

**Synoikism, Sympolity, and Urbanization:
A Regional Approach in Hellenistic Anatolia**

by

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Dedication

To my grandparents, Judith and Stephen Oroszlan.

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List of Abbreviations

<i>CIG</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i>
<i>FrGrH</i>	<i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker.</i> Jacoby 1923-1962.
<i>HTC</i>	<i>Les Hautes terres de Carie.</i> Debord and Varinlioğlu 2001.
<i>IG</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i>
<i>IGR</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes</i>
<i>I. Arykanda</i>	<i>Die Inschriften von Arykanda.</i> Şahin, S.
<i>I. Erythrai/Klazomenai</i>	<i>Die Inschriften von Erythrai und Klazomenai.</i> Engelmann and Merkelbach.
<i>I. Ilion</i>	<i>Die Inschriften von Ilion.</i> Frisch.
<i>I. Keramos</i>	<i>Die Inschriften von Keramos.</i> Varinlioğlu.
<i>I. Magnesia</i>	<i>Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander.</i> Kern.
<i>I. Magnesia on the Sipylus</i>	<i>Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Sipylus.</i> Ihnken.
<i>I. Milet</i>	<i>Milet. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen seit dem Jahr 1899;</i> <i>Inschriften von Milet.</i> Herrmann et al.
<i>I. Mylasa</i>	<i>Die Inschriften von Mylasa.</i> Blümel.
<i>I. Priene</i>	<i>Die Inschriften von Priene.</i> Hiller von Gaertringen.
<i>I. Smyrna</i>	<i>Die Inschriften von Smyrna.</i> Petzl.
<i>I. Stratonikeia</i>	<i>Die Inschriften von Stratonikeia.</i> Şahin, M. Ç.

<i>OGIS</i>	<i>Oriens Graeci inscriptiones selectae.</i> Dittenberger 1903-1904.
<i>OMS</i>	<i>Opera Minora Selecta.</i> Robert.
<i>SEG</i>	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i>
<i>SNG</i>	<i>Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum.</i> von Aulock.
<i>Syll³</i>	<i>Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum.</i> 3 rd ed.
<i>TAM</i>	<i>Tituli Asiae Minoris</i>

Abstract

The Hellenistic period, the time after the death of Alexander the Great in 323 BCE up until the Roman conquest in the 1st c. BCE to 1st c. CE, has been defined as one of constant war. The successors of Alexander the Great divided the conqueror's territories in the eastern Mediterranean and Middle East and fought with one another in efforts to legitimize their kingdoms. The period was, however, also one of great growth, as the Hellenistic kings refounded cities for their own political agendas, and the new territories offered opportunities of connections and trade. By examining urbanization within the Hellenistic period, it is possible to not only examine the political motives of the Hellenistic kings, but also the roles of the local communities involved, particularly the local elite.

This dissertation focuses on the agency of the local elite in Hellenistic urbanization in western Anatolia by examining two processes: *synoikism* (when settlements combine to form a city) and *sympolity* (when two cities share a political system). Traditional approaches to synoikism and sympolity have focused on the roles of the Hellenistic kings, particularly in forced synoikisms in which settlements were moved to make new cities, because of the textual sources that describe such forced migrations. The epigraphic and literary sources, however, may make overstated or exaggerated claims about the kings' roles in these alliances. Additionally, some of these alliances may not be documented in surviving texts. I examine the role of the local elite within synoikism and sympolity through an archaeological perspective in a series of case studies with and without textual attestations of the alliances. I use survey and excavation data to examine if and how settlement patterns actually changed, and I consider the agency of the local elite

within these alliances through evidence of funerary monuments, sanctuary dedications, resource extraction, and agricultural exploitation. I argue that the local elite were relying upon their pre-existing peer network to make formal alliances in response to major political and environmental changes, and I provide a model in which they were using urbanization to create new networks and appeal to the Hellenistic kingdoms. The case studies in Anatolia show that a range of settlement movement outcomes are possible for synoikism and sympolity, but in all examples the local elites had roles in these processes.

Chapter 1: Introduction

The main inspiration for this dissertation is my interest in why and how people build cities. What are the benefits of coming together to live in denser populations? How do communities decide on the right time to build a new urban center? What are the factors that contribute to urbanization, including governments and environmental situations? I am particularly interested in so-called bottom-up approaches to urbanization which examine how local communities contribute to this process in contrast to top-down approaches, which focus on how supra-local entities found cities in pursuit of independent political agendas. In cases in which both local communities and supra-local entities are involved, I have great interest in the ways local communities advocate for their interests.

My dissertation examines these questions through a case study of the region of western Anatolia (modern Turkey) during the Hellenistic period (late 4th c. to 1st c. BCE, with some examples extending into the early Roman period in the 1st c. CE). I specifically examine the roles of two types of alliances within Hellenistic urbanization, *synoikism* (when settlements combine to form a city) and *sympolity* (when two cities share a political system but do not necessarily unite physically). These definitions are based on modern historians' definitions of how the Greek terms are used in ancient texts, but as I will explain in Chapter 2, there are a variety of outcomes in settlement development and political gains resulting from synoikism and sympolity and thus the above definitions are not so rigid.

Synoikism and sympolity are not unique to the Hellenistic period, but they are phenomena that are strongly concentrated in the literary and epigraphic records for Hellenistic

Anatolia. This dissertation thus focuses on the Hellenistic period in western Anatolia for examining these processes because of these records as well as the rapid growth in urbanization in the region following Alexander the Great's conquest. Traditional approaches to synoikism and sympolity tend to focus on the top-down processes that contribute to these alliances, such as Lysimachos' forced synoikism of the communities around Ephesos for the foundation of the new city of Ephesos-Arsinoeia as described in the writings by Strabo and Pausanias.¹ There is also some textual evidence, however, for the agency of the local communities, as represented by the male, citizen elite. One of the most helpful and complete examples is the correspondence between the Attalid King Eumenes II and the citizens of Tyriaion in Phrygia, preserved in an inscription. In the letters, the king discusses the synoikism of the city and grants Tyriaion city status after the territory had been incorporated into the Attalid Kingdom as a result of the Treaty of Apamea in 188 BCE. Although in the letters Eumenes II asserts that he is the one providing city status to Tyriaion, he also writes that the grant was a result of the community's request for such status to the king.² The inscription shows that local communities (more precisely, the elite male citizens of local communities) had agency within the processes of synoikism and sympolity and were advocating for their cities' recognition by larger imperial structures.

Given the scant preservation of textual records, however, the Tyriaion inscription is an exceptional piece of evidence for local community agency within these processes. The principal

¹ Pausanias 1.97, 7.3.4-5; Strabo 14.1.21

² Also known as Toriaion. Jonnes and Riel 1997; *SEG* 47.1745; *TAM* V.2 1187. More on the possible location of Tyriaion in Chapter 7. Eumenes II says in the letter, "Your men Antigeneis, Brennos, Heliades, whom you sent to congratulate us... and to request, because of the good-will you have for our state, to grant you a city constitution..." and "I grant both you and those living with you in fortified places to organize yourselves into one citizen body and to use your own laws." Lines 3-9; 24-28. Translation from Jonnes and Riel 1997: 4.

χαίρειν οἱ παρ' ὑμῶν ἄνδρες Ἀντιγένης, [Β]ρέννος, Ἡλιάδης, οὓς ἐπέμψατε συνησθησομένους μὲν ἡμῖν... δὲ δι' ἣν εἰς τὰ ἡμέτερα πράγματα ἔχετε εὖνοϊαν ἐπιχωρηθῆναι ὑμῖν πολιτείαν...

Ὅμως δὲ διὰ τὴν εὖν[ο]ϊαν ἣν ἔχετε πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ τοῖς μεθ' ὑμῶν συνοικοῦσιν ἐν χωρίοις εἰς ἓν πολίτευμα συνταχ[θ]ῆναι καὶ νομοῖς

aim of this study is to investigate whether the roles of the local communities in urbanization processes such as synoikism and sympolity can be identified by using another class of evidence, namely the archaeological record. I explore this issue in a series of case studies in western Anatolia, some with and some without accompanying textual evidence.

In particular, I draw on archaeological survey data in various regions of western Anatolia to see how settlement patterns change before, during, and after the Hellenistic period. When I originally proposed this project, I was particularly interested in whether or not archaeological survey data revealed nucleation of prior settlements around newly founded and newly renovated cities in the Hellenistic period. As I examined the data and started exploring my case studies, however, I became more interested in the stories of the people behind the changes in settlement patterns, rather than the quantitative process of counting and comparing sites. In addition, it appears that for certain areas, while there was settlement nucleation at one level, such as two comparable sites combining into one, there was also contemporary settlement dispersion at another level, such as increase in second-order farmsteads or villages in the countryside. Thus, instead of trying to discern overall patterns of growth or nucleation in connection with synoikism in western Anatolia, I examine the archaeological and textual evidence for a series of microhistories: stories of urbanization and local elites at specific urban sites. In this way, I can recover the agency of the local elites by telling the stories of their actions through their material culture (such as funerary monuments, ceramic production, and sanctuary evidence) as well as settlement patterns, as opposed to trying to write a master narrative of synoikism and sympolity based solely on settlement patterns. Indeed, as I will show through the various case studies, the attempt to compose such a master narrative is bound to fail given the variety of possible outcomes in instances of synoikism and sympolity, including the physical movements of one or

more communities; the movement of a community to a new site followed by a return to its original site; and the partial but not total movement of a community from one site to another. Throughout the dissertation, I examine the various degrees of evidence for over 45 major archaeological sites (most of which are urban sites but also include some sanctuaries with evidence related to the nearby urban sites).

In the scope of a dissertation-length study, it is not possible to examine every single example of synoikism and sympolity found in the textual sources, especially if one also wants to examine archaeologically attested cases of urbanization for which no textual evidence for synoikism and sympolity survives. So instead of selecting case studies on the basis of the textual evidence and then going through those examples one by one, I structured my case studies around the available archaeological survey data for urban sites and their surrounding territories within six regions of Anatolia: Ionia; Karia; Lycia; Kabalia; Pisidia; and Pergamon and its territory (which includes parts of Mysia and Aiolis as well as Lydia and Phrygia after the Treaty of Apamea in 188 BCE). Criteria for choosing the specific microhistories within each region included the amount of available, published survey data and a diversity of geographic locations within each region.

Key to my study is how local elites not only negotiated in their own interests with the Hellenistic rulers, but also how they interacted with one another to establish the networks on which that they then relied to make formal synoikism and sympolity alliances. To investigate these local elite networks, I follow historian J. Ma in adapting the framework of the peer polity interaction model, which posits that the various modes of contact of comparable social groups drive socio-political change and produce inter-connected networks. I examine archaeological evidence for local elites including funerary monuments, dedications at sanctuaries, and resource

extraction, concentrating on possible shared cultural interaction among different groups of local elites, such as shared materials and modes of self-representation. If textual sources for synoikism and sympolity exist, I examine them through the lens of local elite agency to understand what roles elites played in these urbanization processes. Through these microhistories, I show how local elites relied upon pre-existing networks during times of major political and environmental change to make formal alliances, in some cases leading to new urban foundations, in others building upon previously founded cities. The local elites did so to incorporate themselves more effectively into the new Hellenistic world established by the Hellenistic kingdoms. At the same time, the local elites maintained some traditions and symbols of identity following urban developments.

In addition, to balance the qualitative investigations of synoikism and sympolity through the microhistories in each region, I have also compiled an appendix of all known (and possible) synoikism and sympolity alliances from the textual and archaeological evidence in western Anatolia as well as some of the surrounding Aegean islands from the late Classical to Roman periods. The appendix includes the sites involved; the source(s) for the alliances; and the relevant modern scholarship resources. This addition to my dissertation serves as a quantitative measure of synoikism and sympolity alliances within this area, and I hope that it will serve as a useful tool for future investigations of these phenomena, since no comprehensive list existed until now.

In terms of the structure of my dissertation, the first chapter following this introduction examines various historical and theoretical perspectives on Hellenistic urbanism (Chapter 2). It provides further background information on the Hellenistic period and develops the ideas presented in this introduction. In particular, it offers fuller definitions on the concepts of urbanization, synoikism, and sympolity, reviews the relevant scholarship, and considers the

value and the limitations of both textual and archaeological evidence for analyzing the roles of local elites in urbanization processes. It also explains my use of the peer polity interaction model in detail and introduces other theories that I apply, including anthropological migration and mobility theories to consider the iterative movements before, during, and after synoikism and sympolity.

The next five chapters (Chapters 3-7) examine case studies in the following regions: Ionia (Chapter 3); Karia (Chapter 4); Lycia and Kabalia (Chapter 5); Pisidia (Chapter 6); and Pergamon and Its Territory (Chapter 7). I start with Ionia due to the prevalence of synoikism and sympolity examples in the region as attested in textual sources (e.g., the case of Ephesos mentioned above). The textual evidence emphasizes the roles of kings, but examination of relevant archaeological evidence reveals the local elite agency within these alliances in the wake of both political and environmental change, such as the siltation of the Maeander River.

Chapter 4, on Karia, focuses on examples of sympolity agreements, also attested in textual sources. Investigation of a number of case studies reveals the diversity of outcomes in sympolity agreements; sympolities, like synoikisms, could result in temporary or permanent changes in regional settlement patterns. The examples in Karia also show the diversity of texts in which sympolity is attested, from inscriptions documenting political agreements between two cities, to coinages minted jointly by two cities, and funerary inscriptions that shed light upon an individual's citizen status. I provide alternative narratives to royal influence in urbanization, particularly for Stratonikeia, and I examine how local elites could benefit from these alliances not only in terms of political and city status, but also economically as in the case of the sympolity between the Karian Chersonesos and Rhodes.

For Chapter 5, I decided to combine Lycia and Kabalia into one chapter due to the two regions' proximity: in Roman times, most of Kabalia was integrated into the Roman province of Lycia et Pamphylia. In this chapter, I examine case studies without textual evidence for synoikism and sympolity; it is important to examine these regions due to the comprehensive archaeological surveys conducted there. There are examples of sympolity between the microhistories investigated in Lycia, but the cases of new urban foundations for Kyaneai in Lycia and Balboura in Kabalia show how it is possible to examine archaeological survey datasets to understand local elite agency within the urbanization processes without textual evidence for synoikism and sympolity.

Chapter 6, on Pisidia, also examines archaeological survey data and other archaeological evidence for the development of cities both with and without textual sources for synoikism and sympolity. The case of the synoikism between Sagalassos and the (initially) comparable site of Düzen Tepe is only seen through the archaeological evidence, and I examine the underlying network between the two before a potential synoikism between them occurred. Additional archaeological data is examined for the foundation of Pednelissos, which does not have textual evidence for either form of alliance, as well as for the cities of Kremna and Keraitai, which have a sympolity alliance attested in their joint coinage.

The last case study in Chapter 7 focuses on the growth of the Hellenistic kingdom of Pergamon, rather than on an ancient geographic region defined by a federation or ethnicity, both in order to consider how the Attalid kings contributed to synoikism agreements for their own agendas and also to investigate alternative models of royal influence as the Attalid kingdom grew, first within Mysia and Aiolis and then into Lydia and Phrygia after the Treaty of Apamea in 188 BCE. As discussed above, the case of Tyriaion in Phrygia shows how local communities

were advocating to the Attalid kingdom for support for local urbanization processes and, crucially, for formal grant of city status. In the earlier expansion of Pergamon in Mysia and Aiolis, I show how other communities were also negotiating with the growing Hellenistic power. I chose to focus on Pergamon because it started as a small regional power and its territory was mostly contained in Mysia and Aiolis until the Treaty of Apamea. Despite the political agendas of the Attalid kingdom, local elites from other cities advocated on their own behalf through their governments.

After the case study chapters, Chapter 8 summarizes the conclusions that result, followed by an appendix listing attested synoikism and sympolity alliances. This new perspective allows us to nuance the definitions of synoikism and sympolity, since each case has a unique outcome from the alliance. Overall, I propose models of local elite agency within all of my case studies. Particularly in cases where there is no textual evidence for the direct intervention of a Hellenistic power in establishing urbanization or a political alliance, I propose that my model in which local elites were the major drivers of urbanization through the mechanisms of peer interaction is a plausible one and should be assumed in situations without this direct textual evidence. Although my study is necessarily selective, I hope that through the examples I have chosen, I have shown that an interdisciplinary study using archaeological, epigraphic, and literary evidence can contribute a new perspective to understanding the processes of synoikism, sympolity, and urbanization in Hellenistic Anatolia, with regards to the roles of local elites.

Chapter 2: Historical and Theoretical Perspectives on Urbanization

2.1 Introduction

Before analyzing the data presented within the regional case studies, it is necessary to review the background history of Hellenistic Anatolia, to define the terms that I will use throughout the dissertation, and to outline the theories that play a role in shaping my analyses. In this chapter, I will provide an overview of scholarship on Hellenistic urbanization, definitions of synoikism and sympolity, and a discussion of the theories that I use, particularly peer polity interaction.

The Hellenistic period of history is typically defined as starting in 323 BCE with the death of Alexander the Great and ending in 30 BCE with the death of Cleopatra VI and the rise of Rome's rule in Egypt. Historians and archaeologists have shown, though, that aspects of Hellenistic culture that developed after Alexander the Great's death continued on in the Mediterranean well into the 1st c. CE. In his recent history of the Hellenistic world, A. Chaniotis argues for continuity into the rule of Hadrian, the well-known philhellenic Roman emperor, in the 2nd c. CE.³ In the archaeological data, Hellenistic pottery styles continue to be produced and adapted into the 1st c. CE, such as Eastern Sigillata A and B, and based on the resolution of the data it is often difficult to distinguish occupation of certain settlements more finely than late Hellenistic to early Roman.⁴ Based on these points, my dissertation focuses on the Hellenistic world from roughly the late 4th c. BCE to the 1st c. CE.

³ Chaniotis 2018: 3-7 for his discussion of the "long Hellenistic Age."

⁴ For example, see the categories used in the Aphrodisias Regional Survey: Pre-Hellenistic; Hellenistic/Augustan; Early Imperial; High Imperial; Late Roman; Middle Byzantine; Islamic; Modern. Ratté 2012a: 26, table 1.

I will often, however, refer to archaeological data that precedes the Hellenistic period (before the late 4th c. BCE) to understand the existing settlement structures and the networks of local elites in Anatolia. The start of the Hellenistic period is not as debated since the successive wars of the *diadochi* led to the division of Alexander's empire after his death. I particularly draw upon the archaeological evidence of elite grave monuments to detect the presence of local elites in regions of Anatolia, even if there is no evidence of an urban community prior to the Hellenistic period. My goal is to identify potential networks of local landed elites who lived in the regions before urbanization and promoted urbanization in the Hellenistic period. I argue that they used alliances during the Hellenistic period to support urbanization. The existence of the elite grave monuments also provides evidence of social stratification, even if cities did not exist yet and the lower social classes cannot be identified from the archaeological record. If cities already existed prior to the Hellenistic period, such as the cities of Ionia, I aim to understand how local elites continued to use alliances with peers to promote good will with the Hellenistic kings and protect their own interests within these cities. Overall, I ask whether these alliances changed things materially on the ground either in building new cities or in altering settlement patterns, such as at Aphrodisias. In order to approach these research questions, I must first provide a brief historical overview of the Hellenistic period in Anatolia and define terms modern historians use to discuss these phenomena.

2.2 Hellenistic Anatolia

The Hellenistic period is defined by continuous wars between the successor kingdoms and many changes in territorial borders, resulting in what must have been a very traumatic time for the inhabitants who were experiencing these wars and periods of instability. The invasion of Alexander the Great and the subsequent kingdoms throughout the conquered territory, however,

also created a more connected world in which the arts and sciences could flourish.⁵ Traditionally scholars associate the Hellenistic period with the eastern Mediterranean and Middle East into modern Iran, where the various Hellenistic kingdoms were established, but trade connections and travel in the Hellenistic period reached from the Mediterranean to India and Arabia as well as China.⁶

Anatolia (also known as Asia Minor) is the peninsular part of modern Turkey that extends into the eastern Mediterranean and borders the Black Sea to its north.⁷ Before Alexander the Great's invasion, Greeks settled the western coast of Anatolia on the Aegean in Ionia, and the Achaemenid empire ruled Anatolia. Various indigenous peoples lived in Anatolia, and some had great kingdoms before the rise of the Achaemenid empire (such as the Phrygians and the Lydians). Figure 1 shows the various regions of Anatolia as defined by their languages in the Hellenistic period. In this dissertation I will have case study chapters on the following areas: Ionia; Karia; Lycia and Kabalia; Pisidia; and Pergamon and its territories (including Mysia, Aiolis, Lydia, and Phrygia). Figure 2 highlights the regions chosen for the case studies in Anatolia with some significant cities. In each case study chapter, I will provide a more detailed geographical description and historical contextualization.

Anatolia went through various periods of ownership by the Hellenistic kingdoms. The history is very complex, and there are many accessible histories about the period that go into great detail, but here I will only provide a brief overview of the successive territorial changes to provide the historical grounding for my dissertation.⁸ The main political powers in Anatolia are

⁵ See Chaniotis 2018 on the 'oecumene' and his discussions of the various innovations from the Hellenistic world.

⁶ Chaniotis 2018: 6

⁷ I use Anatolia in this dissertation rather than Asia Minor because Asia Minor refers to the Roman province of the area in its empire. The majority of my dissertation focuses on the region before it became a Roman province.

⁸ For histories of the Hellenistic period, see Magie 1950; Thonemann 2016; Chaniotis 2018. See Marek 2016: 180-308 for the Hellenistic period in Anatolia.

the Seleukid kingdom (founded by satrap Seleukos), the Antigonid kingdom (founded by general Antigonos I Monophthalmos), the Ptolemaic kingdom (founded by satrap Ptolemaios), and the Attalid kingdom (founded later in the Hellenistic period at Pergamon). Additionally, other generals and local satraps, such as Kassandros who ruled in Macedon and Lysimachos who ruled in Thrace and western Anatolia, will be discussed. After Alexander the Great's death in June 323 BCE, there was an initial division of Alexander's territory among his generals and government satraps. The successors above kept these initial territories (Ptolemaios ruled over Egypt; Seleukos ruled over the region of old Mesopotamia; satrap Lysimachos kept his region in Thrace), and Antipatros continued rule in Macedonia while Antigonos had a portion of western Anatolia.⁹ The successor generals and satraps turned into kings by self-proclaiming their statuses and forming kingdoms in 306 to 304 BCE.¹⁰

The war of the *diadochi* ensued with Kassandros, Lysimachos, Seleukos, and Ptolemaios on one side and Antigonos I Monophthalmos and his son Demetrios Poliorketes on the other.¹¹ At the battle of Ipsos in 301 BCE, Antigonos died, and the former side created new territories.¹² General Seleukos occupied most of central Anatolia and the Middle East, eventually becoming the founder of the Seleukid dynasty. Lysimachos gained the territory in western Anatolia that had belonged to Antigonos as well as the Thracian Chersonesos.¹³ Ptolemaios took Egypt from the start, and generally the Ptolemaic dynasty had a stable hold there throughout the whole Hellenistic period.

⁹ Marek 2016: 183; Thonemann 2015: 7; Chaniotis 2018: 34

¹⁰ Thonemann 2015: 7, citing Gruen 1985. Thonemann notes that Antigonos, Kassandros, Lysimachos, Ptolemaios, and Seleukos were the ones who declared themselves kings.

¹¹ Marek 2016: 186

¹² Marek 2016: 187

¹³ Ibid.

Many areas of western Anatolia went through various changes in power throughout the Hellenistic period. Even if dynasties had control over an area for a relatively short amount of time, they still had significant impacts on the urban landscape and people who lived there. For example, Antigonos I Monophthalmos founded Antigoneia in 306 BCE in the Troad which later became Alexandria Troas under Lysimachos in 301 BCE.¹⁴ As discussed in Chapter 1, Lysimachos refounded Ephesos as Ephesos-Arsinoeia in 292 BCE, but he died soon after in 281 BCE at the battle at Korupedion against Seleukos.¹⁵ The Ptolemaic kingdom, even though it maintained its stronghold in Egypt, also held territory in southwestern Anatolia from the early to late 3rd c. BCE, starting when Ptolemaios II Philadelphos gained territory in Karia, Lycia, Pamphylia and Cilicia in the First Syrian War, but later the kingdom lost some of its holdings to Rhodes and local dynasts.¹⁶ In the Seleukid kingdom, king Antiochos III had a major campaign in western Anatolia during his reign (223 to 187 BCE) in order to win back territories lost to the other Hellenistic kingdoms.¹⁷ When Antiochos began his invasion of Europe by entering Thrace in 196 BCE, there were negotiations between the Seleukid kingdom and Rome to provide freedom to the Greek cities, who were advocating for this to Rome. The Senate had granted freedom to the cities that were held by Philip V of Macedon, but “the Roman guarantee of freedom was qualified in a remarkable way in the Senate’s reply to the Greek emissaries in 193 BCE: their freedom would be guaranteed not only against Philip but also against Antiochos, *nisi decedat Europa* (“‘if he did not retire from Europe,’ Livy 34, 59, 4f.).”¹⁸ After Antiochos III continued to advance to Thessaly in 192 BCE, the Romans declared war against the Seleukid

¹⁴ Marek 2016: 195

¹⁵ Marek 2016: 188-190

¹⁶ Marek 2016: 189; 217-218

¹⁷ Ma 1999

¹⁸ Marek 2016: 223; translation from Marek.

kingdom.¹⁹ Antiochos III lost to Rome at Magnesia by the Sipylus in 190 BCE, effectively diminishing Seleukid influence in western Anatolia.

As the larger dynasties were fighting over territory in Anatolia later in the Hellenistic period, the Attalid dynasty was building its own capital and new kingdom at the site of Pergamon in northwestern Anatolia. Philetairos, who as a general for Lysimachos was stationed there and stayed when the territory became part of the Seleukid kingdom, built up Pergamon (reigning from 282 to 265 BCE). His nephew Eumenes I (reigning from 263 to 241 BCE) expanded the territory and defeated Seleukid king Antiochos I at Sardis in 261 BCE to solidify the Pergamene kingdom.²⁰ The Attalid kingdom became a center for learning and the arts, and it became a major player in western Anatolia when it received most of the Seleukid dynasty's territory after Antiochos III's loss to Rome. The Attalid kingdom received all territory west of the Taurus mountains in the Treaty of Apamea in 188 BCE, while the island of Rhodes received territory in Karia and Lycia (Fig. 3).²¹ Rhodes kept this territory only until 167 BCE, while the Attalid kingdom reigned over most of Anatolia until king Attalos III left the territory to Rome in 133 BCE. The Roman provinces of Asia, Lycia et Pamphylia, and Galatia incorporated the regions considered in this study.

Many scholars have written on urbanization in the Hellenistic period and the contributions of various political alliances. Scholarly interest in the topic started with discussions of how the Hellenistic kingdoms promoted urbanization and urban reformation for their own political agendas. This topic is integral for understanding how the Hellenistic kingdoms functioned and is still of interest to scholars, but more recently scholars have considered the

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Marek 2016: 207-210

²¹ Polybios 21.41; 21.45; 22.5; see Thonemann 2013a for economic consequences of this treaty for the Attalid kingdom.

various roles of other groups, especially the local elite, in these processes.²² Yet while there have been several scholars who have incorporated the archaeological record in order to understand how political alliances affected material culture and city building, it is important to realize that they start with the textual evidence for the political alliances first to define their case studies, which in turn limits the archaeological data that they consider.²³ With the growing archaeological data from Turkey, especially archaeological survey data, and the large representation of Hellenistic to early Roman material culture in this archaeological record, exploring larger patterns of Hellenistic urbanization across various regions is possible, along with the rich literary and epigraphic evidence. It is beneficial to look at regions where these political alliances are not recorded in texts to see if it is still possible to identify similar patterns in the archaeological record. There is the issue of comparing survey data because different projects use different research methods, which will be addressed below. Overall, though, through my analysis of a series of case studies, I propose how the local elite were involved in urbanization processes for their own gains and I demonstrate how synoikism and sympolity alliances could produce different settlement pattern outcomes.

2.3 Defining Terms

Before examining the data, however, I must define urbanization, synoikism, and sympolity, as there have been many discussions about how we should be conceptualizing them today. Here I will provide a brief historiography for the terms that I will be using with regards to alliances and settlement pattern changes. I broadly use the modern term “alliance” as an umbrella descriptor for all of the more specific Greek terms (*synoikismos*, *sympoliteia*, *isopoliteia*, etc.),

²² See Ma 1999; Boehm 2018

²³ Walser 2009; Schuler 2010; Schuler and Walser 2015; Boehm 2018

and generally throughout the dissertation I used the Anglicized versions of the Greek terms (synoikism, sympolity, isopolity, etc.).

2.3.1 Defining Urbanization and the Polis

For the *polis* (plural *poleis*), much literature has also been written, and I do not aim to redefine what the *polis* is here. Instead, I offer a brief review of the scholarship. *Polis* can be translated as city-state, and the key to distinguishing a *polis* from a generic city is that the *polis* was self-governing.²⁴ The city itself was called the *asty*, and within the territory of the *polis* are smaller, dependent settlements in the *chora*, or countryside, such as villages (*komai*) and farmsteads.²⁵ In earlier scholarship, it was thought that *poleis* declined in the Hellenistic period because they were ruled by the various Hellenistic kingdoms.²⁶ More recently, however, scholars have noted that the *poleis* had the freedom of being self-governing at the same time as being ruled by a Hellenistic kingdom, since *poleis* negotiated with the Hellenistic powers and entered alliances on their own accord, but also were subject to the larger Hellenistic kingdoms' decisions such as on taxes.²⁷ This negotiation, in fact, had been occurring in Anatolia with the earlier Anatolian kingdoms, such as with the Lydian and Persian rulers, so this type of interaction continued when there were other changes in rulership with the Hellenistic kingdoms.

In the Greek *polis*, it is clear that writing was essential for various functions, including government decrees and euergetism, and for the indigenous groups that adapted the institution. Similarly, specific types of monumental architecture and institutions were thought of as essential

²⁴ Hansen 2006: 62

²⁵ Hansen 2006: 59

²⁶ See Wiemer 2013 for a discussion on the previous old literature that focused on the decline of the Hellenistic *polis* and for his argument as to why the decline of democracy was not true.

²⁷ Ma 1999; Thonemann 2015: 49, citing Ma 1999

for a settlement to be a *polis*, according to ancient authors such as Pausanias and Dio

Chrysostom:

surrounding walls, a monumentally defined *agora*, a theatre, at least one *gymnasion*, stoas, fountain houses, a council house and/or *prytaneion* (town hall). And with this infrastructure went administrative offices – the *agoranomos* (market warden), the *gymnasiarchos* (head of gymnasium), *amphodarchai* (street governors), *astynomoi* (city wardens).²⁸

Throughout the dissertation, I use the term “city,” but will use the term *polis* if the grant of *polis* status is significant, e.g., if there is a status difference between the communities involved. The cities that I discuss in each case study overall are considered to be urban centers in the broader scholarship. I will also be exploring the effects of urbanization not on the cores of cities, but also the territories of the cities.

There have also been discussions on the role of democracy in the Hellenistic city.

Wiemer argues that democracy continued in the Hellenistic *polis* until the mid-2nd c. BCE, when benefactions became the main way to solidify political power.²⁹ While the research in this dissertation is focused on the material consequences of political alliances and not on defining democracy, it is important to note that the case studies in Hellenistic Anatolia span both sides of the mid-2nd c. BCE benchmark. The change was of course not overnight, but still significant when considering, for example, the governing bodies who agreed upon a political alliance between Pidasia and Latmos in Karia in the late 4th c. BCE versus the governing bodies who agreed upon a political alliance between Kremna and Keraitai in Pisidia around 100 BCE. I explore who the local elite were more below, but overall, the difference in the political systems perhaps just changed the nature of how many local elites there were and increased the familial lineage of local elites. It is also important to note that the Hellenistic democratic system, in

²⁸ Billows 2003: 197, citing Pausanias 10.4.1 and Dio Chrysostom *Or.* 48.9.

²⁹ Wiemer 2013: 65-66; I will cover more on benefactions below in my discussion on defining the local elite.

practice, was an oligarchy that was different than the Athenian democracy of the 5th c. BCE in which male citizens were chosen to be representatives by lot. In the Hellenistic period, “more executive power and influence were given to magistrates, who were now almost always elected and not chosen by lot.”³⁰ Hellenistic cities were mostly governed by councils, not the citizen assembly. Each city had its own variations to its government system, but my argument comes down to the fact that these local elite were the ones instigating political alliances and urbanization, regardless of how many local elites there might have been.

In some of the case studies I explore in this dissertation, the identification of settlements as cities is clear, particularly if there are inscriptions describing *polis* statuses and key archaeological evidence such as densely planned housing districts and certain civic monuments. In other cases, the settlements may not have been considered cities when they entered alliances with other settlements. For example, based on excavations, the site of Düzen Tepe has not been considered a city when it presumably was abandoned to join Sagalassos.

2.3.2 Synoikism

Definitions and the history of use of the terms synoikism and sympolity have been covered already in other publications in great detail, so in the same way that I discussed the *polis*, I will provide a brief overview here of the necessary points for my dissertation and how I will be using the terms in my research.³¹ In modern historical analyses, “synoikism” is used to define the combination of settlements either to produce a new city or to supplement the growth of an existing city. The definition is derived from modern historians who translated ancient Greek versions of the term found in ancient historical texts and inscriptions. The participant

³⁰ Chaniotis 2018: 134

³¹ See Boehm 2018: 8-11

settlements involved can be cities themselves, or they can be smaller settlements such as *komai*. The focus on “synoikism” has been on the physical aspect of the process: communities move as part of the process and resettle. Some Hellenistic historians define synoikism as a forced project, i.e., instigated by the kings for their own political motives. Perhaps one of the most famous of these forced synoikisms, as referred to in Chapter 1, is Lysimachos’ relocations of Ephesos, Kolophon, Lebedos, and Phygela to form the new location of Hellenistic (and future Roman) Ephesos as a harbor town, which he renamed Arsinoeia for his wife.³² Focusing on the early Hellenistic Aegean, R. Boehm argues that synoikism was a key tool of the early Hellenistic kings for their political agendas and for establishing their kingdoms.³³

In addition to the use of synoikism as a political tool by the royal powers, it is clear that it can be instigated by bottom-up initiatives, such as promoted by local elites on behalf of their communities in order to gain beneficial inter-city networks and to gain recognition from the dynastic powers. This situation is exemplified by the case of Tyriaion discussed in Chapter 1, in which the term synoikism is used when Eumenes II grants city status to Tyriaion, which appealed to the king for such status. My case studies span the whole (traditionally defined) Hellenistic period and beyond, from the late 4th c. BCE to the 1st c. CE, and they include regions that were previously urbanized before the Hellenistic period (such as Ionia) and regions that were not (such as Kabalia). I do not use “forced relocation” as key to my definition of synoikism at a local level, since it is a process that could be promoted by a segment of the local community as opposed to a process solely demanded by a dynast with an unequal power balance. Without the textual evidence of the latter, such as local Karian Persian satrap Mausolos’ synoikism to create the new capital Halikarnassos on the modern Bodrum peninsula, we can consider bottom-up

³² Pausanias 1.97, 7.3.4-5; Strabo 14.1.21

³³ Boehm 2018

alternatives. My examination of these disparate case studies aims to see if we can identify these bottom-up processes in the archaeological record. I acknowledge, however, that the local elite did not necessarily have everyone's best interests in mind, and there were surely debates within the local elites in charge politically about what was best to do. While a bottom-up synoikism could have included willing participants, other people could have been moved unwillingly (perhaps disproportionately women, children, and other non-citizens).

There are also nuances to this definition that uses a physical relocation of settlements. G. Reger's analysis of sympolity (further discussed below) considers how the terms synoikism and sympolity actually overlap, and he explains that synoikism (when the term is used in ancient sources) can also refer to a "resettlement" or a "purely political restructuring" without physical locations altered.³⁴ The main example he provides is the synoikism of Sardis in Lydia discussed by Antiochos III in his letter to the city in 213 BCE.³⁵ Antiochos III had re-taken the city after his general Achaios separated from the kingdom to declare himself king and took over Sardis in 220 BCE.³⁶ Antiochos III captured and punished the city, but the letter regarding the synoikism in 213 BCE discusses the removal of the punishments and the dedication of funds for the gymnasium after the people of Sardis showed their loyalty to the king by establishing a ruler cult.³⁷ In this case, the definition of synoikism is more of a royal reinstatement of a city, although perhaps people from the countryside were moved in to for the refoundation of the city. I do not examine the synoikism of Sardis further, but it is important to recognize again that there were royally-initiated synoikism and sympolity processes in the Hellenistic world.

³⁴ Reger 2004: 149

³⁵ Reger 2004: 149, citing *SEG* 39.1283 – 1285, Gauthier 1989, and Ma 1999

³⁶ Kosmin 2019: 86

³⁷ Kosmin 2019: 87

As this dissertation will show, a synoikism did not necessarily involve the movement of the entire supposed populations involved, and a synoikism did not have to be permanent. People returned to the previous settlements for living or for other uses. Arguably one of the most famous synoikisms before the Hellenistic period is the relocation of settlements by Mausolos to form his new capital of Halikarnassos on the Aegean coast, moving it from inland Mylasa. As I will explore in my Karia chapter, settlements and grave monuments studied by A.M. Carstens reveal that an emptying out of Halikarnassos' countryside was not absolute.³⁸ Although this example precedes the Hellenistic period (Mausolos reigned from 377 to 353 BCE), the synoikism shows how applying a critical eye to archaeological evidence complicates the historical narratives that we find in literary and epigraphic sources.

A key question of this dissertation is how to apply the term synoikism when there are no textual sources available referring to an alliance, but there is archaeological evidence that several settlements eventually form one larger settlement. Some scholars have proposed using the term synoikism in these cases, particularly for the case of Sagalassos and Düzen Tepe in Pisidia (discussed in Chapter 6).³⁹ As my following chapters analyze the archaeological evidence for urban development both in situations where there is textual evidence for synoikism and where there is not such textual evidence, I will propose a model in which local elites were promoting synoikism by relying on their previously established peer network in situations without direct textual evidence for top-down intervention by the Hellenistic kings.

³⁸ Carstens 2002

³⁹ Daems 2019

2.3.3 *Sympolity*

The modern term “sympolity” is often contrasted with synoikism in that sympolity involves a shared political system between two cities with *polis* status but does not require a physical movement of peoples (the two original settlements are maintained).⁴⁰ As we can nuance the term synoikism, we can also do so for sympolity. The sympolity between Pidasia and Latmos in Karia, for example, expected some people to move from Pidasia to Latmos as evidenced by the inscription that describes the alliance.⁴¹ In contrast to synoikism, sympolity seems to always be a bottom-up process; the supposed forced sympolity between Pidasia and Latmos by Asandros has been put into question.⁴² With synoikism, though, a bottom-up process promoted by the local elite does not mean that there were not unwilling parties who had to participate. As C. Schuler and A. Walser note, there is often a power disparity in the alliance between the two *poleis* in the sympolity, with a larger *polis* and a smaller *polis*.⁴³ While intimidation by the larger *polis* could certainly have been a factor, analysis of the corresponding sympolity texts and archaeological evidence in the case study chapters will show how the smaller *poleis* developed relationships with the larger *poleis* before the alliances and were able to leverage their best interests when the agreements were negotiated.

Although sympolities can be found throughout the eastern Mediterranean, scholars discuss the influence of sympolities on the Greek islands in particular that promoted the use of sympolities in Anatolia.⁴⁴ Reger has explained that sympolities in Karia are modeled after the

⁴⁰ See Reger 2004 for a review of sympolity.

⁴¹ See LaBuff 2010 and 2016 as well as discussion in Chapter 4.

⁴² See LaBuff 2010 and 2016.

⁴³ Schuler and Walser 2015: 350

⁴⁴ Sympolities have been found in various places in the Aegean Sea region, including the Aegean islands, the Dodecanese; Phokis, Thessaly, and Achaea Phthiotis on the Greek mainland; various places within Anatolia including Ionia, Karia, Lycia, Pisidia, and the Troad in Anatolia. See Schuler and Walser 2015: 351.

Rhodian synoikism that occurred in 408/407 BCE, “when the three Rhodian *poleis* of Ialysos, Kamiros and Lindos joined to create a new pan-island state with a new capital at Rhodos town.”⁴⁵ In this case, even after the synoikism, habitation continued at the three original *poleis*, which is similar to the situations for the Karian sympolities.⁴⁶ J. LaBuff argues that similar processes were happening at other islands in the Aegean, particularly in the Cyclades such as at Mykonos.⁴⁷ He says that “we need not imagine that any one island served as a blueprint for sympoliteia” and he argues that sympolities were likely in response to outside pressure from the Hellenistic powers and were ways for the cities to create shared identities with each other (more on peer polity interaction below).⁴⁸

Although sympolities are not found throughout Anatolia, it is important for me to consider them in their own right in this dissertation because of their prevalence in Karia and Lycia in particular. As I will distinguish below, it is also important to consider sympolity with synoikism since sympolity can include a movement in population. I do not wish to put the terms in opposition, but rather explore how both types of alliances contributed to on-the-ground changes in urbanization and settlement patterns. I will use the term sympolity when there is direct epigraphic and literary evidence for a shared political system between two *poleis*, including when there is the use of one of the term *sympoliteia* or another word for agreement or treaty (*syntheke*, *synthesis*, *homologia*); a joint *demos*; and/or evidence of shared civic coinage such as the cases of Plarasa and Aphrodisias as well as Kremna and Keraitai in Karia and Pisidia,

⁴⁵ Reger 2004: 177

⁴⁶ Reger 2004: 177-178

⁴⁷ LaBuff 2016: 15

⁴⁸ Ibid.

respectively.⁴⁹ Although rare, the definition limited to only an alliance between two cities can also be challenged, since there is evidence for a sympolity which involves three separate cities but two *demoi*: the *demos* of Tyberissos and Timiussa (who themselves are joined in a sympolity) and the *demos* of Myra (all in Lycia). This example is mentioned here to acknowledge that even though while in general a sympolity involves two cities, there are exceptions.

There are other similar ancient Greek terms that must be distinguished from sympolity. Isopolity in modern historical literature means that two cities agree to offer citizenship to one another, but they maintain separate political systems.⁵⁰ A citizen had to give up one citizenship in exchange for another.⁵¹ S. Saba's recent examination of isopolity shows how the term *isopoliteia* itself rarely shows up, but the term *politeia* was used in ancient Greek.⁵² Interpretations of the text and what the agreements grant can distinguish a sympolity from an isopolity. For me, the main distinction is that a sympolity can lead to movements of settlements, whereas an isopolity seems to maintain distinct physical settlements along with their distinct governments: although this distinction again in the ancient Greek literature may not be so cut and dried.⁵³

The term *peripolion* also must be mentioned briefly. The term seems to refer to settlements that are under the jurisdiction of a *polis*, i.e., secondary settlements. The term is not widely used, but Schuler has recently reexamined the term in light of the examples of the term

⁴⁹ Some scholars also define sympolity epigraphically when one city is discussed as joined to another by the preposition ἄπρό. See Zimmermann 1992 and Dinç 2012. For more on the terms for agreement or treaty see Mack 2013.

⁵⁰ Saba 2009/2010; Saba 2020: 23

⁵¹ Saba 2020: 2

⁵² Saba 2020: 23-28

⁵³ For example, see Reger 2004: 148-149 for a discussion of Polybios' use of the term *sympoliteia* when discussing Kydonia and Apollonia and how modern scholars interpret the situation as an isopolity today. In particular, Chaniotis 1996 for a discussion of isopolity in Crete.

used in inscriptions from Lycia and Pisidia. At the time of his publication in 2010, there is evidence for these settlements connected to Xanthos, Myra, Limyra, and Phellos in Lycia and Termessos from Pisidia from the mid-2nd c. BCE to the 3rd c. CE.⁵⁴ The term seems to be used for rural sub-centers of the larger *poleis*, and these sub-centers had some of their own government structures. *Peripolia* also existed in Kos and Rhodes, and he argues that the structure was imported to Lycia from the islands.⁵⁵ *Peripolia* will not be considered significantly in this dissertation, but it is important to note because Phellos is a case study in Chapter 5; cities could have simultaneous relationships with peer settlements while also maintaining relationships with dependent settlements.⁵⁶

2.4 Who are the Local Elite?

Already in this dissertation I have referenced the “local elite” and the “local landed elite,” but I must critically engage with these terms to define who constituted this group. Otherwise, it is easy to fall into the trap of crediting an abstract group with urban and political changes, when the group itself was multi-faceted and when we have actual evidence of individuals by name from epigraphy and grave monument dedications.

For discussing the ways that local elites owned land, there have been debates about whether or not the structure of the Achaemenid empire with regards to land holding and taxes carried over into the early Hellenistic period. Boehm compares the structures of the Achaemenid empire to those of the early Hellenistic kingdoms, and he argues that the early Hellenistic kingdoms “changed two important features of landholding under the tributary system of the

⁵⁴ Schuler 2010: 394-395; 398-400

⁵⁵ Schuler 2010: 398

⁵⁶ See the following for the epigraphic evidence for Phellos’ *peripolis* Tyinda: Davies 1895: 109 no. 19; Schuler 2006: 154-155 no. 2.

Achaemenids,” which were “the fundamental distinction between civic and royal territory... [and] the expansion of rights of ownership to include hereditary states and the alienation of royal land to cities.”⁵⁷ He notes that some things stayed the same, including that “many estates were given with the right of usufruct alone, taxes continued to be collected in kind and in cash (the mixed-*phoros* regime of the Achaemenids), and state officials still directly administered dependent peasants and indigenous populations on royal land.”⁵⁸

The Achaemenid empire functioned on a satrapy system in which government-appointed locals would oversee regions of the empire. The most famous satrap family is the Hekatomnid family of Karia, which includes Mausolos son of Hekatomnos. Power was passed down through family; as we see with the Hekatomnids, the lineage of the satrapy went from Hekatomnos to his son Mausolos to his younger son (and brother of Mausolos) Idrieus. C. Roosevelt has shown that local elite land ownership and monumental graves were also linked to families in his analysis of the tumuli clusters in Bin Tepe in Lydia and that the tumuli “were probably used to mark estates, and thus also broad settlement areas surrounding estates.”⁵⁹ To discuss how the empire interacted with these local elites, E. Dussinberre has developed the “authority-autonomy” model to discuss the Achaemenid’s approach.⁶⁰ Her model considers how the Achaemenid empire imposed rules over the region but how the empire also allowed for flexibility in that local groups regulated their lives somewhat independently of the empire.⁶¹ During Alexander the Great’s invasion and the transition to the Hellenistic period, the Hellenistic kingdoms had to gain the favor of these local elite families.

⁵⁷ Boehm 2018: 117

⁵⁸ Ibid.; see also Roosevelt 2019 on the continuity of Persian land grants in the Hellenistic period.

⁵⁹ Roosevelt 2009: 109

⁶⁰ Dussinberre 2013: 2-7

⁶¹ Dussinberre 2013

Over the Hellenistic period of Anatolia, different kingdoms occupied different parts of the area, and each kingdom followed some precedents of the Achaemenid empire, but each kingdom also had its own approaches to ruling. For example, both the Seleukid and Attalid kingdoms divided their territories into smaller regions which were run by governors or *strategoi*, which were similar to the Achaemenid satrapies.⁶² But each kingdom and each ruler within each kingdom had different political agendas and methods of carrying out those agendas. An example of a difference between the Seleukid and Attalid kingdoms is the way that they founded new cities; as P. Thonemann describes, the Seleukid kingdom focused new city foundations on east-west roads, while the Attalid kingdom placed them in more rural areas such as in Lydia and Phrygia.⁶³ While my dissertation focuses on the roles and intentions of the local elites, I place their actions within the greater political context of the ruling kingdom and the king in charge, if possible.⁶⁴

Overwhelmingly, when I talk about the local elite as a group in the Hellenistic period, I am referring to wealthy, male people. Chaniotis notes that “de facto, wealth had always been a requirement for political activity, but from the late Hellenistic period onwards it also became an institutional requirement” for keeping a social network.⁶⁵ Within a city structure, citizenship is an important factor for being able to facilitate developments in a city because it not only allowed one to own land and have civil rights, but it also allowed one to participate in the political scene of a city.⁶⁶ Citizens can be distinguished from free non-citizens by this ability to participate

⁶² Thonemann 2013b: 9-10

⁶³ Thonemann 2013b: 27

⁶⁴ Often the dates provided by archaeological data are not as refined as the periods of rulership, but there are certain periods where it is possible (such as after the Treaty of Apamea to the end of Attalid hegemony in Anatolia) and there is often corresponding epigraphic and literary data discussing the kings in power and the sites in question.

⁶⁵ Chaniotis 2018: 292

⁶⁶ Chaniotis 2018: 293

politically; Chaniotis notes that non-citizens have a range of privilege, from more privileged metics to less privileged *laoi* and *paraoikoi* who lived in the countryside and had to produce some payments to the city.⁶⁷ Before urbanization and grants of citizenship, local elites in pre-urban societies often owned land, means of agricultural production, and expensive funerary monuments. Before *poleis* existed, these wealthy, male local elites were interacting in political leagues or common sanctuaries to create networks with each other before urbanization (such as the sanctuary of Hemithea at Kastabos discussed in Chapter 4).

The predominant power of the elite citizens does not mean, however, that non-citizens did not have influence in cities. In the Hellenistic period, there was some additional agency for women to be involved in part of familial lineages of benefaction.⁶⁸ This trend is seen with the rise of Hellenistic queens who were prominent in the political scene in Anatolia.⁶⁹ S. Dmitriev also notes that non-citizens (including deities, kings, metics, women and children) could hold offices; women and children gained these offices through familial lineages of benefaction.⁷⁰ While women, children, and non-citizens certainly played significant roles in the Hellenistic city and Hellenistic society, and the roles include other positions not yet mentioned (including artists and scholars), the limits of my dissertation do not allow me to analyze their roles in depth. I focus on the local elites defined as wealthy, male citizens because of their primary roles in the Hellenistic government in cities. They likely were the ones promoting urbanization not only on the scale of physical building through benefaction and the holding of offices, but also on the larger scales of communication with other communities and the Hellenistic kingdoms.

⁶⁷ Chaniotis 2018: 294

⁶⁸ Dmitriev 2005: 53-56 traces the developments of how women could make benefactions and hold offices in addition to being priestesses over the late 3rd to 1st c. BCE.

⁶⁹ For example, the diplomacy of Laodikeia III, queen and wife to Antiochos III, as seen in inscriptions from Teos and Iasos. Ma 1999.

⁷⁰ Dmitriev 2005: 46-56 for discussions of roles of children and women in the Hellenistic government.

These wealthy, male citizens often had roles within the local government. As Greek culture spread during the Hellenistic period further into Anatolia, wealthy, indigenous local elites took up the Greek language and adapted Greek culture for diplomatic purposes. A complete overview of the *polis* government is not necessary here, but a few institutions of importance include the *ekklesia* (assembly) and the *boule* (council). The assembly consisted of male citizens, and rural citizens could attend the assembly.⁷¹ The group voted on the *boule*'s decisions on proposals. The *boule* "was responsible for the day-to-day business, but its most important function was to carry out the preliminary discussion of proposals instigated by magistrates (*probouleusis*), sometimes also by ordinary citizens."⁷² There were many magistrate positions within the Hellenistic city in which citizens could serve. Chaniotis provides a succinct and detailed structure of the Hellenistic political institutions and notes that there were variations in government structures across cities.⁷³

2.4.1 How Can We Identify the Local Elite?

Evidence for the various local government positions exists in literary and epigraphic sources, and a broad overview of all of the positions is not necessary here as it has been done in other scholarship.⁷⁴ An example of an inscription that provides insight into the local government structure that I will discuss, however, is a mid-4th to 3rd c. BCE inscription from Sagalassos that describes the roles of magistrates and judges to condemn people who try to overthrow the government (see Chapter 6). In this case at Sagalassos, where most of the extant evidence dates to the late Hellenistic and Roman periods, this inscription is a rare glimpse into the early stages

⁷¹ Chaniotis 2018: 124

⁷² Chaniotis 2018: 134

⁷³ Chaniotis 2018: 133-137

⁷⁴ See Dmitriev 2005 and Chaniotis 2018, for example.

of the city's life and social hierarchy. In addition to the texts that provide information of synoikisms, sympolities, and other alliances (which were negotiated by the local elite), other types of inscriptions that provide insight into their roles include resolution texts from border disputes between two *poleis*. These texts describe the new borders and the representatives involved (as well as neutral judges from uninvolved cities) that negotiated the terms of the agreement, and I will discuss these texts when relevant (see, for example, the border settlement between Oinoanda and Tlos in Chapter 5).

Materially, the local elite can be identified as a group (through public civic monuments and elite houses) and individually (through grave monuments and corresponding epitaphs as well as benefaction inscriptions tied to certain structures and honorific inscriptions). The civic monuments are typically related to the government, including the *bouleuterion* which houses meetings for the *boule* and the *prytaneion* which provides housing for visiting local elites.⁷⁵ Larger houses such as those of the peristyle type can also be thought of as belonging to wealthier citizens.

Individual local elites can sometimes be identified by name if there are corresponding inscriptions related to grave monuments. Grave monuments in particular are important for identifying the presence of local elite in areas before urbanization occurred. In the following chapters, I will use the presence of grave monuments to prove the presence of local elites in areas before urbanization took place to consider how a local elite network could have instigated urban development. Grave monuments were also an important medium for local elite communication across regions, whether to express similarities in status or admiration by adapting the same type

⁷⁵ For example, Dmitriev uses epigraphic evidence for Miletos to discuss the roles of *prytaneis* in the city and the fact that the *prytaneion* had a *sitesis* (“feeding at the public expense’).” Dmitriev says that *prytaneis* in Miletos, like in other cities, were part of the *boule*. Dmitriev 2005: 74.

of monument style (such as in the use of tumuli across Lydia, Phrygia, Pisidia, Ionia, and Karia in the chapters below), or to express individuality and local traditions (such as the unique step-based grave monuments on the Chersonesos peninsula in Karia explored in Chapter 4).

In addition, inscriptions describing monuments resulting from benefaction (whether or not the monuments survive today) highlight the importance of local elite euergetism in the Hellenistic period and the importance of local elites using monumental buildings to appeal to the Hellenistic kingdoms (for example, the Teians' dedication of a new fountain in Teos to the Seleukid queen Laodike III).⁷⁶ The practice of benefaction by local elites developed in emulation of benefaction by the Hellenistic kings which started in the late 4th and early 3rd c. BCE.⁷⁷ Benefactions could be services and festivals, in addition to constructions.⁷⁸ Although benefaction will not play a large role in my dissertation, it is important to note here that local elites were using it as a tool to promote their and their families' prestige as well as to promote good relations with the Hellenistic kingdoms.

I will examine the evidence for local elites acting for their own interests both on their own and through their civic structures (e.g., government proceedings; appeals and arbitrations). Sometimes literary and epigraphic evidence can provide the names of specific local elite individuals and their actions as well as the actions of the local elite as a group acting on their collective behalf, such as the case of the letters from Eumenes II to the people of Tyriaion. When there is archaeological evidence of urbanization and local elite presence, I discuss the local elite as a group instigating change even if there is no specific evidence identifying individual names

⁷⁶ See Ma 1999 for Teos example.

⁷⁷ Dmitriev 2005: 38

⁷⁸ Dmitriev 2005: 38-41

of these local elites. I will also clarify the modes of local elite advocacy, as in when they are acting through government channels to appeal to peer groups and to Hellenistic powers.

2.5 How Does Urbanization Occur?

While an urban culture was already present before the Hellenistic period in the Mediterranean and in some of my case studies (namely Ionia, Karia, and Lycia), some regions I consider did not yet have a distinct urban culture until the late Classical and Hellenistic periods (particularly certain areas of Kabalia, Pisidia, and Pergamon).⁷⁹ In my study, I am interested in how synoikism and sympolity affected already existing cities, how they could have encouraged urbanization in certain places, and how they affected non-urban settlements that formed alliances with cities.

Who were the agents of urbanization in the Hellenistic period? Alexander himself, the Hellenistic successors of Alexander, and the dynastic kings did have a large role in promoting urbanization for their own political agendas.⁸⁰ They founded and re-founded cities named after themselves or the royal family, such as Alexandria in Egypt and the new Seleukid capital of Seleukia-on-the-Tigris. The city of Pergamon became the seat of the Attalid dynasty, which became a large holder of Anatolian land after the Treaty of Apamea in 188 BCE. As discussed above, generals and kings also encouraged forced relocations for their own gains, even if the relocations did not end up being permanent, such as Lysimachos' foundation of Ephesos-Arsinoeia and Antigonos I Monophthalmos' synoikism of Teos and Lebedos.

⁷⁹ There is variation within the regions, as I will explain in the case study chapters.

⁸⁰ See Kosmin 2014 on the agendas of the Seleukid dynasty and Boehm 2018 for an overview of kings' agendas particularly in relation to synoikism.

Urbanization, however, was not always a top-down process done by kingdoms and political powers. Recent scholarship on urbanization and creation of empire in the Mediterranean has challenged the idea of a solely top-down process and argued for the significant role of local communities, particularly the local elite, in promoting urbanization.⁸¹ A recent book on urbanization in the early Hellenistic period and the role of synoikism is R. Boehm's *City and Empire in the Age of Successors: Urbanization and Social Response in the Making of the Hellenistic Kingdoms*. His book specifically focuses on the early stages of Hellenistic kingdom development and argues that the early Hellenistic kings used synoikism as a way to legitimize their rule and to gain access to necessary economic tools such as ports for trade.⁸² He also acknowledges the agency of the local elites within the early Hellenistic kingdoms as well as their roles in keeping religious traditions and kinship connections during population displacement.⁸³ His book is a significant contribution to understanding Hellenistic imperial ambitions and the role of synoikism using interdisciplinary sources (ancient literature, epigraphy, and archaeology). His case studies focus on Thessaly, Macedonia, Ionia, and the Troad. He chooses his case studies based on the texts, however, and does not look at the archaeological survey data in regions without textual evidence for synoikism (or sympolity). My dissertation takes a wider scope in Anatolia (focusing on six regions) and time period (throughout the whole Hellenistic period; not just the Age of the Successors), and my studies use the archaeological survey data both in areas with and without textual evidence for synoikism and sympolity.

⁸¹ For a comparative example, see Terrenato 2019 on the role of the local elite in the urbanization of Italy and the rise of Rome.

⁸² Boehm 2018

⁸³ Boehm 2018: 184-185

2.5.1 How are Changes in Urbanization Identified Archaeologically?

How can we identify a city archaeologically? In the Greek *polis*, as mentioned above, some of the buildings being used by the concentrated populations included houses, a space for the market place (*agora*), and various monuments such as a theater, a *bouleuterion*, and temples, although not every city necessarily has the same monuments as each other (e.g., Balbura apparently did not have a dedicated monument for a *bouleuterion* during the Hellenistic period).⁸⁴ Outside of the city are *necropoleis* for the deceased as well as villages and farmsteads in the city's territory. The monumentalization of cities particularly in regions that did not have an urban culture before the Hellenistic period also indicates how local elites participated in Greek and *polis* culture in the Hellenistic period, which H. Vanhaverbeke and M. Waelkens especially argue for in the "Hellenization," or adoption and adaptation of Greek culture, of Pisidia (discussed in more detail below).⁸⁵

Apart from using monumental architecture to identify cities, survey archaeologists can look at settlement pattern data to understand broader patterns of how urbanization affected the presence or absence of other types of settlements in certain regions and time periods. Survey data must be used with caution, however, because we cannot necessarily compare concrete numbers of sites across different research publications. Each survey project uses different survey methods and includes a different amount of land surveyed in their research area.⁸⁶ Although many survey archaeologists have attempted to create reproducible methods in order to be able to compare survey data seamlessly, N. Terrenato reviews how these efforts have been unsuccessful and

⁸⁴ Willet 2020: 24; Coulton 2012c: 136

⁸⁵ Vanhaverbeke and Waelkens 2005

⁸⁶ See Alcock and Cherry 2003 and Terrenato 2003 within that volume on survey methodologies.

advises that we need to embrace the biases of survey data when interpreting it.⁸⁷ For identifying urban communities in Hellenistic Anatolia, the same problems are not evident as in identifying sites based on ceramic clusters since monumental architecture is often present for the urban communities; these issues with survey data become present for this dissertation when considering the rural development surrounding these Hellenistic cities as identified by surveys.

Even if we cannot compare site numbers quantitatively across survey projects, we can generally, however, compare the broader trends from archaeological surveys by looking at which periods have increases in sites or decreases in sites.⁸⁸ One example is S.E. Alcock's comparison of archaeological survey data in the Hellenistic world in which she looked at broad patterns in various parts of the eastern Mediterranean and Middle East. Each region had its own patterns; for example, for mainland Greece and the Aegean Islands, she argues that settlements in the countryside overall grew in the early Hellenistic period, but then had a drop in these settlements starting as early as the mid 3rd c. BCE (possibly due to preference for larger settlements).⁸⁹ At that time, there were only the results of a few regional extensive archaeological surveys available for modern Turkey for Alcock's study. She notes that overall urbanization increased in Hellenistic Anatolia via synoikism, and the patterns suggest increase in population and agricultural exploitation, but due to the limited data these patterns needed further investigation.⁹⁰

The available archaeological survey data for Anatolia has increased since then, although as

⁸⁷ Terrenato 2003

⁸⁸ Although caution must be taken to see how each project defines each historical period based on dates and consider methodological biases of the time. For example, Terrenato 2003 notes that not as much was known about Hellenistic pottery during the time of the Southern Etruria survey, so results about the Hellenistic period for that survey should be taken with caution.

⁸⁹ Alcock 1994: 175-179; see also Alcock, Gates, and Rempel 2005 for three other case studies of using survey archaeology in the Hellenistic world.

⁹⁰ Alcock 1994: 181. Alcock uses the following surveys conducted in Anatolia for her analysis in 1994: Troas by J.M. Cook 1973; Lower Maeander Plain by Marchese 1986; Northern Karia by Marchese 1989; Cilician Survey by Seton-Williams 1954; and Chicago Euphrates Project by Marfoe et al. 1986.

mentioned above there are a variety of methodologies used in these research projects. Despite the methodological differences, the abundance of new results seems ripe for comparative analysis of Hellenistic Anatolia, and it has been done already for other regions and time periods of Anatolia.⁹¹

On a more local level, survey and excavation data can be used to consider which sites (both cities and non-cities) were abandoned and which sites grew in the Hellenistic period. While in some cases earlier Classical period settlements were abandoned to contribute to a growing city in the Hellenistic period, such as the case of Düzen Tepe contributing to the growth of Sagalassos in Pisidia, the foundation and growth of a Hellenistic city often correlated with the growth of the surrounding countryside with new villages and farmsteads, such as in Sagalassos and Balboura. The expansion of the countryside in these growing urban areas makes sense as they are needed to provide crops to the growing population. In addition, local elites could have had more than one residence, living in the city but also owning farmsteads in the countryside.⁹²

The expansion of the countryside during urbanization, however, may at first seem to contradict the idea behind synoikism: smaller settlements were abandoned to contribute to the growth of the larger city. As already discussed above, the definition itself of the complete abandonment of smaller settlements during synoikism can be challenged, as various case studies will explore situations in which settlements either partially continued to be inhabited, people returned to the settlements at a later date, or people continued to use the settlements for other purposes. When I first began this dissertation, I was interested in whether we could identify overall patterns of settlement nucleation or expansion in western Hellenistic Anatolia from the

⁹¹ See Willet 2020 for Roman Anatolia; see Commito 2014 for southern and southeastern late antique Anatolia.

⁹² Funerary monuments in rural areas are often interpreted as local elite being buried on their territories outside of the city. See discussions on this topic in the case studies of the Karian Chersonesos in Chapter 4 and of the Pergamon countryside in Chapter 7.

survey data to see how synoikism was actually working. I have come to find, however, that the binary of nucleation and expansion is limiting, and the two processes are not necessarily mutually exclusive. Overall patterns can be considered, but they do not explain within a local region what types of settlements were abandoned and what types of settlements were formed during an urbanization effort, and both processes could well be happening around the same time. For example, as mentioned above, I will explore the case of Sagalassos in Pisidia, in which some settlements close to the city did become abandoned as it became the preferred site (e.g., the peer site Düzen Tepe), but there was also an expansion of Hellenistic smaller order sites in the countryside.

2.5.2 How and Why Did Local Elites Promote Urbanization?

As mentioned above, local elites individually started to take on larger roles in benefaction in cities in the Hellenistic period. But how, as a group, did they promote urbanization and alliances between settlements? Scholars have addressed this question by adapting the theory of peer polity interaction. This section will review peer polity interaction, how the model has been adapted by other scholars of ancient urbanization, and how I modify this model for my dissertation.

C. Renfrew and J.F. Cherry originally coined peer polity interaction as a theory to explain early state formation and as an alternative to the core-periphery model.⁹³ Peer polity interaction describes the range of activities that independent and comparable groups engage in with one another, including “(1) warfare, (2) competitive emulation, (3) symbolic entrainment, (4) the transmission of innovation, and (5) an increased flow in exchange goods.”⁹⁴ The model argues

⁹³ Renfrew and Cherry 1986

⁹⁴ Vanhaverbeke and Waelkens 2005: 58; Renfrew 1986: 8

that significant political and social change can occur through these interactions among peer groups, as opposed to political and social change only happening from less powerful or organized communities interacting with a more powerful or organized state or ruler.⁹⁵ The peer polity interaction model has been adapted to explain state formation and urbanization in various cultures and time periods.⁹⁶ The categories are self-explanatory except symbolic entrainment, which Renfrew defines as “the tendency for a developed symbolic system to be adopted when it comes into contact with a less-developed one with which it does not strikingly conflict.”⁹⁷ He provides examples of writing systems and social organization. Renfrew draws upon examples throughout time and geographic regions to discuss the various interactions, such as the *ahu* statues in Easter Island that were markers of specific territories of tribes for competitive emulation, and the adoption of writing in various Mesopotamian cities for symbolic entrainment.⁹⁸ For the rise of the Greek *polis*, he suggests competitive emulation at panhellenic sanctuaries was a significant factor.⁹⁹

Specifically in the Hellenistic Mediterranean, peer polity interaction has been used by both historians and archaeologists to explain elite interactions, but in divergent ways. My model in this dissertation particularly applies the peer polity interaction in the context of Ma’s use of the model. Ma applies the model to explain the maintenance of shared social and cultural interactions between elites in different *poleis* as opposed to a model that explains changes.¹⁰⁰ He

⁹⁵ Renfrew 1986: 7

⁹⁶ For example, the volume by Renfrew and Cherry includes examples from Classic Maya (Sabloff 1986) and Hopewell indigenous culture (Braun 1986). More recently, see Creamer, Haas, and Rutherford 2014 for an example of how the model is applied to Late Archaic Norte Chico, Peru 3000 – 1800 BCE.

⁹⁷ Renfrew 1986: 8

⁹⁸ Renfrew 1986: 8-10

⁹⁹ Renfrew 1986: 15

¹⁰⁰ Ma 2003: 24-26; see also Daubner 2018 for a more recent application of peer polity interaction in Epiros and Macedonia using the *theorodokoi* (“the local entertainers of sacred envoys”; Daubner 2018: 137) lists of Panhellenic sanctuaries.

describes the Hellenistic period as “a system of autonomous communities, densely interconnected by a civic structure which sustained and depended on connections.”¹⁰¹ He especially examines the uses of shared institutions and alliances known from epigraphy such as *syngeneia* (kinship), traveling decrees, and resolutions of local border disputes to explain the maintenance of a local elite network in the Hellenistic world. It is in this sense that I define local elite peer interaction in my case studies: the local elite not only had these shared institutions for communication, but they also had shared modes of communication through material culture practices. I examine the presence and interactions of local elites through funerary monuments, sanctuary dedications, trade, and resource extractions as well as through civic institutions to propose how the local elite produced a peer network before and during urbanization in Hellenistic western Anatolia.

Vanhaverbeke and Waelkens, however, apply the peer polity model to “Hellenization,” or the adoption and adaptation of Greek culture, in Pisidia after the invasion of Alexander the Great. They argue that the adoption and adaptations of the Greek language, political institutions, and monumental architecture were positively reinforced among the various Pisidian communities. The Pisidians presented themselves in such a way so that they could effectively communicate and negotiate with the various Hellenistic powers as well as the expanded networks of cities in western Anatolia; or as Vanhaverbeke and Waelkens put it, organizing into *poleis* “not only preserved a sense of autonomy, but more importantly made it clear to the Hellenistic kings that the Pisidian cities could manage their own affairs in like manner to the kings, and that no intervention was therefore required.”¹⁰² Although Renfrew and Cherry’s original model emphasizes the autonomy of the different peer polity groups, Vanhaverbeke and

¹⁰¹ Ma 2003: 14

¹⁰² Vanhaverbeke and Waelkens 2005: 64

Waelkens adapt the peer polity model to fit the Hellenistic period; they argue that even though Hellenistic cities and communities were not autonomous in the sense that they were part of larger Hellenistic kingdoms, “cities were to a large extent left to their own devices during the Hellenistic period, as long as tributes were paid and loyalty to the king was assured.”¹⁰³

I agree with the applications of peer polity interaction to the Hellenistic period, but I would like to take the model a step further in thinking about how local elite peer polity interaction contributed to inter-city alliances such as synoikism and sympolity. I argue that peer polity interaction was the basis for local elites to develop relationships with other local elites from different settlements, and when there was an external stimulus such as new wars and takeovers by the Hellenistic kings or environmental changes, the local elites relied upon this pre-existing network in order to make the alliances and to make decisions about urbanization. My approach expands peer polity interaction beyond the process of Hellenization that Vanhaverbeke and Waelkens describe. I agree with their application of the model for Pisidia, Hellenization was not the only factor in promoting these alliances and urbanization among the local elite, since in other regions there already were Greek communities living in Anatolia and indigenous communities were already participating in Greek culture to some degree (e.g., the Greeks in Ionia and the adaption of Greek culture in Karia and Lycia).

Although peer polity interaction in its origins focuses on the relationships between comparable groups, I also bring in the Hellenistic kingdoms and consider that there were still some asymmetrical power dynamics among groups that I consider peers. It is necessary to contextualize local elite agency and their interactions with the Hellenistic kingdoms because local elites, even though cities were essentially autonomous, were working within a larger

¹⁰³ Vanhaverbeke and Waelkens 2005: 61, citing Walbank 1981: 136.

government structure and were making direct appeals to kings. These kingdoms did negotiate with the local elites and certainly the maintenance of the local elite network was influenced by the actions of the greater government powers. Although local elites were interacting as peers in that they had a shared language through material culture, interactions at mutual cult and government spaces (some which existed before Greek civic institutions, such as the meeting place of the Karian Chersonesos federation at the sanctuary of Kastabos examined in Chapter 4), and (when they adopted them) Greek civic institutions, there were still imbalances in interactions. For example, in Chapter 3, I examine the interactions of Miletos and Myous who were peers in that they were both cities within the Ionian League, but Miletos was a larger *polis* that had more regional and supra-regional influence. I consider the actors in situations like these as peers in that they were interacting with the same shared civic and material cultural languages within the same spaces, but I also acknowledge that there were asymmetrical power dynamics and intimidation at play. Overall, however, my case studies examine how local elites, even if there were differential power dynamics, had agency within their various interactions.

My main argument is that the local elite formed these alliances in order to gain access to the larger Hellenistic world network and to gain favor with the Hellenistic kingdoms. As I will explore in the case studies below, local disputes, trade, worshipping at sanctuaries, and sharing natural resources were all ways that local communities interacted with each other before they established formal alliances. The archaeological evidence provides great insight into the local developments of these alliances and how they affected settlement patterns, but overall, I do not advocate for a single outcome (either settlement nucleation or expansion) for all of western Anatolia. As other scholars have noted, synoikism and sympolity could lead to settlement pattern changes, but these changes might not have been absolute and they might not have been

permanent (e.g., the example I gave with the persistence of settlement around Halikarnassos above; the sympolity with Pidasia and Latmos in the 4th c. BCE in Karia ended at some point because Pidasia later entered into a sympolity with Miletos around 187/6 BCE). It is also important to note that while political considerations were one of the main causes, each synoikism and sympolity had different contributing factors: environmental changes and/or resource access could be just as significant as political agendas in causing these shifts. For example, in Ionia, Myous relocated to Miletos due to siltation and mosquito infestations; in Pisidia, Sagalassos was perhaps more favorable than Düzen Tepe because Sagalassos had better access to fresh water. Although in the absence of textual evidence for direct intervention by the Hellenistic kings my model does not prove definitively that the local elites were solely driving urbanization, I propose that my model is the most comprehensive model in this situation and the intervention of the Hellenistic kings need not be assumed.

2.5.3 Migration and Mobility Theories

Since synoikism and sympolity could result in a population movement, I also use migration and mobility theories in my interpretation of the data and discussion of case studies. After its initial popularity in the early 20th century, migration as a theoretical model fell out of fashion in archaeology. More recently, migration has come back into the discussion, particularly with D.W. Anthony's 1990 article that acknowledges some of the past problems with using migration to explain cultural change but argues that it can still have a useful application in archaeology.¹⁰⁴ He argues that the previous narrative of mass, one-time migrations were very actually rare in the past; he instead advocates for considering the "push" factors (the reasons why

¹⁰⁴ Anthony 1990

the present place is unappealing to the migrant group) and the “pull” factors: (the reasons why the destination is appealing to the migrant group). Anthony argues that migrant groups very likely keep relations with their former place of residence, and he argues that migrations do not occur all at once. If there is a longer-distance move, the migrants must have established knowledge about the place through kinship networks in order to make the move viable. He also argues that short-range migrations were occurring in the ancient world, and he proposes different types of migrations, such as return migrations. In this type of migration, part of the migrant groups returns to the original location and maintains kin relationships and stream migrations in which groups from the original location move to the new location not all at once, but over several trips over time.¹⁰⁵

Mobility theories have been used more recently in the archaeology of the Mediterranean to explain the iterative movements of peoples and goods within short-distances and not necessarily to explain permanent movements; i.e., seasonal farming; craft production; trade.¹⁰⁶ While it is beyond the scope of this dissertation to get into the details of defining the fine differences between migration and mobility and their applications, I would argue that overall migration and mobility are relevant to this project because it is important to consider alternatives to one-way permanent migrations resulting from synoikism and sympolity. As peer polity interaction and Anthony’s review of migration suggest, there had to have been some sort of communication between two or more communities and some iterative movements between the different territories before the communities decided to formalize synoikism and sympolity alliances. These theories are also helpful for considering alternative outcomes to permanent

¹⁰⁵ Anthony 1990: 904

¹⁰⁶ Migration and mobility more recently have been used in the archaeology of the Mediterranean to explain not only how people and goods were moving but also cultural change. See van Dommelen 2014; Abell 2014; Mokrišová 2017.

migrations with synoikism and sympolity; as I will explore in the various case studies, a pattern that continues to arise throughout the evidence is that synoikism and sympolity did not always result in one-way movements from one place to another. The movements could be temporary, and even when a population movement did occur for urbanization, some landscapes that were “abandoned” continued to be used for residence, agricultural development, and resource extraction at a smaller scale. As I will explore in the case studies, the reasons for these movements could be politically motivated as well as environmentally motivated.

2.5.4 “Hellenization”

As this dissertation considers urbanization in Greek and indigenous regions of western Anatolia, the issue of “Hellenization” arises. It is beyond the scope of the dissertation to debate whether or not “Hellenization” is a useful term, but I agree with recent studies that the process was an active one in which local indigenous cultures were taking and reshaping what they found useful from Greek culture while still maintaining local traditions.¹⁰⁷ As already discussed above, Vanhaverbeke and Waelkens have adapted the peer polity interaction model to explain why local Pisidian groups decided to “Hellenize” and urbanize in the Hellenistic period. In my case studies, I examine regions in which Greeks already were living and formed cities (e.g., Ionia) as well as regions in which indigenous groups already had significant contact with Greek populations. So, in some cases Hellenization could have been a viable reason for instigating synoikism and sympolity alliances, such as in the case of Pisidia in which communities were doing so to gain favor with the Hellenistic kings. In other cases, such as in Ionia, Hellenization is not a factor since the communities are Greek and already have established urban and *polis* culture. I argue

¹⁰⁷ E.g., see Dietler 2010: 58-60. I recognize the problematic baggage that comes with the term but use it with a nuanced understanding of cultural adaptation.

that in either situation, with or without Hellenization, local elites were relying on their pre-existing peer network for synoikism and sympolity alliances and they were using these alliances for their own benefits in the wake of external political and environmental stimuli. One pattern that will become apparent in the case studies of urbanization in regions with indigenous groups, though, is that local elite agency is not only seen through the peer network and creation of these alliances, but also by the maintenance of local traditions after urbanization.

