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## UNPUBLISHED INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE TROAD\*

*Abstract:* The subject of this study are four unpublished Greek inscriptions in the Çanakkale Museum, – two from Scepsis, one from Lampascus and one of unknown provenance. Two Hellenistic texts from Scepsis provide a suitable occasion for a re-examination of the historical development of this Troadic city prior to its incorporation in the Roman province of Asia.

### I. Scepsis

The site of Scepsis in the interior of the Troad, as so many others in the same region, was identified by F. Calvert<sup>1</sup> on Kurşunlu Tepe, a large hill rising 200–300 m above the north bank of the upper Scamander, two hours from the local centre in Bayramiç. Calvert's identification was confirmed by coins of Scepsis found by R.P. Pullan on the same site<sup>2</sup>. Finally, W. Judeich discovered a proxeny decree naming Scepsis on the hill top in 1896<sup>3</sup>.

Strabo (on the authority of Demetrius of Scepsis) informs us of a predecessor of classical Scepsis known under the name of Palaescepsis after the foundation of the classical city<sup>4</sup>. Palaescepsis lay in the highest part of Ida near Polichna, 60 stades (11 km) from the later Scepsis<sup>5</sup>. J. M. Cook and G. Bean<sup>6</sup> suggested that the İkizce site near

\* May this modest contribution to the study of Greek epigraphy in the Troad be a small token of gratitude to Professor Fanoula Papazoglou for her advice and guidance during the past twenty years!

<sup>1</sup> *Arch. Journ.* 22, 1865, 53.

<sup>2</sup> *Antiquities of Ionia* V, 1915, 32: his letter of November 1866.

<sup>3</sup> *Beiträge zur alten Geschichte und Geographie, Festschrift H. Kiepert*, 1898, 231.

<sup>4</sup> XIII 1, 44 C 603; 45 C 603 (thirty stades from the Aesepus river); 51 C 606; 52 C 607. Cf. U. Kahrstedt, *Historia* 3, 1954/55, 292–301; J. M. Cook, *Historia* 4, 1955, 39–45.

<sup>5</sup> In XIII 1, 45 C 603 Strabo says that Palaescepsis was on the left flank of the Aesepus valley, only 30 stades (5,5 km) from the Aesepus itself, and in 44 C 603 the same site is also located in the drainage system of this river.

<sup>6</sup> J. M. Cook, *The Troad. An Archaeological and Topographical Study*, 1973, 300–304.

Tongurlu, north-east of Kurşunlu Tepe, could be the Palaescepsis above Cebren referred to by Strabo in XIII 1, 51 C 606 and 52 C 607. There, they found a fortification (100 x 50 m), traces of buildings in its interior, tiles, a sherd of the fourth century B.C. and another of Troy II or Early Bronze Age<sup>7</sup>.

The site on Kurşunlu Tepe suffered a fate similar to that of many sites in the Troad which were plundered to provide building material. Its destruction began at the end of the eighteenth century when an intensive building activity was carried on in the nearby Bayramiç<sup>8</sup>. When E. D. Clarke arrived there in 1801<sup>9</sup>, he saw a great marble temple in the Doric order, another smaller temple, baths, a wall 14 feet high; in Bayramiç he obtained marble statues from the site<sup>10</sup>. However, he thought that the ruins represented an altar of Idaean Zeus. R.P. Pullan completes this description of the site with his notes on foundations of a small temple on the north side of the hill and two fragments of a Doric temple<sup>11</sup>. H. Schliemann remarked a piece of circuit wall 2,8 m thick and traces of edifices at various points<sup>12</sup>. In 1896 W. Judeich saw a road to the hilltop and column drums and entablature blocks immured in houses in the village<sup>13</sup>. The two inscriptions first published by A.R. Munro in 1899 – the letter of Antigonos Monophthalmus and the Scepsian reply<sup>14</sup> – were unearthed on the hill top, at the site of Athena's sanctuary<sup>15</sup>.

According to Demetrius of Scepsis, the removal of the Scepsians from a mountain stronghold to the more convenient site on Kurşunlu Tepe was due to Scamandrius and Ascanius, the sons of Hector and Aeneas<sup>16</sup>. Their descendants held the kingship over the Scepsians

<sup>7</sup> Op. cit. 301.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. A.R. Munro, *JHS* 19, 1899, 336: „the neighbouring town of Bairamitch has recently suffered from a destructive fire, and much building is going on there. The villagers of Kurshunlu find a good market for stones from the ancient site, which they are quarrying in all directions“.

