

# ADALYA

27 2024



**AKMED**

KOÇ UNIVERSITY

Suna & İnan Kırac

Research Center for

Mediterranean Civilizations



27 2024

ISSN 1301-2746

# ADALYA

The Annual of the Koç University Suna & İnan Kıraç Research Center  
for Mediterranean Civilizations

(OFFPRINT)



# ADALYA

The Annual of the Koç University Suna & İnan Kırac Research Center  
for Mediterranean Civilizations (AKMED)

Adalya, a peer reviewed publication, is indexed in the A&HCI (Arts & Humanities Citation Index) – CC / A&H (Current Contents / Arts & Humanities), Social Sciences and Humanities Database of TÜBİTAK / ULAKBİM Tr Index, ERIH PLUS (European Reference Index for the Humanities and Social Sciences), Scopus, and Index Copernicus.

<i>Mode of publication</i>	Worldwide periodical
<i>Publisher certificate number</i>	18318
ISSN	1301-2746
<i>Publisher management</i>	Koç University Rumelifeneri Yolu, 34450 Sarıyer / İstanbul
<i>Publisher</i>	Metin Sitti, President, on behalf of Koç University
<i>Editor-in-chief</i>	Oğuz Tekin
<i>Editors</i>	Tarkan Kahya and Arif Yacı
<i>English copyediting</i>	Mark Wilson
<i>Editorial advisory board</i>	(Members serve for a period of five years) Emanuela Borgia, Università di Roma Sapienza (2021-2025) Ian Hodder, Koç Üniversitesi (2023-2027) Nevra Necipoğlu, Boğaziçi University (2023-2027) Fatih Onur, Akdeniz University (2023-2027) Christopher H. Roosevelt, Koç University (2021-2025) Mustafa H. Sayar, İstanbul University (2023-2027) M. Baha Tanman, İstanbul Research Institute (2024-2028) Peter van Alfen, American Numismatic Society (2023-2027)
©	Koç University AKMED, 2024
<i>Production</i>	Zero Production Ltd. Abdullah Sok. No. 17 Taksim 34433 İstanbul Tel: +90 (212) 244 75 21 • Fax: +90 (212) 244 32 09 info@zerobooksonline.com; www.zerobooksonline.com
<i>Printing</i>	Fotokitap Fotoğraf Ürünleri Paz. ve Tic. Ltd. Şti. Oruç Reis Mah. Tekstillent B-5 Blok No. 10-AH111 Esenler - İstanbul / Türkiye Certificate number: 47448
<i>Mailing address</i>	Barbaros Mah. Kocatepe Sok. No. 22 Kaleiçi 07100 Antalya / Türkiye Tel: +90 (242) 243 42 74 • Fax: +90 (242) 243 80 13 https://akmed.ku.edu.tr
<i>E-mail address</i>	adalya@ku.edu.tr

# Contents

F. Gülden Ekmen <i>A Vaulted Figurine from İnönü Cave: A New Link between the Balkans and Northwestern Türkiye</i> .....	1
Duygu Akar Tanriver – Serhat Foça <i>Archaic and Early Classical Trade Amphorae from Old Smyrna</i> .....	17
Utku Arınç – Fatma Bağdatlı Çam <i>The Heracles-Melqart Head from The Hatay Museum</i> .....	49
Candemir Zoroğlu – Ertekin M. Doksanaltı – D. Ozan Tozluca <i>The “Winged Woman of Burgaz”: A New Archaic Sculpture from the Territory of Knidos</i> .....	65
Uğurcan Orhan <i>A Group of Phaselis Type 3 Amphorae by the Base of the Phaselis Central Tower: A New Pottery Dumpster (Bothros) and Amphora Production Area</i> .....	85
Özlem Vapur – Abdulkadir Baran <i>An Underground Chamber Tomb with Serpent Relief in Ula, Muğla</i> .....	117
Gonca Cankardeş-Şenol – Oğuzhan İleri – A. Kaan Şenol <i>Stamped Amphora Handles from Kedreai</i> .....	145
Pınar Özlem Aytaçlar <i>New Funerary Monuments from Aizanoi</i> .....	169
Fatma Avcu – Hüseyin Uzunoğlu <i>New Inscriptions from Rough Cilicia</i> .....	193
Noah Kaye <i>In Search of Ancient Antalya (Attaleia): A First Approach</i> .....	211
Şevket Aktaş – Mustafa Koçak – Andrew Lepke – Feyzullah Şahin <i>Localizing and Reconstructing the Gymnasion of Patara. An Interdisciplinary Approach</i> .....	247
Nevzat Çevik <i>Kelbessos: A Military Settlement as Termessos’ Peripolion</i> .....	293
Hüseyin Köker – Esra Tütüncü <i>Coin Finds from the Surveys of Northern Pisidia and the Excavations at Timbriada and Zindan Monastery</i> .....	313

Güray Ünver	
<i>A New Thiasos from Mylasa: Thiasitai Heroistai of Ouliades, Son of Euthydemos</i> .....	335
Hava Keskin – Serdar Hakan Öztaner	
<i>Some Thoughts on the Julio-Claudian Period of Nysa ad Maeandrum in the Light of a     Private Portrait from the City</i> .....	347
Zeki Mete Aksan	
<i>A House Type Tomb in Sinope: A Neglected Burial from Paphlagonia</i> .....	363
Günder Varinlioğlu	
<i>Quarry Industry in Rough Cilicia: The Cases of Dana Island and Kesiktaş</i> .....	383
Mustafa Yıldızlı	
<i>Bricks and Roof Tiles of Alanya Castle: Evaluation of Animal Footprints from an     Ichnoarchaeological Perspective</i> .....	409
Fatma Şimşek – Damla Ayoğlu-Duman	
<i>The French Consulate and Trade in Antalya in the 17th Century</i> .....	429

## A New *Thiasos* from Mylasa: *Thiasitai Heroistai* of Ouliades, Son of Euthydemos

GÜRAY ÜNVER\*

### Abstract

This article presents a new funerary inscription on a stela from Mylasa. The stela was found in the area to the southeast of Esentepe during the sondage excavation held under the supervision of the Milas Museum in 2021. The text is the funerary inscription of 11 members of a *thiasos* who claimed to be buried together at the same place when they die. According to the inscription, Ouliades son of Euthydemos was heroized with divine honors after his death, and the *thiasos* was established in his honor. The members of the *thiasos* (Θιασεῖται Ἡρωῖσται) dedicated a *bomos* to the *heros* Ouliades on the street called “the street of Skorpon.” The *heros* Ouliades, who became the object of a cult, was the son of Euthydemos, the well-known leader of the city in the first half of the first century BC. Therefore the inscription is dated to the late first century BC - first century AD due to letter forms and prosopography.

