer's reading and restoration of these lines gives a different structure to the antithesis from that in the text of the older editions: 'By this [i.e. Heisserer's own] view the antithesis to ὄσοι μὲν in line 3 would be τὸ δέ in line 9, that is, the contrast would not be between those in Naulochon who are Prienians and those who are not, but rather between what territory the Prienians are to control (Naulochon) and what lands are to become royal domain.'¹¹⁸ This analysis is accepted here, with one qualification—that the contrast is between the territory the Prienians are to control (the urban site of Priene, the *chōra* and Naulochon) and the land claimed as royal by Alexander. There is no reason to assume, or evidence to prove, that Alexander is changing the status of land, i.e. annexing land to royal domain. The facts are consonant with the proposition that Alexander is concerned with Achaemenid royal domains to which, as victor over Darius' forces, Alexander is affirming his entitlement.¹¹⁹

Lines 18 ff. In the section about the *dikastērion* (to deal with property cases arising from Alexander's policy on the Pedieis and the *kōmai*? Compare the edict of Lysimachus(?), p. 79.)

Alexander's imperfectly preserved decision with regard to the garrison (*op. cit.* 47).

¹¹⁰ Cf. n. 95.

¹¹¹ On the Prienian archives see n. 35.

¹¹² E.g. the section of a *diagramma* of Philip V on the property of Serapis: Welles (n. 101) 249–50, lines 10 ff. (*ISE* ii 111); S. Pelekides, 'Ἀπὸ τὴν πολιτεία καὶ τὴν κοινωνία τῆς ἀρχαίας Θεσσαλονίκης (Thessaloniki 1934) 10 ff., the first editor, recognised from the use of δέ at the beginning of the text of the *diagramma* that it was a section of a longer document: cf. Welles 251 n. 3 and 254. For the publication of a group of clauses from Imperial grants of privileges at Aphrodisias see Reynolds (n. 11) 92 ff. no. 9.

¹¹³ See e.g. Dittenberger, *OGIS* 1 adn. 4; Tod, *GHI* 185; cf. J. and L. Robert, *Bull.* 1971, no. 581; pace D. Van Berchem, *Mus. Helv.* xxvii (1970) 200, who identified the *polis* as Naulochon and therefore took the AE as the *terminus post quem* for the foundation of Priene!

¹¹⁴ Hornblower (n. 3) 162, 163.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.* 183.

¹¹⁶ See e.g. the Prienian grant of γῆς ἔγκτησις (including a specification of the required distance between any acquired property and the frontier with Ephesian territory) in *I.Priene* 3 (the Megabyxos of Ephesus); see *I.Priene* 2 (Antigonos); 6 (Philaos of Athens); 8 (dikasts of Phocaea and Astypalaea and of an unknown state): cf. 12.20 ff. For Prienian disposal of *klēroi* in the *chōra* by sale see *I.Priene* 37.84 ff. For defence of the *chōra* by Prienian forces see the vivid description of Sotas' expedition against marauding Gauls in the 270s, *I.Priene* 17.

¹¹⁷ Cf. G. de Ste Croix, *The class struggle in the ancient Greek world* (London 1981) 10–11.

¹¹⁸ Heisserer (n. 2) 155.

¹¹⁹ On Alexander's application of traditional Achaemenid ideology in his territorial conquests see P. Briant, *ASNP* 1979, 1375–1414, = *Rois* [n. 63], 291–330, and *Colloque de Mogilany* 1977 (Varsovie Cracovie 1980) 37–83 (= *Rois* 357–404).

Alexander uses the first person singular at lines 11 and 14, but in line 21 the royal 'we' is used. There are Hellenistic examples of kings (but not Alexander) switching from the royal 'we' to the first person singular.¹²⁰ Alternatively the change of person could be attributed to the archival character of the document and seen as resulting from Prienian drafting (or orchestration) of the sections of Alexander's enactment for Priene that the Prienians chose to exploit.

