

HONORS FOR ANTIOCH OF THE CHRYSAOREANS

(PLATE 8)

ON August 10, 1970, excavations in the Athenian Agora brought to light a large fragment of an inscribed stele.¹ Of Hymettian marble, it was found toward the northern end of the Panathenaic Road at the level of the bottom of Byzantine walls, in the area in which, at lower levels, the Royal Stoa appeared (Agora grid K5). The stele is broken at top and bottom. The toothed chisel was used on the sides and front below the leading line. The back is rough picked. Three wreaths or crowns enclosing five lines each are incised below the main body of text. This large fragment is now augmented by another, discovered in a marble pile in the autumn of 1975, which joins it at the upper left corner.

Preserved height, 0.952 m.; preserved width, 0.544 m. (top below join), 0.578 m. (bottom); preserved thickness, 0.141 m.

Height of letters, 0.060-0.071 m.; height of central crown, 0.154 m.

Athenian Agora Inv. No. I 7182.

ca. a. 203 a.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[-----]αντο καὶ [-----]
 [-----]ο ἐπανξηθήνα[ι-----]
 [-----]τ]ῆν πόλιν τὴν Ἀντι[οχέων-----]
 [-----]ούντων αὐτῶν[-----]
 5 [-----] ANEUTOUMENOΞΥ [-----]δεδόχθαι τῇ βου]-
 [λῆι τοὺς λ]αχόντας προέδρους εἰ[ς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἐκκλησίαν χρηματί]-
 [σαι περὶ τοῦ]των, γνώμην δὲ συμβάλλε[σθαι τῆς βουλῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον ὃ]-
 [τι δοκεῖ] τῇ βουλεῖ^v ἀποκρίνασθαι [-----]
 [-----]τίων εἰσὶν οἱ πρέ[σβεις-----]
 10 [-----]προγ]εγονότα φιλόανθρω[πα-----]
 [-----]μηδένα καιρὸν α[-----]

¹ Permission to publish this inscription was granted by T. Leslie Shear, Jr., Director of the Agora Excavations. I am most grateful to him for his patient assistance. Thanks is also owed to Stella G. Miller, who excavated the stone, to S. G. Miller, and to the following who have offered advice and encouragement: E. Vanderpool, R. S. Stroud, J. H. Oliver, A. L. Boegehold, J. McK. Camp II, D. R. Jordan, C. Habicht, L. L. Threatte. K. J. Rigsby, who is preparing a corpus of *asylia* decrees, has given generously of his time in discussing problems of interpretation and difficulties in reading the stone. Shortcomings which remain are of course my own. An earlier version of this paper was presented at the annual meetings of the Archaeological Institute of America in Philadelphia, December 29, 1972. I am grateful for a grant-in-aid from Vassar College which permitted study of the inscription in Athens.

