

A Discourse Analysis on the Abdera Decree

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Abstract: The Abdera Inscription, which is the subject of this research, was discovered during archaeological excavations at the ancient city of Teos. Researchers deciphered the inscription, completed the missing parts, and read it from an epigraphic perspective; additionally, the inscription's aspects that shed light on ancient history are explained. The main aim of our study is to perform a discourse analysis of this inscription, which is the subject of a comprehensive and valuable book. The Abdera Inscription is not an ordinary honorary decree; it significantly differs from other similar honorary decrees found throughout Anatolia. Most importantly, the inscription honors a city-state, not an individual. While the inscription's formal structure resembles typical honorary decrees, its discourse adopts a different attitude. This text is written from the perspective of the Abderites and reflects their collective consciousness. It is this distinctive discourse that prompted us to analyze the inscription's content. The core focus of this study is on the words and expressions used by a society facing hardships in ancient times. The inscription narrates the community's struggle against significant problems, expressing various emotional reactions such as disappointment, helplessness, and gratitude. The Abderites not only honor the Teians who helped them during critical moments but also impart historical and cultural knowledge to future generations through this inscription. The city reflected its emotional world through the way the inscription was organized, along with its narration style and tone. In this study, the inscription is analyzed as a formation of social memory, an expression of emotions and an object of communication. This study employs document analysis, a qualitative research method, and it focuses on the original Ancient Greek form of the inscription. The conceptual framework of the research is built upon data from the fields of communication, and collective consciousness.

Keywords: Abdera, discourse, literature, rhetoric, Teos

INTRODUCTION

The Abdera Inscription honors the city-state of Teos and its people. The inscription was found during the excavations of Teos in 2017. Although the find site is Teos, we preferred the name “Abdera decree” as a reference to its authors. The Abderites sent it to Teos. A comprehensive study was carried out on this inscription by Mustafa Adak and Peter Thonemann (Adak & Thonemann 2022). They indicated that this newly found inscription is worth examining because it reflects the uniquely close relationship between Teos (for today’s settlement information of the ancient city of Teos, see Frederiksen 2011: 193–194) and Abdera (for today’s settlement information of the ancient city of Abdera, see Frederiksen 2011: 122–124). The relationship went on for over four hundred years, from the original settlement of Abdera in ca. 540 BC to the aftermath of the Roman sack of it in 170 BC (Adak & Thonemann 2022:5). Researchers traced the long common history of Teos and Abdera (Ibid.).

Teos is located in modern İzmir Sığacık. It was a port city of Ionia in Antiquity, on the Anatolian coast of the Aegean Sea (Adak & Thonemann 2022: 76). Archeological excavations have been continuing since 2010 (for information see Kadioğlu 2021). The excavation team unearthed a sharpened white marble stele in the temenos of the Dionysus temple. The stone is broken from above and below but almost intact on the right and left. The written text is also largely in good condition. The editors estimate that the entire original text was approximately 135 lines long. They also state that the original height of the stele cannot be determined precisely because the length of lost uninscribed space at the base of the shaft is unknown. The best estimate is that the stele should have initially been approximately 2.5m–2.75m high (Adak & Thonemann 2022: 4). The ancient city of Abdera is on the Thracian coast of the Aegean Sea (Ibid.: 1). It was first excavated in 1950 by D. Lazarides (Graham 1972: 295–301).

The Abderites honor Teos for a number of reasons. The decree begins with a sentence emphasizing the special bond between Abdera and Teos beyond the metropolis-colony relationship. The Ancient Greek sentence is as follows:

*ἐπειδὴ Τήϊοι, πατέρες ὄντες τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν, τὴν προγονικὴν εὖνοιαν
οὐ λόγοις, ἔρ[γοις] δὲ τηρεῖν προαιρούμενοι, ...* (Adak & Thonemann
2022: 22)

This text is translated as “Abdera Demos¹, honors (Teos) Demos, because the people of Teos, the fathers of our city, decided to continue the goodwill of their ancestors not in words but in action”. “Πατέρες ὄντες τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν” means “the father of our city”. This expression that the Abderites prefer to use does not show much parallelism with other inscriptions (Ibid.). Using “father” to describe the relationship between the colony and the metropolis is striking and unusual. The expected word would be οἰκισταί or κτίσται. Abdera’s

relationship to the metropolis, its subordinate position (in the context of aid provided by the Teians) and its determination to preserve an ancestral relationship of mutual goodwill (προγονική εὔνοια) is a standard metaphor for Hellenistic interstate diplomacy (Ibid.: 23).

The Greeks called these colonies “apoikia”. Apoika meant “away from home”. The colonies were independent of the metropolis and had their own form of government. On the other hand, the colonies and the metropolises were connected to each other in terms of the gods they worshipped, the calendars they used, and so on. The colonies were unique markets and reliable supporters of the metropolises (Diakov & Kovalev 2008: 304–305). According to Dionysios of Halicarnassus, apoikas respected metropolises just as children respected their fathers (Ibid.: 305). When the traces of diplomatic and cultural relations between Abdera and Teos are followed, different determinations are encountered in ancient and modern sources. Hicks and Hill point out that the majority of Teos’s population sought a new home in Abdera rather than submit to the Persians (Hicks & Hill 1901: 27). Strabo also says that the Teians, fed up with the Persian attacks, left their cities and migrated to Abdera, a Thracian colony. After this migration, the line “Abdera, the beautiful colony of the Teians” has been sung. Strabo also writes that some of the Teians who migrated to Abdera returned to Teos. (Strabon 2005: 205; Strab.14.1.30). The fact that thousands of Ionians migrated to the West in the second half of the 6th century due to the Persian conquests is an important development in terms of archaic history (Vlassopoulos 2007: 175). Indeed, as Gray points out, later Classical and Hellenistic rhetoric, actions and institutions associated with the concept of exile provide important insights into the political cultures of the Greek civil world as a whole and specifically the cities (Gray 2015: 19–20). According to Tiverios, one of the main points of interest between Teos and Abdera is the struggle for survival. As a matter of fact, at the end of the Persian attacks, in 545 BC, the Teians entered into a fierce war with the Thracians to leave their city and settle in Abdera (Tiverios 2008: 91). Abdera had very close relations with Teos at the political, religious and legal levels (Ibid.: 97). Diakov and Kovalev, on the other hand, are content to say that Abdera and Maroneia were established at the starting point of the trade routes leading to the Balkans and the Danube, while talking about the establishment of the Thracian colonies (Diakov & Kovalev 2008: 307). They say that these two cities are from the Greek colonies, but they do not give information about the role of Teos. Rhodes, in the chapter of his book devoted to Teos’s decrees, firstly states that there are few decrees in Teos, but these have interesting content (Rhodes & Lewis 1997: 393). Then, starting from a decree dated 2nd qr C5 registered in SEG xxxi 985, he states:

It includes an oath not to revolt, not to punish anybody without a vote of 200 or more in Teos and a conviction, or 500 or more in (Teos’ colony) Abdera, and again not to set up an aisymnetes;² a curse is

to be read out at the three festivals in Teos and also in Abdera, with penalties for failure to read it out. (Rhodes 1997: 393–394).

These words of Rhodes are an interesting record showing the colony-metropolitan relationship between the two cities. According to Scott, with the scientific characterization of the relationship between the metropolis and the colony, the view that there is a one-way relationship that sees the colony as a mirror image of the metropolis is left aside. It has evolved towards the recognition that there are different kinds of relationships between different metropolitan/colonial pairs (Scott 2013: 110–111).

It is understood from the Abdera decree that there was an unusual relationship between Abdera and Teos. The relationship between a city and its colony is described with the mother-daughter metaphor in ancient times. “The father of our city”, has changed the mother-daughter metaphor to the father-son metaphor. This puts the inscription in a different place from its counterparts.

This change constitutes the main starting point of our study. We subjected the text to discourse analysis, especially the expression “father of our city”. Through this inscription, the Abderites’ way of perceiving life, their fears, wishes, their ways of expressing gratitude, etc. are to be illuminated, albeit partially; an attempt has been made to understand the world of a society that lived thousands of years ago. For this purpose, the study was planned and conducted as a piece of basic research. According to Neuman, basic research focuses on rejecting or supporting theories that explain how the social world works, what causes events to happen, why social relations happen in a certain way and why society changes. It is the source of most new scientific knowledge and ways of thinking about the world, and its primary audience is the scientific community (Neuman 2009: 37). Since the study is a discourse analysis, its aim is to contribute to research in literature. Historical texts can be examined like literary texts. According to some researchers, the New Historicism movement considers history a narrative and focuses on the textuality of history. The historical context is established, written and examined through texts as a concept open to interpretation (Oppermann 2006:1). It has been brought to the attention of researchers working in other fields of social sciences as well as literary science.

The study was carried out on a single inscription, and the text of the inscription was subjected to discourse analysis. The analysis was based on the Ancient Greek original of the text.

