

SKRIFTER UTGIVNA AV SVENSKA INSTITUTET I ATHEN, 4º, V, III:1

ACTA INSTITUTI ATHENIENSIS REGNI SUECIAE, SERIES IN 4º, V, III:1

Labraunda

Swedish Excavations and Researches

VOL. III. PART I

THE GREEK INSCRIPTIONS

Part I: 1-12 (Period of Olympichus)

BY

Jonas Crampa

CWK GLEERUP · LUND 1969

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De svenska utgrävningarna i Labranda i Mindre Asien.

Av

Axel W. Persson.

Labranda är ett tempelområde, som omnämnes av antika författare. Platsen har emellertid sedan fallit i glömska och man har ända till på sista tiden inte med säkerhet vetat, var den varit belägen. Nu vet man emellertid att Labranda är beläget i sydvästra hörnet av Mindre Asien, ungefär 15 kilometer fågelvägen norr om den lilla staden Milas, antikens Mylassa. — Ort-namnet Labranda — helt bortglömt av nutidens bebyggare — är en karisk form av Labyrinthos, ett namn, som är oss välbekant från Minos Palats på Kreta. Namnet sammanhänger med ordet labrys, d. ä. = »dubbelyxa», och kan översättas med dubbelyxans plats.

Labyrinthos och Labranda ha alltså gemensam härstamning liksom en del andra ortsnamn i Mindre Asien och Grekland t. ex. sådana med suffixet ss. Vi kan alltså under förhällensk tid i Mindre Asien spåra ett med Kreta och det grekiska fastlandet gemensamt språkområde. Detta gäller särskilt det sydvästra hörnet, en gång bebott av en folkstam kallad luvier.

Labranda har förblivit orört ända till våra dagar, otvivelaktigt emedan det är i hög grad svårtillgängligt — det ligger på sydsluttningen av det gamla Lathmosberget på en höjd av mellan sju och åtta hundra meter över havsytan. Under antiken fanns det mellan Milas och Labranda en bred väg — en processionsväg — av vilken man ännu här och där finner spår av stenläggningen, en väg av samma slag som t. ex. den mellan Milet och Didyma. Men idag måste all transport ske med pack-

To my parents

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PREFACE

Besides the inscriptions on the architraves of buildings of the Hecatomnid period (see my *Prel. survey*, pp. 99—100), the most important group of Greek inscriptions found at Labraunda is a long series of letters of Seleucus II of Syria, Philip V of Macedon, the Syrian governor and dynast Olympichus, and of decrees of the city of Mylasa and of Korris, priest of Zeus of Labraunda, and his kin. Part I covers this series, which forms a natural unit. The whole of the series concerns the period, turbulent both in Asia Minor generally and in the district of Mylasa, from the middle of the third century B.C. to 220. The main subject is Labraunda and its status; the central figure is Olympichus, who appears first as Seleucus II's strategos, later as a more or less independent dynast, though, naturally, much inferior to king Philip. So it seems logical to name Part I after Olympichus, although I have had to continue this study till the Peace of Apamea in 188, when Olympichus had long disappeared from the stage, in order to give an account of developments from the relevant period. In Part II, the preparation of which is already well advanced, all the remaining Greek inscriptions (about 115) found in Labraunda will be included. It will provide a comprehensive study of Labraunda from several aspects, and of various other subjects. In Part I I merely summarize the historical and political course of events during the indicated periods. I use the current accentuation for the name of Labraunda.

From early times the shrine of Labraunda belonged to Mylasa, though its inhabitants enjoyed a certain degree of independence; but the priests repeatedly tried to secede from that city.¹ We know of a case brought ca. 240 by the priest Korris before Seleucus II, which, however, pre-

sumably miscarried, since Olympichus heard the parties involved and upheld Mylasa. When Antigonus Doson came to Caria in 227 (see below), the priest of the time brought a more serious charge. Doson was misled into awarding the shrine a more independent position, under the protection of the League of the Chrysaoreis. Finally the case was officially brought to the notice of Philip V, who in 220 declared that Mylasa was in the right.

An inscription from Labraunda provides the hitherto oldest known documentation of the Chrysaoreis from the year 267 B.C., when Ptolemy II Philadelphus ruled over the district of Mylasa. But their political importance seems to have ended when Egypt lost this part of Caria, presumably to Antiochus II early in his reign. Their support for the Labraunda priest in the twenties looks like an effort to revive their political power. A comprehensive study of the League will appear in Part II.

As is to be expected, the commentary will largely concern Mylasa. From the inscriptions we learn that, after some preliminaries, Seleucus II gave the city its freedom and a democratic constitution, most probably at the outset of his reign. The king ordered Olympichus to carry out his decision and to evacuate the district, but because of the troublesome political situation he delayed in doing this and kept some places, including Labraunda, under his control for more than twenty years. Finally Philip V ordered him to deliver Labraunda and the other places to Mylasa, which he did. Nevertheless he seems to have preserved good relations with Mylasa all this time; early in

¹ For all information referred to on these pages see General Index.

the thirties he gave the city lands he had bought from Laodice, consort of Antiochus II; and the city honoured him more than once. All previously known inscriptions which mention Olympichus have been studied in the light of the Labraunda discoveries, and it has been possible to trace his career with fair certainty.

Labraunda seems hitherto to have yielded no evidence on Antiochus Hierax, and, to be sure, none relating to Attalus I's short domination of Caria. But it is now beyond doubt that Doson's Carian campaign really took place; I follow the explanation given by some scholars, that Doson came to Caria with the approval of the local population and of Rhodes, aiming to check Attalus' progress. Doson brought some parts of Caria within the Macedonian sphere of influence, but not under his direct control. Philip V inherited this authority at his accession, and so became the arbiter even of internal questions in the districts of Mylasa and Iasus. His attempt to employ this authority when he later came to Caria in person failed. In my view too he had some kind of temporary treaty or understanding with Antiochus III at that time. When the latter at length came to Asia Minor in 197, he apparently brought Mylasa within the Seleucid sphere of influence once more, though he respected its freedom and treated it in a liberal way. In due course Mylasa sided with Rome.

Ptolemy, son and co-regent of Ptolemy II, who has occasioned much dispute, is mentioned in one inscription as the brother of Ptolemy III Euergetes, which adds something to the jigsaw puzzle of his identity and a good deal to his life. I think it certain that he was a bastard, but the mention of him in a Seleucid context shows that he was not killed in Ephesus as soon as he rebelled, but defected to Antiochus II and became a high Seleucid official. My interest in Ptolemy, the "son", made it necessary to study several historical problems of this extremely obscure period. I have first to mention the naval battle of Andros, which I locate in ca. 262 and which, as far as I can see, was lost by the "son". I base this opinion primarily on my interpretation of Trogus *Prol.* 27, where I suggest a new restoration of *oprona* instead of the evidently wrong *Sophrona* (see below). My opinion is influenced by the Copenhagen papyrus I 6; I also connect the battle, which I regard as a relatively unimportant one, with Welles, 14 and

the Milesian decree 139 C. I have no new evidence to put forward on the battle of Cos but I too am inclined to regard it as the great naval battle, and I put it in the same period as and after that of Andros. The evidence about a battle of Ephesus given in Frontinus and Polyaeus I also think concerns two phases of the same battle, in which Antiochus II, aided by the Rhodians, recaptured the city in 259. I regard this Egyptian setback, plus the loss of Miletus through Timarchus, as the clinching reason for the rebellion of the "son", since he is supposed to have been governor of Egyptian Ionia at the time. I further suggest the possibility that Ephesus sided with Hierax during the War of the Brothers, and may not have come anew under Egyptian control until the thirties, when according to Athenaeus the "son" was killed by his Thracian mercenaries; and that this episode formed part of Ptolemy III Euergetes' activity in the northern Aegean. I suggest that the "son", not Euergetes, occurs in some instances in a Porphyry fragment in Eusebius.

Side by side with the "son" Sophron, the commander of Ephesus, is mentioned. Nothing indicates that he sided with Egypt, and in view of the date of the battle of Andros he cannot be connected with it.

This seems to me to be roughly the most important information given by the inscriptions published in Part I as a result of my study, as far as historical and political conclusions are possible. But I have also had to touch on a series of different problems, e.g. the status of "free" cities and the use of the title of strategos within the Seleucid Empire, dynasts in Asia Minor, the syngeneia, tribal and other names; and I have had to face many philological problems. All subjects discussed are registered in Indexes I and II. On previously known inscriptions and literary instances which have been discussed here see Indexes IV and III.

In general, single words, phrases and usually subjects needing comments are discussed the first time they are met with; sometimes, however, at their most important occurrence. But I have made some subjects form their own chapters.

I have also tried to give a careful description of the stones; large areas of the shrine are not yet excavated, something which makes new complementary finds more than possible.

Notes: ¹ The first of the numbers assigned to the stones refers to the inscription in the sequence in which it was discovered, the second to the stone itself.

² By "interlinear space" is meant the vertical distance from the lower level of one letter to the lower level of the line above or below.

All inscriptions in Part I are engraved on the local stone which Westholm calls marble: see 8, n. 36. The stones were very often found in bad condition because of breakage, corrosion, moisture (cf. J. and L. Robert, *Bull. épigr.*, 1953, p. 119) and not least of fire (see Westholm, pp. 114—7). Though every care has been taken, in some cases it has not been possible to prevent their condition deteriorating still more after their discovery.

All the inscriptions in Part I were most important, 11—12 at least from the point of view of authority, something which is evident from the fact that at least six of them have been discovered in a late copy. Consequently they were engraved and placed where they could be best seen, i.e. on the walls of the most prominent buildings, on plaques in the *Oἶκοι*, the office of the priest of Zeus, and on stelae erected within and near the entrance of the shrine. This was in conformity with the common practice (see e.g. L. Robert, *Sinuri*, p. 9, "C'était une habitude dans la région que de graver les décrets et les baux sur les assises du temple, du péribole ou d'un portique"); several examples of the practice are given e.g. by Wilhelm, *Jahresh.*, IV, 1901, pp. 85—8; id., *Beiträge* (= *Sonderschr. Österr. arch. Inst.*, VII), 1909, pp. 264 ff.; cf. also Welles, pp. XL—XLI.

On the whole the Greek inscriptions of Labraunda are of a very high class technically. One feels very much inclined to regard this as an inheritance from the period of the Hecatomnids.

The responsibility for the transcription of all inscriptions is entirely mine. This also applies to those found in 1948 and 1949, when I was not yet attached to the excavation staff.

Like all students of Greek epigraphy I am greatly indebted to Professor L. Robert.

To Mr. P. M. Fraser, Director of the British School at Athens, I owe a very special debt. For several years I have profited by his advice, given in the most generous way, and last summer

he read Chapter I in manuscript, corrected my English in that Chapter and also made many important suggestions. I am deeply grateful to him.

Mr. A. Kilpatrick, Oxford, has checked the English in Preface and Chapters II—V, and Miss Mary Margaret McCabe, Oxford, in Chapters VI—VIII. To both I tender my warmest thanks.

I have to express my deep gratitude to Professor Kr. Hanell who has kindly supported me in many respects and also assumed the sponsorship of the printing of this book.

My warm thanks are due to Professor Å. Åkerström for the active interest he has shown in this work.

The comradeship in the excavation seasons at Labraunda has meant something very precious to me. With affection I remember the late Professor Axel W. Persson.

In 1960 I had the opportunity to discuss many problems with Professor A. Westholm which were solved due to his great archaeological experience and sure judgment. For this as well as for his permanent benevolence towards me I thank him deeply.

I have also profited greatly by repeated discussions with the architects of the expedition, especially with Mr. L. Käll. I thank them all very much.

I owe a substantial debt to the Ashmolean and Bodleian Libraries in Oxford, the Library of Deutsches Arch. Institut in Rom, Kungliga Biblioteket in Stockholm and Istituto Svedese in Rome.

The financial and other support given to the expedition in general (see Westholm, pp. 4—5) apart, the epigraphical work has been assisted by generous contributions from Disponent H. Throne-Holst, Helge Ax:son Johnsons Stiftelse, Humanistiska forskningsrådet and Svenska Institutet i Rom, to all of whom I express my sincere gratitude.

I am much indebted to Miss Sylvia Törnkvist for valuable assistance during the printing of this book.

Finally I must thank the staff of Berlingska Boktryckeriet for their skill and patience in transforming my not always legible manuscript into the present book.

ABBREVIATIONS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SHORT TITLES

The following abbreviations are used of books and articles repeatedly referred to. The abbreviations used by Liddell, Scott, Jones (McKenzie, with the co-operation of many scholars), *A Greek-English Lexicon*, are as a principle used also in this book and are not registered below. The lexicon is cited as LSJ.

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I. THE INSCRIPTIONS

1. Letter of Seleucus II to his governor Olympichus regarding complaints of Korris, the priest of Labraunda, against Mylasa. 240 B.C. (?).

Inv. 126/A 151. Anta-block, found in 1951 re-used in the north-western corner of Idrieus' Andron, west of the Temple (see Westholm, pp. 40—2, 69—71, 90—3, 110—2, 114—7). Possibly it originally formed part of a west anta of the Temple (see *ibid.*, pp. 33—4, 67, 91—3, 106, 110, 112, 117).

Width 69 cm., height 27.5 cm., thickness 71.5 cm. The block is fairly well preserved. The front face, smoothed, is badly worn below to the left and has lost its lower right corner; the left and right sides bear marks of fine chiselling; the upper side has fine anathyrosis with two round dowel-holes, the left one 22 cm. from the front face and 11 cm. from the left side, the right one 10 cm. from the front face and the right side; in the middle

there is a rather large, possibly late, hole; the under side has fine anathyrosis with the even cutting only along the left and right sides, and two round dowel-holes, the left one 10 cm. from the front face and the left side, the right one 24 cm. from the front face and 10 cm. from the right side; the back has anathyrosis with the even cutting only vertically and the middle part cut in an unusually rough way.

The margin to the left is ca. 1.3 cm. The letters are 1.1 to 1.8 cm. in height, interlinear space ca. 2.6 to 2.9 cm. The letters are carefully carved with thickened finials and somewhat variable in size, shape and spacing. The first line is restored from 1 B—2. Plate 1.

[ἔρρωσθε. Βασιλεὺς Σέλευκος Ὀλυμπίῳι χαίρειν]
 ἔγραψεν ἡμῖν[ν] Κόρρις ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διὸς [τοῦ Λαβρ]αύνδου *vv*
 μέρη τινὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς χώρας τῆς πρότερον διοικουμένης *v*
 ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διὰ προγόνων ἀφειρῆσθαι τοὺς Μυλασεῖς μὴ προσ-
 4 [η]χόντως καὶ τοὺς καρποὺς αἵρεσθαι καὶ τὰ γέρα τὰ γινόμενα
 [αὐ]τῶι παρὰ τῶν θυόντων μόνους Μυλασεῖς μὴ διδόναι βουλο- *v*
 [μένου]ς παροινεῖν· εἴπερ οὖν ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχει, φαίνεται ἡμῖν οὐ-
 [κ ὁ]ρθῶς γίνεσθαι, οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν μὴ ἐπίτρεπε τοῖς Μυλα- *v*
 8 [σ]εῖσι κατὰ μηθένα τρόπον προσπορεύεσθαι τῶν ἐπιβαλ- *v*
 [λόντων τῶι ἱερ]ῶι καὶ τῶι ἱερεῖ· κρίνομεν γὰρ τὰ συγκεχωρημέ- *vv*
 [να τῶι Κόρρι]δ^{c.12}ι διὰ προγόνων διαμένειν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀλ[λ]οῖς ^{c.18}ἔ[πα]-
 [σιν ----]

7—9. The dotted letters are visible in the damaged section.

[Farewell. King Seleucus to Olympichus, greeting.] Korris, the priest of Zeus Labraundos, has written to us that the Mylasans have improperly taken away for themselves some portions of the sacred land, which had previously been administered by him by virtue of ancestral privileges, that they were keeping the produce for themselves and that the Mylasans alone were not willing to give the perquisites, which are due to him from those offering sacrifices, but behaved badly. If indeed this is how matters stand, then, it seems to us not to be right. At all events, do not even now permit the Mylasans in any way to encroach on anything belonging [to the shrine] and to the priest. For we decree that the concessions made [to Korris by virtue of ancestral privileges] shall remain in this and in [all] other matters...'

This letter is the earliest item in the surviving correspondence. It contains the order of king Seleucus II to his governor Olympichus to prevent Mylasa from violating the rights of the priest of Labraunda. The letter, of which a late copy has also been found (1 B), was occasioned by the complaints of the priest Korris against Mylasa. Although the revenues of the lands which belonged to Labraunda had been awarded to the city when it received its freedom, the administration was the responsibility of the priest of Zeus. Manifestly the city had placed some areas directly under its own administrative control. The formulae of the rights of the priest as well as the extension of sacred land (see on 3, ll. 19—24) had probably permitted different interpretations. The situation was still further complicated by the fact that Olympichus had not yet evacuated the district. Korris also complained that the citizens of Mylasa would not settle due gifts to him in their sacrifices, but behaved badly. On the king's instruction Olympichus wrote a covering letter, which is also found in a late copy (2). The letter is placed in its natural chronological order, and both the writer and the addressee can be identified with certainty; see Synopsis, pp. 80—81; on the date of the letter see pp. 15—6.

The letter was engraved immediately below the lost covering letter of Olympichus, in the same way as 1 B, the late copy of Seleucus' letter, stands below 2, the late copy of Olympichus' covering letter. The blank space between 2 and 1 B supports

the disposition of the top line here, which is itself restored on the analogy of Welles, 10—13. That stele contains three letters of Antiochus I to his governor Meleager with the latter's covering letter at the top; the last line of this letter, which also is the first line of the uppermost royal one, starts with a *vac* of 3.5 letters, after which comes ἔρρωσθε, then another *vac* of 4 letters and finally Βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος Μέλαξ (the disposition is in principle the same at the junction of the two uppermost royal letters, though the *vacua* are somewhat smaller).¹ With the insertion of the same *vacua* here, the uppermost line will be completely filled. Of course, the sovereign Seleucus did not address the governor by his title, nor is there any reason to expect here a health-wish: see Welles, pp. 248, 268, 291; cf. on 7, l. 1. 3 was placed below 1, if engraved on the same anta. Korris' letter has not been found.

L. 1. After Seleucus I the Seleucid kings speak of themselves in the plural, except at the end of the dynasty. "Similarly, as the use of the plural is often due to a desire to speak as the representative of an office rather than as an individual, the Seleucid governors follow in this the king's practice" (Welles, p. 137, cf. *ibid.*, pp. 10, 134,² 285; for Seleucus II, p. 126), and consequently Olympichus uses the plural in his covering letter; cf. my *Nine Inscr.*, p. 130, on l. 12. On Korris see pp. 75—9. In this correspondence of the 3rd cent. B.C. the spelling is always Λαβράνδρα, Λαβράνδρος, i.e. without the parasitic nasal, which the name had the cent. before; Λαυβρανδρος e.g. *Nine Inscr.*, 1—3; see my *Prél. survey*, p. 99 n. 1. The name of Labraunda will be studied in Part II.³

¹ Cf. also Holleaux, *Études*, III, pp. 173—6, on the *vac* in the last line of Welles, 37.

² See now my *Remarks*.

³ Here I confine myself to giving some references to the variant spellings; on the parasitic nasal see W. Schulze, *Kleine Schriften*, 1933, pp. 281 ff., especially p. 282; P. Kretschmer, *Einleitung in d. Gesch. d. gr. Sprache*, 1896, p. 299; Ganszyniec, R.-E., s.v. Labraundos, 1924, col. 277; L. Robert, *Villes*, p. 203 with n. 4; id., *Hellenica*, X, 1955, pp. 69—70; id. and J. Robert, *La Carie*, II, 1954, pp. 337—8; the list of different spellings of the name, Kretschmer, *loc. cit.*, p. 303, is to be corrected.

About the beginning of the Christian era the name is spelt Λαβρανδρος, e.g. *Nine Inscr.*, 9, l. 7; for this iota cf. e.g. Λαβρηγός-Λαυβρηγός, Kretschmer, *loc. cit.*, p. 378; L. Robert, *Villes*, p. 144 n. 3; Μαυρνίτης-Μαυρνίτης, W. Judeich, *Ath. Mitt.*, XV, 1890, p. 262; G. Pugliese Carratelli, *Rendic. Napoli*, N.S. XIX, 1938—9, p. 288 n. 4.

L. 2. *μέρη* clearly has here the quite general meaning of "portions".⁴ On the use of *τις* to avoid the impression of aggressiveness see L. Robert, *Noms indigènes*, I, p. 474 n. 1 with references. An instructive parallel to the administration of the lands of Labraunda is e.g. *Syll*³, 635 (182—79 B.C.), ll. 12 ff., *κυρίους δ' εἶναι οἰκονομοῦντας τὰ κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν τὸν τε προφήτην καὶ τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Πτωίου καὶ τὴν πόλιν τῶν Ἀχραιφιέων καὶ τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Βοιωτῶν, καθὼς καὶ ἔμπροσθεν, καὶ τὸν ἀγωνοθέτην τὸν εἰρημένον* (cf. below on l. 3) *ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα*, cf. *Fouilles Delphes*, III 1, 351; the verb occurs in the investment-inscriptions from Mylasa, e.g. Dareste, etc., *Inscr. jurid. gr.*, I, 1891, XIII quater B, l. 6, *ἔφη ἔτοιμος εἶναι διοικεῖν ταῦτα*; note also the official title of *ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως*, with reference to financial administration, Lau-monier, *BCH*, LVIII, 1934, p. 312.

L. 3. *διὰ προγόνων* can, though it does not necessarily, mean, that Korris was the third generation in charge, as *πρόγονοι* often has the sense of *πατὴρ* in diplomatic language, usually when the founder of a dynasty is in question: see Welles, pp. 81—2, cf. V. Ehrenberg, *Der Staat d. Griechen*², 1965, p. 331; Walbank, *Comm. on Polybius*, II, p. 33; *οἱ πρόγονοι*, indicating the third generation, as e.g. in *Syll*³, 463, *ἐπειδὴ βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος παραλαβὼν τὰν τῶν Ἰτανίων πόλιν καὶ πολίτας παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίῳ καὶ τῶν προγόνων*. *διὰ προγόνων* also occurs in the Mylasan decree of 209/8 B.C. *Delphinion*, 146 B, l. 84, mentioning the city's old friendship with Miletus. Cf. also the expression *διὰ γένους* in connection with a priesthood or a priest, e.g. Welles, 66 (Attalus III, 135 B.C.), l. 8; 67, l. 12; in Mylasa *SEG* II 547 (2nd cent. A.D. (?)), ll. 2—3, *ἀρχιερέως διὰ γένους*. *ἀφειρῆσθαι* = *ἀφηρεῖσθαι*; the change of *ηι* to *ει* is extremely common in inscriptions,⁵ and it is found in the perfect of *αἰρεῖν* from the third to the first century B.C.: see A. Strohschein, *Auffälligkeiten gr. Vokal- und Diphthongschreibung in vorchristl. Zeit*, 1941, pp. 123, 132—4, cf. also e.g. Wilhelm, *Gött. gel. Anz.*, 160, 1898, p. 235; K. Meisterhans, *Gr. d. att. Inscr.*³, 1900, p. 171 n. 1428; Aem. Dienstbach, *De titul. Prien. sonis*, Diss. Marburg, 1910, pp. 55—7; Welles, p. LVII; Ed. Schwyzler, *Gr. Gramm.*, I, 1939, p. 655.

L. 4. *τοὺς καρπούς* has here the neutral meaning of "produce" in general⁶. In an investment-inscription from Olymus *φόρος καρποφόρος*, "rent

payable in produce", is mentioned as an antithesis to *φόρος ἀργυρικός*, "rent in money", Buckler, p. 206. For a somewhat more specified sense of the word see the papyrus of Magdôla, (*BCH*, XXVI, 1902, p. 99 =) O. Guéraud, *Ἐντεῦξεις, Requêtes et plaintes adressées au Roi d'Égypte au III^e siècle avant J.-C.*, 1931, 55, ll. 6—7, *ἔλον τὸν κλῆρον κατέσπειρεν -- οὗ οἱ καρποὶ ---* (cf. *ibid.*, l. 13); cf. also P. Roussel, *BCH*, LVI, 1932, p. 3, a corrected edition of *Syll*³, 609, ll. 2—3, with his remarks, pp. 18 ff., on the promise of the Roman consul M'. Acilius to protect the temple and city of Delphi, as its status was not yet regulated. In *αἰρεσθαι*, like *ἀφειρῆσθαι*, the middle voice expresses interest, cf. Polyb. I 72,2, *παραιρούμενοι μὲν τῶν ἄλλων πάντων τῶν καρπῶν τοὺς ἡμίσεις* ("crops", Paton, "Ernte", Mauersberger).

Ll. 4—6. In practice, and also in law, throughout the Greek world the priest received different gifts on the occasion of both *δημόσια* and *ιδιωτικά ἱερά*: see e.g. A. Plassart and Ch. Picard, *BCH*, XXXVII, 1913, pp. 196 n. 1, 201, 227; F. Sokolowski, 'Fees and taxes in the Greek cults', *Harv. Theol. Rev.*, XLVII, 1954, pp. 153—64, especially pp. 156—9; several examples are to be found in *Syll*³, Vol. III, II 2, *Sacerdotia* -- and 3, *Sacrificia* --. That the negligence of the Mylasans meant something more than individual nonchalance is demonstrated in many parallels: see e.g. the Hyllarima inscription, Lau-monier, *BCH*, LVIII, 1934, pp. 351—2, ll. 22—4, *λήψεται δὲ γέρα τῶν θυομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ κεφαλὰς κα[ὶ] δέρματα*; for Mylasa cf. *SEG* II 546 (cf. L. Robert, *Sinuri*, p. 28); *ibid.* IV 227; LBW, 418, l. 6, *ὁ ἱερεὺς γέρας*; *BCH*, XII, 1888, p. 32, no. 11 (where in l. 1 *διδὸς*) *τωσαν γέρας τῷ ἱερεῖ*... could be restored, possibly with *οἱ θύοντες*

⁴ Wilhelm, *Neue Beiträge*, III (= *Wien. Sitzb.*, 175, 1, 1913 (1916), pp. 8—16, studies *μέρος*, used in the sense of "Anteil" of lands; in inscriptions the word is used as much in a technical sense as with a general meaning; for the former see e.g. *Syll*³, 141, l. 6; for the latter Welles, 3, ll. 6 ff.

⁵ *εἰρημεν*—has been corrected in earlier editions of inscriptions from Mylasa—Olymus to *εἰρημεν*—, e.g. *SEG* II 538, l. 6.

⁶ On the more specific *οἱ ξύλινοι καρποί*, "the produce of fruit-trees", as a contrast to *οἱ ξηροὶ* or *σιτικοὶ καρποί* see M. Segre, *Annuario*, XXVII—XXIX, 1952, pp. 320—1; on the use of *καρπίζεσθαι*, "exploiter", see L. Robert, *BCH*, LIX, 1935, p. 502 n. 2. On *καρπός* see also Herrmann, p. 70 n. 44.

as the subject); Sokolowski, 63; for the Kasosseis, south of Mylasa, see Hula und Szanto, p. 23, no. 2. For παραινέιν cf. Hesychius, παραινία· ἡ ἐκ τοῦ οἴνου ὕβρις. καὶ οἰαδῆποτε ἁμαρτία; I would suggest that in the present passage the verb has not lost its literal sense, but that this is expanded to cover bad behaviour as a whole; cf. e.g. Plutarch *Alcibiades* XXXVIII 2, οὔτε νῦν --- περιόψεται Λακεδαιμονίους ὑβρίζοντας καὶ τοὺς τριάκοντα παραινούντας. For extravagance in eating and drinking in Greek public life see Fr. Poland, *Gesch. d. griech. Vereinswesens*, 1909, pp. 258—64; many references to and instances of the same things in religious life are to be found in Laumonier, *Cultes*, Ind. p. 771, s.v. banquets, beuveries etc.; for the nearby Panamara see also P. Roussel, *BCH*, LI, 1927, pp. 124—6;⁷ ὑποδοχαί at Olymus are mentioned in Sokolowski, 58, l. 7, and in the singular in L. Robert, *Sinuri*, p. 34, no 10, l. 7.

L. 6. οἷν introduces the king's decision, and consequently not much of the letter has been lost; this is confirmed by the end of Olympichus' covering letter.

Ll. 7—9. οὐ μὲν ἄλλ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν is a personal and rhetorical expression (Welles, pp. 51, 69); in Polyb. there are 10 instances of ἔτι καὶ νῦν and 3 of ἐπιτρέπειν, followed by an inf., "jemandem etwas gestatten" (Mauersberger), cf. Welles, p. 60; on προσπορεύεσθαι meaning "to approach" see *ibid.*, pp. 359—60; for τῶν ἐπιβαλλόντων cf. in Mylasa—Olymus τὸ ἐπιβάλλον μέρος, *BCH*, XXII, 1898, pp. 400—2, no. 48, l. 12; Buckler, p. 201, l. 12; cf. also another papyrus of Magdôla, Guéraud,

loc. cit., 69, l. 6, ὅπως -- μὴ ἐπιτρέπη προσπορεύεσθαι τῶν μὴ καθηγόντων αὐτῶι.

The fact that Seleucus orders Olympichus to act against Mylasa at a time when the city possessed its freedom, is a further indication of the fictitious nature of such freedom in a city within the sphere of influence of a mighty state; e.g. in the Attalid kingdom, the free cities were controlled by a royal official, the ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως (Bengtson, *Strategie*, II, pp. 240 ff.); see pp. 83—5.

Ll. 9—10. "The verb κρίνω is technical in the sense of a royal "decision"" (Welles, p. 83). "Διαιμένειν, wie μένειν, wird von dem Bestehenbleiben eines Rechtsverhältnisses, der fortdauernden Geltung von Beschlüssen und Abmachungen gesagt" (Wilhelm, *Neue Beiträge*, VI (= *loc. cit.*, 183, 3, 1921 (1924), p. 60); "διαιμένειν se dit d'une chose qui "demeure en la possession de quelqu'un"", Holleaux, having cited Wilhelm, *Études*, II, p. 104, with several epigraphical instances. Privileges of different kinds had to be confirmed by every new king: see p. 83.

The letter ended with an order to Olympichus to ensure that the Mylasans (and others) did not commit any infringement of the *eutaxia* of the shrine.

The letter consists of an explanation and the king's decision and is a stock chancery form: see Welles, pp. XLIII—IV. The style is extremely simple and clear and contrasts strikingly with Seleucus' letter, Welles, 22, the preserved part (17 ll.) of which consists entirely of one sentence with complicated participial clauses.⁸

1 B—2. Late copy of the preceding inscription, preceded by the covering letter of Olympichus. *Lettering of the Imperial period.*

Inv. 122/NA 61. Two joining fragments of plaque, found in 1951 in the Οἶκοι, west of the Temple (see Westholm, pp. 34—8, 69, 110, 114, 117).

Width 29 cm., height 56 cm., thickness 5.6 to 6.2 cm. The front face bears marks of fairly fine chiselling and is damaged at different points on the surface; the stone is broken to the left and right, above and below; the back is smoothed except at the extreme left, where there are frequent marks of a pointed chisel to a width of at least 5 cm.

The letters are 1.1 to 1.9 cm. high, interlinear space 1.9 to 2.8 cm. The letters are relatively carefully carved but variable in size and spacing. The

⁷ On οἰνοπόσιον (οἰνοποσία) and οἰνοποσιάρχης, especially in Bithynia, see L. Robert, *Rev. Phil.*, XVII, 1943, pp. 190—4.

⁸ Welles, 22 was called by W. Schubart, *Arch. Pap.*, 6, 1920, p. 336, "ein Machwerk der Kanzlei". Welles, however, pp. 109—10, calls the letter "not bad rhetoric" but points out its "difficult sentence structure"; the letter, "bearing the mark of chancery rhetoric, is not a chancery form".

restorations underlined are taken from 1, according to which each line had ca. 48—52 letters; for the

lateral position of the text see below on ll. 8—9. Plate 1.

- 2]α καὶ[
] ποιησῶ[
]- γεγραφ[
4]ενων ὑποστ[
πε]ῖθ' ἀρχῇ τε τοῖς[
]ν τοῖς ἐπὶ τουτ[
]οις, ἵνα μὴ δὲ ἡμεῖς[
8 τοῖς ἐπ' ἐσταλμένοις· ἔρρωσθε·
1 B [vac Βασιλεὺς Σέλευκος Ὀλυμπίχ]ω χαίρειν· ἔγραψεν [ή]-
[μεῖν Κόρρις ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Λαβραι]ῦνδου μέρη τινὰ τῇ[ς ἱε]-
[ρᾶς χώρας τῆς πρότερον διοικουμένης] ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διὰ προγόνων[
12 [ἀφειρῆσθαι τοὺς Μυλασεῖς μὴ προσηκ]όντως καὶ τοὺς καρ[ποὺς]
[ἀίρεσθαι καὶ τὰ γέρα τὰ γεινόμενα αὐτ]ῷ παρὰ τῶν θυόντων[ν μό]-
[νους Μυλασεῖς μὴ διδόναι βουλομένου]ς παροινεῖν· εἴπερ ο[ῦν ταῦ]-
[τα οὕτως ἔχει, φαίνεται ἡμεῖν οὐκ ὀρθῶς γ]είνεσθαι, οὐ μὴν ἀ[λλ' ἔτι]
16 [καὶ νῦν μὴ ἐπίτρεπε τοῖς Μυλασεῦσιν] κατὰ μηθένα τρ[όπον προ]-
[σπορεύεσθαι τῶν ἐπιβαλλόντων τῷ ἱερ]ῷ καὶ τῷ ἱερεῖ· κ[ρίνομεν]
[γὰρ τὰ συγκεχωρημένα τῷ Κόρριδι διὰ προγόνων δια]μένειν καὶ[
[ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν] ----- ἐπιμ]έλει[ν(?)] -----
c.33 c.11
20 [- -----] ετ[- -----]
c.34 c.12

1. The mark visible on the photograph in front of the first alpha is a fault in the stone; the bottom of the iota is visible. 2. the lower portion of an oblique stroke can be traced in the break to the right. 3. the first letter is

an epsilon, xi, sigma or omicron. 5. the bottoms of the two iotas are visible. 7. in the break to the right an upper horizontal stroke is visible.

2 is the end of the covering letter of Olympichus to Mylasa, occasioned by 1 B, which is a late copy of 1. This follows the normal sequence found in Seleucid correspondence, the covering letter being placed at the top of the collection and the other letters following in chronological order, as in Welles, 10—3, 36—7: see Ph. N. Lockhart, *AJP*, LXXXII, 1961, p. 190.

The preserved portion of 2 covers the end of 1, which does not itself survive. These inscriptions,

like 10, belong to a series of documents engraved on the slabs which covered the inner walls of some buildings¹—in these two cases the walls of the

¹ A technical term for such a wall-cover is the Latin *σκούτωσις* which L. Robert, *REG*, LXX, 1957, p. 362 n. 1, intends to study in his forthcoming *Études de vocabulaire*, and refers preliminarily to his *Ét. anat.*, p. 410 with n. 3; *La Carie*, II, p. 324; see also G. Brusin, *Coll. Latomus*, XLIV, 1960, *Hommages à Léon Herrmann*, p. 225, in the commentary on a dedication found in Aquileia,

I supply ἐπεσταλμένοις as in l. 8, and also 4, l. 4, concerning the same, in order to underline the close parallelism between the two final clauses, both of which concern the obedience of Mylasa and Olympichus respectively to the king's order, cf. Welles, 6, l. 11, ἐπιστειλῶ[ν] ἡμῶν πειθαρχεῖν, and the covering letter of Anaximbrotus, cited above, ll. 6—7, ἐπακολουθῶν οὖν τοῖς ἐπεσταλμένοις συντέλει; ὑπεναντίος, it is true, does not occur in Welles, but the expression suggested was commonly used in Hellenistic time: see *Syll*³, Ind. IV, s.v., e.g. 613, ll. 28—9, μηθὲν αὐτοῖς ὑπεναντίον πράττειν τοῖς πρότερον ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐψηφισμένοις; συγκεχωρημένοις is taken from 1, ll. 9—10, as an important word in the context; it also occurs in the same general context, but with reference to Mylasa, in 3, ll. 28—9, 5, l. 40, but without the additions found in 1; these additions have not been inserted here, because at the end of the letter a call for the *eutaxia* seems necessary; for ἐπὶ I suggest the primary meaning of "in the case of" (LSJ, s.v., A I 2 f.), cf. e.g. *Syll*³, 685, ll. 80—1, ὅπερ ἐπὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς χώρας οὐκ ἦν ἐνδεχόμενον; 972 (Lebadea, 175—2 B.C.), l. 43, διακρινούσιν οἱ ναοποιοὶ ὁμόσαντες ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων.

Ll. 7—8. εὐταξία, εὐτακτεῖν is a commonplace in Greek inscriptions regarding conditions in a shrine,⁵ and the verb occurs in a similar context in another unpublished Hellenistic inscription of Labraunda. εὐτακτεῖν, ποιεῖν, πειθαρχεῖν are coordinated in *Syll*³, 957 (Athens, 334/3 B.C.), ll. 51—3; ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις as in 1, l. 10; φαίνεσθαι with a participle is very common in final clauses: see *Syll*³, Ind. IV, s.v., b; Welles, 3, l. 54; 52, ll. 23—5; in Mylasa, Michel, 473, ll. 11—3; *Delphinion*, 146 B, ll. 62—5; for the participle cf. Welles, 37, cited above; 19, ll. 5—6; in Labraunda, 6 B, l. 4; *BCH*, LVIII, 1934, p. 309, no. 5 B (Teos, concerning a judge from Mylasa), l. 20; *Syll*³, 562, ll. 28—9; the decree of Delphi *OGIS*, 228, ll. 15—6, honours Seleucus II ἐπὶ --- τῷ ἐπακολουθηθέναι τῷ τοῦ θεοῦ χρησμῷ having made a decision καθάπερ ὁ τε βασιλεὺς ἐπέστελκε. On the phrase cf. also *Inscr. gr. et lat. de la Syrie*, VI, 1967, p. 240 n. 4.⁶

Ll. 8—9. The last letters of l. 8 were certainly very crowded, and the only possible explanation of this is that the engraver wished to insert ἔρρωσθε on the line and so conclude the inscription, before starting a new line with a new inscription.⁷ The lay out of the text thus determined,

every line has been filled in a natural way in accordance with the customary rules of word-division, which are observed throughout the series.⁸ As the heading of Seleucus' letter does not involve any problem (at all events there is no room for a formula of good health: see on 1) the beginning of the new inscription has been marked by a *vac* at the outset of l. 10.

L. 19. See on l. 2.

⁵ E.g. in Attic decrees honouring priests the phrase ἐπιμελέηται δὲ καὶ τῆς τοῦ ἱεροῦ εὐκοσμίας frequently occurs; *Syll*³, 1157; see L. Robert, *Hellenica*, V, 1948, pp. 19—28; see also id. in Nezih Firatli, *Les stèles funéraires de Byzance gr.-rom.*, 1964, pp. 160—2, in connection with the names Εὐτακτος and Εὐταξία: cf. also *Syll*³, 736, ll. 41—3, ῥαβδοφόροι --- πειθαρχούντω τοῖς ἐπιτελούντοισι τὰ μυστήρια, καὶ ἐπιμέλειαν ἔχόντω, ὅπως εὐσχημόνως καὶ εὐτάκτως -- πάντα γίνηται, καθὼς ἂν παραγγέλλωνται οἱ ἐπὶ τούτων τεταγμένοι.

⁶ ἐπιστέλλειν often, as here, refers to the relations between the suzerain and the city—official, but by itself the verb expresses only "den mechanischen Vorgang der Vermittlung", A. Heuss, *Stadt und Herrscher* (= *Klio*, Beih. XXXIX), 1937, p. 207.

⁷ Even if thus crowded, the letters supplied occupy a larger space than 4 cm., which is the width of a border on the back of a similar plaque, Inv. 106—123, and consequently the traces of such a margin cannot be looked for here.

⁸ The only difficulty here is provided by the juncture between ll. 16 and 17; the word-division suggested assumes a slight crowding of the letters at the end of l. 16, which can be felt in the placing of the last tau of the line; a corresponding word-division is to be found e.g. Welles, 66, ll. 16—7, προ|στάγματα.

3. Letter of Olympichus to Mylasa confirming the city's rights to Labraunda and promising the city support. 240 B.C. (?).

Inv. 6/A 91, 7/A 98. Two joining anta-blocks, A 98 placed above A 91, found in 1948 beside the north-west anta of the Temple (see on 1) of which they originally formed part.

The under side of A 98 and the upper side of A 91 have the same width, anathyrosis and places for the dowel-holes and the final proof of their juxtaposition is given by 3 B, which is a later copy of the inscription on A 98 and A 91.

A 91: Width 69.5 cm., height 39 cm., thickness 74 cm.; A 98: Width 69.5 cm., height 45 cm., thickness 39.5 cm. The front face bears traces of fine chiselling but was very probably originally worked smooth. The face is very badly worn on A

98 to the left, above and below, on A 91 to the left and above, the edges are partially broken on both blocks; the left and right sides are worked smooth; the upper and under sides have elegant anathyrosis and also round dowel-holes; the anathyrosis on the back is rougher.

The margin to the left is ca. 1.0 cm. The letters are mostly 1.1/1.5 cm. high but Φ 1.9 cm., inter-linear space 2.0/2.6 cm. The letters are handsome but somewhat irregularly cut with slightly thickened ends. Below l. 34 there is a blank space, 4.7 cm. in height. There are some small engraver's errors, ll. 3, 13, 26, 33. The restorations underlined are taken from 3 B. Plate 1.

- A 98
- [-----] καὶ ὁ δῆμος εὐχάρε[ισ]-
c. 26
 [τος] ὡν πεῖράσε[τα]! [ἀπ]οδιδόναι μοι τὰς καταξίας τι- ν
 [μάς]; ἐπέδειξαν δὲ ἡμεῖν οἱ πρε(σ)βευταὶ καὶ χρηματισ- ν
 4 [μο]ῦς ἄλλους τε καὶ τὰ παρὰ Σώφρονος γραφέντα πρό[ς]
 [ύμ]ῃς καὶ Πτολεμ[α]ίου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ βασιλέως Πτολε- ν
 [μ]αίου, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα οἰκονομηθέντα ὑφ' ἡ-
 [μ]ῶν, κα[θ'] ὅγ κ[αὶ] ῥ[ὸ]ν ἔγραψεν ἡμῖν ὁ βασιλεὺς Σέλευκος
 8 [ἐ]λευ[θ]ε[ρ]ῶσι καὶ ὑμῶν τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τοῦ ὅρκου τὸ ἀντίγρα-
 [φον] αὐτοὶ κατεχ[ω]ρίσμεν τῷ δήμῳ, ἐν ᾧ ἐγεγρά- νν
 [φειν] τὰ τε ἄλλα κα[ὶ] ὅτι συνδιατηρήσω Μυλασεῦσιν,
 [κ]α[θ'] ὅ[τι] ἄξιον ᾖ, τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ χώρῃ τὰ τε
 12 [ιε]ρὰ κατὰ τὸ [ιε]ρὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Λαβράνδου καὶ τἄλλα
 [π]άντα καὶ τὴν χώραν τὴν τε κατὰ <Λ>αβράνδου καὶ τὴν ἄλλην τ[ὴν]
 [ο]ῦσαν [α]ὐτ[ῶν] καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τὰ ἐπιχωρημένα πάντα, κ[αὶ]
 [α]ὐτοὶ διελέγησαν μετὰ πάσης σπουδῆς ἀκολούθως
 16 [τ]οῖς γεγραμμένοις, συμπρόντος καὶ Κόρρι τοῦ ἱερέως
 [ἐ]πεὶ οὖν [καὶ οἱ] παρ' ὑμῶν πρεσβευταὶ ἐδίδαξαν ἡμᾶς
 [δι]ὰ π[λ]ε[ι]όνων ὥς ὁ Κόρρις μὲν ψευδῶς ἦν γεγραφειῶς
 [ἐ]πιστ[ολήν] πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, ὁ δῆμος δὲ τὰ τε γέγρα
 20 [οὐδέποτ'] οὐκ ἐ[δ]ίδωκε ἀντιῶν καὶ τὴν [ἐ]ρᾶν χ[ώ]ραν δ[ι]-

- [οικεῖν ἔαί αὐτόν διὰ προγόνων καὶ τᾶλλα ὑπηρετεῖ προ]-
 [θύμως, e.g. βουλόμενοι τὰ τᾶλλα καὶ ὅτι] ὁ Κόρρις [ψευδῶς ἦν]
 [δεδηλωκῶς τὰ γέρα] ^{c.29} _{c.10} φειρούμενος ὑφ' ὑμῶν, διδάξει, πρὸς
 24 [τὸν βασιλέα ἡμεῖς] ^{c.15-6} γεγράφαμεν ἐπιστολὴν, ἥς καὶ ὑμῖν
 [ὑποτέταχ] ^{c.14-5} ται τὸ ἀγτίγραφον, καὶ ἐπίστασθε ὅτι καὶ πρότε-
 [ρόν τ]ε [κατὰ τ]α[ῦ]τα ὑμῖν διατελοῦμεν διαφυλάσ<σ>οντες καὶ *v*
 [εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν τὰ] ὑπάρχοντα ὑμῖν τά τε κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Διὸς
 28 [τοῦ] Λ[αβρα]ύνηδου καὶ τὴν χώραν καὶ τᾶλλα κατὰ τὰ συνκεχω-
 [ρημένα] καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους οὓς ὠμόσαμεν τῶι δῆμῳ, καὶ πειρα-
 σόμεθα συνδιατηρεῖν ὑμεῖν τὴν τε δημοκρατίαν καὶ τὴν χώ-
 [ρ]α καὶ [π]α[ν]τα, καθότι ὤισθε δεῖν, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις οὕθενός
 32 ἀποστησόμεθα τῶν τῶι δῆμῳ συμφερόντων· περὶ αὐτῶν
 δὲ τούτων καὶ τοῖς πρε<σ>βευταῖς ἐντετάλμεθα ἀπαγγέλ- *vv*
 λειν ὑμῖν. *vac* ἔρρωσθε *vac*

vac

Most dotted letters are visible or can be traced in the damaged sections. 1. the first visible word in the line is almost certainly καὶ, not ὅτι; three quarters of the vertical stroke of the kappa, the lower portion of the left oblique stroke and the bottom of the right stroke of the alpha and the bottom of the iota are visible; the last sigma could equally well be written <σ> at the beginning of 2, cf. 3, 26, 33. 3. EB stone; the marks visible on the photograph after -τις- are faults in the stone. 6. fin., the left vertical stroke and the juncture of a horizontal one in the middle of the line are visible, so the letter is not an upsilon. 8. a small upper portion of the left stroke and the right one of the labda, the upper and lower horizontal strokes of the first dotted epsilon and the lower horizontal stroke of the second dotted epsilon are visible. 9. ω can be detected in the damaged portion; at the end of the line most probably *vv*. 10. the restorations suggested find support in the marks visible in the damaged portion. 11. only the upper horizontal stroke of the second last letter is visible. 12. the right oblique stroke with the juncture of the left one of the first dotted alpha, the vertical stroke of the kappa, the lower por-

tion of the left oblique stroke of the second dotted alpha, the lower portion of the vertical stroke of the tau and the lower portion of the left oblique stroke of the third dotted alpha can be traced. 13. AΔA stone. 20. most of the upper portions of the dotted letters are preserved or can be traced in the damaged section. 22. the damage in the stone makes ετι more probable than ὥς. 23. the lower portion of the curved line of the phi, the lower portion of the vertical line with the juncture of the lower horizontal one of the epsilon and an upper portion of the iota can be traced in the damaged portion; the lower portions of ὑφ' ὑ, the left outer stroke with the joint of the middle left stroke of μ, the left oblique stroke of the first dotted delta, the upper portion of the iota, most of the left oblique stroke with the joint of the horizontal one of the second dotted delta and the upper stroke of the xi are visible. 26. the lower portions of the dotted letters can be traced in the damaged portion; ΑΣΟ stone; the mark visible on the photograph at the end of the line is a fault in the stone, most probably there is a *v*, 2 cm. wide. 33. EB stone.

-- and that the people being grateful shall try to render me the due [honours]. The envoys exhibited to us among other documents also what Sophron and Ptolemy, king Ptolemy's brother, had written to [you], and in like manner also the measures taken by us subsequently at the [time] that king Seleucus wrote to us to [liberate] your city and we

[ourselves enclosed] for the people the copy of the oath, in which [I] had written among other things that I should assist the Mylasans, 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. They themselves spoke with all earnestness in accordance with the written statement, and the priest Korris also was present on that occasion. Since, then, [also] your envoys [at considerable length] instructed us that Korris had falsely written [a letter] to the king and that the people had [never omitted] to give to him the due gifts but [allowed him to administer] the [sacred] land [by virtue of ancestral privileges, and that the people in other respects fulfilled their duties zealously, we wish] to state [among other things also that] Korris [had falsely declared] that he had been deprived by you [of his due gifts, and we] have written to [the king] a letter, of which the copy [has been appended] also for you. You know that already earlier [in the same way] we continually guarded carefully for you also [for the future] what belonged to you both in the shrine of Zeus Labraundos and the land and the other items in accordance with the concessions and the oath which we swore to the people. And we shall try to assist you in preserving the democracy, the land and everything, as you thought necessary, and in the other matters we shall in no way diverge from what is expedient to the people. Concerning these matters we have ordered also the envoys to report to you. Farewell.'

The situation which led to this letter developed from the complaints made by the priest of Zeus Korris against Mylasa, which Seleucus II explained in 1 and which caused Olympichus to write to the city (2). Envoys of the city had now been sent to Olympichus to reject totally the complaints on the basis of written documents. As Korris had also been summoned, l. 16, we must suppose that the whole matter was examined thoroughly. Olympichus declared that Mylasa was in the right, as he had informed the king, and he confirmed his permanent loyalty to the city. The envoys received this letter, as well as a copy of Olympichus' letter to Seleucus, to transmit to Mylasa. It is to be supposed that the problems were settled, and until Doson came to Caria, we hear of no further activity concerning the status of Labraunda. We have no relevant document until Mylasa raised the issue with Philip V. See Synopsis, pp. 80—81

As with 1 and 2, the writer and the addressee

are not in doubt; this is clear from the course of events as analysed in Synopsis. However, like 1, the letter is undated. The letter-forms give us no exact guidance, being of the same style as those found in the letters of Philip V's time (see p. 24). So we are left to derive what we can from the letter itself. It was written during the reign of Seleucus II, 246—225, subsequent to his liberation of Mylasa early in his reign: see on ll. 6—8. In ll. 5—6 Ptolemy Euergetes I is mentioned as *king* which presumes a period of peace between Syria and Egypt (see *ad loc.*), i.e. after the autumn of 241.¹ According to Bickerman Antiochus Hierax had been appointed viceroy of Asia Minor in the summer of 241, and started the 'War of the Brothers' in 240, and Seleucus was defeated at Ancyra in 239; peace between the brothers was not concluded until 237/6, when Hierax had already been defeated for the first time by Attalus; after 230 Hierax lost his authority in Asia Minor. The *terminus ante quem* for the letter is Doson's Carian campaign (see pp. 123—7),² and it is quite likely that Korris would have addressed himself to Seleucus at a time when Hierax' authority was being weakened or had even lapsed altogether, that is after 230; such activity would correspond to my view of Welles, 29; see my *Remarks*, especially p. 174. However, if I am right that Ptolemy, the son, l. 5, was a supporter of Hierax during the War of the Brothers and prevented Seleucus from taking Ephesus (see pp. 118—20), the outbreak of that war must be a *t.a.q.*, since Mylasa could not possibly have adduced in its own interests a communication from the king's enemy to Seleucus' representative. The fact remains, it is true, that Hierax is supposed to have become viceroy in 241, and therefore strictly speaking, he would have been the king addressed. But the same difficulty exists for every possible period after the

¹ No certain chronology concerning Asia Minor during the reign of Seleucus II can be constructed owing to the inadequacy of our sources. Most scholars now follow the chronology proposed by E. Bickerman, *Berytus*, VIII, 1943—4, pp. 76—8, cf. my *Remarks*, p. 172 n. 2; see below, p. 123 n. 1.

² On the other hand, it does not seem possible to draw any firm conclusion from Olympichus' position as a governor in the letter, since he is known to have played a double role both as a governor and as a dynast; in general, however, his position points to an earlier period, see p. 55.

autumn of 241; anyway, we do not know the real extent of Hierax' rule, and it is possible that at this early date the relations between the sovereign and his viceroy may not have been defined. Further, a very good reason for Korris to address himself to Seleucus was that it was he who had been responsible for the original instructions which caused the controversy. As far as the letter itself is concerned, the relatively detailed report regarding the prelude to the liberation, ll. 3—7, confirms an earlier dating, since there is no corresponding report in the later letters 5 and 7, where the liberation and Olympichus' oath with its main content are simply stated while in 4 they are not even mentioned; in addition, the fact that the envoys reminded Olympichus of the measures taken by him (τὰ --- οἰκονομηθέντα ὑφ' ἡμῶν) in connection with the liberation gives the impression that they referred to an event which was not very remote. Consequently, if we may accept Bickerman's chronology, with due regard to the very great limitations of our knowledge of the period in question, I would suggest *early in 240* as the date of 1—3. Then the time-lapse between the liberation of Mylasa and this correspondence, as expressed by καὶ ὁν καιρόν, l. 7, is covered by a theoretical margin of six years.

In the missing portion at the beginning of the letter, Olympichus, after the usual heading, evidently stated that Mylasa's envoys had delivered to him a decree of the city, the contents of which were in general the same as those of the oral account of the envoys, ll. 15 ff. Consequently the city must have rejected all the complaints of the priest, denied any violation of his rights and confirmed the correct behaviour of the city and its citizens at Labraunda in all respects. It is not possible to say how much detail was given in the decree or in the account of it given by Olympichus. The decree concluded with expressions of gratitude and of a friendly attitude towards Olympichus. At that point the preserved portion starts.

Ll. 1—2. Doubtless καὶ co-ordinates two ὅτι-clauses; for reasons of space εὐχάριστος ὧς is preferable to εὐχαριστῶν; for εὐχάριστος, common in the Koine, see Welles, pp. XC, 338. The city promises to honour Olympichus also in 4, ll. 1—2, and he was actually honoured: see 6 A, ll. 7—8. Here, as in his oath (see below on ll. 8—14) Olympichus writes about himself in the singular to

emphasize that the matter concerned him as an individual, while elsewhere in the letter, as a representative of the king, he uses the plural of office; the opposite occurs in his letter 4, l. 12; on the use of different numbers see Welles, pp. 10, 38, 74, 102, 124; on the Seleucid use of the plural see on 1, l. 1.

Ll. 3—6. On the writing ἡμεῖν, as ὑμεῖν, l. 30, see 1 B—2 n. 3; below, l. 34, ὑμῖν is written, also in Olympichus' letter 8, l. 15; in l. 7 we have ἡμῖν, as in 8, l. 17, and in Seleucus' letter 1, ll. 1, 6; on χρηματισμός meaning "document" see Welles, p. 375; πρὸς with the accusative with verbs of writing is Koine (Welles, p. LXXVII); ὑμῶς, not ἡμῶς, because of the context; καὶ in l. 5 co-ordinates the two agents.

On Sophron see Ch. VI, and on the Ptolemy who is the famous son of Ptolemy II Philadelphus, Ch. V; on their activity in connection with the present Labraunda affair see especially pp. 121—122 doubtless the king Ptolemy mentioned is Euergetes I who was a contemporary of Seleucus II. ἀδελφός here is to be understood in its literal sense;³ this is confirmed by my reconstruction of the "son"'s life. Generally speaking, "the kings of one dynasty do not, except under special circumstances, mention those of another" (Welles, p. 171), and hostile or rival kings were not even mentioned; see further on the whole question *ibid.*, pp. 44, 75, 82—3, 171, 173.⁴ What is true of kings is true also of their representatives. Consequently,

³ For ἀδελφός as a honorary term see e.g. Welles, 71, l. 2 (cf. *ibid.*, p. 291); the mention of Ptolemy as brother of the king is of course in itself no argument that the king was alive when the letter was written; cf. e.g. the decree of Chremonides, *Syll*³, 434, ll. 16—7, ὁ τε βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος ἀκολούθως -- τῇ τῆς ἀδελφῆς προαιρέσει, at a time when Philadelphus' sister-consort Arsinoë II had been dead for 4 or 5 years (cf. Welles, p. 105).

⁴ Cf. A. Aymard, *REA*, L, 1948, pp. 252, 260 (= *id.*, *Études d'histoire ansienne*, 1967, pp. 89, 96); the quotation above is given also in my *Remarks*, p. 172. Notice that Philip V calls Seleucus II only 'Seleucus' in his letters 5, ll. 34, 37; 7, l. 9.

The fact that Seleucid Teos, which had previously belonged to Pergamum, called Attalus king Attalus is explained by the good diplomatic relations which are supposed to have existed between him and Antiochus III (see Herrmann, pp. 112—3, 117, citing E. Bickerman, *Rev. Ét. Juives*, 100, 1935, p. 34 n. 1: "les décrets rédigés dans une ville sujette évitaient de donner le titre solennel de 'roi' aux monarques étrangers et rivaux").

as far as we know at present, the mention of *king* Ptolemy would indicate that at the time of this letter there was peace between Syria and Egypt. As a high Seleucid official, acting in Asia Minor and thus well known in that part of the empire, the identity of the "son" might equally well have been given without reference to the king of Egypt, though this addition added weight to the identification.

Ll. 6—8. καθ' ὃν καιρόν gives no indication of the interval which had elapsed and is also used with reference to the liberation of Mylasa in 7, l. 9, cf. l. 12; numerous instances of the phrase are given by L. Robert, *Villes*, p. 392 n. 4. It is remarkable that the four passages which mention the liberation are all formulated in different ways; Olympichus is subject, as here, in his letter 8, ll. 13—5, τὴν [ὑμετέραν πόλιν] -- ἐλευθέραν [καὶ] δημοκρατουμένην ἀποκατεστήσαμεν ὑμῖν, but in Philip V's letters Seleucus is the subject, 5, l. 34, Σέλευκον -- ἀφιέντα τὴν πόλιν ἐλευθέραν, 7, ll. 9—10, Σέλ[ευκ]ο[ς] ἐλευθέ[ρ]αν ἐκαθε[ῖ]σε[ν] τ[ὴν] πόλιν; the only element common to all instances is the conception of freedom (ἐλευθερ-). For the variation cf. e.g. Herrmann, p. 35, l. 47, ἀφέντες τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἱεράν but, p. 34, l. 18, ἀνῆκε τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν ἱεράν; cf. also e.g. *Syll*³, 342, ll. 15 ff., ὅτε ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀντίγονος ἀπέστειλεν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Δημήτριον ἐλευθερώσοντα τὴν τε πόλιν; on the substance of this see Ch. III.

Ll. 8—14. καὶ in l. 8 co-ordinates two subordinate clauses. αὐτοί stresses the change of subject and Olympichus' role in the matter; it is supplied also in 6 B, l. 11. Several occurrences of the word used in the first person are to be found in Welles. κατεχωρίσαμεν finds some justification in the traces of letters in the damaged surface; Olympichus also uses ὑποτέτακται in this letter in l. 25; cf. also for the variation his own correspondence ca. 20 years later, where with reference to the same affair he writes in 6 B, l. 9, ὑποτέ[τα]χα, but in 4, l. 7, he has κατεχώρισα; in both cases τὸ ἀντίγραφον is the object. A good example of the parallel use of the two synonyms is to be found in the covering letter of 204 B.C., Welles, 37, from Eriza, ll. 1—6, τοῦ --- προστάγματος --- καταχωρίζεται τὸ ἀντίγραφον, compared with a corresponding covering letter found at Teheran, occasioned by a royal letter concerning the same affair as that of the Eriza document, L. Robert, *Hellenica*, VII, 1949,

pp. 5—22,⁵ ll. 2—5, τοῦ --- προστάγματος --- ὑποτέτακται τὸ ἀντίγραφον; on different uses of καταχωρίζειν see Welles, pp. LXXXVIII, 344—5 with references; Chr. Habicht, *Hermes*, 85, 1957, p. 122 with n. 1.

The predicate in the relative clause must have been in the singular (there is in any case no space for -μεν) since the information has direct bearing on the oath, in which Olympichus uses the singular, as an indication that he regarded the oath to Mylasa as a private engagement (see above on ll. 1—2); for the pluperfect, used in royal correspondence always with a certain "perfect" force see Welles, p. LXXI; for the ending -ειν see *ibid.*, p. LXVI; Schwyzler, I, pp. 776, 778 with n. 2.

The following lines contain the most detailed version that is preserved of Olympichus' oath. Extracts of its contents are cited also in 5, ll. 42—4, and indirectly in 6 B, ll. 5—8 (in the plural), and the oath is referred to also in 3, l. 29 (in the plural), 5, ll. 40 (ὅρκον τινά), 47 (κατὰ τοὺς ὅρκους), 7, ll. 9, 14 (in the plural). There is no indication whatever that Olympichus took an oath more than once, i.e. on the occasion of the liberation, and the change of number is explained by "the general tendency of Hellenistic chanceries to use plurals where they are logically inappropriate; cf. above, p. 9 n. 9," (Welles, p. 162). This view is confirmed in our correspondence by the variations cited, both here and in 5. In the oath Olympichus recognized Mylasa's right to the shrine and its lands and income, and also to the city lands. Most probably a promise was added to withdraw the garrison and to respect the democratic government, 8, ll. 13—4; 3, l. 30; but that is all we know. That there were further terms is suggested by τὰ τε ἄλλα, l. 10, cf. l. 28, reinforced by τὰ λοιπὰ τὰ ἐπιχωρημένα πάντα in l. 14.

Of my suggested restorations, the beginning of l. 11, [κ]ζ[θ]ζ[τ]ι ἀ[ξ]ι[οῦ]σι, is based on καθότι ἡξιοῦτε after συνδιατηρήσω in 4, l. 8 (cf. l. 14 and 5, l. 46); the third person plural fits the space, is supported by the traces of letters and is required

⁵ Previously published by Chr. Clairmont, *Mus. Helv.*, 5, 1948, pp. 218—26, with improvements by A.G. Roos, *Mnemosyne*, IV 3, 1950, pp. 54—63; id., *ibid.*, 4, 1951, pp. 70—2; cf. J. and L. Robert, *Bull. épigr.*, 1951, 234. For a third corresponding copy recently found in Iran see L. Robert, *CRAT*, 1967, pp. 281—96.

by context (cf. αὐτοῖς in the same line, and αὐτῶν in l. 14). Welles, p. 128, calls καθότι ὁ δῆμος ἡξίωσεν "a tag", cf. *ibid.*, pp. 314, 384; see also Wilhelm, *Gr. Königsbr.* (= *Klio*, Beih. XLVIII), 1943 (reprinted 1960), pp. 17—8. The first word in l. 12 is uncertain; ἱερά is to be preferred to ὅσια,⁶ I think, since in 4, l. 10, it is expressly stated that Mylasa received the sacred income, and we know that the city always claimed the shrine and finally also acquired it. αὐτῶν, l. 14, derives from 5, ll. 24, 44.

Welles, p. LXXXVI, registers συνδιατηρέω (l. 10) as belonging to the general Koine vocabulary and having its earliest occurrence in a letter of Antiochus II to Erythrae after 261 (?); it is used in the future both regarding a new grant and earlier possession, *ibid.*, p. 83; on the courteous character of the verb see *ibid.*, pp. 365—6. L. Robert, *REG*, XLVI, 1933, p. 436 n. 2 (cf. *id.*, *Rev. Phil.*, XLI, 1967, p. 12 n. 6; J. and L. Robert, *Bull. épigr.*, 1962, 290), gives several instances of the shorter, common expression τὰ κατὰ τὸ ἱερόν (τὴν ἀγοράν, τὸ γυμνάσιον, κτλ.); for κατὰ in a local sense see *id.*, *Sinuri*, p. 39 n. 1 with references; for the preference for prepositional clauses instead of simple genitives see Wilhelm, *Wien. Stud.*, LXI—LXII, 1943—7 (1948), pp. 172 ff.; on κατὰ in such clauses pp. 175—7, 181, with reference to the fundamental study of G. Rudberg in *Eranos*, XIX, 1919—20, pp. 173 ff.; on ἐπιχωρέω meaning "to grant" see Welles, pp. LXXXIX, 337.

Ll. 15—6. By τοῖς γεγραμμένοις is meant the decree which the envoys had delivered to Olympichus; on the importance of oral messages see Welles, p. 246, cf. p. 258. That Korris, as might be expected, was present at the speech of the envoys and not at the passage of the decree in Mylasa is corroborated by 4, ll. 5—6; quite apart from the reconstruction of that text, Olympichus had wanted to hear both parties.

This is the first occurrence of the genitive form Κόρρι and it is not registered in Zgusta, p. 246; the form recurs at Labraunda in an unpublished inscription of late second cent. B.C. Otherwise the genitive form is Κόρριδος in 4, l. 6, 11, 12, or Κόρριος in *SEG* II 565 (first cent. B.C.), l. 14. The form in -ι is an established dialectal ending; see L. Robert, *Sinuri*, pp. 14—5; *id.*, *Noms indigènes*, I, p. 31 n. 1; references are given by Ol. Masson, *Beitr. z. Namenforsch.*, 10, 1959, p. 168 n. 52.

διελέγησαν (6 B, ll. 11—2, διαλεγείς) = Attic διελέχθησαν; see e.g. Welles, LXVIII with n. 30 (διελέχθησαν, however, is used e.g. by Antiochus III in his letter to Teos, Herrmann, p. 41, IV, l. 8.). μετὰ πάσης σπουδῆς is common diplomatic language (Welles, p. 82). For ἀκολούθως, used commonly in expressions such as this, see *ibid.*, pp. LXXXIX, 310.

Ll. 17—9. This letter of Korris is mentioned by Seleucus II in 1, ll. 1 ff. and by Olympichus in 4, ll. 2—4. The use of the definitive word ψευδῶς in the presence of Korris himself and of Olympichus as a de facto judge, together with the latter's pronouncement at this point and the final decision of Philip V on the whole Labraunda question, makes it reasonably certain that Korris had acted improperly in making strong representations to Seleucus, in the same way as a subsequent priest did to Doson (5, ll. 5 ff.). See further below.

The phrase διὰ πλείονων subordinated to verbs of saying is frequent in the Hellenistic period, e.g. in Polybius, Mauersberger, col. 462; it may mean "at considerable length or" "at greater length" (Welles, p. 128); πλείων is much more common than πλέων in royal correspondence (*ibid.*, p. LVII). On periphrases with resultative transitive perfect participles see e.g. W.J. Aerts, *Periphrastica*, 1965, pp. 48, 51, 91, "a few pluperfects which could be designated 'Vorvergangenheits-tempus'".

Ll. 19—24. More than a line and a half is lost at the break between the two blocks A 98 and 91, and since in addition the beginning of the following lines is lost or badly damaged, the passage is one of particular difficulty. I offer a supplement of ll. 21—2, since their contents are known through 1, and the corresponding portion of 3 B has preserved some words which complement those preserved on 3 and give some clue to a reconstruction. Obviously the envoys are still repudiating Korris' complaints in ll. 19—21, the *demos* being the subject of some (suppressed) ὥς-clauses, but, since, l. 23, the Mylasans are directly addressed, Olympichus must have finished his report of the speech of the envoys

⁶ For ὅσια meaning what is not dedicated to the gods (as opposed to ἱεράς), but, from the point of view of the gods, is unpolluted (as opposed to βέβηλα) and at the disposal of human beings see M.H.A.L.H. van der Valk, *Mnemosyne*, III 10, 1942, pp. 113—40, 'Zum Worte "Ὅσιος"', especially pp. 114, 118—23, 125—30.

and started his own statement, introduced by οὖν in l. 17. It includes Κόρρις -- γέρα ἀφειρούμενος; these words form a unit, since corresponding information seems to have been given in the report of the speech, ll. 19—20. Consequently Olympichus' own statement started at the beginning of l. 22. Evidently the topic is presented in a way directly opposite to that in 1, but, as is natural when a proposition is rejected, phrases or single words can be transferred from that inscription.

First of all the envoys brought up the accusation that the city did not give the due gifts to the priest, and without doubt at this point, and also in general, the accusation was repudiated. Since οὐδέποτε⁷ is guaranteed by 3 B, l. 5 (the word incidentally explains the blank space of three letters at the end of l. 19), Olympichus used here double negatives, as he did in his covering letter 2, ll. 7—8. The envoys reversed the order of the complaints, and at this second point I have added only ἐνι to words used already in 1, this report, as expected, being more abbreviated than the first version. The position of the borrowed words, l. 21, is certain but for one or two letter—spaces, as in this passage the lines are estimated to be ca. 41—46 letters long and the relative place in 3 of 3 B, ll. 5 and 7, is known⁷; hence there is room on the stone only for these two detailed refutations. With καὶ τᾶλλα ὑπερετεῖ, to which I have added its usual attribute προθύμως (see *Syll*³, Ind. IV, s.v.), the envoys repudiated all complaints (παροινεῖν included) not otherwise specifically treated; the phrase is of a final, rounded character and confirms the suggestion that the report of the speech ended here. The last two verbs stand in the present tense to underline the fact that the report, as well as 1, concerned existing conditions in the shrine. ἐζῶ meaning "(zu)lassen, dass" followed by an acc. c. inf. is common in Polybius, Mauersberger, s.v., and is frequent in inscriptions of different periods, e.g. Welles 11, ll. 24—5, συντετάχαμεν Ἀριστο{το}δικίδῃ ἐν αὐτοῖς οἰκεῖν; 12, ll. 21—2; 44, ll. 13—4; *Syll*³, Ind. IV, s.v., and e.g. 524 (3rd cent. B.C.), ll. 18—20, [καὶ τὴν χώραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ τὰς νᾶσους Στὰ]-λίταις ἐάσομεν ἔχειν --; M. Segre, *Clara Rhodos*, IX, 1938, p. 190 (letter of Eumenes II, 181 B.C.), ll. 7—9, σύνταξον τὴν τε χώραν ἣν ἡγοράκησαν παρὰ Πτολεμαίου -- ἐν ἔχειν; L. and J. Robert, *La Carie*, II, p. 286, no. 166 (Apollonia of Salbake earlier

than 190 B.C.), ll. 18—9, ἐν διαμένειν καθάπερ [ἐ]ως [τοῦ νῦν] (sc. Δημήτριον).

As is pointed out above, Olympichus' own statement started in l. 22. In view of the remnants of letters it seems necessary to suppose that the isolated infinitive διδάξει is governed by e.g. a participle at the beginning of l. 22 and subordinated to γεγράφαμεν, and that the clause which includes Κόρρις-ἀφειρούμενος is governed by διδάξει; cf. ll. 17—8. As regards the exact formulation of the passage, αἰρούμενοι could stand as well as βουλούμενοι, ὥς as ὅτι. The difficulty is to find the correct restoration after the suggested participle. A personal object to διδάξει is wanted; τὸν βασιλέα might have been possible, but since Olympichus expressly refers only to one single point of Korris' complaints in his letter to the king, it seems necessary to suggest something which covers the whole case; τᾶλλα (τὰ ἄλλα) is used in a corresponding way in ll. 10, 21 (note the repetition in ll. 10 and 12, followed by τὰ λοιπά, l. 14); the supplement, l. 24, consequently needs no comment, ἡμεῖς being confirmed by εἰ. In the ὅτι-clause the adverb and the construction are taken from l. 18;⁸ cf. above on the transposition of phrases and single words. Only a small space is available at the beginning of l. 23, and it is not easy to find a verb appropriate to the context, to which to attach the participle; Olympichus uses δηλώω in 6 A, l. 12; for participles attached to that verb see Schwyzler, II, p. 396. The construction might appear somewhat hard here, but it seems to be caused by the ὅτι(ὥς)-clause, of which

⁷ In my suggested restoration ll. 20—2 have 41, 44, 43 letters respectively. The corresponding lines of 3 B suddenly have more letters than the lines above. The length of the lines being estimated according to a hypothetical vertical line drawn behind κα, l. 2, the first lines until the middle of l. 5 have 65, 69, 70, 67 letters respectively, and thereafter 75, 78, 78, 76, and finally the two last lines preserved 71 and 72 letters. That the spacing of the reconstruction is right is confirmed by the fact, that measured against the same vertical line 3 B, ll. 7—9 had 78 and 76 letters and it is possible to control the space by the preserved text there and by the limited lacunae in the corresponding portion of 3. And, similarly, in 3 the lines placed on the lower block, A 91, normally have ca. 2—5 letters more than those placed on the block above.

⁸ The lacuna at the end of l. 22 should not be filled completely; according to my suggestion the corresponding and the following line of 3 B had 78 letters: this is the largest number of letters in any line.

it forms part. The epsilon in ἀφειρούμενος, in the passive, is confirmed by 3 B, l. 7, and is not an engraver's mistake⁹, but is to be regarded as a hybrid caused by the form ἀφειρῆσθαι, 1, l. 3; cf. also SEG I 366 (decree of Samos honouring Bulagoras, ca. 246/3 B.C.), l. 7, τῶν ἀφαιρεθέντων πολιτῶν τὰ κτήματα. διδᾶζει may seem somewhat isolated from its governing participle, but, to take only one example in Labraunda, the accusatives c. inf. in 5, ll. 14 ff., are governed by ἐψηφίσασθε in ll. 4—5. The same verb occurs without a personal object in IG, XII 9, 4 (ca. first cent. B.C.), ll. 6—7, ἀνεκώσαντο δὲ κα[ι] ἐν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ καὶ ἐδίδα[ξαν τ]ὰ ἀρχ[ῆ]θεν ὑπάρχοντα ταῖς πόλεσιν πρὸς ἀλλήλας συγγενικά δίκαια (i.e. judges from Carystus sent to Alabanda); διδάσκειν meaning "inform" is extremely rare in inscriptions earlier than the Empire, when this sense becomes common: see L. Robert, *Hellenica*, XI—XII, 1960, pp. 252—3, who refers to *Syll*³, 349, l. 2, as an instance from the earlier Hellenistic period.

Concerning Korris' accusation that Mylasa had seized some parts of the sacred land the administration of which was his task, Seleucus took care of his rights (1) but the king presumably later accepted the statement of Olympichus, who declared that Mylasa was in the right. As has been suggested in 1, the formulation of the rights of the priest might have allowed different interpretations. But as the city in this passage did not question the priest's right of administering¹⁰ the sacred land, the cause of this dispute could most likely be explained as uncertainty whether the areas under consideration were sacred land or not. This point in Korris' complaints seems to have been settled in the city's favour without much difficulty, since, though mentioned in the first place in Seleucus' letter, it stands second in the speech of the envoys (ll. 19—22) and is not cited at all as the important issue by Olympichus when referring to his letter to the king; the gifts due to the priest have become the principal object, and in this case Korris might have complained with good reason.

It now seems evident, not least on account of the correspondence found at Labraunda, that the Seleucids in point of fact respected the shrines within their empire, though these were attached to the state-organization, and also that they watched carefully over the rights of parties involved: for

a discussion of this matter see L. and J. Robert, *La Carie*, II, pp. 296—7.

Ll. 24—5. The governors were required, or were even themselves anxious, to inform the city of the course of the proceedings by furnishing copies of their letters to the king

Ll. 25—32. κατὰ ταῦτά is a mere supposition, but, in any case, there is room on the stone only for a short adverbial phrase, and this fits the context. As Olympichus in his letter to the king had shown friendship to Mylasa, he now reminded the city of this friendship, previously shown "in the same way". The position of καὶ εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν which is secured through 3 B, l. 9, is a considerable crux. The combination in the same clause of καὶ πρότερον (τε) -- and καὶ εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν both referring to the past, is not stylistically attractive; the latter phrase should possibly be regarded as a temporal expression belonging to περὶ αὐτοῦ, ll. 29—30, as Olympichus himself wrote in 4, ll. 14—5. We have, I believe, to assume an error by the engraver; at the end of l. 26 he may have misread his copy and thought he was just before περὶ αὐτοῦ; then, having quickly noticed his mistake, he let the letters he had already engraved stand, as shown by 3 B, possibly giving to the phrase the meaning of "already earlier" (on an earlier occasion, i.e. at the time of the liberation) "and thenceforth".¹¹

Ll. 26—9 are a somewhat shortened version of the report of the oath, ll. 10 ff., though in this context, as a representative of the king, Olympichus uses the plural; on the plural τοὺς ὄρκους see above on ll. 8—14. διαφυλάττω τινί τι also in Polybius, Mauersberger, col. 529. Single and double consonants were frequently confused: see Welles, p. LXII; Herrmann, p. 50. συγχωρέω and ἐπιχωρέω, l. 14, are, in the sense in which they are

⁹ Although in l. 9, where 3, l. 26 has σ, 3 B has σσ, this text is to be regarded as a rough copy of 3, for the presumed mistake in 3, ll. 26—7 is copied precisely; see below.

¹⁰ Aem. Heller, *De Cariae Lydiaeque sacerdotibus* (= *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.*, Suppl.—B., 18., 1892, pp. 213—64), p. 224, already pointed out, with reference to the frequent notice in Strabo, χώρα ἱερὰ, ἣν κερποῦται ὁ ἀεὶ ἱερεὺς, that the priests managed some areas of the sacred land, though *ibid.*, p. 221, he underlined Mylasa's suzerainty, as documented by the later investment-inscriptions.

¹¹ Cf. e.g. Thucyd. VIII 21, τὰ λοιπὰ δίδουν τὴν πόλιν, "thenceforth", Ch. F. Smith, 1923 (Loeb).

here used, synonymous, being *termini technici* for favours given by suzerains or nations: see *OGIS*, 266 n. 2; Holleaux, *Études*, II, p. 113. On δημοκρατία as equal to αὐτονομία see Ch. III n. 9.

Ll. 32—4. "Royal letters often conclude with a reference to the envoys and to an oral message sent through them" (Welles, p. 84, cf. *ibid.*, p. 201).

This letter stands near the group of letters which announces a royal decision (cf. Welles, p. XLV). The first portion is a rather extensive narrative of the statement of the envoys to Olympichus, followed, ll. 22 ff., by a description of the measures taken by Olympichus to inform Seleucus, and his declaration that he will support Mylasa as much as possible in the future, as in the past.

3 B. Late copy of the preceding inscription. Late second cent. B.C. or slightly later (letter-forms).

Inv. 138/R 169. Fragment of stele, found in 1953 in the north part of the Christian Church beside the Propylaea (see Westholm, pp. 58—61, 78, 99—100, 113—4, 117).

Width 27 cm., height 24 cm., thickness 12.5 cm. The front face is very badly worn, especially on the left; the stone is broken to the left and right, above and below; the back is plain but worn.

Above the preserved l. 1 there is room on the stone for one line and below l. 11 for one line. The letters are 0.9 to 1.3 cm. high, interlinear space 1.7 to 2.1 cm. The letters are very irregularly cut and vary in spacing. The restorations underlined are taken from 3. For the lateral position of the text see below. Plate 2.

- και τᾶλ]-
- [λα πάντα και τήν χώραν τήν τε κατά Λ]αβ[ράνδρα και τήν ἄλλην τήν οὖσαν αὐτῶν και]
- [τὰ λοιπὰ τὰ ἐπιγεχωρημένα πάντ]α, και αὐτ[οὶ διελέγησαν μετὰ πάσης σπουδῆς ἀκολουθῶς]
- [τοῖς γεγραμμένοις, συμπάρων]τος και Κόρ[ρι τοῦ ἱερέως· ἐπεὶ οὖν και οἱ παρ' ὑμῶν πρεσβευ]-
- 4 [ται ἐδίδαξαν ἡμᾶς διὰ πλειόνων ὡς ὁ Κόρρις μ[έν] ψευδῶς ἦν γεγραφεικῶς ἐπιστολήν]
- [πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, ὁ δῆμος] [δ]ὲ τὰ τε γέρα οὐδέποτ' [οὐκ ἐδεδώκει αὐτῶι και τήν ἱερὰν χώραν διοικεῖν]
- [ἔαυ αὐτὸν διὰ προγόν]ων και τᾶλλα ὑπερ[ετῆ] προθύμως, e.g. βουλόμενοι τὰ τᾶλλα και ὅτι ὁ Κόρρις ψευ]-
- [δῶς ἦν δεδλωκῶς τὰ] γέρα ἀ[φ]ειρούμενος ὑφ' ὑμῶν, [διδάξαι, πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα ἡμεῖς γεγράφαμεν ἐπιστο]-
- 8 [λήν, ἥς και ὑμῖν ὑπο]τέταχται τ[ὸ] ἀντίγραφον, [και ἐπίστασθε ὅτι και πρότερόν τε κατά ταῦτὰ ὑμῖν]
- [διετελοῦμεν διαφυλ]άσσοντες και εἰς τὸ λ[οιπὸν τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ὑμῖν τὰ τε κατά τὸ ἱερὸν]
- [τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Λαβράνδου] καὶ τήν χ[ώρα]ν και [τᾶλλα κατά τὰ συνεχωρημένα και τοὺς ὅρκους οὖς]
- [ὠμόσαμεν τῶι δήμῳι, και π[ε]ρασόμ]εθ[α συνδιατρεῖν ὑμῖν τήν τε δημοκρατίαν και τήν χώραν]
- [- -----]

2. The lower portion of the right oblique stroke of the alpha is visible. 3 ff. all dotted letters can be traced in

the damaged sections and are to be regarded as certain.

This inscription is a rough copy of 3, the preserved portion covering 3, ll. 12—31. Naturally, the horizontal position of the fragment is arbitrary. The

restorations in the first parts of the lines, before the preserved portions, are of about the same length throughout, by reference to an imaginary

vertical line. On the other hand, the restorations in the second parts of the lines vary greatly, and, consequently, the text or space being known only through 3, the number of letters in the different lines varies considerably. It is noteworthy that ll. 5—9 certainly have many more letters than the lines above, unless one word or more was omitted; however, it may be pointed out that the restora-

tions in 3 for the passage, which corresponds to 3 B, ll. 5—9, exactly fill the necessary lacunae. On the spacing of the fragment see 3 n. 7; on its character as a rough copy *ibid.* n. 9. This fragment is earlier than the long series of documents, mostly copies, inscribed on plaques, which belong to the Imperial period: see 1 B—2.

4. Letter of Olympichus to Mylasa, granting Labraunda and its appurtenances to the city and promising it support. December 220 B.C. or slightly earlier.

Inv. 109/A 150. Anta-block, found in 1951 in the western corner inside the North Anta of Idrieus' Andron, west of the Temple (see on 1), of which it originally formed part.

Width 88.5 cm., height 47.7 cm., thickness 87.5 cm. Most of the block is lost to the left, particularly above; the upper and lower right corners, between which the front face is broken to a width of at least 15 cm., are also broken. The front face, originally worked smooth, is worn and weathered above and to the right; the left side is broken and worn; of the right side a very small worn portion is preserved; the upper and under faces have anathyrosis (the former also has a dowel-hole); the back is roughly cut.

Above the preserved l. 1 there is room on the stone for three lines. The margin to the left is ca. 2.2 cm. The letters are mostly 1.6 to 1.7 cm. high, but omicron 1.5 and e.g. psi 2.2 cm., interlinear space ca. 2.5 cm. The letters are carefully carved, with thickened finials, and somewhat variable in shape. The blank spaces in ll. 2 and 8 are 1.5 and 2 cm. respectively. There is a lapicide's error in ll. 5 to 6 (see below). The restorations underlined are taken from LBW, 389. Plate 2.

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Discussion: J. and L. Robert, *Bull. épigr.*, 1965, 368.

- [----- ὅτι ὁ δῆμος τυχὼν τῶν ἀξιουμέ]-
 [νων ἀπάντ]ων τιμήσει ἐμὲ ^{c.8} καὶ τὴν ^{c.23} γυναῖκα Νίκαϊαν καὶ τὰ
 [τέκνα τ]αῖς προσηκούσαις τιμαῖς· ^{c.6} ἐγὼ δὲ [καὶ πρότερον, τοῦ]
 [Κόρριδος] ^{c.7} γράψαντος τῷ βασιλεῖ Σελεύκῳ[ι, ^{c.13} διότι ἀδικεῖται]
 4 [ὑφ' ὑμῶν], ^{c.6} καὶ ἐκείνου ἐπιστεῖλαντός μοι περὶ το[ύτων καὶ]
 [ὑμῶν ἀπ]οστειλάντων πρὸς με πρεσβευτάς, ^{c.10} δια[λεγέντων δὲ]
 <τούτων> ^{c.6} [τῇι ⁵⁻⁶ πάτ]ρει τοῦ Κόρριδος, ἔγραψα τῷ βασιλεῖ Σελε[ύκῳ ἐπιστο]-
 [λήν], ^{c.11} ἥς καὶ ὑμῖν κατεχώρισα τὸ ἀντίγραφον, καὶ [τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ὑ]-
 8 [μῖν] ^{c.10} συνδιατηρήσω τῇι πόλει, καθότι ἡξιοῦτε· ^{c.8} ἐ ἀπ[οκαθίστημι]
 [δὲ] ὑμῖν καὶ τὸν τόπον καὶ τὴν χώραν καὶ τὰς προσό[δους τὰς]
 [κα]τὰ Λαβράουνδα τὰς τε ἱερὰς καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀπά[σας· παραδί]-
 δωμι δὲ ὑμῖν καὶ Πέτραν τὴν πρὸς Λαβράουνδοις, ^{c.10} [ἣν πρότερον]
^{c.11}

- 12 ἡναγκάσθημεν κατασχεῖν οὐ δι' ἄλλην τινὰ [αἰτίαν πλὴν ἢ δι-
 ἃ τὸ συμφέρειν τοῦτο τῇ πόλει· γράφω δὲ [πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα]
 Φίλιππον περὶ ἀπάντων, καθότι ἡξιού[τε, καὶ εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν δὲ]
 πειράσσομαι συνκατασκευάζειν ὑμῖν, [καθότι ἂν ἐμὲ ἀξιῶτε]
 16 [κ]αὶ δι' ἐμαυτοῦ, ὅσα πρὸς τιμὴν καὶ δόξ[αν ἀνήκει - - -]

7—8. [ἐπεχώρησα, διότι]. Cr; [ἐδήλωσα ('ou un verbe syno-
 nyme signifiant: j'ai exposé, j'ai exprimé, j'ai mentionné')]

ὅσα] συνδιατηρήσω τῇ πόλει, R.9. see the commentary.
 15.—ἀζειν ὑμῖν [διὰ τοῦ βασιλέως κ]αὶ δι' ἐμαυτοῦ κτλ, R.

LBW, 389 (the restorations underlined are taken from 4):

- [----- ἀπο]-
 [κατ]αστῆσαι [ὑμῖν καὶ τὸν τόπον καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ]
 τὰ προγεγρα[μμένα πάντα, δηλοῦντές μοι, ὅτι ὁ δῆ]-
 μος τυχὼν τ[ῶν ἀξιουμένων ἀπάντων τιμήσει ἐμὲ]
 4 καὶ τὴν γυνα[ῖκα Νίκαιαν καὶ τὰ τέκνα ταῖς προσ]-
 ηκούσαις [τιμαῖς· ν ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ πρότερον, τοῦ
 Κόρριδος γ[ράψαντος τῷ βασιλεῖ Σελεύκῳ],
 διότι ἀδικ[εῖται ὑφ' ὑμῶν, καὶ ἐκείνου ἐπιστεῖ]-
 8 λαντός μ[οι περὶ τούτων καὶ ὑμῶν ἀποστει]-
 λάντων τ[ρὸς με πρεσβευτάς, διαλεγέντων δὲ]
 τούτων τῇ[ι πάτραι τοῦ Κόρριδος, ἔγραψα τῷ]
 βασιλεῖ Σε[λεύκῳ ἐπιστολὴν, ἧς καὶ ὑμῖν κα]-
 12 τεχώρισα [τὸ ἀντίγραφον, καὶ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ὑμῖν]
 συνδιατηρ[ήσω τῇ πόλει, καθότι ἡξιούτε· ν ἀπο]-
 καθίστημι [δὲ ὑμῖν καὶ τὸν τόπον καὶ τὴν χώρα]-
 ραν καὶ τὰ[ς προσόδους τὰς κατὰ Λαβράουνδα]

9. γ, LBW, 389.

