Divine Honors for Antiochos and Laodike at Teos and Iasos

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Peter Herrmann has published in the Turkish periodical Anadolu (Anatolia) an important and substantial decree from the city of Teos concerning the foundation of the cult in honor of King Antiochos III and of Queen Laodike.¹ The people of Teos received great favors from these sovereigns, both political and economic, and decided to bestow on them several religious honors: installation of the statues of the royal couple in the sanctuary of Dionysos, the chief god of the city, construction of altars to the king and the queen in the local subdivisions called symmoriai, erection of the statue of the king in the city hall and ceremonies to be performed thereafter, offering of first fruits, and building of the fountain in memory of Laodike. This last honor and the prescribed ceremonial rites have not been fully explained by the editor or subsequent commentators.² I propose therefore to restore and to discuss C, lines 76–87, of the inscription of Teos:

 $τύχη ἀγαθ<math>\hat{\eta}$.

- 77 ὄςοι ἂν ἱερεῖς ἢ ὅςαι ἱέρειαι πρὸ πόλεως θυςίαν ςυντελῶςιν ὑ[δρεύες]θαι πρὸς τὰς θυςίας ἐν οἶς δεῖ ὕδατι τούτωι, λαμβάνιν δὲ κα[ὶ τοὺς] ςυντελοῦντας τὰ λουτρὰ ἐντεῦθεν, ὑδρεύεςθαι δὲ καὶ [ταῖς νύμ]-
- 80 φαις τὰ λο[υ]τρὰ ἀπὸ τῆς κρήνης ταύτης· ὅςοι δ' ἄν λαμ[βάνωςιν τὸ]

 ὕδωρ εἰς τ[ὰς] χρείας τὰς προγεγραμμένας, παραγίνεςθ[αι ἐπὶ τὴγ]

 κρήνην [καὶ ἀ]ποπορεύεςθαι ἐν ἐςθῆτι λαμπρῶι ἐς[τεφανω]μ[έ]
 νους, τὰ[ς δὲ ὑδρ]ευομένας τὰ λουτρὰ ταῖς νύμφαις [μετὰ αὐλ]ῃτρίδος· [ἵ]
 να δὲ ς[υντελῆται] ἡ κρήνη καθότι γέγραπται ἀ[ποδεῖξαι ἐπι]ςτάτας δύο

The following abbreviations are used in this paper: LSA=F. Sokolowski, Lois Sacrées de l'Asie Mineure (Paris 1955); LSG=Idem, Lois Sacrées des cités grecques (Paris 1969); LSS=Idem, Lois Sacrées des cités grecques, Supplément (Paris 1962). The writer thanks Professor James H. Oliver, who kindly read this article and made suggestions.

- ¹ P. Herrmann, "Antiochus der Grosse und Teos," Anadolu 9 (1965) 29-159.
- ² J. H. Oliver, GRBS 9 (1968) 321f; Dunst and Merkelbach, ZPE 3 (1968) 170-74; J. and L. Robert, BullÉpigr 1969 (REG 82) 495.

85 ἐξ ἀπ[άντων τῶμ] πολιτῶν οἴτινες [ἐπιμελήςον]ται τῆς καταςκευῆς τῆς κ[ρήνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τὴν χρηςμοςύ]νην ὕδατος παρεςομέ-[νων].

83 πορ]ευομένας Hermann;]\ΤΡΙΔΟΣ Hermann.

To the expression in lines 77–78 we may compare the phrase $\mathring{v}\delta\alpha\tau\iota$ $\chi\rho\hat{\eta}c\theta\alpha\iota$, which occurs in many texts: LSG 75 (= Syll.³ 994), 8; 65 (= Syll.³ 736), 105; Syll.³ 888, 17; Thuc. 2.15.5.

The rules prescribe the use of water from the fountain for sacrifices and purifications. Sprinkling with water is ordered in many religious laws concerning ritual purity. I quote the following: LSG 55 (= Syll.3 1042), 5; 65 (= Syll.³ 736), 103-11; 97 (= Syll.³ 1218), A 16 and 30; 139 (= Syll.³ 983), 15. I do not think that the word λουτρά here means an offering for the dead, as the editor supposes. Nor do I believe that the participle $cvv\tau\epsilon\lambda o\hat{v}v\tau\alpha c$ is related to the word $\theta vci\alpha v$ in line 77, as Dunst and Merkelbach suggest.³ The participle in question should be connected with the following noun to mean 'ritual washing'. Water from the fountain is used also for the bathing of brides, a practice derived from the belief that springs and wells (fancied as nymphs who give birth to water) can be helpful in procreation.4 It is reported that young brides during the procession in honor of Aphrodite took baths in the river Scamandros.⁵ Pausanias (2.10.14) mentions the girl watercarrier (λουτροφόρος) in the service of Aphrodite in Sicyon, whose duty it probably was to deliver water for the use of brides.