The main subject is what is said in the decree, which is a tool of communication, and which words and expressions are chosen in expressing feelings and thoughts. The conceptual framework of the research was formed by the data of the fields of communication, and collective consciousness, since the inscription has a message that the cities of Abdera and Teos conveyed to both the people of that day and future generations.

DISCURSIVE ANALYSIS OF THE ABDERA DECREE

This inscription has been examined in two aspects: a means of communication and a narrative text. While Chapter 1 consists of a single title, Chapter 2 is divided into 6 sub-titles.

1. The Abdera Decree as a Communication Tool

Persians started to attack Teos in 545 BC and many Teians left the city in 543 BC, migrated to Thrace and established Abdera as colony in the Nestos delta. Abdera quickly became rich thanks to its silver mines. They were attacked by the Romans in 170 BC. This attack reduced Abdera to ruins. Some of its citizens died and many others were sold into slavery. The city suffered great destruction. The Abderites argued that what was done to them was unfair, that they were victimized, and they asked permission from Rome to rebuild the city. Rome noticed this injustice and allowed the city to be repaired and rebuilt (for detailed information, see Adak & Thonemann 2022). However, rebuilding a city requires substantial material and motivation and it is only possible with great support. Help came from Teos. Erecting an inscription of honor is an expression of gratitude. Abdera prepared two identical inscriptions. One of them remained in Abdera; the other was sent to Teos. The inscription erected in Abdera is lost (Ibid.: 202).

First of all, we find it useful to clarify what the inscription says and what it means. In reality, a text is never just a text. It has a message. According to Fiske, “The message is not something sent from A to B, but an element in a structured relationship whose other elements include external reality and the producer/reader” (Fiske 1996: 19). Communication, on the other hand, is the transmission of information, ideas, attitudes or feelings from one person or group to another, mainly through symbols. According to scientific research on communication, language and how it is used are important, and there is a close link between society and communication (Türkoğlu 2004: 21). Communication is a reflection of humans’ socialization. It is a result of their need to adapt to society and the environment (Oskay 2001: 1). Communication is more than just transmitting news from the source to the receiver. It also reproduces the event using key symbols, slogans, or themes that give meaning to the event. It aims to direct, persuade, appeal to emotions and encourage certain behaviors (Ibid.: 3–8). According to some researchers, communication is a necessary condition for a person’s physical, psychological and social existence (Erdoğan 2007: 12). When people communicate, they inevitably create and change the culture in which they live (Dicleli 2000: 23). The main purpose of communication is to influence others and at the same time to be influenced by them (Gökçe 2006: 16). It is worth mentioning that the researcher İncilay Cangöz has pointed out that, as social beings humans have a desire to know and change the world, and their interest in news and information increases when human-induced

violence such as war, conflict and crisis increases (Cangöz 2008: 149). The harsh conditions the Abderites endured seem to have forced them to erect an honorific inscription for the Teians. According to the sources of communication science, in fact, written communication is a little more delayed than verbal communication, because receiving and perceiving the message, interpreting it and reacting to it takes more time (Gökçe 2006: 51). Walter Benjamin states that to grasp the past historically is not to recount events as they happened, but to seize the sparks of hope within the past during moments of danger and carry them into today's struggle (Benjamin 1969: 255). He says that a chronicler who tells both big and small events behaved in line with the fact that nothing that happened once can be erased from history (Ibid.: 254). Eduardo Cadava attributes the possibility of historical survival to the survival of traces of the past and the ability of people to read them. He says that the fact that these traces are historically stigmatized does not mean that they belong to a specific time and he emphasizes the continuity of the historical text as a means of communication (Cadava 2008: 101).

The text establishes a one-way communication with us. The people of Abdera not only wrote down their situation but also created a memory for future generations. The Abdera Inscription is actually a kind of mass media. According to researchers, communication is a process by which people collectively create and organize social reality (Türkoğlu 2004: 21). The Abderites prepared two identical inscriptions and planted one in their own city and the other in Teos. In this case, their message reached both cities. In addition, the text may have reached their future generations. Abdera's demos makes a note to the history and tells about the injustice they suffered. As Buck-Morss underlines in her work, the need for narrative arises from the social change of "time", the uniqueness and irreversibility of human events within the concept of history (Buck-Morss 2010: 76). The concept of history implies that human beings can influence events, and they also have moral and political responsibility as conscious subjects who can shape their own destinies (Ibid.: 97). In a sense, the inscription is a product of the purpose of the Abderites to fulfill their responsibilities. They aim to pass on to the next generations the important events that took place in the nearly 400-year long history of their city and the good deeds done by the people of Teos during these events. Then, the communication subject of the inscription is Abdera's struggle for survival and for honor. In the text the communication aspect is positive; benevolence, loyalty, respect, appreciating the good done and the need to not leave it unrequited are the values. The Abderites tried to communicate and explain themselves. Teos seems to be in a passive position according to our current knowledge and Abdera seems to have established a one-way communication. Abdera describes itself as "us", and the recipient city as a single person. There is only one party speaking: Abdera. Abdera glorified Teos for its help. The text was engraved on stones and the stones were planted in public places; therefore the intended communication has taken place.

2. The Abdera Decree as a Narrative Text

The inscription is a decree taken by a city-state, an official document. This is exactly why it is important and worth considering. As an official document, we expect a formal text that is devoid of emotion. Official documents must adhere to specific rules based on their characteristics, subject matter and intended purpose. These rules also impose some limitations on language. The Abdera decree conforms to the general characteristics of honorary inscriptions in terms of form. However, in terms of discourse, there is an emotionally charged narrative and the actors of the narrative (Abdera and Teos) that appear in the text from time to time are not real but legal persons. What the text wants to tell us is explained below in sub-headings.

a. Honoring

Honoring refers to an action, the arrangement of the text in connection with this action and the value given to the person honored. The formal, external aspect of the action is that the Abderites decide to honor the Teians and announce it with a text. The reasons for honoring are the internal, intellectual part. In this context, the inscription erected by the Abdera to honor the Teians can be seen as the transmission of knowledge, thoughts, attitudes and feelings of the citizens of one city-state to the citizens of another city-state. Abdera and Teos are not just any two city-states. There is a main city-colonial city link between them. According to the sources, the acquisition of suitable lands by the people of a tribe or a city outside their own borders in order to engage in agricultural or commercial activities is called 'colonization' (Tekin 2010: 70). It is natural that there are some relations, especially trade, between the colony and the main city. Honorary inscriptions were normally written for individuals. What is unnatural is that a city honoured another city. While explaining the concept of "writing", Fernand Braudel stated, "Writing is primarily a technique of commanding at a distance, of recording, transmitting, ordering. Societies with wide spheres of influence and empires are the sons of writing. Writing occurs everywhere with them and in similar processes" (Braudel 2007: 90). Thus, it means that Abdera has something to say to Teos, a message to give.

When we look at the first line of the inscription, we see that first of all, the Abderites wanted to "honor" the Teians. Although the first sentence of the inscription does not contain the word "honor", the word "honours/honoured" are supposed in the sentence pattern since they are a characteristic feature of these kind of inscriptions. The meaning of the word "honor" here is worth considering on its own. It is clear that the ancient people did not honor everyone, and that in order for a person to deserve to be honored, they must render important services to the society they live in (Cook 1998: 29–32; Şahin 2016: 100–103). These services vary according to the needs of the city and the characteristics of the period (being at war, being in a famine, experiencing a great natural disaster, etc.). The fact that the Abderites honor the Teians with an

inscription indicates an important and strong connection between them. In the following lines of the decree, the reasons why the honoring inscription was written are stated. What draws attention here is that a city is honored, not a real person. No human name is mentioned in the text. This is extremely important. This makes the inscription extraordinary. Of course, Teos has an institutional structure that takes the administrative decisions about the city and there are people who are at the head of this structure. The decision to help Abdera was undoubtedly taken by the people in the administrative offices, as required by the functioning of the city-state. However, the Abderites preferred to honor the whole city rather than the people who are the actors of this decision mechanism, and they almost personified Teos. Teos is depicted as a person who helped Abdera and therefore deserves to be honored. The main motivation of this unusual behavior in the context of the honorific inscriptions must be that the aid given to Abdera was paid with the income of the people of Teos.

While Teos is shown as a whole and a single person in the narrative text, Abdera refers to itself as a community by using the 1st person plural pronouns “us, our, we”. Researcher Abel Miroglio (1973: 12) argues that the psychology of societies encompasses distinct static and dynamic elements, along with a specific and tangible psychological structure that is fundamentally sociological in nature. He further argues that when individuals are considered either in isolation or as representatives of a broader collective, their personal identities tend to dissolve within the contexts of the group (Miroglio 1973: 12).

