

ON THE DATING OF THE LAND TRANSACTION DOCUMENTS FROM OLYMOS*

It is becoming increasingly clear that the majority of the Olymos land transaction documents (in contrast to those from Mylasa itself)¹ belong to a relatively short period of time. All three of the new dossiers published in this volume by Wolfgang Blümel can be closely linked prosopographically and institutionally to others already known. In particular the membership of the committee of *ktēmatōnai/misthōtai* overlaps substantially, even if not totally, with that of the same body in a number of other dossiers. Where it can be reconstructed in the surviving documents, the committee of men appointed by the Olymeis to acquire (as *ktēmatōnai*) land from individual sellers for the benefit of their gods Apollo and Artemis, which they then leased out (as *misthōtai*) on a hereditary basis, is virtually without exception headed by the same man, Dēmētrios son of Hermias son of Antipatros, by adoption son of Aineas.² His ‘presidency’ of the *ktēmatōnai*³ is now known from at least nine, more or less complete, dossiers dated by at least seven different *stephanēphoroi* (see Appendix 1).⁴ The same man is also the proposer of the important decree

* I thank Patrice Hamon and Wolfgang Blümel for useful discussion and the latter for the photographs Figs. 2 and 3. The following abbreviations have been used:

IAS (*Photo Identification Project*) 380/379: newly published as no. 1 in W. Blümel’s article, this volume pp. 1–18; IAS 381/464 as no. 2; IAS 382/378 as no. 3.

Milas Guide: W. Blümel, R. van Bremen, J.-M. Carbon, *A Guide to Inscriptions in Milas and its Museum* (2014).

Ashton–Reger: R. Ashton, G. Reger, *The Pseudo-Rhodian Drachms of Mylasa Revisited*, in P. van Alfen (ed.) *Agoranomia. Studies in Money and Exchange Presented to John H. Kroll* (2006) 125–150.

Descat–Pernin: R. Descat, I. Pernin, *Notes sur la chronologie et l’histoire des baux de Mylasa*, *Studi Ellenistici* 20 (2008) 285–314.

Marek–Zingg: Ch. Marek, E. Zingg, *Die Versinschrift des Hyssaldomos und die Inschriften von Uzunyuva (Milas/Mylasa)* (2018).

Pernin: I. Pernin, *Les baux ruraux en Grèce ancienne: corpus épigraphique et étude* (2014). A concordance between *I.Mylasa*, EA numbers, Pernin, and the *Milas Guide*, as referred to in the text and footnotes, can be found at the end of this article (Appendix 2). I do not refer to Pernin’s numbers in the main text or footnotes.

1 See below p. 22.

2 The only documents that certainly belong to an earlier period are, in my view, *I.Mylasa* 817, an *embasis* document, and 818, a lease contract inscribed on the same block, in identical lettering. On letter forms these belong to the late third or early second century (photo *I.Mylasa* II, Pl. 14). Their protocol is very different from that of the bulk of the sale/lease documents (no initial sale precedes the lease contract and therefore no *ktēmatōnai* were involved: see the discussion of Pernin 357 and 359); none of the names recurs in any of the other land transactions. The *stephanēphoros* dating 818 is Οὐλιάδης Πόλλιος τοῦ Πρωτέου (also in *I.Mylasa* 217.12 and 864.2–3, in both cases as adoptive father). For a prosopographical argument supporting a date for 217 and 864 between c. 190 and 160 BC, see below p. 26–27. *I.Mylasa* 830–833, broken parts of a ‘long architrave’ (?), are not part of the Dēmētrios dossiers. It is difficult to date these fragments given their incomplete state, their uncertain architectural status, and the lack of photographs or even facsimiles. 834 is a fragment.

3 The fact that Dēmētrios consistently heads the list of *ktēmatōnai* warrants the designation of president; the order of the first four names is remarkably consistent in the documents; below that, other members are listed in no particular order and can rank e.g. fifth in one dossier, seventh or below in another. The committee seems to have been reconstituted for each separate cluster of transactions (see the explanation of the procedures in *I.Mylasa* I, pp. 74–76 and *Milas Guide*, pp. 1–3) but to have retained this core of four members, while the rest of the membership changed (or at least fluctuated).

4 Pernin 429, discussing the same man, writes that he is attested ‘à quatorze reprises’; presumably she counted separately occurrences in documents belonging to the same dossier. In her schedule, p. 407, Dēmētrios

confining participation in the cult of Apollo and Artemis to members of the three old tribes of the Olymeis (which had been demoted to *syngeneiai* of Mylasa after Olymos' incorporation into Mylasa in a *sympoliteia*).⁵ Dēmētrios' two brothers, Antipatros son of Hermias son of Antipatros and Attinas son of Hermias son of Antipatros, appear under his presidency respectively in seven and six of the *ktēmatōnai/misthōtai* committees.⁶ Two other members frequently attested (seven, perhaps eight, times) are Phaidros son of Moschiōn,⁷ priest of the Daimones Agathoi and proposer of a decree about the setting up of a cult for Leto at Olymos,⁸ and Dionysiklēs son of Menekratēs, by adoption son of Artemidōros son of Dionysiklēs.⁹ Where we have the full (the maximum?) complement, the committee appears to have consisted of eighteen members; since we also have committees formed certainly of nine men it is tempting to see at least some pattern – multiples of three – but the new documents published by W. Blümel above seem to have 14, 11, and 13/14 members respectively.¹⁰

is consistently listed as Dēmētrias. That, however, was the name of his daughter, who features among the neighbouring landowners in *I.Mylasa* 204.16–20, assisted by her three *epitropoi* (her brother Aineas son of Dēmētrios, priest of Apollo Pythios, and her two uncles (father's brothers) Antipatros son of Hermias son of Antipatros and Attinas son of Hermias son of Antipatros, while her father is recorded as her *kyrios in absentia* (l. 18): αὐτοῦ ὄντος ἀποδήμου.

5 *I.Mylasa* 861, dated by the *stephanēphoros* Ἰατροκλῆς Λέοντος τοῦ Μέλανος, perhaps the father of the *stephanēphoros* Λέων Ἰατροκλείου τοῦ Λέοντος in *IAS* 380/379 (same eponym in the fragment *I.Mylasa* 878 and in *SEG* 57, 1102). On the *sympoliteia* see G. Reger, *Sympoliteiai* in Hellenistic Asia Minor, in S. Colvin (ed.), *The Greco-Roman East. Politics, Culture, Society* (2004) 164–168, who broadly dates it to the 2nd half of the 3rd century BC and puts it in the aftermath of Mylasa's liberation by Seleukos II in 246 BC. He writes that the letter forms of *I.Mylasa* 868 (photo and improved text in *EA* 32 [2000] 98–100), the first (?) known Olymean decree dated by the Mylasan *stephanēphoros*, suggest a date close to 200 BC or the very early decades of the 2nd century, and so indicate a terminus ante quem. I would more confidently put this decree on letter forms in the early 2nd century. The three Olymean *phylai* in their new guise as *syngeneiai* occur already in *I.Mylasa* 817 and 818, which I have dated above, n. 2, to between 220 and 190 BC; these support Reger's dating even better. On letter forms 818 definitely predated 868. See also below, p. 31.

6 Antipatros: *I.Mylasa* 801–804 + *EA* 25 (1995) 49–50 no. 12; 807–810; 816A; *IAS* 382/378 [was 816B–E]; 834; 838 (both fragments); *IAS* 380/379. Attinas: 805–806; 814–815; 816A; *IAS* 382/378; *IAS* 380/379; *EA* 25 (1995) 46 no. 7. Their father, Hermias son of Antipatros son of Hermias, priest of Zeus Krētagenēs and the Kourētes, appears in the (?) purchase contract *I.Mylasa* 806 as a member of the *ktēmatōnai* headed by his son Dēmētrios. The title of his priesthood is attested also in *I.Mylasa* 102 (on whose date see below, pp. 25–26) and 107, both independently dated on letter forms, by N. Carless-Unwin, to the first half of the 2nd century BC (*Caria and Crete in Antiquity. Cultural Interaction between Anatolia and the Aegean* [2017] 192, cf. also 142–146).

