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RIET VAN BREMEN

Laodikeia in Karia*

I.

Who were the Karian Laodikeis? Since the publication, in 1995, of two decrees in honour of the Stratonikeian Leon, one of which was issued by the *koinon* of the Laodikeis, the identity and location of this unknown, but intriguingly-named, *koinon* have been extensively discussed.¹ The decrees were found, inscribed on the same stele, at the sanctuary of Zeus Karios at Panamara, south of Stratonikeia. Both honour Leon in his role as priest of Zeus Karios and both suggest the involvement of the honouring communities in a wider cultic organization of which Panamara was a (the?) centre.² On the stone, the Laodikeian decree follows that of Kallipolis, a city located on the southeastern shore of the Ceramic gulf.³ The dating formula of the Kallipolis decree is lost, but the presence of a *boule* and *demos* as the issuing authorities suggests that the Kallipolitai were an autonomous *polis* (ll. 4–5):⁴

[- - - - -] ΣΙ [-] φυ[.] Χρυσαιοι[. .] Ο [- - - - -] ἔδοξε]
[Καλλιπολιτῶν τῆι β]ουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμῳ[τ' κτλ.

* In writing this article I have much benefited from the comments and healthy scepticism (only occasionally ignored) of A. BRESSON, M. CRAWFORD, A. GRIFFITHS, H. MÜLLER, G. REGER and M. WÖRRLE. The photographs of Muğla are reproduced with kind permission of the editors of *Les hautes terres de Carie* and *Ausonius Editions*.

¹ M. Ç. ŞAHİN, *Two new Hellenistic decrees from Panamara*, EA 25, 1995, 83–86 (SEG 45, 1556, 1557); TH. CORSTEN, *Das Koinon der Laodikener in Panamara*, EA 25, 1995, 87–88; J. MA, *The Koinon of the Laodikeis in the Rhodian Peraia*, EA 28, 1997, 9–10; G. REGER, *The Koinon of the Laodikeis in Karia*, EA 30, 1998, 11–17; V. GABRIELSEN, *The Rhodian Peraia in the third and second centuries BC*, C&M 51, 2000, 144–146; P. DEBORD, *Questions stratonickéennes*, in: A. BRESSON – R. DESCAT (eds.), *Les cités d'Asie mineure occidentale au II^e siècle a.C.*, 2001, 157–172; idem, *Sur quelques Zeus cariens: religion et politique*, *Studi Ellenistici* 13, a cura di B. VIRGILIO, 2001, 19–37; idem, *Cité grecque – village carien. Des usages du mot koinon*, *Studi Ellenistici* 15, 2003, 157–160.

² For a more detailed discussion see R. VAN BREMEN, YCS 31, 2004, 207–244; see also DEBORD, *Sur quelques Zeus*, passim and idem, *Cité grecque – village carien* 125–142.

³ On the site see most recently DESCAT, REA 96, 1994, 205–214.

⁴ I hope to produce an improved version of the text of the decree of the Kallipolitai in the near future.

L. 4: Ed. pr.: [- - - - -] σὺ[ν] Χρυσάορι κ[αὶ -] Ο [- - - - -] || L. 5: Ed. pr.: [ἔδοξε τῆ β]ουλῆ

The Laodikeian decree is dated by the Rhodian priest Eudamos and the Rhodian month Sminthios, and internally by three local *archontes* and a *grammateus* (l. 1–3). The formula shows unambiguously that the Laodikeis were subject to Rhodes at the time of issuing their decree. Implicitly, it also fixes the *koïnon* geographically within the Rhodian Peraia.⁵ I give below the full text of the Laodikeian decree.

EA 1995 no. 2; HTC 89; SEG 45, 1557: Decree of the Laodikeis

- Ἐπ' ἱερέως Εὐδάμου καὶ ἀρχόντων ἐν (Λα)οδικεῖα Μενεκράτ[ου]
 [τ]οῦ Θαραγγλίου, Μυωνίδου τοῦ Πανταλέοντος, Νίκωνος τοῦ Νικομά-
 [χ]ου, γραμματεῦντος Φανία τοῦ Καλλίου, Ζμινθίου δευτέραι·
 4 [ἔ]δοξε Λαοδικέων τῶι κοινῶι ἀρχόντων γνώμη· ἐπειδὴ Λέων
 Χρυσάορος τοῦ Ζωίλου τοῦ Πολυπέρχοντος ἱερατεύσας ἐμ Πα-
 γαμάροις εὐσεβῶς καὶ φιλαγάθως πᾶσι τοῖς παραγεγεννημένοις
 τῶμ πολιτῶν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν φιλόδοξον αὐτὸμ παρείχετο καὶ τοὺς διαφορο-
 8 [μ]ῆνους ὑπὲρ τῶν ὄρκων συλλύων διετέλει, καθόλου τε ἐμ πᾶσιν ἐγί-
 [ν]ετο ἐκτενής καὶ φιλότιμος, οὐδεμίαν κακοπαθίαν οὐδὲ δαπάνην
 [ὑφ]ορῶμενος, ὅπως οὐγ καὶ ὁ δῆμος φαίνεται ἀποδιδούς τοῖς καλοῖς
 [κ]άγαθοῖς καὶ φιλοδόξοις ἀνδράσιν τὰς καταξίας χάριτας, δεδόχθα[ι]·
 12 [ἐ]πινησθαι Λέοντα Χρυσάορος τοῦ Ζωίλου (τοῦ) Πολυπέρχοντος καὶ στε-
 φανῶσαι αὐτὸν θαλλοῦ στεφάνωι, ἀναθεῖναι δὲ καὶ στήλην λιθί-
 [ν]ην, εἰς ἣν ἀναγραφῆσεται τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα, τὴν δὲ στήλην
 ἀναθέτω[ι] οὐ ἂν αὐτὸς βούληται, τὸ δὲ εἰς αὐτὴν τέλεσμα
 16 ὑπαρχέτω[ι] ἐξ ἐπαγγελίας.

For both decrees⁶ a date between 167 and the late 150s BC seems likely: 1) the letterforms are compatible with a date in the first half of the second century BC; 2) Leon's efforts to revive the cult at Panamara by persuading several neighbouring Karian *demoi* to share in the cult-community based on the sanctuary, and his attempt at reinstating the sanctuary's former *asylia* status, are most easily understood in the context of renewed Stratonikeian independence from Rhodes after 167 BC; 3) within the overall revision of Rhodian chronology a date between 160 to 145 BC has now been convincingly proposed for Eudamos.⁷ If this is

⁵ For a different interpretation of the eponym see GABRIELSEN (above, n. 1) 146 with n. 68. DEBORD, *Questions stratoniceennes* 168, maintains that the eponym cannot be that of Rhodes because this would suppose «une ambiance pro-rhodienne qui paraît exclue» and suggests that it was that of a local priest.

⁶ There is no doubt that they were inscribed at the same time.

⁷ G. FINKIELSZTEJN, *Chronologie détaillée et révisée des éponymes amphoriques rhodiens, de 270 à 108 av. J.-C. environ. Premier bilan*, 2001. Eudamos is placed in FINKIEL-

right then the fact that the Laodikeis were still subject to Rhodes after 167 must mean that their community had already become part of Rhodian subject territory before the peace of Apameia and had not been among those cities and territories «south of the Maeander» specifically given to Rhodes by the Romans as part of the peace arrangements, a gift revoked in 167.⁸

Several hypotheses have been put forward about the Laodikeis' identity since P. M. FRASER remarked that, although reminiscent of the many other known Karian *koïna*, that of the Laodikeis stands out in having a «Greek eponymous title» (rather than) «a Karian tribal one».⁹ But *koïna* with Greek names are not unknown in this region – the Leukoideis, the Koloneis and the Theraioi are examples – so that it is the dynastic character of the name more than its Greekness which needs underlining.

J. MA, in a brief article, was the first to draw attention to a passage in Livy (33, 18, 2–3: to be discussed below) and to propose that the *Laudiceni*, mentioned there alongside several peoples of the Rhodian Peraia, were the community of our inscription. He suggested that the *koïnon* was most likely a Seleukid foundation: «either a full-fledged *polis* later downgraded by the Rhodians to the status of indigenous *koïnon*. . . or a local sub-poliad community, founded or renamed by a Seleukid». An alternative suggestion was made by G. REGER: the *koïnon* was a gift-estate-with village(s) in the Mylasa-Stratonikeia area, made over to his wife Laodike by Antiochos II as part of their divorce settlement and taking its name from hers.¹⁰ TH. CORSTEN and P. DEBORD have both associated the Laodikeis with Laodikeia on the Lykos: the former seeing in the *koïnon* a corporation of citizens of Laodikeia on the Lykos settled «in Panamara», the latter arguing that the Laodikeis honouring Leon were none other than the citizen body of that city, demoted to the status of *koïnon* after the peace of Apameia. The board of three *archontes* (and one *grammateus*) in the decree of the Laodikeis is, however, unknown from the city on the Lykos – which had a board of *strategoï* – while it is a familiar feature in Lykia and in parts of SW Karia (with variations in

SZTEJN's lowered chronology within period IV (160–145 BC), more specifically within the second half of this period. Cf. pp. 172–173 and the table on 193. Cf. now CHR. HABICHT, REA 105, 2003, 550.

⁸ Leon's activities are further known from a decree of the Panamareis, I. Stratonikeia 7. For justification of the dating see FINKIELSZTEJN (prev. n.), P. DEBORD – E. VARINLIOĞLU (eds.), *Les hautes terres de Carie*, 2001, – here abbreviated as HTC – at no. 89, and, for a discussion of Leon's activities, VAN BREMEN (above, n. 2). The Apameia settlement: Pol. 30, 5, 12; Livy 37, 56, 5ff.

⁹ FRASER, as quoted in ŞAHİN (above, n. 1) 85.

¹⁰ MA (above, n. 1) 9. REGER's solution (above, n. 1, 12–13), though ingenious, does not convince, if only because the political set-up, with three magistrates and a *grammateus*, suggests a larger and more complex organization than that of a village/villages on an estate.

the number of *archontes*, see below). As for CORSTEN's further suggestion: it is not easy to imagine any corporation settling «in Panamara» – a small, fortified sanctuary site – or what would have been the point of its doing so. DEBORD's idea that the city on the Lykos might itself have been demoted to a *koinon* rests on the assumption that it was, by association, considered part of Karia in the peace settlement at Apameia and thus included in what was given to Rhodes. But since he also defends a date after 167 BC, it is hard to see how this suggestion would work.¹¹

J. MA was surely right to argue that a *koinon* with a dynastic Seleukid name, whose decree is dated by the Rhodian priest of Helios, points to a Seleukid city foundation subsequently made dependent on Rhodes. The very use of the dynastic name suggests (former) *polis*-status.¹² The reference to *archontes* ἐν (Λα)οδικείᾳ in the decree's first lines moreover implies that there was a topographically identifiable territory, with a political centre, called Laodikeia. All that remains to be asked is where it was founded, when, and by which king. PH. GAUTHIER («il est difficile d'imaginer une fondation royale du III^e siècle, une Laodicée carienne, promise à un destin aussi médiocre») and G. REGER («there is no other attestation for such a Laodikeia in Karia, and to have located such a foundation so close to Stratonikeia seems pointless») have both shown scepticism at the thought of a Seleukid city founded in this region. P. DEBORD, invoking the authority of L. ROBERT in support of his own preference for Laodikeia on the Lykos, has warned that «il n'est jamais recommandable de créer un doublet sans absolue nécessité».¹³ So far, only A. BRESSON has directly tackled the question of the *koinon*'s location. Seeing the decrees' juxtaposition on one stele as a pointer

¹¹ CORSTEN (above, no. 1) 87–88, DEBORD, *Questions stratoniciennes* 168–170, to be read with the remarks of BRESSON in HTC at no. 89, p. 214. MA (above, n. 1) 9, already questioned CORSTEN's interpretation on similar grounds. Cf. also his *Antiochos III and the Cities of Western Asia Minor*, paperback ed. 2002, 388 ad p. 14. That Laodikeia was in fact Attalid at the time of our decrees can be shown from its cistophoric coinage: discussed in F. S. KLEINER – S. P. NOE, *The Early Cistophoric Coinage*, 1977, 98–99, with Pl. XXXVII.

¹² Cf. G. M. COHEN, *The Seleucid Colonies. Studies in Founding, Administration and Organization*, 1978, 84: «the adoption of a dynastic name was a right associated with the transformation of a colony into a *polis*.»