Circumstances form the collective consciousness. According to P. K. Bock, human behavior is embedded both in individual self-awareness and the network of social meanings. Within the tension between societal norms and personal actions, each influences and transforms the other. In this dynamic, language plays a central role in articulating life and conveying structured meanings (Bock 2001: 304). The people of Abdera, who wrote the inscription, probably aim to appear stronger under the difficult conditions they are in, by including Teos in the community they define as “us”.

b. Father of Our City

In the decree, the phrase “πατέρες ὄντες τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν” (father of our city) is followed by the phrase “πατέρες ὄντες”. This phrase shows that the people of Abdera describe the Teians as “father” and Teos as “father’s hearth/house”. According to Adak and Thonemann, the word “father” is a usage that has not been seen before in the inscriptions, apart from the mother-daughter depiction between two city-states, one of which was formed by the colonization of the other. This expression reveals how helpless Abdera feels. An objection may arise at this point. Why is using the concepts of father/son and father’s hearth to define the main city-colony city relationship seen as a difference when the mother-daughter metaphor is not a problem? The mother-daughter metaphor

may not be properly evaluated by those who do not know under which conditions and how the city-states formed colonies in ancient times.

Between 750 and 550 BC, Greek colony settlements began to be established by those fleeing the Doric invasion and those leaving their cities for other reasons. In time, economic reasons such as finding raw materials and trading were added. People from various settlements established many colony cities on the Mediterranean and Black Sea coasts (Mansel 1999: 155–158). The colonial city was independent of the metropolitan city, and the citizens of the colony were not counted in the metropolitan community. However, there was a religious unity between the colony and the main city. Festivals were celebrated around the altar where the fire brought from the main city was lit. In addition, the city law and the phyle order were similar and the same calendar was used (Ibid.: 160). This demonstrates a close relationship between Abdera and Teos. In this analogy, Teos serves as the “mother” city, while Abdera serves as the “daughter.” However, the people of Abdera modified this natural analogy to suit their own time, defining Teos as the “house of their fathers”. Although Teos was not a particularly wealthy or powerful city, it provided financial support to Abdera. This connection highlights the analogy by emphasizing the father’s economic power within the family and his duty to protect his family in all circumstances. The metaphor of the metropolitan city as a mother reflects a traditional understanding of longstanding social structures. In contrast, the concept of the patriarchal home signals a shift in how the relationship between the metropolitan and colonial cities is perceived. E. Fromm argues that when a person cannot obtain the sense of personal identity through their own creative activities, they try to achieve it by identifying themselves with another person or group (Oktay 2000: 125). On the other hand, in his study entitled “The Anatomy of Human Relations in Communication Science”, O. Gökçe states that the way of looking at the world differs from society to society, culture to culture, and that societies with different cultures and languages perceive the objective environment with the concepts presented by their own cultures (Gökçe 2006: 48). These views explain the difference in the point of view of the people of Abdera that makes them describe Teos, who had done them a great favor, as “father” and themselves as “child”.

According to Fromm, language includes a perspective on life and it is a stereotyped expression of living life in a certain way (Fromm 2019: 122). Fromm says that isolation from others and being alone is a very strong urge. According to him, this is because the feeling of loneliness and separation from others is a feeling close to madness as long as a person is a “human”. For a healthy psychology, it is necessary for a person to learn to live with others. This need for unity with others is a human’s strongest passion, and one cannot bear to be alone, not to associate with fellow humans (Ibid.: 131). His happiness is based on the sense of solidarity he feels between himself and his fellows, between

past and future generations (Fromm 1997: 52). Man can adapt to almost any condition. However, among his inherent characteristics is the need for happiness, belonging, love and freedom. If these are somehow blocked or suppressed, members of society want to change the existing order according to their needs. If such change is impossible, the resistance of society is lost, which is destructive. Changes that satisfy human needs are more easily achieved when certain conditions are met (Fromm 2003: 75). Fromm underlines a particular issue. According to him, helplessness and doubt paralyze life; people choose survival over freedom, and they are dragged into a new dependence. This dependence controlled by those who are in power or by the society itself is different from the original bonds, which are in fact not severed. This escape does not restore the lost sense of security; it just makes people forget to perceive themselves as a separate entity (Fromm 2012: 256–257).

Alfred Adler also argues that man reveals his style clearly and distinctly only under unfavorable living conditions and difficulties (Adler 1992: 59). According to Adler, the oldest instinct of humans is to associate with others. Humanity has progressed as a result of people approaching their human kin with a sense of sharing, and family is a way of life in which this sharing is of great importance (Adler 1998: 235). In a sense, this is a definition that explains why the Abderites define the Teians as father, just as a child renounces his freedom and takes shelter in a parent. The Abderites are so helpless and in such great doubt that they will survive that they must have been dragged into a new devotion for the Teians. As a matter of fact, Fromm, while examining the relationship between parents and children, says that the relationship of the child with the father is very different from that with the mother. According to him, the mother is the homeland where we were born: nature, land, sea. On the other hand, the father does not represent such a natural place. The father expresses the child's world of thought, law, order and discipline, travel and adventure. He tutors the child, shows them the way to the world (Fromm 2007: 54). From this point of view, the greatness of the meaning of Teos for Abdera is obvious. In fact, it would be useful to examine Fromm's definition of the mother-child and father-child relationship in the context of Abdera. Namely, in the mother-child relationship, Fromm defines the mother as the homeland that one is born in, which helps us to understand the mother-daughter metaphor between the metropolis and its colony. Those who founded a colony city left their own cities and homelands and established a life for themselves in a new geography. This is similar to a young girl getting married and starting a new home, a new life. However, Abdera calls Teos "father", emphasizing that in a sense, the bond between them is shaped according to the world of thought and other dynamics of life such as law/order and discipline.

E. Schwertheim, moving from the foundation legends cited by Strabo and Athenaios, states that the foundation stories (or foundation legends) of cities are remembered even after a thousand years, and this is important for the

collective consciousness of the people. He says that separation from the old homeland and remaining relations with this homeland were remembered in the later periods and these affected history (Schwertheim 2009: 35). Collective consciousness reflects a process, not a specific situation. The identity of a society changes over time with the relationship it establishes with other societies (Bilgin 1999: 59). The need for collective identity develops and is experienced in relation to social structures and organizations, environmental norms and values, and the atmosphere of the world and the age (Bilgin 2007: 14).

Kinship is an important factor in the regulation of interpersonal relations and political and social organization (Kottak 2001: 394). In his article on rituals, Chaniotis notes: “Philostratus reports that all the Athenians attended the funeral lamenting the death of their benefactor ‘like children who have lost a good father’ (ὅσα παῖδες χρηστοῦ πατρὸς χηρεύσαντες)” (Chaniotis 2023) (See: Philostratos, *Vitae sophistarum* XV, 20: ἀποθανόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ Μαραθῶνι καὶ ἐπισκήψαντος το (...) (Ibid.). This document, which establishes a similarity between the father figure and the ruling power, is remarkable.

It is understood from the statements made in the inscription that the people of Abdera had a collective consciousness. In the introduction to this decree, the Abderites explain their intention to honor the Teians, describing them as the fathers of their city, and their reasons for this honoring. Thus, they also tell why they wrote the decree of honor. According to this, the Teians take a stance “determined to preserve their goodwill” for Abdera inherited from their ancestors. They show endless interest and generosity towards the Abderites, not only with words but also with actions. On the other hand, the part of the decree at 1: 32–35 of Fragment B has the confusing statement where Abdera refrains from acknowledging her ancestor in midair:

(32) συμφερόντων τὸν δῆμον ἡμῶν γενέσθαι· ἐπιβάντων δὲ καὶ
Μαρωνιῶν
ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἡμῶν χώραν οὐκ ἐπιβαλλόντως καὶ παραγενομένων ν.
εἰς ἀμφισβήτησιν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς, ληφθέντος κατὰ δόγμα τῆς συνκλήτου
κριτοῦ τοῦ Ἑρυθραίων δήμου, αἰσθόμενοι Τήϊοι καταφρονουμένους ἢ

It is emphasized that the lands of Abdera were polluted by the Maroneians. What is polluted here is ancestral land. Considering that the Teians took refuge in Abdera during the Persian attacks, it is seen that Abdera defined his own city as his ancestral land.

c. Ancestral Hearth

The phrase ἐπὶ τὰς πατρώιους ἐστίας “the hearth of their fathers” that is used on line 7 of the fragment B also plays an important role in describing the mood of the people. The word Hestia (ἑστία) is a nominative feminine noun in the Ancient Greek. It means hearth; the part of the house where the altar is located; it also means house, residence, household, shelter (Çelgin 2018: 327). In the lexicon, another entry is Ἑστία (Lat. Vesta), defined as ‘Hestia, daughter of Kronos and Rhea, goddess of the hearth and guardian of the civic flame of the polis’ (Ibid.). The stove is important for cooking, heating and as a source of light. If the stove is not lit, life is paralyzed. The family, according to Aristotle, is a union that shared the same bread, established in accordance with the law of nature (Aristoteles 1982: 11). It was the rule that the colonist took fire from the sacred hearth of the metropolis (Hestia) to light the sacred hearth of the colony. The purpose of this ritual was to maintain the bond of the new community with the old one (Graham 1964: 25). The common sense of a belief or feeling by a community of people who are in contact with each other gives that belief or feeling great power. Similar states of consciousness reinforce each other through the mutual exchange of feelings (Durkheim 2006: 130).