<sup>9</sup> *Travels in Various Countries of Europe, Asia and Africa* II 1, 1812, 128–32, 146.

<sup>10</sup> Today in the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge.

<sup>11</sup> Op. cit. in note 2.

<sup>12</sup> *Reise in der Troas*, 1881, 53–5; *Troja*, 1884, 309–10.

<sup>13</sup> *Sitz.-Ber. Berl. Akad.* 1898, 535–36.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. note 8. Cf. also U. Köhler, *Sitz.-Ber. Berl. Akad.* 1901, 1057–68.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Xen. *Hell.* III 1, 21: ὁ δὲ Δερκυλίδας θύσας τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ ἐν τῇ τῶν Σκηψίων ἀκροπόλει ...

<sup>16</sup> Str. XIII 1, 52 C 607. The transfer was not complete, since Palaescepsis reappears as one of the cities given by Artaxerxes to Themistocles (Plut. *Them* 29, 7; Athen. I 29 f; Schol. Aristoph. *Hipp.* 84). It was populated still in the second century B.C. (cf. Strabo), but by Pliny's time it seems to have been deserted (*N.h.* V 122). Judeich (op. cit. 233) thought that Scepsis and Palaescepsis constituted one community whose civic centre was New Scepsis.

for a considerable period of time. J. M. Cook<sup>17</sup> remarks that this was a native „Dardanian“ community which became Hellenised early, the process of Hellenisation being completed by the settlement of Milesians in the seventh century, whose arrival is connected in Strabo with the change of the constitution from oligarchic to democratic.

Scepsis joined the Athenian Confederacy in the middle of the fifth century. In the first and the third assessment-periods (454–51, 446–40) it paid one talent<sup>18</sup>. When the Confederacy was dissolved, the city again fell to the Persians. At the end of the fifth century B.C. the Troad was a separate hyparchy in the Dascylitan satrapy under Pharnabazus. The hyparchy was administered by Zenis of Dardanus, followed after his death by his widow Mania. Under her control were Scepsis, Cebren, Neandreia, Cocylum, Gergis, Ilium, Coloniae, Larisa and Hamaxitus<sup>19</sup>. In 399, Scepsis, Cebren and Gergis fell to Mania's son in law, Meidias of Scepsis, who treacherously took her life<sup>20</sup>. In these strong fortresses Mania had stored most of her treasures. Thereupon Dercylidas, the Spartan area harmost in Asia Minor, campaigning with 12–13.000 soldiers against Pharnabazus in the late summer of the same year, in eight days secured nine cities: Hamaxitus, Larisa, Coloniae, Neandreia, Ilium, Cocylum (all these by voluntary surrender), Cebren, Scepsis and Gergis<sup>21</sup>. Scepsis was then ceded to its citizens<sup>22</sup>. After 386 Scepsis was again in Persian hands, to be captured in 360 by Charidemus of Oreus, a mercenary general in service of rebellious satrap Artabazus, together with Cebren and Ilium<sup>23</sup>.

The importance of Scepsis in the wars waged by Alexander's generals is well illustrated by the famous letter of Antigonos Monophthalmus to the city of Scepsis, announcing the conclusion of peace between himself and the coalition of Cassander, Ptolemy and Lysimachus in 311 B.C.<sup>24</sup>.

Soon afterwards came a momentous change for the Scepsians. In 310 B.C. Antigonos Monophthalmus founded Antigoneia on the

<sup>17</sup> *The Troad* 363.

<sup>18</sup> B.D. Meritt/H.T. Wade-Gery/M.F. McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists* II, 1949, pp. 3, 14 (List 3, col. IV, 27; List 14, col. II, 31).

<sup>19</sup> Xen. *Hell.* III 1, 10–13. The coastal cities of Coloniae, Larisa and Hamaxitus were added by Mania to her husband's original dominion.

<sup>20</sup> Xen., *Hell.* III 1, 15, 17, 19.