¹³ PH. GAUTHIER, BE 1998, 398 (discussing MA, EA 28, 1997), REGER (above, n. 1) 13. DEBORD, *Questions stratoniciennes* 168 (repeated in *Cité grecque – village carien* 158), adducing in support the case made by L. and J. ROBERT in *La Carie II: le plateau de Tabai et ses environs*, 1954, 91–95, for a single Karian Tabai. That there were two Tabai after all: one, the city in eastern Karia, the other a community in the Muğla region, must however now be considered certain on the basis of the new inscription from Akçaova discussed below, together with BRESSON's redating of the inscription on which ROBERT's initial discussion was based (HTC 62; IRhPer. 781). Cf. HTC at nos 61 and 62 (with discussion of the Tabai controversy p. 186–188).

to the issuing communities' geographical proximity, he has proposed to seek a <petite Laodicée> somewhere in the Kallipolis-Idyma-Thera region.¹⁴

The name of the foundation narrows down the possibilities of identifying the founder, as do the historical circumstances.¹⁵ The king most likely to have bestowed the name of Laodikeia on a city foundation in western Karia is Antiochos II, married to Laodike for more than a decade, from 266 until his death in 246 BC; a foundation date before 252, when he took as his second wife Berenike, daughter of Ptolemy II, is likely.¹⁶ The fact that his mother was Stratonike, wife, first of Seleukos I, then Antiochos I, in addition qualifies him as a possible founder of Stratonikeia, even if most scholars have inclined instead to credit his father, Antiochos I, with founding this city.¹⁷ J. MA has, however, recently made an interesting case for Antiochos II, explaining Stratonikeia's foundation as part of that king's reconquest of Ptolemaic-held possessions in western Karia.¹⁸ If he

¹⁴ «Cette petite Laodicée proche de Kallipolis» and «quelque part au fond du golfe Céramique, recouvrant sans doute une ancienne communauté, dont, de la sorte, le nom ancien disparut»: BRESSON, HTC p. 215. The site of Hayıtlı on the coast is tentatively suggested as a possibility. For a description of this site see HTC p. 66–68. Note, however, that BRESSON (next note) refers to Laodikeia as «près de Pisye» (177 n. 33). MA (above, n. 1, 9–10) speculated that it would have been somewhere near Stratonikeia.

¹⁵ On the historical circumstances cf. most recently the interpretation of MA, Antiochos III and the cities of Western Asia Minor, 2000, 40–42; see also VAN BREMEN (above, n. 2) and BRESSON, in: F. PROST (ed.) L'Orient méditerranéen, de la mort d'Alexandre aux campagnes de Pompée. Cités et royaumes à l'époque hellénistique, 2003, 169–192, esp. 177–182.

¹⁶ Cf. the discussion by COHEN (above, n. 12, 308–311) of Antiochos II as founder of Laodikeia on the Lykos. On the naming principles: *ibidem*, 346–347 (discussing Laodikeia Katakakaumene): «most Seleukid kings named colonies for themselves, their parents, or their wives . . . It is unlikely that Antiochos I would have named a city (Laodikeia) for his grandmother, niece (and daughter-in-law), or granddaughter.» On the marriage to Berenike and its date see G. HÖLBL, *Geschichte des Ptolemäerreiches*, 1994, 42–43, and W. HUSS, *Ägypten in hellenistischer Zeit 332–30 v. Chr.*, 2001, 338. L. MARTINEZ-SÈVE, REG 116, 2002/3, 690–706, argues convincingly that the marriage to Berenike did not mean a repudiation of Laodike.

¹⁷ The fact that the site of the future Stratonikeia was Ptolemaic in 277/6 BC (I. Stratonikeia 1002 with VAN BREMEN, EA 35, 2003, 9–14) seems to preclude any Seleukid city foundations in the region until sometime between that date and 268, for which year there is an inscription dated by Seleukid king and era (I. Stratonikeia 1030). Seleukos I, according to Appian founder of five Laodikeias in honour of his mother (Syr. 57), is therefore normally ruled out as a candidate. Even so, his interest in the region is demonstrable: he was the likely founder of Apollonia Salbake (COHEN, above, n. 14, 253–255), was involved in the foundation of Nysa and in the granting of *asylia* to the nearby sanctuary of Plouton and Kore jointly with his son and co-ruler (*ibidem* 256–258), and is the likely author of a letter to one of the communities on the site of the future Stratonikeia (I. Stratonikeia 1001).

¹⁸ MA (above, n. 13) 41–43. The reconstruction rests, as MA admits, on hypothesis and plausibility. He dates Antiochos II's inroads into this part of Karia to about 254 BC, at the end of the Second Syrian War.

is right, we might think in terms not of a single but a twin foundation: one for the king's mother, one for his wife; with the founding date of both cities somewhere between 261 – the date of Antiochos' accession – and 252 BC.¹⁹ Attractive though this is, the possibility of different stages of Seleukid involvement in the region, with an initial establishment of small military settlements under Antiochos I, followed by their transformation into *poleis* under Antiochos II remains a real one.²⁰

The problems in attempting to locate and identify Laodikeia concern not only the date and nature of Seleukid activity but also the obscure chronology of Rhodian involvement in southern Karia, so that we lack a clear view of the shifting statuses of its communities. Since we cannot precisely date the stages by which Rhodes gained control over the region that became the island's so-called subject Peraia, we are in the dark as to the general pattern of Rhodian presence throughout the crucial 250s. The Rhodians are traditionally assumed to have begun acquiring parts of the region in the early decades of the third century BC, either with tacit or with explicit royal consent. According to P.M. FRASER and G.E. BEAN, this process of encroachment must have taken place between 301 and 287/6 BC, the years between Ipsus and the fall of Demetrius in 286, a «poorly documented period during which Caria was only vaguely controlled by the unpopular Lysimachus» (BERTHOLD), but this version of events is argued from plausibility only.²¹ As a result of new epigraphic finds, it is, in fact, becoming increasingly clear that the FRASER – BEAN model needs revising, because we now know that much of this region was Ptolemaic in the early 270s, and a down-dating of the chronology of Rhodian acquisition is required.²² The question of the precise date of the formation of Rhodes' Karian Peraia remains, however,

¹⁹ The same timespan as is assumed for the foundation of Laodikeia on the Lykos. Above, n. 12.

²⁰ For the argument that there were often successive stages of foundation, first, the establishment of garrisons, or colonies planted close to native settlements, then, some time later, the granting of *polis* status (including a dynastic name), cf. COHEN (above, n. 12) 37–41. The recently published inscription from Phrygian Tyriaion shows a similar process (L. JONNES – M. RICL, EA 29, 1997, 1–34, with CHR. SCHULER, ZPE 128, 1999, 124–132; revised text, after SCHULER, SEG 47, 1745; I. Sultan Dağı I 393). Ll. 22–24 of the text strongly suggest that the settlers had earlier addressed requests to be granted *polis* status to a Seleukid king.

²¹ P.M. FRASER – G.E. BEAN, *The Rhodian Peraea and Islands*, 1954, 99–101, R.M. BERTHOLD, *Rhodes in the Hellenistic Age*, 1984, 83. GABRIELSEN (above, n. 1), though challenging the concept of Rhodian conquest, domination and control used by FRASER – BEAN and proposing in its place a system of *symmachiai*, does not seriously question their chronology.

²² See most recently H.-U. WIEMER, *Krieg, Handel und Piraterie. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des hellenistischen Rhodos*, 2002, 179–180 (though the date of Amyzon no. 3 should be 277 BC, not 274; cf. also 181 n. 12 where the inscription is dated to 273) and VAN BREMEN, EA 35, 2003, 9–14.

while that of the *nature* of the island's acquisition of parts of the territories in question (gift, or opportunistic encroachment after Ptolemaic losses?) becomes, if anything, more acute.²³ If, as I have argued elsewhere, the city of Stratonikeia was most likely given to Rhodes by Antiochos Hierax and Seleukos II in the late 240s BC, such a gift would make sense only if by that time the Rhodians had already gained control over the access routes from the coast to this city and thus over crucial parts of the territory that was to become their subject Peraia.²⁴ The area around Pisyē, to Stratonikeia's south-east (at modern Yeşilyurt) may therefore have been under Rhodian control already by the middle of the century.²⁵

The date of the so-called *neoria* inscription, found recently at Yeşilyurt, which lists financial contributions from a number of local Karian communities to the building of dockyards on the coast at Akbüük (ancient Pladasa, some of whose citizens had – recently? – formed a *koinon* with the Pisyetai), is relevant even if it cannot provide certainty:

[ο]ῖδε [- - - - -]

ἐπαγγειλάμενοι τ[ᾶ]ι δῆμωι [- - - - - εἰς τὴν ? ἐν - - - -]

[. .]I νεορίων κατασκευὴν δ[ιὰ παντός (?) βουλόμενοι φανεράν]

4 ποιεῖν ἦν ἔχουσιν αἴρεσιν εἰς I I[- - - - - τὸ πλῆ-]

θος τὸ Πισσητῶν καὶ Πλαδασέ[ων τῶν μετὰ Πισσητῶν ἔδωκαν]

χρήματα δωρεάν.²⁶

L. 4: there are two uprights visible on the photograph after εἰς; the squeeze shows no more (communication from A. BRESSON)

The editors date the subscription to between 275–225 BC, with a preference for a date around the middle of that period (on letter forms).²⁷ Rhodian involvement in the setting up of this kind of facilities on the coast must surely be thought highly likely, so that it is tempting to restore, in the heavily damaged first lines of this text (2–3), which announce the purpose of and the reason for the sub-

²³ BRESSON (above, n. 15) 178–179.

²⁴ On the gift of Stratonikeia see now also WIEMER (above, n. 22) 182–183 with earlier bibliography.

²⁵ FRASER – BEAN (above, n. 21) 98–102, E. MEYER, *Die Grenzen der hellenistischen Staaten in Kleinasien*, 1925, 49–63 and, most recently, BRESSON (above, n. 15) 177–182.

²⁶ HTC 1, with photos 1a–c. L. 5 sets the approximate number of letters per line (46).

²⁷ Discussion of the date on p. 103. From the discussion at HTC 1 it seems that the editors reject the idea of Rhodian control over the Pisyē region before the middle of the third century BC: «En tout cas, l'inscription des *neōria* montre que l'établissement du contrôle rhodien sur la région de Pisyē ne remonte pas au delà de la deuxième moitié du III^e siècle av. C.» (103, with full discussion on 102–103). The arguments are, however, based almost entirely on the assumption that, because the Pisyetai and Pladaseis are referred to in this text as *demos*, they were still an autonomous community at the time of the subscription. On Rhodian *neoria* outside Rhodes see V. GABRIELSEN, *The Naval Aristocracy of Hellenistic Rhodes*, 1997, 41–44.

scription, τῶν Ῥοδίων after δῆμοι, also because there is not enough room to restore the full formula of τὸ Πισυτητῶν καὶ Πλαδασέ[ων τῶν μετὰ Πισυτητῶν] here, or even the two names without the final qualification.²⁸

The creation, sometime between the beginning and the middle of the third century BC, of the large *koinon* of the Pisyetai and Pladaseis – whose combined territory now stretched diagonally across from the coast at Akbuk to the main road along the Marsyas valley and probably took on board a considerable number of smaller sites²⁹ – well illustrates the fact that possibilities for founding a Laodikeia in this region were not unlimited. Candidates for what a king might consider a prime site, in terms of position, strategic potential, and/or size of territory, can be counted on the fingers of one hand. The nature of the *koina*, large and small, that grouped and regrouped themselves here in the course of the third and second centuries BC, and their tendency to spread and incorporate smaller communities, limits the possibilities even further, unless, of course, it can be shown that it was one of these existing clusters that was being refounded as a Seleukid city. The following local *koina* are independently attested during the crucial period of the Laodikeis' known existence, between the mid-third and mid-second centuries BC and can be excluded: the Pisyetai and Pladaseis, the Koloneis, Leukoideis, and the Londeis, and a few minor ones.³⁰

Main *poleis* in the region such as Idyma (though it, too, a *koinon* under Rhodian control for at least part of the time) and Kallipolis (its *polis* status in the Leon decree an indication of its independence from Rhodian control) can also be excluded as candidates for refounding: Idyma is independently attested; Kallipolis' *alibi* is obvious from the decree discussed above.³¹ There remain a number of smaller sites on the map of this part of Karia that possibly fell outside the larger groupings, or to which we are so far unable to attach definite names. But how realistic is the possibility that such a foundation was planted somewhere in a pocket in the interior, or along the rather inaccessible coast of the Ceramic Gulf, rather than on a prime site in a strategic position along one of the very few main routes?³² We are of course unlikely ever to know for certain what Seleukid kings

²⁸ That towards which the contributors wish to express their αἴρεσις, their 'bonne disposition' in l. 4, must be a word in the feminine, since one can read clearly on the stone after εἰς two uprights, so perhaps τὴν ----- τὸ πλῆ]θος τὸ Πισυτητῶν καὶ Πλαδασέ[ων.

²⁹ Pladaseis is last attested as an independent *polis* at about 316–314 BC (Labraunda III 2 no. 42; HTC 48).

