

Three Decrees of Mylasa that Attest Its Loyalty to Maussollos

[AXON  213]

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Abstract The stele, dating to the fourth century BCE, preserves three decrees issued by Mylasa's *ekklesia* and three *phylai* concerning enemies of the Hekatomnid dynasty. It is first decreed that the property of Arlissis of Thyssollos shall be confiscated for plotting against Maussollos, local dynast and satrap to the Achaemenid king. The second decree punishes the sons of Peldemis for damaging a statue of Maussollos' father, Hekatomnos. In the third decree, an inquisition is decided after Manitas of Paktyos plotted against Maussollos. Thyssos of Syskos is found guilty of complicity, whereupon his property is confiscated and sold. The document attests to the firm allegiance of Mylasa to Maussollos.

Keywords Mylasa. Hekatomnid dynasty. Maussollos. Decree. Fourth century BCE.



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Object type Stele; marble; 64 × 145 × 5 cm, original depth unknown. A copy of the inscription was produced around 1881-92 (Musée du Louvre, no. inv. Gy 1207), while squeezes can be found at the Fonds Louis Robert, Paris (nos inv. 2321-2325), and at the Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna.

Chronology 367/366, 361/360 and 355/354 BCE

Type of inscription Decree.

Findspot and circumstances 1845. The inscription was found at the Armenian cemetery in Milas. The stele's front part was removed and brought to France by Philippe Le Bas in 1845. Turkey, Caria, Mylasa (Milas).

Preservation place France, Paris, Musée du Louvre, no. inv. MA2938.

Script

- Structure: epigraphic prose.
- Layout: The text is structured in three paragraphs of 16, 15 and 19 lines, corresponding to the three decrees. While most lines end with a complete word (39), there are some hyphenations (11).
- Execution technique: engraved.
- Special letters: I zeta; Θ theta; M my; Ξ ksi; Γ pi; Σ sigma; Υ ypsilon.
- Letter size: 1.4 cm, $\Theta\Omega$ 1.1 cm.
- Line spacing: 0.9-1 cm, space between paragraphs: 3.8-4 cm.
- Arrangement: Left-to-right.

Language Ionic. East Ionic.

1 τριηκοστῶι | 1, 17, 32 Ἄρταξέρξης || 3, 19 ἐκκλησίης || 17 τετρωκοστός || 26 οὐσίης || 27 δημοσίηι (cf. l. 46 δημοσίη without iota adscriptum) || 36 πανηγύριος εὐούσης || 38-39 παρηνομημένου (augmented perfect to παρανομέω instead of reduplicated form παραενόμηκα).

Lemma *CIG* II nos 2961c-e, 468-73; I.Mus. Louvre Froehner nos 96A-C, 185-90; *LBW* nos 377-9, 110-2 [*MGIH*² nos 101A-C, 177-8]; Bechtel 1887, nos 248a-c, 145-7 [*SGDI* III/2 5 nos 5753a-c, 759-60; *Syll.*³ I no. 167, 226-8]; Michel, *Recueil* no. 471, 350-1 [Nachmanson, *HGI* no. 32, 29-31]; *Dial. graec. ex.* nos 746A-C, 362-3 [*IHG* no. 52, 105-7]; Tod, *GHI* II no. 138, 112-6; *I.Mylasa* I nos 1-3, 3-6 [*I.Mylasa* II no. 1, fig. 1; *SEG* XXXVII, 870; *HGIÜ* II no. 228, 24-6; Blümel 2014, 74]; **Rhodes, Osborne, *GHI* no. 54, 258-62, fig. 4** [Jefremov 2010, no. 29, 143-7; *SEG* LX, 1072; Brun 2017, no. 69A, 167-9]; I.Estremo Oriente nos 236-8, 136-40. Cf. Bockisch 1969, 143-50; Hornblower 1982, 60, 68-70, 167; Ruzé 1983, 299-306 [BE 1988, 341]; Bresson, Debord 1985, 208-9; Jones, *Public Organization* 328-32; Briant 1996, 686-9; Caldesi Valeri 1998, 93-109 [*SEG* XLVIII, 1338bis]; Debord 1999, 386-7; 2003, 171-2; Fabiani 2013, 317-30; Alfieri Tonini 2015, 102-5; Kuhle 2020, 57-63; Henry 2021, 86.

Text

Ἔτει τριηκοστῶι καὶ ἐνάτῳ Ἄρταξέρξευς βασιλεύ- οντος, Μαυσσώλλου ἔξαιθραπεύοντος· ἔδοξε Μυλασεῦσιν ἐκκλησίης κυρίης γενομένης, καὶ ἐπε- κύρωσαν αἱ τρεῖς φυλαί· ἐπειδὴ Ἄρλισσις Θυσσώλλου	5
ἀποσταλεῖς ὑπὸ Καρῶν πρὸς βασιλέα παρεπρέ- βουσε καὶ ἐπεβούλευσε Μαυσσώλλῳ ὄντι εὐεργέτη τῆς πόλεως τῆς Μυλασέων καὶ αὐτῶι καὶ τῶι πατρὶ Ἐκατόμῳ καὶ τοῖς προγόνοις τοῖς τούτων, καὶ βασιλεὺς ἀδικεῖν καταγνοὺς Ἄρλισσιν ἐξημίωσε θανάτῳ· πρᾶξαι καὶ τὴν πόλιν τὴν Μυλασέων περὶ τῶν	10
κτημάτων ἐκείνου κατὰ τοὺς νόμους τοὺς πατρίους· καὶ πρόσθετα ποιήσαντες Μαυσσώλλῳ ἐπαρὰς ἐποίησαντο περὶ τούτων μῆτε προτιθέναι ἔτι παρὰ ταῦτα μηδένα μῆτε ἐπιψηφίζειν· εἰ δέ τις ταῦτα παραβαῖνοι, ἐξῶλη γίνεσθαι καὶ αὐτὸν	15
καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνου πάντας. Ἔτει τετρωκοστῶι καὶ πέμπτῳ Ἄρταξέρξευς βασιλεύοντος, Μαυσσώλλου ἔξαιθραπεύοντος· ἔδοξε Μυλασεῦσι ἐκκλησίης κυρίης γενομένης, καὶ ἐπεκύρωσαν αἱ τρεῖς φυλαί· τοὺς Πελδεμῳ	20
παῖδας παρανομήσαντας ἐς τὴν εἰκόνα τῆν Ἐκατόμῳ, ἀνδρὸς πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ ποιήσαν- τος τὴν πόλιν τὴν Μυλασέων καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ, ἀδικεῖν καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ἀναθήματα καὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοὺς εὐεργέτας τῆς πόλεως· ἀδικεῖν δὲ κατα- γνόντες ἐξημίωσαν δημεύσει τῆς οὐσίης καὶ ἐπώ[λη]- σαν τὰ κτήματα αὐτῶν δημοσίῃ, ἐκτῆσθαι κυρίως	25
τοῖς πριαμένοις· καὶ ἐπαρὰς ἐποίησαντο περὶ τούτων μῆτε προτιθέναι μῆτε ἐπιψηφίζειν μηδένα· εἰ δέ τις ταῦτ[α πα]ραβαῖνοι, ἐξῶλη γίνεσθαι καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνου π[άν]τας.	30
ἔτει πέμπτῳ Ἄρταξέρξευς βασιλεύοντος, Μαυσσώλλου ἔξαιθραπεύον[τ]ος· Μανιτα τοῦ Πακτωῦ ἐπιβουλεύσαντος Μαυσσώλλῳι τῶι Ἐκατόμῳ· ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Λαμβραύνδου θυσίης ἐνιαυ- σίης καὶ πανηγύριος εἰούσης, καὶ Μαυσσώλλου μὲν σωθέντος σὺν τῶι Διῖ, Μανιτα δὲ αὐτοῦ [τ]ὴν δίκην	35
λαβόντος ἐν χειρῶν νομῶι, ἔγνωσαν Μυλασε[ῖ]ς, παρη- νομημένου τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ Μαυσσώλλου τοῦ εὐερ- γέτεω ἔρευναν ποιήσασθαι, εἴ τις καὶ ἄλλος μετέ[σ]- χεν ἢ ἐκοινώνησεν τῆς πράξιος· ἐλεγκθέντος δὲ καὶ Θυσσοῦ τοῦ Συσκῳ καὶ κριθέντος συναδικεῖν μετὰ Μανιτα, ἔδοξε Μυλασεῦσιν καὶ ἐπεκύρωσαν αἱ τρεῖς φυλαί· τὰ Μανιτα τοῦ Πακτωῦ καὶ Θυσσοῦ	40
τοῦ Συσκῳ προστεθῆναι Μαυσσώλλῳι· καὶ τὰ κτήματα ἐπώλησεν ἡ πόλις δημοσίῃ ἐπαρὰς ποιησαμένη τούτων τὰς ὠνάς τοῖς πριαμένοις κυρίας εἶναι, καὶ μῆτε προτιθέναι μῆτε ἐπιψηφίζειν μηδένα· εἰ δέ τις ταῦτα παραβαῖνοι, ἐξῶλη γίνε- σθαι καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνου πάντας.	45
	50

