NEW EVIDENCE CONCERNING THE ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM OF THE ATTALIDS*

(Pl. XVIII)

A big marble ostothek (without lid)\(^1\), now preserved in the Aydin Museum, has recently been found in the village of Kocagiir which is located about 7 kms in the east of Aydin, the ancient Tralleis.

The following text is engraved on the chest in two columns\(^2\):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Col. A</th>
<th>Col. B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'Η ὀστοθήκη Διονυσίου τοῦ Διονυσίου τοῦ Θεοφίλου καὶ στρ- 4 τηγοῦ τοῦ ὑπαίθρου καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως καὶ Ἡγεανάσσης τῆς Πύρρου τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ.</td>
<td>'Η ὀστοθήκη Διονυσίου τοῦ Θεοφίλου στρατηγοῦ Καρίας καὶ Λυδίας 4 τῶν κατὰ Ἑφεσον τόπων καὶ Μελιτίνης τῆς Γαυδότου τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἀθηνομοίρου τοῦ Δημάρχου 8 τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως καὶ Τατίδος τῆς Μιθραδάτου τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Translation:

Col. A: "The ostothek belongs to Dionysios son of Dionysios, grandson of Theophilus, the commander of the hypaithros and the mayor of the city, and to his wife Hegeanassa daughter of Pyrrhos".

Col. B: "The ostothek belongs to Dionysios son of Theophilus, the commander of Carian and Lydian places around Ephesos, and to his wife Melitte daughter of Gaudotos, and to Athenomoiros son of Demarchos, the mayor of the city, and to his wife Tatia daughter of Mithradates".

It is obvious that this chest belonged to one of the leading families in the Attalid kingdom, and as indicated, three persons of this family had

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\(^1\) The dimensions are: height 0.53; width 0.88; thickness 0.77; letter-height 0.015m.

\(^2\) The two colons are separated by an upright, deep line.
important responsibilities in the administration. Except Athonomoiros, whose relationship is obscure, the genealogy of those mentioned can be maintained as follows:

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THEOPHILOS
   | Gaudotos
DIONYSIOS oo Melitine
   | στρατηγός Καρίας
ekai Λυδίας τόν
kata 'Εφεσον τόπων
Pyrrhos
   | ?
Hegeanassa oo DIONYSIOS
   | στρατηγός τοῦ ύπατον
   | καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως
   | (relationship unclear)
ATHENOMOIROS
   | ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως
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It is a well known fact that the Attalid kingdom was divided into regions called τόποι, corresponding to the Seleucid satrapies, and that these τόποι were administered by στρατηγοί appointed by the kings. We have epigraphic evidence recording the names of three regional administrations within the Attalid kingdom:

a) Topoi in Chersonesos and Thrakia (ὁ στρατηγός τῆς Χερρόνησου καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Θρᾴκην τόπων and στρατιώται οἱ διαβάντες ... εἰς τοὺς κατὰ Χερρόνησον καὶ Θρᾴκην τόπους),

b) Topoi around the Hellespontos (Κόρραγος 'Αριστομάχου Μακεδών, τετεγμένος στρατηγός τῶν καθ' Ἑλλησποντὸν τόπων),

c) Topoi around Ephesos, plain of Kaistros and the territory of Kilbianoi (στρατηγός ἐπὶ τῇ 'Εφέσῳ καὶ τῶν κατ' Ἐφεσον τόπων καὶ Καῦστρου πεδίων καὶ τῷ Κιλβιανῶν).

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6 *OGIS*, 330.


New Evidence Concerning the Administrative System of the Attalids

As the places of Kaxoc "Ecpeaov TOTCOI Kapiaq KCCI At>5ia<; recorded in our inscription roughly cover the same area as of TOTCOI KGCX' "Ecpeaov Kou Koa>CTpo"rceSiov Kcci TO KiX(3iavov (see above c), it is reasonable to believe that both names were used for designating the same province, perhaps with some changes in the provincial circumscriptions made in the meantime. There seems to have been an imprecise terminology concerning the topoi of the Attalid kingdom, as the designation topoi was "a vague and inconsistent term applied to provinces and to areas beyond them".

