

## CGRN 137

### Decree concerning the foundation of the cult of Seleukos I and his son Antiochos I at Aigai

Date :

ca. 281 BC

Justification: context (see below).

#### Provenance

Aigai [↗](http://pleiades.stoa.org/places/550404) (<http://pleiades.stoa.org/places/550404>) in Aeolis. Discovered during excavations, the stele was reused as a threshold in an early-Byzantine church at the site of the city. Currently in the depot at Köseler (Aigai; no inv. no.).

#### Support

Tall opisthographic stele, broken into two joining pieces. Lines 18-35 were almost completely effaced during reuse (see below), the stone is otherwise chipped on the sides and there are two cavities on the front face for fixing doorposts during reuse. The stele tapers from top to bottom; Caneva (2022) estimates the lengths of the line at 32 letters in lines 1-20, increasing gradually to 39-41 letters by the end, lines 68-71. The other face contains a closely contemporaneous decree of the Thessalians granting political privileges to the citizens of Aeolis, Kos and Magnesia-on-the-Maiander. This second text appears to have been inscribed a short time later, ca. 280-250 BC; for the date cf. Parker.

Height: 175 cm

Width: 59.8 (above) - 61 (below)    Depth: 15 cm  
cm

#### Layout

Stoichedon 32 for lines 1-15; the *stoichoi* often include *iota* with the preceding letter, especially in a diphthong; this practice becomes more frequent after lines 15 or 22, thus making the stoichedon length difficult

to estimate precisely in the lower portion of the inscription.

Letters: 8-10 mm high.

See Malay and Riel for further description.

## Bibliography

Edition here based on [Malay - Riel 2009](http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/bibliography/#Malay%20-%20Riel%202009) (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/bibliography/#Malay%20-%20Riel%202009>): 39-47, Decree I (front side), with ph. figs. 1-2 and 5. Photos kindly sent by M. Riel were also used, where possible, to confirm the readings, though further autopsy and photography would be necessary to achieve a better decipherment. We adopt the improvements to the text suggested by Caneva (2020) in line 2, by Caneva - Lorenzon (2021) in lines 30-31 and 34 (selectively and more tentatively), and by Caneva (2022) in lines 44-45. We discuss other readings and proposals by Caneva (2020), Caneva - Lorenzon (2021) and Caneva (2022) in the commentary below.

Cf. also: [SEG](http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/abbreviations/#SEG) (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/abbreviations/#SEG>) 59, 1406; Hamon *REG* 2010 [BE](http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/abbreviations/#BE) (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/abbreviations/#BE>) no. 522; [Caneva 2020](http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/bibliography/#Caneva%202020) (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/bibliography/#Caneva%202020>); [Caneva - Lorenzon 2021](http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/bibliography/#Caneva%20-%20Lorenzon%202021) (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/bibliography/#Caneva%20-%20Lorenzon%202021>); [Caneva - Lorenzon 2021](http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/bibliography/#Caneva%20-%20Lorenzon%2021) (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/bibliography/#Caneva%20-%20Lorenzon%2021>); [Caneva 2022](http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/bibliography/#Caneva%202022) (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/bibliography/#Caneva%202022>).

Further bibliography: [Bohn 1889](http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/bibliography/#Bohn%201889) (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/bibliography/#Bohn%201889>); [Reinach 1891](http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/bibliography/#Reinach%201891) (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/bibliography/#Reinach%201891>): 268-275; [Robert 1937](http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/bibliography/#Robert%201937) (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/bibliography/#Robert%201937>): 74-89; [Ma 1999](http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/bibliography/#Ma%201999) (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/bibliography/#Ma%201999>); Appendix I; [Iossif 2011](http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/bibliography/#Iossif%202011) (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/bibliography/#Iossif%202011>); [Parker 2011b](http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/bibliography/#Parker%202011b) (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/bibliography/#Parker%202011b>); [Muccioli 2013](http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/bibliography/#Muccioli%202013) (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/bibliography/#Muccioli%202013>): chps. 8-9; [Ma 2013](http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/bibliography/#Ma%202013) (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/bibliography/#Ma%202013>): 15-30; [Jim 2015](http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/bibliography/#Jim%202015) (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/bibliography/#Jim%202015>); [Paul 2016](http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/bibliography/#Paul%202016) (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/bibliography/#Paul%202016>); [Jim 2022](http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/bibliography/#Jim%202022) (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/bibliography/#Jim%202022>).

## Text

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[...]

[... κ]αὶ καλῶ[ς .....]<sup>7</sup>ΝΑΙ Σελεύκῳ κ[αὶ]

Ἀντιόχῳ Σωτήρ[σι]ν· ἵνα δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸν π[ά]-

