

A Royal Document from Aigai in Aiolis

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PART OF AN INSCRIBED block was brought from the village of Maldan, about five km. southeast of ancient Aigai, to the Manisa Museum in 1981. In 1983, after having been informed that the block had been found in the modern cemetery of the village and that there were other inscribed blocks there, I visited the village to look for the remaining part of the inscription. With the invaluable help of the villagers, I in fact discovered the upper part of the text, although the beginning of the inscription and several lines between the two fragments are missing. The abundance of ancient blocks in the cemetery as well as at Sivri mevkii, three km. northeast of the village, and rock-carved tombs at Aktepe mevkii, south of the village, lead us to conclude that there was a settlement in this district.¹

Two blocks of local hard brown stone.² The *stoichedon* order is abandoned after line B.13 and the remaining lines are inscribed on a *rasura* on which there are still some *vestigia litterarum* of the previous text (see the facsimile *infra*). Height 0.92 (upper part) + 0.85 (lower part) = 1.77 m.; width 0.57; thickness 0.14. Letter height 2.8 to 3.0 cm. Inv. no. of the lower part: 5893. PLATES 5–6.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 12

A [- - - δω]-
[ρ]εἰς ἀν τελεῖν δε[ε]-
κάτην, ξυλίνου
δὲ καρποῦ τῶν ἡ-
4 μέρων ὀγδόην, π-
ροβάτων δὲ καὶ
αἰγῶν πεντηκοσ-
τήν· λήψεται δε-

¹ I also found here a votive stele of Roman times dedicated to Ζεὺς Ὀλύμπιος καὶ ἐπήκοος, two architectural marble blocks with mouldings, and a small Byzantine decorated pillar, which will be published elsewhere with other new inscriptions from Aigai.

² The stone is of the same kind as that of the ὄρος inscription of Aigai published by P. Herrmann, who described it as “Poröser brauner Kalkstein”: *DenkschrWien* 77.1 (1959) 4–6 no. 2; see also for the same inscription L. Robert, *Villes d’Asie Mineure*² (Paris 1962) 279–80, and *Bull.épigr.* 1960, 340.

- 8 ἐ ἀμνὸν καὶ χίμ-
αιραν· τῆς δὲ ἐπ-
ιγονῆς μὴ εἶνα-
ι τέλος· λήψεται-
12 ι δὲ καὶ σμήνεω-
ν ἡμέρων ὀγδόη-
ν· θήρας δὲ ἀπὸ σ-
υὸς καὶ ἐλάφου
16 σκέλος· εἰς δὲ λ-
ητουργίας παρ-
έξονται [πρὸς σ-
τ[ρ]ατ[εῖαν]
- B . ΑΔΕΤΟ
τοῖς δὲ ἐργαζ[ο]-
μένοις τὰ ἐπιτ-
4 ἡδεῖα παρέξου-
σι ἐ' βασιλικού·
γῆν δὲ καὶ ἀμπέ-
λους καὶ οἰκία-
8 ς ὅσα ἀφηρημέ-
να ἦσαν, ἀπέδωκ-
εν πᾶσιν τὰ ἐαν-
τῶν· εἰ δέ τις τα-
12 ὑτα καταλύοι ἐ-
πὶ τὰ ἐλάσσονα,
Ἄπόλλων καὶ Ζεὺς
καὶ Ἄρτεμις καὶ Ἄθ-
16 ηνᾶ αὐτὸν ἐξο-
λέσει καὶ αὐ(τὸν) καὶ ἐ-
[γγ]όγους.
- } non-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

... to pay the tithe [as gift], and one eighth of the fruits of the cultivated trees, and one part in fifty of the sheep and goats. He also will receive a lamb and kid. The offspring will not be subject to tax. He also will receive one eighth of the beehives. Concerning hunting, (he will also receive) one leg from each boar and deer. They will supply ... [for military affairs] as public service ...

... to the workers they will give the things that are necessary from the royal treasury. As for the land and vineyards and houses of which they have been deprived, he gave back to all their property. If anyone should diminish these (provisions), may Apollo, Zeus, Artemis, and Athena destroy him and his descendants.