Release from the syntaxis

So far the clauses opportunely documented the status of the Prienians, recognised their right to possession of property and houses in the *polis* and endorsed their entitlement to the (city) *chōra*. Alexander then declared the liability of the *laoi* of certain *kōmai* on royal land to pay 'the tributes', i.e. the various dues which are known from the Achaemenid period to have made up the tribute owed to the king.¹²¹ Under Achaemenid rule, which the King's Peace (386 BC) had re-established over the Greek *poleis* of Asia Minor, the *poleis* too were liable to tribute levied on the land and to a variety of royal taxes.¹²² It is well known that Alexander's public stance towards the Greek cities of Asia Minor was as their liberator from the Persian 'barbarians'. After the battle of Granicus, Alexander's declaration—promising to the Greek *poleis* of Aeolis, Ionia and Caria autonomy, freedom and immunity from tribute—was a symbolic act signalling the end (supposedly) of 'subject status'.¹²³ In lines 13 ff. of the AE the king releases the *polis* of the Prienians from the *syntaxis*—ἡ *σύνταξις* in the singular. In the light of the statements of Arrian and Diodorus, Hicks understandably took line 14 as Alexander's liberation of Priene from 'tribute', i.e. a grant of fiscal immunity; so too did Rostovtzeff.¹²⁴ This interpretation may seem obviously right, yet it has not won general acceptance.

The problem is the use of the word *syntaxis* instead of *phoros*. A fundamental difficulty in assessing the implication of the use of this term in line 14 is that, characteristically, the AE is the main piece of evidence upon which discussion has to centre.¹²⁵ A current view points to the use of *syntaxis* in the fourth century and in the Hellenistic period for financial contributions from allies to a king or league, often (but not always) for war.¹²⁶ Badian, for example, has boldly

¹²⁰ The royal 'we' appears to be used (*pace* Lenschau, *Klio* xxxiii [1940] 205–6; Heisserer [n. 2] 89–90) in Alexander's Chian edict, *Syll.*³ 283.10, 18, where the text has been re-shaped by the Chian authorities responsible for its publication (*cf.* A. Aymard, 'Le Protocole royal grec', *Études d'Histoire ancienne* [Paris 1967] 92 n. 2 = *REA* 1 [1948] 255 n. 2) and in the 'Exiles' Decree' (Diod. xviii 8.4); Alexander uses the first person singular in the 'Second Letter to the Chians', Heisserer 101.27–9 *SEG* xxii 506). In Antigonos' letter to Scepsis (Welles, *RC* 1; *OGIS* 5: 311 BC), Antigonos varies between an occasional use of 'I' (25, 65) and 'we' (otherwise *passim*). This usage, as Welles said, seems to correspond to a distinction between the king as an individual and as representative of the state. On the existence of a Greek concept of kingship which recognised a doctrine of capacities—distinguishing between the man and his royal office—see E. N. Kantorowicz, *The King's two bodies. A study in medieval political theology* (Princeton 1957) 497 ff.

¹²¹ See Hornblower (n. 3) 161–5.

¹²² Hornblower, *ibid.*

¹²³ *Arr. An.* i 18.2; Diod. xvii 24.1.

¹²⁴ *Studien zur Geschichte des römischen Kolonates* (Leipzig/Berlin 1910) 243 ff., where Rostovtzeff saw the distinction as between the royal *chōra* (liable to *phoros*) and the *poleis*, the tributary obligation of which was termed *syntaxis*; see also N. G. L. Hammond, *Alexander the Great: king, commander and statesman* (London 1981)

155, who takes *syntaxis* to be taxation.

¹²⁵ See H. Francotte, *Les finances des cités grecques* (Paris 1909) 77–86 for the view that *syntaxis* and *phoros* are distinct through the Hellenistic period, the former being the term for the contributions of an ally in a free system, the latter denoting the obligatory dues levied by 'un régime de contrainte'. In the case of Priene Francotte argues (79) that the *syntaxis* stands for Prienian contributions to Alexander's war efforts because Alexander had already freed the cities of *phoros*. This argument is especially weak since Alexander had only announced his policy, not implemented it 'globally'; the account of Arrian shows that the *poleis* were dealt with individually as Alexander marched south. Alexander's treatment of Ephesus, where he ordered the *phoros* to be paid to Artemis (n. 7) instead of to himself, shows that *aphorologēsia* was not granted. A. Heuss, *Stadt und Herrscher des Hellenismus in ihren staats- und völkerrechtlichen Beziehungen*, *Klio Beiheft* xxxix (1937) 106–11, denied any distinction between the use of *phoros* and *syntaxis*.