[ν]τα χρόνον [.]Σ ὑπ' ἀν[θ]ρώπων τὴν κ[α]ταξίαν

[τ]ῶν εὐεργετημάτων, ἧ θεοὶ οἱ ἐ[πι]φανέ[ν]-

[τε]ς τιμῶνται Σέλευκος καὶ Ἀντ[ί]οχος, να-  
 [ό]ν τε οἰκοδομῆσαι ὥς κάλλιστ[ον] πρὸς τῶ-  
 [ι] περιβόλωι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ [τό]πον πε-  
 [ρι]βαλέσθαι καὶ ἀγάλματα ἀναθ[εῖ]ναι δύ-  
 [ο] ὥς κάλλιστα, ἐπιγράψαντας "Σέ[λ]ευκον" κ-  
 αὶ "Ἀντίοχον", καὶ πρὸ τοῦ ναοῦ στῆσαι ἀγα-  
 [λ]μα καὶ βωμὸν τῆς Σωτήρας· ἰδρύσασθαι  
 [δ]ὲ καὶ βωμὸν τοῦ ναοῦ κατεναντίον Σωτή-  
 [ρ]ων ἐπιγεγραμμένον "Σελεύκου καὶ Ἀντι-  
 [ό]χου". {E} ἀνεῖναι δὲ καὶ τέμενος ὥς κάλλιστ-  
 [ο]ν· ἀνιέναι δὲ καὶ ταύρους ἐν τῇ ἐκατόμ-  
 [βη] εἰς τὸν περίβολον Σελεύκωι καὶ Ἀντι-  
 [ό]χωι· Σωτῆρσι καὶ θύειν καθάπερ καὶ τῶι  
 [Ἀπό]λλ[ων]ι τὰς λαχούσας τῶν ΔΕΙΚΝΙΩΝ· ἄγ-  
 [ειν δὲ] κα[ὶ] κατὰ μῆνα γ' ἕκαστον δύο θυσία-  
 [ς] ἐν ἡ ἡμέραι ἐλεύθ[ερ]οι ἐγενόμεθα· ΣΕ[.]  
 [...?]ΜΕΝΟΣ τῶν δυσοργησιῶν τῶν ΕΚ  
 [...?] δια[ν]έμειν δὲ καὶ τὰς φυλάς ὅπ[η]-  
 [λί]και εἰσ[ι] ὥστε ἕξ ὑπάρξαι ἀντὶ τῶν τεσσ[ά]-  
 [ρ]ων· ὀνομάσαι δὲ φυλ[ά]ς δύο Σελευκίδα καὶ  
 [Ἀ]ντιόχιδ[α] [...?] Α[.] καὶ αὐτὰς καὶ τὰς Α[.]  
 [...?] δὲ καὶ Ε[<sup>4</sup>].  
 [...?] καὶ στῆσαι ἐν τῶι πρυτανείωι  
 [...<sup>1 line</sup>...]  
 [...?]ΝΙΣΤΗΝ καὶ [...<sup>6</sup>].  
 [...?] ποιήσασθ[αι] δὲ τὴν ἀναγ-  
 [γελίαν] [...?]ΣΤΕΤΟΝ Ἀπολ[λ].  
 [...?] Σέλευκον καὶ Ἀντίοχον Σωτῆρας [.]  
 [...?] ἐν τοῖς [Διον]υσίοις καὶ τοῖς  
 [Σελευκείοις] [...] βασιλέα Σελευκον καὶ  
 [Ἀντίοχον (?)] [...] ἱερέας· θύειν δὲ κα[ὶ]  
 [τ]αῦρον ἐν τῶι μηνὶ τῶι Σελευκεῶνι καθάπ-  
 [ερ καὶ τῶι] Ἀπόλλωνι ἐν τῶι Θαξίωι· ἀποδείκνυ-  
 [σθαι καὶ] ἱερέα ἐκ πάντων τῶν πολιτῶν κατ' ἐ-  
 [νιαυτ]όν, ὃς στέφανόν τε φορήσει δάφνης κ-  
 αὶ στρόφιον καὶ ἐσθῆτα ὡς λαμπροτάτην καὶ μ-

[ε]τὰ τῶν τιμούχων ἐμ πάσαις ταῖς θυσίαις συν-  
 [θύσε]ται καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις κατάρξετ-  
 [αι] ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τῶν Σωτήρων καθάπερ καὶ τοῖς ἄ-  
 [λ]λοις θεοῖς· [ἅμα δὲ καὶ (?) μετ]ὰ πάντων τῶν κατ' ἔ[τος]  
 [ἀρχόντων εὔξεται] ὁ ἱεροκῆρυξ ἐμ πάσαις ταῖς θυ-  
 σίαις ταῖς δημοτελέσι τοῖς Σωτήρι Σελε-  
 [ύ]κω καὶ Ἀντιόχῳ· κατὰ ταῦτά δὲ καὶ ὅταν σπον-  
 [δ]ὰς ποιῶνται παρὰ τοῖς ἄρχουσι, λίβανον ἐπ-  
 [ι]θῦσαι καὶ εὔχεσθαι· αἰδεῖν δὲ καὶ παιᾶνα ἐ-  
 πὶ σπονδαῖς ὃς ἂν νικήσῃ ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι τῆς μο-  
 υσικῆς· ἀνοικοδομῆσαι δὲ καὶ τὸ πρυτανεῖον  
 καὶ τὸ στρατήγιον καὶ καλεῖσθαι τὸ μὲν προτα-  
 νεῖον Σελεύκεον, τὸ δὲ στρατήγιον Ἀντιόχε-  
 ον· ἀπενεῖκαι δὲ τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦτο ὅταν ἡ πρώτ-  
 η πρεσβεία ἀποστέλληται πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα  
 Σέλευκον καὶ ἐπαινέσαι αὐτὸν καὶ ἀξιῶσαι τὴν  
 εὔνοιαν καὶ τὴν φιλίαν διαφυλάσσειν ἀναγγέλ-  
 λοντας ὅτι ἀίμνηστον τὴν ἐκείνου εὐεργε-  
 [σ]ίαν τοῖς ἐπιγινομένοις παραδώσομεν καὶ π-  
 ᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἀναγγελοῦμεν, καλὸν στέφαν[ο]-  
 [ν] τῆς εὐκλείας περιτιθέντες αὐτοῖς· τὸ δὲ ψήφι[σ]-  
 [μ]α τοῦτο ἀναγράψαι εἰς στήλας δύο καὶ στήσα[ι]  
 [τῆ]ν μὲν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, τὴν δὲ ἐν τῷ[ι]  
 [τ]ῆς Ἀθηνᾶς παρὰ τὸν βωμὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Σωτήρο-  
 ς· δεῖξαι δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐπιμελησομένους τῶν ἐψη-  
 φισμένων ἥδη ἄνδρας δέκα, ἵνα τὰ ἐψη[φισ]μένα  
 συντελεσθῆ(ι) τὴν ταχίστην· ἀπεδείχθη[σα]ν ἄνδρε-  
 ς Πόλλης Ἀπολλοδώρου, Ἀπελλῆς Διονυσίου, Μητρό-  
 [β]ιος, Πόλλιχος Ἀθηναίου, Ἀθήναιος Ἀπο[λλ]οδώρου,  
 [Υ]πέρτερος Φαίτα, Ἄθανος Μύκκου, Κλεομ[έν]ης Ἐρμα-  
 γόρου, Ἀρισταγόρας Ἀθηναίου, Ἀπολλωνίδη[ς Κ]αίκου.

