

AN HONORARY DECREE FROM THASOS (IG XII 8, 267)
AND THE SAMOTHRACIAN PERAIA DURING THE HELLENISTIC PERIOD

IG XII 8, 267

An honorary decree of Thasos (IG XII 8, 267) awards citizenship to Polyaratos, son of Histiaios, a former *proxenos* and *euergetes* of the city of Thasos.¹ The same decree awards all the rights of citizenship to the grandchildren of Polyaratos: Polyaratos, Antigenes, Histiaios, Parmenousa and Nika.² Prosopographic evidence dates the decree between 290 and 280 BC.³ The decree creates special protections for Polyaratos and his grandchildren against future challenges regarding their civic status (l. 7-8). The detailed provisions for enrolling Polyaratos and his grandchildren in a *patra*, imply that Polyaratos and his family were already settled at Thasos and intended to reside there.

Polyaratos was most probably a prominent personality, so well known to the Thasians that there was no need to record his ethnic. A recently published decree from the small coastal city of Drys provides new evidence about a Polyaratos, son of Histiaios (*IThrAeg* E400). The decree awards Polyaratos *proxenia*, *euergesia*, *politeia*, *enkṯēsis*, *eisplous*,

¹ The decree was recently commented by A. Lajtar (*Catalogue des inscriptions grecques du Musée National de Varsovie* ["The Journal of Juristic Papyrology Suppl." 13; Varsovie 2003] 51-54), who gave also a detailed description of the stone and its full history. For Polyaratos see *LGPN* IV p. 285 s.v. Πολυάρητος (3) and (4).

² M.-G. Parissaki, *Prosopography and Onomasticon of Aegean Thrace* ("MEΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ" 49; Athens 2007) 232 n. 597.

³ These dates were proposed by J. Pouilloux (*Recherches sur l'histoire et les cultes de Thasos* [Paris 1954] 258-59, 272-79 no. 34 and 35) on the basis of prosopographic evidence deriving from the lists of Thasian archons and *theōroi*. See also A. Lajtar, "Dekret z Tasos w Museum Narodowym w Warszawie", *Maeander* 49 (1994) 171-81 (167-81). The name Τεισυκράτης of the third archon (A. Lajtar, "Bemerkungen zu einigen griechischen Inschriften im Nationalmuseum von Warschau 2. IG XII 8 (Thasos) 267= MNW 147446", *ZPE* 122 [1996] 138-39 for l. 1) had already been restored by P. Bernard and F. Salviat ("Inscription de Thasos", *BCH* 86 [1962] 580 n. 1) who published a new fragment of the archon's list Pouilloux (1954, 272-78) no. 34.

ekplous and *ateleia*.⁴ As in the decree from Thasos, the ethnic of Polyaratos is missing. Polyaratos was not a citizen of Drys because the decree awards him *proxenia* and *politeia*. The decree of Drys was found at Zone which makes it likely that Polyaratos was a citizen of Zone.⁵ The honorary decree of Drys, found at Zone, can be dated on the basis of letter shapes and the form εἴταν (l. 2) to the early third century BC, between 290 and 280 BC.⁶ The honorary decrees of Thasos and Drys for Polyaratos, son of Histiaios, are therefore contemporary and probably passed for the same person.⁷

The honours voted by Drys for Polyaratos are less extensive in comparison with those granted by the city of Thasos. This could be explained by the urgent need of Polyaratos and his grandchildren to become Thasian citizens and to settle at Thasos. The Thasians granted similar protections to another *proxenos* of theirs, Herakleitos, son of Matrios, from Mytilene (IG XII Suppl. 358) and for several foreigners who bought Thasian citizenship for a hundred (100) staters (IG XII Suppl. 355 and 362).⁸ Different political parties at Thasos may have wished to attack the rights of these new citizens and that may be the reason why the Thasians took these special precautions.

This article examines the reasons why Polyaratos had to leave Zone and settle his family at Thasos and attempts to place the decree in the broader historical context. Literary, epigraphic and numismatic evidence reveal that the city of Zone and all other Herodotean *teichea* of the Samothracians on the coast between Cape Serreion and the river Hebros

⁴ See D. Knoepfler, *Décrets érétréens de proxénie et de citoyenneté* ("Eretria. Fouilles et Recherches" XI; Lausanne 2001) 279 n. 48 and 49 with previous bibliography and discussion.

⁵ The absence of the *ethnikon*, also found in other decrees of Greek cities, can be explained by their Macedonian origin or their high rank in Hellenistic courts. See Knoepfler, *Décrets érétréens* 279-81, 284.

⁶ On the form εἴταν (E400 l. 2) that confirms the date proposed in *IThrAeg* for E400, see Knoepfler, *Décrets érétréens* 115-16.

⁷ See *IThrAeg* E400.

⁸ On that practice see L. Robert, "Sur un décret relatif à Phasélis. La vente du droit de cité", *Hellenica* I (1940) 37-42. We do not know whether the citizenship of IG XII 8, 268 was sold or awarded.

were destroyed in this period, thus forcing Polyaratos to move with his family to Thasos.⁹

The Samothracian Peraia

Before analysing the historical background, it is necessary to present all the relevant evidence about these *teichea* and to briefly sketch their history. Hekataios (*FGrHist* 1 F 160, 161), Herodotos (7.59 and 108), Skylax (665), Strabo, the Roman *Itineraria*, a number of inscriptions from Athens and Samothrace and archaeological remains provide much evidence about the area between Cape Serreion and the Hebros.¹⁰ The literary and epigraphic sources reveal the existence of three main cities: Drys, Zone and Sale.¹¹ Two smaller urban settlements, Tempyra and Charakoma are mentioned by Strabo (7a.1.48). Hekataios refers to Sale as a city of Thrace and to Zone as a city of the Kikones. The relation of all three cities and the two urban settlements to Samothrace is emphasized by Herodotos, Skylax and Strabo.¹² For Herodotos, Sale and Zone were cities and *teichea* of the Samothracians (7.59; 108). According to Skylax, Drys and Zone were *emporía* on the coast opposite Samothrace. Strabo also noted Tempyra and Charakoma as *polichnia* of the Samothracians. The coastal cities of Drys and Zone were located in the vicinity of Cape Serreion, as IG I³ 77 reports, with Sale further east. All three, as well as

