

SIGNE ISAGER – LARS KARLSSON

A NEW INSCRIPTION FROM LABRAUNDA. HONORARY DECREE FOR
OLYMPICHOS: *I.LABRAUNDA* NO. 134 (AND NO. 49)

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Introduction

A large fragment of an inscribed *stèle* was discovered in Labraunda on June 19, 2002 by Lars Karlsson. The stone was found in the air shaft to the subterranean *praefurnium* of the Late Roman South Bath and is now deposited in the Museum of Milas registered as Labraunda Inscription 134 (C401), Milas Museum 2873.¹ The present publication is the result of several scholars' efforts:

Lars Karlsson made a facsimile of the inscription and photos were taken by him and by Pontus Hellström. At the University of Uppsala a team consisting of Pontus Hellström, Marianne Wifstrand Schiebe and Lars Karlsson studied and started reconstructing the text. Wolfgang Blümel also proffered useful suggestions and kindly let us have his squeeze of the inscription. The inscription was presented briefly by Pontus Hellström at Ankara in May 2003² and its publication thereafter entrusted to Signe Isager in collaboration with Lars Karlsson.³ The inscription is clearly of interest to a wide range of scholars, so we chose to publish the inscription now, even if many problems are still unsolved.

The Stone

The stone is in white compact marble, composed of small and tightly compressed marble crystals. Its measures are: width 37 cm, height 47 cm, thickness 13–14.5 cm.

The discovered part of the inscription is fairly well preserved. However, the smoothed front face is worn along the edges where the text is difficult to read. Traces of the claw chisel can be seen at the margin. The back side and the only preserved lateral face (on the right) have been worked with the point, showing the typical pointed small holes.

Layout and letter-forms

The letters are fairly regular, the writing dense. Height of letters: 1–1.3 cm, except for the circular or semicircular letters *omicron*, *theta* and *omega* which are smaller.

No lines are completely preserved, but the restoration of lines 6, 7 and 16 is pretty certain. The number of letters per line varies but seems to be about 41 letters.⁴

The letter-cutter prefers syllabic division of words. While letters like *mu*, *nu*, *pi* and *eta*, most often also *sigma*, *alpha*, *lambda* and *delta* are 1 cm in width, *epsilon* can be and *rho* is about half, *iota* less than half while *omega* is 1.7–2 cm in width.

Omicron and *theta* are clearly used as a decoration; the space, they occupy, is generally small, and varies according to the character of the letters on their sides.

There may also be discerned a tendency to emphasize what the reader is meant especially to

¹ *I.Labraunda* 1–133 are published by Jonas Crampa in two volumes, 1969 and 1972.

² Hellström 2004.

³ We are grateful for constructive comments from Jesper Carlsen, Vincent Gabrielsen, Jacob Isager, Christian Habicht and Charalambos Kritzas as well as from Patrice Hamon and other participants in an improvised workshop kindly appended to the international conference *Hellenistic Karia 2006, Oxford June 29–July 2*, arranged by Riet van Bremen and Jan-Matthieu Carbon. Only we are responsible for remaining errors.

⁴ Line 5 (42); 6 (41); 7 (41); 8 (39); 16 (41).

notice – lines 12 and 21. Line 20 ends with blank space, perhaps for the same purpose. Also, a new paragraph is beginning.⁵

Alpha – the crossbar is straight.

Epsilon – the middle horizontal is shorter than the other two.

Theta – its rather small circle with a dot is placed in the midst or top of the letter-space.

Omikron – like *theta*, also as regards position.

Pi – the right vertical is about half the length of the left. The horizontal does not exceed the verticals.

Rho – the loop is moderate or small.

Sigma – the first and the fourth bar diverge a little.

Tau – the letter is broad with marked letter-endings.

Ypsilon – like *tau*, elegant with marked letter-endings.

Omega – this is the letter-cutter's most characteristic letter. It is a small half circle with long, marked serifs. Resting on the letter line it is the only letter that leaves the upper half of the letter space strikingly blank.

Date – the letter-forms

The letter-forms as described above are Hellenistic. The consistent use of *iota adscriptum* is congruent with that.⁶ The form and size of the *omega* is not so uncommon, but combined with a position at the bottom line of the letter-space, it is comparatively rare.⁷

There is no *omega* resembling and – by its position – producing a similar effect in the inscriptions found at Labraunda and published by Crampa in 1969 and 1972.

From the neighbourhood four are attested in *I.Mylasa*, nos. 817/818, 835 and 865, all from Olymos. Nos. 817/818 and 835 are included in the section Pachturkunden, which for prosopographical reasons are dated by W. Blümel to probably the second half of the 2nd century.⁸

Compare, also from Mylasa, a decree from a Kretan city, Blümel 1992, 13 no. 661 with Tafel 1 (= *SEG XLII*, 1004), dated by Blümel to the 2nd century.⁹ The writing of our inscription, seen as a whole, would fit a date in the second half of the 2nd century BC. This opinion finds support in Jonas Crampa's earlier judgement on another inscription, *I.Labraunda* 49.

