

TWO NEW INSCRIPTIONS FROM NAGIDOS IN CILICIA

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THE TWO FRAGMENTARY INSCRIPTIONS that form the subject of this article came to light in 1987 in a field on flat ground near the summit of the low hill, 140 m in height, that overlooks the modern settlement of Bozyazı. This lies at the mouth of the Sini Çay, a small river also known as the Bozyazı Dere, about 20 km east of Cape Anamur and the ancient site of Anemourion. The owner of the property where the two stones were found, Bay Zeynel Sakınan, subsequently delivered them to the Museum of Anamur where they are now housed. In June 1988 while directing a project of mosaic conservation at the Museum, James Russell learned of the inscriptions from Bay Ali Ekinici, the Museum Director, who kindly agreed to entrust their publication to him.¹

The ancient site that produced these inscriptions was first recorded a century ago by Heberdey and Wilhelm, who identified it on the basis of ancient topographical references as the Samian foundation of Nagidos.² This identification has never been seriously disputed. While the modern village of Bozyazı has expanded greatly in recent years and now occupies the lower south and west slopes of the hill, as well as both banks of the river, the summit of the hill on which stood the ancient settlement is officially protected as an archaeological site and consequently remains largely free of develop-

The following works will be cited by author's name alone or by author's name and abbreviated title: G. E. Bean in R. Stillwell (ed.), *The Princeton Encyclopaedia of Classical Sites* (Princeton 1976); Ch. Habicht, "Hellenistische Inschriften aus dem Heraion von Samos," *AM* 87 (1972) 191-228; *id.* and C. P. Jones, "A Hellenistic Inscription from Arsinoe in Cilicia," *Phoenix* 43 (1989) 317-346; H. Hellenkemper and F. Hild, *Kilikien und Isaurien* (Vienna 1990, *Tabula Imperii Byzantini* 5); L. Robert, *BCH* 101 (1977) 43-132 (= *Documents d'Asie mineure* [Paris 1987] 1-90, BEFAR 239 bis); *idem*, "Les Inscriptions" in Jean Des Gagniers *et al.*, *Laodicée du Lycos: Le Nymphée. Campagnes 1961-1963* (Québec and Paris 1969) 191-228 (= Robert, *Laodicée*).

¹Both authors record their gratitude to Dr Mehmet Akif Işık, former General Director of the Antılar ve Müzeler Gn. Müdürlüğü of the Turkish Republic for permission to publish these inscriptions, and to Alison Franz for Pl. 3. Russell also wishes to record his deep appreciation to Bay Ali Ekinici, former Director of the Anamur Museum, for all the friendly help and cooperation that he has enjoyed from him and his staff in his research on this and other topics over the years. Russell's work at Anemourion and in the Anamur Museum during the period 1988-90 was financed by research grants from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, whose support he gratefully acknowledges. Jones thanks Glen Bowersock, Getzel Cohen, Paolo Desideri, Christian Habicht, and Hans Taeuber for their comments.

²R. Heberdey and A. Wilhelm, *Reisen in Kilikien, 1891-1892* (Vienna 1896, *DenkschrWien* 44.6) 158-159. For ancient sources, W. Ruge, "Nagidos," *RE* 16.1 (1935) 1582-83.

ment. Still visible in several places are stretches of a defensive enceinte enclosing the crest of the hill in a series of re-entrant stretches, surviving in places to a height of six courses. It was constructed in pseudoisodomic style, combining ashlar and carefully worked polygonal masonry that may be dated to the fifth or fourth century B.C. Except for a number of retaining walls and a cistern of indeterminate age, little survives of any interior buildings that may once have existed on the acropolis, but the density and longevity of settlement is evident in the abundance and wide chronological range of the pottery strewn on the surface of the site. This extends from sherds of Hellenistic black-glaze to various late Roman wares.³ A survey of the site by a Swedish team in the 1930s also noted sherds typical of the Iron Age in this region of Asia Minor. This suggests the existence of a native settlement antedating the Samian colonization of the site, which may have occurred as early as the eighth century.⁴ In addition to pottery and occasional bronze coins, local farmers report the discovery in considerable numbers of lead sling-bullets in the course of their work. The almond-shaped example shown to me during a recent visit to the site was typical of those employed during the Hellenistic period. Their abundance, if confirmed, would suggest some form of military engagement on the acropolis, or perhaps the existence of an arms store.⁵ The only other visible evidence of ancient occupation in the vicinity appears on the small island lying opposite the acropolis about 200 m off-shore, but now connected to the mainland by a causeway. Identified as the Nagidoussa mentioned by early sources,⁶

³For more recent descriptions of the site, see G. E. Bean and T. B. Mitford, *Journeys in Rough Cilicia 1964–1968* (Vienna 1970, *DenkschrWien* 102) 191–192; Bean 605; J. Russell, *The Mosaic Inscriptions of Anemurium* (Vienna 1987, *DenkschrWien* 190) 37; Hellenkemper and Hild 363–364, with figs. 316–319. For an excellent account of Nagidos in the larger geographical context of Greek colonization in the region, E. Blumenthal, *Die altgriechische Siedlungskolonisation im Mittelmeerraum unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Südküste Kleinasien* (Tübingen 1963) 104–110, 117–118.