³⁰ A number of smaller communities (all *koina*?) is listed in the *neoria* inscription; all are on p. 99 of HTC, whose editors assume that they were subdivisions of the larger *koinon* of the Pisyetai and Pladaseis at the time.

³¹ Idyma: HTC 68–83 with a discussion of the city's status at no. 69.

³² This would go against everything we know about the principles behind Seleukid foundations. For a 'petite Laodicée', the strategically useful site of Ula, associated with the

had in mind when they founded their Antiochs, Seleukeias, Apameias and Laodikeias, and in reconstructing royal expectations and motivations we are perhaps misled by the benefit of hindsight. But admitting as much does not absolve us from asking the obvious questions: what would have been the strategic rationale, what the logistic considerations behind such a relatively isolated small settlement?

The «prime site» scenario therefore seems to me to be worth exploring before all others. As I have argued above, there are very few sites within the region that qualify, but among these there is one, at Muğla, which deserves closer scrutiny for several reasons. First of all, the nature and location of the site make it an obvious candidate for a city: I discuss these aspects under II.1 below. But there are further reasons that have persuaded me to investigate the possibility that Laodikeia was founded at or near this major Turkish city. Although it is true that in the surviving sources, literary or epigraphic, there is no direct connection whatsoever between Muğla (which is always associated with the *koinon* of the Tarmianoi) and the name of Laodikeia, the evidence relating to Muğla and its territory is intriguing in what it tells us about the nature of the political community that was based here. In particular the publication of a new inscription from Akçaova, a village to the northeast of the modern city (HTC 61) has made it necessary to look afresh at existing interpretations. This text, which I discuss in detail below (II.2), suggests to me that the citadel and/or plain of Muğla may have served as the location of a Macedonian *katoikia*. If this is right, we must look again at the epigraphical evidence for the *koinon* of the Tarmianoi and investigate its relationship both with the suggested *katoikia* and with the site and territory of Muğla itself.

II

1. *The location and nature of the site*

If anyone wished to establish a city of any size between Stratonikeia and the Keramic Gulf,³³ it would be hard to better the location of Muğla, now the thriving commercial and administrative centre of a Turkish province. A settlement here would form an obvious link in the chain of Seleukid foundations in central and eastern Karia: Seleukeia/Tralleis, Nysa, Antiocheia on the Maeander, Laodi-

Ἰολακίης in the Athenian Tribute lists for 453/452 (IG I³ 260) and identified only from the persistence of its name in that of the modern Turkish town, though small and archaeologically insignificant, might be considered as a candidate.

³³ The emphasis placed by MA (above, n. 11) 42, on Stratonikeia's strategic position on the main route south from the Maeander valley and on the east-west axis from Mylasa to the Tabai plateau seems to me more conclusive than the fact that the site was «distinguished by its great shrines» (which is projecting back later developments).

keia on the Lykos, Apollonia Salbake, (? Laodikeia/Muğla), Stratonikeia, Antiocheia/Alabanda. The site has a natural acropolis with a level plateau at its summit: at an altitude of 860 m. and some 235 m. above the town, it needs a wall only at its northern edge where there is a gentle slope; the other sides are precipitous (see Fig. 1).³⁴ A recent description of the surviving north wall with its three towers cautiously suggests a date for its construction «not before the middle of the fourth century BC». ³⁵ This citadel commands a territory well capable of feeding a city. The upland plain of Muğla (at 625 m.) has an average length of 9 km and width of 5 km which makes it the largest in the region north of the Ceramic gulf (closely followed by that of Pisye at 8:4 km; though the Pisyan plain is more fertile); it is nowadays densely inhabited (see Fig. 2).³⁶ The site is located on a nexus of routes, both ancient and modern: the main road south from the Maeander valley along the valley of the Marsyas past Stratonikeia and the road going east/northeastwards towards the plateau of Tabai.³⁷ For all these reasons it appears an obvious choice for a city.³⁸

There are, admittedly, problems about associating this site with a Seleukid city-foundation. PH. GAUTHIER's comment, that it is hard to imagine «une fondation royale du III^e siècle, une Laodicée carienne, promise à un destin aussi médiocre» though intended more generally, applies with particular force in this case:

³⁴ The plateau is some 200 m. long and 150 m. wide; BRUN (HTC p. 23) describes a cistern, and «plusieurs vestiges de construction épars sur l'ensemble du sommet» which «attestent l'importance de l'habitat à une époque qu'il est tentant d'associer à l'utilisation de la muraille». «At Mughla there is a Hellenistic fortress on the flat-topped hill above the town. Its wall is fairly well preserved on the eastern side; the other sides are precipitous; and perhaps were never artificially protected» (W. R. PATON – J. L. MYRES, JHS 16, 1896, 188–236, with Pl. IX, at p. 190).

³⁵ BRUN, HTC p. 23, the photo on p. 25, fig. 16.

³⁶ At its maximum the Muğla plain is 15 km. HTC p. 23: «la plaine . . . est bien cultivée et de nombreux villages la jalonnent». For a description of the equally well-situated and fertile upland plain of Pisye (Yeşilyurt) and its acropolis at Arslanlı see the description in HTC p. 26–29. A. PHILIPPSON, Petermanns Mitteilungen, Ergänzungsheft 183, 1915, 62, describes the «längliche Poljen» characteristic of this region: «kesselförmige Vertiefungen mit ziemlich steilen Rändern, letztere von 100–200 m Höhe, und mit ebenem Boden, der meist aus Schwemmland, hier und da aber auch aus anstehendem Kalk besteht.» They were often flooded in winter. See also PATON – MYRES (above, n. 34) 190.

³⁷ «Carrefour commercial» is BRUN's description of the present town (HTC p. 23). The main road east-north-east to Tabai crosses the Akçai at İrmakköprü. It is described by PHILIPPSON (prev. n.) 115–117 and can be followed on his map, ibidem Blatt 6; cf. also L. and J. ROBERT, La Carie II (above, n. 13) 68–69. The modern road between Muğla and the plateau turns south-east from Muğla, then north-east. Cf. on the latter HTC p. 30–32.

³⁸ So already CH. FELLOWS, Discoveries in Lycia, 1841, 84: «This large Turkish town, the residence of a pasha, has no doubt, from its overhanging rock and fine commanding situation, been the site of an ancient Greek city; this must be the first impression of all travellers who approach it from its flat plain to the north, west, and south.»

why, if there was a royal foundation here, has it left so little trace? Nor do the archaeological remains inspire confidence: the modern town's prosperity has often been contrasted with its insignificance in antiquity. So, for instance, G. BEAN: «Now the capital of a large *vilâyet*, this was only a small place in Antiquity. Its name was Mobolla, which survives with little change; the intermediate form Mogolla is recorded. A handful of inscriptions has been found here, attesting Rhodian domination, and there are some insignificant remains on the flat-topped hill behind the town; otherwise nothing survives.»³⁹

We should refrain from referring to «ancient Mobolla» as is widely done, because, whatever the continuity of the name – which seems beyond dispute – «ancient Mobolla» was never, as far as we know, the name of a city or even a *koionon*, but at most of a locality or deme, and the usage is misleading.⁴⁰

A recent description of Muğla, ancient and modern, in Les hautes terres de Carie, emphasizes the contrast between the plain's agricultural potential and the almost total absence of ancient remains: even the fact that the modern town occupies precisely the site, at the foot of the acropolis, where there was doubtless an ancient settlement, does not adequately explain the lack of reused ancient material in the buildings of the present Turkish town.⁴¹ But having acknowledged the disjunction, we cannot leave the problem unresolved. Even without the benefit of a proper archaeological exploration of the central site and its territory, the least one can do is to offer some hypothetical explanations for the lack of archaeological remains on a site so obviously right for a city.

³⁹ G. E. BEAN, Turkey beyond the Maeander, ²1980, 129. FELLOWS (prev. n., 85), however, reports having examined over a hundred rock-cut tombs «rambling up one of the craggy ravines at the back of the town», while, in HTC p. 25, BRUN mentions the «tombs rupestres (qui) subsistent le long du chemin qui descend de l'acropole vers la ville» and also remains of an ancient necropolis on the road leading to Izmir.

⁴⁰ We do not know whether inscriptions found in the modern town of Muğla were by definition «from Mobolla» (so e.g. L. ROBERT, *Ét. Anat.* 563–564). The connection made, by L. and J. ROBERT (*La Carie* II 91–92 n. 8) between the modern name Muğla and its apparent homonym, in an early third century BC inscription from Kalymna (*Tit. Cal.* 8) mentioning Μοσχίων Μοσχίου Θηραῖος, a *strategos* in charge of τοῖς τεταγμένοις τῶν πολιτῶν ἐν Μωγλοῖς, is not certain. But even if it were, it does not mean that Mobolla was then, or at any later time, the name of the wider political organization. The relevant comparison is with the manner in which the Macedonian Eupolemos is described as στρατοπεδεύων ἐν Κοράνζοις, one of the constituent communities of the future Stratonikeia (*Labraunda* III 2, 42). L. and J. ROBERT assumed that Moschion was from Thera in Karia rather than from the island of the same name (*La Carie* II 91–92 n. 8). The same man occurs in an unpublished inscription of the early 270s (from Xystis in the Harpasos valley) as a Ptolemaic official, which would lend weight to his island connection. I am grateful to A. BRESSON for mentioning this inscription to me before its publication.

⁴¹ HTC p. 23–25, with figs. 13–17; description by BRUN.

2. HTC 61

This inscription was recently brought to Muğla museum from Akçaova, 6 km. northwest of Muğla, where it had been kept at the school. I have not been able to establish its original findspot. The stone is a building block of white marble. Dim: h. 25, w. 70, d. 44. The block is complete, though damaged around the edges; the lower left corner is partly broken off, part of the face at the top is also chipped off. The text continues from the block above and the remainder will have been inscribed on blocks below and possibly in further columns to its left or right. It was published in HTC as no. 61, with a facsimile drawing; no photograph was available at the time. I have since seen and photographed the stone at Muğla museum (Fig. 3).⁴²

- [Α]πελλῆς Ἑκατόμνω Μνιε[σύτης σὺ]ν τῶι [προσεπηγγελμ]-
 Ἥφαιστίων Ἀρτεμδώρου Λ[ωμε]ύς ε' ἐνωι ρ'
 Ἴεροκλῆς Μέλανος Λωμεύς ε'
 4 Μέλας Ἴεροκλέους Λωμεύς σὺν τῶι προσεπηγγεμένωι ρ'
 Πausανίας Ἰατροκλείους Λωμεύς ε'
 Ἴεροκλῆς Ἰατροκλείους Λωμεύς ε'
 Ἀντίοχος Ἰατροκλείους Λωμεύς ε'
 8 Διόδοτος Ἥφαιστίωνος Λωμεύς σὺν τῶι προσεπηγγελέ-
 Διονύσιος Τιμαίου Ταβηνός ε' νοι ρ'
 [Αν]τήγονος Πραξιμένους Μοβαλλεύς ε'
 [Αντί]πατρος Διονυσίου τοῦ ᾿Αντίπατρου Μνιεσύτης ε'
 12 [Αντί]οχος Λουσιμάχου Μνιεσύτης ε'
 [.]ς Μενάνδρου Λωμεύς ε'
 [.]Μενάνδρου Λωμεύς ε'
 [.]Με]νάνδρου Λωμ[εύ]ς [ε' ?]

L. 1: the facsimile drawings has .MEΑΛΗΣ. On the stone, the *pi* is clearly visible and there is space for one letter before it. Ed. pr. restored Με(ν)ε(κ)λῆς. || Ll. 2, 4, 9: The *rhos* in 2 and 9 are clearly legible; in 4 only its upright is preserved. The facsimile has ΠΡΟΣΕΠΗΓΓΕΛΜΕΝΩΜ.

Date: the letters are most likely of the mid to late third century. Very small, suspended, *omegas* and *omicrons*, diverging *mus*, *alphas* with straight cross-bars, some slightly curved, *epsilons* with short central stroke, the *pis* however have a right hasta all the way down. *Sigmas* with slightly diverging horizontal bars.

