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MYLASA AND KRETE: THE CONTEXT OF THE MYLASAN 'KRETAN DOSSIER'*

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Résumé. – Un ensemble de décrets, votés par les cités de Crète pour la *polis* de Mylasa, a été gravée par les Mylasiens au cours de la période hellénistique. Les textes sont fragmentaires et difficiles à classer : cet article explore les circonstances sociales et politiques qui auraient pu conduire à leur inscription. Une datation à la fin du III^e début du II^e siècle avant J.-C. est avancée pour les décrets et ceux-ci sont placés dans le contexte plus large de l'interaction entre la Crète et le sud-ouest de l'Anatolie. Les textes sont comparés à des décrets similaires venant de Téos et de Milet, et laissent supposer que Mylasa cherchait à établir des alliances défensives avec les *poleis* de Crète en réponse à l'expansionnisme macédonien.

Abstract. – A series of decrees voted by Kretan cities for the *polis* of Mylasa was inscribed by the Mylaseis during the Hellenistic period. The texts are fragmentary and defy easy classification: this article explores the social and political circumstances that could have led to their inscription. A date in the late third/early second century BC is suggested for the decrees, and they are placed within a wider context of interaction between Krete and southwestern Anatolia. The texts are compared to similar decrees from Teos and Miletos, and it is suggested that Mylasa was seeking to establish defensive alliances with the *poleis* of Krete in response to Macedonian expansionism.

Mots-clés. – Mylasa, Crète, asylie, Téos, Milet, mercenaires, Philippe V.

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Twenty-three decrees voted by a number of Kretan *poleis* for the city of Mylasa in Karia were inscribed by the Mylaseis during the Hellenistic period.¹ Both the number and the fact that quite a few of the texts appear to have been inscribed at the same time² suggest that the decrees were voted, for the most part, at approximately the same time by the cities of Krete.³ They reveal the existence of diplomatic ties between Mylasa and Kretan cities, and mark their public recording by the Mylaseis. The city apparently sent delegates to Krete for a reason unknown to us; there are references to *πρεσβεύειν* and *πρειγεύειν* in three texts.⁴ The inscriptions are very fragmentary, and it is not known what type of decree is being recorded. W. Blümel in *IMylasa* categorised them as ‘Symmachieverträge und Asyldekrete’;⁵ this rather broad classification is attractive, though in the entire series there is just one reference to ἄσυλον (*IMylasa* 646, l. 8) and one to συμμάχων (*IMylasa* 651, l. 10). K. Rigsby included the texts in his volume on *asylia*, though noted that ‘they may well be military alliances and not declarations of inviolability.’⁶ Any interpretation of the decrees needs to be rooted in the historical context; while the Mylaseis may have been seeking recognition of their inviolability, or assurances of military support from the cities of Krete, we need to ask why they were seeking to establish such relations at this time, and what result they hoped to achieve.

With a lack of clear diagnostic features in the texts, W. Blümel dated the documents broadly to the second century BC.⁷ In this article, I will propose an earlier date in the late third century BC/early second century BC, both on the basis of the letter forms, and through comparison with

1. *IMylasa* nos. 641-659; W. BLÜMEL, «Neue Inschriften aus der Region von Mylasa (1989) mit Nachträgen zu I.K. 34-35», *EA* 13, 1989, p. 5-6, *IMylasa* no. 660 (*SEG* 39, 1127); W. BLÜMEL, «Neue Inschriften aus Mylasa (1989-1991) mit Nachträgen zu I.K. 34», *EA* 19, 1992, p. 12-15, *IMylasa* nos. 660-663 (*SEG* 42, 1003-1006); K.J. RIGSBY, *Asylia: territorial inviolability in the Hellenistic World*, Berkeley 1996 = RIGSBY *Asylia*, nos. 187-209. A. CHANIOTIS, «Review: Sheila L. Ager, *Interstate Arbitration in the Greek World, 337-90 B.C.*», *BMCRev.* 97.10.06, 1997, fn. 8, notes another inscription discovered at Athens in the Kretan dialect, which possibly mentions the ‘Mylaseis’ in the context of arbitration (S.L. AGER, *Interstate Arbitration in the Greek World, 337-90 BC*, Berkeley-Los Angeles-London 1996 = AGER *Interstate Arbitration*, no. 164 IV, l. 3; after L. ROBERT, J. ROBERT, *BE* 1962, 107); however, the restoration of the ‘Mylaseis’ is far from assured.

2. See the discussion of the letter forms below.

3. Specific Kretan cities are mentioned in three inscriptions: *IMylasa* 642, l. 5: [Γορτ]υνίος καὶ [Κν]οσίος; *IMylasa* 654, l. 5: ἀμὲν καὶ Κνώσιοι; *IMylasa* 663, l. 6: [Λ]αππαίων. The Doric dialect of *IMylasa* 644, with the employment of the digamma and -νς in accusative plural endings (l. 4: Κρηταιέανς; l. 5: πάντανς), is peculiar to central Krete, in particular Gortyn, during the Hellenistic period; see A. THUMB, E. KIECKERS, *Handbuch der Griechischen Dialekte* I., Heidelberg 1932, p. 156; M. BILE, *Le dialecte crétois ancien. Étude de la langue des inscriptions, recueil des inscriptions postérieures aux IC*, 1988, p. 128-129.

4. *IMylasa* 643, l. 8: πρε]γεύειν; 644, l. 7: πρ]εσβεύειν; 662, l. 4-5: πρει]γεύειν; l. 13: τὸς πρειγε]υτάς. W. BLÜMEL, *op. cit.* n. 1, 1992, p. 14, notes the parallels between 643, ll. 4-6, 644, ll. 7-8, and 662, ll. 4-6: they all reference a delegation, and mention τὸς δυνάστας; see below.

5. *IMylasa* p. 241.

6. RIGSBY *Asylia*, p. 407. O. CURTY, *Les parentés légendaires entre cités grecques*, Paris 1995, p.162, and P. BRULÉ, *La Piraterie crétoise hellénistique*, Paris 1978, p. 74, also suggest that they were grants of *asylia*.

7. This was taken up by H.-U. WIEMER, *Krieg, Handel und Piraterie: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des hellenistischen Rhodos*, Berlin 2002, p. 349-351, to suggest a more precise date in the mid-second century BC, soon after Karia was liberated from Rhodian domination in 167 BC; he includes them in his discussion of the

a collection of texts from the Ionian city of Teos, dated to ca. 202 BC. The Teian series record the decrees voted by a number of Kretan cities to confirm Teian *asylia*, and the similarities with the Mylasan documents have been noted.⁸ It will be suggested that the Mylasan documents should be viewed within the same historical context at the end of the third century BC, and can reveal much about the geopolitical orientation of Mylasa during this period (fig. 1).

THE 'KRETAN DOSSIER' OF MYLASA

The Kretan decrees were inscribed side by side, on architectural blocks described by W. Blümel as either marble or limestone (fig. 2).⁹ Letter height varies between inscriptions from 1.1-2.0 cm, and there are indications that different hands were at work;¹⁰ however, the inscription of a significant portion of the texts appears to have been contemporary, with clear attempts to group the texts (fig. 3). In their original location the texts seem to have formed part of a collection of decrees, or a 'dossier', that adorned (a) building(s).¹¹ The stones found to date were not discovered in secure archaeological contexts (many had been re-used in houses), and so it is not possible to reconstruct the site or function of this building.¹² However, *IMylasa* 652 includes the clause: τὸ ψάφισμα τόδε παρὰ μὲν ἀ[μὴν ἐς τῶι ἱερῶι τῶ] Ἀπέλλωνος Πυτῖο, παρὰ δὲ [Μυλασεῦσι —] αὐτῶν ἕξ τε τῶ Ζανοποτε[ιδᾶνος καὶ τῶ Διδῶς] τῶ Λαβραῦνδῶ.¹³ It can be assumed that the texts were originally displayed on or in the vicinity of the temple of Zenoposeidon at Mylasa, as well as in the sanctuary of Zeus Labraundos.

Second Kretan War. A second century BC date was also supported by CHR. MAREK, *Die Proxenie*, Frankfurt 1984, p. 307-308. P. BRULÉ, *op. cit.* n. 6, p. 74-75, and A. CHANIOTIS, *Die Verträge zwischen kretischen Poleis in der hellenistischen Zeit*, Stuttgart 1996, p. 44, suggest a date in the first half of the second century BC.

8. RIGSBY *Asyilia*, p. 280-325, nos. 136-152, 154-157, 159-161. H. VAN EFFENTERRE, *La Crète et le monde grec de Platon à Polybe*, Paris 1948, p. 208; RIGSBY *Asyilia*, p. 407; J. MA, *Antiochos III and the Cities of Western Asia Minor*, Oxford 1999 = MA *Antiochos III*, p. 265, n. 12; H.-U. WIEMER, *op. cit.* n. 7, noted the parallels. See below.

9. Inscriptions which share blocks: 644 & 645; 646 & 647; 648, 649 & 650; 651 & 652; 660 & 663; 661 & 662. Marble blocks: 651 & 652, 654, 660 & 663, 661 & 662; limestone blocks: 653, 657, 659; 'bläulicher stein': 658. The material of the blocks has not always been recorded. The measurements vary, and it is not always clear whether original dimensions are preserved: the limestone blocks are all ca. 21 cm in height, as are 644/645, 646/647 and 658; marble blocks 654 and 660/663 are 26 and 27 cm respectively, while 651/652, 655 (material not recorded), and 661/662 vary between 41 and 43 cm. While the difference in stone might indicate that the blocks come from separate buildings, it could also suggest that alternate materials were used within the same structure. In the west stoa of the agora in Magnesia-on-the-Maeander, the documents regarding the Leukophryena (*IMagnesia* 16-87; RIGSBY *Asyilia*, nos. 66-131) were inscribed on the lower, marble courses of the wall. Another possibility is that the materials of certain blocks were mistaken on discovery; it is often difficult to distinguish the appearance of worn marble from limestone.

10. *IMylasa* 661 and 662 are inscribed on the same block, although their letter heights are not the same, their lines do not align, and they may have been engraved by different hands (fig. 2).

11. O. CURTY, *op. cit.* n. 6, p. 162.

12. W. BLÜMEL, *IMylasa* p. 244, notes that nos. 643, 644/645, 646/647 were all found in the same house by Ph. Le Bas.

13. *IMylasa* 652, ll. 9-12. There is perhaps a similar clause in *IMylasa* 655, ll. 12-14.

This temple of Zenoposeidon should be considered the same as that of Zeus Osogō/Osogollis, the primary civic deity of Mylasa:¹⁴ a series of inscriptions, dated to the Roman period, make reference to a ἱερεὺς Διὸς Ὀσογῶλλιος Ζηνοποσειδῶνος.¹⁵ The civic coinage of Mylasa in the third century BC depicts Zeus Osogō with a trident, again suggesting a maritime association and connection to the cult of Zenoposeidon.¹⁶ It is stipulated in a number of Hellenistic Mylasan documents that the texts be displayed in the temples of both Zeus Osogō and Zeus Labraundos¹⁷; the pairing in the Kretan documents should be regarded as the same.

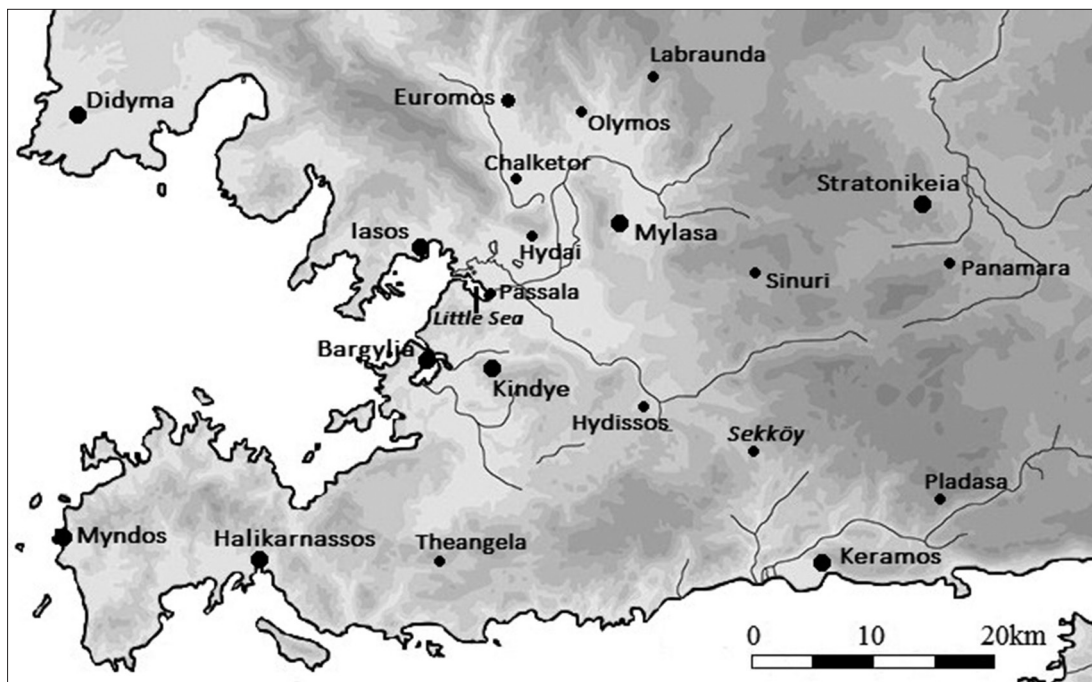


Figure 1: map of the region around Mylasa.