Because of the expression βασιλικόν (B.5) as a substantive meaning ‘royal treasury’, the inscription certainly belongs to the time of the Hellenistic monarchs.³ Because of the proximity of the find-spot to the site of Aigai, property which is said to have been given back by a king (or by one of his officers) to the people living here possibly belonged to the territory of Aigai.⁴ It is difficult to determine by whom these properties were ἀφηρεμένα. One may guess that these people had been driven out or expropriated⁵ and now were reinstalled.⁶ The subject of none of the verbs in this text is preserved. The verbs λήψεται (A.7 and A.11) and ἀπέδωκεν (B.9) could refer to the king or perhaps his οἰκονόμος or one of his officers, while the future παρέξουσιν seems to point to some officials.⁷

About the political relations of Aigai in the time of the Hellenistic kings we have no clear information beyond the statement of Polybius that many cities, including Aigai, were taken by Attalus I in 218 B.C.⁸

³ On the term βασιλικόν in the royal documents see C. B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence* p.321 with n.18, and the examples collected by M. Holleaux, *Études* II 106–08: δοθῆναι ἐκ (τοῦ) βασιλικοῦ “faire allouer par le Trésor royal,” and “L’adjectif βασιλικόν employé substantivement a, comme on sait, un sens différent: dans toutes les monarchies hellénistiques, comme au reste dans toute monarchie, τὸ βασιλικόν οὐ βασιλικόν (sans article), c’est le ‘Trésor royal’, le fisc et, par extension, l’administration du fisc.”

⁴ See for example W. Ramsay, *Historical Geography of Asia Minor* (London 1890) 116: “the territory of Aigai must have been very wide.”

⁵ If the reason was not a war, one may suppose that the land that belonged to the temple of Apollo Chrestorius had included the property of these people but then had been diminished by some ruler. G. E. Bean, in publishing a stele from Atçilar Köyü marking the consecrated area to this temple, commented, “If we should assume that the other stelae were placed at a similar distance around the temple, the dedicated area would be very large”: *Bulleten* 30 (1966) 526 (*Bull.épigr.* 1968, 446). For the lands belonging to various temples in Asia Minor see D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* II (Princeton 1950) 1016–17.

⁶ Perhaps they were cultivators on royal land (χώρα βασιλική) whom we normally would call λαοί; see *Royal Corres.* 11, 18, 20; *I. Sardis* 1; P. Briant, *Annales litt. Besançon* 140 (1972) 93–133.

⁷ Compare the inscription from Çamlıcaköy, about ten km. south of Maldan where the present inscription was found, which records an arrangement concerning the boundaries of Aigai, published by Herrmann (*supra* n.2): συντάξαντος βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου ὄροι τῆς Αἰγαίδος οἱ τεθέντες ὑπὸ Ἀπελλέου τοῦ Μητροδώλου. Because of the mountainous nature of this district, Herrmann considered that problems concerning boundaries were frequent. For some other boundary stones between Aigai and Myrina see J. Keil/A. von Premerstein, *I. Reise (Denkschr. Wien* 53.2 [1908]) 98 nos. 204–07.

⁸ 5.77: κατὰ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν καθ’ ὃν Ἀχαιῶς ἐποιεῖτο τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς Σελεγείσιν στρατείαν Ἄτταλος ἔχων τοὺς Γαλάτας ἐπεπορεύετο τὰς κατὰ τὴν Αἰολίδα πόλεις καὶ τὰς συνεχεῖς ταύταις, ὅσαι πρότερον Ἀχαιῶν προσεκεχώρηκεισαν διὰ τὸν φόβον . . . ἦσαν δ’ αἱ τότε μεταθήμεναι πρὸς αὐτὸν πρῶτον μὲν Κύμη καὶ Σμύρνα (emended to Μύρινα: U. Wilcken, *RE* 2 [1896] 2162 s.v. “Attalos 9,” cf. Holleaux, *Études* II 19) καὶ Φώκαια· μετὰ δὲ ταύτας Αἰγαίεισιν καὶ Τημνῖται προσεχώρησαν καταπλαγέντες τὴν ἔφοδον.

But the general appearance of the present inscription suggests a date early in the third century B.C.,⁹ and it is hard to make a connection between the events in the time of Attalus I and the reinstatement recorded in our document. I prefer to suggest the long reign of Antiochus I Soter (281–261) for this inscription. There are still some examples of *stoichedon* style in this period,¹⁰ and varying letter heights, as in our inscription, are a peculiarity of the *stoichedon* inscriptions of the fourth and the third centuries.¹¹ In any case, we need further evidence to know what happened in this district in the early Hellenistic period.

