

Peter THONEMANN\*

## Eumenes II and Apollonioucharax

*Abstract:* This article presents a revised edition of an important new Hellenistic document from Lydia, first published by P. Herrmann and H. Malay, *New Inscriptions from Lydia* (2007), 49–58 no. 32. The inscription concerns a series of privileges granted by the Attalid monarch Eumenes II to the settlers at the military *katoikia* of Apollonioucharax, the site of which is thereby fixed at or near the modern village of Taşkuyucak, in the Keçi Dağı mountain range north of Lake Koloe/Gygaia (Marmara Gölü). The new document offers significant new evidence for our understanding of land tenure and the management of royal land in the second-century Attalid kingdom.

*Keywords:* Eumenes II; Apollonioucharax; Lydia; *katoikia*; land tenure.

Taşkuyucak (Manisa). Lower part of a marble stele, inscribed on both sides. Now in the Manisa Museum (Inv. no. 7935). H. 1.18; W. 0.65; Th. 0.105; letters 0.012–0.015 (A), 0.010 (B). Publ. P. Herrmann and H. Malay, *New Inscriptions from Lydia* (Vienna 2007), 49–58 no. 32.

### Face A

[ - - - ca.15 - - - ]ΠΙ[ - - - ca.8 - - - ἀπο]δείξεις ἐν [τῶι πο]-  
λέμωι Κουρνοβευδος· τῶν δ' ἐν τούτῳ τῶι τό-  
πωι κατοικοῦντας Μυσοῦς [ἐπενόου]ν εἰς Καστωλ-  
λὸμ μετάγειν, ἐπεὶ και[νὴ γῆ (?) παν]τελῶς [ὑ]πάρχει  
5 ἐκεῖ περισσὴ· ἐντυχόντων δ' ἐ[μοὶ e.g. τῶν ἀπὸ] τοῦ Ἀπ[ολ]-  
λωνιουχάρακος καὶ φασ[κόντων ἐπὶ (?) - ca.4 -]δ[- ca.4 -] τῆς χ[ώ]-  
ρας εὐχαριστεῖν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ο[ἱ κατοικ]οῦντες ἐν τῶι Κ[ουρ]-  
νουβευδει Μυσοὶ κατ[- - - ca.9 - - -]καὶ γεγόνασιν α[ὑ]-  
τοῖς συνήθεις, βούλεσθ[αι - - - ca.10 - - -]αὶ ὅπως ἄ[ν]  
10 δι' ἑαυτοῦς δοκῶσιν· ἐγὼ ? καὶ [- - - ca.12 - - -]ν ἀπ[ο]-  
δεξάμενος τὴν εὐγνωμοσύ[νην καὶ με[τρι]ότ[η]τα α[ὑ]-  
τῶν, τοῦτο μὲν συνεχώρησα ὡς ἠξίουσαν, Λυκίνωι δ[ὲ]  
τῶι γεωδότηι συνετάξαμεν [φροντίζ]ειν ὅθεν δ[υ]-  
ναίμεθα χώραμ προσορίσαι αὐτοῖς· ἐπεὶ δὲ κατεφθ[ι]-  
15 μένοι πέρυσι ὑπὸ τῶμ πολεμίων πολλῆς προμη[θεί]-

\* Dr. Peter Thonemann, Wadham College, Oxford (peter.thonemann@wadh.ox.ac.uk).

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ας ἄξιοι εἰσίν, συγχωρῶ πρὸς οἷς ἐπεχωρήσα-  
 μεμ πένθ' ἔτεσιν ἀτελείαν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἄλλων  
 πέντε, καθὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐν Καδοοῖς Μυσοῖς συν[ε]-  
 χωρήσαμεγ, καὶ ἀπὸ τριῶν τὴν καταγραφὴν γ[ί]-  
 20 γνεσθαι· ὅταγ γὰρ ἀναγκαιοτέρα χρεῖα γίνητα[ι],  
 αὐτοὶ διὰ τὴμ προθυμίᾳ καὶ εὐνοίαν οἶδ' ὅτι δῶσ[ου]-  
 σιν πλείονας σ(τ)ρατιώτας· καὶ τῆς ἐφ' ἔτους δεκ[α]-  
 τείας παρεθήτωσαμ πάντες, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ  
 οἷς τὰ εἴσφορα ἐπιγέγραπται· ἐπεὶ περὶ τὴν τοῦ χωρί-  
 25 ου οἰκοδομίᾳ γίνονται, καὶ ἡμεῖς λατύπου[ς]  
 ὠμολογήκαμεν αὐτοῖς χορηγήσειν. *vac.* Γ *vac.*

“... Kournoubeudos ... [made] demonstrations [sc. of their loyalty] in the war; [I was intending] to move the Mysians living in this place to Kastollos, since fresh land certainly exists there in an uncultivated condition. But [ambassadors] from Apollonioucharax came to meet me, and said that they were grateful for the [...] of their territory; they also said that, since the Mysian settlers at Kournoubeudos [were...] and had become well-acquainted/friendly with them, they wished to [...], in whatever way they might decide among themselves. And so, in recognition of their good sense and moderation, I have granted this just as they have requested. I have also ordered Lykinos the land-distributor to [take thought] whence we might be able to add a further stretch of land to their territory. Since they deserve great consideration, having been destroyed last year by the enemy, I grant another five years' exemption from customs-dues in addition to the five years granted previously, just as I have done for the Mysians at Kadooi. Registration for compulsory military service will fall only on one man in three, for I know that if some emergency occurs, they will provide more soldiers of their own accord because of their eagerness and goodwill. They shall all be exempted from the collection of the tithe on produce for the current year, and those on whom poll-taxes (?) are levied are also exempted for the current year. Since they are making a start on the rebuilding of the settlement, I have also agreed to provide masons for them.”