14. Strabo XIV.2.23; see P. DEBORD, «Sur quelques Zeus cariens: religion et politique» in B. VIRGILIO ed., *Studi Ellenistici* 13, Pisa 2001, p. 21-24.

15. *IMylasa* 319-325, 327; see W. BLÜMEL, «Zwei neue Inschriften aus Mylasa aus der Zeit des Maussollos», *EA* 16, 1990, p. 34.

16. F. DELRIEUX, «Les monnaies de Mylasa aux types de Zeus Osogōa et Zeus Labraundeus», *NC* 159, 1999, p. 33-45; R. VAN BREMEN, «A Property Transaction between Kindye and Mylasa. I. *Mylasa* 11 reconsidered», *EA* 46, 2013, p. 24-25. Pausanias (VIII.10.4) records a legend about sea-water rising up in the sanctuary 'of the god called in the native tongue Osogōa' (ὄν φωνῇ τῇ ἐπιχωρίᾳ καλοῦσιν Ὀσογῶα), despite Mylasa being located eight stades from the sea.

17. See *ILabraunda* 8b, ll. 24-26; *Milet* 1. 3. 146a, ll. 18-20; 146b, ll. 72-73. On the temple of Zeus Osogō, see A. LAUMONIER, *Les cultes indigènes en Carie*, Paris 1958, p. 105.



Figure 2: Marble block inscribed with *IMylasa* 661 and 662, Milas Museum. Photograph: W. Blümel.

As noted, the inscriptions are fragmentary, and no complete decree has survived; however, there are clues in those that remain as to the nature of the texts and the sort of relationship being commemorated. In *IMylasa* 650, the antiquity of the good relations between Mylasa and Krete is emphasised, with the Mylaseis described as ‘kinsmen’ *διὰ προγόνων* of the Kretans:

ἐπε[ιδὴ Μυλασέεν ὑπάρχοντες]
 συγγενίεν καὶ φίλοι δ[ιὰ προγόνων τὰς ἀμᾶς πόλιος]
 καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Κρητα[ιέων ---]

*Since [the Mylaseis] are kinsmen and friends [through their ancestors of our city] and of the other Kretans*¹⁸

18. *IMylasa* 650, ll. 2-4. The restoration is assured through comparison with *IMylasa* 649, ll. 1-4.

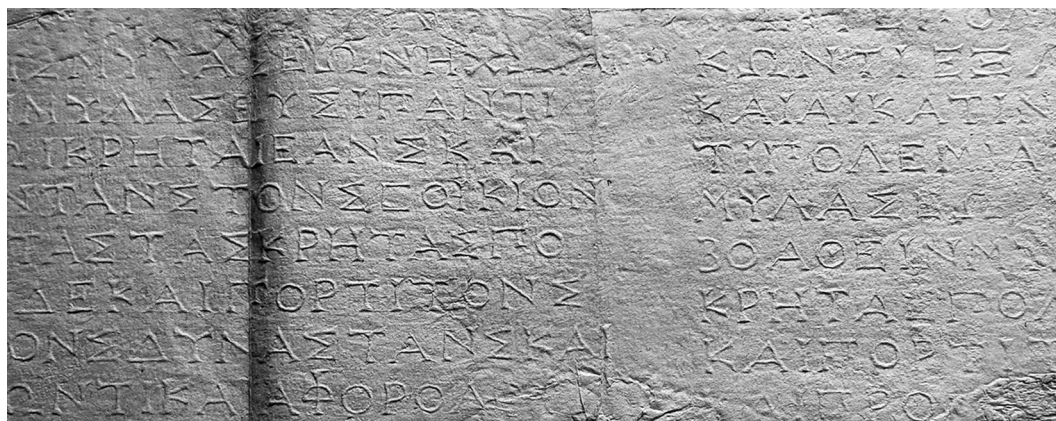


Figure 3a: Squeeze of *IMylasa* 644 and 645.

The role of claims of kinship in interstate diplomacy is well attested in the ancient world.¹⁹ The Kretan city concerned here is evoking the historical links between Karia and Krete as a means of reinforcing their current diplomatic ties;²⁰ this is repeated in other of the decrees, with references to the *syngeneia* of the Mylaseis and the Kretans also found in *IMylasa* 641, 646 and 660.²¹

In the same text, the reference to εὔνοια and φιλοστ[οργία] (*IMylasa* 650, l. 14) suggests that the Kretan city concerned was recalling Mylasan assistance or goodwill towards the island.²² There is an allusion to a conflict on Krete, with reference to [πό]λεμος Κρηταιέων πά[ντων] (*IMylasa* 650, ll. 7-8); similarly *IMylasa* 651 may refer to [πό]λεμον ἡμεν (l. 13).²³ At the time of the delegation it seems that this war had been resolved: *IMylasa* 650 mentions the conflict in the context of τᾶς κοινᾶς εἰρ[ήνας] (l. 6); there is a further reference to ὁμόνοια in *IMylasa* 658 (l. 5). It can be suggested that previous Mylasan aid was being cited to reinforce current relations. The reference in *IMylasa* 651 to συμφερόντων τᾷ νά[σσει] (ll. 16-17) might suggest that Mylasan assistance had been provided in the form of arbitration.²⁴ Magnesia-on-the-Maeander is known to have taken on such a role in Krete in the late third century BC: in *IMagnesia* 46 the Magnesians refer to the aid they gave the Kretans in their

19. See O. CURTY, *op. cit.* n. 6; C.P. JONES, *Kinship Diplomacy in the Ancient World*, Cambridge Ma. 1999; A. ERSKINE, «O Brother, Where Art Thou? Tales of Kinship and Diplomacy» in D. OGDEN ed., *The Hellenistic World: New Perspectives*, London 2002, p. 97-115. Assertions of *syngeneia* are frequent in Teian Kretan decrees: RIGSBY *Asyilia*, no. 139, l. 3; no. 140, ll. 3-4; no. 142, l. 3; no. 148, l. 3; no. 149, l. 2; no. 150, l. 2; no. 151, l. 2; no. 52, l. 3. *Oikeiotēs* was also claimed: RIGSBY *Asyilia*, no. 138, l. 6; no. 141, ll. 6-7; no. 143, l. 6. Such claims were reiterated in the second round of requests, ca. 170s BC; see n. 87.

20. See Hdt. I.171.2; Thuc. I.8; Strabo XIV.2.27.

21. *IMylasa* 641, l. 5; 646, l. 6; 660, ll. 8-9; likely also in 649, l. 2.

22. *IMylasa* 657 also makes reference to φιλόανθρωπα (l. 3).

23. Other references to a conflict: *IMylasa* 642, l. 11; 654, l. 3; 658, l. 6.

24. Cf. A. CHANIOTIS, *op. cit.* n. 7, p. 44.

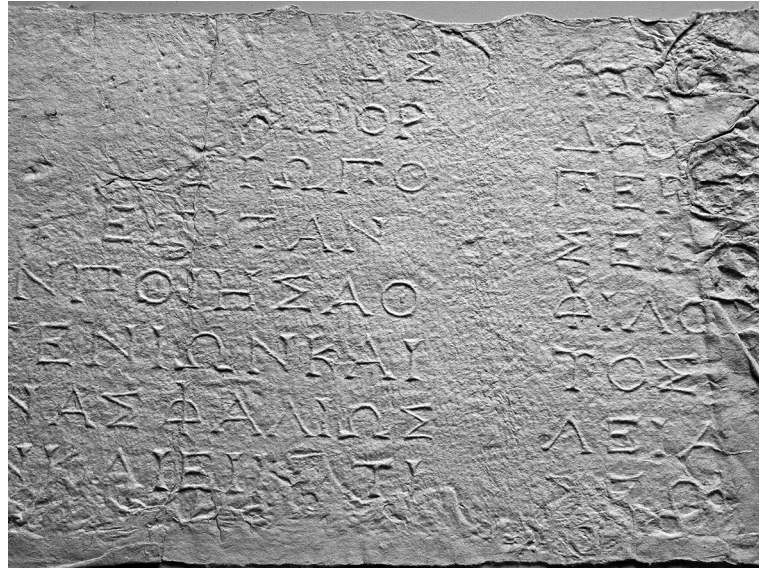


Figure 3b: Squeeze of *IMylasa* 646 and 647.



Figure 3c: Squeeze of *IMylasa* 648, 649 and 650.

‘civil war’ (τὸν ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον),²⁵ which can most likely be identified as the Lyttian War of 221 to 219 BC.²⁶ It is possible that the Mylaseis played a similar role in one of the many conflicts on the island during this period.²⁷

IMylasa 650 explicitly refers to the honours voted by the Kretans: it includes the terms ἐπαινήσθαι τὸν Μυλασ[έων δᾶμον καὶ στεφάν]ωσθαι αὐτόν, ‘to praise the demos of Mylasa and crown it.’²⁸ Similarly, *IMylasa* 652 stipulates that the Kretans will ‘show favour to the Mylaseis’ (χαρίζασθαι Μυλασεῦσ[ι]).²⁹ In addition to the solitary reference to inviolability (*IMylasa* 646, l. 8), there are further repeated references to the city and land as being free from tribute (ἀφορολόγητοι ἔωντι).³⁰ In *IMylasa* 643, we find reference to [π]ρόξενον καὶ εὐεργέταν, which might indicate that such honours were bestowed, though the context is unclear.³¹ It was common practice in antiquity for envoys to be honoured in the states they visited. It is possible that *proxenia* was awarded to one of the Mylasan delegates for his services on his visit to Krete; although the single form indicates that not all of the envoys were honoured in this way.³²

The decrees establish that Mylasa was in diplomatic contact with the communities of Krete. Mylasa had sent delegates to the island, as a result of which Kretan *poleis* voted the city various honours, though unfortunately the original purpose of the delegation is not preserved.

25. *IMagnesia* 46, ll. 10-12; AGER *Interstate Arbitration*, no. 58 I; A. MAGNETTO, *Gli arbitrati interstatali greci. Vol. II, Dal 337 al 196 a. C.*, Pisa 1997 = MAGNETTO *Arbitrati*, no. 53. In the second century BC, the Magnesians also mediated between Gortyn and Knossos (*IMagnesia* 65 a & b; *ICr* 1. 4. 176; AGER *Interstate Arbitration*, no. 127; MAGNETTO *Arbitrati*, no. 43 (dated by A. MAGNETTO to 228-221 BC, although see n. 106)), and between Hierapytna and Itanos (*IMagnesia* 105 a & b; *ICr* 3. 4. 9; AGER *Interstate Arbitration*, no. 158).

26. Clearly the ‘civil war’ was an event of international renown: the role of Magnesia in the resolution of the civil war was regarded as of panhellenic benefit, on a par with the help they offered at Delphi against the attack of the Gauls. See A. CHANIOTIS, *Historie und Historiker in den griechischen Inschriften: epigraphische Beiträge zur griechischen Historiographie*, Stuttgart 1988, p. 39. In the Lyttian War of 221-219 BC, Lyttos was attacked and sacked by an alliance of Kretan states led by Knossos, although this fell apart after a number of allies defected to the Lyttians (Polyb. IV.53).

27. In the Teian Kretan series of ca. 202 BC (see below), the Rhodian ambassador of Antiochos III, Hagesander, had been sent by the king ἐπὶ τὰς τῶ πολέμῳ διαλύσεις (RIGSBY *Asylia*, no. 149, ll. 15-16). It is possible that this intervention was connected to the First Kretan War.

28. *IMylasa* 650, ll. 15-16.

29. *IMylasa* 652, l. 7.

30. *IMylasa* 643, ll. 11-12; 644, ll. 9-10; 660, ll. 2-3; 661, ll. 5-6; restored in 662, ll. 7-8.