In the family recorded in our inscription there are two persons who functioned as ὑπατηροι: Dionysios, the son, who was also the commander of the ὑπατηρος, and Athenomoiros whose relation with this family is unclear. The royal appointees called ὑπατηροι (τῆς πόλεως are attested both in the Attalid kingdom and in other places of the Hellenistic world. They were civic officials serving in the cities; however, evidence regarding their duties is scanty.

Dionysios the son was the commander of a ὑπατηρος (or ὑπατερος), stationed somewhere near Tralleis, provided that he was, perhaps at the same time, στρατηγος (?). The term ὑπατηρος (or ὑπατηρος), meaning "military camp in open air", frequently appears in Hellenistic documents. Its soldiers living in tents or barracks were called ὑπατηροι, a term opposite to κατοικοι.

cit., 226, no. 25. Knibbe, Börker-Merkelbach and still Allen have πε[διον], whereas πε[διον] was proposed by P. Herrmann in SEG, loc. cit. and by K. J. Rigsby, Phoenix 33, 1979, 43, note 17.

9 R. E. Allen, op. cit., 97.

10 On the office see H. Bengtson, op. cit., 240-251; R. E. Allen, op. cit., 104-109 and L. Robert, Noms indigenes, 476 with note 2. The question of terminology and concerning the relation between ὑπατηρος (τῆς πόλεως, the εὐποιοι and the στρατηγος τῆς πόλεως is still open to discussion and the arguments of Bengtson are not yet superseded.

11 Only the well-known astynomic law from Pergamon provides some limited information about their responsibilities: [ἐάλν ἐν τί μὴ ποιήσων οὕτως (sc. ἀστυνομοί) τὸν γεγορρυμένων, ζημιούσαςών ὅπο τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως κτλ. (OGIS, 483, cf. also E. V. Hansen, op. cit., 200 and R. E. Allen, op. cit., 171).


13 On the terms κατοικοι and κατοικίαι see G. M. Cohen, Ancient Society 22
As the appearance of royally appointed strategoi for administrating the topoi, and the royal magistrates called ὅ ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως in the cities in the Attalid kingdom is generally dated to the reign of Eumenes II, probably after the treaty of Apameia, the present inscription has to be dated between 188 and 133 B.C. (This is supported also by the letter forms, especially those of Pi, Omega and Sigma). In fact, in accounting the areas and cities assigned to Eumenes II as δωρεά, Polybios (XXI.46 9-11) and Livius (XXXVIII.39.7-40) include Lydia, Ephesos and Tralleis, the settlements which seem to have been under the authority of Dionysios, the strategos of "Carian and Lydian places around Ephesos", recorded in our inscription.

The names Ὠνεάνοσσα, Ἀθηνώμορος (new) Πύρρος (Thracian or Greek), Μιθραδέτης (Persian), Τοτες (Anatolian) and especially Γαῦδότος (a Celtic name attested also in Pergamon as the name of a painter who was sent to Athens by Attalos II appearing in our inscription are notable. The variety of the onomastic elements (i.e. barbarian, Pisidian, Galatian and Cappadocian) which existed in Hellenistic Pergamon has been connected with the recruitment of soldiers from different regions to serve in the Attalid army.

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15 On the territories assigned to Eumenes II see notably D. Magie, Roman Rule in Asia Minor (1950), 758-64, note 56; R. E. Allen, op. cit., 86-7 and E. V. Hansen, op. cit., 92ff.
16 The name should be combined with Ὠνεάνοσσα, attested at Delos as the female form of Ὠνεάς (O. Masson, in D. Knoepfler [ed.], Comptes et inventaires dans la cité grecque, 1988, 77). For the names ending in -άνος, and -άνοσσα see F. Bechtel, HP, 44-7.
17 For names belonging to the group of the names ending in -μορος (from Μοῖρα) see F. Bechtel, op. cit., 322-3.
18 On the origin of the names with Ποπ- or Πυ- see G. Mihailov, IGBulg. IV, 2240 (cf. SEG XXVIII, 1978, 735 and 744).
19 See notably L. Robert, CRAI 1978, 284f.
20 See L. Zgusta, KP § 1517-4.