- [-----κατὰ τ]ῇν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν [-----]
 [-----ἐπαι]νέσαι δὲ καὶ τὸν δ[ῆμον τὸν Ἀντιοχέων καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν]
 [χρυσῶι στε]φάνωι κατὰ τὸν ν[όμον εὐνοίας ἔνεκα καὶ φιλοτιμίας εἰς]
 15 [τὸν δῆμο]ν τὸν Ἀθηναίων [καὶ ἀναγορεύσαι τὸν] στέφανο[ν Διονυσίων]
 [τῶν ἐ]ν ἄστει καινοῖς [τραγωιδόις τῶι ἀγῶνι κ]αινῶι^ν καὶ Παναθηνα[ί]-
 [ων] καὶ Πτολεμ[α]ίων τ[οῖς γυμνικοῖς ἀ]γῶσιν·^ν τῆς δὲ ποιήσεως τ[οῦ]
 [στεφ]άνου καὶ τῆ[ς ἀναγορεύσε]ως ἐπιμεληθῆναι τοὺς στρατη-
 20 [γούς] κα[ὶ] τὸν τα[μίαν τῶν] στρατιωτικῶν.^ν δεδόσθαι δὲ Ἀντιο-
 χεῦσιν καὶ πολ[ιτείαν δοκιμασθεῖσι κα]τὰ τὸν νόμον τὸν περὶ τῶν δωρεῶν κ[αί]-
 νόν.^ν καὶ εἶνα[ι τ]ῇν πόλιν αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν χώραν καθιερωμένην
 [τῶι Δ]ιὶ τῶι Χρυσ[αό]ρει καὶ τῶι Ἀπόλλωνι τῶι Ἰσοτίμωι καὶ ἄστυον δ[ι]-
 [αμέ]νειν εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον ὅσον ἔστιν ἐπ' Ἀθηναίοις·^ν εἶνα[ι]
 [δὲ αὐτ]οῖς[ς] καὶ προεδρίαν ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἀγῶσιν οἷς ἡ πόλις τίθη-
 25 [σιν καὶ] πρόσδοον πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον πρώτοις μετὰ τ[ὰ]
 [ιέρα· ἐ]πιμελείσθω δὲ καὶ ἡ βουλὴ οἱ ἐξακόσιοι καὶ πεντήκοντ[α]
 [καὶ οἱ] σ[τρατη]γοὶ τῶν ἐπιδημούντων Ἀντιοχέων ὅπως ὑπὸ μηθε-
 νὸς ἀδικῶνται· ἐ[π]αι[έ]σαι δὲ καὶ τοὺς παραγεγονότας πρέσβ[εις]
 Πανσίμαχον Ἰατροκλέους^{νν} Ἀριστοφάνην Ἰατροκλέους καὶ στ[ε]-
 30 φαν[ῶ]σαι ἑκάτερον αὐτῶν θαλλοῦ στεφάνωι·^ν καλέσαι δὲ αὐτοῦ[ς]
 καὶ ἐπὶ δεῖπνον εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖον εἰς αὔριον.^ν ἀναγράψαι δὲ τό[δε]
 τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ πρυτανείαν ἐν στήλει λιθί-
 [ν]ει καὶ στήσαι ἐν ἀγορᾷ· τὸ δὲ γενόμενον ἀνάλωμα εἰς τὴν ποίη-
 σιν τῆς στήλης καὶ τὴν ἀνάθεσιν μερίσαι τὸν ταμίαν καὶ τοὺς
 35 [ἐ]πὶ τῇ διοικήσει.

ἡ βουλή
 ὁ δῆμος
 Πανσίμαχον
 Ἰατροκλέ-
 ονς

ἡ βουλή
 ὁ δῆμος
 τὸν δῆμον
 τὸν Ἀντιο-
 χέων

ἡ βουλή
 ὁ δῆμος
 Ἀριστοφάνην
 Ἰατροκλέ-
 ονς

Line 2: In the eleventh preserved letter space the tip of a diagonal in the lower left corner is preserved.

Line 4: The trace of a vertical remains on the left side of the eleventh letter space.

Line 5: Diagonals from the upper corners are apparent in the thirteenth space, but the surface of the stone is so badly worn that it is difficult to be sure that they are incised strokes and that the letter is therefore upsilon. The cross stroke on the tau could also be a scratch, the letter thus an iota.

Line 8: In the eighth space only a vertical stroke on the left remains; in the ninth, the bottom of a centered vertical is preserved.

Line 14: In the ninth preserved space, which falls at a sharp break, a vertical on the left is visible.

Line 15: Of the second letter after the central gap a centered vertical stroke is preserved almost to the top of the space, at which point the surface of the stone is broken away.

Line 17: In the letter space after ποιήσεως there remains the lower half of a centered vertical.

Line 18: In the ninth preserved space only the tip of a horizontal stroke is visible in the bottom right corner. In the first space following *στρα*- there is preserved a horizontal along the top; in the second, two uprights are visible, one at either side of the space which is badly worn in the center.

Line 20: The second space preserves only a lower horizontal.

Line 28: The seventeenth space preserves the tip of a vertical stroke and the beginning of a diagonal in the upper left corner, thereby limiting the epigraphical possibilities to nu or mu.

Line 33: The beginning of the line is broken away, but the tips of three horizontal strokes can be seen in the first extant space, making epsilon the sole candidate.

