

RIET VAN BREMEN

A PROPERTY TRANSACTION BETWEEN KINDYE AND MYLASA. *I.MYLASA*  
11 RECONSIDERED

aus: Epigraphica Anatolica 46 (2013) 1–26

© Dr. Rudolf Habelt GmbH, Bonn



## A PROPERTY TRANSACTION BETWEEN KINDYE AND MYLASA *I.MYLASA 11 RECONSIDERED\**

The inscriptions found at Sekköy

Since their discovery in 1989, and their first publication, in 1990, by Wolfgang Blümel, as *I.Mylasa* 11 and 12,<sup>1</sup> the two fourth-century documents discussed here have become known as the ‘Sekköy inscriptions’, so named after the site where they were found. The two texts have identical lettering and both are inscribed on marble of the same thickness and width.<sup>2</sup> No 11 is complete at the top and broken left and bottom (Fig. 1a). Its first seven lines contain a dating formula, and a brief account of a transaction between the Mylaseis with their main deity Zeus Osogöllis, and the Kindyeis, followed by a list of delegations from Karian cities who were present at the transaction (l. 7: *παρήσαν ἀπὸ πόλεων*, with, for each delegation, an ethnic, two, three or four names and a named *kerux*, or herald). In no 12, broken at the top and bottom, but complete at left and right, there remain 23 lines of a similar list of delegates. This text begins in mid-sentence with a delegation whose city-ethnic is lost (Fig. 1b).

As has been seen by all commentators, the two lists of delegations cannot be part of the same document because two cities (Kaunioi and Pladasietai) feature in both lists, and with the same delegates.<sup>3</sup> In addition, the letters of no 12 are smaller than those of 11.<sup>4</sup> The two documents must, however, be part of the same dossier: they are close in size and shape, in time and in purpose; and they were inscribed on the same monumental structure, whatever that was and wherever it may have stood.<sup>5</sup>

These inscriptions were instantly recognized as important for the topography, the political organization and the onomastics of Karia under the Hekatomnid satrapy. But despite frequent references to both texts, our understanding of what was actually at stake on the occasion(s) when the delegations attended, has remained hazy, for two reasons.

First, there is no agreement about the connection between the findspot of the stones and the content of the inscriptions. The blocks were not found in an archaeological context: one was built

---

\* I am grateful to Wolfgang Blümel for providing digital photographs of the stone and the squeeze of *I.Mylasa* 11, as well as lending the actual squeeze, and for discussing the text and the region’s topography with me. I also thank Richard Ashton, Alain Bresson, Fabrice Delrieux, Roberta Fabiani, Alexander Herda, Massimo Nafissi, Denis Rousset and Frank Rumscheid for discussions and suggestions of various kinds.

<sup>1</sup> W. Blümel, *EA* 16 (1990) 29–42, nos 1 and 2; *SEG* 40, 991 and 992; P. Debord and E. Varinlioglu (eds), *Les hautes terres de Carie* (2001) nos 90 and 91 (here referred to as *HTC*). The stones are now in the depot of Milas museum, where I have not been able to see them.

<sup>2</sup> Blümel ad loc.: ‘aus bräunlichem Marmor’; *HTC*: ‘couleur grise’. Dimensions: no 11: 30/51/17; no. 12: 36/57/17.

<sup>3</sup> On the mistakes made by the inscriber in the names of the Kaunian delegates see ed.pr. ad loc. The delegates and their communities are discussed at length in *HTC* at 220–22.

<sup>4</sup> So ed.pr., who discusses the relation between the two inscriptions in detail. Cf A. Bresson’s comments at 218–19 of *HTC*, where both texts were republished under ‘Sekköy’. The letters of no 11 are given as 10–12 mm (but see below, p. 8); those of 12 as 7–11 mm.

<sup>5</sup> Blümel noted that no 12 has anathyrosis to left and right; no 11 at the top: there is no doubt that these documents were inscribed on a monumental structure. The original width of no 11 (51 cm surviving at its widest point but incomplete to left) was probably the same as that of no 12 (57 cm, complete).

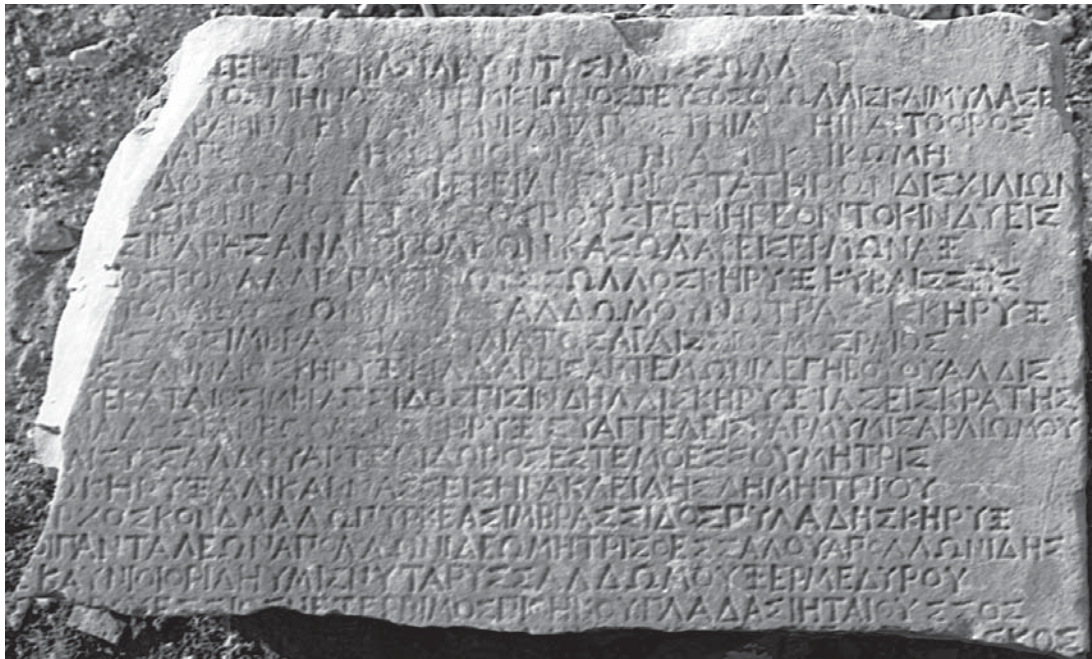


Fig. 1a: I.Mylasa 11 (Photo W. Blümel)

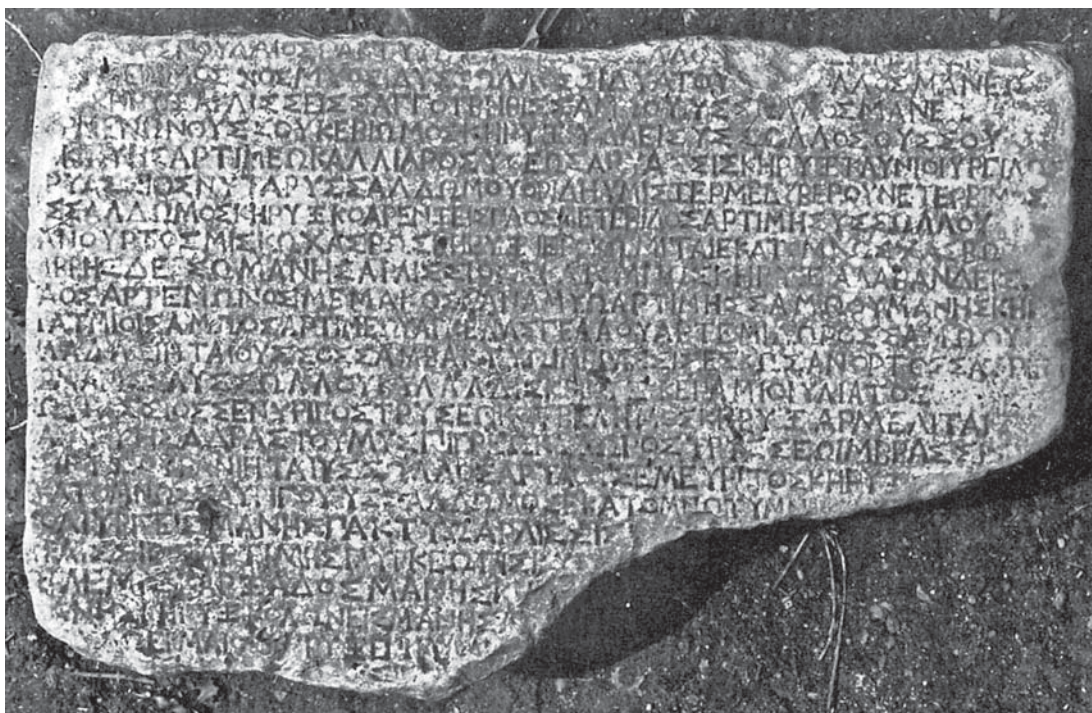


Fig. 1b: I.Mylasa 12 (Photo W. Blümel)



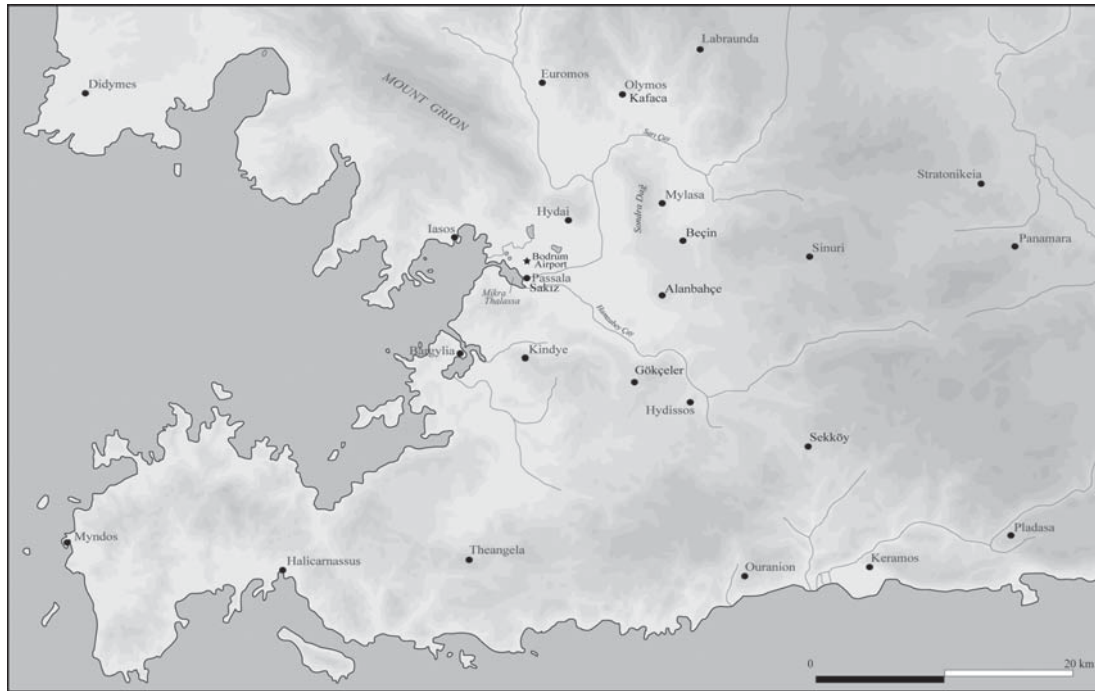


Fig. 2: Map of the Mylasa region (O. Henry)

into a wall surrounding an abandoned house; the other was lying in the courtyard of the neighbouring farm.<sup>6</sup> Sekköy is in the interior, on the road between Milas (ancient Mylasa) and Ören (Keramos), some twenty km from the coast in the midst of a plain overshadowed to the north and north-east by the formidable massif of the Marçal Dağları (Fig. 2). Since the territory of the anonymous site at Sekköy did not by any stretch of the imagination adjoin that of Kindye<sup>7</sup> (let alone that of Mylasa), the stones' location was in need of explanation. Wolfgang Blümel assumed that they had been transported from Milas, as had another Mylasan inscription (*I.Mylasa* 8), which was found as far away as Tralleis.<sup>8</sup> In addition, the list of delegations seems to fit into a small group of similar fourth-century documents, one naming *presbeis*, the other a *kerux*, which do have a secure provenance in Mylasa and Labraunda (*I.Mylasa* 8; *I.Labraunda* 67).<sup>9</sup>

The Bordeaux team responsible for *Les hautes terres de Carie*, on the other hand, assumed that the blocks must have originated where they were found, given that there are substantial

<sup>6</sup> Precise description of the circumstances in Blümel, *EA* 16, 29.

<sup>7</sup> Emphasized by G. Reger, Mylasa and its Territory, in R. van Bremen and J.-M. Carbon (eds), *Hellenistic Karia* (2010) 43–57, at 48, who estimates the distance between the two places as c. 30 km; R. Descat, Mylasa, les dieux et le village carien au 4<sup>e</sup> siècle AC: retour sur *I. Mylasa* 11, in O. Henry (ed.), *4<sup>th</sup> Century Karia. Defining a Karian Identity under the Hekatomnids* (Varia Anatolica xxviii, 2013) 91–100, at 97, estimates 'environ une vingtaine'; Blümel, 'ca. 25 Straßenkilometer' (29).