**Keywords:** Mylasa, *thiasos*, *heros* cult, Ouliades son of Euthydemos, funerary inscription

### Öz

Bu makalede Mylasa'dan bir stel üzerinde yer alan yeni bir mezar yazıtı sunulmaktadır. Stel 2021 yılında Esentepe'nin güneydoğusundaki bölgede, Milas Müze Müdürlüğü denetiminde yürütülen sondaj kazıları sırasında ele geçmiştir. Yazıt metni, bir *thiasos*un öldüklerinde birlikte aynı yere gömülme talebinde bulunmuş 11 üyesinin mezar yazıtıdır. Yazıtta göre Euthydemos oğlu Ouliades, ölümünden sonra tanrısal onurlar ile onurlandırılmış ve *heros* Ouliades onuruna bir *thiasos* kurulmuştur. *Thiasos*un üyeleri (Θιασεῖται Ἡρωῖσται) “Skorpon'un caddesi” adı verilen caddede, *heros* Ouliades için bir *bomos* kutsayıp adanmışlardır. Onuruna bir *heros* kültü kurulmuş olan Ouliades, MÖ birinci yy.'ın ilk yarısında kentin lideri konumunda bulunan ünlü Euthydemos'un oğluydu. Bu nedenle yazıt, harf karakterleri ve prosopografya ışığında MÖ birinci yy. sonları - MS birinci yy.'a tarihlenmektedir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Mylasa, *thiasos*, *heros* kültü, Euthydemos oğlu Ouliades, mezar yazıtı

The stela was found in the Hacıaptı district of modern Milas during the sondage excavation held on an estate under the supervision of the Milas Museum in 2021.<sup>1</sup> The

\* Assoc. Prof. Dr. Güray Ünver, Muğla Sıtkı Koçman Üniversitesi, Edebiyat Fakültesi, Arkeoloji Bölümü, Muğla, Türkiye. E-mail: gunver@mu.edu.tr ; <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9397-7712>

<sup>1</sup> The epigraphical study on the stela was performed with the permission of the Directorate of Milas Museum, dated 16.02.2021 and numbered E-51034835-155.01-1136099. I would like to thank Ali Yalçın, the director of Milas Museum, and Mehmet Çelebi, the former director of Milas Museum, for the permission to study the inscription. Additionally, I am indebted to archaeologists Cemre Öztan Çetinkaya and Selçuk Karabağ, for their assistance during my studies at the Museum.

excavation area is approximately 100 meters southeast of Esentepe<sup>2</sup> near the southern slope.<sup>3</sup> Now the stele and its base are at the Milas Museum, Milas Uzunyuva Mausoleum and Museum Complex (Milas Müzesi, Milas Uzunyuva Anıt Mezarı ve Müze Kompleksi). Inv. No. 2021 / 10(A).

Description: White marble rectangular stele with three acroteria, two on the edges and one in the middle, on top and a tenon at bottom. The stele is well preserved and complete (fig. 1). There is *anathyrosis* on the left surface, while the back and the the right surfaces are rough (figs. 2-3).

The stele was found fallen on its side, with the original base as the tenon attached into the rectangular socket (0,16 m x 0,44 m; depth 0,17 m) on the white marble base (fig. 4).

Dimensions: (stele) H: 0,73 m; (with tenon) 0,88 m; W: 0,55 m; T: 0,145 m; LH: (lines 1-3) 0,018 m; (lines 4-19) 0,015-0,018 m; Omega 0,02 m; Phi 0,025 m.

(Tenon) H: 0,15 m; W: 0,39 m; T: 0,13 m.

(Base) H: (front) 0,34 m; (back) 0,27 m; W: 0,73 m; T: 0,69 m.

Date: late first century BC - first century AD (prosopography and letter forms).

- vac.* ἡρώων ἀγαθῶν. *vac.*  
 2 *v.* οἱ θιασεῖται Ἡρωῖσται *vac.*  
*v.* Οὐλιάδου *v.* τοῦ Εὐθυδήμου *v.*  
 4 ἥρωος καὶ τοῦ καθιερωθέντος ὑπ' αὐτῶν  
 βωμοῦ ἐν τῇ πλατῆα τῇ Σκόρπωνος  
 6 πρὸς τῷ κυθρίνω, κοινὸν κατεσκευ-  
 ασαν μ *v.* νῆμα γραμματεύοντος  
 8 Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Θευδᾶ *v.* ἐπὶ στεφανηφό-  
 ρου Ἀριστέου τοῦ Μυωνίδου· εἰσὶν δὲ  
 10 οἱ ὑπογεγραμ<μ>ένοι – Ἐκαταῖος – Ἄνδρο-  
 νίκου, – Πάμφιλος – Ἀριστέου, *vac.*  
 12 Νικόστρατος Φανίου, Θεόδοτος Μαρίω- *v.*  
 νος, Δωρόθεος Ἐκάτωνος, Συμμάχος  
 14 Μενίππου, Μενίππος Παμφίλου, – *vac.*  
 Δίφιλος Διοκλέους, – Διονύσιος Γρύλ-  
 16 λου, – Ἀριστείδης Ἱεροκλήους, – Μάρκος  
 Ἀντώνιος Οἰνοπίου – οἱ κατὰ προαίρεσιν *v.*  
 18 κοινῶς ζήσαντες καὶ ἀποθανόντες ἐν *v.*  
 ἐνὶ τόπῳ ὁμοῦ κείσθαι θέλοντες.

<sup>2</sup> The higher plain area called Esentepe was possibly a privileged part of the necropolis of Mylasa. A late Classic-early Hellenistic monumental chamber tomb with a dromos was found on Esentepe approximately 120 meters northwest of the findspot of the inscription during a salvage excavation held by the management of the Milas Museum in 2018. The chamber tomb was made of high-quality marble with fine craftsmanship; however, it is quite damaged. Also during another salvage excavation held in the vicinity of the monumental chamber tomb that same year, three rock tombs were documented. I would like to thank Cemre Öztan Çetinkaya for the information about the salvage excavations as well as Prof. Dr. Aytekin Büyükközer for the architectural evaluation and for the date of the monumental chamber tomb.