2.5.5 Other Theories and Data to Consider for Urbanization

While I use the peer polity interaction model as well as migration and mobility theories for the main theoretical basis of my dissertation, it is important to note here other theories and structures that can be considered for urbanization in Hellenistic Anatolia, such as complex systems and federations. For the data used in my dissertation, I draw upon a range of material as already described above including survey data; excavation data; funerary monuments; evidence from sanctuaries; literary and epigraphic texts; and coins. While I do not use much numismatic evidence in my dissertation (only for key case studies of sympolities), I will briefly review recent research on coinage and cities below.

D. Daems, especially in his consideration of the synoikism of Düzen Tepe and Sagalassos (which will be explored further in Chapter 6), uses complex systems to explain the urbanization process there.¹⁰⁸ There are certainly trade-offs and benefits to urbanization that communities considered, but these considerations can also be covered using the peer polity interaction model and analyzing communities' decisions when an external stimulus occurred. Moreover, it is important to note (as mentioned above when defining synoikism and sympolity) that although we

¹⁰⁸ Daems 2019

are talking about urbanization and decision-making as group processes, we cannot forget that only certain people with political power (i.e., citizen men) were ultimately making the decisions. Moreover, there could have been differing opinions in the greater communities about what was best in terms of alliances and moving settlements.

Other political institutions also played roles in urbanization and alliances, particularly federations (*koina*). Federations will be discussed in the relevant case study chapters, particularly for Lycia and Karia. The federations started as groups particularly in mainland Greece in the same region that defined themselves as part of the same *ethnos*.¹⁰⁹ E. Mackil reviews the complete history of the federations in ancient Greece, and she argues that “the political innovation, the creation of what we can recognize as federal institutions, occurred against the backdrop of spontaneous cooperation and competition, frequent religious and economic interactions.”¹¹⁰ The argument is similar to the idea of peer polity interaction, and I use this model to explain how other alliances outside of *koina* came to be and encouraged urbanization. When I examine *koina* themselves, I look at how they interact with other *koina*, *poleis*, and the Hellenistic kingdoms, such as the case with the Lycian League in Chapter 5.

Although I will not use coins as a main source of evidence in my dissertation, coins are at times important in identifying sympolities in my case studies, particularly for the joint coinages of Plarasa and Aphrodisias in Karia as well as Kremna and Keraitai in Pisidia. Thonemann has shown that civic coinages in the Hellenistic period do not necessarily equate to civic autonomy, but they do represent civic pride.¹¹¹ In the sympolity cases, the joint coinage has inscriptions with the respective cities involved in the partnerships with the (at least at first) more significant

¹⁰⁹ Thonemann 2015: 67

¹¹⁰ Mackil 2013: 14

¹¹¹ Thonemann 2015: 49-65

partner listed first (Plarasa and Aphrodisias; Kremna and Keraitai). Federal coinage also becomes important for the Hellenistic federations.¹¹² I will discuss coins in the relevant case studies of sympolity and in certain cases of civic pride (i.e., Lebedos).

2.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have focused on the idea of peer polity interaction as the basis for local elite connections that eventually form into formal alliances like synoikisms and sympolities in response to external stimuli (e.g., change in Hellenistic power; environmental change). I have also reviewed the definitions of terms and categories of evidence I will use to examine the local elite and the broader changes in urbanization in western Anatolia during the Hellenistic period. I chose to organize the dissertation as a series of case studies by ancient region, since each area has its own unique history, cultural groups, and geography. Indeed, within each region there is also variation among these categories. Organizing the dissertation by these regions, though, allows for comparisons of specific case studies within each chapter and for broader comparisons across regions in western Anatolia in the final conclusion. I start with the region of Ionia, as it is well-known for its synoikisms in ancient texts. I then roughly move counterclockwise to the east, first moving on to Karia and its various examples of sympolities; next discussing Lycia and Kabalia together due to their border interactions; and then north to Pisidia. My last case study chapter returns to northwestern Anatolia to end with the example of the rise of the Attalid empire and the effects it had on urbanization in its surrounding territories, not least to consider alternatives to top-down narratives of urbanization by the kingdom of Pergamon.

¹¹² Mackil and van Alfen 2006

Chapter 3: Ionia

3.1 Introduction

The region of Ionia is the focus of my first case study chapter due to its rich textual evidence for synoikism and sympolity. One of the most famous literary examples is the forced synoikism by Lysimachos to create Ephesos-Arsinoeia. He flooded the city of old Ephesos by blocking drains and moved the inhabitants of the city as well as other surrounding cities west to a new city on the coast.¹¹³ An example of synoikism from epigraphic evidence is the failed attempt of Antigonos I Monophthalmos to combine the cities of Teos and Lebedos.¹¹⁴ These textual sources demonstrate that Hellenistic kings and warlords influenced urbanization and population movements in Ionia, despite the fact that Ionian cities were well-established before the Hellenistic period.

The process of urbanization in Hellenistic Ionia was not solely top-down, however; it is possible to examine the local communities' agency within these situations. Peer communities were creating synoikism and sympolity alliances in response to greater political and environmental changes. Through war, trade, and kinship ties, various communities had already established peer networks before and during the Hellenistic period. I will explore the archaeological and textual evidence for these networks and how communities, and specifically the local elite, were advocating for themselves to solidify synoikism and sympolity alliances in response to external stimuli. I will first define the region of Ionia and provide historical

¹¹³ Strabo 14.1.21; Pausanias 1.9.7, 7.3.4-5

¹¹⁴ Ager 1996: 61-64; inscription in Welles 1934 nos. 3 and 4

developments, and then I will discuss the evidence for urbanization and alliances for the following case studies: Miletos and the Maeander region; Priene; the Urla-Çeşme peninsula; and Notion, the Hales river valley, and Ephesos.

3.1.1 Geography and Historical Developments

The region of Ionia in western Anatolia is on the coast of the Aegean Sea south of Aiolis and Mysia, north of Karia, and southwest of inland Lydia (Fig. 4). Although Ionia is presented here as a cohesive region, D. Hill notes the diversity of the region arguing that it is a “border region... bound together by a world view able to combine both Anatolian and Aegean identities.”¹¹⁵ Despite the diversity of Ionia, in the context of urbanization, it has been studied as a single region. Some of this scholarship has focused on the so-called Ionian Migration, in which Ionian Greek-speaking peoples were supposed to have migrated from mainland Greece during a Dorian invasion that pushed the Ionians to the western coast of Anatolia in the early 1st millennium BCE. The validity of this mass-migration event recounted by later historians has been challenged, and scholars have pointed to other factors that contributed to regional identity formation and urbanization.¹¹⁶ A greater sense of Greek identity between the Ionian Greeks and Greeks on the mainland occurred during the Persian Wars when many cities of Ionia revolted against Persia in 499 BCE. According to Herodotos, there were 12 cities that made up the region of Ionia and formed a federation called the Ionian League; Smyrna was later added to the league to make the total of cities 13.¹¹⁷ The Ionian cities thus identified as Greek; although the origins

¹¹⁵ Hill 2017: 87

¹¹⁶ E.g., Mac Sweeney 2013; Mac Sweeney 2017. Textual sources describing the Ionian Migration include Pausanias 7.2.1-4.

¹¹⁷ Herodotos 1.1.42.2; Mac Sweeney 2017: 381

of this Greek identity are contested, for my study it is important to note that in Ionia communities already had formed cities based on the Greek model by at least the 6th c. BCE.

In this league, member cities had to pay fees and met at its sanctuary Panionion dedicated to Poseidon Helikonios, which H. Lohmann has proven now to be at modern Çatallar Tepe. The sanctuary was built on the prior Karian site of Melia; based on the archaeological evidence Lohmann argues that the league did not form until the late 7th or early 6th c. BCE, even though it claimed to be older.¹¹⁸ The Ionian League served as a peer polity network among its members where the local elite could compete, establish kinship ties, and make decisions on behalf of their communities. In the second half of the 4th c. BCE, the Ionian League was re-established, which Lohmann suggests could correspond with the establishment of the new settlement of member city Priene.¹¹⁹

3.1.2 Case Studies

The Hellenistic history of Ionia is complex, with many Hellenistic rulers fighting against each other for territories. As mentioned above, Ionia is a diverse area, and there are many cities to choose from to discuss. It would be too much to review each and every city of Ionia, so I have chosen to tell the story of urbanization and alliances through these specific case studies where there has been recent archaeological survey work. My first case study examines the rise of Miletos during the Hellenistic period and its role within two sympolities. The first sympolity is a product of the siltation of the Maeander River (Büyük Menderes); the independent city of Myous formed a sympolity with Miletos by the late 3rd c. BCE and moved its settlement to escape the

¹¹⁸ Lohmann 2012: 36-49, citing Meister 1999: 938 in reference to the early Hellenistic inscription from Paros (“Marmor Parium,” IG XII.5.444) that provides a chronological view of ancient Greek history and says the league was founded a year before the Trojan War.

¹¹⁹ Lohmann 2012: 37-38, citing Kleiner et al. 1967: 45ff for the second half of the 4th c. BCE inscription from Güzelçamlı.

infestations of mosquitoes. The second sympolity alliance is between Miletos and the smaller mountain city of Pidasas in Karia in the 180s BCE in response to wider political factors. The regional inter-city politics and the environmental situation provide an example of how the local elite were negotiating with their own peers, how communities responded to environmental factors as well as political ones in determining their urban development, and how landscapes continued to be used after formal sympolity alliances.

My second case study focuses on the urban development of late Classical to Hellenistic Priene, which supposedly moved from an earlier location along the Maeander River. It provides a comparison to Miletos, Myous, and the surrounding settlements affected by the siltation of the Maeander River, since Priene moved its location for itself and did not form an alliance with another city in the wake of the changing landscape of the Maeander River valley, although it could have brought instigated a synoikism with surrounding villages to produce its new city location. In this way, it is possible to see how different communities responded to the changing environment in the ways which they thought were best.

My third case study focuses on the settlement pattern evidence and the peer city relations among communities on the Urla-Çeşme peninsula, including Teos, Lebedos, Klazomenai, Kyrbissos, and Airai. E. Koparal has been surveying the Urla-Çeşme peninsula since 2006, and her work sheds more light upon the relationships between these settlements.¹²⁰ I first focus on the synoikism of Teos and Lebedos, instigated by Antigonos I Monophthalmos between 306 to 302 BCE when the ruler had control of western Anatolia after the Second War of the Diadochoi in 315 BCE, but likely never fully materialized. From the survey evidence, while there is overall a decline in Hellenistic sites on the peninsula, there is archaeological evidence for the

¹²⁰ Lohmann 2004; Koparal et al. 2017

continuation of the community of Lebedos after this supposed failed synoikism. The inscription with the synoikism text and other epigraphic evidence provide additional insight on the agency of the local communities within the synoikism process, despite the original order coming from the Hellenistic ruler, and how Klazomenai also had a role in the developments on the peninsula. I then focus on the evidence for the sympolity between Teos and the city of Kyrbissos, the latter of which has recently been identified archaeologically by Koparal, in the 3rd c. BCE. The archaeological and epigraphic evidence demonstrate another diverse outcome for sympolity and how Kyrbissos was maintained as a fort.

The final case study focuses on the sympolity agreement between Kolophon and Notion (also known as Kolophon-by-the-Sea) and the urban developments at both sites. Notion eventually eclipsed Kolophon as the main settlement, despite Kolophon being the older settlement. The Notion Archaeological Survey has finished an urban survey of the city of Notion; the results for the main occupation of Notion already have implications for the city's relationships with its predecessor Kolophon (where there has been a recent survey), its sanctuary of Klaros (where there are ongoing excavations), and the nearby contemporary city of Ephesos. The archaeological evidence provides insight into the changing settlement patterns and local elite agency despite the synoikism by Lysimachos for Ephesos-Arsinoeia in 292 BCE.

Analysis of the settlement pattern data and other archaeological data in combination with the textual sources, peer polity interaction, and migration and mobility theories show that local communities had agency to decide terms of agreement and physical movements, even in cases when the migrations were forced (by Hellenistic kings or natural phenomena). This finding is consistent with Boehm's argument that instead of the destruction narratives used in the textual

sources, actual processes of synoikism were “slower, more consensual, and carefully planned to create viable, thriving new communities based on a corporate sense of belonging.”¹²¹

3.2 Miletos and the Maeander River Delta

The Maeander River valley was a fertile area south of the Messogis mountains (Aydın Dağları) and north of the Latmos mountains (Beşparmak Dağları) where many settlements existed and were founded or re-founded during the Hellenistic period. The river caused the progressive siltation of the delta out into the Aegean; Miletos, Myous, and Priene, all once on the banks of the Maeander River and in the gulf of Latmos, are now all land-locked due to the creation of new plains. Ancient literary sources describe the effects of this siltation on settlements and their decisions to move, most notably the city of Myous, and archaeological evidence such as coring and ceramic studies confirm the effects of the environment on the people who called the Maeander their home.

Miletos was a leading city in the Maeander River valley during the Hellenistic period, and as the city and its countryside were growing during this time, other settlements decided to make alliances with Miletos. First, I will review the evidence for the growth of Miletos during the Hellenistic period. I will then review the evidence for two sympolities in which Miletos was part. The first case focuses on the sympolity between Miletos and Myous, which was spurred on by the natural siltation. The second case is the sympolity between Miletos and Pidasia after the Treaty of Apamea in 188 BCE. In the following review of these movement of peoples, I want to consider why certain communities chose to move to one place over another and how movements within the “old” settlements were certainly possible and occurred despite the accounts of

¹²¹ Boehm 2012: 325

sympolity with Miletos. I use migration and mobility theories to consider why cities like Myous decided to form alliances with Miletos, and I argue that the pre-existing kinship relations between the Ionian cities (by identifying as Greek) and shared cultural practices such as worshipping at the Panionion formed the basis of this network before the cities decided to move.

3.2.1 Miletos

A brief overview of Miletos' history sets the stage for its position in the Hellenistic world. Miletos is known to have existed well before the Hellenistic period. The regional survey of Miletos by H. Lohmann was conducted from 1990-1999 and encompassed 270km²; the diachronic survey found over 600 sites dating to the Middle Chalcolithic to the Ottoman periods.¹²² There is evidence of activity around Miletos from as early as the Neolithic period; in the Late Bronze Age, it was likely the site of Millawanda, identified in Hittite texts which describe its destruction by king Mursili II in 1316.¹²³ As mentioned already above, the Ionians took part in a revolt in 499 BCE from the Persian Empire and supported Athens. After the Battle of Lade in 494 BCE, Persians supposedly destroyed Miletos.¹²⁴ From the results of his survey of the Milesia, Lohmann says it is not possible to tell the effects of this destruction on the countryside due to the lack of refinement in the ceramic chronologies, but that the countryside likely contributed to the city's recovery after the destruction.¹²⁵

After the destruction by the Persians, the city was re-founded and followed the so-called Hippodamian grid that had existed in the Archaic period.¹²⁶ Miletos was independent after the

¹²² Lohmann 2004: 326

¹²³ Greaves 2002: 41; Lohmann 2004: 334

¹²⁴ Herodotos 6.19-6.20

¹²⁵ Lohmann 2004: 346

¹²⁶ Kleiner 1968: 25

Greco-Persian Wars, but became part of the Persian empire again in 386 BCE with the King's Peace.¹²⁷ The city sided with the Persians during Alexander's conquest and was defeated by him in 334 BCE.¹²⁸ Later in the Hellenistic period, during the Second Syrian War, Antiochos II of the Seleukid kingdom freed the city from Ptolemaic rule, and the people of Miletos gave honors to Antiochos II in return.¹²⁹ Miletos then shifted from Seleukid to Ptolemaic rule after the death of Antiochos II, but became a free city after the Treaty of Apamea.¹³⁰ Despite being free, in the early to mid-2nd c. BCE Eumenes II of the Attalid kingdom built a gymnasium at Miletos and other buildings can be dated to around this period such as the council house.¹³¹ Benefactions by Hellenistic kings contributed to this urban renewal, and they provide insight into the relationships between the Hellenistic powers and the people who lived in Miletos. As Ma has argued in his book on Antiochos III, the civic language used in these benefaction inscriptions allowed the local elite of the Hellenistic cities to engage with the kings, both by honoring them and by exerting their agency in the government process.¹³² Overall, the Hellenistic period seems to be one of growth in the city of Miletos.

Lohmann's survey results have shown that there was also expansion in the Hellenistic countryside.¹³³ Overall, the second-order settlements of villages and farmsteads in the countryside of Miletos grew.¹³⁴ At the same time, however, there were certain peer communities of Miletos that moved to contribute to the population of the city. Lohmann cites the abandonments of surrounding cities like Assesos and Teichioussa, which led to people

¹²⁷ Xenophon, *Hellenica* 5.1.31

¹²⁸ Arrian, *Anabasis* 1.19

¹²⁹ Ma 1999: 41

¹³⁰ Kleiner 1968: 18-19

¹³¹ Kleiner 1968: 78; 89

¹³² Ma 1999

¹³³ Lohmann 2004: 347

¹³⁴ Lohmann 2004: 346-351; Thonemann 2011: 250

populating the city and its territory.¹³⁵ Based on the survey pottery results, Teichioussa was abandoned in the second half of the 4th c. BCE.¹³⁶ A more recent project by T.C. Wilkinson and A. Slawisch on the agricultural potential of the Milesian countryside has shown using Lohmann's data "the highest density of construction *in the chora* (i.e. not including the major centres at Miletos and Didyma) occurred in the Byzantine period, followed by the (presumably late) Classical/Hellenistic and then the Archaic" (original emphasis).¹³⁷ Wilkinson and Slawisch also show that the palynological evidence supports the suggestion of significant expansion in the Hellenistic countryside. Core data taken from Lake Bafa (a modern lake created by the siltation of the Maeander Delta) indicates increased levels of olive pollen for the Hellenistic and Roman periods, which Wilkinson and Slawisch suggest could correlate with the higher number of architectural enclosures for increased agricultural cultivation during this time.¹³⁸ Overall, then, as shown by the survey results, Miletos had significant growth in the countryside to support the Hellenistic city, while at the same time peer settlements like Teichioussa were joining Miletos, likely because they saw the opportunity to join a more politically powerful city.¹³⁹ In this way, it is possible to see how the exploitation of the countryside increased to support the growth of the city. This extensive exploitation of the countryside is also supported by an inscription for the gymnasium built by Eumenes II; there was no local timber left for the construction of the building.¹⁴⁰

There is evidence for the local elite's role within this exploitation of the countryside.

Lohmann argues that the local elite were investing in the countryside and likely had residences in

¹³⁵ Lohmann 2004: 347-348

¹³⁶ Lohmann 2004: 347, footnote 100

¹³⁷ Wilkinson and Slawisch 2020: 200

¹³⁸ Wilkinson and Slawisch 2020: 202-203, citing Knipping et al. 2008.

¹³⁹ Lohmann 2004

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., citing Herrmann 1965.

both the city and the countryside, as evidenced by elite monumental tombs. He cites the expensive Mausoleum-inspired grave monument of Ta Marmara near Akbük as an example of an elite marking his formerly owned territory.¹⁴¹ With their markers of status in the countryside, the local elite chose to identify with their main land holdings. Thus, it is possible to see the local elite's presence in the growth of Miletos both within the city and within its territory.

3.2.2 Sympolity of Miletos and Myous and the Siltation of the Maeander

As Miletos was growing in the Hellenistic period, it also became an appealing city to partner with in sympolity alliances. The first example is the site of Myous, which was detrimentally affected by the silting of the Maeander River. As mentioned above, Miletos is now landlocked, but it used to be located right on the Aegean Sea on the Akron peninsula, south of the Mykale peninsula and southwest of the Latmos mountains (see Fig. 5). The Maeander River deposited silt in the gulf of Latmos over time and resulted in the eventual complete bridging of the Akron and Mykale peninsulas by 1500 CE.¹⁴² Geological archaeological studies have been able to reconstruct the timeline of how the gulf of Latmos became a landmass.¹⁴³ Brückner et al. discuss the various islands that became landlocked during the siltation of the gulf of Latmos over time. According to their reconstruction, Myous was cut off from the Aegean fully by 300 CE, but textual evidence shows that the people of Myous were so negatively affected by the siltation in the Hellenistic period that they moved to Miletos.

Strabo describes the relationship as a sympolity, but the epigraphic evidence describes an unequal partnership in which Myous became part of Miletos' *peraia* and Myous was "no longer

¹⁴¹ Lohmann 2004: 348

¹⁴² Brückner et al. 2017: 878, citing Müllenhoff 2005.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

a polis.”¹⁴⁴ Mackil demonstrates that Miletos incorporated Myous since a text from an inscription dated to 234/3 BCE describes how the Milesians demanded that Myous accept mercenaries from them.¹⁴⁵ Pausanias in particular notes that the swarm of mosquitoes that bred in the resulting lake from the siltation at Myous forced the residents to flee.¹⁴⁶ Pausanias’ account describes how the siltation caused the migration to Miletos, in which Myous would then be represented by Miletos at the Panionion:

This inlet the river Maeander turned into a lake by blocking up the entrance with mud. When the water, ceasing to be sea, became fresh, gnats in vast swarms bred in the lake until the inhabitants were forced to leave the city. They departed for Miletos, taking with them the images of the gods and their other movables...¹⁴⁷

Archaeological and geological evidence has proven that Myous was abandoned in the Hellenistic period. Coring results confirm that there is no material culture later than the Hellenistic period and that Myous lost its harbors and developed a coastal lake before the mid-1st c. to mid-2nd c. CE.¹⁴⁸

Miletos’ absorption of Myous was not its first interest in Myous’ resources, however, and it was not necessarily a permanent alliance. When Myous was still a *polis*, Myous and Miletos were interacting as peers and were fighting over alluvial land in the late 4th c. BCE.¹⁴⁹ After the subordinate status of Myous to Miletos described in the inscription from 234/3 BCE, an event dated to 201 BCE that is described by Polybios occurred in which Philip V attempted to trade

¹⁴⁴ Greaves 2002: 137; Herda et al. 2019: 34; Strabo 14.1.10; Pausanias 7.2.11; Strabo describes the union as a sympolity (συμπεπόλισται), while Pausanias describes the movement due to the danger of the mosquitoes. Mackil notes that the shortage of men could have been connected to malaria from the mosquitoes. Mackil 2004: 496.

¹⁴⁵ Mackil 2004: 496-497, citing *I. Milet* 1.3, 33c lines 12-13.

¹⁴⁶ Greaves 2002: 137; Brückner et al. 2017: 878; Strabo 14.1.10; Pausanias 7.2.11

¹⁴⁷ Pausanias, 7.2.10-11, from Brückner et al. 2017: 878, translated by Jones and Ormerod 1918.

¹⁴⁸ Brückner et al. 2002: 52-55. They suggest based on this evidence and the textual evidence that it probably happened in Hellenistic times.

¹⁴⁹ Thonemann 2011: 28, citing Rhodes and Osborne 2007, no. 16; Mackil 2004: 496, citing *I. Priene* 458 frag. A line 5-6.

Myous to another city, Magnesia on the Maeander, “in exchange for the Magnesians with which he fed his army during a grain shortage.”¹⁵⁰ Miletos and the neighboring city Herakleia at Latmos also had a conflict which resulted in an isopolity agreement dated to the 180s.¹⁵¹ Following the isopolity agreement, Miletos (supported by Herakleia at Latmos) fought against Magnesia on the Maeander (supported by Priene) over territory in the Maeander, for which evidence is found in a peace treaty dated to around 185/4 to 180 BCE.¹⁵² As a result of the treaty, Hybandis (the territory around Hybanda) became the border between Miletos and Magnesia on the Maeander: “the land above the river was to belong to Magnesia, that below to Miletos.”¹⁵³ Mackil argues that the contested territory was likely that of Myous.¹⁵⁴ So in these successive conflicts, we can see how Myous and its territory were contested spaces and how Myous continued to be engaged in local politics even after it was supposedly subordinate to Miletos, suggesting that the movement was not a single mass migration to Miletos.

Although the siltation seemingly forced Myous to migrate, it is possible to examine Myous’ agency within the decision of when and where to move. Mackil argues that despite the environmental situation and the influence of the larger communities, Myous’ movement to Miletos was not a catastrophe, but rather an opportunity that the Myousians took advantage of in light of their deteriorating setting.¹⁵⁵ She contrasts the situation with a similar one that occurred at Kaunos in Karia: the Kaunians did not leave their malaria-ridden location because the productivity from local fishing and farming was too great. She uses this example to show that the

¹⁵⁰ Mackil 2004: 497, citing Polybios 16.24.9.

¹⁵¹ Errington 1989: 282, *I. Milet* 150.

¹⁵² For dating of the inscription, *I. Milet* 148, see Errington 1989.

¹⁵³ Mackil 2004: 497. She cites A. Rehm in: Kawerau and Rehm 1914: 341–349 no. 148 lines 28–38 (peace treaty) and Herda et al. 2019.

¹⁵⁴ Mackil 2004: 497

¹⁵⁵ Mackil 2004: 497

Myousians did have a choice in whether or not they decided to move.¹⁵⁶ Although the disadvantage would have been giving up its independent status, the Myousians did not necessarily lose their civic identities; even if their membership to the Panionion went to Miletos, they maintained their ties to their old identities by bringing material culture related to their cult worship (statues and temple blocks), which also happened with communities that moved to Nikopolis in Greece.¹⁵⁷

Why did people decide to move to Miletos, as opposed to another location, from Myous? Mackil argues that the people of Myous had a choice to abandon their city and Miletos was the “most advantageous destination.”¹⁵⁸ She does not, however, elaborate on the other end of that choice: why the people of Myous settled at Miletos instead of another place, such as Priene, which was another flourishing Ionian city at this time. It is helpful here to think about anthropological theory on migration and mobility as well as peer polity interaction. As discussed in mobility theories, humans establish connections between two (or more) places, and the movements between these places are not always just in one direction and happened in one event.¹⁵⁹ The purposes for migration can be considered in “push” and “pull” factors, but mobility more accurately describes the fact that people did not move in one mass migration and often kept connections with the place from which they migrated, especially with smaller-scale migrations.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁶ Mackil 2004: 505-506

¹⁵⁷ Mackil 2004: 495; 497, exemplified by the suggestion that an inscribed block with a decree celebrating Apollodoros who gave dedications to Apollo Terminus at Myous, which was found at Miletos, was originally from the temple at Myous. *SEG* 36.1047, from Herrmann 1965.

¹⁵⁸ Mackil 2004: 496

¹⁵⁹ E.g., Anthony 1990 for different types of migration pathways.

¹⁶⁰ “Short distance migration” as discussed in Anthony 1990.

One factor that can be considered is the economic growth of Miletos during the Classical and Hellenistic periods. Thonemann argues that Miletos was able to exploit the siltation of the Maeander delta successfully as part of the region's switch from the *kleros* system of land-ownership to a system in which private people could own large areas of land for agricultural development.¹⁶¹ He says that the growth of monumental tombs in the countryside of Miletos is connected with "this new stratum of large-scale landowners [who] chose to live and die on their own vast properties in the Milesian *chora* rather than in the urban centre itself."¹⁶² Mackil also notes that Miletos was able to manage the siltation of its harbor for a longer period of time successfully (we can also consider the fact that its location is closer to the Aegean Sea as opposed to further inland).¹⁶³ As already mentioned above, there was an expansion of settlement growth in the Miletos countryside in this period, which perhaps relates to the economic prosperity of the wealthy landowners, the management of the silt at Miletos, and the movement of peoples such as those from Myous to Miletos.

The economic growth of Miletos could have been an attractive factor for why people in the gulf of Latmos decided to move there. Miletos was also affected by the siltation at the time, but apparently not to a large degree since it did not significantly hinder monumental construction. On the sea, Miletos also had easy access to traded goods via sea networks, which was hindered at Myous and other locations due to the siltation. On land, the exploitation of the countryside contributed to the wealth of individuals who owned this land and benefited from it, as evidenced by the Ta Marmara monumental tomb in Miletos' countryside. It is also likely that

¹⁶¹ Thonemann 2011: 246-249

¹⁶² Thonemann 2011: 250, citing Lohmann 2004: 348. He also notes that there is a similar process at Kyaneai and cites Kolb and Thomsen 2004: 34-41.

¹⁶³ Mackil 2004: 496, citing several sources that it continued into the 5th and 6th c. CE: Robert 1969: 346-349 and Foss 1977: 477.

people from Myous did not move from Myous to Miletos all at once, as demonstrated by the subsequent attempt by Philip V to give Myous to Magnesia. The movement from Myous to Miletos was probably not as simple as the push factor of the siltation and the pull factor of the economic growth of Miletos but acknowledging a potential pull factor for moving adds to the picture on why Miletos was chosen as the destination.

Peer polity interaction can also help explain Myous' previously established relationship with Miletos and how Myous decided to rely upon this connection for the move. Myous' previous disputes between Magnesia and Miletos were a form of peer connection; while it must not be forgotten that intimidation from these larger *poleis* also likely contributed to the decision of the Myousians to leave, on the flipside it could have also indicated future protection if they decided to join with one of these *poleis*. Miletos turned out to be the more desirable choice.

Another political connection is the larger structure of the Ionian League, which was established in the late 7th or early 6th c. BCE but refounded during the second half of the 4th c. BCE.¹⁶⁴ The peer polity network was established much earlier than the Hellenistic period, but the reaffirmation of the bond and the participation at festivals at the sanctuary renewed the connections between the Ionian elite during the end of the Classical period and the beginning of the Hellenistic period. Myous had options to choose from among the Ionian League when deciding its move, such as Priene, but actively chose to partner with Miletos. Lastly, Miletos was also further down the coast, and perhaps the community of Myous consciously chose a location that would not be as affected by the siltation of the Maeander.

Myous was not the only community affected by the siltation on the gulf of Latmos; other communities felt the effects of the siltation at different times. Hybanda was landlocked by the

¹⁶⁴ Lohmann 2012: 37; 49

late 8th c. BCE, but Brückner et al. speculate that it might have continued to be a seasonal island during the winter floods.¹⁶⁵ The countryside of Hybanda (the Hybandis) was once owned by Myous, but when Myous was no longer autonomous, Miletos took over ownership of the land.¹⁶⁶ Dromiskos and Perne, two nearby islands, were landlocked in between the 4th c. BCE and the mid-1st c. BCE, for which the accounts of Arrian and Pliny that provide us with this date range.¹⁶⁷ Before Priene moved to its new location in the mid-4th c. BCE, its old location that silted up was supposedly further up the Maeander River (see Section 3.3 below on Priene).

Moreover, it is important to recognize that while the siltation of the gulf of Latmos made life more difficult for residents, the new landscapes created by this siltation were not necessarily completely abandoned. The landscapes continued to be regulated and exploited to some degree. A later Augustan inscription describes how a Milesian citizen Caius Iulius Epikrates got permission from Augustus for Miletos to own the new land, and Miletos honored him.¹⁶⁸ Since the grant includes sandbanks, Thonemann notes that “by granting the Milesians possession of the sandbars protecting the coastal lagoons, Augustus was effectively handing them ownership of the most profitable part of the coastal fisheries along the Maeander delta frontage.”¹⁶⁹ Brückner et al. suggest that this fishing area was near Priene or near new silted land by Myous.¹⁷⁰ In either case, Miletos gained an economic advantage in this situation, and more broadly this situation shows how people during this time period continued to use the alluvial lands even if the accompanying

¹⁶⁵ Brückner et al. 2017: 879

¹⁶⁶ Brückner et al. 2017: 880

¹⁶⁷ Brückner et al. 2017: 882, citing Pliny, *Natural History* 2.204 as this area already landlocked in his time; Brückner et al. 2017: 886, citing Arrian, *Anabasis* 1.19.4–6, “Arrian delivers us a *terminus post quem* for the landlocking the end of the 4th century BCE. The *terminus ante quem* is given by Pliny’s *Naturalis Historia* (mid-1st century CE).”

¹⁶⁸ Brückner et al. 2017: 878, citing Herrmann 2006 and Brückner et al. 2014; Thonemann 2011: 322

¹⁶⁹ Thonemann 2011: 322-323

¹⁷⁰ Brückner et al. 2017: 879

cities near the siltation were not necessarily occupied. This situation is also the case for Hybanda, which could have continued to be a seasonal island, as noted above. Even though it was landlocked in the late 8th c. BCE, it seems like there was still continued activity in the *chora* of Hybanda based on some archaeological findings at modern Özbaşı and the use of Hybandis as a border in the 180s BCE (discussed above).¹⁷¹ This case allows us to think about landscapes that changed but were not deemed completely unusable by the inhabitants even if some of the population might have left. Thus, it is not only possible to think about the abandonment of Myous as a choice, but also to consider alternative uses for the landscape other than a *polis*. Although the term sympolity is used by Strabo in this example, the alliance can more accurately be thought of as an active adsorption of one *polis* by another but with the active participation of the community of the lesser *polis* Myous.

3.2.3 Sympolity of Miletos and Pidasas

Another example of Miletos' influence in the region is its sympolity with Pidasas, a small city located southeast of Miletos in the Grion mountain range in Karia (Ilbir Dağ) (Fig. 6).¹⁷² According to an inscription published by A. Rehm in 1914, Miletos and Pidasas had a sympolity agreement in the early 2nd c. BCE.¹⁷³ The inscription most likely dates to around the time or slightly after the Treaty of Apamea (188/187 BCE).¹⁷⁴ The Pidasians were granted the same rights as citizens of Miletos in the sympolity, and the Pidasians were required to pay taxes.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷¹ Brückner et al. 2017: 879, citing Lohmann 2006 (2002): 199.

¹⁷² Flensted-Jensen in Hansen and Nielsen 2004: 1131 mentions that Pidasas is called a *polis* in its sympolity agreements.

¹⁷³ Kawerau and Rehm 1914, I. *Milet* 149; the alliance is described as a συνθήκη in lines 63-64: ὁπότεροι δὲ ἂν μὴ) ἐμμ(ε)ίνωσιν τοῖς ἐν τῆιδε τῆι συνθήκῃ κατακεχωρισμένοις, Gauthier 2001: 120.

¹⁷⁴ See Wörle 1988 and Errington 1989 for the date.

¹⁷⁵ Gauthier 2001: 126 and Migeotte 2001: 130; lines 10-12 discuss the Pidasians as fellow citizens of the Milesians: εἶναι Πιδασεῖς Μιλησίων πολίτας καὶ τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας, ὅσαι ἂν ὦσιν φύσει Πιδασίδες ἢ πόλεως Ἑλληνίδος πολίτιδες; see lines 18-21 for the taxes and lines 44-47 for the citizenship.

Instead of a forced migration, Pidasa reached out to Miletos first by sending ambassadors to Miletos' assembly to suggest the sympolity so that Pidasa and its revenues would become part of Miletos.¹⁷⁶ The Milesians likely consulted the oracle of Apollo at Didyma before agreeing, as it had done in the past, and after Miletos accepted.¹⁷⁷ The reason for Pidasa initiating the alliance appears to have been security related; in the beginning of the text, the Milesians agree to help protect Pidasa by sending *phourarchs* and garrisons and to restore the fortifications.¹⁷⁸ Miletos also agreed to give 390 beds to people who were from Pidasa, showing that the communities expected at least some people from Pidasa to move to Miletos.¹⁷⁹

Before the official sympolity, there is evidence of peer network connections between cities. Ph. Gauthier notes that there is epigraphic evidence for people at Pidasa living in Miletos in the 3rd c. BCE before the actual sympolity agreement in 188/187 BCE.¹⁸⁰ It also shows that the political agreement of the sympolity does not necessarily equate to a complete depopulation of the smaller community being incorporated into the larger one. Other scholars have suggested that the site of Pidasa was abandoned after the sympolity due to the epigraphic evidence that Miletos provided housing for Pidasians. Gauthier has argued, however, in the text of the sympolity agreement that a complete depopulation cannot be the case. The surrounding territory of Pidasa must have been continued to be exploited, and even the inscription discusses the activities that the Pidasians will continue to do:

¹⁷⁶ Gauthier 2001: 121 makes the argument that the Milesians consulted the oracle as they did with the Herakleians and Cretans, citing *I. Milet I.3*, 150; 1. 25, 65, 107, 110, 117, 121, 122 and 33g and 36a.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁸ Gauthier 2001: 122-123, lines 15-18: πέμπειν δὲ Μιλησίους εἰς Πίδασα τὸν λαχόντα τῶν πολιτῶν φρούραρχον καὶ φρουρούς, ὅσους ἂν ἰκανοὺς εἶναι φαίνηται, καὶ προνοεῖν. ὅπως τὰ τεῖχη ἐπισκευάζηται καὶ κατὰ χώραν μένη, καὶ τῆς φυλακῆς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, καθότι ἂν κρίνωσι συμφέρειν.

¹⁷⁹ Gauthier 2001: 125, lines 25-28: δοῦναι δὲ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Μιλησίων Πιδασεῦσιν τοῖς κατωικηκόσιν καὶ ἐμμενηκόσιν μέχρι τοῦ νῦν χρόνου ἑμ Πιδάσοις ἢ τῆι χώραι τῆι Πιδασέων οἰκ(ή)σεις εἰς κλινῶν λόγον τριακοσίων καὶ ἑνεήκοντα

¹⁸⁰ Gauthier 2001: 124-125, citing *I. Milet I.3* (Delphinion), 41, III, 3; 64, 9-11; 71, I, 81; 72, 3; 74 a, 4; 75, 2-5; 77, 5-9; 79, 1-2; 86, 7-8.

“exploit the olive groves (1.19), raise and take care of the cattle (1.21), harvest in the mountain the honey from the hives (1.23), cultivate the sacred and public domains (1.28-30), sow and harvest the grain in the ‘sacred mountains’ (1.33-34), own vines in the Euromis and sell their wine to Miletos (1.39-44)”¹⁸¹

Even if these activities did not necessarily require permanent residence, the land continued to be used and the region around Pidasa was not completely abandoned. In this way, although some Pidasians were moving to Miletos, other Pidasians continued to exploit the countryside of their original home (if not also living there) to sustain trade and interpersonal connections with those who lived in Miletos. The example of Miletos and Pidasa also complicates the traditional definition of a sympolity as a political but not physical union; as Boehm suggests, there is a spectrum of outcomes for synoikism and sympolity.¹⁸²

¹⁸¹ Gauthier 2001: 125, translated from French. Greek text from Migeotte 2001.

έν τῇ χώρῃ τῇ Πιδασέων τὸ μὲν ἔλαιον εἶναι ἐπιτελὲς τῶν τελῶ-
[20] ν ὧν καὶ Μιλήσιοι τιθέασιν· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων τελεῖν χαλκοῦν ἐφ’ ἔτη πέ -
τε ἄρχοντος στεφανηφόρου Φιλίδου, καὶ τῶν κτηνῶν τῶν ἰσταμένω[v]
έν τῇ Πιδασίδι, ὅσα ἐστὶν Πιδασέων τῶν ἐμ Πιδάσοις κατοικούντων
καὶ ζμηνῶν τὸ ἴσον [ἐ]φ’ ἔτη τρία ἄρχοντος τοῦ αὐτοῦ στεφανηφόρου
[24] διελθόντος δὲ τοῦ προειρημένου χρόνου τελεῖν εἰς Μίλητον Πιδασεῖς
Πιδασεῖς

τὰ αὐτὰ τέλη, καθότι ἂν αἱ οἱ λοιποὶ Μιλήσιοι τελωνῶνται...

[28] νέμεσθαι δὲ

Πιδασεῖς τὰς τε ὑπαρχούσας ἱεράς κτήσεις καὶ δημοσίας καὶ ἂν τι
νες ἄλλαι προσγίνωνται τοῖς θεοῖς ἢ τῷ δήμῳ, πέντε μὲν ἔτη ἄρ-
χοντος στεφανηφόρου Φιλίδου τελοῦντας τῶν ἐκφορίων χαλκοῦ[v],
[32] διελθόντος δὲ τοῦ προειρημένου χρόνου τὰ ἴσα τέλη ὅσα καὶ Μιλήσιοι
φέρουσιν τοῦ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ὄρεσιν τοῖς περιωρισμένοις γινομέν
σίτου τελεῖν αὐτοῦς διελθόντων τῶν πέντε ἐτῶν ἑκατοστήν
εἰς τὸν αἰὶ χρόνον εἶναι δὲ Πιδασέων τοὺς προσγραφησομένους
[36] ἀτελεῖς λειτουργιῶν ἐφ’ ἔτη δέκα ἄρχοντος στεφανηφόρου
Φιλίδου...

συγκεχωρησθαι δὲ Πιδασέων τοῖς προσγραφησομένοις

[40] πρὸς τὸ πολίτευμα καὶ ἐνεκτεμένοις ἐν τῇ Εὐρωμίδι εἰσάγειν ἀπὸ
το

γεινομένου οἰνικοῦ γεν(ν)ήματος ἐν ταῖς ἰδίαις κτήσεσιν ἕως πλείστῳ
μετρητῶν χιλίων ἀπὸ μηνὸς Ποσιδεώνος τοῦ ἐπὶ Φιλίδου, τελοῦσιν ἐλ
λιμένιον χαλκοῦν εἰς τὸν αἰὶ χρόνον, ἀπογραψαμένων ἐπὶ τὸ τῆς βουλῆς
[44] ἀρχεῖον τῶν ἐνεκτεμένων ἐν τῇ Εὐρωμίδι·

¹⁸² Hansen and Nielsen 2004: 117; Boehm 2018: 12

Gauthier argues that the Pidasians agreed to a sympolity in exchange for protection by Miletos after the Treaty of Apamea caused a change in land ownership: Roman magistrates divided up the land taken from the Seleukid kingdom and redistributed it.¹⁸³ Gauthier and L. Robert note that Pidasa was subjected to threats by Herakleia on the Latmos, with which they had territorial disputes; a sympolity agreement with the growing power of Miletos allowed for protection for Pidasa as well as continued autonomy, as seen by the continued exploitation of the Pidasian countryside.¹⁸⁴ In this case, it is evident how the local communities were responding to larger political changes to preserve their best interests. Pidasa was a smaller community, and during the shift of power after the war between Antiochos III and Rome, there was instability. Pidasa was subject to exploitation by the larger *polis* communities. In the agreement, Pidasa had to pay taxes on its goods to Miletos, but the benefit of protection from Miletos gave Pidasa the security it needed to continue, in part, its autonomy in the countryside. As evidenced by the presence of Pidasians living in Miletos in the 3rd c. BCE, Miletos was not just a natural choice because of the threats from Herakleia on the Latmos, but also because there were previously established kinship ties between the two cities. Relationships between Pidasa and Miletos already existed, but the greater political shift was a stimulus for the two to create a more formal alliance. Miletos also funded the construction of a road between Pidasa and Ioniapolis (a port of Miletos now on the southeastern bank of Lake Bafa), which presumably benefited the Pidasians since it facilitated trade within the region.¹⁸⁵ The situation has parallels with the siltation of the gulf of Latmos, where Miletos was competing with other cities (for Hybanda and Myous, against

¹⁸³ Gauthier 2001: 123, citing Holleaux 1918: 38-49 and Robert 1962 (1935): 62-63 and 1978: 515.

¹⁸⁴ Migeotte 2001: 131, citing Robert 1978: 494.

¹⁸⁵ Migeotte 2001: 130, lines 44-47: ἀρχεῖον τῶν ἐνεκτημένων ἐν τῇ Εὐρωμίδι κατασκευάσαι δὲ Μιλησίουσ ὁδὸν ἐκ τῆς Πιδασίδος ζυγίοις πορευτὴν εἰς Ἴωνίαν πόλιν μετέχειν δὲ Πιδασέων καὶ τοὺς πεπολιτογραφημένους πρότερον τῶν αὐτῶν πα[ρ] Πιδασεῦσιν πλὴν (πλήν) τῆς ἀτελείας τῶν λειτουργιῶν

Magnesia on the Maeander) for regional influence. Miletos, in turn, was able to expand its territory and gain access to the fertile agricultural area around Pidasas.

Although the archaeology of Pidasas has not been studied systematically, the available reports on the site demonstrate that it was occupied in the Hellenistic period and its inhabitants prioritized security. J.M. Cook first proposed that Pidasas is located at modern Cert Osman Kale, a fortified site near modern Danişment.¹⁸⁶ Cook drew an approximate plan of one of the fortified areas of the site and noted through the short visit that there were 4th c. BCE and Hellenistic roof tiles, and black gloss pottery, but no later Hellenistic or Roman pottery. Since the pottery was not systematically studied, though, these findings have to be taken with caution.¹⁸⁷ W. Radt later visited Pidasas in 1966 and expanded upon Cook's approximate plan by identifying two fortified *acropoleis* (east and west) and assuming the lower city of Pidasas was between the two (Fig. 7).¹⁸⁸ He also does not identify occupation after the Hellenistic period as well as before the Classical period.¹⁸⁹ Both Cook and Radt note that the pre-Hellenistic masonry is similar to the "Lelegian" masonry in Pidasas and the Halikarnassos peninsula (with "Lelegian" referring to a supposed indigenous group in Karia), and they assume the settlers of Pidasas came from that region.¹⁹⁰ These findings again should be taken with caution, since the site has not been studied systematically.¹⁹¹

The lack of Roman material culture supports the argument that after the sympolity with Miletos, the population of Pidasas eventually moved out, presumably to Miletos.¹⁹² As mentioned

¹⁸⁶ Cook 1961: 92-96

¹⁸⁷ Cook 1961: 94

¹⁸⁸ Radt 1973-1974: 169-171

¹⁸⁹ Radt 1973-1974: 170

¹⁹⁰ Cook 1961: 91-95; Radt 1973-1974: 172-174

¹⁹¹ Radt 1973-1974: 169; more on the problematic term "Lelegian" in Chapter 4.

¹⁹² Gauthier 2001

above, however, the whole population did not move, at least initially, since the agreement shows that a portion of Pidasas continued to exploit its agricultural land. Cook's statement about "later Hellenistic" pottery is vague, but there must at least have been a significant population at Pidasas in the early 2nd c. BCE since it entered the sympolity around 188 BCE. It is difficult to make solid conclusions based on the publications by Cook and Radt, but they both agree that they did not see any Roman material culture, which indicates that the site was perhaps abandoned within 100-200 years after the sympolity around 188 BCE, even if people did continue to work the surrounding area for some time. Moreover, although the architectural surveys are preliminary, the presence of fortified *acropoleis* suggests that the Pidasians were focused on safety for their small settlement. The fortifications cannot be dated precisely without excavations, but Radt suggests that some sections were constructed before the Hellenistic period and some during the Hellenistic period. The significance of the earlier fortifications will be examined in the case study of an earlier sympolity between Pidasas and the Karian site of Latmos in the late 4th c. BCE in Chapter 4.

The case of Miletos shows how due to natural and political circumstances, a city can rise to become a regional power, but also how smaller communities have agency within the political and urbanization processes. As shown by Miletos' interactions with the larger Hellenistic kingdoms, its local elite were advocating for benefactions from kings while at the same time it was negotiating with peer cities. The migrations connected to the sympolity agreements were not forced by the Hellenistic kings but were rather conscious choices by the smaller communities involved in the wake of environmental factors, inter-city disputes (including intimidation), and kinship ties. The archaeological evidence does reflect real mobility patterns in the landscape, as Myous and Pidasas's main periods of occupation do not go beyond the Hellenistic period, but the

evidence also suggests multiple uses of landscapes at different scales rather than absolute abandonments. As peers of Miletos were contributing to the growth of the city in the Hellenistic period, the peer communities were able to negotiate with Miletos to advocate their own best interests and were not subject to an absolute one-way migration to Miletos.

3.3 Priene

Priene is another example of a city affected by the siltation in the Maeander delta, but it did not form an alliance with Miletos during the Hellenistic period and in fact supported Magnesia on the Maeander during the latter's conflict with Miletos (supported by Herakleia at Latmos) for land as discussed above.¹⁹³ The archaeological site of Priene today was founded in the mid-4th c. BCE (see Fig. 8 for a map of the site), but this location was a newly established city further down the valley after its original location was affected by Maeander silting.¹⁹⁴ A full history of Priene is unnecessary here, as there have been several thorough publications on this topic.¹⁹⁵ But I will briefly discuss Priene to provide another perspective on how communities dealt with the changing environment of the Maeander valley. While Myous moved to Miletos, Priene established itself as its own *polis* and became a prominent Hellenistic city in Ionia.

The city was established at Mount Mykale (Dilek Dağı) with a new city grid in the plain and an *acropolis* on the peak.¹⁹⁶ Although Priene itself was an independent *polis*, its wealth “was built on the backs of a severely oppressed mass of rural ‘Plain-dwellers,’” an indigenous Karian group.¹⁹⁷ There was a harbor-town Naulochon dependent on Priene, and geological and

¹⁹³ Thonemann 2011: 307

¹⁹⁴ Thonemann 2016: 111

¹⁹⁵ Rumscheid with Koenigs 1998; Thonemann 2016

¹⁹⁶ Thonemann 2016: 111

¹⁹⁷ Thonemann 2016: 114

archaeological analyses of cores taken in the vicinity of Priene have also suggested that Priene itself had potential for its own port at its western embayment, with favorable water conditions for a port and some Classical to Hellenistic material culture present.¹⁹⁸ The city itself is well-preserved and has exemplary architecture for Hellenistic houses and public monuments, such as the *bouleuterion* and Temple of Athena. Priene's height was in the Hellenistic period, and it was a significant player in local politics which brought in greater political arbitrators. When Demetrios Poliorketes threatened Lysimachos' holdings in the area in 287 BCE, Priene stayed with Lysimachos and gained his favor when he won.¹⁹⁹ Priene and the island of Samos fought over borders in 283/2 BCE, and Lysimachos decided the borders during the dispute.²⁰⁰ Arbitrations happened again with Rhodes in the 190s BCE and with another city (Thonemann suggests Mylasa) in the 130s BCE.²⁰¹ As explored below, Priene also fought with Magnesia over its borders in the 280s.²⁰² The various conflicts and resolutions show how Priene was a major player in the region, similar to Miletos.

During the 2nd c. BCE, there was a fire that destroyed part of the city; the damaged area was not rebuilt.²⁰³ Despite this event, W. Raeck has shown through architectural additions to the city that Priene was still growing economically into the 1st c. BCE.²⁰⁴ There was an earthquake in the third quarter of the 2nd c. BCE, and after this there was still growth in the city with expansions throughout the city including of the Athena and Egyptian gods sanctuaries, a new hall in the *agora*, and the gymnasium.²⁰⁵ This construction seems to correspond with around the

¹⁹⁸ Brückner et al. 2002: 60-62; Thonemann 2013c; Thonemann 2016: 117

¹⁹⁹ Thonemann 2016: 119

²⁰⁰ Rumscheid with Koenigs 1998: 18

²⁰¹ Thonemann 2013c: 32

²⁰² Thonemann 2013c: 32-33

²⁰³ Thonemann 2016: 111

²⁰⁴ Raeck 2005

²⁰⁵ Raeck 2005: 162

time when Priene was a free city under Rome, so Priene was still developing strongly during the political changes.²⁰⁶ The expansion of the sanctuary of Athena in particular took place during the 1st c. BCE, despite the Mithridatic Wars.²⁰⁷ The city was occupied by a small population in the Roman and Byzantine periods as the siltation of the Maeander continued.²⁰⁸

It is debated whether Priene actually moved to this new location in the mid-4th c. BCE (or if it was actually in the same location all along), but based on the archaeological evidence, this relocation seems correct.²⁰⁹ What caused the movement is also debated, with scholars focusing on which greater political power was responsible. Alexander the Great, Athens, and the Hekatomnids have been suggested.²¹⁰ Alexander the Great in particular has been proposed because he dedicated the Temple of Athena.²¹¹ The inscription, although it cites Alexander, has been dated to the 280s BCE; the contents of the text itself were based on earlier edicts made during Alexander the Great's time at Priene for establishing the city's boundaries.²¹² The text was inscribed later when Priene's borders were threatened by war from Magnesia and *Pedieis* in the 280s; Lysimachos used the edicts from Alexander's time to settle the conflict and re-establish the border between Priene and Magnesia.²¹³

With the absence of direct textual evidence, it is not possible to know exactly who sponsored the relocation of Priene, but the consensus now is that Priene was relocated in the mid-4th c. BCE from a place further up the Maeander River due to silting.²¹⁴ Demand's argument

²⁰⁶ Rumscheid with Koenigs 1998: 19

²⁰⁷ Raeck 2005: 157

²⁰⁸ Ibid.

²⁰⁹ See Demand 1986 for an argument against relocation, but the article dismisses the archaeological evidence.

²¹⁰ See Botermann 1994 for an overview of the various arguments. She herself thinks that Alexander the Great sponsored the movement.

²¹¹ Thonemann 2013c: 25

²¹² Thonemann 2013c: 32-33

²¹³ Thonemann 2013c: 33-34

²¹⁴ Thonemann 2016: 111

that Priene could have had an earlier settlement at the known location based on the idea that archaeological evidence was missed does not seem valid.²¹⁵ For an alternative explanation to outside sponsorship, it is possible to consider how the local elite at Priene advocated for the movement. They could have already relocated to their new location due to the siltation of the Maeander and, after the invasion by Alexander, advocated on behalf of their city for Alexander's benefaction for the new temple as a way for them to gain favor during the change of tide in political power. As seen above with Myous, a relocation need not be dependent upon a greater Hellenistic power, but rather peer polity interaction and changing environmental factors, so we can again consider that the impetus for the relocation of Priene was not predicated on the sponsorship of a greater political power. Unlike Myous, however, Priene decided to establish a new city and be independent, and it did seek benefaction for the temple and later intervention in political disputes. The success of Priene throughout the Hellenistic period and into the 1st c. BCE shows the resilience of a city despite political and environmental changes.

3.4 The Urla-Çeşme Peninsula

In this section, I will review different levels of political relationships among nearby Ionian League cities (Teos, Lebedos, Klazomenai, and Erythrai) as well as non-league cities (Kyrbissos and Airai) (see Fig. 4 for map of Ionia). As mentioned above, a recent regional survey by Koparal contributes to scholarship on urbanization changes on the peninsula as a whole and how cities defined their borders. Textual evidence shows how a greater political power like Antigonos I Monophthalmos tried to promote a forced synoikism, but also how the local communities were able to advocate for themselves during such a forced synoikism and how

²¹⁵ Demand 1986

they could also negotiate with peer groups on borders and alliances. I will summarize both the archaeological and textual evidence to consider the possibilities and limits of such local agency.

The goal of Koparal's study is to examine the countryside of Ionia, since archaeological studies of the region have mainly focused on the urbanization of the Ionian League cities.²¹⁶ While the main publications for the survey focus on the Early Iron Age, in a summary of the survey's results, Koparal et al. note an increase in Classical period sites (127) and a decrease in Hellenistic period sites (87) "due to the process of synoecism."²¹⁷ This region overall thus sees a nucleation of from the Classical to Hellenistic period, which differs from Miletos. Despite the overall decline of sites, I will examine the evidence for the resilience of cities during synoikism and sympolity and consider how local communities were responding to both greater political powers and peers.

3.4.1 Synoikism of Teos and Lebedos

One of the most well-known synoikisms is Antigonos I Monophthalmos' attempted synoikism between Teos and Lebedos between 306 and 302 BCE.²¹⁸ The text is preserved epigraphically in two letters from Antigonos, published and translated by C.B. Welles (nos. 3 and 4).²¹⁹ The first letter describes the stipulations of the synoikism: the Lebedians were supposed to have moved to Teos, where they would have received land and houses and become part of Teos.²²⁰ Antigonos instituted the law code of Kos, because Lebedos would not agree to go by the law code of Teos during the intermediate period when the new law code for the joint

²¹⁶ Koparal et al. 2017

²¹⁷ Koparal et al. 2017: 416

²¹⁸ Ager 1991; Ager 1993: 61-65; Ager 1998; Shannon 2017

²¹⁹ Welles 1934, nos. 3 and 4; Shannon 2017

²²⁰ Ager 1998: 9-10; No. 3, lines 4-19 on the movement from Lebedos.

communities was being put together.²²¹ Similar to Myous when it moved to Miletos, Lebedos would be represented at the Panionion under Teos.²²² The second letter follows up on the synoikism and addresses the *boule* of Teos to try to initiate it.²²³ The advantages of the synoikism were that Lebedos would gain free housing for those who moved, while Teos would get to keep its role at the Panionion. The disadvantages were that Teos would have to pay for the construction and roof tiles, and the Lebedians would be losing their independent representation.²²⁴ Although the ultimate reason for the synoikism is unknown, A. Shannon suggests that Antigonos proposed it as a way for Lebedos to recover from an earthquake in c. 304 BCE.²²⁵ The proposal also corresponds with Antigonos' new rule in the region.

In any case, the synoikism was part of the royal agenda of Antiochos, but the local communities were able to advocate for themselves in what they did and did not want in this migration. Particularly Lebedos was able to negotiate as the smaller *polis* involved and the one supposed to move to Teos. Even though Lebedos was the smaller community and was supposed to move to Teos, it was able to advocate for the adoption of the neutral law code of Kos.²²⁶ The economic burden of the synoikism was also not solely put on Lebedos as the smaller city, since Teos had to provide the roof tiles for the new residences of the Lebedians.

²²¹ Ager 1998: 9; No. 3, lines 55-64 on the adoption of the law code of Kos.

²²² Welles 1934, no. 3: 20; Shannon 2017: 31; No. 3, lines 1-3

[..... ὅστις δ' ἂν] εἰς τὸ Πανιώνιον ἀποστέλληται, ὠϊόμεθα δεῖν [πρᾶξι πάντα τὰ] [κο]ινὰ τὸν ἴσον χρόνον, σκηνοῦν δὲ τοῦτον καὶ πανηγυράζειν μετὰ τῶν παρ' [ὑμῶν ἀπεσταλμέ-]ων καὶ καλεῖσθαι Τήσιον

²²³ Welles 1934, no. 4; Shannon 2017: 32; No. 4, lines 1-4

[Βασ]ιλεὺς Ἀντίγονος Τηίων τῆι Βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμῳ χαίρειν ἡμεῖς τὸ [πρότερον σκοποῦντες] ὅπου τάχιστ' ἂν συντελεσθεῖη ὁ συνοικισμός, οὐκ ἐρωῶμεν τὰ [ἀναγκαῖα ὑμῖν] [χ]ρήματα πόθεν πορισθῆι τοῦ ἔχειν Λεβεδίο[ι]ς τὰς τιμὰς τῶν οἰ[κιῶν τάχιστα ἀποδοῦ-]ναι, διὰ τὸ τὰ ἐκ τῶν προσόδων γινόμενα κατὰ χρόνους προσπορεύ-[εσθαι ὑμῖν μακροτέρους

²²⁴ Shannon 2017: 30

²²⁵ Shannon 2017: 32

²²⁶ Ager 1998: 9

In the second letter, it becomes evident that the synoikism did not happen at that time partly due to lack of funds.²²⁷ Most scholars have agreed that the synoikism of Lebedos and Teos indeed never took place after that, because there was still a population at Lebedos when Lysimachos forced Lebedos to join the new Ephesos-Arsinoeia in the 290s.²²⁸ S. Ager, in contrast, argues that the later event does not mean that the synoikism between Teos and Lebedos could not have happened in some form. She uses evidence from two inscriptions: an inscription that mentions bringing in new citizens to Teos (whose city of origin is not specified) and another inscription about a boundary settlement involving Klazomenai that she argues could have been a result of Teos trying to expand its borders to accommodate the new people from Lebedos.²²⁹ For the latter inscription, dating to ca. 302 BCE, Ager says the borders between Teos and Klazomenai are described in *SEG* 28.697 as going “all the way to the other side of Lebedos, to Kolophon in fact,” suggesting, in her opinion, that the boundaries of Lebedos did not exist since they were now part of Teos.²³⁰ Koparal, alternatively, has suggested that the dispute was over Airai.²³¹

While the evidence in my opinion does not provide a convincing argument to prove that the borders were changed for the synoikism between Teos and Lebedos, the border dispute provides insight into how the peer cities on the peninsula were engaging in conflict and negotiating disputes. The inscription *SEG* 28.697 was found on Kos, as it was the Koan copy of the resolution of the border dispute, with Kos as the arbitrators.²³² It was thought to have been between Klazomenai and Kolophon because the inscription mentions “the borders of

²²⁷ Ibid.

²²⁸ Ager 1998: 10

²²⁹ Ager 1998: 10-12, citing *SEG* 2.579 and *SEG* 28.697.

²³⁰ Ager 1998: 12

²³¹ Koparal 2017: 105

²³² Koparal 2017: 105

Kolophon.”²³³ S. Ager argues that this phrase merely served as a landmark in the inscription to describe the extent of Klazomenai’s and Teos’ territories.²³⁴ She notes that the inscription explicitly cites a citizen each for Klazomenai and Teos to argue that the dispute was actually between those two cities.²³⁵ Kos sided with Klazomenai in the end.²³⁶ By noting the similarities in this dispute with Antigonos’ attempted synoikism at Teos and Lebedos, she says that Antigonos also could have played a role in this arbitration between Klazomenai and Teos.²³⁷ Overall, though, Klazomenai and Teos were competing as peer cities in the midst of Antigonos’ greater political agendas,

Even if the synoikism between Teos and Lebedos happened to some degree, Lebedos continued to be a community after this synoikism and the later synoikism by Lysimachos of Ephesos which included Lebedos.²³⁸ Ager demonstrates the resilience of Lebedos with epigraphic evidence dating to 208 BCE that refers to Lebedos as “Ptolemaians,” who were “formerly Lebedians.”²³⁹ Likely the community of Lebedos proactively adopted the name in order to appease their new ruler Ptolemaios III who conquered most of Ionia after the Third Syrian War (246 to 241 BCE).²⁴⁰ Lebedos returned to its original name by at least the time after the Treaty of Apamea, if not earlier, since Lebedos minted Attic tetradrachms with its original name after 188 BCE and a decree from Lebedos to Samos dated to circa 200 BCE refers to the

²³³ Ager 1991: 92

²³⁴ Ibid.

²³⁵ Ager 1991: 93-94

²³⁶ Ager 1991: 93

²³⁷ Ager 1991: 95

²³⁸ Boehm 2012: 324

²³⁹ Ager 1998: 15, citing *I. Magnesia* 53; *I. Erythrai/Klazomenai* 507; Rigsby 1996, no. 102.

²⁴⁰ Ager 1998: 15-16

community again as Lebedos.²⁴¹ The community seems to have existed into the Roman Imperial period.²⁴²

Recent archaeological evidence also shows that Lebedos continued to be occupied to some degree throughout the Hellenistic period. A rescue project led by the Izmir Archaeological Museum excavated in modern Ürkmez Mersinalanı, located within the borders of ancient Lebedos.²⁴³ The pottery found dates from the 8th c. BCE to the 1st c. BCE and includes common Hellenistic forms such as 3rd to 2nd c. BCE unguentaria as well as “Megarian” bowls.²⁴⁴ Although the results are only from a small portion of the site, the pottery attests to the continued use of Lebedos as a settlement past the late 4th c. BCE synoikism with Teos and the early 3rd c. BCE synoikism with Ephesos. Even if portions of the communities did move within these synoikisms and if Lebedos was not independent, the ceramic evidence in combination with the epigraphic and numismatic evidence above demonstrates how Lebedos continued to be a community despite these alliances.

For the dispute between Klazomenai and Teos, although Ager argues that Antigonos could have been involved, we can consider the alternative of *poleis* challenging the borders of others and defending their own. In her discussion of the dispute, Koparal does this; she considers how, despite the political changes happening in the late 4th c. BCE in the wake of the successors of Alexander the Great, who are known for using synoikism as a political tool, “some poleis still seem to have regarded their political boundaries as significant.”²⁴⁵ Thus, among the evidence for Teos, Lebedos, and Klazomenai, local communities had more agency to determine their borders

²⁴¹ Ager 1998: 17-18, Robert 1960: 204-213; Curty 1995: no. 28

²⁴² Ager 1998: 18, based on tetradrachms with Julia Domna and Geta.

²⁴³ Balaban Uğur 2019; earlier surveys of Lebedos that contributed to site plans for the city include Weber 1904; Bean 1966; and Tuna 1986.

²⁴⁴ Balaban Uğur 2019: 218-219

²⁴⁵ Koparal 2017: 105

and resolve disputes even though there were greater agendas of urbanization put in place by the Hellenistic successors, and local communities had retained resilience after supposedly forced synoikisms.

3.4.2 *Sympolity of Teos and Kyrbissos*

While a Hellenistic king could initiate a synoikism, cities were also acting on their own to expand their territories and increase their regional influence. An example is a sympolity agreement between Teos and Kyrbissos, a city that was not one of the 12 cities of the Ionian League (Fig. 9). There is textual evidence for Kyrbissos having *polis* status as demonstrated by earlier evidence of it being a member of the Delian League, but the evidence places it in Karia, so L. and J. Robert suggest that there were two cities with the same name: one in Ionia and one in Karia.²⁴⁶ The sympolity for the one in Ionia and Teos is known from an inscription first published by the Roberts, and the inscription dates to the 3rd c. BCE.²⁴⁷ In the sympolity agreement, Kyrbissos became part of the *polis* of Teos and accepted *phourarchoi* (garrison commanders) from Teos to maintain the fort every four months.²⁴⁸ Koparal has since identified the likely site of Kyrbissos as modern Kocadömen Tepe, which has evidence of occupation from the early Archaic to the Hellenistic periods, based on the location of Kocadömen Tepe and descriptions of

²⁴⁶ Flensted-Jensen in Hansen and Nielsen 2004: 1126, citing *IG I³ 259.4.16* and *IG I³ 267.5.28*. Robert and Robert 1976: 164.

²⁴⁷ Robert and Robert 1976

²⁴⁸ Koparal 2013: 49; Robert and Robert 1976, lines 20-27:

τρέφειν [δὲ] τοὺς κυνάς τὸμ [φ]ρούραρχον· ὃς δ' ἂν παραλαβὼν
τὸ χωρίον μὴ παραδῶ[ι τ]ῶι φρουράρχω[ι] τῶ[ι] ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀποστ[τελ]-
λομένωι ἀεὶ καθ' ἐκάστην τετράμη[νο]ν, φ[ε]ύγειν τε αὐτὸν ἀραιὸν
ἐκ Τέω καὶ ἐξ Ἀβδήρων καὶ ἐκ τῆς χώρας καὶ τῆς Τηίων καὶ τῆς Ἀβδηρ[ι]-
τῶν καὶ τὰ ὄντα αὐτοῦ δη[μό]σια εἶ[ν]αι, καὶ ὃς ἂν ἀποκτείνῃ αὐτὸν μ[ὴ]
μιαρὸς ἔστω· ἐὰν δὲ μαχόμενος ἀποθάνῃ, ὑπάρχ[ε]ι[ν] αὐτοῦ δημόσια τὰ ὄν-
τα· τῶι δὲ καταρχθέντι φ[ρο]υρ[άρ]χῳι μὴ ἔστω ἀποσπᾶσθαι· διδόναι
δὲ αὐτῶι τὸμ μισθὸν τὸν [· · ? · ·]

the Teian borders from *SEG* 36.1040.²⁴⁹ The latest sherds included in her catalog of select finds from Kocadömen Tepe date to the 4th to 3rd c. BCE; continued studies of the ceramics of the site would surely provide more insight into more definite dates of occupation at Kyrbissos.²⁵⁰ The site has fortifications and is located at the top of a hill at 600m, so it was an ideal location for a fort.²⁵¹

According to the epigraphic evidence, Teos expanded its borders to incorporate Kyrbissos within its territory for enhanced protection of the *polis*. The sympolity was mutually beneficial for the two settlements: Teos could include another fortress in its territory for protection, and Kyrbissos received security from Teos, a guarantee that Teos would not attack Kyrbissos, and its citizens could be a part of Teos.²⁵² The agreement that Teos would not attack Kyrbissos perhaps suggests that there was an intimidation factor by the larger city, Teos, before the sympolity agreement. This situation is similar to the sympolity agreements between Miletos and Myous as well as Miletos and Pidasas, in which intimidation was likely part of the situation, but there were also benefits for the smaller community. Thus, Teos was exerting its influence as a powerful city on the peninsula, but Kyrbissos also gained the protection of Teos in return for being incorporated in Teos' territory.

3.4.3 Local Elite Interactions on the Peninsula

In the examples of the various interactions on the Urla-Çeşme peninsula, it is possible to consider local elite agency among the cities as well as with the Hellenistic kingdoms. These

²⁴⁹ Koparal 2013: 51-53

²⁵⁰ Koparal 2013: 55, nos. 8 and 9 in the catalog: "rim fragment of mushroom amphora." Koparal states that the ceramics are present on the surface due to looting. Koparal 2013: 52.

²⁵¹ Koparal 2013: 52

²⁵² Koparal 2013: 49

communities had existed for a long time before the Hellenistic period, as explained above in the introduction to this chapter. Thus, the cities already had established peer networks, not only through the Panionion but also through earlier wars, trade, and smaller sanctuary activity. For example, in her discussion of the construction of borders between Klazomenai and other settlements in the Urla-Çeşme peninsula, Koparal explains how elite tumuli, forts, *horoi*, and small sanctuaries in the borders signified the extent of a city's *chora* by the early Archaic period (mid-7th c. BCE).²⁵³ She shows how the borders were not “stiff lines,” but actually zones.²⁵⁴ We can also consider how these borders were zones of interaction that could lead to peer polity interaction and even conflict; for example, some of the smaller sanctuaries show use into the Hellenistic period and beyond, where different communities might have interacted. In a different region of Anatolia, the resolution of the border dispute between Oinoanda and Tlos (translated by D. Rousset and discussed later in more detail in Chapter 5) demonstrates how herds from various communities were grazed in these border zones.

Smaller *poleis* were able to advocate for themselves, as in the case of Lebedos. Larger *poleis* expanded their territories on their own without royal intervention, as in the case of Teos and Kyrbissos, and they also defended their territories from challenges, as in the case of Klazomenai and Teos. At the same time, smaller cities like Kyrbissos were able to have a say in the expansion, even if there was underlying intimidation; it was mutually beneficial for Kyrbissos to have the resources of Teos but still maintain its own community. As seen in Lebedos' negotiations for its synoikism with Teos, even if some origin of the migration was forced, the communities themselves had agency in the decisions of the ultimate agreements and the migrations. The archaeological evidence from Koparal et al. does show an overall pattern of

²⁵³ Koparal 2017: 107

²⁵⁴ Koparal 2017: 106

settlement nucleation in the region, which might also have been due to the increasing regional power of the *poleis* and economic opportunities there. Focusing on the case of Lebedos, however, shows that ultimately the synoikisms involving Lebedos did not result in a permanent abandonment of the site.

3.5 Notion and the Hales River Valley

The last case study examined in this chapter considers the interactions between Notion, Kolophon, and Ephesos. Notion is located in the Hales River Valley in Ionia; as a port city, it is located directly on the Aegean Sea coast. “Notion” meaning “to the south” is relevant to the city’s relationship to the earlier city of Kolophon, located about 15 km northwest of Notion. The region’s sanctuary of Apollo at Klaros is located 1.5 km north of Notion and the two sites are intervisible (Fig. 10).²⁵⁵ Notion was also known as “Kolophon-by-the-Sea,” as it was the port of Kolophon and had a sympolity with Kolophon. The evidence for a sympolity between Notion and Kolophon is based on epigraphy dating to the late 4th c. BCE. The ancient Greek word used in the inscriptions is *syntheke*, meaning that the cities likely shared a calendar and laws, but maintained their separate physical locations.²⁵⁶ Epigraphic evidence from the late 4th c. BCE describes the alliance while honoring a metic.²⁵⁷ After the inhabitants who lived at Kolophon left Ephesos after the synoikism, some of them likely went to the location of Hellenistic Notion.²⁵⁸

²⁵⁵ Ratté et al. 2020: 345-346

²⁵⁶ Ratté et al. 2020: 357, citing Étienne and Migeotte 1998 with references.

²⁵⁷ Ratté et al. 2020: 357, citing Étienne and Migeotte 1998 with references. It is described with the ancient Greek *syntheke* meaning that the cities shared a calendar and laws but maintained their separate physical locations. Étienne and Migeotte 1998: 150; Meritt 1935 : 377-379 (no. 3), lines 33-35:

διαψηφίσαι δὲ ταῦτα κατὰ τὴν
συνθήκην καὶ τὰ προεψηφισμένα διε-
ψηφίσθη ἐν Κολοφῶνι καὶ δέδοται

²⁵⁸ Ratté, personal communication.

New archaeological evidence about the occupation of Notion produced by the Notion Archaeological Survey provides a clearer picture of how settlement patterns changed over time in the Hales River Valley and how local communities had agency to create new urban spaces despite earlier forced migrations. This section will review the new evidence from the project to show how the new community was established and how people were moving within this microregion.

3.5.1 Notion

The Notion Archaeological Survey began in 2014, directed by C. Ratté from the University of Michigan along with assistant directors F. Rojas from Brown University and A. Commito from Union College. The urban survey was conducted within the city limits and just outside of them; remains of the fortifications show the clear division between the inside and outside of the ancient city. The urban survey concluded in 2018 with a study season in 2019. The project consisted of an architectural survey of the whole site (for which any extant architectural remains were recorded on Geographic Information Systems, or GIS); more detailed architectural studies of the larger monuments (such as the Temple of Athena, the fortifications, and the theater); surface collection in targeted areas of the site to date the main phases of occupation; and magnetic gradiometry and ground penetrating radar (GPR) surveys. Other comprehensive studies were also conducted, including studies of museum collections from Notion, community outreach, and site management planning.

The city was placed upon two promontories along the coast, with a lower ridge connecting the two promontories.²⁵⁹ The city encompasses about 35 hectares with 3.5 km of

²⁵⁹ Ratté et al. 2020: 347

fortifications around the city.²⁶⁰ The location of Notion's harbor is not known, but it is thought that it might have been to the north, which is now a farmer's field, so that ships could have sailed up the river and around to the north side of the site to dock. The results of the survey provide the most comprehensive picture of the site to date (Fig. 11). The architectural survey reveals that the Temple of Athena is slightly off of the Hellenistic city grid, perhaps indicating that it was present in an earlier form before the new city grid.²⁶¹ The city blocks in the western promontory of the site are also slightly different compared to the measurements for the city blocks in the eastern promontory, which is likely due to differences in house sizes with larger houses in the eastern promontory for wealthier residents.²⁶² The main features of the city include the Temple of Athena and "heroön" in the west, a *bouleuterion*, an *agora* in the center, a theater in the northeastern area, and remains of houses throughout the city, especially concentrated in the western and eastern promontories and the southern slopes of the city.

The surface collection results in particular show that the main occupation of the Hellenistic city was from the 3rd c. BCE to the 1st c. CE, with most of the finds dating from the 2nd c. BCE to the 1st c. CE (see Fig. 12 for an example of diagnostic pottery from the site).²⁶³ The architectural evidence from the extant monuments also seem to confirm construction around this time period, with the Temple of Athena likely renovated in the Augustan period.²⁶⁴ A few pieces of earlier material have been found on the surface from the Iron Age and Archaic period. There have also been a few areas with late Roman pottery, which indicates some limited occupation during that time.²⁶⁵ Similarly dated late Roman pottery (late Ephesos type Roman lamps, dated

²⁶⁰ Ibid.

²⁶¹ Ratté et al. 2020: 350

²⁶² Ratté et al. 2020: 349; Ratté, personal communication.

²⁶³ Ratté et al. 2020: 358-359

²⁶⁴ Ratté et al. 2020: 350-351

²⁶⁵ From personal fieldwork experience and knowledge at Notion.

to about the mid-6th to mid-7th c. CE) was also found in previous Turkish excavations led by E. Atalay and M. Büyükkolancı, confirming that there was limited late Roman activity at the site.²⁶⁶ Some earlier Archaic pottery (6th c. BCE), including Ionian cups, has been found from the remnants of a looter's pit underneath the *agora*, which indicates an earlier settlement phase of the city that was completely renovated in the Hellenistic period.²⁶⁷ But only stratified, scientific excavation can confirm this theory. Overall, it seems that Notion was largely abandoned in the 1st c. CE. Textual evidence says that Notion existed from the Archaic to late antique periods, with the earliest evidence for the existence of Notion dated to the late 6th or early 5th c. BCE as recorded by Hekataios. Based on this evidence Ratté et al. suggest that either earlier Notion was in a different location or it is now silted up due to the Hales River.²⁶⁸ The only textual information on the limited Roman occupation of the city discusses Notion's role in later periods; a bishop from Kolophon (most likely Notion) supposedly went to the First Council of Ephesus in 431 CE, and the bishop of Pitane in the Council of Chalcedon in 451 CE represented Kolophon.²⁶⁹ Although a church has not been identified at Notion through the Notion Archaeological Survey, earlier excavations by Th. Macridy found large marble panels with Christian iconography, which are now located at the Izmir Museum of Archaeology.²⁷⁰ These panels in combination with the late Roman pottery found in the survey and other previous excavations demonstrate how the site became used once again after a hiatus.