<sup>21</sup> Xen., *Hell.* III 1, 14–15, 17, 19. Only the garrison in Cebren offered resistance. Cf. E. Winter, Dercylidas in Kleinasien, in: *Asia Minor Studien* XI, 1994, 1–20.

<sup>22</sup> Xen., *Hell.* III 1, 21: παραδοὺς δὲ τοῖς πολίταις τὴν πόλιν καὶ παρακελευσάμενος ὥσπερ Ἑλλήνας καὶ ἑλευθέρους χρή, οὕτως πολιτεύειν.

<sup>23</sup> Dem. XXIII 154; Harpocr. s.v. Scepsis.

<sup>24</sup> J. A. R. Munro, *JHS* 19, 1899, 330–340 (C.B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period*, 1934, no. 1; *OGIS* 5). Cf. Diod. XIX 105.

west coast of the Troad, at a place called Sigia<sup>25</sup>. The new foundation absorbed the small Aeolic towns on the coast – Colonaē, Larisa, Hamaxitus and Chrysa –, and the more substantial inland cities of Neandreia, Cebren and Scepsis. Its territory on the north bordered on Achaeum opposite Tenedus<sup>26</sup>.

Antigonus Monophthalmus is also the founder of the Ilian League based on the sanctuary of Athena Ilias. Scepsis was among its original members, together with Parium, Lampsacus, Abydus, Dardanus, Ilium, Antigoneia, Assus and Gargara. Calchedon and Myrlea were included later, at the end of the third century BC<sup>27</sup>.

After the battle of Ipsus in 301 B.C., when Lysimachus, the new lord of Asia Minor, devoted his attention to the Troad, he changed the name of Antigoneia to Alexandreia, maintaining that he was thus showing due piety towards Alexander<sup>28</sup>. In addition to that, he released the Scepsians from the synoecism. Strabo's text permits us to conclude that one of the main reasons for this decision was the long record of hostilities between the Cebrenians and the Scepsians before they were settled by Antigonus in Antigoneia<sup>29</sup>. Consequently, after 301 B.C. the Cebrenians remained in Alexandreia, while the Scepsians were permitted to return to their homeland.

With the rest of the Troad, Scepsis was under Lysimachus' control for two decades – from 301 until the battle of Corupedium in 281. Under the early Seleucids Scepsis was a free city<sup>30</sup>, and it remained in the Seleucid sphere of interest until 188, when it was ceded to the rulers of Pergamum. In 129, it became part of the newly organised province of Asia.

The epigraphy of Scepsis consists mostly of public inscriptions originating from one or several temples from the site, especially that of Athena. In addition to the above-mentioned letter of Antigonus Monophthalmus and the Scepsian reply, we have several important

<sup>25</sup> Strabo XIII 1, 26, C 593; Pliny, *N. h.* V 124; cf. M. Ricl, *The Inscriptions of Alexandreia Troas* (I.K. 53), 1997, 183, T 20.

<sup>26</sup> Strabo XIII 1, 47, C 604; cf. Ricl, *op. cit.* 183-4, T 23-25.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. P. Frisch, *I.K.* 3 (Ilium), *passim*.

<sup>28</sup> Strabo XIII 1, 26, C 593: ἔδοξε γὰρ εὐσεβὲς εἶναι τοὺς Ἀλέξανδρον διαδεξαμένους ἐκείνου πρότερον κτιζεῖν ἐπωνύμους πόλεις, εἰς αὐτῶν (Ricl, *op. cit.* 184, T 26).

<sup>29</sup> XIII 1, 33, C 597 (Ricl, *op. cit.* T 27).

<sup>30</sup> From this period, c. 275 B.C., dates the so-called Aristodicides dossier recording the donation of land on the part of Antiochus I to Aristodicides of Assus [Welles, *RC* 10–11; P. Frisch, *I.K.* 3 (Ilium) 33]. It comprises three letters of the King to the strategos Meleager and the covering letter of Meleager to the citizens of Ilium, informing them of Aristodicides' wish to attach the estate given him (6.000 plethra) to the territory of their city. The King left it to Aristodicides to choose between Ilium and Scepsis, as his free allies. Cf. now the study of F. Papazoglou, *Laoi et paroikoi, Recherches sur la structure de la société hellénistique*, Beograd 1997, 31-35, T 1.