Line 34: In the lower right corner of the first space is visible, just, the end of a horizontal stroke.

COMMENTARY

Line 2: The verb *ἐπαύξω* is often used in grants of *asylia* in the first section of the decree when the state being asked for such recognition pledges its support and agrees to maintain and even strengthen bonds of friendship, as e. g., *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften* (= *SGDI*), 5182, line 31. The verb, however, is not usually found, as here, in the passive.

Line 5: Though the stone is very difficult to read at this point, the letters seem nonetheless quite certain. The exception is the tau in the fifth preserved space which could perhaps be an iota (as noted in the epigraphical commentary). In any case, one is hard put to discern what is intended here.

Line 6: This is the regular *δεδόχθαι* formula which names the *proedroi*; cf. *IG* II², 861, line 14.

Line 8: Here the formal resolution honoring the Demos of 'Antioch' begins. The use of *ἀποκρίνασθαι* is common in *asylia* decrees, as in *SGDI*, 5168, line 16, a decree of the Kydonians granting *asylia* to Teos: *ἀποκρίνασθαι Τηίοις φίλοις καὶ οἰκέ[οις ὑπάρχουσι] ὅτι. . .* We can be fairly sure that a phrase of this sort was used in the Athenian decree, but restoration is inadvisable because the verb also can govern an accusative and infinitive. The use of *ὅτι*, however, may be more likely here, given the nominative *πρέ[σβεις]* in line 9. Cf. W. Dittenberger, ed., *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae* I, Leipzig 1903 (= *OGIS*), 234, line 23.

Line 10: Again, a frequent element in decrees of this type; cf. *τὰ ἐξ ἀρχῆς προγεγονότα φιλόνηθρῳπα τῇ πόλει* of *SIG*, 457, B, line 33. The line could be restored, e. g., *τῇ πόλει*, or *τῷ δήμῳ*.

Line 11: The use of *μηδένα καιρόν* would appear to mean that Athens declares that the Demos of 'Antioch' lost no opportunity to help its Athenian friends, and did everything within its power (*[κατὰ τ]ῇν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν*, line 12) to be of service. For the latter phrase, cf. *SIG*, 620, line 21.

Line 20: The reference to a law termed *τὸν νόμον τὸν περὶ τῶν δωρεῶν* must refer to the grant of Athenian citizenship to the people of 'Antioch'. The partially restored *κ[αι]* *νόμ* indicates that this law had not long been in effect at the time our decree

was passed. As M. J. Osborne² has pointed out, at some time in the latter part of the 3rd century B.C., the formula by which citizenship was conferred by Athens upon non-citizens changed, making *δεδοσθαι* (*δίδοσθαι*) *αὐτῷ πολιτείαν* the standard wording. This is clearly the formula in the present decree. Inasmuch as the law bringing the change into being is described in lines 20-21 as being "recent", we can safely assume that it had been passed a year or two previously. Osborne states that "the exact date of the change cannot be established."³ The last extant example of the old formula (i. e. *εἶναι αὐτόν* [or *nomen*] *Ἀθηναῖον*) is, according to Osborne, *IG* II², 808, which he and others date to the period 239-229 B.C. The first extant decree to have been passed after the change is uncertain,⁴ but it has been thought to be *IG* II², 851, the date of which is controversial. Without rehearsing every detail of the dispute, it may suffice to state that Wilhelm,⁵ although he dates *IG* II², 851 to the middle of the 2nd century B.C., believes that the law affecting the change of formula should be assigned to the end of the 3rd century. The evidence provided by our new decree indicates that Wilhelm was right. If, as will be maintained below, we can date this decree to *ca.* 203 B.C., and if the restoration *κ[αι] νόν* is correct, as it seems to be, the Athenian law which changed the formula for conferral of Athenian citizenship should be dated a year or two earlier, that is, to *ca.* 205 B.C.