Line 1: [ἐπ]ιδείξεις ? H(ermann) and M(alay). Line 3: [ἔδοξε]ν, [ἔδεδησε]ν or [ἐτάξαμε]ν H/M. Line 4: ἐπεὶ καὶ χῶ[ρα] (?) H/M. Lines 5–8: ἐντυχόντων δὲ[- - 8–10 - -] τοῦ Ἀπ[ολ]λωνίου Χάρακος καὶ ΦΑΝ[- - ca.12 - -]δ[ε] ἐ[πὶ ?] τῆς χ[ώ]ρα εὐχαριστεῖν ΕΝΕΔ[- - ca.10 - -] ἐν τῷ Κ[ουρ]νουβευδει Μυσοὶ H/M. Line 9: ὅπως Ν[...] H/M. Line 12: ο[.3..]ουσαν H/M. Line 13: [ἐξετάζ]ειν or [ἐπιβλέπ]ειν H/M.

## Face B

[- - 10 - -]ΠΕ[- - 12 - -]το]ύτων δὲ τῶν ΑΝ[- - 12 - -]  
 [.]δρῖαι ἐπιγέγραπ[ται . . 3-4 . . ὕ]πάρχειν τὰ φιλόανθρωπ[α - - 8 - -]  
 νας τῶν συναναφερομένων λιποστρατήσαι ἐν τῷ β' καὶ λ' ἔτει περι-  
 ελεῖν, ὑπάρχειν δὲ ταῦτά τοῖς ἄλλοις· τὴν ἀσυλίαν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ  
 5 Στρατίου ὑπάρχειν, ἀντὶ τῶν προσυνκεχωρημένων σταδίων  
 ἑπτὰ ἔσται ἐπὶ στάδια δέκα· καὶ ἵνα Βάκχιος ὁ ἱερεὺς ποῆι στέφα-  
 νον χρυσοῦν, τὰ ἀναφερόμενα ὀφειλήματα τὰ ἐν ἡμῖν ἀργυρικά ἢ σι-

10 τικὰ ἕως τοῦ τρίτου ἔτους ἀπολύσαι, εἰ μή τινες πράξαντές  
 τινα αὐτοὶ κατεισχήκασι· περὶ τῶν ἐνπευρισμένων καὶ κα-  
 15 θειλκυσμένων οἰκίων ἐν τῷ προαστίῳ προνοηθῆναι, ἴν', ἐπει  
 δημόται ἐσμέν, μεταδοθῆ τι εἰς τὴν κατασκευὴν αὐτῶν· Σι-  
 βλοην κώμην τὴν πρότερον οὔσαν ἡμετέραν, περὶ ἧς γέγρα-  
 πται, ἴνα διορθωσαμένων ἡμῶν τὴν τιμὴν Μελεάγρωι τῷ  
 ἡγορακότι αὐτὴν δραχμῶν <sup>vac.</sup> ΥΜΗ – C ἀποδοθῆ, κομί-  
 20 σασθαι νῦν ἄνευ τιμῆς, ὅπως ὑπάρχωσιν αἱ ἐξ αὐτῆς  
 πρόσοδοι εἰς τε τὰς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Στρατίου καὶ τὰς ὑπὲρ ὑ-  
 μῶν συντελουμένας θυσίας καὶ διαμένη ἡμῖν ἱερὰ καὶ ἀτελής·  
 τὸ δὲ ἀργύριον δοθῆναι ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἐκ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ τῷ Μελεά-  
 γρωι· εἰς τὰ ἐλλείποντα τοῖς κλήροις καὶ προσδομ(ήμ)ασιν δο-  
 25 θῆναι κώμας· ἐπ(ε)ὶ αἱ πρότερον ἀφαιρεθεῖσαι ἡμῶν οὐκ ἀ-  
 ποκατεστάθησαν ὄν τρόπον συνεκεχωρήκεις, παραδει-  
 ξαι Θιλευδον καὶ Πλαξειρα κατοικίας κυνηγῶν, τοὺς δ' ἐν  
 τούτοις μετὰγειν εἰς ἃς ἂν κρίνη κατοικίας Λυκίνος ὁ γεωδό-  
 τῆς. – συντετάχαμεν γὰρ τούτῳ ἐπιβλέφαντι παραδειξαι.

“... of these ... registered ... (we request that) these privileges should persist, and (we request that you) annul the [punishments?] of those reported as having deserted from the army in Year 32 (166/5 BC), and that they should have the same (privileges) as the others. (We request that) there should be inviolability for Zeus Stratios, and instead of the seven stadia previously granted, it should extend to ten stadia. In order that the priest Bacchios might make a golden wreath, (we request that) our registered debts, both in silver and grain, should be remitted until the third year, unless anyone has already exacted and sequestered them. Concerning the houses in the suburb (of Apollonioucharax) which were burned and pulled down, (we request that you) take care that, because we are poor, some grant be given for their reconstruction. (We request that) the village of Sibloë, which was formerly ours – concerning which it is written that “it will be restored when we repay to Meleagros the price at which he bought it, [.]448 drachmae, 1.5 obols” – that we should now receive this village without repayment, in order that the revenues from it might be used for the sacrifices we perform for Zeus Stratios and on your behalf, and that we might retain it sacred and free from taxation; (we request that) the money to pay for the village should be given to Meleagros from the royal treasury. (We request that) villages should be granted to meet the shortfall of klēroi and associated buildings. Since those (villages) which were previously taken from us have not been restored in the way in which you promised, (we request that you) mark out for this purpose Thileudos and Plazeira as hunters’ settlements, and move the inhabitants of these villages to whatever settlements Lykinos the land-distributor may decide.’ (Royal official) – ‘For we have ordered him to look into the matter and mark them out.’”

Lines 16–17: <ή>|μῶν H/M. Line 19: προσδόμασιν H/M.