¹²⁶ For example the use of *syntaxis* for allied contributions in the Second Athenian Confederacy (*cf.* *Syll.*³ 192 [GHI 156] 11: Andros) and for contributions of the members of the Antigonid Nesiotic League: Durrbach, *Choix d'inscriptions de Délos* (Paris 1921) no. 13 (*IG* xi. 4 1036). For contributions for war levied by the Successors (not called *syntaxeis*) see *OGIS* 4.10 ff. (321 BC); Welles, *RC* 1.44 (311 BC); *RC* 15.26.

argued that the occurrence of *syntaxis* in the AE is evidence that Alexander enrolled the Greek *poleis* of Asia Minor into the League of Corinth, assuming that *syntaxis*, the word for the allies' payments in the Second Athenian Confederacy, was adopted in the Corinthian League as the term for members' financial contributions.¹²⁷ The weakness of this argument, and of the far-reaching hypothesis built upon it, is that no evidence exists that *syntaxeis* were paid by members of the League, whose contributions consisted of detachments of soldiers.¹²⁸ This consideration, together with the total silence of the literary sources on Alexander's enrolment of Greek cities of Asia Minor in the League, is decisive against Badian's hypothesis. But *syntaxis* in the AE could still be used to denote contributions to Alexander's war.¹²⁹ Bosworth has recently put forward a new view which takes *syntaxis* in the AE to denote a 'once-for-all-payment' (quite different from tribute), from which Alexander exempted Priene.¹³⁰ But there are several objections to this idea: first, none of the evidence on *syntaxis* as war contributions (n. 129 and below) supports the notion that the demands were 'one-off' payments; secondly, and more importantly, formal grants of immunity (such as this) were appropriate, and granted, for repeated obligations, whether liability to a war 'tax', or to other taxes.¹³¹ The Teos inscription, which contains a decree (203 BC) honouring Antiochus III and Laodice, and part of the king's reply, has furnished fresh evidence of the use of the term *syntaxis*: compare P. Herrmann, *Anadolu ix* (1965) 27–159 at B 18 ff., ἀνήκε τή[ν] πόλιν καὶ τήν γῶραν ἡμῶν ἱερὰν καὶ ἄστυλον καὶ ἀφορολόγητον κ[αὶ] τῶν ἄλλων ὧν ἐφέρομεν συντάξεων βασιλεῖ Ἀττάλῳ ὑπεδέξατο ἀπολυθῆσασθαι ἡμᾶς δι' αὐτοῦ κτλ.; cf. 32 ff. ἐξεφάνισε τοῦτοις [[ὅτι πα]ραλέλυκε τῆμ πόλιν εἰς αἰεὶ καθότι ἐπηγίλατο ὧν συνετάξα[μεν φ]όρων βασιλεῖ Ἀττάλῳ. Herrmann¹³² took *syntaxeis* to be distinct from *phoroi* and concluded that Teos paid *syntaxeis* (irregular contributions) in addition to regular tribute (*phoros*). But, as Allen has recently shown,¹³³ the terminology is not precise: *syntaxeis* and *phoroi* are even used interchangeably (cf. especially line 19, ὧν ἐφέρομεν συντάξεων, and 33–4, ὧν συνετάξαμεν φόρων). Allen also rightly argues that Antiochus' grant of *aphorologesia* to Teos cannot properly be used as evidence of the previous tributary status of Teos since such declarations are 'simply part of the usual form of recognition' and were not 'meant to refer to the ending of taxation at that moment in force'.¹³⁴ The implication is important: the Teos inscription does not support the view¹³⁵ that there was a sharp distinction in Greek terminology in the use of *syntaxis* and *phoros* to denote financial obligations of a *polis*. It is arguable that the terms were already assimilated by the early Hellenistic period when the archive was inscribed and compiled. In addition considerations of style, as attested in the Teos document, would have tended to prevent a repetitive *φόρων* in line 14.

Another use of *syntaxis* has been overlooked. *Syntaxis* in the singular and with the definite article, as in the AE, was employed both in Ptolemaic Egypt and in Seleucid Asia Minor as a term for regular royal taxes. A letter of Eumenes II dated to 181 BC, concerning the *katoikoi* of the village of the Kardakes in the territory of Telmessus, mentions ἡ σύνταξις, there a poll-tax which the colony had been unable to pay and was petitioning the royal administration to reduce.¹³⁶ The colony is one of the Seleucid settlements which passed to Eumenes after the

¹²⁷ Badian (n. 109) 52–3.

¹²⁸ See A. B. Bosworth, *A historical commentary on Arrian's History of Alexander i* (Oxford 1980) 280–1.

