

## ABDERA AND TEOS

### INTRODUCTION

ABDERA and Teos have been brought into prominence recently by the discovery of the new inscription of Public Imprecations from Teos, the provisions of which refer not only to Teos but also to its great colony.<sup>1</sup> But there are additional reasons why these two cities deserve fresh consideration. The excavations at Abdera, which have now been conducted over many years, may in some respects seem disappointing;<sup>2</sup> no temples and, apart from the theatre, no public buildings have come to light; but they nevertheless require important changes in our interpretation of the history of the city. Secondly, there are many allusions to the early history of Abdera in Pindar's Second Paean, composed for that city. Their use by historians was long hindered, not only by their inherent obscurity, but also by unsatisfactory reading and interpretation of the Greek. The second of these hindrances was removed by the fine edition of the poem published by S. L. Radt in 1958.<sup>3</sup> Even so, this important evidence seems in general not to have entered the consciousness of ancient historians.<sup>4</sup>

### THE NAME ABDERA

Any consideration of Abdera's history must begin with its Phoenician name. There are two other cities from Antiquity called Abdera. One was in North Africa, near Carthage,<sup>5</sup> and the other was on the South coast of Spain.<sup>6</sup> This latter is expressly attested as Phoenician, and issued coins with its name in Phoenician letters, or, sometimes, written twice in both the Phoenician and the Roman alphabet.<sup>7</sup> So there is no doubt that the name Abdera is Phoenician, and this has long been recognized by good judges.<sup>8</sup>

We should not follow those, therefore, who see the name (in whole or in part) as local Thracian or as Greek. Thus Wilamowitz argued very wilfully that the local epithet of Apollo, Διηρηνός/Διηραινός, could not be a place-name, as the scholiast to Lycophron, *Alex.* 440, stated: the actual place-name must be Διηρος or Διηρα, the second part of Abdera.<sup>9</sup> Apart from denying

<sup>1</sup> *SEG* xxxi (1981) 985; Donald F. McCabe and Mark A. Plunkett, *Teos inscriptions* (Princeton 1985) 262; admirable *editio princeps* with rich commentary by P. Herrmann, 'Teos und Abdera im 5 Jahrhundert v. Chr.', *Chiron* xi (1981) 1-30.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the perhaps rather intemperate criticisms of the strategy of excavation by K. A. Dimadis, 'Le théâtre d'Abdera', *Balkan Studies* xv (1974) 308-21.

<sup>3</sup> *Pindars zweiter und sechster Paian* (Amsterdam). I refer to this work henceforth by the author's name alone.

<sup>4</sup> With the honourable exception of G. Huxley ('Teos in Pindar', *Studies presented to Sterling Dow on his eightieth birthday* [Durham NC 1984] 149-52), commentators on the new inscription of Public Imprecations from Teos (n.1) did not mention Pindar's Second Paean, though it is obviously relevant; see my 'Adopted Teians: a passage in the new inscription of Public Imprecations from Teos', *JHS* cxi (1991) 176-8. It is notable too that B. Isaac, although he cites Radt's work, reverts to earlier interpretations which Radt decisively refuted; see *The Greek settlements in Thrace until the Macedonian conquest* (Leiden 1986) 86, 90-3, for example. Earlier J. and L. Robert showed by the interpretation they accepted that they were unaware of Radt's work; see 'Une inscription grecque de Téos en Ionie. L'union de Téos et de Kyrbissos', *Journal des Savants* (1976) 153-235, at 213 n.238.

<sup>5</sup> Ptol. *Geog.* iv 3.9; cf. *RE* s.v. Abdira.

<sup>6</sup> Strabo iii 4.3, C157, among many other mentions; cf. *RE* s.v. Abdera, 2.

<sup>7</sup> See A. Vives y Escudero, *La moneda hispanica* (Madrid 1924) 3, 16-19, plate LXXXI and, for a more recent treatment, G. K. Jenkins, *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum* 43, *Copenhagen* (Copenhagen 1979) Spain, 67, 68.

<sup>8</sup> E.g. E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums* ii.2<sup>2</sup> (Stuttgart and Berlin 1931) 93; V. Bérard, *Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssee* (Paris 1903) ii 20 f.; A. Dietrich, 'Phönikische Ortsnamen in Spanien', *Abhand. für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* xxi.2 (Leipzig 1936) 10 f., and, recently, Isaac, *op. cit.* 76 f.

<sup>9</sup> *Sappho und Simonides* (Berlin 1919) 255 f. For a similar idea, though not developed, see also C. van Holzinger in his edition of Lycophron (Leipzig 1895) 237. On the epithet and evidence about it, see Radt, 29 f.

the plain statement of the scholiast, this explanation ignores the fact that we are dealing with a toponym also found in two Phoenician areas of the Western Mediterranean. As for the view of D. K. Samsaris that Abdera was derived from Abderos, the Greek eponymous hero, rather than vice versa,<sup>10</sup> that is simply an offence against elementary rules.

Even though Abdera is definitely a Phoenician name, it has resisted successful etymological analysis.<sup>11</sup> The regular form of the Phoenician name on the coins of Spanish Abdera consists of the five letters (from right to left) ayin, beth, daleth, resh, taw, ABD-R-T. Coins bearing only the four letters, ayin, beth, daleth, resh,<sup>12</sup> were probably the results of faulty minting.<sup>13</sup> The single six-lettered example (ayin, beth, daleth, resh, ayin, taw, ABD-RAT), reported as being in Paris by nineteenth-century scholars, can no longer be found in the Cabinet des Médailles.<sup>14</sup> Although not now strictly attested in the Phoenician alphabet, the vowels between D and R and R and T seem assured by the Greek and Latin spelling, Ἐβδῆρα, Abdera. And the ending in AT may be the feminine ending, of which the T was lost in the transliterations.<sup>15</sup>

The first element in the name, ABD, would be recognized by Phoenician speakers as meaning slave/servant, a very common initial element in personal names, which is normally followed by the name of a deity.<sup>16</sup> But no satisfactory explanation of the second element, ERA(T), has been found, even though it is worth noting that similar endings are found in other Phoenician place-names, such as Gadeira, Cythera.<sup>17</sup> However, it would be inappropriate for a non-expert to pursue these questions here, especially as even the first element of Abdera presents the difficulty that it is not obviously suitable in a place-name.<sup>18</sup>

We must content ourselves, therefore, with the basic fact that Abdera was named by Phoenicians, and that occurred before c 654 BC, the date of the first Greek attempt to colonize the place. The presence of Phoenicians in the area at that time is attested by Herodotus for Thasos,<sup>19</sup> and their interest in Abdera is easily explained by the existence in the region of deposits of precious metals.

<sup>10</sup> Ὁ ἐξελληνισμὸς τῆς Θράκης κατὰ Ἑλληνικὴ καὶ Ῥωμαϊκὴ ἀρχαιότητα (Thessalonike 1980) 240.

<sup>11</sup> A. Dietrich's statement to this effect (n.8) is unfortunately still true.

<sup>12</sup> E.g. George Macdonald, *Catalogue of Greek coins in the Hunterian Collection* iii (Glasgow 1905) 658. I am very grateful to Dr J. D. Bateson for kindly confirming the reading of the two coins in question and for sending me photographs.

<sup>13</sup> This is the opinion of G. K. Jenkins (n.7).

<sup>14</sup> E.g. T. E. Mionnet, *Description des médailles antiques, grecques et romaines* (Paris 1806-37) Suppl. i, plate 5 no.1; W. Gesenius, *Scripturae linguaeque Phoeniciae monumenta quot supersunt* (Leipzig 1837) 311 and plate 41, xvii, H. M. Jean-Baptiste Giard kindly informed me that this coin cannot be found in the Cabinet des Médailles.

<sup>15</sup> See S. Segert, *A grammar of Phoenician and Punic* (Munich 1976) 87; Zellig Harris, *A grammar of the Phoenician language* (New Haven, CT 1936) 58 f. I am grateful to the Reverend Professor J. A. Emerton for guidance on this and other matters of language.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. e.g. Frank L. Benz, *Personal names in the Phoenician and Punic inscriptions* (Rome 1972) 148-64.

<sup>17</sup> Gadeira, Hdt. iv 8.2. e.g.; Cythera, Hdt. i 105.3; cf. J. P. Brown, 'Kothar, Kinyras and Kythereia', *Journ. Semitic Studies* x (1965) 197-219, at 209.

<sup>18</sup> Thanks are expressed here to all those not mentioned in previous notes, who generously helped me in a field in which I am not expert: on the coins, Dr C. Arnold-Biucchi (American Numismatic Society), Dr M. J. Price (British Museum) and Mr T. Volk (Fitzwilliam Museum); on matters of language, Dr Y. L. Arbeitman, Professor J. Pritchard, Dr J. D. Ray.

<sup>19</sup> Hdt. ii 44.3-4, vi 47.1-2; cf. my remarks in 'The foundation of Thasos', *BSA* lxxiii (1978) 61-98, at 88-92. For the evidence on the ground of the mining mentioned by Herodotus in the second passage, see J. des Courtils, T. Kozelj, A. Muller 'Des mines d'or à Thasos', *BCH* cvi (1982) 409-17.

## THE COLONY OF CLAZOMENAE

Until recently almost the only valuable information about the colony of Clazomenae at Abdera was contained in Herodotus' brief sentence (i168):

παραπλήσια δὲ τούτοισι καὶ Τήιοι ἐποίησαν· ἐπεὶτε γὰρ σφεων εἶλε χῶματι τὸ τεῖχος Ἄρπαγος, ἐσβάντες πάντες ἐς τὰ πλοῖα οἴχοντο πλείοντες ἐπὶ τῆς Θρηϊκῆς καὶ ἐνθαύτα ἔκτισαν πόλιν Ἄβδηρα, τὴν πρότερος τούτων Κλαζο-μένιος Τιμήσιος κτίσας οὐκ ἀπόνητο, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ Θρηϊκῶν ἐξελασθεὶς τιμᾶς νῦν ὑπὸ Τητίων τῶν ἐν Ἄβδήροισι ὡς ἥρωος ἔχει.<sup>20</sup>

It seems likely that Herodotus is giving a brief summary of a more detailed story that he knew; it was not only Thucydides who could be rigorously selective in what he tells us.<sup>21</sup> In any case, on the basis of Herodotus' statement the Clazomenian venture has been looked on as a colonizing failure, which did not establish a settlement.<sup>22</sup>

Of the remaining literary evidence relating to the colonization by Clazomenae the most valuable historically is Eusebius' foundation date, c. 654.<sup>23</sup> Late authors offer further information about Timesios. Plutarch has a foundation oracle: σμήνα μελισσῶν τάχα τοὶ καὶ σφήκες ἔσονται.<sup>24</sup> And both he and, more briefly, Aelian relate that Timesios became unpopular through doing everything himself, until, hearing a child express the hatred, he decided to leave the city.<sup>25</sup> The oracle was adjudged by Parke and Wormell to have been concocted in connection with the Teian foundation,<sup>26</sup> while the city that he left because of hatred has been thought to have been Clazomenae.<sup>27</sup> It can hardly be Abdera in view of Herodotus' expulsion by Thracians. Clearly there is nothing very solid here for the historian. Nor can any new information of value be extracted from Solinus' mythical Abdera founded by Diomedes' sister, which had fallen into ruins when it was refounded by Clazomenians in the 31st Olympiad.<sup>28</sup> So far as literary evidence goes, therefore, only Herodotus and the chronographers' foundation date seem of undoubted historical value.

The reason there is today more to say about Clazomenian Abdera is that archaeology has here made an important contribution. Of pre-Teian Abdera the spade has so far unearthed no evidence of native Thracian predecessors, nor of Phoenicians<sup>29</sup> (but the site is immense and only a fraction has so far been explored; see FIG. 1). However, a substantial quantity of Greek

<sup>20</sup> 'The Teians also acted similarly to these men (the Phocaeans). For when Harpagus had captured their wall with the siege-mound, they all embarked in their ships and sailed away to Thrace, and colonized there the city of Abdera, which the Clazomenian Timesios had founded before them, but had had no joy of it. He was expelled by the Thracians and now receives honours as a hero from the Teians in Abdera.' Although the Herodotean tradition spells the name of the *oikistes* Timesios, it appears as Timesias in later authors, such as those mentioned below. It is hardly possible for us to determine the correct form, but I shall follow the Herodotean tradition in this paper.

<sup>21</sup> D. Lateiner, *The historical method of Herodotus* (Toronto 1989) 59-75, discusses the explicit evidence for Herodotus' selectivity.

<sup>22</sup> My own earlier opinion: see *CAH* iii<sup>2</sup>.3, 117.

<sup>23</sup> A useful table of Eusebian foundation dates was given by R. M. Cook in his 'Ionia and Greece, 800-600 BC', *JHS* lxvi (1946) 67-98, at 77.

<sup>24</sup> *De amicorum multitudine* 96 B: 'Swarms (LSJ s.v. σμήνος note the heteroclit plural) of bees will soon be wasps.'

<sup>25</sup> Plut. *Praecepta reipublicae gerendae* 812a-b; Aelian, *V.H.* xii 9.

<sup>26</sup> *A history of the Delphic oracle* (Oxford 1956) i 61.

<sup>27</sup> A. Demandt, *RE Suppl.* xiv s.v. Timesios; I. Malkin, *Religion and colonization in ancient Greece* (Leiden 1987) 54-6 (a full and perceptive discussion).

<sup>28</sup> C. Iulii Solini *Collectanea rerum memorabilium* (ed. Mommsen, Berlin 1864) 10.10.

<sup>29</sup> Ch. Koukouli-Chrysanthaki, 'Abdera and the Thracians', *Thracia Pontica* iii (1986) 82-98, at 84.