<sup>3</sup> During the excavation, a tile tomb made of stacked convex tiles (1.20 m as preserved x 0.45 m), seven soil (terracotta) pipes entwined together in upright position, and a marble block (1.23 m x 0.77 m x 0.20 m) possibly used as the cover of a sarcophagus-type tomb were also unearthed in the same sondage area. I would like to thank Cemre Öztan Çetinkaya for the information about these archaeological finds.



Translation: (The monument of) *heroes agathoi*. *Thiasitai Heroistai* (the members of the heroists society in honor) of *beros* Ouliades son of Euthydemos and of the *bomos* that consecrated by them, which was on the street of Skorpon near the hollow, have built a common monument, while Antiochos son of Theudas was *grammateus* (secretary) and Aristeas son of Myonides was *stephanephoros*; the persons whose names are written below are (in the tomb), Hekataios son of Andronikos, Pamphilos son of Aristeas, Nikostratos son of Phanios, Theodotos son of Marion, Dorotheos son of Hekaton, Symmachos son of Menippos, Menippos son of Pamphilos, Diphilos son of Diokles, Dionysios son of Gryllos, Aristeides son of Hierokles, Marcus Antonius Oinopion, the persons who lived in togetherness in accordance with devotion and claimed to be buried together at the same place when they die.

L. 1: The genitive expression *δαιμόνων ἀγαθῶν* is widely attested in funerary inscriptions from Mylasa<sup>4</sup> and Iasos,<sup>5</sup> thus the expression *ἡρώων ἀγαθῶν* should be an adapted form of *δαιμόνων ἀγαθῶν* in relation with a *beros* cult. Therefore the use of word *ἥρωος* instead of word *δαίμων* is possibly related with the religion of the persons who were buried in the tomb.

L. 2-4: *θιασεῖται Ἡρωῖστὰι Οὐλιάδου τοῦ Εὐθυδήμου ἥρωος*. The members of the *thiasos*<sup>6</sup> (heroists society) established in the honor and memory of the *beros* Ouliades son of Euthydemos.

Ouliades (Οὐλιάδης) is a frequently attested personal name in Karia. The name was possibly derived from Oulios (Οὔλιος),<sup>7</sup> the epithet of Apollon, the god of health and healing at Miletos and Delos.<sup>8</sup>

L. 4: The letter O of *ἥρωος* was omitted and written afterwards on the letter Σ.

L. 5: *ἐν τῇ πλατείᾳ τῆ Σκόρπωνος* = *ἐν τῇ πλατείᾳ τῆ Σκόρπωνος* “on the street of Skorpon”.

The street of Skorpon (*πλατεῖα ἢ Σκόρπωνος*) was not attested hitherto. The person Skorpon, after whom the street was named, is unknown. The personal name Skorpon (*Σκόρπων*) is a rare Greek name attested for the first time at Mylasa. The name is known from Rhodos<sup>9</sup> and also from Stratonikeia.<sup>10</sup>

An inscription from Mylasa, dated to first c. AD, mentions another street possibly from Mylasa:<sup>11</sup> *καθιέρωσαν τὸν βωμὸν οἱ ἐκ τῆς πλατεῖας τῆς Λ[ - - ]Α[- -]ΔΙΚΗΣ πρὸς τῷ | Ε[- -]ΒΩΜ[- -]ΣΟ πλατεῖται τε[ι][μῆ]ς χάριν Διονυσίδου τοῦ Δημητρίου ὀλυμπιονίκου, κτλ.* The inhabitants of a *πλατεῖα* have dedicated an altar to an emperor and Zeus Olympios in honor of Dionysides, who won wrestling at Olympia.

L. 6: *πρὸς τῷ κυθρίνω* = *πρὸς τῷ χυτρίνω*, “near the hollow.” Possibly near the street, the location where the *bomos* was built, there was a hollow with a spring in it. In the lexicon of Hesychios,<sup>12</sup> it is stated that *χυτρίνοι: τὰ κοῖλα τῆς γῆς, δι’ ὧν αἱ πηγαὶ ἀνιένται*.

<sup>4</sup> *IMylasa*, 428.(1-3); 429.(1) = (Blümel *et al.* 2014, 49, no. 38); 433.(1); 436.(1-2); 437.(1-2); 439.(1); 442.(1-2); 444.(1); 446.(1); 449.(1-2); 450.(1-2); 452.(1-2); 453.(1); 454.(1); 455.(1); 456.(1); 458.(1-2); 463.(1); 464.(1); 470.(1-2) = (Blümel *et al.* 2014, 48, no. 37); 471.(1); 473.(1); 474.(1); 477.(1-2); 487.(1); 479.(1); 480.(1); 483.(1); 484.(1); 487.(1); 488.(1); 489; 494.(1) = (*IMylasa* II, p. 5); 495.(1-2) = (*IMylasa* II, p. 5; Blümel *et al.* 2014, 48, no. 36); for the worship of *daimones agathoi*, see: *IMylasa*, 806.(3); 808.(4); 810.(2); 811.(3); 812.(3); 813.(2); 814.(3-4); 815.(3); 819.(2); 869.(9; 15); 870.(4-5); Blümel 1989, 7-8, no. 895.(3); see also: Blümel *et al.* 2014, 41-42.

<sup>5</sup> *I.Iasos*, 397.(1); 405.(1); 408.(1).

<sup>6</sup> For *thiasos* and *thiasitai*, see Foucart 1873, 55-84; Poland 1967, 16-28; Amaoutoglou 2003, 61-70.

<sup>7</sup> Zgusta 1964, 398 § 1163-3; *IMylasa* I, p. 25 (no. 101, app. cr. 26).

<sup>8</sup> Strab. 14.1.16 (C 635). According to Strabon, the verb *οὔλειν* means “to be healthy.”

<sup>9</sup> *SEG* 30, 1004 (second-first c. BC); see also *AD* 20 / B3 1965, 598.

<sup>10</sup> Pytheas Skorpon, the adoptive father of Tiberius Claudius Theophanes (first c. AD), see *I.Stratonikeia*, 1021.(3); *LGN VB*, 385 *s.v.* Σκόρπων, for the family see Laumonier 1937, 249, no. 47.

<sup>11</sup> *IMylasa*, 403.(2-7); *IMylasa* II, p. 4, cf. *ISmyrna*, 714.(1-2).