<sup>8</sup> See also *I.Mylasa* I, p. 269–70, Appendix, for an inscription found on Salih Adası (Karyanda?) west of Güvercinlik, but belonging to Mylasa, possibly a *phyle*-decree of the Otorkondeis, with Blümel's discussion ad loc. and in *EA* 44 (2011) 128–29.

<sup>9</sup> P. Debord, Cité grecque, village carien. Des usages du mot *koinon*, *SE* 15 (2003) 115–80, at 123, includes *I.Mylasa* 4, but this does not look like a list to me. The uncertainty about the Sekköy inscriptions' origin, and that of the fragment found in Tralleis (*I.Mylasa* 8), does not quite justify Debord's assessment of a 'multiplication de listes en des endroits différents'.

ancient remains at or near the site of Sekköy (described at p. 68–73); more generally, they reject the idea of stones wandering from town to countryside rather than *vice-versa* (*ibid.* 219).<sup>10</sup>

Of course, it was hoped that these problems would be solved by a proper understanding of the text(s) themselves. However – and this is the second reason – the initial seven lines of *I.Mylasa* 11 on which we rely for a context, are difficult to read and their precise meaning has so far eluded all commentators.<sup>11</sup> It is this text on which I shall here concentrate, giving below the first seven lines exactly as they were published by Blümel,<sup>12</sup> noting the slight variations in the *HTC* reading.

	[Ἔτει	Ἄρτα]ξέρξευς βασιλεύοντ[ο]ς, Μαυσσαλλ[ο]υ
	[ἐξαθραπεύον]τος, μηνὸς [Ἀρ]τεμισιῶνος· Ζεὺς Οσογῶλλις καὶ Μυλασε[ῖς]	
	[	π]αρά Κινδυέων ἀρ[χ]ήν καὶ τὰ πρὸς τῇ ἀ[ρ]χ[ῇ] καὶ τὸ ὄρος
4	[	]ΙΑΠΟ[ ]ΑΛΑ[ ]Η[ ]ΙΟΡΟ[ ]ἑστήκασιν καὶ κόμη
	[	]ΔΟΞΩΣΗ[ ]Δ[ ]Σ ἱερεῖ ἀργυρίο στατήρων δισχιλίων
	[καὶ	κ]οσίων· καὶ ὅτε τ[οῦ]ς οὔρους περιηγέοντο Κινδυεῖς
	[	]σι παρήσαν ἀπὸ πόλεων· Κασωλαβεῖς Ἐρμώνας

4. Space for one letter between ΙΑΠΟ and ΑΛΑ; three letters between Η and ΙΟΡΟ; then ΤΕ[.]ΤΗΚΑΣΙΝ. 7 ἀπὸ *HTC*.

We have a date (Ἔτει ἕκτωι, plausibly restored by Blümel: the sixth year of Artaxerxes, or 353/2 BC),<sup>13</sup> we know the parties involved: the Mylaseis headed by their main god Zeus Osogöllis, and

<sup>10</sup> Along the same lines, P. Debord, *L'Asie mineure au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (1999) 68, n. 309.

<sup>11</sup> As Descat, *Mylasa*, 91, points out, no translation has even been attempted.

<sup>12</sup> Blümel does not indicate *vacats* at the end of lines, or indicate numbers of letters missing on the left.

<sup>13</sup> On restoring the date see Blümel, *EA* 16, 30: space for 4 or 5 letters between the obligatory [Ἔτει] and the inevitable [Ἀρτα]ξέρξευς βασιλεύοντ[ο]ς, so: ἕκτωι, ‘sixth’. The sixth year of Artaxerxes, following the Babylonian calendar, fell in 353/2 (not in 354/3 as in *EA* 16, 30 and *HTC* ad loc., followed in most subsequent publications). See e.g. L. Depuydt, *From Xerxes’ Murder (465) to Arridaïos’ Execution (317)* (2008), 37 and 64–65 and S. Hornblower, *Mausolus* (1982) 38–39. R. Descat, *Mylasa*, 92 with n. 7, suggests that we must leave open both 354/3 and 353/2, with reference to P. Thonemann, *Estates and the Land in Early Hellenistic Asia Minor. The Estate of Krateuas*, *Chiron* 39 (2009), 363–94, at 372, n. 35. Thonemann there argues that, since the notation of an Achaemenid regnal year, say, ‘Artaxerxes III, year five’ (his example, at p. 372), depending on where we are in the Achaemenid empire, might correspond either to 354/3 (Babylonian calendar; new year starting in March/April) or 355/4 (Egyptian calendar, new year starting ‘in the autumn’) and since we do not know when the ‘Carian new year’ started, ‘year five’ in Karian inscriptions might fall in either 355/4 or 354/3. We should therefore always indicate both. He omitted, however, to include in his explanation that the Egyptians, unlike the Babylonians, counted the period from the accession of a king until the start of the (Egyptian) new year (which, in the 350s fell in the second half of November) as his first regnal year, whereas the Babylonians counted the time from the accession to the Babylonian new year (which fell in late March or early April) as his accession year, and only the first full regnal year, from new year to new year, as year one. It is the *combination* of these two elements which creates the discrepancy between these two areas – and which makes it unlikely that the hypothetical ‘Carian New Year’ generated a similar discrepancy. Thonemann’s postulate of a ‘Carian new year’, seems implausible. For even *if* it existed (imposed by the Hekatomnid satraps?), it is unlikely that it would have developed its own way of counting Achaemenid regnal years. (Thonemann’s reference to the ‘Lydian New Year’ in fact misrepresents what T. Boiy, *Kadmos* 44, 2005, 165–74, argued about Lydian satrapal dating in an inscription relating to Alexander III: there the discrepancy was between the Macedonian and the Babylonian way of counting regnal years; Boiy did not imply that the Lydians counted them differently again.) For the additional issue that Achaemenid kings may have dated by accession years rather than the Babylonian new year, see L. Depuydt, *Evidence for Accession Dating under the Achaemenids*, *JAOS* 115 (1995) 193–204 and T. Boiy, *The “Accession Year” in the Late Achaemenid and Early Hellenistic Period*, in C. Wunsch (ed.), *Mining the Archives: Festschrift for Christopher Walker* (2002), 25–33.

the Kindyeis; there is a mountain, a village, a priest and a sum of money, and delegates ‘from the cities’ who were present ‘when the Kindyeis went round the boundaries’. From these snippets a basic, but very uncertain, understanding has emerged, whose further elaboration depends entirely on where one thinks the stones originally stood. There seems to be a general agreement that we have a property transaction, either a sale or some kind of transfer: ‘la vente d’un territoire ou d’un domaine moyennant une somme supérieure à deux mille statères. La mention d’une kômè laisse penser que le domaine en question n’était pas de faibles dimensions’ (*HTC*, 219); similarly Blümel (*EA* 16, 31): ‘eine Grundstückstransaktion’; Reger (Mylasa, 46): ‘explicitly records the purchase from Kindye by Mylasa of land and a village for a price of at least 2,200 staters’.<sup>14</sup> The authors of *HTC* speculated in addition that the domain would have been ‘sans doute ... un domaine sacré ... auparavant contrôlé par la communauté des Kindyens’ and that the presence of the inscription(s) at Sekköy is a clear pointer to the location of the actual estate (and the village).<sup>15</sup>

Gary Reger, although not disputing that the documents were originally inscribed at the ancient site near Sekköy, found it puzzling ‘how the Kindyeis came to own land so far from home, and what the Mylaseis were doing purchasing it’ (p. 48). His (tentative) solution was that, although the land and the village sold to the Mylaseis and their Zeus were part of the actual territory of Kindye, the documents could have been set up in multiple copies in a number of pan-Karian sanctuaries including one at Sekköy.<sup>16</sup>

The views here cited represent the assumptions, the speculations and the uncertainties of those who have engaged with these texts. Further discussion has bypassed the problems of the first seven lines, and has focussed largely on the nature and origin of the delegations, and on what or whom they represented in political or religious terms.<sup>17</sup>

### The text of *I.Mylasa* 11

In a recent article, Raymond Descat has returned to the first of the two inscriptions, studying the text anew from a digital photograph with the aim of offering a better reading of the crucial first few lines. Unlike most other commentators Descat pauses on the unusual word ἀρχή restored twice in l. 3: ‘La restitution certaine du mot *archè* en ligne 3 donne le ton de l’importance de la transaction et oriente l’ensemble de l’affaire dans une direction qui n’est pas tout à fait une simple

---

In the case of Artaxerxes III this would have made little difference, since he succeeded in late February or early March of 358.

<sup>14</sup> Debord, *L’Asie mineure*, 142, introduces Maussollos and the Karian *koinon*: ‘il apparaît que Zeus Osogollis et les Mylasiens (?) reçoivent un terrain ayant appartenu aux habitants de Kindye; cela sous les auspices de Mausole et le contrôle d’envoyés du koinon des Cariens’.

<sup>15</sup> Debord, *L’Asie mineure*, 68, n. 310, speculates that ‘l’appointement du prêtre, la délimitation d’un domaine sacré invitent à rapprocher ce texte de la Trilingue de Xanthos’. According to Descat, Mylasa, 94, the priest of Zeus Osogöllis took over the revenues of the village now conveyed to the Mylaseis; previously, this had been the privilege of the priest of Artemis Kindyas.

<sup>16</sup> This was first proposed by Debord, *Cité grecque*, 123–24.

<sup>17</sup> Debord, *L’Asie mineure*, 68, and 178–79 (= *Cité grecque*, 119–24) on the *koinon* and the Sekköy inscriptions, suggested restoring in l. 7 [τοῖς δὲ Κάρ]σι παρήσαν ἀπὸ πόλεων, but in this sense (‘for’ – i.e. ‘on behalf of’ – the Karians ‘were present from the cities’) the dative is not used in Greek – we would expect the genitive. Cf. *HTC*, 219. An additional question has been whether it could be worked out, from the order in which the delegations are listed, where on the map of Karia a number of ‘floating’ communities should be placed. This was discussed already to an extent in *HTC* at 220–22; see also Debord, *Cité grecque*, 121–22, and especially R. Descat, *La géographie dans les listes des tributs attiques*: Lepsimandos et Kasôlaba en Carie, *ZPE* 104 (1994) 61–68.

transaction foncière, mais un transfert d'autorité ou de souveraineté sur un territoire qui doit être précisé'.<sup>18</sup> In taking the word's meaning ('authority', 'sovereignty') to suggest something more than a simple transfer of land, he is certainly right. If ἀρχή is understood in this sense, Descat argues, then the verb at the beginning of line 3 which precedes [π]αρά Κινδυέων (left open by Blümel and in *HTC*) is most likely παρέλαβον: 'they took over', 'received'. Παραλαμβάνω in the sense of 'taking over' sovereignty or authority is well-attested, as it is for receiving any kind of office or position of authority, including, at its apex, the *basileia*. One could also 'receive' a city, a region, a kingdom. A reason for doubting this suggestion is, however, that the verb, taken thus, always has the article before the noun (as in the examples given by D. himself).<sup>19</sup> And it is not obvious what ἀρχή in an indefinite sense might mean. A further problem is its specific pairing, further in the sentence, with πρὸς: καὶ τὰ πρὸς τῇ ἀρχῇ. The preposition πρὸς with the dative, usually indicates a location: 'alongside', 'near', 'towards', 'next to' or 'in the presence of', 'before' etc, and even though it can also mean 'with' or 'together with', the rest of our text is so clearly concerned with topography and delimiting space that it would need special pleading to prioritise the secondary meaning. One might wonder in any case whether the concept of ἀρχή, which is an absolute notion, allows for 'additional' things.<sup>20</sup>

Descat's reconstruction starts from the assumption that the reading in l. 3 – of the word ἀρχ[χ]ήν at the beginning of the line and ἀρχ[χ]ή towards the end of the same line – is certain. But given the awkwardness of the word in the context, the problematic nature of παρέλαβον and the forced meaning of πρὸς, the reading of ἀρχή should be tested.

In both places the middle section of the word is almost entirely erased. But the photograph allows for close scrutiny. To the right of the first *alpha* the lower half of an upright is clearly visible, and although one can see what suggested to Blümel the rounded shape of a *rho* above it, this slight curve may be due to an unevenness in the stone. On the squeeze nothing can be seen. Of the letter that follows, the top right-hand corner is visible, just to the left of the *eta*. This could belong to a *chi*, but it is odd that nothing at all is visible of the other three extremities of this usually quite prominent letter (cf. the same letter towards the end of l. 5). The appearance of a slanting stroke which might suggest a *chi* seems to me to be due to a longer diagonal fault in the stone which begins in the line above, cutting through the *alpha* and *rho* of [Αρ]τεμισῶνος and then through our letter. And since both the squeeze and the photograph quite clearly show a central upright, I propose to read this letter as a *tau* or an *upsilon*.



L. 3, left



L. 3, right

In the second occurrence of the word, towards the end of the line, an upright is again visible after the *alpha*, but no rounded shape can be seen at all. Where the *chi* should be, only a faint straight upright can be discerned, which again suggests a *tau* or an *upsilon*. There are no traces of any of the extremities of a *chi*. I therefore propose, without absolute certainty but in the conviction that no plausible word can

<sup>18</sup> P. 93. The reference, in n. 10, to Schuler, 237–38 is not pertinent.