⁴E. Gjerstad, "Cilician Studies," *RA* ser. 6.3 (1934) 155–203. There is considerable evidence for the presence of Greeks in Level Cilicia and for their participation in revolts against Assyrian rule and in sea-raids along the Phoenician coast before the close of the eighth century. This activity is thought to reflect the existence by that date of Greek colonies along the southern coast of Anatolia, including the Samian colonies of Nagidos and Kelenderis and those of Rhodes at Phaselis and Soloi: G. Shipley, *A History of Samos, 800–188 B.C.* (Oxford 1987) 41; T. F. R. G. Braun in J. Boardman and N. G. L. Hammond (eds.), *CAH*² 3.3 (Cambridge 1982) 14–19; also A. J. Graham, *ibid.* 92–93; P. Desideri and A. M. Jasink, *Cilicia: dall'età di Kuzzuwatna alla conquista macedone* (Turin 1990) 151–163. For evidence of Greek activity in Level Cilicia during the reigns of Sargon II and Sennacherib, Habicht 206–207, nn. 66–67.

⁵It seems likely that the foundation of Arsinoe to the east as a Ptolemaic colony followed military operations by land and sea, and that these involved Nagidos: cf. Jones in Habicht and Jones 332–333.

⁶Steph. Byz. s.v. Νάγιδος = Hekataios, *FGrHist* 1 F 266; [Skylax] 102 = Müller, *Geogr. Gr. min.* 1 p. 76.

this little island would have offered secure shelter for ships moored along the shore below the acropolis. Remains of ancient structures *in situ* on the island are sparse, but a number of large blocks, probably spolia from the city wall, may be noted in the walls of an Ottoman fort.

Apart from the surface survey carried out by the Swedish team, there has been no archaeological investigation of either the acropolis or the island. In 1986, however, a salvage excavation conducted by the Anamur Museum in anticipation of new construction on the west bank of the Sini Çay uncovered part of a cemetery.⁷ 24 graves were exposed, 19 consisting of a terracotta sarcophagus, 3 of a marble sarcophagus, and two in the form of a large hydria burial. Amongst the graves excavated a group of three sarcophagi was found enclosed within a carefully built wall of ashlar masonry. This may represent the burial precinct of a single family. With the exception of one sarcophagus with two occupants, each grave contained a single body in extended position, usually accompanied by a number of objects, for the most part of excellent quality. A few pieces may be dated as early as the late fifth century, but the majority belong to the fourth or third century. There is considerable variety in the forms of vessels deposited in the graves, including *hydriai*, *kantharoi*, *alabastra*, *unguentaria*, *amphoriskoi*, plates, a baby's feeding vessel, and one-handled jars of Phoenician type. The most striking of several items of jewellery found in the graves is a diadem in gold sheet with scroll design and figured scene of Pan. Included amongst the material found were also two coins, too seriously corroded to yield any information. The wealth reflected in the contents of these graves has a parallel in the city's handsome silver coinage, which began during the last quarter of the fifth century when the city was subject to the Achaemenids and ended with Alexander's invasion of Cilicia in 333. Coin legends are predominantly Greek, but the name of the Persian satrap Pharnabazos appears in Aramaic. Motifs depict Aphrodite and Dionysos and related subjects.⁸ The number of objects of high quality that may be dated later than 333, however, seems to suggest that the city's prosperity survived the end of Achaemenid rule and continued well into the third century. (J.R.)

The history of Nagidos in the Hellenistic period has been illuminated by a series of discoveries in this century. A decree of Samos to be dated in

⁷I am grateful to Bay Ali Ekinci for the information about the excavation provided here and for the opportunity to inspect the important body of material recovered from the graves. I am also grateful to Dr John Hayes (Oxford) for his expert assistance in identifying and dating the objects found in the excavation.

⁸The principal study is Ph. Lederer, "Die Staterprägung der Stadt Nagidos," *ZfN* 41 (1931) 153-276; coins of Nagidos are well represented in the major collections, e.g., *BMC Greek Coins*, Lycaonia, Isauria, and Cilicia xli-xlvi, 109-115; *SNG Copenhagen*, Cilicia nos. 174-184; *SNG Deutschland*, *Sammlung von Aulock*, nos 5748-61, 8706-07; *SNG*, Switzerland 1, Cilicia (E. Levante), nos. 1-15.

the years following 321 honors two brothers from Nagidos, though without mentioning the connection between the two cities.⁹ A papyrus last edited in 1931 mentions a mercenary from Nagidos who settled in Egypt, probably in the 250's.¹⁰ An extremely important inscription, only recently published, contains both a letter from the Ptolemaic governor of Cilicia, Thraseas son of Aetos, and a decree of Nagidos which for convenience will be called hereinafter the "Arsinoe decree." This shows that Ptolemy II Philadelphos, who is known to have included Cilicia among his domains (Theocr. 17.88), founded a colony called Arsinoe just to the east of Nagidos, probably in the 260s. When the area returned to Seleucid control in the 250s, Nagidos may well have reabsorbed or at least subordinated its intrusive neighbor, but was compelled to acknowledge its independent existence when Ptolemy III Euergetes recovered the region in 246; the "Arsinoe decree," passed probably in the 230s at the prompting of the governor Thraseas, was drawn up to secure harmony between the two cities.¹¹ Cilicia was recovered for the Seleucids by Antiochos III in 197, and appears to have remained in their control until their final collapse before Pompey.¹² Nagidos and Arsinoe both continued to exist for many centuries afterwards, though Nagidos at least was probably a village dependent on Anemourion for much of the Roman period. (C.P.J.)

INSCRIPTION 1: ANAMUR MUSEUM INV. 7.3.87 (PLATE 1)

The text is incised on a carefully worked block of local dark blue limestone. The original dimensions of the stone are imperfectly known, since only three finished surfaces can be identified, viz., the front, bearing the text of the inscription, and the rear and top surfaces. The inscribed face has a maximum preserved breadth of 0.22 m and measures 0.17 m in height from the finished upper surface to the lowest surviving point of the fragment. The stone has a thickness of 0.155 m between its finished front and rear faces. The layout suggests that the inscription occupied only one line,

⁹Habicht 204–207.