⁹ The term *teichea* is used by Hdt. 7.108.7. On the different meanings of that term see P. Flensted-Jensen, "Some Problems in Polis Identification in the Chalkidic Peninsula. I. Apollonia Again: a Note on Xenophon's *Hellenika* 5.3.1.-2.", *Yet More Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis* ("Historia Einzelschriften" 117 Stuttgart 1997) 117-21.

¹⁰ On Drys, Zone and Sale, the cities of the Samothracian Peraia see L. D. Loukopoulou, M.-G. Parissaki, S. Psoma and A. Zournatzi, *Inscriptiones antiquae partis Thraciae quae ad ora maris Aegaei sita est* (Athens 2005) 45-119, 121-41, 505-530 with complete bibliography and discussion. For the Archaic and Classical period and a city with the name "Mesembrie" noted by Herodotos, see M. Zahrtnt, *supra*, 87-120, with exhaustive bibliography and discussion.

¹¹ M. Zahrtnt (previous note) has convincingly shown that a city called Mesambrie, which is mentioned only by Herodotos, never existed.

¹² The relation of these cities to Samothrace is probably reflected to Antiphon's Σαμοθρακικός as P. Perdrizet underlined: P. Perdrizet, "Le Σαμοθρακικός d'Antiphon et la Perée Samothracienne", *REG* 22 (1909) 33-41.

the two *polichnia* mentioned by Strabo, were considered settlements of the so-called Samothracian Peraia.¹³

Zone

J. and L. Robert drew attention to the significant number of coins of Zone found at the coastal site on the east bank of Sapli Dere, which was first identified with Mesembria.¹⁴ They therefore proposed to identify this place as Zone.¹⁵ The site of Zone was systematically excavated during the last forty years by A. Vavritsas from 1966 to 1987 and from 1987 by P. Tsatsopoulou.¹⁶ The bronze coinage of Zone, in three denominations, hemiobols, *tetartemoria* and *chalkoi*, dates from the fourth century.¹⁷ A date before the end of the fourth century BC has been proposed for all the inscriptions discovered at the site.¹⁸ The latest

¹³ On the Samothracian Peraia see also B. Isaac, *The Greek Settlements in Thrace until the Macedonian Conquest* (Leiden 1986) 125-37; P. Funke, "Peraia: Einige Überlegungen zum Festlandbesitz griechischer Inselstaaten", *Hellenistic Rhodes. Politics, Culture and Society*, eds P. Bilde, Tr. Engberg-Pedersen, V. Gabrielsen, L. Hannestad and J. Zahle ("Studies in Hellenistic Civilization" 9; Aarhus 2000) 55-75.

¹⁴ See the bibliography on Zone in *IThrAeg* 506-510 (notes). On the locations proposed for Drys and Sale, see *IThrAeg* 501-502 (Drys) and *IThrAeg* 132 and 565 (Sale).

¹⁵ L. Robert, *BullEpigr* 1976, 464; 1977, 290; 1978, 312; 1979, 282; 1980, 319; 1981, 326.

¹⁶ A. Vavritsas, *Prakt* 1969 (1971) 64 and 69, 1971 (1973) 119, pl. 148a; 1973 (1975) 74, 76, 80; 1976 (1978) 143; P. Tsatsopoulou, "Η ανασκαφική έρευνα στη Μεσημβρία του Αιγαίου, την τελευταία δεκαετία", *Actes du 2e Symposium international des Études Thraciennes. Thrace ancienne II* (Komotini 1997) 615-30; *AEMTh* 6 (1992) [1995] 669-75; 9 (1995) [1998] 441-46; 10B (1996) [1997] 917-26.

¹⁷ On the excavation coins from Zone see M. Galani-Krikou, "Προσέγγιση στη νομισματοκοπία της Ζώνης. Η μαρτυρία της ανασκαφής στην Αιγαιακή Μεσημβρία-Ζώνη", *ΧΑΡΑΚΤΗΡ. Αφιέρωμα στη Μάντω Οικονομίδου* (Athens 1996) 63-78; *eadem*, "Ανασκαφή στη Μεσημβρία-Ζώνη. Ζώνη: τρίτος νομισματικός τύπος", *Actes du 2e Symposium international des Études Thraciennes. Thrace ancienne II* (Komotini 1997) 631-42.

¹⁸ *IThrAeg* E400ff. See also E. Schönert-Geiss, *Griechisches Münzwerk: die Münzprägung von Maroneia* (Berlin 1987) 95: the bronzes of Maroneia found at Zone (Schönert-Geiss 1987, 968-75) are also of fourth century BC date. Cf. S. Psoma, "The Bronze Coinage of Maroneia Reconsidered", in S. Psoma, Chr. Karadima and D. Terzopoulou, *Coins from the Classical City at the Peninsula of Molyvoti and the Excavations of Maroneia* (forthcoming).

evidence for the status of Zone is found in two inscriptions from the late fourth century or the early third century BC; the first is a fragmentary list of cities from Delphi, dated to the late fourth century BC, where both Zone and Drys are mentioned,¹⁹ the second is an honorary decree of Samothrace for Aristomachos a citizen of Zone.²⁰ There is no other extant information about Zone during the Hellenistic period.