I.Labraunda 49 – an adjoining fragment

I.Labraunda 49 seems to belong to the same *stèle*.¹⁰ One looks in vain for an *omega* for comparison. Still its letters resemble those of no. 134, and to judge from the photo of the stone¹¹ as well as from Crampa's squeeze (fig. 2), the fragment does fit and supplement the present inscription.

⁵ Cf. Savalli-Lestrade 2006, 124 ad *SEG XII*, 511.20–21.

⁶ The exception is in line 10, before a word beginning with *iota*.

⁷ In early Hellenistic inscriptions from Asia Minor otherwise not resembling the one in case, it can be seen, e.g. in *I.Kyzikos* II, 1 with Tafel II (4th or 3rd century, Schwertheim); *I.Kyme* 11 with Tafel 14 (3rd century, Plassart–Picard).

⁸ *I.Mylasa* II, 29. A discussion on this issue is ongoing. Reger argues for a dating of the lease inscriptions to the early 2nd century and promises further evidence for this, Ashton–Reger 2006.

⁹ The preserved part of no. 662, also dated by Blümel to the 2nd century and also from a Kretan city, does not have the same *omega* as no. 661.

¹⁰ The present location of no. 49 has not yet been established.

¹¹ Crampa 1972, plate 12.

This assumption is further supported by the fact that no. 49 was discovered (in 1953) in the same hole as no. 134, south of Andron C¹². What Crampa at the end of the first line interpreted as an *iota* plus a fault in the stone, is rather part of the deeply cut left serif of an *omega*. Crampa dated no. 49 to the end of the 2nd century BC using the letter-forms as his basis. The stone is broken on all sides but has blank space below the last line suggesting that the inscription ended with not much more than half a line. Crampa's restoration has the same number of letters per line as ours, but now we know where the right margin was, and thus how many letters there is room for to the left of the blank space, namely about 27. We have included no. 49 in the text below, giving it a darker shade than no. 134.

The Text

[- - ca. 9 - -]ΕΙΝ[- - - - - ca. 29 - - - - -]
 [- - ca. 9 - -] ἀπάσαι[ς - - - - - ca. 25 - - - - -]
 [ὑπάρχειν δὲ] τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐγγόνοις αὐτοῦ· στή-
 [σαι δὲ αὐτοῦ] καὶ εἰκόνα χαλκῆν ἐν τῇ[ι ἱερῶι ἀγορῶι?]
 5 [ἐν τῶι ἐπιφανε]στᾶτῳ τόπῳ· στήσαι δὲ καὶ τοῦ Δήμ[ου]
 [εἰκόνα χαλκῆν πῆχε]ων πέντε στεφανούσαν τὴν Ὀλυμ-
 [πίχου εἰκόνα· ἐπ]ιγράψαι δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος· ὁ δῆμος
 [Ἵολύμπιχον Ὀλυ]μπίχου εὐεργέτην· ἰδρύσασθαι δὲ
 [καὶ αὐτῶι ἀπέναν]τι τῆς εἰκόνης βωμὸν λευκοῦ λίθου
 10 [ἴμοιον τῶι τοῦ Μαν]σώλλου τῶι ἐν τῷ ἱερῶι τοῦ Δι-
 [ὸς Λαβραύνδου καὶ] συντελεῖν αὐτῶι πομπὴν καὶ θυσί-
 [αν ἐφ' ἐκάστου ἔ]τους τῆι τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτῃ τοῦ
 [Ἰ?Ἀπελλαίου? μην]ὸς ἐν ἧ ἡμέραι ὁ δῆμος ἐκομίσαστο τὴν
 [τε ἐλευθερία]ν καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν· θύειν δὲ αὐ- ^{vv}
 15 [τῶι ταύρο]υς δύο καὶ εὐωχεῖσθαι ἐν τῇ ἡμέραι
 [ταύτῃ τοὺς τε ἱε]ρεῖς καὶ τοὺς νενικηκότας τοὺς
 [στεφανίτας ἀγῶ]νας καὶ τὴν συναρχίαν· τοὺς δὲ
 [ἱερεῖς ἐπιμελεῖσθα]ι τῆς τε θυσίας καὶ τῆς θοίνης·
 [δοῦναι δὲ τοὺς ταμί]ας τὸ ἀνάλωμα ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν προσό-
 20 [δων· εἶναι δὲ ἐκεχει]ρίας πᾶσιν ἐφ' ἡμέρας τρεῖς. ^{vv}
 [τοὺς δὲ πολίτας καὶ] τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας συνεῖ-
 [ναι ἐστεφανωμένους ἐν τα]ῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις, ὑμνεῖσθαι
 [δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ πενταε]τηρίδι τοῖς Ταυρείοις κατὰ τὰ αὐ-
 25 [τὰ καὶ τοῖς τῆς πόλεως κτ]ίσταις· τὴν δὲ ἀναγγελίαν ποι-
 [ήσασθαι ἐν τῶι γυμν]ικῶι ἀγῶνι τῶι συντελουμέ-
 [νωι Διὶ Ὅσογῳι, ὅτι στεφα]νοῖ ὁ δῆμος Ὀλύμπιχον Ὀλυμ-
 [πίχου εὐεργέτην τῆς π]όλεως χρυσῶι στεφάνῳι [καὶ]
 [εἰκόνι χαλκῆι ἀρετῆς ἐν]εκεν καὶ εὐεργεσίας τῆς [εἰς]
 [ἑαυτόν· ὅπως δὲ πᾶσιν] φανερόν ἦι, διότι ὁ δῆμος [ὁ Μυ-]
 30 [λασέων τιμᾶι τοὺς εὐερ]γετοῦντας αὐτόν [καὶ ἵνα]
 [ὑπόμνημα ὑπάρχηι αὐτῶι ἀναγ]ράψαι τόδε τὸ ψήφισ[μα]
 [εἰς στήλας λιθίνας καὶ στήσ]αι αὐτὴν τὴμ με[ν μίαν]
 [ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι τοῦ Διὸς Ἰ?Ἀβραύνδου?] ^{vacat}