31. *IMylasa* 643, l. 13. Another reference to *proxenos* is found in *IMylasa* 652, l. 3. For the most recent treatment of *proxenia* as an institution, see W. MACK, *Proxeny and Polis. Institutional Networks in the Ancient Greek World*, Oxford 2015.

32. A. WILHELM, *Griechische Inschriften rechtlichen Inhalts*, Athens 1951, p. 85-86, proposed the restoration: [ἦμεν δὲ καὶ π]ρόξενον καὶ εὐεργέταν [τὸν δᾶμον τὸν Μυλασέω]ν. The demos of Mylasa are honoured in *IMylasa* 650; however, such an award would be unusual: *proxenia* was ordinarily awarded to foreign individuals rather than a city. A possible precursor could be the grant of proxeny to the Knossians by Maussollos and Artemisia in the 350s BC: *I. Labraunda* 40. W. MACK, *op. cit.* n. 31, p. 202, n. 49, accepts A. Wilhelm’s restoration of *IMylasa* 643 in his discussion of group grants of *proxenia*, though caution should be exercised. Cf. L. ROBERT, J. ROBERT, *BE* 1953, 186, who express doubts about A. Wilhelm’s restorations.

DATING THE INSCRIPTIONS

There are no clear internal indicators in the texts to help in their dating; the only diagnostic feature to appear is the use of the term Κρηταιεῖς. This form of plural, as opposed to Κρήτες, was an institutional term, and indicates that the Mylasan decrees were passed during an active period of the Kretan *koinon*.³³ The *koinon* was a league of independent Kretan *poleis* instituted during the Hellenistic period,³⁴ though details of how it functioned, and the periods during which it was active, remain little known. Membership did not include all Kretan states, and its successful functioning seems to have been dependent on the cooperation between the two primary members, Knossos and Gortyn.³⁵ There was a council (συνέδριον) and a general assembly, which together issued the decrees of the *koinon*, though there is no evidence for federal citizenship.³⁶

According to Polybius, Philip V was named *prostates* of the *koinon* ca. 217 BC,³⁷ though the stability of the league under his influence did not endure.³⁸ During the First Kretan War (205-200 BC), Knossos led a group of Kretan states (in an alliance with Rhodes) against Philip V and his association of Kretan allies (including Olous and Hierapytna), indicating that the *koinon* had broken down.³⁹ It appears to have been revived again in the early years of the second century BC; according to Polybius, Rome dispatched Appius Claudius to Krete in 183 BC in order to settle the on-going disputes between Knossos and Gortyn.⁴⁰ In the same year, Eumenes II concluded a treaty with the Κρηταιεῖς, indicating the reinstatement of the *koinon*.⁴¹ We are only ever afforded snapshots of the functioning of the *koinon*, and reference to the Κρηταιεῖς in the Mylasan dossier is not enough in itself to date the documents more precisely.

33. PH. GAUTHIER, G. ROUGEMONT, *BE* 1990, 21; A. CHANIOTIS, «The Epigraphy of Hellenistic Crete. The Cretan Koinon: New and Old Evidence» in S. PANCIERA ed., *Atti del XI Congresso Internazionale di Epigrafia Greca e Latina*, Rome 1999, p. 290. The ethnic plural Κρηταιεῖς was used by Polybius and in inscriptions in reference to the league. Epigraphic references to the league as a *koinon* are found: *IMagnesia* 20, l. 1; 46, l. 11; *FD* 3.2.135, II. 5; *IG* 12.1.77, l. 6. References to πάντες Κρηταιεῖς are also thought to refer to the *koinon*.

34. The earliest attestation of the ethnic Κρηταιεῖς is in 267 BC (A. CHANIOTIS, *op. cit.* n. 33, p. 295).

35. A. CHANIOTIS, *op. cit.* n. 33, p. 290.

36. M. VAN DER MIJNSBRUGGE, *The Cretan Koinon*, New York 1931, p. 32-34. Cf. P. BRULÉ, *op. cit.* n. 6, p. 83-88, who argues in favour of κοινοπολιτεία. There was also an institution known as the κοινοδικιον; for a summary of the evidence, see S.L. AGER, «Hellenistic Crete and KOINOΔΙΚION», *JHS* 114, 1994, p. 1-18.

37. Polyb. VII.11.9.

38. In 220 BC, Philip V had sent a force of 200 Achaians to help the Lyttians and their allies; in return, the Polyrrheneians sent a force of 500 Kretans to aid Philip (Polyb. IV. 55). Philip's intervention on Krete may be connected to Philopoimen's departure to the island a short time before; see Paus. 8. 49. 7; Plut. *Phil.* 7. 1-2. Cf. the discussion of R.M. ERRINGTON, *Philopoemen*, Oxford 1969, p. 28-34.

39. Diod. Sic. XXVII.3. See H.-U. WIEMER, *op. cit.* n. 7, p. 143-174.

40. Polyb. XXII.19. 1-4.

41. *ICr.* 4.179; the thirty-one member states are listed individually.

There are references to *dynastai* in three of the texts, in the context of the Mylasan delegation;⁴² however, the context is obscure, and again does not assist in establishing a secure date.⁴³ Elsewhere, *dynastai* are included in a number of texts as one level of authority to which appeals of support could be directed; an inscription recording *sympoliteia* treaty between Smyrna and Magnesia, for instance, records that on the occasion of the liberation of Smyrna by Seleukos II in ca. 246 BC, the king wrote to ‘the kings, the dynasts, the cities and the *ethne*’ to request that the temple of Aphrodite Stratonikis and the city be recognised as inviolate.⁴⁴ In another treaty between Rhodes and the Kretan city of Hierapytna, concluded ca. 200 BC, the Rhodians swear to assist the Hierapytnians ‘if any king or dynast or anyone else attacks the city.’⁴⁵ The identity of the dynasts referred to in all these cases is not clear, though a number of local rulers in western Anatolia during the Hellenistic period would qualify.⁴⁶ Within Karia, the influence of Olympichos is well attested in the second half of the third century BC in a number of inscriptions from Labraunda and Iasos;⁴⁷ if the earlier date proposed for the Mylasan series is accepted, it is likely that he was included among the *dynastai* mentioned in the texts.

The letter forms employed in the inscriptions can offer further insight into the date of the texts, though the criteria are far from precise, and there is no consensus on their accuracy; the styles of individual engravers could always affect letter forms, and regional differences should be expected. But with such caveats in mind, broad palaeographic trends during the Hellenistic period remain identifiable. The general development in letter forms between the third and second centuries BC witnessed a move towards the parallel *sigma* and the *mu*, equal arms on the *nu* and the *pi* and towards the broken-bar *alpha*. The date at which these changes occurred is difficult to establish precisely, and should not be regarded as uniform; however, the letter forms of many of the Mylasan Kretan series predate these developments.

42. *IMylasa* 643, l. 9: τὸς δυνάστας; 644, l. 8: τὸνς δυνάστανς; 662, l. 6: τὸς δυν[άστας].

43. See now J. KOBES, *Kleine Könige: Untersuchungen zu den Lokaldynasten im hellenistischen Kleinasien (323-188 v.Chr.)*, St. Katharinen 1996, p. 63-67.

44. *ISmyrna* 573 I, ll. 11-12: ἔγραψεν δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεῖς καὶ τοὺς δυνάστας καὶ τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὰ ἔθνη ἀξιῶσας ἀποδέξασθαι τό τε ἱερὸν τῆς Στρατονικίδος Ἀφροδίτης ἄσυλον εἶναι καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν ἱερὰν καὶ ἄσυλον; M. AUSTIN, *The Hellenistic World from Alexander to the Roman Conquest*, Cambridge 2006² = AUSTIN, no. 174.

45. *ICr.* 3.3.3, A, ll. 65-66: καὶ εἴ τις κα βασιλεὺς ἢ δυνάστας ἢ ἄλλος ὅστισούν | ἐπὶ πόλιν στρατεύ<ηται>; AUSTIN, no. 113. Cf. Polyb. V. 90.

46. See J. KOBES, *op. cit.* n. 43.

47. Labraunda: *ILabraunda* nos. 1-8; *ILabraunda* 134: S. ISAGER, L. KARLSSON, «A New Inscription from Labraunda. Honorary Decree for Olympichos: I. Labraunda No. 134 (and No. 49)», *EA* 41, 2008, p. 39-52; *ILabraunda* 37: N. CARLESS UNWIN, O. HENRY, «A New Olympichos Inscription from Labraunda: I. Labraunda 137», *EA* 49, 2016, p. 27-45. See also R. VAN BREMEN, «Olympichos and Mylasa: A New Inscription from the Temple of Zeus Osogō?», *EA* 49, 2016, p. 1-26. Iasos: *Iasos* 150; see A. MEADOWS, «Four Rhodian Decrees: Rhodes, Iasos and Philip V», *Chiron* 26, 1996, p. 251-266.

Analysis of letter forms has been possible for fourteen of the inscriptions, through examination of the squeezes that are stored in the Fonds Louis Robert (fig. 3) or photographs of the stones (figs. 2, 4 and 5).⁴⁸ The letter forms of the majority of the Mylasan decrees share a number of characteristics: the straight-barred *alpha*, the shorter right hasta of the *nu*, the unequal *pi* with the overhanging arm, a divergent *sigma* and a *phi* 'en arbalète' (fig. 7). It is difficult to talk with certainty, but it appears that at least some were inscribed at the same time (*IMylasa* 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, possibly 660): the letters are all broad and evenly spaced, and cut with serifs (fig. 3). *IMylasa* 663 (fig. 5b) exhibits similar characteristics, though it appears to have been cut by a different engraver: the *omega* is narrower and less open, while the *mu* is parallel. *IMylasa* 661 and 662 seem to have been inscribed by different hands; the letter forms of 662 suggest that it was part of the collective inscription, though the weathering of the stone makes it difficult to be sure. *IMylasa* 661, on the other hand, is distinctive in style: the *omicron* tends to be markedly smaller and floating, while the *omega* is flat and wide; the *pi* does not have an overhanging arm. However, the similarities between the inscriptions are notable, and there is no reason to suggest that there was a significant gap between phases of their engraving.

The letter forms of *IMylasa* 655 and 657 (fig. 4) exhibit significant differences to the other Kretan texts: the *alpha* has a rounded bar, there is a development towards a more parallel *sigma*, and the *pi* no longer has an overhanging arm; the buckle of the *phi* is much flatter, and not uniform; the *omicron* is also smaller, and tends to hover above the line. These two decrees are very similar, and it is possible that they were inscribed by the same hand; a similar date can be proposed for their inscription, and on palaeographic grounds alone, they appear to date later than the other texts.

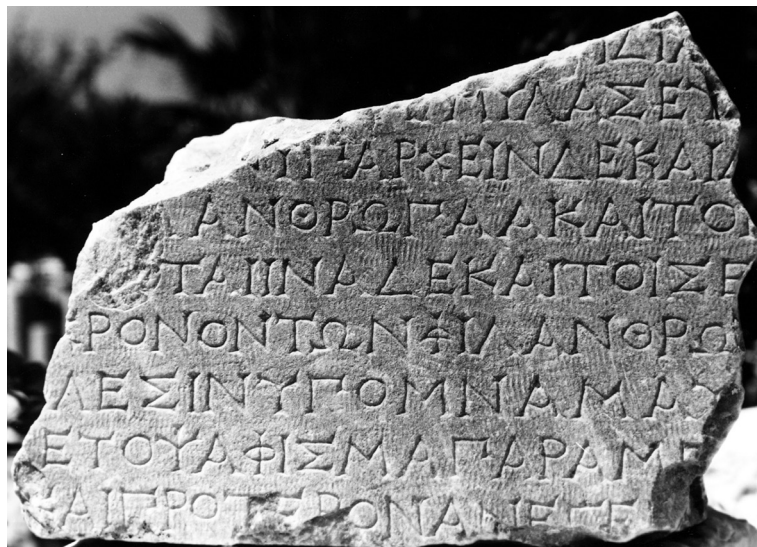


Figure 4: Limestone fragment inscribed with *IMylasa* 657. Photograph: W. Blümel.

48. *IMylasa* 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 655, 657, 660, 661, 662, 663.