Apparatus 3 ἐ[κκ]λησίης ed. pr. | κυρή[ς] ed. pr. | [γ]ενομέ[ν]ης ed. pr. | [γ]ενομένης Le Bas-Waddington || 3-4 ἐπ[ε]κίρωσαν ed. pr. || 4 φιλ[υ]λαί ed. pr. | Ἀράϊσσις ed. pr., Le Bas-Waddington | Ούσσώλου ed. pr. | Ούσσώλλου Bechtel, Michel, Tod | Θουσσώλλου Canali De Rossi || 5 Κ[αρώ]ν ed. pr. | Κα[ρ]ῶν Le Bas-Waddington || 5-6 [π]αρεπρ[έσ]ιβευσε ed. pr. || 8 βασιλεύ[ς] Le Bas-Waddington || 9 Ἀράϊσιν ed. pr., Le Bas-Waddington || 10 ἐ[ς]ημίωσε ed. pr. | [πρ]ᾶξει ed. pr. | Μυ[λ]ασέων ed. pr. || 12 πρόσθ[ε]τα ed. pr. || 15 παρα[β]αίνοι ed. pr. || 17 [π]έμπτωι ed. pr. || 20 ἐπεκίρ[ω]σαν ed. pr. || 23 Μυ[λ]ασέων ed. pr. || 26 γνόντες ΥΣ corrected to ΓΝ by stonemason | ἐ[ς]ημίωσαν ed. pr. || 26-27 ἐπώ[λη]σαν Blümel || 29 [μ]ήτε Michel, Nachmanson || 32 βα[σι]λεύοντος Froehner, Le Bas-Waddington, Bechtel, Schwyzer || 33 ἐξαιθραπέου[ν]τος Froehner, Le Bas-Waddington, Bechtel, Schwyzer | ἐξαιθραπέου[ν]τος Blümel, Canali De Rossi | ἐξαιθραπέου[ν]τος Michel | ἐξαιθραπέοντος Tod || 34 ἐ[π]ι[β]ουλεύσαντος ed. pr. | Ἐκατόμ[ω]ν Le Bas-Waddington || 36 Μαυσσώλλ[ο]υ ed. pr. || 37 τὴν Froehner, Le Bas-Waddington, Bechtel, Schwyzer, Tod | [τ]ὴν Michel, Rhodes-Osborne, Canali De Rossi || 38 Μυλασε[ί]ς Le Bas-Waddington, Tod | Μυλασεῖς Froehner, Bechtel, Tod | Μυλασε[ί]ς Michel, Canali De Rossi || 41 ἐλεγ[χ]θέντος ed. pr. || 42 συναδικεῖ[ν] ed. pr., Le Bas-Waddington || 46 δημοσί[η] ed. pr.

Translation In the 39th year of the reign of Artaxerxes «II. Mnemon» || when Maussollos was satrap: It was resolved || by the Mylasians, when the regular people's assembly was held, and || the three phylai confirmed «that»: since Arlissis, son of Thyssollos, || had been dispatched by the Carians as an envoy to the king || and had intrigued against Maussollos, who was a benefactor || of the city of Mylasa, – and both against him himself and his father || Hekatomnos and their ancestors – and the king || had punished Arlissis for «his» wrongdoings with the death penalty: || the city of Mylasa too should fare regarding || «Thyssollos» possessions according to the laws of their fathers: || and, after they had signed them over to Maussollos, they added curses || on these «possessions», so that none would propose «a discussion» || about these nor put the question to vote: but if anyone || should violate these «provisions», he shall be utterly destroyed, both he himself || and all of his descendants. || In the 45th year of the reign of Artaxerxes «II. Mnemon» || when Maussollos was satrap: || It was resolved by the Mylasians, when the regular people's assembly was held, || and the three phylai confirmed: that Peldemis' || children, who had committed an offence against the statue of || Hekatomnos, a man who had done much good || for the city of Mylasa both in word and deed, || «and» who had wronged the sacred offerings and the city || and the benefactors of the city: condemning «them» for their wrong-doing, || that they should be punished with their property's confiscation for the people and || their possessions should be sold publicly, so that they might be acquired legitimately || by the purchasers: they added curses on these «possessions», || so that none would propose «a discussion» about these nor put the question to vote: but if anyone || should [violate these] «provisions», he shall be utterly destroyed, both he himself and || [all] of his descendants. || In the fifth year of the reign of Artaxerxes «III. Ochus» || when Maussollos [was] satrap: because Manitas, || son of Paktyos, plotted against Maussollos, son of Hekatomnos, || in the sanctuary of Zeus Labraundos when the annual sacrifice || and festival was taking place, and Maussollos || was saved with Zeus' «help», but Manitas himself received [his] just punishment || by the law of force, the [Mylasians] decided, because || the sanctuary and Maussollos, the benefactor, had suffered injustice, || to carry out an inquiry into whether anyone else had [partaken] || or had a share in the action: but because Thyssos, son of Syskos, had also been proven guilty and brought to trial for having taken part in the unlawful acts || with

Manitas, it seemed good to the Mylasians and was confirmed || by the three phylai: that the possessions of Manitas, son of Paktyos, and Thyssos, || son of Syskos, would be signed over to Maussollos. And || the city sold the properties publicly after adding curses || about these <properties>, so that they would be legitimately acquired by the purchasers, || and that none would propose <a discussion> about these nor put the question to vote: || but if anyone should violate these <provisions>, he shall be utterly destroyed, || both he himself and all of his descendants.