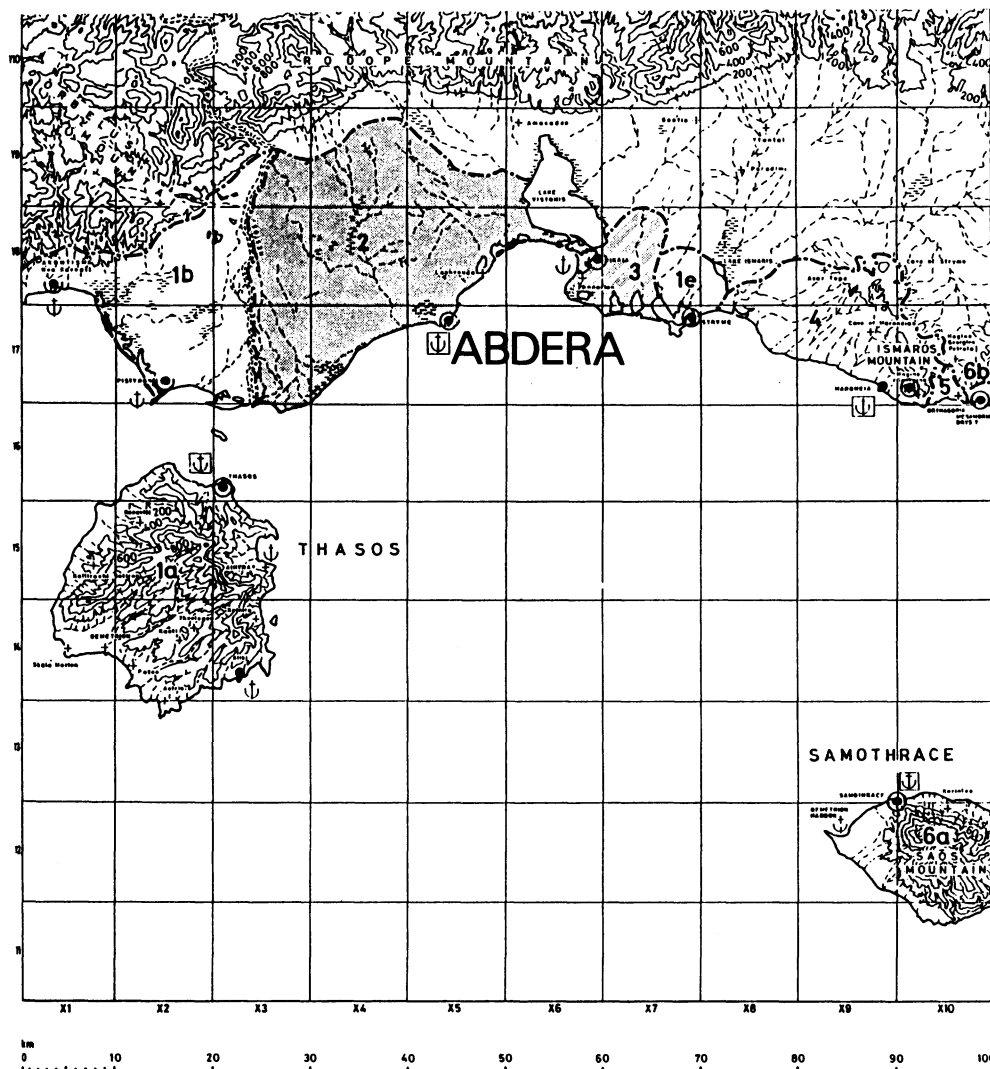


FIG. 1. Abdera: position and presumed *chora* (after Lazarides, *Abdera and Dikaia*, fig. 21)

graves, which date from before the Teian foundation, have been discovered.

These graves belong to the extensive North West cemetery. They are well dated by the pottery some of them contain, and those so far examined range in date over the whole of the second half of the seventh century and reach into the beginning of the sixth.<sup>30</sup> Even though there is as yet no certain evidence for the settlement inhabited by the occupants of these graves,<sup>31</sup> the cemetery by itself provides archaeological confirmation for the Eusebian foundation date, and, what is more surprising, shows that there was a sizable Greek settlement on the site for at least two generations after Timesios' colonization.

<sup>30</sup> *Op. cit.* 82 f.; E. Skarlatidou, 'The Archaic Cemetery of Abdera', *Thracia Pontica* iii (1986) 99-108; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki, *Ergon* 1987, 17 f.; cf. *Arch. Rep* for 1988-9, 85.

<sup>31</sup> See Skarlatidou, *op. cit.* Although Koukouli-Chrysanthaki has suggested that the early wall circuit she has investigated may be Clazomenian, *Thracia Pontica* iii, 83 f., she kindly told me in person that the wall is not certainly dated. No buildings dating to the period of the early cemetery have so far been discovered. I am also grateful to E. Skarlatidou for verbal information on these questions.

Grave evidence alone does not strictly allow us to say what Greeks these were, much less define the organization of their community. B. Isaac has suggested that Thasians settled the site between the Clazomenian and Teian colonizations.<sup>32</sup> Such a hypothesis cannot at present be disproved, but the arguments in its favour are not strong. They are: (1) the proximity of Thasos; (2) Archilochus' evidence for fighting against the Saioi;<sup>33</sup> (3) the Greek graves of the later part of the seventh century. Of these neither (1) nor (3) is sufficiently specific. As to (2), this Thracian tribe cannot be placed so narrowly as Isaac wishes ('between the Nestos and Lake Bistonis'). They held the mainland adjacent to Samothrace.<sup>34</sup> Archilochus' fighting goes more easily with the known Thasian attempt to win Stryme.<sup>35</sup> Only that attempt could be held to give some geographical support to Isaac's thesis, for otherwise the Thasian *peraea* is all to the north and west of the island. Finally, his hypothesis requires another hypothesis, that the presumed Thasian settlers of Abdera were driven out by the Thracians. So Isaac's suggestion is not attractive.

Occam's Razor would encourage us to assume that the Greek settlement at Abdera of the second half of the seventh century was the Clazomenian colony, since these are the only Greeks, other than the Teians, recorded as having colonized the site. Furthermore, the finds in the graves have been judged to point unmistakably to the Ionian origin and character of their occupants.<sup>36</sup> In that case, what about the expulsion of the *oikistes* by the Thracians? We should have to imagine that, while Timesios himself was expelled by the Thracians, at least some of his settlers were able to remain. It is to be noted here that Herodotus does speak only of Timesios himself. Perhaps we were wrong in the past to assume that Timesios' fate was shared by the whole colony.<sup>37</sup> There is no need to underline the uncertainty of such suggestions, but, until we obtain better evidence, I prefer to assume that the Greeks who lived at Abdera for at least the second half of the seventh century were Clazomenian colonists and their descendants. Others may incline more cautiously to await some better evidence, but even they could not deny that these early graves have substantially altered the history of settlement at Abdera.

#### THE TEIAN FOUNDATION

The really successful colonization of Abdera was that by the Teians, who fled their city *en masse* rather than be captured by the Persians in c. 545. Herodotus tells us this (i 168, the passage cited at the beginning of the previous section) as a brief appendage to his long account of the similar Phocaeen action. The fact is well known and stated by other authors, such as Strabo (xiv 1.30, C644). Although not mentioned by Herodotus, we also know of the contemporary colonization by other refugees from Teos of Phanagoria on the Cimmerian Bosphorus (Ps.-Scymnus 885 f. Diller; Eustathius 549, *GGM* ii 324 f.; cf. Hecataeus, *FGH* 1 F 212). While there is strictly no need for archaeological confirmation of such a well-established historical event as the Teian colonization of Abdera, the modern excavations have discovered a shrine at the north-west corner of the wall circuit, at which the earliest votives date from the third quarter of the sixth century.<sup>38</sup> So it seems likely that the life of the sanctuary began with

<sup>32</sup> *Op. cit.* (n.4) 79 f.

<sup>33</sup> Archilochus 5 West, the famous shield poem: ἀσπίδι μὲν Σαίων τις ἀγάλλεται κτλ..

<sup>34</sup> Strabo x 2.17, C 457.

<sup>35</sup> The clearest evidence is Philochorus, *FGH* 328 F 43. For the correct geographical position of Stryme, i.e. West of Maronea, see G. Bakalakis, *Proanaskaphikes erevnes sti Thraki* (Thessaloniki 1958) 91-7.

<sup>36</sup> See Skarlatidou (n. 30) 105.

<sup>37</sup> Skarlatidou, *ibid.*, assumes that Herodotus was in error.

<sup>38</sup> See Ch. Koukouli-Chrysanthaki, *Ergon* 1982, 11 f.; 1983, 16.

the arrival of the Teians. And nearby investigations of the city wall showed part to have been constructed in the second half of the sixth century.<sup>39</sup>

More detail about the events of the Teian colonization can be obtained, if with some difficulty, from the allusions in Pindar's Second Paean. It is clear from lines 59-70 that hard fighting was necessary to establish the colony:

60        τοὶ σὺν πολέμῳ κτησάμ[ενοι  
           χθόνα πολύδωρον ὄλ[ιβον  
           ἐγκατέθηκ' ἀπὲρ Ἀ[θήω] Παιόνων  
           αἰχματῶν [λαοὺς ἐλάσαντε]ς  
           ζαθέας τροφῶν· ἀλλὰ [βαρεῖα μὲν  
           ἐπέπεσε μοῖρα· τλάντ[ω]ν  
 65        δ' ἔπειτα θεοὶ συνετέλεσσα[ν].  
           ὁ δὲ καλὸν τι πονή[σ]αις  
           εὐαγορίαισι φλέγει·  
           κείνοισ δ' ὑπέρτατον ἦλθε φέγγος  
           ἄντα δ[υ]σμενέων Μελαμ-  
 70        φύλλου προπάρειθεν.

As Radt rightly states (p. 59), the supplement 'A[θήω] is made certain and [λαοὺς ἐλάσαντε]ς is at least made probable by the beginning of the scholion to line 63: [ὕ]περ [τὸ]ν Ἄθω ἐκβλήθεντες | οἱ ἐνοικο[ῦ]ντε]ς ἐπήλθον | <ἀ>μυνοῦμ[ενοι το]ῦς ἐκβαλόν [τας καὶ ἐνί[κ]ησαν. A translation (which owes much to Sandys' in the Loeb and to Radt's on pp.22 f.) of the passage follows: 'They who won by war the richly-dowering land established prosperity, after they had driven away beyond Athos from their most holy foster-mother the troops of Paeonian spearmen. But a hard fate befell them; yet, because they endured it, the gods later helped to complete their task. And he who has by toil achieved a noble deed shines with praises. For them the supreme light came face to face with the foe before Melamphyllon'.

The fighting here referred to had three phases. In the first we are told that the colonists<sup>40</sup> drove Paeonians beyond Mount Athos. The identity of the enemy and the topographical indication have both provoked discussion.

The Paeonians were thought to be Pindar's mistake by Wilamowitz,<sup>41</sup> and he has been followed by some later scholars, but it has been rightly recognized that Pindar and his hearers would not have accepted a basic error of fact in quite recent history.<sup>42</sup> Moreover, the Paeonians fit very well as the local opponents here. At about the same time the Paeonians were able to traverse southern Thrace in order to attack Perinthus.<sup>43</sup> They can be seen as the most powerful people in the area from c. 550 until the Persian conquest of Thrace.<sup>44</sup> It is particularly important to note that the Paeonians controlled the land as far as Pangaeum,<sup>45</sup> where there were famous deposits of precious metals. Radt acutely remarked (58) that Pindar used an unusual epithet for the land (χθόνα) in πολύδωρον (line 60), an almost exclusively Homeric

<sup>39</sup> Ch. Koukouli-Chrysanthaki, *Ergon* 1984, 12 f.; cf. *Arch. Rep. for 1985-6*, 70 f. There is also archaeological confirmation for the date of the foundation of Phanagoria; see J. G. F. Hind, *Arch. Rep. for 1983-4*, 90.

<sup>40</sup> Radt (57 f.) effectively refutes the idea that there is a reference to the Clazomenian colonists here.

<sup>41</sup> *Sappho und Simonides*, 250.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. Radt, 60.

<sup>43</sup> Hdt. v 1; cf. Radt, *ibid.* and Hammond's remarks in N. G. L. Hammond and G. T. Griffith, *History of Macedonia ii* (Oxford 1979) 55-7.

<sup>44</sup> Hammond, *ibid.*, who cites, in addition to Herodotus, Strabo vii frg. 41, but, regrettably, not this passage of Pindar.

<sup>45</sup> Strabo, *ibid.*

word, employed to describe women bringing rich dowries, because he meant to remind his hearers that the land was not only fertile but also contained precious metals. This suggestion may be accepted with confidence, because we can see from the early coinage of Abdera, which contains very large denominations, that the colony was from the beginning exporting precious metal in the form of coins.<sup>46</sup> So there is nothing surprising in the Teian colonists being strongly opposed by the Paeonians.

It has also been thought that the phrase ‘beyond Athos’ cannot be taken literally, since the Teians cannot have pushed back the Paeonians so far, but should rather be seen as poetic hyperbole for ‘beyond the horizon’.<sup>47</sup> However, if we have a correct conception of Paeonian power, and of the value of the prizes at stake, then the distances involved become entirely intelligible. Although our picture of the first stage of fighting is inevitably vague and without detail, we nevertheless have in general a very striking example of the use of force and scale of warfare required to establish a colony in Thrace.

The initial victory of the Teian colonists was followed by a defeat, which Pindar refers to in very general terms (63 f.): ἀλλὰ [βαρεῖα μὲν] ἐνέπεσε μοῖρα, a passage which is difficult to restore in detail.<sup>48</sup> Fortunately, however, the scholion quoted above makes it clear that the colonists of Abdera suffered a defeat at the hands of the native inhabitants. Because the colonists endured the setback, the gods helped them to final success (64 f.): τλάντ[ω]ν δ’ ἐπειτα θεοὶ συντέλεσσα[ν]. Pindar’s gnome about the shining glory for those who face trouble nobly, which follows (66 f.), looks back at this endurance and forward to the highest light gained by those who fought the enemy at Melamphyllon (68-70).

So these two stages are a defeat bravely borne followed by the final victory at Melamphyllon.<sup>49</sup> We know from Pliny (*N.H.* iv50) that there was a mountain in Thrace called Melamphyllon, and the scholiast to line 70 says that Melamphyllon was a place in Abderan territory, but, as before, we have no precision or detail about the engagement.

There is also no indication in Pindar of the chronology of these operations. However, since it is inconceivable that they could have taken place after the Persian satrapy of Thrace was created (and, *a fortiori*, the immediate subsequent Persian deportation of the Paeonians),<sup>50</sup> the widest time-within-which must lie between *c.* 545 and the date of that Persian conquest. The latter date is, unfortunately, connected to the date of Darius’ Scythian Expedition, one of the worst chronological *cruces* of the period, but which cannot be earlier than *c.* 520 or later than *c.* 512.<sup>51</sup> So the latest possible date for the creation of the Persian satrapy is very shortly after

<sup>46</sup> See J. M. F. May, *The coinage of Abdera* (London 1966) especially 1-17. I gave reasons for rejecting the more recent downdating of the early coins of Abdera in my ‘Adopted Teians etc.’ (see n.4) n.18.

<sup>47</sup> Even Radt mistakenly follows the earlier commentators here (60).

<sup>48</sup> See Radt, 62 f.

<sup>49</sup> Wilamowitz’ perverse idea that the battle at Melamphyllon was a defeat for the Abderites is easily refuted. See Radt, 61 f., whose fine and convincing treatment of lines 63-70 I have followed closely. This establishes the three stages noted. Isaac, however, *op. cit.* (n.4) 86, still follows Wilamowitz.