'-- to restore [to you the place and all the other]
 objects written above. [The envoys made clear to
 me that the people] having received [all that it
 requests,] will honour me, my wife [Nicaea and
 my children] with due honours. [Already earlier,
 when Korris had written to king Seleucus, that
 he was being injured [by you], and the king had
 given me instructions concerning [this, and you]
 had sent to me envoys and these [had spoken to]

Korris' [patra], I myself wrote to king Seleucus
 [a letter], of which I appended also the copy
 for you; and I will assist the city in preserving
 [what belongs to you], as you requested. [And] I
 restore to you the place, the land and the revenues
 of Labraunda, both the sacred and all other reve-
 nues. I deliver to you also Petra near Labraunda,
 [which earlier] we had been forced to occupy for
 no other [reason than] the advantage this meant

to the city. And I am writing [to king] Philip concerning everything, as you requested, [and for the future] I shall try to help you, [both as you may request of me] and on my own initiative to obtain all that [relates] to honour and glory --'

The present letter, preserved in two copies,¹ is, like 5—7, 20 years later than 1—3 and it is the first one in a sequence of letters from which we see that the protracted dispute about Labraunda was finally settled by the decision of Philip V (see Synopsis).

The letter was occasioned by an embassy to Olympichus from Mylasa, which had presented him with a decree in which the permanent claim of the city to Labraunda was repeated. In his answer Olympichus first outlines the role played by him on the occasion of Korris' representations; then he relinquishes all objects of dispute and announces that in accordance with the wish of the city he is informing Philip V of the situation; finally he confirms his good will towards the city for the future.

The beginning of the text, preserved in LBW, 389, contains the end of the statement of the envoys introduced by *παρεκάλουν*, as in 6 A, l. 16. With regard to the supplements, the first verb with its dative is certain; cf. 4, l. 8; 8, ll. 14—5; 6 B, ll. 5—6; after that there is no room for a full description of the objects of dispute, but *τὰ λοιπὰ τὰ προγεγραμμένα πάντα* (cf. 3, l. 14) shows that there was a more or less detailed description of the objects of the dispute in the decree which the envoys had handed over; as the main object mentioned I have suggested *τὸν τόπον*, since it stands first in 4, l. 9, but certainly there are other possibilities; cf. Olympichus' oath. Olympichus uses *πᾶς* and *ἅπας* side by side in 8, ll. 17, 21; *τῶν ἀξιουμένων* embodies a central notion of the letter: see below on ll. 13 ff. and e.g. Welles, 35, l. 7, *ἅπαντα τὰ ἀξιούμενα ὑπακηγόαμεν*;² for the passage as a whole cf. e.g. *Syll*³, 644—5 (the passage belongs to an honorific decree of Calchedon, ca. 172 B.C.), ll. 75 ff., *τοὺς δὲ πρεσβευτάς --- διαλέγεσθαι αὐτῶι καὶ παρακαλεῖν χρείας παρέχεσθαι τῶι δήμῳ ---, δηλοῦντας αὐτῶι, ὅτι τυχὼν τούτων ὁ δᾶμος χάριτας ἀποδώσει αὐτῶι ἀξίας τῶν εὐεργετημάτων*.

Ll. 1—2. In 4 the end of l. 1 and the beginning of l. 2 is taken from 6 A, ll. 14—5, and according to

the same inscription, ll. 4 ff., Olympichus did actually receive civic honours.

Ll. 2—7. This section, preceded by a blank space to indicate the new topic, deals with the correspondence and activity which had been caused by Korris' complaints against Mylasa, as demonstrated in 1—3; Korris' letter has not been recovered, but is mentioned in 1, ll. 1 ff.; 3, ll. 18 ff.; Seleucus' order to Olympichus is 1, and occasioned the latter's covering letter to Mylasa (2); the embassy of Mylasa is described in greater detail in 3; Olympichus' letter to Seleucus is mentioned in 3, ll. 23—4, but has not itself been recovered; the copy of the letter was appended to 3, ll. 24—5, which is Olympichus' answer to Mylasa.

καὶ πρότερον, l. 2, is several times found in the course of the letters and is here determined by the time-sequence, *ἔγραψα* (l. 6), *γράφω* (l. 13), *καὶ εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν . . . πειράσομαι* (ll. 14—5). The addition *τοῦ* is correct, since in other letters Korris is referred to as a priest when first mentioned; the restoration at the end of l. 3, taken from LBW, 389, could certainly be accommodated on the stone, since many of the letters are narrow, e.g. there are six iotas; *διότι = ὅτι* is frequent also in Polybius, Mauersberger, s.v., col. 554.

The restoration of the lacuna between ll. 5 and 6 is rather puzzling. At the beginning of l. 6 the rho seems to be fairly certain, the vertical stroke being visible up to and including part of the bottom of the round stroke, which has the same curvature as the rho in *πρός* in the previous line (nothing points to e.g. a kappa); the mark visible on the photograph in front of the rho is in all probability a fault in the stone. A comparison with LBW, 389 shows that in 4 ca. 6—7 letters must have dropped out; according to the normal division of

¹ LBW, 389 was engraved in the first cent. A.D. and may have belonged to a collection of earlier documents which, contrary to the contemporary copies at Labraunda, seems to have consisted of exact copies: see LBW, 387 (= SEG XIII 488), where the original iota subscript is preserved (Meyer, *Grenzen*, p. 128); for the series in Labraunda of the same period see on 1 B—2. Laumonier, *Cultes*, p. 58 n. 3, identifies Korris with Korris, son of Hecatomnos, priest of Zeus Labraundos about 100 B.C. (LBW, 394) and calls him secretary of the boule.

² For the passive cf. also Welles, 26 (Seleucus II (?) to Cos), ll. 21 ff., *παραδεχόμεθα δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀστυλίαν καθότι ὁ δῆμος ἠξίωσεν καὶ εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν δὲ πειρασόμεθα --- μὴ ἀχαριστεῖν ὑμῖν ἐν τοῖς ἀξιουμένοις*.

the text, l. 6 should have begun with $\tau\eta$; consequently the first preserved traces of the letters can be explained as a substantive in the dative feminine singular. The correspondence between the two copies is then restored most simply, if we assume an omission of $\tau\acute{o}\upsilon\tau\omega\upsilon\varsigma$, which is preserved in front of $\tau\eta$ in LBW, 389, l. 10; this omission could be explained as a "haploscopy", if the passage contained a second genitive. $\delta\iota\alpha\text{---}[\lambda\epsilon\acute{\xi}\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma][\langle\text{περὶ τούτων}\rangle \tau\eta \text{---}]$, which might have been expected here, is not a possibility, not only because it is too long and because the repetition from l. 4 is stylistically unsatisfactory, but also because the link with the following dative is not immediately comprehensible after such a prepositional clause. $\langle\tau\acute{o}\upsilon\tau\omega\upsilon\varsigma\rangle$ refers to πρεσβευτάς , and a new gen. abs. is co-ordinated with the preceding ones by $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$; cf. 3, ll. 3—6; 5, ll. 31—4. The introduction of the new clause can be understood by reference to Olympichus' earlier letter to Mylasa 3, ll. 15—6, where, with regard to the same embassy, we read $\text{διελέγησαν --- συμπαρόντος καὶ Κόρρι τοῦ ἱερῆως}$. It seems then clear that Olympichus summoned the two parties involved before him, and that there was a confrontation not only with Korris, but also with his family (πάτρα). The latter is described in 11 and 12 as $\text{ὁ ἱερὺς Κόρρις καὶ οἱ συγγενεῖς οἱ τοῦ Κόρριδος}$ with various minor variations. The substantive suggested, πάτρα , occurs in documents concerning the sympolity between Olymus³ and Labraunda, of about the middle of the first cent. B.C. (cf. Ruge, *R.-E.*, s.v. Olymos, col. 2518), in the Mylasan decrees,⁴ LBW, 334, l. 3, $\text{ἐπὶ τὰς φυλάς καὶ συγγενείας καὶ πάτρας}$, l. 11, $\text{ἐνγραφ]έσθωσαν εἰς τε τὰς συγγενείας καὶ πάτρας}$, l. 13, $\text{ἐπὶ] τὰς συγγενείας καὶ πάτρας}$,⁵ and in Cousin, *BCH*, XXII, 1898, p. 399, no. 47, l. 9, $\text{ἐπὶ τε συγγένειαν καὶ πάτραν}$.⁶ There is no difficulty about $\tau\eta$ πάτρα being governed by διαλέγεσθαι (cf. 3, l. 15), as is e.g. $\tau\eta$ βουλῇ in *Syll*³, 353 (Ephesus, 302—1 B.C.), ll. 1—2, and elsewhere. Cf. also P. Herrmann, *Istanbuler Mitt.*, 15, 1965, p. 73, Block I (Miletus, first half of 2nd cent. B.C.), ll. 8—10, $\text{τοῦ δὲ δήμου ψηφισαμένου τὰς ἀρμοζούσας ἐπὶ τοῖς προειρημένοις τιμὰς τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ πρεσβευτῇ ἐξαποστείλαντος Εἰρηνίαν διαλεγείας μετὰ πάσης φιλοτιμίας ---}$.⁷

The organization into φυλαί , πάτρα etc., previously known at Mylasa from the first cent. B.C., was wholly religious in character and had no

political importance: see H. Francotte, *La polis grecque*, 1907, pp. 211—2, cf. 5, ll. 31—3. We know now that this organization existed more than a century and a half earlier, and we also know the names of the groups. The *phyle* was probably named after Ibanollis (11, l. 11), the *patra* and *syngeneia* after Korris. The significance of this tripartite structure must not be exaggerated; these gentilitial groups were possibly artificially created in emulation of such bodies elsewhere (cf. e.g. A. Andrewes, *The Greeks*, 1967, pp. 87—8). It is significant how rarely we meet the word *patra* in the inscriptions of Mylasa.

Stephanus, s.v. πάτρα , citing Dicaearchus, says --- $\text{ἐκλήθη δὲ πάτρα μὲν --- ἡ κατὰ μόνας ἐκάστω πρότερον οὔσα συγγένεια, ἀπὸ τοῦ πρεσβυτάτου τε καὶ μάλιστα ἰσχύσαντος ἐν τῷ γένει τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἔχουσα, ὃν ἂν τρόπον Αἰακίδας ἢ Πελοπίδας εἴποι τις}$. (fr. 52 Wehrli²), (cf. C. T. Newton, *BMus.Inscr.*, II, pp. 128—9, and also M. Holleaux and Ch. Diehl, *BCH*, IX, 1885, p. 112: "On appelle πάτρα , chez les Rhodiens, une subdivision de la phratrie, tout-à-fait analogue au γένος des Athéniens; c'est, semble-t-il, une petite association de citoyens unis entre eux par les liens d'une parenté réelle ou fictive et par leur participation en commun à certains cultes spéciaux").⁸ At Labraunda, as also in the eldest syngeneia of Sinuri, $\text{Πελεκωδὸς συγγενεῖς}$, family ties are to be regarded as the

³ L. Robert, *Hellenica*, X, 1955, pp. 223—7, has shown that the Ὑμεσσεῖς of *IG*, I² 64, l. 51, are not to be identified with Olymus, which, in turn, he identifies with the ἡλυμῆς in the Athenian tribute-list of 450—49 (*ATL*, 5 II, l. 39); he is inclined to write the name Ὀλυμος (Holymos). For the great social and political changes of the life of Olymus, analogous to other changes in Caria, see Laumonier, *loc.cit.*, p. 141 with n. 1 and following pp.

⁴ Ruge, *loc.cit.*; A. Laumonier, *BCH*, LVIII, 1934, p. 326; Magie, p. 909 n. 131.

⁵ For the restoration by E. Szanto in ll. 4 ff., $\text{διανέμει]ν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς φυλάς: αἱ δὲ φυλαὶ ἐπικληρωσάτω[σαν τὰς συγγενείας καὶ τὰς πάτρας τοῖς μὴ ἐπικληρωμένοις, κτλ.}$ see M. Guarducci, *Mem. Lincei*, VIII, 1938, p. 103 n. 9; cf. Laumonier, *Cultes*, pp. 155, 157, 159—60; προσγράψαι could have been used for ἐνγράφειν .

⁶ LBW, 360, l. 3, is restored by Diehl and Cousin, *BCH*, X, 1886, p. 310, as $\text{ἐπὶ τὰς φυλάς καὶ συγγενείας καὶ πάτρας}$.

⁷ In *Nine Inscr.*, p. 129, I indicated alternative possibilities; they are, however, all inferior to the suggestion given here, so I omit them.

⁸ On *patrai* see also G. Busolt, *Gr. Staatskunde*³, 1920, 1926, pp. 133—4, 249 ff., 1578 with references.

basis of the association. For such associations named after an individual see A. Plassart and Ch. Picard, *BCH*, XXXVII, 1913, pp. 218—20 with references (on Labraunda p. 219 n. 7); M. P. Nilsson, *Cults etc.*, 1951, Append. II, 'The phratries', pp. 155—6;⁹ A. Andrewes, *loc. cit.*, p. 81.

The syngeneia corresponds to φρατρία in the usual partition of the population into πάτρα, φρατρία, φυλή, and is known outside Caria at Calymnos and in Aeolis: see L. Robert, *Sinuri*, pp. 25—30, 96; M. Guarducci, *L'istituzione della fratria nella Grecia antica e nelle colonie greche d'Italia, Memorie Acc. Lincei*, VI, 1937, pp. 3—103, and VIII, 1938, pp. 65—137 (for the syngeneiai of Mylasa, Olymus, Labraunda pp. 100—5). The basis of the syngeneia is, as the name itself indicates, the family. Most syngeneiai have local names derived from the centre of the family (see Guarducci, *loc. cit.*, p. 105), but in Labraunda, as in Sinuri (L. Robert, *loc. cit.*, p. 29) it is named after its founder or dominating personality.¹⁰ For both types of nomenclature, the local and the patronymic, see the study of M. Guarducci, *loc. cit.*, who gives many parallels. In the course of time the syngeneis had lost its literal sense of consanguinity and was used more widely to indicate a group of interests: see e.g. Busolt, *loc. cit.*, pp. 250, 772, 957 n. 4.

Ll. 7—8. J. and L. Robert rightly questioned my supplement for the lacuna at the end of l. 7 and the beginning of l. 8. As object for συνδιατηρήσω, τὴν δημοκρατίαν is not a possibility, since the end of the word could not fit in to the beginning of l. 8, granted that the normal rule of word-division was, as elsewhere, observed (see L. Robert, *Am. St. in Papyr.*, I, 1966, p. 184). Instead I suggest the general expression τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ὑμῶν, which is governed by συνδιατηρήσω in Olympichus' oath, 3, l. 11 (αὐτοῖς), and in the same context, *ibid.*, l. 27, by διαφυλάσσειν. For the variation ὑμῶν-τῇ πόλει cf. ll. 11, 13; 3, ll. 30, 32; 5, l. 35.

Ll. 8—10. Another paragraph, introduced by a blank space. Finally, after more than 20 years, Olympichus unconditionally relinquished Labraunda and all its appurtenances to Mylasa. τὸν τόπον means "the place of Labraunda"; for this non-technical meaning of τόπος see L. and J. Robert, *La Carie*, II, p. 302 n. 6; cf. L. Robert, *Sinuri*, p. 39.¹¹ For the verb cf. e.g. the letter of Demetrius II *Syll*³, 459, ll. 7—8, ἐπιμελήθητι οὖν,

ὅπως ἀποκατασταθῶσιν πάλιν τῷ θεῷ (on the date see J. M. R. Cormack, *BSA*, XL, 1939—40 [1943], p. 15).

Ll. 10—3. Πέτρα is to be identified with the fortress of Hecatomnid date on the summit of the mountain on the southern slopes of which Labraunda lies, the so-called Hissar Kale or the Acropolis of Labraunda:¹² see Westholm, pp. 15—9, 113. Inevitably, Olympichus had to control Labraunda militarily, and thus occupy the fortress, just as, according to 5, ll. 38—9, he had occupied other strongholds throughout the district. And most probably, he did so already at the time of the outbreak of the 'War of the Brothers' as Seleucus' governor; cf. below. We may recall Olympichus' words in 8, ll. 12—3, about the great dangers he had endured for Mylasa's sake. His permanent attitude towards the city was that he was attending to its interests.¹³ Now the situation was calm and the responsibility for Labraunda was to be taken over by Mylasa, Philip V being the guarantor. By using the plural Olympichus stresses that the occupation of Petra was an official measure (see on 3, ll. 1—2). For παραδίδωμι cf. 7, ll. 13—14. For the aorist κατασχεῖν meaning "occupy" in Polybius see Fr. Hultsch, *Die erzählenden Zeitformen bei Polybios*, II (= *K. Sächs. Ges. d.*

⁹ Cf. also the full (ca. 50 names) list of patrai in Camirus, *B Mus. Inscr.*, 352 (*SGDI*, 4120; M. Segre and I. Pugliese Carratelli, *Annuario*, XXVII—XXIX, 1952, pp. 143—4). For the puzzling problems connected with the supposed reform of Camirus, when the original patrai were subdivided into several more new patrai, most probably before the Hellenistic age, as the patrai-names suggest, see A. Andrewes, *BSA*, 52, 1957, pp. 30—7.

¹⁰ The patronymic syngeneia, which was supplied in LBW, 483, doubted already by Buckler, p. 204, does not exist: see L. Robert, *loc. cit.*, pp. 26, 70—1.

¹¹ For οἱ τόποι in the Seleucid empire meaning "das Gebiet" see Bengtson, *Strategie*, II, pp. 10—2, cf. 211—2, the τόποι being "verwaltungstechnische Einheiten" (*ibid.*, p. 11).

¹² J. and L. Robert, *Bull. épigr.*, 1950, 182, "nous croyons que ce toponyme se retrouve dans une inscription de la région du Latmos". On different cities or places named Πέτρα see *R.-E.*, s.v.; for a Πέτρα at Crete, L. Robert, *Hellenica*, I, 1940, pp. 123—6.

¹³ For συμφέρειν cf. the slightly later Mylasan decree *Delphinion*, 146 B, ll. 77—8, εὐχὰς ποιήσασθαι συνενεργεῖν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἀμφοτέραις τὰ ἐψηφισμένα, cf. ll. 86—7; this decree naturally resembles markedly the contemporary documents from Labraunda both from a stylistic and from a terminological point of view.

Wissensch., Leipzig, Abh. XIII, IV, 1892), pp. 387—8. For the end of l. 12 cf. *Syll*³, 1012, ll. 24 ff.

Ll. 13 ff. Olympichus states that he is informing Philip V of the situation and confirms his friendship for Mylasa for the future. His letter has not been recovered, but is referred to in 5, ll. 44—6; 6 B, ll. 1—2; 7, ll. 2—4. For the end of l. 14 cf. e.g. Welles, 26, ll. 23—4, cited above, n. 2.

My restoration at the end of l. 15 is doubted by J. and L. Robert, in the first place because Olympichus is not a suzerain and therefore not the formal person to whom a request would be addressed; hence their supplement [διὰ τοῦ βασιλέως]. ἀξιούv, however, is a verb used several times by Olympichus in referring to his relations with Mylasa. Already 20 years previously he took his oath "at the request" of the city, 3, l. 11 (suggested in 6 B, l. 5), and now in this letter he promises to respect the rights of Mylasa and states that he is informing Philip, also "at the request" of the city, ll. 8, 14 (supplied also at the beginning of the fragment). I do not see why Olympichus, as dynast in the district, should not for the future expect requests from the city, as had happened pre-

viously. Olympichus' position in relation to Philip V is another question (see pp. 87—91); vis-à-vis Mylasa he now acted as an independent dynast. This is demonstrated by his use of the singular: see above on ll. 10—3; notice also the tone of his letter to the city, 6 B. It would in any case not have been polite, diplomatic or prudent for anyone in the position of a governor to promise to afford to the city 'on behalf of the King' ὅσα πρὸς τιμὴν καὶ δόξαν ἀνήκει. The letter of Ziaelas to Cos, Welles, 25,¹⁴ to which I referred in my previous publication still seems relevant to me. Mylasa was a free city, and Cos was independent of the king of Bithynia. The expression at the end of l. 16 belongs to the normal diplomatic vocabulary (Welles, p. 82).¹⁵

Before ἔρρωσθε the letter ended with a reference to the embassy, as in the end of 3 and 6 B.

This letter belongs to the same group as 3. The first three lines preserved contain the end of the report of the statement of the envoys. This is followed by a comprehensive narrative of Olympichus' earlier efforts to support Mylasa. The grant is made in ll. 8 ff. and the letter concludes with a declaration for the future.

5—7. Three letters regulating the status of Labraunda. *Ca. December 220 B.C.*

Inv. 20/C 38, 21/C 39, 22/C 40, 49/C 76, 50/C 77, 51/C 78. Anta-blocks, found C 38—40 in 1948 and C 76—8 in 1949 beside the South Anta of Maussollus' Andron (see Westholm, pp. 49—51, 74—5, 93—5, 101, 107—8, 110, 113—4, 117), of which they originally formed parts.

The anta widens towards its base and the measurements of the blocks, all of which have been found, and the contents of the inscriptions indicate that they were originally placed in the following order, from above: C 84, 82, 81, 79, 75, 78, 76, 77, 74, 39, 24, 38, 40, 37, 36. Of these the five uppermost blocks, C 84—75, and the two lowest ones, C 37—36, never carried an inscription. The front faces of C 74 and C 24 are so badly worn that every sign of script is lost, but both the location of the blocks and the text preserved on the

blocks above and below make it clear that originally they were inscribed.

The front face was worked smooth, as also were the left and right sides, which have an incision, ca. 3 cm. deep, 56 to 57.5 cm. from the front face; the upper and under sides and the back have anathyrosis.

¹⁴ Ll. 29—33, ἐν τε τοῖς λοιποῖς καθ' ὃ ἀν ἡμᾶς ἀξιῶτε, πειρασόμεθα καὶ ἰδίαι ἐκάστωι καὶ κοινῇ πᾶσι φιλανθρωπεῖν καθ' ὅσον ἡμεῖς δυνατοὶ ἔσμεν; καθότι in my restoration is taken from the previous line. Cf. also *ibid.*, 15, ll. 28—30, ὑπάρξει δὲ ὑμῖν καὶ ἡ[.....καὶ ἐὰν] τι ἄλλο φιλάνθρωπον ἢ ἡμεῖς ἐπινοήσωμεν ἢ [ὑμεῖς ἀξιῶσητ]ε.

¹⁵ Several examples of the expression τὰ πρὸς (εἰς) ---- ἀνήκοντα, also governed by συγκατασκευάζειν, are to be found in Wilhelm, *Wien. Anz.*, 57, 1920, p. 49; L. Robert, *Villes*, p. 32 n. 2; cf. Welles, p. LXXVI n. 39; L. Robert, *Rev. Phil.*, XLI, 1967, p. 13 n. 1.

The inscribed part of the South Anta of Maussollus' Andron.

C 78	5
C 76	
C 77	
C 74	
C 39	6 A
C 24	
C 38	6 B
C 40	

C 78: Width 83.5 cm., height 54.5 cm., thickness 87 cm. The upper corners, the top line and the whole portion at the very right of the front face are lost; the left side, from 1.7 to the lower edge of the block, is broken but complete; the lower left corner, also broken off but fully preserved,

was copied in 1949 but I have not seen either the stone itself or a photograph of it; nor have I seen the lower right corner, which, according to the diary, was found; the front face is badly worn, particularly to the right. Plate 2.

C 76: Width 84 cm., height 50.5 cm., thickness 56.5 cm. The block is well-preserved, but the last line is badly worn in parts. Plate 2.

C 77: Width 84 cm., height 31.5 cm., thickness 1.18 m. The lower-right corner consists of two joining fragments, of which there is no photograph; the extremities of the front face are wholly or partially badly worn or broken. Plate 3.

C 39: Width 85.5 cm., height 52 cm., thickness 85.5 cm. The front face is broken above and to the right down to and including 1.10; the lower right corner consists of two joining fragments; the front face is very badly worn in parts. Plate 3.

C 38: Width 86.5 cm., height 55 cm., thickness 93 cm. The front face is broken above and to the right to a width of at least six letters; the lower part is very badly worn, as also is the under side. This block carries the end of 6 B, and the beginning of 7. Plate 3.

C. 40: Width 87.5 cm., height 60 cm., thickness 61 cm. The upper right corner of the front face is broken; below this there is a joining fragment; the front face is very badly worn in parts. Plate 3.

The margin to the left is 2.8 to 3.6 cm. The letters are mostly 1.5 to 1.8 cm. high, but e.g. phi is as much as 2.3 cm., interlinear space is 2.6 to 3.0 cm. The letters are carefully carved with thickened finials and somewhat variable in shape.

5. Letter of Philip V of Macedon to Mylasa.

Inv. 51/C 78 (ll. 1—19); 49/C 76 (ll. 20—37), 50/C 77 (ll. 38—48). C 74 originally carried the end of the letter. The blank spaces are: 1.3, 2.1 cm.;

1.18, 2 cm.; 1.24, 2 cm.; 1.31, 3.5 cm. There are some lapicide's errors, ll.6 (?) (see *ad loc.*), 19, 33, 47.

[Βασιλεὺς Φίλιππος Μυλασέων τῇ βουλῇ] C 78
 [κ]αὶ τῶι δῆμῳ [χαίρειν· οἱ πρεσβευταὶ οἱ παρ' ὧ]-
 [μ]ῶν v Καλλίσ[τρ]α[τος], Πλ [- - - - -] c.22
 4 τὸ τε ψήφισμα ἀπέδω[κ]αν, κα[θ'] ὃ ἐψηφίσασ]- c.14
 [θ]ε περὶ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς, ἣν ἐλαβε[ν] Ἐκατόμ]- c.11
 c.8

- <νως?> [ό ι]ερεὺς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Λαβράνδου πα[ρὰ τοῦ]
 πατρὸς πρὸς Χρυσαιορεῖς περὶ τοῦ τ' εἶ[ναι τήν]
 8 ἱερωσύνην αὐτῷ καὶ τήν τοῦ τόπου ἀ[σφά]-
 λειαν ὑπάρχειν καὶ τήν ἀτέλειαν τῇ[ς χώρας]
 τοῖς προγόνοις αὐτοῦ ἐπιχωρηθῆ[ναι ἀεὶ]
 ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων, ὥς παρακρουσα[μένου]
 12 τοῦ Ἐκατόμνω καὶ οὐθὲν ἀληθὲς εἰρηχότ[ος]
 - διὸ καὶ οὐδὲ ἀποδοῦναι αὐτὸν παραχρῆμα τῇ[ν]
 ἐπιστολήν, ἀλλ' ὥς μετήλλαξεν ὁ πατήρ - τὸ [μὲν]
 ἱερὸν οὔτε Χρυσαιορεῦσιν προσήκει[ν] οὔτε [τοῖς]
 16 λοιποῖς Κερσίον ἀλλ' ὑμέτερον εἶναι, τρ[ὶς δ]ὲ Χ[ρυ]-
 σαιορεῖς ζητοῦντας ἐ[ξ]ιδιάσασθαι αὐτ[οῦ ἐκ]-
 [κλε]ί[ν]ειν, *v* καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀσπασάμενοί με ὑπὲρ τοῦ
 δήμο[υ] καὶ συνησ[.]θέντες ἐπὶ τῷ ὑγιαί[ναι]
 20 καὶ τὰ πράγματα κατὰ λόγον προχωρεῖν, ὥσπερ
 τὸ ψήφισμα αὐτοῖς συνέτασεν, διελέγοντο *vv*
 φάμενοι τὸ ἱερὸν ὑμέτερον εἶναι ἰδρυθὲν ὑπὸ τῶν
 προγόνων καὶ τὸν τόπον καὶ τὴν χώραν τὴν κατὰ
 24 Λαβράνδου *v* εἶναι τοῦ δήμου καὶ τὰ προσόδια τὰ *vv*
 ἐκ ταύτης διατετελεσμέναι πάντα τὸν χρόνον *vv*
 λαμβάνοντας ὑμᾶς καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων θυσίας καὶ
 πανηγύρεις συντελεῖν, περὶ ὧν καὶ ψηφίσματα ἀνέ-
 28 γνωσαν καὶ τοὺς ἀποδεδομένους λόγους τῇ *v*
 πόλει τῆς προσόδου παρὰ τε τοῦ ἱερέως καὶ τῶν
 μεμισθωμένων τὰς κτήσεις τὰς καθηκούσας τῷ[ι]
 θεῷ ἐπεδείκνυν· *v* ἀπέφαινον δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ[ι]
 32 ἱερῷ διατρίβοντας πολίτας ὑμῶν εἶναι καὶ φυλάς *v*
 νέμειν καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς [[χρησ]] χρῆσθαι νόμοις, καὶ *v*
 Σέλευκον δὲ ἀφιέντα τὴν πόλιν ἐλευθέραν ἀποδοῦ-
 ναι ὑμῖν τὰ τε λοιπὰ χωρία τὰ προσόντα τῇ πόλει κα[ι]
 36 [τ]ὸ ἱερὸν, ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἴχετε, καὶ τὸν Ὀλύμπιον,
 [ὧς] Σέλευκος ἐγχεῖλατο ἐξαγαγεῖν τ[ὸ] [στρατόπε]-
 [δα, διατ]ε[τε]λεσμέναι(?) - - - - - παραμένοντα]
 c.32

C 76

C 77

- [ἐπ]; τῶν ἐν τῇ χώρῃ φρουρίῳ, καὶ κατὰ δὲ τὰ ὑπ' αὐ-
 40 [τ]ο[υ] συγκεχωρημένα ὄρκον τινὰ πο[ι]θησῶναι τε καὶ
 ἀναγεγράφθαι ἐν στήλαις καὶ ἀνα[τε]θῆναι ἐν τοῖς
 [ἱε]ροῖς, ἐν ᾧ καταχωρίσαι αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ [κατ]α[γραφῇ(?) τῷ]
 [τε] ἱερὸν τοῦτο καὶ τὴν χώραν τὴν τε κατὰ [Λαβρ]ῶν[υδα]
 44 καὶ τὴν ἄλλην τὴν οὖσαν ὑμετέραν καὶ ὃ αὐτ[ὸς] ἦ-
 [δ]η(?) διὰ μακρο[τ]έρων ἐγεγραφεῖ μοι ἀποχαριεῖσθαι
 [ὑμῖν], ὥς καὶ δίκαιον ἄξιουσιν, καὶ προσήκον[τ]ος αὐ-
 [τῷ τ]ὸ κατὰ τοὺς ὄρκους βεβαιοῦν ἐγὼ παρ<α>κολουθή-
 48 [σας τῷ ψηφίσματι ἐν] ᾧ [τ]ὴν π[ρ]οτέ[ρ]η π[ρ]ο[τ]ὸς τὸν πατέρα
 [- - - - - e. g. εὐνοίαν ἐδελώσατε - - - - -

3. The left vertical and the horizontal strokes of the pi and the bottom of the left stroke of the lambda are visible in the damaged portion. 10. the lower portion of the theta and the bottom of the left stroke of the eta are visible; the marks visible on the photograph to the right of these letters are in all probability faults in the stone (which I re-examined in 1960). 18. the top of the iota is visible. 19. { } is most probably Σ. 36. the lower portions of αὐτῶν are visible; the left vertical stroke and the upper beginning of the oblique one of the last nu are visible. 37. the upper portions of the dotted letters are visible; see further the commentary. 38. above the second vertical stroke of the first nu in 1. 39 a horizontal stroke is visible, indicating Δ, Ε or Σ, after that nothing is certain; in 1949 my predecessors read ιαλ or ιαχ, but the spacing suggests that the first letter of these ought to be a tau; I could see no trace of the second and third letters in 1950 or later. 39. the iota in front of τῶν seems to be fairly certain. 42. see the commentary. 44. traces of ρ

can be detected in the damaged surface. 45. the oblique stroke of the chi which runs SW—NE is fairly certain, as also is the upper left finial, but the vertical line which runs thence is most likely not original; α may perhaps just be detected, but the area is badly worn; the upper finial of the iota is visible; the upper portion of the vertical stroke of the epsilon is visible and the meeting points of the upper and lower horizontal strokes with the vertical one can be traced. 46-8. the reading of the text on the two fragments in the lower right corner, of both of which no photograph exists, is quite certain. 47. <α> O stone, the erroneous engraving is most easily explained on the assumption that a form of the participle was intended and that the lapicide when moving on from carving the Α to carving the Ο started one place too early. 48. the mark visible on the photograph in front of the omega is a later fault in the stone; of the epsilon possibly some portions of the vertical stroke and of the middle and lower horizontal strokes are visible.

[King Philip to the council] and to the people [of Mylasa, greeting. Your envoys] Callistratus, [Pl --- and ---] delivered the decree by [which you voted] concerning the letter, which [Hecatomnos (?), the] priest of Zeus Labraundos, had received [from my] father (addressed) to the Chrysaoreis (stating) that the priesthood [was] his, that the security of the place was secured and that the immunity of the [land] had [always] been conceded to his ancestors by the kings, as Hecatomnos had cheated and spoken not a word of truth—that was the reason why he had not immediately delivered the letter, but (waited) until my father was dead—and (voted) that the shrine belonged neither to the Chrysaoreis nor to the other Carians but was yours, and also voted to

[exclude] the Chrysaoreis [from the shrine] as they desired to appropriate it for themselves. The envoys themselves greeted me in the name of the people and congratulated me upon my health and the satisfactory state of my affairs, as the decree had prescribed to them, and they spoke saying that the shrine was yours, having been founded by your ancestors, and that the place and the land of Labraunda belonged to the people and that you had always continued taking the revenues of the land and that you celebrated sacrifices and festivals out of the revenues they yielded. They read decrees concerning these matters and displayed the accounts of the revenue rendered to the city by the priest and those who were lessees of the lands which belonged to the

god. They also declared that the individuals who resided in the shrine were your citizens and distributed among your tribes and in enjoyment of the same laws. And (they also said) that also Seleucus, when giving the city its freedom had conceded to you the other places which belonged to the city and also the shrine, as you possessed it from the beginning, and that Olympichus [had continued staying in] the strongholds in the land, [when] Seleucus had given him instructions to evacuate [his forces. And in accordance with Seleucus's] concessions an oath had [been taken], engraved on stelae and [erected in the] shrines. In this oath Olympichus had entered in the [register(?)] this shrine, the land of [Labraunda], the other land which was yours and what he himself [already at] somewhat greater length had written to me that he would present [to you], as they also justly demand. And as it beseems [him] to confirm what is written in the oaths I have followed [the decree in] which [you made clear] your [benevolence] towards my father [at some time -----]

When Antigonus Doson came to Caria, the priest of Labraunda at the time made misleading representations in his presence, but he did not dare to implement Doson's decision until the king was dead. When his stratagem became public knowledge Mylasa reacted vigorously, sending envoys to Olympichus to make him give up Labraunda (see on 4) and also to Philip V of Macedon to secure his assistance. Both embassies were successful, and also led in addition to a correspondence between the king and Olympichus. As a result Mylasa acquired Labraunda. See Synopsis.

In 5 Philip first gives an account of the decree of Mylasa, which the envoys had delivered to him, and which had been occasioned by the priest's representations and stated the city's right to Labraunda (ll. 2—18). Next a detailed narrative of the oral plea of the envoys is given, supported by other written documents. In the lost end of the letter, Philip informed Mylasa of his decision that Labraunda belonged to the city, and of his order to Olympichus to hand over the shrine, followed by the usual lavish promises of support for the future. As with all those letters in this correspondence, of which a considerable amount is pre-

served, the writer and the addressee of this letter are certain: see Synopsis.

L. 1. The full official title of Philip V was Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος (βασιλέως Δημητρίου)¹ but, *qua* suzerain, he very seldom had occasion to write his title with the ethnic in full, and in this he followed contemporary practice: see A. Aymard, *Mélanges De Visscher*, III (= *Rev. intern. des droits de l'ant.*, 3,4), 1950, pp. 68—71, 77—84, 96—7 (=id., *Études d'histoire ancienne*, 1967, pp. 104—6, 110—4, 121—2); cf. id., *REA*, L, 1948, pp. 232—63, 'Le protocole royal grec et son évolution' (= *Études* --, pp. 73—99).

Ll. 2—3. The formula describing the envoys is determined by the space available, and is taken from 7, l. 4; cf. Philip's letter *Syll*³, 552, οἱ παρ' ὑμῶν πρεσβευταί, Ἀμεινίας, κτλ. The restoration could certainly be accommodated on the stone, since there are five iotas and three rhos. There are three envoys, which is the usual number, and as usual in royal correspondence they are mentioned by name: see Welles, pp. 14, 147; there is no room for patronymics.

Ll. 4—14. The background of the decree is that a new priest of Labraunda had needed, and obtained, recognition from Doson and also had obtained for the sacred land the immunity which he had declared to the king the land had always enjoyed. In the absence of the king the Chrysaoreis were to be the guarantors of the rights, and they were informed of this in a letter. Obviously Mylasa was deliberately passed over, and the priest did not risk being unmasked as an impostor by the city in front of the king, so he did not hand over the letter until Doson was dead. Neither the decree nor the letter has been recovered.

L. 4. As e.g. Welles, 15, l. 3.

Ll. 5—6. There is unequivocal evidence of only one priest of Labraunda during the period in question, namely Korris, who tried to mislead Seleucus II, presumably in 240, 1—3 (4). We have no further information concerning him apart from the decrees 11 and 12, but certainly, on grounds of age, he need not have been in retirement or dead in ca. 227, when Doson came to Caria. Moreover

¹ For earlier known letters of Philip see I. Makaronas, *Ἀρχ. Ἐρ.*, 1934—5 (1936), p. 119 n. 7; Welles, *AJA*, XLII, 1938, pp. 245 ff., 'New texts from the chancery of Philip V of Macedonia' (including *SEG* XIII 403); Walbank, *Philip V*, p. 288 n. 1 (full list).

his name fills the lacuna of l. 5 satisfactorily, for there is a distinct tendency in the inscription not to divide proclitics and shorter words. However, it seems to follow from the interpretation of ll. 11—4 that the subject preceded by the definite article in l. 12 is the subject wanted in l. 4. Ἐξ-τόμνω is two letters too long for the lacuna, and as several letters of the word are wide, even with considerable compression it could not possibly have been accommodated on the stone. Since the inscription is not without errors, we may reasonably assume a lapicidal fault here too; the simplest explanation is that the final syllable was omitted at the beginning of l. 6 in the intended division of the word.² It ought to be noticed that from the late second or possibly the early first cent. B.C. we know of two priests in Labraunda, named Κόρρις Ἐκατόμνω and Ἐκατόμνω Οὐλιάδου (see Laumonier, *Cultes*, p. 58) and apart from Maussollus' father we know of about ten individuals of this name in Mylasa before the Christian era.

L. 7. Philip mentions his father in Labraunda also in l. 48 and 7, l. 12, and he certainly did not mean his natural father Demetrius II, who most probably died in April 229,³ but his step-father Antigonos Doson, who assumed the crown and married Philip's mother at the end of the winter of 228—7.⁴ That the adoptive relationship (e.g. κατὰ θέσιν, κατὰ υἱοθεσίαν) was not differentiated from the natural one (κατὰ φύσιν) in royal families any more than in private life⁵ is plainly demonstrated by the involved genealogy of the Attalids: see Holleaux, *Études*, II, pp. 9—16, à propos of a Delphic dedication to the founder of the dynasty, (Φιλεταίρωι καὶ τῶι υἱῶι Ἀττάλῳι, where the latter is an adopted son.⁶ Holleaux, *ibid.*, III, p. 299, has collected examples from royal letters in which the writer's father, brother and sister are mentioned without a possessive pronoun.

Doson's Carian campaign is referred to in our literary sources by Polyb. XX 5, 11, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸν προκείμενον ἐτέλει πλοῦν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν, and Trogus *Prol.* 28, *Antigonos*, ----- in *Asia Cariam subiecit*. Hitherto there has been no solid epigraphical evidence for the campaign. The only possible references are in the fragmentary decree of Cos, *BMus.Inscr.*, 247 (= *SGDI*, 3611 = M. Segre, cited below, p. 21), regarding material support for a king Antigonos, in connection with some instruc-

tions about the maintenance of an Ἀντιγονεῖον, and also some tiles, bearing the words δαμοσίᾱ—Ἀντιγονεῖου: see M. Segre, *Rend. Pont. Acc. Rom. Arch.*, XVII, 1940—1, pp. 21—34. However, as Magie pointed out, pp. 913—4 n. 140,⁷ the bearing

² To give only one parallel, in L. Robert, *Collection Froehner*, 1936, p. 39, no. 35, ll. 8—9, could possibly be written ὁ [ι] [δ] [ῶ] [α] according to Wilhelm, *Pragmateiai Ak. Ath.*, 17, 1, 1951, p. 26. Conversely, Welles, p. LV, registers two instances of dittography in the lacuna of two lines. Another though less likely explanation is that, as in the Hyllarima inscription, A. Laumonier, *BCH*, XLVIII, 1934, pp. 345 ff., no. 39 (the relevant part of the inscription dates possibly from 188 B.C., *ibid.*, p. 372), l. 20, some letters were written above the line; cf. *ibid.*, p. 355: "La place manquait à la fin de la ligne pour graver τῶν, le T et le N ont été gravés un peu au-dessus des autres lettres, le N très maladroitement, mais la lecture n'est pas discutable".

³ St. Dow and Ch. F. Edson, Jr., *Harv. Studies in Cl. Phil.*, XLVIII, 1937, p. 166 note from the page before.

⁴ So F. W. Walbank, *loc. cit.*, p. 11 n. 4. Dow and Edson, *loc. cit.*, pp. 178—9, suggested late summer or autumn of 227. W. W. Tarn, *Harv. St.*, Suppl. Vol. I (*Athenian Studies Ferguson*), 1940, pp. 483—501, has shown it to be probable that Philip's mother who married Doson, was Phthia with the nickname Chryseis, i.e. that Phthia and Chryseis were one and the same individual. Tarn is supported by Walbank, *Comm. on Polybios*, I, p. 621; for references regarding this question see Will, *Hist.*, I, p. 326, who himself does not accept the identification; nor does J. Seibert, *Hist. Beitr. z.d. dynastischen Verbindungen in hellenist. Zeit. Historia. Einzelschr.* 10, 1967, p. 38 n. 45. On Doson's position as ἐπίτροπος καὶ στρατηγός, before he became a king, see Bengtson, *Strategie*, II, pp. 387—90.

⁵ E.g. *BMus.Inscr.*, 827 (Cnidus, Hellenistic date), Εὐφράνωρ Θερασμάχου [καθ' υἱοθεσίαν δὲ Εὐφράνωρ τὸν πατέρα Εὐφράνωρα [Εὐφρά]νωρ τοῦ Εὐφράνωρος.

⁶ Another instructive example is given *ibid.*, p. 11 n. 1; many instances are to be found in *OGIS*.

⁷ Cf. J. and L. Robert, *Bull. épigr.*, 1948, 182. Some inscriptions have been connected with the campaign. Bengtson, *Strategie*, II, p. 367 n. 3, suggested as a possibility that *SEG* I 358 (decree of Samos; more complete in Chr. Habicht, *Ath. Mitt.*, 72, 1957, pp. 188—90, no. 22) might refer to the campaign, but the decree belongs to the late 4th cent. B.C. (Habicht, *ibid.*) In the much-discussed inscription of Priene, 37, l. 137, τὸν γενόμενον διάδοχον τῆς βασιλείας Φίλ, which occurs in the context of a reference to a king Antigonos (almost certainly Monophthalmus), is restored by Wilamowitz *ad loc.* as φι[λ]ανθρώπως instead of Φί[λ]ιππον; see Meyer, *Grenzen*, pp. 67—9. It is also extremely uncertain whether Doson's campaign caused the disturbed situation in Miletus, which is reflected in the inscription *Delphinion*, 124, according to which Apollo had to act as the stephanephoros from 229/8 to 226/5: see Meyer, *ibid.*, p. 77; cf. L. Robert,

of this evidence on Doson's Carian campaign is extremely doubtful.

Consequently, the historicity of the expedition has sometimes been questioned or even denied, but it is now established beyond possibility of doubt by the inscriptions of Labraunda, especially 7, ll. 12—3 (cf. already L. Robert, *Encyclopédie de la Pléiade*, XI, 1961, *L'histoire et ses méthodes*, 'L'épigraphie', p. 466). Doson was well received by Mylasa, but apart from the role he played in connection with the priest's stratagem we have no further information of his doubtless short-lived presence in the country. The most important result he achieved was the absorption of some parts of Caria into the Macedonian sphere of influence. And that is why Philip V had to settle the question of Labraunda. For the dating of the expedition and its more precise place in the history of the area see Ch. VII.

The Chrysaoreis are mentioned also below, ll. 15—7, in the decree of Mylasa. They were a Carian league, known to have had its centre in the shrine of Zeus Chrysaureus near Stratonicea.⁸ It was called τὸ Χρυσαιορέων ἔθνος,⁹ *OGIS*, 234 (Delphi, ca. 202/1, cf. Magie, p. 993), l. 12; *LBW*, 399¹⁰ (first cent. B.C.), l. 18, or τὸ Χρυσαιορικὸν σύστημα (*Χρυσαιορέων*), Strabo XIV C 660, where, however, *systema* is not a technical term (see Larsen, cited below, p. 79 n. 75). We know only the very outline of this organization (see J. A. O. Larsen, *Cl. Phil.*, XL, 1945, pp. 65—97, 'Representation and democracy in Hellenistic federalism'; on the Chrysaoreis, pp. 76—9),¹¹ and that outline is to a great extent based on comparison with other leagues, especially the Lycian League¹² and the Cibyratetropolis in Hellenistic times¹³. The assembly (*ekklesia*) may have been elected on a basis of proportional representation from the population of the member-cities. No officials are yet known,¹⁴ but one corresponding to the ἱερεὺς καὶ βασιλεὺς τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Καρῶν, Buckler, p. 197, II γ, l. 12,¹⁵ is likely to have existed. Larsen, *loc. cit.*, p. 79, suggested that the Chrysaoreis "had the form of sympolity", as "within the Lycian League the closer union of cities in small *sympoliteiai* was common", *ibid.*, pp. 80—1. As far as we know, however, such a sympolity was erected only in Stratonicea, when the Carian villages were absorbed by the new city;¹⁶ cf. also below on the ethnic. Hitherto *OGIS*, 234 was the earliest evidence for the league as such. Somewhat earlier,

however, we meet the ethnic Χρυσαιορέας in the Coan victory-lists, and as a whole the ethnic is most commonly mentioned, not the league itself. "Chrysaoreus (also Chrysaoreis) is used to designate

Hellenica, II, 1946, pp. 54—5. For earlier articles on Doson's campaign see Walbank, *JHS*, LXII, 1942, pp. 12—3.

⁸ Here I only outline the background to the role which the League played in this context, reserving for Part II a fuller discussion of many problems involved, when publishing an honorific decree of the league; see below, p. 34.

⁹ For ἔθνος as a normal constitutional form see V. Ehrenberg, *Der Staat d. Griechen*, 1965, pp. 27 ff.; for the difference between the official term κοινόν "the federal state", and ἔθνος indicating the "nation" see Larsen, *Cl. Phil.*, LI, 1956, p. 168 n. 7; Chr. Habicht, *Hermes*, 85, 1957, pp. 109—10 with references; Pallas, Charitonidis, Venencie, *BCH*, LXXXIII, 1959, p. 507.

¹⁰ *LBW*, 398 forms the end of *LBW*, 399; see L. Robert, *Rev. Phil.*, 53, I, 1927, pp. 126—7 (*SEG* IV 228).

¹¹ See also Magie, pp. 130—1, 145—6, 993, 1031—2, 1113; for leagues in Asia Minor see also the references in R. B. McShane, *The foreign policy of the Attalids of Pergamum*, 1964, p. 66 n. 25; cf. below, n. 26; for leagues and confederacies in general see J. A. O. Larsen, *Representative government in Greek and Roman history*, 1955, and *id.*, *Greek federal states*, 1968.

¹² For the Lycian Confederacy, constituted in 3rd cent. B.C., though existing as a unit in some form already in early 5th cent. B.C., see also Larsen, *Cl. Phil.*, LI, cited above, pp. 161—2, 166—7; *id.*, *Symbolae Osl.*, XXXIII, 1957, pp. 5—26, where it is pointed out that, although most of the evidence is from the Imperial period, the institutions existed in the period of independence; Magie, pp. 524 ff.; L. Moretti, *Ricerche sulle leghe Greche*, 1962, pp. 171 ff.; see now also Larsen, *Gr. fed. st.*, cited above, pp. 240—63. The description of the federal constitution of the Lycians in Strabo XIV 664 is based on Artemidorus of Ephesus and is thus valid for ca. 100 B.C. (Larsen, *Repr. gov.*, p. 102; Moretti, *loc. cit.*, pp. 201—2).

¹³ Cf. also the Ionian League, "best classified as a very loosely organized federal state" (Larsen, *Repr. gov.*, p. 27), but we do not know much of its organization.

¹⁴ On officials in the κοινόν of the Lycians see Magie, pp. 525—6, 1381—4; Moretti, *loc. cit.*, pp. 207—8; Larsen, *Gr. fed. st.*, pp. 251—6, cf. 262—3.

¹⁵ Cf. L. Robert, *Ét. anat.*, p. 571 n. 2. H. Volkmann, *Phil. Wochenschr.*, 59, 1939, coll. 1038—40, suggested two different offices held by the same man, but in the Lycian League in the Imperial time the office of high priest and Lyciarch was one and the same office; see Larsen, *Cl. Phil.*, XL, cited above, p. 85; *id.*, *Gr. fed. st.*, pp. 251—2.

¹⁶ Stratonicea was most probably founded by Antiochus I: see Fraser and Bean, *Rhod. Per.*, p. 102; J. and L. Robert, *Mélanges Isidore Lévy*, 1955, pp. 553—68.

citizens of the League, while the existence of local citizenship within the League is shown by the frequent occurrence of Χρυσαιορεὺς ἀπὸ (with the name of a city), which is a common form for designating citizens of federal states", Larsen, *loc. cit.*, p. 78.¹⁷ The members of the league, hitherto known, are Alabanda-Antioch, Alinda, Mylasa, Stratonicea, Thera¹⁸ and Ceramus; see Larsen, *ibid.*, pp. 78—9; Magie, *ibid.*

It is commonly held that the League from the outset had its meetings in the shrine of Zeus Chrysaoreus, and that that shrine was of great antiquity¹⁹. Laumonier, *Cultes*, pp. 200—1, seems to regard Leukai Stelai as the meeting-place of the Chrysaoreis on the basis of Herod. V 118. It was there that the Carians met during the Ionian revolt to resist the Persians, "sans cependant nommer le sanctuaire par son nom, qui, sans doute, à ce moment, était peu connu". Herodotus does not mention the Chrysaoreis at all, but only 'Idrias', and for him the active group in the country is the Kares, as also in *Syll*³, 167, from the time of Maussollus. The reason seems to be that the league as such did not yet exist.

The excavations at Labraunda have now brought to light the hitherto oldest document of the League.²⁰ It is an honorific decree of 10 June 267 B.C.²¹ The inscription, very badly worn, is inscribed below *Nine Inscr.*, I, Pl. 1, and will be published in Part II. Here I give my preliminary restoration of the relevant first four lines:

Βασιλεύοντος Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου ἔτους
ἐγνεαχα[δε]-

[κάτου μ]ηνός [Δ]αισίου ἑκτῇ ἐπὶ δέκα, συγελ-
θόντων Χρυσαιορε[ύ]-

[ω]ν τῶ[ν ἀπὸ] τῶν π[ό]λεων πρὸς τῇ[ν] [μ]ε-
γ[ίσ]την(?) ἐκκλησίαν Σ[υ]στ[η]μα[τ]ος(?)]²²

4 [ο]ν τ[ο]ῦ Θύσσου Μυλασεὺς εἴπερ· ----²³

If my suggested restoration is in the main correct, the League held its meetings in Mylasa. This is supported by the fact that the decree was engraved at Labraunda and that the proposer was a man from that city. This possibly indicates that the Chrysaoreis had not yet established their regular political centre near Stratonicea as they did later (Strabo XIV C 660),²³ but held their meetings in different cities which they probably did not control politically, or, as in this case, for a very short period, in Mylasa. In this respect,

too, we may compare the Lycian League,²⁴ which probably held its meetings in one or other of the larger member-cities, which possessed three votes:

¹⁷ H. Oppermann, *Zeus Panamarios* (= *RGVV*, XIX 3), 1924, p. 8, gives several instances and compares Coan victory lists with a rich collection of similar ethnics. Th. Klee, *Zur Gesch. d. gymnischen Agone an gr. Festen*, 1918, pp. 14—6 (early 2nd cent. B.C.), e.g. Λύκιος ἀπὸ Πατάρων, Λέσβιος ἀπὸ Μυτιλήνης, Αἰολεὺς ἀπὸ Κύμας; L. Robert, *Ét. numism. gr.*, 1951, pp. 96—7, cites several such ethnics from the Troas (see also *id.*, *Gnomon*, 35, 1963, p. 63 with n. 4), which have, however, only a geographical, not a political, sense (*id.*, *Monnaies antiques en Troade*, 1966, p. 38 n. 1).

¹⁸ "evidently --- a place called Thera or Therae in southern Caria: see Ruge in *R.-E.*, V A, coll. 2302 f.; L. Robert, *Ét. anat.*, p. 499 note 3"; Magie, p. 1032; Fraser and Bean, *Rhod. Per.*, pp. 47—9.

¹⁹ E.g. Rostovtzeff, *SEHH*, p. 507, mentions the temple of Z. Chr., as if it had been of great importance in early Seleucid times, and Magie, p. 131, writes about the villages of the later Stratonicea: "These had previously been members of the ancient 'Nation' or League of the Chrysaoreis, which held its meetings in the old temple of Zeus Chrysaoreus near the city", cf. *ibid.*, p. 145.

²⁰ L. and J. Robert, *CRAI*, 1949, p. 306, refer to an unpublished inscription of Amyzon as "un décret très bien conservé sur une contribution forcée de tous les citoyens pour rembourser les prêteurs qui avaient avancé de l'argent pour une contribution à la confédération Chrysaorienne".

²¹ See the Tables of correspondances in A. E. Samuel, *Ptolemaic chronology* (= *Münch. Beitr.*, 43. H), 1962, pp. 161 ff. The letter-forms are similar to those on the Telmessus decree of 265/4—257/6 B.C., M. Segre, *Clara Rhodos*, IX, 1938, p. 185 (for an improved text see L. Robert, *Documents de l'Asie Mineure méridionale*, 1966, p. 55; on the letter-forms *ibid.*, p. 10).

²² E.g. Ἐρμίου, which with Θύσσος occurs in *LBW*, 404 from Mylasa, dated to the 3rd cent. B.C. (L. Robert, *Sinuri*, pp. 74—5). ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων in l. 3, if right, confirms the usual interpretation of Strabo XIV 660, καλεῖται δὲ τὸ σύστημα αὐτῶν Χρυσαιορέων, συνεστηκὸς ἐκ κωμῶν· οἱ δὲ πλείους παρεχόμενοι κόμας προέχουσι τῇ ψήφῳ, καθάπερ Κεραιμῆται, that the smaller κῶμαι did not send delegates, this right being vested in cities and the bigger συστήματα, of which the κῶμαι formed part; so already Aem. Heller, *loc. cit.*, p. 242.

²³ ἐγγὺς δὲ τῆς πόλεως τὸ τοῦ Χρυσαιορέως Διὸς κοινὸν ἀπάντων Καρῶν, εἰς ὃ συνίασι θύσοντές τε καὶ βουλευσόμενοι περὶ τῶν κοινῶν; "the religious and political centers of a league often became separated", W. A. McDonald, *The political meeting places of the Greeks*, 1943, p. 125.

²⁴ Strabo XIV 664, Εἰσὶ δὲ τρεῖς καὶ εἴκοσι πόλεις αἱ τῆς ψήφου μετέχουσιν· συνέρχονται δὲ ἐξ ἑκάστης πόλεως εἰς κοινὸν συνέδριον, ἣν ἂν δοκιμάσῃσι πόλιν ἐλόμενοι· τῶν δὲ πόλεων αἱ μέγισται μὲν τριῶν ψήφων ἐστὶν ἑκάστη κυρία, αἱ δὲ μέσαι δυεῖν, αἱ δ' ἄλλαι μιᾷ.

see Moretti, *loc. cit.*, pp. 208—9, cf. Magie, pp. 525—6.²⁵ Being the most important city in the district, Mylasa was a natural meeting-place. Possibly, however, there was a particular reason why the Chrysaoreis met in the city. Τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Καρῶν, the centre of which was the neighbourhood of Mylasa, was, as L. Robert, *Ét. anat.*, p. 571, and others²⁶ have emphasized, a different organization, and ll. 15—6 of this letter, οὔτε Χρυσαιορεῦσιν --- οὔτε τοῖς λοιποῖς Καρσίν, confirm that. As was pointed out above, the Kḗρες were politically still active during the period of the Hecatomnids, but evidently the group lost all political importance after Alexander, though it survived, or was revived, during the first cent. B.C. as an organization of purely religious character: see above. On the other hand, whatever the origin of the Chrysaoreis may have been,²⁷ the League was essentially of a religious character, and it may well have been strengthened by the foundation of Stratonicea: see above, n. 16; Laumonier, *loc. cit.*, pp. 195, 197. Previously it had been overshadowed by the Carian League, but during the decline of the latter it became political in function and must have aspired to take over the role of the Carian League, and consequently the Chrysaoreis, supported by Egypt, for a very short period again²⁸ masters of this part of Caria, met in Mylasa, as being the old centre of the Carian League.

Antiochus II probably reconquered the district at the beginning of his reign, when he was very successful in southwestern Asia Minor (see Ch. V, pp. 115—8). This explains why Mylasa soon after its liberation should have minted a gold stater, bearing the effigy of Antiochus II: see p. 83. The district once more Seleucid, and Mylasa strong and finally free, the Chrysaoreis, as supported by Egypt, lost their power.

Consequently, in supporting or making use of²⁹ the new priest of Labraunda before Doson, thirty years and more later, the Chrysaoreis tried to reoccupy a position they once had usurped for a very short time.³⁰

With regard to the restoration of the text, an infinitive should probably be supplied with each of the three accusatives, ll. 7—9, especially as the damaged condition of the remainder of the text at the end of l. 7 makes it impossible to find a suitable adjective. The τ' is not in its usual place, but cf. e.g. *Syll*³, 708, ll. 34—5, μετὰ ἐνικυτόν

τε; *OGIS*, 339, ll. 24—5; cf. Welles, 52, l. 21 and on 56, ll. 4—6; for the word-order cf. e.g. *OGIS*, 229, l. 102, ὑπάρχειν αὐτοῖς τοῖς τρεῖς κλήρους δωρεάν καὶ τὴν ἀτέλειαν αὐτοῖς μένειν ---

Ll. 8—11. At the end of l. 8 and the beginning of l. 9 ἀ[σφά]λειαν is so divided to avoid isolating the ending -αν on l. 8. ἀσφάλεια and ἀτέλεια are placed side by side in e.g. *Syll*³, 399, l. 10. οἱ πρόγονοι here has its literal sense (cf. on I, l. 3). At the end of l. 10 I have supplied ἀεὶ though this is a considerable exaggeration (see below), since a permanent grant was probably claimed by the priest in the presence of Doson; for the passage cf. e.g. *OGIS*, 228, ll. 6—7, ἐπικεχώρηκε (sc. Seleucus II) δὲ τοῖς Σμυρναίοις τὰν τε πόλιν καὶ τὰν χώραν αὐτῶν ἐλευθέραν εἶμεν καὶ ἀφορολόγητον, καὶ τὰν τε ὑπάρχουσιν αὐτοῖς χώραν βεβαιῶν; *Syll*³, 552 (Philip V), ll. 8—11.

From the beginning, the Seleucids seem to have adopted a liberal policy towards the temples in the different parts of their empire: see e.g. Bikerman, *Inst. Sél.*, pp. 250—7; Rostovtzeff, *SEHH*, pp. 436—8, and on Asia Minor, p. 439, cf. pp. 467,

²⁵ Naturally, the comparison must not be pressed too far, as the Lycian Confederacy was of a much firmer military and political force, which unlike the Chrysaoreis survived for a long time.

²⁶ E.g. Laumonier, *Cultes*, p. 195; Fraser and Bean, *Rhod. Per.*, p. 91 n. 3. Volkmann, *loc. cit.*, col. 1040, confuses the two leagues, though citing Robert, *loc. cit.*; R. McShane, cited above, p. 66 n. 25, is also confused.

²⁷ Laumonier, *Cultes*, pp. 194—5, 207—11, comparing the Chalcetoreis, points out that the word Chrysaor(eis) is pre-Hellenic, but, even so, the name sounds Greek and must have been taken as Greek. Possibly a group having this name may have been constituted in the course of the Hellenization of Caria by the Hecatomnids.

²⁸ The district of Stratonicea was Ptolemaic before the foundation of the city according to a document of 276 B.C. (J. and L. Robert, *Mélanges Isidore Lévy*, cited above, p. 556). On pp. 566—7 they refute an earlier opinion that the Ptolemaic dominions in Caria were situated only on the coast; the inscriptions of Labraunda demonstrate that they are right; Amyzon, too, belonged for a period to Egypt: see L. Robert, *CRAL*, 1953, p. 414.

²⁹ We have no information to decide the activity of the League, since the priest, anyway, needed local support and it is difficult to estimate the validity of Mylasa's accusation in ll. 16—7.

³⁰ This new information on the Chrysaoreis makes Strabo's statement that the temple of Zeus Chrysaoreus was κοινὸν ἀπάντων Καρῶν (cited above, n. 23) more comprehensible.

503—7 with notes; Welles, pp. 282—3. On the privilege of ἀτέλεια granted to temples in Asia Minor cf. Welles, p. 57: it “could be sustained only through the piety or the weakness of the central government”. Consequently, the claim of the priest was not in itself impossible, but it was in fact false. A possible reason why he and the city had different views on the question may be that he had emphasized the liberal attitude of the Seleucids, whereas the city had vindicated its own rights. More probably, however, the temple had actually received immunity from Egypt and the Chrysaoreis as an act of propaganda during their short-lived control of the district. But Mylasa had rightly declared that régime illegal. We have no information from the Hellenistic period that the temple had the right of ἱερεία or ἀσυλία (on this privilege see Bikerman, *Inst. Sél.*, pp. 150 ff.). Labraunda’s aim to rid itself of Mylasan control is in complete accordance with the general tendency of the temples of the time; cf. Bengtsson, *Strategie*, II, p. 7; Rostovtzeff, *SEHH*, p. 507.

Ll. 11—4. As in Welles, 53 I C, l. 11; 60, l. 7, ὡς introduces a gen.abs., subordinated to ἐψηφίσασθε, ll. 4—5. After the obvious παρχαρουσαμένου there is room on the stone for αὐ-, in which case αὐτοῦ could refer to the priest, ll. 5—6; παρχαρούεσθαι is used both absolutely and transitively,³¹ but the latter is not possible here.³² My interpretation of this passage is based on the assumption that in ll. 5—6 the name of the priest has been incompletely inscribed. As it now stands, it fits perfectly into ll. 11—4. The genitive Ἐκατόμνω is preceded by the definite article, as mentioned above (notice the article, l. 36, indicating that Olympichus is well-known in the context),³³ and the general sense is readily understandable (see above). The phrase διὸ καὶ is extremely common in Polybius, Mauersberger, coll. 548—50; μεταλλάσσειν here of course means “to die”; on this euphemistic use of the word see Welles, p. 348, whose earliest instance is of 200 B.C.; and I have not seen an earlier instance than the present one.³⁴

Ll. 14—8. The decree stated that Labraunda belonged to Mylasa and the Chrysaoreis were punished with exclusion from the temple. μὲν, l. 14, is supplied to provide a required correlative to δέ, l. 16; it is true that there is room for only two letters in the lacuna, but τό, just before, is engraved in an exceptionally contracted way and

the same occurs in other lines, e.g. l. 27; consequently, room could be found for μὲν, if it is assumed that the letters were crowded together. On the distinction between the Chrysaoreis and the other Carians see above; cf. *Syll*³, 1106 (Cos, ca. 300 B.C.), ll. 43 ff., μὴ ἐξῆμεν δὲ μηθὲν τὰ οἰκήματα τὰ ποτὶ τῷ τεμένει μηδὲ τὸ τέμενος ἐξειδιάζεσθαι μηδὲ πωλεῖν μηδὲ ὑποτιθέμεν; L. Robert, *Sinuri*, p. 35, no. 11, l. 7, cf. p. 36; for ἐξειδιάζεσθαι meaning “etw. für sich beanspruchen, sich vorbehalten” (Mauersberger) cf. Polyb. III 24, 14, τὰ μὲν κατὰ Λιβύην καὶ Σαρδόνα προσεπιτείνουσιν ἐξειδιάζόμενοι. We must suppose that Mylasa decided on some counter-move against the Chrysaoreis, and the only measures possible were to exclude them from the shrine; the verb restored is borrowed from 8, l. 8. The remains of the fourth letter on the line suggest that ἐκ- or ἀποκλείειν is the required infinitive;³⁵ on the other hand, it is not possible to decide whether αὐτό or αὐτοῦ is preferable; I have

³¹ For the absolute use see e.g. Dem. *De corona* 276 (Vince), ὅπως μὴ παρακρούσομαι μηδ’ ἐξαπατήσω; both uses in Isocr. *Panathenaicus* (Norlin) 243, τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἀποστεροῦντας τὰ συμβόλαια καὶ τοὺς παρακρουομένους καὶ παραλογιζομένους οὐχ ἡγοῦνται δικαίως καλεῖσθαι πλεονεκτικούς; 271, τῶν τὰς δόξας τῶν ἀκρουομένων παρακρούεσθαι ζητούντων.

³² Ἐκατόμνω is the accusative form in Strabo XIV 659; in Mylasa there are instances of the accusative of the name only from early first cent. B.C. and they are always in the form Ἐκατόμνων, cf. Σιβίλων; notice that in *Syll*³, 603, l. 6, the ου in Μανυσσώλου τοῦ Ἐκατόμνω is read by Jardé and Homolle, *BCH*, XXVI, 1902, p. 642.

³³ τοῦ Ἐκατόμνω cannot possibly have been e.g. a representative of the priest in ll. 5—6, in that case named e.g. Korris, since Philip and the Mylasan decree would then have referred to the priest himself; the same man must have received the letter, l. 5, who did not dare to deliver it, l. 13, and that man was the priest, i.e. Hecatomnos.

³⁴ Notice that Polyb. II 44, 3 uses the verb about Philip’s father, οἱ γὰρ ἐν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ μοναρχοί, δυσελπιστήσαντες ἐπὶ τῷ μεταλλάχεναι μὲν τὸν Δημήτριον.

³⁵ Other verbs are used in such a context, e.g. *Syll*³, 1016 (Lasus, 4th cent. B.C.), ll. 6—7, μὴ ἱεράσθω καὶ τοῦ ἱερῶ ἐργέσθω; *ibid.*, 1109 (Athens, before A.D. 178), ll. 48—9, εἰργέσθω τῆς σπιτάδος; *ibid.*, 981 (Amorgos, 4th cent. B.C.), ll. 4—5, ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δὲ τὸν νεωκόρον καὶ ἐξείργειν; *ibid.*, 1109 (see above), ll. 100—1, ἐξέστω τῷ ταμίᾳ κωλύσαι αὐτὸν τῆς εισόδου τῆς εἰς τὸ Βακχεῖον; *JHS*, XXXIII, 1913, p. 338 (Macedon, late 2nd cent. A.D.), ll. 25—7, ἐκβάλλειν καὶ κωλύειν τοὺς εἰς τὴν μὴ ἀποτεταμηνμένην γῆν βιαζομένους, but *ibid.*, l. 14, νομῆς ἀποκλείουσιν.

written αὐτοῦ, since the object to ἐξειδίχασθαι can easily be understood from the line above; for my restoration cf. Polyb. XXIII 17,10, ἐτέρων αὐτοῦς ἐκκεκλειότων τῆς πόλεως.

Ll. 18—21. The usual, diplomatic greetings and congratulations (see Welles, pp. 77, 43), and the beginning of the oral plea of the envoys marked by a blank space.

δήμο, l. 19, stands on a small fragment, now probably lost, but read on the occasion of the first transcription in 1949. "The word πράγματα means a man's affairs or a city's affairs at all periods of Greek. In the Hellenistic kingdoms, the πράγματα of the ruler were the "affairs of state", just as his own personality constituted the state" (Welles p. 182 with references n. 4); Durrbach, *Choix*, p. 189, considered that τὰ πράγματα meant "simplement les intérêts des souverains"; L. Robert, *Hellenica*, VII, 1949, p. 23 with n. 7, translates in a Seleucid text "les affaires du royaume" or simply "le royaume"; for τὰ πράγματα meaning "kingdom" see Bengtson, *Strategie*, I, p. 59, and the references given by Chr. Habicht, *Ath. Mitt.*, 72, 1957, p. 237 n. 102; cf. Bickerman, *Inst. Sél.*, p. 4; several examples are collected by Holleaux, *Études*, III, pp. 92—4, 225—6;³⁶ κατὰ νοῦν τὰ πράγματα προχωρεῖν, in Polyb. IV 36, 7; cf. I 20, 3.

Ll. 21—46. Philip's account of the oral plea of the envoys. According to them, the temple belonged to Mylasa, since it had once been founded by the city (ll. 22—4) and the city therefore disposed of its revenues, which were spent for religious purposes (ll. 24—7). They proved the city's case by producing civic decrees and the accounts of the temple and the sacred land (ll. 27—31); by stating that Labraunda was included in the city's organization (ll. 31—3), and that Seleucus II at the time of the liberation had recognized the city's old right to the temple (ll. 34—6); and finally that Olympichus had not obeyed the king's order to evacuate the district (ll. 36—9), but had confirmed the city's right in an oath and also in a letter to Philip (ll. 39—46).

Ll. 22—4. In Welles, 25, ll. 5—7, τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τὸ ἰδρυμένον παρ' ἡμῖν, "the participle ἰδρυμένον is unemphatic" (*ibid.*, p. 121) but here the corresponding participle is highly emphasized, being the first proof adduced. Everything favours the belief that Mylasa was in the right. Evidence for this is provided at a later date by Strabo XIV

659, who clearly distinguishes between the temple of Labraunda, τιμᾶται δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν κύκλῳ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Μυλασέων and the ἱερὸν τοῦ Καρίου Διὸς κοινὸν πάντων Καρῶν, οὗ μέτεστι καὶ Λυδοῖς καὶ Μυσοῖς ὡς ἀδελφοῖς (cf. Herod. I 171). Moreover, Mylasans did not add their ethnic when making a dedication at Labraunda. The earliest finds go back to the 6th cent. B.C. and the oldest temple seems to be that mentioned by Herod. V 119 (Westholm, pp. 105—6). We do not know the owner(s) of the shrine in that period. The oldest inscription hitherto found at Labraunda is a dedication by Hecatomnos, the father of Maussollus, *Nine Inscr.*, 6, which introduces, as it were, the great period of architectural activity in the shrine, the work of Maussollus and his brother Idrieus (e.g. *ibid.*, 1—3; Westholm, pp. 106 ff.). The building activity of the dynasty, it is true, covered the whole of Caria (see L. Robert, *CRAI*, 1953, pp. 411—5) but before moving to Halicarnassus, Maussollus had his residence in Mylasa,³⁷ and Idrieus calls himself *Mylaseus* in his dedications, probably for purposes of propaganda. After Idrieus no building of permanency was erected in the shrine until Roman times; "The activity of the Hecatomnids

³⁶ An instructive instance is *IG*, IX 1, 97 (Phocis, 3rd cent. B.C.), ll. 8—9, γενομένων Φωκεῦσι τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τοῦ πολέμου κατὰ λόγον; on πράγματα meaning *acta* (= τὰ πραχθέντα, πεπραγμένα) in a Roman context see A.v. Premerstein, *Abh. München*, N.F. 15, 1937, p. 55 n. 6.

³⁷ In the decree of Erythrae *Syll.*³, 168 Maussollus has the ethnic *Mylaseus*; cf. L. Robert, *Sinuri*, p. 101. This is not the place to discuss the Hecatomnids, who will be dealt with in detail in Part II. In spite of A.T. Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire (Achaemenid period)*, 1948, whose discussion of this subject is sometimes very confused, the best picture of the dynasty is still given by W. Judeich, *Kleinasien. Studien*, 1892, pp. 226—55, complemented by later epigraphical material; cf. especially L. Robert, *ibid.*, pp. 94 ff. As far as concerns the origin of the dynasty, most scholars (though not Judeich, *ibid.*, p. 232) think it was related to the Pixodarus, son of Maussollus, from Cindya near Bargylia, who was a leading figure amongst the Carians in 498/7 at the time of the Ionian revolt and who had married a daughter of Syennesis, king of Cilicia (Herod. V 118). This seems reasonable, as two of Hecatomnos' sons were named Maussollus and Pixodarus, and the third bore the significant name Idrieus. This question, however, is of subsidiary importance in this context, since the dynasty was well established in Mylasa shortly after 400 B.C. The suggestion of Laumonier, *Cultes*, p. 46, that it was a family from Labraunda is unsupported by any evidence.

was apparently sufficient for a long period ahead" (Westholm, p. 112). Thus, when walking round at Labraunda, the Mylasans could look at the shrine as a work of their ancestors. And their claims to it were either not questioned, or, when questioned on occasion of some representations, were easily confirmed in the presence of several, different authorities, as we see throughout this correspondence. The *v* in l. 24 emphasizes the name of Labraunda, which otherwise occurs only in l. 43 in the preserved portion of the letter.

Ll. 24—7. τὰ προσόδια meaning "revenue" seems to be new. It corresponds to the singular πρόσδοξ in l. 29; 8, ll. 21, 23; the plural πρόσδοι occurs in 4, l. 9; 6 B, l. 8. No difference of sense is appreciable in the various usages, any more than in ὄρκος and ὄρκοι indicating the oath of Olympichus (see on 3, ll. 8—14). We must also consider a possible confusion with πρόσδοξ, which could easily be explained by the double meaning of that word. The prepositional expression τὰ ἐκ ταύτης (sc. τῆς χώρας) corresponds to ἡ ἀπὸ τούτων (sc. of different lands) πρόσδοξ in 8, ll. 20—1, and ἀπὸ τούτων in l. 26 makes it certain that "revenue" is meant, as the revenue is spent on the same purpose in 8, ll. 21—2. λαμβάνειν, δίδοναι, ἀποκαθιστάναι all govern a word with this meaning: see *Syll*³, Ind. IV, s.v. πρόσδοξ b). The sense "revenue" is not likely to have caused trouble in the context, since τὸ προσόδιον was already familiar in the sense of a "processional ode", while ἡ πρόσδοξ means "procession" as well as "revenue".³⁸

The rather casual reference to the fact that the city paid for the sacrifices and festivals in the shrine is worthy of note. The income of the sacred land certainly largely exceeded the requirements of the temple.

Ll. 27—31. No such documents have been discovered in the course of the excavations. This passage gives us the expected information. The priest himself administered the shrine and also undoubtedly some areas of the sacred land, as he did in 1—3 (see on 3, ll. 19—24), and he was responsible to the city; other areas were let to tenants, who were also responsible directly to the city, exactly as we see in the investment-inscriptions of the district a century and more later: see on 8, ll. 8—10. On κτήσις meaning "lands" see e.g. L. Robert, *Ét. anat.*, p. 377.

Ll. 31—3. οἱ ἐν τῶν ἱερῶν διατρίβοντες are the

populace of the village of Labraunda; the formula corresponds to terms such as οἱ ἐν τῷ περιπολίῳ κατοικοῦντες in Lagina: see Laumonier, *Cultes*, pp. 346—7, and οἱ τὸ ἱερὸν κατοικοῦντες in Didyma (*ibid.*, p. 562 n. 4). Labraunda belonged to Mylasa and those who resided there were Mylasans,³⁹ but it still had at that time its own religious organization, as we see from 4, ll. 6—7 (see also 11). There also existed other *syngeneiai* in the Carian countryside as organizations independent of political life: see L. Robert, *Sinuri*, pp. 93—4; cf. Laumonier, *Cultes*, p. 133 n. 6. Labraunda was not absorbed into the civic organization of Mylasa until the first cent. B.C., when it was incorporated along with Olymus, as we learn from LBW, 334 (cf. Laumonier, *Cultes*, pp. 40—1, 45—6).⁴⁰ The phrase νέμειν πατρίδα καὶ πόλιν expresses the complete rights of citizenship, Wilhelm, *Att. Urk.*, V (= *Wien. Sitzb.*, 220,5), 1942, p. 66.⁴¹

Ll. 34—6. For the different ways in which the liberation of Mylasa is mentioned in this correspondence see on 3, ll. 6—8; the construction used here is common in epigraphical texts, e.g. concerning the liberation of slaves, in which ἀφιέναι ἐλεύθερον τὸν δεῖνα is the normal expression. According to the protocol Philip did not add the royal title to the name of Seleucus (see on 3, ll. 3—5), though his failure to do so may have had a polemical sting.⁴² In spite of the information in

³⁸ In spite of the two *v* at the end of the line, there is no reason to suppose an engraver's error, nor is it possible to suggest by way of emendation e.g. τὰ προσοδικά, which occurs in *OGIS*, 669 (G. Chalon, *L'édit de Tibérius Julius Alexander*, 1964; Smallwood, *Gaius, Claudius and Nero*, cited above, 391, Egypt, A.D. 68), l. 26, περὶ τῶν ἀτελειῶν καὶ κουφοτελειῶν, ἐν αἷς ἐστὶν καὶ τὰ προσοδικά, where, n. 50, τὰ προσοδικά is supposed to indicate some kind of κουφοτέλεια, but is in LSJ translated "accounts of revenue"; Chalon, pp. 148—52, suggests that the προσοδικὰ ἐδάφη is meant.

³⁹ Mylasa, unlike e.g. Olymus, had *phylai*. For the civic organization of Mylasa see the references in Laumonier, *Cultes*, p. 39 n. 1.

⁴⁰ It is now clear that Laumonier, p. 45 (cf. p. 40), was not right to speak of the *kome* of Labraunda as "d'abord indépendante", but he rightly points out that it retained a certain autonomy.

⁴¹ E. Laroche, *Hist. de la racine nem- en grec ancien* (νέμω, νέμεσις νόμος, νομίζω), 1949, was violently criticized by J. and L. Robert, *Bull. épigr.*, 1951, 55; on νέμειν *ibid.*, pp. 143—5.

⁴² The omission of the royal title in honorific references to a dead suzerain is not relevant here: see Holleaux,

the following lines χωρίον here has the normal meaning of "place, spot", not "stronghold" (cf. Welles, p. 247; see the references given by L. Robert, *Rev. Phil.*, XLI, 1967, p. 38 n. 10); this sense is borne out by the contents of Olympichus' oath (see on 3, ll. 8—14) in which χώρα is used; it is an instance of the same tendency to variation as was found in the description of the liberation, the oath and τὰ προσόδια in l. 24. As is evident from ll. 22 ff., ἐξ ἀρχῆς here means "from the beginning";⁴³ the imperfect is the usual tense in Polybius for the expression "ein Land, eine Stadt, einen Platz innehaben", Hultsch, *Die erz. Zeitformen bei Polybios*, II (= cited above, XIII, IV), 1892, p. 365⁴⁴.

Ll. 36—9. A comparison between ll. 37 and 39 puts the interpretation of this passage beyond doubt: τόν emphasizes Olympichus as the central figure in the affair: see on 7. ὥς has the same meaning as in l. 14; for ἐντέλλομαι see Welles, p. 331; the word is also used by Philip in *Syll*³, 572, l. 7; there is no room for a dative, cf. e.g. *Plat. Prot.* 325 D, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα εἰς διδασκάλων πέμποντες πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐντέλλονται ἐπιμελεῖσθαι εὐχοσμίαις τῶν παίδων ᾗ-- ("charge the master to take far more pains over ----", Lamb); the synonymous ἐπιστέλλω governs a dative in 4, l. 4, but not e.g. in Welles, 6, l. 11, ἐπιστειλάντων ἡμῶν πειθαρχεῖν; ἐξαγαγεῖν may be used intransitively, but here an accusative seems required; the T is definitely supported by the surviving traces; in 1951 I was inclined to trace in the damaged area after the A a low, left angle, i.e. Δ or Σ; consequently for the accusative I suggest τὰ στρατόπεδα;⁴⁵ ἐξάγειν στρατόπεδα, "troops", e.g. Polyb. VI 12, 1; XIV 3, 5.

The perfect infinitive followed by a participle is taken from ll. 25—6, and is explained by the fact that the affair was not yet regulated; the prefix παρα- is only one of several possibilities: see e.g. *Syll*³, 620, ll. 40—1, παραμεμένηκεν ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων; cf. also *ibid.*, 569, ll. 22—3, νομίζων δεῖν μένοντας ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδίων τόπων συνδιατηρῆσαι τὰ φρουρία; *OGIS*, 90, l. 20, μένειν ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδίων κτήσεων; Welles, 38, l. 3, μένοντας ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδίων;⁴⁶ the rest of l. 38 might have been filled either by an expression of disapproval, as μὴ προσηκόντως, as in 1, ll. 3—4, or παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον, or by a temporal expression corresponding to πάντα τὸν χρόνον, l. 25; on φρουρία see L. Robert, *Ét. anat.*, p. 192; Philip uses the word in his *diagramma* concerning

Chalcis, *IG*, XII Suppl. 644, l. 49; two such fortresses forming parts of a defence system in connection with Labraunda are indicated in Westholm, pp. 13—5; on Petra near Labraunda see on 4, ll. 10—3.

Ll. 39—46. On the oath see on 3, ll. 8—14. The use of the passive here certainly reflects Philip's desire to be polite in a delicate situation (notice the τινά); κατὰ τὰ συγκεχωρημένα⁴⁷ as in 3, ll. 28—9, the agent being Seleucus, since throughout the correspondence this verb, as well as ἐπιχωρέω, indicates his benefactions. τοῦ is certain by reason of the space available and of the traces in the damaged area; καὶ—δέ as in ll. 33—4; the omicron in ποιηθῆναι is certain, and consequently the tense of the following infinitive⁴⁸ agrees with ἀνατεθῆναι, in accordance with the formula στήλη, ἐν ᾗ --- ἀναγράφεται; the stelae had been placed in the

Études, III, p. 377 n. 5; M. Segre, *Rend. Pont. Acc. Rom. Arch.*, XVII, 1940—1, p. 31.

⁴³ Schmitt, *Rom und Rhodos* (= *Münch. Beitr.*, 40. H), 1957, pp. 23—4, discusses the meaning "from of old"; Mauersberger, coll. 231—2, translates the expression "von Anfang an" with various variations; cf. J. and L. Robert, *Bull. épigr.*, 1962, 290.

⁴⁴ For ὁ ἔχων meaning "der Pächter" see G. Klaffenbach, *Berl. Sitzb.*, 1936, p. 383, with references to inscriptions from Mylasa and Olymus.

⁴⁵ φρουρά would have been the right word, just as in 8, ll. 13—4, if the order had concerned the evacuation of the garrison in the city, but the king must have ordered Olympichus to evacuate all forces from the district of Mylasa; for references to φρουραὶ in the historians see A. Heuss, *Stadt und Herrscher*, cited above, pp. 217—8; on Polybius see Mauersberger, col. 821; cf. Michel, 452 (Halicarnassus, early Hellenistic date), ll. 7—8, τὴν ἐξαγωγὴν τῆς φρουρᾶς (cf. Wilhelm, *Neue Beitr.*, I (= *Wien. Sitzb.*, 166, I), 1911, pp. 19 f.). For the common expressions in Polybius ἐξαγαγεῖν δόναμιν, δονάμεις, στρατιάν, στρατεύμα etc. cf. Holleaux, *Études*, II, p. 183, with reference to Fr. Hultsch, *Die erzählenden Zeitformen bei Polybios*, I (= cited above, Abh. XIII, I), 1891, p. 75.

⁴⁶ Cf. further *Inscr. Priene*, 21 (ca. 270—62 B.C.), ll. 11 ff., φρουραρχος ἀποδειχθεὶς τῆς ἡμέρας -- διέμεινέ τε πάντα τὸν χρόνον ἐν τῷ φρουρίῳ κατὰ τὸν νόμον -- παρέδωκε τῷ δήμῳ (cf. *ibid.*, 22, ll. 8—10; 23, l. 5), and for στρατηγός ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως and corresponding phrases see P. Roussel, *BCH*, LXIII, 1939, p. 140 n. 1.

⁴⁷ Philip writes συγχωρῶ in his letter to Archippus, *AJA*, XLII, 1938, pp. 246—7 (cf. Makaronas, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1934—5, p. 122). Notice that the form is not assimilated, but *ibid.*, l. 5, has ἐγ Γερῆμαι.

⁴⁸ Cf. Welles, p. 163, "the usual expression is ἀναγραφῆναι καὶ ἀνατεθῆναι".

shrines of Zeus Osogoa and of Zeus Labraundos, just as in 8, ll. 25—6 (*q. v.*), which is itself engraved on just such a stele; the stelae mentioned have not been recovered.

The phrase ἐν τῷ ὅρκῳ καταχωρίζειν corresponds to ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι καταχωρίζειν: see e.g. Welles, p. 344; at the end of l. 42 there must have been additional information, since we have a new ἐν-clause and the quotation of the oath itself starts with τὸ ἱερὸν, corresponding to 6 B, l. 6; the definite article is certainly the feminine one for some ends of vertical strokes are preserved; by reason of the space available, the required substantive may have the prefix κατα-, hardly ἀνα-, since the A within the word can be fairly well traced on the stone; my supplement has the general meaning of "list, register", i.e. of the objects to be relinquished, possibly with a nuance of "conveyance"; it occurs in the later Mylasan investment-inscription *BCH*, XIX, 1895, p. 559 (= *Ath. Mitt.*, XXI, 1896, pp. 119—20), ll. 13—4, δεδόχθαι ποιήσασθαι τὴν καταγραφὴν αὐτῶν (neutr.) τοὺς κτηματῶνας, and is supported by the use of the cognate verb καταχωρίζειν;⁴⁹ however, I have not been able to find an exact parallel to my restoration but cf. e.g. *Syll*³, 578, ll. 45—6, οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα ταμίαι καταχωρίζεωσαν εἰς τὸν λόγον κατὰ τὸν νόμον τὸ(ν)δε τὸ πλῆθος τῶν χρημάτων (cf. ll. 57—8) and *Diod.* I 44, 4, περὶ ὧν ἀπάντων οἱ μὲν ἱερεῖς εἶχον ἀναγραφὰς ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς βίβλοις.