Drys

According to Skylax (665), the small coastal city of Drys was an immediate west neighbour of Zone.²¹ The latest information about Drys is the honorary decree for Polyaratos, son of Histiaios, found at Zone and dated to the early third century BC.²² We have no other evidence about Drys during the Hellenistic period. Δρῦαι is mentioned as a *kōmē* of Traianopolis in an early third century AD inscription from Traianopolis (*IThrAeg* E433).²³

Sale

The third city of the Samothracian Peraia, Sale, was situated to the west of Zone, as we learn from Herodotos (7.59). Livy mentions Sale as a *vicus Maronitarum* at the end of the war with Antiochos III (38.41.5-8). Sale is mentioned by the Roman *Itineraria* as a *mansio* of the *Via Egnatia*, fifteen (15) miles from Traianopolis.²⁴ Different locations were proposed

¹⁹ L. Robert, "Une ville de Thrace dans une inscription de Delphes", *Hellenica* I (1940) 81-94, esp. 81-88. On dates before the foundation of Lysimacheia for that list see S. Psoma, "Agathokles and Maroneia Agathokleia", in Psoma-Karadima-Terzopoulou (forthcoming).

²⁰ *IThrAeg* 61 (= IG XII 8, 155) and Robert, *Hellenica* I (1940) 90.

²¹ The *eisplous* and *ekplous* mentioned by *IThrAeg* E400 leave no doubt that the city has to be situated on the coast. See also the description of Drys as a city *para Serrheion* in IG I³ 77 V 29-30 of 422/1.

²² On the form εἰπταν (E400 l. 2) that confirms the date proposed in *IThrAeg* for E400, see Knoepfler, *Décrets érétriens* 115-16.

²³ For Mottas (F. Mottas, "Les voies de communication antiques de la Thrace égéenne", *Labor omnibus unum. Gerold Walser zum 70. Geburtstag dargebracht von Freunden, Kollegen und Schülern* ["Historia Einzelschriften" 60; Stuttgart 1989] 82-104, esp. 101) Δρῦαι should not be confused with Drys on the basis of his interpretation of *IThrAeg* E433.

²⁴ On the Roman *Itineraria* see *IThrAeg* 140.

for that city: at Makri or further east, at the area of modern Alexandroupolis, where excavations brought to light Hellenistic and Roman antiquities.²⁵ Evidence from the Roman *Itineraria* locates Sale in the area of Makri.

Tempyra and Charakoma

Very little is known about Tempyra and Charakoma. Strabo (7a.1.48) places both *polichnia* in the area west of the rocky promontory of Serreion. Tempyra, mentioned by Livy, Ovid and the Roman *Itineraria*, is to be found immediately west of Charakoma.²⁶ From Livy we learn that in 188 BC the plundering Thracians waited for the Romans of Manlius *circa Tempyra* and that after a “pitched battle”, “the victorious Romans encamped near a village of the Maroneans”, Sale (Livy 38.41.5-8). Tempyra had a small harbour on the opposite coast of Samothrace; Ovid stopped there on his way to exile (*Tr.* 1.10.20-21). According to the *Itinerarium Antonini* the distance between Tempyra (Timpiro) and Traianopolis was nine (9) miles and for the *Itinerarium Burdigalense* eight (8) miles (*mutatio ad Unimpara-civitas Traianopolis*). The latter *Itinerarium* noted also the distance between *mutatio Salei* and *mutatio ad Unimpara*: seven (7) miles. Different locations have been proposed for Tempyra: at the mouth of the river Hebros, at Traianopolis, at “Toumbanos”, at Pyrgoi of Potamoi, where a Byzantine site came to light, and at Alexandroupolis.²⁷

The name Charakoma refers to a fortress.²⁸ Strabo is the only source to mention Charakoma and places it to the east of Tempyra.²⁹ According

²⁵ *IThrAeg* 132.

²⁶ *IThrAeg* 136.

²⁷ *IThrAeg* 134-36. For a location of Tempyra at Alexandroupolis see Mottas 1989, 82-104, 95.

²⁸ Funke, *Hellenistic Rhodes*, 67 n. 53 and following note.

²⁹ A city of that name in Krestonia is noted by the Delphic list of *theōrodokei* between Bragyla and Lete: A. Plassart, “Inscription de Delphes, la liste des Théorodokes”, *BCH* 45 (1921) 17 III 70; cf. M. B. Hatzopoulos, *Macedonian Institutions under the Kings* (“MEΛETHMATA” 22; Athens 1996) 210; M. B. Hatzopoulos - L. D. Loukopoulou, *Morrylos. Cité de la Crestonie* (“MEΛETHMATA” 7; Athens 1989) 92-96. Another place with that name is mentioned by an

to Strabo, the island of Samothrace is to be found opposite of Charakoma and the next settlement after Charakoma is Doriskos. P. Perdrizet drawing on the *Epitomator Vaticanus* for Strabo, correctly explained the word *charakoma* as the word for “fortress”: Τέμπυρα καὶ Σάλη χαράκωμα.....³⁰ Other sources about this area do not mention a settlement named Charakoma. For instance, the Roman *Itineraria* that mention Tempyra and Sale do not record a place called Charakoma.

If we place a fortress (*charakoma*) at Sale, the following problem arises: Strabo placed Sale (=Charakoma) east of Tempyra and Livy, west of it. The information provided by Livy is corroborated by the Roman *Itineraria*. By contrast, the information provided by Strabo about the area between Cape Serreion and Doriskos is rather vague.