<sup>19</sup> *LSJ s.v.*; Descat's own examples include that of Olympichos receiving the city of Mylasa: παραλαβόντες γὰρ τὴν ὑμετέραν πόλιν (*I.Labraunda* 8, l. 13); cf. also the decree from (?) Apollonia on Rhyndakos, *I.Prusa ad Olympum* 1001, l. 9f. (the subject is Korragos, the new governor of the region): ὑπό τε τὴν παράληψιν τῆς πόλεως ἡξίωσεν τὸν βασιλέα ἀποδοθῆναι τοὺς τε νόμους καὶ τὴν πάτριον πολιτείαν καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ τεμένη.

<sup>20</sup> See the many examples in *LSJ s.v.* I am not persuaded by P. Thonemann's translation of πρὸς with dative as 'together with' in the inscription documenting the transfer of an estate in Mysia to a certain Krateuas (above, n. 13, at 378–79).



be found which starts with α and ends in -νη, to read ἀκτὴν ('a headland' or 'cape' or 'coast') or rather Ἀκτὴν (the toponym Akte) given the lack of an article, καὶ τὰ πρὸς τῇ Ἀκτῇ,<sup>21</sup> ('with the parts adjoining Akte').<sup>22</sup> If this is right, then the first word to be restored in this line can perfectly well be the usual ἐπρίαντο. (There is not enough space on the stone for the twelve letters required by the alternative ἐμισθώσαντο, 'they leased': at most nine including the *pi* of [π]αρά can be accommodated.) I take τὸ ὅρος at the end of this line as an accusative and as the object of ἐπρίαντο. It was Descat's – tacit – assumption that it is instead a nominative and that καὶ τὸ ὅρος begins a new sentence followed by a verb (which he suggested might be παρεδείχθη – see below).<sup>23</sup>

For line 4, Descat rightly saw that the first decipherable word, ἀπό, implies a topographical specification in the space which gives us [.]ΑΛΑ[.]Η[.] . . .]; this seems confirmed by ΟΡΟΙ ἐστήκασιν further on in the sentence. The toponym that suggested itself to him to fill this difficult but suggestive gap was the (slightly modified) name of an obscure community: the Talagreis (known only in the genitive plural Ταλαγρέων)<sup>24</sup> and so the resulting line(s), with τὸ ὅρος taken as the subject of the new sentence, would read as follows:

4 [παρεδείχθ]η ἀπὸ [Τ]αλα[γρ]ή[ας] ἐπὶ (*sic*) ὁροὶ ἐστήκασιν καὶ κόμη

translated as: 'et la montagne a été attribuée depuis Talagreia, où se trouvent les bornes et le village ...'.

Leaving aside Talagreia/Talagrea for the moment, we should pause briefly at ἐπί, a preposition that has no place in this sentence and should most certainly not be translated, in a relative sense, as 'où'. Fortunately, the surviving letters allow for a different solution.

<sup>21</sup> *LSJ* offers both 'headland' or 'promontory' and 'tract of land, running out into the sea' or 'coast'. Chantraine's *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque* (1977) s.v. gives 'cap', 'pointe', 'côte escarpée', with the emphasis on the rocky or jagged contours. See also D. Knoepfler, *Décrets érétriens de proxénie et de citoyenneté* (2001) 156–57, on the meaning, etymology and hence location, of the toponym Panaktos. The lack of an article in our inscription suggests a toponym, but the place will obviously have been on the coast. For Akte as a toponym see Steph. Byz. s.v. with the comments of M. Billerbeck, *Stephani Byzantii Ethnica* vol. I: A–Γ (2006) ad loc.; cf. also s.v. Ἀκτιον, Καλὴ Ἀκτὴ. Cf. also the word αἰγιαλός as a toponym: Αἰγιαλός, Steph. Byz. s.v. For an Akte in the territory of Karthaia on Keos see *IG XII 5*, Add. p. 324, B1, l. 5, 6; C1, 12 etc. and *IG XII 5*, 1078.

<sup>22</sup> The expression, though not common, may be compared to the following in the sale document from Halikarnassos of approximately the same period (below, n. 63), A, l. 7: γῆν τὴν Αἰγ[υ]πτίῳ τοῦ Ἀρχαγόρεω τὴν ἐλ Λυρισσοῖ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ Κυογρισσιδὶ ὅσα πρὸς τῇ αὐλῇ ταύτῃ. It is similar to the more usual καὶ τὰ [π]ροσόντα, as in *I.Cos*, *ED 146* (*IG XII 4*, l. 79), l. 14–17: καὶ τὰν γὰρ τὰν ἐν Αἰγίλῳ καὶ τὰν οἰκίαν τὰν ἐπὶ ταῖ γαῖ καὶ τὰλλα τὰ ἐν ταῖ γαῖ πάντα καὶ τὰ προσόντα ταῖ γαῖ ταῦται π[άντα].

<sup>23</sup> If a new sentence, then at least τό τε (or δέ) ὅρος ... καί would be more usual. In this kind of document, however, sequences are normally linked by καί ... καί without verbs (other than those in the interpolated clause specifying that which is being delimited, e.g. 'as the river flows' or 'where the tower stands').

<sup>24</sup> Even though the Talagreis are listed as no 932 in the *Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis*, the ethnic is not certain. Zgusta, *KON* § 1284, lists it as Ταλαγρα, derived from Ταλαγρεω[v], but wonders if it should be read Τα(ν)αγρέων. Cf. also W. Blümel, *Einheimische Ortsnamen in Karien*, *EA* 30 (1998) 163–84 (updated version of 14.2.2012, available at <http://www.wolfgang-bluemel.de>) s.v. Ταλαγρα. The inscription in question, now *I.Mylasa* 4, is known only through a publication of Kontoleon, who worked from a copy. 'Condoléon n'a pas eu d'estampage à sa disposition et je crois qu'il est permis de prendre quelques libertés avec la copie de l'archimandrite Philarétos Iordanidis ...' wrote Haussoullier, cited by L. Robert (*Études anatoliennes*, 1937, 572, n. 1) who himself remarked about l. 5–6: 'On retrouve ... des noms de peuples au génitif: -ητέων καὶ Κωρανί -, puis Ταλαγρέων (?);' but added in n. 2: 'Le mot peut se couper différemment. On peut avoir un patronymique se terminant en -ανητα (cf. le carien Μανίτας dans Michel *Recueil* 471: Μανίτα τοῦ Πακτώω ... κτλ.)'.



L. 4

After the *omicron* of ἀπό, another round letter is faintly visible both on the stone and on the squeeze, so that instead of a toponym I propose to read ἀπό θαλά[σ]ης. The word's final *sigma* is visible after the *eta*, and two *sigmas*, though squashed, could just be accommodated in the space between *alpha* and *eta* (c. 18 mm). I think that I can see a very small *sigma* attached, like a limpet, to the side of the *eta* that follows. The size of the *sigmas* as well as their spacing in the text varies greatly, from 7 mm wide and high (e.g. l. 2, the final *sigma* of ZEYΣ) to 12 mm (l. 6, the final *sigma* of ΚΙΝΔΥΕΙΣ); some are squeezed very closely together (cf. the double *sigma* in l. 2 in ΜΑΥΣΣ, which takes up just 17 mm) and often touch adjoining letters.

After this I read with reasonable certainty: ὧς οἱ ὅροι ἐστήκασιν, so that we get: 'from the sea, as the boundary markers stand'. The use of ὧς in this sense (with or without a verb) is standard in texts that are concerned with delimiting boundaries.<sup>25</sup> Since we have the (expected) Ionian form for 'boundaries' or 'boundary markers' in l. 6: τοὺς οὖρους, it is odd to have here the Attic form ὅροι. The reading seems however certain and the best suggestion I can offer is that τὸ ὄρος in the previous line subconsciously influenced the stonecutter here. I have therefore supplemented the *upsilon* and write ο(ῡ)ροι.<sup>26</sup>



L. 5

I leave the word to be restored at the beginning of this line for further discussion, and will come back also to the final κόμη. I continue with l. 5, where Descat argued correctly that some kind of specification of the village mentioned is needed. For [. . . . .]ΔΟΣΩΣΗ[.]Δ[.]Σ, with space in the first gap for c. 9 letters, Descat suggested another (Karian) toponym, ending in -δοσωση and perhaps preceded by something like καλουμένη.<sup>27</sup> But a round letter is visible before and after the *delta*, which allows for the straightforward ὧς ἡ ὁδός. The abrupt transition, after ὁδός to the priest: ἱερεῖ ἀργυρίου στατήρων δισχιλίων is then not easy to understand, and the omission of the article before ἱερεῖ leaves the priest dangling. Descat's solution was to restore a verb, [ἐ]δ[όθη] after ΔΟΣΩΣΗ and to take as its subject the village in l. 4: '(the) village was given to (the) priest'. (But given by whom?) However, on closer scrutiny of the stone, the first letter of ἱερεῖ turns out not to be an *iota*, but a *phi*, giving the perfectly respectable φέρει and so doing

<sup>25</sup> Cf. e.g. *Agora* 19, L4b (3rd cent. BC) l. 39–41: εἶναι ἀρχαῖο Σαλαμινίων τῶν ἀπὸ Σουνίου ὧς οἱ ὅροι κεῖνται, and similar throughout; see also Chaniotis, *Verträge*, 154 with n. 954; cf. his no. 47, and G. Daverio Rocchi, *Frontiera e confini nella Grecia antica* (1988), Texts, *passim*. On ὧς used in this sense see also J. Mendez-Dosuna, Ως con valor espacial en Teocrito y en inscripciones dialectales: una quimera sintactica, in A. C. Cassio (ed.), *Kata dialekton. Atti del III colloquio internaz. di dialettologia greca 1996*, *AION Sez. Filol. letteraria* 19 (1997) [1999] 407–51, with many examples. For φέρω used with ὁδός see e.g. *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1582 (soon after 348/7 BC) *passim*. Cf. ὧς ἡ ὁδός ἄγει in *OGIS* 335 *passim*.

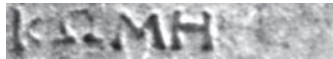
<sup>26</sup> Though note the Attic form [το]ὺς ὄρους in a 4th-century Mylasan fragment mentioning Artaxerxes III: W. Blümel, *EA* 37 (2004) 1–2, no 1 (*SEG* 47, 1605). On οὖρος/ὄρος see further H. Engelmann, R. Merkelbach, *ZPE* 8 (1971) 97–103.

<sup>27</sup> Discussion of the possibilities at 94, with special reference to the ending -ΣΩΣΗ, which is thought to be Karian 'sans gémination du sigma'.

away with the priest altogether: ὥς ἡ ὁδὸς φέρει: ‘as the road runs’.<sup>28</sup> After this, the sum mentioned in the genitive must be the amount paid for everything just listed.

This leaves us with the unexpected nominative ending of the word κόμη at the end of l. 4. Without a verb, it is hard to see how this would fit into the sentence. Descat’s solution, to make it the subject of the verb ‘was given’ ἐ[δ]όθη] (‘to the priest’), is no longer an option. The *vacat* at the end of the line, after κόμη, appears convincing.

Close scrutiny of the stone suggests very faint traces of what could be the upper right hasta of a *nu*, turning the word into a more accommodating accusative: κόμην, but although there are other places in this inscription where a letter is almost wholly wiped out while the surrounding ones



L. 4, end

are clearly legible, I am uncertain of postulating such a phantom letter here. One possibility is that the stonemason simply forgot to inscribe the final letter. An accusative makes sense syntactically,

while a nominative causes serious problems. We cannot make the (plural) verb in ὥς οἱ οὐροὶ ἐστήκασιν apply also to καὶ κόμη, nor can we easily supplement within the same clause a verb of which κόμη would be the subject, for the reasons discussed below.

At the beginning of l. 5 we read -ΔΟΣ, preceded by *c.* 9 letters (with *perhaps* a rounded letter preceding -ΔΟΣ: -ΟΔΟΣ?/-ΩΔΟΣ?) which must give the name, or some other specification, of the village. -ΔΟΣ is almost certainly a genitive ending of a name ending in -ις or -ους or -ως.<sup>29</sup> [τῆς/τὴν Ἀρτέμι]δος: ‘of Artemis’ is a possibility, but a strong objection must be that for a sanctuary to let go of a village which it owned, we would expect Artemis herself to have been a party to the transaction. Another consideration is that the letter cutter did not break off his words at the end of sentences but preferred to leave (sometimes quite long) *vacats*, so that the word following κόμη[?ν] must have been one that was too long to fit into the space at the end of l. 4 (where six or at most seven letters can be accommodated): this would rule out τῆς/τὴν.<sup>30</sup> We could instead think of a long (Karian) personal name with the genitive ending -δος, such as Ἀρυασσις, Κολαλδισ, Ἰμβρασσις, Πελεκως, although in known examples of villages ‘of so-and-so’ the name normally precedes the κόμη element.<sup>31</sup> Supplementing a verb seems difficult, since a verb at least 6–7 letters long would leave 2–3 letters to make a word with -ΔΟΣ.