This new inscription contains two features that are of particular interest. First, there is a relatively high proportion of Macedonian names among the subscribers: of the seventeen surviving names (in twenty-eight separate occurrences), there

⁴² I thank the museum staff for facilitating my work on this inscription.

are five with a distinctly Macedonian flavour (in seven separate occurrences):⁴³ Apelles (once), Antiochos (twice), Antigonos, Antipatros (a grandfather and grandson), Lysimachos (father of an [Anti]ochos): all names which, even if not unknown in this part of Karia, do not normally occur in this kind of concentration at this time. The relatively early date of the inscription, the occurrence of a Lysimachos with a Macedonian-named son and an Antipatros with an identically-named grandfather suggests that we may not be dealing with just the normal fall-out of popular Macedonian names. Such a concentration of names strongly suggests the presence of a group of Macedonian *katoikoi*, which, at the time of the inscription, appears already to have been distributed among the larger community's four constituent demes, all of which are clearly Karian in origin.⁴⁴

Secondly, despite its fragmentary state, what is immediately striking about this list of subscribers is the very small size of the contributions paired with the absolute regularity of the amounts, with every single one of the fifteen names on the stone contributing 5 dr. Even the three entries in ll. 1, 4 and 8 show a total regularity in the sum promised in addition to the basic contribution: 95 dr. to make up a total of 100 (the σύν in σύν τῷ προσεπηγγελμένῳ has to be understood as indicating the sum additional to the basic contribution together with which it made a total of 100).⁴⁵ It might just be possible to find a similarly sized section within a longer list of subscribers all of whose entries would show the same amount, but it would statistically be much less likely for a fragment of a longer list to break off just above and below such a uniform section. The amount of 5 dr. is moreover among the very lowest recorded in subscriptions from this area and period and is in fact not at all a frequently occurring sum. Our text also differs from other known lists of contributions in not containing any subscribers paying <on behalf of> relatives (sons, brothers, wives, or daughters).⁴⁶ Even

⁴³ See e.g. the lists presented by M. HATZOPOULOS, in: S. HORNBLLOWER – E. MATTHEWS (eds.), *Greek Personal Names, their Value as Evidence*, 2000, 104–105, 107–108. HATZOPOULOS also lists both Pausanias and Menandros among <panhellenic> names considered particularly popular in Macedonia, but it is not safe to put too much weight on them here.

⁴⁴ The absence of Macedonian names at Stratonikeia has been commented on by DEBORD, *Mélanges P. Lévêque* 8, 1994, 117.

⁴⁵ For similar uses of σύν in the sense of <together with>, <including> especially in a financial context see LSJ s.v. 8. σύν τῷ προσεπηγγελμένῳ must mean here <together with the additional sum promised> rather than <together with the person promising in addition>.

⁴⁶ For examples from this region and period, cf. L. MIGEOTTE, *Les souscriptions publiques dans les cités grecques*, 1985, e.g. nos. 40, 42, 43, 50, 53, 58, 65, 74, 75, 79 (the last, from Theangela, the only subscription with similarly low figures, is for the purpose of constructing a well. Even this, however, has persons contributing καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν υἱῶν, and the amounts are not identical all through. There are 19 subscribers in all, contributions range from 2 to 10 dr.). Cf. also HTC 92a; from Sekköy (second century BC): a subscription of which only 15 ll. survive, in which, nevertheless, the reference ὑπὲρ τῶν υἱῶν occurs once, and in which at least three different amounts are donated (300, 150, 100 dr.).

though among the fifteen subscribers, three family groups can be made out (three brothers in ll. 5–7, again three brothers in ll. 13–15, and a father and son in ll. 3–4) all members paid individually and paid the same basic amount.

The only other context in which the amount of five dr. recurs, paid individually and across the board, is in an inscription from Amyzon, dated to the time of Antiochos III, listing contributions to the Chrysaoric federation.⁴⁷ That list, too, contains men's names in part arranged by family groups, with no single individual paying «on behalf of».⁴⁸ Unlike in our text, the Amyzonian names are not followed by the actual amount paid, but this is because the decree preceding the list of names already stipulates precisely each man's contribution. The decree section sets out special arrangements concerning the payment of these contributions: a number of citizens had provided an interest-free advance (*prodaneismos*) of the sum-total due to the Chrysaoreis which all citizen men, from adolescents upwards (ἠβη[δόν]) then had to reimburse within a year, as an obligatory *eisphora*, at a sum of 5 dr. per head.⁴⁹ In their commentary on the Amyzon text, J. and L. ROBERT drew attention to the very low, and totally uniform, amount of the individual contributions («Il n'y a pas de répartition proportionnelle suivant la fortune.»), and the emphasis on inclusion of all adult males. They connected both with the symbolic purpose of the payment rather than with the particular form the collection took: «cela s'explique par le caractère religieux de la contribution aux Chrysaoreis . . .». The punishment for non-payment, too, reflects this: a (not very high) fine of ten times the original amount, but, in addition, permanent exclusion from the cultic community. «On peut employer en ce cas l'expression: ils sont excommuniés. Désormais cette liste gravée témoigne du droit à participer au culte.»⁵⁰ In our case, the method of collecting was more direct than that used in Amyzon, but such technicalities will have depended on local circumstances and local decision-making.⁵¹ I cannot interpret the three, much larger, but still absolutely regular, additional payments in our list. They may be supplementary contributions for, say, the purpose of funding delegations

⁴⁷ J. and L. ROBERT, Fouilles d'Amyzon en Carie I, 1983, no. 28.

⁴⁸ The Amyzon subscription contains a higher incidence of such grouping than our text: two-thirds of all names, as against half, but our text is really too short to attach any great significance to the proportions.

⁴⁹ It might be objected that at Amyzon the 5 dr. per head simply happened to be the amount worked out once a stipulated total had been paid by *prodaneismos*, but that would be a circular argument: the original amount, if at all symbolic of individual membership, must have been based on the number of adult men multiplied by the amount payable per head.

⁵⁰ Amyzon 223.

⁵¹ The occurrence of *προσεπεγγλημένοι* in three separate entries does not necessarily suggest that the entire subscription was by *epangelia*.

to the Chrysaoric gatherings or other expenditure related to community membership. But in these three cases too, more important than speculating about the nature and purpose of the additional sum is the realization that these three men paid a basic sum of 5 dr. first, and only in addition a higher total, and that the two sums are separately recorded.⁵² In themselves, these additional contributions do not invalidate the parallel between the principle of the Amyzon subscription and that of our anonymous community.

If this list is indeed to be understood as a Chrysaoric subscription, does it follow that the subscribing community was a city? According to Strabo, the membership of the Chrysaoreis consisted of cities, the size of whose vote depended on the number of villages each contained.⁵³ An inscription from Labraunda of 268 BC appears to make it clear that the delegates to a general assembly of the Chrysaoreis represented their cities. The relevant lines are 2–4: συελθόντων Χρυσ[ορέω]ν τῶ[ν ἀπὸ] τῶν π[ό]λεων πρὸς τὴν [----]τήν(?) ἐκκλησι[ί]αν [. . . c. 8 . .]. A decree from Amyzon, honouring Nikomedes, an official of the Macedonian king Philip V, grants the honorand the privilege of participating on an equal footing to the Amyzoneis themselves in all the other affairs of the *poleis* of the Chrysaoreis: [---καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπ]άντων ὧν καὶ Ἀ[μυζο]νεῖς μετέχουσιν ἐν ταῖς Χρυσσορέωμ πόλ[εσιν].⁵⁴ At about the same time (202/1 BC) Alabanda/Antiocheia was called ἡ πόλις ἡ τῶν Ἀντιοχέων τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Χρυσσορέων ἔθνος in an inscription from Delphi.⁵⁵ There are in addition many attestations, dating from the late 2nd century onwards, of double ethnics, a Chrysaoric and a civic one, as e.g. in Χρυσσορεὺς ἀπὸ Μυλασεῶν.⁵⁶ To date, the following cities are known to have been members: Alabanda, Alinda, Amyzon,

⁵² This has to be the implication of σύν τῷ προσηπηγεμένωι. 95 dr. represent 19 contributions of 5 dr. each, but I doubt if this is the right way of thinking about the amount.

⁵³ 14, 2, 25: καλεῖται δὲ τὸ σύστημα αὐτῶν Χρυσσορέων, συνεστηκὸς ἐκ κωμῶν. οἱ δὲ πλείστας παρεχόμενοι κόμας προέχουσι τῇ ψήφῳ, καθάπερ Κεραμιῆται; καὶ Στρατονικεῖς δὲ τοῦ συστήματος μετέχουσιν, οὐκ ὄντες τοῦ Καρικοῦ γένους, ἀλλ' ὅτι κόμας ἔχουσι τοῦ Χρυσσορικῶν συστήματος is the only piece of evidence implying that membership was by villages. It is therefore generally assumed that the votes per city were distributed in this way. See most recently Amyzon 223–224, GABRIELSEN (above, n. 1, 157–161) and especially DEBORD, Cité grecque, village carien 132–133.

⁵⁴ Amyzon no. 16 (201 BC).

⁵⁵ OGIS 111, 11–12 of 202/1 BC. The attempted inclusion of the sanctuary and *syngeneia* of Korris at Labraunda into the Chrysaoric system, bypassing the city of Mylasa which claimed the sanctuary as its own (Labraunda III 1, 5), does raise the question of non-*polis* membership.

⁵⁶ See now in particular with all evidence, DEBORD, Cité grecque – village carien 133–134, to which may be added the two Chrysaoreis attested in Egypt, listed in CSABA A. LA'DA's Foreign Ethnics in Hellenistic Egypt, 2002, E2586/7, although neither of these has a double ethnic.

Keramos, Mylasa, Stratonikeia, and Thera.⁵⁷ To these, we may tentatively add the community of this inscription, whose membership, too, would have been justified on the strength of its constituent Karian «villages».⁵⁸

3. *The koinon of the Tarmianoï*

Since the site of Muğla has been long associated with the *koinon* of the Tarmianoï, we must now investigate what is known of its history, and what might be the connection between this *koinon* and the community in the new inscription discussed above. In fact, the inscription itself has been attributed to the *koinon* almost as a certainty, even though it does not specifically mention the Tarmianoï.⁵⁹ Together with the *koinon* of the Pisyetai and Pladaseis and that of the Theraioi, the Tarmianoï count as one of the three major *koina* in this part of Karia.⁶⁰ The – epigraphical – evidence on which the identification is based is, however, not unproblematic and needs to be discussed in full.

Until recently, seven inscriptions associated with the Tarmianoï were known (nos 1–7 below). Four were found, at the end of the 19th century, in the town of Muğla itself and may originate there although there is considerable uncertainty about their provenance.⁶¹ The fifth was found at Yeşilyurt; the sixth and seventh

⁵⁷ For refs. see DEBORD (prev. n.). Would Stratonikeia have had five votes, against four for Laodikeia? KERAMOS, according to Strabo, had the most, on account of its many villages. Nobody, as far as I know, has tried to match this statement with the topography of that city's territory.

⁵⁸ It is tempting to think that the efforts of the Stratonikeian Leon to widen the appeal of the sanctuary at Panamara and to revive its *asylia*, were intended to (re-)integrate the sanctuary within a wider Chrysaoric framework. The appeal to the *koinon* of the Laodikeis may point in this direction, as may the intriguing [- - - - -] ΣΥ [-] Χρυσαιοῖν[- -]Ο[- in l. 4 of the decree of the Kallipolitai in honour of Leon (with Kallipolis itself another possible member). The decree's editio princeps read the line as σὺ[ν] Χρυσάοι καὶ - - - which is, however, not easily explained in the context of a decree's preamble. DEBORD (Questions stratoniciennes 167 n. 86) suggested that there might be a reference here to the Chrysaoric league.

⁵⁹ HTC at no. 61.

⁶⁰ See e.g. the map in HTC p. 97.

⁶¹ There is disagreement about the findspot of the inscriptions. Whereas COUSIN – DESCHAMPS in BCH 10, 1886, imply that all were found in Muğla itself, A. VON DIEST, Petermann's Mitteilungen 55, 1909, 222 reports: «Auf der Rückseite des Hokümetgebäudes von Muğla wurden uns die aus BCH 1886, S. 486–88 schon bekannten Inschriften gezeigt, als Schmuckstücke symmetrisch eingemauert, die «eine halbe Stunde von Muğla in den Bergen» gefunden sein sollen» (this comment is not mentioned by J. and L. ROBERT who do quote and comment on the next sentence in VON DIEST's passage: see below Appendix with ref.). Relevant in this context is also COUSIN's comment on the site of Khavak Assar, to the SE of Elmacik and E. of Stratonikeia's centre: «où les maçons prennent les pierres pour bâtir les maisons de Moughla . . . les murs eux-mêmes reposent sur des rochers qui aujourd'hui sont sans cesse exploitées par les habitants de Moughla» (BCH 1900, 39). That

come from Lagina, in Stratonikeian territory. Of these, six specifically name the *koinon*, but all are dated to the mid-second century or after. The evidence is presented below, listing first the one inscription in which the Tarmianoι are not specifically mentioned:

1) Dedicatory marble shield on which seven magistrates of an unnamed community honour a Rhodian *epistates*, found in the late 19th century built into the foundations of a house in Muğla⁶² (IRhPer. 781; HTC 62, with photo of the squeeze, G. COUSIN – G. DESCHAMPS, BCH 10, 1886, 488, for the location): ἐπ' ἱερέως Χρυσάορος, | ἄρχοντες | Φανόστρατος Ἡφαιστίωνος Ταβηνός, | Λέων Ἀριστέου τοῦ Στράτωνος Λαμεύς, || Μυωνίδης Διονυσίου Μοβωλλεύς, | καὶ γραμματεὺς | Μύρηξ Διονυσίου Μοβωλλεύς, | ἀγορανόμοι || Δρακοντίδης Ἀρτεμιδώρου Ταβηνός, | Φάλλος Μενάνδρου Λαμεύς, | Φάλλος Διονυσίου Μνιεσῦτης, | ὑπὲρ Σωσικράτους Σωσινίκου || Ῥόδιου τοῦ ἐπιστάτου, εὐνοίας | καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἔνεκεν τῆς | εἰς αὐτοῦς· | θεοῖς.