¹² The same is valid for *I.Labraunda* 8 & 69 and 34.

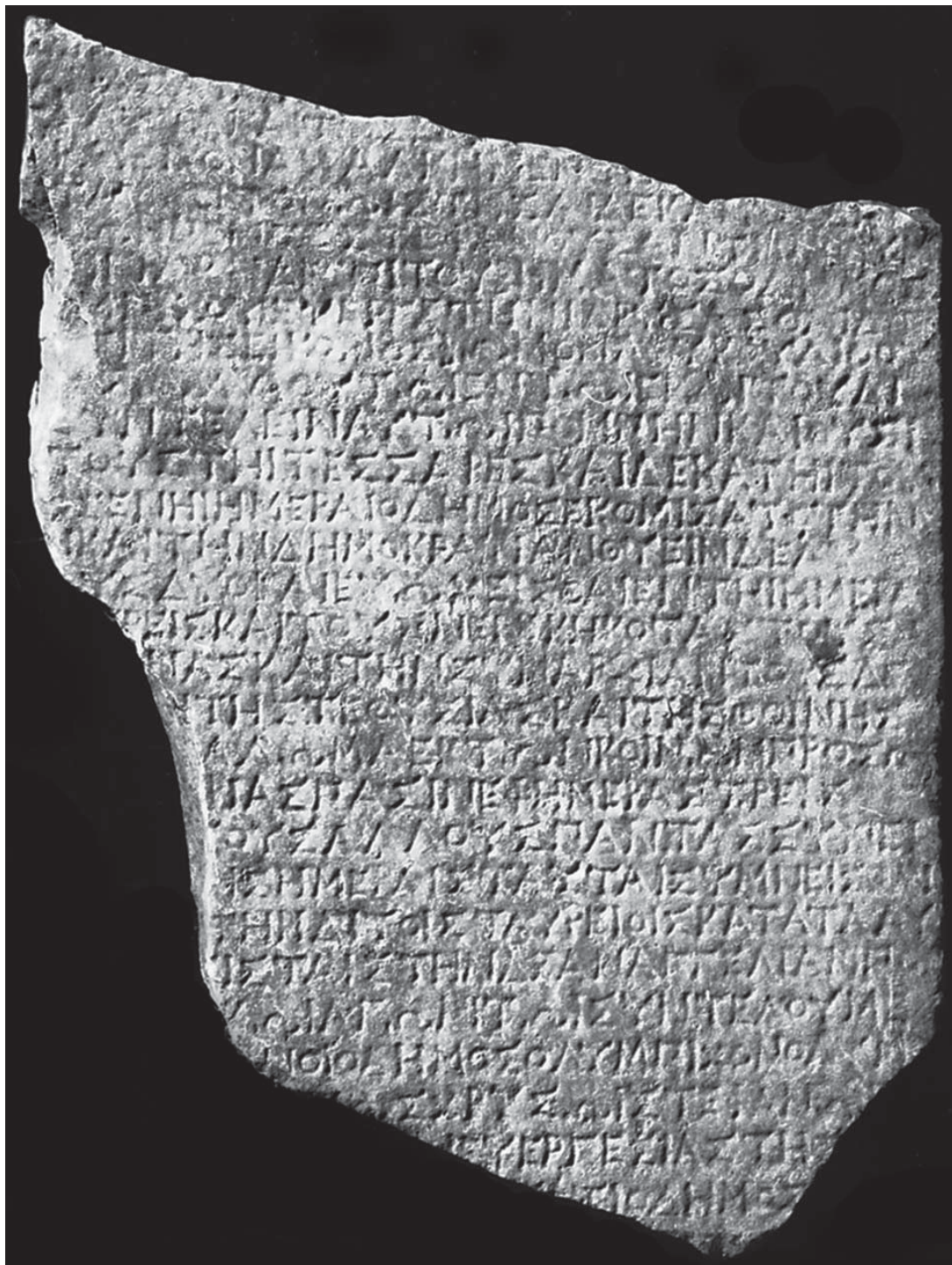
Fig. 1. Photo of *I.Labraunda* no. 134



Fig. 2. Squeeze of *I.Labraunda* no. 134 + no. 49

Translation¹³

- ...
 ... with all ...
 and let the same (honours) be valid for his descendents as well.
 A bronze statue of him shall be set up in the sacred agora
 5 in the most conspicuous place. Also,
 a five pecheis tall bronze statue of the People shall be set up, crowning
 the statue of Olympichos. On the base shall be written: The People
 (crowns) Olympichos son of Olympichos as benefactor.
 And in front of the statue shall be founded an altar for him in white stone
 10 similar to the one for Maussollos in the sanctuary of Zeus
 Labraundos. In his honour a procession and an offering shall be arranged
 every year at the 14th of
 the month of Apellaios, the day on which the people regained
 its freedom and democracy. The offering for him
 15 shall consist of two bulls, and on this day participants in the feast will be
 the priests, the victors in the
 stephanic games, and all the magistrates.
 The priests shall take care of the offering and the banquet
 and the treasurers provide the expense from the common revenues.
 20 A truce for all shall reign for three days.
 The citizens and all the others shall come together
 wearing crowns during these days. He shall also be praised in hymn
 during the quadrennial Taureia in the same way
 as for the city founders. It shall be proclaimed
 25 at the gymnastic games for
 Zeus Osogo that the people crowns Olympichos son of Olympichos
 as a benefactor of the city with a gold crown and
 a statue in bronze for his virtue and his benefactions towards it.
 To ensure that it will be apparent to all how the people of
 30 Mylasa honours its benefactors, and in order to
 commemorate him this decree shall be inscribed
 on stelai of stone and one of them placed
 in the sanctuary of Zeus Labraundos.

Commentary

The inscription is part of an honorary decree for Olympichos son of Olympichos, known to have been active in western Karia in the second half of the 3rd century BC.¹⁴ It is a welcome supplement to the important file of inscriptions concerning Olympichos found in Labraunda and published by Jonas Crampa.¹⁵ The preserved part of the inscription does not contain any specification as to

¹³ Brackets and question marks are omitted in the translation. It should be read with text and commentary.

¹⁴ For the chronology, see below. The scholarly literature on Olympichos is immense and growing, see e.g. Virgilio 2001.

¹⁵ Crampa 1969. See also J. and L. Robert 1970, and Habicht 1972.