### Commentary

*Face A:* The date of the inscription is furnished by a reference to ‘those who deserted from the army in Year 32’ (B3), combined with a reference to the destruction of a settlement by a hostile army ‘last

year' (A14–15). Assuming that the military desertion and the destruction of the settlement took place in the same year, the inscription would date to a regnal Year 33. If the monarch concerned was the Attalid king Eumenes II, then Year 33 = 165/4 BC, assuming that Eumenes Year 1 = 197/6, Year 40 (ultimo) = 158/7.<sup>1</sup> This dating is supported by two independent arguments. (1) The years 168–166 BC saw a devastating Galatian invasion of the Attalid territories in western Asia Minor.<sup>2</sup> We know that Sardeis was threatened during this campaign (OGIS 305. 10–11, from Delphi), and it would not be surprising if a settlement just to the north of Sardeis had been destroyed in 166/5 BC (Eumenes Year 32). (2) The land-distributor Lykinos, mentioned twice in the new text (A12–13, B23–4), reappears on a votive monument set up in 162/1 BC by a group of Mysian settlers near Saittai in eastern Lydia (SEG 40, 1062: Encekler), βασιλεύοντος Εὐμένου | ἔτους ἔκτου κ[α]ὶ τριακοστοῦ, | μηνὸς Ἀπελλαίου· οἱ ἐκ Εμοδδῖ | Μυσοὶ ὑπέ[ρ] Ἀ]ρκίν[ο]υ Ἡγησίου | (5) γεωδότο[υ] εὐεργ]εσίας ἔνεκεν | καὶ εὐνοίας [τῆς] εἰς ἑαυτοῦς | Διὶ Βευδηνώ. The reading [Α]ρκίν[ο]υ in line 4 of the Encekler inscription ([.]YM...Y, ed. pr.) is clear on the photograph published by H. Malay.<sup>3</sup>

A1–2: In line A1, Herrmann and Malay suggest restoring [ἐπ]ιδείξεις. The sense here must be that the inhabitants of Kournoubeudos have made a 'demonstration' of their loyalty during the recent war with the Galatians (ἐν [τῷ] πολέμῳ). For the sense, cf. e.g. Syll.<sup>3</sup> 694 (Pergamon), lines 11–16: [ἐπεὶ ὁ δῆ]μος ἡμῶν... [πολλὰς καὶ μεγά]λας ἐν τοῖς [ἀναγκα]ιο[τά]τοις κ[α]ιροῖς τῆς προαιρέσεως [ἀποδε]ίξεις πεπό[ηται, ὁμ]οίως δὲ καὶ ἐν τ[ῷ] πολέμῳ τῷ π[ρὸς Ἀρ]ιστόνικον κτλ.; IGR IV 293 (decree for Diodoros Paspargos), II lines 48–50: πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας δεδωκότος ἀποδείξεις ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις καὶ κατεπείγουσιν καιροῖς τῆς εἰς τὴν πατρίδα φιλοδοξίας τε καὶ εὐνοίας. The noun ἀπόδειξις is more common than ἐπίδειξις in this sense.<sup>4</sup> I have tentatively assumed that the nominative Κournoubeudos in line A2 is the subject of the preceding clause (δέδωκε ἀποδείξεις... Κορνουβευδος vel sim.), but the phrasing is extremely odd; one would have expected οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν Κ., as in lines A7–8.

A2–5: Herrmann and Malay suggest restoring the lacuna in line A3 [ἔ]δοξε]ν, [ἔ]δεξε]ν or [ἔ]τάξαμε]ν. However, the sense required is that Eumenes 'intended' or 'was planning' to relocate the Mysians at Kournoubeudos to Kastollos, until the inhabitants of Apollonioucharax persuaded him otherwise. Hence we need a verb such as [ἔ]μελλο]ν or [ἔ]πενόου]ν; cf. e.g. Welles, RC 31 (Antiochos III to Magnesia), πρόκειται τε ἡμῖν συναύξειν ταῦτα ἐν οἷς ἂν ὑμεῖς τε παρακαλήτε καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπινοῶμεν; I.Iasos 4.28–9 (Laodike to Iasos), πειράσομαι καὶ ἄλλα ἃ ἂν ἐπινοῶ συν[κα]τασκευάζειν. In lines A4–5, the sense is clear: there exists 'surplus' (περισσῆ),<sup>5</sup> i.e. uncultivated land at Kastollos. However, as Riet van Bremen points out to me, the phraseology of Herrmann and Malay's suggested restoration in line A4 is awkward (what is the force of the καὶ in the phrase ἐπεὶ καὶ χῶ[ρα παν]τελῶς [ὑ]πάρχει ἐκεῖ περισσῆ?). I therefore tentatively suggest ἐπεὶ καὶ [νῆ γῆ παν]τελῶς [ὑ]πάρχει | ἐκεῖ περισσῆ, 'since fresh land certainly exists there in an uncultivated condition'.

A5–6: The participle ἐντυχόντων in line A5 must mark the beginning of a genitive absolute. The

<sup>1</sup> Petzl 1978, 264–7.

<sup>2</sup> Thonemann, Maeander Valley 172–3.

<sup>3</sup> Malay 1990, 65–8.

<sup>4</sup> See the examples collected by Holleaux, Études d'épigraphie III, 92–4.

<sup>5</sup> For περισσός in the sense 'uncultivated', cf. Chanotis, Verträge 333–7 no. 57a (Itanos), line 19: τὴν χώραν περισσὴν οὖσαν ἔτεσι εἴκοσι ὀκτώ.