<sup>50</sup> For the creation of the Thracian satrapy, see Hdt. v 1.1; 2 (*cf.* iv 143-4). There are very useful modern discussions by N. G. L. Hammond, ‘The extent of Persian occupation in Thrace’, *Chiron* x (1980) 53-61, and W. Pajadowsky, ‘Einige Bemerkungen zur Lokalisierung der persischen Provinz (Satrapie) Skudra’, *Eos* lxxi (1983) 243-55, who wrote before he had read Hammond (255 n.56). For the deportation of the Paeonians, see Hdt. v 12-14.1; *cf.* Hammond, 56-8, who dates it *c.* 512-10.

<sup>51</sup> See J. M. Balcer, ‘The date of Hdt. IV.1’, *HSCP* lxxvi (1972) 99-132, a detailed argument for a high date, 519, which the author has since withdrawn; see *Sparda by the Bitter Sea* (Chico CA 1984) 474 n.69. The only recorded date from Antiquity, 513/12, is preserved in the so-called *Chronicon Romanum* (IG xiv 1297 = FGH 252) B(8) and monuments derived from it; see now S. M. Burstein, ‘A New *Tabula Iliaca*: the Vasek Polak Chronicle’, *The Paul J. Getty Museum Journal* xii (1984) 153-62. J. R. Gardiner-Garden’s survey of the problem (‘Dareios’ Scythian Expedition and its aftermath’, *Klio* lxix [1987] 326-50, at 326-30) makes abundant reference to modern scholarship, but does not mention Balcer’s palinode nor Burstein.

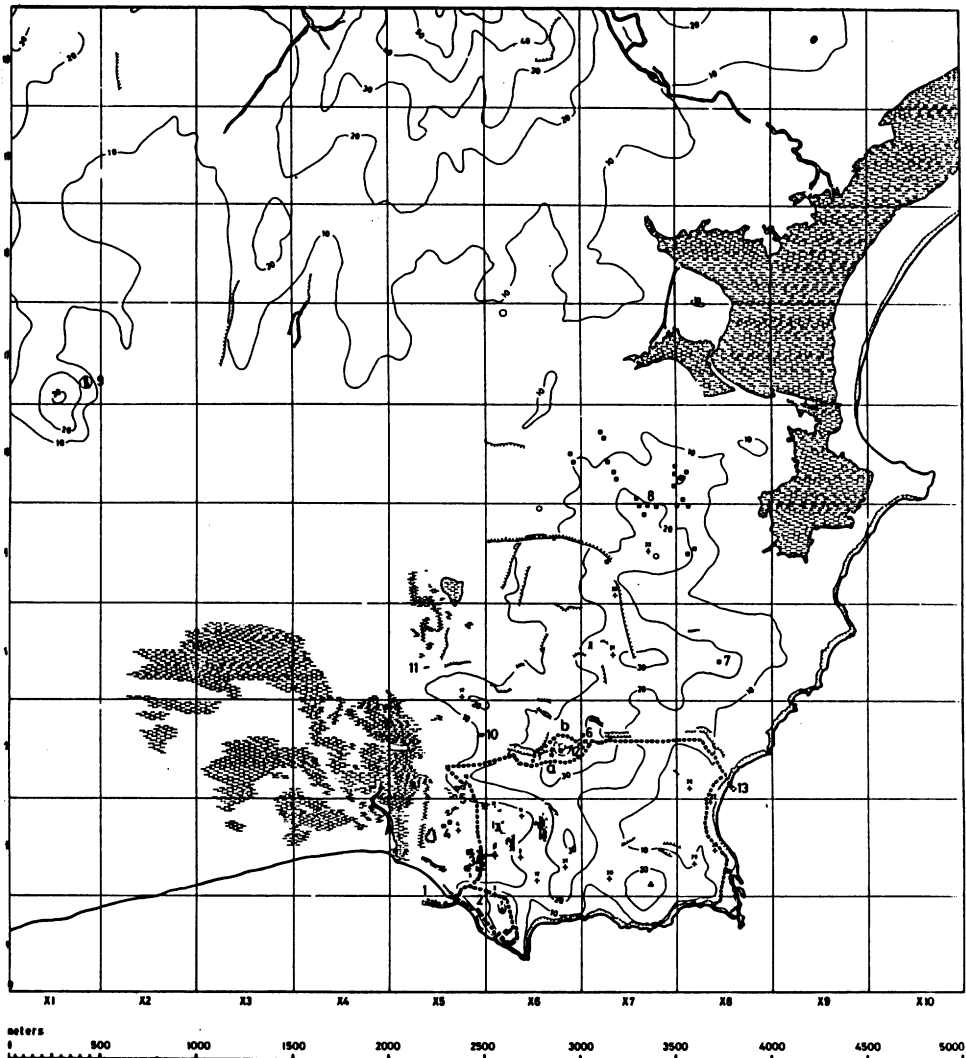


FIG. 2 Abdera: site and presumed wall circuit of Classical period (after Lazarides, *Abdera and Dikaia* fig. 28)

c. 512. We know that Darius could reward Histiaeus for his loyal service in the Scythian Expedition with the gift of Myrcinus, which was then his territory.<sup>52</sup> These considerations show that the time available for the military operations under discussion was, at the longest, a little more than thirty years. They belong, therefore, to the first generation of Teian Abdera, and should be seen as part of the history of its foundation.

The city they colonized is situated on a substantial headland, bounded on the south and east by the sea (FIGS. 1, 2). To the West there are marshy swamps close at hand, and there are also lakes and swamps up the east coast to the north. Due north there are rolling hills, where the very extensive city cemeteries were placed. The city is basically low-lying, with a moderate

<sup>52</sup> Hdt. v 11.2; cf. Hammond, 59.



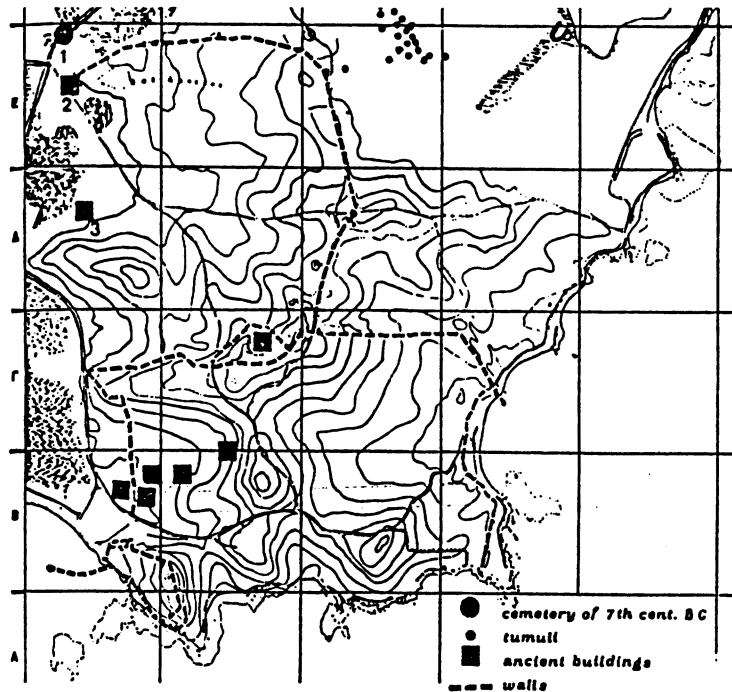


FIG. 3 Abdera: site showing newly discovered North wall circuit and oldest cemetery (nr. 1) (after Koukouli-Chrysanthaki, *Thracia Pontica* 3, fig. 1)

acropolis hill in the south-west corner overlooking the main (west) harbour (see FIGS. 1, 2).<sup>53</sup> While the cemeteries show that the general position of the city was always the same, we cannot tell its extent in the early Teian (much less the Clazomenian) period. A wall circuit of over five kilometres has been partly uncovered but is mostly presumed (FIG. 2). It is obviously also mostly undated, but is thought to belong to the Classical and later city. More recently another circuit to the north has been revealed, which, it has been suggested, defended the early Teian, or even the Clazomenian, city (FIG. 3).<sup>54</sup>

Lazarides suggested that the *chora* of Abdera was bounded to the south by the sea, west by the River Nestos, north by the foothills of Mount Rhodope, and to the east by Lake Bistonis (FIG. 1).<sup>55</sup> It is perfectly reasonable to suggest that the very big city had a very large *chora*, but we do not know when such boundaries were achieved. Our only clear chronological indication seems to be Herodotus' information that, when he wrote, the Nestos ran through

<sup>53</sup> D. Lazarides, *Ἀβδηρα καὶ Δίκαια* (Athens 1971), with its many maps and plans, is still very useful for the topography, even if now outdated archaeologically. The accounts of Skarlatidou and Koukouli-Chrysanthaki (nn.29, 30) make use of the more recent discoveries.

<sup>54</sup> See Koukouli-Chrysanthaki, 83 f., but see also above n.30.

<sup>55</sup> *Op. cit.* p.2. These limits are also accepted by Koukouli-Chrysanthaki, 84 f., 89. She also follows Lazarides in arguing that the early *chora* certainly extended at least c. 7 km. to the North of the city, because the colonists were using the limestone quarries in the vicinity of the modern villages of Mandra and Abdera by the end of the sixth century.

Abderan territory (vii 126).<sup>56</sup> Since the river is *c.* 16 km. in a direct line west of the city, a large *chora* may by that time be assumed.

We have little evidence for the resources of the city in the early period, down to the Persian Wars. Herodotus tells us that Abdera found it a great strain to provide dinner for Xerxes and his followers (vii 120; viii 120), but that story is rather anecdotal. The clear numismatic testimony that Abdera exported precious metal widely has led to the inference that the city was prosperous from the beginning.<sup>57</sup> Such assumptions may well be justifiable but they are not quantifiable. Later on we have much better evidence in the Athenian Tribute Lists, but they take us too far from the time of foundation.

#### THE REFOUNDATION OF TEOS

Before the allusions to the military engagements discussed in the last section, Pindar's Second Paean contained references to other historical events. Unfortunately, the state of the text and scholia for lines 37-55 is too uncertain for them to be of use to a historian,<sup>58</sup> and the only historical event that is now clear to us is Abdera's refoundation of its mother city, Teos (28-34). I have discussed this recently elsewhere,<sup>59</sup> which absolves me from the need to repeat the arguments here. We can confidently accept that at some time in its early history Teian Abdera sent sufficient settlers back to her mother city for this to count as a refoundation. It cannot be certainly established when Abdera refounded Teos. The two most probable occasions are shortly after the evacuation of the city in *c.* 545 and shortly after the Ionian Revolt. In any case, we know that Teos was repopulated in one way or another fairly soon after its evacuation, since it existed again as a moderate-sized city by the time of the Ionian Revolt.

That there were close and good relations between Abdera and this revived Teos quite soon after the foundation of the colony is proved by the coinage of the two cities. The first coins of Abdera and the first silver coins of Teos are so closely alike that it seems probable that these coinages 'were started in planned conjunction'.<sup>60</sup> These coins and the refoundation of Teos by Abdera provide the earliest evidence that there were very close relations between the colony and its mother city.

#### THE PUBLIC IMPRECATIONS OF TEOS

The next evidence on this topic comes from one of the inscriptions from Teos which record public imprecations. We know of two Teian inscriptions that recorded these curses on malefactors, which magistrates were required to pronounce on public occasions at regular intervals. The first, ML 30, has been known for a long time, though we are dependent on the

<sup>56</sup> That this is the correct way to take Herodotus' words,  $\delta \tau \epsilon \delta \iota' \text{ 'Αβδῆρων ῥέων ποταμὸς Νέστος}$ , was recognized long ago. See, e.g., How and Wells, *Commentary* ad loc., who compare Herodotus' use of  $\epsilon \xi \text{ Μιλητῶν}$  in i 15, which certainly refers to the territory only. Note also Pausanias' explicit statement that the Nestos runs through the land of the Abderites (vi 5.4). Thus Isaac is seriously astray in stating that the river 'passed by the walls of Abdera'; *op. cit.* (n.4) 73.

<sup>57</sup> See May, *Coinage of Abdera*, 1-4.

<sup>58</sup> The largely complete lines 50-58 and the tantalizing political allusions in the corrupt scholion to line 48 tempt speculation, but Radt's careful discussion (49-57) of the possibilities and the suggestions that have been made shows that we are reduced to mere guesswork. Even his modest conclusion (51) that lines 48-50 certainly refer to internal strife in Abdera, in which some immigrants played a part, may be a little optimistic.

<sup>59</sup> See 'Adopted Teians etc.' (n.4).

<sup>60</sup> See C. M. Kraay, *Archaic and Classical Greek coins* (London 1976) 35, and *cf.* my 'Adopted Teians etc'.

copies of early travellers, as the stone is long lost.<sup>61</sup> The second, *SEG* xxxi (1981) 985 is a recent discovery, and has been well read and published.<sup>62</sup>

These inscriptions cannot be dated very closely epigraphically. The recently discovered one, where we at least have the stone, has been judged by Herrmann, on the basis of letter forms, to belong to the period *c.* 480-450, preferably nearer to the lower of these dates.<sup>63</sup> ML 30 was long ago dated *c.* 470, and this date has been generally followed.<sup>64</sup> Apart from epigraphical criteria, the ban against setting up an *aisymnetes* in both inscriptions makes it likely that they belong to the period after, but not too long after, the Ionian Revolt and Persian War period.<sup>65</sup>

There are two features of *SEG* xxxi, 985 which differentiate it from ML 30 firstly, part of it is couched in the form of a citizen's oath (A.10-24),<sup>66</sup> though the subject matter is very similar to the rest of the document; and, secondly, there are references to Abdera as well as Teos. Since these references are of vital importance for the light they throw on the relations of the two cities, they are examined in turn here.

A.13-22                      ο[ὐ]δὲ διώξω: ο-  
 [ὐ]δὲ [χρ]ήμ[α]τα: δημιώσ-  
 [ω: οὐ]δὲ δήσω. οὐδὲ κατ-  
 [ακ]τε[ν]έω: ἄμ μῆ σ[ὐ]ν..  
 [...].Ι.ΙΣΙΝ: ἐν Τέωι  
 [ῆ] πλέοσ[ι]ν: [κ]αὶ ἄμ μῆ ὕ-  
 π[ὸ] πόλεω[ς]: ν[ό]μο: κατα-  
 λαφθέν[τ]α: ἐν δὲ Ἄβδη-  
 [ρ]οισιν: [σ]ὺμ πεντακο-  
 [σ]ίοισιν: ἢ πλ[έ]ο[σ]ιν:

Translation:

I shall not prosecute, nor shall I confiscate property, nor shall I arrest, nor shall I put to death, unless with 200 (?) or more, in Teos, and unless he is condemned by a law of the city, and in Abdera with 500 or more.

