

**A NEW OLYMPICHOS INSCRIPTION FROM LABRAUNDA:
I. LABRAUNDA 137***

A new inscription was discovered at Labraunda in 2014 by Olivier Henry during the excavations of Andron A.¹ The text, labelled *I. Labraunda 137*², is an important addition to the dossier of inscriptions already known from the sanctuary that was published by J. Crampa in 1969.³ This series records a dispute between the priests of Labraunda and the people of Mylasa over the rights to the sanctuary and the surrounding territory in the second half of the third century BC. The figure of Olympichos plays a pivotal part in these affairs: he originally appears as the strategos of Seleukos II after the liberation of the city c. 246 BC; he subsequently remained in the region and is found acting as a local intermediary with Philip V when the dispute was reignited c. 220 BC. During this period, covering at least a quarter of a century, Olympichos is variously found acting as an advocate of the Mylasans to the kings, or defending his conduct against their complaints; our knowledge of his activities is now supplemented by the new text, which again sees Olympichos taking a central role in local affairs.⁴

The stone

The stone which carries the text is an ashlar block made of white marble. It was found in a pit, probably Byzantine in date, which had been dug at the base of the south wall of Andron A, between the two westernmost windows. In 2015, the stone was moved to the storage room of the excavation project.

* We are grateful to Riet van Bremen for her in depth comments on earlier drafts of this paper, and for contributing an Appendix; valuable insights and discussion at various stages were also provided by Damien Aubriet, Filippo Battistoni, Wolfgang Blümel, Pontus Hellström, and Baptiste Vergnaud, to whom we must also express our thanks. All errors remain our own.

1 The inscription was mentioned in the annual excavation report (Henry *et al.* 2015, 350). It was originally presented by Olivier Henry and Damien Aubriet in April 2014 at the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (Paris). The text of this communication will appear in the *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*; it will be referred to in the present paper as Henry and Aubriet, forthcoming.

2 Since Crampa's 1969 and 1972 publications the following inscriptions have been published, continuing the same numbering: S. Isager – L. Karlsson, A new inscription from Labraunda. Honorary decree for Olympichos: *I. Labraunda* no. 134 (and no. 49), *EA* 41 (2008) 39–52; J. Blid, A newly discovered dedication to Zeus Labraundos. *I. Labraunda* 135, *EA* 43 (2010) 92–94. *I. Labraunda* 136 = O. Henry *et al.*, La mission Labraunda 2013 – Rapport préliminaire, *Anatolia Antiqua* XXII (2014), 272, first published by P. Roos, *ZPE* 50 (1983) 222, and now included in the Labraunda numbering sequence; cf. BE 1983, 399; SEG 33, 871.

3 *I. Labraunda* nos. 1–8. See Virgilio 2001; Dignas 2002, 59–69; Bencivenni 2003, 247ff.

4 The status of Olympichos during the War of the Brothers, and after the appointment of Antiochos Hierax as viceroy of Asia Minor in 239 BC, is unclear; but he apparently maintained his influence in the region during this period to reappear acting under the authority of Philip V in c. 220 BC. Olympichos' influence expanded in the interim, and it seems that he came to adopt the role of a local dynast, with his base at Alinda. The inscription published by S. Isager and L. Karlsson in 2008 records that honours were voted to Olympichos by the Mylasans, and rituals associated with him were included in the official calendar. An inscription from Iasos (*I. Iasos* 150), dated 220–214 BC, also indicates the extension of his influence to the coast. It records a diplomatic mission from Rhodes asking Olympichos to observe the freedom granted to the city by Philip V; see Meadows 1996; Gauthier BE 1997, 536. Polybios (5. 90. 1) also mentions an Olympichos among the *dynastai* of Asia. Cf. Crampa 1969, 86–96; Bencivenni 2003, 258ff.; Aubriet 2012.

Three of the faces of the stone have been smoothed: the inscribed face, and the two sides. It is relatively well preserved, though with some damage to the corners, especially at the top. The measurements of the stone indicate that it was most likely an anta block from the temple of Zeus;⁵ the architectural context will be discussed in greater depth below.

Width: 69.7 cm at the top of the block; 69.8 cm at the bottom. Height: 31.9 cm on the left; 31.5 cm on the right. Depth: 73.9 cm on the left; 75.1 cm on the right.

Inv. No. LAB14.AA.M02.⁶

Layout

There are no great difficulties in reading the inscription, with only minimal damage to the top line. There are fourteen lines of text, with the original margins preserved on both sides: c. 2 cm on the left, while the right margin is irregular (fig. 1). The majority of lines extend the full width of the block; however, there are blank spaces of 1–2 letters at the end of lines 3, 4, 7, 10, 11, and 14. This marks the end of the word in some instances, though this is not always the case. There is a *vacat* of c. 1.8 cm in line 9, which seems to indicate a natural break in the text. A squeeze was made at the site by Olivier Henry (fig. 2).

The letters are fairly regular and evenly spaced, and are cut with serifs. Most letters are c. 1.3–1.5 cm in height; letters get marginally smaller towards the bottom of the text, c. 1.2–1.3 cm in height. The number of letters per line in the first ten lines varies between 39 and 43; the variation in the last five lines is greater, between 42 and 45, which is related to the decrease in letter size. *Omicrons* are very slightly smaller, c. 1.1–1.3 cm, while *phis* are taller, c. 1.8–1.9 cm; *betas* also have a tendency to be taller, c. 1.5–1.8 cm. Interlinear spacing is c. 2.2–2.4 cm.

Letter forms

Alpha: straight-barred.

Epsilon: the middle horizontal is slightly shorter.

Theta: engraved with a point, rather than a horizontal bar.

Kappa: the arms do not extend to touch the line.

Mu: divergent arms.

Nu: uneven, with a shorter right hasta that does not touch the line.

Xi: three bars, without the central vertical.

Pi: the right hasta is shorter, with an overhanging arm.

Sigma: divergent arms.

Phi: lunate with a forked foot.⁷

Omega: open and wide (c. 1.8–2.1 cm); serifs on the feet.

The letter forms suggest a Hellenistic date in the second half of the third century BC (note in particular the straight-barred *alpha*, the divergent *mu* and *sigma*, and the uneven *pi* and *nu*); however, further precision is not possible on this basis alone. The text shares many characteristics with other inscriptions from Labraunda that belong to the Olympichos corpus, including *I. Labraunda* 3 (letter of Olympichos to the Mylasans c. 242/1 BC), which was also inscribed on

⁵ Hellström and Thieme 1982, 31 and 69.

⁶ The block will henceforth be referred to as M02.

⁷ This form finds parallels elsewhere in the Labraunda corpus and in the region more broadly; see *I. Labraunda* 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7.

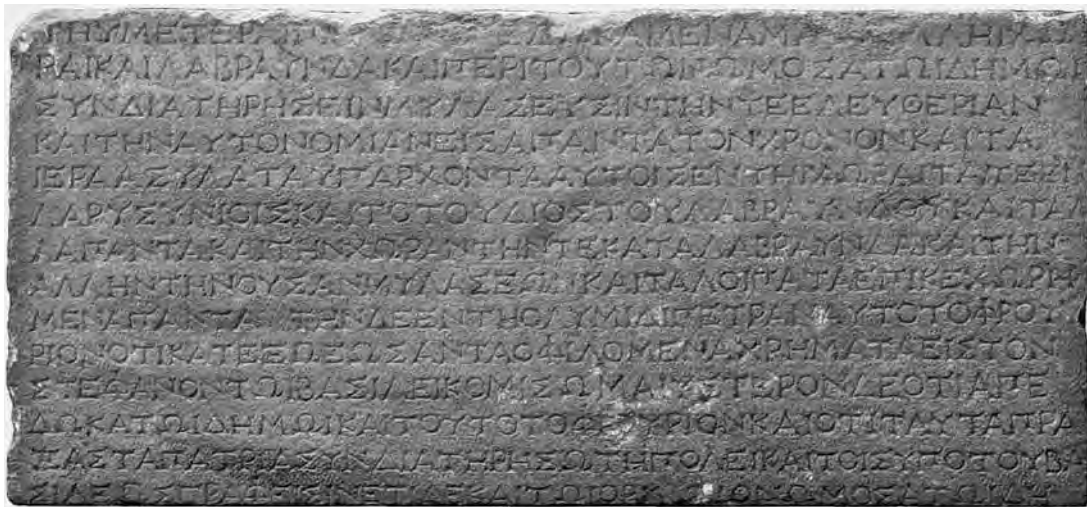


Fig. 1. Photograph of I. Labraunda 137



Fig. 2. Photograph of the squeeze of I. Labraunda 137

an anta of the temple, and those inscribed on the antae of Andron A (*I. Labraunda* 4) and B (*I. Labraunda* 5, 6, 7), which all relate to the episode involving Philip V in c. 220 BC. In this series, only *I. Labraunda* 1 (letter of Seleukos II to Olympichos c. 242/1 BC) exhibits clear indications of a different hand at work.⁸ The implication is that the inscription of *I. Labraunda* 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and also