Images

Cinzia Tuena, *Three decrees of Mylasa attesting its loyalty to Maussollos*. 2025. Apograph (digital drawing). <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.19371741>. <https://open.unive.it/axon/upload/000213/immagini/>

1 Introduction

Between 367/366 and 355/354 BCE, Mylasa issued three decrees in response to what was perceived as an insurgency against the Karian dynast and satrap Maussollos.¹ Our understanding of these events derives exclusively from the surviving inscription, which thus entirely shapes our interpretation of the episodes in question:

- first, the attempt to depose Maussollos from his position of authority (ll. 1-16);
- second, the destruction of a statue of his father and predecessor, Hekatomnos (ll. 17-31);
- third, an assassination attempt (ll. 32-50).

The marble stèle provides a range of information regarding the political processes of the *polis* Mylasa in the aforementioned decade and attests the importance of the nearby sanctuary of Zeus Labraunda for the Hekatomnid dynasty.² The unwavering adherence of the Mylasian community to Maussollos' political decisions is evidenced by the penalties imposed for the three acts of subversion committed against him over the twelve-year period. Despite some signs of dissent, presumably among certain members of the local elite, the decrees confirm the loyalty of Mylasa's ruling political community to the local dynast. All incidents were ultimately resolved in Maussollos' favour.

1 I am indebted to Roberta Fabiani, Marco Vitale, Sabine Huebner, Tristan Spillmann and the two anonymous reviewers for their insightful comments and valuable suggestions. Their input has greatly strengthened this article; any remaining errors are mine alone.

2 Cf. *infra*.

The inscription, discovered at the Armenian cemetery in Milas in 1845 by the French archaeologist Philippe Le Bas (1794-1860), was immediately recognised as an important epigraphic document relating not only to the Hekatomnid dynasty but also to the political and religious structures of fourth-century BCE southwestern Asia Minor. To transport the stele, its top 5 cm was removed, and it was broken into five fragments in the process. These have since been glued together and are now housed at the Louvre in Paris. The German classical scholar August Boeckh (1785-1867), who first published the decrees soon after their discovery, based on a transcript by the French archaeologist Jules-Xavier Saguez de Breuvérys and records by Bishop Anthimos, called them *tituli maxime memorabiles*.³ His edition has been revised numerous times without significant alteration, as the stele's text remains nearly intact and its script is clear and coherent. Nonetheless, the interpretation of the three decrees has seen important developments over time.

2 Alphabet, Language, and Onomastics

The inscription, incised on a large marble stele, comprises three consecutive decrees, consisting of 16, 15, and 19 lines respectively. It remains uncertain whether the decrees were inscribed immediately after their enactment, at different times, or whether the inscription results from a single subsequent re-engraving. However, the script is regular and uniform, suggesting that the stele was produced in a single instance after 355/354 BCE.⁴ The employed Ionian alphabet is characterised by vertical stems in both Ζ and Ξ, a round Θ with a central dot, oblique external strokes in Μ and Σ, a shorter right stem in Π, and a Υ with slightly curved branches.⁵

Some Ionian dialectal features are characteristic of Greek epigraphy in Mylasa during the fourth century BCE, including the use of the typical Ionian numerals for thirty and forty, τριηκοστῶι (l. 1) and τετρωκοστός (l. 17).⁶ The Ionic form ἐούσης (l. 36) is used instead of the Attic ούσης, while the terms ἐκκλησίης (ll. 3, 19) and ούσίης (l. 26) are notable for their -ιη ending, a distinctive feature

3 CIG II 2691c-e, 471. In his edition, Boeckh first omitted l. 5 (468-71), but in a postscript (473), he added the missing line along corrections. The *apparatus* published here features his corrected edition.

4 Brun hypothesises that the stele may have been inscribed after Maussollos' death, with the intention of demonstrating Mylasa's continued support of the succeeding Hekatomnids, cf. Brun 2017, 169.

5 Guarducci, *Epigrafia greca*², 22-7; 67; 81.

6 Thumb 1959, §313.2a; cf. *LSJ*⁹, 1816, s.v. τριάκοστός; 1778, s.v. τεσσαράκοσταῖος.

of the Ionian dialect.⁷ This observation can be extended to include δημοσίη (l. 27), which is particularly significant due to its repeated appearance in line 46 without the *iota adscriptum*, δημοσίη. The presence of these two variants shows the diminishing pronunciation of the *iota*, reflecting a language that is gradually changing.⁸ Noteworthy verbal forms include the perfect form used for the verb παρανομέω, the augmented παρηνομημένου (ll. 38-9), as opposed to the anticipated reduplicated form παρανενόμηκα,⁹ and the aorist participle of ἐλέγχω, which is ἐλεγκθέντος, as opposed to the more common ἐλέγχοντος, with the plosive κ preceding the aspirate θ.¹⁰

From an onomastic perspective, the text is equally intriguing. All the names in the inscription are characteristic of a Karian origin. Of particular prominence are the names of the dynast Maussollos (Μαυσσώλλος) and his father Hekatomnos (Ἑκατόμνωσ), but the same holds true for the other individuals referenced: Arlissis (Ἀρλισσις),¹¹ Thyssos (Θυσσοσ), Manita (Μανίτα), Paktyes (Πακτυης), Peldemos (Πελδεμοσ), and Suskos (Συσκωσ).¹² In the genitive form of Πακτυης, the unstressed middle of the three vowels -ύης has been omitted instead of being contracted: Πακτυω (l. 44).¹³ Due to a crack in the stele, the Karian name in line 4 cannot be identified unambiguously; both Θυσσωλλοσ and Ουσσωλλοσ are possible.¹⁴ The Persian Great Kings Artaxerxes II Mnemōn and Artaxerxes III Ochōs are not referred to by the more common form Ἀρταξέσσησ. Instead, they are called Ἀρταξέρξευσ, -ευσ, a Ionian form derived from Ancient Persian *Artaxšaça-*, which is composed of *arta-* ‘justice’ and *xšaça-* ‘kingdom’.¹⁵

7 Buck, *Dialects* §82-3; Thumb 1959, §311.2.

8 Allen 1987, 83-8.

9 Cf. *LSJ*⁹, 1319, s.v. παρανομέω.

10 Nachmanson, *HGI* no. 32; *I.Mylasa* I no. 3.6; *LSJ*⁹, 531, s.v. ἐλέγχω.

11 Wrongfully read Ἀραΐσσησ by Boeckh, Le Bas-Waddington, and Hicks. On the cognate anthroponym Ἀρλισσησ, see *I.Labraunda* II no. 139; Blümel 1990, 35.