Lines 6 and 7 present few problems. Descat’s suggested [καὶ πεντακ]οσίων takes up nine letters, which is acceptable, although given the erratic spacing of the letters, τετρα-, ἑπτα- or ὀκτα- seem equally possible. The remainder of 6, and first part of 7, before the delegations are listed, are not without importance for a proper understanding of the entire context, so I include them, although Descat’s discussion stops here.

After καὶ ὅτε τοὺς οὐρούς περιηγέοντο Κινδυεῖς: ‘and when the Kindyeis traced the circuit of the boundaries’ and before παρήσαν ἀπὸ πόλεων the beginning of l. 7 is a blank. The missing word has generally been taken as belonging with the sentence that comes after: [. . . . .] σι παρήσαν ἀπὸ πόλεων· Κασωλαβεῖς Ἑρμῶναξ κτλ. W. Blümel suggested [τῇ περιήγῃ]σι: ‘at the tracing of the boundaries were present’ which is very good, but for the fact that it exactly

<sup>28</sup> I owe the reading of the *phi* to D. Rousset.

<sup>29</sup> There is no space for e.g. καλουμένη(v).

<sup>30</sup> This was suggested to me by N. Papazarkadas.

<sup>31</sup> As in the letter of Antiochos II to Metrophanes (*I. Didyma* 492B, 17–18): πεπ[ρά]καμεν Λαοδίκῃ Πάννου κόμην. Cf. Ἰλου κόμη (*Sardis* VII 1, 1, l. 30) etc. On names, see W. Blümel, *Einheimische Personennamen in griechischen Inschriften aus Karien*, *EA* 20 (1998) 7–33, for further examples, with 31–32 on the genitive forms in -αδος, -ιδος, -υδος, -ωδος.

duplicates the meaning of what precedes it.<sup>32</sup> If we took the missing word as part of the preceding sentence: ‘and when the Kindyeis traced the boundaries’, one possibility might be [Μυλασεῦ]σι: ‘for the Mylaseis’, on the (not perfect) parallel of Herodotos 7.214: καὶ περιηγησάμενοι τὸ ὄρος τοῖσι Πέρσησι.

To sum up: Descat’s version reads as follows:

- 4 [παρέλαβον π]αρά Κινδυέων ἀρχ[η]ν καὶ τὰ πρὸς τῇ ἀρχ[η] καὶ τὸ ὄρος  
[παρεδείχθ]η ἀπὸ [Τ]αλα[γρ]ή[ας] ἐπὶ ὁροὶ ἐστήκασιν καὶ κόμη  
[. . . . .] ΔΟΣΩΣΗ [ἐ]δό[θη] ἱερεῖ ἀργυρίο στατήρων δισχιλίων  
[καὶ πεντα?κ]οσίων.

... ont reçu de la part des Kindyéens l’autorité et ce qui l’accompagne et la montagne a été attribuée depuis Talagreia, où se trouvent les bornes et le village ... . DOSÔSE a été remis au prêtre pour 2 500 (?) statères d’argent.

I would read instead:

- 4 [ἐ]πρίαντο π]αρά Κινδυέων Ἀκτῆν καὶ τὰ πρὸς τῇ Ἀκτῇ καὶ τὸ ὄρος  
[ c.8–9 ] Ἰ ἀπὸ θαλά[σ]σης ὡς οἱ οὔ[ρ]οι ἐστήκασιν, καὶ κόμη[?]ν vac.  
[ c.8–9 ] δος ὡς ἡ ὁδὸς φέρει, ἀργυρίο στατήρων δισχιλίων  
[καὶ c.4 κ]οσίων καὶ ὅτε τοὺς οὔρους περιηγέοντο Κινδυεῖς  
[ c.7 ] σι παρήσαν ἀπὸ πόλεων Κασωλαβεῖς Ἑρμώναξ vac.

... bought from the Kindyeis Akte and the adjoining parts, and the mountain [...], from the sea as the markers stand, and (the) village [?] as the road runs, for 2400, 2500, 2700, 2800 (?) staters silver. And when the Kindyeis traced the boundaries [...] (the following) were present from the cities: Kasolabeis: Hermonax etc.

The missing word(s) in l. 4 I am not able to restore (the relative τό might, but need not, follow τὸ ὄρος). The upright which is clearly visible to the left of ἀπό cannot be part of a *nu* (which would have been convenient), for it touches down fully, so must be an *iota* or an *eta*, suggesting either a verbal form or the dative ending of a feminine noun specifying the location of the ὄρος.

### Interpreting the text

Descat’s interpretation of the text allowed for a new *polis*, Talagreia, to be tentatively located on the map to the north of the modern village of Sekköy (Mylasa, 97, Fig. 2). It also suggested a context in which royal land changed hands without being sold (‘une attribution de terres dans le cadre des pratiques des *dôreai*, des formes anciennes des droits d’appropriation du sol’) and offered an interpretation of the noun ἀρχή and the verbs παραλαμβάνω and δίδωμι as relevant to a process of ‘transferts d’autorité sur des espaces importants et qui aboutissent alors peu à peu à une transformation du statut de certains terres’.<sup>33</sup> But if my reading is correct, then none of this

<sup>32</sup> In Mylasan land-sale documents, the witnessing formula at first sight parallels that restored by Blümel. *I.Mylasa* 217, ll. 19–20 may serve as an example: παρόντων μαρτύρων τῇ ἐμβάσει τῶν ὁμόρων καὶ γειτόνων Ἀπολ[ωνίου] | τοῦ Πολυκρί[του] κτλ. (ἐμβασίς has the meaning of ‘taking into possession’). But in our text ὅτε ... περιηγέοντο fulfils the function which τῇ ἐμβάσει has in *I.Mylasa* 217.

<sup>33</sup> I do not agree with Descat that the documents relating to the sale of an estate by Antiochos II to his queen Laodike constitute a parallel to the situation envisaged for our text; the reference in that dossier to οἱ παρ’ αὐτῆς

applies, for all three words are conjectural. We should therefore abandon the idea that the transaction described in *I.Mylasa* 11 concerned a (sacred) estate located at or near Sekköy. Nor was there in its vicinity an ancient city called Talagreia (Descat, 96–99). No royal land was involved (Descat, 93; 95–96) and the transaction was most probably in the form of a sale (l. 3: [ἐπρίαντο]), or perhaps a lease, but not a gift or a ‘transfer of authority’. The simplest hypothesis is that the stones originally came from Mylasa (as W. Blümel initially proposed). I consider it possible that they were inscribed on the sanctuary of Zeus Osogöllis, for it was he, the Mylaseis’ main deity, who was a prominent party to the transaction.<sup>34</sup>

It is obvious, all the same, that this was no ordinary transaction. The Mylaseis bought a place called Akte with adjoining (?) land and an (adjoining?) mountain (or hill)<sup>35</sup> for a sum that seems low in comparison with what we know about land-values at this time. The transaction was witnessed by at least ten Karian communities, as was the second one (*I.Mylasa* 12), which presumably dealt with a similar acquisition, perhaps of adjoining land. There may have been others. The purchase(s) must represent the efforts of the Mylaseis to gain direct access to the sea, and to establish a port, an *epineion*, of their own at a considerable distance from their city.

A number of questions arise from this new reading, not all of which I am capable of dealing with at length (let alone answering conclusively), but I set out the main ones below, dealing in sequence with topography, the value of the sale and its implications, the *koinon* of the Karians, the rôle of Zeus Osogöllis.

#### Topography: Kindye and the ‘Little Sea’

Where to locate the territory which the Mylaseis acquired from the Kindyeis? In one sense the answer is straightforward: Akte must be sought on the coast, and the only plausible coast is that of the ‘Little Sea’ (modern Muhal Körfezi, one of several inlets in the Gulf of Güllük – also Gulf of Mandalya, and in Antiquity Iasikos or Bargylitikos Kolpos – to the north of the central site of Kindye at Sığirtmaç kalesi).<sup>36</sup> This bay has been described as a ‘small, almost completely landlocked nub of water nestled between the south-east terminus of Mt. Grion on the north and the hills to the south, into which discharged the stream now called the Sarı Çay and which alluviation over the last two millennia has converted into a swampy plain’ (G. Reger).<sup>37</sup> It is now the location of Milas/Bodrum airport. Reger’s apt description pertains to the present-day situation,

πριάμενοι ἢ λαβόντες does not in any way indicate the kind of fluidity implied in the ‘transition from one property régime to another’ (*Mylasa*, 95): it merely envisages the possibility of Laodike either selling or transferring the estate to a third party through gift or testamentary disposition. The freedom to do so constitutes the definition of full legal control over property and has nothing to do with ‘transferts d’autorité’.

<sup>34</sup> The sanctuary was located to the south-west of the city. This was where the Mylaseis inscribed their decrees. On its location see F. Rumscheid, *JDAI* 114 (1999) 35–38, especially n. 60, with previous literature.

<sup>35</sup> For ὄρος as ‘hill’ see Chr. Schuler, *Ländliche Siedlungen*, 112–13.

<sup>36</sup> Delrieux, next n., discusses both the modern and the ancient names.

<sup>37</sup> As well as the Sarı Çay, the Hamzabey Çayı contributes to the silting. Reger cites the main literature concerning the ‘Little Sea’s identification at 44–46. His discussion (*Mylasa*, 44–49) of the problems surrounding the ‘ownership’ of the ‘Little Sea’, though generally accurate, contains a mistake which is corrected in Pierobon Benoit (below, n. 39). Add now: F. Delrieux, *L’exploitation de la mer et ses implications économiques, politiques et militaires dans le golfe de Bargylia en Carie à l’époque gréco-romaine, Ressources et activités maritimes des peuples de l’antiquité. Actes du colloque international de Boulogne-sur-Mer, 12–14 Mai 2005*, ed. J. Napoli (Les cahiers du littoral 2.6, 2008) 273–93; E. Lytle, ‘Ἡ θάλασσα κοινή: Fishermen, the Sea, and the Limits of Ancient Greek Regulatory Reach, *CA* 31 (2012) 1–55.



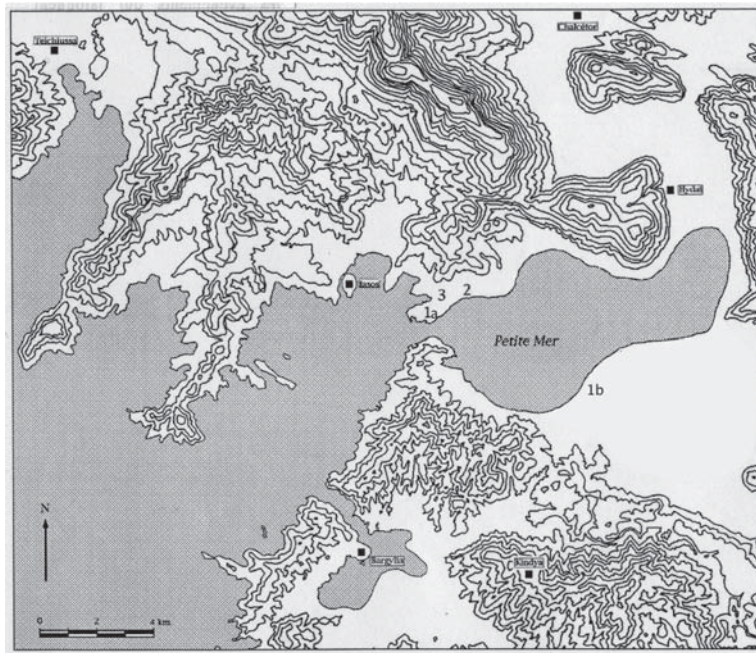


Fig. 3: Map of the 'Little Sea' with projected ancient coastline (F. Delrieux)

rioux, is one of the few attempts to show the possible extent of the 'Little Sea' in Antiquity.<sup>40</sup> The tower is indicated on it as 1a; the ancient road is at 2.

A – Iasian – decree is the only source in which the 'Little Sea' is mentioned by name (*I.Iasos* 24+30).<sup>41</sup> It honours two Iasian brothers, Gorgos and Minnion, who recovered the *Mikra thalassa* and returned it to the *demos* of Iasos, having conferred about the issue with Alexander the Great: ὑπὲρ τῆς μικρῆς θαλάσσης διαλέχθεντες Ἀλεξάνδρῳ βασιλεῖ ἐκομίσαντο [κ]αὶ ἀπέδοσαν τῷ δήμῳ. The question of the recovery of this sea has been much discussed both in terms of

but in Antiquity the 'Little Sea' stretched farther to the north and east, and its entrance, although always narrow and easily controllable, was wider: at just under 1 km it exceeded the width of the entrance into the harbour of Bargylia to the south.<sup>38</sup> The remains of a fortified tower, which once guarded the bay's northern point of entry, and an ancient road which ran along its northern shore are at a distance from the present shoreline but must have bordered it in Antiquity.<sup>39</sup> The map, Fig. 3, drawn by F. Del-

<sup>38</sup> This is the approximate distance between the tower no 94 on the *Carta Archeologica* 1993 in E. La Rocca (ed.), *Sinus Iasius I. Il territorio di Iasos: ricognizioni archeologiche 1988–1989*, ANSP s. 3, 23 (1993) (1a on Delrieux's map, Fig. 3) and the opposite shore, as measured on the Google Earth map (Fig. 5). M. Benter, Das mykenische Kammergrab vom Pilavtepe, in F. Rumscheid (ed.), *Die Karer und die Anderen* (2009) 349–58, at 349, estimates it as c. 700 m. On the harbour of Bargylia, now the lake and alluvial marshes of Tuzla, see Bean and Cook, *Carian Coast* III, 96–97.