⁸ The letters are generally much narrower: the *omega* is less open, and the horizontals of the *sigma* are parallel; the *omicron* also tends to be smaller and floating above the line. The *phi* is lunate, yet shows marked differences with those found elsewhere in the corpus: the 'buckle' is much smaller and flatter and located towards the bottom of the vertical. See the comments of R. van Bremen in this volume, p. 6.

the new text 137 was broadly contemporary.⁹ These documents cover a period of over 20 years, and we have to wonder why certain texts were not inscribed at the point of their transmission; we also have to wonder whether the date of inscription was in the immediate wake of the episode involving Philip V in c. 220 BC, with the intention of creating a comprehensive record of Mylasan dealings with Olympichos, or at a later date still.¹⁰

The text

τῆ ὑμετέροι πα[τρίδι?· ἄ]πέδωκα μὲν ἅμα [τῆ ἄ]λλῃ χώ-
 ραι καὶ Λαβράυνδα καὶ περὶ τούτων ὤμοσα τῶι δήμωι
 συνδιατηρήσειν Μυλασεῦσιν τὴν τε ἐλευθερίαν
 καὶ τὴν αὐτονομίαν εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον καὶ τὰ
 5 ἰερά ἄσυλα τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ χώρῃ τὰ τε ἐν
 Λαρυσυνίοις, καὶ τὸ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Λαβράυνδου καὶ τᾶλ-
 λα πάντα καὶ τὴν χώραν τὴν τε κατὰ Λαβράυνδα καὶ τὴν
 ἄλλῃ τὴν οὖσαν Μυλασέων καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τὰ ἐπικεχωρη-
 μένα πάντα· *vac.* τὴν δὲ ἐν τῇ Ὀλυμίδι Πέτραν αὐτὸ τὸ φρού-
 10 ριον ὅτι κατέξω ἕως ἂν τὰ ὀφειλόμενα χρήματα εἰς τὸν
 στέφανον τῶι βασιλεῖ κομίσωμαι ὕστερον δὲ ὅτι ἀπέ-
 δωκα τῶι δήμωι καὶ τοῦτο τὸ φρούριον καὶ ὅτι ταῦτα πρά-
 ξας τὰ πάτρια συνδιατηρήσω τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ βα-
 σιλέως γραφεῖσιν ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῶι ὄρκωι ὃν ὤμοσα τῶι δή-
 15 [μωι]

L. 1: The *iota* is elided in the dative singular, and again in lines 11 and 13. This development is ordinarily dated to the second century BC; however, it is not consistent throughout the text (see line 5) and there are attestations from other regions in the later stages of the third century BC.¹¹ As noted above, the text may have been inscribed at a later date than its composition, but it is not possible to establish how much later on this basis alone.¹² There is damage to the stone at two points in line 1. The first gap is approximately 9.5 cm. Reading from the right, the left diagonal of the letter after the *pi* can be traced; this must be either an *alpha* or a *lambda*. On the left of the gap, the foot of a *pi* and the arm can be detected; the right hand side of the letter also does not extend to the base line, making a *pi* appropriate. The measurement has been taken from the foot of the letter after the *pi* to the trace of the foot of the *pi* before the *epsilon*; this allows for the restoration of c. 5–6 letters. One possible restoration of the word beginning ΠΑ is πατρίδι, which just fits into the space, if we allow that *iotas* occupy less space. In light of the context of the rest of the letter, it seems that ‘your’ refers to the Mylasans, and thus we can restore ‘your father city’; references to the πατρίς of the Mylasans are found elsewhere in the corpus: *I. Labraunda* 8B, ll. 11, 17. The second gap is c. 6 cm, measured from the second *alpha* of ἅμα, to the middle of the first preserved *lambda*. This space accommodates c. 3 letters, and has been restored as ἅμα [τῆ ἄ]λλῃ. || L. 3: The verb συνδιατηρέω is found elsewhere in the corpus (*I. Labraunda* 3, l. 10; l. 30; 4, l. 8). Cf. Crampa 1969, 18. || L.

⁹ Crampa 1969, 15, noted the similarity in letter-forms between *I. Labraunda* 3 and those in the letters of Philip V’s time.

¹⁰ Isager 2011, 207–208, suggests an inscription date close to c. 220 BC, with the earlier texts inscribed at this time as a way of completing the documentation process. Cf. Henry and Aubriet, forthcoming, who suggest that the texts may have been inscribed in the early second century BC.

¹¹ Threatte 1980, 353ff. notes in relation to Attic epigraphy that the simplification of $\eta\iota$ to η occurred earlier than the similar development in $\alpha\iota$ and $\omega\iota$, though there are few attestations of this development before the second century BC: the earliest case of H for $\eta\iota$ is in a decree dated to 204/3 BC.

¹² See now the discussion of Henry and Aubriet, forthcoming.

10: κατέξω in place of καθέξω may be due to psilosis, which was a feature of the East Ionic dialect.¹³ Ὀφιλόμενα should be read as a phonetic rendering of ὀφειλόμενα.¹⁴ || L. 14. There is a small amount of damage to the bottom line at ὄρκωι. The top half of the *kappa* can be traced; the round shape of the *omega* is also visible, with the bottom right foot just identifiable. There appears to be a small gap between the two letters.

Translation

‘... to your [father city?]; I restored together with the rest of the land also Labraunda, and concerning this I swore to the people to preserve for the Mylasans their freedom and autonomy for all time and the sanctuaries inviolable that belong to them in their territory and in Larysynia, and (the sanctuary) of Zeus Labraundos and all others, and also the territory by Labraunda and the other land which adjoined Mylasa and all other items which had been granted to them; as to the fortress of Petra in the territory of Olymos, (I said that) I would occupy it until I recovered for the king the money owed for the crown; later, that I restored to the people also this fortress and that having done these things, I will preserve for the city these ancestral rights; the things written by the king, and moreover the oath I swore to the people ...’

Commentary

While the introductory formula of the inscription is not preserved, the text can be identified as a letter written by Olympichos to the city of Mylasa. Seleukos II had liberated the city c. 246 BC, and in the new text Olympichos reinforces his commitment to helping the Mylasans maintain their freedom and their territorial possessions in the area. He also offers justification for his prolonged possession of a fortress in the territory of Olymos, writing that he only occupied it until he had collected funds for the king. Elsewhere in the Labraunda corpus, his occupation of strongholds in the region is referred to as a source of contention with the Mylasans (*I. Labraunda* 5). *I. Labraunda* 137 thus seems to form part of the ongoing negotiations regarding the territorial rights of Mylasa, and their infringement by Olympichos, in the second half of the third century BC; the question of where it fits precisely into this chronology will be discussed below.

Ll. 3–4. The exact details of Seleukos II’s liberation of Mylasa c. 246 BC¹⁵ remain little known, and we are reliant on references elsewhere in the corpus. In a letter of Olympichos to Mylasa, *I. Labraunda* 3, thought to date c. 242/241 BC,¹⁶ he writes that Seleukos had written to him to liberate the city (ll. 7–8). In the aftermath of the grant, Olympichos swore an oath to the city, and he writes that a copy was enclosed for the people (ll. 8–9); in a later letter of Philip V to the Mylasans c. 220 BC, it is recorded that the oath had been engraved on stelai and erected in the sanctuaries (*I. Labraunda* 5, ll. 41–42).¹⁷

¹³ Colvin 2007, 27; Lundquist 2014.

¹⁴ Cf. *I. Mylasa* 801, l. 14 (second century BC): ὀφιλήσι for ὀφειλήσι.