Because the stele is broken at the top, the archon's name is missing. But the decree was passed when the Council of Six Hundred and Fifty presided at Athens (line 26), in the late 3rd century B.C. There were thirteen tribes in this Council. A century earlier, in 307/6, Athens had honored the Macedonians Demetrios Poliorketes and his father Antigonos by adding two new tribes, Demetrias and Antigonis, to the existing ten.⁶ With the addition of the tribe Ptolemais in 224/3 B.C., a gesture designed to please Ptolemy Euergetes, the roster was expanded to thirteen,⁷ and so it remained for more than twenty years. The two Macedonian tribes were abolished, as Pritchett⁸ has convincingly demonstrated, in the early weeks of 200 B.C. Eleven

² M. J. Osborne, *BSA* 67, 1972, 144 ff., and esp. note 62. I am grateful to Chr. Habicht for this reference.

³ Osborne, *op. cit.*, note 62.

⁴ The first firmly dated example is *IG* II², 893, of 188/7 B.C.

⁵ A. Wilhelm, *AthMitt* 39, 1914, pp. 299 f.

⁶ W. K. Pritchett, *The Five Attic Tribes After Kleisthenes*, Baltimore 1943, pp. 5-12; also *AJP* 58, 1937, pp. 220-222. Cf. J. Traill, *Hesperia*, Suppl. XIV, *The Political Organization of Attica*, Princeton 1975, pp. xv-xvi and 103.

⁷ The date of the creation of the Egyptian tribe has been the subject of debate: see W. B. Dinsmoor, *Archons of Athens in the Hellenistic Age*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1931, pp. 189-190; S. Dow, *Hesperia* 2, 1933, pp. 430-432; *Hesperia* 3, 1934, p. 181; L. Robert, *Études épigraphiques et philologiques*, Paris 1938, p. 69; Pritchett, *AJP* 61, 1940, pp. 460-468; and especially *The Five Attic Tribes*, pp. 13-32. Cf. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 38, 1969, p. 441. He summarizes the evidence that the most probable date of its inception is 224/3 B.C.

⁸ Pritchett, *TAPA* 85, 1954, pp. 162-164. Literary sources fail to mention when the abolition occurred, though Livy describes it (31.44.2-9). Dates varying by a few months have been proposed by A. H. McDonald and F. W. Walbank, *JRS* 27, 1937, p. 191 (the summer of 201 B.C., when news

tribes therefore remained, to which a twelfth, Attalis, was added in the spring of that year.⁹ As the honors for the ambassadors were conferred when the Council was composed of thirteen tribes, their visit, and passage of the decree, had to occur after the creation of Ptolemais but before the abolition of Demetrias and Antigonis, that is, between 224 and 200 B.C.; a more precise date will be discussed presently.

Although the top of the stele is lost, it is clear that the first section of the decree deals with honors for the Demos of 'Antioch', just as the second, more fully preserved, section bestows honors on its ambassadors. Corroborating evidence is the reference to the state in line 3 and the fact that the central of the three crowns inscribed below the text adorns the name of the honored state; the crowned names of the two legates are ranked on either side. Leaves of a simple, stylized sort compose the central crown, apparently laurel leaves of gold to signify in the usual way the prestige of a great state;¹⁰ the ambassadors receive the lesser olive. Reference is made in lines 14 and 15 of our text to the (gold) crown, which is to be proclaimed at the Dionysia, the Panathenaia, and the Ptolemaia, the last of which games were instituted for the first time probably in 224, when the new tribe was created.¹¹

The decree is a document of some significance, recognizing as it does the inviolability (*asylia*) of the state of 'Antioch', bestowing upon it a crown of gold, honoring its citizens with Athenian citizenship, and granting crowns of olive to its legates, Pausimachos and Aristophanes, sons of Iatrokles. The patron deities of the honored state are mentioned in lines 5 and 6. They are Zeus Chrysaoreus and Apollo Isotimos, and here is found the necessary evidence for an identification of the state. We are led to a well-known decree of the Amphictyonic Council at Delphi, *OGIS* 234 (p. 385), of the end of the 3rd century B.C. The Council, on the occasion of the visit of an ambassador, Πανσίμαχος Ἰατροκλέος, from a city designated ἡ πόλις| ἡ τῶν Ἀντιοχέων τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Χρυσσαορέων ἔθνεος (lines 12-13), grants *asylia* to that state and recognizes that it is sacred to Zeus Chrysaoreus and to Apollo Isotimos (lines 25-26). This Pausimachos at Delphi is the same man whose honors at Athens, along with those of his brother, are recorded in the present decree.