For the singular ὅ in l. 44 cf. τὸ κατὰ τοὺς ὅρκους in l. 47 and Philip's letters *Syll*³, 543, l. 7, τούτου γὰρ συντελεσθέντος, ll. 27—8, εἴπερ οὖν ἐγεγόνει τοῦτο; διὰ μακροτέρων is translated in *LSJ*, s.v. μακρός III, "at somewhat greater length",⁵⁰ and is analogous to διὰ πλειόνων, 3, l. 18; the expression fits in well with Olympichus' invariably rather verbose way of writing; in the lost letter, Olympichus had certainly given a very detailed account of the course of the case and also a detailed statement, which is hinted at in 4, ll. 8 ff.; note also the τῶν, which recurs several times in the same context; the letter is that mentioned in 4, ll. 13—4; 6 B, ll. 1—2; 7, ll. 2—4; in the lacuna between ll. 44 and 45 there is room only for a short adverb or particle; for ἥδη, supplied *exempli causa*, cf. 7, ll. 2—7. The infinitive in l. 45 seems to be the oldest instance of the compound verb,⁵¹ and it seems to be Olympichus' own expression, for he uses the simple verb in 8, l. 16, and the prefix

ἀπο-, expressing the conveyance, is used in ἀποδιδόναι and ἀποκαθιστάναι; the future is the required tense since, according to 7, ll. 13—4, and below, the final conveyance had not yet been completed; that this is here expressed by a verb meaning "to give" may seem somewhat surprising but is in accordance with Olympichus' superior, though benevolent attitude towards Mylasa. "In ancient correspondence, the stand-point of time was normally that of the recipient" (Welles, p. LXXI). The present tense, however, is normally used to indicate both the writer's own statement and also an activity or opinion of those who sent envoys or e.g. of petitioners, valid at the time of the communication. As a variation, envoys and petitioners sometimes can be mentioned in the present tense, as e.g. Welles, 12, l. 13, φησίν, compared with the normal aorist, ἤξιωσεν, ll. 5—6; *ibid.*, 47, l. 7, βούλονται, but ἀνέδωκαν, l. 1; consequently by using the present tense in l. 46, Philip underlined the validity of the request.⁵²

Ll. 46 ff. In this passage Philip introduces the arguments for his decision, which itself is lost but the content of which cannot be doubted, see above, p. 31. The arguments preserved are two: Olympichus had to fulfil his oath, and the city had shown benevolence towards his father and himself. No further arguments were required.

For the prepositional expression in l. 47 cf. Welles, 53 II A, ll. 3—4, διοικεῖσθαι δὲ καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸ κοινοδίκιον, and above on ll. 39—46; on 3, ll. 8—14. In the lacuna, l. 48, a form of τὸ ψήφισμα seems inevitable both in the general context and also to provide a correlative to the omega, which itself seems fairly certain by reason of the following space which can only be filled by iota; the

⁴⁹ E.g. *Syll*³, 976 (Samos, 2nd cent. B.C.), ll. 12 ff., τὰ ὑποθήματα καὶ τοὺς ἐγγύους -- καταγραφέτωσαν οἱ πρυτάνεις εἰς τὰ δημόσια γράμματα. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοὺς -- μελεδωνοὺς καταχωρίζεωσαν εἰς τὰ δημόσια γράμματα; in the investment-inscriptions from Mylasa the expression ἐφ' ᾧ καταγράφει τούτων τὴν ὥνην is normal.

⁵⁰ I prefer this interpretation to the meaning "after a rather long time", because, other reasons apart, Philip had only recently become king; διὰ πάντε ἐτών is used by the chancery of Philip in *AJA*, XLII, 1938, p. 252, l. 19.

⁵¹ The simple verb occurs in a Cretan decree of Hellenistic date, found at Mylasa, *BCH*, XIV, 1890, p. 619 (= *SGDI*, 5163), b., l. 8, χαρίζεσθαι Μυλασεῦσι.

⁵² The covering letter of Meleager, 13, l. 12, is the only instance in Welles, where ἀξιώω occurs in the present.

dative is preferable to the accusative (see LSJ and *Syll*³, Ind. IV, s.v. παρακολουθέω) because of the spacing; for the place of the τε see above, on l. 7 (end); the suggestion below l. 48 is intended to give the sense of the lost passage and might be completed by something like καὶ νῦν πρὸς ἐμὲ εὐνοίαν, cf. 7, ll. 11—3⁵³; my suggestion ποτε

corresponds to καθ' ὃν καιρόν; δηλοῦν also 6 A, l. 12.

This letter too belongs to the category of grants (Welles, p. XLV). Notice that both the summary of the decree and the narrative of the plea of the envoys are very extensive (cf. e.g. *ibid.*, p. 218).

6. Letter of Olympichus to Mylasa.

Inv. 21/C 39 (A), 20 A/C 38 (B). C 74 originally carried the beginning of the letter, above the preserved l. 1 there is room on C 39 for one line, and C 24 the missing portion between A and B. B is followed after a blank space, 6.8 cm. in height, by 7.

B. Published: A. Vogliano, *Acme*, *Annali Fac. filos. e lett. dell' Univ. statale di Milano*, I, 1948, pp. 389—90, 'Una nuova iscrizione storica' (from

the photograph in *Illustr. London News*, Jan. 1949, p. 85). J. Crampa, *Nine Inscr.*, 8.

Discussion: J. and L. Robert, *Bull. épigr.*, 1950, 182 (without knowledge of the photograph). Id., *ibid.*, 1965, 368. Hatto Schmitt, *Unters.*, p. 244, wrote in 1964 that the inscription was published "in recht fragwürdiger Form", but this is not justified, since J. and L. Robert in all essentials had given the right interpretation.

A
C 39

[] [- - - - - περὶ τῶν δεδογμένων (?)],
[τῶι δὴ] μωι ἀπο[στείλετε τῶι] βασι[λ]ε[ῖ] Φιλίππωι
[ἐπιστο]λή[ν] - - - - - τό τε ψήφ[ι]σ[ι] μα[κ]ρ[ά] [ἀ]πέδ[ω]κάν μοι κα[ὶ]
4 [θ'] ὁ σὺ[μ]β[ου]λ[η]ντας (?) ἐ[ψ]ηφί[σ]α[σθε] τούτ[η]ς τε πολί[τ]ε[ρ]ος κα[ὶ]
[τ]ούτ[η]ς ἄλλου[ν] τοῦ ἐχ[θ]ρ[ο]ῦ [τῶν] ἐν τῇ χώρῃ σ[τ]εφ[αν]οῦ
γηγορήσαι ἐπὶ τῇ ἀποκατ[αστάσει] τῶν πατρ[ω]ν
ἱερῶν καὶ θυσίαν προσαγαγε[ῖν] ὑπ[ὲρ] τε τοῦ βα[σι]λ[έ]ως
8 λέως Φιλίππου καὶ ὑπ[ὲρ] ἡμ[ῶν] Δι[ὸ]ς Ὀσογῶι καὶ Δι[ὸ]ς [Λα]-
βράνδωι καὶ Δι[ὸ]ς Ἐλευθερί[ω]ι καὶ εὐχὰς ποιήσαι
τὸν στεφανηφόρον καὶ τοῦς ἱερεῖς καὶ τὰς ἱερ[ε]ῖς
θεοῖς πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις καθ' [ἡ]ε[ρ]ῶν τῶν νομιζομέ-
12 νων, καθότι διὰ τοῦ ψηφίσμα[τ]ος ἐ[δ]ηλώσατε, καὶ [αὐ]-
τοὶ ἀσπασάμενοί με ὑπ[ὲρ] τοῦ δῆ[μ]ου καὶ συν-
ησθέντες ἐπὶ τῶι ὑγιαίνειν καὶ ἐμὲ καὶ τὴν γυναῖ-
κα Νίκαιαν καὶ τὰ τέκνα [ἀ]πέδ[ω]κ[αν] τὴν [πα]ρὰ τοῦ
16 βασιλέως ἐπιστολήν καὶ [παρ]εκάλ[ου]ν, ὥσπερ

⁵³ Fr. Schroeter, *De regum hellenist. epistulis in lapidibus servatis quaest. stilist.*, Diss. Leipzig, 1931 (1932), p. 44, registers eleven instances of εὐνοία towards a king.

καὶ πρότερον εὐεργε[τ]εῖ[ν τὴν πατρί]δα προαιρού-
 [μ]ενος, ἧ[ς] συναίτι[ος ἐγενόμην τοῦ] τῇ πόλιν ἀπο-
 c.9
 c.13

2. After the ϵ perhaps the lower horizontal stroke and the juncture with the lower oblique stroke of a Σ can be traced; the vertical stroke of the epsilon is visible at the break. 3. the right stroke of the lambda and the upper part of the left vertical stroke of the eta are visible; the lower portions of $\psi\eta\sigma\iota$ are visible; at the point where $\mu\alpha$ is inscribed the photograph is misleading: the left angle of the mu and the lower portion of the left oblique stroke of the alpha are visible; the upper horizontal strokes of $\pi\epsilon$ and the left oblique stroke of δ can be traced. 4. the vertical strokes of $\psi\eta$, ι are visible; the left portion of the horizontal stroke of the first dotted tau and the lower portion of the omicron can be traced; the lower portions

of $\pi\epsilon$ and $\lambda\iota\tau\alpha$ are visible. 5. The vertical strokes of $\epsilon\gamma$ $\tau\eta$ are visible. 10. the lower finial of the iota and the lower portion of the left oblique stroke of the alpha are visible. 14. the upper horizontal strokes of the two epsilons and the left stroke of the mu are visible. 15. the upper right portions of $\delta\phi$ are visible. 17. the upper finial of the iota is visible. 18. at the end of the participle the condition of the stone prevents us reading another N, but the Σ seems to be fairly certain: the middle and upper angles can be traced; then in front of the certain $\sigma\upsilon\nu$ -there is room only for one letter and a half: a lower finial of a vertical stroke, followed by two upper finials of vertical strokes are visible.

‘[... that concerning what has been voted (?) by the people you were sending to] king [Philip a letter ... and the envoys delivered to me the] decree [by] which you voted that [everybody], both the citizens [and] the others who [were property-owners] in the land, should wear a wreath on the occasion of the restoration of [your] ancestral sacred possessions and bring a sacrifice on behalf of king Philip and on our own account to Zeus Osogoa, Zeus Labraundos and Zeus Eleu-

therius; and the stephanephoros, [the priests] and the priestesses should make vows to all gods and goddesses over [the victims] which are prescribed by custom, as you made clear by the decree. The envoys themselves greeted me in the name of the people and congratulated me upon my health and that of my wife Nicaea and of my children, they delivered the king's letter and requested [me], as previously I had desired to benefit [our country], which I helped [to] the city [getting]’

[----- ἔγραψα δὲ]
 καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ [Φιλίππῳ διὰ μακροτέρων (?) συνδιατῆ]-
 c.30
 ρῶν ὑμῖν, ὥσπερ ὦκε[σθε δεῖν, τὸ ἱερόν, καὶ γράψαντός]
 c.26
 μοι τοῦ βασιλέως ποιήσα[σθαι τὴν παράδοσιν αἰρού]-
 c.21
 4 μενος ἀκολουθεῖν τοῖς τε ὑ[μετέροις ψηφίσμασιν (?)]
 c.20
 καὶ τοῖς ἔρκοις οὗς ἐποίησάμην, καθότι ἤξιοῦτε, (?) ἀποκα]-
 c.19
 θίστημι ὑμῖν τό τε ἱερόν τοῦ Διὸς [τοῦ Λαβραύνδου καὶ]
 c.16
 τὸν τόπον καὶ τὴν χώραν καὶ Πέτραν [τὴν πρὸς Λαβραύν]-
 c.13
 8 δους καὶ τὰς προσόδους τὰς κατὰ Λαβράν[ν]δ[α πάσας],
 c.8
 καθότι ὑμῖν καὶ πρότερον ἐγεγράφειν ὑποτέ[ταχα δὲ]
 c.8
 καὶ τῆς παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως γραφίσσης μοι περὶ τ[ούτων]
 c.7
 ἐπιστολῆς τὸ ἀντίγραφον, καὶ τοῖς πρεσβευταῖς [αὐτὸς δι]-
 c.6
 12 αλεγεῖς ἐντέταλμαι ἀπαγγέλλειν ὑμῖν τὰ πα[ρ'] ἐμοῦ].
 c.6-7

vac ἔρρωσθε. vac
 vac

B

C 38

1. βασιλ[εῖ], R.; βασιλ[ικῶν], V.; [--- συνδικτη]ρων, V.; also possible is e.g. [ἐπιχω]ρων, R. 2. ὡς[θε δεῖν], R.; ὡς[θε δεῖν], V.; [--- γράψαντος δέ], R. 3. ποιησ[, R.; ποιησῶ[, V.; βουλό[μενος, R.; ἐπιμελοῦ][μενος, V. 4. ὑ[περ της πόλεως?, V.; ὑ[φ' ὑμῶν ἀξιουμένοις --] or ὑ[πὸ της πόλεως ἀξιουμένοις, "certainement ὑπὸ et non ὑπὲρ", R.; see the commentary.

'[..... and I wrote] also to king [Philip at somewhat greater length (?) assisting] you, as [you thought to be necessary, in preserving the shrine. Since] the king [wrote] to me to effect [the transfer I choose] to follow [your decrees (?)] and the oaths, which I took [as you requested (?)]. I restore to you the shrine of Zeus [Labraundos], the place and the land, and Petra [near Labraunda] and [all] the revenues of Labraunda, as I already had written to you. Also [I] have appended the copy of the king's letter to me concerning [this], and I have [myself] spoken to the envoys and ordered them to report to you [my answer.] Farewell.'

This letter too was occasioned by an embassy to Olympichus from Mylasa,¹ as well as by a letter of Philip V to him. It is Olympichus' final statement that he grants Labraunda and all objects disputed to the city. In the portion now lost at the beginning the envoys had very probably informed Olympichus that the city's embassy to Philip had been successful and that it was sending a letter of acknowledgement to the king (A, —l. 3). — Then they delivered a decree, in which Mylasa among other things bestowed great honours on Philip and Olympichus and his family (ll. 3—12). After the usual verbal greetings (ll. 12—5) they delivered the king's letter to Olympichus (ll. 15—6), and asked for Olympichus' goodwill, because he had helped the city before (ll. 16 ff.). In the portion now lost between A and B the envoys ended their speech and Olympichus started his answer, in which he first expressed his thanks to the city for the honours bestowed on him and his family and then gave a narrative of the events which led up to Mylasa's absorption of Labraunda (—B, ll. 1—2). He confirmed what he had written in letter 4 (ll. 2—9), gave to the envoys a copy of the king's letter (ll. 9—11), and sent through them a message to the city (ll. 11—2).

A. Ll. 1—3. On the heading of the letter cf. on 8, l. 10. It is not possible to decide how much of the beginning of the letter is lost on C 74, since

5. ἀποκα[θίστημι, R.; κα[θίστημι, V. 6. Λαβραυνδέως or Λαβραυνδῶν, R.; Διο[ς του Λαβραυνδῶν και], V. 7. Πέτρα[ν σύν ταῖς προσό?], R.; πετρα, V. 8. Λαβρά[υνδα πάσας], R.; Λαβραν[δεων νομον, V. 9. Ὑποτέ[τακται δέ], R.; υποτε[ταχωσ υμιν, V. 10. τ[ούτων], V., R. 11. [υμων δι-, V.; [ύμῶν? δι]-, R. 12. τὰ π[άντα?], R.; τα π[ραγματα, V.

the end of 5 is not preserved. The two datives in l. 2 determine the interpretation of ll. 1—3, in which it is stated that Mylasa was informing Philip of the decree by letter, l. 4; τὰ δεδογμένα occurs in the Mylasan decree 8, l. 3; cf. e.g. the Bargylian decree *Syll*³, 426, ll. 41 ff., ὅπως δὲ καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰδήσῃ [περὶ τ]ούτων ὅτι --, ἀποδοῦναι καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ τὸ ψήφισμα τῇμ πρότερον ἀποσταλεῖσαν πρὸς αὐτὸν πρεσβείαν -- ἀναγγεῖλαι δὲ καὶ τῷ δεῖνι -- τὰ δεδογμένα τῷ δήμῳ;² the present is supplied in accordance with 4, l. 13 (γράφω), but the future is also possible; the clause was possibly dependent on a verb of speaking of which the envoys were subject, as e.g. in Philip's letter *Syll*³, 543, ll. 4—5, Πετραῖος καὶ --, ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς πρεσβείας ἐγένοντο, ἐνεφάνιζόν μοι, ὅτι --; cf. also in a similar context the introduction of Philip's letter, Φιλίπποι τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπιστολὰν ἀπυστέλλαντος πᾶσι τοῖς ταγῶσι καὶ τὰν πόλιν τὰν ὑπογεγραμμένας.³

Ll. 3—12. πρεσβευταί as the subject might have been resumed by οὗτοι (as e.g. Welles, 1, l. 48) in the lacuna in l. 3; the grammatical framework of the restoration is regular in these texts (cf. 5, ll. 4—5), the addition of μοι being justified by the preceding passage, which concerns king Philip.

The decree here mentioned is certainly different from that which was delivered to Philip in 5, l. 4; 7, ll. 4—5. The honours bestowed on Philip and Olympichus were outstanding and must be regarded as an expression of gratitude for the successful solution of the case of Labraunda. As far as regards Olympichus, they correspond to the city's promise, 4, ll. —2. As mentioned above, Olympichus had already in that letter relinquished all objects disputed and B, ll. 5 ff. was simply a confirmation

¹ Vogliano, *loc. cit.*, regarded B as a letter from Olympichus, "noto rappresentante di Filippo V di Macedonia, in Caria" (see about this Ch. IV, pp. 87—91, 95) to the city of Labraunda, but J. and L. Robert saw the truth.

² On the not unusual custom of mentioning only the *demos* in decrees see Holleaux, *Études*, III, pp. 232—3.

³ Cf. also from the chancery of Philip *AJA*, XLII, 1938, p. 249, ll. 1—5, Τὸ διάγραμμα ὃ ἀπέσ[σ]ε ταλὰ πρὸς ὑμᾶς, διαπέμψαντός μοι τοῦ βασιλέως, περὶ τῶν -- χρημάτων.

of his statement. But Philip's position was not known to the city until his letter 5 arrived. Only then could Mylasa make this resolution, the terms of which indicate relief. This context for the decree is supported by the total absence here of particulars corresponding to those in the decree to which Philip answered with his letter 5.

My restoration σύμπαντας,⁴ together with τοὺς τε πολίτας κτλ., corresponds to the usual phrase σύμπαν τὸ πλῆθος (e.g. Welles, 52, ll. 39—40). οἱ ἐκτετμημένοι (κεκτετμημένοι) meaning "property-owners" is equivalent to οἱ ἐγχεκτημένοι (cf. Dem. 50,8, τοὺς προσεισοίσοντας τῶν τε δημοτῶν καὶ τῶν ἐγχεκτημένων) or οἱ ἐνεκτετμημένοι. This absolute use of the perfect participle of the simple verb is not frequent and it mainly occurs in largely Hellenistic and Roman periods. I have not seen an earlier instance than this. οἱ ἐκτετμημένοι etc. are those who had the right of γῆς καὶ οἰκίας ἐγκτησις without being citizens.⁵ This group is often mentioned in documentary inscriptions and it seems to cover a very wide field, "tous ceux des étrangers qui n'ont pas le statut de πάροικοι" (M. Launey, *Rech. sur les armées hellénist.*, II, 1950, p. 667), but since it is not a technical term, it may include πάροικοι as well; cf. F. Durrbach, on *Inscr. Délos*, 442 A, l. 24; J. Pouilloux, *BCH*, LXX, 1946, pp. 491—6; note particularly *OGIS*, 338, where an enumeration of different categories of persons, ll. 17—9, includes τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐ[λευθέ]ροις (L. Robert, *Villes*, p. 51 n. 6) τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν ἢ ἐνεκτετμημένοις ἐν τῇ πόλει ἢ τῇ χώρῃ.⁶ They shared the life of the full citizens, had the same duties⁷ and some of their privileges.⁸ At festivals not only the citizens but also other free men had to wear a wreath: see the instances collected by L. Robert, *BCH*, LVII, 1933, pp. 522—3; cf. id., *Rev. Phil.*, 70, 1944, p. 5 n. 3; Herrmann, pp. 56, 60—1. For ἀποκατάστασις in l. 6 meaning "restoration" see Welles, pp. 316—7; L. Robert, *Sinuri*, p. 36 with references; throughout this correspondence ἀποκαθίστημι means "restore". By τῶν πατρώϊων ἱερῶν must be meant the objects of dispute which recur throughout this correspondence, that is the shrine of Labraunda, its land and revenues and also other things which are not expressly specified. The adjective πατῶϊος is correct, since Labraunda and its appurtenances belonged to Mylasa: see on 5, ll. 22—4. Consequently, this passage provides the final proof that the conveyance was in fact made.

The honours bestowed on Philip do not as such signify that Mylasa was dependent on him (cf. A. Heuss, *Stadt und Herrscher*, cited above, pp. 191—2) and their importance is diminished by the fact that they were bestowed also on Olympichus and his family. The plural ἡμῶν in l. 8 is somewhat

⁴ In Labraunda σύμπας occurs in the decree of the Chrysaoreis, mentioned on 5, l. 7; ὁ σύμπας δῆμος occurs in Mylasan inscriptions e.g. LBW, 403, 406, 409.

⁵ See A.R.W. Harrison, *The law of Athens*, 1968, pp. 237—8.

In a time when a city suffered from lack of men or money, non-citizens could buy the rights of citizenship: see Wilhelm, *Neue Beitr.*, I (cited above), pp. 38—41. On the juridical position of different categories of foreigners in Greek cities see E. Weiss, *Gr. Privatrecht*, I, 1923, pp. 171 ff.; on the ἐγκτησις pp. 176 n. 27, 185—7 with many references.

⁶ Other instances are Paton and Hicks, *Inscr. of Cos.*, 1891, 344, ll. 4—8, τοῖς κατοικοῦντες ἐν τῷ δάμῳ τῶν Ἀλεντίων καὶ τοῖς ἐνεκτετμημένοι καὶ τοῖς γεωργεῦντες ἐν Ἀλεντί καὶ Πέλλῃ(ι), τῶν τε πολειτῶν καὶ Ῥωμαίων καὶ μετοίκων; R. Herzog, *Koische Forsch. und Funde*, 1899, p. 198, cited in *Syll*³, II, p. 497 (= M. Segre, *Annuario*, XXII—XXIII, 1944—5 (1952), p. 150, no. 111); *AJA*, XLVIII, 1944, p. 76, l. 2; Chr. Dunant and J. Thomopoulos, *BCH*, LXXVIII, 1954, pp. 322—3; in Mylasa cf. LBW, 400, l. 7, τοῖς πολίταις καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν τὴν [πόλιν, restored by L. Robert, *Sinuri*, p. 44 n. 1; cf. J. and L. Robert, *Bull. épigr.*, 1939, 380; *ibid.*, 1950, 27; see further *Syll*³, Ind. IV, s.v. κάτοικαι; see also G. Cardinali, *Rend. Acc. Lincei*, XVII, 1908, pp. 184 ff., especially pp. 188—9, where several instances are collected indicating mainly the difference between πολῖται and οἱ κατοικοῦντες; J.A. O. Larsen, *Symbolae Osl.*, XXXIII, 1957, pp. 7—9, 26, for "the use of *politeuein* to indicate some connection with a city or state other than citizenship".

⁷ So e.g. both citizens and non-citizens took part in ἐπιδόσεις, A. Kuenzi, *ΕΠΙΔΟΣΙΣ*, Diss. Bern, 1923, pp. 29—33, 65, 67—8, and in Amorgos in the 4th-3rd cent. B.C. all resources not only of the city and the citizens but also those of the residents were pledged, *Syll*³, 955, ll. 7 ff. (cf. P. Roussel, *BCH*, XXXI, 1907, p. 371); and from Lyncestis, *BCH*, XXI, 1897, p. 162 (Hadrianic), ll. 1—2, οἱ δὲ κεκτημένοι μόνον ταῖς τῇ [πόλει ἐ]πιβαλλομένης λειτουργίας ὑπεύθυνοι ἔστωσαν (cf. Holleaux, *Études*, I, pp. 271—5).

⁸ For *isopoliteia* and *ateleia* see the instances collected by L. Robert, *REG*, XL, 1927, pp. 215—8; on the part non-citizens had in the sacrificed animals see Fr. Puttkammer, *Quo modo graeci victimarum carnes distribuerint*, Diss. Königsberg, 1912, pp. 49—56; a διάδομα, equivalent to διανομή (see L. Robert, *Hellenica*, XI—XII, 1960, pp. 471—4 with references), could be made πᾶσι τοῖς πολέταις καὶ παρόικοις καὶ ἐκτετμημένοις, *IG*, VII 2712, ll. 63 ff.

puzzling. The beginning of 4 shows that the city also honoured Olympichus' wife and children, and consequently these should have been mentioned in l. 8 and not only in ll. 14—5. This is not quite logical, but since Olympichus in his letters of this period, 4 and 6, always writes of himself in the singular (on 4, l. 12 see *ad. loc.*) I see no reason why, when honours were bestowed upon him, he should appear as an official personage, the more so, since he used the singular when granting Labraunda to the city, the act for which he is here honoured. Moreover, my previous remarks regarding his use of the plural had particular reference to his position as a Seleucid governor.

On Zeus Osogoa, Zeus of the Otorkondeis or Zeus Zenoposeidon, who became the god of the city see Laumonier, *Cultes*, pp. 101 ff., 128;⁹ on the name pp. 101 n. 3, 103 n. 1, 125. That Zeus Osogoa here, as in 8, ll. 25—6, is mentioned before Zeus Labraundos is correct, since in this period he was the leading god of Mylasa (cf. Laumonier, *loc. cit.*, p. 104 n. 4, and for the numismatic evidence A. Akarca, *Monnaies gr. de Mylasa*, 1959, pp. 14—5¹⁰). On Zeus Eleutherios see I. Schaefer, *De Iove apud Cares culto*, Diss. Halle, XX 4, 1912, p. 400. The cult of this god goes back in Greece to the time immediately after the end of the Persian Wars: see Bömer, cited above, I, pp. 484 (110) ff., where references to inscriptions from Mylasa and Olymus are given p. 486 (112).

The stephanephorate was of great antiquity in Miletus. "It was adopted in the late fourth century by several other Ionian cities" and later by many cities in Caria and Lydia: see A. H. M. Jones, *The Greek city*, 1940, p. 47. For the eponymous office of the stephanephoros see the discussion and references in Magie, pp. 836—9. In Mylasa he was not a priest but the chief magistrate and not bound to any particular cult; cf. Laumonier, *Cultes*, p. 117.

*Syll*³, Ind. IV, s.v. θεός B, registers several instances of θεοὶ πάντες καὶ πᾶσαι; cf. Laumonier, *BCH*, LVIII, 1934, pp. 357—60. For κατὰ followed by a genitive, by verbs of vows or oaths see LSJ, s.v., A II 4, "esp. of the victims, etc., over which the oath is taken"¹¹; τὰ νομιζόμενα in connection with religious performances means "what is prescribed by custom" (Welles, p. 127).

For the different particulars in the decree cf. e.g. *OGIS*, 222 (decree of the Ionian cities during

the reign of Antiochus I), ll. 31 ff. (l. 36, τοὺς ἱερεῖς καὶ τὰς ἱερείας); *Inscr. Priene*, 11 ("Beschluss einer Feier zur Erinnerung an die wiedererlangte Freiheit", ca. 297 B.C.), ll. 21 ff.; *Syll*³, 352 (Ephesus, ca 302/1 B.C.), ll. 4 ff., and also the Mylasan decree of 209/8 B.C., *Delphinion*, 146 B, ll. 74 ff.

Ll. 14—5. Olympichus' wife is otherwise unknown.

Ll. 15—6. This letter is 7; it is mentioned below in B, ll. 2—3, 9—11, and has been mentioned in 5, in the lost part. It is to be noticed that Mylasan envoys delivered Philip's letter to Olympichus, just as they had previously brought a letter from the king to the city. This is exactly the method employed when a governor was the intermediate agent: see Welles, p. 56. In this case, however, the arrangement was both practical and in complete accordance with Olympichus' position of inferiority to the king (see further Ch. IV). In the same way Mylasan envoys presumably delivered Olympichus' letter 4 to the king according to 7, ll. 2 ff.

Ll. 16 ff. The construction of the clause governed by παρεκάλουν depends on the reading of l. 18; as the participle stands in the nominative, εὐεργετῆν cannot be directly governed by παρεκάλουν, but is governed by προαιρούμενος which is a circumstantial participle in a comparative clause, into which a relative clause has been inserted, the relative pronoun referring to τὴν πατρίδα. The end of the relative clause and of the comparative clause, followed by an infinitive with attributes dependent on παρεκάλουν (see below), were inserted in the following lines on the next block from which all traces of letters have vanished.

The contents of the passage seem fairly certain. As the relative clause indicates a precise benefit

⁹ See also Fr. Bömer, *Unters. über d. Religion d. Sklaven in Griechenl. und Rom*, I (= *Abh. Mainz*, 1957, 7), p. 510 (136); II (= *ibid.*, 1960, 1), pp. 172—3; III (= *ibid.*, 1961, 4), p. 472 (230) (about the ἀκόλουθοι pp. 473—6 (231—4)).

¹⁰ Zeus Labraundos is placed on the reverse of one issue of silver coins of ca. 150—100 B.C., and on the obverse of another series: see *ibid.*, pp. 32—3, 57. During the Imperial period the two gods had the same importance on the coins (p. 32).

¹¹ L. Robert, *REA*, XXXVIII, 1936, p. 17, gives some prices for sacrificial oxen, which vary from 75 drachmae to 400 drachmae.

bestowed by Olympichus, the ὥσπερ-clause surely represents a more general formulation¹² (cf. 3, ll. 25 ff.; 8, ll. 10 ff.). By ἡ πατρίς is meant Caria or rather the district of which Mylasa was the centre, called ἡ πόλις in l. 18, and to which Alinda also belonged, if Olympichus' residence was there: see Ch. IV, p. 92. The accusative τὴν πόλιν most likely was the subject in an accus. and infin. clause governed by συναίτιος,¹³ and the information which followed undoubtedly concerned Mylasa's liberation by Seleucus II, which is a constantly repeated theme in this correspondence; ἀπο seems to be the prefix in a compound verb, corresponding to 8, ll. 14—5. The καὶ πρότερον in l. 17 demands a clause corresponding to καὶ εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν δέ--- in 4, ll. 14—5; 3, ll. 29 ff., or more probably, since the problems were not yet definitely solved, καὶ νῦν. Cf. e.g. the beginning of the Rhodian decree Michel, 431, I (= Holleaux, *Études*, IV, pp. 147—8), concerning Iasus' complaints towards Olympichus' subordinate Podilus (see Ch. IV, pp. 93—4), ll. 7 ff., παρακαλοῦν[τι] τὸν δ᾽ ἄμυν, [καθ]᾽ ἃς καὶ ἐν τοῖς πρότερον χρόνοις διατετέλεσεν εὐερ[γε]τῶν τὰν πόλιν τὰν Ἰασέων, καὶ νῦν πρόνοιαν [ποιεῖ]σθ[αι] ὅπως ᾗ τε πόλις αὐτῶν ἐλευθέρῃ καὶ αὐτόνομος [διαμέ]νη[ι]---.¹⁴

B. Ll. 1—2. This letter is mentioned in 4, ll. 13—4; 5, ll. 44—6; 7, ll. 2—4. The restoration based on the space available and on the more detailed description of the objects in dispute in ll. 6—8 gives the requisite information in the simplest way, as we might expect in a narrative of this kind (cf. 4, ll. 2—7). The main difficulty lies in the lacuna in l. 1; διὰ μακροτέρων indicates thoroughness on the part of the author and consequently the point is well worthy of mention by Olympichus. I understand that Olympichus is here quoting Philip's words in 5, l. 45, since (according to 7, ll. 6—7) that letter was known to him. Such a quotation verbatim or by synonyms "was an accepted principle of royal correspondence" (Welles, p. 215; see also pp. 84—5, 99, 102, "The phraseology is largely borrowed from the royal letter"; cf. below on ll. 2—9). καί, i.e. as Olympichus previously wrote to Seleucus: see on 4, ll. 2—7. He uses the verb συνδιατρεῖν in the same context in 3, ll. 10, 30, and 4, l. 8, followed by καθότι ἡξιοῦτε, which corresponds to the ὥσπερ-clause here. For an instance of the present participle with γράφειν see Welles, 12, ll. 3—4, χώραν ---, περὶ ἧς πρότερον

ἐγράψαμεν διδόντες αὐτῶι. τὸ ἱερὸν was the main object of the negotiations and stands first below in l. 6 as well as in Philip's letter to Mylasa 5, l. 43 (cf. l. 36) and that to Olympichus, 7, l. 7.

Ll. 2—9. Philip's letter mentioned in ll. 2—3 is 7; it is mentioned also below in ll. 10—1 and above, A, ll. 15—6; Olympichus' letter referred to in l. 9 is 4.

ποιήσασθαι τὴν παράδοσιν is a quasi verbatim quotation from 7, ll. 13—4; there is no room for a dative; γράφειν governing a dative and an infinitive occurs also in Olympichus' letter 3, ll. 7—8, and Philip's letter *Syll*³, 552, ll. 13—5.

My suggestion τοῖς τε ὑ[μετέροις] ψηφίσμασιν in l. 4 was doubted by J. and L. Robert in 1965 and certainly their previous suggestions (ὑ[φ'] ὑμῶν ἀξιουμένοις --) or ὑ[πὸ] τῆς πόλεως ἀξιουμένοις] make good sense; neither of them, however, can easily be accommodated on the stone.¹⁵ L. 3 contains a quotation from Philip; in l. 5 the oath is mentioned in the same way as in 7, l. 9, and cf. also my suggestion on l. 1. We may also compare this passage with 5, ll. 47—8, where Philip having mentioned the oath writes παρακολουθή[σας] τῶι ψηφίσματι, if I am right. It is stated at various points in the course of the correspondence that Mylasa took its stand on several relevant decrees.

¹² This was in any case not the place for a repetition of long narratives such as 4, ll. 2 ff.

¹³ Cf. e.g. the contemporary Athenian decree for Cephisodorus, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 422, ll. 28—30, αἴτιος γεγὼς -- τοῦ διατηρῆσαι τὸν δῆμον τὴν αὐτονομίαν; *Syll*³, 493 (Delos, 230—20 B.C.), ll. 11—2, [π]αραίτιος ἐγένετο τοῦ τὴν ταχίστην σιτωνήσαντας ἀπολυθῆναι; Fr. G. Maier, *Gr. Mauerbauinschr.*, I, 1959, 49 (Camirus, ca. 225 or 180 B.C.), ll. 23—4, παραίτιος ἐγένετο τοῦ ἐμ φυλακῇ καὶ ἀσφαλείᾳ γενέσθαι τὸ περιπόλιον; Isocr. V (*To Philip*) 44, ἡμεῖς καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνους μόναι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ποιησάμενοι συμμαχίαν συναίτιοι τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτοῖς κατέστημεν; the honorific decree for a Mylasan, *Syll*³, 603, l. 9, συναίτιος γινόμενος τῶν συμφερόντων ---; for the nuances of αἴτιος, παραίτιος, συναίτιος see Wilhelm, *Wien. Anz.*, 59, 1922, p. 83; "The συν- refers in the diplomatic language to the person addressed" (Welles, p. 150), and is courteous (*ibid.*, p. 365); cf. Olympichus' word-choice in the oath συνδιατρεῖω and συνκατασκευάζειν in 4, l. 15.

¹⁴ παρακαλεῖν governing an accus. and infin. occurs also in the Mylasan decree of 209/8 B.C., *Delphinion*, 146 B, ll. 83—5.

¹⁵ This objection, however, is not decisive, since the requisite verb could be borrowed from A, l. 16; ἀκολουθεῖν τοῖς τε ὑ[φ'] ὑμῶν παρακαλουμένοις] fills the lacuna equally well; cf. *Syll*³, 399, ll. 28—30, ὅτι οἱ Ἀμφικτιόνες -- κατακολουθήσαντι τοῖς παρακαλουμένοις ὑπὸ τῶν τεχνιτῶν.

Here, however, Olympichus might in the first place have thought of the two latest ones, which concerned him and which were of great importance for him in person. In the decree which occasioned his letter 4, Mylasa had promised him and his family due honours, which had been lavishly bestowed on them, as set out in the last decree, A, ll. 3 ff. This would seem to me to be an extra reason why Olympichus should have mentioned the city's decrees.¹⁶ At all events I add a note of interrogation.

καθότι ἡξιοῦτε seems to be a favourite phrase of Olympichus. In 4 it occurs twice and it corresponds to the rather pleonastic καθότι-clause in A, l. 12, and the ὥσπερ-clause in B, l. 2; it is also very characteristic of the circumstantiality, which Olympichus very often displays in his accounts. However, should the city's request be placed in l. 4 in accordance with J. and L. Robert's suggestion, completed by my restoration suggested in n. 15, I propose an alternative restoration of l. 5: καὶ τοῖς ὄρκοις οὗς ἐποιήσαμ[εν ποτὲ τῶι δήμῳ, ἀποκα]-

The dative is taken from 3, l. 29; ποτὲ from my supplement in 5, l. 48, which corresponds to καθ' ὃν καιρόν in 7, l. 12, just as ποτὲ here, if right, corresponds to the same expression in 7, l. 9; in the context it is to be borne in mind that the oath was taken 20 years previously (cf. τινα in 5, l. 40). The prefix ἀπο- is certain through 4, l. 8 (cf. 8, ll. 14—5). On Πέτρᾳ see on 4, ll. 10—3. πάσας or ἀπάσας occurs as e.g. in 4, l. 10; ἅπας occurs after a vowel e.g. in Welles, l. 1. 17.

Ll. 9—11. Since we have no reason at all to suppose that Philip wrote more than one letter to Olympichus, the verb at the end of l. 9 is not subordinate to ἐγγράφειν but is co-ordinated with ἐντέταλμα through the καὶ in l. 11. The letter is that which Mylasan envoys had delivered, A, ll. 15—6, i.e. 7, and was mentioned above in ll. 2—3. Certainly ὑποτάσσεται is a possibility, but I prefer to put the two co-ordinated predicates in the same person.¹⁷

Ll. 11—2. The division δι|χ shows that the previous line had no blank space; αὐτός, or a word of equal length, is necessary to fill the lacuna. The insertion itself is quite natural after the previous reference to Philip's letter, and the word is frequently employed in letters of this kind: see Welles. ὑμῶν is likewise omitted from the corresponding statement in Olympichus' earlier letter 3, l. 33. The phrase τοῖς πρεσβευταῖς διαλεγείας sounds familiar in tone, since the verb in royal correspondence is normally¹⁸ used of envoys or others who have been admitted to an audience.

For the end of l. 12 cf. e.g. Xenoph. *Anab.* II 3, 4, τὰ τε παρὰ βασιλείᾳ τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἀπαγγεῖλαι καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων βασιλεῖ; *ibid.*, II 3, 7; Herodot. IX 1; IX 5. Philip employs a fuller expression for "my answer" in *Syll*³, 572, ll. 7—8, ἐντέταλμα αὐτῶι ἀναγγεῖλαι ὑμῖν ἃ ἡβουλόμην ὑμᾶς εἰδῆσαι.

This letter, like the previous ones, belongs to the category of grants and is in many respects arranged in the same way as 4.

7. Letter of Philip V to Olympichus.

Inv. 20 B/C 38 (ll. 1—5), 22/C 40 (ll. 6—15). L. 4 stands 3.5 cm. above the present lower edge of C 38, but the under side of the block is worn at least 3 mm. On C 40 the first visible line, 7, stands 4.1 cm. below the present upper edge, which is at least 5 mm. short of the original upper edge. Consequently, on the assumption of a normal interlinear space of ca. 2.8 cm., the letters of l. 6 stood on C 40, while the blank space above the line was on C 38. The preserved juncture between C 78 and C 76 indicates that the joint between any block did not create an interlinear space larger than normal. The blank space in l. 15 after ἔρρωσο is 3 cm.; the blank space below the line is 32.5 cm. in height.

Ll. 1—4. Published: A. Vogliano, cited above on 6.

Discussion: J. and L. Robert, *Bull. épigr.*, 1950, 182 (ll. 1—3). L. Robert, *Encyclopédie de la Pléiade*, XI, *L'histoire et ses méthodes*, 1961, 'L'épigraphie', p. 466.

¹⁶ Cf. in the first place *Syll*³, 679, ll. 7—8, where the Mylasans, when acting as arbiters between Magnesia and Priene, are said βουλόμενοι κατακολουθεῖν τοῖς τε ὑπὸ [τῆς συγκλήτου] δεδογματισμένοις καὶ τῇ ἀπεσταλμένῃ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπιστολῇ ὑπὸ Μάρκου; cf. also *ibid.*, 665, also concerning arbiters, ll. 14—5, ἀκολουθ[ον τῶι ἔρ]κῳ ἐν ὁμ[όρ]σῃ καὶ τοῖς νόμοις τοῖς τῶν Ἀχαιῶν.

¹⁷ Cf. e.g. Philip's letter to Archippus, Makaronas, *Arch. Ep.*, 1934—5, p. 118, (= *AJA*, XLII, 1938, p. 246), ll. 2—4, τοῦ δοθέντος μοι ὑπομνήματος π[α]ρὰ τῶν π[ε]ρὶ Νικάνορα τὸν τετράρχην ἐκπέπομφά [σοι τὸ] ἀντίγραφον; p. 122 Makaronas gives some instances of the phrase ὑποτάσσειν *vel sim.* τὸ ἀντίγραφον in the active.

¹⁸ Notice, however, among non-literary evidence, *Syll*³, 683, ll. 8—9, (τὰς πόλεις) ποθ' αὐτὰς διαλέγεσθαι ὅπως...

Βασιλεὺς Φίλιππος Ὀλυμπίῳ χαίρειν εἰ ἔρρωσαι], C 38
 τὸ δέον ἂν εἴη· καὶ ἐγὼ δὲ ὑγίαινον· καὶ τ[ὴν παρὰ σοῦ]
 ἐπιστολὴν ἀνέγνω· ἣν ἐγγράφεις περὶ τῶν Μυλά-
 4 σέων καὶ οἱ περὶ ἐμῆς οἱ παρ[ὰ] τῆς πόλεως ἀποδόν]-
 τε[ς] μοι τὸ [ψήφισμα] διε[λ]έ[γ]ο[ν]το [περὶ τῶν ἀξιουμέ]-
 [νων, καὶ γέγραφα τῇ πόλει ἐπιστολὴν ἣς ὑποτέταχά]
 σοι τ[ὸ] ἀντίγραφον, τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν [κ]α[ὶ] τ[ὴν] χώραν καὶ τὰλλα], C 40
 8 ὥσπερ] καὶ σὺ οἶον δεῖν, ἀποδίδοσθαι [αὐτοῖς κατὰ τοῦς]
 [ὅρκ]ους οὓς ἐποίησα, καθ' ὃν καιρὸν Σέλ[ευκ]ο[ς] ἐλευθέ]-
 ρην ἐκαθε[ῖ]σε[ν] τ[ὴν] πόλιν, καὶ ἐγὼ δίκαιον εἶναι κρίνω]
 [ἀ]λλ[ως] τ[ὴν] πόλιν καὶ τ[ὴν] πόλιν ἐως ἀπο[δείξ]εις οὐ μ[ικρ]ὰς]
 12 [πε]ποιημένης τῆς εὐνοίας, καθ' ὃν [καιρ]ὸν τὸν πατ[έρ]α]
 [ε]ἶ[ς] τῇ πόλιν προσεδέξαντο· ποιῆσαι οὖν αὐτοῖς]
 τὴν παράδοσιν, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς ὅρκοις ὁμολόγη[ται].
 vac [ἔρρω]σιν ἔξους τρίτου Αὐδνα[ίου]
 vac

1. [εἰν' εἰ υγιαινεις, V.; [εἰν. Εἰ ὑγιάινεις, R.; this sugges-
 tion seems to be too long. 2. καὶ ἐγὼ, R.;τὴν,
 V.R. 3. the left vertical stroke and the joint of the hori-
 zontal one of π are visible. 4. γωνες., V.; the vertical
 stroke of κ and the left oblique stroke with the upper
 angle of α are visible; the upper horizontal stroke of ε
 can be traced; the lower portions of υ, the oblique strokes
 of α and the upper portion of ι can be traced; the mark
 visible on the photograph after the last pi is a fault in the
 stone. 5. the upper horizontal strokes of τε, the lower

portion of the stroke to the right of μ, the horizontal
 stroke of τ and a section of a curved line to the right of ο
 are visible; the dotted letters of διελέγοντο have their
 upper portions preserved. 10. ρην, αθ can be traced in the
 damaged surface; the lower angle of σ and the upper
 finial to the right of ν are visible. 11. [α], [ς], [ε] are
 supported by the damages in the stone; the vertical
 stroke of τ and the right vertical stroke with the joint
 of the horizontal one of η are visible. 12. the lower
 portion of the left stroke of α and the lower finial of τ are
 visible.

'King Philip to Olympichus, greeting. [If you are
 well] it would be as I wish. I was also in good
 health. I read [your] letter, which you had written
 [concerning the Mylasans], and the envoys of the
 [city gave] me the [decree] and spoke [concerning
 what it requests. I have written to the city a
 letter of which I have appended] for you the copy.
 That the shrine, [the land and the other objects],
 as you too thought to be necessary, are being con-
 ceded [to them according to the oaths] which you
 took at the time that Seleucus set the city [free],
 I too [consider] just, [especially] as the city has
 given no [small proofs] of its goodwill at the
 [time] that they admitted my father [into the]

city. Make then the transference to them, just as
 [it is] promised in the oaths. Farewell. Year 3.
 Audnaius.'

This letter was occasioned by Mylasa's embassy
 to Philip and is Philip's order to Olympichus to
 relinquish Labraunda and all other objects dis-
 puted to Mylasa. It is mentioned in 6 A, ll. 15—6;
 B, ll. 2—3, 10—11.

The letter is written in such a concentrated
 way that the translation may pass for an epitome.

Ll. 1—2. The rare use of official titles was
 strictly regulated in royal correspondence and to
 employ the title was to recognize that the person-

age addressed was independent and of equal rank to the writer: see Welles, pp. 248, 268; Bickerman, *Inst. Sél.*, p. 193.¹ A king of Macedon would naturally not employ a title when addressing himself to the most important man in a district within his sphere of influence, and Philip must have regarded Caria as such since Doson's expedition. This is of some importance in helping us to judge Olympichus' relation to Philip. The omission of title in the health-wish indicates Olympichus' inferior position, and does as such not mean that he was acting as a governor, as he was in I, when Seleucus II wrote a letter to him. Olympichus calls Philip in his letters ὁ βασιλεὺς Φίλιππος or ὁ βασιλεὺς, just as he calls Seleucus II ὁ βασιλεὺς Σέλευκος or ὁ βασιλεὺς, whereas he is himself called ὁ Ὀλύμπιχος by Philip in 5, l. 36. Philip also gives him an order in the imperative, l. 13, as if he was a subordinate official. Compare Olympichus' role in the negotiations with Iasus (see Ch. IV, pp. 93—5) in which Philip played a part corresponding to that which he played in the affair of Labraunda; In the present letters Philip appears as the authority competent to solve internal disputes in the country. Mylasa was a free city and Olympichus acted as a free and independent dynast²—which explains why the dispute lasted so long after Doson's expedition—but he was also a local dynast of moderate importance and in practice he had to subordinate himself to the will of the powerful king of Macedon; see further p. 51.

Nevertheless, Philip was courteous to Olympichus including an initial health-wish. This seems to be the earliest instance of this courtesy in a royal letter (though it is very frequent in private correspondence earlier), the earliest one in Welles, 56—61 being from the chancery of the Attalids 163—56 B.C. The health-wish was taken over by royal chanceries from private correspondence and was addressed to cities also, but it was always rare: see Welles, pp. 248, 291; cf. Bickerman, *Inst. Sél.*, p. 194.³ Although Philip did not include this greeting in his letter to his official Archippus of 181 *AJA*, XLII, 1938, p. 246, its presence in this letter does not seem to throw any light on Olympichus' position vis à vis Philip; at least it is to be noted that the greeting occurs in the letters to Attis, both when addressed as a priest and when he has no title: see Welles, p. 248.

The restoration at the end of l. 1 could cer-

tainly be accommodated on the stone, since there are three iotas and two rhos. The phrase τὸ δέον ἂν εἴη is uncommon. F. Ziemann, *De epistularum gr. formulis sollemnibus quaestiones sel.*, Diss. Halle, 1910, p. 308, gives one instance in a papyrus from earlier than 156 B.C., but Fr. X. Exler, *The form of the ancient Greek letter. A study in Greek epistolography*, Diss. Washington D.C., 1923, p. 104, gives examples from the 3rd cent. B.C. See also Chr. Dunant and J. Pouilloux, *Ét. Thasiennes*, V, 1958, p. 23, no 171 (= *SEG* XIII 458, decree of Lampsacus, early first cent. B.C.), ll. 3—4, εἰ ἔρωσθε (sic), τὸ δέον ἂν εἴη, καὶ ἡμεῖς δὲ γυμνάζομεν.

Ll. 2—4. This letter is mentioned in 4, ll. 13—4; 5, ll. 44—6; 6 B, ll. 1—2. Cf. the letter of Philip to the Athenian cleruchs on Lemnos *SEG* XII 399, ll. 4—5, ἀνέγων τὸ παρ' ὑμ[ῶν] ψήφισμα; Welles, 2, ll. 9—11; 56, ll. 3—4; 58, ll. 3—4; 59, l. 3; περί as e.g. 6 B, l. 10. In the following lines Philip mentions Mylasa as alternately ἡ πόλις and as αὐτοί, and consequently the name of the city must have been given in the lacuna between ll. 3 and 4; the definite article, also necessary for reasons of space, emphasizes Mylasa, just as it emphasized Olympichus in 5, l. 36; cf. also Welles, 7, Βασιλεὺς Λυσίμαχος Σαμίων τ.β.κ.τ.δ.χ.--- οἱ τε πρέσβεις οἱ παρ' ὑμῶν καὶ οἱ παρὰ τῶν Περηνέων---

Ll. 4—6. Philip mentions this embassy and the decree in his letter to Mylasa, 5; the envoys received from the king the letter to the city, 5, and this letter, 7, to transmit to Olympichus. The reconstruction suggested follows Philip's letter *Syll*³, 552, ll. 3—9, οἱ παρ' ὑμῶν πρεσβευταὶ--- ἀποδόντες τὸ ψήφισμα διελέγησαν, ὅπως---; μοι is added as in Philip's letter *ibid.*, 543, l. 5, ἐνεφάνιζόν μοι; διελέγοντο as in his letter 5, l. 21; at the end of l. 5 there is room only for a summary statement, since

¹ See also Holleaux, *Études*, III, p. 216 with n. 2; Bengtson, *Strategie*, II, p. 122; L. Robert, *CRAI*, 1967, pp. 290—1.

² Notice especially 6 B, ll. 2 ff., where, though referring to the king's order, he represents his own confirmation of the conveyance, which had been made earlier by himself, as an act of free will; as we see, Philip only had to order him to fulfil his oath and carry out the transfer of land.

³ The health-wish of a royal letter is of the same form as in a private letter and expresses private relations to the recipient; it can be used both by the chancery and by the king himself: see W. Schubart, *Arch. Pap.*, 6, 1920, p. 338.

the contents of l. 6 are evident, and the line is restored in the most concise way possible; the verb ἀξιοῦν occurs repeatedly in these letters: see on 4; 6 B, ll. 2—9, and also Philip's words, 5, l. 46, ὥς καὶ δίκαιον ἀξιοῦσιν (cf. e.g. Welles, 54, l. 4, (οἱ πρεσβευταὶ) -- διαλεγέντες περὶ ὧν ἐνετετάλκετε αὐτοῖς ἡξιούσαν).

Ll. 6—7. As is evident from the beginning of l. 7, Philip must in l. 6 have informed Olympichus of his letter to Mylasa, 5. My restoration fills the line exactly and follows in the main 4, ll. 6—7. The verbs are put in the perfect tense, as 6 B, ll. 9, 12, and in Philip's letters *Syll*³, 552, ll. 13—5, γέγραφα τῷ Ἡρακλείδῃ μὴ ἐνοχλεῖν ὑμᾶς, and *ibid.*, 572, cited on 6 B, l. 12; *Syll*³, 572, l. 4, also makes it clear that δέ here does not require a preceding μέν. For a letter written directly to a πόλις cf. Philip's letters *Syll*³, 543 II and IV, βασιλεὺς Φίλιππος Λαρισαίων τοῖς ταγοῖς καὶ τῇ πόλει χαίρειν (cf. *ibid.*, 572, l. 5). In the present passage which refers only to the correspondence between Philip, Olympichus and Mylasa the καί, which occurs in a wider context in 4, l. 7, is not necessary, though there would be room for it, if τῇ πόλει is replaced by αὐτοῖς.

Ll. 7—13 contain Philip's reasons for his decision. The principal one is that Olympichus had to fulfil his oath; but Philip was also influenced by the city's loyalty to his stepfather Antigonos Doson. In l. 7 the objects in dispute are mentioned in the same terms as in the oath; cf. Philip's letter 5, ll. 34—6, 42—6; τῶν πόλεων, which occurs often à propos of the oath, seems certain for reasons of space and the same is true of the dative in l. 8. Since the relative clause, which precedes καὶ ἐγώ, must have contained the same information as 5, l. 34, Σέλευκον --- ἀφιέντα τὴν πόλιν ἐλευθέραν (cf. on 3, ll. 6—8), ἐλευθέραν in ll. 9—10 is fairly certain; the few preserved letters and the traces of others seem to make the verb ἐκῃθε[?]σ[ε]ν, though the choice of word is somewhat surprising; καθίζω governs the same construction in Plut. *Solon* XIX 2, τὴν δ' ἄνω βουλὴν ἐπίσκοπον πάντων καὶ φύλακα τῶν νόμων ἐκάθισεν, "he made the upper council a general overseer in the state ---" (Perrin); in *Thesaurus*, s.v., some late instances; LSJ, s.v., I 4, translates "constitute, establish", cf. 5, "put into a certain condition, esp. in the phrase κλαίωντά τινα κ., set him weeping": see the instances in Schwyzler, *Gr. Gr.*, II, p. 394.

At the end of l. 10 different tenses of κρίνειν might have been used (cf. Welles, p. LXX), but Philip seems, in expressing his decisions, to have preferred the present, *Syll*³, 543, l. 6, κρίνω (cf. παρακαλῶ, l. 34); and Welles, *AJA*, XLII, 1938, p. 246, l. 4, συγχωρῶ; the expression κρίνω δίκαιον εἶναι occurs e.g. in *Syll*³, 593, l. 17; Welles, 23 l. 14.

For ἄλλως τε δὲ καὶ see the instances quoted in J. D. Denniston, *The Greek particles*², 1954, p. 260; the expression occurs in some instances with a participle clause in Polybius: see Mauersberger, s.v. ἄλλος, δὲ, coll. 65, 449. ἀποδείξεις ποιῆσθαι of goodwill, benevolence etc. is a stock phrase;⁴ cf. e.g. Welles, 14, ll. 9—10, ἣν ἀπόδειξιν πεποιήσθε τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς εὐνοίας; 44, ll. 2—3, τῆς εἰς ἡμᾶς καὶ τὰ πράγματα αἰρέσεως πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας ἀποδείξεις πεποιημένον (cf. *ibid.*, 45, ll. 5—7); in Araxa SEG XVIII 570 (early 2nd cent. B.C.),⁵ ll. 6—7, πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας ἀποδείξεις πεποιήται τῆς πρὸς τὸν δῆμον εὐνοίας (cf. *Syll*³, 629, ll. 2—3; *OGIS*, 326, ll. 4—5).⁶ οὐ μικρὸς corresponds to μέγας in Welles, 1, ll. 2, 32, 33 (οὐκ ὀλίγα); 25, ll. 15—6; cf. also *OGIS*, 308 (2nd cent. B.C.), ll. 15—6, τῆς πρὸς θεοὺς εὐσεβείας --- οὐ μικρὸν δοκιμεῖον ἀπέλιπεν; the Athenian decree, cited 6 n. 13, l. 24, ἄλλας δωρεὰς οὐκ ὀλίγας (cf. l. 30); in Mendelia near Mylasa, Hula und Szanto, p. 9 (cf. L. Robert, *Villes*, p. 60; Laumonier, *Cultes*, p. 165 n. 1), l. 15, κίνδυνον ὄντα οὐ μικρόν;

For ll. 12—3 cf. Diod. XXXII 9 c, p. 444 (Walton), καὶ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον εἰς τὴν πόλιν δεξάμενοι διάδημα περιέθηκαν καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐνεχείρισαν; in the Mylasan inscription LBW, 360, l. 1, προσδέχεται is used of an incorporation of one community in another; Philip himself uses the verb in a transferred sense in *Syll*³, 543, l. 32, (οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι) τοὺς οἰκέτας ὅταν ἐλευθερώσωσιν προσδεχόμενοι εἰς τὸ

⁴ A great number of instances of the phrase, including ἀποδ. ποι. τῆς εὐνοίας, are collected by Holleaux, *Études*, III, pp. 92—4; cf. Wilhelm, *Neue Beitr.*, VI (= *Wien. Sitzb.*, 183, 3), 1921, p. 24; the study of Ἀπόδειξις in Welles, pp. 315—6, in which ἀπόδεξις is taken as an equivalent of ἀποδοχή, is criticized by P. Roussel, *BCH*, LIX, 1935, p. 521, as being an equivalent of ἀπόδειξις; on εὐνοία shown by cities towards kings see Holleaux, *ibid.*, pp. 226—7 with references.

⁵ Cf. J. and L. Robert, *Bull. épigr.*, 1950, 183; L. Moretti, *Riv. Fil.*, XXVIII, 1950, pp. 326—50.

⁶ The phrase is restored by L. Robert in a decree of Tralles honouring a judge from Mylasa, *SEG* IV 233, ll. 8—9.

πολίτευμα; on προσδέχομαι meaning "to receive kindly", "to welcome" see Welles, pp. 358—9. This passage answers the question asked by Nicolaus, p. 83 n. 49: "Weshalb es Mylasa und Alabanda mit Philippos hielten, das lässt sich kaum sagen"; also the reference to Antigonos alone shows that the suggestion of Walbank, *Philip V*, p. 19, that Philip "was probably too young to go to Caria in 227", is right. In *BCH*, LXXIV, 1950, p. 42, J. Pouilloux and N. M. Verdélis have published a dedication from Demetrias to βασιλεῖ Ἀντιγόνῳ καὶ Φιλίππῳ, i.e. Philip appears as the legal heir of Doson (*ibid.*, p. 45 n. 5), just as according to Paus. VI 16, 3, in a statue-group in Olympia Greece was portrayed with one hand crowning Ἀντίγονον τὸν ἐπιτροπέσαντα Φιλίππου τοῦ Δημητρίου and with the other crowning Philip himself. The fact that Philip mentions his former guardian as his father makes it evident that relations between them remained good.

LI. 13—4. Philip orders Olympichus to fulfil his oath. The abrupt imperative is a personal expression, such as is used in writing to subordinate officials: see Welles, pp. 32, 40, 65 (cf. also Philip's letter *Syll*³, 552, ll. 13—5, γέγραφα τῷ Ἡρακλείδῃ μὴ ἐνοχλεῖν ὑμᾶς); its use here is explained by Olympichus' inferior position (see above) and it does not indicate that Olympichus was Philip's subordinate: see Ch. IV, pp. 87—91, 95; Philip also uses the imperative in his letter to Larissa *Syll*³, 543, l. 38, although previously in the same letters he was more courteous, using κρίνω, παρακαλῶ (cf. W. Schubart, *Arch. Pap.*, 6, 1920, p. 336). The passive form at the end of l. 14 is supported by the traces on the stone; notice also the casual way in which the oath is mentioned in 5, ll. 39—40; cf. the decree between Maussollus and Phaselis, Wilhelm, *Jahresh.*, I, 1898, pp. 149—62, l. 3, ἐμμεν[εῖν τοῖς ὁμολογημένοις, also l. 5, but l. 11, καθ' ὃ κα Φασηλίται καὶ Μάυσωλλος ὁμολογήσων[τι; on ὁμολογία and ὁμολογεῖν as juridical terms see E. Weiss, *Gr. Privatrecht*, I, 1923, pp. 431—3.

The dating in l. 15 confirms the information to be derived from e.g. *Syll*³, 543, that Philip V reckoned his regnal years from Doson's death and that consequently he was not Doson's co-regent unlike his father, Demetrius II, who became co-regent when quite young: see the inscription from Beroea *SEG* XII 314 (cf. Fraser and Bean, *Rhod. Per.*, p. 156 n. 1).

The dating itself, however, involves some uncertainty. Philip became king in the late summer of 221.⁷ It is to be presumed that the regnal year coincided with the calendar year, of which the first month in Macedon, accommodated to the autumnal equinox, was Δῖος (= October) and the last one Ὑπερβερεταῖος (September).⁸ The question then arises, how the first regnal year was reckoned. As far as concerns Philip, the usual hypothesis has been to include the whole calendar year, in which Doson died, in the latter's last regnal year, Philip's first regnal year being reckoned from the new calendar year; so e.g. in *Syll*³, *loc. cit.*⁹ However, it seems surprising that a part of a king's reign should be left out of account. Makaronas, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1934—5, pp. 124—6, consequently rejected the accepted system and calculated Philip's first regnal years as occupying the short period from summer to September 221. The letter which Makaronas was publishing, pp. 117 ff., is dated Audnaios in Philip's 42nd regnal year, which should be December 181. In the same way he ante-dated Philip's letters *Syll*³, 543 and 552 by a year. He was supported by Walbank, *Philip V*,

⁷ For the dates of Philip's birth, accession and death see Walbank, *Philip V*, pp. 295—9.

⁸ E.g. W.W. Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas*, 1913, p. 434 n. 6, was convinced that "the kings of Macedonia reckoned by the Macedonian year beginning 1 Dios".

⁹ For this principle see E. Bickerman, *Chronology of the ancient world*, 1968, pp. 66—7: "The chronographers, in order to be able to use the years of reign as chronological units, had to relate them to a standardized year in order to make them uniform. The year in which a sovereign came to the throne was accordingly attributed sometimes to his predecessor (antedating), and sometimes to his successor (dating in advance)." (The book is a translation of *Chronologie*², 1963, in which, p. 40, is written: "das Jahr des Thronwechsels bald dem Vorgänger (Postdatierung), bald dem Nachfolger (Antedatierung) voll zugerechnet wurde"). The first possibility seems to have been practiced in Babylon in the Seleucid Era: see A. J. Sachs and D. J. Wiseman, *Iraq*, XVI, 1954, p. 209: "it must be admitted that we encounter difficulties in the case of Antiochus III. In general, it is quite clear that the year during which the king died is always counted as the last full year of his reign. This of course is postdating, the standard practice in Babylonia until the end of the Achaemenid period." Bickerman, *Berytus*, VIII, 1943—4, pp. 73—4, suggested a variable regnal year for the Macedonians, which coincided with the civil year and was adopted to the anniversary of the accession of the ruler. Such a year must have been extremely inconvenient for the people.

pp. 297—9, as far as concerns the principle of dating, both because it was in conformity with the contemporary Ptolemaic system, and because he demonstrated that Philip's first letter to Larissa, dated September of his second regnal year, is to be regarded as written in 220, not in 219.¹⁰ With some reservation, since proof is still lacking, this system of reckoning Philip's regnal years also seems to me most likely, and consequently this letter should be dated December 220 B.C. A year and a half is fully sufficient to cover the course of the affair after Doson's death: see on 5, the introduction.

This letter is a perfectly conventional one and consists of "the customary three parts, the statement of the situation, the decision, and the order"

(Welles, p. 185, see pp. XLIV—XLV). In view of the imperative in l. 13, the letter is in fact a *prostagma*, though Hellenistic usage often did not distinguish between such an order and an *epistole*: see Holleaux, *Études*, III, pp. 205—11.¹¹ No doubt Olympichus himself called the document an *epistole*. Philip's letters are highly regarded from a stylistical point of view by W. Schubart, *Arch. Pap.*, 6, cited above, p. 338. Since, in spite of the occasionally marked choice of words all personal quality is lacking, I am inclined to regard the document as a product of the chancery (cf. Schubart, *loc. cit.*, pp. 338—40). Philip's use of up-to-date language is shown by the fact that parallels to his phrases often have to be taken from later texts.

8. Letter of Olympichus to Mylasa, announcing a dedication of lands to Zeus Osogoa, preceded by the last portion of a decree issued by Mylasa on the matter and followed by a list of the dedicated lands.

Shortly after 240 B.C. (?). Copy of late second cent. B.C. (letter-forms).

Inv. 139/C 215. Nine joining fragments of a stele, found in 1953 in a hole in the ground south of Andron C (see Westholm, pp. 51—3, 75, 95, 112—7). About its original place see on 9, p. 68.

Width 87.5 cm., height 76.5 cm., thickness 10 cm. The stone bears an inscription on the two opposite sides, 8 and Inv. 140. The front face, 8, consists of seven fragments, the back, Inv. 140, of nine, the inscribed area of both faces have been approximately the same. For the upper portion of the stele, not found in the hole, see on 9. Of the better preserved part about a third of the width is lost at the top of the right front face, and correspondingly of the left rear surface; the corners and edges of the different fragments are frequently damaged. The front face and the back, probably once smoothed, are very badly worn in places; the left and right sides are smooth-cut; the lower surface has been chisel-picked to a distance of 22 cm. from the left edge and 21.5 from the right,

Dow and Edson, Jr., *Harv. Studies in Cl. Philol.*, XLVIII, 1937, pp. 175—6, reckoned Doson's years as epitropos after the death of Demetrius II in April 229 on the same scheme.

¹¹ For Egypt see also the references in Marie-Thérèse Lenger, *BCH*, LXXX, 1956, p. 445 n. 2.

Since the homogeneous series of letters 1—7, all of which are concerned with the long drawn-out dispute over Labraunda's status, was not engraved at the same time or in an immediate sequence and by different engravers, it seems possible to speculate on the authorities on whose instructions the different letters were engraved.

1 stands on its own as far as the lettering is concerned and was most probably engraved by order of Korris, since its content alone in the series was in the priest's favour. This would explain why a copy of the letter together with the covering letter was engraved on the wall in the priest's office, *Oîxoi*, two hundred years and more later (1 B—2). Mylasa may possibly, as a counter-move, have engraved Olympichus' letter to the city (3), probably together with Seleucus' lost decision. 4 was possibly engraved on Idrieus' Andron by Olympichus as testimony of his generosity and goodwill, but Mylasa may equally well have engraved it. The city certainly engraved 5—7 on Maussollus' Andron, this place probably being chosen because the antae of the more central Temple and Idrieus' Andron were already occupied (8—9 were engraved by the city and 10—12 by the priest of Zeus).

¹⁰ The system was accepted without discussion by R. Flacelière, J. and L. Robert, *Bull. épigr.*, 1938, 205, and Welles, *AJA*, XLII, 1938, pp. 245—9.

leaving a projecting tamp (4 cm. in height) in the intervening space.

The margin is ca. 0.7 cm. on the left. The letters are mostly 1.3 to 1.6 cm. high, but sometimes omicrons and others not more than 1.0 cm.; interlinear space varies greatly, 1.6 to 2.4 cm. The letters are somewhat irregularly carved with most-

ly rather slightly thickened finials, and vary considerably in shape, size and spacing: see further on 9. The blank spaces in ll. 10 and 26 are 8 and 5.6 and at least 7 cm. respectively; below l. 33 there is a blank space, 4 cm. in height, above the cuttings. There are lapicidal errors in ll. 4, 22, 25, 27, 29, 30: see *ad loc.* Plates 4—5.

- A [-----] παρὰ τὰ]
[δεδογμέ]γχε εὐ[θ]ύνεσθαι παρευρέσει μηδεμιᾷ [- ----- ἐὰν δὲ]
[ἡ] παραλάβῃ τις τὴν εὐθύναν ἢ εισαγάγῃ ἢ δικα[σ]τῆς δικάσῃ ἢ δῶι παρὰ]
4 τὰ δεδογμένα παρευρέσει ἡτιν<ι>οῦν, ἐξώλῃς [ἔστω αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ ἐξ αὐ]-
τοῦ καὶ ἐπικατάρατος καὶ ἄτιμος καὶ προσαπο[τεισάτω δραχμὰς -----]
ας καὶ ἔστω τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτοῦ ἱερὰ Διὸς Ὅσ[ο]γω καὶ ἐξέστω τῷ βου]-
λομένῳ εὐθύνειν τὸν μὴ ἐμμείναντα ἄνευ π[ρο]θεσμίας παρευρέσει μη]-
8 δεμιᾷ ἐκκλειομένῳ· ἐμισθώσατο Ὀλύμπιχος αὐτὰ παρ' ἡμῶν εἰς πατρικὰ]
τὰ κ' τοῦ φόρου ἐκάστου ἔτους δραχμῶν Ἀλεξ[ανδρείων -----]
ων *vac* Ὀλύμπιχος τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χ[αίρειν] προαιρούμενοι]
[ε]ὐεργετεῖν ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ τὰ μέγιστα τὴν πα[τρι]δα οὐθενὸς οὐδέποτε]
12 ἀπέστημεν τῶν εἰς δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν ἀνηκόν[των μεγάλους ὑποστάντες ὅ]-
πῃ ὡμῶν κινδύνους· παραλαβόντες γὰρ τὴν [ὑμετέραν πόλιν τὴν φρου]-
ρὰν ἐκ τῆς ἄκρας ἐξαγαγόντες ἐλευθέραν [καὶ] δημοκρατουμένην ἀπο-
κατεστήσαμεν ὑμῖν· αἰρού[με]ν[το]ι δ' ἐν οὐθε]γι δ[ε]ῖν[τε]ροι εἶναι τῶν εὐεργετη]-
16 σάντων προ[τὲ] τὴν πόλιν, τὰδε βουλόμενοι ὑμῖν τε χαρίζεσθαι καὶ τὰ ἱε-
[ρὰ τὰ ἐν τ]ῇ πατρίδι αὔξειν· τὰς ὑπαρχούσας ἡμῖν γέας πάσας καὶ τοὺς
[παραδεί]στους καὶ τὰς ἐν τούτοις ἐπούσας οἰκίσεις καὶ τὰ προσκύροντα
[πάντα] ταῖς γέαις ταύταις κατὰ τὰς προὑπαρχούσας ὁμοειδέας αἰετώνημα[ι]
20 [παρὰ β]ασιλείσης Λαοδίκης, ἀνατίθῃμι τῷ Διὶ τῷ Ὅσογῳ τὰδε, καὶ ἡ ἀπὸ το[ύ]-
[των] πρόσσδος ὑπάρχει τῷ θεῷ ἐς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον καὶ καταναλίσ-
[κε]ται εἰς τὴν κατὰ μῆνα γινομένην παν<ι>γυριν> τῷ Διὶ, καὶ τὰ ἀνατεθέντα ὅφ' ἡ-
[μῶν] ἐμ μνήμῃ καὶ τηρήσει ἡ, καὶ ἡ πρόσσδος αὔξεται· καλῶς ἂν ποιήσαι-
24 [τ]ε ψηφισάμενοι μισθῶσαι αὐτὰ εἰς πατρικὰ τὰ κ' τοῦ φόρου καὶ ἀναγράψαι
τὰ ὅφ' ἡμῶν γραφέντα ἐν τε τῷ ἱερῷ[ι] τοῦ Δι[ι]ὸς Ὅσογῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ
[Δ]ιὸς Λαβραύνδου ἐν τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις τόποις. *vvv* ἔρρ[ωσθε.] *vac*
C Τὰδε ἀνέθηκεν Ὀλύμπιχος Ὀλυμπί[χ]ου Διὶ Ὅσογῳ ἐμ μὲν τῷ περὶ πόλιν πε-
28 δίῳ γέας τὰς ὀνομαζομένας ἐν Κομωονδοῖς, αἷς ὁμοροῦσιν Ἀλέξαν- *vv*

δρος Ἀριστέου, Μενόιτας Πολίτ[ο]υ, Ζηνόδοτος Πολίτου, Οὐλι(ά)δης Πολίτου
 καὶ ἱερὸς τόπος Διὸς Ὁσογ(ω) Αλωλλίος καὶ (ό) ἱε(ρὸς) Υς(?) Σίνυρι, υἱὸς Ἰατροκλέους Δι-
 ονύσιος Ἡρακλείδου, Ἱεροκλῆς Πρωτέου, Ἑστιάος Εἰρηναίου, Ἀριστεάς Ἰα-
 32 τροκλείους τοῦ Ἀρρίσιος καὶ αἱ ὁδοὶ δύο ἥ τε ἐπὶ Καλβίσσου καὶ ἐπὶ Ἱερῶν Κώ-
 μην. *vac*

vac

2. The upper portions of the vertical strokes of ν , the oblique strokes of α and the left portion of ψ are visible; a portion of the upper horizontal stroke of ϵ and the stroke to the left with the angle of μ are visible. 3. the lower portion of the left vertical stroke of the pi and the left oblique stroke of the first dotted alpha are visible. 4. NO stone. 7. the left vertical stroke with the joint of the horizontal one of π is visible. 15. the upper portion of the oblique stroke to the left of ψ , a portion of the upper horizontal stroke of ϵ and the left angle of the first dotted ν can be detected; the right angle of the second dotted ν is visible. 16. the upper portions of $\omega\psi\pi\sigma$ and the lower portions of $\tau\alpha\delta$ are visible. 19. the lowest portion of the left stroke of the last alpha is visible; the last

stroke of the preceding mu has been squeezed up in order to give room for the alpha and iota. 22. NT stone; the right portion of ψ and the upper right section of the curved line of φ can be traced. 27. NE stone; the stroke to the left with the joint of the middle left stroke of μ is visible. 28. the mu is almost certain, the two outer strokes with the upper angles are visible. 29. ID stone. 30. ΓΑ, ΑΙΙΕΥΣ stone. 32. most of the oblique strokes of the first dotted alpha, the upper portions of the rhos and of the iota and the upper horizontal stroke of the first dotted sigma are visible; the upper horizontal stroke and the final of the lower one of the last dotted sigma are visible, the letter seems not to be an epsilon.

'...in violation of what has been voted] is to be examined under no pretext at all [and on no account. But if] anybody undertakes the examination or brings a suit into court or [as a judge makes or proposes a judgement contrary to] what has been voted, under whatsoever pretext, he [himself and his descendants shall be] ruined, accursed and deprived of civic rights and he [shall pay] besides [... drachmae] and his resources shall be consecrated to Zeus [Osogoa. Anyone who] wishes [shall be permitted] to examine anyone who does not keep to these decisions without [any limitation of date] being imposed [under any pretext] at all. Olympichus had [these lands] let to him [from us on a hereditary basis] at an interest of five per cent per annum, the amount being [----] Alexandrian drachmae. *vac*. Olympichus to the council and the people, [greeting. Desiring] on every occasion to benefit our [country] greatly we have [never in any way] abstained from what concerns glory and honour [and thereby submitted to great] risks for your sake. For having received [your city] we restored [it] to you as free [and] with a democratic constitution, withdrawing [the garrison] from the citadel. Choosing to be [in nothing] second to those who [at any time] have benefited [the] city and wishing graciously to give the following objects to

you and thereby increase the sacred offerings [in] our country, I dedicate to Zeus Osogoa all the lands which belong to us, the [gardens], the houses in them and [everything] which is attached to those lands according to the already existing boundaries, which I have bought [from] queen Laodice. And let the revenue of [these objects] belong to the god for all time and be spent on the monthly <festival> in honour of Zeus, let what has been dedicated by us live in memory and be kept, and let the revenue be increased. You would do well to vote to lease these objects on a hereditary basis at an interest of five per cent and to inscribe our communications in the shrine of Zeus Osogoa and in the shrine of Zeus Labraundos in the most conspicuous places. Farewell. *vac*. Olympichus, son of Olympichus, dedicated the following objects to Zeus Osogoa, on the plain round the city the lands which are named 'in Comoonda', upon which border Alexander, son of Aristetas, Menoetas, son of Polites, Zenodotus, son of Polites, Ouliades, son of Polites, and a place sacred to Zeus Osogoa Allolios and the one sacred to Sinuri Ys (?), son of Iatrocles Dionysius, son of Heracleides, Hierocles, son of Proteas, Hestiaeus, son of Eirenaeus, Aristetas, son of Iatrocles, son of Arrisis, and the two roads to Calbissou and to Hieracome.'

The documents concerning the dispute regarding the status of Labraunda are now completed, and the following documents are included in this volume in order to elucidate some of the principal personages involved.

Inscription 8 consists of three documents, all concerning a dedication of lands made by Olympichus to Zeus Osogoa.

A, ll. 1—10. The end of a decree of Mylasa, in which the examination of the conduct of officials in some particular context is prohibited and severely punished (ll. 1—8); we also know that Olympichus himself had leased the lands dedicated (ll. 8—10). See further on 9.

B, ll. 10—26. Letter of Olympichus to Mylasa announcing the dedication.

C, ll. 27—33. List of the lands dedicated; see below, *ad. loc.*

As regards the dating of the inscription, the lettering gives no help, since it is a century and more later than the event (see below, p. 62), so we are left with the document itself and above all Olympichus' letter.

The *terminus post quem* is the liberation of Mylasa (l. 14), which occurred at the very outset of the reign of Seleucus II: see pp. 82—3. The queen Laodice, from whom Olympichus had bought the lands (ll. 19—20), is presumably the consort of Antiochus II (see *ad. loc.*), and she is known to have lived until at least 236 B.C.¹ The purchase might have been made in the 'thirties no less than in the 'forties; it was evidently properly completed, τὰς ὑπαρχούσας ἡμῖν γέας (l. 17) and the perfect tense εἰώνημαι (l. 19), but this gives no chronological assistance, since there is no indication how long Olympichus himself possessed the lands before he dedicated them.

Olympichus' mention of his benefits at the beginning of the letter is commonplace, but that of κινδύνους (ll. 12—3) could refer to war, particularly the War of the Brothers, which started in 240 and ended before February 236, according to Bickerman's chronology (see p. 123, n. 1), but the whole period down to Hierax' death in 227 must have been full of trouble for the faithful governor of Seleucus II (see pp. 89, 91), Hierax being viceroy and several times defeated by Attalus.

There is, however, some information in the letter which points to a date early in the reign of Seleucus II. Of his benefits conferred on the city

Olympichus explicitly only mentions his contribution at the time of the liberation (ll. 13—5), and there is no hint whatever at the protracted dispute about Labraunda, nor at the final settlement through Philip V, because of which Olympichus was greatly honoured. The remark that he had evacuated the citadel of the city (ll. 13—4) would be curiously isolated, if Olympichus had already evacuated the other strongholds mentioned in 5, ll. 37—9, and Petra near Labraunda, which he did not evacuate until 220. Also, except in ll. 19—20, where he wishes to underline that the dedication was a personal act, he mentions himself in the plural, exactly as in the early 2—3, when he was still Seleucus' governor, whereas in the later letters he uses the singular. Notice finally that the common temporal adverbs πρότερον—νῦν are lacking. Consequently, the date of the inscription is probably early in the thirties.

See further on 9.

A. The proof that ll. 1—10 belong to a *Mylasan decree*, occasioned by Olympichus' letter, B, is the information in ll. 8—10, which directly corresponds to Olympichus' recommendation in ll. 23—4.

Ll. 1—8. In this context τὴν εὔθυναν (l. 3) must have its usual meaning of "public examination of the conduct of officials" (LSJ)² and εὐθύνεσθαι then means "to be examined". Since the passage concerns a prohibition the restoration παρὰ τὰ δεδογμένον in ll. 1—2, as in ll. 3—4, is inevitable.³ The bearing of the prohibition, however, can only be conjectured. But, as the document as a whole concerns Olympichus' dedication, the decree must have contained an acceptance of the donation and also regulations of different kinds, for example the method of establishing the rate to be paid by

¹ This date according to Beloch, IV 2², p. 543, Bickerman and Rostovtzeff, p. 494, cited below, n. 19; C.F. Lehmann, *Zeitschr. f. Assyriologie*, 7, 1892, p. 330, suggested 233/2 B.C.

² On the democratic use of εὔθυσις see Busolt, *Gr. Staatskunde*³, 1920, 1926, pp. 472—3, 1080 n. 2; for Athens pp. 967, 1033, 1076—80; cf. *Syll*³, 281 n. 6; Plato *Protagoras* 326 D-E, ἡ πόλις νόμους ὑπογράφουσα --- κατὰ τούτους ἀναγκάζει καὶ ἀρχειν καὶ ἀρχεσθαι· ὅς δ' ἂν ἐκτός βαίνει τούτων, κολάζει, καὶ ὄνομα τῇ κολάσει ταύτη καὶ παρ' ὁμῶν καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοί, ὡς εὐθυνοῦσης τῆς δίκης, εὐθύναι.

³ E.g. παρὰ τὰ γεγραμμένον, as at Mylasa in LBW, 417, l. 8, cannot be accommodated in the beginning of l. 2.

the lessee (see below and 9, n. 2). All matters concerning the donation were to be regarded as permanently regulated, and the prohibition and the severe sanction mentioned in the preserved portion seem to have aimed at securing complete freedom from responsibility, for the officials involved, for the future. εὐθύνειν occurs also in the frequently cited (see e.g. on 4) Mylasan decree LBW, 334, l. 14, εὐθύνειν παρ ευρέσει μηδεμιᾷ μήτε τοὺς ἄρχοντας (my suggestion),⁴ and it is likely that a similar prohibition had been introduced in connection with the sympolity between Olymus and Labraunda.

The subject to εὐθύνεσθαι might include or be τοὺς ἄρχοντας in the general meaning of "the officials"; to fill the lacuna at the end of l. 2 I suggest in the first place κατὰ μηδένα τρόπον according to the Caunus decree SEG XIV 639, fr. E, ll. 10—1; fr. F, ll. 3—4, οὐδ' ἡτινιοῦν παρ ευρέσει κατ' οὐδένα τρόπον, or μηδὲ τρόπῳ μηδενὶ as in IG, XII 3, 330, ll. 41 ff., Μη ἐχέτω δὲ ἐξουσίαν μηθεὶς--- ἐξαλλοτριῶσαι τρόπῳ μηθενὶ μηδὲ παρ ευρέσει μηδεμιᾷ (cf. Syll³, 1235, ll. 4—5, τρόπῳ μηδενὶ, παρ ευρέσει μηδεμιᾷ); cf. OGIS, 229, l. 64, οὔτε τρόπῳ οὔτε μηχανῇ οὐδεμιᾷ; Syll³, 578, ll. 42, 62, τρόπῳ τινὶ ἢ παρ ευρέσει ἡμιῶν (cf. L. Robert, BCH, LVII, 1933, p. 511); on the formula παρ ευρέσει μηδεμιᾷ see Th. Homolle, BCH, L, 1926, p. 27.

The end of l. 3 is restored on the basis of LBW, 334, l. 16, cited above; see also Syll³, Ind. IV, s.v. εὐθυνα; the correct form ἡτινιοῦν occurs at Mylasa in BCH, V, 1881, pp. 105—6, no. 7, l. 4, where παρ ευρέσει] may be restored; παρ ευρέσει seems to be regarded as an over-ambitious spelling. αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ ἐξ αὐτοῦ occurs at Mylasa also in LBW, 416 (= BCH, *ibid.*, pp. 109—10, no. 11 B), ll. 8—9 (cf. at Olymus e.g. LBW, 331 (= Ath. Mitt., XIV, 1889, p. 381), l. 8, αὐτὸς ἢ οἱ ἐξ αὐτοῦ); καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ ἐξ αὐτοῦ is also a possibility; on the expression ὁ ἐξ ἐκείνου see Wilhelm, Wien. Stud., LXI-LXII, 1943—7, pp. 182—3. For the curse see R. Vallois, BCH, XXXVIII, 1914, pp. 250—71; M. N. Tod, JHS, LIV, 1934, p. 154 with n. 73; ἐξώλης occurs at Mylasa already in Syll³, 167, ll. 15, 30; κατάρατος in L. Robert, Sinuri, p. 94, no. 73 (middle 4th cent. B.C.), l. 14; see *id.*, Hellenica, VII, 1949, pp. 66—7; on ἄτιμος, "der ohne Wehrgeld liegt", see E. Weiss, Gr. Privatrecht, I, 1923, pp. 164 ff.

For the fine cf. e.g. Syll³, 1235, ll. 8 ff., ἐὰν δὲ τις παραβαίνει τὰ γεγραμμένα, ἔσται ἡσεβηκῶς---καὶ

προσαποτινέτω ἐκάστῳ ἱερῷ ἱερὰς δ(ραχμὰς) α---. For the use of προσαποτινέω see L. Robert, *Ét. anat.*, p. 403; the amount of the fine is wholly uncertain, also the confiscation involved. On curses and confiscations to a god see K. Latte, *Heiliges Recht*, 1920, pp. 61 ff., and 48 ff., and the conclusion, p. 87, "Sakrale Strafformen in der profanen Rechtspflege sind ein Behelf, doppelt wichtig für den antiken Staat, weil seine Strafmittel nach Art und Wirksamkeit begrenzt sind". For Zeus Osogoa see on 6 A, ll. 3—12.

For ll. 6—8, which invoke a regulation common all over the Greek world cf. Syll³, 578, ll. 53 ff., δικασάσθω δὲ αὐτῶι ὁ βουλούμενος---ἐγ καιρῶι ᾧ ἂν βούληται προθεσμίαι δὲ μηδὲ ἄλλῳι τρόπῳι μηθενὶ ἐξέστω τῶν δικῶν τούτων μηδεμιᾷν ἐγβαλεῖν; for references to προθεσμία see Busolt, *loc. cit.*, p. 548 n. 1; the word ἐκκλείειν is supplied in 5, ll. 17—8, *q.v.*

Ll. 8—10. In his letter, B, ll. 23—4, Olympichus had recommended the city to lease the lands dedicated at an interest of five per cent. For the assimilated writing Ὀλύππιχος see below on l. 10, The phrase μισθοῦσθαι παρὰ τινος εἰς πατριὰ⁵ often occurs in the investment-inscriptions from Mylasa—Olymus; see below. I restore the first person plural for reasons of space; this occurs not infrequently in decrees; cf. Wilhelm, *Neue Beitr.*, VI (= *Wien. Sitzb.*, 183,3), 1921, p. 34. On φόρος meaning "interest" see G. Klaffenbach, *Berl. Sitzb.*, 1936, p. 381 n. 3, regarding a contract from Thestia in Aetolia, p. 381, ll. 5—7, φόρων δὲ ἐκάστου ἐνιαυτοῦ δραχμῶν. For the use of the genitive of respect, φόρων, Klaffenbach refers to E. Mayser, *Gr. d. gr. Pap.*, II 2, pp. 191 ff. For posthumous Alexanders put into circulation by various Anatolian mints see the instructive paper in *Anatolian Studies* Buckler, 1939, pp. 277—98, by M. Rostovtzeff, "Some remarks on the monetary and commercial policy of the Seleucids and Attalids";

⁴ In the same way l. 16 of that inscription ought to be read as ἢ τὴν εὐθυναν π[α]ραδέξῃται ἢ εἰσαγάγῃ ἢ δικαστῇ δικάσῃ ἢ δ[ι]ω---; LBW, 334 is in particular need of a thorough revision.