<sup>39</sup> See R. Pierobon Benoit, *Il territorio di Iasos: nuove ricerche* (2006–2008), in L. Karlsson and S. Carlsson (eds), *Labraunda and Karia. Proceedings of the International Symposium Commemorating Sixty Years of Swedish Archaeological Work in Labraunda* (Boreas 32, 2011) 389–423, at 394–96, pointing out that both G. Traina (below, n. 54) and F. Delrieux (next n.) assumed – mistakenly – that no 94 was the tower seen and photographed by B. Haussoullier (*BCH* 8, 1884, 457–58) and identified by L. Robert as being the site of Passala: on the real 'Passala' tower see below. Gary Reger, following the incorrect identification, gets into trouble trying to understand how the Mylaseis would have reached Passala without having to cross the territory of Hydai (Mylasa, 45–46).

<sup>40</sup> From F. Delrieux, *REG* 114 (2001) 160–89, used with the author's permission. On the extent of the 'Little Sea', Delrieux offers the following (167): 'la "Petite Mer" a dû couvrir au moins une espace s'étendant, depuis le golfe de Küllük, jusque vers Damliboğaz et Koruköy, localités situées à l'ouest et au sud-ouest du mont Sodra.' Benter, *Das mykenische Kammergrab*, 349, suggests that the site of Pilavtepe which now lies next to the modern Milas-Bodrum road at the turn-off to Iasos, in Antiquity was located at a major NW/SE and SW/NE crossroads 'am Ostufer einer tiefen ... Bucht mit schmalem, leicht zu kontrollierendem Zugang zum Golf von Güllük'.

<sup>41</sup> The decree is now to be read in the restored version of R. Fabiani, *PP* 62 (2007) 373–84 (*SEG* 57, 1085).

its location and of who may have held it, or confiscated it, before the Iasians got it back.<sup>42</sup> Gary Reger's comment that the appeal of Gorgos and Minnion 'makes sense only if the sea was so configured that a single *polis* might control it, but so located that more than one might lay a claim',<sup>43</sup> bears out the view of Jeanne and Louis Robert that it was here, rather than in the wider Gulf of Iasos, that we should locate the Little Sea.<sup>44</sup>

The Google Earth map (Fig. 4) on which the Iasian tower is indicated by a white letter 'T', shows the location of the airport and the extent of the present-day inlet; the close-up of the same map (Fig. 5) shows the point where the photograph (Fig. 6) was taken; together they give a sense of the present-day extent of the bay, with the alluvial stretches clearly visible. Fig. 7 shows the western part of the plain taken from the old road above Iasos, looking south towards the airport. Quite what the bay's circumference was in Antiquity, and what its navigable depth, only a geomorphological survey can determine, but we should not think of it as having always been a virtually closed off, shallow bay, of interest mainly to fishermen and valued for the marshes and wetlands on its periphery.<sup>45</sup>

The precise extent of the territory of Kindye has not so far been determined and it is not my aim here to attempt it (nor am I competent to), though I shall briefly discuss the location of the temple of Artemis Kindyas (below, p. 18). The clear implication of our inscription is however that, to the north, Kindyan territory must have stretched to the shore of the 'Little Sea'. It is here that we must seek Akte, whose name suggests a 'côte escarpée', and the village and mountain (or hill) bought by the Mylaseis. Where along this (former) coastline, which stretched from the entrance of the Muhal Körfezi in the west to beyond Akyol, where the modern road, running north-eastwards between two sets of hills meets the plain of Ekinambarı (and where the ancient road must have met the coast), should we locate them? Although there are hills to both east and west, an obvious candidate for the ὄρος seems to me to be the hill (or part of it) now known as Boz kale, which rises up to a height of 309 m,<sup>46</sup> behind the present village of Güllük on the coast, and whose northern outcrop, at 176 m, forms a headland flanking the entrance to the Little Sea. If so, then Akte and the 'village' may have been located to the east of this headland. Both the headland and the hill are clearly visible on the photo Fig. 7, across the plain.

<sup>42</sup> It implicitly raises a question about the notion of territorial waters: who, if anyone, 'owned' this sea? Lytle, 'Ἡ θάλασσα κοινή', has recently discussed this question at some length, concluding (I quote from the summary of his article, p. 1) that, 'although it is frequently asserted that Greek *poleis* routinely laid claim to maritime fisheries or even territorial waters, making them subject to special taxes and regulations, these assertions have little or no foundation in the evidence. For Greek fishermen the sea was freely and openly accessible, a fact that reflects the limited regulatory reach of ancient *poleis*.' His view on the 'Little Sea inscription' is that it 'cannot be taken as evidence against the generally observed distinction between regulated inland fisheries and the unregulated marine fisheries that remain largely invisible in the documentary evidence' (19). But in order to reach this conclusion he has to overplay the 'landlocked nub of water' aspect, which is less than convincing.

<sup>43</sup> Reger, Mylasa, 44, discussing (at 45) also the possible suggestions as to who had taken the Little Sea away from the Iasians in the first place: Mylasa? Bargylia? Alexander himself, as a punishment for disloyalty? See also Lytle, 'Ἡ θάλασσα κοινή', 18.

<sup>44</sup> *BE* (1973) no 419; followed by most others. See Reger, Mylasa, 44–45, with all previous references, Delrieux, *L'exploitation*, 276–78, and Lytle, 'Ἡ θάλασσα κοινή', 16–19.

<sup>45</sup> See the references in Lytle, 'Ἡ θάλασσα κοινή', 18, who himself seems to hesitate between the importance of this sea in providing a port to the Mylasans and an interior 'sea' mostly used for fishing. Marshes (and salt): S. Vacante, Alexander the Great and the *polis* of Iasos: Salt and Democracy? Notes on the "Little Sea" Inscription (*Ilasos* 24+30) and the *Ekklesiastikon* Decree (*Ilasos* 20), *Klio* 93 (2011) 322–36.

<sup>46</sup> On the maps of Kiepert and Philippson 325 m is indicated.



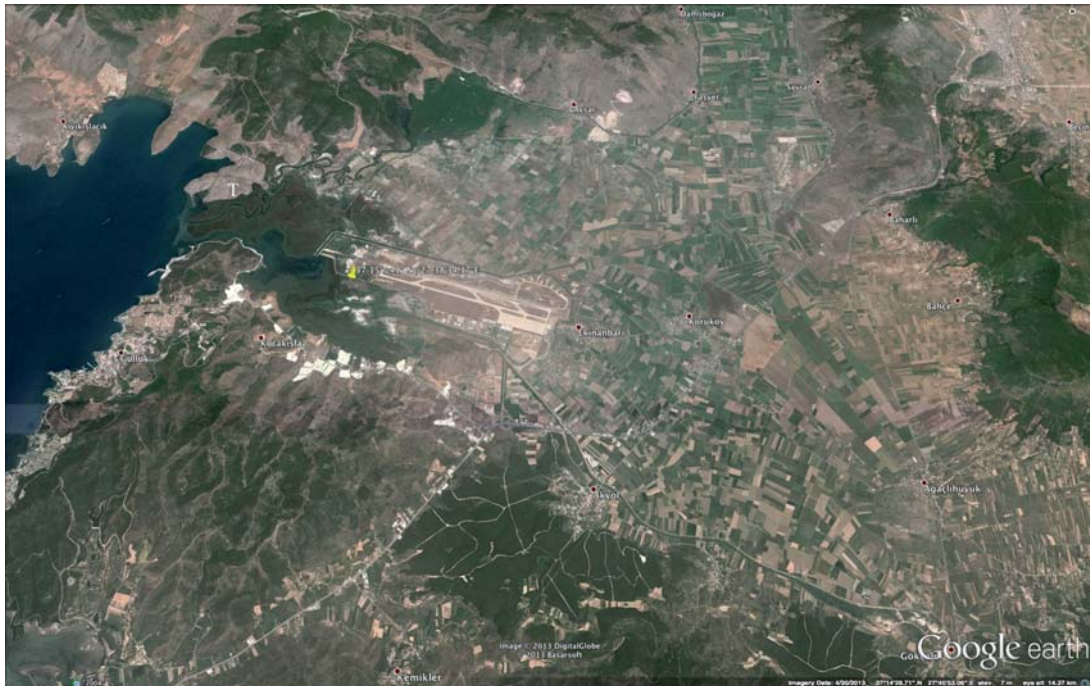


Fig. 4: Google Earth map of the plain of Ekinambarı with Milas-Bodrum airport



Fig. 5: Close-up of Fig. 4. White star indicates the point from which photo Fig. 6 was taken



Fig. 6: Looking north across the present-day mouth of the Muhall Körfezi (Photo A. Herda)



Fig. 7: View of the 'Little Sea', taken from the road above Iasos (Photo author)



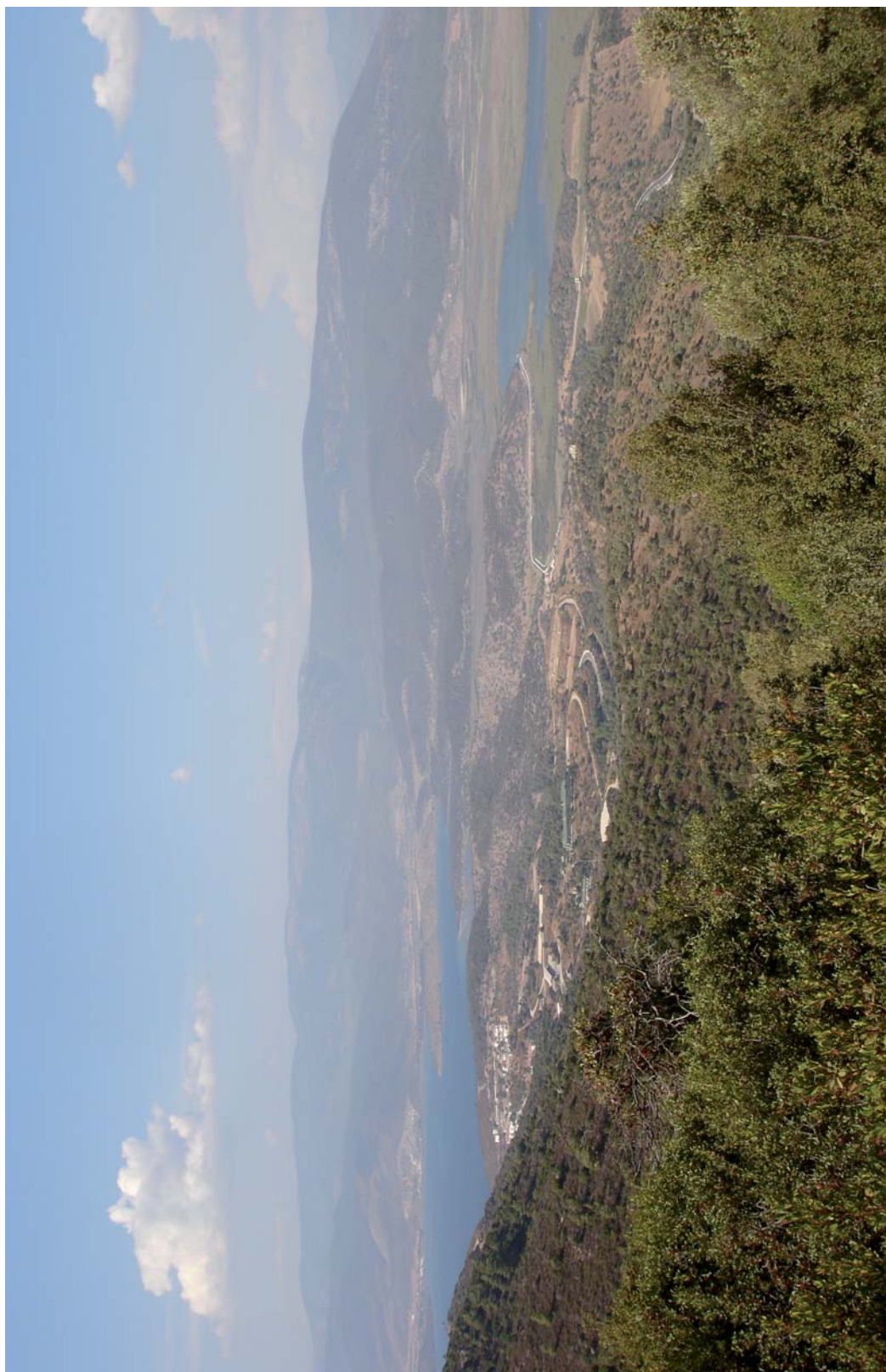


Fig. 8: View of the 'Little Sea' and the headland north of Güllük, from Boz kale, looking north (Photo A. Bresson)



In the 1950s, Aşkıldil and Turhan Akarca saw on Boz kale the remains of a fortress, built of schist blocks, with a main gate (2.70 m wide, shown on their Pl. 53) and five towers on the western side; a second gate (1.30 m wide) with a single, tall, tower on the south side. Its walls, at 1.90 m thick, were preserved in parts to a height of nine rows (1.80 m). The north and east sides had one tower each. They also note two ‘residential areas’, to the south and north, below the main fortress.