From this point of view, the burning of the hearth is a metaphor in the sense of the continuation of the family’s existence. The burning of the hearth depends on economic power, which is provided by the father in patriarchal societies. The ancestral hearth, the father’s house, thus ceases to be an ordinary place. The importance of the family, the mother and the father for the child is undeniable. According to research, while motherhood is the feeling of love, compassion and protection for the child, the basic element of fatherhood is trust (Nirun 1994: 157). The Abderites expressed their trust in Teos. They knew that their ancestors’ hearth would be a shelter for them. In fact, there is an “identification” here. According to Ç. Kağıtçıbaşı, people behave in harmony with the groups they are in or want to be in, for various reasons and in various ways. Identification, which is one of the processes of social influence and attitude, gives the person the feeling of being like the people he values (Kağıtçıbaşı 1988: 70).

The ancestors’ hearth is not only a house, a place, but it also indicates the existence of a group with which there is a strong kinship. So, if we consider Abdera’s situation within the framework of the mother–daughter relationship, it makes one think of a young girl’s separation from the family and her independent life. Those who left Teos established a new life for themselves in new lands. The colonial city is now a free and separate social structure, although there are some commonalities in terms of belief systems, etc. However, the ancestral hearth brings to mind the authority of the family’s father rather than the mother’s tender embrace. The effort of the Abderites to identify with their homeland from which they broke away nearly 400 years ago is worth emphasizing. In fact, the Abderites explain this in the text. Two cities helped each other, especially in times of war, and provided each other with financial and

moral support. Thus, the young girl who started a new home was replaced by a son who had a strong bond with his family.

According to Durkheim, an individual who loves their country and humanity feels a moral obligation to engage in solidarity and offer help to others (Durkheim 1968: 83). That is why the relationship between Abdera and Teos resembles that between two living people. As Durkheim points out, it is the beliefs, dispositions and practices of the collectively conceived group that create social phenomena (Durkheim 1982: 54). Collective habit expresses itself in a formula that is repeated by word of mouth, transmitted through education, and made permanent in writing (Ibid.: 54–55). For a phenomenon to be collective, it must be shared by all members of society, or at least by the majority, if it is a general phenomenon (Ibid.: 56). Every strong state of consciousness is a source of life; it is a fundamental factor in our general state of vitality (Durkheim 2006: 127). The phenomenon of social solidarity exists because many states of consciousness are common to all members of society (Ibid.: 141). States of consciousness do not arise from the psychological nature of man in general, but from an attitude with which people have been related for a time, interacting with each other according to whether they are more or less numerous and close to each other. Only the nature of the group can explain the product of group life (Durkheim 1973: 133). Durkheim states that an individual cannot change the social situation alone. According to him, the way to influence society is through the coming together of individual forces to form opposing collective forces. There are social reasons at the root of the understanding of personal compassion, which tries to be a balm for evils. Apart from special circumstances, the cause of misery in a society depends on the state of economic life, the conditions of this life; in short, the form of organization (Durkheim 1968: 83–84). The Abdera decree shows that there is a collective consciousness between the two cities. C. G. Jung states that in addition to the personal unconscious, there is also the collective unconscious, which is transmitted to individuals by society (Eroğlu 2004: 179). According to Jung, peoples and ages, like individuals, have their own tendencies (Jung 2006: 325).

We understand that in the 170s BC, the ancestral hearth was a well-established and accepted concept in society. In Greek mythology Hestia is the protective goddess of the hearth; in Roman mythology, it is Vesta. According to sources, in Roman culture Vesta, the goddess of the hearth of the house, became the goddess of the state (Campbell 2025). Vesta and Hestia are supernatural females. It is interesting that values represented by the concept of the hearth are attributed to an ordinary male in the Abdera decree. The guardianship and ownership of the hearth/house is attributed to the role of the father in the family institution, and Teos is depicted as a father's home for Abdera, as we see in the text. The movement of these two values related to home and family life from mother to father is a reflection of the age and the patriarchal order of the society. On the other hand, the adventure of the transition from matriarchal to

patriarchal discourse in the history of world literature is a study in itself worth investigating through epigraphic documents.

d. Not Letting Others Surpass Them in Goodness

The Abderites say that they wish not to leave the other side an opportunity to surpass them in doing well. This is the expression of the ancient people's desire to do good deeds, to be useful to people, which is expressed with the words εὐεργέα – εὐεργής (euergesia – euerges). The Abderites convey the great favor done to them by the Teians through inscriptions. Between lines 24 and 31 of the Fragment B it is told that the Abdera once again asked Teos for help. Teos send the first aid for the construction and recovery of Abdera, which was destroyed after the war. This situation is described in Fragment A of the inscription. Abdera states why it asked for help from Teos for the second time: the city needs to invest in agriculture to feed its population. Abdera's demos asked Teos to borrow some money in order to buy oxen. Teos's attitude towards this request is explained as "The Teians, despite their lack of wealth, but surpassing all other men in good faith, have provided us five loan-free talents for more than five years, wishing that our demos should never be deprived of means". In fact, Teos, which was not a very rich city, gave five loan-free talents. The Abderites regarded this as evidence of a form of greatness that surpasses all others in moral virtue. Notably, the phrase 'all men' was used instead of 'all people', reflecting the prevailing mindset of a male-dominated society. It is only possible for men who work, produce and earn to help others. Having a say in the spending of monetary wealth is unique to men. However, as we understand from the inscription, the favors of Teos toward Abdera are not limited to these. Between lines 30 and 53 of the Fragment B, Abdera mentions another very important help given to them by the Teians. When the Maroneians confiscate the lands of Abdera (which is described very harshly in the inscription as "when they violated the lands of our ancestors"), Teos again helps. The Abderites especially emphasize that the Teians helped them, even though the problem they had with the Maroneians was not directly related to Teos. They clearly describe the issue in the inscription: the conflict between Abdera and the Maroneia was resolved in the Roman Senate. Erythrai's demos was appointed as a judge by the senate. Realizing that Abdera had been subjected to humiliating treatment due to their lack of livelihood, Teos embraces Abdera's case as its own and appoints an authorized delegate to act as Abdera's legal advocate in the Abdera-Maroneia case. This person was capable both of understanding the problem and taking a prudent stance without being distracted by the legal claims that would be put forward during the investigation. When the people of Teos realize that the size of the case exceeds the power of a single person, they ask Miletos for another person to defend this case, and they pay the fee of this person, too. Abdera succeeds against the Maroneia. After this court process is explained in the text, it is stated:

And most importantly, with the goodwill of both Gods and the Teians added to our legal claims, our demos succeeded in the verdict against the Maroneians. The Teians, by their actions, have erected for all men an eternal monument of their goodwill to their kin, and they have left no room for anyone else to surpass them in usefulness.

The expression “with the goodwill of both Gods and Teians added to our legal claims” is worth emphasizing here. The gods helped, the Teians took ownership of the cause and provided financial support, but the Abderites were not wrong in their cause. Thus, they underline that they are not in an unjust struggle, and they also emphasize that Teos displays the virtue of being on the side of the right, not the strong. After describing this court process, they state again that the Teians did such an important job that they could not be surpassed by anyone else in terms of usefulness. Here the phrase “pass all men in good faith” is repeated. However, a new issue is touched upon, for which goodwill or assistance is shown. All of this actually supports the discourses of the “father of our city” and the “father of the hearth” that are at the very beginning of the decree. These also reveal the father’s power, responsibilities and determination within the family institution. The transformation of Teos from a main city to a father’s house can be associated with sacrifice, bravery, ability to endure hardship, but most of all with economic power. From beginning to end, the text depicts the actions of Teos, whom it defines and personifies as a father. Teos has the character of an adult and Abdera describes this character almost as a child would: Teos is valiant, helpful, honorable and virtuous.

e. Tyche/Fate

Also worth mentioning are the words “when misfortunes [thrown] ruthlessly to the affairs of demos, and the city remains surrounded by only a wall, and some of its inhabitants [their lives?] at war, and others, captives” in Fragment A lines 15 to 20 of the text:

(15) οἱ τῆς πόλεως καιροὶ τῆς παρ’ ἐκείνων ἐνεδεήθησαν [βοηθεί]-
ας καὶ ἡ τύχη τοῖς τοῦ δήμου πράγμασιν ἀγνωμόνως [?διέ]-
κει το καίπεριβόλος μόνον τειχῶν ἡ πόλις ἀπ[- - c.7 - -, τῶν]
δῆνοικούντων οἱ μὲν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἀνήλωσαν [- c.6 -],
οἱ δὲ αἰχμάλωτοι γενόμενοι Αἰσσηνσανεῖχ[- - c.10 - -]

At first glance, it seems like a society that has lived through the harsh realities of war tells what happened. The walls of the city were destroyed in the war, some of its citizens were killed, and some were taken prisoner or even enslaved. However, it is interesting to see that the culprit of all these evils is “misfortune” (ἡ τύχη). However, here we are talking about a war, not a natural disaster, that is, there are states at war with each other. It is interesting

that the name of the state and nation that attacked their cities and devastated their homeland is not mentioned, and the source of the problem is given as “misfortune, bad luck, destiny”. Similarly, between the 10th and 15th lines of the Fragment B, when talking about the destruction of the city walls and the temples of the Gods, there is also an expression that we translate into English as “event of war” or “because of the war”. Instead of saying that the enemy or that enemy destroyed the walls and temples of the city, they said that they had a great disaster. However, the power that destroyed the city is clear, and that is Rome. In 170 BC, Abdera was attacked by Rome and the city fell to the ground. At that time, Rome was a great and powerful state. Abdera was aware of the plight of such a power. The text avoids mentioning Rome as an enemy. In addition, the fact that Abdera was attacked by the Romans is actually an unexpected event for Abdera. This is in fact because Rome’s target is Macedonia, which is a neighbor to Abdera. When Rome marched on Macedonia, it attacked Abdera with the provocation of Pergamon, even though there was no apparent problem between them. As a matter of fact, Abdera appealed to Rome itself to remedy the injustice. Realizing the situation after burning and demolishing Abdera, Rome found it appropriate to rebuild the city. Perhaps the choice of the word “misfortune” was partly due to the desire to avoid the deterioration of the peace that was re-established with powerful Rome.

f. Immortalization of Memory

In the whole of Fragment A of the inscription and in the first 52 lines of Fragment B, the people of Abdera talk about when and how the people of Teos helped them. From 53 onwards, they tell about the things they have done and plan to do in return for the favors done to them. Accordingly, they first wanted to erect an honoring inscription. However, here again, one statement is noteworthy. They express their purpose of erecting this honorific inscription as “(to) praise the Teians for their continued disposition and goodwill towards our demos”. Thus, on the one hand, they express their gratitude; on the other hand, they state that Teos’s financial and moral support is ongoing. It would not be wrong to say that they want Teos’s support to be permanent.

The Abderites specify every detail: the shape of the inscription of honor, the material, where it will be erected, where and when it will be sent. A monumental bronze statue was to be erected, featuring a Nike figure crowning the Teos demos with ivy. In front of this statue, an altar would be positioned. On the thirteenth day of Anthesterion, the gymnasiarch was to perform a sacrificial offering, followed by organizing a contest. During the contest, prayers would be made for divine favor toward the Teians and Abderites. Furthermore, when the Abderites held torch races for both boys and adults, the Teians were granted front-row seating. The sacrificial meat was to be given not just to adults, but also the winners; permission was to be given to withdraw funds from the public bank of the gymnasiarch to cover future expenses for the sacrifice and competition.

It is necessary to clarify the importance of the front seats. In various competitions, the front seats are extremely important. In some other inscriptions, it is noted that those who have done important and useful works for the city are given the right to sit in the front seat by the decision of the city's demos and boule³. Abdera has also deemed it appropriate to give such a right to the guests from Teos, in addition to erecting a statue and writing an inscription of honor. The people of Abdera think that these decisions they have taken should rightly be known by Teos. Thus, they list in the decree the people who will go to Teos to announce these and to do some work there as well. The works to be done are not limited to these. In addition, in order to announce that Teos's demos is crowned with a golden crown and a bronze statue, and for people of all ages to learn this, the man (/men) selected from among the nomophylacs (executive magistrates) on duty every year travels to Teos in the month of Leukatheon as a thank-you to Teos's demos and the Abdera demos.

They say that the nomophylacs should be allowed to choose a bull for sacrifice in the month of Apatourion. They decide to distribute the meat of the sacrifice in question to the victorious young men and boys in Leukathea, to allow the nomophylacs to obtain the money needed for the purchase of bulls from the public bank, and to send 1000 medimnoi of wheat to the Teians. They say that the men sent to Teos should request a place in the temple of Dionysus or in the agora where they can erect a white marble stele, and that this honorary decree is written on and the expenses are met from the funds reserved for the embassies. They record that in the year after the priesthood of the Schesistratos, the commissioned people (nomophylacs) are allowed to take office, sending a copy of the decree to Teos and allowing the same nomophylacs to be responsible for erecting the statue and other works specified in the decree.

In the concluding part of the decree, they state that this announcement was made to show gratitude to the Teos demos. They complete the text by counting the names of those chosen for this important task. However, since the part with the names of the ambassadors has been corrupted in the inscription, their names cannot be read. These works seem to be quite extensive and costly. The money and manpower required for the preparation of a statue and a stone containing a long text and the offering of sacrifices in Teos must be substantial.

Since the inscription was found in the Teos excavations, Abdera seems to have done what it said in the text. This inscription is not only about gratitude. Abdera sent the stone inscription to Teos and requested that it be erected in the agora or temple of Dionysus. The honorary text is not written on paper, ceramics or any other cheap material. In other words, it is made of an extremely large, permanent and expensive material that is difficult to lose and hide, and more importantly, it was erected in a place where everyone can see it. Thus, Abdera made it possible for the people of both cities to know the important events of their history full of wars and deprivations, as well as the help of Teos during these important events, and the things they did or will do in order to thank them

in return. The size and material of the inscription indicate that the Abderites were concerned about addressing not only the present but also the future.

The intention “to distribute the meat of the victim to the victorious young men and boys in Leukathea” is significant. It is especially important to note that sacrificial meat is given to young men and boys who are victorious in a war. Young men and boys are seen as the guarantee of the existence of the state and the nation. There is a rush to see them as the future of the state and especially to teach them the deep ties between the two cities. With the permanence of the stone, Abdera tried to pass on unity, power and historical knowledge from generation to generation.

Brandt points out that religious holidays were the backbone of Greek social and political life and institutions (Brandt 2012: 140). Religious beliefs are not only accepted for individuals by all members of the community, but they also belong to the community and ensure its unity (Durkheim 1976: 43). Chanio-tis indicates that rituals contribute to identity construction. The erecting of a monument, honoring someone, commemoration and anniversary celebrations, feasts and similar rituals are extremely important for understanding the memory of the past. Wars have become a part of the collective and cultural memory of the cities and contributed to the construction of identities (Chanio-tis 2005: 215). Memory organizes time for the gods and the men in generational and genealogical order. Social groups, cultural patterns and religious systems live in the past and use the past to model and maintain representations of identity (Cusumano 2013: 17). Memory is a “reconstructive” reorganization of the past in the present according to frames of reference. If the sense of the past gives a collective continuity to experience, history is also material that opens new horizons of meaning. However, the past shared in this way has normative value for the present (Ibid.). The preservation and erosion of memory are two aspects of the same process. This process furnishes a space in which to negotiate the tension between change and innovation on one hand, and the tendency to discern elements of immutability on the other (Ibid.). Institutions, values and other elements which structure society all exhibit a relationship with the past. The change in the social and political balance, the re-formulation of a system of rules with a common shared meaning, the creation of a social order place memory in the center, and power relations are produced by the intertwining of knowledge and knowledge (Ibid.: 18).

The Abdera decree reminds us of the importance and necessity of making a note of history and transferring the lived events to future generations. As Campbell pointed out, the fact that Abdera was geographically located at the mouth of the Danube, one of the strategically crucial rivers of Europe, brought it to an important position (Campbell 2012: 25). This gives an idea about the economic and strategic power of Abdera. On the other hand, according to Ekstein, the fact that Maroneia was in a strong position due to its alliance with Rome made the Abderians uneasy (Derow 1991: 267–270 as cited in Eckstein 2008:

46). Some researchers argue that Rome made military alliance agreements with the city-states, and according to these agreements, the cities that signed the agreement were supposed to provide military support in the future wars of Rome and to submit to the interests of Rome diplomatically (Ibid.). As a matter of fact, there is an inscription dated to 160 BC which records the alliance between Rome and Maronea by referring to the terms of such treaties (Ibid.).