⁵ At Hyllarima from late 3rd cent. B.C. Laumonier, BCH, LVIII, 1934, pp. 372—3, ll. 3 ff., ἐμισθώσατο εἰς πατριὰ τὰ κτήματα--- δραχμῶν ἑκατὸν μιᾶς. From the 5th cent. B.C. onwards a number of different adjectives ending in -ικος occur in inscriptions: in P. Chantaine, *Études sur le vocabulaire grec*, 1956, p. 121, πατρικός is translated "qui appartient au patrimoine" (cf. *ibid.*, p. 143).

cf. A. Bellinger, *Num. St.*, 11, 1963, *Essays on the coinage of Alexander the Great*, pp. 91—3.

That Olympichus himself was the lessee of the lands he had dedicated to Zeus Osogoa, is in full conformity with the practice in the district to sell lands to a god and become lessee of the same lands.⁶ This practice is known above all from the investment-inscriptions a century and more later than this document:⁷ see the paper of Buckler; G. Klaffenbach, *loc. cit.*, pp. 380 ff.; T. R. S. Broughton in Tenney Frank, *An economic survey of ancient Rome*, IV, 1938 [1959], pp. 560—1, 664—5, 680—1, 688—9, 692—3, 799; A. Laumonier, *Mélanges Radet* (= *REA*, XLII), 1940, pp. 201—13; L. Robert, *Sinuri*, pp. 69 ff.; Laumonier, *Cultes*, pp. 145 ff.; important unpublished fragments from Mylasa and Olymus, referring to the same practice, are announced by L. Robert, *AJA*, XXXIX, 1935, pp. 334, 337.⁸

It is evident from the preserved ending and from the space available that the yearly rent (ll. 9—10) amounted to an even thousand (e.g. τετρακισχίλι[ων] or thousand followed by a hundred (e.g. χιλίων διακοσί[ων]). In the later investment-inscriptions of Mylasa-Olymus the rent varies between 100 and 300 Rhodian drachmae and the purchase-price between 5000 and 10000 Rhodian drachmae. That these lands were not large is shown by an interesting notice in L. Robert, *Sinuri*, pp. 84—5, no. 50, that it was not possible to find a suitable land for 4500 drachmae, so that 1500 drachmae more had to be advanced. The lands dedicated by Olympichus were certainly of a considerable size and LBW, 404 of the third cent. B.C. shows that the rent indicated is reasonable (cf. Rostovtzeff, *SEHH*, p. 466), where the rent amounted to 40 χρυσῶν = 800 silver drachmae; in the Hyllarima inscription mentioned above one of the four rents amounted to 1190 drachmae. In fixing the rent Mylasa must have taken into consideration the purchase-sum which Olympichus had once paid to queen Laodice (ll. 19—20).⁹

In the late investment-inscriptions the rate on cash loans was about 8 % and on investments in land about 4 % per annum.¹⁰ Consequently, the 5 % which Olympichus had to pay was a quite normal rate and did not mean a special favour.

B. *Olympichus' letter*. After the greeting Olympichus announces his continued benevolence to and support of the country (ll. 10—3) and states that

at the time of the liberation he had brought about a democratic government in Mylasa (ll. 13—5). He gives the motives of the dedication (ll. 15—7) and a general description of the lands dedicated (ll. 17—20). The dedication itself is announced in l. 20, and the purpose of it is expressed in ll. 20—3. He recommends the city to lease the lands at a rate of 5 % (ll. 23—4), and to engrave the letter in the two main temples of the city (ll. 24—6).

L. 10. The assimilated form Ὀλύμπιχος occurs only here and in the decree in l. 8, while the name below, l. 27, elsewhere in Labraunda and in other inscriptions (see Ch. IV) has the unassimilated form Ὀλύμπιχος. That only one individual bearing that name is involved in the inscriptions of Labraunda, is certain for the following reasons. The information concerning the tenancy in ll. 8—10

⁶ The lessee and his descendants, or the individual to which the contract is transferred on the old terms, hold the lands as long as they fulfil the contract; the procedure is "ein Beispiel abgeblasster gerichtlicher Rechtsübertragung", which in its full form corresponds to the Alexandrian συγχώρησις and the Roman *in iure cessio*: see W. Kunkel, *Zeitschr. d. Savigny-Stiftung*, 53, Roman. Abt., 1933, pp. 510—3, on 'Der Pachtvertrag der Klytiden auf Chios (4. Jh. v. Chr.)', Michel, 1359, of which K. Latte, *ibid.*, pp. 508—10, publishes an improved text. The text is, however, ameliorated in a considerable way by Wilhelm, *Jahresh.*, XXVIII, 1933, pp. 197—221, 'Die Pachturkunden der Klytiden': see now *SEG* XXII 508. On different kinds of μίσθωσις see O. Schulthess, *R.-E.*, s.v. Μίσθωσις, 1932.

⁷ From the second cent. B.C., L. Robert, *Ét. anat.*, p. 571 n. 2, or at least early first cent. B.C. (cf. Robert, reference in H. Volkmann, *Phil. Wochenschr.*, 1939, col. 1039); M. Guarducci, *Mem. Lincei*, VIII, 1938, p. 103, suggests the first cent. B.C.; Ruge, *R.-E.*, s.v. Olymos, 1937, coll. 2514—6, has dated most of the inscriptions from Olymus relatively, on the basis of personal names; his conclusions as a whole agree with that of L. Robert; see also Buckler, p. 190 n. 1.

⁸ References to similar texts from other places are to be found in Buckler and Robinson, *AJA*, XVI, 1912, pp. 56, 59; Laumonier, *BCH*, LVIII, 1934, p. 375 n. 1.

⁹ On the price of land near Sardes and Magnesia-on-Maeander about 200 B.C. (see below, p. 59) see Buckler and Robinson, *loc. cit.*, pp. 72—5.

¹⁰ See Buckler, p. 207 n. 1; G. Billeter, *Gesch. d. Zinsfusses*, 1898, pp. 85—7; Broughton, *loc. cit.*, pp. 560—1; Magie, p. 1120 n. 24; in Ephesus after 297 B.C. the rate of 8 1/2 % is mentioned as the upper limit in *Syll*³, 364, l. 74; in ll. 90—1 the rate of 7 1/7 % occurs, both figures regarding lands. It may be mentioned that there was a fall in the interest-rate about 200 B.C. (Billeter, *ibid.*, p. 88).

must refer to the same person who makes the recommendation in ll. 23—4 because of the nature of the arrangement for leasing; see above. The same individual must also be referred to in l. 27, since Τάδε ἀνέθηκεν Ὀλύμπιχος Ὀλυμπίχου Διὶ Ὅσογῳ corresponds to τάδε in l. 16 and ἀνατίθημι τῷ Διὶ τῷ Ὅσογῳ τάδε in l. 20. The writer Ὀλύμπιχος declares that he played an active role on the occasion of Mylasa's liberation (ll. 13—5), and consequently he must be the same individual who spelt his name Ὀλύμπιχος, and who occurs in the letters 1—7 and also, as the governor of Seleucus II, in 10: see Synopsis, pp. 80—1. Information is lacking regarding any activity of the well-known Olympichus' homonymous father, who is mentioned in this document in l. 27: see further pp. 86—7. We thus have to accept two different spellings of the one name. The man's name was Olympichus and the assimilated form may be due either to the later lapicide or to the fact that the text is a later copy.

It is noticeable that contrary to the common practice the city-ethnic is not added. We cannot tell if this is due to error (i.e. the word having dropped out) or was deliberately omitted because the line stood immediately below the Mylasan decree, or yet again if it is to be regarded as an expression of Olympichus' close relations to Mylasa.

Ll. 10—3. προαιρούμενοι is supplied for reasons of space and because it is also used by Olympichus in 6 A, ll. 17—8; cf. e.g. *Syll*³, 412, ll. 7—8, ὅπως οὖν ὁ δῆμος φαίνεται τιμῶν τοὺς προαιρουμένους εὐεργετεῖν τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν; on the use of the present infinitive with προαιρούμενος see Wilhelm, *Jahresh.*, IV, 1901, Beibl., coll. 28—9. It is to be noticed that Olympichus calls Mylasa *your polis* in 3, l. 8, and most probably in 8, l. 13, but that there is no reason to add a similar pronoun in the instances in which he mentions the *patris*. Consequently, it may be right to translate *our country*. This does not necessarily mean that he was born in the district of Mylasa, but that in the course of time he had come to regard it as his home; cf. Welles, pp. 270, on 67, l. 6, and 293; cf. on 6 A, ll. 16 ff. For the end of l. 11 cf. 3, ll. 31—2; Olympichus uses οὐδέποτε in 3, l. 20 = 3 B, l. 5; cf. e.g. *Inscr. Priene*, 121, l. 28, οὐδεμίαν οὐδέποτε κακοπαθίαν ἐκκλίνων; *Syll*³, 374, ll. 48—9, οὐθ' ἐν ὑπεναντίον πρὸς [δ]ημοκρατίαν οὐδεπώποτε [ἐποίησ]εν. For the end of l. 12 cf. e.g. Welles, 52, ll. 8—10, πολλοὺς

μὲν καὶ μεγάλους ἀγῶνας ὑπέστην πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους; *Syll*³, 694, l. 17, μεγάλο[υ]ς ὑπέ]στη κινδύνους; for the substance of this phrase cf. Herrmann, p. 52 on l. 13; the restoration premises some slight contraction of the letters and possibly e.g. πολλοὺς is to be preferred; on the choice of a participle see below on the construction in ll. 15—20.

Ll. 13—5. The restoration of the lacuna in l. 13 is suggested by P.M. Fraser (who as an alternative also suggested the insertion of ἀρχήν, which word is extremely common in all periods indicating the command and (or) office of a king, a dynast, a governor or a royal, municipal or other official). τὴν πόλιν is certain and τὴν ὑμετέραν is preferable to e.g. καὶ τὴν χώραν, since 5, l. 34, and 3, l. 8 (notice ὑμῶν τὴν πόλιν), in the corresponding expression only mention the city. The phrase παραλαβεῖν τὴν πόλιν (or another place) is frequently used concerning different circumstances; cf. e.g. Isocr. *Areop.* 67, Οἱ μὲν γὰρ ψηφίσματι παραλαβόντες τὴν πόλιν --. The juxtaposition of two accusatives in the feminine singular, independent of each other, causes no difficulty: see e.g. Welles, 25, ll. 42—3, (οἷς ἂν συμβῇ) προσπεσεῖν πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέ[ραν,] πᾶσαν σπουδὴν ποιῆσθαι; *IG*, XII 5, 652, ll. 11—3, ὅς κα]ῖ παραγενηθεῖς εἰς τὴν πόλιν [τὴν ἡμετέραν τὴν ἄπασαν ἐ]ποίησατο σπουδὴν καὶ [ἐπιμέλειαν. ἐξάγειν τὴν φρουρὰν ἐκ --- is frequent in Polybius: see Mauersberger, col. 821 (cf. 5, ll. 37—8). ἡ ἄκρα meaning "Burg, Kastell" is also common in Polybius.

On the new status of the city see Ch. III. The evacuation of the citadel was an act necessary to give Mylasa its status as a free city (see p. 84), but nevertheless the express mention of it may possibly conceal Olympichus' bad conscience that he had not evacuated all fortified places; cf. 5, ll. 36 ff.; 4, ll. 10 ff.

The construction of ll. 15—20. In this letter Olympichus twice mentions his general desire to support the city. The first instance (ll. 10—3) is explained by the following clause, introduced by γάρ (ll. 13—5). Consequently, the second instance (ll. 15—6) refers to the main subject of the letter, viz. the donation. Of the two participles, αἰρούμενοι signifies the general background of his attitude to the city¹¹ and βουλόμενοι his attitude to the actual case; the asyndetic collocation then becomes tole-

¹¹ Wilhelm, *Nachr. Gött. Gesellsch. Wissensch.*, Fachgr. I 3, 1938—9, pp. 129—32, pointed out against Welles, p. 310, that αἰρεῖσθαι refers to not only a single act but

table.¹² A similar construction occurs e.g. *Inscr. Priene*, 47 (decree of Bargylia, ca. 200 B.C.), ll. 5—7, (ὁ δῆμος ὁ Πριηνέων) παρακληθεὶς τε ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου δικαστὰς ἀποστεῖλαι, βουλόμενος τῇ πόλει χαρίζεσθαι, ἀπέστειλεν ---; *Inscr. Magnesia a.M.*, 97 (first half of 2nd cent. B.C.), ll. 70—2, ὅτι ὁ δῆμος ὁ Μ[αγνήτων βουλόμε]νος χαρίζεσθαι τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Τηρίω[ν, ἀκολούθως πρά]σσει τῇ προϋπαρχούσῃ φιλίαι-. Notice also Olympichus' predilection for participles in the two preceding clauses: [προαιρούμενοι]-ἀπέστημεν-[ὑποστάντες]; παραλαβόντες-ἐξαγαγόντες- ἀποκατεστήσαμεν. This predilection is not surprising if we bear in mind that he was Seleucus II's governor, and Seleucus' letter Welles, 22 is characterized by its complicated participial clauses: see on I, end. In spite of the plural, the two participles in question must be subordinated to ἀνατίθημι, where Olympichus in a very striking way employs the singular to emphasize the personal character of the gift. The grammatical discrepancy is, however, mitigated by the singular in the preceding relative clause, indicating that the purchase too was made in his own name. After τάδε--αὖξεν I have put a colon in conformity with Wilhelm, *Jahresh.*, IV, 1901, Beibl., col. 23, and *Beiträge* (= *Sonderschr. d. Österr. arch. Inst. in Wien*, VII), 1909, p. 209, regarding the beginning of *Syll*³, 941, where he felt the loss of a Τάδε. In a slightly pleonastic way τάδε is repeated in l. 20.¹³

Ll. 15—7. For ἐν οὐθενί in the context cf. e.g. the letter of Antony to the Koinon of Asia from 41 B.C., Preisigke, SB, I, 4224 (= Ehrenberg and Jones, *Documents illustrating the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius*², 1955, 300), ll. 29—30, ἐγὼ προαιρούμενος ἐν μηδενὶ καθυστερεῖν τὸν Ἀρτεμίδωρον; *Inscr. Priene*, 107, l. 21, ὅθεν ἐν οὐθενὶ λειπομένου αὐτοῦ; *Jahresh.*, XLV, 1960, Beibl., coll. 87—8, no. 13 (Ephesus, ca. 3rd cent. B.C.), ll. 22—3, ἐν οὐθενὶ ἐνλείπων τῶν πρὸς τιμὴν καὶ δόξαν ἀνηκόντων; *SEG XVIII* 570 (Araxa), ll. 52—4, ἀγωνιστὴς ἐγένετο---εἰς τὸ πάντα τὰ συμφέροντα τῷ δήμῳ ἡμῶν περιγενέσθαι καὶ ἐν μηδενὶ ἐλαττωθῆναι. For δεύτεροι cf. e.g. H. Hepding, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXII, 1907, p. 274, no. 10 (Pergamum), ll. 3—4, τῶν πολι]-τῶν οὐδενὸς δευτερεύουσιν τὴν χορηγίαν ἐπόησατο. ποτε is suggested as in 5, l. 48. For the expression χαρίζεσθαι ἱερεῖα see Holleaux, *Études*, II, p. 101. The form αὖξω, not αὖξάνω, is used in the royal letters (Welles, p. LXVII).

Ll. 17—20. For the Ionian plural γέει see Elisabeth Knihtl, *Die Sprache d. ion. Kykladen nach d. inschr. Quellen*, Diss. München, 1938, p. 17. The Persian word παράδεισος occurs in Mylasa also in *CIG*, 2694 b, l. 5; cf. Hiller v. Gaertringen, *Syll*³, 463 n. 2; Buckler and Robinson, *AJA*, XVI, 1912, pp. 78—9, publishing *Inscriptions Sardis*, I, which inscription is to be dated to ca. 200 B.C., not to ca. 300 B.C., as the authors suggested (see P.R. Franke, *Ath. Mitt.*, 76, 1961, pp. 197—8). The word has an agrarian meaning distinct from that of a mere park; some references are to be found in Laumonier, *Cultes*, p. 107 n. 4. For τὰ προσκύροντα meaning "the things belonging to (it)" see P.M. Fraser, *Eranos*, XLIX, 1951, p. 103; Buckler and Robinson, *loc. cit.*, p. 72. πᾶς is very often added by Olympichus in his letters. Cf. *Doura-Europos*, Welles etc., *The parchments and papyri*, 1959, 15 (parchment, 2nd cent. B.C.), l. 2, κατὰ τὰς προϋπαρχούσας γειννία[ς; Welles, 70, l. 8, κατὰ τοὺς προϋπάρχοντας περιορισμούς. ὁμορεια is a Ionian form for ὁμορία (LSJ, Supp., s.v. ὁμόριος, "ὁμορία (sc. γῆ) marches, borderland"); on the stem see Schwyzler, *Gr.Gr.*, II, p. 160; below, l. 28, we have ὁμοροῦσιν, but the form ὁμοροῦσι is also found at Labraunda; in the Koine the verb is rare (Welles, pp. XC, 350).¹⁴ εἰώνημι seems to be a confused

also to a continued state and that derivatives of the present root may very well refer to the past together with an attribute.

¹² For the contents cf. e.g. *Inscr. Priene*, 113 (probably after the first Mithradatic War), ll. 89—91, καθόλου δὲ [πρό]θυμον ἐν τε ταῖς [προαιρέ]σσειν καὶ τῇ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν εὐνοίαι π[αρεχόμενος] αὐτ[ὸν] [ἀ]νέλ[ιπτο]ς εἶναι βούλεται πρὸς τὰς κοινὰς --- ὑπηρεσίας. Herrmann, p. 34, I, l. 16, wrongly adds a <καὶ> in front of θέλων in a decree of Teos: βουλόμενος (sc. Antiochus III) τὰ τε πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐσεβῶς διακεῖσθαι καὶ καθιέρωσεν ἡμῶν τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν θέλων χαρίζεσθαι τῷ τε δήμῳ καὶ τῷ κοινῷ τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν παρελθόντων εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν αὐτὸς ἀνῆκε τὴν πόλιν -- ἱερὰν.

¹³ Cf. e.g. *OGIS*, 214 (Welles, p. 36), ll. 7—9, τάδε ἀνέθηκαν βασιλεῖς Σέλευκος καὶ Ἀντίοχος τὰ ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ γεγραμμένα.

¹⁴ For our limited information about the system of land-registers of the royal domains of the Seleucids see the mere sketch by W.L. Westermann, *Cl. Phil.*, XVI, 1921, pp. 12—9; cf. Rostovtzeff, *Yale Cl. St.*, III, 1932, 'Seleucid Babylonia', pp. 70—4; Welles, pp. 98—9, 321—2; Zawadzki, cited below, pp. 94—5, pointed out that the addition of the names of Demetrius' father and grandfather in Welles, 70, ll. 6—7 comes from a land-register. An instructive picture of a complicated proprietorship is

writing for ἐώνημαι, analogous to εἴωθα, εἴθισμαι, possibly influenced by εἰ in ὁμουργίας; the correct form ἐώνηται occurs at Olymus in LBW, 338, l. 13. βασίλισσα, not the Attic βασίλεια, is current in the Hellenistic period; cf. e.g. Welles, p. 321. The addition of 'queen' only indicates the Lady's position as Queen and Olympichus' inferior position and has no bearing on the dating (but cf. on 5 n. 42).

If my dating of Olympichus' letter to the early 'thirties is right, we have to choose between three queens in Asia Minor bearing the name of Laodice. In itself there is nothing remarkable in the information that a queen (or another member of the royal house) owned large estates, just as a private man such as Olympichus could do.¹⁵ But, on the other hand, there is no reason to suppose that every queen owned her lands.

The consort of Seleucus II was called Laodice,¹⁶ but we have no information whatever that she possessed lands in her own name, nor is it very likely that she would have possessed the lands in question. According to ll. 27—8, these were situated in the immediate neighbourhood of the city, and presumably the queen had acquired them before Mylasa was liberated.¹⁷ Since this probably occurred at the very beginning of the reign of Seleucus II, and was preceded by negotiations, possibly already during the reign of Antiochus II (see pp. 82—3), it is chronologically improbable that this queen Laodice acquired these lands.

Seleucus II married one of his sisters, whose name we do not know but is generally supposed to have been Laodice, to king Mithradates II of Pontus, and according to Justin XXXVIII 5,3, Phrygia was included in her dowry. This casual information is now rightly questioned: see Magie, p. 1088 n. 38; Bikerman, *Inst. Sél.*, p. 29, "assez obscur"; contra, Walbank, *Comm. on Polybius*, II, p. 96; see also Seibert, *loc. cit.*, p. 58. This "Laodice" is an even less likely candidate nor are her two homonymous daughters, married to Antiochus III and Achaeus the Younger respectively,¹⁸ on chronological grounds likely to be the required Laodice.

On the contrary, everything points to the first consort of Antiochus II. The general chronology is in favour of dating the purchase back to the reign of Antiochus II, and we also know of lands possessed by this Laodice in Babylonia¹⁹ and in the

satrapy of the Hellespont near Cyzicus.²⁰ We do not know how she acquired the first, but she bought the latter from Antiochus in connection with her divorce, which occurred not later than 253: see Magie, pp. 735—6. If this identification is correct, we have here the information that this Laodice possessed lands in a third remote part of the empire.

given in *Syll*³, 332, where king Cassander gives to Perdiccas, son of Coenus, ἐν πατρικοῖς and with ἀτέλεια lands, of which his grandfather ἐκκληρούχησεν some, his father had got some by Philip, and he himself had bought some.

¹⁵ See Rostovtzeff, *SEHH*, pp. 465—7, 493—6, 507—8, 517—9, 1339—41 n. 8, and the discussion and references in Magie, pp. 1013—5; Welles, pp. 96—7, has some instructive views regarding the Seleucid policy of selling crown land, and of the sale of land by Antiochus II to his divorced queen Laodice, no. 18, where in ll. 15—6 her right to sell the land is expressly mentioned, and in l. 24 it is indicated that she already owned property (*id.*, p. 98).

¹⁶ I do not go into the complicated problems here of the genealogy of the Seleucid dynasty in and after the middle of the century: see Schmitt, *Unters.*, p. 31 (cf. my *Remarks*, p. 173 n. 4).

¹⁷ The practice was to attach land received or bought from the crown to a city: see the references above, n. 14; the lands in question must have been attached to Mylasa.

¹⁸ Schmitt, *Unters.*, pp. 30—1, 297; Antiochus III was married about midsummer 222 (*ibid.*, p. 10). The homonymy is no obstacle, since Antiochus III had two sons, both called Antiochus, Antiochus "the co-regent" and Antiochus IV Epiphanes. We do not know when the latter was born, but there is no reason to suppose that he was born after his brother's death in 193 (see *ibid.*, pp. 21—2 with references); cf. also the precise but dubious statement of Porphyry in Euseb. *Arm.*, *FGrHist*, 260 F 32 (Anhang), § 20, p. 1218, "und dem Antiochos (sc. VII Sidetes Energetes) waren 5 kinder, 3 männliche und 2 mädchen. die erste tochter und die zweite waren Laodik geheissen; denn es war ein und derselbe name beiden".

Beloch, *IV* 2², pp. 202—4, thought the wife of Achaeus was a daughter of Antiochus Hierax, but he misinterpreted Polyb. V 74,5; cf. Walbank, *Comm. on Polybius*, II, p. 96. Éd. Will, *REG*, LXXV, 1962, pp. 113—4 n. 82, concludes his account of Mithradates' two daughters with a *Non liquet*.

¹⁹ A cuneiform tablet of 173/2 B.C. which is said to be a copy of a document of 236 (cf. above, n. 1) mentions *inter alia* a gift of land by Antiochus II to Laodice: see Rostowzew, *Klio*, I, 1901, p. 299 n. 1; Welles, p. 98 n. 27; Bikerman, *Inst. Sél.*, p. 176; Rostovtzeff, *SEHH*, pp. 435, 1427 n. 234, 494—5.

²⁰ Welles, 18—20; Magie, pp. 862 n. 40, 1015 (cf. above, n. 14).

No example of a gift of land to a temple in Asia Minor by a Seleucid king (or a member of the royal family) seems hitherto to have been found (see e.g. T. R. S. Broughton, *Studies in Rom. ec. and soc. hist. in Honor of A. Ch. Johnson*, 1951, pp. 242 n. 25, 246) but this seems to be due to chance, since there are numerous indications that such gifts, as might be expected, in fact were made: see T. Zawadzki, *Eos*, XLVI, 1952/3 (1954), pp. 95—6.

In any case, both in Hellenistic and Roman times the general development of the estates of the temples through business operations, foundations and gifts was towards an increase rather than a reduction of property. See on this whole question Broughton, *loc. cit.*, pp. 242—7, and, more exhaustively, Magie, pp. 139—42, 1016—21 n. 62—7; see also Zawadzki, *loc. cit.*, pp. 83—96, 'Quelques remarques sur l'étendue et l'accroissement des domaines des grands temples en Asie Mineure'. On lands belonging to Zeus Osogoa see Laumonier, *Cultes*, pp. 106—9. The double aspect of Olympichus' gift is most clearly expressed in ll. 16—7, and it is in full conformity with the general attitude of the kings towards the cities, which is characterized by "the familiar antithesis between gods and citizens" (Welles, p. 59).

Ll. 20—3. ἀπό to indicate the source of revenue is classic (Welles, p. LXXIII with n. 20); πρόσδοτος means here, as always at Labraunda, "revenue", not "tax"; see Holleaux, *Études*, II, pp. 110—1 with references.²¹ The use of the subjunctives in main clauses to indicate the purpose of the donation is remarkable; ἵνα, ὅπως, ὥστε, ἐφ' ὅ-clauses in the subjunctive are commonly found: see Laum, cited below, pp. 54—6; on this use of the subjunctive see Schwyzler, *Gr. Gr.*, II, p. 316: "Die affirmative 2. und 3. Pers. in Hauptsätzen als Gebot ist gesichert für hellenistische Zeit, in der durch den Rückgang des Optativs eine Unsicherheit im Konjunktivgebrauch eintreten konnte", cf. E. Mayser, *Gr. d. gr. Papyri*, II 1, 1926, pp. 229—30. πανηγύρεις at Mylasa are mentioned in LBW, 399, l. 11; 406, l. 5 (πανηγυριαρχήσας); 5, l. 27: see Laumonier, *Cultes*, pp. 111—2. On the way, τῶι Δίῳ in l. 22 stands without an attribute, since *Osogoa* is mentioned immediately before; on the whole passage cf. Welles, 70,²² ll. 9—12, ὅπως ἡ ἀπό ταύτης πρόσδοτος ἀναλίσσεται εἰς τὰς κατὰ μῆνα{ς} συντελουμένας θυσίας καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ πρὸς αὐξήσιν τοῦ

ἱεροῦ συντείνοντα ὑπὸ τοῦ καθεσταμένου ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἱερέως ὡς εἴθισται, ἄγωνται δὲ καὶ κατὰ μῆνα πανηγύρεις ἀτελεῖς---; cf. also *ibid.*, 52, ll. 54—6, προσόδους ὑμῖν τὰς ἱκανὰς ἀνα[θήσ]ω ἀφ' ὧν ἔξετε τὴν καθήκουσαν ἡμῖν [ἀνατιθ]έναι μνήμην; Laum, cited below, II, 207, (middle 3rd cent. B.C.), Βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίῳ καὶ βασιλίσσηι Βερενίκῃ καὶ Διοσκόροις εἰς τὰς θυσίας τὰς κατὰ μῆνα γινομένας τὴν πρόσδοτον τὴν---Θέωρος ὁ ἱερὺς καὶ ---. On the desire of the donor that his μνήμη shall live in the foundation see Mannzmann, cited below, pp. 150 ff.²³

The most detailed picture of the administration of estates belonging to a temple is given by the inventories of the Delian *Hieropoioi* and the codex, the *Hiera Syngraphe*, of the Period of Independence, from, most probably, 290 B.C. until ca. 166 B.C.: see J. H. Kent, *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pp. 243—338.²⁴

Ll. 23—4. On the polite expression καλῶς ἂν ποήσαιτε see Welles, p. 71.

Ll. 24—6. Cf. LBW, 398, ll. 29—31, restored by Wilhelm, *Wien. Anz.*, 61, 1924, p. 154, ἀναγράψαι τόδε τὸ [ψήφισμα ἐν] τῶι ἱερῶι [τοῦ] Διὸς Ὁσῶ κατὰ τὸν νόμον [οὗ τᾶλλα π]ερὶ τῶν [εὐεργ]ε[τῶν] ψηφίσματα ἀνα[γράφεται]. On such a recommendation regarding the inscribing of the communication cf. Wilhelm, *Beiträge*, cited above, p. 286; Mannzmann, cited below, pp. 147 ff. On the priority of rank of the two Zeuses in this period see on 6 A, ll. 3—12.

Olympichus' letter is a regular "Stiftung" according to the definition given by B. Laum, *Stiftungen in d. gr. und röm. Antike*, I, 1914 [1964], pp. 1—2, 60, a dedication of a property for a lasting, definite purpose.²⁵ Such donations

²¹ The financial officials in the Seleucid empire οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων seem to belong to the reform movement of Antiochus III: see Bengtson, *Strategie*, II, pp. 127—9.

²² Cf. above on ll. 17—20; on the possibility of dating the inscription earlier than Welles did see Zawadzki, *loc. cit.*, pp. 94—5.

²³ On the rather rare foundations the purpose of which is to regulate the acquisition of votive and sacrificial offerings see J. Vanseveren, *Rev. Phil.*, 63, 1937, pp. 335—7.

²⁴ For the bibliography of the different aspects of ownership of land by the Delian Apollo see W. Déonna, *BOH*, LXX, 1946, pp. 154—63.

²⁵ See also Anneliese Mannzmann, *Gr. Stiftungsurkunden*, 1962, pp. 125 ff., T. 3, 'Zur Entwicklungsgesch. d. Stiftungsvertrags', where Nicias is said to have been responsible for the oldest example of a foundation. He dedicated

were common in Caria (*ibid.*, p. 9); on donors of different kinds see *ibid.*, pp. 12 ff. Olympichus' motive was, I think, in the first place a political one: see *ibid.*, pp. 35—7, where Olympichus' contribution to Rhodes (Polyb. V 90, 1: see below, p. 88) is mentioned. We have also, however, to reckon with personal motives (pp. 40 ff.). On lands as subject of a donation see pp. 133 ff., on a sacral purpose pp. 60 ff., especially p. 61; the donation was *de iure* *ἐσθός* (p. 169). On temples and cities as receivers of the donation see *ibid.*, pp. 156—7, and on the city as administrator of it pp. 231—3. For the technical words see on ἀνατιθέναι and χαρίζεσθαι pp. 120—4, on εἰς (l. 22) p. 58; on the subjunctive indicating the purpose see above on ll. 20—3.

As pointed out above, the decree placed above the letter must have contained an acceptance of the donation, in which Olympichus' recommendation concerning the lessee was followed (*ibid.*, pp. 211—8).

For letters which announce to a city a grant see Welles, p. XLV. The style of Olympichus' letter may be regarded as irregular. When not using stock chancery formulae, the constructions are not always wholly felicitous. Notice the extensive use of participles (see pp. 58—9), which may be rhetorical; the awkward change of number in the same clause and the pleonastic occurrence of τάδε in ll. 16—20; the rare use of the subjunctive in ll. 21—3; the two accusatives placed side by side in l. 13.

C. *List of the lands dedicated.* Our estimate of the extent of the lands depends on the interpretation of μέν in l. 27. Since there is a *vac* at the bottom of this face of the stele, the inscription may be complete. In that case μέν would not have been followed by its correlative δέ and would have been inserted in order to allude to Olympichus' earlier and (or) later gifts to the city.²⁶ Such a view would be in conformity both with the general tone of the letter and with Olympichus' position. It seems also reasonable that the queen possessed a coherent property. See also on 9, p. 68. On the other hand the possibility exists that the donation included more than the lands on the plain around Mylasa. In that case the list must have continued with an introductory δέ on the upper part of the back of the stele, and the very bottom of the front face has been left unengraved in order to start a new passage on a new side.

The back contains a similar list of lands, Inv. No. 140, for which see Part II. I may emphasize, however, here that this list cannot be a continuation of the list on the front face, though the engraving is contemporary. On the one hand no personal names are common to both inscriptions,²⁷ though one and the same name is often repeated in Inv. 140, of which the remains of 45 lines are preserved, and on the other hand in Inv. 140 a boundary with land owned by Zeus Osogoa is never mentioned, as in 8, l. 30, while boundaries with lands owned by Zeus Labraundos and Apollo and Artemis are mentioned over and over again. We know that Zeus Osogoa was very rich in lands, and consequently Inv. 140 is a list of lands owned by him, valid at the time of the engraving, viz. the late 2nd cent. B.C. 8, then, was presumably engraved on the same stele as Inv. 140, in order not only to state the god's right to the lands concerned but also to commemorate the making of such a splendid contribution to the sacred property.

Ll. 27—8. *The lands dedicated.* Τάδε ἀνέθηκεν followed by a list is a standard expression; see e.g. the example given above, n. 13. On Olympichus' father see above, p. 58, and pp. 86—7. τὸ περὶ πόλιν πεδῖον is not mentioned elsewhere; in the investment-inscriptions reference occurs to τὸ Ὀμβιχόν πεδῖον, which is taken to be the plain around Mylasa (Laumonier, *Cultes*, p. 109); L. Robert, *AJA*, XXXIX, 1935, p. 337, claims to have identified the location of the Omboi; cf. Laumonier, *ibid.*, p. 146; τὸ ἔνω πεδῖον is mentioned once in Inv. 140; Gv. Knackstedt, *De praediorum et mansionum appellationibus gr.*, Diss. Marburg, 1913,²⁸ p. 12, gives one example from

a plot of land at Delos, "the revenues from which the Delians were to expend in sacrificial banquets, at which many blessings should be invoked upon Nicias from the gods", Plutarch *Nicias* III 6 (Perrin). Numerous references on foundations are given in *ibid.*, p. 17 n. 2 (for *TAM*, II, 261 see L. Robert, *Documents de l'Asie Mineure méridionale*, 1966, pp. 30 ff.).

²⁶ Cf. LSJ, s.v., A I 2, "an answering clause with δέ is sometimes implied"; *Syll*³, 646, ll. 19—20, ταῦτα ἡμῶν μ[ε]ν ἔνεκεν ἔχειν ἐξείναι ἔδοξεν.

²⁷ Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀριστέου in ll. 28—9 may have belonged to the same family as the archon Ἐκατόμνωος Ἀριστέου τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου in LBW, 394 (= Michel, 472) from late 2nd cent. B.C. (see below, pp. 68—9), l. 3.

²⁸ L. Robert, *BCH*, LVII, 1933, p. 503 n. 1, complains that Knackstedt's book is too narrow.

Attica of local determination by ἐμ πεδίῳ (cf. *ibid.*, p. 14); for the absence of the definite article cf. e.g. in Mylasa *CIG*, 2694 a, l. 8, τὴν] (α)ὕλην κατὰ πόλιν; b, ll. 8—9, τὴν αὕλην] τὴν αὐτοῦ τὴν κατὰ πόλιν (L. Robert, *Sinuri*, p. 39) and at Myconos, *Syll*³, 1215, l. 19, τὸ οἶκον τὸ ἐμ πόλει, ὧι γείτων--.

The place-name Κομωονδα is new, but the elements in the word are well known. For the first element cf. the personal name in Pisidia and elsewhere Κόμων (L. Robert, *Ét. anat.*, p. 392); on personal names in Κομ- see Zgusta, p. 242; on the festival Κομύρια or Κομύριον in Panamara²⁹ see Laumonier, *Cultes*, pp. 311—2. For the second element cf. the phyle names Ὀτωρξονδεῖς, Κονοδωρξονδεῖς and the names of syngeneiai Ταρξονδαρεῖς, Ὀγονδεῖς; Διὸς Ὀνδουρέως in Hyllarima (Laumonier, *BCH*, LVIII, 1934, p. 351, l. 16); cf. *id.*, *Cultes*, p. 456. On the stem ονδ(α) see *ibid.*, p. 132 n. 4.

Ll. 28—33. *The boundaries of the lands dedicated.* For simple determinations of the type ἡ γείτων, ὁμορεῖν see Knackstedt, *loc. cit.*, pp. 10 ff. On Alexander, the son of Aristetas, see above, n. 27. On the Greek names Μενόιτας, Μενόιτης, Μενίτης see L. Robert, *Noms indigènes*, I, p. 226 n. 8; Zgusta, p. 310. The personal name Οὐλιᾶδης is formed from the divine name Οὐλιος with a Greek suffix added (O. Masson, *Beitr. z. Namenforsch.*, 10, 1959, p. 164 n. 29; Zgusta, p. 398).³⁰ On the occurrence of the proper name Polites, most frequent in the southwest corner of Asia Minor, see L. Robert, *Monnaies grecques*, 1967, p. 58. Naturally the three last mentioned neighbours in l. 29 are brothers.

On the word τόπος cf. Welles, p. 94: "like the English "place", it may be used in a great variety of meanings -- Dittenberger --- interpreted it as a unit of habitation smaller than and separate from the village and the manor-house. This is a use of the word familiar in Egypt". τόποι often means country districts (*ibid.*, p. 247; see further on 4, ll. 8—10).

I have proposed the genitive of the god's name Οσογ<ω> as in l. 25. But Οσογ<ω>α is also a possibility: see Laumonier, *Cultes*, p. 101 n. 3. The place-name Αλωλλιος is of uncertain interpretation, but we may compare the place-name at Lagina Lossos or Alossos, for which see Laumonier, *ibid.*, pp. 199 n. 8, 365; for the prothetic vowel (here alpha) at Mylasa in Otorkondeis see

ibid., p. 506 n. 9., where it is compared with Tarkondareis.³¹ Cf. also the proper name Αλοητος (Zgusta, p. 55), and the feminine Ολις and masculine Ολλις (*ibid.*, p. 373; J. Sundwall, *Kleinas. Nachträge. Studia orient. Soc. Orient. Fennica*, XVI:1, 1950, p. 34).³² On the suffix -ιος in local names see Knackstedt, *loc. cit.*, pp. 41—2.

It may be sufficient to state that here, as elsewhere in the document, we have a lapicidal error³³ and that we are faced with a hitherto unknown local name. However, a long time ago the title ἱερεὺς Διὸς Ὀσογωλλιος was read in some Mylasan inscriptions. This reading is superseded, it is true, but, if right, it would raise the possibility of a different interpretation of our sequence Διὸς Ὀσογλωλλιος which seems to be close to Οσογωλλιος and has only one syllable more. The question also provides an instructive picture of the problems which epigraphists have to face.

The inscriptions in question are *CIG*, 2700 and p. 1107 (= *BCH*, V, 1881, pp. 98—9, no. 2, ll. 1—6 = Michel, 1204 A); LBW, 361 (*BCH*, *ibid.*, p. 100, no. 3); *BCH*, *ibid.*, pp. 100—1, nos. 4 and

²⁹ The Κομύρια ought to be connected with Ζεὺς Κυμώριος in Bargylia and Ζεὺς Κώμυρος in Halicarnassus (Laumonier, *ibid.*, pp. 606, 635); cf. also e.g. Κόμυρα, Κονάνη in Pisidia (Kretschmer, *Einführung*, p. 399 n. 1), Κομοσαρῶν in Bosphorus, *Comosicus*, Κομδαῖα in Dacia (*ibid.*, p. 222 n. 2).

³⁰ See also Kretschmer, *loc. cit.*, p. 366; E. Sittig, *De graecorum nominibus theophoris*, Diss. Halle, 1911, pp. 48—9; Laumonier, *Cultes*, p. 554 n. in continuation from p. 553 (criticized by Masson, *loc. cit.*). Apollo was often worshipped in Caria as Οὐλιος; see G. Jost, p. 33 n. 250; Laumonier, *ibid.*

³¹ A prefix 'A- occurs in several proper names of Asia Minor: see P. Kretschmer, *Glotta*, XXI, 1933, pp. 86 ff.

The first element in the word may be cognate with ἄλω, which occurs in *Inv.* 140; cf. at Thesbiae ἐν τῇ Ἀλοιῇ (= Ἀλωῇ); see Holleaux, *Études*, I, pp. 107—8, and there was a festival Ἀλῶα in Eleusis. In Egypt the toponym Ἀλωλώ occurs (A. Calderini, *Eos*, XLVIII 3, 1956, *Symbolae Taubenschlag*, pp. 72, 75).

³² Ολωλλος, however, is to be deleted: see Zgusta, p. 370 n. 12. The similarity with the Semitic proper name Αλουλαιος is quite casual: see H. Wuthnow, *Die sem. Menschennamen in gr. Inschr. und Pap. d. vorderen Orients*, 1930, p. 18.

³³ *BCH*, XII, 1888, p. 13, no. 3, l. 6, τοῦ] Διὸς τοῦ Ὀσογῶι, is indicative of the general uncertainty regarding the spelling of the name. On the parasitic iota in the genitive see L. Robert, *Rev. Phil.*, 55, 1929, p. 156 n. 3. The word after Διὸς is certainly an attribute; cf. *id.* *Sinuri*, p. 64.

5, in all of which both ἱερεὺς Διὸς Ὀσογῶα Διὸς Ζηνοποσειδῶνος and ἱερεὺς Διὸς Ὀσογῶλλιος (or Ὀσογῶλλιος) Ζηνοποσειδῶνος have been read.³⁴

Boeckh used a copy made by Pococke, who had read ΟΣΟΓΟ(sic)ΛΛΙΟΣ and who, unreliable as he was, had two plain faults in copying -ποσειδῶνος. G. Henzen, *Bullettino dell' Inst. d. corrisp. archeol.*, 1849, pp. 187—9, knew LBW, 361 only from a copy made by O. Falkener, who had read ΟΣΟΓΩΛΛΙΟΣ and who had also committed several errors in copying that inscription. On the analogy of *CIG*, 2700 Henzen wrote Ὀσογῶα Διὸς Ζηνοποσειδῶνος, and this was read by Le Bas and also by Am. Hauvette-Besnault and M. Dubois, just as in *CIG*, 2700, in the other inscriptions mentioned above, which they published in *BCH*, V. The same reading is to be found in *Rev. arch.*, 32, 1876, p. 284, à propos nos. 4 and 5 in *BCH*, V, which, along with LBW, 361, had been published in a newspaper in Smyrna, *ibid.*, p. 195 (the author of the note in *Rev. arch.* emphasized the need for the study of a squeeze). Consequently the reading Ὀσογῶα Διὸς would have been accepted, if A. Kontoleon, Ἀνέκδοτοι μικρασιατικὴ ἐπιγραφαί, 1890, had not reopened the question. In the commentary on his inscription no. 55 (= *CIG*, 2700), he declares, that he undoubtedly saw ΟΣΟΓΩΛΛΙΟΣ on the stone. Of the three other inscriptions in question he gives an account of copies made by an individual, who is not mentioned by name but is indicated as reliable, and all the three copies have the reading Ὀσογῶλλιος.

Nevertheless we need not doubt the now accepted reading Ὀσογῶα Διὸς; the other reading is to be explained as due to the influence of Pococke's copy³⁵ and to the condition of the stones.³⁶ The combination Ζεὺς Ὀσογῶα-Ζηνοποσειδῶν is well documented: see Laumonier, *Cultes*, pp. 104—5, 123—5.³⁷ The final proof, however, is provided by a comparison with two other inscriptions from Mylasa. In W. Judeich, *Ath. Mitt.*, XV, 1890, p. 260, no. 13, the same Symmachus as in *CIG*, 2700 is described as ἱερεὺς Διὸς Ὀσογῶ(sic) Ζηνοποσειδῶνος and in LBW, 362 there is another ἱερεὺς Διὸς Ὀσ[ο]γῶ Ζα[νο]ποσειδῶνος. In these two cases the possibilities of error are eliminated by reason of the genitive Ὀσογῶ (not Ὀσογῶα) and the absence of Διὸς. Consequently, this whole group of problems is irrelevant to the reading of our stone.

The next group of letters in l. 30 is also corrupt and it is evident that the engraver here, at the end of the inscription, has tired and dropped one or two syllables. An easy way to explain the letters would be to write καὶ ἱε(ρε)ῦς Σίνυρι and let the supposed priest be the son Dionysius. This is, however, impossible, since the list of the priests of Sinuri (L. Robert, *Sinuri*, p. 19, no. 5) registers sixteen names of priests elected for life from the very beginning of activity in the temple until the late second or early first cent. B.C., but no Dionysius occurs. Furthermore this group seems to be analogous to the immediately preceding one, though the main word τόπος is not repeated. Since there are many engraver's mistakes but no other abbreviations I do not regard ἱε as a conscious abbreviation, though it is very common.³⁸ For the god Sinuri, known from the 4th. cent. B.C. see L. Robert, *loc. cit.*, pp. 12 ff., 93 ff.; Laumonier, *Cultes*, pp. 175—83; Ch. Picard, *Rev. arch.*, 1960, II, pp. 133—4.³⁹

³⁴ The actual passage of the text in LBW, 359 is lost. I have isolated the problem in question, and have not dealt with other different restorations or the accentuation.

³⁵ The passage was easily misread. In the engraving of A the horizontal stroke is often only slightly marked or even completely omitted, as also in Labraunda, and sometimes the corresponding stroke in Δ is barely discernible.

³⁶ Strabo XIV 658 says of this stone: Τὰ δὲ Μύλασα ἱδρύονται ἐν πεδίῳ σφόδρα εὐδαίμονι· ὑπέρκειται δὲ κατὰ κορυφὴν ὄρος αὐτοῦ, λατόμιον λευκοῦ λίθου κάλλιστον ἔχον· τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ὀφελὸς ἐστὶν οὐ μικρόν, τὴν λιθὴν πρὸς τὰς οἰκοδομίας ἄφθονον καὶ ἐγγύθεν ἔχον, καὶ μάλιστα πρὸς τὰς τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δημοσίων ἔργων κατασκευάς· τοιγάρτοι στοαῖς τε καὶ ναοῖς, εἴ τις ἄλλη, κεκόσμηται παγκάλως. W.R. Paton and J. L. Myres, *Geogr. Journ.*, IX, 1897, p. 44 note, reported that the stone "is not marble but a fine compact limestone like that of Mount Zea in Naxos" (cf. Magie, pp. 51, 817 n. 109). Westholm, however, calls the stone marble and indicates that "Unfortunately the marble used is a very coarse one with large crystals which show a tendency to crumble. The surface is easily eaten when exposed to the air", p. 25 (cf. *ibid.*, p. 11).

³⁷ W.H.D. Rouse, *JHS*, XXI, 1901, p. 271, called Ζεὺς Ὀσογῶς Ζηνοποσειδῶν "a monstrosity".

³⁸ E.g. for Ἱεροκωμήτης in Stratonicea: see Laumonier, *Cultes*, pp. 198, 345. My restoration corresponds to e.g. Inv. 140, l. 43, also a boundary, καὶ ἱερά γῆ Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ ἡ ἱερ[ά] Δ[ιὸς Λαβρα]ῶνδου, Ἀριστέας Διονυσίου; <ὁ> has been omitted, *ibid.* in l. 11.

³⁹ On a place named Sinuri near Hyllarima see L. Robert, *Sinuri*, pp. 13—4; Laumonier, *Cultes*, pp. 177, 179—83,

Υς is a local name or part of a local name. It is Carian or Greek. We know of many Carian names having as the first syllable Υς⁴⁰ and Sinuri owned lands ἐν 'Υσαρβιδού (L. Robert, *ibid.*, nos 47 a, l. 7; 48 B, l. 5; 61 (?)). A possibility may be Υισσος, mentioned several times in the investment-inscriptions.⁴¹ Note also the festival Σύνειν at Sinuri (L. Robert, *ibid.*, pp. 97—8; Laumonier, *ibid.*, p. 642 n. 3).

Υς, however, is a Greek word: E. Curtius, *Ges. Abh.*, I, 1894, p. 486, has collected several instances of mountains called after animals, Αἰξ, Βοῦς, Ἴππος, Λέων, Ταῦρος, "Υδρα and also mentions Σύαγρος.⁴² In fact, from the late Imperial period we know of a τόπος called Σῦς.⁴³ In Inv. 140 we have as names of γέμι Βουκυλῆν, Ταυροφόνιον and also Συσταν,⁴⁴ all in the accusative, but most of these names are certainly Carian.

Consequently, in view of the well known Carian stem Υσ-, the connection with Sinuri, the Carian place-name mentioned immediately in front of Υς, and the repeated dropping of letters and syllables on the stone, I am inclined to regard Υς as part of a Carian place-name.

In all cases in inscriptions from Mylasa-Olymus, where υἱός or υἱός are mentioned (disregarding some illegible items), the name of the son seems to have been recorded. Consequently, the son here must be Dionysius, and Iatrocles is to be regarded as his adoptive father and Heracleides as his natural father. A good parallel is given in a subscription-list from Chios of the 3rd cent. B.C., L. Robert, *BCH*, LVII, 1933, p. 509, [Βάστας] Θέρσου καὶ ὑπὲρ [τοῦ υἱοῦ] Ἀπολλοδότου [τοῦ Βα]σιλείδου. L. Robert declares that evidently the son was an adopted son of Bastas, and then Ἀπολλόδοτος Βασιλείδου was his original name. A corresponding formula is of the type Διονύσιος Πυθέου ὁ ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου, *SEG* II 581 (2nd cent. B.C.), II, l. 9, where Πυθέας is the adoptive father; cf. L. Robert, *BCH*, *ibid.*, p. 483; Wilhelm, *Wien. Stud.*, LXI—LXII, 1943—7, p. 183. Notice also common formulae such as Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Ἀρτεμῆ, φύσι δὲ Ἀριστείδου (*SEG* II 550 b); Διονύσιος Ἰάσονος Ἀχαρ(νέως), γόνω δὲ Θεοδώρου Ἀθμονέως (*BMus. Inscr.*, 81 (Attica, earlier half of 2nd cent. A.D.), l. 2); ὑπὲρ Εἰρηνία τοῦ Εἰρηνία κατὰ ποίησιν, κατὰ φύσιν δὲ Ἐκταίου (*Delphinion*, 147 (205/4 B.C.), l. 88).⁴⁵

This vague form of nomenclature conforms with

the conclusions drawn by Astrid Wentzel, *Hermes*, 65, 1930, pp. 167—76, 'Studien über die Adoption in Griechenland', that the common formulae as καθ' ὑοθεσίαν and κατὰ γένεσιν came into use about 200 B.C. by way of Roman influence at Rhodes (and Asia Minor with islands) and that the practice in this respect had varied earlier. A reserve, however, is to be made, as far as concerns the date of the introduction, since the expression καθ' ὑοθεσίαν δέ occurs from ca. 240—38 B.C. in Lindos: see Chr. Blinkenberg, *Inscr. Lindos*, I, col. 308 n. 1.

It is to be noted that, if this interpretation of the name of the son be accepted, there are probably two different fathers called Iatrocles mentioned in ll. 30 and 31—2; this is confirmed by the addition of the name of the grandfather to the latter. However, if both Iatrocles were the same individual, he could possibly be an uncle (or another relative) of the son Dionysius. This would explain the possi-

458—9, whose view of the problem, however, does not seem final. On the Greek stem Σιν- and Σινν- in proper names see L. Robert, *Noms indigènes*, I, p. 240.

⁴⁰ See A. Laumonier, *BCH*, LVIII, 1934, p. 353; L. Robert, *Sinuri*, p. 78 with n. 3; Zgusta, pp. 529—31.

⁴¹ γῆν τὴν ἐν Υισσῶ, *BCH*, XXII, *loc. cit.*, p. 394, no. 42, l. 9; τῶν ἐν Υισσῶ γεῶν, *ibid.*, p. 381, no. 21, l. 3; ὁ καλεῖται Υισσος, *ibid.*, pp. 400—2, no. 48 (= *Ath. Mitt.*, XIV, 1889, pp. 374—6, nos. 3—4), l. 10; ΥΙΗΣΕΩΝ, *BCH*, XIX, 1895, p. 560, no. 2, l. 3; cf. Laumonier, *Cultes*, p. 133 n. 6.

⁴² On the proper name Σύαγρος, "Sangler", see L. Robert, *Noms indigènes*, I, p. 299 n. 6. The Cilician proper name Συς is distinguished from σῦς by -ς; but Σύσπος is definitely Greek (Zgusta, p. 478 with n. 152).

⁴³ *Syll³*, 1112, an inscription in any way similar to the present document. An individual ἐχαρίσατο διὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τῇ γερουσίᾳ χωρείδιον Στυφλ[ά]ριον πλ(έθρων) ὁκτώ, τόπων Συῖ, ὃ γαίτορες --- (l. 9).

⁴⁴ Among place-names called after animals Knackstedt, *loc. cit.*, p. 37, cites Συάφναι and Συωνία and Σῦς, p. 38; in Cilicia we have a Σῦδερα, Ruge, *R.-E.*, s.v. (cf. L. Robert, *Ét. épigr. et philol.*, 1938, p. 255 n. 2). On the other hand, regarding the stem Su- in Asia Minor, A. Heubeck, *Beitr. z. Namenf.*, I, 1949/50, p. 280 n. 60, mentions as examples Συναγγελα, Σουσως, Συεδρα, but the last name looks suspiciously Greek; as a whole the form Σῦς, not *Υς, seems to be more frequent.

⁴⁵ Cf. also the honorific decree *Inscr. Délos*, 74, in which a Χαίριτης Πολυμήδους Μυρρινοῦσιος was honoured, along with his ἀδελφός, Ἀντιφῶν Θεοδώρου; consequently one of them was called after his adoptive father without further indication; *ibid.*, 1834 an individual made a dedication to τὸν φύσει ἀδελφὸν Ἐχέδημον Ἥχου, one of whom was also called only after his adoptive father.

bility that an adopted son and a natural one had each inherited part of a land which was formerly undivided. An uncle is supposed to be the adoptive father in some instances in which a son is called after his adoptive and not his natural father: see J. and L. Robert, *Bull. épigr.*, 1964, 392, p. 212; *ibid.*, 1965, 395. However, the name of Iatrocles is very characteristic of Caria, as also of Ionia (cf. L. Robert, *Gnomon*, 35, 1963, p. 64), just as the name of Dionysius is very common in Mylasa. Some individuals mentioned in later inscriptions from Mylasa-Olymus may have been relatives to our Dionysius, but G. Cousin, *BCH*, XXII, 1898, p. 427, already has warned against attaching too great importance to homonymy in the district; so also L. Robert, several times.⁴⁶

None of the following neighbours is known from other inscriptions, but, always with the same reserve regarding homonymy, we may have some information about later relatives of theirs.⁴⁷ E. Locker, *Glotta*, XXII, 1934, p. 83, registers Πρωτέας among the Greek "Kurz- und Kosenamen" from 3rd cent. B.C. The reading of Ἀρρίσιος seems to be fairly certain; e.g. Ἀρβήσιος (*Syll*³, 46, Halicarnassus, l. 42) occupies too long a space. The name of Ἀρρίσιος, Ἀρρίσιος is well known in the district: see A. Laumonier, *BCH*, LVIII, *loc. cit.*, p. 353; Zgusta, p. 96; on the suffix -σιος in Caria see Kretschmer, *loc. cit.*, pp. 317 ff.⁴⁸

For the expression ἡ ὁδὸς ἢ ἐπὶ + acc. (φέρουσα) indicating a boundary cf. Knackstedt, cited above, pp. 16, 22 ff., and also Welles, 20, ll. 10—1, ὁδὸς βασιλικὴ ἢ ἀρχαία ἢ ἄγουσα ἐπὶ Πάννου κόμης; in Inv. 140, boundaries are indicated at least twice by ἡ ὁδὸς ἢ δημοσία and twice by αἱ ὁδοὶ αἱ δημόσιαι.

The name Κάλβισσος, of which the reading seems certain, is new. It must indicate a locality in the neighbourhood situated on a river bank,⁴⁹ since the first element in the name is that of the river Κάλβις near Caunus: see the literary authorities in Fraser and Bean, *Rhod. Per.*, pp. 51—2; cf. Laumonier, *Cultes*, p. 474 n. 3; and in Lycia a spring is known by its natural name Κάλβιος derived from an Indo-European stem meaning "black" (cf. VI. Georgiev, *Beitr. z. Namenf.*, 8, 1957, p. 152).⁵⁰ For the second element in the name we may compare the proper name at Mylasa in LBW, 416, l. 1, Ἐκαταίου Κεταμβισσίου;⁵¹ see Zgusta, p. 227. On the ending -ισσός, frequent in Asia Minor, see

Fick, cited above, pp. 29, 61, 63; Kretschmer, cited above, p. 405. ἐπὶ used in this sense in

⁴⁶ See L. Robert, *AJA*, XXXIX, 1935, pp. 335—6, a corrected text of A. Laumonier, *Rev. arch.*, 1933, II, pp. 38—9, dated on the letter-forms to 2nd cent. B.C. (Laumonier); in ll. 15—6 there is a Dionysius, son of Iatrocles, son of Dionysius, whom Laumonier identified with a Dionysius, son of Iatrocles in *BCH*, XXII, cited above, p. 382, no. 23 (= Hula und Szanto, p. 12, no. 2), l. 4 (it is to be noticed that *ibid.*, ll. 1—5 is another inscription from ll. 6 ff., where an *archidicastes* in Caria is honoured, "sicher aus der Seleukidenzeit", Bengtson, *Strategie*, II, p. 120 n. 1; see Ch. VIII). In A. W. Persson, *BCH*, XLVI, 1922, p. 407, no. 11 (*SEG* II 546), l. 2, is mentioned Ἰατροκλείους τοῦ Διονυσίου(?), Διονυσίου? Παρεμβωρδέως?. Finally, in the investment-inscriptions an Iatrocles, son of Iatrocles, son of Dionysius, occurs: see Laumonier, *Mélanges Radet* (= *REA*, XLII, 1940), pp. 204—5. See Cousin, *ibid.* (note from the previous page), on the parallel use of the genitive endings -εῖους and -έους; εἰ for ε before a vowel in the type Ἰατροκλείους persisted in Priene for four centuries (Aem. Dienstbach, *De titulorum Prienens. sonis*, Diss. Marburg, 1910, pp. 26—7), and is listed from 3rd cent. B.C. by E. Knitl, *Die Sprache d. ion. Kykladen nach d. inschr. Quellen*, Diss. München, 1938, p. 4.

⁴⁷ LBW, 330, of 2nd cent. B.C. (cf. Ruge, *R.-E.*, s.v. Olymos, col. 2515), l. 9, has an Ἀριστέας Ἰατροκλείους, and the same name should be restored in Hula und Szanto, p. 13, no. 4, l. 5, Ἀριστέων Ἰατροκλείους (cf. above, n. 46).

⁴⁸ *Syll*³, 46, cited above, has Ἀρβησιος, Ἀρβησις; Ἀρλισσιος, Ἀρλισς; Ἀρύασσις.

⁴⁹ The river system around Mylasa can be seen on the excellent political local map, A. and T. Akarca, *Miläs*, 1954, p. 16. A. Akarca, *Monnaies gr. Mylasa*, cited above, p. 53, is inclined to identify Kybersos with the present Sari Çay, which flows in an arc north of the city, and Laumonier, *Cultes*, p. 151, locates Kybersos on the plain between Mylasa and Olymus. Akarca also indicates Aci Çay, Hamzabey Ç, Kandak Ç, Derince Ç. The previously known river Κενώς, LBW, 337, l. 4 (cf. W. Judeich, *Ath. Mitt.*, XIV, 1889, p. 389) occurs in Inv. 140, both in this form and as Κινεώς. One or more other rivers are also mentioned in that document. In LBW, 338, l. 15, a river named Ἡραύς is mentioned.

⁵⁰ Cf. also the proper name in Mylasa Κάλβιχας (Zgusta, p. 211) and other Carian names such as Κάλυνδα, Κάλυμνα (Aug. Fick, *Vorgr. Ortsn.*, 1905, p. 53). In Laconia a dance dedicated to Artemis was called κάλλαβις: see the references in S. Srebrny, *Mélanges Cumont*, 1936, I, p. 440 n. 3.

Several rivers in Greece and Asia Minor were called Μέλας; on the Μέλας in Pamphylia and Cilicia see L. Robert, *Documents de l'Asie Mineure mée.*, cited above, pp. 46—52.

⁵¹ Κεταμβισσιος looks like a double name: Laumonier, *Cultes*, p. 133 n. 6.

Mylasa governs the accusative or the genitive (cf. L. Robert, *Sinuri*, p. 78). As the second name occurs in the accusative, Κελβισσου is probably undeclinable,⁵² unless we are to suppose that some distinction is made between the use of the genitive and the accusative for local (to—up (to—wards) to?) or some other reason.

We know of several places in Western Asia Minor called Ἰερὰ Κώμη and they are registered by L. and J. Robert, *La Carie*, II, pp. 294—5.⁵³ In our inscription the place ought to be that which occurs in L. Robert, *Sinuri*, pp. 78, *et alibi*, and which has been indentified with Kalin Agil near Sinuri.

9. Honorific decree of Mylasa for Olympichus, the strategos of Seleucus II.

Copy of second cent. B.C. (letter-forms).

Inv. 54/K 12. Fragment of stele, found in 1949 in front of the south face of the South Propylaea (see Jeppesen, pp. 2—31, 40—3, 46—50; Westholm, pp. 96—8, 111—2, 117).

Width 24.5 cm., height 19 cm., thickness 10 cm. The stone is broken below into the shape of a narrow tip. The front face, most probably once smoothed, is worn; the left and under sides are broken; the right side and the back are smoothed,

the back is worn; the upper side is worked smooth.

Above the preserved l. 1 there is a blank space, 3 cm. in height. The letters are 1.1 to 1.3 cm. high, interlinear space 1.5 to 1.9 cm. The letters are irregularly carved, sometimes with slightly thickened finials, and vary in spacing and form; see further below. The blank space in l. 9 is 2 cm. in width. Plate 5.

vac

-----] κοῦ ὄντος δὲ βουλῇ

[----- Πα] γήμου προτέραι γνώ-

[μη ----- ἱερέως Δι] ὅς 'Οσ[ο] γω' ἐπειδὲ 'Ολύμ-

4 [πιχος ----- τοῦ βασιλέ] ως Σελεύκου στρα-

[τηγός ----- αἰρ] ἔσεως καὶ τῶν προγό-

[νων ----- e.g. πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλ] ῶν ἀγαθ[ῶν - - -]

c.6

] ουτ[-----]

c.7

8 [λευ[-----]

c.8

vac

] ερ[-----]

c.9

2. The very bottom of the right vertical stroke of ν is visible. 3. the lower portion of the vertical stroke and the right portion of the horizontal one of γ are visible; the bottom of the stroke to the left of μ is visible; the

letter may have been squeezed in to the line. 7. the left portion of the horizontal stroke of τ is visible. 8. the bottom of the right stroke of λ is visible.

This inscription is the upper portion of a decree issued by Mylasa, the proposer of which is apparently a priest of Zeus Osogoa.¹ The surviving lines include the heading (ll. 1—3) and the beginning of the preliminary consideration of the decree (ll. 3 ff.).

The decree was occasioned by some benefaction or other made by Olympichus, who is men-

tioned as governor of king Seleucus (II), and consequently the decree belongs to the earlier period

⁵² Cf. Laumonier, *BCH*, LVIII, pp. 363—4, on some Carian divine names.

⁵³ Cf. L. Robert, *Ét. anat.*, pp. 558—61; Bömer, *Unters.*, loc. cit., II, pp. 187—8.

¹ In the context the phyle of the Otokondeis is no possibility (cf. on 6 A, ll. 3—12).

of Olympichus' career, as does 8, *q.v.* If we are to seek a special occasion for the decree, the liberation of Mylasa (see Ch. III) would provide a possible context, but on the other hand Olympichus already speaks of his constant benevolence towards the city in his letter 8, ll. 10 ff., and in particular his dedication of lands to Zeus Osogoa in that letter occasioned a decree of Mylasa, see on 8, ll. 1—8. (Laum, cited above, II, has collected a number of honorific decrees in which a foundation is accepted). We also have to ask why the priest of Zeus Osogoa made the proposal.

The contents of the decree, which may correspond to those of 8, and the few remains of letters at the bottom of the fragment may be interpreted in conformity with Olympichus' activity as shown in 8: ἐ[λευ][θερ-, l. 8; cf. 8, l. 14, or Σ[ε][λευ][χ-, who made the liberation; εὐ[εργ[ετ-, l. 10; cf. 8, ll. 11, 15 (obviously, these are possibilities and nothing more). Only the end of the decree 8 A is preserved. Both documents are engraved on steles, 10 cm. thick², and the letter-forms are contemporary and have the same particularities; notice especially the broad upper stroke of the gamma, the rather high delta, the emphatically curved stroke of the rho, the many different shapes of the sigma and of the omega. The style of engraving of both is indifferent. 9 may also be restored with the same width as 8. It is then natural to ask ourselves whether the two inscriptions do not belong to the same document; if so, the role of the priest of Zeus Osogoa as the proposer would be explained very simply.

The two documents were discovered in different parts of the shrine, but this fact is of no importance whatever,³ not least because 8 was found in a hole together with four fragments of a base and a fragment of another stele, and consequently may have come from anywhere in the shrine. 9 was found in the front of the South Propylaea in or near which it may originally have stood; I would call attention to Olympichus' recommendation in 8, ll. 24—6, that this letter should be engraved in the most conspicuous place in Labraunda. Nor does the difference of the height of letters and of the interlinear space create much difficulty, since the documents as a whole are engraved in a very irregular way and also in Inv. 140, on the back of 8, the height of letters varies from 0.8 to 1.4 cm. and the interlinear space from 1.4 up to 1.9 cm. (the larger dimensions occurring

mainly in the upper part). The front faces of the stones are very worn, and on 9 it is hardly possible to estimate the finer details of the engraving.⁴

Nothing seems to have been written on the back (something which also involves the problem concerning the μέν in 8, l. 27), while the back of 8, Inv. 140, is inscribed from top to bottom, and the narrower script towards the end reflects a desire to finish the inscription on that side. This is a difficulty. We must also reckon with the possibility of a series of connected documents engraved on more than one stele. Anyhow, whatever their exact relationship, 8 and 9 are probably connected in some way.

Ll. 1—3. From the period of Maussollus we know of the heading of a Mylasan decree, *Syll*³, 167, ll. 1—4, 17—20: ἔπει -- Ἀρταξέρξης βασιλεύοντος, Μαυσσώλλου ἐξαίθραπέδοντος, ἔδοξε Μυλασεῦσιν, ἐκκλησίης κυρίας γενομένης, καὶ ἐπεκύρωσαν αἱ τρεῖς φυλαί· (ἐπειδὴ, l. 4). From the late 2nd cent. B.C. (L. Robert, *Rev. Phil.*, 53, I, 1927, p. 111) we possess a well preserved full heading of another de-

² Some few other stelae of different dates found in Labraunda are also 10 cm. thick. Of these I may mention one found in 1951 east of the South Propylaea (to judge from the letter-forms, of the late 2nd cent. B.C.), Inv. 121/P 82; W. 33 cm.; H. 22 cm.; Th. 10 cm.; broken to the left and right, above and below; the letters are 1.1—1.6 cm. high, interlinear space is 1.6—1.9 cm. Pl. 6. It is a portion of a decree concerning the lease of lands. I cannot deal with it here, since it lies outside the scope of this book, but it is possibly a later copy, like 8 and 9, and since the lost portion of 8 might have included these or similar regulations, I give the text here.

τοὺς ταμί]ας ἀναμ[ισθοῦν] γέρας ἄ[λλας
κα]ὶ τὰς οἰκίσεις πάσας εἰς [e.g. πατρικά
ο]ἱ μισθωσάμενοι κατα[
4 κατὰ ἐ]νιαυτὸν κατὰ τὸν πρακ[
]ν [τ]ὴν κτῆσιν τούτω[ν
]σιν κατὰ ἐνιαυτὸν [
φόρον ἀνυπ]όλογον ἀκύνδον[ν
8]τὸ ἐξάμηνον οἱ[
]εξοντα[

³ At Labraunda, as elsewhere, many inscriptions were moved from their original places and re-used. So e.g. a proxeny-decree by Maussollus and Artemisia, mentioned in *Prel. survey*, p. 101, was found together with another inscription in a floor face downwards; of four blocks forming part of the architrave of the South Propylaea, *ibid.*, p. 100, only two were found in front of the Propylaea, while the two others were found on the temple terrace; *Nine Inscr.*, 4, is a re-used lintel.

⁴ This problem of the connection between 8 and 9 has arisen since I last visited Labraunda. Only a study of the stones themselves would solve the difficulty.

cree, Michel, 472: 'Επὶ στεφανηφόρου τοῦ δεῖνος (τ.δ. τ.δ.) [γραμματεῦντος βουλῆ τοῦ δεῖνος τ.δ., ἱερέως Διὸς Λα[βραῦν]δου, καὶ ἀρχόντων τοῦ δεῖνος τ.δ. τ.δ., τοῦ δεῖνος τ.δ. τ.δ. τ.δ., τοῦ δεῖνος τ.δ.] Ξανδικοῦ πεντεκαίδεκάτη· ἐπιστατοῦντος ἀρχό[ντων] τοῦ δεῖνος τ.δ.· Ἐδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῶι δήμῳ. Γν[ώμη] ἀρχόντων τοῦ δεῖνος, τοῦ δεῖνος, τοῦ δεῖνος, περὶ ὧν εἰσεγράψατο ὁ δεῖνα τ.δ. τ.δ. ethnicon. Ἐπειδὴ --- (cf. *SEG* II 539). This heading agrees with the normal headings of decrees issued by other Greek or hellenized cities of the time. However, the organization of Mylasa on the lines of a Greek community must have taken some considerable time, and this seems to be reflected in the heading here under discussion, belonging, as it does, to the first years after the liberation.

The suggestion that here we have a heading is supported by the *vac.* above l. 1. We can also identify the main items in the heading of Michel, 472 in the same sequence as there. There is no reason to discuss the shorter form of this heading, nor the omission of ἔδοξεν ---, as decrees as a whole vary in this respect. But the lacuna between ll. 1 and 2, where evidently we should restore ὄντος δὲ βουλῆ [γραμματέως τοῦ δεῖνος,⁵ is remarkable. The normal formula is γραμματέως (δὲ) βουλῆ(-ῆς), or, as above, γραμματεῦντος βουλῆ(-ῆς), the definite article sometimes being added. Before this practice was established at Mylasa, the information was presented in formulae such as εἰ ἐν ἀρχῇ ὄντες (cf. e.g. *Syll*³, 340, l. 50), ὁ γραμματεὺς αἰεὶ ὁ ἐν ἀρχαῖς ὢν (*ibid.*, 722, ll. 8—9). For the use of the participle see *ibid.*, 295, ll. 9—17, ἔδο[ξε] Δελφοῖς, Θ[ουρί]οις ἀποδό[με]ν τὰν προ[μα]νητῆαν, π[ρο]αλιωτᾶν [ἐόν]των τ.δ., τ.δ., τ.δ.; *Inscr. Priene*, 4, Ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου---, κυρίου συλλόγου γενομένου, Πριηνέων αὐτονόμων ὄντων.

If this stele originally had the same width as 8, the heading may be reconstructed thus:

[Ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου τοῦ δεῖνος τοῦ δεῖνος τοῦ--]

c.40

κου, ὄντος δὲ βουλῆ

[γραμματέως τοῦ δεῖνος τοῦ δεῖνος τοῦ δεῖνος·

c.38

Πα[γήμου] προτέραι· γινώ-

[μῃ τοῦ δεῖνος τοῦ δεῖνος τοῦ δεῖνος, ἱερέως Διὸς

c.39

Ἵ[ο]σ[ο]γῶ·

On the stephanephorate in Mylasa see on 6 A, ll. 3—12. The meaning of προτέρα is not quite

certain. When treating the inscription of Erythrae of the first half of the 2nd cent. B.C., Sokolowski, 26, J. Keil, *Jahresh.*, XIII, 1910, Beibl., col. 38, suggested the possibility that this dating would be equivalent to προτεραι in *IG*, XIV 645 (= Arangio-Ruiz et Olivieri, *Inscr. Gr.*, 1, q. v.) I, l. 101, τὸ μίσθωμα ἀποδιδόντι πᾶρ φέτος αἰεὶ Πανάμω μηνὸς προτεραι. This day would be the day before the νομηνία, i.e. the last day in the month. This interpretation is in conformity with the later use of προτέραι, just as πρὸ μῆς, for the Latin *pridie*: see P. Viereck, *Sermo gr. quo S.P.Q.R. usi sunt*, 1888, p. 81; Fr. Cumont, *Studia Pontica*, III, I, 1910, p. 80 (on *OGIS*, 532, l. 3); cf. e.g. *Syll*³, 646, l. 14, προτέραι εἰδυὼν Ὀκτωμβρίων. The interpretation would also in principle be in conformity with the Athenian date ἔνη καὶ νέαι προτέραι,⁶ of which have been found 7 instances, all indicating intercalated days in Skirophorion 29/30 see W. K. Pritchett, *Ancient Athenian calendars on stone*, 1963, pp. 279—81, 341, 360—3. "In the three years which exhibit *protera* dates, the calendar had advanced to the 353d day, or the 383d day", i.e. of the intercalary year, "which would normally have been Skirophorion *ultimo*, the last day of the year, when it was decided to call this day *protera* and the following day *embolimos*, thereby giving to the year 354, or 384, days. Failure to observe the new crescent on the evening of the day Skirophorion 29/30 resulted in prolongation of the year by one day and modified terminology for the last two days of the year" (*ibid.*, p. 362). Notice further that the δευτέρα φθίνοντος indicates the day before the last day in the month. Consequently, if προτέραι is to be taken literally, it should no doubt be understood to refer to the last day in the month. However, Keil himself, coll. 37—8, suggested for the προτέραι in the inscription of Erythrae the 20th day in the month as being equivalent to δεκάτη προτέραι. v. Wilamowitz, *Nordionische Steine*, 1910, p. 51, followed by Sokolowski, held that προτέραι, preceded by νομηνίαι, meant the first day in the month. On Zeus Osogoa see on 6 A, ll. 3—12.

⁵ Another division of the letters, e.g. ὑπα[χ]ούοντος δὲ βουλῆ, is not possible in this context. One example of a proper name in the genitive ending with -κου is Σώσσης (5, p. 34).

⁶ On the term ἔνη καὶ νέαι see M. P. Nilsson, *Die Entstehung und relig. Bed. d. gr. Kalenders*², 1962, pp. 15—6.

Ll. 3—6. I regard the writing ἐπειδέ, introducing the motivation of the decree, as another sign of uncertainty in the formulation of the decree, but it may be due to the engraver. ἐπειδή is the usual word as in Michel, 472, cited above, and e.g. the Mylasan decree of 209/8 B.C. *Delphinion*, 146 B, l. 60. The same spelling occurs in *Syll*³, 642 (Megara, after 174 B.C.), l. 2, and Hiller v. Gaertringen remarked in note 3: "utrum merus error lapicidae sit an reconditior quaedam sermonis Megarensium proprietates, incertum est." In our inscription the final epsilon cannot be a dialectal form, since evidently the correct use of the Hellenistic Koine was envisaged for this sequence of documents. Alternatively it may stand for an erroneous ἐπεὶ δέ (cf. l. 1, where the δέ is also unnecessary).

Of these lines only l. 4 can be restored with some confidence, and I propose:

ἐπειδ<ή> Ὀλύμ-
[πιχος Ὀλυμπίχου κατασταθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως
c.39
Σελεύκου στρα-
[τηγός--

The father's name, taken from 8, l. 27, is added for reasons of space. It cannot be determined whether a local or other definition was added after κατασταθεὶς, as in Chr. Habicht, *Ath. Mitt.*, 72, 1957, p. 218, no. 57 (honorific decree for Aristolaus, governor of Philadelphus, 270—59 B.C.), στρατηγός ἐπὶ Καρίας κατέστη, καὶ [αὐ] πολλὰς χρείας παρέχεται καὶ κοινῇ τῇ πόλ[ει καὶ] ἰδίαι τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι Σαμίων, ἄξια πράσσω τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως προαιρέσεως, δεδόχθαι---, and G. Mihailov, *IG Bulg.*, 43, ll. 4—6, καθεσταμένος ὑπὸ βασιλέως Θρακῶν Σαδάλου στρατηγός ἐπὶ τῆς προσχώρου; *ibid.*, 388, ll. 3—5, τεταχμέ[νος στραταγός? ---- Ἀν-τιόχου ἐπ' Ἀ[πολωνιάταις; cf. L. Robert, *Rev. Phil.*, 85, 1959, pp. 181 n. 5, 217 n. 4 (see below).

L. 5 may perhaps be restored as αἰρ[έσεως] or προαιρ[έσεως], governed by an expression such as (κατ)αξίως or κατ' ἀξίαν. L. 6 probably contained a stock phrase such as πολλῶν (καὶ μεγάλων) ἀγαθῶν (παρ)αίτιος ἐγένετο or γεγένηται. To complete the lines, however, involves difficulties. In the first place it is not certain whose (προ)αίρεσις is meant. It might be that of king Seleucus (cf. the quotation above), as he had liberated the city and Olympichus had acted on his orders, or that of the people of Mylasa, as being included in Olympichus'

eyes in his "patris" (8, ll. 11, 17),⁷ or again that of Olympichus himself, who in 8, ll. 10, 15, speaks of his goodwill to the city.⁸ The reference to πρόγονοι fits equally well all the three possibilities. As far as regards the king, Mylasa seems to have had reason to remember at least his father (see pp. 35, 83),⁹ while an issuing body often refers to its own ancestors¹⁰ and to those of a honorand¹¹. Consequently I refrain from suggesting a restoration.

For the scanty remains of ll. 7—10 see above.

The title of strategos had very varying meanings in the empire of the Seleucids.¹² Already during the reign of Antigonos Monophthalmus and subsequently, during the Seleucid period, governors in Asia Minor had the title of στρατηγός, not σατράπης: see Bengtson, I, pp. 204—9 (cf. p. 232); II, pp. 48—9, 52, 90 ff., 112—3, 124—5, 143 ff., 190—1. Asia Minor seems to have been a single military region commanded by the governor in Sardis as the king's representative (*ibid.*, II, pp. 92 ff., 103, 119, 125—7). It is not surprising that we do not know the name of any provincial capital except Sardis (*ibid.*, II, pp. 91—2), nor the exact name of a governor except in Sardis before 218 (*ibid.*, pp. 117—9; cf., however, pp. 103, 121—2). As far as Caria is concerned, we have to

⁷ Cf. e.g. Durrbach, *Choix*, 82 I (147/6 B.C.), ll. 7—9: (Ἐπειδὴ ὁ δεινὰ) ἐν τε τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄπαντι κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς χρόνον ἀνεστράφη φιλοδόξως καὶ ἀξίως τοῦ τε τόπου καὶ τῆς τοῦ δήμου προαιρέσεως, κατεβλάτετο δὲ καὶ τοὺς λόγους---.

⁸ Cf. e.g. the somewhat later decree for Cephisodorus, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 422, ll. 26—7, διαμεμενηκῶς ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς αἰρέσεως ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον μισοπονηρῶς.

⁹ For the use of πρόγονοι see on 1, l. 3; cf. e.g. Welles, 22, ll. 2—3, τῷ προγόνῳ ἡμῶν καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας εὐεργεσίας κατατεθειμένων εἰς τὴν ὑμετέραν πόλιν.

¹⁰ E.g. *IG*, IX² 1(2), 583 (late 3rd cent. B.C.), ll. 56—8, ὅπως φαίνεται τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Ἀκαρνάνων παρὰ πᾶν τὸν χρόνον --- καλῶς δὲ καὶ τῷ προγόνῳ καταξίως ποτὶ τοὺς συγγενεῖς καὶ φίλους πολιτεύειν (cf. *Inscr. Magnesia a. M.*, 39, ll. 40—1; 53, ll. 55—6). Mylasa mentions its πρόγονοι in 5, ll. 22—3.

¹¹ E.g. *Syll*³, 700, ll. 34—5, πράσσω ταῦτα ἀξίως μὲν τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τῶν προγόνων, ἀξίως δὲ καὶ τῆς ἰδίας δόξης τε καὶ ἀνδρείας.

¹² In addition to Bengtson, *Strategie*, frequently cited below, see Bickerman, *Inst. Sél.*, pp. 65, 82, 198 ff.; V. Ehrenberg, *Der Staat d. Griechen*², 1965, pp. 225—6.

The little we know of the Seleucid administration has been considerably increased by L. and J. Robert, *La Carie*, II, pp. 285 ff., no. 166, especially pp. 299—302; see below, Ch. III, p. 85.

reckon on a Seleucid satrapy commanded by a strategos until the Peace of Apamea (*ibid.*, pp. 12—5, 19—22). For the hitherto known Seleucid governors see *ibid.*, pp. 119—25, 408¹³ and also Habicht, *loc. cit.*, p. 219 n. 68, where, however, Olympichus is regarded as a governor for Macedon: see below, pp. 87—91, 95. For the powers of a Seleucid governor in Asia Minor we have to take as generalizations what can be derived from isolated cases; vis-à-vis the cities there can be no doubt that they always acted on the orders of the king.

Strategos was also a military title in the Seleucid Empire. "Chaque officier qui commande une unité tactique indépendante, que ce soit une armée ou un bataillon, peut être appelé stratège dans notre documentation" (Bikerman, *loc. cit.*, p. 65; cf. Bengtson, II, pp. 64—78).

In view of these different possibilities we have

to ask ourselves what position Olympichus held when he is described as strategos of king Seleucus. The correspondence found in Labraunda introduces him to us as a very important figure. Even if formally he was subordinate to the governor in Sardis, the king wrote directly to him (as he did in turn to the king). The way in which he mentions the liberation of Mylasa in 3, ll. 7—8 (cf. 5, ll. 36—9), gives the impression that on that occasion he was already present in the district. And apart from his later activity as a more or less independent dynast, he was also present in the district as strategos after the completion of Mylasa's liberation. Evidently he was an actual governor of a district, Caria or a part of it, and not only a high officer sent out on a special royal mission.

10. Letter to Mylasa concerning Labraunda (?).

Hellenistic period. Copy of the Imperial period (letter-forms).

Inv. 85/NA 1. Fragment of plaque, found in 1950 in the Οἶκοι (see on 1 B-2).

Width 22.5 cm., height 26 cm., thickness 6.0 cm. The front face bears marks of chiselling and the surface is badly worn to the left, especially below; the stone is broken to the left and right, above and below; the back bears frequent marks of a pointed chisel.

The letters are 1.3 to 1.6 cm. high, interlinear space is 2.2 to 2.9 cm., the larger dimensions occurring in the upper portion. The letters are carefully carved. The blank spaces in ll. 5 and 9 are 2 and 1.5 cm. respectively. Plate 5.

]ηβϑ[

]ολης παρϑ[

]ης καὶ τῆς ἱερ[

‡]ν ὑπογράφαι[

]τε·ν εὖ ἂν οὖν π[οιησ-

]ν τέλη τᾶ[

] ἀπειθεῖν[

8]φς ἐγδέχ[

]οις ν τ[

1. The lower portions of the letters are visible in the break. 4. at the end an iota is more probable than a nu. 9. the upper portion of ϑ can be traced in the damaged

surface; the left portion of the horizontal stroke of τ is visible.

¹³ On Iason see *ibid.*, pp. 120—1; cf. *Remarks*, pp. 176—7.

This small fragment belongs to the same series of documents (largely later copies) engraved on the slabs which covered the inner walls of the *Oἶκoi* as 1 B—2, *q.v.*

That the document is a Hellenistic letter is evident above all from l. 5, where an order, a call or an exhortation occurs expressed in the usual polite way (see on 8, ll. 23—4). The letter seems to have been a rather short one and to have consisted of two parts. This view is supported by the *v* in l. 5. Ll. 2—5 can be restored in such a way as to refer to the appending of a letter immediately preceding the instruction in l. 5. If this is correct, the health-wish may be restored in l. 1, the letter being addressed to Mylasa. In l. 5 οὖν introduces the writer's final instruction and consequently not much of the second part of the letter can be lost.

The letter concerns taxes (l. 6), regarding the sacred land (l. 3), presumably, since it was engraved in the priest's house, of Labraunda, and the writer (or the writers) may be supposed to have requested Mylasa not to be disobedient (l. 7) to what is written in the letter mentioned in ll. 2—3. On this basis we must consider the possibility of identifying this letter with another mentioned or presumed in the correspondence which has not been recovered.¹

As the tone in the letter must be regarded as negative towards Mylasa, the letter cannot possibly be one of the communications of Sophron or Ptolemy. "the son", on which the city relied in 3, ll. 4—6, nor the presumed covering letter of Olympichus which was occasioned by Seleucus II's order to him to liberate the city, 3, ll. 7—8. Nor can it be Doson's letter to the Chrysaoreis, 5, ll. 5 ff., since there is no reason for his appending a copy of any letter, nor is it likely that his letter was addressed to the *boule*² on the lines of my restoration in l. 1. Again it is unlikely that the priest of Labraunda after Doson's death is the author, because he is not likely to have written a letter to Mylasa against which he was intriguing, cf. 5, ll. 13—4. Moreover, the Chrysaoreis are the active body in the negotiations according to Doson's letter.

If indeed it is possible to identify the letter in the text of the surviving correspondence, there remains in my opinion only one solution, that it is the letter of the Chrysaoreis to Mylasa, in

which they must have informed the city of Doson's decision regarding the new status of Labraunda by adducing a copy of his letter, and invited the city to obey him. This letter is nowhere expressly mentioned, but that the League made active use of Doson's letter is evident from 5, ll. 16—8. My interpretation would fit both the conditions stated above and also the account of Doson's letter, 5, ll. 7 ff. The first point in that letter concerned the recognition of the priest, which may have been touched on in this letter in l. 3, *ἱερωσύν]ης*, but the main point was the immunity from taxation, which may have been mentioned in ll. 3 and 6.

However, it must be admitted that this reconstruction of the subject of the letter is conjectural, and the letter might equally well concern a phase in the course of events regarding the status of the temple, which is otherwise unknown by us. Consequently, I do not use the inscription as an element in Synopsis (though it does not invalidate anything in it), nor do I occasionally refer to it, nor offer a reconstruction of ll. 1—8 down to ὡς ἐγδεχ.

Ll. 1—5. Several letters in which the health-wish is immediately followed by the mention that a copy of another letter has been added, are preserved from different periods.³ Since ll. 2—4 undoubtedly contain this procedure, the beginning of the letter could have been composed like e.g. Welles, 37: Ἀναξίμβροτος Διονυτῆι χαίρειν τοῦ γραφέντος παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως προσταγμάτων περὶ τοῦ ἀποδεδεῖχθαι ---κατακεχώρισται τὸ ἀντίγραφον. ἐπακολουθῶν οὖν τοῖς ἐπεσταλμένοις συντέλει --, and I propose in outline:

¹ As the letter cannot have been written by a subordinate or somebody in an inferior position, Olympichus' letters to Seleucus II and Philip and Mylasa's letter to Philip need not be considered. It is certainly not a copy of the missing part of Philip's letter to Mylasa 6.

² E.g. the Lycian League is several times addressed as τῷ κοινῷ τῷ Λυκίων, e.g. *IGRR*, III 739; see the references given on 5, l. 7.

³ E.g. *P.Freib.*, 7 (also J. Lesquier, *REG*, XXXII, 1919, p. 361; middle 3rd cent. B.C.); *OGIS*, 137—8 (Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II); 168 III (Ptolemy X Soter II); 665 I (cited above on 2). Some of these letters also contain a recommendation corresponding to εὖ ἂν οὖν ποιήσχετε, l. 5.