The Akarcas’ *Milâs* is the only publication I know of to give a description of this structure, which must surely have belonged to Kindye (although the authors think it served to defend Bargylia – p. 166). From the photographs (I have not myself visited the site), the building looks to be of the late archaic or early Classical period. On Google Earth, its outline is faintly visible (coordinates 37° 13’ 54.33” N; 27° 36’ 51.24” E).<sup>47</sup> Fig. 8, taken by A. Bresson, shows a view from Boz kale looking down onto the headland (to the left) and across to the Iasian coast.

If here, then the Mylaseis were buying a headland right opposite the northern entrance to the Little Sea. The reference to ‘as the *horoi/ouroi* stand’ may be to an existing demarcation of this headland, perhaps between the territories of Kindye and Bargylia. The element *περί* in *καὶ ὅτε τοὺς οὐρούς περιηγέοντο* suggests that the totality of what was transferred had a perimeter which could be toured and which therefore must have been delimited by the features described in the text: measured ‘from the sea’ along a line indicated by existing *horoi*, it must have returned to the sea; ἀπὸ [θ]αλά[σσ]η[ς] in l. 4 may therefore have its counterpart in ὡς ἡ [ὁ]δὸς φέρει, in the sense that the road ran towards the coast and by doing so enclosed the village within the total territory to be transferred.<sup>48</sup>

This is only a possibility, not a certainty, for there are hills also to the east but it is difficult to see how those would contain a place whose description fitted the notion of a ‘cape’ or headland, for their slope down to the plain is much more gentle.<sup>49</sup>

### Passala

What was the relation of the Mylaseis’ territorial acquisition to Passala, referred to in Stephanos of Byzantion as Mylasa’s *epineion*?<sup>50</sup> There can be no conclusive answer to this question, because the location of Passala itself is not certain, nor is it known when Mylasa acquired the place. The literary and epigraphical evidence is late (two inscriptions of the fifth century AD refer to the λιμενικὸν τέλος τῆς Πασσαλιητῶν κόμης τῆς Μυλασέων πόλεως).<sup>51</sup> The name of Passala was attached by L. Robert to the place where a late-Classical or early Hellenistic fortified tower stands in the plain of Ekinambarı (also known as Tekfurambarı, Tekirambarı) at the village of Sakız, now within the confines of Milas-Bodrum airport. A few late inscriptions were found

<sup>47</sup> *Milâs* (1954). ‘Boz kale’ is described on p. 166–67; there are two photographs on Pl. 53. The Akarcas do not venture a date. I owe the reference to this publication to R. Descat.

<sup>48</sup> On *περιήγησις* see D. Rousset, *Le territoire de Delphes et la terre d’Apollon* (2002) 98, n. 334; for the meaning of the related *περιορίζειν* see *idem*, *De Lycie en Cabalide. La convention entre les Lyciens et Termessos près d’Oinoanda* (2010) 51.

<sup>49</sup> Apart from Sığirtmaç, the villages of Kemikler, Hasanbağı and Üçpınar all probably lie within the territory of Kindye.

<sup>50</sup> Steph. Byz. s.v. Passala. I refer to Bresson’s and Reger’s discussion of Strabo’s puzzling statement that ‘the city reaches the sea at Physkos’ (XIV.2.23, 659 C.) and its implication that Mylasa’s harbour was known by that name. My discussion of the size and shape of the ‘Little Sea’ may not be compatible with Bresson’s explanation of ‘Physkos’ from the sea’s intestine-like shape in antiquity.

<sup>51</sup> *I.Mylasa* 611 and 612.



Fig. 9: 'Tour hellénique à Passala' (L. Robert, RA 1935, 160)

Körfezi,<sup>54</sup> but plotted onto what would have been the contours of the 'Little Sea' at the time of our inscription, the tower stood at its south-eastern edge. If the 'Little Sea' covered an area still farther east, we would have to imagine it on a small island in the bay (it now stands on a slightly raised knoll in the midst of the flat plain).<sup>55</sup> This tower, then, was probably erected somewhere on or near former Kindyan territory. But whether it fixes the site of Passala seems to me uncertain.

It is worth asking which other territories besides that of Kindye would have needed to be acquired in order to achieve an unbroken extent of land between Mylasa and the 'Little Sea': Hydai, at Damliboğaz, to the north (see Fig. 4), and Kasōssos, at Ulaş, to the east (see Fig. 10), are obvious candidates.<sup>56</sup>

there: 'Le site du port de Mylasa, Passala, se laisse identifier par des dédicaces aux empereurs, qui ont été copiées, mais non publiées, par Hula et Szanto; il n'est pas exactement placé sur les cartes.'<sup>52</sup> Robert does not directly refer to the tower, but the accompanying photograph is entitled 'Tour hellénique à Passala' (Fig. 9). The tower is indicated on the GoogleEarth map Fig. 4 by a yellow marker; its coordinates are 37° 15' 7.41" N; 27° 38' 34.37" E.<sup>53</sup>

Maps, new and old, generally show 'Passala' near the (north-) eastern edge of the Muhal

<sup>52</sup> RA 1935, 160–61.

<sup>53</sup> See F. Rumscheid, XVI. *AST II* (1999) 169–70; 175–76; 185–86 with photos Abb. 16. 17. Discussion and photo also in Pierobon Benoit, *Il territorio di Iasos*, 394–96. W. Blümel discusses the site and the literary and epigraphic evidence in *I. Mylasa II* at p. 118–19. Blümel's suggestion (at *I. Mylasa* 927–28) that the inscriptions could have been transported from the site of Iasos in a ship, as ballast, seems possible.

<sup>54</sup> The Barrington Atlas, Map 61, F3, shows it approximately there, as do many others. The location of this tower was mistakenly assumed by G. Traina, *Ricognizioni nel settore del Sarı Çay. Considerazioni preliminari*, in *Sinus Iasius I* (1993) 966–71, to have been at no 94 on the the Iasian *Carta Archeologica 1993*, on the northern shore of the entrance to the gulf, where there are in fact the foundations of another tower. See above, n. 39.

<sup>55</sup> So Rumscheid, 175, who points out the difference in vegetation on this raised land and that of the alluvial plain around it. Pliny, *NH* V.134 lists Passala as an island in the Gulf of Keramos. See on this Blümel's discussion, *I. Mylasa II*, p. 117–18.

<sup>56</sup> On these sites see the references in *I. Mylasa II*, 99 (Hydai) and 121 (Kasōssos). A dedication to Zeus Osogō was found at Aslanyakası just to the north-north-east of Ulaş by L. Robert (*I. Mylasa II*, p. 127). In the list of delegations in *I. Mylasa* 11, 'Υδαεῖς (also present in *I. Mylasa* 12, l. 4) rather than 'Υδισσεῖς should perhaps be restored in l. 10, as a city whose territory bordered immediately on the 'Little Sea'. The six letters fit better where there seems space for no more than that number. An objection might be that the names of the delegates are not the same as those in *I. Mylasa* 12, whereas for two other delegations that occur in both inscriptions (above, p. 1) the delegates are identical. But since we do not know the interval between the two transactions, this is not conclusive.

## The location of the temple of Artemis

The sanctuary of Artemis Kindyas has frequently been located at the village of Kemikler, which lies between the main site at Sığirtmaç and the coast (see Fig. 4). At Kemikler, Alfred Laumonier saw the remains of what he thought was the sanctuary: ‘En descendant de Kemikler, presque au bas de l’épéron que suit le chemin, on peut encore reconnaître avec peine, au milieu des buissons, l’emplacement du temple d’Artémis Kindya, découvert par Paton; il n’en reste presque plus rien: quelques fragments de colonnes byzantines provenant de l’église qui succéda au temple ...’.<sup>57</sup> Only a few fragments of inscriptions were found here by earlier travellers (*I.Iasos* II, nos. 614, 630, 639), all late, and none is of use for identification. The map accompanying Paton and Myres’ article of 1896 shows the temple at this place (Fig. 10), and this is followed on Philippon’s map of 1915. Bean and Cook also indicate this location, following Paton and Myres, and so does Bean’s *Turkey beyond the Maeander*.<sup>58</sup> If it is indeed here that the sanctuary was located, it would have been directly affected by the Mylaseis’ purchase of coastal land.

Wolfgang Blümel, however, who could find no remains at Kemikler, has argued that the sanctuary stood instead across the water from the site of Bargylia to the west of Sığirtmaç (‘Sirtmash’ on Paton and Myres’ map, Fig. 10) at the village of Hasanbağı (I have indicated its location with an asterisk), where a dedicatory inscription to Artemis Kindyas (*I.Iasos* 628) was found built into a well.<sup>59</sup> Cousin and Diehl, who first copied the inscription at this location, already expressed the same opinion.<sup>60</sup> I cite Blümel (per. ep.): ‘Ein weiterer Quader, der aus der Wand



Fig. 10: Map of the Kindye region (Paton and Myres, *JHS* 16, 1896)

<sup>57</sup> Laumonier, *RA* (1933) at 49–50, cf. *Cultes*, 602.

<sup>58</sup> W. R. Paton and J. L. Myres, *Karian Sites and Inscriptions*, *JHS* 16 (1896) 188–271. At 196 they wrongly attribute Cousin’s inscriptions copied at Hasanbağı (below, n. 60) to Kemikler (‘Yemikler’). In my view this is the source of all later confusion. A. Philippon, *Reisen und Forschungen im westlichen Kleinasien V* (Ergänzungsheft no. 183, *Petermanns Mitteilungen*) (1915); G. Bean, *Turkey beyond the Maeander* (2nd ed. 1980) 62; Bean and Cook, *Carian Coast*, 99: ‘in the plain under Sığirtmaç Kalesi on the north-east’.

<sup>59</sup> *I.Iasos* II, 628. Cf. L. Robert, *OMS* 381, n. 3; 392, n. 2.

<sup>60</sup> *BCH* 13 (1889) 37–38, no. 5: ‘Au puits de Hassanba, en face des ruines de Bargylia. Il y a quelques ruines à cet endroit; les rebords du puits sont faits de pierres antiques.’ On the next p. (38): ‘Il ne serait pas impossible que les ruines de cette ville et du temple fussent situées dans les environs de l’endroit où a été trouvée cette inscription.’

eines Gebäudes stammte und zwei Inschriftfragmente (*I.Iasos* II, 611 + 613) trug, die mit dem Kult und der Epiphanie der Artemis in Zusammenhang stehen, hatte beim Bau einer kleinen Kirche neue Verwendung gefunden. Frühe Forscher haben an dieser Stätte unbeschriftete Steine, Marmorblöcke, kannelierte Säulen usw. gesehen und vermutet, daß dort ein Tempel gestanden hat. Ich selbst habe in der näheren Umgebung des Orts antike Spolien gesehen und eine weitere Inschrift gefunden (*SEG* 51, 1496). Ich nehme auch an, daß die drei Fragmente des Kultgesetzes über Rinderopfer für Artemis Kindyas (*SEG* 45, 1508; *SEG* 50, 1101) von dieser Stelle stammen, bei Hasanbaşı, am Fuß von Sığirtmaç kalesi ... und daß dort nach dem Tempel der Artemis Kindyas gesucht werden muß.<sup>61</sup>

Blümel's identification, to which I return briefly in the next section, makes sense both on its own terms and in light of the new reading of *I.Mylasa* 11.

### The price of the transaction

The staters *argyriou* paid by the Mylaseis were probably tetradrachms of Maussollos.<sup>62</sup> They are the equivalent of at least 10,000 drachmai or at most 11,200 (just over one-and-a-half to almost two talents). This seems a small price for what was a substantial acquisition. Can we put it in context? Useful for comparison is a near-contemporary inscription from Halikarnassos listing the sale of properties of those in debt to the sanctuary of Apollo, Athena and Parthenos.<sup>63</sup> The prices, counted in drachmai, vary with the size and location of the estates in question: many properties changed hands for between c. 200 and 800 dr. but several achieved prices in the thousands: 'land at Lyrissos' was sold at 3,600 dr. (A31–32); 'land and a house in Halikarnassos' at 6,189 dr.; a house at Halikarnassos at 2,045 dr.; and 11,300 dr. were paid for land 'at Lyrissos and, at Kyogris-sis everything that lies near this *aule*' (A7–9). Compared to these sums, the Mylaseis' acquisition appears distinctly cheap.

Similar variation in price can be seen in an inscription from Magnesia on Maeander of the late fourth century (*I.Magnesia* 8): here, plots of land of different size (20, 30, 50, 83  $\sigma\chi\omicron\iota\nu\omicron\iota$ ; with 50 very likely a standard plot size)<sup>64</sup> sold for between 38 and 100 dr. per  $\sigma\chi\omicron\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$ , depending, no doubt, on the quality and situation of the land. 10,000 dr. would have bought 100  $\sigma\chi\omicron\iota\nu\omicron\iota$  (10.5 ha) at the top of the range or c. 260 of less good land.<sup>65</sup> In Priene, around the same time, 100  $\sigma\chi\omicron\iota\nu\omicron\iota$  of arable land were given to the Athenian *proxenos* Philaios (*I.Priene* 6, 22–23),

<sup>61</sup> Cf. also W. M. Cook and D. J. Blackman, *Archaeological Reports* 11 (1964–1965), 32–62, at 56 (description of the findspot of *I.Iasos* II, 624).

