

OLYMPICHOS AND MYLASA: A NEW INSCRIPTION FROM THE TEMPLE OF ZEUS OSOGŌ?*

Not all that long ago, a major new Olympichos inscription from Labraunda was published by Signe Isager and Lars Karlsson.¹ Now, less than a decade later, two further ones can be added to this ever-growing dossier. One, from Labraunda itself, was found in 2014 during excavation work in one of the *andrones* (*Andron A*); it is published in this volume by Olivier Henry and Naomi Carless Unwin (= new *ILabraunda* 137); the other, allegedly from Milas itself, is presented here.

The provenance of the present inscription alone is of some interest, for until now the well-known dossier documenting the long drawn-out dispute over the sanctuary at Labraunda, which involved the Mylaseis, two generations of Labraundan priests, three Hellenistic kings, and, indirectly, the Chrysaoric League, has consisted solely of inscriptions found on site at Labraunda. So far, not a single document contemporary with the events of the 240s to 220s has emerged from Mylasa, apart from a fragmentary copy of *ILabraunda* 4, which was seen and copied in Milas by Ph. Le Bas.² Jonas Crampa, who used Le Bas' edition of this text to restore the Labraundan original (and *vice-versa*), dated it, on letter forms, to the first century AD, describing it as a 'later copy of a Labraundan original'. Crampa was rather fond of identifying later copies: sometimes correctly, but often doubtfully so. In the case of LBW 389, the printed majuscule text suggests that his dating may have been off by a few centuries, and a recent inspection of two squeezes made by Le Bas, now among the many kept in the Fonds Louis Robert in Paris, has convinced me that this inscription is in fact of the late third century BC, i.e. contemporary with most of the Labraunda dossier.³ I publish here a photo of one of the squeezes alongside a copy of Le Bas' majuscule version (figs. 1 and 2): the latter is remarkably faithful to the original.⁴ Both the squeeze and Le Bas' printed copy further show that to the left of our text another was inscribed, of which only the right edge survives (LBW 389a = *IMylasa* 701). The block which carries both texts must therefore have been part of a wall, i.e. it was not an anta block.

The new inscription has been in the garden of Milas Archaeological Museum since 2011, when W. Blümel saw it, though the Museum's own records list it as having come into its possession in

* Thanks go to W. Blümel and P. Hellström, both of whom helped with information of different kinds; to the Director of Milas Archaeological Museum, Gülnaz Savran, and the Ministry of Culture and Tourism for permission to publish the text [permit number 64298988-155.06 (YA.2015.106)148970 – jointly with O. Henry]; to P. Hamon, A. Bresson, N. Carless Unwin and J.-M. Carbon for discussion of textual and historical points, to G. Bowersock and J.-L. Ferrary for permission to reproduce FLR 2396, to B. Meyer for facilitating my work in the Fonds Louis Robert, and to K. Höghammar for doing the same in the case of Uppsala University Library, where Jonas Crampa's squeezes are kept.

1 *EA* 41 (2008) 39–52; *SEG* 58, 1220 (following the dating of ed. pr.); cf. also S. Isager, in Karlsson and Carlsson, *Labraunda*, 199–215.

2 LBW 389b; also copied by E. Hula: *Skizzenbuch* I, 35 (only l. 1–4); cf. *ILabraunda* p. 23, with p. 24, n. 1; the text is also at *IMylasa* 23. Crampa writes (p. 24, n. 1): "LBW, 389 was engraved in the first cent. A.D. and may have belonged to a collection of earlier documents which, contrary to the contemporary copies at Labraunda, seems to have consisted of exact copies".

3 The two squeezes are nos 2191 and 2396 in the Fonds Louis Robert.

4 The printed majuscule version of another inscription, of which a photograph exists, is also very close to the original (LBW 387; *IMylasa* 21, with photo, vol. II, Tafel 2).

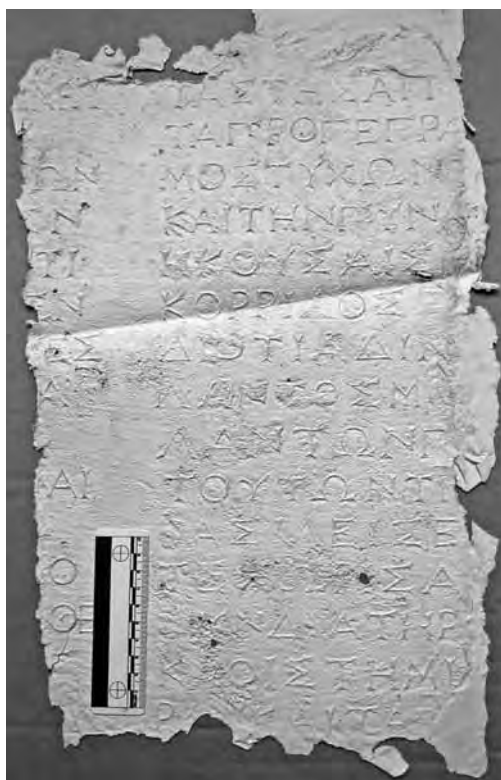


Fig. 1. Fonds Louis Robert, estampage no. 2396 (photo P. Hamon)

ΙΕΙ		ΙΑΣΤΗΣΑΙΙ
		ΤΑΠΡΟΓΕΓΡΑ
ΩΝ		ΜΟΣΤΥΧΩΝ
ΕΝ		ΚΑΙΤΗΝΓΥΝ
ΤΙ	5	ΗΚΟΥΣΑΙΣ
ΕΝ		ΚΟΡΡΙΔΟΣΓ
ΕΣ		ΔΙΟΤΙΑΔΙΚ
Α		ΛΑΝΤΟΣΜ
		ΛΑΝΤΩΝΓ
ΑΙ	10	ΤΟΥΤΩΝΤΗ
		ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΣΕ
Ο		ΤΕΧΩΡΙΣΑ
ΘΕ		ΣΤΝΔΙΑΤΗΡ
Ε		ΚΑΘΙΣΤΗΜΕ
Υ	15	ΡΑΝΚΑΙΤΑ

Fig. 2. Le Bas–Waddington no. 389

2012 (Museum inventory no. 2012/31A). The block was confiscated in Milas in the house of an illegal trader in antiquities. Its original findspot is not recorded. If from Milas itself, it may have come from the temple of Zeus Osogō(llis), Mylasa's main deity, on whose temple walls were inscribed, among others, several of the so-called 'Kretan decrees',⁵ at least one of the Olympichos documents from Labraunda⁶ and therefore also, most likely, *I.Mylasa* 23 and 701 (LBW 389b and a). The sanctuary was located to the south-west of the city, where its remains were seen and described by a number of scholars, most recently by Frank Rumscheid.⁷ Only very little of it sur-

⁵ *I.Mylasa* 641–659; W. Blümel, *Neue Inschriften aus Mylasa* (1989–1991) mit Nachträgen zu I.K. 34, *EA* 19 (1992) 5–18, nos. 660–663. No. 652, 10–12 stipulates the inscribing in the sanctuary of Zenoposeidon (Osogō) and that of Zeus at Labraunda; cf. also 655, 13–14. *I.Mylasa* 103, a decree for Poseidonios of Byzantion dated by Blümel to the 2nd part of the 2nd century, discloses that there was an area reserved for the inscribing of decrees for benefactors (13–15): ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὸδε τὸ ψήφισμα ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀσογῶ οὐτὰ περὶ τῶν εὐεργετῶν ψηφίσματα ἀναγράφεται; similarly, 101, 63–65, for Ouliades, and probably 148, 149, 176 (fragments). Cf. also the Mylasan decree of 215/14 BC concerning isopoliteia with Miletos (*Milet* I 3, 146B, 72–73): ἀναγράψαι τὸδε τὸ ψήφισμα ἐ[ν] τοῖς ἱεροῖς τῶν τε τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀσογῶ καὶ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Λαβραῦνδου. Cf. Ph. Gauthier, *REG* 112 (1999) 22. On the date see P. Herrmann, *Milet* VI 1, p. 178–179.

⁶ *ILabraunda* 8, 25–26 stipulates inscribing in the sanctuary at Labraunda and that of Zeus Osogō. Cf. *ILabraunda* 5, 41–42: καὶ ἀνα[τεθῆναι ἐν τοῖς ἱε]ροῖς. Cf. also the new *ILabraunda* 137, 32–33.

⁷ For the remains of the sanctuary and its location see A. Laumonier, *Les cultes indigènes en Carie* (1958) 105, and *Rev. Arch.* (1933) 36–38; F. Rumscheid, *JDAI* 114 (1999) 35–38, especially n. 60, with previous literature (but



Fig. 3. Zeus Osogō, polygonal wall (photo O. Henry)



Fig. 4. Zeus Osogō, terrace wall (?) in a private garden (photo G. Reger)

vives above ground (figs. 3 and 4). The possibility that the block came originally from Labraunda cannot, however, be entirely discarded, as will become clear from the description below.

The block, most likely an anta block (fig. 5), is of white marble, broken on the left and at the back (figs. 6 and 7); and damaged (reduced?) at its base. The damage may have been caused by later reuse, as is suggested by the cutting lines lower down on the front face and on the right side (figs. 5 and 8; information from O. Henry). The top, front and right side are all intact, bar the slight damage to the right edge which has caused the loss of a few letters at the end of some of the lines (e.g. 2, 3). The front carries the inscription, whose left part is missing. The right side is uninscribed and must have been visible in its original position, as is shown by its smooth surface and by the lack of anathyrosis. The block's dimensions are: w. 57.5 cm at the bottom (inscribed surface 47); 50 cm at the top (inscribed surface 35); h. 28 cm (inscribed surface 22); greatest depth approximately 46 cm.⁸ No line of the text has been completely preserved. Letters: 1.2 (*tau*, *pi*, *gamma*) to 1.5 (*ypsilon*, *phi*) cm; *omicron* and *omega* 1 cm; letters in the final few lines somewhat smaller (*tau*, *pi*, 1 cm). Interlinear space is approximately 2 cm. The block's original dimensions cannot be exactly determined but it will have had a minimum width of 60 cm, and may have been as wide as 88–90 cm (the anta blocks of the temple of Zeus at Labraunda are between 69 and 70 cm wide; an anta block from the *andron* of Idrieus (*Andron B*) is 88.5 cm wide: *ILabraunda* 4 (109/A150).⁹

An L-shaped anathyrosis is visible on the top (figs. 6 and 9), with a conical dowel hole in the right corner.¹⁰ The anathyrosis is 12 cm at the front, 10 cm at the side. The dowel hole is 5.5 cm wide at the top (4.5 cm at the bottom) and 4.5 cm deep. The type of dowel hole – carved for a biconical dowel – has excellent parallels in the Hekatomnid architecture in Karia,¹¹ for instance in the Maussolleion in Halikarnassos¹² and in the recently discovered monumental tomb at Uzun Yuva.¹³ In Labraunda we find it in the temple of Zeus,¹⁴ the *andrones* A and B,¹⁵ and the South and East propylaea.¹⁶ All buildings that have this feature belong to a relatively short time period, around the mid-fourth century BC. If the provenance is indeed the temple of Zeus Osogō in Mylasa, then we might have a solid indication of the date of that building's construction; one that

8 Information from O. Henry, adjusted from the squeeze.

9 The blocks of the original stoa of Maussōllos are of very similar width (68.5–69.5). For further Labraundan anta blocks see now R. Hedlund, *Antae in the Afternoon: Notes on the Hellenistic and Roman Architecture of Labraunda*, in L. Karlsson et al. (eds), *Labrys. Studies presented to Pontus Hellström* (Boreas 34, 2014) 57–70. And see in this volume p. 37–40 (Carless Unwin and Henry).