[*vac* *c.26* Μυλασέων τ]ῃ βρο[υλῃ καὶ τῷ *c.21*
c.22 δῆμῳ χαίρειν·*vv*]⁴
 [τῆς γραφείσης ἡμεῖν ἐπιστ]ολῆς παρὰ [τ.δ. *c.19*]
 [περὶ *c.21*]ης καὶ τῆς ἱερ[*c.18*]
 4 [e.g. βεβουλῆμεθα καὶ ὑμεῖ]ν ὑπογράψαι [τὸ ἀντίγ- *c.18*
c.22 ραφον, ἵνα] *c.17*
 [*c.22* e.g. εἰδῇ]τε·*v* εὖ ἂν οὖν π[οιήσαιτε
 ψηφισάμε]-
 [νοι

For the *vac* at the beginning of l. 1 see on 1. The authors may have been the Χρυσχορεῖς (cf. on 5, l. 7) if my suggestion above is right, and on the same assumption the end of l. 2 could be filled by τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀντιγόνου. If the first point in the letter concerned the priesthood, there is room in the beginning of l. 3 for the name of Hecatomnos. Then the second point might have dealt with τῆς ἱερ[ᾶς χώρας τῆς κατὰ Λαβρά]υδα. The verb ὑπογράψαι is common in this context, but the infinitive governed by a verb of wishing is remarkable. This is no doubt an expression of courtesy and may be compared with e.g. the letter of Philip V *Syll*³, 572, ll. 7—8, ἐντέταλμαι αὐτῷ ἀναγγεῖλαι ὑμῖν ἃ ἡβουλόμην ὑμᾶς εἰδῆσαι, and with the later health-wish ἐρρωσθαι ὑμᾶς βούλομαι instead of the simple ἐρρωσθε; cf. also the extremely common use of βουλόμενος followed by an infinitive. I regard the -τε in l. 5 as supporting my restoration. For the ἵνα-clause cf. *OGIS*, 665 I (cited above, on 1 B—2), and my suggested restoration for 2; *IG*, IX 2, 11 (corrected by Wilhelm, *Beiträge*, pp. 146—7), ll. 3 ff., τῶν δεδομένων τιμίων --- ἀπεστάλκαμεν ὑμεῖν τὸ ἀντίγραφον ἵνα εἰδῇτε; Welles, 5, ll. 18—20; and also the letter of Philip V, cited above.⁵ The lacunae between ll. 4 and 5 may have contained τὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπεσταλμένα.

Ll. 5—9. Since addressed to Mylasa the recommendation must have concerned a decree, as e.g. 8, ll. 23—4; Welles, 13, ll. 13—4, καλῶς δ' ἂν ποιήσαιτε ψηφισάμενοι. Assuming that my suggestion regarding the authors is correct, it is not astonishing that a league should have made such a recommendation to an individual city.

τέλη is to be governed by τελεῖν,⁶ which, like ἀπειθεῖν, is governed by ψηφισάμενοι. Both infinitives must in this context have contained a negative, e.g. μήτε-μήτε.⁷ In conformity with my general view of the letter I suppose that the priest of Zeus was the subject of τελεῖν and that in this respect the recommended decision was concerned with immunity for him and for the temple. Possibly different kinds of dues were mentioned; cf. Ch. III n. 12. On the other hand ὑμᾶς, i.e. the Mylasans must have been the subject of ἀπειθεῖν, which in its turn governed a phrase similar to that suggested for ll. 4—5. At the beginning of l. 7 supply e.g. τρόπῳ μηδενί (cf. on 8, ll. 1—8).

ἐγδ- is a common spelling of ἐκδ-; see Meisterhans, *Gr. d. att. Inschr.*³, p. 107; Aem. Dienstbach, *De titul. Priens. sonis*, cited above, p. 94; W. Schulze, *Kl. Schriften*, 1933, p. 303. The significance of this word is obscure. Since the verb probably, though not certainly, occurs here in the present tense, I am not inclined to give it the sense of "receive" or "take on oneself". I suggest conjecturally that ὥς is a comparative conjunction and supply ἐγδεχ[όμεθα giving the phrase the meaning that the authors recommended the city to obey the king's decision just as they themselves did; cf. for this meaning of the verb LSJ, s.v., I 5; Mauersberger, col. 713.

⁴ On the orthography of these late copies see on 1 B—2; as τῆς occupies three letter spaces, we assume the two *vv* at the end of l. 1, though there may have been a larger *vac*, in order to start the new line with the message. Other alternatives will suggest themselves. Whoever wrote the letter, the first person plural must have been used: see on 1, l. 1.

⁵ I regard it as evident that the predicate is εἰδῇτε or a synonym of neutral sense, since the tone of the letter is polite (βεβουλῆμεθα, εὖ ἂν οὖν ποιήσαιτε, the litotes in l. 7). Consequently an expression such as πειθαρχῇτε, 2, l. 5, or, as in the post-script of *OGIS*, 168 VI, ἐπιστ]ολῆς ἀντίγραφον ὑπόκειται, ὅπως κατακολουθῇ[τε, can be excluded.

⁶ In the unpublished decree of the Plataseis, mentioned in my *Prel. survey*, p. 103 (see J. and L. Robert, *Bull. épigr.*, 1961, 673), an individual was given immunity, but had to pay royal taxes (τὰ βασιλικὰ τέλη τελεῖν).

⁷ Other instances of litotes in the inscriptions of Labraunda are 1, ll. 3—4, 6—7; 3, l. 20.

11—12. Honorific decrees of the priest Korris and his syngeneis
for two unknown individuals. *Early second half of 3rd cent. B.C.*

11. Inv. 43/B 149. Anta-block, found in 1949 in the Temple Terrace Area (see Westholm, pp. 87—93), in front of the West Anta of Maussollus' Stoa (see id., pp. 31, 67, 88—93, 106—7, 110, 113, 117), of which it originally formed part.

Width 69 cm., height 48 cm., thickness 68 cm. The front face, smoothed but also bearing marks of fine chiselling, is broken above and to the right and very badly worn; the left side is very badly worn but seems to have been cut in the same way as the other blocks of the same anta;¹ the right side is smooth-cut, with the portion on the front,

42.5 cm. in width, projecting over the portion further back by 2 cm.; the upper side which is badly worn, had anathyrosis and dowel-holes; the under side and the back also have anathyrosis.

Above the preserved l. 1 there is room on the stone for four lines. The margin to the left is ca. 1.5 cm. The letters are ca. 1.2 cm. high, but omicron 0.9 cm., interlinear space 2.0 to 2.2 cm. The letters are carefully carved with slightly thickened finials. Below l. 13 the blank space is 8.5 cm. in height. There is a lapicidal error in l. 13. Plate 6.

-]ι τὸν [-----]
c.34
[- -----] αἰδίαι τε καὶ κ[ο]ινῇ [- -----] c.6
c.23
[- - - -] δεδύχθαι τῶι ἐ[ρ]εῖ Κόρριδι καὶ τοῖς [συ]γγενέσι τοῦ
5-6
4 [Κόρρι]δος ἐπαινέσαι τε αὐτόν, ὅτι καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς [γεγέ]-
[ν]ηται εἰς αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀναγράψαι αὐτ[ὸν] πρόξενον [κ]αὶ [εὐ]-
εργέτην τοῦ τε ἐρέ[ω]ς Κόρριδος καὶ [τῶν συγγενῶν τῶν]
[τοῦ] Κόρριδος, στεφαν[ω]σαι δ' αὐτόν ἐν τ[ῶι ἀ]γ[ῶ]νι [χ]ρυσῶι
c.14-15
8 στεφάνωι ἀ[ρ]ετῆς ἕνεκεν κ[α]ὶ εὐνοίας, τ[ὸ]ν δὲ κήρυκα τῆ-
[δε] ἀναγορεῦσαι· δεδύσθαι δὲ αὐτῶι καὶ π[ο]λιτεῖαν καὶ ἔγ-
[κ]τησιν καὶ προεδρίαν ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν· εἶναι δ' αὐτόν φυλῆς
[Ἰβ]α[ν]ώλλιος μετέχοντα ἱερῶν καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν πάντων· *vv(?)*
12 κατὰ ταῦτά δὲ δεδύσθαι καὶ τοῖς ἐγγόνοις αὐτοῦ· ἀνα- *vv*
γράψαι δὲ τὸ [[ψ]] ψήφισμα ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Λαβραύνδ[ου].

vac

2. Most of the oblique strokes of α, δ, ζ, χ are visible; the iota can be traced in the damaged surface; the lower finial of the vertical stroke of χ is visible; see further the commentary. 3. δεδύχθαι is engraved in wider letters than elsewhere on the stone. 5. the lower portion of η is visible; the oblique strokes of α, the lower portion of the vertical stroke of υ and the upper portion of the vertical stroke with the joint of the horizontal one of τ are visible; the lower portion of the vertical stroke to the left and the right portion of the horizontal stroke of τ are visible; αἰ can be traced in the damaged surface. 7. the restoration [ωι α] is slightly short but seems inevitable; there seems to be no horizontal stroke at the bottom of the Γ;

the lower portions of the vertical stroke to the right of υ and of ι are visible. 8. the stroke to the left of α, the lower portion of the vertical stroke of the first dotted τ and the upper horizontal stroke of ε are visible; the vertical strokes of the first dotted υ, the upper horizontal stroke with the joint of the vertical one of the first dotted ε, the upper horizontal stroke of the second dotted ε, the vertical strokes of the second dotted υ, the upper

¹ E.g. the left side of Inv. 41/D 100 has on the front face a smooth area, ca. 12.5 cm. wide above, and ca. 11.5 cm. below, behind which the surface, now badly worn, projects by ca. 1.5 cm.

portion of the vertical stroke of χ and the middle portion of ι are visible; the horizontal stroke of the second dotted τ and the right vertical stroke of the third dotted ν are visible; of $\chi\eta\rho\upsilon\chi$ the upper portion of the vertical stroke of χ , the right vertical stroke of η , the vertical stroke of ρ , the lower portion of the vertical stroke of ν and the trace of the vertical stroke of the second χ are visible. 9. the upper angle of the first dotted δ , the lower portion

of the vertical stroke with the joint of the lowest horizontal one of ϵ , the angle below to the left of the second dotted δ , the portion to the left of ϕ , the angle below to the left of σ and the portion to the left of θ are visible or can be traced on the stone. 11. the ω is fairly certain and is not an alpha: the curved line is visible; see further the commentary.

‘...privately and publicly ... that it be voted by the priest Korris and Korris’s kin to praise him for having [been] honourable and good towards them and to inscribe him as a *proxenos* and benefactor of the priest Korris and Korris’s [kin], and to crown him in [the game] with a [golden] crown for his virtue and benevolence. The herald shall publicly proclaim this. And citizenship and the right of holding land and the privilege of a front seat at the games shall be given to him. He shall belong to the tribe of Ibanollis (?) taking part in sacred occasions and all other things. According to the same terms be it awarded also to his descendants. And the decree shall be engraved in the shrine of Zeus Labraundos.’]

The priest Korris who is the head of the *syngeneia* (see on ll. 3—4) is presumably the same individual as the priest who made complaints to Seleucus II against Mylasa according to 1 (—4). The letter-forms point to a period earlier than the engraving of 1—7 (i.e. after December 220 B.C., see on 3, and on 7, l. 15). Besides 11 and 12 the only information we have of Korris concerns his complaints in 240 (as I think) and we do not know if these caused any grave consequences for him. In 227 another man seems to have been priest in Labraunda: see on 5, ll. 5—6. I would date 11 and 12 approximately to the late forties or the thirties.

All honours bestowed are conventional ones and so are the expressions of motive. It was a matter of prestige to the priest to issue honorific decrees in the customary form, cf. on 9, ll. 1—3. The identity of the honorand is unknown.

The most important item these two decrees yield is the information that Labraunda at the time enjoyed a certain degree of independence. No doubt its inhabitants were Mylasans and as such registered in the city’s phyle organization (5, ll. 31—3), but evidently the shrine had the

right to conduct its own affairs, having its own civic organization and forming a state within the state, as long as it fulfilled its duties to the city (5, ll. 22 ff.). Korris and his kin were thus able to bestow citizenship and other privileges confined to Labraunda, and also to insert a person in a phyle (ll. 10—1) of Labraunda. As was pointed out on 4, ll. 2—7, the civic organization of Labraunda was of a religious character, and it had no political importance, since it existed by the grace of Mylasa. The priests regarded their status as a matter of some importance. In this turbulent period they no doubt used every opportunity to withdraw from Mylasa, and possession of their own civic organization must have been a great advantage in this respect.

Ll. 1—3 contain the end of the motivation of the decree, mentioning the honorand’s readiness to render services both privately and publicly. In the lacunae between ll. 2 and 3 the surviving traces of letters seem to exclude the reading $\alpha\gamma\alpha\theta\eta\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon$.

Ll. 3—4. The decree is issued by Korris in virtue of his position as the priest of Labraunda and head of the family, in which the priesthood was hereditary (cf. on 1, l. 3), and by his *syngeneia*. For the name Κόρρις see on 3, ll. 15—6. The slight variations in the nomenclature of the group in this inscription and in 12 are curious, and obviously the terms used are descriptive rather than *titular*. For the formula cf. e.g. K. J. Dover, *JHS*, LXXX, 1960, pp. 63—4, who listing different ways of referring to boards of officials in Attic documents registers as one form (no. V) the name of one member with reference to the others generically, e.g. $\delta\ \delta\epsilon\iota\ \nu\alpha\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \omicron\iota\ \mu\epsilon\tau\prime\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\delta\epsilon\iota\ \nu\alpha\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \omicron\iota\ \sigma\upsilon\ \nu\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\omicron\upsilon\ \tau\epsilon\varsigma$. In *IG*, II² 2723 of ca. 350 B.C. occur $\phi\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\rho\sigma\iota\ \tau\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\ \text{Ἐρατοστράτο Ἀναφλυ}$ and $\phi\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\rho\sigma\iota\ \tau\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\ \text{Νίκωνος Ἀναφλ.}$; cf. A. Andrewes, *JHS*, LXXXI, 1961, p. 11: ‘the person named being the phratriarch or someone specially concerned in

the transaction". For units of the type οἱ τοῦ δεῖνος in the social organization of Chios about 325 B.C. see W.G. Forrest, *BSA*, 55, 1960, pp. 177, 179.

The syngeneia has been discussed from different points of view on 4, ll. 2—7, and on 5, ll. 31—3. Here it may be said that the formula indicates that it was a creation of Korris himself², who also probably created the full civic organization of Labraunda discussed above. In a similar way³ the cult of Sinuri was associated to an independent syngeneia in the 4th cent. B.C., Πελεκωδος συγγενεῖς, and from the late 2nd cent. B.C. ἡ Πορμουνου συγγένεια, which in the first cent. B.C., or somewhat earlier, was incorporated in the civic organization of Mylasa, like Labraunda and Olymus: see on 5, ll. 31—3; L. Robert, *Sinuri*, p. 30; Laumonier, *Cultes*, p. 177.

Ll. 4—11. On the arrangement of the different honours and privileges, which are different in kind but not in degree see Wilhelm, *Att. Urk.*, V (= *Wien. Sitzb.*, 220, 5), 1942, pp. 46—7; εὐεργέτης sometimes precedes πρόξενος (*ibid.*, pp. 40, 189). The honours and privileges bestowed are largely similar to those given by Mylasa to the citizens of Miletus in 209/8, *Delphinion*, 146 B, ll. 66 ff., ἐπη(ι)νήσθαι⁴ ---δεδόσθαι --- πολιτεῖαν καὶ μετουσίαν ἱερῶν καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀπάντων, ὧν καὶ Μυλασεῖς μετέχουσιν, καὶ ἔφοδον ἐπὶ τῇ βουλῇ πρώτοις μετὰ τὰ ἱερά καλεῖσθαι --- καὶ εἰς προεδρίαν ἐν ἅπασιν τοῖς ἀγῶσι ---. Cf. also e.g. Laumonier, *BCH*, LVIII, 1934, pp. 291—2 (Alinda, period of Olympichus; see Ch. IV, pp. 87 sqq), ll. 5 ff. δεδόσθαι --- πολιτεῖαν καὶ ἔνκτησιν καὶ μετουσίαν πάντων --- ἐπικληρῶσαι --- καὶ εἰς φυλὴν καὶ συγγένειαν.

For the reconstruction of the lacunae between ll. 6 and 7 cf. ll. 3—4; 12, ll. 2—3, 4—5. Normally the festival is further identified, as e.g. the games of Zeus Osogoa, Laumonier, *Cultes*, pp. 111, 115 n. 1. One instance of the omission of such an attribute is *OGIS*, 4, l. 37; in our decree it is self-evident that the festival held at the shrine was meant. It is extremely uncertain that ἀγωνίσασθαι in LBW, 347, l. 3, refers to the agon of Labraunda, as is supposed by Laumonier, *Cultes*, p. 57, since Zeus Labraundos is mentioned in the dative only in l. 7. Honorific crowns were normally made of gold in Mylasa, and for reasons of prestige it would be natural for the crown awarded by the syngeneia to be of gold also. In the same way the

syngeneia of Sinuri bestowed gold crowns: see L. Robert, *Sinuri*, p. 54. Pronouns governed by ἀναγορεύειν or synonyms, corresponding to τάδε in ll. 8—9, occur e.g. *Syll*³, 761 A, l. 18; 1019, ll. 16—7; cf. also formulae as *ibid.*, 617, ll. 11 ff., ἀναγορεύσαι δὲ τὸν ἱεροκῆρυκα --- τόδε τὸ κήρυγμα στεφανοῖ ὁ δῆμος ---. Notice the variation δὲ αὐτῶι in l. 9, which is written δ' αὐτόν in ll. 7 and 10.

L. 11. The phylename is not certain. My suggestion Ἰβανώλλιος is supported to some extent by the traces of letters, since the first letter on the line probably had a straight vertical stroke to the left, and the second could equally well be an A as any other letter. The initial iota has been placed in the margin or at the end of the previous line. For the name see Zgusta, p. 190.

On tribal names in Asia Minor see Magie, pp. 819—20 notes 3—4, 1007—8 n. 48; cf. on 4, ll. 2—7. "The idea that a people, a tribe, a subdivision of the State were descended from a common ancestor was paramount", and if nobody existed "he was simply invented", M. P. Nilsson, *Cults, Myths etc.*, 1951, p. 65 with many examples in the following pages (cf. Busolt, *Gr. Staatskunde*³, 1920, pp. 248 ff., especially p. 249). However, there once existed in Mylasa a personage called Ibanollis. According to Herod. V 121 the chief of a successful operation in the course of the Carian revolt in 497 was Ἡρακλείδης Ἰβανώλλιος ἀνὴρ Μυλασεύς. The operation was fought some time after the Carians had retired defeated to Labraunda.

² Cf. L. Robert, *Sinuri*, p. 29 n. 1: "Remarquons pourtant que τῶν συγγενῶν, tout nu, s'entend très bien des membres de la syngeneia, tandis que, s'il s'agissait des parents d'un individu, on attendrait une précision (αὐτοῦ, τοῦ δεῖνος, etc.)".

³ J. and L. Robert, *Bull. épigr.*, 1961, 673 (regarding the mention of the syngeneia in my *Prel. survey*): "il s'agit évidemment d'une συγγένεια du type Sanctuaire de Sinuri, I, 25—31; 94—97".

On syngeneiai in Mylasa-Olymus as religious groups outside the political organization see also Laumonier, *Cultes*, pp. 177—9 (cf. É. Des Places, *Syngeneia. La parenté de l'homme avec Dieu d'Homère à la patristique*, 1964, pp. 150—1). On important sacerdotal families in Asia Minor see *ibid.*, Ind., p. 775, and e.g. the references given in p. 227 n. 9.

⁴ In Samos in the early 3rd cent. B.C. ἐπηνήσθαι had taken the place of ἐπαινέσαι, and after 306 B.C. ἐπαινέσαι μὲν that of ἐπαινέσαι (τε), as in l. 4: see Chr. Habicht, *Ath. Mitt.*, 72, 1957, p. 267. This single example emphasizes the necessity of counting upon local differences of stock formulae.

The work of Seylax of Caryanda, τὰ κατὰ Ἡρακλείδην τὸν Μυλασσῶν βασιλέα, Suidas, s.v. Σκύλαξ; *F Gr Hist* 2:1, p. 515, was probably concerned with him. He is also mentioned in connection with the battle of Artemisium in 480, Sosylus, *F Gr Hist*, 176 F 1, col. III, Ἡρακλείδην--τὸν Μυλασσέ[α μ] ἐν τῷ γένει, διαφέ[ρον]τα δ' ἀγχινοῖαι τῷ καθ' αὐτὸν ἀνδρῶν: see *ibid.*, Kommentar, pp. 604—5. Without doubt a brother of his was Ὀλιάτος Ἰβανώλλιος Μυλασσεύς, who was captured at the outbreak of the Ionian Revolt in 499 after having taken part in the Persian expedition to Naxos as one of the strategoi, Herod. V 36—7.⁵ We have no information of any activity of Ibanollis himself, but as father of the two predominant personages in Mylasa, he is the natural man to appear as founder of a dynasty (surely short-lived). And whatever relations existed between him and the priest Korris (or a predecessor of his), it is not surprising that the phyle in Labraunda was named after him; cf. Holleaux, *Études*, III, pp. 248—9.

L. Robert, *BCH*, LVII, 1933, p. 495 n. 3, has given some instances, which can be multiplied, of decisions to inscribe a new citizen in a special tribe or another group. In this case the measure seems to have been inserted for reasons of prestige (cf. *id.*, *REG*, XL, 1927, pp. 216—7). M. Mitsos, *REG*, LIX—LX, 1946—7, p. 155, has collected

a number of instances of the stock expression μετέχειν ἱερῶν-- with synonyms.

Ll. 12—3. Certainly it was not intended to inscribe this decree in the shrine of Zeus Osogoa; cf. on 5, ll. 39—46; 8, ll. 24—6. For the ἀναγραφὴ normally connected with the bestowal of an εὐεργεσία see Wilhelm, *Att. Urk.*, cited above, pp. 21—3.

12. Inv. 46/B 154. Anta-block, found in 1949 in the same place and originally part of the same anta as 11.

Width 53.5 cm., height 61 cm., thickness 41 cm. The front face is broken to the right and below and is almost completely worn away; the left side has the same cutting as on 11; the right side is broken; the upper side and the back have anathyrosis; so had the under side, now badly worn.

Above the preserved l. 1, which stands ca. 15 cm. below the upper edge of the stone, there is room on the stone for six lines; below l. 8 there is room for twelve lines. The margin to the left is ca. 1.5 cm. The letters are 1.1 to 1.5 cm. high, interlinear space 2.0 to 2.5 cm. The letters seem to be of the same shape as in 11, but no details are visible because of the condition of the stone; nevertheless the readings may be regarded as certain. Plate 6.

[-----χάρι]-
[τας κα]ταξί[α] α[-----δεδύχθαι]
c.5 c.32
[αὐτὸν] εἶναι εὐεργέ[την τοῦ τε ἱερέως Κόρριδος καὶ τῶν]
c.4—5 c.29
[συ]γγενῶν τῶν Κόρρι[δος] δεδύσθαι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ πολι-
c.28
4 τείαν καὶ ἐγκτησιν καὶ [-----ὁ ἱερεὺς Κόρρις]
c.27
[κα]ὶ οἱ Κόρρι[δ]ος σ[υ]γγενεῖς [-----]
c.30
[-----] ἀγαθὸν τ[-----]
c.6—7 c.29
[-----]
8 [-----]
c.3 c.35

Most of the dotted letters can be traced in the damaged surface. 1. The upper portion of ι, the upper angle and the lower portion of the left oblique stroke of the first dotted alpha and the upper portion of the right one of the second dotted alpha are visible. 2. the vertical stroke with the upper horizontal one of the first dotted epsilon and the lowest horizontal stroke of the second dotted epsilon are visible. 3. the vertical stroke, possibly with the lower

oblique stroke, of the kappa and the vertical strokes of the rhos are visible. 4. τ is discernable in the damaged

⁵ So also Ruge, *R.-E.*, s.v. Mylasa, col. 1049. I do not touch upon the question of the precise status of the brothers. Oliatus is supposed to have been tyrant of Mylasa, and Heraclides strategos there after the Ionian Revolt.

surface; the lower portions of ε; and the oblique strokes of α are visible. 5. of all dotted letters having a vertical stroke, that stroke is visible or can be traced; the left portion of ρ and the upper and lower horizontal strokes of

σ are visible. 8. the ends of the horizontal stroke and the bottom of the vertical stroke of τ and the left oblique stroke of α are visible. In line 7 and the lines below 8 isolated fragments of letters can be traced.

‘...due [honours ... that it be voted that he] is a benefactor [of the priest Korris and] Korris’s kin, [and that there be given to him citizenship], the right to hold land, [participation in what the priest Korris and] Korris’s [kin share, and also that he receive whatever seems] good [to the priest Korris and Korris’s kin (see the commentary).’

This honorific decree issued by ὁ ἱερεὺς Κόρρις καὶ οἱ συγγενεῖς οἱ Κόρριδος, ll. 2—3 (a slight variation occurs in ll. 4—5; cf. on 11, ll. 3—4), evidently differs from 11 as far as form and contents are concerned, nor is an immediate parallel to be found among the inscriptions from Mylasa or Olymus. For different questions common to 11 and 12 see on 11.

There survive in l. 1 the end of the motivation of the decree, and in ll. 2 ff. the honours bestowed. For the main portion preserved compare e.g. *Inscr. Priene*, 6 (not before 330/29 B.C.), ll. 11 ff., δεδόχθαι αὐτὸν εἶναι πρόξενον καὶ εὐεργέτην, δεδόσθαι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ πολιτείαν καὶ ἱερῶν μετουσίαν καὶ ἀρχαίωγ, καὶ ἐγκτησιν γῆς καὶ οἰκίας καὶ ἀτέλειαν, which is motivated, corresponding to l. 1 in our inscription, by ll. 24 ff., ἵνα εἰδῶσιν ἅπαντες ὅτι ὁ δῆμος --- ἐπίσταται χάριτας ἀποδιδόναι ἀξίας τῶν εὐεργετημάτων. As regards the reconstruction, the average number of letters on each line is approximately 44.⁶

L 1. An exact formulation cannot be recovered, since a large number of variations is possible.⁷ The subject of the subordinate clause was presumably in the plural (Korris and his kin); cf. L. Robert, *Sinuri*, p. 32, no. 9, ll. 41 ff., ὅπως οὖν καὶ οἱ συγγενεῖς φαίνονται τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀξίας ἀποδιδόντες χάριτας ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ ἐπηνῆσθαι ---; *Inscr. Priene*, 64 (ca. 190 B.C.), ll. 7—8, εἰδὸτα ὅτι ὁ δῆμος ὁ Φωκαέων ἀποδώσει χάριτας ἀξίας αὐτῷ τῶν εὐεργετημάτων; *ibid.*, 78, ll. 2—3; *Syll*³, 485, ll. 25—7; 474, ll. 20—2; 587, ll. 15 ff.; 658, ll. 14 ff.; Michel, 477 (Stratonicea, ca. 150 B.C.), ll. 10 ff.; *BCH*, LXXVIII, 1954, p. 340 (Ceos, ca. 200 B.C.), ll. 16—7. In any case, the end of the

motivation was different from that in 11, ll. 1—2. At the end of the line δεδόχθαι was not associated with a dative, as it is in 11.

L. 2. The normal word-order should be εἶναι αὐτὸν εὐεργέτην or εὐεργέτην εἶναι αὐτόν, but the order suggested occurs e.g. *Inscr. Priene*, 6, cited above. The end of the line is reconstructed on the basis of 11, l. 6.

Ll. 3—5. L. 3 as in 11, l. 9. ἐγκτησιν occurs without attributes as in 11, ll. 9—10. After the second καὶ in l. 4 there is no room for προεδρίαν ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν, as in 11, since the words restored at the end of the line are certain, and there must be some introduction to the new clause of which the nominative preserved is the subject.⁸ Moreover there is no suggestion of an agon in 12, whereas in 11 this is mentioned not only in l. 10 but also in ll. 7—9, in a context which corresponds to the preserved portion of 12. I suggest in its place e.g. μετουσίαν ὧν καὶ --- μετέχουσιν, corresponding to 11, l. 11. Almost the same sequence as is here supposed, occurs in *Syll*³, 426 (ca. 270—61 B.C.), ll. 22 ff., εἶναι δὲ αὐτόν καὶ πρόξενον καὶ εὐεργέτην τῆς πόλεως, δεδόσθαι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ πολιτείαν καὶ μετουσίαν πάντων ὧν καὶ Βαργυλιῆται μετέχουσιν; cf. also e.g. *Inscr. Priene*, 8, ll. 40—1; 12, ll. 22—3; 9, ll. 1—3; 31, ll. 1—3; *Syll*³, 941 (Magnesia a.M., 3rd cent. B.C.), ll. 14 ff.; *OGIS*, 265 (Pergamum, early 3rd cent. B.C.), ll. 17—20; in Olymus,

⁶ The last kappa in l. 4 is 26 cm. from the left edge, the margin of ca. 1.5 cm. included, and since the letters preserved on this line are representative of the stone as a whole with regard to spacing, the average space occupied by a letter becomes 1.5 cm.

⁷ κατάξιος as in 3, l. 2. κατάξιος “means little more than ἄξιος---. In the Koine it is common in the inscriptions” (Welles, p. 343).

⁸ This is certainly not the place for an additional statement concerning the honours, such as καὶ ἀναγορεύεσθαι (or ἀναγορεύσαι), ὅτι---σπεφανοῖ (-οῦσαι) (cf. e.g. *Syll*³, 1104 (Athens, ca. 37/6 B.C.), ll. 37—8), and consequently ἀγαθόν in l. 6 cannot be part of a motivation such as ποιεῖ ὅτι δύναται ἀγαθὸν τὸν δῆμον (e.g. *Syll*³, 263, ll. 12—3; 174, ll. 13—4) or αὐτὸν -- ἀνδρα γεγονότα καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθόν (e.g. *Inscr. Priene*, 83, l. 11; cf. 11).

L. Robert, *Rev. Phil.*, 53 I, 1927, pp. 125—6, II. 11—2 (= *SEG* IV 238) with references.⁹

L. 6. ἀγαθόν might belong to a formula concerning the activity of the honorand, as is indicated above, but both the space available and the position of the word in the decree suggest an expression such as καὶ εὐρέσθαι καὶ ἄλλο ἀγαθόν: see *Syll*³, Ind. IV, s.v. εὐρίσκω. On this privilege see Wilhelm, *Att. Urk.*, V, cited on 11, pp. 79—80. For the following tau compare e.g. B. Meritt and A. Andrewes, *BSA*, XLVI, 1951, pp. 201—3, l. 56 (= *IG*, I² 108, l. 47), καὶ νῦν *ἡευρίσκεισθαι* αὐτὸς παρὰ τ[ὸ δ]έμο τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ ἡό, τι ἂν δοκεῖ ἀγαθ[ὸν] τῷ βουλεῖ.¹⁰

For II. 4—6 I suggest the following restoration, which gives the general sense.

-----καὶ ἔγκτησιν κ[αὶ] μετουσίαν ὧν ὁ ἱερεὺς
c.27 Κόρρις]

[κα]ὶ οἱ Κόρρι[δ]ος σ[υγγενεῖς] μετέχουσι καὶ
c.30 εὐρέσθαι ὅ, τι]

[ἂν δοκῇ] ἀγαθόν τ[ῶν] ἱερεῖ Κόρριδι καὶ τοῖς
c.6—7 c.29 Κόρριδος]

[συγγενέσιν]-----

L. 8 is wholly uncertain. One possibility is ἀ|τέλ|ειν; cf. the decree mentioned above, n. 9, II. 16—7, ἀτελεῖς εἶν[αι] τὸν ἀεὶ χ[ρ]όνον, τὰ δὲ βασιλικ[ὰ] τέλη τελεῖν.

⁹ The honorific decree of the Plataseis (see 10 n. 6), II. 10—3 read as follows: πρόξενον [εἶ]ναι καὶ εὐεργέτην καὶ πολίτην αὐτὸν καὶ ἐγγόνους [καὶ μ]ετεῖναι αὐτοῖς καὶ ἱερῶν καὶ ὁσίων καὶ γῆ[ς] καὶ οἰκίας [ἐγκτ]ήσ(εως), ΗΣΙΝ stone.

¹⁰ A phrase concluding with ἀγαθόν occurs e.g. *Syll*³, 174, II. 17—9, εἶναι δὲ καὶ εὐρέσθαι αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ δήμου ἂν τι δύναται καὶ ἄλλο ἀγαθόν· καλέσαι δὲ καὶ --ἐπὶ ξένια.

II. SYNOPSIS OF THE CONTENTS OF THE INSCRIPTIONS

From early times the shrine of Labraunda had belonged to Mylasa (see below, § 7). In the sixties of the third century B.C. the district of Mylasa was dominated by the Chrysaoreis, and since these were supported by Egypt, it was in fact Ptolemaic. It is suggested that Antiochus II reconquered the district at the beginning of his reign (5, p. 35). Anyhow, as far as the earliest evidence provided by our correspondence goes, Mylasa and Labraunda were Seleucid.

The main subject in this series of documents is Labraunda and its status, but other information is also given. The chronological sequence is as follows:

§ 1. Before the liberation of Mylasa, as I suggest, at the very start of Seleucus II's reign (Ch. III), there had been some concern about its status; letters from Sophron and Ptolemy, the brother of king Ptolemy III Euergetes, are especially mentioned (3, ll. 3—6).

§ 2. Seleucus gave Mylasa its freedom and a democratic constitution (5, l. 34; 7, ll. 9—10; 3, l. 30). He wrote to Olympichus, his strategos (9, ll. 3—5), to carry out his decision (3, ll. 6—8), which he did (8, ll. 13—5). On that occasion the king delivered to the city the lands which belonged to it (5, ll. 34—5), and also the shrine of Labraunda, which had always been Mylasa's (5, ll. 34—6, 14—6, 22—33; 7, ll. 7—10). Olympichus had to evacuate not only the citadel (8, ll. 13—4), but the whole district, the strongholds included (5, ll. 34 ff.). He bound himself by an oath to Mylasa at its request, that *inter alia* he would help the city in maintaining all that belonged to it and also Labraunda with all its income and all its land (3, ll. 8—14, 25—9; 5, ll. 39—47; 6 B, ll. 5—8; 7, ll. 7—10, 13—4). The oath was engraved on

stelae placed in the shrines of Zeus Osogoa and Zeus Labraundos (5, ll. 40—2).

§ 3. However, Olympichus found it inconvenient to obey the king's order to evacuate the strongholds (5, ll. 36—9) and also, we do not know when, he occupied Petra near Labraunda (4, ll. 11—3), since he did not deliver to Mylasa the shrine with its dependencies (4, ll. 8—10; 5, ll. 42 ff.; 6 B, ll. 2—9; 7, ll. 7—10, 13—4). Nevertheless Olympichus recognized the city's right to the shrine (see above on his oath), just as the shrine with its land was administered by the priest (1, ll. 2—4, 7 ff.; 3, ll. 20—1).

§ 4. Early in 240, as I suggest, Korris, the priest of Labraunda, complained in a letter to Seleucus II that Mylasa had taken some areas of the sacred land under its direct administration, and that its citizens would not fulfil their duty in sacrifices, but behaved badly (1, ll. 1—6; 3, ll. 18—23; 4, ll. 2—4). The king ordered Olympichus to see to it that Mylasa did not violate the rights of the priest (1, ll. 6 ff.; 4, l. 4), and Olympichus sent a "covering letter" to the city asking it to mend its ways (2). Mylasa then sent him an embassy which delivered a decree (3, ll. —3, 15—6) denying all Korris' allegations (3, ll. 15—22; 4, ll. 5—6). Olympichus also summoned Korris (3, l. 16) and his family (4, ll. 5—6; 11; 12). Having heard both parties he could only declare that Mylasa was in the right (3, ll. 17—9, 22—3), and he informed the king accordingly (3, ll. 22—4; 4, ll. 6—7). The envoys received a copy of the letter to the king (3, ll. 24—5; 4, l. 7) and an answer from Olympichus (3). Of the king's decision no information is preserved, but he is to be supposed to have followed Olympichus' statement.

§ 5. In the following period Olympichus had to

endure great perils for Mylasa's sake (8, ll. 12—3), and here it may be mentioned that, as far as we can see, the relations between him and the city remained good throughout the course of this affair (see, for the city's part, 3, ll. —3; 4, ll. —2; 6 A, ll. 3 ff., 16 ff.; 9, ll. 5 ff.; for that of Olympichus, the repeated references to his oath, see above; 3, ll. 25—32; 4, ll. 7—8, 14—6; 8, ll. 10—3, 15—6; 6 B, ll. 3—5). Probably, quite early in the thirties, in a letter to Mylasa Olympichus made a dedication of lands to Zeus Osogoa (8, ll. 16—23) which he had bought from queen Laodice, the consort of Antiochus II (8, ll. 19—20). He recommended that his letter should be engraved in the shrines of Zeus Osogoa and Zeus Labraundos (8, ll. 23—6). The donation was accepted (9?) and various matters concerning it were regulated in a decree issued by Mylasa (8, ll. —8; cf. 9 n. 2). According to the practice in the district, Olympichus himself became the lessee of the lands dedicated (8, ll. 23—4, 8—10).

§ 6. During his Carian expedition in 227, Antigonus Doson of Macedon was well received by Mylasa (5, ll. 48— ; 7, ll. 11—3). The priest of Labraunda at the time brought a case before him in order to get rid of Mylasa's influence with the Chrysaoreis (5, ll. 14—7). He won Doson's support and was given a letter for the Chrysaoreis confirming his office, the security of the shrine and the immunity of the sacred land (5, ll. 5—11). However, since the priest had been lying, he did not dare to hand over the letter until Doson died (5, ll. 11—4).

§ 7. The case made public (cf. on 10), Mylasa started a feverish activity, expelled the Chrysaoreis from the shrine (5, ll. 16—8) and sent envoys to Olympichus as well as to Philip V of Macedon in order to obtain a final solution of the problem of Labraunda. They handed over to Olympichus a decree issued by the city and asked him to deliver Labraunda, its dependencies and Petra near Labraunda, in accordance with his oath (LBW, 389, ll. —5; 4, ll. —2) and give the city support for the future (4, ll. 7—8). They also requested that Olympichus should write about the matter to Philip (4, ll. 13—4). Mylasa was granted all its requests (4, especially ll. 7—16; 5, ll. 42—6; 6 B, ll. —2, 5—9; 7, ll. 2—4).

The envoys of Mylasa (5, ll. 2 ff.; 7, ll. 4—6) brought the letter of Olympichus (see above) to Philip, and also a Mylasan decree (5, ll. 4—21, 47— ; 6 B, l. 4; 7, ll. 4—5). In this, as well as in the oral plea of the envoys (5, ll. 18 ff.; 7, ll. 5—6), the priest's arguments before Doson and the claims of the Chrysaoreis on Labraunda were refuted. The following proofs that Labraunda belonged to Mylasa were presented:

A. The shrine had been founded by their ancestors (5, ll. 22—3, 36).

B. The city had always disposed of the income from the lands of the shrine, with which it paid for offerings and festivals (ll. 23—7); this proof was corroborated by the presentation of older decrees and also accounts rendered by the priest and others to the city (ll. 27—31).

C. Labraunda was inhabited by Mylasans (ll. 31—3) (for the organisation of Labraunda, forming a state within a state, which issued its own decrees see on 4, ll. 2—7; 5, ll. 31—3; 11).

D. Seleucus II, when liberating the city, had also given it Labraunda (5, ll. 34—6), and had ordered Olympichus to evacuate the district (ll. 36—9).

E. Olympichus had also confirmed by an oath that Labraunda belonged to Mylasa; this oath is referred to on different occasions (see above; 5, ll. 39 ff.).

§ 8. Philip unconditionally declared that Mylasa was in the right (5, ll. 46 ff.; 7, ll. 7—14), and the envoys received a letter with the king's decision (5; 7, l. 6), a letter to take to Olympichus (7; 6 A, ll. 15—6; 6 B, ll. 2—3, 10—1), and a copy of the king's letter to Mylasa (7, ll. 6—7). Olympichus was commanded to hand over the shrine with its dependencies (7, especially ll. 13—4; 6 B, ll. 2—3). Finally the matter was settled and Mylasa issued a decree bestowing great honours on Philip and Olympichus and his family (6 A, ll. 3—12), as the city had formerly promised Olympichus (4, ll. —2). Philip (6 A, ll. 1—3), and Olympichus (6 A, ll. 3 ff.) were advised of the decree. Olympichus confirmed the handing over (6, especially B, ll. 5—9), and added a copy of the king's letter to him (6 B, ll. 9—11). Since Philip's letter is dated December 220 B.C., the whole dispute concerning Labraunda's status was settled that month or shortly after.

III. THE LIBERATION OF MYLASA BY SELEUCUS II

King Seleucus liberated Mylasa, and his governor Olympichus was ordered to put the decision into effect (although he did not evacuate some places); this we learn from 3, ll. 7—8; 5, l. 34; 7, ll. 9—10; 8, ll. 14—5, where, however, Seleucus is not mentioned. In the first place, I think, I have to demonstrate which king Seleucus is meant. In these inscriptions we always meet a (king) Seleucus in connection with Labraunda and/or Olympichus, and it is no doubt not possible that two different Seleucuses were involved.

Seleucus I is out of the question, since Olympichus was still active during the early part of Philip V's reign; that Philip negotiated with the individual who was Seleucus' governor is proved *inter alia* by Olympichus' letter 4 and Philip's letter 7. Another reason is the negotiations of Sophron and Ptolemy "the son", which occurred before the liberation (3, ll. 3 ff.), as their activity dates to roughly the middle of the 3rd cent. B.C.

Nor is it possible to consider Seleucus III. Since Doson's Carian campaign, Mylasa had been within the Macedonian sphere of influence, for otherwise Philip V would not have been the man to decide Labraunda's status; and a liberation by Soter in the course of his short, unhappy reign would have been no more than a vain gesture, not worth mentioning in the presence of Philip (5, ll. 34 ff.). According to 5, the envoys of Mylasa declared to Philip that the priest of Labraunda at the time (there is some doubt about his identity) had misled Doson (ll. 11—4); one of their most striking arguments was that Seleucus, liberating the city, had recognized its old right to the shrine, which had been confirmed by Olympichus in his oath (ll. 34 ff.). This argument would have had no bearing on the alleged fraud of the priest, had

Seleucus been Soter, since Doson's Carian campaign is most commonly dated to 227 (see pp. 124—5), and Soter became king in 225. And further, as the priest at the time had secured Doson's support and thus *de facto* recognized his authority in the district, the priest Korris would have made his complaints to him (1, ll. 1 ff.) and could not possibly, while Doson was still alive, have addressed himself to Seleucus III. On the contrary, it is quite logical that the priest of 5 did so to Doson, if according to 3 and 4 his predecessor Korris had not found Seleucus II and his governor ready listeners.

The context, too, points unambiguously to Callinieus, and with full confidence we can regard the (king) Seleucus, when mentioned in this correspondence, as Seleucus II Callinieus.

As to the more exact dating of the liberation, the problem is touched upon from different points of view regarding the dating of 1—3 and regarding the life of "the son" (Ch. V). Here, too, the fragmentary character of our documentation must be mentioned. Seleucus II liberated the city; that is a settled fact, which apparently points to the period before the appointment of his brother Antiochus Hierax as viceroy of Asia Minor in the summer of 241, according to Bickerman's chronology (*Berytus*, VIII, cited above; cf. p. 123 n. 1); after that time we would have expected that Hierax, or Seleucus and Hierax, would have liberated the city. As pointed out on 3, speculative location in other periods after 241, e.g. when Seleucus was temporarily victorious in Lydia (see p. 118 n. 27), or when Hierax had lost all hold on Asia Minor, would not tally with the little evidence we possess. The mention of Sophron and the son (3, ll. 4—6) points to the transition from

Antiochus II to Seleucus II, and provided that my interpretation of τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα οἰκονομηθέντα ὑφ' ἡμῶν, καθ' ὃν καιρόν, 3, ll. 6—7, and of the later role of "the son" as Hierax' man (see pp. 118—20, and on 3) is right, Mylasa, like Smyrna,¹ was liberated at the very start of Seleucus II's reign. This dating is somewhat earlier than that, proposed on numismatic grounds by A. Akarca, *Monnaies gr. de Mylasa*, 1959, pp. 11—4, who suggests some time between ca. 240—209/8, but, adducing H. Seyrig, Akarca seems to be inclined to an earlier date during this period.

Support, however, for my dating is available. The only gold stater from Mylasa yet found was dated, in accordance with H. Seyrig, by Akarca, *loc. cit.*, pp. 13—4, to not much later than the middle of the third cent. B.C., i. e. the beginning of the period in which the city was free. Now, W. Schwabacher, *Gnomon*, 33, 1961, pp. 820—1, mentioned an earlier observation that the head of Apollo on the coin is a portrait, and suggested Antiochus Hierax, or better still, Antiochus II; he was inclined to date the coin earlier than 240 and presumed that it belonged to an "Erinnerungsausgabe der Stadt zu Ehren des Königs, vielleicht nach Erinnerung einer gewissen Autonomie". In the first place one would have expected the portrait to represent Seleucus II, since he liberated the city; but that not being possible, the presence of Theos would be fairly natural, as the activity in 3, ll. 3—6, might very well refer to his reign and reflect a benevolent attitude towards Mylasa, which we know Antiochus had towards the Greek cities in general.² And a commemoration of him would have been an honour to his son. But in fact Mylasa had a definite reason to honour Antiochus, if I am right in saying that, early in his reign, he reconquered the district of Mylasa from Egypt (see on 5, p. 35).

This statement is important. The Seleucids regarded themselves as successors of Alexander and had adopted his policy towards the Greek and hellenized³ cities in Asia Minor, according to which the liberty of the cities depended on the will of the governing king; consequently the bestowal of freedom and other privileges was an act which was unilateral and revocable, and which had to be confirmed by every new king on his accession.⁴ Quite apart from the lack of any hint to the contrary, the very terms in which the liberation

is mentioned in four different letters makes it fairly certain that Seleucus did not confirm an earlier bestowal of freedom but made a new one. This view is supported by the mention of τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα οἰκονομηθέντα ὑφ' ἡμῶν in 3, ll. 6—7, which implies a re-organization at the liberation and brings out the importance attached to Olympichus' oath, which is cited three times out of four when the liberation is mentioned.

In Asia Minor during the second half of the 3rd cent. B.C. the cities tended to obtain their freedom, and this applies to the Seleucid as well as the Ptolemaic spheres of influence (cf. e.g. Meyer, *Grenzen*, p. 138). However, we know very little about the relations between the Seleucids and the larger cities within their empire,⁵ and the inscriptions in Labraunda have not added anything to our knowledge here. Obviously "liberty" did not mean absolute freedom according to international law but local autonomy within the Seleucid

¹ Immediately after the accession of Seleucus II in 246; Will, *Hist.*, I, pp. 229—30; cf. Herrmann, p. 122 n. 158.

² See e.g. Beloch, IV 12, p. 599; G. Corradi, *Riv. Fil.*, L, 1922, pp. 20—37, 'Antiocho II e le città greche dell' Asia'; E. Bikerman, *Inst. Sél.*, Ch. V, 'Organisation du royaume'.

³ "both the royal foundations and hellenized barbarian cities came gradually to regard themselves as on the same footing as old Greek cities, and therefore as entitled to freedom; and the kings naturally found it expedient to humour them", A. H. M. Jones, *The Greek city*, 1940, p. 101; and Mylasa had every reason to be proud of her position.

⁴ See e.g. Bikermann, *REG*, XLVII, 1934, pp. 368—74; id., *Inst. Sél.*, pp. 134—41, especially p. 137; Bengtson, *Strategie*, I, pp. 35—6; Rostovtzeff, *SEHH*, pp. 524 ff. (the most important pages on the whole question, as far as I can see), especially pp. 526—8.

⁵ I confine myself to giving a few references. On the relations between a king and a free city see Rostovtzeff, *loc. cit.*, pp. 1343—4 n. 15; Magie, pp. 56—7, 822 ff., 1004 n. 42; an instructive explanation of the relations is given by E. Bikerman in a very critical review of A. Heuss, *Stadt und Herrscher* (*Klio*, Beih. XXXIX, 1937), *Rev. Phil.*, 65, 1939, pp. 335—49; on the Seleucids' fundamental attitude to the cities within their sphere of influence see id., *Hermes*, 67, 1932, pp. 47—76, 'Bellum Antiochicum'; Bengtson, *Gr. Gesch.*², p. 429 n. 1, gives many references; see Magie, pp. 93 ff. with notes, on their liberal policy towards the cities in Asia Minor, explained as "largely due to the impossibility of administering directly so large a kingdom" by Jones, *loc. cit.*, p. 25, cf. pp. 43—4; on the status of the free cities within the Seleucid Empire see Bikerman, *Inst. Sél.*, pp. 141—8, where, however, because of the subject's breadth, the focus is no longer entirely on Asia Minor.

sphere of influence.⁶ Its external sign was that a city was ungarrisoned, like Mylasa was, 8, ll. 13—4.⁷ However, the difference in the position of a free city and of one which was not, was, taken as a whole, very little; the kings never hesitated to interfere in a free city's affairs with *προστάγματα*, *διατάγματα*, garrisons, royal officials and so on;⁸ the relationship wholly depended on the will and authority of the king. This view is, as far as concerns Mylasa, confirmed by 1—3.

There is no question of privileges for Mylasa other than freedom; democracy, added in 8, did not mean anything more than liberty.⁹ The city did not become *ἱερὰ καὶ ἄσυλος*, a privilege which, within the Seleucid empire, with the exception of Alabanda, was only bestowed on coastal cities.¹⁰ Nor is there any reliable evidence that Mylasa was exempted from paying tribute¹¹ and this is not surprising, as immunity was only rarely granted by a special concession.¹²

To sum up, Mylasa was liberated on a quite regular pattern. It got its limited local autonomy, including the right to dispose of its lands, as we see in the case of Labraunda, and it was spared the presence of a garrison in the city. That was all.

Of the relations between Mylasa and the Seleucid kings before the liberation, we have no information apart from the very little we know about Olympichus' position as the king's representative (*strategos*) in the district, the garrison and the city's authority over Labraunda and its lands.

⁶ Having read several books and articles on this subject, I would cite the summary by Rostovtzeff, *loc. cit.*, pp. 527—8: "The grant of autonomy therefore must probably be regarded as a promise by the king not to make any change in the existing constitution of the city and not to interfere with it in minor matters"; see also Heuss, *loc. cit.*, pp. 224 ff.; Holleaux, *Études*, III, pp. 152—3, "ces villes privilégiées, dites *αὐτόνομοι*, qui, sous le contrôle de l'autorité royale, avaient le droit de s'administrer librement et d'être régies par un gouvernement de leur choix".

⁷ On garrisons see e.g. (always here in relation to Rostovtzeff) Heuss, *loc. cit.*, pp. 24—30, 187—8, 212—5, 230—2; Bikerman, *Inst. Sél.*, pp. 53—5, 149; L. and J. Robert, *La Carie*, II, pp. 289—90, 301—2.

⁸ See e.g. Bengtson, *Strategie*, II, pp. 8—9 (he too is very critical of Heuss); Rostovtzeff, *loc. cit.*, cf. *ibid.*, p. 482; Magie, p. 57; Jones, *loc. cit.*, pp. 101—2.

⁹ "the principle was laid down that liberty and democra-

cy were inseparable", Magie, p. 56; cf. Holleaux, *Études*, III, p. 153 n. 1, *δημοκρατία* is the same as *αὐτονομία*; Heuss, *loc. cit.*, pp. 236—8; in the Hellenistic period the word *demokratia* meant no more than "république", A. Aymard, *REA*, L, 1948, p. 258 (= *id.*, *Études d'histoire ancienne*, 1967, pp. 94—5); cf. J. A. O. Larsen, *Cl. Phil.*, XL, 1945, pp. 88—91.

¹⁰ This is explained by the privilege not being administrative but international, granted with an eye to the depredations of pirates: see H. Seyrig, *Syria*, XX, 1939, pp. 37—9; Bikerman, *Inst. Sél.*, pp. 152—6, listing the cities so privileged within the empire.

¹¹ The *ἀτέλεια* in 5, ll. 9—11, concerns the sacred land of Labraunda.

I do not utilize LBW, 385 ("Fragment d'un rescrit royal accordant certaines immunités aux Mylasiens"), where ll. 2—3 read:] *δίδομεν ὑμῖν [ἀ]τ[έ]λειαν, ἀπὸ δὲ τ[ῶν] -- | -- δε[κ]ατῆν πάντων τῶν γεννημάτων --*. Ruge, *R.-E.*, s.v. Mylasa, 1933, col. 1052, suggested a date about the Peace of Apamea. Certainly Antiochus III is a possibility; cf. Welles, 41 and below, Ch. VIII.

¹² Rostovtzeff, *loc. cit.*; Bikerman, *Inst. Sél.*, pp. 106—8, citing Polyb. XXI 45, 2 (Paton, = XXI 48 = XXII 27) on the Peace of Apamea: *ἔσαι μὲν τῶν αὐτονομῶν πόλεων πρότερον ὑπετέλουν Ἀντιόχῳ φόρον, τότε δὲ διεφύλαξαν τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πίστιν, ταύτας μὲν ἀπέλυσαν τῶν φόρων*, and pp. 148—9. On the rare evidence of exemption from taxes given to cities by the Seleucids (apart from Teos, Erythrae and Smyrna) see Herrmann, pp. 139—40. A view I find too cautious is held by e.g. Jones, *loc. cit.*, p. 108: "In principle freedom included immunity from tribute...but very few cities were immune from any kind of payment to their suzerains"; cf. Welles, p. 10: "Under a Hellenistic prince, 'free' Greek cities were expected to supply money (as tribute or as 'crowns', etc.) and the opportunity of recruiting mercenary soldiers".

As far as I can see, there is nothing to prevent us dating after the liberation the Mylasan inscription LBW, 404 (third century B.C., L. Robert, *Sinuri*, pp. 74—5), where a division of financial duties between *τὸ βασιλικόν* and *τὸ πολιτικόν* is mentioned; cf. Rostovtzeff, *SEHH*, p. 466, "belonging perhaps to the time when Mylasa was a city of the Seleucid kingdom"; Bikerman, *Inst. Sél.*, pp. 110 ("à l'époque séleucide") —111, 118—9.

We know now fairly well the status of Teos, which, however, is to be regarded as a special case. The city had had to pay heavy taxes of various kinds to Pergamum (see Herrmann, pp. 101—4), but Antiochus III when visiting the city in 204 or 203 (see the references below, p. 127—8, 132) gave it freedom and a democratic government (see Herrmann, pp. 157—8) as well as gradual exemption from all taxes (*ibid.*, pp. 103—4, 138—43). He also recognized Teos as *ἱερὰ καὶ ἄσυλος* (*ibid.*, pp. 103, 118—38). We do not know, however, whether the city as a distant, important outpost was garrisoned or not (see pp. 143—4; not all fragments have yet been found, though). Local cult honours were paid Antiochus and Laodice in accordance with the practice in the Syrian capitals (see pp. 145—56).

The ownership of the shrine and the sacred land has now been elucidated by a decree of the period before 190 B.C., found at Apollonia of Salbake, L. and J. Robert, *La Carie*, II, pp. 285 ff., no. 166, which clears up a lot about the administration within the Seleucid empire. The extant portion of the decree bears on the deserts of a hipparch in a dispute about the revenues of αἱ ἱερὰ καὶ κῶμυι. These are attached to the city, which, however, in its turn is controlled by royal officials; beside a διοικητής and an ἐκλογιστής is mentioned also ὁ τεταγμένος ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερῶν, "le préposé aux sanc-

tuaires" (see the conclusion of the paragraph, *ibid.*, p. 297).

Similarly Olympichus, representing Seleucus at the liberation, delivered to Mylasa Labraunda and its sacred land, as already belonging to the city, the rights of which could not possibly be disputed. Consequently, when, shortly after the liberation, Korris complained to Seleucus II of Mylasa having seized some parts of the sacred land, the king and Olympichus seem to have rather lazily settled the case, whatever its details, in the city's favour; see on 3, ll. 19—24.

IV. OLYMPICHUS, STRATEGOS OF SELEUCUS II AND DYNAST

The name of Olympichus is mentioned in Polyb. V 90, 1 as that of a dynast in Asia Minor, who among others helped Rhodes after the great earthquake (probably in 227 B.C.). It also occurs in some inscriptions previously found in Caria, which have been much discussed, and I am inclined to add Welles, 29. To these the inscriptions of Labraunda form an important complement, enabling us to fasten on the man behind the name and providing a more reliable basis for the interpretation and dating of his activity. This, then, is the place to re-examine the inscriptions previously found and to summarize what we now know of Olympichus.¹

The first thing to look at is his name. In a decree (now lost), which was found in Bargylia but most probably originated in Iasus, a certain Ὀλύμπιχος Ὀλυμπίχου (without mention of ethnicon) was honoured: Cousin and Diehl, *BCH*, XIII, 1889, pp. 23—34. The decree is conventionally worded and, though badly damaged in part, it seems not to have specified the benefactions of the *honorand*.² The editors either identified this Olympichus with the dynast mentioned in Polybius and the Rhodian decrees, in which case Olympichus was supposed not yet to have joined Philip V at the time of the decree (for this question see below, pp. 93 sqq), or, if the time-span from ca. 227 to 202 (the suggested date of the Rhodian decrees) should prove too long, envisaged a father and son being mentioned. According to the editors the letter-forms permit a date towards the end of the third century B.C. Some scholars have objected to the identification,³ while others have found one or both of the indicated possibilities attractive in varying degree.⁴

E. Locker, *Glotta*, XXII, 1934, p. 57, notes the name of Olympichus from the fourth century B.C.

among the Greek "Kurz- und Kosenamen", and it was not uncommon in Greece and Asia Minor towards the end of the third cent. B.C., as is pointed out by Laumonier, *loc. cit.*, p. 294 n. 3.⁵ However, the only Olympichus I know of at this time, who was named after his father, contrary to common use,⁶ is the one mentioned in our in-

¹ It seems to me not to be necessary always to refute opinions in detail, if they have lost their importance owing to the appearance of fresh evidence. Using the dating of 7 as a starting-point, L. Robert in Holleaux, *Études*, IV, pp. 158 n. 4; 162 n. 1, has in outline sketched Olympichus' dispute with Iasus according to the decrees of Rhodes, *BMus.Inscr.*, III 441 (see below); his interpretation as a whole coincides with my summary; see also *id.*, *Encyclopédie de la Pléiade*, XI, 1961, p. 466.

² The information, ll. 14—5, that Olympichus had shown courtesy towards τοῖς ἐντυχάνουσι τῶν πολιτῶν might as such signify that he was an important personage, though not necessarily (cf. Welles, p. 65, and the inscriptions referred to in *Syll*³, Ind. IV, s.v. ἐντυχάνω). The technical use of the period of the verb, however, should be in conformity with the presentation of the individuals honoured as acting in Olympichus' chancery (*BCH*, LVII, see below).

³ E.g. Holleaux, *Études*, IV, p. 158 n. 3; Jost, p. 16 n. 77; Lenschau, *R.-E.*, s.v. Olympichos, 1939.

⁴ E.g. A. Laumonier, *BCH*, LVIII, 1934, p. 294, seems to have been inclined to believe in the identification, but *ibid.*, n. 4, he expressed no opinion on the question of father or son; cf. also Bengtson, *Strategie*, II, p. 6 n. 1. Walbank, *Philip V*, p. 116 n. 3, considered as a possibility the mention of father and son, but *JHS*, LXII, 1942, p. 12, he thought it best not to make too much use of the information then available. Wilhelm, *Neue Beitr.*, I (= *Wien. Sitzb.*, 166, I), 1911, p. 54, did not express an opinion of his own.

⁵ That Ὀλύμπιχος Τρωίλου, *MAMA*, VI 4, is not relevant to the question treated here, is made evident by J. and L. Robert, *Bull. épigr.*, 1939, 393, and Walbank, *JHS*, *loc. cit.*, p. 12 n. 37.

⁶ In the family of Olympichus from Apollonia in Pisidia

scription 8, l. 27. Should this Olympichus be the man honoured by Iasus, the inscriptions of Labraunda make it clear that we have not to choose between father and son, but are dealing with the activity of a single person, at least until 220 B.C.: see on 8, l. 10. It would be quite arbitrary to interpolate a homonymous Olympichus, son of Olympichus. L. Robert in Holleaux, *Études*, IV, p. 158 n. 4, states that all actual cases concern one and the same Olympichus, and that no evidence about him is to be dated as late as the end of the 3rd cent. B.C.

In fact, it is easy to find a motive for Iasus to honour Olympichus. *BMus.Inscr.*, III 441, reflects a clash between Olympichus and the city, though this was only an episode in a larger course of events. Not only does Olympichus seem to have preserved good relations with Mylasa until the end of the controversy about Labraunda (see Ch. II) but he presumably did the same with Iasus, at least for longish periods, as the circumstances were similar (see below, p. 95). And just as Mylasa promised and awarded him honours, Iasus may well have done so too.⁷

So as far as regards the decree edited by Cousin and Diehl, everything supports our identifying the honorand Olympichus, son of Olympichus, with the dynast. His full name is remarkable, the circumstances of the time are correct, the use of the verb ἐντυγχάνειν fits in with his importance, and finally, the dynast is known to have had important dealings with Iasus.

At the beginning of a decree honouring the two men Dionytas and Apollas, which was found in Alinda and first published by A. Laumonier (with a photograph) in *BCH*, LVIII, 1934, pp. 291—8, it is said that they were διατρίβοντες [π]αρ' Ὀλυμπίῳ τῷ στρατηγῷ ἐν τῷ ἐπιστολογραφίῳ, i.e. ἐπιστολογραφίῳ (see Laumonier, *ad loc.*). The editor took it for granted that Olympichus was our dynast and this identification has not, as far as I know, been refuted by anyone. The terms διατρίβειν and ἐπιστολογραφεῖον were supposed to indicate that Olympichus had a princely position, and by comparing the decrees issued by Rhodes and found in Iasus, Laumonier inferred that he was a strategos, in the sense of 'governor', of Philip V, and presumed that even when subordinated to Philip, he had retained the chancery which he had set up as a dynast. Lau-

monier was followed by e.g. Magie, pp. 13, 747 n. 37, in suggesting 202 B.C. as the date.

From this Th. Lenschau⁸ concluded that Philip had inherited possessions from Antigonos Doson, whereas F. W. Walbank⁹ denied the possibility of getting any information about Doson's Carian expedition out of Laumonier's inscription. He demonstrated that at the time of the decrees issued by Rhodes, Olympichus could not have been Philip's strategos, even if he had united the role of being an independent dynast with that position,¹⁰ and that he had become Philip's strategos

there occurs an individual with this name in early imperial period (see the stemma, *MAMA*, IV, p. 49). There is no reason to connect this family with that of the dynast here discussed (see Bengtson, *Strategie*, II, p. 368 n. 2).⁷ On the same stone, immediately below the honorific decree for Olympichus was another honorific decree for Rhodes and judges sent by the island, dated in another year. Only the beginning, badly damaged, is preserved and we have nothing to show whether the dispute settled was domestic or external. Though no definite conclusion is possible, it may be that these decrees, in accordance with a common practice, were engraved together because of conformity of motive, and record two different episodes in what must have been a long series of disputes and discussions involving the city; on active help given by the island to Iasus see *BMus.Inscr.*, III, 441, discussed below, especially ll. 84—6. That both the epistates in the decree honouring Rhodes, and one of the envoys of Iasus, sent to the island in the cited inscription, were named Glaucus, suggests that the documents are of approximately the same date.

⁸ *Bursians Jahresb.*, 261, 1938, p. 271; *R.-E.*, s.v. Olympichos, 1939. Also *ibid.*, s.v. Podilos, 1951, Lenschau regarded Olympichus as a Macedonian governor in Caria. P. Roussel, *BCH*, LXIII, 1939, p. 139 n. 5, though doubtful whether the Carian campaign took place at all, seems to have adopted the same line of thought. Walbank, *JHS*, LXII, cited next note, p. 13, reckoned with the possibility of "relations of a loose kind, probably in the form of guest-friendship", a suggestion which, as such, is possible (see also below, n. 28). At all events, it may be noticed, that LBW, 387, which is preserved in a later copy, see 4 n. 1, most probably is dated after king Philip Arrhidaeus, as it is also dated after a satrap, who, it is suggested, is Asander (Wilhelm, *Pragmateiai Ak. Ath.*, 17,1, 1951, pp. 8—12.). Philip V could not possibly have called an imaginary governor of Caria *satrap* (cf. on 9, pp. 70—1), in the same way as Olympichus called himself *governor*.

⁹ *JHS*, LXII, 1942, pp. 8—13, 'Olympichus of Alinda and the Carian expedition of Antigonos Doson', and in outline, *Philip V*, p. 116 n. 3.

¹⁰ Especially pp. 11—2. Already Meyer, *Grenzen*, pp. 69—70, had read this into the Rhodian decrees (see further

only after Philip's expedition. Not even comparisons with other occasions, when Philip's policy had without doubt been ambiguous, could explain how the decrees make no allusion to Olympichus as his subordinate, while conversely Philip had naturally addressed his answer to Rhodes as if Olympichus was independent of him and he himself did not have any governor at all in Caria. Consequently Walbank dated Laumonier's inscription to the time after Philip's arrival in Caria in 201, when a change of Olympichus' status from independent dynast to Macedonian governor could reasonably have occurred. Knowing of 6 B and 7, ll. 1—4, as published by Vogliano, and L. Robert's remarks referred to above (n. 1), Walbank, *Comm. on Polybius*, I, pp. 621—2, dated the documents mentioning Olympichus "to the early years of Philip's reign", but Olympichus is still called "the ruler of Alinda in Caria, known from various inscriptions as the tool and indeed the *epistates* of Philip V of Macedonia". Schmitt, *Unters.*, pp. 244—5, having read my *Prel. survey*, writes that Olympichus evidently was a Carian dynast, who served as a governor first of the Seleucids and afterwards of the Antigonids, and suggests the possibility that eventually he tried to subdue Mylasa and Iasus without Philip's permission. And Will, *Hist.*, I, pp. 333, 335, maintains that Doson got into touch with Olympichus, who afterwards regarded himself as a representative of Macedon under Philip V, though this did not exclude his actual independence.

However, Bengtson, *Strategie*, II, p. 369, (he too, as is comprehensible, regarded Olympichus as Philip's governor, see *ibid.*, p. 6 n. 1) thought that the title of στρατηγός is incompatible with Laumonier's view of Olympichus as a dynast, and interpreted the ἐπιστωλαγράφιον as the "Amtskanzlei", "in der der Schriftverkehr für den „Bezirk“ des Olympichos erledigt wurde". The more independent position taken into consideration which, on the basis of the Labraunda inscriptions, we now know that Olympichus enjoyed, these two main views could possibly be united as follows: the chancery which Olympichus acquired in his capacity as a Seleucid governor became more important as he had to solve serious problems while acting more and more without supervision or external control.

At this point it is worth summarizing what we

now know of Olympichus' position before he had to deal with Philip. In Polyb. V 90, 1 he is mentioned, together with Ἀσσανίας and Αἰμυνάζος,¹¹ as a dynast in Asia Minor after the great earthquake at Rhodes when the Colossus fell.¹² However, there is no evidence of the exact date when he emerged as such. From Hellenistic Asia Minor we continually find dynasts far into the imperial period¹³ and in the part of Caria in which we are here interested, Olympichus was preceded by Eupolemus at the end of the 4th cent.,¹⁴ and of course, during the pre-Hellenistic

below). It must be pointed out that Olympichus had no Macedonian troops at his disposal, which was suggested by Holleaux, *Études*, IV, pp. 158, 160; cf. *ibid.*, p. 315, in a posthumous paper.

¹¹ Wilhelm, *Neue Beitr.*, I, cited above, p. 54, suggested the possibility that Ἀσσανίας could be the same name as the shorter Ἀσσίας, just as Πασσίας and Πασσανίας occur side by side, in which case he would belong to the dynastic family, whose known members are named Ἀσσίας and Φιλόμηλος; see Holleaux, *Études*, III, pp. 357—63. As for Linnaeus we know of a decree of Synnada, honouring a man prematurely dead, who may have been a descendant of his; see Wilhelm, *ibid.*, pp. 54—63. On the discussion of these two dynasts see Walbank, *JHS*, LXII, cited above, pp. 9—10; id., *Comm. on Polybius*, I, p. 622, "not identified.....both may have been minor dynasts in Caria, with neighbourly reasons for their benefactions".

¹² The earthquake occurred before 225, when Seleucus II died; it is dated by the *Chronicon Paschale* to 227 (see Walbank, *Comm. on Polybius*, I, p. 616; Holleaux, *Études*, I, pp. 445—62, especially p. 454 n. 2). A date about 227 seems to be generally accepted, e.g. Magie, pp. 71, 877—8 n. 70 (the date of 224, *ibid.*, p. 190, is a mere slip); Bengtson, *Gr. Gesch.*,² p. 572; but Capelle, *R.-E.*, Suppl. IV, 1924, col. 354, puts it ca. 222. Will, *Hist.*, I, p. 334, suggests the possibility that the enormous tidal wave, to which Doson's fleet was subjected at Larymna on its way to Asia, was connected with the earthquake, and to him, too, 227 seems to be the most appropriate year. That help came to the island from all sides makes clear "the importance of Rhodes as a centre of trade and her popularity", Rostovtzeff, *SEHH*, p. 230 (dated 227 or 226); cf. *ibid.*, pp. 463, 631 (dated 225), 1249, 1255—6, 1265.

¹³ Rostovtzeff, *loc. cit.*, pp. 1425—6, offers a list of early tyrants in Asia Minor, several of whom can equally well be called dynasts, and Olympichus is included. See also L. Robert, *Ét. anat.*, p. 327; J. and L. Robert, *Bull. épigr.*, 1950, pp. 192, 196; M. Launey, *Recherches sur les armées hellénistiques*, I, 1949, pp. 288—9; Schmitt, *Unters.*, p. 43 n. 1.

¹⁴ See *Prel. survey*, p. 103; L. Robert, *Encyclopédie de la Pléiade*, XI, 1961, p. 474, "il eut une sorte de royaume

period, by the Hecatomnids. Important for our discussion is the often quoted decree of Smyrna of ca. 246 B.C.,¹⁵ *OGIS*, 229, according to which (l. 11) Seleucus wrote πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεῖς καὶ τοὺς δυνάστας καὶ τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὰ ἔθνη.¹⁶ Consequently it is possible to suppose that Olympichus was included among these dynasts. However, the War of the Brothers¹⁷ (according to Bickerman's chronology, 240 to before February 236) is obviously a possible time for his emergence as a dynast. The temporary collapse of Seleucid power in parts of Asia Minor in 230 and thereafter (still according to Bickerman), due to the defeats of Antiochus Hierax, could be suggested as a third possible time.

Now the inscriptions of Labraunda give us some clear criteria for forming an estimate of Olympichus' earlier position and activity. We meet him first as Seleucus II's strategos, when the king ordered him to carry out the decision to liberate Mylasa, which as far as I can see happened in the first years of Seleucus II's reign: see Synopsis, as on Olympichus' general relations with Mylasa, and Chapter III. He remained in the district, still as Seleucus' strategos, and early in 240, as I suggest, he had to settle a dispute between Mylasa and the priest of Labraunda. Because of the dangerous situation in Asia Minor in the following period, Olympichus was forced to garrison the district and had to endure great peril. Hierax' capital was Sardis, and his authority was concentrated in Lydia and the Hellespontic district, as far as can be judged from his coins: see E. T. Newell, *The coinage of the western Seleucid mints* (= *Num. St.*, 4), 1941, p. 392. There is no mention of his governing the district of Mylasa in the series of letters and there is no information that Olympichus was controlled by him. On the contrary, the information that he was still retaining Labraunda with its Petra in 220 indicates his independence of Hierax and Attalus. It seems reasonable to suggest that as Seleucus II gradually lost his authority in Asia Minor, Olympichus' position became more and more independent and that in fact he had to act as a dynast. This is to be regarded as a natural consequence of the course of events and it did not in itself involve any disloyalty to his master Callinicus¹⁸ (see below). Unfortunately the Labraunda inscriptions give no exact information about the length of time Olympichus is to be regarded as a dynast. He

himself, however, used the plural in 8 shortly after 240(?) and consequently still regarded himself primarily as Seleucus' governor then; the *terminus ante quem* is fixed by the evidence in Polybius for ca. 227, plus the fact that, as far as we can tell, he always remained loyal to Seleucus. I am inclined to regard the end of the War of the Brothers, 237—6 (?), as the critical moment for his new, independent position. But I must emphasize that this is mere guesswork, and also that sooner or later Bickerman's chronology is bound to be revised, and many dates in this book correspondingly changed.

dans le Sud de l'Asie Mineure". On his coins see A. Akarca, *Monnaies gr. de Mylasa*, 1959, pp. 101—2; cf. W. Schwabacher, *Gnomon*, 33, 1961, p. 820, 822.

Rostovtzeff, *REA*, XXXIII, 1931, p. 24, seems to me, however, to have stretched the analogy between the two dynasts too far, exaggerating Olympichus' aggressiveness against Iasus (see below).

¹⁵ This date, contrasts with a later dating of ca. 243, suggested by W. Otto, *Beitr. z. Seleukidengesch.*, (= *Abh. München*, XXXIV 1), 1928, p. 70; see also Bengtson, *Strategie*, II, pp. 3 n. 4, 92, 93 n. 1; cf. Magie, pp. 934—5 n. 29. See Ch. III n. 1.

¹⁶ Cf. Holleaux, *Études*, III, p. 362; Walbank, *JHS*, LXII, cited above, pp. 9—10. The earliest known instance of this formula seems to be Diodor. XIX 57,3, where Antigonus I in 315/4 τὰ τ' ἔθνη καὶ πόλεις καὶ δυνάστας προσεκαλεῖτο εἰς συμμαχίαν (Nepos *Agesilaus* 7,3 concerns Persian conditions); the formula is repeated with variations in both Greek and Latin: see *Thesaurus*; Rostovtzeff, *SEHH*, pp. 1439—40 n. 277; Walbank, *ibid.*, p. 9 n. 20, where, however, the quoted instances *Syll*³, 590, ll. 11—2 and 760 do not mention dynasts. Instances of the formula, worth mentioning in this context, are Polyb. IV 48,12, where it is written of Achaeus, who had proclaimed himself a king, that βαρύτατος ἦν τότε καὶ φοβερώτατος τῶν ἐπὶ τὰδε τοῦ Ταύρου βασιλέων καὶ δυναστῶν, and the treaty between Rhodes and Hierapytna of ca. 200—197 B.C., *Syll*³, 581, ll. 64—5, εἰ τις κα βασιλεὺς ἢ δυνάστας ἢ ἄλλος ὅστις οὖν ἐπὶ πόλιν στρατεύ(ηται) --; cf. *ibid.*, n. 12. See also below.

¹⁷ E.g. Niese, II, p. 160; Wilhelm, *Neue Beitr.*, I, p. 52; Walbank, *loc. cit.*, p. 10; id., *Comm. on Polybius*, II, p. 316; cf. below.

¹⁸ According to Bengtson, *loc. cit.*, pp. 57—8, in the Seleucid Empire of that time it was only satraps and not military strategoi who organized full scale risings, and on such occasions they had the assistance of the native population (Achaeus was a special case, *ibid.*, pp. 106—9, 407). E. Bickerman, *Atti del convegno sul tema: La Persia e il mondo Greco-Romano* (Roma 11—14 aprile 1965), 1966, pp. 91 ff., emphasizes that these risings were military insurrections of Macedonian troops and insubordination of the generals, and not native revolts.

While our sources never connect him with Antigonos Doson, nothing indicates that Olympichus attached himself to Egypt on that occasion or later, as Walbank suggested, *ibid.*, pp. 9–10. That Egypt supported Attalus has no bearing on Olympichus' status, and all we know of him shows his loyalty to the Seleucids in one way or another, until the Macedonians came to Caria.

Polyb. V 34, 7 reads: παρέκειντο (i.e. the Egyptian kings before Philopater) δὲ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν δυνάσταις, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ταῖς νήσοις, δεσπύζοντες τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων πόλεων καὶ τόπων καὶ λιμένων κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν παραλίαν ἀπὸ Παμφυλίας ἕως Ἑλλησπόντου καὶ τῶν κατὰ Λυσιμάχειν τόπων.¹⁹ Walbank, *loc. cit.*, p. 9, took this clause to indicate that "certain of the dynasts of Asia Minor, though virtually independent, came within the general sphere of Ptolemaic interest", but later in the same page he derives a more precise interpretation of the idea from the normal sense of παρέκειμαι ("lie alongside, and so control"): the kings of Egypt "by their control of the coastal cities, harbours, etc., were able to 'exercise their influence over the dynasts of Asia Minor'". And in his *Comm. on Polybius*, I, p. 565, *ad loc.*, Walbank translates the main verb as "their sphere of control included" Though Polybius was primarily thinking of the Attalids, the minor dynasts mentioned in Polyb. V 90, 1 (see above) could also, according to Walbank, be included. Walbank questioned the explanation in Meyer, *Grenzen*, p. 70, that this passage "beweist allerdings nichts".

The clause cited is placed between two clauses constructed in a parallel way. § 6 runs as follows: ...ἐπέκειντο μὲν τοῖς τῆς Συρίας βασιλεῦσι καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, Κόιλης Συρίας καὶ Κύπρου κυριεύοντες, and § 8: ἐφῆδρουν δὲ τοῖς ἐν τῇ Θράκῃ καὶ τοῖς ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ πράγμασι, τῶν κατ' Αἶνον καὶ Μαρώνειαν καὶ πορρώτερον ἔτι πόλεων κυριεύοντες. Here Polybius wants to mention only that Philopater's predecessors, unlike him, concerned themselves mainly with foreign policy in outlying positions and were not forced to defend themselves against enemies at home.²⁰ The sense of παρέκειντο²¹ is evidently more or less parallel to ἐπέκειντο and ἐφῆδρουν, while δεσπύζοντες, κυριεύοντες and κυριεύοντες are quite similar. Taken together the main verbs convey pressure, attack and activity²² but not control; this is done by the following participles. In the rhetorical context this differ-

ence is certainly quite conscious, and the secondary sense of "control" suggested by Walbank would destroy the balance between the main verbs and the participles in the passage. Quite apart from the translation, the interpretation must seem risky.

I think the verb is here used in its original sense of "lie alongside", so that the datives it governs only signify one of the three cited spheres of interest of Egyptian foreign policy. The actual situation might be described as follows: Egypt paid attention to and watched the course of events in Asia Minor and the islands from its bases in the area. But nothing can be inferred from the clause about the political position of the dynasts; in this respect I agree with Meyer.

We now return to the honorific decree published by Laumonier. The letter-forms derive from the end of the third century B.C. Laumonier himself, p. 297, calculates within a margin of about twenty years; certainly the decree itself may be somewhat earlier. When it mentions Olympichus as a strategos, he cannot have been one of Philip V's, as several things show. The inscriptions of Labraunda prove that previous reconstructions of his career were off the mark. Instead of being an independent dynast at first, and later a strategos of Doson and Philip V, as was supposed, he was initially Seleucus II's strategos, becoming more and more independent in the course of time. In the Rhodian decrees discussed below Olympichus appears as

¹⁹ On the status of the different Aeolic and Ionian coast towns see Holleaux, *Études*, III, pp. 135–7, where it is mentioned as self-evident that not all cities in Caria were Egyptian, and Schmitt, *Unters.*, pp. 278 ff.

²⁰ § 9: καὶ τῷ τοιοῦτῳ τρόπῳ μακρὰν ἐκτεταχότες τὰς χεῖρας, καὶ προβεβλημένοι πρὸ αὐτῶν ἐκ πολλοῦ τὰς δυναστείας, οὐδέποτε περὶ τῆς κατ' Αἴγυπτον ἡγωνίων ἀρχῆς. So Polybius; what is more, rebellions actually occurred; see e.g. Justin XXVII, I 9, on how Euergetes was called back to Egypt *domestica seditione* from great successes, mentioned also in *Pap. Gr. Hamaïenses*, 6 (see pp. 106–8; Segre, cited *ad loc.*, p. 276).

²¹ According to Nicolaus, p. 87, παρέκειντο meant that the kings 'auf die Genannten ihren Einfluss ausübten'. Walbank, *ibid.*, n. 16, confessed that παρέκειμαι in the context is a vague word and called the translation "to press on" in LSJ incorrect.

²² To be sure, this did not exclude temporary or more lasting successes: see Walbank, *Comm. on Polybius*, *ad loc.*; Magie, *AJA*, LVII, 1953, pp. 163–4; Schmitt, *Unters.*, cited above, n. 19.

completely independent of Philip; when the king finally settled the dispute over Labraunda between him and Mylasa, he did so in the capacity of an authoritative third party. Philip addressed Olympichus in his letter 7 without using the latter's title, but in the commentary *ad loc.* I have tried to demonstrate that this fact reflects not Olympichus' dependence on Macedon but only his inferior position—so that it matches our conception of Olympichus as a Seleucid strategos/governor and dynast.

That this view is valid for Laumonier's inscription as well, some details in the decree bear out. As the editor himself points out, p. 295, the title of ἐπιστολογράφος (ignoring the spelling), and consequently the term ἐπιστολογραφεῖον, is found not only in Egypt but in the Seleucid Empire during the reigns of Antiochus IV, Demetrius I and Antiochus VIII (cf. also Bickerman, *Inst. Sél.*, p. 197). From Macedon, however, we hear only of a γραμματεῖον in Polyb. IV 87, 8. It would also be attractive to identify the Dionytas honoured here with the homonymous hyparch²³ of Eriza in northern Caria, to whom the letter Welles, 37 (= *OGIS*, 224 I) was written. This is a covering letter from the governor Anaximbrotes about the appointment of a high priestess of Laodice, consort of Antiochus III, and is now to be dated to 193 B.C.²⁴ Dionytas may then be supposed to have had a moderately successful career in this part of the Seleucid Empire, and attained, probably at the peak of his career, the post of hyparch in the nineties, while we surmise he still held a rather subordinate position in Olympichus' chancery at Alinda (see below) at the time of the honorific decree, since he was honoured not alone but with Apollas. In view of the letter-forms and the facts we know about Olympichus, I suggest the early twenties as the date of Laumonier's inscription, which goes well with the available details of Dionytas' life, while a dating towards the middle thirties or even earlier would make his career somewhat protracted.

It should be said that there is nothing surprising in the double role Olympichus had. Several men held high, royal office and adopted a more independent role in this period; Walbank, *ibid.*, pp. 10 n. 27 and 11, compares Philocles "who had combined the role of virtually autonomous king of Sidon with that of navarch, or 'viceroy of the

sea'" (cf. H. Volkmann, *Phil. Wochenschr.*, 59, 1939, col. 1039 n. 7), and *ibid.*, p. 9 n. 13, the native princes Porus and Taxiles who became satraps of Alexander, keeping their own possessions (Diodor. XVIII 3, 2—3). Similarly the Lycian Moagetes started his career as a strategos and became a tyrant, a position which his family held for a century and more: see J. and L. Robert, *Bull. épigr.*, 1950, p. 196.²⁵ A. H. M. Jones *The Greek city*, p. 13, says of the western dominions of Asia Minor that "Seleucid control of this detached province was inevitably weak and permitted the growth of several minor dynasties in the area", and Rostovtzeff, *SEHH*, p. 430, writes: "amid the turmoil of the dynastic war under Seleucus II, a new group of petty tyrannies sprang up in Asia Minor, and certain temple-states declared their independence or semi-independence" (cf. Tarn, *CAH*, VII, p. 720).

The Seleucids took over from the Persian Empire the practice of enfeoffing also in Asia Minor,²⁶ from which *dynasteiai* could arise; Bengtson, *Strategie*, II, pp. 3—8, points out that these dynasts, as well as the πόλεις and the ἔθνη, were *de iure* "Untertanen" of the king. But the Seleucids' steadily diminishing control of Asia Minor also helps to explain how dynasts emerged in this way. And dynasts were traditional in Caria.

We still know nothing definite about the balance within Olympichus' double role, or about his attitude to Seleucus II towards the end of the latter's reign, and to his sons and successors Seleucus III and Antiochus III, and to Achaeus. At all events, Walbank, *ibid.*, p. 10, is wrong to argue *ex silentio* from *OGIS*, 272, 277, where the adversaries Attalus defeated are named as Lysias

²³ On this title see Holleaux, *Études*, IV, p. 155 n. 3.

²⁴ See Chr. Clairmont, *Mus. Helv.*, 5, 1948, pp. 218—26.

²⁵ On the dynasts (tyrants) of Lycia, principally in early 2nd century B.C. see L. Moretti, *Riv. Fil.*, XXVIII, 1950, pp. 331 ff.; J. A. O. Larsen, *Cl. Phil.*, LI, 1956, pp. 160 ff. For the Bactrian-Sogdian Diodotus see W. W. Tarn, *CAH*, VII, p. 719; id., *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, 1951, pp. 72—4. Bickerman, *Inst. Sél.*, pp. 166—8, widens the conception of dynast to include also such representatives of the king as Achaeus and emphasizes that even the dynast who took charge of military and non-military power together remained subject to the king. See further above.

²⁶ For rich men in Seleucid time see Rostovtzeff, *SEHH*, pp. 517—9.

and Seleucus III's strategoi, that Lysias was the only dynast still actively siding with the Syrians at the time. No conclusion either way is possible; but clearly someone who is mentioned in another context as a dynast may very well have been included among Seleucus' strategoi here.

The inscriptions of Labraunda do not answer the question where Olympichus' residence was situated. Earlier Mylasa or the district of Iasus have been suggested.²⁷ Now Laumonier himself, pp. 295—8, suggests Alinda, and L. Robert, *CRAI*, 1953, p. 413, states that Olympichus "eut sans doute sa capitale à Alinda". Alinda fits very well into the picture given in our inscriptions; its situation so near Mylasa would explain Olympichus' involvement in that city's affairs. Besides, Olympichus' chancery was—at least ca. 220—rather modestly staffed, as he made use of Mylasa's envoys to Philip V (see on 6, ll. 15—16).

In *Inscr. Didyma*, 439, of the late third century B.C. (earlier than 211/0), Chr. Habicht, *Gött. gel. Anz.*, 213, 1960, p. 160, identifies a dedicator Ὀλυμπ[with our Olympichus.²⁸ This suggestion is perfectly reasonable.

In my *Remarks* I discuss the fragmentary Welles, 29, which was recovered at Mylasa.²⁹ Previously the letter was thought to be written by a royal personage, most likely Attalus I, and the son Alexander (l. 4) has been identified with the brother of Laodice, Antiochus II's consort. Welles tentatively restored l. 4 as [ὁ τοῦ Ἀντιόχου τοῦ βασιλέ]ως υἱός. I regard this interpretation as unlikely for several reasons. The word order suggested is not the usual one; it would be surprising if Attalus had mentioned a member of another royal house, and especially this particular Alexander, who we know supported Attalus' adversary Hierax; if we assume that Antiochus and Laodice were half-brother and -sister, this creates its own problems; the Alexander in question could have been mentioned in an easier way: finally, we have no epigraphic evidence for Attalus' rule over Caria, and I suggest we cannot expect Mylasa to yield such evidence.

