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Teos and Abdera

Two Cities in Peace and War

MUSTAFA ADAK
PETER THONEMANN

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

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Great Clarendon Street, Oxford, OX2 6DP,
United Kingdom

Oxford University Press is a department of the University of Oxford.
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First Edition published in 2022

Impression: 1

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Published in the United States of America by Oxford University Press
198 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10016, United States of America

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

Data available

Library of Congress Control Number: 2021945587

ISBN 978-0-19-284542-9

DOI: 10.1093/oso/9780192845429.001.0001

Printed in Great Britain by
Bell & Bain Ltd., Glasgow

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Preface

The rich and varied epigraphic record of the city of Teos in northern Ionia has been dramatically enriched by recent excavations at the site, conducted since 2010 under the aegis of the University of Ankara. Over the past decade, the number of known inscriptions from Teos has increased from c.300 to c.500, and every season's campaign brings significant new finds. The most remarkable document discovered in recent years is a long honorific decree of Abdera for the *dēmos* of Teos, dating to the mid-160s BC (Chapter 1, **Document 1**). The new inscription invites a reassessment of the uniquely close relationship between Teos and her daughter-city Abdera over a period of almost four centuries, from the original Teian settlement at Abdera in the 540s BC to the Roman sack of Abdera in 170 BC and its aftermath. We hope that readers will share our excitement in retracing the long shared history of Teos and Abdera, in times of both peace and war.

It is a pleasure to thank the many colleagues and institutions that have supported our work. Musa Kadioğlu and his excavation team provided a splendid environment to work on the inscriptions preserved on site at Teos. Erkan Taşdelen gave invaluable technical assistance in the decipherment of the new Abdera decree, as well as many other inscriptions. Serkan Örnek drew the maps of Ionia and Thrace. The directorate of the Archaeological Museum at İzmir kindly allowed Mustafa Adak to work on the relevant inscriptions from Teos now housed in the museum, and Maria Chryssafi gave a hospitable welcome to Peter Thonemann at the site and museum of Abdera. Denis Rousset generously provided photographs of Philippe Le Bas's squeeze of Dirae I (Chapter 3, **Document 2**) at the Fonds Louis Robert, and the British Library provided access to the epigraphic manuscripts of William Sherard. Peter Thonemann's work on this book was made possible by a Senior Research Fellowship from the British Academy/Leverhulme Trust. For advice on specific textual or interpretative problems, we are grateful to Hariclea Brecolaki, Charles Crowther, Patrice Hamon, Philip Kinns, Christina Kokkinia, Stephen Lambert, Leah Lazar, John Ma, Andrew Meadows, Maria-Gabriella Parissaki, Robert Parker, Selene Psoma, P. J. Rhodes, Bert Smith, and the anonymous readers for the Press. We owe a particular debt of gratitude to Christopher Jones for his assistance and encouragement throughout. Appropriately, this

book has been a collaboration across national borders, and it is a pleasure to put on record the *ἀνέλλιπτος ὁμόνοια* which has characterized our work together.

Mustafa Adak
Peter Thonemann
Akdeniz Üniversitesi, Antalya
Wadham College, Oxford