10 If this were a corner block of a wall we would not expect the conical dowel holes, but rectangular dowel holes, and metallic clamps. Information on the architecture from P. Hellström and O. Henry. The current director of the Labraunda excavations, O. Henry, considers it unlikely that any block could have been stolen from Labraunda in the recent past, but the theft may have occurred decades ago.

11 The feature is also known in the temple of Athena Polias in Priene, see F. Rumscheid, *Maussollos and the 'Uzun Yuva' in Mylasa: an unfinished Proto-Maussolleion at the heart of a new urban centre?*, in R. van Bremen and J.-M. Carbon (eds.), *Hellenistic Karia* (2010), 87 n. 37.

12 K. Jeppesen, *The Maussolleion at Halikarnassos*, vol. 5 (2002), 146, fig. 14.9.

13 F. Rumscheid, *Uzun Yuva*, 87.

14 P. Hellström and Th. Thieme, *The Temple of Zeus. Labraunda* I.3 (1982) 20.

15 For these two buildings the documentation is not as good, as is the case for the *oikoi* in Labraunda. But the discovery of one of the biconical dowels in front of the *andron* of Maussōllos (*Andron B*) seems to confirm that round dowel holes were all biconical in Labraunda (information from P. Hellström).

16 K. Jeppesen, *The Propylaea. Labraunda* I.1 (1955) 8, with fig. 5D and 33.

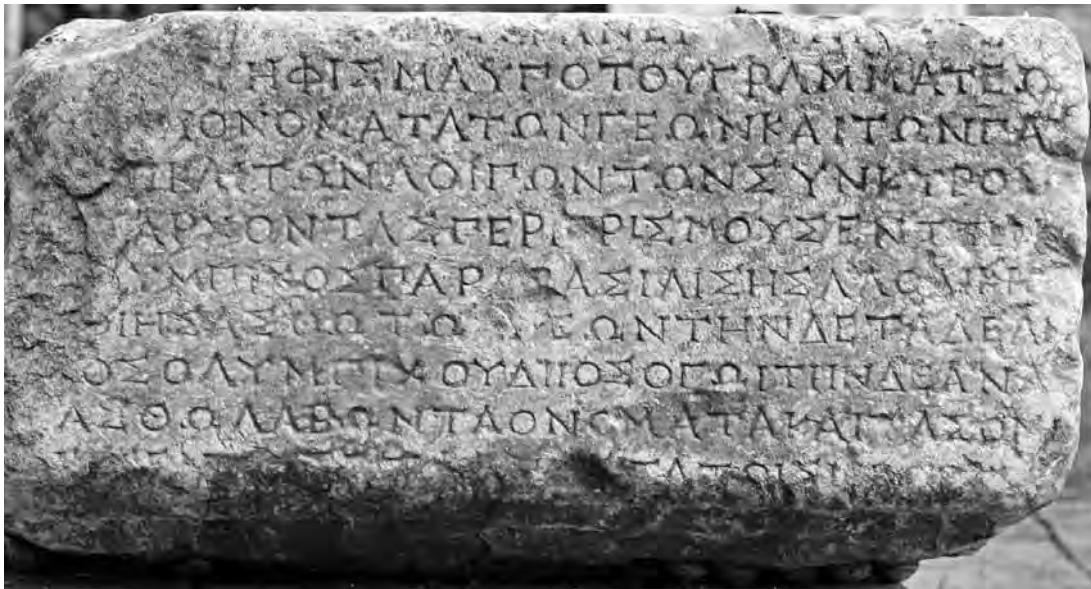


Fig. 5. Milas museum 2012/31A, front (photo O. Henry)



Fig. 6. Milas museum 2012/31A, left side and top (photo O. Henry)

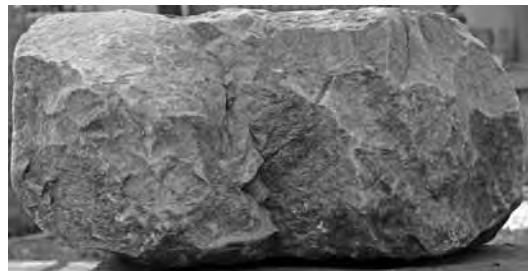


Fig. 7. Milas museum 2012/31A, back (photo O. Henry)



Fig. 8. Milas museum 2012/31A, right side (photo O. Henry)



Fig. 9. Milas museum 2012/31A, top (photo O. Henry)

fits well with the literary references, which, although transmitted in later sources, all go back to a fourth-century context.¹⁷

The letter forms of our inscription are broadly similar, though not identical, to those of *ILabraunda* 137 (published in this volume), LBW 389/*I.Mylasa* 23, and to several of the other inscriptions in the Labraunda Olympichos dossier; all display the characteristics of script of the mid to late third century BC.¹⁸ The differences with the above inscriptions, and with nos 4 and 6, all of the time of Philip V, are particularly noticeable in the *phi*, which, in our inscription, has a more rounded buckle (l. 2) as against a very distinctive sharp-cornered umbrella-shaped one with straight baseline in 137, 4 and 6. The *ny* in our inscription is narrower and the diagonal deeper; the *pi* has no overhanging horizontal.

In restoring the text I have worked with a possible total width of between c. 60 and c. 90 cm. The inscribed surface, as can be seen clearly from the photograph (figs. 5 and 8), came very close to the edge on the right at least in some lines; but the margin may have been irregular, as it is on the Labraunda antae (see especially the discussion of the new *ILabraunda* 137, this volume, p. 28: blank spaces of 1–2 letters at the end of some of the lines; writing right up to the edge in others). The margin on the left, if we again take the Labraunda antae as a model, may have been as small as 2 cm. There are on average 6, occasionally 7, letters per 10 cm. The 46 cm that remain of line 9 contain 27 letters. A width of 60 cm (c. 52–56 cm inscribed surface) would allow for between approx. 31 and 38 letters; the ‘standard’ width of many Labraunda antae (69.5 cm; c. 62.5–66.5 inscribed) for between 37–46 letters (cf. *ILabraunda* 137, where the number of letters varies between 39 and 43 in the first ten lines; between 42 and 46 in the final five).¹⁹

The text as transcribed, with only a few obvious letters restored and no line-length observed is as follows:

[- - - - -]ΣΙΦΑΝΕΡΟ[.]ΗΙ[- - - - -]
 [- - - -] ψήφισμα ὑπὸ τοῦ γραμματέω[ς]
 [- - - -] τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν γεῶν καὶ τῶν πα-
 4 [- - -] γ καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τῶν συνκυρόν-
 [- - -] πάρχοντας περιορισμοὺς ἐν Τ.ΙΩΝ
 [- - -] Ὀλύμπιχος παρὰ βασιλίσσης Λαοδίκη[ς]
 [- π]οιησάσθω τῶν γεῶν τήνδε· τάδε ἀν-
 8 [- - -] ος Ὀλυμπίχου Διῖ Ὅσογωι· τήν δὲ ἀνα . .
 [- -] σάσθω λαβῶν τὰ ὀνόματα καὶ τὰς ὀμ[
 [- -] Ι Ι Ε ΤΑΤΟΙΣΙΕΡΟ

Among the inscriptions in the Olympichos dossier a close parallel for our text can be found in *ILabraunda* 8. This, inscribed on the front face of an opisthographic stele found in nine fragments

¹⁷ See R. van Bremen, *EA* 46 (2013) 25.

¹⁸ The letters of the new *ILabraunda* 137 are, in my view, very close to those of LBW 389/*I.Mylasa* 23 (figs. 1–2 on p. 29 in Carless Unwin and Henry may be compared with fig. 2 here), and with those of *ILabraunda* 3, 4, 5 and 6: the *omega* and especially the *phi* are identical, while the *ny* is a broad letter in both. The letter forms of *ILabraunda* 1 seem to me to be different from the others: narrower, and very precisely drawn, with a *phi* whose minute buckle sits two-thirds of the way down on a very tall upright and a quite narrow *omega*. For the idea that all texts were inscribed collectively, at a later date than their composition: Carless Unwin and Henry, this volume, p. 12 n. 12, with a reference to Henry and Aubriet, forthcoming.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 28.

in a hole in the ground south of *Andron C*, contains three separate documents. On the reverse is inscribed *ILabraunda 69*. The second of the three documents, 8b, is a letter of Olympichos to the Mylaseis, announcing a gift of lands, gardens and associated buildings, bought from queen Laodike, to Zeus Osogō, to be leased out εἰς πατρικά and the revenues to be used for a *panegyris* of the god. In it, Olympichos stipulates (l. 25–26) that the inscribed version of his gift is to be set up in two places: in Mylasa in the sanctuary of Zeus Osogō and in Labraunda in that of Zeus Labraundos. I give the full text, with the relevant sections underlined (text, with one exception, as in Bencivenni, *Progetti*, p. 251–253, which takes into account emendations by J. and L. Robert, *BE* 1970, 549 and Chr. Habicht, *Gnomon* 44, 1972, 162–170):

ων vac. Ὀλύμπιχος τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμωι χ[αίρειν· προαιρούμενοι]
 [ε]ὕεργετῆιν ἐν παντὶ καιρῶι τὰ μέγιστα τὴν πα[τρίδα οὐθενὸς οὐδέποτε]
 12 ἀπέστημεν τῶν εἰς δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν ἀνηκόν[των μεγάλους ὑποστάντες ὑ]-
 πὲρ ὑμῶν κινδύνους παραλαβόντες γὰρ τὴν [ὑμετέραν πόλιν τὴν φρου]-
 ρὰν ἐκ τῆς ἄκρας ἐξαγαγόντες ἐλευθέραν [καὶ] δημοκρατουμένην ἀπο-
 κτεστήσαμεν ὑμῖν αἰρού[μ]εν[οι δ' ἐν οὐθε]γι δ[ε]ὔτεροι εἶναι τῶν εὕεργετη-
 16 σάντων προ[τὲ τὴν πό]λιν [. . .]δε βουλόμενοι ὑμῖν τε χαρίζεσθαι καὶ τὰ ἰε-
 [ρὰ τὰ ἐν τ]ῆι πατρίδι αὖξιν τὰς ὑπαρχούσας ἡμῖν γέας πάσας καὶ τοὺς
 [παραδεί]σους καὶ τὰς ἐν τούτοις ἐπούσας οἰκῆσεις καὶ τὰ προσκύροντα
 [πάντα] ταῖς γέαις ταύταις κατὰ τὰς προὔπαρχούσας ὁμοουρείας ἃ εἰώνημα[ι]
 20 [παρὰ β]ασιλίσσης Λαοδίκης, ἀνατίθημι τῶι Διῖ τῶι Ὀσογῶι ἵνα δὲ καὶ ἡ ἀπὸ το[ύ]-
 [των] πρόσσδος ὑπάρχηι τῶι θεῶι ἐς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον καὶ καταναλίσ-
 [κη]ται εἰς τὴν κατὰ μῆνα γινομένην πανήγυριν τῶι Διῖ, καὶ τὰ ἀνατεθέντα ὑφ' ἡ-
 [μ]ῶν ἐμ μνήμηι καὶ τηρήσει ἦι, καὶ ἡ πρόσσδος αὖξεται: καλῶς ἂν ποιήσαι-
 24 [τ]ε ψηφισάμενοι μισθῶσαι αὐτὰ εἰς πατρικά τακτοῦ φόρου καὶ ἀναγράψαι
 τὰ ὑφ' ἡμῶν γραφέντα ἐν τε τῶι ἱερῶ[ι] τοῦ Δι[ι]δὸς Ὀσογῶ καὶ ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι τοῦ
 [Δ]ιὸς Λαβραύνδου ἐν τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις τόποις. ννν ἔρρ[ωσθε]. vac.