CONCLUSION

The Abdera Inscription is first and foremost a historical document and contains an honorific decree. Leaving aside the classical introductory part of the honor and the missing part in which the names of the ambassadors are counted, the text consists of two main parts. In the first chapter, the city of Abdera states that it needs to honor Teos for the help and support it provided in difficult times. It is underlined that Teos helped financially in the rebuilding of Abdera, which was destroyed in the war, and that it did this even though its means were limited. The second major event that Abdera underlined is Teos's attitude towards the problem they had with the Maroneians. When the Maroneians violated some of Abdera's lands, Abdera took the matter to the Roman Senate and sought its right. There is a kind of judgment or reasoning process. In this process, Abdera asked Teos for help in defending its rights. First, Teos sent a representative but this was insufficient so they hired a strong representative from Miletos (perhaps it would be more accurate to call it a lawyer here). Abdera, who was unable to defend itself properly in its just cause, emphasized how important the help of Teos was in its situation. For Abdera, the violation of its land is extremely humiliating. However, regardless of the outcome of the case, Abdera expressed its gratitude to Teos for saving them from the humiliation of not being able to follow their just cause due to lack of economic power. In this section, the people of Abdera describe the city-state of Teos as a father who rushes to their aid whenever the need arises. Abdera, on the other hand, defines itself as a group by using plural pronouns. It is noteworthy that a specific human name is not used. In the text, both Abderites and Teians are personified and given human-specific character traits. In this first episode, Teos is like a person who performs good deeds, while Abdera is like another person expressing his feelings. In any honorary inscription, there is a formal text, such as "This person is honored for these services". However, in the Abdera decree, the effect of the services and good deeds on the emotional world of the people of Abdera is also expressed. What distinguishes the inscription from the others and makes it important is that emotions are also expressed along with events and thoughts.

In the second part of the text, what the people of Abdera want to do in return for the favors done to them is listed. In this section, the narration changes. There is an explanation of the decision taken and the work to be done accordingly.

Teos seems to be a distant friend. While listing the things to be done, the narration gets rid of the emotional load. In the first part, Abdera clearly underlined the bond of love and gratitude to Teos, and why it needed to be honored. There are no expressions in the second part that repeat this. Rather, there are optative sentences, “let it be done, let the envoys be sent, let the sacrifices be sacrificed, the meat of the sacrifices distributed to these people” and so on. Command statements for second persons are included. In terms of discourse, this part of the text reflects more the characteristics of classical honorific inscriptions. The text ends with the enumeration of the names of the envoys assigned to carry out the determined works (this is the corrupted and lost part of the text).

The Abdera Inscription is not an ordinary decree that tells only the history of a city and lists the things to be done. This text of the decree is a narrative and a positive message that includes emotions and thoughts and it aims to raise awareness in the society. The source of the message is Abdera; its recipient is the people of Abdera and Teos and their future generations. Despite unfavorable natural conditions, wars, and human destruction, the inscription has survived to the present day. Until the Abderites and the Teians disappeared from the scene of history, we can conclude that the inscription carried out the function of transferring knowledge, history and culture. Today, it continues to contribute to scientific research as a historical document.

Abdera and Teos helped and supported each other in situations such as war and invasion. There is a great sacrifice in the relationship between the two cities. At first glance in the decree, Abdera seems to have a great feeling of gratitude towards Teos. However, Abdera expresses an image in which they are more dominant with the words of father’s hearth, paternal house, ancestral land. That makes the decree even better, because in Abdera, the emotional state is perceived as that of a child who has stepped into adulthood and is in a hurry to get rid of his father’s authority. The magnificence of the inscription that Abdera sent to Teos, the fact that it was erected as two in both Teos and Abdera, and the financing of sacrificial rituals indicate economic power and independence. Abdera is not helpless and powerless. On the contrary, in the articles of the decree, there is the impression of a more dominant and powerful city than Teos. That is why Abdera’s rhetorical strategy to evoke poignant emotions is remarkable, because, Abdera displays a resolute stance despite going through a crucial crisis. There is a balancing strategy to emphasize its capacity for independent decision-making. He declares to the people of Teos and his own citizens that the friendship between the two cities continues but that he is now more powerful and independent. We do not know what the Teians thought when they saw the text of this decree. The real reason for Abdera to write such a decree must not be simply a feeling of gratitude. Abdera says with the utmost respect that he has overcome great suffering and is skilled at surviving. It declares that it is independent and resilient.

- (5) [- - - - - c.21-3 - - - - - έφ'] ὅσον ἰσχύσαν, πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχαί-
[αν - - - - - c.15 - - - - - κατ]άστασιν, συλλέγοντες ἐκ παντὸς τόπου
[- - - - - c.16 - - - - -]Σ καὶ ἀναπέμποντες ἐπὶ τὰς πατρώιους ἐ(σ)τίας
[καὶ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς] πολιτείαν· οὐ μόνον δὲ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἡ φιλαγαθία τὴν
[ἀπὸ τῆς συ]γγενείας εὖνοιαν προσφερομένη τὴν κοινὴν πρὸς τὸν
- (10) [δ]ῆμ[ον] ἡμῶν φιλοστοργίαν ἐπὶ τῆς κατ' ἰδίαν ἐκάστωι βοηθείας ν.
τῶν ἐπταικότων ἀπεδείκνυτο, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τινα μὲν ὁ χρόνος ν.
καθείρηκει τῶν τειχῶν, ἃ δ' ἡ τοῦ πολέμου περίστασις διέφθαρκε[ε],
παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ ναοὶ θεῶν ἐπανορθώσεως προσδεόμεν[οι]
οὐθέν α τῶν πολιτῶν εἰς τὴν ἐπισκευὴν εἶχον τὸν χρήσοντα
- (15) τοῖς πολίταις, διαλο(γ)ισάμενος ὁ τῶν Τηϊῶν δῆμος διότι προγονι
κῶν θεῶν πρόνοιαν ποιήσεται καὶ κοινὴν πᾶσιν Ἀβδηρίταις βοηθεῖ
αν ἔσται προσενηνεγμένος ἐπιδουὺς εἰς τὴν τῶν τειχῶν ἐπα
νόρθωσιν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φιλαγαθίαν, προήκατο χρημάτων ἀναποδότων πλη-
θος, ὅσο[ν] ἰσχύειν αὐτῶι τότε ἐδίδοσαν οἱ καιροί, δεικνὺς ὡς οὐ τῇ[ι]
- (20) πολυπληθαία τῶν ὑπαρχόντων τὴν ἐτοιμότητα τῆς χορηγία[ς]
ὑπομένειν, τῇ δὲ εὖνοίαι πρὸς πᾶν τὸ παρακαλούμενον ἀνέλλει- ν.
πτοντὴν φιλο[τι]μίαν παρέχεται· τοῦ χρόνου δὲ προκόψαντος καὶ τῇ[ς]
πόλεως ἡμῶν ἤδη πρὸς βελτίονα κατάστασιν ἐρχομένης διὰ τὸ κα[ὶ]
πληθος ἤδη μέτριον ἠθοῖσθαι πολιτῶν, πολλῆς τε δαπάνης γινομέ
- (25) νης εἰς τὴν τῆς χώρας ἐξεργασίαν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο θλιβομένων τοῖς
βίῳ ις τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἀπροσόδων γινομένων, πέμψαντος πᾶ
λιν πρὸς Τηϊοὺς τοῦ δήμου καὶ παρακαλοῦντος εἰς βοῶν καταγορασ
μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶι προχορηγῆσαι διάφορα, Τηϊοὶ τῶι μὲν πλουτεῖν λειπόμε
νοι, τῶι δὲ εὖνοεῖν πάντας ἀνθρώπους ὑπεράγοντες, προέχρησαν ἅτο
- (30) κα τάλαντα πέντε εἰς ἔτη πέντε, βουλόμενοι κατὰ μῆθὲν ἑλλιπῇ τῶν
συμφερόντων τὸν δῆμον ἡμῶν γενέσθαι· ἐπιβάντων δὲ καὶ Μαρωνιτῶν
ἐπὶ τὴν γᾶτριον ἡμῶν χώραν οὐκ ἐπιβαλλόντως καὶ παραγενομένων ν.
εἰς ἀμφισβήτησιν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς, ληφθέντος κατὰ δόγμα τῆς συνκλήτου
κριτοῦ τοῦ Ἐρυθραίων δήμου, αἰσθόμενοι Τηϊοὶ καταφρονουμένους ἡ
- (35) μᾶς διὰ τὴν στενοχωρίαν τῶν βίων οὐ προήκαντο, ἀλλ' ἴδια νομίσαντες
ἑαυτῶν εἶναι τὰ διὰ τῶν ἰδίων προγόνων κρατηθέντα καὶ κατοικισθέν- ν.
τα, ὀξίως καὶ μεγαλομερῶς ἐπέδωκαν ἑαυτοῦς, πάσῃ προθυμίαι καὶ φιλαγα-
[θ]ία χρησάμενοι, πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν ὑπὲρ ταύτης τῆς χώρας, ἐπέλεξαν
τε γὰρ ἐξ ἑαυτῶν συνέδρους χάριν τῆς τῶν δικαίων ἐρεῦνης τοὺς νοεῖν
- (40) τε καὶ προσκαρτερῆσαι δυναμένους ἀπερισπάστως τοῖς πρὸς τὸν ν.
εἰς τὸν παρατεθησομένους δικαίοις, εἵλοντό τε καὶ τὸν ἐροῦν
τα ἐπὶ τῆς κρίσεως τὰ δίκαια καὶ πᾶσαν ὅλως τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἀ

- νελάβοσαν φροντίδα, διαλαβόντες δὲ καὶ μὴ ἱκανὴν ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς ὑπάρχειν δύναμιν διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ ἀγῶνος καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀποδείξεων, ἔ-ν.
- (45) πεμψανεῖς Μίλητον τὸ ἐλλεῖπον δοκοῦν τῇ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς σπουδῇ καὶ ν. φιλοτιμία προσαναπληροῦντες ἀπὸ ξένης καὶ τὸν συναντιληψόμενον ν. ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι μετεπέμψαντο καὶ χάριν ἰδίαν αἰτησάμενοι καὶ μισθὸν πα-ν. ρ' ἑαυτῶν ὅσον ἤτησεν ἐκτείναντες, καὶ τὸ συνέχον, τῆς τῶν θεῶν καὶ Τηϊ ὠνεύνοιας ἅμα τοῖς δικαίοις προσγενομένης, κατώρθωσεν ὁ δῆμος ἡμῶν ἐν τῇ!
- (50) πρὸς Μαρωνίτας κρίσει, ἀθάνατον ὑπόμνημα τῆς πρὸς τοὺς συγγενεῖς εὐνοίας διὰ τῶν ἔργων πᾶσιν ἐ(κ)θέντων ἀνθρώποις Τηϊῶν καὶ πρὸς ὑπερβο-ν. [λῆ]ν εὐεργεσιῶν οὐθενὶ τόπον ἀπολειπόντων ν. ἵνα οὖν καὶ ὁ παρ' ἡμῶν δῆ- [μο]ς ἀξίως ἐφ' ὅσον ἰσχύει τιμῶν φαίνεται τοὺς ἑαυτὸν εὐεργετήσαν- ν. [τας] τ[ύχ]ηι ἀγαθῇ· δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀβδηριτῶν ἐπι-
- (55) [νῆσθαι Τηϊοῦ]ς ἐπὶ τῇ αἰρέσει καὶ εὐνοίαι ἣ ἔχοντες διατελοῦσι πρὸς τὸν [δῆμον] ἡμῶν, ν. στήσαι δὲ καὶ εἰκόνα χαλκῇν κολοσσικὴν τοῦ Δήμου τοῦ [Τηϊῶν ἐπὶ τῆς] ἀγορᾶς ἐν τῷ ἐπιφανεστάτῳ τόπῳ, τῇ μὲν δεξιᾷ σπέν- [δοντα κανθάρω]ι, τῇ δὲ ἀριστερᾷ ἀπηρεισμένον ἐπὶ τὴν στήλην ἐν ἣι γε- [γράφεται τόδε] τὸ ψήφισμα, ἔστω δὲ καὶ κίονιον παρεστηκὸς ἐκ τῶν εὐωνύ-
- (60) [μῶν, ἐφ' οὗ ἐπ]έστω Νίκη στεφανοῦσα τὸν Τηϊῶν Δῆμον κισσοῦ στε- [φάνωι· κατὰ πρ]όσωπον δὲ τῆς εἰκόνης βωμὸς κατασταθήτω ἐφ' οὗ θυέ- τω ὁ γυμνασί[αρχ]ος ἐν τῷ Ἀνθεστηριῶνι μηνὶ τῇ τρισκαιδεκάτῃ ἱερεῖον ν. [καὶ ἀγῶνα τιθ]έτω, κατευχομένου τοῦ ἱεροκήρυκος διδόναι τὰ ἀγαθὰ τοὺς [θεοὺς Τηϊοῖς καὶ] Ἀβδηριταῖς, καλεῖσθω δὲ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Τηϊῶν εἰς προεδρίαν, συν-
- (65) [τελούντων ἡμῶν λ]αμπάδα τῶν παίδων καὶ ἀνδρῶν, καὶ τοῖς νικήσασιν διαμερίζε- [σθω τὰ κρέα τοῦ ἱερ]είου. , ἵνα μὴ μόνον παρὰ τοῖς ἐν ἡλικίαι τῶν πολιτῶν ὑπάρχου- [σιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τ]οῖς νεωτέροις ἐπίσημος ἡ τιμὴ τοῦ Τηϊῶν ὑπάρχῃ δήμου [καὶ προτρέπωνται] πάντες ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης vac. 6 ἡλικίας τῇ πρὸς τοὺς εὐ- [εργέτας εὐχαριστίᾳ· τὸ] δέ ἐσόμενον {ον} ἀνάλωμα εἰς τὴν θυσίαν καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἀπο-
- (70) [γραψάμενος ὁ γυμνα]σί[αρχ]ος λαβέτω ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης, ἐπιμελὲς δὲ ποι- ν. [ησάτω τὸ λοιπὸν ὁ ἀ]εὶ γυμνασί[αρχ]ος· καὶ ἵνα πρὸ τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἀναγορεύῃ ὁ ἱερο- ν. [κῆρυξ διότι στεφανοῖ] ὁ δῆμος τὸν Τηϊῶν δῆμον χρυσῶι στεφάνωι καὶ εἰκόνι χαλκῇ [ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν καὶ ε]ὐνοίας τῆς εἰς ἑαυτόν· ἵνα δὲ καὶ ἐν Τέῳ πᾶσα ἡλικία πα- [ρακολουθῇ ταῖς τιμαῖ]ς, οἱ νομοφύλακες ἀεὶ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν αἰρεῖσθωσαν ἄνδρας

- (75) [(number) ἐμ μηνὶ Ἀπα]τουριῶνι τοὺς ἀποδημήσοντας εἰς Τέω καὶ θύσοντας
[ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου ἡμῶν βο]ῦν ἐμ μηνὶ Λευκαθεῶνι χαριστήρια τῶι
Τηϊῶν Δήμῳ,
[τὰ δὲ κρέα οἱ πρεσβεύουσιν]τες τοῖς τε νέοις καὶ παισὶν μερισάτωσαν τοῖς νι-
[κήσασιν (?) τὰ Λευκάθεα, εἰς δὲ τῇ]ν τιμὴν τοῦ βοδὸς διάφορον χορη-
[γη]σάτωσαν οἱ
νομοφύ-
[λακες ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης· δια]πέμψαι δὲ Τηϊοῖς πυρῶν μεδίμνους χιλίους ν.
- (80) [καὶ τόπον αἰτησάσθων οἱ πεμ]φθέντες ἄνδρες ἐν τῶι ἱερῷ τοῦ Διονύσου ἢ
[(?) ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἐν ᾧ στήσουσι] στήλην λευκοῦ λίθου ἐν ἧ
ἀναγεγράφθω τόδ[ε]
[τὸ ψήφισμα· τὸ δὲ γινόμενον] ἀνάλωμα εἰς τὴν κατασκευὴν τῆς στή[λης]
[καὶ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τοῦ ψηφίσματος]τος τὸ συνκριθὲν χορηγείτωσαν
οἱ νομ[οφύλα]-
[κες (?) ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς τὰς πρεσβείας· ἵνα δὲ] καὶ Τηϊοὶ παρακολουθῶσιν τ
οἷς ὑφ' ἡμ[ῶν ἐψη]-
- (85) [φισμένοις, ἀποστειλάτωσαν οἱ με]τὰ ἱερέα Σχησίστρατον νομοφ[ύλακες]
[τὸ ἀντίγραφον τοῦ ψηφίσματος πρὸς τὸν Τηϊῶν δῆμον· τὴν δὲ ἐπιμ[έλειαν]
[(e.g.) τῆς τε ἀναστάσεως τῆς εἰκόνης] καὶ τῶν ἄλλ[λ]ων τῶν
δηλου[μένων (e.g.) ἐν τῶι]
[ψηφίσματι --- c.12-14 --- ποιησάσθ]ωσαν οἱ αὐτοὶ νομοφ[ύλακες -- c.7 --]
[--c.9-11 --- τὸ δὲ ψήφισμα τόδε εἶναι] εἰς εὐχαριστίαν τ[οῦ δήμου· εἰρέθησαν]
- (90) [πρεσβευταὶ -----c.20-2-----ὁ] πρεσβύτερος, Ἀθ[ηνα----c.11-13----]
[-----c.32-4-----] νος ὁ κτωκαὶ δ[εκάτηι-----c.11-13-----]
[-----c.26-8-----ὁ πρεσβύτ]ερος, Ἀθην[α-----c.19-21-----]
[-----c.33-5-----] μηνὸς Ε[-----c.21-3-----]
Vacat