Hellenistic documents: a proxeny decree naming Scepsis which confirmed the site of the ancient city<sup>31</sup>, a fragmentary decree on financial matters<sup>32</sup>, a honorary decree for a commander of an ὀχύρωμα<sup>33</sup>, a decree regulating a festival of Dionysus and some works in the theatre<sup>34</sup>, a mutilated document (a letter) mentioning prytaneis and a strategos, originally set up in Athena's sanctuary<sup>35</sup>, a decree of the Ilian League on the debts of the cities to its patron goddess<sup>36</sup>, a honorary decree for Scepsian judges sent to Aegae<sup>37</sup>, a treaty between Scepsis and Parium on military aid and isopolity<sup>38</sup>, a decree regulating the sale of priesthood of Dionysus Bambyleus<sup>39</sup>, and two mutilated decrees of uncertain nature<sup>40</sup>. Inscriptions mentioning Scepsis and its individual citizens found outside the city include three from Delphi<sup>41</sup> and one from Miletus<sup>42</sup>.

The two unpublished honorific inscriptions from Scepsis presented here were unearthed in 1994, in the course of excavations conducted by the Çanakkale Museum on Kurşunlu Tepe. They present a welcome addition to the epigraphy of the ancient city.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. note 3. Cf. L. Robert, *BCH* 50, 1926, 511 note 1 (=OMS I 75); *SEG* IV 673; W. Leaf, *Anatolian Studies Ramsay*, 1923, 270–80.

<sup>32</sup> J. A. R. Munro, *JHS* 21, 1901, 235–6; L. Robert, *BCH* 57, 1933, 513–4 (=OMS I 481–2).

<sup>33</sup> W. Judeich, *Fs. Kiepert* 231–2; Robert, *BCH* 1926, 31 510–11 note 4 (=OMS I 74–5); *SEG* IV 673.

<sup>34</sup> H. Schliemann, *Troja* 1884, 226 s no. XXIV; W. Judeich, *Fs. Kiepert* 236; A. Wilhelm, *JÖAI* 3, 1900, 54–7. This inscription lists the principal civic officials – prytanis, epistates, grammateus, tamias, basileus.

<sup>35</sup> G. Bean, in: J.M. Cook, op. c. in note 6, p. 399 no. 13; J. et L. Robert, *Bull. épigr.* 1974, 461.

<sup>36</sup> Z. Taşlıklioğlu, *Trakya'da epigrafya araştırmaları* II, 1971 (1972) 209 no. 3; *Bull. épigr.* 1972, 372.

<sup>37</sup> Taşlıklioğlu, op. cit. 206 no. 2; *Bull. épigr.* 1972, 372; Z. Taşlıklioğlu/P. Frisch, *ZPE* 19, 1975, 219–22; *Bull. épigr.* 1976, 573.

<sup>38</sup> Taşlıklioğlu, op. cit. 204 no. 1; *Bull. épigr.* 1972, 371; H. Müller, *Chiron* 5, 1975, 129–30; *Bull. épigr.* 1976, 574.

<sup>39</sup> Z. Taşlıklioğlu/P. Frisch, *ZPE* 17, 1975, 106–09 no. 2; *Bull. épigr.* 1976, 572; F. Sokolowski, *ZPE* 22, 1976, 185–88; *Bull. épigr.* 1977, 382.

<sup>40</sup> E. Schwertheim, in: *Asia Minor Studien* XXII, 1996, 100–01 no. 1; 102 no. 2.

<sup>41</sup> *FD* III 1, 288; L. Robert, *BCH* 50, 1926, 511–15 (=OMS I 75–9): a decree of the Scepsians and the answer of Delphi with privileges for Scepsians, both engraved on the wall of the Siphnian treasury; *FD* III 1, 288 B: possibly a decree in honour of Demetrius of Scepsis; *ibid.* 273: a honorary inscription for a Scepsian.

<sup>42</sup> A. Rehm, *Das Delphinion in Milet*, 1914, no. 87, line 6: a Scepsian is rewarded Milesian citizenship.

## 1. HONOURS FOR ALEXANDRA AND O[ ], SON OF POSIDONIUS

Found on Kurşunlu Tepe. Today in the Çanakkale Museum (inv. no. 7244).

Greymarble stele with a triangular pediment, broken above and on the left. In the pediment is a round boss, and on its lower edge an ovoid ornament. Below the inscription are two shallowly incised wreaths.