The problem of identifying the Antioch which sent these men to Greece was solved long ago by Maurice Holleaux.¹² He showed that Antioch of the Chrysaoreans

of the secret Syro-Macedonian pact reached Athens), and by W. S. Ferguson, *Athenian Tribal Cycles in the Hellenistic Age*, Cambridge 1932, p. 141, note 1 (the autumn of 202).

⁹ Polybius, XVI. 25; Livy, XXXI. 15.

¹⁰ Cf. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 4, 1935, p. 526, no. 39 (of 226/5), line 33: καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν χρυσῶι στεφάνῳ The crown of this decree (see p. 528, photograph) is virtually identical with the present one.

¹¹ Cf. M. Crosby, *Hesperia* 6, 1937, p. 451, and W. S. Ferguson, *Athenian Tribal Cycles*, p. 53.

¹² M. Holleaux, *REG* 12, 1899, pp. 345-361 = *Études d'épigraphie et d'histoire grecques* III, Paris 1942, pp. 141-157. Earlier, Louis Couve, *BCH* 18, 1894, p. 235, no. ii, had cautiously suggested that because Zeus Chrysaoreus is, in the Delphian inscription, associated with Apollo, whose worship was widespread in Caria, the city must be Carian; but he declined to name it. See also L. Robert, *BCH* 49, 1925, pp. 228-229 = *Opera Minora Selecta* I, Amsterdam 1969, pp. 22-23; also,

was in fact the Carian city of Alabanda, renamed in deference to Antiochos III, or perhaps his father.¹³ It will be helpful to outline the evidence. Strabo (XIV. 2. 25) identifies the Chrysaoreans as the indigenous inhabitants of Caria, organized under a federal system centered around the temple of Zeus Chrysaoreus. The excavations of the Ionic temple at Alabanda¹⁴ brought to light a Roman imperial dedication which begins *Θεοῖς Σεβαστοῖς καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι Ἰσοτίμῳ καὶ τῷ Δήμῳ*.¹⁵ It is clear from the references to Apollo Isotimos in the Delphian decree, in our Athenian decree, and in the dedication from Alabanda that the cities in question are one and the same. Numismatic evidence corroborates the change of name from Alabanda to Antioch. Coins from Alabanda bearing the legend ANTIOXEΩN have been dated to this late 3rd century period.¹⁶ Louis Robert¹⁷ has now shown that there is no question about the validity of Holleaux's claim that the change in name occurred before the beginning of the 2nd century B.C., that is, at the latest under Antiochos III. But Robert shows that the change was even earlier, as two decrees, one from Delphi, the other from Delos, attest. The Delphian document, *SGDI* 2587, of 275/4 B.C., bestows honors upon a certain Artemidoros, son of Menyllos, and upon his brother Sisypchos. They are referred to as *Ἀλαβανδεῦσι*. In the Delian decree, dated to *ca.* 260-250 B.C., a crown of laurel is awarded to Artemidoros, son of Menyllos, and his ethnic is now *Ἀντιοχεύς*. Because, therefore, the same man is said to be from Alabanda in 275/4 and from Antioch in 260-250 B.C., we can conclude with Robert that the change of nomenclature occurred at some time between those dates. It is clear that the name Antioch had a tradition at Alabanda which had lasted at least half a century at the time when the Amphictyonic decree and our Athenian decree were recorded. Pausimachos, son of Iatrokles, therefore, visited Delphi at the end of the 3rd century as the representative of this Antioch-Alabanda. The Amphictyonic decree mentions that he visited other cities as well (*OGIS*, 234, lines 14-15), and the Athenian decree proves that this was indeed so.

A relatively precise date for the visit to Athens of Pausimachos with his brother, Aristophanes, may be attained. The mention of the Council of Six Hundred and Fifty, as has been mentioned, requires a date in the period between 224 and 200 B.C.; the fact that Alabanda is called Antioch argues for the same general period.