L. 13: A καί would be expected after πόλιν. L. 16: Before βουλόμενοι, τὰδε Crampa, καὶ Robert, Habicht, Bencivenni. Robert's restoration makes more sense, but the photo (here fig. 10) shows clearly the E preceded by Δ. L. 20: ἵνα δὲ: Habicht, τὰδε: Crampa. L. 24: In the Packard database (PH260068) φόρου after τακτοῦ has been omitted.

8c, which follows on the stone, consists of just a few lines, starting with the heading of the list of estates, followed by a description of one of them (γέας τὰς ὀνομαζομένας ἐν Κομωνδοῖς) and the estates and roads abutting it, in 'the plain around the city', after which there is a clear *vacat*, leaving the final 4 cm of the face of the stone uninscribed; the μὲν in l. 27 presupposing a δέ, which however does not follow, at least not on this face of the stone.²⁰

28 Τάδε ἀνέθηκεν Ὀλύμπιχος Ὀλυμπί[χ]ου Διῖ Ὀσογῶι ἐμ μὲν τῶι περὶ πόλιν πε-
 δίωι γέας τὰς ὀνομαζομένας ἐν Κομωνδοῖς, αἷς ὁμοροῦσιν Ἀλέξαν- νν
 δρος Ἀριστέου, Μενόιτας Πολίτ[ο]υ, Ζηνόδοτος Πολίτου, Οὐλιάδης Πολίτου
 καὶ ἱερὸς τόπος Διὸς Ὀσογ[α]λλῶλλιος καὶ ΙΕΥΣ Σινυρι, υἱὸς Ἰατροκλέους Δι-

²⁰ See Crampa's description of the physical features, p. 53. In this inscription, note that within one paragraph we have both Zeus Osogōllis (29) and Zeus Osogō (27); I cannot explain this.



Fig. 10. *I.Labraunda* 8b, ll. 16–30 (courtesy of P. Hellström)

32 ονύσιος Ἡρακλείδου, Ἱεροκλῆς Πρωτέου, Ἐστιαῖος Εἰρηναίου, Ἀριστέας Ἴα-
τροκλείους τοῦ Ἀρρίσιος καὶ αἱ ὁδοὶ δύο ἢ τε ἐπὶ Καλβίτσου καὶ ἐπὶ Ἱερὰν Κώ-
μην. *vac.*

L. 27: Τάδε, *lapis* and ed. pr.; τάσδε Bencivenni, following Habicht, but see now the new inscription l. 7 end: τάδε ἀν[-]. L. 30: Διὸς Ὀσογῶν Ἀλωλλίος Crampa. <ό> ιε<ρός> Υς: Crampa; ΙΕΥΣ *lapis*.

The new text, to which I now turn, repeats to an extent the wording of this letter. Ψήφισμα in l. 2 suggests that these lines form part of (the end of) the decree that followed the announcement of Olympichos' gift and which is prefigured by Olympichos' own words (8b, 23–24): καλῶς ἂν ποιήσαι[τε] ψηφισάμενοι μισθῶσαι αὐτά: 'you would do well to put their leasing out to the vote'.

The transition from l. 7 to 8 and from 8 to 9 offer the best guide to line-length: both require the short supplements (closer to 69 than to 90 cm) that I have restored.²¹ The beginning of *I.Labraunda* 8c: τάδε ἀνέθηκεν Ὀλύμπιχος Ὀλυμπί[χ]ου Διῖ Ὀσογῶνι, followed by the list of names of lands and neighbours, corresponds directly to τάδε ἀν[έθηκεν Ὀλύμπι]χος Ὀλυμπίχου Διῖ Ὀσογῶνι ll. 7–8 in our text. Equally, the transition from 4 to 5 requires the continuation of συνκυρόν[των], while the subsequent προὔ]πάρχοντας needs to be preceded by a preposition governing the accusative and an article. I am therefore reasonably certain that the approximate width of our stone was close to 69 cm, and the total number of letters per line around 39–43 (the only outlier in my restoration is l. 5, which has 45 letters, but see below, commentary ad loc.).

²¹ Although in l. 4 the inclination is to copy the entire sequence of Olympichos' offering from *I.Labraunda* 8b, ll. 17–18, it seems clear that the text of our decree is not identical to that of his letter, but is a summary of it; it cannot therefore be restored mechanically.

[- - - - - c. 21-23 - - - - - πᾶ]σι φανερό[ν] ἦι [. . . .]
 [ἀναγραφῆναι τόδε τὸ] ψήφισμα ὑπὸ τοῦ γραμματέω[ς]
 [ἀναγραψάτω δὲ καὶ τ]ᾶ ὀνόματα τῶν γεῶν καὶ τῶν παρ[α]-
 4 [δείσων καὶ οἰκίσεω]ν καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τῶν συνκυρόν- νν
 [των κατὰ τοὺς προῦ]πάρχοντας περιορισμοὺς ἐν (?) τῆι ὡν[ῆι]
 [πάντα ἃ ἐώνηται Ὁ]λύμπιχος παρὰ βασιλίσσῃς Λαοδίκη[ς]
 [καὶ ἐπιγραφῆν π]οιησάσθω τῶν γεῶν τήνδε· τάδε ἀν-
 8 [έθηκεν Ὀλύμπι]χος Ὀλυμπίχου Διῖ Ὀσογῶι· τήν δὲ ἀνα-
 [γραφῆν ποιη]σάσθω λαβὼν τὰ ὀνόματα καὶ τὰς ὁμο[υ]-
 [ρείας]Ι Ι ΣΞΕΝ ΣΤΑ τοῖς ἱεροῖ[ς] . . .

‘[- - -] be visible to all, let this decree be inscribed by the secretary. He must also inscribe the names of the estates and the gardens and the buildings and the other things that appertain to these, according to the existing delimitations in the (?) sale contract, [?all that which] Olympichos [?bought] from Queen Laodike; and he must inscribe the following heading for the (list of) lands: ‘These Olympichos son of Olympichos dedicated to Zeus Osogō.’ He must inscribe (the list) taking the names and the boundaries . . . in the (?) sanctuaries . . .’

L. 1: The lower horizontal of the Σ and the Ι are visible, then an upright; then the upright of the Ρ. L. 2: The initial Ψ is certain; the final Σ is faintly visible. L. 3: End, since the upper part of the Ρ is visible on the stone, an Α is needed to respect the syllabic division. L. 4: There is no space for the final ΤΩΝ of συνκυρόντων; instead a νν. L. 5: ENT. ?ΙΩ lapis: After the Τ on the squeeze one sees what looks like the upper horizontal of an Ε, Π or Γ, but on the photo an Η seems distinctly possible; the Ω is clear on the photo but invisible on the squeeze; the Ι and the Ω are very close together; the final letter shows the upper part of the diagonal of a Ν as well as the left upright (reading uncertain). L. 6: ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ lapis. The final Σ is not visible. L. 8: after ΑΝΑ most likely νν. L. 9: The lower serif of the first Σ is visible; final ΟΜ[Ο]: what looks like the thickened upper part of a vertical may be a break in the stone; the Ο should be just where the stone breaks off. L. 10: Ι Ι ΣΞΕΝ followed by c. 10 letters; ΣΤΑΤΟΙΣ Ι.ΡΟ: the space for Ε before Ρ is very (too?) small; Ρ is followed by a round letter: Ο or Ω.

Notes

Ll. 1-2. For the exhortation clause cf. *I.Mylasa* 896 (EA 13, 1989, 8 (SEG 39, 1136), Olymos), 2-4: ἵνα δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐπαγγειλαμέν[ων φιλαγα]θία φανερά πᾶσ[ιν ὑ]πάρχη, ἀναγραφῆναι τόδε τὸ [ψήφισμ]α ὑπὸ τῶν ἐνεστῶτων ταμιῶν; or *ILabraunda* 134, 29 (= *ILabraunda* 49, 3-4): [ὅπως δὲ πᾶσιν] φανερόν ἦι κτλ.²²

L. 3 ἀναγραψάτω: The verb imposes itself, cf. *ILabraunda* 8b, 24; the form is required by π]οιησάσθω in l. 7, which must have the same subject and which concerns the same procedure; δὲ καί: there is not enough space on the stone for the title of another official to be inserted here, so we must assume that the *grammateus* is here again the subject. A link with the previous sentence is therefore needed. The standard verb to accompany τ]ᾶ ὀνόματα is ἀναγράφειν. A verb specifying e.g. where the *grammateus* was to obtain the (list of) names would not be suitable, since in l. 9 there is a further specification as to how (and from where/whom?) he is to ‘take’ or ‘receive’ the names.

L. 4. There is space for approximately 9 letters after -δείσων; if *ILabraunda* 8b is to be followed [οἰκίσεω]ν, though without article, repeats the same word there in l. 18.

²² EA 41, 2008, 39-52; text at p. 41 (SEG 58, 1220).

L. 5. κατὰ τοὺς προϋπάρχοντας περιορισμούς refers back to Olympichos' own κατὰ τὰς προϋπαρχούσας ὁμοιείας. Interestingly, it is the formula used by the Mylaseis which is found in Seleukid documents of the third century: in a fragmentary inscription from Sardes of c. 213 BC, l. 5 (partly restored)²³, and in the well-known letter of a Seleukid king concerning the permanent gift to Zeus of Syrian Baitokaike (συνχωρηθῆναι αὐτῷ εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον: l. 19) of the village of Baitokaike, 'in the satrapy around Apamea' which had previously been held (ἔσχεν) as δωρεὰ by a certain Demetrios son of Demetrios, σὺν τοῖς συνκύρουσι καὶ καθήκουσι πᾶσι κατὰ τοὺς προϋπάρχοντας περιορισμούς.²⁴ The Mylaseis must have had access to (or had copies of?) official royal land registers, possibly to copies kept in Olympichos' own chancellery.²⁵

L. 5–6 ἐν τῇ ὠνή[ῃ]: 'in the sale contract' is very uncertain but makes best sense of the letters. For a close comparison, see Welles, *RC* 18, l. 27–28: καὶ τὴν ὠνήν ἀναγράψαι εἰς τὰς βασιλικὰς γραφὰς τὰς ἐν Σάρδεσιν καὶ εἰς στήλας λιθίνας πέντε, and, l. 33–35, εὐθέως δὲ καὶ περιορίσαι καὶ στηλῶσαι τὴν χώραν καὶ [προσαναγράψαι τὸν περιορισμὸν εἰς τὰς στήλας, in a letter of Antiochos II concerning the sale of Pannoukomè to Laodike (see n. 48). In this case, the ὠνή and the περιορισμός are distinct, but they are inscribed together on the same *stelai*; in the royal record office in Sardes, they are filed together by the *bibliophylax* (*RC* 19, 14–16; cf. 7–8). Even so, this may cast doubt on my interpretation, which presupposes that the περιορισμός was included in the sale contract. The proposed restoration limits us to something like πάντα ἄ as a continuation of the sentence. Olympichos was quite fond of this word: see the index in *ILabraunda* s.v. πᾶς and see the new *ILabraunda* 137, 6–7 and 8–9. A broad indication of the location of what has just been listed, along the lines of *ILabraunda* 8c (27–28): ἐμ μὲν τῷ περὶ πόλιν πεδίῳ might have been expected but it founders on what can be deciphered of the letters. The only known toponym beginning with an *omega* in the wider region is Ωνδρα (mentioned in two inscriptions of Stratonikeia: *I.Stratonikeia* 502 and 614), but its location is somewhere near the sanctuary at Lagina. There is no known toponym beginning with ΤΕΙΩ or ΤΕΩ in this area.