²⁶⁶ I have studied the saved excavated objects from Atalay's and Büyükkolancı's excavations that are now at the Izmir and Ephesus Archaeological Museums, respectively. Some objects are mentioned in their reports, see Atalay 1986 and Büyükkolancı 1996.

²⁶⁷ From personal fieldwork experience and knowledge at Notion.

²⁶⁸ Ratté et al. 2020: 347, citing *FrGrHist* 1A, 1 fr. 233.

²⁶⁹ Ratté et al. 2020: 347, citing Price and Gaddis 2007.

²⁷⁰ Macridy 1912: 39-40.

3.5.2 *Kolophon*

Based on the epigraphic evidence, Kolophon and Notion maintained separate settlements during their sympolity.²⁷¹ As mentioned above, however, textual sources discuss how Lysimachos forced people from Kolophon to move to Ephesos.²⁷² The Kolophonians resisted, and Pausanias notes that there is a grave for the fallen resistors on the way to Klaros.²⁷³ Ratté et al. suggest that soon after this forced migration, some people from Kolophon then moved to Notion, which became known as Kolophon-by-the-Sea. The original Kolophon became less important and abandoned over time.²⁷⁴

The archaeological evidence from a recent survey at Kolophon seems to corroborate this idea, since the main occupation of Notion seems to correspond with the abandonment of Kolophon. There is evidence for the main occupation at Kolophon from the Archaic period (7th to 6th c. BCE) to the 4th to early 3rd c. BCE, with some late Bronze Age tholos tombs and other tombs from the Geometric period to the 7th c. BCE.²⁷⁵ Kolophon was studied in 1922 and 1925 by the American School for Classical Studies at Athens, led by H. Goldman. More recently, a Turkish and Austrian team led by C. Bruns-Özgan with U. Muss and V. Gassner has reassessed the earlier project's data and has conducted a survey of Kolophon using methodologies of extensive survey, geophysical survey, and LiDAR.²⁷⁶

Based on their geophysical surveys and ceramic finds from surface collection, Gassner et al. have found evidence of two phases of occupation in the Archaic and early Hellenistic periods

²⁷¹ See Étienne and Migeotte 1998 for a discussion on the taxes on Kolophon and Notion during their sympolity; the inscription discussing the taxes dates to the 3rd c. BCE, and they say that the inscription still indicates two settlements.

²⁷² Ratté et al. 2020: 357, Pausanias 1.9.7, 7.3.4.

²⁷³ Pausanias 7.3.4

²⁷⁴ Ratté et al. 2020: 359

²⁷⁵ See Gassner et al. 2017

²⁷⁶ Gassner et al. 2017: 43-45

in the main, lower city.²⁷⁷ From the geophysical surveys, they identified smaller houses not on a grid that belong to the Archaic period as well as a grid system with a different orientation and larger houses that belong to the early Hellenistic period.²⁷⁸ The Archaic houses are similar to ones from the same period at Klazomenai, and the Hellenistic houses have similar ground plans to houses of late Classical to early Hellenistic Priene.²⁷⁹ While these interpretations are based on architecture, they also found significant amounts of Archaic pottery in the surface collection. Interestingly, they did not find the characteristic wares of the late 4th to early 3rd c. BCE from the early Hellenistic period. They suggest that the settlement was densely inhabited in the Archaic period, but habitation could have ended abruptly in the early Hellenistic period, even though there was a significant restructuring of the city at that time.²⁸⁰ The main city wall of Kolophon, which also dates to the early Hellenistic period, was also retraced by this team.²⁸¹ An investment in a new or repaired city wall along with the new city grid indicates that the residents of Kolophon were invested in staying in the city and were concerned about protection, but something sudden led to the city's abandonment.

3.5.3 Movements in the Hales River Valley

As discussed above, Lysimachos forced the Kolophonians to be part of the synoikism of the new Ephesos-Arsinoeia.²⁸² Evidence for the new city is provided in an inscription dated to 289/288 BCE that mentions Arsinoeia.²⁸³ Gassner et al. argue that the lack of pottery dating to

²⁷⁷ Gassner et al. 2017: 50. They also discuss the *acropolis* and the tomb remains for the *acropolis*, but that is not as relevant for this discussion.

²⁷⁸ Gassner et al. 2017: 49-50

²⁷⁹ Ibid.

²⁸⁰ Ibid.

²⁸¹ Gassner et al. 2017: 45 with a more in-depth study of the walls published in Bruns-Özgan, Gassner, and Muss 2011: 203-213.

²⁸² Pausanias 1.9.7, 7.3.4

²⁸³ Boehm 2018: 73, citing *I. Milet* I.2, 10, *Syll*³ 368 and *I. Smyrna* II.1 577.

the late 4th to early 3rd c. BCE at Kolophon confirms this displacement, since it seems like the new reorganization of Kolophon was not lived in for very long. It seems, though, that the move was not effective for the long-term, because there is epigraphic evidence that the Kolophonians were allowed to return home within five years.²⁸⁴ An inscription from Magnesia on the Maeander dated to the late 3rd c. BCE also says that the Kolophonians lived in the “ancient city.”²⁸⁵ Based on the pottery evidence from Kolophon, however, it seems as though there was not a significant population that lived at Kolophon. R. Étienne and L. Migeotte have suggested (before this archaeological evidence was found) that the residents could have chosen to move to Notion instead of back to the original settlement of Kolophon.²⁸⁶ Notion was founded as the port of Kolophon and eventually took over Kolophon’s role as the main settlement of the valley, as evidenced by textual evidence that refers to Notion as “New Kolophon” or “Kolophon-by-the-Sea.”²⁸⁷

Although it could have been the case that some people moved back to the original site of Kolophon for a short period, there were likely other factors that contributed to the movement to Notion. The displacement by Lysimachos seems likely, but the single displacement could have been a factor among other ones that attracted the inhabitants of Kolophon to move to Notion. There could have been people working to develop the main Hellenistic city around the same time or after the displacement by Lysimachos, even if they lived permanently in Kolophon or somewhere else in the region (perhaps rural settlements).

²⁸⁴ Ratté et al. 2020: 358; Robert and Robert 1989: 83-85, no. 13; Étienne and Migeotte 1998:149

²⁸⁵ Boehm 2012: 324, citing *I.Magnesia* 53, 75-76.

²⁸⁶ Ratté et al. 2020: 358, citing Étienne and Migeotte 1998: 149 f.

²⁸⁷ Ratté et al. 2020: 347; Étienne and Migeotte 1998: 144, lines 10-13

μη ἐξεῖναι τῶν πολι-
τῶν μηθενὶ μήτε τῶν οἰκοῦντων ἐν τῇ
Κολοφωνίῳ τέλει ἀγοράσαι ἄλλοθεν
ἢ ἐκ Κολοφῶνος τῆς ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ

The development at Notion provided economic opportunities in construction. To securely date the fortifications, they must be excavated to the foundation trenches, but current research based on architectural style and comparanda dates the fortifications to broadly the mid-4th to early 3rd c. BCE. Ratté et al. suggest that construction on the fortifications and the city plan happened at the same time.²⁸⁸ The *agora* was also likely quarried down to make a level area for the Hellenistic city.²⁸⁹ This is all to say that the populations did not necessarily have to move *en masse* to Notion or Ephesos. The investments being placed at Notion, as well as Ephesos, in the Hellenistic period created connections between these new settlements and the site of Kolophon. The forced migration by Lysimachos might have been a catalyst that did make people leave their hometown of Kolophon, most likely in a traumatizing way. But the new opportunities that were starting at Notion also drew in the new inhabitants, in a similar way that perhaps Notion itself was abandoned.

While a significant investment was put into Notion in the Hellenistic period, it seems that the success of Ephesos eventually attracted the inhabitants of Notion. The city of Notion does not appear to be densely occupied after the 1st c. CE. Similar to the way that Notion could have attracted residents from Kolophon with the new economic opportunities of construction and trade at the new port, the success of Ephesos' port and the greater economic opportunities there could have drawn the communities away from Notion. It is also possible that some people chose to stay at Ephesos, even though there was the opportunity to move back. The port city of Ephesos continued to be a significant urban node in the region and Christian religious center well into the late Roman period.

²⁸⁸ Ratté et al. 2020: 354, citing fortifications at Ephesos, Herakleia at Latmos, Kolophon, and Priene as discussed in McNicoll 1997.

²⁸⁹ Ratté, personal communication.

Notion's relationship to the rural settlements has not been determined yet, since there has not been a regional survey to document and date rural settlements in the region. A study such as that would provide more insight into rural settlement nucleation or growth to help understand how the urban prosperity of Notion and Ephesos affected the countryside. The evidence presented thus far, however, demonstrates the resilience of communities and how successful they could be after supposedly devastating forced migrations like the one done by Lysimachos. The construction of Notion was a large investment in the city, and even if the city did not have its height beyond the 1st c. CE, the archaeological evidence shows a thriving community during the Hellenistic period.

3.6 Conclusion

The above examples demonstrate how archaeological evidence in combination with textual evidence of synoikisms and sympolities can shed light upon the possibilities and limitations of local communities' agency within these alliances. The reasons for moving are diverse, from forced migrations motivated by politics to natural environmental factors. In some situations, the alliance did cause a population movement, such as the city of Myous moving to Miletos and Kolophon moving to Notion after its return from its synoikism with Ephesos. In other situations, the alliance did not last even if there could have been some initial population movement, as seen in the case of Lebedos since it continued to be occupied despite the earlier synoikisms with Teos and Ephesos, respectively.

It is possible to see local agency within these case studies: local communities were advocating for themselves, and local networks were being established between cities with the competing Hellenistic powers as the backdrop. While the textual sources imply that the migrations were a one-time event, it is more likely that single mass migrations did not occur and

that communities were maintaining relationships with their homes as well as other locations. Miletos was a growing regional power during the siltation of the gulf of Latmos and attracted people displaced from cities that became swamps, but people did not completely abandon the silting landscape and were able to find alternative uses for the land. Larger *poleis* on the Urla-Çeşme peninsula like Klazomenai and Teos were negotiating new borders, but smaller cities like Lebedos and Kyrbissos benefited from relationships with the larger ones and continued occupation at their original locations to some degree. After the synoikism of Ephesos, Kolophonians did return to their city within five years. Kolophon seems to have been abandoned around the same time that Notion's densest occupation occurred, and the forced migration by Lysimachos might have contributed to the larger shift of population from Kolophon to Notion, even if part of the population did stay at Ephesos or return to Kolophon for a short period of time. More archaeological evidence is needed for rural settlements in these regions to understand more clearly whether or not smaller rural communities were deciding to take advantage of opportunities at the growing Hellenistic cities. With the available data, however, it is evident that there was a network of interactions among *poleis* that was not completely dictated by the political agendas of the greater Hellenistic powers.

I chose to examine Ionia first to show how alternative narratives concerning the agency of local communities can be considered when looking at the archaeological and regional evidence. Chapter 4 on Karia will also focus on incorporating the archaeological evidence particularly with regards to the textual evidence for sympolities as well as the case of possible synoikism at Stratonikeia which lacks textual evidence. Following Karia, I will explore case studies in regions without textual evidence for these alliances, such as in Kabalia and Pisidia to consider whether similar patterns can be established with the archaeological data. An

overarching theme that will become apparent is that even with the diversity of data, synoikism and sympolity were not clear-cut processes and local communities, particularly the local elite, had agency to negotiate, reject, and form these alliances for their own gains.

Chapter 4: Karia

4.1 Introduction

Karia is a unique region of Anatolia during the Hellenistic period due to its large number of sympolities. As already discussed in Chapter 2, the differences between synoikism and sympolity can be questioned as various examples of both alliances can result in physical settlement movements, and a range of outcomes can occur from the alliances. LaBuff's monograph on the sympolities of Karia is an impressive contribution to the subject and to the discussion of local elite agency under the various Hellenistic powers. His interpretations, however, are mostly limited to the texts of the agreements along with some topographical analysis. My analysis of Karian sympolities includes recent archaeological survey and excavation data for the cities in question in order to provide a clearer picture of what urban developments were occurring in tandem with local political developments. By incorporating the archaeological data, I am able to use material culture for a nuanced model in which local elite players could have affected settlement growth and community identity. I argue that local communities were at the heart of decision making and relied upon their peer network; even when imperial powers were influencing settlement growth, local elites were active in the process. Markers of their local identity, particularly grave monuments and sanctuaries, demonstrate their continued shaping of urban environments. This chapter explores four case studies in Karia to illustrate these processes: Pidasia and Latmos; Stratonikeia; Aphrodisias; and the Chersonesos (modern Bozburun) peninsula. Before describing the case studies, however, it is necessary to understand the different

constraints within which the communities operated. I will therefore begin by reviewing the geography of Karia and the relevant historical developments.

4.1.1 Geography

Karia is located in southwestern Anatolia, with Ionia to its north on the western coast, Lydia and Phrygia to its east inland, and Lycia to its southeast. Karia is a diverse region, with coastline on the Aegean and Mediterranean Seas to the west, fertile valleys from tributaries of the Maeander River to its north, the Keramic gulf (modern gulf of Gökova) to its south, and mountains and the Indus River (Dalaman Çayı), to the east (see Fig. 13).²⁹⁰ Reger describes the southwestern border of Karia as at Kaunos by the Indus River, beyond which to the southeast is Lycia.²⁹¹ Settlements in Karia are located throughout the Halikarnassos (modern Bodrum) and Chersonesos peninsulas to the mountain ranges that cut through the region's interior, including the Latmos (Beşparmak Dağları) and Grion (Ilbır Dağ) mountain ranges and the mountains around the Morsynus River (modern Dandalas) valley. The Dodecanese islands lie just off the Karian coast, with Kos and Rhodes being the largest. Rhodes in particular plays an important role in the development of Hellenistic Karia, as will be discussed below in the various case studies.

4.1.2 Historical Developments and Case Studies

Before the Hellenistic period, the indigenous settlements of Karia tended to be isolated from one another due to the region's mountainous topography. This feature of Karia, in comparison with the plains of Lydia, as Ratté argues, partly explains the rise of the Lydian

²⁹⁰ Ratté 2009: 136

²⁹¹ Reger 2020: 3

kingdom in the 7th to 6th c. BCE and the lack of a central power in Karia at this time.²⁹²

Indigenous groups in Karia included Karians and Lelegians; the actual presence of the latter is debated as they were perhaps mythical. Ancient authors discuss the presence of indigenous Lelegians; Strabo is a main source, who says that Lelegians not only used to live in Karia but also in parts of Pisidia to the east. He identifies the city of Pedasa as one of their main settlements.²⁹³ Scholars have associated particular schist architecture and local buildings as Lelegian, including: compound buildings (pens for animals), stone tumuli, and fortified settlements, such as the one near modern Gökçeler (identified as ancient Pedasa) north of Halikarnassos.²⁹⁴ While older research questions tried to distinguish Lelegian material culture, it is now recognized that this goal is not necessarily possible and Archaic structures in the Halikarnassos peninsula are similar to ones in other areas of the Mediterranean.²⁹⁵ Karians also had contact with other various groups before and leading up to the Hellenistic period (such as the Lydians, Greeks, and Rhodians). For example, in the inland border region of what was later considered Karia, Aphrodisias in the Iron Age to Classical periods has yielded imported Lydian pottery (6th c. BCE), two Lydian inscriptions (5th to 4th c. BCE), and Persian period tumuli in the surrounding region of the city that share features with Lydian tumuli also suggest local elites from these areas were in dialogue with one another.²⁹⁶

Karians had a *koinon* and an “office of the king” as local institutions, but overall Karian settlements were decentralized from one another until the rule of the satrap Hekatomnos during

²⁹² Ibid.

²⁹³ Strabo 7.7.2, 13.1.58-59, 14.2.27; see Descat 2001, Rumscheid 2009, and Flensted-Jensen’s section from Flensted-Jensen and Carstens 2004 for overviews of the Lelegians.

²⁹⁴ See Carstens’ section from Flensted-Jensen and Carstens 2004 for a discussion of these features, the historiography, and her argument that they cannot be directly tied to Lelegians.

²⁹⁵ Radt 1970: 10-11; Flensted-Jensen and Carstens 2004

²⁹⁶ Ratté 2009: 140; 142; 145; Hornblower 1982

the Persian rule of Karia.²⁹⁷ Hekatomnos was a local satrap of Karia under the Persian empire, ruling from around 395 to 377 BCE, and his role was passed down to his sons Mausolos and Idrieus. Mausolos' rule is the most well-known due to his famous monumental eponymous tomb supposedly sponsored by his wife, Artemisia; the tomb notably uses Greek iconography such as dress and the scene of Amazonomachy, but also depicts Karian features of long hair and a close-shaven beard on the statue of a man (likely Mausolos himself). Mausolos is of particular interest here, however, since he moved the capital of Karia from inland Mylasa to coastal Halikarnassos; he supposedly initiated a synoikism of the Halikarnassos peninsula so that the new capital was populated and outfitted the city with impressive fortifications. The example of Halikarnassos provides a model for how a local dynast can influence urban changes, but it also helps us consider multiple trajectories for synoikism and sympolity, as opposed to focusing on a single endpoint.

Mausolos' synoikism supposedly, according to Strabo, composed six out of the eight Lelegian cities, with Myndos and Syangela left out.²⁹⁸ Archaeological research on the Halikarnassos peninsula has been influenced by the ancient sources on the synoikism and the Lelegians, including G.E. Bean and Cook's survey that suggested occupation at surrounding sites ended after the synoikism and Radt's survey of the areas north and east of Bodrum that focused on identifying Archaic "Lelegian" sites.²⁹⁹ Radt's observation seems to follow the synoikism timeline in that the most "Lelegian" settlements declined around this time.³⁰⁰ Carstens' more recent research, however, has shown that some sites were not completely abandoned after the synoikism, since fortifications at the sites were reinforced, and she suggests continued

²⁹⁷ Ibid.

²⁹⁸ Strabo 13.1.59

²⁹⁹ Bean and Cook 1955; Carstens 2002: 406; Radt 1970

³⁰⁰ Radt 1970: 13-14

movements in between Halikarnassos and the other sites or no movement to the city in the first place.³⁰¹ She argues that Cook and Bean's conclusion that some sites did not have pottery later than the first half of the 4th c. BCE could be false, since the chronology is not so precise and the fragments could belong to the Hellenistic period.³⁰² She also shows from her survey at the site at modern Geriř in the northwestern part of the peninsula that there were late Classical fortifications (4th c. BCE) and similar fortifications are found at other sites, so this construction around the time of the building of Halikarnassos suggests continued investment and use of the peninsular sites (i.e., why would the sites have this construction if they were subsequently going to be abandoned?).³⁰³

Carstens' study demonstrates the importance of analyzing and incorporating new archaeological evidence with a skeptical approach (i.e., not interpreting archaeological evidence based on the narratives from texts) when discussing synoikism and sympolity. While populations may still have been moved to create Halikarnassos, as Carstens suggests that some people moved in order to provide labor for the building construction at Halikarnassos and the wider peninsula, the entirety of the populations may not have moved. Others may have had iterative movements in between Halikarnassos and their previous settlements, such as for resource exploitation as Carstens suggests for the large andesite quarry near Geriř.³⁰⁴ The settlements could also have been used for other purposes, as discussed with the alluvial landscapes in the Maeander delta in

³⁰¹ Carstens 2002: 406, although it must be noted that dating fortifications based on style and survey evidence means that the dates may not be secure.

³⁰² Carstens 2002: 406

³⁰³ Carstens 2002: 395; 406, she also mentions in footnote 65 that the sites of Turgutreis and Türkbükü have rock-cut tombs that could date to the 4th c. BCE to suggest that people were staying in the peninsular sites, although again the dating may not be definitive.

³⁰⁴ Carstens 2002: 407

Chapter 3. These considerations are important to keep in mind in the following examination of Hellenistic alliances in Karia.

There are many examples of Hellenistic sympolities that I could have chosen, but I decided to focus on the following case studies based on the available archaeological survey data for these sites, the diversity of regions within Karia that they represent, and the range of time which the sympolities cover. The examples demonstrate the development of a local elite network within Karia during the Hellenistic period when many kingdoms had stakes to various parts of the land: from the Seleukid kingdom in the early to mid-Hellenistic period; the Ptolemaic kingdom in early to late 3rd c. BCE; the island of Rhodes in the late 3rd c. BCE and after the Treaty of Apamea in 188 BCE when it gained both Karia and Lycia.³⁰⁵ LaBuff suggests that peer polity interaction among the Karian local elite led to local elites developing sympolity alliances in response to the greater political changes. I build upon his work by providing the archaeological evidence of the settlements and of the local elites to show how they were building this network.

My first case study examines the earliest attested sympolity in Karia between Pidasas and Latmos in the late 4th c. BCE, when the Seleukid kingdom had significant rule in western Anatolia. The small, fortified town of Pidasas located in the Grion mountain range was already introduced in Chapter 3 due to its later sympolity with Miletos, in which Pidasas was able to gain certain privileges and protections while maintaining cultivation in its hinterland. Similar to the sympolity between Pidasas and Miletos, the sympolity between Pidasas and Latmos is well-documented in an inscription, and LaBuff's recent re-reading of the inscription shows how the sympolity was negotiated among the peer sites, and not a top-down initiative from the local

³⁰⁵ Ibid.

satrap Asandros as previously thought.³⁰⁶ The incorporation of the archaeological evidence for both sites builds upon the discussion of local elite agency by showing how both communities were prioritizing safety not only in their sympolity agreement, but also in their settlement planning. Moreover, the subsequent relocation of Latmos to Herakleia at Latmos in the early 3rd c. BCE will be discussed as part of local elite agency and maintenance of local identity.

The second case study during Seleukid rule in western Anatolia will be the example of the city of Stratonikeia. It has been suggested that Antiochos I or II founded Stratonikeia in Karia, but it is possible to consider alternatives to this narrative by examining the possibility of local elite agency within the independent settlements which became demes for the city.³⁰⁷ The region around Stratonikeia has not been surveyed, and indeed it is difficult to do so due to the presence of modern factories and mining, but Stratonikeia's relationships with its sanctuaries provide insight into how the city was formed. Recent excavations at Stratonikeia also provide more information on the history of occupation at the site, which is mostly known for its Roman Imperial phase. I include Stratonikeia to show how, even in a city supposedly founded by a Hellenistic king to be a strategic site for the dynasty, the process of incorporation need not have happened immediately. Indeed, local elites maintained connections with their incorporated communities. The growth of Stratonikeia later in the Hellenistic period as a regional power in its own right shows how the local elite then were able to expand their influence over other communities in the area.³⁰⁸

³⁰⁶ LaBuff 2010; LaBuff 2016: 79-87

³⁰⁷ Cohen 1995: 252; see below for a discussion of who founded the city.

³⁰⁸ In the cases of Stratonikeia and Aphrodisias, some scholars have described the unions between these two cities and their neighbors as synoikisms, and others have described them as sympolities. For Stratonikeia: van Bremen 2000 says it was either a synoikism or sympolity for the initial foundation of the city (389), while LaBuff 2016: 132-139 calls Stratonikeia's initial foundation and later expansion with Panamara sympolities. For Aphrodisias: Reynolds 1985 calls it a synoikism; Chaniotis 2010, LaBuff 2016, and Ratté 2018 call it a sympolity (160). I follow calling the relationships sympolities, except for the discussion on the initial foundation of Stratonikeia (see below).

Due to the rich settlement pattern data from the Aphrodisias Regional Survey directed by Ratté, Aphrodisias is a critical case study. While the city grew considerably during the Roman Imperial period, the Hellenistic phase of Aphrodisias and its neighbor Plarasa are of interest here with their sympolity dated to the 2nd c. BCE. The regional survey provides information on how rural settlement patterns changed during the Hellenistic to early Roman periods when Plarasa and Aphrodisias formed the sympolity in response to greater political changes and when major urbanization efforts shifted to Aphrodisias. The case examines how local elite could have been involved in initiating sympolity and urbanization for wider recognition by political powers.

The final case study of the Chersonesos peninsula and Rhodes is an example of the significant effect of Rhodes on the Karian mainland. It is traditionally thought that Rhodes had had power in the Karian Chersonesos, its *peraiia* or mainland territory, since the 5th c. BCE. New archaeological and epigraphic evidence, however, suggests that Rhodes did not have power in the *peraiia* until the early 3rd c. BCE after Demetrios Poliorketes' siege against Rhodes.³⁰⁹ The presence of Rhodes in this territory had a significant impact on the Chersonesian people (who became Rhodian citizens), the Chersonesian settlements, and the economy of the peninsula, as will be explored below. The Loryma and Bybassos surveys by W. Held and C. Wilkening-Aumann will be the main source of data for this discussion. While being part of Rhodian territory stimulated new growth at certain settlements and drove the production and export of Rhodian wine from the Karian peninsula, the local Karian elite in the Chersonesos had agency in the development of their communities, benefited from the sympolity alliance, and maintained local identity within their grave monuments and cult places.³¹⁰

³⁰⁹ Held 2019a: 7; Badoud 2011; Wiemer 2010 argues that Rhodian presence was in the Chersonesos in the 5th c. BCE and acquired the whole peninsula at the end of the 4th c. BCE.

³¹⁰ Held and Wilkening-Aumann 2015: 86

Another dataset is P. Debord and E. Varinlioğlu's archaeological and epigraphic survey of the Karian highlands.³¹¹ Although all of their results are not necessarily relevant to the discussion here, some of their data is discussed within the case studies described. Inevitably, other sympolities will be left out, but I specifically chose case studies which have the most archaeological data, and which exemplify different historical circumstances.³¹²

4.2 Pidasa and Latmos

Pidasa and Latmos formed a sympolity in the late 4th c. BCE as known from inscription *SEG* 47.1563, first published by W. Blümel and more recently studied by LaBuff.³¹³ It is the earliest known sympolity in Karia and likely happened just before or around the same time as Latmos' relocation west to Herakleia at Latmos (from now on referred to as Herakleia), which is located on today's Lake Bafa.³¹⁴ While scholarship so far has focused on the terms of the agreement as found in the inscription, my analysis brings to the fore the archaeological evidence for occupation at Pidasa and Latmos in order to understand how urban development changed. Urban surveys have been conducted at both sites, but surveys in the surrounding countryside have not been conducted and the surveys at Pidasa were not systematic. A look into the available data nevertheless provides a fuller picture of developments at both communities before, during, and after the agreement, and what the effect of the move to Herakleia had on the Latmos community.

³¹¹ Debord and Varinlioğlu 2001

³¹² See LaBuff 2016 for a full review of sympolities in Karia. I include all known synoikisms and sympolities in Karia in Appendix A.

³¹³ LaBuff 2016: 81-85, first published by Blümel 1997 and now in the Milas Museum.

³¹⁴ LaBuff 2016: 84

The text of the sympolity agreement shows that the two communities agreed to create a new tribe Asandris; to allow Pidasians to be part of sacred rites; to combine the sacred and secular income of both places; to allow Pidasians to move to Latmos within one year; and to require that Pidasians and Latmians intermarry for six years, among some other agreements.³¹⁵ Several scholars have argued that the satrap of Karia at the time, Asandros, provided the impetus for the sympolity, since the new tribe formed in the agreement seems to be named after him.³¹⁶ LaBuff has argued in response that Pidasa and Latmos themselves arranged the agreement, as the

³¹⁵ LaBuff 2016: 84. It also makes the magistracies common for both places, allows the Pidasians to build houses in Latmos, and 100 Pidasian and 200 Latmian men swear to the agreement. Lines 3-28:

[]ν· προσαγαγεῖν δὲ καὶ θυσίαν []
 [...] τοὺς τιμάρχους ἤδη ὅπως ἂν ἡ πόλις
 [4] [ό]μονοιῆι προσκατατάξαι δὲ καὶ φυλὴν μία[ν]
 [π]ρὸς ταῖς ὑπαρχούσαις καὶ ὀνομάζεσθαι αὐ-
 [τ]ὴν Ἀσανδρίδα· ἐπικληρῶσαι δ' εἰς αὐτὴν ἐκ πα-
 [1-2]ων τῶν φυλῶν καὶ τῶν φρατοριῶν τῶν τε ἐν Λά-
 [8] [τ]μωι ὑπαρχόντων καὶ τῶν ἐμ Πιδάσειοις τοὺς δὲ λο[ι]-
 πούς Πιδασείων ἐπικληρῶσαι ἐπὶ τὰς ὑπαρχού-
 σασ φυλὰς ὡς ἰσότατα· τοὺς δὲ λαχόντας Πιδά-
 [σ]εῖς μετέχειν ἱερῶν πάντων, τοὺς μὲν φράτο-
 [12] [ρ]ας τῶν φρατορικῶν, τὰς δὲ φυλὰς τῶν φυλετ[ι][
 κ]ῶν, οὗ ἂν [ἔ]καστοι λάχωσιν· τὰς δὲ προσόδους
 [τὰς] ὑπαρχούσας Πιδασεῦσιν καὶ Λατμίοις
 [τῶν] ἱερῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων εἶναι κοι-
 [16] [ν]άς, ἴδιον δὲ μηθὲν εἶναι μηδετέραι τῶν πό-
 λεων· τὰ δὰ χρέα τὰ προϋπάρχοντα ἐν ἑκατ[έ]-
 ραι τῶν πόλεων εἰὼς μηνὸς Δίου διορθώσασθ[αι]
 τὰ ἴδια ἑκατέραν τὰ αὐτῶν· σταθμοὺς δὲ παρέ-
 [20] χεῖν Πιδασεῦσιν ἰκανοὺς Λατμίους ἐνιαυτ[όν]·
 [ῶ]π[ω]ς δ' ἂν καὶ ἐπιγαμίας ποιῶνται πρὸς ἀλλή-
 λους, μὴ ἐξέστω Λάτμιον Λατμίωι διδόναι
 θυγατέρα μηδὲ λαμβάνειν μηδὲ Πιδασέ<α> Πιδ[α]-
 [24] σεῖ, ἀλλὰ διδόναι καὶ λαμβάνειν Λάτμιον μὲ[ν]
 Πιδασεῖ, Πιδασέα δὲ Λατμίωι ἐφ' ἔτη ἕξ· τὰ δὰ [άρ]-
 χεῖα κασιτάναι κοινήι ἐκ Πιδασείων καὶ Λατμ[ί]ων·
 ἐξεῖναι δὲ Πιδασεῦσιν οἰκοδομεῖσθαι οἰκῆσι[μα]
 [28] ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐν τῇ δημοσίαι οὗ ἂν βούλωνται

³¹⁶ Boehm 2018: 98; LaBuff 2010: 115 reviews the historiography of the inscription that preserves the agreement, first published by Blümel 1997; LaBuff 2010: 116-117; LaBuff 2016: 85

presence of Asandros is not as dominant as in the text describing the synoikism of Teos and Lebedos by Antigonos I; Pidasia and Latmos rather named their new tribe after their new ruler (a practice also seen in Hellenistic Athens) as a gesture to appease Asandros.³¹⁷ While others have argued that the marriage arrangement would have erased Pidasian identity, LaBuff argues that it did not necessarily since both cities had to combine their incomes and Pidasia was able to maintain their own phratries with their administrative and religious duties.³¹⁸ In addition, the agreement allowed Pidasians to move to Latmos where there could have been more resources and opportunities, which seems to have been one way the Pidasians successfully advocated for themselves in the agreement. Pidasian identity would not have been completely erased because the whole community of Pidasia was not expected to move to Latmos, even though they could build new houses there, and the six years of intermarriage was not a long enough time for the total erasure of Pidasian identity.³¹⁹ The agreement was mutually beneficial because Latmos received access to Pidasia's productive agricultural land, while Pidasia received a larger market for selling agricultural products and access to a port, as well as a possible fortified place to shelter.³²⁰ I agree with LaBuff's interpretations of the sympolity agreement, and my following discussion of the archaeological evidence will show how the communities were also prioritizing themselves.

4.2.1 Pidasia

The archaeology of Pidasia has already been reviewed in Chapter 3 during the discussion of the sympolity between Pidasia and Miletos. The main points are again that even though Pidasia

³¹⁷ LaBuff 2010: 115-117; LaBuff 2016: 85-85

³¹⁸ LaBuff 2010: 119, citing Reger 2004: 152; LaBuff 2016: 86-87

³¹⁹ Ibid.

³²⁰ LaBuff 2016: 87

was not systematically surveyed, the available published data show that it was a fortified site with no late Hellenistic to Roman pottery.³²¹ In relation to the sympolity with Latmos, the presence of early Hellenistic pottery and the later sympolity with Miletos support the argument that during Pidasas's alliance with Latmos, the population of Pidasas did not fully move despite the agreements for new houses and intermarriage. Moreover, although the architectural surveys are preliminary, the presence of the two fortified *acropoleis* suggest that the Pidasians were focused on safety for their small settlement before the sympolity agreement.

4.2.2. Latmos and Herakleia

The archaeology of Latmos and Herakleia (where Latmos relocated to) has been studied by A. Peschlow-Bindokat and H. Lohmann.³²² Latmos, as the first settlement, has evidence for its earliest occupation in the 6th c. BCE.³²³ Based on their team's research, Peschlow-Bindokat suggested that the site was unfortified at the end of the 5th c. BCE, but it had fortifications in place likely by the first quarter of the 4th c. BCE. The fortifications as well as other walls within the city (for terraces and houses) have a double-wall construction that can be dated to the 4th c. BCE.³²⁴ Over 100 houses have been recorded at the site, and many of the houses incorporated the natural rock formations of the Latmos mountains into their architecture.³²⁵ The houses predated the construction of the fortifications and had additions in the 4th c. BCE after the circuit walls were built.³²⁶ The locations of the houses within more inaccessible areas of the mountain

³²¹ Cook 1961: 92-96; Radt 1973-1974: 169-171

³²² Peschlow-Bindokat 2005a and 2005b; Lohmann et al. 2019

³²³ Opitz 2017: 188; Peschlow-Bindokat 2005b: 16, although in the conclusion Peschlow-Bindokat suggests an earlier occupation dated to the so-called Ionian Migration in which Ionians displaced coastal Karians to inland sites such as Latmos in the early 1st millennium BCE (Peschlow-Bindokat 2005b: 41; Opitz 2017: 196, footnote 18).

³²⁴ Peschlow-Bindokat 2005a: 98-99; she says that the wall construction is common in Anatolia; another example are the walls of the androns of Mausolos and Idrieus at Labraunda.

³²⁵ Peschlow-Bindokat 2005a: 104-108; Peschlow-Bindokat 2006: 109-111

³²⁶ She does not mention a precise date for the earlier phase. Peschlow-Bindokat 2006: 111

and the fact that they were built incorporating the mountain outcrops indicate that the community valued protection, in addition to the convenience of quarrying stone in place and incorporating the outcrops.³²⁷ The fortifications were likely a further response to protect the city, perhaps by a local dynast in response to the growing power of the Hekatomnids in Karia.³²⁸ Other public buildings along with the fortifications and the houses were built in the 4th c. BCE.³²⁹ The city was abandoned by the end of the 4th c. BCE, and the new location at Herakleia was inhabited (Fig. 14).³³⁰

The archaeological evidence for both Pidasas and Latmos shows pre-Hellenistic foundations with fortifications to protect the cities. As the sympolity could have also been the cities' responses to the shifts in power, the building of fortifications and new structures at Latmos in the 4th c. BCE also seem to support this priority of safety, even if we cannot know who exactly sponsored them. The sympolity, in addition to the appeal to Asandros with the new tribe, was a way for the two cities to reinforce their protection in the wake of the new political ruler. The Hellenistic pottery and fortifications at Pidasas as well as the later sympolity with Miletos also show how Pidasas continued to maintain its own community despite the sympolity with Latmos; thus, Pidasas did not fully incorporate with Latmos, but it presumably still received the security and economic benefits of joining with a larger city.

The new settlement at Herakleia was only about 250m west of the original settlement at Latmos, but the location enabled access to the gulf of Latmos for maritime trade, which would

³²⁷ Peschlow-Bindokat 2006: 109-111

³²⁸ Peschlow-Bindokat 2005a: 99

³²⁹ Opitz 2017: 194

³³⁰ Peschlow-Bindokat 2005a: 109

have been advantageous in the Hellenistic period during expanding trade networks.³³¹ The Macedonian general Pleistarchos, son of Antipatros and brother of Kassandros, was thought to have caused the shift in settlement at first, since according to Stephanus of Byzantium the city was named Pleistarcheia for a period of time.³³² According to epigraphic evidence, Pleistarchos gained rule in part of Karia after 298 BCE, but the end of his rule is unknown.³³³ Some suggest that the impressive fortifications of Herakleia were sponsored by Pleistarchos, although O. Hüllden and R. Posamentir have argued that there is no definitive evidence that Herakleia was founded by Pleistarchos; he could have just renamed it when he received Karia.³³⁴ Hüllden argues based on the wall construction and comparative fortifications that the fortification system of Herakleia cannot be dated more precisely than 350 to 290 BCE; he suggests Demetrios Poliorketes could have been the founder, but while the impressive fortification system suggests a greater political donor, the definitive sponsor has not been identified.³³⁵ The Temple of Athena likely dates to the first third of the 3rd c. BCE, and the available architectural evidence for the other structures within the city, including the *agora*, gymnasium, and *bouleuterion* date to the 2nd c. BCE.³³⁶ Whether the foundation of the city was by a Hellenistic power or by local elite initiative, the move allowed Herakleia to have better access to the sea and thus provides another example of how communities were taking advantage of new connections.³³⁷ In their survey of the roads of Herakleia, Peschlow-Bindokat and her team found several smaller settlements

³³¹ Opitz 2017: 190; Peschlow-Bindokat 2005a: 110. Knipping et al. 2008: 366 say the access to the sea is now cut off and Herakleia is now on Lake Bafa due to the siltation from runoff from the mountains and from the Maeander river. See Knipping et al. 2008 for a discussion of the geological processes that led to the formation of Lake Bafa.

³³² Peschlow-Bindokat 2005a: 109-110

³³³ Hüllden 2000: 388-391 for a review of the evidence; Robert 1945, no. 44 for inscription.

³³⁴ Peschlow-Bindokat 2005a: 112-113; Hüllden 2000; Posamentir 2020: 454

³³⁵ Hüllden 2000: 403; 407

³³⁶ Peschlow-Bindokat 2005a: 113-118; Hüllden 2000: 404

³³⁷ See Boehm 2018: 127-132

surrounding the main city.³³⁸ While more information is necessary to conclude about settlement patterns in the region and the effect of the move from Latmos to Herakleia, it appears that the shift in settlement did cause growth in the surrounding area.

The greater building program within the city dated to the 2nd c. BCE, and while it cannot be dated more precisely, it correlates to historical developments in the early 2nd c. BCE and exemplifies local elite agency. Inscriptions from the *antae* of the Temple of Athena correspond to Herakleia's time under Seleukid rule and when it was freed right before the Battle of Magnesia at Sipylos in 190 BCE. The first document is a letter from Antiochos III's governor Zeuxis to the people of Herakleia dated between 196 to 193 BCE in which Zeuxis accepts the city's honors for the king and queen on their behalf, requests tax exemptions for the city, and asks for grain to be given as a gift to the city; the inscription shows that the city is under Seleukid rule at that time.³³⁹ The second document is a letter from Lucius Cornelius Scipio shortly before his victory over Antiochos III at the Battle of Magnesia in 190 BCE. The text explains that Herakleia had surrendered to Rome, and thus Rome declares the city free.³⁴⁰ The inscriptions provide insight into the short window of time in which Herakleia switched allegiance from the Seleukid kingdom to Rome in the wake of the changing political circumstances. In this way, we see the local civic institution of Herakleia advocating for what it perceives as its best interests during the war between Antiochos III and Rome. Although the civic buildings' dates cannot be more refined than the 2nd c. BCE, the negotiations with the Seleukid kingdom and Rome along

³³⁸ Peschlow-Bindokat 2005a: 135-138

³³⁹ Wörrle 1988, Nos. 1-4; Peschlow-Bindokat 2005a: 114-118; specifically for the taxes and grain: [πρ]ᾶσις, δίδωται δὲ καὶ ἐκ βασιλικοῦ εἰς χρῆ]σιν τῆς πόλεως μάλιστα [μὲν]μὲν πλέον εἰ δὲ μή γε τάλαντα [--ca. 5 -- ὡ]ς πρότερον καὶ τὸ ἐλαιοχρίσιον δι[ι]αμένῃ τὸ ἀποτεταγμένον τοῖς ν[έ]οις, ὃ ἐπεκηρύσσετο τῇ ὠνῆι τοῦ λιμένος, ἀξιώσσοντας δὲ καὶ ἀλτελειαν συγχωρῆσαι τῶν τε ἐκ τῆς γῆς καρπῶν πάντων καὶ ἐννομίου τῶν τε κτηνῶν καὶ τῶν σμηνῶν ἐφ' ἔτη ὅσ' ἂν φαίνηται καὶ ζεύγη τοῖς πολίταις, μνησθησομένους δὲ καὶ ὅπως σῖτος δοθῆι τῇ πό[λ]ει δωρεάν... No. 3 Lines 1-6.

³⁴⁰ Sherk 1969 No. 35 (*Syll*³ 618); Peschlow-Bindokat 2005a: 117-119

with the development of civic architecture show how the local elites were acting through their adoption of Greek civic institutions to negotiate with the greater Hellenistic powers and to urbanize after the initial foundation of the city.

While the community at Herakleia adopted Greek institutions and urbanized, they continued local traditions carried over from their previous settlement at Latmos. One example, extensively discussed separately by K. Opitz and Boehm, is the maintenance of cult from the transition from Latmos to Herakleia. The new Temple of Athena at Herakleia faces Mt. Latmos instead of toward the sea (Fig. 15). The reference of Athena Latmia in one of the inscriptions on the temple façade suggests that there was a connection between a local deity, the mountain, and the original sanctuary of Athena at Latmos.³⁴¹ Another cult of Zeus Akraios near the settlement of Bağarcık suggests a connection to an earlier storm and mountain god.³⁴² Boehm also suggests an “architectural conservatism” with the new sanctuary of Endymion at Herakleia, since it incorporated two boulders of the mountain along with curved ashlar blocks in its back wall as if to replicate a cave (in Greek mythology, the human Endymion was put into an eternal sleep by Zeus and slept in a cave, since the goddess Selene asked for Endymion to be youthful forever).³⁴³ Pausanias refers to the old sanctuary and cave of Endymion at Latmos; Boehm likens the new structure at Herakleia to a type of cave perhaps evoking the previous one at Latmos.³⁴⁴

4.2.3. Effects of Sympolity

A review of the available archaeological data for Pidasia and Latmos, as well as Herakleia, shows that the communities were maintained in some way after the sympolity

³⁴¹ Opitz 2017: 192-193

³⁴² Opitz 2017: 193

³⁴³ Boehm 2018: 178; Peschlow-Bindokat 2005a: 118

³⁴⁴ Boehm 2018: 178; Pausanias 5.1.2, 5.1.4

agreement between the two. Hellenistic finds indicate that habitation at Pidasas continued, even though they are not dated precisely; this finding is confirmed by the fact that Pidasas entered another sympolity agreement with Miletos around 188 BCE. While Latmos was the partner that was supposed to give protection to Pidasas, changing circumstances caused the settlement to move. Even though the Latmians were in a new location, their new urbanization allowed them to gain later recognition from Rome, and they maintained their ties to certain cult practices while still modifying them to the new setting.

Opitz notes that the move from Latmos to Herakleia at Latmos must have occurred from 320-300 BCE, suggesting that the sympolity between Pidasas and Latmos and the relocation of the settlement happened at about the same time.³⁴⁵ It is not possible to say for sure if they happened at the same time, but overall the sympolity can be considered as a way that the local elite were attempting to leverage their interests to each other and to the satrap Asandros. It is also not possible to say for sure if the sympolity was maintained after the move from Latmos to Herakleia. Even if the sympolity was not maintained, it was still a significant agreement in that both communities advocated for themselves in the wake of larger Hellenistic power changes after Alexander the Great's death.

It is also interesting that the Pidasians entered into an agreement with the Latmians for possible protection, but the Pidasians also later negotiated a sympolity with Miletos around 188 BCE for different benefits. Presumably, the sympolity between Latmos and Pidasas was not in place anymore by the time of the one between Miletos and Pidasas. This situation shows how a local community, even one that is smaller, continued to advocate for itself over time. Herakleia continued to be an influential regional power, and as mentioned in Chapter 3 it was vying for

³⁴⁵ Opitz 2017: 189

influence with Miletos in the 2nd c. BCE. While some incentive for Pidasia to enter into the agreement with Miletos could have been intimidation by these larger powers, the maintenance of Pidasian identity between the Latmos agreement and the Miletos agreement shows how smaller communities were able to benefit from wider inter-city networks and even choose the communities with which they wanted to collaborate.

Although it is not possible to discuss the settlement patterns surrounding Pidasia and Latmos extensively, this case study of sympolity is an important example of local elites in these communities advocating for themselves and not being subject to the total will of their rulers at the time. The analysis of archaeological data further demonstrates how local communities prioritized security, maintained ties to their identities, and advocated for themselves in the midst of larger political changes. Although the Latmians moved to Herakleia, in the end, the people of Herakleia modified and benefited from their new location, and the Pidasians maintained their settlement and identity despite Latmos' move.

4.3 Stratonikeia

Located in the Marsyas River valley (modern Çine), supposedly either Antiochos I (between 281 and 261 BCE) or Antiochos II (likely during the Second Syrian War from 260 to 253 BCE) founded the city. The site is now near the modern town of Eskihisar; this location was a strategic place for such a royal foundation since it was near routes to the Maeander valley to the north and Mylasa and the coast to the west.³⁴⁶ The foundation brought together several Karian settlements and sanctuaries under one city. Stratonikeia is assumed to be a Seleukid royal

³⁴⁶Ma 1999: 42

foundation based on textual sources and the name of the city.³⁴⁷ The city is relevant to the discussion about synoikism and sympolity during two different periods: first, from its foundation as a Seleukid settlement in which multiple settlements were integrated into the city; second, during the late 2nd c. BCE when Stratonikeia had a sympolity agreement with Panamara after Rhodes' rule of Stratonikeia and Karia at large in 167 BCE. This case study shows how the founding of Stratonikeia was a longer process as opposed to a rapid urbanization and how the city, after its initial urbanization, expanded its influence onto other regions. I will review how local elites were active in both of these events as well as in local cult activities. Even though textual sources suggest that Stratonikeia was initially a royal foundation, with a critical eye it is possible to see the local elite's influence. I will propose that it is possible that local elites were driving the foundation of Stratonikeia.

4.3.1 Stratonikeia: a Synoikism?

Starting with the relevance of synoikism and sympolity with Stratonikeia's foundation, this case study can illustrate how several settlements and sanctuaries were slowly integrated and how local elite maintained local identity in their respective demes. In the view of the imperial agenda, Boehm discusses the Seleukid foundation of Stratonikeia as an imperial strategy "to build a polis around several existing cults, which would shape the development of the city and in turn be altered by the rise of a new political center," but it is possible to consider how local elites were promoting urbanization and willingly adopted the new name (such as the case of the

³⁴⁷ Cohen 1995: 269 argues that Antiochos I founded the city, since Stephanos of Byzantium says that Stratonikeia was named after Antiochos' wife, Stratonike. Both Debord and Ma suggest that Antiochos II founded the city. Debord 1994 cites an inscription from Stratonikeia dated to 268 BCE that describes a man from Koliorga and thus argues that Stratonikeia had not yet been founded. Ma 1999: 277 argues that "the inscription is a *pierre errante* from eastern Karia," but still thinks the city was still founded under Antiochos II since "it is likely that western Karia fell under Seleukid control only under Antiochos II."

“Ptolemaians” of Lebedos discussed in Chapter 3).³⁴⁸ Stratonikeia was founded on the site of Hierakome, the location of the cult of Zeus Chrysaoreus, and the other demes of Koliorga, Koraia, Koranza, and Lobolda were incorporated into the city.³⁴⁹ These demes were previously autonomous communities that were joined to the city at some point, but the exact way in which it happened is not known. Some scholars have called the union a synoikism or a sympolity.³⁵⁰ The exact locations of all demes are not known, but Koranza can be identified based on the identification of the sanctuary of Hekate at Lagina and references to Koranza in inscriptions from that area.³⁵¹ This section will argue for local elite agency within the urbanization of Stratonikeia from these communities, and I will argue that the local elite gave up their independent settlements in a synoikism to be recognized by the Seleukid kingdom.

The history of how these earlier settlements emerged is not as clear, but Debord notes that in the 4th c. BCE, two inscriptions from that time cite three of the later Stratonikeian demes: Koranza, Koliorga, and Hierakome (with Hierakome later becoming Stratonikeia itself). This shows that at least these three settlements existed by the 4th c. BCE.³⁵² Apart from the later literary evidence, an inscription found near Stratonikeia describing honors for a man named Nonnos from Koliorga has been used as evidence for Seleukid influence in the region in 268 BCE since the text uses Seleukid dating and names the year as one of Antiochos II being co-regent with his father Antiochos I.³⁵³ Archaeological evidence shows, however, that occupation

³⁴⁸ Boehm 2018: 169

³⁴⁹ Boehm 2018: 169; Debord 1994

³⁵⁰ van Bremen 2000: 389; LaBuff 2016: 132 favors a sympolity since the communities had full citizenship rights as part of Stratonikeia.

³⁵¹ van Bremen 2000: 395; Boehm 2018: 169

³⁵² Debord 1994: 110, citing Blümel 1990.

³⁵³ *SEG* 30.1278 = *I. Stratonikeia* 1030; see Ma 1999: 277, van Bremen 2004: 213, footnote 20, and LaBuff 2016: 64, footnote 53. van Bremen notes that soon after Stratonikeia was under Ptolemaic rule in the 270s according to *I. Stratonikeia* 1002, which demonstrates how the inhabitants at Stratonikeia were subject to various territorial changes. But as mentioned above in footnote 351, whether or not this means that Stratonikeia was founded by then is debated.

existed in the area before the 4th c. BCE. Recent Turkish excavations at Stratonikeia are directed by B. Söğüt of Pamukkale University.³⁵⁴ There is evidence for activity in the area since the 3rd millennium BCE, but urban development occurred in the 1st millennium BCE when there is evidence for an Archaic to early Classical fortification system on the upper portion of the city (Kadıkulesi Hill) (see Fig. 16 for site plan).³⁵⁵ Late Bronze Age and Archaic occupation layers beneath the later Augustan so-called Hierokles Heroön, a monument which is near the eastern entrance of the north city gate, also suggest an early settlement.³⁵⁶ The settlement expanded in the 4th c. BCE to the lower city based on preserved sections of the city wall; Söğüt suggests that the walls and the earliest street grid can be dated to the 4th c. BCE.³⁵⁷ This interpretation seems consistent with Varinlioğlu's earlier publication of an inscription, found embedded within a modern house, about the walls at Stratonikeia that he dates to the end of the 3rd c. BCE. The inscription describes someone's position at the third tower of Stratonikeia's walls.³⁵⁸ This inscription thus provides a *terminus ante quem* for the construction of the walls. Thus, the city had clear occupation and construction before the supposed Seleukid foundation in the mid-3rd c. BCE. No archaeological evidence thus far dates to this Seleukid foundation period; the earliest

³⁵⁴ Söğüt 2019: 373-392

³⁵⁵ Söğüt 2020: 488-490

³⁵⁶ Söğüt 2019: 375-377

³⁵⁷ Söğüt 2020: 488-490

³⁵⁸ Varinlioğlu 1994: 189-191; the inscription text is:

Τρίτου πύργου μέ-
σης πύλης ὑπὸ
τὸ Σαραπιεῖον ἐ-
πίσημον Δελφι-
κὸς τρίπους.

From Varinlioğlu 1994, citing Laumonier 1934 no. 24 on another inscription that mentions the third tower in Stratonikeia.

evidence for the monumental civic institutions at Stratonikeia is the gymnasium dated to the second quarter of the 2nd c. BCE.³⁵⁹

Most of the scholarship on the city has focused on why the Seleukids wanted to found Stratonikeia.³⁶⁰ Debord and M. Şahin have both suggested that Stratonikeia was built on the site of Hierakome.³⁶¹ Debord sees the location of Hierakome as advantageous for the Seleukid dynasty because it would have been able to control this sanctuary (as the main center of the cult of Zeus Chrysaoreus and the Chrysaoric League) more closely and the physical location itself had access to various routes, from inland Karian sites Alinda and Alabanda to the Keramic gulf.³⁶² The role of the Chrysaoric League and whether or not it is also a political league in addition to a religious one have been debated.³⁶³ The first attestation of the league comes from an inscription of 267 BCE, showing that it was originally under Ptolemaic influence (the king's *oikonomos* could resolve disputes) and that it was focused at Labraunda (a sanctuary in the Latmos mountains where the first attested inscription was found). Later, the league seems to have been more independent and focused on the cult Zeus Chrysaoreus at Stratonikeia. It consisted of *poleis* who contributed monetarily to the cult's activities and whose votes were determined by the number of villages (*komai*) they possessed.³⁶⁴ Whether or not it was a political entity, its local elite members had clear influence in the region, and the Hellenistic power that had possession of the members within the league had some influence as a mediator.

Whether or not the territories were immediately incorporated into Stratonikeia by the Seleukid dynasty has also been of great concern. One suggestion is that the settlements were

³⁵⁹ Sögüt 2020: 492

³⁶⁰ Robert and Robert 1955; van Bremen 2000: 390

³⁶¹ Debord 1994; Şahin 1976

³⁶² Debord 1994: 120

³⁶³ Gabrielsen 2000a: 157-161 says it is a political league; LaBuff 2016: 51 disagrees.

³⁶⁴ Ibid.

combined right away.³⁶⁵ Another opinion argues for a gap in between the city's foundation date and late 2nd c. BCE inscriptions that cite the demes. For example, Gabrielsen notes that Koranza was likely independent until 167 BCE, since an inscription by the people of Koranza does not use the Stratonikeian *stephanephoros* dating.³⁶⁶ This evidence suggests that the demes were not incorporated fully until the end of the 2nd c. BCE. While the exact date is unknown, LaBuff attributes the dependent but not fully incorporated demes to the nature of Stratonikeia as a Seleukid administrative center and suggests that this status continued when Rhodes took over the city.³⁶⁷

Despite the overall narrative in the scholarship of a top-down foundation of Stratonikeia, the available evidence suggests the local elite's role in the foundation. No matter exactly when the incorporation of the demes to Stratonikeia happened, the more gradual incorporation shows an alternative model to the rapid integration of the surrounding territories. Moreover, considering a later full incorporation of the demes along with the civic construction in the 2nd c. BCE can suggest that the local elite were contributing to urbanization of Stratonikeia on their own terms and not for the supposed Seleukid foundation in the mid-3rd c. BCE. The formal recognition of the city under a Seleukid name allowed for the local elite to gain city status, but the local elites maintained their previous identities. van Bremen shows based on epigraphy how the citizens continued to be organized by demes and says that Stratonikeia was like "a dispersed city, in which territorial residence (or origin) much more prominently defined the identity of individual citizens than an artificially imposed social organization."³⁶⁸ Boehm has also noted how the religions of the original demes were incorporated within the new city of Stratonikeia, including

³⁶⁵ Debord 1994; see LaBuff 2016: 50-51 for a review of both opinions.

³⁶⁶ Gabrielsen 2000a: 161-171; LaBuff 2016: 50-51

³⁶⁷ LaBuff 2016: 50

³⁶⁸ van Bremen 2000: 394; 401

the cult of Hekate at Lagina.³⁶⁹ Lastly, local elite agency can also be seen in the Chrysaoric League, which local elites continued to run despite changes in which kingdom ruled over Stratonikeia. Thus, the foundation was more likely a negotiation between the various local elites of the previously independent settlements, who decided to formally urbanize together, and the Seleukid kingdom. Despite the fact that the local elites had to give up their settlements' independence, they gained formal recognition from the Seleukid kingdom, and they continued to maintain their previous identities in their deme names and their cults.

Is this process a synoikism? There is no textual evidence describing it as such, but the situation could be similar to the one of Tyriaion in which communities came together to urbanize and Eumenes II approved the so-called synoikism. Although the local elites maintained their identities to their previous settlements, their decision to come together and be recognized as Stratonikeia can be seen as a synoikism to gain formal status. The greater urbanization efforts in the 2nd c. BCE show how the local elites promoted urbanization over a longer period of time, rather than a rapid synoikism in the mid-3rd c. BCE.

4.3.2 Stratonikeia's Growing Influence

As Stratonikeia became a prominent city in the 2nd c. BCE, it demonstrated how its own local elite were able to mediate territorial and political agreements, particularly at the cult of Zeus Karios at Panamara. As mentioned above, the city formed a sympolity with Panamara, the location of the sanctuary of Zeus Karios, in the late 2nd c. BCE.³⁷⁰ By 167 BCE, Stratonikeia had expanded its influence to the northern areas of the Marsyas River valley and toward the road to

³⁶⁹ Boehm 2018: 169

³⁷⁰ LaBuff 2016: 133

Mylasa, but the southern areas of the valley were independent *koina*.³⁷¹ One of these *koina* included the *koinon* of Panamara; the sympolity agreement between Stratonikeia and Panamara shows how a community was trying to take advantage of a prominent local sanctuary.³⁷²

The evidence for Stratonikeia's relationship with Panamara comes from three inscriptions from three different communities about the Stratonikeian Leon son of Chrysaor.³⁷³ Leon was a priest who promoted the sacrifices of Zeus Karios at Panamara to other regional communities and was honored with a bronze statue and a gold crown.³⁷⁴ The inscriptions are dated after the Rhodian occupation in 167 BCE. Based on amphora stamp evidence for the priest Eudamos of Rhodes, who is cited in one inscription made by the Laodikeians, Reger has suggested that the date can be narrowed down to about 150 to 148 BCE.³⁷⁵ LaBuff argues that a sympolity was formed between the two communities because Leon was a Stratonikeian (identified in the inscription by the community Kallipolis) who served as priest at Panamara (thus they shared religious resources) and because of the reference to the "collective demos" (*sympas demos* in the inscription from Panamara).³⁷⁶

The likely impetus for this sympolity was that Stratonikeia wanted to have a prominent position in the Chrysaoric League; the more territory it had, the more votes it had in the

³⁷¹ LaBuff 2016: 131

³⁷² LaBuff 2016: 137-138; 159

³⁷³ All were found at Panamara, two published in 1995 and one in 1904. The decrees were made by different communities: Panamara (*I. Stratonikeia* 7), Kallipolis (Şahin 1995 no. 1; *HTC* no. 84; *SEG* 45.1556), and Laodikeia (Şahin 1995 no. 2, *HTC* no. 89; *SEG* 45.1557). Cousin 1904; van Bremen 2004: 207-209.

³⁷⁴ LaBuff 2016: 134-135; text also in Cousin 1904, Şahin 1981, van Bremen 2004

³⁷⁵ van Bremen 2004: 209-210 cites Reger 1998a and personal communication for the tighter chronology based on the amphora stamp chronology from Finkielsztejn, most recently Finkielsztejn 2001; Reger 1998a 16-17 suggests the broader chronology of 170 to 150 BCE for the stamps and 175 to 167 BCE for the inscription.

³⁷⁶ LaBuff 2016: 135-136; for Leon as a Stratonikeian: *SEG* 45.1556, lines 22-23:

στεφανοῖ Λέ[οντα Χ]ρυσάορος τοῦ Ζωίλου
τοῦ Πολυπέρχοντος Στρατ[ονικέα]

For *sympas demos*, see *I. Stratonikeia* 7, line 27.

league.³⁷⁷ The agreement did not necessarily just benefit Stratonikeia, however; even though Rhodian rule in Karia ended in 167 BCE, Panamara was close enough to the traditional Rhodian *peraia* that Panamara could have been still potentially subject to Rhodian dominance.³⁷⁸ Thus, the option to be represented as citizens in Stratonikeia outweighed the potential of being subjugated by Rhodes and not having representation there.³⁷⁹ Furthermore, if the dating by Reger is correct, the sympolity came into force during a period of relative peace and prosperity, which van Bremen dates to 150 to 130 BCE, before the war against Aristonikos, the illegitimate son of Attalid king Attalos II who tried to take the kingdom of Pergamon, from 133 to 129 BCE.³⁸⁰ Without outside distractions, this would have been an ideal time for Stratonikeia to enter an agreement with Panamara.

This relative period of peace can also shed light upon local cult identity within Stratonikeia. van Bremen specifically identifies this period as when the Temple of Hekate at Lagina and its sculptural friezes were likely built; although the date of the friezes and their subject are highly debated, if van Bremen's argument is correct, the building program suggests local investment in the community and pride in the local cult of Hekate during the greater period of urbanization at Stratonikeia.³⁸¹ It is not known exactly when Koranza and its sanctuary of Hekate was incorporated fully within the *polis* of Stratonikeia, as noted above, but it seems to have happened by the end of the 2nd c. BCE at the latest, around the same time when greater civic structures were being built in Stratonikeia. In any case, if it was fully incorporated or not,

³⁷⁷ LaBuff 2016: 138

³⁷⁸ LaBuff 2016: 139

³⁷⁹ Ibid.

³⁸⁰ van Bremen 2010: 502

³⁸¹ Ibid. The friezes have been dated as early as the 160s to as late as the 30s BCE. Other suggestions about the frieze include the idea that the north frieze that shows Amazons and Greeks (cuirassed and nude) about to celebrate a festival represents a *dexiosis* between the territory and Rome.

the investment suggests a proud display of local cult identity at Koranza after Rhodes lost its influence in the area. If it was fully incorporated, perhaps Stratonikeia assisted in the investment of the local cult in order to gain favor with Koranza at the same time it was trying to gain access to the sanctuary at Panamara and more votes in the Chrysaoric League.

Even though the settlement pattern evidence is not available, the earlier Bronze Age, Archaic, and Classical finds at Stratonikeia indicate a long history of activity at the site, demonstrating its importance as Hierakome and perhaps an earlier site. Local elite agency and identity continued throughout the initial foundation of Stratonikeia and the city's incorporation of Panamara. The peer polity interaction between the local elite at the various settlements could have contributed to the local elite desire to invest in the original Classical expansion of Hierakome and then change the name to Stratonikeia as an appeasement to the Seleukid kingdom. The evidence does not suggest a rapid synoikism around the time of the mid-3rd c. BCE. While the local elite from the different settlements likely came together to form civic institutions to negotiate with the Seleukid kingdom, the monumentalization of buildings for these institutions did not start until the 2nd c. BCE perhaps when the local elite formalized the dependence of the demes in response to Rhodian rule in Karia or when Stratonikeia was trying to assert its influence in the region with its sympolity with Panamara. Emerging archaeological evidence from future excavations at Stratonikeia will hopefully provide more insight into the city's Hellenistic foundation, its pre-Hellenistic past, and how the local elite were involved at those times.

4.4 Aphrodisias

Aphrodisias and Plarasa (now at modern Bingeç, southwest of Aphrodisias) have been widely discussed as an example of a synoikism or sympolity in Karia. The names Plarasa and

Aphrodisias appear in inscriptions on coins and stone, and since Plarasa is named first in these texts it is generally accepted that it was originally the more important or influential settlement in the region.³⁸² Aphrodisias became the more important city by the 1st c. BCE and continued to be so in the Roman period.³⁸³ I follow the more recent scholarship that calls the alliance a sympolity, and I examine the archaeological evidence for the two settlements to explore how the local elite played a role in the sympolity and how the urban and rural growth changed before and after the alliance.³⁸⁴

4.4.1 Sympolity and Urbanization at Aphrodisias

Aphrodisias is situated in inland Karia, in a border region between Karia, Lydia, and Phrygia (refer back to Figs. 2 and 13).³⁸⁵ It is located in the upper Morsynus River valley; the Morsynus River is a tributary of the Maeander, and the valley is rich agriculturally and is surrounded by mountains including Baba Dağı, Karincali Dağı, and Aydan Dağı.³⁸⁶ Aphrodisias likely became a *polis* after the Treaty of Apamea in 188 BCE.³⁸⁷ The date of the sympolity with

³⁸² Reynolds 1985: 214-215; Ratté 2012a: 15

³⁸³ Especially because the name Plarasa is not seen in inscriptions at this time. Reynolds 1985: 217; Ratté 2012a: 15

³⁸⁴ Reynolds argues that the relationship was a synoikism, in which the population from Plarasa eventually moved to Aphrodisias. LaBuff argues that the relationship was a sympolity, since the Romans called it a *politeia* and the first inscription that describes the relationship calls it as a *demoi*; this suggests that the two settlements maintained separate locations and local government and administrative structures at the time (the first mention is in the 2nd c. BCE, although it is debated whether it dates to after 167 BCE or after 129 BCE). Ratté agrees with LaBuff that the two places remained separate. I follow LaBuff and Ratté. Reynolds 1985: 218; LaBuff 2016: 160; Chaniotis 2010, citing Reynolds 1982, no. 1 and Errington 1987; Ratté 2018: 467.

³⁸⁵ Ratté 2012a: 23

³⁸⁶ Ratté 2012a: 1-2

³⁸⁷ Chaniotis 2010: 461 argues that the changes from the agreement left a power vacuum within which Aphrodisias could have gotten the status, but also notes “we cannot a priori exclude an earlier date.” An inscription found in 2003 honors a Rhodian commander, Damokrines, and dates to about 188 to 167 BCE. The inscription refers to a *polis*, and Chaniotis argues that it must be referring to Aphrodisias since it was from the city’s sanctuary of Aphrodite and does not have another ethnic descriptor in the text. The timeframe thus indicates that Aphrodisias was a *polis* when Rhodes had control over Karia. Chaniotis 2010: 456-460.

Plarasa, however, cannot be more precisely dated than the 2nd c. BCE.³⁸⁸ The earliest inscription for the sympolity is an oath between the joint *demos* of Plarasa and Aphrodisias, the *demos* of Kibyra in Kabalia, and the *demos* of Tabenia that they will protect one another and not go against each other or Rome.³⁸⁹ The letterforms date to the 2nd c. BCE, and LaBuff suggests it dates to after 167 or after the war against Aristonikos from 133 to 129 BCE. In the former case, Plarasa and Aphrodisias probably did not need Rome's help when it was under Rhodian rule from 188 to 167. In the other case, Karians were granted freedom after the war against Aristonikos so they could be thanking Rome after that event.³⁹⁰ Coins with the names of the two communities have been dated to the late 1st c. BCE.³⁹¹

The archaeological data for Aphrodisias also does not necessarily provide an exact city foundation date. Occupation at Aphrodisias has a long history, although the city was not formed until the Hellenistic period. There is some Early Bronze Age evidence, and the *acropolis* had occupation in the Late Chalcolithic period until the Late Bronze Age, but then there was a gap in occupation until the 6th c. BCE.³⁹² Lydian pottery on the *acropolis* suggests that a settlement was there; activity around the Temple of Aphrodite also dates from 6th c. BCE, based on the presence of Lydian and Greek pottery.³⁹³ It is argued that there was a sanctuary at Aphrodisias around that time.³⁹⁴ Besides this earlier occupation, there is not much evidence for city development until the

³⁸⁸ Chaniotis 2010: 461: "The joining of the two communities in a sympolity (or in a synoikismos) must have occurred later than the original grant of polis status, whether still during the Rhodian occupation and under Rhodian influence or not, cannot be determined."

³⁸⁹ Reynolds 1982, no. 1, lines 2-4:

Οἱ δῆμοι ὁ τε [?ν]

Πλαρασέων καὶ Ἀφροδισ[ι-]

έων

³⁹⁰ LaBuff 2016: 157

³⁹¹ Reynolds 1985: 214

³⁹² Joukowsky 1986; Ratté 2012a: 22

³⁹³ Ratté 2012a: 22

³⁹⁴ Ibid.

later Hellenistic period. Ratté suggests that Aphrodisias' urban grid plan dates from the early 2nd c. BCE to the 1st c. BCE based on the evidence for the sympolity, but there is only archaeological evidence from the 1st c. BCE (see Fig. 17 for a site plan).³⁹⁵

4.4.2 Local Elite Activity around Plarasa and Aphrodisias

Despite the unknown exact foundation date of Aphrodisias, the archaeological evidence shows that there was local elite activity in the area well before the city was founded; thus, with this evidence it is possible to consider the pre-existing local elite network that lived in the area of Plarasa and Aphrodisias and contributed to the sympolity agreement. Local elite activity has been associated with tumuli and forts. There are two periods of tumuli identified: tumuli from the mid-6th to the late 4th c. BCE in the surrounding area and tumuli from the 2nd to 1st c. BCE specifically associated with Plarasa.³⁹⁶ Ratté argues that the older tumuli indicate the presence of local elites who were adopting Lydian practices as expressions of identity and were building their own local identity at the site of Aphrodisias and its sanctuary.³⁹⁷ With regards to what the tumuli suggest about settlement patterns for that time period, Ratté says that the tumuli were for the local landed elite and indicate the locations of their estates as well as possible villages; moreover, the tumuli were for multiple burials, which indicates that land and local elite prestige were inherited.³⁹⁸ Comparing the locations of the pre-Hellenistic sites and the tumuli in the region of Aphrodisias, two sites with pre-Hellenistic occupation are located close to tumuli: Dal Tepesi (A103) and tumulus 5 (D81); and the only farm with pre-Hellenistic occupation (F031)

³⁹⁵ Ratté 2000: 202; Ratté 2012a: 23-25

³⁹⁶ Ratté 2012b: 41-42; Ratté 2018

³⁹⁷ Ratté 2012b: 43

³⁹⁸ Ratté 2012b: 43; Ratté Forthcoming.

and tumulus 4 (A051) (Fig. 18).³⁹⁹ Other tumuli did not necessarily have to be right next to the land which the elite owned, and the land owners could have moved seasonally between Plarasa and their rural landholdings. Pre-Hellenistic farms closer to the tumuli also may have existed but were not preserved in the archaeological record. Although it is not possible to identify a pre-Hellenistic settlement with each tumulus, there seems to have been continuity of occupation in the northern hills from the pre-Hellenistic to Hellenistic eras. The survey identified seven places with Hellenistic pottery (including two of the fortified sites that had previous occupation, Seki and Kale Mevkii) in the northern hills, and there were four or five tumuli identified in the area.⁴⁰⁰

We can consider the shared cultural practices of tumuli as peer polity interaction between the local elites within this area as well as with Lydian local elites. There are several tumuli surrounding the city of Aphrodisias itself.⁴⁰¹ Combined with the presence of Lydian and pre-Hellenistic Greek pottery at the sanctuary and *acropolis*, the tumuli around Aphrodisias confirm that even though the main settlement was at Plarasa, the site of what would become Aphrodisias and the area around it had significance to the local elite before its foundation as a *polis*. The presence of the tumuli and settlement patterns also suggest that land surrounding Aphrodisias was used by local elites as their holdings, even before the city was founded.

Chronologically, the next evidence for local elite activity is the presence of late Classical to Hellenistic fortresses surrounding Aphrodisias. Ratté argues that their heterogenous nature demonstrates that they were not part of an integrated defense system and they were likely areas

³⁹⁹ Located by comparing maps of the tumuli locations (Ratté 2012b: 40, Fig. 1), settlement locations (Ratté 2012a: 27, Fig. 21), and farmstead locations (Ratté 2012a: 29, Fig. 22).

⁴⁰⁰ Tumuli 6 (C069), 8 (A037), 9 (A070), and 10 (A068), with 7(A042) just to the south.

⁴⁰¹ Tumuli 1 (B006), 2 (A103), 3 (A081), and 4 (A051) to the west, and 7 (A042) to the north of the city.

for shelter for local families who owned land in the area.⁴⁰² The local elite built these fortresses independently to protect their families as well as others living on their land.⁴⁰³ The adaptation of Greek architectural styles indicates to Ratté that these local elite families were actively choosing to participate in Hellenization, or adaptation of Greek culture, and were actively choosing to participate in the urbanization process at Aphrodisias.⁴⁰⁴ Only one, Yazır, which was a fortified settlement, was used after the Hellenistic period, suggesting that efforts were shifted from protective forts to urbanization of the region.⁴⁰⁵ In this way, we can consider peer polity interaction again among the local elite before urbanization; competition and emulation among the local elite could have pushed them to build their own independent fortresses to protect their own interests, rather than working together. This pre-existing peer polity network among the local elites thus laid the groundwork for when they decided to work together rather than independently to contribute to the urbanization of Aphrodisias and to contribute to the sympolity between Plarasa and Aphrodisias. This alliance could have been in the wake of greater political changes (such as after the rule of Rhodes) to place themselves on a larger platform and to gain the benefits of urbanization, namely the recognition from greater political powers and extended Hellenistic networks.

The second group of tumuli, the Hellenistic tumuli associated with Plarasa, provide insight as to how the local elite were displaying their power around the time of the sympolity between Plarasa and Aphrodisias. Ratté identifies at least 28 tumuli in the area that were built within a short time period; based on comparisons with a similar tumulus cemetery at the site of

⁴⁰² Ratté Forthcoming. The possible exception is the fortress at Yazır that could be the ancient settlement of Gordioteichos.

⁴⁰³ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid.

Hierapolis, Ratté dates these tumuli within the 2nd to 1st c. BCE.⁴⁰⁶ The tumuli are contemporary with the sympolity between Plarasa and Aphrodisias and could indicate a larger shift “in which a broader sector of society than the traditional landed aristocracy laid claim to the heritage of the tumulus tomb.”⁴⁰⁷ Although Plarasa continued to be occupied until the Late Roman period, the cemetery was abandoned shortly after its foundation, and Ratté suggests that the abandonment could correspond to the rise of Aphrodisias, when more local efforts were put there.⁴⁰⁸ I would add that perhaps the display of monumental tombs during the sympolity was an attempt for local elite at Plarasa to articulate the importance of the site at a time when they were advocating for an agreement with Aphrodisias. While the tumuli may represent a broader group of people beyond land-owning aristocrats, they were expensive monuments that displayed the wealth of the deceased for whom they contain and provided a nod to the earlier landed elite who also had tumuli. The decision to place the tumuli close to Plarasa was a conscious choice to highlight the wealth of the city before and after the sympolity, perhaps to Aphrodisias as well as foreigners, to show that it was a city worthy of alliance. After the alliance was made, the subsequent urbanization at Aphrodisias eventually overshadowed the local elite at Plarasa, and perhaps they moved to Aphrodisias during this time.

The archaeological evidence of tumuli and fortifications demonstrates that local elite were present in the region of Aphrodisias before and during the sympolity. The textual evidence also demonstrates that the local elite were involved in the sympolity between Plarasa and Aphrodisias. LaBuff argues that the agreement was driven by elite families at Plarasa in order to promote their status and to gain access to the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Aphrodisias.⁴⁰⁹ In later

⁴⁰⁶ Ratté 2012a: 22; Ratté 2018: 467

⁴⁰⁷ Ratté 2018: 467

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁹ LaBuff 2016: 158-159

inscriptions than the one provided above as the earliest evidence for the sympolity, there are references to “founder families,” starting with the mid-1st c. BCE inscription published by Chaniotis in which the “joint community voted posthumous honors to Hermogenes Thedotos,” whose ancestors are described as joining the *demos* together; other “founder family” inscriptions date to the Roman Imperial period.⁴¹⁰ These ancestors were likely the founders of the earlier 2nd c. BCE sympolity, so the local elite were actively negotiating the terms of the agreement between Plarasa and Aphrodisias.⁴¹¹ I would add that the rise of tumuli around Plarasa during this transition support this argument. The grave monuments displayed their influence and wealth, perhaps as a way to articulate the importance of Plarasa and its leading role in an agreement with Aphrodisias.

In terms of external sponsorship, Aphrodisias received special support from Rome, as suggested by the early 2nd c. BCE inscription with the first reference to the sympolity. Aphrodisias was particularly favored by Octavian (later Emperor Augustus) starting in the 30s BCE.⁴¹² An inscription dated to 39/38 BCE found at the theater of Aphrodisias was a letter from Octavian to Stephanus, probably a “local agent of Antony with an administrative function in this area,” in which Octavian calls Aphrodisias a city he has “taken for [his] own out of all Asia” adding he wants its citizens to “be protected as [his] own townsmen.”⁴¹³ The coordination and resources necessary to plan and execute the city grid of Aphrodisias could indicate outside sponsorship, but this outside help was not necessary. Certainly, Aphrodisias benefitted from connections with Rome, but at the least the urbanization shows how a community was dedicated

⁴¹⁰ LaBuff 2016: 158; Chaniotis 2004, No. 1

⁴¹¹ LaBuff 2016: 159

⁴¹² Ratté 2000: 199; Reynolds 1982: 96-99

⁴¹³ Reynolds 1982: 96-97

to building up their infrastructure at that specific moment in time, as opposed to a more organic or piecemeal growth.