The Hellenistic period

The combined literary, epigraphic and numismatic evidence gives the impression that Zone and Drys ceased to exist politically from the beginning of the first half of the third century BC and prior to the Ptolemaic occupation of Ainos and Maroneia. Drys, Zone and Sale are all absent from Polybios’ description (5.34.6-9) of the Ptolemaic possessions during the second half of the third century BC and are not mentioned in the two decrees of Samothrace for Ptolemaic officials dating to the period of the Ptolemaic occupation of Ainos and Maroneia.³¹ As P. Roussel observed, these texts show that during the period of Ptolemaic occupation there was no trace of civic life in the area of the Samothracian

inscription of Argos (*SEG* 36 [1986] 336 l. 29: 369/8 or 338 BC). Cf. also Paus. 3.21.2 on a Charakoma in Lakonia.

³⁰ Perdrizet 1909, 35.

³¹ These inscriptions are: (a) the honorary decree for Hippomedon: *IThrAeg* TE 63 (= *IG* XII 8, 156 [= *Syll.*³ 502]; cf. P. M. Fraser, *Samothrace* 2. 1. *The Inscriptions on Stone* (New York 1960) Appendix I; P. Roussel, “La Pérée Samothracienne au III^e siècle avant J.-C.”, *BCH* 63 (1939) 133-41, esp. 141. See also C. Fredrich in *IG* XII 8, p. 40. On Hippomedon, son of Agesilaos, see P. Paschidis, *Between City and King. Prosopographic Studies on Intermediaries between Cities of Mainland Greece and the Aegean and the Hellenistic Kingdoms* (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Athens 2003: forthcoming publication); (b) the honorary decree for Epinikos: *IThrAeg* TE 64 with the text given by Ph. Gauthier, “Εξαγωγῇ σίτου. Samothrace, Hippomédon et les Lagides”, *Historia* 28 (1979) 76-89 and 88-89.

Peraia.³² This conclusion is strengthened by the absence of Drys, Zone and Sale from the Delphic *theorodokoi* list of 220-210 BC.³³ As mentioned above, Livy (38.41.8) considered Sale a *vicus Maronitarum* at the end of the war against Antiochos III.³⁴ If the most probable location of Sale was in the vicinity of Makri, we can infer that Maroneia extended its borders and incorporated the territory of Drys, Zone and Sale either before the end of the war against Antiochos III or before Livy wrote his History.

The coastal cities situated east of Serreion and west of the river Hebros were most probably destroyed and ceased to exist politically at the beginning of the third century BC. That dramatic change took place before the honorary decree of Thasos for Polyaratos³⁵ and after the very early third century BC honorary decree from Samothrace for another citizen of Zone, Aristomachos.³⁶ That brings us to the early third century and the end of the reign of Lysimachos; the dramatic change took place either after the battle of Kouropedion and Lysimachos' death in 281 BC or during the last years of his reign.

If the small coastal cities of Drys, Zone and Sale were destroyed during the last years of Lysimachos' reign, the King had either no interest in interfering and in defending them or simply was unable to do so. Lysimachos' military presence in Aegean Thrace is attested by a number of his bronze coins found at Maroneia (thirty six specimens) and also by bronze currency from Maroneia that we have attributed to his son, Agathokles.³⁷ Agathokles' military intervention in the area had dramatic consequences, and Maroneia was renamed Agathokleia for a certain period.³⁸ Although Lysimachos was isolated at the very end of

³² Roussel 1939, 141.

³³ *IThrAeg* TE52 (Plassart 1921, 18-19 III 87-95; cf. Hatzopoulos, *Institutions* 196 n. 6). For the date see D. Knoepfler, "Le temple de Metroon de Sardes et des inscriptions", *MH* 50 (1993) 42-43 (*SEG* 43 [1993] 221). Cf. *BullEpigr* 1994, 432 (M. B. Hatzopoulos).

³⁴ Robert, *Hellenica* I (1940) 81-94, esp. 92-93; *IThrAeg* 324f., 501, 506; Funke, *Hellenistic Rhodes* 67; Zahrt, *supra*, n. 10.

³⁵ On these dates see *supra*, n. 3.

³⁶ See *supra*, n. 20.

³⁷ S. Psoma, "Agathokles and Maroneia Agathokleia", in Psoma-Karadima-Terzopoulou (forthcoming).

³⁸ See previous note.

his reign and less successful after Agathokles' execution,³⁹ he could have intervened on behalf of these cities and defended the interests of Samothrace as a good friend and an *euergetes* of the city and the sanctuary of the Great Gods. An honorary decree of the Samothracians voted for that same king refers to the *euergesiai* of an older decree (l. 3-4) and honours the King for having given back to the city the *hiera chora* of the Samothracian gods on the mainland that was *first* granted to them by the Philip III and Alexander IV.⁴⁰ For Lysimachos, restoring to the Samothracians the *sacred land* was another act of piety towards the most prominent sanctuary of Thrace that was greatly honoured by him.⁴¹ Additionally, Lysimachos' *arche* in Macedonia and Thrace was well established until the very end of his reign.⁴² Given Lysimachos' interest in the area, it is difficult to explain his failure to intervene on behalf of the cities in the Samothracian Peraia.

³⁹ H. Heinen, *Untersuchungen zur hellenistischen Geschichte des 3. Jhts v. Chr. Zur Geschichte der Zeit des Ptolemaios Keraunos und zum Chremonideischen Krieg* ("Historia Einzelschriften" 20; Wiesbaden 1972) 24ff.

⁴⁰ See J. R. MacCredie, "Samothrace: Preliminary Report on the Campaign of 1965-1967", *Hesperia* 38 (1968) 220 inv. no. 65 p. 220 (200-234, pl. 58-72); cf. *BullEpigr* 1969, 441; *SEG* 46 (1996) 1185. King Lysimachos was honoured by decree by the city of Samothrace twice. The first decree voted by the *boulē* refers to royal intervention that stopped a pirate attack on the sanctuary (IG XII 8, 150).

