

NEW EVIDENCE CONCERNING THE ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM OF THE ATTALIDS*

(Pl. XVIII)

A big marble ostotheke (without lid)¹, now preserved in the Aydın Museum, has recently been found in the village of Kocagür which is located about 7 kms in the east of Aydın, the ancient Tralleis.

The following text is engraved on the chest in two columns²:

Col. A

Ἡ ὀστοθήκη
Διονυσίου τοῦ Διονυσίου
τοῦ Θεοφίλου *vac.* στρα-
4 τηγοῦ τοῦ ὑπαίθρου καὶ
ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως καὶ
Ἡγεανάσσης τῆς Πύρρου
τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ.

Col. B

Ἡ ὀστοθήκη
Διονυσίου τοῦ Θεοφίλου
στρατηγοῦ Καρίας καὶ Λυδίας
4 τῶν κατὰ Ἔφεσον τόπων καὶ
Μελιτίνης τῆς Γαυδοτου
τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ
Ἄθηνομοίρου τοῦ Δημάρχου
8 τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως καὶ
Τατιδος τῆς Μιθραδάτου
τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ.

Translation:

Col. A: "*The ostotheke belongs to Dionysios son of Dionysios, grandson of Theophilos, the commander of the hypaithros and the mayor of the city, and to his wife Hegeanassa daughter of Pyrrhos*".

Col. B: "*The ostotheke belongs to Dionysios son of Theophilos, the commander of Carian and Lydian places around Ephesos, and to his wife Melitine daughter of Gaudotos, and to Athenomoiros son of Demarchos, the mayor of the city, and to his wife Tatis daughter of Mithradates*".

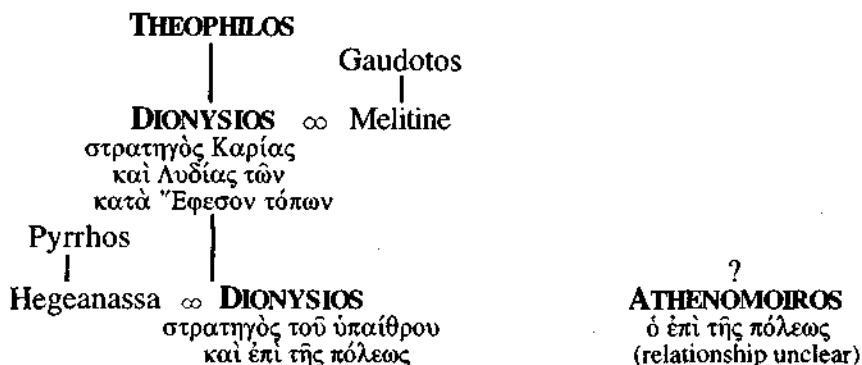
It is obvious that this chest belonged to one of the leading families in the Attalid kingdom, and as indicated, three persons of this family had

* It is a pleasure to thank Mrs. F. Ölmez for her kind help for my work in the Museum. Likewise I would like to record my gratitude to P. Herrmann for his kind help and advice during the preparation of this article, and also to Rose Lou Bengisu who kindly checked the English.

¹ The dimensions are: height 0.53; width 0.88; thickness 0.77; letter-height 0.015m.

² The two colons are separated by an upright, deep line.

important responsibilities in the administration. Except Athonomoiros, whose relationship is obscure, the genealogy of those mentioned can be maintained as follows:



It is a well known fact that the Attalid kingdom was divided into regions called τόποι³, corresponding to the Seleucid satrapies, and that these τόποι were administered by στρατηγοί appointed by the kings⁴. We have epigraphic evidence recording the names of three regional administrations within the Attalid kingdom:

a) *Topoi* in Chersonesos and Thrakia (ὁ στρατηγός τῆς Χερρονήσου καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Θράκιαν τόπων⁵ and στρατιῶται οἱ διαβάντες ... εἰς τοὺς κατὰ Χερρόνησον καὶ Θράκιαν τόπους⁶),

b) *Topoi* around the Hellespontos (Κόρραγος Ἀριστομάχου Μακεδῶν, τεταγμένος στρατηγός τῶν καθ' Ἑλλάσποντον τόπων⁷),

c) *Topoi* around Ephesos, plain of Kaistros and the territory of Kilbianoι (στρατηγός ἐπὶ τε Ἐφέσου καὶ τῶν κατ' Ἔφεσον τόπων καὶ Καύστρου πεδίων καὶ τὸ Κιλβιανόν)⁸.