¹⁰O. Guéraud, ENTEΥΞΕΙΣ: *Requêtes et plaintes adressées au roi d'Égypte au III^e siècle avant J.C.* (Cairo 1931) no. 8; cf. Jones in Habicht and Jones 332, n. 30.

¹¹E. Kirsten and I. Opelt, "Eine Urkunde der Gründung von Arsinoe in Kilikien," *ZPE* 77 (1989) 55–66, with photograph; Habicht and Jones 317–346; Ph. Gauthier, *BullEp* (1990) 304; *idem*, "Epigraphica," *RPhil* 64 (1990) 67–70. On the date and historical background, Habicht in Habicht and Jones 335–346.

¹²For Antiochos' campaign, in which Mallos (see below) was one of the cities recaptured, Livy 33.20.4–5; Hier. *Comm. in Dan.* 11, 16 = Porph. *FGrHist* 260 F 46, cf. H. H. Schmitt, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte Antiochos' des Grossen und seiner Zeit* (Wiesbaden 1964, *Historia Einzelschriften* 6) 278. For the status of Cilicia in the Treaty of Apamea, M. Holleaux, *Études d'épigraphie et d'histoire grecques* 5 (Paris 1957) 222–236.

though the breaks on either side make the length indeterminable. The average height of the letters is 0.017 m, except for the theta and omicron, which are 0.013 m and 0.011 m high respectively. (J.R.)

The only guide to the date is the palaeography, and yet a mere eight letters of the alphabet are represented (Α, Δ, Ε, Η, Θ, Κ, Ν, Ο), with such indicative ones as labda, pi, rho and sigma absent. Alpha has a straight bar; the middle cross-bar of epsilon is in one case of equal length to the upper and lower ones, in the other case slightly shorter; the lower angle of nu is more acute than the upper one. Comparison with the Attic inscriptions in Kirchner's *Imagines* suggests a date in the latter half of the fourth century, and so perhaps still from the time of Persian domination: a boundary stone of the Kerameikos which Kirchner dates to the middle of the fourth century looks rather more classical and more regularly spaced; the inscription for Demetrios the brother of Philochoros the historian, from the end of the century, looks very similar to the present one.¹³ This will therefore be the earliest inscription known from Rough Cilicia, somewhat earlier than no. 2 below; the earliest in Cilicia as a whole appears to be an epigram on a funerary monument from Soloi dated to the second quarter of the fourth century.¹⁴ It is striking that both stones are from long-established colonies, Nagidos a colony of Samos and Soloi of Argos.

I propose to read [— — —]δε ἀνέθηκεν ὁ Νᾶ[γιδέων δήμος]. The inscription is clearly a dedication, and a god or gods may have been mentioned at the beginning or the end. ΔΕ must represent some form of the deictic δε: this is less frequent in prose dedications than in verse ones, but two inscriptions of the sixth century may be compared: from Delphi, τὸν θησαυρὸν τόνδε καὶ τὰγάλμα[τα . . . Κνίδιοι ἀνέθηκαν 'Απόλωνι] Πυθίοι δεκάτ[αν . . .]ον; from Miletos, τὰ ἀγάλματα τάδε ἀνέθεσαν οἱ Πύθωνος παῖδες . . . δεκάτην τῷ 'Απόλωνι.¹⁵ In the Delphian inscription the letters are 0.035 to 0.045 m in height, whereas in the present one they are comparatively small, 0.017 m, so that the stone was more probably a statue base than an architectural element in a building. (C.P.J.)

INSCRIPTION 2: ANAMUR MUSEUM INV. 7.4.87 (PLATES 2, 3)

Like the first inscription, this text is incised on a block of local dark blue limestone. Its original dimensions are imperfectly known, since only two finished faces of the original block are recognizable with certainty, the

¹³ J. Kirchner and G. Klaffenbach, *Imagines Inscriptionum Atticarum*² (Berlin 1948) no. 59 (*IG II*² 2619), no. 72 (*IG II*² 3835).

¹⁴ A. von Gladiss, "Ein Denkmal aus Soloi," *IstMitt* 23/24 (1973–74) 175–181, especially 178.

¹⁵ Delphi: W. Blümel, *Inscripfen von Knidos* (Bonn 1992) no. 211 (revised text of *FdD* III.1, no. 289); Miletos: *Syll.*³ 3 a; *IDidyma* no. 1.

front face with inscribed text and the rear. At the left side of the inscribed face there is a clearly defined edge forming a vertical margin to the text. In marked contrast to the smooth finish of the front and rear faces of the stone is the roughly worked surface of its left side. It is unclear whether this represents its original condition or whether it has been reworked for some other purpose. That the block was later reused in some secondary capacity is clearly indicated by the treatment of the top of the block subsequent to the breakage that has removed the upper portion of the inscription. The new surface has been chiseled smooth to form a flat surface for this secondary use. In its surviving condition the inscribed face of the stone has a maximum breadth of 0.24 m from the worked left edge to the surviving extremity of the inscribed face and a maximum preserved height of 0.175 m. The actual thickness of the stone between the front and rear faces measures 0.135 m. With a few notable exceptions, the height of the letters is consistent at 0.011 m. Exceptions are omega and omicron, with average height of 0.008 m, rho at 0.014 m and phi at 0.016 m. There is considerable variety in breadth, ranging from rho and kappa with a minimum of 0.006 m and 0.007 m respectively, to delta and lambda at 0.015 m and pi at 0.016 m.

Only a small portion of the original text remains, consisting of the left end of eight lines. These survive in variable condition, ranging from 19 complete letters in line 5 to only 5 plus 2 damaged in line 1. The reading of the text presents no difficulty, except where the broken edge of the fragment has damaged individual letters. At the left edge the openings of lines 3-7 are intact, but there are difficulties in the other lines. The broken right edge of the inscription also poses problems in reading letters damaged by the fracture. We propose the following text; the apparatus concerns only the reading of doubtful letters, and justification of the supplements will be reserved for later discussion.