¹²⁹ As was held by Hiller *I. Priene* introd. xii and Tod, *GHI* 185.

¹³⁰ *Loc. cit.* (n. 128).

¹³¹ For a conspectus on grants of *ateleia* see M. Holleaux, *Etudes d'épigraphie et d'histoire grecques ii* (Paris 1938) 72–125.

¹³² *Op. cit.* 101–05.

¹³³ R. E. Allen, *The Attalid Kingdom* (Oxford 1983) 50–3.

¹³⁴ Allen (n. 133) 52 n. 81, with the parallels of *Syll.*³ 601.19–21 and Welles, *RC* 35.7–8.

¹³⁵ Pace Bosworth (n. 128) following Herrmann; see F. W. Walbank, *Commentary on Polybius iii* (Oxford 1979) 165–6 on Plb. xxi 46.2–3.

¹³⁶ M. Segre, *Clara Rhodos ix* (1938) 190 ff., revised by F. Maier, *Griechische Mauerbauinschriften i* (Heidelberg 1959) no. 76 (= *SEG* xix 867) line 10. Eumenes simply remits the *arrears* of poll-tax and lowers the tax radically for the future (from 4 dr. 1 ob. to 1 dr. 1 ob.). The poll-tax was evidently a regular imposition: see also B. Bar-Kochva, *The Seleucid army* (Cambridge 1976)

Peace of Apamea (188 BC); the taxes to which it was liable were Seleucid. One of the uses of *syntaxis* in Ptolemaic Egypt was also as a term for taxes due to the crown.¹³⁷ It is possible that in the use of the term *syntaxis* for crown taxes the Seleucids (and earlier Alexander?) were adopting terminology from the period of Achaemenid control of the Greek *poleis*, much as the *apomoira*, familiar from Ptolemaic Egypt, is now attested for Achaemenid Asia Minor.¹³⁸ The older view that Alexander is here announcing the immunity of Priene from 'tribute', possibly a specific crown tax, has after all much to commend it. It certainly fits the context better in making the king deal with the same category of fiscal obligations (*viz.* regular crown taxation) in relation to the Prienians. That the term could already be used to replace the word *phoros* is implied for the fourth century by the adoption of *syntaxis* instead of the hated *phoros* in the language of the Second Athenian Confederacy.¹³⁹ The suspicion anyhow arises that few Prienians in the 280s, at the time of the inscription of the AE, took this clause to mean anything else than a grant of fiscal immunity, *ateleia*.¹⁴⁰ In that lay part of its contemporary relevance.

Cities and kings

The *anta* archive is also a source for the study of civic attitudes and values in the early Hellenistic period since it attests something about official Prienian attitudes towards two kings, Alexander the Great and Lysimachus. Here the modern and ancient (Prienian) approaches diverge. Where recent treatments comment on this aspect of the AE they tend to see only evidence of the arbitrary, irresistible and authoritarian character of Alexander's handling of the Greek cities of Asia Minor.¹⁴¹ This is very far from the view of the Prienians some decades after Alexander. The Prienian democracy of the early third century accepted and used the AE as an authoritative and positive source for, and guarantee of, the status of the city and its *chōra*. There is also a religious dimension. The choice of the temple of Athena for the inscription of the collection of documents placed them symbolically under the protection of Athena, tutelary deity of the city and *chōra*, as was appropriate since they concerned the status of her *polis* and integrity of the city *chōra*. In much the same way the Greeks felt the gods were in a literal sense the protectors of treaties and alliances published in their sanctuaries.¹⁴² The Prienians regarded their royal correspondence as a valid legitimation of their claims. This is not an isolated phenomenon, but a development of the early Hellenistic period attesting the growth of a *modus vivendi* between city and kings.¹⁴³ *Poleis* in Asia Minor and the Aegean islands now began to publish on stone the rulings of Alexander and his successors, Philip III and Antigonos, which begin to function as a source of 'law' on such vital questions as *polis* status and the protection of

217 n. 27, especially for criticism of Rostovtzeff's view (*SEHWW* ii 648) that Eumenes was 'demoting' the settlement. In Jerusalem 'only' the *gerousia*, priests, temple singers and scribes were granted full exemption by Antiochus III from the poll-tax and other crown taxes (Josephus *AJ* xii 142). There is no evidence that in the Seleucid empire the poll-tax was restricted to *laoi*. For reference to the poll-tax among taxes collected in Asia by Alexander's successors see [Arist.] *Econ.* ii. 1364a4.