³ On the problem of the meaning of τόποι see E. V. Hansen, *The Attalids of Pergamon* (1971), 186; R. E. Allen, *The Attalid Kingdom. A Constitutional History* (1983), 91ff. and M. Wörle, *Chiron* 5, 1975, 74f. with note 69.

⁴ On στρατηγοί in the Attalid kingdom see notably H. Bengtson, *Die Strategie in der hellenistischen Zeit* II (1944), 209ff.; E. V. Hansen, *op. cit.*, 166-7; R. E. Allen, *op. cit.*, 91-7.

⁵ OGIS, 339; J. Krauss, *Inschr. von Sestos und der Thrakischen Chersones* (I. K. 19), no. 1 with earlier bibliography, cf. also H. Bengtson, *op. cit.*, 227ff.

⁶ OGIS, 330.

⁷ M. Holleaux, *Études* II, 73-125 and Th. Corsten, *Inschr. von Prusa ad Olympum* II (I. K. 40), no. 1001 with earlier bibliography.

⁸ D. Knibbe, *ÖJh* 50, 1972-75 (Beiblatt), 12-4, no. 4; Ch. Börker and R. Merkelbach, *Inschr. v. Ephesos* II (I. K. 12), 201; *SEG* XXVI, 1976/7, 238 and R. E. Allen, *op. cit.*

As the places οἱ κατὰ Ἐφεσον τόποι Καρίας καὶ Λυδίας recorded in our inscription roughly cover the same area as οἱ τόποι κατ' Ἐφεσον καὶ Καύστρου πεδίων καὶ τὸ Κιλβιανόν (see above c), it is reasonable to believe that both names were used for designating the same province, perhaps with some changes in the provincial circumscriptions made in the meantime. There seems to have been an imprecise terminology concerning the *topoi* of the Attalid kingdom, as the designation *topoi* was "a vague and inconsistent term applied to provinces and to areas beyond them"⁹.

In the family recorded in our inscription there are two persons who functioned as ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως: Dionysios, the son, who was also the commander of the ὑπαιθρος, and Athenomoiros whose relation with this family is unclear. The royal appointees called ὁ ἐπὶ (τῆς) πόλεως are attested both in the Attalid kingdom and in other places of the Hellenistic world¹⁰. They were civic officials serving in the cities; however, evidence regarding their duties is scanty¹¹.

Dionysios the son was the commander of a ὑπαιθρον (or ὑπαιθρος), stationed somewhere near Tralleis, provided that he was, perhaps at the same time, στρατηγός (?) ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως. The term ὑπαιθρον (or ὑπαιθρος), meaning "military camp in open air", frequently appears in Hellenistic documents¹². Its soldiers living in tents or barracks were called ὑπαιθροί, a term opposite to κάτοικοι¹³.

cit., 226, no. 25. Knibbe, Börker-Merkelbach and still Allen have πε[δίου], whereas πε[δίων] was proposed by P. Herrmann in *SEG*, *loc. cit.* and by K. J. Rigsby, *Phoenix* 33, 1979, 43, note 17.

⁹ R. E. Allen, *op. cit.*, 97.

¹⁰ On the office see H. Bengtson, *op. cit.*, 240-251; R. E. Allen, *op. cit.*, 104-109 and L. Robert, *Noms indigènes*, 476 with note 2. The question of terminology and concerning the relation between ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως, the ἐπιστάτης and the στρατηγός τῆς πόλεως is still open to discussion and the arguments of Bengtson are not yet superseded.

¹¹ Only the well-known astynomic law from Pergamon provides some limited information about their responsibilities: [ἐὰ]ν δέ τι μὴ ποιήσωσιν οὗτοι (sc. astynomoi) τῶν γεγραμμένων, ζημιούσθωσαν ὑπο τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως κτλ. (*OGIS*, 483, cf. also E. V. Hansen, *op. cit.*, 200 and R. E. Allen, *op. cit.*, 171).