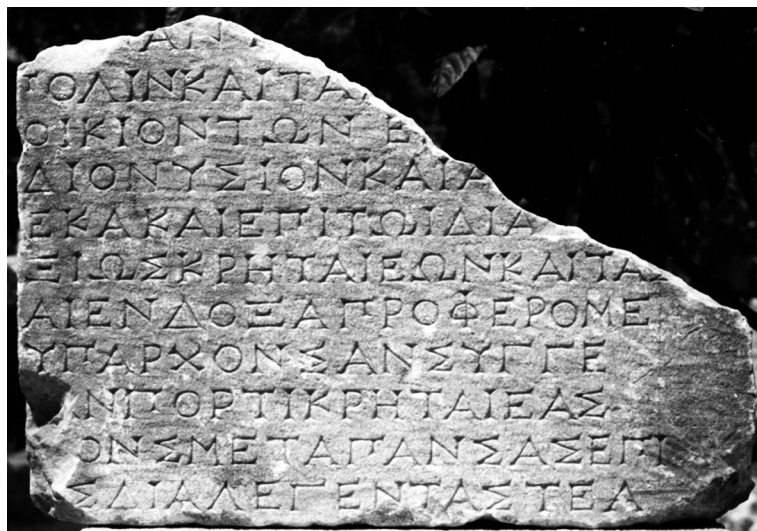


Figure 5a: Marble fragment inscribed with *IMylasa* 660. Photograph: W. Blümel.

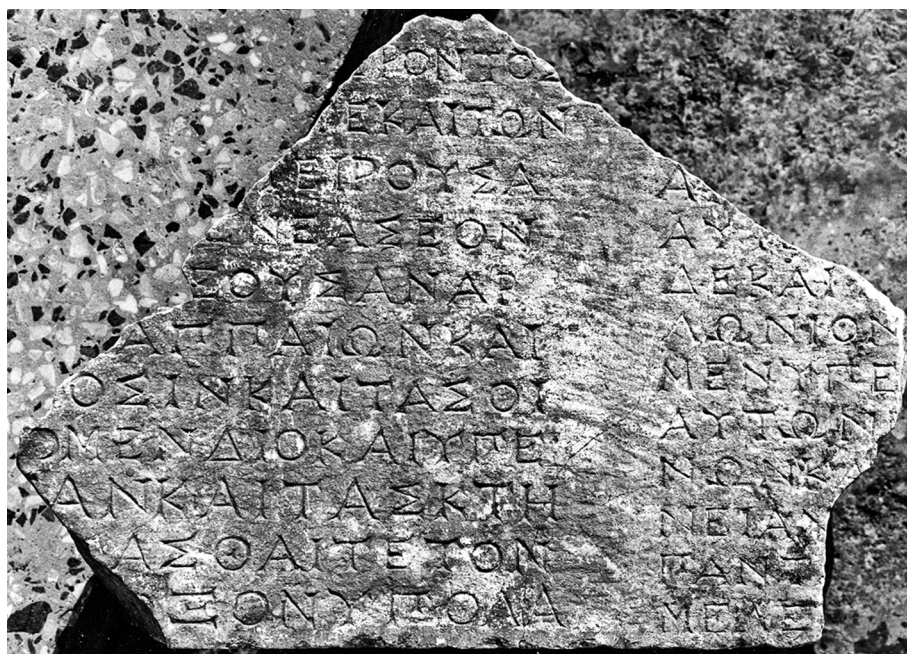


Figure 5b: Marble fragment inscribed with *IMylasa* 660 and 663. Photograph: W. Blümel.

The evidence of letter forms thus appears to reveal the work of three or perhaps four different engravers; a significant number of the texts were apparently inscribed at the same time, then supplemented at a later date, in two, maybe three phases. Establishing a precise date for these documents remains problematic: the lack of securely dated texts in the corpus of Mylasan inscriptions makes an absolute chronology difficult to establish. Recent research on the chronology of the land lease documents of Mylasa by G. Reger and R. Ashton, and by R. Descat and I. Pernin, has somewhat advanced our understanding of the epigraphy of Mylasa;⁴⁹ though there remain many problems of interpretation, and I. Pernin has more recently expressed doubts about her earlier dating of the documents.⁵⁰ Discussion of the main arguments, and criticisms, will highlight the problems we face in dating the Mylasan corpus.

The Mylasan land lease documents record the sale of tracts of land in the vicinity of the city to different sanctuaries, and its subsequent leasing, frequently back to the previous owner on a long-term basis.⁵¹ W. Blümel dated them to the second century BC, and they have traditionally been placed in the mid-to-late part of this century. G. Reger and R. Ashton, however, established a case for pushing their date back to earlier in the century, beginning before ca. 185 BC. They based their argument on the references to 'light Rhodian money' (ἀργύριον ῥόδιον λεπτόν), as opposed to simply 'money' (ἀργύριον), which occur in some of the texts.⁵² They related this to the appearance of a new Rhodian *plinthophoros*, which was introduced at some point during the 180s BC, and perhaps as early as ca. 190 BC; thus the references to 'light Rhodian money' in the texts seem to refer to a period after these reforms.⁵³

In their paper of 2008, R. Descat and I. Pernin approached the same group of documents and, primarily on the basis of palaeography, also suggested that the date of the early land lease documents should be pushed to the beginning of the second century BC.⁵⁴ Many

49. G. REGER, R. ASHTON, «The Pseudo-Rhodian Drachms of Mylasa Revisited» in P.G. VAN ALFEN ed., *Agoronomia: Studies in Money and Exchange Presented to John H. Kroll*, New York 2006, p. 125-150; R. DESCAT, I. PERNIN, «Notes sur la chronologie et l'histoire des baux de Mylasa» in B. VIRGILIO ed., *Studi Ellenistici 20*, Pisa 2008, p. 285-314.

50. I. PERNIN, *Les baux ruraux en Grèce ancienne. Corpus épigraphique et étude*, Lyon 2014, p. 405-412.

51. G. REGER, R. ASHTON, *op. cit.* n. 49, p. 125-126.

52. *Ibid.*; for a list of the documents see p. 126, n. 2.

53. *Ibid.* p. 127-128; which coinage 'light Rhodian money' could refer to is not entirely clear. The old Rhodian drachm was minted to a standard of 3.4g. From ca. 225 BC the Rhodians began minting the so-called pseudo-Rhodian drachms, which weighed 2.8-2.5g; although other denominations were struck on the old Rhodian standard of 3.4g. A new Rhodian denomination, the *plinthophoros*, was introduced in the 180s BC, and was struck on a new standard of just over 3.0g; this was lighter than the old Rhodian standard, but heavier than the pseudo-Rhodian drachms that were previously in currency (2.8-2.5g). The references to 'light Rhodian money' could refer either to the new *plinthophoroi* or to the already circulating pseudo-drachms. It is also possible that 'light Rhodian money' referred to the pseudo-Rhodian drachm, in comparison with the old Rhodian drachm, after it was introduced ca. 225 BC; though this would significantly alter the dating of the documents. See R. ASHTON, «The Coinage of Rhodes 408-c. 190 BC» in A. MEADOWS, K. SHIPTON eds., *Money and its Uses in the Ancient Greek World*, Oxford 2001, p. 87-90.

54. R. DESCAT, I. PERNIN, *op. cit.* n. 49, p. 300.

prosopographical links can be traced within the documents, and R. Descat and I. Pernin used these to establish an internal chronology for the texts.⁵⁵ The inscriptions also contain letter forms characteristic of various stages of development, which they used to outline the evolution of the script within this sequence from what they termed ‘l’écriture ancienne’ (broadly speaking straight-barred *alpha*, divergent *sigma* and *mu*, unequal *pi* and *nu*, and small *omicron*, *omega* and *theta*) to ‘l’écriture récente’ (broken-barred *alpha*, parallel *sigma* and *mu*, equal *pi* and *nu*). R. Descat and I. Pernin pointed to *IMylasa* 217B as a transitional text (the bar of the *alpha* is sometimes straight, sometimes rounded, the *omega* has a bar, the arms of the *sigma* are parallel, and the *omicron* is almost full sized), and used this to argue that the transition occurred in the 180s BC.⁵⁶

The date for the land lease documents suggested by R. Descat and I. Pernin accorded with the new chronology proposed by G. Reger and R. Ashton, with the earliest land leases dating to before ca. 185 BC; all the inscriptions mentioning ‘light Rhodian money’ contained letters characteristic of ‘l’écriture récente.’ But despite this apparent consensus, the task of establishing a precise date for these texts solely using palaeography remains unresolved.⁵⁷ In her recent book, I. Pernin has questioned the date she had earlier proposed with R. Descat, challenging both their dating of *IMylasa* 217B and the chronology of G. Reger.⁵⁸ She suggests that the land lease documents should be dated to the second half of the second/early first century BC, as had been initially proposed.⁵⁹

Such observations are far from conclusive, and highlight the difficulties involved in dating inscriptions on palaeographic grounds.⁶⁰ The problems discussed here apply in equal measure to the Mylasan ‘Kretan dossier’, and the letter forms cannot be analysed to establish

55. See I. PERNIN, *op. cit.* n. 50, p. 406-408.

56. R. DESCAT, I. PERNIN, *op. cit.* n. 49, p. 294. They attempted to date *IMylasa* 217B (W. BLÜMEL, *op. cit.* n. 1, 1992, Tafel 1) by the appearance of a certain Iason, son of Dionysios, in line 7; he is also named in *IMylasa* 215, l. 2, and *IMylasa* 216, l. 7. They speculated that his father was the same Dionysios who appears as one of the Mylasan ambassadors in an *isopoliteia* treaty with Miletos: *Milet* 1. 3. 146A (Abb. 83, s. 332); *IMylasa* T51, l. 90: Διονύσιος Ἰάσονος τοῦ Διονυσίου. Based on the Milesian *stephanephoroi* lists, this *isopoliteia* treaty can be securely dated to 215/4 BC: the Milesian *stephanephoros* Ἀσκληπιᾶδης mentioned in the treaty is included in the *stephanephoroi* lists of Miletos as Asklepiades son of Melas (*Milet* 1. 3. 124, l. 24). R. Descat and I. Pernin thus suggested that *IMylasa* 217B could be dated within a generation or less of this treaty; though they did not take into consideration the re-dating of the *stephanephoroi* lists by M. Wörrle, and dated the treaty to 209/8 BC, rather than 215/4 BC; see M. WÖRRLE, «Inschriften von Herakleia am Latmos I: Antiochos III., Zeuxis und Herakleia», *Chiron* 18 1988, esp. p. 428-448.

57. See P. HAMON, *BE* 2009, 458, who is sceptical about the work of R. Descat and I. Pernin.

58. I. PERNIN, *op. cit.* n. 50, p. 411: she notes that the terminology employed to refer to payments was not always consistent within documents, and argues that it cannot be used to establish a precise sequence.

59. I. PERNIN, *op. cit.* n. 50, p. 410.

60. It is also worth questioning the basis on which I. PERNIN challenges her own dating of *IMylasa* 217B; she appears to rely on the dating of another text, *IMylasa* 102, which is itself insecure. As noted above, R. Descat and I. Pernin (see n. 56) suggested a link between *IMylasa* 217B and the Milesian-Mylasan *isopoliteia* treaty of 215/4 BC. But the Iason son of Dionysios mentioned in *IMylasa* 217B is known from certain other land lease documents, including *IMylasa* 156, in which the *stephanephoros* is named as a certain Hybreas son of Polykritos. This Hybreas

a precise date for the texts.⁶¹ That being said, in comparison with other Hellenistic texts from this area of Karia, the letter forms of the series suggest a date in the late third/early second century BC. As noted, the general development in letter forms from the third to the second century BC witnessed a move towards the broken-barred *alpha*, and the parallel *sigma* and *mu*. Palaeographic developments occurred at different times in different places, and regionalism should be expected;⁶² however, analysis between cities is not redundant as a result. To focus briefly on one particular, and much cited, stylistic development during the Hellenistic period, that of the *alpha*, a clear progression can be traced from the straight-barred to the broken-barred form. It is possible to trace the rough date at which this occurred in various cities through securely dated texts in their corpus. An inscription from Euromos, for instance, records an alliance with Antiochos III, and can be dated to August/September 197 BC: the crossbar of the *alpha* shows a distinct curve, while the *sigma* and *mu* also appear parallel (fig. 6).⁶³ Similar letter forms are found in a decree dated to the late third century BC, honouring the Macedonian Alexandros son of Admetos, *philos* of Philip V, which may be connected to the renaming of the city after the Antigonid king.⁶⁴ The text inscribed directly above this decree has been dated to the mid-third century BC,⁶⁵ and there are clear differences in letter forms to the Alexandros text, most noticeably the straight-barred *alpha*; at Euromos, it thus seems that the transition in letter forms occurred at the end of the third/beginning of the second century BC.

is also attested in *IMylasa* 103, where the archon is Hekataios son of Menexenes; I. PERNIN, *op. cit.* n. 50, p. 409-410, suggests that this Hekataios is the father of the *stephanephoros* in *IMylasa* 102: Ἐκαταίου [τ]οῦ Ἐκαταίου [υ] τοῦ Μενεξένου (l.1): 'Si le compte rendu 156 est effectivement daté de la seconde moitié du II^e siècle av. J.-C., il paraît difficile que Dionysios père de Iasôn en 156 et dont le patronyme nous échappe soit le même que l'ambassadeur du traité de 209-208 entre Milet et Mylasa.' However, she appears to rely on W. Blümel's dating of *IMylasa* 102 (p. 26-27) in the second half of the second/early first century BC, which is itself insecure. There are no clear diagnostic features within the text; though the appearance of the straight-barred *alpha* does suggest an earlier date. *IMylasa* 102 is an honorific decree for Moschion, priest of Zeus Kretagenes and the Kouretes; the other attestations of this cult date to the late third/early second century BC; see n. 135. It would be unwise to use *IMylasa* 102 as a measure for establishing the chronology of other texts.