¹⁵ A date soon after the accession of Seleukos II is widely accepted. Crampa 1969, 82–83, suggested that the appointment of Antiochos Hierax as viceroy in Asia Minor in 241 BC should be considered the *terminus ante quem* for the grant, due to the absence of any reference to him in the dossier; he proposed a date at the very start of Seleukos II’s reign, at a similar time to the king’s liberation of Smyrna. Bencivenni 2003, 265ff., supports a similar date, with extended discussion of the parallels with Smyrna; see below.

¹⁶ See Bencivenni 2003, 265–269.

¹⁷ The sanctuaries are not named here, but it can be supposed that he was referring to those of Zeus Osogō and of Zeus Labraundos; cf. *I. Labraunda* 8, ll. 24–26.

The new text *I. Labraunda* 137 opens with reference to this oath: Olympichos writes that he had restored territory to the city and sworn to the people to assist in preserving their freedom and autonomy (τήν τε ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτονομίαν). Elsewhere in the corpus, Olympichos makes similar commitments to secure the freedom of Mylasa: in *I. Labraunda* 3, he promises that ‘we shall try to assist you in preserving the democracy, the land and everything’.¹⁸ In another letter to Mylasa (*I. Labraunda* 8B), he also speaks of restoring the city as ‘free and with a democratic constitution’, having withdrawn the garrison from the citadel: ll. 13–15: παραλαβόντες γὰρ τὴν [ύμετέραν πόλιν τὴν φρου]ρὰν ἐκ τῆς ἄκρας ἐξαγαγόντες ἐλευθέραν [καὶ] δημοκρατούμενην ἀποκατεστήσαμεν ὑμῖν.¹⁹ As A. Bencivenni has observed, the grant of freedom to Mylasa had a strong territorial component, and was connected with the removal of Seleukid troops from the vicinity; Olympichos’ proclaimed commitment to preserving Mylasan liberty is entwined with his military activities in the region.²⁰

ll. 4–9. The language is almost exactly the same as in *I. Labraunda* 3, ll. 10–14, where Olympichos expands on the terms of the oath he swore to the Mylasans. Here is the text as published by J. Crampa in 1969; the underlined words are identical to the new text:

- ἔτι συνδιατηρήσω Μυλασεῦσιν,
- 11 [κ]α[θ]ό[τι] ἀ[ξι]οῦσι, τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ χώρῃ τὰ τε
 [ιερ]ὰ κατὰ τὸ ἱε[ρὸ]ν τὸ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Λαβραῦνδος καὶ τὰ ἄλλα
 [π]άντα καὶ τὴν χώραν τὴν τε κατὰ Ἐλαβράνδα καὶ τὴν ἄλλην τ[ὴν]
- 14 [ο]ῦσαν [α]ὐτ[ῶν] καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τὰ ἐπιχωρημένα πάντα

Based on the overlap with *I. Labraunda* 137, it is now possible to offer new restorations for the damaged parts of *I. Labraunda* 3, ll. 11–12;²¹ see the discussion of R. van Bremen in the Appendix to this article.

Parts of this same oath are also paraphrased in a letter of Philip V to Mylasa (*I. Labraunda* 5, ll. 42–44), in which he makes reference to Olympichos’ assurances to the Mylasans to confirm what was written in the oaths; again we find similar phraseology: ἐν ᾧ καταχωρίσαι αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ [κατ]α[γραφε]ῖ τό | [τε] ἱερὸν τοῦτο καὶ τὴν χώραν τὴν τε κατὰ [Λαβρ]αῦνδα | καὶ τὴν ἄλλην τὴν οὔσαν ὑμετέραν. It is interesting to note that Olympichos writes about himself in the singular throughout *I. Labraunda* 137, which seems to indicate that he is writing to Mylasa in an individual capacity and not as a representative of the king.²²

¹⁸ *I. Labraunda* 3, ll. 29–31: πειρα[σόμεθα] συνδιατηρεῖν ὑμῖν τὴν τε δημοκρατίαν καὶ τὴν χώ[ρ]αν καὶ [π]α[ν]τα. See also *I. Labraunda* 134, ll. 13–14.

¹⁹ Crampa 1969, 84, maintained that references to the preservation of democracy were of no greater force than the declaration of liberty. During the Hellenistic period, the terminology of αὐτονομία, δημοκρατία and ἐλευθερία overlapped in function, and according to Ma 1999, 161, they were used interchangeably to designate a free government. However, see the comments of Bencivenni 2003, 275–276, on the continued functioning of ostensibly ‘democratic’ civic bodies in Mylasa.

²⁰ Bencivenni 2003, 274.

²¹ Piejko 1990, 135, commented on the tautological nature of Crampa’s restored line 12, and preferred a reconstruction of τὰ τε [χώρ]ια κατὰ τὸ ἱε[ρὸ]ν.

²² On the Seleukid use of the plural, see Welles 1934, 137; Crampa 1969, 7. In *I. Labraunda* 3, Olympichos switches between the singular (when referring to his oath) and the plural: see Crampa 1969, 16.

The reference to τὰ ἱερὰ ἄσυλα, ‘the sanctuaries inviolable’, raises the possibility that the ‘inviolability’ of Mylasan sanctuaries had been confirmed by Seleukos II as part of the grant of liberty to the city in c. 246 BC. Recognition of *asylia* was predominantly a Hellenistic phenomenon, with sanctuaries or cities and their territories declared ‘inviolable’ by other communities or kings.²³ Seleukos II is known to have acknowledged the inviolability of the city of Smyrna and the sanctuary of Aphrodite Stratonikis as part of the award of freedom to the city in c. 246 BC.²⁴ J. Crampa placed the Mylasan grant in a similar time frame, though he did not believe that *asylia* was included among the privileges awarded by Seleukos due to the inland location of Mylasa.²⁵ A. Bencivenni explored the correspondence between the Smyrnan liberation and that of Mylasa in greater detail, and considered the two royal grants to be linked.²⁶ The new inscription supports such a parallel, with the reference to τὰ ἱερὰ ἄσυλα suggesting that the *asylia* of Mylasa was recognised by Seleukos II when the city was liberated.

The mention of Λαρυσυνίοις in line 6 offers evidence for a previously unknown toponym Larysynia(?) in the region. A location for Larysynia should be sought in the immediate vicinity of Mylasa, Labraunda and Olymos.²⁷

L. 9. ἐν τῇ Ὀλυμίδι Πέτρῶν offers a further example for a fortification named Petra in the region, in this case situated in the territory of Olymos. The site of Olymos has been identified at Kafaca, located 8 km to the N-NW of Milas, and just under 10 km from Labraunda. A ‘Petra near Labraunda’ (Πέτρα ἢ πρὸς Λαβραούνδοις) is attested elsewhere in the Olympichos corpus (4, l. 11; 6B l. 7). It is possible that we are dealing here with the same fortress, though a suitable contender does not immediately present itself. ‘Petra near Labraunda’ is commonly identified with the acropolis fortification at the sanctuary, Hisar Kale, where the archaeological evidence supports a period of occupation in the late third/early second century BC²⁸; if this identification is correct, such a location for Petra ἐν τῇ Ὀλυμίδι would have to be ruled out. Other possible contenders include

23 See Rigsby 1996, 3: the earliest attestations in the material record date to the 260s BC.

24 *I. Smyrna* 573 I; see Rigsby 1996, 99–101 for a discussion of the chronology.

25 Crampa 1969, 84; he writes that this was a privilege only bestowed on coastal cities within the Seleukid empire. However, cf. Rigsby 1996, 18–19, who notes that the phenomenon is much more widespread. Crampa himself notes the exception of Alabanda, to which we can seem to add Amyzon: see Rigsby 1996, 326–334 (Alabanda); 335–338 (Amyzon). Rigsby (407–415) also includes a collection of decrees voted by the cities of Krete for Mylasa in his discussion, in which a solitary reference to ἄσυλον is found (*I. Mylasa* 646, l. 8); although, as he notes, ‘they may well be military alliances and not declarations of inviolability’.

