

## 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.<sup>1</sup> 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 *symmorai*, 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.<sup>2</sup> I propose therefore to restore and to discuss C, lines 76–87, of the inscription of Teos:

- τύχη ἀγαθῆ·
- 77 ὅσοι ἂν ἱερεῖς ἢ ὅσαι ἰέρειαι πρὸ πόλεως θυσίαν συντελῶσιν ὑ[δρεύε]-  
θαι πρὸς τὰς θυσίας ἐν οἷς 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' ἂν λαμ[βάνωσιν τὸ]  
ὔδωρ εἰς τ[ὰς] χρεῖας τὰς προγεγραμμένας, παραγίνεσθ[αι ἐπὶ τῆγ]  
κρήνην [καὶ ἀ]ποπορεύεσθαι ἐν ἐσθῆτι λαμπραῖ ἐς[τεφανω]μ[έ]-  
νους, τὰ[ς] δὲ ὑδρ]ενομένας τὰ λουτρὰ ταῖς νύμφαις [μετὰ αὐλ]ητρίδος· [ἴ]-  
να δὲ σ[υντελήται] ἢ κρήνη καθότι γέγραπται ἀ[ποδείξαι 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.

<sup>1</sup> P. Herrmann, "Antiochos der Grosse und Teos," *Anadolu* 9 (1965) 29–159.

<sup>2</sup> J. H. Oliver, *GRBS* 9 (1968) 321f; Dunst and Merkelbach, *ZPE* 3 (1968) 170–74; J. and L. Robert, *BullÉpigr* 1969 (REG 82) 495.

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85 ἐξ ἀπ[άντων τῶμ] πολιτῶν οἷτινες [ἐπιμελήσον]ται τῆς κατασκευῆς  
τῆς κ[ρήνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τὴν χρησιμοσύ]νην ὕδατος παρεσομέ-  
[νων].

83 πορ]ευομένας Hermann; ]ΔΤΡΙΔΩΣ Hermann.

To the expression in lines 77–78 we may compare the phrase ὕδατι  
χρηθεῖται, which occurs in many texts: *LSG* 75 (= *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 994), 8; 65  
(= *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 736), 105; *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 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.*<sup>3</sup>  
1042), 5; 65 (= *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 736), 103–11; 97 (= *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 1218), *A* 16 and 30; 139  
(= *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 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 *συντελοῦντας* is related to the word *θυεῖαν* in line 77, as  
Dunst and Merkelbach suggest.<sup>3</sup> 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 de-  
rived from the belief that springs and wells (fancied as nymphs who  
give birth to water) can be helpful in procreation.<sup>4</sup> It is reported that  
young brides during the procession in honor of Aphrodite took baths  
in the river Scamandros.<sup>5</sup> Pausanias (2.10.14) mentions the girl water-  
carrier (*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 fes-  
tively dressed, to wear a wreath on their heads and to be accom-  
panied by an *ἀγλητρίς*. This cult servant is mentioned, apart from  
literary texts, in the cult regulations of Athena at Pergamon.<sup>6</sup> Offi-  
cials called *ὕδροφόροι* are known in many cults, especially in that of  
Artemis.<sup>7</sup> 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).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *supra*, n.2.

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

<sup>5</sup> Aeschin. *Epist.* 10.

<sup>6</sup> *LSA* 12, 25. The flutist usually kept time for the marchers.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. L. Robert, *Opera minora selecta* I (Amsterdam 1969) 381 and 391 n.1.