L. 6 ἐώνηται (if correctly supplemented): following *ILabraunda* 8, 19, where Crampa notes *re eiónημα[ι]* that this 'confused writing' for ἐώνημα may have been influenced by εἰ in ὁμοιείας. The Mylaseis may not have repeated the confusion. Correct use in *I.Mylasa* 806, 13 (from Olymos): ἐώνηται. Παρὰ βασιλίσσης: *sic*, cf. *ILabraunda* 8b: [παρὰ β]ασιλίσσης.

L. 7 καὶ ἐπιγραφὴν ποιησάσθω: It seems necessary to avoid repeating ἀναγραφή, which returns in l. 8–9, where it is required and where there is an implicit reference back to the instruction to list the 'names of the lands' in l. 3 (of course, also restored there, but it is not easy to

23 Ph. Gauthier, *Nouvelles inscriptions de Sardes II* (1989) no. 7 (*SEG* 39, 1289).

24 *RC* 70. For the date – undecided as between Antiochos I, II or III – see e.g. Capdetrey, *Pouvoir séleucide*, 174. The stated aim of this gift is remarkably similar to that of Olympichos: ὅπως ἡ ἀπὸ ταύτης πρόσδοδος ἀναλίσκηται εἰς τὰς κατὰ μῆνα συντελουμένας θυσίας καὶ ἄλλα τὰ πρὸς αὐξήσιν τοῦ ἱεροῦ συντείνοντα κτλ. (23–25), cf. *ILabraunda* 8b: ἵνα δέ καὶ ἡ ἀπὸ το[ύτων] πρόσδοδος ὑπάρχη τῷ θεῷ ἐς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον καὶ καταναλίσκηται εἰς τὴν κατὰ μῆνα γινομένην πανήγυριν τῷ Διί, καὶ τὰ ἀνατεθέντα ὑφ' ἡ[μ]ῶν ἐμ μνήμη καὶ τηρήσει ἦι, καὶ ἡ πρόσδοδος αὐξήται. The word περιορισμός by itself occurs also in *RC* 41 (*I.Tralleis* 17 from Seleukeia/Tralleis; letter of Antiochos III), l. 4: [κατὰ τοὺς ἐπὶ - - - Ἀντιόχου περιορισμούς, implying already existing records; in *RC* 18, 35 and in 19, 7 and 15 (*I.Didyma* 492, 7, 15 and 51) the king orders to περιορίσαι καὶ στηλῶσαι τὴν χώραν that was to be conveyed to his wife Laodike.

25 So also Welles, p. 286, on the Baitokaike land: 'perhaps that in Apamea'; cf. more generally Capdetrey, *Pouvoir séleucide*, 346. On Olympichos' chancellery see J. and L. Robert, *Fouilles d'Amizon en Carie* (1983) 150. The documents concerning the sale of land to Laodike near Zeleia were to be recorded in the royal archives, the βασιλικὰ γραφὰ, in Sardes, as well as on five *stelai* (*RC* 18, 27–28).

see what else could be substituted). One can defend the use of ἐπιγραφή here,²⁶ for it concerns the heading, or title, of the list that follows: τήνδε. Against it perhaps speaks the addition of τῶν γεῶν. I would translate something like: ‘and he must make the following heading of the lands (donated)’. Τάδε ἀνέθηκεν is of course precisely what we find as the heading of the list in *ILabraunda* 8c.

L. 9 λαβῶν τὰ ὀνόματα I take to mean ‘taking’ or ‘receiving’, the names, presumably from some archival document, e.g. the sale document referred to – perhaps – at the end of l. 5, or from an official? For the Ionian form ὀμουρεία i.s.o. ὀμορία, see Crampa, notes to *ILabraunda* 8, 19 (p. 59). The word is a *hapax*, and its precise meaning or formation is not clear, as W. Blümel rightly points out to me. But its affinity to ὄμορος/ὄμορος ‘having the same boundaries with’ suggests a related meaning.

L. 10 ΣΤΑ τοῖς ἱεροῖς. It is tempting to read in ΣΤΑΤΟΙΣΙΕΡΟΙΣ ἐπιφανεστάτοις ἱεροῖς but it makes no sense in the context: only two sanctuaries are envisaged and they are specified. The expected ἐν τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις τόποις (as in *ILabraunda* 8b, 24–26, see above) is excluded: the letter after the final *sigma* of ἐπιφανεστάτοις cannot be a *tau*. For a close, but not exact, parallel see the Mylasan decree of 215/14 BC about *isopoliteia* with Miletos (*Milet* I 3, 146B, 72–73): ἀναγράψαι τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα ἐ[ν] τοῖς ἱεροῖς τῶι τε τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀσογῶ καὶ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Λαβραύνδου.

The context

In this decree, of which only the final section survives, the Mylaseis implement what Olympichos ordered²⁷ in his letter to them (8b): ‘you would do well therefore, to put to the vote their leasing out on a hereditary basis at a fixed price, and to inscribe that which we have written in the sanctuary of Zeus Osogō and in the sanctuary of Zeus Labraundos in the most conspicuous places’ (23–26). *ILabraunda* 8c is the result of the decisions taken, and of the instructions given to the *grammateus*: it is the beginning of a list, preceded by a heading: ‘These Olympichos Olympichou dedicated to Zeus Osogō: in the plain around the city, the estate called ‘in Komōondois’ etc. (l. 27–28).

As we have seen, *ILabraunda* 8 and our new text are closely related. We need now to turn to the connection between 8a, b and c on the front of the stele and 69 on its reverse. I have already suggested above that the ἐμ μὲν in l. 27 of 8c presupposes an ἐν δέ, but the *vacat* which concludes 8c suggests that the catalogue of the lands ‘in the plain around the city’ is complete. We must look for ἐν δέ elsewhere, and the long list of lands on the reverse of the stele (no. 69) seems an obvious candidate. The beginning of this list is missing (as is the beginning of 8a on the obverse), but may have started with something like ἐν δέ τῆι κατὰ Λαβράυνδα χώραι²⁸ (for the justification of the location see below) before it continued with precisely the ὀνόματα and the ὄμοροι καὶ γείτονες which the *grammateus* was to inscribe and display in the most conspicuous location of each of the two sanctuaries.

26 On the meaning of ἐπιγραφή as a special privilege to have one’s name and dedication inscribed on a building, see especially J. and L. Robert, *BE* 1973, 417 (p. 160) with reference to A. Wilhelm, *ÖJh* 18 (1915) Beiblatt 26, and P. Roussel, *Mélanges Navarre* (1935) 379–82. Cf. *IMylasa* 110, 15 (though referring to the inscribing of a statue-base): καὶ ἐπιγραφήν ποιησάσθω τήνδε.

27 Compare the instructions given by Zeuxis to Philotas in the chain-of-command dossier for the appointment of the high-priest Nikanor under Antiochos III (*SEG* 37, 1010, 14–17): κα[λῶς] ἄν οὖν ποιήσαις συν[τά]ξας [ἐπακ]ολου[θ]ήσαντας τοῖς [ἐπισταλ]εῖσ[ι]ν συντελεῖν ὡσπερ οἴ[ε]ται δεῖν: orders, phrased as advice?

28 Cf. the new *ILabraunda* 137, 7: καὶ τὴν χώραν τήν τε κατὰ Λαβράυνδα with the discussion of the region between Olymos and Labraunda in Carless Unwin and Henry, this volume, p. 33.

Crampa wrote of this text (vol. II, p. 144): “This catalogue registers lands owned by Zeus Oso-goa. This is evident from the fact that the god was very rich in lands, that his lands are never mentioned in the document as ‘neighbours’ and that the catalogue was engraved on the same stele as 8, which regards a dedication of lands to Zeus Osogoa.” Despite duly observing that an ἐν δέ is expected after ἐμ μὲν, Crampa rejected the possibility that 8 and 69 were part of the same document (vol. I, p. 62). One reason for his detaching 69 from 8 is that he dated the writing of both to the late second century (vol. II, p. 144): “I am inclined to regard the latter [i.e. 8] as the original document, and 69 as a supplement [of lands] owned at that time [i.e. the late second century BC – my underlining] by Zeus’. Prosopographical evidence is then adduced in support of this later date. Two arguments therefore need addressing: that based on the script and that based on prosopography.

First the script. The photographs in Crampa’s publication are notoriously hard to read, but in the Uppsala University Library both 8 and 69 are among Crampa’s surviving squeezes. Having studied them, and having had access to scanned copies of Crampa’s original photographs thanks to Pontus Hellström,²⁹ my view is that both 8 and 69 display letter forms compatible with late third-century writing. I give here (figs. 10 and 11) two photos which I hope will illustrate the points made here. The script is less monumental than that of the inscriptions on the antae, more condensed and somewhat uneven in size. But all the characteristics that we find in the antae inscriptions can be found in both 8 and 69: *alpha* has straight cross-bars, *sigma* diverging horizontals; *omega* and *omicron* are slightly smaller than the other letters, with the former displaying the same open shape; *theta* has a central dot; *psilon* (mostly) curved branches, *pi* has the same short right vertical (without overhanging horizontal) and the *nu* displays exactly the same broad diagonal, almost but not quite touching the baseline, as does that in the antae inscriptions. Even the *phi* shows the familiar lunate buckle. The ends of the letters show a distinct thickening, seen especially well in the *sigma*, *kappa* and *epsilon*.³⁰

The list of lands in *I.Labraunda* 69 (cf. fig. 11) contains 14 separate properties, including one cluster of seven or eight (?) plots in the ‘upper plain’ (see Appendix 1 for an overview). Some are named, the names of others are lost. Following the usual formula of such delimitations they are defined by the names of adjoining lands and their owners, or by adjoining natural features: a river – the Κενίως – and a further, unnamed, river,³¹ and δημόσια ὁδοί. There is also land belonging to *syngeneiai* of Olymos, including the threshing floor of the Mōsseis, and a property of the Kendēbeis, the δημόσιος ἀλῶν (meaning not clearly understood, ‘hollow between hills or

29 These photos, taken in 1953, are on 6 x 9 film, not the usual glass plates (information from Pontus Hellström).

30 S. Isager, The epigraphic tradition at Labraunda, in Karlsson and Carlsson, *Labraunda*, 204, follows Crampa’s dating and takes it as guidance for dating the new *I.Labraunda* 134, also inscribed on a stele. She writes: “In fact no inscribed stele at all dating to that century [i.e. the third century BC] has been discovered at Labraunda”. In my view 134 itself, which Isager published with Karlsson in *EA* 41 (2008) 39–52, could well also be of the third century.

31 On the Κενίως, or Κινεως (*I.Labraunda* 69, 40), possibly the modern Sarı Çay running SE-NW across the plain (and whose source was high above Labraunda in the mountains (cf. the map in this volume, p. 34), see F. Hild, *Meilensteine, Straßen und das Verkehrsnetz der Provinz Karia* (2014) 38, and W. Blümel, *Einheimische Ortsnamen in Karien*, *EA* 30 (1998, updated: www.wolfgang-bluemel.de/Downloads) 170, n. 33. The ancient road between Euromos and Mylasa (one of the named δημόσια ὁδοί?) crossed this river 6 km NW of Mylasa. The other, anonymous, river, may be that which emerges between Labraunda and Euromos and meets the Κενίως before flowing into the larger Κυβερσος (the Hamzabey Çay?).