The date of this text has always been controversial. L. and J. ROBERT placed it in the early second century BC, on letter forms, though M. HOLLEAUX had earlier argued for a date in the early first century BC, on prosopographical grounds (Sosikrates Sosinikou is known from IG XII 1, 46, col. IV, l. 72, dated to 68 BC).⁶³ Recently, A. BRESSON (HTC at no. 62) in a full discussion, has argued persuasively that it belongs in the early first century BC, between c. 100 and 60 BC. I follow his dating here.

2) Dedicatory base found in the same courtyard of a house in Muğla as 3) and 4) (IRhPer. 783; HTC 64, with photo): Νικόλαος Λέοντος | Ῥόδιος | ἐφηβαρχήσας καὶ | γυμνασιαρχήσας || Ἐρμεῖ καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ | καὶ Ταρμιανῶν | τῶι κοινῶι.

The inscription has been dated, on letter forms, though with some hesitation, to between c. 150 and c. 75 BC.⁶⁴

3) Dedicatory marble shield, on which the *koinon* of the Tarmianoι honours the Rhodian commander Chrysispos (IRhPer. 782; HTC 63, with photo): ὑπὲρ | Χρυσίππου Ἀπολλωνίδα | Ῥόδιου | γενομένου ἀγεμόνος ἀμίσθου | ἐπὶ τε Ἀρτούβων καὶ Παραβλείας | καὶ στρατευσαμένου | ἐν ταῖς καταφράκτοις ναυσὶν | τὸ κοινὸν τὸ Ταρμιανῶν | εὐνοίας ἔνεκεν τᾶς | εἰς αὐτόν.

Date: first century BC, between 84 and c. 50 (see the justification at HTC no. 63).

the inscriptions came from the surroundings of Muğla, probably from the territory, seems not in doubt.

⁶² This is the only one of the four inscriptions specifically said to have been «trouvée dans les fondations d'une maison turque quelques jours avant notre arrivée».

⁶³ La Carie II 91–95 nr. 2; BRESSON in HTC at no. 62, with a justification of the dating: 183–184.

⁶⁴ The dating seems to me to be uncertain. The letters have pronounced apices, which has led the editors of HTC to place it earlier than nos. 62, 63 and 65 in the series, most probably towards the end of the 2nd century BC.

4) Dedicatory marble shield of two Kenendolabeis (IRhPer. 784, HTC 65, with photo): [. . .]λης [Λέ]οντος [Κε]νε[νδω]λ|αβεὺς γυμνασιαρχήσας | και Ἄντίπατρος Ἐκαταίου | Κεν[ε]νδωλαβεὺς ἐφηβαρχή||σας, Ἡλίωι και Ἐρμεί και Ἡρα|κ[λ]εῖ και Ταρμιαῶν τῶι | κοινῶι.

Date: c. 90–60 BC. Again dated on letter forms (which are very close to those of no. 1 above).

One further inscription, found at Yeşilyurt, specifically names the *koinon* of the Tarmianoι, jointly with that of the Pisyetai and <Pladaseis with the Pisyetai>:

5) Base, on which are inscribed funerary honours for a Rhodian (IRhPer. 751, HTC 4, photo): [Τ]ὸ κοινὸν τὸ Πισσητῶν και Πλαδα[σσε]ῶν τῶν μετὰ Πισσητ[ῶ]ν και τὸ κοινὸν τὸ Ταρμ[ια]ῶν ἐτείμησε και ἐστεφάνωσε χρυσέφ στεφάνωφ και ἔθαψεν δημοσίᾳ ταφῆ Μόσχον Ἀντιπ[ά]τρου τοῦ Μόσχου Ῥόδιον ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα και εὐ|νοίας, ἦν ἔχων διετέλει εἰς τὸ κοινὸν τὸ Ταρμ[ια]ῶν και εἰς τὸ κοινὸν τὸ Πισσητῶν και Πλα[δα]σσεῶν τῶν μετὰ Πισσητῶν.

Date: second half of the first cent. BC (HTC ad. loc. with extensive justification).

Finally, two Tarmianoι, probably father and son, are recorded as priests of Hekate at Lagina:

6) I. Stratonikeia 609, l. 7: [Ἀρισ]τέας Ἡρώδου Ταρμιανός

7) I. Stratonikeia 613, l. 5: [Ἡρώδης] Ἀριστέου Ταρμιανός.

Aristeas' priesthood is dated to the year 35/4 BC.⁶⁵

Although no. 1, the dedication by seven magistrates to a Rhodian *epistates*, has no internal reference to the *koinon* of the Tarmianoι, it appears to belong to the same overall context as 2, 3 and 4, since it is very similar to those inscriptions in all its physical aspects (three are dedicatory marble shields, one a dedicatory base) and in its subject matter (honorific dedication; Rhodian connections). It is more than likely that it came from the same architectural context as the other shield-dedications: this may have been a gymnasium.⁶⁶

Given that 1) contains the same subdivisions as the newly found and much earlier inscription (HTC 61) republished here, which was brought to Muğla from nearby Akçaova, both must logically belong to the same organizational and terri-

⁶⁵ For the date see A. LAUMONIER, BCH 62, 1938, 256–257 on this particular list; on the dating of the Lagina lists in general, *ibidem*, 251–253.

⁶⁶ No precise context is given for the series of dedicatory Rhodian shields known from Kamiros, which the Muğla shields resemble (Tit. Cam. 66, 70, 72–78), only 76 is known to have come from the necropolis. All are dedications by *strategoι* (the Muğla shields which are dedicated to *strategoι* therefore presumably imitate a form appropriate to the recipients' status). Many are dedicated to Hestia and Zeus Teleios (nos. 70 [?], 72, 73, 74, 75, 77, 78 [?]) who were honoured jointly in Kamiros. Shields are also known from the acropolis of Lindos, but their precise architectural context is unclear: Lindos II 160, 171, 180, 187, 218, 216 (all dated between c. 200 and the mid-2nd century).

torial context.⁶⁷ The fact that the new Akçaova subscription shows precisely the same four constituent communities (the Tabenoi, Mniesytai, Lomeis and Mobolleis) within a larger organization as does the inscription on the dedicatory shield for the Rhodian commander Sosikrates (no. 1, early first century), cannot be a coincidence and must mean that these four were the main subdivisions of one and the same political community – whatever its name. But was the community in question the *koinon* of the Tarmianoi?

The findspot of HTC 61, whether Akçaova itself or its immediate surrounding, indicates that one of the smaller communities was at some distance (c. 6 km) from the central site and acropolis and implies that the total extent of the organization was sizeable, covering at least the area indicated for the *koinon* of the Tarmianoi on HTC's map and possibly more, perhaps taking in the no-man's land left on that map between the three major *koina*, around the village of Dirgeme.⁶⁸ To have several smaller, topographically distinct, communities within a larger organization is a feature typical of *koina* in this part of Karia (cf. e.g. that of the Pisyetai and Pladaseis whose subdivisions included, among others, the Pistianoi and Kelimareis),⁶⁹ but it is equally characteristic of *poleis*, like Stratonikeia, that had been formed through *sympoliteia*. The Mobolleis, Tabenoi, Lomeis and Mniesytai closely resemble the five main *demoi* of the latter city: the Koranzeis, Koliorgeis, Korais, Hierokomitai and Loboldeis, also in the way the larger organization's magistracies appear to be divided among men from the different communities.⁷⁰

If, as I have suggested, the community in HTC 61 was a *polis*, formed through the merging of a Macedonian settlement with an existing group of communities (possibly already a federation or *koinon*), then this has direct consequences for our identification of the community in text no. 1. At the time of this dedication the community was clearly neither autonomous nor, almost certainly, was it a *polis*: the dating by Rhodian eponym and the presence of a Rhodian *epistates* suggest that it, like so many others in this region, had come under Rhodian con-

⁶⁷ Scepticism about the association of no. 1 with the Tarmianoi are expressed by H. OPPERMAN, *Zeus Panamaros*, 1924, 15. L. and J. ROBERT, in identifying the Tabenoi in this text as citizens of the greater Tabai, suggested a much wider federation. See above, n. 13.

⁶⁸ The map is on p. 87. The editors of HTC, ad. loc. suggest that the Lomeis may have been based at Akçaova, since among the 15 surviving entries on the stone the majority are Lomeis, but it seems unsafe to infer this from an incomplete text.

⁶⁹ This emerges both from the actual topography of the region which consistently shows a number of smaller settlement sites within what is assumed to be a *koinon*'s territory (see map in HTC p. 87) and from the *neoria* inscription (HTC 1) in which Pistianoi and Kelimareis dominate. Whether all the other ethnics there listed should also be seen as components of the <super-*koinon*> of the Pisyetai and Pladaseis remains unclear.

⁷⁰ See VAN BREMEN, *Chiron* 30, 2000, 389–401.

trol and had most likely the status of a *koinon*. But what was its name and what its former status?

As well as giving an indication about its dependence on Rhodes, the inscription on the dedicatory shield tells us about the community's institutional structures. The dedicators are all magistrates: three *archontes*, one *grammateus*, and three *agoranomoi*. One would normally not hesitate to associate this range of magistracies with a *polis*. To begin with the *agoranomoi*: in the Hellenistic period these are virtually unknown outside a *polis* context, i.e. we know of no village *agoranomoi* (as we do for the Roman period).⁷¹ They do occur in connection with wider, federal organizations, in particular the panegyric festivals of such federations. The *agoranomoi*'s presence in our inscription is in fact so striking that it suggested to L. ROBERT precisely such a wider, panegyric, organization, «où se réunissaient les divers peuples membres de ce groupement». Indirectly, this reinforced his idea that the Tabanoi in this text must have been the citizens of Tabai in eastern Karia, linked with Mobolla and with other cities in some larger Karian federation.⁷² If, as seems now clear from the new inscription, the Tabanoi were a local community like the other three, then what we have here is a local, not an overarching federal, organization. If so, then it is hard to understand the *agoranomoi* other than as belonging to a *polis* and, given their number, moreover one which had pretensions to being a centre of some importance within the wider region.

What about the three *archontes* and the *grammateus*? Boards of (three) *archontes* are not unknown in this part of Asia Minor: they are attested for several Lykian cities in the third and second centuries BC.⁷³ For Karia, too, there is evidence from a number of places. At Amyzon we find a board of three *arch-*

⁷¹ CH. SCHULER, *Ländliche Siedlungen und Gemeinden im hellenistischen und römischen Kleinasien*, 1998, 244, 267.

⁷² L. and J. ROBERT, *La Carie* II 92–93, quotation 93 n. 1. The analogy in their mind must have been with the panegyric organization of cities in the Troad, to which *agoranomoi* and also gymnasiarchs were delegated by their cities. Cf. L. ROBERT, *Monnaies antiques en Troade*, 1966, esp. ch. III: La panégyrie.

⁷³ On the Lykian evidence for boards of *archontes* (early to mid-third century onwards but disappearing in the course of the second) see M. WÖRRLE, *Stadt und Fest im kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien*, 1988, 119–123, and BRESSON, in: V. GABRIELSEN (ed.), *Hellenistic Rhodes. Politics, Culture, and Society*, 1999, 115, with n. 150 (dating the Araxa decree in which a board of *archontes* occurs to the period of Rhodian domination, i.e. 188–167 BC). Boards of three are attested at Telmessos and Araxa, an unspecified number at Xanthos and Hippukome. The *archontes*' main function would have been that of leading the assembly (so WÖRRLE), of making proposals (ἄρχόντων γνώμη) and of recording decrees (which explains the role of the *grammateus* who, in Hippukome, was among the three *archontes*). WÖRRLE points in this context to the general absence of a *boule* in Lykian cities of this period (with ref. to J. A. O. LARSEN, *CPh* 51, 1956, 151 with n. 3): a comment valid also for Karia: cf. J. and L. ROBERT, *Amyzon* 133–134, J. MA – P. DEROW – A. MEADOWS, *ZPE* 109, 1995, 71–80.

ontes (without a *grammateus*) in a decree of 321/20 BC, in which the initial dating by Macedonian regnal year (fourth year of king Philip), the satrapy of Asandros, and the Macedonian *epistates* at Amyzon, are followed by the formula ἐπι ἀρχόντων N. N. N. and the names and titles of two further officials.⁷⁴ Also in the late fourth century (318 BC), the *polis* of the Koranzeis, one of the constituent communities of the future Stratonikeia and the largest settlement in that city's territory, had two *archontes* (ἐπι ἀρχόντων N. N., a formula again following the initial dating by king and satrap).⁷⁵ A decree issued by the *polis* of the Hyllarimeis, northeast of Stratonikeia (dated to the third year of Pleistarchos, in the first decade of the third century BC), has an internal dating by a single *archon*.⁷⁶ If correctly restored, an unspecified number of [*?archon*]tes is attested, in the formula [ἀρχό]ντων γνώμη, for the small *koinon* of the Londeis, south of Panamara, in the early second century BC.⁷⁷ A single eponymous *archon* dates an unpublished decree of a *koinon* in the Harpasos valley (early third century).⁷⁸

Boards of *archontes* in this part of Karia, though not as uniform, or as chronologically confined, as their Lykian counterparts, were nevertheless linked to the early stages of *polis* formation in a region where many small indigenous communities had become *poleis* and had adopted some of the trappings of *polis*-organization already in the fourth century BC under Hekatomnid influence.⁷⁹ Most of

⁷⁴ Amyzon 2 ll. 1–7.