⁴¹ On Lysimachos and the *Hieron* of the Great Gods of Samothrace see S. G. Cole, *Theoi Megaloi: The Cult of the Great Gods at Samothrace* (Leiden 1984) 22, 38, 60, 81, 112 n. 175, 177 and 179, 113 n. 184. The honorary decree for Lysimachos that mentions the *temenos* of the Samothracian gods is shortly commented by S. Ager (*Interstate Arbitration in the Greek World, 337-90 BC* [Berkeley-Los Angeles-London 1996] 86-87, no. 24 [= *SEG* 46 (1996) 1185]) who argues that the restoration of the precinct came about as the result of a judicial decision of king Lysimachos. Ph. Gauthier (*Topoi* 8 [1998] 320, review of Ager) points out that there is no evidence for arbitration in this text (= *SEG* 46 [1996] 1185). The restoration of the word [τὰ ἐκφόρ]ια (cf. *Hibis* II 4 l. 30 of 68 A.D.: *περὶ ὧν ἐκφόρῃα κατεκρίθη*) at the beginning of l. 9 and what we can understand from the following lines (10-12) corroborates Ph. Gauthier' thesis.

⁴² See E. Lund, *Lysimachus: a Study in Early Hellenistic Kingship* (London-New York 1992) 19-50.

*The Historical Background of the destruction of the cities of the
Samothracian Peraia*

Maroneia?

It is possible that Maroneia may have been responsible for the destruction of the cities of Drys, Zone and Sale. The city had expansionist aims in the region; in the 370s, Maroneia invited the Triballians to join in an attack on the Greek city of Abdera.⁴³ Ten years later – again with the help of Thracians – Maroneia attacked Thasian interests at Stryme.⁴⁴ Neither of these attacks however was successful. Maroneia could have taken advantage of the chaotic situation before or after the battle of Kouropedion. In fact, information from Livy indicates that Sale had become a *vicus Maronitarum* by the early second century BC.⁴⁵ However, the information from Livy is only valid for a much later period, either the years of the war against Antiochos III or the time of Livy. On the other hand, the honorary decree of Samothrace for Epinikos, the Ptolemaic governor of Maroneia, which is dated to the 220s BC, indicates that this area was under the control of Samothrace during the second half of the third century BC.⁴⁶

The neighbouring Thracians?

The end of civic life in these cities might be explained by attacks of neighbouring Thracians. Literary evidence of the fourth century reveals that the coastal cities of Abdera and Stryme suffered from such incursions.⁴⁷ Philip II had to negotiate with the successors of Cotys I in order to use the road leading to the east.⁴⁸ During the war against Antiochos III at the beginning of the second century BC, it was only with

⁴³ Schol. *ad* Ael. Arist. *Panathen.* 172.7; 173.17. See also *IThrAeg* 162, 322.

⁴⁴ Dem. 50.20-23. Cf. also Dem. *Epist. Phil.* (12) 17 and *IThrAeg* 162.

⁴⁵ On Philip V in Thrace see *IThrAeg* 325-26 with all literary evidence and previous bibliography.

⁴⁶ See *supra*, n. 31 (b).

⁴⁷ On the attacks of the Triballians on Abdera see Schol. *ad* Ael. Arist. *Panathen.* 172.7; 173.17 and *IThrAeg* 162, 321-22. On the collaboration of Maroneia with Thracians against Thasian interests and Stryme see Dem. 50.20-23. Cf. also Dem. *Epist. Phil.* (12) 17 and *IThrAeg* 162.

⁴⁸ Diod. Sic. 16.34.1 and E. Badian, "Philip II and Thrace", *Pulpudeva* 4 (1980) 51-71. See also *IThrAeg* 323 n. 2.

the help of Philip V that the Roman army could reach the Hellespont.⁴⁹ The Roman legions of Manlius that had defeated the Gauls were humiliated on their way back by the Thracian tribes in the Zonaia Mountains.⁵⁰ The Thracians that lived on the Zonaia and neighbouring mountains are mentioned by Herodotos and Livy.⁵¹ Their attacks are also mentioned by the two honorary decrees for Ptolemaic officials from Samothrace.⁵² In that case, it was the intervention of the Ptolemaic governor of Maroneia with the help of the Tralleis, mercenaries of Thracian origin, and the support of the Ptolemaic general of Thrace that saved the *chorion*.

The information about Thracian attacks suggests that they were of short duration and made only against isolated fortifications, not the entire region.

The Gallic invasions

The most likely cause of the destruction of these cities is the invasion of the Gauls. Between summer 280 and 278/7 "the Greek world was clearly facing a whole nation on the move".⁵³ Before the invasion of Macedonia and Greece, a number of Gauls were detached from Brennos (Just. *Epit.* 32.3.6). They were almost 20 000 Tectosages, Trocmi and Tolistoages under the command of Leonnorus and Lutarius (Livy 38.16;

⁴⁹ L. Loukopoulou, "Ο Φίλιππος Ε' και η έκτροπή της βασιλικής δια της Θράκης οδού", *Αφιέρωμα στον Ν. Γ. Λ. Hammond* ("Παράρτημα Μακεδονικών" 7; Θεσσαλονίκη 1997) 295-303.

⁵⁰ Livy 38.41.1-12.

⁵¹ Hdt. 7.108; Livy 38.41.1-12. Zone is mentioned as a *polis Kikonon* by Hekataios (FGrHist 1 F161 *apud* Steph. Byz. s.v.)

⁵² See *supra*, n. 31 (a) and (b).