LINE 86. The word *χρημοσύνη* can be found in Greek prose and poetry.<sup>8</sup>

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:

ἐπη<ι>νησθα[ι] δὲ [καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτοῦ βα]-  
15      <ι>λίσσαν Λαοδίκην καὶ ἵνα εὐ[χαριστοῦσα ἢ πόλις μη]-  
          θὲν ἐλλείπη τιμῆς πρὸς τ[οὺς ἑαυτὴν εὐεργετήσαν]-  
          τας τὰ μέγιστα, αἰρείσθω κα[θ' ἑκαστον ἐ]νια[υτὸν ὁ δῆμος]  
          παρθένον βασιλίσσης Ἀφρο[δίτης Λα]οδίκης [ἰέρειαν ἐν δὲ]  
          ταῖς ἐξόδοις ἐχέτω στρό[φιον ἐρυθρ]όλευκο[ν καὶ τῆι αὐ]-  
20      τῆι μὴ ἐξέστω δις ἱερητε[ύειν· θυ]έτ[ω δὲ ἢ ἂν λάχῃ τὴν τι]-  
          μὴν ἐν τῶι μηνὶ τῶι Ἀφροδι[σιῶνι τῆι - - - - -]  
          ἐν ἧι γέγονε ἡμέραι ἢ βασιλι[σσαι οἶν· οἱ δὲ πολῖται παρα]-  
          γινέσθωσαν πάντες ἐν [ἐσθῆσι λαμπραῖς· ὁμοίως δὲ οἱ γα]-  
          μοῦντες καὶ αἱ γαμούμενα[ι ἅμα μετὰ τὴν τῶν γάμων σύν]-  
25      ερξιν θυέτωσαν βασιλίσ[σῃ Λαοδίκῃ ἱερεῖον κατὰ δύ]-  
          ναμιν ἑκαστοι ὁ ἂν π[ροαιρῶνται· τῆι δὲ ἡμέραι τῆς βα]-  
          σιλίσσης συμπομπ[ευέτωσαν οἷ τε ἱερεῖς πάντες καὶ]  
          αἱ ἰέρειαι πᾶσαι καὶ αἱ [παρθένοι αἱ μέλλουσαι γα]-  
          μεῖσθαι ἐν τῶι [λοιπῶι τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ χρόνῳ· θυέτωσαν]  
30      δὲ καὶ ἀπαρ[χὰς τῶν πρώτων φανέντων καρπῶν ἐν τῆι χώ]-  
          ραι, στεφ[ανοῦντες τὴν εἰκόνα τῆς βασιλίσσης καὶ εὐχὰς]  
          ποιού[μενοι - - -]

15–16 rest. Pugliese Carratelli. 18–19 rest. J. et L. Robert. 18 ἰέρειαν Sokolowski. 19 Sokolowski: μεσόλευκον 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.

<sup>8</sup> Theog. 389 and 394; Tyr. 10.9; Hdt. 9.33.

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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 *κύνναος θεός*. 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)<sup>9</sup> was managed and supervised by the priest of Aphrodite, which means that the queen was *κύνναος* of the goddess of beauty. The queens Arsinoe and Berenike were often associated in cult with Aphrodite.<sup>10</sup> The temple of Aphrodite *Stratonikis* in Smyrna owed its name to the association of Stratonike, the wife of Antiochos I, with Aphrodite as a *κύνναος θεός*.<sup>11</sup> Many Roman empresses or their daughters were assimilated in cult practice to Aphrodite or Venus.<sup>12</sup>

LINE 19. The priestess is allowed to wear a rosy sash or ribbon, a distinction reserved to high dignitaries and priests: LSG 65 (= Syll.<sup>3</sup> 736), 24 and 179; 68 (= Syll.<sup>3</sup> 999), 5; 163, 3–8; LSS 33, A 6; *Fouilles de Delphes* III 2, 69, 3.<sup>13</sup>

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 II<sup>2</sup> 1328), A 14–15; 65 (= Syll.<sup>3</sup> 736), 125; Syll.<sup>3</sup> 1111, 37–38.

LINE 21. The birthday of the sovereigns was usually called *ἡμέρα τοῦ βασιλέως* or *τῆς βασιλίσσης*.<sup>14</sup>

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

<sup>9</sup> *Études anatoliennes* (Paris 1937, repr. Amsterdam 1970) 15 and 18–19, and *Laodicée du Lycos* (Paris 1969) 332.