APPENDIX 2

(Adak & Thonemann 2021: 16–19)

A ‘The dēmos of the Abderites (honours) the dēmos (of the Teians). Since the Teians, being the fathers of our city, having resolved to maintain their ancestral goodwill not in (5) words but in deeds, attempt to preserve unceasing their eagerness and generosity towards our dēmos by striving always to add to their benefactions towards us, thereby rendering eternal, as far as is in their power, the glory that has accrued to both cities through their like-mindedness, and wishing to leave no opportunity for exceeding them in benefactions to any of (10) those dēmoi that have dedicated themselves to comparable ends, [(?) by which all might recognize, by the (?) magnit]ude of their generosity, the inestimable [(?) goodwill] of the Teians towards us, [...] strength (?) and [...] for m]

en and in common for the cities, with them having exhibited eagerness without excuses towards their kinsmen; and [... e.g. when] (15) the city's circumstances called for [assistance] from them, and fortune was cruelly [disposed] to the affairs of the *dēmos*, and the city [was left as] a mere circuit of walls, and of the inhabitants, some in the war expended [their lives?], and others, having become captives, [e.g. were enslaved ...] (20) having lost [...]; then, in the face of this common [need, ...] hearing [...] the agora and the temples of the gods [...] judging [...] to join in grieving [...] (25) in our misfortunes [...] our city [...]' (c.14–16 lines missing)

B '... us in the ... gratitude/favour ... among them, and succeeding ... without ransom, they made ... (5) ... as far as they were able, back to their former ... [con]dition, collecting from every place ... and sending them back to their ancestral hearths [and their former] state of citizenship. Yet not only within these limits did their excellence of character, bringing to bear the goodwill that comes from kinship, show collective (10) affection for our *dēmos* in their individual assistance to each of those who were in distress, but since the passage of time had brought down some parts of the walls, and other parts the crisis of war had destroyed; and likewise also the temples of the gods, though in need of reconstruction, had found none of the citizens who would lend the citizens (what was needed) for their repair – (15) the Teian *dēmos*, reckoning both that they would have care for their ancestral gods and that they would have provided collective assistance to all the Abderites by committing their excellence of character towards the reconstruction of the walls, handed over a large sum of money which did not need to be repaid, as much as the present circumstances then permitted them to be able to do, showing how (20) they provide their generosity unflinchingly, not through an abundance of property to sustain a ready supply of income (?), but rather through goodwill in the face of every request. When time had passed, and our city was now returning to a better condition because of the fact that a moderately large body of citizens had now been gathered together, but great expense (25) was being incurred for the cultivation of the territory, and for this reason the people were being oppressed in their livelihoods and had no revenues, the *dēmos* sent once again to the Teians and called on them to advance us a sum of money for the purchase of oxen, the Teians, although lacking in wealth, but outstripping all other men in goodwill, advanced us (30) five talents without interest over five years, wishing that in no respect our *dēmos* should be lacking in what is beneficial. And when the Maroneitai encroached upon our ancestral territory, although it did not pertain to them, and entered into a dispute over it, and when the *dēmos* of Erythrai was appointed as judge by decision of the senate, the Teians, perceiving that we were being treated (35) contemptuously because of the poverty of our livelihoods, did not abandon us, but considering as their own possessions the lands conquered and settled by their own ancestors, they dedicated themselves

worthily and magnificently to the lawsuit over this stretch of land, employing all enthusiasm and excellence of character; for also they selected from among themselves commissioners for the sake of seeking out the legal claims, those able both to understand and (40) to persist without distraction in the face of the legal claims that would be put forward in the enquiry, and they also appointed a person who would present their claims at the hearing, and they completely took on in all respects the care of the lawsuit; and when they perceived that the ability of a single man was insufficient given the scale of the lawsuit and the volume of depositions, they sent (45) to Miletos, to supplement from a foreign city what seemed to be lacking to their own eagerness and ambition, and requested someone who would join in taking on the lawsuit, requesting a private favour (from Miletos) and providing whatever fee he demanded from their own resources – and most importantly, with the goodwill both of the gods and the Teians being added to our legal claims, our *dēmos* was successful against the Maroneitai (50) in the judgement, with the Teians having set up through their actions an eternal memorial for all men of their goodwill towards their kin, and leaving space for no one else to surpass them in benefactions. And therefore, in order that it should be clear that our *dēmos* honours worthily – insofar as it is able – those who confer benefactions upon it, with good fortune, be it resolved by the *boulē* and *dēmos* of the Abderites, to (55) praise the Teians for the disposition and goodwill which they continue to hold towards our *dēmos*, and to erect a colossal bronze statue of the *Dēmos* of the [Teians], on the agora in the most prominent spot, pouring a libation [with a *kantharos*] with the right hand, and with the left hand/arm leaning on the *stēlē* on which this decree shall be inscribed; and let there be a small column standing by on the left-hand side, (60) [on which] let there be placed a Nike crowning the *Dēmos* of the Teians with an ivy-wreath; and [in front] of the statue let an altar be erected, on which let the [gymnasiarch] sacrifice a victim on the thirteenth day of the month Anthesterion and [hold a contest], with the sacred herald praying that the [gods] should give good things to the [Teians and] Abderites, and let the *dēmos* of the Teians be called to a front seat when [we] (65) hold the torch-race of boys and adults, and let the [meat of the victim] be distributed to the victors, in order that not only among those of the citizens who have reached adulthood, [but that also among] the younger ones the honour conferred on the *dēmos* of the Teians might be conspicuous, [and that] all from the earliest age [should be inspired to gratitude] towards their benefactors; and let the gymnasiarch in[voice] the future expenses for the sacrifice and the contest (70) and draw them from the public bank, and let each gymnasiarch in office [in future] have care for this. And in order that before the contest the sacred herald might announce that the *dēmos* crowns the Teian *dēmos* with a gold crown and a bronze statue for the sake of its virtue and goodwill towards them, and in order that also in Teos people of every age [might learn of these honours], let the nomophylakes in office each year choose (75) [(number)] men [in the month] Apatourion who

will travel to Teos and sacrifice [on behalf of our dēmos a b]ull in the month Leukatheon as a thank-offering to the Dēmos of the Teians, [and let the ambasad]ors distribute [the meat] to the young men and boys who are victorious [(?) at the Leukathea], and let the nomophylakes provide the money for the price of the bull [from the public bank]; and send to the Teians 1,000 medimnoi of wheat. (80) And let the men who have been sent [request a spot] in the sanctuary of Dionysos or [(?) in the agora in which they can set up] a stēlē of white marble, on which let this [decree] be inscribed, and let the nomophylakes provide the agreed expenditure [incurred] for the making of the stēlē [and the inscription of the dec]ree [from the funds reserved for embassies. And so that] the Teians too might learn of the [things decreed] by us, (85) let the nomophylakes in office in the year after the priesthood of Schesistratos [send a copy of the decree t]o the Teian dēmos. And let the same nomophylakes have respon[sibility for (e.g.) the erection of the statue] and the other things laid out [(e.g) in the decree ... and let this decree be for the purpose of (showing)] the gratitude of [the dēmos. The following ambassadors (90) were chosen: (name) son of (name) the] elder; Ath[ena- son of (name) ...] on the eighteenth (of the month) [--; (name) son of (name) the el]der, Athen[a- son of (name) ...] of the month'

NOTES

- 1 Demos (δῆμος): country, people, population, citizen, subject; one of the types of rural settlements located within the territories of the people's council, the police, and an administrative region in Attica, of which Athens is the center (Çelgin 2018: 173). It means the people's assembly here.
- 2 Aisymnētēs (αἰσυμνήτης), "Aisymnētēs according to *Aristotle (Pol. 1285a), a supreme ruler appointed by some early city-states in times of internal crisis, for life, for a prescribed period, or till the completion of the task, e.g. *Pittacus at *Mytilene (IACP no. 798 at 1027). Aristotle defines the office as an elective *tyranny; *Dionysius (7) of Halicarnassus (5. 73) compares the Roman *dictator. If Aristotle's account is accurate (and his definition has been questioned), these aisymnētai have affinities with the early lawgivers (*Solon, *Zaleucus, *Demonax, etc.), the difference presumably being one of local nomenclature. Inscriptions (Syll.3 38, 57, 272, 642, 955) show regular magistrates so called in Teos, Miletus, Naxos, Megara, Selinus, and Chalcedon. The word first occurs in Od. 8. 258, meaning a referee (see Hainsworth's note; cf. also Il. 24. 347 with Richardson's note for the related word αἰσυμνητήρ)" (Ure & Hornblower 2015).
- 3 Boule (βουλή): desire, wish, will, counsel, suggestion, advice, proposal, plan; assembly, deliberative council (Çelgin 2018: 147). In this context, it refers to a consultative assembly.

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