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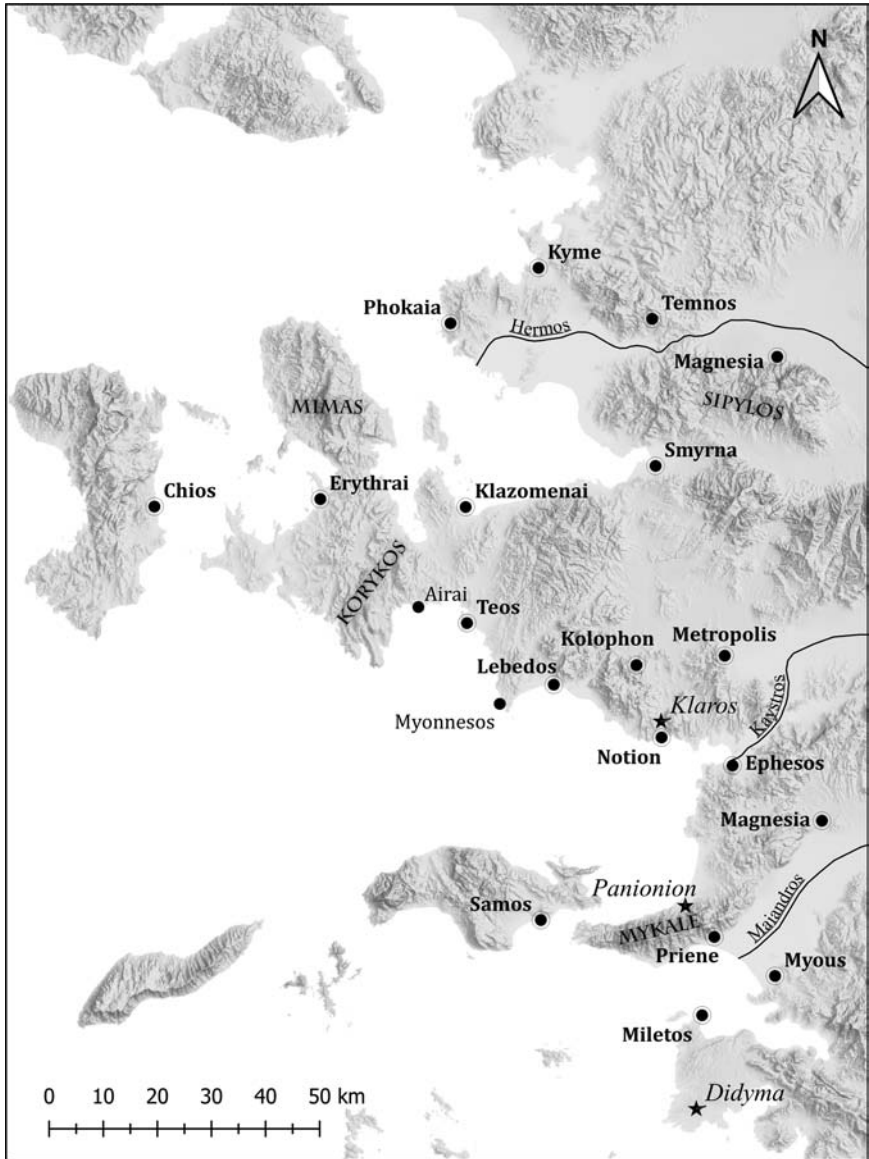
Abbreviations

AE	<i>L'Année épigraphique</i>
Agora	<i>The Athenian Agora: Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens</i> . Princeton, NJ, 1953–.
Barrington Atlas	R. J. A. Talbert, <i>Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World</i> (3 vols). Princeton, NJ and Oxford.
BE	<i>Bulletin épigraphique</i> , annually in REG.
BMC Phrygia	B. V. Head, <i>A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum: Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Phrygia</i> . London, 1906.
BNJ	I. Worthington (ed.), <i>Brill's New Jacoby Online</i> , 2nd edn, < https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/browse/brill-s-new-jacoby-2 >.
CGRN	<i>Collection of Greek Ritual Norms</i> , < http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be >.
CH	<i>Coin Hoards</i> . London, 1975–2002 (vols I–IX); New York, 2010 (vol. X).
CID IV	F. Lefèvre, <i>Corpus des inscriptions de Delphes, Tome IV: Documents amphictioniques</i> . Paris, 2002.
CIG	A. Boeckh, <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> (4 vols). Berlin, 1828–77.
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> .
CITh III	P. Hamon, <i>Corpus des inscriptions de Thasos, III: Documents publics du quatrième siècle et de l'époque hellénistique</i> . Athens.
CNG	<i>Classical Numismatic Group</i> (auction catalogues).
CPI I	A. K. Bowman, C. V. Crowther, S. Hornblower, R. Mairs, and K. Savvopoulos, <i>Corpus of Ptolemaic Inscriptions, Volume 1: Alexandria and the Delta (Nos. 1–206), Part I: Greek, Bilingual, and Trilingual Inscriptions from Egypt</i> . Oxford, 2021.
FD III	<i>Fouilles de Delphes, Tome III: Épigraphie</i> . Paris, 1909–85.
FGrHist	F. Jacoby, <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> . Berlin and Leiden, 1923–.
GEI	<i>Greek Economic Inscriptions</i> , < http://geionline.sns.it >.
IAPH2007	J. Reynolds, C. Roueché, and G. Bodard, <i>Inscriptions of Aphrodisias</i> , < http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/iaph2007 >.
I.Beroia	L. Gounaropoulou and M. Hatzopoulos, <i>Ἐπιγραφές Κάτω Μακεδονίας. Α' Ἐπιγραφές Βεροίας</i> . Athens, 1998.
I.Cret.	M. Guarducci, <i>Inscriptiones Creticae</i> (4 vols). Rome, 1935–50.
I.Délos	<i>Inscriptions de Délos</i> (7 vols). Paris, 1926–72.
I.Didyma	A. Rehm, <i>Didyma II. Die Inschriften</i> . Berlin, 1958.
I.Eleusis	K. Clinton, <i>Eleusis: The Inscriptions on Stone</i> (2 vols). Athens, 2005–8.