<sup>12</sup> Hsch., χ, 852. In Periplus Maris Rubri (mid. first c. AD), concerning the river Namnadios (Narmada) at India, *χυτρίνος* is used to define the deeper parts of the river: *οἱ δὲ κύθρινοι τόποι εἰσι τοῦ ποταμοῦ βαθύτεροι μέχρι Βαρυγάζων*, see *Peripl. M. Rubr.* 44, cf. *Geop.* 14.6.2: *κατασκευάζειν δὲ χρηὶ ἐν τοῖς τοίχοις καὶ νεοττίας πυκνάς, ἀπὸ ἐδάφους μέχρι τῆς ὀροφῆς, ὡς τινες καλοῦσι σηκοῦς, ἡμεῖς δὲ κυθρίνους ὀνομάζομεν, ἐν οἷς χρηὶ διάγειν καὶ τίκτειν τὰς ἐξευγμένας περιστερὰς*. In *Geoponica*, the word is used to define the holes in which the pigeons in pairs are to settle and to breed.

L. 6-7: θιασεῖται .... κοινὸν κατεσκεύασαν μνημα, “have built a common monument.” A letter (possibly H) was erroneously written between the letters M and N of the word μνημα, and the letter was deleted causing a *vacat* for one letter space.

In accordance with their devotion and the membership in the *thiasos*, the eleven members “claimed to be buried together at the same place when they die” as explained in detail in the following lines (17-19). The common monuments of the members of associations or various groups are widely attested at Kilikia in the Roman Imperial period.<sup>13</sup>

The original location of the κοινὸν μνημα (common monument) built by the θιασεῖται Ἡρωῖσταί for the eleven members is unknown. Since the stele was found with its original base, the monument was possibly erected in the vicinity of the findspot.

L. 7-8: The *grammateus* Antiochos son of Theudas is unknown. A person named Theudas son of Menes is known from Mylasa. This Theudas, son of Menes, was one of the persons who consecrated an altar to *beros* Gaius Iulius Hybreas, the high priest.<sup>14</sup> The identification of the Theudas, son of Menes, with Theudas, the father of Antiochos mentioned in our inscription, is possible.

L. 8-9: The *stephanephoros* Aristetas, son of Myonides, is unknown. A person named Aristetas, son of Myonides, is known from a honorary decree<sup>15</sup> (second - first c. BC) by the *koinon* of the people of Lagnokeis (τὸ κοινὸν τὸ Λαγνωκέων) from Kys. There is no evidence for a familial relationship or an identification with the person mentioned in our inscription.

L. 9: The letter Σ of Ἀριστέου was omitted and written afterwards on the letter T.

According to the inscription, Ouliades, son of Euthydemos, was heroized with divine honors after his death, and a *thiasos* - a voluntary religious association - was established in his honor. The members of the *heroists* society “*thiasos of worshippers of the beros*” (θιασεῖται Ἡρωῖσταί) dedicated a *bomos* to the *beros* Ouliades on “the street of Skorpon” near the hollow. The members of the *thiasos* also built a common monument for the eleven members who claimed to be buried together at the same place when they die.

Euthydemos, the father of the *beros* Ouliades, was a contemporary of Strabon. He mentions two notable men from Mylasa in his time, Euthydemos and Hybreas,<sup>16</sup> who were both orators<sup>17</sup> and leaders of the city. According to Strabon, Euthydemos had great wealth and high repute inherited from his ancestors who also added his own cleverness to these. He was regarded not only as a great man in his native land, but was also worthy of the foremost honor in Asia.<sup>18</sup> As long as Euthydemos lived, he strongly prevailed; he was powerful but at the same time useful to the city. Even if there was something tyrannical about him, it was atoned for by the fact that it was attended by what was good for the city.<sup>19</sup> In this connection, people applauded the statement of the orator Hybreas who stated towards the end of a public speech: “Euthydemos! You are an evil necessary to the city, for we can live neither with you nor without you.” One of the issues involving what was good for the city was perhaps the debts of the people to

<sup>13</sup> The inscriptions were compiled and reexamined with English translations recently, see Arnaoutoglou 2021, 83-116.

<sup>14</sup> *IMylasa*, 535.(6).

<sup>15</sup> Cousin and Deschamps 1887, 308-9, no. 2; *INordkarien*, 41.(4-5; 13).

<sup>16</sup> Strab. 14.2.24 (C 659).

<sup>17</sup> According to Strabon, Hybreas was the greatest orator of his time; see Strab. 13.4.15 (C 660).

<sup>18</sup> This statement of Strabon - οὐκ ἐν τῇ πατρίδι μόνον μέγας ἦν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ τῆς πρώτης ἡξιοῦτο τιμῆς - was identified with *asiarchia*; see Campanile 1997, 243; Delrieux and Ferriès 2004a, 54.

<sup>19</sup> According to Delrieux and Ferriès, his mode of government seems to be that of a benefactor “tyrant” who tolerates dispute; see Delrieux and Ferriès 2004a, 58; Fraser 2015, 55.

Cluvius of Puteoli in 52 - 51 BC.<sup>20</sup> Cicero, then the governor of Cilicia, wrote in a letter to Q. Minucius Thermus,<sup>21</sup> the governor of Provincia Asia, that when he was at Ephesos, he met Euthydemos.<sup>22</sup> There Euthydemos told Cicero that he would see that *ecdici* (ἔκδικοί) were sent from Mylasa to Rome, but that had not been done.<sup>23</sup> Cicero heard that legates had been sent, but in his letter he nominately stated that he preferred *ecdici* so that some settlement might be made. Therefore, by means of his relationship with Cicero, Euthydemos could have played a significant role in solving this important financial dispute.