4.4.3 Settlement Patterns after Urbanization

Overall, the archaeological evidence of the pre-existing peer network and the inscription of the “founder families” support the idea that local elite of Plarasa advocated for the sympolity, but how did the settlements change after the alliance? The growth of Aphrodisias suggests some settlement movement was necessary to support to the growing city, and even though Plarasa’s name is not included in coinage after the 1st c. BCE, it is not abandoned.⁴¹⁴ Thus, the sympolity did not require a permanent settlement abandonment of Plarasa to contribute to the growth of Aphrodisias, even if Aphrodisias subsequently became the main center. The urbanization of Aphrodisias also corresponds with the growth of towns and farmsteads in the surrounding area.⁴¹⁵ The Aphrodisias Regional Survey, through both intensive and extensive survey, found that these towns and farmsteads started to emerge around the 2nd or 1st c. BCE, when Aphrodisias itself was rising to prominence. Ratté discusses a pattern found in the survey data: that the settlements and farmsteads (42 were able to be dated by pottery) tended to be located in the hills and south plateau in the Hellenistic and early Roman periods, and then they tended to be in the valley floor in the later Roman period (during and after the early Roman Imperial period).⁴¹⁶ He notes that “most of the sites in the hills to the north and south of Aphrodisias (16 out of 42) were occupied in the first century B.C. or earlier,” whereas “occupation on the valley floor tends to start later than occupation in the hills; only 6 out of 22 valley sites, or 27 per cent, were

⁴¹⁴ Ratté forthcoming

⁴¹⁵ Ratté 2012a: 25-26; Ratté 2012a: 16 distinguishes farmsteads from settlements by architecture: sites with *in situ* architecture were considered settlements, while sites with isolated architecture (such as olive presses), but not *in situ* architecture, were considered farmsteads. In my chapter I am focusing more on the overall growth of sites.

⁴¹⁶ Ratté 2012a: 26-28

definitely occupied before the Early Imperial Period.”⁴¹⁷ Ratté suggests that the settlement shift could have been a result of a heightened sense of security during the Roman Peace and from a desire to be closer to better agricultural land in the valley.⁴¹⁸

This evidence shows, then, in terms of the physical settlement consequences of the sympolity between Plarasa and Aphrodisias, while there were serious efforts for urbanization at Aphrodisias to place the local elite on a greater platform to negotiate with the Hellenistic powers, Plarasa continued to be used and rural settlements did not contract to contribute to Aphrodisias. Settlement around Aphrodisias expanded as a result of the growth and prosperity of the city, which is logical since a city needs a support network of agricultural goods.

The survey did find pottery evidence for pre-Hellenistic occupation, but only at seven sites.⁴¹⁹ The survey identified Seki Ware, a very coarse ware that does not seem to be used in cooking, as the diagnostic pre-Hellenistic pottery at these settlements.⁴²⁰ Three of the places identified as having pre-Hellenistic occupation, however, were heavily fortified areas as discussed above. Three of the sites were identified as settlements (Kale Mevkii, Dal Tepesi, and SE Transect), all with occupation until at least the early Roman period.⁴²¹ Only one farmstead was identified with pre-Hellenistic occupation (Farm F031).⁴²² Instead of these sites being abandoned as Aphrodisias grew, six out of seven continued occupation until at least the Hellenistic to Augustan period, and five out of those six continued occupation into the later

⁴¹⁷ Ibid.

⁴¹⁸ Ratté 2012a: 28

⁴¹⁹ Farm (F031) in the North valley floor; Seki (1 [A019]) and Kale Mevkii (B064) in the North Hills; Yazır (3 [A083]), Ören (2 [A117]), Dal Tepesi (A103), and SE Transect/Farm (D172) in the South Hills. De Staebler 2012: 85, Table 2.

⁴²⁰ De Staebler 2012: 65; 70

⁴²¹ Kale Mevkii has evidence for occupation until the Late Roman period and Dal Tepesi has evidence for occupation until the High Imperial period.

⁴²² De Staebler's table has D172 labeled Farm, but in other areas of the volume it identifies D172 as a settlement near the Kocadere monastery (SE Transect).

Roman periods.⁴²³ 16 additional sites are added to the ones that have occupation in the Hellenistic to Augustan period, with two of those 16 being rural sanctuaries.⁴²⁴ So while there was a shift in where new settlements in the Hellenistic to Roman periods were, most of these pre-Hellenistic sites were not abandoned immediately as the community was investing more in Aphrodisias. The settlement patterns are consistent with a model that there was a more gradual shift in population and not rapid abandonment in the countryside when Aphrodisias was founded. This model suggests simultaneous local elite investment in the countryside as well as in urbanization.

In summary, although Rome supported Aphrodisias and Aphrodisias pledged its support to Rome, the sympolity and growth of Aphrodisias can be attributed to the best interests of the local elite in the region.⁴²⁵ The presence of tumuli and forts in the region before Aphrodisias' foundation show that there was already an existing local elite network in the region before the union agreement in the 2nd c. BCE. The tumuli at Plarasa indicate that local elite at Plarasa were attempting to demonstrate their power right around the time of the sympolity agreement. Aphrodisias was already a significant sanctuary in the region, so the agreement between Plarasa and Aphrodisias would have been mutually beneficial. Plarasa gained access to Aphrodisias' sanctuary, while Aphrodisias gained access to Plarasa's economic resources. The local elite decided to rely upon their pre-existing peer network to join together and urbanize for greater benefits and civic institutions, rather than keeping to themselves and only protecting their own land (i.e., at the fortresses). The sympolity and urbanization allowed the local elite to then deal with other peer cities, like Kibyra and Tabenia, as well as the Hellenistic powers. The sympolity

⁴²³ Ibid.

⁴²⁴ Ibid.

⁴²⁵ Chaniotis 2010 argues for Rome's influence; LaBuff 2016: 158-159 argues for the local elite's role, as already discussed.

is another example of the diversity of physical outcomes from these types of alliances; Plarasa was maintained even as urbanization efforts were focused on Aphrodisias, and growth in the countryside flourished as urbanization was encouraged at Aphrodisias. Although the exact reason why Aphrodisias became more important is unknown, a review of the survey data demonstrates that the growth of the city corresponded with the growth of settlements and farmsteads in the Hellenistic to early Roman periods, suggesting that local elite were investing in rural holdings as well as urbanization.

4.5 Chersonesos and Rhodes

The final case study in this chapter is an example of how a Hellenistic power could greatly alter a landscape that it acquired, but also how the local elite benefitted from such an alliance and maintained their identity during that time. Rhodes had considerable influence on the Chersonesos peninsula and had a sympolity with the Chersonesos, since Karians of the *peraia* had Rhodian citizenship.⁴²⁶ It is known that the people who lived in the region (and who were eligible, meaning adult males) were Rhodian citizens and lived in six demes.⁴²⁷ Debord and Varinlioğlu identified a grave monument at Yeniköy (dated to the 1st c. BCE) that shows Karians could become citizens of Rhodes. The family monument identifies the husband and his children as *Rhodos*, but the wife is only identified as Rhodian by her demotic *Ladarmia*.⁴²⁸ The

⁴²⁶ LaBuff 2016: 16, citing Held 2009, Wiemer 2010: 416-419, and Schuler 2010: 403.

⁴²⁷ Wiemer 2010: 416

⁴²⁸ Debord and Varinlioğlu 2001: 151-152, no. 41:

[v. ὑπερ v.]

[Διονυσίου Ἡρώιδεος? Ῥό(διον)]

Διονύσιος καὶ Ἡρώιδης καὶ Ἰάσων

Διονυσίου Ῥό(διοι) ὑπερ τοῦ πατρός, Πανα-

[ρ]ίστα Πύρρου Λαδαρμία ὑπερ τοῦ ἀνδρό[ς],

Διονύσιος καὶ Παναρίστα Ἡρώιδεος Ῥό(διοι)

ὑπερ τοῦ πάππου, Ἰάσων Πύρρου καθ' ὑ(οθεσίαν δὲ)

explanation is the wife was born Rhodian while her husband was a “naturalized” Karian.⁴²⁹ This example lies just outside the Karian Chersonesos, north of the Keramic Gulf and southwest of Pisyra, but this area was part of the assumed territory of Rhodes. Held has also found evidence of grave inscriptions from Loryma, a site on the Chersonesos peninsula, in which local Karians had Rhodian citizenship.⁴³⁰ Gabrielsen has discussed the distinction between the incorporated *peraiia* (the Chersonesos) and the subject *peraiia* (territory beyond the Chersonesos assumed to be under Rhodian influence based on literary and epigraphic evidence) in the 3rd and 2nd c. BCE before the Treaty of Apamea in 188 BCE. My discussion in this section is focused only on the incorporated *peraiia*, but it is important to note the subject *peraiia* exists.⁴³¹

The Chersonesos peninsula is in the southern part of Karia, and it is south of the Halikarnassos peninsula and north of the island of Rhodes. South of ancient Physkos (modern Marmaris), two peninsulas extend out into the Mediterranean: the southern one is the Chersonesos and is closer to Rhodes, and the northern one includes ancient Knidos and has its northern shores facing the Keramic Gulf (see Figs. 13 and 19). The Chersonesos peninsula has been studied in detail by Held with regional surveys focusing around ancient Loryma and Bybassos. The results of both surveys are significant in that they show how an outside power, in this case the island of Rhodes, had influence in a region for an extended period of time (about 200 years). Rhodes’ presence dramatically altered the physical and economic landscapes in the Chersonesos peninsula, but it is important to consider how the local elite Karians in the

Πύθωνος Ῥό(δίου) ὑπὲρ τοῦ τῆ[ς] ἀδελφῆς ἀνδρὸς εὐνοίας ἔνεκεν τῆς ἰς αὐτόν.

Wiemer 2010: 432; Wiemer discusses the implications of having local elite Rhodian citizenship in the subject *peraiia*.

⁴²⁹ Wiemer 2010: 432 does not find this argument convincing.

⁴³⁰ Held 2009: 122

⁴³¹ Gabrielsen 2000a: 148; 156. He argues that Rhodian citizenship, adoption of Rhodian cults, and cooperation with the Rhodian military do not equal subjugation.

Chersonesos were also actively involved in this process, as opposed to a top-down takeover of the region by Rhodes. In this section, I will review the results of the Loryma and Bybassos surveys and consider how the local elite had agency within the imperial-local relationship, particularly in their investments in local grave monuments and sanctuaries.

4.5.1 Loryma

Loryma was one of the original Karian settlements of the peninsula (part of the so-called Chersonesian Federation of Archaic settlements). Held's survey confirmed its Archaic origins with pottery dating back to around 700 BCE as well as an Archaic fortification system.⁴³² Held has identified two major factors for Rhodian involvement in the Chersonesos: expansion of military power and expansion of economic gains.⁴³³ The fortifications had a Classical phase, but the most significant construction in the Hellenistic period was a military base in the bay of Loryma.⁴³⁴ Held dates its construction to the first half of the 3rd c. BCE and argues that it was built by Rhodes in response to the earlier siege against them by Demetrios Poliorketes in 305 BCE that began at Loryma.⁴³⁵ Magnetometry survey also confirmed at least six ship sheds were present, which Held says are similar to ship sheds at Alimnia in Rhodes.⁴³⁶

The countryside of Loryma was also significantly altered during this period. In the survey, Held and his team identified 18 farmsteads that dated from the early 3rd c. BCE to the late Hellenistic period (around the 1st c. BCE).⁴³⁷ The slopes surrounding the farmsteads were terraced. Held argues that the terraces were used to grow vines to produce Rhodian wine, since

⁴³² Held 2006: 189

⁴³³ Held 2006: 191-193

⁴³⁴ Held 2006: 189-191

⁴³⁵ Held 2006: 191

⁴³⁶ Held 2009: 127-129

⁴³⁷ Held 2009: 129-130

the farmsteads had presses, stamped Rhodian amphora handles were found, and Rhodian amphora workshops at Hisarönü-Çubak and Turgut were identified.⁴³⁸ To summarize, Rhodes promoted new economic practices by encouraging the modification of the Chersonesian landscape.

4.5.2 Bybassos and Surrounding Settlements

The Bybassos survey provided similar results as the Loryma survey in terms of Hellenistic developments, showing that the Rhodian influence went further inland on the Chersonesos and even beyond. The investigators discuss the dates and changes at five different settlements, including the Karian settlement Bybassos and the sanctuary Kastabos.⁴³⁹ The survey included parts of the Chersonesos but also Apeiros to the west (see Figs. 19 and 20). The Karian site of Bybassos was occupied starting in the 6th c. BCE, based on the masonry of the fortifications.⁴⁴⁰ The site continued to be occupied until the 1st c. BCE, and through geophysical survey the researchers found that the site was connected to a port during the Hellenistic period (Fig. 21).⁴⁴¹ The site was abandoned in the 1st c. BCE until the later Roman period (4th to 6th c. CE).⁴⁴² Some of the other smaller sites they identified, though, were abandoned before or during the Hellenistic period; four sites had occupation starting around the 8th to 6th c. BCE and ending around the 3rd c. BCE.⁴⁴³ These sites are all inland just east of Bybassos. Thus, the same Hellenistic investment in a coastal site is seen, with smaller sites being abandoned in the

⁴³⁸ Although it's possible that they were also used for olive oil. Held 2009: 129-134.

⁴³⁹ Held and Wilkening-Aumann 2015

⁴⁴⁰ Held and Wilkening-Aumann 2015: 75

⁴⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴⁴² Held and Wilkening-Aumann 2015: 75; 86

⁴⁴³ Held and Wilkening-Aumann 2015: 76-81. The sites and dates are the following: the settlement Koklü Dağ from 7th to 6th c. BCE to the 3rd c. BCE; a *fluchtberg* at Eren Dağ from the 8th to 7th c. BCE to the Hellenistic period based on some blocks suggesting a Hellenistic altar was present; Kargıcak Tepesi from the 6th to the 3rd c. BCE; the settlement Asartepe from the 8th / 7th to 3rd c. BCE.

Hellenistic period most likely since they were not useful anymore and contributed to the growth at Bybassos.

Investment is also seen at two other sites studied in the survey: Kapıçıkada on the coast and the sanctuary of Kastabos of the healing goddess Hemithea. Kapıçıkada is actually not on the Chersonesos, but rather located in the Keramic Gulf and is closer to the ancient border of Apeiros. Kapıçıkada had an earlier Archaic occupation starting in the 6th c. BCE, but the port flourished during the Hellenistic period until the 2nd c. BCE.⁴⁴⁴ The settlement was one of the primary settlement locations during the Rhodian occupation, and the survey identified up to 50 houses there and a possible naval base for Rhodes.⁴⁴⁵ In this situation, another coastal site was favored during the sympolity between Rhodes and the Chersonesos.

The sanctuary of Kastabos also had earlier Archaic 6th c. BCE activity as the common meeting place for people from the various Chersonesian settlements, but it was not significantly built up until during Rhodian occupation around 300 BCE. A *terminus post quem* for the monumentalization of the sanctuary was a hoard of 175 coins below the temple to Hemithea's cella floor excavated by earlier excavators Cook and Plommer; the latest mint in the hoard was of Demetrios Poliorketes that dates to after 300 BCE (see Fig. 22 for a plan of the sanctuary).⁴⁴⁶ While the main monumentalization phase was after 300 BCE, Held and Wilkening-Aumann's reassessment also shows that two buildings (one large and one small naiskos) to the east of the temple actually date earlier to the Hekatomnid period and both buildings possibly held acrolithic cult statues (see Fig. 23 for reconstructions of the sanctuary).⁴⁴⁷ Held suggests that the

⁴⁴⁴ Held and Wilkening-Aumann 2015: 79-81

⁴⁴⁵ Held and Wilkening-Aumann 2015: 78-79

⁴⁴⁶ Held and Wilkening-Aumann 2015: 81, citing Cook and Plommer 1966.

⁴⁴⁷ Held and Wilkening-Aumann 2015: 83; Held 2015: 184-185. Held says that the smaller naiskos did have a cult statue, while the larger naiskos likely had one. Seven other naiskoi to the south, west, and north of the temple date to after 300 BCE.

Hekatomnids did have involvement in the construction at this sanctuary given the time period, the presence of acrolithic statues, and an inscription (now lost) that mentions two architects of Halikarnassos which he attributes to the larger naiskos.⁴⁴⁸ The major monumentalization of the temple, however, dates to after 300 BCE, and there does not seem to be any activity there past the 1st c. BCE.⁴⁴⁹

Held and Wilkening-Aumann also note the changing agricultural and economic landscapes with the Rhodian occupation of the area, as was discussed for Loryma. They identified agricultural terraces that were used from the 3rd c. BCE onward and produced grapes for Rhodian wine production and export; they identified significant pottery kiln sites at Bybassos, which would have been a place of export for the wine.⁴⁵⁰ With the abandonment of the smaller fortified sites and the increased agricultural production, the region was more connected to regional trade and to the sea. The seemingly sudden abandonment of sites in the 1st c. BCE is hypothesized as being caused by the depletion of the natural resources of the region too quickly for this extensive wine production.⁴⁵¹

The overall pattern of development in the Hellenistic Chersonesos, then, is focused on the construction of new fortified ports for trade at previously occupied sites and the exploitation of the countryside, with the exception of the construction at Kastabos. The smaller, fortified settlements around Bybassos mentioned above were not necessary and were abandoned in the 3rd c. BCE, perhaps because such security was not needed when the whole peninsula had Rhodian citizenship and new efforts were focused on agriculture, wine production, and trade. This model fits with the larger pattern, identified by Boehm, of Hellenistic powers' tendencies to focus

⁴⁴⁸ Held 2015: 185, citing Bean in Cook and Plommer 1966: 59, no. 2.

⁴⁴⁹ Held and Wilkening-Aumann 2015: 85

⁴⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁵¹ Held and Wilkening-Aumann 2015: 86

efforts on ports for economic gains, including the move of Latmos to Herakleia.⁴⁵² Held and Wilkening-Aumann note that Koklū Dağ was the only settlement of the ones belonging to the pre-Hellenistic Chersonesian Federation that was abandoned early in the 3rd c. BCE.⁴⁵³ Thus, the main pre-Hellenistic Chersonesian settlements generally existed until the 1st c. BCE when the whole peninsula seems to have been abandoned, but as seen with Loryma and Bybassos, they were modified for better port access. The smaller forts were not necessarily needed during the Rhodian occupation, at least in the Bybassos region, which suggests that investments were put into port security and farms as opposed to interior defense.

4.5.3 Local Elites in the Chersonesos

While certainly the Rhodian occupation stimulated growth in the Chersonesos and influenced activity in the area during the Hellenistic period, the archaeological evidence shows the continuing influence of the local elite in the region. Held suggests that the people who owned the farmsteads were local Karians, which indicates a partnership between the local elite and native Rhodians in wine production. He identifies the owners of the farmsteads as Karians because of the maintenance of local burial traditions; local Karian step base architecture was used in grave monuments by the farms (see Fig. 24 for an example).⁴⁵⁴ Some of the graves had stepped rooves similar to the Mausoleion and the Knidian lion tomb, but they also included Rhodian elements such as round altars and Rhodian names.⁴⁵⁵ Thus, while the Rhodian occupation of the region dramatically changed the landscape, local elite Karians were directly

⁴⁵² See Section 4.2 of this chapter and Boehm 2018: 127-132

⁴⁵³ Held and Wilkening-Aumann 2015: 77

⁴⁵⁴ Held 2009: 134; Held 2014: 252-253. He says that they can be dated to the Hellenistic period with some inscriptions dated to the 3rd c. BCE. The monuments date no later than the 1st c. BCE due to the occupation of the farmsteads but acknowledges that it is not known if the architectural tradition existed earlier than the Hellenistic period.

⁴⁵⁵ Held 2014: 252-253

benefitting from the production and export of wine; indeed, perhaps the wealth to build these grave monuments came from the extensive wine production in the region. They continued to use local markers of their identity in their grave monuments in order to maintain local traditions during this period of Rhodian occupation. The elements that nod to earlier local monumental tombs could also indicate a desire to align themselves with earlier local dynasts, but the incorporation of Rhodian elements also demonstrates how they worked within and benefitted from Chersonesos' relationship with Rhodes.

The significant construction at the sanctuary of Kastabos was also an investment in the local cult identity of the Karians on the Chersonesos. The sanctuary had activity in the Archaic period, so it was in use before the Rhodian occupation. Rhodes might have directly invested in the sanctuary, but the sanctuary continued to serve as the meeting place for the Chersonesians in the Hellenistic period.⁴⁵⁶ The temple continued to be dedicated to the goddess Hemithea and possibly her sisters; so even if the local elite were participating at the sanctuary as Rhodian citizens, the center functioned as a place dedicated to local cult and local interaction within the Chersonesos.⁴⁵⁷ The local elite investment in the sanctuary could also be seen as a reinvestment in a space that had recently had local dynast patronage, if the Hekatomnids did directly invest in the sanctuary naiskoi and acrolithic statues.

In addition to the attention given to Kastabos, smaller cult sites both for Rhodes and for local Anatolian gods were maintained. In his survey of various cult locations around Loryma, Held notes that most were Hellenistic and related to Rhodes.⁴⁵⁸ He also identifies foreigners in

⁴⁵⁶ Held and Wilkening-Aumann 2015: 74; Wiemer 2010: 417-418 notes that evidence for the Chersonesian *koinon* dates “from the early second century BC down to the Imperial period.”

⁴⁵⁷ Ibid.; see Held 2015 for the mythology of Hemithea.

⁴⁵⁸ Held 2010; the Rhodian cults include Zeus Atabyrios, Artemis Pergaia (originated in Perge but worshipped in Rhodes), Soteira Bakchia, and a cult of Artemis at the port with Rhodians named in associated inscriptions. Other cults discussed have fewer Rhodian connections but could have been related, such as a cult of Dionysos at the port.

inscriptions related to the cults, which is not surprising due to the nature of people coming to and from the port.⁴⁵⁹ There were, however, a few cult places dedicated to Kybele around Loryma. One to the east has a rock-cut niche that Held says could be older but terracing around it dates to the 3rd or 2nd c. BCE.⁴⁶⁰ Another cult in the port is not securely identified, but its organization is similar to cults of Kybele in Phrygia.⁴⁶¹ Thus, while there was a clear presence of Rhodian cults during the Rhodian occupation, local Anatolian cults continued. In some cases, the Rhodian cults may also have been sponsored by citizens from the area, such as the first *taxiarchos* Hagetor from Tlos who co-sponsored a dedication to Artemis with the fortress commander Xenotimos from Karpathos.⁴⁶² In this way, the local elite were showing their importance to their new developed areas with Rhodes as well as maintaining local identity.

Overall, for this case study of sympolity, the main evidence comes from the archaeology and the fact that Chersonesians received Rhodian citizenship. The case study shows clearly how settlements changed drastically as a result of a Hellenistic power's involvement, but at the same time how local elites were involved in the process. The local elite used their new situation to their advantage, but also highlighted their Chersonesian roots in their grave and cult monuments. While there is no textual evidence to suggest forced migrations during the period of Rhodian rule, the sudden abandonment indicates the limits of outside involvement. In this way, it is possible to consider the local elite Rhodians and Chersonesians as peers benefiting from the alliance. The sympolity cannot be explicitly connected to greater historical events, but development in the Chersonesos around 300 BCE seems to have happened around the time or after Demetrios Poliorketes' siege of Rhodes in 305 to 304 BCE when Rhodes was neutral in the

⁴⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁰ Held 2010: 360-364

⁴⁶¹ Ibid.

⁴⁶² Held 2010: 373

war between him and the Ptolemies. Perhaps the sympolity and continued investment in the Chersonesos was a move to strengthen local relationships in the wake of greater powers' fighting. In any case, the local elite Rhodians and Chersonesians built upon their relationship until the potential overuse of the land inadvertently caused a forced migration of the local inhabitants, although it is not clear where people might have moved after the 1st c. BCE.

4.6 Conclusion

A pattern that emerges is that investment in the growth of a new city (such as Herakleia) or in a pre-existing settlement to elevate its status (such as Aphrodisias, Stratonikeia, Loryma, and Bybassos) also corresponds with investment in the countryside. Some fortified settlements around Bybassos were abandoned when they were not needed, but otherwise there is growth as indicated by farmsteads and exploitation of the countryside of the Chersonesos. Since most of the agreements discussed here and in Karia more generally can fall under the category of sympolities, the analysis of archaeological data along with the sympolity texts shows an overall pattern of prosperity. The case study of Aphrodisias in particular shows how the pre-urban local landed elite likely moved some of their investments to urbanization and away from forts for family protection. This model can be suggested for other areas of Karia, such as the Hellenistic investment in the Bybassos harbor and the abandonment of some inland forts.

Another pattern that emerges is the diversity of outcomes that can occur with sympolities. In some cases, people were expected to move, as in the case of Pidasia and Latmos, but the move might not have been realized. Sometimes separate settlements were maintained, such as between Rhodes and the Chersonesos, but in other cases settlements were combined, such as in Stratonikeia. As discussed in Chapter 2, the definition of sympolity is fluid and historically the

type of alliance resulted in various outcomes, such as with synoikism in Ionia and the Halikarnassos peninsula discussed earlier in the dissertation.

The Karian case studies also highlight the significant role of local elite in starting these alliances and maintaining local identities. The textual sources that describe the sympolities illustrate that the local elite in these areas were actively negotiating the terms of their agreements with each other, as well as with larger Hellenistic powers. Even though the Hellenistic powers had their own political agendas in facilitating city movement and growth, complete top-down initiatives are not possible narratives when looking at the details of agreements and representation of communities. The texts associated with Pidasa and Latmos as well as with Plarasa and Aphrodisias in particular exemplify local elite agency. The maintenance of local grave monuments and cults further solidified local elite identity in these communities and served as physical markers on the landscape of the importance of these citizens within their communities. The Plarasans displayed their power and connection to past elite through tumuli, and the Chersonesians continued to use local architecture in their estate grave monuments. Local cults were maintained and built at Herakleia, Lagina, Loryma, and Kastabos. As the settlements prospered, local elites contributed to local identity building.

Lastly, it is possible to consider that the sympolities did not appear without prior context. The local elite groups had to have had pre-existing shared contact before the formal alliances were solidified. Later chapters will have more explicit evidence for these types of pre-existing relationships, but in this chapter one example is the presence of the sanctuary at Aphrodisias before the sympolity. Plarasa knew about the importance of the sanctuary at Aphrodisias and likely the sanctuary was one of the appealing factors for solidifying a sympolity between the two. Another example is from the sympolity between Latmos and Pidasa: Latmos' advantage of

gaining agricultural land from Pidasas must have been known from previous interactions between the two cities. Overall, although these case studies in Karia span different centuries within the Hellenistic period, and thus have different historical contexts, they show that although Hellenistic powers certainly had influence on local communities, the local elites themselves retained considerable agency in defining what they thought would benefit their broader communities and would help them become integrated in their new Hellenistic kingdoms.

Chapter 5: Lycia and Kabalia

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will analyze urbanization in Lycia and Kabalia, particularly in the time period after the Treaty of Apamea in 188 BCE. These two regions underwent expansive urban development in the Hellenistic period, but there are no texts that attribute these processes to synoikisms by the Hellenistic kings. There is some textual evidence for sympolity agreements, which will be explored below. These regions thus provide examples with which to think about how and why urbanization might have been beneficial for the communities themselves without the evidence of top-down urbanization.

There are several reasons for comparing Lycia and Kabalia. First, they are geographically close to one another (Fig. 25). Lycia is in the southwest Mediterranean coastal region of Anatolia, including modern Antalya, and it extends north into the Elmalı Plain. Kabalia is the mountainous region north of Lycia, with four main Hellenistic cities: Oinoanda, Balboursa, Kibyra, and Boubon. Oinoanda is the southernmost city, west of the Elmalı Plain (Fig. 26). The regions of Pisidia and Pamphylia are east of Balboursa.⁴⁶³ At different times in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, the regions were united and divided under the rulership of different kingdoms, discussed below. There were also exchanges in material culture between the two regions due to their proximity, such as the spread of traditional Lycian-style rock-cut tombs into Kabalia before the Hellenistic period. Second, epigraphic evidence shows that the border between Lycia and Kabalia (the northern border for Lycia, the southern border for Kabalia) was significant to the

⁴⁶³ Coulton 2012a: 1; 10

people who lived in these regions. Tensions concerning the border and land ownership are present in a treaty between Lycian and Kabalian cities that will be discussed below. The disputes show that these two regions were in communication. Third, comprehensive regional surveys have occurred in each region: the Kyaneai survey in Lycia and the Balboura survey in Kabalia. They provide insight into city development and regional rural settlement patterns; comparing these data sets, along with data from other urban surveys of cities in both regions, provides an opportunity to think about differences in urbanization between these two regions and the motives behind urbanization. In addition to the archaeological settlement pattern data, there are texts that are relevant to local elite alliances within Lycia and Kabalia, although they are not about synoikism. In this chapter, I start with the historical overview and case studies of Lycian urban development, and then I do the same for Kabalia, to compare the local elite networks within and between the regions to understand how they were contributing to major urbanization efforts.

5.2 Historical Developments in Lycia and Case Studies

Lycia is the region bound by the Elmalı Plain to the north and the Mediterranean sea to the south. The ancient region of Karia is to Lycia's west with the border at Karian Kaunos, the region of Pamphylia is to its east past the Lycian city of Phaselis, and Pisidia is to its northeast defined by the major Pisidian city of Termessos (refer back to Fig. 26).⁴⁶⁴ Kabalia and Milyas are to the north of Lycia. One of the major rivers in the region is the Xanthos River (modern Eşen Çayı) in the western part of Lycia. Although one story attributes the name of "Lycia" to a myth in which wolves guided Leto with her twins Apollo and Artemis to the region, the name

⁴⁶⁴ Reger 2020: 3

“Lycia” could have been preserved in Greek from Lukka, the earlier Bronze Age ethnic group(s) that spoke Luwian.⁴⁶⁵ The later Lycian inhabitants called the region Trmmisa and the people Trmmili, and Herodotos says that the Termilae from Crete migrated to Lycia.⁴⁶⁶ It seems likely that the lands described as Lukka in Hittite texts from the 2nd millennium BCE do correspond to the Classical Lycia (at least the Xanthos river valley), as H.C. Melchert argues, since the Yalburt Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription describes Tuthaliya IV’s (1237 to 1209 BCE) travels to Tawala, Pinata, Awarna, and Pitara (Tlos, Pinara, Xanthos, and Patara) during his military campaign against the Lukka Lands.⁴⁶⁷

Throughout the history of Lycia, as in other regions of Anatolia already discussed in this dissertation, there were various shifts in power before and during the Hellenistic period, and the local elite within Lycia asserted their own interests throughout the political changes. Before the Hellenistic period Lycia already had a tradition of urban settlements; Xanthos’ and Limyra’s earliest settlement structures date to the 6th and 5th c. BCE and these sites had an urban character from at least 400 BCE.⁴⁶⁸ Lycia became part of the Persian empire under Cyrus II when it was conquered by Harpagus around 540 BCE.⁴⁶⁹ In this period, Lycian culture was defined by its funerary monuments. Most famous are the ones from Xanthos, including the Harpy Tomb, the Nereid Monument, and the Tomb of Merehi. Lycia is also famous for its rock-cut tombs, with facades that supposedly reference earlier wooden architecture, such as the cluster of tombs at Myra. This type of rock-cut tomb was continued to be used after the conquest of Alexander the Great and the Roman empire as a marker of Lycian identity.

⁴⁶⁵ Bryce 2011: 373

⁴⁶⁶ Bryce 2011: 430; Herodotos 1.173

⁴⁶⁷ Melchert 2002: 158

⁴⁶⁸ Kolb 2020: 536; 538; 562

⁴⁶⁹ Bryce et al. 2009: 430

After the conquest of Alexander the Great, Antigonos I Monophthalmos gained the territory, but then the Ptolemies controlled it for most of the 3rd c. BCE.⁴⁷⁰ The Seleukids gained the region sometime before 190 BCE, probably in 197 BCE by Antiochos III, but lost the territory after the Treaty of Apamea in 188 BCE when Lycia was put under the rule of Rhodes.⁴⁷¹ According to Polybios, the Lycians resisted Rhodian rule, partially because there was an early misunderstanding among political envoys. Sometime soon after the agreement in Apamea, Lycia sent ambassadors to Rhodes to negotiate not initial freedom, but rather an alliance (συμμαχία).⁴⁷² At the same time the Rhodians sent some of their delegates to their newly gained territories to establish their presence.⁴⁷³ During the embassy, the Rhodians refused the Lycians' request for an alliance, and in turn the Lycians said that they did not want Rhodian rule.⁴⁷⁴ A. Bresson's detailed analysis of Polybios' narrative concerning the relationship between the Rhodians and the Lycians has teased out the various periods of unrest in Lycia. He reconstructs the first period of Lycian resistance from 180 to 177 BCE, then after a brief pause in fighting when Rome told Rhodes to treat the Lycians as allies, there was resistance again from 177 to 175 BCE.⁴⁷⁵

In response to this resistance to Rhodian rule, the Lycian cities formed an alliance (called the Lycian League by modern scholars) consisting of 23 *poleis*.⁴⁷⁶ R. Behrwald suggests that the league was formed sometime in the 180s BCE based on the league's own coinage as well as an

⁴⁷⁰ Behrwald 2015: 404

⁴⁷¹ Bryce et al. 2009: 432; Behrwald 2015: 404

⁴⁷² Polybios 22.5.8

⁴⁷³ Polybios 22.5.8; Οἱ δὲ Ῥόδιοι προχειρισάμενοί τινας τῶν πολιτῶν ἐξαπέστειλλον τοὺς διατάξοντας ταῖς κατὰ Λυκίαν καὶ Καρίαν πόλεσιν ὡς ἕκαστα δεῖ γενέσθαι. And the Rhodians, after they chose some of their citizens, dispatched them to the cities in Lycia and Karia so that each city would know what is necessary to do. Author's translation.

⁴⁷⁴ Polybios 22.5.10

⁴⁷⁵ Bresson 1999: 108-109; Polybios 24.15.3, 25.5; Behrwald 2015: 404

⁴⁷⁶ Funke 2018: 115

inscription from Lycian Araxa that discusses how its military leader Orthagoras fought the “Termessians” (presumably the “lesser” Termessians at Oinoanda, which is geographically closer to Araxa than the Pisidian Termessos; the kinship relationship between Termessos and Oinoanda will be further explained below).⁴⁷⁷ The league appealed to Rome during the conflicts, and Rome granted Lycia’s and Karia’s freedom from Rhodes in 167 BCE after Rhodes was supposedly supporting Perseus of Macedon against Rome.⁴⁷⁸ The league instituted a cult of Roma sometime in the 2nd c. BCE (possibly before they were granted freedom in 167) at the Letoön in Xanthos.⁴⁷⁹ The city of Patara in Lycia acted as the political center with its impressive *bouleuterion* and a federal sanctuary of “Apollo of the Forefathers.”⁴⁸⁰ Although Behrwald notes that the league was not as developed as other federations in Greece, he argues that the league “shows how discourses of federalism were absorbed by local elites in an effort to assert themselves in more than one crisis.”⁴⁸¹ The league continued to function as a *koinon* after Lycia was incorporated into the Roman province of Lycia et Pamphylia in 43 CE.⁴⁸²

In this way, local elites in Lycia were responding to the greater political situations by organizing together. But how did these political changes affect urbanization, if at all, and what kind of archaeological evidence can we see of local elite activity in Lycia during this time? In my review of the archaeological evidence for the following sites (Kyaneai; Tyberissos and Timiussa; Phellos and Antiphellos), I argue that efforts of urbanization alongside the development of the Lycian League, as well as the local level sympolity between Tyberissos and

⁴⁷⁷ Behrwald 2000; Corsten 2003: 148 (review of Behrwald); Coulton 1982: 119-120; *SEG* 18 [1962]. 570

⁴⁷⁸ Corsten 2003: 148; Polybios 25.4.7-8 for Roman suspicion of Rhodes conspiring with Macedon; Polybios 30.4 for the Roman call for war with Rhodes.

⁴⁷⁹ Behrwald 2015: 413

⁴⁸⁰ Behrwald 2015: 412

⁴⁸¹ Behrwald 2015: 417-418

⁴⁸² *Ibid.*

Timiussa, were ways that the local elite could place themselves on a larger platform to strengthen their relationships with one another and to negotiate with the greater Hellenistic powers.

Due to the amount and state of the data from archaeological surveys, it is impossible to reconstruct a complete picture of settlement history for all of Hellenistic Lycia (as well as Kabalia). It is possible, however, to reconsider how urbanization developed in a few different regions within Lycia. I chose these case studies based on the available survey data: a regional archaeological survey around the city of Kyaneai and urban surveys for the two pairs of mountain and harbor settlements in lower Lycia (Tyberissos and Timiussa; Phellos and Antiphellos). These case studies focus exclusively on the survey data, since no extensive excavation results are available (see Fig. 27 for a map of the sites in Lycia).

5.3 Kyaneai

The most comprehensive survey in Lycia is the Kyaneai regional survey led by F. Kolb at the University of Tübingen. The survey is based around the city of Kyaneai, which is in the Lycian highlands near the modern Turkish village of Yavu; thus, Kolb calls the area studied in the survey the Yavu Mountain region (Fig. 28).⁴⁸³ Out of a total of 136km² of land covered, the team intensively surveyed 106km², extensively surveyed 20km², and did not cover the remaining 10km²; from this land surveyed, they recorded about 3,200 ancient sites (about 510 settlements; along with a larger number of *necropoleis*, cisterns, quarries, etc.).⁴⁸⁴ When sites could not be dated by pottery, they were dated by architectural style.⁴⁸⁵ In this section, I will discuss the shift of settlements in the region and the growth of Kyaneai as the main Hellenistic city.

⁴⁸³ Kolb and Thomsen 2004: 5

⁴⁸⁴ Kolb 2008: 15-16

⁴⁸⁵ Kolb 2008: 21

The main settlement in the region during the Classical period was not Kyaneai, but Avşar Tepesi (whose ancient Lycian name is not known). Kyaneai had earlier occupation in the Classical period, but it did not become the main settlement until the late Hellenistic period (2nd c. BCE to 1st c. BCE). In addition to Classical Kyaneai, Kolb identifies four other Classical fortress settlements in the territory of Avşar Tepesi that date no later than 400 BCE: Tüse, Trysa, Hoyran, and Korba. He argues that the total five were under the rule of Avşar Tepesi in the 5th c. BCE until it was abandoned for Kyaneai.⁴⁸⁶ Although the main settlement of Avşar Tepesi has evidence for occupation much earlier, more relevant to this study is that occupation starts again in the 9th to 8th c. BCE and the oldest buildings date to the 6th c. BCE. Avşar Tepesi continued to be the major Classical settlement in the region until it was abandoned in the second half of the 4th c. BCE.⁴⁸⁷ The settlement is about 14 hectares large, making it one of the largest Lycian settlements of this time period, behind Xanthos (26 hectares), Limyra (25 hectares), and Telmessos (16.5 hectares). It was larger than the nearby Phellos (6 hectares), which will be discussed in the following section.⁴⁸⁸ The site has an *acropolis*, a walled settlement, and an unwalled settlement.⁴⁸⁹ The site had major features of an *agora* and theater, and it is clear that the city had a thriving relationship with the settlements in the countryside as evidenced by the livestock pens just outside of the city.⁴⁹⁰ It also seems to have been connected to important trade routes, as there is evidence for Attic black gloss ware in the city and in the surrounding settlements.⁴⁹¹ This evidence clearly demonstrates that Avşar Tepesi was a major Classical center in the Yavu mountains.

⁴⁸⁶ Kolb 2008: 65; Kolb and Thomsen 2004: 30

⁴⁸⁷ Kolb and Thomsen 2004: 22

⁴⁸⁸ Kolb 2008: 35

⁴⁸⁹ Kolb and Thomsen 2004: 22

⁴⁹⁰ Kolb and Thomsen 2004: 26-28

⁴⁹¹ Kolb and Thomsen 2004: 28

After the abandonment of Avşar Tepesi in the 4th c. BCE, Kyaneai became the main Hellenistic *polis* of the region with the rest of the fortresses becoming demes of Kyaneai. In addition to these old settlements that became demes, Oninda seems to have replaced Avşar Tepesi as a deme of Kyaneai (refer back to Fig. 28 for a map of the region around Kyaneai and the settlements discussed).⁴⁹² Kolb and Thomsen associate this settlement shift with the satrap revolt during the Persian Empire in 360 BCE when the Lycian dynasty was removed and the *polis* system was introduced to Lycia more broadly.⁴⁹³ In terms of urban development, the earlier Classical to Hellenistic fortifications of Kyaneai date to the mid- or second half of the 4th c. BCE.⁴⁹⁴ The main urban developments of the city happened in the late Hellenistic period (2nd c. BCE to 1st c. BCE), including the theater, new sections of the Hellenistic city wall, and the *agora*.⁴⁹⁵ This monumentalization corresponds with the epigraphic record in which Kyaneai is not referred to as a *polis* until about the late 3rd century BCE to 200 BCE.⁴⁹⁶ Thus, Kyaneai became a *polis* before the Treaty of Apamea in 188 BCE, but its major urban developments did not occur until during and after Rhodian rule of Lycia, which can be seen as a response to the greater major political changes and the establishment of the Lycian League. The local elite of Kyaneai were attempting to put themselves on a larger platform through urbanization efforts.

Kolb compares the urbanization of Kyaneai to the synoikism of Halikarnassos, instigated by the Persian satrap and local dynast Mausolos, in which settlements in the surrounding area were abandoned in order for the growth of the new, larger city.⁴⁹⁷ Kolb specifically cites the

⁴⁹² Kolb 2008: 201

⁴⁹³ Kolb and Thomsen 2004: 34, citing Metzger 1979 for the trilingual inscription found at Xanthos.

⁴⁹⁴ Kolb 2008: 173

⁴⁹⁵ Kolb 2008: 169; 172; 174

⁴⁹⁶ Kolb 2008: 169

⁴⁹⁷ Kolb 2008: 168

abandonment of the preceding settlement Avşar Tepesi and surrounding farms.⁴⁹⁸ But there is no textual evidence that calls the urbanization of Kyaneai a synoikism, and, as we have seen, not all the earlier Classical fortress centers are completely abandoned. Rather, they are occupied and thriving until the late Hellenistic period as demes of Kyaneai such as Trysa and Korba.⁴⁹⁹ Thus, it would seem that instead of a complete contraction of settlements from the Classical to Hellenistic periods in order to facilitate urbanization of Kyaneai, there is instead a restructuring of the organization of the region. This situation is similar to the case of Stratonikeia, in which the regional settlements become the demes for the new Hellenistic city. For some reason, Avşar Tepesi was no longer desirable during the rule of the Hellenistic kingdoms and Kyaneai became the center in the 2nd c. BCE around the time that the Lycian League was becoming active. There is no textual evidence to provide insight into the motivations for the restructuring of Kyaneai, but it is possible to consider, similar to Stratonikeia, how the local elite members of the various contributing settlements relied upon their peer network to restructure and contribute to a larger urban community at Kyaneai in the wake of changes during the Hellenistic period. It is not possible to connect the establishment of the *polis* itself to the period of Rhodian rule, but some of the greater urban developments could have occurred in response to the short-lived Rhodian rule in order to show that the community was integrating itself into the larger Hellenistic world and did not need interference. Overall, is it appropriate to call Kyaneai a synoikism? Even if the demes continued to be inhabited, the legal recognition of them being part of the greater *polis* of Kyaneai can be considered a synoikism, as in the case of Stratonikeia.

⁴⁹⁸ Ibid.; Kolb 2008: 33

⁴⁹⁹ Kolb 2008: 193; 196

5.4 Harbors and Inland Cities in Lycia

M. Zimmermann has conducted urban surveys of two pairs of mountain cities and their corresponding harbor cities (Tyberissos and Timiussa; Phellos and Antiphellos) in south-central Lycia to consider how and why they urbanized during the Hellenistic period (refer back to Fig. 27 for their locations in Lycia). Why did these Lycian settlements adopt the model of the Greek *polis*, and did they maintain local identities as they integrated themselves into the larger Hellenistic world? Timiussa and Tyberissos had a sympolity in the Hellenistic period which is documented in inscriptions which refer to the *demos* of both cities. Although there is no comparable textual information about a sympolity between Antiphellos and Phellos in the Hellenistic period, there is Roman Imperial evidence of dual citizenship for the two sites and Antiphellos developed to be a major port like Timiussa.⁵⁰⁰ In this section, I will summarize Zimmermann's findings and consider the impacts of urbanization at these sites and the alliances between the mountain and harbor cities.

Zimmermann sees the presence of harbor cities themselves as a result of Hellenization in the Hellenistic period. During the earlier Archaic and Classical periods, Lycian culture was defined by isolated hilltop settlements.⁵⁰¹ The growth of harbors does not necessarily mean the decline of these inland settlements; Zimmermann is in fact interested in how the harbors influenced development in these other areas.⁵⁰² To address these research questions, Zimmermann conducted urban surveys of these cities, and did look into some of the rural settlements in the territories of these cities (although not systematically). Because of this methodology, his conclusions are limited by the surface architecture and pottery. Nonetheless,

⁵⁰⁰ Kolb and Thomsen 2004: 38; Zimmermann 2000; Schuler 2010

⁵⁰¹ Zimmermann with Hülten 2003: 270

⁵⁰² Zimmermann with Hülten 2003: 272

from this data, he identified several distinct phases of urban growth for each settlement.

Although both pairs of cities did not quite follow the same trajectory, I argue that their growth in the Hellenistic period corresponds with local alliances (the sympolity between Tyberissos and Timiussa) and the emergence of the Lycian League.

5.4.1 *Timiussa and Tyberissos*

The harbor Timiussa was present during the Classical Lycian period (around 400 BCE) but functioned as a fortress and the surrounding region relied on agriculture as its main economic interest.⁵⁰³ Based on the fortress, Zimmermann argues that the site was a stronghold of a Lycian local elite.⁵⁰⁴ It expanded to the west in the early Hellenistic period starting in the 3rd c. BCE, making the city larger than the earlier Classical period settlement (Fig. 29).⁵⁰⁵ Zimmermann concludes that agriculture continued to be the main economic interest for the region, since there are regularly spaced fortified farms in the surrounding region that continued to grow in the Hellenistic period.⁵⁰⁶ Based on architectural remnants of basins, Zimmermann argues that from the 3rd c. CE onwards the main economic function of the harbor was the production of salted fish (τάριχος); this fundamentally changed the harbor from its previous reliance on agricultural products from the hinterland.⁵⁰⁷

Timiussa's corresponding inland city, Tyberissos, started out as a Lycian settlement in the 5th c. BCE on a hilltop at about 300m.⁵⁰⁸ In the Hellenistic period, around the 2nd c. BCE,

⁵⁰³ Zimmermann with Hülden 2003: 280; 293

⁵⁰⁴ Zimmermann with Hülden 2003: 279

⁵⁰⁵ Zimmermann with Hülden 2003: 281

⁵⁰⁶ Zimmermann with Hülden 2003: 286; 293

⁵⁰⁷ He identifies four different areas for salted fish production, with two dating later than the other two. At the peak of production, he estimates that Timiussa could have produced 500 tons of salted fish per year. Zimmermann with Hülden 2003: 289

⁵⁰⁸ Zimmermann with Hülden 2003: 293

there was a major reorganization of the city, around the same time as the sympolity agreement with Timiussa (or at least the earliest evidence for the sympolity dates to the 2nd c. BCE; Tyberissos is listed first in the texts).⁵⁰⁹ The city built a new Temple of Apollo, and it redeveloped its southern portion of the city with a new *agora* and multi-level houses (Fig. 30).⁵¹⁰ Zimmermann says, as for Timiussa, the community was active until the Roman Imperial period and focused on agriculture.⁵¹¹ Unlike Timiussa, though, Tyberissos did not expand greatly in the late Imperial to Byzantine period, since Timiussa became a salted fish exporter and Tyberissos, as an inland mountain community, did not contribute to this trade.

Zimmermann provides three neat phases for each city, and while the reality was certainly more complicated than that, his conclusions provide insights on urbanization in Lycia. Of interest for this study is that both cities experienced significant growth during the Hellenistic period. The growth and success of these cities show an increased desire of these communities to connect themselves to a larger Hellenistic network. Although Zimmermann notes that the main source of economic gain was still agriculture, the harbor's expansion from the early Hellenistic period created more external connections via trade. The growth at Tyberissos happened around the 2nd c. BCE; as discussed above, the 2nd c. BCE was not the most stable period in Lycian history, due to the changes from Ptolemaic to Seleukid to Rhodian rule, and the development of the Lycian League as a result.⁵¹² The apparent steady growth of Timiussa and Tyberissos demonstrates that during what seemed to be a tumultuous time among kingdoms, the

⁵⁰⁹ Schuler 2010 notes that the sympolity existed since the Hellenistic period and likely from at least the 2nd c. BCE, since there are inscriptions dating to this time that discuss the *demos* of Tyberissos and Timiussa (ὁ δῆμος ὁ Τυβερισσέων καὶ Τιμιουσσέων). Unfortunately, he says that these earlier texts are unpublished, and to my knowledge they are still unpublished. A later inscription, *SEG* 57.1665, dating to after 27 BCE shows that the sympolity between Tyberissos and Timiussa still exists, and the joint *demos* made another sympolity with Myra.

⁵¹⁰ Zimmermann with Hüllden 2003: 288-301

⁵¹¹ Zimmermann with Hüllden 2003: 304

⁵¹² Excavation would provide more insight into the date of growth at Tyberissos.

communities themselves were investing in urbanization in response to these greater political changes. The case of Timiussa and Tyberissos also exemplifies how Lycian cities could develop their own alliances among one another in addition to the larger structure of the Lycian League.⁵¹³

Zimmermann calls the urbanization of Timiussa and Tyberissos Greek acculturation (or “Hellenization”) in which Lycian communities were taking advantage of a more connected world and were putting their communities on a larger platform in order to benefit more from these connections. The communities were adopting Greek forms of urbanization and government in order to fit within the new Hellenistic world, and, similar to what will be discussed in the following Chapter 6 for Pisidia, show the Hellenistic powers that they were self-sufficient among their peer networks. The sympolity agreement between Timiussa and Tyberissos, as shown by the inscriptions which refer to them as one *demos*, demonstrates that the two sites were relying upon their peer network to support one another as the two were growing in the Hellenistic period, and possibly they formed this formal sympolity alliance in the wake of instability, much like the formation of the Lycian League.

5.4.2 Antiphellos and Phellos

For Antiphellos and Phellos, Zimmermann could only do an urban survey of the archaeological remains at Phellos.⁵¹⁴ Antiphellos is now modern Kaş, a Mediterranean resort town in Turkey, so the archaeological remains of the ancient city are mostly inaccessible. For Antiphellos, Zimmermann was able to use early travelers’ and archaeological reports from the 19th century, before a boom in modern development, to consider how the urban fabric of the

⁵¹³ See Behrwald 2000 on this as well as Appendix A for a list of sympolities between Lycian cities.

⁵¹⁴ Zimmermann 2005: 216

ancient city changed.⁵¹⁵ Phellos, like Tyberissos, is situated in a strategic hilltop location, at about 900m in elevation, on the Felen Dağ ridge.⁵¹⁶ Zimmermann dates the first phase of occupation at Phellos to the Archaic to Classical period starting in the 7th c. BCE based on pottery from some of the surrounding tumuli, although he admits that excavation could reveal an even earlier settlement on the ridge.⁵¹⁷ He argues that the fortifications date to the Classical period of the settlement (5th to early 4th c. BCE), and based on the identification of about 70 rock-cut tombs that date to this period (out of 140 tombs recorded), he argues that Phellos was one of the most important cities of the Classical Lycian period and was a home for aristocratic families of the time (Fig. 31).⁵¹⁸

Phellos had already reached its largest size in the Classical period and did not experience a great Hellenistic expansion, as Tyberissos did. Some civic structures were added, including a stoa and a theater, but otherwise the main Classical Lycian character of the city was maintained, including two Lycian-type pillar tombs within the city walls.⁵¹⁹ The Roman period is a similar picture, with only the construction of a road and a cistern; this maintenance of the old city structure causes Zimmermann to compare Phellos to a “museum of early history.”⁵²⁰ He argues, based on the architectural remains, that the population of Phellos did not radically change from the Classical to Roman periods.⁵²¹

The site of Antiphellos existed before the Hellenistic period, as evidenced by the presence of about 12 Lycian rock-cut tombs in the region dating to 400 BCE and a fortress in the

⁵¹⁵ Ibid.

⁵¹⁶ Zimmermann 2005: 217

⁵¹⁷ Zimmermann 2005: 223

⁵¹⁸ Zimmermann 2005: 226-227; 230

⁵¹⁹ Zimmermann 2005: 241-242

⁵²⁰ “Museum der Frühgeschichte,” Zimmermann 2005: 239; 242

⁵²¹ Zimmermann 2005: 248

region on modern Çukurbağ Adası with fortifications dating to the same time period.⁵²²

Antiphellos became more developed sometime in the 4th or 3rd c. BCE with a significant city wall, and in the 2nd c. BCE, along with Phellos, it becomes part of the Lycian League.⁵²³ Both Phellos and Antiphellos are *poleis* in the Lycian League with their own coinage, but unlike Phellos, Antiphellos expanded drastically in the Hellenistic period with the construction of fortifications, a *bouleuterion*, a theater, and an *agora* with shops (Fig. 32).⁵²⁴ Zimmermann does not provide a date for this Hellenistic expansion, likely due to the lack of information from the previous 19th century accounts, but it would make sense for this construction to pre-date or occur around the 2nd c. BCE, when Antiphellos is named as a contributor to the Lycian League.⁵²⁵

Zimmermann argues that the local elite at Phellos were investing in the development at Antiphellos for the possibilities of trading with the larger Hellenistic network, but they were still relying on the hinterlands of Phellos for natural resources in the trade such as wood as well as agricultural products.⁵²⁶ He suggests that local elites had dual citizenship at both of the cities in order to make this happen and to profit off of trade networks. He promotes this possibility because there is evidence for dual citizenship at least in the Roman Imperial period: an inscription preserves a text about a father and son who are dual citizens and the father is part of the *boule* for both cities.⁵²⁷ It is also important to note that Phellos had relationships with other settlements in its hinterland, which is exemplified by the epigraphic evidence for its *peripolion* Tyinda.⁵²⁸ According to Schuler, Tyinda was dependent on Phellos but it also had its own

⁵²² Zimmermann 2005: 245

⁵²³ Zimmermann 2005: 247

⁵²⁴ Zimmermann 2005: 247

⁵²⁵ Ibid.

⁵²⁶ Zimmermann 2005: 249

⁵²⁷ Ibid.

⁵²⁸ Schuler 2010: 409, citing Davies 1895: 109 no. 19; Schuler 2006: 154-155 no. 2.

treasury so the community had some government functions.⁵²⁹ Thus, it is possible to consider how the local elite were not just strengthening ties between the cities of Phellos and Antiphellos but also to smaller dependent communities in the hinterland.

While port city of Antiphellos expanded rapidly in order to take advantage of economic networks in the Hellenistic period, the inland city of Phellos remained relatively unaltered from its state in the Classical period. Zimmermann suggests that the inhabitants of Phellos kept it as is as a memory to the old Lycian city, or *lieu de memoire*.⁵³⁰ This situation is different from Tyberissos, where urban development occurred in the 2nd c. BCE. The differences between Phellos and Tyberissos show how even though the growth of their corresponding harbors was similar, and even though their inland settlements were still used for agricultural and trade reasons, the ways that urban change manifested in the inland sites was variable. Although there is no textual evidence for a sympolity between Phellos and Antiphellos like there is for Tyberissos and Timiussa, there is evidence that the same local elites had major roles in both the later development of Phellos and Antiphellos (as evidenced by the dual citizenship mentioned above), so Phellos and Antiphellos were clearly connected. The choice to maintain Phellos as a Classical Lycian site, however, can relate back to local elite agency of those living at Phellos and interacting with (and possibly also living at) Antiphellos. Despite the active urbanization and adaptation of Greek political culture and architecture, the local elite at Phellos were maintaining their relationship to the Classical Lycian past, similar to how the Karian Chersonesians continued to use local step-block architecture in their funerary monuments during their sympolity with Rhodes.

⁵²⁹ Schuler 2010: 394

⁵³⁰ Zimmermann 2005: 250

Although there is not extensive regional settlement data for the two pairs of harbor and inland cities, we see overall that the Hellenistic period was one of growth and increased connectivity in these places. The local elites present at the sites before the Hellenistic period, evidenced by the forts and the funerary monuments, chose to make connections that gave up some of their autonomy (i.e., the joint government of Timiussa and Tyberissos) in order to promote urbanization that strengthened their peer network and placed them on a greater platform to deal with the shifting Hellenistic powers. We can also consider how the economic benefits of the harbors in a more connected Hellenistic world led to local elite investment in these harbors and their corresponding inland cities.

Overall, for Kyaneai and the paired harbor and mountain cities, a greater Lycian identity (with the formation of the Lycian League) in contrast to Rhodian rule could have contributed to urban growth. While there were greater political alliances happening with the Lycian League, smaller, local alliances were also occurring in response to the changing political situations. Perhaps local elite were investing in more infrastructure so their communities would have a larger platform to express themselves to greater Hellenistic powers (i.e., Rhodes, the Attalid kingdom, and Rome). In any case, the instability during the 2nd c. BCE did not seem to impact urban growth in a negative way, but rather promoted it. My next section on Kabalia will also examine urbanization focused on the early 2nd c. BCE, how it was organized by the local elite rather than an outside force, and how it was possibly a response to the larger territorial shifts of the Hellenistic kingdoms.

5.5 Historical Developments in Kabalia and Case Studies

Kabalia's southern border is in between its city of Oinoanda and the Lycian cities of Tlos and Araxa.⁵³¹ In the ancient literary sources, Herodotos defines Kabalia as an ethnic region, and Strabo cites the multi-ethnic nature of the region, since people who spoke Lydian, Pisidian, Greek, and Solymi lived there.⁵³² He also discusses the four major cities of Kabalia: Oinoanda, Balboura, Kibyra, and Boubon that formed a *tetrapolis* alliance together, with Kibyra being the leading city since it had two votes compared to the single vote that each of the three other cities had. These four cities were founded in the Hellenistic period in a seemingly rapid urbanization effort in the late 3rd to early 2nd c. BCE.⁵³³ There is local elite activity in the region before the Hellenistic urbanization, which I will analyze for each city below, and thus it is possible to consider the local elite's role in this urban growth.

In terms of the larger political background to the urbanization of Kabalia, around the same time as the cities were founded or slightly later, King Antiochos III lost to Rome in the Battle of Magnesia in 190 BCE. The subsequent Treaty of Apamea divided Antiochos III's territories between the Attalid kingdom of Pergamon and the island of Rhodes. Kabalia likely came under the control of the Attalid kingdom at this time. The shift seems to have prompted the cities of Kabalia to either begin or renew their pact with one another, while Kibyra sought alliance with the outside power of Rome. An inscription from Boubon describes the pact (possibly the *tetrapolis* alliance that Strabo discusses) from the perspective of Kibyra. N.P. Milner argues the inscription from Boubon must date no earlier than 167 BCE, because after the

⁵³¹ More on this border later. Rousset 2010.

⁵³² Herodotos 3.90; 7.77. He describes a list of inhabitants in each province of the Persian kingdom led by Darius. He also mentions Milyas here, which is east of Kabalia, but will not be considered at length here. Strabo 13.4.17.

⁵³³ As compared to the rural settlements in the region before the cities' foundations. French and Coulton 2012: 46 and Coulton 2012b: 61; 84.

Romans released Karia and Lycia from Rhodian control, this provided an opportunity for the leading city Kibyra to create a new alliance with Rome.⁵³⁴ Milner translates the inscription as follows (with reconstructions):

“[We swear... by Zeus (? For example) That if we perceive that anyone else plots/attacks... the Boubonians, the Balbourans, or the Termessians at Oinoanda, [or their territories (?), then...] as god-fearing men we will come to [their] aid in [the time of peril, striving] by word, and deeds, and with arms, abating none of our zeal and spirit, to the best of our ability, preserving the treaty of goodwill and alliance with the Romans, the Common Saviours and Benefactors, doing nothing contrary to their decrees.” [the] three cities being reconciled [will also swear the oaths] over [new-burnt...] victims, in the [manner] written below....”⁵³⁵

The next shift came when Attalos III of the Attalid kingdom bequeathed his territory to Rome in 133 BCE. The Roman general Murena (around 84 or 81 BCE) assigned Kibyra to the Roman province of Asia and the other three to Lycia; some scholars speculate this was to separate Kibyra from the other three cities, but Kibyra is also the northernmost city geographically.⁵³⁶ A treaty in 46 BCE detached the three Kabalian cities from Lycia and put the northern border of Lycia just south of them.⁵³⁷ In 43 CE, the separation of the four cities occurred again when Kibyra was assigned to the Roman province of Asia and the rest to the province of Lycia.⁵³⁸ The province of Lycia became Lycia et Pamphylia during the rule of Vespasian.⁵³⁹

The four major cities in Kabalia were the most influential communities: their growth in the Hellenistic period significantly impacted Kabalia's configuration. Different types of research

⁵³⁴ Milner 2005: 158

⁵³⁵ Milner 2005: 157

⁵³⁶ Coulton 2012b: 78, citing Strabo 13.4.17 and Behrwald 2000: 126. Oinoanda is not mentioned by Strabo, but most likely would have also been involved.

⁵³⁷ Coulton 2012b: 78, citing Mitchell 2005.

⁵³⁸ Coulton 2012c: 123

⁵³⁹ Ibid, citing İskan-İşık et al. 2008: 111-115 and Özdizbay 2008.

with different methodologies have occurred at these sites: scholars have conducted architectural surveys at each city, but there was only a regional survey at Balboura. Excavations have occurred at Boubon (as rescue excavations) and at Kibyra (as larger-scale excavations by a Turkish team).⁵⁴⁰ Although different types and amounts of data have been collected for these cities, the data combined show that a local elite who existed in the region before the Hellenistic period could have organized to promote local urbanization. Kabalia provides a detailed and unique case study with which to study Hellenistic urbanization, yet surprisingly, broader scholarship has not given much attention to Kabalia, likely because the region is peripheral to the Hellenistic cities on the western coast. Some scholars studying Kabalia have suggested that a colonization of nearby Pisidians caused the rapid urbanization (reviewed in the next section 5.5.1), but by analyzing the data, I consider how local elite actors could have contributed to this phenomenon in order to gain recognition after the Treaty of Apamea.

5.5.1 The Pisidian Colonization Argument

I first want to summarize other scholars' reasoning for Pisidian colonization as the reason behind this Hellenistic urbanization in Kabalia. J.J. Coulton is one of the main scholars who argues that people from the region of Pisidia colonized Kabalia to found the four cities; he specifically argues that Oinoanda was colonized by people from the Pisidian city of Termessos.⁵⁴¹ Earlier scholars thought that, based on literary and epigraphic evidence that mentions "Termessos Minor" and "Termessians at Oinoanda," Oinoanda and Termessos Minor were separate communities, with Termessos Minor located at Kemerarası or Asar Kemer.⁵⁴²

⁵⁴⁰ Excavations focus on major public spaces and monuments such as the *agora*, Roman baths, and necropolis. Özüdoğru 2018.

⁵⁴¹ Coulton 1982

⁵⁴² Coulton 1982: 116

Inscriptions from the 2nd c. BCE to 4th c. CE at the Pisidian Termessos discuss “lesser” Termessians, and an inscription from Lycian Araxa describes how Orthagoras fought the “Termessians” (presumably the Termessians at Oinoanda, which is closer to Araxa).⁵⁴³ Coulton argues that two separate communities are not necessary; there is substantial archaeological evidence for a city at Oinoanda and the proposed location for “Termessos Minor” does not have any noticeable Hellenistic or Roman imperial remains. He also notes that there is no epigraphic evidence for a synoikism or sympolity between the two communities which would indicate that they shared one city name, so two communities are not needed.⁵⁴⁴ He argues that Oinoanda is just called sometimes Termessos Minor due to the Pisidian colonization. There is also epigraphic evidence for Pisidians in other areas of Kabalia, such as for Pisidian names in Balboura, which will be discussed below.

The narrative of Pisidian colonization has been central to the discussion of Hellenistic urbanization in Kabalia. I argue that while Pisidians, or people who wanted to associate themselves with a Pisidian ethnicity, lived in Kabalia, Pisidians do not necessarily have to be the sole instigators of urbanization, especially since there is evidence for the presence of local elite groups in the region before this urbanization. It could be a situation in which communities living in the area already had kinship ties with Pisidian Termessos and other Pisidian communities. Oinoanda, as it developed, relied upon these ties as a way to show its connection to more established communities in the Hellenistic world.

⁵⁴³ Coulton 1982: 119-120

⁵⁴⁴ Coulton 1982: 122; 124-126

5.6 Oinoanda

The first comprehensive urban survey, conducted at Oinoanda by the British School at Ankara and led by A. Hall in 1974, actually aimed to find more pieces of the famous Epicurean inscription by Diogenes of Oinoanda and plot the locations of the pieces, but it did produce a map of the city's architectural remains.⁵⁴⁵ In his publication of the buildings, Coulton produces a more detailed map of the city (Fig. 33).⁵⁴⁶ Buildings were dated by architectural style and epigraphy. A later German project from 2007-2012 also studied the site, but again focused on an architectural survey and finding more of the Epicurean inscription.⁵⁴⁷

Coulton identifies the fortifications as the oldest remains, agreeing with McNicoll that the fortifications likely date to the late 3rd to early 2nd c. BCE (Fig. 34).⁵⁴⁸ McNicoll notes that previous scholars have discussed the similarities between the fortification masonry at Oinoanda and that of Pergamon supposedly built during king Eumenes II's rule.⁵⁴⁹ While there is no direct evidence for an Attalid foundation of Oinoanda, Coulton notes that this suggests a sphere of imperial influence after the Treaty of Apamea in 188 BCE.⁵⁵⁰ Coulton dates the other architectural remains to the Roman Imperial period.⁵⁵¹ Although he does not identify more Hellenistic architecture, the Hellenistic fortifications indicate a substantial investment and suggest that the site was indeed occupied in the Hellenistic period. There is no significant

⁵⁴⁵ Hall 1976: 193

⁵⁴⁶ Coulton 1983: 3

⁵⁴⁷ Overall, the map produced by the architectural survey is not significantly different than Coulton's, and since I am not focusing on the text by Diogenes, I focus on Coulton's results here. The results of the project by the German Archaeological Institute can be found here: <https://www.dainst.org/en/projekt/-/project-display/48576>

⁵⁴⁸ Coulton 1983: 4; 6

⁵⁴⁹ McNicoll 1997: 123

⁵⁵⁰ Coulton 1983: 6

⁵⁵¹ Ibid.

evidence for earlier occupation at Oinoanda before this period, but it is possible that a much earlier Hittite settlement, Wiyanawanda, was located in the plain below.⁵⁵²

The location of Oinoanda seems to have been picked for safety reasons. The fortifications did not continue around the northeast of the city because of a sharp cliff that prevented any entrance from this area. Coulton says that the main approach to the city was probably from the west, where the city was most heavily fortified (refer back to Fig. 34 for an example of one of the towers located at the west side of the city).⁵⁵³ Oinoanda was in a good position for visibility of the surrounding region, since it is on a ridge at over 1,000m in height and overlooks a plain to view both east-west and north-south traffic.⁵⁵⁴

There was no regional survey of Oinoanda's territory, but an inscription gives some information about its extent. Rousset published an arbitration of a territorial dispute between Oinoanda and the Lycian city of Tlos. The treaty was set up in the sanctuaries of four cities in the surrounding region: the sanctuaries of Leto at Xanthos, of Zeus at Oinoanda, of Artemis at Tlos, and an unnamed sanctuary at Kaunos (at the border of Karia and Lycia); the Xanthos copy survives.⁵⁵⁵ The treaty, dated between 167 and the late 2nd c. BCE (thus after the Treaty of Apamea in 188 BCE) by Rousset, was arbitrated by priests who met on the island of Kos. Among them was a priest of Rome for the Lycian League, which shows how local elites of Lycia and Kabalia were appealing to the foreign power of Rome by instituting a cult to Roma as well

⁵⁵² The connection between the two settlements seems to be based on similarities in name and geographical region, since a source that discusses the Hittite campaign of Suppiluliuma II says that he went to Wiyanawanda as he traveled to Millawanda-Miletos in 1220 BCE. The association is debated, however. French and Coulton 2012: 48; Bryce et al. 2009: 765.

⁵⁵³ He also notes that people could have approached from the south. Coulton 1983: 2

⁵⁵⁴ Coulton 1983: 3

⁵⁵⁵ Rousset 2010: 13, lines 104-111.

Ἀναθής<ο>υσιν δὲ καὶ στήλας λιθίνας τέσσερας ἐγγράψαντες τήνδε τῶι ὄντι παρὰ Ξα<ν>θίοις, μίαν μὲν δὲ ἐν Τλώϊ ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, μίαν δὲ παρὰ Τερμησεύσιν τοῖς πρὸς Οἰνοάνδοις ἐν τῶι τοῦ Διὸς ἱερῶι, τῆν δὲ τετάρτην παρὰ Καυνίοις ἐν ᾧ ἂν ἀποδείξωσιν ἱερῶι.

as how Lycian cities relied upon mediators from their greater federation.⁵⁵⁶ The inscription delineates the border between the cities by describing the landscape and the *horoi* (border marker) locations. The dispute was about land use and resource extraction; the arbitration gave Tlos the ownership of the disputed mountain, Mt. Masa, and allowed the people of Oinoanda to graze flocks and gather wood in the area, but it did not allow the people of Oinoanda to establish permanent residences nor grow crops in the border region.⁵⁵⁷

Although there is not much Hellenistic evidence for Oinoanda (most of the remaining archaeological evidence for the city is Roman), based on what is available, Oinoanda was likely founded and occupied around the late 3rd to early 2nd c. BCE, shortly before or around the time of the Treaty of Apamea. The site was urbanized by the time of the territorial dispute with Tlos in the mid- to late 2nd c. BCE, since a local elite was present to advocate on behalf of Oinoanda's territory. There is evidence for a Pisidian population in inscriptions from Oinoanda, but as discussed above this evidence does not necessarily prove that Pisidians from Termessos established Oinoanda. Although Oinoanda is called "Termessos by Oinoanda" and its inhabitants are referred to as "Termessians," these titles could in fact relate to kinship ties between the local elite at Oinoanda and the Pisidian city.

⁵⁵⁶ Rousset 2010: 7; 16, lines 1-7; 22-24.

Ἐπι ἱερέως Ῥώμης Λυκίων τοῦ κοινοῦ Ἀρπάλου, τοῦ δὲ Ἀπολλωνος Ἀλκίμου, μηνὸς Δαισίου ΚΑ, ὡς δὲ ἐν Τερμησσῶι τῆι πρὸς Οἰνοάνδοις ἐπι ἱερέων τοῦ μὲν Διὸς Τροκονδοῦ τοῦ Διογένου, τῆς δὲ Ῥώμης Κόμωνος τοῦ υἱοῦ...

Τερμησσεῖς μὲν ὁμολογοῦντες εἶναι κύρια τὰ γεγενημένα κρίματα καὶ ἀποτελέσματα ἐν τῆι Κώ<ω>ν πόλει.

For dating, see Rousset 2010: 5. Rousset says that the treaty implies that the territory of Tlos was part of the Lycian League and not under Rhodian rule.

⁵⁵⁷ Rousset 2010: 7, lines 27-31; Fachard 2017: 45

Τὸ δὲ Μασα ὄρος ἔστω Τλωέων, τὴν δὲ ἐπιπέμῃσιν καὶ ξυλισμὸν αὐτοῦ ἐχέτωσαν Τερμησσεῖς οἱ πρὸς Οἰνοάνδοις εἰς τὸν αἰὶ χρόνον, οὐκ ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντε οὔτε ἐποικοδομῆσαι οὔτε φυτεῦσαι οὔτε σπεῖραι.

5.7 Balboursa

After the surveys at Oinoanda, Coulton and the British School at Ankara led a regional survey of Balboursa and its territory. The survey used both intensive and extensive methods: an intensive urban survey was done in the city (which had already been identified), and extensive survey of the surrounding territory was completed based on the local community's knowledge of sites, but sample intensive tracts in the territory were done to balance the data from the extensive survey.⁵⁵⁸ Like Oinoanda, Balboursa was located on a hill (Asar Tepe) about 150 to 200m above the valleys to provide a good view of the travel routes.⁵⁵⁹ This location was also likely chosen for safety reasons. Coulton identifies the earliest architectural remains as the city fortifications dated to the early 2nd c. BCE (see Figs. 35 and 36 for pictures of the plain below Balboursa and Fig. 37 for the site plan).⁵⁶⁰ While Balboursa was heavily built up in the Roman Imperial period, Coulton argues that the accessible routes to Balboursa "were probably already developed into roads in the Hellenistic period."⁵⁶¹ It is not necessary to go into the details of the routes here, but again the networks of routes available demonstrate Balboursa's accessibility to the other cities in the Kabalian highlands, and thus the choice to urbanize in a place where the inhabitants could access resources and act during threats.

Onomastic evidence for Balboursa shows that the city was multi-ethnic, and it demonstrates that some people with Pisidian names, or people who self-identified as Pisidians, lived in Balboursa. The first piece of evidence is a grave stela from Sidon. Its inscription names

⁵⁵⁸ Coulton 2012a: 4-9

⁵⁵⁹ Coulton 2012b: 67

⁵⁶⁰ Coulton 2012b: 70

⁵⁶¹ Routes between Balboursa and other areas include Karaçulha and Küçükklü valleys to the east towards Söğüt Gölü (likely the northeastern boundary of Balboursa's territory), three routes to Oinoanda to the south, and one route to Kibyra and Boubon to the north. Balboursa also looked over the Dirmil pass, a route between Kibyra and the Xanthos valley. Coulton in Wagstaff et al. 2012: 32-33

its owner as Dioskourides, a Pisidian of Balboursa.⁵⁶² The second piece of evidence is an inscription found during Coulton's survey that lists people who own property in Balboursa (known as the Balboursa Allotment inscription).⁵⁶³ The inscription dates to about the mid-2nd c. BCE, and more than three-quarters of the 163 different preserved names are indigenous (with 16 of the total being definitely Greek and another 14 being possibly Greek).⁵⁶⁴ In their original publication of the inscription, Hall and Coulton say that Pisidian names and names associated with Termessos are most frequent: 15 have "strong Termessian connections," another 5 have Pisidian connections, and an additional 8 have "east Lycian – west Pisidian" connections.⁵⁶⁵ Coulton notes that overall defining the origins of the indigenous names is difficult, acknowledging that they could be Pisidian, Kabalian, or another ethnicity; but he does describe the following for some of the names for which ethnicity can be attributed:

One of the lot-holders is identified directly as a Milyan and another as from Komba in the southern Milyas; the name Milyispes also suggests a Milyan link. The names Pides and Lydos may indicate Pisidian and Lydian origins, but might rather be nicknames, given for some trait of behaviour; so too Galatos 'the Galatian' (chapter 13 no. 28). A few names seem specifically connected with Phrygia to the north and rather more are paralleled only in Lycia; but the links are mainly with eastern Lycia, not the Xanthos valley. Clear links with eastern Pisidia, away from the Pisidian-Milyan interface (on which see chapter 1.c.), are notably absent. On the other hand, names with Termessian associations are prominent, matching the evidence for Termessian connections at Oinoanda and Boubon.⁵⁶⁶

⁵⁶² It is thought that Dioskourides was a Ptolemaic mercenary, which is why he died and was buried outside of Kabalia. There is also a grave stela of Saettes, a Termessian (of the city of Termessos in Pisidia to the east of Lycia) of Oinoanda. They are at the Istanbul Archaeological Museum. Sekunda 2012: 130-132; Coulton 2012b: 64

⁵⁶³ Coulton 2012b: 64-65; Hall and Coulton 1990

⁵⁶⁴ Coulton 2012b: 65; Hall and Coulton 1990: 122-123 date the inscription based on letterforms but suggest that it could date up to a century later if it was inscribed by not as experienced of a mason. They also say that it seems that the inscription was not made all at the same time, but the additions were made relatively soon after the first inscription. See Hall and Coulton 1990: 137, Table 1 for a break-down of the number of names and ethnicities to which they belong.

⁵⁶⁵ Hall and Coulton 1990: 130; 137, Table 1.

⁵⁶⁶ Coulton 2012b: 66

Overall, while there is a clear link with Termessos in Pisidia, the Allotment inscription provides insight into the multi-ethnic nature of the early urban phase of Balboursa. Hall and Coulton also suggest that the impact of “Hellenization” was limited based on the Allotment inscription, since there were not too many Greek names and “in no case does a Greek name follow a Greek patronymic.”⁵⁶⁷ While both pieces of evidence suggest that there was a Pisidian population living in Balboursa, they do not definitively prove that Balboursa was first founded by Pisidians. The evidence suggests that Balboursa was in a border region between various ethnic groups, and the local elite in Balboursa were of various ethnicities. While the local elite in the region of Balboursa decided to urbanize and adopt Greek institutions to put itself on a larger platform, they seem to have maintained their local identities in their names.