<sup>10</sup> See OGI 56, 22: *τοὺς ἱερεῖς . . . προνομάζεσθαι ἱερεῖς καὶ τῶν Εὐεργέτων θεῶν*. *Ibid.* 90, 50: *προσαγορεῖσθαι 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.

<sup>11</sup> OGI 228, 3 and 12; 229, 12, 70 and 83; Syll.<sup>3</sup> 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 *Damatris* (*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.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. J. Aymard, *MélRome* 51 (1934) 178–90.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. A. Wilhelm, *JOAI* 17 (1914) 40, and *AthMitt* 51 (1926) 7.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. C. Habicht, *Gottmenschen 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 *κύνεργις* 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.<sup>15</sup>

- - -  
αι τὴν σπονδοφ[ορίαν - -]  
ἐπεύχεσθαι δὲ τοὺς φυλέτας [κύμπαντα γίν]-  
εσθαι τ' ἀγαθὰ βασιλεῖ τε μεγάλωι Ἀ[ντιόχωι]  
καὶ βασιλίσσηι Λαοδίκηι καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις  
5 καὶ τῇ πόλει· ἀναγράψαι δὲ καὶ τὸ [ψηφισμα τό]-  
δε ἐν τῷ ἐπιφανεστάτῳ τόπω[ι· ὅπως ἂν δ' εἰς αἰῶ]-  
να ἢ τε τοῦ βασιλέως εὐνοία [καὶ ἡ φιλοτιμία]  
καὶ ἡ τῆς φυλῆς ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἐπικουρία]  
ἀείμνηστος διαμένῃ, τ[ὴν αἴρεσιν περὶ τοῦ]  
10 βωμοῦ, ἵνα τῷ τε μεγέ[θει τοῦ βασιλέως κατα]-  
σκευασθῇ, προσγ[ράψαι ὑπὲρ τῆς φυλῆς Ἑρακ (e.g.)]-  
ληΐδος ὁμοίω[ς - - - - - ψηφ]-  
ίματος Γ[  
ἀναλω[μ  
ΩΝΓ[

2 πάντα γ. Levi & Pugliese Carratelli. 4 τέκνοις αὐτῶν Levi & Pugliese Carratelli. 5 rest. Levi & Pugliese Carratelli. 6–7 ἵνα Levi & Pugliese Carratelli. 7 corr. Robert: γε Levi & Pugliese Carratelli. 8 εὐχαριστία Robert. 10–11 rest. Robert: CBEΩACΘHΠPOCΓ Levi & Pugliese Carratelli. 11–12 rest. Robert: βασι]ληΐδος 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.

<sup>15</sup> See the comment of L. Robert, *Opera minora selecta* III (Amsterdam 1970) 1503–04.

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LINES 6–7. For the phrase *cf.* OGI 194, 32; 332, 32; 666, 22; Syll.<sup>3</sup> 814, 50.

LINE 8. The restored word means ‘intercession’, *cf.* LSA 73 (= Syll.<sup>3</sup> 1015), 24 and 34. One could think also of the term *εὐχαριστία*, as suggested by Robert.

LINES 10–12. A similar disposition is prescribed by the cult regulation from Teos, C lines 9–13: *κατασκευάσασθ[αι δὲ βωμὸν ἐκάστην τῶν] συμ[οριῶν ἐν τῶι] ἰδίῳ τόπῳ ἓνα παρὰ [τὸν βωμὸν τῆς συμορίας] τοῦ τε β[ασιλέως] Ἀντιόχου Μεγάλου καὶ [τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐτ]οῦ βασιλ[ίσσης Λ]αοδίκης.*

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.<sup>16</sup> 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: *φορήκουσι 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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<sup>16</sup> OGI 224, 1–11 (= C. B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence* [New Haven 1934] 36–37); L. Robert, *Hellenica* VII (Paris 1949) 7–9; *idem*, CRAI 1967, 281–96.