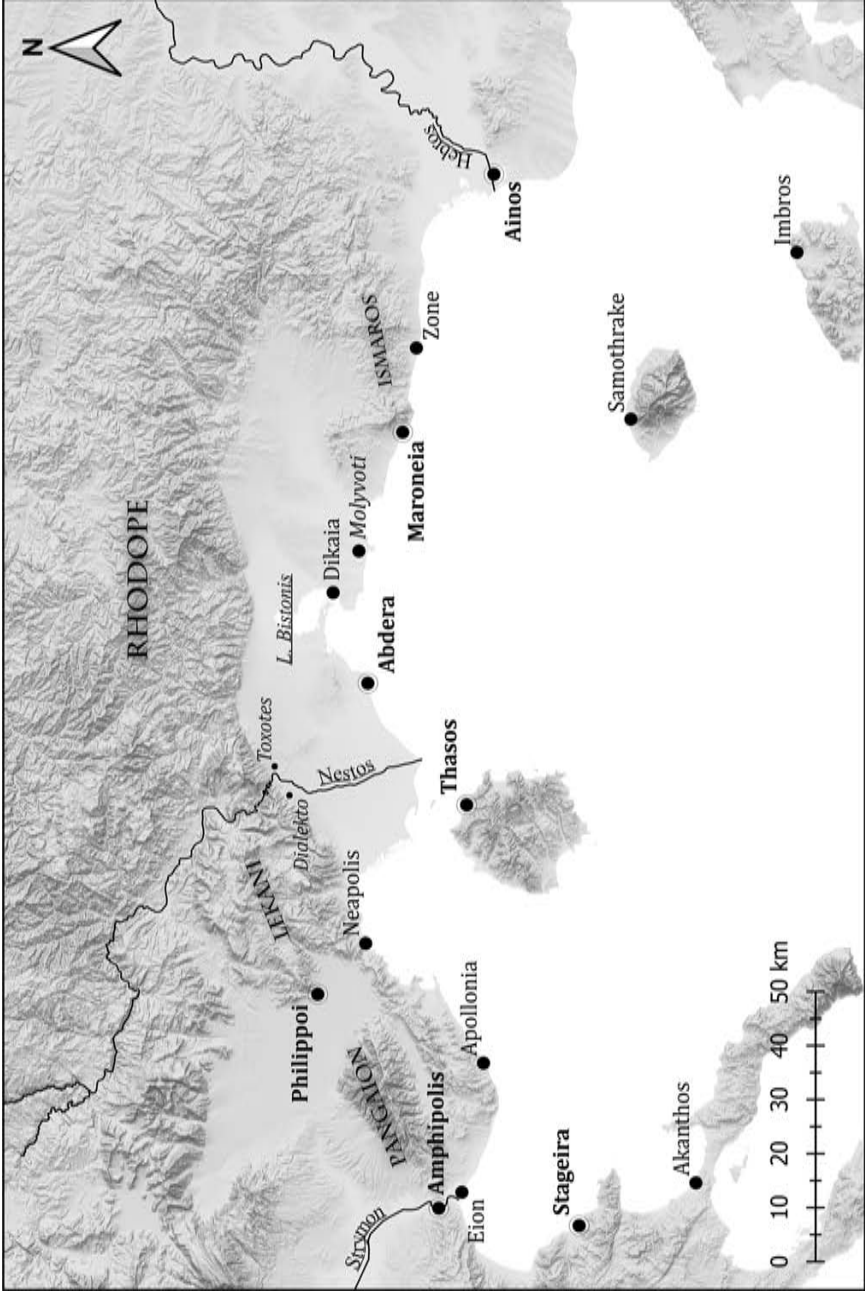
- I.Ephesos* H. Wankel, R. Merkelbach, et al., *Die Inschriften von Ephesos* (7 vols). IGSK 11–17. Bonn, 1979–81.
- I.Erythrai* H. Engelmann and R. Merkelbach, *Die Inschriften von Erythrai und Klazomenai* (2 vols). IGSK 1–2. Bonn, 1972–3.
- IG* *Inscriptiones Graecae*.
- IGBulg.* G. Mihailov, *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae* (5 vols in 6). Sofia, 1958–97.
- IGRR* R. Cagnat, *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes* (3 vols). Paris, 1906–27.
- IGUR* L. Moretti, *Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae* (4 vols). Rome, 1968–90.
- I.Iasos* W. Blümel, *Die Inschriften von Iasos* (2 vols). IGSK 28. Bonn, 1985.
- I.Ilion* P. Frisch, *Die Inschriften von Ilion*. IGSK 3. Bonn, 1975.
- I.Iznik* S. Şahin, *Katalog der antiken Inschriften des Museums von Iznik (Nikaia)* (2 vols in 4). IGSK 9–10. Bonn, 1979–87.
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- I.Kaunos* Chr. Marek, *Die Inschriften von Kaunos*. Munich, 2006.
- I.Knidos* W. Blümel, *Die Inschriften von Knidos I*. IGSK 41. Bonn, 1992.
- I.Kyme* H. Engelmann, *Die Inschriften von Kyme*. IGSK 5. Bonn, 1976.
- I.Lampsakos* P. Frisch, *Die Inschriften von Lampsakos*. IGSK 6. Bonn, 1978.
- I.Laodikeia* T. Corsten, *Die Inschriften von Laodikeia am Lykos. I*. IGSK 49. Bonn, 1997.
- I.Magnesia* O. Kern, *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander*. Berlin, 1900.
- I.Mylasa* W. Blümel, *Die Inschriften von Mylasa* (2 vols). IGSK 34–5. Bonn, 1987–8.
- I.Oropos* B. Petrakos, *Οἱ Ἐπιγραφές τοῦ Ὠρωποῦ*. Athens, 1997.
- IOSPE I²* V. Latyshev, *Inscriptiones antiquae orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini graecae et latinae, I: Inscriptiones Tyriae, Olbiae, Chersonesi Tauricae* (2nd edn). St Petersburg, 1916.
- IOSPE³* *Inscriptiones antiquae orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini graecae et latinae* (3rd edn), <<http://iospe.kcl.ac.uk/index.html>>.
- I.Pergamon* M. Fränkel, *Die Inschriften von Pergamon* (2 vols). Berlin, 1890–5.
- I.Perge* S. Şahin, *Die Inschriften von Perge* (2 vols). IGSK 54, 61. Bonn, 1999–2004.
- I.Pisid.Cen.* G. H. R. Horsley and S. Mitchell, *The Inscriptions of Central Pisidia*. IGSK 57. Bonn, 2000.
- I.Priene²* W. Blümel and R. Merkelbach, *Die Inschriften von Priene*. IGSK 69. Bonn, 2014.
- I.Prusa ad Olymum* T. Corsten, *Die Inschriften von Prusa ad Olymum* (2 vols). IGSK 39–40. Bonn, 1991–3.