Instead of this, I identify the son Alexander with the eldest son of Seleucus II, who changed his name to the dynastic Seleucus at his accession; and I would restore l. 4 as ὁ τοῦ βασιλέ]ως υἱός

Ἀλέξανδρος. I date the letter to the period following the year 230, when Hierax was overthrown in Asia Minor and the son Alexander was old enough to be introduced by name. The writer speaks of himself in the singular, and he seems to me to be some one active in the Seleucid sphere of influence—not the king, but a man independent enough to act and write in his own name. Given these conditions, I am bound, subject to the usual reservations about our fragmentary knowledge of Caria during the period, to put Olympichus forward as the writer. If this suggestion is right, it confirms the impression we can derive from the Labraunda inscriptions, that Olympichus, even in his more independent period, was not lacking in loyalty to his sovereign, and so did not hesitate to mention him and his son by name and title. A

²⁷ See Ruge, *R.-E.*, s.v. Mylasa, coll. 1051—2; Laumonier, *BCH*, LVIII, pp. 295—6. Meyer, *Grenzen*, p. 70, wrote from his point of view on Philip and his Carian expedition (see p. 87 n. 10), "konnte er sich mit Olympichos in Mylasa vereinigen"

²⁸ In spite of having read my *Prel. survey* of 1960, Habicht calls Olympichus strategos of Antigonos Doson and refers to his own article of 1957, *R.-E.*, s.v. Prusias, col. 1087. There, in turn, references are given to J. and L. Robert, *Bull. épigr.*, 1950, 182, where nothing *ad rem* is said, and to L. Robert's redaction of Holleaux, *Études*, IV, 1952, p. 162 n. 1, where Robert only states that the Macedonian sway over Caria was due to Doson's campaign and mentions Olympichus as Philip's "subordonné" or "associé". To Habicht, Olympichus (still ca. 227 an independent dynast) helped Rhodes after the earthquake but became thereafter a mere strategos. However, as was hinted at already in my *Prel. survey*, his career was quite different, and, in opposition to Habicht, I regard it as absolutely irrelevant to the dating of the earthquake and Prusias' accession.

²⁹]ερ τιμῶν ἐμῶν τῶι εἰς πολ[
] ἐσοικίσει συνεβούλευσα καὶ χώραν πο[
] ν ὑμῖν προσορίσει ἐμοὶ πάντα ἐπηγγε[λ
] ρος υἱὸς Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ θεοῖς χαριστ[ήριον

Apart from the restoration of line 4 suggested below, I discuss only line 3 of the text itself. I propose that προσορίσει, just as ἐσοικίσει, is governed by συνεβούλευσα, that the ν belongs to the object complex allied to χώραν and that the whole of this passage is a clause subordinate to ἐπηγγε[λ, preferably in the finite form, whose object πάντα refers to the reorganization just mentioned in the letter.

I am inclined to accept the suggestion of Bengtson (*Strategie*, II, p. 100) that the letter is concerned with the granting of royal land to Mylasa, but I am not prepared to connect it with the decree of an unknown city, discovered at Chalceator, Cousin, *BCH*, XXII, 1898, pp. 376—7, as has been suggested.

comparison with his letters at Labraunda supports my suggestion; the extant portion of Welles, 29 preserves an excerpt from a detailed, retrospective account of the writer's part in the case and in his letters at Labraunda Olympichus again and again gives verbose reminders of his earlier actions. The letter has the restrained tone (συνεβούλευσεν) Olympichus adopted towards Mylasa (see Synopsis, p. 81); honours Mylasa bestowed on him are mentioned at Labraunda. As regards form, I point out that at Labraunda Olympichus several times writes of himself in the singular (see on 3, ll. 1—2, 4, 6, 8, p. 55), that he calls Seleucus II ὁ βασιλεύς as well as Philip V, and that in 8 he uses both εἰς and ἐς.

Above I have repeatedly referred to the important fragment from Iasus which Hicks first published complete,³⁰ but which Holleaux analysed and commented on in an essentially convincing way, *REG*, XII, 1899, pp. 20—37; the reconstruction of the text appears in *REA*, V, 1903, pp. 223—8 (= *Études*, IV, pp. 146—62).³¹ Holleaux' interpretation has been generally accepted.

The fragment contains, after a Iasian date, three Rhodian decrees on the same subject. Iasus has complained to Rhodes of the misconduct of Olympichus' man Podilus in its territory; and Rhodes has decided to champion Iasus (as before), and make a serious appeal to Olympichus on its behalf, urging the guarantees Philip V had given Rhodes for Iasus (see below). The mention of Iasian officials does not help to date the decrees' engraving, and these themselves provide no way of dating, apart from the allusion to Timasitheos (see below) and Olympichus and Rhodes' friendship with Philip³². The *terminus ante quem* has been put at 202 B.C., when the island declared that it was at war with him. However, it has been thought that signs of strained relations between Rhodes and Philip can be found in the decrees, and that the presence of foreign forces in Iasus' territory hints at Philip's plans for large scale aggression in Caria, which his campaign of 202—1 revealed.³³ The decrees have therefore been generally dated to the years just before the outbreak of war.³⁴

Now the whole question comes up again, because of the discovery of the relevant series of letters at Labraunda, according to which Philip

ordered Olympichus to evacuate the district of Mylasa. The date 220 makes it clear that already at his accession Philip enjoyed great authority in Caria, inherited from Antigonos Doson. Quite naturally the earlier commentators on the Rhodian decrees did not reckon with such an early date; but a comparison of the two sequences discloses such a striking resemblance that we have no difficulty in making them roughly contemporary.

From the Rhodian decrees two facts about the actual political situation of Iasus can be inferred. First, the city was free at the time, though it felt threatened because of what had occurred. In ll. 9—10 Iasus urged Rhodes, remembering the great services it had previously rendered the city, καὶ νῦν π[ρόνοιον] [ποιεῖ]σθ[αι ὅπ]ως ἂν τε πόλις αὐτῶν ἐλευθέρη καὶ αὐτόνομος [διαμέ]νηι, and, as far as can be judged from the poor remains of letters noticed by Le Bas, ll. 45 ff., the Rhodian envoys to Olympichus had instructions to proclaim Iasus' freedom and independence.³⁵ Apart from this, Rhodes speaks of Iasus' ἀσφάλεια καὶ σωτηρία (ll.

³⁰ *BMus.Inscr.*, III, 1890, 441, where an account is given of the inscription, 94 lines long, and also of fragmentary and more uncertain remains of letters in a middle portion, primarily ll. 45—69, known only through Le Bas' copy and lost in Hicks' time. This portion is not included in Hicks' *A manual of Greek historical inscriptions*, 1882, 182, nor by Holleaux, cited below, while LBW, 251 only includes ll. 1—69, and Michel, 431, I, ll. 1—27, 73—94. On the status of the stone and earlier literature see Holleaux, pp. 146 n. 2, 147 n. 1.

³¹ Hicks misunderstood the meaning of the decrees and, before Holleaux, only Cousin and Diehl, *BCH*, XIII, 1889, pp. 27—8, correctly conceived the main outlines of the situation which gave rise to them.

³² Olympichus has generally, though sometimes with hesitation, been identified with the dynast mentioned by Polybius or possibly with his son. That in this context we always have to deal with one and the same Olympichus is demonstrated above, pp. 86—7.

³³ On this campaign see the references e.g. in Magie, pp. 14—5 with notes; Bengtson, *Strategie*, II, p. 370 n. 1; cf. Holleaux, *CAH*, VIII, 1930, pp. 151 ff. See further below, Ch. VII.

³⁴ Beloch, IV 2², pp. 550—1, however, established on the basis of the good relations between Rhodes and Philip that a dating much after Philip's accession would be "rein willkürlich". *Ex silentio* he regarded it as probable that Olympichus, whom he identified without any hesitation with the dynast, was not alive at the time of Philip's campaign. Cf. below p. 96.

³⁵ L. 45, αὐτοῖς τὴν πόλιν ἐλευθέρην; l. 50, ἐλευθέρην καὶ ἀ[ύτ]όνομον?

19—20, 83—4), and also uses the commonplace τὰ συμφέροντα (ll. 37, 87—8; restored in ll. 18, 26); the expressions are combined in ll. 92—3, πράξει (sc. Rhodes) δὲ ἂν πέπεισται συμφέροντα εἶμιν ποτὶ τὰν Ἰασέων ἀσφάλειαν. The information that the envoys of the island to Iasus had to display its decree ὑπὲρ τ[ῶ]ν γεγεννη[μέν]ων ἀδικημάτων (ll. 33—5, cf. l. 21) reveals the character of the situation. The decrees were based on Iasus' petitions (ll. 7 ff., 42—3); similarly the topic stood first in the appeal made to Olympichus (l. 44) and was later re-emphasized (ll. 75—7, 90). No doubt Philip's letter to Rhodes (see below) included guarantees of Iasus' freedom from interference.

The main subject is Podilus' misconduct in the district of Iasus; but I do not agree with earlier commentators about what it consisted of.³⁶ To me it is evident, and this is the second fact we can infer from the decrees, that Olympichus' troops had not invaded Iasian territory—indeed, that their right to stay there was not questioned. Nowhere in the decrees is there the slightest hint of a wish or a demand that the troops be withdrawn; Rhodes is concerned with their behaviour in the district. This is clearest from ll. 74 ff., where Rhodes' envoys are told to exhort Olympichus³⁷ not to permit his subordinates to do anything wrong in the country, but to treat the inhabitants fairly and in conformity with Philip's ruling in the case. In ll. 8—9, 17—18 it is mentioned that Rhodes had previously rendered services to Iasus; in ll. 84—6, specifically that on one occasion it had arranged for the protection of Iasus' territory as well as its own.³⁸ As the information is given in general terms, it is not possible to say what it refers to,³⁹ but the protection as such may have been just as much against violations of justice like that of Podilus as against an invasion of foreign troops—and it stands out that Olympichus is supposed to have occupied only a part of Iasus' territory, as he had done in the district of Mylasa; the troops' right to stay in the area need not have been questioned at the time, until the issue was finally resolved. Also the repeated, neutrally worded promises of help for the future, though diplomatic clichés, may reveal the situation as basically unchanged.

The information that Rhodes had already (before Podilus' misconduct) communicated with Philip V is decisive for our interpretation of the

decrees. I fully agree with the earlier commentators that in the expression (varied in different ways) τὰ ἐπεσταλμένα ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως φιλόανθρωπα ποτὶ τὰν πόλιν (ll. 73—4, 78, 80—1), ἡ πόλις refers to Rhodes.⁴⁰ Holleaux, pp. 159—60, also recognized

³⁶ For these, the view they took of Olympichus' position seems to have been decisive here. Holleaux, *loc. cit.*, p. 148 n. 1, cf. *ibid.*, pp. 156, 160, was of the opinion that τὰ ἀδικήματα meant "des incursions accompagnées de razzias et de pilleries". Amongst others, who have not discussed the problem more closely, to Cousin and Diehl, *loc. cit.*, p. 28; Nicolaus, pp. 76 ff.; Meyer, *Grenzen*, p. 69, τὰ ἀδικήματα meant aggression. To Rostovtzeff, *REA*, XXXIII, 1931, p. 24; Laumonier, *loc. cit.*, p. 297; Walbank, *loc. cit.*, p. 11, it meant threats against Iasus itself. Büchener, *R.-E.*, s.v. Iasos, 1914, col. 789, still influenced by Hicks, was of the opinion that Philip had an occupation army in Iasus' territory and thereby got into trouble in the Rhodian Peraea. Finally, Lenschau, *ibid.*, s.v. Olympichos, 1939, speaks generally of wrong-doing in Iasus' territory, but he regards Olympichus as the governor of the district.

Walbank, however, had, in essentials, the right view of the problem.

³⁷ A. Heuss, *Stadt u. Herrscher d. Hellenismus* (= *Klio*, Beih. XXXIX), 1937, p. 207 note from p. 206, wrongly attributes the appeal in ll. 73 ff. to Podilus, but he correctly interprets the position of the man in question (i.e. Olympichus) when explaining his subordinate position (τὰ ἐπισταλμένα) as due to "die Machtposition des Stärkeren" but not to any kind of "Legalität", and stating that Olympichus (Podilus, in Heuss) did not belong to Philip's "Reichsuntertanen".

³⁸ πρότερόν τε ἐτύγχανε δεδωκώς ποτίταγμα τοῖς ἀρχοῦσι τοῖς ἀποστελλομένοις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τὰς Ἰασέων χώρας καθάπερ καὶ τὰς τοῦ δάμου.

³⁹ Holleaux, p. 159, thought it possible that the notice concerned the period prior to Olympichus' appearance at this stage.

⁴⁰ The verb is used both with the simple meaning "write" and with the more precise one "give orders". The latter meaning (see on 2) is out of the question here also as regards Iasus, since the city at that time could not possibly have been dependent on Philip. To settle the issue, ἡ πόλις occurs without an attribute, and in ll. 73—4 the phrase is subordinated to the participle, l. 73, which, in its turn, depends on a mention of the Rhodian envoys, which was repeated in the portion now lost. Iasus is mentioned in the decrees by Ἰασεῖς or a corresponding pronoun, even when the latter's antecedent is ἡ πόλις. The only seeming exception is l. 20, where, however, τὰς πόλιν, referring to Iasus, is immediately followed by αὐτοῖς, which depends on συγκατασκευάζειν in the previous line. On the other hand, Rhodes is generally called quite simply ὁ δᾶμος or ἡ πόλις without any attribute. However, this problem is of no great importance historically, since it only affects the formal approach to the problem.

from his standpoint that Philip had given the grants, which should be covered by the expression τὰ φιλότιμα, well before the Podilus episode. This, supplemented by the observations above, means that Olympichus had been in possession of some Iasian territory for a longer or shorter time when his subordinate committed some offence.

Thus Iasus' position was essentially the same as that of Mylasa about 220 B.C. (see pp. 49, 127). Both cities were free, in both their districts Olympichus held some places, and both felt Philip's word was authoritative. But there were two main differences. While Philip immediately declared Mylasa in the right and ordered Olympichus to evacuate the district, he approved of his troops staying around Iasus, maybe in a friendly role (ll. 75 ff.), which led to a static situation and one unsatisfactory to the city. And while Mylasa itself negotiated with Philip, Rhodes represented Iasus at the latter's own request.⁴¹

So it seems reasonable to assume that Olympichus, once established as a more or less independent dynast, looked after his own interests vis à vis not only Mylasa, as the Labraunda inscriptions show, but also Iasus. This, and not his relation to Philip nor his dependence on the king, as has been suggested (see below), must be the reason why Rhodes addressed itself to him. That Rhodes, though expressing a desire to maintain its good relations with Philip, kept its hands free to guarantee Iasus' security (ll. 90 ff.), is not to be interpreted as evidence of a hostile attitude towards Philip, even if expressed in a diplomatic way, as has been done. To me it means that the island, without questioning the king's authority, showed itself ready to protect its friends against outrage, which Philip had explicitly refused to countenance.

Otherwise Olympichus must have maintained good relations with Rhodes, partly because he gave help after the earthquake (see p. 88), with Mylasa (see pp. 80—1), and with Iasus (see pp. 86—7). As far as we can tell, Olympichus had a temperate personality, and always tried to avoid open conflicts in his transactions.

As regards Olympichus' relation to Philip, the earlier commentators thought it possible that, though an independent dynast, he was Philip's more or less covert tool, and thus prepared the

latter's Carian campaign.⁴² Because he is mentioned as a strategos in Laumonier's Alinda inscription, he was regarded as Philip's governor in Caria. This idea is refuted above, pp. 87—91. The previous hypothesis is based on the suggested late dating of the Rhodian decrees, and becomes gratuitous once they are moved to Philip's earliest years as king. As in the Labraunda-Mylasa affair, Philip's appearance here is explained by the great authority he possessed in Caria at his accession, which he owed to his predecessor Antigonos Doson and the latter's Carian campaign (see on 5, l. 7). As a matter of fact, the Rhodian decrees probably indicate that Doson achieved good relations with Iasus as well as with Mylasa. Philip's great interest in this area at the very beginning of his reign is evident *inter alia* from the support he is supposed to have given Demetrius of Pharos in the latter's raid on the Aegean islands, which was directed against Rhodes (see P. Treves, *JHS*, LXIII, 1943, p. 118 n. 7 with references; Rostovtzeff, *SEHH*, p. 51).

To sum up: Iasus' situation, as revealed in the Rhodian decrees, is strikingly similar to Mylasa's, and the difference lies mainly in the contrasting attitude Philip took to the Iasus question. Against the later dating of the decrees, Olympichus' career, and the fact that he is not mentioned in the ancient sources in connection with Philip's Carian campaign, weigh heavily. A direct obstacle to this dating is that the Rhodian envoy Timasitheos, son of Dionysius (ll. 38, 93—4), is presumably to be identified with the homonymous Rhodian envoy who died in 213 at Alexandria.⁴³ So every-

⁴¹ A reason for this difference may be that Iasus, unlike Mylasa, did not get what it wanted the first time Philip heard the case, and therefore, since the king was in some way an interested party, sought the assistance of Rhodes. But naturally the city may have made sure of it from the beginning. We do not know.

⁴² With various modifications this view has been stated by e.g. Cousin and Diehl, *loc. cit.*, p. 28; Niese, II, pp. 571—2; Nicolaus, pp. 77—8; Meyer, *Grenzen*, pp. 69—70; Jost, p. 16; Walbank, *Philip V*, p. 116; id., *JHS*, LXII, cited above, pp. 11—2; Bengtson, *Strategie*, II, p. 6 n. 1. Holleaux, *Études*, IV, pp. 157, 160, 162, regarded Olympichus as Philip's official representative. Will, *Hist.*, II, 1967, p. 105: "Olympichos, évidemment actionné par Philippe, commence à s'attaquer à l'excellent port d'Iasos".

⁴³ H. van Gelder, *Gesch. d. alt. Rhodier*, 1900, p. 471, no. 120 (cf. *OGIS*, 36 n. 2); H. Braunert, *Jahrb.*, 65—66,

thing supports our dating the Rhodian decrees to the earlier part of Philip's reign, making them roughly contemporary with his letters to Mylasa and Olympichus about Labraunda.

At present we have no further information about Olympichus, but in view of his appointment as Seleucus II's strategos in the forties he probably died before Philip came to Caria in person.⁴⁴

1950—51, pp. 237, 248—9; cf. P. M. Fraser, *JEA*, 39, 1953, p. 93 n. 3. Already Preuner, *Hermes*, 29, 1894, p. 534 n. 2 (cf. v. Gelder on *SGDI*, III, 1899, 3750, the Rhodian decrees in question) had identified the two envoys. When Hiller v. Gaertingen, *R.-E.*, Suppl. V, 1931,

s.v. Rhodes, col. 787, dated the decrees to 202/1, he was forced to assume two homonyms.

We know nothing more of the other Rhodian envoy, Epierates, son of Timasistratus. Hicks, *BMus.Inscr.*, cited above, thought it possible that he was identical with the Rhodian naval officer who, without a patronymic added, is mentioned in Livy XXXVII 13—4, in the description of the war against Antiochus in 190. But this Epierates is better identified with the Rhodian naval officer Epierates, son of Polystratus, who was honoured in a decree of Delos, a suggestion which had already been made by the editor of the inscription, F. Durrbach, *BCH*, X, 1886, p. 113 (cf. v. Gelder, *loc. cit.* in *SGDI*; Fraser and Bean, *Rhod. Per.*, p. 160 n. 1).

⁴⁴ Cf. above, n. 34. Nicolaus, p. 77 n. 28, suggested that Olympichus might have belonged to the dynasts in Asia Minor whom Antiochus III made obedient to him according to Polyb. XI 34,14.

V. PTOLEMY, SON AND CO-REGENT OF PTOLEMY II PHILADELPHUS

Through the mention of Ptolemy, the brother of Ptolemy III Euergetes, 3, ll. 5—6, we are faced with the problem of Ptolemy, the son of Ptolemy II, "qui a fait couler beaucoup d'encre" (Will, *Hist.*, I, p. 208) and a debate which Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. Lagides*, III, p. 73 n. 1, already called "fastidieux et insoluble" in 1906.¹

In a letter to Miletus, Welles, 14, l. 9, Philadelphus himself mentions ὁ υἱός, and this expression occurs also in the consequent Milesian decree, *Milet*, I 3, p. 301, no. 139 C, ll. 43—4 (see below, pp. 100 sqq). In the literature he is mentioned in Athenaeus XIII 593 a, Πτολεμαῖος ὁ τὴν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ διέπων φρουρὰν υἱὸς ὦν τοῦ Φιλαδέλφου βασιλέως and in Pompeius Trogus *Prol.* 26, *Ut in Asia filius Ptolomaei regis socio Timarcho desciverit a patre*. These three are quite commonly regarded as one and the same individual. He has also been identified with Ptolemy "the son", who in the Revenue Laws and in other papyri occurs as co-regent to Philadelphus from 267/266 B.C. to April 259 (P. W. Pestman, *Chronologie égyptienne d'après les textes démotiques*, 1967, pp. 14—6 with n.c. 19, 21). He has also been connected with a Copenhagen papyrus. I for my part am inclined to suggest some other source as well.

The sources which mention the son alone all concern Asia Minor or neighbouring waters and also they can easily be associated in time. Then it seems unattractive to hypothesize several contemporary individuals who for the most part are each mentioned by the colourless title of "son of king Ptolemy" (so also Volkmann, *loc. cit.*). The weak point in the chain of arguments is the absence of direct information that the co-regent was active in Asia Minor, but e.g. Welles, p. 76, held that we had to "get along with the assump-

tion of the fewest possible persons" and he spoke of the "striking coincidence" in "the close synchronism of the revolt of Ptolemy governor of Ephesus and the ending of the co-regency".² Recently Will, *loc. cit.*, p. 208, has accepted the identification of the co-regent and the rebel in Ephesus, though he does not express an opinion on his identity, and he, as well as Welles and others takes it for granted that the designated successor commanded Egyptian Asia Minor in person in the critical situation caused by the enlargement of Gonatas' fleet. This is fundamentally my own view.

However, there is no general agreement about the birth of the man in question or the activity to which his name has been attached. Since the inscriptions of Labraunda provide new evidence in a new context, it seems reasonable to examine anew, separately, the information we possess about the son. Though it is not possible to

¹ The sources are collected in Beloch, IV 2², pp. 183—4; Welles, pp. 75—6, completed by M. Segre, *Clara Rhodos*, IX, 1938, pp. 181 ff., especially 187—8; Momigliano, pp. 107 ff., especially 110.

For the main opinions on "the son" see the account by Welles, p. 76 n. 15; H. Volkmann, *R.-E.*, XXIII 2, 1959, s.v. Ptolemaios, der Sohn, coll. 1666—7.

On older literature see Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. Lagides*, I, 1903, pp. 182 n. 2, 206 n. 2; IV, 1907, pp. 310, 312. I owe very much to the older scholars who have provided a thorough illumination of the question from different points of view.

The central character of this chapter is in the following normally called just the son.

² Even if Welles' position differs from mine in some respects, and although, as was natural before Segre's article in *Clara Rhodos*, IX (see below), he regarded 'the son' as the son of King Lysimachus, his account is very instructive; see also E. v. Stern, *Hermes*, 50, 1915, pp. 427—30; Fellmann, p. 80.

prove the case each time because of the character of the sources as isolated items of information, these may be connected in a natural way to form

a consistent picture. This, however, has some unexpected aspects.

1. The son's birth

The phrase mentioned above runs as follows: Βασιλεύοντος Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ Πτολεμαίου.¹ In the last year the name of the co-regent has been erased², which is essential in the context. About the identification of the son, opinions diverge enormously. It has been suggested that he was a) Ptolemy, the son of king Lysimachus and Arsinoe II, b) contrary to the sources, a legitimate son other than Euergetes, c) Euergetes, d) a bastard.

The first possibility, a), is nowadays removed from the discussion,³ since M. Segre, *Clara Rhodos*, IX, cited above, on the basis of some newly discovered inscriptions gave a clear exposition of the dynasty which in three generations under the names of Ptolemy, Lysimachus and Ptolemy respectively, ruled in Telmessus until the Peace of Apamea and in the district of Telmessus even later. It was founded by Ptolemy, the son of king Lysimachus, who, somewhat after 280, acquired lands in the district and is mentioned in a decree from Telmessus in some year between 265/4 and 257/6 B.C. (i.e. roughly the period of the co-regency) as Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λυσισμάχου, *ibid.*, p. 183, l. 10. There is a margin of at the very most three years after the interruption of the co-regency, but the inscription of Labraunda makes it clear that the Ptolemy in question ended up in the Seleucid camp and had to deal with its domestic affairs (see below, § 3). Lysimachus' son cannot possibly be presumed to have had lands around Telmessus when turning deserter, or thereafter, and to have then seceded to Antiochus II, his son nonetheless remaining in undisputed possession. Segre's main argument, *ibid.*, p. 188, that Ptolemy, the son and co-regent, died in Ephesus in 259 and consequently could not be Telmessus' ruler some twenty years later, is, as will be demonstrated below (§ 3), misleading, but on the other hand his death as reported by Athenaeus cannot be made to coincide with that of Telmessus' ruler. Moreover, in the inscription of Labraunda, Ptolemy is mentioned as a brother of Euergetes.

The Scholia to Theocritus *Idyll* XVII 128 give the information that Philadelphus, by his marriage to Arsinoe I, had three children, Ptolemy, Lysimachus and Berenice, but no children from his marriage to his sister and second consort, Arsinoe II.⁴ This information, apart from the names, is given in Pausanias I 7, 3.⁵ Beyond doubt the Ptolemy mentioned is the future Euergetes. The

¹ Volkmann, *loc. cit.*, col. 1666, is of the opinion that the name of the co-regent is not mentioned in the formula but that this is given by IG, XII Suppl. 115 (Methymna), ll. 8—9., ἱερατεύσαντ[α βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ Πτ[ο]λεμαίῳ καὶ Πτολεμα[ίῳ τῷ υἱῷ αὐτῶ] (Volkmann gives the information in a completely corrupt way). In this case, however, a τοῦ would be necessary in front of the last Πτολεμαίου.

² See Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. Lagides*, I, p. 182 n. 1; IV, p. 310; Beloch, *loc. cit.*; Welles, p. 75 n. 11; C. C. Edgar, *Zenon Papyri*, I, 1925, p. 6 on 59003, l. 11, "The formula was changed about the beginning of regnal year 27 (early summer of 259 B.C.)". G. A. Levi, *Atti Torino*, XXXIX, 1904, p. 630, suggested the possibility that the erasing was due to the co-regent's death immediately before the writing down of the document.

³ Even in 1950, however, Magie, pp. 931—2 n. 26, reckoned with the possibility of the son being Lysimachus', since he seems not to have known Segre's paper of 1938; whereas several scholars had earlier disposed of this idea, e.g. E. R. Bevan, *The house of Seleucus*, 1902, I, p. 175 n. 2, in the first place because the man in question is called son of Ptolemy, but nowhere connected with the illustrious Lysimachus.

For this Ptolemy and his family see also Rostovtzeff, *SEHH*, pp. 645—7, 1477 n. 61; A. G. Roos, *Mnemosyne*, IV 3, 1950, pp. 59—63; Magie, pp. 762—4 n. 56; J. A. O. Larsen, *Cl. Phil.*, LI, 1956, pp. 164 with n. 38, 169; Volkmann, *loc. cit.*, s.v. Ptolemaios, no. 13, coll. 1596—7.

⁴ Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ Φιλαδέλφῳ συνώκει πρότερον Ἀρσινόη ἡ Λυσισμάχου, ἀφ' ἧς καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐγέννησε, Πτολεμαῖον καὶ Λυσισμάχον καὶ Βερενίκην. ἐπιβουλεύουσιν δὲ ταύτην εὐρών ---- ἐξέπεμψεν -- καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἀδελφὴν Ἀρσινόην ἔγραψε καὶ εἰσεποιήσατο αὐτῇ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς προτέρας Ἀρσινόης γεννηθέντας αὐτῷ παῖδας· αὐτὴ γὰρ ἡ Φιλιάδελφος ἄτεκνος ἀπέθανεν (Wendel).

⁵ οἱ δὲ οἱ παῖδες ἐγένοντο ἐξ Ἀρσινόης, οὗ τῆς ἀδελφῆς, Λυσισμάχου δὲ θυγατρὸς· τὴν δὲ οἱ συνοικήσαν ἀδελφὴν κατέλαβεν ἔτι πρότερον ἀποθανεῖν ἄπαιδα.

trustworthiness of these sources has been doubted; recently Volkmann, *loc. cit.*, regards the older theory, which made the co-regent the son of Arsinoe II, as the only resource, in spite of the information that she died ἔτεκνος, ἔπαις in her marriage with her brother. But since the marriage between the brother and the sister was contracted ca. 276/5, I cannot readily believe that a boy scarcely in his teens held personal command of an exposed position in an outer area of the Ptolemaic empire. On the other hand, there is nothing to rule out Arsinoe I as mother of the older co-regent, as far as chronology goes, since Philadelphus, aged at least 20, married her ca. 285, and Euergetes was born ca. 284 or somewhat later (Volkmann, *loc. cit.*, coll. 1646, 1667). de Sanctis in Levi, *loc. cit.*, p. 631, suggested a lacuna in the Scholia and wrote, -- ἐγέννησεν <Πτολεμαῖον καὶ> Πτολεμαῖον καὶ Λυσίμαχον καὶ Βερνίκην. He was supported by Pozzi, p. 344 (26). As καὶ ἐτέρου Πτολεμαίου is added in the Scholia, Al. N. Oikonomides, Δωδεκανησιακὸν Ἀρχεῖον, 2, 1956—7, p. 224 n. 1, suggests in a similar way, -- ἐγέννησεν Πτολεμαῖον <καὶ Πτολεμαῖον> καὶ Λυσίμαχον καὶ Βερνίκην.⁶ The passage is confused, which is shown not least by the added genitive; but against the evidence of the sources it is impossible to give Arsinoe I another homonymous son and declare him the coregent on such flimsy grounds. This theory is a modern invention.⁷

The difficulty in taking Euergetes as the co-regent is finding a plausible reason for the interruption of his co-regency in April/May 259, though he was later the legitimate heir and in fact inherited the throne. It has been suggested that he lost his position when he became engaged to Berenice of Cyrene in order to give no offence to that country.⁸ Also it has been attributed to a dissension between Philadelphus and the future Euergetes, ultimately caused by the repudiation of his mother Arsinoe I. The last suggestion is a free construction which among other things is impaired by the weakness that father and son were later friends. Also it is astonishing that Philadelphus should have deprived his son and designated successor of his royalty merely because of his mission to Cyrenaica, and in addition to that there is the fact that till now it has not been possible to date Magas' death which is connected with Euergetes' mission, and by some scholars is

still dated to ca. 250 B.C.⁹ In the first place, however, the fact that, in reckoning the years of his reign, he did not start with the co-regency in question after December 267 weighs against the identification with Euergetes (see Welles, p. 76).

Up to now we have dealt with the genealogy of the Ptolemy in question only from the aspect of parenthood, i.e. as son of Philadelphus; and the only person we know of who satisfied this requirement unconditionally was Euergetes. Now the inscription of Labraunda shows from the sibling point of view, that Euergetes had in fact a brother named Ptolemy, who must be the co-regent, since convincing reasons rule out Euergetes,¹⁰ and Ptolemy, the son of Lysimachus, can no longer be seriously considered.

It has been pointed out above that the theory of Ptolemy, the brother of Euergetes, being born in wedlock is a modern invention. Since Philadelphus' paternity is certain, the son must have been a bastard, who was very likely older than Euergetes. This idea has been expressed by many

⁶ Oikonomides has quite arbitrarily reconstructed the course of events about 260 violently exaggerating the son's role (the theory has no claim to respect); see also J. and L. Robert, *Bull. épigr.*, 1958, 63.

⁷ Pestman, cited above, p. 222, in his *stemma* of the Egyptian kings and queens lists the son as son of Arsinoe I, adding a mark of interrogation, but e.g. Welles, p. 76 n. 15, refutes the theory, as well as Beloch, IV 2², p. 183, who pointed out that Lysimachus ought to be the second son, being named after his maternal grandfather, because of which Euergetes could not have had an older brother. But it might not be difficult to find exceptions to such a rule.

⁸ E.g. Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. Lagides*, I, pp. 202—3, 245.

⁹ E.g. Volkmann, *loc. cit.*, col. 1667; Will, *loc. cit.*, p. 218; J. Seibert, *Hist. Beitr. z. d. dynastischen Verbindungen in hellenist. Zeit. Historia. Einzelschr.* 10, 1967, p. 81 with n. 30. For the suggestion of a still later date, not before 246, see Pozzi, p. 344 (26) n. 2.

¹⁰ Without, of course, regarding it as conclusive, I emphasize that we know nothing about Euergetes' adolescence earlier than his engagement to Berenice of Cyrene (see Bouché-Leclercq, *loc. cit.*, p. 245). Such information is preserved more or less by chance, but in this case the lack of it is at least what we would expect if Euergetes had grown up in the shadow of a favoured elder brother.

I do not utilize the mention of a 'Lysimachus, strategos, brother of the kings' in a demotic inscription from Thebes, because its date is still a matter of dispute: see Holleaux, *Études*, III, p. 385 n. 1; cf. Walbank, *Comm. on Polybius*, II, p. 481.

scholars,¹¹ while others have raised powerful objections.¹² The standing of the bastard is remarkable,¹³ but we know nothing of the human motives in the background.¹⁴ Philadelphus was a wilful and headstrong man, the dynasty young. As regards Ptolemy's name and the general background it is sufficient to cite v. Wilamowitz, *loc. cit.*, p. 88: "Also ist er ein Sohn aus irgend welcher Verbindung des Philadelphos gewesen; wer unsere Ueberlieferung kennt, kann sich nicht wundern, dass wir die Mutter nicht kennen; ein Hausgesetz, das nur dem präsumptiven Thronfolger den Namen Ptolemaios gestattet, ist eine schlechte moderne Erfindung; diese Könige sind an keinerlei Gesetz gebunden; übrigens gibt es auch Namenswechsel,

und schliesslich war ja der Mitregent unter allen Umständen zum Thronfolger designiert und hatte einen Bruder, der es nicht war und doch Ptolemaios hiess, den späteren Euergetes." It may be pointed out that the co-regent did not appear until 266, when Philadelphus was no longer under the influence of his sister-consort Arsinoe II, who died in 270. Finally it should be mentioned here that in the suspicious *oprona* who lost the battle of Andros, Pomp. Trog. *Prol.* 27, I see an abbreviation of $\delta(\mu\omicron)\pi(\acute{\alpha}\tau)\rho(\iota)\omicron\nu \acute{\alpha}(\delta\epsilon\lambda\phi\acute{o}\nu)$, which individual I think is just the Ptolemy in question (see next §), named as a half-brother of Euergetes and consequently most probably a bastard.

2. The son in Miletus and the battles of Andros and Cos

In the letter of Ptolemy Philadelphus Welles, 14 and the corresponding decree *Milet*, 139 C a situation is represented in which Miletus feels threatened by sea and land. Already the first editor, A. Rehm,¹ dated the documents to ca. 262—0, and even if some scholars have suggested a date considerably earlier,² it seems evident that Rehm found the right period, as appears from the illuminating summary in Welles, pp. 73—4, 76—7.³ The exact year is, however, not given by the documents. In these the son occurs who is always, according to our argument, in the instances discussed here the co-regent. By that time he was some 20 years or more old, and it may be imagined that his father Philadelphus had sent him to Ionia officially as chief commander over the area,⁴ but in fact possibly to learn the art of war under the guidance of Callicrates and other experienced commanders. For our investigation it is important to see what can be read from the documents about "the son"'s position and the political situation.

ordinary rules of Greek family right and therefore gave bastards no legal standing at all."

¹³ v. Wilamowitz, *Gött. gel. Anz.*, 176, 1914, p. 88 n. 1, compared Antigonos Gonatas' son with a hetaira Halcyoneus, who was put in a princely position. But this son was killed in battle by his father's side, possibly in the Chremonidean War, and, as is pointed out by v. Stern, *loc. cit.*, p. 431, we know of no direct parallel of a bastard-son being nominated co-regent, though legitimate sons were alive.

¹⁴ On Philadelphus' many mistresses and their splendid way of life see Athen. XIII 576 e-f; Bouché-Leclercq, *loc. cit.*, pp. 184, 216—7.

¹ *Milet*, I 3, *Das Delphinion in Milet*, 1914, pp. 300—7, no. 139.

² Cf. the references given by Magie, p. 926 n. 21; see also Fellmann, pp. 67—8, 74—80.

³ The mentioning of Callicrates (the references are given for Callicrates by L. Robert, *Am. Stud. in Papyr.*, I, 1966, p. 201 n. 162; also J. Ijsewijn, *De sacerdotibus—Alexandri Magni et Lagidarum eponymis*, 1961, pp. 64—5) does not rule out Rehm's dating (see e.g. Fellmann, pp. 79—80). Also Momigliano, p. 110 n. 8, supports the date of ca. 262, but he is reluctant to make use of the letter. See further below.

Mr. P. M. Fraser has seen a complete squeeze of the inscription and he has kindly written to me, in a letter dated 22 February 1968: "Although it is obviously impossible to differentiate with certainty between a date ca. 275 and one ca. 262 on purely epigraphical grounds, the later date is more likely: the hand (of which no photograph has ever been published) has no features of the earlier part of the century: it has full-size omicron and theta + Σ not Ξ ".

⁴ By then the whole Ionian coast, from Ephesus to Halicarnassus, seems to have fallen into the hands of the Ptolemies (Will, *Hist.*, I, p. 209).

¹¹ E.g. B. Haussoullier, *Rev. Phil.*, N.S. XXIV, 1900, p. 327; id., *ibid.*, XXV, 1901, p. 15; M. Segre, *Rendic. Pont. Acc. Rom. di Archeol.*, XIX, 1942—3, p. 277; Meyer, *Grenzen*, p. 47 n. 1.

¹² E.g. Cary, p. 391: "But it is scarcely credible that, having lawful issue, he should have nominated a bastard as co-regent. This would have been in plain defiance of his dynasty's law of succession, which followed the or-

The son's role in the context seems to me to have been in general exaggerated.⁵ Philadelphus himself mentions him only once in his letter⁶ (l. 9) and then as a reporter, in the first place, it is true, but together with Callicrates and οἱ ἄλλοι φίλοι οἱ παρ' ὑμῶν ὄντες. And in the long decree C he is only mentioned in connection with a statement of faith (ll. 42 ff.), [να] δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν ὁ δῆμος φαίνεται πρόθυμον αὐτὸν παρεχόμενος τῶι τ[ε] υἱῶι καὶ αὐτῶι (sc. Philadelphus) --- διαφυλάξειν τὴν φιλίαν καὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν [τ]ῇ πόλει πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Πτολεμαῖον καὶ τοὺς ἐγγόνους αὐτοῦ τὸν αἰεὶ χρόνον. So here the son and co-regent is dropped after the expression of sympathy in the subordinate clause.⁷ Against this, after the mention of Ptolemy I (ll. 23—7), the long decree only talks of Philadelphus (ll. 28—52, except ll. 42—4), and Philadelphus alone is honoured (l. 41). Consequently the son, though co-regent, is treated in a remarkably tepid way; he is mentioned only once in the decree, and then conventionally. I would like to suggest that there was some reason behind this.

In fact, something has happened, since Philadelphus writes (ll. 7—8), νυνὶ τε ὑμῶν τῇ πόλει καὶ τῇ πρὸς ἡμᾶς φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν οικείως διατηρηκόντων, referring to the rapport mentioned above and to ἣν ἀπόδειξιν πεποίησθε τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς εὐνοίας (ll. 9—10; notice the choice of the perfect tense). And in the decree C Miletus declares in quite general terms that it is at the moment gravely exposed to attack by sea and land, and states directly τῶν [ἐ]ναντίων ἐ[πι]πλευσάντων ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει ἡμῶν (ll. 33—4). Rehm found in his commentary *ad loc.*⁸ what I think is the right principal basis for forming an estimate of this information. He regarded Antiochus I (before his defeat at Sardis in 261) as the enemy by land,⁹ but also he counted on the possibility of Antiochus II playing a part immediately after his accession.

According to Rehm the enemy by sea was Antigonus Gonatas, who had started active operations after the conquest of Athens in 263/2. He supposed that the attack in question involved not only threats but a victory over the Egyptian fleet,¹⁰ which he likewise presumed to have been the battle of Cos. This is now the accepted view.¹¹ Now Cos is generally regarded as the great naval battle which Gonatas won over Egypt¹² (see below, pp. 112—3), and consequently it will not do here,

since nothing in the documents points to Egypt's fleet being severely defeated or definitely beaten, and, in addition to this, Miletus remained loyal.¹³ I want at this point for the sake of completeness to hint at the possibility that the decree only mentions threats, since it is not definitely stated that a naval battle had actually been fought. In this case the evidence discussed here might derive from reports of hostile activity by sea. Such a

⁵ See, however, e.g. Rehm, *ad. loc.* And A. W. de Groot in his otherwise unconvincing paper 'Ptolemaios der Sohn', *Rhein. Mus.*, N.F. 72, 1917—8, pp. 446—63, regarded the son's obvious snubbing as a proof that he was not the co-regent mentioned in the papyri whom he identified with the future Euergetes (*ibid.*, pp. 453—4).

⁶ W. Schubart, *Arch. Pap.*, 6, 1920, pp. 327—8, and Welles, p. 77, underline the individuality of expression of the letter as no mere chancery form; the former did not venture to estimate how far the letter was the work of the king.

⁷ The son is not called king because according to Hellenistic use he had no such title when associated with his father (see Welles, pp. 58 on l. 1, 76, 154 on l. 2). He is mentioned in the first place in the decree, because he was present in Miletus (see Rehm, *ad. loc.*, p. 302).

⁸ In a concentrated way repeated, *id.*, *Didyma*, II, *Die Inschriften*, herausgeg. von R. Harder, 1958, pp. 263—4.

⁹ Likewise e.g. Fellmann, p. 78, who, however, without any reason regarded Antiochus as also the man behind the attack by sea, and envisaged a local success of a limited naval attack on Samos. Nor does *SEG* I 366, which inscription Fellmann conditionally referred to (*ibid.*, n. 5) support his suggestion. Magie, p. 733 n. 16, makes it clear that the battle at Sardis was fought between 263/2 and 261.

¹⁰ v. Stern, *loc. cit.*, p. 427, reads too much into the decree, "wir ersehen, dass Milet kurz vorher zur See angegriffen worden war"; the same is done by Will, *Hist.*, I, p. 202, "que Gonatas tenta (et manqua) une attaque contre Milet --- sans toutefois nommer l'agresseur".

¹¹ See e.g. Fellmann, p. 68; Meyer, *Grenzen*, pp. 75—6, 91; Volkmann, *loc. cit.*, coll. 1653—4.

¹² Not, however, by e.g. R. B. McShane, *The foreign policy of the Attalids of Pergamum*, 1964, p. 46, "Ptolemy's navy received its most destructive defeat at Andros". McShane seems to be inclined to date this battle to 241 or later.

¹³ Rehm on the whole exaggerated the importance of Gonatas' presumed victory, and Fellmann, p. 75, regarded the fact that Miletus remained loyal to Egypt as a proof that the attack had been repelled. But the threats remained, and why should the city have to change sides after a partial defeat which did not basically alter the situation? Fellmann's speculations, p. 76, are completely incomprehensible.

suggestion can easily be supported by epigraphical evidence.¹⁴ Personally though, I do not believe in this possibility, since in my opinion a naval battle had definitely been fought, not necessarily at Cos. A conception very close to mine occurs in Welles, p. 74: "it is probable that during the course of the Chremonidean war Macedonia had arisen as a second naval power; that the Egyptian fleet had been checked, as it was subsequently to be decisively defeated at Cos." But the idea may be carried further and I suggest that Egypt had been defeated at Andros and the son had lost the battle and then made "la brutta figura".

There is an enormous literature on the battle of Andros and on that of Cos, which should be treated together.¹⁵ The sources give only scanty information which has been interpreted in very different ways. Already Bouché-Leclercq, *loc. cit.*, p. 256 n. 4, wrote about the question "*Quot capita, tot sensus*", and L. Robert, *Encyclopédie de la Pléiade*, XI, 1961, p. 466, mentions the battle of Andros as an example of problems which can only be solved by the discovery of new inscriptions in the future. Lately Will, *Hist.*, I, p. 207, emphasizes that the quarter of the century in question is the most obscure and difficult in the whole of Hellenistic history, and writes, pp. 209—10, that the battle of Andros "demeure la plus énigmatique du siècle", since there exist only "indices, qui sont des plus fragiles". I am led to give space to the problem here by a new proposal for restoring Trogus *Prol.* 27, but also by the role I think the son played in the battle of Andros.¹⁶

Remarkably enough it has not been generally accepted that this battle, as well as that of Cos, was won by Antigonos Gonatas. Recently Will, *loc. cit.*, raised the question of whether it was Gonatas or Doson who won the battle and, *ibid.*, pp. 211, 334—5, he regards the evidence about the battle given by Trogus *Prol.* 27, placing it between the death of Ziaelas of Bithynia ca. 230 B.C. and that of Antiochus Hierax in 227/6, as decisive, and declares that Doson won this battle in connection with his Asiatic expedition.¹⁷ But Bikerman, *REA*, XL, 1938, p. 369, already regarded as an established fact the theory that Gonatas won both the battles of Andros and of Cos against Egypt; and Momigliano, p. 108, found that the information in Plutarch and Trogus taken together made Gonatas "the least dangerous choice",

but it is evident that for all the caution of his argument he was convinced that Gonatas was the victor.

Now the sources: Plutarch mentions the battle of Andros in *Pelopidas* 2,2, βέλτιον δὲ Ἀντίγονος ὁ γέρων, ὅτε ναυμαχεῖν περὶ Ἄνδρον ἐμελλεν, εἰπόντος τινὸς ὡς πολὺ πλείους αἱ τῶν πολεμίων νῆες εἶεν, "Ἐμὲ δὲ αὐτόν", ἔφη, "πρὸς πόσας ἀντιστήσεις;". The same anecdote occurs in *Moralia* 545 B, καὶ Ἀντίγονος ὁ δεύτερος τᾶλλα μὲν ἦν ἄτυφος καὶ μέτριος, ἐν δὲ τῇ περὶ Κῶ ναυμαχίᾳ τῶν φίλων τινὸς εἰπόντος, "οὐχ ὀρθῶς ὅσῳ πλείους εἰσὶν αἱ πολέμια νῆες;" "ἐμὲ δὲ γε αὐτόν," εἶπεν, "πρὸς πόσας ἀντιτάττετε;" and *ibid.* 183 C—D, Μέλλων δὲ ναυμαχεῖν πρὸς τοὺς Πτολεμαίου στρατηγούς, εἰπόντος τοῦ

¹⁴ *IG*, XII 5, 653 (decree of Syros regarding pirates), ll. 9—12, πρότερόν τε ἀγγελίας γενεθίσης διότι κακοῦργα πλοῖα καὶ πλείονα ἐπιβάλλειν ἡμῶν ἤμελλον ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν κατὰ βύσιον, καὶ ταραχῆς μεζζονος γινομένης κατὰ τὴν πόλιν; *Syll.*³, 567 (ca. 204—1), ll. 8—11, ποταγγελίας γενομένης ὅτι μέλλοντι τοῖς πο[λέμιοι ἐπιπλ]εῖν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν καὶ τὰς νῆας τὰς Κα[λυμνίων στόλ]ῳ καὶ πλείονι, καὶ τοῦ ναυάρχου κρίναντος ἀπαντᾶσαι τοῖς πολεμίοις; *ibid.*, 569, ll. 12—4, ἐν τε τῷ συνεστακότι πολέμῳ προορώμενος τὰν τε τῶν ἐναντίων ἐπιβολὴν καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ κινδύνου, ll. 18—9, τῶν τε ὑπεναντίων ἐπιβαλομένων λέμβοις τε καὶ ἄλλοις πλοίοις καὶ πλήρῃσι ἐπὶ τε τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν, ll. 26—8, ἐμβολᾶν τε γινομένων ἐς τὴν χώραν συγγράφων περὶ προφυλακῆς ἵππεων τε καὶ πεζῶν προενιήθη καὶ τὰς Ἀλασκαριντῶν ἀσφαλείας.

¹⁵ A survey of earlier research is given by Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. Lagides*, I, p. 256 n. 4; IV, pp. 316—7; see further (though the battle of Andros is not mentioned) W. Peremans, *L'Antiquité classique*, VIII, 1939, pp. 401—8, 'La date de la bataille navale de Cos'; Fellmann, pp. 65 ff.; on the essential bibliography see Momigliano, p. 107 n. 1.

¹⁶ Among theories which will be here not thoroughly refuted may be mentioned Maria Teresa Piraino, *Antigono Dosone re di Macedonia* (= *Atti Palermo*, Ser. 4, XIII 2, III, 1953, pp. 301—73), who in a long note 13, pp. 316—8, indulges in pure speculation on the battle which H. H. Scullard, *JHS*, LXXVI, 1956, p. 142, judged "non-committal on the battle of Andros"; on Oikonomides' paper, Δωδεκαν. Ἀρχεῖον, 2, see above, § 1 n. 6, and below, n. 22. Since I date both battles to the Chremonidean War the dating is fully covered as regards the general political situation, and consequently there is no reason to refute throughout the different expositions of the political situation, plausible or implausible, which have been pleaded in order to support datings other than mine based on other premises; see also e.g. Will, *Hist.*, I, pp. 291—2.

¹⁷ Likewise among others Beloch; cf. Holleaux, *Études*, III, pp. 64, 72. On Doson's Carian campaign see below, pp. 123 sqq.

κυβερνήτου πολὺ πλείονας εἶναι τὰς τῶν πολεμίων ναῦς, “ἐμὲ δέ”, ἔφη, “αὐτὸν παρόντα πρὸς πόσας ἀντιτάττεις;”. Consequently in the two later instances the anecdote is actually about Gonatas, who must be ὁ δεῦτερος; the beginning of *Mor.* 183 C, where his father Demetrius is mentioned, confirms this, and in *Mor.* 545 B the expression τὰλλα...ἄτυφος καὶ μέτριος suits him excellently as being a philosopher on the throne. Also in the *Pelopidas* instance Antigonus is prized through βέλτιον, but there he is called ὁ γέρων,¹⁸ which rules out Doson who died at the age of 42, but fits Monophthalmus very well (see Momigliano). On the other hand, as this scholar, p. 107 n. 2, referring to Tarn, points out, the Ἀντίγονος ὁ γέρων who discusses justice with a sophist in *Mor.* 330 E “is almost certainly Gonatas”.

The choice of words and the sentence structure in the three instances differ only slightly and to the extent that conclusions can be reached from an analysis of such short passages, I am inclined to regard *Mor.* 183 C—D as a central version. Anyhow, we have beyond doubt to deal with one and the same anecdote in three different versions,¹⁹ and Plutarch himself must have regarded Gonatas as its leading character.²⁰ Since the son, in my opinion, lost the battle of Andros, *Mor.* 183 C—D seems to concern not that battle, since Antiochus’ adversaries are called τοὺς στρατηγούς, but that of Cos; similarly *Mor.* 545 B. The στρατηγοὶ of Ptolemy and Cos are mentioned in one and the same passage in Athenaeus V 209 e; see below, p. 112. It is not possible to determine with certainty whether the anecdote originally concerned Andros or Cos but the confusion in Plutarch becomes less difficult to understand, provided that the battles were close together in time; see below, p. 113. There is, however, no reason why the anecdote should not originally have been about the battle of Cos, which is presumed to have been the great battle, while that of Andros, as far as I can see, seems to have been remarkable in the first instance because of the son’s defeat; see below, p. 108.

The battle of Andros is mentioned in Pompeius Trogus *Prol.* 27. The text in question seems now to be regarded as certain,²¹ and runs as follows: *Ut Ptolomaeus Adaeum denuo captum interfecerit, et Antigonus Andro proelio navali oprona vicerit.* The Ptolemy is Euergetes²². Of Adaeus we know very little, but he seems to have been active in Thrace

during the beginning of Euergetes’ reign²³. The instance was carefully analysed by Pozzi, pp. 356—61 (38—43), who found that ‘Antigonus’ meant Gonatas. Pozzi based his opinion also on Tarn’s²⁴ observation that a king mentioned for the first time in the *Prologi* has a cognomen or other identifying information added to his name. Since Gonatas died in 240/39²⁵, some scholars have dated the battle to the reign of Philadelphus or the beginning of Euergetes’ reign.

The situation has, however, been distorted by the fact that the seemingly self-evident and simple restoration of *oprona* to *Sophrona* (see *FHG* III, p. 710) has been generally accepted or at least seriously considered²⁶. Sophron is supposed to be

¹⁸ W. Otto, *Abh. München*, XXXIV 1, 1928, p. 73 n. 3, stressed the point about ὁ γέρων and dated the battle of Andros to 245 when Antigonus was ca. 75 years old. But γέρων is evidently added because of the identification.

¹⁹ In view of the fact the anecdote presumes numerical inferiority, it passes comprehension how McShane, *loc. cit.*, p. 44, can state, “At some time in the early years of Eumenes (sc. I), a Macedonian fleet joined with ships from Antiochus and Rhodes to defeat Ptolemy’s navy in battles near Cos and Andros”, but this is perhaps a mistake for the naval battle of Ephesus (see below, pp. 115—7). Nor has Manni realized that the anecdote presupposes that Antigonus won (Momigliano, p. 107); see below, p. 111.

²⁰ See e.g. Tarn, *JHS*, XXIX, 1909, pp. 267—8. This conception is supported by the mention of Antigonus Gonatas in Trogus *Prol.* 27; see below.

²¹ See Pozzi, p. 354(36), and Momigliano, p. 108 n. 1.

²² Among other queer suggestions, Oikonomides, quoted above, pp. 225—7, regarded the Ptolemy as the son. His stay in Thrace when fighting against the dynast Adaeus (something which is nowhere heard of) was supposed to have given the Rhodians an opportunity to attack Ephesus with Gonatas’ help (sic!) some time between 262 and 259.

²³ See Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. Lagides*, I, p. 256 n. 4; P. M. Fraser, *Gnomon*, 28, 1956, p. 583, in his very critical review of P. Treves, *Euforione e la storia ellenistica*, 1955, and, especially, id., *Samothrace, The inscr. on stone*, 1960, p. 47 n. 23.

²⁴ *JHS*, XXIX, 1909, pp. 265—7. On several points, however, Pozzi’s view differs from mine, nor did he clearly define his dating.

²⁵ We do not know exactly when; see Tarn, *Harv. Stud. in Cl. Phil.*, Suppl. I, 1940, p. 490 n. 3.

²⁶ Bickerman, *REA*, XL, 1938, p. 378, stated, however, that he did not know who this Opron or Sophron was, and Momigliano, p. 108, points out that the identification of Sophron mentioned below “is no more than a theory”; also Will, *Hist.*, I, pp. 334—5, left Opron’s identity an open question.

identical with the Seleucid commander in Ephesus of that name, who fell out of favour with Laodice, the consort of Antiochus II, and is presumed to have defected to the Egyptian camp. This identification is, however, rash in itself (see below, Ch. VI) and the circumstances surrounding the decree *Milet*, 139 C and the probable mention of a Ptolemy with the nickname of Ἀνδρόμαχος (or -ου) in a papyrus in Copenhagen (see below, pp. 106—8) who is presumably the son, raises the problem of whether the mysterious *oprona* could possibly conceal information about the son.

We could expect this man to be mentioned either as Philadelphus' son or as a deserter, usurper, etc., or else, as in the inscription of Labraunda, in relation to Euergetes, since the latter is mentioned in the previous clause. The ending of the remaining word looks Greek, but I have failed to find any complete word with the required sense, which could be corrupted into *oprona* as easily as *Sophrona*. Instead of that I think that an abbreviation has crept into the Latin text and I propose ὁ(μο)π(ά)τ(ρ)ι(ον) ἀ(δελφόν). The epithet is applied to a coeval with the son in Polyaeus VIII 50, Ἀντίοχος ὁ προσαγορευθεὶς θεὸς ἔγημε Λαοδίκεν ὁμοπάτριον ἀδελφόν.

As regards the contents, the suggested restoration fits well, since the son, distinct from Euergetes, was not a son of Arsinoe I but an illegitimate son of Euergetes' father Philadelphus (see above, § 1). We should meet him in Trogius losing a battle—if we attach any importance to the Copenhagen papyrus—because of a blunder or cowardice, or in short because he was incompetent (we do not know) and acquiring a nickname for that reason. In my view the defeat was not decisive and consequently damage to the man's standing not irreparable. But it can explain his lukewarm treatment in the Milesian documents, and it may also have contributed to his final breach with his father and his desertion some years later (see below, § 3).

As regards form I think no objection can be made. ΠΠ is an exceedingly usual contraction of πατήρ, derivatives included, and also the abbreviation α of ἀδελφός is stock form; the first contraction is supported by numerous analogous instances.²⁷ I have to underline that the letters retained occur in the correct order and that no other letters have been added.

Levi, *loc. cit.*, p. 634, has noticed that the prologues only co-ordinate a new clause by *et* when the clauses have the same subject, or, as regards the contents, are dependent on each other (or in expressions such as *inde repetitum ut...et*). He adduces, *ibid.* n. 1, as the only possible exception *Prol.* 38, *Inde repetitum, ut Demetrius captus sit a Parthis et frater eius victo in Syria Tryphone bellum Parthis intulerit...* But also in the sentence in question the second, co-ordinated clause refers to a brother and as regards the contents it seems possible to trace the bond uniting the two clauses (see below, pp. 105—6); and e.g. in *Prol.* 25 a new clause is introduced by *filiusque eius*. Besides, this problem does not, strictly speaking, affect the restoration of *oprona*, since the subject *Antigonus* is certain and there is a change of subjects after the *et*.

To me the mention of the brother bears the evident impress of being a shortened note in the margin. The need for such an elucidation may be explained by the fact that Trogius mentioned him as Philadelphus' son in the previous prologue (see § 3, p. 113), and since his name was Ptolemy, he could be expected to be confused with Ptolemy Euergetes, who was mentioned immediately before. The note may later have been put into the text by a copyist with imperfect knowledge of Greek who was misled by the seemingly Greek ending in the acc. sing. But on the other hand I cannot exclude the possibility that some expression or other of Trogius himself underlies the corrupt wording; so Euergetes in the prologue is called Tryphon.

Among errors in the codices of the *Prologi* I adduce, first, a passage in 16, where *a Dromichaete* has been corrupted into *Andromachæ* in the older codices, into *a Romiche* in the later ones. The adjective has been completely corrupted in 19, *per Sabellum Annonem*, and in 30 even in *Pto-lomaeo Truphone (Tryphone)*. In Iustin there are to be found exceedingly many instances indicating

²⁷ From E. Nachmanson, *Eranos*, X, 1910, pp. 101 ff., 'Die schriftl. Kontr. auf d. gr. Inschr.', I quote as representative examples Αὐ(ρηλ)ίου, Ἐλευ(σι)νίων, Ζηνο(δό)του, Κυ(βύ)ρα, Στρα(τά)γου, γυ(ναι)κί, ὄ(νο)μα, στρα(τη)γοῦ, τυμβω(ρυ)χίας, βασι(λί)δι, ἐλευ(θέ)ρα, εὐ(σε)βεῖ, λαμπρο(τά)-του, δι(σχι)λίων, τεσσα(ρά)κοντα, δεύ(τε)ρον, Αἰλ(ί)ω; and from G. Rudberg, *ibid.*, pp. 71 ff., 'Zur paläograph. Kontr. auf gr. Ostraka', Αὐ(το)κρά(το)ρος, Καί(σαρ)ος, Σε(βασ)τοῦ, Με(σο)ρή, Φαμε(νώ)θ, μέ(το)χοι, Δέκ(ι)ος. See also M. Avi-Yonah, *Abbreviations in Greek inscr.*, 1940.

the difficulty the names caused to the copyists. The names have become either corrupted,²⁸ wrongly replaced by others words²⁹ or placed where they do not belong.³⁰ Several instances of a note in the margin or an erasure are accounted for in the critical apparatus.³¹ Especially instructive in this context is XXII 6, 5, where Ruehl with the guidance of different groups of codices suggested that *dux Poenorum* is possibly a *glossa*; it is also possible to compare with XVI 1, 19, *ne eodem tempore adversus eum dimicare necesse haberet*, where one group of codices gives *et adversus eum demetrium*, while another only gives *adversus eum*. In e.g. XLIII 5,5 some codices offer the form *Catuman-dus*, others the longer one *Catumarandus*.

It need not be pointed out that the insertion of a Greek word, and especially of an abbreviation, into a Latin text is a conspicuous source of error. Sv. Lundström has given an instructive analysis of this in his paper 'Übersetzungsschnitzer in d. röm. Lit.', *Das Altert.*, 5, 1959, pp. 162—71, which gives a comparison between known Greek original texts and their translations into Latin. Examples of the erroneous creation of proper names are *Antiochia* from ἀντίχεια, *Asson* from ἄσσον, *Astygilones* from ἀστυγείτων, *Migadi* from μιγάδων ἐθνῶν, *Phoenicibus* from φοινικίων. Examples of an inversed error are Αἰήτην which via ἀήτην has become *ventum validum*; ἀπὸ Κᾶδμου, via ἀπ' εἰκασμοῦ, *ab aestimatione*; Ἀστυπαλαεὺς, *civitatis athleta*; τοῦ Διδυμᾶτος Ἀπόλλωνος, *gemini.... Apollinis*; Κρητῶν, via κριτῶν, *iudices*.

The fact that Trogus has mentioned the battle of Andros which I am inclined to date to 262 (see below, pp. 108 ff.), among events from Euergetes' reign, has made many scholars also date this battle to different points in the period. Those who have suggested ca. 245 and the next few years have called attention to the political situation in the area, which was characterized by the disappearance of Ptolemaic power from the north Cyclades and the predominant influence of Macedonia at Delos; (on the festivals at Delos see below, pp. 110—1). It was further presumed that Gonatas, having reconquered Corinth, felt strong enough to resume the struggle against Egypt. Also this period was supposed to fit well as regards his presumptive adversary Sophron.³² The political arguments lose their value when other arguments distinctly point at the Chremonidean War (see

above, n. 16). And Sophron must be removed from the discussion of the battle. A dating between ca. 230 and 227/6, in accordance with the information in Trogus (see above, p. 102) is not possible, since in that case Doson and not Gonatas would have won it (cf., however, below, p. 111). Trogus, however, does not always report events in chronological order. de Sanctis, *loc. cit.*, pp. 1—4, affords several instances of this³³ and he mentions *Prol.* 27 itself as a representative instance;³⁴ Pozzi, p. 365 (47), showed how the order of the particulars in *Prol.* 26 has been changed. An instructive example, this time of Justin's confused chronology, is XXVIII 1,1—5, about which Holleaux, *Rome, la Grèce etc.*, 1921, pp. 7 n. 3 ff., writes, "il est impossible de fonder une chronologie exacte sur le texte de Justin", "Justin a commis une ou plusieurs erreurs (nous ne savons lesquelles) qui rendent son text inintelligible", "ces allusions, vagues à l'excès" (cf. Seibert, *loc. cit.*, pp. 37—8).

Nevertheless I am inclined to believe that the battle of Andros is referred to in connection with a considerably later period for this very reason. Andros is mentioned immediately after the victory which the son's brother Euergetes won over Adaeus in Thrace. Now, I recall the statement that

²⁸ E.g. II 4,12; 14, 7; VI 2,1; VII 4,5; XV 2,1; XVIII 3,3.

²⁹ According to the model *ceteris* from *Cereris*, V 1,1; e.g. V 2,9; XVII 2,10; XXV 2,2; XXXI 6,7; XXXVI 2,1; XLIII 3,8.

³⁰ E.g. *vergilius* from *veluti*, IV 1,10; *graeciae* from *gratiae*, VIII 4,9; *eumeni* from *eum ne*, XVII 2,10.

³¹ E.g. II 8,3; IV 1,4; XXI 6,1.

³² On the arguments for this dating see Tarn, *Ant. Gon.*, Append. XII, pp. 461—6, 'The dates of Kos and Andros'; Pozzi, *loc. cit.*; Fellmann, pp. 70 ff.; Otto, *loc. cit.*; see also e.g. Rostovtzeff, *SEHH*, p. 38, who suggested the year of 247 with great reserve, "this undated and only vaguely mentioned battle"; contra Bickerman, *REA*, XL, 1938, pp. 377—8; Volkmann, *loc. cit.*, col. 1671, mentions the date of 245 but regards it as uncertain.

The instances given by de Sanctis, *Klio*, 9, 1909, pp. 3,9, are irrelevant here, since they involve not open hostilities but measures adopted within the compass of power politics.

³³ Cf. Tarn, *JHS*, XXIX, 1909, p. 265 n. 12; Momigliano, p. 108.

³⁴ de Sanctis based his opinion on Levy's observation, mentioned above, and took up a conjectural restoration he had earlier made, which, however, was founded on an older reading now corrected (*Antigonum, prona*): see above, n. 21.

the son was murdered in Ephesus by *Thracians*; in my opinion this did not happen until well after his desertion (see below and § 3, pp. 119–20). So in some way or other Trogus apparently interwove the very different lives and fates of the two brothers in connection with their dealings with the Thracians, and possibly related the battle of Andros, which seems to have been a setback for the son in some way, in an excursus as being an important episode. Consequently the information about the son was very likely arranged more or less in due chronological order; but the perspective may in this case have been distorted, since the excursus on the battle of Andros has been made the main point of the summary prologue (see further below, p. 119).

Several times above I have referred to a papyrus which has opened a new discussion about connecting the son with the battle of Andros and dating this battle considerably earlier than seemed possible before (see Momigliano, p. 111). This papyrus is *Papyri Graecae Haunienses*, I, published by T. Larsen, 1942, no. 6, pp. 37–45, Pl. 2, most probably of the 2nd. cent. B.C. (Plate 7 in this book).³⁵ M. Segre, *Rendic. Pontif. Acc. Rom. di Arch.*, XIX, 1942–3, pp. 269–80, has elucidated the abstruse arrangement of the script of the papyrus and confirmed its character of biographies in chronological order of isolated members of the Ptolemaic dynasty, primarily during the second half of the 3rd cent. B.C. (see Momigliano, pp. 108 ff.). Ll. 11–3 in the right column were tentatively restored by Segre, p. 275, as καταστασιασθεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν [Θρᾷκων μισθοφόρων] ἐν Ἐφέσῳ κατεσφάγη, δαμάζειν οὐ δυνάμενοι τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν συστησάμεν. Larsen had already put this in relation to that given in Athenaeus XIII 593 a–b regarding the son's death in Ephesus, cited below, § 3, p. 114. This association is evidently right and seems not to have been questioned.

The information seems to concern a man named Πτολεμαῖος ἐπίκλησιν Ἀνδρόμαχος or -ου, since in ll. 1–2 occurs, as a title according to Larsen, Πτολεμαῖος|ἐπί|κλησιν Ἀνδρομάχου with an isolated ε added in l. 3. Below this there is a horizontal line which covers the whole width of the papyrus preserved. Under this line within a circle, the upper portion of which touches the line, there is written Πτολεμαῖος|ἐπίκλησιν|Ἀνδρομάχου (ll. 4–7).

This note is to be presumed to give the same in-

formation as the title in ll. 1–2, or a part of it. To the right of the circle the column of the text in question is written with a space of 3 mm. between ll. 9 and 11; to the left under the circle only the ends of two lines are preserved, which give no guidance; under l. 13 of the right column there is a space of 23 mm., below which the script covers the whole preserved width of the papyrus. The uncertainty of the meaning of the abbreviation in l. 4, however, obscures the real name of the individual in question. Segre preferred Πτολεμαῖος ἐπίκλησιν Ἀνδρομάχου, whom he regarded as the fifth son of Philadelphus, the ε of l. 3. But as Momigliano, p. 112, makes clear, this view creates great difficulty. Paleographically the reading of Πτολεμαῖου, l. 4, is at least equivalent to that of -ος, while the model of -ος ἐπίκλησιν Ἀνδρομάχου is proportionately rare and consequently risky to introduce into a text by conjecture, *ibid.*, p. 109. As regards the name within the circle he gives some instances of the use of a genitive to indicate the subject of a paragraph, and in ll. 1–2 he suggests e.g. β]ίος [Πτολεμαῖου ἐπ]ί|κλησιν Ἀνδρομάχου. Since in ll. 8–9 occurs ἐπ'εὶ καὶ ναυμαχίας ἀπ' | Ἀνδρον (the capital had already been written by Larsen),³⁶ Momigliano, p. 112, states, "It would indeed be a case of very bad luck if Andromachos, a naumachia, and ἀνδρον were mentioned side by side without being related to each other", and he thinks, following a suggestion of Maas, that Andromachus means "Fighter at Andros", and that Ptolemy the son who was killed at Ephesus got this name because he had lost the battle of Andros. Momigliano, however, makes reservations I find too strong, as well as incompatible with his own conception; they are due to his scrupulous desire to include all theoretical possibilities in his account.

A nickname normally alluded to some characteristic of the person in question, as is evident from the list of such names drawn up by Hug, *R.-E.*, s.v. Spitznamen. Some few surnames, however, point in an ironical way to a failure on a

³⁵ Volkmann, *loc. cit.*, col. 1655, only mentions the papyrus without taking an attitude on the question; Will, *Hist.*, I, p. 211, calls Momigliano's interpretation "séduisant" but he warns against excessive use of the papyrus.

³⁶ It is suggested that Ἀνδρον is governed by e.g. περι. Ll. 4–7 of the right column run as follows, οὐτῷ | καὶ | καὶ δι' ἑσας εὐρα | αἰρεῖ καὶ ἄλλον καὶ πολλοῖ.

special occasion; e.g. Aeschines was called ἀρουραῖος Οἰνόμαχος because he had failed miserably as an actor in Sophocles' drama Oenomaus. From the Roman period, T. Anniius Cimber, accused by Cicero of murdering his brother, was called Philadelphus, and Tiberius was called Caprineus because of his infamous stay in Capri. An interesting surname is that of M. Antonius Creticus, father of the triumvir. It refers to his war against the Cretans shortly before he died, which he mismanaged (App. *Sic.* 6,1, καὶ πολέμῳ μὲν αὐτοῖς εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τῷδε Ἀντώνιος, καὶ οὐ πρᾶξαι καλῶς, χρηματίζει δ' ὅμως διὰ τὴν πρᾶξιν Κρητικός). The significance of the surname is not certain. To Hug and others it is a nickname (cf. recently Will, *Hist.*, II, p. 410), to distinguish him from other members of his family (J. Van Ooteghem, *Pompée le Grand*, 1954, p. 164); but Antonius may possibly have styled himself³⁷ Creticus to gloss over his failure, or he may have been styled so posthumously for the same reason (Magie, p. 293). Anyhow, Antonius' many enemies may have agreed on this surname.

Towards the suggestion of Momigliano, P. M. Fraser adopted a sceptical attitude in an appendix to his paper (*ibid.*, pp. 116—8) and he asked whether we have not to deal with two different individuals, one in ll. 5 ff., in front of which stands the circle with the name, the other in ll. 10 ff., of which the subject might eventually have been placed in the left column now lost. While the latter is preferably identified with the rebel in Ephesus, the first one could conceivably be the eponymous priest named Ptolemy, son of Andromachus, who is known from a papyrus of 250 B.C. and who "may have been connected with the royal family by some unknown relationship". Fraser points out i.a. that Andromachus is a normal proper name, which could not easily turn into a nickname, as suggested, but that it is rare in Egypt in the 3rd cent. B.C., a fact which should support his identification (while it seems to me to support Maas' and Momigliano's (and my) view equally well). He suggests that ll. 8—9 may have contained e.g. the phrase ναῦν αὐτάνδρον ἀποβλεῖν, and that in this case a local determination may have been placed in the lines above. Fraser himself thinks that the word ἐπίκλησιν "which more usually refers to a nickname" counts against his identification.³⁸

Provided that it could be proved that the correct name were Πτολεμαῖος ἐπίκλησιν Ἀνδρομάχου I want to hint at the possibility that his father might have been Andromachus, the father of Achaeus the Younger. He could have adopted "the son" at his desertion, when he went over to the Seleucid camp (see below, § 3, pp. 115, 118) and consequently needed high patronage. Since, according to Polyb. IV 51, Andromachus was kept in custody in Alexandria during the twenties, the Egyptians might have derived a fierce satisfaction from later enforcing the adoption of the rebel by an adversary who was at Egypt's mercy.³⁹ In this case ἐπίκλησιν

³⁷ E. Bickerman, *Harv. Theol. Rev.*, XLII, 1949, pp. 109—13, held that the verb χρηματίζειν always indicates official and legal style, and he denied that it could have a passive meaning (cf. P. M. Fraser and T. Rönne, *Boeotian and West Greek tombstones* (= *Skriptor Sv. inst. Athen* 4°, VI), 1957, p. 153 n. 36). χρηματίζειν seems to me in the passage in Appian to have a passive meaning ("to be called or styled so and so", LSJ, s.v., III 1); cf. *ibid.*, 6,2, καὶ ἐθροιάμβευσσε (sc. Metellus), καὶ Κρητικός ἐκλήθη ὅδε δικαιοτέρων Ἀντωνίου, τὴν νῆσον ἐξεργασάμενος.
³⁸ For the character of ἐπίκλησιν Oikonomides, *loc. cit.*, p. 227 n. 2, refers to Paus. I 8,6; Φιλομήτωρ -- τὴν δὲ ἐπίκλησιν ἔσχεν ἐπὶ χλευασμῷ, cf. Fraser, *CQ*, *loc. cit.*, p. 118.

A man called Andromachus occurs in the papyri of 253 to 249 B.C. as owner of a very large *dorea*, and is supposed to have been in contact with the royal court. E. Van't Dack, *Chr. d'Ég.*, 36, 1961, pp. 184—6, referring to Fraser, suggests the possibility that this Andromachus was the father of the priest Ptolemy, mentioned above, and also of the Ptolemy who is mentioned in the Copenhagen papyrus (cf. J. Ijsewijn, *loc. cit.*, p. 72).

³⁹ Andromachus was about the same age as the son, since it is estimated that he was born ca. 280 B.C.: see Schmitt, *Unters.*, p. 31. That on my reconstruction they fought on different sides during the War of the Brothers (cf. below, § 3, pp. 118—9) is certainly no impediment to possible dealings with each other shortly after 259. Also the adoption could possibly be regarded as one reason to bring Andromachus to Alexandria, though he had been defeated by Attalus I. Generally this move is suggested as being caused by Attalus' desire not to keep his uncle in custody; this presumes that Attalus' mother Antiochis was the daughter of Achaeus the Elder and this Andromachus' father (Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. Sécl.*, p. 121; Esther V. Hansen, *The Attalids of Pergamon*, 1947, p. 41; cf., however, Schmitt, *loc. cit.*); on our scanty knowledge of what actually happened to Andromachus see Éd. Will, *REG*, LXXV, 1962, pp. 114—5, 127—8. Against the identification with the Seleucid the fact that the adoption is not mentioned in the Labraunda inscription may seem to weigh, but on the other hand the importance of the son as the brother of the ruling Ptolemy may have been stressed.

should have had its normal use of referring to a nickname. Anyhow, the question of the son's name in the papyrus does not affect anything essential, since the defeat at Andros would have given only an extra nuance to his name if he were later adopted by the Andromachus in question.

But, provided that I am right in suggesting that, according to Trogus, the son lost the battle of Andros and that after an action by sea Miletus was cool towards him, Maas' and Momigliano's proposal that this battle has been attached to the son by a name is exceedingly reasonable. Then the addition of ἐπίκλησιν becomes wholly understandable and since a defeat as such is nothing remarkable, one is induced to believe that the son himself had somehow failed.⁴⁰

The arrangement of the text of the papyrus in question is extremely irregular, but nevertheless it definitely counts against the suggestion that ll. 4 ff. and ll. 11 ff. might concern different individuals. Even if the circle with the name stands in front of the former lines, the name itself is repeated in ll. 1—2(3), or, as I would prefer to say, the name within the circle is a repetition of those lines, which cover both columns and also have a horizontal stroke under them stretching the whole preserved width of the papyrus. Consequently this information is to be presumed to have been intended to indicate a greater section. It corresponds to a similar stroke above l. 24, under which the murder of Magas in 221 B.C. is probably treated, the text covering the whole preserved width of the papyrus. Ll. 14 ff., which likewise cover the whole width preserved, ought to concern Euergetes' Euphrates campaign ca. 245 (see Fraser, p. 116) and are separated from l. 13 by the considerable space of 23 mm. which cannot possibly be compared with the small one of 3 mm., l. 10. Instead, this later space indicates in this summary biography, which only renders an account of some main points, the interval between the son's great defeat and his death.⁴¹ Ll. 9—10 of the left column may very well be the rest of another note regarding, no doubt, his rebellion (cf. above, n. 41).

The ε, l. 3, cannot mean simply the fifth child, as Segre suggested, though the son, unlike the three legitimate children of Arsinoë I, as an illegitimate son was uniquely eligible to be co-regent. This, to be sure, should mean that Philadelphus legitimized another bastard, of whom we possess

no information. Could the ε possibly stand for Ephesian (Ephesus)?

In attempting to date the battle of Andros more closely, I am fully aware that in this case, as well as at many other points in this account, my suggestion must necessarily be a construction built upon some few isolated instances which are in addition difficult to interpret separately. For instance, owing to the discovery of a relevant inscription, the whole problem may take on a surprising new look, while the suggestion below may not seem convincing to some. With this disclaimer, though, there is enough material at our disposal to forge a chain of circumstantial evidence.

Once more I have at this point to state as the basis of my reasoning that in my opinion the son lost the battle, that this is to be connected with the Milesian documents discussed above and that the *terminus ante quem* ought to be ca. April 259, which is the last date when the son appeared as co-regent.

It is certainly not impossible that the battle was fought some time before the fall of Athens in connection with the blockade of Piraeus, an idea which the situation of the island of Andros close to Attica would make attractive. Anyhow, the battle is not to be connected directly with the capture of the city in 263/2,⁴² for had Athens' fall

⁴⁰ Though Momigliano, pp. 114—5, in accordance with his consistently scrupulous reasoning, denies that the nickname entails anything about Ptolemy's role in the battle, he nevertheless states that it "might have a mild double meaning: any Alexandrian would have enjoyed it".

⁴¹ I do not agree with Fraser, p. 117, that κατὰστασιασθεὶς in l. 11 concerns Ptolemy's rebellion, but suggest that the word as followed by ὑπὸ applies to the intrigues which the Thracians exposed him to, and that the expression is analogous to ὑπὸ Θρακῶν --- ἐπιβουλευομένου in Athenaeus (see below, p. 114). Cf. the translation in the passive form by LSJ, "to be factiously opposed or overpowered".

⁴² Athens' fall is regarded as being at least to some extent caused by the passivity of the Egyptian fleet (see Welles, p. 74). The chronology of the Chremonidean War is not settled, but it is certain that Athens surrendered during Antipater's archonship 263/2 (see Bengtson, *Gr. Gesch.*², p. 396 n. 5; cf. Tarn, *JHS*, LIV, 1934, pp. 26—39). On the date 263/2 see, however, B.D. Meritt, *The Athenian year*, 1951, pp. 221 ff. who suggests as a possibility the year 261/0. Would this dating be proved to be right, we have to change correspondingly some datings in this chapter, but it does not alter anything as to the facts.

been a consequence of the battle, this event, not a remote threat to Miletus, would have been seen as the issue of the action. In view of the impression the Milesian decree gives, that the city clearly anticipated immediate threats by sea, it seems reasonable to suggest the time thereafter when the Macedonian fleet was disengaged, and had the chance to mount offensive operations against Egypt's naval base, Samos. Here I point out that from Miletus' point of view Andros lies considerably closer to an expected line of attack Athens-Samos-Miletus than Cos, which is situated further south—in fact the island touches the straight line between Cape Sunium and Samos—and from the strategical point of view it is a very likely place for a first confrontation between the Macedonian and Egyptian fleets as matters now stood (cf. below, n. 62). Since nothing is inconsistent with the general idea that Cos was the great battle, while Andros, on the view I advocate, only lowered the son's prestige, a check received by Egypt at that island, a considerable distance from Miletus, could produce the threats of which the city speaks, and yet not justify a loss of faith in the Egyptian cause and in Philadelphus.

Roughly speaking the year of 261 seems to fit badly, since there was peace in the Aegean that year according to the choregic inscription of Delos *IG*, XI 2, 114, [Ἐπ' ἄρ]χοντος Θαρσύνοντος τοῦ Χ[οι]ρῶλου ὑγίεια εἰρήνη πλοῦτος ἐγένετο. Wilhelm has demonstrated that evidence of this kind occurs in peace-time as well as when treaties are signed.⁴³ So it seems reasonable to date the battle of Andros to the time immediately after Athens' fall in 263/2, or more exactly to 262. In this case the threats by land should have been caused by Antiochus I, as Rehm suggested. Interestingly, the Milesian stephanephoros of the following year, 262/1, was an Egyptian, Tachus, son of Gongylus.⁴⁴ In this threatening situation Philadelphus may be supposed to have exercised direct control over the key city of Miletus.⁴⁵

The year of 262, or the time immediately following, has been suggested by several scholars as the date if not of the battle of Andros, at least of that of Cos, primarily because of their dating of *Milet*, 139. Bikerman, *REA*, XL, 1938, p. 371, suggested late July 262, and made Cos terminate the Chremonidean War. He did not, however, regard it as a completely decisive victory, since in that case

Egypt would have been forced to give up its dominions in Asia and Europe. He was followed by Momigliano, pp. 113—5, who settled for the year 262. Volkmann, *loc. cit.*, col. 1653, regards Cos as the decisive battle but is of the opinion that its result ought not to be exaggerated;⁴⁶ he only mentions Momigliano's dating. Also Will, *Hist.*, I, pp. 206—7, dates Cos to 262/1, and in my opinion he is nearer the point of what Gonatas on this occasion wanted (see, however, above, n. 10), when underlining that the victory allowed Gonatas to finish the struggle for Greece, but that Egypt's supremacy in the Aegean remained in spite of defeat.⁴⁷

While Momigliano dated the battle of Andros to about 258 B.C., several scholars have located Cos in the period after the end of the Chremonidean War; e.g. W. Peremans, *L'Antiquité classique*, VIII,

⁴³ *Abh. Berl. Akad.*, 1939, Nr. 22, pp. 28—9. In the context Wilhelm deals with *IG*, II² 769, which mentions Rhodian co-operation in a peace as which he considers the one after the Chremonidean War, though he dates the inscription itself to the autumn of 257; others suggest the year 251/0 (see Will, *Hist.*, I, p. 211); Will, pp. 201—2, points out that the peace may have been concluded as early as the fall of 262.

⁴⁴ Stephanephoros in 261/0 was Peithenus, son of Tharsagoras, "obviously a leader of the Ptolemaic party in the city", Welles, p. 73; Rehm, *Milet*, I 3, p. 304; id., *Didyma*, p. 263.

⁴⁵ Welles, p. 74, has basically the same view as me on the circumstances behind the Milesian decree, but not on the naval battles in question; he suggests the autumn of 262 B.C.

⁴⁶ Meyer, *Grenzen*, pp. 91 n. 2, 136, who followed Kolbe, pp. 456—8, regarded Cos as the death-blow to the Egyptian naval power, even if the consequences did not become obvious immediately; he suggested 260 as the date.

⁴⁷ As is clear from these pages, diametrically opposed views on the supremacy in the Aegean after the peace of 261 have been put forward. The question of the importance of Egypt's defeat by sea is demonstrated in Wilcken, *Gr. Gesch.*⁹, 1962, p. 279, where Cos is dated to ca. 261 (?) and regarded as spelling the doom of Ptolemaic supremacy in the Aegean, which passed to Gonatas. Wilcken also thought (p. 280) that Philadelphus and Gonatas concluded separate peace in 255 (see below). G. Klaffenbach, however, who published the seventh and the following editions of the book after Wilcken's death, underlines (p. 355) that recent research has reduced the importance of the battle of Cos, reassessing it as a considerable setback for Egypt. Anyhow, it is evident that Egypt towards the end of Philadelphus' reign lost influence in the Aegean (see below).

1939, pp. 401—8, suggested the year 256, partly because of the mention of εἰρήνη at the head of the Delian inscription *IG*, XI 2, 116 (cf. 114) of the year 255, which information otherwise only occurs in the year 261 (explained by the peace between Egypt and Macedon), and also because Gonatas gave autonomy to Athens in 255/4 (the other arguments are taken with great reservations from papyri and have no bearing). The latter argument is, however, a quite arbitrary combination and the former has no validity in view of Wilhelm's statement (see above, p. 109). Tarn, *CAH*, VII, 1928, p. 862, maintains that the great battle of Cos must quite definitely have been fought after 261, since it broke Egypt's supremacy at sea, and Rhodes cannot possibly have desired this before, any more than she would have temporarily opposed her ally at Ephesus, where Chremonides commanded the Egyptian fleet (see below, § 3, pp. 115—8); *ibid.*, p. 713, Tarn suggested 258 as the most appropriate year, which Welles, p. 74 n. 5, who also regards Cos as a decisive defeat, is inclined to accept.⁴⁸ But I cannot see the reason why Egypt's defeat could not have happened one or two years earlier, even if it should mean the condition precedent for the battle of Ephesus. Rostovtzeff, *SEHH*, p. 1317, unlike Bikerman, believed in "the rapid growth of Macedonian authority in the Aegean, which is reflected in the Delian inscriptions", and, *ibid.*, p. 37, he regarded Gonatas' great victory of Cos as "an aftermath of the Chremonidean war, and one of the episodes of an Aegean war (*otherwise unattested in our tradition*) (my italics)" during the Second Syrian war. And exactly this is the weak point of the hypothesis mentioned. It has been assumed that Gonatas was active on Antiochus' side during this war, which terminated in 253, but that he established a separate peace with Philadelphus in 255. Tarn himself, *Antigonos Gonatas*, 1913, p. 311, wrote "To write any real history of the eight years from 261 to 253 is frankly impossible. All connected tradition is lost". Even if the hypothesis as such is not unreasonable,⁴⁹ it is not supported by our sources: see Will, *Hist.*, I, pp. 201—2, 212, following Bikermann and others. And as regards the circumstances which caused the Milesian decree 139, the Chremonidean War is the only certain period about which we have any information.

At this point something must be said about

the relevance of the debate over Delos and its festivals. Gonatas instituted in 253/2 the Antigoneia and the Stratoniceia and about 244 the Soteria and the Paneia. These festivals, as well as Gonatas' building activity at Delos,⁵⁰ have been regarded by several scholars, who, however, have been in disagreement with each other, as having followed on naval battles, Cos and/or Andros, in which Gonatas had broken the Egyptian supremacy in the Aegean for some shorter or longer time.⁵¹ Most scholars, however, reject such an interpretation.⁵² Bikerman, *loc. cit.*, pp. 376, 379, adduced some parallels to support the opinion that Gonatas' festivals and building activity at

⁴⁸ Cary, p. 137, followed Tarn and maintained, p. 105, that Cos was "the decisive event of the Second Syrian War", "which gave to Antiochus secure possession of the Ionian coast", and this was confirmed by the peace of 255.

⁴⁹ Bengtson, *Gr. Gesch.*, p. 397 n. 4, calls it "ganz gesichert", and Peremans, *loc. cit.*, p. 405, was of the opinion that the marriage between Stratonice of Syria and Demetrius might indicate Gonatas' participation in the war, but, on the other hand, we do not know exactly when the marriage took place. The reasoning of Seibert, *loc. cit.*, pp. 34—6, on that marriage displays how extremely weak the evidence of the separate peace is. Anyhow, the papyrus *SB* 7263 has no bearing on the question.