7 Phaidros: *I.Mylasa* 805–806; 807–810; 811–813; 814–815; *EA* 25 (1995) 46 no. 9; *IAS* 380/379; *IAS* 381/464. His brother, Iasōn son of Moschiōn, is attested as a member of four of the *ktēmatōnai* committees, dated by three different *stephanēphoroi*: *I.Mylasa* 805–806; 807–810; *IAS* 381/464; *IAS* 380/379. See also next n.

8 *Milas Guide* no. 41. 'Great epiphanies' of the goddess are mentioned, l. 5. Phaidros is also the honorand in the fragmentary *I.Mylasa* 870. This is inscribed on the same stone as *I.Mylasa* 876, in which we encounter the sentence ἐπικλη[ρῶσαι] τοὺς γεγενημένους [Ῥ]υμῆς ἐπὶ τε συγγένειαν καὶ πάτραν (ll. 8–9), which may be linked to the preoccupation with citizenship in no. 861 (above, n. 5). His name, or that of his brother Iasōn, is also to be restored in 869.

9 *I.Mylasa* 801–804 + *EA* 25 (1995) 49 no. 12; 805–806; 807–810; *EA* 25 (1995) 46 no. 9; 811–813; 814–815; 816A; 837 and 838 (fragments); *IAS* 381/464; *IAS* 380/379. Six different *stephanēphoroi*. His name is variously spelled Διονυσικλῆς and Διενυσικλῆς.

10 See e.g. Blümel's count of *I.Mylasa* 805–806, vol. II at p. 35: 15 + 3 missing = 18 members; 807–810 at p. 38: 9 members; 811–813 at p. 42: 9 members; 814–815, at p. 47–48: 11+ members. The principle of the core and the

The decree about participation in the Apollo and Artemis cult (*I.Mylasa* 861) adds an eighth *stephanēphoros* (Ἰατροκλῆς Λέοντος τοῦ Μέλανος) to the total; that on the cult of Leto proposed by Phaidros son of Moschiōn possibly a ninth, of whose name only Ἑρμίου has been preserved.¹¹ One further *stephanēphoros* might still have to be added to the seven attested by name in the dossiers headed by Dēmētrios, since in *I.Mylasa* 815 all that is left of the name is [- - -]που¹², an ending that might correspond with the ending of either Κρατῖνος Κρατίνου κατὰ δὲ υἰοθεσίαν Λαμπρίου τοῦ Μενίππου¹³ or with Λιμναῖος Διονυσίου τοῦ Μενίππου¹⁴ or, of course, with neither.¹⁵ Although we do not know the sequence of the Mylasan *stephanēphoroi* or their distribution over time, I suspect that the transactions in which the main protagonists mentioned here were involved took place within a period of not more than two decades, for which we have the names of nine or ten *stephanēphoroi*. To this may be added that we do not, to date, have any transaction from Olymos that is not dated by a Mylasan *stephanēphoros*, and none that can be dated with certainty to the generation immediately before that of Dēmētrios son of Hermias and his fellow *ktēmatōnai* (above, p. 19 and n. 2). This concentration of acquisitional activity does not match the pattern of the wider Mylasan land-lease documents, which have been shown, most recently by Isabelle Pernin, to stretch over at least three generations.¹⁶

However, as is the case for the Mylasan material more widely, the Olymos documents have so far resisted efforts to find a precise dating window. For a long time, it was broadly agreed that all the Mylasan transactions (including those from Olymos, Sinuri and Hydai) took place in a relatively short timespan, in the later second century BC and the beginning of the first century. Diederich Behrend subscribed to this chronology, as did Louis Robert.¹⁷ Wolfgang Blümel's edition in the IK volumes dates many of the inscriptions to this period.¹⁸ More recently, however, Richard Ashton and Gary Reger have defended a considerably higher dating, moving the start of the series back by about a century, to before 185 BC, possibly even to the second half of the third century. Their argument is based in part on the type of coinage specified in the contracts and its relation to the introduction of a new Rhodian *plinthophoros* in the 180s BC, and in equal part

rest can be clearly seen in all three. Frequent gaps in the texts and additional elements in individual naming (adopted status and priesthoods lengthen a name substantially) make counting difficult.

11 *Milas Guide* no. 41, left column, l. 23 (ed. pr. *EA* 13 [1989] 7–10, with the number *I.Mylasa* 895; *SEG* 39, 1135).

12 *I.Mylasa* 815.1.

13 *I.Mylasa* 807–810; *IAS* 381/464; *EA* 25 (1995) 47 no. 9 with photo *Tafel* 10 (Pernin, at no. 213, dates it to the 120s BC, see the discussion on p. 409); Reger, in Ashton-Reger 131–133, dates this *stephanēphoros* to the 180s. For my dating see below, p. 29.

14 *I.Mylasa* 801–804, with *EA* 25 (1995) 49–50 no. 12 (photo *Tafel* 14.1).

15 Ἰεροκλῆς Μενίππου who dates *I.Mylasa* 201 is excluded because of the high date of this lease contract of the Otōrkondeis: final decades of the third century? See van Bremen, *EA* 49 (2016) 20–21 and now Marek-Zingg no. 13 (photo) for the matching decree of the Otōrkondeis initiating the leasing process. Equally excluded is Λέων [- - - -] τοῦ Μενίππου in *I.Mylasa* 905 (Hydai) because of the appended ἱερεὺς Γῆς καὶ Ἑκάτης to this man's name.

16 See the discussion in Pernin 405–416.

17 Pernin 405 for the different views, with references. Add L. Robert, *Hellenica* X (1955) 225. D. Behrend, *Rechtshistorische Betrachtungen zu den Pacht dokumenten aus Mylasa und Olymos, Akten des VI. Internationalen Kongresses für Griechische und Lateinische Epigraphik. München 1972* (*Vestigia* 17, 1973) 145–168.

18 Many secondary discussions follow this dating, e.g. B. Dignas, *The Leases of Sacred Property at Mylasa, Kernos* 13 (2000) 117–126, or Chr. Chandezon, *Paysage et économie rurale en Asie mineure à l'époque hellénistique. À partir de quelques baux de Mylasa, Histoire et sociétés rurales* 9 (1998) 33–56.

on circumstantial historical arguments, to which the date of the absorption of several of the smaller communities like Olymos into Mylasa is central. On these combined criteria, Reger proposed dates for the Olymos transactions early in the second century (180s–170s).¹⁹ I will return to some of his specific case studies and to the date of the *sympoliteia* below.²⁰ Raymond Descat and Isabelle Pernin, using mainly paleographic and prosopographic criteria, came to a very similar conclusion to that of Reger and Ashton in an article in *Studi Ellenistici* of 2008, postulating a transition from what they coined ‘l’écriture ancienne’ to ‘l’écriture récente’ around the 180s BC. The documents, in their view, are to be grouped on either side of this divide.²¹

In her book of 2014 (*Les baux ruraux en Grèce ancienne*) about a third of which is dedicated to Mylasa, Olymos, Hydai and Sinuri, Pernin distances herself from the high dating advocated in Descat–Pernin, and leans once again towards a lower date (‘la seconde moitié ou la fin du IIe siècle avant J.-C.’ although with some reservations) for the entire body of documents, with only very few exceptions.²² Although I am not persuaded by the dates she proposes, it needs emphasizing that one of the great merits of her research has been to show that the practice documented in the Mylasan land-leases was not a phenomenon limited to a brief few decades only but stretched over a century or more. Seen in the wider Mylasan context, the practice was therefore not a single answer to a single historical event or process, even if elements of the original procedure may owe much to a prime mover, as I have tried to suggest in a recent article.²³

Pernin makes it clear in her book that part of the problem with trying to establish an absolute chronology for these documents is that there is not a single conclusive external point of reference for any of them, for in the few cases where we have an externally dateable individual or event, extrapolation within the Mylasan documents is frustrated by prosopographic uncertainties.²⁴

19 Ashton–Reger 126–128. References to ‘light Rhodian money’, ἀργύριον Ῥόδιον λεπτόν, used in some of the documents, indicate, they argue, the new Rhodian *plinthophoros*, introduced in the 180s or possibly already in 190 BC; the simple ‘money’, ἀργύριον, used in others, would then refer to payment made in coinage before this date. See on this also Pernin 410–412 (rightly critical of using the coinage-references, but her criticism is in part based on inaccurate dating). See below, pp. 28–29 and n. 43 for a discussion of one of Reger’s case studies. I do not here discuss the coinage-based dating criteria, which need a more comprehensive review of all Mylasan documents.