¹³⁷ Cf. C. Préaux, *L'économie royale des Lagides* (Brussels 1939) 383–5; V. Tcherikover, *JJurPap* iv (1956) 179–207; J. A. S. Evans, *Aegyptus* xxxvii (1957) 259–65.

¹³⁸ For attestation of the *apomoira* in a decree from Sinuri see L. Robert, *Le sanctuaire de Sinuri près de Mylasa* i. *Les inscriptions grecques* (Paris 1945) no. 73.12; cf. *id.*, *Hellenica* vii (Paris 1949) 63 ff. Cf. Hornblower (n. 3) 161–2, 365 M 5.

¹³⁹ Theopompus *FGrH* 115 F 98; J. Cargill, *The Second Athenian League: empire or free alliance?* (Berkeley

1981) 124 ff.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. Prienian editing of public decrees to stress the most important clauses—those on fiscal immunity: e.g. *I.Priene* 13. The dossier of three separate documents honouring the Seleucid officer Larichus (*I.Priene* 18), which were published simultaneously on one stele in the 270s, transcribed in the form of shortened decrees the clauses which were still important—notably on *ateleia*: cf. Gauthier (n. 35) 41.

¹⁴¹ Badian (n. 109) 49; Heisserer (n. 2) 166–8. Alexander's recommendation about the *phroua* (AE line 15) is too fragmentary for any certainty as to its original purpose. On the Prienian garrison of the citadel (Teloneia) see L. and J. Robert, *JSAv.* 1976, 198, 201–2, 205.

¹⁴² See H. Bengtson, *Kleine Schriften* (Munich 1974) 213 ff. at 215; M. Guarducci, *Epigrafia Greca* ii (Rome 1969) 2–3. Cf. Gauthier (n. 36) 33–5.

¹⁴³ For a different aspect of this process see G. Herman, 'The "Friends" of the Early Hellenistic rulers: servants or officials?', *Talanta* xii–xiii (1980–1) 103 ff.

civic communities from tyranny.¹⁴⁴ The epigraphic material, which is all the evidence there is for the relations of Priene and Lysimachus, attests no hostility from Priene towards the king. At a time of crisis the Prienians found Lysimachus an effective protector in war, trusted him as arbiter of bitter frontier disputes and reciprocated his services with *timai* as great as a *polis* could bestow, articulating their relations with the king through the religious and ceremonial practices of the civic community.¹⁴⁵ The formal, public, civic attitudes, which are *all* that official inscriptions like these can convey, give us a picture of a positive and symbiotic relationship between *polis* and king in which the king's chief functions are as a source of justice and protection.

S. M. SHERWIN-WHITE

Royal Holloway and Bedford Colleges, London

APPENDIX I

A. I. Priene 14 (lines 1–26 only)

Βασιλεῖ [Λυσιμάχῳ]