BCH, Suppl. I, *Études déliennes*, Paris 1973, pp. 448-449. Cf. D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, Princeton 1950, I, pp. 145-146; II, pp. 993 (note 31, p. 130), 1031 (note 77, p. 145).

¹³ Cf. Stephanos Byzantinos, *s. v.* Ἀλάβανδα, πόλις Καρίας, ἥ ποτε Ἀντιόχεια.

¹⁴ Edhem-bey, *CRAI* 1905, pp. 451-455.

¹⁵ Edhem-bey, *CRAI* 1906, p. 419; cf. L. Robert, *BCH* 49, 1925, p. 228. For another dedication to Apollo Isotimos from Alabanda, A. Laumonier, *BCH* 58, 1934, pp. 298-299. For other inscriptions from Alabanda, L. Robert, *Études anatoliennes*, Paris 1937, pp. 434-436; *REG* 71, 1958, p. 316, note 452.

¹⁶ C. Boehringer, *Zur Chronologie mittelhellenistischer Munzserien 220-160 v. Chr.*, Berlin 1972, pp. 9-11. On problems involving the coinage of Alabanda and Antioch-on-the-Meander at this time, L. Robert, *BCH*, Suppl. I, 1973, pp. 448-453.

¹⁷ L. Robert, *op. cit.*, pp. 435-461, esp. pp. 449-461.

During the visit of Pausimachos to Delphi we know from the Amphictyonic document the following: 1) The archon at Delphi when the decree was published was Philaitolos (line 2); 2) there were eleven Aitolians in the Amphictyonic Council (lines 3-6); 3) the ruler of Syria was Antiochos III (lines 19-20).¹⁸ The date of Philaitolos' archonship at Delphi has provoked a good deal of discussion. The *terminus post quem* for this archonship is provided by the inception of the reign of Antiochos in 223 B.C., which is also a time of continuing Aitolian influence in the Amphictyony;¹⁹ the term of office of Philaitolos had to come between 223 and the end of the century. Mention of the Cephallonians (line 7) narrows it further, to the period between 205 and 196, as they participated in the Amphictyony only then.²⁰ A host of scholars has grappled with the date of this archonship. Pomtow²¹ argues for 202/1 B.C., or possibly 203/2, on the basis of years in which the Pythian Games could have been held (line 28). Daux²² offers "the last years of the third century or 199/8." Dinsmoor²³ proposes several years, ranging from 203 to 198 B.C., as possibilities for this archonship. Robert²⁴ prefers "the last years of the third century," and this seems the best suggestion available to us. Inasmuch as the state of Delphian chronology for this period is uncertain and there is not a clear succession of archons for the last five years of the 3rd century, we must place Philaitolos' holding of the office to that span of years and attempt to derive greater exactitude from other evidence.

A decree from Teos, published by Peter Herrmann,²⁵ portrays that state as acknowledging recognition of its own status as *ιερά* and *ἄσυλος* in a document which honors Antiochos III and his wife, Queen Laodike. Herrmann assigns to the Tean decree a date between the return of Antiochos from his great eastern campaign and the inception of operations in Syria, that is, 204 or 203 B.C. It was a time when Carian cities such as Antioch-Alabanda would also have felt the tensions brought about by Antiochos' presence. The people of Teos praise Antiochos because he freed them from the burden of paying taxes to Attalos I (I, line 19) and for having declared their state "sacred, inviolate, and exempt from taxes," *ἀνῆκε τὴν πόλιν καὶ γῆν χώραν ἡμῶν ἱερὰν καὶ ἄσυλον καὶ ἀφορολόγητον* (I, line 18). There is no indication of military action on the part of Antiochos. He seems to have been welcomed warmly, or at least not resisted. But Teos may have decided that submission was a wiser course than resistance, for Antiochos, or more particularly his troops, were now a

¹⁸ The phrase *κατὰ τῶν προγόνων ὑφάγησιν* (line 22) makes quite unlikely the possibility that it was an earlier Antiochos.