Dim. 1,04 m x 0,50–0,52 m x 0,115–0,135 m; letters 0,01–0,015 m high.

Date: c. 100 B.C.

- [‘H] βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος στεφά-  
 2 [ν]οῦσιν Ἀλεξάνδραν Ὀνησι-  
 [c. 11 letters]. Καὶ οἱ ἔφηβοι. Οἱ  
 4 [πρα]γματευόμενοι παρ’ ἡμῶν  
 [‘Ρω]μα<ι>οι στεφανοῦσιν καὶ Ὀ-  
 6 [c. 7 letters]ον Ποσιδωνίου.

Lines 2–3 and 5–6 contained either the name Ὀνήσιμος, or, more probable, one of the composite names of the same stem, such as Ὀνησίαρχος, Ὀνησίβουλος, Ὀνησίδημος...

Alexandra, daughter of Ones[ ], was honoured by the council and the people of Scepsis, and by the *epheboi*. The Romans residing at Scepsis also honoured O[ ], son of Posidonius. At a later date, Alexandra’s patronymon was partially erased. Since the name of the second honorand, itself commencing with an *omicron*, suffered the same fate, one is tempted to hypothesize that the second honorand was Alexandra’s father.

Especially interesting in this inscription is the appearance of Roman *negotiatores* in Scepsis. This is the first trace of their activity in the interior of the Troad, attesting to the economic importance of Scepsis after 129 B.C.<sup>43</sup> Roman businessmen are presently on record in Lampsacus, Parium, Ilium and Assus, and future discoveries can be expected from other prominent cities, such as Alexandria Troas.

The letter forms of this inscription point to a date at the beginning of the first century B.C., possibly prior to the 88 B.C.-massacre of Roman businessmen in Asia. The fact that they are styled Ῥωμαῖοι could be regarded as a consequence of the *lex Iulia* or *Plautia Papi-ria*. At the same time, one should not forget that the period following

<sup>43</sup> Cf. J. Hatzfeld, *Les trafiquants italiens dans l'Orient hellénique*, 1919, 44–9, 101–32, esp. 112–14; D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, 1950, 162–64, 251, 255–56; R.M. Errington, in: *Alte Geschichte und Wissenschaftsgeschichte. Festschrift für K. Christ zum 65. Geburtstag*, 1988, 140–57 (non vidi).

the Mithridatic wars was the most brilliant one for the Roman *negotiores* in the Eastern provinces, and that this phase gradually came to an end in the course of the first century A.D.

## 2. HONOURS FOR MONAS, SON OF THERSIUS

Found on Kurşunlu Tepe. Today in the Çanakkale Museum (inv. no. 7243).

Greymarble stele with a triangular pediment.

Dim. 1,14 m x 0,60 m x 0,16 m; letters 0,02 m high (0,015–0,02 in the last line).

Date: first half of the first century B.C.

- Ἡ βουλὴ{ι} καὶ ὁ δῆμος  
2 στεφανοῦσι Μονᾶ Θερ-  
σίου. Οἱ νέοι καὶ οἱ ἔφηβοι καὶ  
4 οἱ παῖδες στεφανοῦσιν.  
Οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι παρ' ἡμῖν.  
*vacat*  
6 Μένανδρος ὁ Ἀντιμένου<ς> ἐπέ-  
γραψα τὸ μνημα.

The whole community of Scepsis had joined in honouring Thersius' son Monas – the people, the *neoi*, *epheboi* and *paides*, and the resident Romans.

The letter forms of this inscription point to a date in the first half of the first century B.C.

## II. Lampsacus

Since the publication of the corpus of the inscriptions from Lampsacus by P. Frisch<sup>44</sup>, which embraced the testimonies on the city as well, the eventful history of one of the most noteworthy communities in the Troad is readily accessible. The epigraphic harvest in Lampsacus is unexpectedly meagre – only 34 inscriptions ranging from c. 300 B.C. to the Imperial period. Therefore, every new addition to the published texts is most welcome. The following funerary inscription from Lampsacus is preserved in the Çanakkale Museum.

<sup>44</sup> Die Inschriften von Lampsakos (I. K. 6), 1978.