20 On the date of the *sympoliteia* see also above, n. 5; the next n. (21) and below, p. 26.

21 Descat–Pernin 206–209. ‘Ancienne’: straight-barred alpha, divergent sigma and ny, small omicron, omega and theta, unequal pi and ny; ‘récente’: broken-barred alphas, parallel sigma and ny. They see a transitional phase between the two styles in the texts showing curved cross-bars for the alpha (on show, in fact, in the very decree that Reger confidently dated to the 2nd half of the 3rd century BC and on which he – partly – based his dating of the Mylasa/Olymos *sympoliteia*: *I.Mylasa* 868: above, n. 5). See also the useful discussion in N. Carless-Unwin, *Caria and Crete in Antiquity* 143–146.

22 Conclusion, though with reservation, on p. 410. The lack of differentiation between the Olymean and Mylasan material, here, and in most other scholars’ discussions is however to be regretted.

23 van Bremen, above, n. 15, especially 17–21.

24 Pernin 405 and 408, citing the case of Iatroklēs son of Dēmētrios, Tarkondareus, honoured for having gone on an embassy to M. Iunius Silanus, proconsul of Asia in 76 BC (*I.Mylasa* 109) when the latter was crossing into Asia, and his possible father, Dēmētrios son of Iatroklēs, by adoption son of Drakōn, Tarkondareus, who features among the neighbours in the land-sale dossier *I.Mylasa* 203–204. The connection is not certain (Iatroklēs and Dēmētrios being among the most common names in Mylasa) as Pernin herself points out. The dossier 203–204, as I have argued above, n. 4 (cf. below, n. 37) belongs to the decades between 160–130 BC. Another external reference is to the Macedonian king Perseus (179/78–168 BC) in *I.Mylasa* 821 and 853. See below p. 30 with n. 46.

Although absolute certainty is still not within our reach, I should like to set out here the implication for Mylasan chronology (and more specifically for the chronology of the Olymos dossiers) of an inscription recently published in Christian Marek and Emanuel Zingg's *Die Versinschrift des Hyssaldomos und die Inschriften von Uzunyuva*. The book's pièce de résistance is an extraordinary Hellenistic poem of 123 lines, inscribed on a 2.25 m high stele, reused in late Antiquity as one of the steps leading up to a podium adjoining the Uzunyuva in the centre of modern Milas – now the location of the newly excavated Hekatomnid monumental tomb –, but the second part of the book contains a considerable number of other new inscriptions found in the past decade during the excavations.²⁵

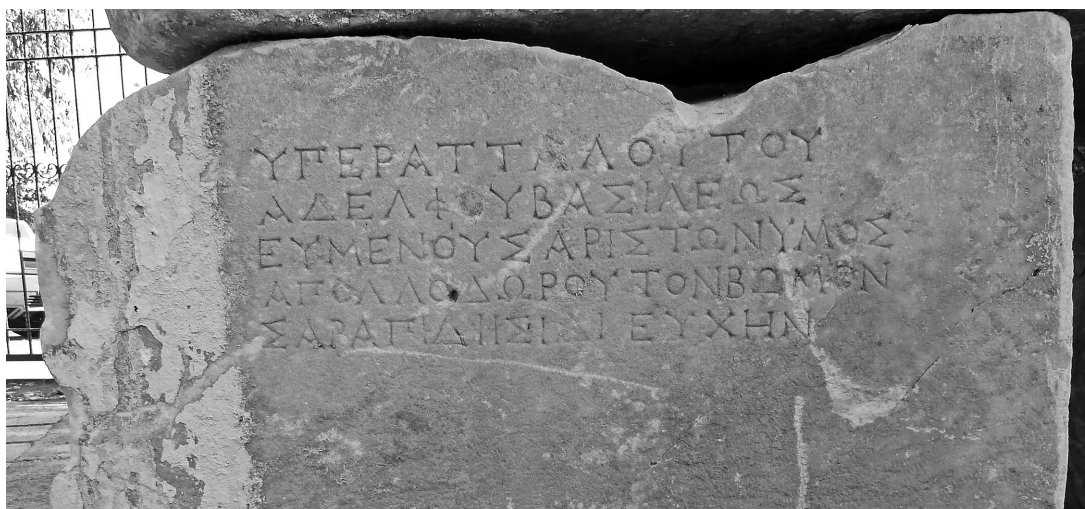


Fig. 1: Marek–Zingg no. 23 (Photo R. van Bremen)

Among the new inscriptions there is one which is of importance for our purpose. Marek–Zingg no. 23 is a dedication to Sarapis and Isis, ὑπὲρ Ἀττάλου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ βασιλέως Εὐμένους by a man called Ἀριστόνυμος Ἀπολλοδώρου.²⁶ A man with this name also appears in *I.Mylasa* 103, an honorific decree for the otherwise unknown Poseidōnios from Byzantion (improved version *EA* 13 [1989] 12 no. 5 with photo *Tafel* 5; *SEG* 39, 1124). Although W. Blümel dated this text to the late second to early first century BC, the letters are closer in date to those of the Attalos dedication. Marek–Zingg write ‘die Buchstaben gleichen denen in unserer Weihinschrift’. This does need some qualification. Precise comparison is difficult because of the emphasis on the appearance of the well-spaced and elegant letters in the Attalos dedication (Fig. 1). *I.Mylasa* 103 is written with less care (Fig. 2) and the letters are packed more closely together. It displays many characteristics of early second-century script: straight-barred alphas (against the elegantly v-shaped cross-bar of the Attalos dedication), dotted thetas, omicrons and omegas smaller than the other letters, and, interestingly, a zeta with a vertical central bar (l. 8). An idiosyncrasy is the unusual closed form of the omega which some might associate with later script (it is approximated

²⁵ Marek–Zingg 1–2.