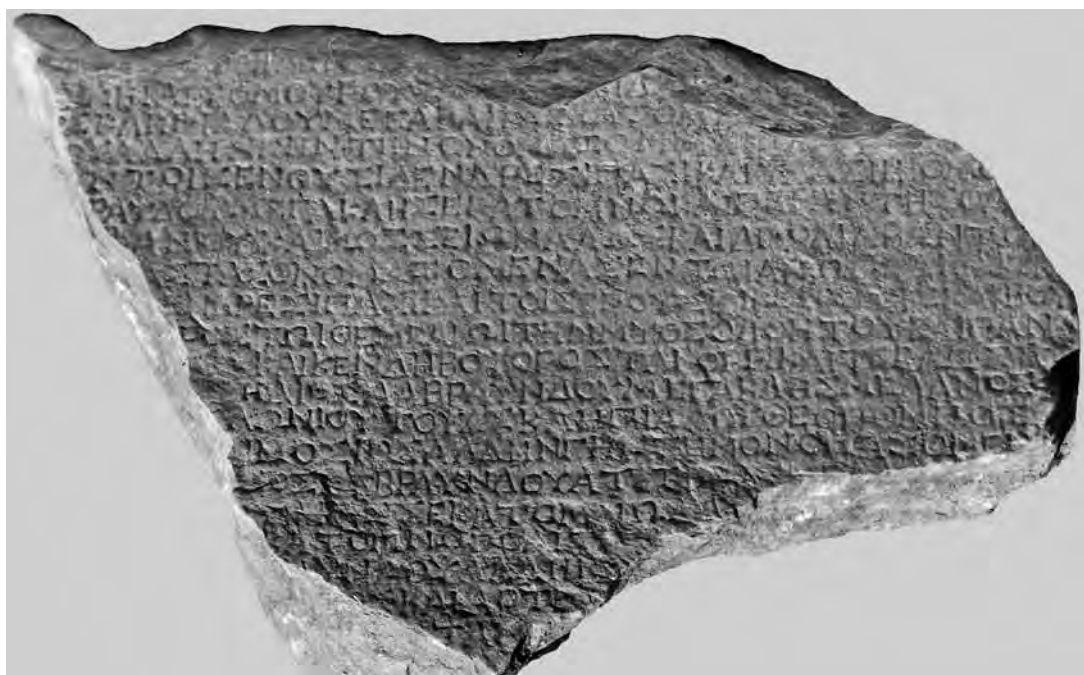


Fig. 11. *I.Labraunda* 69, ll. 21–40, middle (courtesy of P. Hellström)

banks, *defile, glen'* LSJ, s.v.), the Ταυροφόνιον, and land of the Κενιῆται (not further known but the name is similar to that of the river).³² Almost all the land appears to be in the plain between Labraunda and Olymos, not in that 'around the city' mentioned in 8c (which was the plain of Omba, to the south-east of the city, where ἱερὰ γῆ of Zeus Osogō is attested in later inscriptions). In *I.Labraunda* 8c itself, puzzlingly, we get ἱερὸς τόπος Διὸς Ὀσογῶλλιος.³³

The distance between Olymos and Labraunda is less than 10 km. The plain between Olymos (in its N-W corner) and the lower reaches of the N-S ridge on which Labraunda is located is not very large: some 6 km across E-W and about 3–4 N-S (cf. the map in this volume, p. 34). In lease documents from Olymos itself and in the new *I.Labraunda* 137, at least part of this plain is referred to as the Olymis.³⁴ The sacred road from Mylasa to Labraunda skirts this plain on the eastern side, before it starts its climb up to the sanctuary and beyond to Alinda and Alabanda. Of the thirteen distinguishable properties in this lower plain (as opposed to ἄλλας τὰς ὀνομαζομένας

³² For a detailed discussion of all these entities see Crampa, ad loc. *Taurophonia*: for the possibly related festival of the *Taurophonia* see Blümel, *I.Mylasa* I, p. 73–74, cf. *ibidem*, Appendix, text 1, p. 269–270 with EA 44 (2011) 128–129.

³³ Just two lines earlier (27) the god is referred to as Osogō (Διὶ Ὀσογῶι). On the Omba plain see Blümel, *Ortsnamen*, 163–184, s.v. and see Hild, *Meilensteine*, 43, who places it to the south of the city and equates it with the plain that lies between Milas and the fortress of Beçin: “Der antike Name von Beçin Kalesi war wahrscheinlich Omba.” Sacred land of Zeus Osogō in this plain in addition to that named in 8c: *I.Mylasa* 203, 204, EA 19 (1992) 5–6, no. 217B, all of 2nd century date. It is not to be excluded that the land here referred to is precisely that which Olympichos donated. The Omba plain meets that of Labraunda/Olymos to the east of the modern city.

³⁴ *I.Mylasa* vol. II, index, s.v. Several of the Olymian lease documents mention in turn the sacred land of Zeus Labraundos as neighbour: 805, 6; 806, 17; 817, 2; 831, 3.

ἐν τῶι ἄνω πεδίωι listed in ll. 28–34)³⁵, eleven have the ἱερὰ γῆ of Zeus Labraundos as one of their neighbours, three of these also border on the ἱερὰ γῆ of Artemis and Apollo (of Olymos); six properties border either on the ἱερὰ γῆ of Artemis and Apollo or on land belonging to a subdivision of Olymos.³⁶

The names of 22 individual owners of neighbouring land are recorded, some of whom feature multiple times (Μεγακλῆς Ἐκατομνω occurs as neighbour five times (in **7**, **8**, **10**, **11** and **12**), while three brothers, Μεγακλῆς Ἰατροκλέους, Μελαινεὺς Ἰατροκλέους and [- -] Ἰατροκλέους are recorded as neighbours to five separate plots (Μεγακλῆς three times, in **2** and **7**; Μελαινεὺς once, in **8**, and their unnamed brother once, in **14**). Others recur twice, three, or four times. Among the 22 surviving names there are four lots of three brothers: the sons of Ἰατροκλῆς, as above; three sons of Θαργήλιος (in **2**, clearly adjoining plots); three sons of Οὐλιάδης (in **3**, probably also adjoining); and three (maybe four) sons of Μέλας (**1**, **3**, **9**, **10**, **11**, **12**, **13** and **14**).³⁷ It seems therefore that we are looking at a relatively compact set of estates in the region between Olymos and Labraunda, cut through by at least two rivers and two roads, a patchwork, whose precise configuration cannot unfortunately be reconstructed, but in which the same properties recur several times because they were coterminous several times over with the lands that Olympichos donated to the Mylaseis and which he had bought from Queen Laodike.³⁸

Crampa, by comparing this document with others from the Olymos-Mylasa region, many of which are conventionally (though in many cases not securely) dated to the late second or early first century, attempted to establish prosopographical links that would fix its date to that same

35 The location of the ‘upper plain’ is not obvious to me. Crampa, ad loc. does not discuss it. Since the list of properties located here has as one of its neighbours the property of the Kendēbeis, one of Olymos’ *phylai*, the upper plain must have lain between Olymos and Labraunda. The Ortaköy plain (500 m) east of Labraunda, suggested to me by O. Henry, would not qualify.

36 A further plot borders on the ἱερὰ γῆ of Artemis and Apollo but not on that of Zeus Labraundos. Williamson, *City and Sanctuary*, 104) comments that “Labraunda appears to be at or near a vital border of Mylasa’s territory to the north, while the sacred road and the ridge that it follows to the south may mark the boundary with the polis of Olymos to the west”; if so, the Labraundan share of the plain was very slight: the south-eastern corner. In **4** and **5** however, sacred land of Zeus Labraundos is located on both sides of the *demasia hodoi* (if this equates to our designation of ‘sacred road’?) and in **13**, sacred land of (Olympian) Apollo and Artemis does not appear to be separated by a road from sacred land of Zeus Labraundos.

37 Ἀττίνας Μέλανος occurs once in the upper plain (**9**), twice in **10**, once in **3**; Ἀρτεμίδωρος Μέλανος in **1** (securely restored) and **11**; Μεγακλῆς Μέλανος in the upper plain (**9**) close to his brother Ἀττίνας, and in **13**. I consider Πολίτης Μέλανος τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου (**11**, **12**, **14**) to be unrelated, even though in **12** he is named only as Πολίτης Μέλανος.

38 Crampa thought that e.g. Μεγακλῆς Ἐκατομνω (not otherwise known) was a “rich proprietor” who “owned five lands” (*ILabraunda* II, p. 151) but it seems to me very possible that the same plot of land adjoined five others, or that at most two plots owned by Megakles shared borders with a total of five of those owned by Olympichos (most of the plots have at least five neighbours, but as many as eight are recorded: see the schedule in Appendix 1). For instance, **7** and **8**, Ὑαλωκα μικρά and μεγάλα, are probably adjoining, and both have Μεγακλῆς as a neighbour. Crampa also argued that this catalogue “affords an excellent illustration of the correct view that the temple lands did not form a continuous block but consisted of scattered parcels” (144). I do not think that this catalogue necessarily proves this point. Cf. also Williamson, *City and Sanctuary*, 156: “If anything, the inscriptions listing sacred lands belonging to Zeus Labraundos as being adjacent to those of Apollo and Artemis of Olymos speak for a patchwork landscape with blurred boundaries between the two *poleis*” [*sic*]. How precisely the boundaries between the Olymis and Labraundan territory were drawn we do not know, very likely not in a straight line, but this does not mean that boundaries were “blurred”: precisely the opposite would seem to be the case.

period. By his own admission, “a connection with previously known proper names can be found only for barely a fourth of those of the present document” (that is, approximately five names), while the names of “several very rich landowners occurring in the compared group are missing here” (*ILabraunda* II, 150–151). He adds that “the similarity of the names is certainly casual in one instance or other” and that “some names in the compared group may seem to indicate one or two generations later than those in our inscription” (151). The few names that can be so compared are in all instances very common to the Mylasa region, and in my view no secure prosopographical link can be established that would allow us to fix individuals in *ILabraunda* 69 to the late second century.

For instance Ἀριστέας Διονυσίου (ll. 41, 43–44) is linked by Crampa with a similarly named Ἀριστέας Διονυσίου in *IMylasa* 801.21, 816B.2–3 and 837.5. The latter may or may not be the same man as Ἀριστέας Διονυσίου τοῦ Ἀριστέου τοῦ Ἐπαινέτου, Παρεμβωρδεύς (*IMylasa* 806.6, 822.5). Both names are however very common in the Mylasa region and our Ἀριστέας, if related, may just as well be an ancestor several times removed.³⁹ Names run in families over several generations. When trying to elucidate some of the names occurring in *ILabraunda* 8c (which are of course securely dated to the time of Olympichos, i.e. the 240s) Crampa writes e.g. of Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀριστέου (in l. 29) that he “may have belonged to the same family as the archon Ἐκατομνωσ Ἀριστέου τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου in LBW 394” [= *IMylasa* 102] “from the late 2nd cent. B.C.” (p. 62, n. 27). Here two individuals with closely related names cannot be placed in close chronological proximity because of what we know about the certain date of *ILabraunda* 8c. The two men are more than a century, some four generations, apart. Had the same name occurred in no. 69, however, one suspects that a relationship much closer in time would have been suggested for these two men. The problems are obvious.

Κόρρις (no father’s name), who features in 69, l. 31, in a badly understood sequence is linked by Crampa (p. 149) to Κόρρις the priest of the 240s,⁴⁰ with the importance of the bearer given as an explanation for the lack of the father’s name. τὰ Κόρρι, however, is oddly translated by Crampa as “which belonged once to Korris” (my underlining) presumably because in a late second-century context he needs to be placed in the distant past. How precisely this designation should be understood in relation to the priest of the 240s remains unclear.⁴¹

Olympichos (if the lands here listed are indeed those in his possession) therefore donated to the Mylaseis and to Zeus Osogō land, most of which directly adjoined the ἱερά γῆ of Zeus Labraundos, thus making the two deities *de facto* neighbouring landowners and giving the Myla-

39 The Διοσκούριδης Διονυσίου τοῦ Ἀριστέου in *IMylasa* 214, whom Crampa thought was possibly a grandson of Ἀριστέας Διονυσίου, features among property owners in the plain of Omba, and the inscription in question is dated by Pernin to the late second century (Pernin, *Baux*, no. 145, with schedule of the date on p. 412), the same date which she attributes to the inscriptions in which his possible ‘grandfather’ features (Pernin, *Baux*, 166).