## 3. FUNERARY STELE OF METRODORA

From Akçaalan Köy near Lapseki (anc. Lampsacus). Since 1969 in the Çanakkale Museum (inv. no. 2403).

Plain whitemarble funerary stele. Every second line of the inscription is painted red.

Dim. 0,20 m x 0,36 m; letters 0,005–0,01 m high.

Date: third century B.C. (letter forms).

- Πικρὰς μ' ἄρτι φυγοῦσαν, ὁδοίπορε, Μητροοδώραν  
 2 ὠδῖνας, στυγερὴ νύξ ἐκάλυψε βίου.  
 Ἄνδρὶ δὲ δάκρυ ἐμῶι Διοκλῆι καὶ πατρὶ Μενάνδρῳι  
 4 καὶ νεαροῖς ἔλιπον παισὶ καταφθιμένῃ.  
 Πάντα δ' ἔρημα κέονται ἐνὶ μμελάθροισ με γοῶντα,  
 6 ἔργα τὰ χερσὶν ἐμαῖς εὖ μίγα πολλ' ἔκαμον.  
 Πέμπτον δ' ἐκπεροῶσα καὶ εἰκοστὸν λυκαβάντα,  
 8 αὐχμηρὴν κεῖμαι γῆν ἐπιεσσαμένην.

Μητροοδώραν (l. 1), ἐνὶ μμελάθροισ (l. 5), *metri causa*.

Metrodora's epitaph, composed in four elegiac distichs, honours her in the traditional manner – as a good wife, daughter, mother and housewife. She died in labour, in her twenty fifth year.

For the phrase γῆν ἐπιεσσαμένην, cf. Pindar, *Nem.* 11, 16, Xen., *Cyr.* VI, 4, 6, *Anth. Pal.* VII 480.

## III. Unknown provenance

## 4. VOTIVE ALTAR FOR THEA THERMENE

From Yenice-Çanakkale. In the Çanakkale Museum since 1986 (inv. no. 5153).

Small whitemarble altar with plinth and cornice. The base is encircled by a guirland, and there are rosettes on three sides.

Dim. 0,63 m x 0,155 m x 0,14 m; letters 0,01–0,015 m high.



Date: first/second century A.D.

- Διονύσιο[ς]  
2 Διονυσί[ου]  
νν Θεῶ νν  
4 Θερμην[ῆ]  
εὐχαριστ[τ]-  
6 νν ἥριον.

Θεᾶ Θερμηνή is a local deity, most probably connected with thermal waters, abundant in the Troad<sup>45</sup>.

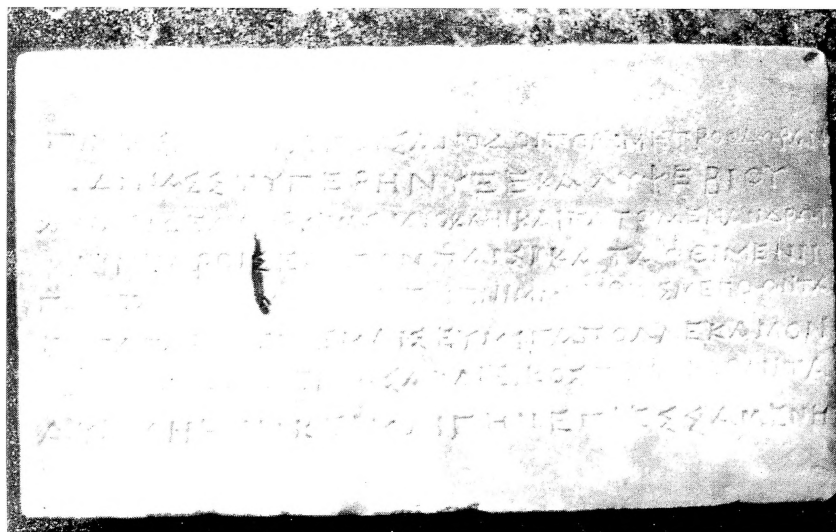
Note the unusual forms of *theta* and *omicron*.