²⁶ No findspot is given for the block (h. 58 cm; w. 63.5 cm; th. 51 cm) on whose front this text is inscribed towards the top. ‘Part of an altar’ according to the editors.

however by the more elegantly carved same letter in the Attalos dedication – see e.g. line 4: Ω in βωμόν). In the Attalos dedication the sigmas have diverging branches while in 103 they are parallel. The phi (characteristically unstable in Mylasan epigraphy already e.g. in the Olympichos dossier from Labraunda)²⁷ is a perfectly sliced half moon in the dedication but an oval in 103. Despite these differences I would agree with Marek-Zingg that 103 is broadly contemporary with the Attalos dedication but probably belongs to the 180–170s rather than the 160s. It may be noted here in passing, given that the dedication is to Sarapis and Isis, that the honorific decree *I.Mylasa* 137, in which Sarapis and Isis are mentioned twice (ll. 17, 20), shows letters so closely related to (and probably somewhat earlier than) those of 103 that this text now constitutes the earliest attestation of a cult of the Egyptian deities in Mylasa (Fig. 3).²⁸

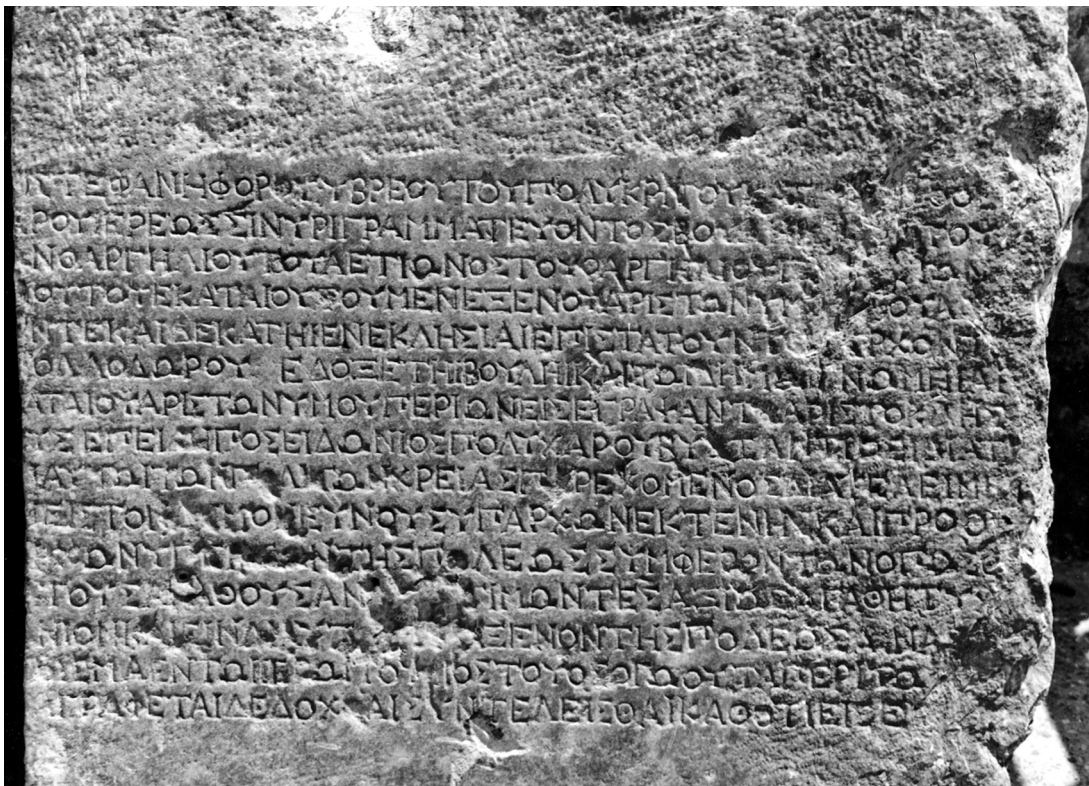


Fig. 2: *I.Mylasa* 103 (Photo W. Blümel)

The only occurrence of the name Ἀριστώνυμος Ἀπολλοδώρου in Mylasa is in these two inscriptions (and neither Ἀριστώνυμος nor Ἀπολλόδωρος is attested as a name in any other combination) and therefore we may agree with Marek that they very likely concern the same man. Since

²⁷ Sharply sliced e.g. in the recently published new inscription *EA* 49 (2016) 27–45, photos p. 29; oval in the new block published in the same volume 1–26, photos p. 5 (which also shows omegas tending towards a closed shape).

²⁸ The text should be consulted in the improved version in *EA* 37 (2004) 35–36 with corrections and photo. It was dated by Blümel to 2nd–1st century. The same zeta with vertical central bar occurs here, ll. 11 and 21. The main difference is in the omegas: open and suspended in 137, closed in 103.

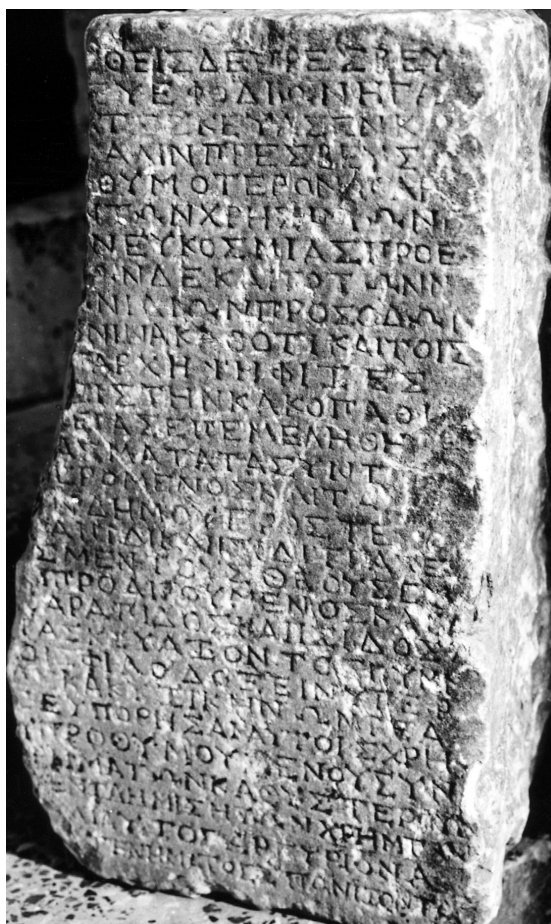


Fig. 3: *I.Mylasa* 137 (Photo W. Blümel)

the dating window for Marek–Zingg no. 23 theoretically falls between 197 BC (Eumenes II's accession) and at the latest 160 BC (when Attalos took the title of *basileus*), we have a correlation for *I.Mylasa* 103, which therefore should be moved up by at least two generations. Marek and Zingg ad loc. suggest that the dedication is most likely post 188 BC (peace of Apameia) and this seems sensible. The Mylaseis chose the side of the Romans (and Eumenes) against Antiochos III and were rewarded by a grant of freedom that kept them outside Rhodian control. It might be thought that any Attalid engagement with Mylasa would be more plausible after 167 BC, when Rhodians' presence in the region receded, but Marek and Zingg argue that Mylasa's problematic relationship with the Rhodians in the 180s and 170s (culminating in the conflict between Mylasa and Rhodes over the 'cities in Eurōmos' in 167 BC) may well in itself have been a reason for the Mylaseis to call upon the Attalid dynasty for assistance.²⁹ Given such uncertainty, it is not possible to narrow down the date of the dedication to a particular decade: I therefore take c. 190 as an (possibly too high) upper limit and 160 as the uncontroversial lower one.

In the improved version of *I.Mylasa* 103, one of the *archontes*/proposers is Ἐκαταῖος Ἐκαταίου τοῦ Μενεξένου (ll. 3–4). In *I.Mylasa* 102, a much cited honorific decree for a man called Μοσχίων Ἀριστείδου, priest of Zeus Krētagenēs and the Kourētes, the same man is the *stephanēphoros* for the year (l. 1): ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου Ἐκαταίου [τ]οῦ Ἐκαταίου[υ τοῦ] Μενεξένου. We can therefore now date both these inscriptions to approximately 190–160.

An additional bonus of this identification (not mentioned in Marek–Zingg but to which Wolfgang Blümel alerted me) is that it allows us to confirm a high date for the *sympoliteia* between Eurōmos and Mylasa, to which reference is made in *I.Mylasa* 102, and reject the lower date in

²⁹ Marek–Zingg 179–180, with the references to the war over τὰς ἐν Εὐρώμῳ πόλεις between Mylasa and Alabanda and the Rhodians (Pol. 30.5.11–12; cf. Liv. 45.25.11). See also Ashton–Reger 131–133 and J. Hopp, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der letzten Attaliden* (1977) 48–51.