⁵⁰ Bikerman, *loc. cit.*, pp. 379—80, refuted the theory that after the battle of Cos Gonatas dedicated his flagship, or a copy, to Apollo at Delos (cf. Momigliano, pp. 113—4). In this context it is worth noticing that a tetradrachmon, on which Gonatas is represented as a young Pan, is dated to the time immediately after the battle of Lysimacheia in 277 B.C., where the Galatians took flight in panic (see H. Gaebler, *Die ant. Münzen Nord-griechenlands*, III 2, *Makedonia und Paionia*, 1935, p. 186, no. 2; P.T. Franke, *Arch. Anz.*, 1953, coll. 57—8). No instance of the tetradrachmon having the head of Poseidon and Apollo sitting on a *prora*, which coin has been linked with the battle of Cos (Gaebler, *ibid.*, p. 187, no. 4), was found in the treasure described by Franke; the treasure is consequently supposed to have been hidden before 257 B.C., the presumed date of the battle. But certainly the find allows a dating two years and more earlier.

⁵¹ E.g. Tarn, *JHS*, XXIX, 1909, pp. 268—85, *id.*, *CAH*, VII, 1928, p. 718; Ferguson, *JHS*, XXX, 1910, p. 190; Pozzi, *loc. cit.*; Durrbach, *Choix*, pp. 42—3, 278, who points out that Egypt disappears completely from Delos' epigraphy after 246 while Macedon returns; *id.*, *Inscr. Délos*, Fasc. 1, *Comptes des Hiéropes*, 1926, p. 50 on no. 298; Fraser and Bean, *Rhod. Per.*, pp. 156—8.

⁵² Among older scholars, e.g., following Niese, Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. Lagides*, IV, p. 311.

Delos were irrelevant to the dating of the battle of Andros, since political relations are to be firmly distinguished from religious ones, and the festivals only indicated good communications between Delos and Macedon during the years in question. Also Will, *Hist.*, I, pp. 206—7, cf. pp. 291—2, is of the same opinion. And Meyer, *Grenzen*, p. 92 note from p. 91, following Kolbe, pp. 452—6, suggested that Delos should be conceived as a κοινὸς τόπος which did not reflect the changes in the Aegean.⁵³ This question is extremely difficult but it seems impossible to leave the political game completely out of the question. Likewise Fraser and Bean, *Rhod. Per.*, pp. 155—6, emphasize that since Philadelphus shortly before his death and Euergetes on his accession in 246 B.C. made dedications at Delos, the Ptolemaic sea-power seems not to have been “irreparably damaged by the defeats of Cos and Ephesus”, and Momigliano, p. 115, denies that it is possible to trace “a change in the balance of sea-power” in 246—4, though a page later he points out that the three naval battles had the long-term consequence that “Egypt lost her paramountcy in the Aegean”.

The facts show that it was only an exception for a victory to be celebrated at Delos; Gonatas had many opportunities of doing so; to take only one example, Pozzi and Otto were of the opinion that the recapture of Corinth was the occasion for the foundation of the Paneia.⁵⁴ And his earliest festivals were instituted in 253/2. There is no real reason to expect a commemoration at Delos of the victory of Andros, or of that of Cos, as such, and it may be stated that no festival was instituted at Delos because of them, provided that the dates given here are in the main correct.

In spite of Momigliano's well-founded warning, p. 110, “Sea-battles of Andros *non sunt multiplicanda praeter necessitatem*,” E. Manni, *Athenaeum*, N.S. 30, 1952, pp. 182—9, using Momigliano and Fraser's Appendix as starting points, constructs two naval battles of Andros. The first one is supposed to be a likely defeat of Gonatas towards 256 in accordance with Plut. *Pel.* 2 and *Pap. Haun.*, 6. In the papyrus ναυμαχίας ἀπ[., l. 8, has been arbitrarily changed to 'Α(ν)[τιγόνωι. The other should, according to Trogus *Prol.* 27, be a victory of Doson about 228 in connection with his Carian campaign. The first battle presumes a war between Egypt and Macedon after the end of the

Chremonidean War; the suggestion also uses the isolated note in Ps.-Aristeas 180 (Joseph. *Ant. Iud.* XII 93) of a naval victory won by Philadelphus over Antigonos. The *terminus ante quem* is put to 253/2 because of the Antigoneia at Delos and of the dating of IG, II² 769 to the year 253/2, in which inscription Rhodes was honoured in Athens after a peace. This construction is extremely fragile. We possess no information about the alleged war (see above, p. 110), and the Athenian inscription is interpreted by Wilhelm in another way (see above, n. 43). The note in Ps.-Aristeas is regarded by Momigliano, p. 108 n. 1, as ‘annoying’, but he rightly says that it does not fit in with the picture we have of the battle of Andros at all. This makes the weakness of Manni's theory particularly clear, since it is founded on a conjectural restoration of the papyrus in question. Finally Manni misinterprets the anecdote in Plutarch (see above, p. 103 with n. 19); on the passage in Trogus see above, pp. 103—6. The arbitrary character of Manni's reasoning is revealed when he rejects the chronological order in the papyrus (see above, pp. 106—8) but uses that in Trogus as his basis (see pp. 105—6, 119).⁵⁵

Already Fellmann, *Beil.*, pp. 92—9, had taken the opposite course when suggesting, maybe with reservations, that the information about the battles of Cos and Andros wholly concerned one battle in the waters between Andros and Ceos, which was presumed to have been changed to Cos in the source common to Plut. *Mor.* 545 B and Athen. V 209 e (see below). In support Fellmann quoted instances of confusion between Ceos and Cos in MS and in authors. He also stated that Apollo,

⁵³ This view was refuted in very sharp words by Pozzi, pp. 321 (3) ff.; cf. Durrbach, *Choix*, p. 278. An intermediate position was adopted by Fellmann, pp. 80—7, who gave a report of different views on the question up to 1928, and he himself suggested that only the Soteria and the Paneia were victory festivals as such and involved the abandonment of Delos' neutrality and that they were consequently to be separated from Gonatas' other private dedications.

⁵⁴ So also Momigliano, p. 115, who, however, hints at other possibilities.

⁵⁵ By means of the same psychological interpretation of Athen. VIII 334 a—b as Momigliano (see below, n. 60), Manni puts the battle of Cos earlier than that of Andros and to 258/7 in connection with the evacuation of the Macedonian garrison in Athens.

to whom Antigonos, according to Athenaeus, dedicated his trireme after the naval victory, was worshipped at Ceos but not at Cos. He located this battle, in accordance with Tarn's earliest conception, to 246 (pp. 68 sqq.). However, as far as I can see, no one has followed Fellmann's suggestion; in any case it looks risky, even if it might give the reason why Plutarch located the same anecdote in Andros as well as in Cos. On the other hand, the sources allow room for more than one battle. In the one we meet the son as the loser in the form of *oprona*, in Trogus *Prol.* 27 and, as it seems, also in the papyrus in Copenhagen; in the other we meet Ptolemy's strategoi at Cos according to Plutarch and Athenaeus (see above, pp. 102—3). We must also add Patroclus according to Athen. VIII 334 a—b, see below. In my opinion *Milet*, 139 reflects a confrontation by sea, which I regard as the battle of Andros, but not a battle of very great importance which consequently must have happened later, and seems likely to be that of Cos. Also, an alteration of an information, which as such is comprehensible, in favour of another, which is also comprehensible, always implies a weak point.

We know nothing of a possible connection between the battles of Andros and Cos, something which has been underlined by Pozzi, p. 339 (21) note from p. 338, but since the two battles have been linked in the discussion, I have to touch upon that of Cos, though, in this respect, I cannot present an equally concrete suggestion.⁵⁶ Cos is generally presumed to have been the great naval battle of the period, an idea originally derived from the information in Athen. V 209 e that Gonatas dedicated to Apollo the trireme in which he had defeated Ptolemy's strategoi at Cos.⁵⁷

The sources give us some guidance in dating the battle. The anecdote in Diogenes Laertius IV 39 about Arcesilaus' negative reaction to the news of ἡ Ἀντιγόνου ναυμαχία⁵⁸ puts the occupation of Athens in 263/2 as the *terminus post quem* for a naval victory won by Gonatas. The episode seems to have taken place in Athens, in which case the evacuation of the Macedonian garrison in 255/4 or 256/5⁵⁹ possibly is the *terminus ante quem*, although the king still held Piraeus (see the account in Fellmann, pp. 66—7, 72). This battle is generally regarded as that of Cos, and the identification looks plausible, since Cos was the great battle; but bear-

ing our dating of the battle of Andros in mind, this cannot be wholly left out of consideration. However, the anecdote in Athen. VIII 334 a—b that Patroclus, Egyptian admiral in the Chremonidean War, presented Gonatas with fish and figs, which conveyed a challenge that he had to θαλαττοκρατεῖν or to live on figs, points to Cos.⁶⁰ As Momigliano, pp. 113—4, following Tarn, rightly insists, when we take the psychological aspect into consideration, the anecdote would lack point, if the challenge had not been followed by a naval victory for Gonatas.⁶¹

And since *opron*, i.e. the son, lost Andros, the anecdote ought to refer to Cos. Contrary to Momigliano I do not, however, think it necessary that "Patroclos' challenge would be meaningless, if Antigonos had already been once victorious", i.e. if Andros had preceded Cos. In my opinion Andros as such may have been a rather insignificant affair, perhaps humiliating for Egypt. That

⁵⁶ Many arguments regarding the battle of Cos which are to be found in earlier scholars have helped me to my view on that of Andros, and in many cases it has been possible with my new starting point to transfer these arguments directly to Andros. See e.g. the references given by Magie, p. 931 n. 26, "no date can be definitely determined", and in Momigliano's paper.

⁵⁷ Παρέλιπον δ' ἐκὼν ἐγὼ τὴν Ἀντιγόνου ἱερὰν τριήρη, ἣ ἐνίκησε τοὺς Πτολεμαίου στρατηγούς περὶ Λεύκολλαν τῆς Κώας, ὅπου δὲ καὶ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι αὐτὴν ἀνέθηκεν (Gulick). On the dedication see Bickerman, *REA*, XL, 1938, p. 370.

⁵⁸ φίλος τε ἦν μάλιστα Ἰεροκλῆς τῷ τὴν Μουνιχίαν ἔχοντι καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ ... καὶ δὲ καὶ πολλὰ ἐκείνου συμπεϊθόντος ὥστ' ἀπάσασθαι τὸν Ἀντίγονον, οὐκ' ἐπέισθη, ἀλλ' ἔως πολὺν ἐλθὼν ἀνέστρεψε. μετὰ τε τὴν Ἀντιγόνου ναυμαχίαν πολλῶν προσιόντων καὶ ἐπιστόλια παρακλητικὰ γραφόντων αὐτὸς ἐσιώπησεν.

⁵⁹ See Will, *Hist.*, I, pp. 204—5, regarding a date of Mami.

⁶⁰ οἶδα δὲ καὶ Φύλαρχον εἰρηκότα πρὸς τοὺς μεγάλων ἰχθύων καὶ τῶν συμπεμφθέντων αὐτοῖς σύκων χλωρῶν, ὅτι αἰνιττόμενος Πάτροκλος ὁ Πτολεμαίου στρατηγὸς Ἀντιγόνῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐπεμπεύειν ... ἀλλ' ὁ γε Πάτροκλος, ὡς διὰ τῆς τρίτης τῶν ἱστοριῶν φησιν ὁ Φύλαρχος, πεμφθέντων τῶν προσηρημένων σύκων καὶ ἰχθύων. ἐτύγχανεν δὲ καθωνιζόμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ὡς πάντες διηποροῦντο ἐπὶ τοῖς δώροις, ὁ Ἀντίγονος γελάσας πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ἔφη γινώσκειν τί βούλεται τὰ ξένια· ἡ γὰρ θαλαττοκρατεῖν ἡμᾶς φησι Πάτροκλος ἢ τῶν σύκων τρώγειν.

⁶¹ Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. Lagides*, I, p. 191, referred the anecdote to Gonatas' blockade of Athens and regarded it as conveying the king's control of the situation and his ability to wait until his time had come. But then the anecdote lacks point since Gonatas was victorious at sea, while his blockade was unbroken then or later.

being the case it could seem plausible that Patroclus when commanding might have challenged Antigonus. Also Athen. V 209 e speaks in favour of Andros preceding Cos, since nobody is likely to offer up his flagship unless he considers he has won a decisive victory.

Since we have no information that Gonatas took part in the Second Syrian War, we have to date the two battles of Andros and Cos during the Chremonidean War, and since we have no information about active operations by sea in connection with the blockade of Athens either, we have, likewise until our knowledge of the period has been augmented, to narrow the time to between the

occupation of Athens in 263/2 and the peace in 261. A plausible reason why Plutarch refers the same anecdote to Andros as well as to Cos (see above, pp. 102—3) might be that both battles were so near each other in time that they were easily confused, i.e. they had been fought during the same campaign or they had been part of a series of operations, with, in my view, Andros preceding Cos.⁶² And if the information in Plutarch *Mor.* 676 D that Antigonus' flagship got the name Isthmia, applies to the ship he dedicated after Cos, it should confirm the date of 262 (see Momigliano, p. 114 n. 2, about Cos).

3. The son's defection, his future fate and death in Ephesus

We know of the son's defection through Trogus *Prol.* 26, *Ut in Asia filius Ptolomaei regis socio Timarcho desciverit a patre*. The statement is placed between that of the death of Antiochus Soter in 261 and that of the death of Demetrius the Fair, which does not give an undisputed *terminus ante quem* (cf. above, p. 99 n. 9). But since, in his capacity of co-regent, the son had his name erased in a papyrus of April 259 B.C., he presumably defected some time thereafter.

The defection has been puzzling, and lately Will, *Hist.*, I, p. 209, has stated that we do not know its reasons. Some scholars have, however, discussed the problem. E.g. E.v. Stern, *Hermes*, 50, 1915, p. 435, called the rebellion "ein Dummerjungenstreich, der bestenfalls durch irgendeine persönliche Kränkung motiviert werden könnte und politisch ganz aussichtslos erscheinen müsste", and a similar, though more moderate view was put forward by Pozzi, p. 343 (25). As a result of his belief that the rebel was the son of king Lysimachus, Tarn, *CAH*, VII, p. 711, held that the rebellion was due to Egypt's failure against Gonatas in the Chremonidean War and to the rebel's ambition to conquer what his father had possessed in Ionia. Welles, p. 76 (cf. above, p. 97 with n. 2), imagined that the co-regent was removed by a palace conspiracy and that he reacted to this by rebelling. Certainly there is some truth in this view. The son's illegitimate birth alone must have made his position difficult, since Philadelphus had

two legitimate male heirs; and the fact, as I suppose, that he was inadequate at Andros in 262(?) must have discredited him in the eyes of his father and of the court. Now some years passed between Andros and the defection and I am inclined to imagine that the relations between father and son deteriorated to a point where a definite break was inevitable. However, there is a definite reason why the son's position in 259 became completely untenable. This reason is that in the capacity of governor of Egyptian Ionia he had lost for Egypt and on his own account its two foremost cities, Miletus and Ephesus (see below), and possibly more than that, though we have no further information.

The son rebelled *Timarcho socio*. Of this man, to be sure, we know with certainty only that for a short time he was tyrant of Miletus¹. The city was still Egyptian in 261/0 when it had a pro-Egyptian stephanephoros (see above, p. 109 n. 44), but in 260/59 Apollo held the title, "always a sign of trouble", Welles, p. 74, citing Tarn. Then

⁶² E.g. Tarn, *Ant. Gon.*, pp. 378, 462, 465, located Andros and Cos "in one campaign, or two consecutive campaigns" but "at the very beginning of the reign of Ptolemy III" and "Andros ought to come first on geographical grounds".

¹ See Rehm, *Didyma*, pp. 263—4; Magie, p. 932; Will, *loc. cit.*, p. 210. I do not touch on the question of Timarchus' identity; Welles, p. 107, just calls him "a revolting Ptolemaic officer". Nothing in my investigation argues that he was in Syrian service.

Timarchus is presumed to have usurped power in 260 (Welles, pp. 74, 107), if this happened by a direct coup, or possibly in 260/59, if he benefited from disturbances in the city. Anyhow, his establishment was "an event which presumes a weakening of the Egyptian authority in the Aegean" (Welles, p. 74).² We do not know when Antiochus II and Milesian patriots reconquered Miletus. The *terminus ante quem* is 253 according to Welles, 18 (= *Didyma*, 492 B). Rehm, *Milet*, I 3, p. 304 n. 4, suggested, with reservations, 259/8 as the time of Timarchus' overthrow, because a new list of stephanephoroï started that year (cf. Welles, p. 107). Though his suggestion was met with universal approval, he himself, *Didyma*, p. 263, wanted to retract it, since the Didyma inscriptions 434—7 of the middle of the 3rd cent. B.C. for a period of at least four years have *σμμαχικόν* as the unit of silver weight, a change which he was inclined to associate with the time of Timarchus' supremacy over Miletus. There is room for this interpretation within the compass of *t.a.q.*, but the argument has been proved to lack force.³ On the other hand this question has no direct bearing on our investigation, in which the important point is that Egypt lost Miletus.

The relations between the son and Timarchus have been conceived in different ways. Rehm, *Didyma*, p. 264, was of the opinion that the son conveyed Miletus to Timarchus as an acknowledgment of valuable help. This is inherently plausible, since according to Trogus the rebellion broke out in Asia where the son is presumed to have been in command of all Egyptian Ionia. Tarn, *CAH*, VII, pp. 711—3, imagined that the son as the governor of Ephesus was helped by "his commander in Miletus, the Aetolian Timarchos" in 260. Only when the son was killed in Ephesus in 259, Timarchus, Tarn argued, set himself up as tyrant in Miletus, where he was presumed to have been overthrown early in 258.⁴ But this view is not in conformity with the era in Miletus from 259/8, and furthermore the son was not killed in Ephesus in 259 (see below). Meyer, *Grenzen*, p. 81 n. 2, vindicated the claim that it is not possible to combine the time of the abolition of the co-regency and Antiochus' conquest of Miletus, after Timarchus' rebellion in 259, with Trogus' statement that the latter gave help when the son defected; but Meyer, unlike others, locates the aboli-

tion of the co-regency in 258,⁵ a date which should not in itself rule out an association with the experienced soldier Timarchus.

However, Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. Lagides*, I, pp. 207—8, long ago suggested that Timarchus was the prime mover who induced the bastard in Ephesus, i.e. the son, to join him when rebelling. This view seems to me to be fundamentally correct. Provided that the dates available are to be trusted, Timarchus' rebellion in Miletus preceded that of the son. Timarchus broke with Philadelphus and Egypt lost Miletus in a province of which the son was governor. When, the following year, the latter lost Ephesus too, as I will try to demonstrate below, I imagine that his position became so very precarious that he had to take the consequences and defect. On this occasion Timarchus must have looked a natural ally, since he too had broken with Philadelphus and was consequently in the same position.⁶

The son's death is related in Athenaeus XIII 593 a—b: Πτολεμαῖός τε ὁ τὴν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ διέπων φρουρὰν υἱὸς ὢν τοῦ Φιλαδέλφου βασιλέως Εἰρήνην εἶχε τὴν ἐταίραν, ἥτις ὑπὸ Θρακῶν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐπιβουλευομένου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου καὶ καταφυγόντος εἰς τὸ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν συγκατέφυγεν καὶ ἀποκτείναντων αὐτὸν ἐκείνων κτλ., and also in the papyrus in Copenhagen, known since 1942 (see pp. 106—8) of which ll. 11—3, according to Segre's restoration, read: καταστασιασθεῖς (see p. 108 n. 41) ὑπὸ τῶν [Θρακῶν μισθοφόρων] ἐν Ἐφέσῳ κατεσφάγη, δαμάζειν οὐ δυνηθεὶς τὴν] ἐπιβουλὴν συστήσαμένην. Unanimously the scholars have located his death in 259 in near or direct connection with his defec-

² Magie, p. 931 n. 26, for example, has essentially the same view about the date of the battle of Cos.

³ See L. Robert, *Gnomon*, 31, 1959, pp. 668—9; Chr. Habicht, *Gött. gel. Anz.*, 213, 1960, p. 150.

⁴ Cary, p. 105, attributed a small kingdom to Timarchus who after the murder of the son in 259 would have held not only Miletus and Samos but also Ephesus.

⁵ Notice the warning given by T. C. Skeat, *The reigns of the Ptolemies* (= *Münch. Beitr.*, 39), 1954, pp. 5—6, about the difficulty of determining whether the regnal or financial year is used when the documents are dated by the Macedonian calendar.

⁶ I confine myself to this general attempt at reconstructing the course of events and refrain from touching on a series of questions, e.g. the son's conduct on the occasion of Timarchus' rebellion and the circumstances at the time of the son's desertion and Timarchus' overthrow. About the latter's further fate we have no information.

tion; in fact I have noticed not a single doubt about this. The connection (see Momigliano, p. 110) is completely arbitrary, as well as erroneous, but already the passage ὁ τὴν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ διέπων φρουράν should have given rise to suspicion, since it suits not an independent rebel but a subordinate commander,⁷ especially since Sophron immediately after is called by Athenaeus ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐφέσου (see Ch. VI). Also we have to bear in mind that the narrative in Athenaeus is an isolated anecdote and that the papyrus sets out only some main points in the son's life. Equally unanimously the defection has been presumed to have happened in Ephesus, though the passages cited above do not say so, and Trogus only indicates *in Asia*. Anyhow, the former sources only state that the son was *murdered* in Ephesus.

Up to now, apart from his murder, we did not possess any direct information about the son after his desertion. It is now evident from the Labraunda inscription 3, ll. 4—6, that these two events have been wrongly placed close together. In this instance the son is involved in a domestic affair within the Seleucid Empire. The context and the coupling with Sophron point to the reign of Antiochus II or the outset of the reign of Seleucus II. The context makes it clear that on this occasion the son was a high-placed official in the Seleucid Empire, for Mylasa's envoys refer to a letter from him, as well as to other documents, in order to give proof of the city's right to various disputed objects. Since the envoys addressed themselves to Seleucus II's governor Olympichus, the city cannot possibly have cited documents deriving from an enemy or an independent personage. Mylasa was liberated, as far as I can see, at the outset of Seleucus II's reign, and in the relevant letter this information is given immediately after that of the documents in question. Here the connection in time is given by μετὰ ταῦτα, l. 6. Then the letters of the son and Sophron presumably announced the decisions of the king, either those of Antiochus II or those of Seleucus II. Consequently, we now know, on the one hand that the son became a high official in the Seleucid Empire, on the other that he survived his desertion ten years and more than that, as far as our reasoning goes here (see, however, below).

When rebelling the son must have felt that there was considerable danger in standing isolated in a

country in which he was threatened not only by Egypt which he had deserted, but also and especially by the new Seleucid king, Antiochus II, who had taken the offensive, and Pergamum, which was advancing rapidly. Also Timarchus must have been a warning example. Wilhelm, *Abh. Berl. Ak.*, 1939, Nr. 22, p. 26, had already seen that the son joined Antiochus II⁸, and so spoke of the alliance which Antiochus II after his father's death in 261 formed with Gonatas "und mit Ptolemaios, dem Adoptivson und Mitregenten des Ptolemaios Philadelphos, gegen diesen", when with the co-operation of the Rhodian fleet under Agathostratus an Egyptian fleet commanded by Chremonides was defeated off Ephesus.⁹ Beloch, IV 2², p. 511, and Tarn, *CAH*, p. 711, thought that the son was governor in Ephesus and that Antiochus welcomed his rebellion, the latter also that the Seleucid sent him Thracian troops;¹⁰ Antiochus was supposed to have recaptured Ephesus in the battle named after the city, when the son had been murdered in 259.

Two sources, relevant in the context, mention Rhodes' participation in the battle of Ephesus. Frontinus *Stratagemas* III 9, 10, narrates an isolated episode how an Antiochus by cunning captured the city with the help of Rhodians.¹¹ Since

⁷ Likewise Levi, *Atti Torino*, XXXIX, 1903—4, p. 631, presented him as "come διέπων τὴν φρουράν, come ufficiale egizio".

⁸ Also Momigliano, pp. 111, 114, realizes that the son "needed allies for his rebellion", but he supposes that "Antigonos Gonatas was the natural ally"; all his reasoning, p. 114, is, however, to be rejected, provided that *oprona* in Trogus refers to the son. According to Rehm, *Didyma*, p. 264, the son rebelled only with the support of Egypt's enemies and admitted a Rhodian fleet to Ephesus which could avert an Egyptian attempt to reconquer the city. His view is, however, founded on a misinterpretation of Polyaeus V 18 (see below).

⁹ Oikonomides, *loc. cit.*, has built up a baseless construction on the hypothesis that Chremonides and his brother Glaucon fled in 262 not to Philadelphus but to the son, and that Chremonides was captured in the battle of Ephesus, brought to Rhodes and executed; the reference to Myron of Priene, *F Gr Hist* 106 F 6 has no bearing.

¹⁰ Also Magie, pp. 931—2, thought that the Thracians mentioned by Athenaeus were "evidently his own mercenaries".

¹¹ *Antiochus adversus Ephesios Rhodiis, quos in auxilio habebat, praecepit, ut nocte portum cum magno strepitu invaderent: ad quam partem omni multitudine cum tumultu decurrente, nudatis defensore reliquis munitionibus, ipse a d(i)verso aggressus civitatem cepit* (Bendz, 1963).

the struggle for Ephesus during the period in question, as far as we can see, was fought between Syria and Egypt, the city must, prior to the attack, have been in the hands of the latter country (*contra*, W. Sc. Ferguson, *JHS*, XXX, 1910, p. 200). The other source is the account of the naval battle of Ephesus in Polyaeus V 18.¹² Generally the two passages are combined as two episodes in one and the same war, which are complementary to each other,¹³ and this view looks plausible to me too, since Rhodes had a tradition of diplomatic friendship with Egypt, and the difficulty is to find a period of war between the two states.

There are four men named Antiochus who as such could have been mentioned in Frontinus, viz. Antiochus I, II, III of Syria, and Hierax. Of these we know that Antiochus III in 197 captured Ephesus, which was then Egyptian.¹⁴ But in spite of the fact that when sailing round southern and western Asia Minor he showed great restraint towards Rhodes and its possessions, the island can hardly have helped him with a contingent, and the relevant Chremonides must have been dead at that time. Nor can Hierax readily have been helped by Rhodes.¹⁵ Significantly the *Lindian Chronicle* XXXVII¹⁶ mentions a war between Philadelphus and Rhodes, which ought, as far as we can tell, to include the battle of Ephesus.¹⁷ As Fraser points out, *Gnomon*, *loc. cit.*, this information could very well occupy any place in Philadelphus' reign, but he would prefer to date it to the Second Syrian War.¹⁸ From inscriptions we know that Ephesus was Seleucid after Corupedium at least in 266 and afterwards in 254/3.¹⁹

¹² Ῥόδιοι βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίῳ πολεμοῦντες περὶ Ἐφεσον ἦσαν· Χρεμωνίδης Πτολεμαίου ναύαρχος ἀνήχθη ναυμαχῆσων. Ἀγαθόστρατος Ῥοδίου ἐξῆγε ἐπὶ μίαν ναῦν καὶ φανερός γενόμενος τοῖς ἐπιπλέουσι μετέστρεψε μετωπηδὸν καὶ χρόνον ἐπισχὼν βραχὺν ἀνεχώρησεν ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ὄρμον. οἱ πολέμιοι νομίσαντες, ὅτι μὴ θαρροῦσι διανυμαχεῖν, αὐτοὶ παιωνίσαντες εἰς λιμένα ἐπανήσαν· Ἀγαθόστρατος ἐπιστρέψας καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν πυκνώσας ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρων τῶν κεράτων ἐπέπλευσε τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐκβαίνουσι περὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης τέμενος καὶ ἀπροσδοκῆτως προσπεσὼν ἐνίκησεν.

A statue of Ἀγαθόστρατος Πολυαράτου was erected at Delos towards 250 by the κοινὸν τῶν νησιωτῶν (*IG*, XI 4, 1128; cf. Wilhelm, *Jahresh.*, VIII, 1905, p. 2; Kolbe, pp. 468—9; Pozzi, p. 378(60); Fraser and Bean, p. 155; cf. further above).

As is pointed out by Fraser, *Gnomon*, 28, 1956, pp. 584—5 (cf. Momigliano, p. 113 n. 1), the passage in Teles, περὶ φυγῆς (Hense², p. 23), where Chremonides is

mentioned in connection with a στόλος, has no direct bearing on this question; the language is obscure and it is merely arbitrary to connect the passage with the battle of Ephesus. Even if this were right, the passage says nothing about the battle or about its date, as τὰ παλαιὰ is contrasted with τὰ κατὰ ἡμᾶς (cf. Beloch, IV 1², p. 598 note from p. 597).

¹³ See e.g. Kolbe, p. 468 n. 4, but e.g. Büchner, *R.-E.*, s.v. Ephesos, col. 2794, refers the passages to different enterprises.

¹⁴ "Ceci n'est, je crois, contesté par personne", Holleaux, *Études*, IV, p. 305 n. 2; in 221 the city was Egyptian, according to Polyb. V 35, 11; see e.g. Meyer, *Grenzen*, p. 83; Schmitt, *Unters.*, p. 282.

¹⁵ Ferguson, *loc. cit.*, p. 200, held that during the third century B.C. there is no sign of enmity between Rhodes and Egypt except for the Third Syrian War between Euergetes and Callinicus-Hierax, but his opinion was founded on the hypothesis that the latter gave Stratonicea in Caria to Rhodes according to Polyb. XXX 31, 6, Στρατονικεῖαν ἐλάβομεν ἐν μεγάλῃ χάριτι παρ' Ἀντιόχου καὶ Σελεύκου. This combination is, however, completely arbitrary. The passage still lacks every value of proof, since the two Seleucids have not yet been identified with certainty; anyhow, there is no obvious reason why the donation should be directly combined with the battle of Ephesus. As an example of the difficulty of the problem may be adduced a theory of A. Aymard, *REG*, LVIII, 1945, p. xiii, that Antiochus III recovered the city from Macedon and gave it back to Rhodes which had previously received it from Seleucus II, a theory which was intended to explain the order of the names. On the question see Fraser and Bean, *Rhod. Per.*, pp. 102—5; J. and L. Robert, *Mélanges Isidore Lévry*, 1955, pp. 564—5 note from p. 563; cf. H. Schmitt, *Rom und Rhodos*, 1957, p. 219.

On Rhodes during this period cf. also below, Ch. VII, pp. 124—5.

¹⁶ Chr. Blinkenberg, *Lindos. Inscriptions*, 1941, col. 179; id., *Kl. Texte*, 131, 1915, *Die Lindische Tempelchronik*, p. 30. Momigliano, p. 113 n. 1, does not utilize the inscription, because the editor dates the war before 273 B.C., though he is not convinced.

¹⁷ Thus e.g. Durrbach, *Choix*, p. 45; Magie, p. 932.

¹⁸ Fraser refutes the theory which would place the battle during the Third Syrian War which Treves made in his book (cited above, p. 103 n. 23), following Ferguson and Tarn; the same date had been suggested also by Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. Lagides*, I, pp. 255—6.

¹⁹ *OGIS*, 222 and Welles, 18, I. 31; see Meyer, *Grenzen*, pp. 81—2, 91, where somewhat differing opinions are stated. Antiochus II's letter to Ephesus Welles, 17 is regarded as deriving from the period after 254/3; numismatic instances of the period are given by E. T. Newell, *The coinage of the western Seleucid mints* (= *Num. St.*, 4), 1941, pp. 291—2. It has been suggested that Ephesus became Ptolemaic during the Pergamene War ca. 262/1; e.g. Volkmann, *loc. cit.*, col. 1654, thought that the city fell into Philadelphus' hands after the defeat of Antiochus II (sic!) at Sardis.

There is room for Antiochus I within this compass; but Chremonides cannot possibly have been an Egyptian admiral before the war named after him had ended, and everything favours the view that the war between Egypt and Rhodes was extremely short. Antiochus II and the Second Syrian War are to be preferred (the customary view); several scholars have sought a connection between this nexus and the son's rebellion and death.²⁰ We do not know whether Ephesus was Egyptian for a short time just before 260 as a result of Syria's defeat (see above, n. 19), or because Philadelphus undertook a regular conquest, possibly entrusted to his governor, the son. Anyhow, this short episode is needed to provide a plausible dating for the relevant struggle for Ephesus.²¹

The interpretation of the Frontinus passage is easy: Antiochus captured Ephesus with the help of Rhodes. On the other hand, that of the Polyaeus passage had caused considerable trouble. It is generally thought most likely that the Rhodians had access to Ephesus' harbour,²² and that consequently the capture of the city mentioned in Frontinus should have preceded this episode. In this case the naval battle would result from an Egyptian attempt to recapture the city recently lost. However, Pozzi, p. 347 (29) n. 1, suggested the reverse order, basing his opinion on a statement by de Sanctis that the passage indicated the Egyptian fleet as being based in Ephesus' harbour.²³ It seems to me too beyond doubt evident that de Sanctis (and Pozzi) were right in this respect. Already the first clause, 'Ρόδιοι βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίῳ πολεμοῦντες περὶ Ἐφεσον ἦσαν, points when considered without prejudice at an object of attack, not of defence. And when Agathostratus avoided battle, he ἀνεχώρησεν ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ὅρμον whereas the Egyptians εἰς λιμένα ἐπανήρσαν. We must notice not only that ὅρμος and λιμὴν have different primary senses, but that Polyaeus cannot possibly have referred to Ephesus' harbour as ὁ αὐτὸς ὅρμος when contrasted with λιμὴν without an article added.²⁴ So, according to Polyaeus, Egypt held Ephesus and had its fleet stationed in the harbour, whereas Rhodes sought anchorage along the coast. Now this episode can be combined with Frontinus' information in a straightforward way (and also it may be worth noticing that the Rhodians in both sources attacked Ephesus' har-

bour). According to Polyaeus the Rhodians won an initial success but not a decisive victory; to win that they later helped Antiochus (II), according to Frontinus.

Certainly Ephesus was the son's natural capital as co-regent and governor of Ptolemaic Ionia; but we know nothing definite about this. Admittedly he was murdered in Ephesus, but not until well after his rebellion (see below) and then as a Seleucid; otherwise his name is not connected with the city. According to Trogus he deserted *in Asia*, i.e. in his province of Ionia, not in some particular city, like Timarchus. Both Frontinus and Polyaeus mention Rhodes' achievements, the latter even refers to the commanders by name. Further, in the former the Ephesians are Antiochus' adversaries, and in the latter the Rhodians fought expressly *king* Ptolemy, i.e. Philadelphus,²⁵ but not a word of the son or the exceptional circumstances caused by his rebellion. There is a further consideration. If the son had taken active part in the defence of Ephesus, he would have surrendered or been captured at its fall, since he was not killed in battle; but according to Trogus he deserted

²⁰ E.g. Rehm, *Didyma*, p. 264; Will, *Hist.*, I, p. 209. Meyer, *Grenzen*, p. 91 n. 2, dates the battle to 258/7; Momigliano, pp. 113, 115, to about 258—6 and about 256 respectively. Examples of other later datings are Bikerman, *REA*, XL, 1938, p. 381, who dates the battle before 255, when there was peace in the Aegean (see above, p. 110); E. Manni, *Athenaeum*, N.S. 34, 1956, p. 256 n. 3, combines the battle with the Athenian decree IG, II² 769 (see above, p. 109 n. 43); Kolbe, p. 468 n. 1, gives a list of different earlier datings of the battle. Fellmann, p. 86, regarded Ephesus as the decisive battle (he is wrong to base his opinion on Beloch and Kolbe).

²¹ The short-lived Egyptian rule at Ephesus may be attested by two tetradrachms minted in the city, probably during the reign of Ptolemy II: see H. Seyrig, *Rev. num.*, V, 1963, p. 35 n. 2 (cf. K. Regling, *Zeitschr. f. Num.*, 25, 1906, p. 364). The information given by e.g. Büchner, *loc. cit.*, that Ephesus was a part of Berenice's dowry, is mysterious.

²² E.g. Beloch, IV 1², pp. 597 n. 4, 599 with n. 2; Cary, p. 105; Momigliano, p. 113 n. 1.

²³ Pozzi imagined that when the son's rebellion collapsed (according to Athen. XIII) Ephesus remained Egyptian for some time, before Antiochus II and the Rhodians conquered the city; cf. also *ibid.*, p. 350 (32).

²⁴ Cf. Strabo XIV 1,20, εἴτα λιμὴν Πάνορμος καλούμενος, ἔχων ἰσθμὸν τῆς Ἐφεσίδος Ἀρτέμιδος.

²⁵ The information would be incomprehensible, if it applied to the son in his capacity of co-regent; nor is the son called king anywhere.

from his father - which must mean that he made his own choice. Although the theory, based on a misreading of something irrelevant in Athenaeus, that the rebellion took place in Ephesus has become generally accepted, we find that when Ephesus was taken it was officially Egyptian and that the son need not have been there at the time.²⁶ But more important, Ephesus presumably lay within the territory under the son's administration. I think we must add this fact to find the direct reason for the son's rebellion.

With reservations due to the scanty sources I suggest that, as the son had previously failed at Andros, so he had now lost the two principal cities of Ptolemaic Ionia, first Miletus (because of Timarchus) and then Ephesus. His position must have been untenable; he went over to the man who was conquering the area and forfeited his co-regency. On this reasoning Antiochus II conquered Miletus some time about April 259, when the co-regency is last heard of.

Possibly we have some further information about the son after his desertion, although the source is not quite reliable. According to Porphyry in Eusebius *Arm.*²⁷, Seleucus II failed in the beginning of the War of the Brothers in taking Sardis and Ephesus, because Alexander, the brothers' uncle on their mother's side²⁸ held the former city and Ptolemy the latter. This Ptolemy is generally identified with Euergetes, just as Sophron is generally supposed to have delivered Ephesus to Egypt. This latter view derives from the fact that no other episode was known with which the city's change of side could be combined (see below, Ch. VI). At this point, again, we have to regret that we possess no reliable chronology of the chaotic period when Hierax, appointed viceroy of Asia Minor, thereafter fought principally against his brother and Attalus I. According to Bickerman (see below, p. 123 n. 1), Hierax became viceroy in the summer of 241; after the peace between Syria and Egypt that autumn, the War of the Brothers broke out in 240; the following year Seleucus was defeated at Ancyra and before February 236 a peace was concluded between the brothers. It is implausible that Seleucus would have attacked a Ptolemaic city when he was in Asia Minor in order to strike a blow at his brother, and while Egypt and Syria are thought to have been at peace.²⁹

Also Ephesus is mentioned together with Sardis which was held by a supporter of Hierax. The explanation of this ought to be that both cities sided with Hierax. In the passage, *Ptlomeos*, mentioned here for the first time, stands without any introduction, while immediately below stands *Ptlomeos aber, der auch Tryphon*, i.e. Ptolemy III Euergetes. An identification of the two Ptolemies would not conform to Porphyry's normal use of introducing a king more exactly the first time he is mentioned.³⁰ So I suggest that the *Ptlomeos* first mentioned is the son (there is no question of any

²⁶ I feel it necessary to state that the son's role in the loss of Ephesus is a problem of minor importance. I have here drawn up a theory strictly based on the information given by our scanty sources. But Frontinus and Polyaeus gave their narratives from special points of view without covering the whole event, and Trogus may have chosen an inadequate verb. I am fully aware that at this point different views may be advanced, but this does not alter the picture of the course of events as a whole.

²⁷ *F Gr Hist* 260 F 32 (Anhang) § 8, pp. 1215-6, "nachdem es sich begeben hatte zu lebzeiten eben des Kal(1)inikos Seleukos, dass Antiochos der jüngere bruder desselben sich friedlich zu verhalten und lediglich seine sachen zu versehen nicht gewillt war—er hatte nämlich bundesgenossenschaft und unterstützung von Alexandros, der die stadt der Sardier inne hatte, der auch der bruder war von seiner mutter Laodik; und hatte auch die Galater zu bundesgenossen in zwei treffen—siegte im Lydierlande Seleukos, nahm jedoch weder Sardis ein noch Ephesos, da Ptlomeos die stadt besetzt hielt (urbem tenebat, Schoene)."

Meyer, *Grenzen*, p. 83, misread the text and thought that Hierax in vain tried to conquer Ephesus.

²⁸ See the references in Welles, p. 134 n. 3; in my view this Alexander is not mentioned in Welles, 29; see my *Remarks*, pp. 172-4, and above, p. 92.

²⁹ Will, *Hist.*, I, p. 266, imagines that Hierax had reconquered Ephesus from Egypt, which had acquired it in 246, and that Seleucus now attacked him in that city. Also the possibility of an entente between Euergetes and Hierax has been considered but rejected (see e.g. *ibid.*, p. 269; cf. below, n. 31).

³⁰ In fact I have in Porphyry found no instance where in one and the same passage a king (or anyone at all) when first mentioned is only called by his proper name and only then after a mention of another person is more exactly indicated by a surname, information of relationship or some other specifying expression; it is different with cases like F 3, where in § 5 Lysimachus is only called by name until § 8, when, becoming the principal person in the narrative, he is properly introduced; cf. at the first mention e.g. F 32, § 20, *Antiochos, der auch Kyzik(en)os*; F 41, *Philippus qui et Arideus*. On the other hand such an elucidation is commonly repeated even within a limited compass.

further Ptolemy) and that the son, as well as Alexander, sided with Hierax in the War of the Brothers, and was made commandant in Ephesus; this explains the phrase in Athenaeus, ὁ τὴν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ διέπων φρουράν.

Further on in the same Porphyry fragment, still to do with the war against Seleucus, the information is given that Hierax was helped by a Ptolemy to subdue a revolt of his Galatian mercenaries in a pitched battle at Magnesia.³¹ Magnesia is generally identified as the city on the Maeander, and the Ptolemy here as Euergetes again (see e.g. Beloch, IV 1², pp. 680, 681 n. 1). In this paragraph, however, Tryphon (Euergetes) is only mentioned in connection with the war in Syria, and this instance would be the only indication of Hierax being helped by Euergetes; as such it is weak (cf. above, nn. 29, 31). Instead I wonder whether the son is not mentioned in this passage too. The mention of *am folgenden tage, sequenti die*, favours this interpretation, since Hierax could more easily have called on his supporter in Ephesus than have procured assistance from abroad. And Ephesus is less than a day's march from Magnesia.³²

No matter whether my view on the Porphyry fragment is right or not, the son was still alive at least ca. 245 (see above, p. 115), i.e. during the reign of Euergetes. Certainly his murder may have been caused by purely personal factors, but on the other hand the expressions καταστασιασθεῖς, (see above, p. 108 n. 41) and ἐπιβουλὴ in the papyrus and ἐπιβουλεύμενος in Athenaeus make it clear that we have to deal not with an accidental occurrence but with a plot. And then the possibility of a political motive is to be considered. I think the information that the son was murdered by Thracians is important.³³ In the Adulis inscription *OGIS*, 54³⁴ Euergetes mentions among his conquests Thrace, which had previously been Seleucid, as well as Ionia, and the conquest of the country must have taken a considerable time (cf. Beloch, IV 2², p. 346). It seems reasonable to suggest that Ptolemaic activity in this part of the Aegean diversified to foment an insurrection in Ephesus with the help of pro-Egyptian mercenaries from Thrace. They murdered Hierax' supporter, the son, and handed the city over to Egypt. I regard this event as part of the same great offensive project as Adaeus' defeat, which would ex-

plain why in Trogus *Prol.* 27 the account of the battle of Andros, which, I think, has been placed in the wrong perspective (see above, pp. 105—6), follows immediately after that of Adaeus. It is tempting to adopt the idea that Euergetes himself was behind the son's murder, since he had weighty motives, both personal and political, for removing his half-brother.³⁵

We do not know the exact date of the murder. Adaeus' defeat does not give any nearer guidance (see above, p. 103 n. 23) nor can we argue satisfactorily from the location of the whole passage between the death of Ziaelas ca. 230 and that of Hierax in 227/6. Anyhow, Ephesus was Egyptian in 221 (see above, n. 14) but the insurrection in the city seems to have happened before 227, when, according to Bickerman's chronology, Hierax was killed. Before that he had lost everything in Asia Minor and (according to Trogus *Prol.* 27³⁶ and

³¹ *Antiochos (Antigonos Arm.) jedoch, der bruder des Kal(i)inikos, unterwarf, Grossphrygien durchziehend, die bewohner dem tribute und liess feldherrn auf Seleukos los. da ward er ausgeliefert von seinen höflingen den barbaren, von welchen entkommend mit nur wenigen er nach Magnesia gelangte, und am folgenden tage stellte er sich in schlachtordnung auf. abermals bundesgenössische hilfe von Ptlomeos erlangt habend, siegte er (et sequenti die aciem instruebat, atque inter alios milites etiam auxiliares a Ptlomaeo accipiens, vicit. Schoene) I do not understand Will, *Hist.*, I, p. 269: "Hierax, ayant échappé aux Galates qui s'étaient saisis de lui après leur commune défaite (my italics) se serait réfugié à Magnésie du Méandre." Will suggests that Egypt though not allied to Hierax opposed the barbarians with him.*

³² The expression *bundesgenössische hilfe, milites auxiliares* is somewhat puzzling, but it may indicate the son's more independent position or be due to a confusion already present in Eusebius, Porphyry or his source.

³³ Thracian contingents also served in the Seleucid army later at Raphia, Magnesia and Daphne: Bickerman, *Inst. Sél.*, pp. 58, 60, 63.

³⁴ Ll. 13—5, κυριεύσας δὲ --- Ἰωνίας καὶ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου καὶ Θράκης. The Delian inscriptions underwrite the accuracy of the information that Euergetes inherited control of the Cyclades (l. 8), but as regards the following period cf. above, p. 110 with n. 51. Cf. also Justin XXVII 3,4, *Ptolomeus, rex Aegypti, sub specie sororiae ultionis Asiae inhabitat*; on Ionia see e.g. Magie, p. 936 n. 31.

³⁵ Oikonomides, *loc. cit.*, imagined that the son was murdered at the instigation of Antigonos, who then, according to Frontinus, helped Rhodes attack Ephesus and that Antiochus seized the city in 259.

³⁶ *Ut a Callinico fusus in Mesopotamia Antiochus insidiantem sibi effugit Ariamenen, dein postea custodes Tryphonis.*

Justin XXVII 3, 9—11³⁷) had even been compelled to surrender to Euergetes, though he escaped from custody. In this context it is worth noticing that Hierax is called *hostis* in Justin, evidently with reference to an earlier time or period ("But Ptolemy became no more benevolent to Hierax now that he had surrendered, than he had been before, when Hierax was his enemy"). So we get a hint of a situation to which the insurrection in Ephesus is the only known parallel. This may support the suggestion that Euergetes scored a political success against Hierax by winning that city as well as, perhaps, a personal one by removing his half-brother. This event can be roughly dated to the late thirties or immediately thereafter.³⁸

To sum up, this examination regarding the son has led to the conclusion that he was a bastard; that he was co-regent with his father Philadelphus until ca. April 259; that he was sent out as the governor of Ptolemaic Ionia; that, according to Trogus *Prol.* 27 and the papyrus of Copenhagen he lost the battle of Andros and thereby made "la brutta figura"; that this weakened his position; that within his province he had to see Egypt lose

Miletus through Timarchus' rebellion and Ephesus through the attack of Antiochus II; that he took the consequences of this, rebelled, and fled to Antiochus; that he became a high Seleucid official; that at the outbreak of the War of the Brothers he perhaps joined Hierax and became commandant in Ephesus; that in the late thirties or immediately after he was killed there by Thracian mercenaries at the time of Ptolemy Euergetes' offensive in the north Aegean, maybe at the latter's instigation.

³⁷ *Igitur cum profugo nusquam tutus locus esset, ad Ptolomeum hostem, cuius fidem tutiorem quam fratris existimabat, decurrit, memor vel quae facturus fratri esset vel quae meruisset a fratre. Sed Ptolomeus non amicior dedito quam hosti factus adservari cum artissima custodia iubet. Hinc quoque Antiochus --- deceptis custodibus elabatur.*

³⁸ I dare not suggest a more exact date. On the one hand, it may seem that the condition requisite for the insurrection should be a period when Hierax' position was weak, as already about 238, when according to Bickerman's chronology he was defeated for the first time by Attalus, as well as about 230 and thereafter he had lost all his authority. On the other, it may have concerned a locally limited stroke. We know so little. But inevitably the placing of the information of the son in Trogus supports a dating to immediately after 230, which also in a wider context seems plausible.

VI. SOPHRON, Ο ΕΠΙ ΤΗΣ ΕΦΕΣΟΥ

Sophron, 3, l. 4, is presumably identical with the Sophron ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐφέσου¹ whom Laodice, the consort of Antiochus II, according to Athenaeus XIII 593 b—d (= *F Gr Hist* 81 F 24)² had decided to remove; he was, however, saved by his lover Danae at the cost of her life. As Athenaeus is quoting Pylarchus, there is no reason to doubt that the narrative of Danae's dying hour, when she accused Laodice of having murdered Antiochus,³ comes to us from a contemporary source. It follows that the episode must have taken place at the earliest during the second half of 246,⁴ although it may very well have been later. Thus Sophron was the Seleucid commandant of Ephesus in 246, the same office that Ptolemy the son seems to have held at a later date when, during the War of the Brothers, he supported Hierax (see Ch. V, pp. 118—9). Athenaeus connects the two men in XIII 593 b—d, a—b, but in particular the association in 3 gives the impression that they were contemporary high officials in the Seleucid Empire, acting in Asia Minor. Apart from this we have no information about Sophron. At least he is irrelevant to the discussion of the battle of Andros according to Trogus *Prol.* 27: see above, pp. 103—6.⁵

Sophron is generally considered to have played an important political role: he was apparently compelled to change sides after Laodice's attempted assassination and so delivered Ephesus to Egypt.⁶ But here again, this view is the result of

〈λέγων〉· «ἡ πάρεδρος τῆς Λαοδίκης Δανάη, πιστευομένη ὑπ' αὐτῆς τὰ πάντα, ---, Σώφρωνος δὲ γεγονοῦσα πρότερον ἐρωμένη, παρακολουθοῦσα διότι ἀποκτείναι βούλεται τὸν Σώφρωνα ἢ Λαοδίκη διανέουσι τῷ Σώφρονι μηνύουσα τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν. ὁ δὲ συλλαβὼν καὶ προσποιηθεὶς συγχωρεῖν περὶ τῶν λέγει δι' ἡμέρας παρητήσατο εἰς σκέψιν· καὶ συγχωρησάσης νυκτὸς ἔφυγεν εἰς Ἐφεσον --- τὴν δὲ Δανάην φασὶν --- ἀπαγομένην τε ἐπὶ τὸν κρημὸν εἰπεῖν ὡς δικαίως οἱ πολλοὶ καταφρονοῦσι τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅτε ἔγὼ μὲν τὸν γενόμενόν μοι ἄνδρα σώσασα τοιαύτην χάριτα παρὰ τοῦ δαιμονίου λαμβάνω, Λαοδίκη δὲ τὸν ἴδιον ἀποκτείνασα τηλικαύτης τιμῆς ἀξιοῦται.»

³ There are also other sources indicating that Laodice murdered Antiochus (see e.g. W. Otto, *Abh. München*, XXXIV 1, 1928, p. 61 n. 5). However, Eusebius I, p. 251 (Schoene = *F Gr Hist* 260 F 32 (Anhang) § 6), which is quoted wrongly by Meyer, *Grenzen*, p. 82, is not relevant. Modern scholars have not reached agreement on the circumstances of the affair.

⁴ According to Magie, p. 735 n. 21, Antiochus died not later than April 246, but a cuneiform Hellenistic list of kings states that his death occurred earlier than late July/late August 246: see A. J. Sachs and D. J. Wiseman, *Iraq*, XVI, 1954, p. 206, "The report of the king's death reached Babylon between July 30 and August 29, 246 B.C." (cf. R. A. Parker and W. H. Dubberstein, *Babylonian chronology* (Brown Univ. St., XIX, 1956 (1961)), p. 21. H. Bengtson, *Historia*, IV, 1955, pp. 113—4, underlines that the War of Laodice cannot have started before the late summer or the autumn of 246; cf. J. and L. Robert, *Bull. épigr.*, 1956, 49).

⁵ Cary, pp. 106, 141, 403, summarily gave 245 as a date for the battle of Andros, and declared that in this battle the Egyptian admiral Sophron was defeated, whom he distinguished from the Seleucid officer Sophron in Ephesus (cf. *ibid.*, Ind. p. 446) though the latter was supposed to have delivered the city to Egypt (see below).

⁶ E.g. Beloch, IV 1², p. 678 n. 2. Otto, *loc. cit.*, pp. 56—8, 61—4, placed the episode in a larger context of defection from Seleucus-Laodice to Ptolemy-Berenice. Also Will, *Hist.*, I, p. 222, thinks the Athenaeus passage makes it clear that Sophron opposed Seleucus. However, it is not possible to discover from this source any reason for Laodice's aversion to him, though this, certainly, may well have been caused by political antagonism during the unsettled period in question.

¹ The reason why Ephesus was placed under a governor, while Miletus, for instance, was not, was that the city became a royal residence (Magie, p. 97).

² Δανάην δὲ τὴν Λεοντίου τῆς Ἐπικουρείου θυγατέρα ἐταίριζομένην καὶ αὐτὴν Σώφρων εἶχεν ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐφέσου δι' ἣν αὐτὸς μὲν ἐσώθη ἐπιβουλεύμενος ὑπὸ Λαοδίκης, ἡ δὲ κατεκρημνίσθη, ὡς γράφει Φύλαρχος διὰ τῆς δωδεκάτης τάδε

an attempt to attach the handing over of the city to a known episode. Through Porphyry in Eusebius (referred to above, n. 3) we know that Antiochus II died in Ephesus in 246, and through the Gourob papyrus (Wilcken, *Chrestom.*, I 2, no. 1; see L. Robert in Holleaux, *Études*, III, p. 309 n. 7) that at some later date the city was in the hands of Laodice; this is also supported by numismatic evidence.⁷ However, the investigation concerning Ptolemy the son in the previous chapter leads us to conclude that Ephesus remained Seleucid in the thirties and sided with Hierax during the War of the Brothers. In any case, Mylasa (in 3) cannot possibly have used a letter from Sophron if he had already deserted Seleucus II (see above, p. 15). I would date 3 to 240 B.C.(?). Consequently, Sophron seems to have no connection with Egypt's acquisition of Ephesus.

To conclude, my view on Ephesus' history during the period in question is that the city was officially Ptolemaic until Antiochus II conquered it. This must have happened sometime around April 259; Sophron was its governor about 246 and it re-

mained Seleucid after this date. Possibly it sided with Hierax during the War of the Brothers when Ptolemy the son was its commandant. During his offensive campaign in the northern Aegean Euergetes conquered it with the help of Thracian mercenaries who murdered Ptolemy the son; this occurred in the late thirties or immediately after.

Meyer, *Grenzen*, p. 83, considered the possibility that Ephesus was already Ptolemaic when Sophron fled there from Laodice, who was most probably in Sardis. Momigliano, p. 111 n. 1, dating the battle of Andros to ca. 258, suggests the reverse, namely that if he lost the battle he might have deserted to the Syrians when Berenice married Antiochus II in 252.

⁷ Newell, *loc. cit.*, p. 293, only demanded "sufficient time for the coining of at least a few pieces in the name of Seleucus II before the city fell to the Ptolemies".

No Seleucid king seems to have minted silver coins in Ephesus (which is explained by the free status given to the city). We have evidence only of two rare bronze pieces, one issued during the reign of Antiochus II, the other during that of Seleucus II. The Ptolemies seem not to have imposed a mint on the city; there is no Ptolemaic coin, minted in Ephesus, which can be dated to the period immediately after 246 B.C. or to the thirties: see H. Seyrig, *Rev. num.*, V, 1963, p. 35.

VII. MACEDONIAN ACTIVITY IN CARIA IN LATE 3rd CENT. B.C.

At Labraunda epigraphical evidence that Antigonos Doson campaigned in Caria has been discovered (5, ll. 6—7, 48; 7, l. 12) and we also know that Philip V had great authority in Caria at the time of his accession: see Ch. II and IV, pp. 95—6. This presents an entirely new aspect to his appearance on this stage.

The Macedonian interests in Asia Minor and Caria date back to Antigonos Monophthalmus and Demetrius Poliorcetes, a fact emphasized by W. Bettingen, *König Ant. Dos. v. Makedonien*, Diss. Jena, 1912, pp. 21—5, and Schmitt, *Unters.*, p. 244. But, as is generally agreed, Doson's expedition from which Philip's authority derived, would have been impossible had not the political situation been so very turbulent in Asia Minor, particularly in the West, during the thirties and twenties.¹

Very soon after the end of the Third Syrian War (Λαοδικαῖος πόλεμος), in 241 B.C., Seleucus II had to fight against his brother Antiochus Hierax (vicerey of Asia Minor); defeated at Ancyra, he was forced to cede the Seleucid dominions in Asia Minor to Hierax.² However, Attalus who had become the dominant power in Asia Minor defeated Hierax first near Pergamum, then in several battles some years later, and finally in Caria.³ Some time after 230 Hierax had lost all his power in Asia Minor and after a desperate attack on his brother in Mesopotamia he died ca. 227. His authority cannot have been very great since his right to the overlordship of Asia Minor must have been doubtful, for his position was maintained by

the most obscure in the history of the Hellenistic world" (Rostovtzeff, *SEHH*, p. 24). The most reliable chronology at present (cf. my *Remarks*, n. 2) is that of E. Bickerman, *Berytus*, VIII, 1943—4, pp. 76—8, who gives the following approximate time-table: Summer, 241: Antiochus Hierax vicerey of Asia Minor. Autumn, 241: Peace between Syria and Egypt. 240 (I quote the terms used by Bickerman): The war between Seleucus II and Antiochus Hierax. 239: Seleucus II defeated at Ancyra. Antiochus Hierax invaded Pergamum. 238: Antiochus Hierax defeated by Attalus. Attalus proclaimed king. Before Feb. 236: Peace between Antiochus Hierax and Seleucus II. 230: Second war between Attalus and Antiochus Hierax. 229: Battle at Coloe. 228: Antiochus Hierax invaded Mesopotamia; his defeat (227: Antiochus Hierax killed in Thrace by a band of Gauls). For references to the Laodicean War see Magic, p. 736 n. 22; on the events following the peace see *ibid.*, pp. 736—9 n. 23—5. Bengtson, *Strategie*, II, p. 83 n. 1, makes Hierax co-regent ca. 242/1 to ca. 228, and speaks, pp. 93—4, of "Übertragung des kleinasiatischen Gebietes als besonderes Königtum" after June 243 according to *MAMA*, VI 154 which is dated to after Seleucus (p. 105 note from p. 104). Bengtson, pp. 104—6, stresses that Hierax was not an independent king but a co-regent who had to recognize Seleucus' sovereignty of the whole empire. Esther V. Hansen, *The Attalids of Pergamon*, 1947, p. 34, suggested that the War of the Brothers broke out "soon after 236". J. Beloch, *Hist. Zeitschr.*, 60, 1888, pp. 499—512, 'Seleukos Kallinikos und Antiochos Hierax', suggested a date not before autumn 236. Earlier opinions on the war are discussed by Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. Sél.*, 1913—4, pp. 558—63, who himself dated the battle of Ancyra to ca. 235 (*ibid.*, p. 108). The sources are not unanimous on the facts of Hierax' death: see Walbank, *Comm. on Polybius*, I, p. 600.

² "after 236 Antiochus Hierax ruled Caria", Buckler and Calder, on *MAMA*, VI 154, cited with approval by L. and J. Robert, *La Carie*, II, p. 285. "Seleucus II and Hierax, to our knowledge, co-operated in nothing", Welles, p. 36.

³ See also A. Schober, *Wien. Anz.*, 78, 1941, pp. 1—14, 'Zu den Siegesanathemen Attalos I.', where some datings differ from those cited above.

¹ As is pointed out above, e.g. p. 89, it has not been possible up to now to establish a certain chronology after the end of the War of Laodice. "The period between the battle of Corupedion and the battle of Sellasia -- is

his Galatian mercenaries⁴ and he was repeatedly defeated by Attalus. Moreover, Seleucus II's personal authority in Asia Minor must have been small since he had been driven out. However, Olympichus, as far as we can see, remained loyal to him and it is possible that he tried to play an active part in Carian affairs (see my *Remarks*, p. 174). While disregarding the activities of the two brothers, we must remember that the Seleucid hold on the remote Caria cannot, on the whole, have been strong; this point is constantly emphasized (e.g. Magie, pp. 144—5). After the War of the Brothers and the defeats of Hierax, the Seleucid power in Asia Minor had been completely broken.⁵ In about 227 B.C. Attalus was the master of Asia Minor north of the Taurus apart from some countries and cities, just as Egypt and Rhodes controlled most of the Lycian and Carian coast (Schmitt, *Unters.*, pp. 279—81).

Since Attalus had defeated Hierax in Caria, he probably regarded large parts of that country as his own, but to what extent he was able to utilize his victory we do not know (Schmitt, *ibid.*, p. 42). Rhodes in its turn controlled large parts of Caria south of Stratonicea. The relations between Pergamum and the island were not particularly cordial since Attalus had not contributed to the vast aid given to Rhodes after the earthquake and later came into conflict with it in 220/19 over Byzantium (see R. B. McShane, *The foreign policy of the Attalids of Pergamum*, 1964, pp. 95—7). We have no epigraphical evidence relating to Attalus' rule over Caria ca. 228—3,⁶ but it seems reasonable to assume that during the short years before Achaicus appeared, Attalus was not very active in Caria and never (in view of Rhodes' position there) exercised complete control over the country, at least not over its free cities.

Thus Doson presumably came to Caria as to a country temporarily without a ruler, since Olympichus controlled only limited areas and was not one of the protagonists in these affairs. As regards Mylasa we have no indication either from the city itself or from Labraunda, of any dependence on Pergamum and it seems probable that, as a free city, it was able to stand up to Attalus just as it was strong enough later to repel an attack by one of Philip V's men.⁷

Most scholars date Doson's expedition to the year 227,⁸ but they differ as to its purpose. It has

been generally thought to have been directed against Egypt. E.g. Walbank, *Philip V*, pp. 12—3,

⁴ On the difficult question of the dating of Attalus' different battles against the Galatians see Magie, pp. 734—5 n. 20; on the role they played in the struggle between the brothers and with Attalus see also M. Launey, *Rech. sur les armées hellén.*, I, 1949, pp. 504—7.

⁵ See e.g. Meyer, *Grenzen*, pp. 102, 137; Bengtson, *Gr. Gesch.*², pp. 399—400, "Bis 228/7 v. Chr., in welchem Jahr Antiochos Hierax in Thrakien gefallen ist, waren die kleinasiatischen Besitzungen vom übrigen Reich praktisch getrennt, das Seleukidenreich war als Machtfaktor im Westen völlig ausgeschaltet", and *ibid.*, pp. 404, 572, it is emphasized that Attalus I was the master of the whole Seleucid Asia Minor ca. 228—3.

⁶ See my *Remarks*, pp. 171, 176 (with reference to Bengtson, *Strategie*, II, pp. 120—1, 196, 372) where I have tried to demonstrate that Welles, 29 was not written by Attalus; see also above, p. 92; Meyer, *Grenzen*, pp. 102, 139—40, regarded the episode as too short to leave any definite trace.

⁷ Philip's attack on Mylasa through Philocles, as well as his devastation of Alabanda's territory, was at a late date, according to Holleaux, *Études*, IV, pp. 262, 265, 294, cf. *ibid.*, 333 n. 2, from Polyb. XVI 24, 7—8 (see below, n. 34), either in the autumn of 201 or the winter of 201/200, which is explained by Philip's desire not to attack Seleucid vassals unnecessarily. Holleaux regarded Mylasa as one of these. That Mylasa resisted Philip might be shown *ex silentio* by Livy XXXIII 30, 3, according to whom Philip in the peace of 196 *deduceret et ex his quae in Asia essent, Euromos Pedasisque et Bargyllis et Iaso et Myrina et Abydo et Thaso et Perintho* (cf. Bengtson, *ibid.*, p. 370 n. 2), but not all the occupied cities are recorded.

⁸ Holleaux always denied the authenticity of the expedition (*Études*, IV, pp. 335 n. 1; cf. *ibid.*, pp. 37 n. 1, 223 n. 1, 277 n. 3). Meyer, *Grenzen*, p. 67, wanted to see a satisfactory epigraphical proof but regarded the expedition as successful. However, in his *Nachträge*, *ibid.*, p. 161, he too denied its existence, following Kolbe, pp. 459—64. R. Cohen, *La Grèce et l'hellénisation du monde antique*², 1939, p. 488, wrote "Antigonos Doson—qui n'a sûrement pas été assez fou comme on l'a quelquefois prétendu pour se mêler à des aventures lointaines en Carie". Still Magie, p. 749 n. 40, expressed some doubt, "if indeed this expedition really took place".

St. Dow and Ch. F. Edson Jr., *Harv. St. in Cl. Phil.*, XLVIII, 1937, pp. 168—72, placed the expedition in 226 referring among other things to the Athenian decree B. Meritt, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 525 ff. J. Fine, *AJP*, LXI, 1940, pp. 142—3, criticized these scholars and returned to the traditional date of 227. He suggested that the expedition was followed by the mutiny of the army, whereafter Doson was declared king, and that it started probably in July, although, *ibid.*, p. 165 n. 164, having heard by letter of Walbank's arguments in his *Philip V*, (pp. 11 n. 4, 12 n. 5), he too regarded May as a possibility. See also above, p. 88 n. 12.

declared that "both the objects and details are exceedingly obscure. Most probably it was intended as a move against Egypt, the old enemy, whose activity in Thrace was a constant irritation". Cary, p. 160, regarded the expedition as "a mysterious raid on Caria" and suggested that Doson "made a preventive attack upon Ptolemy III in anticipation of a fresh attempt on his part to extend the Egyptian dominion in the Aegean".⁹

However, rather than look for an explanation of Doson's Carian expedition in the general political situation of the Aegean at the time, we can find a solution in Caria itself; here I follow McShane, cited above, pp. 97—100, and Will, *Hist.*, I, pp. 232, 269, 333, 335. Both scholars state that the expedition was not aimed against Egypt (or Syria) but against Attalus, in order to check his advancement. This interpretation seems plausible in the light of the subsequent hostility between Pergamum and Macedon. McShane stresses that the expedition may have been carried out with the consent of Rhodes, since Caria was to a great extent within the island's sphere of interest; moreover, Doson was one of Rhodes' benefactors after the earthquake. Will suggests that in fear of Attalus Olympichus attached himself to Doson, preferring a distant (i.e. Macedonian) lord to one living in the same area; so Doson may have been invited to Caria. To me Will's suggestion seems reasonable, if we include in the active party Rhodes, Mylasa and other cities, to whom the threat of a dependence on Attalus was imminent.

There is a similar difference of opinion concerning the result of Doson's expedition. Bouché-Leclercq, for instance, *Hist. Lagides*, I, pp. 280 n. 1, 281, suggested that Doson was unable to retain his possessions in Caria in his absence, so Philip "voulut les reprendre". Walbank, *loc. cit.*, p. 13, declared that the expedition "had few lasting results", and *JHS*, LXII, cited above, pp. 10—1, emphasized that the sources did not support the theory that Doson had made Caria a Macedonian province. Hatto Schmitt, *Unters.*, p. 42, said that the territory in Caria of which Doson became master cannot have been very large.¹⁰ On the other hand, A. Aymard, *REA*, XLVIII, 1946, p. 111 (=id., *Études d'histoire ancienne*, 1967, p. 139), found that remarkable results had been achieved, and Bengtson, *Gr. Gesch.*², p. 405, declares that Doson "einige territoriale Erwerbungen zu

verzeichnen hatte". Walbank, *Philip V*, p. 13 n. 2, rightly suggests that "Macedon may have maintained some connections with Caria, which were strengthened with the decay of Egypt towards the end of the century". Using Doson's Carian expedition and the material then available as a starting point, already Nicolaus, pp. 80—4 and ff., carefully explained that before 201 Philip had neither inherited nor possessed any land in Caria but was on quite good terms with several cities which, however, (according to Nicolaus, p. 83) were completely free of the king's authority.

However, the earlier views of the problem hinged on the conception of Olympichus as a Macedonian strategos (see above, pp. 87—8). But Schmitt, *Unters.*, p. 245, knowing the date of Philip's letter 7, maintains that the Macedonian domination of Caria after Doson's expedition lasted continually at least a decade. Will, *ibid.*, p. 232, emphasizes that we do not know the extent of Doson's success, but, p. 333, he maintains that Caria was not under permanent occupation, but that Doson was only in communication with Olympichus (i.e. and Mylasa and other cities, see above). In *Hist.*,

Maria Teresa Piraino, *Antigone Dosone re di Macedonia*, cited above, 1953, pp. 313—9, gave an unconvincing suggestion, based on different psychological and historical grounds, of the year 228.

⁹ See also Bettingen, *loc. cit.*, pp. 21—5, 50; Tarn, *CAH*, VII, p. 722; lately Schmitt, *Unters.*, p. 244. Already Niese, II, p. 326, suggested that Doson had been in alliance with Seleucus II, and in 1913 he was followed by Bouché-Leclercq., *Hist. Sél.*, p. 121, who added Seleucus III as a possibility.

According to P. Treves, *Athenaeum*, N.S. 13, 1935, pp. 38—41 (cf. *ibid.*, p. 47), the expedition was intended to weaken the Seleucid power, which cannot possibly have been wanted. In the context Treves quite wrongly referred to *Syll*³, 502 (= P. M. Fraser, *Samothece*, 2, 1, *The inscr. on stone*, 1960, pp. 39—40); see Fraser, *ibid.*, pp. 7—9.

¹⁰ Cary, p. 160, suggested that Doson "presently evacuated his posts in Caria, and he allowed the Macedonian fleet to fall in decay" for which the reason "was no doubt the offer of alliance from Aratus, and the prospect of regaining Corinth"; *ibid.*, p. 106, "it is doubtful whether he retained any part of Caria after the peace of 223".

Piraino, *loc. cit.*, p. 341, wrongly stated "L'Evergete lasciò mano libera alla Macedonia in Grecia --- dato che la Caria al tempo di Filippo V non era più macedonica (Polyb. III 2, 8; XVI 2 sqq.)" (these references are not relevant in the context), "bisogna ritenere che Antigono ne avesse lasciato, come contropartita, il possesso a Tolemeo".

II, p. 107, Will states that a part of Caria was on the occasion of Philip's arrival "sous suzeraineté antigonide (mais sous l'autorité de fait d'Olympichus d'Alinda) depuis Dôsôn".

Now it seems possible to make a more decisive statement concerning the results of Doson's expedition. Mylasa received him, which may mean that the city wanted protection against Attalus, as I suggest, and since the evidence applies to Philip V the good relations between Doson and Mylasa were maintained. It is evident from the relevant series of letters at Labraunda and the Rhodian decrees found in Iasus, that the districts of Mylasa and Iasus (and probably also of other Carian cities) were within the Macedonian sphere of interest. This was the result of the activities of Doson (see below). Olympichus was able to retain his position as a dynast, to maintain an armed force and hold various positions until at least ca. 220.¹¹ I suggest (see above) that Attalus never established himself in Caria and this is corroborated by the Peace of Apamea in which Rhodes was given Lycia, except Telmessus, and Caria south of the Maeander. Consequently, supposing that Doson came to Caria (whether by invitation or not) in order to check Attalus' increasing power there, his expedition was absolutely successful; cf. also my *Remarks*, p. 173.

Soon after Antiochus Hierax' death, Seleucus II himself died; his son Seleucus III failed completely in his efforts to re-establish the Seleucid power in Asia Minor and was defeated by Attalus (cf. p. 91). He "once again brought the realm within sight of final collapse" (Cary, p. 112) and at the time of his death in 223 or 222¹² the Seleucids had lost Asia Minor altogether, which explains why the troops offered Achaeus the diadem (Bikerman, *Inst. Sél.*, p. 10), although he declined it then. Attalus now ruled roughly the whole of Asia Minor, $\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\nu\text{---}\tau\eta\nu\ \epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \tau\alpha\upsilon\acute{\rho}\omicron\upsilon\ \delta\upsilon\nu\alpha\sigma\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$, Polyb. IV 48, 7, and consequently Caria too. But I must stress that Macedon controlled at least some parts of that country such as Mylasa, and, by 222, Achaeus, still at Antiochus III's orders, apparently won everything back. Attalus, therefore, had little time to profit by his victories in Caria (cf. above). In 220 Achaeus accepted the throne and Asia Minor was once more lost to the lawful Seleucid ruler for a time,¹³ since Antiochus III was fully occupied in the eastern parts of the

empire with enemies at home and abroad. We have no reliable information about Achaeus' activity until his *apostasis*, but his authority in Asia Minor cannot have been very great since the defection proved unsuccessful although he gained control of the army.¹⁴ Whether he was in contact with Egypt or not is uncertain;¹⁵ his main efforts were directed towards the southern districts of Asia Minor and later towards the north-west. There seems to have been peace between Attalus and Achaeus ca. 220 and hostilities were not resumed before 218 (Schmitt, *ibid.*, p. 262 with n. 2; cf. Will, *Hist.*, II, p. 38—9).

Even before the new Labraunda inscriptions were discovered, it was generally accepted that Philip V's authority in Caria was the result of Doson's Carian expedition.¹⁶ Now we know that this authority was already in force at the very beginning of Philip's reign. In the mere outline of the course of events given above I have aimed at pointing out that just as the turbulent political situation in Asia Minor inspired Doson's expedition, the continuous political instability and the unpopularity of the Asiatic protagonists must have made the advantage of being incorporated in the

¹¹ Possibly Olympichus was at least formally subordinate to Achaeus, who in 223 became "chief strategos" in Lydia and who wielded considerable power throughout the whole of Seleucid Asia Minor: see Bengtson, *Strategie*, II, pp. 107—9, and further below.

¹² Not before July 223, Schmitt, *Unters.*, pp. 2—3. For the year 222 see Walbank, *Comm. on Polybius*, II, p. 640.

¹³ See Schmitt, *ibid.*, p. 43; cf. Walbank, *ibid.*, I, p. 601. Schmitt, p. 115, dates Achaeus' accession to most probably early summer 220, since in the summer of 222 he had already pressed back Attalus to his earlier territory and confined him in Pergamum (*ibid.*, p. 161); cf. Éd. Will, *Rev. Phil.*, XL, 1966, pp. 290—2; *id.*, *Hist.*, II, pp. 18—21.

¹⁴ Schmitt, *ibid.*, p. 165; cf. Holleaux, *Études*, III, p. 129—30. See also Polyb. V 77, 1, $\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\ \delta'\ \eta\nu\ \phi\omicron\beta\epsilon\rho\acute{o}\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \beta\alpha\rho\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \tau\alpha\upsilon\acute{\rho}\omicron\upsilon\ \kappa\alpha\tau\omicron\iota\kappa\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota$, and IV 48, 12, $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \delta\iota\acute{\alpha}\delta\eta\mu\alpha\ \pi\epsilon\rho\iota\theta\acute{\epsilon}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\ \pi\rho\omicron\sigma\alpha\chi\omicron\rho\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\alpha\varsigma\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu\ \beta\alpha\rho\acute{\upsilon}\tau\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \eta\nu\ \tau\acute{o}\tau\epsilon\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \phi\omicron\beta\epsilon\rho\acute{o}\tau\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\nu\ \epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \tau\alpha\upsilon\acute{\rho}\omicron\upsilon\ \beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \delta\upsilon\nu\alpha\sigma\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$.

In 213 he was executed; see the references Bengtson, *Gr. Gesch.*, p. 406 n. 2; Walbank, *Comm. on Polybius*, II, pp. 93, 97.

¹⁵ See Holleaux, *Études*, III, p. 131 ff.; Walbank, *Comm. on Polybius*, I, pp. 502, 505; *contra* Will, *Hist.*, II, p. 20.

¹⁶ E.g. Bengtson, *Strategie*, II, p. 367; Magie, p. 749 n. 40, "he may have been influenced by" the expedition of Doson in 227 B.C.; cf. above, n. 8; L. Robert in Holleaux, *Études*, IV, p. 162 n. 1; Will, *Hist.*, I, p. 335.

Macedonian sphere of interest generally recognized by the districts involved. Philip was still "Greece's darling" and consequently it was his authority that Mylasa, Iasus and possibly other cities sought for the resolution of disputes involving their territories.¹⁷

Owing to the scarcity of sources, the difficult question arises of how close the relations were between Philip and Mylasa (and other Carian cities). In order to examine it we have first, I think, to consider Doson's role in the matter of Labraunda. He simply decided the status of the shrine and of the priest, and gave the priest a letter to the Chrysaoreis containing his decision (5, ll. 5 ff.). The other party, Mylasa, was not informed and, since the priest did not dare to make use of the letter, the situation was not clarified, but everything remained as it had been while Doson lived. This settlement necessarily gives the impression that Doson was the authority to which to apply, but not the power who regulated and controlled all questions in a country dependent on himself.

Since Philip's position in Caria was inherited from Doson, his power in this country at the very outset of his reign cannot have exceeded Doson's; as far as I can see, he inherited the same authority within the Macedonian sphere of interest that Doson had previously acquired. This view is supported by the interpretation of the Rhodian decrees from Iasus that I have given, as well as by his role in the affair of Labraunda. In 5—7 Mylasa appears as a free city, independent of Philip, who respects its government by addressing himself to its *boule* and *demos* (5, ll. 1—2).¹⁸ Above, pp. 87—91, I have accounted for my opinion that Olympichus, though a much lesser figure, was not dependent on Philip; in 201/0 Mylasa repelled an attack by Philip. Consequently, whatever Philip's short- or long-term ambitions may have been, Mylasa rightly seems to have regarded itself as *de facto* independent of Philip.

Since our information on Philip's relations with Caria has now been considerably augmented, it is worth touching on his own Carian campaign, although the inscriptions of Labraunda which concern Philip do not cover the period later than 220 B.C.

In the meantime "The Seleucids never made any serious attempt to recover the territory they had

lost in this part of Asia Minor" (Rostovtzeff, *SEHH*, p. 43), since Antiochus III in spite of his ambitions "to restore the early Seleucid Empire to its former greatness" (id., *ibid.*, p. 49),¹⁹ had no chance of effecting this during the early years of his reign when his activity was directed towards Egypt and the eastern parts of the Empire. The overthrow of Achaeus was an isolated episode (cf. above and Will, *loc. cit.*, II, p. 41). I must mention, however, that when he returned from his campaign in the East, he came (204 or 203) to Teos with his φίλοι and his troops, having already made friendly diplomatic contact with the city (see Herrmann, pp. 95—100, 106, 108—10) and was also personally active in Caria through the agency of Zeuxis.²⁰ Amyzon passed from the hands of Egypt to Antiochus (see Wilhelm, *Wien. Anz.*, 57, 1920, pp. 51—2).²¹ Alabanda praised him, and Tralleis was possibly within his sphere of interest (see Schmitt, *Unters.*, pp. 228, 245—6). The extent of his activity in Caria is not known, but it is important to note that while these three cities

¹⁷ "Some time before 219 B.C. Attalus I had entered into relations with the Aetolian League", Esther V. Hansen, *loc. cit.*, p. 46. This may, to a certain extent, have meant a counter-attack on the Macedonian influence in Caria.

¹⁸ Cf. R. Herzog in Bengtson, *Strategie*, II, p. 400, "Die politischen Verhältnisse der makedonischen Städte werden dadurch charakterisiert, dass das Wort δῆμος, d.h. 'soveränes Volk', nicht vorkommt, sondern auch von Kos in den Antworten nur πόλις gebraucht wird, obwohl Kos autonom war und immer die Formel hat: ἐδοξε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ (oder: τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ)".

Dow and Edson Jr., *Harv. St.*, XLVIII, cited above, p. 139, wrote "If a letter of an Antigonid king of Macedon to an independent state were discovered, its salutation would probably begin βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων nomen"; cf. Nicolaus, p. 29 n. 107; P. Treves, *Les études cl.*, IX, 1940, pp. 150—6. This view, however, seems to be overburdened by the material produced by the authors, which is completed by J. Pouilloux and N. M. Verdélis, *BCH*, LXXIV, 1950, p. 42, and has already been refuted by A. Aymard, *Mélanges De Visscher*, III (cited on 5, l. 1), pp. 79—84.

¹⁹ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 634; Magie, pp. 16—7; Schmitt, *Unters.*, p. 86; Herrmann, pp. 116—8.

²⁰ Zeuxis was viceroy of Asia Minor with his residence in Sardis, and probably held the title of στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τῆς τῶδε τοῦ Ταύρου καταλελειμένου, Bengtson, *Strategie*, II, pp. 109—15, 407. On Zeuxis see e.g. Walbank, *Comm. on Polybius*, II, pp. 503, 649.

²¹ The epigraphical evidence consists of Welles, 38, dated to 203 B.C., the contemporary *ibid.*, 39 and 40, and *OGIS*, 235. See also Herrmann, p. 95.

were not very far from Mylasa, the nature of the terrain meant that they were in an entirely different part of Caria than that in which the authority of Dason and Philip in the early part of his reign is documented (see, however, below, pp. 130—1, 135). By the time that Antiochus finally turned westwards, Pergamum's rule had been further stabilized, although Antiochus had already in 204 or 203 deprived Attalus of at least Teos (see the references given by Herrmann, above and *ibid.*, pp. 110—1, cf. pp. 114—6). Several cities which had formerly been Seleucid were either free or Ptolemaic, Rhodes' influence was greater than before, and he also had to reckon with Philip, whose inherited authority in some parts of Caria was well established and who, after the peace with Rome in 205, wanted to make practical use of this authority by enlarging the territory he used as a base.²²

This background is to be kept in mind when studying the agreement of different spheres of interest or, what Rostovtzeff, *ibid.*, p. 51, calls "the scandalous treaty" between Antiochus and Philip when Ptolemy Philopater was dead.²³ According to this understanding or treaty, Ptolemy Epiphanes' holdings in Caria would fall to Philip. This information is given in Polyb. III 2,8, Πτολεμαίου τοῦ βασιλέως μεταλλάξαντος τὸν βίον συμφρονήσαντες Ἀντίοχος καὶ Φίλιππος ἐπὶ διαίρεσει τῆς τοῦ καταλειμμένου παιδὸς ἀρχῆς ἤρξαντο κακοπραγμονεῖν καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἐπιβάλλειν Φίλιππος μὲν τοῖς κατ' Αἴγυπτον²⁴ καὶ Καρίαν καὶ Σάμον, Ἀντίοχος δὲ τοῖς κατὰ Κόλιν Συρίαν καὶ Φοινίκην. and also in App. *Maced.* 4, 1, where, however, the passage in question contains several errors, like Ἰωνίαν instead of Καρίαν.²⁵

However, D. Magie, *JRS*, XXIX, 1939, pp. 32—44, doubted whether "The 'agreement' between Philip V and Antiochus III for the partition of the Egyptian empire", had in fact been made on the occasion of Philopater's death, and regarded the information as "a deliberate fabrication for political purposes" by Rhodes and Attalus I in order to impel Rome to intervene. Magie adhered to his view in *Roman rule*, pp. 15, 750—1 n. 42; on Rome's fear of the coalition as a principal reason for its participation in the Second Macedonian War see the references *ibid.*, n. 43. He found it difficult to explain the information given by Polyb. XVI 1,8, describing Philip's request for help and

food for the army κατὰ τὰς συνθήκας. The help was half-heartedly given by Zeuxis,²⁶ who represented the interests of Antiochus in this area of Asia Minor for some years (cf. Wilhelm, *loc. cit.*, pp. 56—7; see further below).

In a review of L. De Regibus, *La repubblica romana e gli ultimi re di Macedonia*, 1951, who

²² Rostovtzeff, *SEHH*, p. 634, speaks of Philip's "desire to improve his economic situation"; Magie, p. 13, stated that Philip "evolved the plan of building up an empire in the Aegean", which implied the crushing of Rhodes' power; Walbank, *Philip V*, p. 108, explained Philip's activity in the Aegean and Asia Minor towards the end of the century by the disturbance of the balance of power through Antiochus' victories in the East.

²³ On the very much discussed problem of the time of his death see Schmitt, *Unters.*, pp. 189—236. Schmitt himself, referring to inscriptions and papyri, dates it to before mid-August, 204, while Polybius, who does not permit a dating before September, 203, is supposed to have made a mistake when converting different calendar systems into reckoning in Olympiads. Schmitt supposes that Philopater's death was not concealed any considerable time (cf. Will, *Hist.*, II, pp. 93—6; see further Walbank, *JRS*, LV, 1965, p. 263; K. Abel, *Hermes*, 95, 1967, pp. 72—90; Herrmann, p. 96; Walbank, *Comm. on Polybius*, II, pp. 435—7, who reckons with a deliberate postponement in Polybius and suggests, pp. 472—3, that the pact was in 203/2).

²⁴ This reading of the MS is defended by P. Pédech, *REG*, LXVII, 1954, pp. 391—3, and *La méthode historique de Polybe*, 1964, p. 110 n. 54, against the restorations suggested κατ' Αἴγαιον (Niebuhr), κατὰ Κίον (Holleaux), cf. Schmitt, *Unters.*, p. 252. It was defended previously by Pozzi, p. 374 (56) n. 4, "si referisce alle isole e alle città costiere della Tracia e della Ionia", which is approved by Chr. Habicht, *Ath. Mitt.*, 72, 1957, p. 240 n. 110.

²⁵ This caused Holleaux, *Études*, III, p. 70 n. 2, to reject the instance as a reliable source, while Schmitt, *ibid.*, p. 253, defends the MS by giving to Ionia the sense of "wohl ganz allgemein 'Westkleinasien'". That Appian erroneously dated the treaty to the time of Philopater's accession is not important: see Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. Lagides*, I, p. 352 n. 4.

Other sources of the treaty are Polyb. XV 20, 6, see below; XVI 1,8—9, cf. below; Livy XXXI 14,5; Justin XXX 2, 8, 3; Trogus *Procl.* 30; S. Hieron. *In Dan.* XI 13 (Porphyry, *F Gr Hist* 260 F 45); John of Antioch, fr. 54 (*FHG* IV, p. 558); Schmitt, *ibid.*, pp. 237—9; Will, *Hist.*, II, p. 100. Schmitt, *ibid.*, pp. 236—7, gives a proposal of chronology of the years 204—1.

²⁶ Polyb. XVI 1, 8—9, διεπέμπετο (sc. Philip) πρὸς Ζεῦξιν, παρακαλῶν αὐτὸν αἶτον χορηγεῖν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ συμπράττειν κατὰ τὰς συνθήκας. ὁ δὲ Ζεῦξις ὑπεκρίνετο μὲν ποιεῖν τὰ κατὰ τὰς συνθήκας, οὐκ ἐβούλετο δὲ σωματοποιεῖν ἀληθινῶς τὸν Φίλιππον. It is to be noted that the Seleucid Alabanda also helped Philip; see below, n. 34.

followed Magie in this view, K.-E. Petzold, *Gnomon*, 25, 1953, p. 405, denying the existence of a treaty, cautiously stated "doch hatte man sich wohl in Bedarfsfall Unterstützung bei der Durchführung des Planes zugesagt", basing his opinion merely on Polybius' information about Philip's request for help. Chr. Habicht, *loc. cit.*, pp. 239—40, following Magie in principle, thinks that the secret treaty between Philip and Antiochus certainly did not originate in Polybius, but that it was an explanation, made by contemporaries, of the fact that at the same time as Antiochus made his campaign in Syria, Philip terminated his friendship with Egypt and occupied Samos which is strategically important, whence he was later driven out by force. But the occupation of Samos does not explain Philip's further operations. E. Badian, *Gnomon*, 38, 1966, pp. 715—6, in his favourable review of Schmitt, *Unters.*, thinks that "an understanding between the two kings" is all that needs to be reckoned with, and emphasizes that "there is no instance (except that of the reluctant Zeuxis) of actual collaboration". Badian is sceptical about the information given by Polybius on the grounds that he is often untrustworthy; "on balance Magie still has a case".