⁷⁵ I. Stratonikeia 503. Somewhat later, in the mid-(?)third century BC, one single *archon*'s name served as eponym for a decree issued by the same Koranzeis in *kyria ekklesia*, but the inscription's worn state does not allow us to see whether at this time the Koranzeis still referred to themselves as a *polis*: I. Stratonikeia 549, dated by ΣΑΗΝ to the second century BC; photograph of the squeeze, Pl. 20. ΣΑΗΝ's restoration of κοινόν in ll. 3 and 6 is uncertain and depends on his dating and the assumption that Koranza would have been demoted to *koinon* after its integration into Stratonikeia. The Koranzeis are on record as meeting in *ekklesia kyria* also in this decree. No early decrees survive from Stratonikeia itself: it had a *boule* by the early second century BC when under Rhodian control (I. Stratonikeia 504), a *stephanephoros* in 198 BC (I. Stratonikeia 4) under Philip V.

⁷⁶ P. ROOS, *Ist. Mitt.* 25, 1975, 338f. Cf. BE 1976, 631, 639 and DEBORD, *Cité grecque – village carien* 147. Hyllarima briefly became a *koinon* under Rhodian control between 188 and 167.

⁷⁷ I. Stratonikeia 8, with corrections to the identity of the issuing *koinon* in HTC, p. 149–150. Cf. also VAN BREMEN (above, n. 2) 218 n. 40 and 231 n. 85. The inscription is puzzling and has not yet been adequately explained, but the *archontes* may well go back to the community's earlier *polis* status: see the next note. The neighbouring *koinon* of the Leukoideis, in the late second century BC, used the formula κομμαρχῶν γνώμη following the dating by the Rhodian eponym (HTC 36 ll. 1–2).

⁷⁸ Communication from A. BRESSON. At nearby Bargasa the formula ἀρχόντων γνώμη (l. 6) occurs in a decree dated to after 129 BC.

⁷⁹ See now the many *poleis* listed in the 4th century BC Sekköy inscriptions from the time of Mausolos, first published by W. BLÜMEL, EA 16, 1990, 30–33 (SEG 40, 991 and 992; HTC 90 and 91). In l. 2 of BLÜMEL's no. 2 (SEG 992; HTC 91) the name of the community could be restored as [Λω]μεῖς (ed. pr. suggests [ΥΛ]μεῖς or [ΥϞ]μεῖς).

the examples above display this connection between *polis*-status and *archontes*, while others show that the formula persisted under Rhodian control within communities that had been demoted to *koinon* status.⁸⁰ I therefore suggest that our anonymous community, too, was a *polis* before it fell into the Rhodian sphere of influence, and, like other *poleis* in this region, kept its former institutional structures.

We must now address one further point, namely that of the exact match between the board of three *archontes* and their *grammateus* in the shield dedication no. 1 of the early first century BC, and the group of magistrates mentioned in the preamble of the decree of the *koinon* of the Laodikeis for Leon, of the mid-second century (l. 1–3: Ἐπ' ἱερέως Εὐδάμου καὶ ἀρχόντων ἐν (Λα)οδικείαι Μενεκράτ[ου τ]οῦ Θαραγγίου, Μυωνίδου τοῦ Πανταλέοντος, Νίκωνος τοῦ Νικομά[χ]ου, γραμματεῦοντος Φανία τοῦ Καλλίου, Ζμινθίου δευτέρου). The combination of three *archontes* and a *grammateus* appears to be rare and is, on the present state of the evidence, unique to these two documents. By itself this would not, of course, be sufficient to allow for an equation of the *koinon* and former *polis* of the Laodikeis with the identically-structured anonymous former *polis* in our shield dedication. If, however, we also take into account the complete overlap between the demotics in our <shield> community and those in HTC 61, for which I have postulated not only *polis* status and membership of the Chrysaoric League, but also a Macedonian element, then it seems less adventurous to suggest a very close, even if still unclear, connection between the name of Laodikeia, the site of Muğla and the community in our shield dedication. Since we have earlier noted that the shield-dedication in question is part of a series of very similar dedications some of which specifically name the *koinon* of the Tarmianoι, we must now clarify how that *koinon* fits into all this.

Before doing so it is necessary to discuss one further, unusual, aspect of the *koinon* of the Tarmianoι. The *gymnasiarchoi* and *ephebarchoi* attested in two inscriptions (nos. 2 and 4) which mention the Tarmianoι, are, again, officials normally associated with a *polis*-organization. Outside Egypt only the case of the Ptolemaic military garrison on Thera offers an example of a gymnasium that existed in a context other than that of a *polis* (in this case a military garrison).⁸¹ The recently published inscription from Phrygian Tyriaion in which Eumenes II can be seen granting a *polis*-constitution to the military colonists and native inha-

⁸⁰ WÖRRLE'S (above, n. 73) suggestion that in Lykia the disappearance of the <three *archontes* structure> may have been caused by the influence of Rhodes cannot apply similarly in the case of Karia, where several occurrences fall precisely in the period of Rhodian domination, only, they are now officials of *koina*.

⁸¹ IG XII 3, 327 and 331, with PH. GAUTHIER, in: M. WÖRRLE – P. ZANKER (eds.), *Stadt- und Bürgerbild im Hellenismus*, 1995, 8. Cf. M. LAUNEX, *Recherches sur les armées hellénistiques II*, 1950, 847–848.

bitants ‹living alongside you in your territory› may provide a case of a civic gymnasial organization which had a forerunner in an unofficial military set-up though this is speculative.⁸² The gymnasium itself, as an institution with rules imposed by the *polis*, a fixed income, and an centrally appointed *gymnasiarchos* was part and parcel of Tyriaion's acquiring its new *polis*-status. Another example of this kind of transformation may be hidden in a badly damaged and seldom discussed inscription from Mylasa. A very early, private, *palaistra* there appears to have had Macedonian users, or so the name of its owner, Nikanor, and the fact that Mylasa served as residence to the Macedonian satrap Asandros at this time, suggest.⁸³ In the inscription, king Philip Arrhidaios appears to be granting a $\chi\omega\rho\acute{\iota}\nu$ to an anonymous person, possibly for the purpose of setting up a *temenos* for Hermes and Herakles, which is described as being ‹opposite› (?) the *palaistra* of Nikanor; further on in the inscription the *palaistra* is mentioned again, this time alongside a gymnasium. It is hard to draw any safe conclusions about what precisely is going on in this lacunous text, and what may have been the connection between this early arrangement and Mylasa's later civic gymnasia,⁸⁴ but it is tempting to think that Nikanor's *palaistra* (and gymnasium?) served in particular the needs of Asandros and his entourage.

None of the above cases however contradicts the fact that a full gymnasial organization, with gymnasiarchs, is unattested outside a *polis*-context, *except* in the case of the Tarmianoi. The same is true for the ephebic organization.⁸⁵ It is therefore surprising that these features, which appear to distinguish the *koinon* of the Tarmianoi not only from all other *koina* in this region (including large ones, like that of the Pisyetai and Pladaseis, and that of the Theraioi), but which make it unique within Asia Minor, have not attracted much attention.⁸⁶

⁸² SEG 47, 1745; I. Sultan Dađı, 393 ll. 26–34 with the oil provision in ll. 42–44. The process of transformation of a private gymnasial organization into a civic institution, subject to *polis* laws, can be seen in detail in the gymnasiarchal law from Beroia, as edited by PH. GAUTHIER – M. HATZOPOULOS, *La loi gymnasiarchique de Beroia*, 1993. Cf. also GAUTHIER, *prev. n.*

⁸³ I. Mylasa 21, of 317 BC. The text is dated by regnal year of Philip Arrhidaios and the satrapy of Asandros. J. DELORME, *Gymnasion. Étude sur les monuments consacrés à l'éducation en Grèce*, 1960, 261, where further instances of the *palaistra* as a private institution are discussed.

⁸⁴ Cf. DELORME (*prev. n.*) 262.

⁸⁵ See e.g. the list in RE 7, 2, 1912, 1969f. and 2004f. (J. OEHLER) with D. MAGIE, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, 1950, 852–855. Cf. also L. ROBERT, *À travers l'Asie Mineure*, 1980, 368, on an inscription found on the site of Haydere/Camlidere, ancient Bargasa, a dedication by a gymnasiarch dated to the 2nd cent. BC: «cette fonction assure que nous sommes sur le site d'une ville».

⁸⁶ DELORME (*above, n. 83*) 340, mentions the officials under ‹Mobolla› and sees nothing peculiar in their existence. A dedication is known from Loryma (incorporated into the Rhodian state as part of the deme of Kasara, its neighbour, sometime in the third century

It certainly requires some effort not to interpret the virtually simultaneous occurrence of *archontes*, a *grammateus*, *agoranomoi*, an ephebic organization, and a gymnasium as indicative of a fully-fledged *polis* or at least as survivals of an earlier *polis* organization. In the case of the Tarmianoi we obviously want to know when and in what context these institutions emerged. Even if the evidence itself is confined to the late second and early first centuries BC (texts 1, 2 and 4), there is nothing to explain the emergence of a gymnasium, ephebes, or *agoranomoi* specifically around that time, when the Tarmianoi were within the Rhodian sphere of influence as indeed they had been in the second, and presumably part of the third, centuries. Throughout this entire period, 'Rhodians' abound in the epigraphical record of this part of Karia.⁸⁷ Could a gymnasium have emerged within a dependent *koinon*, perhaps for the purpose of serving both resident Rhodians and members of the *koinon* itself, as well as other communities in the region? The ethnic origin of one of the gymnasiarchs (Rhodian, in no. 2) might be thought to give some support to this hypothesis but I do not think it is conclusive.⁸⁸ (The men in no. 4 are Kenendolabeis, the location of whose community is unknown, though it is usually assumed that they were a constituent of the *koinon* of the Tarmianoi.) Similar questions can be asked about the emergence of *agoranomoi*, and wider structures can be imagined in which they, too, may have functioned, but in each case we enter the realm of the totally speculative. It is certainly less problematic to see all three institutions in a pre-Rhodian context, generated by a (Seleukid?) city foundation; and perhaps to postulate the presence of a *katoikia* of Macedonian soldiers as giving the first impetus towards the setting up of a gymnasia organization which then became institutionalized when the city was founded or soon after. A formal ephebic organization may have been set up at this time. *Agoranomoi*, too, will have been appointed as part

BC), whose third line has been restored: [γυμνασ]ιαρχήσας, and the second [ἐφηβαρχή]σας (by BLÜMEL, in IRhPer. 10), suggesting a context very similar to that of the Muğla inscriptions. The restoration is, however, based on our Muğla text. (BRESSON, at RIPR 181, is more cautious). There is also a list of [*paides?*] *lampadistai* from the same place, possibly headed by an *agonothetes* (RIPR 179; IRhPer. 11). The date of both texts is hard to establish: BRESSON suggests anytime between 400 and 200 BC. Here too, an explanatory framework for the gymnasia, ephebic and agonistic activity appears to be lacking, but it must have been the earlier *polis* status of Loryma that generated the institutions even if later they served the wider Chersonnesian federation. On Loryma see now W. HELD et al., *Ist. Mitt.* 49, 1999, 159–196; on the communities of the Loryma peninsula cf. FRASER – BEAN (above, n. 21) ch. 2, and, on their *polis* status, BRESSON, RIPR 12–14.

⁸⁷ A quick glance at the entries in HTC's Répertoire des textes (pp. 91–94) will make this clear.