61. S. ISAGER, L. KARLSSON, *op. cit.* n. 47, p. 40 and n. 9 (cf. *SEG* 58, 1220), note the similarity between the *omega* of a new Olympichos inscription from Labraunda (*ILabraunda* 134) and that of *IMylasa* 661 in the Kretan series. They use the dating of W. Blümel for this Kretan series to suggest a date for their inscription in the second half of the second century BC; thus suggesting that the text had been re-inscribed. However, the difficulties in dating the Kretan series mean that it cannot be used as a reliable measure. In the Olympichos inscription, the *alpha* is straight-barred, and the *omicron*, *theta*, and *omega* are rather small.

62. I. Pernin's examination of Mylasan epigraphy creates a sequence specific to the city; similarly, a credible chronology of letter forms at Iasos has also been established; see C. CROWTHER, «Iasos in the Second Century BC III: Foreign Judges from Priene», *BICS* 40, 1995, esp. p. 133-136; R. FABIANI, *I decreti onorari di Iasos: cronologia e storia*, Munich 2015, p. 129ff.

63. R.M. ERRINGTON, «Antiochos III, Zeuxis und Euromos», *EA* 8, 1986, p. 1-8; *SEG* 36, 973; MA *Antiochos III*, no. 29.

64. R.M. ERRINGTON, «Inschriften von Euromos», *EA* 21, 1993, no. 4; *SEG* 43, 706.

65. R.M. ERRINGTON, *op. cit.* n. 64, no. 3; *SEG* 43, 705. There is a reference to a Ptolemy in the text; R.M. Errington suggested a date in the second half of the third century BC; PH. GAUTHIER, *BE* 1995, 523, restores a reference to 'Ptolemy the son', and prefers a date in the reign of Philadelphos, ca. 260 BC; he suggests that the



Figure 6: Euromos alliance inscription. Photograph: R.M. Errington.

The development of letter forms at Iasos occurs at a different pace, with the straight-barred *alpha* found in *Iasos* 4, dated to 196/5-195/4 BC. The transition to the broken-barred alpha occurs rather abruptly in documents inscribed on the walls of the theatre, dated by C. Crowther to the period after the Peace of Apameia in 189/8 BC.⁶⁶ A further comparison can be drawn with the letter forms of the series of inscriptions from Labraunda, a sanctuary that was incorporated into the territory of Mylasa in the third century BC, which record the correspondence between the Mylaseis, Olympichos and the Hellenistic kings Seleukos II and Philip V. While none of the documents has a definite date, they can be placed in a period between ca. 240 and ca. 220 BC, and the letter forms suggest that they were inscribed within a similar time frame in the last

text was written by a Ptolemaic *strategos*, and draws a link with Sophron and the Ptolemy the son mentioned in *ILabraunda* 3.

66. *Iasos* 170-176; C. CROWTHER, *op. cit.* n. 62, p. 106-107. At Teos, the curved-barred alpha is found in certain of the *asylia* texts, dated ca. 202 BC, suggesting an earlier palaeographic shift: RIGSBY *Asylia*, nos. 147, 148 & 149; images of the squeezes were accessed at www.csad.ox.ac.uk on 30/03/2016.

decades of the third century BC: letters are well spaced, with the straight-barred *alpha*, the uneven *nu*, the overhanging arm of the *pi*.⁶⁷ On the basis of palaeography, a similar chronology for the Mylasan Kretan series and the Labraundan dossier can be tentatively proposed.

This brief survey of regional letter forms reveals the limitations of our source material, particularly when we lack securely dated markers in the corpus; it further reveals the degree of localism in the epigraphic habit of Karia. But the patterns traced across the region broadly support a date for a stylistic change in letter forms in the early stages of the second century BC.⁶⁸ The palaeography of the Kretan series, in particular the broad and evenly spaced letter forms of what can be considered the earlier of the documents (fig. 3), suggests a tentative date in the last decade(s) of the third century BC/early second century BC.⁶⁹ The appearance of the rounded bar *alpha* in *IMylasa* 655 and 657 (maybe *IMylasa* 661) can be used to date these texts later than the other documents in the series; however, it cannot be used to establish their absolute date or determine how much time had elapsed between the phases of inscription. Based on these observations, the ‘Kretan series’ from Mylasa can be placed within a similar time frame to the Teian decrees.⁷⁰ They should be interpreted in the context of interaction between Krete and southwestern Anatolia during the last quarter of the third century BC/early stages of the second century BC.

INTERPRETING THE KRETAN DECREES

A number of the texts contain references to a level of obligation promised by the Kretans to the Mylaseis. As we find in *IMylasa* 643:

[βοαθῆν Μυλασεῦσι παντ]ῖ σθένει καὶ τὸς ἐν
[τᾷ νάσῳι Κρηταιέας] καὶ τὸς ἔξω τᾶς νά-
[σω οἰκίοντας ὡς αὐτᾶς] τᾶς Κρήτας πολεμω-
[μένας]⁷¹

[To assist the Mylaseis] with all our might, [those Kretans living on the island] and those [living] away from the island, [as if] Krete itself was attacked.

67. *ILabraunda* 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, and the recently published 137 (see N. CARLESS UNWIN, O. HENRY, *op. cit.* n. 47) appear to have been inscribed at a similar time, despite their different dates; only *ILabraunda* 1 is clearly written by a different hand. Another recently published Olympichos inscription from Mylasa (R. VAN BREMEN, *op. cit.* n. 47) can be placed in a similar context, though the letter forms are not identical.

68. This would correspond to the high date proposed by G. Reger and R. Ashton for the Mylasan land lease documents; see above.

69. A. LAUMONIER, *op. cit.* n. 17, p. 103 and fn. 3, dates *IMylasa* 652 to ca. 200 BC, although he does not state on what basis.

70. See n. 8.

71. *IMylasa* 643, ll. 1-4. The restorations are assured through comparison with *IMylasa* 644: βοαθῆν Μυλασεῦσι παντὶ [σθένει καὶ τὸν ἐν τᾷ νάσῳι Κρηταιέαν καὶ [τὸν ἔξω τᾶς νάσω Κρ]ήταν πάνταν τὸν ροικίον[ταν —]ΤΑΣ, ὡς αὐτᾶς τᾶς Κρήτας πο[λεμωμένας] (ll. 3-7). *IMylasa* 645, ll. 6-7 also contains a similar clause: βοαθεῖν Μυλ[ασεῦσι παντὶ σθένει... ὡς αὐτᾶς τᾶς] Κρήτας πολε[μωμένας].

The Kretan city concerned was making a commitment to provide military aid to Mylasa, with the same dedication as if the war were being waged against Krete itself. The situation in which such assistance would be required is not made explicit, though such terms were common in alliance, or *symmachia*, treaties. H.-U. Wiemer has observed a similarity with one of the decrees in the Teian series, voted by the Kretan city of Malla: καὶ ἐάν τινες ἀδικ[ῶσι] Τηΐους ἢ τήν[υ] χώραν παραιρῶνται τήν καθιερωμένην [βοα]θήσ[ει ἅ πόλις ἅ] | <M>αλλάίων ὡς καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἰδίας πατρίδος.⁷² If anyone wronged the Teians, the Mallians were to offer assistance as if it were their own fatherland.

The Kretan decrees from Teos offer a valuable parallel to the Mylasan series: the texts survive in a more complete form, and the circumstances in which they were passed can be better reconstructed. Teos sent out delegations in the late third century BC to a number of states, requesting their recognition of Teian *asylia*, or inviolability; the favourable responses were inscribed on the walls of the temple of Dionysos.⁷³ The appeals made to Delphi, the Delphic Amphiktion, the Aitolians and the Athamanian kings can be dated to between 205 and 201 BC,⁷⁴ and it seems that the delegations to Krete were roughly contemporary.⁷⁵ There is debate over whether the Teians' appeal for recognition of their *asylia* was connected to the confirmation of this status by Antiochos III; an inscription records that the king liberated the city and granted that it be 'holy and inviolate and free from tribute' (ἀνήκε τή[ν] πόλιν καὶ τῆν χώραν ἡμῶν ἱερὰν καὶ ἄσυλον καὶ ἀφορολόγητον).⁷⁶ P. Herrmann proposed that it was this royal act that provided the impetus for the other requests, and dated the presence of Antiochos III at Teos to ca. 203 BC.⁷⁷ While the notion that it was royal endorsement that prompted the delegation to Krete is not definitive,⁷⁸ J. Ma's evaluation of the evidence creates a strong case for a date in ca. 203 BC.⁷⁹

72. RIGSBY *Asylia*, no. 157, ll. 15-17; H.-U. WIEMER, *op. cit.* n. 7, p. 350.

73. Seventeen grants are recorded as part of the first embassy, however the original number may have been higher; the second round of requests (see n. 86) includes cities that do not feature in the first series.

74. RIGSBY *Asylia*, nos. 132 (Aitolian league); 133-134 (Delphic Amphiktion/Delphi); 135 (Athamanian kings). The documents can be dated by the Delphic archon Megartas and the Aitolian strategos Alexandros of Kalydon; the Athamanian decree names the same Teian ambassadors as the Aitolian, and thus they should be considered contemporary. See MA *Antiochos III*, p. 260 and n.1.

75. The Teian delegates were supported by an ambassador of Philip V at Arkades (RIGSBY *Asylia*, no. 150, l. 20), Axos (no. 140, ll. 12-13), Sybrita (no. 141, ll. 3-4), Istron (no. 148, ll. 18-19), Lato (no. 142, l. 22), Lato by Kamara (no. 152, ll. 18-19), and by Antiochos III's ambassador Hagesander at Rhaukos (no. 138, ll. 8-9) and Lappa (no. 143, ll. 8-9); they were joined by the ambassadors of both Antiochos III and Philip V at Eleutherna (no. 149, ll. 14-18).

76. P. HERRMANN, «Antiochus der Grosse und Teos», *Anadolu* 9, 1965; MA *Antiochos III*, no. 17, ll. 18-19.

77. P. HERRMANN, *op. cit.* n. 76. See K. KVIST, «Cretan Grants of *Asylia* - Violence and Protection as Interstate Relations», *Classica et Mediaevalia* 54, 2003, p. 191, n. 13; PH. GAUTHIER, *Symbola: Les étrangers et la justice dans les cités grecques*, Nancy 1972, p. 280-281, n. 204. RIGSBY *Asylia*, p. 285, supports a date ca. 203 BC, and proposes that the delegations to Krete were dispatched in 202 BC.

78. F. PIEJKO, «Antiochus III and Teos Reconsidered», *Belletristik* 55, 1991, p. 18-20, points to the fact that the Teian ambassadors do not acknowledge royal initiative for the appeals to other states; he concludes that the *asylia* requests were not dependent on Antiochos' presence at Teos, and prefers a date in 197/6 BC for the decrees related to Antiochos III.