## Translation

[...] and well (?) [...] for Seleukos and Antiochos Soteres. And so that for all time [...] by human beings the appropriate (viz. gratitude ?) for their benefactions (e.g. may be showed?), Seleukos and Antiochos (5) may be honoured as gods who are manifest, a temple as beautiful as possible is to be built adjacent to the enclo-

sure of Apollo and the place is to be surrounded by a precinct and two statues as beautiful as possible are to be consecrated, identified with inscriptions as "Seleukos" and (10) "Antiochos", and in front of the temple are to be erected a statue and an altar of the Soteira. An altar is also to be installed opposite the temple of the Soteris, inscribed "of Seleukos and Antiochos". There is to be also a precinct as beautiful as a possible. (15) During the Hekatomb (for Apollo), bulls are to be sent into the enclosure for Seleukos and Antiochos, and sacrificed in the manner that the women who obtain by lot the [...] (unintelligible) [...] do for Apollo. Each month, (20) on the day we became free, two sacrifices are to take place [...]. Distribute the tribes, however many (people?) there are (?), so that there be six instead of four. [...] The two (new tribes are to be called) Seleukis and (25) Antiochis [...] and they [...] and erect in the prytaneion [...] (30) Make the announcement [...] Apollo (?) [...] Seleukos and Antiochos Soteris [...] during the Dionysia and during the [Seleukeia (?) ...] king Seleukos and [(35) Antiochos? ...] priests. And sacrifice also a bull in the month Seleukeion just as to Apollo in the month Thaxios. Each year a priest is to be appointed from among all the citizens, who will wear a crown of laurel and (40) a headband and clothes as bright as possible, and who will join in the magistrates in all the sacrifices and will make preliminary offerings during the assemblies on the altars of the Soteris, just as is done for the other gods. [At the same time (?)], the sacred herald, [together with] all of the [annual (45) magistrates, will make a prayer] during all of the publicly funded sacrifices to the Soteris Seleukos and Antiochos. In the same way and whenever libations are performed in the presence of the archons, incense is to be sacrificed on the altars and prayers are to be made. (50) The victor of the musical contest is to sing a paean during the libations. The prytaneion and the generals' hall are to be revamped, and called respectively Seleukeion and Antiocheion. This decree is to be forwarded whenever the first (55) embassy is sent to King Seleukos, and he is to be praised and his goodwill is to be sought and his friendship ensured, when they proclaim that we will pass on to posterity his never-forgotten beneficence and (60) we will proclaim his beautiful crown of glory to all humankind, after they have crown him for their benefit (?). This decree is to be inscribed on two stelai, the one in the sanctuary of Apollo, the other in the sanctuary of Athena, placed by the altar of Zeus Soter. (65) And appoint ten men who will take care of what has already been decreed, so that the decreed matters are fulfilled as expediently as possible. The appointed men are: Polles, son of Apollodoros, Apelles, son of Dionysios, Metrobios, Pollichos, son of Athenaios, Athenaios, son of Apollodoros, (70) Hyperteros, son of Phaitas, Athanos, son of Mykkos, Kleomenes, son of Hermagoros, Aristagoras, son of Athenaios, Apollonides, son of Kaikos.