¹⁹ F. Flacelière, *Les Aitoliens à Delphes*, Paris 1937, pp. 322, 412-413.

²⁰ *OGIS*, 234, note 1, p. 385.

²¹ H. Pomtow, *Klio* 14, 1915, p. 41; also *Klio* 17, 1921, p. 196.

²² G. Daux, *Chronologie delphique*, Paris 1943, K 17.

²³ W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Archons of Athens*, pp. 135-140.

²⁴ L. Robert, *BCH*, Suppl. I, 1973, p. 449, note 90.

²⁵ P. Herrmann, *Anadolu* 9, 1965, pp. 29-159. I wish to thank Chr. Habicht for bringing this article to my attention. Cf. J. and L. Robert, *REG* 82, 1969, pp. 502-505.

menace in this part of Caria. A letter by Zeuxis, the chief adviser of Antiochos, to the army, dated to 203 B.C.,²⁶ orders the soldiery to respect the shrines of Labraunda and not to camp in them or run flocks through them. The inference is that they had been doing the exact opposite.

In the decree from Teos and in the letter by Zeuxis we see clearly the reasons for requests for *asylia* from cities in western Asia Minor at this time. Antioch-Alabanda, like Teos, would have had both ample reason to fear for her independence and a desire to retain her freedom from taxation. It should also be remembered that, apart from the directly practical causes of such a request, "inviolability was the most prized civic status of the Hellenistic world," as K. J. Rigsby has noted.²⁷ The end of the 3rd century saw the desire for this status approaching its apogee.²⁸ On the one hand, requests for recognition of inviolability could follow on the heels of military victory, when a state, having expelled the invader and celebrated her success, desired widespread cognizance of that success;²⁹ on the other, the threat of military harassment could as easily prompt the despatch of embassies to powerful states in hopes of gaining, at least in a formal sense, assurance of inviolability. There was certainly no guarantee of actual support, as there would have been in a treaty of mutual defence. Antioch-Alabanda could not have expected that the Amphictyonic League and Athens would come to her aid should the invader strike. Nor did they. But if it seems probable that both Greek powers agreed that the claim for rights of sovereignty was a legitimate one and in that spirit passed the decrees, it should also be remembered that no state is known to have refused a request for recognition of *asylia*. Our view of Amphictyonic and Athenian concern must, therefore, be tempered by the knowledge that it may have been inspired by feelings as much perfunctory in nature as genuinely felt.

The date must be governed by the appearance of Antiochos in Asia Minor, since he could not any earlier have posed a direct threat of this kind. He reached that region in 204 or 203 B.C. in an aggressive mood. To judge from the evidence from Labraunda, it is altogether possible that the soldiers of Antiochos had already molested the holy places of Alabanda and that not just fear of potential invasion had spurred the requests for *asylia* but rather an actual attack. In either case, the legations to Athens and Delphi would have been sent at this time, which means that both the Amphictyonic decree and our Athenian decree should be dated to *ca.* 203 B.C.

The concern expressed by Athens for a distant city in Caria may have been perfunctory, but we may imagine too that the Athenian state realized by this date

²⁶ J. Crampa, *Labraunda* III, 2, *The Greek Inscriptions*, Stockholm 1972, II, line 46. Cf. J. and L. Robert, *REG* 83, 1970, p. 553.

²⁷ K. J. Rigsby, *GrRomByzSt* 16, 1975, p. 404.

²⁸ The evidence on *asylia* has been compiled in E. Schlesinger, *Die griechische Asylie*, Giessen 1933, and in B. Barth, *De Graecorum Asylius*, Strassburg 1888.