In addition to the evidence for the inscriptions and the fortifications, Coulton argues that the city was founded around 200 BCE, based on pottery found within the city.⁵⁶⁸ The earliest pottery (possibly the first quarter to second quarter of the 2nd c. BCE) was found on the *acropolis*, so Coulton suggests that this area was occupied first (refer back to Fig. 37 for a site plan).⁵⁶⁹ Later Hellenistic pottery (mid-2nd c. BCE) is scattered throughout the city, but within the fortification walls. The presence of a potters’ workshop in the northwest outside of the fortifications dating to the same time period indicates growth of the city in the mid-2nd c. BCE, until there is a decline in the amount of pottery dated to the 1st c. BCE and later.⁵⁷⁰ During the Roman Flavian period, possibly around 74 to 76 CE, Balboursa expanded into the plain below, outside of the Hellenistic fortifications, but pottery evidence still shows that the city’s original

⁵⁶⁷ Hall and Coulton 1990: 137

⁵⁶⁸ Coulton 2012b: 64; Coulton notes that Rousset 2010 argues that the stele’s use of *symmachos* actually refers to an alliance that “must date before the end of Ptolemaic control of southern Asia Minor in 199 BC.”

⁵⁶⁹ Coulton 2012b: 70

⁵⁷⁰ Coulton 2012b: 74

location continued to be occupied from the 2nd to 4th c. CE (although at a seemingly lower population than in the preceding Hellenistic period).⁵⁷¹

With the rapid urbanization at Balboura, there does not appear to be a clear predecessor site. One of the major pre-Hellenistic settlements in Balboura's region is the site of Çaltılar Höyük. From the pottery evidence, though, French and Coulton note that there appears to be a three-century gap in occupation from when Çaltılar Höyük was abandoned and Balboura was established.⁵⁷² This makes it difficult to consider the extent to which communities existed in the area before the urbanization of Balboura.⁵⁷³ The major evidence for activity during this gap, however, is funerary monuments. Three Lycian-style rock-cut tombs were found on the survey, and French and Coulton argue that they likely date to the 4th c. BCE as an adopted form from Lycia (Fig. 38).⁵⁷⁴ They also note that “besides the three found in the Balboura survey, at least eight tombs with imitation timber facades have been found elsewhere in the highland area.”⁵⁷⁵ French and Coulton suggest that the tombs could have been made for Lycian immigrants or for local elite who were using the tomb style as a status symbol (which they see as more likely).⁵⁷⁶ Although they did not find pottery evidence for occupation within this 300 year period, they acknowledge that more detailed work at Çaltılar Höyük could rectify any gaps and that this does not mean that there actually were no settlements during this time.⁵⁷⁷ I argue that there certainly

⁵⁷¹ Coulton 2012c: 125; 134. Coulton provides this date for the Roman expansion because there are two inscriptions that date to this time period that discuss the new water supply to the new civic center.

⁵⁷² Based on a general lack of datable pottery evidence from around 500 to 200 BCE. French and Coulton 2012: 54

⁵⁷³ There is one other potential residential site (Dğ. 37 Kale) in the region that French and Coulton say could fill this gap, since it is at a large scale, has a few sherds of earlier Southwestern Anatolian Ware, and its masonry is not definitively Hellenistic. But they do not definitively date the site between 500 to 200 BCE. French and Coulton 2012: 55, citing Ormerod in Woodward and Ormerod 1909-1910: 103-104.

⁵⁷⁴ French and Coulton 2012: 55

⁵⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁶ Corsten argues that the Lycian tombs are indications of Lycian elite who went to Kabalia to hold the territory for the Persian satrap Perikle of Limyra, French and Coulton say that this would make the territory for which Perikle was responsible much too large. Gay and Corsten 2006: 57-58; French and Coulton 2012: 56

⁵⁷⁷ French and Coulton 2012: 58

was local elite activity in the area before urbanization, based on the rock-cut tombs, and the presence of local elites also suggests that there were other levels of social stratification in the area that are not visible in the archaeological record.

In terms of the urbanization's impact on the surrounding territory, right around and slightly after Balboura's foundation, there was a sharp increase in Hellenistic settlements in the countryside. Coulton identified about 25 sites that were occupied from the 2nd to 1st c. BCE.⁵⁷⁸ It appears that these rural settlements were in contact with Balboura itself, since Coulton found wares of pottery made at the city's potters' workshop at some of the rural settlements.⁵⁷⁹ Only one type of Balbouran ware was distributed extensively in the countryside: a local echinus bowl form. Out of the 29 rural sites identified as having mid-Hellenistic pottery, 11 of them had at least one recognizable sherd of this local form.⁵⁸⁰ Thus, as the city was built and became more structured in the Hellenistic period, there was similar growth in the countryside: a mutually beneficial relationship. Agricultural production and pastoralism provided food, while the city provided craft production and protection (as evidenced by the remains of towers in the countryside).⁵⁸¹

There was a decline in datable pottery sherds from the 1st c. BCE to 1st c. CE both in the city center and in the rural settlements.⁵⁸² The number of total sites occupied, however, was maintained.⁵⁸³ Coulton argues that there probably was a decline in the rural population and

⁵⁷⁸ Coulton 2012b: 85

⁵⁷⁹ Coulton 2012b: 96

⁵⁸⁰ Armstrong with Roberts 2012: 242; most have only one recognizable sherd, but Dğ. 37, Kale, a settlement of about three to four houses, has five sherds. Coulton 2012d: 365 for the information on Kale.

⁵⁸¹ Coulton 2012b: 89-93

⁵⁸² A "50% reduction in the total number of Late Hellenistic to Early Roman sherds, although the period covers two centuries rather than one." Coulton 2012b: 93

⁵⁸³ Four new sites were added, and four sites were abandoned. There are an additional three which also do not have any evidence of activity in this period, but Coulton acknowledges that they probably were not settlements: Dğ. 39

perhaps a reorganization of people in the countryside, in which slaves and laborers were not as reliant on pottery as those in the earlier Hellenistic period.⁵⁸⁴ While it is difficult to make a direct correlation between pottery and people, the decline in growth in the rural territories of Balboursa could indicate a population shift in which people moved to the city. This could relate to the city's greater stability of the city and political influence as it was incorporated in the Roman empire.

In the case of Hellenistic Balboursa, the evidence does not suggest an initial emptying out of the countryside to promote urbanization, but rather a mutual growth of the city and the countryside. Seasonality of the rural settlements should also be considered since elite landholders could have lived in the city part-time and managed rural estates part-time. All of the main categories of evidence for the early city of Balboursa date to the early 2nd c. BCE: the fortifications; the earliest pottery on the *acropolis*, and the onomastic evidence. Even if the city was founded a bit earlier around 200 BCE as Coulton suggests, the main developments of the city happened just around the Treaty of Apamea in 188 BCE. The urbanization efforts could have been a response from local elite groups in the area (whose presence is indicated by the rock-cut tombs) in the wake of war between the Seleukid kingdom and Rome as well as their territory being given to the Attalid kingdom after the Treaty of Apamea. Similar to what Vanhaverbeke and Waelkens suggested for the urbanization of Pisidia, discussed in Chapter 2 and revisited again in the following Chapter 6, the local elite in the region of Balboursa were urbanizing in order to gain favor with the Hellenistic kings and put themselves on a larger platform.

Bozkaya was a sanctuary or shepherd's camp, Gl.82 Yazır Reliefs was likely a place of worship, and Ç1.25 northwest of Değirmenboğazi could have been a quarry. Coulton 2012b: 95

⁵⁸⁴ Coulton 2012b: 96

5.8 Kibyra

As mentioned above, Kibyra was the leader of the *tetrapolis* pact. Kibyra and its region have been studied in epigraphic, architectural, and archaeological surveys by T. Corsten and O. Hüllden since 1995, as well as more recent excavations by the Burdur Museum starting in 2006, led by F. Işık.⁵⁸⁵ Kibyra has been dated to the Hellenistic period based on the architectural remains (such as the Hellenistic *agora*), and the city continued to grow in the Roman period. In her study of ceramics from the potters' quarter above the theater, S. Japp finds that the majority of the pottery dates to the late 1st c. BCE to the first half of the 1st c. CE, but the latest pottery dates to the 6th or 7th c. CE.⁵⁸⁶ She argues that Kibyra was most prosperous during the late Hellenistic to the early Roman Imperial periods based on this evidence.⁵⁸⁷

In their survey work, Corsten and Hüllden identified many pre-Hellenistic archaeological sites in the area, most of which were elite tombs. In their 2012 survey south of the Archaic settlement at Gölhisar lake, they were able to identify almost 50 tumuli.⁵⁸⁸ Based on this evidence, they identify the Archaic settlement as Old Kibyra: a significant settlement that predated the Hellenistic Kibyra and was abandoned in a relocation effort.⁵⁸⁹ Old Kibyra was located next to Gölhisar lake, at an elevation of about 700m above sea level, and the new Kibyra was located on the foothills west of Gölhisar at about over 1000m above sea level and

⁵⁸⁵ Japp 2009: 98

⁵⁸⁶ Pottery includes relief bowls, thin-walled beakers, and hemispherical bowls. Japp 2009: 104

⁵⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸⁸ Corsten and Hüllden 2012: 174

⁵⁸⁹ Corsten and Hüllden 2012: 175. There is some debate, as Hall had previously identified this site as Sinda, based on Polybios' description of Manlius Vulso's invasion of Kibyra in 189 BCE in which he passes through Sinda's territory and the site's strategic position within the plain (Hall 1994: 49-50, citing Polybios 21.34.11). Coulton 2012b: 63 recognizes that probably Sinda is at another site which has not been identified yet but keeps the possibility open. In any case, a significant site with local elite existed within the area before the urbanization of Hellenistic Kibyra.

overlooked the Dalaman Çayı basin (Fig. 39).⁵⁹⁰ This shift in settlement to a more secure location mirrors the situations of Oinoanda and Balboursa, which both overlooked the plains that were the likely locations of travel and trade routes.

The presence of a significant pre-Hellenistic settlement near Kibyra indicates that there was a pre-existing community (supposedly Lydian according to Strabo).⁵⁹¹ No matter the ethnicities of the settlement, the tumuli show that there was a local elite network before the Hellenistic period, like the local elite communities for whom the Lycian-style tombs in Balboursa were built.⁵⁹² There was a community at Kibyra that pre-existed the supposed Pisidian colonization. Old Kibyra was still occupied in the 4th c. BCE, while Kibyra does not seem to have been.⁵⁹³ Although the shift from Old Kibyra to Kibyra might have happened earlier, based on the pottery evidence interpreted by Japp, Kibyra flourished in the late 1st c. BCE to the first half of the 1st c. CE. Presumably Kibyra was founded at its new location before the late 1st c. BCE. Coulton argues for a Pisidian take-over of Kibyra in the 3rd c. BCE, but I would argue that the local elite could have instigated the urbanization in the wake of territorial changes around the same time as the founding of Oinoanda and Balboursa, especially because it is known from the epigraphic evidence of the pact that Kibyra existed as a city in the mid- to late 2nd c. BCE.⁵⁹⁴ Kibyra likely moved sometime before the *tetrapolis* pact in the 2nd c. BCE, and the local elite invested in a new network with their peers and with the city of Rome.

⁵⁹⁰ Elevations are approximate based on an elevation map on Özüdoğru 2018: 111, Fig. 3.

⁵⁹¹ Strabo 13.4.7

⁵⁹² On ethnicities: the settlement was likely not inhabited by just one ethnic group, and these ethnicities were also not rigid categories.

⁵⁹³ Hall 1986: 144, footnote 18

⁵⁹⁴ Coulton 2012b: 63

5.9 Boubon

The evidence for Boubon comes from epigraphic and architectural urban surveys (with some rescue excavations in 1990 and 1993).⁵⁹⁵ C. Kokkinia et al. publish a dossier of inscriptions from their epigraphic survey, and Hüllden discusses the results of the architectural survey. Boubon is not mentioned in the textual sources until the Hellenistic period (early 2nd c. BCE), but Hüllden attributes the growth of the city to the early 3rd c. BCE.⁵⁹⁶ By reviewing the archaeological evidence and the connections between Boubon and Pisidia, it seems plausible that again a pre-existing local elite community invested in the site for the larger-scale Hellenistic urbanization.

Boubon was also located on an elevated ridge, now named Dikmen Tepe. Hüllden argues that even though there is not any prehistoric evidence of human occupation of the site, there are three pieces of archaeological evidence that suggest the site was occupied before the Hellenistic urbanization.⁵⁹⁷ The first piece is that there are architectural remnants that could possibly indicate an Archaic or Classical fortress on the *acropolis* at Dikmen Tepe; the second is the presence of two rock-cut tombs that date to the 4th c. BCE; the third is the presence of ceramic sherds that cannot be dated precisely, but likely date to the Classical period and possibly earlier into the 7th to 6th c. BCE.⁵⁹⁸ While the main expansion of Boubon likely did not occur until the 3rd c. BCE, the evidence shows that there was prior occupation, including a local elite attested by the rock-cut tombs. The situation is similar to Tyberissos in Lycia. Although the Classical occupation of Boubon was likely not as extensive as Tyberissos, Boubon also had a Classical

⁵⁹⁵ Kokkinia 2008a; Ekinici 1995 and İnan 1993 for excavations.

⁵⁹⁶ Extensive looting at the site has made in-depth interpretation of the site difficult, and no site plan is provided in the publication. Hüllden 2008: 168, citing Hellenkemper and Hild 2004: 487-488; Hüllden 2008: 169.

⁵⁹⁷ Hüllden 2008: 168

⁵⁹⁸ Hüllden 2008: 168-169; Hüllden also suggests that the tombs could be archaizing and actually belong to the Moagetes dynasty in Hellenistic period (141), but later in his conclusion he argues for the former date.

settlement that was expanded during the Hellenistic period. In Tyberissos, the presence of an outside colonizing force was not necessary to stimulate such growth; rather it was the expansion of networks in the Hellenistic world and the possibility of growth in the nearby port. Although Boubon was not close to a coast, it is possible to consider the growth of the Hellenistic city in a similar way: as the result of a desire to take advantage of expanded inter-city networks along land trade routes, but also to take advantage of the safety that the nearby hills provide.

The relationship with Pisidia can be seen as part of this expanded inter-city network. Kokkinia does not explicitly argue for a Pisidian colonization but does note the possibility of Pisidian influence at Boubon. A fragmentary inscription from Boubon lists Pisidian names that are attested at the other Hellenistic Kabalian sites.⁵⁹⁹ Kokkinia finds this fragment similar to the Allotment inscription found in Balboura, and she says, “it may speak for a date in the 2nd century BCE, when Pisidians from Termessos settled in the region.”⁶⁰⁰ Another Pisidian connection with Boubon is the lineage of Boubon’s tyrant Moagetes. Kokkinia reviews the literary evidence that suggests two or three Moagetes: one according to Polybios who negotiated with Gnaeus Manlius Vulso, Roman consul in 189 BCE, and one according to Strabo whose tyrannical rule of the Kibyra region ended when around 82 BCE Murena added Boubon and Balboura to the Lycian League.⁶⁰¹ Diodoros Siculus says that Moagetes was “by race a Boubonian” and ruled an area including parts of Kabalia and Pisidia.⁶⁰² According to Diodoros, this Moagetes was overthrown and killed by his brother, Semias, but Moagetes’ sons managed to escape and grow up in

⁵⁹⁹ Kokkinia 2008b: 24, citing inscription 3 from Kokkinia 2008c: 30.

⁶⁰⁰ Ibid.

⁶⁰¹ Kokkinia 2008b: 15-18, citing Polybios 21.34.

⁶⁰² Kokkinia 2008b: 19, citing Diodoros Siculus 33.5a.

Termessos; they eventually returned to overthrow and kill their uncle.⁶⁰³ This Moagetes could possibly be the same as Polybios'.⁶⁰⁴

The complexities of the Moagetes dynasty are not a major concern here; the point is rather the presence of kinship ties between Boubon and Pisidia, especially Termessos. The relationship between Boubon and Pisidia does not necessarily need a colonization narrative. Whether the account of the tyrants is true or just a narrative trope, it demonstrates some kinship connections and peer polity interaction that were established before the rule of Moagetes; the sons likely had some connection to Termessos before they chose to flee there (and in turn local inhabitants could have been emphasizing a pre-existing connection with Termessos in this story). Hüllden similarly argues that the dynasty was a small indigenous one that could have formed the “nucleus” of the Hellenistic city.⁶⁰⁵ Thus, Boubon already had a local elite at what would be the later Hellenistic city, but the changing political landscape provided the right climate for settlement expansion. In addition, even though the urbanization of Boubon might have occurred a bit earlier than the corresponding cities in Kabalia (early 3rd c. BCE versus early 2nd c. BCE), the earliest inscription at Boubon is the agreement between the cities to defend each other (discussed in detail above; published by Milner) that dates no earlier than 167 BCE. It is thus possible to see how Boubon was also relying upon its peer network and continuing to develop as a city into the 2nd c. BCE in the wake of the territorial change after the Treaty of Apamea.

⁶⁰³ Ibid.

⁶⁰⁴ Kokkinia 2008a: 19-20

⁶⁰⁵ Hüllden 2008: 169

5.10 Local Elite Alliances and Conclusion

It is clear from the archaeological evidence that there were local elite groups, and thus social stratification, before the Hellenistic period in Kabalia. The evidence is the presence of Old Kibyra; the Archaic to Classical settlement and funerary remains at Boubon; and the presence of Lycian-style rock-cut tombs in Balboursa's territory. The record for the main alliance between the four Hellenistic cities discussed is dated to no earlier than 167 BCE, likely after urbanization occurred. Kibyra's appeal to Rome and the pact between the four cities suggest that the cities felt threatened in some way (or at least wanted to assure their protection) and decided to appeal to a foreign power instead of the Attalid kingdom. The pact could have also been made in response to local territorial disputes, such as the conflicts with Orthagoras and Tlos. The cities felt that a foreign power would better protect them in an alliance than their current kingdom. This appeal can be seen as a benefit of urbanization: having the capable means of government to send the request on behalf of the local elite and being large enough to be recognized by a foreign power. As with the case of the cities and harbors in Lycia, a potentially unstable period in Kabalia (the transition in power after the Treaty of Apamea) did not negatively affect urban growth, but rather seems to have created an environment for increased settlement expansion and inter-city alliances. Perhaps a sense of Kabalian identity was not even present until the rise of the Hellenistic kingdoms, which prompted communities to maintain and strengthen their local connections.⁶⁰⁶

Before the local elite in these cities worked through their governments to establish the *tetrapolis* alliance, however, there must have been a pre-existing relationship among the local elite. Some evidence of this can be seen with the distribution of Lycian-style rock-cut tombs in

⁶⁰⁶ This is more traditionally thought to happen during the period of Persian rule in the area just preceding Alexander the Great's conquest.

both the areas of Balboura and Oinoanda before the cities were urbanized as well as the presence of names at Balboura that are related to Termessos of Pisidia. Just as Oinoanda had connections to Termessos of Pisidia, there could have been pre-existing kinship relations between the local elite who resided in the regions of Balboura and Oinoanda. The incentive to urbanize partly could have been due to the changing political environment, and it also could have been due to peer polity competition among the local elite in Kabalia. Similar to Vanhaverbeke and Waelkens' suggestion for the urbanization of Pisidia (as discussed in Chapter 2 and further explored in Chapter 6), the communities in Kabalia promoted urbanization not just for their own cities but also could have positively reinforced urbanization efforts among their peers which later became part of the *tetrapolis* agreement. The adoption and adaptation of Greek urbanization and culture, such as monuments and language, could have been a way for the communities to show their competency to the Hellenistic kingdoms and try to out-do their neighbors. When the communities felt a greater instability among the territorial changes, they relied upon their peer polity network to make the formal *tetrapolis* alliance.

As demonstrated by the appeals of Kabalia to Rome in the pact from Boubon and the role of the Lycian priest to the cult of Rome in the territory dispute between Oinoanda and Tlos, the local elite were also appealing to foreign powers to assist with their situations. The urbanization of the cities allowed local elite to be taken seriously in their appeals. Sometime during the end of Seleukid rule and the beginning of Attalid rule in the region, the people of Kabalia sought to define their identities in terms of city formation. This could have been partly a response for local security in an unstable period, but it also seems likely that these were local elite investments in response to the changing political environment to take advantage of new open networks. It

seems, at least for Balboura, the decline in population came in the early Roman period with new political restructuring.

The expanded networks of the Hellenistic world also prompted more rural settlement growth, as shown by the substantial increase of Hellenistic sites within Balboura's territory around and right after the time of Balboura's foundation. This evidence goes against the idea of a rural settlement nucleation that contributed to the growth of the city of Balboura itself, but the lack of rural settlement nucleation does not rule out a bottom-up urbanization process led by local elite of the area. As shown by the Allotment inscription, local elite had rural land holdings while they also likely participated in the city's government and happenings; mobility between the city and countryside can explain how urbanization promoted population density at the city center but also promoted growth in the surrounding countryside to support the city's growth. Mobility of people from the surrounding regions around Balboura and Oinoanda can also explain the multi-ethnic nature of the communities in Kabalia and their kinship ties to Pisidia in particular, but also to Milyas, Phrygia, Lydia, and Lycia.

When comparing the evidence between Lycia and Kabalia, it is clear that all of the cities discussed here followed different paths of development, but there is one pattern that emerges: overall increased urbanization in the late 3rd to 2nd c. BCE, whether it is the growth of Kyaneai and Tyberissos in Lycia, or of the *tetrapolis* cities in Kabalia. There are some exceptions, such as Phellos, which did not radically change from the Classical to Roman periods.⁶⁰⁷ Where urbanization did occur, however, it coincided with larger political reorganizations: the Treaty of Apamea, inter-city alliances (the Lycian League and the *tetrapolis* pact), and appeals to Rome. The communities took advantage of new networks to create economic opportunities (as in the

⁶⁰⁷ There were other Lycian cities that were not explored here, such as Xanthos and Limyra which were already major Lycian cities by the Classical period.

expansions of the Lycian harbors) and to move to more secure locations (as in the settlements shifts of Kyaneai and the cities in Kabalia).

There is no definitive evidence to show that the correlation is a causation, but it is important to recognize the presence of local elite groups before the Hellenistic urbanization that could have taken advantage of the shifting political situations, as shown by the Classical fortress settlements in Lycia and Old Kibyra, and the elite funerary monuments throughout Kabalia. The spread of Lycian rock-cut tombs into Kabalia suggests local elite interaction between the two regions, even if later territorial disputes arose between them. The kinship ties between Kabalia and Pisidia are also prevalent, as evidenced by Pisidian names and the stories of the Moagetes dynasty. All of these pieces of evidence combined suggest a pre-existing elite network before Alexander the Great's conquest. It was the reorganization of territory after Alexander the Great's death and especially the reorganization after the Treaty of Apamea that seemed to spark a strengthening of local elite networks to stimulate more architectural benefaction and inter-network trade. It could also be the case that communities moved and urbanized to be in safer places from perceived threats, which is also substantiated by alliances with Rome.

For urbanization in these case studies in Lycia and Kabalia, there was a restructuring that promoted both urbanization and the development of the countryside instead of an overall settlement nucleation. Rather than forced migrations by ruling powers or a Pisidian colonization to spark Hellenistic urbanization, the evidence for local elite networks before the Hellenistic urbanization provides a picture of multi-ethnic regions in which larger political movements stimulated bottom-up urbanization for the inhabitants' own benefits. It is also possible to see how the local elite were selectively participating in urbanization and adaptation of Greek culture for their own benefits by adopting Greek city forms, architecture, and language in some ways,

but not others. This maintenance of local tradition is especially evident at Phellos, where the local elite preserved the Lycian structure of the city, and at Balboursa where the majority of names in the Allotment inscription are indigenous.

But where did the people come from to populate the new cities and the growing rural settlements? Some were from the existing communities that pre-dated the Hellenistic period. While I stress the presence of a pre-Hellenistic local elite, their presence also suggests that people from other social strata lived in the regions (even if they are not visible in the archaeological data). While I have argued that Pisidians were not the sole drivers of urbanization, evidence for Pisidian names does suggest a Pisidian presence in the area. The different ethnic groups described by Strabo likely were present in the area before the Hellenistic periods. The establishment of cities for increased local power likely drew in others from different areas who already had kinship connections to the Kabalia region, such as Pisidians, and who wanted to take advantage of the new economic opportunities (such as an increased demand for labor and resources to build the cities). This process did not happen overnight, but over time chain migration (rather than sudden forced migration) led to the Hellenistic occupation of these regions.

Lastly, it is important to address the roles of synoikism and sympolity. The textual evidence for sympolity between Tyberissos and Timiussa corresponds with the growth of the two cities in the 2nd c. BCE and with their presence in the Lycian League, suggesting the benefits of the local elite alliance in response to greater political changes and the expanding Hellenistic world. Without the textual evidence for synoikism in Kyaneai and Kabalia, however, should these urbanizations be considered synoikisms? As I have argued above, the case of Kyaneai is very similar to the case of Stratonikeia, in which pre-existing settlements are restructured to

become demes for the new Hellenistic city. For Kabalia, significant urban restructuring occurred to create Balboursa, Oinoanda, Boubon, and Kibyra. While there is evidence for pre-existing settlements at Boubon and Kibyra, there is no evidence for pre-existing settlements at Oinoanda and Balboursa (but presumably people lived nearby in the countryside). There is clearly pre-existing local elite activity and evidence for local elite interaction contributing to the urbanization for the local elite's benefits, presumably for greater political status. People must have been moved to the cities and their territories, whether willingly or by force, to promote the rapid urbanization of the cities. Communities were thus coming together to form cities, as synoikism is defined, in order for greater legal recognition. The lack of archaeological evidence thus far of clear peer settlements joining together to urbanize (as will be explored with Sagalassos and Düzen Tepe below in Chapter 6) does not mean that these peer settlements did not exist. The urbanization of these four cities clearly led to greater political recognition and the ability to negotiate with one another and with supra-local powers, so in this case we can consider the foundations of these four cities as synoikisms. Overall, these case studies provide a model in which the local elite contributed to the bottom-up processes of urbanization in both Lycia and Kabalia to strengthen their peer networks and to appeal to the Hellenistic kings.

Chapter 6: Pisidia

6.1 Introduction

In Chapter 5, I discussed the connections between Pisidia and Hellenistic development within the Kabalia region. In this chapter, I will focus on Pisidia in its own right to consider how urban and rural development changed during the Hellenistic period. I provide an overview of the urban development in Pisidia from the available archaeological data to bring it in conversation with the urban development happening in other regions. Pisidia is an important case study to consider due to the rich archaeological data from the Pisidia Survey as well as the research at the cities of Sagalassos, Pednelissos, and Kremna that followed the Pisidia Survey. Although there are no attested synoikisms in the ancient literature, I will review how scholars have argued for a synoikism to contribute to the growth of the Hellenistic city of Sagalassos. There is epigraphic evidence on joint coinage for a sympolity between Kremna and Keraitai; I incorporate the archaeological evidence to suggest that the two cities made the sympolity in response to changing political situations. Lastly, I review the survey material from Pednelissos to consider the agency of a smaller city to interact with larger cities and the Hellenistic powers. I consider the archaeological data for these cases to show how the model of peer polity interaction can be used not only to explain Hellenization in the region, as Vanhaverbeke and Waelkens have done, but also to explain the networks that contributed to synoikism and sympolity in Pisidia during the Hellenistic period.

6.1.1 Geography and Historical Developments

Pisidia is a mountainous region in southwest Anatolia that is north of Lycia and Kabalia, east of Karia, and west of Isauria (Fig. 40). Pisidia is first mentioned as a cultural group in Xenophon's *Anabasis*; during the reign of Artaxerxes II of Persia, his brother Kyros said that he was campaigning against the Pisidians, when in fact he was rebelling against the king himself.⁶⁰⁸ During this reign, the Pisidian cities also started minting their own coinage during this period.⁶⁰⁹ Vanhaverbeke and Waelkens argue that the stability during Phrygian, Lydian, and Achaemenid rule of the region contributed to the formation of Pisidians as a cultural group and the emergence of these cities.⁶¹⁰ Literary sources that discuss Pisidians characterize them as war-like and aggressive.⁶¹¹

Archaeological studies have shown a long history of human activity in Pisidia. In the region of Sagalassos, evidence from 10,000 BCE to modern periods have been recorded.⁶¹² More recently, the survey in Dereköy in the territory of Sagalassos identified Middle Paleolithic lithics and Late Chalcolithic material.⁶¹³ There is also evidence of Early Bronze Age occupation such as at Hacılar Büyük Höyük in the Burdur Plain of Pisidia.⁶¹⁴ The number of sites in Sagalassos' *chora* from the Early Bronze Age to the Late Bronze Age decreased, and there has been a lack of archaeological evidence for the Late Bronze Age in Pisidia.⁶¹⁵ In the Late Bronze Age, The region would have been part of the Lukka lands.⁶¹⁶ Other evidence, however, shows that there

⁶⁰⁸ Xenophon, *Anabasis* 1.2.1, from Vanhaverbeke and Waelkens 2003: 105.

⁶⁰⁹ Vanhaverbeke and Waelkens 2003: 207

⁶¹⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹¹ Arrian, *Anabasis*, 1.27.5-28

⁶¹² Waelkens and Poblome 2011: 24

⁶¹³ Vandam et al. 2017: 328-333

⁶¹⁴ Vandam et al. 2017: 333; Umurtak and Duru 2016

⁶¹⁵ See Waelkens 2000 for a full discussion of Late Bronze Age of Sagalassos and Pisidia.

⁶¹⁶ Poblome and Daems 2019: 60

was Late Bronze Age activity: palynological evidence has shown agricultural activity during this period, and linguistic evidence suggests that names of sites associated with the Arzawa kingdom of Luwians could relate to later Hellenistic settlements, such as Salawasa/Sallusa and Sagalassos.⁶¹⁷ Waelkens proposes that “a cultural superposition in this district of classical sites on protohistorical sites can explain the apparent lack of protohistorical settlements.”⁶¹⁸

After the Late Bronze Age, Panemoteichos provides an example of an Iron Age to Classical site. The occupation of the site dates from the 8th or 7th c. to the 5th and 4th c. BCE and has been identified as a type of urban site before the development of the *polis* in the region.⁶¹⁹ Other Early Iron Age sites have been found in the territory of Sagalassos before its rise to prominence as a city, and more recent intensive surveys in the territory of Sagalassos have also identified Iron Age sites in the Dereköy highlands.⁶²⁰ A wider settlement pattern occurs during the Achaemenid period, when by the end of the 5th c. BCE comparable settlements were developed in the Ağlasun and Burdur regions, including Sagalassos and Düzen Tepe.⁶²¹ The process in which these settlements contributed to the urbanization of Sagalassos will be explored below.

In addition to the growth in settlement patterns in the Achaemenid period, studies of funerary monuments have demonstrated that there were local elites in Pisidia before and during urbanization. For northwest Pisidia, B. Hürmüzlü traces the types of funerary monuments in the Archaic to Classical periods. She identifies the Lydian and Ionian influence in the tumuli and

⁶¹⁷ Vanhaverbeke and Waelkens 2003: 207; 227; Waelkens 2000: 473-474

⁶¹⁸ Waelkens 2000: 483

⁶¹⁹ Mitchell and Vandeput 2013: 100, citing Aydal et al. 1997. Occupation during the Hellenistic and Roman periods shifted to a new nearby site to Panemoteichos, named Panemoteichos II, Aydal et al. 1997: 157-160.

⁶²⁰ Vanhaverbeke and Waelkens 2005: 63; Vandam et al. 2017: 333-335

⁶²¹ Poblome and Daems 2019: 61

antheia stele, respectively, dating to the late 6th c. BCE.⁶²² In central and southern Pisidia, specifically ossuaries (square limestone monuments often with weapon reliefs and roof lids), have shown that various communities, including Sagalassos, Pednelissos, and Keraitai, had local elite expressing their identity through these monuments at the end of the 4th c. BCE or the beginning of the 3rd c. BCE.⁶²³ These monuments thus suggest community formation by this time before greater monumentalization efforts in the 3rd c. BCE onwards.

6.1.2 The Pisidia Survey Project

The Pisidia Survey Project directed by S. Mitchell between 1982 and 1996 studied many cities in Pisidia. The survey documented Sagalassos as well as other important Pisidian cities: Ariassos, Kaynar Kale (ancient Kodrula?), Kremna, Panemoteichos, Pisidian Antioch, and Sia.⁶²⁴ The majority of survey work in Pisidia has been urban surveys, particularly due to the tendency for urban sites to be placed in more inaccessible areas.⁶²⁵ Although Mitchell did not complete rural surveys in his project, subsequent projects have conducted rural surveys in the territories of these cities, which will be discussed in each individual case study later.

With the exception of Panemoteichos, which as mentioned in the introduction had an earlier Archaic and Classical site before it moved to a new site for the Hellenistic and Roman periods, the cities appear to have been founded and monumentalized in the mid-Hellenistic period, and they flourished in the Roman Imperial period. Due to the limitations of urban survey, most is known about the Roman period phases of the cities as the Roman ruins were the most

⁶²² Hürmüzlü 2009a: 496

⁶²³ See Köse 2017: 59-60 on ossuaries in Pisidia. The most famous one is the Alketas tomb in Termessos which may date to the 4th c. BCE (Köse 2017: 41, citing Pekridou 1986).

⁶²⁴ Select publications resulting from the survey include Mitchell et al. 1989; Mitchell 1991a; Mitchell 1991b; Mitchell 1994; Mitchell with Cormack 1995; Aydal et al. 1997; Mitchell and Waelkens 1998; Mitchell and Vandeput 2013: 98.

⁶²⁵ Mitchell 1991b: 125

abundant on the surface. The team did not excavate the sites, although an earlier rescue excavation took place at Kremna in the 1970s.⁶²⁶ In addition to these Hellenistic cities, there are also Roman colonies that were established in the area under Augustus' rule (as well as the refoundation of Kremna and Pisidian Antioch), but the *ex novo* foundations for Roman veterans are outside the scope of this dissertation.

For the sites, most of the recorded evidence dates to the Roman period, but there is often some evidence of Hellenistic era remains. This situation can be seen in cities like Sia and Ariassos. Sia had its main occupation during the Roman period, but its Hellenistic fortifications (dated to about 100 BCE) indicate that it was founded earlier than the Roman period.⁶²⁷ Similarly, Ariassos mostly has extant Roman remains, but there are some Hellenistic structures including a *bouleuterion* that has been dated to the 2nd to 1st c. BCE.⁶²⁸ In other cities that later became Roman colonies, the earlier Hellenistic remains are not as prominent due to the restructuring of the cities. For example, in Pisidian Antioch, there is not too much Hellenistic archaeological evidence except for some architectural evidence from the sanctuary of Men Askaenos.⁶²⁹ It is a similar situation in Kremna, but there is some remaining Hellenistic evidence that will be discussed in detail below. Moreover, modern looting has damaged ancient sites in Pisidia and has made archaeological interpretations more challenging due to disturbed evidence.

Overall, though, Mitchell's impressive urban survey documented the dense network of cities in the Pisidia region and how urbanization blossomed in the Hellenistic period. Mitchell's research shows that through architectural remains, urbanization can be dated to the 3rd to 1st c.

⁶²⁶ See Section 6.3 below.

⁶²⁷ Mitchell 1991b: 135-136

⁶²⁸ Mitchell, Owens, and Waelkens 1989: 64-66

⁶²⁹ Mitchell and Waelkens 1998

BCE, and Pisidia had “self-governing communities in the Hellenistic period.”⁶³⁰ Mitchell argues that the Pisidian adaption of urbanization and Greek urban structures, even though Pisidians were still indigenous peoples, was so significant that Hellenization “amounted to nothing less than the rebirth of their communities.”⁶³¹ He does acknowledge that Hellenization did not transform all aspects of Pisidian life, since the developments were mostly in urban communities and rural communities maintained the language and local cults.⁶³²

Thus, the narrative about Pisidia’s urbanization has been tied directly to Hellenization. During Alexander the Great’s campaign through the region, various communities helped different factions and fought against each other.⁶³³ In the narrative, after Alexander the Great’s conquest and the subsequent fighting among the *diadochoi*, the Pisidians fashioned their cities with Greek architecture and eventually abandoned their language for the Greek *koine*. Monumentalization of cities occurred from the 3rd to the 1st c. BCE.⁶³⁴ From his review of Hellenistic urban development in Pisidia, Mitchell argues that increased stability during the mid-2nd c. BCE, following the Treaty of Apamea in 188 BCE, allowed for communities to invest in larger public buildings (as opposed to focusing on war).⁶³⁵ Ancient literature does suggest, however, that Pisidia had established communities before Alexander’s campaign since Arrian notes that Sagalassos was already a significant community.⁶³⁶

⁶³⁰ Mitchell 1998: 243

⁶³¹ Mitchell 1991b: 144

⁶³² Mitchell 1991b: 144-145

⁶³³ See Mitchell 1991b for a review of this history.

⁶³⁴ Vandeput et al. 1999: 133, citing Mitchell 1998: 243; Waelkens et al. 1997.

⁶³⁵ Mitchell 1991b: 143

⁶³⁶ Arrian, *Anabasis*, 1.27.5-28

More recently, Vanhaverbeke and Waelkens have introduced the model of peer polity interaction to explain the Hellenization of Pisidia, as already discussed in Chapter 2.⁶³⁷ I agree with their application of the model and critique of past discussions of Hellenization; the model prioritizes the agency of the indigenous communities and the factors contributing to their urbanization. The Pisidians urbanized so they could communicate and interact with the Hellenistic powers as well as with other peers.⁶³⁸ As discussed in Chapter 2, I have adapted the peer polity interaction model for synoikism and sympolity. For this chapter on Pisidia, I also consider the limits of peer polity interaction on Hellenization, as more archaeological data show that Pisidians continue to maintain some local practices such as religion during the urbanization process. The case studies below will exemplify how the Pisidians were forming alliances with one another, how these alliances affected settlement patterns, and how the Pisidians kept local practices as they were adapting Greek culture for their own needs.

6.1.3 Case Studies

I examine three case studies in this chapter: Sagalassos; Kremna and Keraitai; and Pednelissos. Given the amount of research done at Sagalassos, it is an important case study to consider not only for Pisidia but for urban development generally in Hellenistic Anatolia. My discussion of Sagalassos will consider how it became the regional center in its area from the Hellenistic to early Roman periods and will examine how the surrounding communities contributed to growth at Sagalassos. I particularly focus on Sagalassos' neighbor Düzen Tepe, a comparable site which was abandoned in the mid-Hellenistic period around the 2nd c. BCE. For

⁶³⁷ Vanhaverbeke and Waelkens 2005; for more on peer polity interaction, see Renfrew and Cherry 1986 for its original application to Mediterranean archaeology and Renfrew 1986 for the introduction.

⁶³⁸ Vanhaverbeke and Waelkens 2005: 64

Kremna and Keraitai, I will consider their sympolity as known from joint coinage and how more recent archaeological data contribute to our understanding of the cities' relationship. Although the results are not fully published, the preliminary results provide more information on the relationship between Kremna and Keraitai and the maintenance of local cults in Pisidia. An urban survey and a rural survey have been completed for Pednelissos. Although the results for the rural survey of Pednelissos have not been fully published, preliminary reports provide useful insight into the Hellenistic development of a city in Pisidia. As a smaller city, Pednelissos provides an example of how even a smaller community participated in peer polity interaction to adapt Greek culture and grow its countryside.

To my knowledge, despite the rich archaeological data published in Pisidia, results of the urbanization and settlement pattern changes during the Hellenistic period have not been compared with developments in other regions. The exception is Kabalia, since Coulton has argued that a Pisidian colonization prompted the urbanization of Kabalia (see Chapter 5). R. Willet's recent book on the geography of Roman Asia Minor does consider Pisidia and how its settlement patterns changed from the Hellenistic to Roman period, but mostly focuses on the foundation of colonies for Augustus and Mark Antony's veterans.⁶³⁹ He also considers Sagalassos as a case study for a medium-sized city in Roman Anatolia. Moreover, to my knowledge, there are only textual attestations of sympolity for a few cases in Pisidia (refer to Appendix A). Thus, including Pisidia in a discussion about these two processes can provide insight on an alternative model to the processes of urbanization and the effects of peer polity interaction when there is not direct textual evidence for the interference of a Hellenistic king.

⁶³⁹ Willet 2020: 26

6.2 Sagalassos

Sagalassos is a necessary example for this study because of the large amount of archaeological research that has been conducted at the site. Although there is no one answer as to how Sagalassos became the dominant city in its region, more recent studies by the Sagalassos team have focused on this research question. In this section of my chapter, I will focus on the origins of Sagalassos and its Classical-Hellenistic contemporary site Düzen Tepe to consider how urbanization occurred and why Sagalassos became the favored urban center. Although it is not possible to prove definitively whether or not the urbanization was forced by an outside power, I will consider how local communities decided to join Sagalassos as it was chosen as the regional center. As is apparent from survey work around Sagalassos, after it became the regional center, there was an overall increase in Hellenistic sites. A peer polity model can explain how Sagalassos established relationships with peer communities in the Classical to Hellenistic periods before it became the dominant city in the area.

6.2.1 *Sagalassos and Düzen Tepe: a Synoikism?*

Sagalassos is a major urban center in Pisidia that has been excavated by the Catholic University of Leuven since 1990, after it was identified by the Pisidia Survey Project.⁶⁴⁰ In terms of survey work, the survey of Sagalassos' *chora*, published by Vanhaverbeke and Waelkens in 2003, was the first diachronic rural survey in Sagalassos' territory and Pisidia in general, although it was an extensive survey. Since this survey, there have been other surveys in the region of Sagalassos that provide more information on regional development, such as the intensive peri-urban survey by Vanhaverbeke et al. (2010) and the most recent survey of the

⁶⁴⁰ Vanhaverbeke and Waelkens 2003: 2

Dereköy Highlands southeast of Sagalassos by R. Vandam, P.T. Willett, and J. Poblome (published in two book chapters in 2017 and 2019 so far).

Sagalassos was founded before the Hellenistic period, as it was a well-known regional site before Alexander the Great's conquest of the area, but its height was during the late Hellenistic to Roman Imperial periods. The site is located to the southwest of Lake Burdur in northern Pisidia (Fig. 41). Occupation of the city started in the 5th c. BCE, and the oldest sherds dating from the 5th to the 2nd c. BCE were found in the western and southwestern parts of the city.⁶⁴¹ Excavations in the northern area of the potters' quarter also revealed layers dated to the late 5th to early 3rd c. BCE, including terraces that indicate communal organization.⁶⁴² Moreover, recent "excavations at the Upper Agora of Sagalassos revealed its development from a Late Achaemenid/Early Hellenistic period clay-pit quarryscape to a Late Hellenistic beaten earth square," and two early Hellenistic walls were dated with a *terminus ante quem* of the 3rd c. BCE as the oldest construction in that area of the site (see Fig. 42 for a site plan).⁶⁴³ B. Beaujean and Daems conclude that the early evidence, however, "cannot be considered inferential of an urban community."⁶⁴⁴ Nonetheless, it does show some sort of communal activity at the site before the mid-Hellenistic period.

In their peri-urban survey of Sagalassos, Vanhaverbeke et al. discovered the nearby site called by its modern name Düzen Tepe that could have been another regional center with Sagalassos during the Classical to early Hellenistic periods. The intensive survey was done in the territory just outside of Sagalassos' urban area, within a 5 km radius.⁶⁴⁵ The settlement is 1.8 km

⁶⁴¹ Poblome et al. 2013: 528; 531

⁶⁴² Poblome et al. 2013: 531-532

⁶⁴³ Beaujean and Daems 2020: 10-12

⁶⁴⁴ Beaujean and Daems 2020: 13

⁶⁴⁵ Vanhaverbeke et al. 2010: 105

southwest of Sagalassos and is on two promontories south of Mount Zencirli (see Fig. 43).⁶⁴⁶ The site had impressive fortifications and was occupied from the 5th to 2nd c. BCE, around the same time as when Sagalassos was becoming occupied.⁶⁴⁷ The settlement did not have monumental public architecture; Daems suggests that the site was a farming village and Sagalassos was similar to Düzen Tepe in this way from the 5th to 3rd c. BCE (although the fortifications at Düzen Tepe do suggest a need for protection and some social organization and hierarchy, as discussed by Vanhaverbeke et al.) (see Fig. 44 for a site plan).⁶⁴⁸ Data from the ceramic material along with radiocarbon dates and numismatics confirms the 5th to 2nd c. BCE occupation.⁶⁴⁹ Studies have shown that Düzen Tepe was overall self-sufficient and using local materials for clay processing, metal production, and food production.⁶⁵⁰ Ceramic studies have shown that Sagalassos and Düzen Tepe have similar late Achaemenid/pre-Hellenistic assemblages (late 5th to 4th c. BCE).⁶⁵¹

Continued archaeological research at Düzen Tepe has provided detailed information on the late Achaemenid and early Hellenistic ceramics as well as some information on its domestic architecture.⁶⁵² Based on limited excavations so far, the site does not seem to have large communal centers indicative of a social hierarchy; one larger structure that was excavated appears to have been a communal kitchen or bakery for several households.⁶⁵³ The most well-studied building, the so-called “Courtyard House,” seems to have housed several families and provided a communal courtyard, since only one room in the building was a specialized storage

⁶⁴⁶ Vyncke and Waelkens 2015: 161

⁶⁴⁷ Vanhaverbeke et al. 2010: 118

⁶⁴⁸ Daems 2019: 7-8; Vanhaverbeke et al. 2010: 123-124

⁶⁴⁹ Vanhaverbeke et al. 2010: 118-121

⁶⁵⁰ Vyncke and Waelkens 2015: 163

⁶⁵¹ Daems and Poblome 2017

⁶⁵² Daems et al. 2017; Daems 2019

⁶⁵³ Daems 2019: 5-7

room and the other rooms did not have specialized functions.⁶⁵⁴ Daems uses the ceramic evidence that has “a high degree of homogeneity and low diversity” as well as the architectural evidence to highlight that the community at Düzen Tepe “would likely have been characterized by low degrees of social differentiation and inequality.”⁶⁵⁵

Sagalassos was presumably similar to Düzen Tepe until Sagalassos’ monumentalization in the 2nd c. BCE and its development of a social hierarchy beforehand.⁶⁵⁶ An inscription dating to the mid-4th to end of the 3rd c. BCE shows that there were already government officials at Sagalassos and conflict between different factions at the site. 24 *archontes* (magistrates or officials) signed a decree that those who attempt to start a rebellion would be punished with death by the *dikastoi* [*sic*] (judges); Daems argues that the presence of this decree indicates that there was already some sort of rebellion.⁶⁵⁷ V. Köse has also argued based on his study of funerary monuments at Sagalassos, specifically ossuaries, that local elite were present at the end of the 4th c. BCE or the early 3rd c. BCE.⁶⁵⁸

The case of Düzen Tepe shows how Sagalassos extended its influence as it grew. While there is clear evidence for social hierarchy at Sagalassos from the inscription discussed above, there is no epigraphic evidence of social hierarchy to consider for Düzen Tepe. I would agree, however, along the lines of Vanhaverbeke et al.’s argument, that the fortifications at Düzen Tepe must have been a locally organized effort, perhaps with some sort of hierarchy present to ensure the protection of the community. So even if the community at Sagalassos was more “complex” in the sense of a larger political hierarchy, the two communities could have interacted together as

⁶⁵⁴ Vyncke and Waelkens 2015: 167-168

⁶⁵⁵ Daems 2019: 8

⁶⁵⁶ Daems 2019: 8

⁶⁵⁷ Daems 2019: 8; Vanderpe and Waelkens 2007

⁶⁵⁸ Köse 2017: 59; Köse 2005

peers. Yet the height of occupation at Düzen Tepe appears to have ended in the 2nd c. BCE. Vanhaverbeke et al. suggest that the occupants of Düzen Tepe moved over to Sagalassos, which became the regional center in the Hellenistic and Roman periods.⁶⁵⁹ Based on the agricultural potential of the region, they do not think that the area could have sustained two large cities competing for resources.⁶⁶⁰ For some reason, Sagalassos seemed more favorable, perhaps due to its natural water resources.⁶⁶¹ Although there is no textual evidence, the situation of Düzen Tepe and Sagalassos could have been a synoikism in which the population of the former moved to the latter. Seleukid influence in the region in the 3rd and 2nd c. BCE could have provided a stimulus for urbanization, as suggested by Daems.⁶⁶² He argues for a synoikism between the two sites and suggests that the Seleukid dynasty could have provided Sagalassos with territory or mandated a synoikism; in another scenario, outside pressures from the Hellenistic dynasty could have prompted Düzen Tepe and Sagalassos to come together, especially since Sagalassos had some advantages over Düzen Tepe, including access to water.⁶⁶³ Daems also argues that implementation of hierarchy and Greek culture at Sagalassos should be seen as a local development, since the inscription used to cite local dissent was signed by 24 *archontes* with local (non-Greek) names.⁶⁶⁴ I would also add that the war between Antiochos III and Rome and change in territory after the Treaty of Apamea in 188 BCE could have been a contributing factor

⁶⁵⁹ Vanhaverbeke et al. 2010: 125

⁶⁶⁰ Vanhaverbeke et al. 2010: 125

⁶⁶¹ Daems and Poblome 2016: 98; 102

⁶⁶² Daems 2019: 10-11

⁶⁶³ Daems and Poblome 2016: 103; Daems 2019

⁶⁶⁴ Daems 2019: 11; he also suggests this due to the “bad Greek” used in the inscription. I put “bad Greek” in quotes because I do not think it is helpful to put a value judgement on the language used in the inscription. Even if it is not grammatically correct or standard Greek, the fact that it was in Greek shows that the local elite in the area were adopting the Greek language alongside Pisidian to gain clout with the Hellenistic powers and other local elite.

to the synoikism, since the abandonment of Düzen Tepe occurred in the 2nd c. BCE (and a more refined date is not possible).

I am more inclined to think of the possible synoikism as spurred on by the two communities themselves. Although Sagalassos seems to have had access to more resources, the two communities likely would have been in communication with each other before the changes in political powers because the two communities shared the same clay resources. Overall, Poblome et al. say that the two communities “were dependent on largely the same catchment area” for their clay resources, and as mentioned above the two communities had similar pottery profiles for the late Achaemenid period.⁶⁶⁵ A particular type of finer table ware with black gloss (dating to the 4th to 3rd c. BCE) that was made of a specific type of clay from a region now called Çanaklı was found at both sites; Sagalassos continued to use clay from this region in its later production of fine Hellenistic ware and Roman Sagalassos Red Slip Ware.⁶⁶⁶ Their shared use of clay resources and the presence of the same fine ware at both sites show how the two communities were interacting through possible competitive emulation (one community emulates the pottery of the other), transmission of innovation (one community shares knowledge of the clay source and clay processing with the other), or trade.

The exact mechanism of the communities merging cannot be known, but perhaps the local elite budding at Sagalassos saw an opportunity to expand Sagalassos’ territory in the wake of changing Hellenistic powers and the community at Düzen Tepe saw the alliance as beneficial

⁶⁶⁵ Poblome et al. 2013: 533; Daems and Poblome 2017

⁶⁶⁶ Poblome et al. 2013: 532-533, citing Braekmans et al. 2011 who in their petrographic study of Classical and Hellenistic pottery from Düzen Tepe and Sagalassos, identify four groups of petrographic categories of wares with black to reddish brown gloss as coming from Çanaklı clays, ranging in date from the 5th to 1st c. BCE (D, E, F, and G: 6 samples in group D with 3 from Düzen Tepe and 3 from Sagalassos; 5 samples in group E all from Sagalassos; 6 samples in group F with 1 from Düzen Tepe and 5 from Sagalassos; 3 samples in group G with 2 from Düzen Tepe and 1 from Sagalassos). Braekmans et al. 2011: 2103, table 1; 2114.

to their standing in the new political situation. Their pre-existing peer interaction provided the bedrock for this alliance to take place. This example can be compared with Plarasa and Aphrodisias, where the two communities agreed on a sympolity, likely for local elite Plarasans to incorporate Aphrodisias' sanctuary.⁶⁶⁷ Although the once dominant partner of Plarasa became overshadowed by Aphrodisias for some reason, habitation continued at Plarasa. While Sagalassos became the dominant regional center, dense occupation at Düzen Tepe did not continue past the 2nd c. BCE. Although there is no textual evidence for a formal synoikism or sympolity between the two communities, the growth of Sagalassos and the abandonment of Düzen Tepe so far without archaeological evidence of destruction can suggest the choice of local communities to come together during the wake of larger scale political changes, even if there was some local dissent and even if there was some outside royal influence.

The story may also be more complicated than a complete abandonment of Düzen Tepe for occupation at Sagalassos, since a small amount of Sagalassos Red Slip Ware dating to the Roman Imperial period “indicates that the plateau need not have been entirely deserted in late Hellenistic times.”⁶⁶⁸ More excavations at Düzen Tepe will surely make the occupation of the site clearer, but the presence of some Roman Imperial material culture suggests that the site had some use in later periods even if most of the population did move to Sagalassos. More research will reveal if the site was continuously occupied from the late Hellenistic period to the Roman Imperial periods, but the resurgence of a smaller occupation past the prime occupation of Düzen Tepe is similar to the situations of Notion (with some late Roman occupation after the main 3rd c. BCE to 1st c. CE occupation) and the region around Myous (with some use of the landscape after its siltation and movement of population to Miletos). The situation of Sagalassos and Düzen

⁶⁶⁷ LaBuff 2016; see Chapter 4.

⁶⁶⁸ Poblome et al. 2013: 531

Tepe again demonstrates that sites after abandonment could still be useful in other ways, if not completely occupied and used to the same degree during their peak years.

6.2.2 Other Surrounding Sites and Growth around Sagalassos

Beyond the case study of Sagalassos and Düzen Tepe, other archaeological survey data can provide insight into Sagalassos' rise as the main Hellenistic and Roman city in the Burdur region. In their regional extensive survey of Sagalassos' *chora*, Vanhaverbeke and Waelkens found that there was an increase in site numbers during the Hellenistic period after Sagalassos became a regional urban center, but the sites were mostly located on peaks as opposed to the plains.⁶⁶⁹ They also found that in the Hellenistic period, there was an increase in fortified sites surrounding Sagalassos; they suggest that through the network of fortifications, Sagalassos had control of various regions, and it gained control of them either through force or from other communities' voluntary cooperation.⁶⁷⁰ Other Hellenistic sites comparable to Sagalassos were found in the survey (Kapıkaya (Typallion?); Kepez Kalesi; Hisar; Keraitai (at modern Belören); and Dars (at modern Yarımada)); Keraitai and Kapıkaya were similar to Sagalassos in that they had monumental public architecture dated to the mid-Hellenistic period (Fig. 45).⁶⁷¹ Eventually Sagalassos became the main regional center in the area as some of the comparable Hellenistic sites, namely Hisar and Kepez Kalesi, declined.⁶⁷² Vanhaverbeke and Waelkens argue that Sagalassos must have incorporated Hisar and Kepez Kalesi, but suggest that Kapıkaya and Keraitai were not part of Sagalassos' territory.⁶⁷³ Keraitai became part of the city Kremna's

⁶⁶⁹ Vanhaverbeke and Waelkens 2003: 217; 219

⁶⁷⁰ Vanhaverbeke and Waelkens 2003: 218-219; 224

⁶⁷¹ Vanhaverbeke and Waelkens 2003: 217

⁶⁷² Vanhaverbeke and Waelkens 2003: 227

⁶⁷³ Vanhaverbeke and Waelkens 2003: 217, footnote 38; 224. Vanhaverbeke and Waelkens say that Kepez Kalesi was included by the Roman Imperial period on page 217, footnote 38, but then say on page 224 that "somewhere

territory, which will be discussed further below.⁶⁷⁴ Although we cannot know the exact mechanism by which Sagalassos incorporated Hisar and Kepez Kalesi, to elaborate on Vanhaverbeke and Waelkens' suggestions on how Sagalassos took control of the territories, Sagalassos' network of fortified sites could suggest that the communities interacted through warfare in that: 1) Sagalassos forcefully captured these sites; or 2) Hisar and Kepez Kalesi saw a threat of war or other insecurity from the changing political situation and sought protection with Sagalassos.

As Sagalassos became a regional center in the mid-Hellenistic period, there was a monumentalization of the city in the 2nd c. BCE.⁶⁷⁵ The monumentalization included a Doric fountain house, a market building, and a Doric temple.⁶⁷⁶ This period of prosperity corresponds to the period following the Treaty of Apamea in 188 BCE, when the area was transferred to Attalid control, as well as with the abandonment of Düzen Tepe.⁶⁷⁷ Although the suburban area of Sagalassos did not have much Hellenistic material, it did become a residential area in the early to mid-Imperial periods.⁶⁷⁸

Other recent archaeological surveys in the region have shown the diversity of settlement pattern trends around Sagalassos. The Sagalassos Territorial Archaeological Survey in 2008-2009 aimed to study the “outlying valleys of the territory of Sagalassos and to establish what

during the EIA or the Hellenistic period [Sagalassos] must have overpowered other centres, such as Kepez and Hisar, since in both Hellenistic fortified small cities traces of monumental public architecture are lacking.”

⁶⁷⁴ Vanhaverbeke and Waelkens 2003: 244

⁶⁷⁵ Vanhaverbeke and Waelkens 2003: 329

⁶⁷⁶ Martens et al. 2008: 136, citing Waelkens 2002: 315-318. The *bouleuterion*, although it has a rectangular plan that is typically associated with the Hellenistic period, actually dates to the early Imperial period based on stratigraphic evidence (Willet 2020: 67, citing Talloen and Poblome 2016). Köse 2017: 57-58, citing Talloen and Poblome 2016; 119-210, notes that the market building was originally thought to date to the Antonine period, but excavations have suggested that it actually was first constructed in the first half of the 2nd c. BCE.

⁶⁷⁷ Mitchell 1991b: 143

⁶⁷⁸ Martens et al. 2008: 137

happened to these more remote parts of the territory whilst they were under the control of Sagalassos and afterwards.”⁶⁷⁹ The survey focused on the Bereket valley southwest of Sagalassos, a “marginal” region because it is at a high altitude.⁶⁸⁰ Overall, for the Hellenistic and Roman periods, the Bereket valley followed the greater pattern of settlement development in the region of Sagalassos, with an increase in sites in the late Hellenistic period and increasing economic connections to Sagalassos in the Roman Imperial period (identified by the presence of Sagalassos Red Slip Ware).⁶⁸¹

The most recent intensive archaeological survey in the Dereköy Highlands is part of a program of the Sagalassos team sampling areas that were not as well studied in the previous surveys.⁶⁸² This survey also focused on an area of a “marginal landscape,” an area that does not have as much capacity for agriculture as other lowlands.⁶⁸³ The survey results from this region contrast with survey results from other surveys around Sagalassos in that there were not very many Hellenistic sites.⁶⁸⁴ Some Hellenistic material was found at later sites (Roman-Byzantine), so the authors suggest that these sites could have had earlier occupation periods or the earlier Hellenistic period has not been detected as successfully.⁶⁸⁵ The Dereköy Highlands survey serves as an important example in contrast to the other surveys at Sagalassos, as it shows a different occupation pattern than what was found in the other surveys.⁶⁸⁶ Vandam et al. conclude “that

⁶⁷⁹ Kaptijn et al. 2013: 79

⁶⁸⁰ Kaptijn et al. 2013: 76, citing Vanhaverbeke et al. 2011.

⁶⁸¹ Kaptijn et al. 2013: 90-92

⁶⁸² Vandam et al. 2017: 322; Vandam et al. 2019: 260

⁶⁸³ Vandam et al. 2017: 340 question, however, the actual “marginality” of this region due to its rich settlements in certain periods (Paleolithic and Late Roman-Byzantine); Vandam et al. 2019: 260-261.

⁶⁸⁴ Vandam et al. 2019: 266

⁶⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁸⁶ Ibid.

each pocket landscape within the Taurus Mountains had its own archaeological trajectory” and suggest “that one should be cautious with over-generalizing local archaeological patterns.”⁶⁸⁷

With the Dereköy survey results in mind, it is important to acknowledge that although overall Sagalassos’ rise as a regional urban center brought prosperity to its territory, certain areas of the landscape in the region did not. Vandam et al. also suggest that the lack of Hellenistic to early Roman sites could have been due to the fact that the area was relatively close to Sagalassos and Düzen Tepe which could have attracted people from the region to the cities or growing settlements around them.⁶⁸⁸

Although Düzen Tepe might not have been fully abandoned, its decline along with the decline of other regional large settlements with fortifications after the Hellenistic period, the growth and prosperity of Sagalassos as a city, and the overall subsequent growth of Sagalassos’ countryside suggest a nucleation of primary urban sites through synoikism and an expansion of lower order sites (e.g., farmsteads). The urbanization of Sagalassos corresponded with the growth of rural sites to support the expanding city center. Although the influence of a Hellenistic power cannot be ruled out, and indeed the involvement of the Seleukid dynasty has been suggested as an option by Daems, the move from Düzen Tepe to Sagalassos could have also been driven by local dynasts and local communities in search of improved conditions. Although there were other comparable sites in the region in terms of size, similarly Hisar and Kepez Kalesi became part of Sagalassos’ territory to contribute to growth at Sagalassos. Following Vanhaverbeke and Waelkens’ application of the peer polity model for Hellenization, the presence of monumental Hellenistic architecture at Sagalassos, Keraitai, and Kapıkaya and the use of ancient Greek at Sagalassos demonstrate that local elites in these cities were investing in

⁶⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸⁸ Vandam et al. 2019: 266

Hellenization in order to participate in the expanding Hellenistic world. At a more local level, peer polity interaction based on resource extraction, ceramic production, and trade played a role in Sagalassos and Düzen Tepe's relationship before they merged. Sagalassos' rise as a main urban center and its continued growth as a major city in the Roman Imperial period demonstrate how it was one of the most successful cities in the region.

6.3 Kremna and Keraitai

Kremna and a nearby city Keraitai minted a joint silver drachm around the 1st c. BCE in what appears to be a sympolity.⁶⁸⁹ Eventually Kremna became the dominant city, and Keraitai became part of Kremna's territory (see Fig. 46 for a map of their locations relative to one another).⁶⁹⁰ Although the cities have been destroyed somewhat by looting, archaeological data can provide more context for how the cities developed prior to the sympolity and why the cities might have decided to create the alliance. Kremna and Keraitai's coinage is similar to the situation of Aphrodisias and Plarasa (discussed in Chapter 4).⁶⁹¹ For some reason, Keraitai was not an equal partner later when its name was no longer included in coinage (Mitchell suggests "during the Roman Empire, perhaps from 25 BC when the Augustan colony was founded, it was reduced to the status of a village dependent on Kremna"), but occupation at Keraitai continued.⁶⁹² The coins are dated to about 100 BCE.⁶⁹³ The sympolity seems similar to the sympolity between Aphrodisias and Plarasa, in which eventually Aphrodisias became the major

⁶⁸⁹ Mitchell with Cormack 1995: 8

⁶⁹⁰ Ibid.; see below for more information about the coinage.

⁶⁹¹ Mitchell with Cormack 1995: 8; von Aulock 1979: 106, nos. 887, 888, 889, 890, 891 have a head of the city goddess with a city wall crown on the obverse and a double cornucopia and inscription KPHMNEQN KAI KEPAETQN on the reverse.

⁶⁹² Ibid.

⁶⁹³ von Aulock 1979: 106, nos. 887, 888, 889, 890, 891

city even though occupation continued at Plarasa. The sympolity shows that local Pisidian communities were working together presumably to provide safety and gain benefits from one another. The territorial reorganization could have been voluntary or due to Rome's new influence in the region. I will review the archaeological evidence for Kremna and Keraitai respectively to consider this possibility, suggest how the two sites could have been interacting with one another through religious practices, and provide information on the maintenance of local cults in Pisidia, which again testifies to how local communities were selectively choosing how to adopt Hellenization and how to keep local traditions.

6.3.1 Kremna

Kremna was studied by various western travelers, and M. Anabolu in 1965 identified sculpture that was taken to the Burdur Museum.⁶⁹⁴ The site is vulnerable to looting, and J. İnan and her team in 1970-1972 with the Burdur Museum as part of a rescue excavation of a Roman monument, building Q (perhaps a library), which was targeted by illegal excavations for sculptures.⁶⁹⁵ Mitchell and his team later surveyed the site as part of the Pisidia Survey Project. Mitchell and S. Cormack published a detailed book on Kremna in 1995, but they mostly focused their studies on an urban survey and Kremna's development after it became a Roman colony in 25 BCE under Augustus.⁶⁹⁶ This book on Kremna dedicates one section to Hellenistic Kremna and focuses on the extant Hellenistic architecture in particular. From 2013 to 2019, a project led by H. Metin has explored the rural territory of Kremna in an effort to learn more about Kremna's influence and the Pisidian countryside.

⁶⁹⁴ See İnan 1970: 53-54 for a review of early research at Kremna.

⁶⁹⁵ İnan 1970: 51

⁶⁹⁶ Mitchell with Cormack 1995

Kremna is located southeast of modern Bucak and overlooks the Kestros (Aksu) valley from a hill.⁶⁹⁷ The site was strategically chosen for protection, as evidenced by the cliffs located to the north, south, and east of the city; fortifications are only present to the west of the city, and the city can only be approached from this direction.⁶⁹⁸ The fortifications had a Roman stage, and some sections have a Hellenistic stage.⁶⁹⁹ Since the site was turned into a Roman military colony in 25 BCE, the later Roman building activity has obscured the earlier Hellenistic activity.⁷⁰⁰ Besides sections of the fortifications, Mitchell could only identify the Doric *agora* building as from the Hellenistic period.⁷⁰¹ Based on Coulton's study of Greek *agorai*, Mitchell suggests that the Doric *agora* at Kremna dates to no earlier than the 2nd c. BCE and more specifically from 150 to 50 BCE.⁷⁰²

It would be helpful to have excavation data to back up this dating by architecture, but in the absence of this data it seems like Kremna was likely at least founded in the early 2nd c. BCE, if not earlier. Mitchell compares the situation at Kremna with other Pisidian cities that experienced major architectural growth under Attalid rule in the 2nd c. BCE, but were not converted to Roman colonies, including Termessos and Selge.⁷⁰³ With the evidence for the Doric *agora* combined with the later joint issue with Keraitai, it is possible to consider that Kremna also experienced growth like Termessos and Selge, but the growth is just lost to us now due to later Roman interventions.

⁶⁹⁷ Mitchell with Cormack 1995: 5; İnan 1970: 54

⁶⁹⁸ Metin et al. 2015: 174; İnan 1970: 54

⁶⁹⁹ Mitchell with Cormack 1995: 29

⁷⁰⁰ Mitchell with Cormack 1995: 33; 45-50

⁷⁰¹ Ibid.

⁷⁰² Mitchell with Cormack 1995: 31-33

⁷⁰³ Mitchell with Cormack 1995: 33

6.3.2 *Keritai*

Keritai, as mentioned above in Section 6.2 on Sagalassos, is near the modern town of Belören, and was identified by the Sagalassos *chora* survey team as a Hellenistic site similar to Sagalassos. Keritai was first identified by K. Dörtlük and the Burdur Museum in 1972 during a research trip in the area.⁷⁰⁴ They identified the site as Keritai based on coinage found at the site.⁷⁰⁵ They later also discovered an inscription at the Burdur museum recovered by looting that describes a man and his son with Roman names giving a liquid dedication and building dedication to the local god Men.⁷⁰⁶ The site was never part of Sagalassos' territory, even though it was a peer; Keritai eventually became part of Kremna's territory after the sympolity. Unfortunately, the site is damaged by looting, but Metin's team note that they saw many Hellenistic sherds there.⁷⁰⁷ During the Sagalassos survey, the team identified Keritai as dating "mainly from the Middle Hellenistic period onwards," but note that "monumental buildings may have been present before this period, but traces of such buildings have not been preserved."⁷⁰⁸

Keritai, like Kremna, is placed at a high location (about 1100-1200m on a hill), and it is intervisible with Kremna, Sagalassos, Komama, and Kolbasa.⁷⁰⁹ Komama was an Augustan colony, and Kolbasa was a small Pisidian community that seems to have become a city under Roman rule.⁷¹⁰ Focusing on Kremna, Keritai, and Sagalassos, the fact that Keritai is intervisible with Kremna and Sagalassos suggests that the relationships between the cities were important and could suggest a conscious effort to monitor one another as the communities grew.

⁷⁰⁴ Dörtlük 1976: 17

⁷⁰⁵ Dörtlük 1976: 17-18

⁷⁰⁶ Dörtlük 1988

⁷⁰⁷ Metin et al. 2016: 210

⁷⁰⁸ Vanhaverbeke and Waelkens 2003: 217, citing Waelkens 1995; Waelkens et al. 1997: 21-29; Dörtlük 1976, 1988

⁷⁰⁹ Metin et al. 2014: 176

⁷¹⁰ Mitchell 1991b: 137

In the Sagalassos survey, Waelkens dated Keraitai to the Hellenistic period based on fortifications and noted that there was a late Hellenistic *bouleuterion*.⁷¹¹ Metin et al. also documented two towers near Keraitai's *acropolis*; they do not date the towers, but they say that they have isodomic masonry.⁷¹² If these towers date to the Hellenistic period, as implied by Waelkens' earlier work, they would emphasize Keraitai's prioritization of safety and ability to watch the surrounding regions. Köse suggests that some archaeological evidence in Keraitai dates as early as the 3rd c. BCE, including parts of its fortifications and ossuaries, the latter of which suggests an early Hellenistic local elite presence in the area of Keraitai.⁷¹³ Metin and his team also recorded two broken ossuaries at Keraitai as well as one in the modern village of Belören.⁷¹⁴ As with the other evidence, archaeological excavation at Keraitai would clarify how early it had been settled, but the available archaeological evidence suggests the presence of an early Hellenistic local elite and subsequent urbanization efforts of the settlement into the Hellenistic period.

6.3.3 Sympolity and Religious Peer Polity Interaction

The limitations of the archaeology due to looting are unfortunate, and the actual foundation dates of these cities are not known. Based on the available data, however, it is possible to consider how the communities of Kremna and Keraitai decided to form a sympolity. Considering the sympolity date of around 100 BCE based on the date of the joint coinage, it could have been in response to Roman involvement in Anatolia. Rome received Anatolia in 133 BCE after Attalos III bequeathed the Attalid territory, but Mitchell has suggested that based on

⁷¹¹ Waelkens 1995: 11

⁷¹² Metin et al. 2016: 210

⁷¹³ Köse 2017: 49

⁷¹⁴ Metin 2014: 7

epigraphic evidence from Pisidia in the 1st c. BCE the Pisidian cities “were still basically independent of foreign control.”⁷¹⁵ This situation changed by the end of the century, when Marc Antony gave Pisidia to the Galatian chief Amyntas (based in central Anatolia) in 40/39 BCE, and Amyntas eventually had an expanded territory in 37/36 BCE.⁷¹⁶ Strabo writes that Amyntas was able to capture Kremna even though there was resistance.⁷¹⁷ After Amyntas captured Kremna, the city issued new sets of coinage that have been dated to 32/31 BCE, since the coins have “numbers B to Z (2-7) inclusive, and these have been interpreted as dates, reckoned from the beginning of a new era for Kremna, presumably from the year when it came under Amyntas’ control”; Amyntas died in 25/24 BCE.⁷¹⁸ Thus, perhaps the sympolity lasted from at least 100 BCE to the reign of Amyntas starting in the 30s BCE. As Kremna and Keraitai formed a relationship with one another after their foundations, the change from the relatively stable Attalid period to the shifts in Roman rule in the late 2nd to early 1st c. BCE could have prompted Kremna and Keraitai to make a more formal alliance.

One way in which Kremna and Keraitai could have interacted through peer polity interaction to establish their relationship before the sympolity was through religious activities. Metin’s survey did find some more information on the maintenance of local traditions in Pisidia and places of local worship for Kremna and Keraitai. While Pisidians adapted Greek architecture and city formation during the Hellenistic period, as Mitchell emphasizes, Metin’s survey found a sanctuary to Men Askaenos at Keraitai as well as a rock-cut relief of the god Men. Men was a local Anatolian god of the moon; the rock-cut relief is a frontal display of Men wearing a chiton with upraised arms and a crescent moon behind the god’s head (see Fig. 47 for location of

⁷¹⁵ Mitchell with Cormack 1995: 43

⁷¹⁶ Ibid.

⁷¹⁷ Strabo 7.6.4, from Mitchell with Cormack 1995: 43

⁷¹⁸ Mitchell with Cormack 1995: 44-45

sanctuary at Keraitai).⁷¹⁹ Although Metin dates the sanctuary to the 2nd to 3rd c. CE, he suggests that the rock-cut relief could date to the Hellenistic period since it close to the fortifications on the east and it seems like the relief is on a rock that was quarried for blocks.⁷²⁰ If this suggestion is correct, the presence of a local Anatolian cult during the period of urbanization in Pisidia shows how Pisidians were maintaining local traditions while adapting Greek culture and urbanization to suit their community needs.

Another sacred place that Metin et al. studied is the İnarası cave sanctuary in Kremna's territory. They suggest that the cave was used from the 2nd c. BCE to the 3rd c. CE, but they also found Late Neolithic to Chalcolithic pottery suggesting a prehistoric settlement was located in the area.⁷²¹ A *necropolis* also surrounded the sanctuary on the eastern slopes of the site.⁷²² Niches were cut into the rock to the sides of the cave entrance.⁷²³ There is a dedication to Artemis on the outside of the cave near a votive niche to the left of the entrance, but Metin and his team do not suggest a date for the inscription.⁷²⁴ The sanctuary is in between Kremna and Keraitai, and both sites are visible from the sanctuary (refer back to Fig. 46 for locations of the sites and the sanctuary).⁷²⁵ Although we do not know the exact date of the foundations of Kremna and Keraitai, the suggested date of the sanctuary by Metin et al. corresponds well to the suggested dates of Kremna's extant Hellenistic architecture (particularly the Doric *agora* building) and corresponds to the general finding of Hellenistic pottery and Hellenistic architecture at Keraitai. The connections to local Anatolian cults are not as prominent as the relief carving of Men at

⁷¹⁹ Metin 2015: 13, fig. 9.

⁷²⁰ Ibid.

⁷²¹ Metin et al. 2014: 174; Metin 2014: 4

⁷²² Metin 2014: 4

⁷²³ Metin 2014: 5-6

⁷²⁴ Metin et al. 2014: 174

⁷²⁵ Metin et al. 2014

Keraitai, but the Īnarası cave shows how a cult site developed alongside the urbanization of Kremna and Keraitai.

Perhaps the sanctuary served as a common meeting place for the residents of Kremna and Keraitai during their urban formation and their sympolity since the cave is intervisible between the two. The cave site is a generally modest sanctuary, but we can consider competitive emulation at larger sanctuary sites as a type of peer polity interaction, such as the competitive building of treasuries at panhellenic sanctuaries such as Olympia and Delphi.⁷²⁶ Although there is not much remaining at the cave sanctuary from the Hellenistic period, perhaps through dedications similar competitive emulation was occurring between the two sites. These interactions could have strengthened their bond in the wake of relative stability during the Attalid period as well as later changes with the rise of Roman influence which possibly contributed to the two cities forming a sympolity and the eventual incorporation of Keraitai into Kremna's territory.

Although the survey archaeology is not comprehensive, the archaeological data for Kremna and Keraitai does provide more contextual information for their sympolity. The dating of the sites from architecture and pottery suggest that they were separate urban communities at least in the 2nd c. BCE, well before they formed the sympolity in the 1st c. BCE. Both communities prioritized protection when they established their cities based on the physical locations of the site as well as the fortifications that were built. The cities were at the latest built during a period of general prosperity during Attalid rule after the Treaty of Apamea in 188 BCE, but something changed in the 1st c. BCE to encourage the two cities to form an alliance and issue joint coinage. This could have corresponded with the increasing involvement of Rome in

⁷²⁶ Renfrew 1986: 11-17; Snodgrass 1986: 53-56

Anatolia before Rome converted Kremna into a colony and before the resistance to Amyntas' rule in Pisidia from 37/6 to 25 BCE.