## Traduction

[...] et de façon adéquate (?) [...] pour Séleucos et Antiochos Soteris. Et afin que pour l'éternité [...] par l'humanité (soit reconnue ?) la grande valeur de leurs bienfaits, Séleucos et Antiochos soient honorés en tant que dieux épiphanes, un temple aussi beau que possible sera construit contre le péribole d'Apollon, l'espace sera enclos et deux statues aussi belles que possible seront dédiées, portant les inscriptions «Séleucos» (10) et «Antiochos». Devant le temple s'élèveront une statue et un autel de la Soteira. Un autel sera établi face au temple des dieux Soteris, portant l'inscription «de Séleucos et d'Antiochos». De même, il y aura une en-

ceinte la plus belle possible. (15) Pendant l'Hécatombe (pour Apollon), des taureaux seront menés dans le péribole pour Séleucos et Antiochos, et sacrifiés exactement comme celles qui obtiennent par tirage au sort les [...] (incompréhensible) [...] le font pour Apollon. De même, chaque mois, (20) le jour où nous avons été libérés, on accomplira deux sacrifices [...] des accès de colère des [...]. On répartira également les tribus en fonction du nombre (de gens ?) qu'il y a afin qu'il y en ait six au lieu de quatre. On dénommera les deux tribus Seleukis et (25) Antiochis [...] et elles [...]. Et l'on érigera dans le prytanée [...] (30) Effectuer la proclamation [...] Apollon (?) [...] Séleucos et Antiochos Soteres [...] durant les Dionysies et les [Seleukeia (?) ...] le roi Séleucos et [(35) Antiochos (?) ...] prêtres. On sacrifiera également un taureau au mois de Seleukeon, juste comme pour Apollon au mois de Thaxios. Chaque année sera désigné parmi tous les citoyens un prêtre qui portera une couronne de laurier et (40) un bandeau, ainsi qu'un vêtement aussi magnifique que possible. Il sacrifiera en compagnie des magistrats lors de tous les sacrifices et il fera les offrandes préliminaires lors des assemblées sur l'autel des Soteres, exactement comme pour les autres dieux. [...] de tous les [...] annuels (45) [...] le héraut sacré (prier ?) lors de tous les sacrifices publics à Séleucos et Antiochos Soteres. De la même manière, lorsque des libations sont accomplies en présence des archontes, il faut faire brûler de l'encens et prier. (50) Celui qui a remporté le concours de musique chantera et entonnera le péan pendant les libations. Le prytanée et le bâtiment des stratèges seront reconstruits et appelés respectivement Seleukeion et Antiocheion. Le présent décret sera transmis quand la première (55) ambassade sera envoyée au roi Séleucos. On prononcera sa louange, on recherchera sa bienveillance et l'on conservera son amitié en proclamant que nous transmettrons à la postérité sa bienfaisance à jamais inscrite dans nos mémoires et que (60) nous proclamerons à tous les hommes la belle couronne de sa gloire dont ils l'auront ceint à leur profit (?). Le présent décret sera transcrit sur deux stèles, dont l'une sera placée dans le sanctuaire d'Apollon, et l'autre dans celui d'Athéna, à côté de l'autel de Zeus Soter. (65) Ceux qui prendront soin des mesures décrétées désigneront dix hommes afin que les décisions soient appliquées le plus rapidement possible. Les hommes désignés sont : Pollès, fils d'Apollodoros, Apellès, fils de Dionysos, Metrobios, Pollichos, fils d'Athenaios, Athenaios, fils d'Apollodoros, (70) Hyperteros, fils de Phaitas, Athanos, fils de Mykkos, Kleomenès, fils d'Hermagoros, Aristagoras, fils d'Athenaios, Apollonides, fils de Kaikos.

## Commentary

The document presents one of the most detailed epigraphic cases for the foundation of a new cult for early Hellenistic rulers; for a helpful overview, see now Paul. For other analogous cases in the present Collection, see esp. [CGRN 143](http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/file/143) (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/file/143>) (Laodikeia-on-the-Lykos) and [CGRN 150](http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/file/150) (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/file/150>) (Labraunda). The context of the inscription must almost certainly be the middle of the year 281 BC, shortly after the battle of the plain of Kouropedion near Sardis in late winter-early spring 281, when the Seleucid kings Seleukos I (Nikator) and his son Antiochos I (Soter) were victorious over Lysimachos. Since Seleukos is thought to have spent several months in Asia Minor after the victory (so Justin 17.2.4, cited by Malay - Riel, p. 43 n. 9), and he was assassinated soon after he arrived in Thrace in late summer-early fall 281, we may infer that the decree dates to this short period of about a semester af-

ter the battle (yet it is also possible that it dates to late 281 or early 280, when news of the death of the king might not yet have reached the city). The “liberation” from Lysimachos’ rule, obtained in a victory in relatively close proximity to its territory, was evidently viewed as a great boon by the community. After this, Aigai soon fell in the periphery of the early Attalids (see further below). The inscription we have here is a decree of the city, passed in order to confer considerable honours on the kings, most particularly to inaugurate a cult of the rulers as gods (see line 4) and “Saviours” (Σωτῆρες, their recurring epithets in the text; see on lines 1-5 and 5-15). A series of inscriptions point to the continuing involvement of the Seleucids in the affairs of Aigai and its territory: [SEG \(http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/abbreviations/#SEG\) 33, 1034](http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/abbreviations/#SEG) (from Maldan, 5 km southeast of Aigai) is a royal document stipulating the *dorea* that must be paid from royal lands and administering these properties—this inscription is almost certainly correctly dated by Malay to the early reign of Antiochos I, as the style and letterforms are virtually identical with the present decree of Aigai (perhaps ca. 280-275 BC?); see also [SEG \(http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/abbreviations/#SEG\) 19, 720](http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/abbreviations/#SEG) (from Çamlica koyu near Aigai, dated probably under Antiochos II, ca. 261-246 BC).