On the other hand, several scholars have defended the traditional view against the attack of Magie, with various arguments. So Walbank, for instance, *Philip V*, p. 113 n. 4, regarded Magie's conclusion as too radical; Philip's appeal to Zeuxis corroborated the existence of the treaty which, he declared, we know of in "exaggerated versions" (see also *id.*, *Comm. on Polybius*, II, p. 472). *Ibid.*, pp. 127—8, Walbank, agreeing with Holleaux (see e.g. his *Rome, la Grèce etc.*, 1921, pp. 320, 329), regarded the treaty as the reason for Rome's "concern for eastern affairs." Schmitt, *Unters.*, pp. 250—6, maintains the principal theory that the treaty only meant a dividing into different spheres of interest and not a military alliance in its real sense, though some agreement of material help seems to have been made as we see from Zeuxis' role; he emphasizes (pp. 246—7) that Antiochus had to acquiesce in Philip's activities because of his engagement in South Syria; see further *ibid.*, pp. 239—43, 260—1. Éd. Will, *Rev. Phil.*, XL, 1966, p. 293, aware that the scarcity of the sources exacerbates the problem, still maintains that the treaty was only temporary and that

Antiochus was not willing to give up anything in Asia Minor for good,²⁷ as Holleaux, *Études*, IV, pp. 198—9, claimed. Retracting an earlier opinion,²⁸ Schmitt, *ibid.*, pp. 248—50, followed by Will, *Hist.*, II, pp. 98—100, suggests that Philip negotiated a treaty promising neutrality in the war between Antiochus and Egypt in exchange for freedom to act in south-western Asia Minor.

Certainly the two kings were mutually distrustful; this is supported by Polyb. XV 20,6, ἐτι γὰρ αὐτῶν (sc. Antiochus and Philip) παρασπονδούντων μὲν ἀλλήλους, διασπωμένων δὲ τὴν τοῦ παιδὸς ἀρχήν: see Holleaux, *Études*, IV, pp. 198—9, 204 n. 3; Schmitt, *Unters.*, pp. 237—8, 260—1 (for Philip's support of Antiochus in the matter of Teos cf. Herrmann, p. 137 with n. 208). Just as the half-hearted help given by Zeuxis points at a more or less concealed tension between the kings, here as elsewhere we have to deal with the practical politics of a given situation.

It seems evident to me that the scholars quoted above who have defended the authenticity of the tradition are right, but in the present condition of our evidence it does not seem possible to reach a definite conclusion about whether the two kings made a formal treaty or had only an understanding. This question, however, is not of paramount importance. The arrangement itself is well documented, primarily by Polybius, and we are informed that the Seleucid Zeuxis had to collaborate with Philip. Both kings had clear motives for making an agreement, and in spite of their mutual distrust they did not come into conflict with each other. The course of events both during Philip's stay in Caria and after his flight, when Antiochus came to the country, is perfectly explained by the agreement between the kings. How Rome reacted to it is another question.

It might seem astonishing that Antiochus gave

²⁷ See also Schmitt, *Rom und Rhodos*, p. 62 n. 1; Bengtson, *Strategie*, II, p. 110 note from p. 109, "ein typischer Raubvertrag"; *id.*, *Gr. Gesch.*, p. 415 n. 1; A. H. McDonald, *JRS*, LIII, 1963, pp. 190—1; Pédech, *La méthode*, cited above, pp. 109—10, 117, 145. Lately Will, *Hist.*, II, p. 101, writes "La seule interprétation qu'il faille résolument rejeter est celle qui nie l'authenticité du traité et le renvoie au rayon des légendes".

²⁸ E.g. Walbank, *loc. cit.*, p. 113 n. 3, thought that the initiative was most probably taken by Antiochus; cf. however, *id.*, *Comm. on Polybius*, II, p. 473, and *JRS*, LV, 1965, pp. 263—4.

up old Seleucid lands in this way; but, firstly, his predecessors had, as I have pointed out above, already *de facto* surrendered them and watched a firm Macedonian authority established in the districts in question which were not in any case extensive. Moreover, they were on the periphery of his empire, whose centre lay to the east; thus the pact must have been extremely welcome to him, since he was given freedom of action in Syria. Also the Carian districts were exposed to threats from Pergamum, Egypt and Rhodes, a situation which Antiochus probably hoped to profit by if Philip were defeated; this is suggested by E. R. Bevan, *The house of Seleucus*, 1902, II, pp. 31–2. As a matter of fact, when Antiochus, on the occasion of his aggression in Asia Minor in 197 heard the news of the battle of Cynoscephalae and consequently decided to abandon Philip (cf. below), he was free to assert his hereditary claims in western Asia Minor, although he had no overwhelming success (see next chapter).

The scattered evidence we possess for Philip's own Carian expedition in 201²⁹ confirms our theory of an agreement of some kind between him and Antiochus. Holleaux suggested in his *Conclusion*, *ibid.*, p. 334, that Philip behaved as he did because, after the battle of Chios³⁰ he was prevented from marching northwards;³¹ he was forced to fight Rhodes, contrary to his plans, and after the attack on Attalus in the autumn of 201 the only large territory which he subdued was the Rhodian Peraea. Moreover, he occupied only free cities in Caria, i.e. Iasus, Bargylia, Euromus, Pedasa, *ibid.*, pp. 314–20, cf. *ibid.*, V, pp. 38 n. 5, 367 n. 1 (while Stratonicea, as well as the Peraea, was Rhodian: see Fraser and Bean, *Rhod. Per.*, pp. 102–5; Miletus' position is not clear, *ibid.*, IV, pp. 329–31). Philip menaced the Egyptian occupying forces and took over some of the territories temporarily, but we have no indication that he annexed any Egyptian city except Myous which he handed over to Magnesia, *ibid.*, IV, pp. 334–5; V, p. 338, and Samos which was forcibly reclaimed by Egypt: see Habicht, cited above.

It is, however, emphasized by Schmitt, *Unters.*, pp. 256–9 (followed by Will, *Hist.*, II, p. 108), that we are not justified in forming any conclusions *ex silentio* out of the isolated references to Philip's Carian campaign. According to Schmitt, Philip's purpose was evidently to acquire territory

in Asia Minor and he did not care who held the territory in question. At this point the new evidence from Labraunda gives firmer ground for judgment. We know now that Doson had in fact extended Macedonian authority over some districts of Caria, which Philip had inherited. In the late summer or early autumn of 201 Philip came to Caria to make practical use of his authority³² and certainly also with the idea of augmenting it.³³ At this time Antiochus too had advanced into Caria but, as far as we know, he had shown respect for Macedonian interests. The presence of Seleucid troops in the vicinity might, however, explain the fact that some cities dared to resist Philip, and also, as regards Mylasa (see above, n. 7), we have to reckon with the possibility that the city had in some way or other realigned itself with the Seleucid Empire (cf. next chapter). Beyond doubt Philip

²⁹ The most varied and penetrating study of the intricate sources of Philip's expedition in Caria and its vicinity is still that given by Holleaux in his posthumous work *Études*, IV, pp. 298 ff., which is contrasted by the editor L. Robert, *ibid.*, p. 299 note from p. 298, with the summary account in e.g. Meyer, *Grenzen*. The sources are listed on p. 212 n. 4. On Philip's campaign in Asia Minor see also R. B. McShane, *The foreign policy of the Attalids of Pergamum*, 1964, pp. 120–2.

³⁰ Schmitt, *Rom und Rhodos*, p. 61 n. 1, was of the opinion that primarily psychological reasons speak in favour of Philip's defeat off Chios preceding his victory at Lade; for the discussion of the order of the two battles see Will, *Hist.*, II, pp. 108–9; Walbank, *Comm. on Polybius*, II, pp. 497–500, 503–4.

³¹ Such a direction of Philip's activity would have made Antiochus, I think, still more inclined to make the agreement.

³² I want to stress that in this context I never use the term of "possession", or a synonym, but "authority", since the cities and districts in question were to my mind not directly dependent on Macedon but more or less willingly incorporated into its sphere of influence; see above, p. 125. Cf. Schmitt, *Unters.*, p. 245, "Es ist jedenfalls nicht sehr wahrscheinlich, dass die Städte, die wir in den Jahren 201–197 in Philipps Besitz finden, seit 228/7 ununterbrochen makedonisch waren. Es spielt freilich auch keine grosse Rolle; auf jeden Fall konnte sich Philipp auf seine ererbten Rechte auf Karien berufen, die entsprechend den besitzrechtlichen Vorstellungen der Griechen in der Zwischenzeit allenfalls geruht hatten und nun wieder auflebten".

³³ That Philip failed in this respect is another question; the limited extent of his conquests in Asia Minor and also in Caria is emphasized by Holleaux, *Rome, la Grèce etc.*, cited above, p. 318 n. 2, and others.

lost the rest of the goodwill he might possibly have enjoyed on arrival, during his stay in Caria.

According to Holleaux' reconstruction, it was not until after the conquest of the Peraea that Philip attacked the cities in September, a necessary action in order to control the country, and above all the coast to preserve communications with the navy. The cities were free, and we possess no information of an attack by Philip on any Seleucid city apart from devastation of Alabanda's territory. This attack might seem strange considering the entente or treaty between the kings. But Philip's situation was precarious, and he was led into desperate actions as, for instance, against Mylasa.³⁴ The event might have been an isolated transgression, Antiochus was occupied in South Syria, and finally we know of the distrust which existed between the kings. The conflict which the attack might have caused never came to a head since Philip left Caria precipitately in 200, although his land forces still kept the occupied cities,³⁵ and Antiochus did

not come to Caria until 197. Also Schmitt, *ibid.*, p. 248 (cf. Will, *Hist.*, II, p. 107), regards Antiochus' relaxed attitude to Philip and his remaining troops as an obvious sign of an arrangement between the two kings.

³⁴ Polyb. XVI 24, 6—8, ὧν τινὰ (sc. food) μὲν αὐτῷ Ζεῦξις ἐχορήγει, τὰ δὲ Μυλασεῖς καὶ Ἀλαβανδεῖς καὶ Μάγνητες, οὓς, ὅποτε μὲν τι δοῖεν, ἔσθαιεν, ὅτε δὲ μὴ δοῖεν, ὑλάκτει καὶ ἐπεβούλευεν αὐτοῖς. τέλος ἐπὶ τὴν Μυλασέων πόλιν πράξεις συνεστήσατο διὰ Φιλοκλέους, ἐσφάλη δὲ διὰ τὴν ἀλογίαν τῆς ἐπιβολῆς. τὴν δ' Ἀλαβανδέων χώραν ὡς πολέμιαν (sic!) κατέφθειρε, φήσας ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι πορίζειν τῷ στρατεύματι τὰ πρὸς τὴν τροφήν, cf. Bengtson, *Strategie*, II, p. 136, "Damals haben verschiedene karische Städte—Mylasa, Alabanda, Magnesia am Mäander—dem Makedonenkönige auf Vermittlung des „Vicekönigs“ Zeuxis Verpflegung liefern müssen."

Philip occupied also the town of Alabanda itself: see Walbank, *ad loc.*

³⁵ On the governor, *regius praefectus*, στρατηγός τοῦ βασιλέως, Deinocrates, whom Philip left behind in Caria see Bengtson, *ibid.*, pp. 370—1.

VIII. THE STATUS OF MYLASA FROM LATE 3rd CENTURY B.C. UNTIL THE PEACE OF APAMEA

This volume is largely concerned with Mylasa and its status from the middle of the 3rd century B.C., when it was liberated by Seleucus II, to the end of the century; but, for this part of Asia Minor the period did not really end until 188 when the Romans made peace at Apamea with Antiochus III who had to withdraw from Asia Minor north of the Taurus.¹ The status of the different cities defined in the peace depended on the position they had previously taken or enjoyed; and I must end this study with a short account of the remaining events which led to the declaration of the freedom of Mylasa in the peace.

When Antiochus III came to Asia Minor in 197 and sailed round the southern and western coasts (we have no information on the route of the land army) his purpose was, as is said above, that "all the cities of Asia were to return to their former status", i.e. "allies" of the Seleucid monarch" (Magie, p. 17). When possible he preferred peaceable methods, and he offered independence to the cities if they were willing to become his allies, but he was ready to use force.²

Schmitt, *Unters.*, pp. 43—4, 278—85, admits the dependence of the different cities in Asia Minor on Antiochus, but he emphasizes that our information is very limited and that Antiochus' power over a city, at least from 197 to 190 B.C., normally did not leave any traces; cities which became free in 188 might have been so before, but would also have been tributary to Antiochus although they eventually went over to Rome; cf. also Magie, pp. 109, 950—I n. 60, 952 n. 61; Will, *Hist.*, II, p. 196. In 197 and the following winter, Antiochus enjoyed his great year of conquests in Asia Minor (Schmitt, pp. 293—5) but his action was principally directed towards north-western

Asia Minor and Thrace (*ibid.*, pp. 271, 289), and as a whole the venture failed.

In Caria Antiochus had to consider Rhodes who protected the cities and like Pergamum was protected in its turn by Rome (Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. Lagides*, I, p. 377. Magie, pp. 104 ff.; Schmitt, *ibid.*, pp. 280, 287; Will, *loc. cit.*, pp. 155 ff.). We lose track of his march in 197 beyond Xanthus as far

¹ On the different interpretations of the Roman peace terms concerning Antiochus' evacuation of his provinces in Asia Minor north of the Taurus, and on the difficulties arising therefrom see O. Mørholm, *Antiochus IV of Syria*, 1966, pp. 22—8 (Cilicia Tracheia was still nominally part of the Seleucid Empire, *ibid.*, p. 28 n. 30). A. H. McDonald, *JRS*, LVII, 1967, pp. 1—8, argues convincingly that the river system of the ancient Calycadnus was the line of demarcation.

² See e.g. McShane, cited above, p. 132, "Antiochus, now the "Great King," began seeking friends among the autonomous Greek cities of western Asia Minor that had once belonged to the Seleucid *symmachia*. About 205 he endorsed the inviolability of Magnesia and shortly thereafter showed benevolent interest in Ilium and Teos (Attalid cities), and in Amyzon, Tralles, and Nysa in Caria"; cf. Holleaux, *Études*, IV, p. 193 n. 3; Welles, pp. 167, 170—I, 176, 178; Schmitt, *Unters.*, pp. 96—9, 245—7, for Teos see above, p. 127. See Jones, *The Greek city*, 1940, p. 99, on the attitude of Antiochus to the question of the independence of cities in Asia, which he tolerated when owed to their own efforts and conferred by himself, as being sovereign of Asia. Characteristic of Antiochus' conduct in 197 is how he dealt with Iasus, which "received from Antiochus the assurance that its independence would be "preserved", a promise which the King afterward fulfilled by stationing a garrison in the city and driving out all those who had opposed him" (Magie, p. 105; see the references *ibid.*, p. 946 n. 49); it is, however, to be emphasized that according to *OGIS*, 237 the city remained autonomous. On cities which refused to be "protected" by him cf. also Rostovtzeff, *SEHH*, pp. 635, 1472—3 n. 44; McShane, *loc. cit.*, pp. 134—8; Schmitt, *Unters.*, pp. 245—6, 276 ff.

as Ephesus, but Iasus is the only one of the coastal towns he seems to have occupied, while Bargylia was still held by the Macedonians, until Rome took control of it after the peace in 196. Also he took all the remainder of the territory previously occupied by the Macedonians apart from giving Stratonicea back to Rhodes; but in most respects we are not informed about his activity in Caria.³ The literary sources do not directly mention Mylasa in connection with Antiochus: see Magie, *Anatolian Studies* Buckler, 1939, pp. 164 ff. I must, however, mention once more the information given by Polyb. XVI 24, 6—8 (quoted above, p. 131 n. 34) that Mylasa, like the Seleucid governor Zeuxis and the Seleucid Alabanda, gave food to Philip and that this city, like (the territory of) Alabanda, was subjected to his attack. Using the case of Alabanda as a comparison, it seems reasonable to suggest that, if the reason for the attack on Mylasa were not the city's rapprochement to the Seleucids, the attack itself could have provided the reason for such a rapprochement. Also, we have to remember that Antiochus enjoyed an excellent reputation and great popularity in Asia Minor after his return from his eastern campaign in 205/4 (see above, pp. 137—38, and above, n. 2). Schmitt, referring to Holleaux and Bikerman, writes "Mylasa dürfte trotz der Bestätigung seiner Freiheit im J. 188 (Liv. XXXVIII 39,8) von Antiochos abhängig gewesen sein" but, according to the principle put into practice at Apamea, Mylasa as a previously free city should have been declared free whether it had been under Antiochus or had defended its independence against him. The attitude of such a city towards Rome determined its position (see above). As far as I can see, however, Mylasa continued to act as a free and independent city but at the same time it was once more incorporated into the Seleucid sphere of interest by Antiochus, and had accordingly to do honour to the king (cf. above, Ch. III). Mylasa seems to have attained this position besides the king's liberal policy towards the cities in general, because of its resistance to Philip, just as this resistance must later have meant that it was favoured by the Romans, but also because it was situated close to and, if I may say so, lay in the shadow of Rhodian territory. The neighbouring Euromus became Rhodian in 188,⁴ Stratonicea was given back to Rhodes by Antiochus, Bargylia

was never in his hands, and Rhodes protected Myndus and Halicarnassus among other cities (Schmitt, pp. 280—1). So it looks as if the interests of Rhodes and Antiochus met in the district of Mylasa, a favourable situation for this city.

Antiochus came to terms with Rhodes and did not interfere with the interests of the island. That Mylasa was favourably regarded in Rhodes is proved by the fact that a delegation from the city took part in the peace negotiations in 196 between Miletus and Magnesia (*Syll*³, 588). The island arranged these negotiations without interference from Antiochus (cf. Will, *Hist.*, II, p. 158). Schmitt, p. 282, speaking of Teos, denies that the role of negotiator implies anything for a city's freedom of movement, since cities dependent on Rhodes—Caunus (?), Cnidus, Halicarnassus, Myndus and Samos—as well as Mylasa) had also been involved in negotiation. This view seems unjustified to me. Teos was a free city, though incorporated into the sphere of influence of Antiochus, and its participation is fully explained by the fact that the city had obtained neutrality when it was declared *ἐπὶ καὶ ἄσυλος*: (see Herrmann, pp. 107—8, 144, and above, p. 84). According to Schmitt, Miletus and Magnesia did not come under Antiochus' control until after 197/6 (cf. McShane, *loc. cit.*, p. 132) and the other negotiating cities of Asia Minor, and several other cities there, were independent of Antiochus during the negotiations. Since these were sponsored by Rhodes, nothing prevented cities dependent on the island from participating along with free cities. The important thing was that they represented independence from Antiochus and the threat he constituted, as Schmitt himself points out (p. 288). Mylasa was not Rhodian (see below), and consequently it seems for the occasion to have been regarded as independent of Antiochus or, as is my view, at liberty to act

³ Cf. Magie, p. 144, "Caria had never undergone any such process of urbanization as the other districts subject to their "(sc. of the Seleucids)" rule. Even Antiochus III, despite his efforts to strengthen himself in Caria, seems to have made no change in the prevailing order other than to declare Alabanda free and autonomous."

⁴ "vorher also wahrscheinlich syrisch gewesen" (Schmitt, *ibid.*, p. 281). That Mylasa, supported by Alabanda, in 167 made an abortive attack on τὰς ἐν Εὐρώμῳ πόλεις, Polyb. XXX 5, 11—5, which then belonged to Rhodes, is another question. On Euromus see my *Remarks*, n. 19 with references.

independently within a wide compass as long as it did not obstruct Antiochus' interests.⁵

There does exist some slight epigraphic evidence that Mylasa was within Antiochus III's sphere of interest. In the honorific decree from Mylasa, Hula und Szanto, p. 12, no. 2(= Cousin, *BCH*, XXII, 1898, p. 382, no. 23) the honorand, a Rhodian, is mentioned as φίλος ὢν τοῦ βασιλέως and τοῦ δικαστηρίου τοῦ ἐν Καρίᾳ ἀρχιδικαστῆς. According to Bengtson, *Strategie*, II, p. 52 n. 1, this title belonged to the highest royal (Seleucid) judge in Caria. Magie, p. 1028 n. 74, refuted the editors' suggestion that the decree should be connected with the period of Rhodian rule over Caria south of the Maeander in 188–167 (see Fraser and Bean, *Rhod. Per.*, pp. 107 ff.), since Mylasa was then free, and he suggested an earlier date—more exactly the reign of Antiochus III. Ruge, *ibid.*, dated the inscription to ca. 197 and held that it indicated “wenigstens äusserlich, gute Beziehungen zwischen Rhodos und Antiochos”. Certainly the importance of this evidence must not be exaggerated, but it seems evident that Mylasa honoured an official whose duties were concerned with the city. Magie's dating might well be correct.

In Labraunda a covering letter has been discovered in which a king Antiochus issued some instructions regarding the order of the shrine.⁶ The inscription will be published in Part II, and here I give only my preliminary restoration of the relevant ll. 3–8.

[---] συντέταχεν ἡμ[ὶν ὁ] βασιλεὺς

4 [Ἀ]γτίοχος ἐπιμέλειαν ποιῆσθαι θ[υ]-

[σι]ῶν καὶ ἅπαντα τὰ ἄλλα· ὑμεῖς οἱ [ν]

[κ]ητά τε τὰ λοιπὰ εὐτακτεῖτε, ὡς [περ]

[πρ]οσέχει, καὶ μήτε ἐπισκηνοῦτ[ε---]⁷

8 [] ἐν Λαβραύνδοις μήτε ---
1-2

The letter was presumably addressed to Mylasa, since the shrine of Labraunda belonged to the city,⁸ but as to the writer and the time of the letter, there are no other clues than the letter-forms and the mention of the king Antiochus in ll. 3–4. The letter-forms are later than those of the dated 7, and the engraving is roughly ca.

200 B.C.⁹ The letter itself, however, may very well have been earlier, since in Labraunda, as elsewhere, there are several instances of a late engraving of an earlier document. Therefore the probability with which we can identify the king on whose authority the letter depends, is a decisive factor in the dating.

Certainly Antiochus II is a possibility. Above, pp. 35, 83, I have suggested that he reconquered the district of Mylasa from Egypt and since Mylasa was liberated by Seleucus II, he would fit perfectly well as the man to solve various problems concerning this district. From his reign also there are some documents (3, ll. 4–6) sent to Mylasa by Sophron and Ptolemy “the son”. Antiochus Hierax cannot possibly have been the king mentioned, in spite of his position as viceroy of Asia Minor for some years. Though he fought in Caria we possess no epigraphic or literary evidence of his hold on this remote country, or, in particular, on Mylasa (see above, Ch. VII). And since he emerged finally as an unsuccessful usurper, his orders could not possibly have been revived or recorded some three decades after his final defeat, at a time when Antiochus III was the ruling king.

The date of the engraving is major evidence in favour of Antiochus III; in that case the docu-

⁵ So also Ruge, *R.-E.*, s.v. Mylasa, 1933, col. 1052.

By the way, when dealing with Mylasa's situation and relations to Rhodes, I think that the reason for the separate mention of the city as free in the Peace of Apamea was that it constituted a free conclave within the Rhodian sphere of interest; cf. Holleaux, *Études*, V, p. 423; Magie, p. 109.

⁶ Inv. 73/K 73. Front block in the south-east anta of the South Propylaea (see Jeppesen, pp. 13–4; Pl. I, XIII B, XVI B), found in 1949. Width 58 cm., height 45 cm., thickness 1.05 m. The block has two inscriptions, of which 73 is on the front face. The letters are in ll. 1–8 ca. 1.9 cm., in ll. 9–12 ca. 1.7 cm. high, inter-linear space is in ll. 1–8 ca. 3 cm., in ll. 9–12 ca. 2.6 cm. Plate 6. Cf. my *Prel. survey*, p. 100.

⁷ An adverb as e.g. ἰδί|αι, μηκέ|τι or αὐτό|θι.

⁸ See above, pp. 80–1. Like 1, this letter was presumably the result of the complaints of the priest at the time; for εὐτακτεῖτε in l. 6 cf. Korris' complaints against Mylasa of παροινεῖν and neglect of the due gifts when offering, 1, ll. 4–6; 3, ll. 19–22.

⁹ Notice especially the pi with almost equally long vertical strokes, the broad nu with a full vertical stroke to the right, the slightly oblique outer strokes of the mu, the very open omega below with small horizontal strokes in l. 10.

ment would be an original.¹⁰ The king's interest in Carian shrines is manifestly documented in Amyzon,¹¹ where many inscriptions have been found from the time of Antiochus III, "qui fut, avec son ministre Zeuxis, le grand bienfaiteur du sanctuaire; c'est, avec le milieu du IV^e siècle (i.e. the period of the Hecatomnids), l'époque la plus brillante du sanctuaire" (L. and J. Robert, *CRAI*, 1949, p. 306).¹² Possibly Zeuxis was the writer.¹³ The fact that the priest's complaints involved a problem less important than the one in 1—3 and consequently were more convenient to set before a sovereign present in the country than before one living far away, points to Antiochus III (and Zeuxis), but even this is not conclusive.

A large block discovered in the shrine of Sinuri (see above, p. 64) is said to have been engraved with a letter of a [Βασιλεύς] Ἀντίοχος (l. 1) and l. 7 reads αἰς συντάξας τὸν αὐτὸν (or αὐτῶν) (cf. above, l. 3). The stone is, however, so badly damaged that only very few words are legible (see L. Robert, *Sinuri*, p. 12; id., *Hellenica*, VII, 1949, p. 67). The date of the inscription is not indicated, but considering the dating of most of the documents discovered in the shrine,¹⁴ Antiochus III seems to be the obvious choice.

In conclusion, we possess no unquestionable information that Mylasa was under Antiochus III or was incorporated into his sphere of interest. But the king was very popular in Asia Minor in and after 205/4 (see above, for Teos), and he had already advanced into Caria though he does not seem to have interfered with the Macedonian sphere of interest. The demands of Philip, especially the occasion of his attack on Mylasa and the time thereafter when he and his army provided a constant threat, must have meant that the city was in need of support which could only come from Antiochus. The king Antiochus who is mentioned or might be hinted at in inscriptions discovered in Mylasa (Labraunda and Sinuri) may in each individual case be identified with another king, but taken together and considering the political situation in the district, these references confirm the suggestion that Mylasa was under the control of Antiochus III. I imagine that Mylasa made overtures to Antiochus at the latest when Philip was in Caria, and that the alliance was confirmed when Antiochus came to the country in person. Because of his friendship with Rhodes,

and as an expression of approval of the city's attitude towards Philip, he admitted Mylasa to a privileged position, although he did not shrink from interfering with the city's affairs when he thought it opportune.

The comments given above on Mylasa's status are mere conjecture based on what slight evidence we possess. As to the attitude of the city towards the Romans, however, we only know that it was expressly declared free in the Peace of Apamea (Polyb. XXI 46, 4; Livy XXXVIII 39, 8; see above). This must mean that Mylasa, like most cities in Asia Minor, had joined the

¹⁰ That Antiochus is not called Μέγας or βασιλεὺς μέγας in the inscription from Labraunda is no proof that the reference is not to Antiochus III even if the dating is after his return from the East, since we have no epigraphic evidence that the king or his chancery added the epithet which seems to have been intended for the eastern parts of the empire: see Schmitt, *Unters.*, pp. 92—5 with references; cf. J. and L. Robert, *Bull. épigr.*, 1965, 436; Will, *Hist.*, II, p. 58; Walbank, *Comm. on Polybius*, II, pp. 638—9. L. Robert, *Monnaies antiques en Troade*, 1966, p. 91 n. 3, emphasizes the importance of studying the title of 'Megas' in the context of the evidence and not only from chronological grounds. On Μέγας as a cult title of Antiochus in Teos and possibly elsewhere in the West see Herrmann, pp. 99—100, 147—56. Nor can we expect his elder son Antiochus who was co-regent from 210 to late summer 193 (Schmitt, *ibid.*, pp. 13—8) to have been mentioned, since Antiochus III speaks or is referred to alone in Welles, 31, 32, 36, 37 39, 40 from the years ca. 205—4 B.C.

¹¹ Certainly this is in no way a decisive proof; cf. e.g. the wording of Rostovtzeff, *SEHH*, p. 439, "And there is not the slightest doubt that Seleucus (sc. I) and his successors held the great temples of Asia Minor in general in high esteem".

¹² *Ibid.*, "Signalons, dans ce groupe, deux fragments de lettres royales, des décrets pour des ambassadeurs auprès du roi ou de Zeuxis, pour le commandant d'Alinda, pour une troupe de soldats venus délivrer le sanctuaire." These inscriptions are unpublished.

¹³ In Amyzon Zeuxis renewed a dedication made by Idrieus (i.e. the brother of Maussollus) and had his own dedication engraved under that of Idrieus, Fabricius, *Berl. Sitzb.*, 1894, pp. 915—7; L. Robert, *Sinuri*, p. 102, who changed the restoration Ἐκκτ[ό]μου into -μνω; see also J. and L. Robert, *CRAI*, 1948, p. 431. There is no sign of any building activity in Labraunda in the reign of Antiochus III; cf. Westholm, p. 113.

¹⁴ L. Robert, *Sinuri*, p. 11, "Le plus grand nombre de ces documents remonte à l'époque hellénistique, surtout au II^e et au I^{er} siècle av. J.-C. Quand il en est autrement, je l'ai signalé expressément."

alliance of Rome, Rhodes and Pergamum against Antiochus when the war broke out in 192¹⁵ (see above, and also Magie, pp. 106—7, 948—9; McShane, *loc. cit.*, pp. 144—5).

¹⁵ Shortly before this the states of Asia Minor had communicated with Rome; see the statement about the year 205 in Livy XXIX 11, 1, *nullas dum in Asia socias civitates habebat populus Romanus*. Attalus I, however,

taking sides with Rome, had already fought against Philip in 209/8, and he and Rhodes, threatened by Philip, sent envoys to Rome in 201; cf. above, p. 130. In 196 and 195 Lampsacus and Smyrna obtained Rome's protection. Diplomatic contact between Rome and Antiochus III was not established until late 200. On the whole question see e.g. Holleaux, *Rome, la Grèce etc.*, cited above, pp. 56—60, 91—4; Magie, pp. 12—3, 15, 105—6 with notes.

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¹ In this index I do not dot or put letters between square brackets when occurring in a rather certain context and construction, but I do so occasionally when referring to fragmentary texts in order to emphasize that the exact form is uncertain; in that case I have not normally inserted my restorations. I have not aimed at complete conformity in this respect.

For different groups of words associated together like Cult, Dates, Honours, Magistracies etc. see General Index.

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ἀφιέναι: ἀφιέντα τὴν πόλιν ἐλευθέραν 5, 34
ἀφιστάναι: οὐθενὲς ἀποστησόμεθα τῶν τῷ δήμῳ συμφερόντων 3, 32; οὐθενὲς - - ἀπέστημεν τῶν εἰς δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν ἀνγκόντων 8, 12
βασιλεύειν: βασιλεύοντος Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου p. 34, 1
βασιλεύς: see Ind. I 2; γράψαντός μοι τοῦ βασιλέως 6 B, 3; παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως 6 A, 16; 6 B, 10; πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα 3, 19, [24]; ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων 5, 11
βασιλίσσα: βασιλίσσης Λαοδίκης 8, 20
βεβαίουν: τὸ κατὰ τοὺς ἔρκους βεβαίουν 5, 47
βούλεσθαι: ἐξέστω τῷ βουλευμένῳ εὐθύνειν 8, 6—7; τάδε βουλόμενοι ὑμῖν τε χαρίζεσθαι 8, 16; μὴ δίδόναι βουλομένους 1, 5—6
βουλή: Μυλασέων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ [5, 1]; [10, 1]; τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ 8, 10; ὅντος - - βουλῇ [γραμματέως 9, 1
γάρ: 1, 9; 8, 13
γέρας: τὰ γέρα ἀφαιρούμενος 3 B, 7; τὰ γέρα τὰ γινόμενα αὐτῷ - - μὴ δίδόναι 1, 4; τὰ γέρα 3, 19; 3 B, 5
γῆ: τὰ προσκύροντα - - ταῖς γέαις ταύταις 8, 19; γέας τὰς ὀνομαζομένας ἐν - - 8, 28; ἀναμ[ισθοῦν] γέας ἄλλας p. 68 n. 2, 1; τὰς ὑπαρχούσας ἡμῖν γέας πάσας 8, 17
γίγνεσθαι: οὐκ ὀρθῶς γίνεσθαι 1, 7; — γείνεσθαι 1 B, 15; τὴν κατὰ μῆνα γινόμενὴν παν[ήγυριν] τῷ Διὶ 8, 22; τὰ γέρα τὰ γινόμενα αὐτῷ παρὰ τῶν θυόντων 1, 4; συναίτι[ος] ἐγενόμην τοῦ 6 A, 17; καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς γεγέννηται εἰς αὐτούς [11, 4—5]
γνώμη: 9, 2—3
γράφειν: γράφω - - πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Φίλιππον περὶ ἀπάντων 4, 13; ἔγραψα τῷ βασιλεῖ Σελεύκῳ ἐπιστολὴν 4, 6; ἔγραψα - - τῷ βασιλεῖ Φιλίππῳ [6 B]; ἔγραψεν ἡμῖν 1, 1; 1 B, 9 (ἡμεῖν); 3, 7; γράψαντός μοι τοῦ βασιλέως ποιήσασθαι

[6 B, 2]; γράψαντος τῷ βασιλεῖ Σελεύκῳ διότι 4, 3; τῆς παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως γραφίσσης μοι περὶ τούτων ἐπιστολῆς 6 B, 10; τὰ παρὰ Σώφρονος γραφέντα πρὸς ὑμᾶς 3, 4; τὰ ὑφ' ἡμῶν γραφέντα 8, 25; πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα - - γεγράφαμεν ἐπιστολὴν 3, 24; ἐν ᾧ (sc. τ. ἔρκῳ) ἐγεγράφη τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ ὅτι 3, 9—10; καθότι ὑμῖν - - ἐγεγράφη 6 B, 9; τὴν ἐπιστολὴν - - ἣν ἐγεγράφετε [ἐπὶ 7, 3; ἐ]γεγράφη 2, 3; ὁ - - ἐγεγραφέει μοι ἀποχαριεῖσθαι 5, 45; ἣν γεγραφεικὼς ἐπιστολὴν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα 3, 18; ἀκολούθως τοῖς γεγραμμένοις 3, 16
γυνή: τὴν γυναῖκα Νίκαιαν 6 A, 14—5; τὴν γυναῖκα LBW, 389 (p. 23), 4
Δαίσιος: μηνὸς Δαισίου p. 34, 2
δέ: 3, 3, 19, 33; 4, 2, 11, 13; 5, 31, 34; 7, 7; 9, 1; καὶ γὰρ δέ 7, 2; ὁμοίως δέ καὶ 3, 6
δεῖν: καθότι ὤισθε δεῖν 3, 31; ὥσπερ καὶ σὺ ὤιου δεῖν 7, 8; ὥσπερ ὤισθε δεῖν [6 B, 2]; τὸ δέον ἂν εἴη 7, 2
δέκα: ἕκτῃ ἐπὶ δέκα p. 34, 2
δεύτερος: ἐν οὐθε]νι δεῦτεροι εἶναι τῶν εὐεργετησάντων - - τὴν πόλιν 8, 15
δῆ: ἄλλως τε δὲ καὶ 7, 11
δηλοῦν: καθότι διὰ τοῦ ψηφίσματος ἐδηλώσατε 6 A, 12
δημοκρατεῖσθαι: τὴν πόλιν -] ἐλευθέραν καὶ δημοκρατουμένην ἀποκατεστήσαμεν ὑμῖν 8, 14
δημοκρατία: συνδιατηρεῖν ὑμεῖν τὴν τε δημοκρατίαν 3, 30
δῆμος: 3, 1, 19; LBW, 389 (p. 23), 2—3; τοῦ δήμου 5, 24; ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου 5, 19; 6 A, 13; τῷ δήμῳ 3, 9, 29, 32; 6 A, 2; see βουλή
δι: δι' ἑμαυτοῦ 4, 16; διὰ μακροτέρων [5, 45]; [6 B, 1]; διὰ πλείονων [3, 18]; διὰ πραγμάτων 1, 3, [10]; 1 B, 11; διὰ τοῦ ψηφίσματος ἐδηλώσατε 6 A, 12; οὐ δι' ἄλλῃν τινὰ [αἰτίαν πλην ἢ δι'] τὸ συμφέρειν τοῦτο 4, 12, 12—3
διαλέγεσθαι: διελέγοντο 7, 5; — φάμενοι 5, 21; διελέγησαν 3, 15; τοῖς πρεσβευταῖς - - διαλεγείς 6 B, 11—2; διαλεγέντων [4, 5]
διαμένειν: τὰ συγκεχωρημένα - - διαμένειν 1, 10; [1 B, 18]
διατελεῖν: διατελοῦμεν διαφυλάσσοντες 3, 26; διατετελεκέναι - - λαμβάνοντας 5, 25; διατετελεκέναι(?) [5, 38]
διατρίβειν: τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ διατρίβοντας 5, 32
διαφυλάσσειν: ὑμῖν διατελοῦμεν διαφυλάσσοντες - - τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ὑμῖν 3, 26; [3 B, 9]
διδάσκειν: ἐδίδαξαν ἡμᾶς - - ὡς 3, 17; διδάξει 3, 23
διδόναι: τὰ γέρα - - δίδόναι 1, 5; ἡ δικα[στής] δικάσῃ ἢ δῶι [8, 3]; τὰ γέρα - - ἐδεδώκει 3, 20; δεδόσθαι - - αὐτῷ καὶ πολιτείαν καὶ ἔγκτησιν καὶ προεδρίαν 11, 9; κατὰ ταῦτά - - δεδόσθαι καὶ τοῖς ἐγγόνις αὐτοῦ 11, 12
δικάζειν, see δίδόναι
δίκαιος: καὶ ἐγὼ δίκαιον εἶναι κρίνω 7, 10; ὡς καὶ δίκαιον ἀξιοῦσιν 5, 46
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διό: 5, 13
διοικεῖν: [3, 20—1]; χώρας - - διοικουμένης 1, 2
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δοκεῖν: δεδόχθαι τῷ ἱερεῖ Κόρριδι καὶ τοῖς συγγενέσι τοῦ Κόρριδος 11, 3; παρὰ τὰ δεδομένα 8, [2], 4
δόξα: ὅσα πρὸς τιμὴν καὶ δόξαν ἀνήκει 4, 16; τῶν εἰς δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν ἀνγκόντων 8, 12
δραχμή: τὰ κ' τοῦ φόρου ἐκάστου ἔτους δραχμῶν Ἀλεξ[ανδρείων] - - 8, 9; προσαπο[τεισάτω] δραχμᾶς - - [8, 5]
δύο: αἱ ὁδοὶ δύο ἣ τε ἐπὶ - - καὶ ἐπὶ - - 8, 32

ἐάν: [8, 2]
 ἔγγονος: κατὰ ταῦτά - - δεδόσθαι καὶ τοῖς ἐγγόνοις αὐτοῦ
 11, 12
 ἔγκτησις: δεδόσθαι - - αὐτῶι - - ἔγκτησιν 11, 9—10; ἔγκτησιν
 12, 4
 ἐγώ: 4, 2; 5, 47; καὶ ἐγώ 7, 10; κἀγώ 7, 2; ἐμοῦ [6 B, 12];
 μοι 3, 2; 4, 4; 5, 45; [6 A, 3]; 6 B, 3, 10; 7, 5; ἐμέ 4, 1;
 6 A, 14; με 4, 5; 5, 18; 6 A, 13
 εἰ: [7, 1]
 εἶναι 5, 16, 22, 24, 32; [7, 10]; 8, 15; 11, 10; 12, 2; εἴ[ναι
 τήν] ἱερωσύνην αὐτῶι 5, 7; τὰ ἀνατεθέντα ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἐμ
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 [ἔστω 8, 4; ἔστω τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτοῦ ἱερὰ Διός 8, 6;
 εὐχάριστος ὢν 3, 2; ὄντος - - βουλῇ [γραμματέως 9, 1;
 (χώραν) οὖσαν αὐτῶν 3, 14; οὖσαν 5, 44; ἦν γεγραφεικώς
 3, 18
 εἰπεῖν: εἶπεν p. 34, 4
 εἶπερ: 1, 6; 1 B, 14
 εἰς: εἰς τὴν πόλιν προσεδέξαντο [7, 13]; ἐς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον
 8, 21; καὶ εἰς τὸ λ[οιπὸν] 3 B, 9; καλῶς καὶ ἀγαθῶς γεγένηται
 εἰς αὐτοῦς 11, 5; τῶν εἰς δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν ἀνηκόντων 8, 12;
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 εἰσάγειν: εἰσαγάγει 8, 3
 ἐκ: τὴν φρουράν ἐκ τῆς ἄκρας ἐξαγκάγοντες 8, 14; αὐτὸς καὶ
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 ἑκαστος: ἑκάστου ἔτους 8, 9
 ἐκδέχεσθαι: ὡς ἐγδεχ[10, 8
 ἐκείνος: ἐκείνου 4, 4
 ἐκκλείειν: [5, 17—8]; παρευρέσει μηδεμιᾷ ἐκκλειομένῳ 8, 8
 ἐκκλησίαι: p. 34, 3
 ἔκτος: μὴνός Δαισίου ἔκτι ἐπὶ δέκα p. 34, 2
 ἐλευθερος: τὴν πόλιν -] ἐλευθέραν καὶ δημοκρατουμένην
 ἀποκατεστήσαμεν ὑμῖν 8, 14; ἀφιέντα τὴν πόλιν ἐλευθέραν
 5, 34; ἐλευθέραν ἐκαθεῖσεν τὴν πόλιν [7, 9—10]
 ἐλευθεροῦν: ἐλευθερώσαι ὑμῶν τὴν πόλιν 3, 8
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 ἐν: 3, 11; 5, 31, 39, [41]; 6 A, 5; 8, [17], 18, 25, 25, 26, 27, 28;
 11, 13; p. 134, 8; ἀναγεγράφθαι ἐν στήλαις 5, 41; ἐν τῷ
 ὄρκῳ (τοῖς ὄρκιοις) 3, 9; 5, 42; 7, 14; ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι
 [5, 48]; καταχωρίσαι ἐν τῇ [καταγραφῇ(?) 5, 42; ἐν
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 11, 10; ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις 3, 31; ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν 1, 10;
 ἐν οὐθενί [8, 15]; τὰ ἀνατεθέντα - - ἐμ μνήμη καὶ τηρήσει
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 ἐνεκεν: ἀρετῆς ἐνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας 11, 8
 ἐνιαυτός: κατὰ ἐνιαυτόν p. 68 n. 2, 4 (ἑκαστον?), 6
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 ἐντέλλειν: ὡς Σέλευκος ἐντείλατο ἐξαγαγεῖν 5, 37; τοῖς
 πρεσβευταῖς - - διαλεγείς ἐντέταλμαι ἀπαγγέλλειν 6 B, 12;
 τοῖς πρεσβευταῖς ἐντετάλμεθα ἀπαγγέλλειν ὑμῖν 3, 33
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ἐπεῖ: 3, 17
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 ἐπειναι: τὰς ἐν τούτοις ἐπούσας οἰκήσεις 8, 18
 ἐπί: ἐπὶ τούτων 2, 6; ἐπὶ τῶν - - φρουρίων 5, 39; ἔκτι ἐπὶ
 δέκα p. 34, 2; στεφανηφορήσαι ἐπὶ τῇ ἀποκαταστάσει
 τῶν - - ἱερῶν 6 A, 6; συνησθέντες ἐπὶ τῶι ὑγιαίνειν 5, 19;
 6 A, 14; αἱ ὁδοὶ δύο ἢ τε ἐπὶ Καλβισσοῦ (indecl.?) καὶ ἐπὶ
 Ἰερὰν Κώμην 8, 32
 ἐπιβάλλειν: προσπορεύεσθαι τῶν ἐπιβαλλόντων τῶι ἱερῶι καὶ
 τῶι ἱερεῖ 1, 8—9
 ἐπιδεικνύναι: τοὺς - - λόγους - - ἐπεδείκνυνον 5, 31; ἐπέδειξαν
 - - ἡμεῖν οἱ πρεσβευταὶ καὶ χρηματισμοὺς - - καὶ τὰ παρὰ
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 μ[έλειαι] 1 B, 19
 ἐπισκηνοῦν: μῆτε ἐπισκηνοῦτε p. 134, 7
 ἐπίστασθαι: ἐπίστασθε ὅτι 3, 25
 ἐπιστέλλειν: ἐκείνου ἐπιστελλαντός μοι περὶ τούτων 4, 4;
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 ἐπιστολή: τῆς παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως γραφίσσης μοι περὶ τ[ούτων]
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 ἐπιστολῆς, ἣν ἔλαβεν 5, 5; ἐπιστ[ολῆς] παρὰ [10, 2]; τ[ὴν]
 παρὰ σοῦ] ἐπιστολὴν ἀνέγνων 7, 3; ἀπέδωκαν τὴν παρὰ τοῦ
 βασιλέως ἐπιστολὴν 6 A, 16; ἀποδοῦναι - - τὴν ἐπιστολὴν
 5, 14; ἀποστείλετε - - ἐπιστολὴν [6 A, 3]; ἔγραψα - -
 ἐπιστολὴν [4, 6—7]; γεγράφαμεν ἐπιστολὴν 3, 24; ἦν
 γεγραφεικώς ἐπιστολὴν 3, 19
 ἐπιτρέπειν: μὴ ἐπίτρεπε τοῖς Μυλασεῦσιν - - προσπορεύεσθαι
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 ἐπιχωρεῖν: τὴν ἀτέλειαν - - ἐπιχωρηθῆναι 5, 10; τὰ λοιπὰ τὰ
 ἐπιχωρημένα πάντα 3, 14
 ἐρεῖν: οὐθὲν ἄλλῃθες εἰρηκότος 5, 12
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 εὐεργέτης: ἀναγράψαι αὐτὸν πρόξενον καὶ εὐεργέτην τοῦ τε
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 θεός: τὰς κτήσεις τὰς καθηκούσας τῶι θεῶι (sc. Z. Labraun-
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- Osoga) 8, 21; εὐχὰς ποιήσασθαι - - θεοὺς πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις 6 A, 11
- θύειν: παρὰ τῶν θυόντων 1, 5; 1 B, 13
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- ἱερὸν, τό: ἀναγράψαι - - ἐν τε τῷ ἱερῷ - - καὶ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ - - 8, 25; — ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ - - 11, 13; τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ διακρίβοντας 5, 32; τῷ ἱερῷ [1, 9]; τὸ ἱερὸν ὑμέτερον εἶναι ἰδρυθὲν 5, 22; τὸ ἱερὸν - - προσήκειν 5, 15; τὸ - - ἱερὸν καὶ τὴν χώραν - - ἀποδίδωσθαι 7, 7; ἀποδοῦναι ὑμῖν - - τὸ ἱερὸν 5, 36; ἀποκαθίστημι ὑμῖν τό τε ἱερὸν τοῦ Διὸς - - 6 B, 6; καταχωρίσαι - - τό τε ἱερὸν τοῦτο - - 5, 43; συνδιατηρῶν - - τὸ ἱερὸν [6 B, 2]; κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν (τὸ) τοῦ Διὸς - - 3, 12, 27; ἀνατεθῆναι ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς 5, 42
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- καθότι ἀξιοῦσι 3, 11; — ἡξιοῦτε 4, 8, 14; [6 B, 5(?)]; — ὥσεσθε δεῖν 3, 31; — ὑμῖν καὶ πρότερον ἐγγράφειν 6 B, 9; — διὰ τοῦ ψηφίσματος ἐδηλώσατε 6 A, 12
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- καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς γεγένηται εἰς αὐτούς 11, 4
- καλῶς ἂν ποιήσαιτε 8, 23
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- κατά: εὐχὰς ποιήσασθαι - - καθ' ἱερῶν τῶν νομιζομένων 6 A, 11; κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν (τὸ) τοῦ Διὸς - - 3, 12, 27; κατὰ Λαβράνδᾱ 3, 13; 4, 10; 5, 23, 43; 6 B, 8; κατὰ ἐνιαυτὸν p. 68 n. 2, [4], 6; κατὰ μῆνα 8, 22; καθ' ὃν καιρὸν 3, 7; 7, 9, 12; κατὰ λόγον 5, 20; κατὰ - - τὰ λοιπὰ εὐτακτεῖτε p. 134, 6; κατὰ τοὺς ὅρκους [7, 8]; τὸ κατὰ τοὺς ὅρκους 5, 47; κατὰ τὰ συνεχωρημένα καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους 3, 28; κατὰ - - τὰ - - συνεχωρημένα [5, 39]; κατὰ τὸν πρακ[p. 68 n. 2, 4; κατὰ τὰς προὑπαρχούσας ὁμοურείας 8, 19; κατὰ τὰντὰ [3, 26]; 11, 12; κατὰ μῆθῃνα τρόπον 1, 8; 1 B, 16; κα[θ'] ὁ (sc. τὸ ψήφισμα) ἐψηφίσασθε 5, 4; [6 A, 3—4]
- καταγραφῇ: καταχωρίσαι - - ἐν τῇ [κατ]α[γραφῇ(?) [5, 42]
- καταναλίσκεσθαι: ἡ - - πρόσδοδος - - καταναλίσκεται εἰς τὴν - - παν[ήγυριν] - - 8, 21—2
- κατάξιος: τὰς καταξίας τιμὰς 3, 2; καταξίαις 12, 1
- καταχωρίζειν: ἡς (sc. τῆς ἐπιστολῆς) καὶ ὑμῖν καταχωρίσα τὸ ἀντίγραφον 4, 7; LBW, 389 (p. 23), 11—2; τοῦ ὅρκου τὸ ἀντίγραφον - - καταχωρίσαμεν τῷ δήμῳ [3, 9]; ἐν δι (sc. τῷ ὅρκῳ) καταχωρίσαι αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ [κατ]α[γραφῇ(?) τὸ τε ἱερὸν - - 5, 42
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- κοινῇ: ιδίαι τε καὶ κοινῇ 11, 2
- κρίνειν: κρίνω [7, 10]; κρίνομεν - - τὰ συνεχωρημένα - - διακρίνειν 1, 9
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- μέγας: πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν [9, 6]; μεγάλους - - κινδύνους [8, 12]; μεγίστην (sc. πόλιν)(?) [p. 34, 3]; τὰ μέγιστα 8, 11
- μέρος: μέρη τινὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς χώρας 1, 2; 1 B, 10
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- μνήμη: τὰ ἀνατεθέντα - - ἐμ μνήμῃ καὶ τηρήσει ἡ 8, 23
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- νέμειν: φυλάς νέμειν 5, 33
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7. Engraver's errors

Omission of single letter(s): ἡτιν<ι>οῦν 8, 4; Οσογ<ω>(?) 8, 30; Οσογφ 8, 27; Οὐλι<α>δης 8, 29; παν<ή>γυριν 8, 22; (single consonant instead of double) διαφυλάσ<σ>οντες 3, 26; (at the beginning of a line) [Ἐκατόμ]||<νω>ς (?) 5, 5—6; δια[λεγέντων δὲ]||<τούτων> [τῇ π]άτ[ρ]αι 4, 5—6; (influenced by the pronunciation) πρε<σ>βευταί 3, 3; πρε<σ>βευταῖς 3, 33; (confused) 8, 30.

Addition of a single letter: Δι<ι>ός 8, 25; συνησ<ι>θέντες 5, 19
Engraving of wrong letter(s): (possibly misreading of the copy; notice the last syllable) Δαβράνδρα 3, 13; καὶ εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν 3, 26—7 (see *ad loc.*); (on a psychological basis) παρακολουθ[ή]σας 5, 47
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8. Inscriptions previously published

A. Vogliano, *Acme, Annali Fac. filos. e lett. dell'Univ. statale di Milano*, I, 1948, pp. 389—90: 6 B
 : 7, ll. 1—4

J. Crampa, *Nine Inscr.*, 7: 4
 8: 6 B

9. Inventory numbers of the inscriptions

(in the sequence in which they were discovered)

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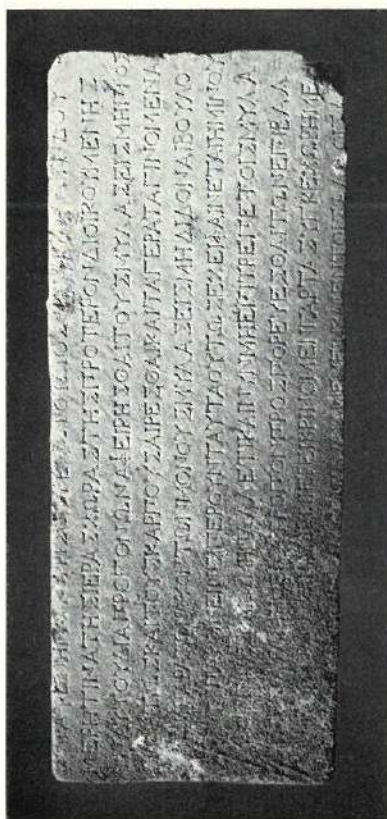
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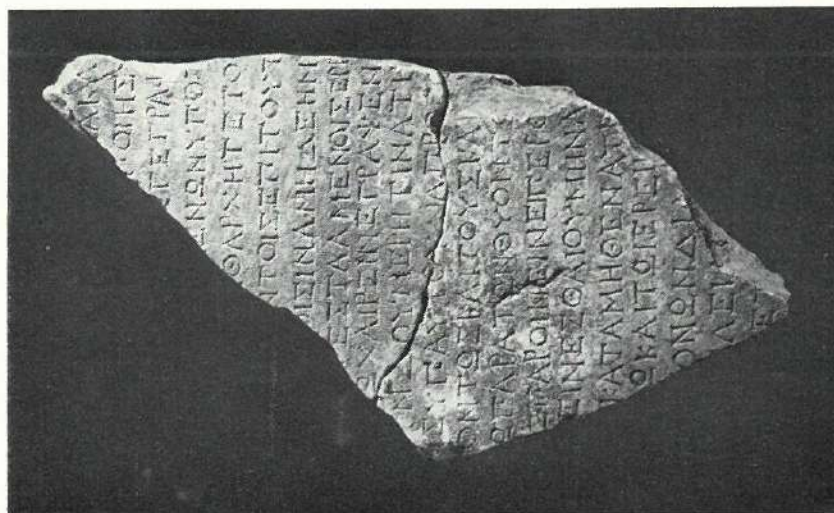
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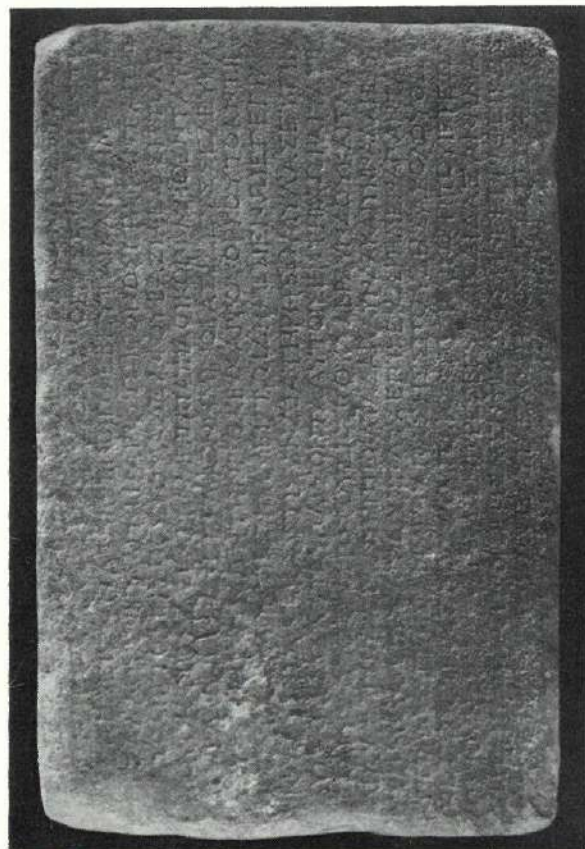
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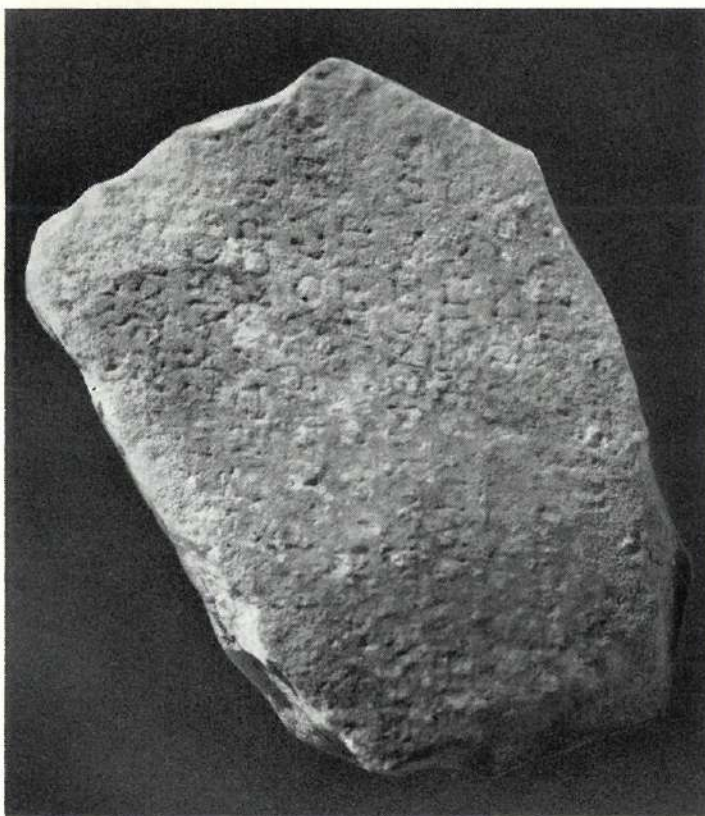
1 B-2



3 (A 98)



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3 B



5 (C 78)



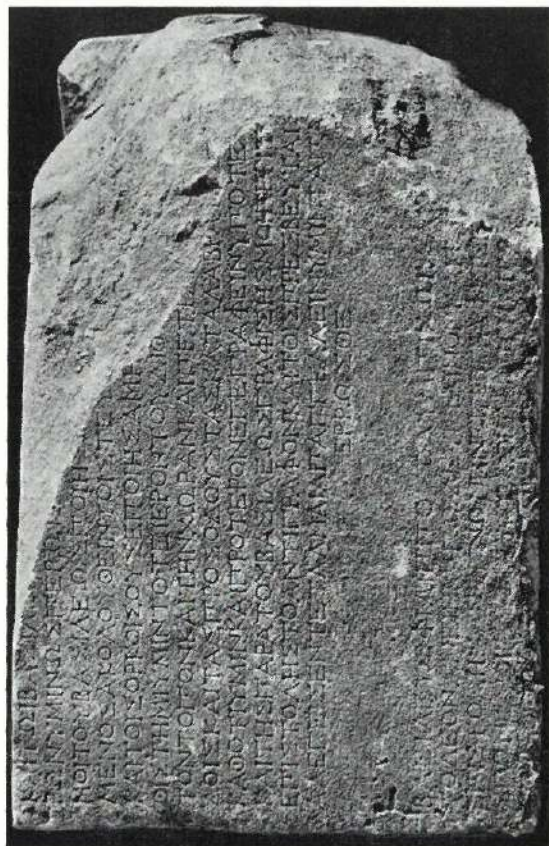
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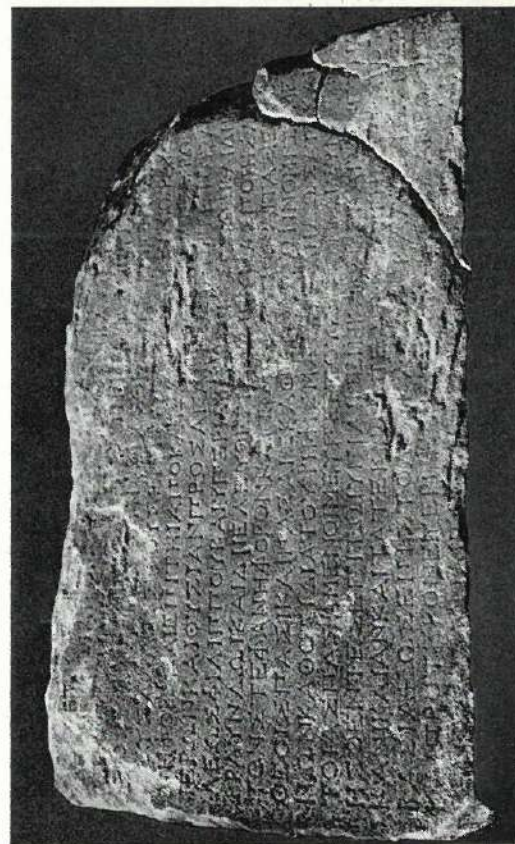
6 (C 76)



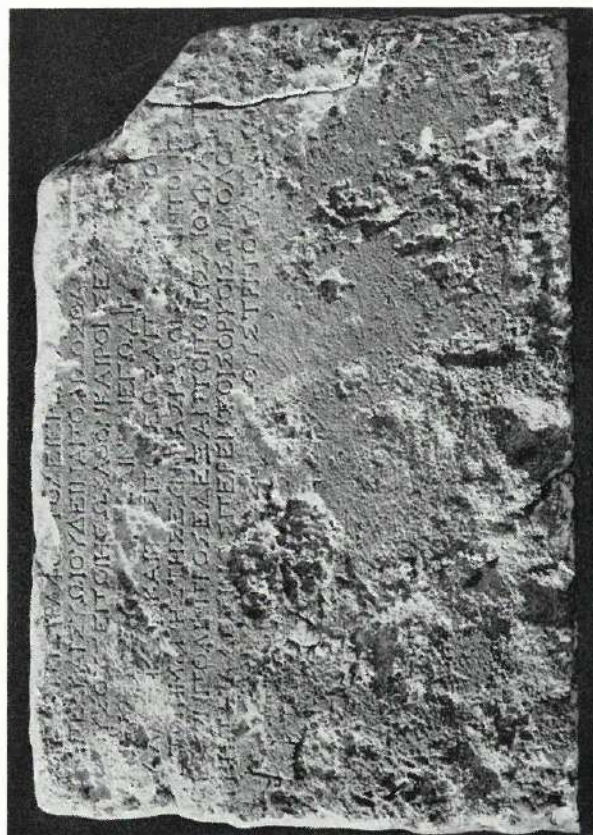
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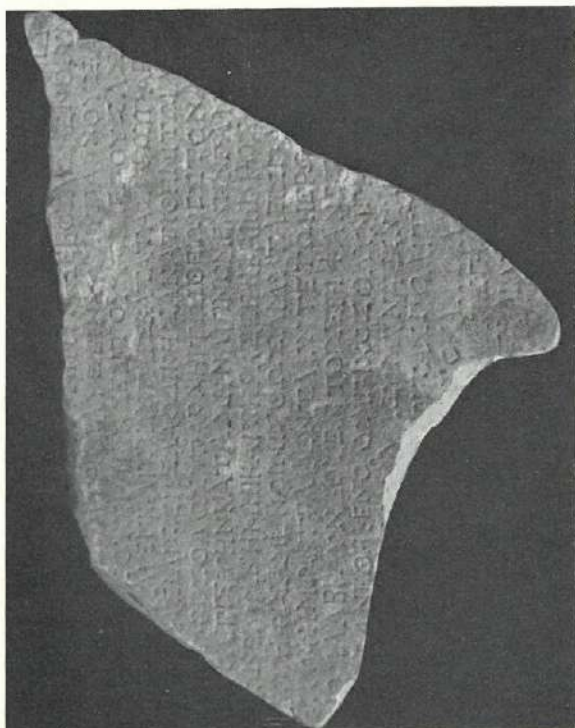
6 B-7 (ll. 1-5, C 38)



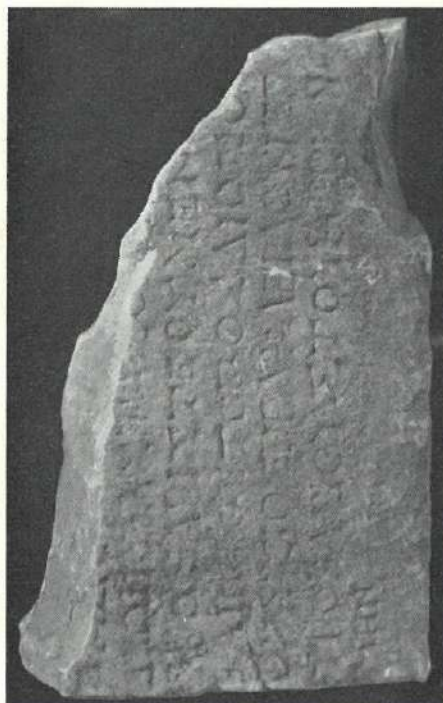
6 A (C 39)



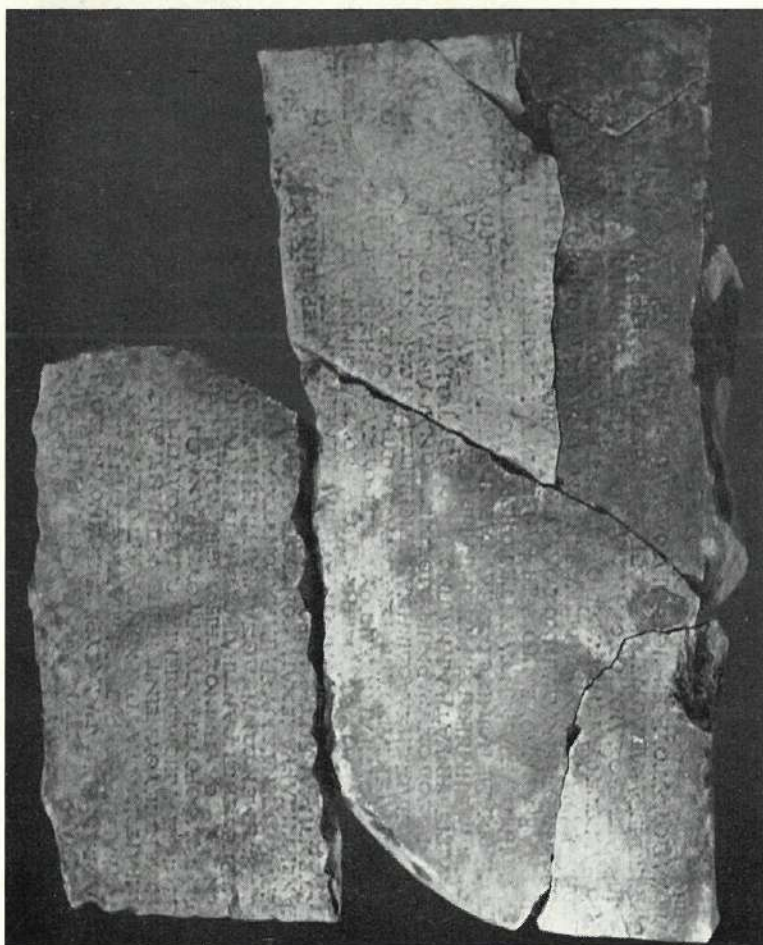
7 (ll. 6-15, C 40)



8 (ll. 15—32)



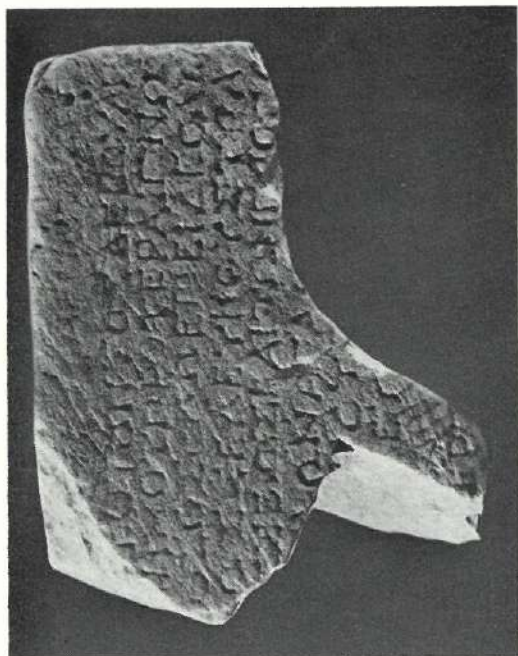
8 (ll. 27—33)



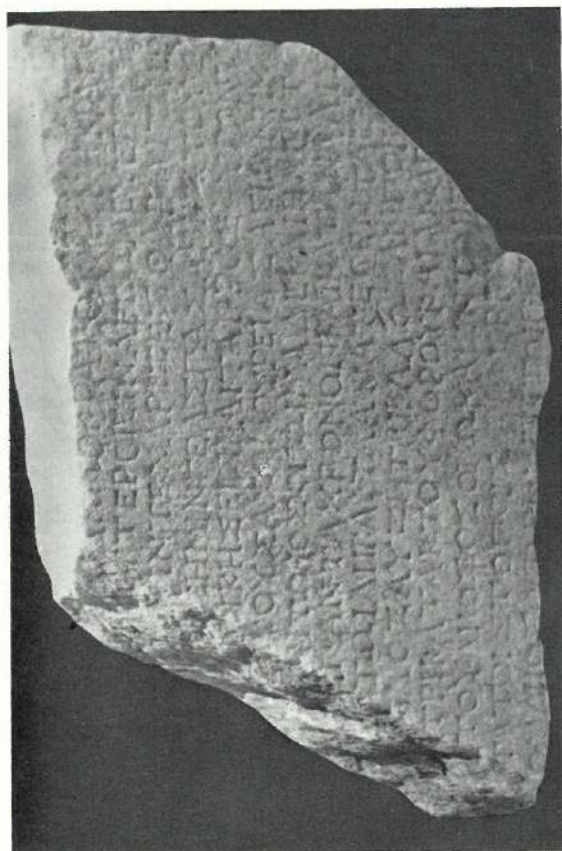
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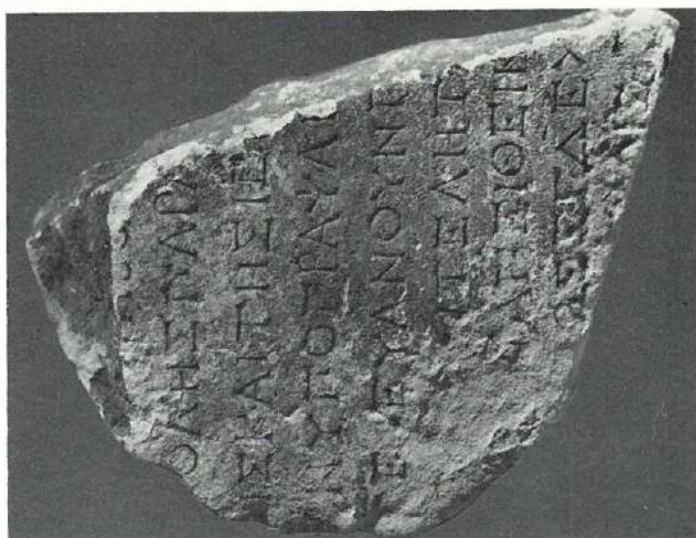
8 (ll. 27—32)



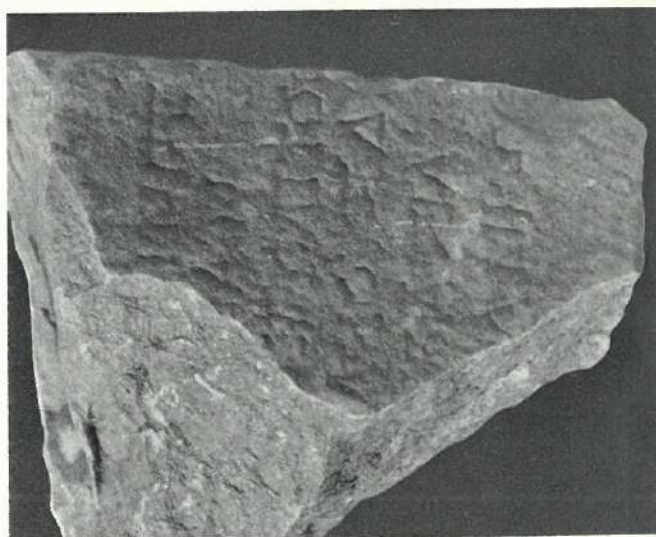
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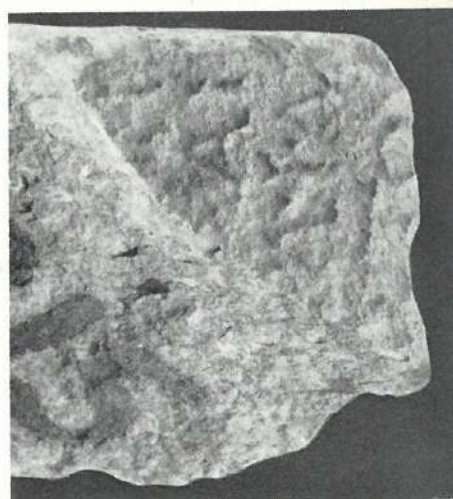
8 (ll. 14—27)



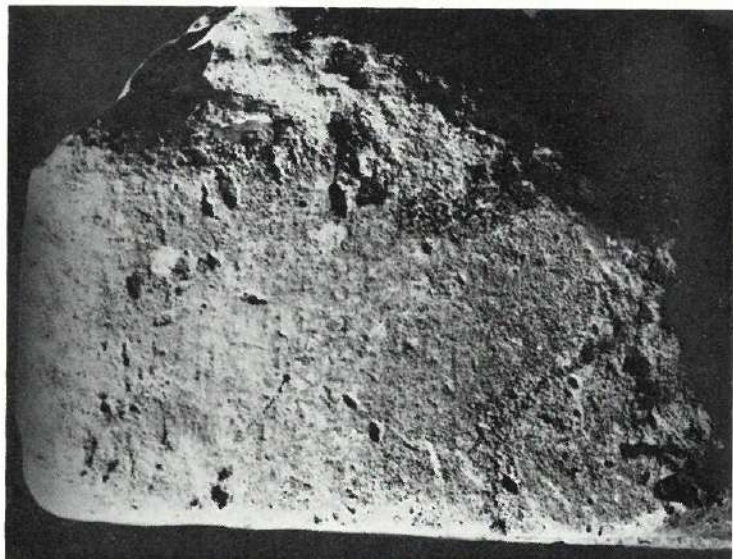
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8 (ll. 26—32)



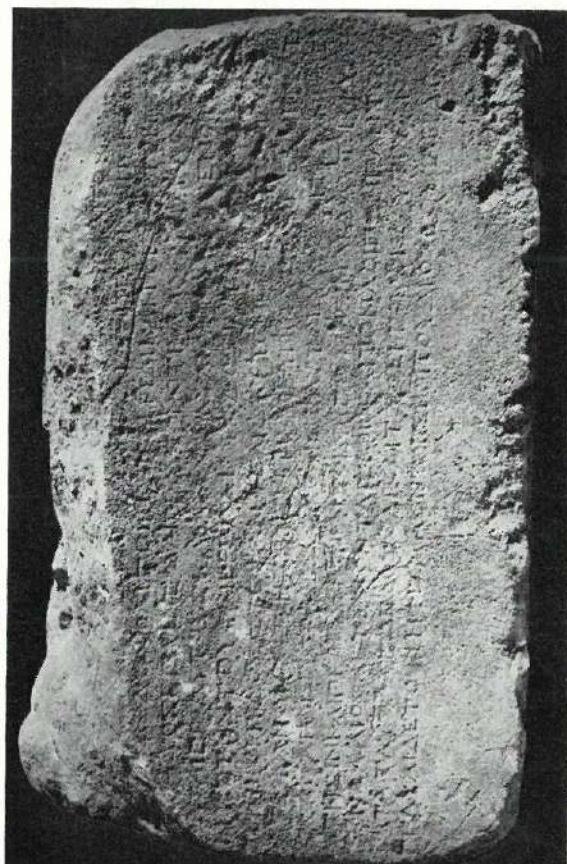
8 (ll. 22—5)



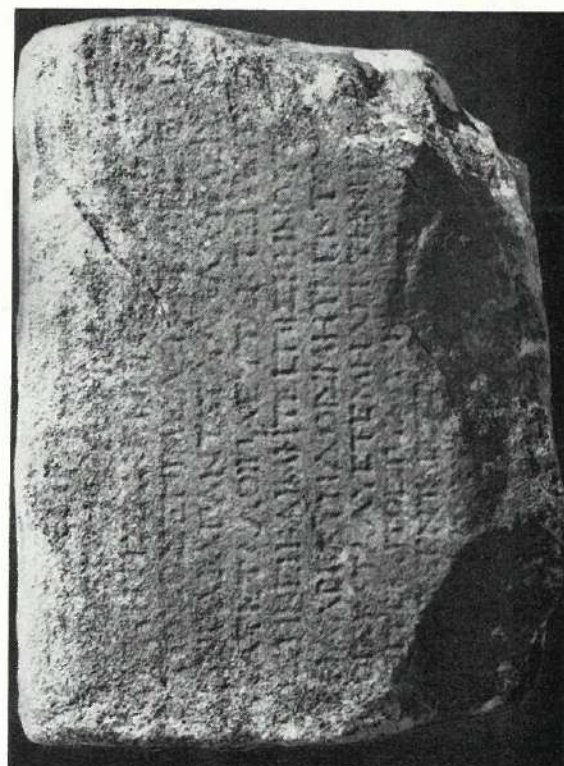
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Inv. 121/P 82 (p. 68 n. 2)



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Inv. 73/K 73 (p. 134 with n. 6)

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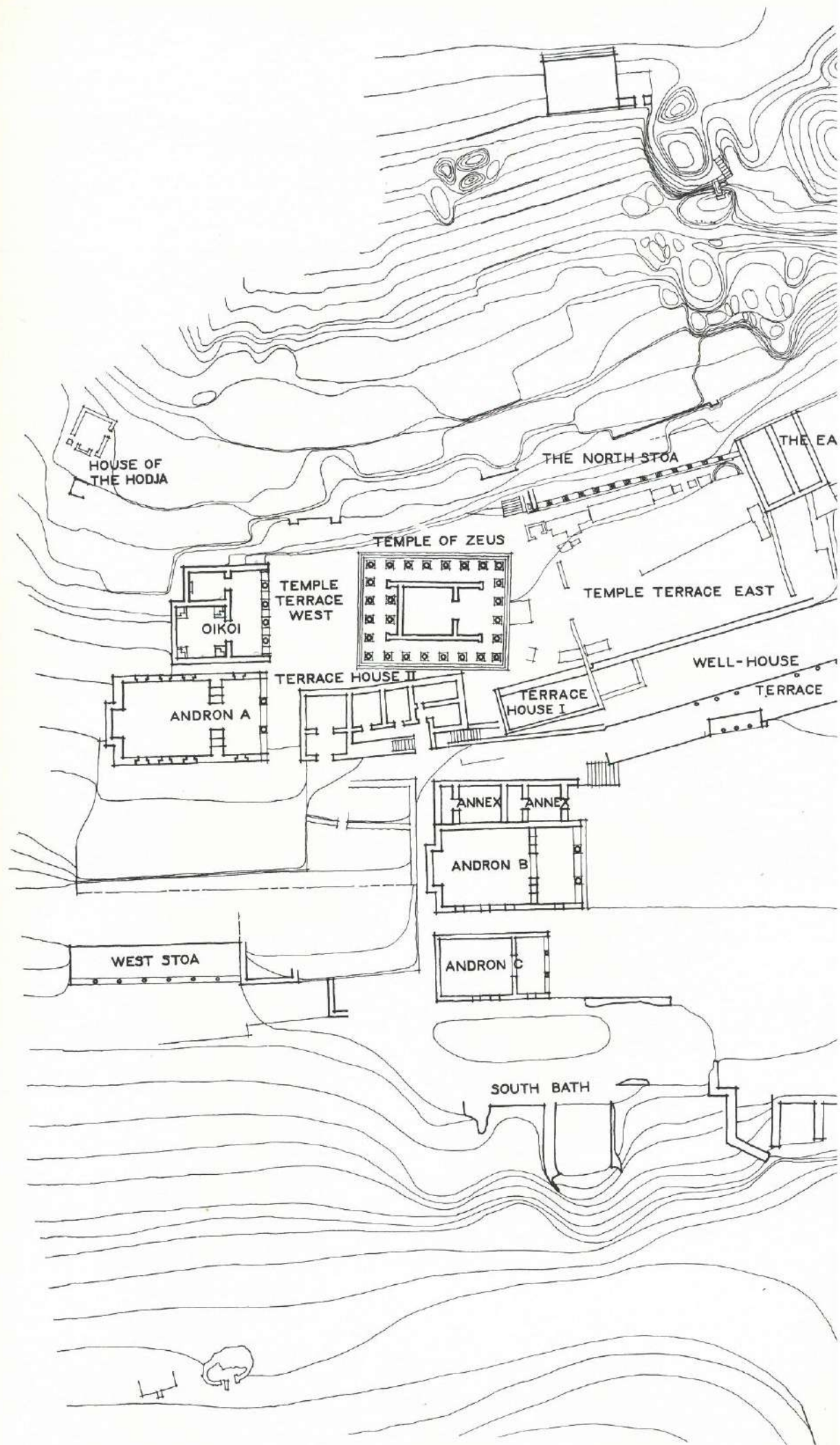
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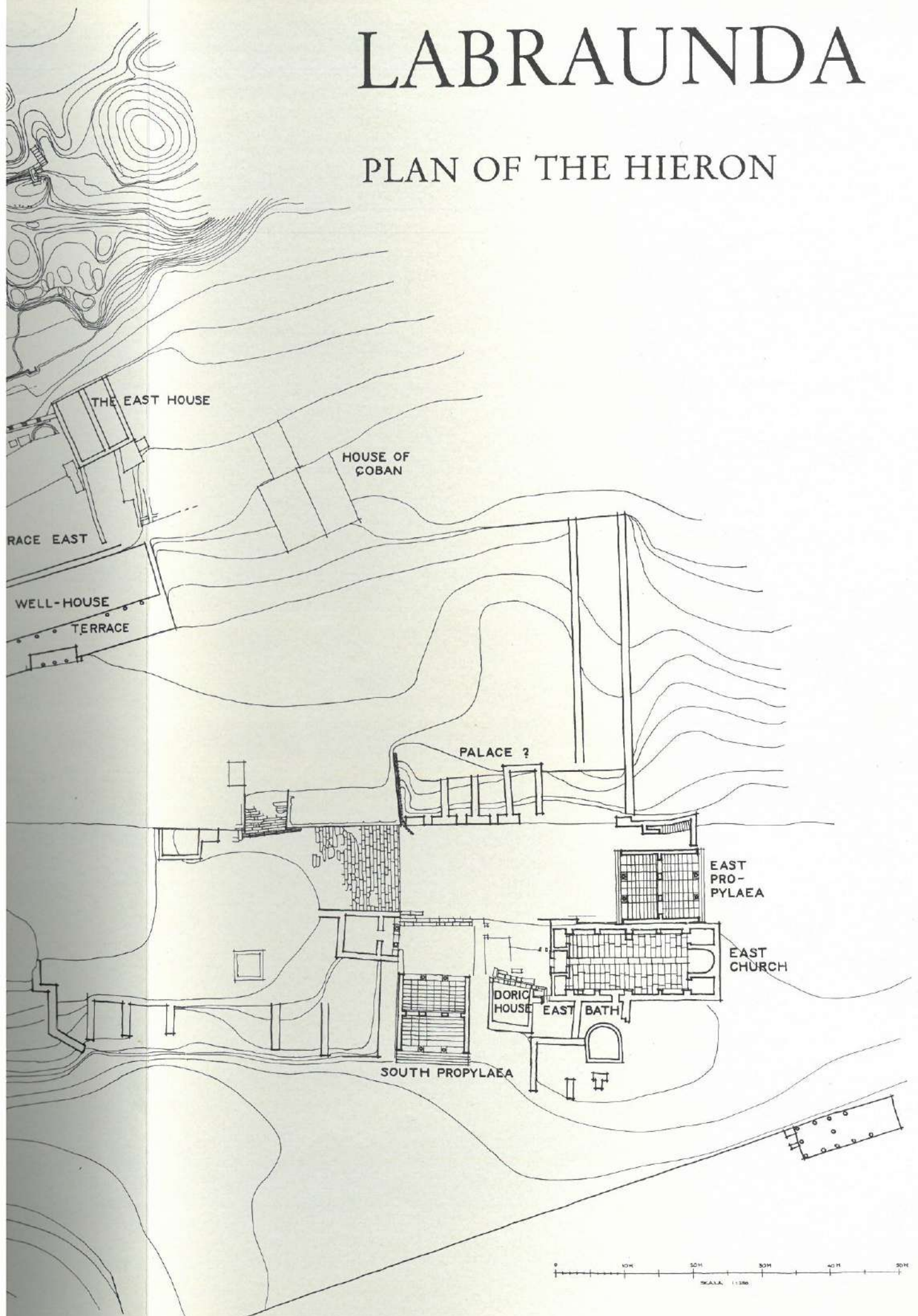
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LABRAUNDA

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- II. OPUSCULA ATHENIENSIA, vol. I, AXEL W. PERSSON IN MEMORIAM, 236 pagg. cum XI tabulis et 71 imaginibus textui insertis, 1953. Sw. Crs. 75:—:
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Jonas Palm, Zu Pindar Ol. I; *Ervin Roos*, Athens Vertragsverhältnis zu Egesta im 5. Jahrh. v. Chr.; *Carl Nylander*, Die sog. mykenischen Säulenbasen auf der Akropolis in Athen; *Robin Hägg*, Research at Dendra 1961; *Carl-Gustaf Styrenius*, The Vases from the Submycenaean Cemetery on Salamis; *Lena Åström*, A Note on a Mycenaean Chariot Crater in Bonn; *H. W. Catling*, Patterns of Settlement in Bronze Age Cyprus; *Hans Helbæk*, Late Cypriote Vegetable Diet at Apliki; *R. S. Merrillees*, Bronze Age Spindle Bottles from the Levant; *James Stewart*, The Tomb of the Seafarer at Karmi in Cyprus; *Paul Åström*, Supplementary Material from Ayios Iakovos Tomb 8, with a Note on the Terminal Date of Mycenaean III A: 2 late; *Paul Åström* and *G. R. H. Wright*, Two Bronze Age Tombs at Dhenia in Cyprus, with Appendices by *M. R. Popham*, *Paul Åström* and *Olivier Masson*; *Maj Callmer*, The Published Writings of Einar Gjerstad.
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- XI. ÅKE ÅKERSTRÖM, DIE ARCHITEKTONISCHEN TERRAKOTTEN KLEINASIENS, Text XX + 287 S. mit 75 Abbildungen. Tafelband, 96 Tafeln im Lichtdruck mit Verzeichnis, 1966. Sw. Crs. 100:—.
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