LINE A.1. The traces at the beginning of the first line may be restored as δωρ]εάν though the letter *epsilon* is doubtful. The traces are seen as on the stone. The accusative δωρεάν was commonly used as an adverb meaning ‘as gift, freely’.¹²

LINES A.1–2. It may be supposed that the δεκάτη is a tax on cereals, for which the δεκάτη may have been customary in the Persian-Seleucid tradition.¹³

LINES A.2–3. The expression καρποὶ τῶν ἡμέρων seems to mean here ‘fruits of cultivated trees’ rather than ‘fresh fruits’ since it was quite common to present fresh fruits to a king or official.¹⁴

LINES A.5–7. The πεντηκοστή is supposed to have been elsewhere a tax on imports: L. Robert, *Hellenica* XI–XII 193, cf. *I.Erythrai* I 9 (“die Importsteuer”). For προβατικόν and φόρος προβάτων see *Hesperia* 27 (1958) 77 and *Bull.épigr.* 1959, 43.

LINES A.8–9. Because it is used together with ἀμνός, the word χίμαιρα must mean here ‘kid’ rather than ‘she-goat’.

LINES A.9–11. It is interesting to find that the offspring of goats and sheep are not subject to taxes, so that the inhabitants would not have to pay excessive amounts.

LINES A.11–13. We know from some inscriptions that there existed a tax on beehives. See for this practice L. Robert, *Coll. Froehner* 79

⁹ Note that the letter forms (except *xi*) are very similar to those of the Çamlıcaköy inscription (*supra* n.7), about which Herrmann wrote, “Es ist keine Frage, dass es eine typische Schrift des 3. Jhdts. ist” (5 n.1).

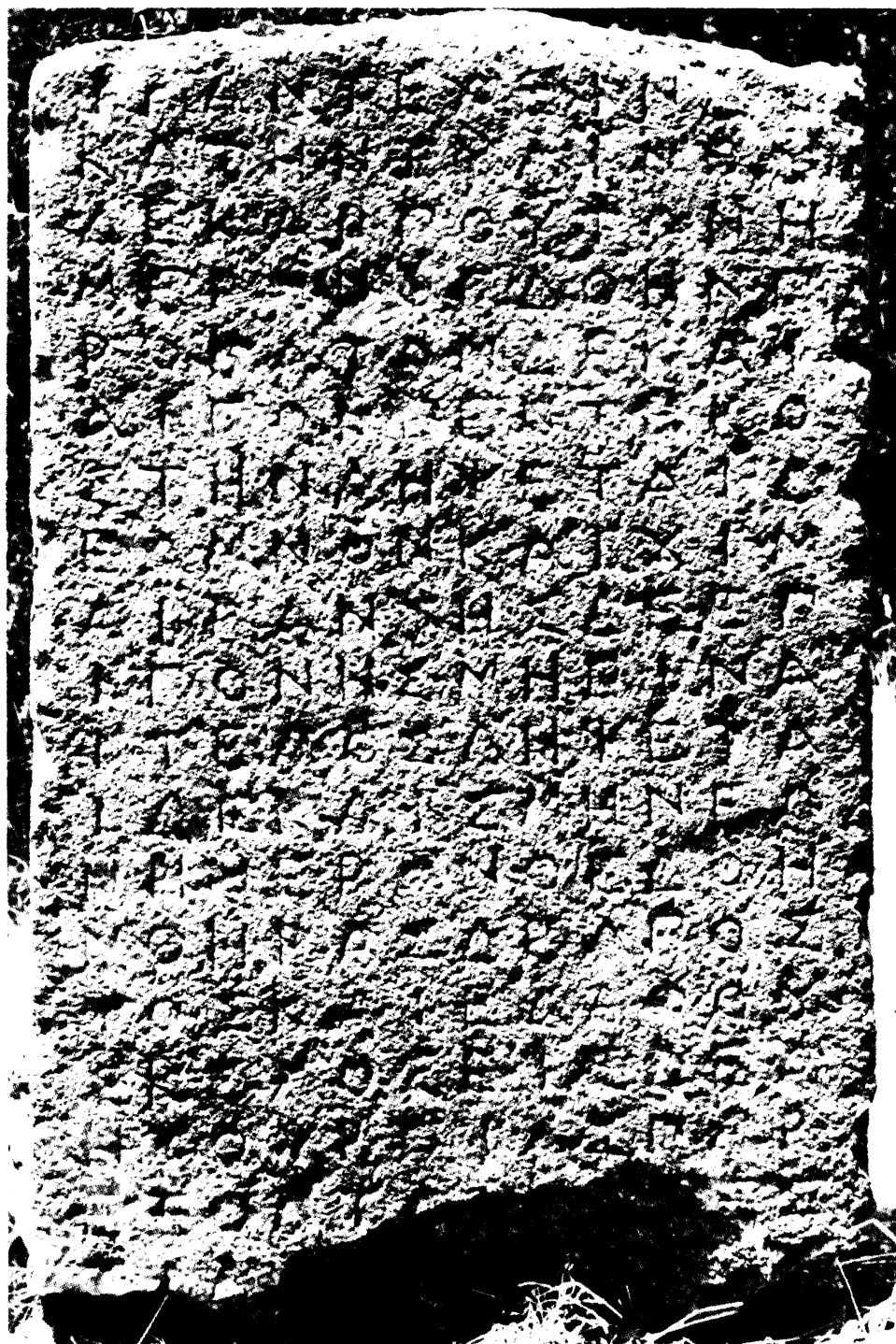
¹⁰ See Holleaux, *Études* II 53.