Regrettably, part of this text on the stele is highly weathered and has been incompletely deciphered. While some phrases remain of doubtful interpretation, particularly in lines 1-5 or the fragmentary passages from lines 20-35, the editors Malay and Riel are to be commended for having so expediently published and commented on this important text. The editors estimate that perhaps no more than 10 lines are missing from the fragmentary top of the stone; probably the whole of a preamble is now missing. At any rate, it is relatively clear that lines 1-5 introduce or reprise some considerations of the decree, while the following lines list the decisions of the decree as commands in the infinitive. More specifically, the sections of the text discuss: the construction of a sanctuary for the kings as new gods, along with the erection of statues and altars (lines 5-15); the performance and definition of new sacrifices (lines 15-20); a difficult passage clearly involving the reordering of the tribes at Aigai to include two new eponymous tribes in honour of the rulers (lines 21-25); further specifications concerning sacrifices (lines 33-37?); the appointment of a priest of the new gods and his duties (lines 37-44); the addition of rituals to the new gods during specific civic celebrations (lines 45-51), as well as the refurbishing and renaming of public buildings in their honour (lines 51-53). The decree concludes with clauses concerning its realisation: a copy is to be sent during the first embassy to King Seleukos, along with various forms of praise, no doubt to notify the king and to negotiate further favours from him; the copying of the decree is stipulated (lines 61-65); and finally, we find the appointment of a board of ten men to take care of the enacted resolutions of the decree in the future, with their names appended (lines 65-71). The back of the large stele was inscribed with another inscription, which must assuredly belong to a slightly later date (ca. 280-250 BC). This document, much better preserved because it was reused face-down, is a decree of the Thessalian *koinon* (in local dialect) granting *ateleia*, *politeia*, and *epigramia* to the Aiolians, as well as to the citizens Kos and of Magnesia-on-the-Maiander; on this text, see now Parker.

Beyond its date and wider historical context, the inscription is highly informative about its local context. As may be seen from its conclusion (lines 61-65), two copies were inscribed: one in the sanctuary of Athena at

Aigai itself, beside the altar of Zeus Soter, another in the sanctuary of Apollo—in all likelihood, this must designate Apollo Chresterios, who was based in an oracular sanctuary near the city of Aigai (see below). The present copy must therefore be the one originally situated near the altar of Zeus Soter, in the sanctuary of Athena on the Acropolis of Aigai; this was reused in a Byzantine church and structures located in this area. On the finds at Aigai, see still Bohn; Robert. The ongoing Turkish work at the site continues to produce interesting advances in our knowledge about the city, though little is known about the Archaic and Classical periods (Herodotus 1.149, for instance, mentions that Aigai was part of the Aiolian Dodecapolis). A few inscriptions in the Aeolic dialect are known from the region before the coming of Seleucids and Attalids: cf. esp. Reinach (editing a text from Olympos/Yenice, ca. 300 BC). In the present text, we find the use of standard Hellenistic *koiné* (along with a stoichedon style), as in many other documents of the kings found in the region, whether Attalid or Seleucid (for a form exceptionally retaining the Aeolic dialect, see  $\text{πρωτανεῖον}$  in lines 52-53; contrast  $\text{πρωτανεῖον}$  in the immediately preceding line). Noteworthy is how uniquely and richly detailed this inscription is regarding the cultic honours passed by the city, and especially how these honours are reflected in the religious and civic institutions of Aigai. They include public buildings which are renamed in honour of the kings (lines 51-54), new tribes which are added to the existing ones (lines 22-25), a quite general inclusion of the new gods in public sacrifices (lines 45-51), and also close interactions with the cultic framework of the community, more specifically the sanctuary of Apollo Chresterios in the countryside.

Apollo, widely worshipped in Asia Minor, is recognised as a deity particularly favoured by the Seleucids, and in fact was presented as the *archegetes* of this dynasty. Cf. esp. I.Ilion (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/abbreviations/#I.Ilion>) 31, lines 13-14: [ἐν ἧι δ' ἡμέραι ἡ θυσία συν]τελεῖται τοῦ ἀρχηγοῦ τοῦ [γένους αὐτοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος]; this inscription is most probably contemporaneous with the present one (ca. 281 BC), but some debate exists concerning this question (see Ma, favouring the following decades, under the rule of Antiochos I; on this text, see further Caneva - Lorenzon). See also the sources collected by Malay and Riel (p. 44-45) and below at lines 45-51; for coins illustrating the close connection between Apollo and the Seleucids, see Iossif. It is unclear how the special significance of this god for the dynasty came into play: was this perhaps influenced by the honours decreed by many cities, such as at Aigai or Ilion? The second copy of the decree (lines 61-65 again) was to be set up in the sanctuary of Apollo Chresterios, a famous oracular site in the region, and the cult of the new gods was closely connected with this: the new sanctuary is to be adjacent to the enclosure of Apollo (lines 7-8), the new sacrifices are to be modelled on existing though enigmatic rites for Apollo (lines 16-18; perhaps more clearly, in lines 35-37), while other rituals performed for Seleukos and Antiochos also closely associate them with Apollo (e.g. the paian sung at lines 49-51). The temple of Apollo Chresterios has never been properly excavated (it is located Jund Dağ, a plateau in a bend of the Pythicus river ca. 3 km east of Aigai); remains of buildings at the site, including a temple, are very similar to Attalid structures at Pergamon, and seem to date principally from the mid-Hellenistic or Roman period. Attalid benefactions are particularly conspicuous at the site: OGIS (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/abbreviations/#OGIS>) 312 is a dedication by Philetairos dating to ca. 281-263; while boundary stones, SEG



(<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/abbreviations/#SEG>) 36, 1110 (also dating to Philetairos; from Atçilar) and [SEG](http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/abbreviations/#SEG) (http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/abbreviations/#SEG) 49, 1746 (dating to the reign of Eumenes I, 263-241 BC), point to the consecration of lands surrounding the sanctuary to Apollo by the Attalids.