26 Bencivenni 2003, 267–269; 277.

27 In this context, two possible locations should be mentioned. The first is located in the eastern part of the plain of Mylasa, associated with the stronghold of Kuyruklu Kalesi. It was fortified in the fourth century BC, though settlement seems to date back to the Archaic period. Hellenistic rock-cut chamber tombs have been identified in the immediate vicinity (oral information from Yrd. Doç. Dr. A. Kızıl, University of Muğla); the sanctuary at Gencik Tepe is also located in the area (Säve-Söderbergh and Hellström 1997, 105). The second location that can be considered is further north, in the area around the villages of Bahçeburun, Epçe and Çınarlı, where monumental architectural masonry and a large necropolis have been spotted (Kızıl during a survey in the Mylasa area; they have not yet been documented). Such a location for Larysynia would be well situated in the valley between Olymos to the west and the Labraunda/Alinda road to the east. On the land between Labraunda and Olymos, see van Bremen in this volume, p. 13.

28 Crampa 1969, 26. Excavations on the acropolis at Labraunda were conducted by L. Karlsson in the 2008–2009 seasons; see Karlsson 2011, 228ff. They have been continued since 2012 by B. Vergnaud. The chronology of the occupation of the upper fortress is now better understood: the evidence reveals a period of heavy occupa-

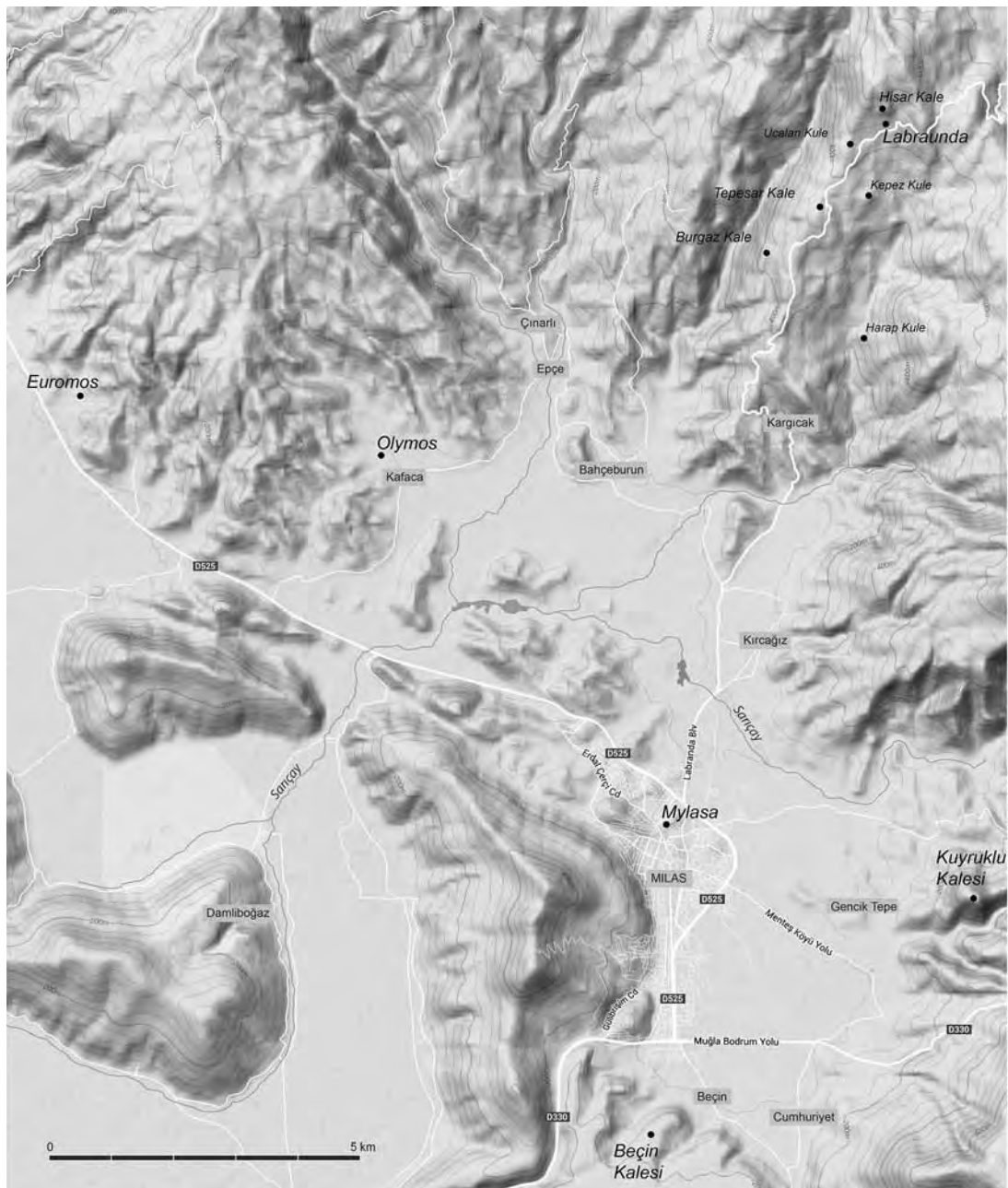


Fig. 3. Map of the Mylasan plain

the five fortresses running in a chain along the sacred way between Labraunda and Mylasa that have previously been investigated by L. Karlsson.²⁹ I. Pimouget-Pédarros has suggested that one

tion in the later stages of the third century BC, with no material dating after the first half of the second century BC. See Vergnaud 2015; forthcoming.

²⁹ Karlsson 2011.

of these fortresses, Burgaz Kale, could have been located on the frontier between the territory of Labraunda and Olymos (fig. 3); it is thus one possible contender for Petra ἐν τῇ Ὀλυμίδι that would also fit the description of being near Labraunda.³⁰ However, the boundary between the territories of Olymos and Labraunda remains unknown; R. van Bremen's careful analysis of the land lease transactions recorded in *I. Labraunda* 69 seems to indicate that the territory of Labraunda extended on both sides of the sacred way.³¹

We think it is more likely that we are dealing with two separate fortifications, hence the differences in geographical specification. 'Petra' seems to have been employed to refer to a particular type of fortification during the Hellenistic period:³² another Petra is attested in a decree from Euromos, dated to the late second century BC, honouring a certain Amyntas son of Aineas.³³ A further inscription discovered at Priene, dated to the second century BC, records a treaty between Ἡρακλεῶται καὶ Ἀμυζονεῖς οἱ ἀπὸ Πέτρας.³⁴ J. Robert and L. Robert noted that there is no locality in the immediate vicinity of Amyzon that fits the description of a 'Rock', and suggested that the 'Amyzonians from the Rock' were to be distinguished from the city of Amyzon. They postulated that the site of Bağarcık, located south of Amyzon, could be identified with this Petra.³⁵ It seems that the appellation Petra was used to refer to a number of different fortified strongholds in the region, which would explain the need for qualification in the texts.³⁶

We suggest that a location for Petra ἐν τῇ Ὀλυμίδι should be sought nearer to Olymos, for instance on the ridge to the north of Kafaca, though a fortress in the vicinity is currently not known. Elsewhere in the corpus, we learn that Olympichos had occupied fortresses on a number of occasions, in contravention of Seleukos' concessions (*I. Labraunda* 5, ll. 36–39):³⁷ the incident involving the Olymean Petra can thus be separated from that involving Petra near Labraunda.

The reference to a fortress 'in the Olymis' in a letter to Mylasa indicates that this was of direct concern to the Mylasans, which might imply that Olymos was part of Mylasan territory at the time of composition. Mylasa is known to have embarked on a programme of territorial expansion during the Hellenistic period, acquiring land in the vicinity and incorporating surrounding

30 Pimouget-Pédarros 2000, 314.

31 Van Bremen, this volume pp. 23–26.

32 See Henry and Aubriet, forthcoming, for more detailed discussion of the nature of this type of fortification.

33 Errington 1993, no. 7, 3; SEG 43, 709. Errington proposed the restoration Πέτρ[ας καλῶς προέστη καὶ]; Gauthier, BE 1995, no. 527, preferred to restore a geographical qualification, such as Πέτρ[αι τῆι πρὸς Λαβραύνδοις], though he did not rule out another location.

34 *I. Priene* 51/*I. Priene*² 411, ll. 1, 5, 17.

35 Robert and Robert 1983, 279–280; SEG 33, 984. The Roberts were unaware of the Petra at Euromos, and so suggested that the Amyzonian Petra could be the same as that located 'near Labraunda'. Beyond the fact that this is disproved by the existence of further Petras at Euromos and 'in the Olymis', the distance of Bağarcık from Labraunda (over 20 km as the crow flies) always made it unlikely. See comments of W. Blümel and R. Merkelbach in *I. Priene*², p. 545: following the Roberts, they consider Bağarcık a likely candidate for the Amyzonian Petra.