B.5-12                      τοῦτον  
 [ἄ]πόλλυσθα-  
 ι: ἐκ Τέω: κ[α]ὶ  
 Ἄβδηρ[ω]ν: [κ]α-  
 ἰ γῆς: [Τη]ῆ[ς]  
 καὶ α[ὐ]τὸν κ-  
 αὶ γένο[ς] τὸ  
 κείνο:

Translation:

May he be destroyed (and banished) from Teos and Abdera and the land of Teos, both himself and his family.

<sup>61</sup> See Herrmann (n. 1) 1-2, for the epigraphical history of the inscription, and *SEG* xxxi (1981) 984 for the improvements in the readings of the text resulting from the discovery of the new one. See also McCabe and Plunkett (n. 1) 261.

<sup>62</sup> See n. 1. I refer to Herrmann's paper hereafter by the author's name alone.

<sup>63</sup> Herrmann, 6.

<sup>64</sup> Herrmann, 3 with n. 10. On the dating *cf.* e.g., ML 30 and *SEG* xxxi 984.

<sup>65</sup> See my 'Adopted Teians etc.' (n. 4).

<sup>66</sup> See Herrmann's enlightening discussion, 13 f.

- C. [...: `Αβδ]ηριτέων: ἀ[π]αιτέο[ν]–  
[τος τῷ ξ]υνὸ: μὴ `π[ο]διδ[ο]ί[ν]: κει[ν]–  
[ον ἀπ]όλλυσθαι: καὶ αὐτὸν: κ[αὶ]  
[γ]ένος τὸ κένο

Translation:

... if the community of the Abderites request (it) back, should he not give (it) back, may he be destroyed, both himself and his family.

- D.1-23 `Ανθ[εστη]ρ[ι]–  
οισιν: καὶ `Η–  
ρακλέοισι–  
ν: καὶ {ι} Δίτοι–  
σιν: ἐν `Αβδ[ή]–  
ρο[ι]σιν: `Αν[θ]–  
εστηρίοι[σ]–  
ιν: καὶ `Ηρα[κ]–  
λέοισιν: κ[α]–  
ὶ Ζηνὸς: ἐορ–  
τῆ: "Ὅστις δ–  
ἐ τιμοχέων  
ἢ ταμειύων  
μὴ `ναλέξεε–  
ν: τὰ γεγραθ–  
μένα: ἐν τῆι  
[σ]τήλῃ: ἐπι  
μνήμη: καὶ  
δυνάμει: ἢ [φ]–  
οινικογρα–  
φέων: κελευ–  
[ό]ντων τιμό–  
χων: κείνον

Translation:

... at the festival of the Anthesteria, the Heraclea and the Dia, in Abdera at the Anthesteria, the Heraclea and the festival of Zeus. Whoever in the capacity of a *timouchos* or treasurer does not read out the things written on the stele for the purpose of reminder and validation(?),<sup>67</sup> or whoever as secretary on the order of the *timouchoi* (fails to do so), may he ...

In the first of these passages a resolution about criminal justice in the citizen's oath is found to apply also to Abdera, and the quorum for serious criminal decisions is fixed for Abdera as well as Teos.<sup>68</sup> In the second a malefactor is declared an outlaw from Teos, Abdera and the land of Teos. The incompleteness of the third passage and inevitable uncertainty of restorations leave its significance more obscure. As restored, if someone does not give back something requested back by the community (τὸ ξυνόν) of the Abderites, he is to be destroyed. As Herrmann noted (23), the use of the term ξυνόν of Abdera is not paralleled, but it occurs more than once in relation to Teos in ML 30.<sup>69</sup> He also pertinently raised the question whether

<sup>67</sup> For the difficulties of interpretation here, see Herrmann, 11-12. I follow the suggestion of Wörrle reported in Herrmann, n. 29.

<sup>68</sup> For the number of the quorum at Teos, probably 200, see D. M. Lewis, 'On the new text of Teos', *ZPE* xxxvii (1982) 71 f., who adduces illuminating parallels and stresses the democratic significance of these relatively large bodies.

<sup>69</sup> A.3, B.3 (if we accept the new texts proposed by Herrmann and Merkelbach; see *SEG* xxxi 984, B.25.

Abdera was alone the concern of this provision, or was, as elsewhere, also linked with Teos here. In the final passage the document provides for the reading out of its provisions at public festivals at both Teos and Abdera, and imposes the normal penalty on the competent officers in the case of failure. The only difference between the two cities is that the festival called the *Dia* at Teos is called the Festival of Zeus at Abdera.

Before we consider the political implications of these passages, it is necessary to cite a section from the early Hellenistic decree establishing *sympoliteia* between Teos and Kyrbissos, *SEG* xxvi (1976) 1306 (= McCabe and Plunkett, *Teos inscriptions* 48) 20-26, which, as Herrmann saw (22 f.), is very closely analogous to the material under discussion.

ὅς δ' ἂν παραλαβὼν |<sup>22</sup> τὸ χωρίον μὴ παραδῶ[ι τ]ῶι φρουράρχω[ι] τῶ[ι] ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀποσ[τελ]λομένωι ἀεὶ καθ' ἐκάστην τετράμη[νο]ν, φ[ε]ύγειν τε αὐτὸν ἀραιὸν | ἐκ Τέως καὶ ἐξ Ἀβδήρων καὶ ἐκ τῆς χώρας καὶ τῆς Τηϊῶν καὶ τῆς Ἀβδηρ[ι]τῶν καὶ τὰ ὄντα αὐτοῦ δημόσια εἶναι, καὶ ὅς ἂν ἀποκτείνῃ αὐτὸν μ[η] |<sup>26</sup> μιὰρὸς ἔστω·

Translation:

Whoever, having taken over the place, does not hand it over to the Garrison Commander sent by the city, on each occasion, every four-month period, he shall be exiled and accursed from Teos and Abdera and from the land both of the Teians and of the Abderites, and his possessions shall be confiscated, and whoever kills him shall not be polluted.

In his useful discussion (26-30) of the significance of this evidence for the relations of Abdera and Teos, Herrmann is understandably cautious about drawing definite or precise constitutional conclusions from the limited and in some cases uncertain evidence.<sup>70</sup> However, he rightly accepts that the relationship we see must be the result of Abdera's and Teos' situation as colony and mother city, especially as the Teian colonization of Abdera is so close in time to the composition of the document under discussion. Thus anyone interested in the relations of Greek colonies and mother cities is bound to try to assess the relationship attested by this new evidence.

To begin by simple and general considerations, we have here a law of Teos which legislates for Abdera. When a Greek city legislates for its colony(ies), one obvious explanation would be that the mother city has hegemony. An example of that would be Thasos' hegemony over its mainland colonies, strikingly displayed in the inscription ML 83.<sup>71</sup> The hegemony of Teos over Abdera seems, however, very improbable. Abdera was much larger than Teos,<sup>72</sup> and it was the refounder of Teos, to mention only the most obvious objections.

The other immediate possible explanation is that we have something like *sympoliteia*, whereby the two cities formed a single political entity.<sup>73</sup> Apart from the general fact that Teos legislates for Abdera, Herrmann thought (28) that the mention of 'a law of the city' only for Teos (A.19) and of only 'the land of Teos' in the banishment clause (B.9) point in that direction. It does not seem to me absolutely certain that his understanding of these two passages is inescapable. In the first 'a law of the city' could, it seems to me, perhaps refer to a law of Abdera as well as a law of Teos. And the banning clause is so closely paralleled by the passage in the decree about *sympoliteia* with Kyrbissos, where the land of Abdera is expressly specified, that it may be possible that the earlier document was simply abbreviating, and Abdera stood for

<sup>70</sup> Herrmann is closely followed by Huxley in his short discussion, *Studies ... Dow*, 151.

<sup>71</sup> See my discussion, *Colony and mother city in ancient Greece*, 2nd ed. (Chicago 1983) 83-5.

<sup>72</sup> As Lewis pointed out (see n. 68), the quorums established for serious criminal justice in the two cities are in the same proportion, 5:2, as the tribute they regularly paid in the Athenian Empire, 15 and 6T.

<sup>73</sup> Admitted tentatively as a possibility by N. Ehrhardt, *Milet und seine Kolonien* (Frankfurt 1983) 234.

both city and land, rather than implying that Abdera's land was a Teian possession. However, even if these two passages can perhaps be explained away, we still have the fundamental fact that Teos legislates for Abdera in all the four passages cited, and the same is true of the decree about *sympoliteia* with Kyrbissos.

One way to try to define the phenomenon here attested might be to categorize the areas of public life in which Abdera and Teos seem to be closely linked. Thus Herrmann (26), following the lead of J. and L. Robert,<sup>74</sup> noted that the passage from the *sympoliteia* decree provides the proof of 'einer Zusammengehörigkeit ... in einem besonderen juristisch-religiösen Bereich'.

If we attempt this, we find first that the constitutional and religious arrangements, and the public officials and their titles (so far as all this is attested) are, apart from details,<sup>75</sup> the same in both communities. That is, in itself, not surprising,<sup>76</sup> and need not reflect (though it could) any merging of political existence. In detail, the provisions show Teos establishing parts of a citizen's oath at Abdera in connection with serious criminal justice, arranging the procedure for such justice, causing an outlaw from Teos to be also an outlaw from Abdera, and laying down the procedure for proclaiming the imprecations at Abdera at religious festivals and imposing penalties for failure to do so. (I omit the passage from face C as too uncertain in significance). It may be formally possible to categorize these acts as belonging to the sphere of religion and justice, but, if one considers the very great importance of justice in any Greek city's constitution, and the overriding and all-embracing role of religion, it would be artificial to regard such a categorization as a limitation. We cannot evade the facts that Teos legislates for Abdera in general and the legislation concerns some of the most important aspects of the public life of a Greek city.

This evidence seems, therefore, to point unquestionably to some merging of the political identities of Abdera and Teos. Herrmann (28) also adduced Herodotus' description of the Abderites—referring to his own day—as Τηϊῶν τῶν ἐν Ἀβδήροισι (i 168), and asked if Herodotus had a political situation in mind, when he called the Abderites 'Teians in Abdera'. At about the same time Protagoras of Abdera was called a Teian by Eupolis, a contemporary comic poet.<sup>77</sup> But this evidence can hardly be pressed for political and legal conclusions. There are many examples which show that Greeks could use ethnics without caring about legal precision.<sup>78</sup> Moreover, at i 168 Herodotus has a reason for stressing the Teian origin of the colonists: he is contrasting them with their Clazomenian predecessors and the Clazomenian origin of the *oikistes* whom they honoured. Where he has no such ideas in mind, he is quite able to use the ethnic Ἀβδηρῆτης (vii 120; viii 120).

So the evidence from the use of ethnics cannot be confidently added to the indications of some merging of political identity by Abdera and Teos. Is there contrary evidence of political separateness? Here Herrmann (28) mentioned the obvious possession by each city of a separate assembly of the people and the possibility that an individual community (ξυνόν, C.1-2) of the Abderites could pass its own decrees and express its own will.

These points are not decisively probative, however, because there is an element of uncertainty in the restored ξ]υνόν,<sup>79</sup> and the existence of an assembly at Abdera is not explicitly attested for the period in question. There is no real doubt that we should assume its

<sup>74</sup> *Journ. des Savants* (1976) 212 f.

<sup>75</sup> The size of quorum and the name of the Festival of Zeus.

<sup>76</sup> See my *Colony and mother city*, 14 f. and now the very useful work by Ehrhardt, *op. cit.* (n.73).

<sup>77</sup> Eupolis fr. 157 Kassel-Austin; cf. Diog. Laert. ix 50.

<sup>78</sup> I collected some in *Colony and mother city*, 103-5.

<sup>79</sup> See above p.55.

existence, and the inscription does show us separate courts for criminal justice at Abdera as well as separate celebrations of religious festivals. All the institutions of a Greek city-state would have been required there from the beginning, but it could be pointed out, if a little pedantically, that these institutions were present in Athenian cleruchies, which did not have a separate political existence.<sup>80</sup> Ideally we need other evidence.

Each city paid tribute separately in the Athenian Empire,<sup>81</sup> and they should be seen as essentially separate entities at that time. However, we know of examples of colonies of Thasos, Neapolis and Galepsus, which paid tribute separately but were nevertheless subject to the hegemony of their mother city.<sup>82</sup> Even though it was seen to be most improbable that Abdera was under the hegemony of Teos, these examples show that separate paying of tribute does not establish perfectly independent existence as a separate state.

Abdera and Teos also each issued its own coinage, which has often been taken as a sign of independent statehood. However, it can no longer be maintained that there is an exact correspondence between issuing coins and political status,<sup>83</sup> so this argument is not decisive. It may be that we cannot find in the evidence now available to us an absolutely irrefragable proof of Abdera's separate political existence in this period. On the other hand, it does seem an offence against common sense to imagine that the large and well-known Greek city, which successfully maintained itself on the coast of Thrace, was not politically independent and able to take its own political decisions from the beginning (apart, no doubt, from its time as a vassal of Persia). If that is right, our indications point in two directions: one is some merging of political identity of Abdera and Teos, and the other is the separate political existence of both cities.

In these circumstances, it is hardly surprising that Herrmann concluded (29): 'Man sieht: auch wenn man es von den Entstehungsbedingungen her für plausibel hält, dass in diesem besonderen Falle die Mutterstadt und ihre Kolonie von einem Grundverständnis politischer Zusammengehörigkeit und staatlicher Einheit ausgingen, führt doch die Frage nach der organisatorischen Form der Aufrechterhaltung dieser Einheit in unserer Vorstellung zu Schwierigkeiten'. The next recourse must obviously be to comparisons.

The analogy adduced by Herrmann (*ibid.*) was Potidaea, to which the mother city, Corinth, annually sent magistrates, the *epidemiourgoi*.<sup>84</sup> However, one of the reasons he cites this case is to show how an isolated piece of evidence on such a topic leads to differences of interpretation. For help in understanding Abdera's relations with Teos it is not an ideal comparison. There is too much evidence suggesting the primacy, or even hegemony, of Corinth over her colonies for us to choose a different line of interpretation in the case of Potidaea.<sup>85</sup>

If we admit hegemonial relationships, there is a rather good parallel for the banning clauses in the famous Rhodian athlete Dorieus, who is described by Xenophon (*Hell.* i 5.19) as a fugitive or exile (φυγάδα) from Athens and Rhodes, having been condemned to death by the

<sup>80</sup> I discuss Athenian cleruchies in *Colony and mother city*, 167-92. This is not the place to enter into the still lively arguments about their nature and purpose; see T. J. Figueira, *Athens and Aigina in the age of imperial colonization* (Baltimore 1991), especially 40-73, with full bibliography.