⁸⁸ For other 'Rhodians' exercising 'local' offices, see e.g. HTC 38, in which a Rhodian is honoured by the *koinon* of the Leukoideis for having taken on a priesthood, a *neokoria*, the office of *oinotamias* (on which see the commentary in HTC) and that of *komarches*.

of the civic 'package'. When Rhodian control over the Peraia expanded to include this city and demoted it to *koinon* status, there was no need to dismantle institutions that would continue to serve a (regional) need.

IV

The discussion so far has favoured the idea that the *polis* of Laodikeia emerged out of a group of local communities perhaps already united into a *koinon* joined up with a Macedonian settlement. The status and role of the Tarmianoi and this *koinon*'s connection to the Macedonian *polis* is still the uncertain element. In this context, there is one more piece of evidence which needs discussing. It has recently been argued that the Laodikeis feature alongside the Tarmianoi (as well as the Mniesytai – a constituent element of either one or the other, or both) in a much discussed passage of Livy which has, over the years, suffered many mutilations. Recent discussions appear to be based solely on the single line quoted in L. and J. ROBERT's *La Carie: Galli (et Nisuetae) et Pisuetae et Tarmiani et Thrahi/Arei ex Africa et Laudic(i)eni ex Asia erant*, but its meaning cannot possibly be understood in isolation. The current standard text of the relevant passage (33, 18, 1–4) as established by A. H. McDONALD,⁸⁹ is the result of cumulative attempts to make sense of an unclear narrative which describes, in some considerable detail, the efforts of the Rhodian general Pausistratos to recover, in 197 BC, parts of the Rhodian Peraia that had been occupied by Philip V. I give below McDONALD's version, then indicate the differences and similarities between the two main manuscripts of the text, codd. Bambergensis and Mogontiacensis:⁹⁰

Isdem diebus, omnia simul inclinante fortuna, Rhodii quoque ad vindicandam a Philippo continentis regionem – Peraean vocant – possessam a maioribus suis, Pausistratum praetorem cum octingentis Achaëis peditibus, mille et octingentis fere armatis ex vario genere auxiliorum collectis miserunt: Galli et Mniesutae et Pisuetae et Tarmiani et Theraei ex Peraea et Laudiceni ex Asia erant. Cum iis copiis Pausistratus Tendebe in Stratonicensi agro, locum peropportunum, ignaris regis qui Therae erant occupavit.

1 continentis] -is B: -em Mog.; Peraean] phirean B: Pyrrheam Mog.; 2 (et) octingentis B: nongentis Mog.; 3 et Mniesutae: et Nisuetai Mog. transp. post Pisuetai Gron.: om. B; Tarmiani: Tamiani B Mog. Theraei: Thrahi B: Arei Mog (om. T post et) ex Africa B Mog. Laudiceni: B (-cieni): Laod- Mog. 4 Tendebe: tendebat Mog. Tenebat B. Therae erant: Rubenius: tenuerant B Mog.

Since the late 19th century many emendations have been proposed for the confusing sequence of topographical names in this passage. First, the uncontro-

⁸⁹ *Titii Livi ab Vrbe condita* vol. V, libri XXXI–XXXV, 1965, using the emendations of M. HOLLEAUX and L. and J. ROBERT on which see below.

⁹⁰ For the history of the textual transmission see McDONALD, *ibidem*, V–XLIV.

versial restoration of *Tamiani* (B and Mog.) into *Tarmiani* was suggested soon after the discovery at Muğla of inscriptions mentioning the Tarmianoi;⁹¹ M. HOLLEAUX subsequently recognized in the *Nisuetai* (omitted in B though present in Mog) the Mniesytai;⁹² L. and J. ROBERT then proposed to read instead of the *Arei* (Mog) or *Thrahi* (B), *Theraei*, who, like the Pisytai and the Mniesytai, were located within the Rhodian subject Peraia. Along with this, they suggested changing the odd *ex Africa* into something more immediately relevant to the preceding communities and decided it had to be a corruption of *ex Peraea*. They were content to leave the *Galli* at the beginning as Gauls, or Galatian mercenaries, and saw in the *Laodiceni/Laudic(i)eni ex Asia* the city of Laodikeia on the Lykos.⁹³

More recently, after the discovery of the new Leon decrees, J. MA has suggested linking the *koinon* of the Laodikeis to the *Laudic(i)eni* in Livy's text. Since this necessitated getting rid of the awkward *ex Asia*, he proposed changing the latter, too, to *ex Peraea*.⁹⁴ A. BRESSON and, separately, P. DEBORD, then decided that the *Galli* had to go, to be replaced by the ⟨C⟩*alli(politae)*.⁹⁵ After these cumulative emendations, we are left with the following text:

Iisdem diebus, omnia simul inclinante fortuna, Rhodii quoque ad vindicandam a Philippo continentis regionem – Peraean vocant – possessam a maioribus suis, Pausistratum praetorem cum octingentis Achaeis peditibus, mille et octingentis fere armatis ex vario genere auxiliorum conlectis miserunt: ⟨C⟩alli(politae) et ⟨M⟩ni(e)su(e)tae et Pisuetae et Ta(r)miani et Th(e)ra(e)i ex (Peraea) et Laodiceni ex (Peraea) erant. Cum iis copiis Pausistratus Tendeba in Stratonicensi agro, locum peropportunum, ignaris regis qui Therae erant occupavit.

Without doubt, some uniformity has been achieved, but at a considerable cost. The question that jumps to mind when reading the crucial line in its context, is

⁹¹ By H. J. MÜLLER (JPhV 1888, 100–101) after the publication of the inscriptions in 1886 by COUSIN and DESCHAMPS.

⁹² M. HOLLEAUX, *Études d'épigraphie et d'histoire grecques I*, 1938, 417–418.

⁹³ *Ét. Anat.* 499 n. 3, cf. also *La Carie II* 378–379 n. 4: «Laodicée est mentionnée pour avoir fourni un contingent à Rhodes lors de la reconquête de la région de Muğla et de Stratonicee . . . etc.» and: «il nous paraît assuré qu'il faut corriger *ex Africa* en *ex Peraea*, se rapportant à tout ce qui précède et qui a bien besoin d'une détermination géographique un peu générale et intelligible, à l'exception des *Galli* . . . il n'est pas nécessaire, bien qu'on puisse y penser, de reconnaître les *Callipolitae* de la Pérée».

⁹⁴ MA (above, n. 1).

⁹⁵ BRESSON, HTC at no. 89 (pp. 214–215), DEBORD, *Questions stratoniceennes* 169. The latter wrongly supposes that the ROBERTS advocated the transposition of *Mniesutae* and *Pisuetae* (Mog) into *Pisuetae et Mniesutae*: on the contrary, they revoked an earlier transposition (which had been suggested by GRONOVIVS, cf. T. BRISCOE, *A Commentary on Livy. Books XXXI–XXXIII*, 1973, ad. loc.) as unnecessary: «les inscriptions de la région de Muğla ont amené . . . à renoncer à la transposition et *Pisuetae et Nisuetae*» (*La Carie II* 379, n. 4).

whether in two separate manuscript traditions which render *Peraean vocant* in understandable corruptions respectively as *phirean vocant* (B) and *Pyrrheam vocant* (Mog),⁹⁶ it is likely that the next time the word supposedly occurred in the same passage (i.e. more or less immediately: in the suggested *ex Peraea . . . ex Peraea*) it would have been corrupted in *both* manuscripts to, respectively, *ex Africa* and *ex Asia*? These two «emendations» do considerable violence to the work of scribes who on the whole made fairly comprehensible mistakes in copying unfamiliar topographical names by transposing or omitting the odd letter here and there (*Theraei: Trabi/Arei, Tarmiani: Tamiani; Mniesutae* [? if HOLLEAUX's emendation is accepted]: *Nisuetae*) or by changing the unfamiliar (*Peraea*) into the more familiar (*Phirea, Pyrrhea*).⁹⁷

If, for the moment, therefore, we reject these drastic emendations and leave *ex Africa* and *ex Asia* for what they are, even if their sense is problematic, the question that remains is at what stage these explanatory interpolations were added. In a recent book on Rhodian traditions in Hellenistic historiography, H.-U. WIEMER has argued for Polybios' heavy reliance on Rhodian sources (especially Zenon) in those parts of his work that deal with the wars against Philip V and Antiochos III. In the case of Pausistratos' Peraian expedition, WIEMER explains the excessive detail and the disproportionate amount of space given to a relatively insignificant episode in the war against Philip from Polybios' particular interest in the presence, in Pausistratos' army, of large numbers of Achaian troops who were instrumental in winning the battle for the Rhodian side. That Polybios was able to give such a detailed description in the first place, according to WIEMER, must therefore mean that his narrative derives directly from a well-informed, local, Rhodian, source. It is, however, not to be excluded that he used an Achaian source, a possibility WIEMER does not discuss.⁹⁸

Neither Polybios nor the Rhodian (or Achaian?) source on which his account was based would have referred to either the Peraian Laodikeis or to the city on the Lykos as *ex Asia*, since the addition of this explanatory epithet belongs

⁹⁶ On the confusion about Peraea which was at times spelt Piraea vel. sim. because of its obvious similarity with the Athenian Peiraieus, cf. BRISCOE ad. loc.

⁹⁷ Similar scepticism about the ROBERTS' emendation of *ex Africa* into *ex Peraea* in H.-U. WIEMER, *Rhodische Traditionen in der hellenistischen Historiographie*, 2001, 105: «die (gewagte) Konjektur *Theraei ex Peraea*».

⁹⁸ WIEMER (prev. n.) 104–106. WIEMER also points out (112–116) the doubtless Rhodian origin of the blame meted out to Pausistratos for having lost the opportunity to recapture Stratonikeia even though it would have been easy, and links the accusatory tone of the narrative in Livy to another detailed report of that same general's disastrous behaviour in a battle against the Seleukid fleet off Panhormos, which is said to have been the main cause of the heavy losses the Rhodians suffered (Livy 36, 45, 5). An extremely detailed part of that same Rhodian account, though omitted by Livy, is preserved in Polyainos 5, 27 (via Polybios).

squarely in the period after the Roman province of Asia had been set up: under the Empire it was used mostly to distinguish this Laodikeia from its Near-Eastern counterpart.⁹⁹ In other words, we might see *ex Asia* as perhaps a Livian, but more likely a later Roman, explanation. *Ex Africa* will have served a similar explanatory purpose, since clearly neither Polybios nor his source would have considered the names directly preceding it as belonging anywhere but in SW Karia. In the case of *ex Africa*, too, either Livy or a later Roman copier of the work must have considered it essential to provide a series of unfamiliar, barbaric-sounding names, one of which (Nisya) he possibly recognized as African, with the explanatory *ex Africa*.¹⁰⁰ I suggest retaining *ex Africa* and *ex Asia* in the text but to treat both with due suspicion. There is much to be said also for leaving the Galli for what they are and not turn them into Kallipolitai, a community much further away from the action and moreover at this time an autonomous city or *civitas* (and thus less likely to be included among the ‘peoples’, or *gentes* of the interior).¹⁰¹

Somewhat further on in the same chapter, Livy (Polybios) returns to the Rhodians and their troops, now engaged in battle with their Macedonian opponents (33, 18, 10–12). Describing the order of battle of those he had earlier enumerated he writes: *Rhodii Achaeos dextro cornu, sinistro mercennarios milites, lectam peditum manum, habuere, medios mixta ex pluribus gentibus auxilia . . .*¹⁰² The Achaeans recur, as do, indirectly, the Galli: in the shape of *mercennarios milites, lectam peditum manum*.¹⁰³ In the middle were the *auxilia*, put together *ex pluribus gentibus*, which must surely be translated as ‘put together from several different peoples’ and must refer to the Karian communities listed earlier by name. The text may now be read (once again) as follows:¹⁰⁴

⁹⁹ So already BRESSON, HTC at no. 89, p. 214, cf. also DEBORD, Cité grecque – village carien 158–159. On the use of Λαοδικεὺς τῆς Ἀσίας cf. L. ROBERT, Laodicée du Lycos, Le nymphée, 1969, 279–280.

¹⁰⁰ In fact, GRONOVIVS’ (and others’) transposition of *Nisuetae* and *Pisuetae* occurred precisely *because* an African Nisya is mentioned in Ptolemy (4, 3, 7): since the *Pisuetae* were known to him (from Stephanos of Byzantion s.v.) as Karian, it made sense to let the *Nisuetae* jump one space so as to be able to group them, with the unknown Trahi and Tamiani, as African. L. and J. ROBERT rightly saw that, after HOLLEAUX’s later emendation of the name the transposition was no longer justified (above, n. 93).

¹⁰¹ An earlier suggestion of BEAN – COOK, PBSA 52, 1957, 65–68 and 81–85, that Kallipolis was the new name given to the Kyllandeis/Kyllanda is rejected by DESCAT, REA 96, 1994, 205–214, who sees the city as having emerged from a synoikism of several smaller communities in the period of Hekatomnid rule.