P. Thonemann (EA 23 [2003] 104–105) proposed that documents naming Attalos without the additional designation 'brother of the king' (as in SEG 37, 1006: decree for Pamphilos of Adramyttion) indicate a date before the birth of the future Attalos III, in 167 BC, while those with the designation indicate a date between 167 and 160 BC, to avoid confusion with Attalos the son. However, a decree from Thessalian Larissa for Asklepiadēs, a *syntrophos* of Attalos II (SEG 31, 575), in which Attalos is called 'his brother, Attalos' (ll. 15–17) μετὰ τε Εὐμέν[ε]ος τοῦ βασιλείου καὶ τοῦ κατιγνείτο[ι] αὐτοῦ Ἀτάλοι is dated precisely to April–May 170 BC.

the 70s BC advocated by Louis Robert, for Moschiōn is praised for having offered his services precisely when Εὐρωμέων τε συμπολιτευόμενων τῶι δήμῳ.³⁰ Implicitly, a date earlier still for the Mylasa/Olymos *sympoliteia* gains plausibility, since the latter's territory lay in between Mylasa and Eurōmos and no *sympoliteia* with Eurōmos could have been envisaged if Olymos had not already been incorporated. Whether (with Reger) this can be pushed back to the immediate aftermath of the 240s has to be left open.³¹

This new dating, if correct, is of great help with the overall chronology of the land-lease documents. In *I.Mylasa* 103, Ὑβρέας Πολυκρίτου κατὰ [δὲ υἱ]οθε[σίαν Ὑβρέου τοῦ Κρατ]έρου ἱερεὺς Σινυρι is *stephanēphoros*. This same man also dates *I.Mylasa* 217B, published by W. Blümel in *EA* 19 (1992)³², and probably also 215.³³ He further features among the neighbours in the land transaction of the Otōrkondeis in 217 (and in 217B).³⁴ These texts must therefore also date to approxi-

30 How long this *sympoliteia* lasted cannot be known from this document, only that it was over by the time the decree was issued. Moschiōn's services seem to have stretched over a number of years. Pernin 417 follows Blümel's dating and refers to L. Robert, *Villes d'Asie mineure* (2nd ed. 1962) 59–60, who dated the *sympoliteia* to the end of the second or beginning of the first century; cf. *DAM* 211–213, with photograph of the decree Fig. 36, and Ph. Gauthier, *BE* 1995, 526 and 527 (review of Errington, *EA* 21 [1993]). Th. Boulay and A.-V. Pont, *Chalkêtôr en Carie* (2014) 60–63, argue for an early date, though after 167 BC, the year in which the Mylaseis made themselves – briefly and unsuccessfully – master of the 'cités de l'Eurômide' with the help of the Alabandeis (see previous n. and see further discussion in Boulay–Pont). I am less certain than they are about the sequence of events. We cannot securely date the fragmentary decree of Eurōmos mentioning a Rhodian arbitration between Mylasa and Eurōmos (S. Ager, *Interstate Arbitration in the Greek World 337–90 BC* [1996] no. 124 with references; *I.Nordkarien* 110). Boulay–Pont push it to the (distant?) aftermath of the – failed – *sympoliteia* (p. 63: 'longtemps après 167'), but Alain Bresson's view that this arbitration could equally belong in the 180s seems to me to be worth retaining (Les intérêts rhodiens en Carie à l'époque hellénistique, in F. Prost [ed.], *L'orient méditerranéen de la mort d'Alexandre aux campagnes de Pompée* [2003] 187 n. 74). I also doubt that the decree for Amyntas (*SEG* 43, 709) can be directly linked to the *sympoliteia*: its letter forms belong in the second half of the 2nd century, as both M. Errington and Ph. Gauthier thought. Gauthier did admittedly connect the decree to the time of the *sympoliteia*, but dated the latter to the late second century BC. In general, it is not easy to see how the *sympoliteia* relates chronologically and causally to the evident hostilities between the two cities. There is, finally, no way of knowing how *I.Labraunda* 84, with 'lettering of c. 200 BC or later' (Crampa), relates to any of the above. It is a fragment of a (?) decree in which the words Μυλ[ασε- - -], ψηφισμα[- - -] and Εὐρωπεῖς occur, in l. 2 (and 8), 5 and 9 respectively.

31 The 'road leading to Eurōmos' is referred to as a topographical point of reference in two of the Olymos leases (*I.Mylasa* 814.11 and *IAS* 380/379 C9–10). See above, n. 5 for the date of the Mylasa/Olymos *sympoliteia*.

32 217 and 217B have writing very similar to 103, including the peculiar, closed, omega.

33 The Ὑβρέας in 864 (l. 19) is probably the same man. This inscription, of which only a very bad photograph exists (*BCH* 46 [1922] 421), seems to show a mixture of curved and straight-barred alphas. The writing is uneven. See also Pernin–Descat 210.

34 The two *ktēmatōnai* in 217B are Μένιππος Ὑβρέου (Ὑβρύου in 215, l. 7), priest of the Samothracian gods, and Γλαῦκος Ὑβρέου, priest of an anonymous deity; both could be adoptive brothers of our Ὑβρέας and first cousins at the same time. It seems not certain to me that the priesthood of Glaukos in this text is to be restored on the basis of *I.Mylasa* 501 (improved reading *EA* 19 [1992] 19, photo) in which a Γλαῦκος Ὑβρέου ἱερεὺς Διονύσου is among the contributors to a stoa. 501 has alphas with distinctive broken cross-bars; it also features Ἐκατομῶνος Οὐλιάδου, ἱερεὺς Διὸς Λαβραῦνδου (ll. 3–4) whom I have dated to between 160 and 130 BC: see the stemma on p. 27. This younger Glaukos is therefore more likely the son of Hybreas son of Polykritos, by adoption son of Hybreas.

mately the thirty odd years between c. 190 and 160. The letter forms point to a date towards the lower end of the range.³⁵

We can reconstruct the stemma of Hybreas as follows,³⁶ and date, approximately, the two generations preceding him:



In the list of priests *I.Sinuri* 5 (which looks as if it was written in the mid- to late second century) published and discussed by Louis Robert, the name of Ὑβρέας does not feature, which may be thought to be an obstacle to my dating, but the stone on which that list is written, over three columns, is broken off (or re-worked) at the base (this is clear from the photograph Pl. III) and we cannot tell how many names are lost.³⁸

Among the contemporaries of Ὑβρέας Πολυκρίτου, and thus broadly dated to the same thirty-year window of c. 190-160, is Διοδῶρος Θρασέου, who is listed among the neighbours in the sale document *I.Mylasa* 217, ll. 16, [20]. His (likely) son Σιβίλωσ Διοδώρου τοῦ Θρασέου, priest of Dikaiosyne, features in the Thargelios dossier from Olymos, *I.Mylasa* 801-804, headed by the ubiquitous Dēmētrios son of Hermias and is now also attested as *ktēmatōnēs* himself in the newly reconstituted no. *IAS* 382/378 B6; he is also the honorand in the decrees 871 and 401. Since Sibilōs must be approximately of the generation 160-130 BC (he may have been born any time between 190 and 160, when his father was active),³⁹ it follows that the bulk of the documents headed by Dēmētrios must belong to approximately the years 160-130 BC. It is interesting that

35 Gary Reger in Ashton-Reger discusses Hybreas on p. 114, dating him to ‘before 185 BC’, writing that ‘the 180s would be ideal’ and tries to resolve the problem of the Sinuri priest list.

36 The homonymous adoptive father of Hybreas may well be his uncle (father’s brother), given the recurrence of the name Hybreas across the generations. Hybreas is also discussed in Descat-Pernin 210 and 212, with reference to Ashton-Reger 134.