12 See the respective paragraphs in Zgusta, *Personennamen*: §95.1 Ἀρλισσις; §325 Ἑκατόμνωσ; §445-1 Θυσσοσ (cf. Robert, *Noms indigènes*, 456); §864 Μανίτασ; §885 Μαυσσώλλοσ; §1193 Πακτυης; §1234-1 Πελδεμοσ; §1486 Συσκωσ, and the entries in the *LGPV* V.B: 59, s.v. Ἀρλισσις; 131-2, s.v. Ἑκατόμνωσ; 203 s.v. Θυσσοσ; 271, s.v. Μανίτασ; 275, s.v. Μαυσσώλλοσ; 338, s.v. Πακτυης; 349, s.v. Πελδεμης/Πελδεμοσ; 394, s.v. Συσκωσ. A link of the latter to Karian *skk* (Gusmani 1986, 62) and to Lycian *zisqqa* (Lebrun 1979, 127-37) has been suggested without a current epigraphic confirmation.

13 Thumb 1959, §311.12.

14 Zgusta, *Personennamen*, §445-2; *I.Mylasa* I no. 1.4.

15 Kent 1950, 171; Thumb 1959, §312.2a; cf. *I.Tralleis* I no. 3.3.

3 Karia and the Hekatomnids

Since the sixth century BCE the region of Karia, situated in southwestern Asia Minor, had been part of the Achaemenid empire. Initially as part of the satrapy of Lydia, it was governed by the local dynast Hekatomnos as an independent satrapy from 392 BCE onwards.¹⁶ The Hekatomnid dynasty, comprising Hekatomnos and his five children, ruled for six decades. The eldest son, Maussollos, reigned from 377/376 to 353/352 BCE, and was married to his sister and co-regent Artemisia. Following the demise of Maussollos, his widow, Artemisia, assumed sole rule for a period of two years. She was subsequently followed by their siblings, the equally married couple Idrieus and Ada, and the youngest brother Pixodaros.¹⁷ It was especially under the reign of Maussollos that the dynasty witnessed a significant expansion of its territory, resulting in the amassment of substantial wealth. These resources were utilised to consolidate the dynasty's position and to erect and expand numerous temples and statues, including buildings at the sanctuary of Labraunda.¹⁸ Already during Maussollos' lifetime, plans were initiated for a monumental tomb. Its construction was most likely overseen by his sister-wife, Artemisia. The Mausoleum of Halikarnassos was designated one of the Seven Wonders of the ancient world, thus becoming the dynasty's most renowned accomplishment.¹⁹ However, this sepulchral monument is not the only one associated with the Hekatomnids. In 2010, another tomb was discovered in the centre of Mylasa, the so-called Uzunyuva monument. The opulent burial chamber and the surrounding *temenos* wall have been predominantly attributed to Hekatomnos, with occasional attributions to Idrieus. Consequently, Maussollos may have had a precedent for his elaborate tomb within his family.²⁰

16 Strab. 14.2.17; Diod. Sic. 14.98.3; Gell. NA 10.18.2. Hekatomnos' father, Hyssaldomos, has sometimes been seen as the first satrap of his family, for which, however, there are no epigraphic sources, cf. Robert, *Sinuri*, 100; Hornblower 1982, 35-8; Debord 1999, 130-4.

17 Multiple inscriptions referencing Maussollos-Artemisia and Idrieus-Ada together reveal the importance of the sibling marriages in the Hekatomnid self-representation: *I.Erythrai Klazomenai* I no. 8; *I.Labraunda* II no. 40; *I.Sinuri* nos 74-5; *Syll.*³ no. 225; Tod, *GHI* II no. 161A; cf. Carney 2005, 79-85; Marek 2016, 157-8.

18 *I.Labraunda* II nos 13-19.

19 Vit. *De arch.* 10.8.10-13, cf. Hornblower 1982, 223-74; Hoepfner 2013.

20 The most complete volume on the Uzunyuva monument is Diler 2020. Cf. Işık 2019; Rumscheid 2020; Diler 2021.

The Hekatomnids, while mainly known for the Mausoleum, were also important political leaders.²¹ They acted as both regional dynasts and satraps. The three decrees can be accurately dated to 367/366 BCE, 361/360 BCE, and 355/354 BCE respectively, owing to their prescripts referencing the reigning years of the Great Kings: the 39th and 45th years of Artaxerxes II Mnemon and the 5th year of his successor, Artaxerxes III Ochus. The dating formula, which was used throughout the Achaemenid Empire, is followed by Μαυσσώλλου ἑξαθηραπέοντος (when Maussollos was satrap; ll. 2, 18, 33). The same reference to Maussollos as satrap is repeated in a land-sale treaty from 354/353 BCE and in a fragmentary inscription from 353/352 BCE.²² Maussollos' father, Hekatomnos, and his brothers, Idrieus and Pixodaros, hold the same titles in Mylasa, Labraunda, Tralleis, and Xanthos during their respective reigns, with slight variations in spelling [tab. 1].²³

Table 1 The Hekatomnids in Greek prescripts

Inscription	Verb	Ruler	Year
<i>I.Mylasa</i> I no. 4.2	ἑξαθηρ[απέοντος]	Hekatomnos	396-376 BCE
<i>I.Mylasa</i> I no. 1.2	ἑξαθηραπέοντος	Maussollos	367/366 BCE
<i>I.Mylasa</i> I no. 2.2	ἑξαθηραπέοντος	Maussollos	361/360 BCE
<i>I.Mylasa</i> I no. 3.2	ἑξαθηραπέοντος	Maussollos	355/354 BCE
van Bremen 2013	[ἑξαθηραπέον]τος	Maussollos	354/353 BCE
<i>I.Mylasa</i> II no. 5.3	[ἑξαθηραπ]εύοντ[ος]	Maussollos	353/352 BCE
<i>I.Tralleis</i> I no. 3.3	ἑξασατραπέοντος	Idrieus	350 (first c. CE)
<i>I.Labraunda</i> II no. 42.9	ἑαθηραπέοντος	Pixodaros	316-314 BCE
SEG XXVII, 942.2	ἑαδράπης	Pixodaros	337/336 BCE

21 Cic. *Tusc.* 3.75; Plin. *nat.* 36.4.30-31; Plut. *mor.* 383b; Mart. *Epigr.* 10.63; Gell. 10.18; Hier. *adv. Iovin.* 1.44.

22 *I.Mylasa* I no. 5.3; van Bremen 2013 [SEG LXIII, 911] = *I.Mylasa* I 11.2; cf. *LSJ*⁹, 1585, s.v. σάτραπεία.