- [- - - - -]
 [- - ⁵⁻⁶ - - κ] α τ ω ι κ ι σ [- - - - - 'Α ν τ ι ό - (?)]
 χ ρ ι α ν τ ῆ ν π ρ ό ς τ ῶ [i - - - - Μ α λ - (?)]
 λ ῶ τ α ῖ τ ε καὶ ἄ λ λ ο ι Ε [- - - - -]
 4 Ν Ι Δ Δ Ν π ἄ ν τ ε ς κ α λ ο [ῖ κ ἄ γ α θ ο ῖ (?) - - - ὅ π ω ς (ἴ ν α)]
 ο ὗ ν φ α ῖ ν η τ α ῖ ὁ δ ῆ μ ο ς ὁ Ν [α γ ι δ έ ω ν - - - τ ῆ ν]
 α ὕ τ ῆ ν α ῖ ρ ε σ ι ν ἔ χ [ω ν - - - -]
 ἦ ν καὶ π ρ ό τ ε ρ ο ν [- - - - - ἔ δ ο -]
 8 [ξ] ε ν τ ῶ ῖ δ ῆ μ [ω ι - - - -]

Line 1. The missing six or seven letters are followed by two damaged letters recognizable as alpha and as tau. Sigma at the broken right edge of the line is certain.

Line 2. The upper part of the opening letter of the line is missing, but the splayed legs of the lower portion of the letter indicate chi as the only

possibility. At the right edge a slight horizontal stroke is visible suspended above the base-line, and can only be the left edge of omega.

Line 3. The concluding letter at the right edge is unmistakably epsilon.

Line 4. There may be a trace of a letter going below the baseline at the right edge.

Line 6. Chi at the right edge is certain.

Line 7. The context shows the letter at the right edge to be nu.

Line 8. After the missing letter at the left the surviving trace, a horizontal bar at the top of the line, must in context represent epsilon, and similarly the final trace must be the upper angle of mu. (J.R.)

The lettering and spacing suggest a date late in the fourth century or early in the third. In particular, nu still has something of its classical form, with the right-hand vertical sometimes tilting backwards (2, 4, 6) and sometimes ending just above the baseline (6, 7). Pi has the right-hand vertical shorter than the left, and twice (2, 7) ending in a slight hook: this feature appears in an inscription of Samos of the late fourth century, and in one from Amyzon dated to 273.¹⁶ The arms of sigma diverge slightly (1, 2, 6). It will be argued below that the inscription must be from the time of Seleucid control of the region, since it concerns colonization and mentions a city which can only be an Antioch (line 2). If this is right, then the text can hardly be earlier than about 294, when Seleukos I wrested control of Cilicia from his father-in-law Demetrios Poliorketes, nor later than about 270, since the Ptolemies counted Cilicia in their domains before the death of Philadelphos, and controlled the region of Nagidos probably already in the 260's.¹⁷ The king, then, must be either Seleukos I, probably during his joint rule with Antiochos I, or, if the date is 281 or later, Antiochos ruling alone.

Enough of the contents survives to show that the text is a decree of the city of Nagidos (ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ν[αγιδέων], 5). It happens that three traditional parts of the Greek decree are represented. The so-called considerations, setting out the reasons for the decree, ended just before the end of line 4; the "hortative formula" similarly in line 7; the stone breaks off at the beginning of the resolutions ([ἐδοξ]εν τῷ δήμ[ω], 8). Nowhere can a complete line be restored with certainty, but for reasons that will emerge the lines do not seem to have been shorter than about 30 letters nor longer than about 50.

¹⁶J. and L. Robert, *Fouilles d'Amyzon en Carie* (Paris 1983) 1.120 and n. 3.

¹⁷For the date of Seleukos' seizure of Cilicia, A. Mehl, *Seleukos Nikator und sein Reich* 1 (Louvain 1986, *Studia hellenistica* 28) 273 with n. 154; for Ptolemy Philadelphos' control of Cilicia, Habicht in Habicht and Jones 335-337.

As for the subject of the decree, the traces in line 1 are only compatible with an aorist (or possibly perfect passive) form of the verb κατοικίζειν, or conceivably the less usual συγκατοικίζειν. κατοικίζειν has two principal senses, to "settle" a person in a place or to "settle," "colonize" a place, and Thucydides, for example, uses both senses; 1.103.3, καὶ αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι . . . ἐς Ναύπακτον κατέκισαν; 1.8.2, (Μίνως) τὰς πολλὰς (τῶν νήσων) κατέκισε. For the first sense in the Hellenistic period may be cited the "Arsinoe decree" from Nagidos itself (lines 30–31), ὅταν τινὰς ἄλλους Θρασείας . . . κατοικίζηι (contrast πόλιν ἔκτισεν Ἀρσινόην in the preceding letter of Thraseas, line 21); so also when Cassander founded Cassandreia, κατέκισε δ' εἰς αὐτὴν καὶ τῶν Ὀλυνθίων τοὺς διασφζομένους (Diod. Sic. 19.52.2); when Lucullus restored Amisos after its destruction by a general of Mithridates, τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων κατέκισε τοὺς βουλομένους (Plut. *Lucullus* 19.6).¹⁸ For the other sense in the same period, note a decree of Apollonia on the Rhyndakos of the mid-second century: [the Milesians] κρατήσαντες δόρατι τῶν ἐνοικούντων βαρβάρων κατέκισαν τὰς τε ἄλλας Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις καὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν (*Milet* 1.3, no. 155, 15–16); similarly in Diodoros: [Cassander] μεταπεμψάμενος πανταχόθεν τοὺς διασφζομένους τῶν Θηβαίων ἐνεχεῖρει κατοικίζειν τὰς Θήβας (19.53.2).