<sup>62</sup> Descat, *Mylasa*, 95–96; Delrieux (next n.) 226–27.

<sup>63</sup> The best, most recent, revised, edition, with clear photographs, is that of W. Blümel, *Kadmos* 32 (1993) 1–18 (*SEG* 43, 713). The text is also discussed, with some further revisions, by F. Delrieux, *Les ventes des biens confisqués dans la Carie des Hécatomnides. Notes d'histoire économique et monétaire*, in M.-C. Ferrières and F. Delrieux (eds), *Spolier et confisquer dans les mondes grec et romain* (2013) 209–65. On the date, and with all references, see 232, n. 77. The letter forms seem to me to be quite similar to those of *I.Mylasa* 11 and 12. The other major document Delrieux discusses is *I.Iasos* 1, the decree about the sale of properties confiscated from the conspirators against Maussollos. The unit here used is the stater, but since the sums are unusually low (many are expressed in decimals, between 1.5 and 23.5 staters, with the highest recorded sum at 240 staters or over), Delrieux argues that in the case of Iasos we should think of gold, not silver.

<sup>64</sup> See Thonemann, *Estate of Kratueas*, 382–83 with nn. 84 and 85.

<sup>65</sup> On the size of the  $\sigma\chi\omicron\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$ , seldom used as a surface measure, see J. Game, *Actes de vente dans le monde grec* (2008), 86–87, who suggests for the (Chalkidian)  $\sigma\chi\omicron\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$   $32 \times 32 \text{ m} = 1024 \text{ m}^2$ ; 50  $\sigma\chi\omicron\iota\nu\omicron\iota$  would amount to just over 5 hectares; 100 to 10.5 hectares or 26 acres.



while the Ephesian Megabyxos was permitted the acquisition of land ‘up to five (?) talents’: ἄχρι τάλαντων π[έντε] (*I.Priene* 3, 12).

At the upper end of the scale we could draw into the equation the land bought, soon after 281 BC, by the Aeolian city of Pitane from the Seleukid king Antiochos I, for a sum of 380 talents. We do not know the extent of the land (it was probably located in the Kaikos valley: *pedias chōra* and highly productive),<sup>66</sup> but it gives an order of magnitude and suggests, as do the Halikarnassian and Magnesian prices, that the sum paid by the Mylaseis and their god did not represent the actual market value of what they acquired (but the term itself may not be relevant in any case: mountains do not often come onto the market).<sup>67</sup>

This raises the question of who determined the price, and, implicitly who instigated the transaction(s) and the expansion of Mylasan territory. The ‘Hekatomnid plan for Karia’<sup>68</sup> and especially the Maussollan reorganizations, have been extensively discussed. They are most clearly visible in the synoikism on the Myndos peninsula and the creation of a new Hekatomnid capital at Halikarnassos, but reorganisations and synoikisms have also been postulated, ‘without certainty but not without reason’ for many other Karian cities.<sup>69</sup>

One such reorganization, suggested by Bean and Cook, was the merger of Kindye into its neighbour Bargylia. Kindye, the more important of the two *poleis* in the fifth century (paying 1 talent, or 6,000 dr., to the Delian confederacy, against Bargylia’s 1,000) they suggest, was absorbed by its neighbour in the fourth century, though no unambiguous evidence is produced: ‘in early Hellenistic times Kindya seems to be dead, and Bargylia has acquired some, if not all, of its territory’.<sup>70</sup> The ‘early Hellenistic’ they justify by absence of evidence for an independent *polis* and the apparent stagnation of building activity at the main Kindyan site(s): suggestive but not in itself conclusive.

But there is additional evidence which may support the hypothesis of an early date. Among Bargylia’s earliest Hellenistic coins are a posthumous Alexander tetradrachm and drachm on whose reverse the seated figure of Zeus with eagle in his outstretched hand is flanked by a small statue of Artemis Kindyas. The exact date of the issues is not known: they may have been minted during Lysimachos’ control of the city, or after the Seleukid take-over, in 281 (a date preferred

<sup>66</sup> S. Ager, *Interstate Arbitrations in the Greek World, 337–90 BC* (1996) no. 146, with the earlier literature. The relevant section is ll. 125–143. On the location and the extent of the land acquired see K. M. Sommerer, *Ist. Mitt.* 58 (2008) 147–48. Before the battle of Kouroupedion (281), land had also been acquired (ll. 127–132) but only part of the purchase price survives: - - καὶ τεσσάρων τάλαντων.

<sup>67</sup> Compare also the 30 talents paid by Laodike to Antiochos II for what has been calculated as approximately 15,000 hectares. The price is said, by G. G. Aperghis (*The Seleukid Royal Economy*, 2004, at 144–45), to be nominal and to represent the valuation of the land for tax purposes; or the 30 talents paid by Attalos I, in 210 BC, for the island of Aegina (Pol. 22.8.10): another ‘soft’ price. On the whole, it remains virtually impossible to establish any meaningful comparison between these sums.

<sup>68</sup> A term coined by Bean and Cook ‘qui avaient retrouver dans toute la Carie ... [des] exemple[s] de la politique de synœcisme’ (Descat, Mylasa, 100). Bean and Cook, *Carian Coast III*, 138–45, with n. 237.

<sup>69</sup> S. Hornblower in *CAH<sup>2</sup>*, vol. VI, 224: ‘At Ionian Erythrae, and the Carian cities of Cnidus, Heraclea on Latmus, Bargylia and Mylasa, historians have, without certainty but not without reason, detected the hand of the Hecatomnids’; cf. his *Mausolus* (1982) 78–105: ‘The Mausolan synoikisms’.

<sup>70</sup> *Carian Coast III*, 141, similarly, Laumonier, *Cultes*, 600–607. Something similar could be posited for Hydai, which features among the delegations in these inscriptions as an autonomous *polis*, but which, at some later point, had become a subunit of Mylasa: see Reger, Mylasa, 56, and *I.Mylasa* 902 with Blümel’s comments.



by the numismatists).<sup>71</sup> Despite this uncertainty, the coins give us an approximate terminus ante quem for the merger of the two *poleis* and so allow us to narrow the period during which the former dynastic seat of Kindye<sup>72</sup> and its cult of Artemis were subsumed into the city across the bay to between 353/2 and c. 280 BC: a period of some seventy years. Whether the merger was part of a premeditated (Maussollan) reorganization has to remain open, but at the very least it can be assumed that the loss of part of their territory to the north made such a merger inevitable.

### The delegations<sup>73</sup>

Were the delegations present at the transaction as members of the ‘Karian *koinon*’? This is the tentative conclusion of Pierre Debord,<sup>74</sup> who has most recently discussed the evidence for this elusive body. I would emphasize that, although these inscriptions are seen as providing precious information on the functioning and the membership of this *koinon*, there is in fact nothing in the surviving text to suggest that the delegations were sent by, or were members of, a federal organization. It seems to me quite possible that the delegations ἀπὸ πόλεων were present because, within the institutional framework of the Maussollan satrapy, they were the parties most directly affected by the transactions. They may even have been summoned by the satrap.

The transfer of ownership from Kindye to Mylasa changed existing boundaries (and therefore fiscal assessment, and military obligations); the change in Mylasa’s status, from landlocked to a city with an *epineion* also meant that the Mylaseis themselves could now impose harbour taxes (and grant *ateleia* to those sailing in and out of their port).<sup>75</sup> A fair number of delegations in *I.Mylasa* 11 represent coastal cities: Iasos, Kaunos, Myndos, Halikarnassos, Pladasa;<sup>76</sup> while Hydai, Kasolaba, Kildara and Kyblissos, even if not all can be located with certainty, were in the immediate vicinity of Kindye.<sup>77</sup> Syangela, though in the interior and not an immediate neighbour, nevertheless might be said to have a place here, because of its important location on the main route between Halikarnassos and Mylasa.<sup>78</sup>

<sup>71</sup> The two coins are discussed by H. Seyrig, *Monnaies hellénistiques* XI, *RN* 6.6 (1964) 7–8 (with Fig. 1) and, most recently, by F. Delrieux, *RSN* 77 (1998) 41–52. On the date of Lysimachos’ control see L. Robert, *Le sanctuaire de Sinuri* (1945) 62. Cf. W. Weiser in *I.Iasos* II, p. 181.

<sup>72</sup> The Kindyan dynasts Maussollos and Pixodaros, mentioned in Herodotos 5.118.2, were very likely ancestors of the Hekatomnid dynasty of Mylasa.

<sup>73</sup> On the Ὑδαῖς perhaps to be restored in l. 10, see above, n. 56. In l. 17, [Μυνδί]οι (Bresson, in *HTC ad loc.*) may be preferable to [Κνίδι]οι (Blümel, *ed.pr.*) though I would not be surprised to see the Knidians among the delegations.

<sup>74</sup> Cité grecque, 119 (and with reference also to *I.Mylasa* 8 and *I.Labraunda* 67, on which see above, n. 9): ‘on ne voit pas dans quel autre cadre que le *koinon* des Cariens ces gens pourraient être réunis.’ I doubt if the delegates in our two lists would have been called *presbeis*, as were those in *I.Mylasa* 8 (assumed by Debord, at 123–24). Debord discusses the 5th-century *koinon* of the Karians at 118, the 4th-century evidence at 119–25. Cf. Debord, *L’Asie mineure au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle* 179–81; on the nature of the transaction see also 68.

<sup>75</sup> A passage in Menander’s *Sicyonian* (ll. 3–15) which describes the capture of a group of people by pirates: ‘the child and the slave they took to Mylasa in Karia and there offered them for sale in the market’, now makes more sense.

<sup>76</sup> The port of Pladasa was at Akbüik, see *HTC*, 53–57 and commentary at no. 48, especially p. 171.

<sup>77</sup> On their location see *HTC* 220–21.

<sup>78</sup> This city’s location has been much debated in recent years. The most recent survey puts it at Kale Dağı, at the site of Theangela (which replaced it), just south of Etrim. The plain of Etrim, Syangela/Theangela’s territory,

The cities represented at this transaction appear to form a coherent cluster,<sup>79</sup> but of course it is risky to extrapolate from incomplete evidence, as Alain Bresson has pointed out.<sup>80</sup> Had we the full list of representatives for both transactions, we would be on firmer ground. Even so, it is my impression that the delegations in the two documents (literally) did not cover exactly the same ground and that their presence (or absence) reflects the nature of the separate transactions.<sup>81</sup> Only two out of ten delegations in *I.Mylasa* 11 overlap with the fourteen surviving ones in no 12 (or two out of twelve in *I.Mylasa* 12). If eight city delegations were to be supplemented in no 12, they would fill about an extra 10 lines, or c. 21–22 cm, which would bring that stone's total height to about 57–58 cm; if twelve delegations were to be supplemented in no 11, this would bring the surviving 30 cm of that block to a total height of 64: odd proportions for building blocks 57 cm wide?

### Zeus Osogōllis

Zeus Osogōllis, or Osogō, the Mylaseis' main deity,<sup>82</sup> was the leading party in the transaction. Does this suggest that the territory acquired became sacred to him?<sup>83</sup> The god is certainly attested as a landowner, possessing estates within Mylasan territory (*I.Mylasa* 203, l. 6; 204, l. 7; *I.Labraunda* 8, ll. 20–22; 25–26). But this particular acquisition represents a different order of magnitude from the more usual gifts or sales to sanctuaries, so well known from this region. It generated a change in the status of the city's patron deity along with that of his city itself: because the Mylaseis' Zeus now became the god of an expanded city with access to the sea, his own identity changed, and therefore he had to be party to the sale.

In some inscriptions, this Zeus, the derivation of whose (Karian) epithet is unknown,<sup>84</sup> has the double name 'Osogōllis-Zenoposeidon'. The Zenoposeidon element is attested epigraphically for the first time in a Kretan decree of the late third century, which specifies that it was to be inscribed in two of Mylasa's sanctuaries: ἐς τε τῷ Ζανοποτεῖδωνος καὶ τῷ Διὸς τῷ Λαβραύνδῳ (l. 11–12).<sup>85</sup> The assumption that the first-named sanctuary is the same as that of Osogōllis is justified by its joint naming with that of Zeus at Labraunda, with which it regularly occurs together as joint repository of decrees.<sup>86</sup> Its location, in the fourth century, was to the

---

stretches out to the north-west, where it meets the Milas-Halikarnassos road, which passes Kindye and the eastern shore of the 'Little Sea'. On the plain see L. Robert, *Collection Froehner*, I, *Inscriptions grecques* (1936) 65–66.

<sup>79</sup> Along the same lines, R. Descat in an earlier article (above, n. 17) at 66–67.

<sup>80</sup> *HTC*, 220.

<sup>81</sup> The map in Debord, *Cité grecque*, at p. 123 blurs the differences by merging the two lists.