<sup>81</sup> *ATL* i, Register s.v.v.

<sup>82</sup> See my *Colony and mother city*, 83-90.

<sup>83</sup> The issue has been well argued by T. R. Martin, *Sovereignty and coinage in Classical Greece* (Princeton 1985); cf. also my own brief treatment, *Colony and mother city*, 121-8.

<sup>84</sup> Thuc. i56.2.

<sup>85</sup> I discuss Corinth's relations with her colonies in *Colony and mother city*, chapter 7, and the *epidemiourgoi* at Potidaea at 136 f. On the latter no advance seems to be offered by J. B. Salmon's treatment, *Wealthy Corinth* (Oxford 1984) 392-4.

Athenians together with his relations.<sup>86</sup> The condemnation by the imperial hegemon naturally extended over the territory of the subject ally. No doubt the Athenian decision that serious criminal cases arising in the allied states be tried at Athens led to many such instances.<sup>87</sup> But there is no real similarity between Athens' relations with her allies and those of Teos with Abdera. We should seek rather *comparanda* where hegemony is not likely.

The most enlightening example known to me is the relationship of Paros and Thasos, which was already adduced by J. and L. Robert, when they discussed the banning clause in the decree about *sympoliteia* with Kyrbissos.<sup>88</sup> At about the end of the sixth century Akeratos boasted that he had been a magistrate at both Thasos and Paros,<sup>89</sup> and in c. 340 the Athenian general Cephisophon was honoured in a decree of Paros 'because he is a benefactor of the people of the Parians and Thasians.'<sup>90</sup> The very close relations between Paros and Thasos which are attested by this evidence seemed to one commentator to be an example of *sympoliteia*.<sup>91</sup> Arguments can be offered against that conclusion,<sup>92</sup> but we undoubtedly have a far closer relationship than would be normal between two independent states, one where 'the legal division between the two states was slightly blurred'.<sup>93</sup>

This analogy seems apt for the relations of Abdera and Teos, not only chronologically, but, more importantly, because there is no doubt that Paros and Thasos were separate states, and we can dismiss any idea that Paros exercised political hegemony over Thasos. In both cases we find a Greek colony and mother city which were independent states, but were so closely linked together that they admitted institutions and arrangements that effectively placed their political unity above their political independence.

#### THE RESOURCES OF ABDERA

One of the incidental pieces of information from the new Public Imprecations inscription is that, if we judge from the quorums, Abdera was probably two and a half times as big as Teos. As we have seen, the same result is achieved by comparing the tribute each paid in the Athenian Empire.<sup>94</sup> We considered briefly early indications of the resources of Abdera above;<sup>95</sup> it is appropriate here to bring in more evidence by extending the timescale.

The best evidence for the period after the Persian Wars comes from the Athenian Tribute Lists. Abdera pays regularly 15T from the time when our records begin till 432/1, when she paid 10T, a figure also attested in one subsequent list.<sup>96</sup> Strikingly out of line with this evidence is the proposal that Abdera and Dicaea by Abdera, which pays most commonly ½T, were assessed to pay together 75T in the Great Re-assessment of 425, commonly known from

<sup>86</sup> On Dorieus see Meiggs, *Athenian Empire*, 368 f., with further ancient evidence.

<sup>87</sup> Athens' imperial jurisdiction is discussed in general by Meiggs, 220-33.

<sup>88</sup> *Journ. des Savants* 1976, 213.

<sup>89</sup> *IG* xii Suppl. 412; see my discussion in *Colony and mother city*, 74-6.

<sup>90</sup> *IG* xii.5.114, which I discuss *ibid.*, 79-81.

<sup>91</sup> See L. Robert, 'Inscription hellénistique de Dalmatie', *BCH* lix (1935) 489-513, at 500 (= *Opera minora selecta* i 302-26, at 313); cf. *Journ. des Savants* (1976) 212 f.

<sup>92</sup> As they were by me, *ibid.* However, had the evidence about Abdera and Teos been available at that time, I might have written differently.

<sup>93</sup> *Colony and mother city*, 97.

<sup>94</sup> See nn. 68, 72.

<sup>95</sup> See above, p.53.

<sup>96</sup> *ATL* i Register s.v. 'List 25' of *ATL* (= *IG* i<sup>3</sup> 281), attributed to 430/29, cannot be certainly dated; cf. Meiggs' discussion, *Athenian empire*, 531-7.



the terminology of *ATL* as A9.<sup>97</sup> At the top of the Thracian panel there are preserved two very high assessments, 75 and 60T, but, unfortunately, the names of the payers are missing. Here is how column III lines 152-5 were restored by A. B. West and B. Meritt,<sup>98</sup> a restoration taken over by *ATL* and repeated, much more recently, in *IG* i<sup>3</sup> 71:—

152		[Θράκιος φόρος]
153		[ἡαβδερίται]
154	ⲡⲂⲂ [ⲡ]	[Δίκαια παρὰ Ἄβδερα]
155	ⲡⲂ	[Θάσιοι]

The argument for the massive and audacious supplement of lines 153-4 is twofold:<sup>99</sup> (1) [Δίκαια παρ' Ἄβδερα]α was restored in column IV line 30 of the next re-assessment, A10 (= *IG* i<sup>3</sup> 77), because the alpha which can be made out at the break to the left of column V line 30 must come from a long name in column IV, and, if [Δίκαια παρ' Ἄβδερα]α is accordingly restored there, it must have stood, because of the reconstructions higher up in column IV, at or near the top of the Thracian panel; (2) the assessment figure in A9 column III line 153 is so placed that it must have been 'associated with an entry of two lines in the column of names'. These two arguments support each other because the appearance of the insignificant Dicaea by Abdera so near the top of the Thracian panel in A10 means 'in all probability, that it was associated in assessment with its powerful neighbour, Abdera'.

There are, however, also strong arguments against the restoration: (1) Abdera and Dicaea never pay in a syntely in any extant list; (2) the figure of 70+T is a far bigger multiple, at nearly five times, of Abdera's and Dicaea's largest combined tribute of earlier years, 15½T, than is generally found even in the optimistic assessments of A9.

Nor are the purely epigraphical arguments completely compelling. It is possible with the eye of faith to see parts at least of the vital alpha at A10 column IV line 30,<sup>100</sup> but West himself once made a different suggestion for the restoration of this line.<sup>101</sup> And while it is true that the assessment figure in A9 column III line 153<sup>102</sup> is more spaced from its successor than most, it is less spaced than the figure of a certain two-line entry from the previous column on the same fragment, column II lines 151-2:

H	Ἐλαιόσιοι
	Ἐρυθράτων,

where the H is further from the figure above than our figure is from the figure below.<sup>103</sup>

There is certainly a problem in the two very high assessments at the top of the Thracian panel in A9. They are far the highest preserved in all the extant parts of the inscription; the next highest is 30T for Paros; and in the Thracian district only Thasos, which had earlier paid 30T,<sup>104</sup> seems a likely candidate for such high assessments. Even so, there are too many uncertainties and too strong objections to the suggested syntely of Abdera and Dicaea for it to be regarded as necessarily the correct solution. For our purposes, therefore, it seems prudent to

<sup>97</sup> *ATL* ii A9 = *IG* i<sup>3</sup> 71 = ML 69 (selections).

<sup>98</sup> *The Athenian assessment of 425 BC (University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series xxxiii; Ann Arbor 1934)* 80.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>100</sup> See *ATL* i 119, fig. 173.

<sup>101</sup> West and Meritt (n. 98) 80, n.1.

<sup>102</sup> See *ATL* i 115, fig. 36.

<sup>103</sup> See *ibid.*

<sup>104</sup> *ATL* i Register s.v.

use only the figures of actual tribute paid by Abdera.<sup>105</sup> The highest figure, 15T, would suggest that she was half as rich as Thasos and a little less rich than Byzantium, which paid 18T at the maximum.<sup>106</sup>

These calculations and comparisons would be complicated if Abdera was also paying tribute to the Odrysian kingdom. Thucydides (ii 97.3) tells us that these kings received tribute from Greek cities as well as their non-Greek subjects, and that at its highest, under Seuthes I, who succeeded in 424 (Thuc. iv 101.5), the tribute paid by both totalled 400T in coined money, an equal sum in presents of gold and silver, not to mention presents in other materials. It is not known which Greek cities paid tribute to the Thracians. It was ingeniously suggested in *ATL* (iii 309 f.) that we can use the treaty between Athens and the Thracian kings of 357, Tod ii 151, where the tribute paid by some Greek cities to the Thracians is called 'traditional', *πατριον* (line 15), to conclude that such tribute 'no doubt went back to the great days of Sitalces and Seuthes'. On this basis the authors argued that the Greek cities of the Chersonese and 'a fortiori ... the coastal cities between Abdera and Byzantium' were liable to pay this tribute. Unfortunately, however, the inscription recording the treaty of 357 is very heavily restored, and, while it is clear that some Greek cities paid tribute to both Thracians and Athens, it is not certain which they were.<sup>107</sup> So it does not greatly advance our knowledge to bring in the fourth-century treaty, except that, by analogy, it might be held to show that at other times too Greek cities could have paid tribute both to Athens and to the Thracians.

Some have obviously thought that in the great days of her fifth-century empire Athens would not have tolerated such a situation. So Gomme suggested that Thucydides was 'most probably' referring to the Greek cities on the Pontic coast north of Mesembria.<sup>108</sup> But the argument is *a priori*, and there are no Greek cities on the coast of Thrace which were certainly always outside the Athenian Empire. On the other hand, there are arguments in favour of the assumption that Abdera paid tribute to the Odrysian kings at that time.

In the first place, when Thucydides gives the extent of the Odrysian kingdom (ii 97.1-2), his starting point for the length of its sea coast and for the shortest journey by land from south to north is the city of Abdera. Secondly, when he measures the distance by land from east to west, he begins from Byzantium. It is possible to argue in both cases that he was measuring from the border of the territory of the Greek cities,<sup>109</sup> but, as the Greek goes, it is perfectly natural to understand that he is including Abdera and Byzantium in the Odrysian possessions.

Another argument arises from a possible explanation of the significant reduction in Abdera's tribute, from 15T to 10T, in 432/1.<sup>110</sup> In the summer of 431 Nymphodorus of Abdera arranged an alliance between Athens and Sitalces,<sup>111</sup> so it might be suggested that the reduction in Abdera's tribute to Athens represented some concession by Athens connected with Abdera's tribute to Sitalces. Obviously this is very hypothetical and other explanations are possible.<sup>112</sup>

<sup>105</sup> Isaac accepts that Abdera and Dicaea actually paid 75T; *op. cit.* (n. 4) 98 f.

<sup>106</sup> *ATL* i Register s.v. Isaac notes how few cities in the Athenian Empire paid more than 15T; *op. cit.* 94.

<sup>107</sup> Even the assumption that the cities were in the Chersonese depends on the completely restored name in lines 13 f. The editors of *ATL* offered their own text with slightly different restorations; see *ATL* ii T 78D.

<sup>108</sup> *Commentary* on Thuc. ii 97.3.

<sup>109</sup> As Gomme, *Commentary* ad loc.

<sup>110</sup> *ATL* i Register s.v.

<sup>111</sup> Thuc. ii 29.

<sup>112</sup> The reduction has been associated with a lower emission of coinage to suggest a fall in prosperity at Abdera; see May (though cautiously), *Coinage of Abdera* 143-6; Isaac, *op. cit.* (n. 4) 98 f. Apart from the uncertainty of such a deduction, one weakness of such theories is the difficulty in precisely dating the coinage; cf. the different views of H. Mattingly, 'The second Athenian Coinage Decree', *Klio* lix (1977) 83-100, at 92-5.

But it is interesting, and may be significant, that there are large fluctuations in the tribute paid to Athens by other Greek cities on the coast of Thrace. Maronea paid 1½T regularly from 454/3 to 441/0. Then there is no record till 436/5, when she paid 10T, as she does in the next two, probably three, years.<sup>113</sup> In 432/1 she probably paid 3T.<sup>114</sup> Selymbria's tribute, which had been 6 or 5T, appears in 435/4 as 900 dr.<sup>115</sup> The authors of *ATL* thought that these large fluctuations probably reflect changes in relations with the Odrysian kingdom, though they explicitly refrained from trying to interpret them in detail; and they were followed by Meiggs.<sup>116</sup>

So the possibility should be admitted that Abdera paid tribute to the Odrysian kingdom as well as to Athens. Even if she did not, she may well have had to give substantial presents.<sup>117</sup> In either case we should have to add an unknown amount to the 15T paid to Athens as an index of Abderan prosperity. The comparison with Byzantium would still be valid, because Byzantium's relations with the Odrysian kingdom may be assumed to be similar to Abdera's,<sup>118</sup> but Abdera may have been more than half as rich as Thasos.

This discussion shows that Abdera was a rich and powerful city in the fifth century. Similar conclusions follow from consideration of the city's military potential. We know of two wars against local enemies which occurred later than the period of the colony's foundation. The first is alluded to, if, unfortunately, very obscurely, in Pindar's Second Paean, lines 73-9 and 102-6:

ἀλλὰ μιν ποταμῶι σχεδὸν μολόντα φύρσει  
 βαιοῖς σὺν ἔντεσιν  
 75 ποτὶ πολὺν στρατόν· ἐν δὲ μηνὸς  
 πρῶτον τὺχεν ἄμαρ·  
 ἄγγελλε δὲ φοινικόπεζα λόγον παρθένος  
 εὐμενῆς Ἑκάτα  
 τὸν ἐθέλοντα γενέσθαι.  
 ἔμοι δ' ἐπ[έ]ω]ν ἐσ-  
 λῶν ε]ύκλέα[-]ν χά[ρ]ιν,  
 Ἄβδηρη, καὶ στ[ρατόν] ἰπποχάρμαν  
 105 σάι βίαι πολέ[μ]ωι τελευ-  
 ταί]ωι προβι[β]άζοις.

#### Translations:

(73-9) But near a river will he butcher him, when he has come with few arms against a numerous host. It befell on the first day of the month; and the red-footed maiden, gracious Hecate, announced the saying that will come to pass.

(103-6) But to me, Abderos (?),<sup>119</sup> give thanks for good words of fair renown, and with your might lead forward the host of fighting horsemen in a final war.

<sup>113</sup> *ATL* i Register s.v.