That the text is in some way concerned with colonization is corroborated by line 2, since -χειαν τὴν πρὸς τῷ[ι –] can only represent the city-name Ἀντιόχειαν,¹⁹ followed in the usual way by a geographical indication to distinguish it from homonyms; thus in Strabo Ἀντιόχεια ἡ πρὸς Πισιδίαν καλουμένην (12.8.14, 577 C.) and Σελεύχεια ἡ ἐπὶ τῷ Τυγρίδι καλουμένη (16.1.16, 743 C.).

In line 3, the initial -λωται is presumably not part of a verb, but the plural of a noun ending in -ωτης. There are some dozen common nouns with this ending, and one occurs with some frequency in Hellenistic decrees, ζηλωτής; thus [ὅπως δὲ πολλοὶ] ζηλωταὶ γένωνται τῆς ὁμοίας αἰρέσεως (*OGIS* 352.56; *IG*² 1330; Athens, second cent. B.C.); ὅπως οὖν γίνονται καὶ ἄλλοι ζηλωταὶ τῆς αὐτῆς αἰρέσεως (*Syll*³ 675, 25; Oropos, ca 150); ὅπως οἱ τε λοιποὶ . . . ζηλωταὶ γίνονται τῶν καλλίστων (Ch. Michel, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques* [Paris 1900] no. 544, 35–36, Themisonion, 114 B.C.). But two considerations tell against such a restoration here: one is that this kind of clause usually, though not always, occurs within the hortative formula, and the other is that the following τε καὶ strongly suggests that the noun ending ΛΩΤΑΙ combines with ἄλλοι (or with some noun qualified by ἄλλοι) to form a single subject.

Since there is already a geographical reference in line 2, it is worth considering whether -λωται may conceal an ethnic. As it happens, only one ethnic has this termination, and it belongs to a famous city of Level Cilicia,

¹⁸The passages of Diodoros and Plutarch are cited by J. and L. Robert (above, n. 16) 191.

¹⁹[Λυσιμά]χειαν, referring to Lysimachos' brief control of Cilicia, is virtually excluded.

Mallos.²⁰ This commanded an important crossing of the river Pyramos, and was considered to be a colony of Argos, as were several cities of southern Asia Minor such as Aspendos, Tarsos and Soloi.²¹ It possessed both an oracle of the Greek seer Amphilochos and a dependent sanctuary of Athena at Magarsos, which also served as its port.²² Alexander arriving in Mallos in 333 settled civic strife there, and then as a descendant of the Argive Heracles he remitted the tribute which the city paid to the Great King (Arr. *Anab.* 2.5.9). It was an important base of Antigonos Monophthalmos; he wintered there in 315/4 (Diod. Sic. 19.56.5), and in 312 his rival Ptolemy took it and sold the captives as slaves (Diod. Sic. 19.79.6, cf. 80.2). It is not said, though, that Mallos was destroyed, and many of its citizens appear in Hellenistic and later inscriptions.²³ One such, mentioned in an agonistic catalogue of the first century, is a poet whose nomenclature recalls the Argive connections of his city, "Apollonios, son of Aguarches, son of Boethos": Apollo Agueus had a notable cult at Argos, and "Boethos" may also be an *epiklesis* of Apollo there.²⁴

The word at the end of line 3 beginning with epsilon is best considered along with line 4. It is tempting to restore a phrase of a common form, [Μαλ]λῶται τε καὶ ἄλλοι 'Ελληνες; thus πρὸς τε τὸν δῆμον τὸν 'Εφεσίῳ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους 'Ελληνας (OGIS 10.3, Ephesos, 299): οἱ ἐν Κύπρῳ στρατευόμενοι 'Αχαιοὶ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι 'Ελληνες (OGIS 151.3, Olympia, second cent.).²⁵ On the other hand, this would hardly suit a no less tempting restoration in line 4, [πόλεων 'Ελλη]νίδων. Thus when Cassander refounded Thebes in 315, συνελάβοντο καὶ τῶν 'Ελληνίδων πόλεων τοῦ συνοικισμοῦ πολλαὶ (Diod. Sic.

²⁰Thus H. Pope, *Foreigners in Attic Inscriptions* (Philadelphia 1947) 1-8, shows no other ethnic with this termination in a list of over 200.

²¹Mallos Argive: Strabo 14.5.16, 675-676 C., Arr. *Anab.* 2.5.9. Aspendos and Soloi: R. S. Stroud, "An Argive Decree from Nemea Concerning Aspendos," *Hesperia* 53 (1984) 196-216, at 200-201; for Aspendos also Habicht in Habicht and Jones 338. Tarsos: Robert 107-110 (= *Documents* 65-68); so also Aegeai, *ibid.* 119-128 (= *Documents* 77-87).

²²In general, Fr. Imhoof-Blumer, *Annuaire de la Société française de numismatique et d'archéologie* 7 (1883) 89-127 [*non vidi*]; W. Ruge, *RE* 14.1 (1928) 916-917; M. Gough in *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites* 547; G. Dagron and D. Feissel, *Inscriptions de Cilicie* (Paris 1987) 111-116; Hellenkemper and Hild 335 (Magarsos), 337 (Mallos). On Magarsos as a Seleucid mint and on the image of Athena Magarsia on the coins, A. Houghton in A. Houghton et al. (eds.), *Festschrift für Leo Mildenberg: Numismatik, Kunstgeschichte, Archäologie* (Wetteren 1984) 91-110.