¹¹ See R. P. Austin, *The Stoichedon Style in Greek Inscriptions* (Oxford 1938) 30–31.

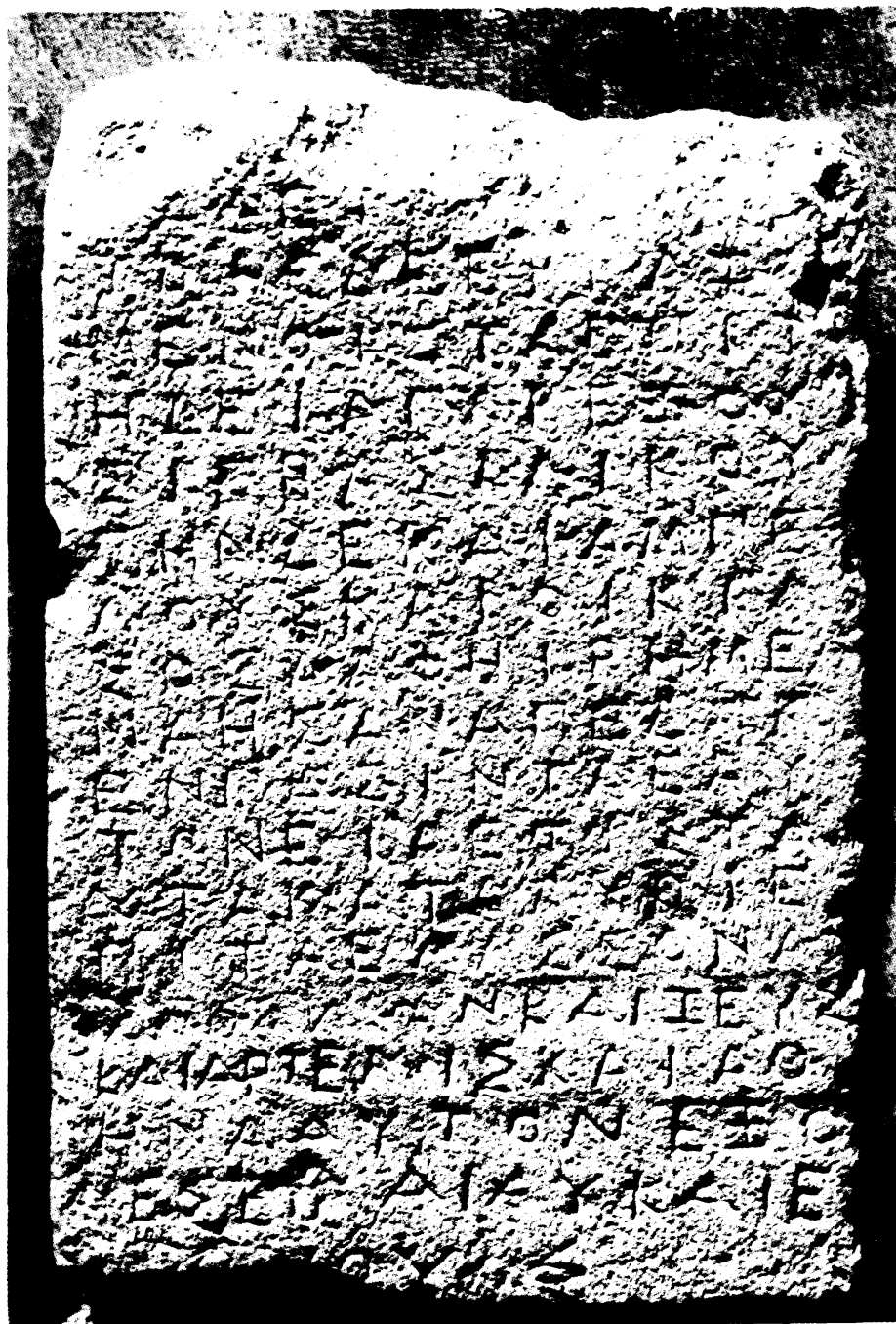
¹² See for example *OGIS* 229.102–03, ὑπάρχειν αὐτοῖς τοὺς τρεῖς κλήρους δωρεάν . . . δοθῆναι αὐτοῖς κλήρον ἵππικόν δωρεάν τῶν παρακειμένων τῶι δήμῳ; 748.2, τάδε ἔδωκεν Φιλέταιρος Ἀττάλου δωρεάν τῶι δήμῳ.