Lines 1-5: The syntax of these lines is difficult to parse; cf. Hamon for some criticism about the establishment of the text and a few suggestions. For the first lines, Caneva 2020 restores [χάριν λαμπ|ρῶς (?) κ]αὶ καλῶ[ς ἀποδιδό]ναι, which yields good sense, but remains a seldom paralleled formulation. In the second line, Caneva's restoration of the epithet ([Σωτήρσι], in his reading) is virtually assured since many traces on the stone appear to confirm it (the epithet is also abundantly paralleled in the text itself, cf. lines 17, 32, 43, 46). The following clause is more problematic: Caneva restores ἵνα δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸν π[ά|ν]τα χρόνον [ῶ]ς ὑπ' ἀν[θ]ρώπων τὴν κ[α]ταξίαν | [τ]ῶν εὐεργετημάτων, ἧι θεοὶ κτλ., yielding an unwieldy syntax (Caneva 2022 follows Hamon in preferring to read the article οἱ rather than ἧι). Whatever the exact reading or restoration, the general sense of these considerations of the decree is relatively clear: concerned that the benefactions of the rulers find their due reward (τὴν καταξίαν, with the adjective perhaps used as a substantive) in perpetuity (“for all time”), Seleukos and Antiochos are to be honoured as “gods who have manifested themselves” (θε [πι]ανέ[ν] [τε]ς). For the concept of Hellenistic rulers as Theoi Epiphaneis, see now Muccioli. For a relatively concrete reference to the benefactions of the kings, cf. line 20, where the day of their victory and/or the specific granting of freedom to the city is involved.

Lines 5-15: These lines present the principal gestures taken by the city to fulfill this desire to honour the kings. First and foremost, we find the construction of a temple for the kings as new gods, next to the precinct of Apollo. This is to be surrounded with a precinct of its own, and furnished with two statues of the kings as gods (ἀγάλματα), each identified by an inscription (these were presumably erected inside the temple, by contrast with that of Soteira; see below). Note how only the names of the sovereigns are indicated in these inscriptions: the absence of their title as “kings” points to their supra-mortal and divine status in these representations (contrast lines 34-35 and esp. lines 55-56 for Seleukos in his role as king), while the absence of a qualification as “Soter” is perhaps more unusual (this epithet is more explicitly mentioned elsewhere). There is no reason to think that the two inscriptions on the statue-bases and the altars respectively are not present as direct quotations: heroic and divine statues would often be labelled in the accusative as well as the nominative (see Ma, on the grammar of honours); altars would naturally be labelled in the genitive. Contrast [I.Ilion](http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/abbreviations/#I.Ilion) (http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/abbreviations/#I.Ilion) 31 (ca. 281 BC or somewhat later), lines 5-7, where an inscribed altar was set up in the agora for “King” Seleukos: [ιδρύσ]ασθαι δὲ καὶ βωμὸν ἐν τῇ | [ἀγορᾷ ὡς κάλλιστον ἐφ' ὧ]ι ἐπιγράψαι· βασιλέως Σε|[λεύκου Νικάτορος]. However, the aspect of “Safety” and “Salvation” is nonetheless clearly expressed: a personification called Σωτεῖρα is also to be represented by a statue, set up in front of the temple of the “Soter” as they are called (for this epithet attributed to Hellenistic rulers, see particularly Muccioli; for saviour gods in general, see Jim 2022). It is not necessary to think of identifying this goddess with a specific deity, such as Athena for instance (also perhaps qualified with the epithet Soteira at Aigai it would seem; see line 64). On the concept of this personification and its

specific manifestations, see Jim 2015. For the importance of Theoi Soteres in the worldview of the Seleucid kings, particular attention must be paid to the dedications known to have been consecrated by Seleukos I at Didyma already in 286/5 BC, OGIS (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/abbreviations/#OGIS>) 214, lines 43-49: κέρασ ἐπιγεγραμμένον "Διὶ Σωτήρι" ἔν | ὀλκὴ δραχμαὶ ἑκατὸν ἑβδομήκοντα τρεῖς | τρεῖς ὀβολοί· οἰνοχόα θεῶν Σωτήρων μία | ὀλκὴ δραχμαὶ τριακόσαι ὀγδοήκοντα ἕξ· | ψυκτὴρ βαρβαρικὸς λιθόκολλος ἐπιγεγραμμένος "Σωτεῖρας" εἷς, ἔχων ἀποπεπτωκότα κάρυα ἑπτὰ... Along with honours paid to Apollo by Seleukos, these dedications, made around the time of the events of 286/5 BC (the defeat of Demetrius Poliorketes in Asia Minor and Cilicia in particular), testify to the centrality of the figures of Theoi Soteires and of Soteira in the cultic framework of the early Seleucids and their military victories (cf. also Malay - Riel, p. 45, for honours passed by Lemnos after the victory in 281 B). In addition to the precinct surrounding the temple, a τέμενος is to be created and framed as beautifully as possible, perhaps with trees or other plants in order to produce useful revenues for the sanctuary; on the consecration of sacred lands to Apollo Chresterios by the Attalids, see above.