which city is honouring Olympichos. *A priori* Mylasa is the most likely candidate.¹⁶

There may have been other inscriptions on the same stele both above and below.¹⁷

The lost beginning of the present inscription probably included a prescript, an enactment-formula, the motivation clause and some of the honours bestowed on Olympichos among which must have been a gold crown (cf. l. 27).¹⁸ If the general vein of line 3 is correctly understood, the stone was broken at the top just after an enumeration of privileges to be extended also to the descendants of Olympichos.

Ad 1. The third letter might be a *kappa*.

Ad 2. The letter following ΑΠΑΣΑ starts with a vertical. It cannot be *epsilon*. We might have ἀπάσα[ς] (e.g. τιμαίς). The first *alpha* may of course belong to the preceding word.

Ad 3. ἐ[γγόνους] γγ fit into the sockets of the letters almost totally lost and the word fits well into a pattern of honorary inscriptions. Cf. LW 87 (= McCabe, *Teos* 29).26–27.

Ad 4. The last readable word is ἐν. The sparse remains of the following letters do not seem to allow for τῶι but rather τῆι like in τῆι (ἱερῶι) ἀγορῶι, cf. *I.Mylasa* 117.3, the decree of a phyle (without ἱερῶι: *I.Labraunda* 48.3–4), or perhaps τῆι (ἱερῶι) ἀύληι, cf. Crampa ad no. 46.10–11.

Ad 5–7. In the end of line 5 the first syllable in Δήμ[ου] is clearly visible, while what seems to be the nether part of the first vertical in the following (expected) *mu* is faint. The space left for the two remaining letters is narrow but sufficient for the combination ου.¹⁹

Apparently, a statue of Demos, the People, is to be erected next to the statue of Olympichos and it shall be represented in the act of crowning the statue of Olympichos.²⁰ Since Olympichos was active in the second half of the 3rd century, this is an early example of an honorary decree with such a provision.²¹ Other persons, later epigraphically recorded as having received a similar honour, are Diodoros Paspáros, Pergamon (beginning of 1st century BC),²² Archippe, daughter of Dikaiogenes, Kyme (last quarter of 2nd century BC),²³ and a person, perhaps from Odessos, honoured by several cities along the western shore of the Black Sea (late 2nd/early 1st century BC).²⁴

It is specified, that the statue of Demos crowning Olympichos should be five *pecheis*, i.e. well over two metres. The statue of Olympichos would probably be a little smaller.²⁵ Five *pecheis* was the size stipulated for a statue (*agalma*) of Attalos III to be placed in the Asklepieion outside the walls of Pergamon (138–133 BC)²⁶ while the statues (*eikones*) of Antiochos III and the Demos

¹⁶ Hence our restoration of ll. 29–30.