<sup>114</sup> I agree with Gomme, Commentary I, 212, that the editors of *ATL* were wrong to change the old restoration, HHH [Μαρον ἵται] to HHH [Μεθοναῖοι] in list 23 (=IG i<sup>3</sup> 280) Col. II line 67. The old restoration is well supported by their lists 25 and 26, and the 'Absent from full panel' for Maronea is unique for the city and unexplained.

<sup>115</sup> *ATL* i Register s.v.

<sup>116</sup> *ATL* iii 309-13; Meiggs, *Athenian empire*, 249, 253.

<sup>117</sup> As Isaac suggests, *op. cit.* (n. 4) 98.

<sup>118</sup> For Byzantium's sufferings at the hands of the Thracians at a later date, see Polybius iv 44.11-46.6.

<sup>119</sup> Radt expressed some serious objections to this restoration and suggested that an epithet of Apollo would be more suitable here (81).

The first of these passages is recognized as posing some of the greatest difficulties of interpretation in the whole poem.<sup>120</sup> The connections of words, the tenses and the failure to name subject and object in the first phrase all raise questions. Radt's very fundamental, acute and detailed criticisms of the proposals of predecessors show that they were all in one way or another unsatisfactory. So he proposed a new hypothesis of his own, which builds on some of the insights of earlier commentators, and meets the demands of the language and of probability.

Following the brilliant suggestion of Blass, he takes the first phrase, ἀλλὰ...στρατόν, as the paraphrase of an oracle,<sup>121</sup> which was delivered by Hecate on the day of the new moon. Lines 105 f., in which the Abderites ask for help in a final war, raise the question how they could know that the war would be final. Radt answers that it was stated in the oracle, which foretold a final victory for the Abderites.<sup>122</sup> Thus the oracle was recent and well known, which incidentally explains how it could be reported so obscurely, and the hymn turns to the present at this point after dealing with the glorious past.<sup>123</sup>

Some explanation is required of the detailed interpretation of the oracle, lines 73-5. Since σχεδόν with the dative of a noun is not attested with a verb of motion, it cannot be attached to μολόντα, so μολόντα should go with βαιοῖς σὺν ἔντεσιν, which in turn should not be simply connected with πολὺν στρατόν, since it is not normal in Greek to connect two nominal expressions in that way. Since φύρειν with a singular object cannot mean to mix or confuse, we should follow the scholiast, who states that φύρσει means 'will kill'. It is suggested that the verb acquires this meaning from a metaphorical significance, such as 'make mincemeat of'.<sup>124</sup> The literal rendering that results is 'But near the river he (the Abderite army? a friendly deity?) will kill him (the enemy), when he has come with few arms against a numerous enemy'.

Uncertain and extremely imprecise as this may be, it is possible to make some suggestions as to the actual events envisaged. It is not unreasonable to identify the river as the Nestos, the western boundary of Abderan territory. In that case, the likely enemy would be a territorial neighbour, i.e. some Thracians.<sup>125</sup> Radt (71) found difficulty in the consequence that this Thracian enemy is described as coming with few arms against a numerous Abderan army. The Thracians were famous for their numbers.<sup>126</sup> However, if we take 'few arms' as referring to the relative lack of armour and less good weaponry of the Thracians, which seems possible, that difficulty is removed. If the above interpretation is on the right lines, we see Abdera under threat of war from their neighbours, but strong enough to oppose them with a large army. It is also a sign of wealth that the Abderan army was apparently powerful in cavalry (line 104).

The date of this war is impossible to fix at all exactly. The various attempts that have been made to date Pindar's Second Paean can all be seen to be unconvincing or inconclusive.<sup>127</sup> Such fighting is not conceivable during the Persian rule over Thrace, so we may at least put it

<sup>120</sup> See Radt's discussion, 65-75.

<sup>121</sup> That the exact words of the oracle are not cited, but the whole passage remains narrative, is argued convincingly by Radt, 66 f.

<sup>122</sup> See Radt, 69 f.

<sup>123</sup> On Radt's analysis (69), the previous episode closes with the climax of the battle at Melamphyllon, and a new topic is introduced with the new triad.

<sup>124</sup> For all these points, see Radt, 71.

<sup>125</sup> Koukouli-Chrysanthaki also takes the river to be the Nestos, *op. cit.* (n. 29) 88 f., but her attempt to identify Abdera's enemies by archaeological survey seems too uncertain to carry conviction.

<sup>126</sup> Cf., e.g., Hdt. v 3; Thuc. ii 95-7.

<sup>127</sup> See Radt's discussion, 17-19. Huxley regards c. 494 as a firm *terminus post quem*, since he thinks that Pindar certainly referred to the destruction of Teos after the Ionian Revolt; *Studies ... Dow*, 152. However, that is not strictly certain; see my 'Adopted Teians etc.' (n. 4).

after that ceased shortly after the Persian Wars.<sup>128</sup> It might be tentatively suggested that the power of the great Odrysian kingdom, which Hammond thinks began to be established in the 460s<sup>129</sup> (Abdera's relations to it are discussed above and below), might make it unlikely that this war would have occurred after c. 460. In which case we should have fairly close brackets, and could date the war within the 470s and 460s. But the argument is fragile, and the only really secure lower terminus seems to be the death of Pindar in 438.<sup>130</sup> So the longest possible timespan within which this war could have occurred is nearly forty years.

The second war that we know of involving Abdera and a local enemy was against the Triballi in 375. We have three sources for this event: Aeneas Tacticus 15.8-10; Diodorus xv 36.1-4; Schol. Aristides, *Panathenaicus*, 172.7, 173.17.<sup>131</sup> According to the first, the Triballi invaded the territory of Abdera with large, warlike forces, the Abderites sallied forth against them, fought a pitched battle and won a brilliant victory, killing many of the enemy. Then the Triballi departed, reorganized themselves and invaded again. They prepared ambushes and began to ravage the land of Abdera near the city. Because the Abderites despised them as a result of their earlier victory, they rushed out full of enthusiasm, were drawn into the ambushes and suffered terrible losses, the greatest, it was said, from a single city of that size in the shortest time.

Since Aeneas is a contemporary source expert in military matters, he must be the chief guide to the actual engagements of the war. However, Diodorus adds a number of extra features. From him we have the date, the motive for the invasion of the Triballi, famine at home, their numbers, 30,000, and their losses in the first battle and their retreat, more than 2,000. He also alone states that Abdera had Thracian allies, who changed sides in the second battle and were thus partly responsible for the defeat of the Abderites. According to Diodorus, Abdera was saved from its desperate situation by the intervention of Chabrias, who expelled its non-Greek enemies and left a strong garrison in the city. It is likely that Diodorus' source here was Ephorus,<sup>132</sup> another contemporary, at least, of the events described.

The scholiast to Aristides, *Panathenaicus*, also knows that Chabrias helped Abdera. This source alone provides the additional information that Maronea joined the Triballi in making war on Abdera, and that Chabrias reconciled the two Greek cities and made them friends and allies of Athens.<sup>133</sup> Most of the Aristides scholia were composed in the fourth century AD by

<sup>128</sup> Hammond believes that Persian power in inland Thrace persisted down to the 460s, when the build-up of the Odrysian kingdom began; see *Chiron* x (1980) 61. The basis for this is Plutarch's statement that Persians in the Chersonese summoned help from Thracians of the interior at a time just before the revolt of Thasos (*Cim.* 14.1). But Plutarch's information seems to conflict with Herodotus', who implies that Persian power in this area was broken by the capture of Sestus in the winter 479/8 (ix 114-18) and that only Doriscus continued to be held by Persians for any length of time after the Persian Wars (vii 106.2). Nor does the combination of Plutarch with the casualty list *IG* i<sup>2</sup> 928 seem compelling. For the difficulties and uncertainties here, cf. Meiggs, *Athenian empire*, 79 f., 416.

<sup>129</sup> See previous note. For different views on this uncertain topic, see Isaac, *op. cit.* (n.4) 96 f.

<sup>130</sup> There is a useful, short and well-documented account of Pindar's life in Sandys' Introduction to his Loeb edition, vii-xvi.

<sup>131</sup> In Dindorf's edition, iii 275, 282 f.

<sup>132</sup> It is generally believed that Ephorus was Diodorus' source for all the Greek history in books xi-xv. This theory was very strongly established by V. A. Volquardsen, *Untersuchungen über die Quellen der griechischen und sicilischen Geschichten bei Diodor, Buch XI bis XVI* (Kiel 1868); see p. 66 for all the passages where there is a clear indication of Ephoran origin, and p. 71 for his conclusion. This view is accepted by modern scholars; see, e.g., R. Drews, 'Diodorus and his sources', *AJP* lxxxiii (1962) 383-92, and C. I. Reid, 'Diodorus and his sources', *HSCP* lxxv (1971) 205-7.

<sup>133</sup> This is to combine the information in the two scholia, 172.7 and 173.17 (Dindorf). It has long been recognized that the scholion to 172.7 is misplaced; see A. Schaefer, *Demosthenes und seine Zeit* i<sup>2</sup> (Leipzig 1885) 43 f. At 172.7 (= section 292 in the Loeb edition) Aristides is concerned with the events of the Corinthian War. The scholion properly belongs to 173.17 (= 297, Loeb), where Aristides lists the Battle of Naxos (376), actions round Corcyra (Timotheus,

Sopater of Apamea,<sup>134</sup> and they also contain at least one fragment of Ephorus, *FGH* 70 F 211, which concerns the same general period.

At first sight it might seem prudent to trust only the one good source here, Aeneas Tacticus, in which case we should just have Abdera's war against the powerful Triballi,<sup>135</sup> initial success and subsequent disaster. Diodorus' authority here could be called in question, because of his extraordinary error in stating (xv 36.4) that Chabrias was treacherously killed after placing the garrison in Abdera. In fact, Chabrias died in battle at Chios eighteen years later, as Diodorus himself (xvi 7.3) and other sources relate.<sup>136</sup> It is also obvious that the treacherous Thracian allies of Abdera mentioned by Diodorus could be an excuse for the Greek defeat.

On the other hand, the purpose of Aeneas in mentioning the episode was to illustrate the dangers of imprudently sallying out to attack, and he could well have chosen to omit any circumstances extraneous to that topic. Most of Diodorus' additional information looks beyond obvious suspicion, and, in particular, the role of Chabrias fits well into the known historical context of the early years of the Second Athenian League.<sup>137</sup>

So a maximalist interpretation, by which all the information in our three sources (apart from Chabrias' murder) is combined, may be justified.<sup>138</sup> Even the minimalist strategy of confining ourselves to the facts provided by Aeneas Tacticus allows the conclusion that Abdera was still subject to the threats of large and dangerous local enemies, and strong enough to be prepared to resist them. This confirms the other indications that in the Classical period the resources of Abdera were very substantial. We may not yet have the evidence to establish the size of the city or *chora* with certainty at this time, but the large estimates given above seem to have good arguments in their favour.<sup>139</sup>

375), the defence of Greece in Thrace (Abdera, 375), the events in Acarnania (Timotheus, 375). The present scholion to 173.17 says merely that Chabrias reconciled Abdera and Maronea, but that is easily combined with the information in the earlier one that Maronea fought against Abdera, and enables us to understand the rather confused statement about reconciliation there, which has clearly been adapted in an attempt to make the scholion fit the statement in 172.7 (= 292) that it now aspires to explain, i.e. Athens' reconciliation of Thracian kings.

<sup>134</sup> See C. A. Behr in the Loeb edition of Aristides, vol. i, p. xvii.

<sup>135</sup> Compare the damage they later inflicted on Philip of Macedon; see Justin ix 3.1-3 and Griffith in *History of Macedonia* ii 583.

<sup>136</sup> Reasons for such a gross error are hard to find. Eduard Meyer's suggestion that it was caused by heavy abbreviations (*Geschichte des Altertums* [Stuttgart and Berlin 1902] v 396) will hardly do, since Diodorus thinks that Chabrias' murder led to the appointment of Timotheus as admiral (xv 36.4-5).

<sup>137</sup> The events related by Diodorus and briefly listed by Aristides, *Panathenaicus* 297 (n. 133) seem well confirmed by the contemporary epigraphic sources, Tod ii 123, 126. The latter is Athens' alliance with Corcyra, Acarnania and Cephallenia, made in autumn 375 and so confirming Diodorus' and Aristides' mentions of Timotheus' activities in the North West. In the former Abdera is listed as a member of the Second Athenian League at line 99, among the names at the side, which would suit its accession in 375, and that is generally assumed; see Tod's commentary, 67, and J. Cargill *The Second Athenian League* (Berkeley 1981) 42. Maronea is listed as a member in line 87, among the names at the end of the inscription, which might be thought to imply an earlier accession. However, Cargill (38) has pointed out the uncertainty of the dates of accession even of the allies in this list, so the scholiast to Aristides is not necessarily wrong in stating that Chabrias brought in both Abdera and Maronea in 375.

<sup>138</sup> I have not found a really full, satisfactory modern account of this war. There is no help in D. Whitehead, *Aeneas the Tactician* (Oxford 1990) 139 f., whose short notes follow closely I. W. Hunter, ΑΙΝΕΙΟΥ ΠΡΟΛΟΓΟΙ: *Aeneas on Siegecraft*, rev. S. A. Handford (Oxford 1927) 148, and thus miss the scholia to Aristides. Isaac mentions the war briefly without source criticism, *op. cit.* (n. 4) 106, and May gave a good short treatment, *Coinage of Abdera* 241 f. C. Danov *Altthrakien* (Berlin, New York) 349, follows J. Wiesner, *Die Thraker* (Stuttgart 1963), whose account has many deficiencies. He misses Aeneas Tacticus and makes several assumptions that the sources do not justify, as that the Triballi were forced to emigrate by pressure of Celtic migration, that they went as a complete tribe with women and children (this presumably from a misunderstanding of Diodorus' πάνδημη), and that they attacked the territory of Maronea as well as Abdera. On the other hand, there is a good treatment, which respects the ancient sources, in the old work of Schaefer, *ibid.* (n. 133).

<sup>139</sup> See pp. 61 f.

## ABDERA'S NON-WARLIKE RELATIONS WITH THRACIANS

We have seen above that it is possible that Abdera paid tribute to the Odrysian kingdom and could be regarded as part of the Odrysian king's possessions. In this connection Nymphodorus, son of Pythes, of Abdera, is a very interesting figure.<sup>140</sup>

Thucydides tells us (ii 29.1, 5) that, in the summer of 431, Nymphodorus, whose sister was a wife of Sitalces, and who had great influence with him, was made a *proxenos* by the Athenians, although they had previously regarded him as an enemy. The reason for their action was that they wanted to make an alliance with Sitalces. Nymphodorus went to Athens and made the alliance. At the same time the Athenians made Sitalces' son, Sadocus, who may have been, as has often been pointed out,<sup>141</sup> Nymphodorus' nephew, an Athenian citizen.