²³The earliest seems to be FdD III.1, no. 84, ca. 255; for the capture of Mallos by Antiochos III in 197, above, n. 12; for the history of Mallos in the mid-second century, L. Robert, "Contribution à la topographie de villes de l'Asie Mineure méridionale," *CRAI* (1951) 256-258.

²⁴IG VII 420, 15-16 (Oropos). For this cult at Argos, Paus. 2.19.8, and note also the month 'Αγυεῖος, E. Schwyzler, *Dialectorum Graecarum exempla* (Leipzig 1923) no. 92, 2. For "Boethos" at Tarsos, Robert 105-106 (= *Documents* 63-64).

²⁵I owe this suggestion to Hans Taeuber.

19.54.2); similarly Polybios says of Media (10.27.3), *περιοικείται πόλεσιν Ἑλληνίσιν κατὰ τὴν ὑφήγησιν τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου*; so also Strabo refers to the Ἑλληνίδες πόλεις, *κτίσματα τῶν Μακεδόνων*, in the same region (11.13.6, C. 524). Another possibility might be *ἐκ πόλεων ὄντες (ὑπάρχοντες) Ἑλληνίδων*.

For the words following πάντες in line 4, a favorite expression of Hellenistic documents and authors seems likely, either *καλοὶ κάγαθοί* or a participial phrase with *καλοκάγαθία* such as *καλοκάγαθία διαφέροντες*. For such a phrase in the context of colonization may be compared the decree of Antioch in Persis (probably Bushire on the Persian Gulf) renewing the city's kinship with Magnesia on the Maeander and recognizing the contest of the Leucophryena (*OGIS* 233).²⁶ Passed under Antiochos III, this recalls that, when Antiochos I called on Magnesia to strengthen his new foundation, the citizens sent "men considerable in number and outstanding in excellence" (*ἄνδρας πλήθει ἱκανοὺς καὶ ἀρετῇ διαφέροντας*, lines 18–19).

Lines 5 through 7 contained the so-called hortative formula, attested in hundreds of decrees. The closest parallel to this inscription seems to be provided by a famous one of Ilion, a decree in honor of Antiochos I (*OGIS* 219, 16–19; P. Frisch, *Die Inschriften von Ilion* [Bonn 1975, *Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien* 3] no. 32),²⁷ *ὅπως οὖν ὁ δῆμος, ἐπειδὴ καὶ πρότερον τε, καθ' ὃν καιρὸν παρέλαβεν τὴν βασιλείαν, εὐχὰς καὶ θυσίας ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πᾶσι τοῖς θεοῖς διετέλει ποιούμενος, καὶ νῦν εὐνοὺς ὦν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν αἵρεσιν ἔχων φανερός ᾗ τῷ βασιλεῖ, κτλ.* In the present inscription τὴν αὐτὴν αἵρεσιν in line 6 must be the antecedent of ἦν καὶ πρότερον in 7; if τὴν followed immediately after *Ναγιδέων*, then line 5 would have had 29 letters, and a restoration of the whole fragment based on a length of about 30 letters could be devised. However, another phrase might have intervened, for example *εὐνοὺς ὦν τῷ βασιλεῖ* as in the decree of Ilion.²⁸

In line 8, it is notable that only the *demos* is mentioned as the authority, whereas the "Arsinoe decree" (line 29) mentions both *boule* and *demos*;

²⁶O. Kern, *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander* (Berlin 1900) no. 61; translations in M. M. Austin, *The Hellenistic World from Alexander to the Roman Conquest* (Cambridge 1981) no. 190 and in Stanley M. Burstein, *The Hellenistic Age from the Battle of Ipsos to the Death of Kleopatra VII* (Cambridge 1985) no. 32. Cf. L. Robert, "Inscriptions séleucides de Phrygie et de l'Iran," *Hellenica* 7 (1949) 5–29, at 19–20; *idem*, *Laodicée* 330–331; on the date, probably 205, F. W. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius* 2 (Oxford 1967) 421–422; on the site of Antioch, D. T. Potts, *The Arabian Gulf in Antiquity* (Oxford 1990) 2.15–16.

²⁷For the dating of this text to Antiochos I, and not Antiochos III, see W. Orth, *Königlicher Machtanspruch und städtische Freiheit* (Munich 1977, *Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antike Rechtsgeschichte* 71) 61–72; C. P. Jones, "The Decree of Ilion in Honor of a King Antiochus," *GRBS* (forthcoming).

²⁸Christian Habicht suggests *exempli gratia* ὅπως οὖν φαίνεται ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ν[αγιδέων αἰετὴν] αὐτὴν αἵρεσιν ἔχων πρὸς Ἀντιοχέας ἦν καὶ πρότερον.

however, the same variation is found for instance in Hellenistic decrees of Miletos, and does not show that there had been a constitutional change.²⁹

Enough remains of the content of the decree to show that a complete text would have been of exceptional interest, as indeed is the "Arsinoe decree," and the fact that both documents involve colonization illustrates the importance attached to this subject by the Successors, especially the Seleucids.³⁰ A document often adduced in this context has already been quoted here, the long decree of Antioch in Persis passed under Antiochos III. This recalls how the king's great-grandfather, Antiochos I, requested Magnesia to send colonists to his foundation of Antioch in Persis, and how the citizens, "voting great and glorious measures and making prayers and sacrifices, sent men considerable in number and outstanding in excellence, since the city was eager to strengthen the people of Antioch and to preserve their goodwill towards all the Greeks" (OGIS 233.18-21). The present decree also appears to concern the founding of an Antioch, and probably mentions Mallos, one of the oldest and most important cities of Cilicia; the hortative formula shows that Nagidos wished to display its undeviating "inclination" or "policy" (since αἵρεσις covers both ideas).³¹ The decree may therefore well be a response to a request from some Seleucid king, either Seleukos I, Antiochos I, or both, calling on Nagidos, a colony of Samos, to supply settlers for a newly founded Antioch.