verb ἐντυγχάνειν has the technical sense of ‘to come before someone with a request’.<sup>6</sup> Herrmann and Malay did not recognise the toponym Apollonioucharax in lines A5–6 (τοῦ Ἀπ[ολ]λωνιουχάρακος), taking it instead as a personal name (‘son of Apollonios Charax’). The settlement of Apollonioucharax is otherwise attested only in the Flavian conventus–list I.Ephesos 13 I.13, where the Ἀπολλωνιαχαρακεῖται (sic) are listed under the conventus of Sardeis, immediately after the Χαρακηνοί (Charakipolis, at Karayakup).<sup>7</sup> The form of the toponym (‘fort of Apollonios’) is well–paralleled: cf. e.g. Πύρρου χάραξ in Lakonia (Polybius 5.19.4), Πατρόκλου χάραξ on the south coast of Attica (Pausanias 1.1.1), Σπασίνου χάραξ at the head of the Persian gulf; see L. Robert, OMS VI 649 no. 12; Schuler, Ländliche Siedlungen 126. The town was presumably an Attalid or Seleukid military katoikia.<sup>8</sup> Assuming the new inscription was discovered *in situ*, the location of Apollonioucharax is thereby fixed at or near Taşkuyucak, a hill–village situated in the westernmost extension of the Keçi Dağı mountain–range, 10 km WNW of Daldis (near Nardı), 10 km due east of Iulia–Maibozanoi (Gölmarmara), and 8 km SW of Charakipolis (Karayakup). The site enjoys a magnificent view over the ancient lake Gygaia/Koloe (Marmara gölü) and the plain of Sardeis from the north.<sup>9</sup> The exact wording in line A5 is not certain; my restoration ἐντυχόντων δ’ ἐ[μοὶ τῶν ἀπό] τοῦ Ἀπ[ολ]λωνιουχάρακος is merely intended to give the sense (ἐκ is as likely as ἀπό). There seems not to be sufficient space for a specific term for ‘ambassadors’ or ‘representatives’, e.g. πρεσβευτῶν or ἀνδρῶν (for the latter, cf. I.Sultan Dağı 393 [Toriaion], lines 3–5: οἱ παρ’ ὑμῶν ἄνδρες... οὓς ἐπέμψατε συνησθησομένους μὲν ἡμῖν κτλ.). The definite article τοῦ Ἀπ[ολ]λωνιουχάρακος is surprising, but compare I.Tralleis 18 (letter of Attalos III concerning the inhabitants of Hierakome near Tralleis), ἐν τῇ Ἱερᾷ Κώμῃ, and lines A7–8 below, οἱ κατοικ[οῦντες ἐν τῷ] Κ[ουρ]νουβευδει Μυσοὶ. A6–7: Herrmann and Malay read καὶ ΦΑΝ[- - ca.12 - -]δ[ε] ἐ[πι ?] τῆς χ[ώ]ρας εὐχαριστεῖν. Their photo, however, makes it clear that the correct reading at the start of the clause is καὶ φασ[κόντων] (with a sigma not a nu), which provides us with a grammatical construction for the infinitive εὐχαριστεῖν in line A7 (‘saying that they were grateful’).<sup>10</sup> I assume that the sense here is that the inhabitants of Apollonioucharax ‘were grateful for the [recovery/ preservation/ augmentation] of their territory’, i.e. καὶ φασ[κόντων ἐπὶ dative] τῆς χ[ώ]ρας εὐχαριστεῖν; for the construction εὐχαριστεῖν ἐπὶ τινι, see SEG 41, 1003 IV (letter of Antiochos III to Teos), lines 5–6, ἐγγράφειτε εὐχαριστοῦντες ἐπὶ τοῖς δεδομένοις ὑμῖν ὑφ’ ἡμῶν φιλ[ανθρώποις].

A7–10: In lines A7–8, Herrmann and Malay read ΕΝΕΔ[- - ca.10 - -] ἐν τῷ Κ[ουρ]νουβευδει Μυσοὶ. However, on their photograph the reading ἐπεὶ δὲ seems more likely, which would give us the beginning of a new clause, ‘and since...’. I believe that I can make out the traces of the phrase οἱ κατοικ[οῦντες] in the following lacuna. I understand lines A7–9 to be expressing the circumstances lying behind the positive request (βούλεσθ[αί]) in lines A9–10 (‘since *x* is the case... they therefore [say that they] wish *y* to occur’). If I interpret the structure here correctly, the inhabitants of Apollonioucharax would be claiming (lines A7–9) that they are on good terms with the Mysians at Kournoubeudos, and hence they wish (lines A9–10) for the Mysians to ‘remain where they are’ ([διαμεῖν]αί) or ‘enjoy the status of isopoliteia with them’ ([ισοπολιτεῦεσθ]αί) or something of the kind. The practical arrangements for this are to be made ‘in whatever way they [i.e. the inhabitants

<sup>6</sup> Wörle, Stadt und Fest 165 no. 76.

<sup>7</sup> See further Habicht 1975, 74.

<sup>8</sup> On Hellenistic military katoikiai in Lydia, see now Daubner 2011.

<sup>9</sup> For the geography of this part of Lydia, see Robert, Documents 296–335.

<sup>10</sup> For the centrality of the notion of εὐχαριστία to king–city relations, see Ma, Antiochos III, 185.

of Apollonioucharax and the Mysians] might decide among themselves' (ὅπως ἄ[ν] δι' ἑαυτοῦς δοκῶσιν).

A12–14: In line A12, I owe the reading ὡς ἠξίουσαν to Charles Crowther (apparently the result of hesitation between the aorist ἠξίωσαν and the imperfect ἠξίουν). In line A13, I should prefer [φροντίζ]ειν to Herrmann and Malay's [ἐξετάζ]ειν or [ἐπιβλέπ]ειν, but the sense is not affected one way or the other. Lykinos is instructed to seek out a parcel of royal land which can be attached to the territory of Apollonioucharax (perhaps specifically in order to accommodate the Mysians at Kournoubeudos?). The verb προσορίσαι is (pace Herrmann and Malay, p.50) a technical term signifying the extension of the 'boundaries' of a town's dependent territory by the attachment of a parcel of former royal land.<sup>11</sup> This need not imply that Apollonioucharax enjoyed polis–status already in the 160s BC, since a military katoikia also possessed its own dependent chōra; cf. e.g. the land bought by the military katoikoi at Kardakōn kōmē near Telmessos from the dynast Ptolemaios.<sup>12</sup> As noted by Herrmann and Malay, the land–distributor Lykinos is also named on a votive monument set up on his behalf three years later, in 162/1 BC, by 'the Mysians at Emoddi' near Saittai in eastern Lydia (SEG 40, 1062). Presumably this monument was set up in response to a comparable grant of royal land to the Mysians at Emoddi.