Lines 15-20: New sacrifices are inaugurated for Seleukos and Antiochos as Soteres. An unknown number of bulls (Hamon plausibly suggests two, one for each honorand; see also the “two sacrifices” mentioned below) are to be sent forth (ἀνιέναι) in the precinct during the Hekatomb, which presumably was an existing festival for Apollo Chresterios that involved a large procession and a mass of oxen or sacrificial animals sacrificed to the god (on the perhaps analogous hekatomb for Apollo at Didyma, see here [CGRN 201](http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/file/201) (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/file/201>), lines 19 and 23-31; cf. also [CGRN 29](http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/file/29) (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/file/29>), lines 25-29, at Delphi). The Hekatomb is quite probably the ritual for Apollo which took place in the month Thaxios and which is alluded to again as a point of comparison in lines 35-37, since this also involves the offering of a bull. The local framework of these rituals for Apollo is rather enigmatic, however. A group of women (τὰς λαχούσας) clearly served Apollo during the Hekatomb and performed the sacrifices; priestesses are not unusual for the god (*pace* Hamon). The office or objects which they obtained by lot (λαγχάνω + gen.), however, is now unclear. For the prevalence of bulls in the cults of Hellenistic rulers and heroes, compare e.g. the honours awarded to Olympichos by Mylasa, [CGRN 150](http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/file/150) (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/file/150>) (Labraunda). The second clause of this passage specifies a monthly sacrifice which is to take place “on the day when we became free”. This clearly refers to the liberation of the community, possibly from the rule of Lysimachos (Malay - Riel; see also above), or simply as a result of a grant of autonomy by the Seleucid rulers. Two sacrifices are to be offered on this unspecified day of the month, one each to Seleukos and Antiochos presumably. The particle γ’ = γε read by the editors in line 19 is unusual and needs to be cautioned (cf. Hamon).

Lines 20-25: The presence of the word δυσοργησιῶν, “acts of negative passion” or “anger”, in the beginning of this fragmentary passage is perplexing (cf. also Hamon) and perhaps needs to be revised. The sense of the following lines is clearer: from the four tribes which made up the citizen body, Aigai proposes to change the total to six, adding two tribes in honour of the kings, named Seleukis and Antiochis respectively.

The members of these groups were to be redistributed accordingly, making the tribes equal in constitution: [δια]νέμειν... followed perhaps by ὄπ[ηλίκαι εἰς]ί. For new tribes added in Greek cities in honour of Hellenistic kings, cf. Malay - Riel (p. 45 with n. 18), and the tribes Antigonis and Demetrias (307/6 BC; cf. Plut. *Dem.* 9-10), as well as Ptolemais and Berenikis (224/3 BC), in Athens.

Line 27: If this fragmentary passage is correctly interpreted by Malay and Riel, statues of Seleukos and Antiochos, or perhaps only one of Seleukos, were to be set up in the prytaneion (which would now be called Σελεύκειον, cf. lines 52-53 below). Malay and Riel aptly compare the ἄγαλμα of Antiochos III which was to be set up in the bouleuterion at Teos; cf. [SEG](http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/abbreviations/#SEG) (http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/abbreviations/#SEG) 41, 1003 II.

Lines 29-35: This fragmentary passage is difficult to interpret, but seems to have mentioned the occasion of the local Dionysia at Aigai, as well as another, now missing festival. On both of these occasions, it may be presumed that the honors for the kings were to be announced. Caneva and Lorenzon offer a more detailed reconstruction of this passage reading the following: [... ca.6 ... ἕκαστον (?) ἀγω]νιστήν καὶ [..... | ..... ca. 13 ..... ποιήσασθ]αι δὲ τὴν ἀναγ[| [γελίαν ..... ca. 13 ..... εἶ]ς τε τὸν Ἀπόλλ[| [ωνα καὶ] Σέλευκον καὶ Ἀντίοχον Σωτήρας [. | .... ca. 9 ..... ] ἐν τοῖς [Διον]υσίοις καὶ τοῖς | [Σελευκείοις .3.. ] βασιλέα Σελευκον κα[| | ..... ca. 16 ..... |ε]ρέας. θύειν δὲ κτλ. The presence of one ἀγωνιστής (or more) is surprising and the following syntax remains unclear (why would a proclamation be made εἰς τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα κτλ.?). For the latter, we would instead have expected something like ποιήσασθ]αι δὲ τὴν ἀναγ[| [γελίαν ὅτι ὁ δῆμος στεφανο]ῖ (?) τε (?) τὸν Ἀπόλλ[| [ωνα κτλ.]. At any rate, the notion of an announcement made during both the Dionysia and probably the new Seleukeia, a pairing of festivals often attested at Erythrai (see Caneva - Lorenzon, p. 48 with n. 20), is convincing: these probable restorations are adopted here (ἀναγ[ο|ρεύσιν] is another alternative for lines 30-31; the festival of Apollo, probably the Chresteria, would also be a possible occasion for the announcement—see below on lines 45-51).