There is clearly insufficient evidence to determine the precise identity of this Antioch. If the trace at the end of line 2 is indeed omega, the city was distinguished from others of the same name by a geographical feature of masculine or neuter gender. One such foundation which by its proximity and importance might seem an obvious candidate is in fact excluded, Antioch "by Daphne" (πρὸς Δάφνη and similar phrases): for though this is commonly called "Antioch on the Orontes" by modern scholars, no designation other than "Antioch by Daphne" was used in antiquity, at least in the Hellenistic period.³² Another candidate much nearer to Nagidos is Tarsos, which received the name "Antioch on the Cydnos" from Antiochos

²⁹H. Müller, *Milesische Volksbeschlüsse* (Göttingen 1976, *Hypomnemata* 47) 93, cf. 58.

³⁰In general, V. Tscherikover, *Die hellenistischen Städtegründungen von Alexander dem Grossen bis auf die Römerzeit* (Leipzig 1927, *Philologus Supp.* 19.1); Getzel M. Cohen, *The Seleucid Colonies: Studies in Founding, Administration and Organization* (Wiesbaden 1978, *Historia Einzelschriften* 30).

³¹Cf. C. Bradford Welles, *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period* (New Haven 1934) 310.

³²For "Antioch by Daphne," *FdD* III.1, 547, 551; *Bullep* (1967) 645, (1971) 626; *Plut. Luc.* 21, 1; cf. *Tac. Ann.* 2.83.2, with the discussion of W. D. Lebek, "Die zwei Ehrenbeschlüsse für Germanicus und einer der 'seltsamsten Schnitzer' des Tacitus (*Ann.* 2,83,2)," *ZPE* 90 (1992) 65-86, at 83-86 and Ch. Habicht, "ANTIOXEIA H

I or II. Later at least Tarsos and Mallos were bitter rivals, but that need not have prevented Seleukos or Antiochos from drawing on one of them to strengthen the other.³³ If not some Antioch comparatively near to Nagidos, the analogy of Antioch in Persis might suggest one in Inner Asia needing the prestige of Hellenic settlers, an outpost such as Antioch on the river Margos (Marv).³⁴ Louis Robert commented on the presence of Ionians in Laodicea on the Lycos, a foundation of Antiochos II, "ce sont des marques de l'abondance et de la puissance de la diaspora ionienne au début de l'époque hellénistique."³⁵ It appears that the Antioch of the present inscription had settlers not only from Ionian Nagidos but also, if Mallos was involved, settlers who traced their ancestry to one of the most prestigious of origins, Dorian Argos. (C.P.J.)

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ΠΡΟΣ ΔΑΦΝΗΙ," *ZPE* 93 (1992) 50–51; Tscherikover ([above, n. 30] 61) errs in saying that this appellation was used for the city only "gelegentlich."

³³On the renaming of Tarsos, W. Ruge, *RE* 4 A2 (1932) 2418–19, citing *FdD* III.2, no. 208; L. Robert in *Études déliennes* (Paris 1973, *BCH* Supp. 1) 446; Ch. Habicht in Stephen V. Tracy and Ch. Habicht, "New and Old Panathenaic Victor Lists," *Hesperia* 60 (1991) 189–236, at 215. On the rivalry of Tarsos and Mallos, C. P. Jones, *The Roman World of Dio Chrysostom* (Cambridge, Mass. 1978) 77–78.

³⁴On this city, Strabo 11.10.1 (515–516 C.); Pliny *HN* 6.47; Tscherikover (above, n. 30) 105; E. Bickerman in E. Yarshater (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran 3: The Seleucid, Parthian and Sassanian Periods* (Cambridge 1983) 1.5.

³⁵L. Robert, *Laodicée* 330–331.