LINE 82. The transport of water for the brides is supposed to have a solemn character: the girls who perform this service have to be festively dressed, to wear a wreath on their heads and to be accompanied by an $\alpha i \lambda \eta \tau \rho i c$. This cult servant is mentioned, apart from literary texts, in the cult regulations of Athena at Pergamon.⁶ Officials called $\delta \delta \rho o \phi \delta \rho o i$ are known in many cults, especially in that of Artemis.⁷ The special mention of brides in the cult regulation of Teos indicates, perhaps, that Laodike extended or expected to extend to them the same favors that she did to the poor girls at Iasos (see below).

⁸ Cf. supra, n.2.

⁴ M. Ninck, Die Bedeutung des Wassers im Kult and Leben des Altertums (Philologus Suppl. 14, 1921) 88.

⁵ Aeschin. Epist. 10.

⁶ LSA 12, 25. The flutist usually kept time for the marchers.

⁷ Cf. L. Robert, Opera minora selecta I (Amsterdam 1969) 381 and 391 n.1.

Line 86. The word χρηcμοςύνη can be found in Greek prose and poetry.8

Divine honors of a different kind were bestowed on Laodike by the city of Iasos. The decree on this subject was published recently by G. Pugliese Carratelli in *Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene* 45–46 (1967–68) 445–53, no.2, col.ii 14–22; see now the comment of J. and L. Robert in *Bulletin Epigraphique* 1971 (*REG* 84) 621. I propose to restore and to read the inscription as follows:

έπη <ι >νηςθα[ι] δὲ [καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτοῦ βα]-15 cίλιccαν Λαοδίκην καὶ ἵνα εὐ[χαριcτοῦcα ἡ πόλιc μη]θεν ελλείπηι τιμής πρός τ[ούς ξαυτήν εὐεργετήςαν]τας τὰ μέγιςτα, αίρείςθω κα[θ' ἔκαςτον έ]νια[υτὸν ὁ δῆμος] παρθένον βαςιλίςςης 'Αφρο[δίτης Λα]οδίκης [ίέρειαν' ἐν δὲ] ταῖς ἐξόδοις ἐχέτω στρό[φιον ἐρυθρ]όλευκο[ν καὶ τῆι αὐ]-20 τηι μη έξέςτω δις ιερητε[ύειν θυ]έτ[ω δε η αν λάχη την τι]μην εν τωι μηνὶ τωι Αφροδι[ςιωνι τηι - - - - - -]έν ἡι γέγονε ἡμέραι ἡ βαςίλι [ςςα οἶν οί δὲ πολίται παρα]γινέςθως αν πάντες εν [εςθηςι λαμπραίς δμοίως δε οί γα]μοῦντες καὶ αἱ γαμούμενα[ι ἄμα μετὰ τὴν τῶν γάμων ςύν]-25 ερξιν θυέτως βαςιλίς [ηι Λαοδίκηι ίερε ιον κατά δύ]ναμιν έκαςτοι δ αν π[ροαιρώνται· τῆι δὲ ἡμέραι τῆς βα]*cιλίccηc cυμπομπ[ευέτωcαν οι τε ίερειc πάντεc καί]* αί ίέρειαι παζαι καὶ αί [παρθένοι αί μέλλουςαι γα]μεῖςθαι ἐν τῶι [λοιπῶι τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ χρόνωι θυέτωςαν] 30 δὲ καὶ ἀπαρ[χὰς τῶν πρώτων φανέντων καρπῶν ἐν τῆι χώ]ραι, ετεφ[ανοῦντες τὴν εἰκόνα τῆς βαςιλίςςης καὶ εὐχὰς] ποιού μενοι - - -

15–16 rest. Pugliese Carratelli. 18–19 rest. J. et L. Robert. 18 ἱέρειαν Sokolowski. 19 Sokolowski: με cόλευκον J. et L. Robert. 24 J. et L. Robert: κάμων Pugliese-Carratelli. 30–31 ἡμέ]ραι Pugliese Carratelli.

This decree is preceded by a letter of the queen in which she extends her sympathy to the unfortunate city because of some disaster, and she orders a certain amount of wheat to be sent to the population each year for a period of ten years. Money from this grant will be distributed as a dowry to the daughters of poor families in the amount of 300 drachmas each. The city in acknowledgement of this gesture decided to found and organize divine honors for Laodike.