The following summer, 430, ambassadors from the Peloponnesians en route for the Great King went first to Sitalces, to try to persuade him to give up his alliance with Athens and campaign to save Potidaea. But Sitalces was influenced by Nymphodorus and Athenian ambassadors who were present to allow his son Sadocus to capture the Peloponnesian ambassadors at Bisanthe, before they set sail, and to hand them over to the Athenians. They were taken back to Athens and summarily killed.<sup>142</sup>

So we see that Nymphodorus was a Greek related by marriage to the powerful Thracian king and very influential with him. He was able to represent the Odrysian interest in negotiations at Athens, and the military help that he promised Sitalces would give was duly delivered.<sup>143</sup> It seems fair to compare him with Heraclides of Maronea, who in *c.* 400 was serving as the agent of the Thracian prince Seuthes (later Seuthes II), and whose actions on behalf of his Thracian master are vividly described in the seventh book of Xenophon's *Anabasis*. So Nymphodorus has been called the agent of Sitalces, and it seems right to think that that role was the reason why the Athenians regarded him as an enemy before 431.<sup>144</sup>

Nymphodorus' standing in his native city seems to be revealed by the coins. His name appears as a magistrate on coins of Abdera, as does that of his father Pythes.<sup>145</sup> The magistrate on the coins and Thucydides' Nymphodorus have regularly been identified,<sup>146</sup> which may not be absolutely certain. But even if that identification is wrong, we may safely conclude that other generations of the same family held high positions in Abderan public life, and it follows that Nymphodorus belonged to the elite of the city.

Nymphodorus' high status at Abdera combined with his role as agent of Sitalces establishes with certainty a close relationship between Abdera and the Odrysian kingdom. This combination would also not be out of place if Abdera was subject to that kingdom and liable to pay tribute to it. Unfortunately, the evidence is not sufficiently rich or specific to show for certain that such a situation of dependency existed, or, if it did, the degree of dependency or the details of what

<sup>140</sup> He is well treated by Isaac, *op. cit.* 99-104.

<sup>141</sup> See Isaac, 100.

<sup>142</sup> We can combine Thucydides' fuller account, ii 67, with the shorter statement of Herodotus, vii 137.2-3, which nevertheless contains two facts, Nymphodorus' participation and the place of seizure, not mentioned by Thucydides. It has long been recognized that the two accounts are not in conflict, and the differences merely reflect the different interests of the two historians; see Isaac, *ibid.*, and Gomme, *Commentary* to ii 67.1.

<sup>143</sup> Thuc. ii 29.5; 95-101.

<sup>144</sup> As Isaac, 101.

<sup>145</sup> May, *Coinage of Abdera*, nos. 140, 141; 30, 131. Cf. Isaac 103.

<sup>146</sup> As by May, 149 f., if cautiously (150 n. 1), and Mattingly *Klio* lix (1977) 93, though with different dating. The difficulties for the identification perhaps caused by the chronology (Isaac, *ibid.*) are smaller with the lower dating suggested by the recently discovered 'Decadrachm Hoard'; see M. J. Price, 'The coinage of the northern Aegean', *Coinage and administration in the Athenian and Persian empires*, ed. I. Carradice *BAR International Series* cccxliii (Oxford 1987) 43-7, at 45.

it involved. We must be content, therefore, with the knowledge that the Greek colony had very close relations with the great Thracian kingdom.

Signs of peaceable Thracian influence on Abdera have been seen in religion. Although it is clear that Hecate was brought by the colonists from their Ionian homeland, the suggestion has been made that she was identified at Abdera with the Thracian goddess Bendis. There is no evidence to support that idea, however, and a major objection to it is that Bendis was normally identified with Artemis.<sup>147</sup>

The other deity of Abdera in whom a Thracian connection is seen is Apollo Derenos. As we have seen, the scholiast to Lycophron, *Alex.* 440, stated that the epithet was the name of a place in Abdera where the shrine of Apollo stood.<sup>148</sup> Danov compares the names Zeranioi, Zerania, and concludes that either the deity was local or the place had a thoroughly native name.<sup>149</sup> The difficulty with this view is that, though the ending -ηνός is common in local epithets in Thrace, it is also a widespread phenomenon and thoroughly Greek.<sup>150</sup> So it is no more than speculation that Apollo Derenos is a Thracian deity assimilated to Greek Apollo, or even that the place-name is necessarily Thracian. We must conclude that clear evidence of Thracian influence on Abderan religion in Classical times does not at present exist.

It might seem paradoxical to adduce military arms and organization among peaceable relations with Thracians, but it does seem likely that Abdera's army contained peltasts. This was deduced by Mattingly from the naked warrior with a conical Thracian helmet on the reverse of May's coin no. 219, issued by the moneyer Nikostratos.<sup>151</sup> May's idea that the reverse plays on the moneyer's name is attractive,<sup>152</sup> but that in no way detracts from the force of the evidence that Abdera employed such an arm. There were many Greek cities in touch with Thrace, who either armed their own troops with the *pelta* or employed Thracians,<sup>153</sup> and the local influence on the military tactics and weapons used by these Greek cities is clear.

Finally, in this rather various collection of peaceable relations between Abdera and Thracians, we may note that a local Thracian ruler, Spokes, coined with his own legend but with the types of Apollo and the griffin characteristic of Abdera's coinage.<sup>154</sup> According to May's chronology, the types on Spokes' coin would indicate period VIII of the Abderan coinage, i.e. c. 375/3-365/60. There are many examples of non-Greek peoples and rulers using Greek coins, coining with Greek types and striking their coins at the mints of Greek cities.<sup>155</sup> It is not generally possible to define the political implications, if any, of these practices, but this instance of Abdera's relations with her native neighbours was characteristic of the Greek colonial world and very common in the Thracian and Pontic regions.

<sup>147</sup> On this topic see Radt (73) and Isaac 107 f.

<sup>148</sup> Above p. 44.

<sup>149</sup> *Altthrakien* 162 f., 348 f., but the analogy does not seem very close. For these names see D. Detschew, *Die thrakischen Sprachreste* (Öst. Akad. Wiss. Phil. Hist. Kl., *Schriften der Balkancommission, Linguistische Abteilung* xiv (Vienna 1957) s.vv.

<sup>150</sup> See D. Detschew, 'Die Ethnika auf -ωνός, -ηνός', *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* lxiii (1936) 227-40. The more recent paper of Z. Gočeva, 'Epitheta des Apollon in Thrakien', *Thracia* iv (1977) 207-23, argues that many of the epithets ending in this way are probably local. Unfortunately, she misses Derenos, a bad gap.

<sup>151</sup> See May, *Coinage of Abdera* and Mattingly, *op. cit.* (n. 112) 98; cf. Isaac 103 f.

<sup>152</sup> p.158.

<sup>153</sup> See the sensible remarks of J. G. P. Best, *Thracian peltasts and their influence on Greek warfare* (Groningen 1969) 12 f. Thucydides mentioned peltasts from Chalcidice, Aenus, Lemnos and Imbros, Olynthus, all places in contact with Thrace: see iv 28.4; 111.1; 123.4; 129.2; ii 79.4.

<sup>154</sup> See May, *Coinage of Abdera*, 243.

<sup>155</sup> See my remarks in 'Commercial interchanges between Greeks and natives', *Ancient World* x (1984) 3-10, at 7.



## CONCLUSION

The material discussed above shows that Abdera offers a very rich chapter in Greek colonial history. The Teian refugees succeeded in founding a colony in very difficult territory on a site named by Phoenicians and previously colonised by their near Ionian neighbour, Clazomenae. There they transplanted the political and religious institutions from Teos that we have noted above.<sup>156</sup> There the archaeologists have found the East Greek *prostas* house type (as opposed to the *pastas*),<sup>157</sup> as we should expect. The comparison with Elea is enlightening. The Phocaean refugee colony, founded at the same time and in response to the same circumstances, was also quickly successful and also provides evidence of building techniques brought from the mother city.<sup>158</sup> It is significant that both colonies produced major philosophers not long after their foundation. Not only did they bring advanced civilization and culture, but they soon acquired sufficient prosperity to support such activities as philosophical speculation.<sup>159</sup>

Also well illustrated in the case of Abdera are the two external relationships that were of fundamental importance for Greek colonies, that with the mother city and that with the neighbouring native peoples. Abdera was situated in a potentially very hostile environment,<sup>160</sup> and had to fight many wars against non-Greek enemies, not only in the phase of the colony's establishment, but also subsequently. However, we have also seen instances of different relationships, illustrating the *modus vivendi* which all long-lasting Greek colonies had to create with the neighbouring native peoples. If those relations included political subservience to a powerful native kingdom, as is possible, they are comparable with those of other Greek colonies on the coasts of Thrace and Scythia, such as Bisanthe, Byzantium, Mesembria in the Pontus and Olbia, all of which may at times have been subject in some degree to powerful native people.<sup>161</sup> There are inevitably many questions about these relations of Abdera, which our evidence does not answer. Not only is the legal relationship with the Odrysian kingdom uncertain, but there are other relations with the Thracians about which we would like to be informed, such as exactly how Abdera acquired the silver which we know from the early coins to have been an important export.<sup>162</sup> It is not impossible that new evidence may throw light on such questions, but what we already have illustrates well the various relations that a Greek colony in this area might have with the Thracian peoples.

It is, however, the relationship with the mother city which new evidence has so notably revealed to us. We have seen that in the case of Abdera and Teos this relationship was so close as to bring the separate political existence of the two cities into question. The most striking evidence for that close relationship, the new inscription of Public Imprecations from Teos,

<sup>156</sup> P. 57.

<sup>157</sup> See J. W. Graham, 'Houses at Abdera and Himera', *AJA* lxxvi (1972) 295-301.

<sup>158</sup> See my remarks in *CAH* iii<sup>2</sup>.3, 142 f.

<sup>159</sup> See *ibid.*

<sup>160</sup> Well illustrated by the failures to colonize Nine Ways before the final success in 437, when Amphipolis was established; see Thuc. iv 102.2-3; cf. i 100.3; Hdt. v 126; ix 75.

<sup>161</sup> Bisanthe: because Sadocus was able to seize the Peloponnesian ambassadors there; see above p. 66; and because the Thracian prince Seuthes was later able to promise it to Xenophon; see *Anab.* vii 2.38. Cf. Isaac, *op. cit.* (n. 4) 212 f., who notes that Bisanthe did not pay tribute to Athens. However, it was assessed for two talents in A10 (=IG i<sup>3</sup> 77) col. IV line 10. Byzantium: see above p. 62 and n. 118. Mesembria in the Pontus: the inscription *JGBR* i<sup>2</sup> 307, recording an agreement between Mesembria and a Thracian ruler called Sadalas, shows that Mesembria paid him an annual tribute, and may have had similar relations to three of his predecessors. (The dating of this inscription is uncertain and controversial; cf. *SEG* xxx [1980] 701; 31 [1981] 678, 679; but that need not be pursued here). Olbia: see my remarks in *CAH* iii<sup>2</sup>.3, 127.

<sup>162</sup> See above p. 50 and n. 46. For some inevitably uncertain speculations on this topic, see Koukouli-Chrysanthaki, *op. cit.* (n. 29) 89 f.

probably belonged to the period 479-450.<sup>163</sup> But we have also seen clear evidence for the same close relationship in the Teian decree about *sympoliteia* with Kyrbissos in the third century. In the period immediately after Rome's defeat of Perseus in 168 BC, when Abdera was in danger of losing some of its ancestral territory (πάτριος χώρα, lines 6, 9) to the claims of King Cotys, Teos sent ambassadors to Rome to plead Abdera's cause.<sup>164</sup> After their successful intervention, Abdera passed a decree honouring the ambassadors, which was to be inscribed and displayed at both Abdera and Teos. It is to the survival of the copy at Teos that we owe our knowledge of this event. So the relationship between the colony and mother city is not only very close, it also persisted over centuries. One event of extraordinary interest resulting from that close relationship was the refoundation of Teos by Abdera.<sup>165</sup>

Reinforcement and refoundation of colonies by mother cities are found in our record,<sup>166</sup> but this is the first express attestation of the refoundation of a mother city by a colony. The nearest we have to another recorded instance seems to be Sybaris. After its total destruction by Croton in c. 510, refugees went, according to Herodotus (vi 21.1), to Laus and Scidrus. Of these Laus is attested as a Sybarite colony (Strabo vi 1.1, C253) and Scidrus is with good reason thought to have been one.<sup>167</sup> Although we have no explicit evidence, it is also widely assumed from the coins that Posidonia, the greatest colony of Sybaris, was another refuge for those who escaped from the mother city.<sup>168</sup>

There were, it seems, several attempts to refound Sybaris in the fifth century. Unfortunately, the literary evidence for these is of poor quality, and it can only be supplemented or strengthened by numismatic or archaeological material at the risk of inevitable uncertainty.<sup>169</sup> In excavations at Sybaris a layer of alluvium has been discovered that seals the levels at the end of the sixth century, and above that the material is of the second half of the fifth.<sup>170</sup> This supports the literary record of major destruction in c. 510 and successful refoundation shortly after the middle of the fifth century. However, on such a vast, flat and featureless site it is always possible that evidence for habitation in the interval is buried somewhere. Nor can the various coins be assigned with confidence to the various refoundations doubtfully deduced and

<sup>163</sup> See above p. 54.

<sup>164</sup> *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 656, but many improvements in both readings and interpretation were made by L. Robert, *BCH* lix (1935) 507-13 (= *Opera minora selecta* i 320-6) and by Herrmann, 'Zum Beschluss von Abdera aus Teos, *Syll.* 656', *ZPE* vii (1971) 72-7. Thus McCabe and Plunkett were able to publish a much better text, *Teos inscriptions* 35. There is also another honorary decree of Abdera on an inscription of Teos, but it is still unpublished; see *Teos inscriptions* 38.5.

<sup>165</sup> See above p. 53.

<sup>166</sup> See my *Colony and mother city*, especially 64-7, 144 f. The refoundations in fourth-century Sicily broaden the concept from mother cities to wider kin; cf. *SEG* xii 379, 380 and R. J. A. Talbert, *Timoleon and the revival of Greek Sicily* (Cambridge 1974) 150, 204 f.

<sup>167</sup> See T. J. Dunbabin, *The Western Greeks* (Oxford 1948) 155 f.