37 The approximate date for the anonymous son of Menippos is confirmed by l. 17 of *I.Mylasa* 204, in which features Dēmētrias the daughter of Dēmētrios son of Hermias son of Antipatros: see above, n. 4.

38 Robert continues, on pp. 22-23, to reconstruct the list and the genealogy of the priests as if no names were missing. It is very unlikely that the Μένιππος who heads the third column should be the son of the [Ἱερ]ώνυμος whose name is last in what survives of column 2: we cannot know how many names followed [Ἱερ]ώνυμος. It looks to me as if there are lines below (on Pl. III.5 the apex of a triangular letter is clearly visible below the M of [Ἱερ]ώνυμος) and presumably the lists continued on a lower block. See also Reger’s doubts about this list, Ashton-Reger 134.

39 I agree with Gary Reger (Ashton-Reger 135-136) that the Ouliadēs son of Sibilōs who dates, as *stephanēphoros*, the decree *I.Mylasa* 109, dated precisely to 76/75 BC by the presence of M. Iunius Silanus the Roman proconsul in Asia (Broughton, *MRR* II, 94), is not the son of our Sibilōs (honoured in *I.Mylasa* 401 etc.) but was removed by two generations.

several of the men of this generation of *ktēmatōnai*, besides being, as we saw, proposers of important decrees concerning cults, are prominent in honorific decrees: Phaidros son of Moschiōn honoured by the Olymeis in *I.Mylasa* 869 and 870, Sibilōs son of Diodōros in 871. The latter inscription, which mentions Sibilōs' usefulness in times of danger and upheaval (ἐμ - - - ἀναγκαί-οις καιροῖς χρή[σιμον ἑαυτὸ]ν παρέχεται, ll. 9–11), contains the tell-tale expression τυγχάνειν τῆς ἀρ[ίστης ἐπισημασίας (ll. 14–15): 'receiving the highest distinction' which is characteristic of honorific decrees of the mid- to late second century BC.⁴⁰

I therefore propose, with some degree of confidence, that the majority of the Olymos land-lease documents date broadly to the generation between 160 and 130 BC. It should be realized that a generational span of 30 years, though used as a conventional rule of thumb by historians, is an approximation, and we should therefore not be surprised if, instead, there were e.g. 25 years between a father's date of birth and that of his son – having several sons in any case requires the figures to be adjusted; adoption complicates matters further.⁴¹ A period of 100 years could theoretically accommodate either three or four generations, depending on circumstances, and the generations of family X might not run in perfect synchrony with those of family Y over that same timespan. We may have to stray on either side of 160 or 130 BC by a margin of, say, ten years.⁴² That the chronological window for Attalos II's possible contact with the Karian city (between c. 188 and 160 BC) also covers a period of approximately 30 years is of course a total coincidence.

In this brief article I have not aimed to set the entire Mylasan chronology on a new footing – I have been mainly concerned with offering a more solid date for the body of Olymos sale and lease documents, of which those published here by W. Blümel form a part. I refrain, at least for the moment, from offering a historical explanation for the concentration of the practice of acquiring land for the gods within a relatively short timespan, but I have indicated that it appears to coincide with other measures taken to safeguard the exclusivity and identity of the Olymean sanctuaries and of the community itself and with a number of honorific decrees for the men most closely involved.

Below, I offer some thoughts on a few cases that can be corrected, clarified, or reopened if my redating is accepted. There will certainly be others (and there may be problems too), but the revisiting of the entire Mylasan epigraphic record will take time. I also give a list of the *stephanēphoroi* attested in the documents here discussed.

The 'common benefactors' and Rhodian money

Gary Reger proposed a date in the mid 180s for a Mylasan decree in which occurs the expression Ῥωμαίοις τοῖς κοινοῖς εὐεργ[έταις] instead of the commonly accepted date of sometime after 167 BC (the usual argument being that Romans would have most likely been called 'com-

40 The expression was discussed most recently by Peter Thonemann, with numerous examples: Hellenistic Inscriptions from Lydia, *EA* 36 (2003) 95–108, at p. 98, and (especially) n. 14. See already L. and J. Robert in *Claros*, 68 n. 20, discussing its use in the honorific decree for the Kolophonian Menippos (active 130s–120s BC).

41 Adoption did not necessarily occur at birth or in youth but may have occurred at almost any time in a man's life for reasons that we cannot usually reconstruct.

42 I am therefore not unduly worried that the *stephanēphoros* Ἰατροκλῆς Λέοντος τοῦ Μέλανος who dates *I.Mylasa* 861 is perhaps the father of the *stephanēphoros* Λέων Ἰατροκλείου Λέοντος in *IAS* 380/379 (above, n. 5). Both are broadly dated to the years between 160 and 130.

mon benefactors' after they removed the Rhodian overlordship from Karia).⁴³ Reger's argument was that the *stephanēphoros* dating the decree, Κρατῖνος Κρατίνου κατὰ δὲ υἰοθεσίαν Λαμπρίου τοῦ Μενίππου (*I.Mylasa* 111) also dates two of the land-sale documents (808 and 810, improved version EA 25 [1995] 46–48, nos. 8 and 9) which, in Reger's schema, belong to the group using the designation 'money' rather than 'light Rhodian money' and therefore should belong to the late 190s or early 180s BC, before the change-over to the new Rhodian *plinthophoroi* (see above, p. 22 and n. 19). Others, using the expression 'light Rhodian money' should then belong to the late 180s and 170s BC (Ashton–Reger 132). But these two documents belong, with almost all others, to the presidency of Dēmētrios son of Hermias and thus to the years between approximately 160 and 130 BC. Reger's further corroborations of the proposed date (p. 133) are all based on documents dated by the same *stephanēphoros*: *I.Mylasa* 808 and 810, and a further inscription only partly published at the time of Reger's article (see his n. 25) but which is now IAS 381/464 in Blümel's edition. That dossier, too, contains transactions carried out under the presidency of Dēmētrios son of Hermias. The title of ἱερεὺς τῶν βασιλέων born by Μέλας Εἰρηναίου referred to in the new no. IAS 380/379 C10 (with Blümel, above, p. 6) which belongs to the same period, suggested to Reger that we should date this, like the other document, to immediately after the defeat of Antiochos III by the Romans (e.g. 187 or 186 BC) on the grounds that it was still just about alright to have a priest of the (Seleukid) kings at this date, but the argument does not hold up.⁴⁴

The priests of Labraunda

In several of the documents headed by Dēmētrios son of Hermias, dated to between c. 160 and 130, Hekatomnōs son of Ouliadēs, priest of Zeus Labraundos, features among the neighbours to the land being sold and/or leased out (IAS 382/378 A7, B10, C4): Ἐκατομνωσ Οὐλιάδου ἱερεὺς Διὸς Λαβραῖνδου; *I.Mylasa* 501.3–4 (with the *syngeneia* designation Μαυρνίτης); 801.22; 803.4; 814.5. He is almost certainly the son of Οὐλιάδης Ἐ[κα]τομνω τοῦ Κόρριος in 864.13–14 (= [Οὐλιά]δης Ἐκατομ[νω] in 841.8 and Οὐλιάδης Ἐ[κατομνω] in 853.3). As proposed by W. Blümel (above, p. 17), in 841.6–7, Κόρρις Ἐκα[τομνω ἱερεὺς Διὸς] Λαβραιύνδου could be restored. In 102.2 (c. 190–160 BC) the same man is *grammateus* of the council. This Korris is therefore probably a brother of Ouliadēs.⁴⁵ Their ownership of land in or adjoining the Olymis must go back to the time of the Labraundan priests in the third century and before (see also *I.Labraunda* 69.31). The reference to βασιλεὺς Περσεύς in 853.5 now sits more comfortably with the dates proposed for the inscription (190s–160s BC: Perseus' regnal dates are 179/78–168 BC). We have no direct

43 Ashton–Reger 131, with further references.

44 In Teos, the priesthood of the Seleukid kings continued well after that city had been freed by the Attalids, see OGIS 246; similarly perhaps in Erythrai (*I.Erythrai* 207). Cf. also Descat–Pernin 216 who comment on this specific case, also referring to the Teos parallel, though wrongly citing OGIS 241.