⁵³ St. Mitchell, *Anatolia. Land, Men and Gods in Asia Minor*. Vol. I. *The Celts and the Impact of Roman Rule* (Oxford 1993) 15. After the death of Lysimachos, the old King of Thrace, the defence of the coastal cities against ambitious neighbours, neighbouring Thracian tribes or ambitious invaders was difficult and it was at that moment that the most dangerous enemy for the Greek world of that period appeared: the Gauls. During Keraunos' short reign, a garrison was established at Maroneia while the king's interests were concentrated on Macedonia. On Ptolemaios Keraunos see Heinen 1972, 3-93. On the garrison of Keraunos at Maroneia see S. Psoma, "Money for the Garrisons of Ptolemy Ceraunus. The So Called Paroreia Coinage Reconsidered", in Psoma-Karadima-Terzopoulou (forthcoming).

Str. 12.5). Justin (32.3.6) notes that they invaded Thrace and spent sometime there, before reaching the Hellespont and offered their services to Nikomedes of Bithynia (Memnon, *FrGrHist* 434 F1). When Nikomedes no longer required their services, they began plundering the entire area between Kyzikos and Didyma. It was only some years later that Antiochos I defeated them in the "battle of the elephants" and gave them land on the banks of the river Halys in Phrygia.⁵⁴

The second group, 15 000 hoplites and 3 000 horsemen, stayed as a rearguard of Brennos under Bolgios (Just. *Epit.* 25.1-2). One cannot exclude the possibility that during winter 279/8 what remained from Brennos' army after the disaster at Delphi (Paus. 10.23.8; Just. *Epit.* 25.1-2; Diod. Sic. 22.9) joined this rearguard and after having plundered the land of Getai and the Triballians, invaded Thrace in the late summer-early autumn of 279 BC.⁵⁵ Some time later they suffered defeat at the hands of Antigonos Gonatas at Lysimacheia in the Thracian Chersonese.⁵⁶ As a result, they retired under Komontorios close to mount Haimos and founded the Gallic Kingdom of Tylis that survived until 212 BC.⁵⁷

Thrace was thus invaded and plundered twice by two groups of Gauls. We have no other information about these invasions. Their chronology strongly suggests that they were responsible for the destruction of the cities of the so-called Samothracian Peraia. Unlike early Hellenistic Maroneia or the Thracian tribes of the area, the Gauls were invaders from the North that burnt to ashes cities all over the Northern coast of the Aegean and were finally defeated at Delphi and Lysimacheia by Apollo and Antigonos Gonatas respectively. A decree of the city of Abdera found at Delphi lends support to this proposal. With that decree Abdera participated at the *Soteria* reorganized by the city of Delphi and the Aitolian League after 246/5 BC (*IThrAeg* E4). Since the *Soteria* was created to celebrate the defeat of the Gauls, this indicates that Abdera, the western neighbour of the cities of the Samothracian Peraia,

⁵⁴ G. Nachtergaele, *Les Galates en Grèce et les Sotéria de Delphes* (Bruxelles 1975) 53-55, 166 n. 188.

⁵⁵ See previous note and H. Volkman, *Der kleine Pauly* II 1967, col. 670, s.v. *Galatia*.

⁵⁶ Nachtergaele 1975, 163-75. See also Mitchell 1993, 13-15.

⁵⁷ Polyb. 4.45-6. See also G. Mihailov, "La Thrace aux IV^e et III^e siècles av. notre ère", *Athenaeum* 39 (1961) 33-44; Nachtergaele 1975, 169 n. 194.

was also threatened by their attacks. Perhaps one should not press this evidence too far because other cities that did not suffer from the Gauls also participated at the Delphian *Soteria*.⁵⁸

The Samothracian Peraia after the invasions of the Gauls

After the invasions of the Gauls, information on that area can be deduced from two inscriptions from Samothrace that date to 228-225 BC.⁵⁹ These are the two honorary decrees for two Ptolemaic officials: the highest Ptolemaic official in Thrace, the general Hippomedon, son of Agesilaos,⁶⁰ who was of old royal Lacedaemonian blood and Epinikos, the Ptolemaic governor of Maroneia.⁶¹ The Eurypontid was honoured because he saved an *ochyrōma*, alternatively mentioned as *chōrion* of the Samothracians, while Epinikos was honoured because he also intervened and saved a *chōrion* of the Samothracians.

Samothracian presence on the mainland during that period is further reported by the early third century honorary decree from Samothrace for King Lysimachos which mentions the *hiera chōra* (l. 5-6) of the Gods of Samothrace, that Philip III and Alexander IV (l. 6-7) had given to the Samothracians and was returned to them by Lysimachos (l. 5).⁶² The *temenos* that had to be protected as sacred land was located on the coast east of Cape Serreion and west of the river Hebros, in the plain opposite the island of Samothrace.⁶³ Epigraphic evidence of imperial date from Aegean Thrace, provided by the boundary stone from the *chōra* of Traianopolis (Alexandroupolis: *IThrAeg* E448) that dates from the late first- early second century AD⁶⁴, and an inscription of 202 AD related to the maintenance of the road from Traianopolis (*IThrAeg* 433), corroborates the information of the early third century honorary decree for King Lysimachos: the *temenos* survived until the imperial period.

⁵⁸ Nachtergaele 1975, 329-35.

⁵⁹ P. Roussel (1939, 140) proposed 240-221/0 BC.

⁶⁰ See *supra*, n. 31 (a).

⁶¹ See *supra*, n. 31 (b).

⁶² See *supra*, n. 40 and 41.

⁶³ See previous note.

⁶⁴ See also another *horos* on a rock from Traianopolis of imperial date (*IThrAeg* E434).