23 *I.Mylasa* I no. 4.2; *I.Tralleis* I no. 3.3; Metzger et al. 1979 [SEG XXVII, 942.2]; *I.Labraunda* II no. 42.9; cf. *I.Mylasa* II, 7. The inscription *I.Tralleis* I no. 3.3 is dated 350 BCE, but was incised in the 1st c. CE. It is therefore likely to be a re-inscription which has sometimes been designated a forgery (cf. *CIG* II no. 2919, 583-5; Bechtel 1887, 148). In *I.Labraunda* II no. 42.9, the decision to renew privileges first given by Pixodaros during his reign is documented. Crampa dated it to the early 3rd century BCE, while Debord and Varinlioğlu (*I.Carie hautes terres*, no. 48, 159-171) proposed 316-14 BCE based on its contents. In the Xanthos Trilingual (SEG XXVII, 942), Pixodaros is referred to as satrap not only in Greek, but also in Lycian (xssaθrapazate) and Aramaic (ḤSTRPN').

However, Maussollos' – and his family's – political position is not mentioned in most inscriptions. Instead, the Hekatomnid dynasts are more often simply identified by their patronyms, especially in their own dedications.²⁴ An exception is a monument dedicated by the Iasians to the dynasty, which is an external attribution; it calls the family members [βα]σιλείς.²⁵ In contrast, surviving literary sources offer a variety of titles besides satrap (σατράπης). Notably, these include dynast (δυνάστης) or king (βασιλεύς, *rex*).²⁶ In Aristotle's *Economics*, Maussollos is called Καρίας τύραννος.²⁷ Athenaios, citing the comic poet Epigenes – another author from the Hekatomnid period – uses the term βασιλεύς.²⁸ This ambiguity reflects the complex political role of the Hekatomnids as dynastic local rulers reliant on a higher, regional authority. The choice of titles mainly depends on the authors' and political communities' views of the Hekatomnids and the Persian kings. The variety of titles could also indicate that the Greek world was unable to find a term for this political position because it was outside their own reality.²⁹

The Achaemenid Empire faced political instability in its western regions at the time the three decrees were composed: during the so-called Great Satraps' Revolt (370-360 BCE), several satraps in Asia Minor sought greater autonomy from the centralising authority of the Great King. The primary protagonists of the revolt were Datames of Cilicia, Ariobarzanes of Phrygia, Orontes of Armenia, and Autophradates of Lydia. These figures aimed to resist Persian control, reduce heavy taxation and gain more independence in their local governance. In Diodorus' accounts, Maussollos is included in this list; however, there is no further reference to his collaboration in activities against the Great King.³⁰ Ultimately, Artaxerxes III succeeded in suppressing the rebellion through the implementation of military force and diplomatic strategies, with Maussollos retaining his position in Karia while the usurpers were disposed of.³¹ Similarly, Maussollos acted in line with the Achaemenid Kings' orders during

24 Cf. e.g. *I.Mylasa Uzunyuva* nos B.III 20a-b, 175-7; *I.Labraunda II* nos. 13-14.

25 Nafissi 2015a; 2015b.

26 These include Plut. *Alex.* 10.1; Gell. 10.18.2 (σατράπης); Agr. *an.* 1.23.7 (σατραπέω); Diod. 14.98.3; 15.2.3; 16.42.2 (δυνάστης, δυναστεύω); Strab. 14.2.17 (βασιλεύς, βασιλίσσα, βασιλεύω); Cic. *Tusc.* 3.75; Gell. 10.18.2 (*rex*); Vit. 10.8.10-13 (*rex, regnare*); Val. Max. 4.6 (*regina*); cf. Nafissi 2015a, 30-41.

27 Aristot. *econ.* 1348a.

28 Athen. 9.472e-473a.

29 Nafissi 2015a, 30-41; 2015b, 81-92; Klinkott 2023, 596-7; 612.

30 Diod. Sic. 15.90.3, cf. Weiskopf 1989, 9-13; Briant 1996, 675-93; Debord 1999, 303 f.; 342-8.

31 Bockisch 1969, 159-62; Weiskopf 1989, 65-8; Briant 1996, 675-94; Marek 2016, 152-3.

the Social War (357-355 BCE), another superregional conflict. It was with his assistance that Chios, Rhodos, Kos, and Byzantion overthrew their democratic governments and defected from the Second Athenian League.³² In contrast to these endeavours in foreign lands, the three decrees testify to Maussollos' local role in Mylasa, the heartland of Hekatomnid power.

4 Mylasa and Its Political System

The Greek geographer of the early Imperial period, Strabo, describes Mylasa as Maussollos' hometown, calling it 'the home and royal residence of the Karians who belonged to (the family of) Hekatomnos' (πατρὶς δὲ καὶ βασιλείον τῶν Καρῶν τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἑκατόμνω).³³ However, during Maussollos' reign, the main residence of the Hekatomnids was moved to Halikarnassos, a coastal city that provided the Hekatomnids with a better vantage point for conducting commercial activities and engaging in military ventures. Nevertheless, Mylasa maintained its importance for the dynasty, as demonstrated by the three decrees.

In lines 6-7, Maussollos is referred to as a benefactor of Mylasa twice: Μαυσσώλλωι ὄντι εὐεργέτη τῆς πόλεως τῆς Μυλασέων (ll. 6-7) and Μαυσσώλλου τοῦ εὐεργέτεω (ll. 39-40).³⁴ Maussollos is known to have dedicated altars in Mylasa and for being a sponsor at the sanctuary of Labraunda near Mylasa.³⁵ In the first decree, the honour of *euergesia*, being celebrated as 'benefactor', is extended to his father Hekatomnos (ll. 7-8 καὶ αὐτῶι καὶ τῶι πατρὶ Ἑκατόμνωι) and their forefathers (ll. 8 καὶ τοῖς προγόνοις τοῖς τούτων). The ancestors of the Hekatomnid dynasty can only be traced back to Hyssaldomos, Maussollos' grandfather.³⁶ Still, the name Maussollos, along with those of his siblings Pixodaros and Artemisia, is attested for Karian individuals of the fifth century BCE.³⁷ However, there is some debate

³² Xen. *Ages.* 2.26; Dem. *Or.* 15.3; cf. Cawkwell 1981, 52-5.

³³ Strab. 14.2.23.

³⁴ The appellation 'benefactor' was not exclusive to Mylasa, but was also bestowed on him in Erythrai, cf. *I.Erythrai Klazomenai* I no. 8.5. On the term εὐεργέτης, see Gauthier 1985, 7-14; *LSJ⁹*, 712, s.v. εὐεργέτης; Meier 2006, coll. 153-4.

³⁵ *I.Mylasa Uzunyuva* nos B.III 20a-b, 175-7. Cf. *infra* for the sanctuary of Labraunda.

³⁶ In several inscriptions from Mylasa, Labraunda, Sinuri, Kaunos, and Iasos, Hyssaldomos is employed as patronym, in the genitive form Υσσαλδώμου, to Hekatomnos and his sister-wife Aba, cf. *I.Mylasa* I no. 4.1; *I.Labraunda* II no. 27.1; *I.Sinuri* no. 76.9; *I.Kaunos* no. 46.1; Nafissi 2015. Additionally, coins struck under Hyssaldomos' name are known from Mylasa, cf. Konuk 2009.