- I^{ScM} I D. M. Pippidi, *Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris graecae et latinae, I: Inscriptiones Histriae et vicinia*. Bucharest, 1983.
- I^{SE} III² F. Canali de Rossi, *Iscrizioni storiche ellenistiche, III: Decreti per ambasciatori greci al senato* (2nd edn). Rome, 2006.
- I^{Selge} J. Nollé and F. Schindler, *Die Inschriften von Selge. IGSK 37*. Bonn, 1991.
- I^{Sestos} J. Krauss, *Die Inschriften von Sestos und der thrakischen Chersones. IGSK 19*. Bonn, 1980.
- I^{Side} J. Nollé, *Side im Altertum* (2 vols). IGSK 43–4. Bonn, 1993–2001.
- I^{Strat.} M. Ç. Şahin, *Die Inschriften von Stratonikeia* (2 vols in 3). IGSK 21–2. Bonn, 1981–90.
- I^{ThrakAig} L. D. Loukopoulou, M. G. Parissaki, S. Psoma, and A. Zournatzi, *Ἐπιγραφὲς τῆς Θράκης τῆς Αἰγαίου*. Athens, 2005.
- I^{VO} W. Dittenberger and K. Purgold, *Die Inschriften von Olympia*. Berlin, 1896.
- Kühner–Gerth R. Kühner and B. Gerth, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache, II Teil: Satzlehre* (3rd edn). Hanover and Leipzig, 1898.
- L^{GMN} *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*.
- L^{IMC} *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*.
- L^{indos} II C. Blinkenberg, *Lindos. Fouilles et recherches, 1902–1914, Vol. II: Inscriptions* (2 vols). Copenhagen and Berlin, 1941.
- L^{SJ} H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, revised by H. Stuart Jones and R. McKenzie.
- M^{MAMA} *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*.
- M^{ilet} *Milet. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen seit dem Jahre 1899*.
- O^{GIS} W. Dittenberger, *Orientalis Graeci inscriptiones selectae* (2 vols). Leipzig, 1903–5.
- P^{MG} D. L. Page, *Poetae Melici Graeci*. Oxford, 1962.
- R^E *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*.
- Robert, *Hellenica* L. Robert, *Hellenica. Recueil d'épigraphie, de numismatique et d'antiquités grecques* (13 vols in 12). Paris, 1940–65.
- Robert, *OMS* L. Robert, *Opera Minora Selecta. Épigraphie et antiquités grecques* (7 vols). Amsterdam, 1969–90.
- R^{oma} *Roma Numismatics* (auction catalogues).
- R^{PC} *Roman Provincial Coinage*, <<https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk>>.
- S^{ardis} VII 1 W. H. Buckler and D. M. Robinson, *Sardis, Vol. VII: Greek and Latin Inscriptions, Part 1*. Leiden, 1932.
- S^{EG} *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*.
- S^{GO} R. Merkelbach and F. Stauber, *Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten* (5 vols). Munich and Leipzig, 1998–2004.
- S^{NG} *Cop. Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum*.