¹² On *hypaithroí* or *hypaithra* see Y. Garlan, *BCH* 102, 1978, 103-8 (*SEG* XXVIII, 1978, 107), cf. also C. B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period*, no. 51, pp. 205-8 and T. Ihnken, *Inschr. v. Magnesia am Sipylus* (I. K. 8), 43ff. (*SEG* XXVIII, 1978, 959). M. Launey, in *Recherches sur les armées hellénistiques* II (1950), 693f. shows that in literary sources both ὑπαιθρα and ὑπαιθρος are quite common.

¹³ On the terms κάτοικοι and κατοικίαι see G. M. Cohen, *Ancient Society* 22

As the appearance of royally appointed *strategoï* for administrating the *topoi*, and the royal magistrates called ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως in the cities in the Attalid kingdom is generally dated to the reign of Eumenes II, probably after the treaty of Apameia¹⁴, the present inscription has to be dated between 188 and 133 B. C. (This is supported also by the letter forms, especially those of *Pi*, *Omega* and *Sigma*). In fact, in accounting the areas and cities assigned to Eumenes II as δωρεαί, Polybios (XXI.46 9-11) and Livius (XXXVIII.39.7-40) include Lydia, Ephesos and Tralleis, the settlements which seem to have been under the authority of Dionysios, the *strategos* of "Carian and Lydian places around Ephesos", recorded in our inscription¹⁵.

The names Ἡγεάνασσα¹⁶, Ἀθηνόμοιρος (new)¹⁷, Πύρρος (Thracian or Greek)¹⁸, Μιθραδάτης (Persian)¹⁹, Τοτις (Anatolian)²⁰ and especially Γαυδοτος (a Celtic name attested also in Pergamon as the name of a painter who was sent to Athens by Attalos II)²¹ appearing in our inscription are notable. The variety of the onomastic elements (i. e. barbarian, Pisidian, Galatian and Cappadocian) which existed in Hellenistic Pergamon has been connected with the recruitment of soldiers from different regions to serve in the Attalid army²².

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((1991), 41ff.

¹⁴ See H. Bengtson, *op. cit.*, 209ff. and R. E. Allen, *op. cit.*, 87ff.

¹⁵ On the territories assigned to Eumenes II see notably D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* (1950), 758-64, note 56; R. E. Allen, *op. cit.*, 86-7 and E. V. Hansen, *op. cit.*, 92ff.

¹⁶ The name should be combined with Ἡγήνασσα, attested at Delos as the female form of Ἡγήναξ (O. Masson, in D. Knoepfler [ed.], *Comptes et inventaires dans la cité grecque*, 1988, 77). For the names ending in -άναξ and -άνασσα see F. Bechtel, *HP*, 44-7.

¹⁷ For the names belonging to the group of the names ending in -μοιρος (from Μοῖρα) see F. Bechtel, *op. cit.*, 322-3.

¹⁸ On the origin of the names with Πυρρ- or Πυρ- see G. Mihailov, *IGBulg.* IV, 2240 (cf. *SEG* XXVIII, 1978, 735 and 744).

¹⁹ See notably L. Robert, *CRAI* 1978, 284f.

²⁰ See L. Zgusta, *KP* § 1517-4.

²¹ On the name Γαυδοτος see L. Robert, *Hellenica* XIII, 261-4; *Bull. Ep.* 1974, 219; S. Mitchell, *Pulpudeva* 2 (1978), 123 (*SEG* XXVIII, 1978, 940); *Anatolia. Land, Men, and Gods in Asia Minor* I (1993), 24 (on different Anatolian places where Celtic names occur see also 57) and *Regional Epigraphic Catalogues of Asia Minor (RECAM) II: The Ankara District. The Inscriptions of North Galatia* (1982), 113 (recording the variant Γαυδοτος).

²² See L. Robert, *Hellenica* XIII, 264 and S. Mitchell, *Anatolia* I, 57.