<sup>168</sup> The simultaneous appearance of the Sybarite type on the reverse of the coins of Posidonia and adoption of the Achaean standard have long led to this assumption; see e.g., my *Colony and mother city*, 114. Kraay down-dated these coins, putting their beginning no later than the decade 470-60; see 'The coinage of Sybaris after 510 BC', *Num. Chron.* sixth series, xxxiii (1958) 13-37, at 18-20; but his arguments do not seem decisive to me, and, in any case, the assumed significance of the coins is unchanged.

If the first coins of Laus were the result of the arrival of the Sybarite refugees, as is often assumed (see e.g. P. G. Guzzo, 'Tra Sibari e Thurii', *Klarchos* xviii [1976] 27-64, at 38), they would provide an analogy to support the suggested interpretation of the coins of Posidonia. But the first coins of Laus need not have been so caused; the man-headed bull is, in any case, not the same as the type of Sybaris.

<sup>169</sup> Kraay's bold hypotheses illustrate the point clearly. Guzzo's thorough treatment is rightly much more cautious.

<sup>170</sup> See Guzzo, 51.

dated from the inferior literary evidence.<sup>171</sup> So it is certainly hazardous to make historical reconstructions. However, the combination on the same coins of the types and legends of Sybaris with those of Posidonia,<sup>172</sup> and possibly also with those of Laus,<sup>173</sup> makes it a reasonable hypothesis that the two colonies were involved in attempts to refound the mother city.

It is, therefore, attractive to attribute the treaty of alliance between Sybaris and her allies and the Serdaioi, of which the only human witnesses were the city of Posidonia, to one of these occasions.<sup>174</sup> That would certainly explain the special role of Posidonia more easily than any circumstances we can imagine in the period before the destruction of Archaic Sybaris in c. 510. On the other hand, the term 'the Sybarites and their allies' reflects so perfectly a hegemonial situation<sup>175</sup> that it is hard to envisage its suitability to any time after that destruction. So the chronological indications of this famous document seem to be in conflict, and its date is likely to remain uncertain until some new evidence accrues.

Difficult though the evidence may be, however, the refoundation of Sybaris with the help of her colonies is an acceptable hypothesis, and to that extent we have a parallel for Abdera's refoundation of Teos.

Once we recognize the process of refoundation of a mother city by a colony or colonies, it is tempting to apply it to other occasions. For instance, two cities much more famous than Teos—Miletus and Eretria—were totally destroyed by the Persians. Both were quickly in existence again, but our evidence does not tell us how they were populated. It is certainly true that destroyed cities in the ancient Greek world seem regularly to have come to life again. Camarina in Sicily, for example, was depopulated after its war of revolt against Syracuse, according to Thucydides (vi 5.3), yet we know from archaeology that there is no break in its occupation.<sup>176</sup> Priene was totally depopulated by the Persians after Pactyas' revolt, yet was able, admittedly some fifty years later, to contribute twelve ships to the Ionian cause at the Battle of Lade.<sup>177</sup> So it might be argued that there is no need to seek explanations for the rebirth of such destroyed cities. But it is not so simple a matter as the recovery of Moscow in 1812 so vividly described in *War and Peace*. For the population of these Greek cities is stated to have been destroyed or permanently removed, not to have fled. New inhabitants must have come from somewhere.

Herodotus gives us a pretty full account of the fate of Miletus after the failure of the Ionian Revolt (vi 18-22). He says first that the Persians enslaved (ἠνδραποδίσαντο) the city. The most extreme interpretation of that would be that the adult males were killed and the women and children sold as slaves. However, more specific statements follow: 19.3, most of the men

<sup>171</sup> Especially controversial is the hypothesis of an immediate re-occupation of the site of Sybaris under the rule of Croton; see Kraay, 14-16. This is well criticized by P. J. Bicknell, 'The tyranny of Kleinias at Kroton', *Klearchos* xviii (1976) 5-25, at 20 f., whose objections are not removed by Guzzo's concept of 'economic' re-occupation under the rule of Croton (27-31).

<sup>172</sup> See Kraay, 22-4.

<sup>173</sup> See Kraay, 17, 21-3 and, just possibly, the problematic coins discussed at 31-5, on which see also Bicknell, 23.

<sup>174</sup> ML 10. The argument for a late dating of this document was well put by H. B. Mattingly, 'Athens and the Western Greeks, c. 500-413 BC' *Atti del I convegno del Centro Internazionale di Studi Numismatici* (Rome 1969) 201-21, at 209-11. The strange interpretation of the inscription by H. Van Effenterre, 'La fondation de Paestum', *PP* xxxv (1980) 161-75 (cf. *SEG* xxxi [1981] 357), may safely be ignored. It offends against both the Greek and all historical probability.

<sup>175</sup> See the commentary in ML.

<sup>176</sup> Dunbabin, *Western Greeks* 106 f.

<sup>177</sup> *Hdt.* i 161; vi 8.1. We are not told how it was resettled.

were killed and the women and children enslaved; 20, those who were made prisoner by the Persians were taken to Susa and settled on the Red Sea at the mouth of the Tigris; the city and plain of Miletus became the possessions of the Persians themselves, while the high land was given to the Carian Pedaseis; 22.1, so Miletus was emptied of Milesians; 22.3, those Milesians who had fled joined Samians in a colonial venture in Sicily.

We see from these statements that while most Milesian men were killed, some succeeded in escaping and others were taken alive by the Persians and transplanted. The Milesians who were among the Persian forces at Mycale (Hdt. ix 99.3; 104) seem most likely to have come from this last group. They knew the local terrain but were distrusted by the Persians. Herodotus' statements do not seem to favour the view of some modern scholars that Miletus existed between 493 and 479 and was inhabited by pro-Persian Milesians.<sup>178</sup> We do not need such a hypothesis to account for the Milesians at Mycale, who were not regarded as pro-Persian. The main basis for the theory is the supposed starting date for the great list of *stephanephoroi*, the eponymous magistrates at Miletus.<sup>179</sup> If we calculate back from the known dates of Alexander's and Asander's tenures in 334/3 and 314/13, and from Antigonos' freeing of the city in 313/12, and allow one year to each name, we reach 525/4.<sup>180</sup> This date is thought to fit well the time of the Parian regulation of the city after two generations of civil strife (Hdt. v 28-9), these two generations being assumed to follow the tyranny of Thrasybulus. Thus we are invited to conclude that the list, which reveals no break, shows that the constitution continued to function without any hiatus from 525/4 onwards. So there was no break in the political life of the city after its destruction at the end of the Ionian Revolt.

This ingenious argument is not compelling. That there is no hiatus in the list does not prove that the recorded names reflect an unbroken succession of years. As Rehm rightly remarked, we cannot tell if there was a gap unstated by the list, and he added that there is a curious absence of the names of the great men of the Ionian Revolt period. So he thought the problem insoluble.<sup>181</sup> Nor is it necessary that the list of eponymous magistrates began at the time of the Parian regulation of the city, nor that Herodotus' two generations began with the end of the tyranny of Thrasybulus, the dates of which are not precisely known.<sup>182</sup> These theoretical objections are, however, less strong than Herodotus' plain statements. The inhabitants of Miletus were all removed in one way or another in 494/3 and the Persians themselves possessed the city.

The destruction by the Persians in 494 has been recognized at various places excavated in the city.<sup>183</sup> After that destruction the area of the temple of Athena was in ruins for a sufficient time for a sand-dune to develop. The new temple that was built to replace its destroyed

<sup>178</sup> See, for instance, H. Berve, *Die Tyrannis bei den Griechen* i (Munich 1967) 106, who thinks that the city gradually grew up again in the 480s and tentatively suggests that the tyrant Aristogenes, stated by Plutarch (*de Herod. mal.* 21, 859 d) to have been expelled by the Spartans, might have been a pro-Persian creature, who ruled at that time and was expelled after Mycale. But the Plutarch passage is full of uncertainties and unknowns and there are many earlier possible occasions.

<sup>179</sup> See F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *RE* s.v. Miletos (1933) 1595; B. Virgilio, *Commento storico al quinto libro delle 'storie' di Erodoto* (Pisa 1975) 63-4; N. Robertson, 'Government and society at Miletus, 525-422 BC', *Phoenix* xli (1987) 356-98, at 375-7. This argument is widely accepted; see, e.g. P. Tozzi, *La rivolta ionica* (Pisa 1978) 205; J.M. Balcer, 'Miletos (*IG* i<sup>2</sup> 22 [*IG* i<sup>3</sup> 21]) and the structure of alliances', *Studien zum attischen Seebund*, ed. J.M. Balcer (Konstanz 1984) 11-30, at 16-18.

<sup>180</sup> See A. Rehm and G. Kawerau, *Das Delphinion in Milet (Milet i.3, Berlin 1914)* 241 f.

<sup>181</sup> *Ibid.* Balcer's arguments (*op. cit.* 17) that members of three or four aristocratic families served either before and after or during and after the Revolt, and that two brothers of Aristagoras held the office, depend on the assumption that there was no gap unstated by the list.

<sup>182</sup> On the dates of Thrasybulus see Virgilio, *ibid.*, and Robertson, 376. J. M. Cook, *CAH* iii<sup>2</sup>.3, 201, rightly states that we do not know the dates of the civil strife or of the Parian arbitration.

<sup>183</sup> See Tozzi, *op. cit.* 77 f. and plate xiv.

predecessor has been dated by architectural style to the second and third quarters of the fifth century. So the period when the sanctuary was in ruins has been taken to be 494-479.<sup>184</sup> If this archaeological argument is right, and can be extrapolated over the city as a whole, it supports the clear statement of Herodotus that Miletus was emptied of Milesians (vi 22.1). We must agree with those who think that the city was not refounded till 479.<sup>185</sup>

Founders of that reborn city will certainly have included those Milesians who escaped from the Persians at Mycale, and may also have included some who decided to return from Sicily. But, if we follow Herodotus, these would be too few to refound the city. We know that Miletus had good and close relations with her colonies, for some of which *isopoliteia* with the mother city is attested in later documents.<sup>186</sup> Such new inhabitants would have the advantage that they shared the same ancestry, language, cults and customs with the remnants of the citizens of Miletus. They would also, incidentally, be indistinguishable in our onomastic records.

As to Eretria, Herodotus relates that after the city was captured in 490 the people were enslaved (vi 101), and debris of the Persian destruction is founded by excavators all over the site of the ancient city.<sup>187</sup> Herodotus is not to be corrected by accepting the apparently more specific evidence that the captives numbered only 780, young and old, men, women and children, and that the majority of the population escaped to the mountains of inland Euboea, which is provided by Philostratus in his *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* (i 24).<sup>188</sup> The passage is as patently fictitious as the rest of the work. Herodotus follows the fate of the captives until their arrival at Susa and settlement by Darius at Arderikka (vi 107.2, 115, 119), noting that they still lived there in his own day and spoke their native language. Only ten years after its own destruction in 490 Eretria had sufficient citizens to man seven ships against the Persians in 480, and to provide a small contingent in the following year to the Greek forces at Plataea.<sup>189</sup> Even though Philostratus should be ignored, it is possible that some of these men had succeeded in escaping in 490. Once again, however, Herodotus' information seems to preclude the possibility that any remnant of the citizen body remaining free was sufficiently numerous to refound the city. Of Eretria's relations with her colonies we know very little, but, if the colonial relationships of her near Euboean neighbour, Chalcis, are any guide, they would have been close and good.<sup>190</sup> Another factor to remember is the proximity of Eretria's colonies.

Miletus and Eretria were Ionian cities, like Teos and Abdera. The refoundation of Teos by Abdera may, therefore, be put forward as a possible analogy to allow the hypothesis that the rapid rebirth of Miletus and Eretria also owed something to an influx of new citizens from colonies with whom close relations were maintained.

The very close relationship between Abdera and Teos attested by the new inscription of

<sup>184</sup> See A. Mallwitz and W. Schiering, 'Der alte Athena-Tempel von Milet', *Ist. Mitt.* xviii (1968) 85-160, at 122-4.

<sup>185</sup> See, e.g., recently, H.W. Parke, 'The massacre of the Branchidae', *JHS* cv (1985) 59-68, at 61, and R. M. Cook, 'The Francis-Vickers chronology', *JHS* cix (1989) 164-70, at 168.

<sup>186</sup> I discuss these relations in *Colony and mother city*, chapter 6. See now Ehrhardt, *Milet und seine Kolonien*, 233-40.

<sup>187</sup> See P. Auberson and K. Schefold, *Führer durch Eretria* (Berne 1972) 30.

<sup>188</sup> Auberson and Schefold, *ibid.*, do follow Philostratus.

<sup>189</sup> Hdt. viii 1.2, 46.2; ix 28.5 (600 Eretrians and Styrians).

<sup>190</sup> On the relations of Chalcis and her colonies, see my *Colony and mother city*, 18, 76. The remarkable solidarity of Chalcidian colonists, on which I commented in *CAH* iii<sup>2</sup>.3, 193, is hard to explain without close relations with the mother city.

Public Imprecations from Teos has been pronounced exceptional,<sup>191</sup> and, although we were able to find an analogy—Paros and Thasos—which may in a general way be comparable, it is certainly true that there is no case in our record precisely similar to the relationship revealed by the new inscription. There is the further question, however, whether the case would still be exceptional if we possessed a greater proportion of the full historical experience of Ancient Greece than our present minute fraction. When I discussed this general issue on an earlier occasion,<sup>192</sup> I stated that the relatively small quantity of evidence that we possess for the importance and effectiveness of the colony-metropolis relationship was shown not to be exceptional by the new evidence from inscriptions. For, if new inscriptions reveal new instances where the relationship was close and effective, it is fair to conclude that, if we had more evidence, we would have more examples. The new inscription from Teos seems to me very emphatically to confirm that argument.<sup>193</sup>

So I doubt if the relationship attested by that inscription was necessarily exceptional in the world of Ancient Greece. It seems better to add it to our other evidence which points to very good and close relations between Ionian colonies and mother cities, and conclude that, when that tie existed, those cities could adopt, without any element of hegemony, institutions that bridged the exclusiveness of separate political entities.

Finally, it is worth noting that, rich as the evidence about Abdera already is for the historian interested in Greek colonies, it may be hoped that yet more will emerge in the future. The large open site will continue to be investigated archaeologically and still has much to reveal.<sup>194</sup>

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<sup>191</sup> See Herrmann, 27. Ehrhardt, *op. cit.* 234 f., takes the same view, but his argument for so doing, that no contacts are provable between Teos and Phanagoria, is obviously *e silentio*. J. and L. Robert, *Journ. des Savants* (1976) 212 f., while seeing the banning clause in the decree about Kyrbissos as a particular example of a very close colony-metropolis relationship, think that it was 'perhaps very rare'.

<sup>192</sup> *Colony and mother city*, 212 f.

<sup>193</sup> Cf. also my remarks in *Gnomon* lix (1987) 128 f.

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