Ἔδοξε τῷ δήμῳ γνώμ[η στρατηγῶν (?). ἐπειδὴ βασι]-
 λεὺς Λυσίμαχος ἔν τε το[ῖς πρότερον χρόνοις πᾶσαν]
 ἐπιμέλειαν διετέλ[ει] ποιού[μενος τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Πριη]-
 5 νέων, καὶ νῦν ἀποστ[ρεί]λας δύναμ[ιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Μάγνη]-
 [τας] καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Πεδιεῖς καταγῆ[οχεν αὐτὸν εἰς]
 [τῆμ] πόλιν, δεδόχθαι τῷ δήμῳ· ἐλέσθαι πρεσβ[ευτὰς]
 [ἐκ πά]ντων τῶν πολιτῶν ἄνδρας δέκα, οἵτινες ἀφικόμ[ε]-
 [νοι] πρὸς αὐτὸν τό τε ψήφισμα ἀποδώσουσι καὶ συνησ-
 10 [θ]ήσονται τῷ βασιλεῖ, ὅτι αὐτός τε ἔρρωται καὶ ἡ δύνα-
 μις, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πράσσει κατὰ γνώμην, καὶ ἐμφανιοῦσι
 [τῆν εὔ]νοιαν ἣν ἔχων διατελεῖ ὁ δήμος πρὸς τὸν βασιλέ-
 [α Λυσ]ίμαχον, καὶ στεφανώσουσιν αὐτὸν στεφά[ν]ωι
 [χρυσῶι] ἀπὸ χρυσῶν χιλίων· στήσει δὲ [ὁ] δῆμο[ς]
 15 [αὐτοῦ καὶ] ἄγαλμα χαλκοῦν [- - - - - π]αραστή-
 σει ἐγ δεξιᾶς[- - - - -]
 πλησίον τῆς [- - - - - ἰδρύσας]-
 [θ]αι δὲ καὶ βωμὸν αὐ[τοῦ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ θύειν καθ' ἕκασ]-
 τον ἐνιαυτὸν [τούς τε ἱερεῖς καὶ τὰς ἱερείας τὰς κατὰ]
 20 τῆμ πόλιν, καὶ στεφανηφορεῖν [τ]ο[ῦ]ς πολί[τ]ας ἅπαν[τας],
 καὶ πομπῆ[ν] πέμπε[ιν] το[ύ]ς τε ἱερεῖς καὶ τὰς συναρχ[ίας]
 καὶ τοὺς πολίτας π[ά]ντας τοῖς γενεθλίοις βασιλέως]
 Λυσιμάχου, συνεῖν[αι] δὲ καὶ τὰς συναρχίας· δοῦ]-
 ναι δὲ τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς δ[ι]ο[ικ]ήσεως εἰς τὰ θύματα τοῖς]

¹⁴⁴ See e.g. the dossier from Eresos (n. 98) which included (a) an edict of Philip III upholding Alexander's *kriseis*, and (b) the beginning of a letter of Antigonos concerning the sons of the tyrant Agonippus; and IG xi.2 6 (Tod, GHI 201; OGIS 2; Heisserer [n. 2] 118 ff.), the long inscription from Mytilene dealing *inter alia* with the return of exiles and referring to a royal settlement embodied in a *diagramma*. For citation of earlier grants of Alexander and the Successors see n. 67 (Erythrae: *autonomia* and *aphorologēsia*); B. D. Meritt, *AJA* lvi (1935) 361, lines 6–7 (Colophon) (on the dating, c. 311–306 BC?, see L. Robert, *RPh* lxii [1936] 158 ff.).

¹⁴⁵ W. Orth, *Königlicher Machtanspruch und städtische Freiheit* (Munich 1977) 105, posited a deterioration in

Priene relations with Lysimachus after the *krisis* of 283/2, leading to a joyous reception of Seleucus' victory over Lysimachus. The only evidence is the Priene vote of statues for Seleucus and Antiochos referred to in *I. Priene* 18 (OGIS 215) 2 ff., of the 270s, which can be explained simply as a politic move towards new suzerains. The Prienians accepted Lysimachus' *krisis* over Batinetis, as is shown by the fact that this territorial dispute was not reopened. See Gauthier (n. 35) 37 ff. for criticism of Orth's attempt to infer a similar disaffection with the Seleucids from the Larich dossier. For a sensible reassessment of Lysimachus' relations with the Greek cities of Asia Minor see S. M. Burstein, 'Lysimachus and the Greek cities of Asia', *The Ancient World* iii.3 (1980) 73–9.

two votes of the Ionians in the Delphic Amphictyony could be accommodated to this view, but certainly implies that for political and religious representation the notion of the *polis* of Priene continued, whether at old Priene, Naulochon or new Priene. The lack of more references to Priene (new or old) is no more surprising or untypical than the generally meagre information surviving for many other *poleis* in this period and is compounded by the fact that the site of old Priene is unknown and unexplored. It is not a good argument. Again, the absence of Priene from the Argive list is not evidence for the non-existence of (new) Priene. As Charneux 192 ff. observed, the entries of the second column, where the Ionian *poleis* occur, form a coherent group from Clazomenae (line 1) to Miletus (12), in geographical order. Priene is not the only absentee whose presence might be expected: Colophon is not named, but the harbour town of Notion is (7). Drawing on the evidence of the late fourth-century *sympoliteia* between Colophon and Notion (L. Robert, *Villes d'Asie Mineure*² [Paris 1962] 62 and *RPh* lxii [1936] 165–6) and the common coinage (B. V. Head, *Historia Numorum*² [Oxford 1911] 567–71) Charneux 195–7 suggested that the *sympoliteia* was already in existence. He assumed as a matter of course that the *theōroi* went on to Colophon after Notion. One certainly would not want to argue from the ‘absence’ of Colophon that it did not exist! An analogous explanation is open for the presence of Notion and absence of Priene. We know from the AE that a proportion of Prienian citizens lived at Naulochon and that Alexander in effect recognized Prienian possession of Naulochon (above p. 81). The Argive list is perfectly compatible with this scenario, i.e. that Naulochon already belonged to, or was part of, the (new) *polis* of Priene. It is unfortunately unknown whether Naulochon had also been the harbour of old Priene. As Charneux 167 observed, the list had a practical purpose, which was why generally it named places instead of using the usual designation of the sovran state (e.g. the *damos* of the Ephesians, or the Ephesians). The purpose was to inform the *theōroi* where to find their *thearodokos*, as well as who he (or, in the case of Cleopatra of Epirus, she) was. Naulochon was named because it was the home of the Prienian *thearodokos* Prytanis (a personal name not a title, *pace* Van Berchem 203: see J. and L. Robert, *Bull.* 1971 no. 581). There were also practical reasons for having your *thearodokos* in the harbour town where your *theōroi* to a *polis* first arrived.