¹⁷ Like e.g. *I.Labraunda* 8 which furthermore was opisthographic (no. 69).

¹⁸ On the procedure of *eisgraphe*, known from Mylasa, see Gauthier 1999.

¹⁹ The alternative would mean a non-syllabic word division.

²⁰ Marianne Wifstrand Schiebe was the first to realize this.

²¹ Early, i.e., as concerns the text. The letters of the inscription are, as demonstrated, probably second half of 2nd century BC.

²² Hepding 1907, 243 sqq. no. 4.

²³ *I.Kyme* 13. A statue of her father was also to be raised on the same base.

²⁴ *IG Bulg.* P 320; *SEG* L, 687; Ruscu 2000.

²⁵ Cf. Kreikenbom on the statue of Demos crowning Archippe and termed κολοσσιαία (*I.Kyme* 13, I, 2 and III 69–70), Kreikenbom 1992, 44. The statue of Diodoros Paspáros is to be κολοσσική.

²⁶ *OGI* 332.7. Robert 1984. Kreikenbom 1992, 30–31.

of Antiochia (the former Alabanda) to be raised by the Amphictyons at Delphi around 200 BC were to be eight *pecheis* each.²⁷

Ad 8–9. To have an altar in the agora was an honour appropriate to a Hellenistic monarch, Robert 1937, 174, on *I.Priene* 14.17–18 (ca. 286 BC); LW 88 (= McCabe *Teos* 45).13–15 (166/159 BC);²⁸ *I.Ilion* 31.5–7 (306–280 BC?).²⁹ Olympichos' status in Karia varied and it is much discussed.³⁰ Nothing in the preserved part of the present inscription bears witness to Olympichos' being subordinate to others.³¹

Ad 10. Πρός or παρά as the first word of the line would seem awkward if not impossible, since that would fix the location of the statue of Olympichos strictly and annul the message of lines 4–5. Ὁμοιον is a likely possibility. It would probably seem appropriate and satisfactory for Olympichos to have an altar comparable to the altar of Maussollos. *Iota adscriptum* is omitted before ἱερῶι.

Ad 13. Apellaios is only one of several names of months which fit the space available.

Ad 14. Lines 13–14 support the assumption that the decree was issued by Mylasa, which in Olympichos' own words regained its freedom and democracy through him.³²

Ad 15. It is far from certain that the victims were bulls.³³ According to Pantel, εὐωχία and εὐωχεῖν do not appear in inscriptions before the second century BC,³⁴ but our inscription indicates that it was used in the third century as well, even if the present version was probably not cut before the 2nd century BC. In the few cases where we have the possibility to compare fragments of an 'original' and a later version of an inscription at Labraunda, they are identical in wording.³⁵ Orthography may differ slightly in the imperial copies.³⁶

Ad 18. Θοίνη is a banquet following a sacrifice. In contradistinction to the δημοθoinία, the θοίνη is normally, like here, for a restricted group.³⁷

Ad 19. For a parallel see *Milet* I 3, 146.78–79.

Ad 20. ἐκεχει]ρίας is a likely restoration, since the part of the festival involving expense for the city seems already to have been mentioned. The truce would in this connection mean a suspension of judicial proceedings, cf. Robert 1937, 178–179 on lines 15–16 of *I.Ilion* 31, honours for Seleukos Nikator decreed by the city of Ilion.

²⁷ *FD* 3, 4 no. 163.25–27. Kreikenbom 1992, 29; 48. No crowning was involved in this case.

²⁸ Habicht has in a letter to us expressed his doubt on our restoration of this line. We have to leave the question open.

²⁹ Like in the present case, ἀγορᾶι is restored in the three inscriptions discussed by Robert.

³⁰ For a balanced discussion, see Savalli-Lestrade 2001, 281–283.

³¹ Unlike another honorary decree for Olympichos, *I.Labraunda* 9.3–4. The king may of course have been mentioned in the part of our decree not recovered. In documents dating to ca. 220 BC, the explicit Mylasean concern for Olympichos' wife, Nikaia, and their children, is taken as evidence for Olympichos' by then dynastic status, Virgilio 2001, 48–49 and 52 on *I.Labraunda* 4.1–2 and 6.13–15.

³² *I.Labraunda* 8.13–15 and cf. 3.30. On the chronology of events, see below.

³³ There is very little information on the kind of victims normally used for persons alive, Habicht 1970, 138 with note 1. For a parallel cf. *Milet* I 9.368, 15–16.