⁸ Theog. 389 and 394; Tyrt. 10.9; Hdt. 9.33.

Lines 17–19. Aphrodite was believed to assist the girls who wanted to marry, and on this account Laodike could be called indeed 'Aphrodite'. But I guess that the queen might be connected with Aphrodite in a common cult as a $c\dot{v}v\alpha oc$ $\theta\epsilon \dot{o}c$. This supposition is confirmed by much evidence. The cult of Apollonis, wife of Attalos I, according to the regulation (restored and commented upon by L. Robert)⁹ was managed and supervised by the priest of Aphrodite, which means that the queen was $c\dot{v}v\alpha oc$ of the goddess of beauty. The queens Arsinoe and Berenike were often associated in cult with Aphrodite. The temple of Aphrodite Stratonikis in Smyrna owed its name to the association of Stratonike, the wife of Antiochos I, with Aphrodite as a $c\dot{v}v\alpha oc$ $\theta\epsilon \dot{o}c$. Many Roman empresses or their daughters were assimilated in cult practice to Aphrodite or Venus. 12

LINE 19. The priestess is allowed to wear a rosy sash or ribbon, a distinction reserved to high dignitaries and priests: LSG 65 (= Syll.³ 736), 24 and 179; 68 (= Syll.³ 999), 5; 163, 3–8; LSS 33, A 6; Fouilles de Delphes III 2, 69, 3.¹³

LINE 20. The service of the priestess, certainly for a term of one year, is not to be repeated, so that this honor may be shared by many competing candidates. Compare LSG 48 (= IG II² 1328), A 14–15; 65 (= $Syll.^3$ 736), 125; $Syll.^3$ 1111, 37–38.

Line 21. The birthday of the sovereigns was usually called $\eta\mu\epsilon\rho\alpha$ $\tau o\hat{v}$ $\beta\alpha$ ciléw or $\tau\hat{\eta}c$ $\beta\alpha$ ciléc ηc .

LINE 23. On the solemn dress of the population see: Sardis VIII, Greek Inscriptions 8, 11ff; LSG 83 (= Syll.³ 1157), 39-40; 93 (= IG XII 9,

⁹ Études anatoliennes (Paris 1937, repr. Amsterdam 1970) 15 and 18-19, and Laodicée du Lycos (Paris 1969) 332.

¹⁰ See OGI 56, 22: τοὺς ἱερεῖς . . . προςονομάζεςθαι ἱερεῖς καὶ τῶν Εὐεργέτων θεῶν. Ibid. 90, 50: προςαγορε[ύεςθαι δὲ τοὺς ἱερεῖς τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν] καὶ τοῦ Ἐπιφανοῦς Εὐχαρίςτου ἱερεῖς πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις ὀνόμαςιν τῶν θεῶν ὧν ἱερατεύουςιν. Consult on this subject A. D. Nock, HSCP 41 (1930) 20ff; L. Robert, in American Studies in Papyrology I (New Haven 1966) 198.

¹¹ OGI 228, 3 and 12; 229, 12, 70 and 83; Syll.³ 990. Cf. L. Robert, REA 38 (1936) 24–25. It seems to me that the cult of Zeus Philippios (OGI 8, 5), that of Zeus Seleukios (L. Robert, Hellenica VI [Paris 1948] 18–26, cf. P. Fraser, CR 63 [1949] 92–94, answered by L. Robert, BullÉpigr 1951, 46), also the cult of Zeus Heraios (LSG 1, A 21), that of Zeus Damatrios (Lindos II.1, Inscr. 183), and that of Zeus Aphrodisios (IG XII 5, 220, 2) received their names because of partnership in a common cult or temple with other gods or deified sovereigns. Compare LSA 46, 4; 52, A 7; LSG 18, A 26; B 8; D 30–31.

¹² Cf. J. Aymard, MélRome 51 (1934) 178-90.

¹⁸ Cf. A. Wilhelm, JOAI 17 (1914) 40, and AthMitt 51 (1926) 7.

¹⁴ Cf. C. Habicht, Gottmenschentum und griechische Städte (Zetemata 14, Munich 1956) 152 and 156.

194), 6–7; LSA 33, A 38 and the texts cited by L. Robert, Opera minora selecta I [Amsterdam 1969] 486f.

Lines 24–25. The term *cύνερξιc* means 'wedlock', *cf.* Plato, *Tim.* 18D, *Rep.* 460A.