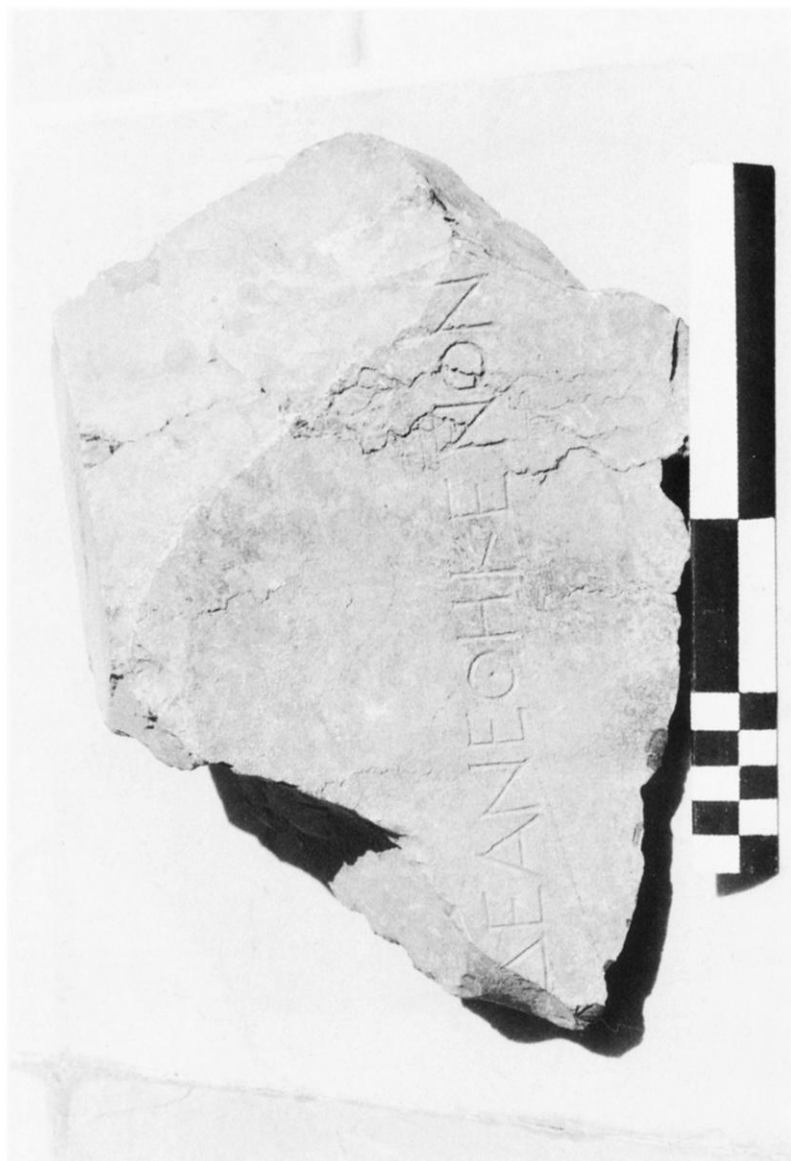


PLATE 1 (Jones-Russell)

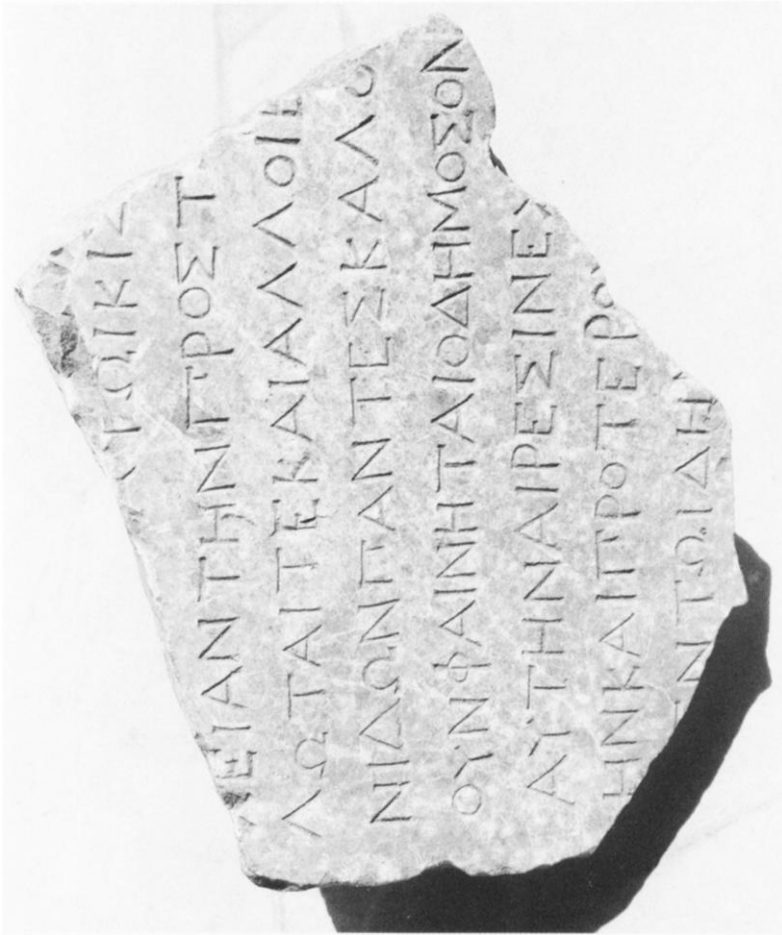


PLATE 2 (Jones-Russell)

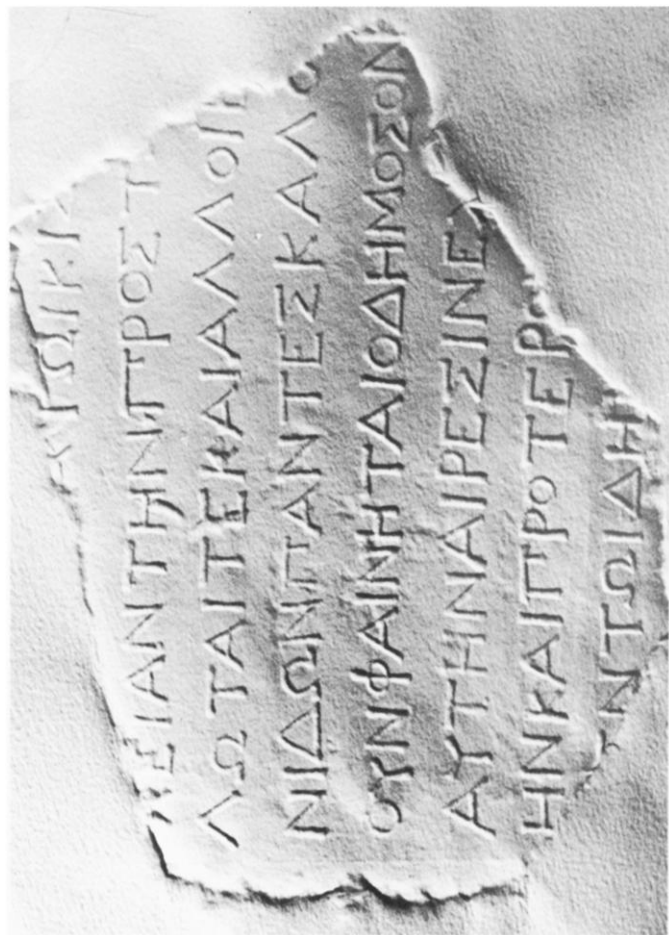


PLATE 3 (Jones-Russell)
(Photograph by Alison Frantz)