40 Although on p. 151 an attempt is made to link him to Κόρρις Μενεκλείους from the Olymian *syngeneia* of the Kormoskōneis (*IMylasa* 831, 833), this does not convince given the lack of a father’s name which suggests that the individual was well enough known not to need further defining. Pernin, p. 410, dates Κόρρις Μενεκλείους to “Generation I”, i.e. to the mid second century BC.

41 The name preceding τὰ Κόρρι is given by Crampa as Κενδηβοφορος but the squeeze in Uppsala shows it to be Κενδηβου ὄρος, presumably from the personal name Κενδηβης. This leaves the exact meaning of the sequence unclear, but C’s translation “and Kendebopsoros, which belonged (once) to Korris” cannot be right in either case. This entire cluster of names and locations is very unclear and not much can be concluded from it.

seis control over land immediately adjoining that which the Labraundan priest Korris so strongly claimed and defended in his letters to Seleukos II.⁴²

Queen Laodike

Olympichos had bought the land which he donated from ‘Queen Laodike’ (*ILabraunda* 8, 17–20; our text l. 6).⁴³ The identity of this queen has been debated, and the new text does not allow us to add anything new to what was already known since Crampa’s publication of the Olympichos dossier. The two most likely queens are Laodike I, the wife of Antiochos II (mother of Seleukos II and Antiochos Hierax), and Laodike II, the wife of Seleukos II.⁴⁴ Crampa argued, in my view convincingly, that the chronology of the acquisition and the subsequent sale is implausibly tight in the case of the wife whom Seleukos II married probably in 246 BC.⁴⁵ The acquisition can only have occurred after that date, a scenario which requires the new queen to have bought or received the land at some point after Seleukos freed Mylasa, only then almost immediately to sell it to Olympichos, who soon after donated it to the Mylaseis and their Zeus. In Crampa’s view, the better candidate is the wife of Antiochos II, who may have acquired the land after Antiochos’ conquest of the region early in his reign.⁴⁶ Whether this land, like the large estate in the Hellenistic satrapy near Kyzikos, which was sold to her by Antiochos in 254/3 BC, was part of what is usually and possibly misguidedly referred to as her ‘divorce’ settlement, cannot be known.⁴⁷

Those who disagree with Crampa consider the ‘younger’ Laodike, the wife of Seleukos II, the only likely candidate. B. Virgilio and others have put forward the argument that only the current queen would be referred to with the title of βασιλίσσα.⁴⁸ I am not sure that this is a conclu-

42 *ILabraunda*, 1 and 3.

43 Unlike Capdetrey, *Pouvoir séleucide*, 145–146 (if I understand him correctly), I do not think that the text of 8b allows us to separate those παράδεισοι bought from Laodike from the other γέαι which Olympichos donates, nor am I persuaded that these παράδεισοι are anything other than the ‘gardens’, which we encounter elsewhere in the Mylasa land-lease documents (cf. *IMylasa* 206); how can we know that they were “domaines de fonction” or “de prestige”?

44 For other possibilities (rightly rejected) see Crampa in *ILabraunda* I, p. 60.

45 On the likely date of the marriage see J. D. Grainger, *A Seleukid Prosopography and Gazetteer* (1997) 48.

46 On Antiochos’ conquest of the region see J. Kobes, *EA* 24 (1995) 1–6, J. Ma, *Antiochos III and the Cities of Western Asia Minor* (2nd ed., 2002) ch. 2, with p. 68 specifically on Mylasa. Implicitly agreeing with Crampa is Bencivenni, *Progetti*, p. 283; explicitly, G. Reger, *EA* 30 (1998) 12 and J. Kobes, *Kleine Könige. Untersuchungen zu den Lokaldynasten im hellenistischen Kleinasien (323–188 v. Chr.)* (1996) 137–138.

47 On the ‘repudiation’ or ‘divorce’ of Laodike upon Antiochos’ marriage to Berenike, daughter of Ptolemy II, see L. Martinez-Sève, *Laodice, femme d’Antiochos II: du roman à la reconstruction historique*, *REG* 116 (2003) 690–706. We should avoid the temptation to attribute the Mylasan land to this queen merely because we happen to know that she owned land elsewhere: near Kyzikos (Welles, *RC* 18–20; *OGIS* 225; *I.Didyma* 492), and also in Babylonia jointly with her two sons: G. F. Del Monte, *Testi dalla Babilonia ellenistica I* (1997) 44–45, with all references; translation in A. Kuhrt and S. M. Sherwin-White, *From Samarkhand to Sardis* (1993) 128–129; date: 21 March 236 BC. This land she and her sons donated to the Babylonians, Borsippans and Kuthaeans, as the document shows, in a gesture and procedure not dissimilar to that of Olympichos to the Mylaseis (beneficiaries to be the main sanctuaries of Babylon, Borsippa and Kutha). See on these possessions (though not on the Labraunda sale) now also G. Ramsay, *Seleukid Land and Native Populations: Laodike II and the Competition for Power in Asia Minor and Babylonia*, in R. Oetjen, F. X. Ryan (eds), *Seleukeia. Studies in Seleucid History, Archaeology and Numismatics in Honor of Getzel M. Cohen*, forthcoming. Her death must have occurred after this date. On the relation between Olympichos and Laodike see I. Savalli-Lestrade, *Simblos* 2001, 282–283.

48 Martinez-Sève, 698–699, n. 52: “On considère souvent qu’il s’agit de notre Laodice, mais B. Virgilio, dans ‘Roi, ville et temple dans les inscriptions de Labraunda’ *REA* 103 (2001) p. 436, l’identifie comme la femme

sive argument. Olympichos, when concluding the transaction, will have dealt with the woman who was queen at the time of the sale, and presumably was so named in the contract. But the question has to remain open.

What is new, if my interpretation is accepted, is that the land which Olympichos bought from Queen Laodike was not just one estate in the plain around the city, as most seem to think, but a whole cluster of estates in the plain between Labraunda and Olymos.⁴⁹ This land, almost all of which adjoined the sacred land of Zeus Labraundos, will have once been part of the estates of the Hekatomnid satrapal family. Its precise relation to the land controlled by the priestly dynasty of Labraunda (itself doubtless a branch of the Hekatomnid family)⁵⁰ and by Labraundan Zeus, is lost in the mist of history. Some of it became royal land at the beginning of the Hellenistic period,⁵¹ but whether it was, before that, clearly distinguished between land held by the ruling satrap, by the Labraundan priest, and by Zeus of Labraunda, cannot be answered.

Μίσθωσις εἰς (τὰ) πατρικά

We must finally turn to the relation between our document and the fragmentary *ILabraunda* 8a, first on the stele, and also part of a decree. This text is concerned, in its first seven lines, with judicial procedures and with punishments (including loss of citizenship and property, and the incurring of a curse for those who act in contravention of something which has just been voted by the Mylaseis (4–6): ἐξώλης [ἔστω αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ ἐξ αὐ]τοῦ καὶ ἐπικατάρματος καὶ ἄτιμος . . . καὶ ἔστω τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτοῦ ἱερά Διὸς Ὀσο[ογω]: ‘let him and his descendants be utterly destroyed and accursed, and dishonoured ... and let his possessions be sacred to Zeus Osogō’. Anyone who so wishes is permitted to bring a case against any person perpetrating such an act, without any time-limit imposed: [καὶ ἐξέστω τῷ βου]λομένῳ εὐθύνην τὸν μὴ ἐμμείναντα ἄνευ π[ροθεσμίας παρευρέσει μη]δεμιᾷ ἐκκλειομένῳ. Immediately after that final pronouncement (l. 6–8): the decree ends with the following statement (8): ἐμισθώσατο Ὀλύπιχος α[ὐτὰ παρ] ἡμῶν εἰς πατρικά] τακτοῦ φόρου ἐκάστου ἔτους δραχμῶν Ἀλεξ[ανδρείων - - -].

What is the connection between Olympichos’ leasing back from the Mylaseis, εἰς πατρικά, at a fixed rate, the lands he has just transferred to them, and the severe and exceptional procedures adopted in this decree?⁵² The tone and nature of the sanctions are not what we would expect in ordinary leasing procedures: they are rather those used in highly charged political cases, such as that against the would-be assassins of Maussōllos (*IMylasa* 1, 15–16; 2, 10–15), or in documents

de Séleucos II. La façon de la désigner, “la reine Laodice”, sans davantage de précision, rend cette hypothèse séduisante. S’il avait évoqué la mère du roi (notre Laodice) l’auteur du document l’aurait sans doute précisée; voir aussi A. Mastrocinque, *La Caria e la Ionia meridionale in epoca ellenistica*, 1979, p. 133, pour une proposition semblable.” Cf also Virgilio, *Lancia, diadema e porpora, il re e la regalita ellenistica*, SE 11 (1999) 146, without any argument but with a reference to J. and L. Robert, *BE* 1970, 549. Virgilio (146) considers the donation to have been “probabilmente ... uno dei primi atti compiuti dallo stratego seleucidico poco dopo il suo insediamento con l’intento di guadagnarsi le simpatie locali”, which narrows down the chronological window to a very narrow one indeed.

49 So e.g. G. Reger, *EA* 30 (1998), 12: “a parcel of land”.

50 So, convincingly, P. Debord, Who is Who in Labraunda, in Karlsson and Carlsson, *Labraunda*, 133–147, at 135–137, based on G. Maddoli, *Epigrafi di Iasos. Nuovi Supplementi I*, *PP* 62 (2007) at 306–316.

51 So also Descat–Pernin, *Chronologie*, 226: “à l’origine une *dôrea* royale”.

52 J. and L. Robert, *BE* 1970, 549, seem too laconic about the significance of the wording: “La première partie ... est la fin d’un décret de Mylasa avec des sanctions, matérielles et morales, prévues contre ceux qui transgressent des clauses; il s’agit évidemment de la ferme des domaines dont il est question dans la suite.”

where a lot is at stake and where oaths are sworn (such as the agreement concluded between Eumenes I of Pergamon and his soldiers: *I.v.P.* I. 13, *OGIS* 266), or in those setting up new laws or implementing changes to existing laws, or in religious prescriptions (see for instance *I.Mylasa* 941, from Kasōssos), or the sale of priesthods (e.g. *I.Priene* 201 = Sokolowski, *LSAM* 38A = *I.Priene*² 146 l. 19–20; *I.Priene* 202 = Sokolowski, *LSAM* 38B = *I.Priene*² 147 l. 20).