A19–20: In the clause ἀπὸ τριῶν τῆγ καταγραφὴν γ[ί]γνεσθαι, the term καταγραφή ought to refer to conscription or military enrolment (Polybius 4.29.1), and Herrmann and Malay plausibly suggest that the phrase refers to 'the reduction of the enrolment rate to one third' (of able–bodied males? Or the entire population?).<sup>13</sup> Herrmann and Malay consider and reject the view of M. R. Errington that the phrase refers to three years' blanket exemption from military service (Herrmann and Malay, p. 54 no. 51; cf. Hdt. 3.67, ὁ μάγος... προεἶπε ἀτελεῖην εἶναι στρατηγῆς καὶ φόρου ἐπ' ἔτεα τρία).

A22–4: For the passive of παρήμι in the sense 'be exempted from' (A23, παρεθήτωσαμ), cf. SEG 29, 1516 (Telmessos), τοῦ χειρωναξίου παρεθήσονται οἱ μεταπορευ[όμε]νοι τεχνῆται. It is very difficult to say exactly what kind of financial contribution τὰ εἴσφορα might be. ἡ εἴσφορα normally refers to a poll–tax, exacted either at a flat rate or in proportion to the individual's wealth.<sup>14</sup> However, the term is also attested in quite different senses; e.g. at Termessos near Oinoanda, ἡ εἴσφορα was used of a 20% rent payable in kind on sharecropped agricultural land.<sup>15</sup> It is, however, clear that not all the inhabitants of Apollonioucharax were liable for τὰ εἴσφορα (οἷς... ἐπιγέγραπται, A24), and hence it is possible that we are dealing with a tax only levied on the wealthier inhabitants of the town (as in the case of the Classical Athenian eisphora); cf. SEG 38, 1476 (Xanthos), lines 55–7, οἱ τε δυνατώτατοι τῶν πολιτῶν μεγάλας εἰσφορὰς πεποιημένοι προσφάτως διὰ τοὺς περιστάνας καιρ[ούς].

*Face B:* Herrmann and Malay translate and interpret Face B as an account of the privileges being granted by the king to the community concerned ('a report on decisions or measures taken', p.58): they translate lines B2–3, for example, as 'the privileges shall be conceded. [The - -] of those registered as having deserted from the army in the year 32, shall be cancelled'. This is syntactically per-

<sup>11</sup> See Thonemann 2009, 375; Thonemann, Maeander Valley 248.

<sup>12</sup> Segre 1938, lines 7–9.

<sup>13</sup> See further Müller 2010, 436 no. 36. For enrolment rates in the late–third century Antigonid army, see Hatzopoulos, Organisation 109–118.

<sup>14</sup> Gauthier 1991, 67 no. 93.

<sup>15</sup> Rousset, Lycie en Cabalide 145–152 no. 6, lines A13–14, τῆς ὀφειλομένης τοῖς Λυκίοις ὑπὲρ τοῦ παρελη[λυθότος χρόνου - - ] πέμπτου μέρους τῶν καρπῶν εἴσφορᾶς.

factly possible, since all of the infinitive clauses on Face B could follow an introductory *συνχωροῦμεν* or *οἴομεθα δεῖν* or *συνετάξαμεν* ('we grant that', 'we think it right that', 'we have ordered that'). However, these infinitives could equally well follow an introductory *ἄξιούμεν* ('we request that'). As already suggested by M. Wörrle,<sup>16</sup> Face B ought to be read as a series of requests from the petitioning community to the king, which are 'answered' by the concrete decisions on Face A. The second person verbs and prepositions in lines B16–17 (*τὰς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν συντελουμένας θυσίας*, 'the sacrifices performed on your behalf', emended by Herrmann and Malay to *κῆμῶν*) and B21 (*συνεκεχωρήσεις*, the villages which 'you have conceded') thus refer to Eumenes, and the first person plural verbs and prepositions in B7, 11–13, 17 and 20 to the *katoikoi* at Apollonioucharax. Several of the clauses on Face B make a lot more sense on this interpretation (see the commentary below); the decisive argument is the clause in B10–11, *ἐπεὶ δημόται ἐσμέν*, implausibly translated 'since we are concerned about the people' by Herrmann and Malay, which now has its natural meaning 'since we are (poor) villagers' (see commentary below). Whether Face B was intended to be read before Face A, as Wörrle suggests, is not certain; the town's petition could as easily have been quoted after Eumenes' decisions (A12–26) as before them.

B2–4: Herrmann and Malay translate the clause *ὑπάρχειν δὲ ταῦτά τοῖς ἄλλοις* as 'The same (?) shall be conceded to the others'. I prefer to understand the clause as referring to the same group of deserters discussed in the previous clause, i.e. *ὑπάρχειν δὲ* [sc. *αὐτοῖς*] *ταῦτά* [sc. *φιλόνηρωπα*] *τοῖς ἄλλοις*, 'they should have the same (privileges) as the others'. For the syntax, cf. Walser, *Bauern und Zinsnehmer* 25–36 (Ephesian debtors' law), lines 93–94, *μετέχειν αὐτοῦς τοῦ κοινοῦ πολέμου κατὰ ταῦτά τοῖς ἄλλοις*.

B6–7: Herrmann and Malay translate 'And the priest Bacchios shall furnish a golden wreath'. As noted by M. Wörrle,<sup>17</sup> the *ἵνα* clause more naturally depends on *ἀπολῦσαι* in line B8; the proposed remission of debts is specifically in order to permit the purchase of a gold crown for the priest of Zeus Stratios, just as in lines B11–19 the proposed reclamation of the village of Sibloë is specifically in order to pay for sacrifices to Zeus Stratios.