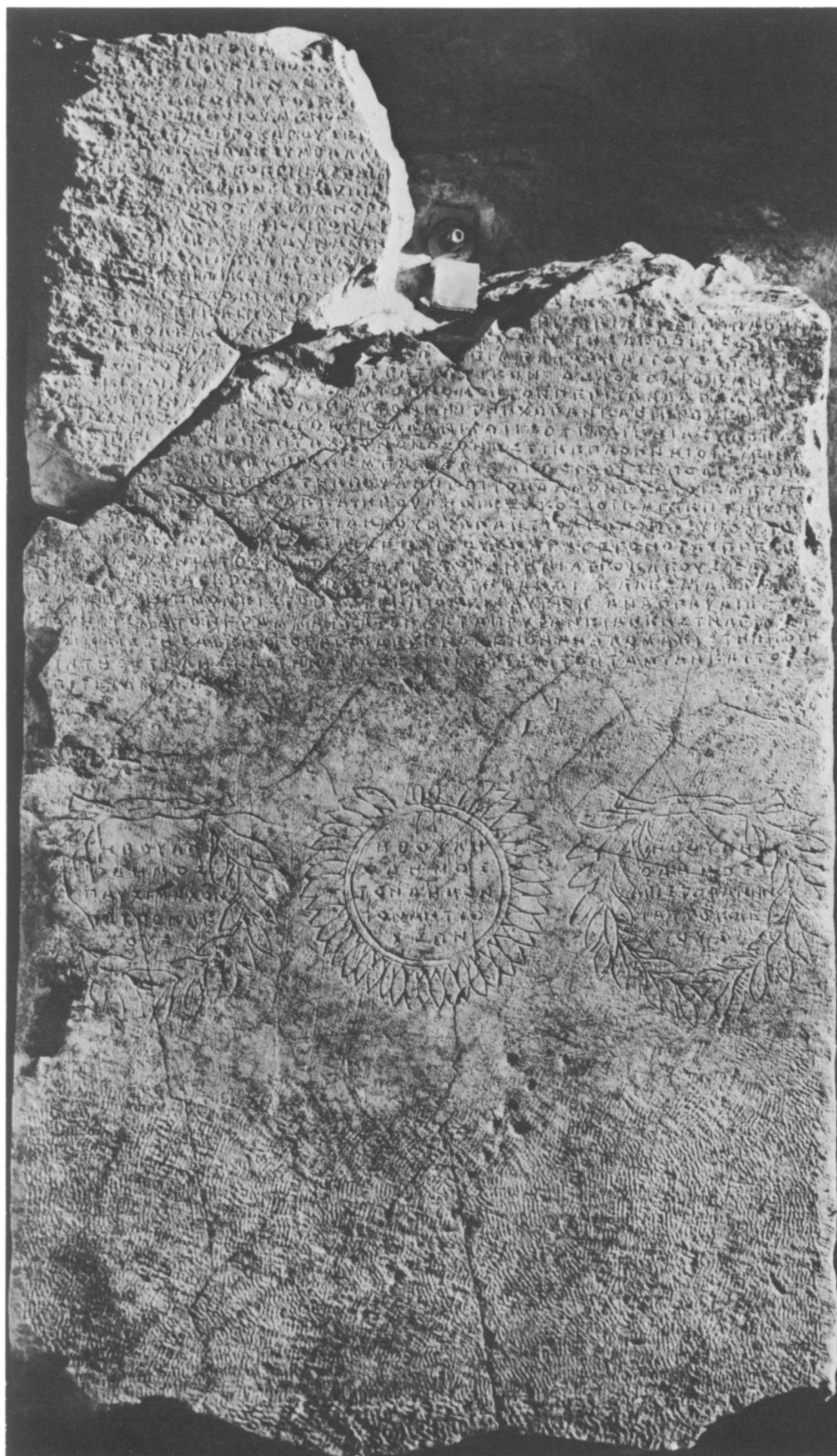
²⁹ Cf. Rigsby, *op. cit.* (footnote 27 above), p. 406.

that trouble in the eastern Aegean could mean trouble for the Greek mainland as well. The Athenian decree represents the only evidence we possess for official relations between Athens and Alabanda. As such it is a significant document. Moreover, the events of subsequent years, when the actions of Antiochos and Philip (who brutally invaded Alabanda in 201) ³⁰ resulted in full-scale war involving not just Athens but also Rome and other states, show that any concern in Greece in 203 B.C. was by no means ill founded.

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³⁰ Polybius, XVI. 24. 8.



ROBERT L. POUNDER: HONORS FOR ANTIOCH OF THE CHRYSAOREANS