³⁷ Hdt. 5.118; 7.98-9; cf. Hornblower 1982, 26; Ruzicka 1992, 16; *I.Mylasa Uzunyuva*, 18-19.

over whether these individuals can be regarded as direct ancestors. One plausible view is that the Hekatomnids adopted their names to position themselves as legitimate descendants; alternatively, this may have been merely a coincidence.³⁸

During the reign of Maussollos, the city of Mylasa passed decrees in its regular people's assembly (ll. 3, 19 ἔδοξε Μυλασεῦσιν ἐκκλησίης κυρίας; abbreviated ἔδοξε Μυλασεῦσιν in l. 43).³⁹ The decrees were subsequently ratified by three unnamed tribes (ll. 3-4, 20, 43-4 ἐπεκύρωσαν αἱ τρεῖς φυλαί).⁴⁰ The schedule of the ratification process, whether it occurred during the regular assembly sessions or necessitated additional meetings, remains a subject of scholarly discussion. According to Boeckh, these three tribes resided in rural areas, and their role entailed affirming the decisions previously reached by the urban tribes.⁴¹ However, Le Bas and Waddington challenged this assertion, proposing instead that the urban tribes and the rural tribes held two separate assemblies, one general and one composed exclusively of aristocratic members of the aforementioned three tribes.⁴² Froehner designated the ἐκκλησία κυρία as 'the fixed, ordinary assembly', contrasting it with the σύγκλητος, i.e. 'extraordinary session'. He regarded the three *tribus rustiques* as the entity with the capacity to ratify decrees.⁴³ Guarducci proposed that the φυλαί were not limited to a specific segment of the population.⁴⁴ Jones concurred and advanced the hypothesis that to "render independent judgments on the acts of the full citizen body", the φυλαί would convene separately from the ἐκκλησία.⁴⁵ In contrast, Ruzé hypothesised that the practice of voting occurred within the framework of the ἐκκλησία.⁴⁶ It is therefore evident that two procedural steps were required for the legislative implementation of the decrees in Maussollos' time, whether held separately or not: the decision by the ἐκκλησία and the ratification by the τρεῖς φυλαί. In inscriptions from the third century BCE onwards,

38 Hornblower 1982, 20-4; Rhodes, Osborne, *GHI* no. 54, 263.

39 On the ἐκκλησία κυρία, cf. Errington 1994, 135-60; 1995, 19-42; Rhodes 1995, 187-98; Dmitriev 2005, 80-1.

40 Caldesi Valeri 1998, 93-6; Debord 2003, 171-2; cf. *LSJ*⁹, 642, s.v. ἐπικύρωω.

41 *CIG* II nos 2691c-e, 470.

42 *LBW* nos 377-9, 111.

43 Froehner 1865, nos 96A-C, 189: "L'ἐκκλησία κυρία est l'assemblée fixe, ordinaire; la σύγκλητος est la séance extraordinaire. Notre texte nous apprend que les décrets du peuple de Mylasa devaient, pour avoir force de loi, être approuvés par les trois tribus rustiques de la ville".

44 Guarducci 1937, 100.

45 Jones, *Public Organisation*, 328-32, here 329.

46 Ruzé 1983, 304-5.

three distinct Mylasian tribes have been identified: the Ὀτωρκονδεῖς, Ἰαρθεσῦται and Κονοδωρκοδεῖς. However, these tribes are only ever referred to individually. The evidence suggests that they conveyed their own ἐκκλησίαι and were therefore individually involved in the ratification of decrees such as the granting of honours or the purchase of land. They not only possessed their own assembly but also worshipped their own deities. The tribes were further subdivided into συγγένεια, which in turn were connected to kinship.⁴⁷ Based on the tribes' relative autonomy, Caldesi Valeri posited that they had already existed prior to Hekatomnid rule.⁴⁸ Despite the uncertainty surrounding the Mylasian political processes, it is certain that the decision-making procedures involved multiple actors who, at the local level, possessed a degree of political autonomy from the satraps and, in extension, the Great Kings.

Apart from these political institutions, the sanctuary of Zeus Labraundos⁴⁹ near Mylasa is prominently mentioned in the decrees as a significant religious site.⁵⁰ The sanctuary's most monumental structures were erected and extensively renovated by the Hekatomnids. Maussollos himself was responsible for the construction of further terraces and the dedication of several edifices and sculptures within the sacred district, including the so-called Northern *stoa* and multiple *andrones*.⁵¹ Following the expansion of the temple complex by the Hekatomnids, the originally local site evolved into a 'pan-Karian' sanctuary, serving not only as a place of worship but also as a political hub, as demonstrated by the construction of the *andrones*, which must have acted as meeting places. The extensively amplified sanctuary of Labraunda was therefore "a key site for the display of dynastic power".⁵² Zeus Labraundos prominently appears on Hekatomnid coins struck by Hekatomnos, Maussollos, Idrieus, and

47 Most inscriptions featuring one of the τρεῖς φυλαί were decreed by the Ὀτωρκονδεῖς. These include e.g. *I.Mylasa* I nos 105.1, 106.2; 107.2. Each only once attested are the Ἰαρθεσῦται (*I.Mylasa* I no. 301.3) and the Κονοδωρκοδεῖς (*I.Mylasa* I no. 119.1), cf. Bresson, Debord 1986, 208-9; Caldesi Valeri 1998, 96-100; Williamson 2021, 102-3. The known number of συγγένεια ranges from 0 to 4 per φυλή, cf. Blümel, van Bremen 2025, 56-8.

48 Caldesi Valeri 1998, 98-100.

49 Various forms of the terms Labraunda and Labraundos are attested, with the form Λαμβραυνδος employed in Hekatomnid time, cf. Schaefer 1912, 353-4; Bockisch 1969, 30-1; *I.Labraunda* II, 191-7; Rivault 2021, 76-7; 89-92; Fabiani 2024, 359-60.

50 Ancient sources on the sanctuary include Hdt. 5.119; Strab. 14.2.23; Plin. *nat. hist.* 32.1; Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 45; Ael. *NA* 12.3, cf. Rivault 2021, 31-3.

51 *I.Labraunda* II nos 13, 14; Rivault 2021, 47-52; Carless Unwin, Henry 2022.

52 Fabiani 2024, 365; cf. Rivault 2021, 38, 51, 60.

Pixodaros.⁵³ He is also depicted on a marble stele of Tegea alongside the sibling-spouses Idrieus and Ada, thus indicating the significance he held within the Hekatomnid family, which seems to have ostensibly placed itself under his protection.⁵⁴ The lines 36-8 - Μουσσώλλου μὲν σωθέντος σὺν τῷ Διῖ, Μανίτα δὲ αὐτοῦ [τ]ῆν δίκην λαβόντος ἐν χειρῶν νομῶι - imply that Maussollos positioned himself as a personal favourite of the god. Beyond their roles as satraps and local dynasts, it appears that the Hekatomnids were engaged in the cult of Zeus Labraundos, assuming sacerdotal functions.⁵⁵ We shall now proceed to examine the text of the decrees and the main actors mentioned therein.