B9–11: The *προάστιον* is not, as Herrmann and Malay suppose, a 'suburb' of Sardeis, but part of the town of Apollonioucharax. The term *προάστιον* refers to that part of a settlement outside of the settlement's wall-circuit (*τὰ ἔξω τειχῶν, ἢ ἔξω πόλις*).<sup>18</sup> Here, then, the *προάστιον* would be that part of the settlement of Apollonioucharax which lay outside the eponymous charax. The Seleukid military *katoikia* at Toriaion (near modern Zaferiye) similarly consisted of a compact fortification, measuring a mere 70x60 m, with the greater part of the settlement dispersed on the lower slopes of Kale Tepesi along the east bank of the Bulusan Çayı.<sup>19</sup> The military *katoikia* at Kardakōn kōmē near Telmessos was clustered around a ruined *πυργίον*.<sup>20</sup> As already noted by Wörrle,<sup>21</sup> *ἐπεὶ δημόται ἐσμέν* (lines B10–11) must mean 'since we are (poor) villagers'. Clauses of this kind are predictably common in petitions of villages and other small communities to kings and emperors: cf. e.g. SEG 16, 754 (Sülmenli), lines 7–8, *ἡμεῖς τὰ ἀπὸ Ἀμορείου καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ Ἀνκύρας ἐρχόμενα πάντα*

<sup>16</sup> Wörrle 2009, 427 no. 76.

<sup>17</sup> Wörrle 2009, 427 no. 76.

<sup>18</sup> See Schuler, *Ländliche Siedlungen* 105–7; and cf. SEG 37, 917 (a list of land-sales at Erythrai), referring to a plot of land 'outside the fort' (B8–10: *γῆ ... ὅση ἔξω τοῦ [χαρὰ]κώματος*).

<sup>19</sup> See Thonemann 2008, 46–47.

<sup>20</sup> Segre 1938, lines 17–19.

<sup>21</sup> Wörrle 2009, 427 no. 76.

[εἰσοδεχόμεθα (?), καίτοι πέ]νητές ἐσμεν; I.Scythiae Minoris I (Histria) 378 (petition of Chora Dagei), C3–8, δεόμ[εθα]...ἐλεῆσε (i.e. ἐλεῆσαι) ἡμ[ᾶς ἀνθ]ρώπους πένητ[ας λιτο]υργούς; SEG 19, 718 (Güllüköy), [κακ]ὰ πάσχουσιν οἱ τὴν προηλουμέν[ην κώμην κατοικοῦντες]... πένητε[ς ὑπάρχοντες]. The inhabitants of Apollonioucharax do not make a specific proposal to the king here, but simply ask that ‘some help’ be given (μεταδοθῆ τι, line B11). The last two and a half lines of Face A (A24–26) represent Eumenes’ response to this request: ἐπεὶ περὶ τὴν τοῦ χωρίου οἰκοδομίαν γίνονται, καὶ ἡμεῖς λατύπου[ς] ὠμολογήκαμεν αὐτοῖς χορηγήσειν, ‘Since they are making a start on the rebuilding of the settlement, I have also agreed to provide masons for them’.

B11–19: As a result of their incorrect attribution of the text on Face B, Herrmann and Malay did not understand the character of the transactions here. The village of Sibloë originally formed part of the dependent territory of Apollonioucharax. Under financial pressure, the settlers had sold the usufruct of the village of Sibloë to a certain Meleagros, subject to redemption by the inhabitants of Apollonioucharax on repayment of the capital. The identity of Meleagros is unknown; the name (which has a Macedonian colour) is common. The sum which Meleagros paid for the village is read by Herrmann and Malay as 448 dr., 1.5 obols (δραχμῶν <sup>vac.</sup> YMH – C). However, this sum seems remarkably small: in the third century BC, the Lydian villages of Tobalmoura and Periasasostra, mortgaged by a certain Mnesimachos to the temple of Artemis at Sardeis (Sardis VII 1, 1), paid an annual tribute of 50 and 57 gold staters respectively, implying capital values of 12,000 and 13,680 drachmae. Hence I suspect that a numeral representing a certain number of ‘thousands’ has dropped out after the word δραχμῶν.

The crucial clause of the contract is quoted verbatim at lines B13–14: ‘it will be restored (ἀποδοθῆ) when we repay (διορθωσαμένων) to Meleagros the price (τὴν τιμὴν) at which he bought it (ἡγορακότι)’. The contract was in theory terminable at the will of the inhabitants of Apollonioucharax, but their continuing financial difficulties rendered it practically impossible to redeem the village. Hence they ask Eumenes to furnish the required [.]448 dr., 1.5 ob., from the royal treasury (τὸ βασιλικόν, line B18). In recognition of this subvention, Sibloë would henceforth be considered as ‘sacred’ and its revenues would be used for cultic purposes only.<sup>22</sup> The contract between Apollonioucharax and Meleagros appears to be effectively identical to the third-century contract between Mnesimachos and the temple of Artemis at Sardeis (Sardis VII 1, 1). Mnesimachos was the emphyteutic lease-holder of a former Achaemenid domain in the plain of Sardeis, granted to him by Antigonos Monophthalmos. He took out a cash loan at 100% of the value of the estate (1325 gold staters) from the temple of Artemis; when he proved unable to repay the loan, the estate became forfeit to the temple of Artemis. Nonetheless, Mnesimachos retained the right to redeem (ἀπολύσασθαι) the estate in future on repayment of the capital. A similar situation is also attested at Dura in the early second century BC (P.Dura 15), where a defaulted cash loan is settled by means of a conveyance of land, subject to redemption, from the debtor to the creditor (ἀπέδοτο λύσιμα).<sup>23</sup> What is particularly striking and novel about the circumstances at Apollonioucharax is the character of the two parties to the contract. Here, for the first time to my knowledge, we have unambiguous evidence for a katoikia conveying a parcel of its territory to a private individual (Meleagros) in return for a sum of cash, and subsequently proving to be incapable of redeeming the land without extraordinary royal assistance. I have argued elsewhere, on the basis of royal grants and sales of klēroi in the lower Maeander valley, that the third and early second centuries BC saw a large-scale concent-

<sup>22</sup> Wörrle 2009, 429 no. 81 with parallels.