36 Errington 1993, 29, suggests that Petra in Euromos should be distinguished from that located near Labraunda. Cf. Blümel and Merkelbach, *I. Priene*², p. 545, who also suggest that we may be dealing with different localities named Petra. Another Petra is known from Ilion (*I. Ilion* 33): King Antiochos I awarded a Petra, described as a τὸ χωρίον, to a certain Aristodikides of Assos.

37 καὶ τὸν Ὀλύμπιχον, | [ὦ]ς Σέλευκος ἐνετείλατο ἐξαγαγεῖν τὰ [στρατόπε] [[δα, δια]ετ[ελεκέναι? . . . c. 13 . . . παραμένοντα] | [ἐπ]ὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ χώρῃ φρουρίων. Restorations J. Crampa.

communities into their polity through a process of *sympoliteia*.³⁸ Olymos was one community that is known to have entered into a *sympoliteia* with Mylasa in the second half of the third century BC.³⁹ G. Reger considered the liberation of Mylasa by Seleukos to be the *terminus post quem* for the incorporation of Olymos into the Mylasan polity. The new letter, *I. Labraunda* 137, supports the idea that the *sympoliteia* happened shortly after the award; Mylasa may even have been emboldened by the liberation to pursue such a policy.⁴⁰

ll. 10–11. The justification offered here for the continued occupation of Petra in the Olymis is specific: Olympichos continued to hold the fortress until an overdue payment to the king had been collected. It marks a difference in tone from that offered in the aftermath of the episode involving Petra near Labraunda, where Olympichos speaks generally, and somewhat vaguely, about ‘the advantage this meant for the city’ (τὸ συμφέρον τοῦτο τῆι πόλει).⁴¹

The reference to money owed for the crown is further revealing about the financial obligations of Mylasa to the king. References to crowns being offered to the king are found in a number of texts during the Hellenistic period; for instance, in a letter from either Antiochos I or II to Erythrai, the king writes that ‘we have graciously accepted the honours and the crown’.⁴² It has long been speculated that this was some form of ‘crown tax’ imposed by the kings, rather than a spontaneous gesture, though details are scarce.⁴³ A reference is found in a letter of Antiochos III to the Jews, in which they are relieved of payment τοῦ στεφανιτικοῦ φόρου;⁴⁴ a letter of Demetrios II to Jonathan also alludes to a similar tax, granting them relief from ‘the crowns due to us’.⁴⁵ The new Olympichos letter offers further confirmation of the obligatory nature of such contributions. The king is not identified by name, but Olympichos is referring to Seleukos II. The beginning of the preserved text refers to the oath Olympichos swore to the Mylasans at

38 Reger 2004, esp. 164ff; 2010, 49ff.

39 Reger 2004, 166; cf. Reger 2010. The *sympoliteia* with Mylasa involved the downgrading of the *phylai* of Olymos to *syngeneiai* of Mylasa; this transition can be traced between *I. Mylasa* 866, when a certain Polites of Terssōgassa was granted citizenship by Olymos and incorporated into one of their tribes, and *I. Mylasa* 868 (see Blümel 2000), where instead we find reference to a *syngeneia* of Olymos; Reger 2004, 165–166 also notes differences in the dating formulas. *I. Mylasa* 868 was dated by Louis Robert to the third century BC; this seems plausible (*alpha* switching between straight and curved bar; uneven *pi*; *zeta* with the central vertical), though we would not go as far as to call the letters ‘unequivocally’ of the third century BC (Reger 2004, 166).

40 Mylasan territorial expansion was not solely a Hellenistic phenomenon. It has long been thought that the fourth century BC dispute over the ‘Little Sea’ (*I. Iasos* 30) may have involved Mylasa, following an initial suggestion by J. Robert and L. Robert, *BE* 1973, no. 419; see Reger 2010, 44ff. An inscription discovered at Sekköy records a land transaction dated to the second half of the fourth century BC in which Mylasa acquired land from Kindye (*I. Mylasa* 11). G. Reger 2010, 49, suggested that this was an attempt to secure access to the sea; this is strengthened by the new restorations of *I. Mylasa* 11 proposed by R. van Bremen, 2013, who seeks a location for the acquired territory on the coast; however, see the restoration proposed by Descat 2014, who seeks a location for the territory in question further inland.

41 *I. Labraunda* 4, l. 13.

42 *I. Erythrai* 31, ll. 13–14: τάς | τε δὴ τιμὰς καὶ τὸν στέφανον δεδέγμεθα οἰκεῖως.

43 Aperghis 2004, 164 writes that the offering of crowns ‘probably started as a spontaneous voluntary gift’, before changing with time ‘into a fixed annual contribution in coin’.

44 Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 12. 142: they were also to be exempt from ‘those which they were liable to as head taxes’ (ὄν ὑπὲρ τῆς κεφαλῆς τελοῦσιν) and the salt tax (τοῦ περὶ τῶν ἁλῶν).

45 1. Maccabees 11.35: τοὺς ἀνήκοντας ἡμῖν στεφάνους. See Aperghis 171.

the time of the city's liberation by Seleukos II; the lack of a subsequent attempt to identify the king indicates that Olympichos was again referring to Seleukos.

ll. 13–14. 'The things written by the king' refers to the concessions made to Mylasa by Seleukos II at the time of the city's liberation; it is known that the king sent a letter to his *strategos* Olympichos (*I. Labraunda* 3, ll. 7–8).

Architectural context

The dimensions and technical characteristics of block M02, on which *I. Labraunda* 137 is inscribed, indicate that it originally belonged to the front of an anta (fig. 4). As noted above, the inscribed face and the two sides have been smoothed, while there is anathyrosis (10–11 cm wide) on the front and lateral edges of both the top and bottom. There are two round dowel holes located towards the front edge of the top of the block,⁴⁶ with two pry holes and rectangular dowel holes further back; there are also two clamp cuttings for plain hook clamps along the back edge.