¹³ See for this practice M. Wörle, *Chiron* 8 (1978) 223 with n.112, and *Royal Corres.* 51.17f.

¹⁴ On ξύλινοι καρποὶ see *TAM* II 1.14 (*OGIS* 55.14); Wörle (*supra* n.13) 218f; Welles *ad Royal Corres.* 51.17.



INSCRIPTION FROM AIGAI IN AIOLIS
UPPER FRAGMENT



INSCRIPTION FROM AIGAI IN AIOLIS
LOWER FRAGMENT

(Theangela); *JSav* 1976, 176, line 18 with the commentary at 186–87; *BCH* 102 (1978) 494.

LINES A.14–17. People who hunted boars and deer in this land had to give as a tax one leg from each animal.

LINES B.3–4. What were the *ἐπιτήδεια* which the royal officers had to give to the *ἐργαζόμενοι* from the royal treasury? If we are right in thinking of them as farmers, the word *ἐπιτήδεια* should denote here seed and agricultural tools.

LINE B.12. On the verb *καταλύειν* see M. Wörrle, *Myra, Eine lykische Metropole in antiker und byzantinischer Zeit* (Berlin 1975) 284 n.703: “Aufhebung der Rechtswirksamkeit.”

LINES B.14–18. The *apodosis* of the curse against the person who would diminish (cancel) the orders has been changed into another formula, inscribed non-*stoichedon*. Here we give a facsimile of this part with some distinguishable traces of the earlier text:

Γ Ι Τ Α Ε Λ Α Σ Σ Ο Ν Α
 Α Ρ Ο Λ Λ Ο Ν Κ Α Ι Ξ Ε Υ Σ
 Κ Α Ι Α Ρ Τ Ε Μ Ι Σ Κ Α Ι Α Θ
 Η Ν Α Δ Υ Τ Ο Ν Ε Ξ Ο
 Α Ε Σ Ε Μ Δ Ι Α Υ Κ Α Ι Ε
 Ο Υ Σ

From the traces in B.14, the beginning of the *apodosis* may perhaps be restored as [ἐ]ξει σ[κ]οπόν or [ἐ]ξει σ[κ]ότον, although these terms are not common in the maledictions of early times.¹⁵

The temple of Apollo Chresterius at Aigai is well known. The present inscription, in recording the name of the god before those of the other three divinities, is additional evidence that Apollo was the chief deity worshipped here.¹⁶

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¹⁵ For two examples of *σκότος* in Byzantine imprecations, see L. Robert, *Dacia* 22 (1978) 327.

¹⁶ I should like to thank Kubilây Nayır, Director of the Manisa Museum, for giving me permission to do this work, and Ersin Doğer, Hamza Güney, and Kadir Acarkan for their assistance during my visit to the village. I am also very grateful to P. Herrmann and Th. Drew-Bear for their kind help with this article.