³⁴ Pantel 1992, 275–276.

³⁵ *I.Labraunda* 1 (240 BC (?)) and 1B (imperial); 3 (240 BC (?)) and 3B (late 2nd century BC or slightly later) with Crampas commentary. Eventual errors committed by the letter-cutter are not relevant here.

³⁶ *I.Labraunda* 1B is without the *iota adscriptum* in accordance with contemporary orthography. In *I.Labraunda* 53 (imperial) it has been retained in one word, Λαβραϊύνδοι, as it continued to be common.

³⁷ Pantel 1992, 270–271.

Ad 21. “come together” is a vague translation, but it must be a gathering not involving public expense. Συνεῖναι is most often used about a meeting of magistrates taking the form of a banquet. It can mean to participate in a public banquet.³⁸ For lines 21–22, cf. *I.Labraunda* 6A.4–6 and Crampa’s commentary.

Ad 22. Hymns were essential to the Hellenistic feast, and hymns to mortals were not foreign to the Hellenistic festival, cf. Chaniotis, especially 1988, 375–377 (e.g. to Seleukos I, *I.Erythrai* 205, 281 BC, to Titus Flamininus, Plut. *Titus* 16,4).

Ad 23. Τοῖς Ταυρέοις seems here to refer to a festival taking place every fourth(?) year. A festival for Poseidon of that name is testified by Hesych s.v., but there is no need to think that it was always for Poseidon. It might also be for Dionysos or for Zeus.³⁹

There was a place called Taurophonion in the district of Mylasa/Labraunda.⁴⁰ Also, we know from a decree of the phyle Otorkondeis of a festival called Taurophonia celebrated at Mylasa in the third century and mentioned in a context which implies that the festival was an old tradition (since an *ekklesia kyria* was always held during that festival).⁴¹ Another decree of the same phyle mentions the sacrifice of bulls.⁴²

Ad 24. Cf. *I.Magnesia* 28; *Rh. Mus.* 85.367, back face l. 4 (Iolkos). Other possibilities, all prompted by what might be expected in connection with hymns (instead of τοῖς τῆς πόλεως κτ[ίσταις]), are χόρωι παίδων/νέων/ἐφήβων καὶ κιθαρισταῖς; ἀοιδαῖς ταῖς καλλι[ίσταις]; ἐν ἐσθῆσιν ὡς καλλι[ίσταις].

Ad 25–26. Cf. *I.Mylasa* 112. An alternative would be the musical festival for Dionysos, *I.Mylasa* 149. Zeus Osogo was the Zeus of the city of Mylasa.⁴³

Ad 29. διότι = ὅτι, cf. *I.Labraunda* 4.3, restored from LW no. 389.9; *I.Magnesia* 39.38.

Ad 30–31. Cf. *I.Iasos* 5.6–9. ὑπόμνημα is an obvious (but a little short) alternative.⁴⁴ The decree does not specify which magistrates are responsible for the engraving of the decree. To judge from the few examples known, that was not uncommon in Mylasean decrees.⁴⁵

Ad 32–33. Cf. *I.Labraunda* 49.6–7.

These lines present some problems. The word ἀύτην must be wrong, an error committed by the letter-cutter. Crampa emended to ἀύτων.⁴⁶

The words following, τῆμ μὲν, seem to prove that at least two *stelai* were concerned. Seeing that there would not be room for the formula which should be expected from Mylasa, Crampa suggested that the honorand – whose identity he had no chance to guess – was a citizen from Mylasa while the honouring party was a foreign city.⁴⁷ But, as no. 134 now demonstrates, Olympichos was the honorand, and the decree was most probably issued by Mylasa. Our inscription

³⁸ Robert 1937, 184; Pantel 1992, 281–283.

³⁹ Ziehen in *RE* s.v. Ταύρια.

⁴⁰ *I.Labraunda* 69.39–40.

⁴¹ *I.Mylasa* 201.1–2. For a discussion of the relationship between phylai and polis, see Valeri 1998.

⁴² *I.Mylasa* 118. Cf. also *I.Mylasa* I pp. 269–270 App. No. 1, found in the territory of Myndos, but perhaps from Mylasa.

⁴³ Debord 2001, especially 21–24.

⁴⁴ Chaniotis 1991, 138.

⁴⁵ Gauthier 1999, 22 and 26; *I.Mylasa* 101.63–65; Blümel 1989, 12–13 (revised edition of *I.Mylasa* 103), ll. 13–15, *Milet* I 3, 146.19–20.

⁴⁶ Based on *Syll.*³, 1007.