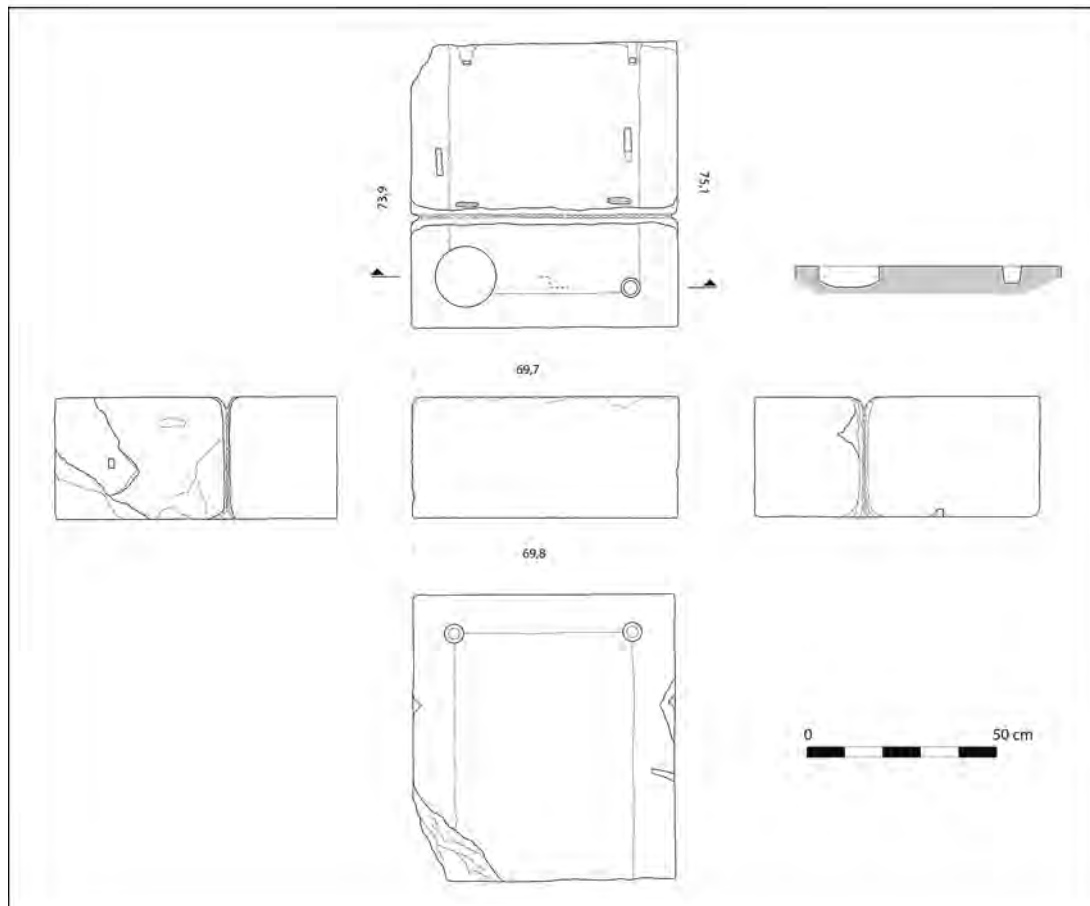


Fig. 4. Drawing of the stone

46 The right dowel is truncated in section: top diameter: 5 cm; bottom diameter: 3.5 cm; depth: 4.5 cm. The other dowel has been recut, and has a diameter of 22.5 cm. There are other indications that the block was reused in a later period. The clearest is a continuous V-shaped groove that has been carved parallel to the front of the block, at a distance of 30 cm, across the top, right and left sides. There are a series of small holes at the bottom

The bottom surface has two dowel holes, truncated in section, towards the front.⁴⁷ On the left face, there is a thin but deep mortise, 58 cm from the front of the block.

The width of block M02 (69.8 cm) is compatible with the measurements of the antae on the temple and the north stoa⁴⁸; however, the technical characteristics, including the dowel holes and clamp cuttings, are almost identical to anta blocks from the temple. Block M02 can thus be attributed to the temple of Zeus. Before 2014, six marble blocks had been attributed to the antae of the temple: three carrying inscriptions (AB 1, AB 2 (two joining blocks with *I. Labraunda* 3) and AB 3 (*I. Labraunda* 1))⁴⁹; two anta capitals (AC 1 and AC 2)⁵⁰; and an unscribed block (M50).⁵¹ During the 2014 campaign, another anta capital belonging to the temple was discovered (M03); along with block M02, this brings the total number of anta blocks belonging to the temple to eight.

With the exception of AC 1 and AC 2,⁵² all blocks belonging to the antae of the temple were found to the west of the temple: AB 1 and AB 2 were discovered close to each other, near the central part of the west stylobate; the remaining four blocks (AB 3, M50, M02, M03) were uncovered in the cella of Andron A.⁵³ It can thus be suggested that these blocks originated on the western façade of the temple, which was located closest to Andron A.⁵⁴ Due to the diminution of the temple antae (the width varies from 68–69 cm under the anta capital to 73.5–74 cm at the

of the groove, which are typical of quarrying marks. It seems that initial attempts were made to cut away the front of the block, though the work was never completed. Another cutting in the shape of a rectangular mortise (1.5 cm wide; 2 cm high; 6 cm deep) is located on the edge between the bottom and the right side of the block. It is roughly done and not perpendicular to the side of the block, which we would expect if a vertical dowel was intended; the reason for such a cutting is not apparent.

47 The dimensions are identical to those of the original dowel hole on the top face.

48 Both had marble antae. The width of the anta blocks for the north stoa range between 68.5 and 68.9 cm.

49 Hellström and Thieme 1982, 68–70.

50 Hellström and Thieme 1982, 71–72; AC 2 is no more than a fragment.

51 Block M50 has long been known, but has not previously been mentioned in the literature.

52 AC 1 was discovered just north of the second north intercolumniation from the east; the provenance of AC 2 is not known.

53 The number of marble temple blocks discovered inside the cella of Andron A is noteworthy. We know from earlier excavations that a lime kiln was built in the pronaos of the Oikoi, likely for burning marble from both the Oikoi and the temple; however, the recent excavations in Andron A have not revealed the existence of a similar kiln in the building. The transfer of marble blocks from the antae of the temple into Andron A must have been for a specific purpose, though it is not clear how they were reused. M50 and AB 3 were found on the Hekatomnid floor of the Andron, while M02 and M03 were discovered in pits from the Byzantine period, underneath a late tenth century AD floor made of large gneiss ashlar that were originally part of the Andron (see Henry *et al.* 2015). The marble blocks found in the Andron are all well preserved, with minimal signs of damage or chipping. If the marble blocks had been intended for reuse as spolia in construction, one would expect them to have been cut into smaller parts, or at least damaged during their transportation; the only block that has been significantly cut is the anta capital (M03), and it remains the best preserved example of the three anta capitals known from the temple. It is thus possible to identify two distinct phases in the reuse of the blocks: the first witnessed their displacement from the temple to the Andron while preserving their integrity; in the second phase, certain of the blocks were used in the foundations of the tenth century AD floor or used to fill pits in the floor.

54 This hypothesis is supported by the slight differences in the decoration of the anta capitals M03 and AC 1. They are both decorated on their sides with two double volutes rising from symmetrical acanthus leaves, with a palmette hanging between them; however, the palmette on M03 has an open shape, while on AC 1 it is closed. It would be surprising to find such differences if they originated on the same façade; furthermore, the width of M03 at the bottom is 68 cm, whereas AC 1 is 69 cm.

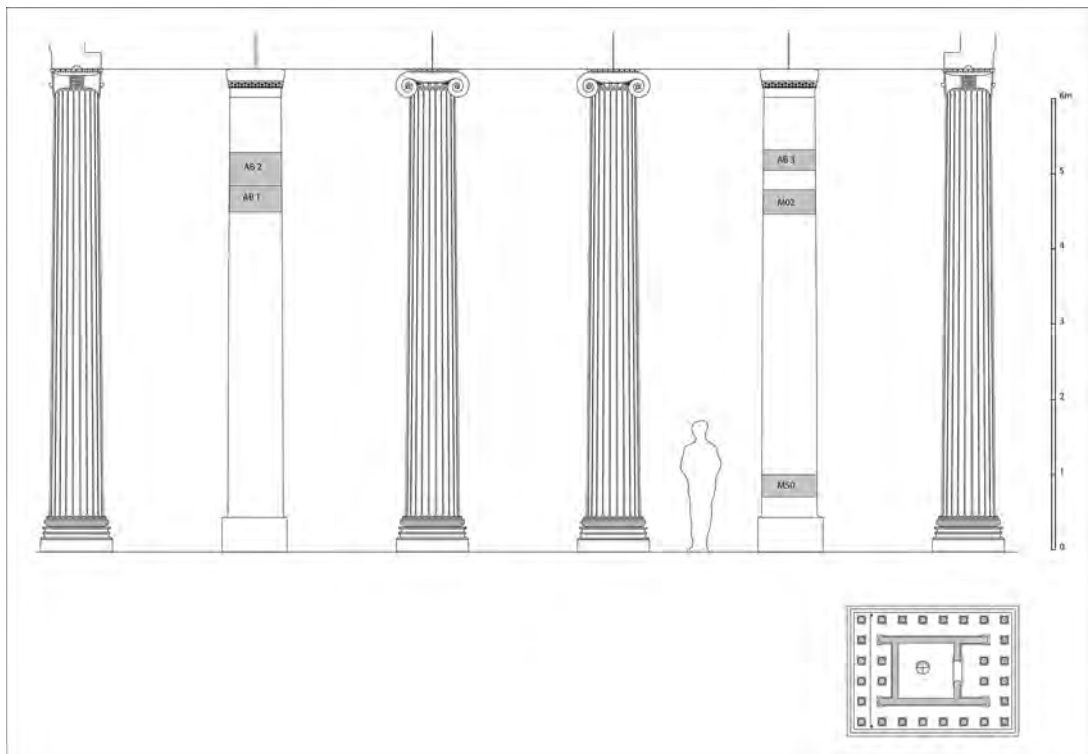


Fig. 5. Reconstruction of the antae of the temple, showing the original location of the inscriptions

bottom)⁵⁵, it is also possible to propose a reconstruction of the original locations of the blocks based on their dimensions (fig. 5).