According to Strabon,<sup>24</sup> Hybreas was an ambitious young man who had a mule-driver and a wood-carrying mule inherited from his father. After he became a pupil of Diotrophes of Antiocheia<sup>25</sup> for a short time, Hybreas came back to the city and began to apply himself to the affairs of state and to follow closely the speakers of the forum. Hybreas quickly grew in power and was already an object of amazement in the lifetime of Euthydemus. In particular, after his death, he became master of the city. When Q. Labienus invaded Asia Minor in 40 BC, Mylasa was under the rule of Hybreas who refused to yield and caused the city to revolt.<sup>26</sup>

Unlike Euthydemos, Hybreas was not a member of the civic elite.<sup>27</sup> However, he had enough power and support to dare to criticize Euthydemos - while he was alive - with ironic statements during a public speech. Despite the strong social opposition between the two orators, the transition of leadership over Mylasa, which only took place after the death of Euthydemos, was possibly smooth.<sup>28</sup> It must therefore fall in the years between 51 / 50 and 42 / 41 BC.<sup>29</sup> Inscriptions and ancient sources are silent about the reasons of this transition. In the period of financial crisis of the Greek cities of Asia<sup>30</sup> and the civil war between Pompeius and Caesar, the death of Euthydemos possibly constituted an opportunity and a backdrop.<sup>31</sup> Euthydemos had to work in concert with Pompeius for the profit of Mylasa during his leadership and was considered a leader linked with the Pompeian elite. On the other hand, young Hybreas was a newcomer to the political scene and therefore not associated with the Pompeian elite, thus he took the leadership following Caesar's victory.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>20</sup> M. Cluvius was a banker of Puteoli who made Cicero heir to a part of his property; see Cic. *Att.* 13.46. Besides the people of Mylasa, those of Alabanda, Herakleia, Bargylia and Kaunos also owed him money; see Cic. *Fam.* 13.56.

<sup>21</sup> Cic. *Fam.* 13.56. The letter was written in 51 or 50 BC, possibly in December 51; see Habicht 1984, 70.

<sup>22</sup> This meeting possibly took place in July 51 BC; see Habicht 1984, 70, n. 6; Delrieux and Ferrière 2004a, 59, n. 43.

<sup>23</sup> The Mylasians had difficulty in repaying their debt so they relied on the results of a new discussion. Furthermore, Euthydemos and the Mylasians had much to gain by delaying negotiations for reimbursement in the period of civil war between Pompeius and Caesar. So Euthydemos used every means to delay the negotiations. If Pompeius won the spoils of war, it would make him more generous; if he lost, the debt of Mylasa could be removed, see Delrieux and Ferrière 2004a, 62; Fraser 2015, 56. For details of the financial status of Mylasa during this period, see Delrieux and Ferrière 2004a, 59-62.

<sup>24</sup> Strab. 14.2.24 (C 660).

<sup>25</sup> Strabon mentions him as a famous sophist; see Strab. 13.4.15 (C 639).

<sup>26</sup> The other ruler who refused to yield and caused his city to revolt was Zenon of Laodikeia; see Strab. 14.2.24 (C 660). The people of Mylasa and Alabanda had accepted garrisons from Labienus. However, they murdered the soldiers on the occasion of a festival, and they revolted. Thus Labienus, after he captured the city, punished the people of Alabanda and razed Mylasa after it had been abandoned. Labienus also besieged Stratonikeia for a long time, but was unable to capture the city; see Dio Cass. 48.26.3-5.

<sup>27</sup> Habicht 1984, 69; Delrieux and Ferrière 2004a, 55-56; Fraser 2015, 54-55.

<sup>28</sup> Delrieux and Ferrière 2004a, 58-59; Fraser 2015, 55.

<sup>29</sup> Habicht 1984, 71 (50-42 BC); Delrieux and Ferrière 2004a, 54 (50-41 BC); Fraser 2015, 55 (51 / 50-42 BC).

<sup>30</sup> Delrieux and Ferrière 2004a, 60-63.

<sup>31</sup> Delrieux and Ferrière 2004a, 61-62; Fraser 2015, 55-56.

<sup>32</sup> Delrieux and Ferrière 2004a, 62; Fraser 2015, 56. Hybreas' age was possibly in the 40s when he took the leadership;

After his death, Euthydemos was honored with divine honors as an *heros* before his son Ouliades. L. Robert reported an unpublished inscription from Sinuri that mentions a priest of Sinuri,<sup>33</sup> and also the names of *heros* Euthydemos and *heros* Hybreas. Robert also suggested that a priest was assigned to the *heros* cult established in honor of Hybreas,<sup>34</sup> and the priest was common for the *heros* cult established in honor of Euthydemos.<sup>35</sup> The reason why Euthydemos received such an honor was possibly his actions providing benefits to his citizens,<sup>36</sup> including his efforts in solving the financial dispute with Cluvius.

In addition to the inscription reported by Robert, several inscriptions indicate that Gaius Iulius Hybreas was honored with divine honors as an *heros*.<sup>37</sup> There are possible reasons for the establishment of the *heros* cult for Hybreas. It could be related to his active participation in the reconstruction and recovery of the economy of Mylasa or to obtaining freedom for his city.<sup>38</sup> According to F. Delrieux and M.-C. Ferrière, the glory of Hybreas was, above all, patriotic. By his eloquence that crossed all borders, he represented the independence of the Greeks of Asia by telling his truths to M. Antonius<sup>39</sup> and Q. Labienus, the oppressors of the city.<sup>40</sup>

Ouliades was the son of Euthydemos, the leader of the city who was heroized after his death. The names of the father and the wife of Euthydemos - in other words, names of the grandfather and the mother of Ouliades - are unknown.<sup>41</sup> Ouliades was the only famous son or possibly the only son of Euthydemos, since it is unknown if he had a brother or a sister. Ouliades, son of Euthydemos, was honored with divine honors, and a cult was established in his honor. The reason for the establishment of this cult is unknown. As the son of the former leader of the city, he should have taken responsibility during the period of financial crisis<sup>42</sup>

---

see Delrieux and Ferrière 2004b, 509, n. 157. In several inscriptions, Hybreas, son of Leon, is mentioned with the *trianomina* Gaius Iulius Hybreas; see *I.Mylasa*, 534.(1-2); 535.(1-2); 536.(1-3). Hybreas could have received citizenship from Caesar or, more probably, from Octavianus; see Delrieux and Ferrière 2004a, 63; Fraser 2015, 56-57, cf. Holtheide 1983, 28; Sartre 1995, 163; Bertrand 1997, 840.

<sup>33</sup> Robert 1935, 335; Delrieux and Ferrière 2004a, 53; Delrieux and Ferrière 2004b, 514, n. 12.

<sup>34</sup> Robert 1966, 419-20 (= Robert 1989b, 43-44), see also Robert 1974, 103.

<sup>35</sup> Robert 1989a, 53; Fraser 2015, 55, n. 164; 59; Delrieux and Ferrière 2004a, 38.

<sup>36</sup> Fraser 2015, 60.