Lines 27–28. For the procession of the priests see the references for line 23.

LINE 30. I restore according to the decree from Teos, *D* lines 54–56.

We have another document of Iasos concerning divine honors for Antiochos III and Laodike, published by D. Levi and G. Pugliese Carratelli in *Annuario* 39–40 (1961–62) 578, no.5.¹⁵

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αι τὴν επονδοφ[ορίαν - -]
           έπεύχεςθαι δὲ τοὺς φυλέτας [ςύμπαντα γίν]-
           εςθαι τ' ἀγαθὰ βαςιλεῖ τε μεγάλωι 'Α[ντιόχωι]
           καὶ βαςιλίςςηι Λαοδίκηι καὶ τοῖς τ[έκνοις]
5
           καὶ τῆι πόλει· ἀναγράψαι δὲ καὶ τὸ [ψήφιςμα τό]-
           δε εν τῷ ἐπιφανεςτάτωι τόπω[ι· ὅπως ἄν δ' εἰς αἰῶ]-
           να ή τε τοῦ βαςιλέως εὔνοια [καὶ ή φιλοτιμία]
           καὶ ἡ τῆς φυλῆς ὑπὲρ τῆς π[όλεως ἐπικουρία]
           αείμνης τος διαμένηι, τ[ην αιρεςιν περί τοῦ]
10
           βωμοῦ, ἵνα τῶι τε μεγέ[θει τοῦ βαςιλέως κατα]-
           κευας\theta \hat{\eta}, προς\gamma[ράψαι ὑπὲρ τῆς φυλῆς Ἡρακ (e.g.)]-
           ληΐδος δμοίω[c - - - - - - - - - \psi \eta \phi]-
           ίςματος Γ[
           ἀναλω[μ
           JNLL
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2 πάντα γ. Levi & Pugliese Carratelli. 4 τέκνοις αὐτῶν Levi & Pugliese Carratelli. 5 rest. Levi & Pugliese Carratelli. 6–7 τηνα Levi & Pugliese Carratelli. 7 corr. Robert: γε Levi & Pugliese Carratelli. 8 εὐχαριςτία Robert. 10–11 rest. Robert: CBΕΩΑСΘΗΠΡΟCΓ Levi & Pugliese Carratelli. 11–12 rest. Robert: βαςι]λητόδος Levi & Pugliese Carratelli.

The tribe in question decided to offer special prayers on behalf of King Antiochos III, his wife Laodike, their children and the city of Iasos. The reason for this intercession escapes us; it apparently happened before the formal inauguration of the royal cult by the city.

¹⁵ See the comment of L. Robert, Opera minora selecta III (Amsterdam 1970) 1503-04.

Lines 6-7. For the phrase cf. OGI 194, 32; 332, 32; 666, 22; Syll.³ 814, 50.

LINE 8. The restored word means 'intercession', cf. LSA 73 (= Syll.³ 1015), 24 and 34. One could think also of the term $\epsilon \dot{v} \chi \alpha \rho \iota c \tau i \alpha$, as suggested by Robert.

Lines 10–12. A similar disposition is prescribed by the cult regulation from Teos, C lines 9–13: κατακευάκακεθ[αι δὲ βωμὸν ἐκάκτην τῶν] <math>κατακευάκακεθ[αι δὲ βωμὸν ἐκάκτην τῶν] <math>κατακευάκακεθ[αι δὲ βωμὸν ἐκάκτην τῶν] <math>κατακευάκακεθ[αι δὲ βωμὸν τῆκ κατακενάκακεθ] τοῦ τε β[ακιλέωκε] 'Αντιόχου Μεγάλου καὶ [τῆκ ἀδελφῆκ αὐτ]οῦ βακιλ[ίκτηκεθ]ακοδίκης.

The inscriptions discussed above are related to the cult of Laodike as it was founded spontaneously by the Greek cities of Asia Minor. Besides this city cult there existed in the provinces of Antiochos' empire an imperial cult of Laodike, founded and supervised by the royal administration. We have copies of the king's ordinances on this subject. Antiochos, desiring to increase the honors for his wife, decided to appoint high-priestesses of Laodike in the same way that he nominated high-priests for his own cult in the provinces. This high female dignitary of the queen's cult had to wear a special kind of crown: φορήςουςι ςτεφάνους χρυςοῦς ἔχοντας εἰκόνας αὐτῆς, i.e., one with a portrait of Laodike herself. The name of the high-priestess will be put into official documents as a part of the date. This organization of the cult of Laodike was quite different from that founded freely and willingly by the Greek cities under the protection of Antiochos III.

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