⁴⁷ The foreign city using a shorter formula.

was therefore not contemporary with but considerably later than the decree. It is likely that the last two lines of the original decree read:

εἰς στήλας λιθίνας καὶ στήσαι τῆμ μὲν ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι
τοῦ Διὸς Ὀσογῶ, τὴν δὲ ἐν τῶι τοῦ Διὸς Λαβραύνδου.⁴⁸

There would just have been room for that, had the error not occurred. Anyway, the stone-cutter who made the present inscription may only have had one stele in commission, a replacement of the one in Labraunda and that may have caused his (supposed) slip of mind.⁴⁹ Perhaps, he was not even required to cite the full end of the decree, but only the relevant part. For a possible parallel to the μὲν not followed by its correlative δέ, see Crampa on *I.Labraunda* 8.27, an inscription, which is approximately contemporary with no. 134 + 49 and likewise a copy of an older text.

Summary

The inscription is an honorary decree for Olympichos son of Olympichos. The decree was probably issued by the people and the council of Mylasa. Some of the honours bestowed on Olympichos are often heard of, like the award of a golden crown and a statue in bronze. Others are more special.

First: In addition to the statue of Olympichos a statue of Demos, the People, will be raised. The statue of Demos will be represented in the act of crowning the statue of Olympichos, and it will be an over-life size statue, five *pecheis* in height. The decree was issued in the second half of the third century. It would thus have been the first epigraphically recorded evidence known to us for such an honour, had our inscription not been a later copy/version. Now it is less certain.

Second: Rituals for Olympichos shall from now on be included in the cultic calendar of Mylasa.

An altar for him is to be raised in front of the statue group. It must be of the same type or similar to the altar of Maussollos. Each year on the day, when the city, through the agency of Olympichos, recovered its liberty and democracy, a sacrifice of two victims (bulls?) shall take place at his altar and a banquet shall be held. Also, a procession shall take place and the inscription specifies that priests, victors in stephanitic games, members of the council and the magistrates shall participate in the feast.

The restoration of the following (ll. 20–24) is less certain: There would probably be a judicial truce for three days. During those three days everybody should wear a crown. Hymns were to be sung at the quadrennial festival *Ta Taureia*. They should have the same character as hymns for the founders of the city (?).

To prove the people's gratitude towards benefactors, the crowning should be announced at the next agonistic festival for Zeus Osogo (or the musical festival for Dionysos).

And to retain the memory of it, the decree should be published on a *stèle* in each of two places, probably one in the sanctuary of Zeus Osogo in Mylasa, another in the sanctuary of Zeus Labraundos.

⁴⁸ Cf. *IvP* I 160.51–55 (= *OGIS* 248). *I.Labraunda* 5.41–43; 8.24–26.

⁴⁹ The practice of placing a stele with the same text in each of the two sanctuaries is testified also for the 3rd century (*I.Labraunda* 8.24–26).

Context – the decree

While there is a discussion about the absolute date of events, their sequence is relatively clear and so is, we think, the context of the decree.⁵⁰ Early in his reign Seleukos II sent Olympichos orders to liberate Mylasa.⁵¹ Olympichos was governor or *strategos* of the district by then and the central figure between the king and the people of Mylasa. He was responsible both for giving the king counsel and for implementing his decisions. Olympichos restored the people's freedom and its democracy and he swore that he would assist Mylasa in guarding its rights – territorial and other.⁵² Thus, to Olympichos great honours were due and the newly discovered inscription from Labraunda is, we think, the document which reveals in part how the people of Mylasa decided to reward him. It seems that it is Olympichos son of Olympichos alone, who is honoured and that he is not sharing the honour with anybody else.

In the sequence of documents it belongs after the letter of Olympichos to the people of Mylasa (*I.Labraunda* 3) from around 240 BC.⁵³ In this letter Olympichos mentions the intentions of the people of Mylasa to honour him appropriately (ll. 1–3). What we have here might be the record of Mylasa's fulfilment of that promise.

Context – the inscription

A contemporary inscription of the decree has not been found neither in Labraunda nor anywhere else.⁵⁴ The present inscription is a later copy and thus it belongs to yet another context. Its letter-forms seem to point to the late 2nd century BC.⁵⁵

Why should the inscription be set up anew in Labraunda at that time? Generally the period was one of change in western Asia Minor. In 133 BC king Attalos had posthumously bequeathed his Pergamene kingdom to the Romans. The war of Aristonikos followed, also involving parts of Karia. Even after the Romans had successfully ended the war, their presence had an impact also in areas, which, like Mylasa including Labraunda, presumably not immediately became part of the new province, Asia.⁵⁶

There is one monument at Labraunda which seems directly to reflect the political situation at that time. A statue was set up by the people of Mylasa for a Roman benefactor.⁵⁷ The monument was large, and first of all it was given a very prominent position as a continuation of the eastern front of the temple towards north and the North stoa, i.e. Maussollos' stoa.⁵⁸ The statue and the inscribed face of its base thus confronted the temple terrace. The short text of its inscription is damaged and the exact restoration open for discussion, but Crampa has convincingly restored the

⁵⁰ The following is only intended as a rough sketch. The meaning of freedom in this context is discussed in Heuss 1975.

⁵¹ *I.Labraunda* 3.7–8.