The exact mechanism of how and why Kremna and Keraitai formed a sympolity cannot be known but examining the relationship through the model of peer polity interaction can provide some insight into possibilities. Thinking back to Vanhaverbeke and Waelkens' model of Hellenization of Pisidia, the overall urbanization and monumentalization of the sites could be a result of Pisidia becoming part of the larger Hellenistic world and cities competing with one another for recognition by the Hellenistic kingdoms. Keraitai is not too far away from Sagalassos, and Keraitai had a similar site profile in the middle Hellenistic period to Sagalassos (as discussed above), so Keraitai could have initiated the sympolity in response to Sagalassos' growing power as well as in response to the greater political changes. On a smaller scale, cult worship at the İnarası cave site that is intervisible with Kremna and Keraitai could have provided a space for both communities to interact with one another and contribute to competitive emulation with religious dedications. This space could have provided the prior engagement between the communities before they decided to form the sympolity. The archaeology also provides information on how Kremna and Keraitai decided to engage in Hellenization. They adopted Greek architectural forms, such as the Doric *agora* at Kremna, but they also maintained local traditions as seen in religious spaces. The carving of Men and the possible Men sanctuary at Keraitai that likely dates to the Hellenistic period show the continuation of the Anatolian cult.

As the final results of the Kremna survey are published and more excavations take place in the future, questions about the foundations of Kremna and Keraitai as well as their impacts on the surrounding rural regions can be better addressed. As with the situation of Plarasa and Aphrodisias, Kremna and Keraitai continued to be occupied as Kremna became the main city

and eventually a Roman colony in 25 BCE. More research would also provide more insight into how Kremna and Keraitai's relationship changed at this point, if at all, or whether the shift for Kremna as the main city with its own coinage was more of a formality with Rome.

6.4 Pednelissos

The continuation of the Pisidia Survey by L. Vandeput and V. Köse led to more detailed surveys in the territories of the cities Melli (whose ancient name is unknown) and Pednelissos.⁷²⁷ The two scholars completed an urban survey at Melli, and they completed an urban and a rural survey for Pednelissos. The urban survey and the regional survey of Pednelissos took place from 2001-2004 and 2007-2012, respectively (see Fig. 48 for a site plan).⁷²⁸ Although the results for the rural survey of Pednelissos have not been fully published, preliminary reports provide useful insight into the Hellenistic development of the countryside of Pisidia and a comparison for the data of Sagalassos' countryside. Köse also provides summaries of the work at Pednelissos in his book on acculturation in Pisidia, and he compares trends at various cities in Pisidia throughout the Hellenistic periods.⁷²⁹ As a smaller city, Pednelissos provides an example of how even a smaller community participated in peer polity interaction to participate in the Hellenistic world and how the community invested in urbanization as well as its countryside.

Pednelissos is located in southeast Pisidia; it is north of the Pamphylian plain and is close to Selge to the east (refer back to Fig. 40 for its location in Pisidia). The city is located on the south-facing slope of the peak Bodrumkaya, where its "upper city occupied the steeper higher ground [and] the land on which the lower city was built is more level."⁷³⁰ While their final

⁷²⁷ Vanhaverbeke and Waelkens 2003: 2

⁷²⁸ Vandeput and Köse 2012: 207

⁷²⁹ Köse 2017

⁷³⁰ Vandeput and Köse 2012: 216

results are not yet published, Vandeput and Köse provide a good overview of their surveys and preliminary results in a 2012 chapter. Based on architectural documentation of extant remains, Pednelissos was known to have been occupied in the Hellenistic period and even in the Classical period. Köse identifies the earliest phase of Pednelissos' fortifications as from the 3rd c. BCE.⁷³¹ The majority of its fortifications are dated (by style) to the 2nd to 1st c. BCE, which Köse argues are repairs, and its monumental market building dates to around the 2nd c. BCE.⁷³² Ceramic analysis from the intensive pedestrian survey conducted on site shows that the city was occupied as early as the 3rd c. BCE until the 7th c. CE.⁷³³ Köse argues that Pednelissos also likely existed in some sense in the 4th c. BCE, however, since through the survey they found a bronze Macedonian coin that dates to 333 to 310 BCE based on comparanda, although this evidence is not as secure since the coin could have been in circulation longer.⁷³⁴ The pattern of Hellenistic settlements in higher elevations is also present at Pednelissos, since they found Hellenistic material from the survey concentrated at higher elevations, but the Roman Imperial city expanded past the Hellenistic fortifications as confirmed by geophysical survey.⁷³⁵

Even though Pednelissos does not have typical late Hellenistic and early Roman architecture, a large portion of the ceramics found was dated from the 1st c. BCE to 1st c. CE.⁷³⁶ A large number of fine ware imports among these ceramics indicates the growth of Pednelissos and its connections to trade routes.⁷³⁷ Vandeput and Köse note that they would not have been

⁷³¹ Köse 2017: 45

⁷³² Vandeput and Köse 2012: 211-212; Köse 2017: 45-46; 57

⁷³³ Vandeput and Köse 2012: 223. At the time of this publication, they stated that study of the ceramics was in process, so the results are preliminary. See also Zelle 2007 for a preliminary discussion of the late Hellenistic and early Roman ceramics.

⁷³⁴ Köse 2017: 40

⁷³⁵ Vandeput and Köse 2012: 221-222

⁷³⁶ Vandeput and Köse 2012: 224

⁷³⁷ Ibid.

able to identify such a prosperous period at Pednelissos without the pottery, since the architectural style was still using earlier Hellenistic conventions.⁷³⁸ This finding demonstrates what the people at Pednelissos found important as they expanded their city. Adapting architectural styles was not needed at first, but the city maintained its connection to the later Hellenistic world through trade that continued through the Roman conquest. Initially in city formation, adopting Greek building types was important, but updating the architectural style was not evidently as important later as maintaining and using trade networks in the late Hellenistic and early Roman periods.⁷³⁹ This example shows how communities decided what was the best way to integrate into the Hellenistic networks.

In the regional survey, Vandeput and Köse identified Hellenistic farm towers, late Hellenistic to early Roman villas, and secondary settlements ranging from some houses to the size of a village.⁷⁴⁰ They note that most of the villages seem to have been occupied from the Hellenistic to Late Roman periods.⁷⁴¹ They also say that “some of the more isolated Hellenistic settlements and tower-farms seem to have been abandoned in the early Imperial period.”⁷⁴² They do not offer a suggestion as to why this may be, but it could be related to the establishment of the Roman Peace and to the growth of the city center from the 1st c. BCE to the 1st c. CE. Mitchell and Vandeput compare the results of the Sagalassos and Pednelissos rural surveys; both include “a mixture of isolated facilities, mainly farmsteads, and settlements of varying sizes occupied in

⁷³⁸ Ibid.

⁷³⁹ Mitchell and Vandeput 2013: 105

⁷⁴⁰ Vandeput and Köse 2012: 237-239

⁷⁴¹ Vandeput and Köse 2012: 239

⁷⁴² Ibid.

the territory of the *poleis*.”⁷⁴³ They note the difference that the farm towers present in Pednelissos’ countryside were not found in Sagalassos’ countryside.⁷⁴⁴

It is not possible to argue for a nucleation of sites, or people moving from the countryside to the city, from the late Hellenistic to early Roman periods without the full data set, but from the preliminary results it is clear that the urbanization and growth of Pednelissos also resulted in growth in the countryside overall in the Hellenistic period. The archaeological data also show how a relatively small community at Pednelissos was able to participate in the wider trade networks occurring during the Hellenistic period and selectively choose what material culture worked for them in their urban development.

In terms of how Pednelissos engaged in networks with the larger Hellenistic kingdoms, Polybios provides some insight on this topic. When Pisidia was under Seleukid rule, there were some wars between the Pisidian cities. Selge and Pednelissos were in conflict in the summer of 218 BCE, and Pednelissos sought help from Achaios of the Seleukid kingdom.⁷⁴⁵ Achaios agreed and helped by sending the Seleukid general Garsyeris with troops.⁷⁴⁶ Köse suggests that Pednelissos received some of the money Selge paid for damages after the conflict and this payment roughly corresponds with Pednelissos’ monumentalization efforts in the 2nd c. BCE. He also argues that the Seleukids profited from the alliance because the effort discouraged further unrest in the region.⁷⁴⁷ In thinking about this interaction from the local side and through peer polity interaction, Selge was a larger city than Pednelissos. Through the peer polity interaction of warfare, Pednelissos, even though it was the smaller city in the conflict, was able to leverage its

⁷⁴³ Mitchell and Vandeput 2013: 112

⁷⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁴⁵ Köse 2017: 45; Polybios 5.72 and 5.76.10

⁷⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁴⁷ Ibid.

disadvantage to gain support from the larger Hellenistic power and eventually grow from the experience. This growth can connect to the statement above in how Pednelissos grew from the wider Hellenistic trade networks and chose what worked for them in their city growth.

Besides this very specific example of peer polity interaction and interaction with a larger power from Polybios, the archaeological data of Pednelissos' growth fits within the larger Hellenization and growth of Pisidia during this period. Köse reviews the architectural developments of Pednelissos within the context of Pisidia. Similar to Vanhaverbeke and Waelkens' discussion of peer polity interaction, Pednelissos' restructuring of its fortifications and its new monuments could have resulted from competition among other polities to gain recognition from the Attalid kingdom.

Although the data set is incomplete, the archaeology of Pednelissos shows how a relatively small city was able to participate in the growth of the Hellenistic world and build monuments to fit in with the changes occurring at cities that would become larger centers, like Sagalassos. The textual sources show how Pednelissos engaged in peer polity interaction through warfare and provide a possible source of the wealth used to fund the city's architectural growth and trade. The archaeology shows the choices that the community of Pednelissos made to follow Hellenization trends to continue relations with other cities and royal kingdoms as well as the choices of what trends not to follow.

6.5 Conclusion

Before the monumentalization and urbanization of Pisidia in the mid- to late Hellenistic period, some form of social stratification was present in Pisidia at sites that would become cities. The inscription from Sagalassos describing the punishments for people who plot against the community lists social positions of judges and magistrates. Even earlier in the late 6th c. BCE,

tumuli were present in northwestern Pisidia. Throughout various sites in central and southern Pisidia, ossuary funerary monuments with some possibly dating as early as the end of the 4th c. BCE to the early 3rd c. BCE have been identified. Similar to other regional elite funerary monuments in different areas, such as tumuli in Lydia, Karia, and northwest Pisidia, the shared material culture of the ossuaries in Pisidia suggests a shared cultural practice that is recognized by local elite in the area as prestigious. Although other types of significant evidence dating to this period has not been identified at all sites, pottery from this period has been found at Sagalassos, and Düzen Tepe can offer a model of what a settlement in Pisidia could consist of in the late Classical to early Hellenistic period.

After the invasion of Alexander the Great and the development of the Hellenistic world, communities engaged in peer polity interaction which encouraged monumentalization throughout Pisidia especially after the Treaty of Apamea (as seen from the documentation of sites from the iterations of the Pisidia Survey Project as well as more recent studies at Kremna) and the expansion of trade networks in some circumstances (namely Pednelissos which was closer to Pamphylia). Peer polity interaction can be a helpful model for explaining relationships between communities and their decisions to make local alliances as well as appeals to the Hellenistic kingdoms. Sagalassos and Düzen Tepe were similar sites that shared the same clay resources and/or participated in trade with one another until Sagalassos became the main regional center. Kremna and Keraitai were urban areas before their sympolity and joint coinage around 100 BCE, and their proximity allowed for peer polity interaction such as interactions at the İnarası sanctuary. Selge's siege against Pednelissos prompted Pednelissos to seek help from the Seleukid kingdom, and the resulting payments after the conflict likely allowed Pednelissos to monumentalize and build upon its trade networks. As Vanhaverbeke and Waelkens have argued,

the model provides insight into how Pisidia became part of the larger Hellenistic world and engaged with it materially, but the model also shows how the communities of Pisidia interacted with each other before formal alliances and urbanization. The archaeology provides more context not only for how Pisidia “Hellenized,” but how certain communities in Pisidia grew while others did not.

With only the inscription for joint coinage of Kremna and Keraitai as textual evidence for these alliances, an examination of the archaeological data and growth of these cities in Pisidia offers a case study of expanding our definitions of synoikism and sympolity. The relationship between Sagalassos and Düzen Tepe cannot be proven as a forced movement from a Hellenistic kingdom, but the presumed movement of inhabitants from Düzen Tepe to Sagalassos (as well as other surrounding sites) can be thought of as a bottom-up synoikism in which inhabitants moved from one site to another for political and environmental gains. Overall Sagalassos was seen as the more promising site, and the two communities’ shared use of clay resources (as well as likely other resources) provides an example of how the communities established a relationship before this significant decision. The sympolity between Kremna and Keraitai is perhaps not so different from the situation between Sagalassos and Düzen Tepe, except that it happened later when the cities were more established and the stimulus for the sympolity seems to have been after the territory was transferred to Rome. Kremna and Keraitai had an existing relationship before the formal alliance, likely through local worship locations, but some stimulus encouraged the two to formalize their relationship with joint coinage. During the wake of another political change, Kremna was later chosen as the desired site by the Romans as a site of a Roman colony. Keraitai was not fully abandoned, but certainly like Sagalassos more resources were put into Kremna. More data from Pednelissos would clarify the city’s origins, but it could be an example of a

bottom-up synoikism like the cities in Kabalia which do not have predecessor sites (Balboura and Oinoanda). Overall, archaeological research on Pednelissos is significant in that it shows how a small community benefited from urbanization by becoming part of the Hellenistic world and expanding its connections.

Chapter 7: Pergamon and Its Territory

7.1 Introduction

In the previous case study chapters, I focused on the motivations of local communities in traditionally defined ancient regions for urbanization and alliances. In this chapter, I will focus on the case of the Attalid kingdom with the growth of Pergamon. I will first analyze the growth of Pergamon in Mysia and its relationship to peer sites in Mysia and Aiolis; I will then consider how the Attalid kingdom contributed to synoikism after it gained territory in Lydia and Phrygia following the Treaty of Apamea in 188 BCE. While I will consider the reasons for the Attalid kingdom to promote such relationships from a top-down perspective, I will also explore alternatives in which local elites were negotiating with the kingdom to encourage urbanization and incorporation into the Attalid kingdom. In this case, then, the chapter differs from the previous ones as the sites discussed span various ethnic regions. The growth of the Attalid kingdom, however, is a unique case to consider in this dissertation as it was a small peripheral kingdom that broke off from the larger powers and through various alliances became the largest kingdom in western Anatolia after the Treaty of Apamea.

In this chapter, I will review the archaeological evidence to show how settlements changed as the Attalid kingdom was investing in its capital. The changes in settlement reflect the growing influence of Pergamon in the 3rd and 2nd c. BCE as it became a major capital and when it gained most of the territory of western Anatolia after the Treaty of Apamea. As the Attalid kingdom was promoting its own agendas for settlement changes, the local communities at the same time were negotiating with the kingdom either to join the growing capital or to promote the

growth of their own communities. Overall, the inland settlements that existed before Pergamon became the major capital of the region eventually waned and were used by the kingdom as fortified strongholds. In contrast to this pattern, settlements on the Aiolian coast near the Kaikos Valley grew as Pergamon invested in them for maritime benefits. New settlements were founded in the immediate *chora* of Pergamon, and new cities in rural Lydia and Phrygia were established after it gained these territories in the wake of the Treaty of Apamea. There has been some speculation about whether or not a forced synoikism happened in the region of Pergamon to contribute to the growing capital city itself, but there is no direct textual evidence for the process. Although it is clear that the Attalid kingdom had specific agendas for changing the settlement patterns in the Kaikos Valley, it is possible to consider the local elite networks that were also in play: whether they wanted to move to the new, big city or whether they wanted to continue growing their own communities.

7.1.1 Geography and Historical Developments

Pergamon is located in the Kaikos River valley (modern Bakırçay) in northwestern Turkey in modern Bergama. It is north of Izmir and located within the ancient region of Mysia inland and near the Aiolian cities on the coast. The city of Pergamon itself is located on a high slope of the Pindasos Mountains (modern Kozak Mountains) with the fertile plains of the Kaikos River valley below (Fig. 49).⁷⁴⁸ The plains were rich for farming, and Strabo calls the Kaikos Plain and the surrounding land “about the best in Mysia.”⁷⁴⁹ South of Pergamon are the Aspendon Mountains (modern Yuntdağ), and the valley in between Pergamon and the Yuntdağ

⁷⁴⁸ See Radt 2014 and Pirson 2017 for the geographic location of Pergamon and diachronic overviews of its development.

⁷⁴⁹ Strabo 13.4.2, translated by Roller 2014: 592. Zimmermann 2011a: 19.

range provides easy access to the Aiolian coast (to a gulf now called the Gulf of Çandarlı).⁷⁵⁰

The location of the city on the promontory offered great protection and self-defense with a view of the valley below, and even though it is located inland, the coast was not too far away, which will be discussed further below in the discussion of the Aiolian ports, particularly the development of the harbor city Elaia.

There have been many detailed histories of Pergamon already written, so I will not go into great detail about the rise of Pergamon itself, but I will provide the relevant background history to contextualize my following discussion.⁷⁵¹ There is evidence for activity in Pergamon since the Bronze Age, and it seems that there was a fortified settlement on Pergamon since at least the Archaic period.⁷⁵² In the Persian period, the Kaikos valley was occupied by the dynasty of Gongylos in the 5th to 4th c. BCE; Gongylos was a Greek who supported Persia, so he was exiled from Greece but was given this territory in Mysia by the Persians.⁷⁵³ Gongylos pushed out the Pergamene settlers in 490 BCE until the Pergamenes returned in the mid-4th c. BCE.⁷⁵⁴ In his works, Xenophon discusses how he was welcomed by Gongylos and his wife, and he explains that Gongylos' ancestor received the city and three others from Xerxes.⁷⁵⁵ There is evidence of *polis* status based on epigraphic evidence for the *prytaneis* starting in the mid-4th c. BCE.⁷⁵⁶

In the Hellenistic period, the general of Lysimachos, Philetairos, moved to Pergamon with the 9,000 talent treasure that Lysimachos won from the Battle of Ipsos in 301 BCE.⁷⁵⁷

⁷⁵⁰ Strabo 13.2.6

⁷⁵¹ For example, see Gehrke 2014; Pirson and Scholl 2014 generally.

⁷⁵² Pirson 2017: 49-54; Radt 2014: 189 says that there were Archaic fortifications on the *acropolis* and there could have been earlier Bronze Age walls.

⁷⁵³ Radt 2014: 191

⁷⁵⁴ Pirson 2017: 53-54

⁷⁵⁵ Xenophon *Anabasis* 7.8.8 and *Hellenica* 3.1.6

⁷⁵⁶ Pirson 2017: 53; Sommerer 2008: 140, footnote 15; Bielfeldt 2010: 120-121

⁷⁵⁷ Strabo 13.4.1; Gehrke 2014: 124

Philetairos defected to Seleukid king Seleukos I before Lysimachos' death in 281 BCE, and Philetairos stayed with the kingdom when Seleukos' successor Antiochos I was in power.⁷⁵⁸ Previously it was thought that there was great urban growth under Philetairos, but more recent research has shown that only the sanctuary to Demeter can perhaps be attributed to him, since the "Philetairian" wall could actually date as early as the 4th c. BCE due to the masonry and the Temple of Athena of the city similarly has an early phase.⁷⁵⁹ It was not until the reign of Philetairos' nephew Eumenes I (263 to 241 BCE) when Pergamon became a state in its own right and was separate from the Seleukid kingdom.⁷⁶⁰

The Attalid kingdom grew especially during the reigns of Attalos I, Eumenes II, and Attalos II. Attalos I (ruled 241 to 197 BCE) is particularly well-known for his defeat of a Gallic invasion (from the region of Galatia in central Anatolia settled by Gauls) which resulted in victory monuments of the Dying Gaul and the Gaul Killing Himself and His Wife on the Pergamene *acropolis*.⁷⁶¹ The city was enlarged during the reign of Eumenes II in the 2nd c. BCE (197 to 159 BCE) to make it a great capital with an expanded *acropolis* and city wall as well as a new gymnasium and new sanctuaries such as the famous Pergamon Altar.⁷⁶²

A large turning point in the Attalid kingdom during Eumenes II's reign was as noted above the Treaty of Apamea in 188 BCE. The Seleukid defeat resulted in the transfer of most of the Seleukid territory in western Asia Minor to the Attalid kingdom, as discussed before in Chapter 2 and the other case study chapters. Thonemann has shown the similarities and differences between the Attalid's new kingdom and the Seleukid kingdom's precedent; the

⁷⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁵⁹ Pirson 2017: 54-61

⁷⁶⁰ Gehrke 2014: 124-125

⁷⁶¹ Pausanias 1.8.1

⁷⁶² Pirson 2014a: 55; Gehrke 2014: 134

Attalid kingdom followed a similar satrap system by having subregions ruled by *strategoi*, but overall, its government was more decentralized than the Seleukid kingdom's government.⁷⁶³ Thonemann says that the "new Seleukid cities in western and central Asia Minor were almost without exception strung along the main east-west roads," and the Attalid kingdom "city-foundations – apparently mostly dating to the latter years of Eumenes' [II] reign – were widely distributed across rural Lydia and Phrygia."⁷⁶⁴ This Attalid phenomenon will be further explored below in the discussion of patterns of growth influenced by the Attalid kingdom.

The Attalid kingdom ended when Attalos III left the kingdom's territory to Rome in 133 BCE. Although the Attalid kingdom had had good relations with Rome in the past, and their alliances with Rome led to their inheritance of the Seleukid territory from the Treaty of Apamea, during the Mithridatic Wars between Rome and Mithridates VI, Mithridates was able to get support among the people around Pergamon to resist Roman rule.⁷⁶⁵ While this chapter will focus mostly on the effect of Pergamon's growth during its height in the mid-Hellenistic period, the establishment of the Roman province in the 1st c. BCE apparently had a significant effect on the settlement patterns as well, so the effects of the early Roman period will also be considered below.

7.1.2 A Potential Synoikism at Pergamon?

In the Hellenistic period, what effects did the founding and growth of Pergamon have on the surrounding settlements? There have been several survey campaigns to address this question: one led by M. Zimmermann from 2006-2011 around the landscape of the nearby site of

⁷⁶³ Thonemann 2013b: 9-17

⁷⁶⁴ Thonemann 2013b: 27

⁷⁶⁵ Gehrke 2014: 138

Atarneus; one led by F. Pirson from 2008-2013 and 2015 on the maritime landscapes at Elaia, Kane, and Pitane; and the recent ongoing project led by Pirson called “Transformation of the Pergamon Micro-Region between Hellenism and Roman Imperial Period” which combines archaeological and environmental studies of the surrounding areas.⁷⁶⁶ With these survey results, it is possible to gain insight into how settlement patterns changed from before, during, and after the height of Pergamon in the Hellenistic period.

With the growth of Pergamon and the rise in power of the Attalid kingdom during the Hellenistic period, K.M. Sommerer has suggested that there was a possible synoikism of surrounding settlements to support the growth of Pergamon.⁷⁶⁷ He suggests that it was prompted by the agendas of the Attalid kings, and he points to the evidence that some of the surrounding settlements of Gambreion, Halisarna (potentially Eđrigöl Tepe, suggested by C. Schuchhardt), and Parthenion do not have any epigraphic evidence from the 3rd c. BCE onwards.⁷⁶⁸ This lack of epigraphy alone does not necessarily mean that the settlements were dependent upon Pergamon in the Hellenistic period, as it could be due to a lack of preservation. Earlier archaeological evidence also suggests that the sites were not fully abandoned in the Hellenistic period, as Schuchhardt notes that there were roof tiles and ceramics from the “royal period” of Pergamon for Gambreion and Eđrigöl Tepe and there was a Hellenistic cistern at Parthenion.⁷⁶⁹ Sommerer also notes that E.V. Hansen has tried to suggest a synoikism based on Aelius Aristides’ description of different districts of Pergamon having different architecture, but this evidence is

⁷⁶⁶ For general overviews of the survey results, see Zimmermann et al. 2015; Pirson 2014b, Laufer 2015 and 2016, and Feuser and Laufer 2018; “Transformation of the Pergamon Micro-Region between Hellenism and Roman Imperial Period,” <https://www.dainst.blog/transpergmikro/about-the-project/>

⁷⁶⁷ Sommerer 2008: 141-142

⁷⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁶⁹ Schuchhardt 1912: 116-117 for Eđrigöl Tepe; 130 for Gambreion; and 131-135 for Parthenion.

not convincing.⁷⁷⁰ These arguments thus do not provide convincing evidence for a synoikism, but now with more archaeological survey evidence for a wider range of sites, and more in-depth studies of some of the same sites, such as Eđrigöl Tepe, it is possible to reconsider how the settlement patterns are changing and whether or not a synoikism might have occurred.

The following chapter will review the results from the surveys listed above and consider evidence for local elite interactions with Pergamon before and after dependence on the Attalid kingdom. Overall, a pattern appears to emerge with inland cities and certain fortifications losing importance as Pergamon became a growing capital into the late Hellenistic period (Atarneus; Teuthrania; Perperene; Hatiplar Tepe; and Eđrigöl Tepe). Patterns of growth are evident at the Aiolian coastal cities and the countryside of the immediate region of Pergamon as well as within its new territories in Lydia and Phrygia after 188 BCE. For the role of the Attalid kingdom in other patterns in Mysia and Aiolis, the dominant narrative provided by the archaeological team at Pergamon is that these are due to the greater agendas of the Attalid kingdom at the capital city. While the Attalid kingdom certainly had political motives to support the growth of its territories, the letters of Eumenes II to Tyriaion preserved in an inscription, introduced in Chapter 1, show directly how local communities appealed to the Attalid kingdom for a synoikism and formal city status. With the case of Tyriaion in mind, it is also possible to consider local elite agency at the other sites within the Attalid kingdom's growing sphere for which we do not have such clear epigraphic evidence. I return to Tyriaion when discussing the effect of the Treaty of Apamea on urbanization in Lydia and Phrygia, and I will consider how local elite networks at Elaia, Pitane, and Perperene and their interactions with the Attalid kingdom could contribute to urban development before these sites were incorporated into the Attalid kingdom.

⁷⁷⁰ Sommerey 2008: 141, citing Hansen 1971.

7.2 Patterns of Inland Settlements: Atarneus, Teuthrania, Perperene, Hatiplar Kalesi and Eğrigöl Tepe

While there is no textual evidence for a synoikism of Pergamon itself, as already reviewed with the discussion on Sommerey's article, for inland settlements that existed prior to the rise of Pergamon, there does seem to be a pattern in which previously independent sites are abandoned by the start of the early Roman period (around the 1st c. BCE). As the investment in Pergamon increases into the mid-Hellenistic period, these inland sites have evidence of Pergamene influence. Some sites seem to lose their importance by this time, such as the prior main settlement of the region Atarneus, whereas others seem to be maintained as strongholds until the late Hellenistic to early Roman period (1st c. BCE). After reviewing the evidence, overall, I argue that it is not possible to claim one narrative of a forced synoikism by Pergamon; rather, it is only possible to show with the archaeological evidence that inland settlements lost their importance and eventually did likely migrate to Pergamon due to the greater political influence of the city and its integration into the Roman sphere.

7.2.1 *Atarneus*

The archaeological survey by Zimmermann focused on the settlement of Atarneus and its surroundings to prove that the site was one of the most important settlements in Mysia before the rise of Pergamon (see Fig. 50 for a map of the sites). Zimmermann and his team wanted to test the earlier hypothesis that Atarneus was abandoned due to environmental factors of swamp development and mosquito infestations (similar to the situation at Myous examined in Chapter 3). Atarneus is located southwest of Pergamon, in the northwest of the Kaikos River valley. The site was the main settlement of the region before the rise of Pergamon, with “the earliest known settlement [dating] to the 2nd millennium BC on the evidence of pottery finds, and a fairly

impressive settlement must have grown up here in the 6th and 5th century BC.”⁷⁷¹ Atarneus continued to be occupied in the 4th c. BCE, and thus was a contemporary settlement to the emerging city of Pergamon, and Atarneus’ fortifications suggest that the city was about 24 hectares large.⁷⁷² The size of the settlement was larger than the size of contemporary Pergamon and the Pergamon of Philetairos’ era (see Fig. 51 for a site plan of Atarneus).⁷⁷³ Zimmermann’s survey shows that Atarneus continued to thrive until the rule of Eumenes II’s expansion of Pergamon in the 2nd c. BCE when there was not as much pottery and the finds that do date to this period are Pergamene pottery and coinage.⁷⁷⁴ During the survey, they found various fragments of bricks with inscriptions “BASILIKE” on them; they were found scattered throughout the city, so they could not definitively say that they came from one building in particular, but they use the evidence to argue that the city came under the influence of Pergamon.⁷⁷⁵ The city was not fully abandoned, though, until the 1st c. BCE, which Zimmermann has equated with the establishment of the Roman province after the region’s support of Mithridates VI and subsequent defeat.⁷⁷⁶

The hypothesis that Atarneus was abandoned due to changing environmental conditions into a swamp was shown to be false because “villages and farmsteads are located immediately beyond the city wall, and provide evidence of agricultural utilization of the slopes and the plain from the Hellenistic era through to the Middle Ages.”⁷⁷⁷ So the area continued to be useful agriculturally; likely if the settlement had been abandoned due to a swamp the agricultural potential of the region would not have been so productive past the Hellenistic period. The

⁷⁷¹ Pirson and Zimmermann 2014: 156

⁷⁷² Ibid.

⁷⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁷⁴ Pirson and Zimmermann 2014: 156-157; Zimmermann et al. 2015: 203

⁷⁷⁵ Zimmermann et al. 2015: 202

⁷⁷⁶ Zimmermann 2011b: 158

⁷⁷⁷ Pirson and Zimmermann 2014: 157

continued use of the surrounding landscape of Atarneus after its abandonment also speaks to the larger pattern of landscapes continuing to be useful even if they did not continue their role as a city. Pirson and Zimmermann argue that the decreasing importance of Atarneus was actually due to the economic and political influence of Pergamon, particularly with Eumenes II's investment in the capital.⁷⁷⁸ They argue that the brick is evidence of Pergamon's investment in Atarneus, but it need not be a top-down initiative; the local elite at Atarneus could have advocated for such building assistance and more.

7.2.2 Teuthrania and Perperene

Similar situations are seen with the occupations of the settlements Teuthrania and Perperene which both existed before the Hellenistic investment in Pergamon (refer back to Fig. 49 for their locations). Teuthrania was particularly important for the mythology of the Attalid state, which tied its foundations back to the mythical Telephos who became the king of Teuthrania in Mysia.⁷⁷⁹ The Hellenistic site of Teuthrania is now located at modern Kalerga Tepe, and the site of the earlier Bronze Age settlement is debated. During the survey of Kalerga Tepe in 2012, the archaeologists identified Archaic to Hellenistic ceramics in the western plateau of the settlement, so they concluded that there was likely an established settlement from the Archaic period onwards in that area.⁷⁸⁰ Earlier excavations did not find Bronze Age material, but the survey in 2012 at Kalerga Tepe found Bronze Age evidence on the tepe.⁷⁸¹ A. Grüner is wary about identifying this Bronze Age evidence with the mythical Teuthrania, but argues that the site

⁷⁷⁸ Pirson and Zimmermann 2014: 160

⁷⁷⁹ See Williamson 2016

⁷⁸⁰ Grüner 2013: 118

⁷⁸¹ Williamson 2016: 81-84, citing Zimmermann 2009: 181; Grüner 2013: 117-119

was still a significant one in the region.⁷⁸² The new research found that most of the material comes from the Hellenistic period, indicating a thriving settlement until the 1st c. BCE.⁷⁸³

Perperene was another *polis* that existed before the rise of Pergamon. It is located in the Pindasos Mountains and is 29 km northwest of Pergamon.⁷⁸⁴ The site existed at least as early as the 8th c. BCE, and Pirson argues that it was independent until at least the 4th c. BCE.⁷⁸⁵ There are a few developments in the Hellenistic period that Pirson uses as evidence that Perperene became dependent on Pergamon in the Hellenistic period. One piece is the architectural development in the Hellenistic period for the circa 12 hectare city, including temples, a theater, and a fortification system that evokes the architectural style of the older Hellenistic “Philetairos” wall of Pergamon.⁷⁸⁶ The other piece is the fact that Perperene stopped using autonomous coinage from the 3rd to 1st c. BCE.⁷⁸⁷ Pirson argues that the Hellenistic architectural evidence demonstrates the renovation of the city under Pergamene rule.⁷⁸⁸ Pirson argues that the location of Perperene was favored by Pergamon because of its location in the northwest territory of the Pergamon and Perperene was in a rich area for natural resources such as wood, marble, and granite.⁷⁸⁹

7.2.3 Hatiplar Kalesi and Eğrigöl Tepe

Besides Teuthrania and Perperene, there were other fortified *poleis* (whose ancient names are not securely identified) which were abandoned by the Roman period at the two sites of

⁷⁸² Grüner 2013: 119

⁷⁸³ Williamson 2016: 84; Pirson and Zimmermann 2014: 160

⁷⁸⁴ Pirson 2008: 43-44

⁷⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁸⁶ Pirson 2008: 44

⁷⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁸⁹ Pirson 2008: 44-45

Hatıplar Kalesi and Eğrigöl Tepe (refer back to Fig. 50 for their locations). It seems that during the rise of Pergamon the sites were used as strongholds. Hatıplar Kalesi is located in the Kara Dağı southwest of Pergamon. For Hatıplar Kalesi, which may be ancient Lysimacheia, a similar situation as what happened at Atarneus seems to have happened, according to Zimmermann. During his survey, Zimmermann found that the site had earlier evidence for Iron Age occupation and fortifications were built around the 6th to 5th c. BCE.⁷⁹⁰ Based on ceramic evidence, activity at the site increased for the 5th to 4th c. BCE, and in the Hellenistic period there seems to have been two periods of fortification building: the early Hellenistic period of the 4th to early 3rd c. BCE and the mid-Hellenistic period of the 2nd c. BCE.⁷⁹¹ The Hellenistic building seems to coordinate with the development of the nearby harbor site of Kane, which will be further discussed in the next section. The site then lost prominence into the late Hellenistic and early Roman periods when it was abandoned in the 1st c. BCE, which Zimmermann attributes to the establishment of the Roman province.⁷⁹²

Eğrigöl Tepe is located in between Elaia, the major Hellenistic port southwest of Pergamon which will be discussed in detail below, and Pergamon; the site was important because it was along the road between the two major settlements.⁷⁹³ Although the earlier scholar Schuchhardt associated the site with ancient Halisarna, Zimmermann keeps the association as tentative.⁷⁹⁴ According to Schuchhardt, there was a Hellenistic fortification at the site, but the fortification was no longer present during Zimmermann's survey, which Zimmermann suggests is due to modern quarrying.⁷⁹⁵ Zimmermann's survey, however, did confirm a Classical and

⁷⁹⁰ Zimmermann 2011b: 156

⁷⁹¹ Ibid.

⁷⁹² Zimmermann 2011b: 157

⁷⁹³ Zimmermann 2012: 215

⁷⁹⁴ Zimmermann et al. 2015: 215

⁷⁹⁵ Zimmermann et al. 2015: 211-212

Hellenistic settlement at Eđrigöl Tepe based on ceramic finds.⁷⁹⁶ A brick was found with the inscription “BASILIKE,” similar to the ones at Atarneus, which to Zimmermann proves the presence of Attalid influence at the site (whether it be due to top-down building or bottom-up advocacy for such building).⁷⁹⁷ The site was abandoned by the late Hellenistic period.⁷⁹⁸ The site was on the main path to the lower Kaikos Valley, so B. Ludwig suggests that it was helpful for securing the route to Elaia during Pergamon’s height as the capital of the Attalid kingdom; the abandonment by the late Hellenistic period suggests that the site was no longer necessary around the time of the Roman establishment of the province.⁷⁹⁹

In addition to the dependence of Eđrigöl Tepe during the mid-Hellenistic period, other routes during the height of Pergamon as a Hellenistic capital were secured with Hellenistic fortresses that seem to have come under Pergamon’s rule. In his GIS least-cost path analysis of routes in Pergamon, Ludwig has shown that often these paths are located on a route with a Hellenistic fortified settlement, which include the examples of inland settlements that lost prominence but were fortified (Fig. 52).⁸⁰⁰ In the Hellenistic period the focus seems to be on the western area of the Kaikos Valley leading to the sea, with other examples including the routes to Aigai south of Pergamon that go through the Yuntdađ mountains and the routes to the Kane peninsula where the ancient port of Kane is located.⁸⁰¹ From his analysis, Ludwig concludes that “all routes leading to the lower Bakırçay Valley and thus to the core territory of Pergamon were controlled and secured by fortifications or fortified settlements in the Hellenistic Period.”⁸⁰² This

⁷⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁹⁷ Zimmermann 2012: 215-216; Zimmermann et al. 2015: 211-212

⁷⁹⁸ Zimmermann et al. 2015: 214-215

⁷⁹⁹ Ludwig 2020: 33

⁸⁰⁰ Ludwig 2020: 32-34

⁸⁰¹ Ibid.

⁸⁰² Ludwig 2020: 34

analysis shows that even if inland settlements were losing their importance as places of residence with the growth of Pergamon, they could have been used fortresses to secure its connections to concentrated efforts to grow sites on the coast, which will be explored in the next section.

The overall pattern shown by Zimmermann's survey results was that there were several significant settlements that existed prior to the rise of Pergamon or around the same time as Pergamon itself was becoming a *polis*: Atarneus, Teuthrania, Hatiplar Kalesi, and Eđrigöl Tepe. Based on the material evidence of the stamped tiles and the loss of autonomous coinage at some sites like Perperene, the team at Pergamon argues that the settlements lost their independence and became dependent on Pergamon as the capital grew into the 3rd and 2nd c. BCE; Pergamon in turn turned these settlements into strategic strongholds to protect the city from various directions.⁸⁰³ But it is possible to consider that the local elite at these peer sites also wanted to become part of the growing Attalid kingdom and sought out Pergamene oversight and construction. The continued investment in these sites in the Hellenistic period and the architectural and ceramic evidence show that these sites were not fully abandoned during the height of Pergamon's rule in the Hellenistic period. Some people may have moved to Pergamon to support the city's growth during this period, but overall, for these sites they seem to not be abandoned until the 1st c. BCE, so even if the sites were used as strategic strongholds by Pergamon people might have continued to live there. Moreover, the investment in fortifications could have been a result of appeals from the communities, not necessarily due to a larger imperial agenda.⁸⁰⁴ By the Roman period, the reorganization of the region for the Roman province instigated people from these settlements to move, presumably to Pergamon. The exception is Atarneus, which seems to have been in significant decline during Eumenes II's rule.

⁸⁰³ Zimmermann et al. 2015: 215

⁸⁰⁴ See Fachard 2016 for the suggestion of local initiatives for fortifications for local security.

Thus, a potential regional synoikism appears not to have occurred in the sense that Pergamon's peer sites were not fully abandoned to contribute to Pergamon's growth. The full abandonment did not occur until the Roman period, and, as I will explore below, significant growth of sites on the coast also means that even if the peer inland sites lost prominence, people could have moved to the coast in addition to Pergamon.

7.3 Patterns of Growth: Coastal Settlements of Elaia, Kane, and Pitane; Pergamon's *Chora*; Phrygia and Lydia

In contrast to the inland sites discussed above, as Pergamon grew to be the capital of the Attalid kingdom, there was significant investment in previously small coastal cities to develop them into major harbor centers as well as in Pergamon's countryside. The investment in the ports for Pergamon was strategic since the citadel of Pergamon is located inland from the coast, and this growth fits in with the greater pattern seen earlier in the Age of Successors in which Hellenistic kings concentrated urbanization efforts on the coasts.⁸⁰⁵ In the Hellenistic period, there was major investment in the main harbor of Elaia on the Gulf of Çandarlı and a smaller port on the Kane peninsula near the Kara Dağı region. The growth of the port of Pitane in modern Çandarlı seems not to have happened until the Roman period starting in the 1st c. CE. In addition to the concentrated efforts to build up the coastal cities, the immediate countryside of Pergamon grew with the rise of the city. This pattern of nearby *chora* growth to support urbanization has been seen throughout this dissertation (e.g., Balboura; Kyaneai; Aphrodisias; Sagalassos). Moreover, after the Treaty of Apamea, there were both royal and bottom-up city

⁸⁰⁵ See Boehm 2018

foundations in Lydia and Phrygia. This section will review the evidence for the patterns of growth on the coast and in the countryside.

7.3.1 Elaia

Elaia is about 26km southwest of Pergamon in the Gulf of Çandarlı (refer back to Fig. 49) in the region of ancient Aiolis. From textual evidence, it is known that the settlement was connected to the greater Aegean world as it was included in the Delian-Attic League tribute lists from 454 to 425 BCE but only had to pay 1/6 of a talent.⁸⁰⁶ The site existed much earlier than that time, though, since archaeological evidence has shown that Elaia has had human activity since the Bronze Age and the Archaic to Classical settlement was relatively small and located at the west *acropolis*.⁸⁰⁷ The settlement became a significant harbor during the rise of Pergamon in the Hellenistic period. The port seems to have been incorporated into Pergamene territory during Philetairos and Eumenes I's rule.⁸⁰⁸ Strabo specifically attributes the harbor to the Attalid kingdom and describes it as a military base.⁸⁰⁹ Elaia not only allowed Pergamon to have access to the sea and to trading, but it also acted as a protective base between the coast and the way to Pergamon through the Yuntdağ passage.⁸¹⁰ Ma argues that the Attalid kingdom's investment in Elaia shows how the Attalid kingdom invested more in its navy than in its army.⁸¹¹

Pirson's archaeological studies of Elaia over the past decade have provided detailed information about the development of the port city. The growth of Elaia directly correlates with

⁸⁰⁶ Seeliger et al. 2019: 229; Pirson and Zimmermann 2014: 153; Seeliger et al. 2013: 72, citing Pirson 2004 and 2008.

⁸⁰⁷ Pirson 2014b: 353; Pirson 2010

⁸⁰⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁰⁹ Strabo 8.1.7; Seeliger et al. 2019: 229

⁸¹⁰ Pirson 2014b: 347

⁸¹¹ Ma 2013: 61

the rising influence of Pergamon as a capital city in the 3rd and 2nd c. BCE.⁸¹² Urbanization of the city started in the 3rd c. BCE, shown by ceramic evidence, and expands the city from the *acropolis*.⁸¹³ Pirson shows that in the Hellenistic period a city grid was established in the northern part of the city (where ceramic finds were also concentrated), fortifications were made, and a theater or *odeion* was built.⁸¹⁴ A *diateichisma* separated the two harbor zones; the northern zone had a closed port for trade (but also potentially military use), while the southern zone has a potential shipyard area for the kingdom's ships and for a military purpose.⁸¹⁵ The southern zone was connected to the city's fortifications, and "the absence of a wharfage makes it very improbable that a trade port existed here, and therefore it is conceivable that this section of the shore was set aside for military use."⁸¹⁶ Overall, Pirson argues that the rapid and planned urban development of Elaia indicates Pergamon's involvement in developing the city as the kingdom's harbor; the urbanization is not a slow, organic movement (see Fig. 53 for a site plan).⁸¹⁷

Geological studies of the harbor have also provided information on the harbor's construction and how siltation affected the harbor over time. For the closed port, it is thought that it was built in the early Hellenistic period based on the building techniques used for the two moles and the evidence from cores. The moles did not have Roman concrete, but they did have wooden dovetail clamps as evidenced by the remaining cuttings in the stone where the clamps would have been placed.⁸¹⁸ Cores taken from inside the western mole have shown that there was a large anthropogenic fill to construct the mole and the bottom of the cores had ceramics dating

⁸¹² Pirson 2014b; Pirson and Zimmermann 2014: 153

⁸¹³ Pirson 2014b: 353-354

⁸¹⁴ Pirson et al. 2015: 39

⁸¹⁵ Pirson 2014b: 346-347; Pirson and Zimmermann 2014: 153-156

⁸¹⁶ Pirson and Zimmermann 2014: 156

⁸¹⁷ Pirson 2014b: 354

⁸¹⁸ Seeliger et al. 2013: 73

to the early Hellenistic period.⁸¹⁹ This data confirms the construction of the harbor as the urbanization efforts of Elaia were also occurring. According to the core data from the western mole, siltation of the closed harbor started to occur in the second half of the 3rd c. CE to the 4th c. CE, which also correlates with the archaeological survey data of the city in which there was a decrease in activity starting in the late Hellenistic to early Roman periods (late 1st c. BCE to 1st c. CE).⁸²⁰ A core taken from the middle of the closed harbor has shown a sediment change around 260 BCE, corresponding with the construction of the moles and the investment of port development by Pergamon.⁸²¹ Other cores have shown that the marine environment changed from an ocean to a lagoon, indicating the construction of the early Hellenistic closed harbor, in between 391 to 209 BCE.⁸²² Although activity slowed during the Roman Imperial period due to siltation in the 3rd to 4th c. CE, the port was not abandoned until the 7th c. CE.⁸²³

The urbanization of the port city of Elaia also affected the immediate hinterland surrounding the city. During the survey of the city, the research also explored some areas outside of the city.⁸²⁴ Overall, Pirson et al. found evidence that the settlements date from the Hellenistic to the late Roman period (6th to 7th c. CE).⁸²⁵ They suggest that in the Hellenistic period there was a concentration of farmsteads that corresponds with the Hellenistic growth of the city itself.⁸²⁶ They also identified three fortresses in the immediate area that were used to secure the Elaia in the Hellenistic period.⁸²⁷ Two of the fortresses, at modern Sarakaya and Zindan Kayısı,

⁸¹⁹ Seeliger et al. 2013: 79-80

⁸²⁰ Seeliger et al. 2013: 80-81; Pirson 2014b: 354-355

⁸²¹ Shumilovskikh et al. 2016: 180

⁸²² Pirson et al. 2015: 27

⁸²³ Pirson et al. 2015: 34-37

⁸²⁴ Pirson 2014b: 354

⁸²⁵ Pirson et al. 2015: 35

⁸²⁶ Ibid.

⁸²⁷ Ibid.

have evidence for previous settlements in prehistoric periods, but the one at modern Gavur Evleri, seems to have been built in the Hellenistic period.⁸²⁸ For the one at Zindan Kayısı, significant activity was lost, based on the ceramic evidence, after the early Hellenistic period.⁸²⁹ Pirson et al. suggest that the site could have been turned into a protective garrison for Elaia and perhaps the settlement was incorporated into the settlement of Elaia through synoikism or sympolity.⁸³⁰ So while the overall pattern surrounding Elaia during the Hellenistic period was one of growth both in the city and countryside, there was diversity in the occupation of these surrounding settlements. The example of Sarakaya is similar to the other inland settlements such as Atarneus and Eğrigöl Tepe that were secured by Pergamon for route protection.

The exploitation of the countryside of Elaia is also supported by a palynological study which has proven that agricultural activity increased in the area during the Hellenistic period. From an analysis of a core taken from the closed harbor, L.S. Shumilovskikh et al. have shown that “the most intensive phase of human impact on the ecosystems around Elaia occurred between 2.12 and 1.77 ka BP (170 BC-AD 180, Ela-2b), corresponding to the construction of the breakwaters of the harbour around 260 BC.”⁸³¹ This example also fits with the larger pattern seen in this dissertation that urbanization (and/or additions to urbanization) corresponds with growth in their countrysides to support the cities. Overall, Pergamon’s investment in Elaia fits within the pattern of Hellenistic powers concentrating urbanization efforts on the coast and the investment encouraged greater growth outside the city center in the *chora*.

⁸²⁸ Pirson et al. 2015: 35-36

⁸²⁹ Pirson et al. 2015: 36

⁸³⁰ Ibid.

⁸³¹ Shumilovskikh et al. 2016: 181

7.3.2 *Kane and Pitane*

Although port development was focused on Elaia, there was also development at another port at Kane, northwest of Elaia and located on the modern Kara Dağ peninsula (Fig. 54). The Pergamon project surveyed the Kane peninsula starting in 2014. The peninsula was developed in the Hellenistic period, although the survey found likely earlier Classical fortifications.⁸³² Ceramics mostly date to the Hellenistic period, especially the 4th to 2nd c. BCE.⁸³³ The port declined in activity after that time, but there was some later Byzantine activity.⁸³⁴ There is not much textual evidence about the port; Livy says the Roman fleet stayed at Kane over the winter in 191 to 190 BCE, and Pliny notes that the city is not inhabited in his time.⁸³⁵ While it seems that Kane was not as significant a port as Elaia, its development in the Hellenistic period fits within the larger pattern of Hellenistic kingdoms developing sites on the coast for maritime connections.

The survey of the Kane peninsula, in addition to identifying the development of the port itself, also identified fortified settlements and farmsteads in the region. The settlements were not positioned on the sea but rather inland so that they were not visible to passing ships; yet, the locations of the settlements were well-positioned so that people at them could have monitored the ships.⁸³⁶ The sites were dated by ceramic finds, and for one fortified site in particular near Denizköy (see Fig. 54), the survey identified Hellenistic finds until the 2nd c. BCE.⁸³⁷ Although the rural fortified and agricultural development again is not as intensive as the development seen

⁸³² Laufer 2015: 143

⁸³³ Laufer 2015: 146-147

⁸³⁴ Pirson 2017: 94-95; Laufer 2015: 149-150

⁸³⁵ Laufer 2015: 149-150; Livy 36.45.8 and Pliny the Elder 5.122.1

⁸³⁶ Feuser and Laufer 2018: 164

⁸³⁷ Feuser and Laufer 2018: 161-162; this is for site 2017/05; for the other sites specific dates are not provided for the pottery or roof tiles found.

in the countryside of Elaia, the presence of fortified settlements around Kane show how, in one interpretation, the Attalid kingdom continued to develop strategic locations around the smaller port to protect its trade and military interests.

The survey of the port city of Pitane as part of the TransMikroPerg project started in 2019, and only preliminary results have been published so far.⁸³⁸ Pitane is located in modern Çandarlı and was the location of the ceramic production of red slipped Çandarlı ware that dates from the late 1st c. BCE to the 3rd and possibly 4th c. CE.⁸³⁹ The preliminary results from the survey indicate that the settlement had activity as early as the Iron Age and Archaic periods, but the majority of the pottery dates to the Roman period starting in the 1st c. CE; earlier excavations by E. Akurgal also identified an earlier Archaic cemetery.⁸⁴⁰ Although the growth of the harbor does not correspond with the growth of Pergamon in the mid-Hellenistic period like that of Elaia, Pitane shows how effort continued to be put in developing coastal sites for trade and sea access in the Roman period.

7.3.3 Pergamon's Countryside

As the city of Pergamon grew, its immediate countryside also grew to support the city. This growth is supported by archaeological and textual evidence. In their overview of the Pergamene *chora*, Pirson and Zimmermann say that survey work has identified villages and farmsteads from modern agricultural ploughing that brings ancient material to the surface. They “can conclude that some of these villages were quite grand because the farmers’ deep ploughs keep bringing fragments of marble members and architectural ornament to the surface in addition

⁸³⁸ Bes and Keweloh-Kaletta 2020: 227

⁸³⁹ Heath and Tekkök “Eastern Sigillata C (Çandarlı)” <https://classics.uc.edu/troy/grbpottery/html/esc.html>

⁸⁴⁰ Bes and Keweloh-Kaletta 2020: 229-231; Akurgal 1962

to potsherds.”⁸⁴¹ In addition, the surveys found the typical Hellenistic fortified farms and simpler farmsteads.⁸⁴² In terms of epigraphic evidence, Sommerey has identified the names of villages in the Pergamene *chora* through ephebe lists of the 2nd and 1st c. BCE. Although the village names cannot be connected to archaeological settlements, some of the ephebes were the sons of Pergamene citizens.⁸⁴³ Thonemann has shown that the local elite landholding in the Pergamene countryside is similar to the local elite at Miletos and Kyaneai around the same time period.⁸⁴⁴ He provides the example of an ossuary located east of Tralleis dedicated to three officials and their wives; the location of the ossuary could indicate the local elite were associating their burials with their rural landholdings rather than with the center of Pergamon.⁸⁴⁵

7.3.4 Lydia and Phrygia after the Treaty of Apamea

In addition to the growth to the west of Pergamon and around the Pergamene countryside in Mysia and Aiolis, there were purposeful city foundations both by the Attalid kingdom and by the advocacy of the local elite in Lydia and Phrygia. Thonemann notes that these foundations occurred after the Treaty of Apamea and many date to during the end of Eumenes II’s rule.⁸⁴⁶ Thonemann argues that the Attalid kingdom had these foundations after the Treaty of Apamea “at least in part... in order to facilitate the transformation of local agricultural surplus into state revenues.”⁸⁴⁷ Although for the sites examined so far in this chapter there have been no textual sources of synoikism or sympolity, there is epigraphic evidence for synoikisms in Apollonis in

⁸⁴¹ Pirson and Zimmermann 2014: 150-151

⁸⁴² Pirson and Zimmermann 2014: 151

⁸⁴³ Sommerey 2008: 152

⁸⁴⁴ Thonemann 2013b: 14-15

⁸⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴⁶ Thonemann 2013b: 27; he cites Eumeneia and Dionysopolis in southern Phrygia; Philadelphia in southeast Lydia; and Apollonis in northeast Lydia.

⁸⁴⁷ Thonemann 2013b: 19-20

site and likened them to a similar style used during the Pergamene royal period.⁸⁵³ The epigraphic evidence is not very much, but the description mentioned above of how the brother of Eumenes II provided grain and money to the inhabitants of the city could be read as the local communities advocating for their own needs, as opposed to a full top-down process.

The evidence for the synoikism at Tyriaion in Phrygia is more extensive, as it is discussed in letters from Eumenes II himself to the inhabitants of Tyriaion.⁸⁵⁴ The inscription was found in the village of Mahmuthisar near modern Akşehir, in the ancient region of southeastern Phrygia.⁸⁵⁵ The location is quite far from Pergamon, but the inscription is both an attestation of the Attalid kingdom's relationship with the region after it gained the territory from the Treaty of Apamea and a great example of local elite agency in the synoikism process, as introduced in Chapter 1. In the first letter, Eumenes II grants Tyriaion *polis* status and offers to send representatives to assist with the processes of establishing the government council and magistrates, setting up the tribes, and building the gymnasium.⁸⁵⁶ The initiative for wanting to become a *polis* seems to have come not from the king himself, however, but from the citizens at Tyriaion. In the letter, Eumenes II starts the letter with acknowledging the representative sent from Tyriaion, "Your men Antigenes, Brennos, Heliades, whom you sent to congratulate us for having accomplished everything and for arriving in good health at this place - on account of which, while giving thank-offerings to the gods, you offered the proper sacrifices - and to request, because of the good-will you have for our state, to grant you a city-constitution..." and Eumenes continues to fulfill the request: "on account of the good-will you have for us, as you

⁸⁵³ Schuchhardt 1912: 141

⁸⁵⁴ *SEG* 47.1745, see Jonnes and Riel 1997 for the original publication and translation of the text.

⁸⁵⁵ Jonnes and Riel 1997: 1

⁸⁵⁶ Jonnes and Riel 1997

have demonstrated at the right time, I grant both you and those living with you in fortified places to organize yourselves into one citizen body and to use your own laws.”⁸⁵⁷

Although the exact location of ancient Tyriaion is not fully confirmed, Thonemann has suggested that it is located at the ancient site of Kale Tepesi in the region, which has significant late Classical to early Hellenistic fortifications.⁸⁵⁸ Based on similar fortification styles at Alabanda and Knidos in Karia, he suggests that the fortifications at Kale Tepesi date to ca. 350 to 275 BCE (although excavations would have to be conducted to confirm).⁸⁵⁹ If this association is correct, Tyriaion existed well before Eumenes II’s grant of city status to the community. Based on the text alone, it was suggested that the settlement, before its grant of *polis* status, was a military colony established by the Seleukids because Eumenes refers to the people of Tyriaion as *katoikountes* (settlers) and the indigenous peoples living near them.⁸⁶⁰ Mitchell suggests that the settlement could even be a pre-Seleukid foundation.⁸⁶¹ Although the association is tentative, the combined textual and archaeological evidence suggest that Tyriaion was a significant community that already had investments in some infrastructure. Even though the community already had a concentrated settlement, the formal recognition by Eumenes II allowed the existing community to be formally recognized by the Attalid kingdom and to enjoy the benefits of being a *polis*, including gaining funds for new civic structures.

The example at Tyriaion shows direct epigraphic evidence for a local community advocating for a synoikism and recognition from the Attalid kingdom. While this example comes in the wake of a great territorial change and the people of Tyriaion promoting their best interests

⁸⁵⁷ Jonnes and Riel 1997; see Chapter 1, footnote 2 for ancient Greek text.

⁸⁵⁸ Thonemann 2008: 46-47

⁸⁵⁹ Thonemann 2008: 47

⁸⁶⁰ Jonnes and Riel 1997: 8-10; Thonemann 2008: 48

⁸⁶¹ Mitchell 2021: 23

to their new ruler, the example shows how we can consider alternatives for local elite agency within the growing influence of Pergamon in Aiolis and Mysia. There is clear urban development at coastal harbors and there is evidence for military purposes at Elaia in particular, so the traditional interpretation is that Pergamon was investing heavily in these sites for its military and for economic purposes. So, as the Attalid kingdom was investing in coastal harbors like Elaia and Kane, the local elite could have also been advocating for resources from Pergamon and wanting to become part of the greater kingdom for various benefits. In another interpretation, the local elite could have decided to join Pergamon before the possibility of conflicts with the city.

The development in Elaia and Kane started a bit earlier in the 3rd c. BCE before the Treaty of Apamea in order to build Pergamon's connections to the Mediterranean, while the development of the new rural territories in Lydia and Phrygia occurred gained after the Treaty of Apamea. As the urban development of the Hellenistic capital Pergamon grew, the immediate countryside grew to support the capital and rural settlements were owned by local land-holding elite. While I have advocated for alternatives to the interpretation of strictly top-down processes of Pergamon influencing the settlement patterns, there is additional evidence in particular in Mysia and Aiolis to consider for the roles of local elites acting through local governance for their own benefits. This discussion will be the topic of the next section.

7.4 Local Elite Interactions in Mysia and Aiolis

Although the Attalid kingdom did have significant influence on settlement patterns within its territory in order to promote its political agenda, it is also possible to investigate the roles of the local elites behind the settlement pattern changes and the networks behind them. The motives of the Attalid kingdom have been discussed a bit above already: Pergamene kings brought inland settlements into its domain to keep them as forts along important routes;

developed coastal settlements to gain important economic and military advantages for its growing kingdom; and established new cities or granted communities city status in new rural territories for managing its new territories. With the available evidence for Mysia and Aiolis, it is not possible to know the exact mechanism by which Pergamon incorporated these settlements into its territory (i.e., by force), but it is possible in some cases to investigate the local elite interactions with the Attalid kingdom. There were pre-existing established networks before the territories became part of the Pergamene territory, and it is possible to examine these networks when discussing elite burials, border disputes, and resource extraction and exchange in the cases of Elaia, Pitane, and Perperene.

As discussed above, Elaia was a *polis* in the Classical period before its urban expansion in the Hellenistic period. In addition to the ceramic evidence for the settlement on the *acropolis*, there is monumental evidence for the existence of local elites in Elaia. At the *necropolis* at Bozyertepe north of Elaia, there are rock-cut tombs that Pirson et al. suggest date to the Hellenistic to Roman period, but there is also a late Classical tumulus at the site.⁸⁶² The tumulus has a 50m diameter, and, based on ceramics from excavations, it dates to the late Classical period.⁸⁶³ The investigators found that the tumulus was a cenotaph since they did not find any evidence of a burial (although that may not be conclusive).⁸⁶⁴ Even if it was not for a burial, the tumulus still was a monumental construction undertaken by people around Elaia before its major urbanization as the port of Pergamon. The tumulus could still be indicative of a pre-Hellenistic local elite at Elaia, and the development of a later cemetery around the cenotaph points to the continued importance of this monument to the later inhabitants of Elaia.

⁸⁶² Pirson et al. 2015: 34

⁸⁶³ Pirson et al. 2015: 34-35

⁸⁶⁴ Ibid.

Moreover, from epigraphic evidence it is possible to see how local elites at Elaia and Pitane advocated for themselves through their civic institutions, similar to how the people of Tyriaion appealed to the Attalid kingdom. Before they were incorporated into Pergamene territory, they were part of the Seleukid kingdom. The local elites at Pitane specifically interacted with the Attalid kingdom when Pergamon became an arbitrator of a border dispute between Pitane and Mytilene, and Elaia seems to have also staked some claim to the territory. Pirson et al. show through two inscriptions how Pitane became part of Pergamon's territory between 246 and 241 BCE: the first inscription is when Pitane appeals to Pergamon as an arbitrator to settle a border dispute over land between Pitane and Mytilene.⁸⁶⁵ The dispute is over land on the mainland that used to belong to Mytilene, but was conquered by Seleukos I during the Battle of Korupedion in 281 BCE.⁸⁶⁶ Pitane bought the land from the subsequent king Antiochos I, but Mytilene claimed ownership as the original holder of the land before the conquest.⁸⁶⁷ Elaia also apparently disputed the purchase during the transaction, but the land was still sold to Pitane.⁸⁶⁸ In the second inscription, Eumenes I confirmed Pitane's rights to the territory as the city's ruler.⁸⁶⁹ Pirson et al. speculate that Elaia came under Pergamon's rule around this time, too.⁸⁷⁰

Thus, the cities were negotiating with Pergamon before they were supposedly integrated into Pergamon properly; they had a pre-established relationship. In these border disputes, the local elite of Pitane, Mytilene, and Elaia were not only establishing a relationship with the Attalid king, but also the local elite at Pergamon. Ager notes that even though the king is cited, "it seems to have been the δῆμος of Pergamon that was instrumental in carrying out this

⁸⁶⁵ Pirson et al. 2015: 24, citing *IG XII Suppl.*, 48 ff., Nos. 142 and 149; Ager 1996, No. 146

⁸⁶⁶ Ager 1996: 404

⁸⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶⁸ Pirson et al. 2015: 24

⁸⁶⁹ Pirson et al. 2015: 24

⁸⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

task.”⁸⁷¹ The *demos* chose five ambassadors who went to Mytilene and Pitane, and both parties agreed to have an arbitration with the same five Pergamenes.⁸⁷² In this way, the local elites were using their institutions to create a peer network with one another before and during the time of Hellenistic development at Elaia and the integration of Pitane into Pergamene influence. It is possible, then, to consider how through these networks local elites were appealing to the growing power for their own benefits, which could have also occurred at the level of them asking for resources and construction during urbanization.

With regard to Pergamon’s intent for incorporating Elaia and Pitane into its sphere of influence, it is mentioned above that the Attalid kingdom specifically wanted to develop port cities in order to gain access to the sea for trade and military reasons. Why, however, did Pergamon choose one site over the other? Elaia was developed in the mid-Hellenistic period and was favored during Pergamon’s height in the Hellenistic period, while Pitane was favored during the Roman Imperial period. The changes in the ports’ activities bring up the questions of why Elaia was first favored and then why activity switched to Pitane. The location of Elaia could have been seen as initially more advantageous due to its positioning in the Gulf of Çandarlı and its relatively direct and securable route from Pergamon. In their survey of Elaia, Pirson et al. also found local ceramic production in Elaia in the late Hellenistic to Roman periods but suggest that it could have begun earlier in the 4th c. BCE.⁸⁷³ They suggest that the ceramic production would have been a favorable economic connection for Pergamon.⁸⁷⁴ Elaia was a *polis* before its urbanization in the mid-Hellenistic period, as evidenced by its presence in the Delian-Attic tribute list in the 5th c. BCE. In addition to being closer to Pergamon and an ideal location on the

⁸⁷¹ Ager 1996: 403

⁸⁷² Ibid.

⁸⁷³ Pirson et al. 2015: 40

⁸⁷⁴ Ibid.

coast for maritime activities, the appeal of Elaia's ceramic manufacturing could have been a factor in Pergamon choosing to develop the site. With the switch to the harbor of Pitane, the main ceramic production center changed and Çandarlı ware became a significant export.

For the inland sites, security on inland routes for Pergamon was a large factor, as discussed above, since when the inland sites were under Pergamon's influence they were used as fortified sites. For these settlements, it is possible that the Attalid kingdom took them by force, but we can also consider an elite negotiation in which Pergamon offered to provide protection and infrastructure for them. This evidence is shown by the royal bricks at Atarneus and Eğrigöl Tepe as well as the fortifications at Perperene that seem similar to the late Classical to early Hellenistic fortifications at Pergamon; these buildings also could have been built by local communities who negotiated for Pergamene materials and possibly even funds for their own security. Many of the fortified settlements had refurbished fortification walls in the Hellenistic period and continued to be occupied until the 1st c. BCE, so the sites functioned both as protective garrisons for the Attalid kingdom along routes in various directions and as protective residences for those who might have continued living in them.

Another factor that contributed to the incorporation of these inland sites was also the Attalid kingdom's desire to obtain more natural resources and increase resource extraction. This desire for natural resources has already been mentioned above for Perperene, which provided access to forests for wood in the Pindarsos mountain plains and marble and granite in surrounding quarries.⁸⁷⁵ A number of ancient quarries have been identified by researchers, and the specific type of granite from the region (known as "Marmor Misium" in Roman times) was used in the area in the Hellenistic period and exported to Rome and elsewhere after the region

⁸⁷⁵ Pirson 2008: 44-45

was integrated into the Roman empire.⁸⁷⁶ The local knowledge of resource extraction from these quarries in the surroundings of Perperene could have been a point of interaction between the inhabitants of Perperene and Pergamon before Perperene was officially within the sphere of influence of Pergamon.

7.5 Conclusion

In this case study, the changing settlement patterns around Pergamon benefited the Attalid kingdom, but they also could have been a result of local elite agency. The evidence for the Attalid kingdom's role is found in archaeology (the stamped bricks at Atarneus and Eğrigöl Tepe; the intensive urban development at Elaia); in epigraphy (the synoikisms of Apollonis in Lydia and of Tyriaion in Phrygia; the lists of epebes from the countryside of Pergamon); and in literary sources (Strabo's descriptions of Elaia and Pergamon), but in each case there were benefits to these changes for local elites to gain recognition and resources from the Attalid kingdom. It is also possible to consider the pre-existing local elite network before settlements formally became part of the Attalid kingdom. The role of local elite in communicating with the Attalid kingdom is directly shown from Pitane and Mytilene's border dispute that was arbitrated by Pergamene ambassadors. There is evidence for the presence of local elite at Pitane, Elaia, and Mytilene from this inscription; the late Classical tumulus at Elaia also indicates the presence of local elites at the *polis* before its rapid urbanization in the Hellenistic period. For the incorporation of Perperene, the Attalid kingdom most likely already had the various natural resources in mind before the site became dependent on the kingdom. Through the epigraphic evidence of the synoikisms at Apollonis and especially at Tyriaion, it is possible to consider the

⁸⁷⁶ Vecchi et al. 2000: 145-146

agency of the local settlements involved. They negotiated for these benefits and their own interests with the kingdom and with each other. When Pergamon was reaching out to incorporate various settlements into its kingdom, intimidation could certainly have been a factor, but the negotiations with the local elites of the surrounding settlements for security, trade, and arbitration are just as important to consider.

In terms of the overall patterns of settlement change during the Hellenistic period in Pergamene territory, similarities can be seen with the other case study chapters in which settlement pattern change was analyzed from a bottom-up perspective. For cities that significantly grew and urbanized, like Pergamon and Elaia, the immediate surrounding countryside overall grew due to agricultural development and due to local elite landholdings outside of the cities. As mentioned above, similar situations are seen at Balboura, Sagalassos, Miletos, and other cities. For the surrounding cities that contributed to the growth of Pergamon, it does not seem like there were complete abandonments of previous peer settlements to contribute to Pergamon in the mid-Hellenistic period for political status, so a definition of synoikism cannot be proven based on that type of evidence. It is still possible, however, that people moved to Pergamon due to the appeal of the growing city, even when the dependent inland sites had activity. Full abandonment of the inland sites does not happen until the 1st c. BCE, which, as discussed above, Zimmermann associates with the rearrangement of the province by Rome. As seen in other cases, though, even if the settlements were abandoned in one way it does not mean that they were not used in other ways. For example, although Atarneus was in decline in the mid-Hellenistic period and abandoned by the 1st c. BCE, people continued to exploit its countryside until the Middle Ages, so perhaps people were still living somewhat close by (perhaps even seasonally) to use the countryside. Overall, I do not think there is sufficient

evidence in the settlement patterns in this case study to identify a synoikism at Pergamon. This idea will be further elaborated on in the next chapter, the conclusions of the dissertation.

Chapter 8: Conclusions

In this dissertation, I have argued for using a peer polity interaction model to understand the establishment and maintenance of a local elite network on which communities throughout western Hellenistic Anatolia relied to make political alliances and promote urbanization. My case studies of these alliances can be categorized into three groups: **1)** cities with documented textual evidence of royal intervention in synoikism; **2)** cities with documented textual evidence of synoikism and sympolity alliances, but no evidence for direct royal intervention; **3)** cities that were founded with no textual evidence of these alliances. The following paragraphs will discuss the conclusions that my model has proposed for each category.

1) In the cases of direct evidence for royal intervention, there was still local elite agency within the decision-making process, and communities demonstrated resilience in the wake of such interventions. For example, although the epigraphic evidence for the synoikism of Teos and Lebedos shows a direct appeal from Antigonos I for the synoikism to occur, the people of Lebedos were able to successfully negotiate the use of the neutral law code of Kos (as told in the epigraphic text itself), and based on evidence from limited excavation, occupation of the site of Lebedos occurred throughout the Hellenistic period (even if the synoikism did occur to some degree, indicating a more complicated narrative than a forced migration from Lebedos to Teos). Synoikism was used as a tool by the Hellenistic kings, but the local elites involved in the processes were active negotiators within the synoikism process. Local elites were responding after the synoikism, too, by maintaining local traditions, but their roles were not solely reactionary.

2) In the cases of textual evidence for synoikism and sympolity that do not include royal intervention, my model proposes how the local elite groups involved from the representative settlements and/or cities had created a peer network and relied upon that network for formal alliances. The two examples of synoikism that I examined which fall within this category are the synoikism of Tyriaion and the synoikism of Apollonis. Although the textual evidence shows that grants of city-status were given by the Attalid kingdom (Eumenes II and possibly a brother of Eumenes II, respectively), it is clear in the case of Tyriaion that the local elites appealed to Eumenes II for this status and a similar case can be inferred for Apollonis. The examples of all sympolities fall within this category, since, as demonstrated by the examples throughout the dissertation, sympolity can only be detected from textual evidence (whether that takes the form of ancient authors' accounts, inscriptions that discuss a joint *demos* or terms for an alliance or treaty like a *sympoliteia* or *syntheke*, or joint coinages that bear the names of the two cities involved). My analysis suggests that it would not be possible to tell if cities were sharing a political system without the textual evidence. For example, if there were no epigraphic evidence for the sympolity between Miletos and Pidasas (discussed in Chapter 3), the archaeological evidence found to date would not necessarily connect the two sites. The archaeological evidence would show the growth of Miletos' countryside in the Hellenistic period and the abandonment of Pidasas by the late Hellenistic to early Roman periods, but we would not know about the corporate relationship between the two cities, or that Miletos had dispatched military garrisons to Pidasas to protect its inhabitants. The textual evidence shows, however, that Pidasas had pre-existing relationships with Miletos and both sites benefited from the alliance: Miletos expanded its territory and Pidasas gained assistance with protection.

The examination of archaeological evidence in connection with these attested textual examples of sympolity, however, can add a richer understanding of the motivations for these alliances and the consequences that resulted from them. For example, the mutual benefits of a sympolity alliance are clearly illustrated by the archaeological evidence for Timiussa and Tyberissos (discussed in Chapter 5). The development of the port city at Timiussa gave the regional population increased access to maritime trade networks during the Hellenistic period, while Tyberissos not only maintained but also monumentalized in part because of its agricultural resources. The archaeological evidence can also show how local elites benefited economically from such alliances (such as the local Karian Chersonesians discussed in Chapter 4, who participated in the Rhodian wine production and trade on the Chersonesian peninsula during their sympolity with Rhodes).

While sympolities were not based on population movements in all cases, some were. Therefore, while the political aspects of sympolity are not visible archaeologically, the archaeological evidence can show if, how, and when communities involved in these alliances moved locations. Archaeology thus provides a broader understanding of how communities moved in response to local elite alliances in situations which have textual evidence for sympolity. For example, even though the epigraphic evidence for the sympolity agreement between Pidasia and Latmos in the late 4th c. BCE (discussed in Chapter 4) stipulates that Pidasians would move to Latmos and intermarry with Latmians, the limited Hellenistic archaeological evidence at Pidasia (as well as the later sympolity with Miletos around 188 BCE) suggests that Pidasia continued to maintain some sort of independent communal existence. In another example between Miletos and Myous (discussed in Chapter 3), the movement of the community of Myous to Miletos is confirmed by geological core studies which do not detect

Roman pottery and at the same time show that Myous' coastline had become a lake by the Hellenistic period due to the siltation of the Maeander River. Archaeological survey evidence of these alluvial landscapes, however, suggests continued agricultural development of the surrounding farmland and demonstrates how even if a portion of the community moved away, others might have stayed and continued to use the "abandoned" landscapes in various ways. In the examples of the sympolity of Aphrodisias and Plarasa and the sympolity of Kremna and Keraitai (discussed in Chapters 4 and 6, respectively), it is possible to see how sympolities are made among pre-existing local elite networks in response to greater political changes as well as to see how separate communities were maintained at first but eventually turned into one site becoming favored. While there certainly were intimidation factors from the larger *poleis* involved in sympolity agreements and the decisions to move, the agency of the smaller *poleis* can be understood by their negotiations in the textual sources and by the maintenance of their communities.

3) For the last category of cities founded without explicit textual evidence for royal intervention, my model proposes that it is plausible that the main actors behind urbanization were local elite groups who were responding to changing political and environmental situations. The roles of the Hellenistic rulers in directly ordering urbanization were possible, but without the direct textual evidence it is not necessary to assume so. The kings were still involved in the process, because the local elite groups had to gain recognition of city status from their rulers, but the process could have rather been a bottom-up initiative from the local elites and a negotiation with the rulers, instead of a top-down royal foundation. The recognition of city status allowed the local elites to gain royal benefactions from their new rulers and to widen their network with other peer cities that developed in the growing and changing Hellenistic world. Neighboring local

elites lost some autonomy in that they had to make their settlements dependent upon one larger city (such as the examples of independent settlements becoming demes in Stratonikeia and Kyaneai in Chapters 4 and 5, respectively), but the benefits of recognition, and at the same time demonstrating their competence in self-organization, outweighed the losses.

My model identifies the presence and activities of local elites before and during urbanization that could have led to a local elite network through settlement patterns, funerary monuments, sanctuary evidence, trade, resource extraction, and textual testimonia. In the absence of other evidence that suggests otherwise, I provide the most fully explanatory model for how urbanization likely occurred by the initiatives of the local elite. I propose that my model should be assumed as the basis of urbanization in the Hellenistic world absent to no contrary textual evidence. Table 1 provides my three categories of case studies described above and the specific examples within each category.

From the case studies, it is also apparent that synoikism and sympolity could result in a range of outcomes (continued use of landscapes; “failed”; one city becoming the main partner) despite the intentions of promoting urbanization for greater status and recognition. For example, even though Atarneus was fully abandoned in the 1st c. BCE as Pergamon became the main city in the region, its hinterlands were exploited from the Hellenistic period into the Middle Ages. Similarly, the silted landscapes of the Maeander delta continued to be exploited even after cities such as Myous left to join Miletos. In the case of the synoikism of Ephesos-Arsinoeia, epigraphic evidence suggests that the Kolophonians returned to their city after the synoikism and archaeological evidence at Kolophon’s port of Notion shows continued use of the harbor city into the 1st c. CE. Even if the synoikisms were carried out to some degree, they were either impermanent or incomplete. A similar issue arises in other cases of attested synoikisms that were

not fully explored in this dissertation. One example is the synoikism of Skepsis and Kebren to create Antigoneia in the Troad by Antigonos I Monophthalmos. After Antigonos I's death, Lysimachos restructured the city to be Lysimacheia, and supposedly Skepsis became independent once more.⁸⁷⁷ A similar situation happened with Nysa in Ionia, which was composed of Athrymba, Athrymbada, and Hydrela: by the 1st c. BCE Hydrela seems to be a separate community again.⁸⁷⁸ These examples show that communities were particularly resilient and were actively negotiating in their circumstances. With more archaeological survey data on settlement patterns in regions where cities are known to have undergone synoikism and sympolity from textual sources, further distinctions may be possible.