79. MA *Antiochos III*, p. 260-265, esp. 264-265, against a low dating.

The Teian delegations perceived a practical advantage to their appeals to the Kretan states.⁸⁰ In the Kretan decrees, there are repeated guarantees that Teos 'shall be sacred and enjoy *asylia*' (ἱερὰν καὶ ἄσυλον).⁸¹ The initial formal appeal for the recognition of *asylia* then evolved into a request for security: in a number of texts, we find the added assurance that Teian citizens had the right 'to recapture both people and property, if ever someone takes them.'⁸² It seems implicit in such a guarantee that Teos had previously faced problems with the capture of its citizens. In the ancient world, the most likely perpetrators would be pirates, or raiders, an occupation for which the Kretans were renowned.⁸³ It is known that Teos was subject to attacks by pirates during the Hellenistic period: an inscription from the second half of the third century BC concerned a raid on Teos by pirates and the taking of hostages.⁸⁴ The identity of these pirates is not revealed, and it should not be presumed that they were Kretan; however, the prominence of the communities of Krete among the recipients of the *asylia* requests implies that Teos needed protection from predatory attacks carried out, at least in part, by Kretans.⁸⁵

The impetus behind the appeals of the Teians was the desire to secure their possessions and citizens against the threat of seizure. Their response to such a danger was to forge alliances with the communities of Krete, hoping to prevent future raids by creating lasting diplomatic relationships with the communities of the raiders. A second round of delegations ca. 170 BC indicates that diplomatic relations had been maintained. There are seven remaining inscriptions from this series, and they are all similar in form: the Teians asked the Kretan city to renew their good relations, and to inscribe the previous dedication; the Kretan city granted their request.⁸⁶ Additional privileges are included, with the Teians repeatedly called φίλοι καὶ συγγενεῖς⁸⁷ and awarded honours including ἰσοπολιτεία καὶ ἔνκτησις γᾶς καὶ οἰκίας καὶ ἀτέλεια.⁸⁸ The ambassadors, Herodotus and Menekles, were also awarded *proxenia* by a number of states.⁸⁹

80. K. KVIST, *op. cit.* n. 77, p. 194, distinguishes between the formal ceremonial requests for *asylia* and the subsequent expression of what she terms the 'real need.'

81. E.g. RIGSBY *Asylia*, no. 142, ll. 20-21.

82. RIGSBY *Asylia*, no. 150 (Arkades), ll. 37-40: ἐξ|έστω τῶι παραγενομένωι Τηίων ἐπιλαβέσ|θαι καὶ τῶν σωμάτων καὶ χρημάτων, αἱ τίς κα | ἄγηι. See nos. 142 (Lato), ll. 27-29; 147 (Apollonia), ll. 4-5; 148 (Istron), ll. 36-38.

83. Strabo X.4.9; Polyb. IV.8.11.

84. S. ŞAHİN, «Piratenüberfall auf Teos. Volksbeschluss über die Finanzierung der Erpressungsgelder», *EA* 23, 1994, p. 1-40; *SEG* 44, 949. See also S. BUSSI, «Attacco di pirati a Teos ellenistica» in B. VIRGILIO ed., *Studi ellenistici* 12, 1999, p. 159-171; R. MERKELBACH, «Der Überfall der Piraten auf Teos», *EA* 32, 2000, p. 101-114.

85. K. KVIST, *op. cit.* n. 77, p. 194-195. See PH. GAUTHIER, *op. cit.* n. 77, p. 277-282; P. BRULÉ, *op. cit.* n. 6, p. 93-102; F. PIEKO, *op. cit.* n. 78, p. 25.

86. RIGSBY *Asylia*, nos. 154-157, 159-161.

87. RIGSBY *Asylia*, no. 159 (Arkades), ll. 2-3. See also no. 154 (Aptera), l. 27; no. 155 (Eranna), ll. 2-4; no. 156 (Biannos), ll. 3-4; no. 157 (Malla), ll. 2-3; no. 160 (Hyrtakina), l. 5; no. 161 (unknown Kretan city), l. 17.

88. RIGSBY *Asylia*, no. 159 (Arkades), ll. 37-38. See also no. 155 (Eranna), ll. 39-41: πολίτας Ἐραννίων, εἶνα δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀτέλειαν καὶ ἔνκτησιν γᾶς καὶ οἰκίας; n. 157 (Malla), l. 15: ἀτέλειαν καὶ ἰσοπολιτείας.

89. RIGSBY *Asylia*, nos. 155 (Eranna), ll. 46-48; 156 (Biannos), ll. 37-38; 159 (Arkades), ll. 48-49; 160 (Hyrtakina) ll. 10-13. As part of the first round of delegations, Knossos may have awarded *proxenia* to the original delegates (no. 136, ll. 14-15).

The dynamic between Teos and the cities of Krete had changed in this round of requests; whereas in the first, the Teians were ensuring their right of reprisal on the occasion of seizure, in the second we find the Kretan cities granting military aid to Teos.⁹⁰

Teos and Mylasa were not the only *poleis* to send delegates to Krete in the later stages of the third century BC: a treaty from Miletos records a Milesian embassy to Knossos in a similar time frame.⁹¹ Again, the Milesians were prompted by fears over their safety; the treaty witnessed the reaffirmation of a previous arrangement,⁹² and results in the provision that ‘a Knossian shall not knowingly purchase a Milesian who is a free man nor a Milesian a Knossian’ (μη | ὀνεισθω ὁ Κνώσιος τὸμ Μιλήσιον μηδὲ ὁ Μιλήσιος | τὸν Κνώσιον εἰδὼς ἐλεύθερον ὄντα).⁹³ The presumption is that Miletos had previously faced the problem of their citizens being enslaved. As at Teos, the Milesians were anxious to secure their protection, and responded by creating ties of goodwill with the cities of Krete.⁹⁴

I suggest that the Kretan series from Mylasa should be interpreted in a similar context. Diplomatic relations with the island of Krete were instigated in part by cities seeking assurances of their security against the threat of piracy; however, the value placed on diplomatic relations with Krete by Teos, Miletos and Mylasa indicates that the problem of Kretan piracy alone did not dictate their conduct. Krete was fully integrated into the networks of the southeast Aegean.

KRETAN MOBILITY

During the Hellenistic period, there were numerous opportunities for communication with Krete, prompted by diplomacy, festivals, commerce, and warfare.⁹⁵ One of the main factors motivating mobility in the Hellenistic period was mercenary service, a profession for which the Kretans were renowned.⁹⁶ Southwestern Anatolia served as a frontier zone for the Hellenistic dynasties, and the result was a frequent military presence in the region. Inscriptions

90. See above, n. 72, regarding Malla (RIGSBY *Asyilia*, no. 157); similar guarantees in no. 154, ll. 42-46; no. 155, ll. 36-37; no. 156, ll. 29-30; no. 159, ll. 41-42; no. 160, ll. 8-9. See K. KVIST, *op. cit.* n. 77, p. 210. Cf. SEG 53, 932: A. Chaniotis notes that an essential aspect of the second embassy to Krete was that the Kretans had never inscribed the first grant of *asyilia*.

91. *ICr.* 1. 8. 6; *Milet* 1. 3. 140A.

92. *Ibid.* ll. 3-7.

93. *Ibid.* ll. 18-20.

94. Other decrees from Gortyn and Phaistos record a similar treaty with Miletos (*Milet* 1. 3. 140 B & C).

95. In the Mylasan series, the references to ‘those Kretans living away from the island’ in two of the texts is unclear, though it is possible that there were Kretans in the vicinity; see n. 71.

96. P. BRULÉ, *op. cit.* n. 6, p. 162-163; M. LAUNEY, *Recherches sur les armées hellénistiques*, Paris 1950, p. 36-39; p. 248-286. The activities of the Ptolemies, Antigonids and Attalids on the island were directed towards securing access to Kretan military aid and mercenary forces. An honorific decree of Aptera awarded an Attalid king and his descendants the right to enrol mercenaries (ξενολο[γ]ῆσθαι) on Apteran territory: *ICr.* 2. 3. 4C, ll. 12-13. Treaties between Rhodes and a number of Kretan cities ca. 200 BC also included clauses ensuring military assistance: *ICr.* 3. 3. 3A, ll. 40-45 (Hierapytna; see n. 45); SEG 23, 547, ll. 28-37 (Olous).

from Amyzon and Labraunda attest to the installation of Seleukid troops at both sites under Antiochos III.⁹⁷ Philip V garrisoned Euromos, Iasos, Bargylia, and the Rhodian *peraia*, and his presence is also attested at Panamara.⁹⁸

A mercenary presence in the vicinity of Mylasa might be suggested by the reference to *ξενοτρόφιον* in *IMylasa* 651 (l. 6). This term is connected to the maintenance of mercenaries or other *xenoi* (from *ξένος*, 'foreigner', and *τροφή*, 'nourishment/food', or the means of procuring it).⁹⁹ A similar term is found in one of the texts of the Teian dossier, where reference is made to *[ἐξ]ενοτροφήθεν δὲ καὶ οἱ πρειαυταὶ καθὼς καθέσταται*.¹⁰⁰ The verb *ξενοτροφέω* here appears to relate to an established code of conduct related to the treatment and maintenance of foreigners. Chr. Marek has suggested that *τὸ ξενοτρόφιον* is related to the activities of Kretan soldiers, and might refer to an institution in Mylasa that provided food, money and/or a place to stay for *xenoi*.¹⁰¹ Whether this elusive reference relates to an establishment in Mylasa cannot be securely determined; but the possibility that it is associated with Kretan soldiers present in the region should be considered.

The permanent settlement of Kretans in Karia is attested in a series of inscriptions from Miletos, dated 234/233 BC and 229/228 BC, which record the enfranchisement of more than 1000 mercenaries in the territory of Hybandis, near Myus. The majority of the ethnics recorded are Kretan.¹⁰² They settled in the region with their wives and families, and the total number is estimated at somewhere between 3000-4000.¹⁰³ The level of their integration into the Milesian community remains unclear. The Kretan settlers were enrolled into the citizen body of Miletos, and swore to defend the city and its forts; however, A. Chaniotis has noted that they were not allowed to occupy the office of the *phourarchos* until twenty years after their arrival in Miletos, which he offers as evidence that their integration was not complete.¹⁰⁴ After the territory was granted to Magnesia-on-the-Maeander by Philip V during his campaign in 201 BC,¹⁰⁵ the

97. L. ROBERT, J. ROBERT, *Fouilles d'Amyzon en Carie*. Tome I. *Exploration, histoire, monnaies et inscriptions*, Paris 1983 = ROBERT & ROBERT *Amyzon*, no. 10 (MA *Antiochos III*, no. 6); no. 19 (MA *Antiochos III*, no. 13); Labraunda: *ILabraunda* 46 (MA *Antiochos III*, no. 15).

98. Polyb. XVIII.2.3-4; *IStratonikeia* 3; an *epistates* of Philip V is honoured in *IStratonikeia* 4.

99. LIDDELL-SCOTT s.v.

100. RIGSBY *Asylia*, no. 147 (Apollonia), ll. 10-11.

101. CHR. MAREK, *op. cit.* n. 7, p. 308: he suggests that a sum of money is the most likely meaning. See also P. BRULÉ, *op. cit.* n. 6, p. 74. The ending *-ιον* is frequently used in reference to something more concrete; a comparison can be drawn with *τὸ ξενοδοχεῖον*, translated as an inn or lodging house for foreigners (Liddell-Scott s.v.).

102. *Milet* 1. 3. 33-38. See now A. CHANIOTIS, «Foreign Soldiers - Native Girls? Constructing and Crossing Boundaries in Hellenistic Cities with Foreign Garrisons» in A. CHANIOTIS, P. DUCREY eds., *Army and Power in the Ancient World*, Stuttgart 2002, p. 100-101, 105; P. BRULÉ, «Enquête démographique sur la famille grecque antique. Étude de listes de politographie d'Asie mineure d'époque hellénistique (Milet et Ilion)», *REA* 92, 1990, p. 233-258.

103. Estimate of A. REHM in his commentary, *Milet* 1.3. p. 196-202.

104. A. CHANIOTIS, *op. cit.* n. 102, p. 105. *Milet* 1. 3. 37d, ll. 65-66.

105. Polyb. XVI.24.9.

Magnesians also discussed terms for the return of these settlers to Krete.¹⁰⁶ But even if these Kretans remained distinct within the population, it is significant that considerable groups of Kretans had settled in Karia; while some may have returned to the island, there is no reason to suppose that many others did not make southwestern Anatolia their permanent home.¹⁰⁷ R. Hitchman has noted the frequency of names that have strong connections with Karia amongst the Kretan settlers and their families at Myus; he suggests that this was an indicator of the intermarriage of the Kretan settlers with local women, implying their settlement in Karia for a period before their enfranchisement.¹⁰⁸

The travels of mercenaries rarely leave much trace, but we cannot preclude the notion that they participated in the communities in which they settled, forming personal ties that may have led to their eventual incorporation.¹⁰⁹ It also seems to have affected diplomatic relations: both Miletos and Magnesia renewed or formalised relations with Kretan cities in the aftermath of the settlement of Kretan mercenaries.

THE MYLASAN INSCRIPTIONS IN CONTEXT

The inland location of Mylasa did not prevent its involvement in the business of the sea, and during the Hellenistic period the city established its position as a regional centre within southwestern Anatolia.¹¹⁰ The city had been granted its independence by Seleukos II at some point ca. 246 BC,¹¹¹ and it used the opportunity to pursue an expansionist policy in the region.¹¹² Over the course of the third and into the second century BC, Mylasa incorporated a

106. As part of their arbitration between Knossos and Gortyn: *IMagnesia* 65 a & b; *ICr* 1. 4. 176; AGER *Interstate Arbitration*, no. 127; MAGNETTO *Arbitrati*, no.43.