<sup>82</sup> P. Debord, *Sur quelques Zeus cariens: religion et politique*, *SE* 13 (2001) 19–37, at 21, has shown conclusively, against A. Laumonier and others, that this was not the Zeus of the Mylasan tribe of the Otorkondeis, but well and truly the Mylaseis' main civic deity. On the name, Ὀσογῶλλις, to be read thus (in the genitive form Ὀσογῶλλιος) in those texts previously read as Ὀσογῶα Διὸς Ζηνοποσειδῶνος see W. Blümel, *EA* 16, 34–35.

<sup>83</sup> On the nature of sacred land see now the discussion in D. Rousset, *Sacred property and public property in the Greek city*, *JHS* 133 (2013) 113–33.

<sup>84</sup> For a range of speculative possibilities see Laumonier, *Cultes*, 103 with n. 1.

<sup>85</sup> *I.Mylasa* 652. Debord, *Quelques Zeus cariens*, dates it to the 2nd century and erroneously refers to it (22, n. 24) as 'IC 652 II'.

<sup>86</sup> See e.g. *Milet* I.3, 146 (T 51 in *I.Mylasa* II, p. 21), l. 19–20, 73 and 76–77; *SEG* 46, 1428; *I.Labraunda* 8, 25–26 and *Milet* I.3, 146, 19–20. See also the discussion of Ph. Gauthier, *REG* (1999) 29–30.

south-west of the city.<sup>87</sup> The combined name Osogöllis-Zenoposeidon is attested epigraphically only in a series of dedications of the Roman period, which mention priests of Διὸς Ὀσογόλλιος Ζηνοποσειδῶνος.<sup>88</sup> The combined name, then, was not consistently used, but the Zenoposeidon element can be assumed to have been a permanent qualifier (that is, if it was not, as was suggested by Laumonier, a kind of external Hellenizing translation – ‘traduisant le caractère complexe de la divinité carienne’).<sup>89</sup>

The highly unusual composite name Zenoposeidon is visually expressed on the coins of the city through the combined attributes of trident and eagle (Fig. 11) and, on later coins and one or



Fig. 11: Coin of Mylasa. Obv. Zeus Osogöllis, rev. Zeus Labraundos (Source: CoinArchivesPro, Classical Numismatics Group, Auction Triton XIII, 5 Jan. 2010)

two reliefs, a trident and crab. The image of a Zeus holding in his outstretched left hand the eagle, and in his right a trident, first appears on a coin of the time of Maussollos; it reappears on coins of the third century, and continues throughout the Hellenistic and Roman periods as the city's main emblem.<sup>90</sup> The Maussollan coin (struck on a ‘Rhodian’, or reduced Chian, standard of c. 15.3 g)<sup>91</sup> has only been known for a few decades: two specimens came to light in 1978 in the so-called Pixodaros hoard

discovered in Bodrum, whose burial date is fixed to 341 or 340 BC.<sup>92</sup> Compared to Maussollos’ fairly abundant Halikarnassan coinage (obv. head of Apollo, rev. Labraundan Zeus), it is rare – and probably was so in antiquity. According to Koray Konuk this coin precedes the Halikarnassan series (which itself followed the move of Maussollos’ capital to that city, sometime in the late 370s?) and therefore must belong in the early 370s BC.

He links it with a small hemiobol with lion forepart on obv. and trident on rev., probably a continuation of Hekatomnos’ small denomination coinage which also used the lion, and so pre-

<sup>87</sup> For the remains of the sanctuary see Laumonier, *Cultes*, 105, and *Rev. Arch.* (1933) 36–38, and the map in *I.Mylasa II*, p. 226. And see the Machon anecdote below.

<sup>88</sup> Dedications (of the Roman period): *I.Mylasa* 319, 320, 321, 322, 324, 325, 327, inscribed on columns of a stoa, part of the sanctuary complex. On the correct spelling of the name, cf. W. Blümel, *EA* 16, 34–35.

<sup>89</sup> Laumonier, *Cultes*, 105.

<sup>90</sup> F. Delrieux, *Les monnaies de Mylasa aux types de Zeus Osogôa et Zeus Labrandeus*, *NC* 159 (1999) 33–45; A. Akarca, *Les monnaies de Mylasa* (1959). Coins of the time of Caracalla and Geta have the pair Osogöllis/Zenoposeidon and Labrandeus standing side by side.

<sup>91</sup> I follow the terminology used by Koray Konuk, next n., although others prefer to refer to this ‘Rhodian’ standard as ‘reduced Chian’.

<sup>92</sup> A third came onto the market in January 2010: Classical Numismatics Group, Auction Triton XIII, 5 Jan. 2010. Delrieux, *Monnaies de Mylasa*, at p. 36, describes this coin (a tetradrachm with a weight of c. 15 gr.) as representing Zeus Osogô with a sceptre, not a trident. But the image (here Fig. 11) shows distinctly a trident. See further K. Konuk, *The Coinage of the Hekatomnids of Karia* (D.Phil. Oxford, 1998) and *idem* in R. H. J. Ashton et al., *The Pixodarus Hoard* (CH 9, 421), in A. Meadows and U. Wartenburg (eds), *Coin hoards Volume IX: Greek Hoards* (2002) 159–242, at 221–29, with Pl. 21–41; S. Hurter, *The Pixodarus Hoard, a Summary*, *Studies Price* (1998) 147–53 with Pl. 31–33. The coin is Pl. 32 no. 23; H. A. Troxell, *Carians in miniature*, *Festschrift L. Mildenberg* (1984) 249–57; cf. K. Konuk, *Coinage and Identities under the Hekatomnids*, in O. Henry (ed.), *4<sup>th</sup> Century Karia*, 101–21, with Pl. 1–3. The coin is Pl. 2, no 19.

sumably belongs early in Maussollos' reign.<sup>93</sup> The hemiobol's trident need however not be that of (Mylasa and) Zeus Osogöllis: it may simply signal 'Poseidon' and a maritime connection or ambition. The two coins therefore need not be linked.<sup>94</sup>

The combined image of Osogöllis/Zenoposeidon, eagle and trident in hand, and Labraundan Zeus with double axe and sceptre, with the former on the obverse, the latter (always the Hekatomnid god par excellence) on the reverse, suggests that this coin was Mylasan first, Hekatomnid second. Pierre Debord, in an article of 2001, has posed the question about the origin of the unique composite Zenoposeidon and his association with Osogöllis and has remarked on the convergence, in the late fourth century, of the numismatic and the literary evidence for the name.<sup>95</sup> Theophrastos is the source of a passage in Athenaeus (2.42a) where a river in Karia 'beside which is a temple of Zenoposeidon' is said to have produced brackish water because of the many lightning bolts that hit the region. Again, at 8.337c the source of an anecdote centred on the sanctuary of Zenoposeidon at Myla[sa], πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν, is the early third-century Machon, while the story's main character, the gluttonous flute-player Dorion, is known to have been at the court of Philip II of Macedon in the mid-340s.<sup>96</sup> Pausanias, in a description of the sanctuary of Poseidon at Mantinea (8.10.4) refers to a salt-water source 'of Zeus Osogoa' at Mylasa (while stressing that the city's port was 80 stades from the city) and Pliny (*HN* 30.54) writes that a sweet water source in the sanctuary of Poseidon (Neptuni templum) 'in Caria' had turned to salt water. The cluster of associations is consistent and all seem to go back to fourth-century sources.

Where should we seek the origin of Zenoposeidon? Some, like Laumonier, have argued that this composite Zeus goes back to pre-Classical times and has an Anatolian origin.<sup>97</sup> Whether this is right or not, it seems clear that a very local phenomenon was associated with the peculiar nature of this Zeus. The ancient anecdotes all focus on the salt-water-at-a-distance-from-the-sea phenomenon (and Wolfgang Blümel mentions that even today those living west of the Sodra Dağı report that wells struck for obtaining drinking water sooner or later produce brackish water and have to be abandoned).<sup>98</sup> For the Mylaseis this peculiar phenomenon will however only have become relevant once they had extended their territory west of Mt. Sodra: only at that point did the stories' focus on the Mylasan god make sense.<sup>99</sup>

Explanations for the trident-wielding Zeus have also been sought in major political and territorial events. Maussollos' moving of his capital to Halikarnassos was offered by Troxell as a reason for the addition of the Poseidonian attribute, but unlike Labraundan Zeus, Osogöllis was never

<sup>93</sup> Konuk, *Coinage of the Hekatomnids*, 86, hesitates between the Milesian and Rhodian standard but seems to prefer the latter; in *Coinage and Identities*, 106–107, only the Milesian standard is mentioned.

<sup>94</sup> Konuk, *Coinage of the Hekatomnids*, 86: 'Should the standard of these hemiobols prove to be Rhodian, then Halikarnassos would be the best location for the mint, as it is in that city that Maussollos struck his Apollo-head coinage on the Rhodian standard'.

<sup>95</sup> Debord, *Quelques Zeus cariens*, 21–24. The relevant texts can be found in *I.Mylasa II*, T 27–30, at p. 18.

<sup>96</sup> A. S. F. Gow, *Machon* (1965) Fr. XVIII, commentary p. 73. If πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν suggests a walled city, then the anecdote has got it wrong, for Mylasa famously had no city walls.

<sup>97</sup> See especially the discussion in *Cultes*, p. 117–26.

<sup>98</sup> *I.Mylasa II*, p. 18, at T 30.

<sup>99</sup> Koray Konuk has suggested that the crab might instead be linked to the small inland crater lake of Denizcik, 6 km south of Mylasa, where crabs are found in quantity: *Coinage and Identities*, 107, n. 35. But, crabs aside, the association with Poseidon (and the trident) does not work, for this is a freshwater lake: so S. Altınsaçlı, *Investigation on Ostracoda (Crustacea) Fauna of Some Important Wetlands of Turkey*, *Pakistan Journal of Biological Sciences* 7 [12] (2004) 2130–34, at 2131.

specifically a Hekatomnid deity and so would not have been directly associated with the dynastic move. Debord linked it (and the crab that appears on the later coins) instead to the conquest of Kos (in the 460s or 450s?) on whose coinage a crab features prominently.<sup>100</sup>

If any event is to be linked to the transformation of a straight Zeus into a hybrid Zenoposeidon ('il s'agit de substituer un dieu marin à un dieu "continental", ou plus exactement *d'enrichir le champ sémantique du dieu mylasien*' wrote Debord – my italics), then the acquisition of an *epineion*, and the very specific presence of Zeus Osogöllis at the transaction together with the Mylaseis may be a better candidate. Here the coin's date is clearly crucial. If it is early, then the association between the *epineion*'s acquisition, the *epiklesis* and the trident cannot be maintained, but if a date in the 370s is not imperative, it can be retained as a possibility. (Perhaps we should bear in mind that this particular transaction may have been one in a series of similar coastal acquisitions, whose date need not be absolutely that of our inscription.)<sup>101</sup>

This, and many other questions remain without firm answers, but at least the reinterpretation of this text has opened up a different perspective: away from the interior, towards the coast; it has given some solidity to Gary Reger's view of the emergence of a 'Greater Mylasa' at an early date, and has allowed us to cast a little more light on the schemes and designs of that extraordinary satrap, Maussollos.

### Özet

Makalede, Milas'ın (Mylasa) 25 km. kadar güneyindeki Sekköy'de bulunan ve W. Blümel tarafından yayınlanan (*Epigraphica Anatolica* 16, 1990, 30–32 = *Die Inschriften von Mylasa* I, no. 11), baştanrıları Osogollis ile birlikte Mylasalıların (*Mylaseis*) Kindyalılardan (*Kindyeis*) satın aldıkları bir araziye konu alan, İ.Ö. 354–353 yılına ait Grekçe bir anlaşma metni yeniden yorumlanmaktadır. Makalenin yazarı, Mylasalıların satın aldıkları bu arazinin, sahilde, Muhal Körfezi'nin güneyindeki koylardan birinde yer aldığını belirterek, Mylasalıların bu araziye sahile açılma gayretlerinin bir parçası olarak satın aldıklarını ileri sürmektedir. Aslında arazi alımında satrap Mausollos'un yayılma planları ve Zeus Osogollis'in otoritesinin de rolü olmalıydı. Mylasalıları olasılıkla, bu tanrının ikinci adı olan Zenoposeidon ile, bir limana ve denizle ilgili bir kimliğe kavuşmaları arasında bir bağ kurmuşlardı.

University College London

Riet van Bremen

<sup>100</sup> Debord, *Quelques Zeus cariens*, 23, with further references.

<sup>101</sup> Konuk's dating of the coin to the 370s is based on the following two considerations (*The coinage of the Hekatomnids*, 90–94): 1: the coin's image of Labraundan Zeus is stylistically close to that on the reverse of another rare tetradrachm (three specimens known to date; of which two in the Pixodaros hoard), which has on the obverse the Persian king as archer (Konuk, *Coinage and Identities*, Pl. 2, no 20). 2: All four coins (the two Osogöllis and the two archer ones) show considerable wear, which is not consistent with a striking date in the 340s or even the 350s. K's stylistic approximation of the two reverse Zeuses seems right (they are similar, though not identical) but I cannot judge the strength of the second argument which is the only one that would justify a date before the 350s.