¹⁰² On the difficulties concerning the first part of this sentence see, convincingly, BRISCOE, Commentary, ad. loc.

¹⁰³ Although BRISCOE takes the *lectam peditum manum* as referring to the Achaeans.

¹⁰⁴ If the emendation of 33, 18, 4 from *tenuerant* (B, Mog) into *Therae erant* is right, then the king’s troops were at Thera while Pausistratos gained Tendeba, a fortified place

Isdem diebus, omnia simul inclinante fortuna, Rhodii quoque ad vindicandam a Philippo continentis regionem – Peraean vocant – possessam a maioribus suis, Pausistratum praetorem cum octingentis Achaeis peditibus, mille et octingentis fere armatis ex vario genere auxiliorum collectis miserunt: Galli et <M>ni(e)su(e)tae (?) et Pisuetae et Ta(r)miani et Th(e)ra(e)i ex Africa (?) et Laudiceni ex Asia (?) erant. Cum iis copiis Pausistratus Tendeba in Stratonicensi agro, locum peropportunum, ignaris regius qui tenuerant, occupavit.

Does the passage make more sense in terms of the identity and location of the communities listed? In terms of our attempt to understand how the Laodikeis, the Tarmianoï and the Mniesytai related to one another it clearly does not. On the reconstruction offered so far in this paper, the Mniesytai were a sub-unit of Laodikeia – later the *koinon* of the Laodikeis; in the more generally accepted version they were a subunit of the Tarmianoï. In the Livy passage they appear to have an identity separate from both those communities. The juxtaposition of Tarmianoï and Mniesytai seems a serious obstacle to recognizing the former as the overarching *koinon* including the latter. In addition, Livy's passage appears to put paid to the hypothesis that the Tarmianoï themselves may have been the *koinon* whose former identity lay concealed behind the new dynastic name of Laodikeia/Laodikeis. The text as it now stands makes no sense whichever way we turn it, and it seems better to accept that its corruptions (the Mniesytai are not even there in manuscript B, and have been restored from Nisuetae in Mog.) and inconsistencies, while allowing for endless speculation, have in fact made it impossible for us to use the evidence it presents in a constructive way. All one can say is that in this text, too, a certain connection between the Laodikeis, the Tarmianoï and the Mniesytai is apparent but that its precise details escape us. It is better to leave this problem unresolved on the understanding that it does not constitute an insuperable obstacle to the general theory here proposed.¹⁰⁵

V

It seems necessary to abandon the idea that the Tarmianoï were the overarching *koinon* that has been postulated both for the new third-century text (HTC 61)

within Stratonikeian territory, but it seems unnecessary. And would the Theraei have been able to join the Rhodian general's army if their own city was occupied?

¹⁰⁵ A suggestion made to me by M. CRAWFORD, that the Laudic(i)eni of Livy's text may be a corruption of the name Leucuideni and thus refer to the Leukoideis, a small *koinon* south of Panamara, is well worth contemplating, but perhaps one ought to resist introducing ever more <corrections> into this text. Getting rid of the Laodikeis and having, instead, the Leukoideis among the local peoples would get rid of the juxtaposition of Tarmianoï and Laodikeis but it would still not solve the problem of the Tarmianoï and Mniesytai.

and for the first-century shield-dedication (no. 1) both of whose constituent *demoi* were the Mniesytai, Mobolleis, Tabenoi and Lomeis. Instead, we ought perhaps to think of them as a local *koinon* (first attested in Livy in the early 190s, alongside the Laodikeis), somehow associated with or contingent on the *koina* that constituted the new city of Laodikeia, and which itself merged with the *koinon* of the Laodikeis and gave its name to the new entity while that of the Laodikeis disappeared. Sometime after the 150s BC (the likely date of the Leon decrees), the name Laodikeia must have been abandoned.¹⁰⁶ In its place, we see that of the Tarmianoï attached to documents whose content, as I have argued, strongly suggest an earlier *polis* structure (nos. 2, 3, 4 and 5 – all belonging to the late second or early first century BC). Why would the name of Laodikeia have been abandoned? Here we can only speculate. A possible context is that of Stratonikeian/Rhodian conflict, a result of Stratonikeia's desire for expansion after its liberation from Rhodes, and the very real hostility between the two states (referred to as ἀπέχθεια in a decree of Bargylia arbitrating between the two parties).¹⁰⁷ Elsewhere, I have argued that Leon's attempt at reviving a cult-community with Panamara as its centre (possibly in a Chrysaoric context) targeting communities within the Rhodian Peraia, would have caused strong misgivings in Rhodes.¹⁰⁸ What is striking in the diplomatic language of the Laodikeis' decree for Leon is precisely its reticence about the obvious *syngeneia* with another Seleukid foundation, as well as its blank omission of Leon's ethnic, or any reference to the Stratonikeis' role with reference to Panamara (all spelled out in the Kallipolis decree). The two decrees have many elements in common in the way in which they refer – in almost identical language – to Leon's role as priest, but they differ so significantly in their constitutional and diplomatic wording that the diplomatic tip-toeing in the Laodikeian decree stands out. If this caution can indeed be seen as linked to the enmity between the Rhodians and Stratonikeians, then an (enforced?) renaming of the *koinon* does not seem impossible.

In the end there is no certainty, only strong plausibilities and a number of inevitable loose ends. But even without a totally satisfying solution I hope to have shown that 1) there is a strong likelihood that there was a Macedonian city

¹⁰⁶ For a discussion of the few occurrences of the ethnic Laodikeus/Laodikis in the Rhodian Peraia see now DEBORD, Cité grecque – village carien 157–160, arguing that all refer to inhabitants of the city on the Lykos. The two Laodikeis setting up a dedication, in Pisyë, for a couple of Rhodians, HTC 9 (late third or early second century BC) might well be from «our» Laodikeia in Karia.

¹⁰⁷ Arbitration of Bargylia in an unspecified conflict between the two cities. The Bargylian negotiator was successful in keeping the parties from appealing to Rome. In this text the term ἀπέχθεια is used to describe the Rhodians' sentiments towards Stratonikeia: I. Iasos 612; S. AGER, Interstate Arbitration in the Greek World, 337–90 BC, 1996, 161.

¹⁰⁸ YCS 31, 2002.

foundation at Muğla; 2) there is a close, even if still unclear, connection between this city and the *koinon* of the Tarmianoï; 3) the unproblematic attribution of some of the inscriptions found at Muğla to this latter *koinon* is in need of rethinking as is, perhaps, its location; 4) when confronted with a *koinon* which has a fully-fledged gymnasial and ephebic organization, as well as a college of *agoranomoi*, questions about its pre-*koinon* past are in order. And there are wider questions implied, even if they cannot be fully answered here, about the impact of Rhodes on local political and institutional structures, and about the latter's extend and fluidity.

Appendix: The place name of Dirgeme

It has been suggested by several scholars that the modern Turkish placename of Dirgeme/Termidji/Termiği hides the ancient name of Tarmianoï but this can be no more than a hypothesis. In between the stretches of territory postulated, respectively, for the *koina* of the Pisyetai and Pladaseis, the Theraioi and the Tarmianoï, on the maps in HTC, lies a small upland basin of some 1,5:1,5 km., at 650 m. altitude (for comparison, the basin of Yerkesik is some 3,5:1,5 km., at 630 m. altitude). This contains the modern village of Akkaya which was previously called Dirgeme.¹⁰⁹ On 19th-century maps the name of this village is given as Termidji, Tirmiği or Termiği. L. ROBERT's *Études Anatoliennes* (Pl. XXX) still has it as Tirmiği. VON DIEST wrote of this village: «Der Name der Tarmianer scheint in dem etwa 8 km. südlich von Muğla gelegenen Dorfe Termidji enthalten zu sein.»¹¹⁰ L. ROBERT, however, dismissed this suggestion: «Je crois que le rapprochement n'a pas de valeur. Kiepert (et Philippson) donne le nom Tirmiği. Le mot semble turc.»¹¹¹ The components of the name are indeed reducible to the roots of Turkish words, but this does not in itself invalidate the possibility that the indigenous name of Tarmianoï gave rise to the Turkish Termidji – Termiği – Tirmiği which then, in the second half of the 20th century

¹⁰⁹ Its location on the maps in HTC is incorrect. The separation of the names, Akkaya and Dirgeme is misleading. In reality the centre of the village now called Akkaya lies a little to the south of where the map in HTC (p. 19) indicates Dirgeme, with the ancient remains, first described by P. ROOS (cf. HTC 42–43) higher up to the west of the village, as both ROOS and the text in HTC correctly describe. The distance between the central site at Muğla and the village of Dirgeme is approximately the same as that between Akçaova and Muğla, although it might be argued that Dirgeme, both in Antiquity and nowadays, lies closer to the Yerkesik/Thera basin than to Muğla. Though close to the Pisyeta basin as the crow flies, it is separated from Pisyeta by high mountains (1061 m.) and therefore less likely to have been part of that *koinon*.

¹¹⁰ Petermanns Mitteilungen, 1909, 222.

¹¹¹ *Ét. Anat.* 564 n. 2.

changed to Dirgeme. They are, in fact, components that are not all that common in Turkish place-names.¹¹² A *Hytarmeus*, listed in the new *neoria* list (discussed at HTC p. 100), and the attestation of a Ἀετίων Φανίου Ταρμου (end of the 1st cent. BC) at Mylasa have recently joined the ranks of the Karian words in which the root Tar- occurs.

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¹¹² Both words originate from the Turkic verb root *tir-/ter*: <to crowd together, to accumulate, collect.>

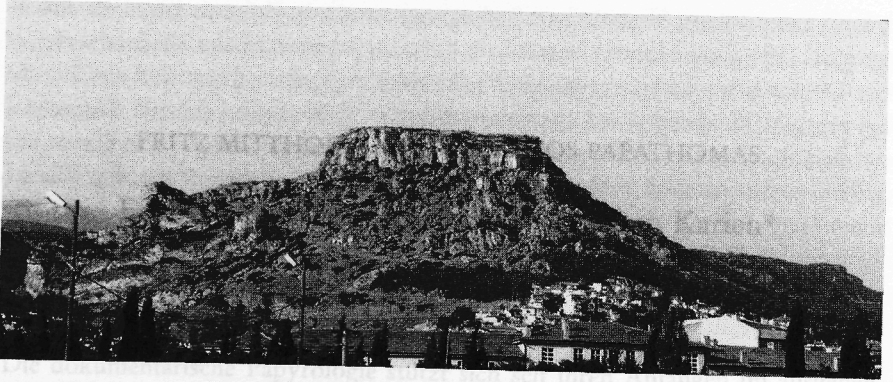


Fig. 1: The acropolis of Muğla (from HTC, p. 24)

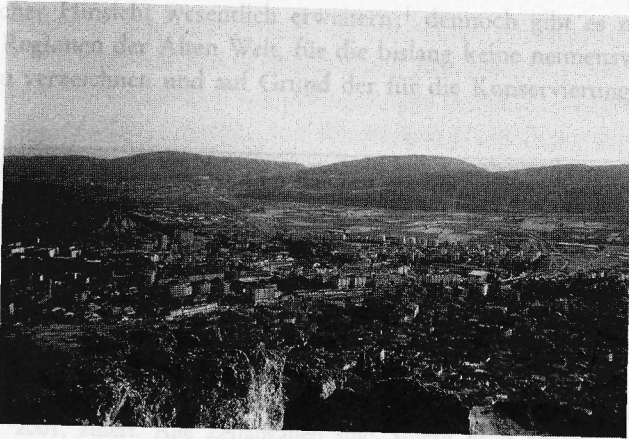


Fig. 2: The plain of Muğla seen from the acropolis (from HTC, p. 23)

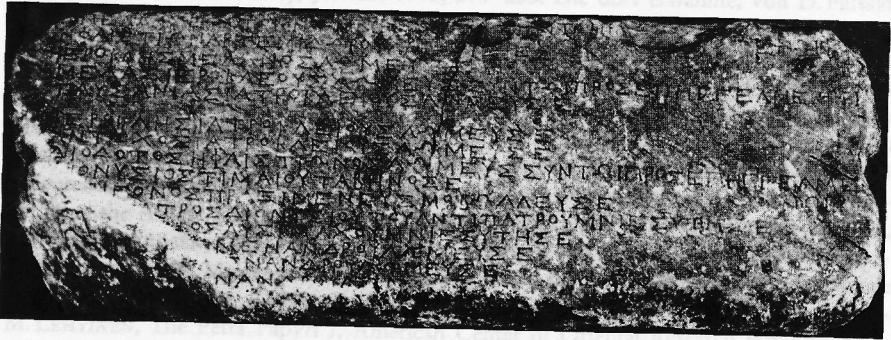


Fig. 3: List of subscribers from Akçaova (HTC 61), photo: R. van Bremen