45 Blümel's comment (*I.Mylasa* II, p. 82) with reference to *I.Mylasa* 841 in which the name of Οὐλιάδης Ἐκατομνω (τοῦ Κόρριος) is to be restored: 'Dort wird in Z. 6/7 möglicherweise auch ein Priester des Zeus Labraundos genannt, wodurch die Behauptung Migeottes, Οὐλιάδης gehöre ohne Zweifel zu der alten Familie der Priester des Zeus Labraundos, an Wahrscheinlichkeit verliert.' If the men are brothers, as I argue here, this problem disappears. L. Migeotte, *L'emprunt public dans les cités grecques* (1984) no. 105 discusses this text, but dates it to the 1st century BC.

clue as to this king's involvement in the Mylasa region. He is also named in the fragment *I.Mylasa* 821.8, which is dated by the *ktēmatōnai* under Dēmētrios son of Hermias to c. 160–130.⁴⁶

G. Maddoli has recently proposed a revised schema for the genealogy of the Labraundan priests in *Epigrafi di Iasos. Nuovi supplementi* I (2007) 316, following a discussion of a new Iasian decree for Hekatomnos son of Korris (no. 20B, discussed pp. 306–316). His reconstruction is however based on the (incorrect) assumption that Οὐλιάδης Ἐ[κα]τομνω, *grammateus* of the council in *I.Mylasa* 853, is to be dated to the late second or early first century BC and is therefore unnecessarily complicated, since it inserts two extra generations between the Κόρρις and his son Ἐκατομνω known from the Labraundan Olympichos dossier of 240s–220s BC and Οὐλιάδης Ἐ[κα]τομνω τοῦ Κόρριος here dated to 190–160 BC. See the schema below (Maddoli 316 on left; proposed simplified schema on right).⁴⁷

Priests of Zeus Labraundos

πρόγονος (inizio III secolo)	πρόγονος	
πρόγονος (1 ^a metà III secolo)	πρόγονος	
Korris (I) (metà III secolo)	Korris (I)	240s–?
Hekatomnos (I) (2 ^a metà III)	Hekatomnōs (I)	220s–?
Korris (II) (1 ^a metà II)	Ouliadēs Korris (II)	190–160
Hekatomnos (II) (metà II)	Hekatomnōs (II Maunnitēs)	160–130
Ouliades (2 ^a metà II)		
Hekatomnos (Maunnites) (fine II)		
Korris (inizio I)		

Mylaseis and the wider world

In *I.Mylasa* 217B (and 215, 216), now dated to between c. 190 and 160 BC, we encounter Ἰάσων Διονυσίου, Ὀγονδεύς, a vendor and still a minor (i.e. anywhere up to 18 years of age), with his father Διονύσιος as tutor. One of the protagonists of the *isopoliteia* treaty between Mylasa and Miletos (*Delphinion* 146; *I.Mylasa* II, 21 T 51; P. Herrmann, *Milet* VI.1 [1997] 178–179 with all references) dated to 215/14 BC is Διονύσιος Ἰάσονος τοῦ Διονυσίου. Descat and Pernin took this man to be the father of our Ἰάσων Διονυσίου.⁴⁸ Given the son's minority, the father would have at

⁴⁶ See Blümel's reference to a *horos* of an estate belonging to Perseus on Kos (above, p. 17). Reger, in Ashton–Reger 134, dates Ouliadēs son of Hekatomnōs to the time of Perseus.

⁴⁷ Maddoli's no. 20B, an honorific decree of Iasos for Hekatomnōs son of Korris, is dated to the final decades of the third century BC. Jonas Crampa offered a complicated discussion and a reconstructed genealogy on pp. 198–201 of *Labraunda* III.2 (1972) on which Maddoli's stemma is based only in part. I do not repeat that schema here. P. Debord, Who's who in Labraunda, in L. Karlsson and S. Carlsson (eds), *Labraunda and Karia* (2011) 133–147, at 136, repeats Maddoli's schema.

⁴⁸ P. 210. They date the treaty erroneously to 209/8 BC, not taking into account the redating, by M. Wörrle, of the Milesian *stephanēphoroi* list: see in *Milet* VI.1, 178.

least to belong to the higher end of the generation of 190–160 BC or earlier. This seems to me to be too much of a stretch. The names Ἰάσων and Διονύσιος are so common that we ought to be cautious about creating false connections.

Caution is especially in place since the name of Ἰάσων Διονυσίου is restored (Ἰάσο[νος τοῦ Διονυσίου]) in another peace treaty, between Miletos and Magnesia on Maeander, of the 190s or 180s BC (*Delphinion* 148; *Milet* VI.1, 182–184; *I.Priene* [2014] 572–576 T 3) among the Mylasan delegates (ll. 13–15) presumably on the basis of the Mylasa/Miletos parallel. It should be clear that both the restoration and the chronology are precarious.⁴⁹ The supplement [Μυλα]σέων has moreover been called into question: L. Robert suggested [Ἰα]σέων as equally possible and, despite the effort to make Ἰάσ[ων Διονυσίου] fit the Mylasan bill, the balance appears to have tipped in favour of Iasos.⁵⁰

In this treaty (whether one dates it with Rehm to 196 BC, with M. Wörrle to between 196 and 191, or with M. Errington to the second half of the 180s) among the three Mylasan or Iasian delegates, alongside the uncertain Ἰάσω[ν Διονυσίου] we find the names of [Ἵ]σσάλδωμος Εἰρηναίου and Ἀπολλώνιος Νυσίου.⁵¹ Many recent commentators on the Miletos/Magnesia peace treaty have taken the attestation of an Ἀπολλώνιος Νυσίου τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου in Iasos (*SEG* 41, 930.4–5; cf. 931) as enough of an argument to restore [Ἰα]σέων rather than [Μυλα]σέων. The Iasian decree was dated by Roberta Fabiani to between 220–190 BC (partly on the basis of the identity of Ἀπολλώνιος Νυσίου?).⁵² However, in *I.Mylasa* 817, two brothers, Μέλας Νυσίου and Πολίτης Νυσίου, feature among the neighbours of the land being acquired; in 818, Μέλας recurs as a former tenant of the land being leased out. Not only are the letter forms of 817 and 818 among the earliest in the Olymean dossier (above, n. 2), but we can also link the *stephanēphoros* of 818, Οὐλιάδης Πόλλιος τοῦ Πρωτέου (818.2)⁵³, directly to his adoptive son Πολίτης Ἀετίωνος κατὰ δὲ υἰοθεσίαν Οὐλιάδου τοῦ Πόλλιος τοῦ Πρωτέου in 217B and 864 (ll. 2–3).⁵⁴ The latter, as we saw above, is now dated to c. 190–160 by the *stephanēphoros* Ὑβρέας Πολυκρίτου κατὰ [δὲ υἰ]οθεσίαν Ὑβρέου τοῦ Κρατ[έ]ρου ἱερεὺς Σινυρι. *I.Mylasa* 818 therefore belongs approximately to the years between 220–190 BC and Politēs and Melas can very well have been the brothers of Apollōnios son of Nysios in the Miletos peace treaty.