107. P. BRULÉ, *op. cit.* n. 6, p. 163-164; contra M. LAUNEY, *op. cit.* n. 96, p. 276-277.

108. R. HITCHMAN, «Carian Names and Crete (with an Appendix by N.V. Sekunda)» in R.W.V. CATLING, F. MARCHAND eds., *ONOMOTALOGOS: Studies in Greek Personal Names presented to Elaine Matthews*, Oxford 2010, p. 45-64; he points to the Karian names Ἀβάς, Ἄρτεμις, Ἄρτεμισία, Μηνιάς, Μητροδόρα and Νάννιον among the women.

109. See A. CHANIOTIS, *op. cit.* n. 102, p. 108-112; J. MA, «“Oversexed, overpaid and over here”: A Response to A. Chaniotis» in A. CHANIOTIS, P. DUCREY eds., *Army and Power in the Ancient World*, Stuttgart 2002, p. 115-122.

110. Strabo (XIV.2.22-23) described it as one of three noteworthy cities in the Karian interior, alongside Alabanda and Stratonikeia; the temple of Zeus Karios was located there.

111. *ILabraunda* 3, ll. 7-8; 5, ll. 31-32; 7, ll. 9-10; *ILabraunda* 137 (see n. 47), ll. 3-4. See G. REGER, «Sympoliteiai in Hellenistic Asia Minor» in S. COLVIN ed., *The Greco-Roman East: Politics, Culture, Society*, Cambridge 2004, p. 166.

112. G. REGER, *op. cit.* n. 111, p. 164-169; G. REGER, «Mylasa and its Territory» in R. VAN BREMEN, J.-M. CARBON eds., *Hellenistic Karia*, Bordeaux 2010, p. 49-50. On the chronology, see A. BENCIVENNI, *Progetti di riforme costituzionali nelle epigrafi greche dei secoli 4.-2. a.C.*, Bologna 2003, p. 265-269.

number of surrounding communities in its domain, including Olymos,¹¹³ Hydai and Sinuri,¹¹⁴ and it asserted its authority over the sanctuary of Labraunda;¹¹⁵ Mylasan territory also extended to the coast.¹¹⁶

Such expansionism resumed, or continued, a process that had begun during the fourth century BC. As the native city of the Hekatomnids, Mylasa served as the dynastic capital until the seat was moved to Halikarnassos during the reign of Maussollos.¹¹⁷ G. Reger has proposed that Mylasan territorial expansion began as an attempt to consolidate their regional status after the transfer.¹¹⁸ An inscription from Sekköy, dated to 354/3 BC, records the purchase of land from Kindye by the Mylaseis,¹¹⁹ and it has been suggested that this was directed towards securing access to the sea.¹²⁰ Certainly, if it is correct to restore Mylasa in the dispute surrounding ownership of the 'Little Sea',¹²¹ the maritime interests of the city seem to have been established by the last quarter of the fourth century BC, with the associated commercial

113. G. REGER, *op. cit.* n. 111, p. 164-166, dates the incorporation of Olymos to the second half of the third century BC; see I. PERNIN, *op. cit.* n. 50, p. 417. The newly discovered Olympichos inscription from Labraunda, *ILabraunda* 137 (see N. CARLESS UNWIN, O. HENRY, *op. cit.* n. 47), seems to suggest that Olymos was part of Mylasan territory at that time; this might indicate that the integration happened soon after the grant of liberty to the city ca. 246 BC.

114. See now A. BRESSON, P. DEBORD, «*Syngéneia*», *REA* 87, 1985, p. 203f.; G. REGER, *op. cit.* n. 111, p. 164-169. Euromos also appears to have entered into *sympoliteia* with Mylasa at some point; in *IMylasa* 102, ll. 14-15, the Euromeis are referred to as 'fellow-citizens' of the Mylaseis (συμπολιτευομένων). Cf. TH. BOULAY, A.-V. PONT, *Chalkêtôr en Carie*, Paris 2014, p. 54-57, where they discuss the evidence for the *sympoliteia* between Chalketor and Iasos in the second half of the second century BC.

115. The Labraundan conflict is well documented in a series of texts; see n. 47. See now B. VIRGILIO, «Re, città e tempio nelle iscrizioni di Labraunda» in B. VIRGILIO ed., *Studi Ellenistici* 13, 2001, p. 39-56; *Id.*, «Roi, ville et temple dans les inscriptions de Labraunda», *REA* 102, 2001, p. 429-442; B. DIGNAS, *Economy of the Sacred in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor*, Oxford 2002, p. 59-69.

116. See below. According to Strabo (XIV.2.23), Physkos was the port (ἐπίγειον) of Mylasa 'where the city is nearest the sea.'

117. Strabo XIV.2.23.

118. G. REGER, *op. cit.* n. 112, p. 49.

119. *IMylasa* 11; P. DEBORD, E. VARINLIOĞLU eds., *Les hautes terres de Carie*, Bordeaux 2001, no. 90; *SEG* 40, 991. The decree is dated by the reign of Artaxerxes III, although the year does not remain; W. Blümel estimated that the lacuna was of four or five letters, and proposed ἔκτωι, the sixth year of the reign of Artaxerxes III, which would correspond to 354/53 BC. This accords with the mention of Maussollos in the text: he died in 353/352 BC; cf. P. DEBORD, E. VARINLIOĞLU eds, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

120. G. REGER, *op. cit.* n. 112, p. 48-9; R. VAN BREMEN, *op. cit.* n. 16, proposes a restoration of *IMylasa* 11 that locates the territory in question on the coast; this text is reproduced in W. BLÜMEL, R. VAN BREMEN, J.-M. CARBON, *A Guide to Inscriptions in Milas and its Museum*, Istanbul 2015, no. 39. Cf. R. DESCAT, «Toujours *I. Mylasa* 11: autorité et territoire dans la Carie hékatomnide», *EA* 47, 2014, p. 53-72, who prefers an inland location for the territory in question, though he does not dispute that the city of Mylasa would have secured access to the sea.

121. *Iasos* 30, A ll. 5-8 records the honours voted by the Iasians for Gorgos and Minnion, sons of Theodotos, because they petitioned Alexander ὑπὲρ τῆς μικρῆς θαλάσσης to have it 'given back to the people.' Following an initial suggestion of L. Robert and J. Robert (cf. *BE* 1973, 419), it is commonly thought to have been restored to Iasos from Mylasa. See G. REGER, *op. cit.* n. 112, p. 44-49; R. VAN BREMEN, *op. cit.* n. 16, p. 11-13.

benefits.¹²² The location of the ‘Little Sea’ is commonly identified with the now marshy area forming the delta of the Sarı Çay, to the east of Iasos, which in antiquity would have been a small, almost landlocked body of water.¹²³ It has been proposed that the port(s) of Mylasa should be sought on the southeast coast of this body of water, with the city controlling much of the plain of the Sarı Çay and the Hamzabey Çay.¹²⁴

The Mylaseis recognised the economic and socio-political advantages to securing their involvement in the maritime networks, and their engagement in interstate diplomacy during the Hellenistic period reveals their orientation towards the Aegean.¹²⁵ As at Teos, the Kretan decrees inscribed at Mylasa were prompted by a delegation to the island. It is not clear whether recognition of *asylia* was similarly being sought. As noted above, there is only one reference to ἄσυλον in the texts, which is far from conclusive; however, the possibility that Mylasa received royal recognition of their inviolability in the second half of the third century BC is suggested in a new inscription from Labraunda, which records a letter from Olympichos to Mylasa.¹²⁶ Olympichos paraphrases the oath he swore to the city on the occasion of the city’s liberation by Seleukos II, and makes reference to τὰ ἱερὰ ἄσυλα; this raises the possibility that *asylia* was included among the privileges bestowed by the Seleukid king.¹²⁷ If *asylia* was among the privileges sought by the Mylaseis on Krete, it would have a royal precedent; Mylasa could have been following the example of other cities in the second half of the third century BC in actively seeking confirmation of this status for their sanctuaries.

122. Within this context, one could also point to a fragment of Menander, *The Sicyonian* (ll. 3-15; AUSTIN, no. 104), which describes the capture of a group of people by pirates: ‘the child and the slave they took to Mylasa in Karia and there offered them for sale in the market.’

123. F. DELRIEUX, «Iasos à la fin du IV^e siècle a.C.: les monnaies aux fruits de mer, des fils de Théodotos au versement de l’*ekklesiastikon*», *REG* 114, 2001, p. 163-168; F. DELRIEUX, «L’exploitation de la mer et ses implications économique, politique et militaires dans le golfe de Bargylia en Carie à l’époque gréco-romaine» in J. NAPOLI ed., *Ressources et activités maritimes des peuples de l’antiquité : actes du colloque international de Boulogne-sur-Mer, 12, 13 et 14 mai 2005*, Boulogne-sur-Mer 2008, p. 273-293; G. REGER, *op. cit.* n. 112, p. 44; R. VAN BREMEN, *op. cit.* n. 16, p. 11-12, estimates that the entrance would have measured just under 1km.

124. G. REGER, *op. cit.* n. 112, p. 46; R. VAN BREMEN, *op. cit.* n. 16, p. 11-17, with a correction of G. Reger at n. 39. Physkos is mentioned by Strabo as the port of Mylasa (see n. 116), while in the sixth century AD, Stephanus of Byzantium recorded it as Passala (Steph. Byz. s.v. Πάσσαλα); this latter identification appears to be confirmed by two inscriptions dated to the fifth century AD (*IMylasa* 611-612). Passala is identified with Sakız, a site to the south of Bodrum airport; see G. REGER, *op. cit.* n. 112, p. 45-46; R. VAN BREMEN, *op. cit.* n. 16, p. 17-18. Cf. F. DELRIEUX, *op. cit.* n. 123, 2008, p. 275-276; A. BRESSON, «Knidos: topography for a battle» in R. VAN BREMEN, J.-M. CARBON eds., *op. cit.* n. 112, p. 450-451.

125. P. DEBORD, *op. cit.* n. 14, p. 23, has linked these developments in the geopolitical landscape with the Mylasan cult of Zeus Osogollis/Zenoposeidon, and its obvious maritime associations; see above. A priesthood of Aphrodite Euploia is also attested during the Hellenistic period at Mylasa: *IMylasa* 207, l. 1, 4; 207B, l. 6; 501, ll. 15-16.

126. *ILabraunda* 137; N. CARLESS UNWIN, O. HENRY, *op. cit.* n. 47.

127. *Ibid.* ll. 4-5. This was the case with the liberation of Smyrna by Seleukos II within a similar time frame: *ISmyrna* 573 I; see Rigsby *Asylia*, p. 95-105, no. 7. The parallels between the two grants of liberty were discussed by A. BENCIVENNI, *op. cit.* n. 112, p. 267-269.

There are no indications that Mylasa faced a problem with its citizens being captured, as at Teos; though the location of Mylasa away from the coast does not mean that it was disconnected from the commercial networks of the Aegean.¹²⁸ But the threat of piracy was only one motivation for formal requests of *asylia*, and even if such recognition was being sought by the Mylaseis, we can assume that a practical benefit was being sought beyond this privilege.¹²⁹ In the late third century BC, the advances of Philip V in the eastern Aegean would provide one such context, with the Mylaseis acting against a perceived threat to their independence. From early in his reign, Philip V had shown particular attention to Krete in an attempt to take advantage of the island’s strategic importance as a gateway to targeting territory in Anatolia and further east. As noted above, he was appointed as *prostates* of the Kretan *koinon* in ca. 217 BC,¹³⁰ while Diodorus recorded that he encouraged the Kretans to engage in war with Rhodes to undermine the latter’s control over the sea.¹³¹

The ambitions of Philip V’s Karian campaign in 201 BC were territorial; while an inscription from Labraunda attests to Philip V’s official confirmation of Mylasa’s independence,¹³² Polybius recorded that the king had attempted and failed to take the city by treachery.¹³³ During his campaign in Karia, Philip V stationed himself at Bargylia; his situation so close to Mylasa’s own harbour, if the above reconstruction is correct, may have been perceived as a threat to their maritime interests; certainly, the Macedonian king exerted his authority in the region when it came to acquiring food for his troops.¹³⁴ It is possible that the Kretan dossier from Mylasa forms part of a proactive move to secure alliances, or confirm their inviolability, in the shifting socio-political environment and in response to the expanding influence of Philip V.