I wonder, but this cannot be more than a hypothesis, whether Olympichos' instructions to lease out the lands given in permanent ownership to Zeus Osogō εἰς πατρικά, 'in hereditary possession' (using Macedonian vocabulary) in fact introduced a new concept and a new procedure to the Mylaseis, which necessitated either the adaptation of the laws governing existing procedures or the adoption of new ones.⁵³ It seems to me that only a significant and permanent alteration of existing practices can explain the language in 8a. There is no doubt that the origin of the term εἰς πατρικά is Macedonian, despite the slight differences in form (and the clear differences in substance, see below): ἐν τοῖς πατρικοῖς is what we encounter in Macedonian and Thessalian documents from the fourth century BC onwards;⁵⁴ εἰς τὸ πατρικόν occurs in two cases where a Macedonian model must be presupposed,⁵⁵ while εἰς (τὰ) πατρικά is the form used in Mylasa and adjoining communities (Mylasa, Labraunda, Olymos, Hydai, Sinuri and Hyllarima), though only in the very specific context of emphyteutic leaseholds.⁵⁶ The pattern, which is too distinctive to be the result of a mere coincidence, invites questions about origin, comparability and transmission. At the very least, we should ask why it was Macedonian (and not, e.g., Athenian, or Rhodian) terminology that became the norm in the greater Mylasa region (but nowhere else in Asia Minor).⁵⁷

In Macedonian documents, ἐν τοῖς πατρικοῖς occurs exclusively in cases of royal donations of landed estates (δωρεά), where the king grants hereditary possession to individuals. Estates

53 Evidence for Mylasan laws governing procedures of land sale, acquisition (including the procedure of taking possession – ἔμβασις) and leasing out e.g. in *I.Mylasa* 220, 3: ἐνεβίβασεν κατὰ τὸν νόμον; cf. 208, 12: πράσσοσιν κατὰ τὸν πωλητικὸν νόμον. *I.Mylasa* 802, 6 (Olymos): καὶ ἀναγραφαμένους τὰς κυριείας αὐτῶν εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς ἀκολούθως τοῖς νόμοις τοῖς κειμένους περὶ τῆς ὠνῆς] was restored by Judeich and adopted by Blümel, but not by Pernin (no. 167).

54 The most recent discussion, which reviews all the Macedonian evidence, and presents two new documents from Antigonid-controlled Thessaly, is by Tziafalias–Helly, *Lettres royales*. The original elucidation of the Macedonian system owes much to fundamental studies by M. Hatzopoulos, as Tziafalias and Helly amply acknowledge (bibliographical references on p. 72–73). Cf. also Velissaropoulos–Karakostas, *Droit grec*, II, 105–118 and Thonemann, *Krateuas*, especially on pp. 364–368.

55 Ikaros (Failaka): time of Seleukos II or Antiochos III: εἰς τὸ πατρικόν is used of land granted in permanent hereditary possession by a Seleukid king to Macedonian colonists on the island: F. Canali De Rossi, *Iscrizioni dello Estremo Oriente Greco* (IK vol. 65, 2004) 422, with further references; cf. also Velissaropoulos–Karakostas, *Droit grec*, II, 111. In the Skythopolis (Hefzibah) inscription from Palestine (*SEG* 29, 1613, ll. 23–24, dated to c. 200–195 BC), the *strategos* Ptolemaios in a memorandum refers to εἰς τὰς ὑπ[αρχ]οῦσας μοι κώ[μ]ας [ἐγ]γήσει καὶ εἰς [τ]ὸ πατρικόν καὶ εἰς [ἄ]ς σὺ προ[σ]έταξας καταγράψ[αι] ... Cf. Velissaropoulos–Karakostas, II, 113–115 (text, translation and discussion). The evidence for Mylasa, Olymos, Hydai and Sinuri can be conveniently found in Pernin, *Baux*, with a discussion of εἰς πατρικά on p. 424, with reference to the study of Behrend, *Pachtdokumente*). It is unclear to me why she does not consider *I.Labraunda* 8 worthy of inclusion, as one of the very first examples (perhaps the very first – see below) of a μίσθωσις εἰς πατρικά in the Mylasa region.

56 The Hyllarima document (part D) is not, as Pernin states, from the end of the 3rd century BC, but rather of c. 197 BC: cf. *REA* 107 (2005) 623–636; *SEG* 55, 1113. The end of C, which is not reproduced in Pernin, also has a reference to μίσθωσις εἰς πατρικά (by Λέων Διονυσίου from the Hyllarimeis).

57 On the terminology used elsewhere in the Greek world (εἰς αἶι, εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον, κατὰ βίου) etc. see e.g. Behrend, *Pachtdokumente*, 148.

so granted changed status and became a part of an individual's patrimonium, which could be passed on to descendants, or sold, or given away. Whether the king continued to have an ultimate hold over such land ("un droit de propriété éminente")⁵⁸ has been vigorously debated, both in the past and more recently, in part with the aid of the Mylasan lease documents, which served those who argued that royal gifts ἐν τοῖς πατρικοῖς were never more than a kind of hereditary lease-hold, revocable and renewable by the king.⁵⁹

My intention here is not to enter the debate about the nature and status of royal gift land as between Macedonian and Achaemenid, or about the impact on patterns of land tenure of the Macedonian conquest,⁶⁰ nor could I even begin to explain the origins of, or the reasons for, the unique use made of the concept of hereditary leasehold in the course of the second and early first centuries by the Mylaseis, the Olymeis, the Hydaeis and the *syngeneiai* of Sinuri.⁶¹ The main interest I have is in understanding the actual process of transmission of the concept between two different societies. Can we understand the Mylasan adoption of Macedonian vocabulary as a kind of mutation of an existing concept and, in this case, can we see in Olympichos a prime instigator, after which the Mylaseis took his innovation and ran with it?⁶² Did the nature of the land which Olympichos donated (and which had, only recently, been royal land) and the grand, practically royal, gesture of the gift itself (αἰρού[μ]ην[οῖ] δ' ἐν οὐθε]νὶ δ[ε]ύτεροι εἶναι τῶν εὐεργετησάντων πο[τὲ τὴν πό]λιν) play a part in how the procedure was conceptualised? Unlike a royal δωρεά, given to an individual, Olympichos bestowed the land on a deity, and the collectivity that managed his cult, the Mylaseis. In order to make the land work for their god, it had to be leased out. In order for the revenue to serve the deity in all perpetuity (ἵνα δὲ καὶ ἡ ἀπὸ το[ύτων] πρόσσδος ὑπάρχη τῶι θεῶι ἐς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον) the concept of patrimonial possession, which operated in Macedonia for a different purpose, namely the transmission of land, was here applied to the right of hereditary possession of the lease.⁶³ That the lessee happened

58 Descat-Pernin, *Chronologie*, 225.

59 The history and the parameters of the debate are well discussed in Tziafalias-Helly, *Lettres royales*, whose interpretation I find convincing. See also the discussion in Velissaropoulos-Karakostas, *Droit grec*, II, 105–118 and 339–344 (Mylasa leases) and in Thonemann, Kratueas. *Fundamental on the Karian leases*, but with an interpretation which differs markedly from those of the other authors in arguing that land ἐν πατρικοῖς remained the king's, Behrend, *Pachtdokumente*. Similarly, A. Bresson, *L'économie de la Grèce des cités (fin VI^e-I^{er} siècle a.C.) I. Les structures et la production* (2007) 116–122.

60 The nature of Achaemenid gift land has been recently well discussed by Thonemann, Kratueas, with reference to fundamental earlier studies by P. Briant and R. Descat.

61 Well over a hundred inscriptions from Mylasa, Olymos, Sinuri and Hydai document series of land transactions whose main purpose was to acquire, for the collectivities and their gods, land from individual owners, and to lease out the same land on a hereditary basis, often to the person from whom the land had been acquired in the first place. The procedures were elaborate, formal, and involved the approval of the relevant assemblies. The procedure is well described by Blümel in *I.Mylasa I*, p. 74–75, and has been the subject of much speculation as to its origin, purpose, date, etc. For a balanced discussion, a presentation of all the documentation, and a full bibliography, see now Pernin, *Baux*, 296–445. Add J. Sosin, *Endowments and Taxation in the Hellenistic period*, *Ancient Society* 44 (2014) 43–89, with yet another explanation of the purpose of the Mylasan leases.

62 Cf. perceptively and (unduly) proleptically, Williamson, *City and Sanctuary*, 145: "Olympichos, while still in charge, initiated a mechanism of donating or selling private lands to a sanctuary and then leasing them back to the original owner with interest."

63 See Behrend, *Pachtdokumente*, 149: "Man hat von der Erbpacht, wie sie uns in den Urkunden aus Mylasa entgegentritt, mit gewissem Recht gesagt, daß dabei die bloße Form der Langzeitpacht ... dazu benützt wurde, ein wirtschaftlich völlig anderes Geschäft rechtlich zu konstruieren."

to be Olympichos himself is an extraordinary but undeniable twist in the story. It is ironical that before it became a royal possession, this land had been Hekatomnid, so that, by granting it in perpetuity to the god of the Mylaseis (Zeus Osogō),⁶⁴ not to Zeus of Labraunda, favoured by the Hekatomnid family, Olympichos removed it forever from Hekatomnid control.

The procedure of leasing out land (whether sacred, or public, or belonging to a *phyle* or *syngeneia*) in order to generate regular income, may have existed before the mid-third century; it may even have included a hereditary element: we have no direct evidence for it from the wider Mylasa region.⁶⁵ Most of the very large dossier of lease documents that we have post-dates the third century.⁶⁶ In the end, we cannot decide conclusively whether the terminology was first used in Olympichos's deed of gift: the danger of arguing from silence need not be spelled out. The only other third-century occurrence of the term εἰς τὰ πατρικά, apart from the Olympichos letter, is in a decree issued by the Otōrkondeis, one of Mylasa's *phylai*, whose date has not been fixed beyond the rather vague 'third century'. This extremely interesting document, of which only a very illegible squeeze exists (here reproduced as fig. 12),⁶⁷ shows the Otōrkondeis in ἐκκλησία



Fig. 12. Squeeze of *I.Mylasa* 201 (photo G. Reger)

64 Already so in the fourth century: see *I.Mylasa* 11 (EA 16, 1990, 29–42, no. 1; SEG 40, 991).

65 On the development of leases more generally, including hereditary ones, see Pernin, *Baux*, 485–525.

66 The main body of these documents has now again been dated by Pernin (though without absolute certainty) to the 2nd and early 1st century BC, after several attempts, by Pernin herself, with R. Descat, and by G. Reger and R. Ashton, to date at least the earlier of the documents to the late 3rd century. A full discussion with all references in Pernin, *Baux*, 405–416. I am doubtful about the low dating, but have no real grounds for contesting it.

67 *I.Mylasa* 201, with all references; Pernin, *Baux*, no. 137. The squeeze is in the Kleinasiatische Kommission in Vienna. Descat–Pernin, *Chronologie*, did not use this, but reproduced instead the facsimile drawing of Hula: at p. 204.

κυρία deciding on the leasing out εἰς τὰ πατρικά of land belonging to the *phyle*, at an annual rent of forty gold staters. The lessees are to farm the land just as others (owners) farm theirs, paying all εἰσφορά as well as ‘whatever may befall them from the βασιλικόν or from the πολιτικόν, just like those who farm their own land’. They may not sell, mortgage, transfer the land or give it as security for a debt, whether owed to the βασιλικόν or the πόλις or an individual.⁶⁸

Whatever the date, the vocabulary used is again clearly Macedonian. The βασιλικόν suggests a Seleukid context. We may be in the final decades of the third century, during the reconquest of the region by Antiochos III, but a date in the 240s (Seleukos II and Olympichos) is equally possible: as Crampa rightly saw, the αὐτονομία and δημοκρατία granted by Seleukos II to the city, by way of his *strategos* Olympichos, did not mean that the city was free from the obligation to contribute to the royal coffers when so required. The obligation in itself cannot date the text. The letter forms cannot do so either, although what can be discerned to me suggests a date in the second half of the third century.⁶⁹ If, on the other hand, this text predates Olympichos and belongs to the 250s (Antiochos II), then evidently an earlier adoption of both vocabulary and procedure must be assumed, perhaps under Antiochos II, or earlier still, already under the Macedonian *strategos* Asandros in the final decade of the fourth century. Until an opportunity presents itself to date more precisely either this, or any other document in which the same vocabulary is used, we may continue to imagine that it was Olympichos himself who kick-started a process whose extraordinary later development not even he could have foreseen.