<sup>23</sup> On both of these contracts, see Thonemann 2009, 385–386.



ration of real estate in the hands of a small propertied class in western Asia Minor.<sup>24</sup> The new document provides precious evidence for one poorly-attested aspect of this crucial phase of primitive accumulation, namely the annexation of lands formerly belonging to poleis or katoikiai which had been pledged as security for loans. Few towns, we must assume, were lucky enough to have Eumenes bail them out at the royal treasury's expense. The settlers at Apollonioucharax have evidently been in financial trouble for some time – aside from this passage, see also A16–18, where it is indicated that they have already been granted five years' tax-exemption – and they appear to have successfully used the damage caused by the Galatians in 166 as an excuse to set their finances on a new footing.

B19–20: The phraseology in line B19 is difficult. I assume that the phrase εἰς τὰ ἐλλείποντα τοῖς κλήροις κτλ. means 'to meet the shortfall of *klēroi*'. For τὸ ἐλλείπον/τὰ ἐλλείποντα used impersonally ('the shortfall'), compare the Delian hiera syngraphe (ID 503), lines 33–4, εἰὰν δέ τι ἐλλείπει τοῦ μισθώματος... [ἀπ]οδόσθων πρὸς τὸ ἐλλείπον τοὺς βοῦς [κα]ὶ πρόβατα καὶ τὰ ἀνδράπ[οδα]; I.Sestos 1 (honours for Menas), lines 33–5, κατεσκεύασεν δὲ τὸν τε λουτρῶνα καὶ τὸν ἐφ[ε]ξῆς οἶκον, ἀνέθηκεν δὲ καὶ ἄγαλμα λευκοῦ λίθου, τὰ τε ἐλλείποντα καὶ ὄντα ἀναγκαῖα προσκατεσκεύασεν. For the dative of the thing in which there is a shortfall, cf. e.g. Polybius 15.3.5, Ἀννίβας ἐλλείπων τοῖς ἵππικοῖς. At the end of line B19, the stone carries \*προσδομασιν; the word is unattested elsewhere and the formation is implausible. We ought perhaps to read προσδομ(ή)ασιν, also unattested elsewhere, but regularly formed from δέμω (as the common οἰκοδόμημα); the term would signify 'the buildings (-δομήματα) associated with (προσ-) the *klēroi*'. For the association (προσ-) of buildings with particular *klēroi*, cf. Sardis VII 1, 1 (Mnesimachos conveyance), col. I line 11, ἐκ τῶν κλήρων καὶ τῶν οἰκοπέδων προσκυρόντων; SGDI 5533d–e (grants of *klēroi* to Macedonian benefactors at Zeleia), δοῦνα[ι πολιτεία]α[v], κλήρον ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, οἰκίην, κήπον κτλ. The Jewish katoikoi settled by Antiochos III in Phrygia and Lydia were each granted a house-plot along with their agricultural *klēros*: Josephus, AJ 12.151, εἷς τ' οἰκοδομίας οἰκιῶν αὐτοῖς δώσεις τόπον ἐκάστῳ καὶ χώραν εἰς γεωργίαν καὶ φυτεῖαν ἀμπέλων.

B20–24: The request that Thileudos and Plazeira should be designated as 'huntsmen's villages' (the phrase κατοικίας κυνηγῶν is clearly predicative, not attributive, *pace* Herrmann and Malay) differs in kind from the request for the restoral of Sibloë. The point here is apparently not that the inhabitants of Apollonioucharax are seeking the revenues from these two villages, but rather that they wish to occupy and divide up the dependent land of these villages for new *klēroi*; hence the proposed relocation of the former inhabitants of Thileudos and Plazeira. I see no way of telling what circumstances lie behind the claim that 'those villages which were previously taken from us have not been restored in the way in which you (Eumenes) promised'. In line B24, the text finishes with the words συντετάχαμεν γὰρ τούτῳ ἐπιβλέψαντι παραδεῖξαι, 'For we have ordered him (Lykinos the land-distributor) to look into the matter and mark them out'. The infinitive παραδεῖξαι, 'mark them out', picks up the request at lines B21–2 for Eumenes to 'mark out' (παραδεῖξαι) Thileudos and Plazeira as huntsmen's villages, and the verb συντετάχαμεν 'we have ordered' does not seem appropriate for the inhabitants of Apollonioucharax (the citizens of a katoikia cannot order around royal officials). It therefore seems that this final clause is an addendum by a third party, indicating that he has seen to the last item of the petition as requested. Most likely we are dealing with an intermediate royal official, perhaps the local Attalid regional στρατηγός, whom Eumenes has empowered to implement the requests of the inhabitants of Apollonioucharax.

<sup>24</sup> See Thonemann, Maeander Valley 242–249.

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## Özet

## Eumenes II ve Apollonioukharaks

Thonemann, Lydia’da ele geçen ve daha önce P. Herrmann ile H. Malay (New Inscriptions from Lydia, Viyana 2007, 49–58 no. 32.) tarafından yayınlanan yeni ve önemli Hellenistik bir belgeyi burada tekrar ele alarak farklı okumalar ve yorumlar sunmaktadır. Söz konusu yazıt Pergamon kralı II. Eumenes tarafından askeri bir yerleşim (*katoikia*) olan Apollonioukharaks’ın sakinlerine verilmiş olan bir dizi imtiyazları içermektedir. Bu yeni belge arazi kullanım hakkı ve kraliyet topraklarının yönetimi hakkında sahip olduğumuz bilgilere katkı olarak dikkate değer yeni veriler sunmaktadır. Toprak paylaşımı görevini üstlenen Lykinos’un isminin 162/1 yılına tarihlenen Encekler yazıtında

(SEG 40 1062) aynı işleviyle geçmesinden ve yeni yazıtı verilen *era*'dan dolayı İ.Ö. 165/4 yılına tarihlemek mümkün olmaktadır.