The Hellenistic period is often called the second great era of Greek colonization. But in many cases, it is clear that the impetus toward urbanization came not from kings but from local communities joining together in order to gain city status and thereby recognition from ruling powers. In the preceding analyses of data from western Anatolia, I have provided a model in which local elites were creating, maintaining, and relying on peer networks as drivers of urbanization (often achieved through political alliances) in response to greater political and environmental changes. I have also shown how these processes involved iterative movements of peoples and how narratives of “abandoned” landscapes can be challenged when looking at the evidence for the maintenance of agricultural activities. I have developed a nuanced interpretation of the terms synoikism and sympolity, and it is my hope that the appendix that follows of attested synoikisms and sympolities in the textual sources as well as possible synoikisms defined archaeologically (e.g., Sagalassos and Düzen Tepe) throughout western Anatolia and the eastern Aegean will be valuable for future scholars as more data on these alliances become available,

⁸⁷⁷ Boehm 2018: 2, according to Strabo 13.1.33, 13.1.52. See Appendix A.

⁸⁷⁸ Boehm 2018: 85, since it minted its own coins. See Appendix A.

and new archaeological discoveries are published. With this dissertation, I hope to have contributed a new perspective to scholarship on the concepts of synoikism and sympolity and to have demonstrated the benefits of using an archaeological approach to these alliances. This new perspective shows how and why local elites were initiating these processes to participate in the dynamic Hellenistic world.

Appendix A: Attested Synoikisms and Sympolities

	Syn/Symp/ Other	Text? (Yes/ No)	Ancient Source (including references to initial publications of ancient texts)	Date	Modern References	Notes
Aiolis						
Lesbos	Syn	Y	Thucydides 3.2.3	428/7 BCE	Boehm 2018: 14; Ellis-Evans 2019	
Cyclades						
Mykonos	Syn	Y	<i>SEG</i> 51.1012	late 3rd c. BCE (ca. 230-200 BCE)	LaBuff 2016	
Kea: Ioulis, Karthiaia, Koresia, Poïessa	Symp	Y	Strabo 10.5.6	mid-late 3rd c. BCE (235-210 BCE?)	Brun 1989; Reger 1998b; Walser 2009	Strabo says that Koresia was incorporated into Ioulis and Poïessa was incorporated into Karthiaia.
Dodecanese						
Rhodes	Syn	Y	Diodoros Siculus 13.75.1	ca. 408/7 BCE	Gabrielsen 2000b	
Kos and Kalymna	Symp/hom opoliteia	Y	Herzog 1942 #2; Segre 1944-1945: 9-10	ca. end of 3rd c. BCE	Moggi 1976; Hornblower 1982; Demand 1990; Reger 2004; Walser 2009; LaBuff 2016: 160- 166	
Kos	Syn	Y	Diodoros Siculus 15.76.2; Strabo 14.2.19	ca. 366/355	Walser 2009; Schuler 2010	
Ionias						

Miletos and Pidasia	Symp	Y	Kawerau and Rehm 1914, I. Milet 149; <i>SEG</i> 51.1608	180s BCE (188/187 or 187/186?)	Gauthier 2001; Migeotte 2001	
Miletos and Myous	Symp	Y	Strabo 14.1.10; <i>I. Milet</i> 1.3, 33c lines 12-13	at least 234/233 BCE	Mackil 2004	
Ephesos, Kolophon, Lebedos, Phygela	Syn	Y	Pausanias 1.97, 7.3.4-5; Strabo 14.1.21	292 BCE	Boehm 2018	
Teos and Lebedos	Syn	Y	Welles 1934 nos. 3 and 4; <i>SEG</i> 56.1248	306-302 BCE (ca. 303/302 BCE?)	Ager 1996: 61-64; Mack 2013	
Teos and Kyrbissos	Symp	Y	Robert and Robert 1976, 154-235; <i>SEG</i> 26.1306	3rd c. BCE	Koparal 2013; Mack 2013	
Smyrna and Magnesia on the Sipylos	Symp	Y	<i>I. Smyrna</i> 573, <i>I. Magnesia on the Sipylos</i> . 1, <i>OGIS</i> 229, Schmitt 1969, no. 492	246-243 BCE	Rigsby 1996: 95-102; Reger 2004	
Teos and Aroie	Symp	Y	Meiggs and Lewis 1969: 30B, 16-17 (= <i>Syll</i> ³ 37-38)	ca. 470 BCE	Schuler 2010	
Notion and Kolophon	Symp (Syntheke)		Meritt 1935: 377-379, lines 33-35	late 4th c. BCE	Étienne and Migeotte 1998	
Miletos and Herakleia at Latmos	Symp	Y	<i>I. Milet</i> 150 (<i>Syll</i> ³ 633).34	185-184 BCE?	Dmitriev 2005: 72	
Teos and unknown	Symp/ Syn?	Y	Robert, <i>OMS</i> VII 319-332; <i>SEG</i> 63.987	350-300 BCE	Chandezon 2013: 45-48	The inscription comes from the modern village of Ulamiş (20km northeast of Teos). Chandezon calls it a sympolity, but SEG calls it a sympolity or a synoikism.
Nysa (from Athrymba, Athrymbada, Hydrela)	Syn	Y	Strabo 14.1.46	After 281 BCE	Ratté 2008; Boehm 2018	Boehm 2018: 85, footnote 335: “Hydrela seems to have been independent again and minting coins by the first century BCE...”
Karia						
Halikarnassos	Syn	Y	Pliny 5.107; Strabo 7.7.2, 13.1.58-59	370s BCE	Carstens 2002	

Pidasa and Latmos	Symp	Y	Blümel 1997; <i>SEG</i> 47.1563	323-313/312 BCE	Saba 2007; LaBuff 2010 and 2016; Mack 2013	
Stratonikeia	Syn	N		4th - 2nd c. BCE?	Debord 1994; van Bremen 2000; Gabrielsen 2000a; LaBuff 2016	
Stratonikeia and Panamara	Symp	Y	<i>I. Stratonikeia</i> 7	after 167 BCE, perhaps 150-148 BCE	LaBuff 2016: 131-139	
Stratonikeia and Keramos	Symp	Y	Robert 1962 (1935) 60 f.	1 st c. BCE	Zimmerman 1992: 124	
Rhodes and Peraia	Symp	Y	<i>HTC</i> no. 41	Inscription is 1 st c. BCE but known involvement of Rhodes since 3 rd c. BCE	LaBuff 2016	
Aphrodisias and Plarasa	Symp	Y	Joint coinage; Reynolds 1982 #1	2nd c. BCE	Chaniotis 2010; Ratté 2010; LaBuff 2016 154-160	The inscription is the earliest attested discussing the joint <i>demos</i> of Aphrodisias and Plarasa.
Mylasa and Olymos	Symp	Y	<i>I. Mylasa</i> 861, 892	second half of 2nd c. BCE	Reger 2004; LaBuff 2016: 103-110	
Mylasa and Hydai	Symp	Y	<i>I. Mylasa</i> 902	late 3rd/early 2nd c. BCE	LaBuff 2016: 110-112	
Chalketor and unknown	Symp	Y	<i>SEG</i> 32.1109; Paton and Myres 1896 229 no. 29, (G. Cousin 1898, 376 no. 16, <i>I. Mylasa</i> 913, Welles 1934 134-135.	3rd c. BCE	Reger 2004; LaBuff 2016: 117-122	Mylasa, Euromos, and Iasos have been proposed (Euromos suggested in <i>SEG</i> ; Iasos suggested by LaBuff 2016 and Boehm 2018).
Mylasa and Euromos	Symp	Y	<i>I. Mylasa</i> 102	likely early 2nd c. BCE	Reger 2004; LaBuff 2016: 112-117	
Keramos and unknown (Rhodes?)	Symp	Y	<i>I. Keramos</i> 6	late 3rd to mid-2nd c. BCE	LaBuff 2016: 139-147	

Kildara (Killareis) and unknown (Theangela or Thodasa?)	Symp	Y	<i>SEG</i> 52.1038; Blümel 2000: 94-96; Wiemer 2001: 1-14	203 - 107 BCE	Ma 1999; Reger 2004; LaBuff 2016: 122-129	Both Theangela and Thodasa are mentioned later but the text is broken where it says the second partner in the alliance.
Pisye and Pladasa	Symp	Y	<i>HTC</i> 1, 3-5, 37	mid-3rd c. BCE	Reger 2004; LaBuff: 2016: 147-154	
Pisye, Koloneis, Londeis	Syn?	Y	<i>HTC</i> 1	by 275 - 225 BCE	Reger 2004: 164	Reger says that Koloneis and Londeis are absorbed by Pisye.
Antioch on the Maeander (Symmaithos and Kranaos)	Syn	Y	Pliny 5.108	Probably rule of Antiochos I (281-261 BCE)	Boehm 2018	
Laodikeia on the Lykos	Syn	Y	Wörle 1975	Ca. 250s BCE	Corsten 2004; Boehm 2018	
Kabilia						
Balboura	Syn	N		Early 2 nd c. BCE	Coulton et al. 2012a and 2012b	
Boubon	Syn	N		Early 3 rd to 2 nd c. BCE	Kokkinia et al. 2008	
Kibyra	Syn	N		Early 2 nd c. BCE?	Corsten and Hülten 2012; Özüdoğru 2018	
Oinoanda	Syn	N		Early 2 nd c. BCE	Coulton 1982 and 1983	
Lycia						
Myra and Timiussa and Tyberissos	Symp	Y	<i>SEG</i> 57.1665	at least since shortly after 27 BCE (date of inscription)	Schuler 2010; Schuler and Walser 2015	
Timiussa and Tyberissos	Symp	Y	<i>SEG</i> 57.1665; unpublished fragments	2nd c. BCE	Schuler 2010	

Antiphellos and Phellos	Symp?	Y	Zimmermann 2005	Roman Imperial period	Zimmermann 2005	Dual citizenship for a father and son is noted in the Roman Imperial period and may indicate earlier sympolity.
Myra and Xanthos	Symp	Y	Bousquet and Gauthier 1994, 321-3222 (= <i>SEG</i> 44. 1218) Z. 32-8	middle 2nd c. BCE	Schuler 2010	
Phellos and Tyinda	Symp	Y	Davies 1895: 109 no. 19; Schuler 2006: 154-5 no. 2	2nd - 1st c. BCE	Schuler 2010	
Aperlai, Simena, Apollonia, Isinda, Dolichiste	Symp	Y	<i>IGR</i> 3, 692 f.	Mid-1 st c. CE	Zimmermann 1992: 129	
Akalissos, Idebessos, Kormoi	Symp	Y	<i>TAM</i> II.3 830, 833	238-244 CE; Roman Imperial	Dinç 2012	
Arykanda and Tragalassos	Symp; Symmachia	Y	<i>I. Arykanda</i> 1; <i>SEG</i> 44.1148	ca. 200 BCE (before 188-167 BCE)	Şahin 1994	The site of Tragalassos has not been identified.
Korydalla, Madamyssos, and Pygela	Symp	Y	unpublished epitaphs	Roman Imperial	Dinç 2012	The sympolity and unpublished epitaphs are mentioned in the entry for <i>SEG</i> 54 1434 which is the <i>Stadiasmus provinciae Lyciae</i> , 45/46 CE.
Oktapolis	Symp/Syn?	Y	<i>TAM</i> II.1 164-165	Roman	Dinç 2012	Cities involved likely included Kastanna, Loanda, Lrynai, Myndos, Pallene, and Sestos. Dinç 2012: 83
Myra, Arneai, Aperlai	Symp	Y	<i>TAM</i> II 765-767	2 nd c. CE	Zimmermann 1992: 123-142	
Myra and Trebenda	Symp?	Y	<i>Syll</i> ³ 1234 = <i>IGR</i> III 698	2 nd c. CE	Zimmermann 1992: 132; Dinç 2012	Zimmermann says it is attested as “Μυρεύς ἀπὸ Τρεβένδων” (1992: 132, footnote 37).
Arneai, Koroa, and others	Symp	Y	<i>IGR</i> III 640 = <i>TAM</i> II.3 765; <i>IGR</i> III 641 = <i>TAM</i> II.3 766; <i>IGR</i> III 642 = <i>TAM</i> II 3 767.	101/102 CE for <i>TAM</i> II 766; Roman	Zimmermann 1992; Dinç 2012	Possibly started during rule of Vespasian and creation of Lycia et Pamphylia. Zimmermann 1992: 140.

				Imperial for others		
Phaselis and Mnara	Symp	Y	İplikçioğlu et al. 2001	Roman Imperial	Dinç 2012	Dinç notes that the inscription is from the Roman Imperial age, but others suggest it may have begun in the Hellenistic period. Dinç 2012: 80.
Phaselis and Tenedos	Symp	Y	Omerod and Robinson 1914 no. 48; Adak and Şahin 2007	Roman Imperial	Dinç 2012	Dinç notes that Phaselis might have made the alliance with Tenedos in the Hellenistic period so the alliance could be Phaselis, Mnara, and Tenedos together. Dinç 2012: 80.
Trebenna and Onbara	Symp	Y	Adak and Şahin 2007; joint coinage (<i>SNG</i> no. 4275)	Roman Imperial	Dinç 2012	
Kyaneai	Syn	N		Late 3 rd c. BCE	Kolb 2008	
Lydia						
Sardis	Syn	Y	<i>SEG</i> 39.1283, 1284, 1285	213 BCE	Gauthier 1989; Ma 1999; Reger 2004	
Apollonis	Syn	Y	<i>TAM</i> V.2 1187	After 188 BCE	Thonemann 2013b: 28; Robert 1962: 32 n. 2, 257-260	
Iulia Gordos and Lora	Symp	Y	<i>TAM</i> V.1 702- 703	36/37 CE	Ricl 2012	
Iulia Gordos and Thyateira	Symp	Y	<i>TAM</i> V.2 1095; <i>SEG</i> 29.1322	undated	Ricl 2012	
Apollonis and Kamai	Symp	Y	Petzel and Pleket 1979, no. 4	Rule of Antoninus Pius (86- 161 CE)	Cohen 1995: 203-204	
Phrygia						
Tyriaion	Syn	Y	<i>SEG</i> 47.1745; <i>TAM</i> V.2 1187; Jonnes and Ricl 1997	shortly after 188 BCE	Thonemann 2008; Mitchell 2021	
Pisidia						

Sagalassos and Düzen Tepe	Syn	N		ca. 2nd c. BCE	Daems 2019; Poblome and Daems 2019	
Kremna and Keraitai	Symp	Y	Joint coinage; von Aulock 1979: 106, nos. 887, 888, 889, 890, 891	ca. 100 BCE	Mitchell with Cormack 1995; Metin et al. 2014-2018	
Termessos, Kelbessos, Neapolis	Symp	Y	<i>TAM</i> III.1; İplikçioğlu et al. 2007 Appendix 5-7	Hellenistic period for Appendix 7 about general <i>peripolion</i> ; Roman Imperial for others specifically talking about Kelbessos and Neapolis.	Schuler 2010	In the inscriptions Kelbessos and Neapolis are described as <i>peripolia</i> , but Schuler suggests they could have been independent cities who then joined Termessos in a sympolity.
Termessos and Typallia	Symp	Y	<i>SEG</i> 51.1838-1839; İplikçioğlu et al. 2001, no. L216; İplikçioğlu et al. 2007, no. 202	Roman Imperial	Dinç 2012	Dinç notes that possibly it could date earlier to the Hellenistic period. Dinç 2012: 81.
Pednelissos	Syn	N		2 nd c. BCE?	Vandeput and Köse 2012	
Troad						
Antigoneia (Alexandreia) Troas, Skepsis, Kebren	Syn	Y	Strabo 13.1.52, 13.1.33, 13.1.52; <i>OGIS</i> 5, Welles 1934 no. 1	311-306 BCE	Reger 2004; Boehm 2018	Skepsis left during Lysimachos' rule.
Ilion	Syn	Y	Strabo 13.1.26		Boehm 2018	
Ilion and Skamandroi	Symp	Y	<i>I. Ilion</i> 63 (<i>CIG</i> 3597); <i>SEG</i> 41.1055	ca. 100 BCE	Frisch 1975	
Skepsis and Miletos	Symp	Y	Strabo 13.1.52	494 BCE	Boehm 2018	

Tables

<p>Category 1: Cities with direct attested textual evidence of royal intervention in synoikism</p>	<p>Ephesos, Kolophon, Lebedos, Phygela Teos and Lebedos Halikarnassos</p>
<p>Category 2: Cities with attested textual evidence of synoikism and sympolity without direct evidence of royal intervention</p>	<p>Miletos and Myous Miletos and Pidasas Teos and Kyrbissos Notion and Kolophon Latmos and Pidasas Plarasa and Aphrodisias Rhodes and the Karian Chersonesos Timiussa and Tyberissos Kremna and Keraitai Tyriaion Apollonis</p>
<p>Category 3: Cities without attested textual evidence of synoikism and sympolity</p>	<p>Priene Stratonikeia Kyaneai Herakleia at Latmos Balboura Oinoanda Boubon Kibyra Sagalassos and Düzen Tepe Pednelissos Pergamon Elaia</p>

Table 1. List of cities investigated in this dissertation categorized according to the presence or absence of textual evidence and the presence or absence of textual evidence for direct royal intervention.

Figures

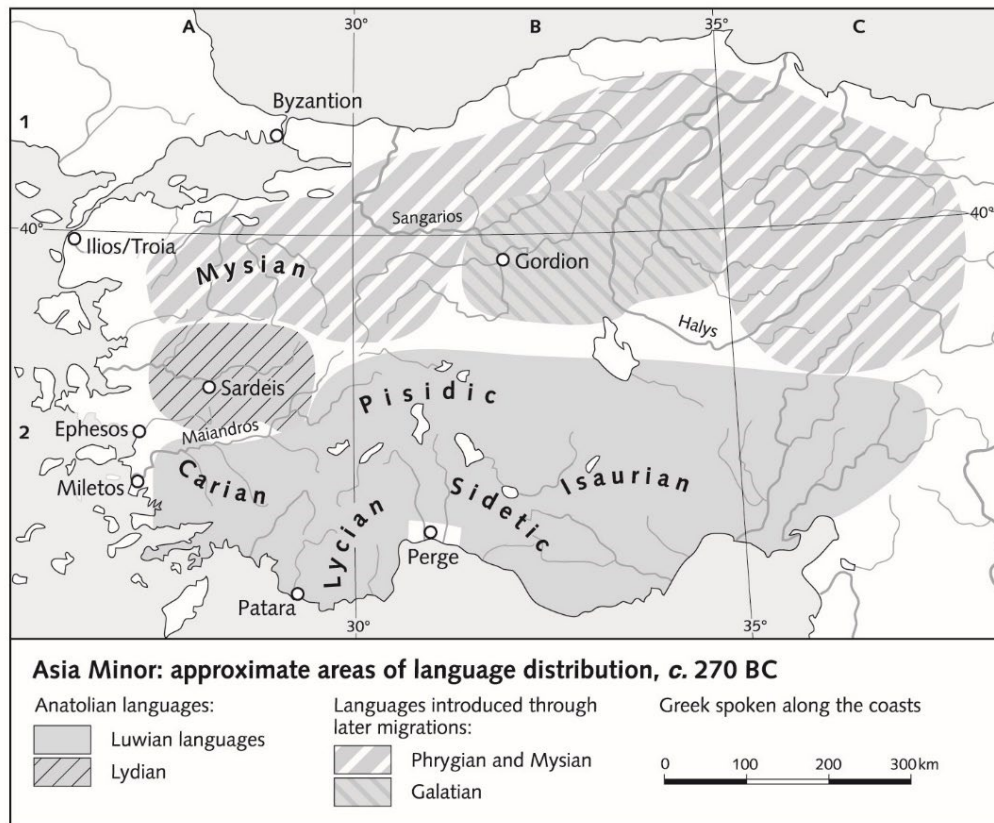


Figure 1. Map of Anatolia showing language and cultural distributions. After Wittke 2010.



Asia Minor

Figure 2. Map of western Anatolia with case study regions and some significant cities highlighted. After Chaniotis 2018: xix and modified by the author.

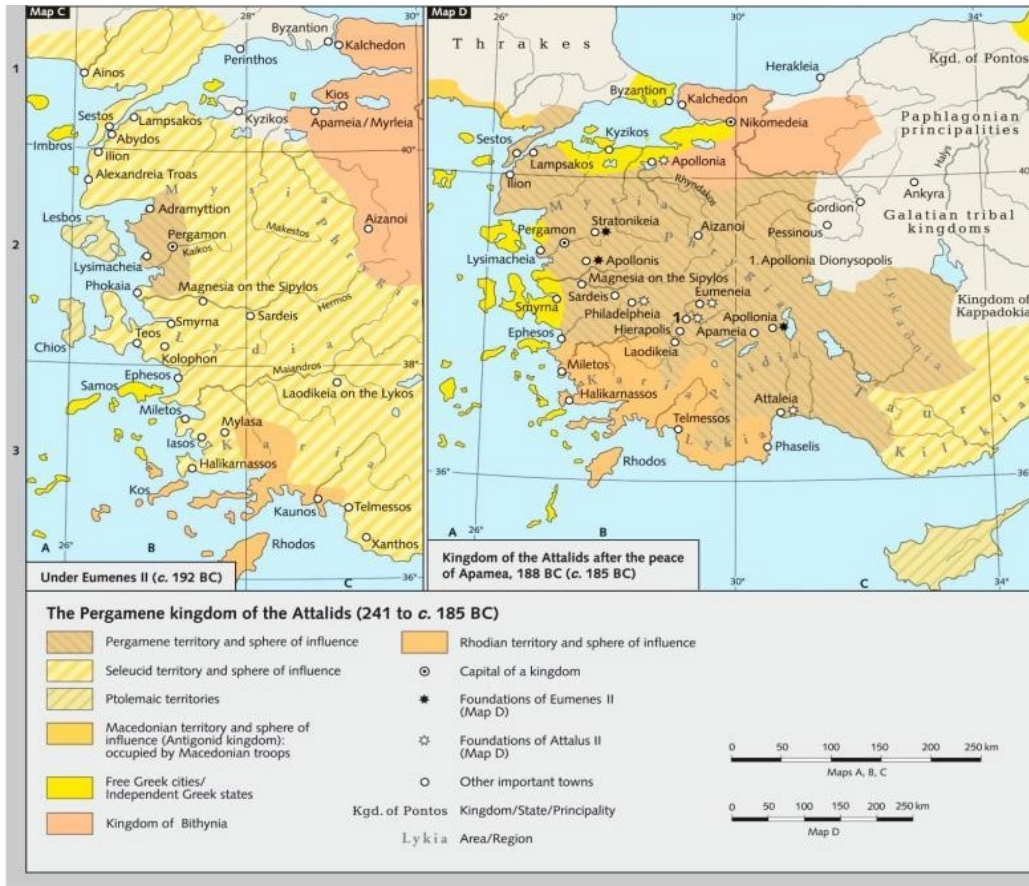


Figure 3. Map showing the territories for the Attalid Kingdom of Pergamon (brown) and Rhodes (orange) before and after the Treaty of Apamea. After Strobel and Wittke 2016, cropped for relevant maps by author.



Figure 4. Map of Ionia, with Karia to the south and Lydia to the northeast. Courtesy of Notion Archaeological Survey.

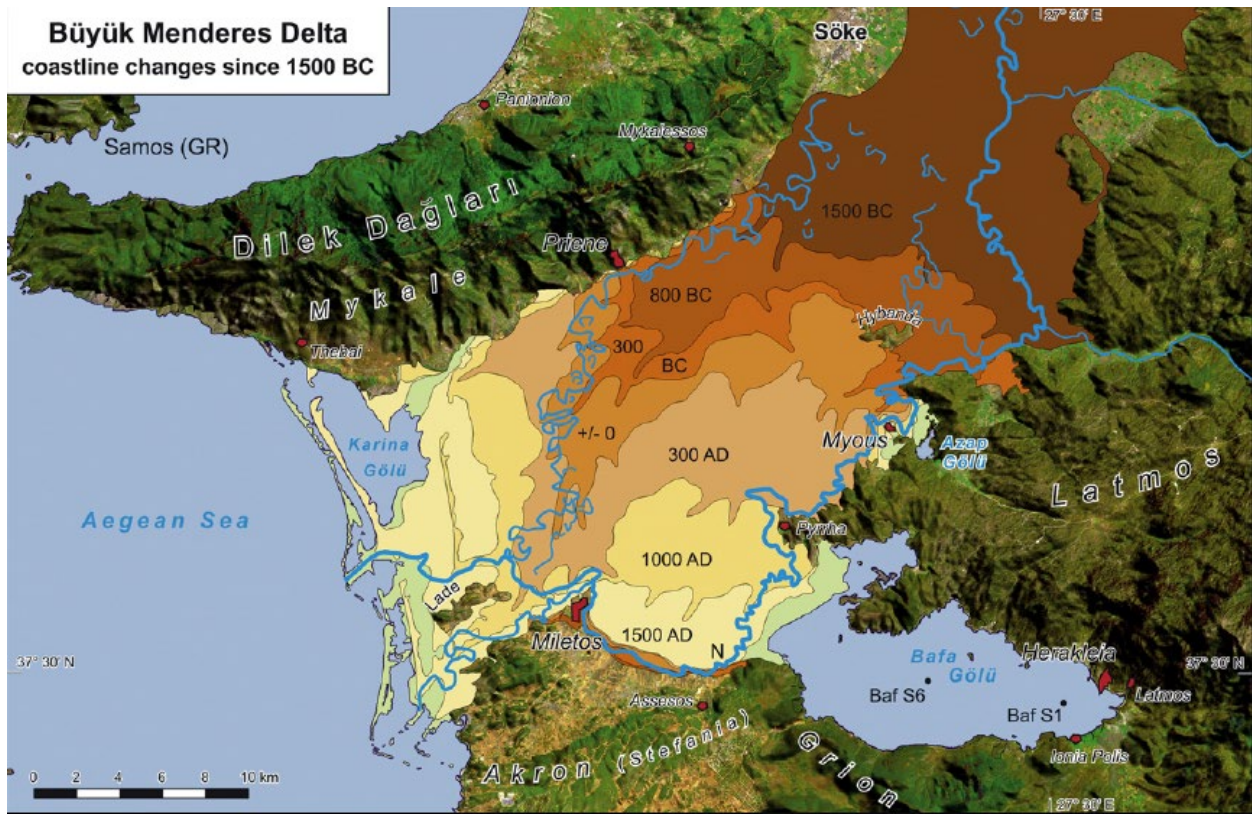


Figure 5. Map showing changes in coastline of the gulf of Latmos over time. After Brückner et al. 2017: 878, fig. 1, citing source as Müllenhoff 2005.

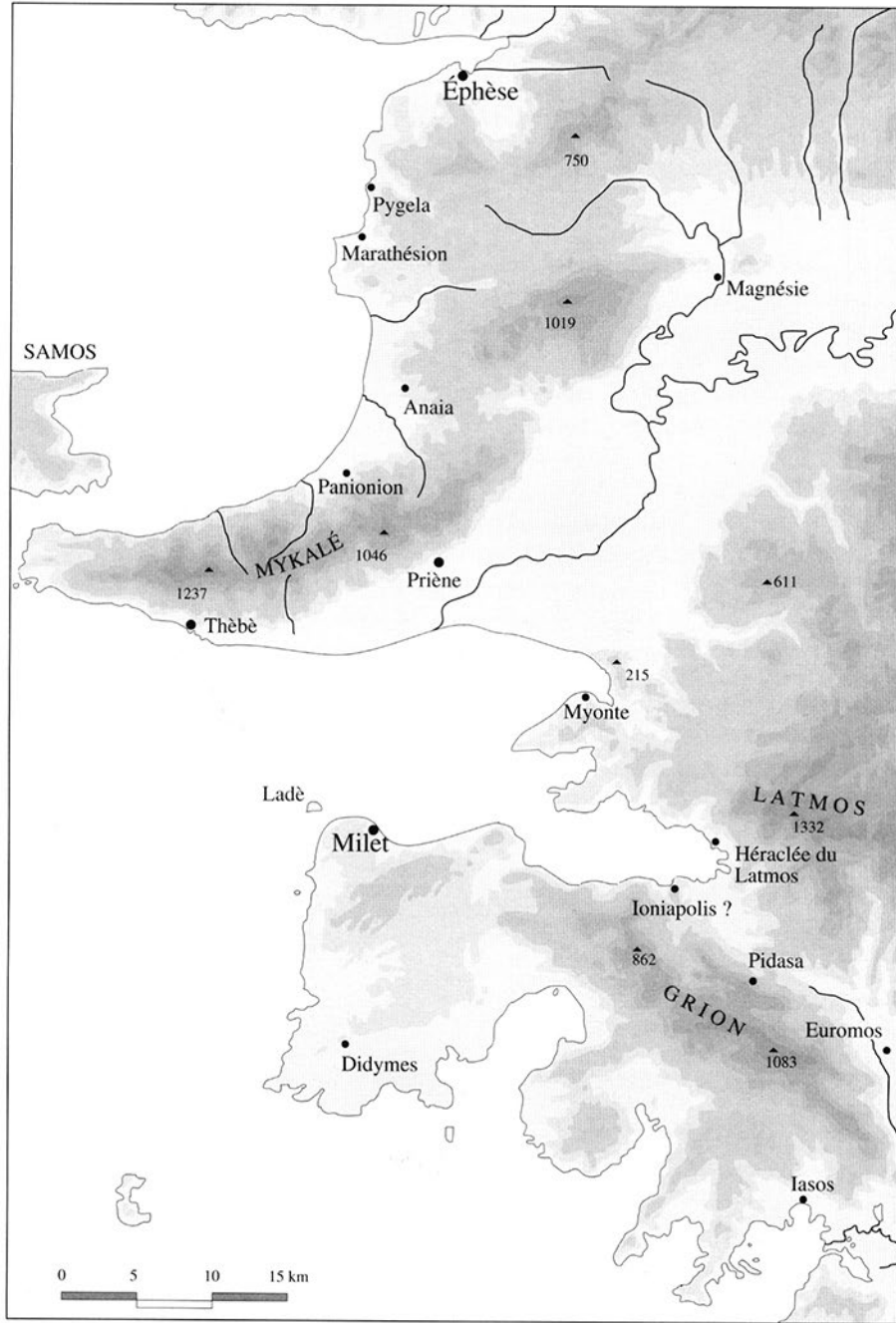


Figure 6. Map of the Maeander Delta and the Grion Mountain range, with Pidasas on the northeast face of the mountains and southeast of Miletos. After Gauthier 2001: 118, fig. 1; map by Olivier Henry.

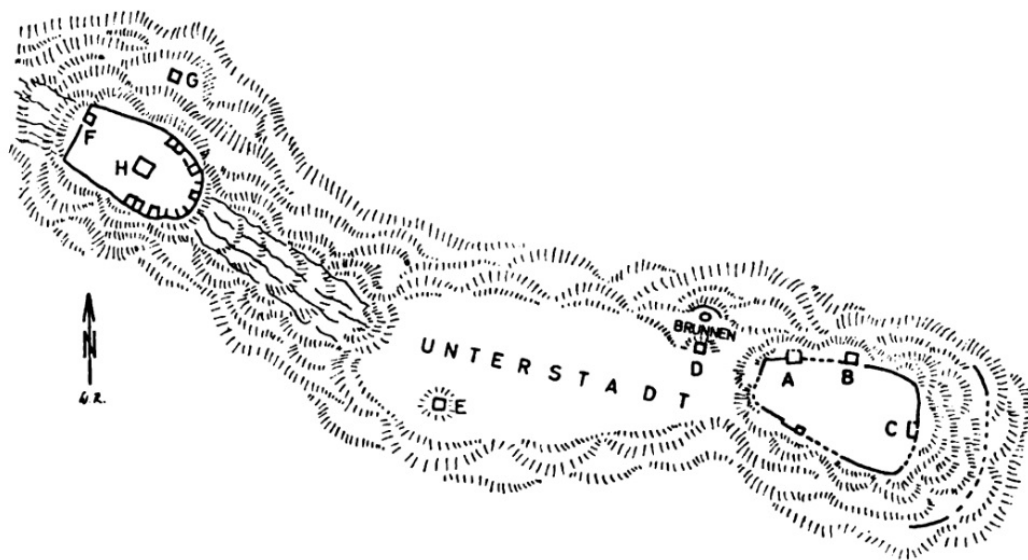


Abb. 1. PIDASA, Planskizze

Figure 7. Plan of Pidasa. After Radt 1973–1974: 171, fig. 1. A–C are towers in the east acropolis, D is a tower near a fountain in the lower town, E is a pre-Hellenistic tower in the lower town, F–G are towers, H is a Hellenistic watchtower.

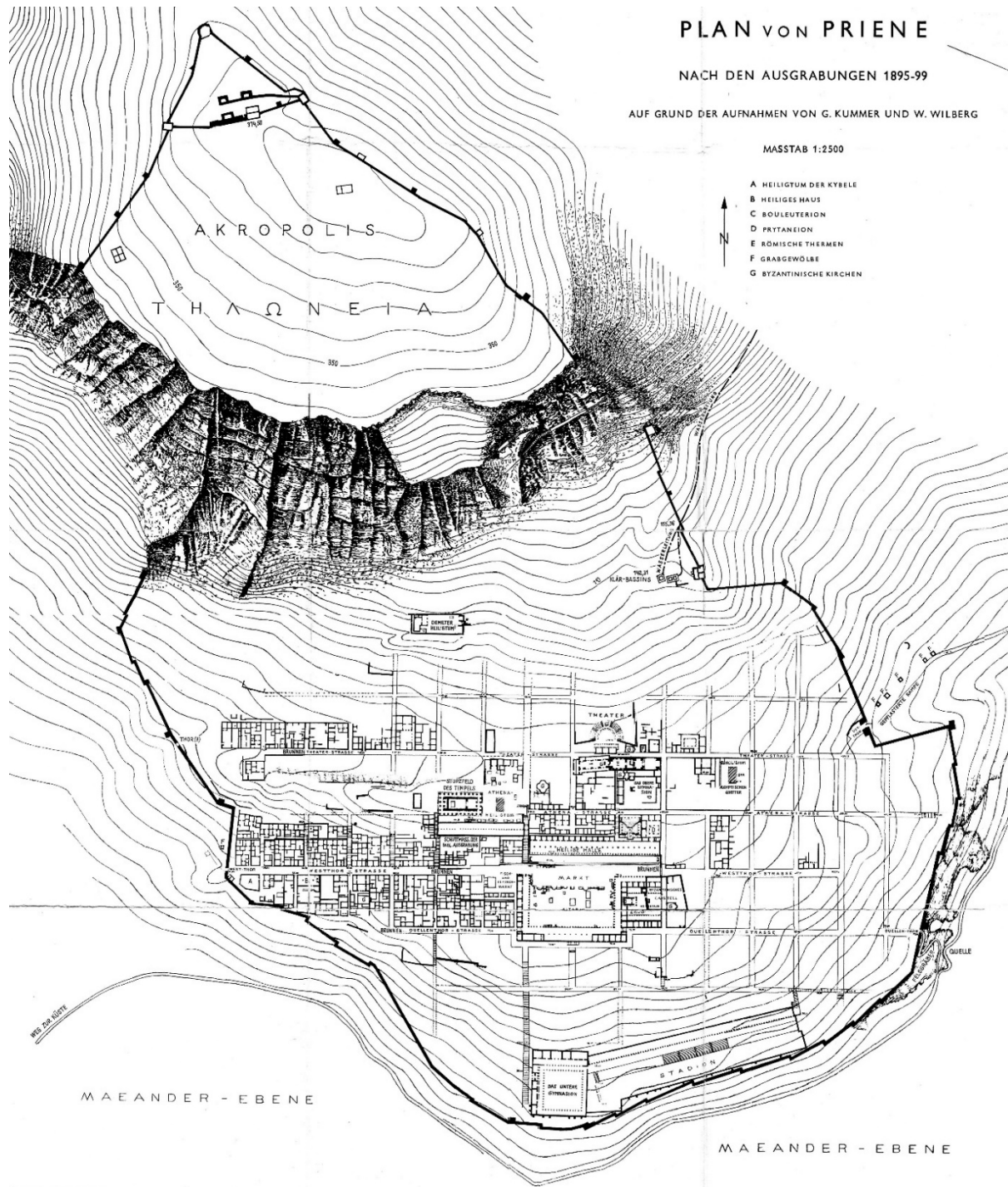


Figure 8. Site plan of Priene. After Rumscheid with Koenigs 1998, fig. 30.

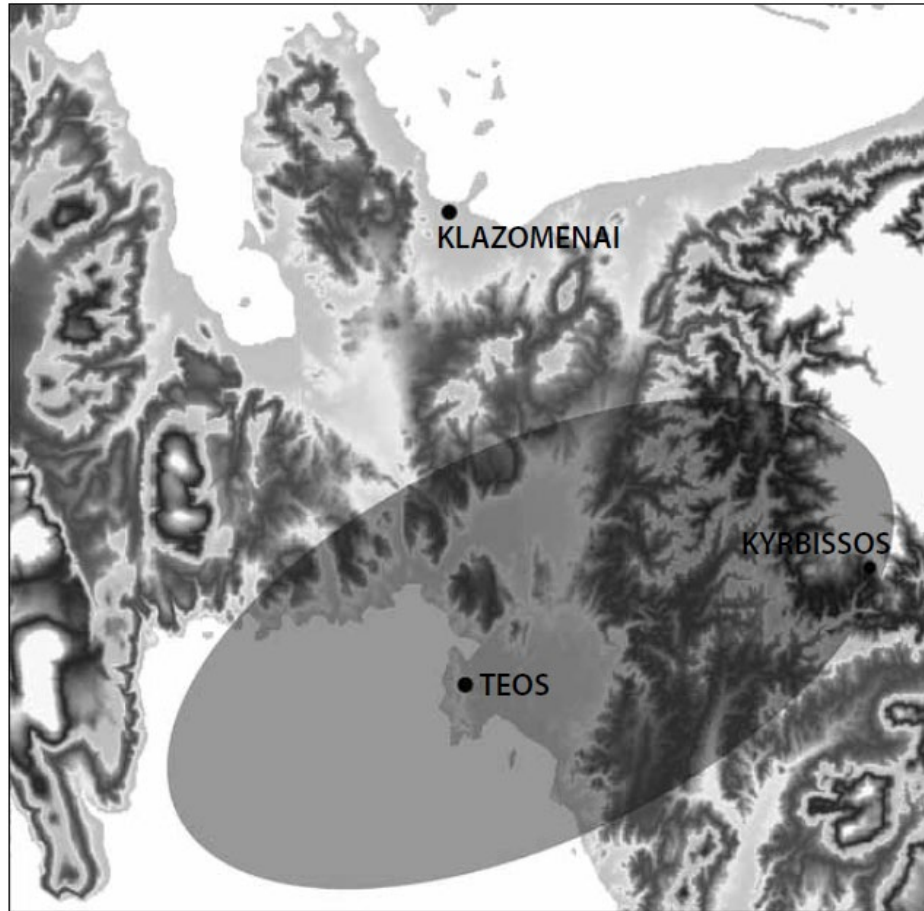


Figure 9. Map showing locations of Teos, Kyrbissos, and Klazomenai. After Koparal 2013: 63, fig. 2.

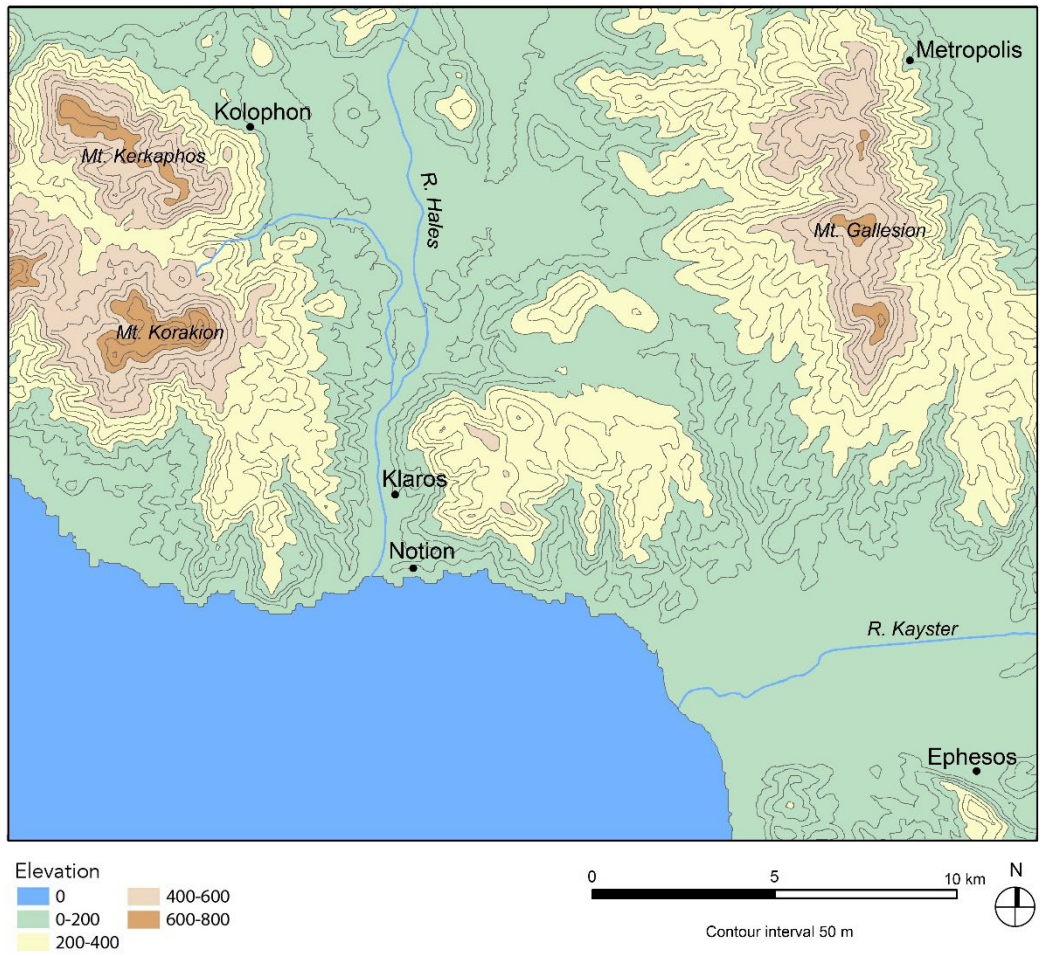


Figure 10. Regional map of Hales River Valley, including Notion, Klaros, and Kolophon, as well as Ephesos south of the Kayster River. Courtesy of Notion Archaeological Survey.

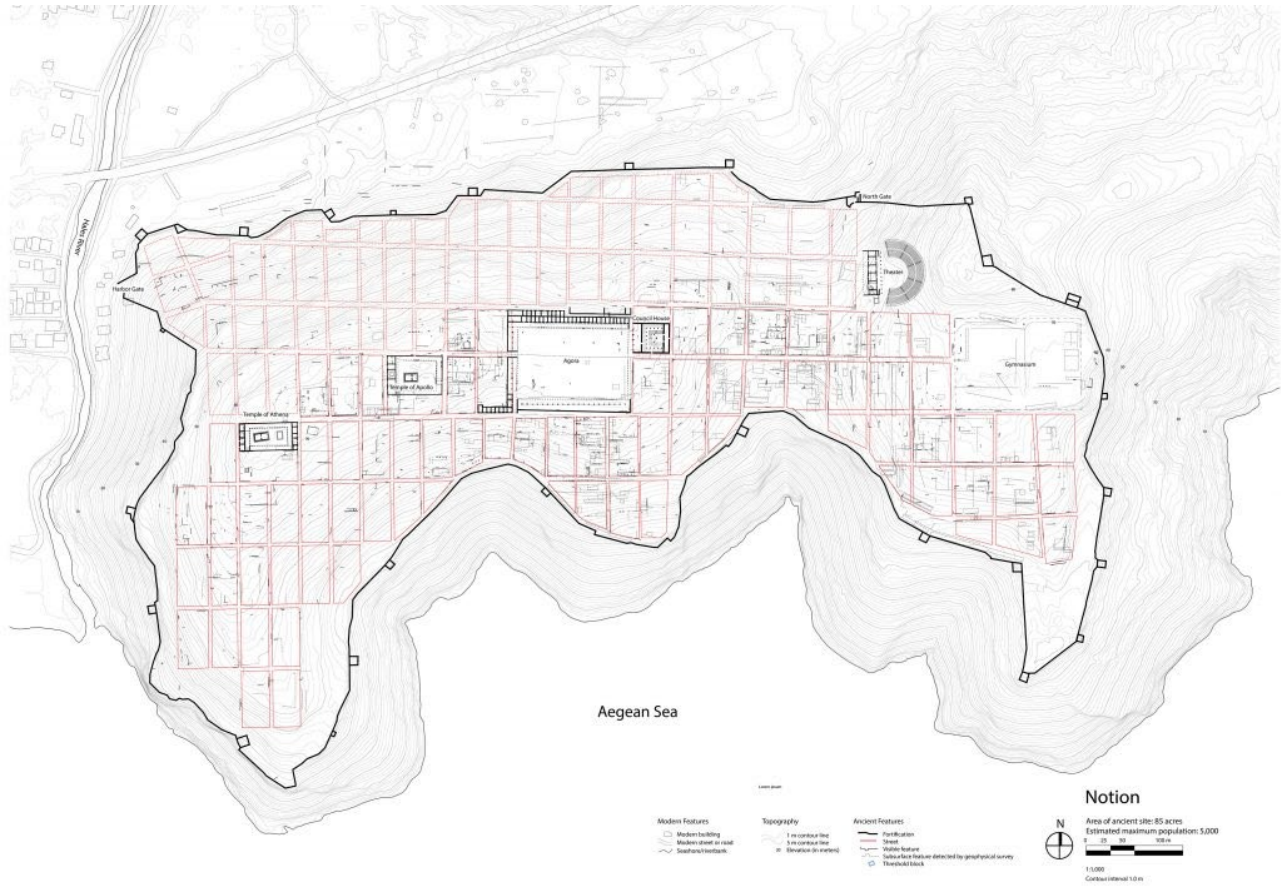


Figure 11. State plan of the city of Notion based on research by the Notion Archaeological Survey. Courtesy of Notion Archaeological Survey.



Figure 12. Example of diagnostic sherds, particularly table ware, collected around the Temple of Athena at Notion in 2015. Courtesy of Notion Archaeological Survey.



Figure 13. Map of Karia. By Olivier Henry, after van Bremen and Carbon 2010: 11.

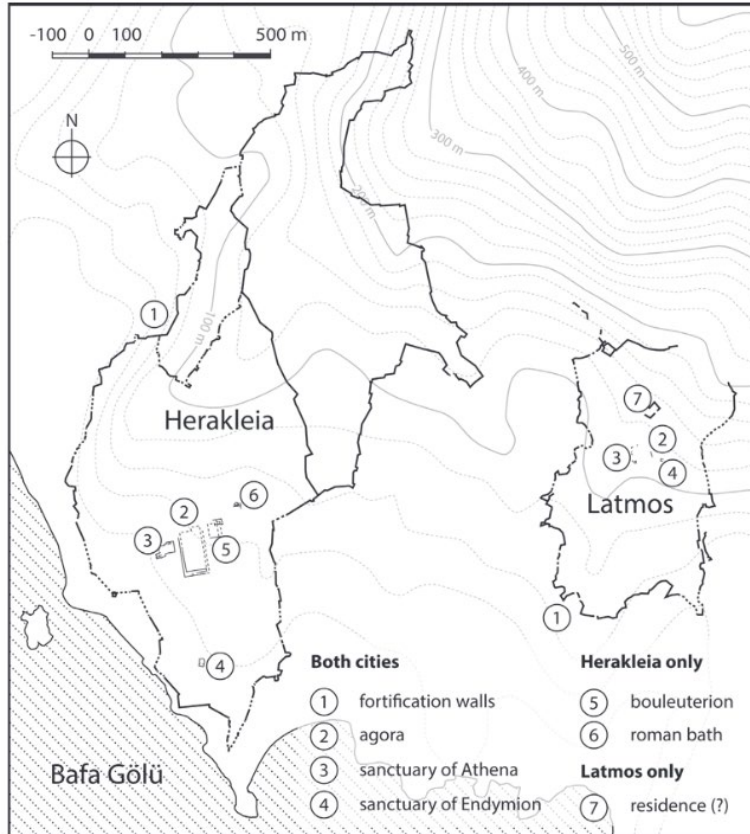


Figure 14. Map of Herakleia and Latmos with locations of major monuments. After Opitz 2017: 188, fig. 19.1.



Figure 15. Views from the Temple of Athena of Herakleia to Mount Latmos. Taken by author in June 2015.

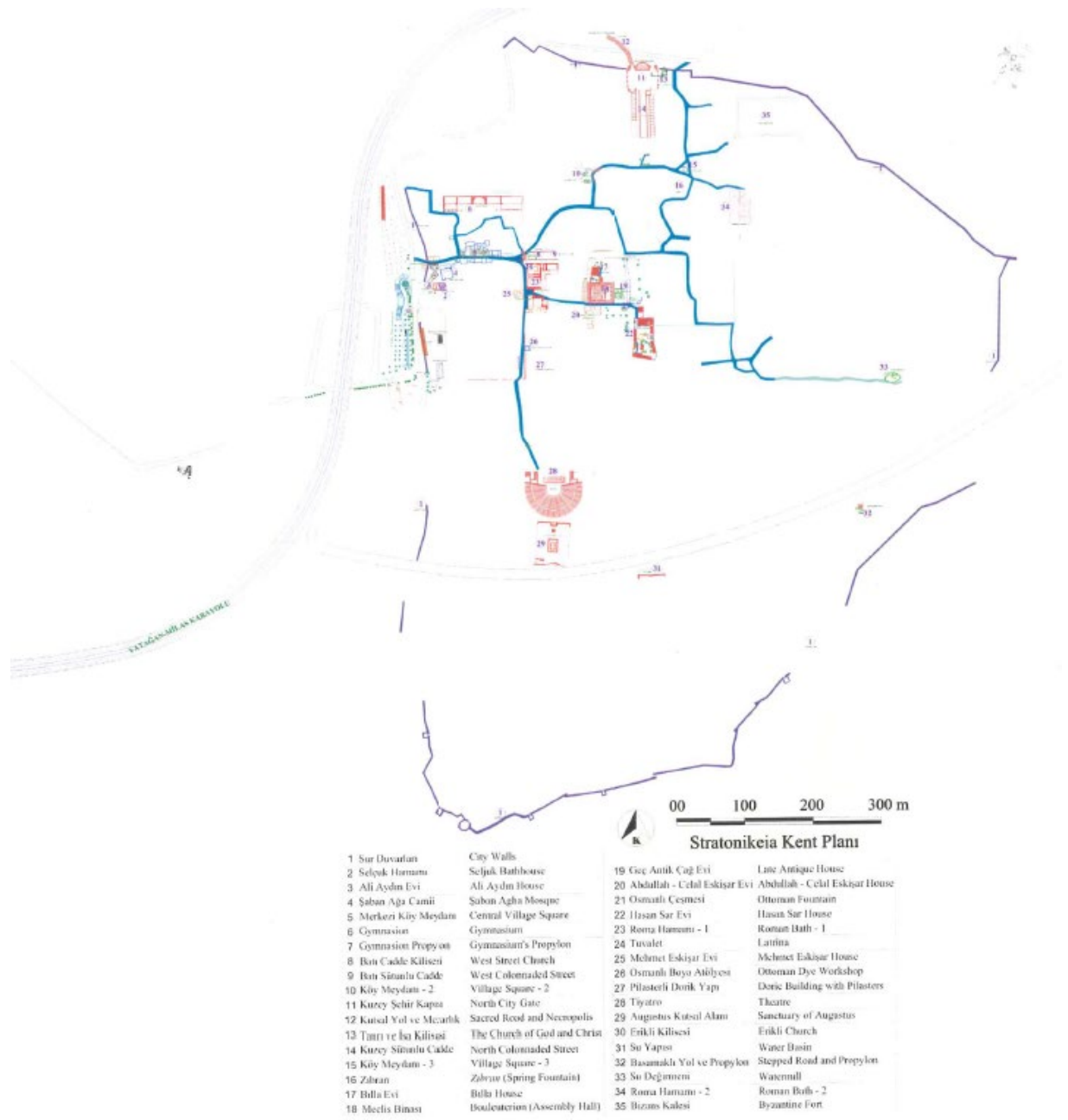
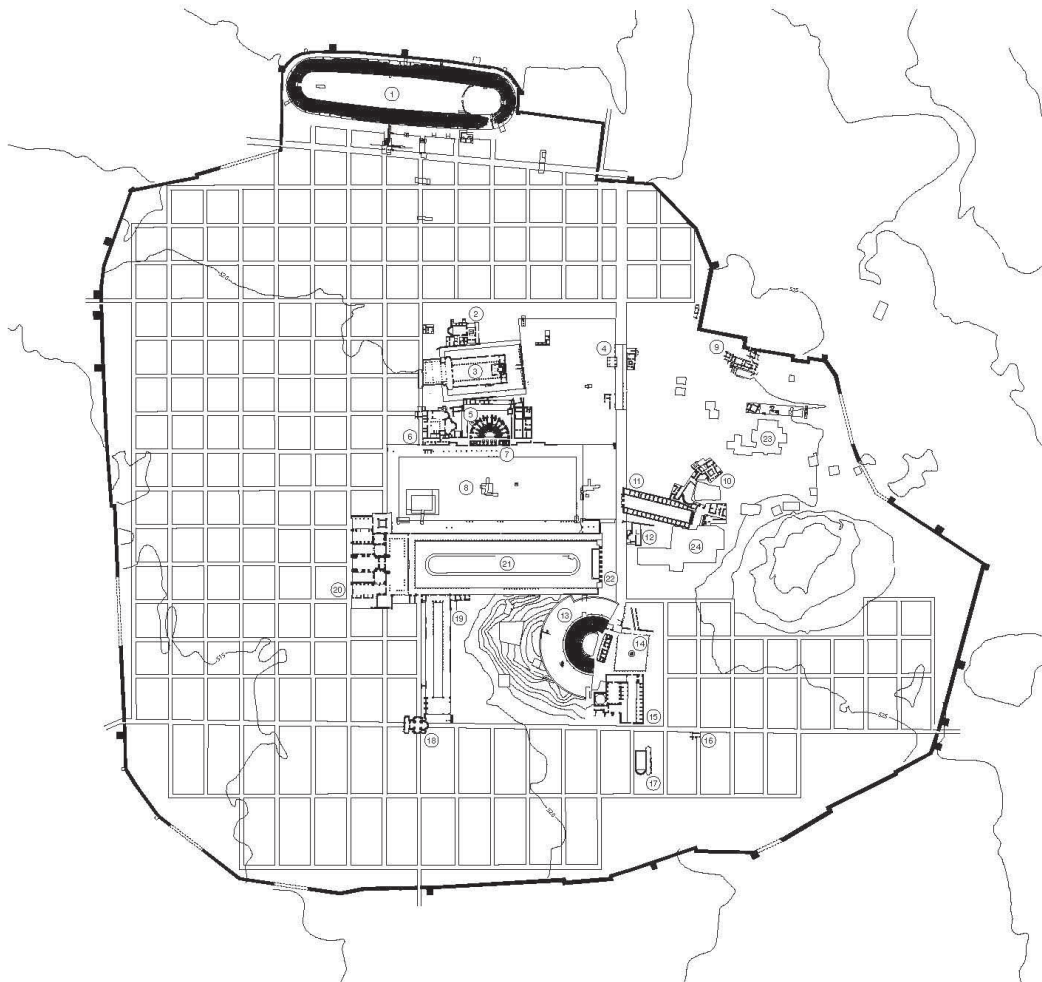


Figure 16. State plan of Stratonikeia. After Söğüt 2020: 489, fig 1.



KEY

- | | |
|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. STADIUM | 13. THEATER |
| 2. NORTH TEMENOS HOUSE | 14. TETRASTOON |
| 3. TEMPLE OF APHRODITE / CATHEDRAL | 15. THEATER BATHS |
| 4. TETRAPYLON | 16. "GAUDIN'S FOUNTAIN" |
| 5. SCULPTORS' WORKSHOP | 17. "GAUDIN'S GYMNASIUM" |
| 6. "BISHOP'S PALACE" | 18. TETRAKIONION / TRICONCH CHURCH |
| 7. BOULEUTERION | 19. BASILICA |
| 8. NORTH AGORA | 20. HADRIANIC BATHS |
| 9. WATER CHANNEL AREA | 21. SOUTH AGORA |
| 10. ATRIUM HOUSE | 22. AGORA GATE |
| 11. SEBASTEION | 23. MUSEUM |
| 12. CRYPTOPORTICUS HOUSE | 24. EXCAVATION HOUSE |

APHRODISIAS

STATE PLAN WITH CITY GRID



H. MARK, 2005, 2010

revised 8/4/10

Figure 17. State plan of Aphrodisias. After "Aphrodisias Excavations" website:
<http://aphrodisias.classics.ox.ac.uk/styles/thumbs/citygrid.pdf>

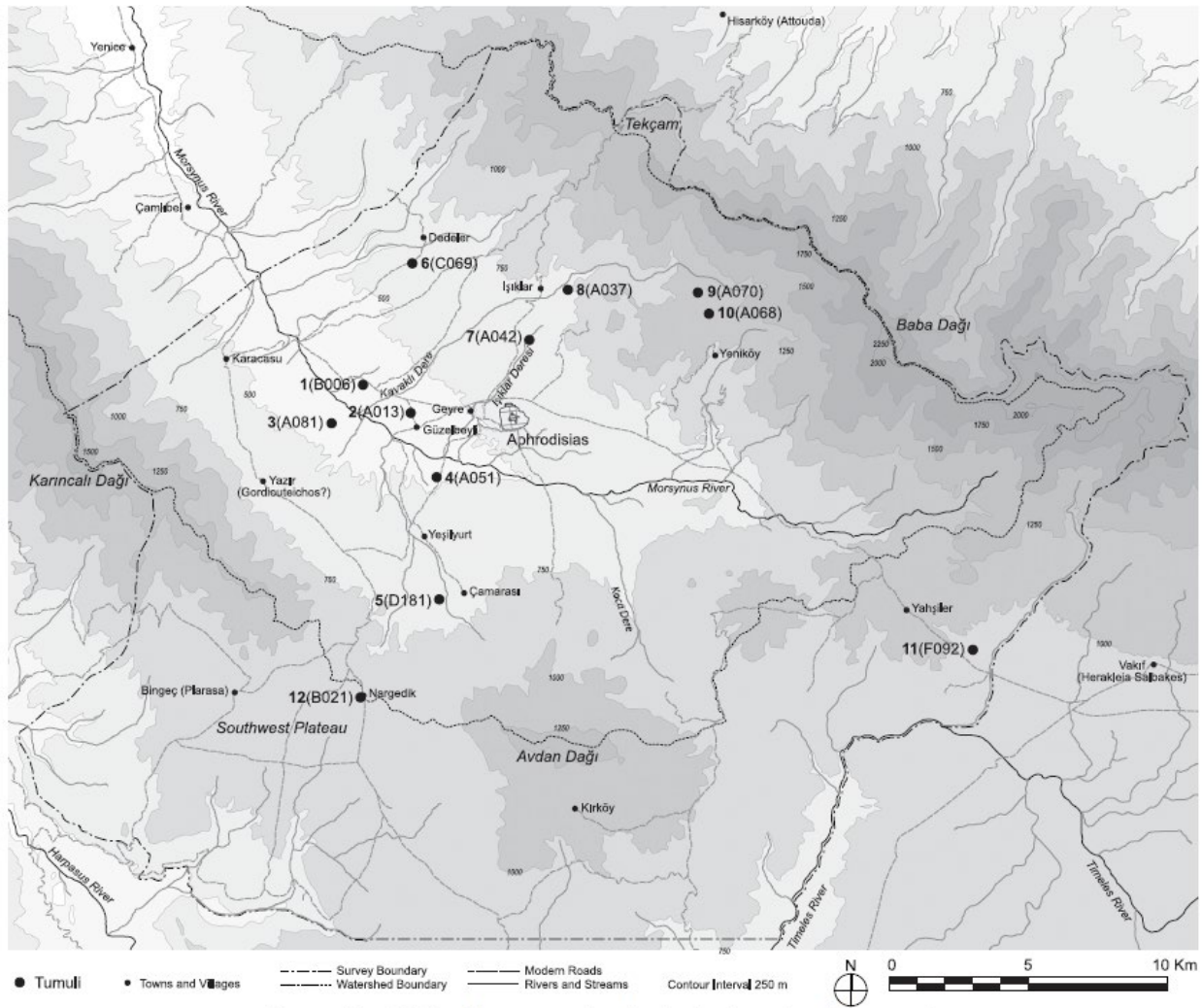


Figure 1. Map of Aphrodisias survey region, showing locations of tumuli (1:200,000).

Figure 18. Map of tumuli (excluding the Plarasa cemetery) identified from the Aphrodisias Regional Survey. After Ratté 2012b: 40, fig. 1.

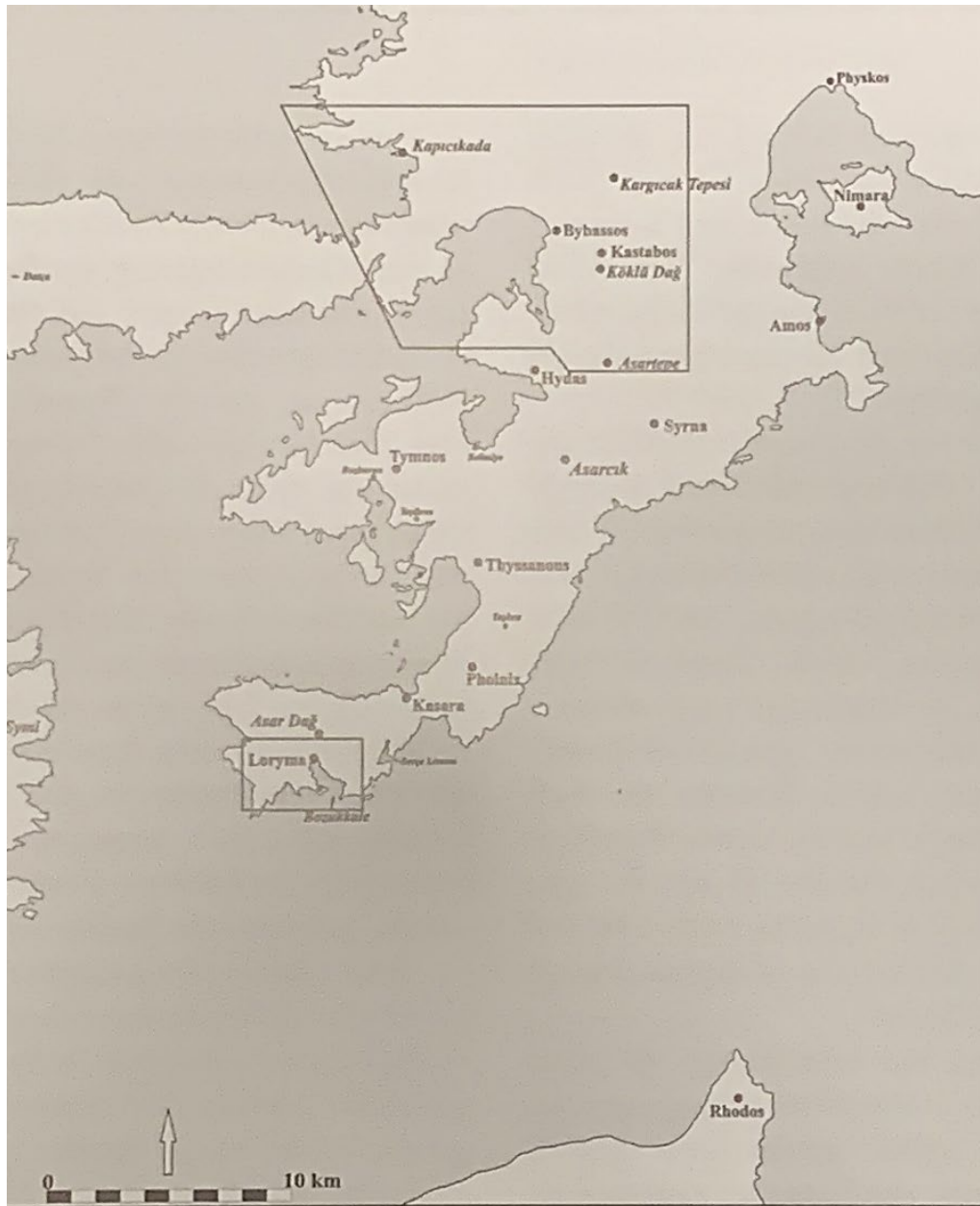


Figure 19. Map of the Chersonesos peninsula with Held's survey regions outlined. After Held 2019: 6, fig. 1.



Figure 20. Map of sites identified and studied during the Bybassos survey. After Held and Wilkening-Aumann 2015: 88, fig. 1.

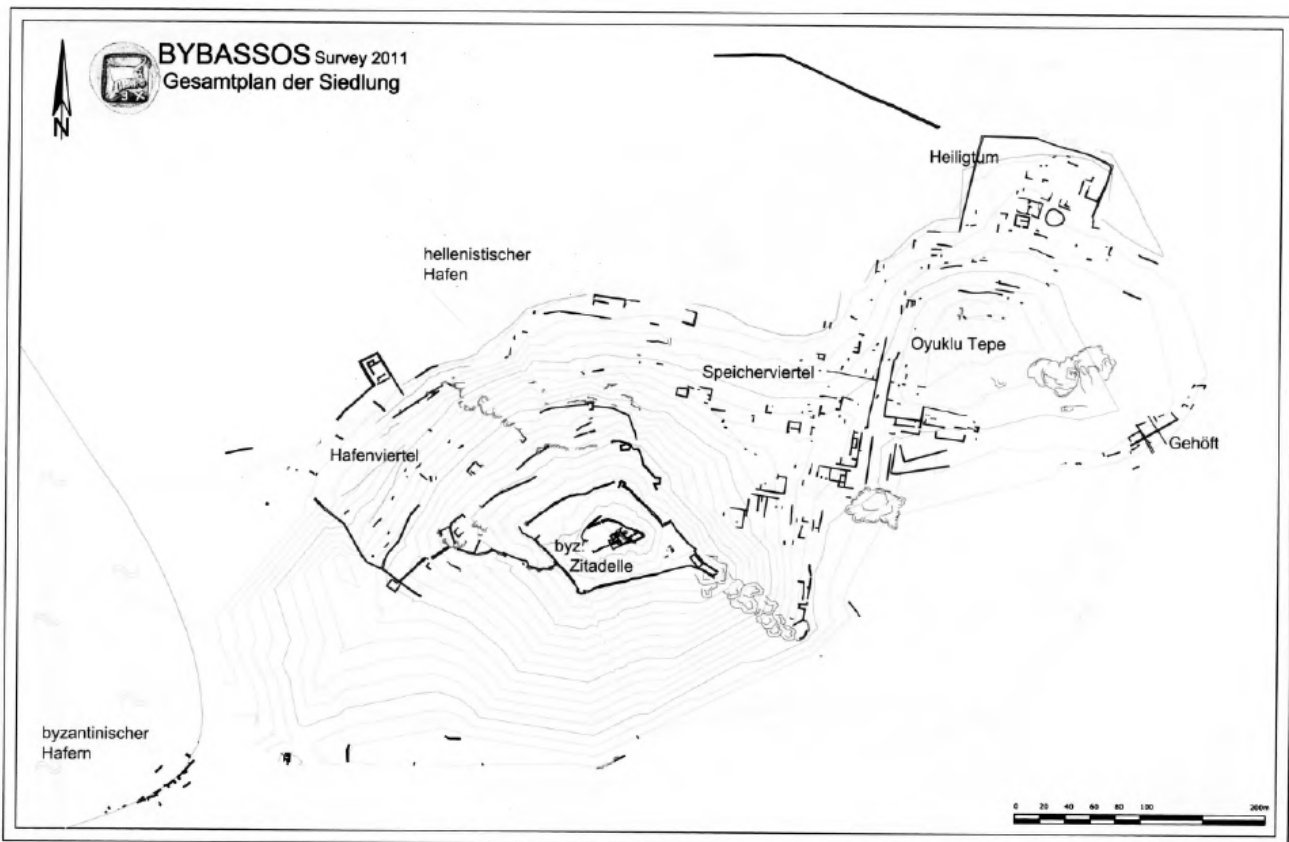


Figure 21. Plan of Bybassos which shows the location of the Hellenistic port to the north. After Held and Wilkening-Aumann 2015: 89, fig. 2.

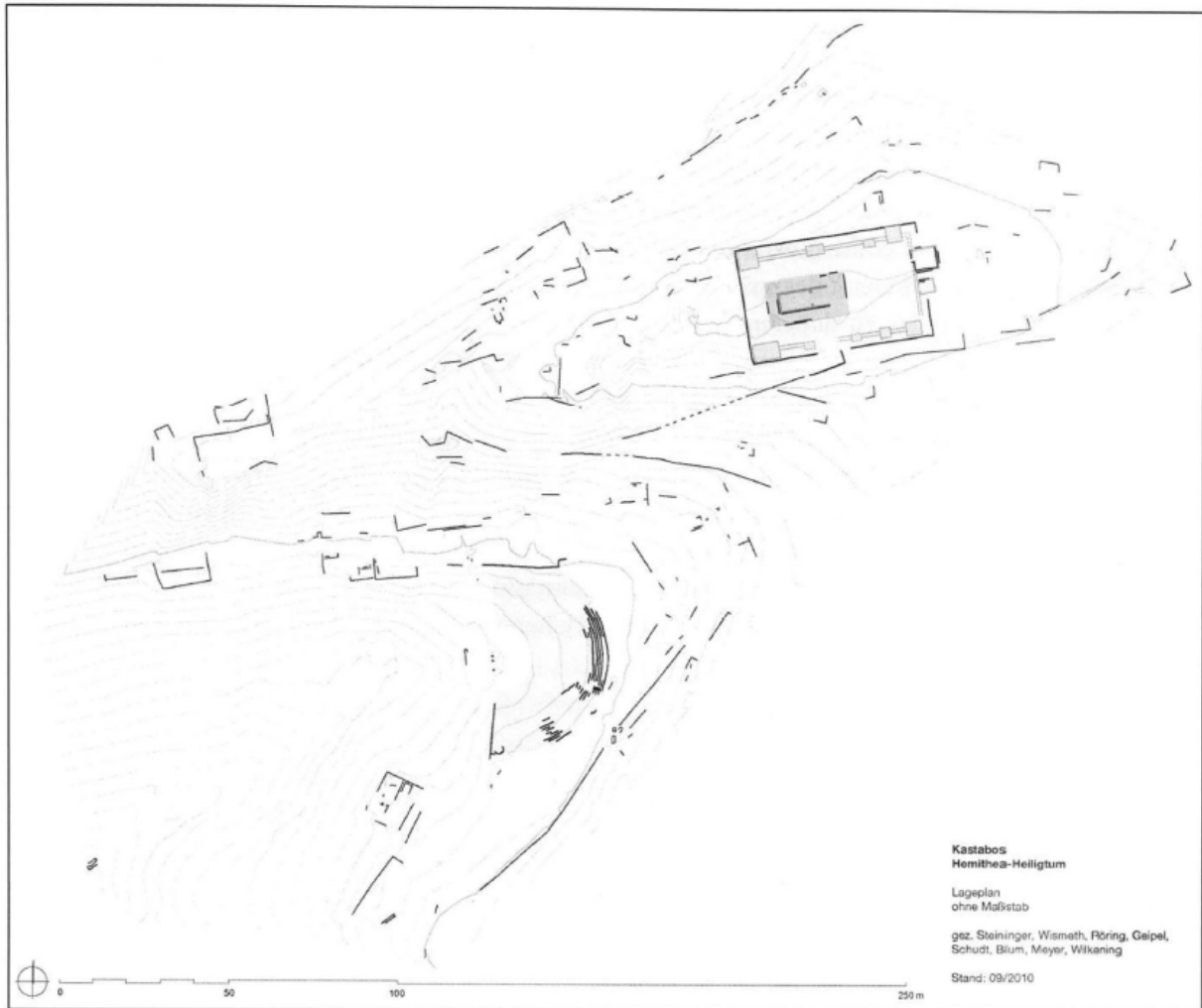


Figure 22. Plan of Kastabos and the Hemithea sanctuary. After Held 2015: 186, fig. 1.

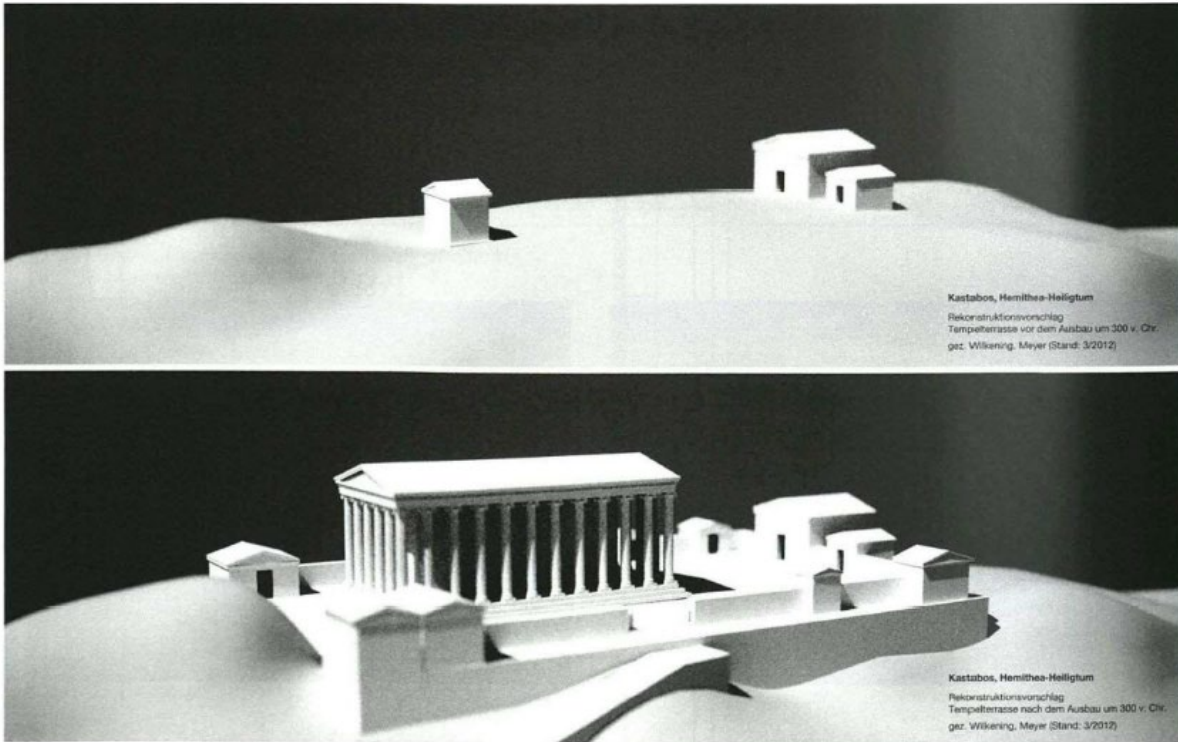


Figure 23. Reconstruction of sanctuary of Hemithea at Kastabos in 4th c. BCE (top) and 3rd c. BCE (bottom). After Held 2015: 194, fig. 17, by C. Wilkening-Aumann and T. Meyer.

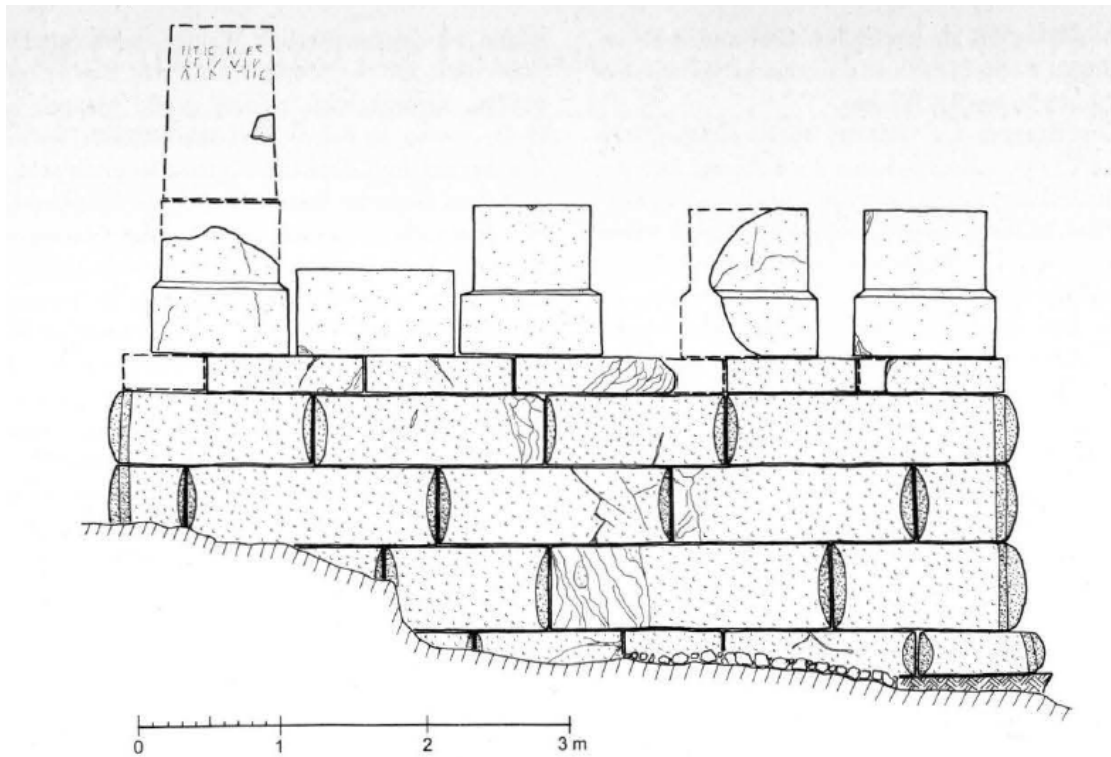


Abb. 12 Loryma. Grab 3. Rekonstruktion (M 1 : 50)

Figure 24. Example of a grave from the Loryma survey with local Karian step base architecture on the top level of the monument. After Held 2009: 133, fig. 12.