From the evidence noted above we can deduce that the possessions of Samothrace on the mainland are not cities any more. They are mentioned either as *chōrion* and *ochyrōma* by the honorary decrees for the Ptolemaic officials or as *hiera chōra* by the decree in honour of King Lysimachos and epigraphic evidence of imperial date from modern Alexandroupolis.

The "Walled Settlement" at Zone

The archaeological evidence from Zone corroborates the view that Zone ceased to exist as a city around 280 BC and was reduced to a smaller fortified settlement which could be *ochyroma* or *chorion*. From the end of the 1960s a "walled settlement" has been excavated in the SW corner of the fortified city of Zone, "touching the west wall".⁶⁵ The date proposed for this "walled settlement" is after the middle of the fourth century BC.⁶⁶ Archaeological evidence shows that it survived until the Roman period. The upper date could relate the construction to the Macedonian presence in the area.⁶⁷ However, the important number of fourth century BC funerary *stelai* that were found in second use in the walled settlement, shows that the settlement is clearly of later date (*IThrAeg* E409-410, 414, 418, 419, 423-425). More than that, the bronze coins of Maroneia that were found in that "walled settlement" date from the Hellenistic period.⁶⁸

The "walled settlement" of Hellenistic date at Zone gains particular interest if seen in the historical background of the Hellenistic period and related to the relevant epigraphic evidence from the area of the so-called Samothracian Peraia. The *lenos* with its rooms of storage excavated in

⁶⁵ Tz. Tsatsopoulou-Kaloudi, *Μεσημβρία-Ζώνη* (Athens 2001) 21-24. As the excavator of the site noted, the archaeological research in the "walled settlement" revealed streets, shops, houses and workshops as well as a multitude of finds.

⁶⁶ *IThrAeg* 509-510 based on Tsatsopoulou (previous note).

⁶⁷ See previous note.

⁶⁸ See A. K. Vavritsas, *Prakt* 1971 (1973) 119, pl. 148a; 1973 (1975) 74, 76, 80; 1976 (1978) 143: Maroneia VII/VIII, cf. Schönert-Geiss 91-92. For dates in the Hellenistic period of bronzes of period VII/VIII of Maroneia, see S. Psoma, "The Bronze Coinage of Maroneia Reconsidered", in Psoma-Karadima-Terzopoulou (forthcoming).

that “walled settlement”⁶⁹ can be connected with the *prosodos* deriving from agriculture and providing the *aparchai* intended for sacrifices to the gods that the city of Samothrace required from the *klerouchesantas* and *georgesantas ten choran* (IThrAeg E63 B 20-22) of the *ochyroma*.⁷⁰

On the basis of this evidence we can identify the “walled settlement” at Zone with one of the fortresses that Samothrace established on the mainland during the Hellenistic period.⁷¹ These are mentioned with the terms *ochyroma* in the Samothracian decree for Hippomedon and *chorion* in this same decree and the decree for Epinikos.⁷² Archaeological evidence points to a first *ochyroma* at Zone (the “walled settlement”) while literary evidence (Strabo) and combined information from the Roman *Itineraria* point to a second one at Sale and a third one at Tempyra.⁷³ These places were external possessions of the Samothracians, *chōrion* being the relevant word for identifying them.⁷⁴ It is worth mentioning that epigraphic evidence on the sacred land that Samothrace possessed on the mainland comes from Alexandroupolis, where the Samothracian *polichnion* Tempyra was located. Sale, another

⁶⁹ On the *lenos* see A. K. Vavritsas, *Prakt* 1973 (1975) 70-72 (70-82).

⁷⁰ This fortress mentioned by both inscriptions reminded also P. Roussel of the name Charakoma and from that point of view he proposed to identify it with the *ochyrōma* or *chōrion* of the Samothracian decrees. The identification of Charakoma with the “walled settlement” at Zone seems difficult, because the scarce literary evidence we dispose on that *polichnion* points to the location of Charakoma east of Tempyra, on the basis of information provided by the Roman *Itineraria* (IThrAeg 140), at Makri, east of Zone. More than that, on the basis of the *Epitomator Vaticanus*, we adopt the hypothesis of P. Perdrizet: Sale = *charakōma* (fortress).

⁷¹ For fortresses excavated in the area and in the Zonea see P. Tsatsopoulou, “The Colonies of Samothrace: Topography and Archaeological Research”, *Thrace in the Graeco-Roman World. Proceedings of the 10th International Congress of Thracology, Komotini-Alexandroupolis, 18-23 October 2005* (Athens 2007) 651-52 (648-56).

⁷² The use of the three distinct terms, *ochyrōma*, *chōrion* and Charakoma for the heavy fortified place reveals a problem of terminology.

⁷³ See *supra*, n. 27 and 28.

⁷⁴ I. Malkin, s.v. *Temenos*, *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, eds S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth (Oxford-New York 1996) 1481: public lands- *choria* in Solon, frg. 4.12 (West).

Samothracian *charakoma* was located at Makri. As the intervention of the governor of Maroneia, Epinikos, was needed for the defence of the *ochyrōma* mentioned by the Samothracian decrees and Maroneia was an immediate west neighbour of Zone, we propose to identify the “walled settlement” at Zone with the fortress mentioned in the decrees of Samothrace for the Ptolemaic officials.