<sup>37</sup> *Heros* Gaius Iulius Hybreas, son of *heros* Leon; see *I.Mylasa*, 534.(1-2) = (Delrieux and Ferrière 2004b, 509); 535.(1-2) = (Delrieux and Ferrière 2004b, 510); 536.(1-3) = (Delrieux and Ferrière 2004b, 510; Blümel *et al.* 2014, 33, no. 19); see also Delrieux and Ferrière 2004b, 509-10 (French translation). For the title "high priest by descent" (ἄρχιερεὺς διὰ γένους) mentioned in the inscriptions, see Delrieux and Ferrière 2004b, 513, n. 170. The *heros* title of Leon, the father of Hybreas, was related with the glory and the honors of his son; see Delrieux and Ferrière 2004a, 55, n. 19. For the homonymous son of Gaius Iulius Hybreas, see Sen. *Suas.* 4.5; 7.14; also Habicht 1984, 71.

<sup>38</sup> Delrieux and Ferrière 2004b, 504, n. 129; Fraser 2015, 59.

<sup>39</sup> Plut. *Ant.* 24.5-6.

<sup>40</sup> Delrieux and Ferrière 2004b, 514; Fraser 2015, 59.

<sup>41</sup> In the honorary decree (ca. 76 BC) by the phyle of Otokondeis for Hiatrokles of Tarkondara, son of Demetrios, a person who held the office of *stephanephoros* named Ouliades, son of Sibilos and adopted son of Euthydemos son of Theoxenos, is mentioned; see *I.Mylasa*, 109.(1); *I.Mylasa* II, p. 1. For Euthydemos, son of Theoxenos, and the other possible members of this family, see *I.Mylasa*, 207.(5); 207.B.(8-9); 801.(4-7); 803.(4-5); 804.(4-6); 814.(5); 816B.(1-2). There is no evidence for a familial relationship between the members of this family with Ouliades, son of Euthydemos, mentioned in our inscription.

<sup>42</sup> The letter of a Roman official to Mylasa (?) contains the reasons and the extent of the public debt of Mylasa after the ravages of Q. Labienus (after 39 BC); see Sherk 1969, 308-9, no. 59; *I.Mylasa*, 601. The text was reexamined and restored by F. Canali De Rossi; see Canali De Rossi 2000, 178-81 (Italian translation); Delrieux and Ferrière 2004b, 500-1 (French translation). According to Canali De Rossi, the letter could be identified as a letter from M. Antonius, the triumvir who held control of the eastern provinces, to a praefectus or to the governor of Asia; see Canali De Rossi 2000, 180-81; Delrieux and Ferrière 2004b, 501-2.

and reconstruction of the city after the ravage of Labienus. The letter of Octavianus<sup>43</sup> to the Mylasians, which was a response to a Mylasian embassy, describes the situation of the city (lines 12-19): Many citizens were put to death, and some burned with the city. The cruelty of the enemies caused them neither to refrain from plundering temples nor the most sacred sanctuaries. The countryside was also pillaged, and the farms were burned. The names of the members of the embassy are not preserved in the inscription, except the one written in the first place (line 10): Ouliad[es], however, the patronymic is not preserved. This Ouliades, the leader of the embassy, is possibly Ouliades son of Euthydemos.<sup>44</sup> The end of the letter (lines 20-24) of Octavianus probably contains a promise to grant some favors to the city. Thus Ouliades, son of Euthydemos, was possibly the main author of the favors of Octavianus as the leader of the embassy.

In an inscription from Mylasa a person named Ouliades,<sup>45</sup> one of the persons who sailed out to Gaius (line 2), was praised and crowned according to the *nomos aristeios*, because of his love of honor and goodwill towards his country (lines 56-59). One can suggest that the identification of the Ouliades honored in the inscription with Ouliades, son of Euthydemos, is possible.<sup>46</sup> Therefore, if this identification is correct, the Gaius to whom he sailed out, should be Gaius Iulius Octavianus.

Ouliades had great wealth and a high reputation inherited from his father Euthydemos and his ancestors. The traces of possible evidence indicate that he was an *euergetes* of the city; as the most eminent member of the wealthy elite, Ouliades, son of Euthydemos, played an active role in the city's recovery process and also in the relations with Rome.

The date of the death of Ouliades is unknown. He was possibly young when his father died in a year between 51 / 50 - 42 / 41 BC. However, in 39 or 31 BC, during his leadership of embassy to Octavianus, he was possibly at least in his 30s. Thus, one can suggest that Ouliades should have been died towards the end of the first century BC or in the beginning of the first century AD.

Ouliades had a son named Menandros who was honored as "benefactor of his country and descendant of benefactors"<sup>47</sup> by the *demos* with a honorary column - possibly supported the honorific statue of Menandros - at the eastern side of the podium on the axis of the entrance of the *Hekatomneion* at Uzunyuva.<sup>48</sup> Thus, after Euthydemos and his son Ouliades, Menandros son of Ouliades was an *euergetes* of the city, worthy of the reputation of his ancestors.

<sup>43</sup> *I.Mylasa*, 602; see also Sherk 1969, 310-12, no. 60. The inscription was restored by Canali De Rossi; see Canali De Rossi 2000, 172-78 (with Italian translation); Delrieux and Ferrière 2004b, 501-2 (with French translation); Demir 2019, 184-85. The letter of Octavianus was traditionally dated to 31 BC due to the mention of his consulate designatus for the third time: ὑπατός τε τὸ τρίτον καθεσταμένος (line 2-3). F. Canali De Rossi suggests that the letter could be dated back to 39 BC; see Canali De Rossi 2000, 177; Delrieux and Ferrière 2004b, 501-2.

<sup>44</sup> Habicht 1984, 72; Canali De Rossi 2000, 177; Delrieux and Ferrière 2004b, 502.

<sup>45</sup> *I.Mylasa*, 101.

<sup>46</sup> Canali De Rossi 2000, 177.

<sup>47</sup> *I.Mylasa*, 402 (after 40 BC, possibly the reign of Augustus); see also Rumscheid 2010, 69-83. For the date, see Rumscheid 2010, 70; Kizil 2020, 128-32; 153-154.

<sup>48</sup> According to F. Rumscheid, "this monument signified an almost unprecedented honour, while simultaneously demonstrating to what extent the citizens expected future benefits from Menandros, the offspring of one of Mylasa's wealthiest families"; see Rumscheid 2010, 100. In accordance with the privileged position of the column at *Hekatomneion*, A. Kizil suggests that Euthydemos was possibly a descendant of the Hekatomnid family; see Kizil 2020, 154.