İlk editörler tarafından şahıs ismi olarak tanımlanan Apollonioukharaks aslında bir yer ismidir. “Kale” anlamına gelen kharaks sözcüğü birçok kez başka isimlerle birleşmiş halde yer ismi olarak belgelenmiştir. Apollonioukharaks ise Flaviuslar dönemine ait bir yazıtta Sardis *conventusuna* bağlı bir yerleşim olarak ethnikon haliyle Efes'ten bir yazıtta (IEphesos 13 I.13) bir kez daha karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Apollonioukharaks yerleşimi Keçi Dağ silsilesinin batı eteklerinde Sardis Ovası'nın kuzey ucunda, yazıtın bulunduğu Taşkuyucak köyü yakınlarında aranmalıdır.

B yüzünde yer alan metin; Herrmann ve Malay'ın önerdiği gibi Kral Eumenes'in aldığı kararlar ve imtiyazların devamını değil, aksine Apollonioukharaks sakinlerinin Bergama hanedanlığına sundukları talep dilekçesini içermektedir. Savaş sonrası maddi sıkıntı çeken Apollonioukharaklılar kendi himayelerinde olan Sibloë köyüne ait kamu arazilerinin bir kısmını Meleagros adında özel bir şahsa satmak zorunda kalmışlardır. Belli bir süre sonra Apollonioukharaklılar bu arazileri geri satın almak için Meleagros ile anlaşma sağlamışlar ve gereken parayı kral Eumenes'ten istemişlerdir. Kral bu konuda da cömertçe davranmış ve Apollonioukharaklılara tanıdığı vergi muafiyetini beş yıldan on yıla uzattığı gibi kraliyet kasasından arazilerin geri satın alınmasını da sağlamıştır. Apollonioukharaklılar kraldan ayrıca ellerinden alınan bazı köylerin sınırlarının yeniden tespit edilmesini ve bu arazilerin kendilerine geri verilmesini talep etmişlerdir. Yapılan yeni tamamlama önerileri ve okumalar doğrultusunda yazıtın çevirisi şöyledir:

A Yüzü: “*Kournoubeudoslular, savaşta (sadakatini) gösterdiler; Bu yerde ikamet eden Mysialıları Kastolos'a göndermeyi (düşünüyordum) zira orada işlenmemiş durumda yeni topraklar mevcuttur. Ancak Apollonioukharaks'tan (elçiler) benimle görüşmeye geldiler ve arazilerin [...] memnun olduklarını ve ayrıca Kournoubeudostaki Mysialıların [...] oldukları için dost olduklarını ve her ne şekilde olursa olsun kendi aralarında karar verebileceklerini söylediler. Sağduyulu ve ılımlı olmaları bakımından böylelikle ben de bu [...] hakkı tanıdım. Ve ayrıca toprak dağıtıcı Lykinos'a onların teritoryumlarını daha da genişletmek için nereden (toprak) ekleyebileceğimizi (düşünmesini) emrettim. Büyük bir ilgiyi hak ettikleri için, geçen yıl düşman tarafından talan edilmiş olmalarından dolayı onlara daha önceden tanıdığım beş yıllık vergi muafiyeti hakkını – , tıpkı Kadooi'daki Mysialılara yapmış olduğum gibi – bir beş yıl daha uzatıyorum. Zorunlu askerlik hizmeti üçte bire düşün, ancak biliyorum ki herhangi bir acil durum oluşursa istekliliklerinden ve iyi niyetliliklerinden ötürü kendi aralarında çok daha fazla asker sağlayacaklardır. Ürün üzerinden alınacak olan Onluk vergiden bu yıl muaf tutulabilirler ve aynı şekilde kelle vergisi alınan kimseler de bu yıl muaf olsunlar. Yerleşimin yeniden inşasına başladıkları için onlara ayrıca taş ustaları sağlamayı uygun buldum.*”

B Yüzü: “...bunların... kayıtlı... (talep ediyoruz) bu imtiyazlar devam etsin ve 32 yılında (166/5 BC.) ordudan kaçanlar olarak kayda geçmiş kişilerin [cezasının?] kaldırılmasını ve onların diğerleri gibi aynı (imtiyazlara) sahip olmalarını (sizden talep ediyoruz). Zeus Stratios (kutsal alanı) için dokunulmazlık hakkı ve daha önceden yedi stadion olarak belirlenmiş hakkın on stadiona genişletilmesini (talep ediyoruz). Bakkhios rahibi altından bir çelenk yapsın. Hem gümüş hem de hububat olarak kaydedilmiş borçlarımızdan henüz alınamamış ve el konamamış miktarların üçüncü yıla kadar uzatılmasını (talep ediyoruz). (Apollonioukharaks'in) sur dışında bulunan yakılmış ve yerle bir edilmiş evleriyle ilgilenmenizi ve fakir olduğumuz için bunların yeniden inşası için destek sağlamanızı (talep ediyoruz). Vaktiyle bizim olan Sibloë köyünü – ki buraya ilişkili olarak şu yazılmıştır: “Meleagros'un satın aldığı [.]448 drakhme ve 1,5 obollük fiyatı geri ödediğimiz takdirde burası iade edilecektir.” – buradan elde edilecek gelirlerden Zeus Stratios ve sizin adınıza kurban kesiminde kullanılabilsin diye şimdi bu köyü geri ödeme yapmaksızın almayı ve buranın kutsal olarak ve vergiden muaf kalmasını (talep ediyoruz). Köy için ödenecek

*paranın Meleagros'a kraliyet hazinesinden verilmesini (talep ediyoruz). Köylerin arazi ve yapılarla ilgili eksikliğini karşılanmasını (talep ediyoruz). Zira daha önceden bizden alınan bu yerlerin (köylerin) sizin söz verdiğiniz şekilde yeniden onarılmadığı için Thileudos, Plazeira ve avcuların yerleşimlerinin tarafınızca yeniden belirlenmesini ve oranın sakinlerinin toprak dağıtıcı Lykios'un karar vereceği yere taşınmalarının sağlanmasını (sizden talep ediyoruz). (Kraliyet Görevlisi) – Konuyu incelemesi ve oraların sınırlarının belirlenmesi için ona talimat verdik.”*

*Anahtar Sözcükler:* Eumenes II; Apollonioukharaks; Lidya; *katoikia*; mülkiyet hakkı.