⁵² *I.Labraunda* 3; 8.14–15. See no. 134.13–14.

⁵³ We follow Crampa's chronology. According to Mastrocinque's arguments, it would belong to ca. 229 BC, Mastrocinque 1979.

⁵⁴ The text prescribes inscription on *stelai*, lines 31–33. We cannot even be sure that the prescription was ever effected, but if so, they were probably reused at a time, when their message was no longer deemed relevant – or when they were thought to need a renewal.

⁵⁵ *Supra* with note 8.

⁵⁶ For the province, see Mileta 1990.

⁵⁷ *I.Labraunda* 62. Photo, also Hellström 2007, 108.

⁵⁸ Hellström–Thieme 1982, plate 27.

name of the honorand as Gnaeus Domitius son of Gnaeus and proposed to identify him with the antistrategos, Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus (cos. 122 BC), whom the Roman consul Manius Aquilius left in command in Karia when he himself continued with the main forces towards Mysia Abbaitis in 129 BC.⁵⁹ It is a qualified guess that the honorand owed the prominent position of his statue at Labraunda to his positive and decisive involvement in consolidating the status of Mylasa.

In this period the city further strengthened its political position towards the outer world as well as the collective memory of its own inhabitants through freshly cut versions on *stelai* of some old documents central to the history of Mylasa and its district.⁶⁰ At least one of these inscriptions was in its first version cut directly on the wall of a monumental building in the important sanctuary of Labraunda.⁶¹

The inscriptions chosen for re-cutting documented the legitimacy of Mylasa's present position in the district and also how the Mylaseans in the past regained their freedom and democracy.⁶² The recently found inscription demonstrated how the Mylaseans in the past decided to celebrate the person to whom they owed this freedom and democracy, namely the local dynast Olympichos son of Olympichos. He represented both a guarantee and a threat at the time.⁶³ Perhaps the re-cutting of the inscription more than a hundred years later served to explain and to emphasize why the ancient rituals for Olympichos were still performed, or perhaps the re-cutting indicates that they were about to be renewed.

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⁵⁹ Crampa ad no. 62. *I.Iasos* 612, a Barygian honorary decree for Poseidonios, ca. 127. See also Carlsen 2006, 36–38 and 154 with note 440.

⁶⁰ *I.Labraunda* 3 (2nd or 1st century BC) and 8 (late 2nd century BC). There may be more, as the case of no. 49 shows. For similar thoughts, see Virgilio 2001, 54–56. We see other, contemporary efforts to strengthen the local sense of identity, e.g. in Halikarnassos, the Salmakis poem, and in Lagina, the temple-frieze, Isager 1998; Isager–Pedersen 2004; Gagné 2006.

⁶¹ *I.Labraunda* 3. The walls bore a contemporary copy of most of the important documents (letters) involving Olympichos (*I.Labraunda* 1; 3–7). No contemporary versions have been located of the inscriptions on *I.Labraunda* 8.

⁶² The inscriptions were not cut by the same hand and there may be years between them. For a possible connection between the re-cutting of no. 8 and the lease inscriptions from Mylasa, see Dignas 2000, 123–124.

⁶³ Only in ca. 220 BC did he – at the request of Philip V – remove the last troops from the territory, *I.Labraunda* 5–7.

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Özet

2002 yılında Labraunda’da yazıtlı bir stelin büyük bir parçası bulundu. Bu buluntu şimdi Milas Müzesi’ndeki Labraunda yazıtları arasında (134 [C401]), 2873 Envanter numarası ile korunmaktadır. Yazıtın baş kısmı ile sol yarısı kayıptır. Ama 1972 yılında J. Crampa tarafından yayınlanan *Labraunda, Swedish Excavations and Researches*, III, 2. *The Greek Inscriptions*. Part II: 1–133 (Stockholm) adlı eserdeki 49 no.’lu fragmentin bu yazıtın alt kısmına ait olduğu anlaşılmaktadır. Bu stel üzerine yazdırılmış olan dekrette, Mylasa halkı özgürlüğüne ve demokrasisine yeniden kavuşmasında önemli bir rol oynayan Olympichos oğlu Olypichos adındaki birini yüceltmektedir. Burada alınan karara göre, dikilecek olan 5 kübit yüksekliğindeki bir Halk heykeli, kurtarıcısı olan Olympikhos’un heykeline taç giydirir (durumda gösterilecektir). Dekrette Olympichos’a ayrıca özel bazı dinsel ayrıcalıklar da verilmektedir. Bu dekret, İ.Ö. 3. yüzyılın ikinci yarısının politik konteksti ile uyuşmaktadır. Ama yazıtın harf karakterleri bunun İ.Ö. 2. yüzyıla ait olduğunu düşündürmektedir. Bu belki, Romalıların Küçük Asya’ya gelişlerinden sonra ortaya çıkan yeni politik duruma çok uyduğu için, dekretin bir yüzyıl sonra yazdırılmış bir kopyası olabilir.

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