The activities of Philip V in Karia would have led to the presence of Kretans soldiers in the region. A decree from Euromos may offer such evidence in the immediate vicinity of Mylasa at the end of the third/early second century BC. The text outlines the election process of civic officials in Euromos, and the ‘Kretan’ character of these processes is notable: a cult to a ‘Kretan-born’ Zeus is mentioned,¹³⁵ while the office of the *kosmos*, which was to

128. See F. DELRIEUX, *op. cit.* n. 123, 2008, p. 283f.

129. RIGSBY *Asylia*, p. 18-19.

130. See n. 37.

131. Diod. Sic. XXVIII.1. It was proposed above that the repeated references to the Κρηταιεῖς in the Mylasan inscriptions denote the activity of the Kretan *koinon*, and thus the appointment of Philip V as its leader would correspond with the late third century date proposed for the inscriptions. The Teian decrees make virtually no reference to the Kretans collectively, with the exception of RIGSBY *Asylia*, no. 159, which is part of the second round of appeals. This might suggest that the Mylasan series is not precisely contemporary with the Teian series; the Kretan *koinon* had apparently broken down during the First Kretan War (see above).

132. *ILabraunda* 5.

133. Polyb. XVI.24.1-9.

134. *Ibid.*

135. R.M. ERRINGTON, *op. cit.* n. 64, no. 5 (*SEG* 43, 707; *MA Antiochos III*, no. 30), ll. 18-19. The full title of the priesthood of the ‘Kretan-born’ Zeus at Euromos is unknown: [ἱερέ]α τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Κρηταγε[-]. A similar cult of a ‘Kretan-born’ Zeus is found in Mylasa, where references to ἱερεὺς Διὸς Κρηταγενοῦς καὶ Κουρήτων are found in three texts (*IMylasa* 102, l. 9; 107, l. 1; 806, l. 8). Another cult is known from Amyzon, where the title is recorded

serve as the primary civic official at Euromos, was also distinctively Kretan.¹³⁶ Euromos was consciously evoking the Kretan model, and one possibility is that it marks the settlement of Kretans in the city.¹³⁷ These reforms can be securely dated: the text stipulates that the *kosmoi* were to be entrusted with ‘all matters related to the agreement pertaining to the alliance contracted through Zeuxis with the Great King Antiochos.’¹³⁸ This alliance is preserved in another inscription, and dated ‘in the hundred and fifteenth year, in the month of Gorpaios’ (August/September 197 BC).¹³⁹ It is known that Philip V garrisoned Euromos during his Karian campaign of 201 BC, and he renamed the city: in the alliance inscription, the Euromeis are referred to as the Philippeis. The alliance with Antiochos III was concluded in the aftermath of the defeat of Philip V at the battle of Kynoskephalai in 197 BC, when the Seleukid king was trying to appropriate Antigonid possessions.

The presence of Kretans in the region of Euromos is hinted at: in the third century BC the Euromeis awarded *proxenia* to a certain Euthybios, Κρης ἐξ Συβρίτιος, attesting to contact, albeit on a small scale.¹⁴⁰ In the alliance inscription we find another clue: the name of one of the envoys of the Philippeis was Chenon. It is an unusual name, with the only parallels found on Krete;¹⁴¹ this might suggest that he was from Krete, and had settled in the region, or that he had Kretan lineage. Th. Boulay has proposed that the appearance of Kretans in Euromos might be a corollary to the settlement of mercenaries at Myus; he suggests that a small body of

as Διὸς τοῦ Κρηταγενέτα καὶ Δικτόννης (ROBERT & ROBERT *Amyzon*, nos. 14-15; MA *Antiochos III*, nos. 9-10); the priesthood formed part of the official Seleukid dating formula in the two texts, which can be securely dated to October/November 202 BC, and November/December 201 BC respectively. Discussions of the cult to date tend to emphasise Seleukid initiative in the introduction of the cult: A. MASTROCINQUE, « Zeus Kretagenes seleucidico. Da Seleucia a Praeneste (e in Giudea) », *Klio* 84, 2002, p. 356-358, argues that a ‘Seleukid Zeus’ was realised as a ‘Kretan-born Zeus’, and introduced to Karia as a demonstration of loyalty to Antiochos III. See also I. SAVALLI LESTRADE, « Intitulés royaux et intitulés civiques dans les inscriptions de cités sujettes de Carie et de Lycie (Amyzon, Euromos, Xanthos). Histoire politique et mutations institutionnelles » in B. VIRGILIO ed., *Studi Ellenistici* 24, Pisa 2010, p. 140-142; ROBERT & ROBERT *Amyzon*, p. 166; MA *Antiochos III*, p. 164, also emphasise Seleukid influence. In my view the agency for the introduction of the cults should be assigned to individuals from Krete; that is not to say that royal initiative had nothing to do with the establishment or profile of the cults, but rather that their peculiarly Kretan character was dictated by Kretan influence in the cities concerned.

136. The *kosmoi* served as the primary civic magistrate on the island from an early date: see K.-W. WELWEI, ‘Kosmoi’, *Brill’s New Pauly*, Brill Online, 2016. Accessed 21/03/2016: <http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/brill-s-new-pauly/kosmoi-e621110>. The responsibilities of the *kosmoi* were stipulated in the inscription, and it has been noted that they mirrored those of the *strategoï* in other communities in western Anatolia: PH. GAUTHIER, *BE* 1995, 525; see also R. FABIANI, « Magistrates and phylai in late Classical and early Hellenistic Iasos » in R. VAN BREMEN, J.-M. CARBON eds., *op. cit.* n. 112, p. 474-475.

137. TH. BOULAY, *Arès dans la cité: les poleis et la guerre dans l’Asie Mineure hellénistique*, Pisa 2014, p. 326.

138. R.M. ERRINGTON, *op. cit.* n. 64, no. 5, ll. 6-8; *SEG* 43, 707; MA *Antiochos III*, no. 30.

139. See n. 63.

140. R.M. ERRINGTON, *op. cit.* n. 64, no. 2; *SEG* 43, 704.

141. PH. GAUTHIER, *BE* 1987, 294; *BE* 1995, 520; MA *Antiochos III*, p. 338. A Χένων, Κρης Δρήριος is attested at Eretria in the second century BC (IG XII. 9. 839); a Χένος is attested at Lato in the second century BC (*JCr.* 1. 16. 31, 1. 9).

these Kretans voluntarily decided to be a part of the refoundation of Euromos by Philip V.¹⁴² The influence of the Antigonids in Euromos is well attested: as noted, an honorary inscription, dated to the late third century BC, was voted by the Euromeis for the Macedonian Alexandros, son of Admetos, *philos* of Philip V.¹⁴³ It recorded his attempts to bring Euromos back under Antigonid control, and Th. Boulay suggests that it may have been at this point that the city was re-founded and named after Philip.¹⁴⁴

The proposition of Th. Boulay that it was most likely Antigonid involvement at Euromos that led to the settlement of Kretans in the city is attractive¹⁴⁵; though whether these settlers were connected to the Kretans settled at Myus is not assured.¹⁴⁶ Another possibility is that a group of Kretans were settled after Philip V's campaign of 201 BC. It can be supposed that Kretan soldiers travelled with the Antigonid king to Karia¹⁴⁷; a group of these mercenaries may have been involved in the refoundation of Euromos. It is also possible that portions of Philip V's army were left stranded after his defeat by Antiochos III in 197 BC; the Seleukid king may have inherited a situation left by Philip V, overseeing the constitutional reforms at Euromos that led to the enfranchisement of Kretan mercenaries.

The re-dating of the Mylasan 'Kretan dossier' to the later stages of the third century/early second century BC, although tentative, would place the inscriptions in a wider context of interaction between southwestern Anatolia and Krete. I have suggested that the Mylasan delegation(s) may have been seeking confirmation of Mylasan *asylia* from the cities of Krete; this in turn may have been occasioned by the threat to their independence caused by Antigonid expansion in the aftermath of Philip V's alliances with the Kretan *poleis*. A more precise date between ca. 217 BC (when Philip secured his interests on Krete) and 201-197 BC (when Philip campaigned in Karia) can be suggested for the initial delegation to Krete, and for the inscription of the decrees. A date before 205 BC and the First Kretan War is likely, if it is correct to assume that the Kretan *koinon* had foundered by that time. It seems that Mylasa then sought reconfirmation of their relations with Krete in a later period.

Many questions remain concerning the exact nature, occasion and chronology of the Mylasan 'Kretan dossier.' This paper has sought to establish the probable context within which the documents were inscribed, and suggested that they can most profitably be interpreted against a background of heightened interaction between the cities of Karia and Krete in the later stages of the third century BC. During this period, Kretan mobility within the networks of the southeast Aegean led to the presence and settlement of individuals from the island in Karia,

142. TH. BOULAY, *op. cit.* n. 137, p. 324-327.

143. R.M. ERRINGTON, *op. cit.* n. 64, no. 4; *SEG* 43, 706.

144. TH. BOULAY, *op. cit.* n. 137, p. 407-408.

145. TH. BOULAY, *op. cit.* n. 137, p. 327 draws parallels with Philip V's conduct elsewhere, including the forced enfranchisement of metics at Larisa in Thessaly.

146. Over 30 years had passed since the original enfranchisement of Kretans in 234/233 BC.

147. Polyb. IV.61.2; IV.67.6. See n. 38.

creating personal ties that may have had repercussions in the diplomatic realm. The strategic value of the island, and the apparent tendency of its inhabitants to engage in piracy, meant that Krete was of immediate interest to the communities of southwestern Anatolia.

At this time, the city of Mylasa was also undergoing a period of expansion, encouraged by the formal recognition of its independence in ca. 246 BC, which drew it into the networks of the southeastern Aegean; yet such a status was always under threat, in particular with the advancing authority of Philip V. The Mylasan 'Kretan series' records a delegation to the island, and the formation of official ties, that are best interpreted as a response to these wider social and political dynamics.

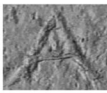
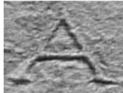


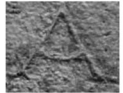
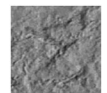

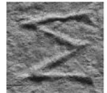


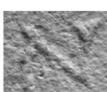

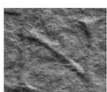
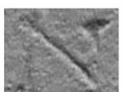
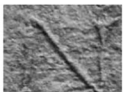



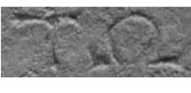
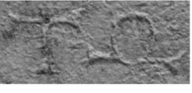
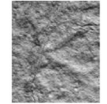
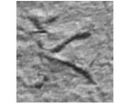




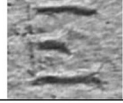
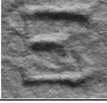

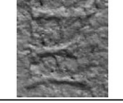




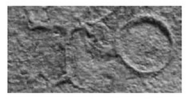

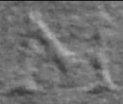
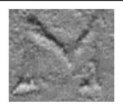
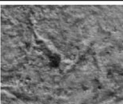
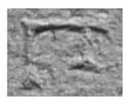
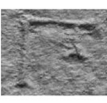
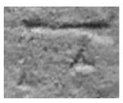
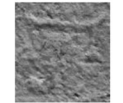


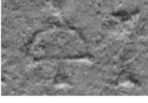

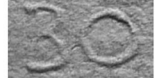

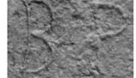


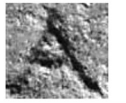
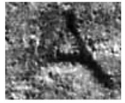








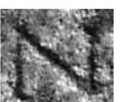

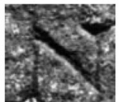








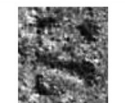
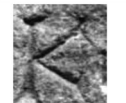




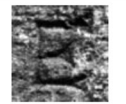








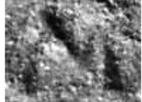
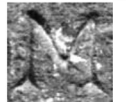










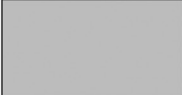

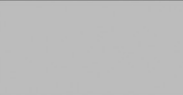
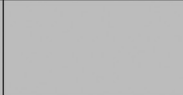

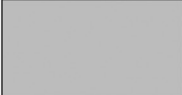

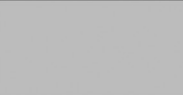
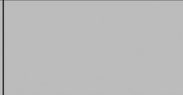

| <i>IMylasa 643</i> | <i>IMylasa 644 & 645</i> | <i>IMylasa 646 & 647</i> | <i>IMylasa 649 & 650</i> | <i>IMylasa 655</i> |
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Figure 7: Table of letter forms from the 'Kretan dossier' of Mylasa.

| <i>IMylasa 657</i> | <i>IMylasa 660</i> | <i>IMylasa 661</i> | <i>IMylasa 662</i> | <i>IMylasa 663</i> |
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