## Bibliography

### Ancient Sources

- Dio Cass. (Cassius Dio, *Rhomaika*) Dio Cassius. *Roman History*. Vols. I-IX, translated by E. Carry - H.B. Foster. Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1914-1927.
- Cic. *Att.* (M. Tullius Cicero, *Epistulae ad Atticum*) *Letters to Atticus*. Vols. I-IV, translated by D.R.S. Bailey, Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1999.
- Cic. *Fam.* (M. Tullius Cicero, *Epistulae ad Familiares*) *Letters to Friends*. Vols. I-III, translated by D.R.S. Bailey. Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 2001.
- Geop. (*Geoponika*) Geoponica. *Agricultural Pursuits*, translated by T. Owen. London: W. Spilsbury, 1805.
- Hsch. (Hesychios, *Lexicon*) *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon*. Vol. IV, T-Ω, edited by K. Alpers and I.C. Cunningham. Sammlung griechischer und lateinischer Grammatiker 11-4. Berlin / New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2009.
- Peripl. M. Rubr. (Periplus Maris Rubri, *Erythraei*) *The Periplus Maris Erythraei: Text with Introduction, Translation, and Commentary*, translated by L. Casson. Princeton / New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2012.
- Plut. *Ant.* (Plutarchos, *Antonius*) Plutarch. *Lives*. Vol. IX, *Demetrius and Antony. Pyrrhus and Gaius Marius*, translated by B. Perrin. Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1920.
- Sen. *Suas.* (L. Annaeus Seneca, *Suasoriae*) Seneca the Elder. *Declamations*. Vol. II, *Controversiae, Books 7-10; Suasoriae. Fragments*, translated by M. Winterbottom. Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1974.
- Strab. (Strabon, *Geographika*) Strabo. *Geography*. Vols. I-VIII, translated by H. L. Jones, Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1917-1932.

### Modern Works

- ArchDelt 20/B3. *Archaiologikon deltion*. Vol. 20, 1965, Meros B' 3, Chronika.
- Arnautoglou, I.N. 2003. *Thusias beneka kai sunousias. Private religious associations in Hellenistic Athens*. Athens: Academy of Athens.
- Arnautoglou, I.N. 2021. "Socii monumenti in roman Cilicia?" In *APETHN THN KAAAIΣTHN. Mélanges en l'honneur de Kalliopi A. Bourdara*, edited by I.E. Tzamtzis, P. Antonopoulos and Ch. Stavarakos, 79-124. Athens / Thessaloniki: Sakkoula.
- Bertrand, J.-M. 1997. "Rome et la Méditerranée Orientale au Ier siècle avant J.-C." In *Rome et la conquête du monde méditerranéen (264-27 av. J.-C.)*. Vol. 2, *Genèse d'un empire*. edited by Cl. Nicolet, 789-845. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
- Blümel, W. 1989. "Neue Inschriften aus der Region von Mylasa (1988) mit Nachträgen zu I.K. 34-35." *EpigAnat* 13:1-15.
- Blümel, W., R. van Bremen, and J.-M. Carbon. 2014. *A Guide to Inscriptions in Milas and its Museum*. Istanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları.
- Campanile, M.D. 1997. "Un nuovo asiarca da Milasa." *ZPE* 119:243-44.
- Canali De Rossi, F. 2000. "Tre epistole di magistrati romani a città d'Asia." *EpigAnat* 32:163-181.
- Cousin, G., and G. Deschamps. 1887. "Emplacement et ruines de la ville de Kys en Carie." *BCH* 11:305-11.
- Delrieux, F., and M.-C. Ferrière. 2004a. "Euthydème, Hybréas et Mylasa: une cité grecque de Carie dans les conflits romains de la fin du I<sup>er</sup> siècle a.C. (première partie)." *RÉA* 106.1:49-71.
- Delrieux, F., and M.-C. Ferrière. 2004b. "Euthydème, Hybréas et Mylasa: une cité grecque de Carie dans les conflits romains de la fin du I<sup>er</sup> siècle a.C. (deuxième partie)." *RÉA* 106.2:499-515.
- Demir, M. 2019. "Q. Labienus Parthicus'un MÖ 40/39 yılında Mylasa'yı Yıkması ve Kentin Yeniden İmar Süreci Üzerine Değerlendirmeler." *Phaselis* 5:175-96.

- Foucart, P. 1873. *Des Associations religieuses chez les grecs: Thiasos, Eranes, Orgéons, avec le texte des inscriptions relatives à ces associations*. Paris: Chez Klincksieck.
- Fraser, I.-S. 2015. "Le culte des citoyens bienfaiteurs dans les cités grecques d'Asie Mineure au I<sup>er</sup> siècle a.C. Fondements culturels et sociopolitiques." Master's thesis, Laval University, Quebec.
- Habicht, Chr. 1984. "Zur Personenkunde des griechisch-römischen Altertums." *BASP* 21.1.4: 69-75.
- Holtheide, B. 1983. *Römische Bürgerrechtspolitik und römische Neubürger in der Provinz Asia*. Freiburg: Hochschul Verlag.
- Kızıl, A. 2020. "Uzuniyuva Kutsal Alanı ve Hekatomneion Mimarisi: The Sacred Precinct of Uzuniyuva and the Architecture of the Hekatomneion." In *Mylasa Uzuniyuva Hekatomneion'u: Uzuniyuva Hekatomneion in Mylasa*, edited by A. Diler, 115-97. Istanbul: Ege Yayınları.
- Laumonier, A. 1937. "Recherches sur la chronologie des prêtres de Panamara." *BCH* 61:236-98.
- Poland, F. 1967. *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens*. Leipzig: Zentralantiquariat d. DDR.
- Robert, L. 1935. "Rapport Sommaire sur un Premier Voyage en Carie." *AJA* 39.3:331-40.
- Robert, L. 1966. "Inscriptions d'Aphrodisias, Première partie." *AntCl* 35.2:377-432.
- Robert, L. 1974. *Opera minora selecta. épigraphie et antiquités grecques*. Vol. 4. Amsterdam: A. M. Hakkert.
- Robert, L. 1989a. *Opera minora selecta. épigraphie et antiquités grecques*. Vol. 5. Amsterdam: A. M. Hakkert.
- Robert, L. 1989b. *Opera minora selecta. épigraphie et antiquités grecques*. Vol. 6. Amsterdam: A. M. Hakkert.
- Rumscheid, F. 2010. "Maussollos and the 'Uzun Yuva' in Mylasa: An Unfinished Proto-Maussolleion at the Heart of a New Urban Centre?" In *Hellenistic Karia, Proceedings of the First International Conference on Hellenistic Karia*, Oxford, 29 June - 2 July 2006, edited by R. van Bremen and J.-M. Carbon, 69-121. Bordeaux: Ausonius; Diffusion De Boccard.
- Sartre, M. 1995. *L'Asie Mineure et l'Anatolie d'Alexandre à Dioclétien (IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. / III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C.)*. Paris: A. Colin.
- Sherk, R. 1969. *Roman Documents from the Greek East. Senatus Consulta and Epistulae to the Age of Augustus*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press.
- Zgusta, L. 1964. *Kleinasiatische Personennamen*. Monografie orientálního Ústavu 19. Prag: Tschechoslowakische Akademie der Wissenschaften.