- StV* IV R. M. Errington, *Die Staatsverträge des Altertums IV: Die Verträge der griechisch-römischen Welt von ca. 200 v. Chr. bis zum Beginn der Kaiserzeit*. Munich, 2020.
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- Syll.*² W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum* (2nd edn, 3 vols). Leipzig, 1898–1901.
- Syll.*³ W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum* (3rd edn, 4 vols). Leipzig, 1915–24.
- TAM* *Tituli Asiae Minoris*.
- ThesCRA* *Thesaurus cultus et rituum antiquorum* (8 vols). Los Angeles, 2004–14.
- Tit. Calymnii* M. Segre, ‘Tituli Calymnii’, *ASAtene* 22–3 (N.S. 6–7), 1944–5, 1–248.
- Welles, RC* C. B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period: A Study in Greek Epigraphy*. Oxford, 1934.



Map 1. Ionia



Map 2. Aegean Thrace

Prologue

The Fall of Abdera, 170 BC

In his account of events during the second year of the Third Macedonian War, Livy recounts the arrival in Rome, probably in late summer 170 BC, of a delegation from the free city of Abdera, on the Aegean coast of Thrace (43.4.8–13):

Weeping before the senate-house, they protested that their city had been captured and plundered by Hortensius. They said that the reason for the destruction of the city was the following: that when he ordered them to furnish 100,000 *denarii* and 50,000 *modii* of wheat, they had requested a deferral while they sent ambassadors to the consul Hostilius and to Rome. But hardly had the ambassadors reached the consul when they heard that their city had been captured, the leading men beheaded, and the rest of the population enslaved. The senate judged the affair to be an outrage, and they passed the same decree about the Abderites as they had done concerning the Koroneans the previous year, and ordered the praetor Q. Maenius to pronounce it as an edict before the assembly. Two ambassadors, C. Sempronius Blaesus and Sex. Iulius Caesar, were sent to restore the Abderites to freedom, and these same men were instructed to announce to both the consul Hostilius and the praetor Hortensius that the senate had resolved that an unjust war had been waged against the Abderites, and that all those who had been enslaved were to be sought out and restored to freedom.

The treatment of Abdera by the praetor L. Hortensius (admiral of the Roman fleet in 170 BC) was not atypical of the behaviour of Roman commanders in Greece during the early years of the war against Perseus. The previous year, as Livy says, the campaign in Greece had been waged ‘with excessive cruelty and greed by the consul Licinius and the praetor Lucretius’ (43.4.5). The Boiotian city of Haliartos (which chose to resist the Romans) was razed to the ground; the neighbouring cities of Thisbe and Koronea, which surrendered without a fight, were treated with exemplary harshness, including the enslavement of at least part of the cities’ populations (a decision subsequently reversed by the

senate).¹ Autumn 170 BC also saw the arrival in Rome of a delegation from Chalkis in Euboia, Rome's chief naval base in the Aegean, complaining that both Lucretius and Hortensius had ruthlessly plundered their city, as well as kidnapping many free persons and selling them into slavery (Livy 43.7.5–8.10).