<u>Block No.</u>	<u>Width at Top (cm)</u>	<u>Width at Bottom (cm)</u>
AB 1/AB 2	69	70
AB 3	69.1	69.1
M02	69.7	69.8
M50	73.5	73.5

The widths of AB 1/AB 2 cover the same range as those of AB 3/M02, and thus they must belong to separate antae; it can further be concluded that both groupings of blocks would have been located at a similar height on the antae. Based on the diminution of the antae, the inscribed blocks would have been positioned high on the antae, c. 5 m from the ground; the uninscribed block M50 would have been located nearer the bottom of one of the walls. The thin mortise on the left face of block M02 does not seem to be related to the later reuse of the block, and may help us to determine which grouping of blocks was inscribed on which anta. Similar cuttings are known from the Oikoi and Andron B, and were carved in order to support a metallic fence between the

55 Hellström and Thieme 1982, 31.

antae and the columns in antis. The cutting on M02 may have served the same purpose; though we might expect it to be located more towards the front of the block, i.e. corresponding to the central axis of the columns. If this is the case, and the mortise was part of a similar arrangement inside the opisthodomos, then M02 would have been located on the southern anta wall, along with AB 3; the group AB 1/AB 2 should therefore be attributed to the northern anta.

Olympichos and Mylasa

The new inscription offers further insight into the nature of the interaction between Olympichos and the city of Mylasa, with Olympichos encroaching on Mylasan territorial possessions through his continued occupation of key strongholds in the vicinity. In the preserved portion of the letter, Olympichos recounts his previous actions in relation to the city. He details the oath he swore to the Mylasans at the time of the city's liberation by Seleukos II, and offers justification for his occupation of the fortress Petra ἐν τῇ Ὀλυμίδι, before he returned it to the people. The central issue is where to fit this new letter into the sequence of correspondence between Mylasa and Olympichos. It is possible that the incident involving Petra was the main impetus for the letter; however, it is also possible that he was recounting this episode as part of a more general history of his conduct in relation to Mylasa, and in response to a different dispute. The first question to address is when the episode involving the fortress happened; the second concerns the circumstances in which Olympichos wrote the letter.

The dispute over Petra is outlined after the terms of Olympichos' oath, which suggests that it occurred in the immediate aftermath of the liberation of Mylasa and the original settlement. As noted above, our knowledge of the terms of Seleukos' grant can only be reconstructed through references elsewhere in the corpus. According to Philip V's letter to Mylasa in c. 220 BC (*I. Labraunda* 5), Seleukos had conceded to the Mylasans the sanctuary of Labraunda, and the other places that adjoined the city and the shrine (ll. 34–36: ἀποδοῦναι ὑμῖν τὰ τε λοιπὰ χωρία τὰ προσόντα τῇ πόλει κα[ῖ] | [τ]ὸ ἱερόν). The apparently exceptional occupation of the Olymean Petra suggests that it was in direct contravention of this initial royal order.

Olympichos' letter would have been precipitated by a complaint from the Mylasans. It is possible that *I. Labraunda* 137 was sent soon after the incident over Petra in the Olymis; though this incident seems to have been resolved by the time of writing, and the fortress returned. The duration of Olympichos' occupation is not known; ὕστερον seems to indicate the lapse of a period of time that extended beyond a matter of weeks, but it is vague. We learn elsewhere in the dossier that the Mylasans had cause to complain about Olympichos' conduct on a number of occasions. In *I. Labraunda* 5, the letter of Philip V to the Mylasans, it is related that the city had sent a delegation to the king to refute a false petition by Hekatomnos, the priest of Labraunda, but also to complain about Olympichos' activities. Olympichos' occupation of 'Petra near Labraunda' seems to be the issue at stake (cf. *I. Labraunda* 4), and Philip concludes by writing that it 'beseems Olympichos to confirm what is written in the oaths' (καὶ προσήκον[τ]ος αὐ[τ]ῷ τ[ὸ] κατὰ τοὺς ὄρκους βεβαιοῦν).

It is known that Seleukos II's award of freedom to Mylasa included guarantees to withdraw troops from the region:⁵⁶ Olympichos' actions in occupying strongholds were in direct contravention of the terms of his oath, and in c. 220 BC the Mylasans reacted by petitioning both him and king Philip V. The territorial element is further suggested in Olympichos' letter to Mylasa (*I. Labraunda* 6A) sent in the aftermath of the Mylasan delegation to Philip V: Olympichos re-

⁵⁶ See above, n. 37.

fers to a decree passed by the Mylasans in which they voted that everybody ‘should wear a wreath on the occasion of the restoration of your ancestral possessions and bring a sacrifice on behalf of King Philip’ (ll. 5–8: σ[τεφα]||γηφορηῆσαι ἐπὶ τῇ ἀποκατ[αστάσει τῶν] πατρῶ[ιων] | ἱερῶν καὶ θυσίαν προσαγαγε[ῖν ὑπ]έρ τε τοῦ βα[σι]||λέως Φιλίππου). In a second fragment of the letter (*I. Labraunda* 6B), Olympichos writes that ‘I restore to you the shrine of Zeus [Labraundos], the place and the land, and Petra [near Labraunda] as I had already written to you’ (ll. 5–9: ἀποκα||θίστημι ὑμῖν τό τε ἱερὸν τοῦ Διὸς [τοῦ Λαβραύνδου καὶ] | τὸν τόπον καὶ τὴν χώραν καὶ Πέτραν [τὴν πρὸς Λαβραύν]||δοις καὶ τὰς προσόδους τὰς κατὰ Λαβράυ[ν]δ[α πάσας,] | καθότι ὑμῖν καὶ πρότερον ἐγγεγράφειν).⁵⁷

It might be tempting to think that the new letter, *I. Labraunda* 137, is connected to this episode, especially as Olympichos makes a direct reference to a letter sent to Mylasa: Olympichos was responding to the complaints of the Mylasan delegates by recounting the history of his conduct in the region and justifying his actions at every step. However, other letters are known to have been sent by Olympichos to Mylasa during this period (notably *I. Labraunda* 4), and it is recorded that Olympichos occupied fortresses in the region on more than one occasion. The architectural context of *I. Labraunda* 137 is a strong argument against a low date c. 220 BC. As noted, the new inscription was located on an anta of the temple, while all the documents related to the delegation to Philip V were grouped together on the south anta of Andron B. The circumstances in which all these documents were inscribed does not seem to have been the same as the date of their composition, and, as discussed, the letter forms of *I. Labraunda* 137 share the same characteristics with those inscriptions from the Andrones. But there was a clear attempt to organise the texts: thus on the south anta of Andron B we find the letter of Philip V to Mylasa (*I. Labraunda* 5) inscribed above the letter of Olympichos to Mylasa (*I. Labraunda* 6), followed by a copy of the letter of Philip V to Olympichos (*I. Labraunda* 7).⁵⁸ They were all chronologically close, and displayed accordingly.⁵⁹ If *I. Labraunda* 137 was part of the same episode, we would expect it to have been positioned in relation to these documents. The other documents inscribed on the temple date to the period of Seleukos’ reign: it seems more likely that the new Olympichos letter was part of a dispute with the Mylasans that dates earlier than the Philip V episode.

The lack of specification regarding the identity of the king could further support a relatively early date. The beginning of the text refers to the conditions settled in the immediate aftermath of the liberation of the city by Seleukos II; as there is no indication that this had changed, it can be presumed that subsequent references to the king also mean Seleukos. Certainly, the mention of ‘the things written by the king’ at the end of the text directly refers to Seleukos’ concessions to Mylasa. This does not automatically help us to establish the date of *I. Labraunda* 137: the name of Seleukos would have been recorded in the opening of the letter, and so there was no need to refer to him by name again. However, if the letter had been written significantly later, under the reign of Antigonos Doson or Philip V, there would be the potential for confusion. We might expect Olympichos to be clearer about identifying the king to whom he was referring.

57 The restoration of ‘Petra near Labraunda’ seems assured.

58 It seems that the blocks above and below were left blank.

59 It is interesting to note that *I. Labraunda* 4, the letter of Olympichos to Mylasa regarding the Petra near Labraunda, was inscribed on Andron A; while roughly contemporary with the texts inscribed on Andron B, it was not grouped with them. It is possible that it formed part of a series of correspondence that predated the petition to Philip V, and thus was engraved separately.