### Standard Reference Works

- I.Iasos*. Blümel, W., ed. 1985. *Die Inschriften von Iasos*. Part 1-2. IK 28.1-2. Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt.
- I.Mylasa*. Blümel, W., ed. 1987-1988. *Die Inschriften von Mylasa*. Part 1-2. IK 34-35. Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt.
- I.Nordkarien*. Blümel, W., ed. 2018. *Die Inschriften aus Nordkarien*. IK 71. Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt.
- I.Smyrna*. Petzl, G., ed. 1982-1990. *Die Inschriften von Smyrna*. 2 vols. IK 23-24.1-2. Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt.
- I.Stratonikeia*. Şahin, M.Ç., ed. 1981-2010. *Die Inschriften von Stratonikeia*. Part 1-3. IK 21-22.1-2-68. Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt.
- IGPN VB*. Balzat, J.S., R.W.V. Catling, É. Chiricat, F. Marchand, and Th. Corsten. eds. 2013. *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*. Vol. V.B, *Coastal Asia Minor: Caria to Cilicia*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Makale Geliş / Received : 25.10.2023

Makale Kabul / Accepted : 21.02.2024

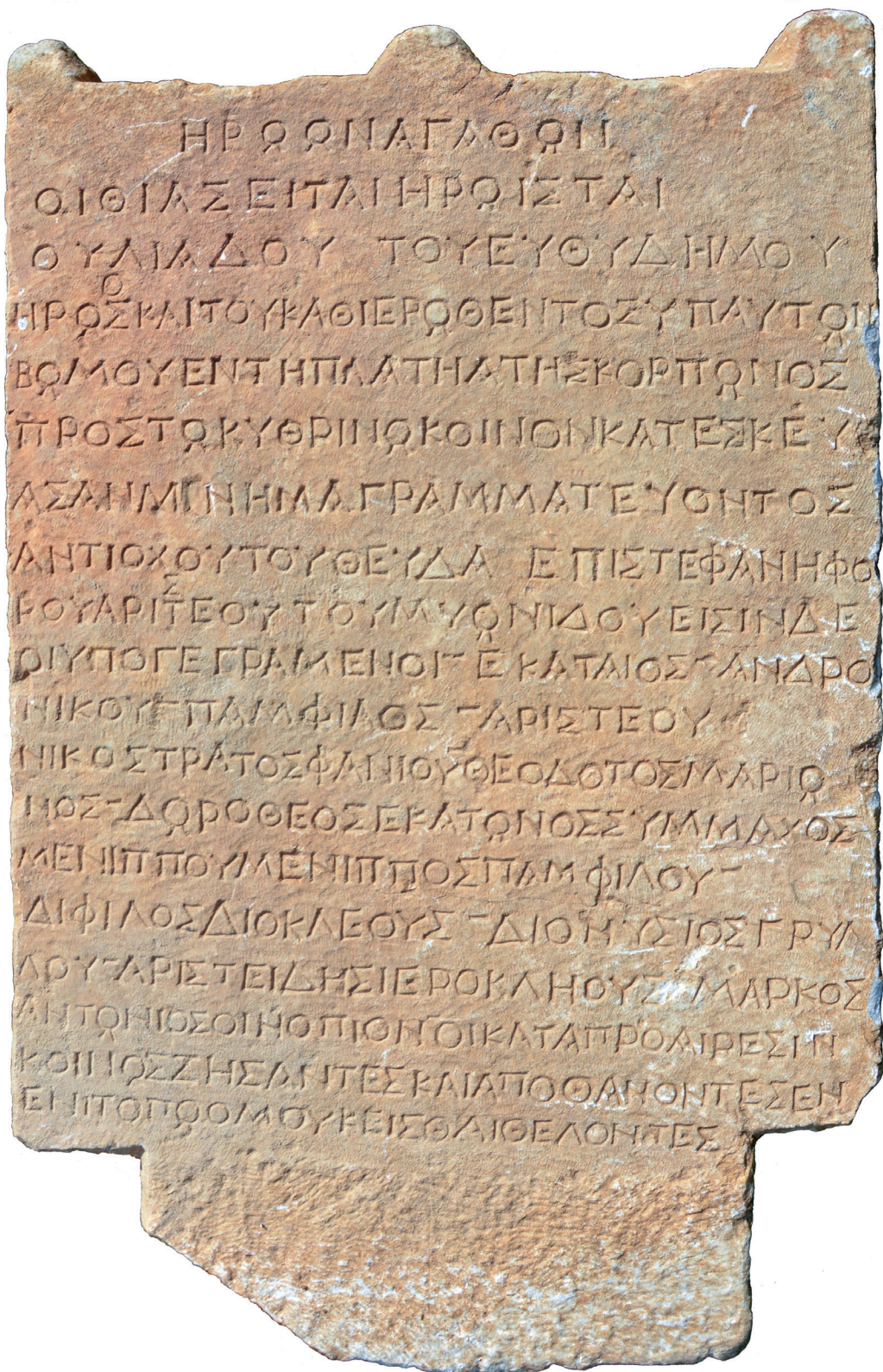


FIG. 1 The stele and the inscription.





FIG. 2 The stele with the original base (front).



FIG. 3 The stele with the original base (back).



FIG. 4 The stele and the base as found (Milas Museum archive).