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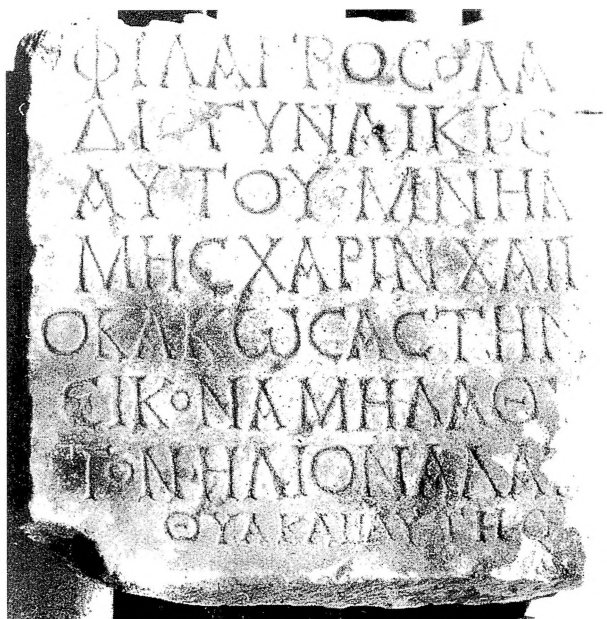
<sup>45</sup> Cf. J.M. Cook, op. cit. 203–04 (territory of Alexandreia Troas), 222 (anc. Tragasae around modern Tuzla), 260 note 6 (vicinity of anc. Gargara), 265 (south coast), 280 (north of the Scamander river).



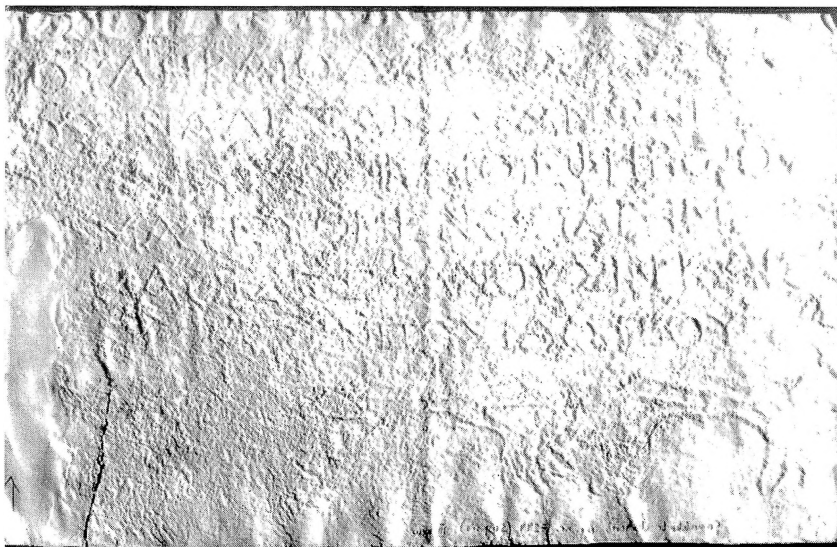




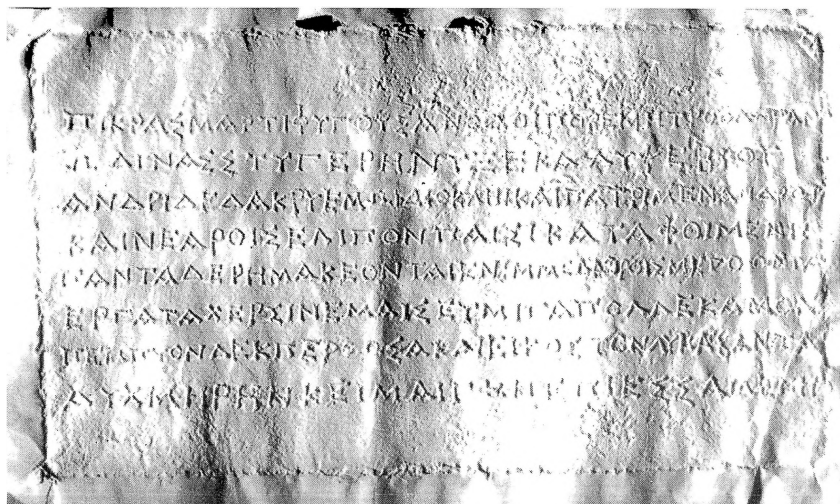
No. 3



No. 4



No. 1 (squeeze)



No. 3 (squeeze)



No. 5 (squeeze)