At an uncertain point within the fourth century Naulochon issued a series of bronzes with the legend NAY on the reverse (Head, *HN*² 587). A bronze coin, dated approximately to the mid-fourth century (K. Regling, *Die Münzen von Priene* [Berlin 1927] no. 47: *c.* 340 BC), with Naulochon types on reverse and obverse, carries the legend ΠΡ. Since the relationship (geographic and political) between Naulochon and old Priene is unfortunately unknown, the significance of these coins in relation to the old *polis* is very uncertain. The bronze with the legend ΠΡ is compatible both with the idea that Naulochon replaced old Priene (Hornblower 326, with n. 277), and with the absorption of Naulochon by new Priene.



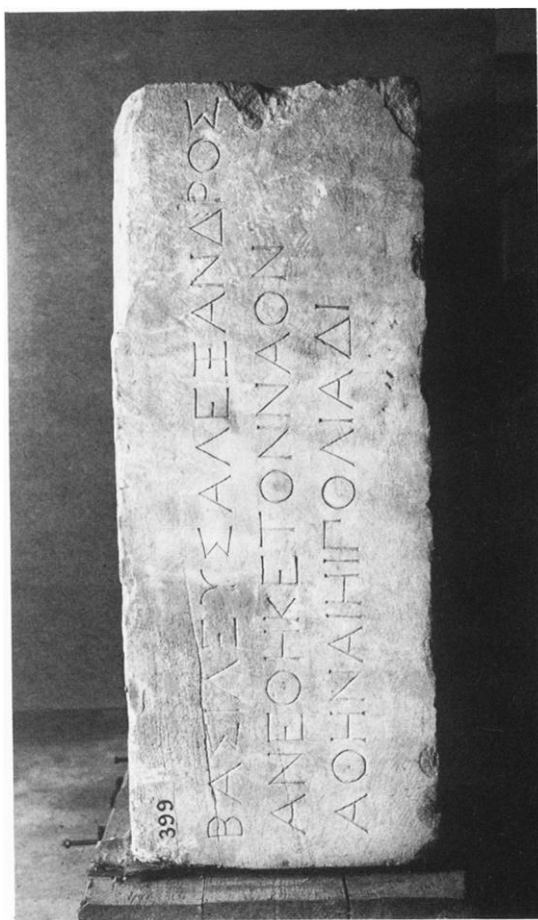
(c) Upper part of *anta* from the temple of Athena Polias at Priene as reconstructed in the British Museum. On the front are the dedicatory inscription (above) and the edict of Alexander (Courtesy British Museum).



(b) Gold medallion: *Victory brings arms to Alexander the Great*. Berlin (After Dressel, *Fünf Goldmedaillons*.)



(a) Gold medallion: *bust of Alexander the Great*. Berlin (After Dressel, *Fünf Goldmedaillons*.)



(d) Dedication inscription of Alexander (Courtesy British Museum).

THE SHIELD OF ACHILLES (a) and (b); ANCIENT ARCHIVES: THE ALEXANDER EDICT (c) and (d)



(a) Prienian decree for Lysimachus (*I.Priene* 14.1–5) (Courtesy British Museum).



(b) Lysimachus to Priene (*I.Priene* 15.1–16) (Courtesy British Museum).