Though tentative, it can be suggested that the architectural context and the content of *I. Labraunda* 137 indicate a date before c. 227 BC and Antigonos Doson's Karian campaign. The episode involving the fortress at Olymos seems to have occurred in the immediate aftermath of the grant of liberty by Seleukos; the absence of any reference to the petition of Korris may further suggest that Olympichos' occupation of the Olymean Petra predated the events of c. 242/241 BC. Yet, if the relative position of the texts is significant, the location of the new text on the temple anta underneath *I. Labraunda* 1 suggests that the date of composition was either contemporary with, or later than, the Korris incident, perhaps in the early 230s BC. Olympichos' status during this period is unclear, though he seems to have exploited the instability brought about by the War of the Brothers, and the diminished role of the Seleukids in Asia Minor, to expand his influence in Karia.⁶⁰

I. Labraunda 137 attests to a previously unknown episode in the ongoing dispute between dynast and city. Despite the lack of precision in chronology, the new letter confirms that the territorial entanglements between Olympichos and Mylasa were more numerous and extensive than previously attested: the contested territory extended beyond the city of Mylasa and the sanctuary of Labraunda to include a fortress in the territory of Olymos (and Larysynia?). At some point, the Mylasans sent a delegation to Olympichos to complain about his occupation of the fortress Petra. In his response, Olympichos sought to persuade the city of his honourable intentions and to confirm the conditions sworn in the oath; whether the letter was sent in the immediate aftermath of this episode, and the restoration of the fortress to the people, is yet to be established. It can only be hoped that the discovery of the blocks above and below the new inscription will enable us to date the text more precisely and enlighten us as to the exact circumstances in which the letter was sent.

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⁶⁰ As noted above, the singular is used throughout the text, and there is no indication that the letter was sent in response to a royal delegation.

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Özet

2014 yılında Labraunda'da bulunan ve *I. Labraunda* 137 olarak numaralanan bir mektup bulundu. Bu mektup, İ.Ö. 3. yüzyılın ikinci yarısında Suriyeli komutan Olympikhos ile Mylasa Halkı ve Hellenistik krallardan Seleukos II ve Philippos V arasındaki yazışmaları içeren dosyaya önemli katkılar sağlamaktadır. Bu yeni mektubunda Olympikhos, Mylasa'nın özgürlüğe kavuşmasına sağlama vaadini tekrarlamakta ve "Olymos arazisi içindeki" Petra kalesini zaptetmesinin nedenlerini anlatmaktadır. Bu bakımdan bu yeni yazıt, komutan Olympikhos ile Mylasa kenti arasında bölgesel egemenlik konusunda yapılan görüşmelerin bilinmeyen bir yönüne ışık tutmaktadır.

Appendix

I. Labraunda 137, 3–6 and *I. Labraunda* 3, 10–13*

The many similarities between the perfectly preserved new text and the text of *I. Labraunda* 3 allow us to look again at an unsatisfactory passage in *I. Labraunda* 3, 10–13, where Crampa restored the very badly worn lines as follows:

- 10 κα[ι] ὅτι συνδιατηρήσω Μυλασεῦσιν,
 11 [κ]α[θ]ό[τι] ἀ[ξι]οῦσι, τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ χώρῃ τὰ τε
 12 [ιερ]ᾶ κατὰ τὸ ἱε[ρό]ν τὸ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Λαβραούνδου καὶ τᾶλλα
 13 [π]άντα καὶ τὴν χώραν τὴν τε κατὰ Λαβραούνδα καὶ τὴν ἄλλην τ[ὴν]
 14 [ο]ῦσαν [α]ὐτ[ῶν] καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τὰ ἐπικεχωρημένα πάντα

Crampa translated (p. 14–15):

‘that I should assist the Mylaseis, as they requested, in preserving what belonged to them in the country, both the [sacred things] in the shrine of Zeus Labraundos and all the other things, and also the land in the neighbourhood of Labraunda and the other land which was [theirs] and all the other items which had been granted to them’.

This promise was made in the oath which Olympichos had sworn to the Mylasan demos (Il. 9–10): ‘in which I had written among other things that ...’ (ἐν ᾧ ἐγεγρά[φειν] τὰ τε ἄλλα κα[ι] ὅτι ...). Just so, in the new text, Olympichos refers to the oath which he swore to the demos after the city’s liberation (translation on p. 31 above):

- καὶ περὶ τούτων ὄμοσα τῷ δήμῳ
 συνδιατηρήσειν Μυλασεῦσιν τὴν τε ἐλευθερίαν
 4 καὶ τὴν αὐτονομίαν εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον καὶ τὰ
 ἱερά ἄστυλα τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ χώρῃ τὰ τε ἐν
 Λαρυσυνίοις καὶ τὸ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Λαβραούνδου καὶ τᾶλ-
 λα πάντα καὶ τὴν χώραν τὴν τε κατὰ Λαβραούνδα καὶ τὴν

* My thanks go to Pontus Hellström for providing the photograph here presented, and for offering his own reading of lines 11–12 (which agrees with mine) and to Kerstin Höghammar for facilitating my work in the Uppsala University Library and for making my stay in Uppsala such a pleasant one.

8 ἄλλην τὴν οὖσαν Μυλασέων καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τὰ ἐπικεχωρη-
μένα πάντα

In the documents that make up the Olympichos dossier, despite frequent cross-references to what was said or written before, the phrasing of individual passages is hardly ever identical, and we cannot therefore restore mechanically. In this case, however, the part of the sentence starting with τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ χώρῃ in 3, 11, to πάντα at the end of l. 14, is near-identical in both letters (cf. 137, 5–9)¹, apart from the small section restored by Crampa at the beginning of l. 12: [ιερ]ᾶ κατὰ τὸ ἱε[ρό]ν, after which τὸ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Λαβραύνδου again picks up the thread. ‘The [sacred things] in the shrine of Zeus Labraundos’ does read like a stop-gap solution, so it seemed worth testing if the 16 letters of our new text’s ἐν Λαρυσυνίοις καὶ might be a possible alternative for the 15 letters in Crampa’s version, 11 of which are either uncertain or restored.

The University Library of Uppsala, through the care of Pontus Hellström, now holds a fair number of Crampa’s Labraunda squeezes, a bequest of Crampa’s widow in 2007. The squeeze of *ILabraunda* 3 is unfortunately so illegible for the relevant lines that nothing could be gained from it. Pontus Hellström has, however, produced a magnified photograph of these lines taken from the original glass plate negatives, which, although of no better quality than the photos printed in the actual volume, nevertheless has allowed for a slightly improved reading (fig. 1). At the beginning of l. 12, ἐν Λαρυσυνίοις καὶ can be read in its entirety, faintly, but without doubt.

Given the similarity between the two texts, we should also question Crampa’s suggested reading for the beginning of l. 11, where [κ]α[θ]ό[τι] ἄ[ξι]οῦσι seems uncertain enough. But here the match is not perfect. Before τὰ ὑπάρχοντα it is just possible to read ΑΣΥΛΑ as well as an *alpha* preceding it, but before that (and even though Crampa read a dotted *alpha* as the second letter), I cannot be certain to read anything other than [. .]ΥΙ[. . .]². In any case, about 9 letters should be restored to the left of ΑΣΥΛΑ, which is too many for the five required by ΤΑΙΕΡ.

I therefore offer the following (improved but still unsatisfactory) reading for *ILabraunda* 3, 10–14:



Fig. 1. Photo of *ILabraunda* 3, 10–13 (P. Hellström, from the original glass plate of J. Crampa)

10 κα[ι] ὅτι συνδιατηρήσω Μυλασεῦσιν
11 [. .]ΥΙ[. . .]Α ἄσυλα τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ χώρῃ τὰ τε
12 ἐν Λαρυσυνίοις καὶ τὸ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Λαβραύνδου καὶ τᾶλλα
13 [π]άντα καὶ τὴν χώρην τὴν τε κατὰ Λαβραύνδα καὶ τὴν ἄλλην τ[ῆν]
14 [ο]ὔσαν [α]ὔτ[ων] καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τὰ ἐπικεχωρημένα πάντα.

Riet van Bremen

¹ The Μυλασέων in 137, 8, correspond acceptably to [α]ὔτ[ων] in 3, 14, where Crampa’s restoration seems the only possible one.

² The *ypsilon* is clear on the photograph; it is followed by an upright.