Abbreviations

- Behrend, Pacht Dokumente: D. Behrend, *Rechtshistorische Betrachtungen zu den Pacht Dokumenten aus Mylasa und Olymos, Akten des VI. Internationalen Kongresses für Griechische und Lateinische Epigraphik. München 1972 (Vestigia 17, 1973) 145–168.*
- Bencivenni, *Progetti*: A. Bencivenni, *Progetti di riforme costituzionali nelle epigrafi greche dei secoli IV–II a.C.* (2003).
- Capdetrey, *Pouvoir séleucide*: L. Capdetrey, *Le pouvoir séleucide. Territoire, administration, finances d’un royaume hellénistique (312–129 avant J.-C.)* (2007).
- Descat-Pernin, *Chronologie*: R. Descat, I. Pernin, *Notes sur la chronologie et l’histoire des baux de Mylasa, SE 20* (2008) 285–314.
- I.Didyma*: A. Rehm, *Didyma II. Die Inschriften* (1958).
- I.Labraunda 1*: *Labraunda, Swedish excavations and researches III.1* (1969), J. Crampa, *The Greek inscriptions: Part 1: 1–12 (Period of Olympichus)*.
- I.Labraunda 2*: *Labraunda, Swedish excavations and researches III.2* (1972), J. Crampa, *The Greek inscriptions: Part II: 13–133*.
- I.Mylasa*: W. Blümel, *Die Inschriften von Mylasa vols. 1 and 2, Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien Bd. 34–35* (1987–88).

68 Ll. 7–12: ἵ[να γεωρ]γῶνται οἱ μισθωσάμενοι τὴν γῆν καθάπερ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τὰς ἰδίας γεωργίας ἐ[ργάζον]-
ται, καὶ τὰς τε εἰσφορὰς διορθώσονται πάσας [καὶ τὰ] προσπί[π]τοντα ἐκ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ ἢ [πολι]τικοῦ καθάπερ
καὶ οἱ τὰς ἰδίας γεωργίας γεωργοῦντες μὴ ἐξέστω δὲ τοῖς μισθωσαμ[έ]νοις μήτε ἀποδόσθαι τὴν γῆν ταύτην μήτε
ὑποθεῖναι μηδὲ ἄλλοις παραδοῦναι μηδ’ ἐ[νέχ]υρα παρέχεσθαι πρὸς τι τῶν ὀφειλημάτων μήτε εἰς τὸ βασιλικόν
μήτε εἰς τὸ πολιτικόν μήτε ἰδιώτηι μηθενί.

69 *I.Labraunda I*, 84.

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Özet

Makalede Mylasa’da bulunmuş yeni bir yazıt yayınlanmaktadır. Bu yazıt, Labraunda kökenli büyük Olypikhos dosyasına önemli katkılar yapmaktadır. 3. yüzyılda yaşamış olan bu komutan ve yerel hanedan önderinden bahseden bu yazıt olasılıkla Mylasa’daki Zeus Osogō tapınağından getirilmiş olmalıdır. Bu yazıt, *ILabraunda*, no. 8’deki yazıtla yakın bir ilişki içindedir. Makalede, bu yazıtın ve diğer yüzündeki *ILabraunda*, no. 69’un, J. Crampa’nın düşündüğü gibi İ.Ö. 2. yüzyıl sonlarına değil, Olypikhos’un dönemine tarihlenmesi gerektiği ileri sürülmektedir. Yine bu makalede iddia edilmektedir ki, *ILabraunda*, no. 69’da listesi verilen araziler Olypikhos’un bir zamanlar Kraliçe Laodike’den satın aldığı arazilerdir.

Appendix 1: *L.Labraunda 69*

Lands	Neighbours	Features and observations	Name
1 (ll. 1–2)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. river: ποταμός 2. [ἱερὰ γῆ Διὸς Λαβραυνίου] 3. Ἀρτέμιδος Μ[έ]λα[νος] 	the neighbours are [πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ]	name lost
2 (ll. 3–7)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Ἀριστέας Φαργηλίου 2. [---?--- Φαργηλίου] 3. [----- Φαργηλίου] 4. Πολίτης Φαργηλίου 5. τὰ ἱερὰ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος] 6. [ἡ ἱερὰ γῆ Διὸς Λαβραυνίου] 7. Μεγακλῆς Ἰατροκλείους 8. τὰ δη[μόσια] 	with all its fruit trees and vines and ... and [οικόπεδα?]	name lost (l. 3)
3 (ll. 7–10)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. [-----] 2. [---]ωνιος Οὐλιάδου 3. Ἰάσων Οὐλιάδου 4. Ἀ[τ]ρίνας Μέ[λανος] 5. [-----] 6. [-----]ς Οὐλιάδου 	with all its fruit trees and vines, οικόπεδα and other trees	named Τράπεζα
4 (ll. 10–14)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. river called [.]υ[.]σιος 2. ἱερὰ γῆ Ἀ[πόλλωνος καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος] 3. [?]ῆ ἱερὰ] Διὸς Λαβραυνίου 4. river called Κε[ν]ιος 5. [the δημοσία ὁδός] 6. Μητρόδωρος [Ξ]ένωνος 7. [ἱερὰ γῆ] Διὸς Λαβραυνίου 8. Ἰατροκλή[ς] Ἰάσωνος 	6 is located across the δημοσία ὁδός; 7 and 8 across the river (Κενίως)	named [-----]ας

5 (ll. 14–18)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. [ἱερά γῆ Διὸς Λαβραῦνδου 2. Πρωταγόρας Θεοδώρου 3. the δημοσία ὁδός 4. [M]έγης Φανίου 5. Μητρόδωρος Ξένωνος 6. ἱερά γῆ Διὸς Λαβραῦνδου 	<p>with all its fruit trees and other trees and οἱ[κόπεδον]</p> <p>4, 5 and 6 are probably located across the ὁδός</p>	name lost
6 (ll. 18–20)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. ἱερά γῆ Δ[ιὸς Λαβραῦνδου 2. Μητρόδωρος Ξένων[ος] 3. name lost 4. the river called [κενίως?] 5. συγγενική γῆ 6. [- - - - -] 	<p>6 is located across the river</p>	named [. . .] ἠωκα
7 (ll. 20–24)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. [αἱ ὁδοὶ] αἱ δ[η]μόσιαι 2. Ἰάσων Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Ἀσκληπιάδου 3. Μεγακλῆς Ἐκατομνω 4. Μεγακλῆς Ἰατροκλείους 5. ἱερά γῆ Διὸς Λαβραῦνδου 	<p>with all its fruit trees, and the adjoining - - - - and the other trees and οἰκόπεδα ‘in the village’</p> <p>2, 3, 4 and 5 are located across the δημοσία ὁδός</p>	named Υαλωκα μικρά
8 (ll. 24–28)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. αἱ ὁδοὶ αἱ δημοσῖαι 2. ἱερά γῆ Διὸς Λαβραῦνδου 3. Μεγακλῆς Ἐκατομνω 4. [ῆ] ἱερά Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος 5. Μένης Φανίου 6. the threshing floor of the Mösseis 7. Μελατινεὺς Ἰατροκλείους 	<p>with all its fruit trees and other trees</p> <p>4, 5, 6 are located across the δημοσία ὁδός</p> <p>7 is located after traversing the threshing floor of the Mösseis</p>	named [Υα.]λ[ω][κα μεγά]λα? καὶ τὰ καλούμενα Ερμαπιλος

<p>in the upper plain: 9a/b/c (ll. 28–34)</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. ἰεῖρά γῆ Διὸς Λαβραῦνδου 2. Μεγακλῆς Μέλανος 3. Φ[α]νίας Λέοντος 4. [Α]ττίνας Μέλανος 5. Ἰάσων Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Ἀσκληπιάδου 6. Θεότομος Μουσώλλου 7. the property of the Kendebeis 8. the δημόσιος ἀλλών (hollow, glen?) the above are neighbours to all the plots ‘in the upper plain’ listed under a, b and (multiple) c. 	<p>with all the fruit trees and οἰκόπεδα with the οἰκόπεδα</p>	<p>ἄλλας τὰς ὀνομαζομένας ἐν τῷ ἄνω πεδίῳ</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Κεβιάλεα b. Βουαυλή c. those by the foundation stone (πρὸς τῷ θεμελίῳ): <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • that of Μῦς Ὀλοητου and Παντακλῆς Ἀφ[.]λη? • that of Μέλαις Ἀφ[.]τ[.]εω • Κενδρηβου ὄρος τὰ Κόρρι καὶ Τεβαωσο[.] • that of Μένιππος Ἀττειο
<p>10 (ll. 34–36)</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. [- - - - Διο]νυσίῳ 2. ἰεῖρὰ γῆ Διὸς Λαβραῦνδου 3. Ἀττίνας Μέλαιος 4. the river Κενίως 5. Ἀττίνας Μέλαι[ος] 6. [Μ]εγακ[λ]ῆς Ἐκατομνω 	<p>5 and 6 are located across the river Κενίως</p>	<p>named Συστα</p>
<p>11 (ll. 36–38)</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Μεγακλῆς [Ἐ]κατομνω 2. Πολίτ[ης] Μέλαινος τοῦ Ἀπολλ[ω]ίου 3. Ἀρτεμίδω[ρος] Μέλαινος 4. ἰερά γῆ Διὸς Λαβραῦνδου 		<p>named Κο. [.]νυρεα</p>
<p>12 (ll. 38–41)</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Μεγακλῆς Ἐκατομνω 2. ἰερά γῆ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος 3. τὸ Ταυροφόνιον 4. the river called Κινεως (sic) 5. Μεγακλῆς Ἰ[α]τρο[κ]λείους 6. Ἀριστείας Διονυσίου 7. Π[ο]λίτης Μέλαινος 	<p>5, 6 and 7 are located across the river Κινεως</p>	<p>named Ο[.]μια</p>

13 (ll. 41–44)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Μεγακλή[ς] Μέλανος 2. ἱερά γῆ Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος 3. ἡ ἱερὰ[ῶ] Δ[ί]ος Λαβρά[ῶ]νδου 4. [Ἀρ]ιστείας Δι[ο]νυσίου 5. Μήγ[η]ππος Διονυσίου 6. the land of the Keniētai 	with its fruit trees and vines and its epaulis	named Εορμα
14 (ll. 44–45)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. [- - - -]ς ἱατροκλείους 2. the δημόσιος ἀλών (cf. 9) 3. Π[ολ]ίτης Μέλανος τοῦ [Ἀπολλωνίου] 		named [.]εαδουκα

Ll. 28–34:

all these together form the ἄλλας τὰς ὀνομαζομένηας ἐν τῷ ἄνω πεδίῳ:

1. τῆ[ν] τε κάλυμμένην Κεβιαλεᾶ
2. καὶ Βουφελῆν
3. καὶ τὰ πρὸς τῷ θεμελίῳ, τὴν Μυδὸς Ὀλοητου καὶ Παντακλείους Ἀτ[.]λη?
4. καὶ τὴν Μέλανος τοῦ Ἄτ[.]τῆω
5. καὶ Κενδηβου ὄρος τὰ Κορρι
6. καὶ Τεβαωσι[.]
7. καὶ τὴν Μεγίππου τοῦ Ἄττειο

and on all these border (αἵς > ὄμοροῦσι)

1. ἱε[ρ]ὰ γ[ῆ] Διὸς Λαβραῶνδου
2. Μεγακλῆς Μέλανος
3. Φ[α]νίας Λέοντος
4. [Ἀ]ττίνας Μέλανος
5. Ἰσώγ Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Ἀσκληπιάδου
6. Θεόπομος Μανσώλλου
7. τὰ Κενδηβείων
8. ὁ φύ[λ]ων ὁ δημόσιος.