The siege and destruction of Abdera in summer 170 BC are also described—from a rather different perspective—in an isolated fragment from the lost thirtieth book of Diodoros (30.6):

When Eumenes' troops were besieging the city of Abdera and despaired of capturing it by force, they sent in secret to a certain Python, a leading man among the Abderites, who was defending the key position with two hundred of his own slaves and freedmen. Having won him over with various promises, they were admitted within the walls thanks to his assistance, and gained control of the city. This Python, who had betrayed his city, although he received a moderate reward, continued to have the destruction of his city before his eyes, and lived out the rest of his life in despondency and regret.

Diodoros here attributes the sack of Abdera to Rome's ally Eumenes II of Pergamon, who had seized the opportunity of Rome's war with Perseus to try (not for the first time) to extend his domains westwards from the Hellespont into coastal Thrace. Late in the first year of the war, as Livy tells us, Eumenes' general Korrhagos had launched a campaign from the Hellespontine region against Perseus' ally King Kotys of Thrace; along with a Thracian dynast by the name of Autlesbis, Korrhagos had seized a region called 'Marene', probably somewhere east of the river Hebros near Eumenes' territories on the northern shore of the Propontis.² By summer 170 BC, to judge from Diodoros, Korrhagos had succeeded in pushing as far west as Abdera, where he seems to have met up with Hortensius' fleet. The presence of an Attalid army may well account for the apparent reluctance of the Abderites to welcome Hortensius with the enthusiasm he clearly expected: the Abderites may have feared (rightly or wrongly) that they were about to be handed over to Eumenes as a

¹ Livy 42.63.3–12 and *Per.* 43; Zonar. 9.22.6; Gruen 1984, I 297–8; Ferrary 1988, 175–7; Burton 2017, 134. For the extant *s.c. de Thisbensibus* (October 170 BC) and the fragmentary *s.c. de Coronaeis* (probably late autumn 171 BC), see Sherk 1969, 26–33, nos. 2–3 (translated in Sherk 1984, nos. 20–1), with Burton 2017, 207–9.

² Livy 42.67.4–5, with Gruen 1984, I 557–8; Hatzopoulos and Loukopoulou 1987, 65. Korrhagos is almost certainly identical to the Attalid *stratēgos* of the Hellespontine region honoured by an unknown city (Apollonia on the Rhyndakos?) in the early 180s BC: *I.Prusa ad Olympum* 1001, with Holleaux 1924, 48–50.

prize of war.³ Whether the primary responsibility for the sack of Abdera rests with Hortensius (as Livy states) or with Eumenes' forces (as Diodoros implies) is ultimately unknowable; from the Abderite perspective, it was the Roman senate who were in a position to reverse the decision, and hence it was to them that they appealed for redress in the late summer of 170 BC.

The senate, as we have seen, was appalled by Hortensius' actions. C. Sempronius Blaesus and Sex. Iulius Caesar were sent to Thrace to restore the Abderites to freedom, and to seek out and liberate those of the Abderites who had been sold into slavery.⁴ For Livy, the story essentially ends there: Abdera reappears in his narrative only in passing, in his account of the post-war settlement of 167 BC, when the status of Abdera and her neighbours Maroneia and Ainos as free cities was confirmed by the Roman senate.⁵ But for us, the sack of Abdera in summer 170 BC is only the beginning. Thanks to an extraordinary new epigraphic discovery from the city of Teos in western Asia Minor, the full story of the slow and painful recovery of Abdera in the years after the Roman sack can now be told for the first time.

³ The Abderites had good reason to fear Pergamene ambitions in coastal Thrace: in 185 BC, Eumenes II had requested the cities of Maroneia and Ainos as a reward for services rendered in the war against Antiochos (Livy 39.27: *praemia belli*), and Attalos II repeated the request in 167 BC (Polyb. 30.3.3; Livy 45.20.2): see Dmitriev 2010.

⁴ Bielman 1994, 305.

⁵ Livy 45.29.6. For the treaties of alliance struck by Rome with Maroneia and Ainos at this point, see *IThrakAig* E168 (English translation, Bagnall and Derow 2004, no. 49); a reference to Abdera is restored in line 7 by R. M. Errington, *StV* IV 664.