Lines 35-37: This reprises the discussion of new sacrifices to be inaugurated. One bull is to be offered in the month Σελευκεών, “exactly in the same way” as a sacrifice was made to Apollo in the month Θάξιος (this month is known in Aiolis, at Kyme, [I.Kyme](http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/abbreviations/#I.Kyme) (http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/abbreviations/#I.Kyme) 13 / [SEG](http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/abbreviations/#SEG) (http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/abbreviations/#SEG) 33, 1041, line 57). The one bull in this case was no doubt intended for the eponym of the new name for the month, Seleukos himself. For a month Seleukeon also replacing one of the existing calendar months at Ilion, cf. again [I.Ilion](http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/abbreviations/#I.Ilion) (http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/abbreviations/#I.Ilion) 31, lines 11-12; [I.Ilion](http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/abbreviations/#I.Ilion) (http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/abbreviations/#I.Ilion) 10 (also from ca. 281 BC or shortly after); cf. [I.Laodikeia](http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/abbreviations/#I.Laodikeia) (http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/abbreviations/#I.Laodikeia) 4 (206 av. J.C.) for a month Antiocheon. It is unclear if one of the fragmentary passages of the decree discussed the implementation of this new name for one of the months of the calendar of Aigai.

Lines 37-44: These lines specify the appointment of an annual priest for the cult of the Soteris. The priest is to be a citizen and wear clothes as white as possible (for similar requirements, cf. e.g. [CGRN 163](http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/file/163) (http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/file/163), Kos, lines 8-12). The priest is also to wear a στρόφιον, a headband, and a

crown of laurels, which were particularly associated with Apollo; for the headband worn by priests, see also [CGRN 124 \(http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/file/124\)](http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/file/124), lines 2-3 (white *chlamys* and *ταυνίδιον*) in an Attalid cult at Pergamon; cp. [CGRN 124 \(http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/file/124\)](http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/file/124) (Priene), lines 2-4. The priest is either to jointly sacrifice (*συν[θύσει]ται* according to Malay and Ricl) with the other magistrates (*τιμοῦχοι*) or perhaps instead to have the privilege of dining with these officials (*συν[έσι]ται* or *συν[εστίασει]ται* according to the alternatives suggested by Hamon; Caneva 2022 prefers the reading of Malay and Ricl). Other than this, one of the main duties of this priest is to perform first-offerings (*καταρξέτ[αι]*) on the altar of the Soteris during the assemblies of the citizen-body (*ἐκκλησία*), just as is done for the other gods. In other words, first-offerings were performed on the altars of several gods before assemblies of the *demoi* at Aigai. But this raises some questions: the only altar of the Soteris explicitly mentioned in our text is the one in the new sanctuary built near the extra-urban cult-site of Apollo (Apollo Chresteros, see lines 5-15 above). It seems unlikely that the priest travelled there to perform a small offering before the assemblies and thus seems more plausible that there was another altar of the Soteris at Aigai itself, perhaps in proximity to where the assembly would meet (the theatre? or should one envisage another sanctuary of Apollo in the city?).

Lines 45-51: This short passage first describes the duties of the sacred herald at Aigai in connection with the new cult, and then some further general specifications concerning rituals, linked perhaps both to the new priest and the herald. At the beginning of line 45, Hamon attractively proposes to restore the needed verb as [*εὔχεσθαι*] (see also at line 49); the herald would thus have performed prayers to Seleukos and Antiochos as Soteris at all the public sacrifices; Caneva 2022 expands on this to propose the restoration adopted here: the sacred herald acted in conjunction with the *ἄρχοντες*. Additionally, we read that when rites of libation are celebrated (cf. [LSJ \(http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/abbreviations/#LSJ\)](http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/abbreviations/#LSJ) s.v. *ποιέω* II.3 for the middle voice used here; the third person plural might be generic or indicate that the priest and herald are concerned) in the presence of the archons of Aigai, incense is to be sacrificed and prayers are also to be made. These rituals might have taken place during meetings of the city council (*boule*) rather than the *ἐκκλησία* mentioned earlier (see lines 37-44, where all *τιμοῦχοι* were concerned; the *ἄρχοντες* were perhaps a distinctive subset of the aforementioned *τιμοῦχοι*). On such occasions, the victor at the musical contests of the city was also to sing a paian for the Soteris. It is unknown when these contests took place, perhaps most plausibly during the Dionysia mentioned earlier (cf. lines 32-35; Malay and Ricl also think of new contests in honour of the kings; Hamon thinks of ones in honour of Apollo); cf. at [SEG \(http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/abbreviations/#SEG\)](http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/abbreviations/#SEG) 41, 1003 II (Teos), where the victors of the staphanitic contests are ordered to crown the *ἄγαλμα* of Antiochos III and to offer a sacrifice in the bouleterion. This paian is closely connected to the cult of Apollo. Remains of a hymn of this sort are attested at Erythrai, where they were appended to a paian in honour of Apollo and Asclepius, cf. the Commentary at [CGRN 76 \(http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/file/76\)](http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/file/76), with lines 74-75 only reprised here: ὑμνεῖτ' ἐπὶ σπονδαῖς Ἀπόλλωνος κυανοπλοκάμου | παῖδα Σέλευκον, ὃν αὐτὸς γείνατο χρυ[σ]ολύρας.

Lines 51-54: The prytaneion and *strategion* of Aigai are also to be renamed in honour of Seleukos and

Antiochos respectively. Malay and Riel take ἀνοικοδομήσαι to mean “rebuild”, implying that these buildings had fallen into disarray; this is possible, but the verb could also be taken in a milder sense to mean that the existing edifices were simply to be augmented and magnified in some ways, notably through this renaming. On these buildings as centres of power and authority in the city of Aigai, see briefly Hamon.

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