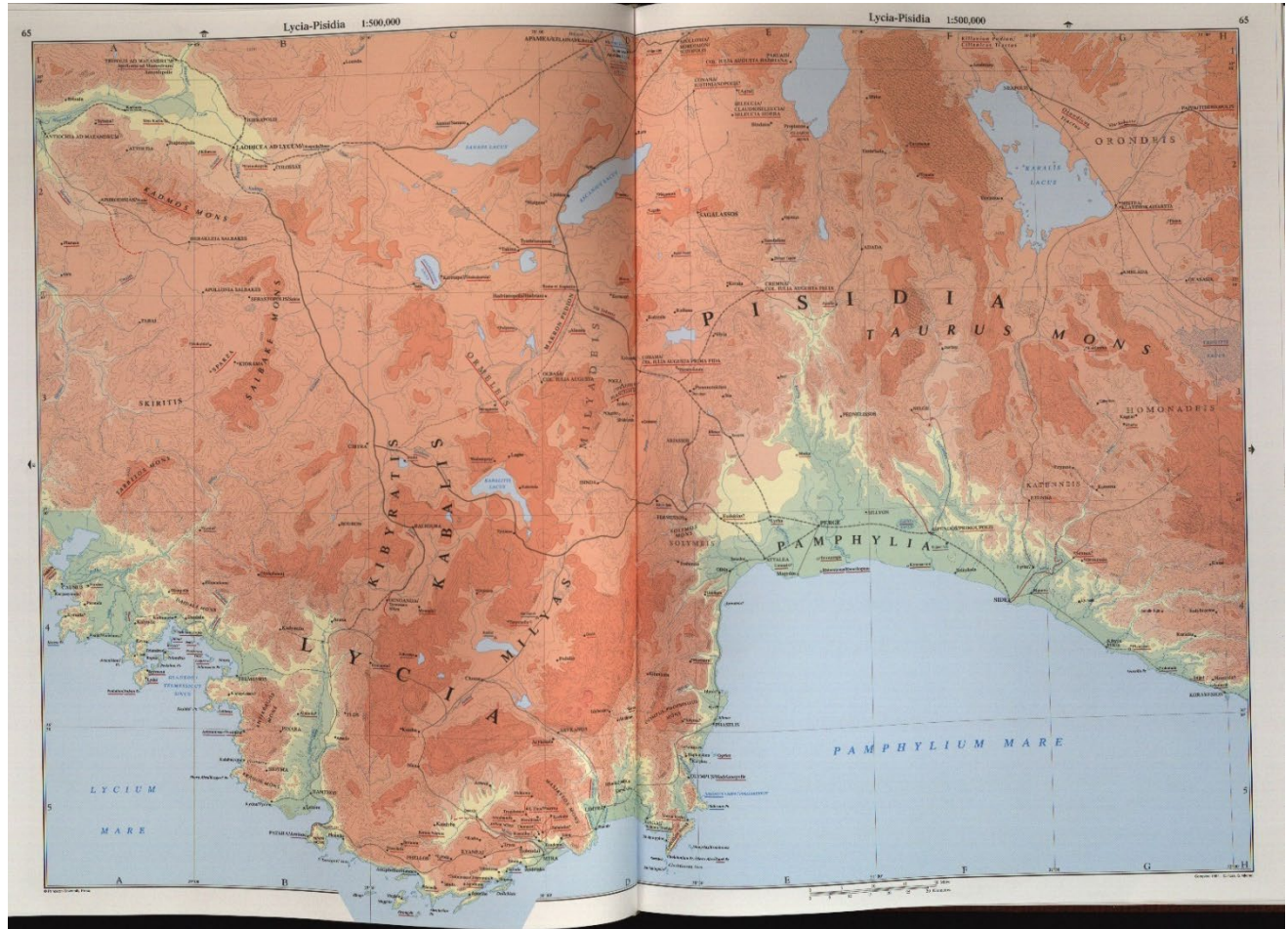


Figure 25. Map of southwestern Anatolia with the Lycian peninsula, the region of Kabalia to the north, and the region of Pisidia to the northeast. After Foss and Mitchell in Talbert and Bagnall 2000, no. 65.

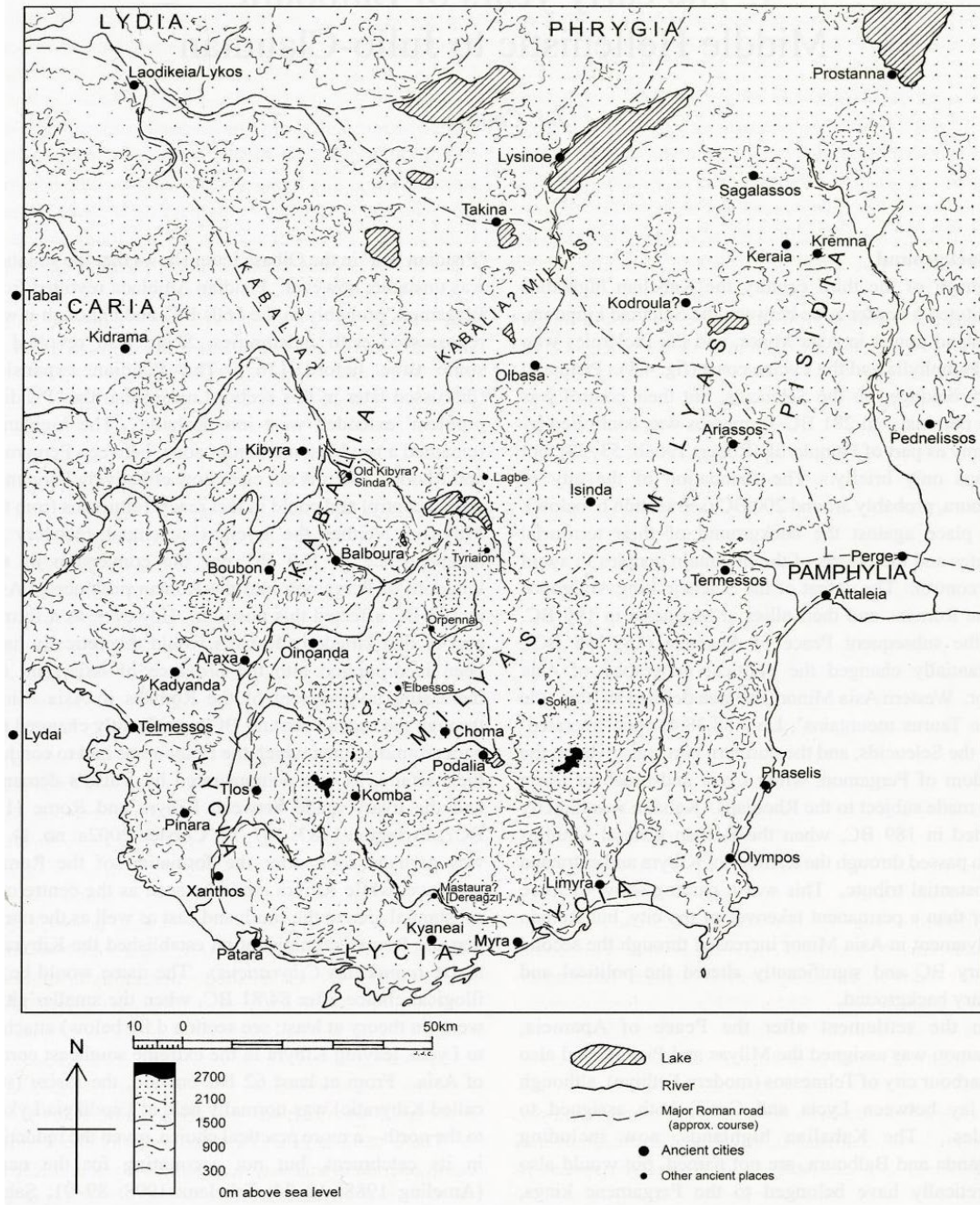


Figure 26. Map of southwestern region of Anatolia that shows Lycia (southern coast) and Kabalia (central part of map, north of Lycia). After Coulton 2012b: 62.

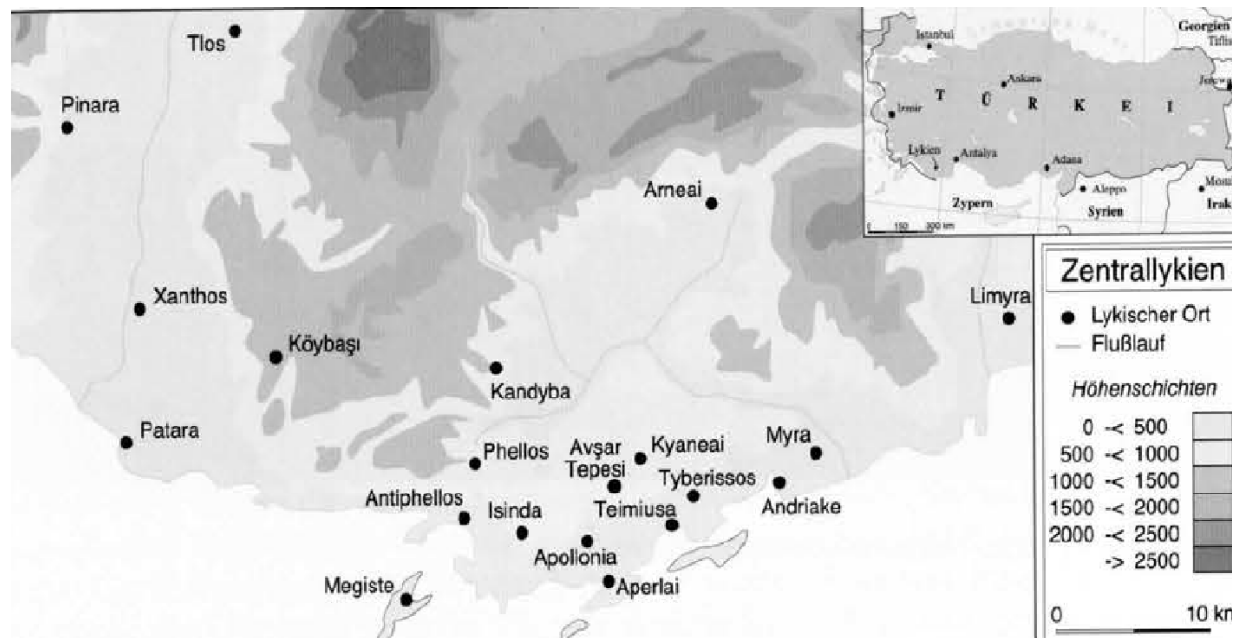


Figure 27. Map of Lycia. After Zimmermann 2005: 217.

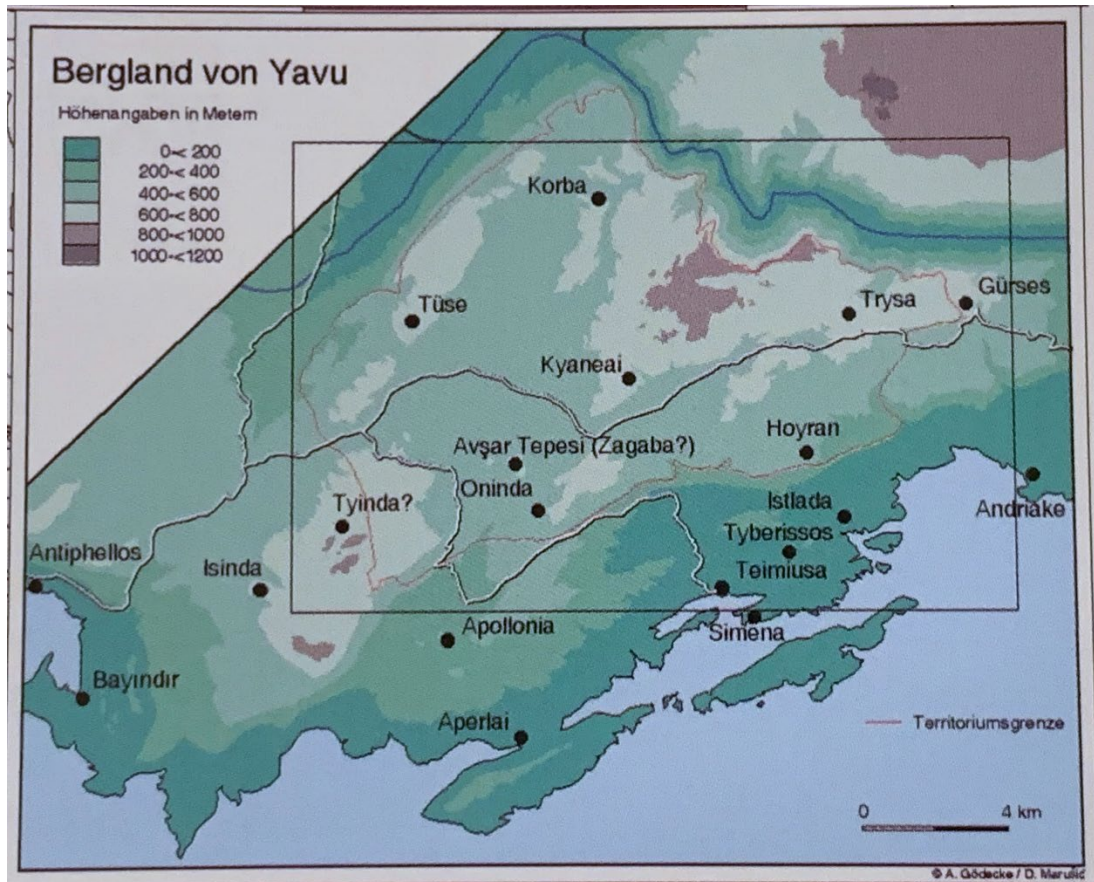


Figure 28. Map of the Yavu-Bergland with the major settlements from the Archaic to the Hellenistic periods. After Kolb 2008: 247.

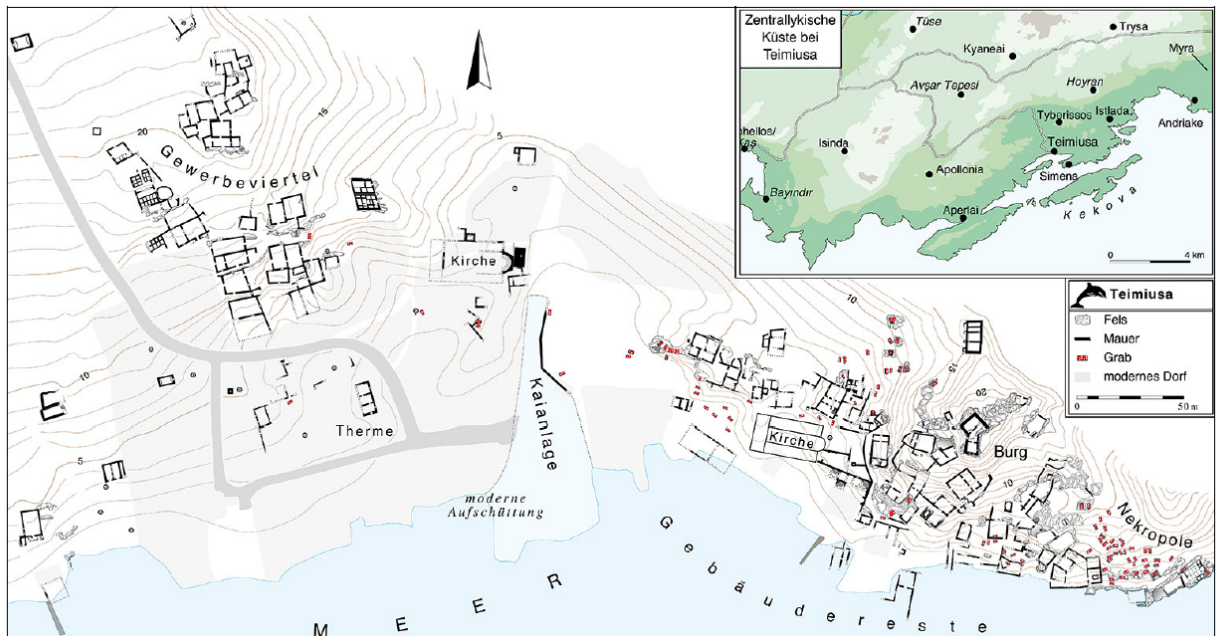


Figure 29. State plan of Timiussa. After Kolb 2020: 556, fig. 16.11, “by courtesy of Martin Zimmermann.” The original part of the city is in the east and the extension of the city is in the west. The basilicas are later Roman additions.

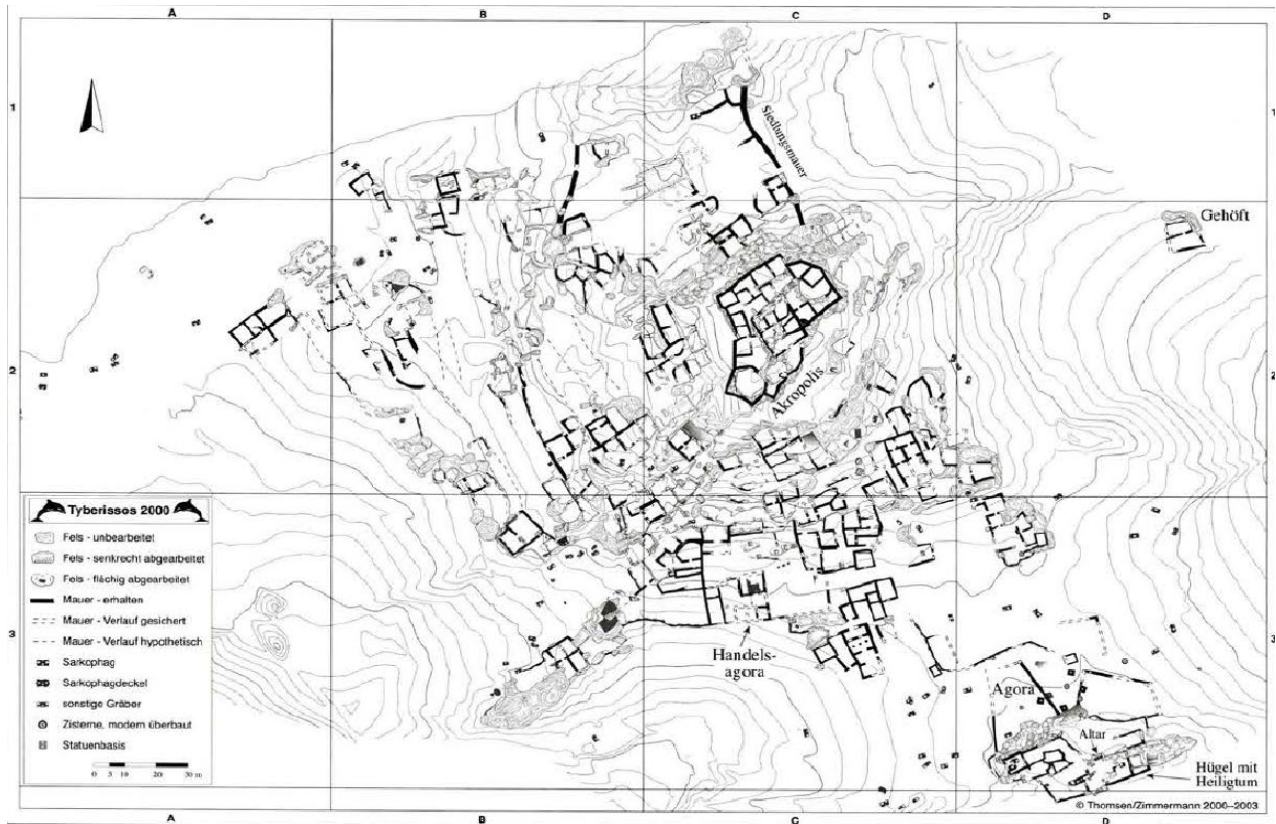


Figure 30. State plan of Tyberissos. After Zimmermann with Hüllden 2003: 294, fig. 14. The acropolis is the center of the original settlement.



Figure 31. State plan of Phellos. After Kolb 2020: 540, fig. 16.4, “by courtesy of Martin Zimmermann.”

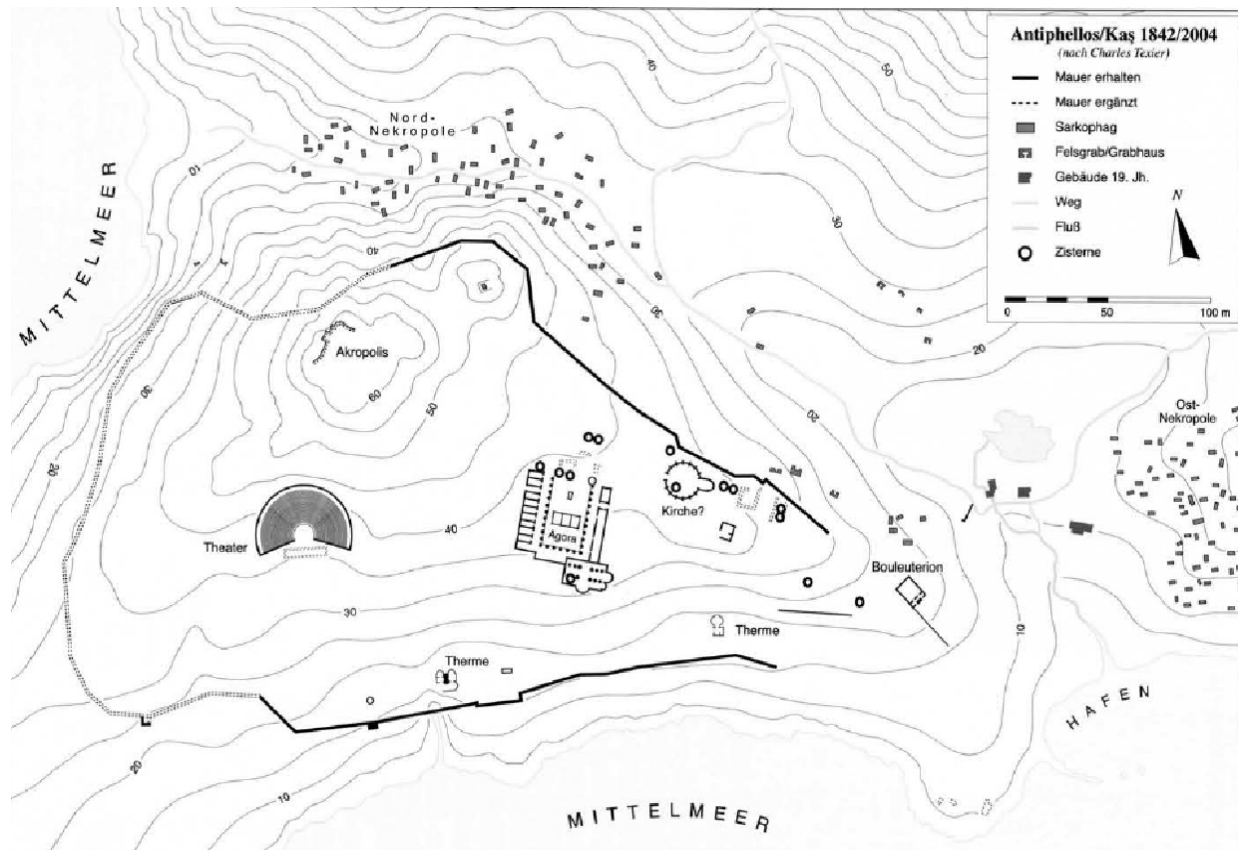


Figure 32. State plan of Antiphellos, after the 1842 plan by Texier. After Zimmermann 2005: 246, fig. 9.



Figure 33. State plan of Oinoanda. After Coulton 1983: 3, fig. 1.



Figure 34. The Hellenistic isodomic, ashlar masonry of the pentagonal tower of Oinoanda. Taken by author in June 2015.



Figure 35. View from acropolis of Balboura to the plains below, looking east. Taken by author in June 2015.



Figure 36. View from Hellenistic southeast circuit wall of Balbura, looking southeast. Taken by author in June 2015.

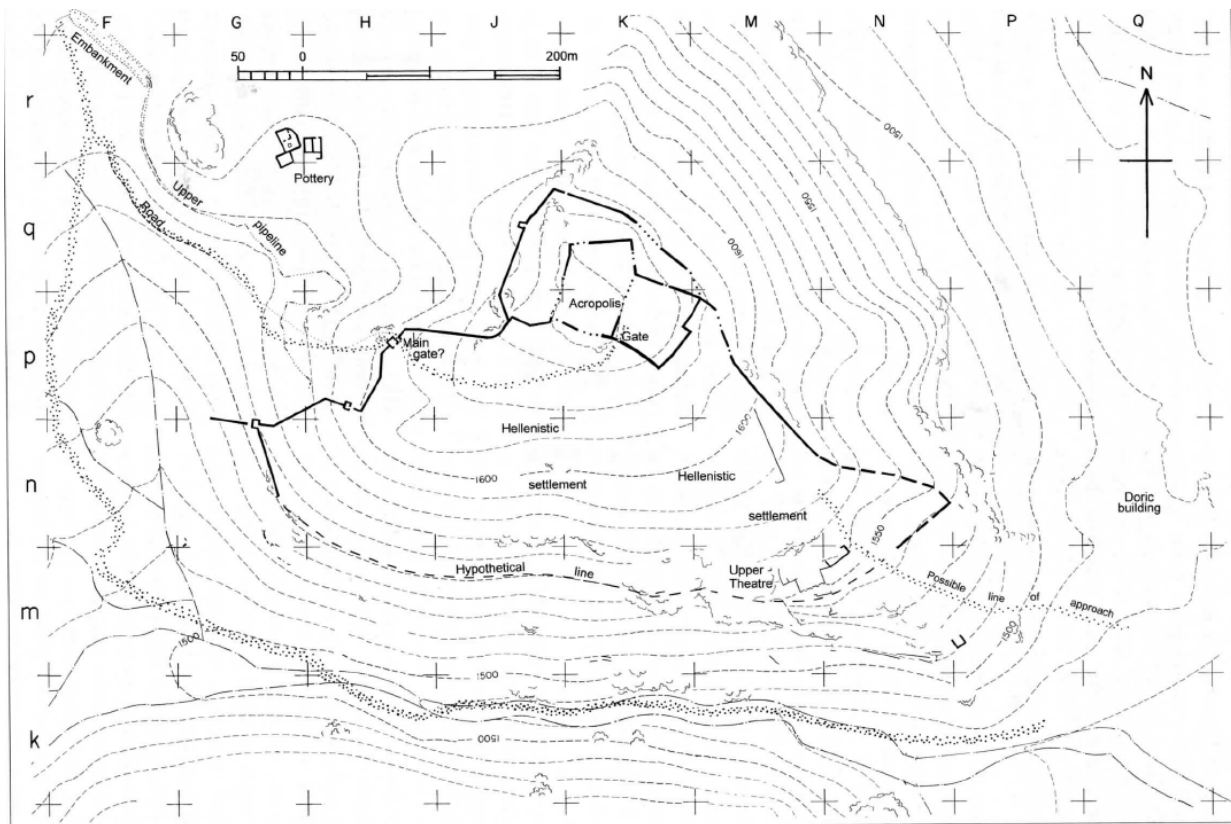


Figure 37. State plan of Balbura in the Hellenistic period, with bolded lines indicating actual extant fortification remains and dashed lines indicating presumed continuation of fortifications. After Coulton 2012b: 69, fig. 4.7.

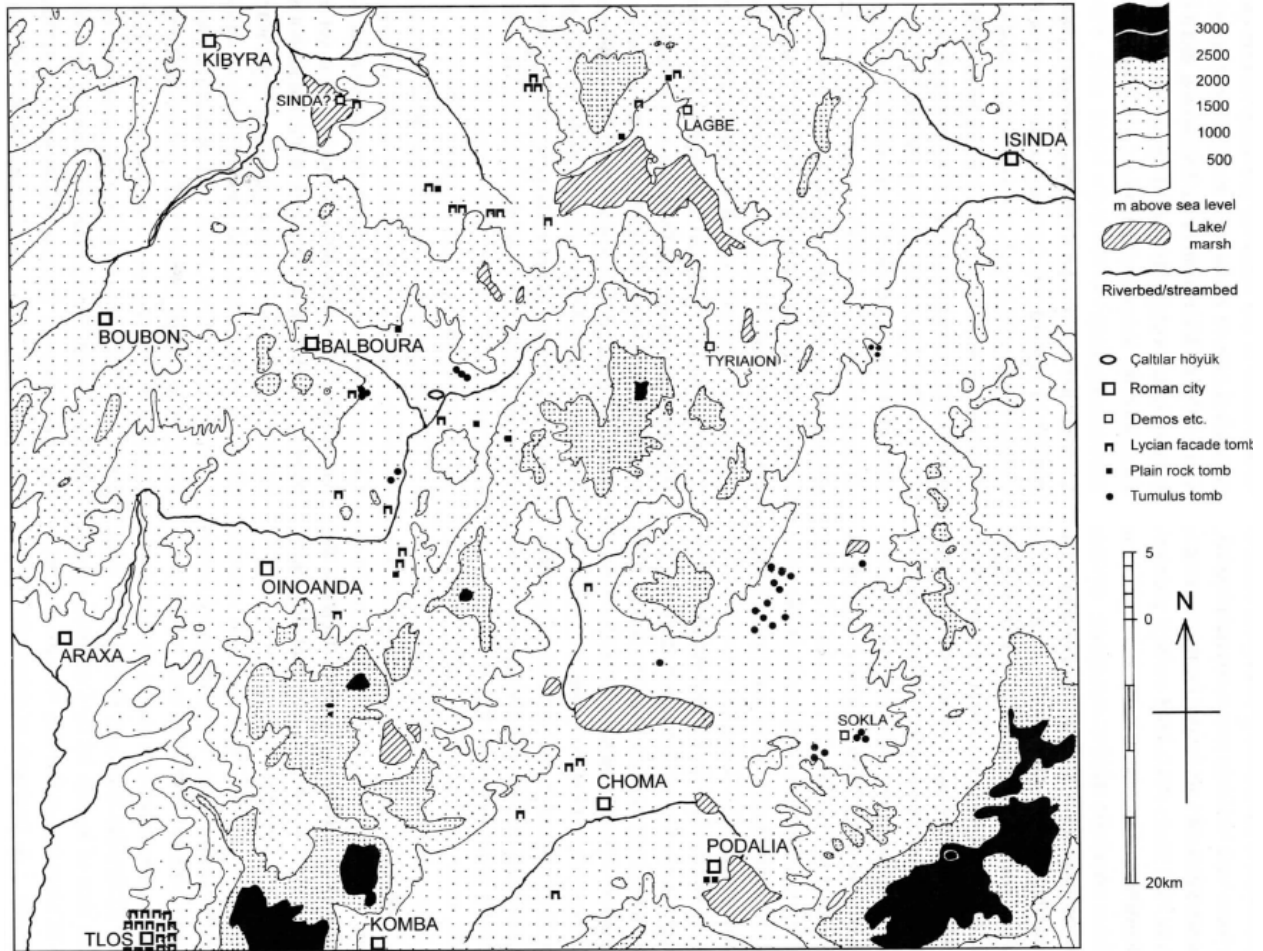


Figure 38. Plan of tombs, including Lycian rock-cut style tombs represented by the Π symbol, in the Kabalia region. After French and Coulton 2012: 57, fig. 3.3.

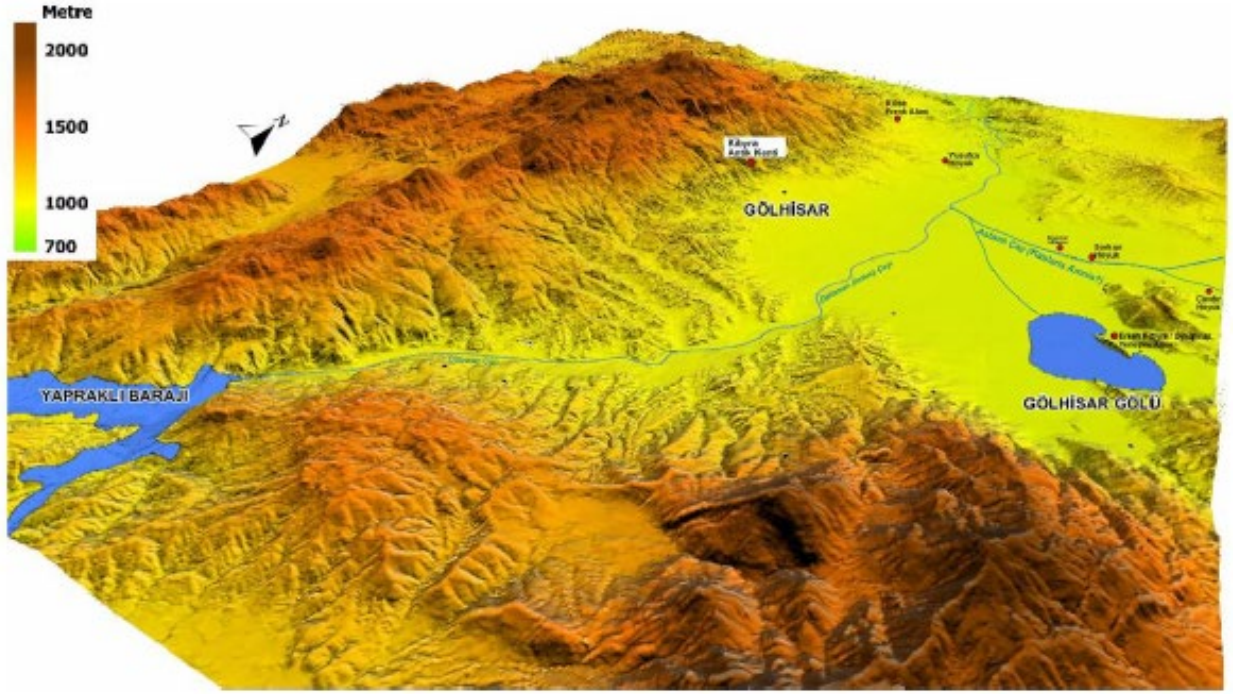


Figure 39. Elevation plan of Gölhisar and the Dalaman Çay basin. Old Kibyra is located on the north side of Gölhisar Gölü and Kibyra is indicated by the red dot and white text box on the foothills west of Gölhisar. After Özüdoğru 2018: 111, fig. 3.

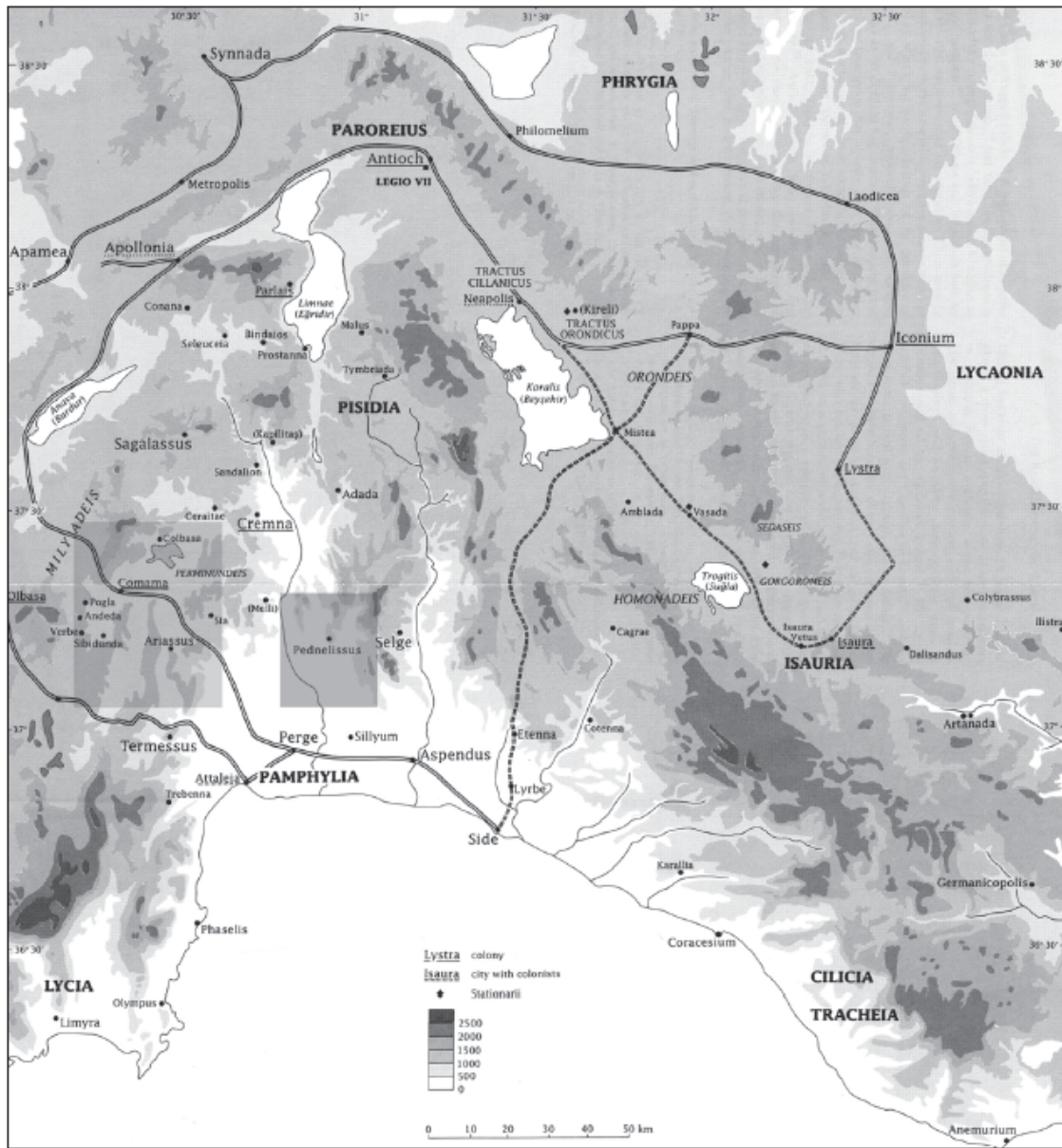


Figure 40. Map of Pisidia with survey areas of Mitchell’s Pisidia Survey Project (left) and of Vandeput and Köse’s Pednelissos survey (right) shaded. Kremna and Keraitai are northwest of Pednelissos. After Vandeput and Köse 2012: 206, fig. 1, after Mitchell 1993.

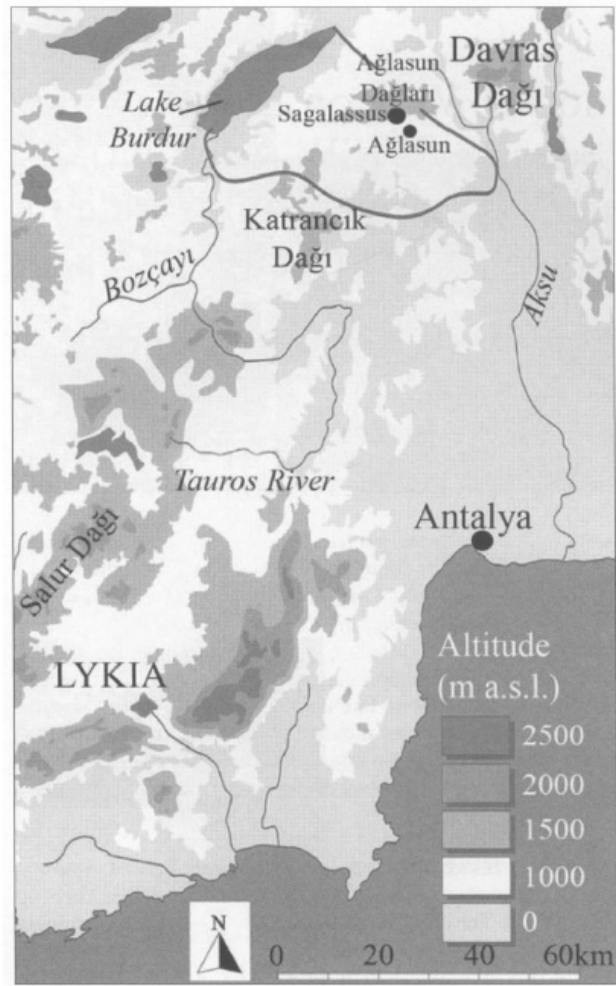


Figure 41. Map highlighting Sagalassos and its territory in Pisidia. After Vanhaverbeke et al. 2010: 107, fig. 1a.

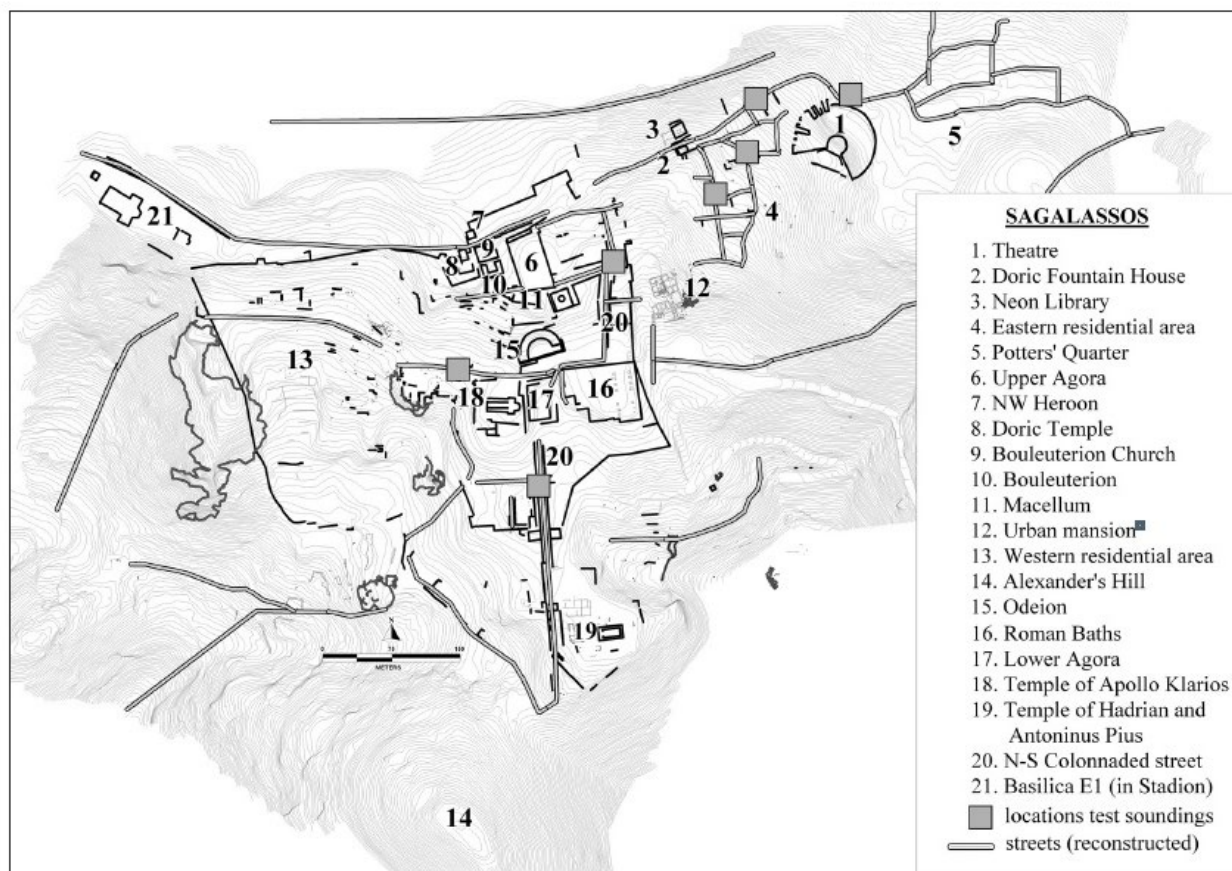


Figure 42. State plan of Sagalassos, with 5 being the Potters' Quarter. After Martens et al. 2012: 85, fig. 9.1.

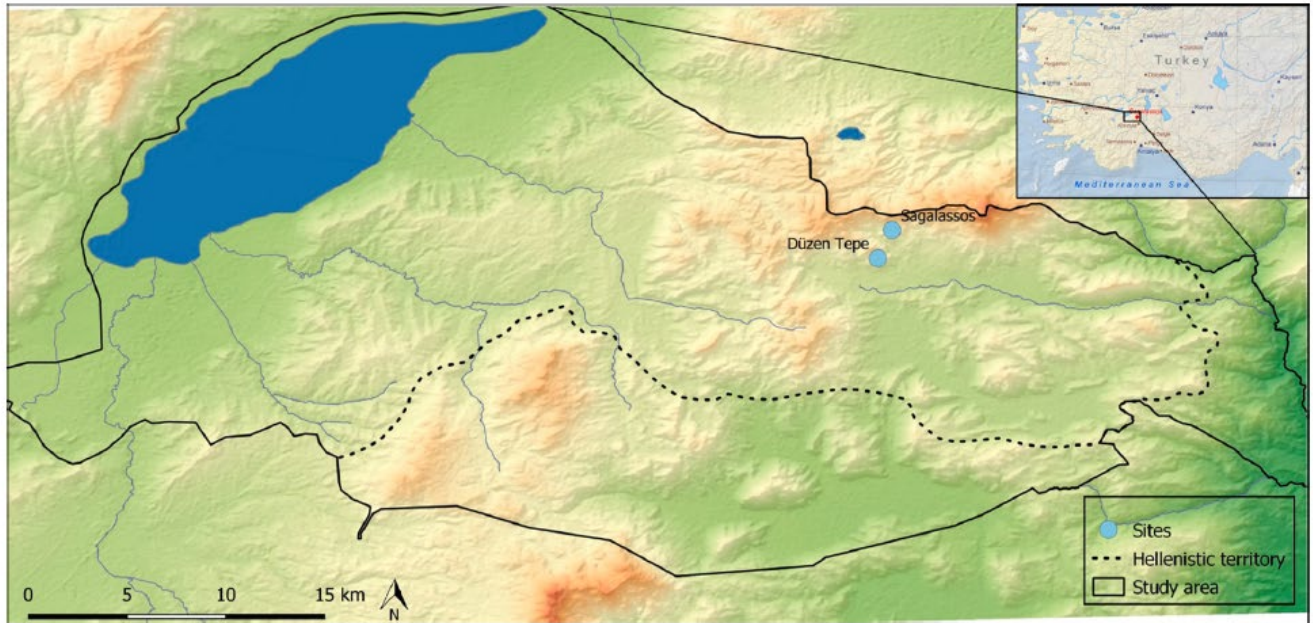


Figure 43. Map showing locations of Sagalassos and Düzen Tepe southwest of Lake Burdur. After Daems 2019: 4, fig. 1.

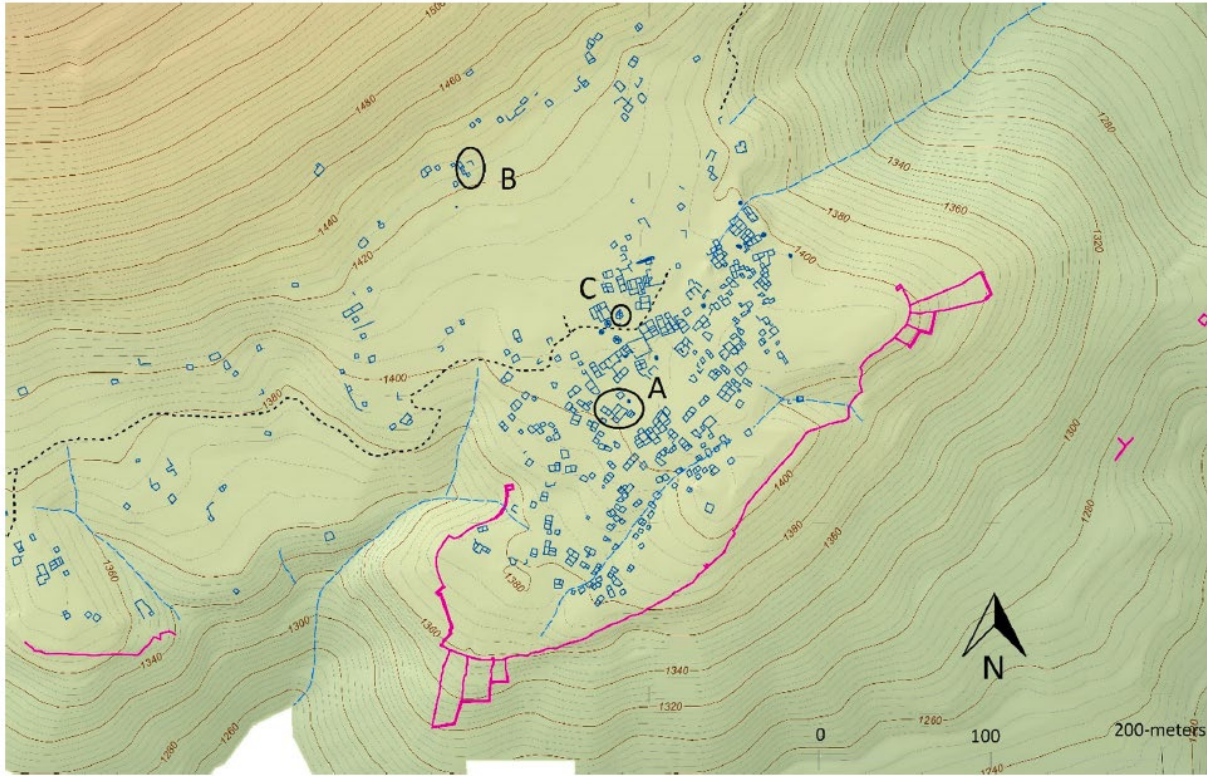


Figure 44. State plan of Düzen Tepe. A is the courtyard building, B is a bakery, and C is the “Big Building” perhaps with some public function. After Daems 2019: 5, fig. 2, copyright Sagalassos Project.

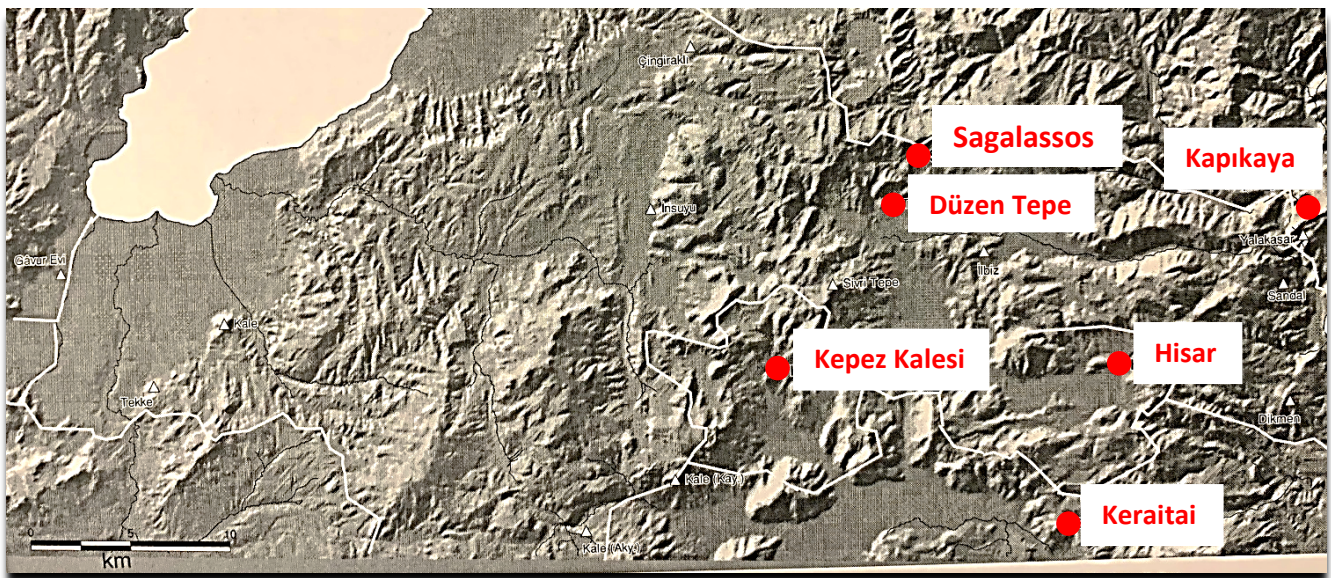


Figure 45. Map of Sagalassos, its territory, and other major sites in the Hellenistic period. After Vanhaverbeke and Waelkens 2003: 238, fig. 89; red labels and circles added by author for clarity.

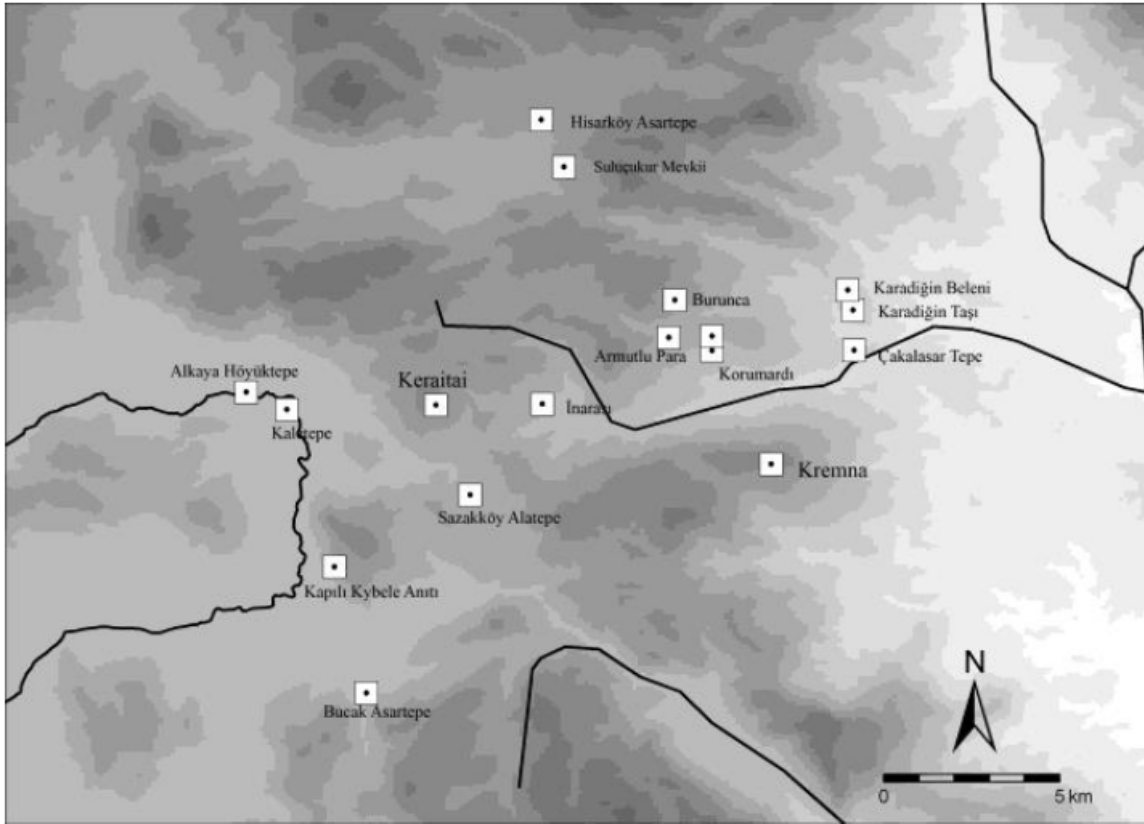


Figure 46. Map of region of Pisidia with Kremna and Keraitai, with the İnarası cave in between the two (center of map). After Metin 2015: 10, fig. 1, from Kremna Survey Project.

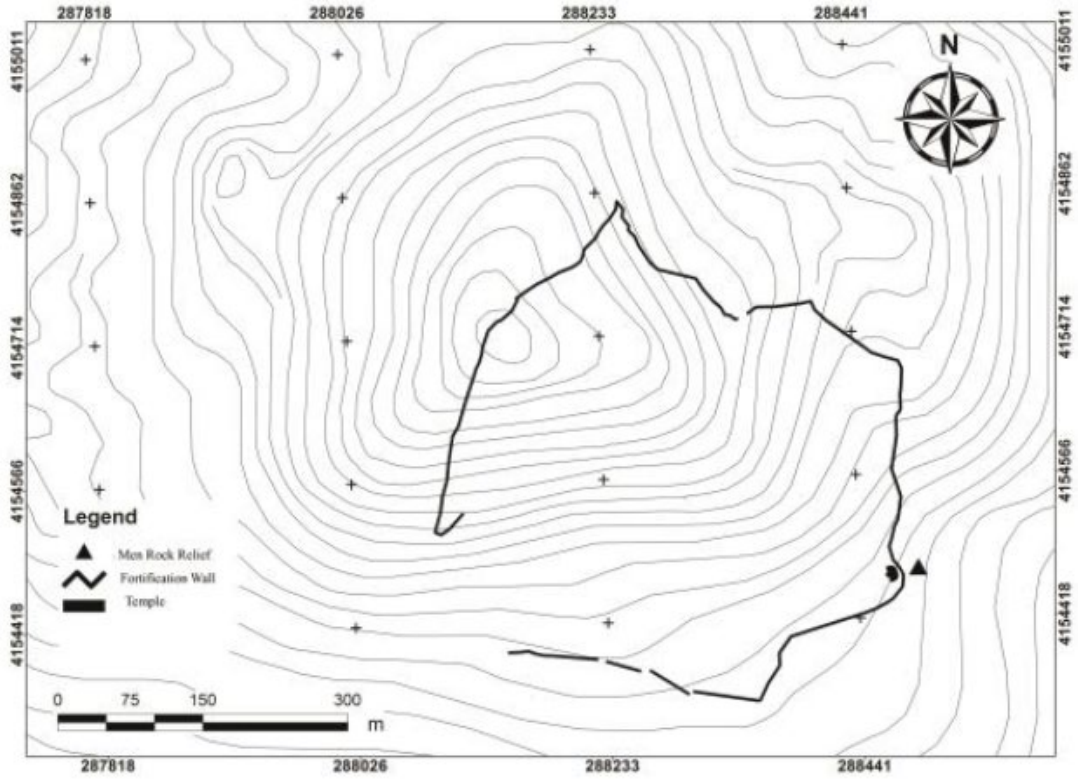


Figure 47. Map of Keritai with location of Men sanctuary denoted by the triangle to the east of the fortifications. After Metin 2015: 10, fig. 2.

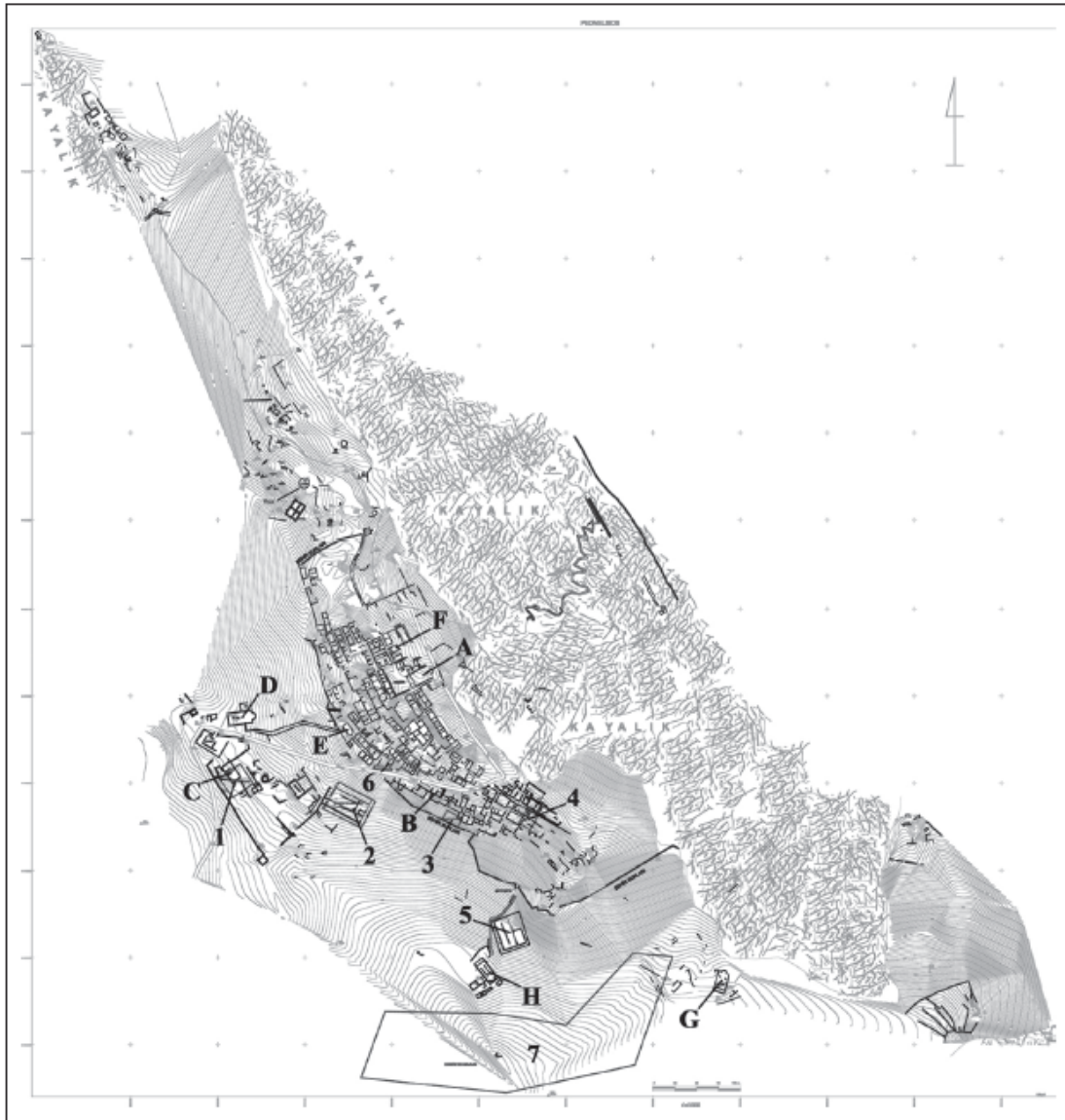


Figure 48. State plan of Pednelissos. Numbers refer to intensive survey areas and letters refer to later antique remains. After Vandeput and Köse 2012: 209, fig. 2.

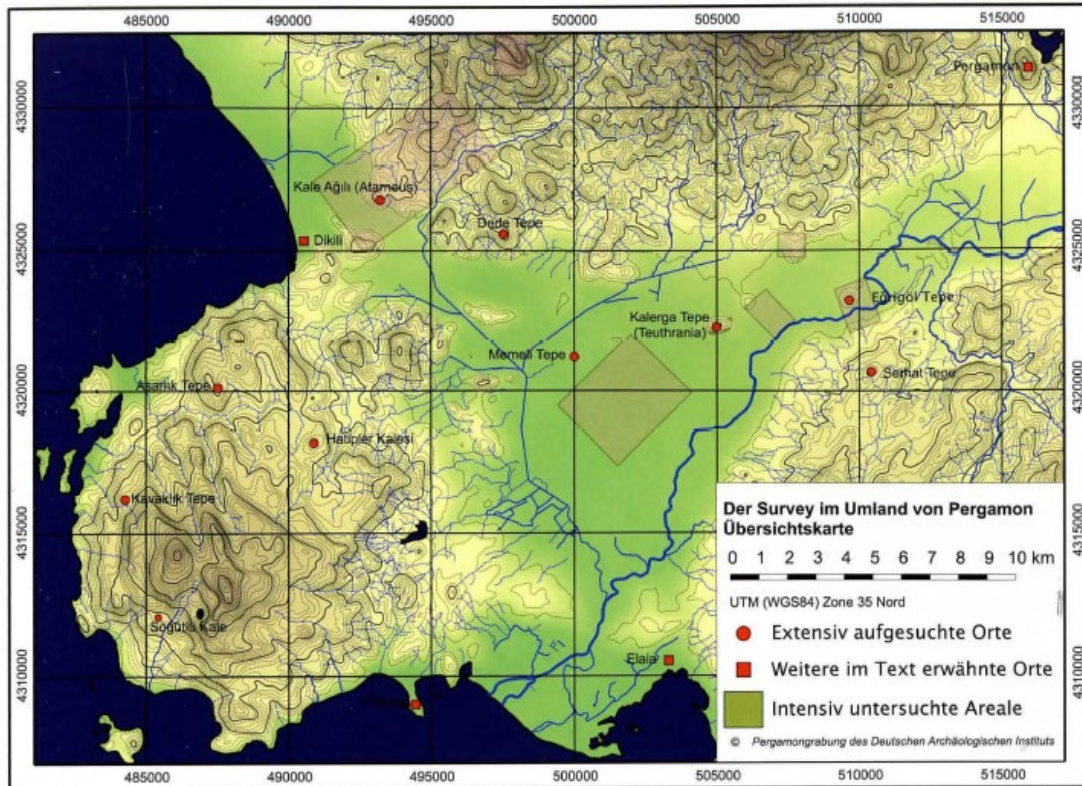


Figure 50. Map of Pergamon and surrounding settlements surveyed during the survey by Zimmermann in the Kaikos River valley. After Zimmermann et al. 2015: 233, fig. 28.

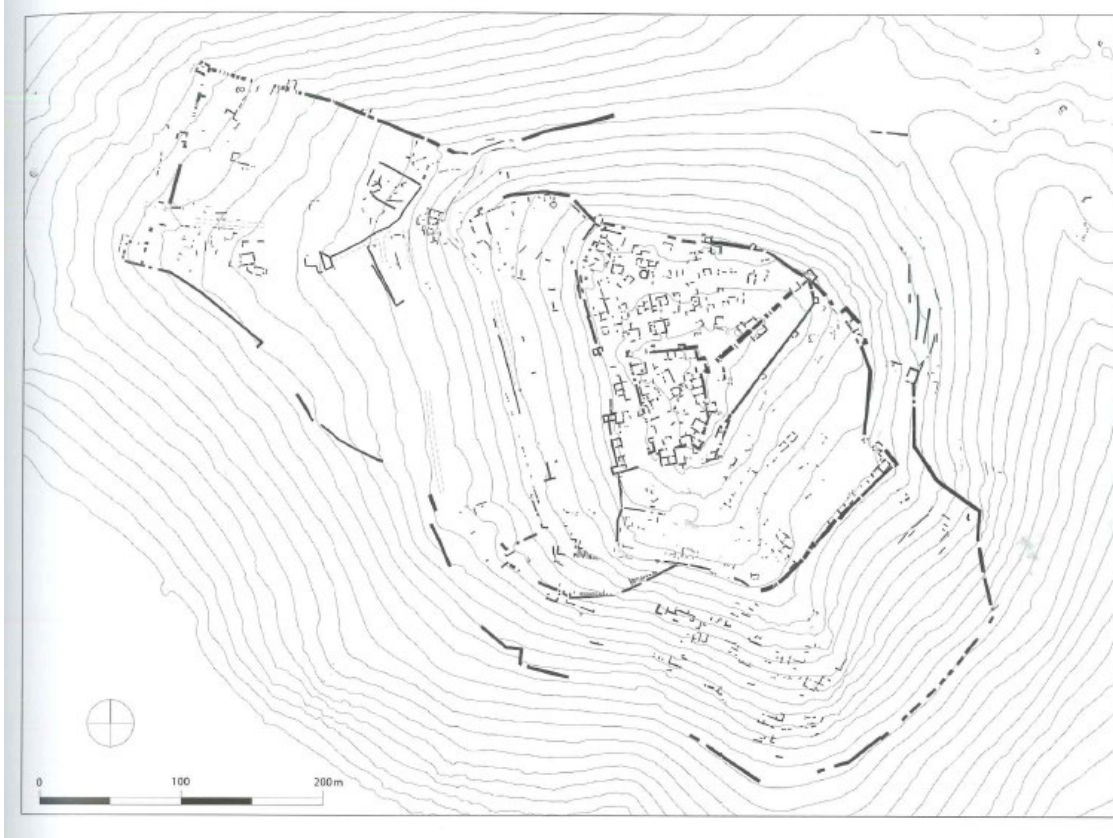


Figure 51. Site plan of Atarneus. After Pirson and Zimmermann 2014: 157, fig. 7, from “Archives of the Pergamon Excavation, DAI Istanbul, research project ‘Chora von Pergamon,’ M. Zimmermann, LMU Munich.”

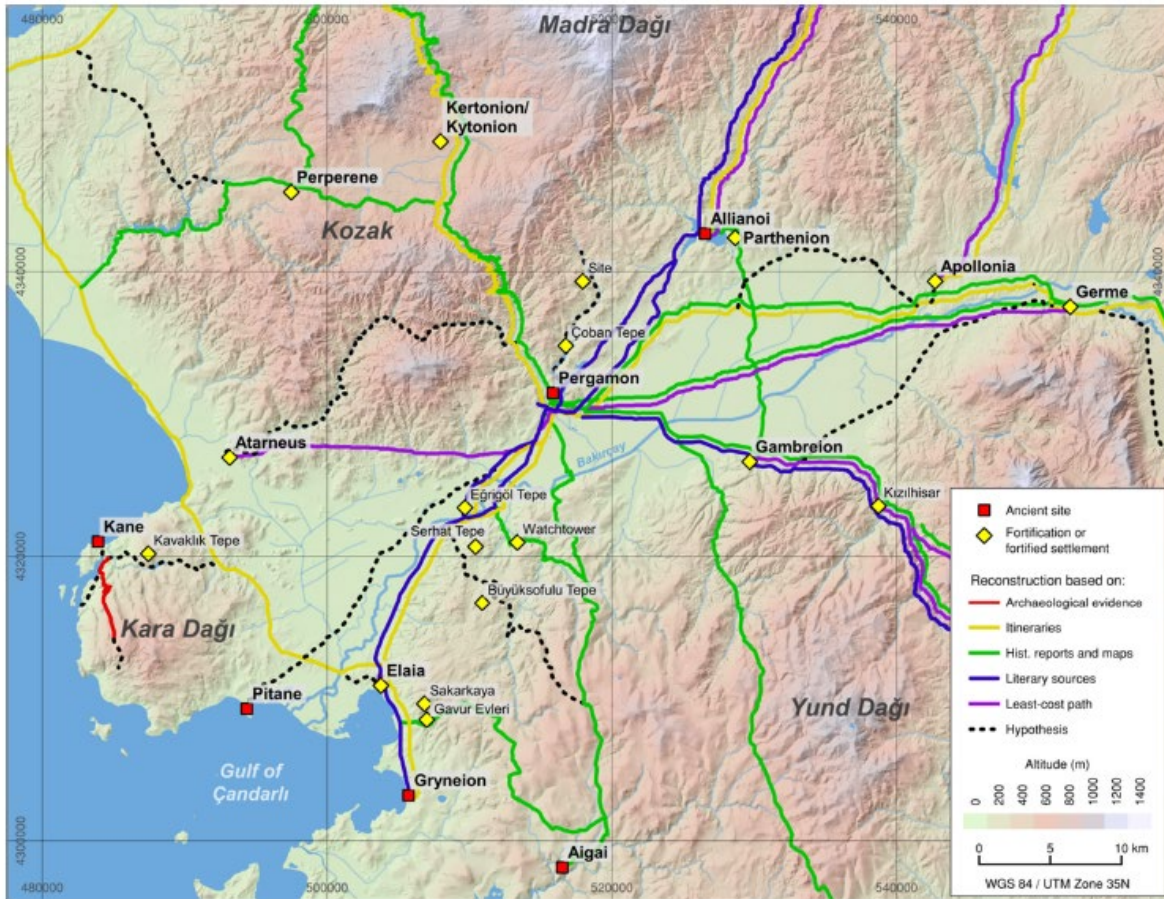


Figure 52. GIS analysis for route network of Pergamon with significant settlements (red squares) and forts or fortified settlements (yellow diamonds) along the routes to these settlements. After Ludwig 2020: 33, fig. 30.

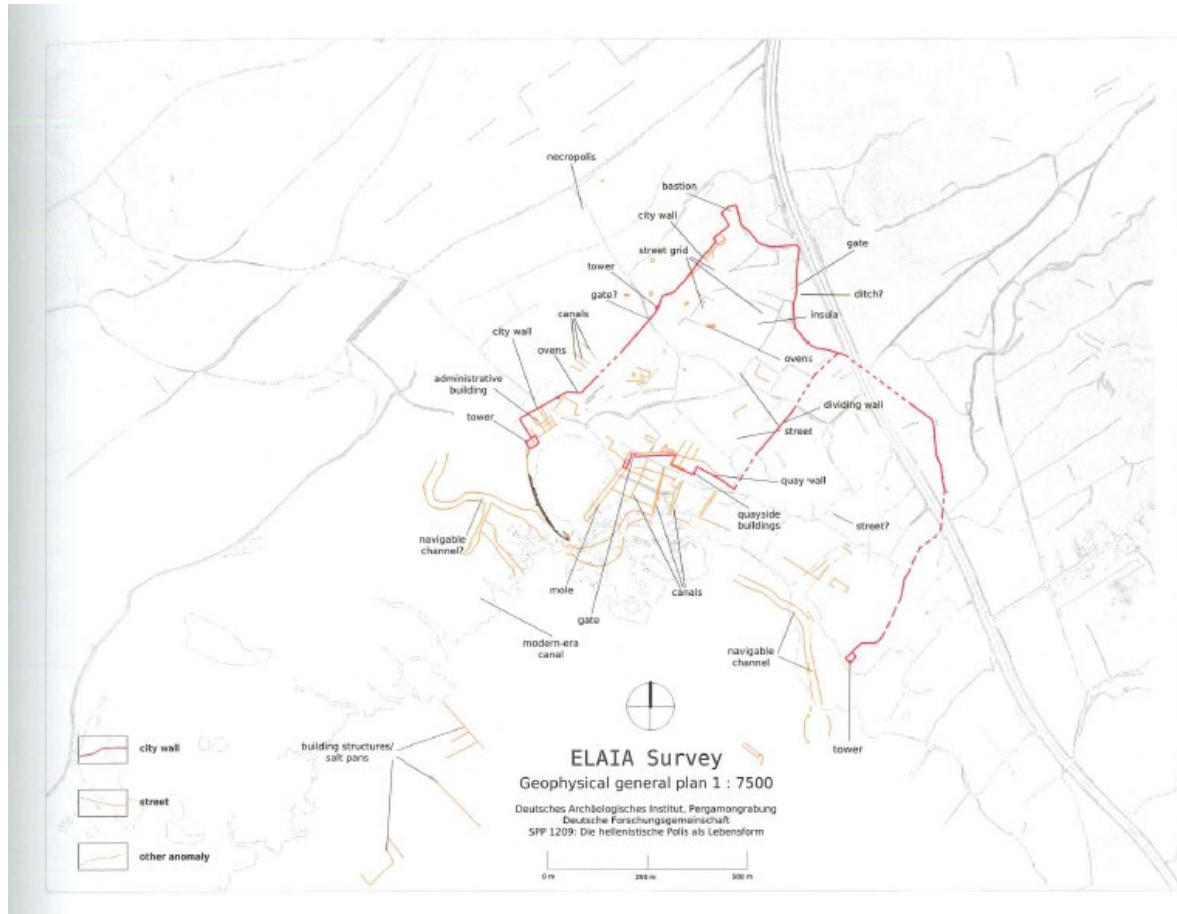


Figure 53. Site plan of Elaiia. After Pirson and Zimmermann 2014: 155, fig. 5, from “Archives of the Pergamon Excavation, DAI.”



Figure 54. Map of the Kane peninsula. Kane is located to the northwest, while Pitane is located to the southeast. Fortified sites are located at 2017/05, 2017/06, and Hatiplar Kalesi. After Feuser and Laufer 2018: 151, fig. 56.

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