5 The Decrees

The first decree states that Arlissis, son of Thyssollos or Oussollos, was sent as an envoy to Artaxerxes II by the Karians. It indicates that Arlissis was dispatched as a public envoy but betrayed his mandate (ll. 5-6 ἀποσταλεῖς ὑπὸ Καρῶν πρὸς βασιλέα παρεπρέσβευσε). The exact nature of his mission remains enigmatic, as it is uncertain on behalf of which official entity Arlissis was acting. Louis Robert has suggested a federal council.⁵⁶ Earlier, Le Bas-Waddington and Dittenberger had proposed that Arlissis was dispatched by ‘the whole of Karia’ to the Great King to voice their concerns about Maussollos; this assertion has been contested by Hornblower as well as Rhodes and Osborne.⁵⁷ Already Herodotus referred to οἱ Κᾶρες, whom he recounts assembling against the Persians in the fifth century BCE, suggesting a moment of unified action.⁵⁸ It remains unclear whether this reflects a formal Karian κοινόν or merely a loose coalition of villages. During this period, individual Karian cities - including Mylasa - appear in the Athenian tribute lists, underscoring their separate political identities, though these may have coexisted alongside other federal structures.⁵⁹ Two additional inscriptions from

53 *Historia Numorum Online* lists two individual coin types featuring Zeus Labraundos for Hekatomnos, 22 for Maussollos, 11 for Idrieus, and 17 for Pixodaros. See Konuk et al. 2016.

54 The stele is inscribed: Ἄδᾶ Ζεὺς Ἰδριεύς (Ada Zeus Idrieus). It is now kept at the British Museum, inv. no. 1914,0714.1; cf. *Syll.*³ no. 225; Tod II no. 161A; Rivault 2021, 96-9. Cf. Rivault 2021, 96-9.

55 Ruzicka 1992, 30-1; Nafissi 2015a, 30-6; Fabiani 2024, 362-5.

56 Robert, *Et. anat.*, 571.

57 *Syll.*³ I no. 167; *LBW* nos 377-9, 112; Rhodes, Osborne, *GHI* no. 54, 263; Hornblower 1982, 60.

58 *Hdt.* 5.118.

59 *IG* I³ I 71; *IG* I³ I 259; *IG* I³ I 269-72; *IG* I³ I 279; *IG* I³ I 282.

Sekkōy, published under Maussollos and listing Karian cities each represented by πρέσβεις and a κῆρυξ, have led Debord to suggest the existence of a κοινόν functioning alongside Maussollos and, by extension, the Great Kings.⁶⁰ Hornblower has likewise interpreted οἱ Κᾶρες as an organisation of federal nature.⁶¹ In contrast, van Bremen has argued that these inscriptions simply reflect institutional roles within Maussollos' satrapy, without implying a federal structure.⁶² LaBuff adopted a similar view, proposing that the Karians acted collectively in response to external threats rather than as a formalised organisation.⁶³

In the official version extant from the decree, Arlissis is said to have plotted against Maussollos, Hekatomnos and their ancestors at the royal court. Throughout his mission, he must have made statements that Maussollos interpreted as evidence of conspiracy. However, the content of his address to the Great King remains obscure. The inscription alone appears to rule out the possibility of a joint Karian complaint, as Arlissis was the only one found guilty.⁶⁴ His mission resulted in his death sentence by the Great King (ll. 8-9 καὶ βασιλεὺς ἀδικεῖν καταγνοὺς Ἀρλισσιν ἐζημίωσε θανάτῳ).⁶⁵ The *polis* of Mylasa proceeded in a manner consistent with Artaxerxes' decision (l. 10 πρᾶξαι καὶ τὴν πόλιν τὴν Μυλασέων): Arlissis' estate was confiscated and transferred to Maussollos irrevocably. This process happened in accordance with the long-established Mylasian laws (l. 11 κατὰ τοὺς νόμους τοὺς πατρίους), thereby providing further corroboration of the old tradition of Mylasa's political system – obviously predating Hekatomnid rule.⁶⁶

In the second decree, the desecration of a statue of Hekatomnos (ll. 21-2 παρανομήσαντας ἐς τὴν εἰκόνα τὴν Ἑκατόμνω) is sanctioned. The wrongdoers were punished with the confiscation of their property and estate, which was then sold in a public auction (ll. 26-7 ἐζημίωσαν δημεύσει τῆς οὐσίης καὶ ἐπώ[λη]σαν τὰ κτήματα αὐτῶν δημοσίῃ). The penalised individuals are simply referred to as 'Peldemis' children', τοὺς Πελδεμῶ παῖδας (ll. 20-1), without explicit mention of their number or proper names. However, in contrast to the other culprits listed in the three decrees, the children of Peldemis are known

60 Debord 2003, 119-24; cf. *I.Mylasa* nos 11-12, van Bremen 2013. See also Klinkott 2009, 154-5.

61 Hornblower 1982, 55-67. See also Bockisch 1969, 129-32.

62 Van Bremen 2013, 23; Blümel, van Bremen 2025, 26-7.

63 LaBuff 2016, 32, 118.

64 Debord 2003, 119.

65 Le Bas-Waddington took this to mean that only the Great King could decide over such a penalty, cf. *LBW* nos 377-9, 111.

66 Hornblower 1982, 69; Caldesi Valeri 1998, 98.

from another fourth century BCE inscription. A decree of Iasos granted extensive awards such as the exemption of taxes (ἀτέλεια), the privilege of a front seat at public spectacles and assemblies (προεδρία) and the unhampered entry and exit from the *poleis'* ports (ἔσπλους καὶ ἔκπλους) to Myrmex, Manes and Targelios, children of Peldemis (παῖδας Πελδεμιος Μύρμηκα καὶ Μάνην καὶ Ταργήλιον).⁶⁷ In addition, they were made both πρόξενοι and εὐεργέται, and in case of juridical proceedings, they were to enjoy the same treatment as Iasian citizens.⁶⁸ With the phrase τέλεα τελεῖν καθόπερ the Iasians *de facto* “grant[ed] the principal prerogatives of citizenship, though without actually bestowing it”.⁶⁹ While Pugliese Caratelli dated the Iasian decree *after* the defacement of Hekatomnos’ statue, Fabiani more convincingly argued for an earlier date between the Social War and the second Mylasian decree, placing it between 367/366 and 361/360 BCE.⁷⁰

The unusual collective mention of the culprits as Πελδεμω παῖδας suggests the presence of an eminent father whose opposition to the Hekatomnids was evidently known to the Karian public. It can be deduced that Peldemis belonged to the same generation as Hekatomnos, whose statue was damaged by Myrmex, Manes and Targelios during Maussollos’ reign. Consequently, Peldemis’ sons were unavoidably the heirs of a rivalry that had been in existence for at least a generation, and as such, they were not deemed worthy of a personal mention. They were thus dishonoured furthermore by some sort of *omissio nominis*.⁷¹ Another decree that sanctions a conspiracy against Maussollos is known from Iasos. According to the text, unnamed individuals had been exiled, and their property