Thus, civic life in the cities of the Samothracian Peraia came to an end as a result of the Gallic invasions and the destruction of urban centres. The situation in Aegean Thrace continued to be difficult and the whole area remained a sort of no man’s land where the Seleucids, followed by the Ptolemies, Philip V and the Attalids tried to establish their power.⁷⁵ If this is the historical background for the honorary decree of the city of Thasos for Polyaratos, son of Histiaios, and his family, Thasian citizenship gave him the possibility “... de retrouver ... une nouvelle patrie, où il sera traité, une fois les formalités accomplies et sous certaines réserves, à l’égal des citoyens de naissance”.⁷⁶ One could also explain three other decrees of Thasos in the same way. *IG* XII 8, 268 and *IG* XII Suppl. 355 date from the early third century BC.⁷⁷ Thasian citizenship was either awarded or sold by the first decree while sold by the second at the price of hundred (100) staters. That same price was noted by *IG* XII Suppl. 362, also dated to the early third century BC by

⁷⁵ On the Seleucids see A. Avram, “Antiochos II Théos, Ptolémée II Philadelphie et la Mer Noire”, *CRAI* 2003, 1181-1213; S. Psoma, “Antiochos II in Thrace and the Second Syrian War”, in Psoma-Karadima-Terzopoulou (forthcoming). On the Ptolemies in Thrace see R. S. Bagnall, *The Administration of the Ptolemaic Possessions outside Egypt* (“Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition” IV; Leyden 1976) 166-68 and 224-28. Avram 2003, 1181-1213; S. Psoma, “Numismatic Evidence on the Ptolemaic Involvement in Thrace during the Second Syrian War” (forthcoming publication). On the Ptolemies in Maroneia see *IThrAeg* 324 n. 5 with bibliography. On Philip V and the Attalids see the literary sources and a short discussion in *IThrAeg* 325-26.

⁷⁶ On citizenship awarded to *proxenoi* and *euergetai* see Ph. Gauthier, *Les cités grecques et leurs bienfaiteurs (IVe-ler siècle av. J.-C). Contribution à l’histoire des institutions* (*BCH* Suppl. XII ; Athens 1985) 150, 197ff.

⁷⁷ For *IG* XII Suppl. 355 see also Ch. Picard, “Fouilles de Thasos (1914 et 1920)”, *BCH* 45 (1921) 153 no. 6 (86-173) and *ibid.* P. Roussel, “Chronique des fouilles”, 570 (487-570); L. Robert, “Études d’épigraphie grecque”, *RPhil* 1936, 131, 3 (113-170).

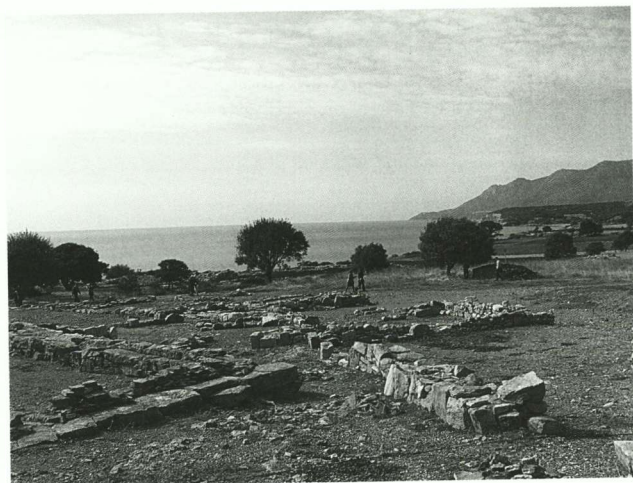
M. Launey on paleographic grounds.⁷⁸ IG XII 8, 267, 268 and Suppl. 355 contained differences in procedure from IG Suppl. 362.⁷⁹ The personal names of IG XII Suppl. 355 and 362 are also to be found in the *Onomastikon* of Aegean Thrace.⁸⁰ We can thus connect these Thasian decrees awarding citizenship with the aftermath of the Gallic invasions and the destruction of the urban centers opposite Samothrace. The *politeia* was awarded to the prominent citizen of Zone and was sold at a low price to others from that same area.

We can thus conclude: the cities of the Samothracian Peraia were destroyed by the Gauls and prominent citizens of these cities were awarded Thasian citizenship and settled at Thasos, while others bought it. There is no trace of civic life in that area after 280/79 BC. Samothrace held external possessions, such as the settlements at Zone and Sale, and remained also in charge of the *hiera chora*. A boundary stone of imperial date from Tempyra/Alexandroupolis and the inscription from Traianopolis, also of imperial date, reveal that the *temenos* of the Samothracian gods continued to exist in the area.

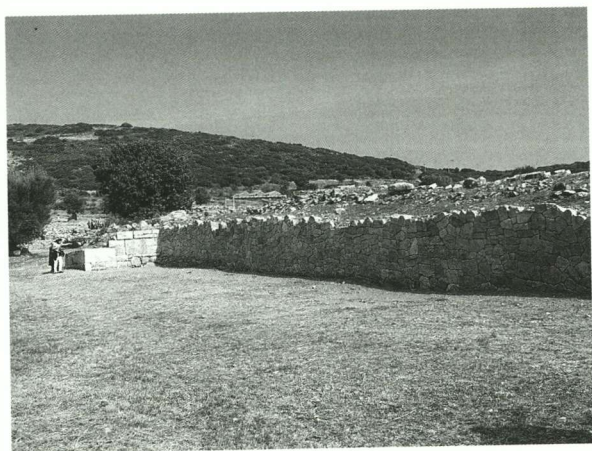
⁷⁸ See M. Launey, "Inscriptions de Thasos", *BCH* 57 (1933) 408 (394-415).

⁷⁹ G. Daux, "Inscriptions de Thasos", *BCH* 52 (1928) 51, no. 2 (45-62).

⁸⁰ Parissaki 2007, 249 (Symmachos), 242 (Satyros), 213 (Metron), 180 for names beginning with the stem Ζω-, 179 (Zenon) and 224 (names deriving from the adjective ξένος).



Serreion from Zone



The walled settlement