Though Ὑσσάλδωμος is certainly a name more characteristic of Mylasa than of Iasos, the attestation of a Ὑσσάλδωμος (one *sigma*) Ἀντιγό[ν]ου in *I.Iasos* 215 was until now sufficient to keep the balance reassuringly on the Iasian side. But the third delegate's name, Ὑσσάλδωμος Εἰρηναίου, is now firmly attached to the new verse inscription from Mylasa published by Marek and Zingg, whose final lines (122–123) read: Ὑσσάλδωμος Εἰρηναίου ἐποίησεν τὸ πόημα, and whose date (on letter forms) is approximately that of the Miletos/Magnesia treaty. Since Εἰρηναῖος is common in both cities, it seems to me that we can no longer be so certain about the

49 On the different proposals for dating this treaty see P. Herrmann's commentary, *Milet* VI.1, 182.

50 Ch. Crowther, Iasos in the Second Century BC III: Foreign Judges from Priene, *BICS* 40 (1995) 91–136, at 98, and *idem*, The Chronology of the Iasian Theatre Lists: Again, *Chiron* 25 (1995) 225–234, at 232–234.

51 See also the discussion in Marek–Zingg 65: equally hesitant, with the references in n. 161.

52 R. Fabiani, *I decreti onorari di Iasos. Cronologia e storia* (2015) 15, who uses the occurrence of this man in the Miletos/Magnesia treaty as a chronological anchor, with reference to Ch. Crowther, above, n. 50.

53 *I.Sinuri* 16 is not, in my view, an honorific document for this Ouliadēs.

54 The adoptive son also in *EA* 37 (2004) 6–8 no. 7 (*Milas Guide* no. 13). 217B is classed by Descat–Pernin under 'sous-groupe 4' (p. 209–210), the last of the *écriture ancienne* texts, and 818 (Olymos) under 'sous-groupe 1' which they date approximately to before 189 BC and possibly in the final decades of the third century (p. 212).

Iasian origin of the three delegates, for the Mylasan dates now fit that of the Miletos/Magnesia treaty as well as the Iasian ones.

APPENDIX 1: *stephanēphoroi*

These are the *stephanēphoroi* who date the documents discussed here, with a broad indication of their date, using the 30-year bands, which, as explained above, p. 28, are approximate indications based on a generational distance of 30 years. This is not a full list of all known Mylasan *stephanēphoroi*, about 50 of whom are known by name (or part thereof), not even of all *stephanēphoroi* that could be dated to the years between c. 220 and 130 BC. I have listed, in the third column, the documents in which the name features, but it is implied that other parts of the same dossier are dated by the same eponym (e.g. 815 dated by [- - - - -]που implies that 814, on same stone, part of same transaction, shares the eponym). The fourth column shows attestations in other capacities (e.g. neighbour); the final column has additional comments.

<i>stephanēphoros</i>	approximate date	attestations	further attestations	NB
Ούλιάδης Πόλλιος τοῦ Πρωτέου	220–190	IM 818	his adoptive son in 217, 217B and 864	217, 217B can be dated independently to c. 190–160
Ἄρ[- - - - -]	220–190/ 190–160	IM 868, improved version EA 32 (2000) 99–100 no. 1 (photo)		Reger, above, n. 5, 'around 200 BC' on letter forms
Ἰατροκλῆς [- - - - -]	220–190/ 190–160	EA 32 (2000) 99– 100 no. 2 (photo)		same lettering as 868
Ἰβρέας Πολυκρίτου κατὰ δὲ υἰοθεσίαν Ἰβρέου τοῦ Κρατέ- ρου ἱερεὺς Σινυρι	190–160	IM 103, 215 (?), 217B, 864	IM 217.6–7 and 217B.15 as neighbour	'before 185' Ashton- Reger 134, but more likely towards the 170s–160s (see p. 27, n. 35)
Ἐκαταῖος Ἐκαταίου τοῦ Μενεξένου	190–160	IM 102	IM 103: <i>archōn</i>	
Δημήτριος Πιξω[δάρου]	?190–160?	IM 831		see n. 2. Descat- Pernin 207 place this, and 830, 832–834 tentatively at around 180 BC (curved alphas, but uncertain)

Μένιππος Γλαύκου	?190–160?	IM 833		see previous entry
Θεόμνηστος Λέοντος κατὰ δὲ νόθεσίαν Διοκλείου τοῦ Πολυκλείτου	190–160	IM 829	IM 204, 301, 405	Descat–Pernin 207, 211, 220, suggest the 180s or 170s, on letter forms (transitional)
[- --- Θε]οδ[ό]του	160–130	IM 819		
Διονύσιος Μέλανος τοῦ Φανίου	160–130	IM 806	IM 631 (name restored after IM 806) but same man? Sent to (?) Tralleis as judge	L. Robert dated 631 to late 2nd/early 1st century on letter forms, OMS 1057– 1068
Δημήτριος Διονυσίου τοῦ Ἄρτεμιδώρου	160–130	IM 811, 812, 813		
Λέων Θεομνήστου	160–130	<i>I.Sinuri</i> 9		
Ἰατροκλῆς Λέοντος τοῦ Μέλανος	160–130	IM 861		
Κρατῖνος Κρατίνου κατὰ δὲ νόθεσίαν Λαμπρίου τοῦ Μενίππου	160–130	IM 111, 808, 810, EA 25 (1995) 437 no. 9 (<i>Milas Guide</i> no. 42), IAS 381/464 B, C		Reger, in Ashton– Reger 131–133, argues 190s or early 180s
[- ----] Μενεσθέως	160–130	IM 816A; IAS 382/378 B, C		
Λέων Ἰατροκλείου τοῦ Λέοντος	160–130	IM 878*and IAS 380/379 B, C		
Λιμναῖος Διονυσίου τοῦ Μενίππου	160–130	IM 801, 802		
Μέλας [- -----]	160–130	IM 822		
Ἑρμίας	160–130	IM 895 (EA 13 [1989] 7–10)		
[- -----]που	160–130	IM 815 (814)		

* insert: , SEG 57, 1102

APPENDIX 2: concordance *I.Mylasa* – Pernin – *Milas Guide*

<i>I.Mylasa</i>	Pernin	<i>Milas Guide</i>
102	p. 301, 316, 327, 417	
103	p. 301, 316	17
107	–	
109	p. 408, 409	
201	137	
203	139, p. 316	
204	140	1
215	154	
216	153	
217	155	2
217B (EA 19 [1992] 5–6)	156	3
401	–	
501	–	21
801	166, p. 316	
802	167, p. 316	
803	169	
804	170	
805	181	
806	182	
807	174	
808	175	
809	171	
810	172	
811	176	
812	177	
813	178	
814	179	43
815	180	43
816A	204	
817	183	
818	184	
819	173	
821	186	
822	188, 190	
829	196, 198	
830	199	
831	200	
832	201	
833	202	
834	203	
837	–	
838	–	
841	–	

853	–	
861	p. 339, 420	
864	p. 426	
868	–	44
869	p. 346	
870	p. 346	
871	–	
876	–	
878	–	
895	–	
905	251	
EA 13 (1989) 7–10	–	41
EA 25 (1995) 46–50		
7	211	42
8	212	42
9	213	42
12	168	
EA 32 (2000) 99–100		
1		44
2		45

Summary

In this article an attempt is made to offer a more reliable date for the body of Olymos sale and lease documents, of which those published here by W. Blümel (above, pp. 1–18) form a part. It is argued that the vast majority of these documents date approximately to the period 160–130 BC. The dating of these documents on the basis of monetary terminology as proposed by G. Reger and R. Ashton is questioned. A simplified (shortened) version of the stemma of Labraundan priests is presented and the question of the identity of three delegates in the peace treaty between Miletos and Magnesia on Maeander (*Delphinion* 148; *Milet* VI.1, 182–184; *I.Priene* [2014] 572–576 T 3): Mylaseis or Iaseis is reopened.