67 Two copies of the decree exist, one from the fourth century BCE (Pugliese Carratelli 1986, 154-6 [SEG XXXVI, 983]), the other from the second century BCE (Pugliese Carratelli 1987, 289-92 [SEG XXXVIII, 1059]); cf. Fabiani 2013, 2023, 274-9. The older copy can be reconstructed as follows: [ἐ]δοξε [τῆ] βουλή[ι καὶ] | τῶι δήμω[ι ἐν ἀρχαιρεσί]αισι· Δημήτ[ριος Ἀπολλω]νίδου Δήμ[ων ἐπρυτά]νευον· Ἀναξ[αγ]όρας νν | Ἀπολλωνίδου εἶπεν· παῖδας Πελδεμιος Μύρμηκα | καὶ Μάνην καὶ Ταργήλιον | προξένος εἶναι Ἰασέων | καὶ εὐεργέτας καὶ ἀτέλειαν καὶ προεδρίην καὶ ἔσ- νν | πλογ καὶ ἔκπλογ καὶ ἐν εἰρήνην καὶ ἐμ πολέμωι· εἶνα[ι] | [δ]ε αὐτοῖς καὶ ἔγκτησιν γῆ[ς] | [κ]αὶ οἰκῶν καὶ δίκας κατάπερ Ἰασέων καὶ τέλεα τελεῖν καθόπερ Ἰασεῖς· ν | αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐγγόνοις. | *vacat* (It was resolved [by the council and] | the people [in the assembly], when Demet[rius of Apollo]nidos and Dem[on of Apollonidos?] were Pryta[ns: Anax]ag[oras] | of Apollonides demanded that the chil[dren of Peldemis, Myrex | and Manes and Targelios | be *proxenoi* of the Iaseians | and benefactors and that they be allowed *ateleia* and *proedria* and the | sailing in an out of the harbours, both in peace and in war, that they also be given the tenure of land | [a]nd houses and the right to legal audience | as it is for the Iasians and they shall pay | taxes as the Iasians | both them and their descendants).

68 *LSJ*⁹, 712, s.v. εὐεργέται; 1491-2, s.v. πρόξενος.

69 Fabiani 2013, 319. Cf. *LSJ*⁹, 840, s.v. ἰσοτέλεια.

70 Fabiani 2013, 325; 2023, 277.

71 Fabiani 2023, 274-6.

was then sold as a consequence of the plot.⁷² The Iasian decree, unfortunately lacking a date, provides further evidence that Iasos' political community held divided opinions about Maussollos, with the views favourable to the satrap ultimately prevailing. However, the decree pertaining to Peldemis' children was republished in the middle of the third century BCE, which may indicate a shift in sympathy towards the Hekatomnid rulers after their reign.⁷³ Despite the absence of additional information regarding the vandalised statue, the wording of the decree suggests its existence, presumably at Mylasa, further strengthening the Hekatomnids' local control.⁷⁴ The dynasty demonstrated its affluence and authority not only in Mylasa and the sanctuary of Labraunda but throughout the entirety of Karia, as evidenced by numerous dedications and monuments.⁷⁵

The third decree recounts how Manitas, son of Paktyos, plotted (l. 34 ἐπιβουλεύσαντος) against Maussollos at the temple of Zeus Labraundos during the annual sacrifice and festival for the local deity in 367/366 BCE (ll. 35-6 ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Λαμβραυδῶν θυσίης ἐνιαυσίης καὶ πανηγύριος εὐσίης). Regrettably, there is a scarcity of information regarding the festivities held in honour of the deity. Blümel hypothesised that they might bear some similarity to the Roman *Saturnalia*, although this remains unconfirmed.⁷⁶ These celebrations appear to have had a broader regional significance. The fragmentary inscription *I.Labraunda* II no. 53 records the festival's prolongation by Maussollos (for the duration of two additional days) and Idrieus (one additional day). It is conceivable that this occurred in the context of the decree under discussion, given that Maussollos had allegedly been saved by the god himself from the attempted murder (l. 37 σωθέντος σὺν τῷ Διῖ).⁷⁷ Manitas was lynched on spot (l. 38 ἐν χειρῶν νομῶι), a punishment described as 'just' (l. 37 [τ]ῆν δίκην). As a result of the incident, an inquiry was decided by the Mylasians

72 *I.Iasos* no. 1, ll. 2-6: [... τ]ὼν ἀν[δρ]ῶν | τῶν ἐπιβουλευσάντων Μουσώλλωι καὶ τῇ Ἰασέων πόλει τὰ | κτήματα δημεῦσαι καὶ τὰ τῶν φευγόντων ἐπὶ τῇ αἰτίῃ ταύτ[η] | καὶ τὰ τούτων δημεῦσαι καὶ φεύγειν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐκγόνους [ἐς] | τὸν ἀίδιον χρόνον ([...] the property of the men who plotted against Maussollos and the polis of Iasos | is to be confiscated, as well as that of those who fled on account of this charge. | Their property is also to be confiscated, and they themselves and their descendants are to be exiled | for all time).

73 Pugliese 1987, 291-2; Fabiani 2013, 325; 2023, 277.

74 Statue bases from both Labraunda and Kaunos are known to have been dedicated by Hekatomnos: *I.Labraunda* II no. 27; *I.Kaunos* no. 46.

75 Among them are the aforementioned Mausoleum and the stele displaying Zeus Labruandos (cf. *supra*), as well as a great number of inscriptions such as *I.Mylasa Uzunyuva* nos B.III 20a-b, 175-7; *I.Labraunda* II nos 13-19; *I.Kaunos* nos 46-8; *I.Sinuri* no. 76; Metzger et al. 1979; Nafissi 2015b.

76 *I.Mylasa* I no. 3.6; cf. Schaefer 1952, 347-58.

77 *I.Labraunda* II nos 53-4, 81-9; Rivault 2021, 61-72, especially 63-5.

(l. 38 ἔγνωσαν Μυλασε[ῖ]ς), since both Maussollos and the sanctuary itself had suffered an injustice (l. 40 ἔρευναν ποιήσασθαι). Through this process, Thyssos, son of Syskos, was found guilty of complicity. In accordance with the decision of the assembly and the three tribes, both Thyssos' and Manitas' properties were handed over to Maussollos, while their estates were sold publicly.

6 Conclusions

The three Mylasian decrees further attest to the powerful position held by Maussollos and his family. Notwithstanding the presence of a certain degree of dissidence among the Karians, presumably within the elite, Mylasa demonstrated a high degree of loyalty towards the sovereign through the decisions of its ἐκκλησία and the τρεῖς φυλαί. It punished all actions – a failed overthrow (ll. 1-16), the desecration of a statue (ll. 17-31) and a murder attempt (ll. 32-50) – in a manner that was favourable to Maussollos, both politically and economically. The intricate connection between the *polis* and its ruler is further corroborated by the conclusions of the three texts (ll. 14-16, 29-31, 49-50), which are consistent across all three decrees: “but if anyone should violate these <provisions>, he shall be utterly destroyed, both he himself and all of his descendants” (εἰ δέ τις ταῦτα παραβαίνει, ἐξώλη γίνεσθαι καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνου πάντας).

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